

MEDIEVAL BUILDINGS AND SECULAR LORDSHIP

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PATRONAGE, CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

In Galloway, as elsewhere, the nature and chronology of lay patronage can be measured directly by secular structures, and indirectly by churches and Christian monuments. Here also a number of these buildings and monuments can be seen to represent different facets of the power and wealth of a single family, kindred or corporation. But in Galloway, the indirect evidence provided by church archaeology and architecture is especially vital because of the comparative lack of documentary records relating to the Galloway monasteries.

Another special characteristic of Galloway is that old habits evidently died hard. The long survival or adaptation of sites, building traditions,

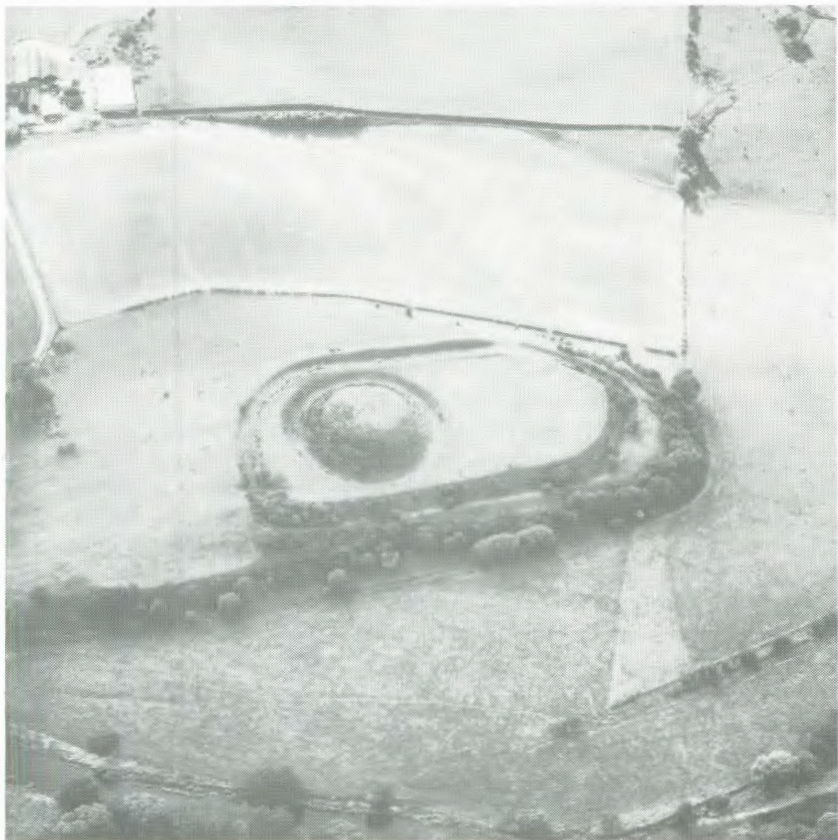


Fig.9.1 Motte of Urr; aerial view. (Crown Copyright, RCAHMS)

and styles among its medieval monuments show that a strong degree of continuity has underlain even the most dramatic upheavals in Galwegian society. When, and in what form, new beginnings manifested themselves within this society is thus a matter of special interest.¹

SECULAR STRUCTURES

The beginnings of feudalism in Dumfries and Galloway in the twelfth century appear to mark a new departure in the outward physical form of lordship, the motte and bailey castle. At the latest count almost one quarter of known mottes in Scotland, seventy-four out of three hundred and seventeen, are to be found in the south-west. Many of those in Galloway probably originated in the military campaigns of Malcolm IV, only to be 'destroyed' in the rebellion of 1174. A second phase of motte-building was promoted after 1185 by Roland, lord of Galloway, who ruthlessly reunified the divided lordship. Following earlier royal example, 'he built castles and very many fortresses'.²

Distinguishing native imitations from genuine Anglo-Norman products is not easy.³ Indeed, the mottes of Galloway continue to pose far more questions than answers to problems of feudal geography, largely because only part of one of them, the Motte of Urr, has been the subject of modern archaeological investigation.⁴ It still remains to be tested how far this, the most extensive motte and bailey castle in Scotland, may retain physical characteristics from earlier, pre-feudal times, particularly in the nature of its bailey ditch and rampart which enclose an area of about five acres and embrace the motte with its own surrounding ditch. Although it does not occupy a particularly commanding site on the valley floor of the Urr Water, perhaps originally an island, the earthwork itself is most impressive, its deep ditches being reminiscent of an Iron Age hillfort.

Continuity in the principles and techniques of fortifications is deducible here as elsewhere, for there does not seem to have been much that Anglo-Norman sappers could have taught their predecessors about the construction of ramparts and ditches, including rock-cut ditches, and the employment of different combinations of earth, timber and stone for their superstructures. The fact that early fortifications are now seen in much reduced condition, either as low earthen mounds or heaps of stony debris, sometimes heat-fused or vitrified, should not make us underestimate the organisation, skill and tools which went into their construction. Locally, excavations at sites such as Motte of Mark, Trusty's Hill, and much further east at Burnswark, testify to the relative sophistication of earthwork defences before the Anglo-Norman era.⁵

Some of the earliest castles of stone and lime in the region also appear to have been shaped out of older fortifications in traditional centres of Galloway lordship. Buittle and much of eastern Galloway came into the possession of the Balliol family through marriage to Devorgilla, third

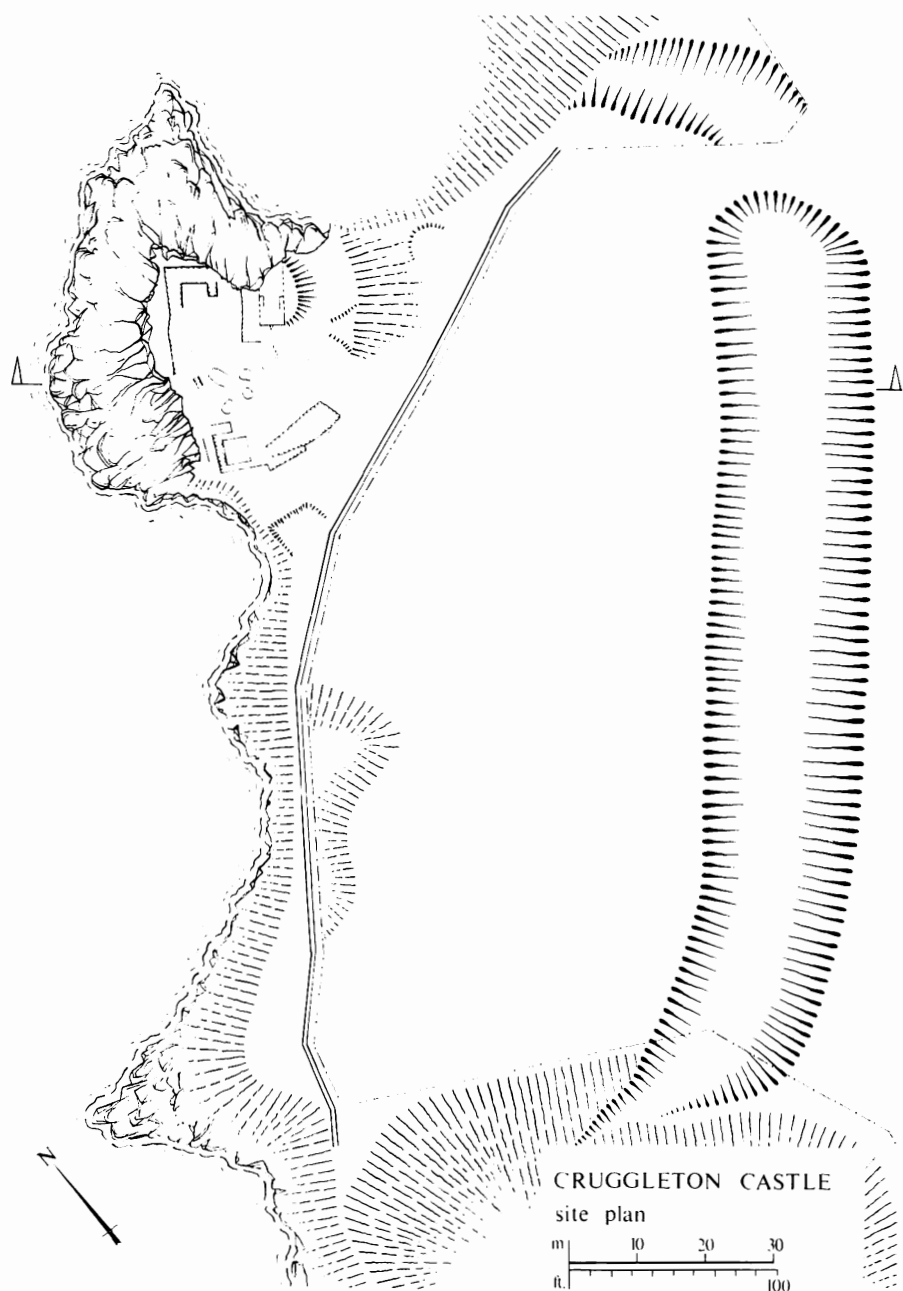


Fig.9.2a Cruggleton Castle; plan. (Crown Copyright, RCAHMS)

daughter of Alan, last native lord of Galloway (d.1234)⁶ The castle occupies an extensive, low-lying site close to a later bridge across the navigable Urr Water, about two miles downstream from the Motte of Urr. The most conspicuous remains are the ditches and stone defences (including a substantial gatehouse) around the main castle mound, recently cleared of vegetation, but there are less obvious outer enclosures which may perpetuate the form of an earlier earthwork fortification.⁷ Excavations at the ditched promontory fortification of Cruggleton have shown that it too entered a stone-built phase in the later thirteenth century, probably at the hands of John Comyn, earl of Buchan, descendant of one of the other Galloway co-heiresses; the occupation of the site, though, goes back to the late Iron Age.⁸

It is also worth mentioning in parenthesis that Morton Castle in Nithsdale, like Buittle, betrays an ancient ancestry by reason of its name, and the surviving hall-gatehouse block which is probably of mid- to late fourteenth-century date, appears to overlie the remains of an earlier promontory fortification.⁹ These remains go back to the 1170s when the lordship of Morton first came on record; it was then in the possession of Hugh Sansmanche ('Sleeveless'), possibly acquired through the marriage to a daughter of Radulf, son of Dunegal, native lord of Nithsdale.¹⁰ They may be even earlier; without systematic excavation it is impossible to tell.

A significant proportion of prehistoric and post-Roman sites in this region show signs of later reoccupation, and the habit of living or taking refuge on commanding hilltops, promontories or islands obviously commended itself in medieval and later times.¹¹ South-west Scotland is well known for its crannogs, and has produced rich evidence of structures and relics dated to the Roman Iron Age. But the most conspicuous surviving remains are those of medieval towers and rectangular buildings on natural

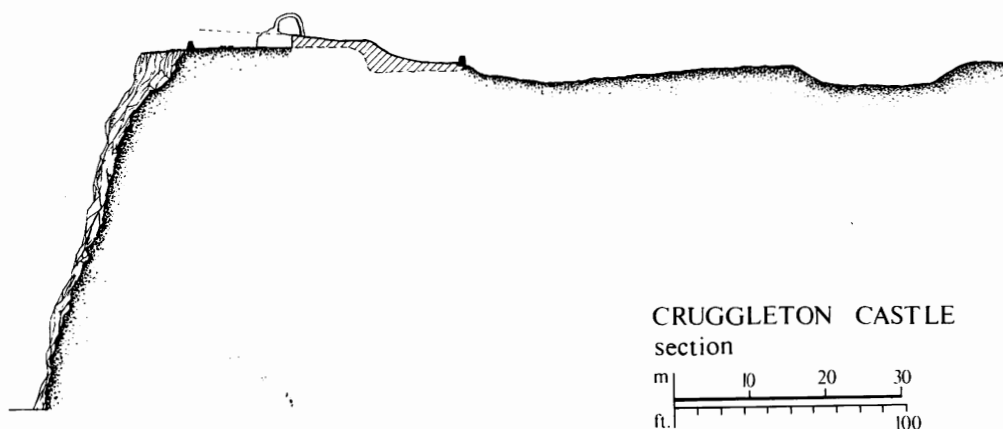


Fig.9.2b Cruggleton Castle; section (Crown Copyright, RCAHMS)

or man-made islands.¹² Visitors to the mighty Threave Castle cannot fail to observe that it is heir to this long insular tradition. Occupying an island site that may have been an early centre of Galloway lordship, the tower was built after the acquisition of that lordship in 1369 by Archibald Douglas.¹³

The massive 26m-high tower on Threave Island represents another important departure in building practice for the region. Compared to later Scottish towers, there are some peculiarities in its design, but the entry/stair and kitchen/service relationship suggests that the Douglasses and their masons may have derived their ideas from Norman or Angevin models. Like some of its first generation counterparts elsewhere in Scotland, Threave was upas-like in its domination and isolation, for with the possible exception of Corsewall Castle and a tower on an island at Lochnaw, both in the far west of the Rhinns, there are scarcely any surviving Galloway towers that can be securely dated to the period of Douglas dominance.

Upon the collapse of the Douglas empire after 1455, however, tower-building practices became more widespread socially and geographically. This second generation of Galloway towers is roughly ascribable to the later fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries, some such as Cardoness Castle being impressive in quality and size, as well as in the density of their distribution. This local group includes the unique and diminutive Orchardton which, probably on account of an Irish connection that has not yet been clarified, is the only known cylindrical tower house in Scotland.¹⁴ The group also includes the early sixteenth-century nucleus of Dunskey Castle which occupies the site of an earlier coastal promontory fortification invested and burnt as a result of a feud with the fearsome McCullochs of Myrton. In general, however, the relationship of these towers to earlier structures are rarely as clear, for example, as those at Thorthorwald and Lochwood in neighbouring Nithsdale and Annandale.¹⁵

Later alterations and additions in a number of these towers illustrate significant points of change in, for example, late sixteenth- or seventeenth-century stair design.¹⁶ More unusually, at Old Place of Mochrum an independent and self-contained T-plan tower was built by the Dunbar family in the later sixteenth century, a short distance away from their oblong tower of c.1500.¹⁷ The linking section is modern, so this double-towered establishment may well be a local manifestation of the unit system, that is, the provision of independent residences for different branches of one family, a not unexpected product of a kin-based society. Likewise, outside Galloway in Annandale, the late medieval tower at Amisfield, whose upperworks were altered in c.1600, received the addition of a separate three-storeyed range in 1631.

The 1631 block at Amisfield represents one of the first dated stages in the emergence of houses of regular and formal design in the south-west, but it was not until the eighteenth century that the majority of Galloway

lairds began to provide for themselves houses which seem to us to be wholly domestic in appearance and arrangement.¹⁸ Even then there remained a lingering respect for the stout qualities of the older buildings and a conservative adherence to their settings. Many of the extant towers, which number over eighty in the whole of Dumfriesshire and Galloway,¹⁹ are encapsulated within later buildings, the proportion being greater than in many other parts of Scotland.

A good example in western Galloway is Lochnaw Castle, ancestral home of the Agnews, one-time hereditary sheriffs of Galloway. It was massively enlarged in two stages in the early nineteenth century, but now stands reduced to its nucleus, an early sixteenth-century oblong tower with adjacent dwelling ranges of 1663. A fragment of its predecessor, possibly dating back to the early fifteenth century, occupies an island site in the nearby loch.

Indeed, the policies of few great houses are without the remnants or known sites of their predecessors, and detailed investigation of many a modern-looking house or farmstead often brings traces of older buildings to light. The farmsteads of Wigtownshire, and the Machars in particular, are rich in this kind of evidence.

CHURCHES AND CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS

Of the forty-five parishes of the Galloway diocese at the time of the Reformation, only a small proportion has bequeathed the remains of parish churches or chapels. An even smaller number, reduced mainly to foundations or fragmentary ruins, can be ascribed to the main period of parish formation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The most complete are the restored Romanesque church at Cruggleton and the Early Gothic structure at Buittle. Given the proprietorial nature of early church buildings, it is no coincidence that these two bicameral structures correspond with principal centres of Galloway lordship, and would have been relatively well-endowed at an early date.

Which of the twelfth-century lords of Galloway, owners of the nearby castle, was responsible for the work at Cruggleton Church is not known, although Fergus (d.1161) seems the most likely. In 1427 its modest revenues were appropriated by the bishop of Whithorn, and in the seventeenth century the small parish was united with that of Sorbie.²⁰ The apparent physical isolation of the church may be deceptive, although no traces of a village settlement have been found in the vicinity.

There is a tradition that the church of Buittle parish was originally at Kirkennan where remains of burials, but not buildings, have been found.²¹ Buittle Old Church itself consists of a plain, unaisled thirteenth-century nave, to which a wider and more elaborate chancel has been added in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the belfry and other minor alterations being of the post-Reformation period.²² It may date

substantially from the era of Balliol lordship of Buittle between 1234 and 1296, although it is possible that the chancel belongs to the period of Douglas possession after 1325. In 1347 the parish and its church were appropriated by the abbot and convent of Sweetheart Abbey.

The principal church of the medieval diocese of Galloway is itself a somewhat disjointed and enigmatic ruin compared to other Scottish cathedrals of less wealthy sees. What would have been a large and elaborate aisled choir was in keeping with the status of the church, and would have provided an appropriate setting for the shrine of St Ninian, object of a lucrative pilgrimage traffic in the later Middle Ages. In other respects, however, Whithorn was of modest scale and was almost alone among major Scottish cathedrals in possessing a narrow unaisled nave.

Small though it may have been, the nave does provide independent witness to a significant phase of building activity in the middle of the twelfth century. The most obvious result of this activity is the ornamented doorway set within four orders at the west end of the south wall where it was repositioned, possibly in late medieval times. Excavations have shown that this Romanesque church was cruciform plan with a short aisleless nave and an eastern arm of unknown extent.²³ Unfortunately, the historical evidence does not provide a firm context for this work. The bishopric was revived in 1128, possibly at the instance of Fergus, lord of Galloway, but the status of the church and the community which served the restored see for the first fifty years of its existence is not clearly defined. Whether the body of regular canons converted into Premonstratensians in about 1175-77 had been inherited from an old minster-style organisation or from a short-lived Augustinian establishment founded between 1154 and 1161 is a matter of informed speculation.²⁴

Although amongst the least wealthy of the twelve Scottish houses of their order and lacking most of their historical records, the three Cistercian monasteries in Galloway present a marked contrast in size and sophistication with the poverty of architecture associated with the secular clergy, a contrast that reflects an imbalance in patronage and a financial system based on appropriated parish revenues.

The ruins of Dundrennan Abbey constitute the most accomplished piece of medieval architecture in the province. It is perhaps a little surprising that work of this quality was organised and funded in the heart of semi-independent Galloway in the middle or later decades of the twelfth century, although its foundation in about 1142 as a daughter-house of Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire must have been to the mutual political advantage of King David I, Fergus of Galloway and the Cistercians themselves. A letter of 1165 refers to Dundrennan as 'the abbey which the brethren of Rievaulx built', no doubt using the skills developed in the completion of the church at Rievaulx itself.²⁵ The later twelfth-century work, however, shows closer

stylistic affinities with other Yorkshire Cistercian monasteries, most notably Roche and Byland.²⁶

These later operations were presumably funded by the wealth of its own estate, particularly from the profits of sheep-farming and the production of wool.²⁷ The abbey probably enjoyed a generous landed endowment from the native lords of Galloway, the last of whom, Alan (d.1234), was buried there. A tomb recess at the north end of the north transept contains a mutilated effigy of a knight, possibly of thirteenth-century date and said to represent Alan of Galloway himself.



Fig.9.3 Threave Castle; aerial view. (Crown Copyright, Historic Buildings and Monuments (SDD))

The creation of two further major dependencies seems to show that Galloway was to the Cistercians' liking. Glenluce Abbey was founded as a daughter-house of Dundrennan in 1191/2 by Roland, lord of Galloway, but little is known of its endowments. In the sixteenth century its buildings and possessions were prey to the conflicting ambitions of local landed families, most notably the Gordons of Lochinvar and the earls of Cassillis, through their protégés, the Hays of Park.²⁸ In the partly-tiled floor of the church there are monuments to the Gordons and the Hays, rivals even in the commemoration of death, and the surviving piers and bases are reminiscent of the original link, through Dundrennan, with the building styles of Byland and Roche Abbeys in Yorkshire.²⁹

The romantic circumstances surrounding the foundation of New Abbey ('new' in relation to the mother-house of Dundrennan) are reflected in its alternative name of 'Dulce Cor' (Sweetheart), the rich and pious Devorgilla de Balliol having founded this Cistercian monastery in 1273 in fond memory of her husband, John (d.1268).³⁰ His embalmed heart in a casket was buried with her on her death in 1290, and the effigy of the foundress bearing a representation of the heart casket surmount the reassembled fragments of a copy of her tomb in the south transept chapel. The foundation charter, which survives in an inspection by David II dated 1360,³¹ endowed the monastery with the lands of Loch Kindar and part of Kirkpatrick Durham, but there is no record of other endowments from Balliol possessions outwith the province.

A change in the expression of lay patronage is marked by Archibald Douglas's establishment of Lincluden Collegiate Church in 1389.³² This was a college of secular priests (in this case, a provost and eight prebendaries, later increased to twelve) endowed to celebrate masses for the souls of the founder and his family, thus fulfilling spiritual needs on a more personal and intimate basis than the increasingly sclerotic monasteries. In an age of conspicuous consumption, churches of this kind also provided an opportunity for a show of wealth and status.

The architecture and sculpture in the choir is accordingly of a considerable richness and quality, giving some measure of the patronage of the powerful Douglas family. Authorship may be attributed to John Morow, a Parisian-born master-mason whose early fifteenth-century work at Melrose Abbey was accompanied by an inscribed panel listing other Scottish commissions, including work in 'Nyddysdayl' (Nithsdale).³³ Some details show close affinities with Melrose, and would have coincided with the acquisition of French interests and tastes by the founder's son, Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas and duke Touraine, who was killed at Verneuil in 1424. It is the effigy and tomb of his widow, Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of King Robert III, which takes pride of place on the north side of the choir, and her status is denoted by the magnificence of the tomb-surround.

Outside Lincluden and Dundrennan, however, Galloway cannot claim a particularly strong tradition in late medieval sculpture of tombs, effigies and grave-slabs. The cult continued, though, and is well displayed in post-Reformation funerary monuments such as that which commemorates Sir Thomas MacLellan of Bombie and his wife (1597) in the former church of the Greyfriars in Kirkcudbright, or the enormous early seventeenth-century stone sarcophagus of the Gordon family which dominates the interior of Anwoth Old Church, or even the large slab effigial monument of 1568 inside Terregles 'Queir'.

This 'queir' (choir) itself was built as a mortuary chapel by the fourth lord Herries in 1583, and with its mixture of pointed and round-headed openings and three-sided apse, it perpetuates some of the traditional Gothic forms of the later Middle Ages. Much restored in 1875, it stands at the eastern end of the parish church which was built in 1799 on the site of an earlier nave. Its special significance lies in the fact it was erected in the immediate post-Reformation era by a Roman Catholic family, and is a tangible reminder of the persistence of the old faith among leading Catholic families and their followers as the Protestant Reformation ran its rough and often bitter course.³⁴

Lay patronage and the protection it gave to Christian rites must have mattered equally in earlier centuries, but the social context of the early crosses of the region is difficult to establish. Of the distinctive Whithorn school of monuments, for example, which probably belong to a period of settlement in the Machars from the early tenth century onwards, about twenty crosses would have served as headstones for individual graves, the majority having come from Whithorn. Only one survives complete, and only one bears a decipherable inscription (in runes): 'The monument (or cross) of Donfert'. The taller crosses are mainly from the surrounding district, and probably marked religious centres, the most complete of these cemetery crosses being the tenth-century Monreith Cross which stands 2.3m high.³⁵

In 1973 the cross was transferred to Whithorn Museum from the grounds of Monreith House, home of the Maxwells of Monreith since its completion in 1791. The Maxwells had lived in this vicinity from at least the later fifteenth century, first at 'Dowies' (also known as Ballingrene or Old Place of Monreith,³⁶ then after 1684 at Myrton Castle. Sir Herbert Maxwell, who succeeded to Monreith in 1877, related how, when Sir William Maxwell, purchaser of the lands of Myrton-MacCulloch in 1684, moved from Ballingrene:

he designed to bring thither the Celtic cross which stood beside the old House of Ballingrene on an elevation known as the Mower. In transporting it the cart capsized in crossing the burn between the baronies of Monreith and Myrtoun, the shaft of the cross broke in two, and the story goes that flames burst forth from the fracture, and

an aged woman who witnessed the incident cried out, warning the laird that ill-fortune would befall him and his family if that cross were taken away from the old house. Sir William took the warning in earnest, and caused the cross to be replaced on the Mower. There or thereabouts it remained until my father, finding that it had been set up over the burial place of a favourite horse, thought he would treat it more honourably and had it erected where it now stands in front of Monreith House. Some persons may discern the fulfilment of the wise woman's warnings in the break-up of the estate of Monreith following upon the cross being removed from the old house.³⁷

It is difficult to believe that an undistinguished site near Dowies, a house dating from about 1600, was the original setting for the cross. But since the later Middle Ages proprietorial links had joined the possessors of Monreith to what Sir Herbert picturesquely called 'the ancient God's acre



Fig.9.4 Dundrennan Abbey; lithograph by W. Spreat from a drawing by Reverend A. B. Hutchison, c.1857.

beside the sea at Kirkmaiden³⁸ where his ancestors were buried, and where he himself had the chancel of the medieval church rebuilt. A centre of its own parish in medieval times, now part of Glasserton parish, Kirkmaiden is the certain source of other sculptured crosses of the Whithorn school, and Collingwood considered that it was next in importance to Whithorn and St Ninian's Cave among sacred sites in tenth-century Galloway.³⁹ It is thus reasonable to believe that this sea-shore burial-ground was also the first site of the Monreith Cross, even though the identities and habitations of the Maxwell's tenth-century predecessors remain as yet unknown.

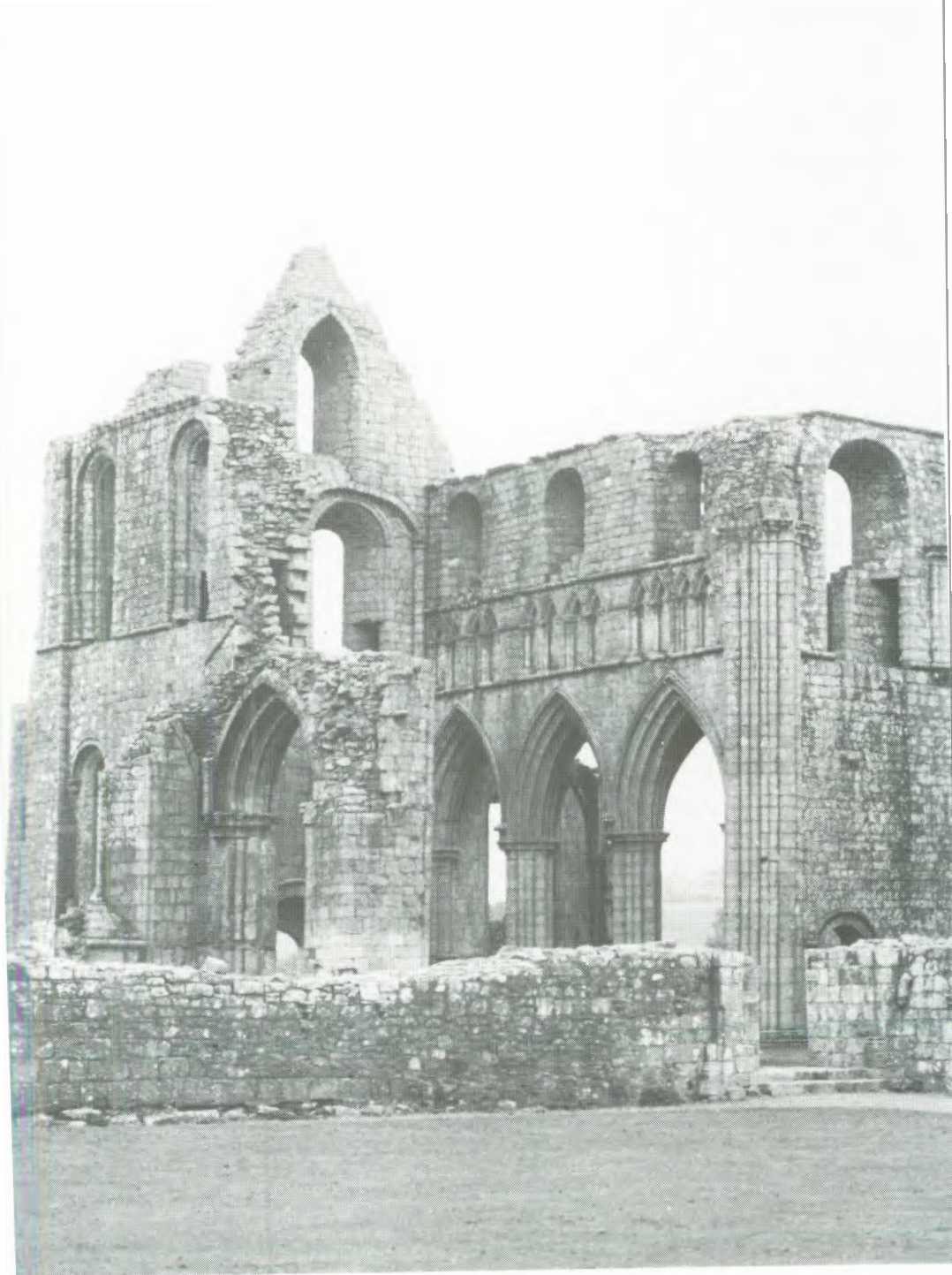
Notes

1. The references cited here are supplementary to the standard detailed descriptions of buildings and monuments contained in MacGibbon, D. and Ross, T., *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (5 vols, Edinburgh, 1887-92), also their *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1896-7), and in the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) *Inventories of the counties of Wigtownshire* (1912) and the *Stewartry of Kirkcudbright* (1914), supplemented by RCAHMS *Archaeological Sites and Monuments Series* 24-5, West and East Rhins, Wigtown District (1985). Popularised accounts are provided by Geoffrey Stell, *Dumfries and Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1986), and the guide books and leaflets to monuments in the care of Historic Buildings and Monuments (Scottish Development Department).
2. Simpson, G. G. and Webster, B., 'Charter evidence and the distribution of mottes in Scotland' in Stringer, K. J. (ed.), *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), 1-24 at 9-10, 18-19 and 21; for the translation of the chronicle account (*Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*) see Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 256, 288.
3. Examples in Tabraham, C. J., 'Norman settlement in Galloway: recent fieldwork in the Stewartry' in Breeze, D. J. (ed.), *Studies in Scottish Antiquity* (Edinburgh, 1984), 87-124.
4. Hope-Taylor, B., 'Excavation at Mote of Urr, Interim Report: 1951 Season', *TDGAS*, 29 (1950-51), 167-72; see also Reid, R. C., 'The Mote of Urr', *TDGAS*, 21 (1936-38), 14-17.
5. Thomas, C., 'Excavations at Trusty's Hill, Anwoth, 1960', *TDGAS*, 38 (1959-60), 58-70; Curle, A. O., 'Report on the excavations at the vitrified fort . . . at Mote of Mark', *PSAS*, 48 (1913-14), 125-68; Laing, L. R., 'The Angles in Scotland and the Mote of Mark', *TDGAS*, 50 (1973), 37-52; Laing, L. R., 'Mote of Mark', *Current Archaeology*, 4 (4) (1973), 121-5; Laing, L. R., 'The Mote of Mark and the Origins of Anglian Interlace', *Antiquity*, 49 (no. 194), June 1975, 98-108; Christison, D., Barbour, J., and Anderson, J., 'Account of the excavations of the camps and earthworks at Birrenswark Hill', *PSAS*, 9 (1898), 195-249; Jobey, G., 'Burnswark Hill', *TDGAS*, 53 (1977-78), 57-104.
6. Stell, G. P., 'The Balliol family and the Great Cause of Scotland 1291-2' In Stringer (ed.), *Essays*, 150-65; Nicolaisen, W. F. H., *Scottish Place-Names: their study and significance* (London, 1976), 77.

7. See also Coles, F. R., 'The Motes, Forts and Doons of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright', *PSAS*, 26 (1891-2), 117-70 at 132-5; Reid, R. C., 'Buittle Castle', *TDGAS*, 11 (1923-4), 197-204.
8. Ewart, G. J., *Cruggleton Castle, Report of Excavations 1978-1981* (Dumfries, 1985), especially 12-14, 22-36; see also Reid, R. C., 'Cruggleton Castle', *TDGAS*, 16 (1929-30), 152-60.
9. Stell, G. P., 'Castles and Towers in South-Western Scotland, some recent surveys', *TDGAS*, 57 (1982), 65-77 at 73; see also Reid, R. C., 'Morton Castle', *TDGAS*, 12 (1924-5), 255-61; Simpson, W. D., 'Morton Castle, Dumfriesshire', *TDGAS*, 22 (1943), 26-35.
10. *RRS*, ii, 241, no. 183.
11. e.g. Williams, J., 'Tynron Doon, Dumfriesshire . . .', *TDGAS*, 48 (1971), 106-20; Barbour, J., 'Notice of a stone fort, near Kirkandrews . . . recently excavated by James Brown, Esq., of Knockbren', *PSAS*, 41 (1906-7), 68-80.
12. e.g. Loch Maberry (NX 285751), Castle Loch, Mochrum (NX 293541), Loch Ochiltree (NX 3174), Loch Urr (NX 762845), Lochrutton (NX 898730) and Loch Arthur (NX 903690). Note also Castle (site) and Stable Isle, Loch Fergus (NX 698507), early castles on islands at Lochnaw, Inch (Castle Kennedy), and the numerous later towers such as Craigcaffie and Ravenstone built in marshy surroundings.
13. Good, G. L., and Tabraham, C. J., 'Excavations at Threave Castle, Galloway, 1974-78', *Medieval Archaeology*, 25 (1981), 90-140.
14. Gourlay, W. R., 'Orchardton Tower . . .', *TDGAS*, 15 (1928-9), 149-57. The cylindrical tower was evidently designed to serve as a solar block to an adjacent hall range; it was not intended to stand alone.
15. RCAHMS, *Dumfries* (1920), nos. 315, 316, 590; Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T., 'Lochwood Castle — a preliminary site survey', *TDGAS*, 45 (1968), 184-99. See also the erstwhile tower and motte at Castlemilk illustrated in the 'platte' of 1547 (Merriman, M., 'The Platte of Castlemilk', *TDGAS*, 44 (1967), 175-81).
16. e.g. Carsluith and Drumcoltran Castles.
17. Reid, R. C., 'Old Place of Mochrum', *TDGAS*, 19 (1933-5), 144-52; Cormack, W. F., and Truckell, A. E., 'Inventory of the estate of the late Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum', *TDGAS*, 60 (1985), 62-72.
18. Lochryan House (NX 065688), built for Colonel Agnew of Croach (Lochryan) after 1701, was probably the first of the symmetrically-planned lairds' houses of western Galloway, although its present castellated roof-line is unlikely to be genuine. In 1792 it was noted that 'for the last forty years, it has been uninhabited . . . Several fine paintings have been left to fade and moulder away, on the staircase . . . The partitions still remain; and the roof, although ruinous, is not yet entirely destroyed; but, the lapse of a few years will leave nothing but the bare walls' (Robert Heron, *Observations made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland in the autumn of 1792* (Perth and Edinburgh, 1793), ii, 297).
19. The number of surviving towers probably represents only a very small proportion of the whole, for, to take the example of Eskdale and Ewesdale, out of a possible forty-one tower sites in existence in the late sixteenth century only one, Gilnockie or Hollows Tower, probably a former Armstrong residence, survives intact. Intense cattle- and sheep-rustling activities made this area a special case, but

- the general pattern may equally apply to the minor lairds of Galloway. RCAHMS, *Archaeological Sites and Monuments Series*, 12, Upper Eskdale (1980), 13, Ewesdale and Lower Eskdale (1981), Annandale and Eskdale District.
20. Radford, C. A. R., 'Cruggleton Church', *TDGAS*, 28 (1949-50), 9-25; Cowan, I. B., *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (1967), 40.
 21. Macfarlane, *Geographical Coll.*, ii, 58.
 22. Reid, R. C., 'Buittle Church', *TDGAS*, 11 (1923-4); Cowan, *Parishes*, 23.
 23. Radford, C. A. R., 'Excavations at Whithorn, First Season, 1949', *TDGAS*, 27 (1948-9), 85-126 at 123-6; Radford, C. A. R., 'Excavations at Whithorn (Final Report)', *TDGAS*, 24 (1955-6), 131-94 at 183-5.
 24. Watt, D. E. R., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi* (1969), 133-4. See also Radford, 'Excavations at Whithorn, First Season', 183-5.
 25. Stringer, K. J., 'Galloway and the Abbeys of Rievaulx and Dundrennan', *TDGAS*, 55 (1980), 174-7.
 26. Fergusson, P., 'The Late Twelfth Century Rebuilding at Dundrennan Abbey', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 53 (1973), 232-43.
 27. Dundrennan may have had interests in Balmaclellan in the Glenkens, Galloway's major sheep-run, *CPL*, 10 (1447-1455), 156, but cf. Cowan, *Parishes*, 13. Its endowments also included land in Ireland, *CDS*, ii, nos. 967, 969, 1157.
 28. Henry, D., 'Glenluce Abbey', *Ayr-Galloway Coll.*, 5 (1885), 125-88; Reid, R. C. (ed.), *Wigtownshire Charters* (SHS 3rd series, 51, 1960), 37-84; Cowan, I. B., and Easson, D. E., *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, 75 and refs. cited. See also Morton, A. S., 'Glenluce Abbey', *TDGAS*, 21 (1936-8), 228-36; Reid, R. C., 'Some processes relating to Glenluce Abbey', *TDGAS*, 21 (1936-8), 290-309.
 29. For further accounts of the archaeology and architecture of Glenluce see *Ayr-Galloway Coll.*, 10 (1899), 199-208; *TDGAS*, 19 (1933-5), 141-3 *TDGAS*, 21 (1936-8), 310-11; *TDGAS*, 25 (1946-7), 176-81; *TDGAS*, 29 (1950-1), 177-94; *TDGAS*, 30 (1951-2), 179-90.
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 33. The date is usually and incorrectly given as 1585; Hay, G., *The Architecture of Scottish Pre-Reformation Churches 1560-1843* (Oxford, 1957), 31, 151-2. Cf. Anson, P. F., 'Catholic Church Building in Scotland from the Reformation to the Outbreak of the First World War, 1560-1914', *Innes Review*, 5 (1954), 125-40 at 125, 'It is probable that the chapel at Stobhall near Perth, erected in about 1578, was the last place of Catholic worship built in Scotland until the chapel at Preshome, Banffshire, arose in 1788'.
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37. Maxwell, H. E., *Evening Memories* (London, 1932), 355.
38. *Ibid.*, 145.
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Dundrennan Abbey: the north transept.