

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS
AND
JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS
1948-49.

WHITHORN VOLUME

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXVII.

EDITOR
R. C. REID

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Published by the Council of the Society
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EDITORIAL.

In view of the importance of the excavations at Whithorn it has been decided to make this a Whithorn volume so that all the valuable contributions relating to St. Ninian and his Church should be gathered into one volume. As it is, there are still some aspects which have had to be omitted, such as an account of the Priory lands in Wigtownshire. It is hoped to include them in the next volume of *Transactions*.

The Society's thanks are due to the distinguished contributors who have so readily collaborated in this production. To work with them all has been a pleasure and a real education. Our thanks must also be extended to the Ministry of Works; Mr S. H. Cruden, Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland; the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the Director and Committee of the Manx Museum, not only for the loan of blocks and photographs, but also for material financial assistance towards the adequate illustration of this volume.

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ARTICLE 1.

St. Ninian :

A Preliminary Study of Sources.

By Mrs N. K. CHADWICK.

Lectoremque suppliciter obsecro, ut, siqua in his, quae scripsimus, aliter quam se veritas habet, posita reppererit, non hoc nobis imputet, qui, quod vera lex historiae est, simpliciter ea, quae fama vulgante collegimus, ad instructionem posteritatis litteris mandare studuimus.

—Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Præfatio).

The study of St. Ninian¹ is the study of a palimpsest. The importance of his figure and of his work is so great, and the known facts about him are so few that there has always been a tendency, from the time of St. Ailred onwards, to supplement these facts by a certain amount of more or less reasonable conjecture. To get at the earliest known facts a process of erasure is necessary, or, to change the metaphor, a certain amount of unravelling. It would be tedious in a paper of this kind to give a complete detailed analysis which such an unravelling would entail. On the other hand, it is necessary to ascertain the earliest traditional material which we possess, and from this to seek to ascertain how far the details added by later authorities are valid. It is especially necessary to avoid reading into the early material conditions which could not have prevailed in St. Ninian's time, and to place him in his setting as the most important link which we possess between the Roman and the medieval period, the Ancient World and the Dark Ages. For a link he undoubtedly is. I want at the outset, therefore, to place myself in agreement with Dr. Simpson, who states categorically on the first page of his book on St. Ninian :

“ We should consider St. Ninian as what he was, namely, a Romano-British provincial.”

¹ I have referred to the Saint throughout under the form of his name now in common use by historians; but the form is a late one. For a discussion of alternative and earlier forms see p. 28 below.

And further :

“ Christianity . . . was one special element in late Roman civilisation, superimposed upon a people partly Romanised . . . by centuries of trading and other intercourse.”²

I am not qualified, as Dr. Simpson is, to deal with the archæological material, or with the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland, and more especially the dedications to St. Ninian here and possibly elsewhere, and those which appear to relate to his contemporaries. My present purpose is to re-examine the documentary evidence, and to seek in the light which it affords to bring the founder of our earliest Christianity into truer perspective.

The Venerable Bede relates³ that in 565 St. Columba came to preach to the northern Picts, “ who,” Bede adds, “ are separated from the southern Picts by steep and rugged mountains ”:⁴ “ For the southern Picts, who dwell on this side of those mountains,⁵ had long before, as is traditionally stated, left the error of idolatry, and embraced the true faith by the preaching of Ninias, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been instructed at Rome regularly (*regulariter*) in the Faith and mysteries of the Truth; whose episcopal seat, named after the bishop St. Martin, and famous for its church (*ecclesia*), where he himself and many saints rest in the body, is still in the possession of the English nation. The monastery⁶ belongs to the province of the Bernicians, and is called in the vernacular Candida Casa, because he there built a church of stone, which is not usual among the Britons.”⁷

² W. D. Simpson, *St. Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1940), p. 1.

³ The *Ecclesiastical History* was finished in 731.

⁴ “ Hoc est eis quæ arduis atque horrentibus montium iugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratae.” *Venerabilis Baedæ Historiam Ecclesiasticam gentis Anglorum*, edited by Charles Plummer, 2 volumes (Oxford, 1916), Book III., cap. 4.

⁵ “ Intra eosdem montes.”

⁶ The word is “locus,” which at this period is regularly used of a monastery.

⁷ Book III., 4. We may compare the request which Bede tells us (*H.E.*, V., 21) was sent by Nechtan IV. of the Picts to Abbot Ceolfrith of Jarrow that architects might be sent to him “to build a church of stone in the Roman manner” (“Sed et architectos sibi mitti petit, qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent”).

It will be noticed that, as Plummer points out, Bede gives this account only as tradition (*ut perhibent*). This does not preclude his having had access to Pictish⁸ or other written records, as seems probable on other evidence. But at least it means that he regarded it as no more valuable than tradition.

Bede's account raises many questions, and is almost as important for what it does not tell us as for its valuable information. First of all Bede emphasises the fact that his information is derived from tradition. That is to say he regards his informants as perhaps dependent on tradition; at any rate he is not committing himself to any responsibility for the facts, though he obviously regards them as worthy of at least serious recording and consideration. He does not tell us whether Ninias, as he seems to call the saint,⁹ is a Pict or a Briton; but he tells us that he was a bishop of the Britons. It is possible that his language was a form of Pictish, perhaps a variety of British (Welsh) Pictish. But I doubt if the actual nationality of Ninian can be certainly ascertained from Bede himself.

Bede does not state very clearly where the field of Ninian's activities lay. He merely says that it is among the southern Picts who are separated from the northern Picts by steep and rugged mountains, and that the southern Picts dwell *intra eosdem montes*; I think we need have no doubt that the expression *intra montes* relates to the territory to the east of the great mountain chain which runs from the north of Scotland to the south like a spine, and is known as Druim Alban, and to the south of the mountains which separate Aberdeenshire from Forfar and Kincardine, or, as we should say now, from Angus and the Mearns. This group of mountains has been known in Scottish historical records from the earliest times as "The Mounth."¹⁰ Early tradi-

8 E.g., through the mission sent in Bede's boyhood to Abbot Ceolfrith of Jarrow from Nechtan IV., Der-Ile's son, whose seat was in Angus. See *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949), by H. M. Chadwick, p. 17.

9 He gives the name only in the Ablative case, *Nynia*.

10 So also A. O. Anderson, "Ninian and the Southern Picts" (*The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII., 1948), p. 40 f.; Simpson (quoting R. Radford), *St. Ninian* (Edinburgh, 1940), p. 94 f.

tions leave us in no doubt that from the earliest times one or more strong Pictish kingdoms occupied the four provinces of Atholl; Fortrenn (Strathearn and Menteith); Fife; and Girginn (Angus and the Mearns), that is to say the area which I believe Bede means to indicate by his expression *intra montes*, and I believe that it was to these Picts that Bede means us to understand that Ninian first preached Christianity. Incidentally it would be the most likely area from every point of view where missionary preaching in a Pictish tongue would be likely to begin.

It may be urged in support of this area that in the passage immediately following Bede goes on to speak of the mission of St. Columba to the Northern Picts, mentioning that his arrival in Britain from Ireland took place in the ninth year of the reign of Bridius, the son of Meilochon, "a most powerful king" (*rege potentissimo*); from Adamnan's Life of St. Columba we know that the seat of Bride was at Inverness, and that the druid Broichan was a great power at his court, and an inveterate opponent of the saint. Broichan had, in fact, been responsible for the "fosterage" of Bride — had been what is described by Adamnan as his *nutricius*. The evidence would seem to suggest, therefore, that the Southern Picts were converted by Ninian, and that this took place "long before" (*multo ante tempore*) the conversion of the Picts north of the Mounth by St. Columba in the "provinces of the Northern Picts who are separated from the Southern Picts by steep and rugged mountains" (*provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis quae arduis atque horrentibus montium iugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratae*). This would mean that the mission of St. Ninian was "long before" 565. We may presume from this that it was not later than the fifth century — and this conclusion receives some support from other evidence.

Bede, however, tells us more than this. He tells us that Ninian's (? or the British) episcopal seat (*sedes*) was named after St. Martin, and that it was famous for, or distinguished by, its church (*ecclesia*). He does not say that the actual

church was dedicated,¹¹ or perhaps we should say called after, St. Martin, but the *sedes*, "see." In Irish records the monastic establishment is spoken of as *Tig Mherthain*, "Martin's House." Bede also adds that the Church, which contains the relics of Ninian himself and other saints, is, at the time of his writing, in the possession of the English, and that the monastic settlement (*locus*) extends to, or belongs to (*pertinens*), the province of Bernicia. Finally he tells us that the monastic settlement is known as *Candida Casa*, because he built there a church of stone which is unusual among the Britons.¹² It is important to note that while Bede speaks of the monastery (*locus*) as existing in his own day, he gives no evidence that it existed in the time of Ninian, though it may have done so. We must remember, however, that if the early date (in the late fourth century) were to be accepted for Ninian, it would be most unlikely that we could look for anything in the nature of a developed monastic establishment. If, on the other hand, we place the saint's activities much later, a monastic settlement is not impossible, but we cannot have it both ways.

Again it must be pointed out that there is nothing in this account which justifies us in assuming that Ninian's original missionary activities took place in Galloway, and the distinction which Bede makes in our passage between the Picts and the British seems to me to be against such an interpretation.¹³ Bede seems to say that the stone church was traditionally built in the lifetime of Ninian. This is not

11 On this point see A. B. Scott, *S. Ninian* (London, 1916, p. 47 ff.), where an interesting discussion is given on the nature of early dedications. According to Scott the Western Church, at this time, was dedicated to martyrs only; and he points out that St. Martin's successor at Tours dedicated the chapel erected at Martin's tomb, not to St. Martin, but to St. Stephen. The point is one into which I am not qualified to enter fully; but it is a striking fact that, as Scott points out, no spot in the neighbourhood of Whithorn bears Martin's name.

12 W. D. Simpson is sceptical as to the scarcity of stone churches among the Britons, and has some interesting comments on the excellence of the stone technique among the Britons of this period. *Op. cit.*, p. 79. See, however, p. 17 below.

13 Anderson points out that "Bede and the 'Miracula Nynie' (cf. p. 6 below) separate Candida Casa from the Pietish territory in which Ninian taught, but do not indicate that there was a great distance between the two regions." *Op. cit.*, p. 42 f. I think that Anderson is right in this.

necessarily the case, though it is not impossible. The tradition of working stone, begun doubtless in Roman times, was particularly well developed and persistent in South-Western Scotland. What is clearly stated is that the episcopal see (whenever this was instituted) was in Bede's day at a place known as Candida Casa; that it contained a fine church, built of stone; and that in Bede's own day the see and the church were situated in English territory, apparently in Bernicia; and that the name of St. Martin was there commemorated. It is natural to identify the site with Candida Casa in Galloway; but from the fact that Candida Casa was known as the *Magnum Monasterium* in Irish sources it is tempting to ask whether it is not a secondary foundation, and if there was not originally a smaller monastic foundation elsewhere—perhaps nearer the centre of Ninian's missionary activities among the southern Picts? It may be remarked here, however, that neither in written records nor in oral tradition is the distinction between the Southern Picts and the Britons always rigidly adhered to, and there would have been nothing strange apparently in Ninian's mission among the Picts expanding to the British. The rock of Dumbarton was the great stronghold of the Strathclyde British. It is the traditional home of Ceredig Gwledeg, almost certainly identical with the Coroticus to whom St. Patrick dedicated his famous letter of protest. But under the name Altcluyd it is spoken of¹⁴ as the home of the Pictish chieftain, Caw of Pritdin, Caw of Pictavia. Ninian himself is merely described by Bede as a "most holy man and bishop of the British nation."

Perhaps the most striking of Bede's statements about Ninian is that he had been "regularly" (*regulariter*) instructed in the faith at Rome. This has always been understood to mean that St. Ninian visited Rome himself, and this Bede no doubt himself believed. The word *regulariter*

¹⁴ The *Vita Gildae* by the Monk of Ruys, edited by Hugh Williams in his *Gildae De Excidio Britanniae* (London, 1899), p. 322. Caw is here and elsewhere said to be the father of the theologian Gildas. Cf. cap. 27 of the *Vita Sancti Cadoci*, edited and translated by A. W. Wade-Evans in *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944).

probably means that the form of Christian usage taught by Ninian was thoroughly up-to-date and orthodox according to Roman usage. There had been Christians in Britain in Roman times, and there is no reason to suppose that Christianity had wholly died out by the time of which Bede is speaking; but the troubles of the close of the fourth century would have rendered communications difficult, and it is not at all impossible that irregularities had developed in British Christianity. A mission such as that ascribed to St. Ninian may have been in the nature of a reform rather than a conversion from actual heathenism. We find St. Patrick twice referring to the "apostate Picts," and other terms of abuse of the wickedness of the Picts suggest the horror of the orthodox for the unorthodox rather than for the heathen, who commonly receive more toleration. This question is, however, one into which it would not be possible to enter here with any degree of fulness, though I shall have something more to say later about it, as well as about Ninian's journey to Rome. It may be added here, however, that both Ralegh Radford and W. D. Simpson¹⁵ (cf. p. 9 above) regard Ninian's mission as a part of the Romanising civil policy of the closing phase of the occupation, and hold that it was "a measure of imperial policy directed to a Romanised population outside the frontier"; and Radford cites the Rhuys Life of Gildas¹⁶ from a later period as giving a similarly Christian picture of Strathclyde c. 500—the time of the Saint's birth. Bede certainly states definitely that Ninian converted the Southern Picts from idolatry; but it is very much to be doubted that he was using the term in its technical sense.

Before we leave Bede's account a word may be said as to date. The foundation of the *locus* is Galloway, and its association with St. Martin. have been assumed to point to a date probably not long after the saint's lifetime. St. Martin died about 397. That he was known in this country before the close of the Roman period is not impossible in view of

¹⁵ W. D. Simpson, *St. Ninian*, p. 94 f.

¹⁶ *Ed. cit.*

the strange fact that his *Vita* ("Life") was apparently begun during his own lifetime. But though there are other early dedications to St. Martin in this country, none can be shown to be earlier than the late sixth century. The little church which Bede mentions¹⁷ as dedicated to St. Martin, situated on the west side of the city of Canterbury, and built while the Romans were still in Britain, and still in use in the time of St. Augustine, was not necessarily, or even probably, dedicated to St. Martin already in the Roman period.¹⁸ The early Christianity of Whithorn is supported, as all modern scholars are agreed,¹⁹ by the existence of memorial stones, both at Whithorn itself and at Kirkmadrine, also in Galloway; but these cannot be certainly dated to the time of St. Martin, or even the early fifth century, and none have so far been found to bear signs of close association with either St. Martin or St. Ninian. We know that Tours was later made a metropolitan see, and it is doubtless to St. Martin's enhanced prestige that we owe the introduction of his cult into this country. I shall discuss this point more fully towards the close of my article.

Two other points come in for consideration here. The first is that, if Ninian did in fact go to Rome, the journey is not very likely to have taken place after about 475 or 6, when the Goths finally got possession of Auvergne, the last corner of Gaul still in Roman hands; or much before the death of St. Martin in or about 397. The second is the reference to the building of the stone church. Bede only gives it as tradition that the stone church was built by Ninian,²⁰ and his reference to the bishopric (*sedes*) obviously

17 *H.E.*, I., 26.

18 I am indebted to the Rev. Owen Chadwick for first awakening a doubt in my mind as to the early date assigned to the Martin foundation at Canterbury.

19 See W. Levison, "An Eighth Century Poem on St. Ninian," in *Antiquity*, Vol. XIV. (1940), p. 280; A. O. Anderson. "Ninian and the Southern Picts" (*Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII., 1948, p. 25). Unfortunately the dating of the so-called "Pictish symbol stones" from eastern and central Scotland must be regarded as still a matter of considerable uncertainty.

20 Cf. A. O. Anderson, *op cit.*, p. 27: "This may mean that the Church at Whithorn had been dedicated to St. Martin at any time between A.D. 397 and 731."

has reference to later times.²¹ The translation of the relics of the saint to the stone church and the episcopal see may similarly have taken place much later. Such a procedure would be in accordance with custom when the see of Whit-horn became prominent. But there is nevertheless one consideration which, slight though it is, cannot be overlooked in regard to the tradition that a stone church was built about the time of Ninian, and this is the sudden rise of stone church building in Europe about this time, and notably in connection with the cult of St. Martin. We have a number of delightful references in the letters of St. Martin's biographer, Sulpicius Severus, to the building of stone churches by himself in southern Gaul, and especially to one great ecclesia which he dedicated to the saint, and which contained a fresco of Martin's favourite disciple Claire. So also in the letters of St. Paulinus of Nola to his friend, this same Sulpicius Severus, we have detailed descriptions of the great ecclesia which Paulinus built at Nola; and although this was dedicated to the local saint Felix, whose shrine it honoured, it formed a part of a monastic establishment of which St. Paulinus was the founder and the head, and which he modelled avowedly on that of St. Martin at Tours.

There can be no possible doubt, in view of the testimony of the letters, that the churches of Sulpicius were inspired by the work of St. Paulinus at Nola. But the church building of Paulinus was, in its turn, greatly stimulated, and indeed probably originally inspired, by the church building of his friend, and visitor, St. Niketas of Remisiana, the modern Bela (Ak-) Palanka in Moesia Superior some thirty miles to the south of the Danube. We have some interesting references in the letters and poems of St. Paulinus relating to the latter, and describing his own building operations to his friend. It is interesting to reflect that it is in connection with the cult of St. Martin that the building of stone churches seems to have taken its rise in Gaul; and it is perhaps no accident that St. Martin is stated in the biography

²¹ See Bede, *H.E.*, V., 23. We do not know what grounds Bede had for his belief that Ninian was buried at Candida Casa.

referred to above to have come from Dacia, the Roman province to the north of the Danube. His home was therefore at no great distance from that of St. Niketas himself. The district in which Remisiana was situated was under Greek political rule, but Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and it is probable that it is to Greek cultural influence that we owe this rise of a more ambitious building technique. Whatever its origin, however, it is just possible that its appearance in Bede's account of St. Ninian is a piece of genuine tradition, associated from the beginning with the cult of St. Martin from whom the *locus* at Whithorn is said to have taken its name. This does not, however, necessarily imply that the building or dedication were contemporary with the saint. Both, as I have already suggested, may well have been later.

Bede's History was finished in 731, at a time when Whithorn had passed from British to Northumbrian (Bernician) rule, and shortly after a bishopric had been established there, with Pethelm or Pecthelm²² as its first bishop, and Pehtwine as its third. As Plummer noted long ago,²³ and A. O. Anderson has recently reminded us,²⁴ these names are significant for their Pictish associations. Pecthelm was one of Bede's authorities, as Bede himself tells us (*H.E.*, V., 13, 18) and it is probable that it was from him that he derived his information about St. Ninian. He had been a monk or a deacon in Wessex with Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne, who died in 709 and doubtless obtained a literary training from him.²⁵ It is interesting to reflect that Pecthelm may therefore have been one of the examples of Pictish learning of which we have other evidence (cf. p. 20 below) and that his training was probably under an eminent master such as Aldhelm. Anderson points out that tradition had been broken by the passing of Galloway into Anglian (Bernician) hands; and that

²² Both forms of the name occur in the MSS. See *Bede Opera Historica*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1896), pp. 313, 320. *Pethelm* means "protector of the Picts"; *Pehtwine*, "friend of the Picts."

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 43.

²⁵ See Plummer, *loc. cit.*, and the references there cited.

" Bede had, so far as is known, no personal contact with Galloway. But he had some contact with the Strathmore kingdom of the Picts (Fortrin, in middle Perthshire), and could therefore speak more confidently of what he had heard about the monastic and ecclesiastical affairs of that country." But the fact of his communications with Pecthelm surely suggests that he must have known a good deal about the affairs of Whithorn at first-hand. It is probably the length of time which had elapsed rather than the locality which causes him to speak with caution.

In addition to the account of St. Ninian given by Bede, historians have been accustomed in the past to make use of a much later " Life " of the saint written by St. Ailred of Rievaulx (1154-1186). Ailred spent much of his youth at the court of David I., and seems to have frequently visited Scotland, probably coming to Galloway in 1159, and certainly in 1165.²⁶ He would therefore have excellent opportunities of consulting any records or oral traditions which might have been preserved there. The latter could have had little value at this late date unless they had been supplemented by reference from time to time to written records—a procedure which must have frequently taken place in a period when writing was not a very common acquisition, but a procedure which is too often overlooked by modern historians. But Ailred tells us himself that as a source for his " Life," in addition to the passage from Bede quoted above, he had made use of a book of the life and miracles of St. Ninian,²⁷ written in a barbarous style,²⁸ which, he says, gives a fuller account than Bede. This book, adds Ailred, recounts in historical manner²⁹ the beginning and course of the saint's work³⁰ It would be interesting to know if the book to which Ailred refers can have been a work written, or perhaps inspired by Pecthelm. But

26 See the *Life of St. Waldef* by Jocelyn of Furness. For this and other information and references relating to St. Ailred see the valuable article, " Ailred of Rievaulx," by F. M. Powicke, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Vol. 6 (1921-2), p. 310 ff. See especially pp. 337, 457, 480.

27 The form of the name given by Ailred is Ninianus.

28 " barbario scriptus " (" barbarice," *Aberdeen Breviary*).

29 " Historico more."

30 Ailred, " *Vita Niniani*," edited by A. P. Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* (Edinburgh, 1874), *Præfatio*, ad fin.

such a supposition is not absolutely necessary, for we have other references ("in veteribus Pictorum libris") to the "Books of the Picts,"³¹ such as, e.g., that in the document—not in itself a trustworthy document—contained in the late Legend of St. Andrew.³² It is not clearly stated whether Ailred's source was written in a Celtic or Latin tongue, and the former is not impossible; but in an important article on the Sources for the "Life" of St. Ninian the German scholar, Karl Strecker, has shown strong grounds for believing the language to have been Latin.³³

It is commonly stated that the see of Whithorn disappears after 805, when we last hear of Baldwulf, the last Saxon bishop;³⁴ but this is not necessarily, or even probably, the case.³⁵ The book referred to by Ailred was probably, however, written before this time. The diocese was restored in or shortly before 1128³⁶ not very long before Ailred's birth. Its barbaric style and general form were not found suitable by a later age, and it is probable that the second bishop of the revived diocese, Bishop Christian (1154-1186), suggested the production of another "Life" more in accordance with the literary taste and hagiology of the time. As Ailred professes to have supplemented the information given by Bede with this old book it is important to see what information Ailred gives us, apart from the miracles, which is not found in Bede. This additional matter is, in my

31 See *Early Scotland* by the late Professor H. M. Chadwick where reference is made (pp. 3, 28) to the books of the Cruithnig in connection with the earliest list of Pictish kings contained in certain early documents. Cf. also p. 1 above.

32 The text is printed by W. F. Skene. *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* (Edinburgh, 1867), p. lviii.

33 "Zu den Quellen für das Leben des hl. Ninian," in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, Vol. XLII. (1920-1922), p. 1 ff. See especially pp. 6, 15 f.

34 See Plummer, *loc. cit.*, and the references there cited.

35 Mr P. Hunter Blair has pointed out to me that the evidence commonly adduced in favour of the disappearance of the see is negative—the absence of later names. But this need not mean any more than that the list of bishops falls for the period after Baldwulf. Mr Blair has also called my attention to an important note by K. Sisam, who has shown good ground for believing that the see was not discontinued immediately after Baldwulf's death. See his article, "Cynewulf and his Poetry," note 10. published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1932. p. 326.

36 See Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 281 and note 2. and the references there cited.

opinion, somewhat more extensive and more important than Levison realised.

This additional information may be summarised briefly as follows:

In the first place Ailred tells us that Ninian's father was a king and a Christian. It would hardly be consonant with Ailred's main purpose to exalt Ninian as the first to convert the Southern Picts from idolatry if he should have invented this detail of the former Christianity of Ninian's father, and we may safely assume that it is a genuine tradition from the earlier book. Indeed Bede's statement that Ninian went to Rome to be trained *regulariter* almost implies a tradition that he had belonged to a family which was Christian and at least wealthy and powerful if not actually royal. It should be added that the Bollandists object to Ailred's attribution of royal parentage to Ninian on the ground that royal parentage is liberally bestowed on the saints in their legendary biographies, and hold that it does not necessarily mean more than the petty chiefs of provinces, of whom St. Jerome tells us Britain had many.³⁷ This is true in some measure; but I am convinced that the term *tyrannus*, of which St. Jerome and Gildas make use, is simply the nearest Latin equivalent which they could find to translate the Celtic (British) *tigernus*, "lord," "chieftain," and means no more than an unconstitutional monarch, that is to say, a ruler without a written code of laws, such as the Celtic chieftains were. Britain, as St. Jerome (? citing Porphyry) rightly observes, was largely ruled by such chiefs in so far as it lay outside the Roman power. But it must be pointed out that the term "king" in Celtic sources has very limited scope. Ireland had many kings in the earliest literary records, and there is nothing improbable in Ailred's attribution of a royal father to Ninian, though Levison regards it as "probably a legendary addition."³⁸

The second important statement made by Ailred which

37 "Fertilis provincia tyrannorum," Porphyrius *ap.* Hieronym. *Ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag.*, XLIII. See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, Vol. I. (Oxford, 1869), p. 12.

38 *Op. cit.*, p. 287.

is not found in Bede is the visit which Ninian is said to have paid to St. Martin of Tours while passing through Gaul on his return journey from Rome. The visit is said to have been prompted by the "Life" of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus referred to above, which is said to have been already published. Ninian is said to have begged and received stone masons from St. Martin for the church which he proposed to build at home. On his return he proceeded to "pluck up what had been badly planted, to scatter what had been badly gathered, to destroy what had been badly constructed. And when the minds of the faithful had been purged of all errors, he began to lay in them the foundation of a sincere faith." This again does not look like an initial conversion, but a reform. Ailred goes on immediately to tell us that he selected for himself a site in the place "which is now called Witerna."

Whence did Ailred get this account of the visit to Tours? Was it in the old book which he tells us he is using, or has he built up this somewhat elaborate structure from the fact of the foundation of the *locus* at Whithorn bearing the name of Martin? It should be noted that Ailred knew the "Life" of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus, and states that it was already published before Ninian left Rome, and that it was as a result of the publicity given to Martin by this work that Ninian visited him in Gaul. Ailred knew that the "Life" was published shortly before the death of Martin, and suggests that Ninian had had an opportunity of reading it or hearing of its contents in Rome. He may therefore have derived the idea of the building of stone churches as an element in the cult of St. Martin from the "Life"; and the statement by Bede that Ninian was trained in Rome may have suggested the visit on the homeward journey through Gaul, and the borrowing of the stone masons from Tours. We shall see later that there is additional reason to regard this as the probable origin of Ailred's story.

The two remaining contributions of Ailred to the story of Ninian are personal in character. The first is the name of the king *Tuduvallus* who is said to rule over the region

which contained Whithorn. And here it is interesting to note that Ailred seems almost to have anticipated the objection of the Bollandists by what looks like a quotation from St. Jerome, for he tells us that "The whole Island lay subject to diverse kings."³⁹ The name *Tuduvallus* is of special interest. In later times it occurs in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba,⁴⁰ written at the end of the seventh century, as the name (*Tothail*) of the father of Rhydderch, who ruled Altcluyd "the rock of Cluith" or Dumbarton. Rhydderch is spoken of by Adamnan as a friend of Columba himself. The name *Tothail* perhaps contains the family epithet *hael*⁴¹ in its final syllable. The older name by which Rhydderch was known was Rhydderch Hen, "the old," but in other sources he is commonly known as Rhydderch Hael, and it is not impossible that the *hael* has been transferred to him from his father, though this is not necessarily the case. This Tothail is, of course, too late for the time of Ninian; but in the text of the Harleian genealogies of Hywel the Good⁴² a man of this name (*Tutagual*) appears as the grandson of Maxen Guletic. The only name certainly identifiable on this genealogy is that of Mermin Mawr, whose death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster in 682. Reckoning by generations, therefore, our Tudval may have lived about 400, and may be identified with Ninian's king.⁴³

The final statement peculiar to Ailred is the story of Ninian's journey "with one of his brethren then alive, also a most holy person, by name Plebia" (*cum suo aliquando fratre, viro eque sanctissimo, Plebia nomine*).⁴⁴ It does not appear to me to be clear from the context whether Plebia was a brother in the flesh or a brother in religion only. Levi-

39 "Nam tota insula diversis regibus divisa subjacuit" (cap. 4).

40 Book I., cap. 15.

41 He is mentioned with Nudd and Mordaf as one of the "Tri hael Ynys Prydain" (*Triads* I., 8; II., 32; III., 30).

42 See A. W. Wade-Evans, Nennius's *History of the Britons* (London, 1938), p. 104. A. Anscombe, "Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies," in *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, Vols. I-III., pass. J. Loth, "Les Mabinogion," Vol. II. (Paris, 1913), p. 326 ff. Another text of the same genealogies occurs in Jesus Coll. MSS. 20, no. XIX. One generation has been omitted in the Harleian text immediately before Mermin.

43 See H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland*, p. 146.

44 *Vita*, cap. 9.

son appears to understand it in the former sense:⁴⁵ but I do not think he can be right in his suggestion that the name is perhaps connected with the Latin *plebs*,⁴⁶ though I will postpone my reasons till later.

Bede and Ailred are not our only sources of information about St. Ninian, however. From time to time scholars have made reference to two poems known as the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* and the *Hymnus Sancti Nynie Episcopi*, which were edited nearly thirty years ago by Karl Strecker, the Professor of medieval Latin philology at Berlin, in the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*;⁴⁷ and Strecker also wrote the important article on the texts already cited (p. 20, footnote 33 above). These texts and the articles place the problem of Ninian in a new light. They make it clear that both the poems and Ailred were making use of the same lost "Life" of the Saint — undoubtedly the "Book in the barbarous style" to which Ailred refers. The poems are very much earlier than the work of Ailred, almost certainly not later than the eighth century, and perhaps earlier. A comparison of their contents with Ailred's *Vita* of Ninian is therefore of value in carrying us back to the contents of this earlier "Life" in the "barbarous tongue," and so to a fuller knowledge of the earliest tradition of Ninian. Such a comparison, and a number of important considerations to which it gives rise, have been published by the late Wilhelm Levison in an extremely interesting and important article, entitled "An Eighth-Century Poem on St. Ninian," in *Antiquity*, Vol. XIV. (1940), p. 280 ff. While we may venture to differ from some of Levison's conclusions in regard to detail, I am glad to acknowledge our great debt to him. No student of Ninian can afford to proceed without careful consideration of what Levison has written.

There can be little doubt that the two poems in question are to be identified with two poems mentioned in an eighth century letter of Alcuin to the brethren of Candida Casa,

⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 289.

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*, note 16.

⁴⁷ "Miracula Nyniæ Episcopi," in *Poetæ Latini Ævi Carolini*, Vol. IV. (1923), p. 943 ff.

in which Alcuin states that he is sending a present to the body of the holy *Niniga*, asks them to pray for him in the church of *Niniga*, and mentions his miracles, of which knowledge had come to him from poems recently sent to him from his pupils, the scholars of the Church at York.⁴⁸ Alcuin was a friend of Aedilbert who held the see of Whithorn from 777-790, but no name is mentioned in the letter, so it may have been written to him during this period, or to a later bishop of the see, between 782, when Alcuin went to stay with Charlemagne, and 804, the date of Alcuin's own death. The poems on Ninian are preserved in a collection of texts in a MS. at Bamberg which also contains a copy of an anthology (*florilegium*) of four books collected by Alcuin himself.⁴⁹ The association of the "Ninian" poems with Alcuin is therefore more than hinted at by the compiler of this part of the MS., which was written in the tenth century. The two poems are believed to have been written by the same author. The *Hymn* gives no new facts regarding Ninian, but is of interest for the dating provided by its imitation of Bede.⁵⁰

The *Miracula* is much more interesting. The work is composed in hexameters, 504 in number, and divided into 14 chapters, which are after the same fashion as those of Bede.⁵¹ The subject matter is the life of Ninian and the miracles worked after his death, and in a number of instances (which are pointed out by Strecker) these are taken from other earlier Christian poems, from Anglo-Latin poetry, from the works of Aldhelm, and from Bede's metrical "Life of St. Cuthbert," the latter composed between 705 and 716. The poet must, therefore, belong to the eighth century. The knowledge of the works of Aldhelm and of Bede is to be

48 See Strecker, *Neues Archiv*, Vol. XLII., p. 7.

49 *Ib.*, p. 25.

50 The "Hymn" is composed of 27 elegiac couplets, in which the second part of each pentameter repeats the first half of the preceding hexameter. The distichs each begin with one of the 23 letters of the alphabet and with the four letters of "Amen." In this artifice the poet followed the model of the poem in honour of Queen Æthelthryth which Bede inserted in his *History* (IV., 20).

51 "Even the headings of the chapters are on Bede's pattern" (Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

accounted for doubtless by the fact that the first Saxon bishop of Whithorn, Pecthelm,⁵² was for long attached to Aldhelm at Malmesbury, and was also a friend of Bede. The author was writing at Whithorn, for in several verses he refers to the place and district as "noster," "our" (vv. 21, 82, 99, 324). He is of especial interest as one of the very early writers of poetry in Scotland, for he was composing only very shortly after Adamnan at Iona.

It was pointed out by Strecker⁵³ that this Latin poem on the *Miracula*, i.e., the Life of Ninian, and on his miracles (including those which took place after his death) and the later Life by Ailred, both made use of a common source, the same text, which is undoubtedly the "Book in the barbaric tongue" referred to by Ailred. In fact both follow it closely, not only in regard to the actual events and miracles recorded, but also in details within the actual chapters recording these events. Even the order of the incidents related is, in general, the same, though the poet, like Bede, places the Pictish mission immediately after Ninian's return from Rome, whereas Ailred relates the conversion of the Picts after the account of the building of the church at *Witerna*, probably because from the point of view of his purpose in writing the biography the establishment at Whithorn was looked upon as the outstanding feature of Ninian's work, and placed in the forefront accordingly. The general agreement in regard to the order of events as a whole, however, of course gives weight to those details recorded by Ailred which are not found in Bede, for it carries the tradition back four hundred years to the time when the poem was composed; and, in regard to the common features, to the time of the ancient book to which Ailred refers. Strecker's detailed comparison of the *Miracula* with Ailred's account shows a close correspondence even in regard to actual phraseology, and gives added weight to the arguments in favour of the lost original "Life" having been composed in Latin.

⁵² He became the first bishop of the See of Candida Casa shortly before 731 (See Bede, *H.E.*, V., 23).

⁵³ *Neues Archiv*, Vol. XLII., p. 9 ff.

The principal points of identity and of difference between the poem and Ailred are summarised by Levison in the easily accessible article to which I have already referred, and I will only refer here to some points of special interest. First the agreements.

1. It must be mentioned that the poem also mentions the British king by name as *Thuvahel* in the heading of cap. 4, as *Tudvael* in l. 104, thus confirming Ailred's detail in this respect.

2. The poem also relates an incident—which is also found in Ailred—of a cripple boy who was healed by night through lying at the saint's tomb, and who was afterwards tonsured and lived in the service of Ninian's church, though the poem alone gives his name, *Pethgils* (doubtless for *Pehtgils*, *Pectgils*).⁵⁴ The name itself is of particular interest, since the first element contains the word "Pict," and the story itself has features in common with Norse stories of similar cures for which the older Norse literature has no evidence, and which may possibly be derived from a Pictish or other Scottish source.⁵⁵ In any case it is interesting to find this third instance of a man with the element *Pict-* in his name as an inmate of the Church of Ninian at Whithorn.

Ailred differs from the poem in several respects.

1. The poem makes no reference to Ninian's descent from a noble family (*haut ignobili familia*), or that his father was a king (*pater eius rex fuit*).⁵⁶

2. The poem says nothing of a visit to Tours, or of the masons who, according to Ailred, were brought by Ninian to introduce methods of Roman church building, or that—as stated by Ailred—Ninian, on hearing of the death of Martin, dedicated his church in his honour.⁵⁷ It is, as Levison observes, unthinkable that the poet would have omitted this important link with the great saint of Tours if

⁵⁴ So Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 286, note 12.

⁵⁵ Levison compares the cure with the "incubation" of antiquity, where the patient is cured during sleep in a temple associated with Asclepius or some other deified hero.

⁵⁶ Ailred, *Vita*, cap. 1.

⁵⁷ "Ipsam ecclesiam in ejus honore studuit dedicare" (*Vita Niniani*, cap. 3).

he had found it in his source, and we may safely assume that it is an invention of Ailred himself—or a not unreasonable deduction from what he had read in Bede, together with the information supplied by Sulpicius Severus. We must therefore abandon the precise date of Ninian's journey to Rome—if such a journey did, in fact, take place—and be satisfied with the safe deduction that his activity coincided with the first half of the fifth century.

The form of the saint's name, which has become popularised as *Ninian(us)*, the late Latinised form used by Ailred, is given in the eighth century form in the poem as *Nynie* in the genitive,⁵⁸ *Niniam* in the accusative, which correspond with Bede's ablative form *Nynia*. The name occurs twice in the nominative as *Nyniga*, and *Ninia*.⁵⁹ Levison suggests that these forms may be a correction of the copyist; for in two other lines the form is given as *Nyniau*,⁶⁰ which would correspond with the British form of the name *Nynnyaw*. To this latter form also I shall return later. But here I quote Anderson's note that "*Nyniau* . . . might perhaps have been an eighth-century pronunciation of an earlier **Ninia* found in writing If it were a genuine eighth-century word, passed down in oral tradition, with stress-accent on the last syllable, it could be traced back to **Ninia*—with a lost final syllable (*-vos, -gos, -sos). It is difficult to guess what the lost syllable would have been, but it could not have been -*nos*."⁶¹

There is, however, one very important difference between the narrative of Ailred and the Poem in the phrase defining the Picts converted by Ninian, and it is in regard to this passage that we are most heavily indebted to Levison. Ailred calls them the *australes Pictes*, following Bede. The poet, in the heading of his third chapter, instead of *australes* has *naturæ*. The passage is as follows:

58 "as a Latin —'Ia'— stem; but an —'Ia'— stem can hardly be masculine in Latin, and in Celtic would be definitely feminine," A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

59 "which looks like an O.E. masculine nominative, but is actually in the genitive case. Probably —iga— is a manner of writing —ija," *ib.*

60 Strecker's edition, ll., 171, 402.

61 A. O. Anderson, *loc. cit.*

" Quomodo patriam reversus Pictorum nationes, quae naturæ dicuntur, Christi convertit ad gratiam."

The passage, as Levison points out, is corrupt in the unique MS., and Strecker did not find a suitable emendation. Levison, however, points out that in the anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert, written by a monk of Lindisfarne between 698 and 705, Cuthbert is said to have made a voyage by ship from Melrose,⁶²

" Cum duobus fratribus pergens et navigans ad terram Pictorum, ubi dicitur *Niuduera* regio, prospere pervenerunt,"

and he tells us further that their return was delayed for some days by a storm at sea.

Bede, in repeating this story in his own " Life of St. Cuthbert,"⁶³ has the phrase:

" Ad terram Pictorum, qui Niduari vocantur, navigando pervenit."

As Levison points out, these Picts who could be reached from Melrose in a few days *navigando*, evidently down the Tweed and by sea, dwelt no doubt in the eastern part of Scotland, perhaps in Fife or the neighbourhood.⁶⁴ The storm at sea which delayed their return may be said to support this conclusion, and other evidence which I hope to bring forward may, presently, I believe, be held to give additional support to it. I cannot agree with the etymology of the word *Niuduera* from Anglo-Saxon *neothe* — (*weard*), *nitha* — (*weard*), " down " (comparative *neothera nithera*, " lower "), in the sense of the Picts of the Lowlands as distinct from the Highlands, which Levison suggests. The

⁶² See the critical edition by B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940), Book II., cap. 4, p. 82.

⁶³ *Ib.*, cap. 11, p. 192.

⁶⁴ In the recent article by A. O. Anderson already cited the author himself is sceptical, and inclined to the conservative view which identified the Niduari with Picts (*sic*) on the R. Nith on the south-eastern border of Kirkcudbrightshire. *Loc. cit.*, p. 44 f. In his great work on *Early Sources of Scottish History* (Vol. I., Edinburgh, 1922, p. cxx. f., notes), however, he wrote: "Ninian had introduced Christianity into Galloway in Roman times, and also apparently into Strathmore, which seems to have been the country of the Southern Picts converted by him." I am in agreement with this earlier view.

earlier explanation suggested by Max Förster⁶⁵ that the word is connected with the River Nith in Dumfries is, to my mind, equally untenable. Indeed I find myself unable to accept any explanation of the name hitherto put forward. But there can, I think, be no doubt that Levison is right in identifying Bede's *Australes Picti* with the Picts of the poem, and in emending *Naturæ* to *Niduari* (for *Niudueri*). I have confidence also that he is right in his belief that the *Australes Picti* are the Picts of Fife, or its neighbourhood, though I do not believe that his suggested etymology or explanation of the word *Niuduera* is correct.

It is clear that Ailred and the author of the poem are both making use of a common source, and that this is the "barbarously written 'Life.'" Strecker was of the opinion⁶⁶ that not only Ailred and the *Miracula*, but Bede also derived his information from the lost "Life," and that perhaps this was sent to Bede by his friend, Bishop Pecthelm. Levison, however, was of the opinion that it cannot be much older than Bede and that the author lived in the time of the Northumbrian predominance, for with the exception of Ninian, his "brother" Plebia, and the British king Tudvaël, all the names have an English form, including those of which the first element is Pict—, e.g. Pethgils (i.e. Pectgils) and possibly Plecgils. He also holds that Bede had not seen the first "Life," for he says that he is dependent for what he says on tradition (*ut perhibent*), and he makes no mention of a written source. Levison contends that Bede, as a friend of Bishop Pecthelm, would have been in a position to hear of a written text if it had existed then. Moreover Levison gives as an additional reason for believing that the "Life" is later than Bede the fact that its author knew no more of Ninian than did Bede. He holds that the first "Life" was composed in the middle of the second part of the eighth century, and that the author had himself probably read Bede's account of Ninian, instead of being, as Strecker thought, Bede's source. It is in this way that

65 In *Englische Studien*, Vol. LVI. (1922), p. 213.

66 *Op. cit.*, p. 16 f.

Levison seeks to account for the coincidence between Bede and the lost "Life."

Levison is probably right in assigning the first "Life" to the period of the English predominance though it is not necessarily of so late a date as the middle of the eighth century. Again it seems to me by no means impossible that the book may have been in existence before Bede wrote, even though he may not have seen it, or even heard of it, and may still have got his information by word of mouth from Whithorn. Probably all the occupants of the monastery of Whithorn would be well grounded in the contents of the work by having heard it read aloud, or by oral instruction based ultimately, but not necessarily immediately, on the text. Not all would have read it for themselves, or have given much thought to it as a source of a body of saga on their local saint which must have had a flourishing life on all lips. Nor can I agree that the author knew no more of Ninian than Bede did. He may not have known very much more; but the two names Tudvael and Pectgils of the poem and Plebia in Ailred are by no means negligible. The first is the name of Ninian's king, and the second the hero of a story which has all the appearance of a local Pictish or possibly Welsh tradition. And what of Plebia? Ailred must have got *Plebia* from here too. Levison suggests that the name is perhaps connected with the Latin *plebs* (Welsh *plwyf*, "parish"); but this seems to me most improbable. I shall return to *Plebia* later.

Now unlike Levison Strecker held that Bede drew upon this lost "Life," which was doubtless brought to his notice, whether directly or indirectly, through his friend Pecthelm. He points out that the historical matter recorded by Bede corresponds exactly with what we know from the other sources to have been contained in this "Life." Ninian, a Briton, goes to Rome, is consecrated bishop by the Pope; converts the Southern Picts; founds Candida Casa—so named because built in a manner hitherto unknown to the Britons; "dedicates it" to St. Martin, and is buried there. Both narratives therefore contained exactly the same matter—

"no more, but no less." Strecker suggests that Bede has inserted this account at a later date in the middle of his narrative of St. Columba's Mission to the Northern Picts. I confess myself entirely in agreement with Strecker, and indeed the idea of the insertion had occurred to me independently. The wording of the passage makes it difficult to avoid such a conclusion unless we were to suggest that the passage about Ninian has been inserted by a later hand. It can hardly have been written by Bede in its present form in his first draft. This, at least, is how the passage appears to me; but the view is perhaps subjective.

The conclusions to which our study of the literary sources has brought us may be briefly summarised as follows. There existed, as Ailred claims, an old book which served as a source for Ailred himself, for the *Miracula*, and probably for Bede also. The work was probably composed in Latin. It contained a not inconsiderable body of saga and a number of proper names and details relating to Ninian and his milieu. It was probably composed shortly before Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* was completed, possibly by Bede's correspondent Pecthelm, but more probably by another hand, perhaps at his suggestion.

This earlier "Life" contained the account of Ninian's journey to Rome and his mission to the southern Picts, as well as to the Welsh of Strathclyde, whose king's name it placed on record. It also recorded the foundation of Candida Casa and the building of a stone church. It recorded the miracle of the cripple boy Pectgils, and that of Ninian and his brother Plebia, and other matter common to all sources, as outlined above.

In regard to the historicity of the original "Life" Strecker confines himself to the observation that it is very slender. He gives it as his opinion, moreover, that the account of the journey to Rome is a "plagiarism" (*Plagiat*) from other literary sources, more especially from Aldhelm, and he proves this literary indebtedness by a detailed comparison of a number of passages from Aldhelm and the *Miracula*, as well as from other parallel passages. There

can again be no doubt in my opinion that Strecker is right. Such literary indebtedness in the matter of style and description need not necessarily, of course, preclude a nucleus of fact in regard to the actual journey itself; but it certainly does not inspire confidence. The initial journey to Rome becomes a commonplace in the British hagiology of the Dark Ages. It reappears with no firmer foundation in relation to St. Patrick in the "Life" of Patrick by Muirchu Mac Maitheni, and in relation to Gildas in the Life of St. Cadoc—the latter based on old materials.

It is, however, very doubtful if the authority of Rome—in ecclesiastical matters—was at the time to which Ninian is assigned sufficiently recognised—as it undoubtedly was later—to call for such journeys and consecrations. It is important to note that no such claim is made for the Gaulish saints of the period whose biographies are almost contemporary and contain a larger proportion of material approximating to history. The "Lives" of St. Martin, St. Amator, and St. Germanus make no such claim, contenting themselves in all cases with local consecrations. Yet a "journey to Rome" for instruction *regulariter* would have been an easier and more natural course in all these cases. My own belief is that the "journey to Rome" arose as a hagiographical commonplace in this country some centuries later, more especially in the late seventh and the eighth centuries, when the Celtic Church had come under Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the biographers of the reformed Church were anxious to reinstate the early saints—who must have lost some of their lustre in the transition—in the circle of those whose orthodoxy was unimpeachable. The short cut to acceptance was to state roundly that they had been instructed in Rome "*regulariter*." This put beyond dispute both the prestige of the saint and of his monastic foundation. It may be suspected that the *Miracula* itself had its rise in some such motive.

The following facts are important:

1. We know of no bishop of Whithorn before Pecthelm, who was trained by St. Aldhelm (709) and we have no evidence for an earlier bishopric.

2. We have noticed a number of names containing the element "Pict" which suggests that the foundation was predominantly Celtic.
3. The majority of the proper names are Saxon.
4. Both Aldhelm and Bede were in close touch with Pecthelm, whose name, like that of the third bishop, is a combination of Celtic and Saxon words, the former meaning "protector of the Picts," the latter "friend of the Picts."
5. "Pict" was used by Medieval English (not Scottish) historians as a derogatory term for the inhabitants of Galloway. Some of these were undoubtedly Picts, but whether related to the Picts of Northern Scotland or to the Cruithnig (Picts) of Ulster is uncertain, though the latter is very probable in view of the close communication between the two areas.

Now Bede tells us⁶⁷ that an English bishopric had been founded at Whithorn apparently shortly before he completed his *Ecclesiastical History* in 731, and that his correspondent Pecthelm († 735) was its first bishop. Pecthelm had been a deacon and monk in Wessex with Aldhelm, the abbot of Malmesbury († 709). Pecthelm had therefore himself been trained by one of the most orthodox and intellectual members of the Roman Church in this country, and his correspondence with Bede shows that his close touch with the most highly intellectual elements in the Church continued as a living element in his work at Whithorn. Moreover the Roman Church took a special interest in Whithorn at this time. This is clear, not only from Bede's own statements, but also from the fact that St. Boniface, who probably knew Malmesbury, also wrote a letter to Pecthelm asking for information on a question of Canonical Law.⁶⁸ Pecthelm must have been a person of importance in the eyes of the orthodox party. Moreover we possess a letter from Alcuin addressed to the community later, in which he makes reference to a present which he is sending them and asks for their

67 *H.E.*, V., 23.

68 *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epist. Select.* I. (1916), p. 55, no. 32.

prayers. More important, he mentions poems sent to him from his pupils, the scholars of the Church at York, in which reference is made to the miracles of Ninian (*Nyniga*, *Nynia*). The letter may have been written while Alcuin's friend Aethelberht was bishop of Whithorn (777-790), or at a later period. Aethelberht was transferred from the see of Whithorn to that of Hexham in 790, and his successor, Baldwulf, was installed in 791, and we hear no more of him after 803. Alcuin's letter must in any case have been written between c. 782, when he left England, and 804, the year of his death. But for us its importance lies in the additional testimony which it affords to the importance attached to Whithorn in the eighth century, and especially to the contact with York, to which it bears testimony. It is clear, therefore, that during the eighth century Whithorn was anything but a backwater or an outpost. It was in direct communication with the greatest thinkers of the Age—Aldhelm, Saint Boniface, Bede and Alcuin, and with the great ecclesiastical centres of Malmesbury, York, Jarrow, to say nothing of Rome. It was evidently a focal point, to which all eyes were turned throughout the eighth century, and its first bishop Pecthelm with his Saxon title and his Gaelic responsibilities ("Piet—guardian") was evidently carefully chosen and trained for his work. The tradition continued to the third bishop Pectwine. After that the purely Saxon element supervenes, and we may presume the Roman Church party has become completely naturalised. But the most striking fact is that the see seems to have practically begun with the eighth century. At this period this remote western peninsula, separated by only a narrow strait from Ireland, was of the first importance to the English Church. Why? After 803 we hear practically nothing more of the see of Whithorn till its restoration in 1128, and some time in the same century we have a new "Life" of St. Ninian, probably inspired by the ecclesiastical policy of the Scottish King, David I.

I suggest, therefore, that the lost "Life" was composed at the suggestion of bishop Pecthelm (possibly ulti-

mately at the suggestion of St. Aldhelm), and that Pecthelm was himself installed under English auspices, literally as the head (*helm*, "protector") of a community of "Picts," the "magnum monasterium" which, certainly, was very well known to Irish historians of the period. I suggest that his appointment took place as a part of the policy of the reformed Roman Church in Northumbria, and that the site was of especial importance to them because of its key position in relation to the Celtic West, especially Northern Ireland and Iona, which were slow to come over to the Roman "usage." I suggest that the lost "Life of St. Ninian" was composed to inculcate a belief in the orthodoxy of the original founder, whose name, puzzling on any explanation, is perhaps an adjectival epithet for the first incumbent of the monastery, as we know it to have been used later. Its connection with Mo-Ninna is obvious, and with Nennius very probable.

Now we know that Nectan mac Der Ile,⁶⁹ king of the Southern Picts, whose seat was probably in Angus, had been in friendly contact with the Anglo-Roman Church since early in the century, and that he had sent an embassy to bishop Ceolfrith of Jarrow to make enquiries about the correct date of Easter and the Roman form of the tonsure. Ceolfrith replied in 713 by a letter to Nectan, and Nectan sent copies to all the clerics in the land of the Picts with an order of obedience to its behests. It is important to bear in mind that Bede must have been in the monastery of Jarrow at this time. The community founded by St. Columba on Iona refused to comply, and in 717 the *Annals of Tigernach* and the *Annals of Ulster* record the expulsion of the Clergy of Iona "across Druim Alban."⁷⁰ That is to say, Nectan expelled them from the kingdom of the southern Picts and they were forced to return to Iona, only to find that Iona also had gone over to the Anglo-Roman Church, and the English Ecgberht was in charge of the monastery, where he

⁶⁹ He is stated in the *Annals of Tigernach* to have entered a monastery in 724.

⁷⁰ "Expulsio familie Iæ trans dorsum Britannie a Nectano rege," s.a. 717.

remained till his death in 729. It was this same Ecgberht who, together with Adamnan, had won over northern Ireland, after nearly a century of resistance, to Roman usage, and who in 718 succeeded in finally overcoming the resistance of the community of Iona. I suggest that the part played by Pecthelm at Whithorn was analogous to that of Ecgberht.

So far we have devoted our attention only to those notices of St. Ninian which can be shown to go back to early written sources. Before concluding, it may be of some interest to consider some later notices of the saint and his contemporaries which can make no such claim, and are obviously derived from saga, or oral prose tradition. Such evidence, though less valuable, seems to me to be not wholly negligible, and may perhaps, if used with sufficient caution, serve to supplement in some slight measure the evidence already considered. In so far as it relates to St. Ninian himself it is to be found in Medieval Welsh sources. The most important is the Welsh prose story of *Culhwch and Olwen*, the composition of which is believed to date from the eleventh century. But the Book of Llandaff contains texts which seem to me to be relevant also, while the "Life of St. Cadoc," probably compiled about 1100, but containing much older material,⁷¹ has also something to contribute to our problem. We will consider first the passage from *Culhwch and Olwen*.

Among the tasks laid upon Culhwch by Yspadaddyn Penkawr is that of assembling "the two horned oxen, one of which is beyond Mynydd Bannawg, and the other on this side⁷² and to fetch them together in one plough. Nyniaw and Peibiaw are they, whom God transformed into oxen for

71 Text and translation by A. W. Wade-Evans in *Vitæ Sanctorum Britanniae* (Cardiff, 1944). See Introduction, p. x.

72 The phrases "beyond the Mounth" and "on this side of the Mounth" are commonly used in historical documents relating to the early period with reference to the Mountains which divided the northern from the southern Picts. Cf. "citra monoth," Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 19, 38, 48. Cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 12, footnotes.

their sins."⁷³ Ellis and Lloyd have a slightly different translation :

"The two *Ychen Bannog*, the one is on the farther side of *Mynydd Bannog*, and the other on this side. And to yoke them together to the same plough. These are they, Nynnyaw and Peibaw, whom God transformed into oxen for their sins."

The word *ychen* means "oxen" and *Mynydd* is mount. The word *Bannog* means "horned," when used as a common noun; but the use of the word *Bannauc* in the Welsh "Life of St. Cadoc" ⁷⁴ already referred to makes it clear that it is a proper name, and refers to an important mountain, or, to be more exact, mountain range, "situated in the centre of Scotland." As the saint is on his southward journey from St. Andrews, and while he is sojourning at a certain fort⁷⁵ which is "on this side of Mount Bannouc" (*citra montem Bannog*) he unearths the bones of a dead chieftain of gigantic size whose ghost appears later and declares that he had been a great and wicked chief by name Caw Pritdin ("Caw of the Land of the Picts") who had reigned for many years "beyond Mount Bannog" (*Ultra montem Bannauc*). I think, therefore, that we may probably take the double occurrence of the word in the passage from *Culhwch and Olwen* as a pun, the epithet of the oxen being "horned," while that of the mountain is a proper name, though it is not impossible that it is also used in its sense as a proper name in relation to the oxen—the two oxen of Bannog.⁷⁶ It is tempting to compare the local names of the two mountains in the Pass of Badenoch between Perthshire and Inverness-shire, which are known as the Boar and the Sow of Badenoch;

⁷³ I have adopted the translation by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, published by the Golden Cockerel Press in 1948.

⁷⁴ *Ed. cit.*, cap. 26. The *Vita* is believed to date from c. 1075.

⁷⁵ From a reference in ch. 33 we may perhaps surmise that the saint was in the sphere of influence of the "subregulus" Rhydderch, who ruled Alt-cluyd or Dumbarton. The fortress may have been at Cambuslang, not far away.

⁷⁶ I think we must reject the translation by J. Loth of Mount Bannoc as "the horned or peaked mountain" in view of the passage in the "Life of St. Cadoc," as well as in view of its inherent improbability. Note especially the almost certain pun on the epithet of the oxen. See J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Vol. I. (Paris, 1913), p. 302.

but this may have no true relevance. But is it philologically possible that the word *Badenoch* is etymologically connected with our *Bannauc*?⁷⁷ The Pass is the only way over the Mounth suitable for traffic, and the phrase *ultra montem Bannauc*⁷⁸ carries us back to the old expression used of the Mounth in all the early Scottish records. And we may compare Bede's phrase in relation to the Northern and the Southern Picts (p. 10 above).

In Chapter 36 of the same *Vita* reference is made to a monastery built of stone "long ago" by Cadoc "on this side of Mount Bannauc" (*citra montem Bannauc*) in the province of Lintheamine in Albania—i.e., undoubtedly Alba or Scotland. In all probability this is the same monastery as the one at which the *fantasma* Caw had assisted; but the additional reference to the Bannauc and the repetition of the phrase *citra montem* again suggests the Mounth. Caw, a northern Pict, had evidently been slain in a raid on the southern Picts, and it is evidently among the latter that Cadoc's chief missionary activities took place. From a reference in Chapter 33 it was perhaps in the sphere of political influence of the *subregulus* Rhydderch. Watson, who identifies the two monasteries,⁷⁹ suggests that Mons Bannauc is the hilly region, abounding in peaks, which forms the basin of the R. Carron in Stirlingshire, from the northern side of which the Bannock burn flows. He further identifies *Lintheamine* with *Lleuddiniawn*, the Welsh form of Lothian.

The passage from *Culhwch and Olwen* suggests, then, that Nynniaw and Peibiaw, one to the north and the other to the south of the Mounth, who had been transformed into oxen for their sins, were, before their transformation, two irreconcilable Pictish chiefs. Of troubled relations between the northern and the southern Picts we have an echo in the

⁷⁷ W. J. Watson, (*The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1926, p. 118) gives a different explanation; but it is not very satisfactory, and looks like a folk-etymology.

⁷⁸ Mrs Bromwich has called my attention to the occurrences of the phrase "tra bannauc" in *Canu Aneirin* XXII., B., l. 255, and Sir Ifor Williams's note in his edition of the text (Cardiff, 1938), p. 141 ("y wlad tu draw i fynydd Bannawg yn yr Alban"), and again in *Canu Llywarch Hen*, V., 7, to which Sir Ifor Williams has a full note and further references in his edition (Cardiff, 1935), p. 156 f.

⁷⁹ *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 195.

passage from the "Life of St. Cadoc" already referred to, in which the ghost of Caw of Pritdin, "Caw of Pictavia," tells the saint that he had been a "Great and wicked chief who had reigned for many years 'Beyond the Mounth,' " and that he had come down into the region in which St. Cadoc found him, that is to say the central lowlands, with troops of plunderers, pillaging and wasting till he and his men had been overcome and slain by the king of the region where St. Cadoc then was. The "wickedness" of the Picts was evidently proverbial, for in addition to Caw and to Nynniaw and Peibiaw we recall St. Patrick's two references to the wicked and apostate Picts in his *Letter to Coroticus* (caps. 2, 15). In fact the Picts never lived down their evil reputation, for Ailred tells us that the Devil had found rest in the heart of the Picts.⁸⁰ But what is the point of yoking the two sinful rulers of the northern and the southern Picts together as oxen, despite their feuds? Is it a typical story-teller's joke at the expense of the Church? We know that the extreme asceticism of the early Celtic Church, as represented, for example, in the "Life of St. David," demanded that the monks of his monastery should abstain from meat and strong drink, and should yoke themselves to the plough and do the work of oxen: *jugum ponunt in humeris*—"Each of them was an ox."⁸¹ We may remember that early Irish jokes have survived at the expense of the early unreformed type of Christians in Ireland, who were known as *geilt*, a word of doubtful significance, but apparently from a root meaning "to pasture." The most famous of the *geilt* stories is that of Suibhne Geilt,⁸² who may have been a member of the royal line of Dalriada before he was adopted into Irish literature as king of Dal Araidhe in Ulster.⁸³ But the *geilt* literature is much older than the

⁸⁰ *Vita*, cap. 6.

⁸¹ For references, see J. E. Lloyd. See especially the *Vita*, probably of eleventh century date, especially cap. 22 (ed. Wade-Evans, *Vitæ Sanctorum Britannicæ*, Cardiff, 1944).

⁸² See my article on "Geilt" in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Vol. V. (1942), p. 106 ff.

⁸³ See K. Jackson, "The Motive of the Threelfold Death in the Story of Suibhne Geilt" in *Essays and Studies presented to Professor E. MacNeill* (Dublin, 1940), p. 540 ff.

Suibhne story as we have it and occurs in very early poetry.

But who are Nynniaw and Peibiaw? I confess to a strong temptation to identify them with the Ninian and his brother *Plebia* in Ch. 9 of Ailred's narrative. Whether *Plebia* really figured in the lost "Life" is a matter which we do not certainly know,⁸⁴ since he is not mentioned in the poem; but I think there can be little doubt that Ailred derived the name and incident in which he figures from a traditional source, and that this source contained material identical with that of *Culhwch and Olwen*. I am unable to accept Levison's derivation from the Latin common noun *plebs*, and suggest very tentatively that the form given by Ailred is to be identified with the *Peibiau* of the Welsh story, the variation in the forms being scribal. Whether Ailred's form was derived from written or oral sources I am not in a position to say. But it is probable that native secular stories, closely akin to those of the *Mabinogion* and to *Culhwch and Olwen*, were current in Scotland during the Dark Ages, though no complete text appears to have survived. The "Life of St. Cadoc" indeed affords us an example of a text of approximately the same date as the *Culhwch and Olwen* which has certainly made use of stories closely akin to these. The story of Caw of Pritdin which it contains has close points of contact with this same secular story, for Caw also figures prominently in *Culhwch and Olwen* as a strong chief of Arthur's following, as taking part in the slaying of the witch Orddu, and as doing to death the giant Yspadaddyn Penkawr. His feat is, in fact, the climax of the story. He must have been a great Pictish hero, and the centre of a widely known Cycle of sagas. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has found his way into both the secular and the ecclesiastical narratives in question, especially as he is represented in several sources as the father of the great ecclesiastic Gildas.⁸⁵

Whatever we think of the identification of the names

⁸⁴ Levison, probably rightly, assumes that *Plebia* figured in the lost "Life."

⁸⁵ See the two *Vitæ* published by Hugh Williams, *Gildæ De Excidio Britannicæ* (London, 1899).

Peibiau and *Plebia*, it would seem probable that Welsh tradition supports Ailred and the poem in making Nynniau of royal birth, and locating him in Eastern Scotland. We have seen reason to suspect that this Welsh tradition also preserves a memory of them both, first as Pictish princes, and later as monastic churchmen. But this Welsh tradition is late. Have we any other corroborative evidence from Wales besides the "Life of St. Cadoc"? And have we any other ground besides *Culhwch and Olwen* for regarding *Peibiau* as the subject of ecclesiastical saga? I think we have. For his name occurs among the signatures of witnesses of more than one charter contained in the *Book of Llandaff*, where he is represented as the son of Erb,⁸⁶ king of Archenfield, the diocese of St. Dubricius, or Dyfrig. These charters cannot have been preserved in their original form, for they represent Dyfrig as bishop, and even as archbishop, of Llandaff—an obvious anachronism; but they testify to a tradition recorded in the twelfth century that *Pebiau* was regarded as king of Archenfield in the time of Dyfrig. Dyfrig himself is believed to have flourished during the sixth century.

The most interesting reference to King *Peibiau*, however, occurs in the "Life of St. Dubricius" contained in this same *Book of Llandaff*,⁸⁷ where the amount of detail related suggests the existence of an extensive saga relating to *Pebiau*—the form in which the name here occurs—though it is clear that the saga has not been related in full. *Pebiau* is here represented as the son of a certain *Erb*, king of *Erging* (later known as *Archenfield*), and as the grandfather of St. Dubricius, the *Dyfrig* of Welsh tradition. And *Pebiau*'s wife is a sister of King Arthur. *Pebiau* is represented as at first hostile to his daughter and to her son Dubricius, but as being brought to repentance by the saint, and as granting him land on which to found his church at Madley on the River Wye.

⁸⁶ The name looks like a form of *Serf* (L. *Servanus*), the name of the saint who, according to Scottish tradition, was already carrying on Christian instruction at Culross in Fife when Pope Celestine sent Palladius. This *Serf* was the fosterer and instructor of St. Kentigern (Mungo).

⁸⁷ *Ed. cit.*, p. 323 ff.

The story of the birth and family history of St. Dubricius bears a resemblance to the story of the birth and forebears of St. Kentigern⁸⁸ which is too close to be accidental. But the latter story is located in Lothian, and the saint is brought up at Culross on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth by St. Serf, that is to say, among the Southern Picts. St. Serf is said to have been already a Christian when he was found in Culross and instructed by St. Palladius, "the first bishop of the Irish" (*Scotti*), sent by Pope Celestine in 430. Incidentally the name of Pebiau's father *Erb* looks very much like that of *Serf*, with the loss of the aspirated initial letter in composition. It is not impossible that Serf may, in the original form of the story, have been the grandfather of his alumnus or fosterling Kentigern, or Mungo, as he is also called. In any case a careful comparison of the birth stories of St. Dyfrig and St. Kentigern leave little room to doubt their ultimate identity, and it would seem probable that here as in so many other early Welsh stories, a tradition originally proper to the Welsh (British) district of southern Scotland has travelled southwards and been localised at a later period in Wales. It should be added that Irish tradition⁸⁹ places St. Serf at Culross, and describes his mother as a Pictish princess, while the Latin "Life"⁹⁰ records a prophecy which assigns Fife—one of the kingdoms of the Southern Picts—to his followers. Again, therefore, the traditions relating to Pebiau support the notice of *Kulhwch and Olwen* which seems to present Niniau and Pebiau as two "wicked" Pictish princes who were ultimately reformed under monastic discipline.

⁸⁸ The *Annals Cambrie* record the death of Conthigernus in 612-613. We possess two versions of the story, the first by Jocelyn, a monk of Furness Abbey, who wrote in the twelfth century; the second an anonymous fragment, also dating from the twelfth century, but believed to have been composed about twenty-five years earlier than that of Jocelyn. The Latin texts and an English translation, together with a valuable introduction, are given by A. P. Forbes, *The Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern* (Edinburgh, 1874).

⁸⁹ *Book of Lecan*, fo. 43 bb; cf the *Book of Ballymote*, fo. 214.

⁹⁰ See A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 128; cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 258.

Let us return to the more serious matters of history. Are we to reject the whole story of St. Ninian as apocryphal, the creation of the eighth century? I very much doubt it. We have a considerable mass of floating legend of British saints of the fifth and sixth centuries which cannot be regarded as historical as they stand, but which is by no means negligible as material for history. This material is extremely difficult to deal with, and little attention has been given to it hitherto, and even the kind of critical apparatus which it requires is still unborn. But the earliest stratum of legend relating to the Celtic saints must have had a historical origin. Invention is unthinkable. Undoubtedly in most cases, and almost certainly in that of St. Ninian, this early stratum has been greatly obscured, and extensively enlarged in the seventh and eighth centuries, to bring it into accordance with the hagiographical standards of the later period. It is only by a patient critical study of the sources and the contemporary historical conditions that we can hope to acquire some knowledge of the original form of the tradition.

In the meantime we are not left wholly without light in the darkness. Early tradition has associated the name of St. Ninian with the earliest phase of Christianity in the North, namely, that of the Southern Picts. The balance of evidence points to the Picts of Fife and Angus as the most important body of Southern Picts at the beginning of the historical period, and as most probably figuring in the nucleus of the legend, having themselves a close liaison with the British of Strathclyde. It is known that the Christianity of the Southern Picts, the Picts of Angus, traditionally converted in the fifth century, perhaps under King Nechtan I., underwent a fundamental reform under King Nechtan IV. of the same region, and that the latter king joined his influence with that of the Bernicians to persuade the Celtic Church of Western Scotland to conform to the Roman rule. I am inclined to suspect that just as Iona was induced to accept the Roman reckoning of Easter and the Roman form of tonsure⁹¹ by joint pressure exerted from

⁹¹ The *Annals of Tigernach*, note "s.a." 718: "Tonsura coronæ super familliam læ datur."

Anglian centres through the instrumentality of Ecgbert—an Anglian bishop in Ireland—simultaneously with Pictish pressure exerted by Nechtan IV. from Angus, so the early Christian culture centre already in existence in Galloway—as the early Christian tombstones seem to suggest—was subjected to a similar Pictish pressure under the Saxon bishop Pecthelm and this same Nechtan.

The motive which prompted Nechtan to throw in his lot with the Bernicians is a matter for interesting speculation. Perhaps he hoped, backed by Anglian support, to conquer Argyll and the Picts of Fortrenn, perhaps Northern Pictavia. This is a question into which we cannot enter here. But I think we may suspect Nechtan of being connected in some way with the foundation of Whithorn, a foundation which seems to have taken place at some date not distant from that at which Nechtan dismissed his non-conforming clergy to Iona, that is to say about 717. There must have been a strong motive for calling the first bishop of Whithorn about this time “Guardian of the Picts.” Was it a branch establishment of reformed Anglo-Roman Picts from Abernethy or Abercorn?—a *magnum monasterium* which in time came to eclipse an earlier foundation elsewhere, as Marmoutier, another *magnum monasterium*, superseded its humbler forerunner at Ligugé?

The question is bound up with another equally obscure. Was a Pictish community brought from Angus to form the eighth century foundation at Whithorn under the pioneer Pecthelm? Or is the epithet “Guardian of the Picts” to be ascribed rather to the needs of immigrants from the *Cruithnig*, as the Picts of Ireland are called in historical records? It is significant that the name *Pecthelm* is Saxon in form, as are the names of his successors, including *Pectwine*, “Friend of the Picts.” Perhaps the most urgent question is the history of the term *Picti* as applied to the inhabitants of Galloway by medieval chroniclers. We have no evidence in Celtic records for Scottish Picts in Galloway in early times.

Whatever the origin of the Picts of Galloway, it is

certain that with the supersession of the Picts of Fife and Angus—the ancient “Southern Picts”—by Gaelic influence from the Irish kingdom of Argyll, the Picts of Galloway would gradually come to be thought of as the “Southern Picts,” and the traditional associations of St. Ninian with the “Southern Picts” would tend to converge on Galloway. How early did this transference begin? The question again cannot be answered without fuller investigation. But in the meantime it is perhaps significant that no early dedications to either St. Martin or St. Ninian have survived in the neighbourhood of Whithorn, and as yet we have no evidence for a connection of either saint with the district which can certainly be held to be earlier than the eighth century.

A glance at the earliest evidence for dedications to St. Martin elsewhere in our islands lends significance to this consideration.⁹² Bede tells us⁹³ that Bertha, the wife of King Aethelberht of Kent, was a Christian, and used to worship in a church on the east side of the city of Canterbury. He tells us further that the church had been built while the Romans were still in Britain, and that it was dedicated to St. Martin. It is important to note, however, that he does not say that the church had been dedicated to St. Martin already in Roman times, and it is probable that this was not the case. Bertha was a Merovingian Frank, a daughter of Charibert who reigned at Paris, and the most natural explanation of the dedication is that she herself had the little church in which she worshipped dedicated to St. Martin, whose cult, centred at Tours, was extremely flourishing. It is doubtless due to the same cause that the “porticus” in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury was also dedicated to St. Martin, for here both Queen Bertha and King Aethelberht were buried, and also Bertha’s Frankish chaplain Liudhard.⁹⁴

Aethelberht had married Bertha before 588, and he died in 616. The two dedications to St. Martin are therefore

⁹² I am following the list given by W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), Appendix V., p. 259.

⁹³ *H.E.*, I., 26.

⁹⁴ *H.E.*, II., 5.

probably to be ascribed to the latter part of the sixth century, and, of course, to the direct influence of the Roman Church in Gaul. It is interesting to note that we have no other dedications to St. Martin till we come to King Wihtraed of Kent (690-725), who is stated on good early authority to have built a minster at Dover and to have dedicated it to St. Martin.⁹⁵ The church here ascribed to Wihtraed is almost certainly to be identified with the church at Dover mentioned among the Kentish churches as having received grants from Wihtraed in a charter thought⁹⁶ to date from between 696 and 716. Again we have in Kent an "oratorium" near Lyminge mentioned in a grant ascribed to Aethelberht II. (748-762).⁹⁷ Finally there is mention of an "ecclesia" of St. Martin near the River Axe in Somerset in a grant of land by Bishop Fortere of Sherborne to Aldberht, Abbot of Glastonbury, ascribed to a period between 718 and 723.⁹⁸

It would seem probable, therefore, that the cult of St. Martin was first introduced into Kent by the Merovingian princess Bertha, towards the close of the sixth century, and revived or reintroduced in the early part of the eighth century as an element in the policy of the Anglo-Roman Church. It is to this latter period and movement that I would ascribe the association of the name of St. Martin with Whithorn, perhaps through the influence of Pecthelm of Malmesbury. The Somerset grant would suggest that this is not improbable, and I suspect that the outcrop of dedications to St. Martin at this late date is to be ascribed ultimately, like those of St. Germanus (Garmon), to the struggle for supremacy between the two great shrines of these saints in Gaul, Tours

⁹⁵ See the Anglo-Saxon document edited by Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, p. 7, and compare the royal genealogies appended to Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle* (edited by Petrie, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, I., 635).

⁹⁶ Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London, 1885), Vol. I., no. 91.

⁹⁷ *Ib.* I., no. 160. Birch and Kemble regarded this charter as genuine.

⁹⁸ Birch I., no. 128. J. Armitage Robinson regarded this charter as genuine. See his *Somerset Historical Essays* (published by the British Academy, 1921), p. 34. It may be added that the church at Wareham dedicated to St. Martin, and still standing, belongs to the late Saxon period, and cannot, on its present site on top of the rampart believed to be Saxon, represent an earlier foundation.

and Auxerre respectively—the latter supported by the ancient metropolitan see of Lyons. But this is a fascinating chapter of Gaulish ecclesiastical history into which I cannot enter here.

Apart from Whithorn we have no other early associations with St. Martin north of Somerset. The favourite dedication of the Anglo-Roman Church in Northumberland was St. Peter.⁹⁹ To him was dedicated the important cathedral church at York; the church of Bamburgh; the church of Lindisfarne consecrated by Archbishop Theodore, as well as a church attached to a monastery near Lindisfarne; the monasteries of Ripon; of Wearmouth; of Whitby; and a "porticus" in the monastery of Beverley.¹⁰⁰ When the Pictish king Nechtan IV. sent his famous mission to Abbot Ceolfrith, he asked for architects to build a church of stone in his nation in the Roman style, promising to dedicate it to St. Peter¹⁰¹—a promise which it seems he fulfilled.¹⁰² In the light of these facts, and especially of Nechtan's adoption of St. Peter as the patron saint of the Southern Picts, a special interest attaches to the famous slab found near Whithorn, and ascribed to the eighth century,¹⁰³ inscribed with a cross, and bearing the legend: "*(L)oc(us) Sti Petri Apustoli*," "The monastery¹⁰⁴ of St. Peter; or, according to a later reading: "*(L)ogi T Petri Apustoli*,"¹⁰⁵ which seems to mean: "The seal of the lodging of Peter the Apostle," and is thought to have probably been erected to mark the inclusion of Whithorn into the Roman obedience.

My suggestion is, then, that the cult of St. Ninian had passed from eastern Scotland to Galloway under the influence of Nechtan IV. early in the eighth century, perhaps about

99 I am indebted to Mr P. Hunter Blair for calling my attention to the importance of St. Peter in the eighth century Northumbrian dedications and to the Whithorn slab referred to below.

100 For this list, see W. Levison, *loc. cit.*

101 "In honorem beati apostolorum principis dedicandam," Bede, *H. E.*, V., 21.

102 *Ib.*, *ad fin.*

103 See W. G. Collingwood, and R. C. Reid, *Whithorn Priory* (London, 1928), p. 9.

104 *Locus* was regularly used for a monastery in early ecclesiastical Latin.

105 R. A. S. Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptorum Insularum Celticarum* (Dublin, 1945), p. 497 ff.

717, perhaps claiming also a transfer of relics. Bede tells us that the bones of the saint rested there. Perhaps a small Pictish community may have accompanied the transfer. Such a transference, or rather extension of a saint's sphere,¹⁰⁶ and change of his principal site, would not be strange. It has been suggested that something of the kind may have taken place in connection with St. Patrick, and perhaps under analogous circumstances, and not long before Pecthelm's time. The question is hotly disputed,¹⁰⁷; but St. Patrick may possibly have been originally a comparatively obscure saint of southern Ireland whose cult was deliberately developed in the north in the interests of the see of Armagh when (in 697) the latter entered into the *unitas catholica*. Certainly St. Kentigern, originally from Lothian, according to tradition, is associated with Hoddam in Dumfriesshire, and still more with Glasgow. Indeed the "Life" of the saint by Jocelyn was manifestly written in the interests of the Church of Glasgow, and it is this latter association which has prevailed, and wholly superseded the prestige of Hoddam.

Nechtan IV. was undoubtedly the most powerful of the Pictish kings in his own day, and his kingdom of Girginn (Angus and the Mearns, or Forfar and Kincardine) had for some time been the most powerful Pictish kingdom. But even the Northern Picts are traditionally stated to have taken an interest in Christian communities of the Western Isles. Bede tells us¹⁰⁸ that the great Dalriadic Christian sanctuary of Iona had been granted to St. Columba by Bride of Inverness, whom he describes as *rex potentissimus*. The notice is important as seeming to indicate that the Inner Hebrides were at this time in the possession of the Northern Picts. And when we reflect that Columba was closely related to the high-kings of Ireland, and that the Irish kingdom of Argyll under its king, Aedan mac Gabrain, Columba's friend, was

¹⁰⁶ So Zimmer, *The Early Celtic Church* (translated by A. Meyer, London, 1902), p. 79 ff.

¹⁰⁷ For a learned and careful refutation of Zimmer's suggestions, see John Gwynn, *Liber Ardmachanus: The Book of Armagh* (Dublin, 1913), p. xcvi. ff. Neither verdict can be regarded as final.

¹⁰⁸ *H.E.*, Book III., 4.

rapidly becoming a rival of the Northern Picts, we may well believe that Bride had good reasons to court the favour of the powerful royal presbyter of Iona. Indeed, Iona rapidly became a key-point in Pictish politics, as is clear to anyone familiar with Irish and Scottish records. But strong forces were at work further south. Nechtan IV. also had excellent reason to fear the ever-growing limits of Dalriadic power, and the coincidence of his union with the Bernicians in the time of Abbot Ceolfrith of Monkwearmouth, and his expulsion of the Columban clergy to Iona in 717, can be no accident. The date, it is important to note, practically coincides also with the conformity of Iona, by the persuasion of the same Ecgbert who had similarly converted the northern Irish, to the Roman date of Easter.

It can be no accident that Whithorn — situated, like Iona, in the far west—leaps into prominence about the same time, and—also like Iona—that it clearly became a key-point, as later Irish records show, between Ireland and Scotland. Here for about a century after the disastrous expedition of Dalriada under Domnall Brecc in 642 the Britons held complete supremacy, and we hear nothing of aggression from either Dalriada or the Northern Picts. It was wholly in the interests of the Southern Picts (of Angus and Fife, etc.) to consolidate this *status quo*, and this could undoubtedly best be done by union with Bernicia, both political and cultural, and the formation of a strong rival to Iona in the south-west. The discrediting of the foundation of Iona, still essentially a part of the Celtic Church even after the reform of Ecgbert in 718, and the establishment of a rival foundation in British territory under Pictish auspices and a Pictish-British saint—"instructed in Rome *regulariter*," was a master-stroke in eighth century Pictish policy.

I do not claim that the course of events took place in all respects as I have suggested. Much more research needs to be done on both the political and the ecclesiastical background of the whole period of the early Celtic Church before we can hope to reach anything like reasonable clarity on the history of the early saints and the religious foundations tradi-

tionally associated with them. Especially necessary is a more extensive and a far more critical knowledge of the sources for the history of the various Celtic peoples concerned—the Irish, the Dalriadic Scots, the Picts, and the British of Lothian and Strathclyde. In the meantime we may take it that Nechtan's expulsion of the Columbian clergy in 717 coincided with the end of the prestige of Iona as the ecclesiastical centre of the Southern Picts and the head of the Celtic Church in Britain. The simultaneous foundation of the episcopacy of Whithorn, and the rising prestige of St. Ninian, the "apostle of the Southern Picts," is probably a direct result of this, and the roots of both may be looked for in the political hostility of the Southern Picts to the Northern Picts and the Dalriada Scots.

The dates of the composition of the *Vitæ* of the saints in question are significant. Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba" was probably composed between 692 and 697.¹⁰⁹ We have seen reason to suppose that the lost "Life" of St. Ninian probably belongs to the episcopacy of Whithorn under Pecthelm about 717. It was probably composed for the express purpose of superseding Adamnan's work. A similar relationship probably exists between the "Life" of St. Ninian written in the second half of the twelfth century by St. Ailred of Rievaulx, who had a special interest in Whithorn, and the two "Lives" of St. Kentigern, also composed in the twelfth century, the latter in the interests of the Church of Glasgow. And just as St. Ailred's claim that he was making use of an ancient source is now known to be true, so Jocelyn's similar claim, expressed unequivocally in his Preface, is probably equally sound. The *Aberdeen Breviary* seems to hint at a certain Baldred, dwelling in Lothian, whose *obit* the *Chronicle of Melrose* places in 756, and who had been a contemporary of St. Kentigern, as the probable author. If so, his work would probably represent the challenge of the Strathclyde Welsh to supersede both the Irish and the Pictish foundations—a claim which would inevitably be made at this period, and which was renewed in the twelfth century, when

109 So J. T. Fowler, *Adamnani Vita S. Columbæ* (Oxford, 1920), p. 75.

Galloway was still ecclesiastically under Anglian authority.

It is probably no accident that the two earliest "Lives" of St. Patrick—those of Muirchu and Tirechan—are thought to have been composed at a date not far from that of the acquiescence of the See of Armagh in the Roman rule in regard to Easter, that is to say in connection with the events of 697.¹¹⁰ There can, I think, be little doubt that their object was similarly to justify and strengthen the claim of Armagh to the primacy, and to establish on a firm basis the newly accepted Anglo-Roman "rule." It may perhaps be worth pointing out that the work of Nennius, believed to have been compiled by him from earlier sources about the year 900, claims that he was writing as a disciple of Elvoddw, who seems to have been the Elfoddw, who, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, induced the Welsh to adopt the Roman calculation of Easter in 768, and who died in 809. In the *Annales Cambriæ* he is styled archbishop of Gwynedd, and as he is the only archbishop so styled, and there are indications that his claim to supremacy was disputed,¹¹¹ it is not improbable that the claim was again directly connected with the part which he had played in bringing the Welsh Church into conformity with the Anglo-Roman style. Did Nennius compile the *Historia Brittonum* at the suggestion of Elfoddw? Like the biographers of Ninian and Kentigern he has made use of an earlier "Life"—the "Life of St. Germanus"—of which the object was manifestly to uphold the orthodox Roman faith against the opposition of the "wicked" native prince Vortigern. It is probably as a part of the propaganda in favour of Elfoddw's policy that Vortigern is here hopelessly discredited, and even represented as a descendant of a slave, despite the official pedigree on the so-called "Pillar" or Cross-shaft of Eliseg in the Valle Crucis near Llangollen, according to which he is a son-in-law

¹¹⁰ Bury suggests not later than 699 for Part I. of Muirchu's "Life." See J. B. Bury's *Life of St. Patrick* (London, 1905), p. 255 f. So also N. J. D. White, "St. Patrick: His Writings and Life" (London, 1920), p. 68. The date, it is suggested, is fixed by the death of Bishop Aedh of Sletty, to whom Part I. of Muirchu's "Life" is dedicated.

¹¹¹ See Zimmer, *The Early Celtic Church*, translated by A. Meyer (London, 1902), p. 62.

of the Emperor Maximus, and himself of aristocratic origin. We may well suspect, for this and other reasons, that the work of Nennius was undertaken as a part of the cultural and religious movement inaugurated during the seventh and eighth centuries by the Anglo-Roman Church in Britain and beyond her borders.

Whatever is thought of these suggestions—and they can, of course, be no more than suggestions—there can be no doubt that the composition of the new series of the *Vitæ* during the late seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries must have played a very important part in the gradual substitution of the Anglo-Roman form of Christianity for that of the Celtic Church. The utilisation of the earlier Celtic originals was only one element in the humane and intelligent method which distinguished the Roman Church in Britain at this time, and which carried out a wide and fundamental reform without persecution or bloodshed. It is in accordance with the clear-eyed intellectual outlook of this highly cultured Anglo-Roman party that political influence was used both as a means and also as an end in the ecclesiastical policy. We shall probably not be far wrong, therefore, in associating with the eighth century struggle for political power in southern Scotland the *Vitæ* of the three saints, Ninian, Columba, and Kentigern—Pictish, Irish, and Welsh—all probably composed within about half a century of one another, and preserving some precious memories of a former age. We cannot accept all that they tell us, but neither can we reject anything without a reverent scrutiny. Even the earliest and most shadowy of them, St. Ninian, may well have had memorable mention in the earliest local lists or ecclesiastical documents—“*in veteris Pictorum libris.*”

ARTICLE 2.

Prolegomena to a Study of the Lowlands.

By A. W. WADE-EVANS.

It is questionable whether Britons were the only occupants of the Lowlands of Scotland in the fourth century. The general assumption is that, whoever else may have dwelt between the Walls, there were as yet no "English," that these only arrived later by way of a hostile invasion from the sea with much fighting and expulsion of Britons westwards (for which I can find not a scrap of proof), Ida of Bernicia being acclaimed chief invader. Ida, however, whose reign began in 547, was no invader, but a descendant in the seventh generation from one Beornec,¹ whose name seems to connect him with the Brigantes; in other words, Ida's ancestors in Britain are traceable at least to the early fourth century. Similarly, not one of the ancestors of the kings of Deira is remembered as an invader, but rather the contrary. For we find a remarkable notice that Soemil, sixth ancestor of Edwin, who died in 633² detached Deira from Bernicia, indicating that early in the fifth century these two divisions already existed. We shall find some evidence also that Frisians or Jutes occupied "very many districts" from near the Wall of Hadrian right up to the borders of the Picts, which seems to be confirmed by the name of Dumfries, "the Fort of the Frisians" in the south-west, and *Litus Fresicum*,³ "the Frisian Shore," on the Firth of Forth, to the north-east.

Moreover, that Valentia, that is, the fifth Britain added to the other four by Count Theodosius in 369, could not possibly⁴ have been situated between the Walls, and even that the very idea originated with the forgery of Bertram of Copenhagen in 1757, is also questionable. Because over

1 *Nennius*, 57.

2 *ib.*, 61. In this essay I retain the conventional dates.

3 *Jocelyn's Kentigern*, 8.

4 *Collingwood, Roman Britain*, 286.

five centuries before Bertram's time, Giraldus Cambrensis⁵ found evidence in the papal archives at Rome, that Valentia was to the north, beyond Maxima, and in Scotland. Whatever of this, I submit that with the Revolt of Maximus in 383 the Lowlands were well within the Roman orbit and that the inhabitants comprised people of Frisian or English speech as well as British or Welsh.

The "tribes" which occupied the Lowlands in the second century, namely, the Novantæ, the Selgovæ, the Dumnonii, the Votadini, and (a portion of) the Brigantes, had lost their identities, and were replaced by new divisions, including Strathclyde, Aeron, Rheged (to the West), Goddau (in the centre), Manaw and Eiddyn (to the north-east),⁶ whilst "Brigantes" survived in Bernicia. It is true that the name of the Votadini lived on in that of the small district of Manaw Gododdin, i.e., *Manava Votadinorum*, to the west of Eiddyn, but it must not be supposed from this that the Votadini themselves survived any more than the Selgovæ or the rest. The poem called *Y Gododdin* by Aneirin was composed about A.D. 600, at a time when the old land of the Votadini was divided between Lothian (a principality at that date but recently formed)⁷ and Bernicia, so that the term could hardly be more to him than a poetical reminiscence.

It would appear that, when Maximus in 383 withdrew the Roman garrison from the Wall, he left the defence of the Lowlands (as too cityless portions of Wales and the West Country) in the hands of irregular native levies under friendly princes. This served to throw the Lowlands back for support on what regular troops were to the south of them and to bind the whole of the North together in close array against the pressure of Picts and Scots. For it is to be noted that Roman Britain had now begun to fall apart

5 *De invectionibus*, c. 1205 (W. S. Davies, *Y Cymmrodor*, xxx., 130).

6 *Strathclyde*, Ystrad Clud, Clydesdale; Aeron, Ayr (shire); Rheged, round Dun Ragit; Goddau "forest" (of the Selgovæ); Manaw or Manann, cf. *Slámannan Moor*, also *Clackmannan*; Eiddyn, round Edinburgh and Carriden.

7 As Lleuddin, after whom Lleuddinion or Lothian is named, was grandfather of St Kentigern (died 614), his *floruit* may be assigned to the mid-sixth century (Bonedd y Saint, 14/V.S.B., 320).

into its natural divisions, to wit, the North (including the Lowlands), the West, and the South-East.

Maximus, in short, left military leaders in charge of Wales and Cornwall as too of the Isle of Man, who in the pedigrees are affiliated to him in the following fashion: N.-W. Wales, Constantine, son of Maximus;⁸ Powys, Vortigern, his son-in-law;⁹ S.-W. Wales, Dimet, his son;¹⁰ S.-E. Wales, Owain, his son;¹¹ Cornwall, Cynan, his wife's brother;¹² and the Isle of Man, his son Antonius.¹³ He would seem to have done the same in the North, for in a pedigree attached to the ancestors of St. Patrick, where significantly it is attempted to deduce his origin from the Jutes or Frisians, we find mention of a certain Leo, son of Maximus. This Leo is made to be the father of Muric or Moiric and the grandfather of Octa.¹⁴

Among the princes of the North who were friendly to Maximus must be reckoned those of Strathclyde, who seem to have been established at Dumbarton, possibly from the days of Septimius Severus,¹⁵ and include Roman names; a still more ancient line to the south of them,¹⁶ also including Roman names, from Kyle in modern Ayrshire, "Aeron," to Galloway, "Dun Ragit"; and those in the little district of Manaw of the Gododdin,¹⁷ claiming descent from the same ancestor as the last, who in the fourth century bear the suggestive names of Tacitus, father of Paternus (surnamed Paisrudd "of the red tunic," pointing to some Roman office), father of Eternus, father of Cunedda, who was styled *gwledig*, i.e., ruler in a Roman sense. To these friendly princes must be added lines of "English" princes,¹⁸ the

8 Custennin m. Maxen Wledic (*Y Cymm.*, viii., 86) Cf. *Nennius*, p. 49.

9 *Nennius*, p. 34.

10 Harl. Ped. II.; *ib.*, p. 103.

11 V.S.B., 118.

12 Jesus Coll. Ped. XI. (*Y Cymm.*, viii., 86); "The Origin of Cornwall" (*Notes and Queries*, Vol. 193, pp. 289-292).

13 Harl. Ped. IV. (*Nennius*, p. 104).

14 Eriu, vi., 117-120.

15 Harl. Ped. V. (*Nennius*, pp. 104-5).

16 Harl. Peds. VIII.-XII., XIX. (*ib.*, pp. 105-6, 110).

17 Harl. Ped. I. (*ib.*, pp. 101-2).

18 *Nennius*, 57, 61.

early ancestors of Ida of Bernicia and Aelle of Deira. All the above were grouped together as Nordi, Gwyr y Gogledd, "Men of the North."

According to the *de excidio Britanniae*¹⁹ there occurred between the Revolt of Maximus in 383 and the final withdrawal from Britain of the Roman garrison [in 407] two invasions on a grand scale of the Picts and Scots. The author associates these two invasions with the two Walls, and gives full rein to his imagination. One detects in his narrative the influence of professional story-tellers. It is possible, however, to glean from what he says that the provincials were out to protect the island right up to the Wall of Antonine. To meet the first invasion they were forced to call in the aid of the garrison, which brought up a "legio"²⁰ (whatever this term then meant) and cleared the land of the intruders. A second invasion on a grand scale then took place, the help of the regular troops was again invoked, and there arrived cavalry and also a fleet,²¹ which once more repelled the invaders. Evidently the North was unable by its own efforts to withstand such concerted attacks of Picts and Scots.

Nevertheless, as we learn from Nennius,²² it was within this very period that the North came to the help of the West, which shows plainly that the pressure of Picts and Scots on the Lowlands could not have been so overwhelming as the

19 This work, consisting of 26 sections, prefaced by a Table of Contents, and closed with a formal ending (now inserted in the *Epistola Gildae*), dates itself as having been written 193 years after the alleged arrival of the English in Britain for the first time. They landed in three ships and were afterwards joined by a second batch in more ships. This constitutes the one and only English invasion known to the author, who is able to date his own nativity from its occurrence. For the English proved aggressive for exactly 150 years, when they were finally checked at the Siege of the Badonic Hill in the very year in which he was born. As the arrival is made to take place a considerable interval after the letter to Aëtius in 446 and as *Bellum Badonis* is noted in the Welsh *Annales* at 665 (Nennius, p. 91), it follows that by the arrival of the English he means the admission of Jutes into the Romano-British canton of Venta Belgarum (Winchester) in 514; that by their final check at Badon Hill he refers to an unrecorded victory (of Cenwalh, king) of the Gewisse, over the Jutes at one of the Badburys in Wessex; and that by his own age he is writing "Of the Loss of Britain," in 708.

20 *de excidio*, 15.

21 *ib.*, 17.

22 c. 62. The event is given as having occurred 146 years before Maelgwn reigned, by which one may suppose that it was inaugurated thus early though not completed till later.

author of the *de excidio* would have it. For it was at this time that Cunedda and his sons left Manaw of the Gododdin for Wales, where they drove out the Scots with considerable slaughter. They effected coastal settlements in Wales, four²³ between the Clwyd and the Conwy, a deeper hinterland being acquired here than elsewhere; one²⁴ on the eastern horn of Anglesey; four²⁵ in Cardigan Bay from St. Tudwal's Isles to Cardigan; and two²⁶ on the South Welsh coast in the Bristol Channel. This would indicate that Cunedda came by sea, having first (so I suggest) gathered round him followers from different parts, calling themselves Cymry, i.e., compatriots. They assembled, it may be, round Carlisle,²⁷ where they left their name in Cumberland, and sailed southwards. That they were encouraged in their endeavours seems evident from Cunedda's style as *gwledig*; and that all this took place or began to take place under Stilicho and in conjunction with the pacification of Roman Britain undertaken by him is not impossible.

Moreover, as Cunedda came and settled in Wales to expel Irish intruders, so there is room to believe that Bernicians also, in the Roman service, from the Lowlands sailed south for a like purpose, directing their course up the Severn Sea, where they entered the Romano-British canton of Venta Belgarum (Winchester) on the Somerset coast and established a dynasty under Gewis,²⁸ the eponym of the Gewisse, whose pedigree makes him to descend from the ancestry of the kings of Bernicia. Later, a great-grandson of Cunedda Wledig, named Glast,²⁹ effects an entrance, presumably peace-

23 Rhos, coastal region between the Clwyd and the Conwy, below which, inland, are Rhufoniog, Dogfeiling and Edeirnion.

24 Ysfeilion round Llanfaes.

25 Aflwgion, Dunoding, Meirionnydd and Ceredigion.

26 Cydweli and Gower.

27 For a reference to Carlisle, where Cunedda is also named, in a poem ascribed to Taliesin, see *Y Cymm.* xxviii., 209.

28 Preface, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A). One may suppose too, that at this time the Hwicce established themselves in the territoria of Glevum (Gloucester) and of Corinium Dobunorum (Cirencester). It may be suggested that their name points to Wig, the father of Gewis.

29 See "The Origin of Glastonbury" (*Notes and Queries*, vol. 193, pp. 134-5).

ful, in this same canton, and leaves his name at far-famed Glastonbury.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the Lowlands to the north-east were abandoned. They were not only able to send succour to the West, but also equally able to defend themselves. Along the south side of the Firth of Forth they remained strong enough to resist Pictish assaults, their defenders in these parts being evidently the men who held *Urbs Giudi*³⁰ or Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth (the eastern counterpart of Dumbarton on the Clyde) and who possibly occupied what was known as *Litus Fresicum*, the Frisian Shore. In short, as Britons defended the Lowlands in the Clyde, so Frisians or Jutes defended them in the Forth.

In the meantime, in 407, the Roman garrison had left Britain for good under the usurper, Constantine III. The following year the provincials rebelled against Constantine, and drove out his officials, so that henceforth there was no longer any Vicar in Britain, or Duke, or Count, or *consularis* or *præses*. They also took up arms on their own account and successfully repelled an incursion of Saxons³¹ from the continent, after which they renewed their allegiance to Honorius. In 410 the emperor wrote letters to the cities of Britain, situated for the most part in the south-east from Exeter to York and from Wroxeter to Canterbury, bidding them to fend for themselves till fresh provision should be made.³² Thus the South-East drifted into autonomy just as the North (including the Lowlands) and the West had already done.

It is notable of the author of the *de excidio* that he

30 Bede, H.E. i., 12. Mr P. Hunter Blair doubts whether *urbs Giudi* was Inchkeith or any other island fortress. He would prefer to find it on the south shore of the Forth at Cramond or perhaps Inveresk (*The Origins of Northumbria*, reprint, 37). Without pronouncing on the matter I shall continue in this essay, for convenience, to equate it with Inchkeith. There is no evidence for associating *urbs Giudi* with Manaw Gododdin as the manner is.

31 C.M., i., 660. This Britannic repulsion in 408 of an over-sea attack by *Saxones* from the continent does not occupy the place it merits in our history books. It was the final attack of its kind recorded by contemporary writers. It freed Roman Britain once for all of a "Saxon" invasion on a grand scale, as the victories of Arthur and Octa after A.D. 446 freed it from a similar invasion on a grand scale of Picts and Scots.

32 Zosimus, vi., 6-10, M.H.B., lxxvii.

ascribes the miseries of Roman Britain at this time entirely to the raids of Picts and Scots, bearing down (as he asserts) on leaderless and defenceless citizens. But this is not so, for, as we have just seen, the provincials had successfully repelled continental invaders, and had set up a polity of their own under the rule of the cities. They had proved well able to look after themselves. There was far greater misery afoot than invasions of Picts and Scots. For Roman Britain at that time, in common with the rest of the Roman world, had long been driven to desperation by governmental oppression, by taxation more crippling than any experienced or conceived by modern man.

Ammianus Marcellinus³³ cannot conceal the fact that the Empire of the fourth century was heading for destruction, due to what he would fain not admit, the imposition of ruinous taxes together with the immeasurable cupidity of great families who practised extortion on a vast scale. A most ominous sign of coming disaster in these appalling times was that a combination of the lower classes with the barbarians as against the upper classes was reaching startling proportions. We cannot but believe that barbarians were being welcomed into the province under the cover of whose raids Romans might find protection against the governmental bureaucracy, which would account at least in part for their frequency. In the winter of 342-3 the emperor Constans is found to have visited Britain to deal with these marauders. In 360 the arrangements made with them break down, and they again begin to ravage the frontier districts. In 364 Picts, Scots, Attacotti, and Saxons are plundering the province. In 368 the first three of these are again active in Britain, but the Saxons (apparently checked) have joined with the Franks in ravaging the northern coast of Gaul.³⁴ The army along the Wall proves untrustworthy,³⁵ betraying

³³ "The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus," by E. A. Thompson, chapter 8.

³⁴ M.H.B., lxxiii. The words of Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii., 5, 8, are commonly but erroneously understood in our history books as if the Franks and Saxons were ravaging Britain itself.

³⁵ For the treachery of the Arcani, etc., and the phrase "barbarian conspiracy" applied to it by Ammianus Marcellinus, see Collingwood, *Roman Britain*, 284-5.

the province to the Picts and joining with them in plundering expeditions far south. Such plundering bands were long known in Gaul and Spain as *Bacaudæ*. When Count Theodosius landed in Richborough he found the like of these laden with spoils, scouring the country round London. Even among the loyal troops of Britain he found at work an instigator of rebellion, named Valentinus, which points to unrest even amongst them.

The very name of Roman citizen (as Salvian tells us)³⁶ was being repudiated, so that even Roman nobles wished no longer to be Romans. Officials were driven to become tyrants, being themselves responsible for the taxes, which they could not raise. The enemy had become kinder than the tax collector.

In brief, *Barbaria* had long been lifting up its head in Britain as against *Romanitas*, and *Barbaria* was being found preferable, especially so in the area which embraced the "villas" or estates of rich landowners, the cities and towns, which were the *foci* of *Romanitas*. So that when this area, with its "villas" already abandoned,³⁷ found itself in 410 free to carry on its own affairs, under the rule of the cities, a tussle on more equal terms and therefore all the more fierce, began to gather impetus in the province (not between Ancient Britons and Saxon invaders), but between *Romanitas* and *Barbaria*, accompanied by "calamities and other occurrences," of which the contemporary "Gallic Chronicle of 452" speaks.³⁸

In the cityless parts of the west, such as Wales and Cornwall, two leaders appeared, the one Ambrosius on the Roman side, the other Vortigern who favoured *Barbaria*. Of these two, the former is said to have sprung from a family which had worn the purple,³⁹ the latter was a son-in-law of Maximus.⁴⁰

In 429 St. Germanus of Auxerre, the most eminent and

³⁶ Salvian's *de gubernatione Dei*, v., 4-8.

³⁷ Lethbridge, *Merlin's Island*, p. 46.

³⁸ C.M., i., 660.

³⁹ *de excidio*, 25.

⁴⁰ *Nennius*, p. 34.

revered figure in Roman Gaul, paid his first visit to Britain. He came ostensibly to combat the Pelagian heresy, but it is evident that his intentions were also of a political nature. In legendary form he is made to have tracked Vortigern down from place to place, who fled before him till he reached his fortress on the River Teify, where he perished.⁴¹ After this Ambrosius became "king among all the kings of the British nation,"⁴² being therefore duly remembered as Emrys Wledig, and there would seem to have been a general settlement of affairs both in the West and in the North. In Wales principalities of the sons of Maximus, as too those of the sons of Vortigern, were confirmed.⁴³ The shares of the sons of Cunedda Wledig, apportioned by Meirion his grandson, were recognised.⁴⁴ And in the West Country St. Germanus would seem to have approved of the rule of the Gewisse in the canton of Venta Belgarum (Winchester), of an extension of Cornish Britons eastwards under Lludd, the father of Geraint, along north Devon into Somerset, and of Cynan, the brother-in-law of Maximus, in Cornwall,⁴⁵ in which country the saint was long remembered as "the Light and Pillar of Cornubia."⁴⁶

In the North, too, the *tranquillitas* effected by or through St. Germanus on the occasion of this visit may be traced. First, Ceredig of Dumbarton appears as *gwledig*,⁴⁷ a Roman title, which it is hard to account for at such a time and in such a place, unless it be as the result of a settlement, the like of which we see occurring simultaneously in Wales and the West Country. Secondly, Coel of Aeron "Ayrshire" names one of his sons Garbaniaun,⁴⁸ i.e., Germanianus, meaning it may be "little Germanus" after the saint. And, thirdly, it was round this time that the Deiran prince,

41 Nennius, 47.

42 *ib.*, 48.

43 *ib.*

44 Nennius, pp. 113-4.

45 "The Origin of Cornwall" *ut supra*.

46 *lucerna et columna Cornubiae* (10th cent. Mass of St. Germanus, as used in the monastery of Lanalet, i.e., St. Germans in Cornwall). Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i., 696.

47 Harl. Ped. V. (Nennius, p. 104).

48 Harl. Ped. X. (*ib.*, p. 106).

Soemil, "separates Deira from Bernicia," which again indicates rearrangement of some kind.⁴⁹ It is just possible that Soemil "fell into the place and position of a successor" to the Duke of Britain, who once sat at York—not, of course, to the title, for that had come to an end with the expulsion of Constantine's officials in 408; and also that the sway of the Bernician princes, as too those of the Frisians or Jutes (unless it be that Bernicians and Frisians or Jutes were one and the same), was secured to remain as heretofore

Bede is careful to tell us that the fortress of Alclud on the Clyde⁵⁰ belonged to the Britons, but of *Urbs Giudi*,⁵¹ Inchkeith, in the Forth, he says nothing. It is evidently the same place as the *Urbs Iudeu* of Nennius,⁵² where Oswy of Bernicia at one time retired before Penda. Rhys⁵³ tells us that it is "on record that the Irish formerly called the Firth of Forth the sea of *Giudan* or of the *Giuds*"; that phonologically the three names, *Giudi*, *Iudeu*, and *Giudan*, seem to go together; that "it might be argued that under these names we have to do with Jutes, and it would be hard to prove the contrary."

Some dozen years or so elapsed when St. Germanus paid his second visit to Britain. Ostensibly again he came to combat the Pelagian heresy, and again it is evident that his intention was also political. For the tension in the South-East between Romanitas and Barbaria came to a head in 443. As says a contemporary chronicler,⁵⁴ "Britains, which up to this time had been torn by calamities and other occurrences, are reduced under the jurisdiction of the English." Evidently by a diplomatic arrangement under Aëtius, who in his wonted manner pursued a policy of appeasement, power was conceded to the now anglicized (or as the Romans might have said "saxonized") British provincials, who

49 Nennius, 61.

50 H.E., i., 1, 12.

51 H.E., i., 12.

52 Nennius, 64.

53 C.B., 152-3. Cf. *Mor Ud* for the English Channel (*Anc. Laws of Wales*, i., 184; *Revue Celtique*, vol. 50, p. 386), where again we possibly have a reference to the Jutes.

54 C.M., i., 660.

favoured Barbaria. The effect is soon seen. The first requirement was to put a stop to the raids from Pictland and Ireland as formerly in 408 to those from the continent. So the provincials joined together in an appeal to the Roman minister for martial assistance against the Picts and the Scots. In 446 the famous Letter, *gemitus Britannorum*, was sent to him out of Britain.⁵⁵

The author of the *de excidio* would have us to believe that on the final departure of the Roman garrison, which, as generally thought, occurred in 407, the Picts and Scots immediately began a third devastation⁵⁶ of Britain on a grand scale. They seized the whole of the Lowlands as far down as Hadrian's Wall. A fanciful account is given of how the citizens vainly defended the Wall, of how they were dragged down by means of hooked weapons and dashed to the ground, of how the whole of southern Britain was exposed to pillaging and famine. He would have us believe that this, his third devastation on a grand scale, lasted "for many years," which would mean (if we took him at his word) that it extended from 407 to 446, some forty years in all, which is absurd. But that some major attack did take place just before 446 is certain. We may even suppose that this grand assault of Picts and Scots was due to the concession made by Aëtius in 443, which was taken by the barbarians to signify that henceforth the support of regular forces was a thing of the past. For now it was that Roman Britain despatched the Letter of appeal for aid to Aëtius, two precious bits of which survive for our instruction. Familiar as they are, they bear repetition and should be carefully considered. The opening passage is as follows:

"To A^gitius, thrice consul, *gemitus Britannorum*, the groans of the Britanni."

And a little later:

"The Barbarians drive us back to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians. Between these two modes of death we are either killed or drowned."

⁵⁵ *de excidio*, 20.

⁵⁶ *de excidio*, 19.

This famous Letter until quite recently⁵⁷ has proved a baffling problem. First, because it was an appeal for aid against Picts and Scots only; and, secondly, because it was understood to have been sent by "Britons" (as the author of the *de excidio* himself believed). Readers were asking "What about the Saxons?" Some (like Skene)⁵⁸ would have it that the Letter was misplaced and out of its true context. Others doubted its genuineness. Others (like Daniel H. Haigh)⁵⁹ believed it was addressed to Equitius, others to Aegidius. Others again, to whom it sounded "like a cry coming through the night from men in a sinking ship" held it up as exemplifying the fate of the "Celts," of whom Macpherson Ossian wrote: "They went forth to the battle, but they always fell." But the explanation is simple enough when it is realised that *gemitus Britannorum* meant the groans, not of Britons in particular, but of the *Britanni* in general, the provincials, the citizens, who were now largely under the jurisdiction of the English. In other words, the *Britanni* or Britannians included the English. Moreover, seeing that the name of Aëtius is spelt in English fashion in order to distinguish its initial vowels, one infers it was of English provenance.

The *de excidio* states that no aid was forthcoming in response to this Letter, and this we may accept. But it is hard to believe that no encouragement or directions of any kind were given to the provincials. For we find that they soon plucked up courage, fought valiantly against the invaders, and in a series of what were esteemed brilliant victories swept the Picts and Scots entirely out of Roman Britain, including the Lowlands right up to the Wall of Antonine.

So small a space is allotted by the *de excidio*⁶⁰ to these splendid victories that their importance has been singularly overlooked, for there can be no manner or shadow of doubt that they were the victories of Arthur, although Arthur is not

57 *Arch. Camb* (1944), 122.

58 *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, 35-6.

59 *The Conquest of Britain* (1861), 197.

60 c. 20.

named. And this disposes once and for all of the stories told in later times that Arthur's enemies were invading Saxons, that he was for instance the chief protagonist in the Siege of the Badonic Hill.⁶¹ Here we find the historic Arthur in his true setting, a man of Britain, a provincial in the Roman service, commissioned to defend the Roman province, not against invading Saxons, but "along with the kings of the Britons" against plundering Picts and Scots. We have therefore solid ground for believing that at least some of his victories were won in the Lowlands of Scotland and even beyond the Wall of Antonine.

And here we meet with another figure, more closely connected with the Lowlands, and one who evidently played a far more important part in history than we have been led to believe. I refer to Octa, who, as already said, is made in a surviving fragment of pedigree to have been a son of Muric or Moiric, who was a son of Leo, who was a son of Maximus. The pedigree also indicates that he was a Frisian or Jute. His story is first told in Nennius' History of the Britons,⁶² and is obviously of pre-Bedan origin.

Now it is important to realise that the nineteen chapters in Nennius (31 to 49), which deal with Vortigern, who according to Bede⁶³ was the "proud tyrant" who let in the English for the first time,⁶⁴ consist largely of a number of romances (such as those we associate with the "Mabinogion"), the work of a Welsh professional story-teller or *cyfarwydd* as he was called. Nennius was driven to make use of such material in order to harmonize, as well as he might, valuable "excerpts" of British history, which he had collected, with the story of Hengist and Horsa and its concomitants as told by Bede. Had Nennius dared to present his "excerpts" regardless of Bede, we may be sure that

61 In the Welsh Arthurian romances the Siege of the Badonic Hill is never referred to except in the very latest of them, viz., "The Dream of Rhonabwy (Ellis-Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, ii., 4-25), and even in this no mention is made of Saxons.

62 Nennius, 38. See "Arthur and Octa" (*Notes and Queries*, vol. 193, pp. 508-9).

63 H.E., i., 14.

64 *de excidio*, 23.

his book would have perished, for unfortunately the authority of Bede was overwhelming, then as now. It was these romances, which saved Nennius,^{64a} for if on the one hand (as Mr R. H. Hodgkin of Oxford says) they proved "good entertainment for Welshmen and helped to reconcile them to their defeat," they also no less proved very palatable to the English, especially to those of them to whom Bede is sacrosanct.

Fortunately the Nennian story-teller weaved his tale of Hengist and Horsa, based on Bede, with an earlier version of the same, that of Octa and Ebissa, of which Bede betrays no knowledge. Let us picture the story-teller standing "in the presence of Merfyn, the glorious King of the Britons" (as an Irish writer puts it)⁶⁵ and his court at Caernarvon, or (if you will) in any other Welsh princely court. He tells how Hengist craftily worms his way into the heart of Vortigern, saying:

"I'll invite my son with his cousin, warlike men, to fight for you against the Scots. You give them districts in the North by the Wall, called Gwawl." Vortigern agreed. And Hengist invited Octha and Ebissa with forty ships. And these, when they sailed round the Picts, wasted the Orkney Islands, and came and occupied very many districts beyond the Frisian Sea even to the borders of the Picts.

Notice that their commission was to take up a position by the Wall facing the Scots, that is, Ireland. It was the Scots in particular that they were to watch. The story-teller would naturally make his audience to understand that Octa and Ebissa sailed from the east, circumnavigating the Picts from east to west, wasting the Orkneys on their course and terrifying the whole of Pictland, after which they take up their positions in the western Lowlands, over against Ireland, to keep guard against the Scots—not far from the Roman Wall beyond the Frisian Sea. By the Frisian Sea, therefore, must

^{64a} The bits of genuine history found in Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* "providentially escaped destruction by an accident," to wit, that they were included in this "romantic and therefore popular work" (Phillimore, *Y Cymm.*, xi., 136).

⁶⁵ Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, 252-3.

be understood the Solway Firth^{65a} or at least that part of it, into which the River Nith flows, on the banks of which stands Dumfries, "the Fort of the Frisians." And as there was a *Litus Fresicum* "Frisian Shore" on the Firth of Forth, it must be that "the very many districts beyond the Frisian Sea up to the borders of the Picts," occupied by Octa and Ebissa, lay in the lowlands right across from the Solway Firth to the Firth of Forth, apparently to the west of the Bernicians, unless indeed these were the Frisians; and doubtless it was from the Frisian Shore on the Forth that the ships of Octa and Ebissa started not only for transference against Ireland but also to terrorise the Picts on their passage by the Orkneys.

In brief, the tradition of Octa and Ebissa, when detached from Bede's story of Hengist and Horsa (which is but a debased version of the same, wherein the leaders are nick-named Hengist and Horsa, i.e., Stallion and Mare), appear as Frisian or Jutish officers in the Roman service, who with Arthur and "kings of the Britons" combined in an effective clearance of the northern nations out of Roman Britain right up to the Wall of Antonine. We read that subsequently Octa "passed over" from the Lowlands into Kent, to whom and his successors the princes of the North were subservient till the rise of Ida at Bamborough⁶⁶ in 547.

As the name "Arthur" is the rule-right equivalent in Welsh of the Latin "Artorius," it cannot be doubted that he was of the Britons and that his charge was westwards rather than towards the east. This is confirmed by the statement that he fought along "with the kings of the Britons."⁶⁷ Not a king himself, his position must have been apart and distinctive, and yet he is not remembered as *gwledig*. As his *floruit* synchronizes with the transit of Octa into Kent, it would appear that their "commissions" were derived from the same source (ultimately of course, Aëtius), that, as Octa

^{65a} Nennius, 38. *Mare Fresicum*, "apparently the Irish Sea or some part of it" (Munro Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, 40).

⁶⁶ Wm. of Malmesbury, *de gestis regum*, i., 1, 3.

⁶⁷ Nennius, 56.

was finally drafted into Kent, so Arthur's activities were to remain to the west.

That Arthur is described as *miles*⁶⁸ (if it be allowed that *miles* at so early a date could signify a horse-soldier or knight) may indicate that he was a cavalry leader at the head of mobile troops. Rhys' illuminating suggestion,⁶⁹ carefully worded, that "he falls readily into the place and position of a successor of the Count of Britain" can hardly be gainsaid, to which may now be added that Octa likewise "falls readily into the place and position of a successor" of the Count of the Saxon Shore.

In consequence of these sweeping Britannic victories over the northern nations Roman Britain grew prosperous, even wealthy as never before.⁷⁰ The *Britanni* or provincials, now appeased, and flushed with their triumphs, increased steadily in number, both "Saxons" and "Britons" within their respective bounds, until the land was unable to contain them (not, however, without occasional raids of Picts and Scots), the "Saxons" to the east and the "Britons" to the west. Beyond the Humber, too, right up to the borders of the Picts, were "Saxons" and "Britons" grouped together as Nordi, *Gwyr y Gogledd*, "men of the North."

And now it was that "kings were being annointed,"⁷¹ a statement which applies to the South-East rather than to the West and North, indicating that the rule of the cities was coming to an end. For in the cityless portions of the West and the North kings appear long before, even under the *gwledigs*, who also now cease in these parts,⁷² for we seem to hear of none after Ceredig Wledig at Dumbarton and Emrys Wledig in Wales. The earliest English king in the South-East seems to have been Oeric Oisc, the son of Octa,

68 Nennius, 73.

69 C.B., 239.

70 *de excidio*, 23.

71 *ib.* See C. Delisle Burns, *The First Europe*, 261, for the lateness of this idea in post-Roman times, which bears on the date of the composition of the *de excidio*.

72 In England, however, they now seem to begin under the title of Bretwalda. See "Aelle, the First Bretwalda" (*Notes and Queries*, Vol. 193, pp. 542-4).

in Kent, after whom the Kentish kings were known as Oiscings. Oeric Oisc is said to have reigned from 488 to 512.

The author of the *de excidio* postulates a long interval between the Letter to Aëtius in 446 and (what might fairly be termed) his whimsical account of an admission of the English into Britain for the first time.⁷³ By this, as already shown, he refers to the arrival of Jutes in "Hampshire" in 514. The admission, he tells us, was due to a rumour that the Picts and Scots had already started a fresh devastation of Britain on a grand scale, in short a fourth devastation, on the top of which a "famous plague" befell the citizens so that the living were unable to bury the dead.⁷⁴ Possibly he refers to the colonization of Argyll by the Scots under Fergus mac Eirc about 500, but he provides no details. It is possible, too, that he has in mind a Pictish descent about the same time in Arglud or Clydeside,⁷⁵ where St. Cadog, the well-known founder of Nantcarfan in Glamorgan (himself a descendant of Maximus),⁷⁶ had begun to build a monastery, probably at Cambuslang in Lanarkshire, of which church St. Cadog is patron to this day. The legend relates that as St. Cadog was digging the foundations of this new monastery, he came across a huge "collar-bone," through which a mounted champion might have ridden with ease. It was revealed to him that it was the collar-bone of *Cau Pritdin*, i.e., Caw of Pictland, who once had reigned beyond Mount Bannock, signifying Pictland, for Mount Bannock was "in the middle of Scotland," doubtless near Bannockburn.⁷⁷ From Pictland Caw had descended on Clydeside to plunder, but had been defeated in battle and slain. He was now in torment and prayed to St. Cadog to rescue him from the devouring flame. This St. Cadog did, with the result that Caw of Pictland became a digger of the blessed saint till his death.

⁷³ *de excidio*. 21-23

⁷⁴ This seems to be the pestilence, post-dated in the Welsh *Annales* at 537 (*Nennius*, p. 86).

⁷⁵ V.S.B., 80-4.

⁷⁶ *Vita s. Cadoci*, 45 (*ib.*, 118). St. Cadog was a contemporary of St. Illtud, whose *floruit* was between c. 425 and c. 505 ("The Llancharfan Charters" especially Charter III., *Arch. Camb.*, 1932, pp. 153-4).

⁷⁷ *Montem Bannauc, qui in medio Albanie situs perhibetur* (V.S.B., 82).

The significance of this extraordinary story has but recently begun to be appreciated, for Caw of Pictland was none other than the father of the celebrated St. Gildas, acclaimed by Bede⁷⁸ as the author of the *de excidio* and historian of the Britons, who is known to have been born in Clydeside, and who is remembered down the whole length of Welsh tradition as Gildas map Caw o Brydyn, i.e., Gildas, son of Caw of Pictland. He is remembered, too, as an alumnus of St. Cadog at Nantcarfan, where his Gospel-book,⁷⁹ which he wrote on the island of Flatholm in the Severn Sea, and his miraculous Bell⁸⁰ were long preserved. But the glaring fact, unwittingly revealed in this legend, is that Gildas was not a Briton. He was a Pict, the son (be it noted) of one of those kilted barbarians, who, according to the author of the *de excidio*,⁸¹ preferred to cover their villainous faces with hair rather than the less decent parts of their bodies with clothing. The man who wrote this could hardly have been the son of Caw of Pictland.

This, however, is not to deny that Gildas did write an Open Letter of admonition to the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the Britons of Wales and the West Country, whom he always calls *cives*, citizens, without once naming them. Nor does he ever refer to the Picts or Scots or Saxons, but concentrates on his one theme, to wit, the wickedness of the citizens. His "Britannia," to which he refers by name six times and even calls an "island,"⁸² is never the geographical island of Britain (as invariably in the *de excidio*), but that part of Roman Britain west of a line between Man and Wight, which (as can be shown from other sources)⁸³ constituted an "Island of Britain" in Britain, comprising Wales and the West Country. He addresses by name five kings, all of whom can be identified and located: Aurelius Caninus [of Cornwall]; Constantine of "Devon"; Vorti-

78 H.E., i., 22

79 *Vita s. Cadoci*, 34.

80 *ib.*, 27.

81 *de excidio*, 19.

82 *Epistola Gildae*, 93.

83 "The 'Island of Britain' in Britain" (*Notes and Queries*, Vol. 193, pp. 35-6).

porius of Dyfed; Cynlas of Dineirith, near Llandudno in Rhos; and Maelgwn Gwynedd of Anglesey. All these were ruling their respective kingdoms about A.D. 540.

A tradition, found in the oldest Welsh copy of the Laws of Wales,⁸⁴ tells of an important descendant of Coroticus of Dumbarton, to wit, Elidir surnamed Mwynfawr "of great resources," who was slain near Clynnog in Arfon. The men of the North came down to avenge him, whose leaders included Rhydderch of Strathclyde, Clydno of Eiddyn (the district around Edinburgh), and others; and they burned Arfon. After which Rhun, son of Maelgwn Gwynedd, and the men of Gwynedd rose up in arms and arrived at "the bank of Gweryd," i.e., the Forth, where they halted. For Rhun had sent a messenger to Gwynedd to ascertain "who should take the lead through the river Gweryd," after which the men of Arfon led the way. The difficulties in this story may be solved by supposing that Rhun arrived at Voreda or Old Penrith which might stand for Caer Werydd⁸⁵ where the dispute occurred as to who should take the lead. But one can hardly doubt the historicity of this event, which is supported by a stanza, quoted from a poem by Taliesin, the contemporary British poet, composed to celebrate it—

"I heard the clash of their blades
With Rhun in the rush of armies—
The men of Arfon with reddened spears."⁸⁶

The increasing prosperity of the Britanni or Britanniains, mentioned in the *de excidio* and confirmed by Constantius,⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *Anc. Laws of Wales*, i. 104. Arfon is the district opposite Mon or Anglesey as its name implies "Mon-side" (cf. Arglud, opposite Clud or Clyde, Clydeside). In it was the Roman fort of Segontium, now Caer Saint, i.e., Caer Saint yn Arfon (whence "Caernarvon"), and also that other by the water side, Caer Sallog. In Arfon, too, was the Citadel of Ambrosius, still known as Dinas Emrys. Its chief sanctuaries were Clynnog under the patronage of St. Beuno, grandson of Lleuddin, eponym of Lothian, and Bangor under the patronage of St. Deiniol of the line of Coel of Ayr. It need hardly be said that Arfon is not "Caernarvonshire" as the manner of some is.

⁸⁵ The remembrance of Afon Gweryd, the Forth, could well survive longer than Caer Werydd (with Gweryd and Gwerydd confused). The name Penrith (if it involves *rhyd*, ford) seems to point to a notable passage hereabouts over the river Eamont, which indeed may once have borne the name of Gwerydd.

⁸⁶ J. Morris Jones, *Y Cymmrodor*, xxviii., 46-8.

⁸⁷ *Life of St Germanus*, c. 18 (opulentissima insula).

is supported shortly after 550 by the strictly contemporary evidence of Procopius of Caesarea,⁸⁸ who tells us that Britain contained "three very populous nations," namely, the Angles, the Frisians, and the Britons. This comes from a purely insular source, to wit, the Angles themselves, given by a completely disinterested outsider. It is the earliest known mention of the Angles in Britain, as, too, of the Frisians in Britain; of these last Bede betrays no remembrance. It is also the earliest known mention of the Britons in Britain as distinct from the rest of the *Britanni*. "So numerous are these nations (says he) that every year great numbers with their wives and children migrate thence to the Franks."

As it was the Angles who gave their name to England (Procopius heard nothing of Saxons), we infer that Angles was the name, the native and insular name, by which the main body of "Anglo-Saxons" at that time chose to be called. The map provides sure evidence that their original seat in Britain included the "angle" between the Wash and the R. Stour, that is, the people known in Roman times as the Iceni and the Coritani, now called the East Angles and the Middle Angles respectively. It may well be that their name of Angles derives from this "angle,"⁸⁹ which constituted the larger part if not the whole of the Diocletianic division of Roman Britain, known as *Britannia Flavia*.⁹⁰ In any case we are assured by this testimony of Procopius that Angles and Saxons in Britain were not two distinct nations as Bede would have it, but convertible terms for one and the same people, speaking one and the same language, "Angles" being the insular or native appellation, "Saxons" being the Roman and literary style, taken over by the Welsh and Irish.

By Bede's time (nearly two centuries later than Procopius) those of the Angles who occupied the district between Harwich and Portsmouth Harbour called themselves "Saxons," inhabiting the Romano-British territoria of

⁸⁸ *de bello Gothico*, iv., 20.

⁸⁹ E. Wadstein *On the Origin of the English*, 38-9, where it is suggested that *Angle* may be a translation of *Iceni*, etc.

⁹⁰ *De Invectionibus*, ii., 1 (*Y Cymm.*, xxx., 130).

Camulodunum (Colchester), Verulamium (St. Albans), Londinium (London), and the cantons of Noviomagus Regnensium (Chichester) and Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester), which now became Essex, Middlesex, Sussex, and Wessex. This district covered that division of Roman Britain which, according to the finding of Giraldus Cambrensis,⁹¹ was known as *Britannia Secunda*. Its inhabitants chose to be called Saxons as apart from their fellow-Angles, north of the R. Stour, not that they had come from any Saxony on the continent or that they were a distinct nation, but under this Roman and literary style of their native name to mark off the particular division of Roman Britain which they occupied.

Bede testifies that in his time all the English-speaking people of Britain other than the Saxons of the south-east were Angles with the notable exception of those whom he denominates the Jutes. These occupied Kent, Wight, and "Hampshire," and are known to have differed in many respects from the Angles or Saxons, though speaking one and the same tongue. Those of Wight and "Hampshire" arrived in those parts in A.D. 514 from Kent (as can be shown), whilst those of Kent came from the neighbourhood of the Roman Wall under Octa. We may safely equate these so-called Jutes with the Frisians of Procopius, and as they came from near the Roman Wall, we may conclude that the Frisians of Procopius were originally men of the north.⁹²

⁹¹ *ib.*

⁹² To the learned, of course, even the Frisians in Britain would have been classed with the "Saxons" and so incidentally with the Angles. But among themselves in Procopius' time Frisians and Angles in Britain were evidently distinguishable. Bede (i., 15) says that the Kentish folk were of Jutish origin, but they are not found to have called themselves Jutes, but simply Cantware, which is but a translation of *Cantiaci*; also that the Isle of Wight folk were of like origin, as too those "still called *Iutarum natio*" on the mainland opposite Wight. In the legendary Life of St. Birinus, who in 635 arrived to convert the Gewisse and West Saxons, the saint is said to have tarried three days at the place where he landed before he moved on to preach to the Gewisse. "And among those who heard him in that place were many who had been previously converted to the Catholic faith by the preaching of the blessed Augustine" (Field's *St. Birin*, 52-3). This points clearly to the Jutes and serves to indicate that they were the same as those of Kent. The fact that both the Angles (or Saxons) and Frisians spoke one and the same Frisian speech whence English is derived, and that one part of them still called themselves Frisians, exposes how baseless were the speculations of Bede who derived them from Denmark. The Frisian speech, spoken from the Firth of Forth down to the borders of Cornwall, must have been the consequence of a long process stretching back into Roman and possibly pre-Roman days.

We have now reached the mid-sixth century when we begin to note changes in the political complexion and outlook of the Lowlands and indeed of all the country north of the Humber. We have seen how with the Revolt of Maximus the whole of the North began to drift into autonomy under the leadership of several ruling families, both British (to the west) and Frisian or English (to the east), who resisted the Picts and Scots in the Roman interest and were grouped together under the name of Nordi, Gwyr y Gogledd, "Men of the North." We have also seen cause to believe that their leaders or kings ruled with some measure of Roman approbation, with which leaders I would include Octa, whose grandfather Leo is affiliated to Maximus and who later passed over into Kent and became the forebear of the Kentish kings; and also Soemil, who first detached Deira from Bernicia, possibly with Roman approval when St. Germanus first visited Britain.

It would appear that the Nordi or "Men of the North" continued to regard the Kentish kings, who had sprung from Octa, as their legitimate over-lords, which is a tradition preserved (notwithstanding the silence of Bede) by William of Malmesbury,⁹³ which bears the mark of truth and could hardly have been invented. He states that "the Northumbrian leaders, contented with subordinate power, lived in subjection to the kings of Kent," and also that "no one there assumed the royal title or insignia till the time of Ida." This is what gives significance to the statements that in 547 Ida began to reign, that Ida was "the first king in Bernicia," and that "he was the founder of the royal family of the Northumbrians." William of Malmesbury could not tell whether Ida "seized the chief authority or received it by the consent of others," but he makes it quite clear that with Ida a fresh departure occurred in the history of the North. The tradition implies that Ida made himself a king equal to those with higher claims and seized on Bamborough as his chief stronghold.

93 *de gestis regum*, i., 1, 3.

This sudden move of Ida provoked repercussion all round. First, the country between the Tweed and the Forth, including the British districts of Eiddyn and Manaw, combined under the rule of a certain Lleuddin, which henceforth became known as Lleuddinion, i.e., Lothian. He was of uncertain origin, possibly a Pict, and is described as being a semi-pagan. He had three daughters, one of whom is well remembered in Glasgow as St. Enoch, the mother of St. Kentigern. Another, Peren,⁹⁴ was the mother of St. Beuno, in whose communities in Arfon⁹⁵ were preserved traditions of the "Men of the North." Secondly, we seem to detect some stirring in Deira, where Aelle, fifth in descent from Soemil, begins to assert himself. And, thirdly, the Britons of the western Lowlands rise in opposition, their first leader being a certain unidentified Eudeyrn.⁹⁶ This Eudeyrn fought against "the nation of the Angles," apparently against Ida, whose ambitions seem to have been cut short, for at his death in 559 Bernicia fell into the hands of Aelle of Deira.

Many years seem to have elapsed before warfare was renewed. Four kings of the Britons are named,⁹⁷ Urien, Gwallog, and Morgan, all of Coel's family, and Rhydderch Hen of Strathclyde. These four warred against the sons of Ida, namely, Theodoric and Hussa. The Britons fought not only across the Lowlands to the eastern sea, but also made deep inroads into England. Urien blockaded Theodoric and his sons for three days and nights in the island of Lindisfarne, on which expedition he seems to have been murdered by Morgan out of envy. Prior to this he would seem to have penetrated southwards as far as Catterick, whilst Gwallog would seem to have penetrated even further south, where he set up the little British kingdom of Elmet near

⁹⁴ The "Beren" and "Perferen" of V.S.B. 16, 321; *Arch Camb.* (1930), p. 323.

⁹⁵ *Anc. Laws of Wales*, i., 106, "clas Bancor a rey Beuno," the community at Bangor and those of Beuno.

⁹⁶ The "Dutigern" of Nennius, 62. As the name Outigirn, i.e., Eudeyrn, appears among the early ancestors of Coel of Ayr (Harl. Ped. X.), the above Eudeyrn is supposed to be of that family.

⁹⁷ Nennius, 63.

Leeds, for presumably Certic, who was expelled subsequently from that district by Edwin, was Gwallog's son.⁹⁸

These successful expeditions of the Britons of the Lowlands were accompanied by a notable outburst of British poetry.⁹⁹ Five poets are named: Talhaearn, Father of the Muse; Neirin, better known as Aneirin; Taliesin; Blwch-fardd; and Cian, surnamed (as some interpret the words) "Wheat of Song"—"all these gained renown together at the same time in British poetry."

The works of Taliesin and Aneirin survive in part, though in later form, including some twelve poems of the former and *Y Gododdin* by the latter. Taliesin sings in praise of Urien and his son Owain, of Gwallog, of Cynan Garwyn of Powys,¹⁰⁰ and also (as we have seen) of Rhun, son of Maelgwn Gwynedd. By this we are assured that he flourished in the last half of the sixth century, and would appear to have moved from one princely court to another, north and south of the Irish Sea. Urien is prince of Rheged, lord of Yrechwydd,¹⁰¹ ruler of Catraeth. He defends Rheged and Goddau against a certain Flamddwyn, "Flame bearer," whom Owain kills. He is depicted both as a Christian ruler and a cattle-raider, and would seem to have extended his mastery far outside his proper domains.

Aneirin is somewhat later than Taliesin, and seems hostile to the latter's patrons.¹⁰² His famous poem, *Y Gododdin*, is in reminiscent praise of a War Band of British youths assembled from divers parts by Mynyddog

98 Keredic ap Gwallawc (*Y Cymm.*, vii., 131).

99 Nennius, 62.

100 Harl. Peds. xxii., xxvii.

101 Watson thinks it "fairly certain" that *yr echwydd* is the Solway which is noted for the violence of its tides, *echwydd* meaning a flow of water, a tidal current, a cataract (*Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, 156). How far Rheged extended is uncertain and its extent may have varied, but its chief fort was doubtless at Dunragit in Wigtownshire, called Dun-rechet, in the Martyrology of Oengus of about A.D. 800 (McClure's *British Place-Names*, 1910, p. 124), later Dunregate. Morris Jones finds evidence that it may have included Carlisle (*Y Cymm.*, xxviii., 67). Munro Chadwick finds the name "in other districts, e.g., Rochdale, from earlier *Recedham* (Domesday Book)." See *Early Scotland* (1949) p. 144.

102 He speaks of the descendants of Coel Odebog, *meibyon Godebauc*, as *gwerin enwir*, "a faithless host;" these included Urien, Taliesin's patron (Bk. of Aneirin, 4, lines 18-19).

Mwynfawr "of the mountain, of great resources," whom I am tempted to identify with the eponym of Lothian, i.e., Lleuddin Luyddog "of the hosts," who ruled from the Rock at Edinburgh. The youths are apportioned ample supplies of food and liquor for a year, preparatory to an expedition to Catraeth, supposed to be Catterick in the North Riding of Yorkshire. They have no occasion to grumble at their rations like the aforetime two gangs of "Saxons" admitted into the island by the "proud tyrant."¹⁰³ They ride out, full of gaiety, but are slain, all except one. The poem is fanciful, though we need not doubt the historicity of such an expedition, characteristic of the time.

From all this fragmentary poetry one is left with the impression of northern princes, British and English, fighting for their own lands, whoever the assailant might be, and given to raiding each other's borders. But of "Ancient Britons versus Saxon invaders" (as the school books say), there is nothing. They are all Britannic princes, formerly under Roman jurisdiction, British and English, freed indeed by the victories of Arthur and Octa from any and every permanent acquisition of territories by Picts and Scots south of the Wall of Antonine, but often at loggerheads among themselves.

Aethelfrith, grandson of Ida, was the chief figure in Bernicia and Deira "for twenty-four years."¹⁰⁴ In virtue of his marriage to Aelle's daughter, of which Bede is careful to tell us,¹⁰⁵ he had got possession of Deira to the exclusion of Aelle's son, Edwin. As seen by the Britons, Aethelfrith was *fleisor*,¹⁰⁶ a double dealer, but by Bede he is highly extolled as "a king most brave and desirous of glory, who ravaged the Britons more than all the chiefs of the English." And again, "he conquered more territories from the Britons than any other chieftain or king, either subduing the inhabitants and making them tributary, or driving them out and

¹⁰³ *de excidio*, 23.

¹⁰⁴ Nennius, 63.

¹⁰⁵ H.E., iii., 6.

¹⁰⁶ Nennius, 57, 63.

planting the English in their places."¹⁰⁷ Bede, however, does not specify where all this occurred, and certain it is that the British principality of Elmet at Aethelfrith's own doorstep survived his time. He won a notable victory over Aidan, king of the Dalriad Scots, in 603 at Degsastan, who had been called in by another dispossessed prince, Hering, son of Hussa.¹⁰⁸ It is often assumed that Aidan must have been backed by the Britons, to which one may add in support that Aidan himself was a Briton on his mother's side, in fact first cousin to Urien Rheged and other leading princes of the family of Coel, all grandsons of an unidentified Brychan of Mannia, supposed by some to be Manaw.¹⁰⁹ But seeing that he was known to the Britons as Aeddan Fradog, i.e., *insidiosus*, it may equally be assumed that his defeat to them may not have been unwelcome. Scots had never been easily tolerated in the Lowlands.

Another notable battle fought by Aethelfrith, of great notoriety in its day and of exaggerated importance in ours, took place at Chester,¹¹⁰ where he was met by Selyf of Powys and Cadwal of Rhos, both of whom were slain. Just before the contest he struck at 1200 monks from the neighbouring monastery of Bangor Iscoed and effected a slaughter of them which horrified the Christian communities of Britain and Ireland. Bede himself felt uneasy on this matter, if one may judge from his apologies.¹¹¹ Shortly after, Aethelfrith leads his battered army against Raedwald of the East Angles, by whom he is defeated and slain, A.D. 617.

Edwin, son of Aelle, the new king of Northumbria, had spent long years in exile, partly among the Britons,¹¹² where

107 H.E., i., 34.

108 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E), at 603

109 Luan, filia Brachan, mater Haidani Bradouc, i., *insidiosus* (V.S.B., 315). See Phillimore, *Y Cymm.*, xi., 100-1.

110 The Battle of Chester occurred in 616-7, after which Aethelfrith immediately led his army to meet Raedwald and Edwin on the banks of the River Idle (Tighernach, *Rev. Celt.*, xvii., 170-1). Deva (Chester) and its territorium was outside the sphere of the Britons, and seems to have been occupied by a "Mercian" community known as the Westernne, being of the same extent (7000 hides) as that of their neighbours the Wreocensætan (the Wrekin district).

111 Bede, H.E., ii., 2.

112 He is one of the chief oppressors of *Mon*, Anglesey, nurtured within the island (Triad 56, *Y Cymm.*, vii., 132).

one may suppose, on the emphatic evidence of Nennius,¹¹³ that he was baptized by Rhun, son of Urien. Bede says nothing of this, but makes him to appear as a heathen, who accepted baptism at the hands of Paulinus of York. Bede boasts that Edwin "reduced under his dominion all the parts of Britain that were provinces either of the English or of the Britons, a thing which no English king had ever done before." He even reduced under English control the islands of Man and Anglesey.¹¹⁴ Certainly he made a final conquest of the intrusive British principality of Elmet. He also succeeded in provoking the rise of Mercia as a power in the midlands.

It is said of Penda, king of Mercia, that it was he who first detached the Mercians from the North,¹¹⁵ from which one infers that originally the Mercians were a prolongation southwards of the Brigantes along the R. Trent, who formed a group of "borderers" between the Cornovii to the west and the Coritani to the east. These last had adopted the name of Middle Angles (their caput was or had been Ratae Coritanorum, i.e., Leicester), those of them in the territorium of Lindum (Lincoln) being now known as Lindisse. As for the Cornovii, whose territories had embraced Viroconium Cornoviorum (Wroxeter), their chief city, and Deva (Chester), they alone of all Romano-British cantonals had failed to carry on their identity under a single appellation into Anglo-Saxon times. They had disintegrated into a number of small units, all bearing English names, such as the Pecsætan (round the Peak), the Wreocensætan (round

113. Nennius, 63, insists that it was Rhun, son of Urien, who baptised Edwin, but finding that according to Bede it was Paulinus of York who did so, he still insists that it was Rhun. Later copies of Nennius tried to get over the difficulty by identifying Rhun with Paulinus. The problem may be solved thus. Edwin lived in exile for years and for some of these in the Christian court of Cadwallon of Gwynedd. If Rhun, son of Urien, baptised him, it must have been during his exile among the Britons. This baptism by Rhun is ignored by Bede, who presents Edwin as a pagan. It is certain that Edwin was baptised by Paulinus; it seems no less certain that he had previously been baptised by Rhun, son of Urien.

114 H.E., ii, 9.

115 Nennius, 65.

the Wrekin), the Westernes,¹¹⁶ and others. Penda, who was fifth in descent from Icel, founder of the ancient stock of the Iclings, was bent on binding all these groups into one powerful state under the common appellation of Mercians as a counterpoise to Northumbria. By 628 he was sufficiently interested and sufficiently powerful to put a check on the Gewisse and the West Saxons, who had previously penetrated into the territories of Corinium Dobunorum (Cirencester) and of Glevum (Gloucester) and still held them. He met the Gewissean kings at Cirencester¹¹⁷ and forced them to an agreement, whereby it would appear that Bath was to remain in the canton of the Belgae (now known as the Gewisse), whilst Cirencester and Gloucester were to revert to their original inhabitants, now known as the Hwicce. A few years later he formed an alliance with Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd, to put a check on Edwin of Northumbria, whom they overthrew¹¹⁸ on the plain of Haethfelth, A.D. 633.

Northumbria immediately fell apart into its two constituents, Deira and Bernicia, but on the defeat and death of Cadwallon near Hexham in 634 it re-united under the sole rule of Oswald, son of Aethelfrith. Bede, much given as we see to patriotic exaggeration, says of Oswald, that "he brought under his dominion all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, namely, those of the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English."¹¹⁹ Certainly Penda's hand was restrained by the death of Cadwallon. When attacked by Oswald in 642 he seems to have fallen back on the Welsh border at or near Oswestry as a way of escape in the event of a defeat, but Penda proved victorious and Oswald was slain. Northumbria once more fell apart, the rule of Bernicia being taken over by Oswy, brother of Oswald.

Of Oswy it should be noted that he was in possession of the fortress of Inchkeith in the Forth, for on one occasion,

116 To the south of the Wreocensætan were the Magonsætan, who perhaps took their name from Magnæ (Kenchester), as Erging, Archenfield, derives from Ariconium (Weston under Penyard).

117 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 628

118 *ib.*, c.33.

119 H.E., iii., 6.

long remembered, when Bernicia was being ravaged by Penda, he retired to it as it were to his last refuge, from which he purchased relief by a surrender of all the treasure he had with him, which Penda promptly distributed among what kings of the Britons had accompanied him. This surrender was called *Atbret Iudeu*, the Restitution of *Inchkeith*.¹²⁰ On a subsequent occasion when he tried to buy off Penda in similar fashion, the offer was refused. Oswy was forced to battle, which occurred near the *R. Winwaed*, A.D. 655. Penda had with him those same kings of the Britons who had benefited by the Restitution of *Inchkeith*, among whom was an upstart of *Gwynedd*, the son of a serf,¹²¹ who bore the high-sounding name of *Cadafael* "battle-seizer." This man got up in the night before the battle and fled, which roused great mirth among the Britons, who nicknamed him *Cadafael Cadomedd*, "battle-seizer battle-shirker." The rest were slain along with Penda himself.¹²²

It should also be noted of Oswy that he had two wives,¹²³ the first of whom was *Rhiainfellt*, daughter of *Royth*, son of *Rhun*, son of *Urien Rheged*, and therefore his great-granddaughter. She doubtless was the mother of *Aldfrith*, who succeeded *Ecgrith* in 685. This marriage of Oswy and *Rhiainfellt* provides a much-needed intelligible explanation of how the lands of the northern Britons (other than those of *Strathclyde* and *Aeron*) passed under the domination of Oswy.^{123a} *Bede*, however, is silent on this matter (as on that

¹²⁰ *Nennius*, 64, 65. From *qui exierant cum rege Pantha* down to *Atbret Iudeu* is a parenthesis, and refers to an occasion other than that mentioned by *Bede* (H.E., iii., 24).

¹²¹ *A chadauel ap kynuedw ygwyned*, "and *Cadafael*, son of *Cynfeddw* in *Gwynedd*" (*Triad* 59, *Phillimore Y Cymm.*, vii., 132).

¹²² One may fairly surmise from the mention of the upstart and the absence of any prominent name among the kings who were slain, that Penda's British followers on this occasion were hardly men of the highest standing.

¹²³ *Nennius*, 57. *Rhun*, son of *Urien*, was evidently a priest as well as prince. He baptised *Edwin*, a ceremony ignored by *Bede* and his school. He also appears to have made excerpts from a Book of the blessed *Germanus*, which *Nennius* afterwards incorporated in his *History of the Britons* (*Arch. Camb.*, 1937, pp. 64-73).

^{123a} Her marriage with Oswy would open up *Dumfriesshire* and *Galloway* to the peaceful penetration of Anglian settlement. For no battles are recorded to show that Oswy conquered these districts. If this explanation

[Continued at foot of next page.]

of the baptism of Edwin by the same Rhun, son of Urien) and would pass off Aldfrith's birth as illegitimate.¹²⁴

These preliminaries to a study of the Lowlands are (as will have been observed) critical of Bede, who indeed has not entirely escaped the censure he merits. Over a century ago Lappenberg¹²⁵ says that his "glaring deficiency in historic criticism has never been duly attended to." Plummer,¹²⁶ too, who shied at so sweeping a statement, nevertheless, says of him in one connection that he "inserts as facts explanations of his own." But there is more to it than this. The charge against Bede is far more serious, even disruptive. I will not dwell on his well-known aversion to the Britons, which has so heavily coloured his narrative and distorted his vision, nor on his fatal blunder in antedating the *de excidio Britanniae* (a production of his own day) by nearly two centuries. It will be enough here to point out that Bede's glowing account of an Anglo-Saxon Conquest of Britain,¹²⁷ repeated in all our school books, is nothing but a paraphrase or rather an explanatory expansion, laden with assumptions, additions, and speculations, of four small sections of the *de excidio*,¹²⁸ purporting to tell of an alleged first arrival of the English in Britain, which one can read for oneself and compare.

tion be accepted then it follows that Dumfriesshire and Galloway lay within the Kingdom of Rheged and were not in Strathclyde and that the historical maps given in J. R. Green's *Short History* and in modified form in Skene's *Celtic Scotland* showing Strathclyde stretching from Dumbarton to the Rere Cross (Skene) and almost to the Midlands (Green) are in need of revision. Strathclyde simply means the district comprising the basin of the River Clyde—cf. Ystrad Tywi, the basin of the Towy in Carmarthenshire.—[Ed.].

124 Bede, H.E., iv., 26. It would appear that Strathclyde and Aeron were united under Gwriad, for whose obit "Mors Gureit regis Alocluaithæ" see *Annals of Ulster*, s.a., 658. He, like Cadafael of Gwynedd and Hyfaidd of Dyfed, was sprung from serfs (Triad 59, *Y Cymm.*, vii., 132). He is remembered in the 12th century by the Welsh poet, Cynddelw, as *Priodawr clodvawr Clud ac Aeron*, "the renowned ruler of Clud and Aeron," where Clud is Strathclyde and Aeron is Ayr "which lies between Strathclyde and the sea—the outer Firth of Clyde" (J. Morris Jones, *Y Cymm.*, xxviii., 76-7).

125 *A History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, translated by Thorpe (1845), p. 26.

126 Plummer's *Bede*, I., xlii.

127 H.E., i., 14-16.

128 cc., 23-26.

"There is a prevalent idea (says Mr Munro Chadwick)¹²⁹ that Bede's knowledge was almost unlimited in all directions. But in point of fact we have no evidence that he knew anything about the history of his own people—the Northumbrians, or the English in general—before their conversion, or that he took any interest in it. Once only, in his chronological summary (v. 24), he refers to the founder of the Bernician dynasty; but he tells us nothing about the English invasion in the north. All that he knew about the invasion in general seems to be derived from a Kentish source."

If I may be allowed to comment on this, I would submit that neither Bede nor anyone else had ever heard of an English invasion prior to the publication of the *de excidio* in 708, so that when Bede composed his little chronicle *de temporibus* in 703 he made no mention of it.¹³⁰ Not till the *de excidio* came into his hands, which happened by 725 (the year of his larger chronicle, *de temporum ratione*), did he begin to refer to it. He believed he had found in this book the clue to what had really happened in Roman Britain in the fifth century, to wit, a first arrival of the English in the island. This he dated as having occurred in the reign of the emperors Marcian and Valentinian III., which he considered to run from 449 to 456, and in Kent. Having placed his own construction on the story, which he so dated, Bede discarded all he knew which did not conform with the same, so that oftentimes his silences (so often commented upon) prove more eloquent than what appears. Thus, in the matter of the history of the Northumbrians, his own people, it is not that Bede knew nothing of it (which is most improbable), but rather that what he knew would not accord with the *de excidio* as he interpreted it.

¹²⁹ *Early Scotland* (1949), 27.

¹³⁰ *Arch. Camb.* (1944), 115-6.

ARTICLE 3.

Excavations at Whithorn, First Season, 1949.

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A., F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

In 1948 Mr R. C. Reid, F.S.A.Scot., acting on behalf of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, invited me to examine Whithorn and the neighbouring sites associated with St. Ninian with a view to their excavation. In November of that year we visited Whithorn, where we had the assistance of Dr. J. S. Richardson, then Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland. Whithorn itself, the Isle of Whithorn and St. Ninian's Cave at Glasserton were examined and trial excavations (see p. 120 below) were carried out at the Isle of Whithorn on land belonging to Mr James Robertson of the Steam Packet Inn, who had invited the Societies to investigate the existence of antiquities on his property. A full report of this visit and suggestions for future work was prepared and accepted by the Societies and the Ministry of Works, the guardians of the sites involved.

In pursuance of the plan put forward excavations were undertaken at Whithorn and the Isle of Whithorn in July, 1949. The work was carried out by the Ministry of Works under my direction. It is intended to continue in 1950. Meanwhile the present preliminary report is designed to place on record some of the results obtained in the first season. It contains an account of the early history of the monastic foundation and a full report on the early building uncovered at the east end of the Priory Church. In the case of the later buildings at Whithorn, about which the excavations afforded much information, it has been thought wiser to publish only a summary account of the discoveries, as work is still in progress and the interpretation of certain features must, for the moment, remain a matter of conjecture. The excavations at present envisaged at the Isle of Whithorn are finished, but as the remains on the site of St. Ninian's Chapel at the Isle all proved to belong to the later period, it has

seemed better to reserve a full report on this site which could be most easily discussed in connection with the Praemonstratensian Church.

In presenting this report I wish to place on record my gratitude to the many persons whose assistance has made the work at Whithorn possible. In the first place my best thanks are offered to the Ministry of Works, to the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and to Mr S. H. Cruden, F.S.A.Scot., Inspector for Scotland, who accepted the original report and arranged for the work to be carried out; to the Senior Architect, Mr Wilson Paterson, and Mr H. G. White, who provided the necessary facilities on the sites. Labour was provided by the contractor, Mr J. E. Laidlaw. Mr Reid, to whose initiative the project owes its inception, visited Whithorn on more than one occasion during the progress of the work; his invaluable assistance made my own task both lighter and pleasanter. At Whithorn I received every encouragement and assistance from the Provost, Mr J. L. B. Arnott; the Town Clerk, Mr R. G. S. Alexander; and the Town Council; as well as from the Minister, Rev. H. Law, and many other friends. At the Isle of Whithorn all necessary facilities were afforded by Mr Robertson, both for the work carried out on his own land and for access to St. Ninian's Chapel, of which he is the owner. Mr Robertson has since generously offered additional land to the Ministry so that the area under guardianship may be extended and the remains of the enclosure surrounding the chapel uncovered. To him and to the late Rev. G. D. Nisbet I owe a special debt of gratitude. In preparing this report I have had the benefit of discussions on the sites with Dr Richardson, whose knowledge of these monuments is extensive and of long standing. The later historical material I owe to Mr Reid and Dr. G. Donaldson. On the comparative material I have been able to avail myself of the experience of Sir Alfred Clapham, Sir Ifor Williams, Dr. Rose Graham, and Mr H. M. Colvin. To all these scholars I would return my best thanks. The plans, sections, and photographs, with which the article is illustrated, have been prepared for the Ministry of Works and are published with its permission.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF WHITHORN.

The history of Whithorn has been discussed many times, and it might be thought that a treatment of this thorny subject should stand over until the completion of the present campaign of excavations. The matter could then be considered afresh in the light of the archæological discoveries. Such was, indeed, my first idea, but it soon became clear that the explanation of any remains belonging to the early Christian period would require reference to this history. Furthermore, an invitation to write a new edition of an Official Guide to Whithorn and Kirkmadrine has forced me to decide between conflicting views and to set down my own conclusions. I have therefore felt it desirable to open this preliminary report with a short account of the early history of Candida Casa. In the course of this reconstruction I have been compelled to dissent from views held by a number of scholars; in general I have not cited these views, though occasionally I have done so in order to refer readers to a source where they may conveniently find the other side of the question.

One of the matters most in controversy in recent years is the date of St. Ninian's mission. As far as I know Chadwick was the first to put forward the identification of King Tudwal and he did not elaborate the suggestion. My own conclusion was reached independently, and it has seemed sufficiently convincing to warrant the rejection of the traditional chronology, which was already undermined by Dr. Levison. That chronology has been explained and illustrated with a wealth of historical material by Dr. W. D. Simpson, to whom the reader is referred for a statement of the case. His latest discussion is in *Archæologia Aeliana* (4th Series, Volume 23) where there are references to the earlier literature, including his own masterly treatment of the whole subject, St. Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland.

One omission may cause comment. The reader will find no mention of his old acquaintances, the Picts of Galloway. Any discussion of this subject would have swollen my story

beyond the limits set by even so indulgent an editor as this Society possesses. One thing is clear: the Picts, if by Picts we mean the historical inhabitants of Central Scotland, have no part in the early church of Galloway; St. Ninian was British; the chieftains who endowed his foundation were Britons; the monastery was Celtic of the same type as those in Wales and elsewhere. I have therefore felt at liberty to ignore the Pictish question, which would have had to be discussed if this were a secular history of Galloway.

THE BRITISH PERIOD.

Medieval Welsh tradition remembered a number of northern dynasties and preserved their genealogies alongside those of the Welsh ruling houses. Cunedda, the ancestor from whom the princes of North Wales and other leading families traced their descent, came from the North. His successors for several generations retained their interest in the fortunes of the British rulers of Northern England and Southern Scotland, a group known to later tradition as the Men of the North (*Gwyr y Gogledd*).¹ The earliest genealogies are those recorded in *Harleian*, 3859, an ms. of c. 1100, based on an original of c. 950, which was probably compiled at the court of Hywel Dda. These genealogies are internally consistent and, where they can be checked, have been proved reliable. The tangled story of the families has recently been discussed by the late Professor H. M. Chadwick in an unfinished work published posthumously.² I shall in the main follow his conclusions, to which reference may be made for fuller details.

The principal group of dynasties are the descendants of Coel Hen Godebog (*Caelius Votepacius*), whose floruit lies in the first third of the 5th century. Eight families are recorded with territories stretching from Yorkshire and Lancashire northward into Lothian and Dumfriesshire. Among these is the dynasty to which belonged Urien Rheged. Urien, whose fame was great in his day, besieged Theodoric, King of Ber-

¹ Lloyd, *History of Wales*, pp. 162 sqq.

² H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland*, ch. x.

nicia, in Lindisfarne at a date which may be fixed between 572 and 579. Rheged, the domain of Urien, has often been identified with Dun Rhagit, near Stranraer,³ where there is a small fort⁴ apparently of this period. But Welsh tradition associated Urien with Carlisle and Catraeth (Catterick in Yorkshire) as well as with other unidentified places including Llwyfenydd, which is also probably in Yorkshire.⁵ The extension of Urien's kingdom from Yorkshire to Galloway would make it difficult to place the other dynasties. Nor is Dun Rhagit the only possible location for Rheged. Chadwick⁶ has suggested that the name may perhaps be equated with the Recedham of Domesday Book, now Rochdale.⁷

A second group of dynasties is formed by the descendants of Dyfnwal Hael, a grandson of Ceretic Gwledic, the Coroticus to whose Christian subjects St. Patrick addressed his well-known letter.⁸ Rhydderch Hen, the great grandson of Dyfnwal, fought with Urien against Theodoric of Bernicia. He is the Rhydderch, son of Tudwal, who was King of Alclyde (Dumbarton) in St. Columba's day.⁹ The descendants of Dyfnwal held rule north and west of the first group. One family, to which belong Gwyddno (mid 6th century) and Elfin (late 7th century) is traditionally associated with inundations by the sea. Chadwick suggests that their lands lay on the Solway, possibly on Wigtown Bay. But as this line later became Kings of Alclyde¹⁰ a location further north seems more probable.

Finally there is a dynasty which is traced back to Prince Maximus, the Magnus Maximus of Roman history (ob. 388). "There can be little doubt," writes Chadwick, "that it is of northern origin; for several of the names are known else-

3 W. J. Watson, *The Celtic Place Names of Scotland*, 156.

4 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Scotland: Wigtownshire, no. 312.

5 Morris Jones in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxviii., 64; for Catraeth see Sir Ifor Williams' account, summarised in *Antiquity*, xvi., 242.

6 Loc. cit.

7 For old forms see Ekwall, *English River Names*, p. 344.

8 Epistola in Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy, Ser. III., ix., 254.

9 *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, i., 15 (ed. Fowler, p. 28).

10 *Y Cymmrodor*, ix., 172; cf. Wade-Evans, *Nennius' History of the Britons*, p. 104.

where only in North British or Gaelic families."¹¹ He later says: "I suspect that the family belonged originally to Gallo-way. . . ." This genealogy may now be examined, and two Welsh versions are here set out and collated.

Harleian 3859 no. IV.¹²

Oxford, Jesus Coll. 20 no.
XIX.¹³

Iudgual
map (son of) Tutagual
map Anaraut

map Mermin

map Anthec
map Tutagual
map Run
map Neithon
map Senill
map Dinacat
map Tutagual
map Eidinet
map Anthun
map Maxim guletic qui
occidit
Gratianum regem
Romanorum

Rhodri Mawr
M (son of) Mervyn (vrych)
M Guriat
M Elidyr
M Celenion
Merch (dau.) Tutwal tuclith
M Anarawd gwal-
cherwn
M Mervyn mawr
M Kynyn
M Allech
M Tutwawl
M Run
M Neidaon
M Senilth hael
M Dingat
M Tutwawl
M Ednevet
M Dunawd
M Maxen wledic

Rhodri, King of Gwynedd, died in 877, his father Merfyn Frych in 844. The latter had established himself in Gwynedd after the extinction of the direct male line of Cunedda in the person of Hywel ap Rhodri Molwynog, whose death is recorded in 825.¹⁴ Bardic tradition brought Merfyn from the land of Manaw and the discovery at Maughold in the Isle of Man of a 9th century cross with the inscription CRUX

¹¹ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 146; the relevant footnote instances Tudwal, Dincat (Gael. Tuathal, Dunchad) and Senillt.

¹² *Y Cymmrodor*, ix., 172; cf. Wade-Evans, *loc. cit.*

¹³ *Y Cymmrodor*, viii., 87. I have in both cases kept the original spelling but in the text use the modern Welsh equivalents.

¹⁴ *Annales Cambriae*, s.a., 825, 844 and 877; see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix., 164-6 and Lloyd, *History of Wales*, i., 323-6.

GURIAT in Insular majuscule¹⁵ has led scholars to believe that Gwriad belonged to that island rather than the northern Manaw Gododdin.¹⁶ Merfyn Mawr's death in Man is recorded under the year 681.¹⁷ In the previous generation the version of Jesus Coll. 20 is to be preferred as the omission of one line in an ms. written in short columns like the Harleian 3859 is a common copyist's error. The earlier part of the genealogy cannot be confirmed from other historical sources, but a calculation of 30 years to a generation would show Anllech reigning in A.D. 600 and place the death of Senillt in c. 500. The earlier Tudwal would date from the second quarter of the 5th century and Antonius from the latter part of the 4th.

Maximus in later Welsh tradition is associated with Segontium (Caernarvon).¹⁸ Mr C. E. Stevens has recently pointed out that this association finds its confirmation in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the late Imperial army list.¹⁹ "The Seguntienses," he writes, "are found among the *auxilia palatina* in far-off Illyricum. Their name can hardly be derived from any site but Welsh Segontium. . . . One thinks of his (i.e., of Maximus) own troops, his first supporters in his rebellion, promoted to be his guards and accompanying him first in his Gallic, then in his Italian campaigns, to be transferred to Illyricum after his fall. They are almost alone of the highest ranked troops among the *comitatenses*, the *palatini*, in taking their name from a fort." The last occupation of Segontium lasted from c. 350 to c. 383, when the garrison was withdrawn at the beginning of the Continental campaigns of Magnus Maximus. This occupation cannot be dissociated from the coastal defences against raiders from beyond the Irish Sea, an interest also apparent in the lower fort at Caernarvon and the analogous structure at Holyhead.²⁰ The Roman commander at the time of the with-

15 Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, p. 121; no. 48 at Maughold.

16 Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, i., 466.

17 *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 681 (Ed. Hennessy, i., 132).

18 *The Dream of Maxen in Mabinogion* (ed. Loth, i., 211-29, esp. 220 sqq.); cf *Y cymmrodor*, xxxiii., 15.

19 *Archæological Journal*, xcvii., 134.

20 *Y Cymmrodor*, xxxiii., 73-101; Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, Wales and Monmouthshire: Anglesey, p. lxxviii.

drawal would have made some provision for the defence of these coasts, and it is in keeping with the policy of the time if this were done by agreement with local rulers ranking as *fœderati*. A dynasty settled in Galloway or the Isle of Man was well fitted for this position. That later tradition translated this agreement into terms of physical paternity need surprise no one.

The northern connections of this dynasty are certain, but it is not recorded in Man till 300 years later. Nor can the localisation in Galloway be proved. This is a supposition which rests in the first place on the known distribution of the British kingdoms in Northern England and the Lowlands, a subject which has been fully discussed by Chadwick in the chapter already summarised. This distribution makes it probable that the one family which stands apart from the great clans of Coel Hen and Dyfnwal had its seat in the geographically isolated area of Galloway. Another point is the recurrence of the name Tudwal, which recalls the wicked king in the life of St. Ninian; it will shortly be suggested that he is to be identified with the earlier of the two rulers of this name who appear in the genealogy.

The conventional dating of St. Ninian has long depended on the story in the 12th century life written by St. Ailred. According to this the founder of Candida Casa visited St. Martin at Tours and later dedicated the church at Whithorn in honour of the great Gallic Bishop, whose death had meanwhile occurred.²¹ This would fix the date of the building to c. 397 or shortly after. But the story of the visit to Tours and the meeting with St. Martin is not found in the *Miracula Nynie*, an 8th century poem written at Whithorn.²² As Dr. Levison has pointed out,²³ it is inconceivable that the writer of this poem would have omitted all reference to a personal link between his hero and the famous Bishop of Tours, had such occurred in his source. We may therefore be sure that this story in the form included in the 12th century life was

21 *Vita Niniani*. cap. ii. and iii. (ed. *Historians of Scotland*, v., 142-4).

22 *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Carolini*, iv., 943-62; cf. *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xliii., 1.

23 *Antiquity*, xiv., 287.

no part of the early tradition of Whithorn, and that it was not found in the lost earlier life from which both the *Miracula* and St. Ailred drew much of their material. The naming of the church of Candida Casa after St. Martin, which is attested both by Bede and the *Miracula*,²⁴ therefore affords only a *terminus post quem* for the dating of St. Ninian's mission. Bede further states that it took place long before the time of St. Columba (*multo ante tempore*). This is probably derived from Whithorn, for the first Anglian bishop of that See, Pechthelm, was a friend of the historian. Bede's testimony is confirmed by the evidence of the earliest inscription found at Whithorn, the Latinus stone, which dates from the middle of the 5th century²⁵ and shows that there was a Christian community in the neighbourhood at that date. We may now turn to the genealogy already discussed and note the correspondence between this date and that established for the earlier Tudwal, the wicked king, whose blindness and subsequent healing by St. Ninian are recorded in both the *Miracula*,²⁶ and the 12th century life.²⁷ This Tudwal is the only recorded ruler of the name whose date in any way corresponds with the other indications afforded by the scanty record of the saint.

The foundation of Candida Casa about 430-40 by a British missionary, who had studied at Tours,²⁸ would account for the dedication to St. Martin and would also explain the emphasis placed on his "regular" training at a time when the particularism of the Celtic church was being widely questioned. This dating would make St. Ninian a contemporary of St. Patrick and show the conversion of Southern Scotland as a part of the great evangelistic movement, which affected the whole Celtic world. St. Patrick's letter to the Christian

24 *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii., 4 (ed. Plummer, i., 133); *Miracula*, cap. iv., esp. vv. 88-91 (l.c., p. 948).

25 For the dating of these inscriptions see Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: Anglesey, p. xciv.

26 *Ut supra*, cap. v. (l.c., p. 949).

27 *Ut supra*, cap. iv. (l.c., v., 144).

28 Even in the 6th century Britons were visiting the shrines of Gaul, e.g., Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Germani Parisiensis*, capp. lvi. and lxxii. (*Mon. Germ. Hist.: Auctores Antiquissimi*, iv., 33 and 36).

subjects of the tyrant Ceretic is evidence both of the existence of Christian communities in the Lowlands at this date and of the imperfect conversion of the land.²⁹ Two generations later Strathclyde was, if we may trust the Breton life of St. Gildas,³⁰ a fully Christianised country. The extent of St. Ninian's mission to the Picts does not now concern us. That his work among the Britons extended beyond Galloway is inherently probable and is borne out by a story in Jocelyn's life of St. Kentigern. The latter found, when he came to Glasgow, "a certain cemetery formerly consecrated by St. Ninian."³¹ The life was written in the 12th century but it incorporates earlier material; the use of the term *cemeterium* rather than *ecclesia* is primitive and points to an earlier written source.

References to Whithorn occur in a number of Irish sources. These show that the monastery soon became a centre of learning to which students from across the sea were wont to resort. The earliest indication is contained in the life of St. Tighernach, who studied at Candida Casa as a youth; the date must be the last quarter of the 5th century, as the saint's death is recorded in 548.³² A more interesting account is connected with St. Finnian of Moville, whose death is noted in 578.³³ He also studied at Whithorn as a young man,³⁴ and his memory is probably commemorated at Capel Finnian, a small ruined building on the shore $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles W.N.-W. of Mochrum and 12 miles from Whithorn.³⁵

29 See n. 8 supra.

30 *Vita S. Gildae*, cap. i. (Lot, *Mélanges d'histoire Bretonne*, p. 433); St. Gildas was born c. 500; his life as it stands is of c. 1060 but the form *Arecluta* (mod. Welsh *Argludd*) must go back to an early written source (Lloyd, *History of Wales*, i., 136).

31 *Vita S. Kentigerni*, cap. ix. (ed. *Historians of Scotland*, v., 179).

32 *Vita S. Tigernaci*, cap. iv. (Plummer, *Vitæ SS. Hiberniae*, ii., 263); *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 548 (ed. Hennessey, i., 51).

33 *Ibid.*, s.a. 578 (l.c. i., 67).

34 *Acta S. Finiani* in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i., 120; cf. *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ii., 11 (Henry Bradshaw Society).

35 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Scotland: Wigtownshire, no. 235.

THE NORTHUMBRIAN SUPREMACY.

The British hegemony in the North was broken up by the advance of Northumbria. Some Anglian penetration into what is now southern Scotland had already taken place before 634, when the defeat of the Welsh king Cadwallon brought about the final severance of the northern Britons from their compatriots in Wales.³⁶ After this date the consolidation of Northumbrian power followed rapidly. Stenton suggests that the north coast of the Solway was lost to the Britons a generation before the time of King Egfrith (ob. 685), though the words of Bede,³⁷ written in 731, would suggest that Whithorn itself and the surrounding country were only occupied at a rather later date. The expansion of the Northumbrian kingdom into Ayrshire is even later, the conquest of Kyle and the adjacent regions being recorded in the year 750.³⁸ This expansion has left its mark in the place-names and the church dedications. The early English suffix ingaham meaning the settlement of the people of,³⁹ is found not only in Dumfriesshire, where the lost Tidbrichtingaham is recorded as the site of a monastery⁴⁰ (probably represented by the carved stones at Hoddam), but in Wigtownshire, where Penninghame, the district between the Cree and the Bladnoch is another example. Ecclesiastically the dedications to St. Cuthbert, the famous patron of Lindisfarne, tell the same story. He is honoured at Kirkcudbright and elsewhere in Galloway and in a number of churches in Ayrshire, including Girvan and Monkton.⁴¹

The Northumbrian bishopric of Candida Casa had been set up shortly before 731; it is documented throughout the 8th century. The consecration or death of the successive holders is recorded either by Bede⁴² or the Continuator⁴³ or in the old Northumbrian annals used by Simeon of

36 F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, cap. iii., esp. pp. 77 and 85.

37 *Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii., 4 (ed. Plummer, i., 133).

38 *Continuatio Bedae*, s.a. (ed. Plummer, i., 352).

39 *English Place Name Society*, I., i., 53, and ii., 42.

40 Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, s.a. 854 (*Opera*, ii., 101 in *Rolls Series*).

41 Mackinley, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, 256.

42 Bede, *op. cit.*, v., 23 (l.c. i., 350).

43 *Op. cit.*, s.a. 735 (l.c. i., 361).

Durham.⁴⁴ The last reference in this source occurs in 802 when Bishop Badwulf took part in the consecration of Archbishop Egbert of York.⁴⁵ It has often been assumed that the Anglian succession came to an end with Badwulf, and William of Malmesbury's text⁴⁶ supports this interpretation. But the lack of later names may be due to no more than the deficiency of the surviving sources after the failure of the Northumbrian annals in 803. Whithorn was certainly Northumbrian about 880, when Bishop Eardulf of Lindisfarne and Abbot Eadred were received there in the course of their flight with the relics of St. Cuthbert.⁴⁷

Relics of the Anglian supremacy at Whithorn are few. The stone of St. Peter has been attributed to this period,⁴⁸ but this monument raises epigraphical and ecclesiastical problems of considerable complexity. These cannot be discussed here, and it must suffice to say that it is of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century and that it may equally well belong to the preceding British period. The fragmentary cross shaft with a figured panel⁴⁹ is Anglian work of a date not far removed from the date of the visit of Bishop Eardulf.

Throughout this period St. Ninian continued to be venerated in the church of Whithorn. Bede calls him "a most revered bishop and holy man of the people of the Britons" and speaks of "his episcopal seat, made famous by the name of St. Martin the bishop and the church in which the body of St. Ninian rests with many saints."⁵⁰ At the end of the 8th century Alcuin wrote to the brethren at Candida Casa praising the poem recently sent to him through the scholars of York and presenting a silken garment for the body of the saint.⁵¹ The poem referred to in this letter is the

44 Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, s.a. 764, 777 and 790 (Opera ii., 42, 46 and 53 in Rolls Series).

45 Simeon of Durham, *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, ii., 5 (Ibid. i., 52).

46 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, iii., 118 (p. 257 in Rolls Series).

47 Simeon of Durham, *Historia D.E.*, ii., 12 (l.c. i., 67).

48 R. A. S. Macalister in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, lxx., 318.

49 Collingwood no. 11 (Dumfriesshire and Galloway Trans., Ser. III., x., 215).

50 Bede op. cit., iii., 4 (l.c. i., 133).

51 Alcuini *Epistola*, 273 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolarum*, iv., 431).

Miracula Nynie (see p. 92), the only surviving copy of which was found in the library at Bamberg. This evidence of continuity in the cult of St. Ninian favours the supposition that the Northumbrians took over the existing Celtic monastery and strengthens the presumption that the information found in Bede and the Miracula is based on a genuine tradition preserved on the site.

THE VIKING AGE.

The capture of York in 867 and the subsequent settlement of the Danish army did not result in the immediate conquest of the whole of Northumbria. The land beyond the Pennines and the Tees continued to be governed, in virtual independence, by a number of Anglian ealdormen, and it is only in the last years of Bishop Cutheard of Chester le Street (ob. 915) that we begin to hear of an invasion of this region by Norwegian armies from Ireland.⁵² No direct information is available about Galloway, but it is probable that the course of events there was similar and that the conquest and settlement of that province by Vikings from Ireland took place in the years before and after 920.

The principal evidence for this settlement is provided by the place names.⁵³ Many of these, though incorporating Norse terms, show the Gaelic habit of forming compounds, in which the second element defines the first.⁵⁴ The monuments also, particularly the Whithorn school of crosses,⁵⁵ illustrate the hybrid nature of the ruling class in Galloway in the 10th century.

Historically, the first clear reference is in the Orkneyingar Saga. There it is recorded that one summer (c. 1040) Earl Thorfinn the Mighty, ruler of the Orkneys, lay at Galloway, "where England and Scotland meet," and

⁵² F. M. Stenton in *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England: Westmorland*, pp. xlix.-lii.

⁵³ Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, Series III., vii., 104.

⁵⁴ Cf. E. Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*.

⁵⁵ Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, Series III., x., 219.

used it as a base for his raids on the English coast.⁵⁶ An earlier notice in *Njal's Saga* relates how after the battle of Clontarf (1014) Kari Solmundarson and his companions "sailed north to Beruwick and laid up their ship, and fared up into Whithorn in Scotland, and were with Earl Malcolm that year."⁵⁷ This entry has generally, and probably correctly, been referred to Whithorn, but A. O. Anderson prefers to translate *Hvitsborg i Skotlandi* noncommittally as "White's Castle."⁵⁸

These records are sufficient evidence of Viking rule in Galloway in the 11th century, and there is no reason to doubt that it goes back to about 920 when the Viking kings of Dublin established their rule in Northern England. Entries in later English chronicles refer more than once in this period to a ruler of Galloway, but there is no confirmation in contemporary sources. A good example is the account of the submission made to the Anglo-Saxon king Edgar at Chester in 973. The fact is confirmed by the contemporary authority of Abbot Aelfric⁵⁹ and the names of the rulers are found in early and apparently authentic lists.⁶⁰ But the attribution of these rules to the various kingdoms first appears in the 13th century;⁶¹ the list then given contains errors and must be regarded as an interpolation. Jacobus rex Galwalliae of this record is almost certainly the ruler of Gwynedd, Iago ap Idwal.

Galloway is thought to have been one of the nine earldoms in Scotland held by Earl Thorfinn of the Orkneys.⁶² Nominally at least it would have been held by grant from the King of Scotland. When Thorfinn died in 1064 his dominions descended to his sons Earls Paul and Erlend. In 1098 King Magnus Barelegs of Norway, with a powerful fleet

56 *Orkneyingar Saga in Icelandic Sagas*, iii., 43 (Rolls Series).

57 *Ibid.*, iii., 364.

58 A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, i., 541.

59 *English Historical Review*, xlii., 505; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 364.

60 *Florence of Worcester, Chronicon*, p. 142 (ed. Thorpe); *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum*, ii., 148 (Rolls Series, i., 165).

61 Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora*, s.a. 974 (Rolls Series, i., 466).

62 *Orkneyingar Saga*, loc. cit., iii., 59; cf. *Munch in Chronica Regum Manniae et Insularum*, p. 47..

of 100 vessels, seized the Orkneys and the other Scottish islands. Proceeding on to the Isle of Man, he chose it for his dwelling-place and erected there a number of fortresses. The chronicler proceeds: "he so exerted his power over the men of Galloway, that he forced them to fell timber and transport it to the coast for the construction of these fortresses."⁶³

This is the last direct evidence of Norse rule in Galloway. Some twenty years later Earl David (afterwards King David I.), who had inherited southern Scotland under the arrangement made by his father, King Eadgar, was receiving dues from Galloway and endowed the newly founded abbey of Selkirk with a tithe of the cheeses rendered to him by the province.⁶⁴ A little later we find among the witnesses to King David's charters to the Bishopric of Glasgow, Fergus of Galloway.⁶⁵ This same Fergus figures as the hero of an Arthurian romance written in the 13th century.⁶⁶ There his father's name is given as Somerled (Sommelloit) (see p. 165). There is no reason to suspect the writer of inventing this parentage for his hero and the name may be accepted.

Somerled is a Norwegian name and suggests that Fergus was connected with the Earls of Orkney. The Annals of the Four Masters record the death of Somerled, King of the Isles, in 1083,⁶⁷ and Munch⁶⁸ has shown that he was the great-grandfather of the more famous Lord of Argyll of this name, who revolted against King William the Lion and died in 1164. He further suggests that the elder Somerled was a descendant of Earl Gille, who married the sister of Sigurd the Stout and ruled the southern Scottish islands under him. Somerled the younger of Argyll and Fergus of Galloway were contemporaries, and it seems possible that both were descended from the Somerled who died in 1083. The connection between

⁶³ *Ibid.*, s.a. 1098 (ed. Munch, p. 6).

⁶⁴ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 27.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 85 (c. 1136) and 95 (1139-41).

⁶⁶ *Le Roman des Aventures de Fergus par Guillaume le Clerc, Trouvère du 13 ième siècle* (Abbotsford Club, 1841).

⁶⁷ *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, s.a. (ed. O'Donovan, II., 920).

⁶⁸ *Chronica Regum Manniae et Insularum*, p. 74 (ed. Munch).

the two areas must have been close in the 11th century. Evidence of this connection is afforded by the fact that the monastery of Iona held four churches in Galloway which were granted to Holyrood at the time of its foundation.⁶⁹ Their acquisition by Iona must belong to the period of Viking rule, for there is no evidence of Columban penetration into Galloway in the earliest period, nor is it likely during the Northumbrian supremacy.

The church in Galloway must have been flourishing in this period. At Whithorn itself parts of some 20 standing crosses have been recovered.⁷⁰ As far as is known all these came from the churchyard. All are comparatively small—the one complete example⁷¹ appears to be typical—and were headstones marking individual graves. Headstones of this type have been found at a number of places in Britain. At Llantwit Major there is one erected to Rhys by his son Hywel, King of Glamorgan in the late 9th century.⁷² At Cambridge and Peterborough a number of crosses and headstones, together with grave covers—all of them uninscribed like the majority at Whithorn—were found in cemeteries which must have been those of the Danish landholders of the district.⁷³ So at Whithorn we may regard these crosses as coming from the cemetery, which the leaders of the Irish-Norse ruling class would have created for themselves round the older shrine of St. Ninian.

Similar crosses have been found on a number of ancient church sites in Wigtownshire. And alongside the normal small headstones found in that county are a number of larger crosses, of which the finest is that now at Monreith house, a monolith standing nearly 7 ft. high.⁷⁴ These are not individual memorials. They are examples of what a Saxon writer calls the "standard of the holy cross erected on the estates of

⁶⁹ *Munimenta S. Crucis*, no. 51 (ed. Bannatyne Club, 1840, p. 41).

⁷⁰ *Collingwood* (op. cit.), illustrates 13 and records others; more have since been found.

⁷¹ *Collingwood*, no. 16 (op. cit., p. 218).

⁷² *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1938, 47.

⁷³ Cambridge Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, xxiii, 15.

⁷⁴ *Collingwood*, no. 21 (op. cit.).

nobles and lifted up on high so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily prayer."⁷⁵ The high cross marked out the space which served for worship, before even the little wooden oratory was erected, the site known to the British world as locus or llan.⁷⁶ These crosses in Galloway were the successors of earlier stones like that of the Apostle Peter at Whithorn. In Wigtownshire the remains of these high crosses have been found at Longcastle, Penninghame, and Wigtown itself.⁷⁷ The cross at Monreith was brought from Dowies. Other fragments may well prove to have had the same purpose. The majority of these ancient church sites probably go back to a Celtic foundation, but there is good reason to think that one, at least, is of Viking origin. The name Wigtown is a compound "probably from some personal name, Norse or Anglian, beginning Vigg, shortened to Vigga."⁷⁸ The medieval dedication was to St. Machutus (St. Malo),⁷⁹ and this points unequivocally to Maughold in the Isle of Man. St. Maccaldus (or Maccuil), a convert of St. Patrick, was the original founder of this great Celtic monastery,⁸⁰ but in the 12th century the Norse clergy identified their patron with the better known Breton saint,⁸¹ doubtless in order to avail themselves of the more edifying life with which the latter had been provided. The St. Machutus of Wigtown must also replace an earlier Maccaldus, who provides a further instance of the connection between Galloway and the Isle of Man.

⁷⁵ *Vita Willibaldi*, cap i., in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, xv., 88.

⁷⁶ I have discussed this development in the Cardiganshire County History (forthcoming).

⁷⁷ *Collingwood*, nos. 18, 19 and 27 (op. cit.).

⁷⁸ Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. *Transactions*, Series III., vii., 113; the map shows that the Parish of Wigtown has been cut out of the older district of Penninghame, comprising the land between the Cree and the Bladnoch, from the sea to the moors.

⁷⁹ Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, 206.

⁸⁰ Notes of Muirchu Maetheni (Rolls Series: *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, ii., 286).

⁸¹ The story of the miracle inserted in *Chronicon Manniae*, s.a. 1158 (ed. Munch, pp. 10-2) has been edited to read Machutus, but the original Machaldus has been left in one instance.

ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS IN THE 12th CENTURY.

The ecclesiastical reforms, which were effected throughout western Europe in the course of the 11th and 12th centuries, first reached Scotland through the influence of St. Margaret (ob. 1093), the queen of King Malcolm. But their spread and consolidation dates from the reign of David I. (1124-53). At Whithorn there were two main changes. The old Northumbrian See was revived and Candida Casa became the Cathedral of the Bishops of Galloway. Rather later the monastic community, the successor of the old Celtic foundation, was converted into a house of Praemonstratensian canons. These two reforms are reflected in the buildings; the first, in particular, has been illustrated by the discoveries made in 1949, which are summarized below (p. 106).

It has already been suggested that the Northumbrian See survived after 803, the last date at which Bishop Badwulf is mentioned (p.), but William of Malmesbury's statement is good evidence that it had lapsed long before he wrote in circa 1125.⁸² The first prelate of the new succession is Gillealdan, who was instructed by Pope Honorius II. to seek consecration from the Archbishop of York.⁸³ Gillealdan made a formal profession of obedience to Archbishop Thurstan and was consecrated in or shortly after 1128.⁸⁴ To judge from his name the new bishop belonged to the same Norwegian Irish ruling class from which Fergus himself was sprung. His successor, Bishop Christian, was consecrated at Bermondsey on 19th December, 1154,⁸⁵ and died at the Abbey of Holm Cultram on 7th October, 1186.⁸⁶ The Romanesque church at Whithorn dates from the time of Bishop Gillealdan. It is cruciform, with a short nave, unlike the lengthy churches of the reformed monastic orders, of which the existing ruin at Whithorn is itself an example. This earlier type appears to be

⁸² William of Malmesbury, loc. cit. (n. 46).

⁸³ Jaffe, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, no. 7225, p. 827 (Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England II.*, ascribes this mandate to 1128 not 1125); *Historians of the Church of York*, iii., 48 (Rolls Series).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, iii., 60; cf. the 12th century chronicle of the archbishops of York (*Ibid.*, ii., 385).

⁸⁵ *Chronicon S. Crucis*, s.a. (ed. Bannatyne Club, 1828, p. 32).

⁸⁶ *Chronicon de Mailros*, s.a. (ed. Bannatyne Club, 1835, p. 95).

characteristic of the churches erected at this date in the old Celtic monasteries of Wales, which were also engaged in a process of internal reform.

The first Praemonstratensian house in Scotland was Dryburgh, founded in 1150.⁸⁷ No early record of the four abbeys of this order in Galloway has survived. Tungland in Kirkcudbrightshire was founded from the English house of Cockersand, but Whithorn and Holywood were colonized from Souleseat, which was a daughter of Prémontré.⁸⁸ The obituary of Prémontré records, under May 12th, the Count of Galloway, founder of the Abbeys of Souleseat and Candida Casa, and under April 5th Christian, Bishop and founder of Candida Casa.⁸⁹ The obituary of Newhouse, Lincolnshire, the oldest English foundation of the Order, records on May 12th Fergus, Count of Galloway, founder of Souleseat and Candida Casa.⁹⁰ These entries should fix the Praemonstratensian foundation at Whithorn between the consecration of Bishop Christian in 1154 and the death of Fergus in 1161. But the question is complicated by the fact that Souleseat was first founded as a Cistercian house in 1147. St. Bernard's Life of the Irish reformer, St. Malachi, written after his death in 1148, records that the saint "crossed over to Scotland. On the third day he came to the place called the Green Loch (Viride Stagnum), which he had caused to be made ready, and there established an abbey." The writer describes the further journey of St. Malachi, who "left there of his children, our brothers (*fratribus nostris*), an abbot and convent of monks, whom he had brought with him for this purpose."⁹¹

87 Ibid., s.a. (loc. cit., 74); I am indebted to Mr H. M. Colvin for this and the following references and for much help in elucidating the history of the Praemonstratensian foundation.

88 *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh* (Bannatyne Club, 1847), introduction p. vi., n. 3, citing Le Paige, *Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis*.

89 R. van Waefelghem, *L'Obituaire de Premontré*, in *Annalectes de l'Ordre de Premontré*, vol. v.-viii. pp. 83 and 107; that the unnamed Count of Galloway is Fergus is proved by the date of his death, which corresponds with that given in the *Chronicon S. Crucis* (op. cit., s.a. 1161; loc. cit., p. 33); cf. following note.

90 Historical Mss. Commission, lxvi., 484 (Mss. of Earl of Ancaster).

91 *Vita de S. Malachia*, cap. viii., in *Acta Sanctorum*, November (3rd), ii., 165 A.

Fergus was deposed in 1160 and became a canon of Holyrood; he died the following year.⁹² His successor as Lord of Galloway was his son Uchtryd, who was defeated and mutilated in 1174.⁹³ Both father and son were generous donors to Holyrood; lists of their gifts are recorded in the charters of confirmation granted to the abbey by Roland, grandson of Uchtryd, and Bishop John of Whithorn (1189-1209).⁹⁴ Furthermore, a charter by Bishop Christian confirming to Holyrood the church of Dunroden⁹⁵ contains no reference to the assent of the Prior and convent, such as appears in the charter of confirmation by his successor, Bishop John. These facts suggest, though they do not prove, that the foundation of the Praemonstratensian house at Whithorn may be subsequent to the death of Fergus and that his recognition as founder may be due to munificence towards the church at some earlier date. In any case the foundation of both Souleseat and Candida Casa must belong to the episcopate of Bishop Christian (1154-86).

This is borne out by the Annals of Maurice of Prato, which state under the year 1177: "about this time Christian, Bishop of Candida Casa, in Galloway, a province of Scotland, changed the canons regular of his cathedral church into Praemonstratensians (*canonicos . . . iam regulares in Praemonstratenses convertit*). For which reason he is named in the obituary of Prémontré as founder of that church. The first prior or abbot placed over them was Adam or Edan, who is named in the obituaries."⁹⁶ This is a late source, published in 1655, but the author evidently had access to the archives of Prémontré and there is no reason to doubt his detailed account. A further indication would be afforded, if it could be established that St. Ailred wrote the life of St. Ninian after his visit to Galloway in circa

92 *Chronicon S. Crucis*, s.a. 1160 and 1161 (loc. cit., p. 33).

93 Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Henrici II.*, anno 1174 (Rolls Series, I., 79).

94 *Munimenta S. Crucis*, nos. 49 and 73 (Bannatyne Club, 1840, pp. 38 and 61).

95 *Ibid.*, no. 25 (loc. cit., p. 20).

96 *Annales* quoted in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. 198, col. 27; cf. coll. 33 and 54; I am indebted to Mr Gordon Donaldson for this reference.

1160, for his preface speaks of the clergy and people of your (i.e., Bishop Christian's) church, who lived under the patronage (of St. Ninian)⁹⁷ and does not mention any Praemonstratensian house.

A date about 1175 is also borne out by the architectural evidence. In the course of the 13th century the Romanesque cathedral of Bishop Gillealdan was replaced by a great church of monastic type. The earliest part is the eastern crypt, erected about 1200; the building was completed before the Edwardian wars (fig. 1). The old nave was extended westwards to a total length of nearly 100 ft. It was aisleless, as often in Praemonstratensian churches.⁹⁸ In the north wall the sills of the windows can still be seen, set high up to avoid the cloister roof, the corbels of which remain on the outer face. The crossing and transepts are no longer visible, but walls and foundations uncovered by Lord Bute at the end of the 19th century suggest that the latter were of three bays. Of the eastern arm only the crypt remains, giving a total length of 90 ft. from the crossing. This length suggests an aisled presbytery with the high altar set against a screen and an eastern chapel behind. In c. 1500 a large double chapel was added on the south side of the east end. The 13th century church is typical of the buildings erected by the reformed Orders and, though the eastern chapel is unusual in English Praemonstratensian plans, a parallel can be quoted from St. Radegund's Abbey, Bradsole, Kent.⁹⁹ There it served as a Lady Chapel, but at Whithorn the need to provide for the shrine of St. Ninian was probably the reason for this extension.

⁹⁷ *Vita Niniani*, prologus (loc. cit., p. 138); the date of St. Ailred's visit to Galloway is fixed by the statement that he induced the ruler of the province to adopt the religious habit, a reference to Fergus' retirement to Holyrood (ibid., p. ix., quoting Capgrave).

⁹⁸ *Archæologia*, lxxiii., 125.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 141, fig. 12.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT WHITHORN AND THE EARLY CHURCH.

The primary object of the excavations in progress at Whithorn is the elucidation of the problems connected with St. Ninian and the early ecclesiastical sites associated with him, but in practice it is impossible to isolate this work and ignore the later medieval buildings and their history. The excavations of 1949 have, in fact, provided much information about these buildings, but their investigation is still only in its first stage. This preliminary report will therefore be confined to a detailed account of the pre-Romanesque remains discovered, giving in a later section (p. 123) a summary of the account of the other discoveries.

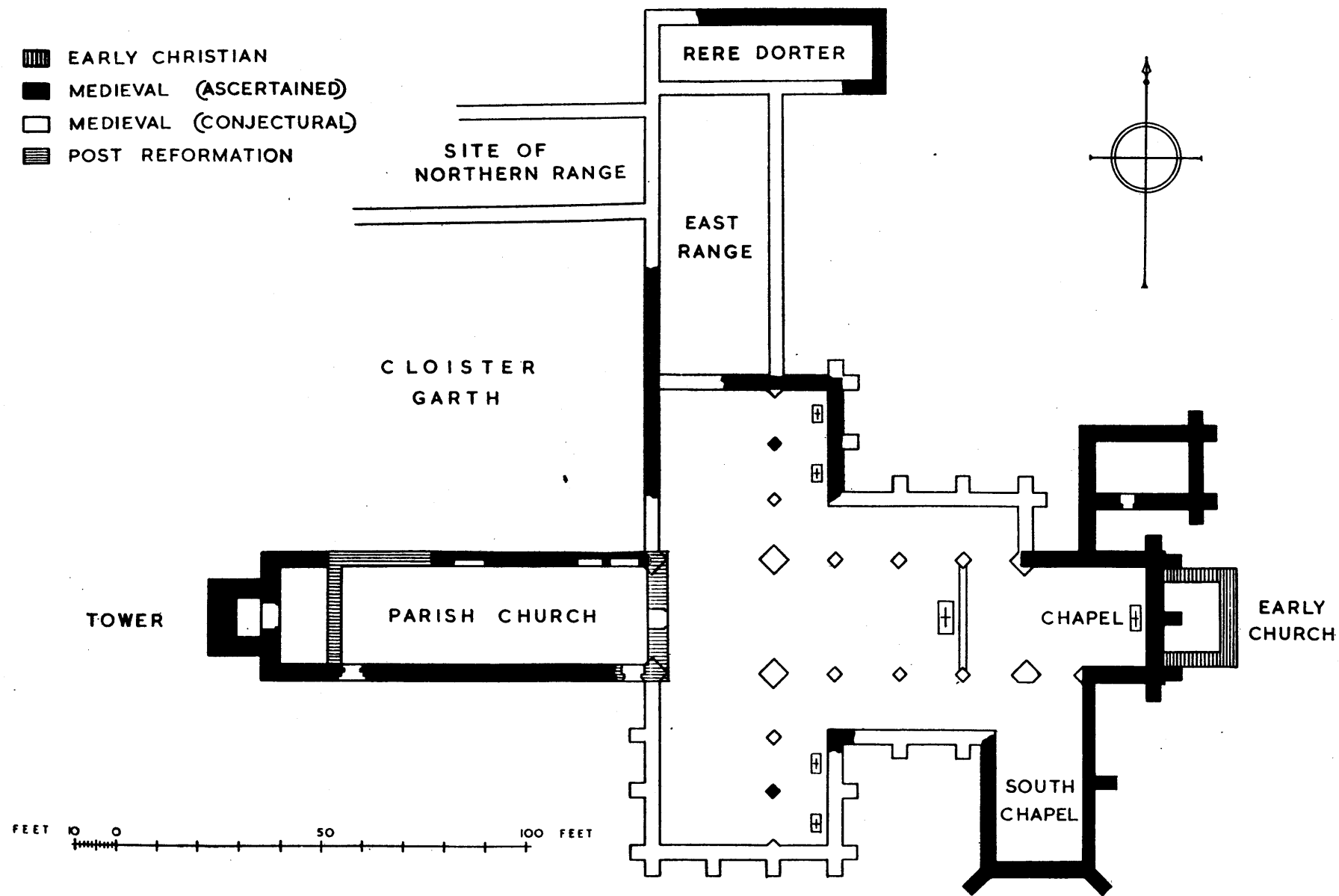
Experience has shown that the normal practice of Romanesque builders, who had to erect a cruciform church on a site already encumbered with a smaller building, was to leave this standing at the east end of the newly planned nave. It thus remained available for services while they were erecting the eastern part of the new church, and was only demolished after the dedication of the choir and the high altar. The new nave would then be completed, the foundations and base of the old walls being left in position below the pavement. Dunfermline Abbey is a good example¹ There the small rectangular building attributed to St. Margaret and its slightly later eastern extension occupy the greater part of the existing nave, the apse of extension projecting into the western arch of the 12th century crossing. The dedication of the Romanesque church, recorded in 1150, refers to the destroyed east end and the existing nave belongs to the second half of the century. Similarly at Hexham, the crypt built by St. Wilfrid of York has been found under the nave west of the later crossing.²

At Whithorn trenches dug inside the medieval nave showed that the existing ground level is that of the post-Reformation parish church, which remained in use till 1822,

1 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Scotland: Fife, no. 197.

2 Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England: II. Anglo Saxon Architecture*, fig. 71; cf. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, 44.

-  EARLY CHRISTIAN
-  MEDIEVAL (ASCERTAINED)
-  MEDIEVAL (CONJECTURAL)
-  POST REFORMATION



WHITHORN PRIORY

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when the present building was erected. The medieval floor lay over 1 ft. lower and rock was found over the greater part of the area at a depth of some 18 ins. In places the surface of the rock had been artificially cut away to form a flat platform, and, as this cutting lay immediately below the level of the 12th century pavement, it was clear that all earlier masonry must have been removed at that date. Almost the whole of the area had been disturbed by burials and by its use in modern times as a charnel house for bones disturbed during the digging of graves in the churchyard.³ In a number of places graves could be seen cut into the rock. The majority of these were modern, dating from the 19th century, when the disused building served as a burial ground for the Heritors of the parish; many of the tombs were marked by contemporary memorials. Others appear to be of the same age, but a few may be earlier. Work in and around the nave was therefore confined to trenches designed to explain the history of the building.

Attention was next directed to the east end of the Priory Church. This area was explored by the Marquess of Bute at the end of the 19th century, the work being carried out under the supervision of Mr Galloway. The medieval masonry was then cleared, the base of the fallen walls re-built, and the vaults under the church consolidated. The surface above these vaults was paved at the old level and the walls finished with a low parapet of stone. The vaults in their existing form date from the end of the Middle Ages, but in the course of the work the corbels and springers of a groined vault of circa 1200 were found behind the later masonry. This groined vault only covered the crypt at the east end of the church; the great southern chapel with its vaulted undercroft is a new building of the 15th century, and the doorway leading from this chamber into the older crypt is cut through the older wall. East of the church two buildings were found in the course of the work. Their walls were carried up to a height of about 1 ft. above the finished level of the turf. No record of the original character of this masonry was available.

3 According to local memory this continued till shortly before 1900.

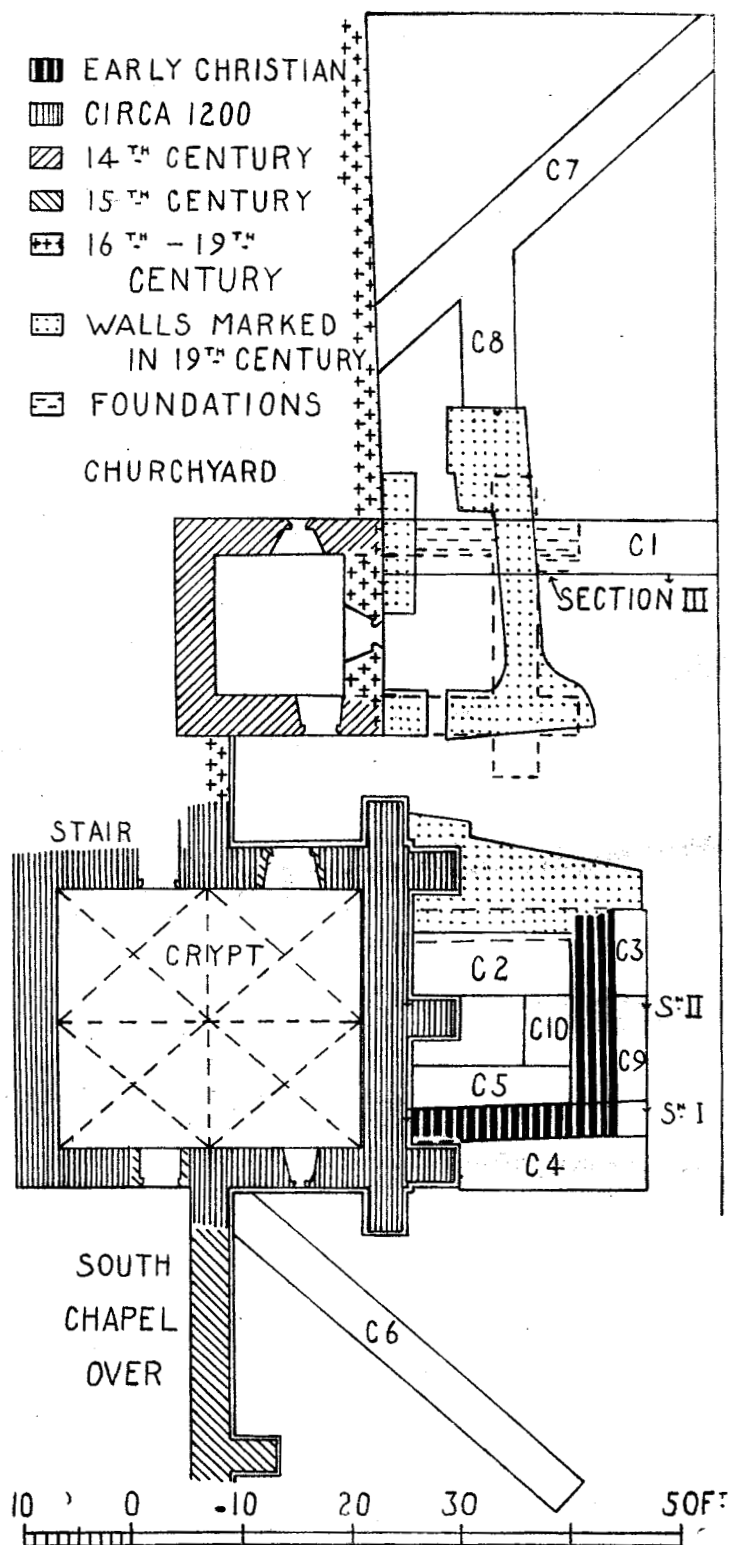


Fig. 1.—WHITHORN. EXCAVATIONS AT EAST END OF PRIORY CHURCH.

The northern block was first examined as the irregular plan suggested that it might be an early building. Trench C 1, 5 ft. wide, ran east from the re-built east wall of the small medieval building thought to be the sacristry.⁴ The section (Section III., fig. 2) shows that the masonry was laid in mortar on a rough dry-built foundation; it had been ruthlessly destroyed. A spread of mortar and builders' rubbish marks the contemporary ground level, below which was a considerable accumulation of disturbed soil, in which no structural remains were found. On the north side of the trench, within the small building, large undressed stones resembling those of the foundation were found and removed, there were no remains of a wall rising above the contemporary ground level. If these stones are the remains of a foundation, they continue on the line of the north wall of the "sacristry." No evidence for the re-built wall north of the trench was found. It is clear that the irregular appearance of these restored walls is, in part at least, due to faulty planning of the badly destroyed remains; the only evidence found points to a date late in the Middle Ages. It seems probable that they formed the eastern part of the "sacristry" and that this was a building of two bays with buttresses at the eastern angles. This is confirmed by the absence of all medieval work in the present east wall; the masonry older than the restoration is of the same character as that of the old boundary of the churchyard, with which it is in alignment. The "sacristry" has an original door on the south side and still retains 14th century detail *in situ*. There is no trace of the springing for a vault and the remains suggest that the floor level was on the lower level of the crypt. These facts make it unlikely that it served as a sacristry. The position suggests that it was the infirmary, but this identification must be regarded as provisional, pending a fuller examination of the monastic plan.

The block immediately east of the church was next investigated. Trench C 2, 5 ft. wide, was cut along the

4 I take this designation from a restored plan by H. F. Kerr, kindly sent to me by Dr. J. S. Richardson; the building is often referred to as the Larder.

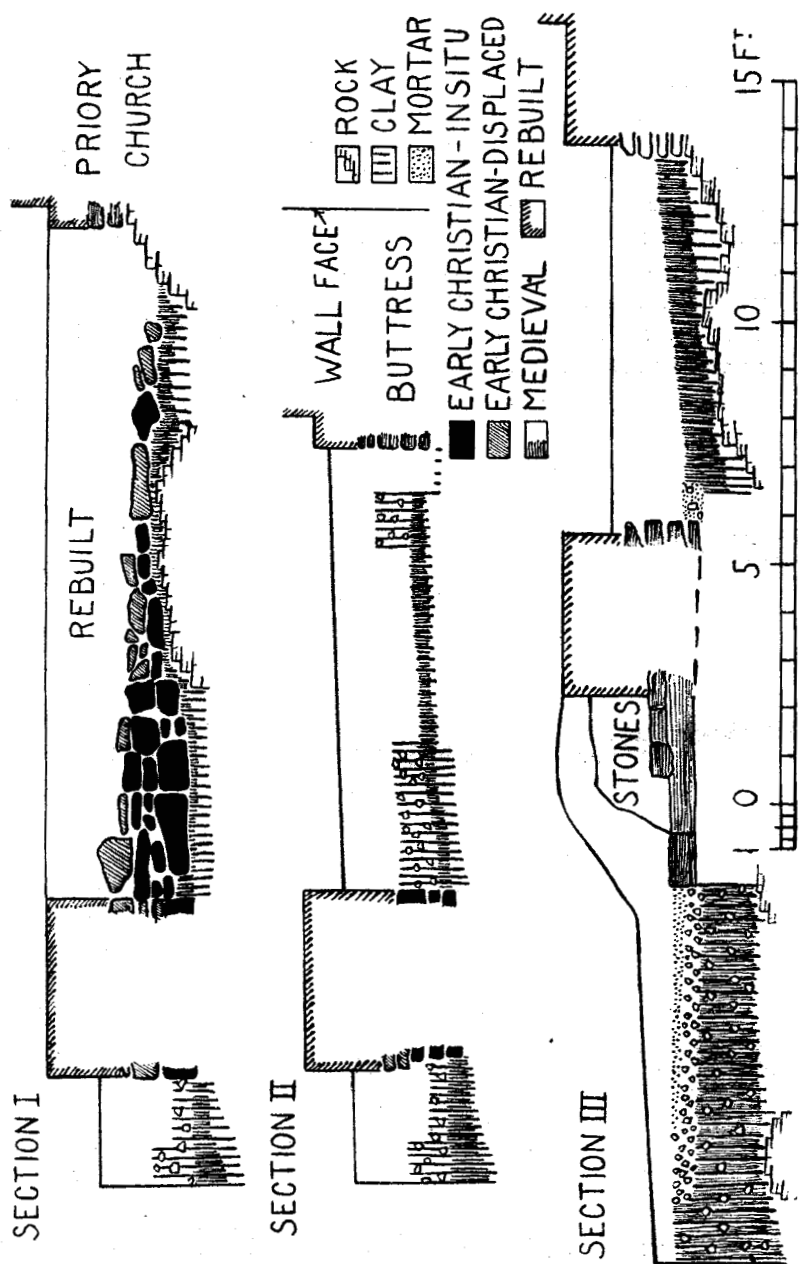


Fig. 2.—WHITHORN—SECTIONS ACROSS BUILDINGS AT EAST END OF PRIORITY CHURCH.

inner face of the north wall with trench C 3, 7 ft. 6 ins. by 3 ft., on the outer side of the east wall, so that the south faces of the two trenches would together provide a section showing the relationship of the wall to the east end of the church. The section was limited in order to avoid disturbing the path used by visitors, and in the result an extension across this proved unnecessary. The trenches were everywhere carried down to the surface of the undisturbed subsoil. In the south-east corner of C 2 a test hole, 4 ft. by 1 ft., was excavated for a further 6 ins. (fig. 1).

The section (Section II., fig. 2) shows the following sequence: Subsoil was a stiff red clay, which formed a matrix containing small angular fragments of decayed shillelt or slate. No rock was found in these trenches, though in adjacent areas hard, fissured slate rock with an irregular surface projected above the clay, which filled the pockets. Covering the subsoil was a layer of dark earth. The lower part, which was comparatively free of stones, appeared to be natural humus. Above, it was looser in texture with many stones; this part had clearly been disturbed, since it lay against the wall, and, as was later ascertained, covered the mortar with which the face had been daubed. Inside the building the change occurred about 4 ins. above the surface of the subsoil; beyond the wall the line of demarcation became more defined and lay at a relatively higher level. The surface of these strata sloped towards the east, the subsoil showing a fall of 1 ft. 6 ins. in 14 ft. The upper filling of the trenches was a mixture of earth, stones, and builders' rubbish, including mortar droppings. It yielded occasional modern artefacts and extended to the surface, where the turf was laid on a thin layer of fine soil. This accumulation represented the levelling of the site after the excavations carried out by Lord Bute.⁵ At three points it cut into the older strata. Against the face of the east wall of the church a trench 1 ft. wide had been carried down to the base of the masonry and cut 2 ins. into the subsoil. The lower part of the foundation was medieval work, built with a fair face in

5 Strata disturbed in the 19th century are left blank on the sections.

an open trench, the upper part was a restoration. This trench was subsequently found to extend along the whole of the east end. On the outer face of the older wall which lay 14 ft. east of the church, a similar trench, 18 ins. wide, had been dug to within 6 ins. of the base of the masonry, leaving only the faces of the lowest stones covered by the older accumulation of soil. No similar trench was found against the inner face of the wall. A shallow cutting between the two walls represents either a trial trench or possibly a grave emptied in the course of the earlier excavations. The section proved that the walls to the east are older than this part of the church, which dates from c. 1200 and that the older building was either destroyed at that date or had already become ruinous.

Trench C 4, 5 ft. wide; C 5, 4 ft. wide; C 9, 3 ft. wide; and C 10, 4 ft. wide, were cut in order to expose the whole of the south and east walls of the older building. The inner face of the north wall, which had already been uncovered in C 2, showed that this was a reconstruction, using the old stones and technique. The stratification in these four trenches differed in no significant way from that already described. The trenches cut by Lord Bute to follow the old masonry descended to within an inch or two of the subsoil on each side of the south wall. On the inner face of the east wall the lower part of the stonework was never reached, and on the outer face a height of up to 6 ins. was still covered with undisturbed soil. The irregular surface of the rock was found at several points on the south side of the building. It was weathered and pitted with natural hollows, which were filled with subsoil or humus. There was no trace of artificial cutting of the rock or of other disturbances penetrating the subsoil.

Before discussing the early building it will be convenient to describe the other trenches cut in this area. Trench C 6 (39 ft. by 4 ft.) ran obliquely south-eastward from the angle between the eastern bay of the church and the south chapel. Rock or clay was normally found at a depth of between 1 ft. 6 ins. and 1 ft. 9 ins., and there was no appreciable

change in level. A number of irregular hollows had been dug to some 1 ft. 6 ins. below the surface of the subsoil, in some cases cutting away the rock; these were roughly oriented and probably represented graves. The whole area, including the hollows, had been dug over in modern times. No human remains were found. A similar trench, C 7 (42 ft. by 5 ft.), was dug to the north-east, starting from the east wall of the old churchyard at a point 14 ft. north of the "sacristry." The ground sloped to the north and east. Undisturbed strata were not reached in the lower part of the trench. In the upper part there was no trace of occupation, nor had the surface of the subsoil been disturbed. The whole area had been used, probably at the time of Lord Bute's excavations, as a tip for the disposal of the surface soil. C 8 was a short trench (10 ft. by 5 ft.) running from C 7 to the northernmost part of the re-built walls east of the "sacristry." No ancient remains were found. The existing masonry is set on the tip, and no evidence of an earlier wall was visible in the trench.

The early building consists of three walls, projecting eastward from the end of the Priory Church. The south and east walls are each 3 ft. 4 ins. thick. They are built of blocks of local shales and slates, undressed and split along the bedding planes. One of the larger flat surfaces so obtained usually shows on the face of the wall, but some of the smaller stones are laid with a rough edge outward. The larger blocks are often irregular and smaller fragments are used to wedge them into position. Longer pieces were chosen to form the quoin at the south-east corner. The stones were set in a greenish clay. This can still be found in the interstices of the masonry, though much has washed out, leaving a void into which soil has filtered. Only the lowest courses to a height varying between a few inches and 2 ft. represent original, undisturbed walling. Above this the masonry is of similar character, but with a larger proportion of stones set edgewise. In places the junction of the two was marked by a slight oversailing of the upper layer.⁶ This appears to be

⁶ The elevations distinguish between the two types of dry-built masonry but give no details of the modern mortared addition.

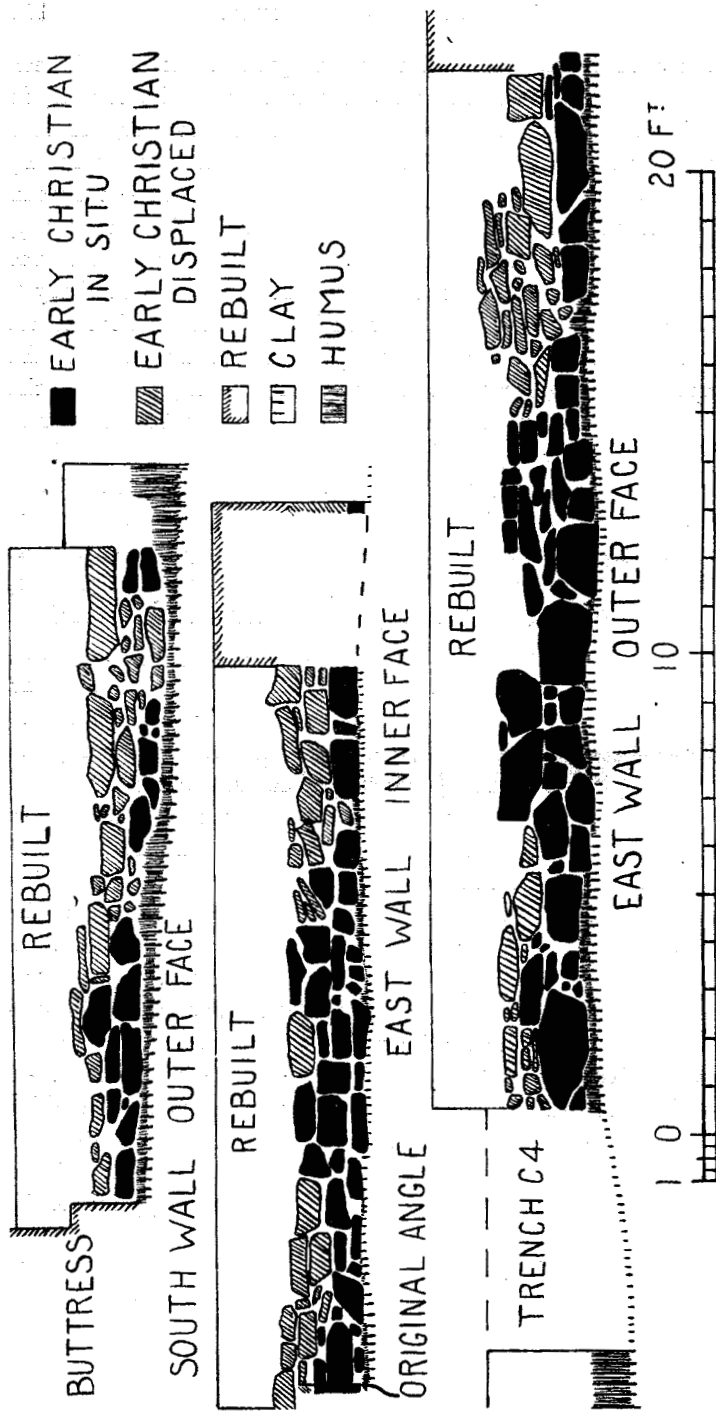


Fig. 3.—WHITTHORN. ELEVATIONS OF EARLY CHURCH.

ancient work slightly displaced or possibly removed during the earlier excavations and re-set. In both parts of the walling the surfaces and angles of the stones have been much weathered and contrast with the sharp, freshly split material used to bring the level of the wall up to the modern surface. The base of the north wall, while of the same general character, is entirely re-built. Near the centre of this wall a circular pit extending across its line and some 4 ft. into the building, had been dug in order to dispose of a large mass of modern human bones. This appeared to have been done when the site was already levelled up but before the modern masonry was added to the old walls. The early north wall was then re-formed with the old stones, but on a slightly different line, the original angle being traced 6 ins. within the inner face of the re-built wall.

As has been stated, the early masonry was set in clay, and it at first appeared that no mortar had been used. Many fragments of mortar were found in the modern trench following the outer face of walls. Much of this was certainly of 19th century date, the waste from that used to heighten the old work. Very similar mortar was found in the soil immediately below the modern trench, but the depth of the undisturbed layer was so small that it seemed possible that it had reached the position in modern times. But finally a few patches were found *in situ* on the face of the masonry and still covered by undisturbed soil. The outer face was therefore pointed or plastered—daubed would perhaps be a fairer description—with a coarse cream mortar of poor quality.⁷ No mortar was found inside the building, although the inner face of the walls remained covered to a greater height with undisturbed soil.

The building measured internally 15 ft. wide by over 14 ft. long. The western part had been destroyed when the Priory Church was built. Since the present paving of the crypt is only some 3 ins. above the base of the early walls,

⁷ Specimens of mortar have been removed and will be technically examined together with other materials of interest recovered during the excavations.

excavations within the building are clearly useless as all traces of the earlier remains must have been removed. The north side is a reconstruction, but the projecting stones at the north-east angle and the re-use of old weathered material make it certain that this wall was found in the course of the 19th century excavations. The nature of the thickening of this wall is uncertain; it is unlikely to be an original feature. Its examination would have involved the removal of the modern path, and this seemed unlikely to afford useful information as the entire reconstruction of the north wall made it probable that the ancient remains beyond had also been disturbed. Trench C 3 exposed the south face of the buttress marked out at the north-east corner of the early building. This was built on filled in soil, no trace of ancient masonry remaining. These facts, taken in conjunction with the evidence found east of the "sacristry," suggest that the 19th century excavators here found the much robbed remains of a late medieval wall—probably the enclosure wall of the medieval cemetery—and failed to distinguish them from the early building.

The only constructional detail which was noted in the early building was a straight joint on the inner face of the south wall 2 ft. 3 ins. from the south-east angle (pl. II.). Since the stones remain in position on each side, this is unlikely to be a fortuitous appearance. There are traces of a similar straight joint 2 ft. 6 ins. further west, but the wall is here disturbed; two large stones remain in position on the east side, but the upper of the two small stones on the west side is re-set. The evidence suggests a small door, later blocked. The stones of the outer face of the wall are too much displaced to provide clear evidence. No pavement or floor level could be traced within the building. The base of the walls fell slightly towards the east, and if the original floor had been level it must have lain above the highest undisturbed stratum.

No objects of interest were found in the course of the excavations. The superficial layers and the tip to the north of the "sacristry" yielded a few fragments of medieval

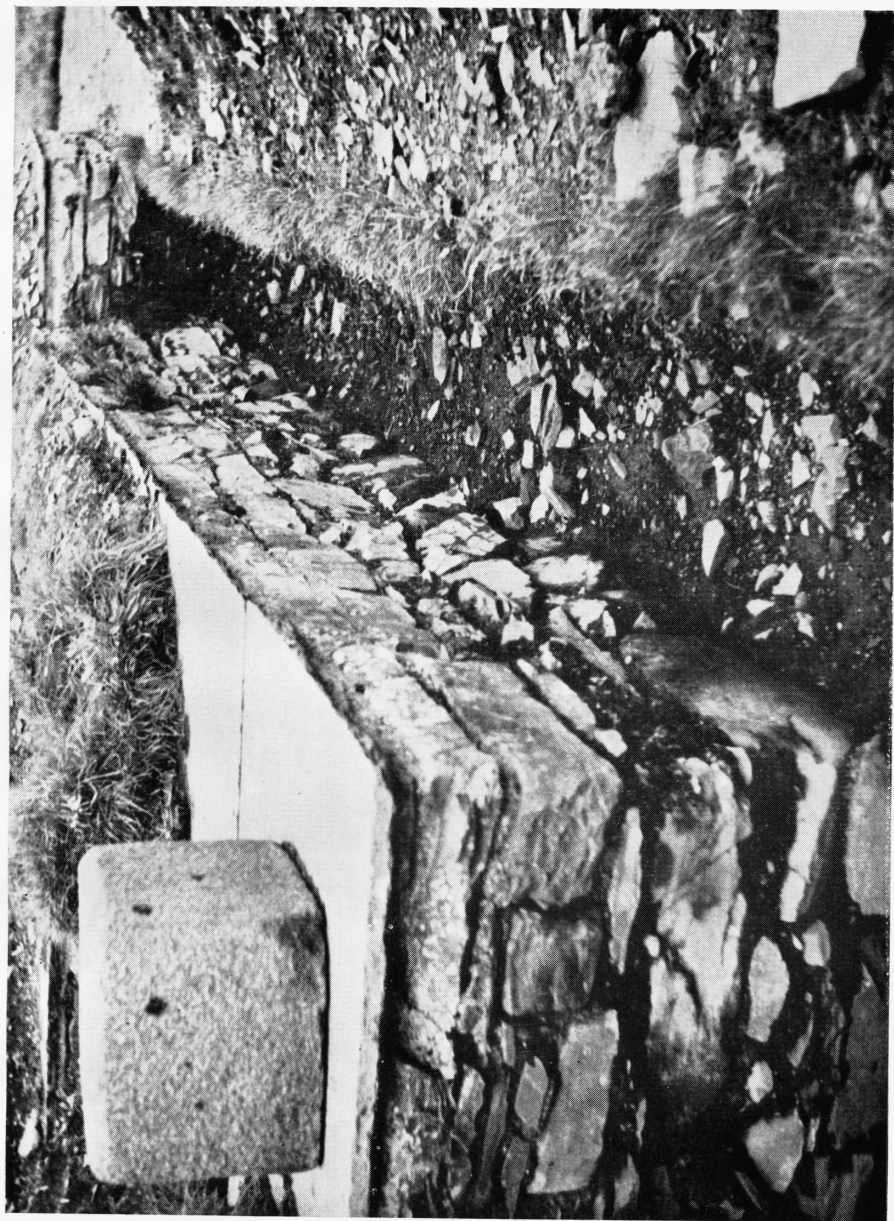


Plate 1.—WHITHORN. EAST WALL OF EARLY CHURCH (EXTERIOR).

Plate II.—WHITHORN. INTERIOR OF EARLY CHURCH, SHOWING STRAIGHT JOINT.

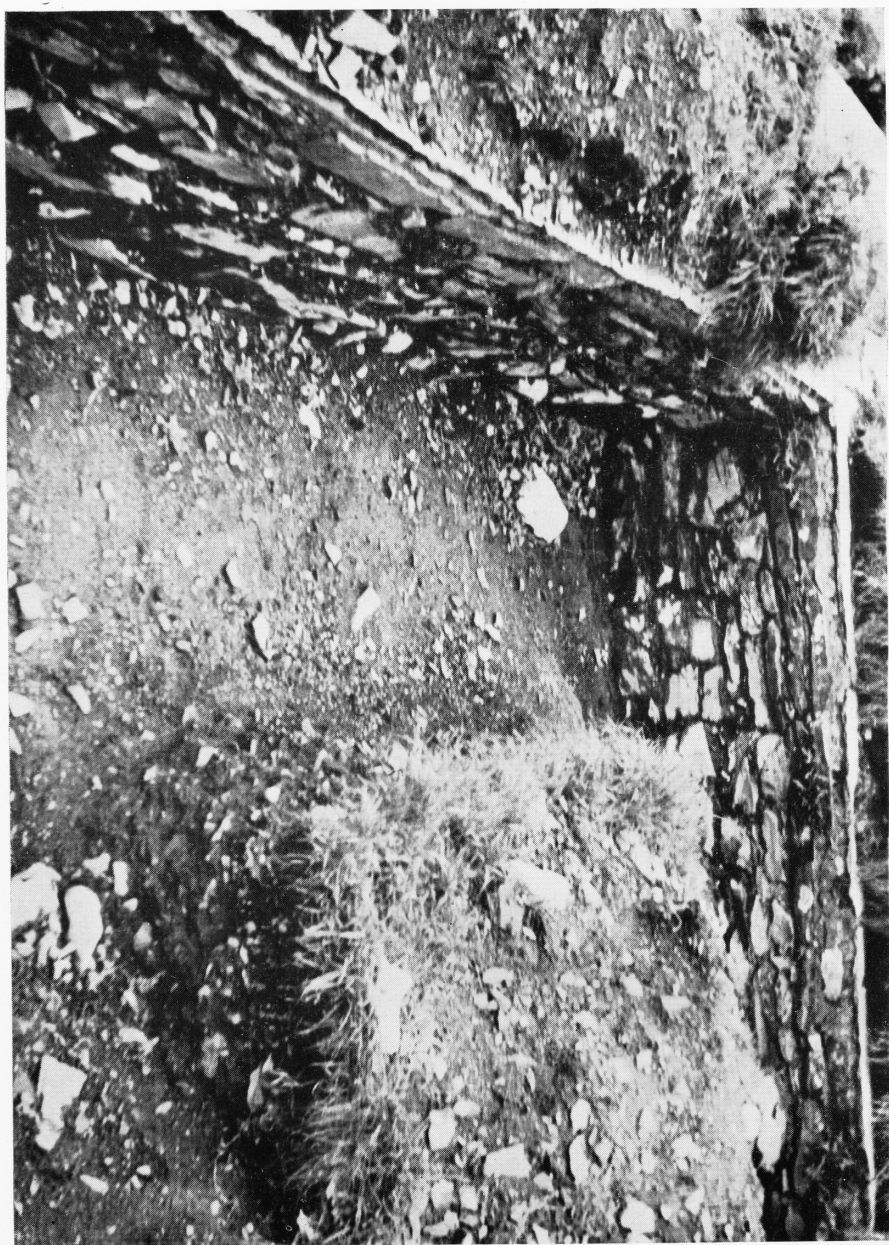




Plate III.—WHITHORN. SOUTH WALL OF EARLY CHURCH.

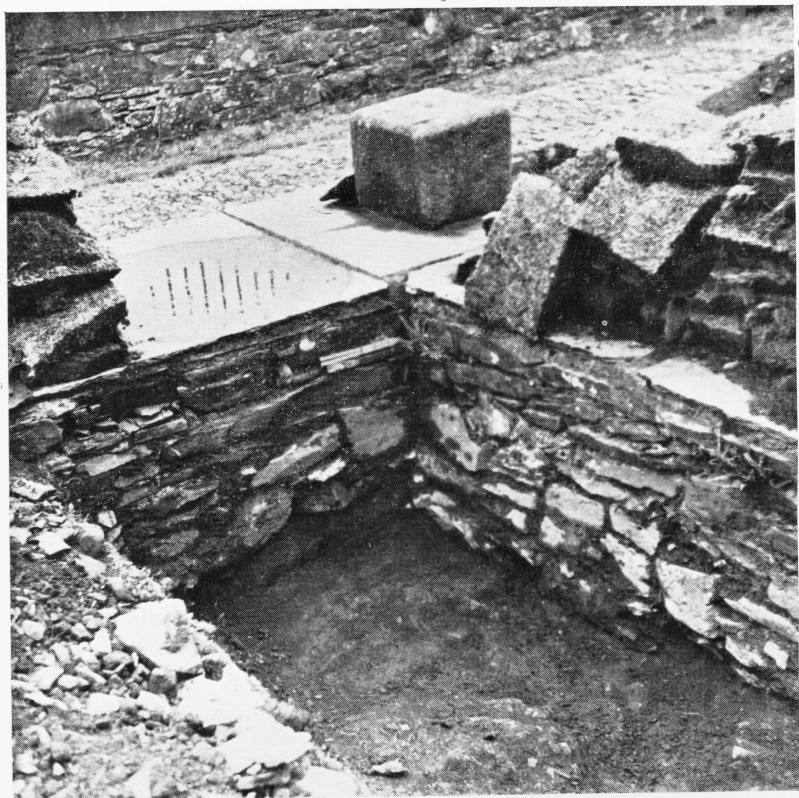


Plate IV.—WHITHORN. S.-E. INTERIOR OF EARLY CHURCH.

pottery and some modern sherds were found in the filled in trenches. It is reported that some of the early crosses found in Lord Bute's excavations came from this area, but these cannot now be identified. Among the stones placed in the undercroft of the south chapel was a small broken fragment from a cross already in the museum;⁸ this presumably, but not certainly, came from this part of the site as a small fragment with only a faint trace of ornament and is unlikely to have been preserved if found elsewhere. The absence of early objects is not surprising. Almost the whole of the soil had already been excavated in the 19th century, and objects of interest found in the course of Lord Bute's work would have been collected and removed.

When considering the date of this building we may at once exclude the period of the Northumbrian supremacy. Bede's account of the church of Candida Casa makes it clear that no new building had been erected since the Northumbrian conquest.⁹ After 731 we are in the golden age of Northumbrian art. Even a village church like Escomb¹⁰ or a small chapel like Heysham¹¹ is technically far in advance of the masonry at Whithorn. Professor Richmond points out that the builders at Escomb had Roman stones available for their walls, but even so they show an understanding of the art of building with mortar, which is entirely lacking in these walls. The succeeding period of Irish-Norwegian rule is hardly more likely. It is true that we know little about the Scottish buildings of this age and their dating, but it is unlikely that Galloway lagged behind the rest of the country, seeing that the same Anglian and Irish models were everywhere known. This is the period of round towers like those at Brechin and Clonmacnois, both of which can be dated to the 10th or early 11th century. The masonry of these and other contemporary buildings is often unmortared, but the best of them show a mastery of material and a sophistication,

8 Collingwood no. 32 (Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, Transactions, Series III., vol. x.).

9 *Beda's Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii., 4.

10 Clapham, *op. cit.*, pl. ix.

11 Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 187, fig. 75.

which we should be entitled to expect also in a building in the centre of an important monastery like Whithorn.

The real parallels to this early building are to be found on a number of Celtic monastic sites. The best explored of these is Tintagel in Cornwall, where the remains in question date between the 5th and 8th centuries.¹³ There the local stone is softer and generally splits into smaller fragments, but the walls present real analogies with those found at Whithorn. They are formed of rough undressed stone set in clay without the use of mortar. The settlement on Eileach an Naomh, one of the Garvelloch Islands in Argyll, is another good parallel.¹⁴ Though this site cannot be certainly identified with the Columban monastery of Hinba, there is no reason to doubt that the remains belong to that age. A single cell of the same type has been found at Bangor, Caernarvonshire.¹⁵ Two remote hermitages may also be cited. Ynys Seiriol, off the coast of Anglesey, takes its name from one of the founders of Welsh Christianity and is mentioned in the early 7th century; the earliest masonry, which is demonstrably older than the 12th century, is dry-built, of rough stones.¹⁶ The hermitage on St. Helens, Isles of Scilly, again older than the 12th century church inserted into the enclosure, and the settlement includes a number of features that would ordinarily be classed as prehistoric.¹⁷ All these sites have buildings in the same dry-built tradition and all of them go back to the earliest days of the Celtic church.

It is reasonably certain that the early building at Whithorn was a church. Its position near the summit of the hill, in an area which certainly formed part of the graveyard of the early monastery, favours this identification. The

12 For Brechin round tower see Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 38; cf. the sketch of masonry in Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, i., 173.

13 *Antiquaries Journal*, xv., 401, esp. pl. lvii.; *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, xxv., 25.

14 *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, n.s., viii., 62.

15 *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1925, 432.

16 Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: Anglesey, pp. xcii. and 141.

17 Unpublished.

orientation, which is almost identical with that of the Priory Church of the later Middle Ages, may also be cited, though too much stress should not be laid on this, as the siting of early buildings of this type was largely controlled by natural features. The strongest argument is the mortar daubed on the walls. This can hardly have been used for structural reasons and, though it may have helped to keep the building dry, its main purpose was probably ornamental. Gruffydd ap Cynan, Prince of North Wales (ob. 1137), "made Gwynedd to glitter with lime-washed churches like the firmament with stars."¹⁸ Such are the words of his contemporary biographer, and we need not doubt that the use of white colouring, whatever its practical effect, was symbolic and in the earliest days would have been applied only to the church. And so we are brought back to the words of Bede,¹⁹ who tells us that Whithorn "was generally called the White House (Candida Casa) because there he (i.e., St. Ninian) had made a church of stone, in a manner unusual among the Britons." A church of stone in this connection must mean a plastered or lime-washed building; the slates and shales of Galloway lack the light colouring of freestone; their use in the dry-built clochain and for fortress walls would have been too well known for a building of plain stone to have acquired such fame. Though proof both of the date and of the identity is lacking, I have little doubt that these walls at the east end of the Priory Church are the remains of the church of St. Martin built by S. Ninian or one of his immediate successors, the church in which his body lay through the earlier centuries. The Praemonstratensian Church was planned with a chapel behind the high altar. This chapel probably housed the shrine of St. Ninian, and its position may have been influenced by the fact that it stood on the site of the older shrine.

¹⁸ *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, p. 154 (ed. A. Jones).

¹⁹ *Beda's Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii., 4.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT THE ISLE OF WHITHORN.

The Isle of Whithorn lies on the east coast of the Machars, three miles south-east of the burgh. It is now a promontory joined to the mainland by a causeway. Beyond this the island rises into two small hills separated by a narrow isthmus and two rocky inlets, dry at low tide. On the west side between the island and the coast is an extensive harbour, which would have served the needs of all medieval shipping. The further of the two hills is crowned with a small fort with strong defences, of a type usually associated with the pre-Roman Iron Age.¹ The nearer hill consists of an open field, the property of Mr James Robertson. On the far side is St. Ninian's Chapel, a small medieval building, which was partly restored in 1898 by the Marquess of Bute; it was then enclosed within a railing and placed under the guardianship of the Commissioners of H.M. Works and Public Buildings as an Ancient Monument.

The visible remains of the chapel are of the 13th century, but it has been argued that the Isle of Whithorn was the location of a monastic settlement dating back to the earliest days of Scottish Christianity. Air photographs, circulated in the neighbourhood during the war, were thought to indicate the existence of rectangular buildings on the top of the hill.² Mr Robertson, who was anxious to have these remains examined, invited us to undertake the work and afforded us every assistance. A trial trench was dug on the occasion of our visit in November, 1946.

The summit of the hill is crossed by a number of natural dykes of stone running north-east and south-west. At several points these appear to be linked by cross banks. The most prominent of these cross banks, lying near the summit of the hill, was chosen for the test. A trench, 15 ft. long and 2 ft. 6 ins. wide, was cut through the bank and carried down to natural rock. The bank was shown to consist of a spread of rubble with a maximum thickness of 1 ft. 6 ins.; many of

¹ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in Scotland: County of Wigtown, no. 504.

² It has, unfortunately, proved impossible to trace these photographs.

the stones had mortar, identical with that used in the medieval chapel, still adhering to them. Below the rubble was 1 ft. of soil, which had at some time been cultivated. This rested on the natural subsoil, a stiff red clay filling the hollows in the rock. The soil below the rubble produced a fragment of a cooking pot of c. 1300 and a glazed sherd of the 15th century. The stone dykes were found to be entirely natural, with no traces of masonry. The excavation showed that this part of the site had never been occupied and that the appearance of buildings was due to banks of debris from the chapel, spread out and linking the natural ridges. The banks were probably formed soon after the Reformation, when the chapel would have ceased to function. There seems no reason to doubt that the other apparent enclosures are of the same nature.

In 1949 the chapel itself was explored. The concrete floor, which had been laid down at the time of the restoration, was removed and two sections were cut across the building. The whole area, inside and outside, has been disturbed at various times and few medieval deposits remained intact. The only structure earlier than the existing walls was a rough foundation running parallel to and within the north wall. This began 16 ft. 6 ins. from the west end and projected nearly 3 ft. into the building. For the first 3 ft. the inner face was ragged. Beyond this the foundation ran for a further 5 ft., with a fair inner face 2 ft. within the north wall. Beyond this the stones had been removed. The foundation consisted of a single course of undressed boulders set in clay. Alongside the stones and lying on the subsoil was a layer of dark greasy material, probably decayed thatch. The whole was covered by the underbedding of the later pavement, a layer of roughly pitched stones set in a yellow mortar. On the south side of the chapel the underbedding was thicker; it lay on a stratum of earth and stones. This stratum included a number of boulders like those forming the foundation, but no trace of a set alignment could be found in the length of 6 ft., which was opened. The foundation on the north side suggests that

originally the chapel was divided into two parts by a chancel arch, the chancel being 4 ft. narrower than the western part of the building and probably extending as far east as the later end wall. It is impossible to distinguish any change in the character of the side walls, but this is not conclusive as the masonry is much disguised by modern repairs and re-pointing. Since one of the 13th century windows is set in the south wall of the existing chancel, the foundation now discovered must be older; it is probably of the 12th century.

The clearance of the modern concrete showed that a narrow bench, 1 ft. high, ran along the west and part of the north walls; the bench was of one build with the walls and stopped just short of the west side of the older foundation. Evidence of a step 9 ins. high was also found 8 ft. 6 ins. from the east end; this marked the division between the later nave and chancel.

Examination of the area outside the chapel showed that this had stood in an irregular oval enclosure. The surrounding wall, which in places remains to a height of 3 ft., is between 5 ft. and 6 ft. thick. It is constructed of roughly dressed stones set in clay. The enclosure measured rather more than 100 ft. by about 80 ft. It is now almost entirely covered by the accumulation of soil and stones and can only be traced in part.³ This enclosure is certainly medieval and probably contemporary with the building of the chapel.

The excavations have failed to disclose any remains earlier than the 12th century, nor have any early Christian stones been recorded from the Isle of Whithorn. A monastic settlement would, in all probability, have been set within the ramparts of the fort, which would have provided a ready-made enclosure.⁴ There is now no trace of this, and the fact that the later builders chose a site on the inner hill suggests that there was no local tradition connecting St. Ninian with the fort. The chapel itself is of a common type.

³ Fuller details will be available when the site has been cleared by the Ministry of Works.

⁴ Cf. St. Cybi's Monastery in the late Roman fort at Holyhead (Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales: Anglesey, pp. xci. and 31) and that of St. Mochoai in the cashel at Nendrum (H. C. Lawlor, *Nendrum*).

It was doubtless erected for the convenience of travellers. It is possible that it stood on an earlier foundation—and the disturbance of the site was so great that all trace of this could well have vanished—and that this older building marked the site on which the saint landed and began his mission. Such a chapel would be in keeping with the practice of the Celtic church. One need only recall Whitesands Bay⁵ and Porth Stinan,⁶ which marked the landing places leading to St. Davids; at both these sites are remains going back to the earliest days of the Welsh church. At Whithorn we are left with the possibility; all traces have probably gone for ever.

THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH AT WHITHORN.

When the excavations started in 1949 the plan and character of the Romanesque church at Whithorn were alike uncertain. The great south door of four orders had clearly been tampered with and a number of stones reset; in particular one of the voussoirs of the second order had been replaced with a rough boulder (pl. VI.). The only other visible detail was a fragmentary string course at the east end of the south wall, which was carried round two small rectangular buttresses. These did not reach above the string course, the upper part of the wall having been rebuilt. There were also a number of ornamental fragments of this period in the Museum.

The east end of the south wall was cleared down to the original ground level, uncovering the base of a wall faced with good ashlar masonry of fine red sandstone (pl. V.). A double chamfered plinth marks the base of the wall some 4 ft. 6 ins. below the string course (2 ft. below the sill of the inserted late medieval doorway). A series of four small buttresses, set 8 ft. apart and each measuring 1 ft. 3 ins. by 10 ins., was traced along the outer face of the wall; the lower member of the plinth was returned round each buttress, but the upper was stopped against the sides and cut only on the outer face.

5 *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1925, 87.

6 *Ibid.*, 1926, 381.

The masonry¹ was a finely jointed ashlar, the stones diagonally tooled. The surface of the lower courses was fresh and little weathered. The westernmost of the five buttresses stands 42 ft. from the south-east angle of the post-Reformation parish church; beyond this is a rebuilt section of wall of 16th century date, extending as far as a large modern buttress.

A trench cut on the inner side of the wall, opposite the westernmost Romanesque buttress, exposed two projecting stones marking the start of the 12th century west wall. A similar trench on the north side confirmed the position of the north-west angle, but an attempt to pick up the wall in the centre of the nave was defeated by the presence of modern graves. On both sides the west wall had been removed down to the foundations and the face above made good, the later pavement lying less than 1 ft. above the surface of the rock. A trench cut outside the north wall of the church, 26 ft. from the north-east angle of the later parish church, showed that this wall had been rebuilt or refaced during the 13th century; at this point it was of uncoursed limestone rubble, with no trace of ashlar.

East of the last buttress and 8 ft. distant a similar pilaster marked the end of the nave. The plinth was stopped against the west side of the pilaster, beyond which the wall continued for a further 4 ft., ending in a chamfered angle which marked the jamb of an arch or doorway. Only the lowest stone remained; this was embedded in a later wall which had formed the backing to the stalls of the canons' choir. This was, in turn, overlaid by the angle of the post-Reformation building, which lay at a high level, insecurely based on filled ground (pl. V.). The absence of the plinth, the paving of the surface outside, and the character of the respond in which the wall terminates, show that the eastern part is an internal structure, the side of a doorway pierced through the western wall of the transept, and that the

¹ Sandstone of this type does not occur in the neighbourhood. It is similar to but not identical with Dumfries stone; the opinion was expressed that it came from Annan or Cumberland.



Plate V.—WHITHORN. SOUTH WALL OF NAVE (12th CENTURY)



Plate VI.—WHITHORN. ROMANESQUE DOORWAY.

pilaster formed the door jamb. This proves that the Romanesque church was cruciform and that the respond belonged to the south arch of the crossing.

The great south doorway was also examined, the soil covering the base of the jambs being removed. The doorway and the first three orders were found to be of one build, the columns rising from bases and the whole set on a continuous chamfered plinth. The columns of the outermost order were without base or plinth, the lowest stones being roughly set on pieces of slate. They had belonged to a higher and probably a wider arch which had been brought from another part of the building and set against the face of the doorway. The doorway was also shown to have been placed in its present position after the construction of the 13th century wall and at some date before the early 18th century, when the existing west wall of the parish church was built against the jamb. It may be suggested that the doorway originally formed the west entrance to the Romanesque Cathedral, while the outer arch may well have come from east end of the nave where an ornamental opening into the crossing might be expected.²

The decorated stones in the Museum include two large corbels carved with animal heads; they formed part of an external cornice, such as is often found on English buildings of this date.³ There are also two small capitals; possibly from a second and simpler doorway.

It is too soon to form a final judgment on this church, but a few points are already clear. The date of the building is about 1150, and as the most important parts now known belong, certainly or probably, to the nave, this period is likely to mark the completion of the building, which therefore belongs to the time of Fergus of Galloway and Bishop Gillealdan. The cruciform plan, which has been inferred from the evidence uncovered at the east end of the nave,

² E.g., Penmon (Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: Anglesey, pl. 177).

³ E.g., Kilpeck (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Herefordshire, i., pl. 168).

suggests an interesting parallel with 12th century Wales. In that country the ancient monasteries, when they were able to survive the Norman invasion, were provided with new Romanesque churches replacing the tiny oratories of an earlier age. A number of these churches, built in the 12th or early 13th century, survive, and all appear to be cruciform with a short nave. Llanbadarn Fawr, Cardiganshire, and Towyn, Merioneth,⁴ are typical, the latter with an aisled nave, the former aisleless, as at Whithorn. Penmon, Anglesey, after the additions made in the time of Owain Gwynedd (1137-60) and later,⁵ also assumed this form.⁶ The evidence now appearing at Candida Casa suggests a similar development, and this may be read as evidence of an internal reform connected with the revival of the bishopric.

4 Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: Merioneth, no. 538.

5 Ibid.: Anglesey, p. 120.

6 I have dealt more fully with this question in the Cardiganshire County History (forthcoming); cf. Bangor Cathedral (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, in press).

ARTICLE 4.

The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn.

By GORDON DONALDSON, M.A., Ph.D.

SOURCES.

The history of the see in the Middle Ages was worked out in great detail (with special reference to the archiepiscopal registers of York¹ and the light which they throw on the bishops' activities in England) by A. W. Haddan and William Stubbs in their *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, Vol. ii., part i. (1873). John Dowden, in his *Bishops of Scotland* (1912), gave the complete succession from the restoration of the see in the twelfth century down to the reformation, with full references and comprehensive biographical notes on each bishop. The post-reformation bishops are dealt with in the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, Vol. vii. (1928). The most recent list is that compiled by R. K. Hannay for the Royal Historical Society's *Handbook of British Chronology* (1939). The account now presented is based on these works, and it has not been thought necessary to cite the authorities to which they refer.

THE STYLE OF THE BISHOPS.

The bishops of the see are commonly called "bishops of Galloway," but the correct style seems nearly always to have been "bishop of Whithorn." In Latin documents it is normally *episcopus Candidæ Case*, very occasionally *episcopus Witherensis*. The first twelfth century bishop was styled *episcopus Candidæ Case hoc est Herwicernensis*. But the use of "Galloway," either alone or in conjunction with "Whithorn," was not unknown. Christian, the second bishop, was *episcopus Galwalie* or *Candidæ Case de Galweia*, and there is a reference in 1177 to *episcopatus Candidæ Case qui etiam nominatus est episcopatus Witherne de Galweia*. Henry (1255-93) was styled *episcopus Galwathiensis* or *evesque de*

¹ These registers are now available in print down to 1315, in the publications of the Surtees Society.

Gauway, while Adam and Oswald, a century later, also appear as bishops of "Galway." In the case of Thomas Spens (1451) we have the interesting designation "bishop of Candida Casa or Whithern, commonly called of Galway." This suggests that, while the official style was "of Whithorn," there was always a tendency to speak loosely of "the bishop of Galloway."

The practice of deriving the name of the diocese and the episcopal title from the cathedral town was in accordance with the usage of every English diocese in the Middle Ages. In Scotland there was a broad distinction between the dioceses which took their names from some ancient ecclesiastical centre—St. Andrews, Glasgow, Brechin and Dunkeld—and those, mainly of later and more artificial creation, which took their names from districts—Moray, Ross and Caithness.² The see of Candida Casa, with its headquarters at the earliest of all Scottish ecclesiastical sites, falls into the former category.

On 3 July, 1504, Bishop George Vaus became dean of the chapel royal of Stirling. Each of his successors until the reformation likewise held this deanery *ex officio*, and their style is commonly *episcopus Candide Case et capelle regie Strivelingensis*. After a brief separation, the deanery and bishopric were reunited in 1615, but in 1621 the deanery was annexed instead to the bishopric of Dunblane.³

The provostry of Lincluden (with some other benefices) was "perpetually annexed" to the chapel royal and bishopric of Galloway on 3 June, 1508, but by 1529 this union had ceased to be effective, and about 1530 Bishop Henry Wemyss relinquished all right to the provostry.⁴ The abbey of Tongland was held by Bishop David Arnot from 28 April, 1510, but when he resigned it, in 1525, it did not at once pass to his successor in the bishopric. By 1531,

² The bishopric of Dunblane not infrequently went by the name of "Strathearn" in earlier times. The more correct designation of the bishopric of Argyll was "Lismore."

³ Charles Rogers, *Chapel Royal*, pp. ciii.-cxlii.; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, iv., 649.

⁴ *Reg. privy co.*, xii., 445; *Reg. sec. sig.*, ii., 210; *St. Andrews Formulare*, Nos. 262, 269.

however, Henry Wemyss was in possession of Tongland, and in 1536 and 1541 the abbey was described as "perpetually annexed" to the see of Galloway.⁵ This annexation remained effective until, after the death of Bishop George Gordon, William Melville was appointed commendator of Tongland, on 7 November, 1588, and held the abbey for some years.⁶ The abbey of Dundrennan was held by Bishops Henry Wemyss and Andrew Durie, but not by their immediate successors.⁷

In 1605 the priory of Whithorn and the abbeys of Glenluce and Dundrennan were granted to the bishop of Galloway.⁸ In 1619, and again in 1633, the annexation of Whithorn, Tongland, and Glenluce to the bishopric was confirmed.⁹

THE SUBJECTION OF WHITHORN TO YORK.

The ancient bishops of Whithorn, in the eighth century, had their origin in the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, and when the see was restored in the third or fourth decade of the twelfth century it was dependent on York. The first recorded bishop was consecrated by the archbishop of York, and his profession of obedience to York, as his metropolitan, is preserved. As yet this did not place Galloway in a different position from that of the other bishops of Scotland, for at that period York was claiming the primacy of the whole of Scotland. It became clear, however, that whereas the other Scottish bishops were anxious to repudiate the domination of an English archbishop, the bishop of Whithorn had no scruples about accepting it. In 1177 the papal legate to Scotland summoned Christian, bishop of Whithorn, among the other Scottish bishops, to a council at Edinburgh, but Christian refused to attend, on the ground that he was subject to the archbishop of York, who was legate for England. This

5 Vatican Transcripts (Reg. Ho.), iii., 246; Reg. Ho. Calendar of Charters, No. 1154; *Formulare*, Nos. 262, 269, 411.

6 Register of signatures in the office of comptroller, xii., 245; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, iv., 156, 307, 522.

7 Calendar of Charters, Nos. 1108, 1154; Elphinstone Royal Letters, No. 44; *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, vii., 64, 145, 147; A.D.C. et Sess., xvi., 30.

8 Reg. sec. sig., lxxiv., 405.

9 *R.M.S.*, 1609-20, No. 2070; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, v. 72.

incident, in isolation, might show merely a readiness to play off one superior against another; but a few years later it was made plain that Whithorn was really in a different position from the other Scottish sees. In 1192, after a struggle lasting two generations, the pope recognised the independence of the Scottish province of the church (although there was still no Scottish archbishop), but Whithorn remained a suffragan of York and was not included with the Scottish bishoprics which now became subject only to the pope and to no metropolitan.

How real the subjection was to York in earlier times—the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries—is shown not only by the records of the consecration of bishops by York and of their formal professions of obedience, but by the evidence that several of the bishops of Whithorn actually served as part-time assistants in the diocese of York. Every bishop from John (1189-1209) to Thomas (1294-1319) is known to have acted in this way, consecrating churches and chapels, granting indulgences and carrying out ordinations in England. One would have thought that they would have had plenty to do at home, but one reason for their English activities would seem to have been the poverty of their revenues. The fees received for their work in England were a welcome supplement to their income. At any rate, this was so in the case of Henry. As a suffragan, he was under obligation to visit York annually, and when, in 1287, he pled advancing years as an excuse for not paying a visit, the archbishop promised that if he would agree to come south he would let him have some churches to consecrate, which would put some money in his pocket. With this inducement, Henry forgot his old age and went to York, where he consecrated two churches. In the same episcopate (of Henry), the poverty of the see was given as a reason for its endowment with a church (1277), and the bishop had to seek extension of time in which to pay a debt of 80 merks (1287).

Those bishops before the War of Independence were in truth Anglo-Scots. Like so many of the great nobles of the period, who held lands in both countries, they played their

parts in Scotland as well as in England. Bishop Christian appears as a witness to charters by the Scottish kings Malcolm IV. and William the Lion; John witnessed a charter by the lord of Galloway and became a monk of Holyrood; Walter witnessed grants by William the Lion and Alexander II.; Gilbert, with the abbot of Melrose and the earl of Dunbar, attempted to mediate between the king of Scots and the claimant to the lordship of Galloway in 1235.¹⁰

This situation, and the dependence of the bishopric of Whithorn on York, were strained during the War of Independence. Bishop Henry, despite his advancing years and his strong links with England, was playing his part in Scottish affairs in the critical years before the outbreak of war. In 1284, when a Scottish parliament was held at Scone to swear allegiance to the infant Margaret, Maid of Norway, the bishop of Galloway was one of the bishops appointed to enforce obedience by spiritual penalties. In 1290 he was at the parliament at Birgham which agreed to Margaret's marriage with Prince Edward of England. Two years later he was one of John Baliol's supporters in his dispute with Bruce. Bishop Henry's successor, Thomas de Kirkcudbright, had been chaplain to Robert the Bruce. In 1296, like most Scots, he swore allegiance to Edward I., the conqueror of Scotland, but a few years later he was energetic in the patriotic cause and joined with the other Scottish clergy when they made their declaration in favour of King Robert in 1310. On the other hand, in 1305 he was already acting as a suffragan in the diocese of York, and from 1310 he seems to have taken special care to maintain his footing south of the Border, for in 1310-11 he was present at York provincial councils, from 1311 to 1313 he performed various functions in England, and in 1314 the king of England gave him a safe-conduct to visit his diocese and return to England. Possibly, like his predecessor Henry, he found that there were financial inducements to serve in the south. In 1311

¹⁰ It seems that for purposes of papal taxation Whithorn was included with the Scottish bishoprics before the War of Independence (Scottish Hist. Soc., *Miscellany*, vi.)

he certainly received £20 for his services as a suffragan to the archbishop of York, and in 1314 a York layman had to do penance for failing to pay the bishop's fee for consecrating a chapel. In 1319 Edward II. was still directing presentations (to benefices in Galloway) to Bishop Thomas.

The evidence that the connection of the diocese of Whithorn with York had been strained during the episcopate of Thomas is quite clear. Not only did Edward I. and Edward II., in 1305 and 1307, reckon the bishop of Galloway among the Scottish bishops, but the pope himself, in a document of 1308,¹¹ placed Whithorn among the independent Scottish bishoprics, and not among the suffragan sees of York. On the other hand, in 1309 the pope ordered the bishop of Whithorn, with the bishop of Durham, to publish the papal excommunication of King Robert. Bishop Thomas died in 1319. His successor, Simon de Wedale, was apparently elected in 1321 but not consecrated until 1327. The long delay is almost certainly due to the state of Anglo-Scottish relations and the peculiar position in which a bishop of Galloway found himself. It seems that Simon had, from patriotic motives, endeavoured to act as if his see was in the same relationship to Rome as the other Scottish bishoprics, and at first (1323) sought confirmation of his election from the pope instead of from his metropolitan at York.¹² In 1326, however, he made his submission to the archbishop, to whom he intimated his election and who gave confirmation, and on 1 February, 1326-7, he was consecrated at Westminster, by commission from the archbishop of York. Early in 1328 Simon was one of the Scots who met the English commissioners when they came to treat for peace.¹³ This bishop seems to have been the first who did not act as a suffragan in the diocese of York. In 1349 we find the pope once more, as in 1308, counting Galloway as part of the Scottish province and not as part of York, but in 1355 and 1360 it seems to be included with the English bishoprics.¹⁴ Michael, the

11 *Cal. of papal registers*, ii., 43.

12 There seems no need to conjecture that there was a double election, as is done by Dowden, who perhaps misread Haddan and Stubbs.

13 *Scott. Hist. Rev.*, No. 106, p. 126.

14 *Cal. of papal registers*, iii., 311, 617, 631.

last bishop whose election was confirmed by York (1355), had to apply to Edward III. for a safe-conduct before he could go south for consecration.

This uncomfortable and uncertain position was eased, and it became possible for Galloway to slip unobtrusively out of the province of York and into that of Scotland, owing to the increasing papal centralisation, which reduced the importance of the archbishops. From 1359 the bishops of Whithorn were appointed by the pope. It was, therefore, no longer necessary for a new bishop to seek from his metropolitan either confirmation of his election or consecration to the episcopate, and the part played by the archbishop thenceforward was apparently confined to the receipt of a formal notification by the pope of the appointment, in one of the "concurrent bulls" which accompanied the bull of provision. Such concurrent letters, in the case of Whithorn, went to the archbishop of York in 1359. But from this point any effective assertion by York of its supremacy over Whithorn became much more difficult, and there is no evidence that any bishop after Michael (1355-9) gave formal obedience to York.

The final breach, in practice though not yet in law, came about with the Great Schism (1378-1418), when England recognised the pope at Rome and Scotland adhered to the anti-pope at Avignon. After the death of Adam (1378), the chapter elected Oswald, prior of Glenluce, who went to Rome for confirmation and was duly provided by Pope Urban VI. Clement VII., the anti-pope at Avignon, revoked the appointment of Oswald and empowered the bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews to promote either Ingeram de Kettins or Thomas de Rossey. Ingeram was elected by the chapter and provided by Clement, but he withdrew, and provision was then made of de Rossey. De Rossey's strong views on the rights of Clement VII. were such as inevitably to embitter relations with England. He wrote a treatise on the subject, concluding it with a letter in which he challenged any English bishop, but especially the bishop of Norwich, to decide the issue between Clement VII. and Urban VI. by personal

combat.¹⁵ With such an energetic anti-papalist in Whithorn, there could be no compromise with York. Oswald, as the Roman or papal candidate (although he appealed—in vain—to Avignon), was acceptable to York, but failed to make good his claim against the anti-papal, Scottish candidate. While Oswald still lived, two further appointments were made (by Benedict XIII., now anti-pope), and the succession in Whithorn thus preserved in defiance of the pope and the archbishop of York.

We may take it that the period of the schism put an end to any reality in York's claim to authority over the diocese of Whithorn. In 1422, when the first appointment was made after the healing of the schism, no concurrent letters seem to have been issued to any archbishop,¹⁶ and this looks like a tacit recognition that Whithorn was now part of the independent Scottish province. The position was regularised, so far as Scottish law could regularise it, by an ordinance of King James I., dated 26 August, 1430, laying down that the church of Whithorn, its prelates and ministers, churches, men, tenants and servants, lands, rents and possessions, should be treated like the rest of the prelates, bishops, abbots and other ecclesiastical ministers of the kingdom and their goods; so that the clergy throughout the realm should not be used unequally and differently, but that all of them should enjoy the same law, privilege and liberty granted to the whole order of clerics.¹⁷

In 1472, when the archbishopric of St. Andrews was created, Whithorn was formally included in its province, and the protest made by the archbishop of York referred to his claims over Scotland generally, and not to Whithorn in particular. In 1492 the see of Glasgow was raised to archiepiscopal rank, and Whithorn transferred to its jurisdiction.

METHODS OF APPOINTMENT.

The regular formula for describing the appointment of a bishop in the twelfth century was election by the clergy and

¹⁵ *Copiale prioratus S. Andree*, pp. 217 et seq.

¹⁶ *Cal. of papal registers*, vii., 287.

¹⁷ *R.M.S.*, ii., 164.

people and the consent of the king. In practice, the effective voice may often have belonged to the king or to a local magnate. Election by the clergy and people was very soon displaced by the vote of the cathedral chapter, which, however, might likewise be subject to royal or baronial influence. With the growth of papal centralisation, provision by the pope took the place of chapter election. It remained the normal procedure until the reformation, but nearly a century before that the king had established a right of recommendation which amounted to nomination. After the reformation, the royal voice—which had nearly all along, except in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, been an important one—was left without rivals, and the crown in effect assumed the former papal powers of provision.

In Galloway we may assume that the first four bishops were "elected by the clergy and people." Both Gilla-Aldan and John are styled "elect" before they were consecrated. It seems likely, however, especially in view of subsequent history, that the formula may here as elsewhere have concealed the nomination of the bishops by a secular power—perhaps not the king, but the lord of Galloway, who seems to have occupied a peculiar position in relation to the bishopric. A parallel perhaps exists with the see of Dunblane, where the earls of Strathearn, who had founded or restored that bishopric, exercised the rights which the king claimed in other sees. The earl of Strathearn seized the movables of the deceased bishops of Dunblane as the crown seized those of other bishops; it was to him, and not to the king, that concurrent bulls were issued by the pope when he made an appointment; and, as founder, he claimed to be "patron" of the see. The bishopric of Galloway probably owed its restoration to Fergus, lord of Galloway; one of the few appearances of the third bishop is as a witness to a charter to Kelso by Alan, son of Roland, lord of Galloway; the fourth was clerk of Roland and chamberlain of Alan, lords of Galloway; and we find the fifth attempting to mediate between the king of Scots and Thomas, claimant to the lordship, in 1235. The evidence at this point is very

slender, but, read in the light of what happened later, it may perhaps provide ground for a conjecture that these early bishops were clients of the lords of Galloway, who were their patrons and to whom they owed their appointment.

As already stated, the traditional mode of election by clergy and people gave way to election by a chapter. The change took place somewhat later in Galloway than in most dioceses, and the ancient rights of "clergy and people" were not finally extinguished until after the middle of the thirteenth century. In every other Scottish diocese except St. Andrews there was erected a chapter of secular clergy, but the Premonstratensian prior and convent of Whithorn, like the Augustinian canons of St. Andrews, formed a regular chapter, which first appeared as a claimant to the right of election in 1235. The late appearance of the claims of the chapter, and the prolonged opposition to it, may perhaps suggest that a chapter of regular clergy was less acceptable in Scotland than one of seculars.^{17a} In 1235, Gilbert was evidently the nominee of the king, at a time when the lordship of Galloway was in dispute. On 25 February he was "elected by the clergy and people of the diocese" and approved by the king of Scots in a letter addressed to the archdeacon and clergy on 23 April. The prior and canons of Whithorn, however, in the interests of ecclesiastical liberty and their own rights, had unanimously elected Odo, one of their own number, on 11 March. The convent claimed that *their* election had the approval of the king, and petitioned the archbishop of York to consecrate their nominee, but the king showed where his choice had really lain by writing to the archbishop on 20 May requiring him not to consecrate

^{17a} It may well be that, before the issue over elections arose, the relations between the bishops of Galloway and the canons were not always cordial. Gervase, abbot of Prémontré from 1209 to 1220, wrote to Bishop Walter, evidently soon after his appointment (1209), expressing the hope that he would be on good terms with the canons and commending the latter to the bishop's protection. The phraseology of the letter clearly implies the possibility of friction if the bishop was not sympathetic towards the order installed in his cathedral and if the canons did not temper insistence on their rights with respect for the bishop. (C. L. Hugo, *Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta*, i., (1725), epistola xcii. I am indebted to Mr M. M. Colvin for giving me a transcript of this letter).

Odo. The archbishop appointed a commission to try the dispute, and the decision was in favour of Gilbert, although appeal to the pope was subsequently made in vain on behalf of Odo.¹⁸

Henry's appointment (1253-5) represents something of a tangle, which neither Haddan and Stubbs nor Dowden attempt to explain. The following conjecture may be advanced. Henry was appointed in 1253 by the method followed in the case of Gilbert—formally election by the clergy and people with royal approval, actually nomination by the king. (Henry, who was abbot of Holyrood, does not look like a local candidate, though one cannot be certain.) The appointment so made was opposed by John Baliol as having been "invalidly made, and to the prejudice of the ancient liberty of his subjects." Baliol, who had married Devorguilla, heiress of Galloway, was in effect claiming the traditional right of the lords of Galloway to nominate the bishop; the Chronicle of Lanercost says plainly that the dispute was between the king and Baliol over the "patronage" of the bishopric.¹⁹ The local magnate—Baliol—was able to prevent the king's nominee from taking possession, and even in ecclesiastical law Henry was in a weak position, since he had not been elected by the chapter; in 1254 the pope considered the see to be still vacant. The archbishop of York found a means to break the deadlock. On 7 February, 1255, he consecrated Henry as bishop, and four days later, to supply any defects in his title, Henry was elected anew, this time by the prior and convent of Whithorn—meeting, however, *in the great church of York*, where they were safe from pressure by Baliol or other mighty layman. The new bishop was confirmed on 24 February following.²⁰ Henry's subsequent appearance as a witness to the foundation charter of Sweetheart Abbey (1273) suggests that he ultimately came to terms with the Baliols.

18 The documents are printed in A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*, pp. 347-8, and in *Register of Walter Gray* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 170 *et seq.*

19 A. O. Anderson, *Early sources of Scottish History*, ii., 575, 584.

20 No explanation can be offered as to why Henry was styled "elect" in December, 1255.

Henry's case had in the long run led to the successful assertion of the propriety of capitular election, and on the occasion of the next appointment, that of Thomas in 1294, there is no trace of any attempt to put forward an alternative method (although there was a dispute between the archdeacon—representing the clergy of the diocese—and the chapter over the jurisdiction during the vacancy). The experience of the chapter had, however, already shown their liability to subjection to lay pressure, and this is evident again in 1294. There were three methods by which a chapter could elect—(1) “inspiration” or unanimity; (2) “compromise” or the delegation of choice to commissioners; and (3) “scrutiny” or counting of heads. The second method was used in the case of Thomas, and it was open to critics to allege that there had been simony, since it was easier to bribe two or three delegates than a whole chapter. John Baliol, king of Scots, objected to the appointment, technically on this ground of suspected simony, but more probably his real reason was that Thomas was chaplain to Robert de Brus and that Bruce was supporting the bishop-elect in opposition to Baliol. Thomas successfully held his ground. The two bishops who came after Thomas—Simon and Michael—were also elected by the chapter.

But capitular election had scarcely been established when it was undermined. The first case of the suppression of the chapter's rights in favour of papal powers of provision came in 1359. The chapter had unanimously elected Thomas Macdowel, parson of Kirkinner, but the pope provided another Thomas, parson of Kirkcolm, and Macdowel was consoled with a prebend of Glasgow, to be held in plurality with his parsonage. From this date until the reformation papal provision remained the method of appointment. Although the chapter's nominee was occasionally the person provided, any *right* of the chapter was ignored. In 1379, when the schism between pope and anti-pope had just started, the chapter thought that their opportunity had come. The course of events has already been described. The chapter elected first Oswald, who obtained provision from the pope, and then Ingeram, archdeacon of Dunkeld, who withdrew in favour

of Thomas de Rossy, whom the anti-pope provided. Oswald failed to make good his claim, and the anti-pope's provision of Thomas de Rossy was effective. In 1414, when the anti-pope nominated Thomas de Butil, the chapter made an abortive election of Gilbert Caven, parson of Kirkinner, who was consoled with the archdeaconry (which Thomas had vacated). As late as 1508 the chapter elected James Betoun, and their candidate subsequently received papal provision, but his transfer to Glasgow rendered the appointment abortive.

By this period another factor in episcopal appointments had appeared. The secular power, whose traditional influence in elections (at one time exercised through a form of election by either clergy and people or chapter) had been excluded by the development of papal provision, now successfully reasserted its claim to be heard. In 1487 the pope agreed to "await the supplications" of the Scottish king, and the right of "supplication" was transformed, especially as the advance of the reformation increased the pope's readiness to accede to the wishes of faithful princes, into a right of nomination. From David Arnot onwards, the bishops were royal nominees.²¹ In this particular the reformation meant a change of form but not of substance. By the constitution of 1572 capitular election was to be restored, and a chapter of ministers should have been set up for Galloway in place of the canons. There may have been a form of election (of the royal nominee) in the case of Roger Gordon. Succeeding holders of the see were simply "provided" by the crown until the form of capitular election was once more restored in 1617. Thereafter the English procedure, whereby the chapter obediently elected the king's nominee, was to be followed.

LIST OF BISHOPS.

GILLA-ALDAN was elected c. 1125²² but perhaps not consecrated (by Thurstan, archbishop of York) until between 1133 and 1140.

²¹ E.g., Ruddiman, *Epistolae regum Scottorum*, i., 95, ii., 115; Elphinstone Royal Letters, No. 44.

²² The mandate of Honorius II. ordering Gilla-Aldan to seek consecration from Thurstan has recently been assigned to 1128 (*Antiquity*, xiv., 281).

CHRISTIAN (1154-1186) was consecrated at Bermondsey on 19 December, 1154 (the day of the coronation of King Henry II.), by the archbishop of Rouen on behalf of the archbishop of York. He died on 7 October, 1186.

JOHN (1189-1209) was consecrated on 17 September, 1189, during a vacancy in York, by the archbishops of Dublin and Treves and the bishop of Annaghdown, at Pipewell in Northamptonshire. In 1206 he became a monk of Holyrood, and died in 1209.

WALTER (1209-1235), chamberlain of Alan, lord of Galloway, was consecrated presumably in 1209 and died in January or February, 1235.

GILBERT (1235-1253) had been abbot of Glenluce until 1233, but was master of the novices at Melrose when he was consecrated (by the archbishop of York) on 2 September, 1235. He died in 1253.

HENRY (1255-1293), abbot of Holyrood, although a claimant from 1253, was not consecrated (at St. Agatha, near Richmond in Yorkshire) until 7 February, 1255. He died on 1 November, 1293.

THOMAS de KIRKCUDBRIGHT (1294-1319), chaplain of Robert de Brus, was consecrated at Gedeling on 10 October, 1294. He died between 12th July, 1319, and the end of that year.

SIMON de WEDALE (1327-1354), abbot of Holyrood, was apparently elected before 6 July, 1321, but not consecrated (in Westminster Abbey) until 1 February, 1326/7. He died on 11 March, 1354/5. [It seems plain that the "Henry, bishop of Galloway," recorded as present in Edward Baliol's parliament at Edinburgh in 1334, is an error. The possibility that there was an English candidate, Henry, in opposition to the Scottish Simon, is ruled out by the fact that in 1335 Edward III. granted a protection to Bishop Simon.]

MICHAEL MACKENLAGH (1355-1359), formerly prior of Whithorn, was elected before 4 June, 1355, confirmed on 26 June, and consecrated (by commission from York) on 12 July. He died in 1358 or 1359.

THOMAS (1359-1363), parson of Kirkcolm, was provided by the pope by 31 December, 1359, and had already been consecrated at Avignon. He died after 2 September, 1362.

ADAM de LANARK (1363-1378), a Dominican friar, was provided by the pope on 17 November, 1363, and apparently consecrated abroad before 20 February, 1364. He died at the papal court between 27 March and 31 October, 1378.

[OSWALD, prior of Glenluce, provided by Pope Urban VI. while the Scots recognised the anti-pope. On 26 March, 1379, Richard II. granted him, as bishop, a safe-conduct to pass into Scotland, and on 5 May, 1388, he had a protection from Richard, being in danger of his life. He acted as a suffragan of York down to 1416.]

[There is a narrative, printed by Haddan and Stubbs, relating that David Douglas was bishop c. 1370 until his death on 25 March, 1373, that James Carron then had a brief episcopate and that he was succeeded (still in 1373) by Francis Ramsay, who administered the see till his death on 1 October, 1402. These names cannot be fitted into the known facts about the succession.]

THOMAS de ROSSY (1379-?1406), a Franciscan friar and apostolic penitentiary, was appointed by the anti-pope Clement VII. on 15 July, 1379. He died before 28 May, 1406.

ELISAEUS ADOUGAN (1406-?1414), parson of Gelston and Kirkmahoe (*Papal petitions*, 563, 635) and provost of Lincluden, was provided on 28 May, 1406.

THOMAS de BUTIL (1414-?1422) had held the parsonage of Kirkcolm, the provostry and vicarage of Maybole, the vicarage of Dundonald and the churches of Abernyte and Kinkell. He was archdeacon of Whithorn (from 1410 or earlier) and an auditor of the papal palace of causes when he was provided on 14 June, 1414.

ALEXANDER VAUS (1422-1450), said to have been a younger son of William de Vaus (d. 1392), had held livings in Galloway as early as 1381 and was later archdeacon of Caithness. He became bishop of Caithness in 1414 and was at the apostolic see when the pope translated him to Whithorn on 4 December, 1422. His resignation of the see was received by the pope on 8 January, 1449/50 (*Apostolic Camera*, 42,) and he did not die until some time after the appointment of his successor.

THOMAS SPENS (1450-1458), formerly archdeacon of Whithorn and provost of Lincluden, prothonotary apostolic and subchanter of Moray, may have acted as coadjutor to Vaus before being provided on his resignation on 8 January, 1449/50. On 21 November, 1457, Spens was translated to Aberdeen, and Thomas Vaus, dean of Glasgow, promoted to Whithorn, but this proceeding was subsequently declared null (*Apostolic*

Camera, 46). The actual translation of Spens to Aberdeen took effect between 24 August and 15 December, 1458.

NINIAN SPOT (1458- ?1482), canon of Dunkeld and Comptroller, was provided on 15 December, 1458, and consecrated between 12 March and 16 April following. He died after 12 June, 1480.

GEORGE VAUS (1482-1508), parson of Wigtown, was provided, following the death of Ninian, on 9 December, 1482. He died in January, 1507/8.

[James Betoun, provost of Bothwell and abbot of Dunfermline, lord treasurer, was elected by the chapter and provided by the pope on 12 May, 1508, but before the appointment took effect he was promoted to the archbishopric of Glasgow.]

DAVID ARNOT (1509-1525) had at one time or another held the parsonage of Kirkforther, the provostry of Bothwell and the prebend of Ayr in Glasgow Cathedral. Archdeacon of Lothian from 1498, he was provided to the abbey of Cambuskenneth in 1503 and to the bishopric of Galloway on 29 January, 1508/9. He resigned the bishopric in 1525, reserving half the fruits, and lived until 1536 or 1537.

HENRY WEMYSS (1526-1541), parson of Auchterderran and archdeacon of Whithorn, was provided on 23 or 24 January, 1525/6. At an earlier stage in his career he had been official of Whithorn (1517). He died between 14 March and 25 May, 1541.

ANDREW DURIE (1541-1558), abbot of Melrose from 1525, was provided on 22 August, 1541. He died in September, 1558.

ALEXANDER GORDON (1559-1575) had been consecrated in Rome in 1550 and enjoyed the titular dignity of archbishop of Athens, but failed to establish himself in any of the Scottish sees—Caithness, Glasgow and the Isles—to which he had at one time or another a claim. He was nominated by the crown to Whithorn early in 1559, and from that time his possession of the see was effective, although he never received papal confirmation. He died on 11 November, 1575. (Gordon is the subject of an article in vol. xxiv. of these *Transactions*.)

[Archibald Crawford, parson of Eaglesham, was apparently put forward as a papal candidate in 1564, but renounced his rights in favour of Alexander Gordon before 20 December of that year, in return for a pension of 600 merks. (*Papal negotiations with Q. Mary*, 184; *Miscellaneous Charters* (Reg. Ho.), fo. 140.)]

ROGER GORDON^{22a} (1578- ?), minister of Whithorn, was nominated by the crown (the see being vacant by the death of Alexander) and elected by the chapter. A mandate for his consecration was issued on 17 September, 1578 (Reg. of presentations, ii., 5). There is no evidence that he had effective possession of the see, and on 27 June, 1579, he was described as "pretended bishop" (Acts and decreets, lxxvi., 202).

JOHN GORDON (? -1586), son of Alexander Gordon, had originally been provided by the crown on 4 January, 1567/8, on his father's resignation, but this transaction clearly did not take effect (*R.M.S.*, 1546-80, No. 1804). Although a student abroad, and subsequently resident for a long time in Paris, John Gordon seems to have made good his claim to the bishopric (after his father's death) despite the appointment of Roger Gordon (Reg. sec. sig., 50, 9; Acts and Decrees, lxxxvii. 94, lxxxix. 172, 232, xcii. 355, xcv. 315). Presumably he was never consecrated. He resigned before 8 July, 1586. He was subsequently dean of Salisbury and died in 1619.

GEORGE GORDON (1586-1588), also son of Alexander, was provided by the crown (on John's resignation) on 8 July, 1586, but presumably never consecrated. He died between April and 5 November, 1588 (Calendar of Charters, No. 2950; Reg. sec. sig., lviii. 47).

See Vacant, 1588-1605.

GAVIN HAMILTON (1605-1612), minister at Hamilton, was provided on 3 March, 1605, and consecrated at London on 21 October, 1610. He died in February, 1612.

WILLIAM COWPER (1612-1619), minister at Perth, was provided on 31 July, 1612, and consecrated on 4 October. He died on 15 February, 1619.

ANDREW LAMB (1619-1634), one time minister of South Leith and bishop of Brechin since 1607, was translated to Galloway on 4 August, 1619. He died in 1634.

THOMAS SYDSERF (1635-1638) had been dean of Edinburgh when promoted to the bishopric of Brechin on

^{22a} Roger was a younger son of William Gordon of Craichlaw. On 3rd November, 1547, he had a charter of part of the Kirklands of Kirkcowan and Kirkinner, and was dean of Dunblane in 1557. He was alive in 1590, when he figured in the testament of Margaret Stewart, relict of John Martein, elder, in Isle of Whithorn, and he predeceased his wife, Janet Stewart, who died on 8th January, 1598. His son, Alexander, was served heir to him. (William Macnath, *The Gordons of Craichlaw*, pp. 4-5).

29 July, 1634. He was translated to Galloway on 30 August, 1635. Deposed by the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, he was the only bishop who survived the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth, and on 14 November, 1661, was provided to Orkney. He died on 29 September, 1663.

*See Vacant, 1638-1661.*²³

JAMES HAMILTON (1661-1674), minister at Cambusnethan, was provided on 14 November, 1661, and consecrated on 15 December. He died on 14 August, 1674.

JOHN PATERSON (1675-1679), minister of St. Giles, Edinburgh, was provided on 23 October, 1674, and consecrated in May, 1675. He was translated to Edinburgh on 29 May, 1679; to Glasgow, 8 March, 1687. Deprived at the Revolution, he died on 9 December, 1708.

ARTHUR ROSE (1679) had been minister of the High Church, Glasgow, when provided to Argyll on 28 April, 1675. He was translated to Galloway on 5 September, 1679, and translated thence to Glasgow on 15 October following. Translated to St. Andrews on 31 October, 1684, he was deprived at the Revolution and died on 13 June, 1704.

JAMES AITKEN (1680-1687), rector of Winfrith, Dorset, was provided to the see of Moray on 7 May, 1677, and translated to Galloway on 6 February, 1680. He died on 15 November, 1687.²⁴

JOHN GORDON (1688-1689), a chaplain at New York, was provided on 4 February, 1688, and consecrated soon after. Deprived at the Revolution, he went to Ireland and France with James VII., entered the Church of Rome about 1702, and died at Rome in 1726. He was the last survivor of the bishops of the Scottish establishment.

[The title remained in abeyance until 1837, since which date the bishops of Glasgow in the Scottish Episcopal Church have been also bishops of Galloway. A Roman Catholic diocese of Galloway was set up in 1878.]

²³ On 11th November, 1641, Charles I. granted to the university of Glasgow the whole duties of the lands and baronies of the bishopric of Galloway, Tongland, Whithorn and Glenluce, annexed to the bishopric, together with the teinds (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, v., 477).

²⁴ See *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, xli., 135 et seq.

THE PRIORS OF WHITHORN.²⁵

ADAM³⁰ or Edanus, a former canon of Souleseat and first prior of Whithorn, has been identified with Adam the Premonstratensian, called "Scotus" or "Anglicus" or "Anglo-Scotus," who flourished c. 1180 and won a European reputation by his sermons and his treatise on the habit and profession of the Premonstratensian order. (*Patrologia*, vol. 198, col. 27: "Adam Premonstratensis ordinis in Scotia canonicus; quemque puto non alium quam Adamum, seu Edanum, primum priorem aut abbatem Candidae Casae, nam aetas et nomen conveniunt.") There is, however, stronger evidence for associating the famous Adam with Dryburgh. (See E. M. Thompson in *Bull. of John Rylands Library*, xvi. [1932], 482-506.)

PAUL was prior of Whithorn at some time during the episcopate of Nicholas, who was bishop of the Isles from 1193 to 1215. (T. Talbot, *The priory of Whithorn and its lands and churches in Mann* [1900]).

MICHAEL appears as prior in a charter of date between 1200 and 1206 (*Cart. S. Crucis*, p. 38).

DUNCAN, 1235 (Haddan and Stubbs, II., i., 57) and 1273 (*Laing Charters*, 46).

DUNGAL, 1279 (Haddan and Stubbs, II., i., 58).

JOHN, 1294 (Haddan and Stubbs, II., i., 60).

MAURICE, 1296 (Bain's *Calendar*, ii., 87).

MICHAEL de Makenlagh was prior when he was elected bishop in 1355 (Haddan and Stubbs, II., i., 63).

GILBERT resigned in 1413 (*Calendar of papal registers, petitions*, 600).

THOMAS Makillehachuyfy or Macilhachnisi, elected on the resignation of Gilbert (*ibid.*), continued till at least 24 October, 1426 (*Reg. St. And.*, 421; Vatican Transcripts, ii., 304; *Reg. Dryburgh*, 277; *R.M.S.*, ii., 86).

JAMES was prior of Whithorn when he was provided to the abbacy of Holyrood on 9 May, 1446 (*Apostolic Camera*, 36).

WILLIAM Douglas appears as a witness on 6 August, 1447 (*R.M.S.*, ii., 383), and continued until he was deprived c. 8 May, 1466 (*C.P.R.*, x., 470; *Apostolic Camera*, 156).

²⁵ I am indebted to Mr H. M. Paton for several of the references to priors.

³⁰ C. L. Hugo (*Annales*, i., 454) states that Walter brought canons from Souleseat to Whithorn and became first prior there, but he seems to have attempted to attach to Whithorn the Walter who was really prior of St. Andrews.

FERGUS Macdowell paid annates of the priory on 8 May, 1466 (*ibid.*).

ROGER, c. 1473 (*R.M.S.*, ii., 1134).

PATRICK VAUS, admitted to the temporality, 18 January, 1477/8 (*R.M.S.*, ii., 1344); resigned between 20 January and 26 November, 1503 (Lochnaw Charters; Vatican Transcripts, iii., 69).

HENRY Macdowell,³¹ provided 26 November, 1503 (*ibid.*), appears until 18 September, 1514 (*A.D.C. in pub. aff.*, 21, 23).

ALEXANDER Stewart, nominated by the Governor Albany probably in 1515, had a rival in the person of an Italian and (in the period of strained relations with the papacy which followed Flodden) never obtained papal confirmation but remained "postulate" until 1518 (*ibid.*, 76, 132; *Scots Peerage*, i., 153).

GAVIN Dunbar, dean of Moray, was nominated to the priory, *in commendam*, by Albany in 1518 and was apparently in possession the following year (*A.D.C. in pub. aff.*, 132, 150-51, 154). He retained the priory until the publication of the bulls promoting him to the archbishopric of Glasgow, on 21 December, 1524 (D. E. Easson, *Gavin Dunbar*, pp. 5-6).

NINIAN [Fleming]. A Ninian Fleming, brother of Malcolm, Lord Fleming, was administrator while the priory was vacant in 1524/5 (*A.D.C. in pub. aff.*, 217). On 6 March, 1524/5, "The Lord Fleming protestit that he mycht haif his actioun in the name of his bruther anent the gudis being on the stedis of Quhitherne and alse to haif the reparelyn of the plaicis and housis pertening to the plaice of Quhithern as thai war the tyme at my Lord Glasgw enterit thairto" (*A.D.C.*, xxxv., 1). This suggests that Ninian Fleming succeeded Gavin Dunbar as prior. Ninian was prior in 1526/7 (*A.D.C.*, xxxvii., 2), and Malcolm, Lord Fleming, was his factor from 1527 to 1530 (*A.D.C. et Sess*, viii., 117). Ninian was still prior in 1536 (*R.S.S.*, ii., 2147).

MALCOLM Fleming, dean of Dunblane (*Scots Peerage*, viii., 537), was recommended by James V. to the priory,

³¹ James Betoun, afterwards archbishop of Glasgow, was not, as is sometimes said, prior of Whithorn. Prior Henry apparently claimed, for a time successfully, the power of visitation of the Scottish "circary" of the Premonstratensian order which the abbot of Soulseat had recently exercised; the ultimate decision, however, was that the headship of the order in Scotland belonged of right to the abbot of Dryburgh (J. Gairdner, *Letters and papers of Richard III. and Henry VII.*, ii., 246; C. L. Hugo, *Annales*, i., 454).

vacant by death, on 2 January, 1538/9 (Caprington Letter Book, fo. 120; *Formulare*, Nos. 374-5). He died between 25 March and 8 September, 1568 (Edinburgh Tests.).

ROBERT Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V., received a gift of the priory, in succession to Malcolm Fleming, on 8 September, 1568 (R.S.S., xxxviii., 23). He died between 15 July, 1581 (Acts and Decrees, lxxxvi., 359), and 17 January, 1581/2 (see below). Prior Robert set the priory in tack to Alexander Stewart of Garlies for nineteen years for an annual payment of 1000 merks *plus* the third of the priory payable to the collector general (Acts and Decrees, xciii., 306).

[Robert Stewart had a rival in the person of William Fleming, son of John Fleming of Biggar (a natural son of Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, and so nephew of Prior Malcolm). It was claimed for William that he had in 1566 received a privy seal gift of the reversion of the priory in the event of Malcolm's death or resignation. Robert Stewart's contention was that this privy seal gift had been made out with blanks for the grantee's name and for the date and that it had been filled in in favour of William Fleming only after Malcolm's death. Whatever the legal ground for the Flemings' claim, they succeeded in keeping Robert Stewart from the enjoyment of the priory until at least 1573, and their pretensions continued to be troublesome to the Stewart commendators down to 1594 (Monreith Charters, 16 June and 18 November, 1578, and 28 October, 1594; *Thirds of benefices*, 296; Reg. Ho. Eccl. Docs., No. 16a).]

PATRICK Stewart, son of Robert, earl of Orkney (one time commendator of Holyrood and elder brother of Robert Stewart, commendator of Whithorn), received a gift of the priory, vacant by Robert Stewart's death, on 17 January, 1581/2 (Reg. of presentations, ii., 66; 72). Patrick being a minor, Patrick Vaus of Barnbarroch was appointed administrator on 5 March following (R.S.S., xlviii., 112). [A reference to Patrick, master of Gray, as commendator of Whithorn, in 1590 (Acts and Decrees, cxxviii., 47), appears to be an error.] On 24 February, 1591/2, Patrick, master of Orkney and commendator of Whithorn, in consideration of 5000 merks received from John Kennedy of Blairquhan, undertook to give Kennedy a tack of the lands and teinds of the priory and to demit the office of commen-

dator so that Kennedy could procure the appointment of another person (Deeds, xl., 205); there is no evidence that Patrick did in fact demit office. From another deed, of 26 February, 1591/2, it appears that Patrick had given Kennedy five tacks of priory property with blanks for the names of the grantees and for the duties payable (Deeds, xl., 210).

GAVIN Hamilton, bishop of Galloway, received a grant of the priory of Whithorn, in the hands of the crown through the forfeiture of Patrick Stewart, on 29 September, 1605 (R.S.S., lxxiv., 405).

From this point the priory remained with the bishopric (see p. 129 *supra*).

THE SPIRITUALITY OF WHITHORN.

The following list notes fifteen churches which were still appropriated to the priory of Whithorn at the period of the reformation, besides two which had belonged to it earlier but had been lost by that date (excluding the churches in Man). Appropriation to the priory normally implied that all the teinds of the parish were at the disposal of the convent and that provision for the cure of souls in the parish was made by setting aside a small annual stipend for a vicar pensioner, appointed by the convent. Whithorn being a house of Premonstratensian canons, members of the convent themselves were frequently appointed to those vicarages pensionary and maintained the services in the parishes. There is evidence that the vicarages of Cruggleton, Gelston, Kirkmaiden, and Whithorn were held by canons of the priory at or just after the reformation, and that Clayshant had been held in this way in 1541.

Only two churches are noted as having belonged to the bishopric at the reformation.³² In these cases the bishop probably enjoyed the parsonage teinds or corn teinds, while the lesser teinds formed a vicarage perpetual. In the following list, churches associated with the bishopric are marked with an asterisk.

BORGUE. The church of Borgue belonged in the earlier middle ages to Dryburgh, but was transferred to Whithorn priory before c. 1473 (*R.M.S.*, ii., 1134). This

³² But see under Minnigaff and Rhinns.

annexation remained effective until after the reformation (Acts and Decrees, xviii., 29 and 440; xix., 212 and 375; Deeds, xl., 205; Test. M.F.).^{32a} On 6 April, 1540, Malcolm, prior of Whithorn, and John Stevinsone, vicar of Borg, assigned 26 merks from the vicarage for the establishment of a prebend in the collegiate church of Biggar (founded by Malcolm, Lord Fleming), presentation to belong to the prior (Elphinstone Royal Letters, No. 15).

CLAYSHANT. The church of Clayshant or Clachsant (now incorporated in Stoneykirk) was annexed to Whithorn priory by 1428 (*Apostolic Camera*, 95), and so continued till after the reformation (Test. M.F.). On 3 December, 1541, the patronage of the vicarage was exercised by the crown during the vacancy of the see. The late holder on this occasion was a canon of Whithorn (*R.S.S.*, ii., 4316).

CRUGGLETON. The church of Cruggleton (now united to Sorbie) was annexed to Whithorn priory by 1428 (*Apostolic Camera*, 95). The annexation remained effective until after the reformation (*R.M.S.*, ii., 1134; vi., 1501; Acts and Decrees, xix., 49).

GELSTON. The church of Gelston [Gemelston, Gevell-stoune] (now in the parish of Kelton) was gifted to the priory of Whithorn by John of Gemelston, son of the deceased Sir John of Gemelston, and confirmed by the crown on 20 May, 1325, and 1 July, 1451 (*R.M.S.*, i., app. i., No. 20; ii., 461). The annexation remained effective until after the reformation (A.D.C., viii., 120; Test. M.F.; Monreith Charters, 18 September, 1576).

***GIRTHON.** The church of Girthon [Girthton, Garton] was annexed to the bishopric of Whithorn by John Baliol's reign (*Reg. of John le Romeyne* [Surtees Soc.], ii., 125). It still belonged to the bishop in 1518 (A.D.C., xxxii., 57), and on 28 February, 1558/9, Bishop Gordon, with his chapter, set the parsonage and vicarage revenues in tack (Calendar of Charters, No. 1773).

GLASSERTON. The church of Glasserton was annexed to the priory of Whithorn by c. 1473 (*R.M.S.*, ii., 1134). The annexation remained effective until after the reformation (Acts and Decrees, xix., 49; Deeds, xl., 205; Test. M.F.). The "vicarage" was disjoined from the priory on 5 January, 1591/2 (*R.S.S.*, lxiii., 111).

^{32a} The reference Test. M. F. is to the testament of Prior Malcolm Fleming (Edinburgh Tests., 30 March and 2 July, 1569).

*INCH. The church of Inch had been annexed to the bishopric of Galloway by John Baliol's reign (*Reg. of de Romeyne*, loc. cit.), and was still so annexed at the reformation (Cassillis Charters, No. 653).

KILCOLMKILL. The church of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre was gifted to the priory of Whithorn by Patrick McScilling and Finlach, his wife, and confirmed by the crown on 20 May, 1325, and 1 July, 1451 (*R.M.S.*, i., app. i., No. 20; ii., 461).

KIRKANDREWS. The church of Kirkandrews (now annexed to Borgue) was gifted to the priory of Whithorn by the crown on 8 December, 1503 (*R.M.S.*, ii., 2760), and remained annexed to it until after the reformation (A.D.C., ix., 111; Acts and Decrees, xi., 83; Test. M.F.).

KIRKDALE—The church of St. Michael of Kirkdale (now part of Anwoth and Kirkmabreck) was gifted to the priory of Whithorn by the crown on 7 November, 1508 (*R.M.S.*, ii., 3268; Calendar of Charters, 730), and remained with it till after the reformation (Test. M.F.).

KIRKINNER. The church of Karnemole was appropriated to the bishopric of Galloway, on the ground of its insufficient revenues, on 20 September, 1306 (*Reg. of Greenfield* [Surtees Soc], v. 59). This transaction was evidently ignored by Edward Bruce, who gifted the church of St. Kenere of Carnesmoll to the priory of Whithorn. The crown confirmed the grant on 20 May, 1325, and 1 July, 1451 (*R.M.S.*, i., app. i., No. 20; ii., 461). Yet the church appears as an independent parsonage in the fifteenth century (*Apostolic Camera*, 89, 94, 239, 277), and in 1450 there had been a proposal, evidently abortive, to unite it to the bishopric of Galloway (Vatican Transcripts, 1420-1458, 114). Before 8 December, 1503, the parsonage and vicarage of Kirkinner had been annexed to the chapel royal of Stirling, but the rights of the priory of Whithorn were recognised, for it gave consent to the new annexation and received Kirkandrews in compensation (*R.M.S.*, ii., 2760).

KIRKMAIDEN. The church of Kirkmaiden in Fairnes (now incorporated in Glasserton) was annexed to Whithorn priory by 1559 (Acts and Decrees, xix., 49; *Thirds of Benefices*, 138).

KIRKMICHAEL (Ayrshire). That the church of "Kirk-michael in Carrick" belonged to Whithorn is proved by a reference in Test. M.F. The teinds of the Kirk of "Kirkmichael" were set in tack by the commendator of Whithorn in 1589 (Deeds, xl., 205).

LONGCASTLE. The church of Longcastle (now part of Kirkinner) belonged to the priory of Whithorn, which set the parsonage in tack on 12 January, 1518/9, and 9 March, 1532/3 (Vaus of Barnbarroch Papers; *cf.* Acts and Decrees, xviii., 241). At the reformation period the vicarage of Longcastle was held (in plurality with Gelston) by John Martin, a canon of Whithorn; but when he granted a charter it was with consent of the prior of Whithorn as patron of Gelston and of the crown as patron of Longcastle (Monreith Charters, 18 September, 1576; *cf.* *Thirds of Benefices*, 22, 294-5).

MAN. For the churches in Man appropriated to the priory of Whithorn see pp. 173-182.

***MINNIGAFF.** The parsonage of Minnigaff was said to be disjoined from the bishopric of Galloway on 4 January, 1591/2 (R.S.S., lxiii., 106); but it seems that its annexation had actually been to the abbey of Tongland (which had, of course, been held with the bishopric).

MOCHRUM. The parsonage of Mochrum was annexed to Whithorn priory (Test. M.F.) and the parsonage teinds were set in tack by the commendator on 30 January, 1588/9 (Galloway Charters; *cf.* Deeds, xl., 205). The vicarage was held at the reformation (but only *in commendam*) by John Stevenson, a lord of session, who issued a charter with consent of the commendator and convent of Whithorn in 1562 (Cal. of Charters, 2009).

***RHINNS.** The church of St. Mary and St. Michael in the Rennes or Reines was annexed to the bishopric of Galloway in 1277 (*Reg. of le Romeyne*, ii., 84 n). This church has not been identified.

SORBIE. The churches of both Great and Little Sorbie seem to have belonged to Dryburgh from early times, but were evidently transferred to the priory of Whithorn at some unknown date. In 1559 the prior of Whithorn was designated parson of Sorbie (Acts and Decrees, xix., 49), and in 1566 Bishop Gordon made a provision to the vicarage, which was at his disposal through the "inability" of Malcolm, prior of Whithorn, the lawful patron (R.S.S., xxxvi., 28; Test. M.F.).

[**STONEYKIRK.** The church of Stoneykirk (the parish of which now includes Clayshant and Toskertoun or Kirkmadrine) was clearly an independent parsonage, the patronage of which was in 1547 in dispute between the McDowells of Freugh and the McDowells of Garthland (Chalmers, *Caledonia*, v., 438). When, at this very time (24 March, 1546/7), the bishop of

Galloway exercised the patronage, he can have done so only in default of the lay patron (A.D.C. et Sess., xxviii., 83).]

TOSKERTOUN or KIRKMADRINE. This church (now united in Stoneykirk) belonged to the priory of Whithorn at the period of the reformation (Test. M.F.).

WHITHORN. The parish church of Whithorn was annexed to the priory, probably from an early date, although the only evidence is at the reformation period (Acts and Decrees, xix., 49; Test. M.F.; Deeds, xl., 205).

WIGTOWN. The church of St. Machutus in Wigtown was gifted to the priory of Whithorn by Edward Bruce and confirmed by the crown on 20 May, 1325, and 1 July, 1451 (*R.M.S.*, i., app. i., No. 20; ii., 461). Yet, as in the case of Kirkcinner, the annexation was not permanent. In the fifteenth century Wigtown appears as an independent parsonage (*Apostolic Camera*, 137, 147), and it was still one at the reformation (*Thirde of Benefices*, 21).

WHITHORN AS A PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE.

The importance of Whithorn as a place of pilgrimage for kings and queens is sufficiently well known. Perhaps the earliest reference to a royal pilgrim is to Prince Edward of England, afterwards Edward II. When it was known that he was on his way to Whithorn in 1301, the Scots removed the image of St. Ninian to New Abbey, whence it was miraculously translated back to Whithorn.³³ King Robert the Bruce visited Whithorn in March-April, 1329, presumably in a last desperate attempt to obtain a cure for the disease of which he died in the month of June following.³⁴ From the reign of James III., when the *Treasurers' Accounts* begin to provide us with fuller information about the kings' movements, references to royal visits to Whithorn become very frequent. James IV., in particular, was for a time

³³ Bain's *Calendar*, ii., 1225. For the story of the now forgotten though once well-known relic—the Arm of St. Ninian—salved from Whithorn at the Reformation, see the Rev. A. Chadwick S.J. in these *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., p. 30.

³⁴ *Scottish Antiquary*, xiii., 49 et seq. According to John Major (*Greater Britain*, p. 293), the iron heads of two arrows lodged in the body of David II. at Neville's Cross and one of them resisted every attempt at extraction until "he came to visit the shrine of St. Ninian," when "the iron came away of its own will by divine intervention."

almost an annual visitor to the shrine of St. Ninian, and James V. made pilgrimages there in 1526 and 1533.

Information about the pilgrimages of lesser men is not, however, lacking. On 17 December, 1427, King James I. issued a general licence to persons coming to Whithorn on pilgrimage from England and the Isle of Man, granting them a safe-conduct provided that they came either by sea (if from Man) or by way of the West Marches (if from England) and returned by the same ways, that they bore themselves as pilgrims and remained in Scotland no more than fifteen days, and that they wore openly on their habits one badge as they came and another (received from the prior of Whithorn) on their return journey.³⁵ In 1441 a petition to Rome related that over the dangerous river Bladnau (Bladenoch) in Gallo-way, "in a place where wayfarers commonly pass and pilgrims to St. Ninian assemble," there had been a wooden bridge which had been repeatedly destroyed by the river. Margaret, countess of Douglas, now proposed to erect a new bridge of stone, and she obtained the grant of an indulgence to those who would assist.³⁶ In 1462 James III. and his mother, Mary of Gueldres, joined with the prior of Whithorn in supplicating the pope for an indulgence to all who visited the church of Whithorn on pilgrimage on Palm Sunday, Easter Day, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Lammas Day and St. Ninian's Day, and who stretched out helping hands for the reparation, maintenance and augmentation of the said church, "to which the king and queen and prior foresaid and many other Christians, even of sundry realms and lordships, bear singular devotion." The request was for an indulgence of twenty years, but the one granted was for only ten and was to apply to visits on only two festivals instead of five.³⁷ On 4 July, 1504, when James IV. erected the town of Merton as a burgh, he gave as one reason the convenience of the lieges and foreigners making pilgrimage to St. Ninian's at Whithorn.³⁸ Two years later there

35 *R.M.S.*, ii., 107.

36 *Reg. Supplications* (Vatican), 371, fo. 53.

37 *Ibid.*, 552, fo. 9

38 *R.M.S.*, ii., 2794.

is a record of a safe-conduct to Sir William Tyrwit and sixteen other Englishmen, coming as pilgrims to St. Ninian's.³⁹ In 1516 there is again, as in 1427, a general safe-conduct to all pilgrims to Whithorn from England, Ireland and the Isle of Man.⁴⁰

There is an interesting narrative of the adventures of a French envoy, Regnault Girard, and his Scottish companion, Hugh Kennedy, who sailed from La Rochelle on 14 November, 1434, in the whaler *Marie*. The ship was driven off its course by storms and then seems to have lain for a month off the coast of Ireland. Finally, on 8 January, they landed in Scotland, "having, in the middle of the previous night, cast anchor outside the harbour of Lococen—a name which is vaguely suggestive of some such form as Loch Logan, a possible variant of Port Logan. . . . On the day after his landing, Girard was taken by Hugh Kennedy to the house of a Lady Campbell, a relative of his,^{40a} whose son had formerly served in the King of France's bodyguard, and by whom they were hospitably entertained. Before continuing their journey to the Scottish court, the travellers, in fulfilment of a vow which they had made when the fury of the storm threatened them with disaster and death, made a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of St. Ringan (*Saint Treignen*), at Whithorn, where, as a votive offering, they presented a silver model of a ship, engraved with the king's arms."⁴¹

³⁹ *R.S.S.*, i., 1291.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, i., 2844.

^{40a} The reference is clearly to the wife of a Campbell of Corswall. There was a Sir Alexander Campbell in 1426 (*R.M.S.*, ii., 185) and an Alexander in 1451, succeeded by John in 1456-7. But beyond the fact that the first name of Alexander's wife in 1451 was Christian, nothing is known of their spouses (Galloway Charters).

⁴¹ Louis A. Barbé, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin Louis*, 37 n. 51-2. This extract, with those from the Register of Supplications, has been provided by Dr. A. I. Dunlop. The "King's Arms" would be those of Girard's king, Charles VII. of France.

ARTICLE 5.

The Ninianic Controversy

By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.Litt.

What may be called the Ninianic controversy in early Scottish history has continued, briskly if intermittently, ever since in 1905 that stout disputant, the late Rev. Dr. Archibald B. Scott, published his first paper on *Nynia in Northern Pictland*.¹ Up till 1940 the discussion centred mainly on the vexed questions of the extent to which Ninian carried his missionary enterprise and the degree in which his work survived him. In that year the late Dr. Wilhelm Levison called the attention of British scholars to the hitherto neglected eighth-century poem, *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*, which had been edited and discussed in Germany by Professor Karl Strecker in 1922 and 1923. In that poem no word is said about St. Ninian's association with St. Martin. Dr. Levison accordingly rejected outright the story, as set forth by Ailred in his twelfth-century *Life of Ninian*, as a fabrication: with the result that, in the picturesque words of Dr. Ian Richmond, "St. Ninian is left unanchored amid the confused tide of events that ruined Roman Britain."

The excavations which the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, in collaboration with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, have promoted at the group of ancient ecclesiastical sites in or near Whit-horn, represent an undertaking of major importance for the elucidation of the beginnings of Christianity in Scotland: and the results achieved in the first season's digging, so ably set forth by Mr. Raleigh Radford, have already more than justified the enterprise. Moreover, the opportunity has been taken by our energetic and resourceful Editor, Mr. R. C. Reid, to assemble a remarkable *corpus* of contributions by distinguished scholars, which together provide a comprehensive re-handling of the whole problem of St. Ninian, his period, his achievement and his environment, and, as such,

¹ *Scot. Hist. Review*, Vol. II., pp. 378-88.

form a contribution of the utmost value to the Dark Age history of Scotland. As one who has always championed what Mr Raleigh Radford calls the "traditional chronology" or "conventional dating" of St. Ninian, I welcome the opportunity of commenting afresh upon this latest *exposé* of the problem.

Both Mr Radford and Mrs Chadwick agree in rejecting the "traditional chronology," on the ground of the absence in the *Miracula* of any reference to Ninian's alleged visit to St. Martin of Tours. Mr Radford finds a further reason against it in the date, *circa* 425-50, which he calculates for the King Tuduvallus or Tudwall, whom Ninian is said to have converted, both in the *Miracula* and in Ailred's *Life*. Mr Radford accordingly is inclined to place the foundation of *Candida Casa* about 430-40 by a British missionary who had studied at Tours, and would thus account for the dedication to St. Martin. Mrs Chadwick, on the other hand, who places Tudwall's *floruit* about 400, that is to say, in full accordance with the "traditional chronology," none the less rejects the Ninian-Martin association, and, while apparently retaining a fifth-century *floruit* for Ninian himself, asserts that his *cultus*, and that of St. Martin, were transferred from somewhere in eastern Scotland to Whithorn at some time in the eighth century.

While gladly paying my tribute to the scholarship and critical acumen with which these views have been urged, I must confess that they leave me unconvinced. Dr. Levison's rejection of the Ninian-Martin story has always seemed to me to partake too much of the hypercritical disintegrativeness which some of his countrymen in the eighteen-seventies used to apply to the New Testament. It is as if one should deny the fact of the Last Supper because it is not mentioned in the Gospel according to St. John. The author of the *Miracula* was not writing a formal biography of St. Ninian, but a poetic treatise on his wonder-works, and there was no occasion for him to mention St. Martin. In my last discussion of this question,² I have pointed out what would happen to the

2 *Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., Vol. XXIII., pp 78-95.

historicity of St. Columba if we were to reject all the facts known about him except those which Adamnan thought relevant to his theme in his Treatise on the Prophetic Revelations, Miracles and Visions of his hero—which in the colophon is correctly described, not as a *Life* but as *hos virtutum libellos Columbae*. The *argumentum ex silentio* is proverbially a dangerous one, and nowhere more so than in hagiography. Let us remember that Herodotus, while describing the Pyramids with fulness and accuracy, says nothing whatever of the Sphinx: yet he would be very foolish who sought from this omission to deny that the Sphinx existed in the time of Herodotus.

As to Tudwall, Mr Radford finds an argument from the chronology "established" for this contemporary of Ninian. But the chronology is not "established" at all, it is merely inferred by Mr Radford from a somewhat arbitrary calculation of the generations set forth in two versions of a Welsh genealogy. Inferring in the same way, Mrs Chadwick reaches a date thirty or forty years earlier. In any case, there is nothing inconsistent either in her date, *circa* 400, or in Mr Radford's, *circa* 435, with the "conventional chronology" of St. Ninian.

I have considered this matter of St. Ninian's *floruit* repeatedly and attentively, and from every angle known to me: and I can do no more than reaffirm my conviction that every attempt to dislodge it from the received date, *circa* 400, only results in difficulties far more serious than anything that may be found in the mere silence of the *Miracula*. The divergent conclusions reached by Mrs Chadwick and Mr Radford are themselves a proof of this: and the chess-play proposed by Mrs Chadwick strikes me as particularly unconvincing. Mrs Chadwick, I am glad to note, agrees with me in emphasising the essential *Romanitas* of the Ninianic mission. Now there seems to me to be only one period in the history of the Solway basin, when a mission so essentially Latin could have taken place, and that is about the year 400. The political, social, economic and ecclesiastical conditions of that time, as set forth in my book on St. Ninian, fit

the circumstances of the Ninianic enterprise completely. By the middle of the fifth century, and still more in the troubled centuries thereafter, these favourable conditions had ceased to exist. And the traditional date is supported by the epigraphic character of the *Latinus* Stone at Whithorn, as well as by the Irish references to the monastery as a flourishing missionary centre in the fifth century.

In the same way, the personal association of St. Ninian with St. Martin seems to me to be confirmed, not only by the fifth-century references to Whithorn as "Martin's house," but by much other collateral evidence which I have set forth in my previous writings. In particular I should like again to call attention to the paired Martin and Ninian church sites in eastern Scotland, where evidence exists carrying their foundation far back into the Celtic period. I have previously detailed this evidence in the remarkable case of Strathmartine and Strathdichty, north of Dundee.³ It may be added that on the other side of Lochleven from St. Ninian's church site of Gouderannet is Eglismartin of Strathmiglo.⁴ Another important case, to which my attention has recently been called by Mr James Young of Scone, is to be found just north of Perth.

Below the Murrayshall Standing Stone, in the parish of Scone, flows the Annaty Burn, and along it are St. Ninian's lands. Here again we have an undoubted ancient Ninianic site, and again it stands on the line of the old Roman road through eastern Pictland upon which the genuine Ninianic foundations seem all to lie. Four separate but interwoven strands of evidence combine to guarantee the authenticity of this locality. They are as follows:

(1) The name Annaty Burn. In the Perthshire Gaelic it is *Allt na h-Annaide*.⁵ The word Annat or Andet (*annaid*, *andoit*) is one of the oldest religious terms in the Celtic church, both in Scotland and in Ireland, signifying always the Mother Church of a district.

3 *Archæologia Aeliana*, ut *supra*, p. 91.

4 A. Laing, *Lindores Abbey*, p. 455.

5 W. J. Watson, *Celtic Place Names of Scotland*, p. 251.

(2) The former name of Murrayshall, *Bal-na-heighlis*, or, in its Anglicised garb, Balhaggils, "the chapel standing."

(3) The fact that the neighbouring church, to the north, is St. Martin's.

(4) The presence at St. Martin's of the ancient Celtic ecclesiastical term *Bauchland*, for *Bachall-land*—that is, lands that were held by a tenant in return for the hereditary custodianship of a *bachall*, the pastoral staff of a Celtic missionary.⁶

These old Celtic ecclesiastical terms, carrying us back to the first infiltration of Christianity into the neighbourhood, combined with the association of churches under the invocation of St. Martin and St. Ninian, form a singularly impressive illustration of the kind of evidence to which we may appeal in our endeavour to restore to St. Ninian and his *Candida Casa* their rightful share of credit for the evangelising of our country.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT WHITHORN.

I have read Mr Radford's masterly exposition with the utmost interest. Incredible as it may seem, there is every likelihood that he has indeed found the veritable *Candida Casa* itself, underlying the remains of the Premonstratensian priory. It is disappointing, on the other hand, that the excavations on the Isle of Whithorn site have so far yielded negative results. But I still believe that the early monastery was here, within or beside the *vallum* of the prehistoric fort, and that the church at Whithorn was built to serve the little civil community of new-converted Christians. Apart from the other considerations advanced in my former works, the existence of the thirteenth-century chapel ruin of St. Ninian on the island site appears to tell in favour of this view. Mr Radford suggests that it was "erected for the convenience of travellers." But who would travel to this remote promontory, unless it were associated in some way with the cult of

⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 267.

St. Ninian? Clearly much more spade work will have to be done before the last word has been said upon the Isle of Whithorn.

THE NINIANIC MISSION IN CUMBRIA.

“Look at the three long fingers of Galloway, reaching out into the sea till they almost clasp the coast of Cumberland and the Isle of Man and even the shores of Ireland. The kingdom of Strathclyde embraced in its folds the Cumbrian churches and tribes on both sides of the Solway. That wild estuary was not a dividing boundary but a highway of communication for Ninian and for Kentigern (as well as for Bruce and for Guy Mannering) to traverse in their passage to and fro on their familiar journeys.”

So wrote Dean Stanley in 1872.⁷ but it was left for the late Professor Collingwood first to call attention to the evidences for the Ninianic mission on the southern side of the Solway, and to point out that here, as in Scotland, these Ninianic foundations are found strung out along the Roman road system.⁸ In my former works, I have dealt with St. Ninian's churches at Brampton and Brougham, and with the twelfth-century chronicler Geoffrey Gaimar's remarkable confirmation of a Ninianic mission to these parts. But the evidence in favour of Brougham appears now to be even stronger than as set forth in my book. The chapel hard by the Norman castle bears the name of St. Wilfred: the parish church is under the invocation of St. Ninian. We can scarcely doubt that of these two the dedication to St. Ninian is the primary one, and that it was superseded, after Wilfred's time and when Cumbria had passed under Anglian influence, by a new dedication to St. Wilfred. That is much more likely than that a dedication to the great and powerful Northumbrian churchman should have been superseded by one to the much more remote and much less celebrated St. Ninian. Moreover, it is always the primary dedication that tends to persist in the mouth of the common folk. Therefore

⁷ *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 36.

⁸ *Roman Britain*, p. 310.

we have, in all this, strong presumptive evidence for carrying back the primary or Ninianic dedication to before St. Wilfred's era, i.e., before the seventh century.

This parish church at Brougham is fully two miles away from the Norman castle, which stands within the walls of the Roman fort Brocavum. The Rev. C. M. L. Bouch, of Clifton Rectory, to whom I am indebted for many useful suggestions about Brougham, has expressed the view that St. Ninian did not, on this occasion, place his church within or near the Roman ramparts because the fort, unlike Brampton, was not derelict, but still held a Roman or sub-Roman garrison. This is in no way unlikely: for we are not to suppose that, even after the formal garrisons had been withdrawn, some of the forts in the Wall region and on the Stainmore Road may not have been held by a peasant militia maintained by the client states in whose hands the defence of the Roman North was left when Honorius issued his famous rescript to the British *civitates* to provide for their own defence as best they could.

Across the Eden from Brougham are the caves of Isis Parlis, with traces of early habitation. The Rev. A. J. Heelis suggested that these caves reproduced at Brougham St. Martin's cell at Marmoutier. He thought that the resemblance "favours the belief that this sacred spot and the caves hard by had a real connection with St. Ninian and his disciples.⁹ It may therefore be that the Ninianic foundation at Brougham was in fact a small monastery, such as often in medieval times became a simple parish church. In that case, its planting outside, but near, the town and fort, was in accordance with normal Gallo-Roman practice. Mr Bouch has pointed out to me that the resemblance between it and Marmoutier is indeed quite striking:

- (1) distance from the Roman fort or town of about two miles.
- (2) secrecy and hiddenness.
- (3) lofty mountains or high cliff on one side.

⁹ *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Archaeol. Soc.*, n.s., Vol. III., pp. 353-65.

- (4) a plain on the other.
- (5) caves and a river.

There is a St. Ninian's Well at Holystone, near Alswinton, "not far from the junction of two Roman ways";¹⁰ also St. Ringan's Well at the head of Loweswater Lake, again close to a Roman road heading for Papcastle.¹¹ I have not been able personally to investigate either of these sites.

¹⁰ See *Archæol. Aeliana*, n.s., Vol. VIII., pp. 75-6.

¹¹ Information from the Rev W. L. Farrer, Lorton Vicarage, Cockermouth. I am also indebted for further particulars about this site to Miss Mary C. Fair, Eskdale Holmrook, Cumberland.

ARTICLE 6.

Some Notes on the Roman de Fergus.

By Miss M. DOMINICA LEGGE, M.A., B.Litt.

This erle Dawy had douchtrys thre,
Margret the fyrst off tha cald he.
This Margret wes a pleyсанд may,
Hyr weddyt Alayne off Galloway.

With these lines Wyntoun recorded the marriage of Alan, last Prince of Galloway and in Buchanan's words, "Scotorum longe potentissimus," to the niece of the King of Scots in the year 1209. Alan was the great-grandson of Fergus of Galloway, whose race and parentage are unknown, but by a series of judicious marriages the family had become one of the most powerful of the Anglo-Norman Border families, and Alan himself played as important a part in English as he did in Scottish affairs. His second marriage marks the heights to which he had attained. The mysterious Old French *Roman de Fergus* was, it has been suggested composed for his benefit, and, as will presently appear, it seems possible that it was written in commemoration of this wedding.

Regarded purely as literature, Fergus is poor stuff. The author, who calls himself William the Clerk and was probably a Continental Frenchman, plunges deeply into the storehouse of Arthurian romance, and hardly troubles to disguise his debt to the acknowledged Master Romancer, Chrétien de Troyes, whose *Perceval*, *Lancelot*, *Erec*, and *Yvain* he plunders unmercifully. He fills in his verse with tags from here, there, and everywhere. The romance has, however, a spice of realism which makes it unique in Arthurian literature. The hero's name and adventures are undoubtedly suggested by the existence of a real Fergus of Galloway, and the author has seized the opportunities presented by the identification of the scene of one of Arthur's castles with Carlisle and of Lyonesse with Lothian, the legend of Merlin Silvestris and St. Kentigern, the presence in romance of a place called Dunostre; all this inspiring him to set his scene in a real

Scotland. *Fergus* is to other romances something of what the *King's Quhair* is to other allegories.

The poem was first printed by Francisque Michel for the Abbotsford Club in 1841, and was re-edited from another and better manuscript by E. Martin (Halle, 1872). Martin, with the help of A. S. Murray of the British Museum, identified many of the place-names. The romance was rather inadequately summarised in English by J. D. Bruce in *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Goettingen and Baltimore, 1923), and still less accurately by Margaret Schlauch in *The Historical Background of Fergus* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1929, XLIV. 360-377). Professor E. Brugger has written two interesting articles on place-names, *The Hebrides in Arthurian Literature* (*Arthuriana*, II., Oxford, 1930, pp. 7-30) and "Pellande," "Galvoie," and "Arragoce" in the *Romance of Fergus* (*Miscellany of Studies . . . presented to L. E. Kastner*, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 94-107). Much light is thrown upon the sources of the story in Professor R. S. Loomis's new book, *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1949), but the conclusions drawn in this work are to be treated with reserve. An American scholar, W. L. Frescoln, has an edition in active preparation.

It was Martin who first suggested that the romance might have been written for Alan of Galloway, and this suggestion has never been seriously disputed. It is curious that *Fergus* seems never to have become popular in Scotland or England. It was never translated into English, and no Anglo-Norman manuscript of it is extant. Of the two surviving manuscripts, one (A), written in the thirteenth century in North-Eastern France, is Chantilly 626; the other (P), Fonds français, 1553, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, was written in the early fourteenth century in a strong Picard dialect. The place-names in this manuscript have suffered deformation. Later in the fourteenth century the romance was translated into Dutch (D), and the place-names suffered further change. Roxburgh becomes Rikensteen, Carlisle Gincestre, Glasgow Gladone, and St. Mungo Sente

Meye. This translation was edited by E. Verwijs and J. Verdam (Leyden, 1908), and re-edited by G. S. Overdiep, with a reprinting of the French text (Leyden, 1925). On the Continent it was naturally regarded as an ordinary Arthurian romance. How it got there is a puzzle. Previous writers seem to have assumed that because the author was probably a Continental Frenchman, a fact that it would be difficult to prove because Anglo-Norman texts copied by North-Eastern or Picard scribes are invariably very much altered, the romance would necessarily have circulated in his country of origin, but this is not so. None of the six manuscripts, for instance, of *Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence's Life of Thomas à Becket* was written on the Continent. As Professor Schlauch pointed out, it would be a hopeless task to try to identify William the Clerk amongst the host of foreign clergy travelling or settled in Scotland and England at this period, and her attempts to date the romance by Louis of France's invasion of England are inconsistent with this standpoint. She has, moreover, overlooked the existence of "William, the beloved and familiar clerk," of Alan of Galloway, who was sent on a mission to Henry III. of England in 1220 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, I., No. 754). He was "Prior of the Isle," that is, St. Mary's Priory of Augustinian Canons at Traill in Kirkcudbrightshire, one of the historical Fergus's Five Foundations. There is no register of Traill surviving, and no means of knowing whether this Prior, like so many of the Regular clergy of Scotland at this time, was a foreigner, nor whether he was a poet, but the point is worth mentioning. If the romance was written in Scotland, it might have reached the North-East of France, and ultimately the Netherlands, through William de Fortz, Count of Albermarle, who married Christina, one of the daughters of Alan and Margaret.

Nothing is left in the romance of the historical Fergus but the name and possibly the connection with Somarled of Argyll and the Isles. As Professor Schlauch remarked, the families of Fergus and Somarled were still allies in Alan's time. As will presently appear, the traditions of Alan's mother's family are as important as those of his

father in inspiring the geographical setting of the romance. But it would be a great mistake to regard the romance as anything else than fiction. It is not a faithful biography in verse, like the nearly contemporary *Life of William Marshal*, which was written by a Continental Norman for the Marshal's family. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the local colour was introduced as a compliment to a patron, and the romance may conveniently be compared with *Gui de Warewic* and *Fouke Fitz-Warin*.

The romance has inherited from romance in general and from Arthurian romance in particular the following points amongst others: Arthur and his knights and their characterisation; the courts kept at Cardigan and Carlisle; the forest of Gorriende; the hunt of the white hart and its slaying by Perceval; the boy brought up in ignorance and his instinctive desire to become a knight, his comic clothes and clumsy arms, his polishing at court, his departure from court upon a quest, his meeting with a damsel who makes advances to him, his accomplishment of the quest; the object guarded by automata; the fight with the Black Knight of the Black Mountain; the noisy approach of the Knight, a possible relic of a conception of him as a Storm Spirit; the madness of the hero and his healing at a spring; the quest of the Shining Shield; the rescue of maidens imprisoned by an ogre; the appearance of the hero at a siege and his retirement each night; his similar appearance incognito at a tournament and disappearances; his marriage to the Lady of Lothian and the coronation of the bridal pair as king and queen.

From the history of the Galloway line it inherits the following points: From the person of Fergus, the name; the allusions to Galloway; the connexion with Somarled; the importance of Carlisle as a place where court was kept, since David I., who "discovered" Fergus, held his court there when Prince of Cumbria; and the references to England as the home of riches and good taste, since Fergus is believed to have married Elizabeth, natural daughter of Henry I. and sister of the Sibilla who was married to Alexander I., though *The Com-*

plete Peerage, Volume XI., of which an appendix deals with the progeny of Henry I., is silent on the matter.

From the persons of Roland and Alan, the references to Ayrshire, where the Morville family, whose heiress Elena was Roland's wife, held the lands of Cunningham; to Lothian and Tweeddale, where the principal holdings of the Morvilles were situated; the allusions to St. Mungo of Glasgow, because the Morvilles held some of their lands from the see of Glasgow; the references to Melrose, where Elena's father was buried; the mention of the royal strongholds of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Dunnottar, recalling the facts that the Morvilles and after them Roland and Alan were Hereditary Constables of Scotland and that Margaret was the King's niece; the coronation at the end, which is symbolical of the royal descent of Margaret and of Alan and Alan's title of Prince of Galloway. Professor Brugger's comment upon this last point ("But the hero's marriage with a king's daughter and heiress is a commonplace in romance and has nothing to do with history," *Misc. . . . Kast*, p. 107) is a generalisation which ignores the peculiar character of Fergus.

The summary of the romance which follows is not intended to be exhaustive but to throw into relief the Scottish background of the tale. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing either of the manuscripts of the text and have had to rely on Martin's edition, the best available so far. For the identifications I have used the work of Martin, Professor Brugger, and Professor Schlauch, but I differ from all these writers in believing that the clue to the geography lies not in the mists of Celtic tradition nor in the life and times of Fergus, but is to be sought in the descent and career of Alan of Galloway. Antiquarianism was never a vice for which the Middle Ages were conspicuous.

One St. John the Baptist's Day, King Arthur kept his court at Cardigan. All the Knights of the Round Table were present, chief among them Gawain.¹ The King refused to join them after dinner, because he intended to hunt a white hart of which he had heard, in the forest of Gorriende² near Carlisle. They set forth, Sir Gawain riding on the right of the Queen, whose mantle surpassed any to be found in England, Scotland or Ireland. When they started the hart, the beast led them a long chase until it had crossed a swift and deep river. The hunt crossed this by a

bridge. Sir Perceval le Galois brought the stag to bay in the forest of Gedeorde (Jedburgh). But the hunt was resumed, across Landemore (the Lammermuirs), into the forest of Glasgow³ and thence to Aroie⁴ (Ayrshire), where the beautiful women are, "none more beautiful in all the world." They crossed the district and went into Indegall,⁵ a land very rich in wealth. "But the people there are ignorant, for they will never enter a church. They do not trouble to pray to God, they are so ignorant and bestial." The hart was drowned by a hound when it jumped into a pool. It was then so late that at Perceval's suggestion tents were pitched by the ford. The King gave Perceval his gold cup as a reward, but he instantly gave it away to Gawain.

Next morning Arthur started back towards Carlisle. But at the way out from Indegall a villain of Pelande⁶ dwelt in a castle above a valley, quite close to the Irish Sea. The house was well built of hurdles all around, on the top of a dark rock. On the hill was a tower which was neither of stone nor lime. The high wall and the battlements were made of earth. The man within could see all round him for thirty leagues, and needed to have no fear for siege-engineer or assault. The rock was too high.⁷ The villain held jurisdiction over all the country, by inheritance, so that no one could deprive him of it. His name was Soumilloit.⁸ On account of his wonderful wealth he had taken a very noble wife. They had three comely sons, noble in body, well-made and tall. If they had been sons to a king, they would still have been thought very handsome, and they might well have been knights. But the rustic and uncouth villain used them like farm-hands. Arthur was attracted by the castle. One of the sons left his plough and stopped one of the horses. He had a club, "for it was the custom in Indegall to bear arms when they were ploughing or harrowing." The squire told him that King Arthur, Emperor of the realm, was passing, and the lad wished to join the knights of the Round Table. He left the plough and his servant and ran to his father, demanding arms and permission to follow the King. The villain would have knocked him down with a stick, if his noble wife had not intervened. She swore by St. Mangon that her eldest son had inherited nobility through her, and could be spared from his work. The villain found some old arms, very old-fashioned and rusty, in a chest and gave them to his son, who put them over his rough clothes. He also gave him his horse, "the horses in that country can run over a quaking bog more swiftly than a man on foot." The lad left at once, to the great grief of his mother, who did not expect to see him again.

He followed the tracks of the horses and soon fell in with four robbers. He asked them the way to Carlisle, but they insisted on fighting. He killed two and rode off with their heads dangling from his saddle-bow by the beards. So he came to Carlisle in Wales.⁹ The king asked who he was, and he replied that his name was Fergus. Kay began to tease him, and to say that he was undoubtedly the knight who would go to the Nouquetran,¹⁰ "where Merlin dwelt many a year" and win the horn and wimple attached to the lion's neck and fight the knight black as a mulberry. Gawain reproved him, and Fergus swore proudly by the faith which he owed St. Mangon who is at Glasco that he would avenge the knights next day on the Noire Montaigne. Arthur protested, and would have absolved him from the vow of undertaking the dangerous quest of the Nouquetran, but Fergus was not to be deterred. He had nowhere to lodge and it began to rain. A maiden took pity on him. He would have been very handsome if his features had not been flattened with wearing armour and if he

had known how to dress himself in the English fashion, but he had not changed his clothes since leaving home. They were horrified at the heads tied to his saddle-bow and threw them away. Before supper two squires of Loenois¹¹ brought water for washing. The maiden's father, who was the King's chamberlain, began to question Fergus, who explained that his father had knighted him and given him his horse, "there is none better between here and Ingegal." The chamberlain replied that Soumilloit had had no right to knight him, and that he deserved better arms. Fergus was much mortified, but went next day to court, where he was knighted by the King and properly armed. He refused, however, to exchange his horse. Kay mocked him, but everyone else, especially Gawain, was sorry to see him go to his death.

He left at once and at nightfall he came to a strong castle above a swift and navigable stream. The castle was called Lidel.¹² He was greeted by the owner and his niece, who was called Galiene. You would not find a lady more honourable or gracious if you searched all foreign lands. When she saw Fergus love shot a quarrel from his cross-bow which struck through her eye into her heart, but fortunately her uncle did not notice her change of colour. The host tried to dissuade Fergus from the dangerous quest of the Noquetrant. When they went to bed, the maiden could not sleep a wink for thinking of Fergus, and after much hesitation she rose and declared her love for him. He replied that he could not think of love until he had vanquished the Black Knight. Galiene was in two minds whether to kill herself, but no lady of her line had ever done such a thing and she resolved to go to her father in Lodian, whom she had not seen for a year.

Fergus set off next day for the Black Mountain, promising to return. He entered a vast plain between two mountains and went over hill and dale until he saw a mountain which seemed to touch the clouds and bear up the sky. Not a beast could climb it, unless it had wings. There was just one way up, made by a giant who lived in the forest. Fergus knew it at once. He tied his horse to the great olive-tree where people were in the habit of tethering their horses, for no horse could climb the hill. Then he went up with drawn sword. Often he slipped and fell on his knees, and only saved himself by clutching the bushes. So he climbed into the Noquetran. He was aching all over when he reached the top, but he looked round him over the wide forest as far as the Irish Sea, and saw England and Cornwall. A marble chapel with ivory gates was guarded by a hideous villein, which proved to be an automaton. The lion was within, and turned out to be carved from ivory. Fergus secured the wimple and the horn, which he blew three times. Then he hurried down the hill, just in time to hear a noise like a hunt approaching, which scared all the deer. This was caused by the Black Knight. Fergus overcame him, and sent him to King Arthur while he went back to Lidel. He was distressed to find the maiden was not there, for her equal was not to be found in Ireland, England, Scotland, or Lodian. He and his host talked at cross-purposes, but when Fergus found that Galiene had vanished he nearly went out of his mind. Never did his father Soumillet do anything so difficult as the service of love in which he was engaged. He left that night, by moonlight. In the middle of a moor he had a fight with a knight who was attended by a dwarf and dwelt with a lady in a tent. Next, he found a brigand who dwelt in a castle, and after that fifteen knights who lived by robbery in the forest. All these he vanquished in turn and sent to King Arthur. So they had news of Fergus at court.

Fergus wandered for a whole year, growing leaner and leaner. At last he came to a spring which heals all diseases. He drank of this and was cured of his madness. The dwarf who guarded this spring addressed him as the son of the villein of Pelande, and foretold that before he could rejoin Galiene he must go to Dunostre (Dunnottar) to win the White Shield which was guarded by an ancient dame. Fergus would have gone to hell for Galiene. The castle, according to the dwarf, could not be taken by the assembled host of England except by famine.

Fergus traversed the whole of Lodien, and slept at the Castiel as Puceles (Edinburgh). Next morning he came to the Port la Reine (Queensferry). This is on the frontier of Lodien, Escoche¹³ lies on the other side. These two lands are divided by the sea.

Fergus crossed in a barge. The boatmen, none worse in the kingdom of England, would have drowned him for the sake of his armour. In the struggle the boat drifted. Fergus seized the helm and ran before the wind, landing below a Saracen castle¹⁴ called Dunfremelin. He rode through Escoche where fortune led him, until he saw the sky lit up by the Shield. He killed first the giantess and then a dragon larger than that killed by Tristan, Mark's nephew. If the lordship of England had been given him in fee, he would not have been a tenth part so joyful. He left Dunostre Castle with the Shield and came upon a merchant ship waiting for wind and tide, which took him to the Port la Reine without payment. He learned from some shepherds that a lady named Galiene, now ruler of Lodien, was besieged in the castle of Roceborc (Roxburgh) by a king. Fergus set off, but was so pre-occupied that he took a wrong turning which led to Mont Dolerous.¹⁵ He would have to speak with the giant of the mountain of Maros (Melrose). There was a strong castle on the rock and a deep river below. The giant was on the bridge, and when he saw the Shining Shield he knew that Fergus had killed his wife. In the ensuing struggle Fergus's precious horse was killed, but he slew the giant. In the castle he found two maidens whose knights the giant had killed combing the hair of the giant's son. Fergus threw him into the moat. In the stable he found a horse, none more beautiful in England. It was wild, but he tamed it. He rested three days, and then climbed to the top of the castle. He put his head out of the window and looked over the land of Lodien and saw thirty thousand tents round about Roceborc. The maidens armed him and he went to raise the siege. He fought each day and returned each night for a week. The king's nephew Artofilas entered Roceborc to parley with the maiden. She accused him of being drunk and recognised him as one of the three messengers of Vasselin. But she foolishly promised to surrender unless she could find a champion in eight days. A maiden called Arondele (Swallow) offered to fetch one of the knights of the Round Table. In three days she had arrived at Carlisle, but she found that Fergus had disappeared, Gawain was in Ireland, Perceval in Peland, Kay in Ingegal, Saigramor in Arragoce,¹⁶ Erec in Eschoce, and Lancelot in Wales. She decided to look for Gawain in Galvoie,¹⁷ but could not find him. As she returned Fergus saw her from the tower of Marois. She told him that she had been looking for the knight with whom her lady had fallen in love at Lidel. When she reached Roceborc the lady reproached herself with having left Lidel, for her uncle would have given her Fergus in marriage. Next morning she was about to fling herself over the battlements when she saw the whole forest lit up as if it was on fire. This was due to the approach of Fergus with his Shining Shield. He killed Artofilas and sent the king to the maiden to surrender. After this

the king went to Corbelande (Cumberland) and to Carlisle. When Arthur heard his story he had a tournament proclaimed at Gedeorde. Everyone of note from England was there. Fergus defeated them all, one by one. Galiene, the lady of Lodien, now arrived and demanded a husband to protect her, and said that she would prefer the Knight of the Shining Shield. Arthur sent Gawain to look for him. As soon as Fergus heard that Gawain was speaking to him he confessed that he was Fergus, and they returned together. Arthur announced that Fergus should marry Galiene, and rule over Lodiien, to which he would add Tudiele (Tweeddale). Fergus wished to be married at Roceborc, and first he sent for the maidens from Malreus. Fergus and Galiene were married and crowned on St. John the Baptist's Day. When King Arthur left, they returned to Roceborc. He is called lord and king, and she queen. They are true lovers. William the Clerk brings to an end his matter and his song. No one knows any more about the Knight with the Fair Shield. And this is the end of the romance. Great joy come to those who listen to it!

1 Gawain was one of the original heroes of the Round Table romances, and is often used as the pattern of chivalry. In later romances his character sometimes suffered degradation. Here A has Gavain (cf. Scottish Gavin) and once P has Gawain. The usual French form is Galvain or Gauvain, and on account of a chance resemblance to Galvoie (Galloway), the Gawain legends became localised there. Hence, perhaps, the prominence of Gawain in this romance.

2 Glorionde (P). Geltsdale or Inglewood Forest (Martin). Probably the former. Cf. the *Vulgate Lancelot* (ed. H. O. Sommer IV., 5), the forest of Gelde or Gloride.

3 Gladon (A) on this occasion. Not a particular wood (Martin), but the wild country near Glasgow. The etymological use of the word as in English is puzzling to foreigners.

4 There is no need to doubt this identification, given the context. The apparent foreshadowing of Burns has its origin in a compliment to the ladies of the Morville family.

5 Ingeval (P), Indegale (D). According to Professor Brugger's plausible theory, this stands for Innsegall, the historic kingdom of the Isles (which, he does not seem to be aware, included the Mull of Kintyre on the mainland), and is apparently here applied to Galloway, certainly not to Ayrshire (Schlauch). But could Argyll and Galloway be mixed up in a feudal age? Could the name be here being applied to West Galloway? Galloway and its inhabitants had a bad name at this time.

6 The forms for this name in P are Pullande, Poulande and Hupelande. It represents the modern Pentland, and here means Pictland, i.e., Galloway, the country of the Southern Picts, not the Pentland Hills (Martin).

7 This is the description of one of the Motes which abounded in Galloway, and reads like an account of a real place. It might be Cruggleton, which would fit very well if Ingegal could possibly mean West Galloway. The stone ruins on the site seem all to be more recent than the time of the romance.

8 Elsewhere in this volume Mr Radford has shown reason to accept the suggestion that Somarled was the name of the father of Fergus. This must not be confused with the historical Somarled who was in point of fact the son-in-law of Fergus's daughter Affrica, who married the King of Man. He had three sons and the two Somarleds may be combined in the romance.

9 Carlisle is usually so described in the romances. Wales being taken to include the kingdom of Strathclyde, in which Carlisle was situated.

10 I have tried to track down this mountain, which is presumably a real place identified with the traditional Black Mountain or Law. P has Noskestan and Noquestan. Tradition had it that Merlin wandered for fifty years in Ettrick Forest, and his grave may still be seen at Dummelzier on the Tweed. Even the indefatigable J. S. S. Glennie failed to identify the spring, mentioned later on in this romance, where he was cured of his madness (*Arthurian Localities*). It cannot possibly be at Newcastleton (Martin). Mr Angus Graham suggests to me that Fergus followed the same Liddesdale road as Edward I. later on—a way already "old" in the 12th century (*Cal. Docs. Scot.*, II., 433, *Cal. Charter Rolls*, III., 93). This would bring him to the Rubers Law, an isolated, rugged and cloud-capped mountain, with ancient remains on the top. The view is extensive, but does *not* include Cornwall or even the Irish Sea, otherwise the conditions seem exactly to fit the case.

11 From the latin Lodonesia, the Lothians, cf. the form Lyonesse. Elsewhere the poet uses the form Lodien, Lodian, Lodiien, from Lodonia. Both forms were current and the poet uses both, probably for reasons of rhyme and metre.

12 Not Liddel Strength, in Cumberland (Martin), but Liddel Castle, which gave its name to Newcastleton, built by the Soulis family. It is possible that the two Anglo-Norman families of Morville and Soulis, both brought north by David I., were connected by marriage, but unfortunately early records do not shew the names of wives. (Cf., the articles by Mr R. C. Reid and Mr T. M'Michael, in *Dumfriesshire and Galloway . . . Trans.* 1949).

13 Escoche stands, quite correctly, for the Kingdom of Albania or Scotia north of the Forth.

14 Saracen is the traditional adjective for anything pagan. Here it may mean what is now known as Malcolm's Tower or the large camp near Dunfermline. The town's name is given in the text with metathesis of the r.

15 Martin, on the strength of a much-disputed passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth, identified this with the Chastiel as Puceles, i.e., Edinburgh. From the context this is plainly nonsense. The place is on the Tweed, near Melrose, and Mr Angus Graham has pointed out to Professor Loomis that the ruins of the Roman fort at Newstead might be the castle in question. Mr Anderson had formerly suggested that the name Mons Dolorous had been applied to the Abbey of Holyrood, but, as Professor Loomis remarks, Melrose is undoubtedly meant (*Early Sources of Scottish History II.*, 275, *Arthurian Legend*, 110). Wedale was called in the Middle Ages Vallis Doloris.

16 Professor Brugger has suggested that Arragoce represents Argyll (*Misc. . . . Kast.*, pp. 104 ss.). The scribe of P has been mystified and has substituted Saragoce, a name well known from the *chansons de geste*.

17 Professor Brugger points out (*op. cit.*, pp 100 ss.) that Galvoie is from the context apparently in Ireland, and suggests that Galway is meant. The main difficulty, according to him, is that the author suggests that the district is on the mainland of Scotland. It seems more reasonable to suppose that Gawain was being looked for in his own country, which (cf. above), had been located as Galloway, and that the author had forgotten that he had mentioned Ireland. Professor Brugger is obsessed with the idea that the geography of *Fergus* has a background of Celtic tradition. If it is assumed that the background is early thirteenth century, south-west Ireland fades out of the picture. Alan of Galloway and his contemporaries cruised off the east coast of Ireland, close enough to Galloway, which might be regarded as on the way to Ireland, and in 1213 the King of England granted Alan lands in Antrim (*Scots Peerage*, I^v, 140). All things considered, Galloway seems the more likely identification.

ARTICLE 7.

The Barony of St. Trinian's in the Isle of Man.

By B. R. S. MEGAW, B.A., F.S.A.

I. INTRODUCTION.

No less than five monastic houses situated outside the island once held lands known as "baronies" within the Isle of Man. Three of these monasteries were in northern England, and one each in Galloway and Ulster.

The most powerful of the monastic "barons" was the Cistercian abbey of Furness, to which in 1134 A.D. the Manx king Olaf I. granted lands for the foundation of a daughter house at Rushen, as well as the perpetual right of choosing the bishops of Man and the Western Isles. The Cumberland priory of St. Bees and the Yorkshire abbey of Rievaulx both received lands from Olaf's son; but the Rievaulx colony, established in 1176, was soon absorbed by Rushen. Very little is known of the barony of Bangor and Saball, in the parish of Kirk Patrick, except that the lands belonged to the Cistercian abbeys of Bangor and Saul in Co. Down, and may have been granted in the 12th century, perhaps by the Manx princess who married John de Courcy, "Lord of Ulster."¹ It was evidently about the same period that the smallest of the Manx baronies, that of the priory of Whit-horn, commonly known as the Barony of St. Trinian's, came into existence, although the earliest surviving reference to it in a local record dates only from 1422. An account of the proceedings of a Tynwald Court held in that year includes the following passage:

" . . . The Courte of all the Country is houlden at Kirke Michell, upon the hill of Reneurling, before our most doubtful Lorde, Sr John Standley, by the grace of God, King of Man and Isles, the Tewsdaye next after the

¹ Affreca de Courcy's own foundation, Grey Abbey, in Co. Down, is also said, by a 17th century writer, to have possessed lands in the Isle of Man (William Montgomery, *Description of Ardes Barony*, 1683, Pinkerton MSS., MS., I., 1, 2, Trin. Coll., Dublin). No other record of such a property seems to exist and the statement may be due to confusion with the barony held by the other Co. Down houses.

Feaste of St Barthioamew the Apostle, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1422, in the weh Courte was called the Bishoppe to come to make his fealtie and faith to the Lord as the lawe askethe, and to shewe by what clayme he houldeth his Landes and his tenementes wthin the Lordshippe of Man, the weh came and did his fealtie to the Lorde.

"Alsoe the Abbott of Rushine, and the prioresse of Duglas, were cauled to doe their fealtie, and to shewe their clayme of their houldings, landes and tenementes wthin the Lordshippe of Man, the weh came and did their fealtie to the Lorde.

"The Priore of Whithorne, in Galloway, the Abbot of Furnes, the Abbot of Bangor, the Abbot of Saball, and the Priore of Sannlebede, in Copland, were called and came not, and therefor were they deemed by the Demester, that they should come in their proper persones wthin fourtie dayes, and came not, for the weh all their temperalties were seised into the Lorde's handes."²

The precise nature of the "baronies" has never been fully determined. It appears to the writer that the original purpose was in each case the establishment of a "cell," "monastery" or "hospital" of monks supplied by the house to which the lands were granted. Apart from the exceptional case of the Furness grant the barony lands, although sometimes modified later in extent, evidently tended to comprise what was known in the island as a "treen," that is a small administrative group of approximately four quarterland farms and comparable with the Irish *baile* or "townland."³ Each treen was served by one chapel (*keeill*) in the period of "Celtic" Christianity and, at least in one case, the 12th-century monks erected their new chapel upon the

² William Mackenzie, *Stanley Legislation of Man*, Manx Soc., III., 1860, pp. 74-75. The seizure of the baronies in 1422 appears to have been in the nature of a threat, and the religious houses were not deprived of their holdings until the Dissolution.

³ A late Irish source refers to the barony of Bangor and Saball as consisting of a "townland in the Isle of Man called Glenanoy" [= Glenmoy, Glenmaye], incidentally revealing the ancient treen-name which has not been preserved in Manx Records (Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 109).

site of the early *treen*-chapel. The post-Reformation rentals show that the farms of the barony lands paid their rent and customs to the owner of the barony instead of to the lord of the island, and these contributions were no doubt originally allocated, in part at least, to the maintenance of the "barony" chapel and the social or educational work of the monks who served it. Baron courts, presided over by the steward or serjeant of the barony, were held up to the time of the first World War for the receipt of rents and settlement of land disputes amongst the barony tenants. The latter seem to have been free from payment of the "alienation fine" imposed on the occupier of lord's land on succession to the property; they enjoyed the further distinction of having part of their rent reckoned in kind (turf and hens) and also owed boon days to the lord of the barony.

II. THE LANDS GRANTED TO WHITHORN.

The original charters relating to the Barony of St. Trinian's are lost, and the Register of Whithorn Priory also disappeared long ago. By great good fortune, however, a certified transcript⁴ of the grants and confirmations of the priory's Manx property, made in 1504 at Whithorn direct

⁴ This interesting document seems to have been produced before the lord of Man (then Thomas, first earl of Derby), as evidence of title, since it passed into the possession of the subsequent owners, along with other Manx documents, by intermarriage with the house of Derby. Its existence was first revealed in 1888 by the calendar of the Bridgewater Manuscripts published in the *Eleventh Report (Appx. pt. VII.) of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, pp 150-1. A few years later the complete text of the transcript, together with a documentary history of the Manx possessions of Whithorn priory, was published by Rev. Theophilus Talbot, of Douglas (*The Priory of Whithorn and its Lands and Churches in Mann*, Douglas, no date, c. 1900) but this useful work is unfortunately hard to come by. Its author was, moreover, handicapped by having to transcribe the contracted Latin text from photographs only 3½ inches in width—the original parchment roll measures some 17 inches across—and it is not surprising that some of the place-names were misread. The names were first deciphered correctly by the late Mr J. J. Kneen, of Douglas (*Place Names of the Isle of Man*, Douglas, 1925, pt. II., pp. 151-170), from photostat copies of the document supplied by the Huntington Library in 1922 to the library of the Manx Museum. In 1940, Mr William Cubbon, then Director of the Manx Museum, published a short account of the barony of St Trinian's of which the new features were a plan of the estate and extracts from a seventeenth-century rent roll (William Cubbon, "The Barony of St Trinian in Kirk Marown," *Journal of the Manx Museum*, IV., No. 62, 175-177).

"from the authentic book or Register," still survives amongst the Bridgewater Manuscripts in the Huntington Library, U.S.A.

The date and witness clauses are omitted from the text of the earliest of the charters given in the transcripts, and from those confirming it, but Talbot (p. 9) gives sound reasons for dating the first between the years 1193 and 1215. In this "Olaf King of the Isles" gave "to God and St. Ninian and the Canons of Candida Casa of the Premonstratensian Order . . . the hospital of Ballacniba . . . and the lands of Balhamer . . . and the church of Saint Ninian of Ballacniba, and the church of Saint Runan." The confirmation by Olaf's son, King Harold (1237-1248), expressly states that it was "lord Olaf of happy memory, our father and predecessor" who had granted to Whithorn the church of St. Runan; and in this case the charter-heading (no doubt a later addition) renders the name of the church in its vernacular form, "Kyrkmaroun," which identifies it with the old parish church of Kirk Marown, within which parish St. Trinian's church is also situated. The relationship between the two churches is thus defined in a subsequent confirmation: "the church of Saint Ninian, which is a chapel, and the church of Saint Runan, which is the mother church of the said chapel." Bishop Nicholas (1193-1215) confirmed⁵ the grant of King Olaf in respect of "the church of Saint Runa in Man with all tithes, chapels, oblations, and all other ecclesiastical benefits to the same church belonging, to hold and possess of us and our successors after the days of Brice, now parson of the same church . . . saving to us and our successors full episcopal right"; while Bishop Simon (?1226-1248) reserved only "to us and our successors a third part of all the tithes of the said church as pertaining to our revenue."

These documents prove that the gift to Whithorn of the parish church of Kirk Marown was first made by Olaf II. some time between 1193 and 1215; and Canon Quine was probably correct in narrowing the date of the grant to the year

5 The confirmation names "Paul the prior" (of Candida Casa).

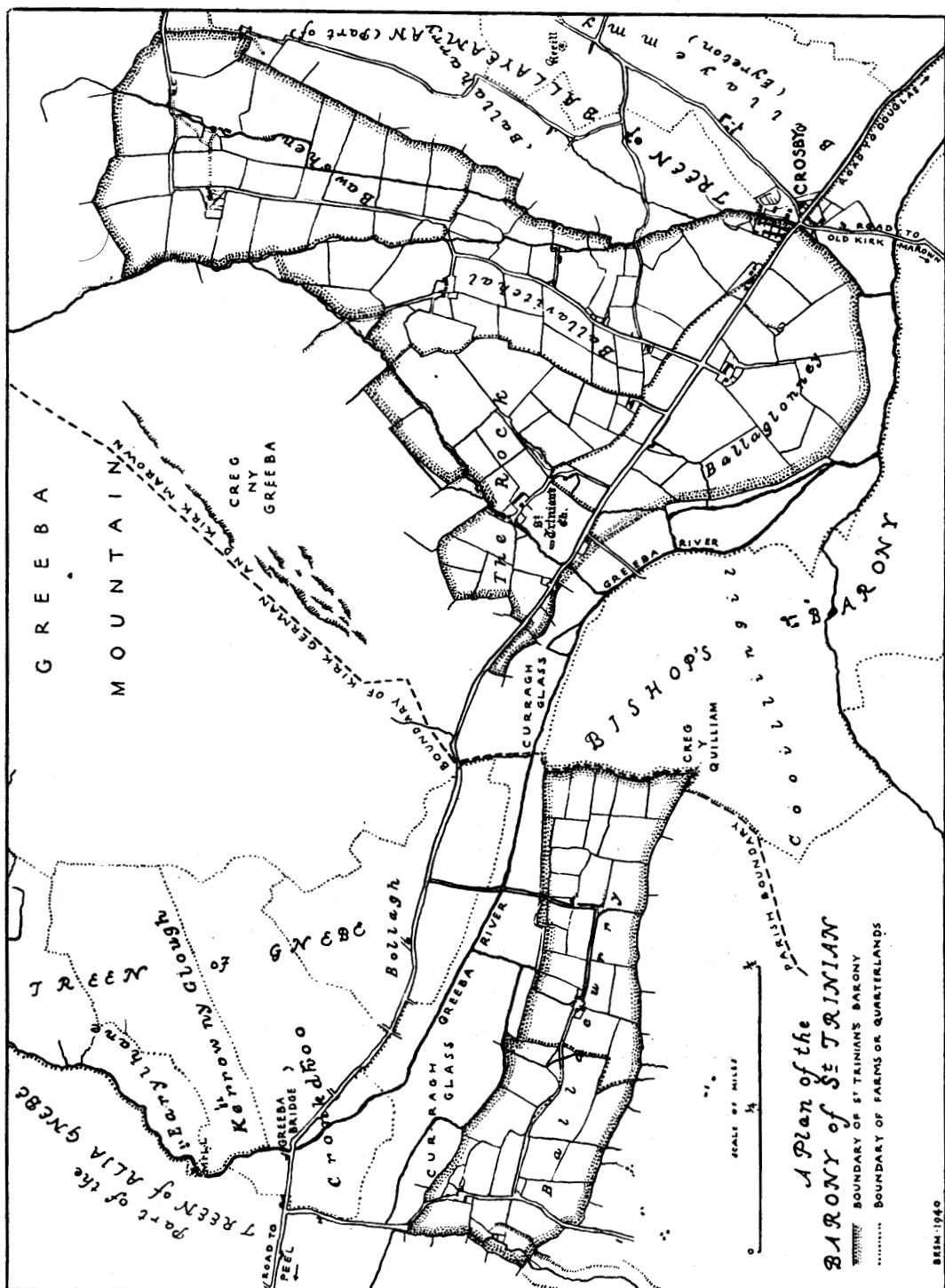


Fig. 4.—PLAN OF BARONY OF ST. TRINIAN'S.

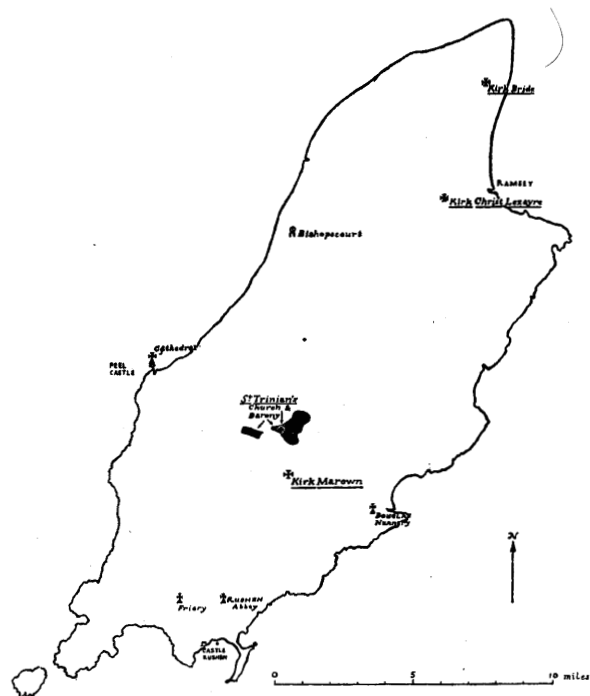


Fig. 5.—ECCLESIASTICAL MAP OF THE ISLAND.

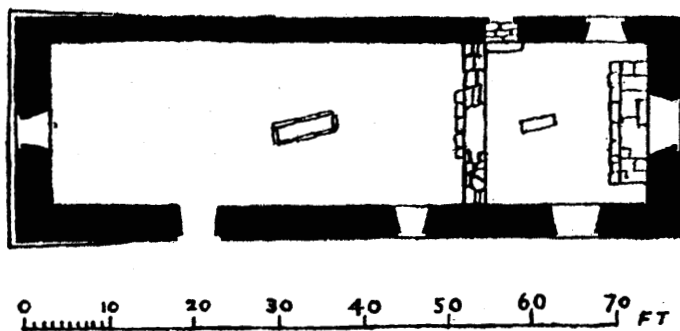


Fig. 6.—PLAN OF ST. TRINIAN'S CHURCH.

1214 or 1215.⁶ They do not, however, prove that the original grant of St. Ninian's church, the hospital of Ballacgniba, and the lands of Dalhamer (otherwise spelt Balhamer in the transcript) dates from the time of Olaf II.'s charter. Indeed, the reference in that charter to a church of Saint Ninian of Ballacgniba and a hospital at the same place as already in existence suggests that there had been an earlier donation, as Talbot was the first to observe. The fact that Olaf I. (died 1153), who is known to have been much given to the endowment of churches and monasteries, married a daughter of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, himself the founder of Whithorn Priory, is not the only evidence of close ties between Man and Galloway during his reign. A point which seems to have escaped comment hitherto is a rather remarkable statement in the Manx Chronicle to the effect that when Olaf I. fell at Ramsey in 1153, his murderers immediately attacked Galloway, and, being repulsed there, expelled from Man the Gallwegians then living in the island. These Galloway settlers were manifestly protégés of the murdered king, and may very well have included a colony of Whithorn monks settled by him upon the lands of Ballacgniba.

The barony lands named in the charters remain to be identified. The plan (fig. 4) of the property as it was known about eighty years ago affords some help, but the place-names given in the charters were by that time quite forgotten and so far as I know they are not recorded elsewhere. Certainly none of the attempts to identify them with farm names surviving in the locality are at all convincing. The derivation of Ballacgniba is clearly, as Kneen showed, Manx Gaelic *Balley*, "an estate," + Norse *Gnípa*, "a peak," evidently with reference to the adjoining hill, now called Greeba but formerly written Gnebe. Since the documents imply that St. Ninian's Church was situated upon the estate of Ballacgniba, this name can only refer to that portion of the barony lands surrounding the church. *Balla-* in medieval names usually

⁶ John Quine, "Historical note on S. Trinian's," in *Proc. I.M. Nat. Hist. and Ant. Soc. (N.S.)*, I., 333. The rest of this paper is characteristically ingenious, but the discussion of the place-names is unsound.

seems to indicate a "treen," and it may be accepted that Ballacniba was not merely the Rock farm alone, but the ancient name of a whole treen comprising the four contiguous quarterland farms now known as the Rock, Bawshen, Ballavitchal and Ballaglonney.⁷ Their combined area is about 385 acres of farmland, excluding "intack" land. We are left with Dalhamer,⁸ which can only be the remaining, separate part of the barony—the one hundred acre quarterland farm of Ballachurry, lying across the Greeba Curragh, in the adjoining parish of Kirk German.

III. THE MANX CHURCHES WHICH BELONGED TO WHITHORN.

St. Trinian's Church. The chapel of St. Ninian referred to in the documents still stands, in a meadow of the Rock farm on the north side of the high road from Douglas to Peel, with the fine hill of Greeba rising behind its roofless walls. In its present form it seems to be substantially a 14th-century building with red sandstone facings—a plain rectangular church, measuring internally 73 feet long and 19 feet wide. It has a belfry for twin bells at the west end, and was roofed with slate. It thus belongs architecturally to the same type as the old parish churches of the island.

Earlier features were revealed, however, during repairs undertaken in 1908-10. A series of granite mouldings, including a number of late-Romanesque capitals, had evidently come from a church erected on the same site during the period of Olaf II.—about the year 1200.⁹ Although most of

⁷ Influenced by the fact that two adjoining treens on the west side of Greeba mountain were known as Gnebe and Alia Gnebe respectively, Mr Kneen argued that these had formed part of Ballacniba (*Place Names*, pt. IV., 396). The suggestion is unwarranted, as there is no evidence that these treens, which lie in another parish, had at any time belonged to Whithorn priory.

⁸ In three cases the transcript spells the name Balhamer, and in as many cases Dalhamer. The latter is the more likely to be correct, since the abbreviation of Balla to Bal would be an anachronism in a medieval document. Kneen interpreted Dalhamer as equivalent to Norse *Hamardalr*, "Crag dale," the order of the components being inverted through Gaelic influence.

⁹ For a description of the building and of the earlier features discovered during the restoration, see P. M. C. Kermode, *Proc. I.M. Nat. Hist. and Ant. Soc. (N.S.)*, I., 328-332. Some of the simpler Romanesque mouldings might conceivably belong to the period of Olaf I. (first half of 12th century).



Plate VII.—ST. TRINIAN'S CHURCH, BEFORE RESTORATION,
FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

these mouldings were not *in situ*, the granite jambs of the present south doorway are of the same period. This fact, coupled with the discovery of what must have been the foundation of the original east end of the Romanesque church at a distance of about 19 feet short of the present east end, suggests that the 14th-century workmen did little more than extend the old building eastward, add a belfry and enlarge the windows. The Romanesque church therefore seems to have measured some 50 feet long by 19 feet wide internally.

Under the floor, within the area of the Romanesque church, were found two slab-lined graves of the type invariably found in the pre-Viking Christian cemeteries in the island. Other graves of this type have been found outside the walls of the church, and one covered by a primitive cross-slab probably of the pre-Viking period, but unlike any from Whithorn, was found under the floor of the 14th-century extension.¹⁰ It is thus practically certain that the medieval St. Trinian's church was erected on the site of a much earlier *keeill* of unknown dedication—the "Celtic" chapel of the treen of Ballacniba. We cannot say, however, that there is any trace, either archæological or documentary, of the influence of Candida Casa at this place before the 12th century. Nor is there any trace of the "hospital" mentioned in the grants and which doubtless stood beside St. Ninian's church in medieval times.

The parish church of Kirk Marown. The church of St. Runan, evidently granted to Whithorn Priory in 1214 or 1215, is now known as Old Kirk Marown. It is still roofed, but has been replaced by a new church built more conveniently on the Douglas-Peel high road in 1849. Before drastic 18th-century alterations, the old church measured 60 x 18 ft. internally. The west end retains part of a

¹⁰ The early cross-slab and other ornamental features are figured in Kermode, *Manx Archaeological Survey, first report* (1909), 4; and A. Rigby's report on details found, in *Manx Museum's sixth report* (1911), 7-19. Note that the "pavement cross" at the east end of the church (Kermode, *loc. cit.* 4) can hardly be earlier than the fourteenth century extension, unless it was re-set in its present position at that time.

Romanesque doorway with granite mouldings so like those at St. Trinian's that they are often said to have been brought thence during the 18th-century restorations of the parish church. While this is certainly possible, I have been unable to find any reliable authority for the statement, and it seems equally possible that the parish church was built by the masons engaged on St. Ninian's chapel.

The parish church of Kirk Christ Lezayre. Besides Old Kirk Marown, Whithorn also possessed the parish church of Kirk Christ, or Holy Trinity, Lezayre. The transcript of 1504 preserves the text of the grant by Alexander III. of Scotland, dated 24 May, 1285, and of confirmations by the bishop of Man (1285) and Pope Nicholas IV. (1291). The grant was of the "advowson of the church of the Holy Trinity at Ramsaigh in Man." This building no longer exists, although the site is known. It was replaced in 1830 by the present Lezayre church. The measurements of the old building are recorded as 84 x 20 ft.

The parish church of Kirk Bride. The "church of St. Brigid in the Ayre" was, in the early 14th century, granted to Whithorn by Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, then lord of Man. But, as Talbot observed, there is no evidence that the priory was ever in possession of this church.

IV. THE DISSOLUTION, AND AFTER.

Although Whithorn Priory was not dissolved until 1587, all its properties in Man seem to have been appropriated by the lord of Man before that date. The later history of the Manx churches and lands of the Priory is discussed in some detail in Talbot's paper. St. Trinian's church soon fell into decay, but the "barony" was not forgotten and the rents were collected by the Serjeant of the Barony up to the War of 1914-18. An 18th-century owner even claimed the privilege of making fealty to the king of England in respect of the barony and asked to be admitted to do so at the Tynwald Court; but, because the grant was from the lord of Man, he was advised that fealty, "if due, can only be made to the duke of Athol [then lord of Man] at his Baron Court."

ARTICLE 8.

The Kintyre Properties of the Whithorn Priory and the Bishopric of Galloway.

By A. M'KERRAL, C.I.E., M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

Direct communication and intercourse between Kintyre and Galloway were more frequent in the days before the introduction of steamboats and railways than at the present time. Given fine weather, and a favourable wind, only a few hours' sailing was needed to cross the Firth of Clyde. The similarity of church dedications and places in Galloway to those of Kintyre are striking, and, taken along with other known facts of history, led the late Professor W. J. Watson to postulate a plantation of Galloway by people from Argyllshire Dalriada about the year 800 A.D., that is, just before the Norse invasions.¹ After that event the Gaelic language superseded the older Brythonic speech of the inhabitants of Galloway. The Cistercian Abbey of Saddell in Kintyre had properties in Carrick, and the Premonstratensian Priory of Whithorn in Galloway was in possession of a church and an estate in Kintyre, of which a short account is given in the following paragraphs.

The Church of Kilcolmkill.

The old parish of Kilcolmkill, and the adjacent parish of Kilblaan, the former a dedication to St. Columba, and the latter to St. Blaen, were united in the early 17th century into the modern parish of Southend, which comprises the southern tip of the Kintyre peninsula, and ends in the rocky promontory of the Mull. The parish of Kilcolmkill formed the western, and that of Kilblaan the eastern portion, of the present parish of Southend.

The church of Kilcolmkill was situated on the southern shore of Kintyre, about seven miles from where the Mull lighthouse now stands. The ruins of the last parish church of Kilcolmkill, which was in use down to about the year 1680,

¹ *Celtic Place Names of Scotland*, p. 171.

are still extant, and the building, although roofless, is in a fair state of preservation. It shows the usual design of the old Argyllshire parish churches, in that it is a rectangular building, without transepts, about 74 feet long by 18 feet wide, its main axis running east and west, and having the door and windows in the south wall only. It has been examined by several antiquaries of note, including Dean Howson of Chester, who described it in a paper read before the Camden Society of Cambridge in 1842; by William Dobie in the manuscript account entitled "*Perambulations in Kintyre*, 1833," which is now in the library of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries; and by Captain White, R.E., in his *Archæological Sketches in Kintyre*, published in 1872. The building is probably of 14th century date.

Surrounding it is a cemetery in which are the tombs of many of the old Kintyre families, including Macdonalds of Sanda and MacNeills of Carskey, as well as those of the Covenanting families from Ayr and Renfrew — Ralstons, Dunlops, Maxwells, Wallaces, and Hamiltons—who were brought to Kintyre by the Marquis of Argyll about the year 1650.

Owing to the fact that the Whithorn register is missing, the date when the church of Kilcolmkill was donated to the Priory is unknown, but it was most probably at some time during the 13th century, when the foundation of religious houses, and the grant of churches for their support, were frequent among the descendants of Somerled and other leading Argyllshire families. Reginald, son of Somerled, founded the Benedictine Abbey of Iona, and a convent of Black nuns there, about the year 1200. Before the year 1249 the family of Sweyn, the ancient lords of Knapdale, donated the church of Kilcalmonell in North Kintyre to Paisley Abbey, while about the same time the church of Kilkerran (now Campbeltown), in South Kintyre, was donated to the same abbey by Angus Mor, great-grandson of Somerled. The last grant was confirmed by Alexander of Islay, son of Angus, and it may interest Galloway people to know that among the witnesses to the charter there were

included Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and Robert his son and heir, the latter being the future King of Scotland.

The earliest information which we possess, relating to the grant of this church of Whithorn, is contained in a charter of King Robert I., dated 1326, confirming the grant of certain churches to the Priory. Among them there was included :

“*ecclesiam Sancti Columkilli in Kintyre, ex donatione Patricii McScilling et Finlach sponse sui.*”²

A later confirmatory grant, in almost identical words, is found in a charter of King James II., dated 1451.³

These charters reveal that the original donors of the church of Kilcolmkill to the Priory of Whithorn were a certain Patrick McScilling and his wife Finlach, and the interesting question is who this man was. Clearly he must have had the patronage of the church at the date when the donation was made, and, as it is rare to find a man's wife associated with her husband in such grants, we may conclude that Finlach must have been a lady of more than ordinary importance.

Although the identity of the donor and his wife cannot be positively established, there are some facts which indicate the connection of people bearing the name McScilling with the family of Somerled. In the history of the Lords of the Isles, known as *The Red Book of Clanranald*, we find the statement :

“Somerled had a good family, viz., Dubhghal and Raghnnall and the Gall MacSgillin, this man being so named from whom are descended the Clann Gall in the Glens [of Antrim].”⁴

The word “gall” in Gaelic means foreign, and the statement appears to mean that Somerled, in addition to his family by the daughter of the King of Man, had a son named MacSgillin by some previous wife, probably Norwegian, or Gallgael. The *mac* in the name cannot be the Gaelic word

² *Reg. May. Sig.*, App. I., No. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., No. 461.

⁴ W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, III., App. I. 400.

meaning "son of," for he could not have been the son of Sgillin and of Somerled at the same time. It is more probably a contraction of Maccus or Magnus, a Norse word, occurring in the name Maxwell, or Maccus-wiel. Sgillin, or Scilling, is certainly Norse, and Dr. A. Somerfelt, a Norwegian scholar who was in this country during the last war, and who was consulted as to the meaning of the word, expressed the opinion that it was a form of the Norse *Skjaldungr*.

A reference to the same name occurs in 1154, in which year the Irish annals record that a great fleet of the Gallgaele of Arran, Kintyre, Man, and Alban was commanded by a leader named MacSgillin. It would, therefore, appear that there was a family named MacSgillin, or MacScilling, descended from Somerled, and it is a reasonable supposition that the Patrick MacScilling who, with his wife Finlach, made the grant of the church of Kilcolmkill to Whithorn, may have been either the naval commander of 1154, or one of his immediate descendants.⁵

The church was endowed with a kirkland, which is described in the records as a twenty shilling land of old extent, or a merkland and a half. It is now the small estate known locally as Keil, and has an area of about 250 acres. It appears first in the Crown Rental of Kintyre for the year 1505, where we find, among other church lands of the district, the entry:

"item xx^{ti}.s pertinent Sancto Columbe."⁶

The grant to Whithorn appears to have been of the rectorial teinds, and the patronage of the rectory. It was usual, in the case of donations of Argyllshire churches to religious houses, for the Bishop to insist on the vicarage teinds, and the patronage of the vicar, being retained in the hands of the lay patron. This was a necessary precaution, taken to ensure that the vicar, who in such cases was the person who served the cure, was a suitable man, and, in particular, that he could speak Gaelic, which was, at the

⁵ Adamnan, *Vita*, ed. Reeves, p. 407.

⁶ *Excheq. Rolls*, XII., 701.

date we are now considering, the universal language in the West Highlands.

The pre-Reformation records of the church are very scanty, but a few of the names of its rectors and vicars have survived. Prior to 1431 a certain Malcolm de Insula had held the rectory, but, on his death in that year, Thomas, Prior of Whithorn, presented William de Seton to it. The Bishop of Argyll objected to Seton's presentation, probably on the grounds that he was already very much of a pluralist, and installed a certain James Douglas instead. Seton was described in 1422 as a priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, a bachelor of canon law, and a man of noble birth. In the same year, 1422, he was dispensed by the Pope, as the son of a priest and an unmarried woman, in order to enable him to hold four benefices with, or without, cure of souls. He was in Rome in 1431, acting as Procurator for Alexander Bishop of Galloway, and, when the Bishop of Argyll opposed his presentation to the rectory of Kilcolmkill, he brought his case before the Pope and won, the Bishop being requested to remove Douglas.⁷

During the time that the church was possessed by the Priory the cure would be served by a vicar, and of one of these a not very creditable account has survived. In the year 1466-67 a report was sent to Rome that Fyllan Magillduff, vicar of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre, had allowed his parishioners to die without confession, and the administration of the sacraments, and had committed other offences "to the shame of the priestly dignity." He was ordered to be tried before an ecclesiastical court, with what result is not recorded.⁸

The two examples which have just been given, one the case of a rector, and the other of a vicar—may serve to show how matters were actually managed in the case of churches donated to religious houses. They illustrate the evil effect of impoverishing the local clergy, by filching away the parochial revenues to support the monks, or their nominees,

⁷ *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, VIII., 375; Dr. A. Cameron, *Apostolic Camera*, pp. 14, 104.

⁸ *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, XII., 515.

so that the cures had to be served by ill-paid and incompetent vicars. In the case of this particular church, matters had been made worse by the fact that, on or before the year 1433, a part of the revenues of the church had also been set aside to erect a canonry in the Cathedral Church of Lismore. Such an arrangement could only have been possible on the assumption that the 20 shilling kirkland, belonging to the church, had not been included in the grant to Whithorn, for the vicarage teinds alone could hardly have supported both the vicar's and the canon's stipends.

In the *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* the statement is made that the church of the adjacent parish of Kilblaan had also been donated to Whithorn, but this is an error, to which the attention of the editors of the *Fasti* has been drawn. The church of Kilblaan does not occur in any extant list of churches belonging to Whithorn, although that of Kilcolmkill occurs in all of them. The mistake is likely to have arisen from the fact that the Priory owned an estate in the parish of Kilblaan, of which some account follows.

The Saint Ninian's Lands of Kintyre.

The above is the name by which the Priory's Kintyre estate is usually referred to in the documentary records, but locally it is known as Macharioch, or The Pennyland. The estate is situated in that part of the modern parish of Southend which was formerly the ancient parish of Kilblaan. It lies along the south-eastern shore of the peninsula, about 8 miles south of the town of Campbeltown, and commands a magnificent view of the Firth of Clyde, the islands of Arran, Sanda, and Ailsa Craig, and of the Ayrshire and Wigtownshire coasts. The mansion-house is situated at Macharioch.

Owing to the loss or disappearance of the Priory register the name of the donor, and the date of the donation of this estate to Whithorn, are alike unknown. It occurs in the Crown Rental of Kintyre for 1505, which has the entry:

“*Item, xvj marcate terrarum pertinent Sancto Niniano.*”⁹

⁹ *Excheq. Rolls*, XII., 701.

Its subject lands are not detailed in this rental, and the description of it as a 16 merkland is an error, as it can be shown, from other and later records, that it was a 16 pound land, or 24 merkland, of old extent.

At some date, prior to the Reformation of 1560, the estate was held in feu of the Prior by the Macdonalds of Sanda, a family which took its style from one of the properties of the estate, the Island of Sanda, which is situated about two miles from the mainland. The family traced its descent to John, first Lord of the Isles, and his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of King Robert II.

After the Reformation, the superiority of the estate passed through many hands. In 1569 Robert, Commendator of Whithorn, made a grant of the Priory's lands to the Regent Moray, half-brother of Queen Mary, and the grant included:

“ the 20 pound land of old extent in Kintyre occupied by Gillaspic [Archibald] Makconnell.”¹⁰

There appears to be another mistake in the extent in this entry, the fact being that by this date the origin and true meaning of the term “ old extent ” were but imperfectly understood. The Regent was assassinated in 1570, and we find no further mention of these lands until we reach the year 1584, when Patrick, Commendator of Whithorn, made a grant of the superiority of the Kintyre estate of the Priory to Archibald, Lord Lorne, and his wife, Annas Keith. He was afterwards Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll. In the grant to Lord Lorne the subjects are specified in detail as follows. The modern spelling of the place-names is given in brackets:

The six merkland of Macharioch and its shealings.

Five merks of Blastill and Edwin [Blasthill and Aden or Eden].

Twenty shillings of Knockmurreill [Knockmorran].

Twenty shillings of Killoshourchan [Kilmanshenachan].

One merk of Penlachna [Penlachton].

¹⁰ *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, IV., No. 2823.

One merk of Pennansshelach [Pennyseorach].
 Twenty shillings of Auchroy [Aucharua].
 Twenty shilings of the Isle of Sanda.
 Three merks of Belligriggan [Ballygreggan].
 Two merks of Drummair [Drumore].

The extents add up to a 24 merkland, but of the individual items the last two in the list are not in the Macharioch estate, but are situated in the modern parish of Campbeltown, and a few miles from the town of that name.¹¹

In the same year, 1584, Lord Lorne gave a charter of these lands to Angus Elochson [Macdonald] of Sanda, and his wife, Cristine Stewart of Bute, and their heirs. Macdonald was to pay to Lorne 5 merks annually as feu duty, to make the usual suits of Court, and also to pay to the Commendator and Convent of Whithorn, the Lords Superior of the said lands, the sum of sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence as the old feu duty, the grant to become null and void if Macdonald took up arms against Lorne except in defence of authority.¹²

In 1587 all church lands were annexed to the Crown, and we find that, in 1609, the St. Ninian's Lands of Kintyre were included in a Crown grant to Master Alexander Colville, Justiciar Depute of Scotland, the feu duty to be paid to him being the old one of £16 13s 4d, and, in addition, 6/8d by way of augmentation.¹³

After the restoration of the Bishops by King James I. the lands formerly belonging to Whithorn were, in the year 1612, annexed to the Bishopric of Galloway, the superiority thereby passing to the Bishop. In 1614 William, Bishop of Galloway, "with the consent of the convent and chapter of Whithorn," gave a fresh charter of the St. Ninian's Lands of Kintyre to Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, in life-rent, the succession to go to his son, James Campbell, afterwards Lord Kintyre and Earl of Irvine, a half-brother of the noted Marquis of Argyll, and then a mere child. In

¹¹ *Orig. Par. Scot.*, II., 10.

¹² *Reg. of Production of Argyll Charters*, Nat. Lib. Scot., MS., 31-2-3.

¹³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, VII., No. 126.

this grant a new name appears as one of the subjects, Gartnacopaig, an 8/4d land of old extent. It is situated in the old parish of Kilcolmkill, and may have been the "shealing" of Macharioch mentioned above. The lands were to be united into a tenandry, that is, a minor sort of barony, with the manor house of Macharioch as the principal messuage.¹⁴

After the abolition of the bishoprics in 1638 the superiority was again vested in the Crown, and the Bishop's charters annulled. In 1641 King Charles I. granted "the sole feu duties of all lands and baronies pertaining to the late Bishoprick of Galloway, Abbacies of Tungland, Glenluce, and Priory of Whithorn, with the whole teinds of parsonage and vicarage, to the College of Glasgow." This grant was confirmed by the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, in 1654, the purpose of the grant, as stated in his charter, to be "for the education of pious and hopefull young men, and students of theologie and divinitie, in the said university." When the bishoprics were restored after 1660 this grant was rescinded, to the great detriment of the university.¹⁵

Throughout all the changes in the superiority of the St. Ninian's Lands of Kintyre the actual possessors were the Macdonalds of Sanda. The superiority of these lands was included in the charter of the Earl of Argyll, when he succeeded to the ancestral estates after the execution of his father, the Marquis, in 1661, and, in 1669, the Earl gave a fresh charter to Rannald Macdonald of Sanda, as his vassal. The feu-duty was now raised to £360 Scots, a figure which, compared with that originally paid, illustrates the great rise in prices and rents which was characteristic of the 17th century.

The Macdonalds of Sanda had espoused the cause of Montrose, in which two of them, father and son, lost their lives at the massacre at Dunaverty in Kintyre in 1647, but their estate was restored to them by a special Act of Parlia-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IX., No. 1016.

¹⁵ *Mun. Alme. Glas. Univ.*, I., pp. 321 *et seq.*

ment of 1661. Their descendants possessed the estate down to 1799, when it was sold to Macdonald of Baleshare. A little later the two small properties of Gartnacopaig and the Island of Sanda were purchased back by a member of the Sanda family, and retained in their possession until about ten years ago, when they were sold. The Macharioch estate, which constituted the main part of the old lands of St. Ninian, passed through several hands during the first half of the 19th century, but, in the year 1863, it was purchased outright by the then Duke of Argyll, and in this family's possession it still remains.

ARTICLE 9.

Two Unrecorded Crosses found near Stranraer.

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A., F.S.A.

The two crosses which form the subject of this note are now housed with a small museum collection in the County Library at Stranraer. Facilities to examine the stones were granted by the Librarian, Miss E. McCaig, and the photographs were taken by Mr Eadie, Stranraer, to both of whom my best thanks are returned, as well as to Mr R. C. Reid, who brought the crosses to my notice and made arrangements for their recording and publication.

THE LIDDESDALE CROSS.

This cross was found by the farmer, Mr McQuaid, in 1948, in the course of draining a field $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north-west of the farmhouse at Larg Liddesdale; the site lies in the parish of Leswalt, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Stranraer. The stone is a roughly dressed pillar, 2 ft. 2 ins. high, with a maximum width of 10 ins. and 6 ins. thick. Crosses are incised on the front and two sides. The lines are evenly cut, not pocked, and form broad shallow grooves.

The cross on the front is in outline, with wedge-shaped arms and a long slightly swollen shaft. The ends of the arms are convex and curve over the edges of the face. The centre of the head is marked with a small circle. The shaft has a flat base. The cross on each side is formed of two straight lines.

The cross formy, often with a plain shaft, is a common form in later pre-Conquest art of England and Wales. The Tidfirth slab from Monkwearmouth has a standing cross of this form between the two figures at the base;¹ it probably commemorates a Bishop of Hexham, who died c. 820. Three crosses of this form are included in the collection of grave slabs found at Llangaffo and Llangeinwen, Anglesey; these

¹ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, p. 13, fig. 17 d; there ascribed to the 10th century.

may be dated to the 9th or 10th century.² All these are early, well formed examples. A less regular cross with a double outline belongs to the small group of gravestones found at Peterborough and dating after the refoundation of the monastery by Bishop Aethelwold in 970.³ Two very irregular crosses of this type were incised on slabs found at St. Germans Cathedral, Peel, Isle of Man,⁴ a site which has as yet produced no carvings of certainly pre-Scandinavian date. These are later examples of the form, all of which probably belong to the 11th century. The Larg Liddesdale cross must be classed with the later group; the central circle recalls the boss marking the centre of the disk head in crosses of the late Whithorn school⁵ and the swollen shaft recurs on the Anwoth slab,⁶ which Collingwood ascribed to c. 1100 and which I should place even later.⁷

This form of cross is not uncommon in Galloway. There is an unpublished example from Boghouse of Mochrum, probably a 12th century site; it is now in the Whithorn Museum. The cross, which formerly stood on the 12th century Mote of Kirkclaugh, shows a very degenerate design with a cross of this type;⁸ the cross and part of the background are covered with a maze of straight lines, which faintly recall the earlier interlaced patterns. Finally reference may be made to the stones at Laggangarn and Daltallochan, which will be considered below.

THE GLAIK CROSS.

This slab was found 50 or 60 years ago in a field $\frac{1}{4}$ miles south-west of Glaik Farm, and was in use for a time as a step into the garden to House of Knock, whence it was

2 Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: Anglesey, pp. xcii., xcvi. and xcvii.

3 Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, xxiii., 24; pl. vii.

4 P. M. C. Kernode, *Manx Crosses*, nos. 15 and 16; pl. viii.

5 E.g., Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian Society Transactions, Ser. III., x., 218; no. 16.

6 *Ibid.*, 229, no. 44; Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Scotland: Kirkeudbright, no. 3.

7 Cf. Dumfries and Galloway A.S. Trans., Ser. III., xxiv. 21, where it is suggested that this may be the memorial of David, son of Terri, or a member of his family.

8 *Ibid.*, 229, no. 42.

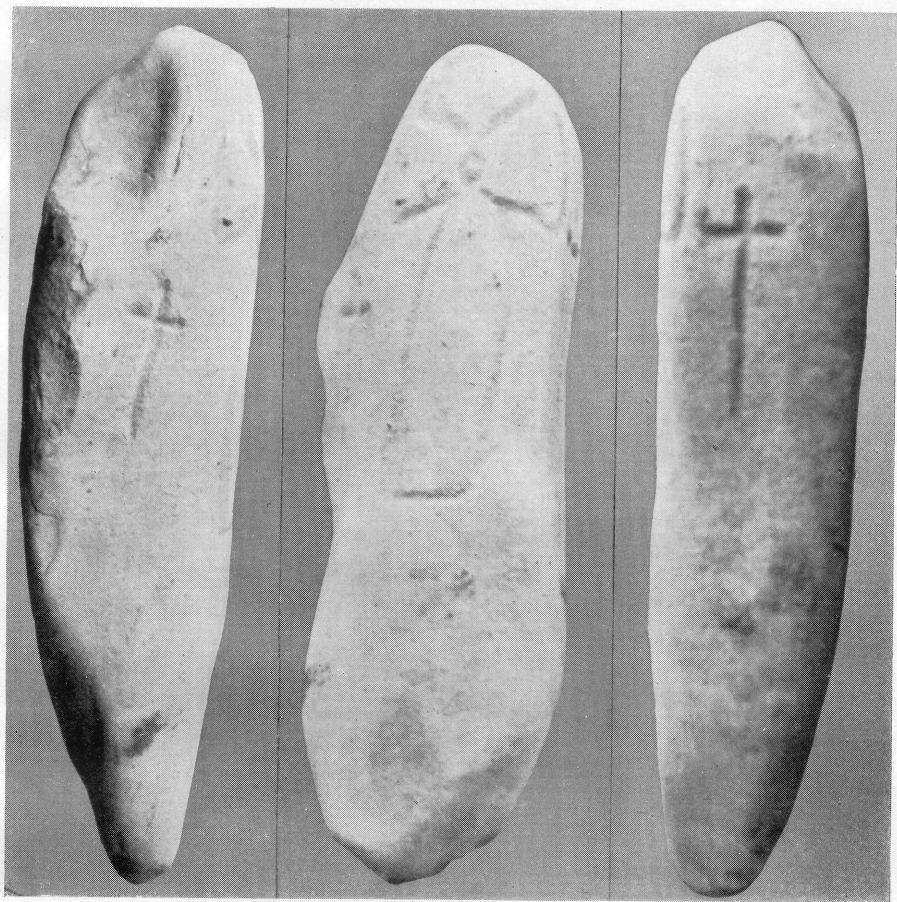


Plate VIII.—THE LIDDESDALE CROSS.



Plate IX.—THE GLAIK CROSS.

brought to the County Library; the site lies in Leswalt parish, about 4 miles west of Stranraer. The stone is undressed with the cross incised, as at Liddesdale. The slab measures 3 ft. 1 in. high, with a maximum width of $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins., tapering towards the base; the thickness varies from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 ins. A badly drawn cross is incised on the front of the slab.

The cross is incised in outline; it is a late example of the type already discussed. The arms are treated as triangles, the points just touching the small circle, which marks the centre of the head. The shaft is slightly swollen with a rounded base. An incised line marks the centre of the shaft; another cuts off the base, in which are two dots.

Neither of these crosses were found at a known ecclesiastical site. In this respect they may be compared with the stones at Laggangarn,⁹ Daltallochan and Braidenoch Hill.¹⁰ The first three have incised crosses of the type that we are considering. The fourth, on Braidenoch Hill, though the cross is of an earlier form, is probably contemporary as it has the swollen shaft, which has already been noted. All four stand, in or near their original position, deep in the uplands of Galloway. The stones at Daltallochan and Braidenoch lie near an old pack road running up the Carsphairn valley to cross the watershed into Kyle. The other two lie near the head of the Water of Tarf, the valley of which probably carried a similar track north into Carrick. Both groups must have been set up to mark the early routes. The use of crosses to mark roads in unenclosed country is well attested in the later Middle Ages. The earliest series that I know is that marking the road across the moors of south-east Cornwall from Tavistock to Bodmin. This includes the Doniert stone, commemorating a Cornish king, who was drowned in 870,¹¹ but the other crosses are of rather later date. In Galloway some of these stones might belong to the 11th century, but those in the uplands are unlikely to be

9 Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Scotland: Wigtown, no. 282.

10 *Ibid.*, Kirkcudbright, nos. 99 (Daltallochan) and 100 (Braidenoch).

11 *Journal of Royal Institution of Cornwall*, xxiv., 112.

earlier than the 12th. The Whithorn school of crosses does not extend beyond the coastland of Wigtown Bay, and well used roads leading out of Galloway point to a date when the province was being integrated into the Scottish kingdom. They must not, however, be placed too late, as they show no sign of the later designs which would have been established by 1200.

The two stones which form the subject of this note are also likely to have been set up to mark an old road, and their position suggests that it ran from the head of Loch Ryan across the Rhinns to a landing place on the sandy strand north of Portpatrick; the date should be not far removed from 1100.

ARTICLE 10.

**The Roman Forts at Milton (Tassiesholm),
near Beattock, Dumfriesshire.**

By JOHN CLARKE, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

In the summer of 1949 excavation was resumed in the south field (No. 598 of the 25 inch Ordnance sheet of the site), where it had been known since 1946 that a fortified structure existed, linked in some way to the south defences of one of the north field Forts. The primary purpose was to ascertain whether this structure had been a separate Fort and, if that was so, what place it had occupied in the sequence of construction, or whether it had been only an annexe of North Fort II.

The evidence turned out to be very ambiguous and, as the work proceeded, fresh problems emerged of such importance not for this site only but for a wide area that a confident statement must await another season of careful digging. Meantime it must suffice to indicate briefly the general results of the season's work.

It was already known that this south field structure lay closely attached to North Fort II. in such a way that the south ditches of North Fort. II. must also have served as the north ditches of the South Fort, if indeed it had been a Fort. And it seemed to follow that, if the south field structure had been a Fort, then there should be a rampart associated with these ditches immediately to the south of them—that is, the north rampart of our hypothetical South Fort; whereas, if we were dealing with an annexe attached to North Fort II., there should be no trace of rampart at this point. Search was made accordingly, and evidence was found of a turf rampart on a 22 feet wide base, the evidence being especially clear at the north-west corner where the rampart bottoming of heavy stones was intact. The conclusion seemed natural, therefore, that the south field structure had been a distinct Fort at one period of its existence.

Over the rampart base, however, lay clear evidence of

first century occupation, suggesting that the structure had originally been a Fort but had later been an annexe of North Fort II., the rampart being then demolished along this side. But great difficulties lie in the way of this simple sequence. The west ditch of the hypothetical South Fort, instead of curving to form the north-west corner, joined the north ditch at right angles as it might be expected to do had the south field structure been only an annexe. Moreover this west ditch differed in form (it was Punic) and dimensions from the north and south ditches, nor could any gateway be found at any reasonable point either in it or in the south ditch, though suspicious peculiarities were noted which will no doubt yet become significant. Finally the South Fort, if it existed, must, for a variety of structural reasons, come in sequence between North Fort I. and North Fort II., whereas there has hitherto seemed good reason to suppose that the two North Forts were not separated by any considerable gap of time. Thus the matter must rest till further digging brings light.

An entirely new set of problems arose when three hitherto unknown ditches were encountered within the area of the south enclosure. The first of these (which for convenience we shall call A) ran at an angle of some 20 degrees to the east-west line of the known defences, passed beneath the north rampart of the south enclosure, through the north-west corner of the ditches of North Fort II., and continued down the west slope of the site to the hollow along which the main by-pass road runs. Here it turned southwards and terminated at a gateway through which passed a cobbled road running out to join the by-pass. It was accompanied by a turf rampart of 22 feet with some massive complication at the gate. Within the south enclosure this ditch had been filled with successive waggon loads of river gravel and upcast soil; under the filling the ditch had already been silted to a depth of 2 feet 4 inches. The second ditch (which we shall call B) ran parallel to A for a short distance within the south enclosure and terminated as for a gate, but we did not succeed in picking up its continuation, nor is it even certain

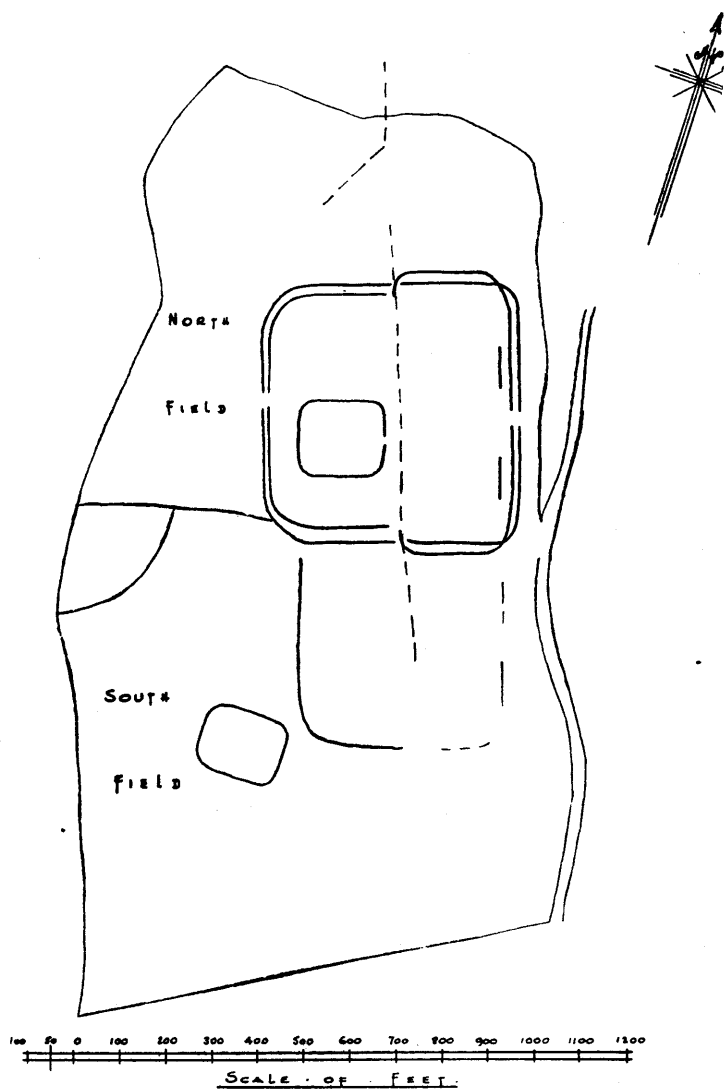


Fig. 7.—GENERAL PLAN OF SITE.

yet that this is a distinct ditch system; it may be associated with A, though at the moment that does not seem likely. The third (which we shall call C) was a curious W-shaped affair with a massive stake deeply planted in it at one section. It cut through the south defences of the south enclosure almost at right angles and when last tested was still running southwards quite clear of these defences.

It would quite obviously be foolishness to attempt any explanation of this evidence at this stage. This much, however, is clear; we have to deal with an even greater complexity than was anticipated, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to fit all these phases of occupation into the accepted framework of the first century history. Yet first century they indubitably are, except for the Antonine road-post, and possibly the North Fortlet. In particular the evidence of ditch A is most disturbing. Here we have a Fort, and a large one of at least 12 acres at that, already long disused before the main sequence, which seems to begin with North Fort I., started. If that main sequence refers to the first century period as hitherto understood, then ditch A and its Fort refer to an earlier period of Roman activity of which so far no trace has been found elsewhere either in southern Scotland or in England north of York. Beyond that very tentative statement no one could dare to go. Next season should tell much more.

The work, as in the two previous summers, was conducted as a Field School of Archæology for students under the auspices of the Scottish Field School Committee of the Scottish Regional Group. It was financed by generous grants from that Committee and from the Carnegie Trustees, with contributions from the Scottish Society of Antiquaries and from Dumfriesshire County Council, to all of which bodies I offer appreciative thanks. Dumfriesshire County Council again most generously provided tools, accommodation for the party, and catering utensils. Mr Scott, farmer of Milton, as for many years now, was most helpful in giving free access to his land and in the enlightened interest he has always shown. To Mr Reid of Cleughbrae I continue to owe a great

debt; surely no man could be so indefatigable in making the rough places of organisation plain.

The students who took part were these: From Glasgow University—D. Greig, G. Jardine, G. Ritchie, B. Webster. From Edinburgh University—B. Simpson, J. Wallace. From Aberdeen University—P. Buchanan. From Oxford University—K. M'Callum. From other sources—F. Newall and H. Sinclair. They formed a cheerful and most intelligent body of helpers, some of whom are already at a stage of training when they may hope soon to begin independent work.

Excavation Notes.

By A. E. TRUCKELL, F.S.A.Scot.

During 1948 and 1949 a small group of schoolboys and masters from Dumfries Academy, Dumfries High School, and Wallace Hall Academy have been conducting small-scale excavations for dating material at Carzield Roman Fort, north of Dumfries, and at Wardlaw Fort. Excavations with a view to establishing the Roman character of the earthworks in the wood at Caerlaverock, and to establish the nature of a small earthwork resembling in outline an Antonine fortlet on the Crichope Linn in Closeburn, were also undertaken.

CARZIELD.

Work at Carzield in 1948, during April, May, and June, in the fort ditch on the N.-E. side of the Mews, revealed two road levels built over the ditch, both containing Samian ware and other pottery: underneath these was the ditch filling, containing pottery as far down as was reached. As work proceeded south-east along the ditch, denudation became apparent, and finally the last trace of ditch disappeared, only gravelly subsoil being found. Embedded in the edge of the filling were found two heavy boulders keyed in position by small stones and protruding upwards into the roads, suggesting that they had been the corner-stones of a block-house or, more probably, of a small gate: the stones were ten feet apart. There was a layer of filling between the two road-levels, and a thin vegetation-mark on the surface of the lower one. The upper one was covered by a layer several inches thick of burnt rubble, including much broken sandstone. Excavations on the site in March-June, 1949, continued the line of the previous trench in a north-westerly direction to the corner of the defences and revealed, besides the ditch-filling and road-levels as before, a late sleeper-floored building with rubble wall-base and wooden super-structure built across the defences: pottery found in it was, like all the pottery found on the site, definitely Antonine. To the north-west,

nearing the corner of the camp, just beyond the building referred to, was a very heavy cobble foundation over two feet thick which could have been the base of a watch-tower: beyond this a double row of cobbles set on edge with loose earth between them continued across the corner of the defences and suggested an uprooted pipe or drain.

Finds in the first season included a spear-head of iron with the point jammed between two cobbles of the road-surface: in the second season a knife-blade in poor condition was the only important find other than pottery.

CAERLAVEROCK.

Operations were confined to the area east of the road leading through the trees from the present castle past the old site.

The excavations at Caerlaverock, which went on through the autumn and early winter of 1948, showed that the principal earthworks were of turf, clay, and rubble construction, and could well be Roman by structure alone; but, apart from some late mediæval pottery in a house-floor built on an earlier raised platform and fragments of non-local ironstone found lying on a heavy stone floor in one of the "basins," no non-structural evidence was found.

The course of a much-scattered metalled road leading up the slope to the Wardlaw Roman fort was traced with some certainty, and suggestions of a signal-station built on to the rampart of the Wardlaw Iron Age fort were found.

CRICHOPE LINN.

In March, 1949, pupils from Wallace Hall and one of the masters conducted a trial excavation at the Crichope Linn site; this, beside the possible line of the Roman Road, proved to be sub-Roman but obviously a direct imitation of Roman fortlets; parallels, always with one side formed by a precipice as here, are known in Ayrshire. Apart from charcoal there were no finds.

WARDLAW.

In March, 1949, a trial trench was cut near the N.-E. corner of the Wardlaw fort just west of the march dyke

running along the summit of the ridge and the edge of the ditch, and its turf kerbing was located.

Two excavations were made at this point in late November and early December, and the ditch was found to have been partially filled by the deliberately felled rampart; the first section opened showed abundant silt, but the second, a few feet further along, showed clean filling under the broken-down rampart and no silt; it seems, therefore, that at this spot the ditch, which was found to be rock-cut, must have been filled in almost at once, while a few feet further east it had lain open for some time before being covered with the felled rampart.

ROADS.

Some searching for sections of Roman road was done, and Mr R. C. Reid conducted investigations along a stretch of the Old Military Road into Galloway, particularly at Barnbauchle, near Lochfoot, and traced what may be a section of road leading from Ayrshire over Corsencon into Dumfriesshire.

ARTICLE 12.

Some Items from the Joseph Train Collection.**(1.) A MEDIEVAL BRONZE COOKING POT.**

By STUART MAXWELL, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

The three-legged cast bronze cooking pot illustrated was originally in the collection of Joseph Train, the early 19th century antiquary, and is inscribed: "Turned up by the plough near the site of Edingham Castle, Parish of Urr, in May, 1832. Joseph Train." It was exhibited by R. W. Train at the Archæological Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1856 (Catalogue, page 65). The pot is 7.6" in height, has a rim diameter of 5.55", and is 6.4" in girth. The casting seam is visible on both sides of the body, and the mouth has a narrow inner rim. From the lower end of the lugs come three "crowsfoot" lines in relief, each ending in a dot. Compared with the National Museum collection of more than forty similar pots, the Edingham one is below average size, and its crowsfoot decoration occurs on a skillet from Ireland and on a large pot, whose provenance is unknown.

These vessels were used from the 12th century to the 18th with little variation in style, which makes dating difficult. According to the Ancient Monuments Commission Report, though nothing is known about Edingham Castle the remains suggest that it was built in the first half of the 16th century. While the pot has no substantial connection with the castle, a 15th or 16th century date is quite possible for it.

Train referred to it as a "Roman tripod" in his notes on his collection appended to Mackenzie's *History of Galloway* (Volume II., Appendix page 63). Some antiquaries were still of that opinion when the 1856 Catalogue was written (see above), yet Daniel Wilson ("Prehistoric Annals") had already proved their medieval origin. These "Roman Camp Kettles," most common in Britain in lowland Scotland, northern England and Ireland, were often found near Roman sites, but Wilson pointed out that they did not occur in

recognised Roman excavations and that bronze tripod ewers sometimes had inscriptions in medieval characters. The bronze pot, with its characteristic lugs and short feet, must have been made until cast iron became the cheaper material in the second half of the eighteenth century, and iron pots of the same design replaced them. Now the iron pot has gone out of use, to be found sometimes as a flower pot at a cottage door when some at least should be in Museums.

Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments, 5th Report, Galloway, page 273-4.

The pot is also recorded in *The New Statistical Account*, Kirkcudbright, page 351 (1843), and Rev. D. Frew's "History of the Parish of Urr," page 6. Cf. Sigurd Grieg, "Middelalderske Byfynd" (Pots in Scandinavia).

(II.) OTHER ITEMS.

By R. B. K. STEVENSON, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

Two other items from Joseph Train's collection are also illustrated. Pl. X. (2) is a bronze "flat axe" of simplest and earliest type found near Dungyle, Kelton, and now in Dumfries Museum. Being only $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and under 2 inches wide at the blade, it is likely to have been used as a chisel. Such chisels are not common, but no special study of them has yet been made. A particularly interesting occurrence is of two, belonging to the Marquess of Ailsa, which were found in 1883 near Turnberry Castle along with three other flat axes: the whole forms a series graduated in size as if a man's tool kit (*Arch. Coll. Ayr and Wigton*, IV., p. 1). Pl. X. (3) shows a small bronze dagger. Train is understood to have got it in Castle-Douglas, where it had been found by an old woman while breaking up peats which probably came from Arielland Moss, Kelton. It is now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. Five inches long, with concave sides and four rivet-holes in the butt, it is characterised by a low midrib which is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch broad at the end, though the whole dagger is less than 2 inches broad. Such

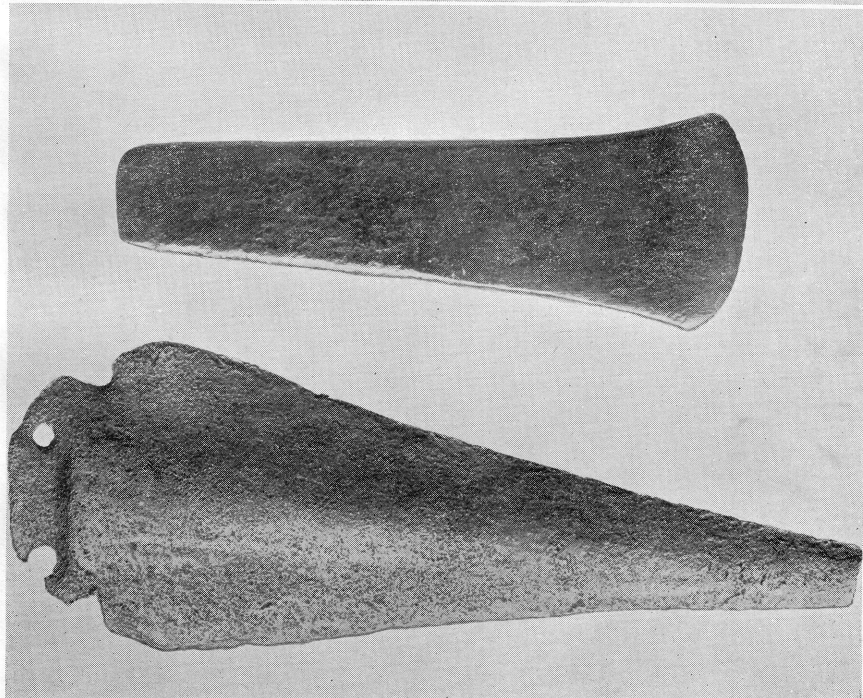
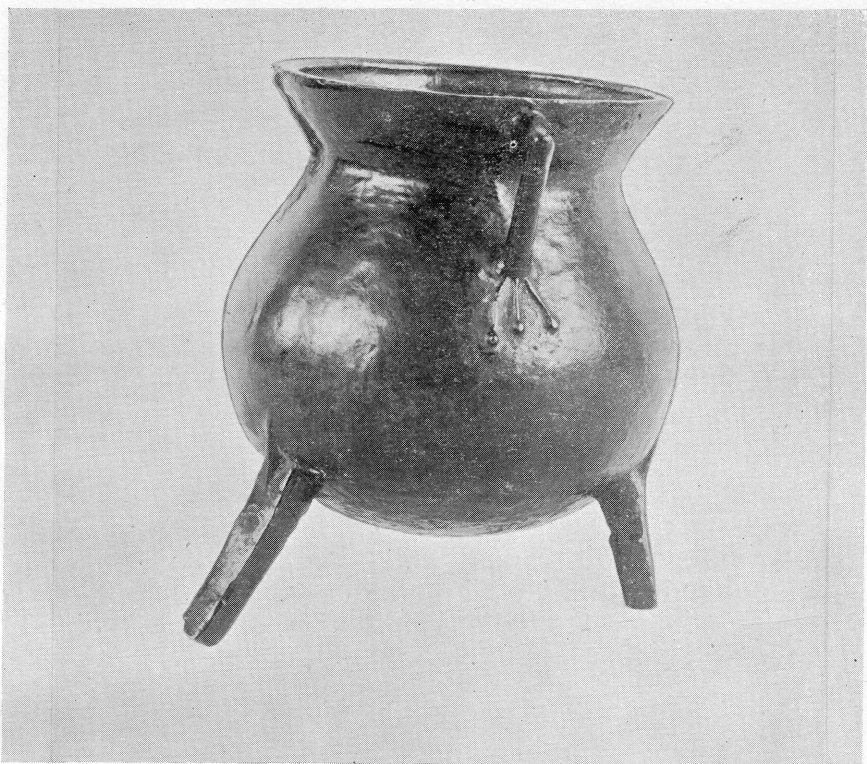


Plate X.—(1) BRONZE COOKING POT; (2) BRONZE FLAT AXE;
(3) BRONZE DAGGER.



Plate XI.—THE REDBRAE CIST.

a midrib is similar to that of the heavy halberds which, like the flat axes, are characteristic of the early Bronze Age in the British Isles. It has indeed been suggested that such daggers are halberds cut down, but a similar midrib occurs on two fine "grooved" or "ogival" daggers from Ireland now in Edinburgh, that were definitely daggers from the beginning. Their butts are broader than the Kelton specimen, which is also shorter. Probably these daggers were contemporary with the latest halberds. English grooved or ogival daggers have been listed and discussed by R. S. Newall. (Wilts. Arch. Mag., XLV., 1930-32, 437 ff.)

Notes on two more of Train's possessions are to be found in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., 1947-48—a Celtic neck ornament or "torque" from Kelton, and carved woodwork, about 1600 A.D., from Greenlaw. A bronze axe, once the property of Train, is mentioned in these *Transactions* as an exhibit in private hands, Vol. XXV., p. 191, and illustrated Vol. XXVI., p. 124.

ARTICLE 13.

Further Note on the Redbrae Cist.¹

By R. B. K. STEVENSON, M.A.

During the summer Mr J. M. Davidson and I had the opportunity of visiting Redbrae, where we found that Mr Cannon had kept the cist open for further investigation, in which he then kindly helped us. After emptying it of the remaining soil and also examining the soil previously taken out, without finding the smallest crumb of pottery in either case, we came to the conclusion that the idea that there had been a pot in the cist was due to a misapprehension. The cist seems itself to have taken the place of a cinerary urn; very small cists of this kind were recognised as a distinct class by Joseph Anderson;² but have not been fully listed or discussed.

In this case the remains may have been placed in the cist while still burning, for the side stones are coated with a sooty carbon deposit. This is particularly clear on the south side (pl. XI.), and can be seen to stop in a straight line about $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the lower edge of the stone, indicating the level of the bottom of the grave. As mentioned in the previous note, Mr Cannon found on the bottom a small slab, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 inches and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The soot on this slab covers the edges, showing that it had lain free; one end, however, and a strip 3 inches wide along the top seem to have been somehow protected from the soot.

We found small fragments of cremated bone below the level of the encrustation, but as the small slab could not have covered the bottom entirely some of the bones probably lay on soil, and the fragments can have been carried down an inch or two by earthworms.

The decorated coverstone bore no trace of carbon encrustation, and therefore can have been put in place only after the burning had ceased.

1 See *Trans.* XXVI., p. 129-132.

2 Scotland in *Pagan Times*, II., 87.

The cremated remains have been examined by Dr. W. C. Osman Hill, who noted remains of cranial and limb bones only, all much charred and in small fragments. There is no evidence that more than one individual is represented, and this an adult.

Proceedings, 1948-49.

15th October, 1948.—The Annual General Meeting was held in the Ewart Library on this date, 65 members being present. The Accounts of the Hon. Treasurer were adopted, and the list of Office-Bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. Mr Arthur Duncan then gave a lecture on "Local Aspects of Wild Life Conservation," advocating that the Lochar Moss should be made into an Insect Reserve.

29th October, 1948.—An address was delivered by Mrs Chadwick on "St. Ninian, his Work and Background," a thoughtful, scholarly, if somewhat revolutionary, contribution which is printed as Article 1 of this volume.

12th November, 1948.—Mr George Waterston gave a lantern lecture on "Fair Isle; its People and its Birds" (see "Dumfries Standard," 17th November).

26th November, 1948.—Mr R. C. Reid, on behalf of the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, M.A., read that author's "Prolegomena to a Study of the Lowlands," being a discussion of Strathclyde and Galloway in the Dark Ages—see Article 2.

17th December, 1948.—Professor Ritchie of the Zoological Department of Edinburgh University gave a lantern lecture on "The Private Life of a Wasp," in which he described the activities of one of the common species throughout its life history and mentioned some counts he had made of the inhabitants of the nest.

14th January, 1949.—Mr R. B. K. Stevenson, M.A., Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities, delivered a lantern lecture on "The National Museum, Past, Present, and the Ideal," in which he traced the development of that institution and discussed the future of local and regional Museums (see "Dumfries Standard," 19th January).

28th January, 1949.—Mr L. Grahame Thomson gave a comprehensive lecture on "Scottish Domestic Architecture," illustrated by about 150 slides (see "Dumfries Standard," 2nd February).

11th February, 1949.—Miss Claudine Murray's lecture on "Border Ballads" was enriched with a number of recitations that fittingly displayed the dramatic powers of the lecturer, and was followed by a lively and prolonged discussion.

25th February, 1949.—Mr F. H. Williams, engineer in charge, gave in the form of a lantern lecture a very full account of the Galloway Power Scheme in all phases of construction. Some short but admirable films showed salmon in the Earlstoun fish-pass.

11th March, 1949.—Dr Kenneth Steer, Archæologist of the Historical Monuments Commission, delivered a lantern lecture on "Native Forts and Settlements of the Border," derived in part from the new Government Aerial Survey over Roxburghshire. The periods covered Iron Age, Roman, Dark Age, and early Mediæval (see "Dumfries Standard," 19th March).

25th March, 1949. — A lantern lecture on "Insectivorous Plants" was delivered by the King's Botanist of Scotland, Sir William Wright Smith, F.R.S.E., an old Dumfries Academy boy. Special reference was made to the leaves of the Sundews, whose sticky, sensitive hairs held the insect whilst the leaf closed round it and absorbed its juices (see "Dumfries Standard," 30th March).

8th April, 1949.—On this date the Annual *Conversazione* of the Society was held in the Unionist Rooms, when four short films were shown—on the making of flint implements, the life history of a butterfly, the spear thistle, and the conservation of wild birds, particularly duck, in Western Canada. There was also an interesting and varied number of exhibits, including a selection of samples of local craftsmanship during the last two centuries, assembled and shown by Mr Truckell of the Observatory Museum. As usual, light refreshments were served during the evening.

Field Meetings.

21st May, 1949.—The first Field Meeting was held at Bewcastle, and the Society was fortunate in securing the services of Miss K. S. Hodgson, F.S.A., of the Cumberland and Westmorland Society, as speaker. Bewcastle is one of the most interesting places in Cumberland, for nowhere else is the sense of continuity so strongly felt. Not a mile away on the hillside is a well-attested habitation site of the Early Bronze Age; and within its Roman Fort stand the famous Anglian cross-shaft, the mediæval castle and the church. The fort was a large one, covering six acres, to hold a garrison of 1000 men. It is sited on the natural corridor of high ground which runs from the Kersope burn by the Black and White Lynes, and it covers and closes the back door into Cumberland. To it a road runs straight over the hills from Birdswald. Its shape is hexagonal, conforming to and taking advantage of the natural plateau between the Kirk Beck and Hall Syke. In 1936 Dr. Richmond excavated the portion east of the churchyard wall. Here were two levels of late occupation, stone foundations and quantities of burnt wattle and daub. Nearer the farm was the principia, of which the greatest interest was in the cellar-strongroom, where the finds gave vivid evidence of the wild destruction in the sacking of the fort. Trenches in the bull-field showed sleeper trenches and Hadrianic pottery, indicating timber buildings. The rampart was single, and the gate a double one without guard chambers. (See C. and W. A. and A. Soc., Vol. 38 (1938), p. 195-238.)

The beautiful cross-shaft is the twin of that at Ruthwell, and amongst the finest examples of the Anglian school. Its problems of origin and date are closely connected. These crosses are perhaps Christian descendants of the menhirs or standing-stones. The origin of the decoration is complicated — a mingling of Mediterranean (Syrian and Byzantine) elements, late Celtic or La Tene, "Jutish" (c.f., the brooches of Kent and also the Sutton Hoo jewellery), and perhaps some trace of Roman influence. There are different views of the date. The traditional one is about 670, upheld by Professor Baldwin Brown, but Mr W. G. Collingwood argued for a date in the 8th century. Neither date nor origin is as important as the sheer beauty of the Cross, which is, above all, a very great work of art. The nine scrolls fill their space perfectly without the least forcing; the interlacings are sure and defined; plant growth and animals are alike vigorous and full of life; and the figure of Christ is one of the most majestic to be seen anywhere. The carving is at once strong and delicate.

Little is known about the Castle, considering its importance. Its name means Bueth's Castle. That early castle must have been of wood. The present castle is a simple shell keep which had

been embattlemented. Inside a range of buildings ran round the wall. All that is known of its history is that in 1279 Sir John de Swynburne had a license to hold weekly markets and a fair yearly at Bewcastle. In 1296 the place was seized by Edward I. In 1470 it was granted to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, as Lord Warden, after which it was always a royal castle under a constable and maintained as an outpost of Carlisle against the raiding Scots.

25th June, 1949.—It is somewhat surprising that Carlisle should be a terra incognita to so many of our members, and that only nine availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting some of its many interesting features.

Before entering the castle, the fragment of the city wall was noted, and at the gateway the party was welcomed by Mr John Charlton, M.A., F.S.A., Inspector of Ancient Monuments, who fortunately happened to be working on the Roman Wall, and kindly undertook the duties of guide. To the uninformed visitor, even if he is familiar with the castle, the complicated structures which, in the course of the centuries, have grown about the Norman keep, present something of an enigma, but the expert knowledge of Mr Charlton cast a light in dark places and led to a comprehension of the development of the buildings.

It was a satisfaction to note the usual scrupulous care which has been bestowed on this great monument since it came into the hands of the Office of Works.

Picnic lunch was taken in the shade of the bridge over the moat, after which the party proceeded to the Cathedral, where the Dean (who on account of absence from home was unable to accompany the party) had delegated the duties of guide to the Head Verger, who proved himself a most efficient substitute. The famous east window and painted panels were explained, but certainly no less interesting were the carved capitals in the choir, which would probably not be observed and certainly not understood by the casual visitor without expert guidance.

After a visit to the Fraternity, the party proceeded to the adjoining Tullie House, where the museum alone would justify study for many days. Time being limited, it was decided to spend it all in the Roman rooms, where the Director, Mr T. Gray, explained the rearrangement and the recently added items. The association between the exhibits and those seen on visits of the Society to the Roman Wall should, apart from the many other attractions, draw our members to Tullie House.

9th July, 1949.—Exceptional weather crowned this notable Field Meeting. The first stop was at Cairnholly, where Professor Stuart Piggott was excavating a long chambered cairn, the forecourt of which formed an imposing structure. Here the Professor spoke on the Megalithic Culture represented by such cairns, and

explained the Bronze Age intrusive burials which he had brought to light. His address will be printed in due course by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The party then proceeded to Whithorn, where, after a picnic lunch, Mr Raleigh Radford described the results of his excavations at the Priory for the Ministry of Works. A full account will be found in Article 3. He was followed by Dr. James S. Richardson, who spoke on some Architectural Details of the Priory. The party then moved to the Museum at the Priory, where Mr Radford dealt with the series of Crosses displayed there, dwelling mainly on the importance of the Latinus Cross. Later the party visited the Isle of Whithorn, where once more Mr Radford took up the story of St. Ninian and this site. Tea was taken at Castle Wig Hotel, followed by the long run back to Dumfries.

13th August, 1949.—The excavations at the Roman site of Tassiesholm (Milton), now in their fourth year, under Mr John Clarke as Director of the Scottish Field School of Archaeology, were the objective of the Society on this date. Amongst those present were Dr. Ian Richmond and Sir Walter Aitchison, Bt., who has done so much for Roman archaeology in this Frontier District. Mr Clarke gave the Society a preliminary address and then took the party round the excavations. More forts on this multiple site were revealed, but not till another season's work is completed will a clear pattern as to the order of occupation be capable of enunciation. But the indications are that this site will provide archaeology with something much earlier than Agricola (see Article 10).

10th September, 1949.—The whole-day outing to Glentrool was a social rather than a scientific event, and the perfect weather and large company made it one of the most successful of the series. The first halt on the outward journey was at Clatteringshaws Reservoir, where the President referred to the original landscape, the dam, the tower and tunnel, the peak-load function of the works, and linked the undertaking with the lecture which had been given in the winter by Mr Williams, the manager.

It was noted with regret that the beautiful old Upper Bridge of Dee was fast falling into ruins.

The next stop was at Grey Mare's Tail, where birds, plants, and trees were observed, and Murray and his Monument considered.

The party then proceeded to Glen Trool. The walk from the Lodge Gates at Loch Trool to the Bruce Memorial Stone was a sheer delight, and picnic lunch was taken in ideal surroundings. The President commented on Bruce and the defeat of the English on the Loch side, the geology of the district, and the Bronze Age find by Captain W. Dinwiddie on the neighbouring hill.

Most of the party visited the Falls of Buchan before returning to the 'bus.

The next digression was to see the Covenanters' Tomb in the Caldons Wood, and to inspect the splendid camping site which has been provided by the National Forest Park Authorities on the shores of the Loch. At Cree Bridge Hotel, Newton-Stewart, the garden provided to the members an unexpected interest, in addition to a welcome and excellent tea.

22nd October, 1949.—A journey underground does not appeal to everyone, but the nine who participated in the postponed visit to Fauldhead Colliery were in no way appalled, and were enthusiastic over the whole experience. Equipped with halmets and electric lanterns, and with the manager, Mr Stobbs, or one of his assistants in charge of each three visitors, the party descended the 400 feet in the cage. An extensive tour of the underground labyrinth was made, and lucid explanations of old and new methods of coal-getting, pumping, ventilation, haulage, and safety devices were given. The five-foot seam of splint coal was examined at many points, and it was noted that ample head-room had been obtained by the removal of rock from above the coal. This overhead bed aroused the keenest interest, for it contained masses of fossil remains of ferns, trees, and marsh vegetation.

On returning to the surface the Power House was inspected, and the impression produced by the machines, and particularly by the spectacular mercury rectifier, was perhaps more of wonder than of understanding.

Tea at the hotel was followed by a somewhat complicated homeward journey by public conveyances, and several members brought with them geological specimens as reminders of a memorable occasion.

Presentations.

October 29th, 1948.—Owing to the death of Miss Bell, late of Castle O'er, her executors invited Mr R. C. Reid to choose such items from her effects as might be of use to the Museum. The following were exhibited to the Society on this date and transferred later to the Museum or the Ewart Library.

- (1) The original MS. of the book, " My Strange Pets " (1905), by Richard Bell of Castle O'er.
- (2) Poems by Susanna Hawkins, Vol. VII., Dumfries 1851, unbound.
- (3) Folio folder containing letters, photos, newspaper cuttings, plans, and printed articles by or relating to Richard Bell of Castle O'er.
- (4) Folio MS. volume labelled " Contents of Mongous Hall," being a catalogue of the contents of the now extinct museum at Castle O'er. At the other end of the volume is a list of visitors to that museum, 3 July, 1869—6 July, 1928.
- (5) Maps and Plans of Castle O'er:
 Plan of Fort—F. W. Young, June 18th, 1898.
 Plan and section of Fort, from Roy's " Military Antiquities," with hand-written description attached.
 Plan and sections of Fort, August, 1896, by Frs. Lynn, F.S.A.Scot.
 General Plan of Castle O'er District, showing Forts and Hollow Ways noted in summer of 1896—traced by Jessie Bell, March, 1897.
 Two of Pont's Maps—Pars Tuediae Eskdale—Map 47 and Map 57 from Blaeu's Atlas of 1654.
 Six-inch Ordnance Map of Eskdalemuir, 1862 Edition, Sheet XXVI.
 Twenty-five inch Ordnance Map of Eskdalemuir, Sheet XXVI., 14.
- (6) Oval Firescreen, framed and glazed, containing a Victorian cross-stitch design of roses, worked by Mrs Richard Bell when living at Billholm, Westerkirk, c. 1860. She died in 1876, aged 32.
- (7) Wrought-iron man-trap (locality unknown).
- (8) Waisted snuff-box made of dark horn with small silver plate rudely engraved G. S. 1714, found in a wood in Wauchope.
- (9) Old pestle and mortar used by surgeons and apothecaries for mixing the ingredients of their pills.
- (10) Bronze sundial plate, 18½ x 18½, without any inscription.
- (11) Stone corner sundial with two faces and gnomes, formerly built into Castle O'er House, dated 1727.

- (12) Hair ball removed from the stomach of a dead cow at Castle O'er.
- (13) Piece of coarse linen in which was wrapped a skeleton found in a peat moss at Glen Kerry, Ettrickdale, 18th May, 1907, by Mr Beattie of Davington. Probably 16th or 17th century. The site was close to the house outside the wood on the Gamescleuch side of it. The skeleton was lying more or less huddled up, not straightened out, below 2 feet of black peat. The bones were all black, and a shank bone still stuck in one of the boots. The skull crumbled away on being exposed to air, whilst the thigh and other big bones shrank considerably. The boots or mocassins were made of leather, in one piece, or raw hide and fastened with straps or thongs. The man, evidently of tall stature, had been clad in a sort of canvas or sack-cloth, which was quite fresh when found, but was otherwise black and sticking with peat moss. It appears as if he had only had holes through which to put his arms, the material coming down to a little below the knees. There were no marks of violence. The skeleton was re-buried, with the exception of a few bones which were kept for examination.—“Dumfries Courier,” 25th May, 1907.
- (14) Metal Road Pass. Copper, 1737. On obverse—Crown and G.R. On reverse—“The King's Private Roads.” Pierced with hole.
- (15) Prince Charlie Medal, 1745, stated to have been found in Crurie garden. It was once in the collection of George B. Simpson of Broughty Ferry, and was sold in Edinburgh on 5th December, 1882, for 22s. On obverse—head facing right, Carolus Walliae Princeps, 1745. On reverse—*amor et spes Britanniae*.
- (16) Halfpenny copper token, inscribed “John Wilkeson, iron-master, 1791.”
- (17) Two copper tokens ploughed up at Fauldbrae by G. G. Bell, younger, 1871.
- (18) Weight for weighing coins.
- (19) James I. and VI. English shilling found at Airstwoodholm by Mr Hislop of Bailliehill.
- (20) Elizabeth silver shilling, poor condition, found at Kemera Cottages by William Harkness.
- (21) Elizabeth English shilling, sixpence, and groat (3d).
- (22) William and Mary, Scottish, found at Todshawhill Haugh.
- (23) George III. halfpenny found at Allangilfoot by George Bell, 1891.
- (24) Denarius of Trajan, found at Chester Castle.
- (25) Edward I., six silver pennies found at Dornock. Mints—London (2), Durham (3), and York (1).

- (26) Edward III. silver penny found at Crurie by George Bell, 1890.
- (27) Robert I. silver penny.
- (28) Robert II. silver groat.
- (29) Charles II. 1667 Scottish bawbee (6d Scots).

October 29th, 1948.—Old chair of tooled leather on wooden frame, reputed to be the one used by Bloody Lag. Salvaged about 40 years ago by Mr Tom Wilson, then factor on the estate, when the chair was thrown out of Rockhall by the late Sir Alex. Grierson. Presented by Mrs Morgan.

October 29th, 1948.—Two clay pipes found on a wall-head during modernisation of the Auldgirth Inn. Early 18th century or perhaps very late in 17th century. They are of the ordinary shape of the period. Both pipes have some of the original glazing of the mouthpiece. Made by hand, but in moulds. Presented by Mr Telfer.

November 26th, 1948.—

- (1) English-made pistol of early Napoleonic War period, manufactured by Blair & Lee, who may have been the precursors of the firm of Blair & Co., Birmingham, 1812. It has brass mountings, and all the woodwork is inlaid with silver wire of good design. Silver inlay was not unusual in 18th century. The butt mask is no longer a mask, but a sort of rosette. The trophy of arms on the side plate is similar to that on early 19th century pistols. The barrel may at one time have borne an inscription, but is not now legible. It carries a "V. and Crown" stamped on it—the Viewer's Mark; and a "P. and Crown," which is apparently the Proof mark. The hammer swan-neck of this type was being superseded after 1780, and the extension of the trigger guard is of the pineapple pattern which came into vogue c. 1790. Its date must therefore be placed 1790-1820. Nothing is known of its history, or how it came into the hands of Mr Richard Bell. Presented by the executors of Miss Bell.
- (2) Wooden toddy ladle, apparently unused, which belonged to Miss Jackson of Annan. Presented by Mrs Lloyd Oswell.

February 11th, 1949.—Copper coin in an envelope on which is written: "Found at Inveresk. J. K. Hewison."

Miss Robertson of the Hunterian Museum has kindly supplied the following note: Struck in the reign of the Roman Emperor Numerian (A.D. 282-284), at the mint of Alexandria in Egypt for circulation in Egypt, and therefore not of valid tender outside Egypt. Though subjects of Rome, the

Egyptians spoke Greek, not Latin, and so had to be supplied with a special coinage of their own.

Obverse—A. K. M. NOV. EPIANOC. CEB.; bust of Numerian laureate right, wearing cuirass and cloak.

Reverse—The goddess Athena seated left on a throne, holding in right hand a small figure of goddess Nike (Victory), and in left hand a sceptre. Below the throne there is a shield.

In the field there is a date L. B.

[L. is abbreviation of Greek word for year, and B. is the Greek numeral 2.]

The date of the coin is therefore between November, 283, and November, 284.

Alexandrian coins are amongst the commonest brought into Museums for identification, and are constantly raising the question whether such coins were lost in this country in Roman times or brought back to this country in modern times by travellers and soldiers. It hardly seems likely that many Romans carried such curios about with them, so unless such a coin can be proved to have been found at a considerable depth below the present surface or in a stratified Roman deposit, it is safer to regard it as a souvenir brought back to this country quite recently by a modern traveller.

March 11th, 1949.—

- (1) Brass card counter made in a rough imitation of a "spade" guinea. They were largely used by card players in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. They are quite common and of no value. This one has a perforation for suspension to a watch chain or the like. There are many varieties, and are even copied at the present day. Mr Kerr of the Royal Museum in Edinburgh has seen them on sale in Glasgow shops. Ploughed up on a field on Dawn Hill Farm by Mr M'Quillan and presented by him.
- (2) Lithographed volume, entitled "A Poem on God," by John Craik, a master at the Academy, 1851. The original is said to have been penned in 48 hours.—Presented by Miss Houston.
- (3) A flattened ovoid stone, a natural pebble with one side ground quite flat and smooth. Not prehistoric or even mediæval. Possibly used for some textile purpose such as a linen smoother. It could be as late as 18th and even early 19th century. Found in the burn at Creetown and presented by Adam Birrell.

Exhibits.

February 25th, 1949.—By Mr Wm. Roan: A Death's Head Moth found in a railway signal cabin at Kirtlebridge in June, 1947, and a full-grown migratory locust found flying in Lockerbie the previous Friday.

March 25th, 1949.—By Mr Truckell: A four-wicked crusie inscribed with the date 1760, and a toddy ladle with a horn bowl and whalebone handle, both acquired by purchase for the Museum. Both items had been in the hands of the Dumfries family of Thorburn for four generations.

List of Exchanges, 1950.

- Aberdeen. University Library.
 Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Science House, 157-161 Gloucester Street, Sydney.
 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
 Belfast: Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, The Museum College.
 The Library of the Queen's University.
 Berwick-on-Tweed: Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 12 Castle Terrace, Berwick-on-Tweed.
 Cambridge: University Library.
 Cardiff: Cardiff Naturalists' Society, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
 Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Tullie House, Carlisle.
 Carlisle Natural History Society.
 Edinburgh: Advocates' Library.
 Botanical Society of Edinburgh, 5 St. Andrew Square.
 Edinburgh Geological Society, India Buildings, Victoria Street.
 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street.
 Glasgow: Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Technical College, George Street.
 Archæological Society, 207 Bath Street.
 Geological Society, 207 Bath Street.
 Natural History Society, 207 Bath Street.
 University Library, The University, Glasgow.
 Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotian Institute of Science.
 Hawick: The Hawick Archæological Society, Wilton Lodge, Hawick.
 Isle of Man: Natural History and Antiquarian Society, The Haven, Hillberry Road, Onchan.

London: British Association for the Advancement of Science,
Burlington House.

Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House.

British Museum, Bloomsbury Square.

British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington.

Lund, Sweden: The University of Lund.

Oxford: Bodleian Library.

Toronto: The Royal Canadian Institute, 198 College Street,
Toronto.

Torquay: Torquay Natural History Society, The Museum.

U.S.A.—

Chapplehill, N.C.: Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society.

Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard College of Comparative Zoology.

Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of American Archaeology
and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and
Letters.

New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester Academy of Sciences.

St. Louis, Mo.: Missouri Botanical Garden.

Washington: Smithsonian Institute, U.S. National Museum.

United States Bureau of Ethnology.

United States Department of Agriculture.

United States Geological Survey.

Upsala, Sweden: Geological Institute of the University of Upsala.

Yorkshire: Archaeological Society, 10 Park Lane, Leeds.

Cardiff: National Library of Wales.

Dumfries: "Dumfries and Galloway Standard."

Glasgow: "The Glasgow Herald."

Edinburgh: "The Scotsman."

OBITUARY.

Every member of this Society must feel that a link with the past has been seyered by the death of Sir Hugh Gladstone, who died at Capenoch on 5th April, 1949, after a long and distinguished career of public service. For 40 years he had been a member of the County Council, during the last 10 of which he had acted as Convener. For long he had been recognised as one of the country's most eminent ornithologists, and was widely known as an expert in the bibliography of British birds.

As a young man he published his "Birds of Dumfriesshire," which at once established his reputation as a brilliant field naturalist with an encyclopædic knowledge of bird life. In 1920 he became chairman of the Wild Birds Advisory (Scotland) Committee, and for over 20 years served on the Council of the Zoological Society of London. During a long life he contributed many papers and articles to ornithological reviews, and brought together at Capenoch a magnificent library of books and pamphlets relating to British birds. In 1946 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the County.

Sir Hugh became a member of this Society in 1905, and four years later was elected its President. At that date the Society was in low water. New methods and modern ideas were needed. His first duty was to find a new secretary and treasurer. His choice of Mr Shirley as secretary and Mr M'Kerrow (still happily with us) as treasurer provided the Society with the stimulus, enthusiasm, and drive so badly needed. A splendid working team, those three laid well and surely the foundations on which the Society now stands so firmly. One of Sir Hugh's most pressing tasks in those early days was to restore the finances of the Society. Life membership subscriptions had been used as income. He insisted that they should be treated as capital, and from his own pocket replaced to capital account the spent subscriptions. Working hand in hand with Mr Shirley, whose efforts had his unflinching support, he saw the Society reach its zenith in membership and financial stability, so that when the Museum was taken over from the Trustees by the Town Council the Society was able to devote the sum of £200 from its reserves to establish the Museum on up-to-date lines.

When, owing to failing health, Mr Shirley resigned the secretaryship in 1929, Sir Hugh decided to vacate the Presidency which he had held for 20 years, thus ending that great partnership to which this Society owes so much. But retirement from the Presidency did not end Sir Hugh's active connection with the Society. He still attended such meetings as he could, especially Council meetings, and in 1936 contributed an outstanding piece of work to our "Transactions" on "Thomas Watling, Limner of

Dumfries," involving an immense amount of research work—a fitting finale to a membership of such remarkable attainment.

Mention should also be made of the passing of the Rev. Wm. M'Millan, Ph.D., D.D., F.S.A.Scot., of St. Leonard's Manse, Dunfermline, who for many years had been a contributor to these "Transactions." He was a voluminous writer, especially on everything concerned with the district of Sanquhar, at which school he had been educated. He was especially proud of his services as a chaplain with the Lowland Division in the 1914-1918 war, being the only minister of the Church of Scotland who held the Territorial Efficiency Medal. Though it is difficult to recall his presence at any meeting of the Society, he was one of its staunchest supporters and steadiest contributors. His detailed knowledge of the history of Upper Nithsdale must have brought him a very large correspondence, in replying to which he never spared himself. In the local press he showed himself a spirited controversialist, especially in Covenanted matters. In 1936 he collected some of his best local work and had it bound for presentation. Shortly before his death he completed the last section of his study on "Sanquhar Church during the Eighteenth Century." It is hoped to include it in the next volume of "Transactions."

R. C. R.

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society

Membership List, April 1st, 1950.

Fellows of the Society under Rule 10 are indicated thus *

LIFE MEMBERS.

Aitchison, Sir W. de Lancy, Bart., M.A., F.S.A., Coupland Castle, Wooler, Northumberland	1946
Allen, J. Francis, M.D., F.R.S.E., Lincluden, 39 Cromwell Road, Teddington, Middlesex	—
Balfour-Browne, Professor W. A. F., M.A., F.R.S.E., Brocklehurst, Dumfries	1941
Bell, Robin, Roundawai Maipaiura, Hawkes Bay, N.Z.	1950
Birley, Eric, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Hatfield College, Durham	1935
Blackwell, Philip, F.B., Lt.-Commander, R.N. (Ret.), Down Place, South Harting, near Petersfield, Hants....	1946
Borthwick, Major W. S., T.D., 92 Guibal Road, Lee, London, S.E.12 (Ordinary Member, 1936)	1943
Breay, Rev. J., Kirkandrews-on-Esk, Longtown, Carlisle	1950
Brown, A. J. M., M.A., O.B.E., F.Z.S., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1946
Buccleuch and Queensberry, His Grace the Duke of, P.C., G.C.V.O., Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill, Dumfries	—
Buccleuch and Queensberry, Her Grace the Dowager Duchess of, Bowhill, Selkirk	—
Burnand, Miss K. E., F.Z.S.Scot., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1941)	1943
Bute, The Most Hon. the Marquis of, M.B.O.U., F.Z.S., F.S.A.Scot., Kames Castle, Port Bannatyne, Isle of Bute	1944-45
Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street, Edinburgh, 3 (Ordinary Member, 1909)	1914
Cunningham, David, M.A., The Academy, Dumfries	1945
Cunningham-Jardine, Mrs., Jardine Hall, Lockerbie (Ordinary Member, 1926)	1943
Ferguson, James A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie	1929
Ferguson, Mrs J. A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie	1929
Gladstone, Miss I. O. J., c/o National Provincial Bank, Ltd., 61 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1 (Ordinary Member, 1938)	1943
Gladstone, John, Capenoch, Penpont, Dumfries	1935
Kennedy, Alexander, Ardvoulin, South Park Road, Ayr (Ordinary Member, 1934)	1943

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Kennedy, Thomas H., Blackwood, Auldgrith, Dumfries ...	1946
Lockhart, J. H., Tanlawhill, Lockerbie	1948
M'Call, Major W., D.L., Caitloch, Moniaive, Dumfries ...	1929
M'Culloch, Walter, W.S., Ardwell, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
M'Kie, John H., M.P., Auchencairn House, Castle-Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire	1943
Mansfield, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.Z.S., M.B.O.U., J.P., Comlongon Castle, Ruthwell, Dumfries	1939
Muir, James, Midcroft, Monreith, Portwilliam, Newton- Stewart, Wigtownshire	1925
Paterson, E. A., c/o Messrs Jardine, Skinner & Co., 4 Clive Road, Calcutta	1945
Perkins, F. Russell, Duntisbourne House, Cirencester, Glos.	1946
Phinn, Mrs E. M., Hillowton, Castle-Douglas (Ordinary Member, 1938)	1943
Skinner, James S., M.A., 77 Drumlanrig Street, Thornhill...	1950
Spencer, Miss, Warmanbie, Annan	1929
Spragge, T. H., Commander, Monkquhell, Blairgowrie, Perthshire (Ordinary Member, 1931)	1947
Stuart, Lord David, M.B.O.U., F.S.A.Scot., Old Place of Mochrum, Portwilliam, Wigtownshire	1948
Thomson, Miss N. M., Carlingwark, Castle-Douglas	1929
Thomas, R. G. D, Southwick House, Southwick, by Dum- fries	1929

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Agnew, Mrs David, Rutherford House, Gatehouse-of- Fleet	1946
Aitchison, Mrs M., Hoyland, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Allan, John, M.R.C.V.S., 14 Queen Street, Castle-Douglas...	1926
Anderson, D. G., 12 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries	1936
Armour, Rev. A. J., Manse of Hoddum, near Ecclefechan...	1948
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Bargaly, Newton-Stewart ...	1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A., Bargaly, Newton-Stewart	1946
Armstrong, Thomas, 41 Moffat Road, Dumfries	1944
Armstrong, William, Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1946
Armstrong, Mrs W., Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1946
Austin, W., Osborne House, Dumfries	1948
Bailey, W. G., B.Sc., F.R.I.C., North Laurieknowe House, Dumfries	1947
Bailey, Mrs, M.A., B.Sc., North Laurieknowe House, Dumfries	1947
Balfour-Browne, Miss E. M. C., Goldielea, Dumfries ...	1944
Balfour-Browne, V. R., J.P., Dalskairth, Dumfries	1944

Ballantyne, John, West Roucan, Torthorwald Road, Collin, Dumfries	1946
Barr, J. Glen, F.S.M.C., F.B.O.A., F.I.O., 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1946
Bartholomew, George, A.R.I.B.A., Drumclair, Johnstone Park, Dumfries	1945
Bartholomew, James, Glenorchard, Torrance, near Glasgow...	1910
Bates, E., Grierson East, Crichton Royal Institution, Dum- fries	1950
Bayetto, Ronald A., 55 South Street, Epsom, Surrey	1946
Beattie, Miss Isobel H. K., A.R.I.B.A., Thrushwood, Mous- wald, Dumfries	1947
Beattie, Lewis, Thrushwood, Mouswald, Dumfries	1947
Bell, Mrs M. C., Seaforth, Annan	1920
Benzies, Wm. C., M.A., Schoolhouse, Minnigaff, Newton- Stewart	1946
Biggar, Miss, Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Biggar, Miss E. I., Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Birrell, Adam, Park Crescent, Creetown	1925
Black, Miss Amy G., Burton Old Hall, Burton, Westmore- land	1946
Blair, Hugh A., New Club, Edinburgh	1947
Bone, Miss E., Lochvale, Castle-Douglas	1937
Bowden, Charles, Screel, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie	1943
Bowden, Mrs Charles, Screel, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie	1944
Bowie, J. M., F.R.I.B.A., Byrlaw, Dalbeattie Road, Dum- fries	1905
Brand, George, Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1942
Brand, Mrs George, Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1941
Brooke, Dr. A. Kellie, Masonfield, Newton-Stewart	1947
Brown, G. D., B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., Largie, Rotchell Road, Dumfries	1938
Brown, Mrs M. G., Caerlochan, Dumfries Road, Castle- Douglas	1946
Brown, William, J.P., Burnbrae, Penpont, Dumfries	1944
Brydon, James, 135 Irish Street, Dumfries	1929
*Burnett, T. R., B.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S., Airdmhoire, Kirkton, Dumfries (President, 1946-49)	1920
Caird, J. B., M.A., H.M.I.S., 38 George Street, Dumfries...	1948
Caird, Mrs, M.A., 38 George Street, Dumfries...	1948
Caldwell, A. T., L.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., "Avmid," Kirk- cudbright	1944
Calvert, Rev. George, The Manse, Mouswald, Dumfries	1945
Calvert, Mrs, The Manse, Mouswald, Dumfries	1946
Cameron, D. Scott, 4 Nellieville Terrace, Troqueer Road, Dumfries	1945

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Campbell, John, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries ...	1944
Campbell-Johnston, David, Carnsalloch, Dumfries ...	1946
Cannon, D. V., 3 Kenwood Gardens, Ilford, Essex ...	1949
Carlyle, Miss C. H., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie ...	1946
Carlyle, Miss E. M. L., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie...	1946
Carruthers, Mrs L., 43 Castle Street, Dumfries ...	1946
Charleson, Rev. C. J. Forbes, Hillwood Cottage, Newbridge, Midlothian ...	1930
Clarke, John,, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., The Grammer School, Paisley ...	1947
Clavering, Miss M., Clover Cottage, Moffat ...	1948
Cleghorn, H. B., Walnut Cottage, Annan Road, Dumfries...	1943
Cochrane, Miss M., Glensone, Glencaple, Dumfries ...	1946
Copland, R., Isle Tower, Holywood ...	1950
Copland, Mrs R., Isle Tower, Holywood...	1950
Cormack, David, LL.B., W.S., Royal Bank Buildings, Lockerbie ...	1913
Cossar, Thomas, Sen., Craignee, Maxwelltown, Dumfries ...	1914
Crabbe, Lt.-Col. J. G., O.B.E., M.C., L.L., Duncow, Dum- fries ...	1911
Craig, Bryce, Deansgate, Nelson Street, Dumfries ...	1946
Craigie, Charles F., The Schoolhouse, Crossmichael ...	1947
Craigie, Mrs, The Schoolhouse, Crossmichael ...	1947
Cross, Mrs Evelyn, M.N., Earlston, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1946
Crosbie, Alan R., Sandyknowe, Troqueer Road, Dumfries...	1946
Crosthwaite, H. M., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Insti- tution, Dumfries ...	1943
Cunningham, Mrs David, 42 Rae Street, Dumfries ...	1948
Cunynghame, Mrs Blair, Broomfield, Moniaive ...	1948
Cuthbertson, Capt. W., M.C., Beldcraig, Annan ...	1920
Dalziel, Miss Agnes, L.D.S., Glenlea, Georgetown Road, Dumfries ...	1945
Davidson, George D., B.Sc., Renwick Bank, Catherine Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Davidson, Dr. James, F.R.C.P.Ed., F.S.A.Scot., Linton Muir, West Linton ...	1938
Davidson, J. M., O.B.E., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.Scot., Griffin Lodge, Gartcosh, Glasgow ...	1934
Davidson, R. A. M., Kilness, Moniaive, Dumfries ...	1938
Denniston, J., F.E.I.S., Mossgiel, Cardoness Street, Dum- fries ...	1943
Dickson, Miss A. M., Woodhouse, Dunscore, Dumfries ...	1930
Dinwiddie, J. S., M.A., Galloway Hill, Terregles Street, Dumfries ...	1944
Dinwiddie, N. A. W., M.A., B.Com., Newall Terrace, Dum- fries ...	1937
Dinwiddie, W., Craigelvin, 39 Moffat Road, Dumfries ...	1920

Dinwoodie, Miss I., Watling Street, Dumfries ...	1949
Dobie, Percy, B.Eng., 122 Vicars Cross, Chester ...	1943
Dobie, W. G. M., LL.B., Conheath, Dumfries ...	1944
Dobie, Mrs W. G. M., Conheath, Dumfries ...	1944
Dorward, Miss, 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries ...	1945
Douglas, James, 3 Rosevale Street, Langholm ...	1933
Drummond, Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries ...	1944
Drummond, Mrs Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries ...	1946
Drummond, Major J. Lindsay, Albany Bank, Dumfries ...	1947
Drummond, Mrs J. L., Albany Bank, Dumfries ...	1947
Drummond, Miss M., Marrburn, Rotchell Road, Dumfries...	1949
Dryden, Dr. A. M., 10 Albany, Dumfries ...	1947
Drysdale, Miss J. M., Edinmara, Glencaple, Dumfries ...	1946
*Duncan, Arthur B., B.A., Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfries (President, 1944-1946) ...	1930
Duncan, Mrs Arthur, Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1945
Duncan, Mrs Bryce, Castlehill, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries ...	1907
Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries ...	1926
Duncan, Mrs Walter, Newlands, Dumfries ...	1948
Ebbels, Miss, C.T. Department, Crichton Royal Institution...	1949
Ewart, Edward, M.D., Crichton Royal Institution, Dum- fries ...	1946
Farries, T. C., Albany Lodge, Dumfries ...	1948
Firth, Mark, Knockbrenx, Kirkcudbright ...	1946
Fisher, A. C., 52 Newington Road, Annan ...	1949
Flett, David, A.I.A.A., A.R.I.A.S., Herouncroft, Newton- Stewart ...	1947
Flett, James, A.I.A.A., F.S.A.Scot., 3 Langlands, Dum- fries ...	1912
Flett, Mrs J., D.A.(Edin.), 3 Langlands, Dumfries ...	1937
Flinn, Alan J. M., Rathen, Marchhill Drive, Dumfries ...	1946
Forman, Rev. Adam, Dumcrieff, Moffat ...	1929
Forrest, W. P., 7 Huntingdon Square, Dumfries ...	1949
Fraser, Brigadier S., Girthon Old Manse, Gatehouse-of- Fleet, Castle-Douglas ...	1947
Fraser, Mrs, Girthon Old Manse, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1947
Gair, James C., Delvine, Amisfield ...	1946
Galbraith, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan ...	1949
Galloway, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Cumloden, Newton- Stewart, Wigtownshire ...	1945
Gaskell, Mrs W. R., Auchenbrack, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1934
Gaskin, Rev. Percy C., The Manse, Lochrutton, Dumfries...	1944
Gibson, Mrs, Sunnyside, Auldgrith ...	1946
Gillan, Lt.-Col. Sir George V. B., K.C.I.E., Abbey House, New Abbey ...	1946
Gillan, Lady, Abbey House, New Abbey ...	1946
Glendinning, George, Arley House, Thornhill Road, Hudders- field ...	1942

Goldie, Gordon, The British Council, The British Embassy, Rome	1947
Gordon, Miss A. J., Kenmure, Dumfries	1907
Gordon, Major Stephen, Gezina, Marquand, O.F.S., S. Africa	1947
Gordon, Miss Bridget, Gezina, Marquand, O.F.S., S. Africa	1947
Gourlay, James, Brankston House, Stonehouse, Lanarkshire	1934
Graham-Barnett, N., Blackhills Farm, Annan	1948
Graham-Barnett, Mrs N., Blackhills Farm, Annan	1948
Graham, Mrs Fergus, Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Lockerbie	1947
Graham, C., c/o Faithfull, 52 George Street, Dumfries ...	1945
Graham, Mrs C., c/o Faithfull, 52 George Street, Dumfries	1945
Greeves, Lt.-Col. J. R., B.Sc., A.M.I.E.E., Coolmashee, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down	1947
Grierson, Thomas, Royston, Laurieknowe, Dumfries...	1945
Grierson, Mrs Thomas, Royston, Laurieknowe, Dumfries ...	1946
Grieve, R. W., Fernwood, Dumfries	1938
Grieve, Mrs R. W., Fernwood, Dumfries	1946
Haggas, Miss, Terraughtie, Dumfries	1944
Haggas, Miss E. M., Terraughtie, Dumfries	1944
Halliday, T. A., Parkhurst, Dumfries	1906
Halliday, Mrs, Parkhurst, Dumfries	1906
Hannay, A., Lochend, Stranraer... ..	1926
Harper, Dr. J., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries	1947
Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, Dalbeattie	1927
Hawley, Mrs, Ardeer, Albert Road, Dumfries	1947
Henderson, James, Claremont, Dumfries	1905
Henderson, Mrs James, Claremont, Dumfries... ..	1927
Henderson, Miss J. G., 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries ...	1945
Henderson, Miss J. M., M.A., Claremont, Newall Terrace, Dumfries	1945
Henderson, John, M.A., F.E.I.S., Schoolhouse, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1933
Henderson, Thomas, The Hermitage, Lockerbie	1902
Henderson, Mrs Walter, Rannoch, St Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries	1948
Hendrie, Miss B. S., Cassalands Cottage, Dumfries	1944
Henryson-Caird, Major A. J., M.C., Cassencarie, Cree- town	1946
Herries, David C., St. Julians, Sevenoaks, Kent	1915
Herries, Col. W. D. Young, Spottes Hall, Castle-Douglas ...	1924
Hetherington, Johnston, B.Sc., Dumgoyne, Dryfe Road, Lockerbie	1946
Hetherington, W. K., B.A., 5 Ballochlan Road, Auldgirth...	1949
Hickling, Mrs N., Drumpark Mains, Dumfries	1946

Higgins, Hugh L., Arendal, Albert Road, Dumfries	1947
Hislop, John, Manse Road, Lochrutton	1945
Hopkin, P. W., Sunnyside, Noblehill, Dumfries	1948
Hunt, Miss, Fellside, Moffat	1947
Hunt, Miss Winifred, Fellside, Moffat	1947
Hunter, Mrs T. S., Woodford, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1947
Hunter, Miss, Mennock, Park Road, Dumfries	1944
Hunter-Arundell, H. W. F., Barjarg, Auldgirth, Dumfries	1912
Irvine, James, B.Sc., 10 Langlands, Dumfries	1944
Irvine, W. Fergusson, M.A., F.S.A., Brynllwyn Hall, Corwen, North Wales	1908
Irving, John, 22 Victoria Avenue, Maxwelltown	1947
Jameson, Col. A. M., J.P., D.L., Gaitgill, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Jameson, Mrs A. M., Gaitgill, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Jamieson, Mrs J. C., St. George's Manse, Castle-Douglas	1930
Jardine, J. R., 15 Rae Street, Dumfries	1946
Jebb, Mrs G. D., Brooklands, Crockettford, Dumfries	1946
Jenkins, Miss Agnes, Mouswald Schoolhouse, Mouswald, Dumfries	1946
Jenkins, Ross T., 4 Carlton Terrace, Stranraer	1912
Jensen, J. H., Roxburgh House, Annan Road, Dumfries	1945
Johnson-Ferguson, Col. Sir Edward, Bart., T.D., D.L., Springkell, Eaglesfield, Lockerbie	1905
Johnston, Miss Anne, College Mains, Dumfries	1947
Johnston, F. A., 11 Rutland Court, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1	1911
Johnston, R. Tordiff, Stenrieshill, Beattock	1948
Johnston, Mrs R. T., Stenrieshill, Beattock	1948
Johnstone, Miss E. R., Cluden Bank, Moffat	—
Johnstone, Major J. L., Amisfield Tower, Dumfries	1945
Johnstone, R., M.A., Schoolhouse, Southwick	1947
Kelly, John, Borrowdale, Newton-Stewart, Wigtownshire	1936
Kelly, T. A. G., Barncleugh, Irongray	1949
Kelly, Mrs T. A. G., Barncleugh, Irongray	1949
Kirkpatrick, W., West Gallaberry, Kirkmahoe	1948
Kirkpatrick, Mrs W., West Gallaberry, Kirkmahoe	1948
Laidlaw, Mrs A. W., Chellow Dean, Hermitage Road, Dumfries	1947
Laidlaw, A. G., 84 High Street, Lockerbie	1939
Landale, Mrs D. F., Maryfield, Auldgirth	1949
Landells, A., B.Sc., Lotus, Beeswing, by Dumfries	1948
Lauder, Miss A., 90 Irvine Road, Kilmarnock	1932
Laurence, D. W., St. Albans, New Abbey Road, Dumfries	1939
Laurie, F. G., Elsie Shields Tower, Lochmaben	1946
Law, Rev. Harry, St. Ninian's Priory, Whithorn	1949
Lepper, R. S., M.A., LL.M., F.R.Hist.Soc., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down, Ireland	1918

Leslie, Alan, B.Sc., 34A The Grove, Dumfries	1949
Lethem, Sir Gordon, Johnstone House, Johnstone- Craigheugh, Eskdalemuir, Dumfriesshire	1948
Liverpool, The Countess of, Merkland, Auldgirth, Dumfries	1946
Lodge, Alfred, B.Sc., 39 Castle Street, Dumfries	1946
Lodge, Mrs A., 39 Castle Street, Dumfries	1946
M'Caig, Mrs Margaret H., Barmiltoch, Stranraer	1931
M'Cartney, George, Beechgrove, Kirkpatrick-Durham, by Castle-Douglas	1947
M'Caul, Rev. M. W., Manse of Ruthwell, Dumfries	1949
M'Caul, Mrs M. W., Manse of Ruthwell, Dumfries	1949
M'Connel, Rev. E. W. J., M.A., 171 Central Avenue, Gretna, Carlisle	1927
M'Corkindale, Wm., M.A., The Academy, Dumfries... ..	1949
M'Corkindale, Mrs W., The Academy, Dumfries	1949
M'Cormick, A., Walnut House, Newton-Stewart, Wigtown- shire	1905
M'Culloch, Major-General Sir Andrew, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., D.C.M., Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle- Douglas	1946
M'Culloch, Lady, Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle- Douglas	—
Macdonald, W. M. Bell, Rammerscales, Hightae, Lockerbie	1929
M'George, Mrs A. G., Dhucorse, Dumfries	1944
M'Gowan, Bertram, 135 Irish Street, Dumfries	1900
M'Intosh, Mrs, Ramornie, Terregles Street, Dumfries	1946
Macintyre, Canon D., M.A., The Rectory, Dumfries	1946
Mackay, J., Martin, M.A., LL.D., The White House, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries	1947
Mackay, Mrs, The White House, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries	1948
*M'Kerrow, M. H., F.S.A.Scot., Dunard, Dumfries (Presi- dent, 1930-1933)	1900
Mackinley, H., Kilmahew, 65 Terregles Street, Dumfries	1917
M'Knight, Ian, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries... ..	1948
M'Knight, Mrs, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries... ..	1948
M'Laren, R. P., B.Sc., Newton House Hotel, Dumfries	1948
M'Lean, A., B.Sc., West Lauricknowe, Dumfries	1944
M'Lean, Mrs M., West Lauricknowe, Dumfries	1944
M'Lean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries	1946
MacMaster, T., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.Scot., 190 Grange Loan, Edinburgh	1926
M'Math, Miss Grace, Cairn View, Agnew Crescent, Stran- raer	1931
M'Robert, Mrs F., 7 Turner's Terrace, Dumfries	1948
M'Tavish, Alex., Glenmaid, Parkgate, Dumfries	1944
M'Wharrie, Mrs D. Quiney, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries- shire	1945

M'William, Rev. J. M., The Manse, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1944
M'William, Mrs J. M., The Manse, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1945
Maguire, Charles, 5 St. Ninian's Terrace, Isle of Whithorn	1947
Malcolm, Mrs S. A., c/o Mrs Grierson, 3 Stewart Hall Gardens, Dumfries	1920
Marshall, Dr. Andrew, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	1947
Martin, John, Ivy Bank, Noblehill, Dumfries	1945
Martin, J. D. Stuart, Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Loch- maben	1946
Martin, Mrs J. D. S., Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Loch- maben	1946
Maxwell, Major-General Aymer, C.B.E., M.C., R.A., Kir- kennan, Dalbeattie	1946
Maxwell, G. A., Abbots Meadow, Wykeham, Scarborough ...	1937
Maxwell, Miss I. A., East Gribton, North Berwick ...	1940
Maxwell, Jean S., Coila, New Abbey Road, Dumfries ...	1947
Maxwell-Witham, Robert, Kirkconnell, New Abbey, Dum- fries	1911
Mayer-Gross, Dr. W., Mayfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries...	1945
Millar, James, M.A., B.Sc., The Rectory, Closeburn ...	1949
Millar, Mrs J., The Rectory, Closeburn	1949
Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, 3 ...	1908
Miller, S. N., Damhill Lodge, Corehouse, Lanark	1946
Millar, Stewart, B.Sc., The Academy, Dumfries	1945
Milne, John, Dunesslin, Dunscore, Dumfries	1945
Milne, Mrs J., Dunesslin, Dunscore, Dumfries	1945
Milne, Sheriff C., K.C., 9 Howe Street, Edinburgh ...	1949
Milne-Home, Sir J. H., D.L., Irvine House, Canonbie, Dum- friesshire	1912
Mogerley, G. H., Rowanbank, Dumfries	1948
Morgan, Gerard, Southfield House, Wigtown... ..	1948
Morgan, Mrs H. M. A., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries ...	1945
Morgan, R. W. D., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries	1945
Morton, Miss, Moat Hostel, Dumfries	1947
Murray, J. L., The Knowe, Victoria Road, Dumfries ...	1945
Murray, Mrs, The Knowe, Victoria Road, Dumfries ...	1945
Murray, Miss J. J., The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet, Dum- fries	1945
Murray, Miss Mary, 5 Murray Place, Dumfries	1946
Murray, William, Murray Place, Dumfries	1945
Murray-Usher, Mrs E. E., J.P., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Myrseth, Major O., County Hotel, Dumfries	1944
Ord, Mrs, 43 Castle Street, Dumfries	1946
O'Reilly, Mrs N., c/o Messrs Coutts & Co., 44 Strand, London, W.C.2	1926
Osborne, Mrs R. S., 54 Cardoness Street, Dumfries...	1946

Park, Miss Dora, Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1944
Park, Miss Mary, Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1944
Paterson-Smith, J., The Oaks, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1948
Paterson-Smith, Mrs, The Oaks, Rotchell Park, Dumfries...	1948
Paulin, Mrs N. G., Holmlea, New-Galloway ...	1950
Penman, James B., Mile Ash, Dumfries ...	1947
Penman, John S., Airlie, Dumfries ...	1947
Peploe, Mrs, North Bank, Moffat ...	1947
Piddington, Mrs, Woodhouse, Dunscore ...	1950
Porteous, Miss M., 125 Balmoral Road, Dumfries ...	1949
Prentice, Edward G., B.Sc., Pringleton House, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ...	1945
Prevost, W. A. J., Craigieburn, Moffat ...	1946
Pullen, O. J., B.Sc., Geanta House, Littleburn, Essex ...	1934
Rainsford-Hannay, Col. F., C.M.G., D.S.O., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
Rainsford-Hannay, Mrs F., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of- Fleet ...	1946
Rainsford-Hannay, Miss M., 107B Sutherland Avenue, London, W.9 ...	1945
Raven, Mrs Mary E., Ladyfield Lodge, Glencaple Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Readman, James, at Dunesslin, Dunscore ...	1946
*Reid, R. C., F.S.A.Scot., Cleughbrae, Mouswald. Dum- fries (President, 1933-1944) ...	1917
Richardson, George, 47 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Richardson, Mrs, 47 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Richmond, Gavin H., 55 Eastfield Road, Dumfries...	1947
Roan, William, 24 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries ...	1945
Robertson, J. P., Westwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Robertson, Mrs J. P., Westwood, Dumfries ...	1933
Robertson, James, 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries ...	1936
Robson, G. H., 2 Terregles Street, Dumfries ...	1911
Robson, Mrs J. H., 60 Broom's Road, Dumfries ...	1949
Russell, Edward W., A.M.I.C.E., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of- Fleet ...	1946
Russell, Mrs E. W., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
Russell, I. R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Park House, Dumfries...	1944
Scott, John, Milton, Beattock ...	1945
Service, Mrs E. L., Glencaple Village, Dumfries ...	1932
Shaw, Dr. T. D. Stuart, Rosebank, Castle-Douglas ...	1946
Silvey, Miss M., M.A., Minerva, Pleasance Avenue, Dum- fries ...	1949
Simpson, A. J., The Schoolhouse, Kirkconnel ...	1945
Sinclair, Dr. G. H., The Green, Lockerbie ...	1934
Smith, Adam, Holmhead, Mouswald ...	1946
Smith, C. D., Albert Villa, London Road, Stranraer ...	1944

Smith, E. A., M.A., Hamewith, Ardwall Road, Dumfries...	1946
Smith, Miss Eugene, Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries...	1949
Spours, R. S., Rokeby, Leonard Crescent, Lockerbie ...	1948
Spours, Mrs, Rokeby, Leonard Crescent, Lockerbie ...	1948
Stewart, Alex. A., M.A., B.Sc., F.E.I.S., J.P., Schoolhouse, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Symington, Wm., Elmsmore, 72 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	1947
Syms, Major R. Hardy, F.R.I.C.S., L.R.I.B.A., M.I.P.I., 32 Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.1	1927
Tayleur, Mrs, La Sainte Baume, New Abbey	1949
Taylor, James, M.A., B.Sc., The Hill, Southwick Road, Dalbeattie	1933
Thomson, J. Marshall, Arnish, Pleasance Avenue, Dum- fries	1945
Tindal, Mrs, Cargen, Dumfries	1948
Truckell, A. E., 12 Grierson Avenue, Dumfries	1947
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Braehead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries	1946
Walker, Lieut.-Col. George G., D.L., Morrinton, Dumfries	1926
Walker, Rev. Maurice D., M.A., M.C., St. Ninian's Rectory, Castle-Douglas	1949
Wallace, J., 14 Broomfield, Dumfries	1948
Wallace, Robert, Durham Villa, Charnwood Road, Dum- fries	1947
Waugh, W., Palace Knowe, Beattock	1924
Welsh, A., M.A., Dunnikier, Annan Road, Dumfries...	1947
Williamson, Miss Joan D., Glenlochar House, by Castle- Douglas	1948
Wilson, John, M.A., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Wright, Robert, Glenurquhart, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries	1947
Wright, A. G., The Cottage, Glen Alty, Barrhill, Girvan ...	1949
Wyllie, B. K. N., Netherwood House, Dumfries	1943
Young, Arnold, Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Young, Mrs A., Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries...	1946
Young, Mrs W. R., Ronald Bank, Dumfries	1946

JUNIOR MEMBERS.

Anderson, Miss Elizabeth, Laneshaw, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1947
Armstrong, Miss Margaret, Whitefield, Gatehouse-of- Fleet	1946
Armstrong, Miss Sarah, Whitefield, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
Black, Robert, Strathspey, Georgetown Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Blance, Miss Beatrice, The Plans, Ruthwell Station, Dum- fries	1950
Bowden, Craig, 17 Galloway Street, Dumfries	1946

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Brand, George A. M., Kilroy, Auldgirth	1945
Brown, Andrew John, Robertson, Borbue, Kirkcudbright...	1948
Brown, David, D.S., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ...	1948
Campbell, Kenneth, The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet	1945
Campbell, Thomas, The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet	1945
Coid, John, Abiston, Park Road, Dumfries	1946
Gair, John, The Delvin, Amisfield, Dumfries	1945
Garrett, Miss Isobel, Ismaree, Greystone Crescent, Dumfries	1947
Hay, Bruce, Strathisla, Glasgow Street, Dumfries	1947
Irvine, James, Jun., 10 Langlands, Dumfries	1945
Landale, David, Maryfield, Auldgirth	1949
Landale, Miss J., Maryfield, Auldgirth	1949
Landale, Miss L., Maryfield, Auldgirth	1949
M'Cartney, Miss Olive, Beechgrove, Kirkpatrick-Durham, by Castle-Douglas	1947
M'Donald, Ian A., 30 Cardoness Street, Dumfries...	1946
M'Intosh, Miss Brenda, M.B.O.U., Ramornie, Terregles Street, Dumfries	1946
Manning, John, Forensic Science Laboratory, Bishopgarth, Wakefield	1947
Marshall, Robert, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Muir, Eric, 18 M'Lellan Street, Dumfries	1947
Murray-Usher, James N., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Osborne, Graham, 54 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	1946
Robertson, James J., 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries ...	1946
Smith, Miss Edna, Moray, Rotchell Road, Dumfries ...	1946

SUBSCRIBERS.

Aberdeen University Library	1938
Dumfriesshire Education Committee, County Buildings, Dumfries (H. Somerville, M.C., M.A., Education Officer)	1944
Glasgow University Library	1947
Kirkcudbrightshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Castle-Douglas (J. Crawford, Ed.B., LL.B., Education Officer)	1944
Mitchell Library, Hope Street, Glasgow	1925
New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City (B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd., 28-30 Little Russell Street, British Museum, London, W.C.1 ...	1938
Wigtownshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Stranraer (Hugh K. C. Mair, B.Sc., Education Officer)	1943

Statement of Accounts

For the Year ended 31st March, 1949.

GENERAL REVENUE ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand at 1st April, 1948—			
In Bank in Current Account ...	£283	8	2
In Bank on Deposit ...	10	13	1
In hands of Treasurer ...	11	12	3
			<u>£305 13 6</u>
Members' Subscriptions—			
Current Year's ...	£154	17	0
Less Overpayments re-			
turned ...	1	10	0
			<u>£153 7 0</u>
Year 1949-50, Paid in Advance...	4	10	0
Arrears ...	3	0	6
			<u>160 17 6</u>
Interests—			
On £230 3½ per cent. War Stock ...	£8	1	0
On Deposits at the Dumfries Savings			
Bank for the year 1948 ...	9	9	9
On Deposit at the Clydesdale Bank ...	0	9	9
			<u>18 0 6</u>
Publications—			
Sale of "Transactions" and Off-prints	£18	4	6
Donation ...	0	10	0
			<u>18 14 6</u>
Excursions—			
Bus Tickets (109) ...	£51	10	0
Private Car Passengers (22) ...	1	2	0
			<u>52 12 0</u>
Miscellaneous—			
Conversazione (21st April, 1948) — 58			
Tickets at 3s and 5 at 1s 6d ...	£9	1	6
Donation towards the Society's Funds	5	5	0
Donation towards Printing Expenses...	4	10	0
Postages on "Transactions" Refunded	0	2	3
Bank Commissions Refunded ...	0	0	6
			<u>18 19 3</u>
			<u>£574 17 3</u>

PAYMENTS.

Excursions—

Hire of 'Buses	£38 0 0	
Advertising, etc.	8 19 0	
		£46 19 0

Publications—

Printing Vol. XXV. of Society's "Transactions," including Engravings, Off-prints, etc.		176 16 4
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Miscellaneous Expenses—

Printing, Stationery, and Postages ...	£32 13 3	
Advertising	12 1 0	
Lecturer's Travelling Expenses ...	2 0 0	
Insurance	1 6 0	
Sundry Articles purchased from Dr. J. Davidson	5 0 0	
Scottish Regional Group Council for British Archaeology	2 0 10	
Scottish Field Studies Council Affilia- tion Fee for year to 31st March, 1949	1 1 0	
Conversazione	10 12 6	
Lamp for Lantern	1 2 0	
Caretaker	1 10 0	
Bank's Commissions and Cheque Book	0 10 11	
		69 17 6
		£293 12 10

Balance on hand at 31st March, 1949—

In Bank in Current Account	£257 3 1	
In hands of Treasurer	24 1 4	
		281 4 5
		£574 17 3

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand at 1st April, 1948—

In 3½ per cent. War Stock	£218 10 0	
In Dumfries Savings Bank	300 1 3	
		£518 11 3
Life Membership Fees	22 1 0	
		£540 12 3

PAYMENTS.

Balance on hand at 31st March, 1949—

In 3½ per cent. War Stock	...	...	£218	10	0
In Dumfries Savings Bank	...	...	322	2	3
					£540 12 3
					£540 12 3

C. H. C. BOWDEN, Hon. Treasurer.

Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie,
Kirkcudbrightshire, 21st April, 1949.

We have examined the Books and Vouchers of the Dumfries-shire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society for the year ended the 31st March, 1949, and certify that the foregoing Abstract exhibits a correct view of the Treasurer's operations for that period.

JAMES HENDERSON	}	Auditors.
W. G. M. DOBIE		

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