Holistic methodologies in the study of Scotland's early stone castles and landscapes (c.1050-c.1350 CE) with reference to the Earldom of Orkney and the Lordship of Galloway.

William John Edmund Wyeth

University of Stirling

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Abstract

The historiography of Scottish castles was dominated, until the 1960s, by great works which defined the field for generations of historians and archaeologists. Since then several major excavations, intensive wide-ranging fieldwork and most recently, targeted topographic surveys, have brought a new body of evidence to the discussion. Familiar themes, however, still dominate how castles are understood: the dichotomy between 'native' and 'newcomer', the debate over function and form, for example. This thesis brings to bear the new body of evidence alongside a specific focus on castles and their landscapes for the period of c.1050-c.1350.

It begins, firstly, with an examination of the full body of castle sites and contemporary secular power centres, following the typology-oriented categorisation of sites by RCAHMS (now HES). Included in this are sites in the formal typology of crannogs, brochs and duns, which evidence suggests were occupied for some or all of the period under discussion. The 12th to 13th centuries demonstrated the peak of first phase of castle occupation. There is a resultant impact on what might be expected from landscapes of lordship, borne out in the second section of the thesis, the regional studies. The first regional study examines the evidence for castles in the Earldom of Orkney, which conventional thinking suggests is home to Scotland's earliest stone castle. Contemporary parallels are established with Norwegian and Swedish castles. Study of the landscape context suggests that the builders of castle sites in the 12th-century Earldom relied not on terrestrial, landed wealth but political authority and kinship with the comital family. Substantial wealth, derived from maritime exploitation, is also likely. The second regional study, of the Lordship of Galloway, looks at the emergence of stone castles there in connection to the political developments within the polity. Landscape assessment hints at a function of castle sites in the Lordship in relation to transhumance practice and fishing. The diversity of architectural expression of lordship is discussed. Study of the place-name context, useful in determining the status of farms or townships, reveals the unparalleled linguistic (and cultural) complexity of south-west Scotland, with resultant impact on underlying structures of local lordship. In the cases of Orkney and Galloway, trends are apparent which argue for the early stone castles of Scotland to be considered within highly contingent personal, political and social terms. Though they represent evidence for larger historical and architectural trends, the most compelling interpretation of these monuments frames their appearance in relation to their builders' histories, connections, ambitions and preferences. Where physical evidence is lacking for castles, landscapes around known castle sites provide the material to understand lost monuments by their imprint on their surroundings.

Abbreviations

Canmore	Computer Application for National Monument Record Enquiries
CDS	J. Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1881)
Crossraguel Chrs.	F.C. Hunter Blair (ed.), *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel* (Edinburgh, 1886)
ER	G. Burnett, G.P. McNeill, J. Stuart (eds), *Rotuli Scaccari Regum Scottorum* (Edinburgh, 1878-1908)
DES	*Discovery and Excavation Scotland*
G	Scottish Gaelic
HER	Historic Environment Record
HES	Historic Environment Scotland
HLA	Historic Land-use Assessment map, Historic Environment Scotland, <http://map.hlamap.org.uk/>, 2015
HMSO	*Her Majesty's Stationary Office*
Kelso Liber	C. Innes (ed.), *Liber S. Marie de Calchou: registrum abbacie Tironensis de Kelso* (Edinburgh, 1846)
ME or OScot	Middle English or Older Scots (interchangeable)
Melrose Liber	C. Innes, *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros* (Edinburgh, 1837)
MS/MSS	Manuscript/s
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NMRS	National Monuments Record of Scotland
NMS	National Museum of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland
NSA	*New Statistical Account*
OE	Old English
ON	Old Norse
OrkSag	H. Pálsson, P. Edwards (eds), *Orkneyinga Saga: The history of the Earls of Orkney* (London, 1981)
OS	Ordinance Survey
OScand	Old Scandinavian (label for sites of ON or Old Danish linguistic origin)
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland
Reg. Morton	C. Innes (ed.), *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Edinburgh, 1853)
Reg. Pais.	Anon., *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet* (Edinburgh, 1832)
RMS	J.M. Thomson, J.B. Paul (eds), *Registrum Magni Sigilli* (Edinburgh, 1814-1914)
RRS	G.W.S. Barrow, G.G. Simpson, C.J. Neville, A.A.M. Duncan, B. Webster (eds), *Regesta Regum Scottorum* (Edinburgh, 1960-2012)
RSSRS	M. Livingstone (ed.), *Registrum Secreti Sigili Regum Scottorum* (Edinburgh, 1908-21)
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
St. Bees	J. Wilson (ed.), *Registrum Prioratus de Sancta Bega* (London, 1915)
SSNS	Scottish Society for Northern Studies
TDGNHAS	*Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*
TH	Tower house

Compass points: Cardinal points of the compass are represented by their first letter, capitalised; NNE means north-north-east, for example.

Measurements: all are metric.

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1. Introduction

Scottish history in the period c.1050-c.1350 is characterised by change. Castles built and developed in this period inevitably reflect degrees of this change. They demonstrate and reflect not only episodes of historical significance but also epitomise and, sometimes, contradict wider social and political trends which help inform our understanding of this formative, transformational era of history.

This introduction outlines the approach of this thesis to the question of continuity and change in Scottish castles during the three centuries in question. It examines the limits of this study's scope and the range of evidence employed. It also offers a brief political history of the Scottish kingdom in this period, and an overview of the field of castle studies and, by extension, different kinds of lordship in Scotland during the period. Both are developed in more detail in the area-specific studies which form the bulk of this study.

1.1 Study parameters

This study looks at the emergence and development of early stone castles in Scotland from c.1050 to c.1350. The area under consideration, Scotland, is meant to convey the northernmost third of the island of Great Britain now comprising the modern state of Scotland. The political map of this area prior to c.1050 is the matter of debate.[1] The time-span reflects what conventional wisdom has identified as a period of change within Scottish castles. This change is interpreted as taking material form – from timber to stone; that of formal typology – from enclosure to tower; as well as functional change – from domestic to military.

The time-span also frames a period of settlement in Scotland of aristocratic immigrants from neighbouring England and wider Europe. Traditionally, this settlement is recognised as a crucial catalyst in the history of the Scottish state and the story of Scotland's castles.[2] More recently it has been argued that this view is no longer sustainable.[3] Not only is the extent of influence of the new arrivals to be critically challenged, but furthermore the extent to which non-immigrant aristocrats in the area of modern Scotland were building castles has come to be appreciated. The connection between castle and the institution of a new form of the social exercise of power (the nebulous, undefined 'feudalism') has also come into question.[4] Doubtless, social control was exercised by aristocrats across Scotland in this period, and so defining that control is less imperative, in as much as acknowledging that it existed grants a certain freedom to explore one

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[1] D. Broun, 'Defining Scotland and the Scots before the Wars of Independence', in D. Broun, R.J. Finlay, M. Lynch (eds), *Image and identity: the making and re-making of Scotland through the age*s (Edinburgh, 1998), p.8.
[2] E.g. G.W.S. Barrow, *Scotland and its neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), p.72.
[3] E.g. R.D. Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000), p.218.
[4] S. Reynolds, 'Fiefs and vassals in Scotland: a view from the outside', *SHR*, 82.2 (2003), pp 192-4.

facet of its character, the 'lordly centre'. Whatever the nature of social control (coercive, collaborative, static, peripatetic or absentee, direct or indirect, terrestrial or maritime, economic, social, political or military, ideological or functional), power or lordship resided in a physical place. More often than not in this period, that place was geographical rather than personal.[5] Sometimes, whether by act or design, a place was called a castle as a conferral of dignity, irrespective of formal typology.[6]

As lordly centres and aristocrats did not exist in isolation, but were part of an ever-changing world, differences in periods and places must be apparent.[7] Politically, Scotland in this period was changing too. It is anticipated that in fact the changes in physical material, form and use of castle sites are related to and reflections of developments in the Scottish polity. On a site-specific level, castles were the monumental aspect of a larger lordly landscape which was managed, exploited, and adapted to suit economic, social and ideological purposes. In turn, the landscapes of castles inform interpretation of the monuments. Rather, castles and their landscapes should truly be considered as a whole whose best-surviving portion is usually the castle building.

1.1.1 Terminology for historic periods
For the purpose of clarity, the terminology used for denoting periods of time are outlined below. An agreed chronology from within the community of researchers is so far unavailable.[8] The dates proposed are slightly adapted from those discussed the ScARF National Framework reports.[9] Note, the terms are not exclusive.

Prehistoric	*Iron age*	*Medieval*	*Early medieval*	*Late medieval*
Before written evidence	c.800BC – c.AD500	c.AD500 – c.AD1600	c.AD500 – c.AD1050	c.AD1050 – c.AD1600

1.2 Evidence
The array of evidence used for this study is broad. Antiquarian sources provide a useful insight into how opinions were formed on sites and the study of castles generally. From an historical perspective the legal documentation of the Scottish state during and after the time-span is invaluable. *Regesta Regum Scottorum* and *Registrum Magni Sigilli* represent royal contributions recording land grants, confirmations and forfeitures. Monastic cartularies form another body of

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[5] S. Campbell, 'The language of objects: material culture in medieval Scotland', in M. Hammond (ed.), *New perspectives on medieval Scotland, 1093-1286* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp 183-202.
[6] C. Coulson, *Castles in medieval society: fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2003), p.45.
[7] G. Fairclough, 'Meaningful constructions – spatial and functional analysis of medieval buildings', *Antiquity*, 66 (1992), p.349.
[8] Anon., 'Scotland's Archaeological Periods and Ages (ScAPA)': Scottish Archaeological Research Framework <https://www.scottishheritagehub.com/content/scapa> [Accessed 20/01/2019].
[9] Anon., 'The ScARF panel reports': Scottish Archaeological Research Framwork <https://www.scottishheritagehub.com/node/1203> [Accessed 20/01/2019].

evidence; the nature of the regional studies undertaken here means that their contribution is more limited, but Melrose and Paisley feature prominently. The accounts of revenues from and expenditure on royal lands (Exchequer Rolls) are also useful, especially for the backward projection of landholding for lost lordship and monastic documents. English administrative documentation is especially useful for the castles of Galloway featuring in the Wars of Independence. Narrative chronicles offer some evidence, but any reliance on them as sources requires an appreciation and scrutiny of their social and political contexts and change over time.

Archaeological evidence forms the bulk of material discussed here. This takes many physical forms; standing buildings, above-surface ruined buildings, excavation material and stray or uncontextualised finds. Secondary interpretations of sites are used where extant, though certain sites have not yet been the subject of intensive critical interpretation. Site survey undertaken over the course of this thesis will be introduced and discussed. Map evidence is used for the purposes of the landscape study, though chiefly for reference. Secondary studies of place-names form a critical part of the landscape assessment of sites to understand the larger developments of an area, the role of its castle and the symbolic messages it communicates. Place-name studies are difficult to ascribe to a specific date or date-range, and so the material is treated with this in mind. It should be noted that this is not a toponymic examination, but a study which uses place-names.

1.3 Narrative political history summary

Scotland in the mid-11th century was politically a different place from its position in the mid-14th. Dynastic struggles and radical expansion of royal and comital control and influence over the northern third of Britain by Scottish kings and their nobility characterised the first half of this study's time-span.[10] At its heart lay the lands controlled by kings of Alba, in the eastern lowlands of the rivers Tay and Earn.[11] The reign of Malcolm II (r.1005-1034) saw a change in inheritance practice in choosing his grandson Duncan as his heir, leading to war with MacBeth, who probably expected to be heir following established convention.[12] It was the selection of Duncan from the same branch of the royal house as Malcolm which was problematic in contemporary political terms, rather than a transgression of succession practice (if such a thing existed) per se. Duncan was killed in 1040 and MacBeth ruled until 1057, dying in defense against the claims of Duncan's son Malcolm (III).[13] Following the reign of Malcolm III's brother Donald Bán (to 1094), all kings of Scotland were descended from a single male line until Margaret, Maid of Norway (d.1290). Rather than a concrete set of inheritance practice, it is likely that political expedience and opportunity

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[10] S. Driscoll, 'Formalising the mechanisms of state power: early Scottish lordship from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries', in S. Foster *et al*. (eds), *Scottish power centres* (Glasgow, 1998), pp 33-47.

[11] R. Oram, *Domination and lordship: Scotland 1070-1230* (Edinburgh, 2011), p.7

[12] W.M. Skene (ed.), *John of Fordun, Chronicle of the Scottish nation*, (Edinburgh, 1872), IV, 1.

[13] A. Woolf, 'The 'Moray Question' and the Kingship of Alba in the tenth and eleventh centuries', *SHR*, 79.2 (2000), p.147.

exerted differing holds on a loosely adhered-to principle. In geographical terms, the end of the 11th century saw kings of Scots control *Alba*, Lothian and at least part of Strathclyde.[14]

The 12th-13th centuries saw a change in culture and organisation in this Scottish third of Britain whose surviving evidence is comparable to that of contemporary changes in European states. From the later 12th century onwards, up until the end of this study's chronological framework, Scotland was the subject of multiple invasions by aggressive neighbours – chiefly England and Norway. Attacks on neighbours were in turn also launched from Scotland – chiefly England, Norwegian possessions in Britain, and Ireland. Scottish royal authority expanded or consolidated control of areas in the north (Moray), south-east (Lothian, Borders) and south-west (Galloway).[15] The power of Scottish kings was also frequently challenged in a serious way from within the kingdom, via branches of the royal family with support from the Western Isles, Ulster, Orkney, and Norway.[16] External expansion and internal threats were causally not distinguishable; Ross has argued that royal interventions in the succession of the Earldom of Orkney were connected to royal antipathy to the claims of MacWilliams (operating from a base in the Earldom), kin of the Orcadian rulers and also claimants to the Scottish throne. Royal intervention here culminated in pressure on Earl Harald (r. 1139-1206) to evict MacWilliam supporters from his realm.[17] An invasion by the King of Norway Hákon Hákonarson in 1263 was unsuccessful.[18] The death of Alexander III of Scotland in 1286, followed in turn by the death of his successor Margaret, Maid of Norway in 1290, prompted six years of interregnum punctuated by occasional instability in a decade characterised by resilient government by the kingdom's fifty or so leading nobles and prelates. The mark of government in this period was a mutual desire in the leading magnates of Scotland for stability and security but also the conventional aristocratic pursuit of lands, offices and the furtherance of familial power.[19] Enduring uncertainty over the kingdom's future encouraged the King of England, Edward I, to press a political advantage. Following the decision in late 1292 that the Balliol family's claim to the throne was the greater, Edward extracted recognition as the overlord of Scotland. In this capacity, as Brown suggests, he attended in 1292-3 to landholding disputes as ultimate legal arbiter ahead of – and thereby undermining – the newly-crowned King John Balliol.[20] Initial aristocratic desires for balanced arbitration in legal disputes and competition for lands and offices – in part unfulfilled during the Balliol kingship – hardened into rejection of Edwardian overlordship. Scottish magnates may equally have been torn between

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[14] A. Taylor, *The shape of the state in medieval Scotland, 1124-1290* (Oxford, 2016), p.10.

[15] Oram, *Domination and lordship*, chapter 3; pp 140-5; 155-62.

[16] Taylor, *The shape of the state in medieval Scotland, 1124-1290*, pp 5-6 and notes 14 and 17.

[17] A. Ross, 'Moray, Ulster and the MacWilliams', in S. Duffy (ed.*), The World of the Galloglass: Kings, warlords and warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200-1600* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 24-44.

[18] M. Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371* (Edinburgh, 2004), pp 82-3.

[19] M. Brown, 'Aristocratic politics and the crisis of Scottish kingship, 1286-96', *SHR*, 90.1 (2011), p.2.

[20] Brown, 'Aristocractic politics and the crisi of Scottish kingship', pp 20-1, 25.

the new king's undeniably strong claim to the throne and his background as essentially an English baron with natural, pro-Edwardian, loyalties.[21] Balliol, in part to curry favour with the Scottish nobility, renounced Plantagenet overlordship and was subsequently defeated by Edward I's invading army at the Battle of Dunbar in 1296.[22] The unsettled state of Scottish political leadership doubtless encouraged the emergence in 1297 of Andrew de Moray and William Wallace as early foci of dissatisfaction at the humiliation of King John Balliol at Edward's hands. Edward's allies in Scotland, only recently reconciled to his overlordship, joined the revolt; William, Lord of Douglas, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick and James the Steward joined Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow in revolt. An unexpected victory at Stirling Bridge in 1297 saw William Wallace take a central role in the newly convened office of Guardian of the Kingdom.[23] Wallace's successes were short-lived, for defeat at Falkirk in 1298 ended his political leadership.[24] The defeat of Philip IV of France at Courtrai in 1302 and French peace with Edward I in 1303 also removed any likelihood of the return of King John to Scottish kingship.[25] In a sense, the necessity of a new king – one (for the moment) unconnected to Balliol complicity – had returned.

A Bruce conspiracy to manoevre for the throne of Scotland was at odds with the self-professed loyalty to Edward I. Conventionally, John Comyn, who it is alleged betrayed Bruce's conspiracy to Edward, was murdered by Bruce at the Greyfriars Kirk in Dumfries in 1306.[26] Grant's reassessment of the evidence for events at Dumfries stresses the contemporary political circumstances as more decisive factors of the pre-meditated killing. These include the inferiority of a Bruce claim on the Scottish kingship established since 1292, the end of Balliol rule by 1304 and especially the royal descent (and, vis-à-vis Bruce, superior claim to the throne) of John Comyn himself.[27] A rushed coronation at Scone followed, after which Robert I, meeting defeat at Methven, fled the kingdom.[28] The death of Edward I in 1307 marked a revival in Bruce's fortunes; following a return to Scotland, he undertook a campaign which sapped English authority across the country.[29] The Battle of Bannockburn in 1314 was a success for Bruce. He undertook campaigns directed at Berwick and the Isle of Man, and his brother and heir Edward undertook campaigns in Ireland (1315-8) until his death there at Faughart in 1318.[30] Penman posits that, perhaps in the aftermath of Edward Bruce's death, a conspiracy developed, headed by William de Soules, to return Edward

[21] A. Grant, 'The death of John Comyn: what was going on?', *SHR*, 86.2 (2007), p.206.

[22] M. Prestwich, 'The English Campaign in Scotland in 1296, and the surrender of John Balliol: some supporting evidence', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 49, (1976), pp 135-8.

[23] Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, pp 182-5.

[24] Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, pp 186-7.

[25] Grant, 'The death of John Comyn: what was going on?', pp 214-5.

[26] A.A.M. Duncan (ed.), *John Barbour – The Bruce* (Edinburgh, 2010), book 2, ls. 25-48.

[27] Grant, 'The death of John Comyn: what was going on?', pp 186, 189-90, 200.

[28] Duncan, *John Barbour – The Bruce*, book 2, ls 349-470.

[29] Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, pp 202-3.

[30] Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, pp 208, 212-4.

Balliol to the throne. Robert, apparently not wholly secure in kingship, crushed this major conspiracy in 1320, thereby enacting more drastic changes in Scotland's political architecture to secure a hold for Bruce kingship, in contrast to the more lenient treatment of adversaries after 1314.[31] Edward I's heir Edward II was not able to undertake campaigns in Scotland on a scale equal to his father's; by 1328, Robert I had settled a treaty with Edward III formally ending conflict.[32] Robert's heir David II's reign (1329-71) was marred from 1332 by the resurgence of Balliol claims to the throne, supported by Edward III. Edward Balliol, who was crowned in 1332 following his defeat of the Bruce party near Perth in 1332, cemented – albeit briefly – his position following the Battle of Hallidon Hill in 1333, after which David II was exiled to France and Edward Balliol crowned King of Scots.[33] From 1334, the tide of the conflict began to turn in favour of the Bruce party and Balliol's hold on the kingdom became increasingly confined to Galloway, where his grandmother Dervorgilla of Galloway had been *de facto* political leader.[34] Pro-Bruce successes brought David II's return to Scotland in 1342. His decision to invade England in support of his French allies was unsuccessful, leading to his defeat and capture at Neville's Cross in 1346 and subsequent ten-year captivity.[35] However, there was no consequent revival in King Edward Balliol's fortunes thereafter and he surrendered his crown, an empty gesture, to Edward III in 1356.[36]

1.4 Castle studies

There is no blanket definition for what comprises a castle, and it is misleading to assume that finding one will advance the field substantially (though one is presented below for the purposes of clarity in the thesis). Certainly, one should not confuse their involvement in political violence as a determining factor in their design.[37] Nor can we assume that surviving architecture, archaeology or documents will tell us everything we want to know to build a picture of a site's medieval life. In this sense, a theoretical framework for understanding sites is critical, so that we do not allow ourselves to be led down the potentially misleading rabbit hole of surviving evidence at the expense of missing the holistic bigger picture. Castle studies has grown more sophisticated in many respects, with strenuous efforts to move away from typology, morphology and terminology and towards an appreciation for the realities of medieval life as a guiding principle in the study of

[31] M. Penman, '*A fell coniuracioun agayn Robert the douchty king*: the Soules conspiracy of 1318-1320', *Innes Review*, 50.1 (1999), pp 28-32.
[32] Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, p.229; G.W.S. Barrow, *The kingdom of the Scots* (Edinburgh, 2012), p.308.
[33] Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, pp 232, 235-6.
[34] Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, pp 234-5.
[35] Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, pp 247-8.
[36] Brown, *The wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, p.253.
[37] Coulson, *Castles in medieval society*, pp 48-9.

castles.[38] The field does not exist in isolation any longer, and castle studies as a discipline is well-placed to complement fields of study touching upon its central themes: lordship, identity, political and social power. These themes still require evidence, and one by-product of the theoretical reflection in castle studies has been the diversification of the evidential portfolio.[39] The broadening of approach is undeniably connected to the changes in funding and the undertaking of fieldwork in archaeology and diminishing returns of documentary assessment. One aspect of the changing state of castle studies has been the recognition that castles existed not in isolation, but rather formed one part of a landscape or landscapes.[40] In physical and material terms castles have definite boundaries, no matter how the castle is defined. Oram has pioneered this approach in Scotland, most recently in his study of Hermitage Castle in the Borders.[41] In this way the castle landscape can be seen as an extension of the repertoire of buildings and spaces which comprise the essential spaces required for human life: mills represent the means of processing raw foodstuffs, roads the means of communication, woodlands the means to secure shelter and warmth (among other things). Other landscapes may be perceived around castles, however. A landscape of lordship may comprise similar buildings and spaces in the castle landscape repertoire, but overlain with a recognition for the symbolic value and intent their location conveyed, 'signposting' aristocratic intent.[42] A more legal and economic study of castle landscape examines the often privileged position of a castle to its settlement landscape, examining how land ownership and (chiefly) agricultural exploitation may be referenced in castle architecture, and what this in turn communicates about lordly status. The true testament to the advance of castle studies as a field is its ability to contribute or even act as a means towards answering larger historical questions. These questions, applied here specifically to castle studies in Scotland but more widely important, will be discussed further below. How these questions have arisen, is the subject of the literature review.

1.5 A definition of 'castle'

The central object of this thesis presently lacks definition within it. Though it is suggested above that a universal definition of what a castle 'means' would probably not advance the field, it is a

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[38] S. Speight, 'British castle studies in the late 20th and 21st centuries', *History Compass*, 2 (2004), pp 2-4; R.D. Oram, 'Castles, concepts and contexts: castle studies in Scotland in retrospect and context', *Château Gaillard*, 23 (Caen, 2008), pp 239-59.

[39] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and landscapes: power, community and fortification in medieval* England (London, 2002), pp 5-7, 9-25.

[40] E.g. R. Liddiard, 'Medieval designed landscapes: problems and possibilities', in M. Gardiner, S. Rippon (eds), *Medieval landscapes* (Bollington, 2007), pp 201-14; Creighton, *Castles and landscapes: power, community and fortification in medieval England*; J.R. Kenyon, ''Those proud, ambitious heaps': whither castle studies?', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 116 (2017), pp 16-7, for a very brief overview of this development of castle studies.

[41] R.D. Oram, 'Leisure, symbolism and war: Hermitage Castle, Liddesdale and the Anglo-Scottish Border', *Château Gaillard*, 26 (Turnhout, 2014), pp 325-32.

[42] Speight, 'British castle studies', p.8.

separate issue to outline for the purposes of clarity and fairness what is meant by the term in this thesis. Meaning is not intrinsic but constructed, and therefore subject to assigned value, the validity of evidence and the priorities of the builder of meaning. To be clear about what the word means in this thesis is not to aver a universal definition, but to recognise the spectrum of meanings and give reasonable guideance about what is being referred to in the text.

The definition of the castle is contingent upon perspective. It is a label with ambiguous meaning, which has allowed a broad range of meanings to flourish under a single word. It has also gained or shed attributes and meanings as a product of cultural change and entropy. The castle to an outsider is not the same as the castle to an insider. The meaning of a new castle is not necessarily similar or different from that of an older castle. To a man the castle may mean one thing, to a woman another, to the child another still. Biological age and socially constructed gender also influences meaning.

There are different ways of defining the castle. It is a modern English word with a reasonably well-understood etymology. It is a word with different meanings in different languages at different times and in different circumstances. It is a label given to standing monuments, archaeological remains and representations of buildings in different media (image, word), an architectural and artistic form. It is also an idiom for safety, prestige, status, strength, weakness, heritage, piety, sexuality, gender, inequality and oppression. It is also a lived space, encompassing all the complexity involved in understanding how living things interact with their environment.

This thesis uses the term to represent aristocratic residences in the 11th-14th centuries in Scotland which include some of the above attributes and characteristics. The castle is somewhat distinct from the typologies of other aristocractic residences in Scotland in this period in the way that it shares similarities with castle aristocractic dwellings across Europe. In physical terms these include crenelation detailing of wall heads; the presence of a gateway or gatehouse complex; and especially – perhaps uniquely for castles – the presence of a tower or towers. The centrality of the tower to the castle idea has been noted in previous scholarship and remains an important distinguishing characteristic of this form of aristocratic dwelling.[43]

In this thesis, the word 'castle' is used to describe the architectural and archaeological renderings of the term; its artistic manifestation is recognised as important and is treated thus in the regional studies. 'Castle' is understood here from the perspective of modern archaeologists, through plans and exacavation reports, but also through the phenomenology of sight and experience. That

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[43] Coulson, *Castles in medieval society*, p.26; O. Creighton, *Early European castles: aristocracy and authority, AD 800-1200* (Bristol, 2012), pp 50-1.

experience is not gendered to explore questions of perspective, but is used to explore the symbolic and status characteristics of standing buildings.

1.6 The people of Scotland and Scottish power centres, c.1050-c.1350

Within the boundaries of modern Scotland (and largely the Scotland of 1350) in the three centuries examined, the historian finds great potential for categorisation and the distinction of groups within society from one another. Focus has been on 'ethnic' groups, individuals or kin groups, or – using typologies of buildings and earthworks – broad regional identities.[44] Hammond's 2006 article drew attention to the habit of Scottish medieval historians to perpetuate the 19th-century habit of framing discussions of identity, kingship, lordship and religion in dualistic terms: Celt and non-Celt, or Teutonic, and the wholly-formed, checklist-able features which identified people as belonging to one or the other. The origins of this dichotomy are in the nascent field of scientific engagement with 'ethnicity' and 'race', whose precepts – assumptions about superiority and social dominance – are now largely rejected in academia and society.[45] It is now widely held in archaeology that not only is the concept of 'ethnic packages' flawed – for the boundaries of ethnicities are blurred – but also the very question of static ethnicity is not accepted.[46]

Challenges to the 'full ethnic package' theory of identity inevitably threw doubt over the association of material remains and peoples so central to the early understanding of castles and contemporary power centres in medieval Scotland.[47] Even the term 'power centre' is a conscious effort to offset a cultural association between the architecture of authority and assumed associations of 'culture' and 'ethnicity'. In Scotland, this takes the form of the connection made between the arrival of aristocratic settlers and their entourages from England, Flanders and France (Anglo-Norman), and the emergence of architectural forms, economic, legal and social structures and organisation.[48] Of course, as with the term 'Anglo-Norman', as a label it has no contemporary medieval foundation.[49] In this context it is necessary to consciously divorce discussions of 'ethnicity' from castles, because the former assumes its content to be known, unchanging, whole and true; when faced with evidence contradictory or extraordinary to the notion of ethnic wholeness or racial signature, the evidence is discarded as derivative, watered down or complex beyond rationalisation to ongoing discussions. By contrast, Curta suggests that

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[44] E.g. M.H. Hammond, 'Ethnicity and the writing of medieval Scottish history', *SHR*, 85.1 (2006), pp 1-27, especially 11 (architecture), 15 (individuals).
[45] Hammond, 'Ethnicity and the writing of medieval Scottish history', pp 2, 15.
[46] D. Hu, 'Approaches to the archaeology of ethnogenesis: past and emergent perspectives', *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 21 (2013), pp 371-2.
[47] For the connection of archaeology with ethnicity and its problems, F. Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', *Early Medieval Archaeology*, 15.2 (2007), pp 163-4.
[48] See literature review for full treatment.
[49] Hammond, 'Ethnicity and the writing of medieval Scottish history', pp 18-9

ethnicity should be understood not as an inherent, unconscious trait, but rather a set of features enacted and non-existant when not used; ethnicity as politicized culture deployed to meet the requirements of political expendence and necessity.[50] In discussing early medieval burials in Scotland, Maldonado has challenged the ethnic narrative, arguing that ethnicity is not an implicit attribute but rather a way of understanding the relationship between the self and others.[51] Thus, in the context of castles, castellar architecture may be deployed to reference participation in and membership of a group within hierarchical medieval society, and not necessarily earlier renderings of group identity or biological origin: Hu's "Legitimization of unequal access to power and resources or the maintenance of social inequality."[52] For Curta, "The very process of ethnic formation is coextensive with and shaped by the manipulation of material culture."[53] In this context, it is possible to construe of a medieval Scotland where castles were a portion of enactors of ethnic identity built, developed and maintained to pursue political strategies in contemporary society. In places where there were fewer castles (or none at all), we should therefore imagine not the absence of other aspects of ethnic identity into which castles fell (for example, reform monasticism, charter creation, personal naming habits) as absent, but rather differently deployed and emphasized. Furthermore, underlying both areas of castle prevalence and absence was a set of cultural features (law, language, dress, patronage) which was at play, at times emphasized (e.g. the 'English' character of John Balliol). This underlying cultural fabric, too, was subject to more profound changes, in no small part influenced by the choice of ethnic attributes stressed within a society.

When castles cease being passive, reactive artefacts and are understood instead as agents of identity, their emergence becomes less a question of origin ('why did castles appear?'; 'when was the first castle?') and more a question the political, economic and social factors at play which led to their being chosen as ideal instruments of distinctiveness.[54] This view of castles also steps away from cultural narratives in the sense that castles can also be understood as ethnic choices in terms of other forms of social identity, such as age, gender or class.[55] The emergence of castles in a specific area may be tied to regional political rivalries, for instance, rather than elements of a broad-stroke national trend. For example, in England, the rivalry in East Anglia between Hugh Bigod and William of Blois saw Henry II of England initiate construction at Orford Castle 1165 as a means of symbolically enforcing shrieval power in the region where the earls held lands.[56] Political uncertainty or periods of military conflict appear to be the periods in which specific markers of

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[50] Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', pp 166-7.
[51] A. Maldonado, 'Burial in early medieval Scotland: new questions', *Medieval Archaeology*, 57.1 (2013), p.7.
[52] Hu, 'Approaches to the archaeology of ethnogenesis: past and emergent perspectives', p.387.
[53] Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', p.168.
[54] Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', p.177.
[55] Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', p.175.
[56] T.A. Heslop, 'Orford Castle: nostalgia and sophisticated living', *Architectural History*, 34 (1991), pp 39, 54.

ethnicity are elevated and emphasized, in order for the groups within society find a means to conserve imagined identity.[57]

1.7 Why Orkney and Galloway?

From 1050s the power of Scottish kings became formalised, and this is apparent in the preceding political narrative. Theirs was not a solitary endeavour; the role of the Scottish nobility and church was equally important (and in the politically periolous late 13th-early 14th century, critical), in firstly enacting and then entrenching Scottish royal power outside of its core geographical zone in the eastern lowlands of southern *Scotia*. Two of these areas, Orkney and Galloway, are examined in more detail here.

The area of the Earldom of Orkney in the north of Scotland never fully entered the sphere of Scottish royal control by the mid-14th century, though its mainland component (Caithness) was firmly 'Scottish' at this point.[58] The process of drawing Caithness into royal control cannot be argued to represent a deliberate royal strategy until at least the end of the 12th century, though it was acknowledged as Scottish territory in 1098.[59] It is likely that pre-Scandinavian political unity of Orkney (including Shetland) and Caithness underlay the 500-year-old 'joint earldoms' in the medieval period.[60] Crawford is probably correct in suggesting that the spread of more direct Scottish royal control into Caithness was delayed by recurrent political disturbance to such ambitions in Moray.[61] Oram has suggested that King Alexander II imposed on Caithness a decisive settlement by 1222; after 1231, when the ruling earl, Jón, was murdered, the new earl Magnús was matrilineally descended from the Orcadian comital family (and so suitable to rule to Orcadians and the King of Norway), but patrilineally from the comital family of Angus in the heart of the Scottish kingdom.[62] The replacement of violent conquest with dynastic control is a mark of the spread of Scottish royal power in the 12th-13th centuries. Nor was this a process developed exclusively through the medium of immigrant families; six of the seven (probably) new lordships in the central highlands of Scotland in the late 12th-early 13th centuries were in the hands of identifiably Gaelic lords.[63]

In order to undo cultural associationism in Scotland between socio-cultural structures ('feudalism') and buildings (castles) it is necessary to interrogate the presence of castles in Norse

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[57] Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', p.183; Hu, 'Approaches to the archaeology of ethnogenesis: past and emergent perspectives', p.374.
[58] Orkney and Sheltand were pledged to Scottish kings in 1468-9.
[59] B.E. Crawford, 'The earldom of Caithness and the kingdom of Scotland, 1150-1266', *Northern Scotland*, 2.1 (1974), p.97.
[60] B.E. Crawford, *The northern earldoms: Orkney and Caithness from AD 870 to 1470* (Edinburgh, 2013), pp 10-1.
[61] Crawford, *The northern earldoms*, p.19.
[62] Oram, *Domination and lordship*, pp 187-8.
[63] Oram, *Domination and lordship*, pp 316-8. Identifiable by linguistic character of names and kinship.

Scotland, specifically the Earldom of Orkney. Here is a society with castles and no feudalism. What do castles mean here; did they represent an ethnic marker? If so, what were the political, social and economic factors at play which determined the choice to select castles as a medium of expression in the Earldom?

In order to challenge the dualist narrative of Scottish historiography and apply more recent advances in castle studies, Galloway was selected for its ostensibly Gaelic character and profusion of castles (and power centres).[64] Though essentially a part of the Scottish kingdom by 1160, castles in greater Galloway were developed and altered before and after this date; why was this? Traditionally their emergence in the region was connected to violence and unrest owed to the perceived unhappiness with Scottish royal intervention in the region. But can we expect a monolithic response to such intervention to take the varied forms which castles and power centres take in Galloway? The answer is surely not, in which case a closer examination of certain sites is essential. Important with regards to Galloway specifically is the potential for analogy provided by research into medieval Irish castles and power centres. Chiefly, this is important because Ireland provides parallels for structures of lordship and its exercise in the broadly Gaelic world of Ireland and Scotland in the medieval period.

The analogy is not without nuance. In discussing early medieval succession practice in Scotland, Woolf has rightly critiqued the assumption of a pan-Gaeldom set of practices, suggested that more appropriate comparison with what emerges in Scotland might be in the kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England; assuming that analogy with Irish practice makes Scottish practice seem unusual, whereas English evidence suggests otherwise.[65] In this context the known developments of the lordship of Galloway are important to stress.   The blanket 'Gaelic' label for Galloway will be scrutinised in more detail, specifically with reference to settlement patterns.

1.8. How the thesis research was undertaken: desk-based assessments and field visits.

The great majority of research for this thesis was undertaken remotely, chiefly at a desk in Edinburgh with visits to libraries and archives. This reflects the ambition of the thesis to react to and engage with the existing body of material rather than focus on the creation and examination of new materials. The examination of buildings and landscapes was thus primarily completed through a computer screen rather than in person. To allow readers to decide for themselves whether there are discrepencies in the understanding or depth of interrogation of sites, the thesis author shares a list of sites visited during the thesis more widely, and those visited which feature in the regional studies (Figure 1).

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[64] Problematical view of 'Celtic' Galloway as redolent of traditional Scottish medieval historiography: Hammond, 'Ethnicity and the writing of medieval Scottish history', p.25.
[65] A. Woolf, '"The question of Moray" and Pictish succession practice', pp 145-64.

Aberdour castle	Cruggleton castle (G)	Kinclaven castle
Abington motte	Cubbie Roo's castle (O)	Kirkcudbright Castledykes (G)
Ardvreck castle	Dalswinton castle	Kirkwall Bishop's palace
Aros castle	Dinvin motte	Lag Tower
Auchencass castle	Doune of Invernochty	Lochmaben motte
Berriedale castle	Drum castle	Mains of Garton motte
Blackness castle	Dunnottar castle	Mingarry castle
Boreland motte	Dunollie castle	Morton castle
Bothwell castle	Dunstaffnage castle	Mote of Urr (G)
Braal castle	Dunure castle	North Berwick motte
Buittle castle (G)	Earl's Palace Birsay	Portencross castle
Cadzow castle	Edinburgh castle	Proncy castle
Callandar motte	Edzell castle	Roberton motte
Castle of Old Wick (O)	Edzell motte	Roxburgh castle
Castle Roy	Forse castle (O)	Ruthven Barracks
Castle Tioram	Freswick castle	Scrabster castle (O)
Castledykes, Roberton	Greenan castle	Skelbo castle
Clackmannan Tower	Hailes castle	Smailholm Tower
Craigmillar castle	Hume castle	Stirling castle
Craignethan castle	Invermark castle	Tibbers castle (G)
Crathes castle	Invershin motte	Turnberry castle (G)
Crawford castle	Kildrummy castle	Wolfclyde motte

SITES MARKED WITH LETTERS FEATURE IN THE REGIONAL STUDIES: (O) = ORKNEY, (G) = GALLOWAY.

2. Literature review

The foundations of current thinking on Scottish early stone castles lies on the work of earlier scholars beginning with the antiquarian tradition and the recognition of monuments as part of a national story. The baseline of modern castle studies in Scotland is MacGibbon and Ross' *Castellated and Domestic Architecture*. Their study of Scotland's castles begins in chronological terms in the later stages of the Roman Empire and covers a staggering volume of material. The *villa rustica* and *castrum*, the authors claimed, were the origins of the medieval castle. They traced this lineage, in expressly evolutionary terms, from the mural towers of Roman forts and the courtyard-centred architecture of Roman elite houses.[66] Post-Roman societies adopted these features in their own architecture, carrying a loose tradition of mixed Roman and non-Roman styles through the early medieval era, bypassing Anglo-Saxon, Brittonic, Gaelic, Pictish, Scottish and Scandinavian influence, to around the turn of the first millennium. The 'keep', undefined in form but assuredly understood, became the focus of living and defence, encircled by timber palisades with associated ditches and banks.[67] The Crusades were presented as an injection of advanced siege technology (trebuchets, assault towers), heralding the end of angular towers in favour of round (and increasingly stone) equivalents. These in turn became the focus of defence,

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[66] D. MacGibbon, T. Ross, *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887), I, p.vi.
[67] MacGibbon, Ross, *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland*, I, p.5.

each tower becoming a defensive unit in its own right.[68] Up to the 14th century, MacGibbon and Ross argued, castle architecture had been military; thereafter it was domestic. The document-rich Wars of Independence period, in which castles appeared as places of military action, featured heavily without concerted consideration of bias. The concept of frustrating an enemy's access to the castle was thereafter considered flawed; isolated defences were considered a liability; outright defence rather than phased defence was the priority.[69] The introduction of gunpowder warfare in the middle of the 15th century ended the era of small castles, and the development of castles in Scotland thereafter takes an altogether different course.

The process of gradual development and external influences changing the course of castle development is fundamentally a correct, if partial, interpretation of Scotland's castle past, but this interpretation misses a great deal of other questions related to a castle's political, cultural, social and economic character. To turn this on its head, culture is exchange and so influence from outside is a given. However MacGibbon and Ross' work is an architectural study, qualified in terms of categories of style and form rather than as a reflection of social and political dynamics at work.[70] This focus is as much a result of earlier work on the history of medieval ecclesiastical architecture as a reflection of how the study of history has changed, becoming less insular and more cross-disciplinary (for instance, relying on auxiliary studies in archaeology, anthropology and increasingly natural sciences).[71] The possible contribution of pre- and post-Roman societies to the formation of castles in Scotland has since been highlighted thanks to these fields of study, but which in the time of MacGibbon and Ross were in their infancy. Conventional thinking, which saw castles as essentially military complexes, was shared by MacGibbon and Ross.[72] As was contemporary common practice, the authors did not elaborate on how they reached a certain date of construction or alteration for a given building. Confident sentences like "This tower was built in the 12th century" are not rare. Readers are invited to trust. Little attention is equally accorded to the European castle studies outside Britain and the perceived castles progenitor France. The outstanding feature of MacGibbon and Ross' work is the drawings and plans of castles which have previously not been recorded in such detail. Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that prior to MacGibbon and Ross' great work, no study on a similar scale has attempted to tackle the complicated history of Scotland's castles; for this, the work is to be respected and its context recognised with appropriate reverence.

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[68] MacGibbon, Ross, *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland*, I, p.31.
[69] MacGibbon, Ross, *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland*, I, pp 43-4.
[70] MacGibbon, Ross, *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland*, I, p.vi.
[71] MacGibbon, Ross, *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland*, I, p.1.
[72] C. McKean, 'A Scottish problem with castles', *Historical Research*, 79 (2006), p.174.

David Christison did not have the advantage of later conclusions about the origins of mottes in Britain, claiming that in the case of Scotland they were a Saxon invention.[73] Christison believed that the Saxon word *burh* was a Saxon term used more generally than contemporary scholars would have us believe. Pointing to several sites in England with the instructive '–bury' ending (etymologically akin to *burh*), which would otherwise point to the presence of a motte, Christison demonstrates the flaw in this argument.[74] The frustration of hindsight is felt most obviously for the modern reader of the 1898 study when Christison asks why Saxon *burhs* have no such name in Scotland.[75] This last sentence highlights one problem with Christison's study, a reliance on place names as a means of identifying the history of a given site.[76] Displaying a classicizing streak, he later links the Saxon word *burh* with the Greek for tower (*púrgos*); there is indeed a linguistic connection between the two words, but the contribution to the argument being made is limited.[77] As with MacGibbon and Ross, Christison's approaches were generally sound, but his interpretation of the material did not have the advantage of access to the more developed research which is available today. It is perhaps this unsuccessful engagement with place-name studies that has discouraged the systematic use of onomastic research in modern castle studies.

Reverent is not the term to be applied to Ella S. Armitage's treatment of earlier studies in castles, specifically to those which took a relaxed approach, and anecdotal evidence, for identifying and dating castles in Britain.[78] *The early Norman castles of the British Isles* (1912) laid to rest the then-dwindling notion that mottes in England were the product of pre-Norman societies, instead putting forward evidence outside of spurious dating claims to justify her claim that the Normans were the progenitors of motte castles. For instance, by exploring the social dynamics and hierarchies brought with the Normans to England, of the conflict between native and conqueror, Armitage was able to contrast the size of mottes with much larger and accommodating Iron Age sites, two types of fortified site which to the uncritical eye, on formal typological grounds, would initially appear closely related.[79]

Armitage's study begins with a look at the nearest society to the Normans in Britain (really, England), the Anglo-Saxons. Much like MacGibbon and Ross', the study's introduction pays attention to the Romans, but in a more localised and less generalised fashion; given the Anglo-Saxons were the heirs to the Romans in control of much of England (which is very much the focus of Armitage's study), this is a sound course. But given that the Romans had a limited architectural

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[73] D. Christison, *Early fortifications in Scotland: motes, camps, and forts* (Edinburgh, 1898), p.3.
[74] Christison, *Early fortifications in Scotland: motes, camps, and forts*, pp 10, 44.
[75] Christison, *Early fortifications in Scotland: motes, camps, and forts*, p.22.
[76] Christison, *Early fortifications in Scotland: motes, camps, and forts*, p.16.
[77] Christison, *Early fortifications in Scotland: motes, camps, and forts*, p.41.
[78] E.S. Armitage, *The early Norman castles of the British Isles* (London, 1912), p.2.
[79] Armitage, *The early Norman castles of the British Isles,* p.6.

impact on Scotland at best, the study is poorer in this section than its southern neighbours, England and Wales. Where the introduction to the study considers the impact of the Romans and Anglo-Saxons in the British Isles and thereby to carry this consideration on into the later medieval era, the result is in large part focussed on England and Wales.

As a result of this skewing, there is no consideration in Armitage's study of the impact of pre-Norman societies on Scotland's castle era. Describing King David I, celebrated as the architect of Scotland as a medieval polity, Armitage argued that: "He saw that feudalism meant a higher state of civilisation than the tribalism of Keltic Scotland, and that only by the complete organisation of feudalism could he carry out the unification of Scotland, and the subjugation of the wild Keltic tribes to the north and west."[80] While the description of the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland as 'wild' may be outdated and prejudiced, fundamentally Armitage recognised the result – as it was depicted after the fact, if not (this author would argue) the means, of Scotland's development as a medieval state. This transformation was tied both to the creation of burghs under David I and through the planting of mottes in areas where immigrants – internal and external – were settled.[81] Armitage aims to prove this by listing the names of prominent Norman families who participated in this subjugation by settlement; but this list is not evidence for the process of feudalisation in Scotland, rather a symptom of the process. Nevertheless, Armitage recognised a connection of sorts between castles and 'state development' which has remained a constant feature of castle studies in Scotland. The edification of Armitage's work is not without problems, as these examples highlight. Mercer has critiqued current scholarly understanding of the development of the motte origin debate of the early 20th century. He especially interrogated its portrayal of Armitage'e role within it, arguing that its presentation today as a simple contrast between Armitage's *right* and others' *wrong* hampers thinking on the numerous cases of nuance in the archaeological record.[82] Scotland's great topographical and geological diversity means that many mounds bearing medieval occupation are identified as mottes (with resultant cultural and ethnic implications); thus Mercer's argument is especially pertinent.

William Mackay Mackenzie's study observed standard forms of academic caution, which by 1927 had become the norm in what was the emerging, professional field of archaeology as distinct from antiquarianism. Nevertheless, Mackay Mackenzie as with earlier authors displayed an interest in the vocabulary of castles in contemporary sources.[83] Given that words like *castrum* and *municipium* have a wide variety of meanings and where even in legal sources our understanding is

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[80] Armitage, *The early Norman castles of the British Isles,* p.303.
[81] Armitage, *The early Norman castles of the British Isles,* p.306.
[82] D. Mercer, 'The trouble with paradigms. A historiographical study on the development of ideas in the discipline of castle studies', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 13.1 (2006), pp 93-109. My italics.
[83] W. Mackay Mackenzie, *The medieval castle in Scotland* (London, 1927), pp 4-6.

limited, it seems that this particular avenue of research is a hangover from a classicist's approach to medieval history, the result of several generations of historians educated in Latin from texts in which *oppidum* and *castrum* have two distinct contextualised meanings. In a later section on the difference in medieval writers' eyes between the castle and the tower, he confusingly wrote that "We need not interpret medieval terms too closely, but this usage [of specific words] is certainly fundamental."[84]

The trend of categorisation, noted in earlier studies, remains strong in Mackay Mackenzie's work: his division of timber motte-and-bailey castles into three groups was broad enough to accommodate the majority of this type of castle in Scotland, but those outside are unaccounted for.[85] Two related problems, however, feature most prominently in Mackay Mackenzie's study. The first of these is the reliance on single constituent features as a means of dating an entire structure. This involved associating dates and features to a wider selection of sites based on loose similarities to a single site (itself usually infirmly dated). For instance, Dunnottar's cobbled road leading to the entrance of the castle was "probably" the case elsewhere, but we are not informed of why this was probably the case.[86] We are informed that external stairways leading to first- or second-floor entrances were roofed – a sensible feature given the inclement climate of Britain – but we are not told why, or what evidence has been drawn on to make this statement.[87] One recurring aspect of the historiography of castles is that the reader is to take statements on faith, and to trust the author, without reference to critical literature.

An example serves to illustrate how the discipline has been hampered by trust-based discussion. In reference to assigning a date to Bothwell Castle, "The south-east tower is shown by the character of the shafts of the jambs of the chimneys to be of late 14th or more probably early 15th century date."[88] We cannot accept this assessment uncritically, not only because Mackay Mackenzie offered no source or explanation for this assumption, but because he later goes on to stress in detail how Bothwell was a unique site in Scotland, for which it would seem logical to suggest that special dating methods apply (i.e., not applicable to any other site).[89] Following this thought process, then, how are we to receive this dating assertion? Are we to assume that other sites with such jamb shafts are not to be dated to the period Mackay Mackenzie gave, based on the belief that Bothwell is so different? Or should we assume that certain features at Bothwell are more reflective of a Scottish norm than the castle's overall scale and layout? Unfortunately, Mackay Mackenzie does not provide the tools for tackling this particular puzzle.

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[84] Mackay Mackenzie, *The medieval castle in Scotland,* p.38.
[85] Mackay Mackenzie, *The medieval castle in Scotland,* p.36.
[86] Mackay Mackenzie, *The medieval castle in Scotland*, p.111.
[87] Mackay Mackenzie, *The medieval castle in Scotland*, p.114.
[88] Mackay Mackenzie, *The medieval castle in Scotland*, p.53.
[89] Mackay Mackenzie, *The medieval castle in Scotland*, p.55.

In a positive step towards understanding castles in their entirety, the author also recognised that earlier studies have been dominated by military concerns with little consideration for the broader aspects of a castle's character.[90] Rigorous categorisation represented an effort to give coherence and narrative direction to a diffuse, vague and occasionally contradictory body of evidence.

The brief assessment of Christison compared to this extended critique of Mackay Mackenzie does not imply that special criticism has been reserved for the latter study; it is a reflection of the fact that the study handles so much more material, offers many more assertions and deals with more sites than the earlier work. It should also be noted that his assertions may indeed have been founded in comparisons and proofs, but that for want of evidence available to us as readers we cannot wholeheartedly accept them, or indeed begin to challenge them. Especially with regards to early stone castles and dating methods, Mackay Mackenzie warned against "expect[ing] a rigid standardized plan", noting later that "one must be prepared, however, for exceptional cases at any stage."[91] These remarks are still understood in terms of categories and genres of features which are unquestioningly associated with a certain period in time, but nevertheless highlight that uncertainty and peculiarity are omnipresent features, if not determining factors, in the consideration of Scotland's early stone castles.

William Douglas Simpson's long career saw the publication of numerous site-specific articles and reports examining many castle sites, broadening the body of evidence available to castle studies in Scotland and further afield. His report of the 1927 excavations at Kindrochit Castle (Aberdeenshire) drew together an appreciation for the castle siting along important upland routes straddling the Mounth, a study of the excavated buildings and, epitomising a holistic view of castles, an assessment of the faunal remains. This last bore out a very high proportion (60%) of bones belonging to red deer and cattle (35%).[92] Such concentrations, taken with due scepticism and conscious of the bias in surviving archaeological material, otherwise tends towards the castle as a hunting seat. Douglas Simpson was strongest in his approach to castles in reading standing buildings; his study of Dirleton Castle (East Lothian) assessed the inter-relationships of spaces and connections in the cluster of towers in the south-west of the site to argue for its embodying an early form of site later paralleled at Alnwick and Skipton castles in the north of England.[93]

Albeit briefly, Douglas Simpson also framed the appearance of Dirleton in terms of the status and career of its probable builder; John de Vaux was steward to King Alexander II's French queen Marie de Coucy, daughter of an important ducal family. Dirleton's importance as a stone castle in

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[90] Mackay Mackenzie, *The medieval castle in Scotland*, p.69.
[91] Mackay Mackenzie, *The medieval castle in Scotland*, pp 39, 136
[92] W. Douglas Simpson, 'The excavations at Kindrochit Castle, Aberdeenshire', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 8.1 (1927), pp 74-5.
[93] W. Douglas Simpson, 'The thirteenth-century castle of Dirleton', *SHR*, 27.1 (1948), p.54.

a largely timber-and-earth castle context in contemporary Scotland was also stressed, framing the castle's construction in terms of its impact on its physical landscape and the aristocratic peers of its builder.[94] In contrast, his assessment of the island site of Lochaneilean Castle in Invernesshire was less convincing. The usual logical rigour of assessing space was not applied to the unusual means of accessing the principal tower – via a mural passage set in one side of the entrance passage to the castle.[95] In the hands of an advocate of the military school of castle architecture, though in equal measure stressing domestic, symbolic and manorial facets of castellar identity, this military weakness at Lochaneilean escaped mention. It should be noted, however, that Lochaneilean may not have featured prominently in Douglas Simpson's scheme of castellar history in Scotland, for his research there appears to have been commissioned by a local archaeological group. Unlike Dirleton, for example, no comparison with typological or chronological comparators was made.[96] In single articles or reports, especially for a site of the type of Lochaneilean where architecturally diagnostic features are limited, it is forgivable for Douglas Simpson to avoid speculative discussion in the absence of a body of comparable evidence. Among a larger group of site-specific work, Douglas Simpson also engaged in thematic and historical studies of which castles formed a greater or lesser role. Two of these are examined here.

The first is Douglas Simpson's 1946 article on 'bastard feudalism' and its connection to the construction and formal typology of castle sites.[97] The same critical reading of physical remains was allied with contemporary legal and literary sources, a hallmark of Douglas Simpson's approach to castles. However, the narrative threads linking together the broad array of sites discussed was less critically interpreted. The castle-building nobility was ascribed a nervous paranoia of the 14th-15th centuries. Desparate for personal security, keen to promote their family's fortune and aggressive in protection of their honour in equal measure, Douglas Simpson saw a reflection of aristocratic anxiety in the castles of the period. No longer reliant on tenants as the core of armed forces and receiving coin rather than service as a feudal due, Douglas Simpson described how the nobility of England, France and Scotland came to rely on groups of ill-disciplined and disloyal mercenary retainers as guarantors of honour, status and safety. In turn, castles of the period, such as Doune (Perthshire), Tantallon (East Lothian), Château de Pierrefonds (Picardy), Bodiam (Sussex) and Neidenberg (Nidzica), were understood by Douglas Simpson to reflect this anxiety.[98] This reading is almost the reverse effect of the critique of Douglas Simpson's Lochaneilean; there, a troubling feature was ignored, whilst for these sites similarities were

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[94] Douglas Simpson, 'The thirteenth-century castle of Dirleton', p.48.
[95] W. Douglas Simpson, 'Lochaneilean Castle, Inverness-shire', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 17.1 (1937), pp 56-7.
[96] Douglas Simpson, 'The thirteenth-century castle of Dirleton', pp 48, 54-5.
[97] W. Douglas Simpson, ''Bastard feudalism' and the later castles', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 26.3-4 (1946), pp 145-71.
[98] Douglas Simpson, ''Bastard feudalism' and the later castles', pp 145-71.

stressed at the expense of equally troubling differences. The social context of Bodiam and Neidenberg, for example, was wholly different, a point which Douglas Simpson glosses over. The former was probably built as a symbolically martial but practically domestic home, as has been argued in the period after Douglas Simpson's death.[99] Neidenberg, by his own reckoning, was a cloister-like accommodation for twelve knights of the Teutonic Order and not, as with many of these other castles, a space for the housing of a lord. Doubtless there was more symbolism than substance in the reality of idealised shared claustral living in Neidenberg. But its inhabitants were probably in no doubt about the reason for their presence at the castle (crusading warfare), which cannot be said to be comparable for the *modus vivendi* of Bodiam.

Douglas Simpson also contributed towards the wider history of Scotland through his two-part study of Mar and the Garioch. The second of these, *The Earldom of Mar* (1949), examined this region of Scotland from the 13th century onwards.[100] As Oram has said, this study encapsulates the wide-ranging interests of Douglas Simpson and his critical role in the formation of contemporary understanding of castles in Scotland.[101] His appreciation for castles was not confined to elements of architecture – indeed, as noted earlier, his special strength on a technical level was an appreciation for the arrangements of space. Stepping away from the buildings themselves, Douglas Simpson's study of Mar allowed the full breadth of his expertise and interest to be expressed – in prehistoric archaeology, art history, place-name studies, prosopography and geography. In discussing the disbursal of royal demesne lands by King Robert I in Mar and the Garioch, Douglas Simpson drew attention to the importation of settler-magnates from within Scotland, drawn from kin and supporters of the king in his struggles for kingship after 1306.[102] Among these, the Farningdoun Burnetts of Roxburghshire were granted the western portion of the (formerly) royal forest of Drum; they took to the crannog on the Loch of Leys as their caput.[103] Echoing his assessment of Lochaneilean, Douglas Simpson obviously understood the diversity of lordly architecture, even if it was an understanding largely undeveloped in publications. In *The Earldom of Mar*, Douglas Simpson also narrated his view of general changes in the character of castles in medieval Scotland, moving from the enclosure type epitomised by Kildrummy Castle in the 13th century, to the lofty and self-contained seclusion of the tower house in the 14th, of which Hallforest and Drum castles were types in the North-East.[104] The cause for this transition was, in

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[99] E.g. O. Creighton, *Castles and landscapes: power, community and fortification in medieval England* (London, 2005), pp 75-6.

[100] W. Douglas Simpson, *The Earldom of Mar; being a sequel to 'The Province of Mar', 1943* (Aberdeen, 1949).

[101] R. Oram, 'Castles, concepts and contexts: Castle Studies in Scotland in retrospect and prospect', *Château Gaillard*, 23 (Caen, 2008), pp 239-59.

[102] Douglas Simpson, *The Earldom of Mar*, pp 30-6.

[103] Douglas Simpson, *The Earldom of Mar*, p.31.

[104] Douglas Simpson, *The Earldom of Mar*, p.117.

Douglas Simpson's view, the traumatic and destructive events of the Wars of Independence combined with the "tenacious conservatives rooted in the Scottish character."[105] His views on Scottish castles remain a key feature of contemporary discussions, in no small part because of his precocious output of reports and articles which expanded the body of material under discussion. His charcaterisation of the Scottish nobility as conservative has also proved an enduring characterisation open to review.

In England, a major new addition to the study of castles was undertaken by R. Allen Brown in his 1954 *English castles*.[106] In his preface to the 1977 (2nd) edition, Allen Brown reiterated his core beliefs in the central themes of his understanding of castles and their emergence and development in England. These were constructions of unambiguously French origin and their social context was feudal.[107] The contemporary theory of castles as representing a dually martial and domestic space was adopted by Allen Brown.[108] Yet his use of a broad array of evidence, from archaeology and architecture alongside documents, but also in seals, literature and manuscript miniature, set an impressive standard for interdisciplinarity. There is little doubt, in Allen Brown's hands, that any available evidence will be addressed or woven into a narrative to add dimension to his thinking.

One critique of his handling of the evidence, however, is that it serves primarily to add detail to an uncritical and underdeveloped framework of assumptions about medieval society in which castles were constructed and developed.[109] The last chapter of the 2004 edition of his book (representing essentially a reprinting of the 2nd edition, 1977 volume) goes into great detail about the distribution of castles across England in the centuries following 1066, and framed occasionally within major political disturbances (e.g. Stephanic Anarchy, or the war preceeding Henry II's accession). But this is a perspective that is essentially meaningless, for there is never any doubt that castles operated as Allen Brown understood them to, as military, administrative and lordly residential centres.[110] His attempts to ascribe a greater social cause to changes in castles over the medieval period boil down to "a change in the whole nature of society." Here again, feudalism is presented as a package of political, economic and social ideas of which castles form part, and with the decline of feudalism came the decline of castles. He rightly highlights the poverty of 15th-century English monarchs – and the swelling of their castles portfolio due to extensive forfeitures – as a cause for their decline, too, but this is a feature of change (political, economic, social)

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[105] Douglas Simpson, *The Earldom of Mar*, p.117.
[106] R. Allen Brown, *English Castles* (Woodbridge, 2004 (3rd ed.) [1st ed.: 1954]). Allen Brown saw in Scottish castles "[…] a separate story" from those in England and Wales: p.xii.
[107] Allen Brown, *English Castles*, p.xii.
[108] Allen Brown, *English Castles*, p.150.
[109] This general critique is one levelled by Matthew Johnson, see below.
[110] Allen Brown, *English Castles*, p.168.

generally and not feudalism or its decline.[111] It is apparent that though Allen Brown's grasp of the evidence and his ability to draw strands together remains impressive – and his sense of adventure, fun and enjoyment infectious – his frames of reference, be they social or cultural, are not above reproach.

Stewart Cruden's 1960 work, *The Scottish Castle*, draws on extensive personal experience in his professional and private capacity as an Inspector of Ancient Monuments operating within a division of the Ministry of Works.[112] His professional background, as with many earlier authorities, was in architecture.[113] Inevitably his reading of Scotland's castles is focussed on this aspect of these buildings, though documentary evidence plays a larger role here than in earlier authorities save Armitage, but here with a reliance on specifically Scottish or Scotland-oriented documents.

One of the cornerstones of architectural history, that of asserting a date or timescale for 'castle *x*' based on similarities between it and a more firmly-dated 'castle *y*', looms large in Cruden's thinking. When considering how little is known about Scotland's early stone castles today, outside of the larger and more visually impressive minority of sites, this approach is the best way to involve the remaining less well-known majority of sites. Unfortunately, as this last point highlights, the degree of local idiosyncrasy cannot be accounted for in the architectural history dating method.[114] Of the west Highland group of castles, he says "In point of fact, close dating is imprudent with such simple castles whose architectural style is of local rather than national significance."[115] It is telling that Cruden's focus on a strictly architectural interpretation of castles that he remarked of Bu of Cairston on Orkney, a site presently still defying categorisation, "[...] little more than an archaeological site [...]."[116] Needless to say, the contribution of archaeology towards an understanding of early stone castles in Scotland after 1960 has been important, and this last quote should be understood in the context of the time, when archaeological thinking was less sophisticated.

There is the tendency, as is evident in earlier works but also in Cruden, to create links between sites that have no conclusive bearing on the history of the sites themselves, but rather impact more on an architectural interpretation of the past which facilitates and perpetuates discussion in an artificial, closed environment of modern research. It would seem that rather than recognise the inherent local influence and individuality of a given castle, before then moving on to

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[111] Allen Brown, *English Castles*, p.168.
[112] Grater, A., Harris, L., Hillyard, Y., Walker, D. M., 'Stewart Hunter Cruden': Dictionary of Scottish Architects 1840-1980 <http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=400049]> [Accessed 17/01/2014].
[113] *Scotsman*, 11 November 2002.
[114] S. Cruden, *The Scottish castle* (London, 1960), p.12.
[115] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.39.
[116] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.21.

identifying broader local, regional, national or international trends, Cruden selects a castle, often though not always from a familiar group of six, and highlights elements of architecture which are, in narrative terms, plucked out of context and positioned alongside similar features equally divorced from their own context.[117] A case in point is his assessment of Castle Sween. "It possesses architectural characteristics of the late eleventh century in a marked degree and with uncompromising simplicity, unmarred by destruction or later addition."[118] Cruden goes on to note Castle Sween's features "[...] are unmistakeable characteristics of early Norman work, and the piercing of a buttress by a doorway or window is just as much so, being paralleled at the Jew's House, Lincoln (c.1150) and at a window in the second storey of the Keep at Newcastle (1171-5)."[119]

This reference to perceived similarities to the Jew's House, Lincoln, is incorrect. Cruden's buttress at Lincoln is in fact a "shallow chimney breast", the whole feature incorporating a hood for the original 11th-century entrance to the house.[120] This particular feature is closely comparable to that above the door of the nearby Norman House/Aaron's the Jew's House.[121] A third 12th-century dwelling on the same street in Lincoln, the Jew's [sic] Court, displays no such decorative entrance, but Cruden's description of "uncompromising simplicity" might equally be applied here.[122] The larger criticism of Cruden in this example is the context of the sites he chooses to illustrate his points. Castle Sween and Lincoln were starkly dissimilar places in the 12th century. Castle Sween was home to the sea-faring MacSween kindred and was a small site quite removed from areas of urbanisation or substantial royal control in Scotland.[123] Lincoln, on the other hand, was a very wealthy town in the medieval period, with a large and sophisticated economy where there was demand for the services provided by the Jewish moneylenders after whom these buildings are named.[124] This stark contextual contrast adds doubt to Cruden's point, simply because the two sites he compares are not, in fact, similar. By contrast, the sites in Lincoln itself illustrate the possibility of contemporary parallels (Jew's House and Norman House/Aaron the Jew's House) and contemporary contrasts (these last two and the Jew's Court). That the two sites share a single architectural feature, and yet are quite different in context, highlights the flaw in Cruden's approach here. It might be furthermore possible to suggest, admittedly in a speculative fashion,

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[117] Edinburgh, Stirling, Kildrummy, Caerlaverock, Bothwell, Dirleton are all frequently referred to by Cruden.
[118] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.22.
[119] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.23.
[120] 'The Jews House', Pastscape: English Heritage Archive,
<http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=326716> [Accessed 29/01/2014].
[121] 'Aaron the Jews House'; Pastscape: English Heritage Archive
<http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=326685> [Accessed 29/01/2014].
[122] 'Jews Court', Pastscape: English Heritage Archive
<http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=1513674>, [Accessed 29/01/2014].
[123] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.25.
[124] J. Hillaby, 'Jewish colonisation in the twelfth century' in P. Skinner (ed.), *Jews in medieval Britain: historical, literary and archaeological perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2003), Table 1, p.21.

that the buttress at Castle Sween acts to strengthen the main entrance to the castle, whereas at the Jew's House the chimney breast on the first floor is extended down to act as a hood for the main entrance. Though close in appearance, their function may differ. Subsequent research at Sween has suggested its earliest medieval occupation was probably in the 13th century.[125]

The same process of applying the appropriate context to the site generates more criticism of Cruden's application of this dating method to the other site he mentions in dating Castle Sween, the keep at Newcastle. This was a royal castle and the donjon was part of its development by Henry II, one of many the king built around England in an effort to consolidate his grip on the kingdom. As a royal site, Newcastle benefitted from the attention of the best builders and masons available to the king at the time. Access to the best technology and materials is evident in the sheer scale of the castle, over four floors, dominating the medieval town of Newcastle. Henry II was noted for building castles as points of control and symbols of power rather than elite housing. The keep was for the town of Newcastle and the hinterland to see, and for the citizens of the town to find refuge in, but it was above all a mark of royal authority. Castle Sween, on the other hand, can be understood as a base for control of (borrowing a term from Creighton's discussion of English examples) the "martime hinterlands" of Loch Sween and the Sound of Jura.[126]

Not only did these two structures have patrons of differing background, but the aims and contexts are too different to make a link between a single architectural feature of either castle a worthwhile link to make. As mentioned previously, the method of comparative dating is a core feature of architectural history, and this is not an attempt to criticise the premise, but to critique Cruden's application of the method for multiple cases in Scotland and Britain. It would be unwise to wholly negate the possibility to comparative dating. But Cruden would appear determined to substantiate (with sporadic references far outside the socio-political or architectural landscape of the west of Scotland), however ill-founded, a belief that Castle Sween is of late-11th-century construction. Outside of the possibility that Castle Sween is of this date, Cruden's methodology is not the route to this conclusion. It is not argued here that agency of castles should be muted, but rather that that agency should be compared to patterns elsewhere.

Unfortunately, Cruden's assessment of other castles in Scotland is equally built on uncertain foundations. His claim that Kisimul Castle's second floor is "evidently the hall" is uncited.[127] Cruden earlier drew attention to the problems of equating a date for construction of castles with their first appearance in the record (Kisimul, Mingarry, Tioram and Dunstaffnage castles) but it is

[125] G. Ewart, J. Triscott, 'Archaeological excavations at Castle Sween, Knapdale, Argyll & Bute, 1989-90', *PSAS*, 126 (1996), pp 522, 555-6.
[126] Creighton, *Castles and landscape: Power, community and fortification in medieval England*, p.44.
[127] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.44.

unclear why Cruden "inferentially" traced the construction of Auchencass back half a century.[128] Cruden later says of another Highland castle, "Everything about Inverlochy proclaims the thirteenth century and nothing contradicts it." He goes on to say, "As a first-rate transitional work its importance can scarcely be exaggerated."[129] Cruden's desire to portray Inverlochy as a keystone site between two phases of Scottish castellated architecture seems here to encourage an overzealous assignation of status to Inverlochy. Once again, even if Inverlochy does indeed belong to the late 13th century, Cruden as a forensic investigator presenting an argument and defending his case about the past provides no citation, no comparative examples and no means for readers to either argue against or for his case. In a pattern familiar in castle studies historiography, we are invited to trust Cruden and given little opportunity to challenge his thinking.

As noted earlier, Cruden's comparison between Castle Sween and Newcastle was inappropriate given the patrons and scale of the construction. He is similarly reliant on the castles of Edward I in north Wales (Harlech, Beaumarais, Conwy, Rhuddlan, Caernarfon) as examples from which to draw comparison with Scottish castles, but he neglects to treat the special circumstances in which these castles were erected, namely the post-warfare, long-term subjugation of this country by the English crown. His attention to the Edwardian castles in Wales also highlights a broader point equally noted in Cruden's focus on visually impressive sites. Of the hooded fireplace with sconces (note again the attention to a single feature) at Rait Castle in Nairnshire, he notes that "[t]his late thirteenth-century feature is ubiquitous in Edward's castles in North Wales, but uncommon in Scotland [...]."[130] Given that Cruden notes the peculiarity and rarity of this feature in Scotland, it seems wrong-headed to continue to use the Welsh castles as comparisons given that Rait is not only far removed from north Wales, but also a castle of different scale, patronage and formal typology.

Though his is very clearly a study of all Scotland's castles great and small, Cruden nevertheless defers to larger, visually striking examples in Wales and England. There is no specific evidence to suggest that Cruden deliberately sought to circumvent Scottish comparisons in his study, as indeed he discusses Scottish features in their own context, but it is perhaps reflective of the state of castle studies and the paucity of evidence (especially archaeological) which gives the lasting impression that Cruden was studying castles in Scotland as a group of castles more generally belonging to the group of British and Irish castles. "These major works [Bothwell, Kildrummy, Dirleton, Tantallon castles] must be dated and assessed on architectural features and merit, which

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[128] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, pp 38-9.
[129] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, both citations p.61.
[130] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.98.

must be compared with dated castles in England and Wales."[131] It may also indicate that the field of castle studies was dominated by English and Welsh studies at the time, forcing Cruden to harmonize his arguments with examples to which his colleagues across Britain and Ireland could relate. Certainly, the 1960s saw the lauch of a major project by the Royal Archaeological Institute examining 'The origins of the castle in England'; Cruden's work must be understood in these positive and collaborative terms.[132]

It may be Cruden's determination to fit the many different castles in Scotland into categories of his own design which underlie many of these problems. Cruden was aware of the problems of categorising these structures, at the beginning of his work noting that "A castle is a functional structure. Its form varies with the changing demands of military or domestic requirements, with terrain, with the nature of the challenge it is intended to meet, and with the notions and material resources of its builder."[133] Unfortunately, as is often the case in Cruden's 1960 work, this insightful thesis is not carried forward in his work, but rather stated and then set aside. A more critical interpretation might reject the reading of castles as reactive objects, instead considering how the buildings conditioned society and economy.

The extreme case of Castle Sween need not colour our appreciation for other specific examples of comparative dating in Cruden's work, nor some of the broader conclusions he draws out. He notes, for example, that Rothesay Castle in Bute is likely the castle mentioned in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Flateyjarbók*.[134] He also signals an appreciation for the domestic aspects of the castle, if only touching upon this briefly and some way into his study, suggesting that too often military considerations have overridden domestic concerns "which considerably influenced design and situation."[135] Cruden devotes time to addressing the specific builders, masons and craftsmen mentioned in sources which might shed light upon the stylistic similarities and issues of construction and dating, noting the broad range of activities undertaken by those who built castles, specifically in the sphere of siege warfare.[136]

Cruden's view of 'feudalism' is derived from a 16th-century gloss of the 12th-century Lombard *Libri Feodorum*.[137] Its categorisation of terminologies of land tenure and duty were applied to early modern Scottish law and in ignorance of the idiosyncratic developments of Scotland up to that

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[131] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, pp 69-70.
[132] O. Creighton, 'Castle studies and archaeology in England: towards a research framework', *Château Gaillard*, 23 (2008), p.79.
[133] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.12.
[134] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, pp 30-1.
[135] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, pp 84, 100.
[136] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, pp.63-4, 70-1, 79.
[137] Reynolds, 'Fiefs and vassals in Scotland: a view from the outside', p.177.

century, deceptively labelled in pan-European Latin legal terminology.[138] Alice Taylor has argued that a set of changes in the exercise of law in Scotland from the reign of David I to the post-1290 period of succession crisis transformed the way in which the kingdom was governed.[139] With regards to Cruden, her conclusion was that Scotland saw the emergence of a distinct set of governmental tools over the 12th-13th centuries, piecemeal in fashion and in response to immediate and longer-term events and trends. The tools themselves were mostly of English derivation – sheriffs, justices, common law brieves – but were deployed and modified to suit Scottish circumstances, namely the different exercise of authority shared and mutually supported by aristocrats and the Crown.[140]

The influence of MacGibbon and Ross' own words, however, are evident in Cruden's assessment of Bothwell Castle's donjon, a favourite site in Cruden and many of the earlier works: "[...] the stalwart tower which has been described as the noblest work of architecture which the Middle Ages has bequeathed us."[141] He also rightly critiques Douglas Simpson's arguments on medieval warfare generally, suggesting that his view of the matter was too strongly influenced by knowledge of modern warfare, with all the resultant ramifications for communication, transport and artillery warfare.[142] Drawing together these points, he asserts that "The castle was at its greatest in peace. It was an instrument of local power, planted to enforce authority and government. Its rise and decline reflect not only the changing military and political situation but the shifting social background of the feudal system."[143]

As a thinker in the world of castle studies, Cruden summarised what he saw as the direction of this field in the future, with farsighted understanding, though never reining in his architecturally-driven interpretation of castles.

> "The exaggeration [of the military character of castles], as well as being misleading, is harmful to the less factual but none the less important aesthetic consideration. If castles are pre-eminently regarded as the result of progressive developments in military science they will receive less than just appreciation, for they are noble works of architecture at their best, bold and expressive, conceived and executed by architects and masons employed on other works, parish churches, abbeys, cathedrals and the like with unquestioned claims to aesthetic merit [...]. By such means the castle impressed the beholder with a proper respect for feudal power and became the material expression of the

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[138] E.A.R. Brown, 'The tyranny of a construct: feudalism and historians in medieval Europe', *American Historical Review*, 79.4 (1974), pp 1063-4. The universal character of Latin legalese proved sympathetic to Scottish royal (and legal) society's orientation, in terms of identity, towards Europe.
[139] Taylor, *The shape of the state in medieval Scotland*, p.438.
[140] Taylor, *The shape of the state in medieval Scotland*, p.446. Taylor also cautions against viewing governmental changes in Scotland through the lens of 'native' and 'incomer', rightly challenging how important this is to understanding the theory and practice of power and society: p.447.
[141] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.79. Cf MacGibbon, Ross, *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland*, I, p.95: "The donjon is a noble tower [...]."
[142] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.102.
[143] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.103.

pride and pomp of the ruling class. To what extent it did, and when, and to what extent aesthetic, symbolic and practical considerations interacted, conflicted and harmonised and were resolved, are matters which become increasingly prominent in the study of the Scottish Castles of the late Middle Ages."[144]

David J. Cathcart King's *Castellarium Anglicanum* (2 vols, 1983) forms a landmark examination of castles from a traditionally architecture- and document-driven agenda, treating a reading of these sources as self-evident points of fact. Extraordinarily broad in its coverage, encompassing England, Wales and "the Islands", as well as its meticulous references, in a pre-database age it provided the first comprehensive macro-level view of English and Welsh castles to incorporate the majority of excavations and new documentary finds recovered since 1945.[145] Cathcart King consciously followed a tradition of gentleman scholars and professionals (often of military or engineering background) in seeking out and recording monuments. While forthright and concise, his is a language not above criticism. His "definition and character of a castle" comprises a "seriously" fortified building. How to characterise what was considered serious from what was not is only loosely qualified; enclosed monasteries and walled towns do not count, while so-called "Strong houses" were included to make the list, in Cathcart King's eyes, inclusive.[146] This approach is functionalist and chiefly takes form as central to any discussion. The result of this approach is that Cathcart King's discussion of function sees castles as tools, devices, "weapons".[147] Even though aesthetic and symbolic values are highlighted, they are regarded as secondary to the "practical motives" of castle-building.[148] He argued too, in agreement with contemporary scholarship, that castles were not chiefly martial. Rather, citing Mackay Mackenzie, these were residential and administrative centres where defence, though secondary, remained present. His narrative summary of the emergence and decline of the early English castle hinges on the initial resistance then acceptance of Saxons to Norman rule.[149] Cathcart King also presented his thinking on the strategic reading of castles, noting that at a baronial level at least, siting was not a process of (militarily) logical siting; English royal castles, for example those of Henry II and Edward I, evidenced such thinking. In the case of the former, the legal instrument of rendability saw the king take temporary control of his subjects' castles, while in the case of the latter piecemeal planting of castles around Snowdonia was part of a strategy of settling the district in the king's favour.[150]

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[144] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.101.
[145] D.J. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum: an index and bibliography of the castles of England, Wales and the Islands* (London, 1983), p.xiii.
[146] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, p.xv.
[147] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, p.xxxiii.
[148] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, pp xvi-xvii.
[149] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, p.xxxi.
[150] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, pp xxiv-xxv.

John R. Kenyon's *Medieval fortifications* presents a succinct summary of the state of research in castle studies in Britain up to 1990.[151] In this way, it presents a time-frame (Norman Conquest to Reformation) and presentational categories (Earthwork castles, masonry castles, domestic structures, town defences) which reflects the expectation of readers and in compliance with the development of castle studies as a discipline. It emphasises domestic buildings and daily life in castles, weaving this facet of a site's identity into its more staid military facet. Furthermore, though the study reflects the variety of opinion and array of sites in Britain, the overwhelming focus for sites is centered on England and Wales, with Scotland's retinue of castles only sporadically called on to contribute valuable, if perhaps only as underused exemplars, towards a given Anglo-Welsh castle theme. Evidently, then, Kenyon's study commands an assessment on its own merits as well as its contribution towards the study of castles in Scotland.

Kenyon's study begins with an assessment of earthwork and timber castles in Britain, pointing towards two sub-categories of formal typology, motte-and-bailey castles and ringworks. This division is articulated as a manifestation of several factors, varying from the patron's preferred type of castle to the local geology.[152] In reference to Scotland specifically, Kenyon highlights the higher proportion of mottes as being square in shape than elsewhere in Britain, and notes too that in Scotland there are a mere 18 ringworks ascribed a Norman date, in contrast to the 299 Scottish mottes.[153] Special attention is given to the method of construction of the motte-mounds themselves, evidencing here especially the sheer variety and local differences which prohibit generalisation. At the Peel of Lumphanan, turf was noted as a stabilising material, during the construction of the mound, paralleled with findings from Alstoe Mount, Rutland (England), Lorrha, Co. Tipperary (Ireland) and possibly Framlingham, Suffolk (England).[154] Kenyon too highlighted the practice in mound construction of laying different soil types one atop the other in successive layers as a means of securing the mound's integrity and its superstructure. Kenyon's assessment of three major Scottish excavations (Keir Knowe of Drum, Stirlingshire; Barton Hill, Perthshire; Cruggleton, Wigtownshire) consistently refer back to excavations by Hope-Taylor at Abinger excavation so that results from Scotland are portrayed as variations on the Abinger archetype.[155] This problematic analogous approach, reliant on a single and far-removed parallel, is not confined to Scottish examples, however, and reflects the prevailing discussion in castle studies with regards to the results from earth-and-timber castle excavations.[156] Abinger, though, does not dominate Kenyon's discussion; indeed, special recognition is given towards structural details – framed, free-

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[151] J. R. Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications* (Leicester, 1991), 'Foreword' by Helen Clarke, p.vii.

[152] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications*, p.4.

[153] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* p.4

[154] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* p.10.

[155] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* pp 18-21.

[156] E.g. W. Wyeth, 'Medieval timber motte towers', *Medieval Archaeology*, 62.1 (2018), pp 135-56.

standing structures especially – in understanding the structures which adorned motte-tops and were guarded by ringworks. The notable case of Hen Domen, Powys (Wales) is in more recent works alluded to as a case where excavation has demonstrated successive phases of occupation, varying in function and patronage, evidence extensive use of both earthfast and free-standing buildings, all of timber. Furthermore, both the longevity and luxury of certain earthwork sites are recognised.[157] Kenyon here underlines the most recent thought on earthwork castles in a logical and reasoned way, which is to be commended, though reliance on Abinger as a typical motte site is too narrow a base of evidence to be compelling. Nevertheless, other important Scottish examples of timber castle sites, Peebles (Peeblesshire) and Castlehill of Strachan (Kincardineshire) are cited in the context of the yet-unresolved question of circular timber structures.[158]

While Kenyon's treatment of Scottish castles is limited, the dichotomy between Anglo-Norman castles in England and Wales on the one hand and castles built by Welsh rulers on the other might offer a framework for discussion in the somewhat analogous situation in Scotland's complex cultural makeup from the conventional beginning in the late medieval period in the 11th century. Kenyon's discussion on the matter, however, frequently argues from a point of Norman-type castles as the standard, and non-Norman–type sites as deficient in the qualities and role of a castle. "[...] several of the thirteenth-century Welsh castles lack the systematic arrangement of carefully planned and distributed mural towers and gatehouses found in English castles of the same date."[159] A similar value judgement is noted later: "Certain aspects of the castles of Welsh princes can be seen to have particularly native characteristics, for example the large apsidal-ended tower as at Castel-y-Bere, Merioneth. However, Anglo-Norman influences obviously stimulated Welsh castle building, from the motte-and-bailey of Tomen-y-Rhodwydd, Denbighshire, to the gatehouse at Cricceth, Caernarfonshire."[160] Kenyon's definition of a castle is "[...] the fortified residence of a lord, a symbol of the feudal society in which it developed [...]."[161] One might ask, in reply, where Welsh magnates lived prior to the arrival of Norman castle-building in Wales, if not in sites which functioned as Kenyon's castles. Furthermore, while it is accepted that castle-building is a phenomenon closely associated with Norman culture, it is contrary to Kenyon's accepted definition of a castle to imply that castle-building was "obviously" a Norman phenomenon; this negates the possibility of a given site operating as a castle (as per the definition given above) without being Norman-built or -inspired. Furthermore, it is worth reflecting that while the presence of Normans is apparent in Wales and Scotland in the period in question, it is

[157] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* p.38.
[158] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* pp 20-1, also noted in Oram, 'Castles, concepts and contexts: castle studies in Scotland in retrospect and context', pp 239-59.
[159] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* pp 47-8.
[160] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* p.55.
[161] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* p.xviii.

not so readily apparent that the relationships were comparable between newcomers and resident magnates or populations in Scotland, for certainly there was no conquest in Scotland in this period. To assume that a practicable comparison complies with Kenyon's Norman-centric history of castles is misleading.

There is equally in Kenyon's study traces of the legacy of castle studies' interaction with its Roman past; "What is surprising is that it took so long for the idea of mural towers to develop, when one considers that several Norman castles were placed in Roman forts, such as Pevensey and Portchester, which had such towers or bastions."[162] Doubtless, in certain cases Roman fortifications were integrated and informed the form of Norman-era castles, but to imply anything else, as Kenyon suggests here, is unhelpful.[163] Venturing a functional comparison (as Kenyon does) risks implying a cogent understanding of ancient, Roman state military strategy in the 11th century. Furthermore, most examples of castle sites referred to by Kenyon are either *de novo* or built atop earlier, non-Roman centres. In this context, it would seem sensible to look to Anglo-Saxon fortified sites, as Kenyon does frequently, rather than much earlier and less numerous Roman forts. The insistence of a lineal descent from Roman forts to castles also means that contradictions like the emergence of mural towers are brought into sharp relief: if we reject the abstract concept of architectural evolution, we can begin coming to terms with the more immediate factors and trends which saw this form of building emerge in the record. It is not a question of how long these features took to emerge, but rather why they emerged at all. While we may not confidently compare Iron age and Anglo-Saxon political structures, we may be more confident in saying that they may have shared greater similarities with each other than with the continent-spanning bureaucracy of the Roman state. In this light, associating post-1066 power centres with pre-Anglo-Saxon counterparts is bizarre, in archaeological terms skipping a stratigraphic layer over 500 years deep.

The laudable emphasis in Kenyon's study on domestic arrangements in castles demands closer attention; too often architecture and military considerations have dominated discussions to the detriment of furthering knowledge and understanding of castle sites. Kenyon provides a window into the sheer variety, complexity and innovation of ancillary/auxiliary structures in castles – noting, for instance, the 50 major structures uncovered at the Hen Domen excavations.[164] He presents examples of well-built timber halls as proof of high-status residence (Bolingbroke Castle, Lincolnshire (England)) in contrast with poorer stone sites (Penmaen and Llantrithyd, Glamorgan

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[162] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* p.72. Examination of the late Roman walls at Pevensey reveals traces of herringbone work characteristic of late 11th-early 12th repair and consolidation, spanning a late Saxon-early Norman presence.
[163] Pevensey (East Sussex) and Portchester (Hampshire) are the most-cited examples of reuse of Roman forts for castle sites.
[164] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* p.126.

(Wales)).[165] The are invaluable points in undoing a stone-centric view of castles, reiterating points made around sixty years earlier by Mackay Mackenzie and later Cruden.

It is important to reflect on the context of castle studies and the aims of Kenyon's study, chiefly to summarise findings up to 1990 on castles in Britain. While the aims are met, the conclusions which are accepted in 1990 are not those accepted today, nor is the framework of reference or the approach to cultures outside the Norman sphere operating and interacting within Britain. Castle studies as a specialism has changed a great deal from the time of Armitage and, for Scotland, MacGibbon and Ross. Arguments have moved from discussing architecture, identifying earthwork sites, discussing castles as economic, social and military centres and, presently, the landscape embracing the castle, how it was understood, managed, designed and changed. Kenyon's study evidences the great leaps forward in modern castle studies, specifically both the enhanced appreciation for earthwork and timber sites, and the holistic view of the castle, here characterised by an entire section devoted to domestic buildings. But the 'truths' of early castle studies persist: Norman origin, native imitation, and Roman influence. These three aspects of castles hold elements of truth but can no longer be presented unchallenged. In discussing Dryslwyn Castle, Carmarthenshire (Wales), he notes "Entry into the ward may have been dominated by a circular keep, but it was the hall, which traditionally played an important role in Celtic lordly society, that would have drawn the eye once one had set foot in the courtyard."[166] The importance of pre-Norman culture and society on Norman-era Wales is obviously warranted and alluded to, if not elaborated upon, by Kenyon. In this particular case, the analogy with Scotland is very pertinent.

In concluding the domestic section of his study, Kenyon notes the following: "It is too much to expect that archaeology, or even historical sources, will provide a complete picture of this aspect of castle life throughout its period of occupation, whether it was for a few decades or a few hundred years, and of course speculation should not be taken to extremes."[167] Kenyon's study is a lucid and wide-ranging assessment of castle studies in England and Wales up to the 1990s. Where Scottish castles are concerned, two sites – Bothwell (South Lanarkshire) and Kildrummy (Aberdeenshire) castles are called upon at points to buttress discussions on Edwardian castles in Wales.[168] However sites with less coverage outside Scotland also feature; Dundonald Castle (Ayrshire) is listed with Bothwell and Kildrummy as housing a double-tower gatehouse; Breachacha Castle on Coll (Argyll) is noted for its external kitchen range.[169] On this basis, Kenyon

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[165] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* pp 109, 111.
[166] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* p.121.
[167] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* p.181.
[168] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* pp 52, 69.
[169] Kenyon, *Medieval fortifications,* pp 69, 149-50.

points towards the possibilities for growth in British castle studies through closer examination of Scottish examples – and vice-versa. However, these sites are not always treated in their own terms and are more often seen as links to other exemplars instead of discrete buildings. In this sense, the addition of further material is an enterprise without logical conclusion or end point; the knowledge and understanding of the physical fabric of castles is limitless and the volume of potential new findings staggering. It is apparent that new information must be understood in terms of what sets it apart, rather than what is similar.

Robert Higham and Philip Barker's *Timber castles* represents a concerted effort to firmly fix the recent developments and understanding of timber castles in a European and medieval context, providing substantial variety and breadth of exemplars. While their study offers a focus more on sites in England and Wales, their holistic approach to a subject often sidelined in favour of stone castles bears closer examination. Their study begins with several statements which underline the direction of their work. "There is very little evidence that contemporaries were interested in, or even recognized, the physical categorization to which modern archaeologists and historians are accustomed to."[170] This stands in contrast to the methodology of earlier writers in attempting to frame the discussion of castles in the language of architecture and pure science, rather than the messier, non-linear language of archaeology. "The endless variety in detail, which close examination of castles reveals, suggests it was their individuality which concerned their designers and which struck observers."[171] Later on, they note too that our knowledge of timber castles is essentially derived from excavation of sites rather than architectural or documentary study.[172] Moving from this, Higham and Barker establish the chronology of modern investigation of timber castles, noting especially that early county inventories in England, Wales and Scotland took little notice of what would later be revealed to be earthwork sites, principally because of their lack of documentary record.[173] Evidently, this was a manifestation of documentary evidence guiding archaeological fieldwork, rather than archaeology functioning as a means to a separate end.

Moving from the legacy of early archaeologists, Higham and Barker turn to the documentary sources for insight into the history, development and understanding of timber castles, noting from the beginning that the record is poor and detailed records rare.[174] Nevertheless, the unwritten evidence, known from excavations of earlier historic and prehistoric sites, suggests that building with wood was not a novelty of the late medieval age. Extant architecture from the medieval era, Scandinavian and English church bell-towers, also act as a prompt for visualising the

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[170] R. Higham, P. Barker, *Timber castles* (Exeter, 2004 (2nd ed.) [1st ed: 1992]), p.21.
[171] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles*, p.21.
[172] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.29.
[173] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.24.
[174] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 28-9.

aspect of some timber castles.[175] Higham and Barker insist that when considering larger regional trends in castle architecture we ignore any possible north-south European divide between timber (in this context, implying clay, earth, cob and wood) and stone. They emphasize the local conditions and resources in forming arguments on larger trends, again reflecting the complex and nuanced landscape of castles in the medieval era.[176]

The social mechanisms tied to the development of castles are likely, in Higham and Barker's words, to remain veiled in obscurity, though traditionally the emergence of castle-type structures is tied with the emergence of feudalism.[177] Evidently, the term 'feudalism' encompasses a nebulous complex of military, social, economic, legal and political systems embodying diverse influences and numerous local and regional manifestations. As Higham and Barker note, several cultures created structures which might be termed castles but in which no evidence exists for 'feudalism'. Scandinavian societies in medieval Caithness, Orkney, and Gaelic western Scotland feature fortified elite dwellings operating as estate centres, centres for administration and justice, and symbols of authority: Finlaggan Castle on Islay and Cubbie Roo's Castle in Orkney are examples. Higham and Barker remark too that "the Welsh princes [...] did not forgo the advantages of castle-building on the basis of their Celtic, 'non-feudal' ancestry."[178] In examining the traditional view of Norman origins to castles, Higham and Barker note that, certainly for England, Norman society and castles were in a state of rapid change even after the Conquest of 1066, while tentative traces of an Anglo-Saxon societal change mirroring aspects of Norman developments prior to 1066 is also noted.[179] With regards to Scotland, Higham and Barker are careful to note the peculiar factors at play in the emergence of castles, though it must be acknowledged that they offer only a synthesis of contemporary thinking and not a critical analysis. They suggest that "Castles appear in Scotland as a result of the deliberate efforts of its twelfth-century kings to settle an immigrant feudal aristocracy", later going on to specify that "Though the Scottish earls were very powerful men who sometimes challenged their king, there was no proliferation of marcher lordships of the Welsh variety."[180] Certain parts of Scotland were subject to settlement by magnates from outside the kingdom. Higham and Barker suggest that "The traditional association of mottes with centres of royal administration and with fiefs, both large and small, of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman settlers holds true", the evidence from Ireland, an oft-cited case for comparison with Scotland, contradicts this.[181] "The argument has recently been taken a stage further in relation to western Ireland, where mottes are few and

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[175] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.31.
[176] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 32-7.
[177] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.38.
[178] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.38.
[179] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 39-40.
[180] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 66-7.
[181] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.70.

far between but where there was certainly Anglo-Norman penetration in the thirteenth century."[182] Therefore, though the authors maintain a level of caution in their assessment of the distributions of motte sites in Scotland, there are evidently other factors at play, perhaps mirroring those of western Ireland or particular to the region of Scotland in question. It is necessary to challenge the notion of prevailing royal prerogative in the settlement of immigrant families in Scotland, too; foremost in this category (and studied in more detail below) is the Lordship of Galloway.

The Mormaerdom or Earldom of Mar, has early medieval origins whose dynamics of authority and power lay outside the framework of 12th-century Scottish kings. The similarities between sites which, Higham and Barker suggest, might in an Irish context be identified as raths, confirm the legacy of earlier cultural and political changes in Scotland which are carried down into the later medieval era.[183] As elsewhere, the authors note the emphasis evident in the sites of late medieval castles on places of earlier political and social importance, such as the early medieval centres of Edinburgh, Dumbarton and Urquhart.[184] Similar phenomena are apparent in Orkney and Galloway. Across Scotland, crannog sites conventionally understood as late Bronze or Iron age in origin have steadily become recognised as multi-phase centres, operating as lordship centres in late medieval Scotland alongside conventional castles.[185]

Following on from this, Higham and Barker's study moves to examining the evidence for timber castles from continental Europe. From this section, it is evident that the local variation already alluded to above in the case of British mottes is in fact evident across the continent. In Italy, the authors note mottes appear in the 11th century and that as late as the 14th century *motae* are described as being built, especially in relation to siege warfare.[186] In Spain, stonework appears to have dominated medieval fortified dwellings, though Carolingian timber watchtowers were uncovered in Catalonia.[187] Denmark presents an interesting regional dichotomy for the authors; the 10th century saw a proliferation of timber fortifications under King Harald Bluetooth, with sites such as Trelleborg, Aggersborg, Fyrkat and Odense/Nonnebakken created for internal control. By contrast, sites in the south of the kingdom, and town fortifications, were constructed in response to external threats.[188] Intriguingly the authors note that despite a prolonged period of internal instability, very few fortified sites were built in Denmark in the hundred years after Bluetooth's

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[182] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.72.
[183] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.67.
[184] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.67.
[185] M. Shelley, *Freshwater Scottish loch settlements of the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods; with particular reference to northern Stirlingshire, central and northern Perthshire, northern Angus, Loch Awe and Loch Lomond* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2009).
[186] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 78-9.
[187] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.79.
[188] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.79.

reign. Fortifications may not always be connected to political instability. In a statement with particular analogous value for Scotland, accurate or not, the authors remark that most of the known castle sites in Denmark are of stone, "[...] in imitation of contemporary works further south."[189] The enhanced representation of square motte sites within Denmark's retinue of timber castle sites too makes it a worthy avenue of enquiry, while the lack of baileys in many Dutch mottes in contrast to Flanders too reminds of the value of Europe-wide analogy in castle studies. "Opinion is divided on the social significance of Polish mottes", the authors note; "were they a product of local development, or were they a direct imitation of western practice?"[190] Evidence from Germany and the Netherlands present parallels to Irish examples, and sites noted above in Britain, in the reuse of earlier sites for medieval fortification. Referring to the oft-cited excavation at der Husterknupp, the authors comment "At what point it became a 'castle', whether in the late tenth or in the eleventh century, is a matter of choice."[191]

The situation of timber castles in France is complicated by the sheer number of sites involved, said by the authors to number in the thousands, though the early dates ascribed to some sites have recently been revised. They note too that even up to the Revolution (1789-99) a lord might leave his chateau and go to his motte "[...] to dispense justice 'à la cause de la motte.'"[192] The south of Brittany is sparsely populated with motte sites, the authors contend, because this was ducal demesne and so did not necessitate physical institutions of control.[193] The authors mean to imply that mottes are centres for central authority; in the 12th century, they go on, mottes emerge more clearly as estate centres in the region. Normandy's castle-sites inevitably receive close attention from the authors for the duchy's connection to the Norman conquest of England. At the early ducal sites of Fécamp and Caen excavations "[...] of the early eleventh-century [castles] comprised ramparts, with stone curtain walls, enclosing domestic buildings. [...] it has been suggested that what is apparent is a reflection of the Normans' Viking background and adherence to traditional form."[194] Some of the earliest sites excavated in Normandy suggest construction dates around the 1050s, leading the authors to point out that "When the Normans eventually built mottes in England their experience of them may only have been twenty years old."[195] The cumulative conclusions derived from the continental European perspective grants exceptional insight into analogous cases of development and change, while also providing ample evidence to 'fill the gaps' in evidence from Britain and especially Scotland. More generally, a wider European view has enabled British archaeologists to successfully revise and revisit discussions of the development of

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[189] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 79-83.
[190] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.88.
[191] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 89-90.
[192] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.95.
[193] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.99.
[194] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.100.
[195] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.103.

feudal society in Norman France and Norman conquest-England.[196] In this, Higham and Barker deserve special mention.

Turning to the documentary evidence for timber castles, "Above all, most medieval writers aimed to produce elegant prose, to display their education in the classical Latin authors [...]" as well as to please their patrons.[197] Such a view is widely accepted, but warrants closer examination, especially given that it tends to emphasise the unwritten content of the documentary evidence, the hints and allusions, rather than reflecting on why these *topoi* feature in the first place. The examination of documentary evidence inherently requires a study of the intended audience: "[...] the tendency of chroniclers to simplify and idealize their descriptions [...]" is challenging from the perspective of castle studies by archaeologists and historians, but this last is not the purpose for which these texts were created.[198] The aims of a given text should be recognised and studied for the ideals they convey of the culture which created and celebrated them. While we may not wish to travel down the route these texts created for their audience in the portrayal of a castle, we should be aware that taking a forensic journey (as Higham and Barker do) will inevitably not be smooth, consistent or clear.

A clear conclusion may be drawn from the authors' survey of medieval writers: the terminology of castle sites, whether structural or related to superstructure, is not definitive or regular. In part, this is not a problem with the texts, but with both translation (is one's *agger* another's *tumulus*?) and a broader desire to categorise sites via neat and clear parameters. Evidently, where documents describe sites well represented via excavation and/or survey, firmer conclusions may be drawn for the specific text in question – here the poem of Iolo Goch, describing in familiar flowery prose the site of Sycharth, Powys (Wales), is an example, evidencing too the limitations of this approach.[199] In summarising the authors' assessment of the visual evidence for timber castles: "Inevitably, in the absence of almost any large-scale detailed excavation of these hundreds of earthworks, schemes of classification have been attempted in order to see if patterns emerge and also because it is in the nature of archaeologists to classify and to bring order to where perhaps there was none. The results, in fact, show an unexpected degree of individuality in the castle builders [...]. Because of the inevitable anonymity of much medieval castle building, the myth has arisen of a sort of collective design, with individuality only surfacing in the Renaissance."[200] Higham and Barker go on to note that everywhere the evidence suggests a high

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[196] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 109-111.
[197] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.115.
[198] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.115.
[199] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 144-5.
[200] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* pp 195-6.

degree of individualism and innovation which defies generalisation, even within a single site.[201]

They also illustrate the great changes in individual sites which might not otherwise have been
speculated without excavation – an underlying theme of the larger study. In light of this Higham
and Barker highlight the distorting effect of the Abinger motte excavation undertaken by Brian
Hope-Taylor in 1949, noting it has been responsible "[...] for the implicit assumption in many
history books, and even in specialist books on castles, that all timber castles were hurriedly
erected, temporary structures, to be replaced by stone as soon as possible."[202] This early
excavation has indeed had a crucial impact on understanding motte sites, but the findings of the
excavation have often been applied elsewhere without the appropriate considerations for
historical and topographical context, or even the intent of the excavator.

Abigail Wheatley has undertaken an examination into the meaning of the castle to medieval
minds. Though castle studies as a discipline has traditionally straddled the fields of archaeology,
architecture and documentary history, her chiefly art historical and documentary approach
brought additional sources of evidence to bear (for example, manuscript miniatures, miniature
architecture, and even pastries!) as well as formulating a decisive critique along linguistic lines of
terminology-led discussions about the emergence of castles. In earlier discussions on the
appearance of OE *castel* in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 1052 – before the 'magic' year
of the Norman Conquest in 1066 – Wheatley notes that it has implicitly been assumed that the
building/s in question were physically comparable, or identifiable, as quentissential Norman
castles. The decision by the *Chronicle* author to use *castel* above *geweorc*, *burh*, *hereborg* has
previously been taken as evidence of a definitive statement of novelty. By extension, OE *castel* is
implied to be alien to the language, and it is furthermore assumed that the concept associated
with the word – a fortified private dwelling – must be alien to Anglo-Saxon England.[203] Wheatley
argues that it is likely that the appearance of the word in pre-Norman England is correlated to the
emergence of reform monasticism and the concomitant production of ecclesiastical literature in
which biblical and classical Latin *castella* – translated as meaning a variety of things including
village, town, enclosure, fort – were readily identified with an emerging contemporary
architectural tradition of castles identified in the same Latin (and linguistically derivative) terms.
This in turn lead to the backward projection of the medieval castle reality into classical and biblical
antiquity, so that the physical *castellum* as village, for instance, became the allegorical castle.[204]
Thus, in the medieval mind, castles and also monasteries (as understood to modern historians) as
buildings pre-dated the arrival of Normans to England, for they were testified in ancient

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[201] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.244.
[202] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles,* p.293.
[203] A. Wheatley, *The idea of the castle in medieval England* (York, 2004), pp 19-20.
[204] Luke 10:38: "As Jesus and his disciples were on their way, he came to a village [*castellum*] where a
woman named Marta opened her home to him."

literature.[205] The essential concept of Wheatley's approach was to view castles from medieval eyes. Medieval documents have always been used to understand castles, but the novelty of her approach is to stress that the literary and political world of the documents have not been drawn upon to properly frame the appearance of the castle and its meaning.[206] An interrogation of the terminology around castles used in documentary sources has also been a feature of discussion in pre-Norman Ireland. The *caistél* and *caislén* of early 12th-century medieval Gaelic vocabulary challenge an automatic association between form and terminology.[207]

In contrast to the empiricist interpretation of castles offered by earlier scholars, more recent research into castle studies has developed the interdisciplinary approach and an engagement with consciously theorertically informed reading of evidence.[208] Wheatley's work above, for example, used linguistic research to challenge the basic assumpions about the meaning and reality of the word 'castle'. Work by scholars like Gilchrist, Richardson, and Johnson has forced the field to reflect on the creation and sharing of knowledge and the assumptions which underlie current thinking. The emergence of gender history in medieval archaeology and history has moved beyond the early efforts to "add women and stir."[209] More recent research has sought to stress the construction of gender in the medieval world and has used feminities and masculinities as lenses through which to understand old and new evidence. Roberta Gilchrist's examination of gender, space, age and status (in essence, a body) in the English medieval castle uses via one archaeological theoretical pathway, phenomenology.[210] Before discussing the application of a framework to a body of evidence from 13th-14th-century England, however, Gilchrist's 1999 study discusses how debates of gender and archaeology have developed. She notes that medieval societies in Europe began to connect female fidelity (and expressions of it in architecture, image, etc) with the legitimate inheritance of land and wealth; in this the castle, physically confining women, was the vehicle for expressing adherence to the social norm of primogeniture, and with it the promotion of lineage.[211] This was not a process exclusive to secular aristocratic architecture, but rather reflected a pervasive understanding in society (also found in monasteries and parish churches), of gender as binary (male and female) determined by biological sex. With such an understanding, women were almost universally isolated from men.[212] The depth of this attachment to gender and the characteristics ascribed women in medieval society may be

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[205] Wheatley, *The idea of the castle in medieval England*, p.35.

[206] Wheatley, *The idea of the castle in medieval England*, p.149.

[207] T. O'Keeffe, 'Rural settlement and cultural identity in Gaelic Ireland, c.1000-c.1500', *Ruralia*, 1 (1996), p.146; T. McNeill, *Castles in Ireland: feudal power in a Gaelic world* (Abingdon, 2006 (repr.1997)), p.10.

[208] K. Weikert, E. Woodacre, 'Gender and status in the medieval world', *Historical Reflections*, 42.1 (2016), p.2.

[209] Weikert, Woodacre, 'Gender and status in the medieval world', p.1.

[210] R. Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology: contesting the past* (London, 1999), p.109.

[211] Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology*, p.110.

[212] Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology*, p.116.

comparatively garnered by the freedoms and opportunities offered widows.[213] Gilchrist has noted

several features common to aristocratic womens' imprint in English castles for these two

centuries; proximity to chapels and gardens; a point of elevation for dioramic views but

concealing the woman; and covered routes of access. Womens' accommodation is recognised by

its removal (in plan, if not in practice[214]) from public points of access, agreeing with Gilchrist's

characterisation of women in medieval society.[215] By contrast, the public appearance of the

deceased female body in corteges or effigies – no longer a vessel for continued lordship in

medieval eyes, and incorruptible in death – highlights how the architecture of women in castles

was transitory compared to the life cycles of those involved.[216] As Gilchrist discusses, the

cloistering of aristocratic women and their removal from public gaze was only an ideologically

useful physical arrangement when they were expected to produce heirs, though in life it equally

reflected prestige.[217] The contingency of castle architecture to gender more generally – its

deployment to enact social controls and express ideals – fundamentally undoes the utilitarian

view of castles and opens up new avenues for understanding.[218] More recently, Richardson has

challenged some of Gilchrist's arguments regarding the isolation of women, pointing towards

Queen Eleanor of Provence's careful management of hunting parks, forests and castles as

evidence of use (and therefore public visibility) by the queen.[219]

Another leading figure of castle studies is Matthew Johnson, a critic of many current approaches

to the discipline of medieval archaeology more widely. A central theme of Johnson's critique of

castle studies is the field's atheoritical, unreflective approach to its data and the interpretation of

its data. In two recent articles (2011, 2013) which in part respond to critiques of his earlier book

(2002), he reflected firstly on the dearth of rigorous engagement in theory in castle studies and

the resolute antipathy of many leading scholars.[220] He argues that the roots of what he called

vernacular or intrinsic empiricism in the practice of medieval archaeology and the study of castles

lay in cultural habits formalised and incorporated into popular consciousness in the seventeenth

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[213] Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology*, pp 117-8.

[214] Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology*, p.145.

[215] Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology*, pp 136-9.

[216] Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology*, pp 142-3.

[217] Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology*, p.144.

[218] Weikert, Woodacre, 'Gender and status in the medieval world', p.2, citing T. O'Keeffe, 'Concepts of 'castle' and the construction of identity in medieval and post-medieval Ireland', *Irish Geography*, 34.1 (2001), p.79.

[219] A. Richardson, 'Beyond the castle gate: the role of royal landscapes in constructions of English medieval Kingship and Queenship', *Concilium Medii Aevi*, 14 (2011), pp 43-4.

[220] M.H. Johnson, 'On the nature of empiricism in archaeology', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 17 (2011), pp 764-87; M.H. Johnson, 'What do medieval buildings mean?', *History and Theory*, 52.3 (2013), pp 380-99; M. Johnson, *Behind the castle gate: from medieval to Renaissance* (Abingdon, 2002).

century.[221] Johnson divides empiricism as a school of thought into three strands to differentiate between the casual empiricism of which he was greatly critical, and the rigorous interrogation of information, which he supports. The first expressed itself casually and in day-to-day archaeology in which facts were self-evident, personal experience given evidential primacy over its position within a theoretical framework. An emphasis on plain speaking, physical acts of investigation (fieldwork; handling of artefacts) and hostility towards folk history – evidencing, Johnson remarks, a conscious classification of male knowledge in contrast to female knowledge – characterise this strand of empiricism.[222] Johnson's second strand is termed "a discourse or habit of force", with a heavy rhetorical bent.[223] This is often wrapped up in the cases of the first strand.[224] The third strand is the formal philosophy with Enlightenment origins which stressed experience over reasoning.[225] To a greater or lesser extent all three strands are apparent in modern writing on medieval archaeology.

Johnson is especially critical of how the deep-seated empiricism in the disciplines in which he works have stalled debates and pushed scholars away from crafting a collective narrative.[226] It is a procedure of vernacular empiricism to argue that more data will clarify and contextualise the outcomes of a piece of research, to act as a verification or contradiction. However, as Johnson, remarks, if data is not first presented and discussed within a theoretical framework and an appreciation for how knowledge is created in the hands of archaeologists, then archaeologists are bound to find nothing meaningful except a greater volume and resolution of data. How can information be understood if its meaning is not first speculated upon with rigour and with reference to the very idea of meaning, and any mitigating factors incurring bias in its interpretation are not first critiqued and actualised? Johnson remarks that the terms used by archaeologists – meaning, type, structure, display, plan – are so open to interpretation as to make any ideas based on them meaningless. Archaeologists are guilty of decontextualizing documents to buttress archaeological evidence, and the same may be said of generalised themes of social interpretation. He offers instead an approach which, though also having in-built problems of assumption and bias, at least does not assume complex concepts such as are embodied in the terms above. He advocates the phenomenological "lived experience" of buildings by people as a tool for approaching an understanding of the decisions and responses of the medieval mind and world to its castle design and reality. This approach has the advantage of incorporated subjectivity and a smaller gulf between the artefact and the interrogator. Thus the experience of approaching

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[221] Johnson, 'On the nature of empiricism in archaeology', p.769.
[222] Johnson, 'On the nature of empiricism in archaeology', pp 770-1.
[223] Johnson, 'On the nature of empiricism in archaeology', p.765.
[224] Johnson, 'On the nature of empiricism in archaeology', p.766.
[225] Johnson, 'On the nature of empiricism in archaeology', p.765.
[226] Johnson, 'What do medieval buildings mean?', p.393.

Bodiam Castle stresses all the qualities which earlier scholars have acknowledged, but these are discussed and framed in terms of the responses they evoke in people rather than the broader social motive behind them. Similarly, this approach allows greater nuance to the plan-centered interrogation of castles first proposed by Faulkner in two studies (1956, 1961), which was largely devoid of human concerns. In Johnson's new examination, Bodiam's 'postern' entrance presented a wholly different set of impressions and emotional responses from a human perspective than the main grander, almost processional entrance.[227] Thus the castle household experience the castle in very different ways.[228] Underlying this thinking is the acknowledgement that the castle was in part a manifestation of, and in dialogue with, the prevalent political orders of the day, in the same way that dress and language were (to this might be added ceremony and gender).[229]

More recent research on castle landscapes in England and Wales has been spearheaded by Oliver Creighton and Robert Liddiard, developing thinking away from architecture and military ideology and towards a holistic appreciation for the evidence.[230] The most recent change in Scottish castle studies, in line with advances in the larger British and Irish fields since the 1970s, is the inclusion of landscape into consideration.[231] There have been surprisingly few site studies of castle landscapes: Oram's examination of Hermitage Castle (Borders) joins together castle architecture and coeval landscape features in a textbook tying together of larger features of lordship.[232] Stell's study of Castle Tioram teased out evidence suggesting a far-reaching network of architectural patronage and landholding on the west coast of Scotland as one means of fully explaining the castle's insular setting in late medieval maritime lordship.[233] The Murrays' excavation of Rattray in coastal Aberdeenshire examined the deserted medieval burgh and castle as a holistic examination of settlement, rather than a castle-centric study.[234]

Further study of larger landscapes around power centres were undertaken by Shelley in his examination of crannogs in late medieval Scotland. The loch-rich landscape of Scotland evidences relationships between occupied island sites and designated landsideports. Even after the decline of island sites in the early modern period, Shelley noted that a continued appreciation for earlier

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[227] Johnson, *Behind the castle gate*, p.29.
[228] Johnson, 'What do medieval buildings mean?', pp 383, 398.
[229] Johnson, *Behind the castle gate*, p.66.
[230] O. H. Creighton, *Castles and landscape: Power, community and fortification in medieval England*; R. Liddiard, *Castles in context: power, symbolism and landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Oxford, 2012 (2nd ed.; 1st ed: 2005).
[231] Oram, 'Castles, concepts and contexts: castle studies in Scotland in retrospect and prospect', pp 349-59.
[232] Oram, 'Leisure, symbolism and war: Hermitage Castle, Liddesdale and the Anglo-Scottish Border', pp 325-32.
[233] G. Stell, 'Castle Tioram and the MacDonalds of Clanranald: a western seaboard castle in context', R. Oram (ed.), *The Lordship of the Isles* (Leiden, 2014), pp 271-96
[234] H. K. Murray, J.C. Murray, 'Excavations at Rattray, Aberdeenshire: a Scottish deserted burgh', *Medieval Archaeology*, 37 (1993), pp 109-218.

power centres persisted, in the choice of siting of country houses close to earlier seats.[235] Appreciation for landscape also informed the recent assessment of Old Caerlaverock castle's history and the shift of lordship centre to a new castle nearby.[236] There is additionally cause for suspecting that there are a greater number of unacknowledged castle landscapes surviving in Scotland, as recent survey of Sir John de Graham's Castle in Stirlingshire has demonstrated, hinting at evidence of medieval dams and pools surrounding an unexcavated earthwork site.[237] In all the cases above a gendered approach to castle landscapes has been lacking, though Richardson's study of landscapes in the construction of Queenship points towards its development.[238]

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[235] Shelley, *Freshwater Scottish loch settlements of the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods*, p.249.
[236] R. Tipping, A. Davies, A. Dawson, S. Dawson, M. Kontrowitz, D. Smith, E. Tisdall, 'Medieval coastal impacts on Caerlaverock Old Castle', in M. Brann (ed.), *Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle, Dumfries and Galloway, 1998-9* (Dumfries, 2004), pp 99-109.
[237] NMRS, Canmore < https://canmore.org.uk/site/45283/> [Accessed 1/5/18].
[238] Richardson, 'Beyond the castle gate', pp 35-53.

3. Questions

The survey of literature on Scotland's early stone castles has raised several questions which will be the subject of this study. These will be answered in two strands, the first of which is historical, the second of which is methodological. The title of this thesis somewhat provocatively assumes that stone castles and Scotland are known quantities for the period of c.1050-c.1350. Rather than address these questions directly, this study will ask not what a castle actually 'is' but rather what it 'means': in archaeological terms, a castle may 'be' a high-status residence but it 'means' the exercise of social control, political authority and economic exploitation. This study will not only aim to outline how castle landscapes differ from each other but rather address what a landscape means for a castle. The knotty question of the 'shape of Scotland's state' in the early period of this study will not be addressed directly, but rather symptoms of change apparent in castles will be discussed from the perspective of two polities (Orkney, Galloway) whose early histories were outside the reach of the Canmore kings. The strategies of Scottish monarchs to bring these areas into their closer political control (for purposes of personal glory and ambition, political kudos and material gain) over the course of the 12th and 13th centuries, with mixed results, can be perceived or rejected through the lens of castles. This is not a study of political history through castles, but rather a study of how castles might reflect 'softer' trends of social control which Scottish kings deployed. Core questions to be addressed also look at the evidence for a timber-to-stone transition in the fabric of castles, and whether this represents sophistication or development. Also studied is the notion that Scottish castles as a body of monuments evidence a shift in layout from enclosure to tower in this period. The sites are also examined in their own terms as elements of settlement landscapes, in terms essentially ahistorical and chiefly archaeological.

The second strand to answer the questions raised in the literature review relates to the evidence at hand and the ways in which it has been understood. It is impossible to separate a study of archaeology on a large scale from an appreciation for how the archaeological record has developed. The methodologies will be outlined in more detail at the beginning of each section. The sections of this study fall into two categories of differing lengths, representing two approaches to the evidence and questions: firstly, a short macro-level assessment of Scottish castles across a large time period and encompassing a wide variety of site typologies. Secondly, through the vehicle of longer regional studies (Orkney, Galloway), a methodology for assessing early stone castles and landscapes will be deployed to ask historical and archaeological questions discussed above. The macro-level assessment will ask whether the archaeological record as a large body of material is suitable for large-scale studies. The issues related to how archaeology can be understood and misrepresented have been discussed at length in the literature review: the echoes of the excavation at Abinger or the early date ascribed to Castle Sween represent two

examples of how early (tentative) work on castles has gained an unwarranted mantle of fact and prototype. Secondly, it will examine whether site typologies are a barrier to cross-cultural assessment of power centres in late medieval Scotland. This will be undertaken not in a theoretical framework but as a means of answering broad, preliminary historical questions.

3.1 Summary

This thesis represents a new methodological approach to studying Scotland's castles and landscapes while addressing historical questions. It does this through two approaches: a macro-level assessment of a large group of sites, and through two regional studies targeting castles and landscapes to answer historical questions, in the Earldom of Orkney and the Lordship of Galloway.

To facilitate reading of this thesis, what follows is a plain communication of the questions this thesis seeks to address. Some of these questions have already been addressed in issues raised in the literature review but are given here for ease of consultation.

1. What do we mean by a stone castle? What do we mean by Scotland?
2. What is the evidence for the emergence of stone castles in Scotland, c.1050-c.1350?
3. How has new thinking changed the understanding of castles in Scotland?
4. What is the current state of study in Scottish castle studies?
5. What can the emergence of stone castles tell us about the emergence of a Scottish kingdom?
6. What was the relationship between castles and their landscapes in c.1050-c.1350?
7. What can early stone castles in Scotland tell us about their builders, the physical and cultural communities in which they were located and framed?
8. Is there evidence for a general transition of the following over this period:
   a. Timber to stone, in the fabric of castles?
   b. Enclosure to tower, in the layout, or formal typology, of castles?
   c. Domestic to military, in the role of castles?
9. What are the ways in which the evidence that survives can influence interpretation of early stone castles? How does the archaeological record impact our understanding of early stone castles in Scotland?

4. The sift: a new method to approach to Scotland's early stone castles, c.1050-c.1350

4.1 Introduction

The range of this thesis, to examine the early stone castles in Scotland between c.1050-c.1350, demands at least preliminary engagement with the broad range of site typologies in question. It is important to recognise the differing interpretations of what makes a castle site (and what is therefore excluded from consideration), and the site record, as well as acknowledging the deficiencies in the evidence at hand. Furthermore, the scale of this thesis' chronological range means that conclusions are consciously broad and suggest wider trends rather than demonstrate specific points of shift or continuity. What follows here is a brief discussion of the approach taken to understand the range of sites at hand, and begin to select and discuss groups of, or individual sites, in more detail. Discussions offer interpretation of the evidence and, where appropriate, highlight patterns.

The sift of site records was initially undertaken as a reconaissance exercise, to foster familiarisation with the body of evidence – the castles (however defined) of Scotland. It was soon recognised that the process of examining all possible castle sites could gain added value by distinguishing between the sites in areas other than the traditional typological or geographical frames. Among these distinguishing features was a chronological framework to compare a large and varied body of sites solely on the basis of the date for occupation which they evidence. It was also considered whether the process of forming the archaeological record should be subject to closer scrutiny. These two questions form the basis of this chapter.

4.2 Key questions

The key questions relating to castle sites on a macro level relate to properly contextualizing the data in question, as well as identifying historical trends. These are as follows:

a. Is there a bias in data due to RCAHMS' county surveys? Is there a bias in the size of counties?
b. Are there temporal trends evident for the wider and more specific time periods?
c. Are there typology-specific trends apparent?

4.3 Methdology

4.3.1 Selection criteria

In order to process what was predicted to be a substantial volume of information composed of site records it was decided to undertake a sifting exercise to assess, on a macro level, the evidence as it stands for early stone castles sites in Scotland from c.1050-c.1350. The primary source of evidence for this process is Historic Environment Scotland's (HES) online database for its

monuments record, Canmore (canmore.org.uk).[239] While the database is only intended to act as a rudimentary record of the sites in question, it does usually contain for each site a summary of evidence, as well as changes in the interpretation over the course of the record's life.[240] Additionally, too, the authority or credibility of information is (again, usually) clearly identifiable, a key point when subjectively assessing the value of a record.[241] The quality of the records is variable; for instance, one record may note the connection of the site in question to other local sites, but the record for those other sites will not reflect that assessment. Therefore, any use of Canmore has been taken as only part of the interpretation of a given site, when that site is examined in more detail, but for the purposes of a wide-ranging sift, the records on Canmore were accepted at the time of being read. Theoretically, therefore, the same exercise undertaken at another point in time would produce different results, though it is important not to overstate the changing form and content of Canmore on the scale being discussed. Additionally, any systematic interrogation of Canmore must consider as broad a group as possible to counter the possibility of sites 'slipping through the cracks.' Canmore records the notes of surveyors from the earlier agencies preceeding HES, abbreviated or (more often) full records connected to sites as they appear in the published editions of *Discovery and Excavation Scotland*, as well as project-specific notes sent to HES and its predecessors as a statutory requirement of excavation in Scotland.

4.3.2 Selection method

With these considerations in mind, the sift considered sites on Canmore which fell into one or more of 16 categories of sites (see Figure 2). These categories are ascribed to sites at the time of the record's creation, though they can be updated, removed and changed over time as the record is reviewed or developed. The categories derive from Canmore's thesaurus, a generic definition of the principal meaning and/or features of a site type name.[242] While there are certainly challenges with using the thesaurus' definition of sites (discussed by Baines and Brophy), these are not central to the discussion here.[243] The sites below are not exclusively imagined to represent early stone castles in the most generous and embracing of definitions, but rather represent a group of sites into which early stone castles could exist, along with non-stone castles and sites not

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[239] Canmore's features are discussed in P. McKeague, D. Thomas, 'Evolution of national heritage inventories for Scotland and Wales', *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 6.2 (2016), pp 119-25.

[240] McKeague, Thomas, 'Evolution of national heritage inventories for Scotland and Wales', p.125.

[241] McKeague, Thomas, 'Evolution of national heritage inventories for Scotland and Wales', p.118.

[242] The definitions themselves represent an effort at standardized terminology in the heritage data sector, managed by the *Forum on Information Standards in Heritage (FISH)*.

[243] A. Baines, K. Brophy, 'What's another word for thesaurus? Data standards and classifying the past', in P. Daly, T.L. Evans (eds), *Digital archaeology: bridging method and theory* (London, 2006), pp 210-221. McKeague, Thomas, 'Evolution of national heritage inventories for Scotland and Wales', p.119 argue the system has "greatly improved information discovery", an assertion demonstrably true here.

considered castles but operating as power centres (the preferred term here) within social and economic structures in the medieval period.

FIGURE 2: THESARUS LABELS OF SITES EXAMINED IN THE SIFT PROCESS

Bastle	Broch	Castle	Court hill	Crannog	Dun	Earthworks
Enclosure (medieval)	Fortified house	Hall house	Island dwelling	Manor house	Moat	Moot hill
Motte	Motte and bailey	Moated site	Palace	Peel house	Ringwork	Tower house

Exclusions from consideration include sites labelled 'Enclosure', both for the broad meaning it invokes and the size of the record of Canmore for sites under this category; 'Fort' was also excluded, for similar reasons.[244] Sites often are listed with multiple category tags, which allows for a broad capture of data. Once the sites were assembled, numbering 6085 in total (c.1.87% of the c.325,000 entries on Canmore), each site's Canmore entry was assessed for the following criteria.

Firstly, the site must be located in the modern bounds of Scotland. This has ramifications for those sites which were built in regions historically considered Scotland (at least for a time) – namely parts of the historic English counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland. While these districts have in the past been discussed in the context of Scottish castles, they were deliberately excluded from consideration here for purposes of feasibility. Secondly, the evidence presented for the site's date, structure, ownership, destruction and relationship with other landscape features were assessed. All evidence was considered where it was presented, however vaguely; this would mean, for instance, that oral or local tradition of a site's antiquity was considered reasonable evidence to suggest a site's medieval origin or occupation, though obviously no more sophisticated arguments could be made solely on this evidence. This is an important corrective to the occasionally dismissive attitude towards vernacular knowledge. Similarly, if a record notes that in the surveyor's opinion the site was medieval (considered equally anecdotal evidence), then it was accepted – with the above caveat. Again, this need not indicate that the site was definitely medieval in origin or occupation, but for the purposes of this sift it was accepted on these grounds.

The inclusion of pre- and early historic site categories such as broch, dun and crannog, is intended to verify the theory, apparent in several site excavations, that certain sites falling into these formal typologies were either continually or seasonally occupied or repurposed during the later medieval period.[245] It is also necessary to embrace sites not conventionally identified as castles

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[244] 'An atlas of hillforts in Britain and Ireland' is a now complete project to update information on this substantial body of sites, whose occupation is largely (but not wholly) prehistoric.

[245] E.g. Lochrutton crannog, Loch Arthur crannog; Mote of Urr (Kirkcudbrightshire); Dun Lagaidh (Ross & Cromarty); Loch Maberry, Long Castle, Dowalton Loch crannog (Wigtownshire); Broch of Mousa, Jarlshof (Shetland); Dumbarton Castle (Dunbartonshire); Brough of Birsay (Orkney); Urquhart Castle (Inverness-shire); Bonnybridge motte (Stirlingshire); Bathgate Castle (West Lothian); Abington motte (Lanarkshire).

but which reflected parallel or comparable contemporary expressions of lordship.[246] The inclusion of moot hill was intended to counter a possible bias in the record during the period in which the records were created; occasionally artificial or modified natural mounds of earth were identified as early historic assembly sites, whereas they may in fact represent earthwork castle sites (such as the motte, motte-and-bailey, or ringwork). At Mountfode in Ayrshire, by contrast, a site previously believed to be a motte was in fact an Iron age homestead site.[247] Equally, though mottes with no obvious masonry remains are not conventionally considered stone castles, unless bearing obvious masonry remains, they form part of the castle record and were contemporary to many stone sites.

4.3.3 Assigning value to data

Once the site's record was assessed, the site was allocated a number grade, ranging from 0-3, reflecting this author's (subjective) view of the quality of evidence presented on the record (see 10.1 Appendix 1 for a systematic breakdown of selection process). The parameters for the allocation of numbers is noted below (Figure 3). Separately, sites were 'tagged' with a century (e.g. '12th century') to reflect the earliest evidence for occupation of the site. At times, the accuracy or feasibility of the site description's association of a site with a specific year, decade or century is subjectively considered doubtful. This is reflected in the tag attached to the site (e.g. '12th century [uncertain]'). When the centuries were used for analysis below, a case-by-case judgement was made on the feasibility of each date ascribed. A broader date range of sites ascribed to sites (10th-16th centuries) was chosen to capture evidence on the margins of the more focussed date-range under consideration.

FIGURE 3: SUMMARY OF SELECTION CRITERIA FOR SITES

Grade	Criteria indicating the quality of evidence	Narrative criteria
0	Site not in Scotland	Site not in Scotland
1	Site record notes no medieval occupation	No evidence
2	Site record notes a single, or several indirect, piece(s) of evidence for medieval occupation	OK/good evidence
3	Site record notes multiple pieces of evidence for medieval occupation	Very good/excellent evidence

The 'quality' of the data is obviously a subjective judgement of the author. Additionally, there is scope for wide discrepancy over the variation of evidence within grades, especially with grades 2 and 3. This will be discussed in more detail when assessing the challenges of the evidence.

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[246] Oram, *Domination and lordship*, p.214; Driscoll, 'Formalising the mechanisms of state power', pp 32-58. Shelley's work (outlined in literature review above) is one such example.

[247] K. Dingwall, J. Lochrie, S. Timpany, 'Mount or motte? Recent excavations at Montfode, Ardrossan', *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 32.2 (2010), pp 121-35.

4.3.4 Discussion: challenges of the evidence

4.3.4.1 Archaeological survey and excavation

The role of (male) individuals of a military background is recognised in early efforts to create a national index of monuments.[248] They and other early surveyors and excavators in Scotland (and Britain) took specific approaches to the interpretation of sites which has informed how the monuments record has formed and developed.[249] These changes cover different levels of interpretation, whether earthwork remains or what is now termed 'buildings archaeology', and of course archaeological excavation. As the wide range of thesaurus entries above demonstrate, the means by which archaeological surveyors and excavators identified structures varied widely. Futhermore, the thesaurus label ascribed to each site dates from c.2001 onwards; a cursory search of RCAHMS' county inventories (published between 1909 and 1992) reveals the variety of categories into which certain sites were placed. These provide perhaps the best means in which to contextualise the rationale for the dating and classification of sites recorded especially by surveyors. The Berwickshire inventory was published in 1909 and revised in 1915. The first edition grouped the monuments by parish only. The second edition however is laid out in a way which covers both parishes but also places the monuments in *prima facie*, thematic, but in practice, formal, typological categories, such as "Defensive constructions", "Castellated and domestic structures" and "The forts of Berwickshire".[250] It is thus necessary to be aware of the preconceptions of the authorities noted in the monuments record when analysing them to ascribe a grade. This preconception also extends to the treatment of areas of knowledge deemed unreliable or lesser in stature by early surveyors, namely local folklore and place-name studies.

4.3.4.2 Architectural analysis

Architectural analysis – the identification of features and phases of occupation within a standing building which allow the creation of relative and absolute chronologies – forms another component in the bedrock of macro-level discussion on castles. This is a more contemporary definition of the exercise than that employed by MacGibbon and Ross in their 1887-92, five-volume *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*. As Oram has commented, their phenomenal enterprise was very much representative of the Victorian ethos of typologisation of their environment (natural and built, present and past).[251] In this the practice of noting particular forms and developments of door- and window-frames, site plans, arrow loops, gable ends and

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[248] McKeague, Thomas, 'Evolution of national heritage inventories for Scotland and Wales', p.114, and literature review.

[249] Baines, Brophy, 'What's another word for thesaurus? Data standards and classifying the past', p.211.

[250] RCAHMS, *Inventory, Berwickshire* (Edinburgh, 1915), pp vii-viii. See Baines, Brophy, 'What's another word for thesaurus? Data standards and classifying the past', pp 213-4 on the challenges of the multiple identities/interpretations of sites. The second category's name may be inferred to reference MacGibbon and Ross' survey.

[251] Oram, 'Castles, concepts and contexts: castle studies in Scotland in retrospect and prospect', pp 350-1.

masonry were seen as phenomena to be serialized and sequentialised so as to express order, progression and development in the style of evolutionary biology.[252] This is to be treated separately from what was defined above – the recognition that certain forms of architectural feature are accepted features of certain historic periods. Earlier reliance on architecture compounded a military emphasis on castles which translated into the interpretation of less-securely understood buildings and archaeological remains. As castles were understood as military structures, buildings with surface remains of comparable form to better-known sites were also interpreted as military structures. The analogous approach is readily apparent for a series of castle sites in the north of Scotland ostensibly connected to campaigns of William the Lion (r. 1165-1214).[253] Thus, while architectural readings have an important and enduring contribution towards understanding castles, it is important to separate this from earlier traditions of typology and social models now argued to be improbable or oversimplified. This example also illustrates another key feature which may represent a bias in the record: a dependence on an uneven documentary record.

4.3.4.3 Documentary evidence

The documentary evidence for castles falls into two groups; legal documents (agreements, charters, brieves, papal documents, letters, inquests, memoranda, diplomas, notifications, settlements)[254] and narrative accounts in prose or poetry, often of political events. While the authenticity and usefulness of both groups of documents may be contested and refined over time, it is the loss of documents from medieval Scotland which presents the greatest resultant potential for bias in the monuments record.[255] Areas outside zones of bureaucratized government in Scotland for the 11th-early 14th centuries do not evidence bureaucratic documentation, skewing interpretation in these areas even further.[256] Additionally, scribal practice was far from fixed, but rather changed the ways in which information was presented. For example, early 12th-century charters were light on details of intent, location, and audience, whereas those from the latter part of the century were more precise.[257] This is a gentle reminder that the documents were not designed for the purposes in which they are used by historians and archaeologists, and obviously cannot greatly inform the study of castles beyond confirming the presence of a place regarded in contemporary terms as a castle.

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[252] J.L. Myers (ed.), *The evolution of cultures and other essays by A. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers* (Oxford, 1906), pp xviii-xix.

[253] Oram, *Domination and lordship*, p.170, probably referring to Redcastle/Ederdour Castle and Dunskeath Castle (both Ross and Cromarty). Oram similarly suggested Inverness' burgh defences were created as a result of disturbances in Ross following William's 1179 campaign: p.289.

[254] M. Hammond, 'The paradox of medieval Scotland', in M. Hammond (ed.), *New perspectives on medieval Scotland, 1093-1286* (Woodbridge, 2013), p.20, table 1.4.

[255] Hammond, 'The paradox of medieval Scotland', p.14.

[256] Oram, *Lordship and domination*, pp 212-4.

[257] Oram, *Lordship and domination*, pp 213, inset.

4.3.4.4. Form of the database

In order to be able to handle, compare and update information with ease, the database was formed on a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Though new versions of the programme have appeared since the sift was undertaken, these have not prejudiced the data, though it is recognised that there are problems with the long-term integrity of digital records (discussed below). Excel was chosen because it presents a readily accessible and user-friendly interface; other data-management packages (namely Microsoft Access) were considered but rejected. Furthermore, the data used by Canmore was presented in Excel format: to facilitate any future connectivity between Canmore and the database, Excel was preferred. By extension, the results of the sift process could (outwith this study) be readily integrated into an existing body of data, especially useful for filtering purposes, for example by county, parish or geographically defined region. A sample entry is displayed below (Figure 4).[258]

FIGURE 4: SIMPLIFIED SAMPLE ENTRY OF DATABASE, FORMATTED FROM EXCEL TO WORD

Legend elements	Sample information
Project number*	4035
Numlink	43714
Map no	NS53NW
NMRS name	Loudon Castle
Parish	Loudon
NGRE	50653
NGRN	3776
County name	Ayrshire
Council name	East Ayrshire
District name	Kilmarnock and Loudon
Region name	Strathclyde
Class sub	CASTLE
URL	http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/43714/
Grade assigned *	2
Accepted Y/N *	Y
Reason *	Record suggests construction work of 1807 enveloped much of the 15-16th c structure; suggestion that one tower at site dated to 12-13th c, but was destroyed by General Monk (17th c). 12th century [uncertain], 15th century.

Elements highlighted with an asterisk (*) were new fields created to cater for the purposes of the sift. A project number was given to each site in anticipation of easing the handling process. In fact, these were ultimately deemed unnecessary additions to a busy field of information, though retained for future reference. The final three fields represent the process of selection and rejection of sites, ascription to a category, and the reasons for this. In line with the convention of Scottish archaeology to adhere to pre-1975 county designations in discussion of sites and monuments, the results are presented in their respective grades according to the counties in question. It must be stated, however, that the counties do not form part of the interpretation of

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[258] Note: dash (-) indicates that no data was provided. Since the sift was completed the Canmore website has been overhauled with a new http address, though the links in the database are still live (March 2017).

the sift evidence. Their emergence and form as administrative areas is a later medieval/early modern phenomenon with an incomplete and complex bearing on pre-existing areas, earldoms and lordships.

4.3.4.5 Managing the data

This information is a working document and is not intended for presentation or archiving. The final version of the database will be referenced in the thesis as a finished product, but not suitable for archiving; a separate archive-friendly file will be presented separated in more durable XML format.

4.4 Results

The results give an indication of the knowns and unknowns in Scottish castle studies; 240 sites with grade 3 evidence feature sites which are either well-covered in literature, chiefly assessed through architectural and documentary assessments, and on the other hand sites which have been thoroughly excavated (Figure 5). The grade 2 sites encompass a broad range of 'maybes'; sites which have microtopographic parallels or features comparable to better-known sites, or sites connected by documentary reference or stray find to a fixed time-period: for example, the form of earthworks in an identified regional set or the constructional method of building remains. Grade 2 sites also include those whose histories and social landscapes are currently beyond recognition; Dun Lagaidh (Ross and Cromarty), for example, represents at least two phases of prehistoric enclosure (one ascribed to the Iron age), following clear evidence for construction works, and probably occupation, in the 12th-13th centuries. Its situation near the mouth of Lochbroom, and that area's association with Norse settlement has led to it being labelled a watch station or fort – though why, and in what social context, is not established. Fundamentally, there is no evidence for this ascription or the societal context of Dun Lagaidh as a power centre, if it was one at all. The fact that Robert I witnessed a charter at Loch Broom (location otherwise unclear) in 1309 also begs scrutiny of any Norse-centered interpretation.[259]

FIGURE 5: TABLE OF SIFT RESULTS

Grade	Total number of sites
Duplicate	263
0	22
1	4162
2	1398
3	240
Total number of entries examined	6085
Total number of sites less duplicates	**5822**

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[259] *RRS,* V, 9.

4.4.1 Bias in data from *RCAHMS* county surveys

One of the questions to be asked of this data is if there is a bias connected to the county- or area-specific surveys undertaken by RCAHMS from 1908 to 1992 – specifically whether these places feature a greater number of castle sites and coeval power centres than those not covered, by virtue of closer attention and a more systematic approach to surveying. The first RCAHMS survey was undertaken in Berwickshire (1908, revised 1915). Subsequent surveys were undertaken and published as inventories: Sutherland, Caithness (both published 1911), Wigtownshire (1912), Kirkcudbrightshire (1914), Dumfriesshire (1920), East Lothian (1924), Outer Hebrides, Skye, Small Isles (1928), Midlothian and West Lothian (1929), Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan (1933), Orkney, Shetland (both 1946), Edinburgh (1951), Roxburghshire (1956), Selkirkshire (1957), Stirlingshire (1963), Peeblesshire (1967), Argyll (published in districts, first in 1971, last in 1992). Additionally, three further and more recent surveys – North-East Perth (1990), South-East Perth (1994), both covering parts of historic Perthshire, and Eastern Dumfriesshire (1997), represent surveys of a similar intensity to the county surveys. Smaller-scale surveys of sub-regional or local focus were latterly undertaken by RCAHMS; Knoydart (1991), Strath of Kildonan (1993), Waternish, Skye and Lochalsh (1993), Glenesslin, Nithsdale (1994), Braes of Doune (1994), Southdean (1994), Mar Lodge (1996), Achiltibuie (1997), Canna (1999), Eigg (2003), Falls of Clyde (2004), Donside (2009), Bute (2010). While most of these were concerned with rural settlement and prehistoric monuments, the work at Donside was the most similar to the earlier county surveys and regional studies, though smaller examinations like Southdean had a medieval focus.

Sites were also ascribed a century to which the archaeological record suggested evidence of occupation or construction (Figure 6). While the dates ascribed are of course subject to revision or contestation, they represent an approximate spread of sites with chronologies. The nature of the sift means that many sites were not ascribed a century, as none was confidently suggested by the record. Thus, all the sites with any medieval evidence (10th-16th centuries) are grades 2 or 3. These are presented by century below. Another differentiation presented below is the ascription of that medieval evidence. On occasion, the record may explicitly highlight that a documentary reference noted the occupation of a land unit in which the site was located but did not explicitly name a building. Perhaps the record explicitly highlighted that while the building or remains were of one period, the land unit's documentary history was verifiably older. This distinction is also highlighted here.

FIGURE 6: TABLE OF SIFT RESULTS BY CENTURY AND GRADE

Century ascribed	Grade 2			Grade 3		
	Structure/ remains	Lands/site	Combined	Structure/ remains	Lands/site	Combined
10th c.	6	2	8	4	4	8
11th c.	21	3	24	10	7	17
12th c.	74	40	114	61	21	82
13th c.	103	40	143	74	24	98
14th c.	119	36	155	45	5	50
15th c.	274	30	304	29	1	30
16th c.	434	8	442	14	0	14
None			364			3

These two categories of evidence are brought together in the table below to display a century-by-century breakdown of sites bearing medieval occupation, though as above does not represent a trend in itself, as the sites are discrete units of information rather than connected across centuries (Figure 7).

FIGURE 7: BAR CHART OF DISCRETE CENTURY-BY-CENTURY NUMBERS OF SITES EVIDENCING MEDIEVAL OCCUPATION

	10th c.	11th c.	12th c.	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.	16th c.
Grade 2	8	24	114	143	155	304	442
Grade 3	8	17	82	98	50	30	14
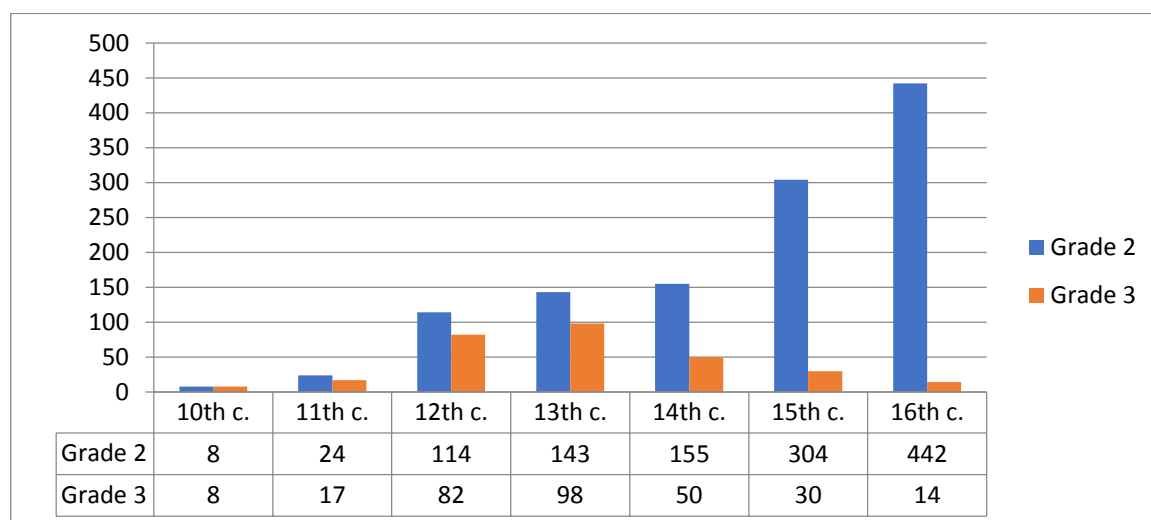
The data's presentation in bar chart form attracts comment: there is a pattern of rising and falling sites with earliest evidence in the grade 3 grouping, peaking in the 13th century, with strong representation in the 12th (Figure 7). A drop in the 14th may be connected to destruction and environmental and economic decay following the Wars of Independence (1296-1328, 1332-57), the Black Death (*fl*. 1349) and the end of the Medieval Climactic Anomaly (MCA) (c.1250). Comparison between 13th-century records of secular and ecclesiastic income and a 1366 (post-plague) valuation suggest an almost 50% fall in the value of revenue.[260] The growth of the 13th century by contrast may be favourably compared to the estimated volume of silver in circulation in Scotland at three intervals in the century (Figure 8), and a general rise in prices (connected to

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[260] E. Gemmill, N. Mayhew, *Changing values in medieval Scotland: a study in prices, money, and weights and measures* (Cambridge, 1995), p.18.

economic growth) noted in Scotland from the end of the 12th and into the early 14th century.[261] The amount of currency in circulation from the middle to the end of the 13th century in Scotland increased by around 182%. It has been suggested that the wealth of dioceses in Scotland in the 13th century rose by 50% in the 13th century, which is probably indicative of growth in secular wealth too.[262] Evidently, the availability of cash to pay for the construction of castles (expensive stone castles among them), and perhaps the hiring of skilled craftspeople from outside the immediate area of lordship, is readily apparent in Scotland at a time when the monuments record testifies to a growth in the number of castle sites.

FIGURE 8: TABLE OF CHANGES IN VOLUME OF CURRENCY IN CIRCULATION IN SCOTLAND, C.1250-C.1290

Year	c.1250	c.1282	c.1290
Volume of currency (£ m)	0.055 ±0.005	0.155 ± 0.025	0.155 ± 0.025

Important too is the noticeable drop in the number of grade 2 sites ascribed specifically to the 14th century. Given that these sites are less well understood, surveyors and excavators have perhaps relied on generalised chronological points of fact to ascribe sites to this specific century. One of the most obvious, given the important role of castles to the Wars of Independence (1296-1328 and 1332-1357), is the dependence on narrative sources from this period. In this respect, it is not surprising to find that the most recent research focussing on this aspect of the conflict relied almost exclusively on documentary evidence.[263] Chronicles and poetic accounts like John Barbour's *Bruce*, composed after the wars, were frequently accounts concocted for the aggrandizement of the current ruling monarchy and their close adherents, rather than methodical explanation of events.[264] Such sources, however, are often the earliest references to locations (e.g. Lintalee earthworks, Roxburghshire) where there are sites of archaeological or architectural interest to surveyors and archaeologists. Episodes of generic destruction recorded in narrative sources are likely to encourage surveyors to ascribe sites with no documentary evidence whatsoever a date later or earlier than the 14th century. While reasonable, this view is at risk of forming a circular argument in the assessment of destruction wrought in Scotland in the 14th century.

The information so far has been discrete to centuries. Below the evidence is presented as a trend, the numbers of sites accumulating from the 10th to 16th centuries (Figure 9). In practical terms,

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[261] Table information: B.M.S. Campbell, 'Benchmarking medieval economic development: England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, c.1290', *Economic History Review*, 61.4 (2008), p.920, table 11; prices: Gemmill, Mayhew, *Changing values in medieval Scotland*, pp 362-3.

[262] Gemmill, Mayhew, *Changing values in medieval Scotland*, p.364.

[263] D. Cornell, 'A kingdom cleared of castles: the role of the castle in the campaigns of Robert the Bruce', *SHR*, 87.2 (2008), pp 233-57.

[264] B. Webster, *Scotland from the eleventh century to 1603* (London, 1975), pp 42-5; Duncan, *John Barbour – The Bruce*, p.31

this is intended to convey that sites were occupied for more than a single century (as the evidence above presents).

FIGURE 9: LINE GRAPH OF CUMULATIVE CENTURY-BY-CENTURY NUMBERS OF SITES BEARING MEDIEVAL OCCUPATION

	10th c.	11th c.	12th c.	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.	16th c.
Grade 2 cumul	8	32	146	289	444	748	1190
Grade 3 cumul	8	25	107	205	255	285	299
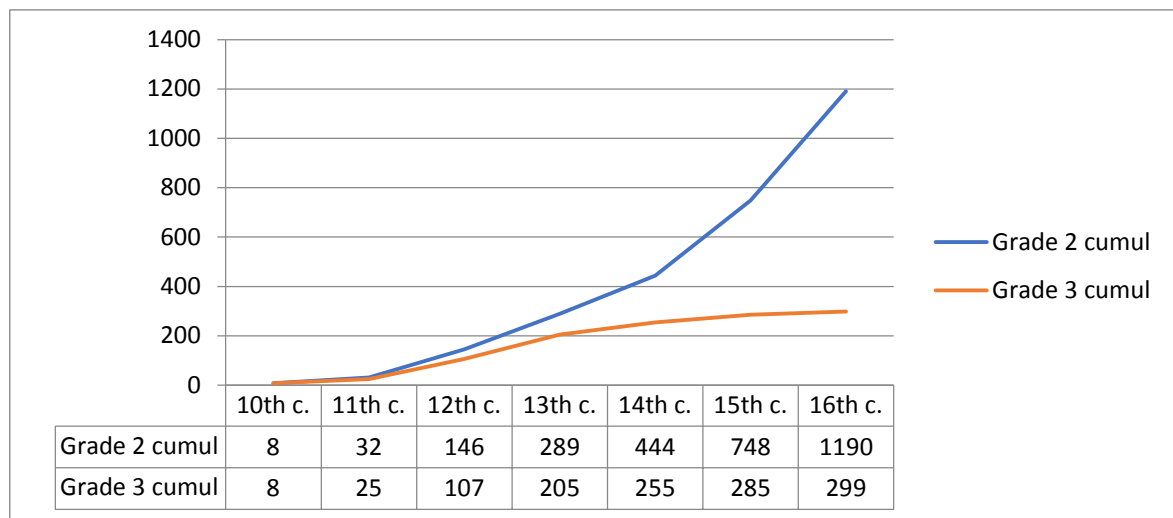
Inherently a cumulative approach to the archaeological record demonstrates growth in the overall numbers.[265] This is because of how the database used was compiled, recording not phases of occupation, but rather the first recorded century of occupation. Again, however, trends are apparent. In grade 3 sites, the 13th century marks a peak in the strong century-by-century growth of the total number of sites occupied – though evidence from the 10th and 11th centuries is especially deficient. A similar trend is apparent in the grade 2 sites until the 14th century. The massive growth in this group (grade 2) in the 15th and 16th centuries is probably a combination of two factors: first, that of greater levels of survival in the archaeological record. Second is the ease of identifying sites confidently dated to these two later centuries – especially tower houses and to a lesser extent (especially in the zones of the border with England) bastles and peel towers. This should not take away from what may be a genuine trend: Scotland witnessed sporadic economic development in this period, perhaps providing the wealth necessary for the construction of major stone buidlings.

Overall, however, the impact of declining trade with England from the mid-14th century onwards, combined with worsening climatic conditions from c.1250, suggest different forces were at play other than conventional economic prosperity in the mould of the 13th and 15th-16th centuries argued above.[266] Broader changes in the motives and means of creating and maintaining castles is probably also apparent here, confirmed by the evident increase in the overall number of sites; certainly, the appearance and growth of chartered burghs – in effect, new and potentially rival

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[265] See 10.2 Appendix 2.
[266] I.D. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: an economic and social history c.1050-c.1750* (London, 2013), p.75.

power centres for control over wealth and rights – was beginning to change the economic character of 15th-century Scotland.[267] By contrast, the decline in grade 3 sites in this same period may reflect two parallel factors: the move away from a plurality of castle sites in a given area of lordship, concentrating new architectural developments in fewer sites overall. It may also reflect a larger move away from multiples castles as representative of a single noble's lordship, with aristocractic resources being concentrated on town houses (not examined here) or a single residence, concurrent with the development of a smaller pool of existing centres hinted at above. The Wars of Independence in Scotland brought destruction of property and loss of trade, but also heralded a change in the patterns of landholding in the kingdom which may have dampened a desire to invest in castle architecture across much of the kingdom. More prosaically, Robert I's policy of slighting castles to impede English occupation was probably a further factor in the dearth of mid-late 14th-century castles in Scotland.

There are inherent problems with the cumulative approach. It assumes that sites whose occupation began in the 10th century were continuously occupied, in this narrative, to the 16th century. While this is plainly not true (as far as the evidence suggests), the cumulative approach does allow general trends to be teased out, at the expense of accuracy in detail.

4.4.2 Bias in data from county size

To establish whether certain counties evidenced bias because of their size, the results were compared to the percentage of the county's landmass in the entirety of Scotland (all 2dp). Admittedly, this is a crude tool for differentiating regions, for it is acknowledged that certain larger counties may not contain proportionately equivalent areas of land suitable for economic exploitation and resultant social and political frameworks of control. However, assessing counties purely from the perspective of landmass allows an elementary insight which further research can develop. To compensate for the size of county versus the number of sites in each county, the sites of grades 1-3 were considered as a percentage of the total number of sites in each county.[268] The table below illustrates the results in graphic form, focussing on sites of grade 2-3 (Figure 10).

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[267] S.G.E. Lythe, 'Economic life', in J.M. Brown (ed.), *Scottish society in the fifteenth century* (London, 1977), p.71.
[268] See 10.2 Appendix 2.
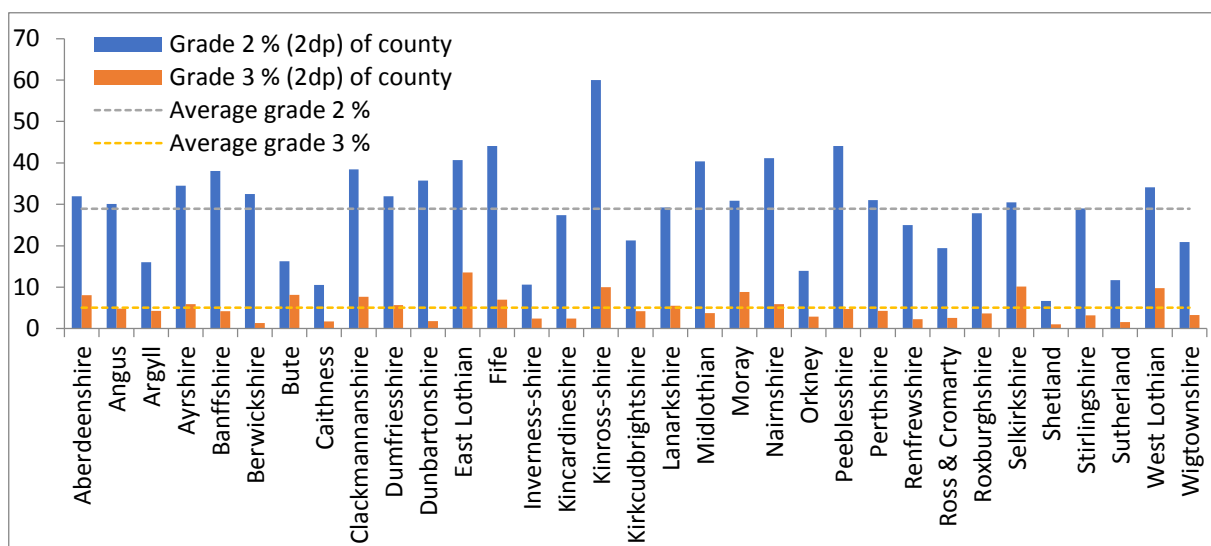
For sites in the grade 2 listing, of the 33 counties, eight were below the Scottish average, the rest above.[269] Of the sites in grade 3 listing, ten counties were below the Scottish average, the remaining 23 above. There appears to be some evidence for a bias in the information encountered on a county level, though this is independent of whether the county has been subject to intensive survey. The chief determinant appears to be the overall size of the county in relation to the number of grade 1 sites it contains; counties such as Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Argyll and Inverness-shire are among the larger counties in Scotland by land mass and are unsurprisingly therefore the best represented in terms of overall number of sites examined (grades 1-3). The intensive survey of Argyll is likely to have yielded sites which fall into Grade 1 category, thereby bringing down the percentage representation in that county of Grade 2 and 3 sites.

For grade 2 and 3 sites, the picture is more nuanced, though again a clear bias in sites that have been surveyed is apparent. For grade 2, the larger, grade 1-dominated counties were also below the Scottish average but added to these were the south-western counties of Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire – the rump of the historic Lordship of Galloway. Here the trend apparent might again represent a marginal bias against two counties with a large number of one site type – crannogs – whose occupational history is very long and, on a macro level, poorly understood. Additionally, both sites are only marginally lower than the national average.[270] Overall, the evidence which forms the bedrock of the database used here lacks a resolution sufficient to ask more probing questions.

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[269] See 10.3 Appendix 3.
[270] See 10.3 Appendix 3.

Evidently, this simplistic method of assessing castle sites is not the appropriate way to engage with the kinds of questions being asked of these sites in modern castle studies. However, it does allow what have informally been discussed as 'probables' into 'definites' – at least within the parameters of selectivity outlined here.

- There is a tangible bias in ascribing castle sites and power centres to the 12th-13th centuries, and a parallel bias to not ascribing sites to the 14th century. It is speculated here that this is because of an awareness in modern surveyors, archaeologists and historians of the social distress (warfare, plague) of that century expressed in narrative sources from the period.

- There does not appear to be a bias in the information on sites with medieval occupation in the broader range of study (10th-16th centuries) in relation to the intensive county surveys undertaken by RCAHMS and its predecessors. Counties not intensively surveyed do not appear to have a lower proportion of medieval power centres.

- The form of a power centre does not imply, or even tend towards, a concomitant social structure. Here, Argyll with its very detailed survey is most instructive: while the county is home to conventional examples of stone castles in this period, there is a lack of less well-documented or understood (Grade 2) castle sites which might represent the less sophisticated or wealthy homes of magnates in the area. If Clan MacSween's practice of re-occupying older sites is typical, then the weakness of Grade 2 representation is justified. However, what this does unambiguously stress is that castles are a cultural phenomenon in Argyll, remnants of a trend towards investment in stone castellar architecture by its leading magnates out of step with the forms of lordly architecture of the lesser nobility in contemporary society. They do not represent a natural progression from earlier forms of lordly architecture, but the product of other trends or developments. It has been suggested here that one factor may be the increased concentration of wealth in the area as a result of economic growth. Other factors – the alignment of regional aristocracies with a castellar tradition in the castle-rich districts of the kingdom – are probably also at play. Individual sites represent individual stories for their emergence, but the resolution of the information of the database cannot account for them.

4.5 Typology-specific trends

The sift exercise also allows the investigation of continuity of certain formal typologies of sites typically considered medieval, in turn allowing the exploration of questions of continuity. The results here are presented within the pre-1975 county categories to allow for general regional differentiation. It is recognised that the county boundaries do not have wholesale application to medieval boundaries.

There are 146 sites with a 'motte' thesaurus label in the database which have a grade listing of 2 or 3. Their county-by-county spread is depicted in a bar chart (see 10.4 Appendix 4). Though the body of evidence for mottes is not insignificant, it is on a century-by-century level too small to bear out any trends (see Figure 11). The majority of motte occupation is ascribed to the 12th-13th centuries, perhaps reflective of work undertaken to establish documentary evidence for these sites.[271] This may have influenced the lack of further development in a chronological framework for Scottish motte occupation, though evidence from Castlehill of Strachan (Kincardineshire), Roberton (Lanarkshire) and Mote of Urr (Kirkcudbrightshire) give cause for speculating that the 14th-century evidence may be under-represented.[272] The causes of this may be similar to those which have already been speculated in the century-by-century distribution of power centres. The volume of sites tends towards a genuine trend, even with caveats.

FIGURE 11: BAR CHART OF MOTTE (FIRST PHASE OF) OCCUPATION, ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, CENTURY-BY-CENTURY

	11th century	12th century	13th century	14th century	15th century	16th century
Motte occupation, absolute number	4	48	29	14	10	12
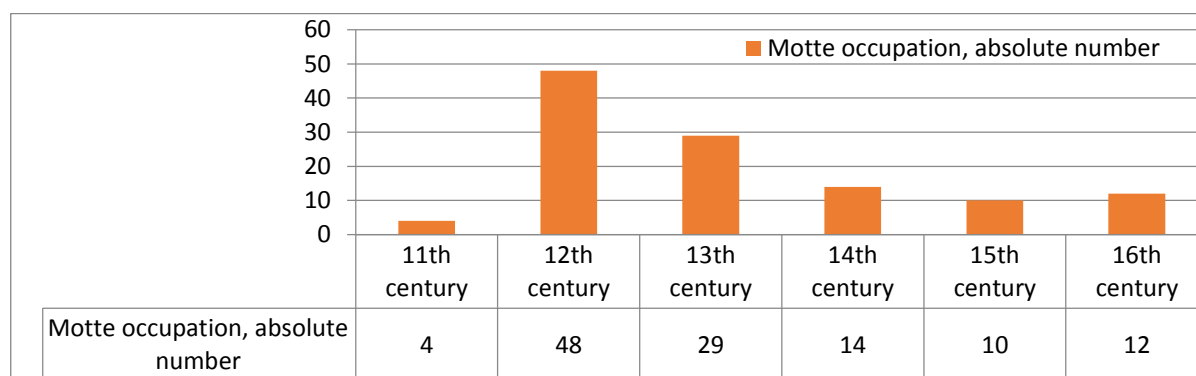
4.5.2 Pre- and early-historic site occupation in the later medieval period

There were 190 sites of pre- and early-historic formal typology which achieved a grade 2 or 3. These are outlined below by county (Figure 12). Note, some counties – 14 of the total 33 (42%) – are represented by no results whatsoever.

It is tempting to view these results as evidence of a regional distinction, and to a certain extent this is the case. Those areas earlier established to represent high concentration of level 1 sites – Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness-shire, Argyll all feature good representations of typologically earlier sites with possible or probable medieval occupation. This evidence tallies very well with the notion that areas evidencing below-average numbers of castle sites at Grades 2 and 3 (discussed above) are probably not void of power centres per se, but rather feature

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[271] G. Simpson, B. Webster, 'Charter evidence for the distribution of mottes in Scotland', *Château Gaillard*, 5 (1970), pp 175-92.

[272] G. Haggerty, C. Tabraham, 'Excavations of a motte near Roberton, Clydesdale, 1979', *TDGNHAS*, 57 (3rd s.) (1982), pp 51-63; P. Yeoman, 'Excavations at Castlehill of Strachan, 1980-81', *PSAS*, 114 (1984), 315-64, B. Hope-Taylor, 'Excavations at Mote of Urr. Interim report, 1951 season', *TDGNHAS*, 29 (3rd s.) (1950-1), pp 167-72.

typologically older forms of power centre. Beyond accepting this, the difficulty – without excavation – lies in distinguishing genuine pre- and early-historic power centres in these areas from those reoccupied in the medieval period, and here again the resolution of evidence is unsupportable. Counties where the evidence suggest fewer than five sites of this typology add further nuance to this image, sharpening somewhat the impression of a highland-lowland divide. This is illustrated below in map form (Figure 13).

FIGURE 12: BAR CHART OF COUNTIES WITH SITES OF PRE/EARLY HISTORIC TYPOLOGY OF GRADES 2 & 3
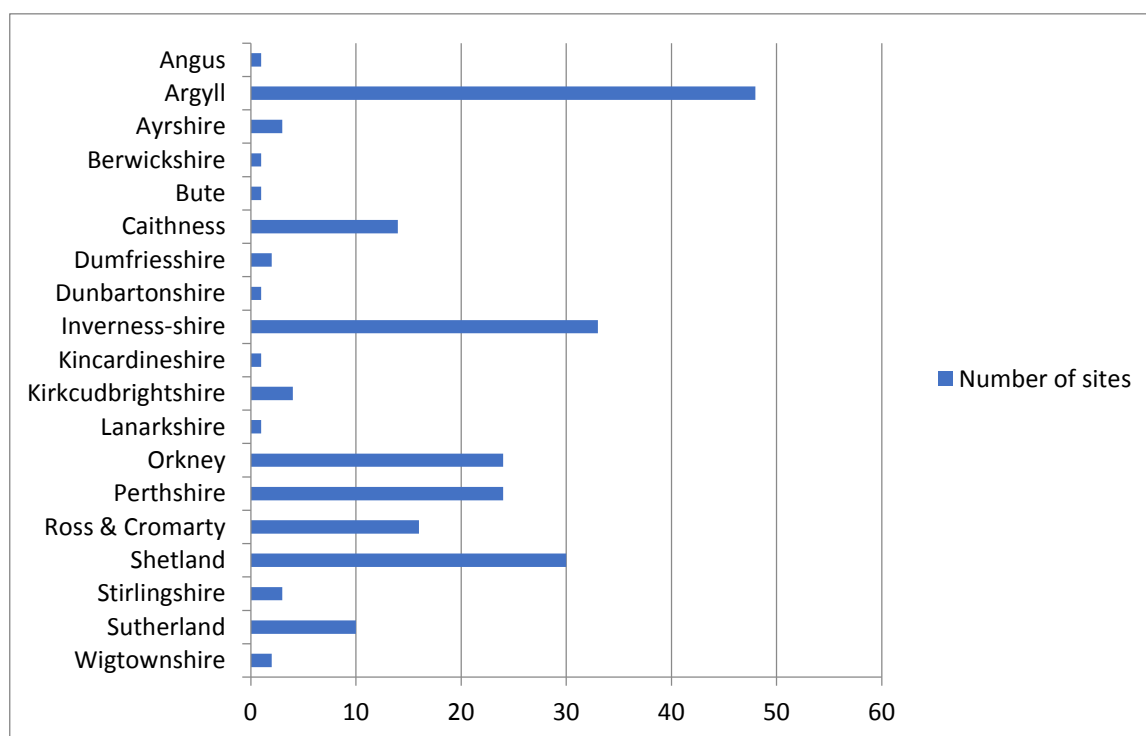
A breakdown of this information by century reveals marginally larger numbers of occupation in the 12th and 16th centuries, but realistically in total numbers too small for meaningful comment. Perhaps the most important figure here is the number of sites (133, 70.00%) which bear possible or probable medieval evidence, but with no fixed century ascribed (Figure 14). Further work which refines a date of occupation for these will have a considerable impact of the meagre evidence presented here.

FIGURE 13: GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF GRADE 2 & 3 SITES OF PRE/EARLY HISTORIC TYPOLOGY BY COUNTY

Red = No sites; light green = <5, dark green = >5. [Orkney & Shetland dark green]
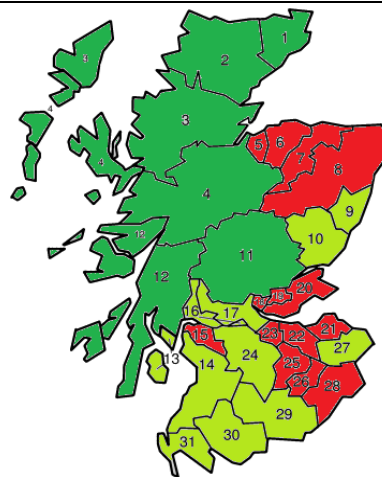
4.6 Discussion

It is self-evident that improved archaeological practice has led to changes in how castles and medieval power centres are understood and interpreted in Scotland. The extent to which that change has had an impact on the record, however, has until now been speculative. What is apparent here is not radically different from what informal and tentative discussion on the topic has suggested: there are more biases in certain areas of practice than others, owing to a variety of factors. With regards to early stone castles, these factors have in large part not played an important role. This is chiefly because, where good evidence is available (e.g. Grade 3 sites), for the most part interpretation of the issue of dating and chronology is largely unchanging. Certain cases may demonstrate how earlier thinking was incorrect – e.g. motte sites generally, or Doune Castle specifically – but this may not be a larger trend.

The 12th century may, it is argued here, represent a period of significant growth in the number of high-status sites being occupied, whether these are of motte or prehistoric typologies. The decision by aristocracies to occupy or invest in these places was a cultural decision in itself. This deliberate choice counters the notion of site typology as predetermined ethnic marker of Norman proclivity with regards to mottes, or a nearly timeless and unrelentingly conservative continuity of native culture in Scotland in that century. Status was expressed through display and performance, irrespective of the categories and assumptions placed on site typologies. If culture is the politic emphasis and signalling of a wider group of ethnic traits, then it must also be recognised that site typologies also reflect a degree of inherence. Certain mottes and prehistoric typologies may have been occupied and invested in because the architectural vocabulary was limited to those choices. Thus while the cultural package theory must be rejected, its conclusions are at least partly acceptable. Testing how castle culture was deployed or not requires a closer examination of places whether the architectural vocabulary was more varied, here Orkney and Galloway.

Number of sites	10th c.	11th c.	12th c.	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.	16th c.	None
Number of sites	8	2	12	7	7	7	14	133
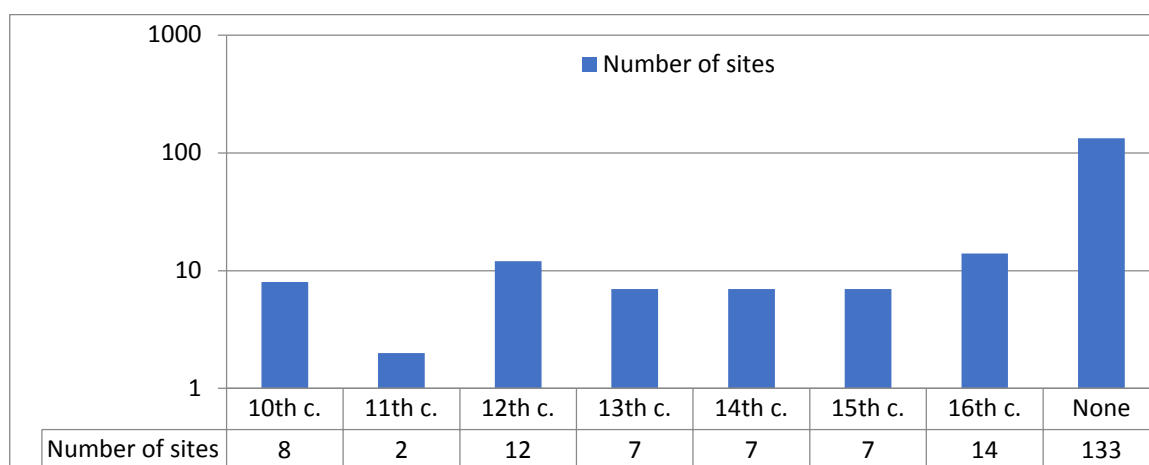
With regards to the larger study of castles in Scotland, it is obvious (and this exercise demonstrates) that more careful attention to the record is necessary to initiate and propagate a more evidence-based discussion. The dip in sites ascribed to the 14th century in both grade 2 and 3 here is worth examining in more detail; probably, it is a combination of the factors discussed here – methodological but also historical, social, political and environmental – which are to blame. This emphasizes the need for more focussed studies – of individual sites and landscapes, understood in their own context first and foremost – before contributing to macro-level studies like this sift.

4.7 Conclusion

This exercise has sought to establish two key questions. Firstly, it has asked whether it is possible to detect a bias in the monuments record data for Scotland's early stone castles. With regard to all of the sites examined, on a century-by-century basis, it is argued that it is indeed possible to establish a bias. Whether this bias is reflective of the archaeological record or an underlying dynamic owing to archaeological practice is debated; it is concluded that it is more likely the latter than the former.

Secondly, it is asked whether the size of counties carried a bias in the number of sites falling into different categories. The intensive county-level surveys brought a larger volume of sites to bear, but no substantially greater percentage of Grade 2 and 3 sites than non-intensively surveyed counties. In short, the volume of sites increased in number, but that specifically of medieval power centres not greatly. It is concluded that the archaeological record for at least the number of power centres in Scotland (but not the quality of the evidence or depth of our understanding) is unlikely to change.

It was concluded that while stone castles may not have been so radically affected by changing methodologies in terms of ascribing an absolute chronology – a chief focus of the sift exercise – the study of the castle phenomenon in medieval Scotland will benefit from more focussed, site- and landscape-specific studies to address less quantitative questions of castles. Plainly, too, as noted in the literature review, discussions of castles can now decisively move away from the strategy of purely understanding the remains and identifying causal factors in their construction: we are unlikely to uncover a major new find which shatters current thinking on them. Cultural and social factors at play in the emergence of castles must play a more prominent role in their understanding, to move beyond a sterile back-and-forth over distribution and functionalist interpretation. Castles were the stuff of culture, not simply tools (military or administrative), and complicated aristocratic culture at that, and so should be understood in those terms. One reading of the results of the sift relating to both motte and prehistoric site typologies suggest it is necessary to priorities a temporal, not cultural, reading of sites; here the 12th century especially represents a period of growth in the number of high-status centres in Scotland, irrespective of site typology or ethnic label ascribed to sites. On this Scotland-wide level it is possible to move away from the legacy of the cultural package. The contingency of culture upon contemporary politics and society allows careful and considered conclusions to be made from specific sites to a broader range of material, but wider trends of instability and prosperity, are also apparent. This emphasis will be examined in more detail in the two regional case studies: the early stone castles of the Earldom of Orkney and the Lordship of Galloway.

5. Castles in the Earldom of Orkney

5.1 Introduction and literature review

This study aims to examine the *kastalar* of the Earldom of Orkney, buildings interpreted as castles. For most studies of the history of the Earldom of Orkney in the Late Norse period, or Late Norse culture more generally, these sites have been relegated to footnotes or uncritical, liminal discussions.[273] They have not been considered part of the wider European castle tradition, nor have the advances in castles studies as a discipline – chiefly an emphasis on landscape and identity – been brought to bear on the Earldom. This small group spread across two of the three territorial constituents of the Earldom, Orkney and Caithness (Shetland being the last, with no *kastalar*).

It begins by examining previous work in the field, before discussing the chief source of evidence for these sites (*Orkneyinga saga*), sites not considered in this study, and a group of towers in the wider Scandinavian world. Next, it moves to outline political, economic and social dynamics at play in the Earldom during this period, before examining high-status, non-castellar Late Norse sites in the Earldom to draw out patterns of settlement. The final portion of this chapter looks at four case studies of *kastalar* in the Earldom, examining chiefly their archaeology and landscape to understand how they compare to those of other high-status sites.

The earliest modern figure to discuss Norse *kastalar* in Scotland was Joseph Clouston. He produced a series of articles, which while being instrumental in formulating the dialogue along dual documentary-archaeological lines, draws attention to the un-Norse word '*kastali*' used in *Orkneyinga saga* to describe different buildings at different points in saga narratives. Clouston also noted that this word, which is clearly connected to the modern English word 'castle', was different from the words, like *vígi*, *virki* or *borg* used to describe the brochs which dot the Earldom landscape and which were used by Viking and Norse communities.[274] Clouston suggested that the word *kastali* referred to a very specific structure, a tower, rather than a notional castle of different forms (as we ourselves imagine 'castles'). To support this, he quoted the Icelandic *Sturlunga saga* in which an individual around the year 1215, being chased by enemies, ran to his house to "a *kastali* which he had there."[275] This man was then set upon in his *kastali* but managed to see off his assailants single-handedly. Clouston deduced the *kastali* in question must be a small, non-flammable tower.[276] In the 13th-century list of construction projects undertaken by King

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[273] Late Norse, in this context, implies a date from the 11th-14th centuries.

[274] J.S. Clouston, 'Three Norse strongholds in Orkney', *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society*, 7 (1928-9), pp 57-74.

[275] G. Vigfússon, *Sturlunga saga* (Oxford, 1878), I, ch. 38, p.232.

[276] This is discussed in more detail below, in the segment noting S.J. Grieve's MPhil thesis.

Hákon Hákonarson (*r*.1217-63), Clouston remarks that three *kastalar* are mentioned, at least two of which refer specifically to a tower or keep.[277]

Though Clouston's work is commendable for its inclusion of the study of Old Norse names for sites, one example illustrates the challenge of using the evidence in question. Remarking that Damsay in Orkney may very well have been the site of a castle in 1136 (as *Orkneyinga saga* relates), Clouston suggests that it would have resembled Cubbie Roo's castle on Wyre, based on its identification as a *kastali*. The author notes, however, that no such site has been uncovered on Damsay.[278] What remains are the fragments of a possible collapsed broch, by the chapel dedicated to St Mary – hardly proof positive of a castle. This may still represent a medieval settlement: as will be explored below, brochs were integral features of the Viking and Norse presence in Orkney, Caithness and Shetland, and evidence demonstrates a social interaction with early monuments. Elsewhere, the excavations undertaken by Clouston at the archaeological remains of a complex at Gernaness near Nether Bigging, Orkney revealed, in Clouston's terms, a Norse castle. Artefacts from the site include broch pottery indicating Iron age occupation alongside a Viking finger ring found in rubble at the site. The ring in question is similar, says Clouston, to one found on Bute (Argyll), alongside coins from the reigns of David I, Henry I and Stephen, giving a date-range of 1100-1153; it is on the strength of this ring that Clouston somewhat arbitrarily assigns the site a date of 1120-1150.[279] A critical reading of the evidence, however, indicates that the site is Iron age in origin with some evidence of Viking occupation, followed by very faint Late Norse occupation more suggestive of temporary use.

Clouston, in looking for a predecessor to the Norse castles in Orkney, suggests that the earliest appearance may be the *borg* at Sarpsborg in Østfold (Norway) built by King Ólafr II in 1016, inspired by (unspecified) non-Scandinavian models of fortification. In 1100 King Magnús Óláfsson ('Barefoot') was said to have built a stronghold of "turf and wood" on Kvaldinsey in Lake Vena to repel Swedish attacks. In 1116 his son Sigurðr "built there a great castle [*kastala*] and dug a great ditch around it; it was made of turf and stone; he built houses in the castle [*húsa í kastalanum*] and erected a church there."[280] Clouston remarks in passing that Sigurðr participated in crusades in the Mediterranean and might have very well have been impressed by the extant tower architecture in Byzantine and Muslim lands.[281] Why other transposable customs from the Holy Land (dress, personal adornment, diet, nomenclature, etc) were ignored is not considered,

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[277] J.S. Clouston, 'An early Orkney Castle', *PSAS*, 60 (1925-6), p.293-4.
[278] Clouston (1925-6), p.294.
[279] Clouston (1925-6), p.296-7.
[280] 'The history of Sigurd the Crusader and his brothers Eystein and Olav', in E. Monsen, A.H. Smith (eds), *Heimskringla, or the lives of the Norse Kings by Snorre Sturlason* (Cambridge, 1932), ch. 23, p.624; ON from F. Jónsson, *Heimskringla, Nóregs Konunga Sögur* (Copenhagen, 1893), III, p.289.
[281] Clouston (1925-6), p.293.

because Clouston's chief focus is surviving architecture. On the four *kastalar* mentioned in *Orkneyinga saga*, Clouston also remarks that their appearance may be linked to the return of Earl Hákon of Orkney's return from crusade.[282]

W.D. Simpson's innovative 1961 comparison of the 13th-century castle of Bergen (composed of hall and tower) with the Bishop's Palace in Kirkwall (Orkney) offered the first insight into the potential of detailed transnational studies. The similarities between Hákon's hall in Bergen and the episcopal hall in Kirkwall are striking; Simpson's detailed reading bearing out the cultural and artistic ties which bound the Norse North Atlantic.[283] Simpson also propagated a long-lived assertion that the Shetland insular site of Castle Holm was a castle, arguing for a 12th-century date in more tentative terms than when the claim was repeated more forcefully (and with no new evidence) by Eric Talbot a quarter of a century later.[284]

Talbot's short 1973 article, which primarily covers Scotland, appears to be the first to make the connection in structural similarities between Cubbie Roo's castle on Wyre and Old Wick castle in Caithness.[285] He closes remarking that "The absence of a tradition of Viking fortification makes the problem of origin and development a difficult one."[286] In this view, the 'evolution' of castles in the Earldom is inexplicable, as there is no ancestor; evidently, this understanding of the castle phenomenon is flawed, anchored as it is in determinist historical reasoning. A later article by Talbot offers an effort to bridge this gap in knowledge, in the form of excavations at the enigmatic annular earthwork at Ring of Castlehill, Caithness, but evidence was and remains lacking to carry this further.[287] In arrangment the earthworks at Castlehill are indeed strikinglu similar to those of Cubbie Roo's, though approximately half the size. Talbot also excavated at the historically important episcopal castle of Scrabster in Caithness. Nothing substantial remains, though it is well represented in documentary sources and archaeological excavation; it is noted as a *borg*, which in 1201 was inhabited by John Bishop of Caithness.[288] At this time the *borg* was attacked and the bishop tortured by the assailants; we later have a letter from the Pope, which corroborates this

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[282] Clouston (1925-6), p.294.

[283] W.D. Simpson, 'The Castle of Bergen and the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall', *Aberdeen University Studies*, 142 (Edinburgh, 1961).

[284] W.D. Simpson, 'The castles of Shetland', in W.D. Simpson (ed.), *The Viking Congress, Lerwick, July 1950* (Edinburgh, 1954), pp 175-6; E. Talbot, 'Scandinavian fortification in the British Isles', *Scottish Archaeological Forum*, 6 (Edinburgh, 1975), p.42. The assertion of a 12th-century date is not substantiated upon with evidence.

[285] E. Talbot, 'Fortification in the areas of Scandinavian settlement in the British Isles', *Northern Studies*, 1 (1973), pp 26-7; Talbot, 'Scandinavian fortification in the British Isles', p.40.

[286] Talbot, 'Fortification in the areas of Scandinavian settlement in the British Isles', p.27.

[287] E. Talbot, 'The Ring of Castlehill, Caithness – a Viking fortification?', *PSAS* 108 (1976-7), pp 378-9.

[288] E. Talbot, 'A report on excavations at Bishop's Castle, Scrabster, 1973', *Northern Studies*, 2 (1973), pp 37-8; H. Pálsson, P. Edwards (eds), *Orkneyinga Saga: The history of the Earls of Orkney* (London, 1981), 111. Following convention, this chapter will cite *Orkneyinga Saga* (shortened to *OrkSag*) by the chapters of the edition in question, not the pages.

story, ordering penance for a man who undertook the attack on the bishop's "castle."[289] Excavations at the site have yielded a series of artefacts confirming occupation during the period in question including fragments of a 13th-century quern stone and cooking pot sherds whose form is paralleled in sherds from Cubbie Roo's and late medieval Bucholly Castle.[290] It is to Talbot's credit that such connections and questions were asked of the evidence in Caithness and Orkney. However, turning to the question of provenance, he concluded that "Influences, and undoubtedly skills, came from the south although the good quality of the local stone was probably an important factor too."[291] Simpson's pioneering Scandinavian parallels were ignored, and exogeneity from southern lands endured. A slightly later 1975 article by Talbot also connected Cubbie Roo's to Cronk y Mur (also called Cronk Moar), a high mound site on the Isle of Man.[292] Excavations from this site in 1912 noted that, while the site may have had earlier usage in the prehistoric period (it is likened to Maeshowe, Orkney), it was surrounded by a secondary 6m-wide ditch, while the top of the mound featured a substantial depressed area, the whole top being ringed by a rampart 1.1-1.3m high. Excavations yielded no substantial structural remains save the stone revetting of the bank around the top of the mound. A badly-corroded Iron and wood object was said to date to the Viking age, on Swedish parallels.[293] Excavators here concluded that the site was at least occupied during the Viking era, quoting the 10th-11th-century Norman historian Dudo of Saint-Quentin in noting that the Vikings took to "[...] fortifying themselves, after the manner of a *castrum* by heaping up earth-banks drawn round themselves."[294] As with Clouston's Nether Bigging, the evidence for Cronk y Mur's Norse history is very limited and confined to a single object lacking both proven context and substantiated artefactual analogy. Nevertheless, the opaque nature of the evidence need not preclude its ultimate connection to Norse culture, but that to date efforts to properly test this theory have been unsuccessful. There are recurring problems with the approaches identified thus far: an over-reliance on tenuous analogous sites (Cubbie Roo's, Old Wick) especially is a hallmark of early studies in castles in the Earldom.

Alex Morrison's 1975 article on the reuse of prehistoric sites in Scotland during the medieval period raises many examples of often tentative, limited hints to a more widespread practice of re-occupation apparent elsewhere in the larger medieval world of Britain. Whereas earlier sources have less deliberately noted the close proximity of prehistoric and early historic sites, Morrison explicitly drew attention to these complex sites. The fort site at Little Dunagoil in the south-west of the island of Bute (SW Scotland), when excavated contained two Late Norse longhouses, dated

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[289] G. Strom (ed.), *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (Christiania, 1898), VII, 2.
[290] D.M. Wilson, S. Moorhouse (eds.), 'Medieval Britain in 1970', *Medieval Archaeology*, 15 (1971), p.150; Talbot, 'Scandinavian fortification in the British Isles', p.44.
[291] Talbot, 'Scandinavian fortification in the British Isles', p.43.
[292] Talbot, 'Scandinavian fortification in the British Isles'.
[293] W.A. Herdman, 'Fairy Hill Excavated', *The Manx Quarterly*, 11 (October 1912), pp 983-4.
[294] P.M.C. Kermode, W.A. Herdman (eds), *Manks Antiquities* (Liverpool, 1914), pp 59-81.

via pottery to the 12th-13th centuries.[295] The location of the longhouses relative to the fort does not suggest that the later buildings were sited to take advantage of the fort's inherent symbolic or defensive qualities, but their proximity does echo that of brochs and Viking/Norse farms in Orkney. In purely economic terms, this must represent the continuity of human occupation on land suitable for agriculture (broadly defined) rather than a symbolic exercise. Whether culturally significant connections should be assumed between settlement and prehistoric site is open to debate, but these probably do not sit within a functionalist framework.

In 1993 *Viking Scotland*, by Anna Ritchie, covered Norse castles by discussing Cubbie Roo's Castle on the island of Wyre in Orkney. Ritchie tentatively suggests that "[...] this stone keep with its encircling defences may owe its designs to the mottes of ultimately Norman origin which were being built in mainland Scotland at this time."[296] Barbara Crawford has also dedicated a section of her 2013 monograph to the topic of castles.[297] This forms part of a chapter on the medieval earls of Orkney, and as earlier scholars have done, puts these sites in the context of an emerging "feudal" state in Orkney. Crawford suggests that "Members of the wealthy earldom circle were very familiar with the world of the Anglo-Normans who had stone-building perfected to a high art, and we can be certain that this is where the inspiration came from."[298] This assertion, full of conviction, cites for evidence the work of Anna Ritchie cited above, which is far more equivocal. Both Ritchie and Crawford echoed the findings of Talbot in the connection between Cubbie Roo's and Old Wick.

The most up-to-date detailed and properly critical study of castles in Late Norse Scotland was undertaken by Sarah J. Grieve, in the form of an unpublished MPhil thesis in 1999. The systematic and comprehensive nature of Grieve's work, which includes archaeological assessment of the sites discussed here, means that it will be referred to frequently over the course of this chapter. It assessed the work of Clouston and others in establishing the form and function of a larger group of sites in the Earldom. In relation to the encroaching authority of the kings of Norway and Scotland, it suggested that "These external pressures must have created an inherent sense of insecurity within the earldom, especially when they came in the form of rival claimants. The external pressures came to a climax from the middle of the twelfth century, which coincides with the construction of the defensive buildings."[299] This utilitarian view of castles is at odds with more recent research on castles. However, in discussing Cubbie Roo's Castle, Grieve noted that "[...]

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[295] A. Morrison, 'Some prehistoric sites in Scotland with medieval occupation', *Scottish Archaeological Forum*, 6, p. 72.

[296] A. Ritchie, *Viking Scotland* (London, 1993), p.121.

[297] B. Crawford, *The Northern Earldoms: Orkney and Caithness from AD 870 to 1470* (Edinburgh, 2013), pp 193-7.

[298] Crawford, *The Northern Earldoms: Orkney and Caithness from AD 870 to 1470*, p.194.

[299] S.J. Grieve, *Norse castles in Scotland* (Unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999), p.99.

there is no evidence for any form of threat to the structure. This may indicate that the construction of the tower was a precautionary defensive measure rather than for a real threat."[300] The emphasis on defence and the military character of the castles, farmsteads and defended churches Grieve identified has perpetuated the notion that these buildings emerged as responses to unrest, rather than as part of a larger, non-functionalist or utilitarian cultural phenomenon. In discussing the terminology deployed by the narrative sources (sagas), Grieve concluded that there was little difference between *kastali*, *borg*, *virki*, *vígi* in relation to established links with archaeological remains – though there are nuances.[301] This marks a critical turning point in the discussion of these sites; rather than discussing how the literature related to the archaeology, or how the archaeology could buttress the documentary evidence, both are treated independently of each other. Nevertheless, the utilitarian identity of the sites as defensive installations is not challenged, but rather assumed.

This chapter seeks to orient the discussion towards assessing the notion of *kastali* as unusual and distinct monuments, which are incidentally mentioned in the written evidence; that *Orkneyinga saga* has initiated this discussion is not in doubt, but it marks a departure point rather than the focus of discussion. However, the implicit contradiction in this study, and expressed by Grieve, is this: any study of Norse castles in Scotland will draw on the terminology of *Orkneyinga saga*, because the narrative does not go into any detail about structural characteristics or explicit reference to the cultural import of castles. If, as Grieve has demonstrated, the terms are interchangeable, then it is impossible to confidently assert that, for example, a *borg* site in the *saga* is in fact not a castle. But Grieve's argument, as hinted above, is subtler, drawing on Old Icelandic philology; *kastali* may mean 'castle', 'stronghold', a kind of war engine, and 'dome-shaped hill'. Equally, *borg* may have signified 'town/city', 'enclosure', 'dome-shaped hill', 'fortification' or 'castle'; *virki* could represent 'wall', 'work', 'stronghold', 'castle' or (and?) 'building'.[302] The complexity of the question is illustrated by a point first made by Clouston in reference to *Sturlunga saga*, which here details political struggles in Iceland in 1215. Eyjolf Karsson had built the previously mentioned *kastali* at his farm at Rauðisandur in NW Iceland; in the scene described, his enemies chase him to his *kastali* and he held them off single-handedly. They encircled the building with a timber *vígi*, later referred to as a *virki*.[303] Grieve notes that the structure does not appear to be similar to large stone fortifications with towers and buildings, rather "a small defence associated with the farm complex […]."[304] This differs little, on what the evidence can give, from the 13th-century evidence for the Wyre site discussed below, with its

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[300] Grieve, *Norse castles in Scotland*, p.58.
[301] Grieve, *Norse castles in Scotland*, p.30.
[302] Grieve, *Norse castles in Scotland*, p.30.
[303] Vigfússon, *Sturlunga saga*, pp 232-3.
[304] Grieve, *Norse castles in Scotland*, p.33.

kastali and *útkastali* ('castle' and 'low-castle'). Evidently, the terms do refer to architectural forms that overlap. Emphasis instead should be placed upon examining the reasons and contexts for the emergence of these structures, marked incidentally in *Orkneyinga saga* but representative of a wider unvoiced change in the Earldom. The topic of castles in Norse Scotland can also be understood through broader research questions. The Scottish Archaeological Research Framework (ScARF) features a sub-chapter entitled 'The Late Norse Period' rather refreshingly places this cultural and historic sphere of study within its own context, rather than an afterthought of the Viking Age and murky precursor to mainland Scottish late medieval history. In outlining future avenues of research, ScARF calls for "charting the development of regional styles of architecture [...]."[305] In a sense, the investigation of these sites encapsulates part of a research agenda, though the above more clearly relates to longhouses than castles. Castles do not appear to feature in wider discussions dominating Late Norse archaeology, which focuses on connections to fish trade, settlement hierarchy and maritime exploitation – themes examined below.

What emerges from the sporadic knowledge accrued about these castle or tower sites in Norse and Norse-influenced areas is that much is supposed, little is evidenced and the argument appears to have regressed somewhat to demonstrating a specified date as evidence of occupation. Taken holistically, however, this mixed bag of evidence can tell a great deal. Furthermore, its accrual presents the opportunity to present a case for the presence of Norse castles across the land now called Scotland. It is hoped this will advance the discussion towards a footing more akin to castle studies discussions in the lands of the medieval Scottish kingdom, and the second regional study of Galloway.

5.2 The political economy and society of the Earldom of Orkney, 12th-13th centuries

Before examining the evidence for *kastalar* any further, it is necessary to outline areas of political, economic and cultural relevance that properly frame the emergence of castle sites in the Earldom. Castles convey much about the societies in which they appear, and this must be the case for Orkney. It seems impossible to discuss the evidence for towers and *kastalar* without continually touching upon the changes in Scandinavian society, evidenced in archaeology and historical studies, during the 12th century. The first of two key changes was in settlement patterns, perhaps beginning in the 11th century: this saw an intensification of the exploitation of natural resources on land and sea. On land, this especially meant internal division, though expansion onto common ground did also occur.[306] The second was a shift in political ideology which saw a newly-

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[305] M. Hall, N. Price (eds), 'Medieval Panel Report' (2012)*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Scottish Archaeological Research Framework, http://tinyurl.com/bogzn5w [Accessed 13/10/16], 2.3.3.

[306] W.P.L. Thomson, 'Orkney farm names: a re-assessment of their chronology', in B.E. Crawford (ed.), *Scandinavian settlement in northern Britain* (Leicester, 2001), p.48.

reformed church support royal efforts to stabilise, formalise and centralise administration. The efforts of bishops of Orkney, William the elder (d.1168) and Bjarni Kolbeinsson (*fl*. 1198x1202), to foster cults of Orcadian saints surely represents an effort at polity identity-building, but was also part of a wider developmental trend in wider Scandinavia as a means of invigorating the newly-reformed Church. One of the key features of this period took place in 1153/4, when the Archbishopric of Nidaros (old name of Trondheim) was formally elevated from its previous position as subject to Lund (Sweden). In the 12th century the cult of St Ólafr was "streamlined" and more consciously developed; the choice of Trondheim rather than Bergen as the seat of the see was doubtless influenced, says Ekroll, by the presence of St Olav's relics there.[307] The new archbishopric covered not only Norway but all Norwegian colonies around the North Atlantic, including the Earldom of Orkney.

5.2.1 Political power

Orcadian society in the period in question was the product of its Viking age antecedent. While this is true of most areas settled by Scandinavians in the North Atlantic, in the Earldom the martial character of society's leaders endured as a characteristic into the post-Viking age.[308] The characters that comprise *Orkneyinga saga* are described chiefly in terms that underline their leadership qualities as warriors; this is noted in contrast to the mental cunning of contemporary Icelandic *goðar* and the divinely ordained superiority accorded Norwegian kings. There is no reason to think this distinction in the eyes of the Icelandic authors of the *saga* was contrived or anachronistic.[309] Rather, it may reflect the contemporary perception that the Earldom was a society more martial in character than contemporary Iceland. More generally, the emphasis on personal appearence could reflect a society with less social stratification than contemporary European societies, where personal contact – and the connection made between those leading and those being led – was most important in the exercise of authority.[310] Distinction is apparent in diet, however; Barrett and Richards identified a distinct gender and status difference in the increased consumption of fish of wealthy males buried in high-status graves in 11th-14th-century graves in Orkney. Whether this was a marker of social status, or a by-product of intensified marine exploitation for export from the Northern Isles, is not clear.[311] Interestingly, the increase in

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[307] Ø. Ekroll, 'The cult of St. Olav in the Norse cultural sphere – and outside it', in S. Imsen (ed.), *'Ecclesia Nidrosiensis' and 'Norges veldi': the role of the church in the making of Norwegian domination in the Norse world* (Trondheim, 2010), p.50.

[308] J. Viðar Sigurðsson, 'The appearance and personal ability of *goðar*, *jarlar* and *konungar*: Iceland, Orkney and Norway', in B. Ballin Smith, S. Taylor (eds), *West over sea: studies in Scandinavian sea-borne expansion and settlement before 1300* (Leiden, 2007), p.95.

[309] Viðar Sigurðsson, 'The appearance and personal ability of *goðar*, *jarlar* and *konungar*: Iceland, Orkney and Norway', p.107.

[310] J. H. Ballantyne, B. Smith (eds), *Shetland documents 1195-1579* (Lerwick, 1999), p.xii.

[311] J.H. Barrett, M.P. Richards, 'Indentity, gender, religion and economy: new isotope and radiocarbon evidence for marine resource intensification in early historic Orkney, Scotland, UK', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 7.3 (2004), p.266.

consumption of fish by high-status individuals may represent an increased participation in fishing as sport, recognised as an aristocratic pastime across medieval Britain.[312]

While *Orkneyinga saga* draws this distinction, the career of one magnate in the Earldom active in the time frame under discussion serves to illustrate key social and political themes. In the Scottish heritage sector and across Orcadian guidebooks it is now an established trope to name Kolbein *hrúga* (ON 'heap', 'lump'), farming on Wyre, as the architect of Scotland's earliest stone castle (discussed in more detail below).[313] While little is known for sure about Kolbein, more evidence survives that has been appreciated. He emerges as one of the magnates who married into the Orcadian comital family, specifically to Earl Paul Thorfinnsson's great-granddaughter, Herborg.[314] Kolbein was therefore connected through marriage to contemporary earls and, more distantly, the kings of Norway.

The extent of Kolbein's influence in contemporary society may be gleaned from the *saga*'s description of his godson's kidnapping. The kidnappers, with hostage in custody, happened to cross paths with Earl Rognvaldr Kali Kolsson on Westray in Orkney; there, the Earl implored the kidnappers to return the hostage for fear of what Kolbein and Sveinn Ásleifarson, the hostage's father, might do to the islands.[315] Sveinn is the swaggering adventurer and hero of the later chapters of *Orkneyinga saga*.[316] Though he was certainly violent and uncompromising, he was not obviously acting in marked contrast to contemporary society's expectations of how magnates should conduct themselves.[317] Kolbein was not, however, only recorded in Orkney. In 1142, three years before he is described building a castle on Wyre, he joined two (otherwise unknown) magnates in bringing a third son of King Haraldr *gillikristr* (d.1136) to Norway as a rival claimant to the crown hitherto shared between the elder Ingi (I) Haraldsson and his brother Sigurðr (II).[318] Escorted to Trondheim by Kolbein and company, Eysteinn (II) Haraldsson claimed a third of the kingdom, for which it is highly likely Kolbein was rewarded; the claim was uncontested by his older brothers Ingi and Sigurðr. Because Eysteinn's mother Bjaðǫk has a name of Gaelic origin (?G *Bethóc*), and because Kolbein retrieved Eysteinn from *Skotland* ('Scotland', perhaps meaning the Hebrides or Ireland), it is possible to imagine either that Kolbein had existing interests in the Earldom or its western reaches. Admittedly, this is speculative, but the body of evidence serves to

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[312] R.C. Hoffman, 'Fishing for sport in medieval Europe: new evidence', *Speculum*, 60.4 (1985), pp 884-5.
[313] A visit by the author to the site in summer 2017 confirmed its refreshed interpretation centres on the connection of Kolbein to the castle.
[314] *OrkSag* 33.
[315] *OrkSag* 97.
[316] E.g. *OrkSag* 108.
[317] Barrett, 'The pirate fishermen: the political economy of a medieval maritime society', p.327.
[318] 'The history of Sigurd, Inge, and Eystein, the sons of Harald Gilli (1136-57)', in Monsen, Smith, *Heimskringla*, ch. 13, p.675. Kolbein's fellow magnates (I assume their status here) were Arne Sturla and Torleiv Brynjulvson, otherwise unknown.

underline the many facets of lordly authority in the Earldom during this study's period. It was probably this status which saw Kolbein's son Bjarni (mentioned above) become Bishop of Orkney and a key ally to the later Earl Haraldr Maddaðarson.

The magnate of this period in Orcadian society was equally at home politicking, farming, fishing, raiding, bullying, planning a dynasty. Even Sveinn Ásleifarson, 'the last Viking', engaged in trade and estate management.[319] While the exercise of power and the political dynamics in play have been outlined in the career of two leading magnates, it is necessary now to examine the means by which that power was exercised – military strength built on material wealth.

5.2.2 Sources of wealth

As Barrett has described in detail (stressing the qualitative nature of the evidence), wealth in the Earldom in this period was composed of the means of production and the connected relationship between individuals – mainly the Earl(s) and leading magnates.[320] On a basic level, the Earldom was a productive economic unit in the earlier phase of this period (12th century) in comparison to Scandinavian and British polities. Archaeological evidence testifies to the presence of locally-produced steatite wares, cereal crops (barley and oats consumption straddling social strata), woollen cloth, fish and fish oil, while documents suggest a cattle economy in Caithness, stressing too the high importance of butter across the Earldom as a taxation payment in kind – often sold for export. Incoming goods included currency (the Earldom did not produce coinage), German wine and other alcohols, wheat, pottery, timber, jewellery, furniture, malt, salt, combs from Norway, fruit, fishing lines, flax and linen.[321] It seems that slavery had decreased in volume by the 12th century so as to be insignificant, if Norwegian, Irish and English evidence is instructive.[322] To this must be added services in short supply in the Earldom; architectural knowledge for substantial ecclesiastical and secular works, and the purveyors of courtly poetry, usually Icelandic.[323] Items leaving the Earldom, suggests Barrett, may have included cereals and cattle, but by far the most important wealth generating exports were dried fish, fish oil and the goods secured in piracy or mercenary activity.[324]

While the produce of the means of production, and services rendered in return for external piracy or service form essential points to properly understand the emergence of castles in the Earldom, in this context it is also important to look at the relationships between magnates and earls. This has already been touched upon incidentally in the career of Kolbein *hrúga*. Viðar Sigurðsson's

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[319] Barrett, 'The pirate fishermen: the political economy of a medieval maritime society', p.328.
[320] Barrett, 'The pirate fishermen: the political economy of a medieval maritime society', p.301.
[321] Barrett, 'The pirate fishermen: the political economy of a medieval maritime society', pp 314-7.
[322] Barrett, 'The pirate fishermen: the political economy of a medieval maritime society', p.320.
[323] The Icelandic bias may reflect surviving evidence; the Orcadian Bjarni Kolbeinsson, son of the aforementioned Kolbein *hrúga*, was a *skáld*, 'poet': *OrkSag* 84.
[324] Barrett, 'The pirate fishermen: the political economy of a medieval maritime society', pp 326-7.

work on the literary distinction in *Orkneyinga saga* are important here: the overt martial character of 12th-century Orcadian society demanded the frequent display of personal skills (strength, leadership, brutality) necessary for survival.[325] However, the earls were also expected to provide for their supporters, also termed friends, clients, retinue.[326] As gift-giving was reciprocal, an earl might expect service, rather than goods, to be offered in return; this formed the basis for the military power upon which so much of Orcadian comital identity was founded, and very much confirms (in theory) the leaders in contemporary societies as warriors first and foremost. This evidently made for fluid loyalties, matching the ability of leaders to continue providing for their supporters. Here the career of Kolbein is again useful, for it outlines the ways (familiar across medieval Europe) by which magnates were bound to their superiors through different strategies. Kolbein married into the comital family. This was perhaps a mutually advantageous alliance, for while he gained prestige through proximity to the source of secular power in Orkney, the comital family gained a politically powerful player in Norwegian (and perhaps Hebridean) politics, and one who was probably also materially prosperous – if not before, at least certainly after securing the (1/3) throne for Eysteinn Haraldsson. It is equally likely, though unverifiable, that Kolbein fulfilled an official role in the Earldom; his ability to build a *steinkastali* certainly would have required a greater volume of money than the island of Wyre could generate. A grant by one of his sons of lands in Håland in Dalsfjord (Sogn and Fjordane, Norway) to Munkeliv Abbey in Bergen (1188 x 1223) may indicate that the family held estates there too.[327] But at the heart of why the Wyre castle was built must relate to why Kolbein was in the Earldom at all or worthy of note in the *saga*, for which a role or position in the court of the Earl is the most likely reason. Comital power relied on material wealth, certainly, but this bought the loyalty of individuals like Kolbein – cemented with marriage and godfatherhood – which were relied on when the periodic instability of power relations spilled over into violence – as again Kolbein's career highlights.

5.2.3 Ecclesiatical change

It is likely that the foundations of episcopal authority in Orkney were established by Earl Þórfinnr Sigurðarson (d. *c.*1065).[328] While the earliest recorded bishops were probably peripatetic, the bishopric's first base of operations in Orkney typically (for nothern Europe) mirrored that of secular authority: it was based at Birsay, the islands' foremost comital centre in the 12th century,

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[325] Viðar Sigurðsson, 'The appearance and personal ability of *goðar*, *jarlar* and *konungar*: Iceland, Orkney and Norway', p.95.
[326] Viðar Sigurðsson, 'The appearance and personal ability of *goðar*, *jarlar* and *konungar*: Iceland, Orkney and Norway', pp 100-1.
[327] G. Storm (ed.), *Regesta Norvegica* (Christiania, 1898), I, no.475.
[328] Crawford, *The Northern Earldoms*, pp 146-8.

and may suggest that the earliest bishops also acted as chaplains for the earls.[329] In the 12th century, reorganisation of ecclesiastical administration was being undertaken at the behest of earls and bishops as members of a European-wide community of magnates in Scandinavia. Change was not initiated only in Norway, however. Gibbon has argued convincingly that the formation of parishes in Orkney (Figure 15) may have begun as a means of raising funds for the construction of St Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall, a process begun around 1137 but extending in practice over the century.[330] It may even have been the case that Orkney was a leader in the Scandinavian world at this time. Fisher has shown that the round church at Orphir evidences the reception of ideas from a larger south Scandinavian tradition, but that it also may have contributed them. Earl Hákon of Orkney had gone to Palestine on crusade in 1120, and the capture of Jerusalem after 1099 spurred a growth in churches and chapels in NW Europe imitating the Church of the Holy Sepulchre there.[331] The distinctive combs discussed earlier were found in Norway but also in Denmark and Sweden.[332] Cistercian abbeys were built in Norway in 1146 (Lyse, near Bergen, by monks of Fountains Abbey), 1147 (Hovedøya, Olso Fjord, by monks from Kirkstead Abbey, England), c.1180 (Munkaby, Trondheim Fjord) and 1207 (Tautra, Trondheim Fjord).[333] Closer to Orkney, Eynhallow across from Westness in Rousay was said to be home to a 12th-century monastery, though Butler's critique suggests this is a wholly erroneous tradition.[334] More research is required to understand the broader context of the medieval hospital of St Magnus in Halkirk parish, Caithness; Cant is probably correct is ascribing its emergenece to the cultivation of Magnus' cult newly centered on Kirkwall.[335] The Biblical imagery which King Sverrir invoked in the construction (c.1182-3) of his *borg* at Trondheim thus has an appropriate context (discussed in more detail below).

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[329] B.E. Crawford, 'Bishops of Orkney in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: bibliography and bibliographic list', *Innes Review*, 47.1 (1996), p.4.

[330] S.J. Gibbon, 'Medieval parish formation in Orkney', in B. Ballin Smith, S. Taylor, G. Williams (eds), *West over sea: studies in Scandinavian sea-borne expansion and settlement before 1300* (Leiden, 2007), p.246.

[331] Fisher, 'Orphir church in its south Scandinavian context', pp 376, 378.

[332] Clark, Heald, 'Beyond typology', p.82.

[333] A. Götlind, 'The messengers of medieval technology? Cistercians and technology in medieval Scandinavia', *University of Göteborg Occasional papers on medieval topics*, 4 (Alingsås, 1990), pp 9-11, 13.

[334] M. Butler, *The landscapes of Eynhallow* (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Bristol, 2004), p.56.

[335] R.G. Cant, 'The medieval church in the north: contrasting the influences of the dioceses of Ross and Caithness', in J.R. Baldwin (ed.), *Firthlands of Ross and Sutherland* (Edinburgh, 1986), p.53. B.E. Crawford, 'Scots and Scandinavians in medieval Caithness: a study of the period 1266-1375', in J.R. Baldwin, *Caithness: a cultural crossroads* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp 62-3, discusses hospitals in Caithness.

The church was a formidable power in the earldom, working in concert with its secular comital counterparts in political and social enterprises. Bishop Bjarni Kolbeinsson of Orkney joined the repentant Earl Haraldr Maddaðarson in sailing the Norway to formally forfeit control of the entirety of Shetland as punishment for supporting a revolt (by Haraldr's cousin) against King

Sverrir.[336] Later documents reveal that the bishops retained estates in the islands, despite their secular counterpart's loss.[337] A similar situation is apparent in Caithness, wherein the bishops may have held lands in the earldom even after their ecclesiastical jurisdiction no longer covered the area.[338] On both counts, it may be argued that it was the antiquity of the episcopate, rather than its contemporary power, which explained its tenure of removed estates. It must be acknowledged, however, that the retention of estates by the bishops must have necessitated a degree of comital and local consent and support.

5.3 Did these sites exist?

5.3.1 Orkneyinga saga

Orkneyinga saga refers to five castles within the lands of the Earldom of Orkney. In order of their appearance in the Pálsson and Edwards edition, they are Damsay, *Knarrarstaðir*, Wyre, Thurso and Scrabster.[339] As it is the word *kastali* which has spurred any discussion of these buildings as castles, it is important to recognise that any discussion is bound by the chief source, *Orkneyinga saga*. Recent work has demonstrated one theme of *Orkneyinga saga* is the outlining of a purely Scandinavian Christianity in the Earldom, rather than one affected by Scottish or wider British influences.[340] Of the five, all but the last may be confidently identified as Norse castles in the sense of being built by the Norse community. The reference to Scrabster is in the context of that site's tenure by the Scottish Bishop of Caithness, under siege by the Earl of Orkney. Given the struggle for control over episcopal appointments between the kings of Scots (*de jure* overlords of Caithness since the 12th century) and the Earldom, Scrabster's overtly Norse origin may be disputed, not least because it is referred to differently from the other sites under discussion – though this naming distinction is itself contested by Grieve.[341] *Knarrarstaðir* was a comital farm home to a *kastalann*; it has been reasonably assumed to be located in the vicinity of modern Cairston farm.[342] However, Grieve is probably correct in expressing scepticism about Clouston's

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[336] H. Pálsson, P. Edwards (eds), *Orkneyinga Saga: The history of the Earls of Orkney* (London, 1981), ch.112.
[337] Ballantyne, Smith, *Shetland documents 1195-1579*, docs 6, 7; though later (c.1327), the documents recall "a vow made long ago."
[338] Cant, 'The medieval church in the north: contrasting the influences of the dioceses of Ross and Caithness', pp 52-3.
[339] Damsay: *OrkSag* 66; *Knarrarstaðir* (*kastalann*): *OrkSag 92;* Wyre: *OrkSag* 94; Thurso (*kastali*): *OrkSag* 94; Scrabster: *OrkSag* 111.
[340] I. Beuermann, '*Jarla Sǫgur Orkneyja*: Status and power of the Earls of Orkney according to their Sagas', in G. Steinsland *et al.* (eds), *Ideology and Power in the Viking and Middle Ages. Scandinavia, Iceland, Ireland, Orkney and the Faeroes* (Leiden, 2011), pp 109-161.
[341] E.J. Cowan, 'Caithness in the Sagas', J. Baldwin (ed.), *Caithness: a cultural crossroads* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp 29-31; Grieve, *Norse castles in Scotland*, 30. Scrabster is referred to as a "*borg*", not a "*kastali*": J. Jónsson, G. Jónsson Thorkelín (eds), *Orkneyinga Saga: sive, Historia Orcadensium* (1780), p.414. The dispute between the Earldom and Kings of Scots in the second half of the 12th century probably also relates to the Scots' struggle for archiepiscopal independence from York (England), but at this early stage was dwarfed by the larger struggle for archiepiscopal dominance over the Scandinavian world by the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen.
[342] Crawford, *Northern Earldoms*, p.195.

identification of Nether Bigging fort site (called Clouston), or the site at Bu of Cairston, as the location of the *kastalann*.[343] While there is no doubt *Knarrarstaðir* represents an important addition to the group, the lack of certainty about a possible location prevents its inclusion in in-depth examination here. Paradoxically with regards to the group of four remaining sites, only Scrabster has been excavated, and is therefore included here: this study therefore prioritises the connection between *saga* reference and confidently-known, corresponding locations.

On the usefulness of *Orkneyinga saga* as an historical source, one author noted, in relation to the close proximity between the later events of the work and its composition, that "[…] there is not glory in fictionalising events that the audience know are untrue."[344] When considering each of these three sites separately, however, and without the advantage of the *saga*, it cannot be argued convincingly that Late Norse *kastalar* existed in Caithness and Orkney. The proposition of *kastalar* in the Earldom rests almost exclusively on literary evidence generally, and *Orkneyinga saga* specifically. The Damsay site appears to present archaeological potential, but no diagnostic Late Norse finds; the proposed *kastali* site itself may equally be interpreted as the remains of a collapsed broch, the nearby farm site appearing to date to the 19th-century, allowing of course for the possibility (though unevidenced) for much earlier occupation at the site. Without its documentary references the Wyre site is archaeologically unusual, though not exceptional; its annular bank is comparable in form, if not scale, to Ring of Castlehill in Caithness, while its tower may readily be compared to later medieval (14th-16th-century) towers in Caithness (Braal, Castle of Old Wick, Forse, Berriedale), and the small tower at Dùn Èistean in Lewis (Hebrides), recently demonstrated to be 16th-17th-century in date.[345] Its complex array of secondary attached buildings, often ignored in discussions of the supposed *steinkastali*, demonstrate the site was long-lived outside of any *saga*-related occupation.[346] The *saga*'s Thurso *kastali* has no obvious archaeological counterpart, though it is possible (discussed in more detail below) that the structure in question was connected to the Church of St Peter in Thurso. All in all, the notion of Late Norse *kastalar* in Scotland relies heavily on the *saga* and is not obviously corroborated by the archaeology. The aim of this first section, therefore, is to demonstrate the presence of comparable structures in the wider North Atlantic world, to offer a degree of corroborative analogous evidence for the buildings mentioned in the *saga*.

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[343] Grieve, *Norse castles in Scotland*, pp 17-20.
[344] Gibbon, 'Medieval parish formation in Orkney', p.236.
[345] E. Talbot, 'The Ring of Castlehill, Caithness – a Viking fortification?', *PSAS* 108 (1976-7), pp 378-9; R.C. Barrowman, *Dùn Èistean, Ness: The excavation of a clan stronghold* (Stornoway, 2015), pp 191-194, 416.
[346] M. Thacker has demonstrated two phases of mortaring at the Castle and nearby chapel site; it is likely that the full story of Cubbie Roo's will reveal many more: 'The Late Norse 'coral' or maerl-limes of Orkney – an on-site mortar archaeology of Cubbie Roo's castle and chapel', *3rd Historic Mortars conference*, p.4.

5.3.2 Castles in 12th-century Norway and Jamtland

Though there is clearly much more to learn from the sites discussed so far, this study will now turn to the wider contemporary landscape of *Orkneyinga saga* as a means of contextualizing the *kastalar* which it presents. This section establishes the presence of towers contemporary to those in the Earldom as a means of refining our understanding of these sites, despite the limited evidence. It will establish the connections to the wider medieval world which might have provided material and ideological influence for the form and purpose of these buildings.

There are several references to *kastalar* in earlier, contemporary and slightly later literature of the world of *Orkneyinga saga*.[347] Indeed, there are many references to *kastalar* in Old Norse literature generally, though this includes works of romance, educational texts and works which build on biblical themes.[348] *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (1260s) mentions the *kastalann* and *útkastalanum* on Wyre discussed in more detail below. The historicity of mentions of *kastalar* are epitomised in the reference to such a structure in the 14th-century *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, which chiefly describes events in Iceland of the 9th century – well before castles are believed to have emerged.[349] In short, as Grieve earlier outlined, the word has a broad usage and frequency in Old Norse literature, especially from the 13th century onwards. Its appearance in *Orkneyinga saga* is therefore not remarkable per se, though the dates attached to the events described – and the *saga*'s historicizing intent – do make it unusual.

There are contemporary texts, describing what may be more reasonably be termed 'historical' events, which provide additional insight into the role and purpose of *kastalar*. In 1115 King Sigurðr Magnusson, returning from military endeavours overseas, developed the royal settlement of Konghelle (Västra Götaland, Sweden): "There he made a great castle [*kastala*] and had a big ditch dug around it; the castle was made of turf and stone. The king also had houses built within the castle grounds [*húsa í kastalanum*] and also a church."[350] This must represent an enclosure of sorts, not unlike those of castles, urban settlements and ecclesiastical centres. If the inspiration for Sigurðr's works at Konghelle were from the Holy Land, the use of the word *kastali* complies with the argument made by Verbruggen in 1950, and more recently Coulson. Latin *castellum* – and given the focus on crusading activities in the hellenophone Mediterranean, medieval Greek

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[347] Many thanks to Dr. Øystein Ekroll, Trondheim Cathedral, for these references.
[348] There are at lease 150 occurances of the term *kastali* (with different forms and derivatives) in the pre-Christian and Christian-era corpus. University of Aberdeen, 'Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages', <http://skaldic.abdn.ac.uk/db.php?id=43911&if=default&table=lemma> [Accessed 18/10/2017].
[349] 'Halfdan Eysteinsson', in H. Pálsson, P. Edwards, *Seven Viking romances* (London, 1985), pp 171-98.
[350] 'The history of Sigurd the Crusader and his brothers Eystein and Olav', in Monsen, Smith, *Heimskringla*, ch. 23, p.624; ON from Jónsson, *Heimskringla*, III, p.289.

κάστρον, kástron – were terms applicable to urban, as well as lordly, architecture.[351] The same Konghelle was attacked by Wends in 1135; the account of the destruction reveals tellingly that the terminology of castellar architecture was far from fixed: "[The Wendish king] bade those who were in the castle [*í kastalanum*] to come out with weapons, clothes and gold, and get quarter. But they all shouted against it and went out of the fortifications [*út á borgina*] [...]."[352] In 1183 King Sverrir Sigurðarson built a *kastali* by a bridge crossing the river Nid in Trondheim.[353] This was done to improve the security of the settlement (a missile engine was also built on a strategic island nearby), and so the building in question is not obviously a structure of lordship.[354] However its position commanding a route of access, and acting as a symbolic marker of authority, may undermine *Sverris saga*'s strictly military justification. This building was made of timber, for it straddled the timber bridge, as a later reference in *Sverris saga* suggests.[355] King Hákon IV Hákonarson (r.1217-63), his *saga* reports, built *kastalar* (translated as 'towers') above gates at the royal residences at Bergen and Tønsberg.[356]

In archaeological and political terms, Norway is an obvious area to investigate, as a major cultural influence on the Earldom. It is home to very few castles – Norwegian scholarship generally holds that Norway has few castles – though some of its earliest co-existed with their Orcadian counterparts.[357] The 1170s are marked as the decade in which earlier enclosure and earth-and-timber high-status residences were joined by 'conventional' castles in Norway. Though King Sverrir Sigurðarson (r. 1184-1202) is credited with introducing castles to the kingdom, similar power centres were emerging in the episcopal sphere.[358] The Archbishop's Palace in Trondheim, right by the Cathedral, was begun soon after the foundation of the See in 1152/3, so presumably by the first Archbishop Jon Birgersson.[359] By the time of Trondeim's second Archbishop, Eysteinn Erlendsson (r. 1161-88), a great hall building was built at the site.[360] In form, the Archbishop's palace in the later 12th century appears to have been largely been timber, with a precinct or

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[351] J.F. Verbruggen, 'Note sure le sens des mots castrum, castellum, et quelques autres expressions qui désignent des fortifications', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 28.1 (1950), pp 147-55; Coulson, *Castles in medieval society*, p.33.

[352] 'The history of Magnus the blind', in Monsen, Smith, *Heimskringla*, ch. 11, p.653; ON from Jónsson, *Heimskringla*, III, p.333.

[353] 'Sverris saga', in C.R. Unger, *Konunga sögur: Sagaer om Sverre og hans efterfølgere* (Copenhagen, 1873), ch. 62, p.75.

[354] Ø. Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles: building on the edge of Europe', *Château Gaillard*, 18 (1998), p.67.

[355] Unger, 'Sverris saga', ch. 165, p.167.

[356] Unger, 'Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar', ch. 369, p.483.

[357] A.E. Herteig, 'Medieval archaeological research in Norway, some achievements and prospects', *Château Gaillard*, 4 (1968), p.158.

[358] Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles', p.67.

[359] S. W. Nordeide (ed.), *Utgravningene i Erkebispegården i Trondheim - Excavations in the Archbishop´s Palace: Methods, Chronology and Site Development* (Trondheim, 2000), p.184. An alternative name for Trondheim was Nidaros.

[360] Nordeide, *Utgravningene i Erkebispegården i Trondheim - Excavations in the Archbishop´s Palace*, p.13.

perimeter wall (c.1m thick) of stone ringing the archiepiscopal complex, its buildings arrayed around the edge with the central space left empty.[361] The Archbishop's Palace was replicating a Europe-wide model of episcopal seats; the Bishop's Palace in Kirkwall in Orkney, attributed to the 12th century, comprised a stone hall, probably with now-lost ancillary buildings; the form and material of the wider enclosure is not known, though *Orkneyinga saga* refers to the Kirkwall palace as a *garðr*, 'enclosure', perhaps echoing in appearence the enclosed space at Trondheim.[362] It too was located adjacent to the contemporary Cathedral.

In physical and ideological opposition to the Archbishop's Palace in Trondheim was built a castle, Sverresborg, overlooking the entirety of the medieval town and named after its builder, King Sverrir Sigurðarson. Sverrir erected his stone castle with stonemasons who had until then been working on the Archbishop's Palace in Trondheim.[363] It occupied a flat-topped promontory overlooking Trondheim to the north; to the north, east and west it was defined by cliffs, while access to the platform was from the south. The original building of 1182-3 appears to have been of timber, but this was rapidly replaced with stone piecemeal; it probably featured a hall as well as a substantial gatehouse. Meyer has suggested that the castle formed a crucial component of King Sverrir's drive to legitimise his claims over the kingdom.[364] Not only was Sverrir replicating the Archbishop's Palace's strong statement of permanence and authority in the creation of a stone castle overlooking a seat of political power in Norway; he was also fashioning a distinctively Christian kingship. As Sverrir had no conventionally authentic claims to the kingship, he encouraged the dissemination of stories about his dreams, in which various prophets and St Ólafr visited him to encourage his efforts at the throne. Meyer has noted that one contemporary source for the construction of Sverresborg called the castle 'Zion', after biblical king David's fortress in Jerusalem.[365] It may be suggested that Sverrir was co-opting archiepiscopal architecture (an enclosed courtyard with substantial stone buildings on its edge) only recently acquired by the Church in Norway to embellish the Christian aspect of his constructed kingship identity. This is a premise which may also be evident in Norse Orkney.

Tradition holds that Sverrir built castles in the important towns of Bergen (built after 1183) and Trondheim (winter of 1182-3), the purpose of which scholarship suggests was to thwart his rivals for the throne, who had not encountered the challenge of taking a castle before.[366] Ekroll, citing

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[361] Nordeide, *Utgravningene i Erkebispegården i Trondheim - Excavations in the Archbishop´s Palace*, pp 49, 51.

[362] A.W. Johnston, 'The round church of Orphir; or, the Earl's Bú and kirk in Ör-fjara', *Saga-book of the Viking Club*, 3 (1901-3), p.181.

[363] R. Meyer, 'The Zion of the North: the multifunctional role of Sverresborg. A civil-war stone castle near Trondheim', *Château Gaillard,* 24 (Caen, 2010), p.188.

[364] Meyer, 'The Zion of the North', p.194.

[365] Meyer, 'The Zion of the North', p.189.

[366] Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles', p.67.

the *Saga of Bagler and Birkebeiner*, notes that the Bergen site features an outer castle, composed of an enclosure with gate-tower. It also featured a distinct inner castle, which included a hall in which Sverrir later died. It appears that the form of the castle in question was one of enclosure, though the precise form of the 'inner castle' (e.g. within the enclosure) itself is not clear. Nevertheless, we may remark upon the distinction in this case between inner and outer castle, which mirror reference mentioned above in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* in relation to the Wyre *kastali*. Both the Bergen Sverresborg and its Trondheim counterpart were sited on rocky outcrops sitting high in the local landscape, somewhat removed from the settlements which they physically oversaw. We may remark that Sverrir's first castles are understood by scholars as initially functionalist tools, devices for the oppression of his urban-based enemies. These complexes were high-status residences, either simultaneous to their military role or by virtue of their association with his successful bid for kingship.[367] Their location stressed symbolic domination over centres of traditional power for the Norwegian throne: Sverrir challenged the established rule of King Magnús Erlingsson in political terms, a challenge mirrored in the new stone castellar architecture he introduced to, or revived in, Norway.[368] Contemporary to Sverrir's efforts, Bishop Nikolás of Oslo (d. 1225) erected a tower of unspecified material in his residence, employing a German catapult operator to man his own stone-thrower.[369]

More tangible evidence may hint at several lost *kastalar* recoverable through archaeology. Excavations in 1967-8 in Bergen revealed a structure (Building 50) measuring externally 9.8m x 8.2-3m, internally 6.7m x 5.2m (allowing a floor space of 35m^2), with a wall thickness of 1.5m. A door 1.25m wide was revealed on the ground floor.[370] The building was located a few meters from the 12th-century coastline and in very close proximity and alignment with the nearby 12th-century St Mary's Church. It was vaulted, had three floors (according to a 1568 document), no ground-floor apertures apart from the door, a small first-floor window and large windows on the uppermost floor. Ekroll suggests that the structure was accessed via a timber gallery at first-floor level, thus suggesting that the excavated ground-floor entry recovered was a later insertion. He argued that the structure was for the defence of Bergen, its location by the vulnerable coastline being alleged confirmation of this. An earlier excavation of the tower revealed phases of burning, the first of which was dated to 1198. Building 50 was also readily paralleled with historically-attested structures discussed in this section, also identified as defensive buildings. Interestingly,

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[367] The emergence of Sverrir's military bases as more permanent high-status residences may be a process in immediately post-Conquest England of associating a military form of architecture (tower topping mound/motte) with new lordship architecture.

[368] Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles', p.66.

[369] Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles', p.67.

[370] Ø. Ekroll, 'The stone buildings around St Mary's Church in Bergen – a reassessment', in I. Baug, J. Larsen, S.S. Mygland (eds), *Nordic Middle Ages – Artefacts, landscapes and society. Essays in Honour of Ingvild Øye on her 70th birthday* (Bergen, 2015), p.136.

the 1568 document discussed in the excavation re-assessment suggests the building was used for leisurely retreat, though not obviously a place of permanent habitation.[371] Situationally, though also urban, this is different from the position of a tower at Skien (Telemark, Norway), possibly 12th-century in date: here the building overlooked a contemporary market place, and was set above its surroundings.[372] Norwegian royal castles in the period 1217-63 shared some features with these earlier sites. Ragnildsholm and Valdisholm were composed of walled enclosures with large towers (15m x 11m, 11m x 11m respectively), while the site on Mjøsa Lake comprised a solitary, albeit massive tower (18m x 20m).[373] In this broader chronological context, the role of these buildings (whatever their form) is varied; the archaeology and documents, overlapping at points, demonstrate a wide array of possibilities, including defence, accommodation and leisure, all with symbolic intent. Like 'castle', the word *kastali* had many different manifestations of form but also meaning and interpretations. This last can be evidenced by the choice of King Sverrir to begin the construction of the Bergen Sverresborg only after the death in battle of King Magnús – his rival for the throne, and therefore a challenger to the legitimacy and authority a new castle represented.[374] This point is to stress the contingency of castles upon contemporary political struggles in which the buildings physically asserted a political identity. Two early towers also survive in the then-semi-autonomous province of Jamtland, whose best agricultural land borders the large Lake Storsjon at its centre.[375] The district was conquered by King Sverrir of Norway in 1178, thereafter a tower and chapel were erected at Sunne, Jämtland county (Sweden).[376] It measures c.9m x c.9m with walls surviving to between 2-3m high.[377] It features a spiral staircase in its west corner, which may be an original feature.[378] Ekroll noted another tower at Brunflo (Figure 16), also in Jamtland, probably built by the Archbishop of Uppsala, which survives to full height – though again likely not in wholly original form.[379]

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[371] Ekroll, 'The stone buildings around St Mary's Church in Bergen', p.138.

[372] Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles', p.67. The dating of the site is tentative.

[373] Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles', p.68.

[374] Meyer, 'The Zion of the North: the multifunctional role of Sverresborg. A civil-war stone castle near Trondheim', pp 185-194.

[375] S. Welinder, 'Christianity, politics and ethnicity in early medieval Jämtland, Mid Sweden', in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: processes of conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300* (York, 2003), pp 509-12.

[376] Welinder, 'Christianity, politics and ethnicity in early medieval Jämtland, Mid Sweden', p.523.

[377] Riksantikvarieämbetet - Swedish National Heritage Board, 'RAÄ-nummer Sunne 2:3' <http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10256800020003> [Accessed 11/7/16].

[378] Riksantikvarieämbetet - Swedish National Heritage Board, 'Sunne kastal', <http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10256800020003> [Accessed 16/4/16].

[379] Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles', p.67. Though Jamtland was conquered by the Norwegian king the province was under the archiepiscopal rule of Uppsala, in the Kingdom of Sweden: Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles', p.67.

Brunflo is the site of Jamtland's largest Romanesque stone church.[380] Its construction date, c.1150-c.1200, coincides with the emergence of stone churches and chapels connected to high-status farm sites around Lake Storsjon, as well as the proposed dating for both towers.[381] Both it and Sunne appear to have served as symbolic and administrative centres for the new authorities established in Jamtland, whether the secular control of the Kings of Norway or the archiepiscopal control of Uppsala. Certainly, as Welinder notes, the Sunne tower was symbolically sited near the battlefield which saw the decisive defeat of the native Jamtlandic nobility by Sverrir.[382] Later, 14th-century documents demonstrate that both towers were connected to tax collection for the respective authorities in the district, which it has been argued mirrors earlier (12th-13th-century) practice.[383] Importantly, Jamtland was in control of the Uppsala church from 1164-1570, perhaps

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[380] O. Holm, 'The dating of Västerhus Cemetery: a contribution to the study of Christianization in Jämtland', *Current Swedish Archaeology*, 14 (2006), p.135.

[381] Welinder, 'Christianity, politics and ethnicity in early medieval Jämtland, Mid Sweden', p.524.

[382] Welinder, 'Christianity, politics and ethnicity in early medieval Jämtland, Mid Sweden', p.524. Analogy for this practice comes from the 11th century, when King William I of England ('the Conqueror') began building Battle Abbey in 1070 to atone for the bloodshed of the Battle of Hastings in 1066.

[383] Welinder, 'Christianity, politics and ethnicity in early medieval Jämtland, Mid Sweden', p.524.

suggesting that a tower tradition was not Norwegian.[384] Equally, however, it is plausible that political differences between Sverrir and the Archbishop of Trondheim led to the split of secular and ecclesiastical authority between Norway and Uppsala.[385] Welinder has suggested that the emergence of stone churches at high-status farm sites in Jamtland, alongside stone towers in the model of Brunflo, were part of the formation of parishes in the district, initiated by the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in the mid-late 12th century.[386] Lastly, of additional interest is the presence on Frösön, an island in Lake Storsjon close to both Sunne and Brunflo, at the end of the Viking Age of the *Alþing* or *Jamtamot*, the 'Jamt assembly'.[387] Such a site may have held important connotations of legality and (elite) community governance in a time prior to the construction of these towers which extended to the early 15th century.[388] Its centrality marks the importance of the communal legal process, and its relation with high-status farms, churches and towers may be paralleled in Orkney and Caithness.

Two formal typologies of castle emerge from this early (c.1150-c.1270) period in Norway's castles; the first were enclosures, occasionally with distinct gatehouses, populated with a hall, possibly a tower and additional buildings. The second featured a tower, with no obvious hall, in proximity to an ecclesiastical building or complex. Lastly, all of these sites are located in a distinct landscape context, whether in relation to physical relationships with other settlements (high-status farms, urban centres) or as part of a wider system which referenced ideological or ancestral/vestigial authority and power, grounded in Christian identity or, more tentatively, legal practice. Their positioning in all cases has clear political, contingent purpose.

5.3.3 Discussion
What emerges from this overview of possible cultural parallels or influences is that a *kastali* tradition in the Earldom is not only possible, but entirely in line with developments in 12th-century Norway. Several points are not entirely possible to recover: are we dealing with a tradition of enclosures or towers, or both? Similarly, if the *kastalar* in the Earldom (as tradition has suggested) are identified as towers, were they rectangular or circular in form? In this specific case, the majority of sites discussed are rectangular, but the evidence from the Earldom itself is not conclusive. Round towers existed at St Magnus church on Egilsay in the 12th century, and

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[384] S. Imsen, 'Introduction', in S. Imsen (ed.), *The Norwegian domination and the Norse word c.1100-c.1400* (Trondheim, 2010), p.26.
[385] Welinder, 'Christianity, politics and ethnicity in early medieval Jämtland, Mid Sweden', p.524.
[386] Welinder, 'Christianity, politics and ethnicity in early medieval Jämtland, Mid Sweden', pp 524-5.
[387] A. Woolf, 'The wood beyond the world: Jämtland and the Norwegian kings', in B. Ballin Smith, S. Taylor (eds), *West over sea: studies in Scandinavian sea-borne expansion and settlement before 1300* (Leiden, 2007), p.156.
[388] M. Njåstad, 'How to tax a Skattland - the case of Jemtland', in S. Imsen (ed.), *Taxes, tributes and tributary lands in the making of the Scandinavian kingdoms of the middle ages* (Trondheim, 2011), p.349, noting a *þing* at Frösön in 1405.

examples are noted at Tingwall, West Burra and possibly Noss in Sheltand.[389] As there is an obvious relationship in this period between the form of secular and ecclesiastical architecture, it cannot be assumed that rectangular towers were the norm for the *kastalar* under consideration. There is greater clarity on the variety of material with which *kastalar* could be built: mortared stone and timber are apparent. While timber architecture, by entropic loss, is harder to assess in any greater detail, the stone evidence hints at variety in wall thickness, elevated floor support (vaulting versus scarcements), and how the buildings were accessed from the exterior. Much of the discussion of tower sites has been limited to architectural considerations. This is reflective of the emphasis, in all the regions studied, on the defensive-military aspect of the towers' identity. Such emphasis should equally not be dismissed out of hand, as castle studies generally moves away from a military interpretation: the structure built by Sverrir over the bridge at Trondheim, by Nikolás in Oslo and on the shoreline of Bergen have clear defensive advantages (perhaps intrinsic in elevation, if nothing else). The physical setting above, and removal from, traditional places of power is significant. So too should the defensibility of the Trondheim Sverresborg be acknowledged, an enclosure form paralleled in ecclesiastical architecture too. It is rather a question of the emphasis on defensibility as a foremost consideration which must be critiqued, as the work of Meyer, Ekroll and Welinder does. In Jamtland the relationship between high-status farms and stone ecclesiastical architecture is clear. If the latter is an important parallel phenomenon to nearby buildings labelled *kastalar*, then the process of interrogating *kastalar* in Orkney must address wider questions of settlement, landscape and political change.

One further consideration is the process by which inheritance of property took place. The period of anarchy in Norway from c.1130-c.1240 was in part propagated by uncertainty over inheritance and changing practices away from gavelkind (all children inherit a portion of land) towards succession by nominated successor or by popular (*þing*-based) acclamation, and eventually succession by nominated heir, usually a son.[390] The importance of this is that split inheritances may not have generated the income necessary to build the towers discussed here, whereas single income – or the incomes of the uppermost strata of the nobility – may have been able to. Importantly, too, odal law referred to the rights of kin to land.[391] This may have been impacted by the construction of a substantial, legally indivisible, building of stone. Important too in this consideration is the status of Jamtland as a *skattland*, a taxed district, which was identical to the

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[389] R.G. Cant, 'The medieval church in Shetland: organisation and buildings', in D.J. Waugh (ed.), *Shetland's northern links: language and history* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.170.

[390] J.M. Mochens, 'The politics of reproduction: medieval Norwegian kingship', *American Historical Review*, 92.2 (1987), p.340.

[391] M. Jones, 'Contested rights, contested histories: landscape and legal rights in Orkney and Shetland', in S. Egoz, J. Makhzoumi, G. Pugnetti (eds), *The right to landscape: contesting landscape and human rights* (Aldershot, 2011), p.73.

status of the Atlantic islands (Orkney, Shetland) which formed part of the wider Norse world.[392] Taxed districts such as Jamtland were far from the practical control of its secular and religious overlords following Sverrir's conquest. Sunne tower may have acted as a marker for absentee authority: its elevation represented royal and archiepiscopal control. If later documents are indicative, this was exercised through tax officials.[393] In 1343 a special tax was levied in Jamtland parish which was to be paid at the chapel in Sunne; the document suggests the tax was introduced to Jamtland in the time of King Sverrir. In this context Sunne was a more administrative centre than Brunflo.[394] Similarly, the Brunflo tower marked the control of the Uppsala Archbishop. For this last, certainly, the role of the tower was mostly symbolic rather than administrative, for the archdiocese held only a negligible amount of land in Jamtland.[395] In later centuries the archbishops developed their control in Jamtland to extract tithes due the church; operationally Brunflo therefore is not likely to have been an agricultural estate centre but an assessment office of sorts, a means to confirm and reiterate episcopal influence.

Here the parallel with the Norwegian sites especially is most useful. The tower in Trondheim which dominated the bridge over the River Nid in the 12th century may have operated as a toll collection point. Its legal position need not be at odds with odal law, but it does have parallels with the towers in Jamtland. A legal context is not useful in considering the castles built by Sverrir during his revolt against King Magnús; the revolt created an 'a-legal' climate where issues of land ownership and traditional forms of lordly representation in Norway may have been subverted by the pressing needs of personal and political safety. This proves a useful tool for analogy with the sites in the Earldom. We are not informed by *Orkneyinga saga* about the circumstances in which the *kastalar* of Wyre, Thurso and Damsay were built – if they were built together, or as part of a common process, which is not obvious in any case. However, the emergence of the two Sverreborgs and the presence of three *kastalar* during periods of political uncertainty and socio-legal changes in their respective polities present an intriguing parallel. Quite separate was the emergence of the towers in Jamtland, representing in effect the formalising of royal and archiepiscopal authority in the area to extract taxation. It is surely not coincidental that a new form of relationship between senior nobles in the Norse world emerged in the later 12th century at the same point in which *kastalar* seem to appear. Increased centralising tendencies in Norway are also suggested to account for Earl Haraldr Maddaðarson's surrender of Shetland, but this interpretation may rely too heavily on the events marking the lives of Earl Haraldr and King

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[392] S. Imsen, 'Introduction', in S. Imsen (ed.), *The Norwegian domination and the Norse world, c.1100 – c.1400* (Trondheim, 2010), p.26.

[393] Njåstad, 'How to tax a Skattland - the case of Jemtland', p.350.

[394] Njåstad, 'How to tax a Skattland - the case of Jemtland', p.349.

[395] Njåstad, 'How to tax a Skattland - the case of Jemtland', p.346. The extent of royal lands in Jamtland is not known, but may equally be negligible.

Sverrir, rather than a larger trend.[396] The emergence of Trondheim in 1153/4 as an archiepiscopal see has been referred to several times. This triumph of Norse royal diplomacy may have been achieved through guarantees by leading Norse nobles to undertake church reform, which included a removal of secular power of appointment in the Church and allowing the Church to handle its own estates without aristocratic interference.[397] The entrance of magnate offspring like Bjarni son of Kolbein into the episcopal office can be seen as a buying into of the new arrangements of secular and ecclesiastical power. The application of these conclusions to the Earldom sites is clear (Figure 17).

FIGURE 17: ORCADIAN & SCANDINAVIAN CASTLE SITES DISCUSSED ARRANGED BY LENGTH

Site, locus	Length (m)	Width (m)	Wall thickness (m)	Date ascribed
Dùn Èistean (orig. tower) HEB	(5.00)	(4.00)	2.00	1500s-1600s
Forse Castle CAI	6.40	3.50	2.10	1300s-1400s
Old Wick CAI	7.30	4.80	2.10	-
The Wirk ORK	(7.30)	(7.30)	-	-
Caisteal Bharraich SUT	7.50	6.50	1.70	1500s-1600s
Cubbie Roo's ORK	8.00	8.00	1.70	-
Brunflo *kastali* SWE	9.00	9.00	2.00	1150s-1200s
Sunne *kastali* SWE	9.00	9.00	2.00	1178
'Building 50' (Berg.) NOR	(9.80)	(8.20)	1.50	1198
Valdisholm ('donjon') SWE	11.00	11.00	-	(1200s-1250s)
Braal Castle CAI	11.28	10.67	2.75	1300-1400
Ragnildsholm ('donjon') NOR	15.00	11.00	-	(1200s-1250s)
Scrabster (*encl.*) CAI	(40.00)	(35.00)	-	1100s-1200s
Sverresborg (Trond.) (*encl.*) NOR	80.00	50.00	-	1182-3
Archbishop's palace (Trond.) (*encl.*) NOR	(98.00)	(94.00)	1.00	1152/3

DIMENSIONS AND DATE RANGES IN BRACKETS REPRESENT APPROXIMATE MEASUREMENTS. DASH INDICATES NO DIMENSIONS RECOVEREABLE/DATE ASCRIBED. ALL ARE TOWER SITES UNLESS INDICATED.

Whether the *kastalar* were erected for the purposes of immediate personal security from political violence, or to mark the establishment of a new owner, or new form of ownership, in a landscape, they must be regarded as marking a break from what came before. The evidence from Norway and Jamtland has raised further archaeological and architectural questions about formal typology, material and scale. These, along with more socially-driven functional questions (symbolic value, purpose, role) may not necessarily be answered for Scandinavia or the Earldom, but they must be asked. They also orient the discussion towards a more holistic consideration of the castle and its landscape, which has greater significance on larger political and social questions. What the regional survey has demonstrated is that 12th-century Scandinavia and the wider North Atlantic world were regions in which *kastalar* and identity were entwined, whether as a manifestation of new wealth, renewed or created identity and dominance over a newly-conquered (not necessarily by arms) landscape. In this sense, it has been most useful in demonstrating the relatively

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[396] S. Imsen, 'Earldom and Kingdom: Orkney in the realm of Norway, 1195-1379', in D. Waugh (ed.), *The faces of Orkney: Stones, skalds and saints* (Edinburgh, 2003), p.65.
[397] J. Viðar Sigurðsson, 'The Norse community', in S. Imsen (ed.), *The Norwegian domination and the Norse world, c.1100 – c.1400* (Trondheim, 2010), p.66.

unexceptional nature of the *kastalar* in Orkney, irrespective of their form and function. When these more refined themes are examined, however, the Earldom sites also fit the regional studies' examples, with the *kastalar* operating as symbolic representations of authority, demanding attention from their environments. The reforms of the 12th century in the churches of Scandinavia may have prompted new ways of expressing authority and dominating landscapes, as the Church in turn undertook the role of legitimising and supporting increasingly centralising secular leaders. This may be paralleled with the introduction of bicameral chapels in the Western Isles in the same century, where the introduction of lime-mortared buildings, embodying new architectural forms and vested with local and personal meaning for their communities, served to demonstrate the authority of '*Romanitas*', the reformed Roman church.[398] While these forms of architecture certainly represent statements of novelty and change in the landcape, they were not introduced in isolation – either physical, political or social. This chapter now turns to examining contemporary high-status settlements in the Earldom to frame their emergence in their more immediate context.

5.4 How did *kastalar* relate to contemporary high-status Norse settlement?

Thus far it has been established that *kastalar* in the Earldom would certainly have Scandinavian parallels. Furthermore, there are additional questions which emerge from these sites from the regional studies which may be asked of the proposed *kastalar*: how might they relate to contemporary landscapes? This section examines saga and landscape evidence for the four sites in question: Damsay, Wyre, Thurso and Scrabster. Before this, however, it briefly examines current thinking on Late Norse settlements and landscapes, and a selection of high-status sites from the Earldom which were contemporaries to the castle sites at the heart of this discussion.

5.4.1 Norse settlement: theories and patterns

It is generally agreed that certain landscape features appear to have attracted more intensive Norse settlement than others. Aside from access to good arable land, Crawford noted the necessity for "An adjacent grazing area, an adequate supply of fresh water, abundant fuel and building materials [...]."[399] The schematic growth of a farm site is illustrated below, whereby the original settlement has spread over the immediate area, each component recognisable by specific names associated with them (see Figure 18).

Though the work of Marwick in establishing the principles for the study of Orcadian farm-settlement are acknowledged, revision (especially by Thomson) has challenged some fundamental processes implicit in how the former understood the development of Norse settlement in the

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[398] M. Thacker, 'Cille Donnain Revisited: Negotiating with lime across Atlantic Scotland from the 12th century', *Journal of the North Atlantic*, 9 (2015), pp 45-66.
[399] Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p.149.

islands. Invariably, the rental records from the late 15th-early-16th-century Earldom are a key resource, but Thomson was wary of basing too much on the monetary assessment this document presented, as well as the close association between farm-name generics and the chronology of settlement.[400] Therefore, while models of settlement development may be confirmed with select examples (e.g. North and South Walls, Orkney), on the other hand the majority of evidence is more complex than a sequential outward expansion.[401] In no small part this is because farm-names do not convey chronology and their meaning changes over time: "Historical records do not always confirm the status implied by the generics [...]. Names which begin as low-status do not necessarily stay that way", and the reverse may equally be true.[402] Nevertheless, the structure of farm-settlement bears comparison to contemporary European trends, wherein it is possible to expect a manor-farm with 'satellite' settlements (single or multiple-parts) owing a degree of subservience to the central place.[403]

Though the study of medieval Orcadian settlement has advanced substantially, Thomson has suggested some general characteristics for farms which may be derived from their names. Thus, *bœr* farms (such as the now-lost *Husabae*, NE Rousay) appear to represent substantial farms with probably pre- or early-Norse origins. These are located on more marginal lands than, for instance, *staðir* and *skáli* names. The sites in the Earldom which have been investigated in any substantial detail are Da Biggings, Sandwick, Jarlshof (Shetland), Birsay and the nearby Beachview, Orphir, Pool, Tuquoy, Westness and Skaill near Deerness (Orkney), while additionally Robert's Haven and Freswick have more recently been studied (Caithness).[404] Of these, Da Biggings, Birsay and Beachview, Orphir, Westness, Freswick, Tuquoy and Skaill were high-status Late Norse sites.[405]

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[400] Thomson, 'Orkney farm-names: a re-assessment of their chronology', pp 45, 48, 51.

[401] Thomson, 'Orkney farm-names: a re-assessment of their chronology', p.45.

[402] Thomson, 'Orkney farm-names: a re-assessment of their chronology', pp 46-7.

[403] W.P.L Thomson, 'Some settlement patterns in medieval Orkney', in C.E. Batey, J. Jesch, C.D. Morris (eds), *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.356; A.L. Winchester, 'The distribution and significance of 'Bordland' in medieval Britain', *Agricultural History Review*, 34 (1986), p.132.

[404] Batey, 'Viking and Late Norse Orkney', p.59.

[405] The focus on high-status sites in Orkney and Shetland Viking and Norse archaeology was noted in I. Øye, 'Farming and farming systems in Norse societies in the North Atlantic', in A. Mortensen, S.V. Arge (eds), *Viking and Norse in the North Atlantic: select papers from the proceedings of the fourteenth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, 19-30 July 2001* (Tórshavn, 2005), p.360.

© CRAWFORD (1987), P.150. THE CHURCH MAY BE SUBSTITUTED IN MOST CASES IN THE LATE NORSE PERIOD FOR A CHAPEL; ADDITIONALLY, MANY HIGH-STATUS FARM SITES (AS CRAWFORD OUTLINES) WERE NOT NECESSARILY LOCATED BY THE SEA, BUT RATHER FOREMOST IN PRIME ARABLE LAND.

Modern place-name ending	Old Norse element	Translation/interpretation
-by,-byr,-sta, -ston	*-staðir*	farm
-skaill	*-skáli*	hall
-quoy	*-qví, -kví*	enclosure [non-skatted]
-gardie, -girdie, -garth	*-garðr*	sheiling, enclosure
-bu, -bol, -bo, -bu	*-bólstaðr*	farm
-ster	*-setr, -sætr*	sheiling
-land	*-land*	land [i.e. cleared]
-ton	*-tún*	township

However, while the archaeology and individual sequences of all of these sites are reasonably clear, none has engaged with a wider assessment of the landscape which might immediately inform a discussion about *kastalar*.[406] The lack of earlier studies is a Europe-wide problem, as Iversen observed in 2009.[407] "[…] basic questions of date, place and infrastructure are still largely

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[406] M. Hansson, 'Aristocratic expressions in landscapes and settlement from the Viking age to the Middle ages', in B. Poulsen, S. M. Sindbæk (eds), *Settlement and lordship in Viking and Early Medieval Scandinavia* (Turnhout, 2011), p.80.

[407] F. Iversen, 'Royal villas in Northern Europe', in J.A. Quirós Castillo (ed.), *The archaeology of early medieval villages in Europe* (Bilbao, 2009), p.105.

unanswered […].”[408] However, since then more recent studies have made tentative attempts at reconciling the archaeology of buildings and spaces with wider questions of aristocratic landscapes; this has been undertaken most notably in castle studies, but certain excavations of Late Norse sites (e.g. Da Biggings) have attempted a landscape assessment. It is equally possible, through less explicitly landscape-oriented studies (e.g. Earl's Bu, Orphir), to tease out a landscape relationship, because many discrete elements of central and peripheral settlement survive. What follows is an assessment of these two sites, followed by a discussion of evidence from the wider North Atlantic, focussing on the aristocratic landscapes of the Late Norse world as a means of interpreting the *kastalar* of the Earldom.

Da Biggings, Papa Stour, Shetland

In 1195, following his tacit support of a rebellion against King Sverrir, Earl Haraldr Maddaðarson was encouraged, or perhaps enjoined, by Bishop Bjarni Kolbeinsson of Orkney to submit to the King in Norway. Though the Earl retained his title, he explicitly held the Earldom of the king, under newly restrictive terms.[409] The King also seized the entirety of Shetland and forfeited the estates in Orkney of those who had died in rebellion against him. In Shetland, Da Biggings on Papa Stour was one such farm, probably comital, seized and put under direct royal administration of a *sysselman* (baillie) Arne Lørja.[410] Prior to excavation the site was “[…] characteristic in several respects of the Orkney 'bu' farms, the largest and richest farms in the islands which mostly formed the 'bordland' estates of the earls.”[411] It was sited close to a beach, 100m from a chapel site and on prime agricultural land. Early modern maps of the area suggested that farm-sites to the west and north of Da Biggings had names indicative of a subordinate relationship with the central farm. ON generics like *setr*, *garðr*, *bakki* were taken to represent the satellite settlements around the Orkney 'bu' farms. Such an arrangement is uncharacteristic of Shetland Norse settlement, which the authors took to suggest Da Biggings was an important place.[412] Furthermore, another nearby high-status *bólstaðr* farm-site called *Estabuster* in an early-17th-

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[408] J.R. Hunter, J.M. Bond, A.N. Smith, 'Some aspects of early Viking settlement in Orkney', in C.E. Batey, J. Jesch, C.D. Morris (eds), *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.272. This was most recently commented on by A. Leonard, 'Vikings in the Prehistoric Landscape: Studies on Mainland Orkney', *Landscapes* 12.1 (2011), p.43.

[409] This represents an early example of the Bishops of Orkney as Norwegian kings' diplomats and agents both in the Earldom and without: I.P. Grohse, 'From asset in war to asset in diplomacy: Orkney in the medieval realm of Norway', *Island Studies Journal*, 8.2 (2013), p.264.

[410] B.E. Crawford, B. Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Sour, Shetland: the history and excavation of a royal Norwegian farm* (Edinburgh, 1999), p.15; B.E. Crawford, 'Tax and tribute in the joint earldom of Orkney and Caithness', in S. Imsen (ed.), *Taxes, tributes and tributary lands in the making of the Scandinavian kingdoms of the middle ages – 'Norgesveldet'* (Trondheim, 2011), p.48.

[411] Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, p.28.

[412] Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, p.28.

century record was suggested to represent the modern farm Northouse argued to have been in use prior to 1195.[413]

Phase 2 of the excavated site revealed that in the 11th-early 12th centuries the site was home to a sunken-floor building (possibly a bath-house or weaving house), a hall (*skáli*) and a 'fire-house' (*eldhus*). The later part of phase 2 saw the remodelling of the sunken-floor building into a *stofa*, a room for social entertaining, the 'best room'.[414] The environmental data from Da Biggings, allied with the somewhat sparse record for luxury goods across its occupation, was taken to suggest that especially after the site was ostensibly remodelled following Shetland's transferral to the Norwegian crown (1195), it was only occasionally occupied by its nominal lords.[415] The faunal remains suggested a mundane diet of meat and fish, while it appears (contrary to the authors' expectation) that animals were not kept in parts of the building, according to the traditional longhouse convention of dwelling and byre under a single roof.[416] Large amounts of imported wood, in the context of a largely-treeless medieval Shetland, confirmed Da Biggings' importance.[417] Alongside the grandeur of the buildings, a more conventional economy of mixed arable and pastoral farming (chiefly goat, sheep and cattle, but also pigs, butchered on site) was apparent: these must represent sustenance for the permanent tenants of Da Biggings and its satellite farms, and offers a degree of insight into what may be expected of the landscape around a *kastali*. Importantly, however, as outlined above, these animals were not kept under the same roof as the dwelling quarters, so the larger site of Da Biggins probably featured separate byres and storage facilities, as well as corn-drying kilns.[418] The harvesting of seaweed, turf, wild birds and marine resources (fish, molluscs) argue for a close interaction with 'marginal' or 'liminal' areas.[419] This wider exploitation of the landscape was probably replicated at permanently-occupied high-status sites, if we are to imagine *kastalar* as such.

Earl's Bu, Orphir, Orkney

In the 1120s-30s the Earldom centre was moved from the early medieval power centre at Brough of Birsay to the site now called Earl's Bu in Orphir in the western half of Mainland in Orkney.[420] Earl's Bu is mentioned in *Orkneyinga saga* in connection to a large drinking hall and a round

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[413] Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, p.45.
[414] Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, p.207.
[415] Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, p.242.
[416] Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, pp 98, 100.
[417] Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, p.99.
[418] Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, p.242.
[419] Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, pp 98-9. "The spreading of seaweed, along with the application of shell sand and pared moorland topoil, was one of the few means available for fertilising the soil. Access to a good source was thus an important consideration in the value of land.": S. Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney: excavations by Peter Gelling of the prehistoric, Pictish, Viking and later periods (*Oxford, 1997), p.9.
[420] Crawford, *The Northern Earldoms*, pp 189, 193.

church, the remains of which still survive.[421] Finds from the site include a steatite sherd, dated on uncertain grounds to the 12th century.[422]

A survey and test-pit excavations at Earl's Bu and church in 1900 suggested that a hall structure around 41m long had stood south of the remains of the round church; unfortunately, most of the excavation was focussed on the upstanding remains of the church, so little else was uncovered which might suggest a hall.[423] The excavation was recently reviewed to reject these dimensions. Batey goes so far as to suggest, entirely reasonably, that the site may not have ever featured a substantial stone hall to match the impressive architectural achievement of the Round church.[424] This is an important consideration in *kastalar*. As has been speculated in the saga sources assessed earlier, stone was not always the material of choice for *kastalar*. Nevertheless, the excavator discussed the arrangement of high-status farm sites (as was then perceived) alongside field systems in a local survey of 1820 –e.g. prior to substantial alterations in the landscape concomitant with modern farming. These revealed the arrangement of arable and pastoral land and townships around Earl's Bu (Figure 19).[425]

More recent work has very tentatively argued that the mound of Lavacroon west of the church may represent Norse-period metalworking at the site – a single somewhat diagnostic ingot-mould fragment and locally-made pottery sherds – may allude to an 11th-12th-century date, but it is pointless, as the excavators note, to assert more than a loose connection.[426] Most interesting of all the recent finds, however, is the discovery of a horizontal mill site near the modern farm. The site was probably built in the late Viking age, and was abandoned shortly thereafter, the whole being covered with a midden of rich organic material and bone from the Late Norse period.[427] That the mill, which required a significant investment of manpower (especially if the putative mill-pond to the north was contemporary), was abandoned may be taken to indicate that its function was no longer required. However, the midden overlying it also contained important elements of oat seeds, comparable to those of another Late Norse site (Freswick Links, Caithness), thus suggesting a continued production, with implied processing elsewhere, of cereals.[428]

[421] C.E. Batey, 'Excavations at Orphir, Orkney, 1979', *Northern Studies*, 15 (1980), pp 17-20.
[422] Batey, 'Excavations at Orphir, Orkney, 1979', pp 17-20.
[423] E.g. W. Thomson, 'Orkney Skaill-names', *Northern Scotland* 3.1 (2012), p.4, fn.19.
[424] C.E. Batey, 'Excavations at Earl's Bu, Orphir, Orkney, c.1859-1939', *New Orkney Antiquarian Journal*, 3 (2003), pp 39, 55.
[425] Johnston, 'The round church of Orphir; or, the Earl's Bú and kirk in Ör-fjara', pp 186-7.
[426] C.E. Batey, C. Freeman, 'Lavacroon, Orphir, Orkney', *PSAS*, 116 (1986), pp 298-9.
[427] C.E. Batey, 'A Norse horizontal mill in Orkney', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 8 (1993), p.25.
[428] Batey, 'A Norse horizontal mill in Orkney', p.25.

FIGURE 19: ON PLACE-NAMES INDICATING SETTLEMENT AROUND EARL'S BU, ORPHIR
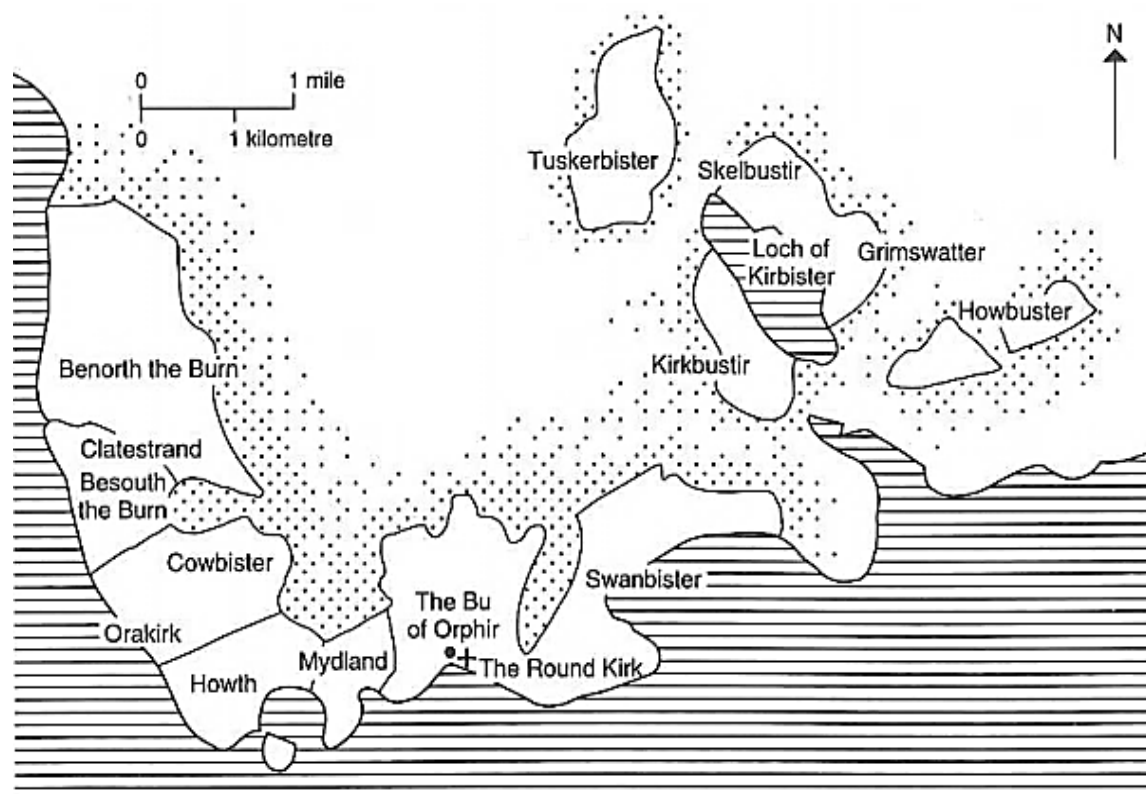
© THOMSON, 'ORKNEY FARM NAMES: A RE-ASSESSMENT OF THEIR CHRONOLOGY', P.58. THE BOUNDARIES REPRESENTED HERE ARE BETWEEN UNITS OF LAND (TOWNSHIPS) AND BETWEEN ARABLE AND PASTURE. THE ORIGINAL CAPTION WAS ENTITLED "ORPHIR, THE BU AND BÓLSTAÐR-NAMES. (AFTER OA MAP W.15; JOHNSTON, 1903, 174-214)."

As elsewhere, it is apparent that cereal production and processing was probably an important functional aspect of a Late Norse high-status site in the Earldom. The bone assemblage featured strong representations of cattle, sheep and pig, as well as abundant fish remains – gadids (cod, saithe, pollock) and haddock.[429] The presence of herring bones was not commented upon; these are the most dominant element of the wider European midden record for the medieval period.[430] It has been commented elsewhere that the presence or absence of different fish bones (specifically the head) may be taken to indicate local consumption or processing for 'export'.[431] This would provide a confirmatory parallel for those Late Norse sites of Caithness where large-scale fish processing has been asserted.[432] All the excavations at Earl's Bu tend to confirm that the site was high-status and is very likely that referred to in *Orkneyinga saga*.[433] Its arrangement is not clear; certainly, the chapel was probably accompanied by high-status buildings embodying the comital authority of the *bú* farm relict in its modern name. These, however, may have been of

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[429] Batey, 'A Norse horizontal mill in Orkney', p.25.

[430] J.H. Barrett *et al.*, 'Interpreting the expansion of sea fishing in medieval Europe using stable isotope analysis of archaeological cod bones', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 30 (2011), p.2.

[431] Barrett *et al.*, 'Interpreting the expansion of sea fishing in medieval Europe', p.2.

[432] E.g. Freswick Links, possibly Huna, and (slightly later) Robert's Haven.

[433] *OrkSag*, 55, 66-7, 94.

timber, and may have been composed of extensions and modifications of earlier structures. Beyond the buildings of the farm, pasture land looks to have dominated from the upper reaches of arable cultivation to the 'park' areas of the hill zone. Patches of pastoral land were also evident close to the coast (e.g. Ness of Hangaback), indicating that this high-status site was located at the centre of the best arable land in the immediate neighbourhood. Exploitation extended to the sea, in apparently significant volumes to feature strongly in the midden record. The production of metal goods may also have taken place, though the evidence for this is not as strong. Marine exploitation was evidently an important aspect of economic life.

Brough of Birsay, Mainland, Orkney

Brough of Birsay was the early historic power centre of Orkney prior to the comital shift to Earl's Bu in the early-mid 12th century. Its ON name *Býrgisherað* being derived from *borg*, 'fort' and *herað*, an administrative district.[434] However, in the 1120s x 1130s the site was not abandoned, but rather different activities emerged. On the Brough itself a small monastery appeared, whose beginnings were early- or more likely mid-12th-century in origin.[435] This grant of demesne lands to a religious institution is characteristic of aristocratic patronnage in a European context in this period. The landscape on the mainland around Birsay is difficult to reconstruct following 18th-century improvement, but a possible relict farm may exist in The Glebe, in the district of Birsay-be-north (north-east corner of Bay of Birsay Figure 20). Prior to its modern location, the glebe land was in fact Biggaquoy/Buckquoy, the mainland adjacent to the Brough: this must, by virtue of its proximity to the lordly centre and its later ecclesiastical tenure, represent land originally held by the earls. Following its shift to the edge of the townland (judging from the 1760 hill-dyke), the glebe farm retained small parcels of land throughout Birsay-be-north; if this situation was not unusual, we can envisage a patchwork of intermingled pieces of land connected to non-contiguous farms.[436]

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[434] C.D. Morris, 'The Birsay Bay project: a résumé', in C.E. Batey, J. Jesch, C.D. Morris (eds), *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.285.
[435] C.D. Morris, *The Birsay Bay Project* (Stroud, 1996), II, p.252.
[436] W.P.L. Thomson, 'The landscape of medieval Birsay', in B.E. Crawford (ed.), *Northern Isles connections: essays from Orkney & Shetland present to Per Sveaas Andersen* (Kirkwall, 1995), pp 57-8.

© GOOGLE EARTH, INFORMATION DRAWN FROM C.D. MORRIS, THE BIRSAY BAY PROJECT (STROUD, 1989), I, P.17. THE GLEBE IS SHADED IN RED; BIGGAQUOY IN GREEN. THE BROUGH IS SITUATED IN THE NORTH-WEST CORNER.

The central zone of cultivation in Birsay-be-north probably dating to the Norse period, was around the Burn of Hunto, with enclosures at Buckquoy and elsewhere around. Associated with the presence of a skaill-name in the district was the farm of Wattle, believed by Marwick to derive from *veizlu*, a term for the obligation to provide hospitality to a lord while he travelled through his dominions.[437] At an uncertain time, lands held by the Earl in Birsay-be-north were granted to the parish. Equally, they may have been taken from or granted to the monastic settlement which appeared at Brough in the mid-12th century. While the material remains at the Brough allow less insight with respect to architectural comparison of *kastalar*, the landscape does offer insight. Non-contiguous parcels of land could in effect form the demesne of a 12th-century lordship centre in Orkney like the *kastalar* discussed here. Physical separation by a stretch of sea or intertidal zone was evidently not a barrier to ownership and exploitation of a comital site's environment.

Tuquoy, Westray, Orkney

At Tuquoy excavations revealed a tantalisingly incomplete picture of a building identified as a 'hall'. On its floor level, a mid-12th-century rune-inscribed stone was uncovered, overlying a layer which contained an Irish-type pin dated to the late-11th-early-12th century.[438]

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[437] Thomson, 'The landscape of medieval Birsay', pp 62-3. Conveth is the corresponding Scottish duty: A.W. Johnson, 'Scottish influence on Orkney', *SHR*, 13 (1913), p.217.

[438] O.A. Owen, 'Tuquoy, Westray, Orkney', in C.E. Batey, J. Jesch, C.D. Morris (eds), *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.327. It identified its author as Þorstein Einarsson, a name otherwise unknown.

FIGURE 21: CONTEXT OF TUQUOY, WESTRAY

© GOOGLE EARTH. OWEN NOTES THAT MARWICK IDENTIFIED AN EARLY 'TUNSHIP', MIDBEA, COVERING A WIDE AREA FROM THE CURRENT MIDBEA TO THE BAY OF TUQUOY. ITS PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS ARE MIÐ, 'MID[DLE]' AND BŒR, 'FARM/SETTLEMENT'. THE FIRST PART INDICATES IT WAS A PORTION OF A LARGER, OLDER UNIT. DETAILS FROM OWEN, 'TUQUOY, WESTRAY, ORKNEY', P.319

Originally, excavators wondered if what they revealed were remains representing a tower, analogous to those at Cubbie Roo's. On balance, the possible hall uncovered at Earl's Bu was preferred.[439] Recent re-assessment of the finds at Orphir throws the interpretation at Tuquoy into question. The building at Tuquoy was also compared to a possible 12th-century hall at the Bishop's Palace in Kirkwall. Interestingly too, the 'hall' at Tuquoy appears to have had an appended building at right angles which showed evidence of metal-working.[440] This activity at this time may be connected to the production of high-status goods and compares tentatively to finds from Lavacroon at Earl's Bu. Small-scale metal-working obviously formed part of the activities undertaken at high-status sites.

The excavator suggested that the section of settlement around Crosskirk, featuring a 12th-century chapel site, (Figure 21) was the nucleus of Norse settlement; it stretched inland c.50m, and along the coast W of the kirkyard c.150m.[441] A section lacking evidence was suggested to represent a

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[439] Owen, 'Tuquoy, Westray, Orkney', pp 327-8.
[440] Owen, 'Tuquoy, Westray, Orkney', p.328.
[441] Owen, 'Tuquoy, Westray, Orkney', p.318.

former stream separating the church site from the high-status settlement. Boat nousts, though undated, may reasonably be connected to Norse settlement.[442]

The discussion of the wider landscape around Tuquoy was not developed further in the excavation, but Thomson undertook a subsequent study of settlement patterns of the district.[443] Remarking at the high status of the site's probable owners in the 12th century, he suggested that "It follows that the scale of settlement at Tuquoy requires a rather different model from the traditional picture of the Norse odaller's self-sufficient farm, standing in a very direct relationship to its environment."[444] Thomson developed a schematic interpretation of the landscape around Tuquoy, imagined (following the excavation) to be the 'central place' of this fertile district of Westray. Because of severe weather conditions on the island in the late 15th century leading to the abandonment of many of the farms in this and other parts of the island, potentially much of the landscape preserves a Late Norse element.[445] Therefore though Thomson's theory is tentative, it represents a good projection of one form of high-status Late Norse landscape. He distinguishes nothing between *kví* and *garðr*, though the latter may reflect larger hill enclosures on common or rough grazings. The hill-dyke, evidenced in later maps, marks the distinction between infield and outfield, with place-names contributing towards the interpretation of the settlement in relation to Tuquoy. In addition to the above, 140,000 fish bones were recovered from the site, while collection of seaweed was also apparent.[446] The level of marine exploitation suggests a substantial portion of wealth for this Late Norse estate was derived from fishing. Combining the archaeological results with the 'reconstructed' landscape of Thomson indicates a conventional settlement pattern centred on the most important farm in the neighbourhood – on the best arable land – with adjacent farms reflecting the quality of the soil and their relationship with agricultural production. Tuquoy also offers evidence of the less profitable lands on which *skáli* and *bólstaðr* farms are located. Evidently, the connection between higher status place-names and quality of land for arable agriculture is not always clear. As at Brough of Birsay, structural evidence is more limited. Equally, however, a high-status landscape is preserved.

Westness, Rousay, Orkney

Westness, Rousay provides a case-study of the transition of settlement location in the 12th century. Excavations revealed two longhouses; one larger and the other composed of two smaller

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[442] Owen, 'Tuquoy, Westray, Orkney', pp 324-5.
[443] W.P.L. Thomson, 'Settlement patterns at Tuquoy, Westray, Orkney', *Northern Studies*, 27 (1990), pp 35-49.
[444] Thomson, 'Settlement patterns at Tuquoy', p.36.
[445] Thomson, 'Settlement patterns at Tuquoy', p.43.
[446] Owen, 'Tuquoy, Westray, Orkney', pp 326, 333.

longhouses built together, close to a naust (Figure 22).[447] They were parallel with each other, the two larger units sharing an area of paving between them.[448] Such paving may represent a distinctive element of 12th-century high-status architecture evident at the later phase of Brough of Birsay and at the episcopal palace of Garðar, Greenland.[449] The larger hall was composed of a northern chamber (15m long) and a southern (10m), separated from each other by a small room c.10m long; both halls had earth-filled benches lining their longer walls, the whole being 6.5-7m across.[450] The smaller (two-part) longhouse was composed of byres respectively for cows (space for 18) and sheep.[451] Pollen samples from the site confirm that arable farming, of barley, rye and oats, was practiced nearby. Though no data structure report is available for the excavation at Westness, it is suggested that of the fish bones, cod and ling were the most common.[452] No wider landscape study of Westness or the wider western portion of Rousay has been published.

The site was clearly an important farmstead; it has been connected to a character of the early 12th century, Sigurðr of Westness. A lack of patronymic may suggest he was lower in status that other characters in the *saga*, though the case of Kolbein *hrúga* makes this somewhat doubtful.[453] Certainly, the presence of domestic artefacts confirms a high-status occupation, but this is twinned with evidence for an active, proximate farm economy. It would appear that the site's occupants dwelt in close proximity with their animals, and stored arable produce at the site as well. Thomson makes a connection between the 12th-century *skáli* farm at Westness and the nearby parish church and adjacent tower remains called The Wirk. Westness was an important farm with identifiable features of landscape exploitation. This is dependent upon its possible connection to Sigurðr, because place-name evidence (its *skáli* settlement, Skaill, situated upon a probable settlement mound) hints at agricultural wealth. The parish church at Skaill farm may also contain earlier material, while The Wirk is probably a later medieval monument.[454]

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[447] S.H.H. Kaland, 'The settlement of Westness, Rousay', in C.E. Batey, J. Jesch, C.D. Morris (eds), *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.320.
[448] Kaland, 'The settlement of Westness, Rousay', p.308.
[449] S. Cruden, 'Excavations at Brough of Birsay, Orkney', in A. Small (ed.), *The Forth Viking Congress* (Aberdeen, 1965), pp 30-1.
[450] Kaland, 'The settlement of Westness, Rousay', p.308.
[451] Kaland, 'The settlement of Westness, Rousay', p.309.
[452] Kaland, 'The settlement of Westness, Rousay', p.311.
[453] *OrkSag* 33.
[454] RCAHMS, *Inventory, Orkney and Shetland*, II, p.192.
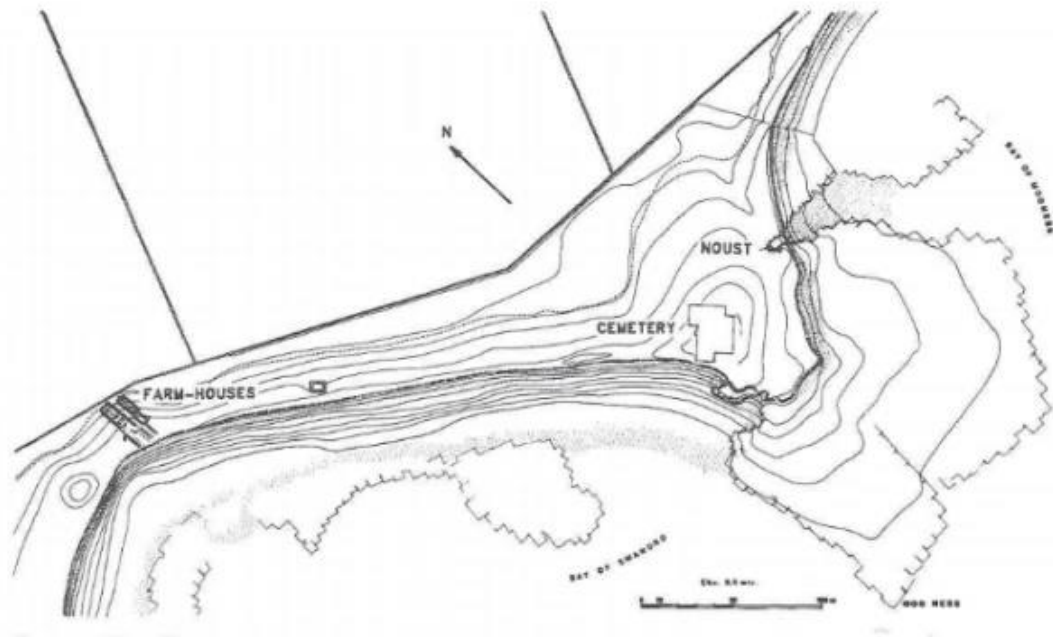
© KALAND 'THE SETTLEMENT OF WESTNESS, ROUSAY', P.310

Skaill, Deerness, Orkney

Excavations at Skaill from 1963-81 under the leadership of Peter Gelling revealed a complex array of overlapping and stratigraphically misleading deposits. Partially overlying an 11th-century structure tentatively associated with a certain Thorkel *fóstri* was a structure, argued by Gelling to date to the early 12th century.[455] Thorkel, as his byname conveys, was foster-father to Earl Þórfinnr Sigurðarson, and probably a powerful individual in his own right.[456] The only find was a Late Norse comb, similar to that recovered at Freswick.[457] As earlier discussed, the comparison with Tuqouy is misleading, for the poorly-understood building there is dubiously compared to the equally poorly-understood footings at Cubbie Roo's. The structure was argued to represent a two-storey stone hall or tower, entered at first floor.[458] Importantly, its 'basement' was clear of debris, suggesting a maintained space used for storage. The excavation report stressed that most of this building remained unexcavated, and that the identification discussed relied strongly on both analogy with other tentatively-identified or poorly-understood sites such as Tuquoy, Westray or Cubbie Roo's, Wyre, and a more generalised appreciation for Skaill's relationship with the 12th-century church nearby.[459]

The landscape of Skaill in the Late Norse period was one of great agricultural and natural productivity. Importantly, however, it was remarked that *skáli*-named farms – sites acknowledged

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[455] Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney: excavations by Peter Gelling*, p.215.

[456] *OrkSag* 14, 16, 18-20.

[457] S. Ashby, 'An atlas of medieval combs from Northern Europe', *Internet Archaeology*, 30 (2011), 3, table 2.

[458] Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney: excavations by Peter Gelling*, p.216.

[459] Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney: excavations by Peter Gelling*, pp 215-6, 268.

as high-status in the Late Norse period – were in fact neither the largest nor the wealthiest, but are rather, according to Lamb, conferred a raised status by virtue of their role in 'guest entertainment' and the collection of special taxes for the hosting of the earl by leading magnates.[460] Their proximity to chapels/churches therefore reflected not their wealth or the wealth of their surroundings as much as the status of their role and symbolism. The landscape of Skaill is not discussed in any great detail, but implicit in all parts of the excavation report is the notion that the farm-site dominated the peninsula: for instance, there are no other churches or significant chapels apart from that at Skaill.[461] Arable and pastoral farming was practiced, this last chiefly composed of cattle (at 51% of bone portions identified, the most important sample represented), sheep and pigs.[462] Deep-sea fishing was evidenced too, albeit from differentially-collected samples, which also contributed to the diet. Furthermore, wild birds were also exploited.[463] Landscape exploitation of this character compares well with Westness, though if connected to powerful Thorkel *fóstri* might represent a relatively wealthy district.

Freswick Links, Caithness

Around the Bay of Freswick in Caithness archaeologists noted the survival of several important local place-names which featured the elements *staðir*, *setr*, *sætr*, *bólstaðr* and *dalr* ('valley').[464] Curle's 1937-8 excavations examined ruined buildings in a much-eroded piece of meadow. This uncovered a 'Viking' bath house, dwelling houses, kitchen middens and fragments of medieval and Viking pottery.[465] Though the Gelling excavation focussed on the intensive fishing and processing in the Late Norse period, in some sense the site must be related to *Þrasvík* of *Orkneyinga saga*, an important estate connected to the comital family.[466] A *skála-húss* ('hall-house') was noted there in *Orkneying saga*.[467] The excavation report authors suggested that this 'Hall of Freswick' was probably located beneath the later medieval Freswick Castle, though on meagre evidence.[468] As *Þrasvík* is very likely here, its location is accepted, then the lordly landscape covered much of the Bay of Freswick area, from the Links (the subject of excavation) to the site of the castle – a distance of c.500m. It appears that the residents of the Links imported most, if not all, of the cereals they may have consumed: none was grown near to the excavation

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[460] Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney: excavations by Peter Gelling*, pp 14-5.

[461] Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney: excavations by Peter Gelling*, p.17. The two other chapels are considered by excavators to be eremitical. They may fossilise a pre-parochial arrangement of Christian life.

[462] Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney: excavations by Peter Gelling*, p.237.

[463] Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney: excavations by Peter Gelling*, p.81.

[464] A.O. Curle, 'A Viking settlement at Freswick, Caithness; report on the excavations carried out in 1937 and 1938', *PSAS*, 73 (1938-9), p.71; C.D. Morris, C.E. Batey, D.J. Rackham (eds), *Freswick Links, Caithness: excavation and survey of a Norse settlement* (Stroud, 1995), p.18.

[465] Curle, 'A Viking settlement at Freswick, Caithness', p 80-94.

[466] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, pp 16-7; *OrkSag* 92, 93.

[467] G. Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas* (London, 1887), I, p.188; *OrkSag* 93

[468] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, pp 16, 17.

site, nor on nearby Hill of Harley where pollen samples were collected.[469] Here is good evidence, it seems, that wealth in the Earldom was as much derived from maritime exploitation as agriculture. The authors stress the limited availability of agricultural land around the Bay.[470] Because the excavations focussed on zones of the Links where intensive fishing and fish-processing was evident, the authors were rightly cautious about what the lack of substantial cereal remains and large animal bones might indicate.[471] The food economy of Freswick appears to have consisted primarily of fish, with much smaller elements of legumes, wild animals, birds and eggs: "[…] evidence suggestive of a marginal agricultural economy, quite unlike that thought to be operating on contemporary Orcadian sites […]."[472] It would seem that Freswick as a local economy in the Late Norse period would not be able to meet its taxation requirements through agriculture, and that fishing provided a means of doing so.[473] Gadids, mainly large cod and ling, dominated the record, with smaller amounts of haddock, pollack and smaller still remains of flatfish and gurnards were all exploited at Freswick.[474] Fish were gutted prior to arriving at the excavated area; whether this was undertaken at another part of the Links, or on the fishing vessels themselves, as recorded in an ethnographer's account of fishing in Caithness in the later 19th century, is unclear.[475] Freswick is important because its terrestrial hinterland cannot influence this study, but by contrast understanding of the importance of fishing to the Late Norse economy which Freswick and nearby Robert's Haven provide, allow a fresh perspective on the *kastalar*, especially given the insular location of two of the sites, both with apparently limited (though not insignificant) agricultural potential.

While the fish evidence was very strong at Freswick Links, the evidence for material culture was more limited. The few finds were largely of poor quality, which to the excavators confirmed that the middens in question were not domestic.[476] Perhaps, as at Da Biggings, this was a high-status site valued by its aristocratic owners for the wealth it generated but was not inhabited as an aristocratic centre. This in turn casts doubt on the identification of the building beneath late medieval Freswick Castle. Vegetal-tempered ware sherds were recovered, which could emanate from contexts in the Bronze Age to Late Norse periods. Nevertheless, the site recorded an important assemblage (c.5% from the erosion zone) of East Coast gritty wheel-turned pottery,

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[469] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.16.
[470] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.273.
[471] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.269.
[472] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.270.
[473] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.275.
[474] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.183.
[475] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.189. Ross (the source in question) also noted that it was possible to decapitate even large fish without leaving a single cut mark on the bones; a knife was used to gut the fish before wrapping fingers around the head and pulling sharply; this method, which also removed part of the backbone, was also noted in the same account and by Fenton.
[476] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.135.

perhaps representing the inbound product of the outbound fish trade.[477] It was considered very similar to finds from the East coast, Kirkwall, Jarlshof and the wider Northern Isles; in Aberdeen, the ware was found in mid-12th-14th-century contexts.[478] There was little indication at the site of any iron smelting, though as at Tuquoy possibly there was a degree of smithing nearby.[479] Perhaps the lack of metalworking confirms this was not a residential high-status farm. Earlier work at the site recovered a bone comb, possibly from northern Germany.[480] It was dated to between the 12th-15th centuries.[481]

5.4.2 Trends in 12th-century Late Norse settlement

Settlement in the Earldom was not uniform. Though a central farm is apparent at many of the sites discussed, others hint at a spread of settlement over an area with no specific focus of architectural prestige, except ecclesiastical buildings. There are several reasons why this may have been the case. It has already been noted that magnates in the Earldom were as much at ease in a courtly setting as they were farming and fishing, though admittedly this might also represent a literary trope. It is unlikely that they would seek to express their status by drastically altering a pattern of land and settlement in which they were habitually working. This is certainly connected to the 'flat' hierarchy of contemporary society – and the small, compact nature – of Orkney at this time. There is no doubt magnates set themselves above others in society, but this was clearly not done through altering the landscape in the dramatic fashion of contemporaries in neighbouring polities. It is widely appreciated, however, that Norse society voiced a clear awareness of the prehistoric landscape. "In 1316, the Norwegian law expected the allodial farmers to account for their ancestors back to *haughs ok till heiðni* (mounds and pagan times) when land and inheritance were disputed."[482] Late Norse high-status sites could demonstrate interaction with prehistoric monuments in a more than superficial way. Beyond recognising a relationship, no further analysis was undertaken at the sites examined. There is scope for suggesting a social, symbolic connection to existing monuments in the landscape and high-status (castellar and non-castellar) sites.

One expression of authority more like that seen around the Earldom was architectural patronage. Churches and chapels of stone were apparent at many of the high-status, non-castellar sites explored above. These are obviously related to the desire of magnates for personal spiritual salvation, but further social dynamics were at play. A church or chapel served as a clerical office of service to magnates in matters of administration and government. It also served as a community

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[477] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.259.
[478] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.136.
[479] Morris, Batey, Rackham, *Freswick Links, Caithness*, p.25.
[480] NMS, Acc. no. X.IL 748; C. Batey, 'The Late Norse site of Freswick', in J.R. Baldwin (ed.), *Caithness: a cultural crossroads* (Edinburgh, 1982) p.48.
[481] Ashby, 'An atlas of medieval combs from Northern Europe', 2.2, Type 13.
[482] Iversen, 'Royal villas in Northern Europe', p.112, n.2.

focus for a parish and township(s). Lastly, it reflected the commitment, made in stone, of the magnate towards communal and personal piety. In a secular context, these buildings reflected on the connectivity of their builders to trends of architectural style outside the Earldom, too. Grants of land to church institutions, at Brough of Birsay towards a monastic foundation, served similar social functions. In purely material terms, the archaeological evidence clearly suggests timber was a high-status material, especially in a secular context. The dominance of stone in ecclesiastical buildings hinted at above certainly has symbolic overtones of *Romanitas* and Petrine right, "[…] expressions of permanence and visibility […]."[483] The question of material remains a key consideration in discussion of the physical properties of *kastalar*, especially in light of the documentary evidence discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Da Biggings, Earl's Bu and Freswick Links all featured high-status halls composed chiefly of timber in the Late Norse period.

In administrative and social terms there was a distinction, if presently poorly understood, between places lived in, and places exploited by, comital magnates. Is it necessary for lived sites to evidence arable cultivation? It is tempting to argue for Freswick Links being an exploited site, for evidence of agriculture at the site is poor. By contrast, the instances of arable cultivation archaeologically determined at many other high-status sites are plentiful. To add nuance to this, Da Biggings is useful, because although it is in rich arable land it is surely an exploited rather than lived estate, despite the investment in timber architecture of high status. Surely, therefore, what Da Biggings and Freswick Links demonstrate are manorial economies of exploitation which are in social terms a level of sophistication beyond the archetypal image of the magnate-farmer which *Orkneyinga saga* portrays. Freswick Links especially argues for caution in ascribing too much importance to terrestrial wealth generation at the expense of recognising how important maritime resources were to contemporary society. That Da Biggings and Freswick could continue to generate resources for their absentee owners must mean that estate administration on the behalf of magnates was being undertaken, perhaps with clerical assistance. While the magnate-farmer of the *saga* was certainly an important fixture of the 12th-century Earldom, there should not be any doubt that the means to accrue wealth sufficient for investment in castellar architecture was apparent. This is hinted at in the emergence of material culture, European in origin and signalling the emergence of courtly ideals in self-expression (e.g. wine consumption, pilgrimage), twinned with enduring traditions (e.g. combs, nomenclature).[484] Furthermore, this stands in contrast to the continued tradition of property inheritance of odal practice in the Earldom, wherein inherited land was divided amongst a large group of inheritors. The splitting of

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[483] Griffiths, 'Status and identity in Norse settlements', p.229.
[484] Birsay-Skaill, 12th-century Norman: Griffiths, 'Status and identity in Norse settlements', pp 225, 228; Da Biggings: 13th-14th-century East Anglian and Lower Saxonian: Crawford, Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour*, p.80; Skaill, Deerness was virtually aceramic: Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney: excavations by Peter Gelling*, pp 196-7.

units of wealth generation runs counter to the accrual of wealth necessary for castle construction and it is therefore concluded that traditional means of wealth generation in the Earldom were not responsible for the construction of castles. The emergence of intensive fishing in the Late Norse period must represent a new factor in the Earldom economy and must be related to new castellar and ecclesiastical architecture. While the emergence of surplus resources was not deliberately managed, the wealth it created was inevitably claimed by the magnates.

5.4.3 Summary

High-status sites were apparently arranged in a fashion very similar to Viking age farms. The hall remained the key social and political space. The details of the hall vary; the 12th-century stone hall of the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall is a useful exemplar, and certainly appears to mirror tentative finds at Tuquoy, East Mound (Bay of Skaill) and possibly Skaill, Deerness. Arguably these are quite different structures from the longhouses at Da Biggings, Earl's Bu and Westness, which appear to represent varieties of the *stofa*, *skáli* and *eldhus* arrangement familiar from the Viking Age. This dichotomy is probably not solely representative of a clear change in preference, but rather it may be seen to confirm the rapid social changes, mirrored in architectural preference and expression in the 12th century. The difference is not indicative of a relative status: Earl's Bu was one of, if not the, foremost comital centre in Orkney, and is was also home to an arguably expensive and elaborate 12th-century round church. The social symbolism of the hall remains as it was in the Viking Age, a venue for socialising. However, the role that socializing fulfilled appears different. Previously, it served to re-affirm bonds of personal friendship in which lordship (early medieval in character) was built. It would seem from the fragmentary pottery finds from later phases of the stone-built halls referenced here that more familiar 'conspicuous consumption' was undertaken at halls, a process of referencing a magnate's wealth and generosity but setting them apart from their peers. Theirs became a relationship increasingly not dynamic and proximate but firm and unyielding, a permanent bond between subject and lord.[485] Other buildings were apparent. Chapels and churches, new additions, were often nearby and always apparently of stone. Other buildings and facilities – lesser halls, stables, houses, storage facilities, ancillary buildings, and mills – were probably arrayed nearby, as buildings from Earl's Bu and finds distribution from Tuquoy hint at. Proximity to the sea, as ever in a thalassocracy, was important. These arrangements, though familiar to late medieval lordship in Europe generally, represent a context firmly situated in Late Norse society specifically, for the emergence of *kastalar* which must not be ignored. Territories under the control of central places were not always contiguous, as the

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[485] L. Hermanson, 'Vertical bonds and social power: ideals of lordship in twelfth-century Scandinavia', in B. Poulsen, S. M. Sindbæk (eds), *Settlement and lordship in Viking and Early Medieval Scandinavia* (Turnhout, 2011), pp 71-2.

evidence from Brough of Birsay, as well as Sourin and Husabae, demonstrates (Figure 23).[486] Nor were lands held by a magnate necessarily near to each other: Sveinn Ásleifarson's paternal lands were at Duncansby in Caithness, but he chose to spend much of his time on his island of Gairsay, south of Wyre, in Orkney, c.48km distant.[487]

FIGURE 23: SKETCH MAP OF EGILSAY AND ROUSAY

© GOOGLE EARTH. THE LARGER ESTATE CENTERED ON HUSABAE, STRADDLING THE SMALL SOUND, APPEARS TO HAVE FRAGMENTED BY THE 12TH CENTURY INTO ITS CONSTITUENT PARTS: SOURIN, SCOCKNESS AND EGILSAY PROPER. INFORMATION DIRECTLY REPLICATED FROM THOMSON, 'SOME SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN MEDIEVAL ORKNEY', P.341.

In material terms, high-status Late Norse settlement is primarily understood in terms of timber, rather than stone – with the noted exception of ecclesiastical buildings. Da Biggings, Earl's Bu and Freswick Links evidence partial or whole segments of high-status buildings composed of wood. Metalworking, perhaps for the maintenance of the weaponry important for lordly identity in martial Orkney (or for domestic tools), was undertaken at Tuquoy, Earl's Bu and Freswick Links in this period. Lastly, perhaps of most importance, the new wealth which furnished the means to satisfy an appetite for new castellar architecture – of timber or stone – can be found in the evidence for intensive fishing, as the evidence from Da Biggings, Tuquoy, Earl's Bu, Skaill (Deerness) and Freswick Links suggest.

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[486] Thomson, 'Some settlement patterns in medieval Orkney', p.341.
[487] *OrkSag* 56.

5.5 Site studies

So far, a survey of contemporary castles in the North Atlantic has demonstrated the feasibility of such sites in the Earldom as a physical phenomenon. The assessment of evidence for high-status Norse sites has a framework of sorts within which it is possible to establish in more detail the landscape of possible *kastalar* in the Earldom. What follows is an assessment of the landscapes around each *kastali*, landscape and (in the case of Wyre) artefactual record to facilitate understanding of how they might fit into a contemporary Late Norse world. As with the earlier segments of this chapter, the historicity of *Orkneyinga saga* is accepted in principle though interrogated in detail.

5.5.1 Note on methodology

The following section relies heavily on place-name studies to suggest a possible landscape for the sites in question. For Damsay, Sandnes' 2010 study was used.[488] The section dealing with place-names around Wyre used Sandes in conjunction with Marwick's 1947 study of Rousay place-names.[489] The sections dealing with Thurso and Scrabster used Waugh's 1985 unpublished PhD thesis.[490] All three are supplemented where appropriate with other onomostic/toponymic studies. Place-names are not explicitly tied to a chronology, but rather reflective of "[…] 'naming' both as a device and product of colonisation."[491] However, is is equally important to recognise that "New names continued to be formed as late as the nineteenth century when *kví* ('field'), *garth* [*garðr*] ('enclosure') and *bu* ('big farm') remained in use as common nouns."[492] The landscape assessments discussed here are based on a 5km radius of each site. This is an arbitrary distance but is intended to reflect a large extent of the given site's immediate surroundings.

5.5.2 Damsay *kastali*

Small inferences may be made from the passing references to the Damsay *kastali* from its three mentions in *Orkneyinga saga*. The first (dated 1137) is worth citing in full: "Damsay is on the Bay of Firth, which lies on the other side of the hill. On the island there was a stronghold and the man in charge was called Blann, the son of Thorstein of Flydruness."[493] Taken in isolation, the extract is straightforward. However, it sits somewhat awkwardly in the flow of narrative. The wider chapter covers a series of squabbles between the followers of two leading men in the Earldom. Following an alcohol-fuelled murder, one of the leading men takes flight over the "hill": "There [on shore of

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[488] Sandnes, *From Starafjall to Starling Hill*.

[489] H. Marwick, *The place-names of Rousay* (Kirkwall, 1947).

[490] D. Waugh, *The place-names of six parishes in Caithness, Scotland* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1985).

[491] Leonard, 'Vikings in the prehistoric landscape', p.46.

[492] W.P.L. Thomson, 'Orkney farm-names: a re-assessment of their chronology', in B.E. Crawford (ed.), *Scandinavian settlement in northern Britain* (Leicester, 1995), p.48.

[493] *OrkSag* 66. The location of Flydruness (which shares its name with an area in the north of Trondheim district) is not known, but may be Firth, Mainland; Damsay is located in the Bay of Firth.

Bay of Firth] they boarded a ship, and Magnus took Svein over to Damsay and up to the stronghold there. Next morning Blann ferried him north to Bishop William on Egilsay […].”[494] It is possible that the clunky earlier reference to Damsay was a means of explaining who Blann was without disrupting the flow of events, or perhaps it was deployed to heighten anticipation of events to come. Either way, the reference to the “stronghold”, called a “*kastali*” in an early modern rendering of the original (1780, 1894), is quite clear.[495]

The second reference mentions a group staying on Damsay “where they spent each day drinking in the great hall”, which is rendered as “*kastala einum miklum*”, “a great *kastala*”, in the 1780 edition.[496] This edition remarks in a note that in different MSS of the *saga* the word “*skála*” (‘hall’) is used.[497] We may infer that either the 1780 edition suggests that the concept of a lodging building is rendered in *Orkneyinga saga* in a variety of words which include “*kastala*” and “*skála*”. Similarly, it may be that the 1780 edition recalls part of the tradition about the site on Damsay which accords it both a “*kastala*” and a “*skála*”, but which in different MSS has been fragmented. The 1894 text renders the segment as “great hall” as “*skála miklum*”.[498]

The last reference to Damsay is as follows: “Earl Rognvald went to Damsay at Christmas but Earl Harald remained behind at Kirkwall.”[499] This may be taken to imply that Damsay was a comital site or connected to the comital circle, given that Rognvald was able to spend time there over a holy day and festival period. Indeed, it may be taken (though with less confidence) that the chapel at Damsay was given episcopal dispensation for the celebration of a major festival. It could be conjectured that such a dispensation would only be given to the Earl, hence confirming that Damsay was a comital site. Alternatively, given that the “*kastala*”-keeper Blann brought the men to Bishop William on Egilsay, it may equally be suggested that Damsay was subject to the Bishop, though it is more realistic that this simply demonstrates that they sought episcopal forgiveness for their crimes. Nevertheless a possible episcopal connection is echoed in the case of Wyre (discussed below), where the purported builder’s son would later be Bishop of Orkney. In this case Damsay may be seen as an episcopal seat closer (c.7km) to the comital centre at Kirkwall than the more distant bishop’s estate of Egilsay (c.18km). A diocesan connection to Damsay is found in much later records. A document of 1627 noted “The Iyll of Damsay, halden in few off the Archindri off Orkney, and payis to the Archdean ane barrell of butter and ane pund of vax, with

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[494] *OrkSag* 66.

[495] Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, I, p.113.

[496] Jónsson, Thorkelín, *Orkneyinga Saga: sive, Historia Orcadensium*, p.358.

[497] Latin offered for this word, “*diversorio*”, is a ‘lodging’ or ‘accommodation’. The modern rendering as ‘hall’ reflects a collective space but in a higher social context. The manuscripts are both at Den Arnamagnæanske Samling (Copenhagen, Denmark): AM 332 4 (1688-1704) and AM 325 I 4to (1276-1325).

[498] Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, I, p.197.

[499] *OrkSag* 95.

nyne meillis cost. Distant from the Kirk ane myll."[500] The kirk in question may be the Mary Kirk by Rennibister farm c.1km south of Damsay. The island was in the 17th century still connected to a dignitary of the diocese, and the earliest evidence for an Archdeacon of Orkney is c.1309.[501] Beyond this, little more can be added, except to comment that the amount owed for rent was small, probably reflective of the fact that the land of the island could not produce a substantial land-based surplus for rentals.

Taking a retrospective approach, therefore, we may deduce than any timber or stone *kastali* and/or hall site on Damsay was not reflective in their implied high-status by the quality of the land on which they were located. This arrangement is comparable to that described by Lamb in relation to the skaill-name farms: their name and probably archaeology (for instance at Skaill, Deerness) was not reflected in the value of the land in which they were located, but rather their status derived from the role they served in relation to the Earl(s).[502] This analogy may reflect a purpose for *kastalar* too. It is important to note that at no point is the Damsay *kastali* mentioned to be made of stone. The earlier documentary assessment of ON literature presents several instances of *kastalar* which are probably equally made of timber, so that this was the case in Damsay need not be considered unusual.

5.5.2.1 Archaeology and landscape

No obvious upstanding remains of a *kastali* building exists on Damsay, a truly tiny island (c.0.2km^2) which appears never to have supported more than a single farm site. Nevertheless, early surveyors (beginning with Clouston) identified the raised area of rubble ruins at the island's north as a likely candidate, close to a chapel site (St Mary). Admittedly, this problematically assumes the *kastali* to have been a stone construction, for which there is good reason to be doubtful. The abandoned croft is also located in the immediate vicinity of these two. No excavations have been undertaken at Damsay to clarify the detail of the possible *kastali* remains. Given the lack of alternative sites on the island, it would appear the early surveyors were correct in their assessment of its location, though a more recent assessment noted that without knowledge of the *saga* reference they would have identified the remains as those of a broch.[503] A fish-trap of unknown date was also noted off the E coast of the island.[504]

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[500] A. Peterkin, *Rentals of the earldom and bishoprick of Orkney* (J. Moir, 1832), p.80.
[501] R.G. Cant, 'The church in Orkney and Shetland and its relations with Norway and Scotland in the middle ages', *Northern Scotland* 1.1 (1972), p.10, n.4.
[502] Buteaux, *Settlements at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney*; Grieve, *Norse castles in Scotland*, p.107.
[503] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/306530> [Accessed 3/4/16]. Its setting is similar to that of a possible broch, sandwiched between the coast and an inland lake, at Scockness, Rousay: NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/2738> [Accessed 6/4/16].
[504] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/307261 [Accessed 3/4/16].

Though today used largely for grazing, in the pre-modern era Damsay was at the centre of life in the wider Bay of Firth ; furthermore, more recent Kirk Session documents reveal that it was once seasonally accessible from Mainland by a causeway, a situation still apparent at nearby Holm of Grimbister.[505] Damsay's immediate landscape, while perhaps providing sufficient sustenance for a small croft, would not be able to support a wider community, for instance the investment of material and expertise implied by a *kastali*. Even if the *kastali* was not permanently occupied, its hinterland could not support more than a family. It is reasonable to assume therefore that Damsay formed part of a wider estate which could provide the island with food and high-status goods, as the non-contiguous estates of Sourin, and Sveinn Ásleifarson's Orkney-Caithness holdings, illustrate.

FIGURE 24: SATELLITE IMAGE OF SITES AROUND DAMSAY
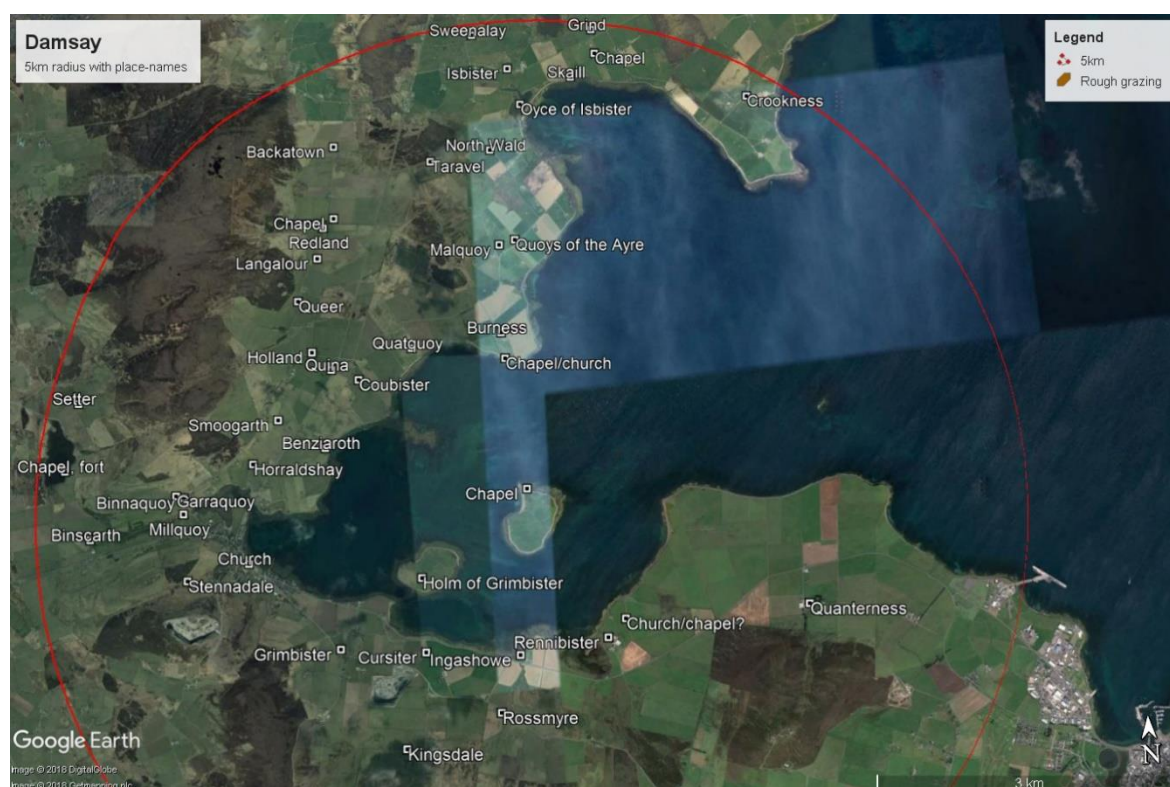
© GOOGLE EARTH.

The arrangement of a castle on a small island with a principal farming settlement located elsewhere may be compared, albeit in a later chronological timeframe, to that of Castle Tioram in Moidart (mainland Scotland) with its official mains farm at Howbeg in South Uist (Hebrides).[506] The wider landscape of Damsay within the Bay of Firth presents multiple Norse place-names relating to settlement (Figure 24). Orcadian farm names almost all contain elements of ON

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[505] M.R. Bates *et al*., 'A Multi-disciplinary Approach to the Archaeological Investigation of a Bedrock-Dominated Shallow-Marine Landscape: an example from the Bay of Firth, Orkney, UK', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 42.1 (2013), pp 27-8, 35.
[506] Stell, 'Castle Tioram and the MacDonalds of Clanranald: a western seaboard castle in context', p.285.

terminology. Sandnes' study of place-names in the area includes an assessment, in general terms, of the antiquity of each name, where discernible. Using this, it is possible to replicate the above map indicating only the ON settlement generics (Figure 25).
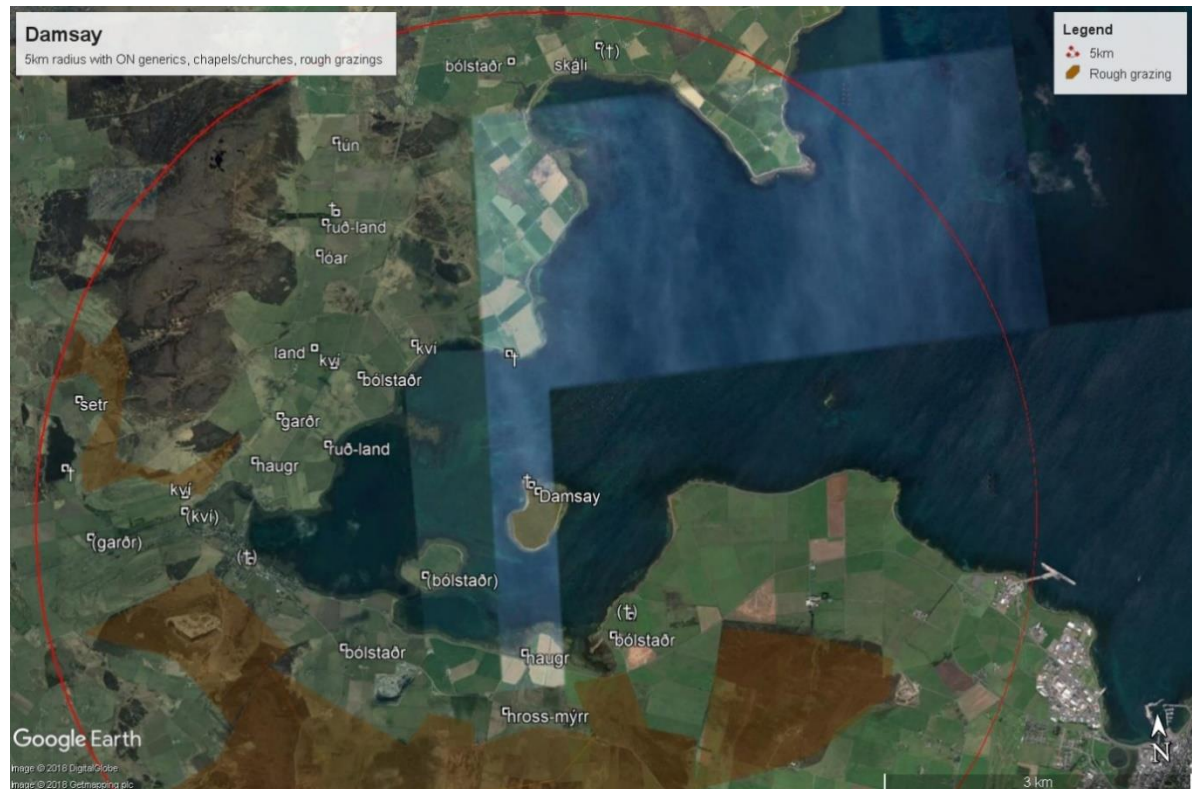
© GOOGLE EARTH. WHERE THE ANTIQUITY OF A SITE IS NOT CERTAIN, IT IS INDICATED IN BRACKETS, E.G. (KVÍ). CHAPELS/CHURCHES ARE MARKED WITH A DAGGER SYMBOL '✝'. THE SOUTHERNMOST PORTION OF THE 5KM RADIUS FEATURED NO SETTLEMENTS. INFORMATION FOR ROUGH GRAZINGS TAKEN FROM HLA WEBSITE

There are five certain high-status farms sites surrounding Damsay (four *bólstaðr*, one *skáli*). Their distribution is marked by close coastal proximity, though none are close to a confidently-known chapel/church site except St Mary at Rennibister already mentioned. It is only possible to reconstruct a sense of the Tuquoy-type estate – spread along the shore – for the *bólstaðr*-farm (Coubister) NW of Damsay; here farms with lower-status name elements (*garðr*, *kví*, *ruð-land*, *land*) almost encircle the farm. However, the prevailing conclusion is that while the emphasis of the Bay of Firth is firmly on these five high-status sites (most evidently for the *bólstaðr* just discussed), on the other hand Damsay is extremely well-located for local travel between these sites; it is a central point in the Bay. The island plainly serves a wider environment, the landscape of the Bay. This is reflected in a viewshed projection (Figure 26). This establishes in more systematic terms, via a programmable application on Google Earth, places that were visible from a chosen location (here, Damsay), from a certain height (here, the arbitrary height of 8m). This viewshed covers most of the neighbouring shores and much of the mouth of the bay to the NE.

The viewshed of the conjectured *kastali* does not share a visual relationship with the two northern high-status sites (Isbister and Skaill, containing *bólstaðr* and *skáli*).

© GOOGLE EARTH, ROUGH GRAZINGS FROM HLA MAP

Additionally, it appears that there is a good visual grasp of the two major prehistoric mounds in the district, the southern *haugr* (Ingashowe, containing ON personal name *Inga*) especially marking a visible point in the single immediate 'blind spot' to the S of the site.[507] The other mound, Horraldshay (NW of Damsay), has been identified as *Þorvaldshaugr*, reiterating a Viking/Norse interaction with prehistoric monuments in area around Damsay through directly associating personal names with mounds, perhaps referencing the names of nearby settlers or landowners.[508] The landscape around Damsay is therefore quite 'busy' in terms of high-status farms. This doubtless reflects the good-quality agricultural potential of the land, as well as the good source of fertilising manure and seaweed and marine resources a coastal location offers. However, it may also reflect a fragmented or secondary settlement of the Bay. Thomson's study of the medieval landscape around Birsay noted the relative absence of high-status farm generics with personal name associations. Discounting the *skáli*-name, which is probably related to the comital demesne or rent in some way, the *bólstaðr* names are possibly associated with named

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[507] Sandnes, *From Starafjall to Starling Hill*, pp 386, 389.
[508] Sandnes, *From Starafjall to Starling Hill*, p.123. This wider topic is the subject of Leonard's 2011 article, especially p.62.

individuals: *Rann[ar]-* or *Ragn[ar]-* for Rennibister, *Grímr* for Grimbister, *Kúgi* for Coubister.[509] Joined with the named mounds, the landscape around Damsay is one of overt claims on the land.

Though it is impossible to date these claims any more firmly than the Viking and Norse period, they doubtless form part of the ideological and symbolic context into which the Damsay *kastali* emerged. Analogy from Norway can be taken to suggest that mounds marked statements of hereditary rights to the land. "Such a strong physical and symbolical manifestation was reserved for landowners."[510] These claims are bound in pagan connotations which may have jarred with the emerging 12th-century reform Christianity and church administration apparent in the Earldom, and close to Damsay at the Cathedral of St Magnus. The *kastali* appears to make visual reference to local aristocratic farms, perhaps to prehistoric mounds of local importance in relation to questions of legitimacy and landholding. It also commanded a chapel site; this may have been a source of quarrying for the later farmhouse on the island. Robbed red sandstone blocks here have been likened to those the cathedral in Kirkwall.[511] The location of the medieval parish church of Firth (in which Damsay sits) is not known – the current site at Finstown on Mainland being that of an earlier chapel.[512]

5.5.3 Wyre *kastali*

A single reference marks the construction of the Wyre site in *Orkneyinga saga*. "At that time there was a very able man called Kolbein *hrúga* farming on Wyre in Orkney. He had a fine stone fort built there, a really solid stronghold."[513] Both the 1780 and 1894 editions give "*steinkastala*" and "*stein-kastala*" respectively.[514] While the building is called a stone-"*kastala*", it is described as an "*öruggt vígi*", 'a solid/safe stronghold'.[515] This is the only mention of Wyre or the "*steinkastala*" in the s*aga*, though Kolbein, as discussed below, appears subsequently. Furthermore, a farm is implied on the island, but the s*aga* gives no reason to assume the stone-"*kastala*" must be in a different location to the farm. Of importance, too, is the attention drawn in the extract to the *kastali* being of stone – in contrast to the plain *kastalar* of Damsay and Thurso, and many documentary references discussed earlier.

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[509] Sandnes, *From Starafjall to Starling Hill*, pp 144-5, 117, 105.

[510] I. Øye, 'Land and peasants – recent medieval studies in Norway', in T. Iversen, J.R. Myking (eds.)*, Land, lords and peasants: peasants' rights to control land in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period – Norway, Scandinavia and the Alpine region* (Trondheim, 2005), p.121.

[511] Grieve, *Norse castles in Scotland*, p.66.

[512] J. Storer Clouston, 'The old chapels of Orkney', *SHR* 15.58 (1918), pp 97-8. Clouston points to a third chapel at Redland.

[513] *OrkSag* 84.

[514] Jónsson, Thorkelín, *Orkneyinga Saga: sive, Historia Orcadensium*, p.258; Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, I, p.147.

[515] Jónsson, Thorkelín, *Orkneyinga Saga: sive, Historia Orcadensium*, p.258; Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, I, p.147. Cf. A.O. Anderson, *Early sources for Scottish history* (Edinburgh, 1922), II, p.6, n.2 on discussion of possible misallocation of site to Wyre.

We may take little substantial detail from this passing reference, which sits in the context of a narrative break, wherein the *saga* details the names and residences of numerous leading figures in the *saga*. In some ways, the above extract is very similar to that of Damsay, because it prefigures the appearance of Kolbein in events to come, such as the potential threat he and Sveinn Ásleifarson pose to the islands in retaliation for the kidnapping by rivals of their kin.[516] A second saga refers to the site in question, allowing more insight. The later *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* details how a group of men (including an agent of the Norwegian king), having murdered Earl Jon Haraldsson, fled to Wyre to "the castle which Kolbein the burly had let be built."[517] These events took place in 1231. The English edition cited was published in parallel to an Icelandic edition in which the original term is "*kastalann*."[518] The fugitives then gathered together stores – presumably to withstand an assault – within the "outworks" ("*út-kastalann*"). For comparison, the core term "*kastalann*" is also used to refer to a "castle" in Galicia (Spain) besieged by Rognvaldr Kali Kolsson in *Orkneyinga saga*.[519] Intriguingly it may be inferred that *kastalann* is more appropriately translated as 'enclosure'.

Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar gives further insight into the Wyre site. The most obvious is that the site was difficult to attack. There are many ways of interpreting this; it may be that the complex physically presented a challenge to assault, in the form of few windows, limited ground-floor access, high walls and deep ditches. Equally, though perhaps less likely given the emphasis on place rather than people, it may be that the site was occupied by experienced and numerous armed men. Alternatively, the site may have had defensive qualities characteristic of its location: elevation, visual grasp of the wider landscape. Either way, the apparent speed with which the group of men gathered supplies may be taken to suggest that there was an amount of supplies available nearby, corroborating *Orkneyinga saga*'s farm site. This may indicate a possible role for the Wyre site, or indeed its proximity to a place for gathering supplies. It may, equally, simply indicate proximity to a barn. In either case, the extract may reasonably be assumed to convey information about the *kastali* built c.90 years earlier, a stone construction (perhaps, but not necessarily, a tower) perhaps equally an enclosure of unknown material. It is feasible that the building of *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Orkneyinga saga* were not the same building, but that the former described buildings or arrangements added to the site since the latter mentioned its construction.

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[516] *OrkSag* 97.

[517] Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, II, p.156.

[518] Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, II, p.150. *Codex Frisianus* (c.1390) version of *Hákonar saga Hákonars* also renders it "*kastalann*": A.C. Drolsum (ed.), *Codex Frisianus: En Samling af Norske Konge-Sagaer* (Christiania, 1871), p.479.

[519] Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, I, p.188

Lastly, in 1504 Wyre's rentals were thus: "The island of Wyer, 12d terre, pro Rege, payis 1 last 12 m. cost, tantum flesche, ane barrel of butter and a barrel of oil, 24 pultrie."[520] This indicates that the land was historically in the control of the king, which likely indicates too that previously it belonged to the Earl. How it came to be transferred from the ownership of Bishop Bjarni or any other of Kolbein's children or heirs, and over what distance of time, is not clear.

The association between Kolbein *hrúga* and the remains on Wyre is not universally accepted. Local historian Gregor Lamb has questioned whether it is feasible to accept that the name of the site's conjectured builder has survived in folklore until the 19th century. He notes that the earliest mention outside of the saga references discussed is from the 16th-century description of the island by Jo Ben, who mentions that the site was inhabited previously by a giant – but makes no mention of Kolbein *hrúga*. Furthermore, Lamb highlights the features in the Orcadian landscape which seem to refer to Cubbie Roo but have no obvious connection to Kolbein *hrúga*. For instance, on the island of Stronsay, a pile of stones on the west shore of Rothieholm Head bears the name Cobbie Roo's Lade.[521] Burn of Trolldgeo on Shapinsay (c.6km distant from Wyre) is also called Cubbie Roo's Burn. Stones bearing the name Cubbie Roo/Cubbie Row are also, according to Lamb, found on Stronsay, Eday, Shapinsay, Rousay (also a chambered cairn) and Evie.[522] He goes on to remark that the name Cubbie Roo was the name of a figure of Orcadian mythology: in west of Mainland, this figure took the name of the demon Watty Red (from Valdi Red, itself derived from loosely-interpreted ON Kobvald Rauðr). Roo's name survives in natural features like Hole o' Row and Row Head, western Mainland.[523] One tradition notes that "Cubbie Rue" lived on Stronsay (c.20km away), and undertook the construction of a stone walkway from there to Shapinsay.[524] The 'Hogboy' (*haugr-bui*, 'barrow-dweller') tradition in Orcadian folklore is certainly connected to this.[525] Though no names in Westray present evidence for Cubbie Roo, local tradition notes the following rhyme: "Hush thee bairn,/An dinna fret thee,/Cubbie Roo'll/Nivver git thee."[526] The traditional, implicit association between history, archaeology and folklore is more nuanced when subject to closer scrutiny. Prior to its clearing, Cubbie Roo's Castle was simply a mound of stones prominent in the landscape, which Lee has also noted. Lee imagined Cubbie Roo to be a product

[520] Peterkin, *Rentals of the earldom*, p.66.
[521] G. Lamb, 'The giant, Cubbie Roo', *Orkneyjar* website, <http://www.orkneyjar.com/folklore/giants/cubbierow.htm> [Accessed 5/4/16]; NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/3392> [Accessed 5/4/16].
[522] Only the Rousay and Evie example is recorded on the HER: NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/2638>, [Accessed 5/4/16]; NRS, Ordinance Survey name books, Edinburgh, MS Orkney, OS1/23/5/92 notes the story of "Cobbie Row's Stone".
[523] The name is recorded in relation to a possible offshore shipwreck in the Bay of Skaill: NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/330719> [Accessed 5/4/16].
[524] National Records of Scotland, Ordinance Survey name books, Edinburgh, MS Orkney, OS1/23/24/126.
[525] Leonard, 'Vikings in the prehistoric landscape', p.62.
[526] G. Lamb, 'The giant, Cubbie Roo', *Orkneyjar* website, <http://www.orkneyjar.com/folklore/giants/cubbierow.htm> [Accessed 5/4/16].

of euhemerism in Orcadian folklore, and therefore any association between historicising *Orkneyinga saga* and Orcadian folklore must be critically interrogated.[527] It is possible to add to this two supporting points; firstly, when the nearby chapel site was excavated in the 1930s, workmen reported finding the bones of a giant in the rubble inside the chapel.[528] What the actual finds were (bones or otherwise) is not clear, but the association of the 'castle' of a figure of local mythology and posited giant's bones is obvious. Secondly, confirming somewhat Lamb's argument about Cubbie Roo's castle prior to clearance, on the island of Gairsay are the remains of a mound called Sweyn's Castle.[529] Other 'Sweyn' names around the island are taken by this author to suggest a relict memory – or, more likely, a folkloric embellishment of memory.[530] This is only one case of a prehistoric, old buildings or natural feature which is labelled a 'castle'; there are several others (Figure 27).

FIGURE 27: LIST OF ORCADIAN LANDSCAPE FEATURES WITH TOPONYMIC ELEMENT 'CASTLE' (NMRS)

Name, island	Thesaurus category
Castle Bloody, Quholm, Mainland	Broch (poss.), cists (poss.)
Castle Grimness, South Ronaldsay	Castle (poss.)
Castle of Bothikan, Papa Westray	Broch (poss.)
Castle of Burrian, Westray	Stack site
Castle of Burwick, South Ronaldsay	Fort, cist, settlement
Castle of Claisdie, Mainland	Natural feature
Castle of Hangie Bay, Mainland	Stack site
Castle of Sand Geo, Copinsay	Fort
Castle, Rendall, Mainland	Cist, mound
Grassy Castle, Stronsay	Natural feature
Icegarth Castle, Sanday	Broch (poss.)
Knowe of Gullow/The Castle, Mainland	Broch (poss.)
Rothieholm 'The Castle' Stronsay	Stack site (poss.)
Tams Castle, Stronsay	Stack site
The Castle, Sanday	Natural feature
Weems Castle, South Ronaldsay	Broch (poss.)

We may conclude that there is merit in Lamb's critique of the association of Kolbein *hrúga* with the remains of the building identified as a 'castle' on Wyre. Certainly, independent documentary evidence confirms Kolbein's presence in Norway in 1142 prior to his arrival in Wyre.[531] The most important conclusion to be drawn, however, is that the notion of folk memory preserving the existence of a 'castle' is unlikely. While there was certainly later medieval occupation at the 'castle', it cannot be certain this qualified as what could either locally or today be called a castle. The label 'castle' is widely applicable to monuments and natural features in the landscape, and it

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[527] D.H.J. Lee, 'Northern worldviews in postmedieval Orkney: towards a more holistic approach to later landscapes', *Historic Archaeology*, 49.3 (2015), p.147, n.9.

[528] Orkney Library and Archive, Miscellaneous small gifts and deposits, Kirkwall, MS D1/849/7, W. Cormack, 'The iron mail from Wyre, Orkney'. Notes for private circulation, Tankerness House.

[529] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/2670> [Accessed 5/4/16].

[530] E.g. 'Sweyn's Watch Tower', a chambered cairn close to the E shore of Gairsay NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/event/645545,> [Accessed 11/4/16].

[531] Clouston (1925-6), p.294, citing saga evidence discussed above, in relation to Kolbein's political career.

is perhaps coincidence or folklore that has connected Kolbein *hrúga* with Cubbie Roo. That Kolbein built a *steinkastala* is not in doubt; that it survives archaeologically on Wyre, however, is not accepted, as discussed below.

5.5.3.1 Archaeology

The monument identified as Cubbie Roo's castle stands at the highest point (25m) of the island of Wyre (c.2.94km[2]). The modern heritage site is much restored and has been cleared of rubble and artefacts. The buildings and earthworks which make up the site stand to no more than 2m high. The RCAHMS survey of 1949 crafted a relative phasing scheme for the remains (Figure 28). That scheme remains the authoritative reading of the site to date, though its narrative conclusions are all too often ignored. At its core, it identified a square stone building, c.8m by c.8m, whose walls (1.7m thick at base, 1.5m thick above scarcement) were composed of undressed flags bonded on the interior and exterior by lime mortar; there is no rubble infilling.[532] The walls are pierced at two cardinal points mid-way along the wall length, W and S, in the form of slit windows with slim splays: externally they are respectively 0.22m and 0.25m wide, internally double – 0.44m and 0.5m.[533] These have been interpreted as windows for a basement, given that they seem to provide light and aeration sufficient for storage but not habitation. Both are rebated to provide for a wooden frame, 0.3m from the exterior.[534] An irregularly-shaped well or tank (4m deep), off-centre in the ground of the central chamber, cuts into the bedrock on which the site is built.[535] The central structure is complemented by a partially-ruined secondary addition along its E wall, giving it a plan more L-shaped than square. This addition was 4.45m (N-S) by 3.84m (E-W). The reason for identifying this wing as a subsequent addition but still within phase 1 of the chronology is not clear. Though the central structure and nearby chapel site have in the past been favourably compared, similarities between the two bear closer scrutiny. RCAHMS' assessment of the chapel noted that the stonework of the chapel was far smaller than the central structure. The profiles of the three surviving windows along the chapel's S face, even if accepting them to be of three distinct phases, do not match those of the tower. Furthermore, the stonework of the tower was considered to be superior to that of the chapel.[536]

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[532] RCAHMS, *Inventory, Orkney and Shetland*, II, p.237.
[533] RCAHMS, *Inventory, Orkney and Shetland*, II, p.237.
[534] RCAHMS, *Inventory, Orkney and Shetland*, II, p.237.
[535] RCAHMS, *Inventory, Orkney and Shetland*, II, p.237
[536] RCAHMS, *Inventory, Orkney and Shetland*, II, p.237.
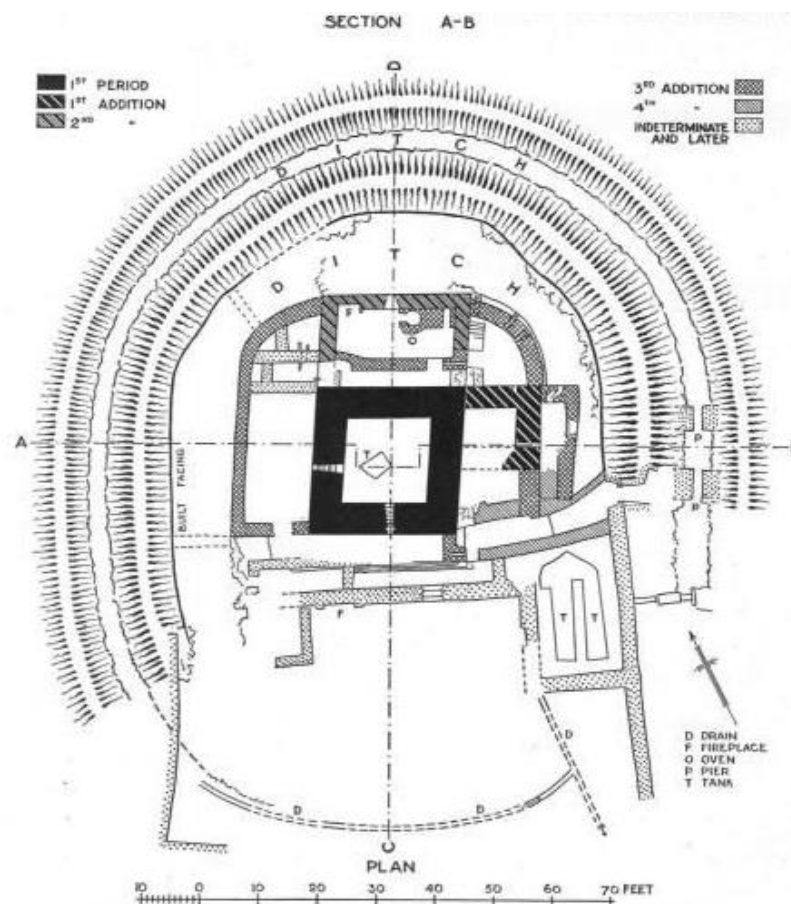
RCAHMS, *INVENTORY, ORKNEY AND SHETLAND*, II, P.236 (FIG. 325) © HES.

These points argue against the oldest, central building at Cubbie Roo's being coeval with the chapel; indeed, later medieval parallels are more appropriate. The tower has been compared favourably to that at Castle of Old Wick in Caithness, itself undated and creatively restored. The towers do indeed share common characteristics, ignoring the significantly different landscape and political contexts. The walls are of comparable width. Both also sit at the centre of a wider complex. At Cubbie Roo's this is represented by a succession of buildings raying out from the central tower; more may have been lost on the platform which overlies the earlier ditch and bank to the S. At Old Wick, the ranges of buildings running behind the tower may represent a similar complex, albeit in a wholly different arrangement.[537] A bridging site in formal typological terms may be Forse Castle, in Caithness. MacGibbon and Ross suggested it was 14th-15th-century in date, its documentary history beginning in the 16th century.[538] Here, the tower is part of a roughly triangular courtyard (Figure 29). Dùn Èistean in Lewis, discussed earlier, is also comparable. Caisteal Bharraich in neighbouring Sutherland is probably also part of this typological group, a

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[537] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/8956> [Accessed 7/4/16].
[538] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/8640/forse-castle> [Accessed 7/4/16]; *RMS* III, 1798, *RMS* V, 1341.

solitary stone building c.7.5 x c.6.5m across, with walls c.1.7m thick.[539] From further afield, Caisteal Uisdean (Skye) and Caisteal Bheagram (South Uist) may be included too. Together, the evidence hints at Cubbie Roo's forming one example of a later medieval tradition of castle, with comparable examples across greater Caithness and perhaps reaching into the Hebrides too.

FIGURE 29: PLAN OF FORSE CASTLE, CAITHNESS, c.1890S
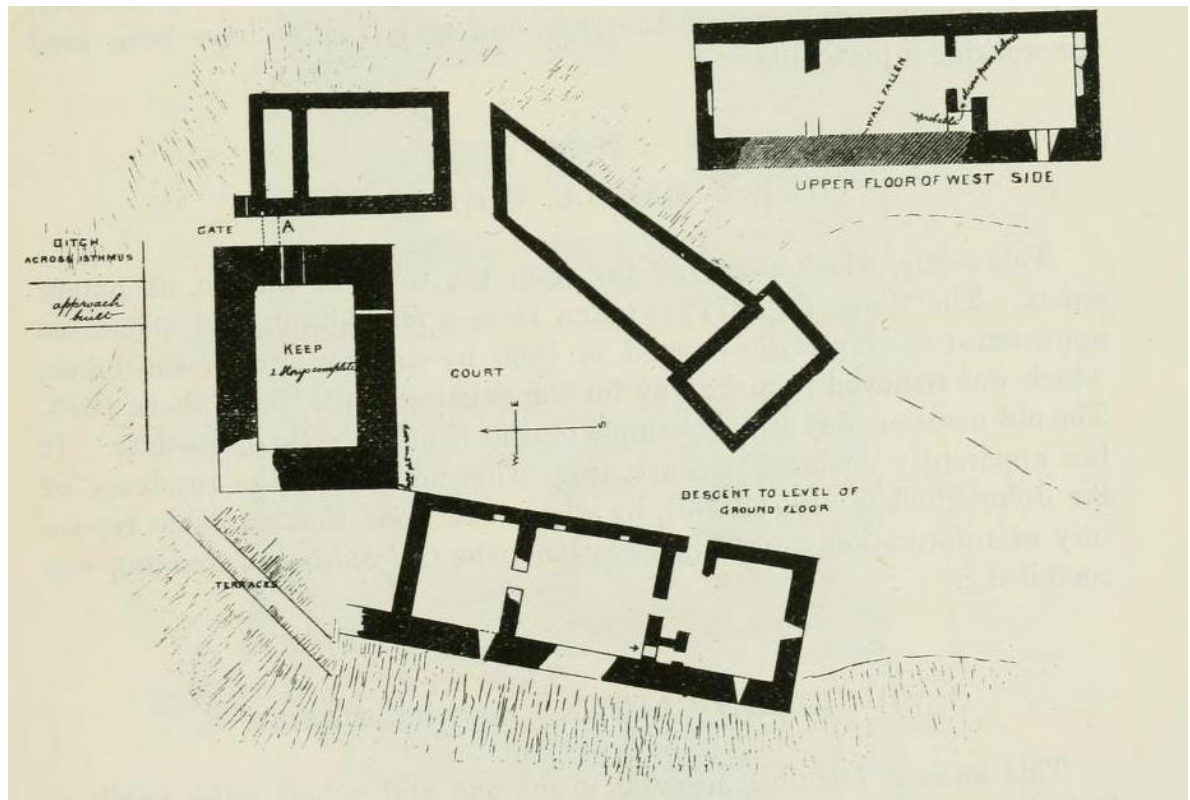
PLAN OF FORSE CASTLE IN MACGIBBON AND ROSS, *CASTELLATD AND DOMESTIC*…, IV, P.299 (FIG. 876), BY REV. A. MILLER. THE TRAPEZOIDAL BUILDING ON THE SE SIDE OF THE COURTYARD IS IN FACT MORE REGULAR, THE WHOLE FORMING A RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE. NO UPDATED SURVEY OF FORSE HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN SINCE.

To return to the comparison between Cubbie Roo's and Old Wick, it is accepted that they are similar, but it is argued that the conclusions drawn from this similarity are incorrect. In fact, Old Wick is not Late Norse (c.12th century) in origin, but rather Cubbie Roo's remains are on typological grounds late medieval (c.14th-16th century). However, the work undertaken by Thacker plainly finds a contradictory conclusion, for it hints that the mortar within the primary phase of Cubbie Roo's and its associated chapel are coeval.[540] Given that the chapel is confidently associated with 12th-century architecture, it follows that the primary phase of the castle is similarly 12th century. The two narratives drawn from the evidence need not be contradictory but complementary. Further clarification on the precise dating of either building is not yet available; publication is eagerly awaited. No hall is mentioned on Wyre in *Orkneyinga saga*, but the status of

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[539] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/5314/caisteal-bharraich> [Accessed 7/4/16].
[540] Thacker, 'The Late Norse 'coral' or maerl-limes of Orkney – an on-site mortar archaeology of Cubbie Roo's castle and chapel', p.4.

Kolbein *hrúga* as a powerful magnate in the Earldom makes it likely that one existed; it is equally plausible that any hall or residence pre-dated Kolbein's arrival on Wyre.

5.5.3.2 Landscape

Cubbie Roo's castle sits at the centre of a possible high-status Norse estate on Wyre. The central estate feature was the farm site, which retains the ON element *bú* ("Boull" in 1879-80).[541] The modern farm, 'The Bu', features no upstanding buildings suggestive of a medieval date, but sits atop a settlement mound with midden reminiscent of other Norse settlement complexes (Figure 30).[542] The lack of specific element to the name The Bu may give grounds for discounting its antiquity; Thomson notes that in 11th-13th centuries new names were generated in Orkney to meet needs of expanding population. Combine this with notion that *bú* could be a name given to a settlement which in earlier times was an outlying settlement, and it is plausible the Wyre *bú* is a later (possibly still medieval) name.[543] Elsewhere, the Bu in Rendall was discredited by Sandnes as a name of ON origin; "I prefer to see Bu as a late analogical formation, playing ironically on the positive connotations of Bu denoting major farms."[544] Morris suggests Bow near Birsay to be a very late name.[545] These may give cause for doubting The Bu name as a contemporary farm to Kolbein's *steinkastali*.

Around 0.15km to the E are the remains of the Chapel of St Mary (though perhaps originally dedicated to St Peter) alongside a burial ground.[546] Though the graves have not been dated, they confirm the chapel as one of ease for the island, as the modern parish church is at Brinian, Rousay. The medieval parish structure in this part of Orkney doubtless depended on the importance of Egilsay as an early cult centre for St Magnus. The Chapel has been dated on architectural grounds to the 12th century, while a fragment of mail recovered from there during 19th-century rubble removal has tentatively been dated to 12th x 15th centuries.[547] There are seven other farms on Wyre which feature ON place-name elements.[548] Of these, Onziebust, and Testaquoy feature the most obvious Norse settlement generics, '-bust' (connected to -*bú*[-*staðir*]) and '-quoy', ON -*kví*, 'enclosure', holding area or place for milking (Figure 31). No farm names testify to Wyre being an obviously high-status area: all bar Onziebust (*cf*. Onziebust, a farm across

[541] National Records of Scotland, Ordinance Survey name books, Edinburgh, MS Orkney, OS1/23/16/242.
[542] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/289895> [Accessed 7/4/16].
[543] Thomson, 'Orkney farm-names: a re-assessment of their chronology', pp 46-8.
[544] Sandnes, *From Starafjall to Starling* Hill, p.102.
[545] Morris*, The Birsay Bay Project*, I, p.18.
[546] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/2656> [Accessed 7/4/16].
[547] Orkney Library and Archive, Miscellaneous small gifts and deposits, Kirkwall, MS D1/849/7, W. Cormack, 'The iron mail from Wyre, Orkney'. Notes for private circulation, Tankerness House.
[548] 'Helziegetha' represents a version of 'Helzigartha', with its more obvious *garðr*, 'enclosure' element. This earlier name, and its alternative name 'Helye', suggest the presence of -ȝ- [yogh] in the place-name specific. Both are noted in Orcadian poet Edwin Muir's *An autobiography* (Edinburgh, 2000), p.26. Muir (1887-1959) spent part of his childhood on Wyre.

the sound on Egilsay) are pastorally-oriented, indicating a marginal island of pastoral agriculture. The farm Castlehall may be connected to the site, but it is equally possible that its name is late, and that the 'hall' component, found frequently in Orkney, is aggrandizing rather than relict.

FIGURE 30: VIEW FROM THE TOP OF CUBBIE ROO'S TO NE

THE BU, ATOP A SETTLEMENT MOUND, IS IN THE FOREGROUND. THE ISLAND IN THE DISTANCE IS EGILSAY AND THE PROFILE OF ST MAGNUS' CHURCH CAN BE SEEN IN THE ELEVATION OF ITS ROUND TOWER. AUTHOR'S IMAGE.

In a wider context, Wyre is proximate to other high-status farm sites in the archipelago. On the island of Egilsay, where the first church to St Magnus was built, are two farms with *bú-staðir* elements and one skaill name. Other place-name elements – *kví*, *toft*, *setr/sætr* – hint at lower-status agriculture.[549] The Hubbet originates in the ON word for harbour (Figure 31, Figure 32).[550] The area of settlement within 5km proximity of the posited Norse estate on Wyre on the island of Rousay features no high-status settlement names. This may initially appear surprising, given the large area of the island within reach of Wyre. However, Rousay is home to important estates in SW Rousay at Westness and another at the now-lost *Husabae* in NE Rousay (both discussed above in more detail). This complex of farms is outwith the reach of Wyre, and it is feasible that the lesser farms abutting the edge of Wyre's 5km radius were in fact subject to Westness or *Husabae*. Also noteworthy is that the Rousay farms may be grouped by their proximity to known or posited chapel sites, perhaps chapels of ease for the original parish church on Egilsay (St Magnus) mentioned earlier (Figure 23).

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[549] Sandnes, *From Starafjall to Starling Hill*, p.284, pp 392-3.
[550] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/345009> [Accessed 7/4/16].
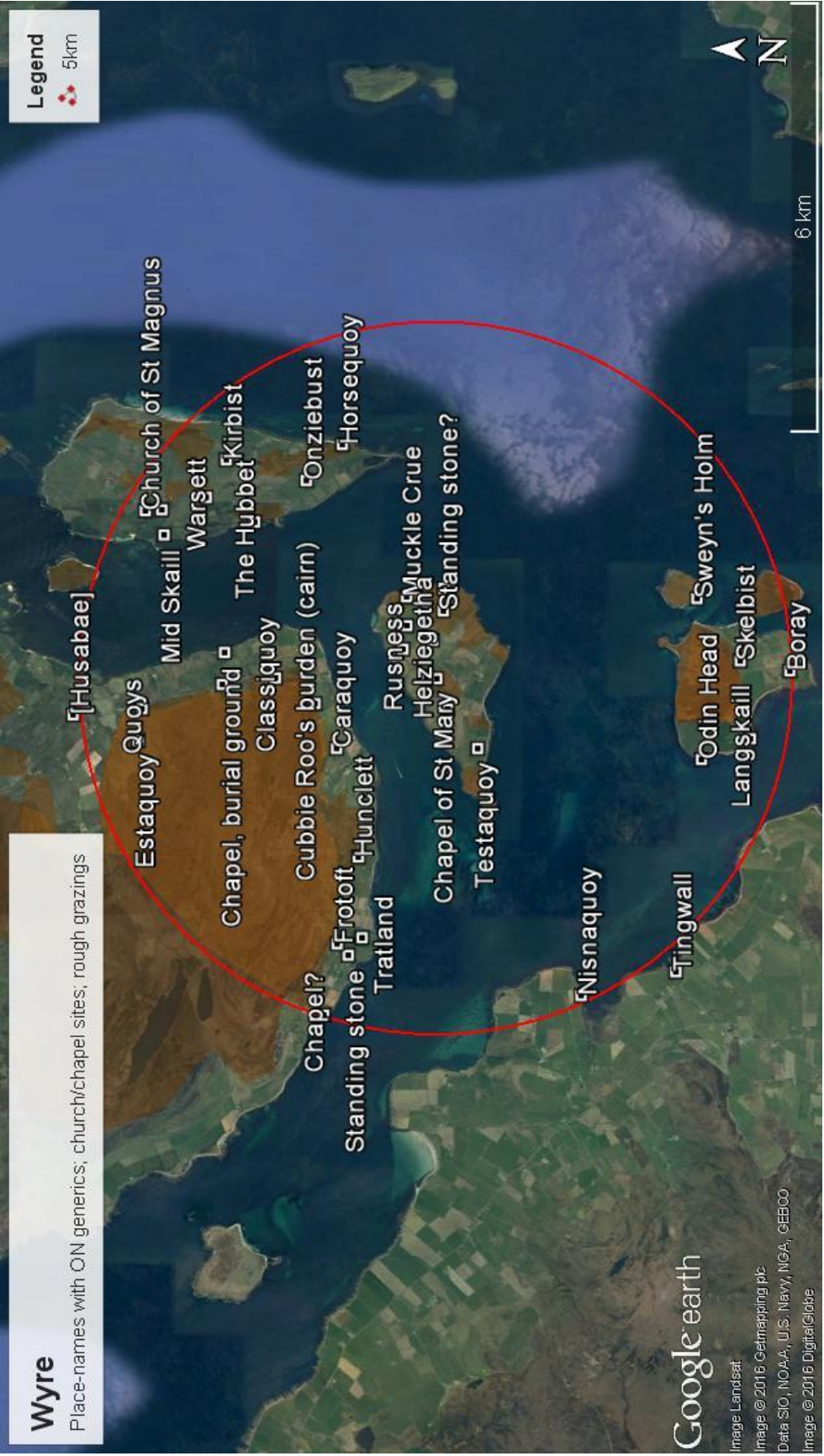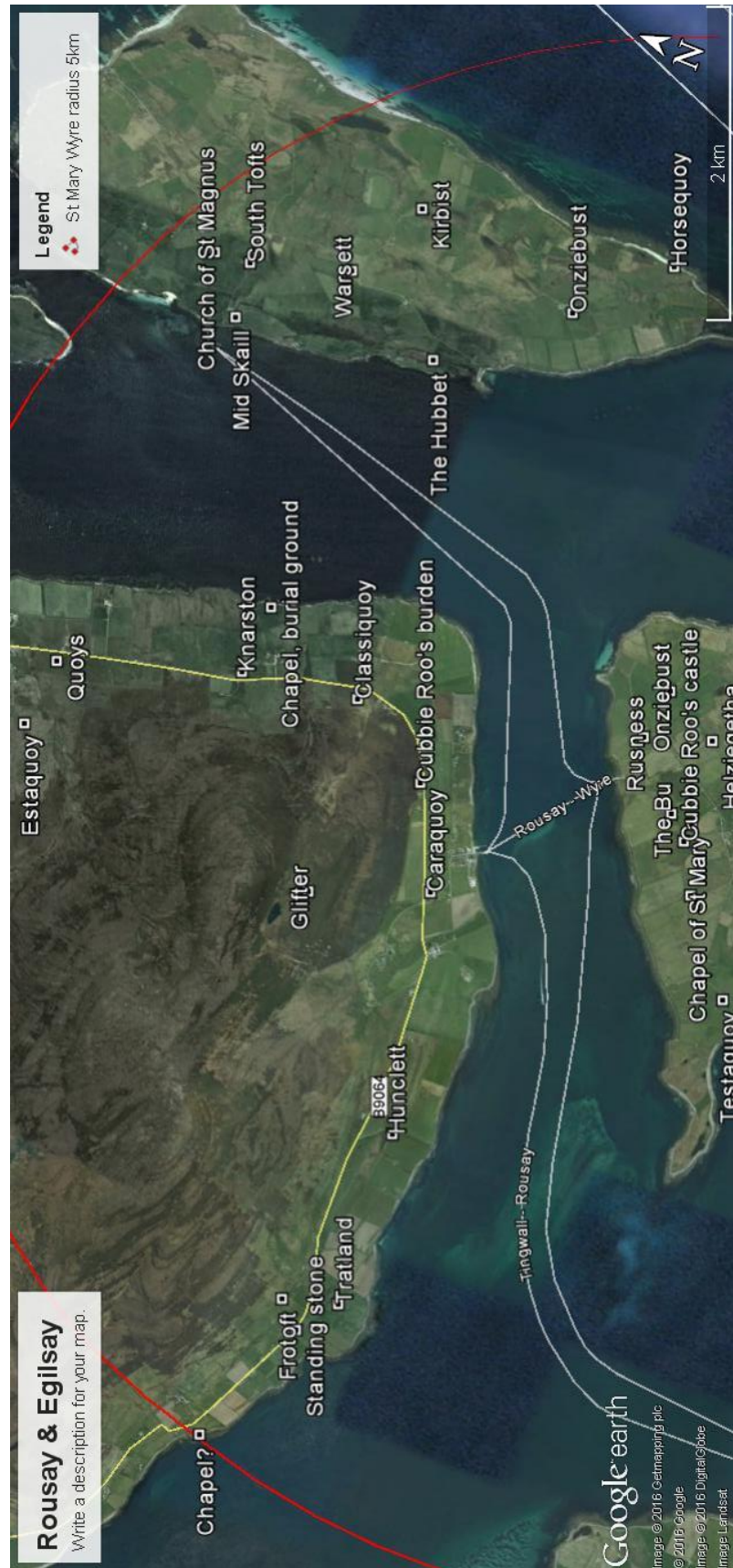
© GOOGLE EARTH

Norse habitative settlement place-names and local monuments marked; detail of Rousay (NW), Egilsay (NE) and Wyre (S). © Google Earth
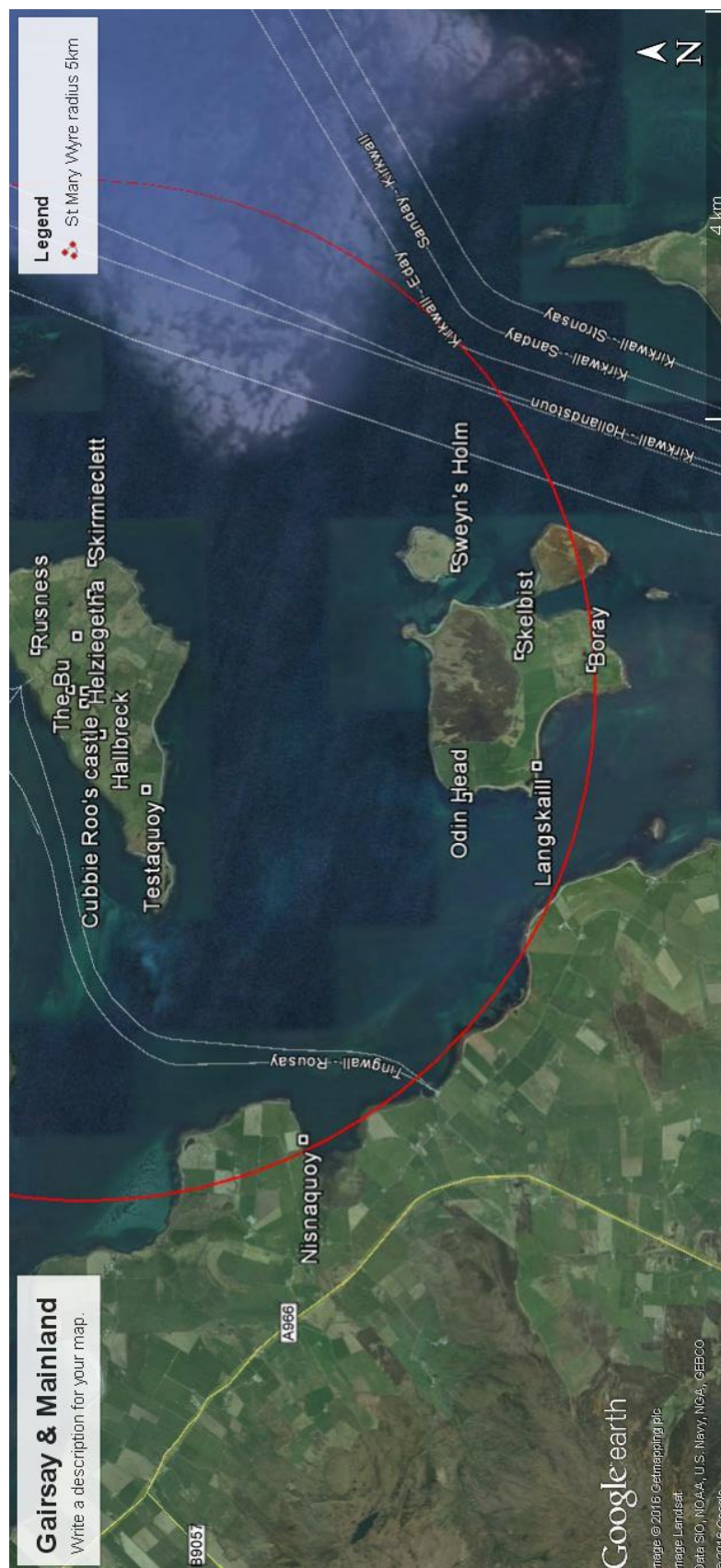
NORSE HABITATIVE SETTLEMENT PLACE-NAMES AND LOCAL MONUMENTS MARKED; DETAIL OF MAINLAND (SW), GAIRSAY (S) AND WYRE (N). © GOOGLE EARTH

The island of Gairsay is within proximity of Wyre and is known to have featured a high-status hall in the time of *Orkneyinga saga* (Figure 33). The island features three farm-sites with Norse place-name generics: Boray, Langskaill and Skelbist. The ON elements of Langskaill may be ON *lang*, 'long', and the *skáli* name. Skelbist may represent another *skáli* name alongside *bú*, the shortened term for *bú-staðir*. An undated chapel site was recorded in the settlement of Langskaill until the 19th century.[551] It is possible, though unverified, that this chapel was coeval with St Mary on Wyre, and would therefore comply with the notion that the chapel served the island's magnate at the chief farm. As already mentioned, Gairsay was Sveinn Ásleifarson's estate in Orkney. However, no dating evidence is apparent for this site, and the lost chapel may have been earlier (e.g. pre-parochial, eremetical) or post-medieval.

There are therefore a total of five confidently-identified high-status sites within proximity of the Wyre site (one *bú-staðir*, two *bólstaðr* and two *skáli*). It is unlikely these owed any degree of social subservience to Wyre, as evidence from Gairsay and Egilsay argues for a different lordship centre close to, but independent from, Wyre. On balance, it seems unlikely that The Bu on Wyre is a high-status settlement given the lack of specific in the name; it is sited on a mound with possible midden material evident, but this does not preclude it being an older, differently-named settlement. Gairsay was a separate unit of lordship. Given that the relationship between Egilsay and the district of Sourin has been argued convincingly by Thomson, the farms within this district are not likely to fall within the lordship of Wyre. The viewshed projection, furthermore, does not seem to suggest a visual relationship between Sourin and Wyre; rather, the emphasis is on the sound between the N and W (Figure 34). Importantly too, it does not appear that the site is within visual grasp of the wider Stronsay Firth to the SE; Cubbie Roo's location on Wyre suggests its orientation was towards Rousay and, to a lesser extent, Egilsay to the NE and Mainland to the SW. It is not a coincident to find the architectural profile of St Magnus, Egilsay clearly visible from the site of Cubbie Roo's (Figure 30). Of additional interest is the relative proximity to Wyre of the assembly site at Tingwall (ON *þingvöllr*, 'thing [assembly] field'), probably the site of a local assembly; the main *þing* was at Kirkwall.[552]

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[551] J.R. Tudor, *The Orkneys and Shetland; their past and present state* (London, 1883), p.343.
[552] Sandnes, *From Starafjall to Starling Hill*, p.152.
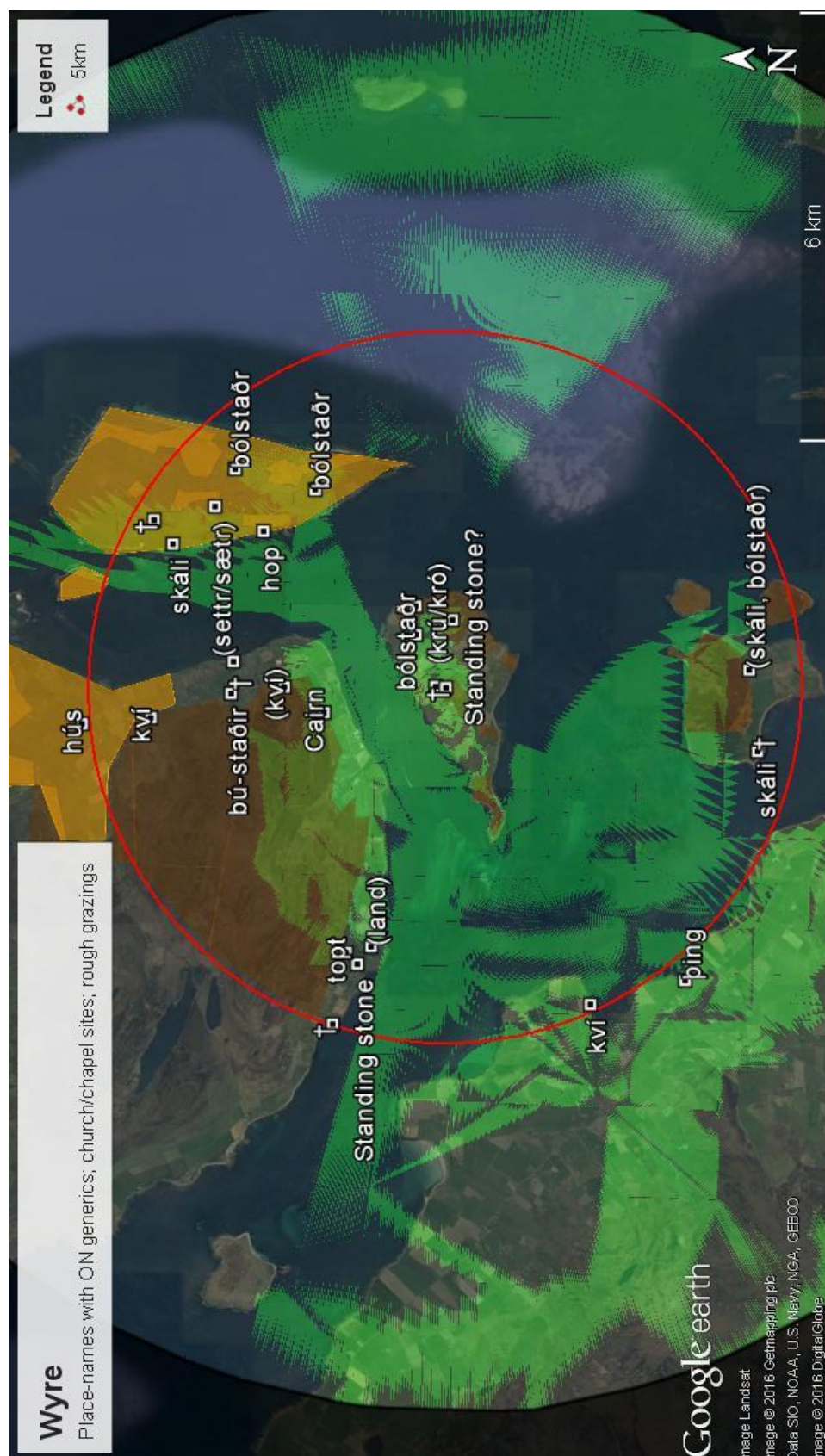
Norse habitative settlement place-names and local monuments marked. The lands marked in orange represent the land unit, Sourin, which Thompson identified as belonging to the episcopate. Rough grazings from HLA map. © Google Earth

5.5.3.3 Finds from Cubbie Roo's castle and chapel of St Mary

Several finds possibly relating to Wyre's medieval occupation have been recovered from the island, though these have not been the subject of detailed study. Finds around Wyre hint at widespread medieval occupation. The rim of a steatite (soapstone) vessel, a material associated but not exclusive to areas of Norse settlement, was catalogued in 1943, alongside a bronze nail, possibly from a mound in the area of Testaquoy, Wyre.[553] When Cubbie Roo's castle and the nearby St Mary chapel were cleared by the Ministry of Works in the 1930s, eighteen finds, individual and assemblages, were uncovered and survive today. These were donated to the predecessor of the National Museum of Scotland.[554] Unfortunately, the artefacts' find-spots and contexts were not recorded, and there is uncertainty about whether some were found in the castle or the chapel.

Nevertheless, these objects offer some insight into the history of both 'castle' and chapel. Fragments of mail, dated to between 12th-15th centuries, have received the most attention.[555] These were recovered from the rubble close to the S wall of the chapel, just W of the W window of this wall, very likely from a bench in the chapel.[556] The mail may represent fragments of a mail shirt, though this is speculative: their only discussed parallel in Scotland is to a smaller assemblage from the chapel at Barhobble, Wigtownshire.[557] Another fragment of mail was recovered from a pit, possibly used for Norse-period seaweed storage, on Brough of Birsay.[558] Though no substantial detail can be teased from the Wyre mail, its textile impression bears similarities to examples from Anglo-Saxon and Viking samples from graves in Britain.[559] The uncertainty over its provenance may be extended to the other finds from Wyre. These include a jetton, featuring a forward-facing profile of a fleur-de-lys-crowned face and shoulders. It has been identified as a silver penny of King Magnús Eriksson, Norway, and dated c.1320–1340.[560] Its presence on Wyre need not corroborate a 14th-century construction, for the item could have had a long circulation prior to its burial or loss, but it does confirm a later medieval occupation. Furthermore, jettons are typically used in medieval accounting, which accords with the interpretation of the Wyre site in parallel with the Jamtland exemplars already discussed. Other finds include a stone mould, a bone handle, fragments of clay crucibles, an annular brooch, fragments of copper alloy (including a decorated piece), a fragment of a bell, and groups of pottery sherds which have been identified

[553] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/2652> [Accessed 7/4/16].
[554] Anon., 'Donations to and purchases for the museum, 1939-40', *PSAS*, 74 (1940), p.148.
[555] NMS Collections H.HX 852.
[556] Orkney Library and Archive, Miscellaneous small gifts and deposits, Kirkwall, MS D1/849/7, W. Cormack, 'The iron mail from Wyre, Orkney'. Notes for private circulation, Tankerness House.
[557] W.F. Cormack, J. Clark, L. Barnetson, 'Barhobble, Mochrum - Excavation of a Forgotten Church Site in Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 70 (1995), pp 80, 96.
[558] J.R. Hunter, *Rescue excavations on the Brough of Birsay, 1974-1982* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp 199, 206-7.
[559] Cormack, Clark, Barnetson, 'Barhobble, Mochrum - Excavation of a Forgotten Church Site in Galloway'.
[560] Stuart Campbell, National Museum of Scotland, pers. comm. (6/4/16).

as broadly medieval and 'broch pottery'.[561] This last may suggest that Wyre, like many areas of Norse settlements, was located close to or superimposed upon early- and pre-historic sites. The setting of Cubbie Roo's castle in the immediate landscape is similar to that of broch sites more generally: Knowe of Hunclett and North Howe, both on Rousay, have tentatively been identified as brochs, being turf-covered hillocks with traces of walling evident. Such arrangements may be interpreted as symbolic statements, but in a landscape of limited quality soil, may more likely represent the reuse of space. The evidence for metalworking is comparable to Tuquoy, Earl's Bu and Freswick Links.

Returning to the finds, it is possible to suggest one important feature; whether the finds were recovered from the chapel or the 'castle', it is unlikely that they were deposited/lost any great distance from either site. If items were recovered from the 'castle', this is especially important given that it is unlikely any rubbish or soil would be removed from elsewhere, taken up the slope to the site and dumped. If some or all of these objects were dumped inside the 'castle', they must come from the immediate vicinity of the site, from where there is good evidence of later medieval occupation in the secondary walls running off the central tower. This raises the possibility that the central part of the castle, the square building, may have been abandoned while the outer elements were still occupied. It is likely that a broch was situated at the site of the castle, based on finds of 'broch pottery' and the elevated, mounded position of the site.

5.5.3.4 Summary

Cubbie Roo's can confidently be indentified as a late, 14th-16th-century site with concrete evidence for occupation (coin), possible earlier 12th-13th-century medieval occupation (saga references, to a lesser extent mail fragments). Broch pottery hints at an older occupation. Unsurprisingly, the highest point on a long-occupied island, whose evidence stretches back to the Neolothic, evidences an array of occupational phases. One of these may represent the *steinkastala* of *Orkneyinga saga*, but there is no unambiguous architectural evidence *in situ* to suggest its remains survive above the surface today. On the other hand, if the remains preserve elements of 12th-century masonry (as Thacker's preliminary mortar assessment argues for), then it is imperative to more seriously consider the architectural parallels between the Wyre castle and those of surviving 12th-century stone towers in Jamtland (see Figure 17). On this basis, Cubbie Roo's may well preserve in its primary phase a 12th-century stone tower, and likely that referenced in *Orkneyinga saga*. Certainly the dimensions and wall thickness of Cubbie Roo's compares favourably with the Jamtland towers.

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[561] NMS Collections stone mould: H. HX 258; bone handle: H.HX 135; clay crucibles: H.HX 252, H.HX 253; annular brooch: H.HX 242; fragments of copper alloy: H.HX 247, decorated piece (bronze tag): H.HX 244; bell fragment: H.HX 246; sherds of pottery: H.HX 258.

5.5.4 Thurso *kastali*

There is a single reference in the *saga* which refers to the *kastali* of Thurso. Dated to 1154, it is as follows:

> They were to get together at a certain castle in Thurso ["*kastala einum í Þórsá*"], to talk things over alone, though each was to have the same number of men stationed outside the castle. They had a long discussion and got along well together. This was the first time they had met since the return of Rognvald from his travels. As evening drew on, Earl Rognvald learned that Earl Harald's troops were armed and approaching the castle ["*kastalanum*"], but Earl Harald said it was nothing to worry about. Then they heard the sound of fighting outside, and rushed out to find out that Thorbjorn Clerk had turned up with a strong force and had attacked Earl Rognvald's men the moment they met. The Earls shouted for them to stop fighting and people came from the town ["*staðnum*"] to keep them apart, but thirteen of Rognvald's men were killed and he himself was wounded in the face.[562]

The 1780 edition relates each term thus: "*kastala nockrum í Þorsá*", "*kastalanum*", "*stadnum*".[563] As with the two earlier *kastalar*, the extract here focusses not on the *kastali* but on events for which it forms a context. What differs from the Thurso example is that neither the site, nor its inhabitants/occupiers, is introduced before the action of the narrative takes place. Rather, the presence of the *kastali* is more obviously noted as a point of reference within Thurso (whatever form the settlement may have taken). We might take this to mean several things. Firstly, it may indicate a widely-appreciated visibility and/or knowledge about the *kastali* of Thurso. The distinction between *kastali* and *staðnum* suggests a distance between the two. Such appreciation may have extended beyond the immediate community of Thurso, and we may take the frequency with which Thurso is mentioned in the *saga* as indicative of its importance in the Earldom. Secondly, if the topographical/geographical 'signposting' of Thurso's *kastali* is accepted, then we may further reflect on the deployment of references to *kastalar* in the two sites discussed earlier. Are the monuments themselves, in whatever form they may have taken, to be tied with the characters with which they are associated? Or are they simply visual entities marking a landscape with which the audience was implicitly familiar (if not, then why detail them at all?), a kind of reference which would speak to a world without modern mapping? Evidently, the reference to Thurso is different from those of Damsay and Wyre, but the reason for this may only be tentatively interrogated.

Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, though not directly referencing the *kastali* in Thurso, offers an interesting additional piece of information. Prior to their flight to Wyre and the *kastali* of Kolbein *hrúga*, the group of men in question murdered Earl Jon Haraldson in Thurso. The two parties in question were meeting to discuss sharing power and land in Orkney as per earlier arrangements

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[562] *OrkSag* 94, pp 193-4; ON: Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, I, p.193.
[563] 1780 edition: Jónsson, Thorkelín, *Orkneyinga Saga: sive, Historia Orcadensium*, p.350.

between leading figures in the earldom: "In the autumn [of 1231], both parties went over to Caithness, to Thurso; and each party had its own quarters [*sín herbergi*]."[564] After a drunken threat was made towards them, the murderers-to-be "[...] sprang at once to their weapons, and attacked with fire and violence the lodging in which the earl lay. The earl leapt into an underground closet, and thought to save himself so [...]. Snækoll found the earl beside a barrel, and they slew him there. There fell some of the earl's men."[565] We may infer, with the usual caveats, that the earl was staying in a commodious building, given the presence of his retinue nearby.[566] It is wholly possible that, as Earl, he was staying at the *kastali*, but that this was simply not stipulated or known by the author(s). In general, high-status dwellings in the Norse world tended to take the form of a hall; here, it is implied that the structure in question had a storage space "underground", which may equally mean a space only accessible from above – e.g. a ground floor storage space to a first-floor hall and chamber space, or a ground-floor hall with subterranean basement. Either way, this later extract is a reminder that it is feasible that the "*kastala*" of Thurso may not be physically or abstractly similar to those of Wyre or Damsay. In this sense, the terminology may reflect a status or attributes of the site or complex in question which rises above categories of form and function.

The *kastali* of Thurso is directly referenced, albeit very briefly, in another source. The *Chronicle* of Roger of Howden detailed King William I of Scots' campaign in Caithness against Earl Haraldr Maddaðarson (1201-2).[567] This was a campaign to establish Scottish control over an area previously administered by the Earls of Orkney, though held of the Scottish kings.[568] "[...] before the king [William I] arrived in Caithness, Harold fled to his ships, being unwilling to engage with the king. On this, the king of the Scots sent his army into Turrsham [*ad Turseham*], a town [*villam*] belonging to the said Harold, and destroyed his castle [*castellum suum*] in that place."[569] This reference may be used to confirm the presence of a site recognised by the chronicler as a *castellum*, but what form this took is not clear. It is reasonable, but should not be taken for granted, that the building(s) in question in the *Chronicle* is/are the same as the *saga*. For example, the proximity of Scrabster Castle (see below) to the historic core of Thurso might lead to the chronicler unfamiliar with the distinction to label one as the other, though a reading of the quote opening this section could lead towards an identification of the *kastali* in question with Scrabster

[564] Anderson, *Early sources for Scottish history*, II, p.481; ON from Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, II, pp 149-50, ch.170.

[565] Anderson, *Early sources for Scottish history*, II, pp 481-2.

[566] The different manuscript traditions also suggest that some of the attackers' men were killed too: Anderson, *Early sources for Scottish history*, II, p.482, n.3.

[567] Oram, *Domination and Lordship*, p.167.

[568] E.g. B.E. Crawford, 'The bishopric of Orkney within the Archdiocese of Trondheim, 1152/3-1472', *New Orkney Antiquarian Journal*, 4 (2009), pp 50-1.

[569] H.T. Riley, *The annals of Roger de Hoveden* (London, 1853), II, p.392; Latin version: W. Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene* (Cambridge, 2012), IV, p.10.

Castle.[570] All in all, the documents do not clarify a great deal from a structural perspective, but rather offer a wider array of possibility.

5.5.4.1 Archaeology

There is no compelling, or even tentative, archaeological evidence for the Thurso *kastali*. Its exact location is not known. Thurso East Castle, on the east side of the river, 0.6km from Church of St Peter, dates to the 19th century. Its predecessor was built in the 1664, but it is not clear if there was an earlier structure on the site. An alternative to this last, Ormlie Castle, is a site on the west side of the river, closer to the historic core of the burgh (0.9km from the Church). Excavations in the 19th century revealed foundations and a well which had been filled in and destroyed.[571] The only trace of the castle, apart from the 19th-century note recording the excavation, is the presence of street names nearby ('Castlegreen', 'Castle Gardens, 'Castle Street'). The 1871-3 *Name Book* for Caithness notes that local belief was that the castle was destroyed by fire in 1714.[572] A third postulated castle site is within the small area near the Church of St Peter considered to be the oldest part of Thurso.[573] Centres of authority with secular and religious pairings are evidenced elsewhere, and going back to the 12th-13th centuries – Kirkwall (Cathedral, Bishop's Palace) and, with better 15th-16th-century evidence Dornoch (Cathedral, Bishop's Palace).[574] However appropriate the analogy, there is no evidence in Thurso to support it. Modern development of Thurso in the 1970s, across much of the medieval centre around the Church, was unrecorded.[575] It is likely this has severely impacted the archaeological record. The documentary references make all of the above, with Scrabster, the possible site of the Thurso *kastali*.

The Church of St Peter in Thurso is ascribed to the 12th century on basis of analogy with St Margaret's chapel at Edinburgh Castle, or the early 13th century by association with Gilbert Bishop of Caithness (d.1245).[576] The oldest element of the church is said to be at the E end, by the apse. The discovery of a rune-inscribed 12th-century cross slab at the site in the 19th century appears to

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[570] It has been argued that the place-name origin of 'Thurso' may be *Þórsgaugr*, 'Thor's mound'. Given the central location of the Church of St Peter in Thurso, likely the historic core of the burgh, it is tempting, though currently unverifiable, to suggest that there was a pre-/early-historic mound in this immediate neighbourhood which gave the settlement its name. W.F.H. Nicolaisen, 'Scandinavian and Celts in Caithness: the place-name evidence', J. Baldwin (ed.), *Caithness: a cultural crossroads* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp 84-5. This would mean that all the *kastalar* mentioned in *Orkneyinga saga* were sited on artificial or scarped mounds.

[571] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/8429/thurso-princes-street-castlegreen-manse-castle-of-ormlie> [Accessed 10/4/16]

[572] NRS, Ordinance Survey name books, Edinburgh, MS Caithness, OS1/7/11/113.

[573] Highland Council HER, <http://her.highland.gov.uk/SingleResult.aspx?uid=MHG32261> [Accessed 11/4/16]

[574] Dornoch: R. Oram, 'Prelatical builders from the twelfth to sixteenth century', in R. Oram, G. Stell (eds), *Lordship and architecture in medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2003), p.10.

[575] J. Scholfield, A. Vince, *Medieval towns: the archaeology of British towns in their European setting* (Leicester, 2003), p.16.

[576] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/8428> [Accessed 10/4/16].

have garnered more attention than the building itself, but also argues for an earlier building at the site.[577] Interestingly, one assessment of the Church suggests that the tower currently housing a staircase is in fact an original feature of the church (Figure 35). One reason for the odd arrangement of tower and church, for which there is no evidence to suggest a different phase (both respect each other, and there is no break in the masonry), may be to do with where the tower was seen from; the authors suggest it may be to be seen from the mouth of the Thurso river.[578] In scale its nave is twice the size of St Magnus, Egilsay, and slightly larger than that of the lost archdeacon's church on Shetland at Tingwall.[579] The scale of the building compared to other local churches argues for St Peter's operating as more than a parish church. The presence of Scrabster Castle to the west (with its episcopal connection; more below), and the saga references to a *kastali*, make it possible that it operated as a cathedral of sorts for Caithness prior to the imposition, by Scottish monarchs, of a Scottish episcopate to counter the authority of the earls and bishops of Orkney.

FIGURE 35: PLAN OF ST PETER'S CHURCH, THURSO
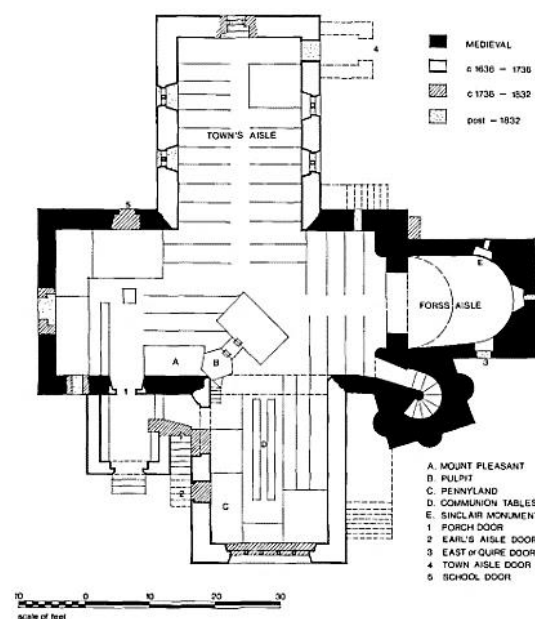
THE EARLIEST SECTION IS LABELLED 'FORSS AISLE'. THE TOWER (BELOW AND LEFT OF FORSS AISLE) HAS BEEN SUGGESTED TO BE CONTEMPORANEOUS TO THE EARLIEST E SECTION, ITS UNUSUAL ALIGNMENT POSSIBLY FOR THE MORE STRIKING VISUAL IMPACT IT HAD ON THE BURGH AND WIDER LANDSCAPE. NO CARDINAL POINTS MARKED. © GORDON SLADE, WATSON, SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND

The peculiar arrangement of the tower at the Church offers an additional possibility regarding the *kastalar* discussed in the two extracts above. Both extracts appear to imply the proximity the

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[577] H. Gordon Slade, G. Watson, 'St Peter's Kirk, Thurso, Caithness c 1150-1832', *PSAS*, 119 (1989), pp 297-8. Date ascribed in recent *Early Medieval Carved Stones* project (2016): NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/8435/thurso-st-peters-church> [Accessed 11/4/16]

[578] Gordon Slade, Watson, 'St Peter's Kirk, Thurso', p.307.

[579] Gordon Slade, Watson, 'St Peter's Kirk, Thurso', p.302.

kastala/castellum were within the *staðnum/villa* of Thurso. *Orkneyinga saga* is at pains to stress that the two men in question were meeting to arrange a truce or broker peace. A usual forum for this meeting, in the Norse sphere and the wider medieval world, was a church or chapel.[580] Perhaps the meeting in question took place in the Church of St Peter. Clouston suggested that *kastala* may be understood as 'tower', but this has been disproven by Grieve. It is unlikely that the tower at St Peter's represents the *kastali* of *Orkneyinga saga*; we may simply conclude that the presence of an early ecclesiastical centre in the core of Thurso may also suggest that the building(s) mentioned in the *saga* and Howden were probably located nearby; contemporary Norwegian evidence examined earlier suggests that urban *kastali* (whatever form these took) were not uncommon. This is useful when assessing the landscape, for it is possible to more confidently say that the *kastali* was at the heart of Thurso.

5.5.4.2 Landscape

The area around Thurso reflects Norse habitative settlement, though not as clearly as the Orcadian examples discussed above (Figure 36). More generally, Norse settlement in NW Caithness, though recognised as being important, is archaeologically less well-represented than the E portion of the county.[581] Nevertheless, the usual features of a Norse habitative landscape are evident in a 5km radius around the site St Peter's Church. The area immediately around the Church is void of any diagnostic Norse/medieval settlement except for the farm site called Pennyland – preserving its land assessment identity as a revenue-bearing settlement.

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[580] For instance, the meeting of Robert Bruce and John Comyn at Greyfriars Church, Dumfries, or the meeting of earls Hákon and Magnús on Egilsay to broker a peace between the competitors for authority in Orkney: *OrkSag* 47.

[581] O. Lelong, 'Finding medieval (or later) settlement in the Highlands and Islands: the case for optimism', in S. Govan (ed.), *Medieval or later rural settlement in Scotland: 10 years on – conference proceedings* (Edinburgh, 2003), p.8.
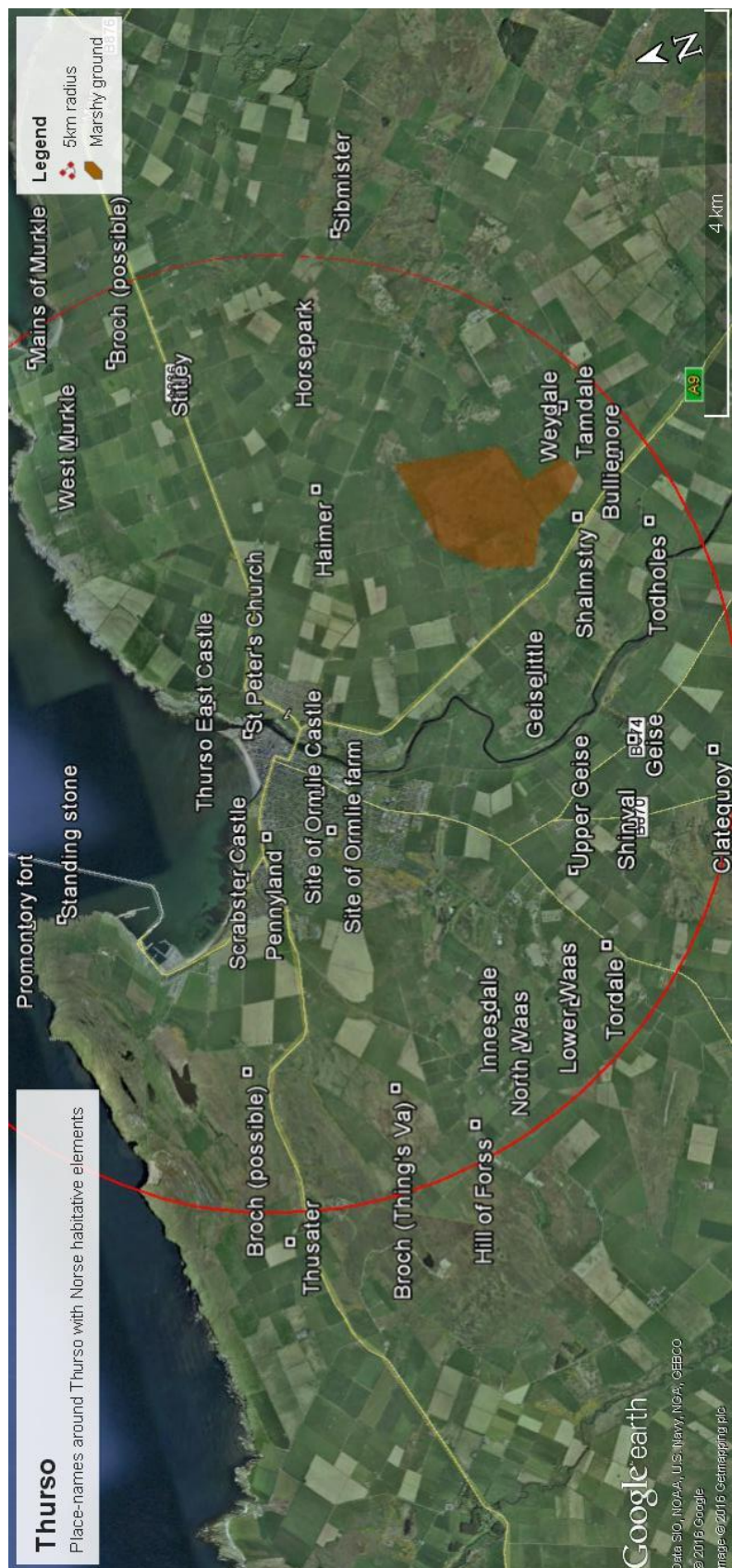
ON HABITATIVE SETTLEMENT PLACE-NAMES AND LOCAL MONUMENTS MARKED. © GOOGLE EARTH; LANDSCAPE INFORMATION © HLA

'ROY HIGHLANDS 1747-52', MAPS CC 5A.441, FF. 37/7F, 38/2A © BRITISH LIBRARY

Apart from 'Leadby' and Thurso, habitation is marked by the presence in the place-name evidence of pastoral farming (Clatequoy, Shalmstry), peat extraction (Tordale) and rural settlements (Haimer, Scrabster). Pennyland's name relates to its status as a taxation revenue-yielding farm, while Thing's Va denotes a possible assembly place close to Thurso. More generally, it is worth noting that the ON elements of the name Thurso do not explicitly identify Norse settlement, yet there is no doubt it was an important lived place during the period in question. This fact serves as a reminder of the limitations, or rather caveats, of using place-name evidence in this context, for the onomastic origin of Thurso (whatever the interpretation) is bereft of obvious status marker. The same may be said of Wick (ON *Vík*, 'bay'). In the case of Thurso, it is possible that its status was in part derived from its proximity to the lost mound.

FIGURE 38: TABLE OF HABITATIVE ON PLACE-NAMES IN 5KM RADIUS CENTRED ON ST PETER'S CHURCH, THURSO

Place-name	Norse habitative element (all information from Waugh)
Clatequoy	*klettr*, 'rock', 'crag' and *kví*, 'place where animals are assembled'
Haimer	*heimr*, 'abode', 'village'
Pennyland	A unit of land in which a certain amount of *skat* (tax) had to be paid.
Scrabster	*skári*, 'young sea-mew', or *Skári*, proper noun, and *bólstaðr*, 'homestead'
Shalmstry	*Hiálmi*, proper noun and *setr*, 'mountain pasture'
Thing's Va	*þing*, 'assembly', and *völlr*, 'field' or *svað*, 'slippery slope'
Thurso, Thurso East	*þurs*, 'giant', and *haugr*, 'mound'
Tordale	*torf*, 'peat', and *dalr*, 'valley'
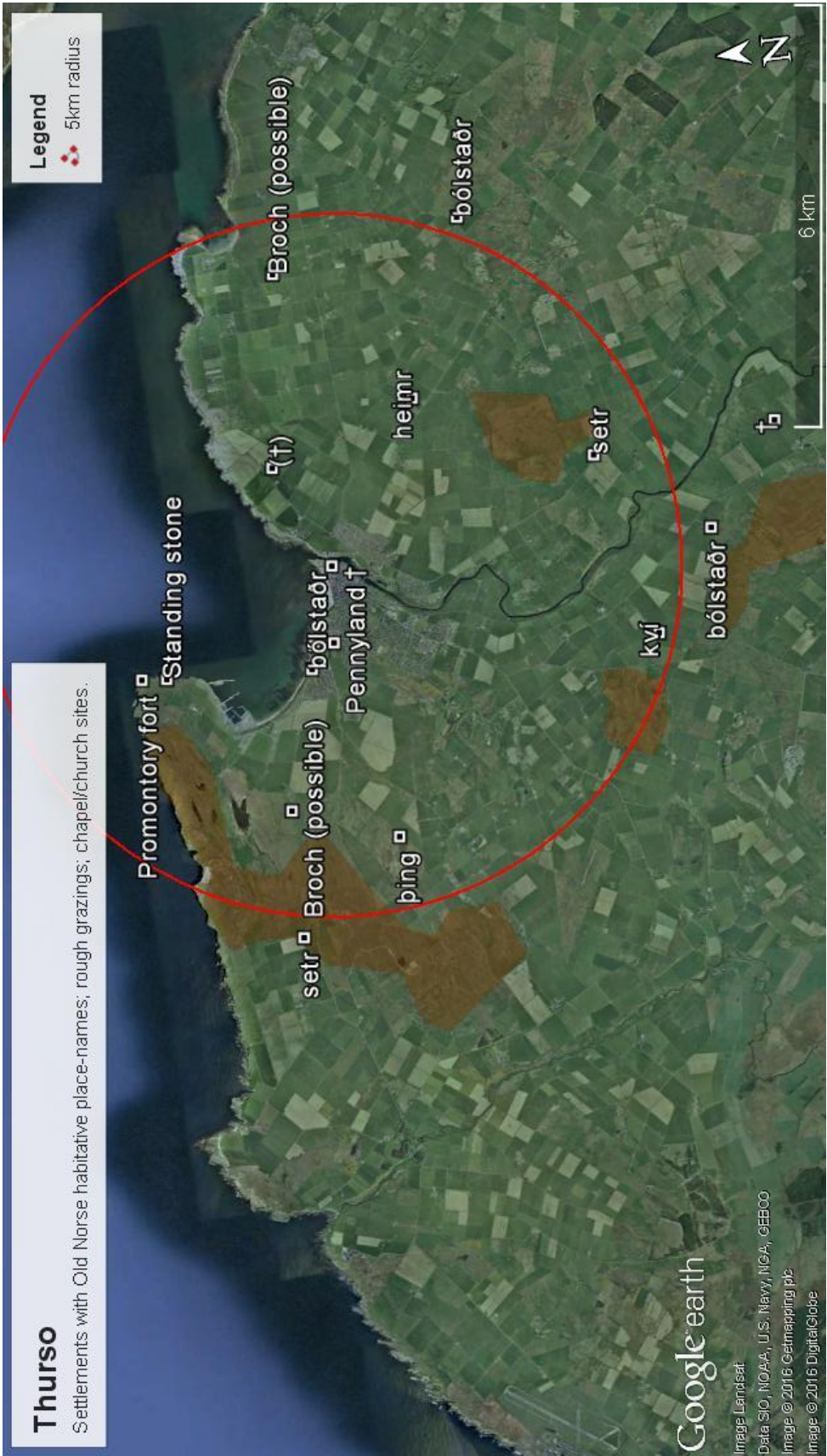
ON HABITATIVE SETTLEMENT PLACE-NAMES, ROUGH GRAZINGS AND CHAPEL/CHURCH SITES MARKED. © GOOGLE EARTH

The density of ON place-names with habitative elements around Thurso is the lowest of the sites examined so far. There are several possible reasons for this being the case, which need not lead us to conclude that Norse settlement in the area was any less intensive than the other areas discussed. For instance, Thurso was an early planned village at the beginning of the industrial revolution, which may have impacted its surrounding landscape.[582] It is perhaps the continuous and changing occupation and exploitation of Thursodale after the 13th century which saw its Norse onomastic landscape altered towards a less monolinguistic character. Waugh noted that the concentration of Scots place-names around Thurso probably reflects the earliest movement of Scots-speakers to centres of commerce.[583] Similarly, the lack of prehistoric monuments may be accounted for in similar processes of loss of evidence (Figure 39). There is a single high-status farm (*bólstaðr*) within proximity of the conjectured *kastali* site. Two further *bólstaðr*-farms lie just outside the radius (to S and ESE). There are few chapel/church sites in the area, which may be connected to the above-mentioned changes of Improvement and industrialisation, or the elevated status of the church in Thurso, preventing the development of local chapels. Interpretation of the viewshed is equally tempered by a changed environment, but in general terms the suggestion of the most recent surveyors of the site is confirmed; its emphasis was indeed towards the sea rather than the land. Importantly Dunnet Head, a significant landmark in the region even in the medieval period, is covered by the viewshed, the nearest point of the Head to St Peter's is c.7.6km (Figure 40).[584] This may be taken to suggest that the *kastali* was oriented towards impressing those travelling by sea from north of Thurso.

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[582] J. Dunlop, 'Pulteneytown and the planned villages of Caithness', in J.R. Baldwin (ed.), *Caithness: a cultural crossroads* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp 131-2.
[583] Waugh, *The place-names of six parishes in Caithness*, p.10
[584] A merchant who registered Dunnet Head as his point of origin was recorded (c.1190 x 1220) as a member of Dublin's merchant guild: P. Connolly, G. Martin (eds), *The Dublin guild merchant roll* (Dublin, 1992), p.39, 'Johannes de Hoirk'.
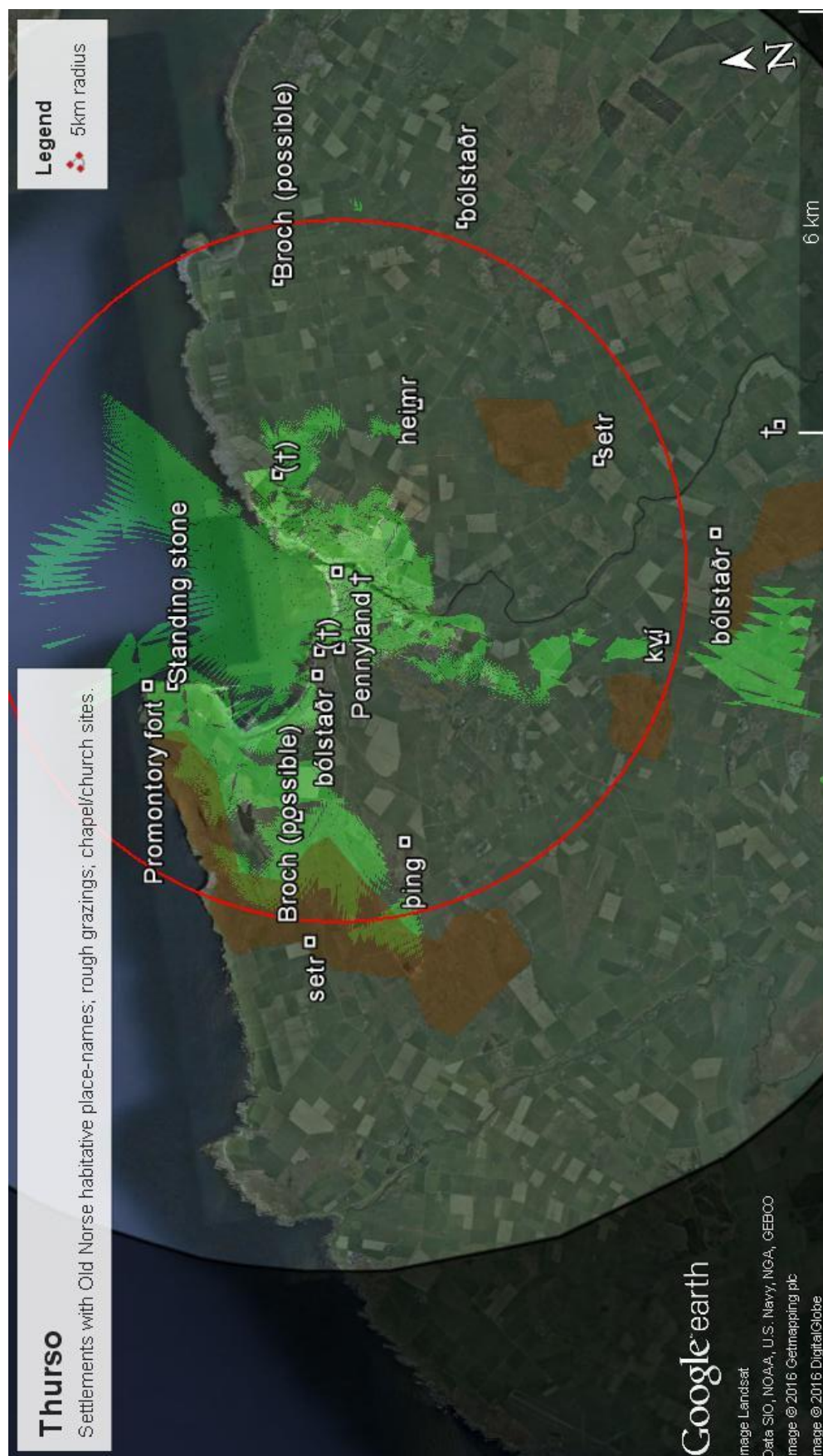
© Google Earth, rough grazings from HLA map. Dunnet Head (not presented here) is visible from any elevated position in central Thurso; it is to the NE. © Google Earth

While Thurso *kastali* is archaeologically absent, the survival of a probable medieval church, along with documents which clearly argue for a *kastali* in the area, allows us to speculate about its location, and therefore its landscape context. While it has hitherto been stressed that the landscape of Caithness has been altered drastically by agricultural changes less apparent in Orkney, it must equally be noted that the evidence may also be communicating a more fundamental difference in how Caithness was ruled and settled in the broad medieval period. While there is no doubt it has a great many similarities with neighbouring Orkney, it is also a different political unit. The more meagre evidence for high-status farms around Thurso may reflect therefore a different context for the development of Late Norse lordship, related to *kastali*, in the district – something different from contemporary Orkney. It may be postulated that the flatter social hierarchy of Orkney is not apparent in Caithness.

5.5.5 Scrabster *borg*

The Scrabster *borg* (later 'Burnside'), ON *Skarabólstaðr*, is mentioned twice, in quick succession in *Orkneyinga saga*.

> Earl Harald got ready to sail from Orkney and, when everything was in order, he steered due south to Thurso and disembarked. In the stronghold [*borginne*] of Scrabster there was a bishop [...]. As the Earl's troops stormed up to the stronghold [*borgarinnar*] from the ships, the bishop set out to give the Earl some kind word of welcome, but what actually happened was that Earl Harald took the bishop captive and had his tongue cut out and a knife driven into his eyes, blinding him.[585]

A papal letter of 1202 enjoined Bishop Bjarni Kolbeinsson to oversee penance of a layman called Lumberd, who had participated in an attack on "*castello* [...] *qui erant in ipso captus est episcopus Catenesie* [...].”[586] As discussed earlier, the site in question is referred to using ON terminology more readily applied to what archaeologists interpret as pre- or early-historic fortified sites or power centres, rather than conventional castles. Furthermore, it may be important to consider that there may have been a deliberate choice reflecting local or regional, political or cultural affiliation or identity in choosing to name the Scrabster site as a *borg*; it need not be problematized in any case. The same may be said of Papal documentation.

5.5.5.1 Archaeology

As its later medieval name suggests, the site was located at the mouth of a burn, but set on a promontory above the burn and by the sea. Its immediate location features few similarities to sites already discussed. Scrabster was excavated in 1971 by Talbot; though a full synthesizing report has not been published, interim reports note several features. The excavated site was in the form of an enclosed irregularly-shaped cobbled courtyard, with buildings ringing the edge,

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[585] *OrkSag* 111; first ON rendering: Jónsson, Thorkelín, *Orkneyinga Saga: sive, Historia Orcadensium*, p.414. It is rendered almost identically in G. Vigfússon, *Icelandic sagas*, I, p.226.
[586] Strom, *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, VII, 1. 'the castle…in which the Bishop of Caithness was taken.'

where 12th-13th-century and later pottery was revealed, while 'broch pottery' was also recovered in lower- sub-cobble layers.[587] A triangular-headed window, with dog-tooth decoration, was said to have been removed from the castle and built into an outbuilding at Scrabster House; it is now at (19th-century) Thurso East Castle.[588] The overall enclosed space may have covered c.1600m[2].[589] A tower, noted in a late 19th-century publication, appears to have been cleared to make way for a pillbox. The excavator noted that pottery found at the site was only paralleled to the sherds recovered from the clearing works at Cubbie Roo's Castle.[590] Though keen to identify the site with that mentioned in *Orkneyinga saga*, the author noted that no structural remains could confirm this assertion, though the artefact finds – pottery from SW France, for instance – went some way to doing so.[591]

5.5.5.2 Landscape

The paucity of dating evidence prevented Historic Scotland from agreeing to the long-implied connection between document and site in earlier works.[592] This reluctance is reasonable, but the case of Sverresborg in Trondheim may offer a comparator for consideration. The lack of a strong Norse archaeological or toponymic context in the landscape makes identification of *Skarabólstaðr* even more difficult; the area around Scrabster is not receptive to the kind of study undertaken in Orkney because it has been too drastically changed in the post-1750 era (Figure 41). Nevertheless, a district somewhat removed from early modern landscape changes, WSW of Thurso, is called Achscrabster (presumably G. *achadh*, 'field', and Scrabster: 'the field of Scrabster') (Figure 42). This implies that the name in its modern form was overlain with a Gaelic form, common in Caithness.[593] What this means is quite difficult to develop; it lies in a different parish to the Castle, but it may signify that there were holdings connected to the castle beyond the arbitrary 5km radius established here.[594]

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[587] E. Talbot, 'A report on excavations at Bishop's Castle, Scrabster, 1973', *Northern Studies*, 2 (1973), p.38.
[588] RCAHMS, *Inventory, Caithness* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp 124-5.
[589] Highland Council's HER website, document identified as coming from study by Sir Frank Mears & Partners (architects): 'Burgh of Thurso – proposals for co-ordinated scheme for improvement to the shore lands', June 1971. The study references the Ministry of Works excavation, and provides a figure of 45m (I assume to indicate diameter) for the ovoid enclosure of the castle. Highland Council, HER <http://her.highland.gov.uk/hbsmrgatewayhighland/DataFiles/LibraryLinkFiles/30618.pdf > [Accessed 11/5/17].
[590] E. Talbot, 'Bishop's Castle, Scrabster, Caithness: an interim excavation report', *Northern Studies*, 1 (1973), p.29. The sherd in question, now at the NMS, is Acc. No. HX 258.
[591] E. Talbot, 'Bishop's Castle, Scrabster, Caithness', p.30.
[592] HES, Designations website <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/SM2630> [Accessed 22/6/16].
[593] Waugh, *The place-names of six parishes in Caithness, Scotland*, pp 7-8.
[594] Waugh did not include Achscrabster in her study of place-names in Caithness; the only *achadh* name she recorded in Thurso parish was Achingills, at the southern end of the parish. The spread of *achadh* names in Reay parish (p.20) does appear to suggest Achscrabster was part of this spread of Gaelic names overlying Norse names. Waugh suggested that Gaelic names overlay Norse names sometime between the arrival of Scots in the E of Caithness in the 14th century and the wider decline of Gaelic in the early 20th century (pp 9-

FIGURE 41: PLACE-NAMES WITH ON GENERICS; CHURCH/CHAPEL SITES; ROUGH GRAZINGS IN VICINITY OF SCRABSTER CASTLE
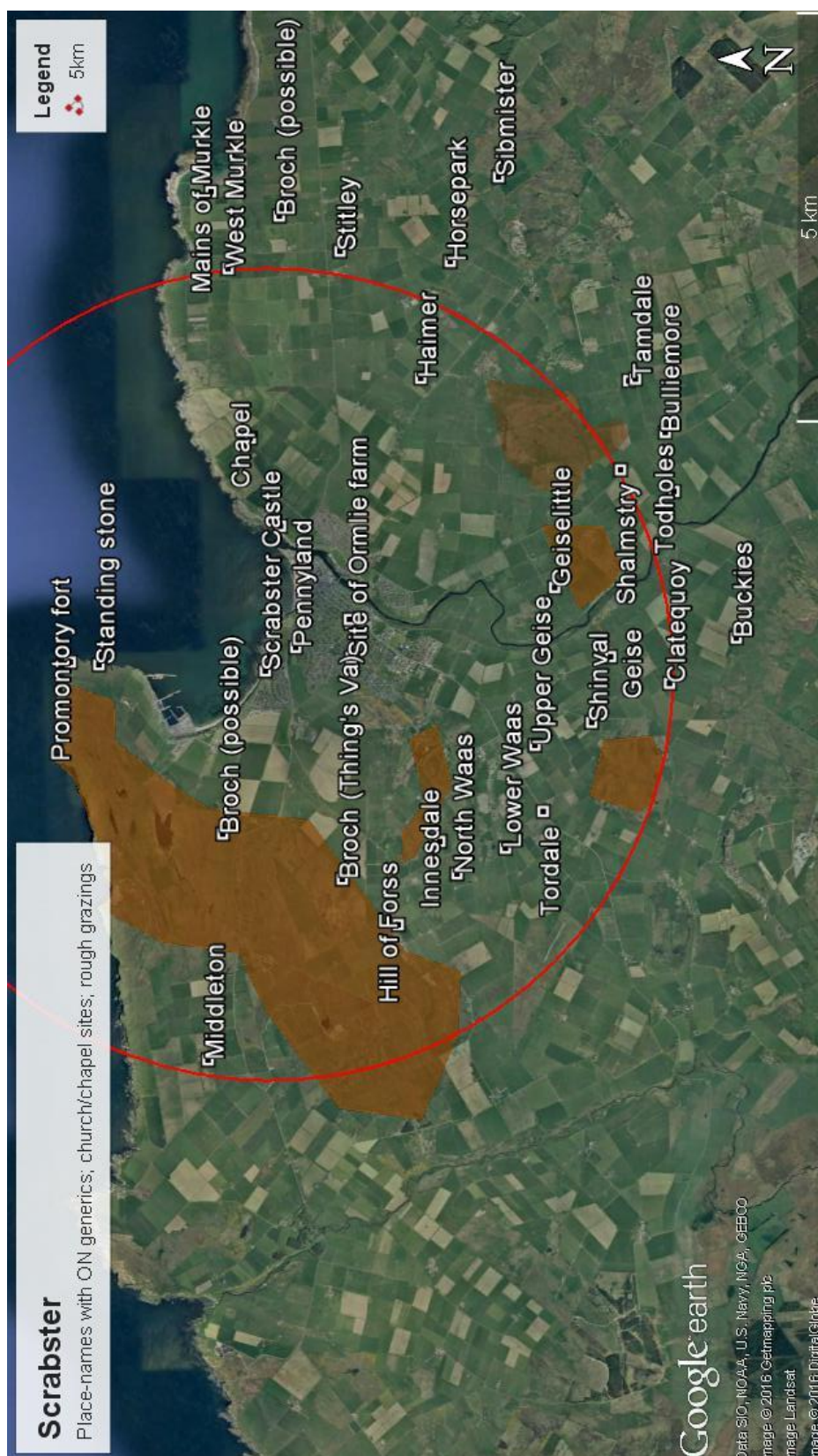
© GOOGLE EARTH, ROUGH GRAZINGS FROM HLA

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10). This broad time frame does not allow much further development of the Achscrabster question. Waugh did, however, note that the spread of Gaelic in Caithness was strongest in the 18th century (p.7).

FIGURE 42: PLACE-NAMES WITH ON GENERICS AROUND SCRABSTER
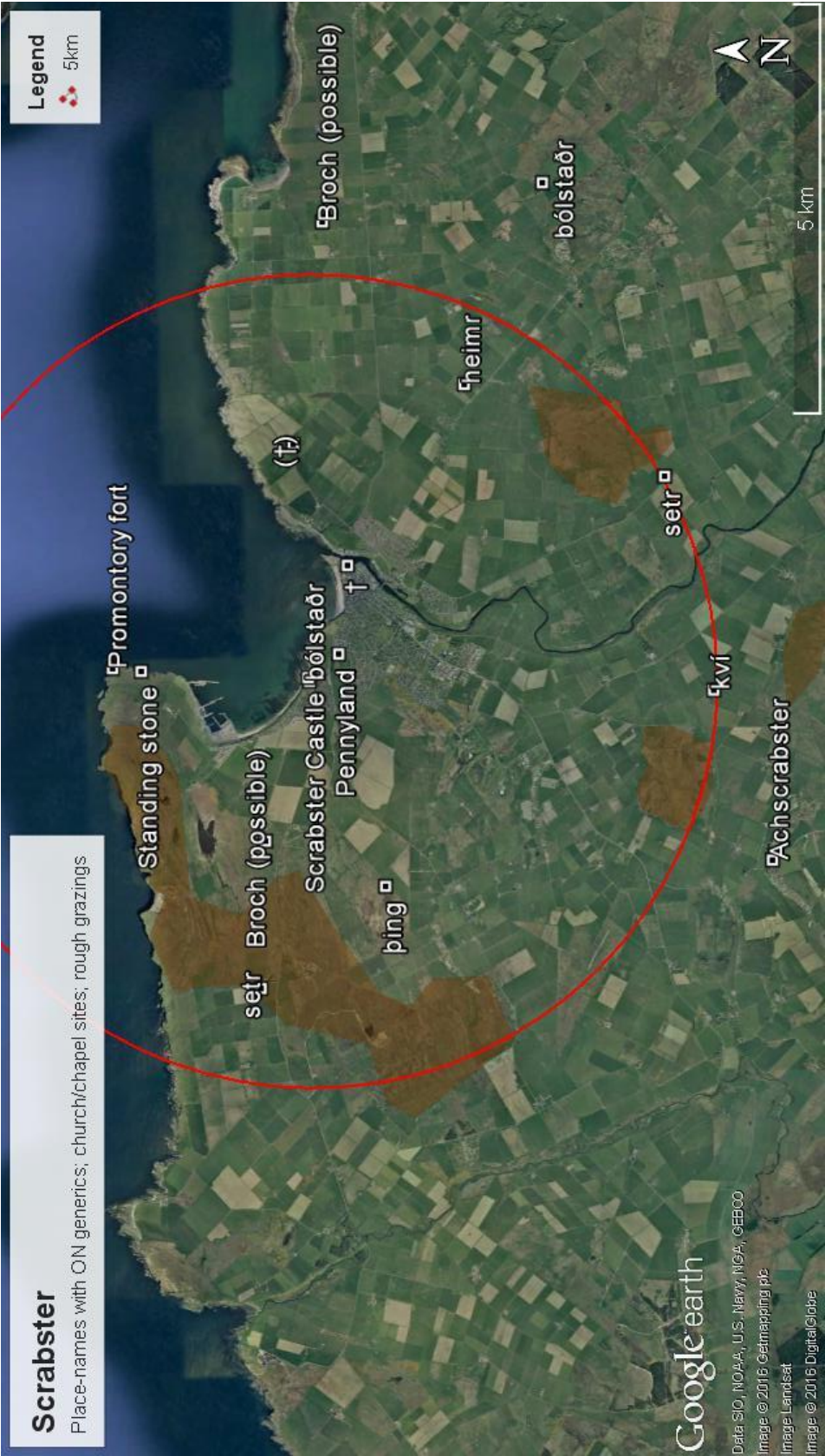
CHURCH/CHAPEL SITES; ROUGH GRAZINGS; LOCATION OF ACHSCRABSTER; PRE-/EARLY-HISTORIC SITES NEAR
SCRABSTER CASTLE © GOOGLE EARTH, ROUGH GRAZINGS FROM HLA

Important, however, is the proximity of Scrabster to both the ecclesiastical centre of northern Caithness, the Church of St Peter in Thurso, as well as the *þing*, 'assembly' site at Thing's Va WSW of the Castle (Figure 42, Figure 43). This aligns with the conventional thinking of castles as multi-functional centres of authority; proximity to existing (whether active or not) centres of power suggests a recognition of the role of those monuments to the wider community. It also reflects a conscious grafting of a new form of architecture into the landscape which draws on the vestigial or real power of those places. Such relations have been hinted at in Jamtland and Orkney. In the immediate vicinity of the site is the *bólstaðr* farm implied in Scrabster's name, as well as the farm of Pennyland. As with the other sites discussed so far, it too is proximate to an important, though not the important, farm in the area. To the west is ample grazing ground to cater for the pastoral element of a farm economy (Figure 43). The Bay of Scrabster is an important landing point for the area of Thurso, and this must be the bay implied in the extract cited above from *Orkneyinga saga*.

Scrabster presents different conclusions from Damsay, Wyre and Thurso. This is partly because of its relationship with the latter. Its possibly unique form in the context of the Earldom need not trouble too greatly, as has been demonstrated from comparable examples in Norway (Sverresborg, Trondheim cathedral). If the site is indeed the product of an aggressive Scottish royal manoeuvre to undermine the authority of the Earl and Bishop of Orkney, then perhaps the proximity to Thurso – a centre for both Orcadian comital and ecclesiastical authorities – is unsurprising. Its presence need not wholly be construed in adversarial terms, either. It is logical for a new authority to base itself near the centre of existing (or past) authority, and indeed the pro-Orcadian *Orkneyinga saga* may colour our view of this site. After all, it was more characteristic than exceptional, according to the *saga*, for Earl Haraldr Maddaðarson to act rashly, and we may take the Pope's communication to the Bishop of Orkney soon after as a measure of the trust placed in the episcopal authorities in the Earldom by an external power. The unilateral decision of King William I of Scotland to attack probably did not receive any papal sanction, illustrating that the ecclesiastical authorities, at least nominally, were not involved in the conflict, thereby suggesting that Scrabster *borg* was not part of it. In the context of this intense focus on the 12th century history of the castle, it is important to recognise its later role. Were archaeological investigations to take place there in the future, these could not only qualify the 12th-century history of the site, but also provide an architectural context for the emergence of a later tower tradition that is argued here to be evidenced at Old Wick, Cubbie Roo's and Forse.

5.5.6 Summary

The archaeology and architecture of *kastalar* referred to in *Orkneyinga saga* in the Earldom do not survive in any meaningful sense, except for the tentative primary phase at Cubbie Roo's. Here it has hitherto been speculated that the sub-square stone structure represents the *steinkastala* of

Kolbein *hrúga*. The basis of this assertion was diagnostic finds loosely connected to the 12th century and the reference in the *saga*. These contribute towards, but do not themselves confirm that Cubbie Roo's is the *steinkastala*. It is only through comparison with surviving archaeology and architecture in Scandinavia that useful 12th-century parallels are favourably compared to the Wyre site; even here, however, there is room to suggest that Cubbie Roo's is a later castle site with numerous parallels in Orkney, Caithness and northern Scotland more widely.

There is little surviving archaeology at the three other sites examined (Damsay, Scrabster, Thurso) to develop a discussion further, except to say that at Scrabster an enclosure-form castle echoes enclosure-form power centres in Norway from the 12th century. As Grieve argued, *kastalar* could be enclosure-form or turriform. Of these three sites, at least two (Damsay, Thurso) which are referred to in *Orkneyinga saga* may have been constructed primarily of timber. The special terminology of the *saga* in referring to the *steinkastala* on Wyre makes it likely that a plain *kastali* may have been composed of non-stone materials. There are documentary references already discussed above from Norway which suggest timber castles were a common phenomenon. Damsay and Wyre have landscapes around their castle sites which are not agriculturally rich. It is likely that if there were sources of wealth exploited by the castles in their vicinity, these were maritime. Though the islands on which they are sited are not wealthy, the islands around them contain numerous high-status, older farm sites probably connected to the aristocracy of the Earldom or the comital family itself. For Thurso and Scrabster the relationships with the terrestrial hinterland are opaque, owing to major Improvement-driven landscape changes. Both also have a maritime facet, however. Both Orkney and Caithness castles studied here share visual relationships with prehistoric monuments and also assembly sites. The secondary settlement context of the castle and associated landscapes, evidently important monuments but on inferior land, suggests that their emergence in the Earldom must have political contexts. The case of Kolbein *hrúga* may be exemplary of how castles appeared. His power was derived from proximity through marriage, alliance and kinship to the comital family based on favours and gifts, rather than traditional, agriculturally-derived wealth. Kolbein may have sought non-traditional means to embody his power by constructing a stone castle in full view of his neighbours around Wyre and the important cult centre of St Magnus at Egilsay. A similar framework of relative positioning in a wealthy landscape is apparent from Damsay.
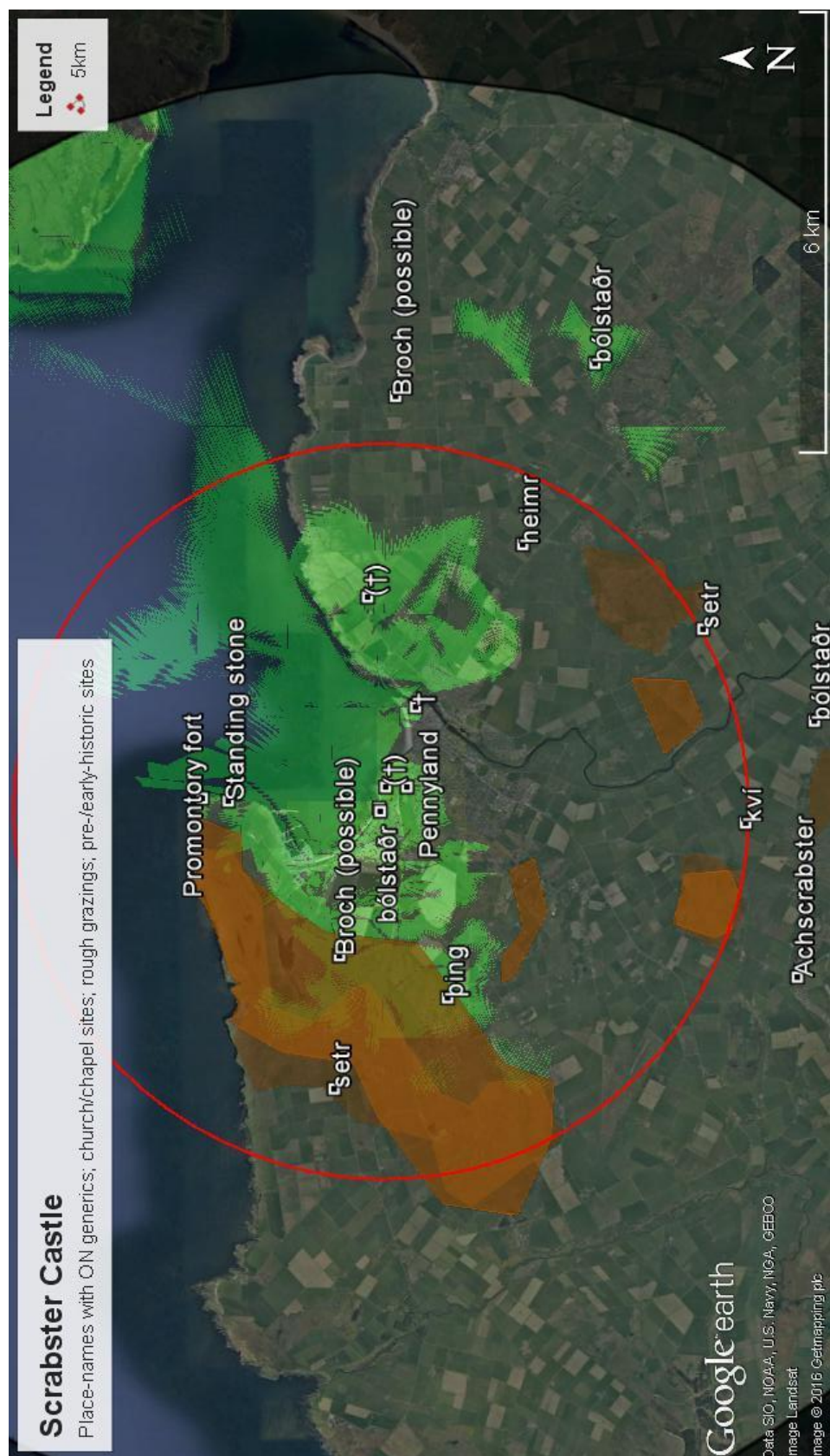
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6 Early stone castles in the Lordship of Galloway

6.1 Introduction

A 2009 article by Richard Smith provides an overview of 'lost' early stone castle sites in the south-west of Scotland, in which the historic district of Galloway is located. Its self-professed aim is to bring to bear the important castles of the region to counter a perception of Scotland's "deviation, or 'missing link' in castle chronology" by presenting important cases illustrating the contrary.[595] While there are problems with Smith's presentation of events, social models and interpretation of archaeology, to be explored further, the article raises important questions about castles in Galloway (only part of the focus of Smith's article). It also presents some of the enduring challenges to castle studies in the lordship.

One relates the theory of castle 'evolution'. Sites, in this language, apparently adopt genetic characteristics akin to living organisms, 'evolve' over the course of decades or centuries, into forms presumably more attuned to the 'survival' of a difficult, changing medieval world.[596] There is not a great pressure to offer a criticism of this language, in the sense that it is plainly influenced by an older emergent scientific method and therefore inappropriate. As has been discussed in many different disciplines, the language of evolutionary biology made its way into popular consciousness in the later 19th century, also impacting emerging disciplines in architectural history and, thereafter, archaeology. This practice extended to the taxonomical categorisation of castle sites, much in the manner of Linnaean botany. While these theories are no longer positively spread (though scholarly debate makes a virtue of their repetition), remnants of their legacy are still apparent, as Smith's article demonstrates. For instance, there is presented an implicit connection between form and socio-economic context which is difficult to undo. Smith's working theory assumes a coherent pattern of planning and management of estate, political development and social change which is improbable, as any discussion of medieval Galloway's context demonstrates.

Similarly, another legacy more opaquely tied to 19th-century thought was the notion that medieval society was in a state of constant social and political upheaval, for which again evidence was found in the numerous 'fortifications' in the landscape and documentary references to conflict. On a very basic level this assumption must be rejected: it is now acknowledged that the 'fortifications' in the landscape reflect not a society at war, but a warrior society – or more specifically, a society whose elites framed their identity in overtly martial terms. The image of fortification, as has been noted frequently in castle studies, does not always or necessarily equate

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[595] R. Smith, 'Evidences for 'lost' thirteenth-century enclosure/courtyard castles in south-west Scotland: an overview assessment and survey', *TDGNHAS*, 83 (2009), p.67. To the contrary of what is also unspecified.
[596] E.g. Smith, ''Lost' thirteenth-century castles', p.68.

with a practical fortification.[597] Rationalising defence as protection "from raids led by neighbouring chieftains or members of a resentful indigenous population" speaks more to colonial attitudes (garnishing again pseudo-scientific ideology) in the British Raj, for instance, than a more sober understanding of the Cunninghame-Carrick border from the 11th-15th centuries – apart from the historical context which suggests no such conflict.[598] Another lingering legacy is a cultural determinism which assumes a connection between form and 'culture'. This is apparent in Scottish archaeology more widely in relation to the settlement of newcomers, termed here immigrants, in parts of the region from the 12th-13th centuries. In the absence of more obvious evidence, it has been assumed that the arrival of immigrants triggered important changes in the wider area. The ill-defined corpus of sites labelled as 'motte' or 'motte-and-bailey' in Scotland is blithely pointed to as proof.[599] Further evidence of this purported influence may also be demonstrated in the fact that sites *prima facie* bearing no relation to immigrants are presented to appear so.[600] More benignly, the terminology of 'motte' and 'bailey' is consciously, albeit cautiously, adopted for descriptive purposes where there is no obvious need to do so – except, by inference, to more comfortably comply with a chronology and cultural connotations associated with a period of history.[601]

Lastly, an enduring challenge is that of terminology and the lack of dialogue about the terminology used. Already, 'motte' and 'motte-and-bailey' are recognised as problematical terms, rightly implying form but also problematic cultural connotations. Given that most castle sites are interpreted *a posteriori* – anecdotal experience incorporating a degree of *a priori* justification (comparable measurements, geographical and topographical location/situation), these terms are useful as short-hand references. But the premises which underpin them are not clearly outlined. While the problems with this in archaeology and architecture are rectifiable through critique of evidence (as below), the lack of definition for matters concerning socio-legal contexts is much more difficult to overcome. 'Feudalism' is often cited or referenced but little time is spent

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[597] Coulson, *Castles in medieval society*, pp 48-9.

[598] Quote: S. Stronach, 'The evolution of a medieval Scottish manor at Perceton, near Irvine, North Ayrshire', *Medieval Archaeology*, 48.1 (2004), p.159; Oram has noted how the de Morville lordship of Cunninghame, along with Lauderdale, was held by Lachlan/Roland of Galloway through marriage to the de Morville heiress Helena, c.1200.

[599] E.g. G. Stell, 'Medieval buildings and secular lordship', in R.D. Oram, G. Stell (eds), *Galloway: land and lordship* (Edinburgh, 1991), p.146; D. Brooke, 'The Glenkens 1275-1456: snapshots of a medieval countryside', *TDGNHAS*, 59 (1984), p.42.

[600] E.g. C.J. Tabraham, 'Norman settlement in Galloway: recent fieldwork in the Stewartry', in D. Breeze (ed.), *Studies in Scottish antiquity presented to Stewart Cruden* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp 87-124, Lochrinnie (p.102), Boreland of Parton (p.111). The author wrestles with reconciling a desire to label the sites as 'motte'/'motte-and-bailey' without conceding that the framework *implied* (but importantly, not *expressed*) is contested.

[601] D.H. Caldwell *et al.*, 'Auldhill, Portencross', *Archaeological Journal*, 155.1 (1998), p.35: the authors make clear they are aware of adopting a problematical terminology, but their reasoning is not convincing on grounds of objectivity.

outlining what it means.[602] For Smith, the iconic 'feudal pyramid' of medieval society presents a sliding scale of wealth and power which is correlated to the size of motte sites in Upper Clydesdale and Eastern Dumfriesshire.[603] The fluctuating state of social relations in the region, inferred by the history of Galloway presented by Oram and those studies in place-names (discussed later) suggest more complex forces were acting on a number of levels in society. Social, economic and political factors were apparent on local, regional and national levels, but also imbued and influenced by larger questions of climate and demography. A lack of evidence for detailed property rights in this period of Galloway may reflect a loss of evidence – which we can be sure of in a monastic context – but may also reflect too a variety of uses and rights of property ownership (written and unwritten), parallel systems operating in different spheres of social interaction and a tradition undergoing dynamic change.[604]

In a discussion of charters for the Lordship of Galloway, Stringer has highlighted how Gaelic lords were losing place (in terms of volume and frequency of appearing as charter witnesses) to Englishmen and Anglo-Normans.[605] In a situation where the appearance of Gaelic lords in Anglo-Norman legal and social contexts would itself be unusual, this is not especially indicative of a change in power between nobles of different cultures in Galloway. Rather, it suggests that the spheres of lordly government and culture in which nobles of different cultural contexts were operating in Galloway were becoming more sharply defined. It is the loss of evidence for how Gaelic lords interacted with the Lords of Galloway that incurs a bias. The enduring role and authority of the 'community' of Gallovidian nobles at key points in the lordship's history (the Gillebrígte-Uhtred split, the ascendency of Roland/Lachlan, the end of the male line after 1234 in Galloway and Carrick in 1256, the support for the Balliol cause in Galloway) testify to a lively and active exercise of power below the level of Lord and Scottish courtly allies who form the minority of the nobility in Galloway. On a local level, Stringer notes this in the faint traces of native Gallovidian law in mairs/serjeants and *judices*.[606] Thus, a 'feudal' context of castle sites in Galloway requires an appreciation for what that context might mean, or at least (within the limits of this study) an in-built appreciation for competing, parallel traditions of ownership and jurisdiction of land, and the role of human agency in harnessing those fluctuations. As discussed

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[602] Reynolds, 'Fiefs and vassals in Scotland: a view from outside,' p.183.

[603] Smith, ''Lost' thirteenth-century castles', p.69. It is worth highlighting that both areas were the subject of targeted surveys which may present a bias in the evidence compared to neighbouring regions not so closely examined. Upper Clydesdale was surveyed by C. Tabraham, 'Norman settlement in Upper Clydesdale: recent archaeological fieldwork', *TDGNHAS*, 53 (1977-8), 114-28; Eastern Dumfriesshire was the subject of survey and eponymous book by RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire: an archaeological landscape* (Edinburgh, 1997).

[604] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.91; R. Congost, 'Property rights and historical analysis: what rights? What history?', *Past & Present*, 181 (2003), p.93.

[605] K.J. Stringer, 'Acts of lordship: the records of the Lords of Galloway to 1234', T. Brotherstone, D. Ditchburn (eds), *Freedom and authority, Scotland c.1050-c.1650* (East Linton, 2000), p.210.

[606] Stringer, 'Acts of lordship', p.208.

below, the agency of leaders in Galloway and the wider world of northern Britain at the time cuts across historical models of society presented by earlier historians (and apparent in certain works cited above). Society as a 'feudal pyramid' in medieval Galloway was therefore not necessarily feudal or a pyramid. For the castle sites of Galloway, therefore, this demands a renewed interrogation of the sources at hand to establish what may be said about these sites.

6.1.1 Topography

As has already been outlined, the precise extent of the Lordship of Galloway is not known from contemporary sources but may be inferred by later documents as encompassing the counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, and until c.1190 the district of the county of Ayrshire historically identified as Carrick, its northern boundary defined by the River Doon. The origins of Carrick as a unit within the Lordship are obscure but may be hinted at in a charter of Malcolm IV reiterating to Kelso Abbey grants of *cain* of cattle, cheese and pigs from the four *kadrez* of Galloway. The earlier charter of David I to Glasgow cathedral gives *cain* from Galloway and names four districts, which are likely to be those *kadrez* of the aforementioned charter: Strathgryfe, Cunningham, Kyle and Carrick.[607] These charters may also hint at an earlier relationship dynamic between Scottish kings and Lords of Galloway, with degrees of proximity to the respective political centres (eastern lowlands and the dual Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire centres) dictating the extent to which resources could be exploited and power exerted.[608]

The southern portion of historic Galloway – the counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown – is characterised by river valleys running roughly north-south. Sequentially from east to west the Nith, Urr, Dee, Water of Fleet, Cree and Water of Luce form greater or lesser boundaries, defining smaller units of land; in Carrick the Stinchar and Doon are the largest rivers, emptying into the Firth of Clyde. Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire are divided by a range (Galloway Hills) which represent the western end of the Southern Uplands which span southern Scotland; the Rhinns of Kells divide Glenken in the east from the Cree valley in the west. The Rhinns of Galloway for the westernmost range of hills, the spine of the peninsula in western Wigtownshire. There are two large and four small bays in the area; Wigtown Bay and Luce Bay flank the Machars peninsula. Of the three areas, Kirkcudbrightshire and Carrick are topographically the most extreme, and except for the moderate elevation of the Rhinns of Galloway, Wigtownshire is more moderately hilly. The smaller bays are Loch Ryan in western Wigtownshire, Fleet Bay in western Kirkcudbrightshire,

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[607] *Kelso Liber*, 460; G.W. Barrow (ed.), *The charters of David I* (East Linton, 2000), 57.

[608] In this scenario, Carrick was firmly part of the Lordship of Galloway but removed in physical (and therefore political) terms from the conjectured centres of Cruggleton and Kirkcudbright. The position of Scottish kings in Carrick during the Lordship may have been one of an overlord exercising minimal control. As the Lordship became temporarily unstable – and a threat to the king's lands in the west – this legal formality may have been exploited (or exercised) by Scottish kings to bring stability to the larger region following the warfare between Fergus' heirs. See T.O. Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 2 (2008), pp 38-9. The position of Caithness relative to Scottish kings is similar.

Kirkcudbright Bay, and in eastern Kirkcudbrightshire the Rough Firth and Auchencairn Bay (next to each other, counted as one). Coastal zones are the flattest areas, especially at river estuaries. The 14th-15th centuries saw substantial changes in the coastline in Galloway. Evidence from Caerlaverock in neighbouring Dumfriesshire and Luce Sands in Wigtownshire demonstrates changes which saw the abandonment of settlements and the formation of dunes.[609] There are numerous lochs and lochans throughout the three principal areas discussed, though overall fewer in Carrick; drainage works of the Improvement era onwards have substantially altered the landscape in this regard.

6.2 The political economy, wealth and society of Galloway in the 12th- early 14th centuries

The sources of wealth in medieval Galloway were probably not greatly different from those apparent in the Earldom of Orkney. This can be understood in terms of internal and external wealth: internal for what is generated within the Lordship and external for what is taken from it, or actions enacted from the physical bounds of the Lordship which can be termed political power with economic consequences or outcomes. The balance and detail of both forms of wealth changes from the 12th to early 14th centuries, in line with larger trends outside Galloway.

The position of Galloway in near-direct contact with the Atlantic Ocean produces specific conditions which dictate the form and value of its agricultural produce – and the primary, major source of the direct wealth derived from the land itself. The climate is neither especially warm nor cool, which is conducive to plant growth.[610] This means that it is very likely, as historical and archaeological evidence goes to suggest, that pastoral agriculture – chiefly husbandry of cattle – was a major source of wealth for the lords of Galloway. The produce of cattle – cheese, butter, milk, meat and leather – provided material for internal and (to a lesser extent) external trade. Evidence from settlement at Whithorn falling into a broad range of c.1000-c.1150 revealed much evidence for leather-working, antler-working and metal working (iron, lead), with small evidence for jewellery manufacture.[611] Such exchange was not necessarily monetary in value, but rather value could be rendered through consumption of these goods.[612] This strongly pastoral economic character compares favourably with the impression of contemporary kings and later lords in

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[609] D. Griffiths, 'Medieval coastal sand inundation in Britain and Ireland', *Medieval Archaeology*, 59 (2015), pp p 105, 110; Tipping *et al*., 'Medieval coastal impacts on Caerlaverock Old Castle', pp 97-106.

[610] I.A. Morrison, 'Galloway: locality and landscape evolution', in R.D. Oram, G.P. Stell (eds), *Galloway: land and lordship* (Edinburgh, 1991), p.14.

[611] P.H. Hill, 'Whithorn: the missing years', in R.D. Oram, G.P. Stell (eds), *Galloway: land and lordship* (Edinburgh, 1991), p.34.

[612] K. Simms, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 108 (1978), p.67. In later 13th-century England it was common for gifts of food to a visiting guest to be compensated by cash payments: C.M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of food in late medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37.1 (2011), pp 6-18. In effect this was a transaction, but perhaps also a reflection of the more general notion of reciprocity in the provision of foodstuffs.

Ireland.[613] The wealth derived from cereal crops was probably negligible owing to the relative inhospitability of Galloway's combined soil and climate.[614] This is separate from the political power acquired and reflected in the consumption of prestigious foodstuffs. Evidence from Turnberry, discussed in more detail below, hints at shoreside salt production, in common with other areas of medieval Britain.

Perhaps the other major contribution to Galloway's medieval economy, though poorly documented, was its maritime exploitation. Analogy with Orkney, but also slightly later evidence from different parts of neighbouring Ireland, gives the impression that this was a more widespread phenomenon. In Ireland this extended not only to a practical exploitation of marine life (flora and fauna) but also the exercise of control over fishing areas to enforce the collection of fees or taxes.[615] It should also be recognised that the contribution of the lords of Galloway to larger military campaigns organised by the kings of Alba and England in this period, by land and sea, likely saw material remuneration, either from the royal hand or via plunder. Central to the exercise and maintenance of power in medieval Galloway, therefore, was the control of the means and routes of wealth: control of routes to grazing lands, the ability to dominate marine and also fluvial waterways, and to a lesser extent the means to produce cereals important in the production of aristocratic foodstuffs (wheaten bread) central to seignurial identity.[616] The economy of politics in this form of power mechanism relied greatly on the personal ability and capacity of leaders to provide for their supporters. Traditionally it has been assumed that the lack of institutional focus for authority, being instead invested in individuals, meant that power was unstable and liable to chaotic and violent transitions from person to person. In some cases, this was doubtless the case. But it is not appropriate to form judgements of the way power worked in medieval Galloway without at least a preliminary appreciation for the assumptions carried into the discussion.

Crumley has noted how in scholarly debate hierarchy has been conflated with order, meaning that societies which are complex but not hierarchical are all the more difficult to recognise and discuss.[617] The lack of compelling evidence for universal and unchanging hierarchy in the society of medieval Galloway makes it more likely that power was negotiated within a mixed hierarchical-

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[613] T. Finan, *Landscape and history of the Irish medieval frontier* (Turnhout, 2017), pp 133-4.

[614] Morrison, 'Galloway: locality and landscape evolution', p.14. An exception to this could be rye, which copes better with cooler climates.

[615] C. Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll lords of Baltimore, Co. Cork: settlement, economy and conflict in a maritime cultural landscape', in L. Doran, J. Lyttleton (eds), *Lordship in medieval Ireland: image and reality* (Dublin, 2007), pp 130-60; C. Breen, 'The maritime cultural landscape of medieval Ireland', in L. Doran, J. Lyttleton (eds), *Lordship in medieval Ireland: image and reality* (Dublin, 2007), pp 418-35.

[616] Simms, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland', p.79.

[617] C.L. Crumley, 'Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies', *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, 6 (1995), pp 4-5.

heterarchical framework.[618] Power was ranked differently in different contexts and not necessarily fixed. The underlying stability of society in medieval Galloway is acknowledged, though the correlation between this and (as Oram frames it) its "inherent social conservatism" can be refined.[619] Different ways of negotiating power could allow for parallel expressions of authority in the forms of architecture chosen as well as the means of expressing power on an international stage. This marks a contemporary manifestation of how power was expressed in a heterarchical society. Conceptually this idea is not new, as Oram and others demonstrate.

It has been outlined with reference to Raonall Mac Sorley's material expressions of lordship in the late 12th-early 13th centuries: the conventional European object of lordship (a seal) imprinted with a conventional mounted warrior on one face and a typically Hebridean device (galley) on the other embodying the two political worlds in which Raonall operated.[620] In her study of Gaelic lordship in Ireland, Verstraten reflected on the choice of title which Irish lords chose for themselves: Uí Conchobair and Uí Briain are referred to as kings in 13th-century Irish and English sources, though with less frequency in the latter as the century progressed.[621] The Uí Conchobair had been kings of Connacht long before the arrival of English knights after 1169, yet in the mid-13th century their position was much more constrained. Verstraten remarks that the while the title of 'king' declined in frequency in documentary references during this period, the character of effigies – tools for communicating with local communities and powers, rather than far-removed authority – were decidedly regal: more ambition could be displayed at home than abroad.[622] In terms of patronage of religious foundations on a quasi-regal scale, this was the case for Galloway and its lords too.[623] The investment in monastic foundations can be seen in political terms – the demonstration of ideal lordship – but also reflects personal concern for salvation.

6.2.1 Political power

If castles are understood to serve (among other things) as an extension of lordly identity, comparable to aspects of material culture, then it is useful to explore how lordship itself was idealised in the world of 12th-14th-century Galloway. Lordship here means the aspects of character, qualities and deeds which a community identifies as being ideal. Idealised Irish kingship, or perhaps more accurately Gaelic lordship in Ireland, appears from the 10th century to have incorporated aspects familiar to insular and European counterparts. Hospitality, justice,

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[618] In essence, this is Oram's critique of the historiography of the lordship: *Lordship of Galloway*, p.1.
[619] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.230.
[620] R.A. McDonald, 'Images of Hebridean lordship in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: the seal of Raonall Mac Sorley', *SHR*, 74.2 (1995), p.141.
[621] F. Verstraten, 'Images of Gaelic lordship in Ireland, c.1200-c.1400', in L. Doran, J. Lyttleton (eds), *Lordship in Ireland: image and reality* (Dublin, 2007), pp 54, 58, 68.
[622] Verstraten, 'Images of Gaelic lordship in Ireland, c.1200-c.1400', p.70.
[623] Oram, *Domination and lordship*, p.325.

peace, strength and truth were all essential traits for a king in the creation of a stable society.[624] Kings were peripatetic in the 11th century; household staff, with designated offices, are recognised from the same century.[625] As already discussed, Verstraten notes that from the 12th century, the seals of Irish magnates – in their adoption of seals as tools of lordly imagery – conveyed to the English kings a desire to participate in the wider political, social and cultural world.[626]

A desire to build connections between regional aristocracies, probably for purposes of political self-preservation and in doing so agreeing to clearer spheres of authority, can also be seen in the strategies (political and material) of the kings of Alba, the lords of Galloway, and the house of Somerled, among others.[627] Especially in the 12th century, when the areas of what is now Scotland were in fact more a series of small kingdoms, this regional dependence was all the more important to lordly identities.[628] A straightforward examination of the marriages of the lords of Galloway illustrates their affiliation with the neighbouring community of magnates. After the removal of Fergus from power in 1160, and the split of Galloway between his two heirs, Gillebrígte and Uhtred, marriages were made to cement their positions as magnates in northern Britain: the former may have married a daughter of Donnchad, Earl of Fife, while Uhtred married Gunnhild, daughter of Waltheof, lord of Allerdale in Cumbria and a distant cousin of David I of Scotland.[629] Uhtred's son Lachlan (alias Roland) married Helena, heiress of the Constable of Scotland Richard de Morville. Their son and heir, Alan, married three times; twice to different branches of the important de Lacy family and once to Margaret, a niece of William I of Scotland.[630]

The lordly identity of Alan appears to be aligned with those of his peers in Scotland, England and Ireland on his death in c.1234, in a way that may be compared to Irish examples discussed above. An effigy reportedly representing Alan at Dundrennan Abbey – a foundation of his great-grandfather Fergus – represents a product of this in material cultural terms. It does not represent the wholesale swapping of Galloway's Gaelic culture for continental ideals, but rather a merging of aspects of identity which Alan and his peers selectively emphasised and underplayed to meet political ambitions as well as personal preferences. The stability of Galloway society throughout this period is a reminder that the emergence of new tools as ways of expressing community with fellow regional magnates need not conflict with maintaining authority and community on a local

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[624] E. Bhreathnach, 'Perceptions of Irish kingship in early medieval Irish vernacular literature', in L. Doran, J. Lyttleton (eds), *Lordship in medieval Ireland: image and perception* (Dublin, 2007), p.45.

[625] Bhreathnach, 'Perceptions of Irish kingship in early medieval Irish vernacular literature', p.45.

[626] Verstraten, 'Images of Gaelic lordship in Ireland, c.1200-c.1400', p.70.

[627] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 55-62.

[628] D. Broun, 'Britain and the beginning of Scotland', *Journal of the British Academy*, 3 (2015), pp 110-1.

[629] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 89, 67; C. Innes (ed.), *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* [*Holyrood Liber*] (Edinburgh, 1840), 24.

[630] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway,* pp 112, 123-4; 141.

level, among the local nobility within Galloway. The media of this practice by the lords of Galloway, it is assumed, took the form of strategies deployed by Irish lords (though not unique to them) – guesting and feasting and leadership in warfare.[631] The ability to call on large numbers of fighters is one aspect of the political profile of the lords of Galloway that Oram has drawn attention to, and one which represents an important aspect of their identity. Specifically, he suggests that the lords did not comply with requests for support from Scottish and English kings out of a duty in respect of overlordship; when in 1212 King John of England sought to quell a revolt in north Wales, Alan of Galloway was asked to send 1,000 Galwegians to Chester.[632] Service was given, it is suggested, in return for payment.[633] What form the payment took is not clear – in the case of King John, it may have been cash – but it must represent an important aspect of the lordship's political economy.

6.2.2 Ecclesiastical change

In common with much of northern England and southern Scotland from the 10th to 14th centuries, Galloway underwent a period of change in the way Christian life and its rituals were managed and administered. These changes took place in the context of a growth in population, the amount of land under management and especially the spread of permanent settlement to upland areas. This has important ramifications for the secular elite of the lordship. Magnates in Galloway were major donors to monastic foundations across Scotland in this period. Similarly, those foundations, episcopal powers and secular actors all played a part in the shaping of the parochial system in the region.[634] In essence, this took the form of three models of parochial formation. The first essentially saw outlying estates of ancient religious corporations (Whithorn and perhaps St Cuthbert's Desnesmor at Kirkcudbright) become the kernels of later parish centres.[635] By the mid-12th century the episcopal authority of Whithorn saw expansion of its immediate hinterland and outlying estates. Most of the parishes in Galloway which appear in the documentation in this period were immediately appropriated by the bishop to other religious institutions, also representing a massive expansion of episcopal administration at a time when the parochial structure was beginning to formalise.[636] The second resulted from monastic foundations becoming more vocal about the rights held over hitherto sparsely populated upland areas; in order to counter these claims, secular lords asserted their own right to ensure adequate spiritual care for themselves and their followers through the construction (and retention of advowson) of

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[631] Simms, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland', pp 67-100; K. Simms, 'Warfare in the medieval Gaelic lordships', *Irish Sword*, 12 (1975), pp 99-100.
[632] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway,* pp 119-9.
[633] R.D. Oram, 'Fergus, Galloway and the Scots', in R.D. Oram, G. Stell (eds), *Galloway: land and lordship* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp 124-5.
[634] R. Oram, 'Parishes and churches', in K.J. Stringer, A.J.L. Winchester (eds), *Northern England and southern Scotland in the central middle ages* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp 197-218.
[635] Oram, 'Parishes and churches', pp 200-1.
[636] Oram, 'Parishes and churches', p.214.

churches.[637] As settlements developed, these originally 'private' establishments became logical centres of parochial care too; the parishes of Dunrod and Galtway, compact and originally demesne estates of the lords of Galloway, represent examples of this. Outside of the old centres of Christianity in Galloway these 'private' churches represented an additional pillar of lordly identity to magnates in the region.[638] The third model derives from a mixture of the first two, namely the emergence of parish centres in the 12th century around older secular power centres in the region, chiefly connected to Galloway's Northumbrian past.[639]

The consequence of many of these changes was the decrease in the investment in parish-level provision of care. Great wealth was at stake, in the form of tithes, parsonages, and receipt of church fees (births, baptisms, marriages, deaths). Thus, appropriations by monastic houses especially sought to control parish churches as conduits of this wealth; as Oram has noted, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), empowered bishops to counter the decline of care, but analogous evidence of appropriations from Lothian and Teviotdale suggests these were largely ineffective.[640] The context and motives of parish formation have important ramifications for considering secular power centres in Galloway, as already noted. Important too are considerations relating to these power centres as elements of a settlement landscape. The emergence of the uplands as lucrative economic units is a key feature in this discussion, as will emerge in the case studies below.

6.2.3 Non-castellar power centres and medieval landscapes in Galloway

The wider lordship of Galloway has not seen the benefit of landscape studies for the medieval period. Its settlement archaeology has not been examined in depth for evidence of a broad medieval occupation. Either side, so to speak, of the medieval period, regional studies give a sense of the foci of research. For the Iron age, the area's profusion of crannogs, forts, enclosures and burnt mounds, as well as numerous stray finds of diagnostic artefacts, give a sense that although it is home to cultural idiosyncrasies, it also relates to a wider Scottish and British picture.[641] Iron Age-focussed studies have tended to focus on superficial comparison of size and relationship, where possible verified by excavation or other dating method.[642] Early modern studies have focussed on the emergence of planned villages and towns in the area, the products of improvement ideology and profound changes in agriculture, society and economy.[643] As already alluded to, a recent appreciation for the impact of drainage works and damming of water

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[637] Oram, 'Parishes and churches', pp 206-7.
[638] Oram, 'Parishes and churches', p.215.
[639] Oram, 'Parishes and churches', p.200.
[640] Oram, 'Parishes and churches', pp 214-5.
[641] G. Cavers, 'The later prehistory of 'black holes': regionality and the south-west Scottish Iron Age', *PSAS*, 138 (2008), pp 13-26.
[642] E.g. R. Toolis, 'Iron Age settlement patterns in Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 89 (2015), pp 17-34.
[643] L.J. Philip, 'Planned villages in south-west Scotland, 1730-1855: analysing functional characteristics', *Landscapes*, 6.1 (2005), pp 83-107.

bodies in greater Galloway gives insight into the medieval landscape in a general sense, especially in relation to lochs. What follows is an examination of certain aspects of the 'medieval landscape' in Galloway, as a way to highlight some of the evidence to be discussed in relation to early stone castles in the area. This term 'landscape' here means physical and intangible aspects of Galloway's natural and artificially changed land. The first section of this chapter examines natural topography, agriculture and settlement, communication, existing monuments and the place-name patterns all form part of this. The level of evidence for each of these is far from balanced.

6.2.4 How do castles compare to contemporary high-status settlement in Galloway?

Specific excavations have borne out glimpses of the medieval landscape in wider south-west Scotland, useful on account of the small body of work undertaken in the area of Galloway; at Perceton, in North Ayrshire (in the medieval lordship of Cunninghame), a c.100m^2 moated enclosure demonstrated several phases of occupation beginning (though on uncertain grounds) in the late 12th century.[644] It was identified as an estate centre managed in its first phase by a steward. The report did not discuss how the site might give its name to the parish, however. Elderslie in Renfrewshire presented a massive moated enclosure (c.7500m^2) which hints at a higher-status site than Perceton; it is tentatively connected to William Wallace.[645] The possible monastic grange site of Ladywell south of Turnberry in Carrick, a moated site c.2500m^2 in surface area, evidenced occupation (based on pottery evidence) from the 13th-14th century.[646]

In rural settlement terms, much of the area of Galloway appears to have been of a dispersed character.[647] A distinctive form of curvilinear rig, apparent in Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and southern Ayrshire, is also recognised, though ascribing a date to the medieval period is difficult.[648] In general, the lordship appears to have shared similarities with the wider historic rural landscape of Scotland, with a township/fermtoun related to enclosures, fields and lands.[649] The work undertaken in completing the *Historic Land use Assessment* record describes the region's substantial pastoral farming landscape, with lowland coastal areas featuring arable farming in the

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[644] Stronach, 'The evolution of a medieval Scottish manor at Perceton, near Irvine, North Ayrshire', pp 156-8.

[645] D. Alexander, 'Excavation of a medieval moated site in Elderslie, Renfrewshire', *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 22.2 (Sept. 2000), pp 162-3, 175.

[646] I. Banks, P.R.J. Duffy, G. MacGregor, 'Archaeology of landscape change in south-west Scotland, 6000 BC – AD 1400: excavations at William Grant and Sons Distillery, Girvan', *Scottish Archaeological Internet Report*, 32 (2009), p.23.

[647] P. Dixon, 'Champaign country: a review of medieval rural settlement in lowland Scotland', in S. Govan (ed.), *Medieval or later rural settlement in Scotland: 10 years on* (Edinburgh, 2003), p.63.

[648] S. Halliday, 'Rig-and-furrow in Scotland', in S. Govan (ed.), *Medieval or later rural settlement in Scotland: 10 years on* (Edinburgh, 2003) pp 74, 79.

[649] C. Dalglish, P. Dixon, 'A research framework for historic rural settlement studies in Scotland', *Historic Rural Settlement Group*, Technical Report (accessed via ResearchGate) (Jan. 2008), p.8.

later medieval period.[650] On a local level, the immediate landscape of a high-status dwelling was much more blurred. The 1758 plan of the lands of Auchenfranco in Lochrutton Parish bear this out in striking detail (Figure 44). Here, the chief arable fields ('Croft') are appended to the central place ('Moatt', with two mills evident, and Auchenfranco farm itself); beyond this, less fertile areas of arable or pastoral cultivation are identified as 'outfield' or 'pasturage' as opposed to 'moss', probably reflecting the underlying geological areas of free-draining soil.[651]

The scant history of urban settlements in Galloway (apart from early medieval Whithorn) prior to the decline of the native dynasty and the Wars of Independence prevents detailed discussion – though it is probable that the major centres (Kirkcudbright, Wigtown and Whithorn) were unremarkable in a broader Scottish context for their size. Smaller sub-urban settlements appear in documents (e.g. Buittle, Innermessan, Girvan, Creetown, Preston), and along with the monastic centres they may have represented the only other concentrated areas of settlement in the Lordship. Dundrennan and Glenluce were noted by the mid-14th-century Florentine merchant Pegolotti in his *Pratica della mercatura* as some of the major wool producers in Scotland.[652] Later 15th-16th-century records for the burghs of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown suggest that wool declined in importance, but that hides remained a constant – pointing to an important cattle-based economy in the rural hinterland.[653]

Examination of the diets of high-status individuals buried in the 13th century at Whithorn, including bishops, concluded that marine fish formed an important part of their diet; this was doubtless connected to the religious connotations of fish in Christian doctrine.[654] However the findings are in contrast to the diets of individuals deemed low-status; theirs evidenced a meat-centred diet. The archaeologists suggested that the high representation of fish in the high-status diet therefore represented a social marker of distinction, a feature which could reasonably be commuted to the secular magnates of the lordship too. By contrast, the individual identified as Bishop Walter (1209-35), who previously served as a clerk for Alan, Lord of Galloway, bore evidence for having grown up in northern Galloway – away from the coast, and with a diet devoid of marine fish.[655] Walter's status as a clerk implies a degree of education – and therefore high social status – though apparently not so elevated as to allow a diet of marine fish in his early years.

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[650] RCAHMS, *The Historic Land-use Assessment of the Solway Coast National Scenic Areas* (Unpublished report), p.7.

[651] Thanks to Piers Dixon for highlighting the probable geological correlation here.

[652] A. Evans (ed.), *Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura* (Lancaster PA, 1936), p.259.

[653] A. Murray, 'The customs accounts of Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, and Dumfries 1434-1560', *TDGNHAS*, 40 (3rd s.) (1961-2), pp 136-62.

[654] G. Müldner *et al.*, 'Isotopes and individuals: diet and mobility among the medieval bishops of Whithorn', *Antiquity*, 83 (2009), p.1125.

[655] G. Müldner *et al.*, 'Isotopes and individuals', p.1129.
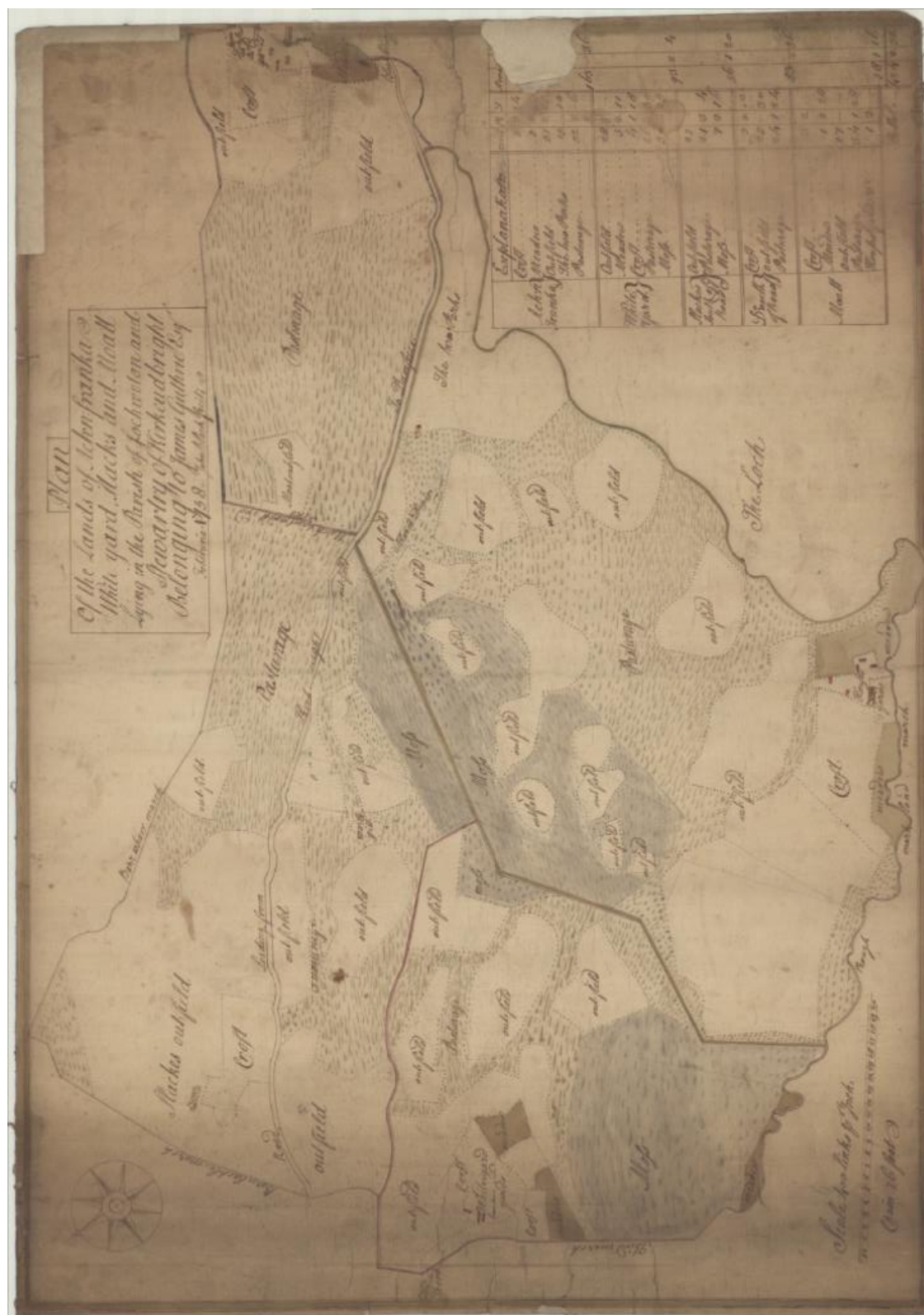
© NLS, ACC 78838/53, 'PLAN OF THE LANDS OF ACH'N:FRANKA, WHITEYARD, SLACKS AND MOATT LYING IN THE PARISH OF LOCHROOTON AND STEWARTRY OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT BELONGING TO JAMES GUTHRIE.' THE MAP IS ORIENTED WITH WEST AT THE TOP; AUCHENFRANK FARM IS AT THE CENTRE OF THE BOTTOM EDGE OF THE PLAN, LOCHRUTTON LOCH REPRESENTING THE LOWER RIGHT CORNER

Apart from agriculture, the practices of woodland management are obscure in the south-west of Scotland, though evidence from Old Caerlaverock suggests that tree growth was managed around the abandoned castle site in the period of the new (stone) castle's construction and occupation.[656] Areas of forestation are attested at Kirkgunzeon in eastern Kirkcudbrightshire in the charter (1161 x 1174) by Uhtred of pannage rights in demesne woodland, granted to Holm Cultram Abbey.[657] Gilbert's survey of hunting parks in Scotland highlights how late 15th-16th-century justice ayre journal books recorded large numbers of infractions at the ayres of Ayr, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown. Several of these (e.g. Mochrum, Cardoness, Duchrae, Earlston) are the location of known or suspected high-status dwellings in the medieval period.[658] Birks tentatively ascribed a phase of forest regeneration apparent in the palynological record from the Galloway Hills in northern Galloway to the Wars of Independence, when regular rural resource management may have been disturbed. Oram pointed to evidence for refugees with livestock fleeing Galloway for Cumbria in 1307 as evidence for the level of damage wrought in the district.[659] A mid-12th century reference to the community at Kirkcudbright notes that the *clerici* received 'tribute' in the form of live cattle from the hinterland.[660] The reign of James II saw the forfeiture of Douglas lands across Scotland after 1455. In Galloway, the subsequent reports from the king's baillies in the region (*Wigtoun* is reported separately from the area of the *Camerarius Galwidie*) give a special insight into the holdings of the Douglas family.[661] It is likely that the patterns and distribution of lands which the Douglases held in the area are strongly representative of earlier lordship: Robert I's victory saw the wholesale replacement of Balliol rule in the region with that of one of his chief supporters, Sir James Douglas (*alias* Black Douglas). Thus it is possible to argue, from the spread of holdings alone, that the Lords of Galloway (and their Balliol, de Quincy and Douglas successors) had distinct bases of authority around Cruggleton Castle, around the burgh of Kirkcudbright and in the upper Glenken.[662] Brookes has suggested that the impact of warfare in the last of these regions was so damaging as to prompt the wholesale disappearance of a unit of church government (the Deanery of Glenken) to be replaced in the 14th century by a royal hunting forest.[663] She tentatively goes on to suggest that the impact of depopulation in the area may be accounted for by the emergence of rare Gaelic place-names, topographic terminology and a

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[656] A.L. Davies, 'Medieval and later vegetation history around Caerlaverock Old Castle', in M. Brann *et al.*, *Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle, 1998-9* (Dumfries, 2004), pp 107-110.

[657] F. Grainger, W.G. Collingwood (eds), *Register and records of Holm Cultram* (Kendal, 1929), ch.120.

[658] J.M. Gilbert, *Hunting and hunting reserves in medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), pp 240-1.

[659] H.H. Birks, 'Studies in the vegetational history of Scotland II: Two pollen diagrams from the Galloway Hills, Kirkcudbrightshire', *Journal of Ecology*, 60.1 (1972), p.211; R.D. Oram, 'Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 67 (3rd s.) (1992), p. 39, citing *CDS*, III, no. 14.

[660] Oram, 'Parishes and churches', pp 201-2.

[661] *ER*, VI, pp 189-210 (1456).

[662] R.D. Oram, 'Fergus, Galloway and the Scots', in R.D. Oram, G.P. Stell (eds), *Galloway: land and lordship* (Edinburgh, 1991), p.125.

[663] Brooke, 'The Glenkens 1275-1456', pp 45, 47.

patronymic (*Clenconnon*) characteristically northern (Ross and Aberdeenshire) in origin – perhaps the product of repopulation efforts by the Douglas lords of Galloway or the Gordon family.[664]

No study for the late medieval period has outlined models for understanding social relationships with prehistoric monuments. Oram and Brooke commented on the close and tangible relationship between standing stones and high-status sites in Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire.[665] Research on early medieval polities in Scotland has outlined strategies for emphasizing authority and connection to the land through the structuring of power centres and ritual spaces around earlier monuments.[666] Though Iron Age heritage (in the form of crannogs and forts) is readily apparent in Galloway, there are reasons for reserving caution as to the chronological origin of these monuments, as one particular site suggests. Excavations at a superficially typical Iron Age ring-ditch noted on aerial photographs in western Dumfriesshire in 1993 revealed the site, which shared close proximity with prehistoric features in its immediate surroundings, to represent what was termed a rural fortified granary or agricultural store dating to between the 12th-13th centuries.[667] If a confidently-identified Iron Age settlement feature turns out upon excavation to have been a securely dated medieval settlement – even if its precise role is contested – then further caution is necessary. Hayknowes may represent a form of power centre in south-west Scotland populated largely by a non-immigrant aristocracy. Efforts to reconstruct a late medieval settlement pattern at Corsankell in North Ayrshire were met with somewhat unexpected conclusions; the excavators argued that a rural settlement probably existed in the immediate area since the 12th century, but that it had moved location from then onwards.[668] This too raises fundamental questions about attempting to understand the archaeology of castle landscapes. Questions of continuity and change in relation to the social meaning of prehistoric monuments, and social interaction with material culture, are also important to bear in mind. While these

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[664] Brooke, 'The Glenkens 1275-1456', pp 50-1.

[665] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.106; D. Brooke, 'Kirk-compound place-names in Galloway and Carrick: the significance of the kirk- compound place-names in Galloway and Carrick – the historical evidence', *TDGNHAS* 58 (1984), p.63; D. Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick: an historical assessment', *PSAS* 121 (1991), p.314.

[666] E.g. S. Driscoll, 'Picts and prehistory: cultural resource management in early medieval Scotland', *World Archaeology* 30.1 (1998), pp 142-58; Leonard, 'Vikings in the prehistoric landscape: studies on Mainland Orkney', pp 42-68.

[667] R.A. Gregory, 'The excavation of a medieval ring-ditch enclosure at Hayknowes Farm, Annan, Dumfries and Galloway', *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 23.2 (2001), pp 133-5. This site may also represent a lordship centre with strong carbonised cereal evidence, though the central timber structure does share characteristics with the proposed granary structure at the best-excavated timber castle in Britain, at Hen Domen in Powys, Wales.

[668] D. Atkinson, G. Brown, 'A late medieval farmstead at Corsankell, near Stevenston, North Ayrshire', *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 36-7.1 (2015), p.212.

should not be overemphasised, as Liddiard and Williamson argue in England, they merit consideration.[669]

Before examining the selected castle case studies and their landscapes, it is useful to provide a body of comparative material in which to frame the results. The results from the sift exercise outlined earlier give a window into some this material, specifically for sites typologically not castles but evidencing medieval occupation.

6.2.4.1 Dunrod, Kirkcudbrightshire

Dunrod is a moated site with associated church site c.5.5km SSE of Kirkcudbright – at the political centre of the Lordship of Galloway. At first glance this was a typical moated site or manorial centre, though now wholly deserted. An irregular moated platform c.36.5 x c.33.5m (just over 1200m^2), it is surrounded by fields of rig-and-furrow, running in parts right up to the ditch of the earthwork. The church, now ruined, was dedicted to Ss Mary and Brioc; for most of its history it was held by Holyrood Abbey, and in c.1663 the parish was united with Kirkcudbright.[670] Today it is part of Kirkcudbright parish, which additionally incorporates the medieval parish of Galtway (Figure 45).

FIGURE 45. KIRKCUDBRIGHT PARISH
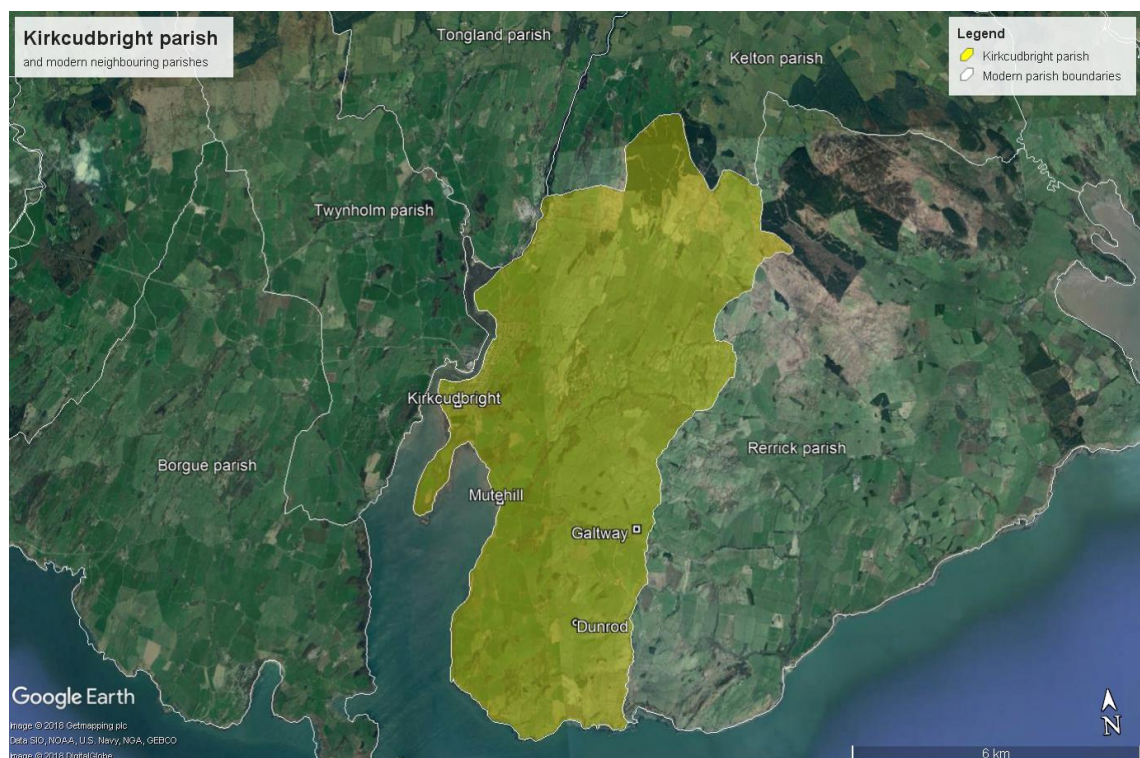
© GOOGLE EARTH

[669] R. Liddiard, T. Williamson, 'There by design? Some reflections on medieval elite landscapes', *Archaeological Journal*, 165.1 (2008), pp 520-35.
[670] H. Scott (ed.), *Fasti ecclesiae Scoticanae* (Edinburgh, 1917), II, p.416.

Dunrod was excavated between 1964-5 by Burdon Davies.[671] In the 1966 report it was argued that construction of the moated site began in the 1260s, but that occupation of the site was older, originating in the 1200s. The moated site itself was apparently occupied into the 14th century, according to the pottery evidence.[672] Oram notes that Dunrod was granted by Fergus of Galloway to Holyrood Abbey around 1160x1 when the lord of Galloway was compelled to surrender his power in favour of his sons.[673] He has also suggested that the pattern of settlement around Dunrod suggests it was an insertion into an existing settlement pattern.[674] It must also be stressed how the prehistoric landscape looms large around Dunrod, with dozens of cup-and-ring marked stones all around the moated site (Figure 46). Though it is clearly a feature of the medieval landscape, there is no obvious evidence for the monuments of the parish – the moated site and the church – interacting with the monuments. The mill site, to the east of the moat and church, sits on the burn which forms the eastern boundary of the medieval parish (Figure 46).

FIGURE 46: DUNROD AND HINTERLAND
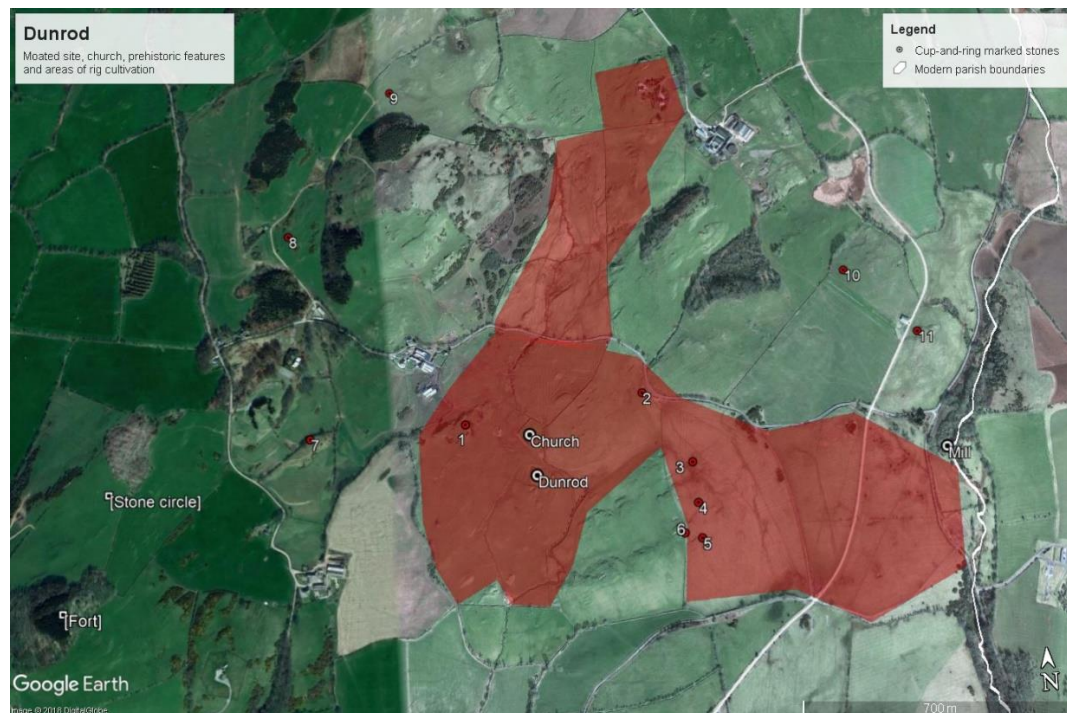
© GOOGLE EARTH. PREHISTORIC FEATURES MARKED AS NUMBERED POINTS; RED REPRESENTS RIG-AND-FURROW.

It may be argued that although Holyrood was granted Dunrod in the mid-late 12th century, they invested significantly in its exploitation only from the 13th century, as evidenced by the excavation. It is equally plausible, of course, that the moated site overlies an earlier point of

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[671] E.F. Burdon Davies, 'The moated manor of Dunrod, Kirkcudbright', *TDGNHAS*, 43 (3rd s.) (1966), pp 121-36.
[672] Burdon Davies, 'The moated manor of Dunrod, Kirkcudbright', p.130.
[673] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.80; *Holyrood Liber*, ch.25, p.20; Cowan, *The parishes of medieval Scotland*, p.55.
[674] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.251.

estate management. The excavation revealed fragments of animal remains (teeth, bone, leather) suggestive of an economy outside of cereal agriculture.[675] All the evidence points at Dunrod towards a monastic manor which in economic terms provided cereals and animal products and offered a local centre of authority through its parish church. The insertion of different forms of settlement pattern into landscapes by monastic orders in Galloway may be paralleled by the possible planned villages associated with Dundrennan and Sweetheart.[676]

6.2.4.2 Lochrutton, Kirkcudbrightshire

In the early 20th century Barbour undertook an excavation of a crannog, Big Island, in the tautologically named Lochrutton Loch.[677] An encircling stockade was recovered alongside fragmentary remains of timber buildings built on stone foundations on the island, which had a surface area of c.467m^2.[678] In 1792 these foundations had still been visible.[679] As the excavation took place in a period of archaeology before scientific dating, the primary dating methodology relied on diagnostic identification of artefacts – in this case, pottery sherds and a cross with a Christogram ('IHS') dated to the 12th-century.[680] The excavator interpreted the broad range of pottery fragments to suggest a continuous occupation at the site.[681] Recent efforts at dating the construction phases of Lochrutton have revealed at the most basic level that the crannog had several timbers built into its structure in the medieval period.[682] The dates, from two samples, were: AD 1180-AD 1270 (68% confidence), AD 1060-AD 1280 (95% confidence); AD 1175-AD 1270 (68%); AD 1055-AD 1275 (95%). Probably a phase of construction or repair was initiated in the late 12th-13th centuries, aligning the artefact evidence.[683] Certainly, from a social perspective, the site appears to have been occupied for a wide range of activities. Animal bones, chiefly cattle and some pork were recovered, implying a high-status diet at the site: in the Outer Hebrides, cattle represent a prestigious food-source in the medieval period, while pork is also a favoured aristocratic foodstuff in medieval Ireland.[684] While it is not clear if animals were held on the island,

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[675] Burdon Davies, 'The moated manor of Dunrod, Kirkcudbright', p.124.

[676] P. Dixon, 'Rural settlement patterns on the ground', in K.J. Stringer, A.J.L Winchester (eds), *Northern England and southern Scotland in the central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2017), p.255.

[677] A crannog is "An island, partly or wholly artificial, often formed by dumping timber, earth and stones and revetted with timber piles or a palisade. Built in a loch, wetland or estuary and dating from prehistory to medieval." (Canmore thesaurus).

[678] J. Barbour, 'First account of the excavations at Lochrutton crannog', *TDGNHAS*, 17 (2nd s., 1900-5), pp 130-1.

[679] J. Sinclair (ed.), *Old Statistical Account* [*OSA*] (1792), II, p.37.

[680] Barbour, 'Lochrutton crannog', pp 134-5.

[681] Barbour, 'Lochrutton crannog', p.135.

[682] B.A. Crone, 'Crannogs and chronologies', *PSAS*, 123 (1993), p.246.

[683] The piles sampled may reflect medieval repairs, expansion or consolidation of an existing crannog: J.W. Barber, B.A. Crone, 'Crannogs; a diminishing resource? A survey of crannogs of southwest Scotland and excavations at Buiston Crannog', *Antiquity*, 67 (1993), pp 530-1.

[684] J. Barbour, 'Account of excavations at Lochrutton lake-dwelling', *TDGNHAS*, 17 (2nd s., 1900-5), p.251; D. Serjeantson, *Farming and fishing in the Outer Hebrides AD 600 to 1700 – The Udal, North Uist* (Chandler's

the evidence suggests joints of meat were probably cooked, eaten and disposed of on the island, implying at least that feasting was one part of the island's occupation, though the presence of a midden alone does not necessarily confirm a year-round occupation. A likely site of enclosure for cattle, pigs and (for transport) horses is the unnamed promontory projecting into the eastern part of the loch north-east of the crannog, where undated animal bones have been recovered.[685] Spindle whorls used for weaving (tools usually associated with women) were also recovered from the second phase of excavation, along with fragments of leather clothing.[686] These provide a rare insight into a gendered site reading, but also hint at more permanent occupation. It is possible to surmise too that the site was a place valued by its users in that it was maintained, expanded or consolidated in the 12th-early 13th centuries. There is also no firm reason to deny the possibility that Lochrutton crannog was a new site, that the piles bearing medieval dates are primary in constructional terms; it must be noted, however, that the site was not excavated down to natural, and furthermore that a rotary quern fragment recovered from the shore of the loch was prehistoric in date and believed to originate from Big Island.[687] It is not necessary to argue for the crannog being of either one or more phases, in any case; they cannot be ascribed to a single cultural tradition and are sites of multi-phase occupation.[688]

Lochrutton is located the eastern edge of Kirkcudbrightshire on the west side of the River Nith, under 2km north of Dumfries. The site itself does not appear to have a documentary history which survives – barring *insulis* ('islands') mentioned in a 1637 document.[689] The *Linclouden Register Buik* details lands held in 1547-64 by Lincluden Collegiate Church, a foundation originally made (asserted on uncertain evidence) by Uhtred (*fl.*1120-d.1175).[690] It was originally a Benedictine Priory, its prioress Eleanor paying homage to Edward I at Berwick in 1296.[691] In 1300 Edward I gave oblations "*ad altare in capella sua apud Loughroieton*" ('at the altar of his chapel at

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Ford, 2013), pp 9, 13. This study of Outer Hebridean diet relies on Irish literature for inferences about pork and status.

[685] NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/site/65028> [Accessed 1/5/18]; NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/65752> [Accessed 1/5/18].

[686] Barbour, 'Lochrutton lake-dwelling', p.254.

[687] E.W. Mackie, 'Three Iron Age rotary querns from southern Scotland', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*, 19 (1996), p.108.

[688] Barber, Crone, 'Crannogs: a diminishing resource?', p.532.

[689] *RMS*, IX, 708, repeated with different terminology (*lacubus et insulis*, 'lakes [lochs?] and islands') in a confirmation charter of 1643, *RMS*, IX, 1486.

[690] A. McDonald, 'Scoto-Norse kings and the reformed religious orders: patterns of monastic patronage in twelfth-century Galloway and Argyll', *Albion*, 27 (1995), p.200. McDonald cites Spottiswoode who provides no evidence for the claim: J. Spottiswoode, *An historical catalogue of the Scottish bishops down to 1688* (Edinburgh, 1824), p.459; W. M'Dowall, 'The founder of Lincluden Abbey and his relatives', *TDGNHAS*, 4 (2nd s.) (1883-6), p.11; J. Barbour, 'Notes on Lincluden Abbey', *TDGNHAS*, 4 (2nd s.) (1883-6), pp 18-9. Although no decisive evidence exists to date the foundation of Lincluden to the 12th century, it is worth noting that the large majority of Benedictine houses in Scotland of medieval origin date to this century.

[691] People of Medieval Scotland, <http://poms2.cch.kcl.ac.uk/record/source/7631/> [Accessed 1/5/18]

Lochrutton').[692] The modern farm of Nunland, perhaps referencing a proprietary connection, is located 1.65km NNE of the loch within the same parish. A grant by Uhtred would also imply the lands being given were demesne of the Lords of Galloway, though it could feasibly also represent land held by the Lord but not as demesne land. The landscape around Big Island has already been referenced in passing, namely the promontory on the east of the loch (c.4040m^2) where animal bones were found. The other feature of note near the loch, which may pertain to its medieval occupation, is the moated site (surface area, c.35 x c.27m, c.940m^2) of Auchenfranco (see Figure 44). The combination of earthworks and a name implying immigrant settlement has led one author to suggest the name dates to 1250x1350.[693] The 'Moit' [motte] of Auchenfranco is referred to in a 1601 document.[694] The laird of 'Auchinfranko', William Sinclair, was killed on 17th April 1543, court records reveal.[695] This reference is useful in breaking the connection between Big Island and the misleadingly named Mote of Lochrutton, which judging from stray finds is a prehistoric fort just N of the loch.

FIGURE 47: LOCHRUTTON AND HINTERLAND
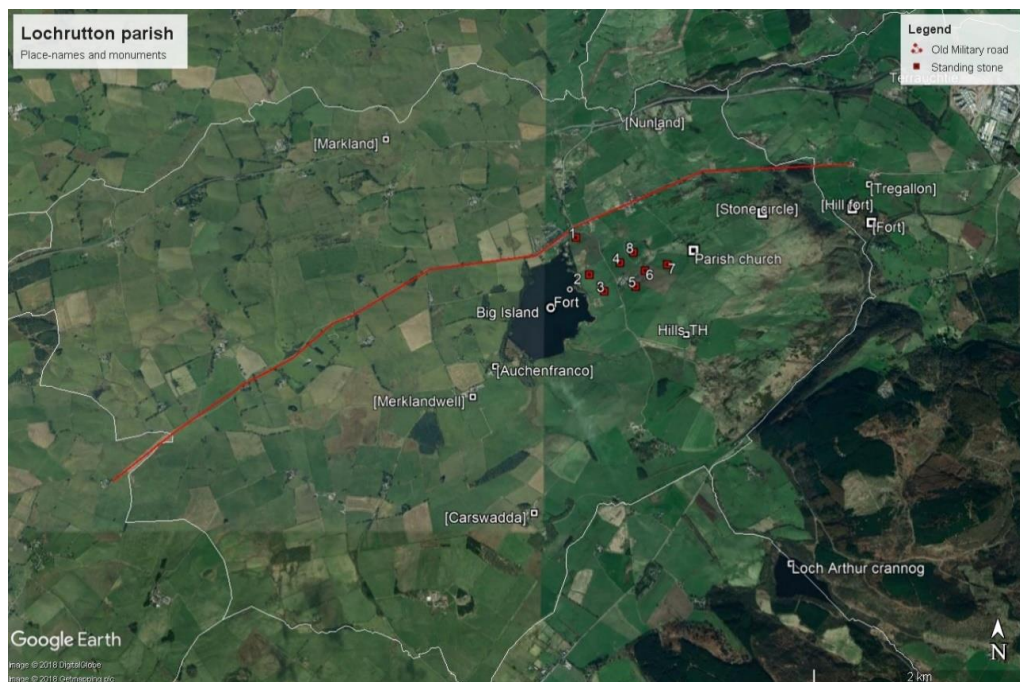
© GOOGLE EARTH

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[692] F. Grose, *The antiquities of Scotland* (1797), II, p.18.

[693] A.P. Morgan, *Ethnonyms in the place-names of Scotland and the Border counties of England* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2013), pp 141, 144. The assertion rests on the assumption that the most intensive period of colonial settlement (recognised as G *Frangach*, 'French' by the local population) took place between 1250-1350. While there are problems with this approach, it is fundamentally sound: non-Gaelic- and non-English-speaking settlers arrived in Scotland in this period. In Galloway, Oram has suggested such settlement may be dated to the 12th century, which would push the dating of the earthwork further still.

[694] NRS, Papers of the Murray family of Broughton, Wigtownshire, and Cally, Kirkcudbrightshire family, GD 10/107, Instrument of sasine propriis manibus by William Herries in favour of Margaret Lennox.

[695] R. Pitcairn (ed.), *Criminal trials in Scotland from 1499 to 1596* (Edinburgh, 1833), p.327.
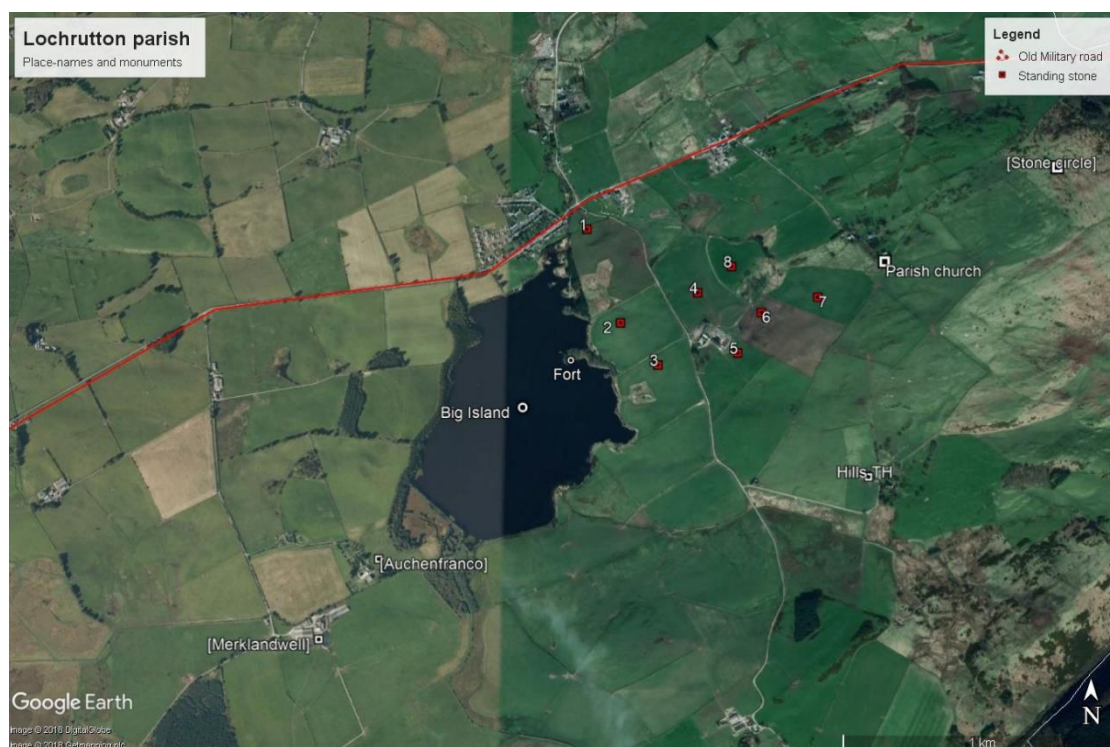
© GOOGLE EARTH

The wider landscape of Lochrutton is of interest. Unusually for parishes in Kirkcudbrightshire, Lochrutton remains compact, and centered on the loch (Figure 47). Most of the parish is composed of hummocks to the east and south (between 150-180m above sea level), while the north, surrounding the farm of Markland, is flatter and boggy (between 50-80m above sea level). A further area of boggy ground encircles the site of Auchenfranco SW of the loch, too. However, the parish church (dedicated to St Patrick),[696] a later building on an earlier spot, is not sited near the sites of Auchenfranco nor the farm of Merkland but rather in the hilly east of the parish and is today isolated. The church is sited c.800m S of the Old Military Road, perhaps itself the site of a Roman road.[697] The only explanation for its location, albeit close to the arterial route through the parish, is that it placed with reference to the loch, and specifically Big Island and the promontory fort (Figure 48). This is supported by the record of no fewer than seven standing stones forming an avenue between the loch and the church site. These earlier monuments may have been used to frame the connection between the church and loch, though perhaps earlier reflecting a longer corridor to the stone circle named Seven Sisters E of the church.

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[696] Scott, *Fasti ecclesiae Scoticanae*, II, p.290.
[697] A. Wilson, 'Roman penetration in west Dumfriesshire and Galloway: a field survey', *TDGNHAS*, 64 (3rd s.) (1989), p.8.

6.2.4.3 Rough Island, Loch Urr, Dumfriesshire

The island of Rough Island in Loch Urr, in the parish of Dunscore in western Dumfriesshire, is comparable at first sight with Lochrutton. A 1787 visit found the larger island encircled by a wall c.1.8m thick with an entrance whose eastern side featured a drystone circular tower. The loch features a smaller (close to the shore) and larger island (near to the smaller) next to each other, and are built of the same stone boulder structure, so probably coeval.[698] Additionally the loch features two shoreside ditched promontories, White Isle (over 12,000m^2) to the south and Loch Knowe (c.660m^2) to the north (Figure 49). No diagnostic evidence has been found to date either site, though White Isle may be Iron age in origin, while Loch Knowe features a concrete slipway which may have earlier origins. Returning to Rough Island, the smaller of the two is joined to the shoreside by a submerged causeway. On the larger island a single fragment of pottery was recovered, possibly dating to the 13th century.[699] A construction date for the islands in the early medieval period has been suggested.[700] Closer examination of the loch and its islands gives further clues about any possible medieval occupation. The arrangement of the two islands with causeway echoes the arrangement of islands at Finlaggan in Islay. There, the smaller island (Eilean na Comhairle, c.1,900m^2) is the further removed from the shore compared to the larger Eilean Mor (c.7,300m^2). The island dimensions at Loch Urr are significantly smaller, the larger being c.1,300m^2 and the smaller c.250m^2.[701] Nevertheless the sequential arrangement of the islands remains comparable to Finlaggan, and the single diagnostic find is of interest. It appears that contrary to first impressions, however, at Loch Urr the comparison with both Lochrutton and wider Irish parallels, with regards to the relationship between islands and lochside settlements, is not extended here. In terms of medieval high-status centres in the Gaelic world, the Finlaggan model and Irish crannog-and-shoreside settlement model are subtly different in form, though in practice their similarities are greater. If the occupation of Rough Island is the 13th century is accepted, then Loch Urr represents a mixture of the two models, with no lochside component and a larger island (Rough Island) as the remoter from the shore, in contrast the opposite arrangement at Finlaggan. With Galloway, different patterns of medieval loch settlement are apparent, as closer examination reveals.

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[698] J.C. Henderson, B.A. Crone, M.G. Cavers, 'A condition survey of selected crannogs in south-west Scotland', *TDGNHAS*, 77 (3rd s.) (2003), pp 86-7.
[699] A.E. Truckell, J. Williams, 'Mediaeval pottery in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 44 (3rd s.) (1967), p.170.
[700] Henderson, Crone, Cavers, 'A condition survey of selected crannogs in south-west Scotland', pp 86-7.
[701] Dimensions calculated from Henderson, Crone, Cavers, 'A condition survey of selected crannogs in south-west Scotland', pp 86-7.

FIGURE 49: LOCH URR AND HINTERLAND
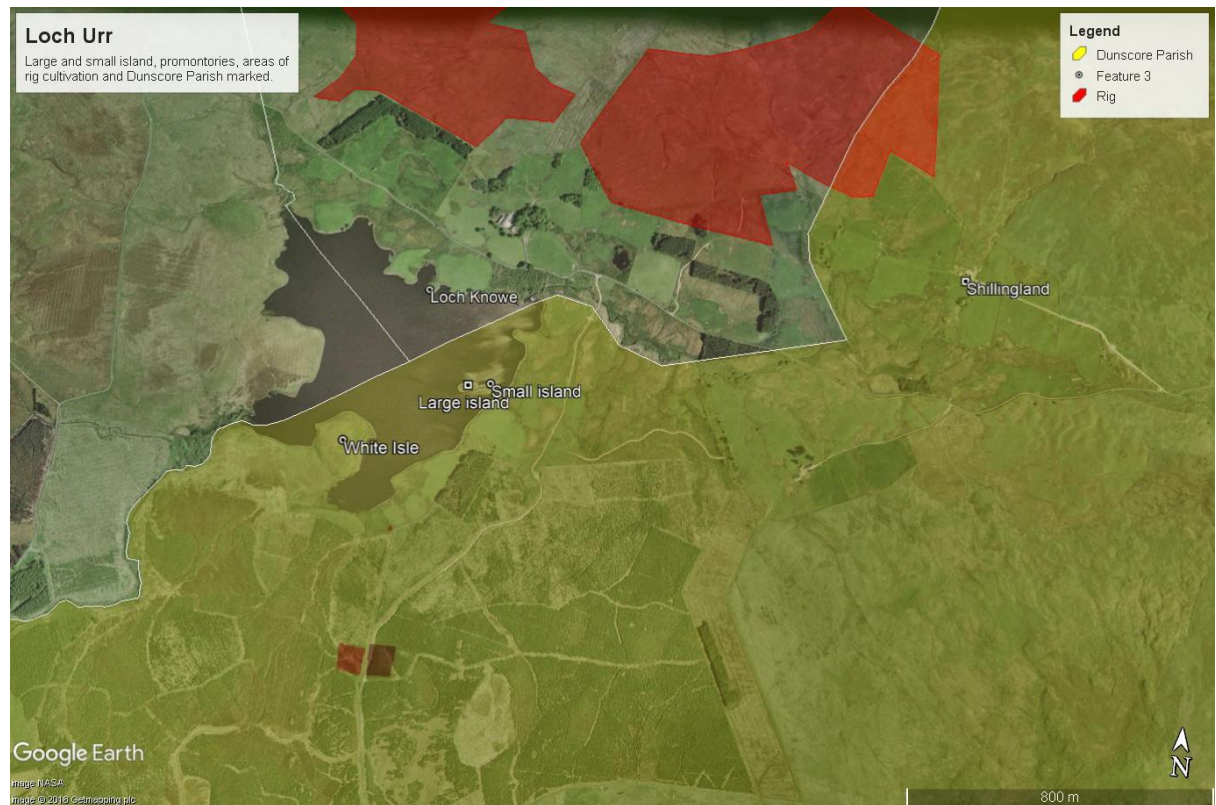
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The landscape around Loch Urr provides additional reason for imagining a medieval centre at Rough Island. The loch sits by a secondary route from Dumfries to the upper Glenkens and Loch Doon, all important medieval centres. Sections of rig cultivation, difficult to date but broadly medieval and early modern, have been noted on the slopes of the hills around the loch to the N and smaller fragments to the S, these last probably remnants of larger areas lost to evergreen plantations.[702] Cairnfields sit close to these of these patches of rig, and burnt mounds (perhaps prehistoric or medieval) straddle the Lochurr Lane which heads E from the NE corner of the loch.[703] Loch Urr sits at the intersection of three parishes: Glencairn to the N, Balmaclellan to the W and Dunscore to the E and S (Figure 49). It belonged to Holywood Abbey (aka Dercongal Abbey), which was located just outside Dumfries and close to Lincluden.[704] Holywood was a Premonstratensian foundation, like other houses founded by the native line in Galloway (Whithorn, Tongland, Soulseat). It was apparently founded in the 13th century, but Crowe has argued for an early medieval origin to Holywood – in which case the Premonstratensian house (as

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[702] Only the northern portions are recorded on the HLA map, NX 75676 85219275676, 585219; Map sheet NX78NE.

[703] D.C. Cowley, '*Glenesslin, Nithsdale: an archaeological survey*', *Afforestable Land Survey, RCAHMS* (Edinburgh, 1994), p.7.

[704] Scott, *Fasti ecclesiae Scoticanae*, II, p.272.

at Whithorn) represented a reforming of an established community.[705] Any further discussion of Holywood's earlier origins is outwith the current focus of discussion, though it should be noted that the site sits within a rich prehistoric landscape (stone circle, cursus monument) which feasibly influenced the emergence of a Christian cult centre here. Crowe argues that royal administrative centres from the early medieval period also share a connection with prehistoric (specifically Bronze age) ritual landscapes.[706]

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[705] C. Crowe, 'Holywood, an early medieval monastery', *TDGNHAS*, 76 (3rd s.) (2002), pp 113-7.
[706] Crowe, 'Holywood, an early medieval monastery', p.114.

FIGURE 50: DUNSCORE PARISH, LOCH URR AND CHURCH SITES

© GOOGLE EARTH
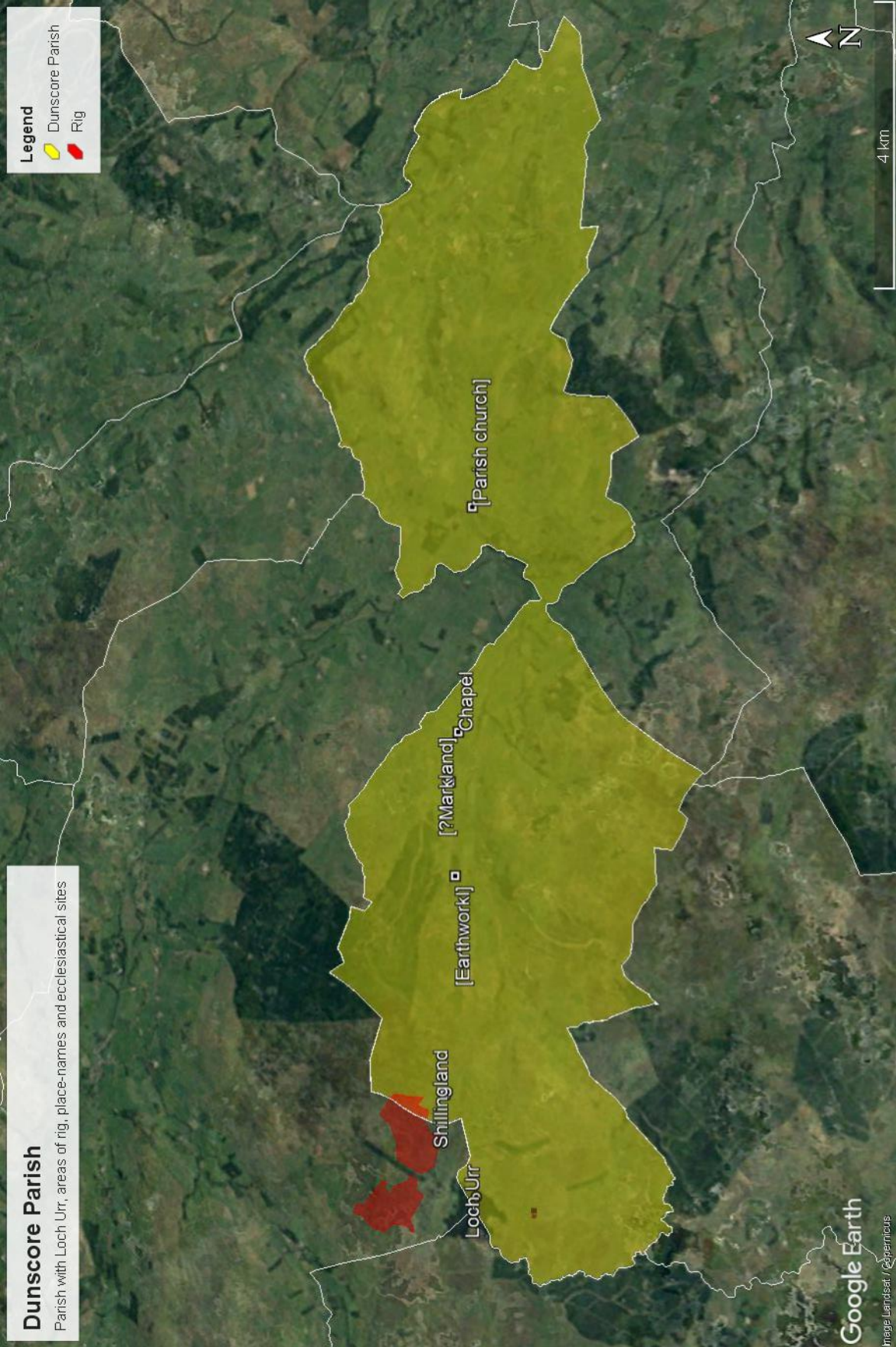
The form of Dunscore parish suggests that the western portion in which Rough Island sits was appropriated early on by Holywood (Figure 50). The modern farm of Chapel in Gleneslin in this western segment was suggested to overlie a medieval chapel with attached graveyard, but it may further be argued that the site was home to an older parish church for this absorbed parish. The building may have retained use after the absorption of the parish to meet parishioners' needs. It was referred to as *Chapell* as early as Pont's map of Nithsdale in 1583x96.[707] It is far removed from Loch Urr (c.7,000m), which tends towards the suggestion that the secular centre in the parish was not at the loch but rather at a suitable site nearer the then-church. The earthwork at Sundaywell, though still removed from the modern farm of Chapel (c.2,100m) is a more likely contender. It is sited between two late medieval towers at Bogrie and Sundaywell. In onomastic terms the western portion of Dunscore is poorly understood rather than poor. Near Loch Urr the farm of Shillingland, and near Chapel the (renamed) farm of 'Markland' argue for land units being assessed for their economic content.[708] Ascribing a date to these names is speculative, but certainly the field system around Shillingland is pre-Improvement.

Rough Island, it seems, did not play a role in the administration of local lordship. Its position of isolation from the parish centre need not imply economic isolation, but rather a more seasonal or episodic occupation. Kelleher's study of the O'Driscoll lords of Baltimore (Co. Cork) suggests that one island site in the lordship, Cloghan Castle in Lough Hyne, was a site of personal leisure and family life up to the 17th century.[709] The importance of leisure should not be understated to ideas of lordship. Shieling huts, perhaps some burnt mounds and the rig patches may represent medieval features.[710] Combined with the single fragment of 13th-century pottery, it is suggested that if medieval, Rough Island represents a seasonal or occasional centre of occupation.

6.2.4.4 Mote of Urr, Kirkcudbrightshire

The Mote of Urr sits by the River Urr in mid-Kirkcudbrightshire. It is comprised of an oblong mound on a NNW-SSE axis whose N and W slopes are scarped, and with rounded ends aside from its squared SE corner. It is surronded by a massive ditch c.15m wide, breached by causeways of uncertain antiquity at SE and NW portions. The surface of the mound, evidently a modified drumlin, is c.150m by c.77m. Its southern third is occupied by a secondary mound with its own ditch, which rises above the surface of the rest of the mound. The ditch surrounding this inserted

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[707] NLS, Adv.MS.70.2.9, T. Pont, [Nithsdale; part of Teviotdale] Pont 35, c.1583-96. An oval enclosure near Dunesslin farm c.870m S of Chapel and respected by seconday field boundaries, is called Old Church Yard. It features no remains but its naming may fossilise an earlier graveyard or church enclosure.

[708] 'Markland' appears on Pont's map of Nithsdale and may be the older name of modern Drumshangan.

[709] Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll lords of Baltimore, Co. Cork', pp 155-6. Graves pre-dating the 17th century are also associated with the castle and its landscape.

[710] Cowley, 'Glenesslin, Nithsdale: an archaeological survey', p.19.

mound was c.3m wide. The larger oblong mound is probably an Iron age fort.[711] The scale of its outer ditches, though probably recut, and its low-level setting, argue for this being the case. The inserted mound has been associated with the grant of the Lordship of Urr to the Chamberlain of Scotland, Walter de Berkeley in the 1160s by Uhtred of Galloway.[712]

Oram has tied the construction of the Mote to the political settlement emerging in Galloway following the deposing of Fergus, and replacement by his sons Uhtred and Gillebrígte, by King Malcolm IV. Far from a brazen and blunt imposition of royal power, it seems that Walter's receipt of Urr represented a dynasty-building effort by Uhtred to foster positive relations between the Scottish Crown and the House of Galloway. Walter was also married to a sister of Uhtred.[713] More practically, Uhtred's grant to Walter formed part of a larger need to provide knights' service to Malcolm IV as part of the new political arrangement. Royal strategy was sensitive to upsetting the local balance of power in Galloway, as well as perhaps unable or unwilling to impose conquest on Galloway as a whole. Oram has argued that a portion of the large lordship of Nithsdale (called Desnes Ioan), neighbouring the Lordship of Galloway to the E, was granted to Uhtred. This was heavily settled in a conventional Anglo-Norman pattern built around knights' fees, evidenced by the concentration of motte sites in the district. Excavations at Mote of Urr were undertaken by Brian Hope-Taylor in 1951 and 1953.[714] These examined the top of the motte mound with an additional trench exploring the ditch ringing the motte. Collectively these revealed a series of postholes, pits and artificial floor layers alongside pottery, metal, and animal bone finds, with quantities of burnt clay. Radiocarbon dating of charcoal of the earliest excavated layer of the motte (which did not reach natural), Phase I, gave dates no later than 1260 CE (95.4% confidence).[715] By contrast, none of the pottery dates to earlier than the 13th-14th centuries, with a significant portion dating to the 14th century (perhaps into 15th).[716] At the centre of the motte top a rectilinear pit (Pit 1) with maintained stone lining and base was apparent. In Phase II, the mound was raised c.0.76m with compacted earth of pink clay. A hearth in this layer (Hearth 2) contained burnt daub, though small stakeholes around it suggest it was used for cooking. Pit 1 continued in use, its sides being raised with stone lining to match the rising of the mound. Phase

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[711] NMRS, Canmore, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/64982/mote-of-urr> [Accessed 1/5/18]; Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.224.

[712] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.199; R.D. Oram, 'The Mote of Urr: historical account', in D. Parry, R.D. Oram (eds), *Brian Hope-Taylor's archaeological legacy: excavations at Mote of Urr, 1951 and 1952*, [*passim*]. Note, page numbers are given in brackets as document was in draft stage.

[713] Oram, 'The Mote of Urr: historical account', [p.5].

[714] At the time of final editing a comprehensive re-evaluation of the excavation, accompanied by an historical context and assessment of the finds, was being compiled and edited by R.D. Oram and D. Parry. My thanks to both for granting me access to drafts of the report, to be published online at *Archaeology Reports Online*.

[715] Oram, 'The Mote of Urr: historical account', [p.21].

[716] D. Hall, 'The pottery', in D. Parry, R.D. Oram (eds), *Brian Hope-Taylor's archaeological legacy: excavations at Mote of Urr, 1951 and 1952*, [p.24].

III of the mound saw a further elevation by 0.51m, composed of stone rubble and gravel in brown earth.[717] The perimeter of the motte at this level featured pits, probably for a palisade. One of these bore a charred fragment of barley ^{14}C-dated to 1215-1285 CE (95.4% confidence) giving a likely date range for the construction, or robbing, of the palisade; there is evidence of timbers being robbed from the motte-to-'bailey' bridge, though of uncertain date.[718] The ditch surrounding the motte had been recut at least once (possibly twice).

FIGURE 51: MOTE OF URR AND HINTERLAND

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The landscape of Mote of Urr shows little detailed evidence of how the site related its immediate landscape, apart from a small patch of rig S of the site, though the Moat's physical situation is odd.[719] It is presently located on the west bank of the south-running Urr Water, which divides the parish of Urr from that of Buittle on a loosely north-south axis. It has been convincingly argued that the boundary of the parish reflects the earlier limits of a watercourse – artificial or natural – which ringed the greater earthwork at Mote of Urr. This is further confirmed by a second toehold of Urr parish on the west side of the Urr Water c.500m downstream. There, an L-shaped wet ditch empties into the Water and may reflect the mouth of a burn or channel which originally extended to the Mote (Figure 51). The parish of Urr warrants closer examination, too. Mote of Urr sits in Urr parish, but neither this name nor the present form of the parish is medieval in origin. There are four possible or definite church sites within the parish; these are (from N-S), respectively:

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[717] Oram, 'The Mote of Urr: historical account', [p.23].
[718] Oram, 'The Mote of Urr: historical account', [p.23].
[719] Rig: M. Hastie, D. Mason, 'Environmental assessment', in D. Parry, R.D. Oram (eds), *Brian Hope-Taylor's archaeological legacy: excavations at Mote of Urr, 1951 and 1952*, [p.43].

'Kirkconstantine'; Blaiket (*alias* Kirkbride); Colmonell *alias* Kirkconstantine; and Edingham (Figure 52). 'Kirkconstantine' is doubtful. It presents no surviving buildings or precise location, except being marked on the OS and some dubious excavated findings; it is located E of Meikle Kirkland farm.[720] Blaiket, as "*ecclesiam sce Brigide*", was confirmed to Holyrood in 1165-1173/4 as a gift of Uhtred. The parish was probably still extant until c.1470, but disappears from documents thereafter, absorbed into Urr parish which the abbey also held.[721] The precise outline of Blaiket is not known, though reference to the church of St Bridget "*de Loublaket*" [?Loch Blaiket] may express a connection to Milton Loch to the north of the modern parish of Urr.[722]

The precise location of Colmonell is not known for sure, but it is likely at the current Urr parish church by the farm Kirkland of Urr c.1,100m N of the Mote (Figure 52). Several references in the charters of Holyrood, spanning the time of the original grant under Uhtred to the 13[th] century, mention the church of "*Colmanele.*"[723] In 1250 Bishop William of Glasgow confirmed to Holyrood possession of the "*ecclesiam Sa[nct]i Constantini de Hur.*"[724] While this is no clearer in terms of location, it hints at a proximity to the Urr Water which is mentioned as early as 1160x72, when Uhtred granted *Colmanele*.[725] It is apparent that the church gained the name Kirkconstantine in the 13[th] century.[726] Confusingly, this is also the name associated early on with the chapel at Edingham, which Brooke has argued represents an early medieval foundation.[727] This theory relies on the reference, c.1120, to the *ecclesia* at *Edyngaheym*.[728] It is possible the physical fabric of Edingham's chapel to Constantine was destroyed, along with the motte at Edingham, with the construction of a munitions factory there in the 20th century. The transition from church c.1120 to chapel of the Urr church suggests that the parish of Edingham became secondary to Mote of Urr and its church at some point between c.1120 and c.1218. The lordship of Urr and its Mote, as Oram argues, emerged in the 1170s and, following a period of destruction, again the 1180s. The change of Edingham's status in this period therefore fits the emergence of Mote of Urr as a secular centre. It is unclear if Edingham church was suppressed as part of the process of building up the lordship of Urr prior to its grant to de Berkeley.

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[720] Scott, *Fasti ecclesiae Scoticanae*, II, p.304. The question of the farm is discussed below in relation to Barr of Spottes.

[721] *Holyrood Liber*, 52; Cowan, *Parishes of medieval Scotland*, p.118.

[722] *Holyrood Liber*, 69.

[723] *Holyrood Liber*, 23, 53, 67, 73; Cowan, *Parishes of medieval Scotland*, p.34.

[724] *Holyrood Liber*, 80.

[725] *Holyrood Liber*, 23. The first direct reference to the lord of Urr being at the Mote is in 1262: Oram, 'The Mote of Urr: historical account', [pp 9-10].

[726] *Holyrood Liber*, 81.

[727] D. Brooke, 'The Deanery of Desnes Cro and the Church of Edingham', *TDGNHAS*, 62 (3rd s.) (1987), p.59. Additionally, confusing: *Ecclesiam sancti constantini de galveia cum ecclesia de Colmanele* [App 1, p.169].

[728] Barrow, *Charters of David I*, p.61; C. Innes (ed.), *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Edinburgh, 1843), I, p.7.

Apart from the presence of churches, there are two further chapels within the parish which merit consideration (Figure 52). The first, in Glen of Spottes, is only weakly attested in documentary evidence, appearing in the 25-inch OS and its remains (a N-S building) unconvincing as a chapel. The NMRS entry for this chapel confusingly asserts its presence at Barr of Spottes, a farm c.1,800m to the N. Attached to this section of the record is a 10th-century flask, but no further evidence was recovered. Perhaps the tradition of 'Kirkconstantine' discussed above relates to the Barr of Spottes chapel: the 'Kirkconstantine' Kirkland farm is c.1,4000m from Barr. The second known chapel, c.800m to the W of Glen of Spottes, is unnamed but its environs have been excavated. Among a range of finds recovered, almost all being from disturbed deposits, was a Northumbrian coin dated to c.840 CE, while a single fragment of medieval pottery was dated to the 14th century.[729] Fragments of metal recovered from the excavation were derived from structural components, tools and personal ornamentation.[730] None of the objects correlate to a chapel presence but conform rather more with a secular centre. What may have been uncovered is therefore the displaced remains of a pre-Mote of Urr secular centre, whose location is lost, associated with the memory of a known chapel site.

One of the more obvious points regarding Mote of Urr's landscape is both the evidence of earlier settlement and its relationship with the documented holdings connected to the occupation of the site. The dominance of names of Anglian origin in the parish is important in contrast to wider Galloway. Edingham and Richorn are both identified by Brooke as OE names, while Buittle in the neighbouring eponymous parish carries, in toponymic terms, connotations of high status. The finds from Chapelton discussed above, along with the flask from Barr of Spottes – this, too, an OE toponym – argue for an important contribution towards the cultural landscape of Urr in the decades prior to its emergence as a secular centre.[731] The witness list to a charter outlining earlier grants to Holyrood features two individuals, Adam the clerk and Hugh Sprot, who are described as burgesses of Urr. No burgh of Urr survives, nor is even documented, which suggests that it was an unsuccessful foundation.[732] It may be added that Hugh's byname is a known OE name,[733] as feasibly connected to the Anglian settlement of Galloway (*cf* toponym Spottes, discussed above) as to the Cumberland and Westmorland origin of knightly families settled by Uhtred in Desnes Ioan.

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[729] D. Alexander, 'Early historic and medieval activity at Chapelton, Haugh of Urr, Dumfries and Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 78 (2004), pp 67-8, 73.

[730] Alexander, 'Early historic and medieval activity at Chapelton', pp 68-71.

[731] Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick', p.316; Alexander, 'Early historic and medieval activity at Chapelton', p.75.

[732] Oram, 'The Mote of Urr: historical account', [p.10].

[733] W.G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897), p.429. A Scandinavian origin is equally possible. In the mixed linguistic and cultural landscape of 12th-13th-century Galloway, intelligibility was probably more important than identification with a specific point of origin.

FIGURE 52: URR PARISH
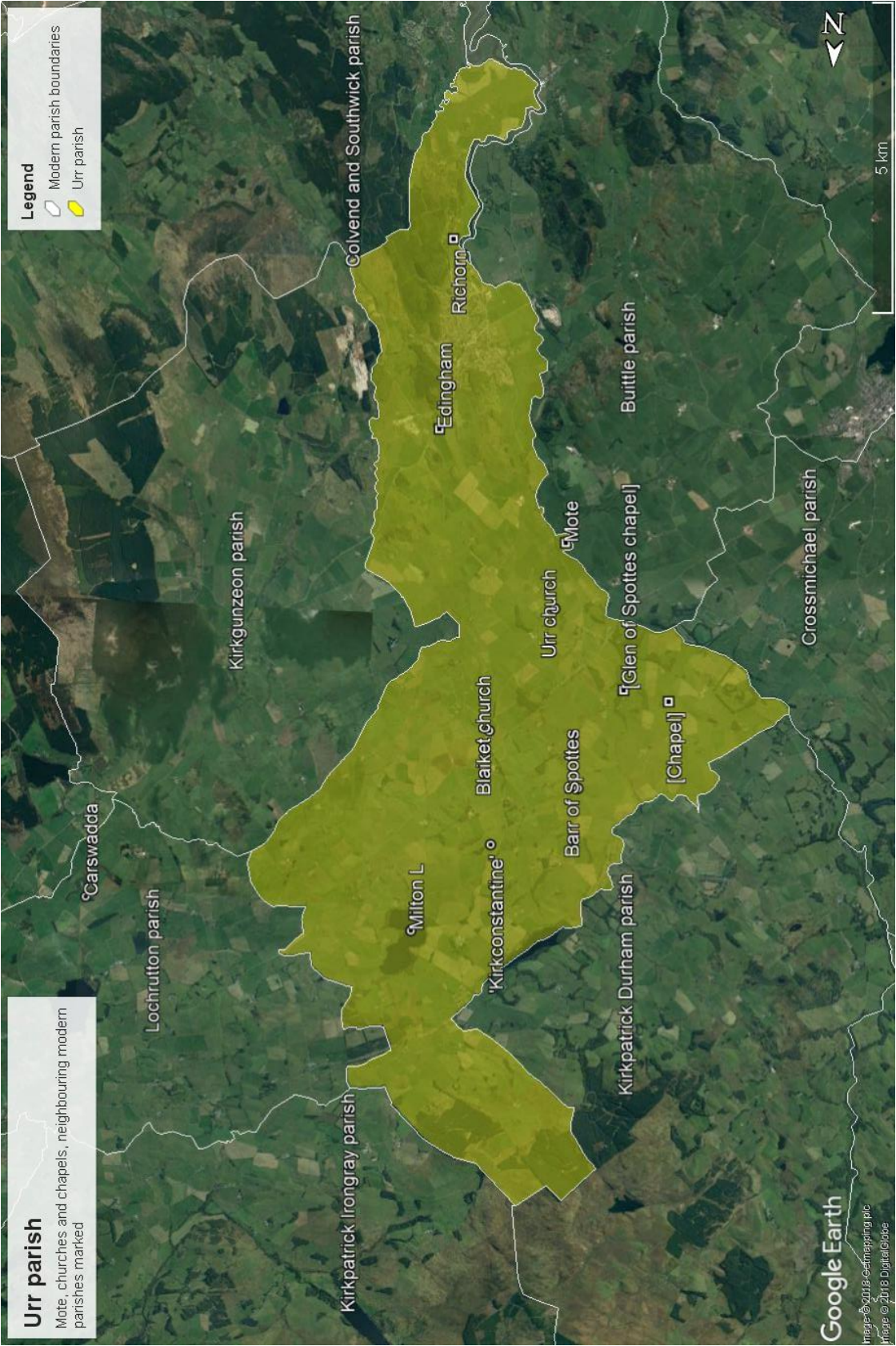
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The Mote is situated at a crossing point of the Water of Urr, but its importance as a point of
control is debatable; the river is easily forded for most of its length, and historic crossing points

are apparent nearby, not least by the modern settlement of Haugh of Urr which is adjacent to an earthwork, described as medieval, at Waterside.[734] Oram has suggested that the importance of the Mote must relate to the site's intrinsic importance or value when the motte was inserted into the mound. Its proximity to the lords of Galloway's demesne estate at Buittle, a mere c.3,000m S of the Mote, reflects the close connection between de Berkeley and Uhtred when the lordship of Urr was granted to Walter. Related to the positioning of the earthwork, of course, is the arrangement of lands associated with the initial grant of lordship and subsequent changes to landholding. Oram believes that Uhtred's initial grant comprised the parishes of Urr (Colmonell above), Blaiket, and parts of Kirkgunzeon parish alongside a parcel of land at Corswadda in neighbouring Lochrutton parish.[735] The peripheral setting of Mote of Urr as an estate centre stands in contrast to its proximity to one of the centres of the House of Galloway power. The interconnectedness between Uhtred and Walter de Berkeley, and between these two and the Scottish Crown, provides a context for appreciation of the choice of site, and another means of understanding the factors governing the location of high-status centres in medieval Galloway.

6.2.4.5 Discussion: high-status settlement in Galloway; theories and patterns?

The preceeding studies of a selection of high-status sites in medieval Galloway has borne out several themes and models into which the castles examined below can be framed and contextualised. Typologically only half of the four examined – Dunrod and Mote of Urr – are conventionally accepted as castle sites, in general terms. The multiple islands, artificial or natural (the distinction is moot here), of Lochrutton and Loch Urr are comparable to each other in preliminary terms. However, they are more importantly different from each other, in their relationships to the parishes in which they sit, their local ecclesiastical centres, routes of communication, and immediate hinterlands – in essence, more than makes them similar. Lochrutton and Mote of Urr are more similar to each other than with the wider group in their conscious relationship with the existing prehistoric landscape of medieval Galloway. The motive behind this relationship is conjectural in both cases, but they are different to each other. Lochrutton suggests a degree of symbolic relationship, while Mote of Urr may reflect a combination of symbolic and practical relationship with its prehistoric mound, the choice to site the motte there as much a reflection of ideology as efficiency. Dunrod and Loch Urr, if their characterisations are accepted here, represent more obviously centres prioritizing entertainment over dominance in a socio-economic landscape. In each case, the examination of parochial structures especially has thrown into sharp relief the changes undergoing Christian life in Galloway in the 12th-13th centuries. Only Lochrutton had a relationship with its parish centre which might be comparable to Cowan's discussion of Thor Longus' foundation of the church at

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[734] NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/site/64961/waterside> [Accessed 1/5/18]
[735] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.198.

Ednam (c.1105), at least in the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical centres.[736] The grant of churches to monastic houses or episcopal powers in Galloway is also striking.

The analyses of Lochrutton and Loch Urr brought into discussions analogies with material from Ireland and Finlaggan. These proved useful in enabling the articulation of key similarities and differences in the Galloway evidence. The four sites together suggest that while parallels in certain respects are apparent, Galloway's high-status centres in the 12th-14th centuries to some extent defy models of understanding places and their landscapes. The variety of expressions of authority and the complex, interconnected cultural hinterland of the region, exert substantial influence over these sites. The historical context that can be pieced together for these sites also gives a sense of the larger number of motives for sites being built, developed and abandoned. The full spectra of influences and experience in medieval Galloway is only hinted at in the evidence discussed, but in doing so the range of possibilities is apparent. In specific respects, for example an economic assessment of such sites, certain characteristics are endemic; an upland setting probably implies a connection to pastoral agriculture; a marine setting implies a connection to fishing; a lowland setting to agrarian cultivation. In other respects, however, the rules do not apply. This is shown most clearly in the discussions of secular and parish centres, where it is apparent competing traditions and political developments have given very different narratives to the appearance of parishes across Galloway.

6.2.5 Place-names

The challenges thus far presented by greater Galloway present familiar obstacles to gaining a firmer understanding of the landscape context of castle sites here. There are several other factors worth considering. Its onomastic landscape probably ranks as one of the most complex in Britain, which makes this a particularly challenging avenue of enquiry.[737] This complexity is exacerbated by the significant paucity of research on Gaelic place-names in an area with many Gaelic names, surprising in itself given that the Gallovidian medieval nobility in this period spoke Gaelic (among others).[738] Several language-specific onomastic surveys have been undertaken in the area in question. Brooke's 1991 article on Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick covered not only Anglian place-names but also provided an appendix of selected Brittonic, Gaelic and Scandinavian settlements.[739] In the same year Fellows-Jensen provided an overview of

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[736] Cowan, 'The parochial system of medieval Scotland', p.48.

[737] S. Taylor, 'Charting a course through the Scottish namescape', in C. Hough, D. Izdebska (eds), *'Names and their environment': Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Glasgow, 25-29 October 2014* (Glasgow, 2016), I, p.15.

[738] Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', p.21.

[739] D. Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick: an historical assessment', *PSAS*, 121 (1991), pp 295-327.

Scandinavian names in Dumfriesshire and Galloway.[740] Here the contention of Old Norse versus Old Danish influence in Scandinavian names in Galloway was made apparent.[741] A series of articles covering smaller samples of Brittonic place-names were written by Breeze which offer fresh insight on a local scale.[742] Livingston undertook a cursory examination of Gaelic in Galloway, using the parish of Buittle as a case-study.[743] Oram has discussed the distribution of *airigh* (shieling) sites in the area of the lordship, which though problematic in terms of cultural origin, can inform the agricultural processes and practices – strongly pastoral – apparent in the region.[744] It is assumed in this section that names with Brittonic, Anglian, Scandinavian and firmly-identified Gaelic names have a clear chronological anchoring; the first three are probably 8th-11th-century in date – aligning with the periods of cultural dominance or emergence in some local or regional contexts. Thus, it may be said with confidence that farms with these cultural onomastic markers represent known places of settlement which may have extended into the 12th-13th centuries. Because of the firmly 12th-16th-century dominance of Gaelic in Galloway, place-names are more difficult to pin to a specific period within this date range and the generalised acceptance of names from Brittonic, Anglian and Scandinavian elements cannot be extended to Gaelic.

6.3. Methodology and site studies

The lack of earlier work in the area makes finding a path through different calibres and forms of evidence very challenging. It is sensible, therefore, to begin from positions of knowledge – the sites themselves – before moving to the landscapes. The sites examined which bear compelling evidence for medieval occupation – Cruggleton, Buittle, Turnberry – have landscapes worth examining. On the strength of documentary or archaeological evidence alone, Hestan and Ardwall were certainly home to a medieval high-status dwelling, but, as will be explored, the particular circumstances of their occupation make conclusions from it difficult to contextualise. The castle of Loch Doon, though now removed from its original position, is worth examining for its unusual setting and documentary evidence. Though Kirkcudbright was probably the foremost centre of

[740] G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway: the place-name evidence', in R.D. Oram, G.P. Stell (eds), *Galloway: land and lordship* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp 77-96.

[741] R.D. Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland with a Special Study of Bysbie', in B. E. Crawford (ed.), *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain* (London, 1995), p.127.

[742] A. Breeze, 'Four Brittonic Place-names from South-west Scotland. Tradunnock, Trailflat, Troqueer and Troax', *TDGNHAS*, 74 (3rd s.) (2000), pp 55-60; A. Breeze, 'Brittonic Place-names from South-West Scotland, Pt 2: Ptolemy's Abravannus, Locatrebe, Cumnock, Irvine and Water of Milk', *TDGNHAS*, 75 (3rd s.) (2001), pp 151-8; A. Breeze, 'Brittonic Place-names from South-West Scotland, Pt. 3: Vindogara, Elvan Water; Monedamdereg; Troquhain and Tarelgin', *TDGNHAS*, 76 (3rd s.) (2002), pp 107-12; A. Breeze, 'Brittonic Place-names from south-west Scotland, Part 4: Glentenmont, Rattra, Tarras and Tinny Hill', *TDGNHAS*, 77 (3rd s.) (2003), pp 161-7; A. Breeze, 'Brittonic Place-names from South-West Scotland Part 5: Minnygap and Minnigaff', *TDGNHAS*, 78 (3rd s.) (2004), 121-4; A. Breeze, 'Brittonic Place-names from South-West Scotland Part 6: Cummertrees, Beltrees, Trevercarcou', *TDGNHAS*, 79 (3rd s.) (2005), pp 91-4; A. Breeze, 'Brittonic Place-names from South-West Scotland Part 7: Pennygant', *TDGNHAS*, 81 (3rd s.) (2007), pp 61-2; A. Breeze, 'Brittonic Place-names from South-West Scotland Part 8: Sark', *TDGNHAS*, 82 (3rd s.) (2008), pp 49-50.

[743] A. Livingston, 'Gaelic in Galloway: Part one – expansion', *TDGNHAS*, 85 (3rd s.) (2011), pp 85-92.

[744] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 248-50. Cultural origin is not a great concern of this study in any case.

the Lordship, where precisely is still not clear; thus, the three candidates – Loch Fergus, Castledykes and Moat Brae – will be examined collectively in the context of their shared landscape. Wigtown was excluded from consideration for lack of time and space. Evidence for each site is presented and discussed to outline key features with a bearing on understanding the above questions.

The approach taken to the study of these sites reflects the evidence for the themes discussed above, developed in more detail and reflecting each site's idiosyncrasies. The place-name evidence is by far the largest body of material with strong chronological associations, as opposed to other forms of evidence – rig-and-furrow or standing stones, with possible but vague medieval connotations. Obviously, the evidence is fundamentally flawed by the weak representation of Gaelic – the language of the Lordship – in the extant research.[745]

6.3.1 Cruggleton Castle

Early perceptions of Cruggleton Castle, on the eastern shore of the county of Wigtownshire in the west of the lordship, suggested the site was entirely in line with Smith's enclosure castles, one early author labelling it a typical Edwardian castle. This reading was not based on any architectural or archaeological discussion, but rooted in a documentary history of the site which placed it in the hands of John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, in 1290.[746] The upheaval of the Wars of Independence saw the castle named with those of Ayr, Wigtown and Buittle passing into the custody of Henry de Percy in 1296.[747] This represents the most obvious evidence for Cruggleton's probable origin as a centre of the Lordship, though more explicit documentary evidence is lacking.[748] As Reid noted in the 1930s, the site has a sparse documentary record from the period in question, and appears only peripherally in documents from the 15th century as a unit of land passing from Whithorn Priory to local landholders.[749] The charter outlining the bestowal of the new Earldom of Wigtown upon Malcolm Fleming in 1341 by David II noted two jurisdictional exceptions to the formation of the title: the burgesses of Wigtown were to retain their liberties, while patronage of the See of Whithorn was to remain royal.[750] Unfortunately, the grant does not outline the lands involved in the conferral. Oram has suggested that Cruggleton was a caput for the portion of Galloway accorded Helen Nic Alan, as a co-heiress, and her husband Roger de Quincy.[751] This being the case, the pattern of landholding can be projected backwards from

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[745] As noted in Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', p.41.

[746] R.C. Reid, 'Cruggleton Castle', *TDGNHAS*, 16 (3rd s.) (1929-30), pp 152-3; J. Stevenson (ed.), *Documents illustrative of the history of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1870), I, p.266.

[747] Stevenson, *Documents*, II, p.389.

[748] It has been inferred from the inheritances of Alan's heiresses after 1234 that here too, Cruggleton appears to be a Lordship centre. Reid, 'Cruggleton Castle', p.154.

[749] Reid, 'Cruggleton Castle', p.153.

[750] *RRS*, VI, 85-6.

[751] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 146-7.

better-sourced 15th-century Douglas holdings, through Comyn-held lands in the Wars, through to the lands accorded the Galloway heiresses upon the patrilineal extinction of the native line. A Thomas Forester of Crugaltone witnessed a charter in 1578, and a James Kennedy of Crugiltoun in 1606.[752] An English report (16th century) on the site noted it was difficult to assault on account of its defences and removed from easy access.[753] The lands of Cruggleton Castle are mentioned in a charter of 1621 x 1637, hinting at the possibility that the site was occupied until that date.[754] In the 17th century it was held by the Priors of Whithorn and guarded by only two or three men, though this need not evidence a decline in status.[755] It was described as ruined in 1684.[756] The site was excavated by Ewart in 1978-81 and the report published four years later. One of its chief aims was to establish the threat from coastal erosion, which is apparent in a sequence of maps covering the site in the mid-19th-early 20th centuries: especially to the east of the site erosion has removed part of the area defined by a broad ditch cutting across the promontory (Figure 53). Damage was also noted on the central mound too.[757] A more recent geophysical survey hinted at vague traces of ditch-type anomalies to which little more could be added in interpretative terms.[758]

FIGURE 53: 19TH-CENTURY PLANS OF CRUGGLETON CASTLE

OS 6-INCH MAP, 1843-1882 © NLS   *OS* 6-INCH MAP, 1888-1913 © NLS

From the outset, the problems noted in the beginning of this section are readily apparent in the report's terminology and implied framework of social modelling. For instance, the terminology of

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[752] NRS, Papers of the Erskine family, GD 124/1/578, letters of reversion by Robert Forrester; NRS, Papers of the Agnew family, GD 154/85, charter of Sir John Waws of Longcastell.

[753] R.B. Armstrong, *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopdale and the Debateable Land* (Edinburgh, 1883), I, appendix 70.

[754] NRS, Papers of Agnew family of Lochnaw, Wigtownshire, GD154/98, Writs of the lands of Cruggleton Castle, Cruggleton Kevands and mill of Portyerrock, 5 September 1621-12 April 1637; NRS, Papers of Agnew family of Lochnaw, Wigtownshire, GD154/115, Writs of the lands of Cruggleton Castle, Cruggleton Kevands, and others, 23 July 1636-8 September 1645.

[755] Armstrong, *History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale*, I, app. 70.

[756] G. Chalmers, *Caledonia* (Paisley, 1890), V, p.372.

[757] G. Ewart, *Cruggleton castle – report of excavations, 1978-81* (Dumfries, 1985), p.6.

[758] S. Ovenden, T. Neighbour, 'Cruggleton, Dumfries and Galloway (Sorbie parish), geophysical survey', *DES*, 12 (2011), p.61.

'motte' and 'bailey' is adopted to describe the site, immediately implying a cultural context connected to the immigrant communities of 12th-13th-century Galloway.[759] Furthermore, the report adopts an uncritical reading of the poem *Roman de Fergus* as a device for exploring the site's history, suggesting that "it has long been felt that Cruggleton Castle [...] is the actual site described."[760] By whom this was felt, and on what grounds, is not discussed. Nor is the unflattering portrait of Fergus questioned in this context, a figure who in the words of one scholar appeared "extremely naïf, gauche and rather dense."[761] On equally uncertain grounds the site is ascribed to Fergus of Galloway; the suggestion that the parish may reflect the bounds of a castle demesne, from the reign of David I, assumes that there is evidence for the intervention of the kings of Alba in the management of land in Galloway prior to the Wars of Independence, which there is not. Partly, this author believes that the parish-castle demesne model is taken from Cowan's influential 1960-1 article on the formation of parishes in medieval Scotland. But the article is clear in expressing the variety of this model, and chiefly draws its evidence from the south-east of Scotland – an area incontestably under the influence of the kings of Alba (as discussed above).[762]

Tabraham has highlighted over the course of his survey of neighbouring Kirkcudbrightshire that the parish structure fluctuated, influenced doubtless by the prominence of Whithorn as a religious centre, then the reform abbeys, as well as competing traditions of ecclesiastical administration from the heterogeneous cultural history of the region.[763] That being said, the form of parishes around Whithorn even in the 13th century was not fixed.[764] It may be telling that the church located a short distance from Cruggleton castle site bears architectural features ascribed a 12th-century date, but with no subsequent alterations – indicative perhaps of an unchanging parochial structure but more likely (as discussed above in relation to larger ecclesiastical changes in Galloway in this time), that the parish was appropriated early on and its church deprived of investment.[765] Given that the church is associated with the castle, and furthermore that the castle is associated with the lords of Galloway, it is reasonable to suggest that the parish was created sometime around the the 12th century, when the church was erected, but that upon appropriation

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[759] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, 2, 4; critiqued by Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.224.
[760] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.6.
[761] J. Greenberg, 'Guillaume le Clerc and Alan of Galloway, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 66.4 (1951), p.529.
[762] I.B. Cowan, 'The development of the parochial system in medieval Scotland', *SHR*, 40 (1960-1), p.54.
[763] Tabraham, 'Norman settlement in Galloway', 87-124.
[764] On fluidity of parishes in region, C. Crowe, 'Early medieval parish formation in Dumfries and Galloway', in M. Carver (ed.), *The cross goes north: processes of conversion in northern Europe AD 300-1300* (York, 2003), p.196.
[765] This is inferred from the survival of original portions of the church (prior to 'restoration') which are architecturally attributable to the 12th century. The pre-rebuilding church is depicted in D. MacGibbon, T. Ross, *The ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland: from the earliest Christian times to the seventeenth century* (Edinburgh, 1896), I, pp. 212-4. Thanks to R. Oram for highlighting this to me.

of the parish around the early 13th century of the parish the castle remained in the hands of the lords.[766] It may be remarked that the compactness of the parish could reflect either the desire on the lords' behalf to retain personal control over its administration, or (less likely) that it was consciously created with the knowledge that it would be granted to a monastic house (Figure 55).

The excavation of the castle uncovered several phases of occupation, all of which were tentatively identified by the excavator. The first two phases, evidenced by ^{14}C date samples, suggested occupation around the 1st and 8th centuries AD.[767] The third phase, dated by later backfill featuring a diagnostic potsherd, was placed in a general 12th-century period. The large rocky mound at the centre of the site is at this point identified as a 'motte', with no reference to sites of comparable scale: at $675m^2$ the surface of the 'motte' top is among the larger of any in Wigtownshire (see 10.5 Appendix 5) and comparable in scale only to Castledykes at Kirkcudbright and the mound of Buittle Castle. However, there is a further distinction to draw; in terms of surface area of the total site identified by surveyors ('motte' and, where apparent, 'bailey'), it is more than four times the size of the nearest Wigtownshire comparator, Craigdhu ('Kreigdow', 1654), and by far these two are the largest sites in the Machars peninsula.[768] Though no excavation or survey has been undertaken at Craigdhu, it is by tradition associated with the Bishops of Whithorn.[769] In the 1950s a decorated stone slab with 'marigold' motifs was recovered from a nearby stone dyke, akin to stones from 8th-10th-century contexts at Whithorn.[770] Though the original context of this slab is not known, it is possible that it reflects a connection to Whithorn in the same way as the Whithorn School of stone crosses across the Machars.[771] If these collective ephemeral evidences can be accepted, then the status of Cruggleton and Craigdhu are correlated to the size of the site. In the regional context, it is apparent that Cruggleton is on a wholly different level of scale than any other sites in the Machars (see Appendix 5).

The excavated features of Phase 2 (8th-late 12th centuries) of the 'motte' comprised a "hall" which measured 5.95 x 3.69m; this compares poorly to the later 11th-century hall at Hen Domen, Montgomery (Wales), measuring c.15 x c.10m, located in the site's bailey.[772] Hen Domen represents the most thoroughly-excavated motte-and-bailey site in Britain; the nearest 'motte' site to be excavated to Cruggleton which presents accessible findings is Ingleston in Kirkcudbrightshire, but no feature was identified as a 'hall'. The site compared with Cruggleton by

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[766] Cowan, *The parishes of medieval Scotland*, p.40, has Cruggleton annexed by the Bishop of Galloway c.1427.

[767] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, 17-8.

[768] NLS, EMW.X.105, T. Pont, Gallovidiae, Pars Occidentalior/The Sherifdome of Wigtoun, 1654. See 10.5 Appendix 5.

[769] NRS, Ordinance Survey name books, Edinburgh, MS Wigtownshire, OS1/35/83/14.

[770] J. Picken, 'Craigdhu', *DES* (2005), p.13.

[771] Crowe, 'Early medieval parish formation in Dumfries and Galloway', p.198.

[772] Higham, Barker, *Timber castles*, p.322.

the excavator, Lismahon in Co. Down (Ireland), features a hall (13.3 x 5.6m) which is far larger than that of this phase Cruggleton.[773] In short, the size of the 'hall' identified at Cruggleton makes its identification untenable. The "hall" of phase 3 at Cruggleton measured 12.5 x 4m, which is more comparable, if not wholly convincing, to the examples cited.[774]

The same may also be said of the 'tower' (a doubtful interpretation) associated with the 'hall' at Cruggleton, which at c.4m^2 is equally a smaller structure.[775] Hen Domen's earliest tower was c.6.09m^2. With a motte surface of c.35.26m^2 and a bailey of c.1300m^2, Hen Domen is substantially smaller than Cruggleton, though the status of its builder, Roger de Montgomerie, 1st Earl of Shrewesbury and Earl of Arundel, may be comparable. The Cruggleton tower's location within the palisade suggests more that it was a mural tower or more generic platform; certainly, the size of the postholes for the structure does suggests a building composed of substantial posts, implying elevation. Equally, however, the feature echoes in scale the postholes of the granary at Hen Domen; in this light, the 'tower' of Cruggleton may represent a different building altogether. Its labelling may represent an effort to link the form of Cruggleton Castle to sites in the larger Irish Sea zone; the archaeological evidence as presented does not allow for this interpretative leap.

Phase 4 of Cruggleton featured a stone wall enclosing the mound feature; here, a distinctive triple scarcement was uncovered comprising single courses of stone.[776] This was interpreted wholly in military terms, the excavator concluding that as it fulfilled no defensive function it must represent the result of the wall's construction. However, it equally may represent a decorative render to the stonework of the wall, a feature apparent too at the nearby parish church.[777] Ralegh Radford's short article on the church suggested much of the structure as standing in the 1950s was the work of new masonry, but noted that the walls of the church rise on plinths, whose angle stones were replacements of 1864 – implying the rest were not.[778] Returning to the castle, a later tower, c.15.4 x 8.7m, whose consolidated barrel vault survives as the only architectural feature above ground, may evidence three phases of alteration; it does not obviously compare with other stone towers in the region (10.6 Appendix 6). A fragment of dated charcoal and coins offered a date range for occupation in this space of the later 13th-14th centuries, with modifications in the 15th century.[779]

No excavation was undertaken in the 'bailey'. Fieldwalking "in the vicinity" of the site produced pottery sherds dating to the 12th-13th centuries.[780] Though these add to a picture of the site's

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[773] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.22.
[774] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.20.
[775] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.19.
[776] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.24.
[777] C.A. Ralegh Radford, 'Cruggleton Church', *TDGNHAS*, 28 (1949-50), pp 92-5.
[778] Ralegh Radford, 'Cruggleton Church', p.93.
[779] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.34.
[780] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.62.

history, they may offer a misleading image of the zone in which they were found; as the author noted, much of the mound had been robbed of stone in the 18th century.[781] It is plausible that this, followed by further collapse and robbing, has led to sherds being dispersed more widely across the 'bailey'. It remains to be convincingly demonstrated that the ditch noted on early maps (above) is truly a feature of medieval origin. One author has suggested an inner ditch, apparent on aerial photography, may represent an Iron Age ditch for an older use at the site, but the same may be suggested for the more visible outer ditch.[782] Excavations at Montfode on the outskirts of Ardrossan in North Ayrshire suggested that the mound site on formal typological grounds believed to represent a motte may in fact be an Iron age defended homestead. Successive ditches radiating from the mound site were ^{14}C dated to that period and yielded no medieval evidence.[783] Though there is no reason to doubt a medieval occupation at the mound of Cruggleton, the 'bailey' merits a more critical interpretation – it may not be medieval. This, in turn, adds to the critique of the 'motte' terminology employed in discussing Cruggleton. Furthermore, it adds credence to the notion of the re-occupation of prehistoric power centres in the later medieval period as being a characteristic of Gallovidian early stone castles. Raeberry Castle (Kirkcudbrightshire) and Castle Feather (Wigtownshire), both Iron age promontory forts, evidence later medieval re-occupation too.[784] Add to this the evidence from Mote of Urr, and it appears that re-occupation of Iron age sites may represent a characteristic of castellar and non-castellar high-status sites in Galloway. Though there is little reason to doubt the interpretation of the archaeological remains, the wider conclusions drawn from these are problematical. In archaeological terms, phases of occupation of interest here at the site are verified by the evidence presented: phase 2 is ascribed a rather nebulous 8th-12th century date, but this reflects the nature of the evidence at the site. Phase 3 was more precisely ascribed to the late 12th-second half of 13th century; phase 4 was more broadly dated from the late 13th century to the second half of the 15th century.

The interpretation of these remains in connection to the scant historical evidence for the period is troubling. At the beginning of the report the author notes the interpretation of phases 2-3 are tentative for lack of evidence.[785] But this is followed up with connections between loosely-defined phases of occupation and equally uncertain historical events. It is argued that the changes evident in phase 3 – the expansion of the hall and raising of the mound – may be connected to

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[781] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.23.
[782] T.I. Poller, *Interpreting Iron age settlement landscapes in Wigtownshire* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005), pp 123-4.
[783] Dingwall, Lochrie, Timpany, 'Mound or motte? Recent excavations at Montfode, Ardrossan', pp 133-4.
[784] R. Oram, pers. comm.
[785] Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.16.

Lachlan/Roland's retaking of control in the lordship post-1185.[786] This accords with Lachlan's endowment of nearby Glenluce Abbey around 1190, the assumption being that political stability must be implied in the region for this act of patronage to be planned and enacted.[787] However, it is equally possible that he did not regain control of western Galloway for some time, or that his control was not firm enough to imagine a comprehensive rebuilding programme to have taken place. Similarly, John Comyn's request as sheriff of Wigtown for the right to procure lead for roofing the castle has been connected to phase 4 of the occupation, demonstrating a focus on tying archaeology to historical events.[788] Little discussion is accorded a social function for the archaeological features present. This bias influences how the interpretation of the site is communicated as a whole.

FIGURE 54: PLAN OF THE RUNRIG LANDS OF BALCROSH AND KEVANS [1774]

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6.4.1.1 Landscape

The parish of Cruggleton, merged in the 17th century with Sorbie parish to its north, appears to have been very small (e.g. under 11km^2); its northern boundary may been formed by Poulton and

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786 Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, pp 8, 22.
787 Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.104.
788 Ewart, *Cruggleton castle*, p.9.

Kilfillan burns.[789] As early as 1427, the parish rectorship was according to documents deemed too expensive for the parish's meagre income and merged with that of Clayshant Parish in Wigtownshire.[790] This may owe less to the fiscal situation than to a desire to maximise income and reduce expenditure on parochial dues. The surrounding landscape at Cruggleton Castle today is exposed and almost featureless; a plan of the same area in c.1774 suggests that this is reflective of the appearance of the landscape early in the era of Improvement.[791] In its immediate surroundings, the late 18th-century plan suggests there were four major landholdings; the first belonged to the Castle, a broad crescent of treeless land running northwards towards the Bay of Cruggleton. Three smaller units of intermingled lands lie west of the castle; Kirkland, Balcrosh and Kevens (sometimes called Cruggleton Kevans). The last two probably gave Gaelic origins – *baile* and *crois*, 'settlement of the cross'; *cabhán*, 'a hollow' – and Kirkland is self-explanatory.[792] Palmallet (on Roy's map, 'Ballmallet') is divided from Cruggleton by a burn springing from Kirkland Marsh (Figure 54). Though the plan represents limited topographical detail the first edition 6-inch *OS* map suggests the area was punctuated by rocky outcrops, some of which doubtless provided materials for the construction of various phases of the castle. A geophysical survey of the area around Cruggleton farm (located at the same place as that depicted on the 1774 map) hinted at possible earlier field boundaries, but little else.[793]

A conflict over the ownership of Cruggleton Castle in the late 16th century allows insight into the area immediately around the castle. In c.1580 the illegal assailants of Margaret Stewart agreed to leave "the lands, mains, fishings" there.[794] A charter of 1578/9 names several farms within the unit of *Crugiltoun-Cavennis* local to the castle: "*crofta vocata Snellis-croft, croftam de Makgneymenis, croftam Rowallane Jardanis, croftam Joannis Rogersonis, croftam per Maknicoll occupatam, vulgo Fischearis-croft, croftam vocatam the Orcheart per dominum de Jardanis occupat., croftam vocat. Makcownis-croft* [...]."[795] Within the land of Kevans, these crofts may have resembled in form those depicted on the late 18th-century plan of Lochrutton's south-west hinterland at Auchenfranco: islands of cultivated land within larger spaces of more or less defined outfield and pasture (Figure 44). Among these was an orchard which was perhaps a vestigial annex of the castle landscape. The fisher-croft probably hints at a hitherto underplayed aspect of Cruggleton's economic landscape, its position relative to Wigtown Bay. Midden evidence from Whithorn suggests an expansion in the fish species consumed at the site; from c.1000-c.1300, the

[789] Anon., *NSA* (Edinburgh, 1845), IV, p.22.
[790] J.A. Twemlow (ed.), *Calendar of Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1906), VII, pp 517-30 (4 Id. Aug. SS. Apostoli, Rome (f. 238)).
[791] NRS, Court of Session records, RHP 4091, Plan of the runrig lands of Balcrosh and Kevans [1774].
[792] H. Maxwell, *Place names of Galloway* (Wigtown, 1930).
[793] Ovenden, Neighbour, 'Cruggleton, Dumfries and Galloway (Sorbie parish), geophysical survey', p.61.
[794] R.C. Reid (ed.), *Wigtownshire charters* (Edinburgh, 1960), ch.112.
[795] *RMS*, IV, 2823.

fish diet was chiefly marine, broadening to freshwater species and an overall larger spread of types of fish from c.1300 onwards.[796] This is immediately comparable to findings from Orkney. Deep-sea fish bones from a medieval context at Whithorn argue for a parallel exploitation and consumption of fish at Cruggleton. Chalmers noted that the revenue of Cruggleton parish church for 1476 was substantial, "though the parish was small."[797] It is plausible apparently substantial revenues from fishing were given to the church and, soon after the construction of the parish church at Cruggleton, passed onto Whithorn. One unvoiced aspect of Cruggleton's estates under the Lords of Galloway must be its position over the marine resources of Wigtown Bay and this portion of the Irish Sea. Margaret Stewart, in return for the repossession of her lands and mills, conceded that the commendator of Whithorn, to whom she had been opposed, "shall have use and occupation of a piece of green called the Ballgreene lying adjacent to the said toun and fortalice and place, estimated to be an acre in land 'without the fawsyde of the said castlell for pasturing his horses or gudis ganging passing and playing thereon'."[798] The landscape was exploited around Cruggleton in the 16th century to a degree probably comparable to that of the 12th-14th centuries. Not all the land local to the castle was under its control, however. In 1189 x 1196 King William confirmed a grant of Roland of Galloway granting to the Priory of *Trellesholm* (St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright) the church of Eggerness (alias Kirkmadrine) and a further two carucates of land in the said toun (Figure 55).[799]

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[796] R. Oram, 'A monastery and its landscape: Whithorn and monastic estate management in Galloway (c1250 – c1600)', *Thirteenth Whithorn Lecture, 11th September, 2004* (Whithorn, 2005), [pp 11-2].

[797] Chalmers, *Caledonia*, V, p.428.

[798] Reid, *Wigtownshire charters*, ch.112. *Fawsyde* is a name apparent in 13th-century sources; it first part, *faw-*, translates as 'variegated', 'of many colours': A.J. Aitken, *A dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue* (Aberdeen, 1993), II.

[799] R.C. Reid, 'The priory of St. Mary's Isle', *TDGNHAS*, 36 (3rd s., 1957-8), pp 21-2.

FIGURE 55: SORBIE PARISH

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In the longer timespan, political leadership in the Machars following the Wars of Independence
appears to have gradually gravitated to Whithorn and the burgh of Wigtown. In the west of

Wigtownshire, political centres like Lochnaw Castle endured beyond the occupation of Cruggleton Castle. Cruggleton church's short-lived history as a parochial centre echoes what Oram has noted about the development of Whithorn's holdings from c.1250 onwards; the character of the Premonstratensian order, antithetical to far-flung earthly holdings, meant that properties in close proximity to the monastery were likely to be swallowed up over time.[800] The creation of a new earldom at Wigtown in 1341 removed any short-term likelihood of the old centre at Cruggleton being revived.[801] Oram's rendering of the Douglas holdings on a map of Galloway indicates how little any relict importance of Cruggleton remained; their holdings in the Machars are concentrated along the River Bladnoch, with two holdings on the south coast west of Burrow Head.[802]

6.3.1.2 Summary

Although partly excavated, Cruggleton Castle only offers glimpses as to the nature of high-status sites in the lordship. On the evidence presented, there is no reason to believe Cruggleton was anything more than a local (as opposed to regional) power centre prior to the 12th century. If Clancy is correct in asserting that Wigtownshire was a distinct power block in the 11th century, then the Anglian evidence at Cruggleton must make it a contender for a, if not the, political centre – at least in eastern Wigtownshire (the Machars).[803] The marked architectural changes identified by Ewart in phase 3 suggest a change in ownership, or status of the owner, or even the purposes of the site in new hands. That this phase coincides with the dating of the parish church suggests the two may have been undertaken at the same time. The changes of phase 4 represent another change in the occupation of the site, but there is no obvious reason to tie this to the actions of the lords of Galloway, or the Comyns, or the Wars of Independence. It is tempting to accept that the destruction of Phase 4 was part of either Edward Bruce (1308) or Robert Bruce's (1313) historically-attested campaigns in the region. However, this assumes a correlation between archaeology and history for which there is general cause to be sceptical. Cruggleton as the central place of a block of territory belonging to the lords of Galloway must have remained important when the native line ended.[804] When compared with the evidence for the prevalent re-occupation prehistoric or early medieval places in the later medieval period as high-status sites in Galloway, it is evident that the construction of major new secular centres in the lordship from the 12th-14th centuries was rare. Of the sites examined thus far, only Dunrod appears to represent a new build. Cruggleton need not be any different from the rest. On balance, Cruggleton was therefore likely

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[800] Oram, 'A monastery and its landscape', [pp 8-9].
[801] C.A. McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases, 1369-1455', in R. Oram, G. Stell (eds), *Lordship and architecture in medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 164. The map is in the *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707.*
[802] McNeill, MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish history to 1707*, p.447.
[803] Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', p.32.
[804] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 146-7.

both a pre-12th-century secular centre and a key castle for the House of Galloway, who invested substantially in its remodelling in the 12th century, alongside the erection of a parish church at the same time. This importance extended into its tenure by Roger de Quincy and Helen, the senior heiress of Alan of Galloway, as a caput for demesne lands in Wigtownshire, and economically valuable in its own right.

The evidence for the landscape of Cruggleton is unfortunately limited to late hints of agricultural activity and more general supposition about how the castle existed within its wider context. Marine fishing probably played an important role in generating revenue and yielding desirable foodstuffs for the lord's table. What is certain is that the hinterland of the parish was a very small unit of land. Its origins probably lie in the creation of a private chapel for the household at Cruggleton in the 12th century. Later, its parish was formalised and church status confirmed, and rapidly appropriated by an increasingly sophisticated Whithorn episcopate. After the demise of the autonomous lords of Galloway and following the destruction and reordering of south-west Scotland during the Wars of Independence, it seems the growing influence of Whithorn was to dominate Cruggleton's landscape. It may be instructive that the removal of a strong local political figure in the 14th century accelerated the decline of Cruggleton's supra-local importance, though documentary evidence attests a landscape dominated by the castle until the 16th century. This decline in importance may be traced to the creation of a new earldom centred on Wigtown in 1341 for Malcolm Fleming, and its sale to the Black Douglases three decades later. The pattern of landholding at the time of the Douglas forfeiture in 1455 also suggests by this time Cruggleton had declined as a key place in the political landscape of the region.

6.3.2 Ardwall Isle

Ardwall Isle is the largest of the three larger Islands of Fleet, positioned at the southern edge of the mouth of the Water of Fleet. It is devoid of any known medieval documentation under this name. Its name reflects the estate to which it now belongs; 17th-century maps label it *Meikle Isle*, 18th-century maps *Knockbrex Isle* after the nearest mainland farm.[805] It is accessible at low tide from the mainland to the north. Prior to excavations in the 1960s the island appears to have been little noticed by antiquarian writers. Indeed, work on the island was prompted by the archaeologist being shown an early medieval cross-slab from the island then located in the gardens of the nearby estate house at Ardwell House.[806] The main feature on the island uncovered by the archaeologist was an early medieval stone chapel with burials, which was followed in occupation by a medieval rectangular building, followed in turn by a Georgian tavern,

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[805] E.g. Blaeu, Moll, Roy, Ainslie. Meikle Isle Cottage (Borgue parish; dated early-mid-19th-century: Simon Green, HES, pers. comm.) north of the modern village of Borgue appears the only obvious legacy of this name: NGR NX 63321 49652.

[806] C. Thomas, 'An early Christian cemetery and chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright', *Medieval Archaeology*, 11 (1967), pp 128-9.

all three occupying a space c.1348.81m^2 within a chronologically ambiguous oval enclosure without external ditch.[807] Though no part of the site was scientifically dated, the chapel was suggested to have been built c.700 and abandoned by the 11th century.[808] Foster's more recent (and tentative) comments about Ardwall in the context of up-to-date interpretation of early medieval sites in Scotland hints at the possibility that the site may have been occupied into the 12th century.[809] Thomas' research interests in early medieval archaeology meant that coverage of the later medieval hall in the report in *Medieval Archaeology* is less than one page.[810] Even the report published in *TDGNHAS*, ostensibly aimed at discussing the hall and later tavern, covered both in under a page.[811]

Excavation beneath the Georgian tavern revealed massive stone and boulder foundations of a building roughly 18.29 x 6.71m; though interpreted as a multi-storey hall structure – a lack of hearths within its confines taken as evidence for this – the interpretation is problematical. The excavations uncovered what the author termed 'curtilage' walls extending northwards from the east and west walls of the structure, forming a courtyard.[812] The foundations were approximately 1.8m wide.[813] Fragments of pottery and two bronze dress-pins yielded an occupation date for this structure of c.1250-c.1350.[814] A later assessment of the finds gave a tighter range of c.1250-c.1300, including imported French wares, local ware and Irish ware from Downpatrick.[815] On finds alone, this was evidently a place of prestigious consumption. The excavation report is consciously preliminary with regards to the findings for the medieval hall, but the dimensions allow some comparison to other sites.[816] Of the excavated timber hall structures dating to the later medieval period in the wider region, it is the largest known of its kind. The nearest comparable structure, the Great Hall at Finlaggan dated roughly a century earlier, is probably the product of a powerful regional lordship emerging in the later 12th century.[817] The next closest comparison, apart from the loosely-dated building P at Finlaggan, is the second timber hall at Cruggleton; again, it is striking that Cruggleton – a site connected to the Lords of Galloway – was a markedly smaller structure than the relatively unknown Ardwall. In constructional terms, Ardwall has no obvious

[807] Thomas, 'An early Christian cemetery and chapel', 130, 143.

[808] Thomas, 'An early Christian cemetery and chapel', 175, 177.

[809] S. Foster, 'Physical evidence for the early medieval church in Scotland', in *Buildings for Worship in Britain: Celtic and Anglo-Saxon* (Unpublished conference proceedings, Department of Continuing Education, University of Oxford, January 2010), pp 6-7.

[810] Thomas, 'An early Christian cemetery and chapel', 129.

[811] Thomas, 'An early Christian cemetery and chapel', 129; C. Thomas, 'The excavation of an early Christian site of Irish type, 1964-5', *TDGNHAS* 43 (3rd s.), pp 86-7.

[812] Thomas, 'The excavation of an early Christian site of Irish type', p.88.

[813] Inferred from scaled excavation plan: Thomas, 'An early Christian cemetery and chapel', p.130.

[814] Thomas, 'The excavation of an early Christian site of Irish type', p.88.

[815] D.M Wilson, D.G. Hurst, 'Medieval Britain in 1964', *Medieval Archaeology*, 9.1 (1965), pp 176-7.

[816] See 10.8 Appendix 8.

[817] D.H. Caldwell, 'Finlaggan report 5: houses and halls' (Unpublished report deposited at NMS, 2010), pp 268-9.

parallels except, in still quite general terms, building P at Finlaggan, building 16b at Dundonald and building F5 at Skeabost in Skye. The first was built on long blocks of local stone, though surviving only one or two courses at most (c.1m wide), bonded with lime mortar.[818] Here, however, it not clear how a superstructure interacted with the foundational courses of stone. At Dundonald, building 16b was composed of an unbonded low wall (c.1.5m wide) which enveloped vertical timber posts, these last penetrating the natural clay below; this whole was embedded within a mound thrown up around the wall.[819] The Skeabost building (F5), unfortunately not dated (though comfortably late medieval, the evidence spanning the early 13th-16th centuries), features in the fragmentary remains two courses of walling with no pinnings and no evidence of mortar.[820] The hall argued to represent the manor of Edward Balliol on Hestan Island is 11.24 x 5.57m, though it was not comprehensively excavated.[821] A timber hall pre-dated the 15th-century stone tower at Carrick Castle in Argyll, though this was set in shallow trenches, measuring approximately 8.1 x 5.4m. The hall at Auldhill, Portencross was 10 x 6m (itself a small structure and therefore not obviously a hall) and dated to the 13th-early 14th century.[822] By contrast, the clay-bonded peasants' dwelling at Springwood Park in the Borders are more closely comparable in scale.

The inclusion of two non-hall structures in the discussion is intended to illustrate that the interpretation offered by Thomas may be subject to critical review. The lack of hearth and uneven interior surface of the building at Ardwall may be explained by other factors than the space being an undercroft for a hall; the construction of a later tavern on the site, perhaps using stone robbed or quarried from the immediate area, is one possibility. Though the dating of the building is accepted in principle – for want of diagnostic material, apart from anything else – it does not amount to convincing evidence; apart from the two bronze pins, unspecified "other fragments" (perhaps pottery) were suggested to corroborate a mid-13th-mid-14th-century occupation.[823] Additionally, these evidences may represent fragments of an occupation at the site which spanned a longer period; it is equally plausible that the Ardwall site dates to the 14th century, where the available dimensions are somewhat comparable to those of places like Threave (Kirkcudbrightshire), Dundonald (Kyle) and Carrick Castle (Argyll) (see 10.10 Appendix 10).

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[818] Caldwell, 'Finlaggan report 5', p.263.

[819] G. Ewart, D. Pringle, *Dundonald Castle excavations, 1869-93, Scottish Archaeological Journal monograph* (Edinburgh, 2006), p.47. The wall thickness and width estimations are made from the scale plans.

[820] S. Thomas, 'From cathedral of the Isles to obscurity – the archaeology and history of Skeabost Island, Snizort', *PSAS*, 144 (2014), p.250. The author was admittedly tentative about the lack of mortar, on account of the limited visible remains.

[821] C.A. Ralegh Radford, 'Balliol's manor house on Hestan Island', *TDGNHAS*, 35 (3rd s.) (1956-7), p.33. This interpretation will be discussed later.

[822] G. Ewart, 'Auldhill, Portencross', *DES* (1989), p.60.

[823] Truckell, Williams, 'Mediaeval pottery in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p.171; Thomas, 'The excavation of an early Christian site of Irish type', p.88.

The cathedral church at Skeabost (Skye) is greater in length but narrower in width than the Ardwall building. It was originally a church which acquired episcopal functions alongside its enduring parochial role.[824] It is very unlikely that Ardwall represents a church or large chapel, but it is not impossible. However, the width of the walls at Ardwall tend to favour an interpretation as a multi-storey structure, and so unlikely to be a church or chapel. The little-understood 'castle' or 'keep' at Finlaggan, on present evidence slightly earlier than Ardwall, represents an interesting comparison. The excavation revealed the eastern wall of a massive structure (wall feature n[o]. 16025) 1.8m thick, composed of dressed blocks of stone bonded with lime mortar. The interior face features a ledge, possibly for hosting floor joists. A fragment of red sandstone may represent the only remnants of dressed stone for a window or doorway.[825] The whole was systematically dismantled in the 13th-14th centuries, perhaps due to structural problems resulting from its erection on an artificial island.[826] Thus there is a reasonable case for accepting in principle a substantial, undocumented early stone castle in the area. Its formal typology goes some way to supporting this. While Finlaggan's 'keep' is certainly larger than the building on Ardwall, it is perhaps the closest in detail and presents one interpretation for the hitherto unexplained 'curtilage' walls. In this view, the 'curtilage' walls may represent the walls of the building, meaning the north wall of the 'hall', of the same phase, may represent a medial cross-wall. If the structure was roughly square, it would almost match the tentative 'castle'/'keep' on Eilean na Comhairle, Finlaggan. A roughly right-angled bank c.18m from the southern wall, and on the line of the east wall, may present a return (see

10.7 Appendix 7); traces of walling are also suggested in the unexcavated face of the east wall. More remote is the possibility that the walls at Ardwall represent an enclosure, rather than the walls of a tower. This is difficult to substantiate with corroborating archaeological evidence as the surfaces were cut into by later buildings. Fundamentally a lack of detail prevents any more being said and does not represent a conclusive interpretation of Ardwall's 'hall'.

Tabraham has noted that the modern parish of Borgue, which embraces the three Islands of Fleet today, was in the medieval period three distinct units; Senwick parish to the west, Borgue in the centre and Kirkandrews parish to the west (Figure 56).[827] Though the boundaries of the parishes are not known, they may be inferred by the location of the respective churches; the notion that bodies of water – streams, burns and lochs – acted as parish boundaries is evidenced elsewhere, but the Borgue-Kirkandrews boundary is not obvious on this count, perhaps a reflection of

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[824] Thomas, 'Skeabost Island', p.261,
[825] D.H. Caldwell, 'Finlaggan report 7: Eilean na Comhairle' (Unpublished report deposited at NMS, 2010), [10]*. *Note, the pages of the report are not numbered; the numbers shown here progress from the cover sheet as page 1 etc.
[826] Caldwell, 'Finlaggan report 7: Eilean na Comhairle', [pp 12-3].
[827] Tabraham, 'Norman settlement in Galloway', p.96.

Kirkandrews' later imposition on an existing parochial landscape.[828] Tabraham also identified three secular power centres in the modern parish, though not conveniently representing one apiece in the older units: Barmagachan and Boreland of Borgue, both located in Borgue parish, and Roberton in Kirkandrews.[829] Senwick, as demesne of the Lords of Galloway, may have not featured such a centre, though possible centres exist to the north and south of the parish.[830] Oram has suggested an arrangement for caputs in the lordship of Borgue following the death of William de Campania.[831] His younger brother Robert ruled at the unexcavated site of Roberton in Kirkandrews parish; presumably the parish was largely, if not wholly, under his control. The caput for the portion of the split Borgue lordship held by the husband of Robert's daughter or niece, Bernard of Ripley, was at Barmagachan in Borgue parish. This theory also argues that Robert had his caput very close to the lands of his niece's husband (or his son-in-law), for Bernard is recorded granting to the Priory of St Bees in Cumbria a half mark of their mill at Kirkandrews.[832] In this context, the complex arrangement of caput and associated lands need not suggest a contiguous arrangement in the period in question. The split of the Borgue lordship can only have taken place following the death of Alan of Galloway in c.1234.[833] What this means is that the occupation of Ardwall (beginning c.1250) as a secular centre appears after the fragmentation of the de Morville lordship at Borgue and a diffusing of local political power.

6.3.2.1 Landscape

Ardwall remains something of a mystery. It certainly appears to represent a medieval structure; it cannot be firmly ascribed a construction date of 1250s x 1350s. Its tenurial association with the nearby mainland is not obvious, and in this context it may have functioned as an alternative, seasonal centre of authority in the local landscape – perhaps more usefully located to administer western lands than the Cardonness caput. There are many points of access to the island from the mainland coast here, and the island is accessible by foot at low tides. Its location at the mouth of the Fleet and a short distance from the Machars and Kirkcudbright emphasize connection to the local landscape, not removal. It also stresses an engagement with the island's maritime setting. In Ireland, the later lords of Baltimore exercised control of their territory (land and sea) through the construction of secular centres at sensitive or practically useful points.[834] The presence of an early medieval chapel on the island (unless heremitical) demonstrates that this was a place to be used

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[828] Crowe, 'Early medieval parish formation in Dumfries and Galloway', p.205.

[829] Tabraham, 'Norman settlement in Galloway', pp 97-8.

[830] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.228; Doon Wood (NX 6574 4883) and Manor Castle (NX 6541 4439). The concentration of cup and ring marked stones around the early modern Senwick House may suggest an earlier site there. C.500m south-west of the ruins of Senwick church are those of Balmangan Tower (15th-16th cs.), perhaps on an earlier site.

[831] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.228.

[832] *St Bees*, ch.67.

[833] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 228-9.

[834] Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll lords of Baltimore, Co. Cork', p.130.

and visited; the late medieval hall may have been constructed on a similar basis, with the additional component of extracting payment from passing ships (Figure 56). As with Loch Urr, an aspect of leisure may be important in understanding Ardwall's lordly functions.
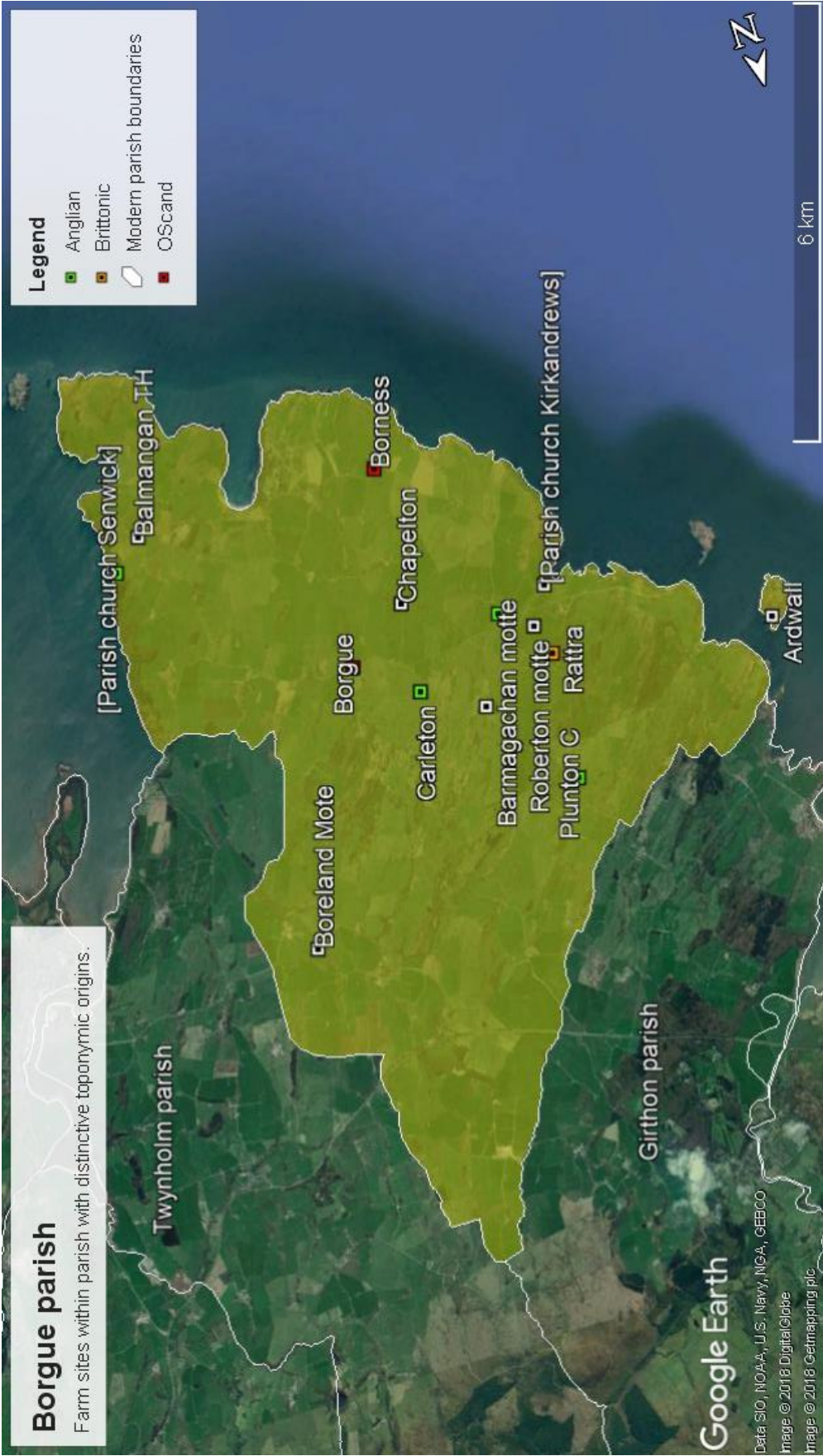
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There is a dense concentration of non-Gaelic place-names around Ardwall (Figure 56) within the parish of Borgue. Anglian Plunton to the east and Skyreburn in Girthon parish just west of the mouth of the Water of Fleet are old names first attested in the 15th century, while Girthon is attested in the 13th century and evidences a church of the same century.[835] Though Plunton is today a small farm it has given its name to the nearby hill and the mill site to the north-east. Plunton Castle (16th-century) testifies to later high-status residence in the Ardwall hinterland, and intriguingly some of the enclosures surrounding the castle may be older than it.[836] Of the Brittonic names within 5km of Ardwall, Rattra may contain a tell-tale *tref* element overlying a considerably older settlement, according to Breeze.[837] The only Gaelic name in the vicinity, Kirklaugh to the west, preserves a *dabhach* element.[838] Syllodioch, *Solodzeoche* in 1610, could also be Gaelic in origin, but of uncertain status and origin.[839] Of the settlement names and monuments connected to the possible hall at Ardwall, two Borelands (at Anwoth and Girthon) survive; the former is clearly connected to a motte site. A third motte site, at Roberton (discussed above) near Rattra, also survives. Combined, these points argue that the mainland around Ardwall was busy with economic life in the period in which the island's hall was occupied. It is not obvious that the economic life of the mainland, however, influenced the role of the hall. A role in maritime exploitation is possible; fish traps are apparent on the shore by Ardwell House. So too is a role in leisurely retreat. The two are not exclusive.

The arrangement of the parish of Borgue in which Ardwall sits gives credit to the idea that the hall was probably not a central place of lordship. The current parish is obviously a composite of three earlier districts, one centered on Kirkandrews c.6,200m E of Ardwall, the second at Senwick on the far side of the present parish (c.17,800m E of Ardwall), and the last and present one at Borgue (c.11,300m E of Ardwall).[840] The tradition of a chapel on Ardwall itself may placate a physical removal from parochial care, but this predates the emergence of a secular hall here, according to Thomas' excavation. Added to these three churches is the farm site of Chapelton c.2,000m WSW of Borgue. There is no tradition of a chapel here, but the toponym may fossilise one. Of the three churches, Kirkandrews has an uncertain early history but was on record in 1275; Senwick was granted to Tongland Abbey outside Kirkcudbright by David II (1329-71), while Borgue was granted

[835] Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick: an historical assessment', p.307.
[836] R. Oram, pers. comm.
[837] Breeze, 'Brittonic Place-names from south-west Scotland, Part 4: Glentenmont, Rattra, Tarras and Tinny Hill', p.163.
[838] J. MacQueen, 'Pennyland and davoch in south-western Scotland', *Scottish Studies*, 32 (1979), pp 69-74.
[839] H.E. Maxwell, *Studies in the topography of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1887), p.299.
[840] Tabraham, 'Norman settlement in Galloway', p.96

to Dryburgh by Hugh de Morville in c.1160s.[841] Kirkandrews, the nearest of the three to Ardwall, was granted to Lincluden collegiate church by William, Earl of Douglas (c.1323xc.1384).[842] As Douglas was essentially heritor of many demesne lands of the lords of Galloway prior to 1234, Kirkandrews may be regarded as part of that demesne too. Given the dating of the hall at Ardwall dates from the time of the splitting of Galloway among successive heiresses it is likely the construction represents the articulation of lordship in a landscape where the limits of control between different lords was being delineated.

That the hall at Ardwall overlies a chapel site might suggest that the hall's builders had connections to Tongland, Dryburgh or perhaps Lincluden. It is not clear to whom the island belonged, but the analogy of Dundrennan's possession of Hestan Isle may suggest that Ardwall was appropriated by one of the reformed houses in Galloway at some point prior to the construction of the hall in c.1250. To some extent this is an argument from the absence of any obvious settlement relationships with the mainland, and by analogy, so is tenuous. But it does account for the building over of the chapel, and the evidence from Dunrod – a grange site removed from the monastic house to which it belonged – also presents evidence for high-status living. It is imagined at Dunrod that the canons visiting were enjoying the benefits of the produce which the grange produced alongside imported items. The same could theoretically be evident at Ardwall.

6.3.3 Buittle Castle

Early antiquarians were very aware of Buittle Castle, which was subject to early unrecorded excavations.[843] Affleck suggested it was one of four "pure" Norman castles in the wider district for which there was visible evidence.[844] Latent 'Improvement' ideology, or perhaps quasi-eulogical praise current in the aftermath of Queen Victoria's death, was apparent in his interpretation of the site. Affleck mused that after the death of John Balliol, the Galloway heiress Dervorgilla "continued to develop the resources of the Province, and devoted all her energies towards the amelioration of her rude and uncouth subjects." Under her guidance, "[…] agriculture received an impetus such as it never had before."[845] No evidence is presented for either claim. Reid argued that the buildings represented the first stage of stone castle "evolution" in Scotland, forming part of the Edwardian tradition of castles – despite its pre-dating the Welsh group, and offering no

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[841] R.D. Oram, 'A family business? Colonisation and settlement in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Galloway', *SHR*, 72.2 (1993), pp 119-20; cf. Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements of Galloway and Carrick', p.306, citing Bagimond's Roll; Cowan, *The parishes of medieval Scotland*, p.182.

[842] Cowan, *The parishes of medieval Scotland*, p.117.

[843] Truckell, Williams, 'Mediaeval pottery in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p.133.

[844] J. Affleck, 'Buittle', *TDGNHAS*, 22 (2nd s.) (1909-10), pp 199-200.

[845] Affleck, 'Buittle', pp 201-2.

connection between the two.[846] A close connection to the Balliol dominance over the fragmented Lordship of Galloway was apparent in the profusion of documents which directly or indirectly hinted at a connection between dynasty and castle.

While the documentary history of the site has been amply discussed in previous studies,[847] less attention has been given to the surviving fragments of archaeology and architecture.[848] A promising series of excavations at the site, undertaken variously by Penman, Penman and Cochrane, has not yielded a synthetic final report. These focussed on the area of the site labelled the 'bailey'. The site is composed of two distinct units, this and a mound, covering a total approximate area of 22,257.70m^2 – more than three times larger than Cruggleton (10.10 Appendix 10).[849]

A survey of the site in 1987, an exercise hitherto unexamined in any great detail, concentrated on the mound and the probable entrance to the north.[850] A conservative estimate of the surface area of the elliptical mound – ignoring the obvious robbing at the lip of the mound across its circumference, and the suspected erosion into the Water of Urr – suggests it covered 1060.29m^2. No features were recorded within the interior of the mound except for a small crescentic scoop c.3m, across east of the mound's centre. No surviving wall face outside of the concentration of masonry by the entrance was noted, except for portion c.1m long running NE-SW, with its face towards NW, at the SW of the mound's lip. A robbed section of wall with no faces, on the SE edge of the mound facing the Water of Urr, suggests a wall thickness there of c.3-4m, conforming with the width of the curtain wall at Turnberry. To the south, extensive robbing and quarrying of masonry is hinted below the lip of the mound, forming a crescent shape robber trench or hollow.

The features of the mound can be summarised as follows. The north entrance suggests a void for drawbridge flanked by one, perhaps two, round towers, or D-shaped tower(s) whose curved walls survive. The void forms a long rectangular chamber oriented roughly N-S. The walls of this N-S 'chamber' are incomplete to the north, but the walls running from the southern wall northwards run 5.7-8m; the width of the space between the two parallel walls is 2.5m. As mentioned, the north-running walls are fragmented, but prior to losing definition a check is apparent. C.4.3m from the south wall, a return runs away from the void for 0.2m, at right angles from the wall. It

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[846] R.C. Reid, 'Buittle castle', *TDGNHAS*, 11 (3rd s.) (1923-4), pp 197-203.

[847] A.M.T. Maxwell-Irving, 'The castles of Buittle', *TDGNHAS*, 66 (3rd s.) (1991), pp 59-63.

[848] F.R. Coles is an exception to this, noting earthwork features in the bailey: 'The motes, forts, and doons of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbrightshire Part 2', *PSAS*, 26 (1891-2), p.133.

[849] Maxwell-Irving, 'The castles of Buittle', p.59.

[850] Plans: Historic Environment Scotland (John Sinclair House) item DC14323 (mound), DC14324 (entrance). All of the measurements relating to the site are inferred from measured drawings, unless stated. See 10.8 Appendix 8. I have been unable to find out if this survey was the subject of a written report, though it is noted in *DES* 1987, pp 63-4, under the work undertaken by RCAHMS in the 'Threatened Building and Industrial Survey' report.

then returns northwards before losing definition. Thus, the thickness of the N-S chamber walls is c.1.6m for the most part, and c.1.4m for a short run. The southern wall of the 'chamber' is not at right angles to the northward-running walls, but rather forms an oblique angle with the east wall at the SE corner. South of the 'chamber' and the void, is a groove running E-W, with only sections of opposing facing surviving, interpreted as a portcullis slot.

To the west, this chamber/void appears to be flanked by a round tower; no reciprocal wall faces survive, but the core evident suggests a conservative estimate of 2-2.5m wall thickness. A surviving stretch of wall face for one jamb (east) of a possible embrasure survives; it too features a check, though here turning into the space rather than away from it. This stretch of walling runs from the interior for 0.7m, turning at right angles for 0.3m, before returning to the earlier line for 0.2m, before losing definition. A straight wall face, 2.9m long, also faces into the interior of the tower W of the possible embrasure, but on no recognisable line. It may suggest that while the outer face of the tower appears to have been curved, the interior was polygonal. At the opposite side of this north entrance are possible traces of a heavily robbed reciprocal southern entrance or gatehouse, evidenced by arched robber trenches perhaps marking the line of two round- or D-shaped towers.

Limited information allows for limited conclusion. However, it is possible to suggest that one, or several, phases of Buittle's occupation featured an enclosing wall whose entrance was of stone, a drawbridge void with one adjoining, possibly two flanking, towers. Such gates flanked by towers are not diagnostic beyond a broad range of the 13th-15th centuries. The southern gatehouse may have housed an ashlar-built well in one of its tower basements, though there is no evidence to suggest either way that the structures were contemporary.[851] It is possible the enclosing wall was of stone – fragments of facing and core survive in parts – but these cannot be confidently connected to the entrance. Nor can it be assumed that the entrances were contemporary. Nevertheless, the plan of the site as presented in the survey is comparable to that of Dundonald Castle, excavated between 1986-93. These uncovered two gatehouses (east and west), two D-shaped towers flanking a stone-built passage, at the acute angles of a kite-shaped enclosure on top of a natural mound and dated roughly to between 1241x1300. At Dundonald this entrance passage flanked by D-shaped towers was 4m wide (twice Buittle's) and 12m long (identical). At Dundonald, the southern tower of the eastern gatehouse also housed a well within its eastern chamber (e.g. that within the curve of the tower), which may be comparable to that of Buittle.[852] In terms of the approximate surface area of the mounds, Dundonald (1910.09m^2) is almost twice

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[851] J. Williams, 'Buittle Castle, Dalbeattie', *DES* (1966), p.30. The excavation was not recorded, its author instead publishing a note on a 13th-14th-century pottery fragment retrieved (it is assumed) from the well: Truckell, Williams, 'Mediaeval pottery in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p.171.
[852] Ewart, Pringle, *Dundonald Castle excavations*, pp 48, 51.

that of Buittle (1060.29m^2, excluding the larger 'bailey' of c.13,500m^2), though perhaps not more useful given the extensive robbing at the Buittle mound.[853] What the comparison does offer is a possible framework for comparison in architectural terms, though the excavation – discussed below – focussed on the 'bailey' area. The wider ramifications will be discussed thereafter.

As already noted, excavations took place with the non-mound area of Buittle in 1993-2002, but no final report has been published. The emphasis of the interim reports is on high-status artefacts which have been ascribed a date, which all hint at a status of occupation corroborating documentary evidence for royal presence at the site. What follows is a reconstruction of the site's occupation based on evidence gleaned from the reports published in *Discovery and Excavation Scotland* and supplemented by more detailed unpublished typescripts of excavations.[854] The evidence for prehistoric and Iron age occupation is discussed in *DES* but receives fuller attention in the typescripts.[855] Following this, industrial activity is suggested at the site in the 11th century, compliant with a belief derived from the site's onomastic origin that it was an earlier medieval (Northumbrian) power centre.[856]

Evidence for the 12th century hints at rebuilding or destruction at the site, in the form of backfill for the 11th century trenches, along with the appearance of a hunting arrow, the construction of a seemingly timber-framed building set in clay-lined foundations with walls of timber and a roof of turf or heather.[857] Substantial postholes and shallow trenches arrayed on the E edge of the bailey appear to represent box palisades, though excavators interpreted the remains as a wall with intervening chambers. Sherds of yellow-green and orange-green-yellow glaze found in a shared context with the posthole lines were interpreted as 'medieval' and dated to before the 1150s.[858] A "broad" bronze buckle, enamelled heraldic badge and medieval bead added further material to date this feature, though the date range offered (c.1175s-c.1250s) was broader.[859] Metalworking appears to have continued fairly soon after the backfilling of the industrial pits (perhaps never ending), a courtyard connected to this activity also featuring a coin of King John (dated 1205).[860] The 13th century saw stone construction taking place to connect the distinct 'baileys' at the site,

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[853] Cf measurements for mound given in late 1896-7, which suggest surface was 1093.51m^2 (c.30m^2 larger): Affleck, 'Buittle', p.200.

[854] The author was able to access these typescripts for 1992-4 (a single report), 1996, 1997 and 1998.

[855] A. Penman, E. Cochrane, 'Botel Castle bailey (Buittle Castle)', *DES* (1997), p.24.

[856] Tabraham, 'Norman settlement in Galloway', p.98; Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick', p.301; Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.223; D. Brooke, 'Gall-Gaidhil and Galloway', in R.D. Oram, G.P. Stell (eds), *Galloway: land and lordship* (Edinburgh, 1991), p.109.

[857] A. Penman, 'Buittle Castle bailey', *DES* (1993), p.22; A. Penman, E. Cochrane, 'Botel Castle bailey', *DES* (1999), pp 21-3; A. Penman, E. Cochrane, 'Botel Bailey', *DES* (2000), pp 19-20.

[858] A. Penman, 'Botel bailey excavation: interim report 1996' (Unpublished typescript, 1996), pp 10-1; A. Penman, 'Botel bailey excavation: interim report 1997' (Unpublished typescript, 1997), p.28. The pottery sherds may be of slightly later date, based on their characteristics: late 12th-13th centuries.

[859] A. Penman, 'Botel bailey excavation: interim report 1996' (Unpublished typescript, 1996), p.11.

[860] A. Penman, 'Buittle Castle Bailey', *DES* (1995), p.21.

while arrowheads and pottery fragments testify to a high-status occupation – in a society where hunting and ceramic culture were social markers.[861] Activity more specific to the second half of the 13th century is apparent in the construction of a posthole-founded, daub-covered, Venetian glass-fenestrated structure between 1250-70, over the remains of an earlier work which had apparently collapsed into the river.[862] Again this represents a building of especially high social status. The Papal seal of Honorius IV (r. 1285-7) might be connected to the presence in Scotland of Dervorgilla between 1285-6.[863] It must be noted, however, that the seal may also represent a legacy item, in which case its discovery at Buittle may not reflect the location of its official receipt. As the seal is punctured by a hole, perhaps to act as a pendant piece, this is more likely.[864] A coin of Edward III and unnamed finds ascribed to the site's occupation by King Edward Balliol in the mid-14th century hint at another, more substantial, phase of building, though this is difficult to develop on current evidence.[865] This phase was interpreted as evidence for the occupation at the site following its razing in 1313; Edward Balliol was documented at Buittle in the 1340s and early 1350s.[866] This marks the last major period where evidence is apparent from the excavations at the site, which roughly correlates with the argument that the site declined in political importance, though was definitely still occupied, following the end of Balliol kingship in the kingdom.[867] The drop-off in volume of diagnostic finds from the excavation may point towards a shrinking, or relocating, of the focus of settlement, to another part of the 'bailey' or the mound itself. In general terms the typology of the gatehouses mentioned here complies with this date range, but in practice the connection between the two is not robust; gaps remain to substantiate a very general connection between earthworks and artefacts. More likely, however, as Oram has demonstrated through a study of 14th-century landholding around Buittle, high-level political

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[861] A. Penman, 'Botel Castle bailey (Buittle Castle)', *DES* (1996), pp 28-9; Penman, 'Buittle Castle bailey' (1993), p.22; A. Penman, 'Buittle Castle Bailey', *DES* (1994), p.14.

[862] A. Penman, E. Cochrane, 'Botel Castle bailey', *DES* (1999), pp 21-3.

[863] A. Penman, 'Botel Castle bailey (Buittle Castle)', *DES* (1996), pp 28-9; Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 159-60.

[864] Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright accession number STEWM:1995.35.01. Several seals of Honorius IV have been found in Britain. The *Portable Antiquities Scheme* database for England and Wales notes one example (IOW-AFE665) which has been carefully modified, perhaps for retention as a favoured item. Deliberate alteration was apparent in a bulla from Sussex too (SUSS-170A48). Other seals were found in Northumberland, Warwickshire, Lincolnshire and possibly Pembrokeshire.

[865] Penman, 'Buittle Castle bailey' (1993), p.22; Penman, 'Botel Castle bailey (Buittle Castle)' (1996), pp 28-9; Penman, Cochrane, 'Botel Castle bailey' (1999), pp 21-3; A. Penman, E. Cochrane, 'Botel Castle bailey', *DES* (1998), p.25; Penman, Cochrane, 'Botel Bailey' (2000), pp 19-20.

[866] Penman, 'Botel Bailey Excavation: interim report 1997', pp 26-7.

[867] R.D. Oram, 'A note on the ownership of the Barony of Buittle', *TDGNHAS*, 67 (3rd s.) (1992), p.81.

authority moved away from the castle and so the site remained a ruin, with faint occupation from the late 14th century onwards.[868]

Combining the findings of the mound and 'bailey' area, it is apparent that the 13th century saw building works undertaken at the site which it is tempting to connect to the emergence of the name, and probably the site (though not necessarily as it stands today) in the documentary record. It is clear there was important construction at the site in the 12th century: the palisade around the bailey. The construction of a timber building with expensive imported glass may represent a first step in elevating Buittle as one centre of Balliol power in Scotland, another being at Lauder in Berwickshire, important in the concentration of landholdings there, building on the impressive landed inheritance of Dervorgilla Balliol.[869] The construction of the stone curtain wall on the mound may also be connected to this phase; at Dundonald, the major works in the later 13th century of comparable form may represent efforts by Alexander Stewart to develop the site as the centre of a major lordship in northern Kyle. At Buittle, it may also be related to the presence of John Balliol in Galloway as an agent of Henry III of England in the court of the minor Alexander III (1249-58).[870] Edward Balliol's occupation of Buittle spurred another stone construction phase in the bailey, which may have been the focus of habitation at the castle, it being assumed that the mound was ruined in the 1313 attack. Thus the 'bailey' thereafter became the focus of occupation at the site until the end of Balliol power in Galloway.

From the perspective of European castles Buittle was typical in the activities in its environs (discussed in more detail below); it was remarkable for the scale of building in its bailey and its mound, suggestive of sustained investment in its upkeep and remodelling for around two centuries. Interestingly this period of continued occupation spanned the end of the native line in Galloway and the emergence of the families of Alan of Galloway's heiresses as political leaders in the region. For all the dynastic transformation, alongside serious political instability, Buittle remained a viable and desirable centre of lordly life. From a social perspective, while the finds from the excavation are indicative of great wealth and continued occupation at the site, there is little explicit evidence for the presence of either John Balliol or Dervorgilla at Buittle; in the latter's case exceptions are apparent in the documentary evidence for major acts of patronage or charity.[871] It may be inferred, as Oram has done, that the Patrick McCuffock coerced by the Bruces to call for the expulsion of foreign interests in Scotland, was possibly the steward of Dervorgilla at

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[868] Oram, 'A note on the ownership of the Barony of Buittle', pp 80-1. Post-14th century occupation includes a coin of Mary Queen of Scots, 16th-century-dated sea coal, a coin of Charles I and assorted 19th-century evidence (coins, sherds).

[869] D. Austin (ed.), *Acts of perception: a study of Barnard Castle in Teesdale* (Durham, 2007), I, p.65.

[870] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.153.

[871] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 156-8. Sweetheart Abbey and Balliol College, Oxford are prominent foundations.

Buittle.[872] Patrick may have held lands at Guffogland, a modern farm bearing similar toponymy to his family name, and located a mere c.1,400m NW of the castle.

6.3.3.1 Landscape

For all that landscapes are acknowledged to change with time, the changes evident in the hinterland and wider context of Buittle are probably all the more dramatic given the site's importance (Figure 57). A charter of 1289x1298 saw the transferral of the lands of *Knockys* [Meikle Knox], *Sewynkyrke*, *Kennormore*, *kennmore logane* [Logan] and *Colenknauc* [Cullenlaw] within the Barony of Buittle.[873] The identity of *Kennormore* may reasonably be inferred to be close to the known farm of Logan. Roy's map of the district evidences four lochans east of Carlingwark Lock.[874] The two immediately south of the known farm of Torr are not labelled (one is probably Floors Loch); the two to the east of the farm are respectively labelled 'Torloch' and 'Kenmuir'; this last may represent *Kennormore*. Kenmore Hill is also the eminence on which the farm of Meikle Knox is located. The identity of *Sewynkyrke* (perhaps OScand *Sewyn* and *kirk*, 'Svein's church'?) is not known, though it may reasonably be inferred from its landscape. The farm of Leaths (ON *hltha*, 'barn') and Ernespie (in 1557, *Quesby*, containing OScand *-bie* or *-býr*, 'farm') represent a smattering of Old Scandinavian names north-east of Carlingwark Loch.[875] It is possible that *Sewynkyrke* represents a third such settlement, here bearing a Scandinavian proper name and a church. Even if discounting this last, these lands within the barony form a block of territory north-west of the castle which were in the last years of the 13th century outwith the castle's control.

A second charter, to Sir James Douglas from King Robert I in c.1324, outlines a larger unit of territory granted to the Bruce's loyal follower; Oram has argued it represented a substantial but all too late attempt at buttressing unified authority in the region following the removal of the natural political leaders of Galloway, the Balliols.[876] Here, the castle is part of the grant, which includes the whole parish of Buittle, and the lands more extensive. *Knockynbotile*, *Torrys* [Torrs], *Brethtathe* [Breoch], *Rinteshey* are all named as lands within the grant, while Crossmichael and Kelton – the centres of neighbouring parishes – are also named in the definition of the boundary.[877] *Knockynbotile* may represent another rendering of (Meikle) Knox mentioned in the earlier 1289x1298 charter, or perhaps the Hill of Buittle. Brooke identified the estate/lands of *Kintishey* as Rough Island, which though today in the parish of Colvend and Southwick may have

[872] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 159-60.
[873] *Reg. Morton*, 13.
[874] Livingston, 'Gaelic in Galloway: Part one – expansion', p.90.
[875] H. Maxwell, *Place-names of Galloway* (Glasgow, 1930); M'Dowall, *Chronicles of Lincluden*, p.108; A. Livingston, 'A Viking longphort in Galloway?' (2016), Last of the Westland Whigs <http://westlandwhig.blogspot.co.uk/2016/04/a-viking-longphort-in-galloway.html>, [Accessedd 11/7/16].
[876] Oram, 'A note on the ownership of the Barony of Buittle', p.81.
[877] *Reg. Morton*, II, 32.

formed part of Buittle.[878] Its -*ey* ending may be taken to indicate OScand or OEng -*ey* or -*ay*, 'island'. It may equally represent a lost farm name in the saltmarsh area at the mouth of the Urr Water and smaller burns entering Orchardton Bay and Rough Firth; this is perhaps more likely as it is described as *terram*.

Though it was not then under the same ownership as the castle, the Mill of Gelston (*Molendinum de Keuilstoun*), another boundary point in the charter, certainly implies there was arable cultivation undertaken here, though strict regulation about the right to mill cereals prevents the assertion that Buittle parish's crops were served by it. There is also evidence for salt panning works close to Buittle parish, in neighbouring Colvend, Kirkgunzeon and Kirkbean, though none within the parish itself.[879] Edward I's confirmation in 1305 of free warren rights to Dundrennan Abbey's lands across Galloway (including Kipp, Auchencairn and Hestan Island abutting the south of Buittle parish) may represent as much a legal fiction as practical evidence for a systematic development of warrening resources.[880] Nevertheless, the earliest grants recorded which mention warrening rights are in connection to monastic, not secular, documents. Gilbert has also argued that rabbit warrens were economic, not recreational, establishments.[881] Excepted from this substantial grant are the lands of *Corbetton* (Corbieton) to the north and the unnamed lands of Patrick MacGibbothyn/MacGiblechyn; the phrase order of this charter implies that Patrick's lands may be located by the sea, where the Urr Water empties.[882] Though this charter is an outline of boundaries, as opposed to a description of contents from the 1289x1298 charter, the comparison does highlight a conspicuous absence: the lands of Buittle Castle itself. It is probable that the creation of a new regional lordship, as the Balliols crafted and was later resurrected under Douglas leaderships by Robert I in Galloway, involved the re-drawing of the land ownership map of the region, and that therefore the lands outlined in the 1289x1298 charter formed part of the landholding hinterland of the castle. Logan, Breoch and *Rinteshey* were part of this. Another reason for the lack of clarity over the lands attached to the castle itself is that they were split up after the ousting of Balliol leadership in Galloway in the 1350s and rivalry between competing branches of the Douglas family over rights to the barony lands. The *de facto* leaders in Galloway, under Archibald Douglas, the illegitimate son of Sir James Douglas (Black Douglas), did not hold Buittle and its immediate territory, which were held by the Douglases of Dalkeith, who feued out

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[878] *RMS*, I, App. 1, 37. W. Fraser, *The Douglas Book* (Edinburgh, 1885), III, p.13, gives *Rinteshey*; *Reg. Morton*, II, 32, gives *Rinteshey*. Daphne Brook has noted that the R- or K- rendering are inconsequential, as "[...] the Gaelic *ceann-teasaich* – "warm headland" or *roinn-teasaich* – "warm peninsula" – [is] apparently the current name for Glen Isle." In A. Penman, 'Botel bailey excavation: interim report 1998' (Unpublished typescript, 1998), p.28.

[879] *RRS*, II, 88; Grainger, Collingwood, *Register and records of Holm Cultram*, 121; *RRS*, III, 215.

[880] *CDS*, II, 1702.

[881] Gilbert, *Hunting and hunting reserves in Medieval Scotland*, p.213.

[882] The discrepancy in surname spelling derives from the charter surviving in two forms; that of the *Reg. Morton* and that of the *The Douglas Book*.

these lands and kept their centre at Morton in Nithsdale. Archibald's efforts to exert control over Galloway saw the construction of Threave Castle as a new centre, moving the political centre of gravity in Galloway west of Buittle.[883]

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[883] Oram, 'A note on the ownership of the Barony of Buittle', p.82.
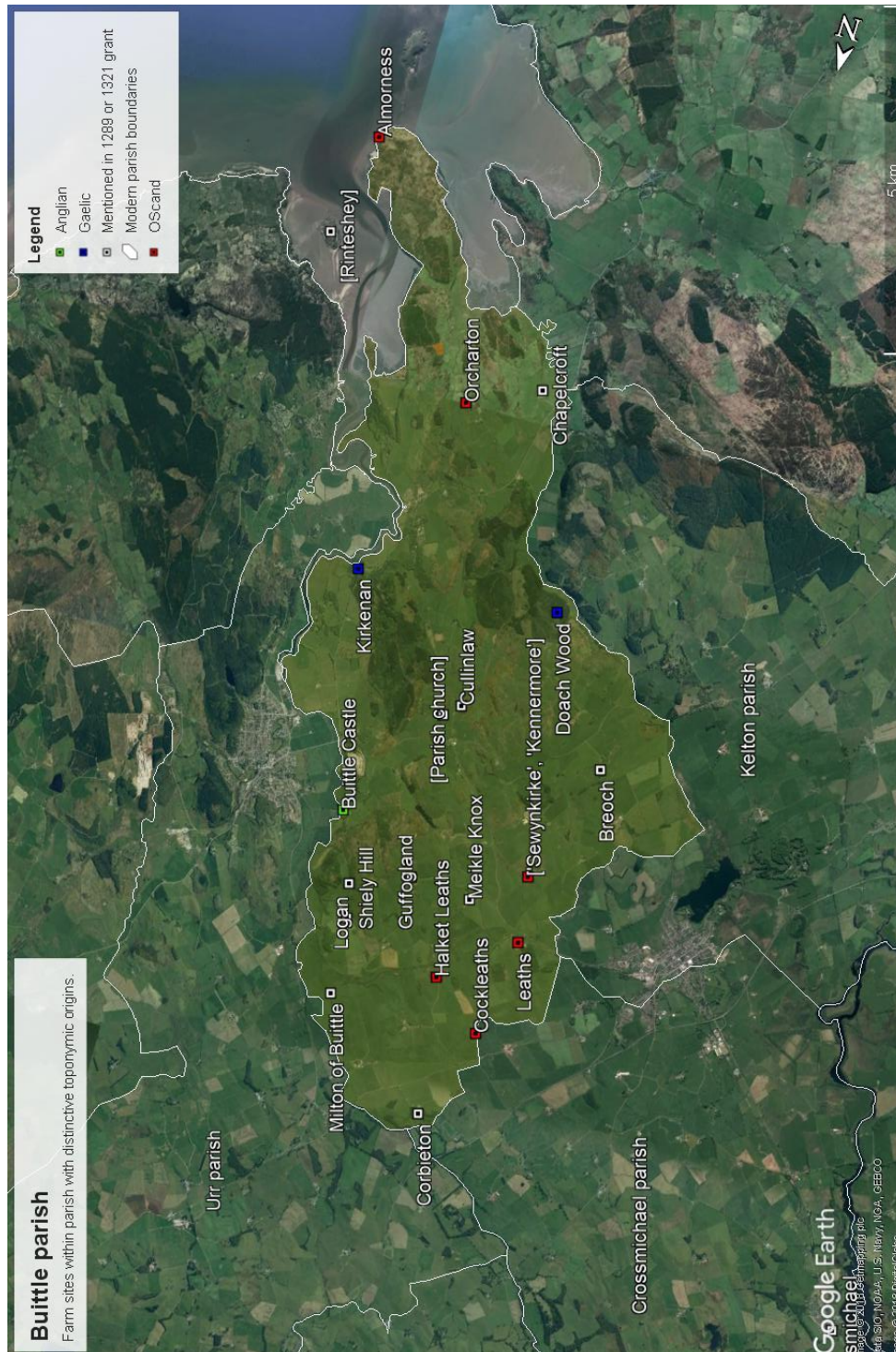
© GOOGLE EARTH

The 13th-14th-century Wars of Independence may also have had an impact on the landscape of Buittle, the evidence of which may also hint at the agricultural landscape of the area.[884] Barbour's *The Brus*, perhaps theatrically rather than factually, records that Edward Bruce led off cattle from outside the castle in 1308: "And quhen Schyr Edward saw the chace/We faylt he gert says the

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[884] For an overview of the wars of Independence, P. Slavin, 'Warfare and ecological destruction in early fourteenth-century British Isles', *Environmental History*, 19.3 (2014), pp 528-550.

pray/And sua gret cattell had away/That is war wonder for to se."[885] Doubtless the economic landscape was much damaged, at least in the short term, in the course of Bruce's razing of the castle five years later.[886] The uncertain historicity of this episode is balanced by the recognition that such acts would certainly not been out of place in the wars, and that pastoral farming was in any case evident in the region.[887]

The proximity of Mote of Urr to Buittle has already been referenced. Milton of Buittle, a modern farm perhaps fossilising in its name the presence of Buittle Castle's mill, is a mere c.600m from the Mote. The analogy with Mote of Urr is extended when considering that Buittle is equally far removed from its holdings. The excavated evidence certainly suggests continued occupation from the 11th century in the bailey, but substantial investment only emerges in the second half of the 13th century – when Dervorgilla de Balliol exerted increased influence over her Scottish estates.[888] Buittle had more to offer from the perspective of natural advantages than Mote of Urr, however; it sits at the tidal range of the Water of Urr, and excavations at the castle hinted at the presence of a port attached to the bailey by the river.

There are no known Brittonic names in the parish, or close to it in neighbouring parishes (Figure 57).[889] The Scandinavian names, few in number, cluster north-east of Carlingwark Loch. It is plausible these represent the settlement of OScand speakers near to a power centre focussed on the loch itself, though pre-dating the occupation of Buittle as a castle site by the Balliols. There are problems with this model, chief among them that the Gall-Gaidhil – arriving in Galloway and emerging as political leaders in the region – may have spoken Old Norse but certainly spoke Gaelic.[890] Picking out OScand place-names therefore artificially skews any conclusions due to the lack of research undertaken on Gaelic place-names. While examining Carlingwark's landscape may not serve to enlighten an earlier phase of history, it does suggest conclusions for the post-14th-century history of Buittle Castle's landscape. The name of the loch may contain a Brittonic root *caer*-, 'fortification', though Maxwell suggested *ceorla weorc*, Anglo-Saxon (*sic*) 'work of the husbandmen'.[891] More plausibly, the name derives from Sc *carlin*, 'witch/old woman', making its onomastic meaning 'building of the old woman'.[892] This term, however, has probable ON origins (*kerling*, 'witch/(old) woman'), though this may only coincidentally echo an OScand presence

[885] Duncan, *John Barbour – The Bruce*, book 9, ls.534-537.
[886] W. Fraser (ed.), *The Douglas book* (Edinburgh, 1885), II, p.603.
[887] Slavin, 'Warfare and ecological destruction in early fourteenth-century British Isles', p.533.
[888] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.149.
[889] Threave Castle (Balmaghie Parish) and Falgunzeon and its parish name (Kirkgunzeon Parish) are the nearest known Brittonic settlement names.
[890] Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', p.41.
[891] P. Bibire, pers.comm. 6/1/17; H. Maxwell, *Place-names of Galloway* (Glasgow, 1930).
[892] Anon., "Carline *n.*" (2004), Dictionary of the Scots Language. <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/carline> [Accessed 17/7/2017].

north-east of the Loch. Preliminary finds from excavation by the NMS in 2016 argues for Carlingwark being a substantial Iron Age centre, but a medieval presence is not apparent.

There is cause for considering a second power centre in the immediate neighbourhood of Buittle Castle. Brooke and Oram have speculated that *Arsbutil/Yrisbutill* represent the remnants of an estate whose centre, the crannog site of *Insula Arsa*/Burnt Isle in Glenken, is mentioned in a brief window of the 14th century.[893] However, Livingston, in the first of two articles on the Gaelic language in Galloway, noted that the farm (and late medieval tower house) of Orchardton at the south of Buittle parish (e.g. not in Glenken) was recorded in the 16th century as '*alias vocatarum Yrisbutill*'.[894] This name contains the same OE *botle* as Buittle and the derivative topographic *Knockynbotile* discussed earlier. It is tempting to suggest that *Yrisbutill* is a rendering of the name *Arsbutil* of early-mid-14th-century Balliol documents.[895] The connection between *Insula Arsa*/Burnt Isle and *Arsbutil/Yrisbutill* is thus incorrect.[896] Morgan doubts Livingston's suggestion that *Yrisbutill* may represent a foundation of the mid-13th century undertaken by Dervorgilla; rather, she confirms an OE onomastic origin in connection with Buittle upstream. The prefix, she argues, is probably the Old Scots (or Middle English) adjective *Erisch*, 'Irish', the name therefore meaning '[Part of] Buittle [parish] associated with the Irish'.[897] This evidences an interesting possibility of demonstrable settlement of Gaelic-speakers – the term Irish here perhaps a linguistic label than a geographical – or equally "self-referential ethnicism" of its inhabitants.[898] It may equally represent the recognition of a distinct and perhaps sudden settlement of people from Ireland after the time in which Buittle became a prominent centre in the region. This argument is enhanced by the relative paucity of *Erisch*-connected names on the coast of Galloway.[899] While the name *Yrisbutill* endured in the region, there is little evidence for it representing a satellite power centre to Buittle Castle upstream. Indeed, if Morgan's argument about the origin of the name is correct, then we would not expect to find such a centre.

The old 13th-century parish church, its construction coeval with a period of the castle's medieval occupation, is more centrally located within the parish than the castle, c.2.1km SSE from it. There is no known chapel site nearer the castle and none is noted in documentary records. Given the

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[893] Brooke, 'The Glenkens 1275-1456: snapshots of a medieval countryside', p.43; R.D. Oram, 'Dervorgilla, the Balliols and Buittle', *TDGNHAS*, 73 (3rd s.) (1999), p.169. It appears to be the centre of the barony of Kells.

[894] Livingston, 'Gaelic in Galloway: Part one – expansion', p.90, gives a reference pointing towards a 15th-century document.

[895] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.222.

[896] See 10.11 Appendix 11 for documentary references to both plans.

[897] A.P. Morgan, *Ethnonyms in the place-names of Scotland and the Border counties of England* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2013), Appendix D, pp 190-1.

[898] A.P. Morgan, *Ethnonyms in the place-names of Scotland and the Border counties of England* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2013), p.79.

[899] A.P. Morgan, *Ethnonyms in the place-names of Scotland and the Border counties of England*, pp 78-81.

importance and scale of Buittle Castle, there may have been a chapel within the castle, though episcopal fears over the provision of parochial care may have prevented this. An earlier church site may be represented at the farm of Kirkennan by the Water of Urr at the south end of the parish. At the extreme south-western edge of the parish c.1.1km west of Orchardton is the farm of Chapelcroft, which may relate to a lost chapel site in the local area, or to the lands allocated a chapel.

6.3.3.2 Summary

Though only partially subject to excavation, the work undertaken by Penman *et al*. does allow us to suggest several important phases of change at the site, though from the outset it is not certain how these relate to other parts of the bailey or the mound itself. Early medieval occupation pre-dates the major timber construction in the 12th century, evidenced by the box palisade construction. This is followed by reconstruction in the later 13th century prior to the Wars of Independence, when elaborate accommodation was constructed on the eastern side of the bailey, evidenced by an imported glass fragment, locks and high-status pottery. No conclusive evidence for a substantial break in occupation can be inferred from the archaeological evidence in connection to the documented 1313 attack, but major works were once again underway in the bailey in the mid-14th century, which accords well with a documented return of Balliol occupation at the castle.

Buittle Castle's medieval landscape is still largely unknown, despite the relative wealth of documents which survive. There may have been more extensive arable cultivation in the 12th to 14th centuries in the local area than at present, judging by the mill sites mentioned in surviving charters for neighbouring parishes. A complicated prehistoric and Iron age landscape underlies an equally opaque place-name environment; certainly, Buittle retained a central position in the governance of the local area, and it may have influenced the naming of one other settlement, *Yrisbutill*, and a nearby hill, *Knockynbotile*. A very small concentration of Old Scandinavian place-names near Carlingwark Loch may hint at an earlier power centre, though the relationship between those sites and Gaelic centres of authority is not yet fully understood. Clancy suggests their proximity to power centres of possible pre-12th century origin argues for the Scandinavian linguistic and cultural inclination (if not necessarily origin) of the Gallovidian nobility.[900] *Arsbutil* was established as being an earlier name to Orchardton in the south of the parish, distinct from *Insula Arsa*/Burnt Island in Glenken.

6.3.4 Turnberry Castle

Although the castle at Turnberry Head was a site well-known to antiquarians, and especially from the later 19th century onwards due to its association with King Robert I, there has been no

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[900] Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', p.41.

recorded antiquarian excavation at the site.[901] Antiquaries' interpretation of the site provide hints of the arrangement of the site prior to the building of a lighthouse with keepers' houses and courtyard over much of the site in 1873. Forsyth and MacGibbon and Ross remarked on the now-lost remains of a drawbridge buttress, for example.[902] The connection to a foremost hero of Scotland's medieval past also encouraged the publishing of several engravings of the castle from the late 18th century onwards, some of which are evidently derivative of each other. The documentary evidence forms the first focus of discussion.

Characteristically, any early mention of the name Turnberry is connected to ecclesiastical landholding; the first occurrence relates to the patronage of the church of Turnberry (*alias* Kirkoswald). In 12th-13th-century documents, the names of the parish are interchangeably Turnberry and Kirkoswald.[903] It was confirmed as belonging to Paisley Abbey in a confirmation of Innocent III in 1207, and again was among the churches appropriated to Paisley, and previously contested by the Bishop of Glasgow, save a lodging reserved for the bishop.[904] There is evidence to suggest the presence within Turnberry parish of dependent chapels.[905] While it is tempting to speculate on the presence of a chapel at Turnberry Castle, given the distance between the site and the parish church (c.4.7km as the crow flies), archaeologically this and any other are absent (Figure 58).[906] It is worth mentioning that while the modern parish bears the name of its parish church (Kirkoswald), most medieval references here either name the parish Turnberry, or a composite form of these two – e.g. the church of St Oswald (Kirkoswald) in Turnberry. This is not by itself compelling evidence for the elevated importance of Turnberry Castle as a secular power centre, but it does contribute towards that picture. It is striking that there are no other early stone castles in Carrick, with the sole exception of comital Loch Doon Castle. Carleton Castle has a motte that was probably extant in the 12th century, whose 13th-century owner Donnchadh of

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[901] On spurious connection to Robert I: M. Penman, *Robert the Bruce: King of Scots* (New Haven CT, 2014), p.339.

[902] D. MacGibbon, T. Ross, *Castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887), III, pp 110-111; R. Forsyth, *Beauties of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1805), II, p.485.

[903] Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick', p.310. To avoid confusion, I choose to identify the parish as Kirkoswald.

[904] *Reg. Pais.*, pp 113-5, 428.

[905] *Reg. Pais.*, p. 411.

[906] The other chapel site may be recorded in the place-name Chapelton (c.3km distant) on Threave Hill: NS 2398 0447 and surrounds. It may represent an earlier parish structure, given the proximity to a high-status farm (cf. Threave, Kirkcudbrightshire); the form of Kirkoswald parish hints at an amalgamation of earlier land units. To the south, a block of land (c.3.5km x c.3.5km) north of the Water of Girvan, now in Girvan parish, may have formed part of Kirkoswald parish; two farms (Chapeldonan and Grangeston) and a ruined chapel hint at this and a possible connection to a monastic foundation, likely either Crossraguel or Melrose. In the same block of territory the moated site of Ladywell was excavated, bearing 13th-14th-century occupation evidence; this may have been the grange centre, though this was not argued forcefully for lack of compelling evidence. Banks, Duffy, MacGregor, 'Archaeology of landscape change in south-west Scotland, 6000 BC – AD 1400'.

Carleton swore fealty to Edward I in 1296.[907] There is a late medieval castle at Knockdolian whose predecessor (perhaps of stone) may be inferred in a reference to *Cnocdolcan* in 1226-7.[908]

In the aftermath of the death of Alexander III a group of powerful Scottish and Anglo-Irish nobles gathered at Turnberry (*apud Turnebyry*) to commit to mutual support, but probably more immediately to collaborate with military efforts in Ulster.[909] At the height of the Wars of Independence, the castle appears to have been 'reduced' in September 1301 by Edward, Prince of Wales.[910] By 22 September, the English army had left Turnberry.[911] 3 October saw William Wallace attack Turnberry with 400 men-at-arms, "enough to damage it as much as they could."[912] When the Earl of Carrick returned to Edward I's peace in 1302 it is likely ownership of the castle was returned to him.[913] The castle's disappearance from English records has been interpreted as hinting at the Scots' success in their October siege and its subsequent retention by the Earl of Carrick as a nominal loyal subject of Edward I.[914]

A charter of the late King Edward Bruce of Ireland by his brother King Robert I of Scotland was inspected in 1323. It confirmed the holdings of John de Carleton and his heirs, possibly resident at Little Carlton motte (c.19km S of Turnberry).[915] The annual render by John of three lances at the chief manor of Turnberry (*capitale manerium de [T]urnbery*) comprised part of the transactional agreement.[916] Edward's standard bearer in Ireland was a certain William de Thornberry, which one historian hints may be a rendering of the name Turnberry.[917] Robert I confirmed further grants at *Turneberrie* shortly before his death in 1329, but after this, the evidence suggests that the site ceased to be a vibrant centre of active political power, but rather came to be the seat of the designated heir of Scottish kings.[918] A *parcus de Tornberry* is mentioned in the royal chamberlain's account for 1329; though tempting to see this in the field outlines around the castle depicted on Roy's military map, it is unlikely to have survived to 1711 (when it is

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[907] T. Thomas (ed.), *Instrumenta Publica 1291-6* (Edinburgh, 1834)*, pp 148-50.

[908] Connolly, Martin, *The Dublin guild merchant roll*, p.145.

[909] Stevenson, *Documents*, I, 12; Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.31.

[910] F.J. Watson, *Edward I in Scotland: 1296-1305* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1991), p.170.

[911] Watson, *Edward I in Scotland*, p.180.

[912] Watson, *Edward I in Scotland* p.185, who omits the reference: *CDS*, II, 1236, a translation of Norman French.

[913] Watson, *Edward I in Scotland*, p.200.

[914] Watson, *Edward I in Scotland*, p.294.

[915] Carleton is an OE name, but it is not necessarily tied to its primary location: OE *cēorl-tún*, 'toun of the free man'. There are few OE names in Carrick generally.

[916] *RRS* V, 235 (= *RMS* I, App. 1, 63, rendered *Turnebery*)

[917] S. Duffy, 'The 'Continuation' of Nicholas Trevet: a new source for the Bruce invasion', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 91C (1991), pp 310-1.

[918] *RRS* V, 362.

mentioned, "enclosed", in a charter) in a 14th century form.[919] A modern farm, Park, is c.2,800m E of the castle and well beyond this boundary (Figure 58). John Kennedy of Dunure secured lands from a certain John of Turnberry in 1362, perhaps this last a steward at the castle.[920] In 1404 Robert III granted to Crossraguel Abbey the church of Turnberry, marking a new phase of parochial patronage from Paisley to Carrick.[921] In 1434 the lands of Turnberry were still held by the crown, though forty-one years later (1475) John, second Lord Kennedy, had acquired the barony.[922] By 1574-5, when the land was held by Gilbert Kennedy, 4th Earl of Cassilis, it was described as 'the lands and barony of Turnberry, with castle and fortalice, annexes [etc]', implying the presence of a castle at the site.[923] In this context, it is worth noting the importance of the Kennedys of Dunure from the reign of Robert III onwards as significant landholders in Carrick. MacQueen has noted that the extent of earldom lands in 1260 featured lands all later in Kennedy control, except for Turnberry (until 1475).[924] It would be sensible to expect that the archaeology will speak more to a 16th-century *castro et fortalicio*, alongside 15th-century building and/or repair, than the 14th-century *manerium*.

Though there are no antiquarian plans surviving of the site, it did feature on the first editions of the Ordinance Survey's coverage. Here, key elements borne out in the 2014 survey are in evidence: the site comprises a rocky outcrop on the coast, surrounded by boulder beaches and grass-covered dunes with exposed patches of sandy soil. The irregular outline of the promontory has dictated the form of the enclosing stone walls – for which there is evidence, if incomplete, across the whole site. The six-inch plan depicts a basic division of the site which has survived into the present; the southern, larger and apparently flatter portion of the site now occupied by the lighthouse, and the more irregular, but better-surviving, northern portion with diagnostic features. The twenty-five-inch plan hints at the presence of a D-shaped chamber or tower footing in this northern portion, too. Surveys undertaken in preparation for the construction of the lighthouse in 1873 provide a glimpse of the remains of the castle in slightly more detail; here, tentative traces of structural remains within the southern portion may be discerned; a possible

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[919] T. Thomson (ed.), *Accounts of the great chamberlains of Scotland, and some other officers of the Crown, rendered by the Exchequer* (Edinburgh, 1836), I, p.162; NRS, Papers of the Kennedy family, Earls of Cassilis (Ailsa Muniments), GD25/9/77, Houses, lands and mills, 1680-1865.
[920] D. Cowan, *Historical account of the noble family of Kennedy* (Edinburgh, 1849), p.11.
[921] NRS, Papers of the Kennedy family, Earls of Cassilis (Ailsa Muniments), GD25/1/26, Charter of King Robert III, 25 August 1404.
[922] Thomson, *Accounts of the great chamberlains of Scotland*, III, pp 286-7; Cowan, *Historical account of the noble family of Kennedy*, p.27. This second grant was confirmed by James III in 1482: NRS, Papers of the Kennedy family, Earls of Cassilis (Ailsa Muniments), GD25/1/141, Charter of King James III, 24 January 1482.
[923] *RMS* IV, 2327: *terras et baroniam de Turrinberrie, cum castro et fortalicio, annexis, [etc]*; seisin confirmed to Gilbert in 1564: NRS, Papers of the Kennedy family, Earls of Cassilis (Ailsa Muniments), GD25/1/647, Seisin in favour of Gilbert Earl of Cassilis, 10 June 1564.
[924] H.L. MacQueen, 'Survival and success: the Kennedys of Dunure', in S. Boardman, A. Ross (eds), *The exercise of power in medieval Scotland, c.1200-1500* (Dublin, 2003), pp 82-3.

drain or wall line runs north from the 'curtain wall', beneath the juncture of lighthouse enclosure gateway and water pipe, running into a gulley to the north. The remains of a round tower, identified by segments of curved masonry on the northern part of the site, are probably indicative of only part of the surviving remains as identified in the 2014 survey. The springs of an arch spanning an inlet beneath the castle, it is assumed to support a hall carried across the void, can be compared in function and idea to the domestic range in the lower bailey at Chepstow Castle (Monmouthshire, Wales), dated to c.1270-c.1300.[925] There, the basement lay on pointed vaults spanning an inlet beneath the castle over the River Wye. It has been suggested that arrangement of access directly from the river to the cellar beneath the great hall was to ease supply; such an arrangement would equally suite Turnberry, where the cramped promontory would inhibit free movement and victualling.

There is no diagnostic evidence from Turnberry to date the buildings present.[926] The arch mentioned above, on the strength of its rounded profile, has been dated to the 12th century, probably making it coeval with the appearance of Carrick as a distinct earldom.[927] The second phase of construction, dated to the 13th century, saw a domestic building with very thick walls added to the upper portion of the castle; it featured a garderobe at two levels over an inlet. A blocked arrowslit in the wall facing inland also hints at a further 13th-century building over a second, northern inlet. The later phase of building, dated to the 15th century, saw access to the southern inlet into the castle remodelled, a feature suggested by the discovery of a chamfered door threshold fronting an internal staircase, lower jamb stones with checks, and (behind the threshold, 'inside' the castle) a hollow for a portcullis.[928] Though from an architectural perspective this summary is meagre, it does point to a significant and persistent engagement with the castle's maritime hinterland.

6.3.4.1 Landscape

The modern landscape surrounding Turnberry Castle is a poor reflection of its probable medieval counterpart. The construction of an airfield in 1917 removed any trace of earlier settlement in the castle's hinterland, though early plans of the area from the 19th century suggest there was limited agriculture in its vicinity, roughly divided into northern and southern portions. The 1856 OS 6-inch map suggests the area c.220m radially from the castle ditch was sandy grassland, which also runs northwards as a strip of c.90m broad along the coast. East of this strip the area is divided into sub-

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[925] J.C. Perks, 'The architectural history of Chepstow Castle during the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 67 (1946-8), p.343.

[926] A dating scheme was offered by HES: NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1566824> [Accessed 1/5/18].

[927] NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1434201> [Accessed 1/5/18].

[928] NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/site/40581/>; <https://canmore.org.uk/collection/14177> [Accessed 1/5/18].

rectangular fields. To the south, there are enclosed fields of sandy grass, with an unaltered winding burn ('Wilson's Burn') emptying into the sandy bay c.500m to the south of the castle.

This whole arrangement is probably Improvement-era works, for Roy's 1747-55 map depicts the hinterland of the castle as an area of sandy ground with dunes and hollows. It was divided from the rest of the country by a fence which appears to have been lost in the construction of the easternmost airfield; Roy's map depicts the fence abutting Turnberry farm, whereas today the boundary sits c.300m west of this point.[929] The 18th-century plan is also especially interesting because the rest of the ground surrounding Turnberry outside its hinterland is shown under rig cultivation, a small portion of which survives at Dounan Hill by Drumbeg farm c.2.2km SSW of the castle. This division is reflected in the underlying geology. However, the 14th century saw important local topographic changes; coastal dune erosion caused problems for the burgesses of Ayr up the coast in 1380, revealing bones in the cemetery and causing the loss of property on the shore.[930] As such, it cannot be taken for granted that Turnberry's hinterland reflects pre-14th-century realities. For instance, 12th-13th-century references in charters of Melrose Abbey imply the area around Turnberry was well-stocked with fuel (whether woodland or peat) to sustain salt pans operating on the shore in proximity to the castle.[931] However, a 17th-century description of Turnberry remarks that tradition suggested the presence of a causeway near the castle (it is assumed between the castle and the modern road). The area was thought to have been the location of a lost settlement, "though now the place be but a tract of barren sands."[932] Insight may be taken from a mid-16th-century English military report on Carrick's position in relation to a possible invasion.[933] In this, the landscape and people of the district are summarised thus: "A barrant cūtree but for bestiall: the people for the moste part speketht erishe."[934] Though the economic and settlement landscape of Carrick was probably affected by the Wars of Independence, the 16th-century description of a pastoral-dominated economy is probably indicative of 13th-14th-century realities too. A study of Melrose Abbey's holdings in Scotland's south-west has suggested a Cistercian interest in the mineral wealth of the Carrick-Galloway border. Melrose paid Vaudey Abbey in Lincolnshire a handsome sum for lands granted them by the Lord of Dalmellington. It is perhaps telling that the Abbey's lands in the area were swapped

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[929] This feature may represent a park boundary. It is discussed in more detail below.

[930] Griffiths, 'Medieval coastal sand inundation', p.109, citing Chalmers' *Caledonia*, pp 501-2, itself referencing a charter of Robert II. The original is now apparently lost, though reproduced in W.S. Cooper, *Charters of the Royal Burgh of Ayr* (Edinburgh, 1883), pp xxxv-xxxvi.

[931] R. Fawcett, R. Oram, *Melrose Abbey* (Edinburgh, 2004), p.232.

[932] R. Pitcairn, *Historical and genealogical account of the principal families of the name of Kennedy* (Edinburgh, 1830), p.169. The account is by "Mr (William) Abercrummie, Minister of Minibole", c.1696.

[933] R.B. Armstrong, 'Military report on the districts of Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame', *Archæological and historical collections relating to the counties of Ayr and Wigtown*, 4 (1884), pp 17-25.

[934] "A barren country but for grazing animals: the people for the most part speak Irish [Gaelic]." Armstrong, 'Military report on the districts of Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame', p.17.

for valuable grazing lands in the Borders (the Lammermuirs) by none other than Alan, Lord of Galloway.[935] The lands were not of comparable quality in terms of grazing, so mineral wealth must have been a key factor. Morrison has suggested that grazing land in the Galloway hills has only 50% of the stocking capacity of the Borders regions.[936]

The larger promontory defined at the south by Milton Burn and the north by Maidenhead Bay is split north-south; east of the split are the farms and lands which Roy depicts as arable cultivation, while west of it are blown sands, free-draining but with insubstantial topsoil. The only known settlement within this enclosed area was the farm of Turnberry Warren, evident until 1955 and now partially demolished. Its name hints at warrening. By the 15th-early 16th centuries it is likely warrens were widespread in Scotland: a law of 1503/4 encouraged lords and lairds to empark their lands, develop fisheries, orchards and build warrens.[937] Given that there is plausible evidence for a late medieval tower house at Turnberry, it is possible that both the park boundary and the warren were built in this 15th-16th-century period. The 1856 *OS* 6-inch map indicates a conspicuous sub-rectangular mound north of Turnberry Warren which may represent a pillow-mound, the artificial feature conspicuous in medieval warrens built to encourage rabbit breeding.[938] While offering the opportunity for future research to establish the antiquity of the warren connection, it does not allow more specific connection to the period in question. However, it is tempting though fundamentally unverifiable to suggest that the appearance of a warren might be correlated to the emergence of a new sandy landscape by the castle. It is a leap which assumes medieval origins for Turnberry Warren, for which there is no evidence. Lastly, it is plausible the 'mill' implied in the name Milton Burn to the south of the castle had medieval origins. Blaeu's 1654 map of north Carrick gives its name as 'Bruceton b[urn]' and features a mill site approximately at the modern farms of Ballochneil and Dalquat.[939] With no farm called Milton along the burn, it is reasonable to conclude that 'Bruceton' may represent an earlier name of the village of Turnberry. This name too could present another intriguing possibility in connection to Turnberry's status as *caput* of the Earls of Carrick, perhaps preserving a settlement associated with the Bruce family who gained the earldom by marriage between Marjory, Countess of Carrick and Robert de Brus, 6th Lord of Annandale c.1271.

Archaeologically there are features of note in the hinterland of the castle. The modern settlement of Maidens ENE of the castle partially overlies an area called Pan Knowes. This name betrays a

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[935] Fawcett, Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p.234.
[936] Morrison, 'Galloway: locality and landscape evolution', p.13.
[937] Gilbert, *Hunting and hunting reserves in medieval Scotland*, p.212.
[938] It is tentatively suggested that the mound which now hosts a First World War Memorial is that depicted on the OS, though it is equally possible this earlier mound was razed over the course of the airfield's construction and use, as well as subsequent alterations for the complex's conversion to a golf course.
[939] National Library of Scotland, EMW.X.015, T. Pont, Caricta Borealis/The northpart of Carrick [1654].

connection to salt processing works which have documented use in the medieval period. Donnchadh, Earl of Carrick, granted the right to two salt works, and eight acres of nearby arable land for the pasture of the works' beasts of burden, to the monks of Melrose Abbey in c.1179 x 1250.[940] Thus in the 12th-13th century, the area immediately around Turnberry Castle was at least partly used for pastoral agriculture; the wording of the charter also suggests that Donnchadh retained pans for his own management, rather than the entire operation being granted to Melrose. C.150m south of Pan Knowes is the 'Stinnin stane' standing stone, probably a prehistoric monument, whose quarry site was probably nearby.[941] In general terms Turnberry echoes the proximity of standing stones to high-status sites noted earlier. The construction of a distillery at Chapeldonan in neighbouring Girvan parish to the south of Kirkoswald led to the recovery of a moated site at Ladywell with evidence for occupation from the 13th to 15th centuries. Its inhabitants were wealthy individuals, evidenced by the presence in the archaeological record of the site of oak (a high-status material), wheat and cow (both high-status foodstuffs).[942] The evidence there suggested the site was at the centre of an arable estate otherwise unknown from history; its connection to either ecclesiastical or secular authority cannot be verified. Ladywell confirms there was consumption of bread wheat and barley within reach of Turnberry Castle in the 13th-15th centuries. Elsewhere, the crannog of Lochspouts (c.9.1km east of the castle), when excavated in the 19th century, bore a pendant with an *IHC* Christogram dated to the 12th century.[943] Also revealed was a large number of sheep bones, with smaller concentrations of pig and ox. A role in seasonal or occasional feasting is possible. Of interest, too, were the finds of horn, exclusively of red and roe deer – the usual targets for hunting.[944] Little more is known of Lochspouts' medieval occupation, but it may be suggested that it was occasionally visited in the medieval period, perhaps in connection to hunting. Its peripheral situation to the parish (see below) echoes the location of Loch of Urr in this respect.

Among the documents seized by Edward I during the Wars of Independence was a list of the lands in Carrick in 1260 belonging to the deceased Earl of Carrick, Niall (d.1256).[945] The lands mentioned are Straiton (14-pennyland value), Drumfad and (unidentified) 'Glenlop' (10-pennyland each), Dalquharran (2-pennyland), Glengennet (2-pennyland), all the lands of Turnberry, and the

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[940] *Melrose Liber*, ch.37.

[941] A dolerite deposit sits under Pan Knowes, for example.

[942] Banks, Duffy, MacGregor, 'Archaeology of landscape change in south-west Scotland, 6000 BC – AD 1400', pp 24-5.

[943] J. Barbour, 'First account of the excavations at Lochrutton crannog', *TDGNHAS* 17 (2nd s.) (1900-5), p.134. Curiously excavation reports by Munro make no mention of the pendant's date: R. Munro, *Ancient Scottish lake-dwellings or crannogs* (Edinburgh, 1882), pp 312-3.

[944] R. Munro, 'Notice of excavations of a crannog at Lochspouts, near Kilkerran', *Archæological and historical collections relating to the counties of Ayr and Wigtown*, 3 (1883), p.18.

[945] I.A. Milne, 'An extent of Carrick in 1260', *SHR*, 34.1 (no.117) (1955), pp 46-59; revised interpretation offered in J. Fergusson, 'An extent of Carrick in 1260', *SHR*, 34.2 (no.118) (1955), pp 190-2.

wardship of the lands of Bennan and Cundry which belonged to the king.[946] This document provides a rare glimpse of the lands connected to Turnberry (the comital *caput*) in the later 13th century, and probably therefore in late 12th century onwards. The precise extent of the 'lands of Turnberry' probably represents the parish of Kirkoswald, less the parts granted to Paisley and/or its daughter house Crossraguel Abbey as part of the grant of the church of Kirk Oswald in the eponymous nearby settlement c.4.5km E of the castle. The altered political landscape of Scotland after the Wars of Independence was also reflected in the physical landscape. In 1324, for instance, Robert I confirmed an earlier grant of one of the demesne farms (Dalquharran) from the 1260 extent.[947] The hitherto non-comital lands of Drumgarloch c.4km south of the castle were granted to the abbey in the same year.[948] As demesne farms, these are perhaps fewer in number than might be expected for the maintenance of an Earl; for comparison, Oram suggested that the Balliol lords of Galloway, whose demesne estates mostly correlated with those of the earlier native lords, had 15 distinct holdings across Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire.[949] However, there are two points worth considering. Firstly, an article by Broun discussing the office of mormaer, has emphasized a distinction between the estates of the mormaerdom as ruler of a political region, and the estates of the mormaer as head of the kindred in the region. The later 12th-century manifestation of comital lordship grew to combine these two groups of estates, but cases of distinction are apparent. When Duncan mac Duib succeeded his father as mormaer of Fife in 1154, another branch of Clann Duib took over leadership of the kindred as Duncan was a minor.[950] In Carrick, the death of the last male of the line of Gillebrígte son of Fergus was preceded in 1250 x 1256, at the behest of the last male Earl Niall, by the splitting of the office of Earl of Carrick from the headship (*Kenkenolle*) of the leading kindred.[951] A confirmation charter of 1276 highlights that the office of baillie of Kinnoull in Perthshire (with associated lands) was probably a right of the *Kenkenolle* office and thus transferred to new kindred leader, Roland.[952] Thus, while the extent of 1260 is a rare document indeed, it may represent a diminished extent of the demesne lands of the earls of Carrick following the death of Niall in 1256. Furthermore, while the lands of the extent are few in number, they represent an important portion of the land of the earldom, on the basis that the parish of Kirkoswald/'lands of Turnberry' is one of only nine in Carrick.

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[946] Milne, 'An extent of Carrick in 1260', pp 48-9.

[947] *Crossraguel Chrs.*, ch.10.

[948] *Crossraguel Chrs.*, ch.9.

[949] McNeill, MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish history to 1707*, p.446. These were Balmaghie, Buittle, Burned Island, Craighlaw, Crossmichael, Cruggleton, Girthon, Glasserton, Kells/Kenmure, Kelton, Kidsdale, Kirkandrews, Kirkcudbright, Kirkpatrick Durham, Lochindeloch, Milmain, Outon, Preston, Senwick, Troqueer, Wigtown.

[950] D. Broun, 'Statehood and lordship in 'Scotland' before the mid-twelfth century', *Innes Review*, 66.1 (2015), p.28.

[951] *RMS* I, 509.

[952] *RMS* I, 508.

The form of the parish of Kirkoswald presents an interesting relationship with the demonstrably pre-12th-century farms in the area (Figure 58). A finger of territory c.850m across extends for over c.3km eastwards of the bulk of the parish, which can tentatively be imagined to incorporate the Brittonic farmstead of Tradunnock. Another Brittonic farmstead of more firmly high-status origin is apparent in the SE of the parish at Threave (Pont 1654 *Treif*; cf Threave (Castle), Kirkcudbrightshire), now fragmented into three farms ('North', 'South' and 'East'). Its proximity (>c.1km) from the modern farm of Chapelton (with no chapel obvious) goes some way to suggesting an early, pre-parish formation power centre. Kirk Oswald itself, recorded in 1258, may represent Anglian settlement or a product of the spread of the Northumbrian saint's cult rather than direct settlement.[953] Two Gaelic farm names, Leffinwyne and the lost *Fardingkala* (Pont 1654) both have names referring to monetary values, *lethpheighinn* ('halfpenny[land]') and *fàirdean* ('farthingland' ['quarter-pennyland']). These represent subdivisions of the wider 'lands of Turnberry'. Leffinwyne is close to the 500m contour, its surroundings on the OS 6-inch depicting heathland, probably indicative of pastorally-centred farming, sharing grazing lands with Auchenblane (an OE name with G. prefix *achadh*, 'field') to the NW and Crossraguel Abbey to the NE.[954] *Fardingkala* too appears to have been a more marginal farm, though now in a more Improved landscape; the patches of woodland surrounding the approximate location may hint either at a larger body of woodland or Improvement-era plantations on poorer soils. The farm of Ballochneil, a split farm ('*N*[orth]' and '*O*[ver]') on Blaeu's 1654 map of northern Carrick, suggests that Gaelic settlement in the area was long-lived by the mid-17th century to be split, though firmer evidence is lacking. Elsewhere the phenomenon of splitting farms is a later medieval to early modern phenomenon.[955] To the N of the parish, the farm of Balchriston probably has ecclesiastical connections. Examination of older maps of the area suggests the policies of Culzean Castle SW along the coast have obscured a farm site named *Kilbryid*, c.1,300m SSE of modern Balchriston.[956] Though there is no tradition of a chapel or church site in the north of Kirkoswald parish, place-name evidence, from Balchriston and Chapelton, hints that a more complex picture is present. The Gaelic toponymic origin of Balchriston and *Kilbryid* may lend support to the notion that the dedication of Kirkoswald is a Gaelic adoption of the the cult, rather than a direct reflection of Anglian settlement here. This would also account for the relative paucity of OE names in the area.[957] *Kilbryid* and Chapelton could also represent outlying chapels in a minster-style curial system centered on Kirkoswald which transformed, perhaps around the time of the

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[953] Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick', p.310, who asserts Turnberry and proximity to Maybole ('Meibothelmor' in early renderings) as evidence for Anglian settlement.

[954] Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick', p.318.

[955] Dixon, 'Champagne country: a review of medieval rural settlement in lowland Scotland', p.55.

[956] National Library of Scotland, EMW.X.015, T. Pont, Caricta Borealis/The northpart of Carrick [1654].

[957] Apart from the *-oswald* specific of the parish dedication, Auchenblane (derived from *Suthblan* of Paisley charters) and Culzean is deemed by Brooke to be Anglian in origin.

formalisation of Carrick (c.1180) to a conventional parish arrangement. The parish was granted by Earl Donnchadh and confirmed by Florence bishop-elect of Glasgow (1202-7).[958] Lastly, one important feature of Turnberry Castle's landscape is its proximity (c.8km) to Crossraguel Abbey, a comital foundation of c.1244 tied to Paisley Abbey.[959] Its foundation formed part of a process of integration into the Scottish kingdom, for Earl Donnchadh (c.1186-c.1250) married Avelina, a granddaughter of Paisley Abbey's founder Walter fitz Alan, a key figure in the courts of David I and Malcolm IV.[960]

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[958] *Reg. Pais.*, pp 113-4; 422-7.
[959] *Reg. Pais.*, pp 424-5.
[960] *Reg. Pais.*, xviii. Florence, bishop-elect of Glasgow, who confirmed the grant of lands in Carrick to Paisley, was also nephew of Malcolm IV and William the Lion.
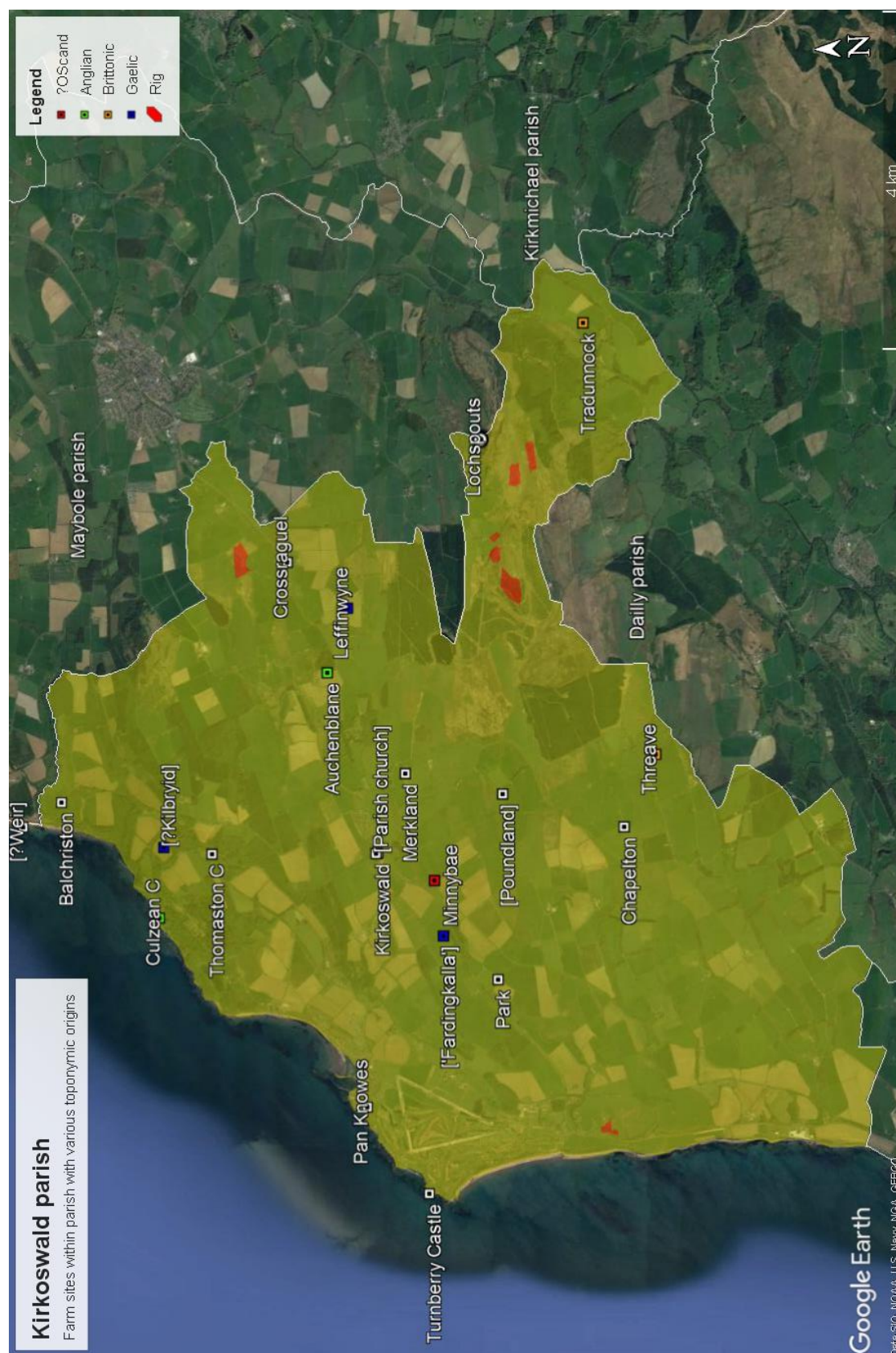
© GOOGLE EARTH

The proximity of castle, or power centre more generally, to monastic foundations is apparent

elsewhere in the region; the Church of St Cuthbert (of uncertain origin and development),

Dundrennan and Tongland with Kirkcudbright, Soulseat and Glenluce with Dunragit, Whithorn with Cruggleton, and magnate-founded Holywood and Lincluden Priory with royally-held Dumfries Castle. Such pairings formed an exercise of power in the lordly shaping of landscapes. Crossraguel's original foundation by Donnchadh, son of Gillebrígte, may represent an effort to create a dynastic funerary centre for the earls of Carrick. It has been suggested that Crossraguel was the site of an early medieval church centre on a reading of its onomastic origins as 'Cross of Riaghail'. However, it is unlikely that this was the case. While it is not clear what the specific after *Cross-* is, it may represent G. *Ragnall* (from ON *Rognvaldr*) or *Ragnaillt* (ON *Rognhildr*), which would make it unlikely to be a saint's name.[961] The surviving fabric dates largely from the later 14th century.[962] In the 1320s the Abbey was shown special favour by Robert I, probably due to his matrilineal connection to Carrick. In 1324, for example, he granted it additional lands and a barony jurisdiction.[963]

6.3.4.2 Summary

Though no firm dating can be ascribed to the remains surveyed at Turnberry, elements of the site strongly resemble those of other castles discussed above, namely Cruggleton, Buittle and Dundonald. The site is associated by later inference to the earls of Carrick and may reasonably be imagined as their chief seat in the earldom. It is clear Turnberry had a long occupation, with the surveyed evidence falling into two broad periods of construction, a broad 12th to 15th-century phase and a clearly later (15th to 16th-century) phase. It is suggested that the earliest stone castle occupation at the site commenced on its northern portion, possibly separated from the south (where the lighthouse is now located) by a lost ditch. A substantial curtain wall, thickest on the landward side, was then built, following the line of the extant outer ditch, the speculated earlier ditch therefore being filled in or built over. The third phase saw the construction of a massive D-shaped tower and a less clearly-defined rectangular chamber. The last phase saw a massive rectangular construction straddling the speculated earlier ditch, dividing the entire promontory in two, and possibly overlying an earlier structure on its southern wall. This last may relate to the site's ownership by the Kennedy family from the late 15th century. At least two phases of occupation (12th and 15th cs.) demonstrate that the castle was directly accessible from the sea via the inlets which carve into its bedrock foundations.

Turnberry Castle, as a seat of the Lords of Galloway (tentatively) and the Earls of Carrick (confidently), represents a site whose complexity masks similarities to other regional power centres. If the earliest medieval phase (1) of occupation can be confidently dated to the late 12th-early 13th centuries, it marks an early manifestation of lordly authority in stone, and a substantial

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[961] T. Clancy, pers. comm. 18/7/2017. Thanks for Prof Clancy for explaining his thinking on Crossraguel.
[962] Raleigh Redford, *Crossraguel Abbey*, p.8.
[963] *RRS*, V, ch.395.

statement of authority probably (in this narrative) connected to the creation of the Earldom of Carrick. From the evidence gathered from the sift of sites, Turnberry is the among the earliest such sites (a lordly centre dating to the 12th century) in the earldom. The nearest in chronological terms in Carrick appears to be Dunure and Loch Doon castles, both featuring c.13th-century fabric.[964] Turnberry's medieval landscape can be reconstructed from fragments of evidence which survive. Locally, it appears the agricultural landscape evidenced pastoral farming with traces of arable and industrial activity connected to salt production, alongside later rabbit warrenning. A major storm or series of storms (before c.1696, when its sandy hinterland is described) may have dumped large amounts of sand in the castle's hinterland – such events are known from elsewhere in South-West Scotland – and thus what is preserved today may be misleading. The wider economic network can partly be reconstructed from the 1260 extent of the comital lands, which give insight into how the castle might fit into the settlement pattern of Carrick in the 12th and 13th centuries. The site's symbolic relationship with its economic and social landscape hint at parallels with other high-status power centres in the Lordship.

6.3.5 Hestan Island

Hestan Island, like Ardwall, is located near the mouth of one of the rivers of Galloway (Urr Water) emptying into the Solway Firth, though it is much further from the mainland. Accessible at low tide from the mainland, it is unremarkable except for being named as a residence of King Edward Balliol in the early 14th century.[965] Before exploring the site's physical remains, it is necessary to review its documentary history. Its onomastic origin presents no obvious trace of special note, compared to Threave and Buittle. Fellows-Jensen has speculated an ON origin *holmr*, 'islet', but it may equally (or also?) be OE in origin, with cognate meaning. Maxwell suggested a generic OScand origin in *hestum ey*, 'horse island'.[966]

The earliest mention of the island appears in 1305, when Edward I confirmed to Dundrennnan Abbey the right of free warren on its demesne land of *Estholm*.[967] A very similar inspection charter by Edward III notes a charter of King Edward Balliol dated at *Estholm* in the Scots' king's 16th regnal year – around 1348.[968] It testifies to the site being rebuilt, or reinforced, by Duncan MacDowell.[969] Evidently, the island had been granted to Dundrennan Abbey, perhaps at its foundation in 1142, though it is plausible that the political instability following the death of

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[964] A castle at Greenan is mentioned 1188x1196, held by Roger de Skelbrooke: *Melrose Liber*, ch.34.
[965] Reid, 'Buittle castle', p.203.
[966] Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway: the place-name evidence', p.81; J. Roberts, C. Kay, L. Grundy, *A Thesaurus of Old English* (Glasgow, 2015); H. Maxwell, *Place-names of Galloway* (Glasgow, 1930), p.156.
[967] *CDS*, II, 1702, E. trans.
[968] H.C. Maxwell, R.F. Isaacson, C.B. Dawes (eds), *Calendar of Patent Roll preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1893), pp 142-3 (Nov. 9, Westminster (28 Edward III, part III)).
[969] Ralegh Radford, 'Balliol's manor house on Hestan Island', p.35.

Robert I in 1329 saw the island being re-used as the property of the lord of the region – in this case, in his capacity as nominal Lord of Galloway and King of Scots, by Edward Balliol.[970] The year of the inspection also saw a charter by Edward III granting supplies to the island.[971] The *Insulam de Estholm in Scotia* was also provisioned in 1343 on English accounts.[972] The *Anonimalle Chronicle* for the year 1347 notes that "*plusours vaillauntz gentz*" joined Edward Balliol in invading Scotland, riding from the sea "*a un forcelet en Galwaye, Esteholm nome* [...]."[973] Ralegh Radford noted its subsequent documentary history, which Oram has framed in the political context of the period.[974] A now-lost document from Terregles House suggests that in 1596-7 the 'isle of Hestan' was among lands granted to John, 9th Lord Maxwell as heir to his father.[975] The *NSA* (1845) noted the island abounded with rabbits and was pastured by sheep, the former perhaps a vestigal remnant of the island's use as a warren discussed above. Ralegh Radford's article also introduces a very brief survey of what he believed were the remains of a structure connected to Edward Balliol's occupation of the island. This was a roofless rectangular building with rounded exterior corners, squared interior corners and longest on its east-west axis. It measured c.11.24 x c.4.5m overall, with walls c.0.9m thick. No evidence was found for mortar, but it was assumed to bond together the rubble which formed the wall remains. The sole diagnostic feature uncovered was a granite corbel confidently dated to a post-1300 period.[976] An Ordinance Survey staffer, visiting the site in 1969, expressed strong doubts about its diagnosticity.[977] An undefined grassy bank of uncertain course, enclosing an area of 12-16,000 m^2 (3-4 acres), and the footings of two equally unclear buildings are located nearby. Though there is no strong reason to think the structure is too small for a medieval hall (see 10.6 Appendix 6 and Figure 59), there is no compelling evidence to suggest this structure represents the remains of the structure intermittently inhabited by Edward Balliol in 1349-56. The movements of Edward Balliol, and the vacillating support of Edward III in his cause for restoration in Scotland, do not necessarily suggest that Hestan was occupied as permanently as may have warranted the establishment of a stone hall.[978] Of course, this was not impossible. The grant of the island as demesne of Dundrennan, and especially the confirmation of free warren, suggests this island was primarily given over to grazing and warrenning.

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[970] Dundrennan's cartulary does not survive.

[971] J. Ayloffe, *Calendars of the ancient charters, of the Welch and Scotish rolls, now remaining in the Tower of London* (London, 1774), p.204, mem. 8.

[972] Ayloffe, *Calendars of the ancient charters, of the Welch and Scotish rolls*, p.192, mem. 1

[973] V.H. Galbraith (ed.), *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333 to 1381* (Manchester, 1927), p.29: "many worthy men…to a fortlet in Galloway, called *Estholm*…"

[974] Ralegh Radford, 'Balliol's manor house on Hestan Island', pp 33-7; Oram, 'Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway', p.44.

[975] W. Fraser, *The Book of Caerlaverock – memoirs of the Maxwells, earls of Nithsdale and Lords Maxwell and Herries* (Edinburgh, 1873), II, p.300.

[976] Ralegh Radford, 'Balliol's manor house on Hestan Island', p.35.

[977] NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/site/64904/hestan-island-building> [Accessed 11/7/16].

[978] R.C. Reid, 'Edward de Balliol', *TDGNHAS*, 35 (3rd s.) (1956-7), pp 43-63.

The presence of Balliol's Galloway supporters only at Hestan (rather than in England) suggest it was used as a point to meet his local supporters. In this context, it operated as an unusual, but not unlikely, centre of lordship. Certainly, the "*Pele*" mentioned in 1342 may reflect a (timber?) hall with enclosure, the term having a broad application.[979] Fundamentally, the documentary evidence expresses beyond doubt the presence of a 14th-century base on Hestan; the archaeological evidence, however, cannot confidently be connected to it. The wall thickness is problematical: it is simply substantially smaller than the other halls in this study. Furthermore, the location of the purported doors are more like a post-medieval rural dwelling – for people, animals, or both: the door on the north wall sits in middle of the stretch, opposite a similarly-located southern door on the opposite wall. Both features hint at a structure of a single storey and suggest that the building is more likely a medieval or post-medieval rural dwelling. The lack of ditch defining the enclosing stone bank also inclines interpretation towards an agricultural role. In form, the structure identified by Ralegh Radford is comparable to Building A, a 14th-century cruck-framed building at Springwood Park in Roxburghshire (Figure 59). This appears to have stood on its own, featured opposing doors (albeit located 1/3 along the wall line, rather than ½ at Hestan). Springwood Park evidenced little build-up of rubble – as at Hestan. The lack of mortar at Hestan may also parallel Springwood Park, and the wall thicknesses are comparable.[980] The one argument against the similarity is that Building A does not present rounded exterior walls. Building CP 702 excavated at the abandoned burgh site of Rattray in Aberdeenshire is longer and narrower, but also has opposed entrances and is interpreted as a barn.[981] Examples of 'hall-house' castles elsewhere in Scotland suggest that the dimensions of Hestan, especially its wall thickness, are unlikely to represent a lordly building.

FIGURE 59: TABLE OF MESUREMENTS FOR COMPARISON OF HALL BUILDINGS DISCUSSED IN RELATION TO HESTAN

Site	Length	Width	Thickness	Date ascribed
Auld Hill, Portencross ('timber hall')	10.00	6.00	-	1200s-1390s
Springwood Park (Building A)	11.00	5.60	0.7-0.9	1300s-1390s
Hestan Isle ('hall')	11.20	5.57	0.9	<1300
Fincharn Castle, Argyll	11.89	5.36	1.4-2.1	-
Rattray (CP 702)	15.00-18.00	3.50-4.00	0.7-1.0	1300s-1390s
Rait Castle, Nairn	16.45	6.70	1.82	1250s-1350s
Aros Castle, Mull ('hall')	25.30	12.50	1.7-3.0	1200s-1290s

The orientation of the building on Hestan hint at the possibility that the opposite doors were aimed at facilitating ventilation in the building, perhaps suggesting a barn or byre. The building

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[979] B. Webster, 'The English occupation of Dumfriesshire in the fourteenth century', *TDGNHAS*, 35 (3rd s.) (1956-7), pp 72-3, n.34.

[980] P. Dixon, 'Excavations at Springwood Park, Kelso', *PSAS*, 128 (1998), pp 678, 686-8.

[981] Murray, Murray, 'Excavations at Rattray, Aberdeenshire: a Scottish deserted burgh', pp 140-2; barn interpretation: P. Dixon, 'The medieval peasant building in Scotland: the beginning and end of crucks', *Ruralia*, 4 (2001), p. 196.

does also bear similarities to rural settlements in eastern Dumfriesshire,[982] but these appear to be grouped in touns as opposed to the relative isolation of Hestan. The principal settlement on the islet is that of the modern farm to the north. A hitherto unrecorded feature at the hilly centre of the island, south of Ralegh Radford's 'hall', is tentatively identified as a prehistoric enclosed settlement common in south-west Scotland.[983] Of course, excavation at both would clarify these arguments, but either might equally represent Balliol's *pele*.

6.3.5.1 Landscape

The mainland landscape around Hestan is dominated by Gaelic place-names, where they denote settlement and not topography. Almorness (OScand), appearing first in 1376, and Rough Island (OE, 1325) are the two non-Gaelic place-names physically close to Hestan.[984] Otherwise one other medieval place-name indicates monetary assessment: Castledaffin (*dà-pheighinn*, 'two-pennyland').[985] Airyhill farm to the south-west of Hestan argues for pastoral economy in the locality perhaps extending across the Airds peninsula. The lack of obvious mainland high-status estate at Hestan echoes findings at Ardwall. Its use as a place of physical safety, rather than estate management, might offer a parallel for Ardwall too. Its origins as an outlying element of the estate of Dundrennan is more important, however, to understanding its landscape context: it has very little to speak of.

6.3.5.2 Summary

To conclude, it seems that the structure identified as the *pele* of Edward Balliol on Hestan's Island is not likely to represent a high-status medieval dwelling. In form, it shares parallels with the excavated Building A at Springwood Park; geographically closer examples are not known to offer a firmer regional parallel. While the physical evidence is inconclusive, the documentary evidence makes clear that the island was home to a building or complex of buildings connected with Edward Balliol. Where these were located is not clear; the obvious location is the site of the modern farm, the site of the building Ralegh Radford identified, or (less likely) the prehistoric settlement further south. The peculiar circumstances of the Balliol occupation of the island raise doubts about how reflective an off-shore castle might be of Gallovidian early stone castles. Nevertheless, its use as a place of refuge and political negotiation may give a framework for understanding poorly-understood Ardwall, should a medieval occupation be established there.

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[982] Anon., *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, pp 226-43.
[983] D. Cowley, HES, pers. comm.; cf. NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1319670> [Accessed 24/6/16]. The possible prehistoric site on Hestan is at (Northings, Eastings): 54.832282, -.3.809449.
[984] Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick', p.321.
[985] MacQueen, 'Pennyland and davoch in south-western Scotland', pp 69-74.

6.3.6 Kirkcudbright: Loch Fergus, Castledykes and Moat Brae

It has been argued that the fields comprising the land of Loch Fergus near the burgh of Kirkcudbright represents a power centre of the Lords of Galloway.[986] Early modern cartographic evidence certainly points towards the presence of a loch with islands; Blaeu's 1654 map of the Stewartry demonstrates an indistinct ruin or building with an associated farm. Ainslie's later 1832 map gives greater detail, outlining the presence in the loch of three islands, two of which are identified as 'Palace Isle' and 'Rough Isle'. One of these three may represent a crannog noted at Loch Fergus in antiquarian circles in the 19th century (Figure 60).[987] The Kirkcudbright volume of the *Historical Monuments (Scotland) Commission* noted that the foundations apparent on Palace Isle may represent those mentioned in a criminal trial of 1499-1500, the result of "the byrning of Lochferguse belangand to the Larde of Bondby [Bomby] etc."[988] In fact, the connection of the MacLellans, later lairds of Bombie, to Lochfergus, was several decades older, as far as surviving documents suggest. Wardship of the lands of Lochfergus were held following the death of John MacLellan in 1460 by Donald MacLellan.[989] The presence of the lands of Lochfergus in the *Exchequer Rolls* means they were royal lands; whether they were seized from the Douglas earls after 1455 or part of Edward Bruce's territories prior to his death (1318) is not clear.[990] In 1471 James III confirmed a grant to William MacLellan of Bombie the four-merkland of Lochfergus and 1/3 of its fishings, which had been resigned by Andrew MacLellan.[991] Four charters spanning the 1490s confirm Lochfergus among other lands to Thomas MacLellan of Bombie, and two were originally signed "*apud Lochfergus*"/"*apud locum de Lochfergus*".[992] The earliest of these also mentions that the "*terras de Lochfergus*" share a boundary with the common land of the burgh of Kirkcudbright. In 1548 the Steward of Kirkcudbright reported to the king that the "*terrarum de Lochforgus, cum turre, fortalicio, molendinis, piscariis, et silvis eurundem*" returned £18, and was still held of the king; it was the only such castle site mentioned in the returns of the lands held by Thomas MacLellan.[993] The land is mentioned in name only 1492, 1503 and 1513.[994]

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[986] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.221, citing RCAHMS' Kirkcudbright work; National Records of Scotland, Ordinance Survey name books, Edinburgh, MS Kirkcudbright, OS1/20/151/32; Chalmers, *Caledonia*, V, pp 214, 255, citing Roger of Howden who makes no statement concerning Loch Fergus; W. M'Dowall, *Chronicles of Lincluden* (Edinburgh, 1886), p.23; H.E. Maxwell, 'The Logan charter', *Archæological and historical collections relating to the counties of Ayr and Wigtown*, 4 (1884), p. 55.

[987] W.R. Wilde, 'Account of three crannoges', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 7 (1857-1861), p.151; Maxwell, 'The Logan charter', p.55.

[988] RCAHMS, *Inventory, Kirkcudbrightshire* (Edinburgh, 1915), no.263.

[989] *ER*, VI, 640; also mentioned in *ER* VII, 5.

[990] Additionally, Oram's map of the Galloway Douglas estates does not feature Lochfergus: *Atlas of Scottish History*, p.447.

[991] *RMS*, II, 1022.

[992] *RMS*, II, 2086 (1491), 2137 (1492), 2139 (1492, "*apud locum*"), 2270 (1495, "*apud*").

[993] *ER*, XIIX, 456.

[994] *ER*, X, 770, 776 (1492); *ER*, XII, 713 (1503); *ER*, XIV, 556-7 (1513).

Subsequently the record is silent, barring a mention in similar terms in 1597 and much later in 1714 and 1717.[995] In 1705 the "old castle of Lochfergus" was to be the principal messuage of the eponymous barony previously called the barony of Bombie. It is difficult to know what to make of the 1548 charter and its reference to a "*turre*, *fortalicio*" at Lochfergus. While the latter Latin term is ambiguous, the former is not. Loch Fergus is no longer a body of water, but a drained area of land with raised 'islands'. Palace Isle features the remains of an oblong building, while Stable Isle to the south features a ruined building c.13.7 x c.5.4m and with walls c.1m thick. Archaeologically, though there are the remains of buildings on these islands their form and character does not suggest a lordship centre. Palace Isle features the remains of an oblong building of c.7.5 x 4.5m, dimensions comparable to the two smaller castles listed here, Plunton and Balmangan, ranging from the 15th-17th centuries. Stable Isle to the south features a larger ruined structure c.14m x c.5.5m and with walls c.1m thick.

FIGURE 60: EARLY MODERN CARTOGRAPHIC DEPICTIONS OF LOCH FERGUS, KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE

T. PONT, GALLOVIDIAE, THE SHERIFDOME OF WIGTOUN, 1654 © NLS, EMW.X.105

J. AINSLIE, *THE STEWARTRY OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT*, 1797 © NLS, EMS.S.680, SOUTH EAST SECTION

Stable Isle to the south features a larger ruined structure c.14m x c.5.5m and with walls c.1m thick.[996] Set against to the nearest late medieval tower houses, these remains are comparable, but the wall thickness is too small credibly to support more than a single storey, especially for as large a building as the footprint suggests. Compared to excavated medieval halls from Rattray in Aberdeenshire, and the uncertain buildings from Hestan Isle and Ardwall (both fundamentally

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[995] *RMS*, VI, 556; National Records of Scotland, Papers of the Murray family of Broughton, Wigtownshire and Cally, Kirkcudbrightshire, GD 10/1027, Tack to William Cairnes (1714); National Records of Scotland, Exchequer Records: forfeited estate papers 1715, particular estates: Baldoon, E614/1/9-17, Judicial rentals of lands in Stewartry and shire of Wigton (1717). The land is mentioned in name only in *ER*, X, 770, 776 (1492); *ER*, XII, 713 (1503); *ER*, XIV, 556-7 (1513).

[996] NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/site/64070/castle-fergus> [Accessed 20/6/16]. The 1965 RCAHMS visit to the site identified that the remains ascribed in earlier reports to Palace Isle as in fact being located on Stable Isle.

insecurely dated),[997] Stable Isle is more closely comparable to the evidence from Rattray but equally to the excavated low-status peasant building at the rural settlement at Springwood Park in the Borders. The lack of further evidence prevents more discussion, but on documentary grounds Loch Fergus may have been a power centre developed by the MacLellans in the 15th-16th centuries. This could relate to the find by metal detecting at the loch in 1998 of a coin of James II-III (uncertain identification).[998] The remains on Palace Isle may be the tower mentioned, or simply – as is suspected of the building on Stable Isle – an early modern farmhouse. If medieval, they are only loosely comparable to structures from a date range of c.1250-c.1700 (Figure 61).

FIGURE 61: HALL BUILDINGS DISCUSSED IN COMPARISON TO KIRKCUDBRIGHT

Site	Length (*c.*)	Width (*c.*)	Thickness (*c.*)	Date ascribed
Balmangan Tower	6.09	4.82	1.21	1400-1590s
Plunton Castle	6.40	4.57	1.04	1550-1600s
Edingham Castle	6.40	3.78	0.91-1.40	1500-1550s
Palace Isle, Loch Fergus	7.50	4.50	-	-
Cumstoun Castle	7.92	4.60	1.79	1550-1600s
Springwood Park (Building A)	11.00	5.60	0.7-0.9	1300s-1390s
Hestan Isle ('hall')	11.20	5.57	0.9	<1300
Rusko Castle (Phase 1)	11.74	8.84	1.83-2.44	1500-1550s
Cardoness Castle	13.11	9.75	2.44	1400-1490s
Stable Isle, Loch Fergus	13.70	5.40	(1.00)	-
Rattray (CP 702)	15.00-18.00	3.50-4.00	0.7-1.0	1300s-1390s
Ardwall ('hall-house')	18.29	6.71	-	1250s-1350s
Threave Castle	18.59	12.19	2.00	1369-1390

The centrality of Kirkcudbright to the House of Galloway is also implied by the numerous grants of lands to houses founded by the lords around the mouth of the Dee. It is plausible too that Lochfergus was a name coined in the 15th century for the distinct unit of land (and water) divorced from the emerging burgh. Roger of Howden's *Gesta Regis Henrici* records the murder of Uhtred by Malcolm, son of Gillebrígte (1174), which took place at "*insulam de* [blank]."[999] Though scholars have connected the extract to Loch Fergus, the reference is tantalising but inconclusive, for there are several island sites in the eastern portion of Galloway which Uhtred controlled which could fill the blank.[1000] Comparison with Finlaggan in Islay is very tempting, as it represents a quasi-regal secular centre associated with a powerful dynasty of lords beginning with Somerled (d.1164). The identity of Burnt Island in the Upper Glenken region of Galloway as another prominent lordship centre makes clear that lordly architecture in the region could be insular in setting, familiar in the cases of Lochrutton and Loch Urr. Additionally, the setting of prehistoric

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[997] Hestan: dated by documents only; structural remains almost identical to Springwood Park. Ardwall: dated by fragments of pottery and two bronze pins to between 1250-1350.

[998] J.D. Bateson, N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'Roman and medieval coins found in Scotland, 2006-10', *PSAS*, 143 (2013), p.246.

[999] W. Stubbs (ed.), *Gesta regis Henrici* (London, 1867), I, p.79. The absence of specific in the account is recorded in both manuscripts of the *Gesta*.

[1000] J. Affleck, 'Lochfergus', *TDGNHAS*, 21 (2nd s.) (1908-9), p.182; W.R. Gourlay, 'Lochfergus and the Lords of Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 14 (3rd s.) (1926-8), pp 359-60.

features and recogniseable toponymic elements tend to suggest Loch Fergus was a high-status centre (Figure 62). Oram has remarked on the concentration of settlements with a Scandinavian toponymic character around Kirkcudbright. It is complemented by a pagan burial by the early Christian church at St Cuthbert's which featured a 9th-10th-century sword, perhaps offering a timescale in which settlement occurred.[1001] There are additionally four prehistoric forts, two major cairn features (either fields or substantial cairn) and a significant concentration of cup-and-ring marked rocks, all within a 3,000m radius of Loch Fergus. Within this radius, too, is the modern farm of Mutehill which O'Grady identifies as a *mōt*, or assembly centre.[1002] Add to this the presence of an ancient centre of Christian life at St Cuthebert's, Loch Fergus evidently represents something significant. The lack of medieval evidence from the site itself is inhibiting to a more confident dating, but it remains plausible as a centre for the lordship in the period of Fergus of Galloway's reign, if not those of his heirs. Analogy with Carlingwark, a Iron age centre of similar layout, gives cause for caution.

FIGURE 62: KIRKCUDBRIGHT PARISH: LOCH FERGUS, MOAT BRAE, CASTLEDYKES
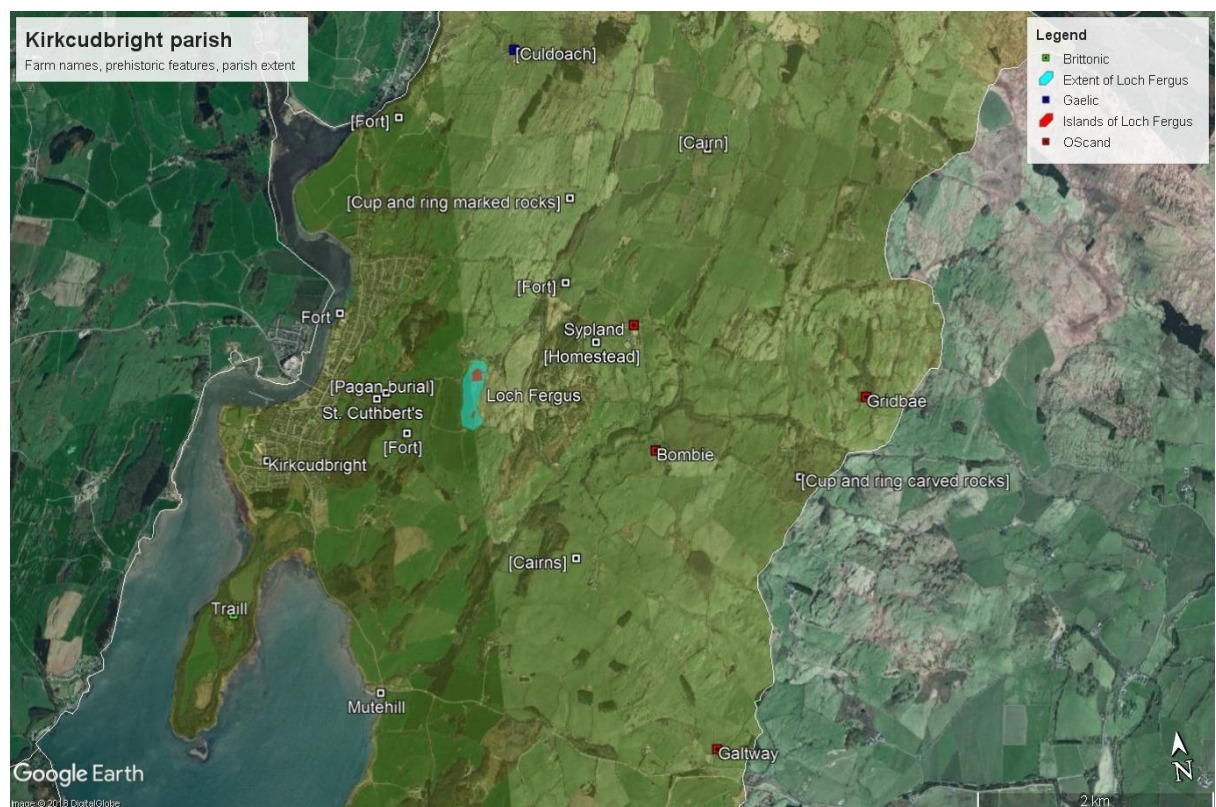
© GOOGLE EARTH

[1001] Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland with a Special Study of Bysbie', p.130; sword: The Stewartry Museum, STEWM:2080. The question of precise linguistic origin (Old Norse or Old Danish) has historical implications but is beyond the scope of this thesis.
[1002] O.J.T. O'Grady, 'Judicial assembly sites in Scotland: archaeological and place-name evidence of the Scottish Court Hill', *Medieval Archaeology*, 58.1 (2014), pp 121, 126.

There are two further candidates for a lordly centre within the burgh itself. The first, Moat Brae, is little understood, but appears to have been cut into by the mid-15th-century Franciscan convent, now reused as a modern Episcopal Church. The much-diminished mound (3.5m high in 1850) probably extended south of the 16th-century MacLellan's Castle.[1003] It is noteworthy that this large space at the heart of the burgh – and bordering the economically valuable river and harbour area – was left untouched until its gift by the Crown to a religious order.[1004] In 1603 the bounds of a property in the burgh of Kirkcudbright were described in great detail. One section touches upon the "[...] *fundum et tenementum juxta* lie Moitt [...] *cum* lie Bak-yaird of the Freiris [English 'friars' or French *frères*, 'brothers'?] *jacent. post dict. fundum* [...]."[1005] While there is no other evidence for the site as a high-status residence except for its name, it is possible that it was the location of a power centre in Kirkcudbright in the medieval period. O'Grady has noted that the site may represent a further assembly site.[1006] The second possible site, perhaps replacing Moat Brae, is that of Castledykes, south west of the burgh and located in a broad loop of the River Dee. The site was probably ruined long before the 16th century when local lairds were compelled, if circumstances necessitated, to build a fort there to defend Kirkcudbright in case of English attack.[1007] The site's remains feature massive ditches c.12.20m broad on the three landward sides, with the westerly portion backing onto the river.[1008] Outside of the central work itself, the 1913-4 excavators of the site noted outworks which are unfortunately not depicted in their plan of the excavation. These may be inferred from a 1790 sketch plan of the burgh (Figure 63). Here the outworks may be represented by a horseshoe-shaped ditch or field bank enclosing Castledykes and the double concentric ditch ringing the mound.[1009]

The excavation focussed on the massive remains of a stone enclosure with walls between c.2.37-2.92m thick with massive corner towers, and round tower-flanked gatehouse.[1010] They noted too that five years prior to construction of MacLellan's Castle began in 1582, its builder Thomas MacLellan was granted Castledykes from the burgh, implying that the site provided much of the stonework for the tower house.[1011] Though the excavators were non-committal about ascribing a

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[1003] J. Robison, 'The Greyfriars and the Moat Brae', *TDGNHAS*, 4 (3rd s.) (1915-6), pp 12-3.
[1004] R. Oram, pers. comm.
[1005] *RMS*, VI, 1408: "the estate and tenement opposite The Motte...with the Backyard of the Friars/*frères*...".
[1006] O'Grady, 'Judicial assembly sites in Scotland', p.126.
[1007] J. Robison, A.O. Curle, 'Account of the excavation of an Edwardian castle at Castledykes, Kirkcudbright. With notes on the relics uncovered', *PSAS*, 48 (1913-4), p.382.
[1008] Ditch measurements: National Records of Scotland, Ordinance Survey name books, Edinburgh, MS Kirkcudbrightshire, OS1/20/151/19.
[1009] In 1911 Curle referred to "an outer mound and ditch forming a bailey from the centre of which has risen the castle", probably this same feature: Historic Environment Scotland (John Sinclair House), MS 36/2, IX, p.63, Edinburgh, 'Curle's diary, 18th August 1911-16th May 1912.' The name of the area north of Castledykes, Gartshore Park, may preserve this notion of an enclosure (Older Scots *garth*, 'enclosure').
[1010] Robison, Curle, 'Account of the excavation of an Edwardian castle at Castledykes', p.388 (plan).
[1011] Robison, Curle, 'Account of the excavation of an Edwardian castle at Castledykes', pp 390-1.

date to the castle – evidenced in their recognition of multiple phases of occupation – the notion of connection to Edwardian castles and therefore a 13th-14th-century date was made explicit in the title of the report they published. Re-evaluation of the finds from the site in 1958 provided a useful re-examination of the structural remains, though here the authors overemphasized an Edwardian connection at the expense of subtler trends the excavators identified (see Figure 64). For purposes unclear, the more recent article stressed the site's short occupation of c.1288-1308.[1012] Later, this interpretation of the site has been challenged by Hurst, emphasizing that its occupation was probably longer in time, possibly well into the 15th-century Douglas domination of Galloway.[1013]

FIGURE 63: PLAN OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT, 18TH-CENTURY
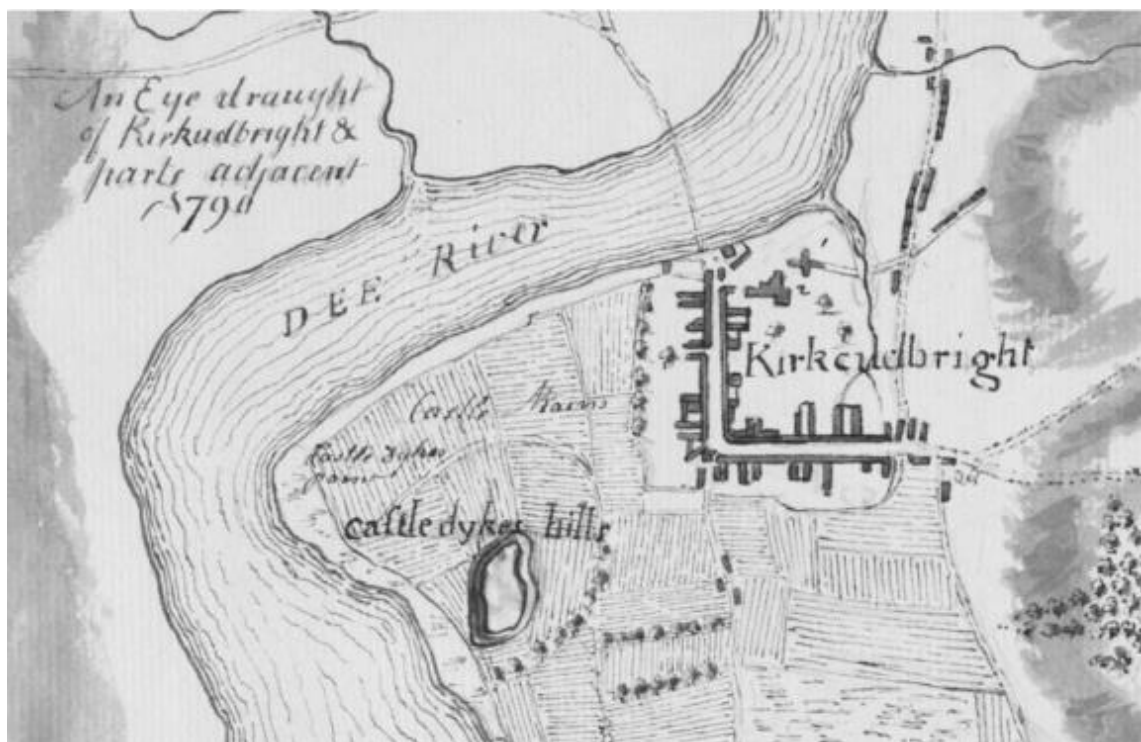
T. COCKING, 'AN EYE DRAUGHT OF KIRKUDBRIGHT & PARTS ADJACENT, 1790' © NLS, ADV.MS.30.5.23, 54

A key problem in any strictly document-oriented study of Kirkcudbright's castle is that the castle is only meagrely referenced and almost always in evidence connected to warfare. Importantly, the focus of these discussions has been how the important pottery assemblage from the excavation contributes towards discussion of the wider body of medieval pottery in Scotland and England, and less on the distinctive walls and buildings uncovered. Certainly, the floor-plan of the 1913-4

[1012] G.C. Dunning, H.W.M. Hodges, E.M. Jope, 'Kirkcudbright Castle, its pottery and ironwork', *PSAS*, 91 (1958-9), p.117.

[1013] J.G. Hurst, 'White Castle and the dating of medieval pottery', *Medieval Archaeology*, 6 (1962), p.140; cf Dunning, Hodges, Jope, 'Kirkcudbright Castle', pp 118-9, who note there is no evidence for Douglas occupation. As their focus was on material culture from the castle, rather than the archaeology of the buildings themselves, their judgement is strictly speaking only partly accurate.

excavations suggests multiple phases of construction and alteration at the site, echoing the critique levelled by Dunning, Hodges and Jope, and Hurst (Figure 64).[1014]

Certain features of the excavation allow wider critique, though any notes or discussion from 1913-4 are lost. The walling of the curtain and round towers was composed of faced cut blocks with rubble infill, with "wide mortar joints." Both curtain and towers featured a chamfered plinth of random rubble, though occasionally cut blocks were apparent.[1015] Four surviving photographs from the excavation (published in a later review) demonstrate that robbing was extensive and may not have been fully appreciated as a determining factor in changes at the site by the archaeologists. From the plan produced, it is obvious that the buildings presented constitute several phases of work not necessarily coeval. The basic outline of a rectangular courtyard castle (or castle of enclosure) is apparent. Any trace of buildings in the interior is not expressed, though the possible curving passage and chamber south of the north-east (gateway) tower probably opened into a building rather than the courtyard. Here, however, the unexplained thickening of the wall may also express multiple phases of construction. The diagonal passages into the interiors of the north-east and south-east tower (which may host a well) are comparable. That of the south-west tower appears to join this group, though it hosted a narrow spiral staircase of a different phase. The plan also expresses that the south-west tower may have hosted a massive solid round tower c.16.7m wide – though this mesurement may include robber trenches. Another piece of evidence pointing towards a multi-phase occupation is the discrepancy in wall thickness across the three sides which feature stretches of wall: the east (c.2.28m), south (c.2.93m) and west (c.2.62m) walls are marginally different from each other, discrepancies also attributable to robber trenches, rubble spread and/or different phases.

[1014] Dunning, Hodges, Jope, 'Kirkcudbright Castle', p.119, no.3.
[1015] Dunning, Hodges, Jope, 'Kirkcudbright Castle', p.119. A plinth was also identified at both Cruggleton Castle and Parish church. Ralegh Radford, 'Cruggleton Church', p. 93; Ewart, *Cruggleton Castle*, pp 24, 30.
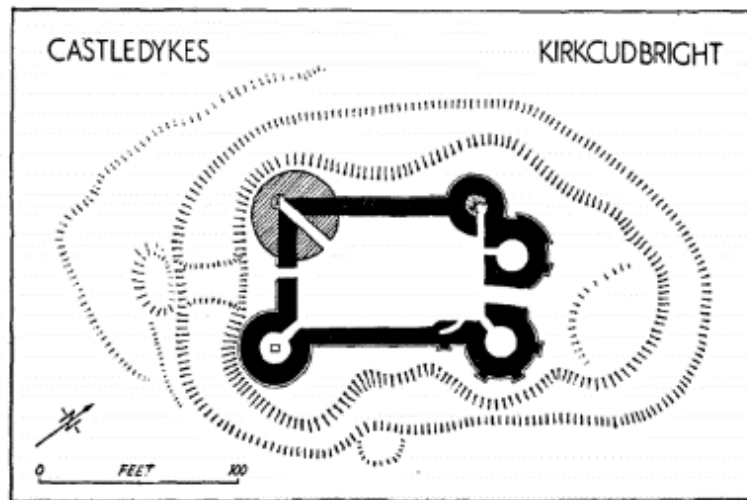
The large gateway structure flanked by partially pilastered round towers is on a different alignment to the enclosure (or vice versa). The single massive buttress clasping the western gate tower was recognised as being a later infilling of two distinct pilasters.[1016] The chief entrance passage through the gatehouse, with surviving portcullis slot, cuts into the thickness of the western gate tower, though here the excavators acknowledge the slot to be "of much later date" than the tower, overlying its foundations.[1017] With the lack of obvious alternative, the earlier entrance may be preserved in the south wall, mid-way along the wall; such an unadorned entrance compares favourably with those of Tibbers (1250s-1300s) and Auchencass (1250s-1300s), Dumfriesshire, the lower court gate slot at Turnberry Castle in Carrick, or the original enclosure entrance at Carrickfergus in Northern Ireland, this last dated c.1177. An unadorned entrance could also be secondary in function and status (not phasing) at Loch Doon Castle. Overall, the published plan of Castledykes probably represents the totality of noticeable walling at the site – a "wall following exercise" – rather than a comprehensive interpretation of the relationships between different buildings and phases.[1018] Analogy with local and regional sites of similar formal typology argue for a date of c.1100s-c.1300s, with a later date within this range (c.1200s-c.1300s) more likely.

Finds from the excavation were initially received with enthusiasm, since dimmed by the uncertain occupation phase of the site. The occupation date of 1288-1307 published by a later review of the

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[1016] Robison, Curle, 'Account of the excavation of an Edwardian castle at Castledykes', p.383.

[1017] Robison, Curle, 'Account of the excavation of an Edwardian castle at Castledykes', p.383.

[1018] G. Haggerty, 'A gazetteer and summary of recorded French pottery imported into Scotland c 1150 to c 1650: a ceramic contribution to Scotland's economic history', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal*, 12 (2006), supplementary disc: gazetteer section K to N, p.4.

excavation may take on a more literal interpretation of the excavators' label of "Edwardian" for the site; more appropriately on an artefactual basis the site could be described as late 13th-early 14th century in date. The connection to Edward I, however, endures principally because the excavators connected the archaeological evidence with the first documentary references to the site. The Earl of Buchan, Alexander Comyn, was mentioned holding Kirkcudbright Castle in 1286.[1019] It is this reference, and documents granting payments to subsequent keepers of the castle during the Wars of Independence, which has guided the dating of the site. It certainly was an important place, Kirkcudbright being singled out by Edward I as a port of supply for the south of Scotland.[1020] However, its emergence in the documents need not equate the site's construction. As Dunning *et al.* noted there are no receipts for works undertaken at Kirkcudbright during the Wars of Independence, unlike at Lochmaben, Caerlaverock, Ayr or Tibbers.[1021] This may confirm that the castle suffered irredeemably from the attentions of Edward Bruce early in the 14th century. Haggerty strikes a cautious tone in ascribing a sharply defined and limited period of occupation to the site on the basis of the local wares recovered during excavation.[1022] Among the finds recovered from the excavation, a bone comb has thus far escaped updated chronological assessment; it may cautiously be dated to between the 5th and 8th centuries CE.[1023] While it is not argued that the structural remains excavated in the 1910s feature early (pre-12th century) medieval material, the comb represents evidence for a more complicated chronology at Castledykes, confirming the more conservative suggestion of the original excavators. Parts of the excavated structures at Castledykes are comparable to other local stone castles (Figure 65). The castle of Tibbers in neighbouring Dumfriesshire preserves its probably c.1250s-1300s form. Apart from a massive double bailey area crowning the top of the long spit of raised ground which the castle sits at the end of, the stone enclosure is trapezoidal in form, with open-backed round towers on each corner. A raised semi-circular platform, whose footprint is identical in scale to that of the corner towers, sits mid-distant along the shortest stretch of walling of the enclosure, facing the fronting ditch. A plinth course comparable to that at Kirkcudbright was also evident at Tibbers.[1024]

[1019] *ER*, I, 39.

[1020] *CDS*, II, 414.

[1021] Dunning, Hodges, Jope, 'Kirkcudbright Castle', p.118.

[1022] Haggerty, 'A gazetteer and summary of recorded French pottery imported into Scotland c 1150 to c 1650', supplementary disc: gazetteer section K to N, p.4.

[1023] S. Ashby, pers. comm. Steve Ashby. Ashby was not aware of this example but suggested that it represents an example of his Type 11 category. See S.P. Ashby, 'An atlas of medieval combs from Northern Europe', *Internet Archaeology*, 30 (2011).

[1024] P. Dixon, I. Anderson, O. O'Grady, 'The evolution of a castle, Tibbers, Dumfriesshire', *Historic Environment Scotland* digital publication (2016), pp 7, 11, 15.

Castle	Enclosed space (c., m^2)
Turnberry	(2200.00)
Moat Brae	(2100.00)
Dundonald	1910.09
Castledykes (mound)	1223.99
Buittle (mound)	1060.29
Tibbers (mound)	998.60
Cruggleton	675.00
Caerlaverock	539.69

THE DIMENSIONS FOR MOAT BRAE AND TURNBERRY CASTLE ARE DERIVED FROM MAPPING SOFTWARE SURFACE AREA MEASUREMENT TOOLS

Tibbers' current stone form was either built or developed by Sir Richard Siward in the late 13th century; it may mark Siward's symbolic arrival as an important figure in Scotland's south-west, for his family was originally from Fife.[1025] The early 14th century saw Siward achieve several administrative offices in the south-west prior to his capture by King Robert I after 1306. No updated survey can allow a more detailed assessment of the surface area of Castledykes, but those given by the excavators allow first comparisons to illustrate that the scale of the site is almost without parallel in Galloway and environs with regards to early stone castle sites. Both Moat Brae, at the centre of Kirkcudbright itself, and Turnberry Castle – the centre of the Earldom of Carrick – are larger. Dundonald Castle's late 13th-century phase is also commensurate with the status of its builder, Alexander the Steward, who proclaimed his great political importance and status in stone architecture. Of course, the dimensions tabulated do not account for the space offered by multi-storey buildings as survive at Caerlaverock, but they do suggest that Castledykes was a truly massive site – even without the associated 'bailey' suggested by excavators and the early modern plan.

From a landscape perspective, Castledykes is more likely to represent a Lordship centre than Loch Fergus, at least in the mid-late-13th century onwards. The scale of the site is commensurate with the power of the Lords of Galloway, whose domination of the south-west may be compared with the later Balliol lordship centred on Buittle.[1026] The fragments of analogous evidence – though not direct – may hint at Castledykes' castellar phase being the product of the mid-late 13th-14th century. In historical terms, this would span the careers of Alan of Galloway (d.1234); his daughter Christiana (d.1246) and her husband William de Forz (d.1260), who inherited the central portion of the lordship in which Kirkcudbright sits; Helen, daughter of Alan and her husband Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester (d.1264); followed by Dervorgilla (d.1290), younger sister of Christiana,

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[1025] E.g. Richard Siward as Fife lord: J. Anderson (ed.), *Calendar of the Laing Charters, A.D. 854-1837* (Edinburgh, 1899), 8; serving Edward I: *CDS*, II, 587.
[1026] It is recognised that this suggest implicitly associates scale with importance, which is not necessarily a correct assumption.

who was married to John de Balliol of Barnard's Castle (Co. Durham, England) (d.1268); and lastly Elizabeth de Quincy and John Comyn, Earl of Buchan (d.1308).[1027] There are political reasons for crediting each of these individuals or couples with the construction of the enclosure at Castledykes; on diagnostic evidence from the excavation it is difficult to ascribe a specific date. The substantial investment into nearby Buittle (c.21km NNE) by the Balliol family under Dervorgilla and John makes them less likely contenders, while the impressive career of Alan makes him a faintly more likely candidate. His involvement in Irish Sea politics would make the construction by him of a new castellar lordly centre at the port of Kirkcudbright a reasonable supposition, but this is essentially conjectural. Castledykes more clearly shares a relationship with the settlement of Kirkcudbright – perhaps itself comparable to other typically small Scottish urban centres in this period – and the older foundation of St Cuthbert to the east. It is perhaps the end of the male line of the House of Galloway which saw the move of the secular power centre at Kirkcudbright away from Moat Brae and to a site more removed from the confines of the small urban centre. A fragment of early medieval evidence may hint at the site's longevity, reminiscent of the Northumbrian phase at Cruggleton, with its early medieval occupation and its history as a Lordship centre. There is too little evidence to speculate about Castledykes' importance prior to the construction of the "Edwardian" castle, for the comb does not provide a compelling case in itself. High status settlement is apparent around Kirkcudbright and shifted within this zone over time.

The sum of evidence for Castledykes is paradoxical: its disappearance from the documentary records suggests that it was rendered unliveable during the Wars of Independence; by contrast the archaeological evidence suggests strongly that there were several phases of major structural changes post-dating its probable 13th-century primary construction phase. The courtyard with corner towers must represent a probable primary phase as it is the most substantial portion of building remains. The gatehouse with pilastered towers must represent another, and the stratigraphically later gate slot cut into these towers a third. Would we expect these phases of alteration in the time span of c.1250-c.1320? It is plausible that the first phase was connected to the de Forze or de Quincy lordship, and the gatehouse to the Comyn phase of political control. Perhaps, then, the gatehouse slot was a domestic, rather than lordly addition? Only further excavation could clarify the site's story.

6.3.6.1 Landscape

The landscape context of Moat Brae overlaps with that of Castledykes, but features older elements specifically connected to the native line of the Lords of Galloway. The Church of St Cuthbert, from which Kirkcudbright's name and location spring, is an early medieval ecclesiastical

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[1027] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp 146-8.

centre in the Solway region.[1028] It may be the reason why secular power developed there too, or vice-versa. The evidence for a 12th-century secular centre is not overwhelming, but is on balance convincing: again, the 1189x1193 figurative reference to the lord of Galloway's table at Kirkcudbright, which must reference a building or complex in or around the burgh.[1029] Secondly, the concentration of ecclesiastical patronage around Kirkcudbright is additionally important and suggestive of a secular centre there; the Priory of St Mary's Isle is just south of the modern burgh. Dundrennan and Tongland abbeys, founded by the native dynasty, were both endowed with lordship lands nearby, suggesting a major concentration of lordly authority in the lower Dee valley. This is complemented by prehistoric monuments clustered around Loch Fergus. More generally, backwards projection of lands granted to the Douglas family after the Wars of Independence – lands probably reflective of those of the earlier Lordship – hint at a similar concentration. There is therefore reasonable evidence to suggest Kirkcudbright was a place of importance to the Lords from the time of Fergus. Access to the sea was probably also an important factor in how the lords undertook military campaigns in England, Ireland and the north of Scotland – all areas where access by sea was possible from Kirkcudbright.

It is apparent from a longer examination of the name 'Kirkcudbright' in the record that sometimes a castle is certainly implied (e.g. English military records) and sometimes the church (those which refer to St Cuthbert). Records from the *Roll of Dublin Guild Merchants* make it clear that this was a place of some commercial importance, though its four recorded residents are fewer than the nine recorded for Dumfries (none are noted for Wigtown, and a single person for Knockdolian in Carrick). Erkyn of Kirkcudbright acted on the behalf of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester to buy corn from Ireland in the second quarter of the 13th century.[1030] The name disappears from documentary records in the last years of the 13th century (it was the subject of receipts for its keepership in nine documents, 1290-97), to resurface in a charter of 1325 by King Robert confirming to Whithorn privileges including three tofts in the *vicus* of Kirkcudbright.[1031] Ten years later, in English records, the *ville* is recorded as a ruin.[1032] Its destruction, and we may assume the castle with it, was probably a consequence of Edward Balliol's return to the Scottish throne after Hallidon Hill in 1333.[1033] Archaeologically we are in the dark about Kirkcudbright as a peri-urban settlement in the 12th-14th centuries.

[1028] C.A. Ralegh Redford, 'The Early Church in Strathclyde and Galloway', *Medieval Archaeology*, 16 (1967), p.118.
[1029] *RRS,* II, 293.
[1030] *CDS*, I, 1318, 1371.
[1031] *RRS*, V (Robert I), 275.
[1032] *CDS*, III, pp 317-8.
[1033] Galbraith, *Anonimalle Chronicle*, pp 1-2.

For the purposes of the examination of Castledykes as an archaeological site, it is useful to examine the documentary history of Kirkcudbright a little further. By 1434 Kirkcudbright features as an administrative centre in the *Exchequer Rolls*. The decline of the Douglas family, as already noted, heralded a massive forfeiture of lands in Galloway which is recorded in the 1457 rolls. No reference appears in these or subsequent years for a castle at Kirkcudbright, but in 1476 is the first of many allusions to a land unit called 'Castle Mains', consistently described as 'close to the burgh of Kirkcudbright.'[1034] It is possible, but not demonstrable, that this was part of the lands which came to royal hands, but after a delay of over ten years, following the Douglas forfeiture. 'Castle Mains' was occasionally rented to the community of the burgh of Kirkcudbright, and in one year (1504) was unrented for reasons unclear. Castle Mains is depicted on Thomas Cocking's 18th-century map and survives today as a farmstead near Castledykes. Most important, however, is that this represents evidence for a castle site in Kirkcudbright in the 15th century, and possibly earlier. This is not to say that the castle site was inhabited or even habitable, but its proximity to Castledykes argues for memory of an association with a 'living' castle in a century or so prior to the 1470s. Though tempting, it is unlikely that the *mensa* of Roland/Lachlann mentioned in a charter of 1189 x 1223 bears a connection to the conceptual mensal lands which the name 'Castle Mains' implies.[1035]

6.3.6.2 Summary

Though Loch Fergus may represent a pre-medieval power centre, the earliest evidence for any castle is from the 16th century, and the surviving building remains are not obviously castellar or medieval. The landscape context and analogy with insular power centres from Galloway, Islay and Ireland tend to argue for Loch Fergus representing a medieval lordship centre. Moat Brae at the centre of historic Kirkcudbright may represent the power centre of the native Lords of Galloway up to the death of Alan in 1234. It is speculated that the splitting of the Lordship amongst Alan's daughters spurred the investment in new centres of political authority among the heiresses' husbands, of which Castledykes may represent an example. The excavation there demonstrated a much more long-lived site than has generally been assumed, a reality as yet unreconciled with its telling disappearance from the documentary record in the early 14th century. The complexity of the shift in focus of power is perhaps evidenced by the early medieval comb recovered from Castledykes, coeval with the probable early phases of the quasi-monastic community of St Cuthbert at Kirkcudbright established during the Northumbrian dominance in Galloway.

[1034] *ER*, VII, pp 341, 343; *ER*, X, pp 219, 742; *ER*, XII, p.655; *ER*, XIII, p.607.
[1035] *RRS*, II, 293.

6.3.7 Loch Doon Castle

The Castle of Loch Doon is an "aberrant" enclosure-form castle moved from its insular setting to a shoreside spot in 1935 to prevent its loss to the rising waters of a hydroelectric scheme.[1036] Though the reconstruction efforts are admirable (though neglecting a later medieval tower house inserted into the complex in its post-13th-century history), the site is now divorced from its immediate landscape, which survives in fragments and partially concealed by a raised water level courtesy of damming works.[1037] A dug-out canoe, dating to the late 6th-early 7th century CE and recovered from the bottom of the loch near the original entrance to the castle, suggests that the island may have an older occupational history.[1038] That its original immediate landscape was water – it was an island site – does allow further discussion, however. The remains are composed of an irregular enclosure of high quality stone workmanship punctured by two entrances; this earliest phase is dated to the later 13th century.[1039] It is composed of a long straight wall c.18.00m long, which forms the longest stretch of walling in this eleven-sided polygon (Figure 66). This represents the location of the great hall; at first-floor level are the remains of a fireplace which may mark the high-status end of the building (Figure 67).

[1036] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.51.

[1037] These raised the level of the loch by 1.8m. NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/site/194898/loch-doon-dam> [Accessed 20/6/16]. The tower house is depicted in MacGibbon and Ross, *Castellated and domestic architecture*, III, p.97.

[1038] E.W. Mackie, 'A late single-piece dug-out canoe from Loch Doon, Ayrshire', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*, 11 (1974), pp 132-3.

[1039] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.51.
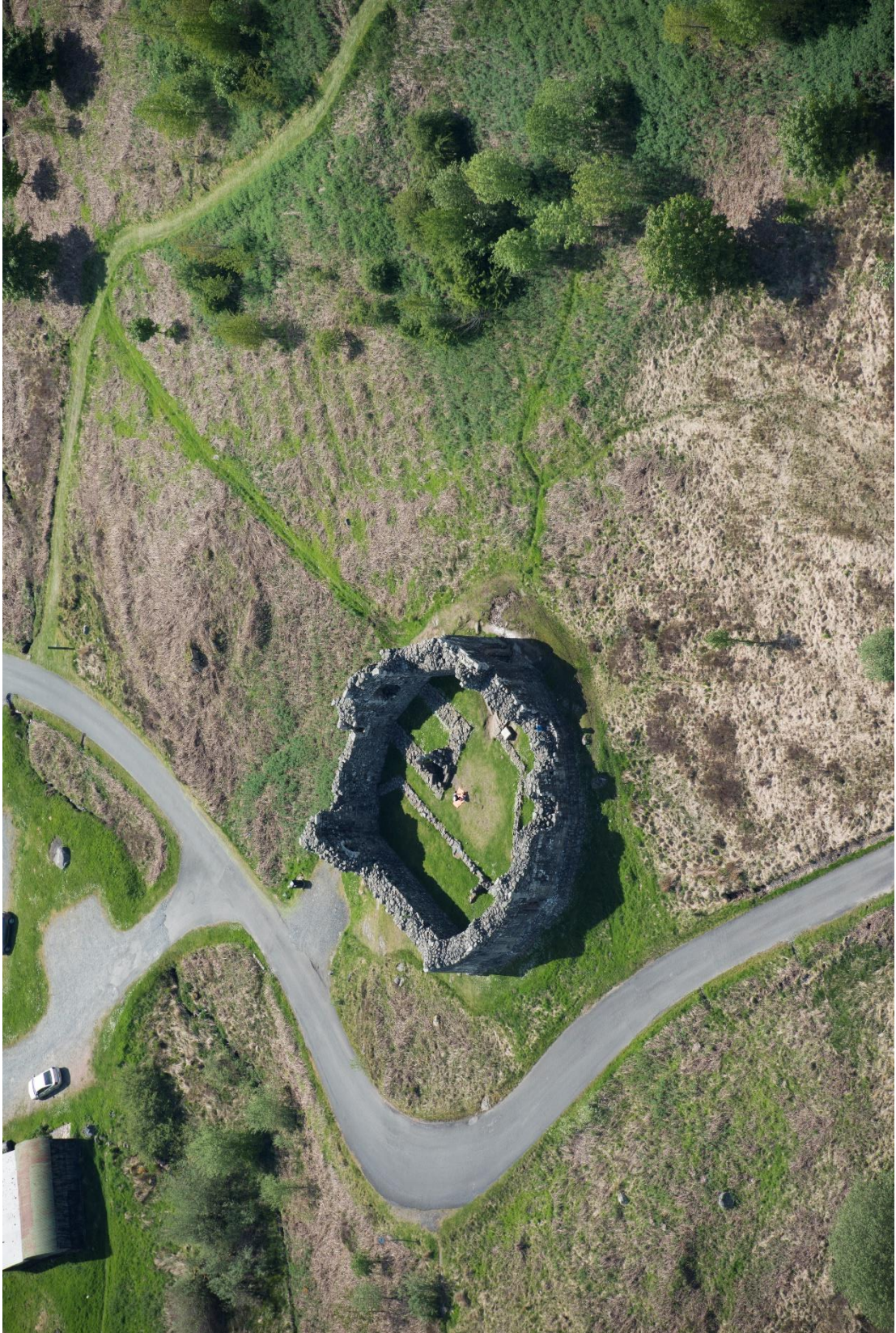
THE LONG STRETCH OF WALLING IS APPARENT ON THE TOP LEFT OF THE ENCLOSURE © CANMORE, DP 159782.

The original orientation of the enclosure, as depicted in MacGibbon and Ross' third volume of *Castellated and domestic architecture* suggests that the great hall lay on an east-west axis, with

any windows (none survive, but almost certainly existed) facing directly south towards the southern end of the loch. Given that this was the longest stretch of straight walling, we must interpret that this was a deliberate orientation; indeed, any windows on this south face look towards the likeliest route towards the Dee Valley in Galloway. Additionally, the parish of Straiton (located in Carrick, not Kyle, and so within the bounds of the medieval Earldom) stretches south beyond the Castle, down the west shore of the Loch, as far as Loch Enoch (c.5km south). It has also been suggested that the quarry which provided the stone for the castle was located to the south of the castle site, albeit much further than Loch Enoch.[1040] Thus the hall's view featured both the lands under the control of the Earl of Carrick and lands belonging to southern neighbours in Galloway. More prosaically, it is also the side where they would have maximised the benefit of daylight. On a western face of the enclosure wall, an elaborate fireplace set in the interior face of the enclosure wall is probably a primary feature, for the footings of returning wall of the later tower house project to partly cover it. Here may be the location of the chamber block for the original castle, with a probable garderobe chamber set in the enclosure wall at first-floor level. Its position close to the conjectured high-status end of the hall is also acceptable, given that their proximity grants easy access.

FIGURE 67: PHOTO OF BUTT JOINT OF MAIN ENTRANCEWAY AT LOCH DOON CASTLE; ANTIQUARIAN PLAN OF CASTLE
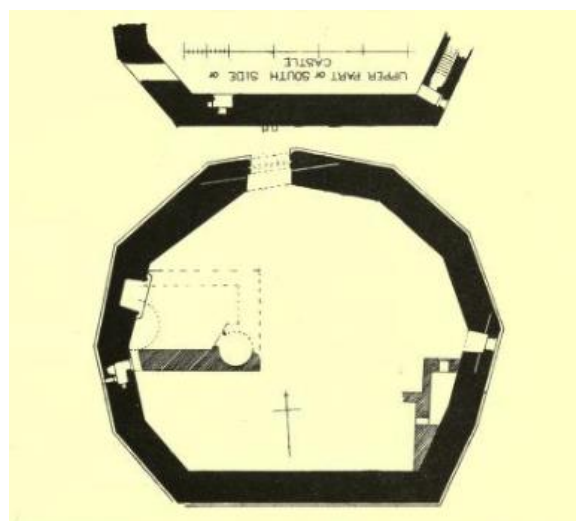
2016, AUTHOR'S OWN

PLAN OF LOCH DOON CASTLE FROM MACGIBBON AND ROSS, *CASTELLATED AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE*, III, P.98, REORIENTED FROM PUBLISHED LAYOUT TO REFLECT TOP AS NORTH

The precise details of the communication arrangements are lost, though it is noteworthy that the chamber fireplace (as that of the great hall) and the garderobe are at first-floor level and so may

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[1040] MacGibbon and Ross, *Castellated and domestic architecture*, III, p.99.

have formed part of a single complex. Set in the western end of the wall of the great hall is a recess whose function is not clear, though it may represent a primary-phase fireplace or window seat (its position in the hall recommends this) which was later blocked, reshaped and made into an aumbry. The stonework at Loch Doon is of exceptional quality, with neat courses, regularly-sized stones and modest but distinct architectural features. A plinth course runs around the whole exterior, in common with Castledykes, Cruggleton and Tibbers. The primary entrance faced north in the castle's original siting. The interior face of the entrance does not match the profile of the exterior, for there is a rounded arch with chamfered edge set higher up the face of the wall. This is probably a secondary interior face of the enclosure wall, as its upper courses meet the external facing wall at a butt joint. However, the outer wall projects somewhat into the courtyard at the lower courses, which may suggest that this whole rounded arch replaces an earlier, identically-placed arrangement (Figure 67). A similar interior skin is apparent at the only other surviving entrance to the enclosure, a pointed arch-topped postern on a stretch of walling on the east side of the enclosure. In accounting for the features apparent at the castle it is possible to argue for the location of further buildings (Figure 68).

FIGURE 68: CONJECTURAL SPATIAL ARRANGEMENTS OF LOCH DOON CASTLE
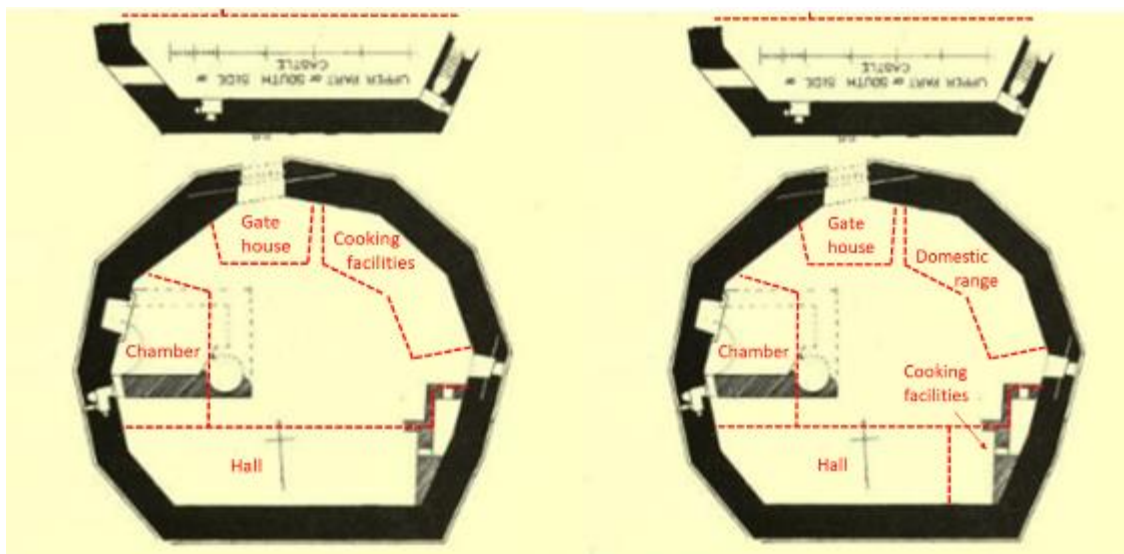
PLAN OF LOCH DOON CASTLE FROM MACGIBBON AND ROSS, *CASTELLATED AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE*, III, P.98, REORIENTED FROM PUBLISHED LAYOUT TO REFLECT TOP AS NORTH, AMENDED BY AUTHOR

The south wall is occupied by the first-floor hall, and the western quarter of the polygon occupied by a chamber block at first floor. Beneath both of these may have been storage or additional facilities; large put-log holes survive at floor level. The location of put-log holes is only partly instructive; these survive beneath the chamber block fireplace, along the south wall of the great hall, and on the face of wall shared with the garderobe entry, between these two. The segments of curtain wall in other parts of the castle do not survive at the same height, making contrast difficult. It is plausible that the hall and chamber block were the only two-storey buildings in the castle. The north

segment of the polygon, where the primary, ornate entrance is located, features the thickest portions of curtain wall.[1041] Cruden has argued that the portal included a portcullis chamber topping the entrance; this would certainly account for the wall thickening here where there is none apparent at the secondary entrance in the eastern wall, located at modern ground level. The confines of space within the enclosure might also argue for the presence of chamber above the entrance which housed the portcullis machinery. With the three segments of the enclosure theoretically occupied by buildings, the fourth could also be theoretically occupied by a cooking range, featuring a configuration of kitchen, brewhouse and bakehouse; there are two possible locations for this (Figure 68). Their presence is mandated for by the presence of the great hall, a venue for feasting. The situation of the conjectured cooking facilities, by the secondary postern entrance, also reflects the likelihood that this operated not as a last do-or-die critical exit but rather a supply route into the castle. Such an entrance may also be evident at Castledykes, Kirkcudbright.

The primary entrance, distinguished by its portcullis (a functional and symbolic device[1042]) and two chamfered orders of pointed arches, was probably more a ceremonial, high-status passage. The second conjectured layout below allows more space to be devoted to secondary domestic spaces, and additionally has provision for direct communication between cooking facilities and the lower end of the hall. The square-headed doorway facing into the passage to the postern is of uncertain date, but is secondary to the curtain and could be coeval with the c.16th-century tower houses inserted over the postulated chamber block; this last respects the approximate layout of the hall, which may have been in use in another capacity. When it appears in the documentary records in the context of the Wars of Independence, it is clear the site was originally in the possession of the Earls of Carrick, and chronologically therefore has been connected to the Bruce dynasty. A collection of documents found at Loch Doon by Sir Henry Percy prior to 1306 were examined by Edward I, suggesting that the castle was a centre for administration and military strategy in the Wars, or that it was deemed a secure place by the Bruces.[1043] A massive hoard of 1,887 coins found in 1966 may represent a substantial accidental loss incurred during the post-Robert I era of the conflict.[1044] In 1308 x 1309 Robert I forgave his cousin Sir Gilbert Carrick for any implication he was involved in the surrender of Loch Doon Castle and the resultant death of Robert's ally and brother-in-law Sir Christopher Seton.[1045] In 1434 it was held of the crown by Fergus Kennedy as

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[1041] Cruden, *The Scottish castle*, p.52.
[1042] C. Coulson, 'Structural symbolism in medieval castle architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 42.1 (3rd s.) (1972), p.83.
[1043] *CDS*, II, 1845. The castle also hosted two siege machines in 1306 under the control of Percy: *CDS* II, 1819.
[1044] P. Woodhead, I. Stewart, G. Tatler, 'The Loch Doon treasure trove, 1966', *British Numismatic Journal*, 38 (1969), pp 31-49.
[1045] *RRS* V (Rob. I), 384. Seton was married to Robert's sister Christian.

keeper of the castle.[1046] It is indicative of its importance more locally that it was held by a member of the Kennedy family, long-time supporters of the Bruce family and the native Carrick comital line.[1047] Indeed in 1450 James II, in confirming Hugh Kennedy's tenure of the keepership, addressed him as the king's *consanguineus*.[1048]

6.3.7.1 Landscape

The castle's political importance arises from the location of routes between Galloway and Carrick and Ayr; Loch Doon marks the northern section of the route which runs from Glenken through to the valley of the River Doon; a secondary route south-west is apparent from the south of Loch Doon, along the stream Carrick Lane westwards to Stinchar before turning south towards Glentrool and eastern Wigtownshire. A third route may be implied by Roy's military map, running south from Loch Doon down Galloway Lane (now Gala Lane) to Loch Dee, splitting west towards Glentrool or east towards Glenken.[1049] Though it is itself today removed from major routes of communication, Loch Doon Castle is thus located at a formerly important regional crossroads. The relationship of parishes with castle landscapes is not obvious; the loch itself is the boundary for the modern parishes of Straiton, Carsphairn and and Dalmellington which converge on it (Figure 69). To which parish the medieval castle belonged is not clear, though in the later 16th century Straiton is implied; Carsphairn is more recent and perhaps reflects a later detachment from Kells parish in Galloway proper.[1050] Straiton parish and church, dedicated to St Cuthbert, was granted to Paisley Abbey by Donnchadh, Earl of Carrick in 1214x16, and regranted to the Bishop of Glasgow by John/Eóin de Carrick, a son of Donnchadh, in 1233x44.[1051] The distinct lack of local church or chapel site is equally puzzling, though it does hint at the probability (even more likely if the castle's first phase is 13th-century) that parish formation in this area preceded the construction of the stone castle. The grant of the parish prior to the castle's construction probably made it less likely that the holders of the church (whether Paisley or Glasgow) would make efforts to provide further for the locality's spiritual needs.

[1046] *ER* IV, 596.

[1047] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, p.100; D. Brooke, 'Kirk-compound place-names in Galloway and Carrick: the significance of the kirk- compound place-names in Galloway and Carrick – the historical evidence', p.64. The Kennedys were also active in support of Gillebrígte against Roland/Lachlann, pre-dating the creation of the Earldom of Carrick, in the later 12th century. The castle was also briefly held by the MacLellans, an important family in 14th-century Galloway, in 1447 (*ER*, V, p.267).

[1048] *RMS*, II, 412.

[1049] NLS, Roy Military Survey of Scotland (Lowlands), 1752-5.

[1050] NRS, Papers of the Kennedy family, Earls of Cassilis (Ailsa Muniments), GD25/1/851, Letter of reversion by George Corry of Kelwood to John Earl of Cassilis, 25 February 1576. Carsphairn is a post-Reformation parish carved out of Kells parish in Galloway, and Dalmellington is in King's Kyle – a different unit of medieval lordship. Thanks to R. Oram for these comments.

[1051] Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, pp 189-90. The regrant probably relates to the earls of Carrick's dispute with Paisley over the establishment of a monastic house at Crossraguel in Kirkoswald parish.
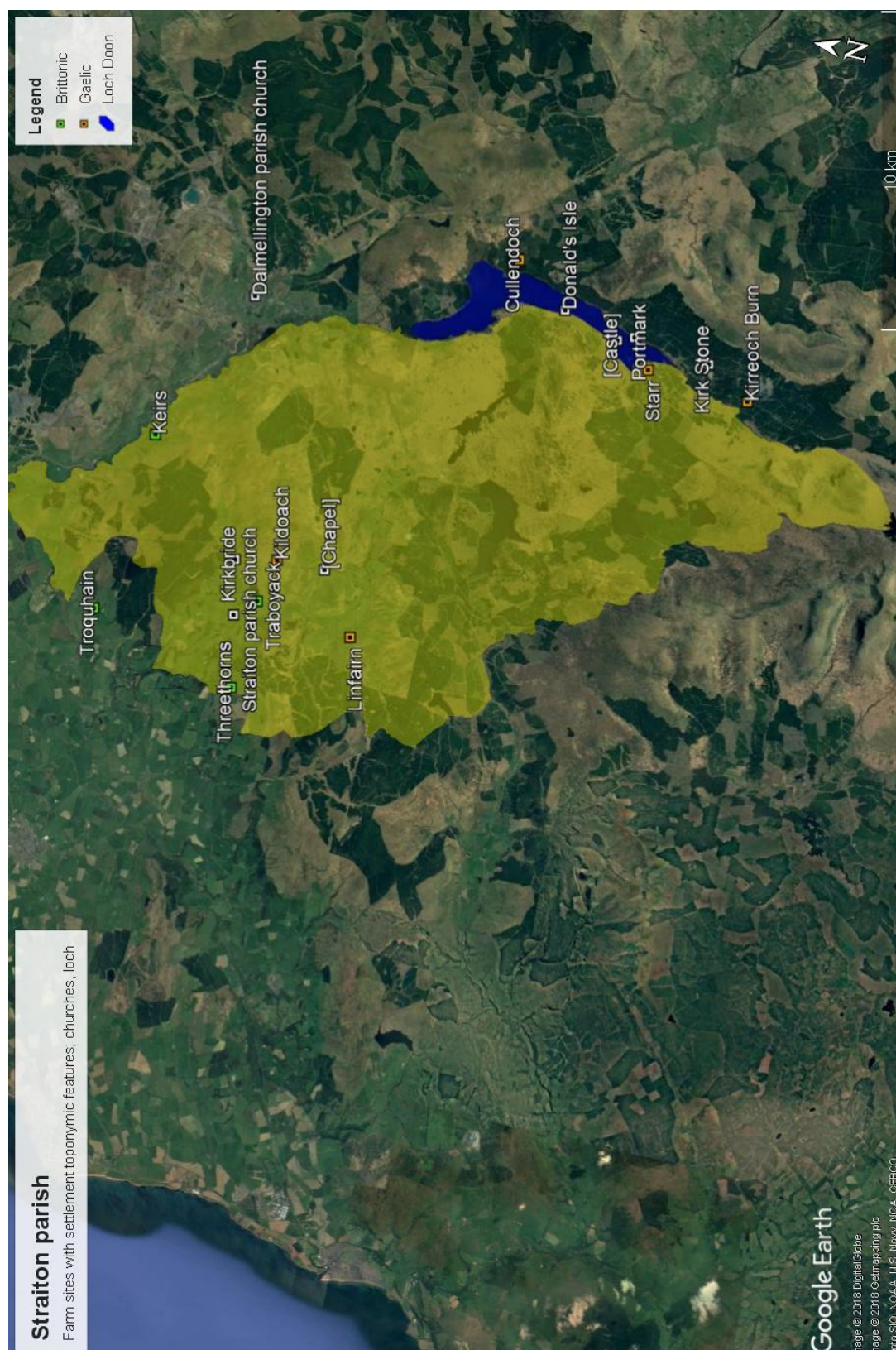
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There are two possible chapel sites near to the castle, both unconvincing. Kirk Stone, c.3.1km

south of the modern site of the castle, is a featureless boulder apparently the site of 17th-century

preaching and therefore unlikely to represent an earlier site.[1052] The second is the site of a healing well dedicated to St. Mary, c.4.6km NNE of the modern castle site on the eastern edge of Cullendoach Hill. That both lie in Carsphairn parish, in medieval Galloway rather than Carrick, makes them unlikely candidates. The comparative remoteness of Loch Doon from neighbouring parish centres may have necessitated a chapel of ease, in which case a personal chapel or oratory may have existed in the castle itself. Of course, the rising level of the loch may have destroyed any evidence for a local shoreside chapel. A farm c.1,700m NE of Straiton village (c.13,800m from the castle) named Largs has a local tradition of an alternative name with ecclesiastical connections and regional parallels, 'Kirkbride'. No evidence of a medieval structure has been connected to the site. Just over c.3,000m S of Straiton is the site of a chapel to St Drostan.[1053] The indecipherable structures excavated in the 1930s on Donald's Isle, N of the castle island, represent another possible ecclesiastical centre (Figure 69). Donald's Isle is depicted as an island site named *Ylen Donen* (G. *Eilean Donan*) on Blaeu's 1654 map; the 6-inch OS map depicts it as a peninsula on the western shore of the loch perhaps (at the time) seasonally separated from the mainland.[1054] The site was excavated in the 1930s and published in 1936-7; a Romano-British period glass bangle was uncovered, but the most finds were firmly medieval in date, with green-glaze pottery and a coin of Edward I hinting at late 13th-14th-century occupation.[1055] The thickness of the walls of the central building (c.1.5m), and the lack of hearth in the space, may suggest it was a two-storey structure – implying a high-status building. The excavator suggested the site was a church from a combination of two points; firstly, the name 'Donan' was interpreted as that of St Donan, the island's name belying a church connection. Clancy has emphasized the commonality of saints' name dedications (such as Donan) around the rim of the Firth of Clyde may hint at a common Gall-Gaidheil origin.[1056] Equally, its name could reflect a G. *dùn* ('fort') element for which there are numerous comparable examples in Scotland (e.g. Eilean Donan Castle, Highland). The second point was a folk story which called the structures on the island "Monks' graves". Both points hint at a connection to a religious past, however faint. The caveat to all of this is the former existance to the N of the loch, attested in the 1st edition (1888-1913) OS 6-inch map, of Gordon's Island. The name Donald may therefore be a later attachment. For the loch itself, it is clear that the Castle and Donald's Island were occupied at around the same time, and both were high-status, but located c.1.9km apart. Donald's Island could represent a chapel site, but present evidence is not

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[1052] NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/site/63604/> [Accessed 27/6/16].

[1053] Scott, *Fasti ecclesiae Scoticanae*, III, p.71.

[1054] The origin of the name of the loch is contested; the specific Doon may not relate to the castle or Donald's Isle as G. *dún*, but rather the Celtic river-name cognate with *Dēvonā*, a goddess' name cognate with Latin *divus*. Gough Map, 'Loch Doon Castle' <http://www.goughmap.org/settlements/7710/> [Accessed 1/5/18].

[1055] A. Fairburn, 'Excavation of a medieval site on Donald's Isle, Loch Doon, Ayrshire', *PSAS*, 71 (1936-7), pp 323-33.

[1056] Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', 44.

conclusive. A third, now lost, island is represented on early modern maps, bearing the name 'Prysonersto[un]' (Blaeu, 1654) 'Prisoners toun' (Moll, 1732), and 'Pickmaw Isles' (1st ed. *OS* 6-inch, 1850).[1057] Further smaller islands, some named and some not, are depicted on the sheets of the 1st edition OS covering the Loch. Analogy with sites in Ireland (Rock of Lough Key, Co Roscommon; Knocklough crannog, Co Sligo) may suggest that the castle of Loch Doon was complemented by a shore-side moated site, but none is apparent.[1058] However, an abandoned shore-side farm south-east of the original castle island site, appearing in Gordon's 1636-52 map, bears the name Portmark (and a nearby rock, Port Stone), perhaps marking the embarkation point for access to the island (Figure 70).[1059]

The place-name landscape of Loch Doon is almost exclusively Gaelic; Cullendoach Hill preserves the word 'davoch' (*dabhach*), Kirreoch Burn and Carnavel 'quarter(land) (*ceathramh*) and Pennyvinne the term 'pennyland' (*peighinn*) (Figure 69).[1060] A unit of land called *lie Pennylandis* appears in a 1450 charter in connection with the keepership of the castle.[1061] That the place-names reflect divisions of land is a product of the research undertaken rather than the total landscape; nevertheless, it is difficult not to suggest that the area was profoundly influenced by Gaelic-speaking settlement in the medieval period broadly defined. One exception to this is the 'Hunthall' noted in a mid-17th century map of Carrick south of the loch in Carsphairn parish, identified with the remains of a single rectangular building at Hunt Ha' (NX 48000 85924). Though it is associated in 19th-century literature, on uncertain grounds, to the early 16th century, it is possible it represents a longer-lived exploitation of the local resources for aristocratic past-time.[1062] Michael Ansell has noted the names of several toponyms in Galloway and south Ayrshire connected to deer traps (G. *eileirig*), and three natural features bearing related toponymic elements are less than 5,000m from the hunthall site (Figure 70).[1063] Certainly, in this later medieval date Loch Doon Castle was associated with the guardianship of the Forest of Buchan –

[1057] NLS, Maps collection, EMW.X.015, T. Pont, *Caricta Borealis/The northpart of Carrick*, 1654; NLS, Maps collection, EMS.b.2.1(14), H. Moll, *The South part of the Shire and Air, containing Kyle and Carrick*, 1745; NLS, Maps collection, OS Survey six-inch (1st ed.), Kirkcudbright Sheet 4, 1850. The island appears in Robert Gordon's map of Cunninghame, but is unnamed: NLS, Maps collection, Adv.MS.70.2.1 (Gordon 60), R. Gordon, *Cuningham*, c.1636-52.
[1058] O'Conor, 'The morphology of Gaelic lordly sites in North Connacht', pp 338-9.
[1059] NLS, Maps collection, Adv.MS.70.2.1 (Gordon 60), R. Gordon, *Cuningham*, c.1636-52, as 'Partmarck'; NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/site/63605/> [Accessed 7/5/18].
[1060] MacQueen, 'Pennyland and davoch in south-western Scotland', pp 69-74.
[1061] *RMS*, II, 354.
[1062] H.E. Maxwell, *Studies in the topography of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1887), p.202; NLS, Maps collection, EMW.X.015, T. Pont, *Caricta Borealis/The northpart of Carrick*, 1654; A. Agnew, *A history of the hereditary sheriffs of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1864), p.139, described it as "on a pretty green knoll, surrounded by three small lakes". Noted to be beneath the Dungeon of Buchan (a local hill), a possible location, between one surviving and two drained lochs, is at 55.128597, -4.403502.
[1063] Craignelder (NX 50776 88775), Loch Neldricken (NX 44505 583004) and Craig Neldricken (NX 44519 584360): M. Ansell, 'Place name evidence for woodland and hunting in Galloway & Carrick', *Scottish Woodland History Discussion Group Notes*, 11 (2006), pp 7-8.

itself perhaps an earlier area of land, located in neighbouring Galloway. This was former Comyn land probably acquired by John Comyn (Earl of Buchan) after 1264 with the fragmentation of the de Quincy estates, territory which Robert I took into royal demesne.[1064] As with Kirkoswald/Turnberry parish, there is a good representation of Brittonic place-names in Straiton parish, though concentrated around the site of the parish church. This is unsurprising, given these two areas' proximity to Brittonic Strathclyde compared to the sites in Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire.

[1064] William Cunningham of Glengarnock was granted the lands of the forest of Buchan in 1526: *RSSRS* I, 3418. McNeill, MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish history to 1707*, pp 446-7.

FIGURE 70: AREA SOUTH OF LOCH DOON
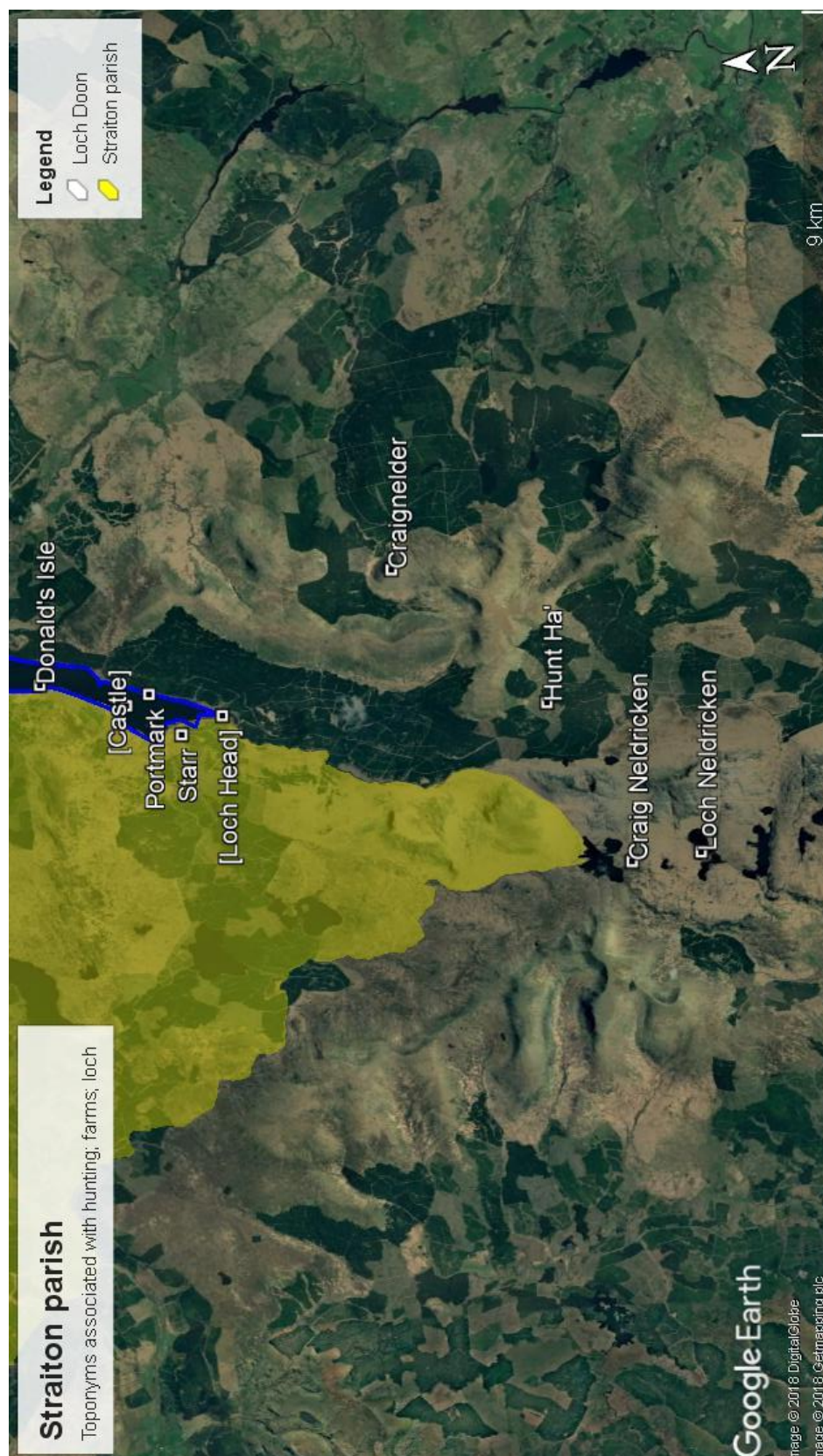
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The edge of southern Loch Doon, near the original site of the castle, is peppered with marks of medieval life (Figure 71). The *HLA* notes patches of rig cultivation at Starr, the abandoned farm of

Loch Head and enclosures N of Portmark. The extent of conifer plantations in the district makes it likely further agricultural evidence dating to the medieval period is lost or undiscovered. The recovery of a 13th-14th-century pot and an intact 15th-16th-century pot from the vicinity of Starr suggests the lochside was settled and consuming pottery in the same period as the castle. A 15th-century pot, recovered from Castle Isle (a different place from Castle Island, the original location of the castle), suggests that the small islands in the loch were also in use in the broader medieval period.[1065] Lastly, by Portmark the remains of a bloomery, including iron slag and fragments of 15th-century pottery suggest a degree of medieval lochside metalworking.

There is limited ecofactual information for the area around the castle for the medieval period. The discovery the canoe mentioned above was taken by Mackie to suggest the shores around the loch were well-stocked with mature trees.[1066] How this situation was different from the era of the castle's construction and the occupation of Donald's Isle is not clear. The strong representation of place-names derived from land division need not argue against a wooded lochside. It is apparent from analogy with Turnberry Castle, also in Carrick, that areas of wealth generation (salt pans) where there is documented comital interest could be proximate to areas of woodland or high-quality peat. Brooke has argued that the 15th-century upper reaches of Carsphairn parish adjacent to Loch Doon were at least partly wooded, evidenced by charters granting rights to hunting, hawking and common pasture.[1067] Evidence for fishing in the period of Loch Doon Castle's first phase does not survive. The lands of *Lochdune* were among those managed by the king's baillie in Carrick in 1434.[1068] In 1447 the keeper of the castle was granted an allowance of salt probably imported from a coastal region via a landing point (perhaps Portmark) on the loch.[1069] On neither count is exploitation of the waters of Loch Doon mentioned; it is only on 1576 that there is explicit mention of fishing, in a letter to the Earl of Cassillis.[1070] It is very likely that earlier documentation simply omits to explicitly note that the loch was fished.

6.3.7.2 Summary

The landscape of Loch Doon Castle is fragmented and obscure. The presence of a political centre here is hinted at by the high-status medieval occupation of the Castle and Donald's islands. A later tradition of hunting in the area, combined with its comparative removal from the rest of Galloway and the comital centre of Carrick at Turnberry, may argue for its origins as a hunting lodge, though equally an ecclesiastical connection – derived chiefly from its name – is plausible if

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[1065] NMRS, Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/site/63603/>; <https://canmore.org.uk/site/63606/> [Accessed 1/5/18].
[1066] Mackie, 'A late single-piece dug-out canoe from Loch Doon, Ayrshire', p.133.
[1067] Brooke, 'The Glenkens 1275-1456', p.53.
[1068] *ER*, IV, p.595.
[1069] *ER*, V, pp 261-2.
[1070] NRS, Papers of the Kennedy family, Earls of Cassilis (Ailsa Muniments); GD25/1/851, Letter of reversion by George Corry of Kelwood to John Earl of Cassilis, 25 February 1576.

unconvincing. Perhaps because of its location on the junction of routes crossing between Carrick and Galloway, the site retained a critical role in the Wars of Independence. It was later retained as a royal castle and its keepership was apparently an important office in the 15th century, as its complex history suggests. The place-name evidence in the landscape is surprisingly rich, Gaelic land units apparent in much of the loch's immediate neighbourhood, though less obviously datable to the 12th-14th centuries. It is likely, if not strongly evidenced, that the loch was exploited for its fishing from the time of the castle's construction in the later 13th century. Perhaps Loch Doon represented the base for administering an area removed from the coastal plain of Turnberry (c.31,700m W). The castle itself, though expressed in martial terms, was a place of domestic luxury and social interaction in a politically sensitive district of South-West Scotland. Its military potential is beyond question, but its more important peace-time role is borne out by its economic landscape. Its lacustrine setting is in effect a co-opting of natural sheets of water which is apparent, using ponds and ditches, in contemporary castles in Scotland and England.[1071] Loch Doon Castle may therefore not be a conscious reference to a crannog site as much as a Carrick take on 'watery landscapes'.

[1071] Johnson, *Behind the castle gate*, pp 19-54.

FIGURE 71: LOCH DOON CASTLE AND HINTERLAND
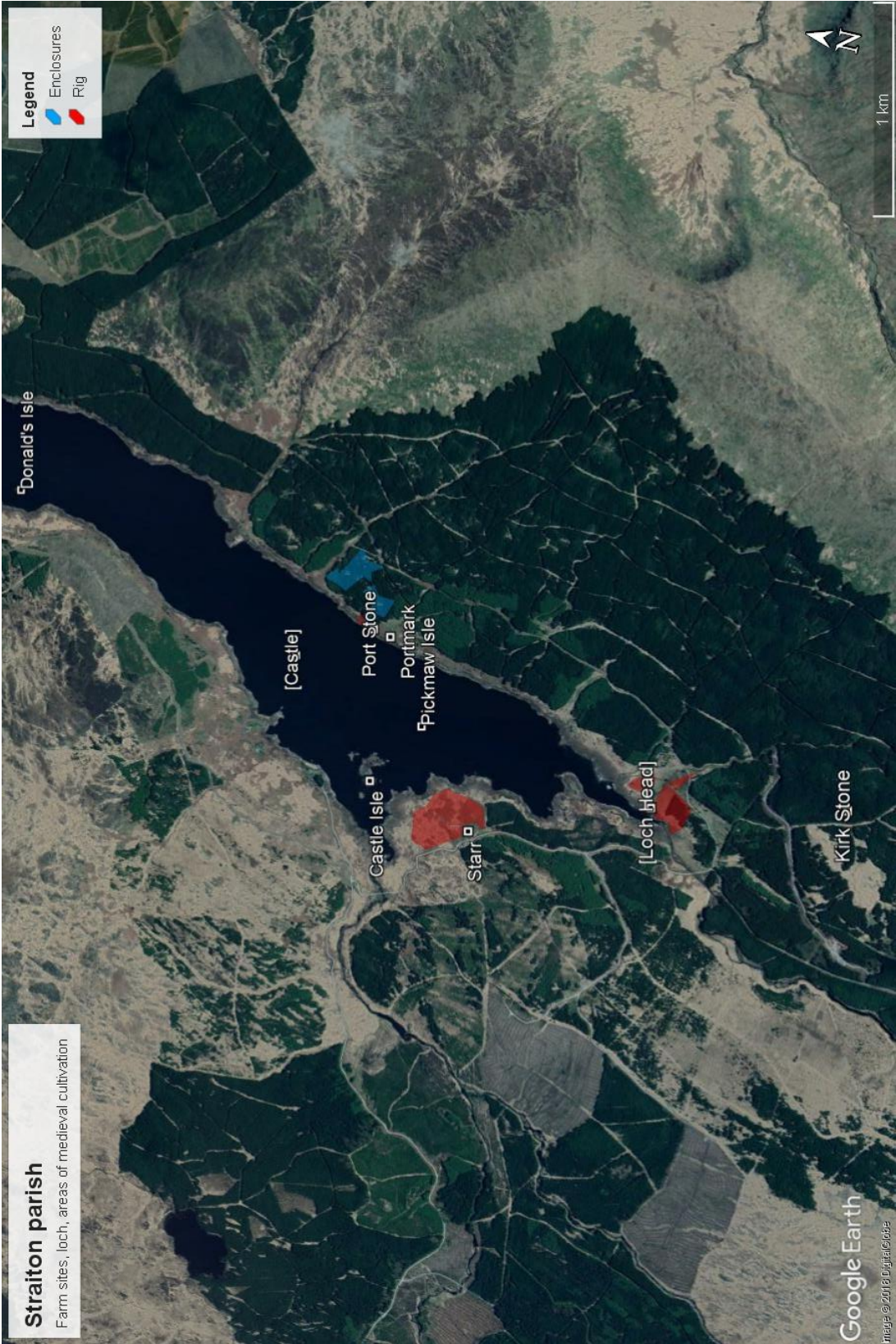
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The peripheral location of the castle to the parochial centre is similar to the liminal situation of
Ardwall and Rough Island on Loch Urr. In both cases, it has been suggested that the sites

represented a combination of leisurely retreats and fishing territories. It is not imagined that the three cases are immediately comparable, however, for it is suggested that Loch Doon Castle served a purpose of wider management of lands around the loch. It is apparent that, contrary to present circumstances, Loch Doon was not a remote and thinly-inhabited area, but rather comprised a landscape of economic vitality.

6.5.8 Summary

The archaeology and architecture of castles in the Lordship of Galloway represent a selection of formal typologies. It is immediately recognised that their proximity to marine, lacustrine and insular routes of communication is a shared characterstic. In their landscape contexts they are very varied, so as to defy a regional characterisation, beyond a watery association already mentioned. Ironically in this respect, the best-surviving castle in architectural terms within the groups – Loch Doon castle – is that which is in landscape terms the least like the wider Galloway group, in its removal access to the sea. The endurance of the crannog as a medium or vehicle of monumental lordly architecture endured in Galloway in the 12th-14th centuries, but was less important at the later end of this date rango amongst the senior nobility of the lordship. What is most apparent is the contingent connection between lordly architecture and historic figures and developments. Certainly, in terms of changing form or material, there is not obvious trend which applies to the sites examined here.

7. Discussion of historical conclusions and methodology

7.2 Early stone castles in the Earldom of Orkney

Damsay and Wyre represent similar, though not identical settings for high-status sites. Thurso's modern landscape certainly limits substantial elaboration; we are largely ignorant of the form and development of the burgh up to the 19th century.[1072] From the available evidence, however, one important conclusion is possible: neither Damsay, Wyre nor Thurso appear to be closely related to high-status farm sites, but their surroundings appear to be, or are probably, high-status. All are, however, connected to chapel/church sites. Their location on largely unimpressive agricultural land, but within a landscape of high status, may suggest they are intended to form part of the landscape but were late additions – perhaps even peripheral – to it. This suggestion is similar to theories about the emergence of *skáli* sites in the Late Norse earldom. Scrabster's proximity to a *bólstaðr* farm and chapel may be taken to confirm a high-status site; its naming as a *borg* is not truly problematic, but it remains doubtful if the excavated archaeology of the site can wholly be connected to the events of the s*aga*. The case of Sverresborg, however, gives cautious cause for accepting the notion that it may represent a contemporary or near-contemporary form of castle architecture in the Earldom.

Damsay is not clearly able to sustain more than a modest farmstead, and probably not sufficient to offer the produce implied by the presence of a high-status great hall and *kastali*. The same may be suggested for Wyre, though the presence of a *bólstaðr* farm makes this case less convincing. But their situation is central to important areas of the Earldom; the Bay of Firth in the case of Damsay, Egilsay and Rousay in the case of Wyre, and at Thurso sea-routes from Orkney and the wider Caithness community. Such a central situation implies communication and interaction. To borrow a suggested interpretation of *skáli*-sites, perhaps *kastalar* were connected to storage or the collection of *skatt* or tithes. Analogy with the role of the comparable towers in Jamtland is helpful here; better-evidenced Jamtland argues heavily for these towers being the outposts of revenue-collecting royal and archiepiscopal authority in the area. That Damsay, Thurso and later Wyre were connected to the bishopric as well as the comital family certainly implies an important position. It should be remembered that our literary sources are concerned chiefly with conveying stories of great deeds – inevitably violent warfare – and that this can colour discussions of these sites' function and role. As suggested earlier, the deploying of Christian narratives in architecture and writing in the 12th century may represent an appropriate context for the *kastalar* sites, whatever their role may be. Indeed, it may be misleading to assume they had a specific role, while their very presence signified an intangible though real value for their landscapes, as monuments and iconic features. Important in this regard is the recognition that each site discussed (as well as

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[1072] There was no burgh survey for Thurso in the wider programme of the 1970s-80s, but the comparison with Wick, also in Caithness, appears appropriate.

those which may be lost to us) may represent a different manifestation of a larger trend. Apart from anything else, their relationships with chapel/church sites marks them out as places to be interacted with, even if only from a short distance: the presence of a large *kastali* within visual grasp of a place of worship may have served to amplify to importance of that place of worship; such an interpretation again points towards a Christian and ecclesiastical connection. The location of brochs on Damsay and Wyre is linked to this. Leonard has written about the desire and perpetuation of memory of individuals tied to places in Orkney in the Viking and Late Norse periods. The superimposition of possible *kastalar* onto brochs may have been, to adapt Ritchie's phrase, "common economy."[1073] It may equally be interpreted as the imposition of an object of permanence onto the landscape, a new stone architectural form embodying a social shift from dynamic bonds of social relations to Christian order and endurance. Such a process may have implied the co-opting of an Iron age heritage by its builders who had no real claim to it.[1074] Of course, it should not be assumed that Damsay, Wyre and Thurso all emerged, developed and were built for the same purposes: the Thurso site sat within what may be termed a proto-urban environment; Damsay's *kastali* appears to have been related to a hall on the island, while we have little evidence about the situation at Wyre. The reasons for each *kastali* being built and the roles they fulfilled may have changed over even a short period of time; perhaps they were initially construed as monuments of a newly-organised and reformed Christian faith in the Earldom, but were subsequently adopted as monuments of secular authority.

This chapter set out to establish three things. Firstly, it sought to ask whether there was a North Atlantic comparative context in which *kastalar* of the Late Norse period might emerge in the Earldom. It has argued that certainly in Norway and Jamtland there is a comparable phenomenon of buildings called *kastalar*, 'towers' or 'castles'. In Norway, these appear in the western region of the country closely associated with the crown and, similarly, with some of the magnate families present in Orkney. In Jamtland the towers suggest a relationship to administration, both secular and ecclesiastical, in a province of Scandinavia actively being brought closer to the rule of the Norwegian Crown and, later if not at the same time, the See of Uppsala. Secondly, it sought to develop a landscape framework for understanding known high-status Late Norse sites, which was then compared to the landscapes of the conjectural *kastalar*. This exercise demonstrated a great variety in landscapes of known Late Norse high-status sites; the parallel exercise for *kastalar* sites, though small as a group, suggested a degree of commonality: these four 'castles' appear on marginal sites in the presence of presumably older and larger units of land and settlement. Yet they sit central to these sites, and the association with chapel/church sites also suggest an engagement with a wider community than just each site: in the case of Wyre and Damsay, larger

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[1073] Leonard, 'Vikings in the prehistoric landscape', p.60, citing Ritchie.
[1074] Cf. Leonard, 'Vikings in the prehistoric landscape', p.61.

than the island, and in the case of Thurso, wider than the immediate hinterland. Again, comparison with the Jamtland sites is confirmatory: there is little reason to believe the towers there stood at the heart of large, directly or indirectly-managed estates, but were rather inserted into an existing landscape by the hand of secular or ecclesiastical authority.

Throughout, the evidence for Orcadian *kastalar* sites points towards a connection with the church, and specifically the Bishopric of Orkney. This personal connection with leading ecclesiastical figures in the context of a rapidly-changing 12th-century society, suggests strongly that *kastalar* were connected in some way to the reformed bishopric and its leading prelates, William and his successor Bjarni. The form and function of *kastalar* is difficult to know. It is possible all bar Wyre were built of timber. In purely typological terms, comparison with Scandinavian counterparts appears to stress a tradition of large tower, but major stone-walled enclosures are also apparent. How the towers operated internally, or their relationship with other buildings, is presently unknown. The documentary evidence is not directed at a detailed description, but similarly appears to have no agenda of misdirection with regards to these sites. They appear to serve purely as places where high-status individuals met, or met nearby to. Later sources discuss them in terms of warfare, but this is one of only several of their probable roles and may indeed be a later practice. In this context, *skáli* ('hall') sites also appear in violence, as the site of defence, murder or quarrel, but are not considered military buildings. So too *kastalar* must not be considered thus. Instead, their novelty as forms (whatever these might be) and in material terms reflects the invigorated Church in the Earldom. Corrective comparison with Jamtland's later medieval evidence suggests that chapels could also act as offices for administration. Prior to the emergence of chanceries attached to magnate courts, chaplains and chapels operated as secular offices; here the proximity of *kastalar* to chapels in the Earldom and Jamtland is also explained. Sincere piety is not in doubt.

It has been possible to argue that the Earldom sites mirror each other in the landscape context in which they sit. They appear to respect existing centres of authority – high-status farms, chapel/church sites – as well as referencing prehistoric monuments (mounds, cairns). Paradoxically, it appears that three of the four – Wyre, Damsay and Scrabster – sit atop pre-Norse monuments (brochs). There is reason for believing that this was a deliberate strategy with deep and complex symbolic overtones, but it has not been possible to substantiate this from the evidence, and if/how such monuments were differentiated. Thurso, Scrabster and Damsay appear to reference early medieval assembly sites in their vicinity, which aligns with the *kastalar* in Jamtland. The political backgrounds to the appearances of Sverresborg and Scrabster in their respective areas are similar, though the emphasis on warfare in the documentary sources may skew interpretation. That each appeared in the hands of a new, subversive authority is equally

important. The economic context suggested here assents to the consensus from other studies in that the Earldom was the beneficiary of large increases in fishing in the 12th century, if not earlier. The consequence of this was an increase in the availability of new styles of material culture, which expressed identification with knightly ideals apparent elsewhere in Europe. A analogous fainter picture of economic development may be argued for Jamtland's ermine fur trade.

It seems that the *kastalar* sites in the Earldom fit into this period of exchange in goods and ideas, which in the 12th century was imbued with distinct forms of material culture and, evidently, architecture. Recognising this phenomenon is only a preliminary step towards understanding what they meant to the communities and society which built them. Clearly there was an implicit recognition that these monuments conveyed what has been termed here knightly ideals, but how the specific regional cultural, political and social differences which defined the Earldom affected a rather generic European form of architecture remains to be fully explored. It is suggested here that the *kastalar*, in the past vaguely connected by historians and archaeologists to general European trends, and occasionally to Scottish comparators, were in fact distinctly Scandinavian expressions of that ideal. This accounts for the difficulty in placing them in a wider, better-understood and better-evidenced group of castle sites in Europe. It also accounts for the misrepresentation of their role, given that the majority of the evidence previously used to discuss them related to instances of warfare. While the landscape assessment here is not conclusive, it does point towards a pattern of placement and engagement with the landscape which is not unfamiliar to other castle sites in Scotland outside Orkney. A connection to the Bishopric of Orkney is clear, but again the favourable view of bishops William and Bjarni in the written evidence may over-emphasize matters, though certainly later rentals go some way to confirming the suggestions of *Orkneyinga saga*.

The *kastalar* of the Earldom of Orkney represent an unusual manifestation of the knightly ideal. This chapter has sought to interrogate the evidence for them in strictly Norse terms, and this has revealed parallels in Scandinavia, relationships with high-status sites and traces of a landscape context pattern. Confirmation of their existence and socio-political context can aid further interpretations of the history of the Earldom and the wider Norse world of Scotland. Cause for their emergence can be found in the development of leading magnates' authority in the 12th century parallel to the emergence of a cultural toolkit to demonstrate that authority, of which *kastalar* formed one part. Whether *kastalar* were castles is moot. The intent of representing self through a different form of architecture, and an association with nebulous 'castle' identity, is clear.

7.3 Early stone castles in the Lordship of Galloway

Findings from this assessment of the early stone castles of the Lordship of Galloway (and the Earldom of Carrick) suggests that many of the assumed changes occurring in the region during the 11th-14th centuries are anchored in the evidence. However, as is common elsewhere in Scotland, earlier discussion has tended to emphasize sites' military role as a reflection of their earliest emergence in the documentary record during the Wars of Independence. It has also by and large negated the great variety of social, economic and political contexts of these sites.

Several common themes emerge from the assessment of castle and non-castle high-status sites across Galloway. Island sites, whether artificial or natural, were part of the power centre vocabulary of greater Galloway in the 12th and 13th centuries. The evidence examined here suggests there is a distinction to be made between the sites occupied; those which are politically central and those politically peripheral. Loch Urr, Ardwall and Hestan are removed from centres of activity in the parish but are not necessarily isolated or without significance. The removal of Mote of Urr from its holdings, without doubt one of the major political centres in 12th to 13th-century Galloway, is a useful reminder that the historical context to the positioning of sites can be more telling than the archaeological view from the 21st century.

Relationships between pre-existing monuments are recognised across all the sites examined. If this relationship may be identified as meaningful and with symbolic intent, it is not universal. At Mote of Urr, the decision to construct a motte atop an Iron age fort could reflect practical as well as symbolic thought. The concentration of prehistoric monuments around Kirkcudbright is surely symbolic, and a landscape into which Christian life and the community of St Cuthbert placed itself. It is likely that the church emerged next to an existing 'secular' power centre there, with a local assembly site, which means that the later appearance of castles associated with the lords of Galloway and their successors in the vicinity is unsurprising. The relationship of Buittle and Cruggleton with an earlier centre reflects a degree of continuity of the location of secular power in a landscape, as is perhaps the case in Loch Doon with the castle and Donald's Isle. Lochrutton gives the clearest indication of an interaction with existing monuments in the later medieval period. The choice to site the parish church at one end of an avenue of flanking standing stones, whose other terminus was at Big Island crannog, is undoubtedly deliberate. At the very least, Lochrutton as a centre of medieval lordship is unique, in its clear engagement with a prehistoric monumental landscape. It is more likely that evidence from elsewhere is less explicit or has been lost. The examination of parishes alongside power centres has proved critical to recognising the shifting patterns of landholding and power in the region. The formation of parishes in the 12th century in Galloway coincides with the earlier phases of occupation of many of the sites discussed here. In some instances, the parish and secular centre were in a symbiotic relationship familiar

across medieval Europe; Dunrod, Cruggleton, Kirkcudbright and to a lesser extent Mote of Urr are examples. But this represents only half the sites examined, and probably bears testament to the changing relationship of power between secular leaders and ecclesiastical players – monastic houses and bishops. Even within these four, the story is not coherent; Dunrod was carved out of the large parish of Kirkcudbright upon its gift to Holyrood, while Cruggleton parish did not survive to the early modern period. The history of sites in Galloway simply refuses to comply with even general models of understanding patterns of lordship and change in settlements. The other six sites (Figure 72) feature among their number some of the most politically important castles in 12th-14th-century medieval Scotland (Buittle, Loch Doon, Turnberry), let alone Galloway. The circumstances in which these different arrangements appear may not be wholly clear, but nor are they entirely obscure; Galloway witnessed significant change in the period examined, and this led to very different manifestations of models of lordship, as well as its architectural manifestations.

FIGURE 72: TABLE OF SITES EXAMINED IN GALLOWAY AND PROXIMITY TO CHURCH SITE

Site and county	Distance from medieval parish church (c., m)
Dunrod KCB	100
Cruggleton WGT	600
Kirkcudbright Moat Brae KCB	770
Kirkcudbright Loch Fergus KCB	780
Mote of Urr KCB	1,100
Kirkcudbright Castledykes KCB	1,300
Lochrutton KCB	1,400
Buittle KCB	2,100
Ardwall KCB	3,100
Turnberry AYR	4,200
Rough Island Loch Urr DUM	7,000
Hestan KCB	8,700
Loch Doon AYR	14,600

The toponymic or onomastic landscape of Galloway is admittedly complex, but for all of the significant weakness in representation from Gaelic material some familiar patterns are also apparent which correlate with conclusions relating to castles. The concentration of linguistically OScand settlements around the coastal fringes and proximate to suspected political centres prior to the 12th century (Kirkcudbright, Whithorn, to a lesser extent Turnberry) has already been remarked upon. Brittonic names are rarer in the Kirkcudbrightshire sites than in Wigtownshire or Carrick sites, but in these last two scarcely register at the castle sites examined. This could reflect the fact that power centres had already become formalised by the time Brittonic settlement appeared in the region. This is countered by the presence of several sites (not examined here) bearing markers of high status – Threave (several), Rattra (Borgue parish, Ardwall), Keirs (Straiton parish, Loch Doon). Gaelic toponyms appear in many of the castle landscapes examined, but our poor understanding of their elements and historical context limits conclusions.

The economic landscape of all the sites was varied but featured a tendency towards the exploitation of fresh and salt water fisheries. Five of the sites examined had a direct maritime setting (Hestan, Turnberry, Kirkcudbright, Ardwall, Cruggleton), and the rest either featured relationships with rivers or lochs. The evidence from the diet of senior clergy at Whithorn argues for an increase in the exploitation of marine fish resources precisely around the time Ardwall appears to be converted from a chapel to a modest high-status dwelling perhaps connected to Tongland or Dryburgh abbeys, or even the heiresses of Alan of Galloway. Late, 15th-century evidence from Loch Fergus and Loch Doon suggest freshwater exploitation there too. Around Loch Doon, an economy centered on cereal cultivation and sheep rearing is apparent, with a local iron industry and deer hunting to meet the castle's specific needs.

In response to the questions asked of the sites examined across Scotland, Galloway specifically can gradually be understood as part of Scotland in the medieval period, its castles reflecting a process of faltering native lordship lines (e.g. Buittle, Loch Doon, Cruggleton) followed by political violence (e.g. Castledykes, Hestan). Sites like Turnberry, perhaps as a product of the establishment of Bruce and later Stewart kingship in Scotland, probably continued in occupation after the 14th century. Castles like Buittle, Loch Doon and Turnberry put paid to the notion that Scottish castles transitioned in formal typological terms from enclosure to tower. In each case, various factors influenced the decision to shift living and domestic spaces within the area of the castle. For all three, the violence of warfare probably destroyed much primary construction which may not have been replaced like-for-like. Where excavation was undertaken, there is little cause to suggest a generalised trend of material change from timber to stone architecture. Perhaps on a macro-level this is the case, but the scale of this sweeping statement loses the detail of why this change occurred on a case-by-case basis. What is most striking about the Gallovidian castle sites assessed here is the way in which an appreciation for their landscapes can influence interpretation of the buildings themselves. For a site like Buittle, this is less effective, as excavation and a good documentary record give a more balanced image of the site. But for a site like Loch Doon, isolated by modern standards and documented chiefly as a military installation, an appreciation for its peacetime communication potential and administration of an intensively-exploited hinterland alters the impression of the (displaced) architecture of the castle.

7.4 Orkney and Galloway: similarities and divergences

Though certainly removed from each other, the Earldom of Orkney and the Lordship of Galloway represent two areas which over the course of the 12th and 13th centuries were drawn towards the ambit of Scottish royal power. This was not a straightforward acculturation, and it must be recognised that accidents, coincidences and chaos played a significant part. Both share common trends in political history; leaders acting in a manner akin to kings of Scots and England and kings

of Ireland early on in the period, followed by instances of conflict and intervention which saw a curtailment of power. The processes of this were not always confrontational, in fact taking the form of standardised political alliance or the confirmation of bonds, through marriage. The rise in ecclesiastical power (episcopal and reform monastic) is another feature common to both areas, introducing new political players into regions hitherto dominated by a single earl or lord. Separate from castles, of course, was the introduction of parochial church architecture in both areas, which offered vehicles of patronage and authority to their secular builders.

Such similarities must be examined in more detail. What do the castles, power centres and associated landscapes of Orkney and Galloway have in common? In both cases castles represent a divergence from existing forms of lordly architecture; in the earldom, the major farm, and Galloway the insular site or reconfigured fort. Hayknowes in Dumfriesshire suggests a moated farm site or granary might form another typology of low-level lordly architecture. The Orkney sites appear insertions into marginal areas where the emphasis of the architecture was probably on visibility and on proximity to salt water. In Galloway the picture is more complex, in part because the medieval landscape is much more difficult to reconstruct. Where it has been possible to do so, castles could be central or peripheral to landscapes; Cruggleton, Loch Doon, Kirkcudbright and Buittle were probably built by the lords of Galloway or their heirs and may be understood as politically important if not necessarily physically so; in contrast, it is not clear if the Earls of Orkney possessed castle sites in the 12th century, those examples examined here instead belonging to their associates. In this context, Mote of Urr is comparable to Wyre, as the products of invited aristocracies choosing to represent their authority in distinctive ways, where the symbolic intent of the castle was more important than an economic role. Sites in both areas reveal an interaction with prehistoric monuments, with varying degress of intent discernable. The importance of prehistoric mounds in Orcadian society is recognised, but no such recognition is explicit in Galloway. This study has shown that power centres in medieval Galloway, whether castellar or not, demonstrate degrees of engagement with prehistoric monumental landscapes. In the more general sphere of interaction with prehistoric monuments, Orkney and Galloway are comparable, as Lochrutton demonstrates. A proximity to older, or contemporary venues of justice (mounds or hills) is also shared between two, though the evidence in Galloway (Kirkcudbright, Loch Doon) is on the whole weaker.

Both regions convey the contingency of castle building on historical trends and political life. Castles were not an inevitable product of political and cultural changes in both regions, but rather deliberate acts with longer-term unforeseeable, unplanned-for consequences for their builders and landscapes. It has been speculated here, partly through original research and partly through developing that of earlier work, that several of the sites examined were built at specific points in

the careers of individuals tied to their construction. The increase in population and aristocratic prosperity from the 11th-12th centuries opened channels of communication between communities and cultural spheres hitherto isolated from each other. In this way Orkney and Galloway increasingly joined the rest of Britain, Ireland and western Scandinavia in participating in the knightly culture of north-west Europe. But the detail of this participation was not uniform. Not all magnates built castles, nor established private chapels or parish churches, founded reform houses, issued charters or adopted Frankish personal names. There was no package of medieval lordship in either Orkney or Galloway. Instead, it appears that elements of the knightly culture deemed politically advantageous to adopt (or, importantly, personally appealing) were taken on. Existing preferences for the articulation of aristocratic ideals were preserved and endured, as much by local political necessity as anything else. These represent episodes of expression of, and adherence to, a general and changing interpretation of knightly culture. In this context the construction of a castle in both areas was an act of identification, in the same way that the continued use of major farms or island sites was. Such decisions need not preclude the adoption of other elements of the package, as the enduring occupation of Burnt Island suggests, or the consumption of pottery at Lochrutton and Loch Urr.

8. Conclusion

To interrogate the emergence of the stone castle phenomenon in Scotland, this study has taken two different methodological approaches. Firstly, it assessed the emergence of castles from a chronological and typological perspective in the 'sift' exercise, while also undertaking a parallel critique of the archaeological record which forms the basis of the evidence examined. This exercise has sought to establish answers to two key questions. It asked whether it is possible to detect a bias in the monuments record data for Scotland's early stone castles. With regard to all sites examined, on a century-by-century basis, it is argued that it is indeed possible to establish a bias. Whether this bias is reflective of the archaeological record or an underlying dynamic owing to archaeological practice is debated; it is concluded that it is more likely the latter than the former. It is also argued that the intensive county-level surveys had a similar impact on this process, bringing a larger volume of sites to bear, but no substantially greater percentage of better evidenced (grades 2-3) sites than non-intensively surveyed counties. In short, the number of sites increased in number, but that specifically of medieval power centres not significantly. Next, it asked if patterns were evident on a temporal or typological level. It found that the majority of motte occupation began in the 12th-13th centuries, perhaps reflecting a bias in documentary evidence as much as an historical trend. Individual sites bearing phases of 14th-century occupation give cause to think that the occupation of mottes may be longer-lived. Of the sites examined fitting a prehistoric site typology, there are stronger representations in counties with a greater-than-average number of prehistoric sites and a lower-than-average representation of 'typical' castle typologies. Though there are hints of peaks in occupation of prehistoric typologies commencing in the 12th and 16th centuries, the body of evidence is too small to develop further.

It was concluded that while stone castles may not have been so radically affected by changing methodologies in terms of ascribing an absolute chronology – a chief focus of the sift exercise – the study of the castle phenomenon in medieval Scotland will benefit from more focussed, site- and landscape-specific studies to enable us to answer less quantitative questions of castles. These were examined in more detail in the two regional case studies: the early stone castles of the Earldom of Orkney and the Lordship of Galloway.

The methodology to assess Orkney and Galloway consciously incorporated an appreciation of the settlement and economic landscape of the castles studied with a view to exploring a social dimension to the castle hinterland. Firstly, however, historical questions were examined relating to the Kingdom of Scotland's relationship with Orkney and Galloway. It was apparent that castles emerged in Orkney chiefly as a product of Norwegian political and social changes, in concert with the Earldom's position within the Kingdom of Norway. As was outlined, Orkney was politically and

economically well-connected to its Scottish neighbours, but the best evidence for structures comparable to the castle sites in the Earldom come from Norway, not Scotland. It was furthermore speculated that political developments in Orkney and Norway influenced where specifically castle sites in the Earldom were located. These were not administrative centres of agricultural estates, as contemporary high-status farm sites in the Earldom were, but rather located on marginal agricultural land whose chief advantage was symbolic, and perhaps oriented towards maritime exploitation. The castles were sited to be visible to contemporary non-castellar neighbours. It is inferred from the meagre evidence for the castle's builders, chiefly Kolbein *hrúga*, that this positioning reflects how castle builders understood their authority in contemporary society, anchored in personal proximity (with resultant gifts and offices) to the comital family rather than wealth from terrestrial agriculture. The physical material of these castles is in many cases a mystery, but it is now possible to suggest that many, if not most, were built of timber, not stone. In Galloway, the wider and more varied body of evidence made for a concomitant set of conclusions. On a preliminary level, it is important to stress that Galloway's castles were far larger and more complex (on current evidence) than those of Orkney. Galloway's political history in the 12th-14th centuries is one of regional lordship followed by fracture, owing to a faltering native line, and second resurgence of smaller lordships in the competitive atmosphere of the Scottish royal court. Though this study has been conscious to steer clear of overly military considerations of sites, to avoid referring to warfare when discussing Galloway in this period is perverse. The Wars of Independence greatly affected the social, economic and political fabric of contemporary Galloway, and the documents produced during its development have equally influenced modern appreciation for the region's castles. This study has placed castles here in a broader developmental timeframe: with the exception of Hestan no site discussed here was built on a newly-occupied site, and in most cases it would appear that the castle was the latest manifestation of a local power centre in the area. Galloway's medieval power centres evidence practical and symbolic engagement with prehistoric monuments. Many sites' maritime orientation mirrors findings in Orkney, suggestive of an economic role, connected to fishing.

Scotland's early stone castles appear in the archaeological record from the 12th century. They do not evidence a preponderance for form or function. The long view of castles accedes to the thesis that castles moved away from the open enclosure typology and towards the tower, but this fact has little bearing on the detailed study of sites on a case-by-case basis. They appear to have fulfilled one or many of the functions ascribed castle sites by the modern discipline: social, economic, administrative, symbolic and military intent are apparent in many facets of each site's character and situation. The emergence of stone castles in Orkney has very clear political and cultural reasons – contingency – and the same can be said of their appearance in Galloway. The prevailing conclusion is that while stone castles certainly fulfil functions, the reasons why they

were built were in fact quite specific. Whether to celebrate a particular social feat (e.g. newly-acquired status, social advancement) or to emphasize control (e.g. over an area, over aspects of community governance, over economic landscapes, over communication), it has been possible to reconstruct the circumstances by which they appeared. In this respect, early stone castles are much like the early stone churches (beginning as chapels); their origins relate to private lordship but their very appearance spurred further change in lordship and landscape.

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10. Appendices

10.1 Appendix 1: Sift study selection process

1) All sites falling into one of the following caterogies

Category (Canmore classification)	Reason for inclusion
Bastle	Typical fortified dwelling found in Anglo-Scottish border region.
Broch	Evidence from selection of sites for Medieval (c.900-c.1600 CE) occupation.
Castle	Term applied to focus of this study.
Court hill	Antiquarian term often referencing oral history/local narrative of site's medieval history.
Crannog	Evidence from selection of sites for Medieval occupation.
Dun	Evidence from selection of sites for Medieval occupation.
Earthworks	Evidence from Ireland indicates high likelihood for Medieval occupation.
Enclosure (medieval)[1]	Evidence from Ireland indicates high likelihood for Medieval occupation.
Fortified house	General term for sites which may be Medieval; akin to Bastle.
Hall house	Evidence for construction and occupation from selection of sites for Medieval occupation
Island dwelling	Evidence from selection of sites for Medieval (c.900-c.1600 CE) occupation.
Manor house	Administrative, legal and architectural feature of pre- and post-Norman Scotland.
Moat	Term applied to ditches considered to originate from Medieval context.
Moot hill	Antiquarian term often referencing oral history/local narrative of site's medieval history.
Motte	Term applied to earthwork element of archetypal Norman timber castle.
Motte and bailey	Term applied to earthwork element of archetypal Norman timber castle with associated extension.
Moated site	Term applied to ditches considered to originate from Medieval context. Akin to Moat.
Palace	Term covering broad historical context including Medieval era.
Peel house	General term for sites which may be Medieval; akin to Bastle.
Ringwork	Evidence from Ireland indicates high likelihood for Medieval occupation.
Tower house	Term applied to late Medieval castles in Scotland.

[1] Full catalogue of sites listed on Canmore under the thesaurus entry 'Enclosure' currently tops 12,000, an unmanageable amount; thus sites specifically identified in Canmore as 'Medieval' only are included.

- The above process also filters out duplicate records. Sites not in Scotland will be accorded a filter level 0.

ANY SITE MEETING THE CRITERIA SET OUT ABOVE WILL REACH FILTER LEVEL 1.

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2) All sites which fall into the dating (for C14, a single sample suffices) category of Medieval, by which occupation is evidenced or suggested between 900-1500 CE. At the same time duplicates will be recorded but kept in the record. Process of filtration is as follows:

Type of filter	Accepted Y/N
- For all sites, a reading of the text in Canmore website is undertaken; any general assertion which might suggest a 900-1500 CE occupation.	Y
- In the Canmore website, a wordsearch (Ctrl + F in Google Chrome) for 'Medieval' and 'Mediaeval' is undertaken. - Checked to ensure wording is not "not medieval". - Assertion that site may suggest 900-1500 CE occupation. - This excludes sites which may be intrinsically assumed to suggest medieval occupation (eg. Mottes) as the ascription of category to site may be incorrect and itself is not evidence.	Y
- The end-date of 1500 includes sites which are described as "early 16th-c.", "mid-16th-c.", "16th c.", or dating to the "first-" and "second quarter of the 16th c." as well as "first-" and "second third of the 16th c."	Y

- Paralleled with site which itself has Medieval evidence or assertion.	Y
- Site called 'not prehistoric' and implied to be Medieval.	Y
- General ascription of site to area (parish, valley, island etc) rather than specific site, suggesting Medieval occupation.	Y
- Evidence for insertion of later buildings in prehistoric sites (especially applied in the case of brochs, duns, crannogs).	Y
- Appearance on later maps (eg. Roy, Pont) of inhabitation as places of Medieval occupation. This may be understood as a site being labelled (with spelling and linguistic variation) with any of the categories from Filter 1 (Bastle etc) and including "Fort".	Y
- Analogy with specific or broader detail of another site which is dated to be Medieval (900-1500 CE).	Y
- Single archaeological evidence (artefact, C14, etc) suggesting a Medieval occupation date.	Y

- Again, sites listed in category as for ex. Motte, but which otherwise have no identifying or date-related evidence beyond the ascription of the category, will not pass this filter.

ANY SITE MEETING THE CRITERIA SET OUT ABOVE WILL REACH FILTER LEVEL 2.

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3) All sites which fall into the dating (for C14, more than one sample suffices) category of Medieval, by which occupation is evidenced or suggested between 900-1500 CE, but which additionally can withstand a scrutiny of that evidence, made on a case-by-case basis. This filter aims to pick up sites with <u>multiple pieces of compelling evidence which corroborate to suggest Medieval occupation</u>: This can be:

Type of filter	Accepted Y/N
- Mention in documentary source falling into the Medieval (900-1500 CE) period. The documentary source can itself withstand scrutiny. The choice of language can itself withstand scrutiny – especially Latin.	Y
- Archaeological report illustrating dating evidence: More than 1 sample; lab results (for ex, C14) giving an occupation date falling into the Medieval (900-1500 CE) period. Pottery finds giving an occupation date falling into the Medieval (900-1500 CE) period. Artefact evidence giving an occupation date falling into the Medieval (900-1500 CE) period. Note in scrutiny the issues of context for coins. Dendrochronological evidence giving an occupation date falling into the Medieval (900-1500 CE) period.	Y
- Sourced, cited, substantiated, supported survey record which highlights specific features which are datable.	
- Where assertion is made by drawing attention to similar features in another site (called here 'parallel dating'), this other site must have firmly-dated evidence asserted by means other than 'parallel dating.' The underlying concept here is to avoid dating by analogy which leads to false assumptions and flawed assertions.	Y

<u>A substantiated (cited, referenced, checked, confirmed) claim of medieval (900-1500 CE) use:</u>

1. Unfounded assertions will be **rejected.**
   a. Where assertions are tentative, their **tentative nature will be maintained** and either **checked** or **rejected** depending on need.
2. Where referencing the archaeological summaries on the online Canmore database:
   a. Where referencing books, these may be **checked**.
   b. Where referencing excavation or survey reports, these may be **checked**.
      i. Where these cannot be reasonably sourced, any summaries or works derived from the reports much be checked before inclusion. Such a check must be explained, and the methodology and reasoning of its inclusion or exclusion must be noted.
3. Where referencing local assertions of date, these will be **checked** on a case-by-case basis.
4. Where referencing stylistic grounds, these may be **checked.**

ANY SITE MEETING THE CRITERIA SET OUT ABOVE WILL REACH FILTER LEVEL 3.

## 10.2 Appendix 2: Table depicting cumulative century-by-century growth

Century ascribed	Grade 2	Grade 3
10th century	8	8
11th century	32	25
12th century	146	107
13th century	289	205
14th century	444	255
15th century	748	285
16th century	1190	299

10.3 Appendix 3: % of county, % of Scotland, grades 1-3

	% of total landmass (2dp)	Grade 1 % (2dp) of Scotland	Grade 1 % (2dp) county	Grade 2 % (2dp) of Scotland	Grade 2 % (2dp) of county	Grade 3 % (2dp) of Scotland	Grade 3 % (2dp) of county	Total sites % (2dp)
Aberdeenshire*	6.70	3.91	59.93	6.13	31.98	10.33	8.09	4.47
Angus	2.83	2.59	65.06	3.52	30.12	3.76	4.82	2.73
Argyll*	10.84	11.53	79.64	6.83	16.06	12.21	4.30	9.98
Ayrshire	3.80	3.65	59.61	6.20	34.51	7.04	5.88	4.19
Banffshire	2.11	0.34	57.75	1.90	38.03	1.41	4.23	0.72
Berwickshire*	1.53	2.45	66.23	3.52	32.47	0.94	1.30	2.53
Bute	0.73	0.67	75.68	0.42	16.22	1.41	8.11	0.61
Caithness*	2.30	4.99	87.76	1.76	10.55	2.35	1.69	3.91
Clackmannanshire	0.18	0.17	53.85	0.35	38.46	0.47	7.69	0.21
Dumfriesshire*	3.61	5.30	62.43	7.96	31.92	9.39	5.65	5.82
Dunbartonshire	0.81	0.84	62.50	1.41	35.71	0.47	1.79	0.92
East Lothian*	0.90	0.65	45.76	1.69	40.68	4.23	13.56	0.95
Fife	1.69	1.68	48.96	4.44	44.06	4.69	6.99	2.35
Inverness-shire	14.15	11.39	87.00	4.08	10.62	6.10	2.38	8.97
Kincardineshire	1.28	1.41	70.24	1.62	27.38	0.94	2.38	1.38
Kinross-shire	0.27	0.07	30.00	0.42	60.00	0.47	10.00	0.16
Kirkcudbrightshire*	3.01	3.86	74.54	3.24	21.30	5.63	4.17	3.60
Lanarkshire	2.81	2.83	65.19	3.73	29.28	4.69	5.52	2.98
Midlothian*	1.07	1.46	57.01	2.96	40.38	1.88	3.74	1.76
Moray	1.60	0.98	60.29	1.48	30.88	2.82	8.82	1.12
Nairnshire	0.55	0.22	50.94	0.49	41.18	0.47	5.88	0.28
Orkney*	1.21	4.87	83.20	2.39	13.93	3.27	2.87	4.01
Peeblesshire*	1.17	1.03	51.19	2.61	44.05	1.88	4.76	1.38
Perthshire*	8.33	4.70	64.69	6.62	31.02	6.10	4.29	4.98
Renfrewshire	0.75	3.07	72.73	3.10	25.00	1.88	2.27	2.89
Ross & Cromarty	10.38	4.34	78.02	3.17	19.40	2.82	2.59	3.81
Roxburghshire*	2.24	5.78	68.47	6.90	27.84	6.10	3.69	5.79
Selkirkshire*	0.90	0.84	59.32	1.27	30.51	2.82	10.17	0.97
Shetland*	1.85	4.29	92.27	0.92	6.70	0.94	1.03	3.19
Stirlingshire*	1.51	2.01	67.74	2.54	29.03	1.88	3.23	2.04
Sutherland*	6.84	3.91	86.70	1.55	11.70	1.41	1.60	3.09
West Lothian*	0.40	0.55	56.10	0.99	34.15	1.88	9.76	0.67
Wigtownshire*	1.64	2.78	75.82	2.25	20.92	2.35	3.27	2.51
SCOTLAND	**100.00**	**100.00**	**68.54**	**100.00**	**23.34**	**100.00**	**3.50**	**100.00**

ASTERISK INDICATES COUNTY SUBJECT TO INTENSIVE SURVEY

10.4 Appendix 4: Bar chart of number of sites with 'motte' label by county
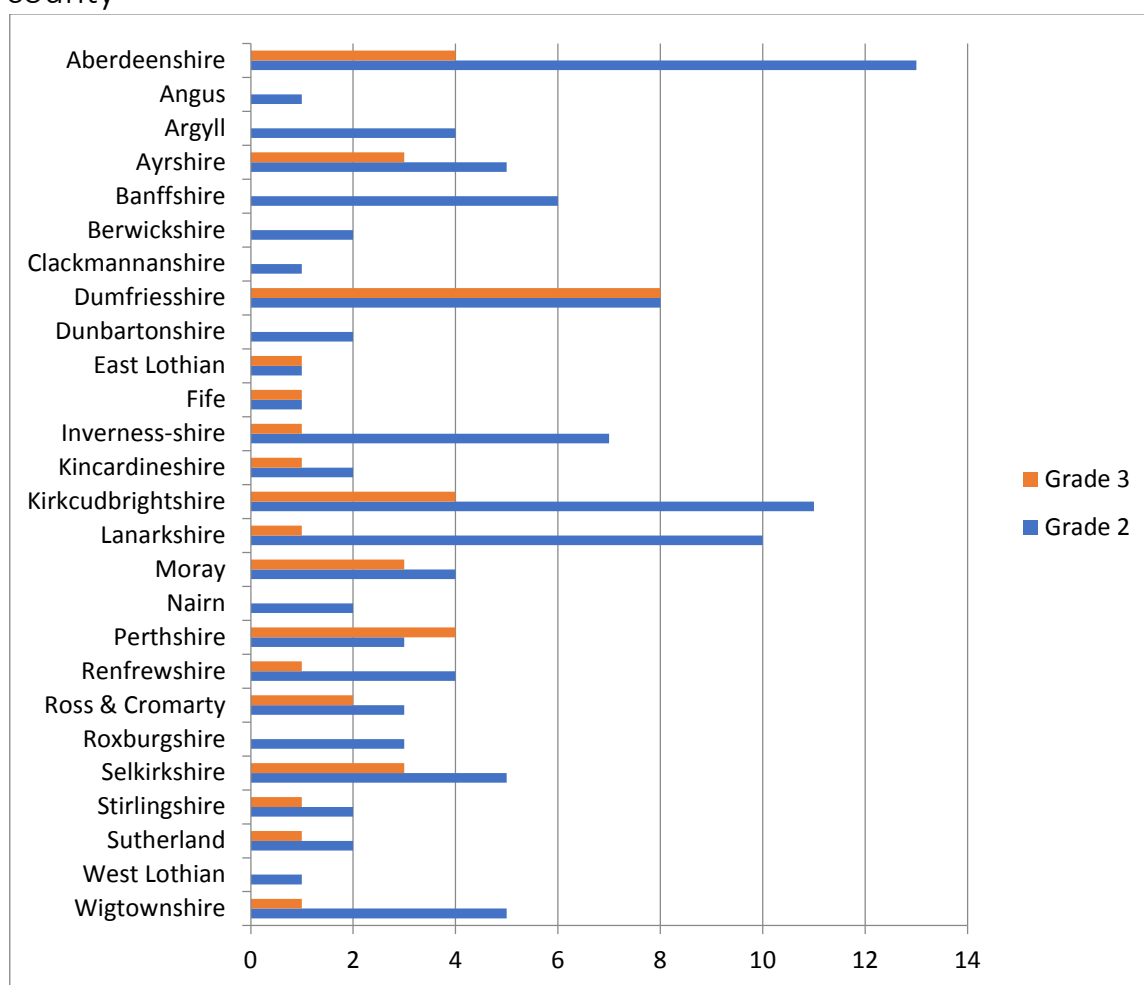
10.5 Appendix 5: Table of sites in Machars, arranged by surface areas

Site (located in Machars)	m^2 surface area of defined site (all approx.)	m^2 surface area of 'motte' top (all approx.)	m^2 surface area of 'bailey' top (all approx.)
Cruggleton	6750.00	675.00	6075.00
Craigdhu	1615.46	170.74	1444.72
Innermessan	679.31	679.31	-
High Drummore	676.75	116.75	560.00
Round Dounan	549.78	549.78	-
Ardwell	357.53	357.53	-
Druchtag	317.84	317.84	-
Castle Ban	308.21	308.21	-
Sorbie	270.90	270.90	-
Myrton Castle	228.82	228.82	-
Balgreggan	227.85	227.65	-
Skaith	118.96	118.96	-
Droughdool	116.75	116.75	-
Crailloch	78.84	78.84	-
Boreland	43.98	43.98	-
Dunaldboys	No measurements	No measurements	N/A
Cults	No measurements	No measurements	N/A

10.6 Appendix 6: Table of measurements of halls with regional comparators

| Site (ordered by length)	Length (c., m)	Width (c., m)	Area space (c., m)	Date ascribed
Skeabost (building F1, 'cathedral church')	23.00	5.30	121.90	-
Finlaggan (Eilean na Comhairle 'castle/'keep')	20.00	20.00	400.00	1150s-1200s
Ardwall ('hall-house')	18.29	6.71	122.76	1250s-1350s
Turnberry (phase 1, building A, 'hall' (interior))	18.00	8.00	144.00	-
Finlaggan (Eilean Mor building A, 'Great Hall')	16.50	7.00	115.50	1100s-1200s
Cruggleton (phase 4 'tower')	15.40	8.70	133.98	1250s-1350s
Cruggleton (phase 3 'hall')	12.50	4.00	50.00	1150s-1250s
Finlaggan (Eilean Mor building P, 'hall')	11.50	6.80	78.20	1200s-1500s
Hestan's Isle ('hall-house')	11.24	5.57	62.61	<1300s
Springwood Park ('Building A')	11.00	5.60	61.60	1300s-1390s
Finlaggan (Eilean na Comhairle, building a, 'hall')	10.80	6.70	72.36	1420-75
Greenan Castle ('tower house')	10.69	8.53	91.19	1603
Skeabost (building F5, 'range')	10.60	5.00	53.00	-
Auldhill ('hall')	10.00	6.00	60.00	1200s-1350s
Finlaggan (Eilean Mor building V)	9.00	4.50	40.50	1400s
Ardstinchar Castle ('main tower')	8.70	6.00	52.2.	1400s-1490s
Carrick Castle ('hall')	8.10	5.40	43.74	<1350s
Dundonald (building 16b, 'hall'/'solar')	7.50	5.00	37.50	1100-1241
Dundonald (building 16a, 'timber hall')	5.30	2.80	16.24	1100-1241

10.7 Appendix 7: Plan of Ardwall excavations
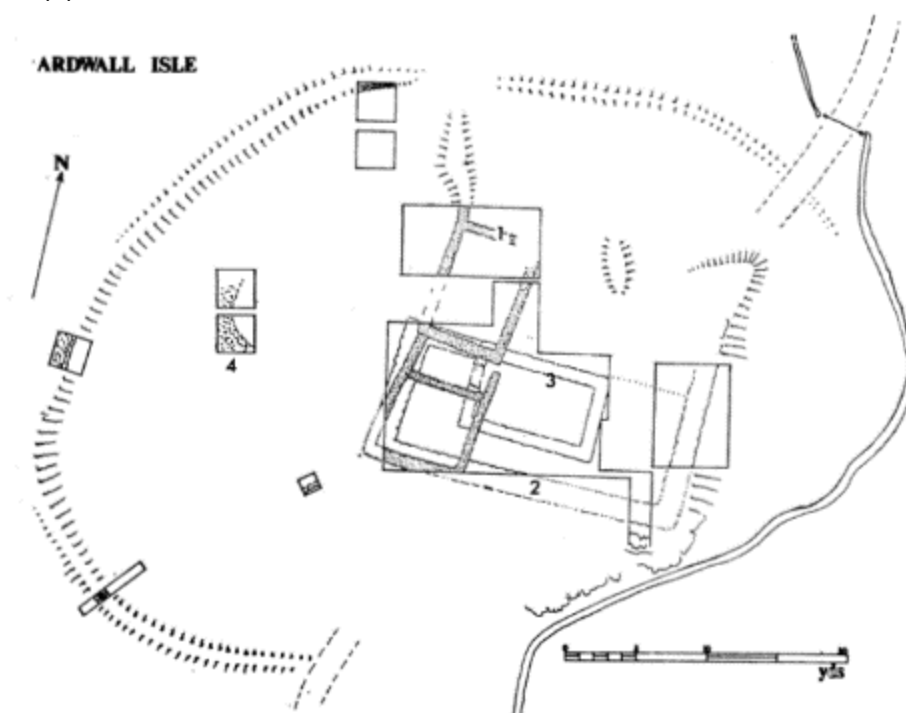
Fig. 1 General plan of the site. 1, the Tavern; 2, the medieval hall-house; 3, the Chapel; 4, ruined cells?
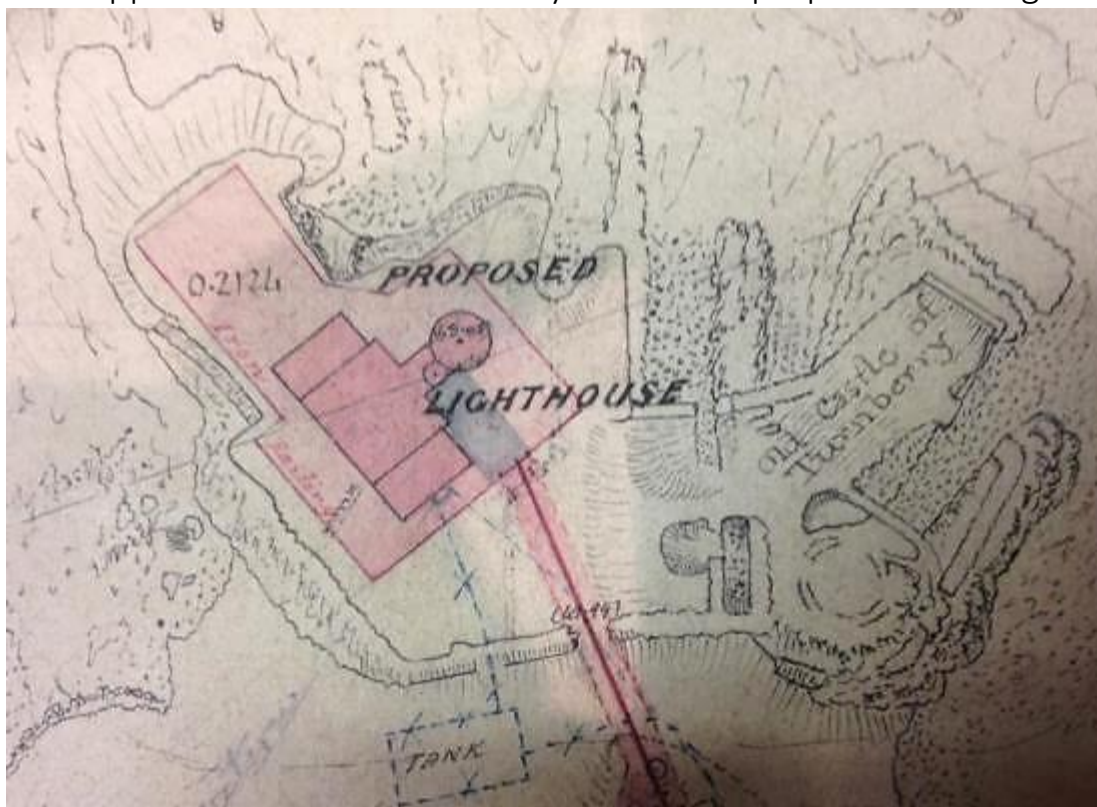
10.8 Appendix 8: Detail of mound, Buittle survey (1987)

Site Plan

BUITTLE CASTLE, Dalbeattie (Dust)

© HES, Special survey programme, DC 14323, plans of Buittle Castle, 16 February 1987

10.9 Appendix 9: Plan of Turnberry Castle and proposed 1869 lighthouse

© HES, NORTHERN LIGHTHOUSE BOARD, DC 9199, PLAN OF SITE [DOCUMENT MARKED 'NORTHERN LIGHTS, SHEET NO.1 – DETAIL OF CASTLE'; TURNBERRY CASTLE], JULY 1869.

10.10 Appendix 10: Measurements of halls and towers in Galloway and environs

Site (structure/phase)	Length (approx., m)	Width (approx., m)	Wall thickness (approx., m)	Date ascribed
Dundonald (phase 6)*	24.00	12.00	2.3-3.3	1371-1450
Turnberry (phase 4)*	23.00	12.00	1.80 (N); 3.2 (S)	-
Newark Castle (tower; Selkirks)	19.54	12.19	No measurements	1500s-1590s
Threave (tower)	18.60	12.22	2.00	1370s
Cruggleton (phase 4)	15.40	8.70	2.09-2.20	1250s-1350s
Mearns Castle (tower)	12.19	9.14	3.04	1420s-1470s
Invermark castle (tower)	11.40	8.10	2.35	1500s-1590s
Dunrure Castle (phase 1)	11.30	6.10	1.50	1350s-1390s
Hestan's Isle (hall)	11.24	5.57	0.91	<1300
Blackness Castle (phase 1)	10.00	9.10	2.43	1400s-1490s
Mauchline Castle (tower)	10.00	9.00	No measurements	1420s-1470s
Hunterston Castle	7.31	6.40	No measurements	1520s-1570s

10.11 Appendix 11: Table of references to Burned Island and 'Yrisbutill'

Burnt Isle/*Insula Arsa*	Date	*Yrisbutil*/Orchardton	Date
þe *Brint Ile* [Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, Wemyss MSS edition, Book 8, 6105],	1346	*terrarum de Erysbutil…terrarum regi…saisinas datam Johannis Carnys* (*ER*, VI, 262)	1456
þe *Brynt Ile* [Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, Cottonian MSS edition, Book 8, 6294],	1346	*terrarum de Irisbutil…in manibus regis, saisina…per Johannem Carnys* (*ER* VI, 210)	1456
mea castra de insula arsa [SRO RH1, i/Brooke, 'Glenken']	1352	*terrarum de Erysbutil, existencium in manibus regis* (*ER*, VI, 264),	1456
Insula Arsa [*CDS*, III, 1578]	1354	*terre de Ersbutill* (*ER*, VI, 352-3),	1457
apud Brent Ile (*Douglas Book,* 4, 51)	1372	*Arsbutil* (*ER,* VI, 448),	1458
Yl Bram (NLS, Maps collection, EMW.X.015),	1654	*terrarum de Ersbuttill* (*ER*, VI, 546),	1459
		terrarum de Ersbutil (*ER,* VI, 640).	1460
		terre de Erthbuthill (*ER*, VII, 313),	1465
		terre de Arthbutill (*ER*, VIII, 41)	1471
		Willelmo Carnys t[enendas] Orchartoun, Dalbaty (*ER ,* XII, 462)	1499
		Willelmi Carnis de Orchatoun (*ER,* XIX, 456)	1560
		Orchartoun alias vocatarum Yrisbutill…existentium in manibus regis et regine (*ER,* XIX, 551),	1566
		terrarum de Orchartoun…jacentium in parochia de Buthill…datam Jonete Kennedy (*ER,* XX, 412)	1570
		terrarum de Orcheartoun (*ER,* XXI, 515)	1585
		terrarum de Orchartoun alias Yrisbutill antiqui extentus, jacentium in parochia de Butill (*ER,* XXII, 469)	1592