

## **PRE-NORMAN SCULPTURE IN GALLOWAY: SOME TERRITORIAL IMPLICATIONS**

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The study of early medieval sculpture is often seen as an art historical backwater, and of little relevance to the wider questions of human settlement history.<sup>1</sup> But in Galloway in the pre-Norman period neither contemporary documents nor excavation give us very much help in recognising settlement patterns. Both these types of evidence are very thin on the ground,<sup>2</sup> and isolated examples assume a disproportionate importance in any assessment of the post-Roman history of the region.<sup>3</sup> Sculpture, on the other hand, like place-names, is fairly prolific, numbering about 170 pieces from the whole area.

The range and chronology of most of the known examples was admirably discussed by W. G. Collingwood in the 1920s,<sup>4</sup> and I prefer not to duplicate that work here.<sup>5</sup> Instead, I would like to discuss what can be learnt from an examination of the distribution of these stones and their find-spots, and how these may relate to the factors controlling their production.<sup>6</sup>

The partial evolution of carved stone monuments in post-Roman western Britain and Ireland,<sup>7</sup> and the subsequent emergence and development of sculpture in areas under Anglo-Saxon control, is primarily a phenomenon of the Christian Church and its reintroduction of Mediterranean models, whether in fashions of decoration or in the use of stone for church building.<sup>8</sup> As a result, it seems reasonable to suggest that there is a relationship between the distribution of sculpture and the structure of the Christian Church during this period when it was being integrated into secular society. Local groups of sculpture with similar stylistic elements in common provide a link between sites when other evidence is lacking, and thus seem to indicate networks of contemporary development. More speculatively, it may also therefore be possible to infer from such networks the influence, at the same date as the sculpture, of units of territorial organisation that only come on record at a later period.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to these scattered groups, concentrations of the more stylised monumental sculpture at a single site or in a limited area may be taken to indicate centres of comparative wealth, since the production of such sculpture is a matter of fashion and display as well as a skilled craft dependent on the existence of an agricultural surplus.<sup>10</sup> But the more simply carved, isolated monuments should probably be seen as unskilled domestic work.

The pre-Norman<sup>11</sup> sculpture of Galloway has been recorded piecemeal over the last hundred years,<sup>12</sup> with about 130 of the 170 pieces coming from Wigtownshire. There are about forty separate sites in that district and fifteen in the Stewartry. The greatest individual totals come from the

- single finds of sculpture
- ⊙ two finds from the same site
- ⊕ larger quantities

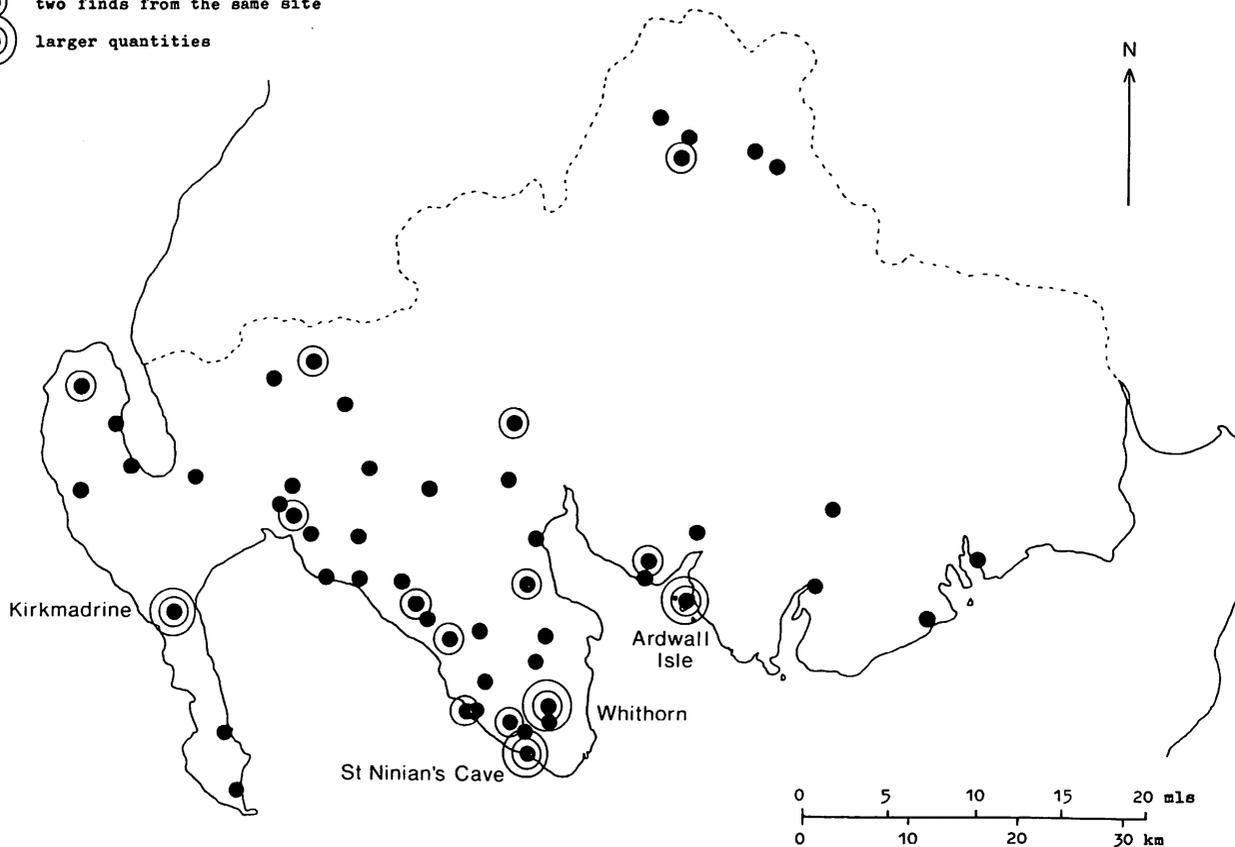


Fig.4.1 Pre-Norman sculpture in Galloway: relative totals per site.

excavated sites of Whithorn (38), St Ninian's Cave (17+7),<sup>13</sup> and Ardwall Island (25)<sup>14</sup> (Figure 4.1). Of the rest, some pieces have been dug up by chance, some have been found built into walls of comparatively recent date, and a few stand, or stood until recently, on isolated moorland sites. It might therefore be argued that the apparent distribution of these stones is largely determined by modern agricultural practice or building needs, or by their removal to modern churchyards.<sup>15</sup>

Against this assumption of chance survival is the pattern of clusters and blank areas<sup>16</sup> when the distribution of the original find-spots of these stones is plotted on a map.<sup>17</sup> For example, in the Stewartry these may be broken down into three main groups: one east of Kirkcudbright; another the coastal strip between Newton Stewart and Gatehouse of Fleet, with which Ardwall Island can be linked; and the third in the sparsely populated upland area around Carsphairn (Figure 4.2). But despite the growth of modern settlement between Dumfries, New Galloway and Castle Douglas, which might be expected to bring such material to light, this low-lying and fertile area<sup>18</sup> of the Stewartry has as yet produced no early medieval sculpture (Figure 4.2).

In addition, each of the three clusters mentioned can be defined not simply by the geographical proximity of the stones (it is also possible to

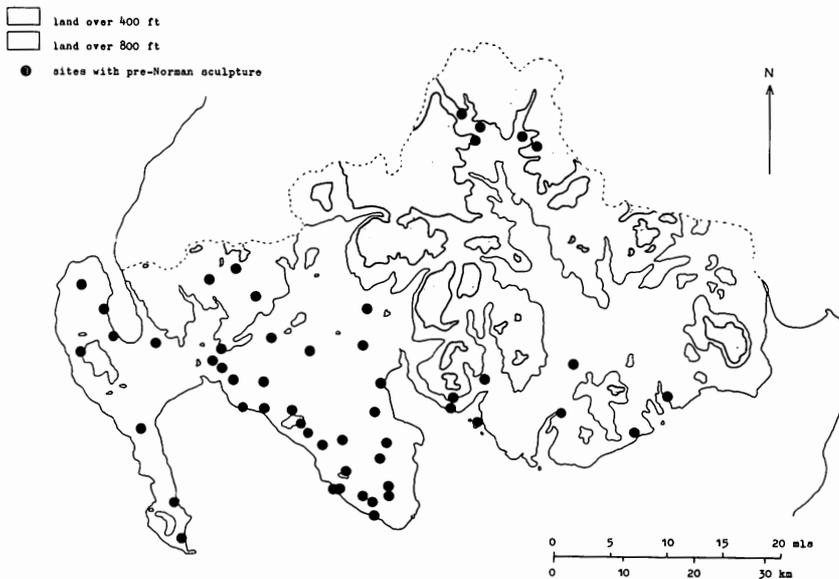


Fig.4.2 Pre-Norman sculpture in Galloway: topography.

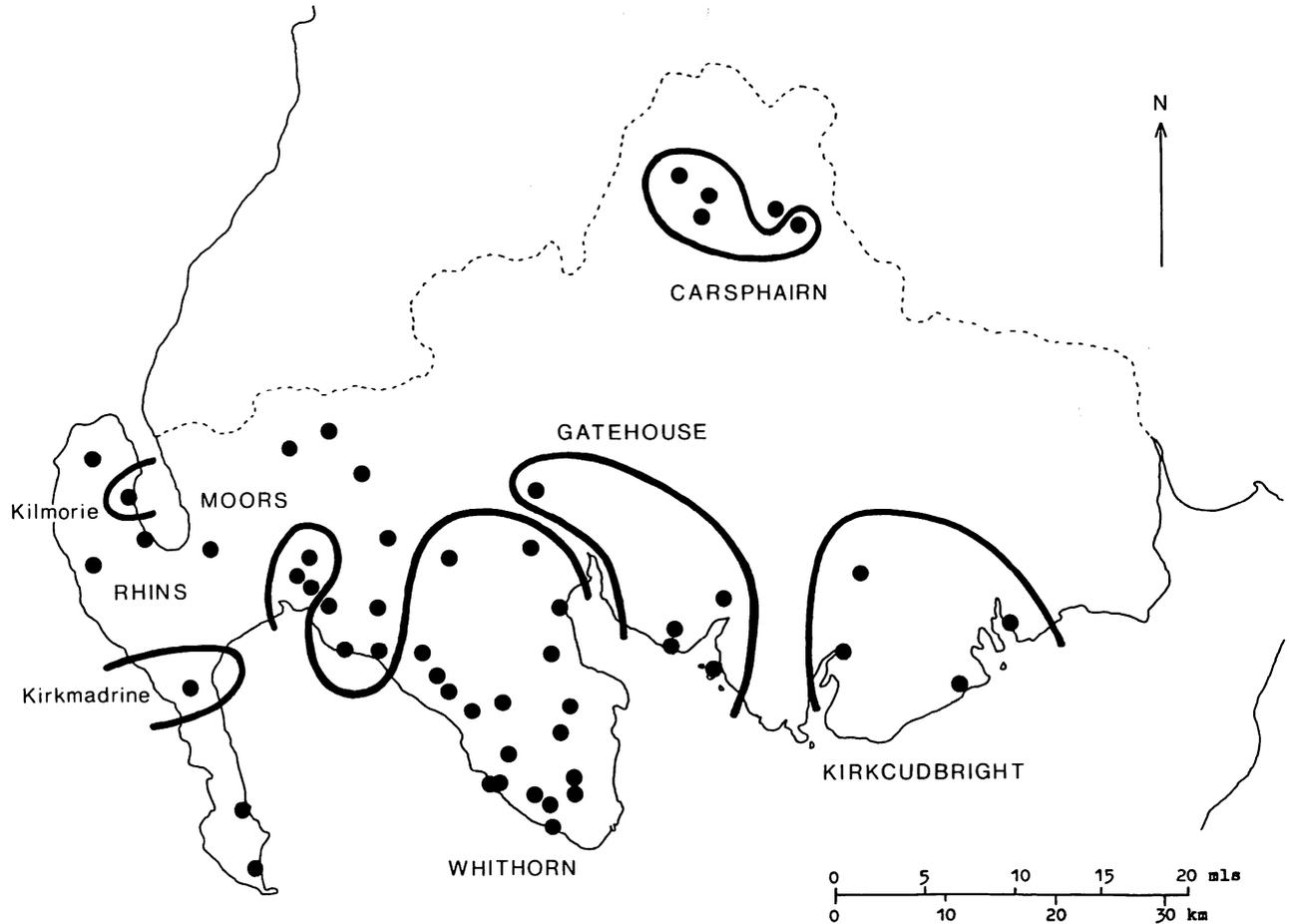


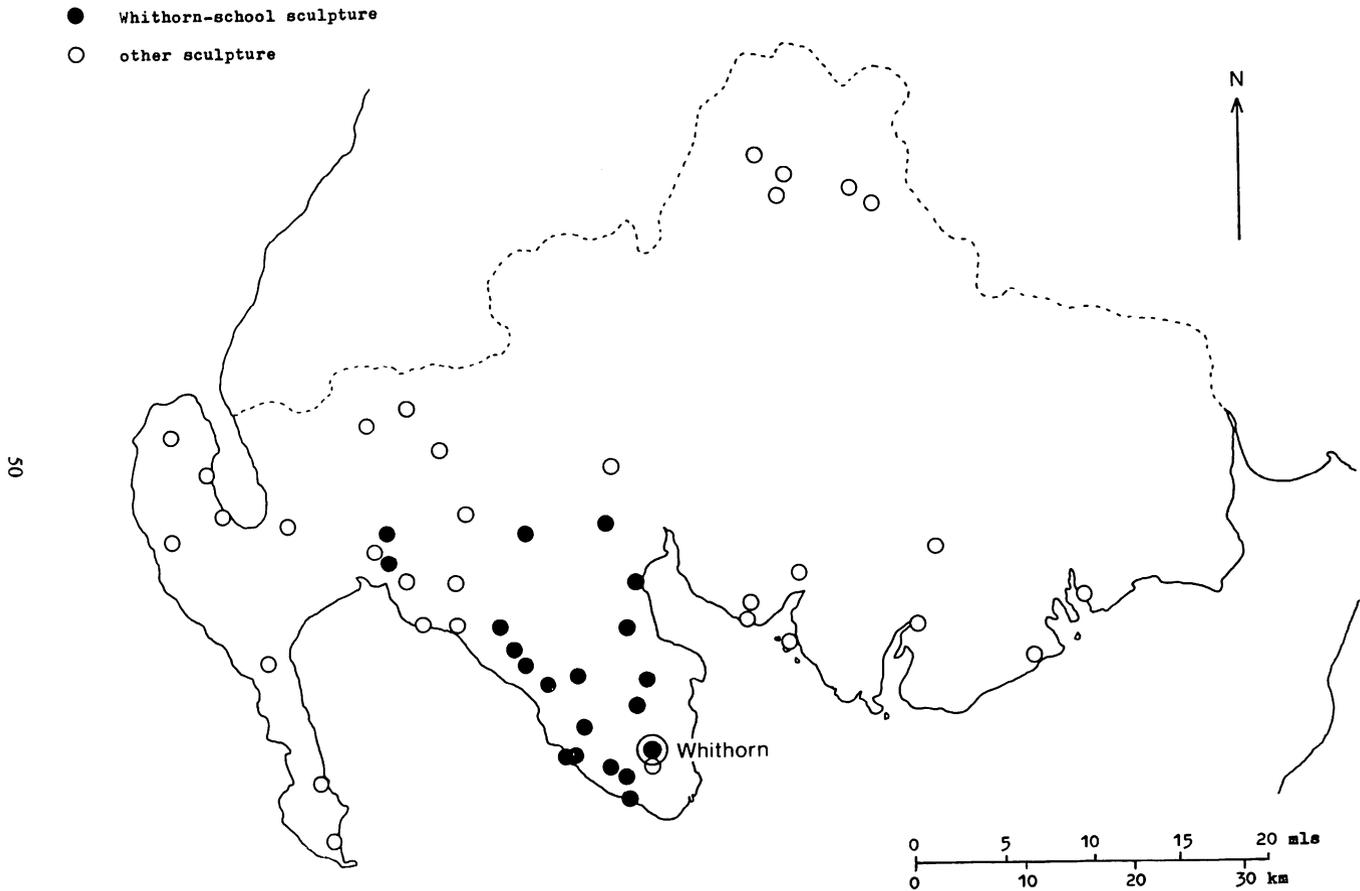
Fig.4.3 Pre-Norman sculpture in Galloway: discrete groups and clusters.

trace more wide-ranging links, i.e. between Ardwall and St Ninian's Cave), but also by broadly similar stylistic elements common to several stones in the group<sup>19</sup> (Figure 4.3). For instance in the group west of Gatehouse, Ardwall Island can be linked to Anwoth, Anwoth to Kirkclaugh, and Kirkclaugh to Minnigaff by a chain of related features.<sup>20</sup> An even more limited vocabulary can be pinpointed in the stones from Daltallochan, the Cumnock Knowes ('Dalshangan'), Braidenoch Hill and Auchenshinnoch in the area of Carsphairn,<sup>21</sup> although their distribution makes it unlikely that they all marked a route.<sup>22</sup>

Comparison of these stylistic elements with material outside the region is more difficult, as many of the stones in Galloway are either very simple, very crudely carved, or follow eccentric local styles. Only in the third small group east of Kirkcudbright which relates to styles found in Dumfriesshire and northern England,<sup>23</sup> and in the early Christian inscribed stones from Whithorn and Kirkmadrine,<sup>24</sup> and the stones of the so-called 'Whithorn School',<sup>25</sup> solely found in the south-east peninsula of Wigtownshire (Figure 4.4), can less provincial elements be recognised.<sup>26</sup>

This causes certain problems. On the basis of work done on early medieval sculpture in other areas of the country, it is possible to define a range of stylistic features we might expect to find on sculpture that could attest the presence of an alien element in the population, or an awareness of a foreign decorative tradition, as well as indicating the date.<sup>27</sup> We might therefore hope to find material evidence for historically documented, or deduced, population movements or political takeovers.

In Galloway, the establishment of an Anglian bishopric at Whithorn, subject to the see of York, and its existence throughout the eighth century, is historically attested by Bede in his Ecclesiastical History, and by subsequent entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and elsewhere up to A.D. 802.<sup>28</sup> The extent of Anglian political control over the region is less clear, as is the extent of Anglian immigration into the area.<sup>29</sup> At Whithorn, ironically, this documented period of the Anglian bishopric is hardly represented amongst the comparatively large quantity of sculpture found at various times in the area of the priory.<sup>30</sup> Most of this sculpture appears to post-date the eighth century, including the two stones with Anglian runes,<sup>31</sup> despite the absence of further documentary evidence until 1128.<sup>32</sup> There is also a notable lack of standard Northumbrian forms such as free-armed cross-heads. Except for the miniature grave-marker, Ardwall no.9/16,<sup>33</sup> in the whole of Galloway west of Kirkcudbright, this type only occurs in the form of crosses incised in outline on a slab, and at Whithorn only on stone no.6.<sup>34</sup> There is a close similarity between crosses of this type from Ardwall Island and St Ninian's Cave,<sup>35</sup> two sites which also have simple Anglian inscriptions on other stones.<sup>36</sup> But classic Northumbrian plant-scroll sculpture has been found only in the east of the region, at the two sites of Argrennan<sup>37</sup> and Rascarrel<sup>38</sup> near



*Fig.4.4 Pre-Norman sculpture in Galloway: the Whithorn School.*

Kirkcudbright.<sup>39</sup> A piece of worn plant-scroll from the recent Whithorn excavations<sup>40</sup> does not appear to date from before the twelfth century. Such a small total may have been influenced by the lack of suitable sandstone in Galloway, but contrasts markedly with the evidence to the east from Dumfriesshire.<sup>41</sup>

Conversely, sculptural evidence has been used by a number of writers<sup>42</sup> to argue for an extensive, if entirely undocumented,<sup>43</sup> Scandinavian settlement in Galloway. There is, however, no clear-cut use in this region of the decorative elements that have been convincingly linked to Scandinavian influence elsewhere in the British Isles. For instance, there are no hogbacks,<sup>44</sup> although like the Isle of Man, twenty miles to the south, this may also have to do with an unsuitable geology.<sup>45</sup> But, unlike Man or England, nor are there any Scandinavian runic inscriptions,<sup>46</sup> nor scenes related to Norse mythology<sup>47</sup> (with one possible exception — see below), nor circle-headed crosses,<sup>48</sup> nor the four Scandinavian art styles<sup>49</sup> and the form of ‘ring-chain’ ornament<sup>50</sup> found in the Isle of Man and Cumbria.<sup>51</sup>

Professor Bailey has argued for a direct link between the more obviously Scandinavian-influenced sculpture of Cumbria and certain cross-slabs in western Galloway, on the basis of a decorative treatment of carved interlace known as ‘stopped plait.’<sup>52</sup> But in Cumbria this is only found as one element of a decorative package.<sup>53</sup> The other elements, such as ‘spiral-scroll,’ do not occur on the Galloway stones with stopped plait.<sup>54</sup> In this region too it is just one ingredient in a very distinctive local style, and like the disc-heads also found on these ‘Whithorn School’ stones (see below) it seems to be a feature more indicative of the relative date of such sculpture<sup>55</sup> and the type of stone used, than of a Gaelic-Norse Solway province.

Only one stone from the region seems to show potential Scandinavian influence.<sup>56</sup> This is the remarkable slab from Kilmorie<sup>57</sup> (Figure 4.5), on the coast north of Stranraer (Figure 4.3), with snake-headed interlace and a hammer-headed cross<sup>58</sup> filled with the only example of spiral-scroll from the region.<sup>59</sup> On the other face is a cruelly-incised Crucifixion,<sup>60</sup> and below it a secondary figure flanked by birds and pincers. It is possible that this represents a scene from the Sigurd legend, and such a juxtaposition of pagan and Christian elements is found on sculpture from the Scandinavian areas of northern England.<sup>61</sup> But here this slab is unique. The linguistic evidence for a Scandinavian takeover of Galloway was questioned by some other speakers at the conference,<sup>62</sup> and I can only say that this reinforced<sup>63</sup> my own impressions derived from working on the sculpture.<sup>64</sup>

It may therefore seem that we cannot use sculpture in this region to test theories derived from the historical evidence, or to attempt to bridge the undocumented period from the ninth to the eleventh century.<sup>65</sup> But the predominant quantity of sculpture from Whithorn appears to date from

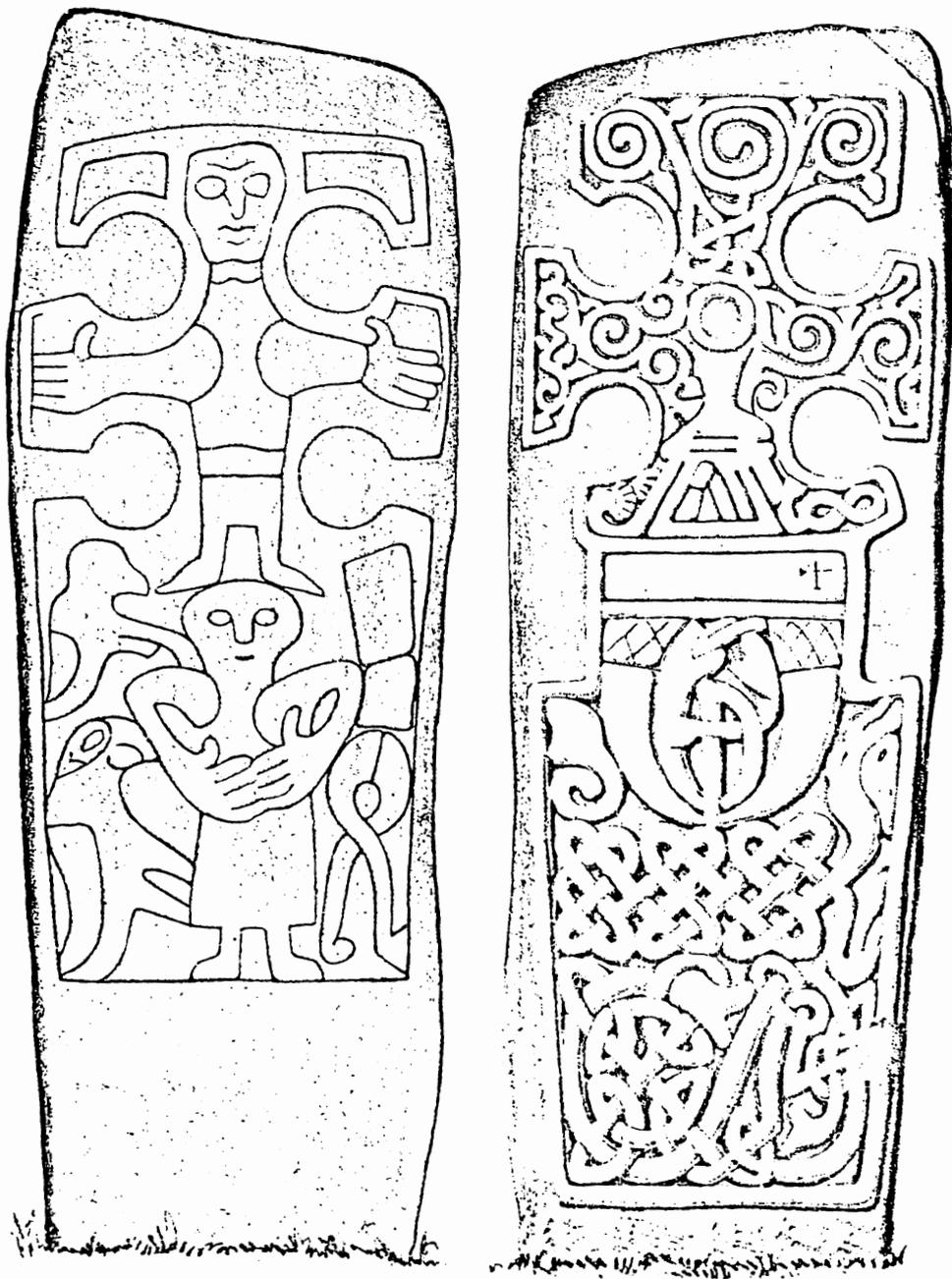


Fig.4.5 Cross-slab from Kilmorie, Wigtownshire (from Stuart, J., *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. 11 (1867), pl. LXX).

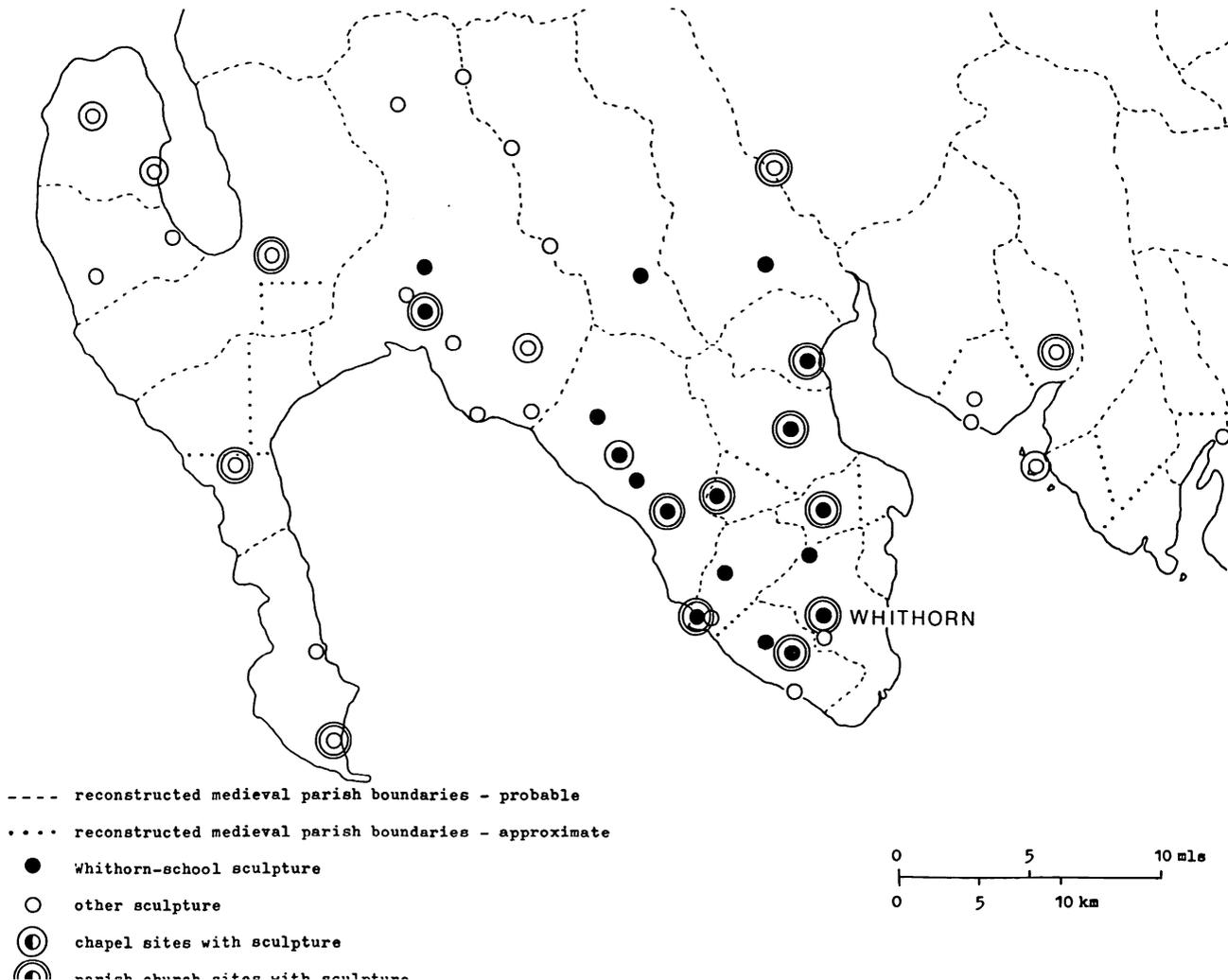
this period,<sup>66</sup> and unlike all other types of sculpture found in Galloway, these cross-slabs, whether found whole or as fragments, have so many characteristics in common as to appear mass-produced to a standard formula.<sup>67</sup> When found complete, the head is flat and circular, with a central boss and four circles near the edge, dividing the head into four segments. The shafts are very broad in proportion to their thickness,<sup>68</sup> and the two faces each contain a single panel of repetitive interlace carved in relief, somewhat different in design in each case but with broad flat bands, usually divided by a band down the middle, forming loops and circles arranged in vertical and horizontal columns.

About twenty-five carved stones of this type have been found at Whithorn itself (though not from the current excavations), and about twenty more, following the same formula, from other sites in the area.<sup>69</sup> All stones of this type, known as the Whithorn School,<sup>70</sup> are confined in their distribution to the triangular district sandwiched between the rivers Luce and Cree, known as the Machars (Figure 4.4). Most of the land here is below 300ft. (90m) and is nowadays, to the east of Port William, good farming country.<sup>71</sup> There are far more stones from this area than from any other part of Galloway. Most of these stones have been found, usually singly, on or close to known church sites. In the other cases the original position is not known, usually because the stone has been built into a post-medieval wall. But it is notable that the church sites from which stones of this tenth-century type come were the principal churches of each<sup>72</sup> of the later<sup>73</sup> medieval parishes, including such sites as Longcastle and Kirkmaiden-in-Farines where the parish was suppressed at the Reformation<sup>74</sup> (Figure 4.6). The geographical area of the Machars and the relevant parish church sites is also equivalent to the medieval deanery of Farines, an administrative area first recorded in the thirteenth century.<sup>75</sup>

Since we have a large quantity of these stones from a central place, Whithorn, recorded both earlier and later as an administrative centre,<sup>76</sup> and also from the surrounding dependent parishes, all showing a limited and standardised vocabulary, there appears to be evidence of some centralised control in approximately the tenth or eleventh centuries over the area equivalent to a later administrative unit.<sup>77</sup> This therefore suggests the continued survival of Whithorn as a regional centre in the undocumented period between 802 and 1128.

Since we have no other evidence for the development of parishes in this area before the Norman period,<sup>78</sup> it also raises the question why these particular sites with sculpture were later selected as parish churches. It should be noted that the distribution of the Whithorn School and the associated parish centres is confined to the area of the eastern half of the Machars nowadays classed as good arable land (classes 2-4).<sup>79</sup> This seems to reinforce the suggestion that the patronage of such stylised sculpture is a reflection of wealth and status,<sup>80</sup> especially as these stones are

Fig.4.6 Sculpture from church sites in the Whithorn area.



imposing monuments with a comparatively large carved area, modelled in relief and with interlace constructed to a geometric formula.<sup>81</sup> But we also appear to have evidence of an organised professional school of carving, apparently working under the auspices of a central authority in the region. It therefore seems probable that these sites were the churches of the estate centres attached to Whithorn, possibly with rights of baptism and burial, and thus richer than any neighbouring chapels.<sup>82</sup> Such a network would also imply the attachment of these estates or proto-parishes to Whithorn as components of a multiple estate or collegiate minster.<sup>83</sup>

These deductions may be sharply contrasted with the evidence of the sculpture found outside the Whithorn area. There appears to be a clear cultural divide, both east of the River Cree (the border<sup>84</sup> with the Stewartry), and west of Castle Loch and the Tarf Water, with the Glenluce region as the only outlier (Figure 4.3). Beyond these boundaries almost none of the sculpture is either carved or in relief, decorated with interlace, or has a separately modelled head. The exceptions to this in the Stewartry have already been mentioned. The rare examples of relief carving and interlace in the western area include the unique, possibly Norse, cross-slab from the chapel site at Kilmorie, and several stones from Kirkmadrine Church.<sup>85</sup> But these show no evidence of a standardised design or a local school, despite the earlier importance of the Kirkmadrine site demonstrated by the three Early Christian stones with chi-rhos and Latin inscriptions.

The other stones in the Rhinns and the moors to the north and west of Wigtownshire are mainly unshaped, the crosses simply incised in outline on the surface of the stones, usually with fan-shaped arms and occasional subordinate crosslets.<sup>86</sup> The designs are often quite abstract, in comparison with the Stewartry<sup>87</sup> and the few incised crosses from the Whithorn area, mainly from St Ninian's Cave,<sup>88</sup> which follow standard forms. The stones to the west are therefore almost impossible to date, since they are primitive enough to appear either very early or very late<sup>89</sup> and are so provincial in style as to make comparison meaningless.

These incised stones usually come from higher altitudes and poorer land<sup>90</sup> than the Whithorn School and other interlace stones, and only rarely are known from church or chapel sites (Figs. 4.3 and 4.7). It is possible that there was a difference in function to the interlace sculpture, with these simply carved stones being used as route-markers or for wayside burial,<sup>91</sup> though this cannot be proved. There does appear to be a difference in geology, with the harder greywackes being more difficult to sculpt in relief. But the principal impression is of a lower technical and economic input, and thus a difference in status to the interlace sculpture,<sup>92</sup> particularly the Whithorn School, since the incised stones are generally smaller in scale and a lesser proportion of the whole surface is carved.

The difference may be between domestic and professional workmanship, but the implications of a technical break along a geographical and later

- reconstructed medieval parish boundaries - probable
- .... reconstructed medieval parish boundaries - approximate
- relief-carved interlace sculpture
- incised sculpture
- ⊙ known church sites with relief sculpture
- ⊙ known church sites with incised sculpture

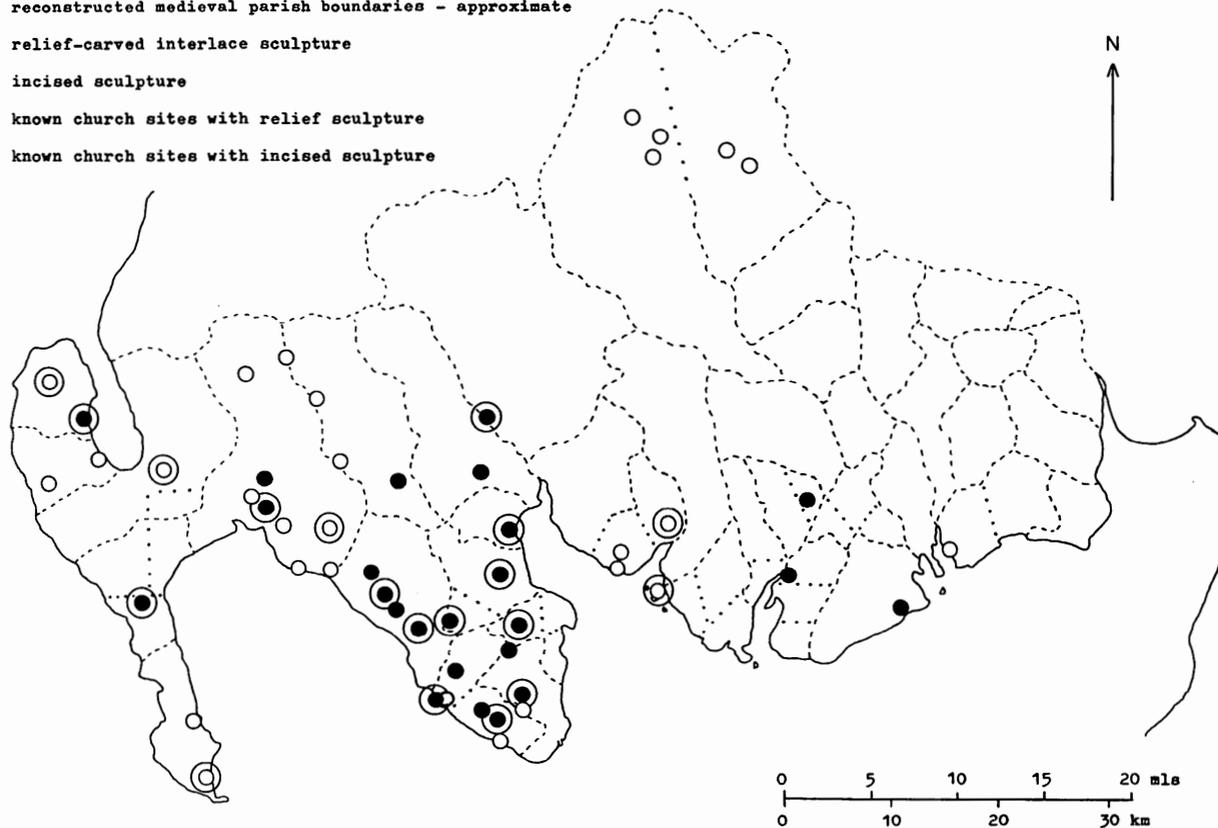


Fig.4.7 Sculpture from church sites in Galloway.

administrative boundary suggests that we are dealing with unintegrated cultural traditions rather than a difference in periods. This would imply that we can identify a separate Rhinns and moors territory to the west of the Whithorn territory of the Machars, in addition to the three regions of the Stewartry already discussed (Fig. 4.3). Two of these, the coastal area east of the River Cree between Newton Stewart and Gatehouse, and the upland area around Carsphairn, both use an incised technique and avoid the construction of interlace, but differ in their treatment of cross forms. The third group is the relief-carved, Northumbrian-influenced material near Kirkcudbright.

Quite apart from the limited quantity of sculpture compared with Wigtownshire, very few of these mainly incised stones from the Stewartry are associated with known chapel sites, apart from Ardwall,<sup>93</sup> let alone parish churches, and the link between sculpture and burials demonstrated at Ardwall Island is unique in Galloway.<sup>94</sup> In this eastern area few of the parishes have produced any sculpture at all, so that there appears to be no equation between sculpture and later parish churches (Figure 4.7). But this seems to emphasise the relationship between relief-carved interlace and churches<sup>95</sup> subsequently chosen as parish centres, despite the absence of any early architectural sculpture; it also emphasises the disproportionate quantity of the sculpture from the Whithorn area, having links with Whithorn itself and reinforces the impression that Whithorn remained a potent centre throughout the period.

## Notes

1. For an example of this attitude, see Rahtz, P., 'Monasteries as settlements,' *Scottish Archaeological Forum*, 5 (1973), 130.
2. i.e. the lack of any early material in Reid, R. C., *Wigtownshire Charters*, Scottish History Society, 3rd series, LI (1960).
3. i.e. the problem of St. Ninian, and the supposed discovery of 'Candida Casa' in Dr Radford's excavations at Whithorn: discussed in Thomas, A. C., *Christianity in Roman Britain, to AD. 500*, (1981), 279-82.
4. Collingwood, W. G., 'The early crosses of Galloway,' *TDGAS*, 10 (1922-23), 205-31.
5. The pre-Norman sculpture of Galloway and Dumfriesshire is catalogued and discussed in detail in my thesis for Durham University, which also includes the detailed evidence for the conclusions reached in this paper.
6. The major proportion of the sculpture from this region appears to be tenth or eleventh century. Only certain of the stones from Whithorn, Kirkmadrine, St Ninian's Cave, Ardwall Island, the Mote of Mark, and the two plant-scroll fragments near Kirkcudbright (as well as the symbols carved on the rock at Trusty's Hill) appear to be definitely earlier than this. A few other pieces may date to the period of Norman infiltration into the region, c.1160-1286 (see n.11).
7. Thomas, A. C., *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (1971), chapter 4.
8. Cramp, R. J., *Early Northumbrian Sculpture* (Jarrow Lecture 1965).

9. See O'Sullivan, D., 'Cumbria before the Vikings: a review of some 'Dark-Age' problems in North-West England,' in Baldwin and Whyte (edd.), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, (1985), 31.
10. See Higham, N. J., 'The Scandinavians in North Cumbria: raids and settlement in the later ninth to mid tenth centuries,' in Baldwin and Whyte, *Scandinavians in Cumbria*, 38-39.
11. i.e. predating c.1160 AD. in this region. See Barrow, G. W. S., *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (1980), 30.
12. The early finds were catalogued by Allen, J. R., in *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (1903), 476-504, and by RCAHMS *Inventories of Wigtownshire* (1912), and the *Stewartry of Kirkcudbright* (1914). Most of the known stones were illustrated and discussed in Collingwood, 'Early Crosses.' Subsequent finds have been reported mainly in *PSAS* and *TDGAS*. The sculpture from Whithorn and its neighbourhood is listed and discussed in the HMSO Official Guide by Radford, C. A. R., and Donaldson, G., *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine*, (1953). The individual references will be detailed in my thesis. I have inspected and photographed all the known stones.
13. See Radford and Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine*. Other stones are in the Royal Museum of Scotland at Edinburgh.
14. See Thomas, A. C., 'An Early Christian cemetery and chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright,' *Medieval Archaeology*, 11 (1967), 127-88.
15. e.g., see Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (1982), 19.
16. See Cambridge, E., 'The Early Church in County Durham,' in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 131 (1984), 71.
17. The earliest known position of each of the stones is analysed and discussed in the catalogue of my thesis, and forms the basis for my maps here. (N.B. It is not possible to distinguish between closely adjacent sites on maps of this scale. Nor is it feasible here to try to distinguish between the quality of the evidence in each case, for instance, between the stones built into modern walls and thus clearly no longer *in situ*, and stones dug up or still standing. Nor when the evidence for the original discovery is imprecise. But at this stage such factors are relatively insignificant).
18. Hare, F. K., Part 7, 'Kirkcudbrightshire', in Stamp, L. D., (ed.), *The Land of Britain — The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain* (1942), 355-406.
19. The maps are inevitably an oversimplification, as it is difficult in this brief paper to distinguish cartographically between different types of sculpture from the same site. And despite the work of Collingwood and others, there is insufficient evidence to say which of the unrelated groups of sculpture were contemporary. Because of this, I have not attempted here to subdivide any of the distribution maps into different periods. (But see n 6 above *re* dating).
20. See Collingwood, 'Early crosses,' 228-9, and also Collingwood, W. G., and Reid, R. C., 'Ardwall Island and its ancient cross', in *TDGAS*, 13 (1925-6), 129.
21. For the first three sites, see RCAHMS *Inventory of Kirkcudbright*, Nos. 99, 100, and 101, and for the fourth (and the quite different stone from Stroanfregan), see Corrie, J., 'Notice of two Early Christian monuments from the parish of Dalry, Kirkcudbrightshire,' *PSAS*, 44 (1911-12).
22. As suggested by Dr Radford, See n.91.
23. See below (n.37-9 and 41).

24. Radford and Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine*, Whithorn 1 and 2, Kirkmadrine K. 1-3.
25. Collingwood, 'Early crosses', 218; and see below.
26. The evidence of Mediterranean influence on the stones with the chi-rho symbol at Whithorn and Kirkmadrine may be compared with the recent evidence of contemporary imported B and E ware from the Whithorn excavations. See Hill, P. H., *Excavations at Bruce Street, Whithorn 1984, Interim Report*, 40.
27. An excellent recent example is Bailey, R. N., *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, (1980).
28. See Colgrave, B., and Mynors, R. A. B., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, (1969), 222-3, 558-61; Whitelock, D., *English Historical Documents I c500-1042*, (2nd ed. 1979), 178-82, 267-74.
29. Laing, L., 'The Angles in Scotland and the Mote of Mark', *TDGAS*, 50 (1973), 37-52.
30. *Contra* Collingwood, 'Early crosses', 215-16; but see Radford, C. A. R., 'Excavations at Whithorn, First Season, 1949', *TDGAS*, 27 (1948-9), 96. There is, however, the eighth- and ninth-century coinage from the recent excavations: see Hill, *Bruce Street, Interim Report*, 42.
31. Whithorn nos. 10 and 36: see Radford and Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine* (revised edition 1984), 28 and 29-30.
32. Radford, 'Excavations at Whithorn', 102; Haddan, A. W., and Stubbs, W., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. II, Part I (1873), 24-5. Although there is a tantalising reference to Whithorn c.882 in the description of the wanderings of the Cuthbert community after the sack of Lindisfarne, in Symeon's *Historia Ecclesia Dunelmensis*, Book II, Chapter XII, in Arnold, T. (ed.), *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, Rolls Series no. LXXV, Part I (1882), 67.
33. Thomas, 'Ardwall Isle', 155-7, fig. 31; Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*, 121-2, fig. 59.
34. Radford and Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine*. See Collingwood, 'Early crosses', fig. 10.
35. Compare the Ardwall No. 13: Thomas, 'Ardwall Isle', 152, pl. XIXa, and the rock-cut crosses from St. Ninian's Cave, e.g. Royal Commission Inventory — *Wigtown* (1912), 4, no. 3, fig. 5.
36. Thomas, 'Ardwall Isle', 153-5, no. 6; Radford and Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine*, no. C.4.
37. Williams, J. in *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland 1967*, 31.
38. See Macleod, I. F., in *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland 1970*, 29. But this piece was first recognised as plant-scroll by C. Crowe in 1985.
39. But this cluster also includes a free-armed cross-head from Kirkcudbright itself: Truckell, A. E., 'Dumfries and Galloway in the Dark Ages: Some Problems', in *TDGAS*, 40 (1961-2), 89; and the two Anglian runic inscriptions (and interlace metal-work moulds) from the Mote of Mark excavations: Laing, 'Angles in Scotland', 40.
40. I am grateful to P. Hill for showing me a photograph of this fragment.
41. cf. the material in Allen, *Early Christian Monuments*, 436-51, figs 458-470.
42. The primary paper is Collingwood, W. G., 'Norse influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', in *TDGAS*, 7 (1919-20), 97-118; followed by Radford, 'Excavations

- at Whithorn,' 97-101. It should be noted that Collingwood's argument depends initially upon the idea of the Picts in Galloway (pp. 98-9).
43. I am deliberately ignoring the evidence of the place-names here, as it is dealt with independently by other contributors to this volume. (see also n.62).
  44. See Lang, J. T., 'Hogback monuments in Scotland,' in *PSAS*, 105 (1972-4), 207-9, figs. 1 and 2.
  45. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, 96.
  46. *Ibid.*, 51-3.
  47. *Ibid.*, chapter 6.
  48. *Ibid.*, 70, 177-82.
  49. *Ibid.*, 53-8.
  50. *Ibid.*, 54-5.
  51. *Ibid.*, 217. And see Bailey, R. N., 'Irish Sea contacts in the Viking Period — the Sculptural Evidence,' in Fellows-Jensen, G. and Lund, N., (edd.), *Tredie Tvaerfaglige Vikingsesymposium* (1980), 21.
  52. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, 223-9. (But see also Bailey, 'Irish Sea Contacts,' 18-20).
  53. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, 196-206.
  54. The border of Whithorn no. 10 is quite different, *contra* Bailey, 'Irish Sea Contacts,' 19. See Collingwood, 'Early crosses,' fig. 14a.
  55. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, 205.
  56. There is not space here to argue against the Scandinavian interpretation of the swastika-bearing slab from Craignarget (Collingwood, 'Early crosses,' 229-30. It shows evidence of secondary re-cutting).
  57. But for a different view, see Collingwood, 'Early crosses,' 216. Because of its present position the stone is illustrated here from Stuart, J., *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Vol. II (1867), plate LXX. It is 1.70 m. high.
  58. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, 182-3.
  59. This motif is derived from symmetrical Anglian plant-scroll, but the knotted forking of the strands at the centre of the head is a style developed in Scandinavia, not Britain. See Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, 72, 206.
  60. There are no other Crucifixion scenes on stones from Galloway. It is of a type relating to examples found in Yorkshire. See Coatsworth, E., *The Iconography of the Crucifixion in Pre-Conquest Sculpture in England*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durham, 1979), 133 ff.
  61. See examples in Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, 116-25. But Collingwood was cautious on the matter: Collingwood, W. G., *Northumbrian crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, (1927), 92.
  62. And see also Brooke, D., 'Kirk-compound place-names in Galloway and Carrick,' in *TDGAS*, 58 (1983), 56-71.
  63. The presence of the refugee Cuthbert community near Whithorn c.882 also suggests the lack of Scandinavian settlement in the area at that date. *Symeon of Durham*, 67.
  64. I suspect that most of the sculpture taken as evidence for the domination of Galloway by the *Gall-Gaidhil* should be seen as part of a Western British tradition, as it bears a general resemblance to material from Cumbria, the Isle of Man, Wales, and Cornwall, rather than Ireland or the Western Isles of Scotland.

65. Radford, 'Excavations at Whithorn,' 96-102.
66. Collingwood, 'Early crosses,' 217-27.
67. *Ibid.*, figs. 14-37.
68. This is partly predetermined by the use of green slate in many of these carvings.
69. Most of these stones are now in the Whithorn Museum (Radford and Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine*), or in Edinburgh. It is impossible to list all the examples here. They will be catalogued and discussed in my thesis.
70. Collingwood, 'Early crosses,' 218.
71. Hare, F. K., Part 8, 'Wigtownshire,' in Stamp, L. D., (ed.), *The Land of Britain — The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain*, (1942), 407-22.
72. The scale of the map and the scope of this paper makes it impossible to show these relationships and to draw conclusions here without the dangers of oversimplification. The following qualifications should be noted. There are no stones from the former parishes of Eggerness or Cruggleton. A fragment has come from the recently discovered church site at Barhobble in Mochrum parish. The stones from Craiglemine and Brighthouse appear to have come from lost burial-grounds in Glasserton and Whithorn parishes. The stone from Mains of Penninghame farm was found in use as a step 0.74km from the church. The stone from West Crosherie was built into a cottage 1km. from Kirkcowan Church. These are the single stones in the two northern parishes on the map.
73. Cowan, I. B., 'The development of the parochial system in medieval Scotland,' in *Scottish Historical Review*, 40 (1961), 43-55, suggests that the development of the parish system in Scotland can be dated to the twelfth century and the reign of David I. Galloway did not fall under the control of the Scottish Crown until after c.1160.
74. Maps no. 5 and 6 have been prepared by collating the information on the medieval parishes in Cowan, I. B., *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society, vol. 93 (1967), with the changes recorded in Sinclair, J. (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-9)*, and in Symson, A., 'A Large Description of Galloway by the Parishes in it', in *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections II*, Scottish History Society, vol LII (1907), 51-132. Boundaries between amalgamated parishes are drawn as straight dotted lines (but see n. 78).
75. See Dunlop, A. I. (ed.), 'Bagimond's Roll: Statement of the Tenths of the Kingdom of Scotland,' in *Miscellany VI*, Scottish History Society, 3rd series vol. 33 (1939), 3-77. This appears to omit parishes whose revenues were appropriated to the priory at Whithorn by c. 1274. I have therefore followed Cowan, *Parishes*, in deciding which parishes lay within the deanery.
76. Radford and Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine*
77. Barrow, G. W. S., 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria,' in *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), 126-7, figs. 4 and 5.
78. Without charter or other evidence, the boundaries themselves cannot be linked to the pre-Norman period. See also O'Sullivan, 'Cumbria Before the Vikings,' 31.
79. Brown, C. J., and Heslop, R. E. F., *The Soils of the Country Round Stranraer and Wigtown*, (1979), 287-305.
80. Higham, 'Scandinavians in North Cumbria,' 39.
81. Adcock, G., *A Study of the Types of Interlace on Northumbrian Sculpture*, (Unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Durham, 1974), 204-6.
82. Collingwood, 'Early crosses,' 226-7.

83. See Jones, G. R. J., 'The multiple estate as a model framework for tracing the early stages in the evolution of rural settlement,' in *L'Habitat et les Paysages d'Europe*, (1971), 262, 266; and Cowan, 'Development of the parochial system.'
84. Until May 16th 1975.
85. Radford and Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkcudrine*, Nos. K.5, K.6, K.8; RCAHMS *Inventory of Wigtown*, 156-7, Nos. 443, 445, 446, 447.
86. See, for example, Drummore, in RCAHMS *Inventory of Kirkcudbright*, 23-4, No. 26, fig. 22.
87. Although see the two pillar-stones from High Auchenlarie, west of Gatehouse: in RCAHMS *Inventory of Kirkcudbright*, 23-4, No. 26, fig. 22.
88. RCAHMS *Inventory of Wigtown*, 3-9, No. 3.
89. Opposed positions are taken by Stevenson, R. B. K., 'The Inchyra Stone and some other unpublished Early Christian monuments,' in *PSAS*, 92 (1958-9), 50, and Curle, C., 'The chronology of the Early Christian monuments of Scotland,' in *PSAS*, 74 (1939-40), 72.
90. Brown and Heslop, *Soils Round Stranraer and Wigtown*.
91. Radford, C. A. R., 'Two unrecorded crosses found near Stranraer,' in *TDGAS*, (1948-9), 193-6.
92. In contrast to n. 80, Higham, 'Scandinavians in North Cumbria.'
93. Thomas, 'Ardwall Isle.'
94. Slabs from the excavations at Whithorn and Barhobble have been found reused in paving or walls (Hill, *Bruce Street, Interim Report*, 22; Cormack, W. F., *Barhobble Interim Report 1986*, 3-5).
95. The two interlace stones east of Kirkcudbright had been reused in modern walls.