THE VIKINGS IN GALLOWAY: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

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Charles Hill Dick introduced his *Highways and Byways of Galloway and Carrick* by stating of the district which was the subject of his book that 'it has remained unknown to the world longer than any other part of Scotland with the possible exception of the Island of Rockall'.[1] The same could still be said of the area's history. Galloway, for reasons which are not altogether clear,[2] is comparatively poorly documented. The so-called Viking Age is virtually a blank. Indeed the period is more or less enveloped in darkness from the time of the early saints through to the emergence of the Lords of Galloway in the twelfth century.[3] The *Life of Adomnan* testifies that the traveller of 686 was as impressed as is the visitor exactly thirteen hundred years later in 1986 by the treacherous tides of the Solway.

> . . . the flood is so rapid that if the best steed in Saxonland, ridden by the best horseman, were to start from the edge of the tide when the tide begins to flow, he could only bring his rider ashore by swimming, so extensive is the strand and so impetuous the tide.[4]

The Galloway Tourist Board may have missed a bet by failing to organise annual Tide Races! This paper will argue that, despite many statements to the contrary, the Vikings would probably not have been greatly interested in competing. The inimitable Bruce Trotter wrote in his *Galloway Gossip:*

> A great Gallawa author yince remarkit, yt the authenetic traditions o' the country wus ey reliable — whun true. Deed! tae my wey o' thinking, they'r joost havers; some bigger leer nor or'nar joost maks them up an tells them, an some fules believes them an tells them again, an maybe improves them a wee, an than they get inta books.[5]

His observations could not be more accurate so far as the historical literature on Viking Galloway is concerned.

Much has been made of the supposed archaeological evidence. There are suspected boat graves at both extremes of the Galloway littoral. In 1684 Andrew Symson reported the discovery at Stranraer of a ship burial. His informants told him that the vessel was 'pretty large' and they noted that 'the boards were not joyn'd together after the usual fashion of our present ships or barks, as also that it had nails of copper',[6] a detail which suggests that the ship was certainly not Viking but may have been Roman. Daniel Wilson reported a possible boat grave at the farm of Graitney Mains at the head of the Solway.[7] Some Viking artefacts have been recovered from Kirkcudbright,[8] while Peter Hill has made some very exciting discoveries at Whithorn. To archaeology this paper will return because, Hill apart, the confident claims for a Viking administration in Galloway, based upon the slimmest of yields from the earth, seem quite untenable. Archaeologists often presume historical knowledge which quite simply does

not exist. Prehistoric archaeology is undergoing some stunning revisionism, but the limitations of the hypothetical school are thrown into sharper highlights the closer one comes to the historical period. History limits archaeology, although historical sources themselves are often manipulated or ignored to suit the requirements of some archaeologists. Viking studies in Scotland have been largely taken over by archaeologists because dithering historians take longer, it seems, to analyse such slim documentation as does exist, than do their colleagues to dig up a site, report the excavation, and arrange for generalisations based upon the most restricted samples to appear in the latest archaeological synthesis.

Place-name studies are also in a state of flux, although much has been done to illuminate the value of this evidence by scholars such as Jack MacQueen, Bill Nicolaisen and, more recently, Daphne Brooke and Gillian Fellows-Jensen. Older studies by W. G. Collingwood and Herbert Maxwell are not without value. Yet the very richness of ethnic exchange and inter-relationship which the place-names of Galloway demonstrate is a problem, so far as understanding is concerned. The familiar hatching of Galloway on maps of Scandinavian place-names does not convince. Many of the preserved forms are late. With reference to onomastics George Neilson observed that 'close history is necessary of true etymology, a caveat of less forceful application, the later a name is recorded'.[9] However, answers are perhaps beginning to be found to a most sensitive and sensible question posed by the redoubtable Alfred Truckell in 1962 — 'Is there a gap in time between our two clearly separated place-name groups — the western coastal one — Southwick, Satterness, Eggerness and so on and the eastern inland group — Tinwald, Torthorwald, Tundergarth, Applegarth, etc. . . .'. Should we see the coastal group 'as early and seaborne while the other was later and penetrated overland from the Danelaw?'.[10] We may eventually have to accept that some of the coastal names are also a product of secondary penetration.

Lest archaeologists and onomasticians sensibly retort that the historian is in no position to criticise, let us now turn to a review of the historical evidence, which it must be admitted, allows no opportunity for self-righteous complacency. The sources notice not one single documented Viking attack on any part of the Galloway coast. This is not, in itself, a problem. Neither are there references in British sources to attacks on such familiar Viking areas as Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, the Dornoch Firth or Islay. Raids on Iona and Skye are well attested; in the ninth century the *Scottish Chronicle*[11] provides good evidence for attacks on east central Scotland. What is clear in the Irish Annals is that monasteries were the favoured targets. In the Celtic world the monasteries were regarded as sanctuaries where the locals deposited their valuables for protection.[12] Monastic buildings were often conveniently, and expediently, situated on the coast or on the banks of navigable rivers. Water was as important to

Celtic communications as it was to those of the Norsemen. The problem was that, so far as the speed and efficiency of sea-going vessels were concerned, the Celts (and for that matter the Saxons also) were driving Model-Ts when the Vikings arrived in their Porsches. The Nordic pilots of those sleek machines must have been barely able to credit their luck. Not only did the maritime highways of Celtic Britain provide excellent means of communication, but the natives provided the equivalent of drive-in banks conveniently sited for any marauding longships.

It would therefore be likely that Whithorn and possibly Kirkmadrine were early victims of Viking attack. Badulf, fourth and last Anglian bishop of Whithorn, was consecrated in 791 and he disappears from the record in 803, a date which might be expected to have coincided with some of the more ferocious Viking assaults.[13] Historians of Galloway in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have tended to make much of the assertion that when the Danes attacked the north of England in 875 the relics of St Cuthbert were taken for a short time to the protection of Whithorn. Whithorn, they reason, could not have been subject to the Vikings, otherwise it would have been destroyed.[14]

Such views are based on the mistaken premisses that the Vikings were always intent upon monastic destruction, while clearly they were not. A possible explanation as to how the Irish and Scottish monasteries survived repeated attack appears in the *Life of Blathmac.* The saint achieved his desire for martyrdom in Iona in 825 only because he refused to reveal the hiding-place of the sacred reliquary holding the relics of St Columba. His *Vita* makes it pretty clear that if he had parted with the treasure, his life and his monastery would have been spared.[15] Whithorn too may have paid an early form of blackmail or Danegeld.

The only documented evidence for the Viking presence in Galloway derives from a couple of entries in the *Chronicle of Man* which have been interpreted as showing that Galloway was subject to King Magnus Barelegs of Norway (1093-1103).

In addition there are two saga references. *Orkneyinga Saga* states that Earl Thorfinn the Mighty stayed briefly in Galloway *Gaddgedlar* 'where Scotland and England meet'.[16] *Njal's Saga* relates how, after the battle of Clontari, Kari Solmundarsson visited Beruvik and Hvitsborg. The latter has often been identified with Whithorn. There Kari and his men stayed with Earl Malcolm (Melkolfr).[17] Before subjecting these entries to greater scrutiny it is instructive to examine the accounts of various local historians to ascertain how the 'havers' described by Trotter eventually 'get into books'. Most historians of Galloway are informed with a strong sense of chauvinsim and almost all are concerned to exaggerate the impact and extent of Viking influence.

The survey may usefully begin with P. H. M'Kerlie's *Galloway in Ancient and Modern Times*[18] which summarised views already published in his

five-volume *Lands and their Owners in Galloway.*[19] M'Kerlie found it strange that 'occupation by the Norsemen has escaped the notice of those who have entered in Galloway history. The desire to make the Fergus line of the Lords of Galloway the ancient inheritors has blinded research'. If only the character of the people had been considered, such an omission would never have occurred.[20] It must be admitted that some avenues of research are more blind than others, not least that leading, in M'Kerlie's view, to Viking Galloway. According to him, Earl Thorfinn ruled over Galloway, administration being entrusted to Earl Malcolm who lived at Cruggleton Castle, one of several fortresses on the coast erected by Viking builders.[21] He quotes with relish the *Chronicle of Man* text which states that Godfrey Crovan, king of Man, 'brought the Scots to such subjection that if any one of them built a ship or boat, they durst not drive above three nails in it'.[22] Since the Scots who were geographically closest to the Isle of Man have been supposed to be those in Galloway, *Scoti* in this passage has been assumed to refer to the Galwegians. But the term could equally describe any of the *Scoti* in the Hebrides or the western seaboard since Godfrey not only styled himself king of the Isles, but he actually enforced his claims to distant Lewis.[23]

M'Kerlie was also impressed by the entry in the Manx chronicle stating that when Magnus Barelegs took Man in 1098 'he subdued the people of Galloway to such an extent that he compelled them to cut timber and take it to the shore for the construction of his defensive positions'.[24] This entry must imply, says M'Kerlie, that Galloway had been earlier conquered and occupied by the Vikings. However, as the previous entry indicates, the text clearly implies that the Galwegians were to transport timber to the shores of Man, not Galloway. It is a moot point whether Magnus had time for all the actions with which he is attributed. He enjoyed a crowded career, no year of which was busier than 1098 when he conquered Orkney, the Hebrides and Man, as well as attacking Wales and agreeing a treaty with the king of Scots, ceding to Norwegian rule all the islands on the west coast between which and the mainland Magnus could sail in a ship with the rudder set. As is well known, he had his galley dragged across Kintyre 'the best island in the Hebrides'.[25] Magnus, bare-legged and busy as he was, can hardly have had the time to coerce the Galwegians into cutting down trees. The chronicle entry might best be interpreted as a hollow gesture of Manx imperialism.

The Viking legend was much enbroidered by Wentworth Huyshe's *Grey Galloway.*[26] The author rejoiced that the invaders did not touch a single shrine in Galloway. 'Wigton became their chief naval arsenal. It was as protectors and allies of the Galwegians that the Norsemen occupied for centuries the Galloway coast'. To such breathtaking fiction Huyshe added the assertion that Thorfinn resided long at Gaddgedlar, a total distortion of the statement in *Orkneyinga Saga,* while his unbounded inventiveness

led him to the completely untenable conclusion that Galloway constituted 'the real headquarters for practical offensive purposes of the Norse power'.[27]

W. G. Collingwood, in what remains the best account of Viking Galloway, argued that when Olaf of Dublin triumphed at the siege of Dumbarton (870-1) he set up his son Eystein as ruler of Galloway. Olaf took back to Ireland 'Angles, Britons and Picts' to peddle in the slave markets.[28] Collingwood follows Skene, who remarked that Olaf must have attacked Galloway, since only there would all three peoples have been found.[29] Both learned commentators obviously overlooked the fact that the Clyde capitals have always been emphatically cosmopolitan in character. Collingwood also suggests that Halfdan the Black may have had some impact upon Galloway after he split from the great Danish Army around 875 when he and his men put part of Northumberland under the plough.[30] Restless as ever, the ploughmen were soon intent upon further plunder. Halfdan's expeditions into Scotland are historically attested, and it is likely that he did indeed attack the south-west. The assertion that he killed Eystein Olafsson is based upon a highly dubious reading. Collingwood's other contribution was to suggest that when Harald Finehair of Norway attacked Man and the Isles in the late ninth century, Vikings already settled in those areas fled up the Solway to Dumfriesshire.[31] It is now known that Harald's expedition never took place.[32]

It remained for John F. Robertson to tie up the loose ends in what is probably the most influential book on Galloway of the last generation. According to him, Irish chronicles of the time (unspecified by him, and so far unknown to anyone else) suggest that 'the Galwegians made their peace with the Norsemen by renouncing Christianity and accepting pagan worship of the gods, Odin and Thor and the goddess Freya', thus presumably implying that Whithorn became a Viking temple at this period. In Robertson's account, Olaf of Dublin becomes a 'Norse-Galloway chieftain'. The Danes defeated a native army at the battle fought somewhere between Castle Douglas and Crossmichael. When the Danes suffered a setback in Northumbria in 944 their leader, Ronald, fled to Galloway where he established his headquarters at Craig Ronald on the shores of Loch Grannoch, this otherwise unrecorded historical episode being suggested by the place-name. During three hundred years of Norse rule the governor, or his deputy, made annual trips to collect tax, receiving board and lodgings at all the farms in the district named Bordland or Bowland, such farms being exempt from tax because of their annual hospitality to the earls. 'On the whole the Norsemen exercised a benevolent control over Galloway, permitted the local chiefs to rule over their own people and to administer their traditional laws'.[33] Needless to say, not a shred of evidence is offered in support of these statements for the very good reason that absolutely none exists. Robertson's final assertion, equally unwarranted, was to assert

that Ingibjorg, widow of Earl Thorfinn the Mighty and later the wife of Malcolm Canmore, was a native of Galloway. Perhaps they had their honeymoon in Kirkcudbright!

In turning to the testimony of the spade, it is truly alarming to note the extent to which archaeologists are imprisoned in historical structures totally fabricated by local historians. Mr J. G. Scott has expertly described certain objects recovered in Kirkcudbright. These are a glass linen smoother, which he suggests comes from a settlement site, and the contents of a grave from the churchyard. The grave group consists of a sword, a ring-headed bronze pin and a blue glass bead. Nothing seems to be known about the grave itself, but it is sensibly suggested that these objects represent a pagan burial in a Christian churchyard, a phenomenon associated in particular with the Isle of Man in graves dated to the second half of the ninth century, but not without parallel in England and Scotland. So far so good. However, the social reconstructionalist in Mr Scott takes over, since most archaeologists seem to be affected by this particular virus. If the artefacts derive from the grave of a Viking warrior then burial in the churchyard implies the consent of the local population.[34] It is further suggested that 'it would be an obvious but too simplistic, an explanation to regard such burial as the imposition of pagan Viking control over a native Christian population, in an almost brutal demonstration of power', a statement which in turn seems to suggest that he favours the obvious over the simplistic, and which overlooks the pragmatic approach to burial adopted by the Norsemen. A pagan would have no qualms about being buried in consecrated ground; a convinced Christian would, on the other hand, be worried about reposing in unconsecrated soil. It has been sensibly pointed out that mobile Scandinavian raiding parties would inter their dead in Christian cemeteries for reason of security (since isolated graves would be subject to looting by a hostile population) and that such burials therefore need to have nothing to do with settlement.[35]

Mr Scott, however, wishes to go beyond 'pagan Viking control' to develop the ideas first advanced by Huyshe and Robertson. The Vikings first arrived in Galloway by agreement, 'perhaps even by invitation to act as mercenaries to protect the community against other marauding Vikings', and soon they dominated the local population. What is offered is a version of the Anglo-Saxon thesis first expounded by Gildas. The invaders are welcomed with open arms by the natives who then happily co-exist alongside them. Scott also believes that Whithorn could not have been under Viking control when St Cuthbert's relics arrived there in 875, and on this basis postulates a Viking acquisition of Wigtownshire later than that of Kirkcudbright.[36] We are even reminded that a Viking came ashore at Whithorn to spend a penny, or at least to lose one, since an Hiberno-Norse coin of that value was discovered there, to be listed along with the not very impressive finds at Talnotrie and Glenluce Sands.[37] But coins and graves do not a Viking

colony make. In a valiant attempt to make sense of this evidence Mr Scott has been misled by the historians.[38]

At present the archaeological evidence, such as it is, does prove that the Vikings had some acquaintance, however fleeting, with the area under discussion. Additional evidence for a Viking presence in the ninth century does not convince. There is a late record that Alpin, father of Kenneth MacAlpin, was killed fighting in Galloway *c.*841 at what is now the Taxing Stone on the east side of Loch Ryan but which was known in the thirteenth century as Laight Alpin, more recently at Laight.[39] The greatest authority on the regnal lists, which contain this entry, is extremely cautious about the reliability of the statement.[40] Alpin's assailants are not mentioned but it is tempting to believe that if they were thought to be Vikings they would have been so designated. The king lists are not in agreement about Alpin's fate. Version K, for example, states that 'he was killed in Galloway, after he had destroyed it, by a single man who watched for him in a thick wood above the entrance to a ford of a river while Alpin rode with his men'.[41] In the midst of so much circumstantial detail one might have expected to find mention of Vikings if there was the remotest suspicion that they had been involved. It has been suggested that some Scandinavians may have found their way to Galloway during the 'Forty Years Rest' following the late 870s, at which time the invaders suffered a temporary setback in Ireland,[42] as indeed they might have done, but again there is no evidence.

Even the saga evidence, upon which slim foundation the entire notion of a Norse colony in Galloway rests, provides no firm support. *Orkneyinga Saga* which supposedly attests to Thorfinn's lengthy residence in Galloway, thus showing that it was part of his far-flung *imperium,* actually states that when Thorfinn went raiding in the Hebrides and various parts of Scotland he lay at anchor off Galloway, which is far from being the same thing. Interestingly, the passage states that Thorfinn sent some of his men south to raid the coast of England *'as the people had driven all their livestock out of his reach'* (my italics).[43] The men of Galloway were so far from acknowledging Thorfinn's superiority that they actually defended their property against his possible violent incursions; no Bordlands were available to him. The earl's schemes fared no better in England for almost all the able-bodied raiders were slaughtered, save for a few sent back to explain that thus were Vikings discouraged from raiding and looting. As Palsson and Edwards wittily phrase their translation, 'the message was put in distinctly abusive terms'.

If there is little comfort here for those seeking proof of a Norse Galloway, *Njal's Saga* is equally disappointing. Kari Solmundarsson tracked down Kol Thorsteinson, one of Njal's burners, in Wales. Kol was counting out silver when Kari's deadly sword struck at his neck. True to a typical saga motif the blow at first had no apparent effect — Kol went on counting until at 'ten' his head flew off, uttering that very numeral. Kari and his

companions then sailed north to Beruvik, laid up their ship, and went on to Hvitsborg where they resided with Earl Malcolm. Hvitsborg alone connects the passage with Whithorn; the name literally means Hwitr's Castle. The place is described as *Hvitsborg i Skotlandi* and while the point is not conclusive, the sagaman could have written *Hvitsborg i Gaddgedlar* if such had been his intention. Beruvik there is none in the vicinity of Whithorn; the place has been identified on no very good grounds with Port Yerrock, a bay about a mile north of the Isle of Whithorn.[44] Just how dubious the entire passage is can be illustrated with reference to an article by the late A. B. Taylor. He thought that Beruvik should be associated with the Barbreck River which flows into Loch Craignish and he made Earl Malcolm a mormaer of Argyll. Dr Taylor's argument does not persuade. He was attempting to demonstrate that Karl Hundason of *Orkneyinga Saga* was a petty chieftain in Argyll,[45] whereas a much more likely identification is with MacBeth.[46] The conclusion is that Galloway is no more convincing than Argyll as the location of Hvitsborg and Beruvik. The sagaman's knowledge of geography became vaguer the further he ventured from Orkney; he knew that Galloway was 'where Scotland and England meet' but was possibly unaware that the places he mentioned would be more likely be found on the eastern border, far from the Solway littoral.

Bruce Trotter may preserve some folk memory when he describes local tradition about trows or trolls based on place-name evidence, such as Trowdle or Trowshouse,[47] although the 'trow' element is quite likely to be Welsh *tref,* as in Traquair and Trohoughton. In two places he refers to Galloway folk known as Fingauls. 'They're queer folk in Borgue . . . Ye see Borgue was yin o' the Fingaul settlements, and that's the wey they'r sae queer'. The Fingaul districts are listed as Southerness, Kirkcowan, Whithorn and Kirkmaiden. The folk in these parts were:

> a lot o' clever-lookin fallas . . . maistly verra lang and weel-made, wi lang faces, strecht noses and blue een, an wunnerfu feet fur size. They're maistly fair-wair't, or licht broon an the lasses is verra bonnie whun they'r young, but efter they'r twunty they get verra coorse-lookin.[48]

In recounting a tale about how the Dalziels were granted large tracts of land for assisting the king against the Danes, Trotter offered a shrewd but apposite aside — 'Thae aul' Scots kings maun a' haen an awfu account o' lan in their ain han, when they wur throwin haill glens at every stranger yt turn't up when the Danes bestit them'.[49] In no sense can *Galloway Gossip* be regarded as a reliable historical source, but its author does make at least one interesting suggestion which some future scholar may care to investigate. The Fingauls, he says, are 'the descendants o' the Norsemen, though A think the Fingaul colonies maun a' come frae the Isle o' Man, for a gey wheen o' the names o' hills an things in their districts is in Manx

Gaelic'.[50] Is it possible that some few Viking estates in Galloway were administered on behalf of superiors in Man?

The overwhelming conclusion must be that the Viking presence in Galloway was not significant. It could be objected that neither is there historical evidence for the Scandinavian settlement of the Lake District, nor was there any for the Wirral until F. T. Wainwright documented Ingemund's invasion;[51] but the place-name evidence for Galloway is nothing like as dense and voluminous as it is for north-west England. The situation is reversed for the north-east, because although Scandinavian settlement in Northumberland is attested by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* there are comparatively few matching place-names in the area.[52] Historians are a strange breed, often as contrary and confused as their sources; it is an odd contradiction that they have been as anxious to deny the existence of Picts in Galloway who are documented,[53] as they have been to emphasise the presence of Vikings who are not. At most there may have been a few pockets of Scandinavian settlement along the coast. Ideas about naval arsenals at Wigtown, or that Galloway constituted some bulwark of Norse power are ludicrous.

Why then was there so little Viking interest in Galloway? Since the major trade-routes focused on the north/south trade along the road to Ireland and the Mediterranean, the area may have been overlooked in Viking times as it is now. The Galloway coast was on the road to nowhere. Distribution maps of place-names, archaeological remains and Viking sculpture all suggest that the Norsemen regarded the southern shore of the Solway as a friendly coast. It was also on the direct route from Man or Ireland to the mouth of the Eden whose valley in all probability provided the main link between York and Dublin.[54] Another possibility is that the Galwegians were simply too strong for the Vikings. One tiny piece of evidence pointing to this conclusion shows the men of Galloway thumbing their noses at no less a warrior than Earl Thorfinn the Mighty. The Galwegians in later centuries were to have vicious reputations as particularly fierce fighters, to the point of being depicted in the more lurid English chronicles as homicidal psychopaths.[55] Far from being the benevolent rulers of Galloway, or welcome allies of the natives, or, for that matter, hired mercenaries, there is a real possibility that the Vikings were only allowed to settle on native terms. Even if a few chiefs did force themselves upon the population, there is no reason to suppose that the Galwegians paid any more attention to them than they do to the 'white settlers' today who have an illusory and exaggerated influence upon the community, because they tend to make more noise and cause more fuss than do the locals. It is to be fervently hoped that further Viking artefacts will be unearthed at Whithorn, but they will not transform Galloway into a Viking colony.

Perhaps, in conclusion, one further murky puddle might be added to

the quagmire of speculation and hypothesis which currently represents the early medieval history of Galloway. Elsewhere in this volume Daphne Brooke convincingly argues that the time is perhaps appropriate to sunder the Gall-Gaidhil from Galloway. The twelfth-century poem 'The Owl and the Nightingale' seems to reinforce the idea of some link between Scandinavia and Galloway in the couplet.

Hwi nultu fare to Noreweie
An singin men of Galeweie[56]

The connection may have been demanded by nothing more than the rhyme scheme but the passage does suggest a useful analogy. If Norwegia or Norvidia means the way to the north, Galweia or Gallovidia should mean the way to the Galls, the foreigners or strangers viewed from an Irish perspective. Such foreigners would originally have been Britons and, later, Angles. A Gall-Gaidhil, a foreign Gael was clearly a foreigner who spoke Gaelic; no other explanation makes sense. The first such persons probably appeared as the result of the Irish migrations to Galloway in the fifth century at the same time as Fergus Mor led his kindreds into Argyll. Thus, in the pre-Viking period the term would have embraced Brittonic-Gaels and Anglo-Gaels. It was used with specific reference to people of Norse-Celtic blood by Irish annalists for a short time in the ninth century; it was then revived by Irish and English writers in the twelfth century, at which period it is most often applied to the Galwegians. Although, sadly, it appears to be human nature to attribute undesirable qualities to hybrid peoples, the Gall-Gaidhil in a ninth-century context do not deserve the unenviable reputation which was later conferred upon them. In all but one reference to the Gall-Gaidhil of Ireland (they are nowhere associated with Galloway), they are found assisting Irish kings against the Scandinavians. By the twelfth century Galloway must have been regarded as an area *par excellence* for people of mixed blood, which would explain why Gall-Gaidhil gradually became reserved for the inhabitants of that area. The fierce reputation of the Galloway warriors, earned at least in part through holding the Viking threat at bay, could have contributed to the savage semantic load of the term Gall-Gaidhil. They were a hardy breed, those men of the Rhinns and the Machars. They were tough, independent and wary of outsiders, but it is the final submission of this paper that Vikings they were not.

Notes

1. Dick, C. H., *Highways and Byways in Galloway and Carrick* (London, 1916), vii.
2. The conclusion of the late Kathleen Hughes that little history was written down in the early Scottish Church is acceptable, but possibly unduly pessimistic: Hughes, K., 'Celtic Britain in the early Middle Ages. Studies in the Scottish and Welsh sources', in Dumville, D. (ed.), *Studies in Celtic History* II (Woodbridge, 1980), 20.

3. Galloway is barely mentioned in the most recent survey of this period in Scottish history: Smyth, A. P., *Warlords and Holy Men. Scotland AD 80 to 1000* (London, 1984).
4. Neilson, G., *Annals of the Solway until AD 1307* (reprinted, Beckermet, 1974), 27.
5. Trotter, R. de B., *Galloway Gossip or the Southern Albanich 80 Years Ago* (Dumfries, 1901), 255.
6. Dick, *Highways and Byways,* 294.
7. Neilson, *Annals,* 29.
8. Scott, J. G., 'A note on Viking settlement in Galloway', *TDGAS,* 58 (1983), 52-55.
9. Neilson, *Annals,* 29.
10. Truckell, A. E., 'Dumfries and Galloway in the Dark Ages: Some problems,' *TDGAS,* 40 (1962), 96.
11. Cowan, E. J., 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton MS', *Innes Review,* 32 (1979), 3-21.
12. Lucas, A. T., 'Irish-Norse relations: Time for a reappraisal?', *JCHAS,* (1966), 62.
13. Chadwick, N. K., 'St Ninian: A preliminary study of the sources', *TDGAS,* 9-53 at 20.
14. e.g. Huyshe, W., *Grey Galloway. Its Lords and Its Saints* (Edinburgh, 1914), 94; Scott, 'Viking Settlement', 54.
15. Anderson, A. O., *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh, 1922), i 263-5.
16. *Orkneyinga Saga. A New Translation with Introduction and Notes,* Taylor, A. B. (Edinburgh, 1938), c.23; *Orkneyinga Saga. The History of the Earls of Orkney,* (trans.) Palsson, H. and Edwards, P. (London, 1978); *Orkneyinga Saga,* (ed.) Gudmundsson, F., Islenzk Fornrit 34 (Reykjavik, 1965).
17. *Njal's Saga,* (trans.) Magnusson, M. and Palsson, H. (Harmondsworth, 1960), c.158; *Brennu-Njals Saga,* (ed.) Sveinsson, E. O., Islenzk Fornrit 12 (Reykjavik, 1954).
18. M'Kerlie, P. H., *Galloway in Ancient and Modern Times* (Edinburgh, 1891).
19. M'Kerlie, P. H., *The History of the Lands and Their Owners in Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1870-79).
20. M'Kerlie, *Galloway Ancient and Modern,* 121.
21. There is no mention of 'Viking' levels in Ewart, G., *Cruggleton Castle. Report of Excavations 1978-81* (Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, Dumfries, 1985).
22. Anderson, *Early Sources,* i. 45; *Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles,* (ed. and trans.) Broderick, G., and Stowell, B. (Edinburgh, 1973), 8.
23. *Chron.Man,* 8.
24. *Chron.Man,* 10; Anderson, *Early Sources,* ii, 103.
25. *Orkneyinga Saga,* c.41.
26. Huyshe, *Grey Galloway.*
27. Ibid., 94-105.
28. Anderson, *Early Sources,* i., 301-3.
29. Skene, W. F., *Celtic Scotland. A history of Ancient Alban* 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1876), i, 324-5.

30. Anderson, A. O., *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers AD 500-1286* (London, 1908), 62.
31. Collingwood, W. G., 'Norse influence in Dumfries and Galloway', *TDGAS,* 7 (1920), 98-117.
32. Sawyer, P. H., 'Harald Fairhair and the British Isles', in Boyer, R. (ed.), *Les Vikings et leur civilisation. Problèmes actuels* (Paris, 1976), 105-9.
33. Robertson, J. F., *The Story of Galloway* (Castle Douglas, 1963), 37-9.
34. Scott, 'Viking settlement', 53.
35. Higham, N., 'The Scandinavians in North Cumbria. Raids and settlements in the late ninth and tenth centuries', in Baldwin, J. R., and Whyte, I. D. (eds.), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1985), 43; Higham, N., *A Regional History of England. The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (London, 1986), 322.
36. Scott, 'Viking settlement', 54.
37. Dolley, R. H. M., and Cormack, W. F., 'A Hiberno-Norse Penny of Dublin found in Wigtownshire', *TDGAS,* 44 (1967), 122-5.
38. I have no wish to challenge Mr Scott to single combat; he is simply the most recent respected authority to discuss this subject. He is more considered in his approach than Stephen, W. L., 'The Scoto-Norse period in Dumfriesshire', *TDGAS,* 2nd series 19 (1905-7), or Radford, C. A. R., 'Excavations at Whithorn. First Season', *TDGAS,* 27 (1949). Mr Scott discussed these points with me at the Gatehouse Conference and presented me with a copy of his paper.
39. Watson, W. J., *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), 198.
40. Anderson, M. O., *Kings and Kingship in Early Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1978), 195-6.
41. Anderson, *Early Sources,* i, 270n.
42. Ibid., i, 405n.
43. *Orkneyinga Saga,* c.xxiii.
44. Huyshe, *Grey Galloway,* 104.
45. Taylor, A. B., 'Karl Hundason King of Scots', *PSAS,* 71 (1937), 340-1.
46. Cowan, E. J., 'Caithness and the Sagas', in Baldwin, J. R. (ed.), *Caithness. A Cultural Crossroads* (Edinburgh, 1982), 33.
47. Trotter, *Galloway Gossip,* 182-3.
48. Ibid., 129, 181.
49. Ibid., 281.
50. Ibid., 181.
51. Wainwright, F. T., 'Ingimund's Invasion', *EHR,* 63 (1948), 145-69.
52. Mawer, A., 'The Scandinavian Kingdom of Northumbria', in Quiggin, E. C. (ed.), *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913), 306-14.
53. The presence of the Picts in Galloway remains a matter of contention. Jack MacQueen has argued that the Picts and the Gall-Gaidhil were one and the same: 'The Picts in Galloway', *TDGAS,* 39 (1962), 127-43. Nor does there appear to be any consensus as to whether the Pictish symbol on Trusty's Hill, Gatehouse, is genuine.
54. I am indebted to Michael Vance for allowing me consult two unpublished

papers: 'Does Viking Age sculpture reflect traditional or Scandinavian patterns in Cumbria, or links along the York-Dublin axis? (1984) and *Aspects of Viking Age Sculpture in the British Isles, with particular reference to settlement history* (unpublished MA dissertation, University of York, 1985).

55. Cowan, E. J., 'Myth and identity in Early Medieval Scotland', *SHR,* 63 (1984), 132.
56. *The Owl and the Nightingale,* (ed. and trans.) Stanley, E. G. (Edinburgh, 1960), 75.

Port Logan Harbour: general view.