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‘Seeking patterns of lordship, justice and worship in the Scottish landscape’



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**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

University of Glasgow

Faculty of Arts

School of Humanities

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to identify patterns between various pre-Christian and early Christian sites situated in the pre-Reformation landscape. Scotland, and the west in particular, is distinctly lacking in documentary evidence when compared to other areas in the British Isles – there is unfortunately no Scottish equivalent of the Domesday Book. However, human activity leaves evidence in the form of actual sites or memories and traditions of those that have gone without trace; and it was these sites that form the backbone of this study. A multi-disciplinary approach is adopted, taking an innovative maximalist approach in order to allow patterns to emerge that can be subjected to critical analysis. The study takes the Ordnance Survey National Grid NS map square as an arbitrary limit, and utilises the site record of the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, constructing a large database of sites, a digital mapping programme (ArcView), place-name, historical and archaeological data along with evidence from antiquarian authors. The resulting maps were then studied to identify patterns as described in the Methodology (Chapter 2). Chapters 3 and 4 examine the patterns produced when looking at two site types: court hills and holy wells. These site types are considered in respect of their proximity to other site types, in particular, early Christian sites such as parish churches and chapels. The data produced from studying holy wells in the landscape is interesting in their apparent proximity to chapels and parish churches; however, it was limited by the lack of dating evidence for these elusive sites. Court hills, proved to be more interesting and their repeated proximity to parish churches, which mirrored the few previous studies, implied the parish churches had been deliberately placed to the court hills. This, in turn, begged the question, why? In the concluding chapter, the study considers the possibility that court hills continued to be important in a landscape of overarching, general and specific lordship. Patterns indicated a tendency towards the siting of parish churches beside court hills in the royal demesne and provincial lordships, which was less frequent in those of

specific lordships. Similarly, there is the possibility that this might represent a form of shire, thought to have been previously unattested in the west of Scotland.

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This thesis that been an extremely long time in the making and would never have come to fruition if it had not been for the long-suffering support of my supervisor, Professor Dauvit Broun. On the occasions when I returned to my research after having had to put it on a back-burner, he encouraged me to pick it up and return to the slog. He never complained and always seemed pleased to see me again – which I seriously doubt! I am delighted and very grateful that he kept me on the straight and narrow as if I would have regretted not completing something that has been part of my life for so long.

I must also thank the extremely accommodating staff at the Faculty of Arts, who have somehow managed to keep track of my curious career as a postgraduate student. Similarly, the staff at the Library, who remained courteous and cheerful, even on occasions when I had large numbers of the maps strewn around the various surfaces of the Map Library.

Thanks also to the Kilmory Trust and Catherine McKichan Trust, who were kind enough to give me some financial support when I began this process.

However, this thesis really would not have been completed if it had not been for the devotion and determination of my family, who have all in their own ways contributed to this work. This thesis has been part of all our lives for so long – it is almost one of the family. I am grateful to them all: Kirsty and Eilidh both burnt the midnight oil and risked their eyesight proof-reading and correcting; Duncan now knows more about making maps than he could ever want to know and Islay's prowess at formatting is quite dazzling. But most of all, I must thank my husband, Bobby, who has not only cajoled and prodded to get me to finish this; but has also travelled near and far to hunt for "puddles" that purported to be holy wells and "yet more lumps & bumps" in the landscape!

"I love deadlines. I like the whooshing sound they make as they fly by."

[Douglas Adams, 2002, *The Salmon of Doubt*]

Abbreviations

AANHC	Ayrshire Archaeological & Natural History Collection.
AJ	Archaeological Journal.
ASSAH	Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History.
Château Gaillard	Château Gaillard: études de castellologie médiévale.
<i>DES</i>	Discovery & Excavation Scotland.
Fasti Eccles	Fasti ecclesiae Scoticae: the succession of ministers. in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation.
GAS	Glasgow Archaeological Journal.
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
IR	Innes Review.
JAA	Journal of Archaeological Association,
Name Book	Name Books, OS Object Name Books: unpublished. Microfilm in RCAHMS Library.
NSA	New Statistical Account, 1834-45, The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes Under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.
OPS	Origines Parochiales Scotiae.
OS	Ordnance Survey.
OSA	Old Statistical Account, 1791-99, The Statistical Account of Scotland, Drawn Up From the Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes.
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.</i>
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.
<i>SAF</i>	<i>Scottish Archaeology Forum.</i>
<i>SHR</i>	Scottish Historical Review.
SR	Scottish Review.

SS	<i>Scottish Studies.</i>
TDGNAS	Transactions of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society.
TGAS	<i>Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Socceity.</i>
TSES	Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiastical Society.
WA	World Archaeology

1 Introduction

“The most important reason for going from one place to another is to see what's in between, and they took great pleasure in doing just that.”¹

Norton Juster's modern fairy tale describes a child's journey into the kingdom of Wisdom – a journey that was littered with diversions to the Mountains of Ignorance and distractions from Castles in the Air. This journey would seem to be a fitting metaphor for this thesis; which began as an idea to do something a little different and innovative and travelled through several changes of direction and the odd flat tyre before settling on the path which eventually led to this work.

1.1 Form and remit of the study

The aim of this study is to explore relationships and patterns in a pre-Reformation, Scottish landscape by considering how the built or adapted elements relate to one another and to extrapolate some notions about how this related to the society. By creating unique maps using a digital mapping tool, it is not only possible to record sites of interest; it may also be feasible to get a more complete representation of the relationships between various seemingly unrelated sites. Landscapes are, by their very nature, ephemeral; however, many echoes of the past remain whether as whole buildings, ruins or merely traditions. By collecting and plotting this data, it should be possible to discern order and patterns in the landscape that might in turn give some information about the society that created and used that landscape.

The overarching concept was that this research should be as organic as possible; although as will be seen in the methodology, too much choice is often not the blessing it purports to be. This is a very simple concept, although, it now seems to be original and pioneering; little spatial work of this organic nature appears to have been completed in the past. Settlement archaeology, sometimes known as non-site archaeology, considers

¹ Juster, N., 1961, *The Phantom Tollbooth*, New York.

settlement patterns but is mostly associated with the understanding of how a particular society used the available resources in its region. This is clearly distinct from the map-based plan of attack.

Clearly, the intention of this study was to approach the collection of data and the examination of subsequent maps with no preconceived ideas. Indeed, this was a crucial part of the methodology, which is discussed at length in the Chapter 2. However, when the maps were examined, certain patterns did begin to emerge and these patterns determined the way in which the thesis progressed. Two site-types were chosen as centres of study: court hills and holy wells. These site-types seemed ideal as both appear to be somewhat controversial and neither have been well-researched.

1.2 The importance of Maps to the study

Central to this study was a love of maps and a conviction that they have rarely been utilised to their full potential, which is evident from their continued relegation to illustrating the distribution of saints' dedications and a means to get from A to B!

It is often forgotten that maps and cartography have had a long and illustrious history; indeed, maps have been in use for over 8,000 years, from the earliest cave paintings through middle-eastern clay tablets to the digital maps of the present day.

The advent of digital mapping systems has transformed the use of maps with capabilities to compile and format data into virtual images. The ability to manipulate the underlying data, to alter the perspective by zooming in or out and excellent measuring capabilities should have transformed map use. Taking these qualities into account, the use of maps during this research was designed to be innovative: to use maps as a primary tool to create maps and search for patterns within the landscape. The creation, use and interpretation of maps was thus central to this project.

Maps are clearly important to this study, however, a multi-disciplinary approach was imperative as archaeological, historical and place-name data

could only enhance the mapping data. Antiquarian sources were particularly useful in pointing to past sites and landscapes – perhaps another under-utilised resource.

1.3 The choice of a pre-Reformation landscape in Scotland for this study

As might be expected, much of the pre-Reformation landscape of Scotland was populated by ecclesiastical and religious sites as well as those of the secular powers. Although much evidence of these sites has survived, many issues from that period are poorly understood including the development and formation of parishes and the manner in which overarching, general and specific lordship was exercised within the countryside. The issue of the lack of shires in the west is particularly pertinent to this - as will be seen in later chapters - Barrow identified shires in the north and east of Scotland through the use of charter evidence. Although few early documents have survived in Scotland as a whole, the west is particularly badly served in this respect. In absence of other evidence, it might be possible to utilise patterns in the landscape to suggest various models through which lordship was exercised. This is an area which is developed throughout the thesis and is considered in greater detail in the final chapter.

The pre-Reformation landscape of Scotland contained not only those sites that might be considered contemporary, such as chapels and crosses, but also those from even earlier times, some of which may have retained their importance into that age. It is therefore necessary to include prehistoric and early historic artefacts, including cairns and barrows. A catalogue of site types would thus need to accommodate an exhaustive list of site types in order to be as detailed as possible. For example, it is desirable to be able to distinguish between early Christian hogback stones and prehistoric standing stones. Although inclusion of such a diverse range of site types might appear adventurous or even foolhardy, a greater variety of site types presents the opportunity to identify more interesting and unique patterns.

2 Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The original premise for this study was simple, seemingly straight-forward and uncomplicated: to choose a suitable area within Scotland; create a database of diverse site-types from prehistory, the Early Historic and pre-Reformation periods; map those sites by employing an appropriate digital mapping programme; and, without any preconceptions or prejudice, explore and analyse to produce possible relationships and patterns. In theory then, the methodology promised uncomplicated, organic, meaningful research with great potential for the discovery of new and interesting configurations and associations. Unfortunately, the reality proved this to be a somewhat naïve and uninformed attitude – the process, as previously noted, was never uncomplicated or straight-forward, although the research was certainly organic, and the possible value and significance has yet to be assessed.

Total choice and freedom might seem an attractive concept as an ideal, but in practice it is far easier to proceed when parameters and boundaries have already been defined. The main plank of the approach of this research was to be as fluid and unfettered as possible; however, it did not take long to realise that there were some decisions that were basic and vital to the success of the project, in particular: the selection of the study area and the establishment of a diverse database containing as much relevant data as possible without being totally unmanageable.

2.2 Choosing a suitable area

Choosing the parameters of the area for this study might seem to be a simple proposition, but it presented several problems, which were not immediately apparent at the outset. It soon became evident that the selection of milieu could critically affect the quantity and quality of data produced - thus considerable time and energy was expended to consider all the aspects discussed below before arriving at the final decision.

It might seem an attractive premise to include the whole of Scotland in the study. However, Scotland is extremely rich in heritage and possesses an enormous number of possible sites; and a database that might be in excess of twenty thousand sites² alone would render this notion prohibitive and unmanageable. Also the topography and geography is widely diverse and disparate in the various regions that site-types may be specific only to one locality, thereby virtually ensuring that any ensuing patterns and statistics might be adversely affected.

Similarly, as the study would contain sites from prehistoric, Early Historic and pre-Reformation periods, it might seem inappropriate to base the study-area on modern political boundaries, such as counties or council areas. In any case, the borders of such units seem to change with amazing frequency, which would almost certainly hinder any study. Equally, the selection of any historical division, such as counties or thanages would prove difficult, particularly as often the limits of such political areas are and, probably even contemporaneously, were ill-defined.

Undoubtedly, then, one of the primary concerns was to choose an area of appropriate extent and diversity i.e. one large enough to generate sufficient sites to produce significant data, but not so extensive as to prove unmanageable. Likewise, an area that includes vast tracts of uninhabited mountains or moorlands could impair the results, whilst a totally urban-centric survey would similarly tend towards distortion of data.

As this is a map-based study, it seemed appropriate to look for a map-based solution – the most suitable of which seemed to be to work within a map-square from the Ordnance Survey maps. Ordnance Survey have divided the country into map-squares, each of 100 kilometres; and an area of 10,000 square kilometres seemed to provide a sufficient space to generate a workable number of sites for analysis (Illustration 2.1). It seemed that this

² The online database of the Royal Commission on the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Scotland (Canmore) has over 300,000 entries of archaeological, architectural, maritime and industrial sites throughout Scotland; thus if only one tenth proved relevant to this study, the resulting database would be over 30,000 sites.

would probably also ensure a fairly random area, as map-squares have little to do with political boundaries - this was to become something of a problem, albeit with a fairly simple solution, as will be seen below.

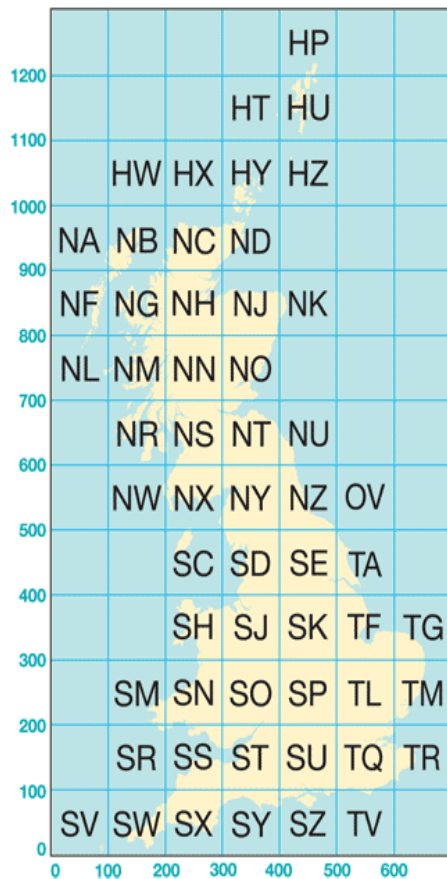
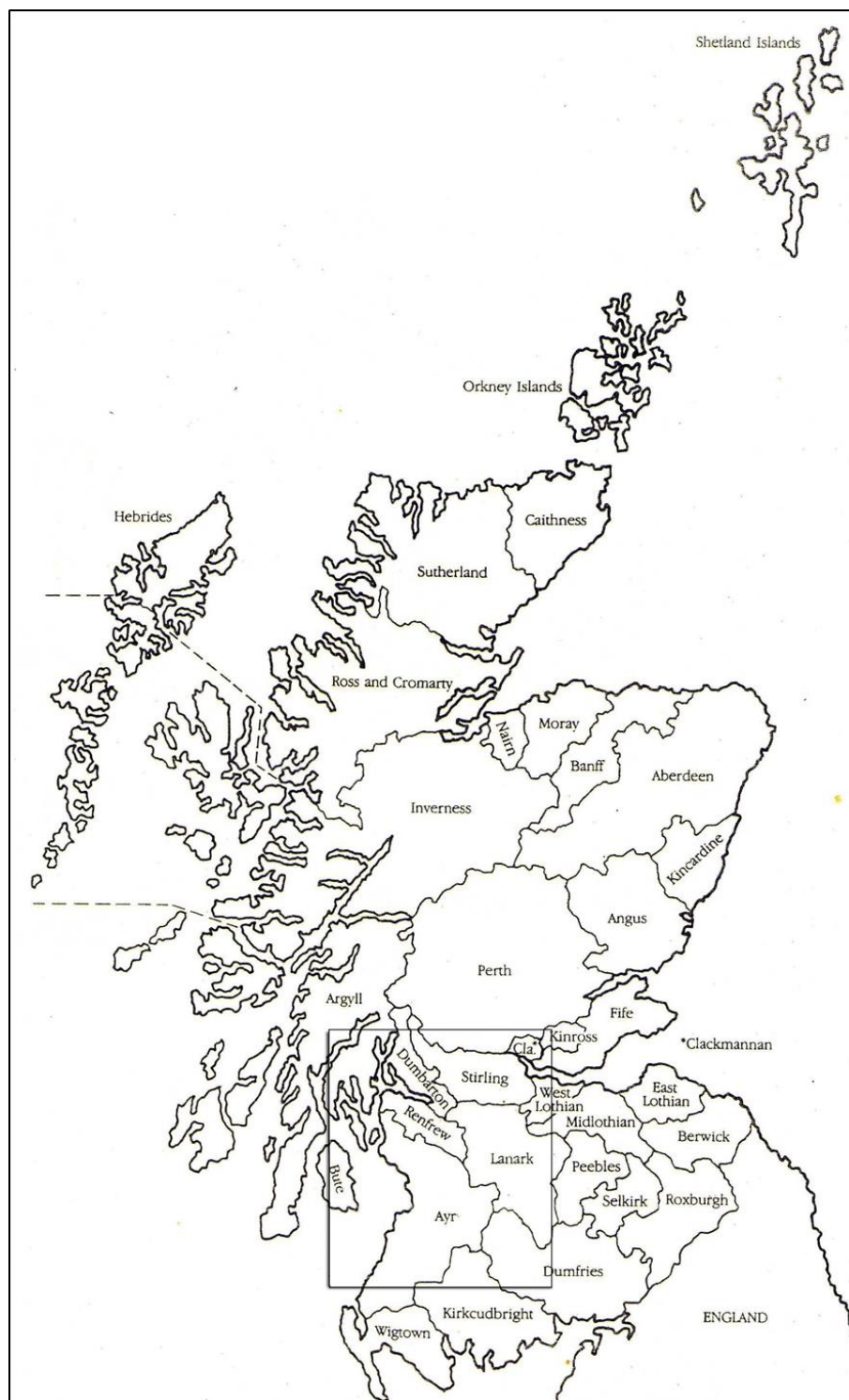


Illustration 2.1: Map to show the OS national grid

[each gridsquare measures 100 km x 100 km]

Within Scotland, the NS map-square is one of the few virtually complete square, in that most of the area is on land. This is not true of many of the other squares, where often a square continues beyond the coastline and thus significant portions are under water. Similarly, although there are some areas that are uninhabitable, these do not constitute an unacceptable proportion of the NS map-square. Interestingly, the former Scots kingdom of Strathclyde fits fairly snugly into the NS map-square, as shown in Map 2.1; and although past and present political boundaries were initially dismissed as selection criteria, there are other factors which favour this particular choice. As an area of fairly continuous settlement from prehistory to the present day, with an interesting mix of Roman, British, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Viking and possibly Norman influences, it would seem an ideal choice.

Map 2.1: To show the area of the NS map-square



Although the map-square does not include the notable Early Christian sites of Whithorn or Kilmadrine, the area does contain other sites with Early Christian connections, such as Govan.³ Also, whether the legendary saints Kentigern and Serf were in fact early clergy within the study area, Smyth⁴ suggests that early Christian activity is evidenced in Strathclyde by St Patrick's letter to the Christian Coroticus. Thus, the size, topography and various social influences seemed to offer the potential that the NS map-square would produce ample and diverse sites for this study.

The designated area of this study then, encloses an area from Ballantrae in the southwest to Strathlachan in the northwest; and from Culross in the northeast to Crawford in the southeast.

2.3 Selection of Site-types

A very important consideration was the selection of site-types to be included in the study which proved to be equally as challenging and time-consuming as the choice of study area. Obviously, it was desirable for the site-types to be easily identified and have some sort of provenance, whether traditional, historical or archaeological. However, there was the very real problem of choosing an appropriate number of site-types to both produce results without becoming unwieldy. Added to this was the problem of selecting site-types which would be suitably common and widespread to create recognisable patterns, but not so numerous as to swamp an area and render any data meaningless or difficult to interpret.

The main difficulty was how to assess relevance to the study: for a truly innovative study, it was necessary to include site-types that may not have been previously considered relevant within the context of such a study. Initially, it seemed that each site-type should prove that it would be relevant to the study before inclusion in the database. Compiling such a list, however, proved very difficult once the more obvious site-types, such as churches, chapels, cairns and barrows, had been added. The solution was

³ Govan is a complex site with religious connotations possibly as early as the sixth century.

⁴ Smyth, A., 1984, *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland A.D. 80 – 1000*. Edinburgh. 33.

to begin to collect data and consider all site-types as they presented themselves.

However, it soon became apparent that the question of assessing relevance was something of a distraction. For instance, should a rock-carving in the shape of a footprint located in the parish of Drymen⁵ be included? Clearly, this is a site-type germane in the context of Dunadd⁶, but how to assess the relevance to this study without knowing in advance the frequency of this site-type or proximity to other site-types. As these points were unanswerable until the collection of data was complete, it seemed more sensible to include the site-type and to assess its relevance after the mapping process. Therefore, the question of relevance became less important and as many site-types as possible that might have existed in the pre-Reformation, Early Christian and pre-Christian landscape were included.

For this reason, topographical sites such as bays, bogs and bridges were also included; usually selected for their names, generally having religious connections e.g. Bay of St Lawrence (Greenock)⁷ and Lady Burn (Paisley)⁸.

Thus, the initial list may have been over-inclusive and contained several site-types, such as Roman altars, that were ultimately not of use in the study; although all sites were plotted on the first maps before being discounted. This tactic served to enlarge the database, but it was clearly more efficient to include as many site-types as possible during the preliminary trawls of the source materials rather than repeating the process at a later date to find all examples of a site-type that had been omitted.

There was one exception to this inclusiveness: cup-marks and cup-and-ring marks, which at first seemed to represent a suitable prehistoric site-type. However, it soon became clear that such marks were extremely abundant, had a very wide distribution and often their very existence was and is a

⁵ Canmore NS48NE9; "A stone high up on the bank of the Endrick Water, bears the mark of a footprint, similar to that at Dunadd ..."

⁶ Canmore, NR89SW 1.01; Fisher, I., 2001, *Early Medieval sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS/PSAS Monograph series 1, 152. Edinburgh. 15.

⁷ Canmore, NS15NW6.

⁸ Canmore, NS46SE36.

matter of opinion.⁹ Also, after further reflection, it was difficult to understand how the presence or absence of cup-and-ring markings would enhance any part of the study. The sheer volume and unreliability of the available evidence risked resulting patterns or data being suspect and consequently worthless. This site-type was, therefore, removed from the study.

The eighty site-types that were finally included in the database and therefore mapped, are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Type-sites included in Database

1	Abbey	2	Altar – Roman
3	Barrow	4	Bay
5	Bell	6	Bog
7	Bridge	8	Broch
9	Bronze Figurine	10	Brooch
11	Burial Ground	12	Burial Vault
13	Burn	14	Cairn
15	Cashel	16	Castle
17	Cathedral	18	Cave
19	Cell	20	Chapel
21	Church	22	Cist – short
23	Cist – long	24	Court Hill
25	Crannog	26	Cromlech
27	Cross	28	Cross-slab
29	Cuthill	30	Dun
31	Earthwork	32	Eglés
33	Effigy	34	Enclosure
35	Farm	36	Field
37	Figurine	38	Font
39	Footprint	40	Fort
41	Friary	42	Gallows
43	Glen	44	Grange
45	Head	46	Henge
47	Hermitage	48	Hill
49	Hospital	50	House
51	Inscription	52	Island
53	Loch	54	Monastery
55	Motte	56	Mound
57	Nunnery	58	Oratory
59	Palace	60	Pool
61	Preceptory	62	Priory
63	Seat – saint's	64	Shrine
65	Statue	66	Stone
67	Stone – grave	68	Stone – hogback
69	Stone – sanctuary	70	Stone – sculptured

⁹ An example of this is Round Wood (Old Kilpatrick) NS47NW9: "Prominent grey boulders bearing possible marks." Canmore has: 460 instances of cup-and-ring mark rock sites; 245 cup-and-ring marked stone sites; 645 cup-marked rocks; etc.

71	Stone – standing	72	Stone circle
73	Stone setting	74	Temple
75	Timber hall	76	Tomb – saint's
77	Well	78	Well – chapel
79	Well – holy	80	Well – non-holy

2.4 Collection of data concerning Site-types

The collection of data proved to be a very time-consuming and labour-intensive part of this study. For most effective use of time and energy, it was necessary to devise a strategy which was logical and ensured as few omissions as possible. The Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) maintains a database containing a record of the archaeological, architectural and historical sites in Scotland. Fortunately, the RCAHMS have compiled an online database (Canmore)¹⁰ containing details of in access of 300,000 archaeological sites, ancient monuments, buildings and maritime sites in Scotland.

RCAHMS is responsible for visiting historical and archaeological sites within Scotland and maintaining records for each site in the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS). The NMRS is based on 1:10,000 Ordnance Survey (OS) maps, each site being denoted with a National Monuments Record (NMR) that reflects the designation of the appropriate map.

The NS map-square is represented by four hundred 1:10,000 maps (NS00NE – NS99NW) and, as noted above, the recorded sites can be accessed online via Canmore¹¹ which has been improved since its inception in the early 1990s. The most obvious enhancement, in common with technology in general, is a greater efficiency in loading the programme. Also, there used to be a limit to the number of sites which could be accessed for each map – this was particularly annoying when accessing maps representing areas with high density of sites such as towns and cities.

¹⁰ www.rcahms.gov.uk

¹¹ Canmore = Computer Application for National Monuments Records Enquiries.

The advent and addition of Canmore Mapping to the RCAHMS website necessitated a welcome improvement to the grid referencing of the sites in Canmore. Previously, for known sites,¹² the references were at worst 4 figures or, at best and less frequently, 8 figures. Now many more are 8 figures and a good number are 10 figures, which can only serve to improve the accuracy of the resulting data in the study.

However, no system is perfect and there are some notable problems and irritations.

At the outset, it seemed sensible to interrogate the database by site-type – this was counter-productive as the responses were ordered by map number, beginning at the NB map-square, as clearly shown on Illustration 2.1. It was and is, however, possible to question the database by map, which although, much more time-consuming, does have the advantage of being able to view the name and brief description of each site, before accessing the more detailed information. In earlier incarnations of Canmore, various descriptions were included at this stage and it was simpler to assess the possible relevance of the site to the study. However, the site-type descriptions have been formalised and less information such as “possible ...” and “reputed ...” is available, ensuring that more site entries must be fully accessed and read. Whilst it is entirely understandable that the web masters would wish to standardise the information contained in the database, the result is that it is more time-consuming to access the more unusual sites that do not easily fit into the new descriptions. Similarly, if accessing a site by site-name, only the precise spelling of the first name on the list allows access, even if Canmore lists alternative spellings in the text of the entry. This is extremely frustrating and could be easily remedied by adding alternative spellings to the search function as well as a “keyword” option.

Further irritations include: the absence of data in a site entry; incomplete bibliographical references and the addition of extra information boxes

¹² Clearly the exact location of some sites are unknown and they are represented by 2 or 4 figure grid references.

apparently from research and archaeological studies which are difficult to use as there is little provenance.

Canmore mapping is a good resource for the casual user; however, it is not very useful in this sort of study. The printed version of the site maps is very small and sadly were of little assistance in the location of sites on field visits.

In spite of the admittedly minor shortcomings, it must be conceded that Canmore is an excellent resource, was very reliable in that it was rarely offline or inaccessible and was the initial source for the majority of the sites within this study. Other sources were also influential in the identification of sites and these will be discussed in more detail below.

The process for the collection of sites and identification of new site-types in Canmore was very simple:

- each map was accessed in turn beginning at NS00NE and ending at NS99NW;
- all site entries which appeared to be in any way pertinent were accessed and assessed;
- all sites identified for inclusion in the study were printed and recorded;
- new site-types were identified and added to the list.

This process was repeated in order that any missed sites and site-types were added to the study.

2.5 Compilation of the Database

The choice of database for this study was fairly limited as, for ease of transfer between computers, Microsoft applications are the most widely available and thus the most appropriate option. Excel is primarily a spreadsheet application and therefore not really appropriate for a database which could be interrogated in any meaningful way, although it is acceptable for most computer mapping applications. Therefore, Access was the obvious choice for the database and the next hurdle was to decide the choice of

fields, so that the database could be interrogated in as many ways as possible and those fields, with explanations, are shown at Table 2.2 below. The choice of fields also had a direct effect on the way in which the Canmore site sheets were treated. For ease of data input it was necessary to design a site profile sheet to attach to the front of the information sheet and this corresponded to the fields in the database. The site profile sheets contained the necessary information, could be read at a glance and recorded any additional information that would be gained through the reading of texts and so on.

Copies of the site profile sheet, which evolved through a certain amount of trial and error, are shown in Illustration 2.2 and Illustration 2.3; and will be discussed in more detail below.

Access allows for data to be displayed as a table or, for ease of entry, as a form. The data entry was a long and arduous process and at the end, the database contained well in excess of three thousand entries. Checks and balances were built into the process to ensure that the entries were accurate, for example, checking every twentieth entry on a regular basis. As discussed below, twelve-figure map references are required for the mapping system and clearly this was the main area of concern for mistakes, requiring much vigilance in data input and consequent checking. The ultimate test, of course, was the production of maps - fortunately very few sites were found to be in an entirely incorrect location and those few were easily rectified.

Table 2.2: Table to explain fields within the database

Field	Explanation
ID No	Each site was given an individual number beginning at No 1.
Easting	Computer mapping programmes require 12-figure grid references - eastings & northings are separately entered in the database
Northing	
Site Name 1	Often sites have more than one name, which should be noted to avoid duplication
Site Name 2	
Site Name 3	
Deaconry	Deaconry
Site Type	Site types had to standardised as databases can only be interrogated by a specific spelling
S/T Source	Site type source – important to establish the accuracy of information
Date/Cent	Date i.e. century of foundation, building, etc
Date Source	Date source – important to establish the accuracy of the information
Cent 1st Ment	Date i.e. century site first mentioned or documented
Ded 1	Some religious sites have more than one dedication e.g. Paisley Abbey has 5 titular saints
Ded 2	
Ded 3	
Ded 4	
Ded 5	
Par Ch Ded	Dedication of parish church in parish
Mon Ord	Monastic order
Encl Sh	Shape of enclosure
Notes	Extra notes not already mentioned in database

Field	Explanation
NMRS No	RCAHMS Sites & Monuments Record Number, one of several ways to interrogate Canmore
GR Def/Pos	Grid reference – definite/positive – necessary for accuracy of information entered into the database
Parish	All sites are grouped with their parishes as in Canmore
Med Par 1	Medieval parishes were often known by more than one name or spelling
Med Par 2	
Med Par 3	
Bishopric	Bishopric
S/T Def/Pos	Site type – definite/possible – again necessary for accuracy of information when mapping
Date	Date i.e. year of foundations, building, etc
Date Def/Pos	Date – definite/possible necessary for accuracy of information when mapping
Date 1st Ment	Date i.e. year site first mentioned or documented
Source 1st Ment	Source – necessary for accuracy when mapping
Ded Def/Pos	Dedication – definite/possible – necessary for accuracy of information for mapping
Ded Source	Dedication source – necessary for accuracy of information when mapping
Par Ch	Whether site is a parish church
Coll Ch	Whether site is collegiate church
Encl	Enclosure e.g. burial ground
Topo	Topography

As noted above a site profile sheet was created in order to:

- provide a readily accessible and uniform front page for the Canmore print-outs and additional site information;
- to contain all the information necessary for data input.

In practice, the site profile sheet was very effective and proved to be an enormous aid to the arduous task of data input.

The main drawback with the site profile sheets had little to do with the design and more to do with the available data on each site. Although information about sites was rarely complete, most sites had a reasonable amount of information with which to populate the sheet and ultimately to input into the database. However, a small minority had so little information as to apparently render the site of little use to the study – this became more obvious when the relevant information was collated onto the site sheets and can be appreciated by comparison of the site sheets in Illustration 2.2 and Illustration 2.3. It should be noted that no sites were discarded at this point as it was always possible that more information might come to light from other sources.

Burial grounds were included as a relevant site-type as, when found as an isolated site, it may indicate the loss of a religious site such as a chapel. Several examples are noted in the database, such as Newton¹³ (Inverchaolain) and Kilbridemore¹⁴ (Kilmodan). Hewison¹⁵ identified four “disappeared” burial grounds in the parish of Kilmory: Reilignerget¹⁶, Reilgvail¹⁷, Reiligglas¹⁸ and Relivourkie¹⁹, but gave no other clues as to their location. Canmore could, therefore, only produce a 2-figure grid reference (06) for them all; which was not only extremely inaccurate, but ensured that

¹³ Canmore, NS07SE4.

¹⁴ Canmore, NS09SW2.

¹⁵ Hewison, J, K., 1893, *The Isle of Bute in the Olden Time*, 2 vols. Edinburgh & London. vol i, 33.

¹⁶ Canmore, NS06SE41.

¹⁷ Canmore, NS06SE40.

¹⁸ Canmore, NS06SE39.

¹⁹ Canmore, NS06SE37.

they would all be located in the same place, i.e. the bottom right hand corner of that particular 10 metre square. The site profile sheet for Reiligglas is shown at Illustration 2.2.

Admittedly, these four sites are exceptional in the paucity of information and the opposite is also true - very few sites have an abundance of information, such as Govan Old Parish Church²⁰ which has several pages of notes and twenty-four bibliographical references. It was more usual for sites to have one or sometimes two pages of notes with between two and five bibliographic references. Ballantrae Old Church would seem to be fairly typical of the vast majority of the sites recorded in this study and thus is ideal as the second example of a completed Site Profile sheet at Illustration 2.3.

²⁰ Canmore, NS06SE41.

Illustration 2.2: Example of Site Profile Sheet for Reiligglas – a possible burial ground in Kilmory parish, Argyllshire.

Site Profile Sheet				
ID no 622	Site Name REILIGGLAS		Parish KILMORY	
Easting 200000	Northing 660000	GR Def/Poss POSS	Medieval Parish KILMORIE	
Site-Type BURIAL GROUND		S-T Def/Poss POSS	Site-Type Source Hewison 1893 vol i, 33.	
Date Not Known	Date/Century Not Known	Date Def/Poss Not Known	Date Source N/A	
Date 1 st Ment Not Known	Cent 1 st Ment Not Known	Date Def/Poss N/A	Date Source N/A	
Dedication NONE		Parish Church Dedication NONE		Dedication Source N/A
Ded Def/Poss N/A	Enclosure POSS	Enclos shape Unknown	Topography Unknown	NMR No NS06SE39
Notes				
<p>Hewison lists a 'disappeared burial place' at Reiligglas.</p> <p>Neither Miss Marshall (Kames Garden Cottage, Port Bannatyne) nor the Bute Estate factor have any knowledge of the name 'Reiligglas'. Visited: 1976.</p>				

Illustration 2.3: Example of Site Profile Sheet for Old Kirkcudbright Parish Kirk in the parish of Ballantrae.

Site Profile Sheet				
ID no 1334	Site Name OLD KIRKCUDBRIGHT PARISH KIRK		Parish BALLANTRAE	
Easting 211684	Northing 583835	GR Def/Poss DEF	Medieval Parish KIRKCUDBRIGHT- INNERTIG	
Site-Type PARISH CHURCH + BURIAL GROUND		S-T Def/Poss DEF	Site-Type Source Canmore	
Date 1275	Date/Century 13	Date Def/Poss Def	Date Source Cowan 1967:120	
Date 1 st Ment 1275	Cent 1 st Ment 13	Date Def/Poss Def	Date Source Cowan 1967:120	
Dedication ST CUTHBERT		Parish Church Dedication ST CUTHBERT		Ded Source White & White 1961:211-4
Ded Def/Poss DEF	Enclosure YES	Enclos shape Rectilinear	Topography At edge of town	NMR No NS06SE39
Notes				
<p>Alternative Names: Kirkholm Church; St Cuthbert's Church. Remains of former parish church – standing within graveyards – walls traced as “baulks” (N & E) + oval “baulk” to the N. Remains prob. Date from 15th cent. Ded. suggests origin in 7th – 8th cent. Church abandoned 1617 – parish centre moved to Ballantrae – graveyard continued in use. Farmer at Kirkholm knows site as “Kirkholm church” & “Old Kirkcudbright” – visited 1956, 1970, 1977 & 1981. Other sources: RCAHMS 1981:21, no 147</p>				

2.6 Selection of Computer Mapping Software

Several computer mapping programmes are readily available, however, ArcView is one of the programmes used at the University of Glasgow and fortunately is one of the more user-friendly applications. It is possible to use the programme in various ways; most of which are compatible with this kind of study. Perhaps the most useful application is the ability to “zoom in” and “zoom out”, centring on a particular point. This allows the facility of viewing an area in detail, assessing the bigger picture or something in between. It is also possible to show only the required sites; the others can be “switched off” until needed. Similarly there is a very useful measuring tool which can be used to verify the distance between different points of interest. It is worth noting that some problems were experienced and should be taken into account. Perhaps the most troublesome is the length of time required to load each map onto the screen after a change has been made e.g. zooming in on a particular site.

A further snag is that if there is more than one site with the same grid reference, e.g. cross-slabs within a church; only one site is displayed on the map, while the other is not visible until that information layer has been “switched off”. This can be rectified by careful selection of symbols and manipulation of information layers. For example, it became clear that a number of holy wells were co-located with churches or chapels, however, by the simple expedient of ensuring that the holy wells occupied the final or upper layer and were represented by a smaller icon (usually a triangle), both sites were visible.

ArcView works as a series of layers – each piece of information, e.g. a group of church sites, represents one layer, which will be represented visually by a series of icons e.g. coloured dots, squares etc.

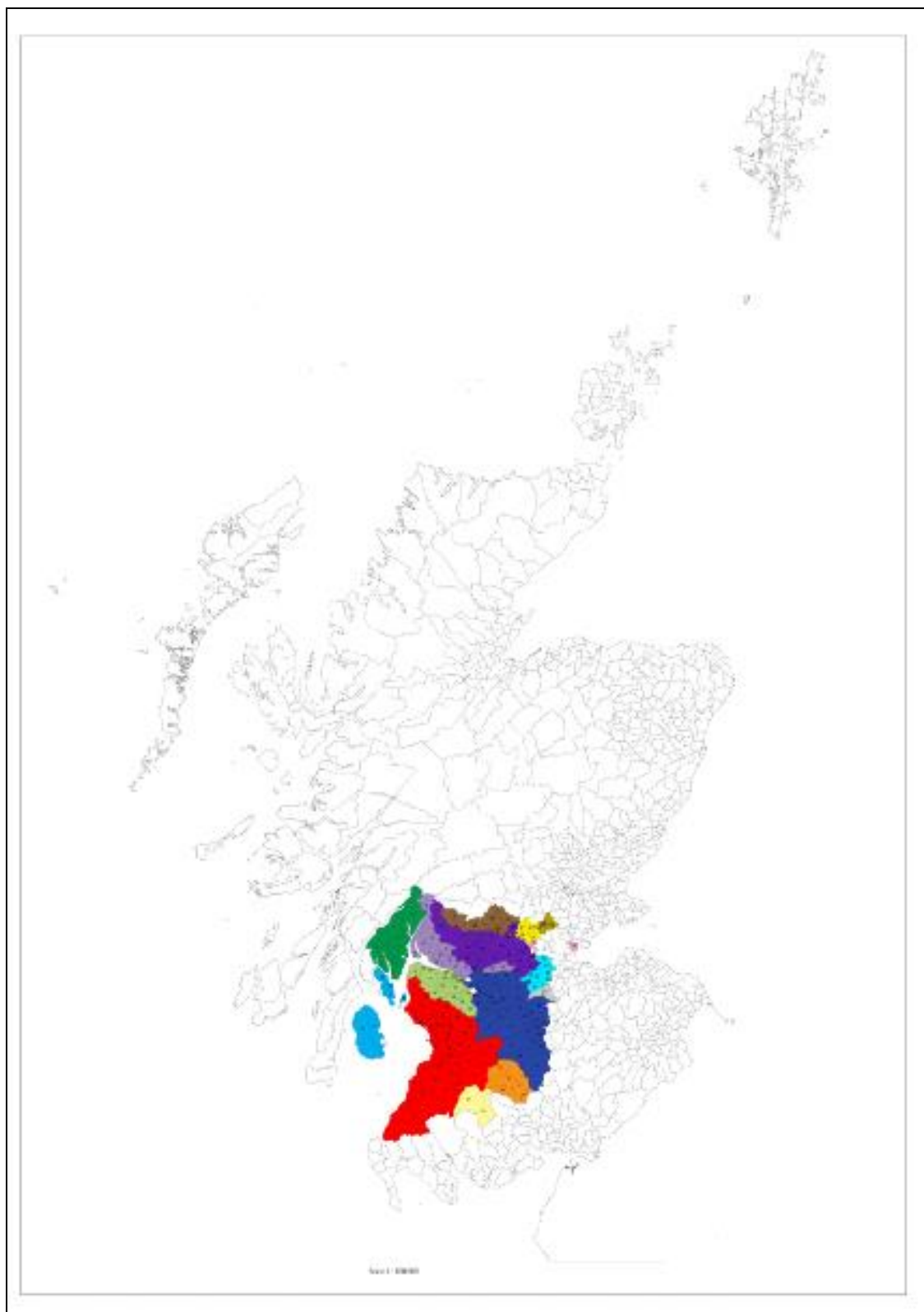
The most important layer is the map which underlays every other layer, providing the background and setting for the sites and subsequent patterns. In this study the map chosen was Strategi, produced by Digimap, the digital

mapping service of the OS. Strategi covers the British Isles in two parts – North and South²¹ – and can be downloaded in a compressed form before importing the data into the ArcView software. Strategi also works from a series of layers that contain all the information necessary to produce the map. This contains much information that is clearly of no relevance to this study e.g. railways and youth hostels; and thus before the map was ready to use in ArcView it was essential to remove all the irrelevant data. The information retained was minimal as this seemed to offer the most scope for recognising patterns by not cluttering the map. Thus the final map contained only coastlines, inland water bodies and rivers and streams (primary, secondary and small). Altitude contours were included at first but when utilised for the entire map-square, they tended to confuse the general layout of the map and it became difficult to clearly identify sites. This can be seen at Map 2.2. It was, however, possible to utilise the altitude contours when plotting sites in a smaller more localised area, as will be shown in the following chapters.

To produce the layers of sites, it was necessary to complete a query in the Access database, export it as a “dbf” file and import it into ArcView. However, to ensure that the sites can be mapped, a 12-figure grid reference must be produced for each site. Usually Canmore produces a 6-8 figure or, at best, a 10-figure grid reference for each site. The 12-figure grid reference is necessary to locate the particular map-square i.e. NS among the other map-squares in a map of the British Isles. Each map-square has a prefix for the easting and the northing to distinguish the particular square – for the NS map-square the numbers are 2 and 6 respectively. Therefore these numbers are added to the beginning of the easting and northing and then 0s added to the end to ensure that there are 12 figures. For example, the Canmore grid reference might be NS123456 i.e. easting: 123 and northing: 456, and the resulting 12-figure grid reference would be easting: 212300 and northing: 645600.

²¹ i.e. the northern and southern areas of the British Isles – obviously only Northern Britain was used in this study

Map 2.2: Parishes within the study



Key: Map2.2 of Parishes by County

1	Argyll	Dunoon & Kilmun
2	Argyll	Inverchaolain
3	Argyll	Kilmodan
4	Argyll	Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich
5	Argyll	Strachur & Strathlachan
6	Ayr	Ardrossan
7	Ayr	Auchinleck
8	Ayr	Ayr
9	Ayr	Ballantrae
10	Ayr	Barr
11	Ayr	Beith
12	Ayr	Colmonnel
13	Ayr	Coylton
14	Ayr	Craigie
15	Ayr	Dailly
16	Ayr	Dalmellington
17	Ayr	Dalry
18	Ayr	Dalrymple
19	Ayr	Dreghorn
20	Ayr	Dundonald
21	Ayr	Dunlop
22	Ayr	Fenwick
23	Ayr	Galston
24	Ayr	Girvan
25	Ayr	Irvine
26	Ayr	Kilbirnie
27	Ayr	Kilmarnock
28	Ayr	Kilmaurs
29	Ayr	Kilwinning
30	Ayr	Kirkmichael
31	Ayr	Kirkoswald
32	Ayr	Largs
33	Ayr	Loudoun
34	Ayr	Mauchline
35	Ayr	Maybole
36	Ayr	Monkton & Prestwick
37	Ayr	Muirkirk
38	Ayr	New Cumnock
39	Ayr	Ochiltree
40	Ayr	Old Cumnock
41	Ayr	Riccarton
42	Ayr	Sorn
43	Ayr	Stair
44	Ayr	Stevenson
45	Ayr	Stewarton
46	Ayr	Straiton
47	Ayr	Symington
48	Ayr	Tarbolton
49	Ayr	West Kilbride
50	Bute	Cumbrae
51	Bute	Kilbride
52	Bute	Kilmory
53	Bute	Kingarth
54	Bute	North Bute
55	Bute	Rothsay

56	Clackmannan	Alloa
57	Clackmannan	Alva
58	Clackmannan	Clackmannan
59	Clackmannan	Dollar
60	Clackmannan	Tillicoultry
61	Dumfries	Durisdeer
62	Dumfries	Kirkconnel
63	Dumfries	Morton
64	Dumfries	Penpont
65	Dumfries	Sanquhar
66	Dunbarton	Arrochar
67	Dunbarton	Bonhill
68	Dunbarton	Cardross
69	Dunbarton	Cumbernauld
70	Dunbarton	Dumbarton
71	Dunbarton	Kilmaronock
72	Dunbarton	Kirkintilloch
73	Dunbarton	Luss
74	Dunbarton	New Kilpatrick
75	Dunbarton	Old Kilpatrick
76	Dunbarton	Rhu
77	Dunbarton	Rosneath
78	Fife	Culross
79	Fife	Tulliallan
80	Kinross	Fossoway & Tullibole
81	Kirkcudbright	Carsphairn
82	Kirkcudbright	Dalry
83	Lanark	Avondale
84	Lanark	Blantyre
85	Lanark	Bothwell
86	Lanark	Cadder
87	Lanark	Cambuslang
88	Lanark	Cambusnethan
89	Lanark	Carluke
90	Lanark	Carmichael
91	Lanark	Carmunnock
92	Lanark	Carnwath
93	Lanark	Carstairs
94	Lanark	Covington & Thankerton
95	Lanark	Crawford
96	Lanark	Crawfordjohn
97	Lanark	Dalserf
98	Lanark	Dalziel
99	Lanark	Douglas
100	Lanark	East Kilbride
101	Lanark	Glasgow
102	Lanark	Glassford
103	Lanark	Govan
104	Lanark	Hamilton
105	Lanark	Lamington & Wandel
106	Lanark	Lanark
107	Lanark	Lesmahagow
108	Lanark	Libberton & Quothquan
109	Lanark	New Monkland
110	Lanark	Old Monkland
111	Lanark	Pettinain
112	Lanark	Rutherglen

113	Lanark	Shotts
114	Lanark	Stonehouse
115	Lanark	Symington
116	Lanark	Wiston & Robertson
117	Midlothian	West Calder
118	Perth	Aberfoyle
119	Perth	Dunblane & Lecropt
120	Perth	Kilmadock
121	Perth	Kincardine
122	Perth	Muckhart
123	Perth	Port of Menteith
124	Renfrew	Cathcart
125	Renfrew	Eaglesham
126	Renfrew	Eastwood
127	Renfrew	Erskine
128	Renfrew	Greenock
129	Renfrew	Houston
130	Renfrew	Inchinnan
131	Renfrew	Inverkip
132	Renfrew	Kilbarchan
133	Renfrew	Kilmacolm
134	Renfrew	Lochwinnoch
135	Renfrew	Mearns
136	Renfrew	Neilston
137	Renfrew	Paisley
138	Renfrew	Port Glasgow
139	Renfrew	Renfrew
140	Stirling	Airth
141	Stirling	Baldernock
142	Stirling	Balfron
143	Stirling	Buchanan
144	Stirling	Campsie
145	Stirling	Denny & Dunipace
146	Stirling	Drymen
147	Stirling	Falkirk
148	Stirling	Fintry
149	Stirling	Gargunnock
150	Stirling	Grangemouth
151	Stirling	Killlearn
152	Stirling	Kilsyth
153	Stirling	Kippen
154	Stirling	Larbert
155	Stirling	Logie
156	Stirling	Muiravonside
157	Stirling	Slamannan
158	Stirling	St Ninians
159	Stirling	Stirling
160	Stirling	Strathblane
161	West Lothian	Bathgate
162	West Lothian	Bo'ness & Carriden
163	West Lothian	Ecclesmachan
164	West Lothian	Linlithgow
165	West Lothian	Livingston
166	West Lothian	Torphichen
167	West Lothian	Whitburn

Obviously, the sounder the original grid reference, the more accurate the resulting mapping. Occasionally, as noted above in the case of the four “disappeared” burial grounds (Kilmory), due to lack of evidence, a grid reference can consist of only two numbers which means that the resulting data is almost completely inaccurate and not useful in this type of survey. In many such cases, it was often possible to rectify this by using the earlier OS maps, in particular, the First Edition series. By locating the sites on those maps and cross-referencing them with a modern 1:10,000 OS maps, a more accurate grid reference could be achieved. Unfortunately for a small number of sites, this was not possible and this lack of accuracy was noted in the study. Co-incidentally, this was also the method used to locate sites that were collected from sources other than Canmore.

2.7 Expanding the Study area

When the first tranche of sites had been entered into ArcView and the study of the resulting maps began, it became apparent that the premise of arbitrary boundaries for the study might not be as workable as initially assumed. The patterns of sites seemed to be predicated on parishes, which was possibly to be expected, considering that parish churches formed one of the most numerous site-types. It seemed that by considering the more complete parishes in the middle of the map-square, more interesting patterns began to emerge than in some of the part-parishes on the out-skirts and edges of the map-square. Clearly, some relevant sites might have been found in the parts of the parishes located in neighbouring map-squares. Examples include Girvan in Ayrshire, where the parish is located in both NS and NX map-squares; and Linlithgow in West Lothian, which includes the NS and NT map-squares.

Canmore is based on parishes as at 1976, when that particular structure was abolished, along with the system of counties at that time. Parish boundaries have changed and evolved over the centuries; and this parish and county structure would certainly be anachronistic for the envisaged pre-Reformation study. However, it was difficult to suggest a more suitable parochial

boundary system. Thus, for the purposes of locating parishes in this study, the pre-1976 parish structure used by Canmore seemed most appropriate, particularly as the majority of the sites were already based on that formation. Similarly, it was decided to retain the county structure as this would ensure that the parishes would be grouped into larger areas – this could prove useful in discerning distinctions and variations between different areas of the map-square.

There are one hundred and sixty-seven parishes included in the study, which have been recorded as they are found in Canmore, shown in Table 2.3 and Map 2.2. The table is ordered alphabetically by county, parish and name, which will be the structure for most of the tables in this study.

The notes in Table 2.3 illustrate that parishes changed significantly over the centuries, whether as a result of unification, annexation or disjuncture. This changing tapestry of shifting parishes would become a minor difficulty to overcome later in this thesis.

Table 2.3: Parishes in the database

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
1	Argyll	Dunoon & Kilmun	Dunoon Kilmun	Glassery Argyll	"These two parishes, at present united, lie in the presbytery of Dunoon, ..."22
2	Argyll	Inverchaolain	Inverchaolain	Glassery Argyll	
3	Argyll	Kilmodan	Kilmodan	Glassery Argyll	
4	Argyll	Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich	Lochgoilhead Kilmorich	Glassery Argyllshire	".....an act of parliament was passed, <i>anno</i> 1649, ... to disjoin the old, and to erect new, parishes ..., the commissioners dismembered the old parish of Lochgoil-head, and formed it into three separate and independent cures. One of these in the present parish of Strachur; Kilmoric was another; and the mother church made the third, which, ..., retained the old name."23
5	Argyll	Strachur & Strathlachan	Kilmaghlis	Glassery Argyll	"Prior to the year 1650, the parishes, ... were annexed to the neighbouring parishes of Lochgoilhead and Inverchaolain"24
6	Ayr	Ardrossan	Ardrossan	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
7	Ayr	Auchinleck	Auchinleck Affleck	Carrick Glasgow	
8	Ayr	Ayr	Ayr	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"The parish of Alloway was annexed to Ayr in 1690."25 The parish of St Quivox was annexed to Ayr in 1895.

²² OSA, (Dunoon), 86.

²³ OSA, (Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich), 328.

²⁴ NSA, (Stachur & Strathlachan), 103.

²⁵ Alloway Parish Church: Our Church History. [Accessed 1 June 2014]. Available at: <http://www.allowaychurch.org/html/history.htm>

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
9	Ayr	Ballantrae	Kirkcudbright-Innertig	Carrick Glasgow	
10	Ayr	Barr		Carrick Glasgow	"Barr was erected into a parish in the year 1653, formerly annexed to the parishes of Girvan and Dailly." ²⁶
11	Ayr	Beith	Beith	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
12	Ayr	Colmonnel	Kilcolmonell	Carrick Glasgow	
13	Ayr	Coylton	Coylton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
14	Ayr	Craigie	Craigie	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"A considerable part of a small parish, called <i>Barnwell</i> , which was suppressed in the year 1673, when that of Stair was erected, is now annexed to Craigie." ²⁷
15	Ayr	Dailly	Dailly	Carrick Glasgow	
16	Ayr	Dalmellington	Dalmellington	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
17	Ayr	Dalry	Dalry Clachan	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	

²⁶ OSA, (Barr), 56.

²⁷ OSA, (Craigie), 100.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
18	Ayr	Dalrymple	Dalrymple	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
19	Ayr	Dreghorn	Dreghorn Langdregarine	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"The parish of Dreghorn, or rather the united parishes of Dreghorn and Percetown," ²⁸
20	Ayr	Dundonald	Dundonald	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
21	Ayr	Dunlop	Dunlop	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
22	Ayr	Fenwick		Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"Fenwick was erected into a new parish in the year 1642, formerly being part of the parish of Kilmarnock; for this reason, it went at first by new name of New Kilmarnock." ²⁹
23	Ayr	Galston	Galston	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
24	Ayr	Girvan	Girvan Innergarvanne	Carrick Glasgow	
25	Ayr	Irvine	Irvine	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
26	Ayr	Kilbirnie	Kilbirnie	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
27	Ayr	Kilmarnock	Kilmarnock	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	

²⁸ OSA, (Dreghorn), 166.

²⁹ OSA, (Kilmarnock), 199.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
28	Ayr	Kilmaurs	Kilmaurs	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
29	Ayr	Kilwinning	Kilwinning	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
30	Ayr	Kirkmichael	Kirkmichael Munterdove	Carrick Glasgow	
31	Ayr	Kirkoswald	Kirkoswald Turnberry	Carrick Glasgow	
32	Ayr	Largs	Largs Kirbride	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
33	Ayr	Loudoun	Loudon	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
34	Ayr	Mauchline	Mauchline	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
35	Ayr	Maybole	Maybole	Carrick Glasgow	
36	Ayr	Monkton & Prestwick	Monks St Cuthbert Monk's Preswick Prestwick St Cuthbert	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"At what period the union of the parishes of Monkton and Prestwick took place is not known; but in all probability it was about the time of the Reformation, or shortly after it." ³⁰
37	Ayr	Muirkirk	Muirkirk in Kyle	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"Until about the year 1626, it constituted a part of the parish of Mauchline, ..." ³¹

³⁰ NSA, (Monkton & Prestwick), 172.

³¹ NSA, (Muirkirk), 147.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
38	Ayr	New Cumnock	Cumnock	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
39	Ayr	Ochiltree	Ochiltree	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
40	Ayr	Old Cumnock	Cumnock	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"The parish of Old Cumnock, from which that of New Cumnock was disjoined early in this century ..." ³²
41	Ayr	Riccarton	Riccarton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
42	Ayr	Sorn	Dalgain	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"This parish, as well as that of Muirkirk, was originally a part of the parish of Mauchline," ³³
43	Ayr	Stair	Stair	Carrick Glasgow	"Stair was first erected into a parish in 1653, for the accommodation of the noble family of Dalrymple of Stair, whose residence was a great distance from Ochiltree, their parish church." ³⁴
44	Ayr	Stevenson	Stevenson	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
45	Ayr	Stewarton	Stewarton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
46	Ayr	Straiton	Straiton	Carrick Glasgow	

³² OSA, (Old Cumnock), 110.

³³ OSA, (Sorn), 524.

³⁴ OSA, (Stair), 574.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
47	Ayr	Symington	Symington	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
48	Ayr	Tarbolton		Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
49	Ayr	West Kilbride	Kilbride	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	
50	Bute	Cumbræ		Glassary Isles	
51	Bute	Kilbride		Glassary Isles	
52	Bute	Kilmory		Glassary Isles	
53	Bute	Kingarth		Glassary Isles	
54	Bute	North Bute		Glassary Isles	North Bute was a parish for civil and religious purposes from 1844 until 1975. ³⁵
55	Bute	Rothesay		Glassary Isles	
56	Clackmannan	Alloa	Alloa	Fothric St Andrews	
57	Clackmannan	Alva		Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	
58	Clackmannan	Clackmannan	Clackmannan	Fothric St Andrews	

³⁵ Hay Shennan, 1892, *Boundaries of Counties and Parishes in Scotland as Settled By the Boundary Commissioners Under the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889*. Edinburgh. 292.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
59	Clackmannan	Dollar	Dollar	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	
60	Clackmannan	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry	Dunblane	
61	Dumfries	Durisdeer	Durisdeer	Nithdale Glasgow	
62	Dumfries	Kirkconnel	Kirkconnel	Nithsdale Glasgow	
63	Dumfries	Morton	Morton	Nithsdale Glasgow	
64	Dumfries	Penpont	Penpont	Nithsdale Glasgow	
65	Dumfries	Sanquhar	Sanquhar	Nithsdale Glasgow	
66	Dunbarton	Arrochar	Inchcailoch	Lennox Glasgow	" <i>Church.</i> – The parish of Arroquhar was originally an appendage of the parish of Luss, and was disjoined from it in the year 1658. ..."36
67	Dunbarton	Bonhill	Buchnull	Lennox Glasgow	
68	Dunbarton	Cardross	Cardross Kilmahew	Lennox Glasgow	
69	Dunbarton	Cumbernauld	Lenzie	Lennox Glasgow	"Originally Cumbernauld formed part of the parish of Kirkintilloch, from which, ..., it was disjoined in 1649, and erected into a separate parish by the name of Easter Leinzie, or Lenyie."37
70	Dunbarton	Dumbarton	Dumbarton	Lennox Glasgow	
71	Dunbarton	Kilmaronock	Kilmoronock	Lennox Glasgow	

³⁶ OSA, (Arrochar), 434.

³⁷ NSA, (Old Cumnock), 479-80.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
72	Dunbarton	Kirkintilloch	Kirkintilloch Leinyie Lenyie	Lennox Glasgow	
73	Dunbarton	Luss	Luss	Lennox Glasgow	
74	Dunbarton	New Kilpatrick	Kilpatrick	Lennox Glasgow	"The parish is called New, or East Kilpatrick, relatively to Old, or West Kilpatrick, with which it formed one parish till the year 1649." ³⁸
75	Dunbarton	Old Kilpatrick	Kilpatrick	Lennox Glasgow	
76	Dunbarton	Rhu	Rosneath Neveth	Lennox Glasgow	"The greater part of this parish was at one time included in the older parish of Roseneath, ... And in 1648 the boundaries of the new parish of Row were finally settled, ..." ³⁹
77	Dunbarton	Rosneath	Rosneath Neveth	Lennox Glasgow	
78	Fife	Culross	Culross	Dunblane	
79	Fife	Tulliallan		Dunblane	
80	Kinross	Fossoway & Tullibole		Dunblane	"Fossoway and Tulliebole, originally two separate parishes, were, it is supposed, united about the year 1614." ⁴⁰
81	Kirkcudbright	Carsphairn		Glasgow	"The parish of Carsphairn is said to have been separated from the parishes of Kells and Dalry, and constituted a parish, about the year 1627. ..." ⁴¹
82	Kirkcudbright	Dalry	St John's Town of Dalry	Glasgow	
83	Lanark	Avondale [Strathaven]		Rutherglen Glasgow	
84	Lanark	Blantyre	Blantyre	Rutherglen Glasgow	

³⁸ OSA, (Old Kilpatrick), 51.

³⁹ NSA, (Row), 79.

⁴⁰ NSA, (Fossoway & Tulliebole), 1061.

⁴¹ NSA, (Carsphairn), 276.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
85	Lanark	Bothwell	Bothwell	Rutherglen Glasgow	
86	Lanark	Cadder	Cadder	Rutherglen Glasgow	
87	Lanark	Cambuslang	Drumsagart	Rutherglen Glasgow	
88	Lanark	Cambusnethan	Cambusnethan	Rutherglen Glasgow	
89	Lanark	Carluke	Eglismalesoc Forest Kirk	Lanark Glasgow	
90	Lanark	Carmichael	Kirkmichael	Lanark Glasgow	
91	Lanark	Carmunnock	Carmunnock	Rutherglen Glasgow	
92	Lanark	Carnwath	Carnwath	Lanark Glasgow	
93	Lanark	Carstairs	Castletarras	Lanark Glasgow	
94	Lanark	Covington & Thankerton	Covington St John's Kirk Tyntou	Lanark Glasgow	"The two small parishes of Covington and Thankerton were united sometime between 1702 and 1720. ..." ⁴²
95	Lanark	Crawford	Crawford-Douglas Crawford-Lindsay	Lanark Glasgow	
96	Lanark	Crawfordjohn	Crawford-John	Lanark Glasgow	
97	Lanark	Dalserf	Machanshire	Rutherglen Glasgow	
98	Lanark	Dalziel	Dalziel	Rutherglen Glasgow	
99	Lanark	Douglas	Douglas	Lanark Glasgow	

⁴² NSA, (Covington & Thankerton), 874.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
100	Lanark	East Kilbride	Kilbride	Rutherglen Glasgow	
101	Lanark	Glasgow	Glasgow	Rutherglen Glasgow	
102	Lanark	Glassford	Glasford	Rutherglen Glasgow	
103	Lanark	Govan	Govan	Rutherglen Glasgow	
104	Lanark	Hamilton	Cadzow	Rutherglen Glasgow	
105	Lanark	Lamington & Wandel	Lamington Wandel Hartside Quendal	Lanark Glasgow	
106	Lanark	Lanark	Lanark	Lanark Glasgow	
107	Lanark	Lesmahagow	Lesmahagow	Lanark Glasgow	
108	Lanark	Libberton & Quothquan	Libberton	Lanark Glasgow	"The parish of Quothquan was annexed to that of Libberton in the year 1669." ⁴³
109	Lanark	New Monkland	Badermanock Monkland	Rutherglen Glasgow	"The parishes of Old and New Monkland, were formerly united, under the general name of Monkland, from the Monks of Newbottle, to whom they originally belonged." ⁴⁴
110	Lanark	Old Monkland	Badermanock Monkland	Rutherglen Glasgow	
111	Lanark	Pettinain	Pettinain	Lanark Glasgow	
112	Lanark	Rutherglen	Rutherglen	Lanark Glasgow	

⁴³ NSA, (Libberton & Quothquan), 41.

⁴⁴ OSA, (New or East Monkland), 513.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
113	Lanark	Shotts	Bertramshotts	Rutherglen Glasgow	
114	Lanark	Stonehouse	Stonehouse	Lanark Glasgow	
115	Lanark	Symington	Symington	Lanark Glasgow	
116	Lanark	Wiston & Roberton	Wiston Roberton	Lanark Glasgow	"The parishes of Wistoun and Robertoun were united in 1772." ⁴⁵
117	Midlothian	West Calder	Calder-Comitis	St Andrews Linlithgow	
118	Perth	Aberfoyle	Aberfoyle	Dunblane	
119	Perth	Dunblane & Lecropt	Dunblane Lecropt	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	Dunblane and Lecropt was created in 1900.
120	Perth	Kilmadock	Kilmadock	Dunblane	
121	Perth	Kincardine		Dunblane	
122	Perth	Muckhart		Fothric St Andrews	
123	Perth	Port of Menteith	Port of Menteith	Dunblane	
124	Renfrew	Cathcart	Cathcart	Rutherglen Glasgow	
125	Renfrew	Eaglesham	Eaglesham	Rutherglen Glasgow	
126	Renfrew	Eastwood	Eastwood	Rutherglen Glasgow	
127	Renfrew	Erskine	Erskine	Rutherglen Glasgow	
128	Renfrew	Greenock		Rutherglen Glasgow	"On the joint application of the proprietors, in the year 1636, ... certain lands were disjoined from Innerkip and Houston, and erected into a parish, which, ... was named Greenock*." ⁴⁶

⁴⁵ OSA, (Wistoun and Robertoun), 608.

⁴⁶ OSA, (Greenock), 693.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
129	Renfrew	Houston	Killellan Kilallan	Rutherglen Glasgow	
130	Renfrew	Inchinnan	Inchinnan	Rutherglen Glasgow	
131	Renfrew	Inverkip	Inverkip	Rutherglen Glasgow	
132	Renfrew	Kilbarchan	Kilbarchan	Rutherglen Glasgow	
133	Renfrew	Kilmacolm	Kilmacolm	Rutherglen Glasgow	
134	Renfrew	Lochwinnoch	Lochwinnoch	Rutherglen Glasgow	
135	Renfrew	Mearns	Mearns	Rutherglen Glasgow	
136	Renfrew	Neilston	Neilston	Rutherglen Glasgow	
137	Renfrew	Paisley	Paisley	Rutherglen Glasgow	
138	Renfrew	Port Glasgow		Rutherglen Glasgow	New Port-Glasgow is a modern parish. ... It was formerly a part of the parish of Kilmacolm; ... erected into a separate parish in the year 1695, by the name of <i>New Port-Glasgow</i> , ... ⁴⁷
139	Renfrew	Renfrew	Renfrew	Rutherglen Glasgow	
140	Stirling	Airth	Hereth	Linlithgow St Andrews	
141	Stirling	Baldernock	Baldernock	Lennox Glasgow	
142	Stirling	Balfron	Balfron	Lennox Glasgow	

⁴⁷ OSA, (New Port-Glasgow), 678-9.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
143	Stirling	Buchanan	Inchailoch Iniscailloch	Lennox Glasgow	
144	Stirling	Campsie	Campsie	Lennox Glasgow	
145	Stirling	Denny & Dunipace		Linlithgow St Andrews	"The parish of Denny was originally a part of the parish of Falkirk, from which it was separated, as is supposed, (for the records are lost), about the year 1618." ⁴⁸
146	Stirling	Drymen	Drymen	Lennox Glasgow	
147	Stirling	Falkirk	Eglesbric Varia Capella	Linlithgow St Andrews	
148	Stirling	Fintry	Fintry	Lennox Glasgow	
149	Stirling	Gargunnock	Gargunnock	Linlithgow St Andrews	
150	Stirling	Grangemouth		Linlithgow St Andrews	The civil parish of Grangemouth was formed in 1900, by order of the Secretary of State for Scotland from the parish of Polmont and parts of the parishes of Bothkinnar and Falkirk. ⁴⁹
151	Stirling	Killlearn	Killlearn	Lennox Glasgow	
152	Stirling	Kilsyth	Monyabroch	Lennox Glasgow	
153	Stirling	Kippen	Kippen	Dunblane	
154	Stirling	Larbert	Larbert	Linlithgow St Andrews	

⁴⁸ NSA, (Denny), 115-6, 120.

⁴⁹ Thom, H. R., 1961, *The Third Statistical Account: Stirlingshire, Parish of Grangemouth*. [online] [Accessed 1 June 2014]. Available from: http://tompateron.co.uk/places/stat3_gran1.htm

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
155	Stirling	Logie	Logie-Atheron Logie-Wallach	Dunblane	
156	Stirling	Muiravonside		Linlithgow St Andrews	"... and it is declared in ancient times to have been annexed to the parish of Falkirk. The date of the disjunction is unknown; ... It is named a separate parish in 1606, the date of the oldest presbytery record." ⁵⁰
157	Stirling	Slamannan	Slamannan	Linlithgow St Andrews	
158	Stirling	St Ninians	Kirkton Eaglis Ninian	Linlithgow St Andrews	
159	Stirling	Stirling		Linlithgow St Andrews	
160	Stirling	Strathblane	Strathblane	Lennox Glasgow	
161	West Lothian	Bathgate	Bathgate	Linlithgow St Andrews	
162	West Lothian	Bo'ness & Carriden		Linlithgow St Andrews	"Borrowstowness has become the prevailing name of the united parishes of Kinneil and Borrowstowness, although Kinneil was the original parish, and the other existed as a separate parish, only twenty years." ⁵¹ Bo'ness and Carriden were united in 1888.
163	West Lothian	Ecclesmachan	Inchmachan	Linlithgow St Andrews	
164	West Lothian	Linlithgow		Linlithgow St Andrews	
165	West Lothian	Livingston		Linlithgow St Andrews	

⁵⁰ NSA, (Muiravonside), 210.

⁵¹ NSA, (Borrowstowness), 120.

No	County	Parish	Medieval name	Deaconry Bishopric	Notes
166	West Lothian	Torphichen	Torphichen	Linlithgow St Andrews	
167	West Lothian	Whitburn		Linlithgow St Andrews	"When this parish was disjoined from Livingston, it was opened for public worship on the 21 st October 1718; but there was preaching before from the year 1628. ..."52

⁵² NSA, (Whitburn), 81.

2.8 Use of other source material for the further collection of sites

The expansion of the study area to include those parts of the parishes that encroached into other map-squares necessitated the collection of additional material from Canmore and the appropriate maps were trawled for relevant sites.

RCAHMS was established by Royal Warrant in 1908 as a response to widespread concern at the destruction of historic monuments in Scotland. Their remit was to compile a list or inventory of the surviving heritage from the earliest times up to the year 1707 – that limit was later removed and now the list extends up to and including modern sites of interest. Thus, the site records of Canmore have been built up over many years and the advent of the website was merely a digital manifestation of those records. Much of that information, therefore, is gleaned from three sources:

- Ordnance Survey (OS) Object Name Books.⁵³
- The Old and New Statistical Accounts.⁵⁴
- Antiquarian books and writing.

It became evident at an early stage that these were important source materials and a methodical investigation was conducted, which produced a number of sites not recorded in the Canmore database. Sites that did not appear in Canmore could usually be located on the early OS maps, plotted on corresponding 1:10,000 maps and so included in the study.

This part of the study was extremely useful and not only identified extra sites but also often added supplementary information to existing site records. Although RCAHMS clearly make good use of these sources, they are possibly more important than they are usually regarded.

⁵³ *Name Books*, OS *Object Name Books*: unpublished. Microfilm in RCAHMS Library

⁵⁴ OSA, 1791-99, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Drawn Up From the Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes*;
NSA, 1834-45, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes Under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*.

It might be useful to offer a brief overview of these sources:

- *OS Object Name Books:*

The six-inch 1st edition of the OS maps were compiled between 1843 and 1882 to record all man-made and natural features within Scotland. Clearly, correct naming of places is important to accurate mapping and procedures for the correct naming of places were laid down by Thomas Colby in “Instructions for the Interior Survey of Ireland” in 1825. The ledgers, the *Original Object Name Books*, in which staff in the field recorded the data according to various headings, are kept at RCAHMS.⁵⁵

The books were hand-written and, until fairly recently, could only be read at RCAHMS; however, the books are now available online⁵⁶ and a significant number have been transcribed for even easier access.

The place-names were systematically collected first-hand from the local inhabitants and, therefore are an excellent and reliable resource, particularly as many added extra snippets of information such as saint’s names. RCAHMS appear to have based many of their sites upon the information contained in the *Name Books* and, apart from confirming missing references, very little extra information was gleaned from interrogating these books.

- *The Old and New Statistical Accounts:*

There are, in fact, three Statistical Accounts which describe life in Scotland in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries; however, the *Third Account* is not really relevant to this study. The *Old* or *First Statistical Account of Scotland* was published by Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster (1791-2); and the *New* or *Second Statistical Account of Scotland* was then published

⁵⁵ National Library of Scotland Website: Six-inch 1st edition maps 1843-82 [online]. [Accessed: 1 June 2014]. Available at: http://maps.nls.uk/os/6inch/os_info3.html
The five headings: received name; object (natural features, inhabited places, etc); description; township or parish and authority for spelling (with names & addresses). For the Lowlands, there was an additional column: “Orthography as recommended to be used in the new Plans”.

⁵⁶ Scotland’s Places website: Ordnance Survey Name Books [online]. [Accessed 1 June 2014]. Available at: <http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books>

under the patronage of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1834-45).

Sir John Sinclair studied German state surveys and was keen to use their 'statistical' methods to assess happiness and whether improvements could be made. Questionnaires, containing one hundred and sixty questions in four sections⁵⁷ were thus forwarded to over 900 parish ministers and the responses were published.

A similar exercise was carried out some forty years later by the Committee for the Society for the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy who used the proceeds of sales of the resulting account to support widows and orphans of the clergy.

The content of both accounts is variable as might be expected from such a large number of contributors – fortunately, most of the ministers were fairly assiduous in answering all the questions and the format ensures that the books very easy to read. The accounts are parish-based and ordered by county, albeit that the boundaries and names may vary, which ensured that useful information could be readily incorporated into the database. The quality of the information was extremely variable and the responses to *Antiquities* question depended on the interests of the minister – some were very detailed while others rather dodged the question. The Reverend John M'Dougal, the minister of Lochgoil & Kilmorich, appears to copied the account of his predecessor word-for-word, but fortunately he appears to be the only minister who seems to have been less than interested in his response! As will be noted on the chapter concerning holy wells, the ministers were almost universally opposed to the idea of holy wells and often they were only mentioned in passing in the *Hydronomy*.

On the other hand, court hills seemed to have fired the imagination of the clerics and several sites were described that were not to be found in Canmore. Again, as will be seen below, their ideas were somewhat far-

⁵⁷ The sections were: geography and topography; population questions; agricultural and industrial production and miscellaneous questions.

fetches, however, the local knowledge and spatial information was extremely useful to this study.

The accounts were accessed by parish and proved to be a very productive source and the time spent in their examination. Again, all the accounts are now available online⁵⁸ and thus more easily accessible.

- Antiquarian books and writing:

If the past is a foreign country then it is probably fair to comment that antiquarian writers are part of that unknown land! The big problem is that these authors are a rather unknown quantity and their tendency to make sweeping statements without any form of provenance is rather daunting for devotees of references. It is often difficult, without specialist knowledge, to judge whether the writer had an agenda. Fortunately, in the case of most of the authors used in this study, much of their writing is descriptive, however, some do have a tendency to make rather large assumptions on very little evidence as will be seen particularly in connection with court hills.

William Maitland is a very good example: evidently an early historian of some note, writing in the eighteenth century, on the face of it appears to designate hills as court hills by dint of “my opinion”.⁵⁹ However, he travelled widely and spent many years studying English and Scottish antiquities, was elected as a Fellow of the Antiquarian Society and had penned histories of London and Edinburgh before publishing his history of Scotland in two volumes. So he clearly was not an amateur and as will be seen below, his observations do rather coincide with those of others; although the tenor of his writing rather implies that his many travels did not take him to the sites that he describes with such conviction!

After reading some of the apparently far-fetched traditions, particularly concerning the use of court hills as will be seen below, it would be easy to

⁵⁸ Edina: the Statistical Accounts of Scotland [online] [Accessed 1 June 2014]
Available at: <http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/>

⁵⁹ Maitland, W., 1757, *The History and Antiquities of Scotland from the Earliest Account of Time to the Death of James the First, anno 1437*. London, 209.

dismiss antiquarian authors as purveyors of myth and legend purporting to be fact. However, sometimes appearances are deceptive; Ure, for example spends several paragraphs arguing that it does not matter whether the reputed founding kings of Rutherglen could be considered to have really existed. However, he was clearly playing with his reader as he then dismisses the whole conjecture and begins to get down to the documented history of the Royal Borough.⁶⁰

Antiquarian writers who, from their detailed notes, clearly visited the sites that they describe tend to engender more confidence in their judgements. Paterson⁶¹ and Smith,⁶² both writing in Ayrshire had not only visited the sites, but also recorded local knowledge; indeed, Smith was also an archaeologist of some note. Others, such as Bayne⁶³ instil confidence as they write about their home towns or areas.

On the whole, the antiquarian books and writings were of great benefit to this study; although, each author, book or article was judged on its own merit and it was certainly worth treating all writings with a certain amount of scepticism. It may be the case that the writer might be unaware that their writing is misleading or untrue, for example, Walker, who produced one of the first and possibly most complete lists of holy wells maintained that the titular saint of Tobar na H'Annait (Kilmodan) was a certain "St Annet"!⁶⁴

2.9 Looking for Patterns

When the database contained a high percentage of the available sites and the necessary data had been imported into the ArcView programme, the search for discernible patterns commenced. Again, too much choice seemed to be a problem – where to begin?

⁶⁰ Ure, D., 1793, *The History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride*. Glasgow. 4-5.

⁶¹ Paterson, J., 1863-6, *Histories of the Counties of Ayr and Wigton*, Edinburgh.

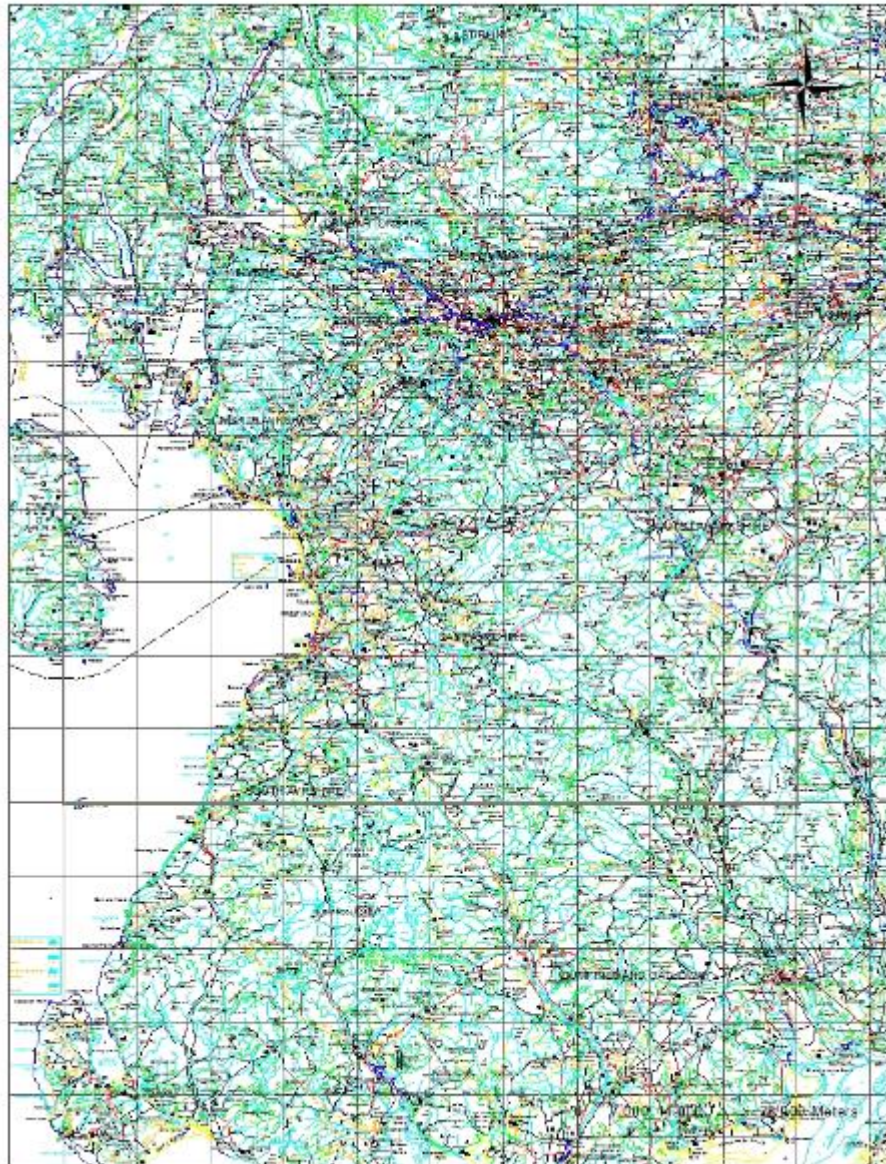
⁶² Smith, J., 1895, *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire*, London.

⁶³ Bayne, J. F., 1935, *Dunlop Parish: a History of Church, Parish, and Nobility*, Edinburgh.

⁶⁴ Walker, J. R., 1883, "Holy Wells in Scotland." *PSAS* 17:186. The term "annait" will be explained fully below.

The main problem was one of scale. If the whole map of the area complete with all sites was surveyed, the resulting picture was too crowded to give any meaningful patterns. As can be seen from Map 2.3; which only contains the c600 sites in the gazeteers, a sixth of the sites in the original database.

Map 2.3: Series of layers presented by ArcView



To consider the area in detail, it was necessary to zoom into the area and then to pan from one area of the map to another. Although this effectively demonstrated the associations between sites, it was difficult to gain any overall impressions and thus identify prospective patterns. A possible solution was to consider site-types in turn, noting down all the other site-types within the immediate area, analysing the results and identifying any emerging patterns.

The most logical approach was to conduct a pilot study to test that this methodology was sound. Court hills seems to be an appropriate site-type, particularly as they have been somewhat neglected in the past; although, as will be seen below, there has been some interest and study in the recent past. It was also of interest that Canmore identified thirty-two examples, but a further thirty-six sites were identified in the antiquarian sources, in particular from the statistical accounts.

2.10 The Structure of this Thesis

One of the problems that became obvious when looking at court hills was the sheer volume of extra material that had to be included to ensure that the study is well-referenced. Indeed, it would have been possible for the entire thesis to comprise a study of court hills; however, that would rather have defeated one of the main objects of the whole study, which was to produce a workable methodology that might be applied to other site-types. It was, therefore, essential to include at least one other study.

The court hill pilot study did serve to suggest that the most effective method for identifying patterns is to choose a site-type, consider each in turn and analyse the number and nature of the sites in the vicinity in order to suggest patterns. Clearly, lack of space within the thesis would preclude the in-depth referencing and inclusion of extra material that had seemed appropriate for the court hill study, thus a further study-chapter will follow the same methodology and structure as the court hill structure, however it will be

necessarily shorter and not all the sites will be referenced and considered in the same detail as the majority of the court hill sites.

The selection of a site-type or site-types for a further study-chapter was possibly as difficult as the selection of court hills for the pilot study. Clearly, as one of the objects of this thesis is to consider antiquarian writings and their relevancy to modern approaches to history, it would be sensible to include site-types that were of particular interest to the antiquarians. Equally, it would be more interesting to select site-type(s) that had not been previously studied in great detail. A further consideration was that the site-type or site-types should be well-distributed throughout the area, in order that resulting patterns may not be ascribed to a local anomaly.

Similarly, as each site will not be studied in as much detail as court hills, it would be interesting to utilise the methodology to look at sites that are numerous as well as commonplace throughout the area.

One such site-type that became of great interest during the nineteenth century was crannogs; a significant but not overwhelming number of which are to found within the study area. Interest in crannogs waned until recent years and there is a great deal of controversy concerning their function and construction; making crannogs an ideal site-type for the second survey. However, there are only some fifty-two crannogs recorded in the database, which is fourteen less sites than court hills, thus they are not numerous. Neither are crannogs well-distributed throughout the area, as clearly they are only found in significant bodies of water such Loch Lomond, Lake of Menteith and the River Clyde.

It could be argued that not only should the second site-type be well-distributed throughout the area; but, to truly test the methodology, it would be more logical to choose a more numerous site-type. Wells, both holy and non-holy,⁶⁵ are numerous as a site-type throughout Scotland and have rarely

⁶⁵ For the purpose of this study, holy wells are those with some specific sacred reference, whilst non-holy wells are those that are significant as healing wells etc but appear to have no sacred associations.

been the subject of previous studies. Although, the clergymen who compiled the *Statistic Accounts* tended to ignore holy wells, other antiquarians were more willing to include them in their writings and thus are responsible in no small part for their continuity into the modern era. The second survey, then, will consider holy and non-holy wells.

Having identified the two site-types to be studied, it was necessary to determine suitable research questions to be considered for each study – the site-types appear to be quite different and it was unlikely the questions would be the same.

- Court hill study - research questions:

Some work has recently been completed on assembly sites in Scotland⁶⁶, which includes court hills, but as the study included other assembly site-types and encompassed the whole of Scotland. Clearly, a more in-depth study concentrating on a single area and single site-type should build on that the findings of the larger study. For example, an association between court hills and churches had been noted and a more concentrated examination of a smaller number of court hills might confirm that association and may identify others.

Thus, the main research would concentrate on creating maps to identify associations with the other site-types and identify patterns. However, consideration should also be given to distribution within the map-square and whether the site-type has any discernible differences between the various areas of the map-square.

Similarly, the utilisation of court hills is poorly understood – the name implies a judicial function rather than just an assembly point. Of course, it would also be of interest to know the nature of the user or users of court hills. Thus, the subsidiary research would concentrate on the utilisation and possible users of this site-type.

⁶⁶ O'Grady, O., 2008, *The Practice and Setting of Open-air Judicial Assemblies in Medieval Scotland: A Multidisciplinary Study*. PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

- Holy wells study – research questions:

Very little work has been completed on holy wells although certain assumptions seem to have been made over the years. Perhaps the most enduring supposition is that holy wells are usually co-located with chapels, but no study seems to have been completed to test this theory. Thus the primary concern of this study would be to consider the associations with particular reference to chapels.

A considerable body of work has been completed with dedications; however they tend to begin from the premise of the dedication i.e. plotting all dedications to one or two saints. This study seek to plot all the dedications within the study area and consider the implications of the resulting patterns if any.

Case Study:

The case study will concentrate on the court hill in the parish of Rosneath (Dunbartonshire) – a parish that has identified as an early Christian site and possibly even a pre-Christian *nemeton* site. As Rosneath has both a court hill and a holy well, it would seem an appropriate choice.

Field Work:

Clearly, this is a computer and map-based study and the association between sites will obviously be identified by using those media, however, it is difficult to assess the spatial implications from symbols on maps. To truly appreciate how sites are related and interact, it is necessary to “walk the ground”; therefore, field visits would be made to the majority of the sites in the studies.

3 Court hills

3.1 Introduction

Within the NS map-square, sixty-nine sites that are generally classified as court hills, as can be seen in Map 3.1. Such a numerous site-type would invite some form of investigation. Court hills are usually located upon some form of eminence, whether natural or artificial; although the above number also includes three standing stones⁶⁷ and a tree.⁶⁸

Among the antiquarian writers and the authors of the *Statistical Accounts* and *Name Books*, there was a universal acceptance that court hills were popular, open-air seats or courts of justice in bygone days. The writers make little attempt at dating these sites; apparently content to merely make vague allusions to “the days of feudal jurisdiction”⁶⁹ or “the haughty Barons” and “the days of cruel despotism”.⁷⁰

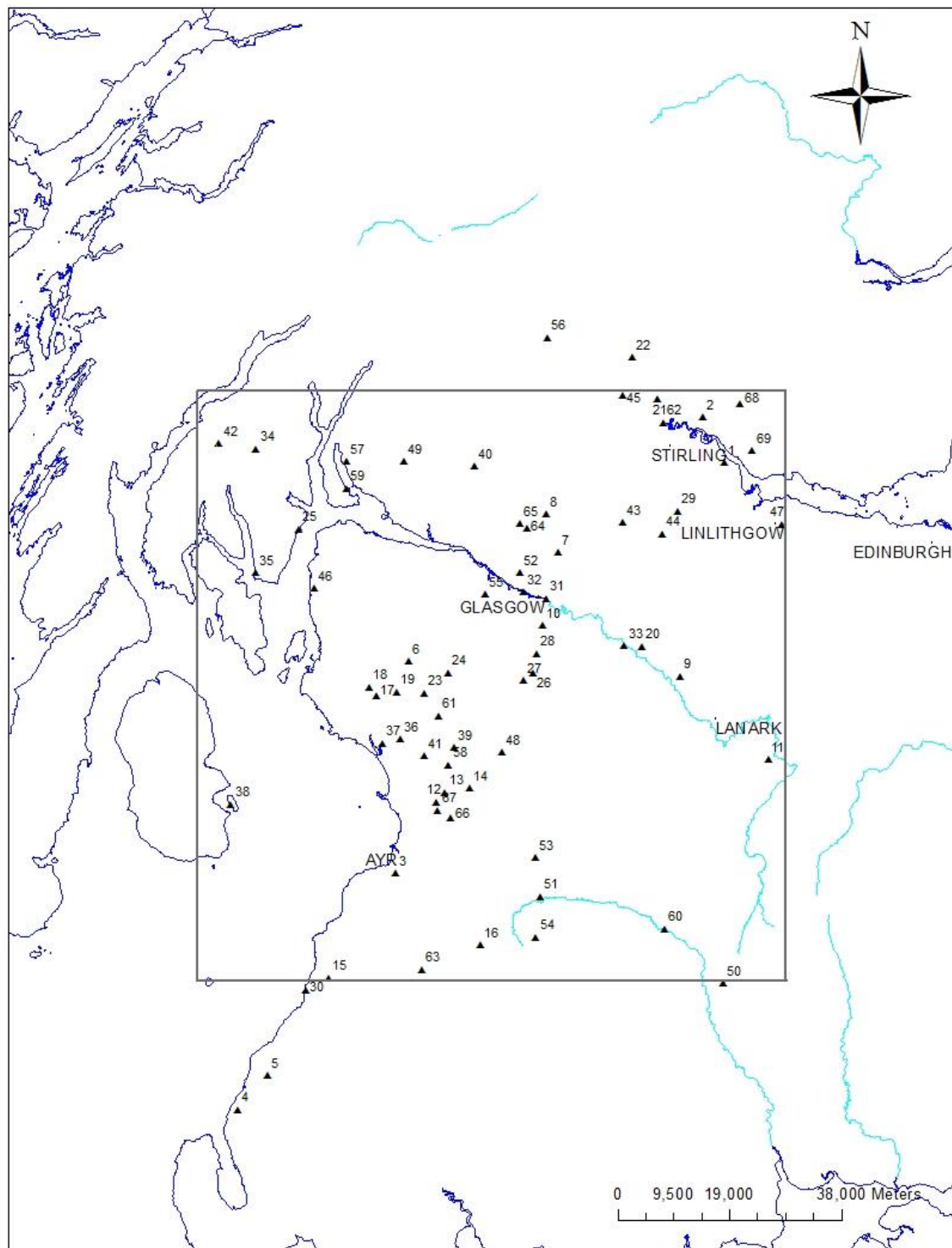
⁶⁷ The Law Stone of Mugdock (Strathblane), the Cross Stone (Dalziel) and the Baron’s Stone of Killochan (Dailly).

⁶⁸ The Judgment Thorn (Morton).

⁶⁹ NSA, (New or East Kilpatrick), 48. Referring to Dawsholm Park.

⁷⁰ OSA, (Kilsyth). Referring to the Court Hill.

Map 3.1: All courthills in the study



Key: Map 3.1 showing all Courthills in the study (▲)

No.	Parish	Court Hill	No.	Parish	Court Hill
1	Airth	Airth	36	Irvine	Lawthorn Mount
2	Tullibody	Alloa	37	Irvine	Salmon's Hill
3	Ayr	Alloway Mote	38	Kilbride	St Molaise's Table
4	Ballantrae	Court Knowe 1	39	Kilmarnock	Judas Hill
5	Ballantrae	Court Knowe	40	Kilmaronock	Catterlaw
6	Beith	Court Hill	41	Kilmaurs	The Mote
7	Cadder	Cadder Mote	42	Kilmodan	Judge's Chair
8	Campsie	Courthill of Craigbarnet	43	Kilsyth	Court Hill
9	Carluke	Law of Maudslie	44	Kilsyth	Moat Hill
10	Cathcart	Court Knowe	45	Kincardine	Cuthill Brae
11	Covington & Thankerton	Covington	46	Largs	Judge's Mound
12	Craigie	Barnweill	47	Linlithgow	Jock's Hill
13	Craigie	Highlandside/Craigie	48	Loudoun	Judge's Hill
14	Craigie	Judgement Seat	49	Luss	Court Hill
15	Dailly	Baron's Rock of Killochan	50	Morton	Judgement Thorn
16	Dalmellington	Dalmellington Mote	51	New Cumnock	Court Knowe
17	Dalry	Court Hill	52	New Kilpatrick	Dawsholm Park
18	Dalry	Courthill	53	Old Cumnock	Motehill
19	Dalry	Law Hill	54	Old Cumnock	Mote Hill
20	Dalziel	Cross Stone	55	Paisley	Queen Blearie's Mound
21	Dunblane & Lecropt	Court Hill	56	Port of Menteith	Tomavoid
22	Dunblane & Lecropt	The Judge's Cairn	57	Rhu	Tom a'Mhoid
23	Dunlop	Court Hill	58	Riccarton	Court Hill
24	Dunlop	Craighead Law	59	Rosneath	Tom a'Mhoid
25	Dunoon & Kilmun	Tom a'Mhoid	60	Sanquhar	Sanquhar
26	Eaglesham	The Orry	61	Stewarton	Law Mount
27	Eaglesham	Garret Law	62	Stirling	Mote Hill
28	East Kilbride	Meikle Dripps	63	Straiton	Dalmorton
29	Falkirk	Mote	64	Strathblane	Law Stone of Mugdock
30	Girvan	Knockcushion	65	Strathblane	Moothill
31	Glasgow	Mutehill	66	Tarbolton	Tarbolton Mote
32	Govan	Doomster Hill	67	Tarbolton	Law
33	Hamilton	Mote Hill	68	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry
34	Inverchaolain	Ardein	69	Tulliallan	Tulliallan
35	Inverchaolain	Dunan			

These authors gleaned their information from district traditions, local witnesses, place-names and long-established stories. For example, Smith⁷¹

⁷¹ Smith, *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire*, 128. Smith appears to be referring to the court hill at Craigie in Ayrshire, "These trials appear in many cases to have been mere matters of form. A story is told of an Ayrshire baron who, having a friend staying with him who had never seen a man hung, said that he would soon show him that, and getting hold of a fellow – who,

relates a tale that “is told of an Ayrshire baron,” who sentenced one of his villagers to death because a guest had not witnessed a hanging before. It must also be noted that a small number of writers, particularly Maitland,⁷² confirm the existence of court hills, without reference to previous authorities, local tradition or other explanation; apparently solely on the basis of his own judgment – “....I am of the opinion, was a tom-moid or court-hill, whereon were heard and determined causes both civil and criminal, which every where abounded in our country.” It is, however, more likely that Maitland did have some form of subsidiary evidence for his assertions, even if he chooses not to acknowledge it, as some of his opinions do seem to coincide with those of other authors.⁷³ In general, though, there is no real explanation of this site-classification by the writers, court hills are merely noted as any other accepted or possible site-types within the parish; such as in the description of Tarbolton Mote (Tarbolton): “It was formerly the Court-Hill of the Barony of Tarbolton,”⁷⁴ and of Court Hill (Beith): “Then there was the Law, Court, or Mote Hill of the Barony. The monks enjoyed baronial and regality jurisdiction.”⁷⁵

Antiquarian writers, then, appear to have fostered the notion of local landowners, including the Church, dispensing justice in popular, open-air courts of justice, held on prominences or landmarks within their various domains. It is possible that town magistrates might also be added to the list

if not immediately deserving to be hung, would soon be so – he had him strung up for the gratification of his friend.”

⁷² Maitland, *History and Antiquities*, 209. For example, “Gordon, in his account of the said hills, is as much mistaken as Buchanan, by telling us, that those mounts were erected by Agricola as exploratory castles: and in the next breath says, that one of the said hills is artificial, and the other supposed to be natural. But, instead of those mounts being erected on the account of peace, or for exploratory castles, I am of opinion, as already hinted, that one is entirely natural; and the other, partly so, was a tom-moid or court-hill, whereon were heard and determine causes both civil and criminal, which everywhere abounded in our country, and are still to be seen in many parts of Scotland, of the same form with the most eastern of the said hills of Dunie pass.”

⁷³ As mentioned above, Maitland was prominent historian of his day and he certainly utilised charters and documents for his *Histories of London and Edinburgh*, so it would be plausible that he did so for his two volume *History of Scotland*.

⁷⁴ OSA, (Tarbolton), 748.

⁷⁵ Love, R., 1896, “Notices of the several openings of a cairn on Cuffhill; of various antiquities in the barony of Beith; and of a crannog in the Loch of Kilbirnie, Ayrshire.” *PSAS* 11, 297.

of worthies using such sites for meting out justice, if the case of the Alloway Mote (Ayr) should prove accurate and was repeated in other locations: “*The Moat of Alloway* is a place of considerable antiquity, and evidently of artificial construction. The magistrates of Ayr appear from the records of the town to have frequently held courts of justice, for the trial of petty cases, according to their charter, on its summit.”⁷⁶ Possible evidence for this paradigm is discussed in detail below; however, there is evidence to suggest that this manner of judicial system was in force in other areas of the British Isles and Scandinavia.⁷⁷ For a place-name such as ‘court hill’ to endure within the countryside in such numbers, together with the apparent spoken tradition, might suggest that some sort of legal system was connected with these places.

In the late nineteenth century, Innes inquired: “Was there in old Scotland anything equivalent to the County Court, or the Court of the Hundred or Tithing, those foundations of the English Constitution, those local gatherings where neighbours took counsel about local affairs and settled differences?”⁷⁸ Writing in the era before the dating of stone circles to the Neolithic and Bronze Ages was fully understood, Innes ascribed them to the era of the Celts, Druids and Dark Ages and thus implied that they might have provided suitable venues for early courts. Of course, it is possible that stone circles continued to have some relevance beyond their immediate epoch, however, there seems to be little evidence that this included a judicial function that persisted into the Early Historic period. Certainly, none of the sites collected in this study include stone circles; although cairns, often dating to these earlier periods, are represented.

⁷⁶ NSA, (Ayr), 39.

⁷⁷ Semple, S., 2004, “Location of the Assembly in Early Anglo-Saxon England”, in Semple & Pantos, S., and A. (ed) *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, Dublin, 135.
 Driscoll, S. T., 1998, “Church Archaeology in Glasgow and the Kingdom of Strathclyde.” *IR* 49, 101-5.

⁷⁸ Innes 1872:97-8, cited in Barrow, G. W. S., 1981, “Popular Courts in Early Medieval Scotland: Some Suggested Place-Name Evidence.” SS 25, 1.

Barrow,⁷⁹ in his study, attempted to locate Innes's 'local gatherings' and the popular court in Early Medieval Scotland, by utilising place-name evidence; although, surprisingly, he appears to have ignored the more obvious court hill and law⁸⁰ sites, and instead identified some fifty-three 'cuthill' sites as the likeliest locations for such institutions. Watson⁸¹ suggests an alternative term, which might be preferred usage in the West – *eireachd* (Old Irish *airecht*) meaning 'assembly' or 'court'. Nine of Barrow's cuthill sites⁸² and two *eireachd* sites⁸³ fall within the area of this study. Unfortunately, Barrow was able to give grid references for only six cuthill sites and two *eireachd* sites; these sites are shown on Map 3.2. Clearly, this sample (only some 5.7% of Barrow's total number of cuthills) is too small to allow direct comparison with court hill sites or to draw any definite conclusions or inferences; however for completeness, they will be included in this study.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 1-15.

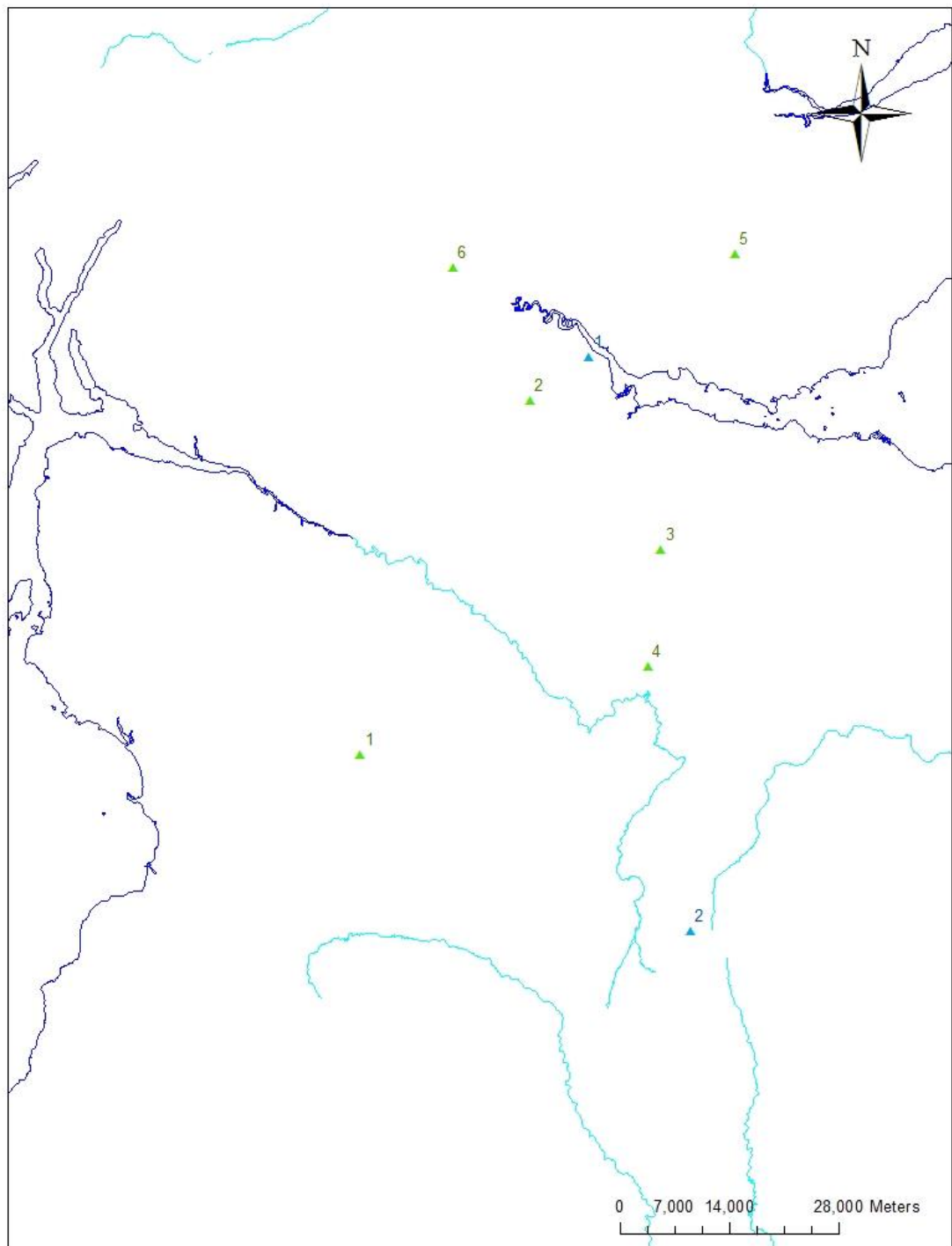
⁸⁰ The possible confusion with the term "Law" meaning "hill" in some parts of Scotland is discussed below.

⁸¹ Watson, W. J., 1926, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 491.

⁸² The sites are Coldrain (Fossoway), Cuthelton & Cuthill (Denny & Dunipace), Couthally (Carnwath) Cuthill (Whitburn) Cuthill (St Ninians), Cothill (Galston), Cuthill (Port of Menteith) and Cuthill (Alloa).

⁸³ The sites are Errickstane Hill (Crawford) and an unidentified site in Airth parish.

Map 3.2: Cuthills and Eireadh



Key: Map 3.2 showing Cuthills and Eireadh

Cuthills (▲)

1	Galston	Cothill
2	Denny & Dunipace	Cuthelton
3	Whitburn	Cuthill
4	Carnwath	Couthally
5	Fossoway	Coldrain
6	Kincardine	Cuthill Brae

Eireadh (▲)

1	Airth	Airth
2	Crawford	Erickstane Hill

It would seem, then, that court hills are evidently well-recorded by the antiquarian writers, albeit with little easily verifiable evidence; and are numerous enough to warrant some form of investigation. As will be noted below, little work has been completed concerning this particular site-type - the methodology of this study therefore might lend an interesting insight into this previously neglected area. Accordingly, after considering names and terms used in connection with court hill, cuthill and *eireachd* sites, along with previous evidence, this study will consider the criteria and methodology involved in identifying the sites, their distribution, dating and the patterns that emerged when looked at in the ArcView programme, in conjunction with the other sites within the database.

3.2 Names & Terms

3.2.1 Court Knowes, motes, etc

The antiquarian sources used several other terms as well as 'court hill' for this site-type and the implication from the bulk of their writings is that those various terms were considered to be equivalent and interchangeable: court knowe, mote, motehill, moot, moothill, mute, mutehill, moat, law, lawhill and tom a'mhoid. Christison was one of the earliest writers to recognise the problems of classification and to suggest that there might be a clear difference between mottes and motes or "fortresses" and moothills or

“meeting-places”.⁸⁴ Although “meeting-places” is his preferred definition, it would be wrong to suggest that Christison rejected the notion that court hills, laws or moot-hills were used to administer justice; he merely suggested that they differed in their usage and etymology from mottes or motes.⁸⁵ Indeed, Christison confirmed that court hills or knowes ‘are pretty frequent on the map.’ He did accept, though, that some sites might have been used as both fortress and meeting-place, citing Tarbolton Mote (Tarbolton) and Alloway Mote (Ayr) as prime examples, both of which are included in this study.⁸⁶

3.2.2 *Mottes*

Motte or mote sites, these “mysterious works in earth and stone,”⁸⁷ seem to be a poorly understood phenomenon and the classification would appear to be extremely difficult. Oram suggests that as a specific type of defensive site, mottes “lack the homogeneity of form that the all-embracing generic implies”.⁸⁸

In Ireland, Wales and Scotland, they have always been assumed to be act as defensive posts for English settlement. In Scotland, it has been assumed that the majority were built as a result of deliberate efforts by the twelfth century Scottish monarchy to import an immigrant migrant aristocracy; and that

⁸⁴ Christison, D., 1891, “A General view of the Forts, Camps, and Motes of Dumfriesshire, with a detailed description of those in Upper Annandale, and an introduction to the study of Scottish motes.” *PSAS* 9, 210. “An unfortunate complication is the difficulty of distinguishing between *Motes*, fortresses, and *Moot-hills*, or meeting-places. Not only is the resemblance between the words Mote and Moot very close, although they are derived from different roots – the one signifying “dust” and the other “an assembly – but it extends to the objects themselves, both consisting essentially in little eminences, natural or artificial.”

⁸⁵ Christison, D., 1898, *Early Fortifications in Scotland: Motes, Camps and Forts*, 14. “Evidence of eminences having been used in administering justice in Scotland may be derived also from place-names, as “Court Hills” and “Court Know” are pretty frequent on the map, ...”

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 14. “It seems probable enough that such eminences or mounds may have been used both as fortresses and meeting-places – being thus entitled to be called either mote or moot-hill.”

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 198. “The county of Dumfries offers peculiar attractions for the study of the mysterious works in earth and stone, of which, it has not yet been determined whether they belong, in whole or in part, to truly prehistoric ages, or to that obscure period which is illuminated by no better historic light than the feeble rays shed by Roman writings, Norse sagas, Pictish chronicles, and Irish annals, so skilfully gathered together and sifted in Mr Skene’s *History of Celtic Scotland*.”

⁸⁸ Oram, R., 2000, *The Lordship of Galloway*, Edinburgh, 224.

castles were built by the monarchy, in-coming nobility and native aristocracy who had been “assimilated to the new order”.⁸⁹ McNeil’s study⁹⁰ considers the mottes in Ireland, however, he makes two very general points in respect of the traditional view of mottes which are relevant to Scotland: mottes are not necessarily a single site-type that served the same function and that this function was not necessarily the same throughout their distribution.

It seems unlikely that mottes or motes would be in the same category as court or moot hills as all such sites seem to be grouped together and assumed to be mottes. Higham & Barker⁹¹ suggest that mottes retained their social significance, as centres of baronies and symbols of seigneurial justice, long after their abandonment.

When cited in the English arena, a motte is an earthen mound that was raised for military purposes – “the motte is an inert mass of earth, sand, marl or stones. It cannot itself be inhabited or defended, and is always an adjunct to its associated constructions of timber, brick or stone.”⁹² These English mottes had their heyday in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when they were used as watch-towers and in a defensive role, when equipped with palisades; and being cheap and easy to build, could be raised from local resources.⁹³ Indeed, chronicle sources would suggest that the second castle at York took only eight days to complete in 1069, although this should possibly not be seen as the norm.⁹⁴ Christison⁹⁵ asserts that comparatively few structures in Scotland resemble the English model, due to the shallowness of soil and topography in many of the localities. Similarly, comparable mounds in Scotland would probably have taken more time to build, as there would have been less manpower and equipment, even though

⁸⁹ Higham & Barker, 1992, *Timber Castles*. London, 67.

⁹⁰ McNeill, 2011, “Mountains or Molehills? Different Uses of Mottes in the Lordships of Eastern Ireland.” *AJ*, 168: 227-271.

⁹¹ Higham & Barker, *Timber Castles*, 67.

⁹² Webster, 1978, *Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603*, London, 108.

⁹³ Morris, R., 1989, *Churches in the Landscape*, London. 250.

⁹⁴ Note 39, Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii, ed. M Chibnall (Oxford, 1969) ii, p.22, cited Stell, G., 1985, “The Scottish Medieval Castle: Form, Function and Evolution.” in Stringer, *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, 200.

⁹⁵ Christison, 1892-3, “The Prehistoric Forts, &c., of Ayrshire.” *PSAS* xxvii, 382.

they tended to be smaller.⁹⁶ Even so, of the sixteen mottes that Christison records in Ayrshire, seven appear to have some pretension to the typical round or oval flat-topped mound form.

Mottes should not be seen as merely an English and Scottish phenomenon – in Cotgrave's *French Dictionary* of 1660, *motte* is translated as "a clod, lumpe, round sod or turf of earth; a little hill; the hill as a fit seat for a fort: the fort itself."⁹⁷ Similarly, in Europe: Dutch *mot* was "the dust of turf"; Bavarian *motte* means "peat"; and in Italian *mota* is "mire" and *motta* is either a heap of earth or a hollow. A contemporary description of a mote as a defended mound of earth from the late eleventh century appears in a life of St John, Bishop of Touraine during a visit to the castle of Merchem.⁹⁸ Likewise, contemporary depictions of the mid-eleventh-century motte at Hastings, Dol, Rennes, Bayeux and Dinan are to be found in the Bayeux Tapestry.⁹⁹ Continental mottes with wooden pallisades were numerous, well-distributed (particularly in France) and replaced by the stone castles of the kind associated with the Normans in Britain.¹⁰⁰ The Anglo-Saxon *burh* seem to have been similar in construction, and presumably function, to the Continental mottes. However, the word 'motte' was not used in England until after the Norman Conquest, when *burh* appears to have been replaced by *mota*, at least in public documents.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Stell, "The Scottish Medieval Castle", 200.

⁹⁷ Christison, *Early Fortifications*, 4.

⁹⁸ Quoted by Clark G. F., 1884, *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England*, i, 36, cited in Christison, *Early Fortifications*, 5. "For it was customary for the rich men and nobles of these parts, because their chief occupation is the carrying on of feuds and slaughters, in order that they may in this way be safe from enemies, and may have the greater power for either conquering their equals or keeping down their inferiors, to heap up a mound of earth as high as they were able, and to dig round it a broad, open, and deep ditch, and to girdle the whole upper edge of the mound, instead of a wall, with a barrier of wooden planks, stoutly fixed together, with numerous turrets set around. Within was constructed a house, or rather citadel, commanding the whole, so that the gate of entry could only be approached by a bridge, which, springing from the counter-scarp of the ditch, was gradually raised as it advanced, supported by sets of piers, two or even three, trussed on each side over convenient spans, crossing the ditch with a managed ascent so as to reach the upper level of the mound, landing on its edge on a level at the threshold of the gate."

⁹⁹ Britain's Bayeux Tapestry at the Museum of Reading: Brothers in Arms – Scene 3. [online] [Accessed 11 June 2014]. Available at: <http://www.bayeuxtapestry.org.uk/bayeux10.htm>.

¹⁰⁰ Christison, *Early Fortifications*, 7. Merchem mentions 54 mottes in the region of Caen.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 9

Christison¹⁰² lists more than 150 mottes in Scotland; most of which are in the south-west; and Kirkcudbrightshire appears to have more than in any other Scottish county. Even if the structure was not completely identical to the English variety, it might be suggested that mottes or motes would have had a similar role and size to those found south of the border. Armitage maintains that there were no mottes in Scotland prior to the arrival of the Norman families after the time of Queen Margaret and that their advent heralded “the transformation of Scotland from a tribal Keltic kingdom into an organised feudal state”; and thus should be seen as an alien and imported concept.¹⁰³ A tale written c1209 describes the stronghold of Somerled of Argyll as having been built of neither stone or lime, but of earth.¹⁰⁴ Of course, this was not a contemporary account, but it might imply that although mottes may have been a Norman innovation, the concept was either rapidly embraced by the native nobility or had been previously known to them. Generally, it is assumed that the physical remains of mottes in Galloway are represented by two phases of construction: the first tranche (1160-1174) is usually held to mark the initial advance of Anglo-Norman settlement.¹⁰⁵ Oram,¹⁰⁶ however, suggests that only four mottes can be firmly assigned to this period and that it is to the second phase (initiated by Roland after 1185) that the majority of the mottes in Galloway should be attributed. Thus, If Somerled’s bastion could be classified as a motte, its construction must necessarily have preceded even the alleged first phase of motte-building in Galloway¹⁰⁷ and be of a similar vintage as the aforementioned mote at Merchem. Thus the long-held conviction that all so-called motte-sites can be seen as “symbols of

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 12

¹⁰³ Armitage, E. S., 1912, *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*. London, 306, 302.

¹⁰⁴ *Roman von Buillaume le Clerc*, ed E Martin (1872) cited in Cruden, S., 1960, *The Scottish Castle*, Edinburgh, 7. The tale, which includes a description of “Le Castiel de Dunostre”, was written for Alan son of Roland of Galloway.

¹⁰⁵ Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 218-19.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 219. The mottes are Anwoth, Borgue, Ingleston and Urr.

¹⁰⁷ Somerled died at the Battle of Renfrew in 1164, and it might be assumed that his stronghold was built some years before his death, possibly placing its construction some time before the earliest building in Galloway i.e. 1160.

subjugation”¹⁰⁸ introduced by the Norman incomers to suppress and feudalise Scotland, could and should surely be questioned.

Neilson¹⁰⁹ asserts that court hills were formerly Norman mottes and that the name and any judicial connection remain merely as folk memories from the time when “as chief messuage it was the baron court.” He suggests that when a new castle was built nearby, the old castle site retained the judicial function for some time afterwards. It seems most unlikely that so many places of obvious importance should be completely forgotten, apart from a vague judicial connection, which would presumably only have represented one (albeit fairly important) aspect or function of such an establishment. By the same token, it seems equally improbable that a landowner would go to the inconvenience of holding his courts at a disused and possibly ruined site.

The classification and identification of sites as mottes is extremely difficult, as almost invariably, only the earthen mound survives, with little or no sign of the “work of carpentry”¹¹⁰ or wooden palisade and surrounding banks and ditches which may have formed the defences. Very few mottes have been excavated in modern times¹¹¹ and little systematic fieldwork has been completed in this neglected area, with the exception of two surveys completed by Tabraham in Upper Clydesdale and Galloway.¹¹² Tabraham excavated one site (Roberton Motte), confirming that the mound had been artificially constructed, showing evidence of timber structure on the summit and suggesting a fourteenth century construction date.¹¹³ His surveys, however, are somewhat limited in their scope; and attempt to integrate documentary evidence into the notion that mottes were “an outward and

¹⁰⁸ Cruden, *Scottish Castle*, 7.

¹⁰⁹ Neilson, G., 1898, “Motes in Northern Scotland”, *SR*, xxxii, 237.

¹¹⁰ Cruden, *Scottish Castle*, 6-7.

¹¹¹ Driscoll, S. T., 1998, “Formalising the mechanisms of state power: early Scottish lordship from the ninth to the thirteenth century”, in Foster, Macinnes & Macinnes, S., A., and R. (eds) *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, 44.

¹¹² Tabraham, C. J., 1977-8, “Norman settlement in Upper Clydesdale: recent archaeological fieldwork.” *TDGNAS*: 52-3; and Tabraham, C. J., 1984, “Norman settlement in Galloway: Recent Fieldwork in the Stewarty.” in Breeze, D., *Studies in Scottish Antiquity presented to Stewart Cruden*.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, 114, 126. One fragment of possible 14th century pottery was recovered from the construction layer, which may seem somewhat tenuous as a reliable dating indicator.

visible sign of the infeudation of Galloway in the 12th and 13th centuries” by seeking to identify *caputs* on a parish by parish basis.¹¹⁴

Simpson & Webster¹¹⁵ considered the charter evidence in relation to the distribution of mottes within Scotland. Whilst they do not claim that their summary of charter evidence is “exhaustive”, it is really quite sparse in relation to the number of sites claimed as mottes. Their list of mottes number two hundred and thirty-nine, but they can only identify some thirty-four by charter evidence alone; for example forty-two mottes are identified in Ayrshire, while charter evidence is provided for only four, which includes an unidentified site “probably in Carrick”.¹¹⁶

There is also a difficulty in identifying the sites of documented mottes, as Talbot¹¹⁷ concedes in the case of Eaglesham: “is the motte of the Montgomery family that within the village or is it the mound between Eaglesham and Mearns?” It might be more reasonable in such instances to pay more attention to tradition, and in the case of Eaglesham, this would perhaps point to The Orry (probably the site within the village referred to by Talbot) being a court hill rather than a motte. However, it must be stressed that the evidence is also limited to the appearance of The Orry¹¹⁸ on an estate muniments map of 1789¹¹⁹ and the continued local importance as a site for meetings and festivals.

That designation and classification of mottes as a *bone fide*, significant and possibly, widespread site-type cannot be disputed, but in the absence of further excavation and field work, each so-called “motte” should be examined on its own merits and perhaps consideration should be given to other possibilities including courthills. A further possibility is that some pre-existing

¹¹⁴ Tabraham, “Norman settlement”, 87.

¹¹⁵ Webster & Simpson, 1972, “Charter evidence and the distribution of mottes in Scotland.” in *Château Gaillard* 5: 175-92

¹¹⁶ Webster & Simpson, “Charter Evidence”, 185. The other sites are Ayr, Greenan and Irvine.

¹¹⁷ Talbot, E. J., 1974, “Early Scottish castles of earth and timber – recent field-work and excavation.” *SAF* 6, 51.

¹¹⁸ The Orry (Eaglesham) is included as a court hill in this study.

¹¹⁹ Ainslie, J., 1789, *Eglinton muniments farm plans* (original held in West Register House, Edinburgh), plan No. 1. On the plan, it is shown as ‘The Mote’ or ‘Moat Hill’.

courthills may have been re-used as mottes. There are eighty-eight motte sites within this study and these are distributed fairly evenly throughout the study area. Eight of the court hill sites are also noted as mottes, and these will be considered further below.¹²⁰

3.2.3 *Laws & Hills*

“Law” would seem to be a fairly obvious title for a hill upon which justice or law was dispensed, however, this term is also used to denote a hill in some areas, particularly in the south-west of Scotland. It might perhaps be argued that misunderstandings could arise if antiquarian writers were unfamiliar with the term. However it is quite clear that the term “law” was used as an adjective to embody the legal function of the sites in question, in the same way as “court” was employed. Several examples can be seen to demonstrate this usage, as in the OSA entry for Kilmacolm – “There are 3 law hills (as they are termed by the people) in a direct line from W. to E., where tradition says, the laws were administered before the Courts of Session were established”.¹²¹ Similarly, both Doomster Hill (Govan): “it is supposed to have been one of the law hills of the country”;¹²² and Knockcushion (Girvan): “which is thought to mean the Law Hill or Court Hill,...”,¹²³ serve to illustrate the point that there seems to have been little confusion among the authors. Indeed, Cameron makes the point very clearly, “These courts were generally held on knolls, laws, or little hills,” – it is quite obvious that he understands ‘laws’, in this instance, to refer to hills with no judicial connections.¹²⁴ There are eight court hill sites with ‘law’ in the

¹²⁰ The motte sites are: Cadder Motte (Cadder), Dalmellington Mote (Dalmellington), The Orry (Eaglesham), Motte of Seabegs (Falkirk), Motte Hill (Hamilton), Judge’s Hill (Loudoun), Law Mount (Stewarton) and Tarbolton Motte (Tarbolton).

¹²¹ OSA, (Kilmacolm), 779.

¹²² NSA, (Govan), 690.

¹²³ Smith, *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire*, 21. Referring to Knockcushion (Girvan).

¹²⁴ Cameron, J., 1892, *The Parish of Campsie: A Series of Biographical, Historical, Genealogical, and Industrial Sketches and Incidents*, Kirkintilloch, 167.

name within this study and the reasons for their inclusion are discussed below.¹²⁵

3.2.4 *Tom a'Mhoid*

Three of the court hill sites are designated Tom a'Mhoid¹²⁶, and McNiven suggests that Tomavoid (Port of Menteith) is derived from the same Gaelic roots.¹²⁷ Watson¹²⁸ interprets “tom a'mhoid” as ‘the moot-knoll’, presumably using this in the generally accepted sense of the time, implying a meeting place or court hill. As he seems to make no further mention of this, it is difficult to be sure of his meaning, although Armitage¹²⁹ is less ambiguous when describing “possibly an ancient motte” which stood beside Dunoon Castle – “the Tom-a-Mhoid, or Hill of the court of Justice.” However, her understanding would be contrary to Watson, as shown in a note:¹³⁰ “The name Tom-a-Mhoid is derived by some writers from the Gaelic *Tom*, a tumulus (Welsh Tomen) and *moid*, a meeting. Is there a word for meeting in Gaelic? If there is, it must be derived from the Anglo-Saxon word *mot* or *gemot*. But there is no need to go Gaelic for this word, as it is clear from the *Registrum Magni Sigilli* that *moit* was a common version of *mote*, and meant a castle hill, the *mota* or *mons castris*, as it is often called.” Maitland,¹³¹ however, considers the term to be “Scottish or Pictish”, and in his descriptions of court hills, usually identifies the site with “.... was a tom-moid

¹²⁵ Lawthorn Hill (Irvine), Law Hill (Dalry), Law (Tarbolton), Law Mount (Stewarton), Catterlaw (Kilmarnock), Garret Law (Eaglesham), Law Stone of Mugdock (Stathblane) and Law of Maudslie (Carluke).

¹²⁶ Dunoon, Rosneath and Rhu, in Argyllshire and Dunbartonshire.

¹²⁷ McNiven, P. E., 2011, *Gaelic place-names and the social history of Gaelic speakers in Medieval Menteith*, PhD thesis, 97. McNiven notes that: “Tomavoid was noted to be ‘2 acres of land commonly called Courthill or Tomnavoit, part of Muir of Borland’ in 1747 (NAS GD15/87).”

¹²⁸ Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 271, Watson is referring to a cross-incised stone in Glen Lyon – “... the knoll on which the cross stands is *Tom a'Mhóid*, ‘the moot-knoll’.”

¹²⁹ Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, 313.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 313, note 3.

¹³¹ Maitland, *History and Antiquities*, 174. “This mount which I regard not as Roman, I take to have been either a Scottish or Pictish tom-moid, or court hill.” Maitland is referring to a site near Bony-mill- mount (Denny & Dunipace).

or court hill". Christison,¹³² who claimed to have made an extensive study of motes within Scotland, found only one Tom a'Mhoid in Fort Augustus; while Maitland¹³³ implies that they not only "abounded in our country" but "are still to be seen in many parts of Scotland". Canmore lists four other sites with this element,¹³⁴ not including the one in Glen Lyon to which Watson referred; and they are similarly in Highland areas.

However, Watson's classification would seem to agree with the definition of *tom a'mhoid* in Dwelly's *Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*.¹³⁵ "sv mòd, -òid, -an, Court, court of justice. 2 Assembly, meeting. 3 Petty court. 4 Baron baillie court. 5 Court at which presides the agent of the landed proprietors, to adjust differences among tenants, and to take cognisance of all abuses of any portion of his employeés' property. ..." Similarly, 'tom' is defined as a round hillock or knoll.¹³⁶ This would then confirm the inclusion of the *tom a'mhoid* sites within this study of court hills.

The author of the OSA for Rothesay notes that "the town of Rothesay is called Baile a Mhoide, or, The town where the court of justice is held. The island of Bute itself is called, in that language, Oilean a'Mhoide, or, The island where the court of justice sits."¹³⁷ However, according to the writer of the NSA: "The present name is said to be derived from the Gaelic *Roth-suidhe*, "circular seat," or the place where courts were held, and justice dispensed. This was done in very ancient times on round artificial mounds, which are still called Laws or Motes, in Scotland."¹³⁸ There is no authority given for either of these remarks and no other reference to support the

¹³² Christison, *Early Fortifications*, 14.

¹³³ Maitland, *History and Antiquities*, 209. "... was a tom-moid or court-hill, whereon were heard and determine causes both civil and criminal, which every where abounded in our country, and are still to be seen in many parts of Scotland, of the same form with the most eastern of the said hills of Dunie-pass."

¹³⁴ The sites are: Cnoc a'Mhoid, (Duntulm, Skye); Tom Mhoid, (Petty, Highland); Fearnan Tom a'Mhoid, (Kenmore, Perthshire); Tom a'Mhoid, Callander, Stirlingshire).

¹³⁵ Dwelly, E., 1941, *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*, 666.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 962 "tom, tuim, *pl* -an & -annan, *s.m.* Round hillock or knoll, rising ground, swell, green eminence. 2. Any round heap. ... 9** Grave. 10** *rarely* The plague 11** Conical knoll ** Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary [Mid-Perthshire]"

¹³⁷ OSA, (Rothesay), 461.

¹³⁸ NSA, (Rothesay), 95.

assertion; therefore, Rothesay has not been included in this study. The notion may be based on the wholly fanciful suggestion that the name of Rothesay is derived from “The King’s Seat” and thus might be expected to have been the centre of law-giving.¹³⁹ Watson’s¹⁴⁰ suggestion, however, that the name is connected with the Old Irish *bót*, and that the original appellation was *Inis Bóit*, ‘the isle of fire,’ referring to signal or bale fires, might seem more satisfactory. If Rothesay was ‘town of Bóit’, this would be *Baile Bhóit*, which would sound very like *Baile a Mhoide* and thus the interpretation of the OSA was likely to be a fanciful ‘rationalisation’ of the otherwise incomprehensible *Baile Bhóit*.¹⁴¹

It would seem then that in Gaelic-speaking Highland areas, *tom a’mhoid* was the preferred title for court hills, although it does not appear to have been an exclusive usage: Alexander¹⁴² has examples of court hills in Aberdeenshire and Canmore¹⁴³ has further examples in Aberdeenshire and Angus. Maitland’s implied assumption that *tom a’mhoid* was used throughout Scotland may have once been correct, but *Tom a’Mhoid* (Rhu) in Dunbartonshire, would seem to be the most southerly extant example, and is just north of the Clyde-Forth line. Although *gemót* or *mót* is the most frequent word written in Old English to describe assembly, regularly appearing in law codes from the late seventh or early eighth centuries.¹⁴⁴ However, Armitage’s suggestion that *gemót* or *mót* is the root for *tom a’mhoid* might seem to be unlikely, as is her favoured Latin option; although other Old

¹³⁹ OSA, (Rothesay), 461. “If it is of Gaelic original, the most natural and probable etymology of it is, Riogh- Suidhe, that is, The King’s Seat, perhaps from there being an old castle in it, called the Castle of Rothesay, sometimes the residence of certain of the Kings of Scotland.”

¹⁴⁰ Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 95-6. “Bute is in Gaelic *Bód*, gen. *Bóid*; Rothesay is *Baile Bhóid*, ‘town of Bute; a Buteman is *Bódach*. It does not appear in Irish Literature, but the Norse form is *Bót* (Hák. Sag.). The suggestion has been made that *Bód* is connected with Ebudae, the Hebrides, but this is quite impossible. A possible explanation is O.Ir. *bót*, fire, if we suppose, as is likely, that the original name was *Inis Bóit*, ‘isle of fire,’ with reference to signal fires or bale fires. ... Elsewhere *bútelach* is said to mean ‘(a place) where a big fire is made.’ The term seems to connect with the English form ‘Bute.’”

¹⁴¹ Professor Dauvit Broun, personal comment.

¹⁴² Alexander, W. W., 1952, *The Place-Names of Aberdeenshire*, 233 Courtcairn (Cluny).

¹⁴³ Court Hill, Braefoot (Turrieff); Court Hillock (Lochlee).

¹⁴⁴ Pantos, A., 2004, “In medle oððe an pingre”: the Old English vocabulary of an assembly’ in Pantos & Semple, A., and S. (eds) *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, Dublin, 156.

English words, such as *sgíre* appear to have been adopted into Gaelic as will be discussed below.

3.2.5 Cuthills

As mentioned above, Barrow,¹⁴⁵ in his quest for the popular open-air courts of Early Medieval Scotland, used place-name evidence to identify couthal or cuthill sites. Barrow suggests that these sites may be derived from the Gaelic *comhdhail* (meeting, assembly, conference, tryst) and identifies some fifty-three such sites in Scotland with distribution mainly in the east of Scotland – “overwhelming the North Sea littoral”. It is interesting to note that all but one of the cuthill sites within this study are certainly towards the eastern reaches of the area and thus on the western extremities of the distribution. The site, Cothill, is in Galston parish (East Ayrshire), and thus some way west of the ascribed area. Barrow¹⁴⁶ argues that cuthill place-names are possibly not found in the West, as Gaelic continued to be spoken and therefore it is unlikely that a description, readily understood by all, would become a place-name. When Gaelic gave way to English and the courts disappeared, the place-name would be unnecessary and thus lost. However, in the East the surviving cuthills had been hardened into place-names when Gaelic was giving way to English at a time when the sites were still being used as courts. This argument seems a little weak, particularly when the *tom a’mhoid* sites were also place-names that were descriptive, presumably at a time when Gaelic was the dominant tongue, and yet appear to have persisted long after a time when any judicial function would be extant. Similarly, several of the court hill sites within the study retain such names as ‘court hill’, ‘moot hill’ and ‘mutehill”, which if the judicial function is accepted, would likewise diminish Barrow’s argument.

Barrow suggests that ‘couthal’ might be connected to the class of place-names found widely distributed from Sutherland to Lanarkshire and

¹⁴⁵ Barrow, *Popular Courts*, 1-24.

¹⁴⁶ Barrow, G. W. S., 1983, “The childhood of Scottish Christianity: a note on some place-name evidence.” SS 27, 1-15.

Peeblesshire, including such modern spellings as Cuthel, Cuthill and Quithel.¹⁴⁷ It might be of interest to note that the name of one of the court hills within this study appears to have been associated with a site known as Quinzieburn or Queenzieburn (Kilsyth), which may possibly have a certain resemblance to these modern spellings: “In the *Bar-wood*, (from whence it doubtless derived its name,) there is an eminence still called the *Court hill*, where the haughty Barons were wont to sit in judgement.”¹⁴⁸ It is difficult to locate this site. A chapel known as Chapel Green or Queenzieburn was reported the OSA¹⁴⁹ and later in the *OS Name Book*.¹⁵⁰ It was also the site of a barrow, which had been raised to the ground some years before 1795, along with the other tumuli in the parish; which might have some relevance as will be suggested below.

In his discussion concerning the origins of the term, cuthill, Barrow¹⁵¹ cites several authorities who give the meaning as “grove, small wood (of obscure origin)”; including Wyntoun who quotes a passage on St Benedict of Nursia, which is said to have derived from Gregory the Great’s *Life of Benedict*.¹⁵² It would appear that St Benedict cut down the ‘kwthlys’ (‘kuthillis’, ‘kuchlis’, or ‘cuthills’) which is where the peasants had a clearing in which they venerated their idols; and this word was evidently meant to translate as *lucos* (‘groves’). A grove implies a clearing in a wood and it is not difficult to understand how the name could be become associated with the assemblies which presumably took place at such a site.

Watson¹⁵³ suggests an alternative term, which might be preferred usage in the West – *eireachd* (Old Irish *airecht*) meaning ‘assembly’ or ‘court’:

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 3.

¹⁴⁸ NSA, (Kilsyth), 297.

¹⁴⁹ OSA, (Kilsyth) 480.

¹⁵⁰ *OS Name Book* no xxi, no 2.

¹⁵¹ Barrow, “Popular courts”, 4-5.

¹⁵² Gregory’s Dialogues, apudJ, -P Migne *Patrologia Latina*: 66 col 152 “*Illuc itaque vir Dei perveniens aram, succendit [var succidit] lucos*”.

¹⁵³ Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 491. “*Eireachd*, an assembly, is Ir. *oireacht*, a faction, party, earlier *airecht*, an assembly. The *eireachd* was, often at least, a court of justice, and was held in the open-air at a definite place, sometimes on an eminence, as is indicated by such names as *Cnoc Chomhairle*, ‘hill of counsel,’ right above the ancient ‘Castle’ near Fincastle

“*eireachd* was, often at least, a court of justice, and was held in the open-air at a definite place, sometimes on an eminence, as is indicated by such names as *Cnoc Chomhairle*, ‘hill of counsel.’” Bannerman¹⁵⁴ suggests that this would usually indicate a larger or more important assembly, and he has identified eleven sites which may include this place-name element. Only two such sites, Airth (Airth) and Errickstane Hill (Crawford), fall within the NS map-square and have been included with the cuthill sites: curiously they both lie towards the east of the square rather than the west.

3.2.6 Conclusion

Names, then, would seem to be particularly challenging with regards to court hills; and there is the added confusion with mottes, a classification which is equally poorly understood and difficult to recognise. Canmore does differentiate between moot hills and court hills; although upon examination, the distinction appears somewhat arbitrary and it is not immediately apparent why one appellation is preferred to another. As mentioned above, Christison does make a differentiation between motes (fortresses) and moothills (meeting places), but not between moothills and court hills.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, Driscoll, when referring to the Moot Hill at Scone, suggests that it “belongs to a large class of monuments in Britain that can be described as ‘court hills’ ...”.¹⁵⁶ It is, therefore, difficult to understand why the Canmore database finds it necessary to discriminate between two names which would seem to have the same meaning; and for the purposes of this study all such sites i.e. court hills, moot hills, motes, etc., are classed as court hills. This is based on the premise that the presumed purpose of these site-types involved the dispensing of justice, in one form or another. Equally, any mound that has

Post Office, Perthshire, and *Cnoc an Eireachd* near Duntulm in Skye. In Sc.G. *eireachd* is masculine, in Irish it is feminine.”

¹⁵⁴ Cited in Barrow, “Popular courts”, 12.

¹⁵⁵ Christison, *Early fortifications*, 16. The only distinction that Christison makes is with *toothill*, which he asserts has a different root, meaning ‘to look out’ and seems to have been little known in Scotland – he gives the example of Inchtutill in Perthshire, which “is probably and accidental resemblance”.

¹⁵⁶ Driscoll, S. T., 2004, *Govan from cradle to grave*, Govan, 82.

pretensions to having been a motte or early castle mound will be classed as a motte.

3.2.7 Previous Evidence

A very real problem with any form of inquiry into this phenomenon is the lack of previous investigation or written material, indeed there appears to have been no systematic historical or archaeological study of court hills.¹⁵⁷ Although, more recently, O’Grady’s thesis¹⁵⁸ identified, described and assessed open-air judicial assemblies in Medieval Scotland, which include court hills; however, no real attempt was made to look beyond noting examples that shared similar attributes to comparable sites in other countries.¹⁵⁹ To be fair, O’Grady’s thesis, a formidable work, drew together a large amount of previously dispersed evidence; however, as it covered the whole country rather than concentrating on a particular area, a more generalised approach should be expected. By systematically trawling the works of antiquarian authors, this study has identified court hills previously unrecorded in Canmore and thus more modern sources, such as O’Grady.

As mentioned above, the antiquarian writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were fairly blasé about corroborating evidence or authority: “...the curiosity of the chance inquirer being satisfied by the traditionary information of its being a court hill – one of those eminences on which Courts of Justice were held in the days of feudal jurisdiction”.¹⁶⁰ Although, this is generally true of most references made to local antiquities by the antiquarians – sites tend to be noted with little explanation; unless there is an interesting story attached, such as Smith’s above-mentioned tale of the Ayrshire baron and his bloodthirsty guest. The later antiquarian authors tend to cite the *Statistical Accounts* as their authorities, but as others

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 82.

¹⁵⁸ O’Grady, *Open-air Assemblies*.

¹⁵⁹ For example, proximity to Parish Churches, prehistoric monuments, water, and so on; as noted in Chapter 4.

¹⁶⁰ Bruce, J., 1893, *The history of the parish of West or Old Kilpatrick and of the church and certain lands in the parish of East or New Kilpatrick*, Glasgow, 21. Discussing Dawsholm Park (New Kilpatrick).

rarely mention sources, this does little to further the debate. Thus more than ever, reliance must be placed on the apparent local knowledge of the authors of the *Statistical Accounts* and *Name Books*.

Perhaps the earliest, and certainly the most famous, description of early popular assemblies was given by the Roman historian, Tacitus, in the 1st century AD and ostensibly describes the activities of the continental Germanic tribes.¹⁶¹ Although Tacitus's reputation for total accuracy may have become somewhat tarnished of late; this description is generally accepted as likely to be representative of such assemblies, even though there is little supporting documentary evidence. The passage clearly depicts open-air tribal gatherings or assemblies, rather than legal proceedings; however, it might be reasonable to assume that a system of primitive law¹⁶² would prevail at that time and possibly practiced under similar circumstances. The study and collection of place-name evidence for open-air courts became popular latterly among certain European antiquaries: in Germany, Grimm devoted a chapter in his *Deutsche Rechtsalter-thümer*, and in France, Michelet collected many examples in his *Origines du Droit Français*.¹⁶³

However, contemporary evidence is extremely difficult to find, particularly in Scotland. It would appear that the first documentary evidence is found in the late tenth century compilation of contemporary annals known as the

¹⁶¹ Tacitus, *Germania* ch xj, *The Agricola and Germania*, translated A J Church and W J Brodribb, 1877, 87-110, cited in Pantos & Semple, A., and S. (eds) *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, Dublin, 11. "About minor matters the chiefs deliberate, about the more important the whole tribe. Yet even when the final decision rests with the people, the affair is always thoroughly discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, except in the case of a sudden emergency, on certain fixed days, either at new or at full moon; for this they consider the most auspicious season for the transaction of business. When the multitude think proper, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on these occasions the right of keeping order. Then the king of the chief, according to age, birth, distinction in war, or eloquence, is heard, more because he has influence to persuade than because he has power to command. If his sentiments displease them, they reject them with murmurs; if they are satisfied, they brandish their spears. The most complimentary form of assent is to express approbation with their spears."

¹⁶² Primitive, archaic and mature legal systems will be discussed below in the section concerning Dating.

¹⁶³ Cited in Gomme, G. L., 1880, *Primitive folk-moots; or, open-air assemblies in Britain*, London, 38, 41.

'Chronicle of the Kings of Alba', which describes an assembly at Scone in 906:

'And in his six year King Constantine [II of Áed] and Bishop Cellach vowed together with the Gaels [Scotti], to maintain the laws and disciplines of faith and the rights of the churches and of gospel-books on the Hill of Faith close to the royal *civitas* of Scone.'¹⁶⁴

The 'Hill of Faith' presumably refers to the Moothill, which was also known as 'Collis Credulitatis' - 'the Hill of Belief' - and 'Omnis Terra' - 'Everyman's Land',¹⁶⁵ and it has been suggested that at the inauguration of a king, each noble brought a boot-full of soil from his lands and emptied it onto the hill "that every man could see the king crowned, standing on his own land".¹⁶⁶ It is believed that this site functioned as a royal inauguration site, as shown in the medieval account of the inauguration of Alexander III in 1249, although clearly it was already utilised as an assembly site, as shown by the tenth-century account. There is, however, no definite evidence to demonstrate that the site was an inauguration site before the thirteenth century or even a royal assembly site prior to 906.¹⁶⁷ It is likely that the name is a corruption of moot hill or mute hill and should therefore be included in the general class of court hills, particularly as the King, Bishop and people "vowed together to maintain the laws," confirming a legal element to their proceedings. Thus, as possibly the earliest documented court hill; possibly, the Moot Hill at Scone might be portrayed as a paradigm for court hills in general, although clearly it is unlikely that few, if any, court hills in the study would have had royal connections.

The Anglo-Saxon open-air courts and administrative centres i.e. the hundredal system was first described in sources in the tenth century, and the

¹⁶⁴ Cited in Driscoll, *Govan*, 74.

¹⁶⁵ Cowan, 1904, *The ancient capital of Scotland: the story of Perth from the invasion of Agricola to the passing of the Reform Bill* (London), 142 cited in Canmore entry for 'Scone Palace: Boot Hill' (NO12NW 9.02).

¹⁶⁶ OSA, (Scone), 86.

¹⁶⁷ Driscoll, S. T., 1998, "Church archaeology in Glasgow and the Kingdom of Strathclyde." *IR* 49, 73.

earliest detailed account is found in the Domesday Book.¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately, as seen above, documentary sources of this quality are sadly lacking for the Scottish model – Barrow uses an agreement of 4 April 1329 as evidence for the existence of cuthill sites.¹⁶⁹ The agreement, from the *Arbroath Liber*, is between Abbot Geoffrey of Arbroath and Fergus, son of Duncan, concerning the lands of Tolauch and Crauchy in Dunnichen parish, Angus. The passage is summarised by Barrow: “The aforesaid Fergus and his heir shall have the court which is called Couthal for the men residing within the said land, to deal with the countless acts arising amongst themselves only, and they shall have the fines arising from them.”¹⁷⁰ Barrow suggests that the lack of fuss with which this term is included in the document implies that this was a term in general use, at least, in Angus. MacQueen,¹⁷¹ on the other hand, argues that the tone of the Abbot in this charter is somewhat scornful, implying that this was one of the courts which “enjoyed extremely slight jurisdiction, both territorially and in respect of subject matter”. This might then indicate that either the cuthill court had never been very important or more likely that the judicial system to which it pertained was waning in importance in the prevailing climate of Anglo-Norman influence. Certainly, by the fourteenth century, courts were being held at castles; initially at the castle-gate and towards the end of the thirteenth century, there is evidence of a transition from the gate to the hall.¹⁷² Therefore, it is perhaps more likely that the wording could imply a reference to a type of court, rather than the spot where the court was located; although that does not rule out the possibility that the name was originally applied to the court-site as well.

Maitland,¹⁷³ in a chapter titled ‘Of the Laws of the Gaels,’ gives an origin of “court hillocks” for which he gives no authority, suggesting that before the

¹⁶⁸ Semple, “Assembly in Early Anglo-Saxon England”, 135.

¹⁶⁹ Barrow, “Popular courts”, 3.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 4.

¹⁷¹ MacQueen, H. L., 1993, *Common Law and Feudal Society in Medieval Scotland*, Edinburgh, 37. MacQueen compares the “couthall” court to “the courts at Lesmahagow which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries enjoyed a jurisdiction of birthinsake (over as much goods as might be carried on a man’s back)”.

¹⁷² Dickinson, W. C., 1928, *The Sheriff Court of Fife 1515-1522*, xi., Edinburgh.

¹⁷³ Maitland, *History and Antiquities*, 167.

reign of Malcolm Canmore, kings acted as judges, sitting on small mounts called mute-hills, as at Scone. There were apparently other judges known as “brehons”, who also sat on “artificial green mounts or eminences, each named tome-moid, that is, the court-hillock”. Maitland attempts to validate his description by suggesting that the “appellation of Brehon” probably signified “the sitter on the hill”.¹⁷⁴ There is, however, Irish evidence which may support Maitland: the exposition of law by a judge on a mound is recorded in the ninth-century *Becc*;¹⁷⁵ and as late as the sixteenth century, reports were made of law cases being heard in the open air on mounds and hillsides.¹⁷⁶

Certainly in Ireland, hills were used as inauguration sites for kings and law-giving; however, there are no records for Scotland, with the possible exception of Scone, as noted above. Barrow¹⁷⁷ points out that in England, the nature of the ancient popular courts was clearly that of the open-air, demonstrated by the high proportion of hundred and wapanshaw names which include the elements: stone, cross, law, and tree; and he further asserts that “such names remind us that common law once derived some of its validity from being administered under God’s open sky.” Similarly, it would appear that a mound was an essential feature of the “Thing-wall” in Iceland and similar hillocks in the Isle of Man and Ireland.¹⁷⁸ The Tynwald Hill in the Isle of Man is possibly sited on “an ancient barrow” and was used to proclaim new laws.¹⁷⁹ Semple¹⁸⁰ suggests that within all these societies, the mound: “ancient or contemporary, sepulchral or non-sepulchral, seems to

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 167. “As to the appellation of Brehon, that is probably owing to their sitting on hills; for as bri, or bre, in the Gaelick, signifies a hill, brehon I take to import the sitter on a hill.”

¹⁷⁵ Breatnach, ‘Lawyers in Early Ireland’, 7, n. 36., cited in Fitzpatrick, E., 2004, *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c.1100-1600: A Cultural Landscape Study*, 134.

¹⁷⁶ Miller & Power (eds) *Holinshed’s Irish Chronicle*, 114-15 cited in Fitzpatrick, E., *Royal Inauguration*, 134. “In 1577, Stanihurst observed that ‘the breighon sitteth on a banke, the lordes and gentlemen at variance round about him, and they proceed’”.

¹⁷⁷ Barrow, “Popular courts”, 9.

¹⁷⁸ Gomme, *Primitive Folk Moots*, 31. “This is the famous Hill of Laws, or Lögberg, which was the heart of the Icelandic body politic. Here, on the highest peak of the rock, formal notices of trials and proclamations on matters of public interest were uttered by word of mouth, and here, too, on the more level portion of it was the Court of Laws;”

¹⁷⁹ Kermode & Herdman *Illustrated Notes on Manx Antiquities*: 23, 61, cited in Neilston, G., 1898, “Motes in Northern Scotland.” *SR* xxxii., (209-39).

¹⁸⁰ Semple, “Assembly in Early Anglo-Saxon England”, 136.

have been an integral component of the location and the rituals enacted.” Thus apparently surrounded by traditions of open-air popular courts, it might seem curious if Scotland alone did not conform.

There is a distinct lack of contemporary literary references; although some later charters appear to mention court hills, of which two apply to the study area. Fraser¹⁸¹ quotes a charter of 1371-72, in which Robert Maxwell, “lord of Mernes” granted his kinsman Sir John Maxwell, the lands of “Dryppis” reserving to himself and his heirs the “moothill (mons) nearest to the town of Dryppis, on the top of which a stone was erected, for holding his courts there so often as should happen to hold pleas on people of the said lands for wrong done to himself or his heirs.” Similarly, Smith¹⁸² cites a charter of 15th March 1542/3, confirming one of fourteen years earlier, which recorded a transfer of the lands of Seabegs, with the sasine to be taken “at the motte of Seabegs, also called the C(o)urthill.” Of course, this might represent an example of a courthill being reused as a motte.

A possible working court hill in action in 1745 is described by Carey¹⁸³ - a small incident cited in some papers he was given that purported to have been written by an eye-witness to events surrounding the Jacobite rising. A certain Colonel Cameron from the French court was taken by two brothers to see Locheil at his castle and is told that the chief will “be keeping a *moad*” and it was explained that “A moade is just a court o’chustice whare ta chief and ta Duinne Wassail o’ ta clan sit in judgment, and try ony Highlandman that lifts gear frae his neighbour.” Carey does give a health warning at the beginning of the work that he cannot vouch for the authenticity of the text; but it might seem that this is a curious incident to include, if it were not a true account, as it does little to prove or disprove the case for the dependability of the whole work. However, if the account should prove genuine, then it might

¹⁸¹ Fraser, W., 1863, *The Maxwells of Pollock*, Edinburgh,

¹⁸² Smith, S., 1934, “Notes on an artificial mound at Bonnybridge.” *PSAS*, 68, 66-7.

¹⁸³ Carey, D., 1820, *Locheil, or, the Field of Colloden*, vol. 1: 78-80. “In compliance with the expectation thus expressed, ... the Editor of these volumes submits them to the public, leaving that impartial tribunal to decide whether he merits censure or praise for thus endeavouring to add to the amusement of those who find satisfaction in the perusal of such works.”

be evidence for the continuity of the term *moad* or *moade*, which might lend weight to the argument in favour of the idea of some form of open-air justice, although there is nothing in this account to suggest that the court took place either in the open-air or upon a court hill.

3.2.8 Conclusion

Thus, contemporary or indeed any form of documentary evidence for the existence of court hills as the venue for open-air, popular courts within Scotland is far from extensive; indeed, it is decidedly scarce and disjointed. However, the substantial volume of traditional and place-name evidence would possibly support the notion that court hills were once part of the legal system at least within the study area. These factors would ensure that court hills would seem to be an appropriate site-type to investigate using the parameters of this study. The fact that there has been very little previous investigation to date is particularly advantageous, as there should be no influencing factors or preconceived ideas as to the patterns which may emerge.

3.3 Distribution of Court Hill sites

The sixty-nine court hills are distributed among the counties throughout the study area as shown in Map 3.1 and in the Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Distribution of court hills among the counties in the study

County	No of Court hills	Percentage
Ayrshire	28	41.2%
Lanarkshire	8	11.8%
Stirlingshire	8	11.8%
Dunbartonshire	5	7.4%
Argyllshire	4	5.8%
Perthshire	4	5.8%
Renfrewshire	4	5.8%
Fife	2	2.9%
Bute	1	1.5%
Clackmannanshire	1	1.5%
Dumfriesshire	1	1.5%
Kirkcudbrightshire	1	1.5%

County	No of Court hills	Percentage
West Lothian	1	1.5%

However if the OSA¹⁸⁴ account for Kilbarchan is taken into account, Renfrewshire would have a further five court hills making a total of nine out of seventy-three court hills, which would enhance the percentage to 12.5%. Murray¹⁸⁵ suggests that two mounds in Kilmacolm (Dennistoun and Pennytersal) were courts of justice, although he gives no reason or reference for this supposition. It would be impossible to locate these court hills accurately and thus they have not been included in the study, although their inclusion would have enhanced the total of sites to seventy-four.

Interesting, thirteen parishes have more than one court hill, which can be identified, as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Parishes with more than one court hill

Parish	Court Hill
Ballantrae	Court Knowe (1)
	Court Knowe (2)
Craigie	Barnweill
	Craigie/Highlangside
	Judgement Seat
Dalry	Court Hill
	Courthill
	Law Hill
Dunblane & Lecropt	The Judge's Cairn
	Court Hill
Dunlop	Court Hill
	Craighead Law
Eaglesham	Garret Law
	The Orry
Irvine	Lawthorn Mount
	Salmon's Hill
Inverchaolain	Dunan

¹⁸⁴ OSA (Kilbarchan), 757. "From this mount are seen five other artificial mounds, three in Houston and Killallan, and two in Kilmacolm, called *Law*; owing, it is thought by the people Here, to their having been places where justice was administered. But those Laws are of a conical figure; and though, in feudal times, they might have been used as places of rendezvous, where chiefs and vassals might settle their disputes, yet they appear to have been originally burrows, or monuments erected over the bodies of warriors."

¹⁸⁵ Murray, J., 1907, *Kilmacolm: A Parish History*, Paisley, 3. "There are two such mounds in the parish – at Dennistoun, near the present house of Duchal, and at Pennytersal, about a mile to the north. They may have been used in later times as beacon hills – though their position on sites not at all commanding makes this unlikely – or, with more probability, as moot hills, where the old baronial courts of justice were held; but this does not preclude the supposition that originally they were places of burial, or even the sites of heathen altars."

Parish	Court Hill
	Ardein
Kilsyth	Moat Hill
	Court Hill
Old Cumnock	Motehill
	Mote Hill
Rosneath	Tom a'Mhoid
(Rhu)	Tom a'Mhoid
Strathblane	Law Stone of Mugdock
	Moothill of Mugdock
Tarbolton	Law
	Tarbolton Mote

Multiple court hills within the parishes of Dunblane & Lecropt and Craigie might be accounted for by noting the amalgamation of parishes in 1900 and 1673 (Barnweill and Craigie) respectively,¹⁸⁶ although the original parish of Craigie has at least two court hills and Smith¹⁸⁷ suggests that there may have been three. Rhu was included as it was part of the parish of Rosneath until 1648.¹⁸⁸ The others would appear to have no obvious explanation and the possible reasons for the existence of multiple court hills will be discussed below.

Thus, it might be more accurate to consider, not the number of court hills within a county but, the number of parishes with court hills. The results are given in Table 3.3, i.e. a total of fifty-three parishes.

Table 3.3: Number of parishes in counties with court hills

County	No of parishes with Court hills	Percentage
Ayrshire	19	35.8%
Lanarkshire	8	15.1%
Stirlingshire	6	11.2%
Dunbartonshire	4	7.5%
Argyllshire	3	5.7%
Renfrewshire	3	5.7%
Perthshire	3	5.7%
Fife	2	3.8%
Bute	1	1.9%

¹⁸⁶ OSA, (Craigie), 100. "A considerable part of a small parish, called *Barnweill*, which was suppressed in the year 1673, when that of Stair was erected, is now annexed to Craigie."

¹⁸⁷ Smith, *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire*, 128. "There are said to have been moote-hills on Highlangside and Knockmarloch, as well as one near Craigie village."

¹⁸⁸ Maughan, W. C., 1896, *Annals of Garelochhead being an account historical and topographical of the parishes of Row, Rosneath and Cardross*, Paisley & London, 57-8. "About the middle of the Seventeenth century Row was formed into an independent parish by the separation of land from Rosneath on one side and Cardross on the other."

Clackmannanshire	1	1.9%
Dumfriesshire	1	1.9%
Kirkcudbrightshire	1	1.9%
West Lothian	1	1.9%

However, this probably still does not give the whole picture, as the study does not contain the same number of parishes in each shire and thus the results will still be skewed towards the shires with the greater number of parishes i.e. Ayrshire, Lanarkshire and Stirlingshire. If the results are considered in this way, a different picture emerges.

Table 3.4: Percentages of parishes with court hills per county

County	No of parishes in database	No of parishes with court hills	Percentage of parishes with court hills
Argyllshire	5	3	60%
Ayrshire	44	19	43.2%
Bute	6	1	16.6%
Clackmannanshire	5	2	40%
Dumfriesshire	3	1	20%
Dunbartonshire	13	4	33.8%
Fife	2	2	100%
Kirkcudbrightshire	2	1	50%
Lanarkshire	34	8	22.9%
Perthshire	6	3	50%
Renfrewshire	17	3	17.6%
Stirlingshire	21	6	28.6%
West Lothian	7	1	14.3%

Fife is represented by only two parishes in this study and clearly the result of 100% i.e. two parishes, cannot really be considered as significant - thus this result, although interesting, must be regarded with a certain amount of caution. All other counties represented by a small number of parishes might also be regarded in a similar light as although these counties do have more parishes within the study, the majority of their parishes are not included. Ayrshire would seem to have a better survival rate than the other counties, but this may be due to better recording as has been mentioned.

Renfrewshire would seem to have the most disappointing result, as the whole county falls within the study area and might give the most complete result. However, if the possible six (or eight) court hills mentioned in the

OSA and by Murray are included, then the resulting percentages are drastically improved to 50% and possibly 62.5%.

Of course, it must be remembered that these results are dependent upon the survival of sites and/or of the traditions pertaining to those sites. As ever, the *Statistical Accounts* differ widely in content and it impossible to assess how much information has been lost. It would seem, however, it is clear that court hills are a widespread phenomena over the whole of the study area. However, the results would seem to fall short of Chalmers's¹⁸⁹ claim that "there was a moothill in every district of North Britain during an age when justice was administered to coarse people in the open-air."

3.4 Methodology and Criteria employed in identifying Court Hill sites

The Kitchen or Keppinch is an oval-shaped crannog off the north-east end of the island of Clairnish, in Loch Lomond; and was reputedly a council island for Clan Buchanan, who had their clan seat on Clairnish from 1225.¹⁹⁰ Scott¹⁹¹ suggests that using artificial islands for council and as a meeting place was not unusual, indeed he suggest it was a "well known occurrence and can also be seen at the seat of Clan Donald at Finlaggan on Islay." However, Blundell¹⁹² counsels against assuming antiquity for such traditions, citing 'Keppoch's Council Island (a crannog in Loch Trieg) - it's earliest use was, in fact, by Ranald Og, to meet his clansmen secretly after taking part in the insurrection of Sir James MacDonald of Islay. The Kitchen has not been included in the study, as there is no supporting evidence for its use as a court hill or even council island; however, it does illustrate the problems inherent in identifying this type-site.

¹⁸⁹ Chalmers, G., 1887-94, *Caledonia: or a historical and topographical account of North Britain*, 7 v. & index. Paisley iv., 454.

¹⁹⁰ Canmore.

¹⁹¹ Scott, J. G., 1976, "The Roman occupation of South-West Scotland from the recall of Agricola to the withdrawal under Trajan." *GAS* 4: 37.

¹⁹² Blundell, O., 1910, "On further examination of artificial islands in the Beaully Firth, Loch Bruiach, Loch Moy, Loch Garry, Loch Lundy, Loch Oich, Loch Lochy, and Loch Treig." *PSAS* 44, 32. Blundell would seem to be referring to the events of 1614-15, when, Ranald Og, an illegitimate son of Angus MacDonald of Dunnyveg, with four followers captured the Dunnyveg Castle on Islay, which had been held by the Bishop of the Isles; and later aided the escape of Sir James MacDonald from prison.

It is clear, therefore, that each possible court hill site should be examined carefully before being included and validating criteria should be suggested. The most obvious criterion is name – indeed, the name and its continuity would appear to be one of the few identifying factors for any court hill. There are actually only nine sites named court hill in the name in some form, and a further three named court knowe, representing some 19.7% of the sites as shown in Table 3.5:

Table 3.5: Number of court hill sites with ‘court’ in the name

1.	Court Hill	Beith
2.	Court Hill	Dalry
3.	Court Hill	Dunblane & Lecropt
4.	Court Hill	Dunlop
5.	Court Hill	Kilsyth
6.	Court Hill	Luss
7.	Court Hill	Riccarton
8.	Court Knowe	Cathcart
9.	Court Knowe (1)	Ballantrae
10.	Court Knowe (2)	Ballantrae
11.	Court Knowe	New Cumnock
12.	Courthill	Dalry
13.	Courthill of Craigbarnet	Campsie

However, there are a further twenty-nine sites which might appear to have a judicial connection, if ‘law-’, ‘moat-’, ‘moot-’ and ‘mote-’ names are included as shown in Table 3.6. It should be remembered however, that as mentioned above, ‘Law’ is also utilised as an alternative to ‘Hill’ in some districts, particularly in the southwest of Scotland. In Table 3.6, there are eight court hills with the ‘law’ element in their names and in five of those sites, it is quite clear that ‘law’ is not referring to a hill, but used as an adjective, possibly to describe a legal function.¹⁹³ It would appear that in the other three sites,¹⁹⁴ the law element might refer to ‘hill’; however, as place-name evidence is not the criterion for selection of sites, there is other corroborating evidence in each case. The three sites are included in this section as it is just possible that the ‘law’ element might refer to a legal connection.

¹⁹³ The five sites are: Law Hill (Dalry); Law Mount (Stewarton); Law of Mauldslie (Carluke); Law Stone of Mugdoch (Strathblane) and Lawthorn Mount ((Irvine).

¹⁹⁴ Catterlaw (Kilmaronock), Craighead Law (Dunlop) and Law (Tarbolton),

Table 3.6: Court hills with some form of judicial connection in the name

1	Alloway Mote	Ayr
2	Cadder Mote	Cadder
3	Catterlaw	Kilmaronock
4	Craighead Law	Dunlop
5	Dalmellington Mote	Dalmellington
6	Garret Law	Eaglesham
7	Judas Hill	Kilmarnock
8	Judge's Chair	Kilmodan
9	Judge's Mound	Largs
10	Judge's Mound	Loudoun
11	Judgement Seat	Craigie
12	Judgement Thorn	Morton
13	Law	Tarbolton
14	Law Hill	Dalry
15	Law Mount	Stewarton
16	Law of Mauldslie	Carluke
17	Law Stone of Mugdock	Strathblane
18	Lawthorn Mount	Irvine
19	Moat Hill	Kilsyth
20	Moothill	Strathblane
21	Mote	Falkirk
22	Mote Hill	Hamilton
23	Mote Hill (1)	Old Cumnock
24	Mote Hill (2)	Old Cumnock
25	Mote Hill	Stirling
26	Mute Hill	Glasgow
27	Tarbolton Mote	Tarbolton
28	The Judge's Cairn	Dunblane & Lecropt
29	The Mote	Kilmaurs

It must be conceded that just over half or 67.2% of the sites have any legal connection in their names, although Molaise's Table (Kilbride) might be added to this total, as it was also known as the Saint's or Judgement Seat. Thus, as mentioned above, names in themselves cannot be used as a totally dependable site indicator and a further selection process must be utilised.

As discussed above, the main sources for the court hills in this study were the *Statistical Accounts* and the *Name Books*; however, it was necessary for the author to note both the name and the supposed legal function before being included. Thus, although the Reverend Thomas Smith Wharrie (Symington) mentions both a 'Law Hill' and 'mote-hill' (Helenton) within his parish, neither are included as he reports no suggestion or tradition of a

former legal purpose.¹⁹⁵ Table 3.7 indicates that one or more of the *Statistical Accounts* and *Name Books* was the source for some forty-five or 67.2% of the court hills:

Table 3.7: Court hills mentioned in Statistical Accounts and/or Name Books

	Name	Parish	OSA	NSA	Name Book
1	Alloway Mote	Ayr	X	✓	X
2	Barnweill	Craigie	X	✓	X
3	Baron's Stone of Killochan	Dailly	X	X	✓
4	Court Hill	Beith	X	✓	✓
5	Court Hill	Dalry	X	X	✓
6	Court Hill	Dunblane & Lecropt	✓	✓	X
7	Court Hill	Dunlop	X	X	✓
8	Court Hill	Kilsyth	✓	X	X
9	Court Hill	Riccarton	✓	X	X
10	Court Knowe	Ballantrae	X	X	✓
11	Court Knowe	Ballantrae	X	X	✓
12	Court Knowe	Cathcart	X	✓	X
13	Court Knowe	New Cumnock	X	X	✓
14	Courthill	Dalry	✓	✓	X
15	Covington	Covington	✓	X	X
16	Cragie/Highlandside	Craigie	X	many in Craigie	X
17	Cross Stone	Dalziel	✓	✓	X
18	Dalmellington Mote	Dalmellington	✓	✓	X
19	Dalmorton	Straiton	✓	X	✓
20	Dawsholm Park	New Kilpatrick	X	✓	X
21	Doomster Hill	Govan	✓	✓	X
22	Dunan	Inverchaolain	✓	X	✓
23	Garret Law	Eaglesham	X	X	✓
24	Jock's Hill	Linlithgow	✓	✓	X
25	Judge's Chair	Kilmodan	X	X	✓
26	Judge's Mound	Largs	✓	X	X
27	Judgement Seat	Craigie	X	many in Craigie	X
28	Judgement Thorn	Morton	X	✓	X

¹⁹⁵ NSA, (Symington), 566. "The parish can scarcely boast of any antiquities. Formerly, there was a round hill called the Law-hill, at the foot of the village, partly natural and partly artificial, when the proprietor, Mr Boyd, in improving his land, caused the Law-hill to be levelled with the adjacent field. Those employed in doing so, found at no great depth from the surface, several arrow-heads, made of iron, most of them barbed and very rudely constructed. They also found combs made of horn, in a pretty good state of preservation. These are in the possession of William H. Boyd of Townend, and the Rev. Mr Wharrie. There is also an eminence near Helenton, called the Mote-hill, upon which a ruin stands; but of which tradition takes no notice."

	Name	Parish	OSA	NSA	Name Book
29	Law	Tarbolton	X	X	✓
30	Law of Mauldslie	Carluke	✓	X	X
31	Lawthorn Mount	Irvine	X	X	✓
32	Moat Hill	Kilsyth	✓	X	X
33	Mote	Falkirk	✓	X	X
34	Mote Hill	Hamilton	✓	X	X
35	Mote Hill	Old Cumnock	✓	X	✓
36	Mote Hill	Stirling	X	✓	X
37	Queen Blearie's Mound	Paisley	X	X	✓
38	Sanguhar	Sanguhar	✓	✓	X
39	Tarbolton Mote	Tarbolton	X	✓	✓
40	The Judge's Cairn	Dunblane & Lecropt	X	X	✓
41	The Mote	Kilmaurs	✓	X	X
42	The Orry	Eaglesham	X	X	X
43	Tom a'Mhoid	Dunoon & Kilmun	✓	X	X
44	Tom a'Mhoid	Rhu	X	X	✓
45	Tom a'Mhoid	Rosneath	X	X	✓

This information can be further broken down as in Table 3.8:

Table 3.8: Statistical Accounts and Name Books used as source for court hills - percentages

Source	No of court hills	Percentage of total	Percentage of 45	As a single source	Percentage of 45 as single source
OSA	21	30.9%	46.7%	11	24.4%
NSA	16	23.5%	35.6%	6	13.3%
Name Books	19	27.9%	42.2%	14	31.1%
1 or more of above	45	66.2%	100%	-	-

There are twenty-three or 33.8% of the court hills in the study that do not appear in the *Statistical Accounts* or *Name Books*, and these are as in the Table 3.9:

Table 3.9: Sources other than Statistical Accounts and Name Books used for court hills

No	Court Hill	Parish	Source
1	Airth	Airth	Barrow 1981
2	Cadder Motte	Cadder	Maitland 1757
3	Catterlaw	Kilmaronock	Irving 1879
4	Court Hill	Luss	Fraser 1869
5	Craighead Law	Dunlop	Smith 1895
6	Cuthel Brae	Kincardine	Barrow 1981
7	Judas or Justice Hill	Kilmarnock	Smith 1895

No	Court Hill	Parish	Source
8	Judge's Mound	Loudoun	Name verified by J Wood of Head Farm
9	Knockcushion	Girvan	Smith 1895 MacFarlane 1906
10	Law Hill	Dalry	Smith 1895
11	Law Mount	Stewarton	Smith 1895
12	Law Stone of Mugdock	Strathblane	Smith 1886
13	Meikle Dripps	East Kilbride	Charter of 1371
14	Molaise's Table	Kilbride	From name 'Judgment Seat'
15	Moothill	Strathblane	Smith 1886
16	Mutehill	Glasgow	Mann 1938
17	Salmon's Hill	Irvine	Smith 1895
18	The Orry	Eaglesham	Talbot – info to survey
19	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry	McNiven 2004
20	Tomavoid	Port of Menteith	McNiven 2004
21	Tulliallan	Tulliallan	McNiven 2004
22	Tullibody	Alloa	McNiven 2004

Of the seven court hills in Ayrshire, it can be seen that Smith (1895) is the authority for six of them, although they are usually quoted in later sources, often with further and more detailed information. A good example of this is Knockcushion (Girvan), where Smith¹⁹⁶ is hardly verbose on the subject: “*Knockushion – ‘law hill or court hill,’*” whereas MacFarlane¹⁹⁷ was able to add much more detail some eleven years later, although he does not give any useful references or evidence. However, Smith seems to be one of the more reliable antiquarians: he gives references and records local traditions; and he did actually visit the majority of the sites, which is not necessarily the norm among antiquarian writers. The other court hills are also identified by local antiquarians, such as Smith for Strathblane and Fraser for Luss, and both seem fairly consistent. These antiquarians seem to be among the most reliable and tend to suggest that they get much of their material from local knowledge or tradition. Not all of the antiquarians however, were particularly swayed by the local legends; Coles, who carried out a detailed survey of the mottes in Kirkcudbrightshire admitted that “in a few instances interesting and remarkable legends have been told in connection with them,” but chose not to relay any of them to his audience, certainly not mentioning if any of the

¹⁹⁶ Smith, *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire*, 215.

¹⁹⁷ MacFarlane W., 1906-8, *Geographical collections relating to Scotland*, 3 vols. Edinburgh, ii., 13-14.

mottes had been designated as court hills by his local informants.¹⁹⁸ It is clear, though that he visited the sites, as he complained that the 6-inch Ordinance Survey maps did not accurately record the sites or omitted them all together!

In the case of Cadder Mote, Maitland¹⁹⁹ contended that “I think, it is a tom-moid or court-hill, whereon courts of justice were anciently held,” – offering no further evidence and it might appear to be his opinion rather than reflecting a tradition. Maitland’s “opinion,” as sole evidence, has excluded other sites from this study; however, it was assumed that this mound was a Roman watch-tower, until it was excavated by MacDonald²⁰⁰ in 1915, who concluded that “we had satisfied ourselves that the mound was a mediævil mote.” Similarly, the Mute Hill (Glasgow parish) is apparently recorded as a court hill only by Mann;²⁰¹ although he was unable to find any historical evidence regarding this site, he asserts that Glasgow would have possessed such a site, it stood near the Briggait, may have been artificial and is now completely dug away. Both sites have been included as borderline examples, but will be discounted should no obvious patterns emerge in ArcView.

Judge’s Mound (Loudoun) was collected from Canmore and is included solely because of Canmore’s OS report in 1956 by J Kerr Wood, of Head Farm. Place-name evidence with no supporting evidence would usually ensure that a site would be excluded from this study; however, in this case the name is very specific, which is presumably why it was picked up by Canmore. Since there appears to be no antiquarian mention of this site, it

¹⁹⁸ Coles, F. R., 1893, “The Motes, Forts and Doons and West Division of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.” *PSAS* 3, 352-3.

¹⁹⁹ Maitland, *History and Antiquities*, 180.

²⁰⁰ MacDonald, G., 1915, “Some recent discoveries on the line of the Antonine Wall.” *PSAS*, 49, 108-9. “Successive generations of antiquaries, from Gordon downwards, have been tempted to recognise the remains of a Roman *castellum* in the fine tumulus that stands near the eastern edge of the Cawder policies. Its obvious proximity to the Roman Wall made the temptation a natural one, and only Maitland can claim the credit of resisting it. Probably he was saved by the perversity which he compelled him to reject any opinion that had commended itself to Gordon and Horsley.”

²⁰¹ Mann, L. M., 1938, *Earliest Glasgow*, Glasgow, 7.

will be interesting if it produces similar patterns and attributes to other more attested court hills.

Thus the identification criteria are severely limited by the lack of evidence or previous written materials, but this study has endeavoured to be consistent and logical in the choice of sites. It would, however, seem that this is the first attempt to compile a comprehensive list of court hills within the study area, or indeed to consider these sites in any detail.

3.4.1 *Dating*

The antiquarian writers believed that court hills functioned during the ‘feudal era’; although their understanding of that time seems both limited and entirely romantic, as seen in their interest in the more lurid associations – “These serve only to recall to mind the days of cruel disposition, when, at the call of a lawless tyrant, the defenceless, perhaps innocent victim, was dragged from his peaceful lowly cot, and in one single day, without evidence of his guilt, or an opportunity of acquittal, was arraigned, tried, condemned, and executed!”²⁰² The antiquarian writers, by their documentation may have been one of the means of survival of this site-type, but their jejune attitude to the actual usage ensures that they are little assistance in dating court hills.

3.4.2 *Law Systems & Codes*

Robertson²⁰³ suggests that the link between the development of law and the various stages through which society passes can be demonstrated in Scotland, by describing the three types of law: primitive, archaic and mature.²⁰⁴ He suggests that primitive law existed in Scotland before the

²⁰² OSA, (Kilsyth), 297.

²⁰³ Robertson, J. J., 1977, “The Development of the Law” in Brown, J. M. (ed) *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, 139.

²⁰⁴ Primitive law represents the customs and usages of preliterate peoples (e.g. hunter gatherers & herdsmen), who have not developed courts but possessed social rules and means to cope with social conflict. Archaic law applies to preliterate peoples who have court organisations and officialdoms – writing might be available but not used, the term is concerned with the appearance of courts. Archaic law includes agricultural and feudal societies. Mature law represents a fully developed written law with hierarchical court systems, which came into being in Scotland in the Late Middle Ages.

onset of Norman feudal influence and then archaic law emerged between c1100-c1400. If court hills formed the arena for open-air folk courts, then primitive and archaic law systems would seem wholly appropriate; particularly as there is little evidence of judicial arrangements or court officials in Scotland before the twelfth century.²⁰⁵ Barrow²⁰⁶ does point out, however, that the rank of *judex* or dempster would appear to represent a survival from the “earlier Celtic order of society”. The twelfth century was a time of tremendous political, economic and legal development in Scottish society; including explicit grants of jurisdiction and the rights to hold courts made by the king and others to native landowners, as well as immigrant families and the church.²⁰⁷ Similarly, as noted above, the earliest evidence of sheriff courts seems to point to courts held at the castle gate;²⁰⁸ which might imply that court hills had lost much or all of their judicial function, otherwise it might be expected that some record of court hills would also have survived.

It is difficult to determine which law system would have been practiced within a Scottish court hill situation as, with the possible exception of the *Law of Innocents*, written and negotiated by Adomnán with the kings of Ireland, Argyll and Pictland at the synod of Birr (Co. Offaly) in 697;²⁰⁹ there is a dearth of early written evidence of law codes in Scotland. On the continent, following Roman models, a distinct body of customary laws was preserved, between the fifth and eighth centuries, in the so-called ‘barbarian’ or ‘Germanic’ codes: the laws of the Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths and so on.²¹⁰ Whilst in Anglo-Saxon England, the first written code of laws were

²⁰⁵ Barrow, G. W. S., 1966, “The Scottish *judex* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.” *SHR* xlv, 16.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, Barrow suggests that the *judex* had counterparts in the rest of the British Isles: the *breitheam* of Ireland, the deemster of Man, the lawman of the Isles and Scandinavian England. After the twelfth century, the *judex* gradually sank from a prominent to a subordinate position.

²⁰⁷ Spearman, R. M., 1988, ‘Early Scottish towns: their origins and economy.’ in Driscoll & Níeke, S. T., and M. R., *Power and Politics in Medieval Britain and Ireland*, Edinburgh, 97; MacQueen, “Common Law”, 34, 36.

²⁰⁸ Dickinson, *Sheriff Court of Fife*, xii.

²⁰⁹ Foster, S., 1996, *Picts, Gaels and Scots*, London, 85.

²¹⁰ Nelson, J., 1987, *Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship*, London, 147-48.

those of Æthelberht of Kent (c552-616) which provided protection for the church and instituted a complex system of fines. King Ine of Wessex (688-726) was the second Anglo-Saxon king to issue a set of law codes in 694.²¹¹

As seen above there are records of early Irish law systems, many of which date from the seventh century and depict a highly stratified society; the most important distinctions of which were the privileged (i.e. kings and nobles), the free (i.e. independent commoners) and the unfree (i.e. dependent commoners and slaves).²¹² Similarly, the Welsh king, Hywel Dda, caused the customary law of his people to be written down, supposedly in the mid-tenth century, although the available manuscripts are no earlier than the late twelfth century.²¹³ It is interesting that the Welsh continually updated and revised their laws, while the Irish considered their laws to be permanent and changes were recorded as glosses and commentaries. Alcock²¹⁴ therefore suggests that elements of Celtic tradition are to be found in these laws and that these contain traces of 'Common British Law' which had their origin in the common Celtic ancestry of both peoples. Crone²¹⁵ suggests "early Irish and Welsh law consisted of the applications of customary principals and not the legislation of the sovereign authority" and furthermore that, in theory, Welsh law should be applicable to Strathclyde. The early Irish and Welsh law systems might seem to fit in very well with the notion of the administration of open air justice at court hills.

3.4.3 Courts

Court hills are an unproven site-type within Scotland and the lack of evidence conspires against accurate dating. Barrow's study²¹⁶ seeks to discover the

²¹¹ Fisher, C. J. V., 1973, *The Anglo-Saxon Age c400-1042*, 44, 45.

²¹² Kelly, F., 1995, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, 9. Kelly enumerates some fourteen ranks.

²¹³ Alcock, L., 1988, "The Activities of Potentates in Celtic Britain, AD500-800: a positive approach." in Driscoll & Níeke, S. T., and M. R., *Power and Politics in Medieval Britain and Ireland*, 35.

²¹⁴ Alcock, L., 1971, *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology, AD367-63*. Edinburgh: Allan Lane, 12.

²¹⁵ Crone, A., 2000, *The History of a Scottish Lowland Crannog: Excavations at Buiston, Ayrshire 1989-90*, 6.

²¹⁶ Barrow, "Popular courts", 1-15.

fore-runners of “sheriff courts, burgh courts and lords’ courts in Scotland before c.1150” – whether cuthill sites successfully fulfils this criterion is debateable. The evidence of the charters might appear to support the notion of cuthill and court hill sites, but they appear to be of limited use for dating, both by their apparent lateness and scarcity. These difficulties apply to the above reference to Ayr magistrates, which, by suggesting that details are contained within the town records, implies a later rather than earlier date.²¹⁷ It is, of course, possible that these instances were in some way ceremonial or traditional, and not the accepted means of dispensing justice by that time. Cameron’s description of Courthill of Craigbarnet on which he asserts James IV held court in 1507, might similarly fall into this category.²¹⁸

3.4.4 Anglo-Saxon Hundreds

As mentioned above, the hundredal system in England was first described in sources in the tenth century; which, of course, would suggest that it was Anglo-Saxon in origin. The earliest documentary reference to an assembly with administrative responsibility was recorded in the later seventh century laws attributed to the Kentish kings Holthre (673-85) and Eadric (685-6); although the earliest documentary evidence for public assembly comes from a charter of Coenwulf, king of Mercia (796-821), dated 801.²¹⁹ Semple,²²⁰ however, proposes that the open-air, popular court model pre-dates the advent of Anglo-Saxon England. She suggests that they might have been attributed to a “Celtic milieu” and cites the transitional site of Yeavering (Northumbria), which combines Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon building, having been within the British kingdom of *Goddodin* until c. 605-16. Bede²²¹

²¹⁷ NSA, (Ayr), 39.

²¹⁸ Cameron, *Campsie*, 167. “These courts were generally held on knolls, law or little hills, and were called Mute Hill, mot or mute meaning a plea or quarrel. ... and the “Courthill” of Craigbarnet, where King James the IV. Held a court in 1507.”

²¹⁹ Reynolds, A., 1999, *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life and Landscape*, Stroud, 77.

²²⁰ Semple, “Assembly in Early Anglo-Saxon England”, 137.

²²¹ Bede, *HE* II, 14 “Indeed, so great was the fervour of the faith and desire for baptism among The Northumbrian people that Paulinus is said to have accompanied the king and queen to the royal residence at Ad-Gefrin and remained there thirty-six days constantly occupied in instructing and baptising.” in Sherley-Price, L., 1990, *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 132.

describes Yeavinger (*Ad Gefrin*) as a place of assembly and Semple hypothesises that as a royal ritual site, this constitutes a creditable forerunner for hundredal sites and the same reasoning might apply to the pedigree of court hills within Scotland. Alcock²²² points out “that during the 5th and 6th centuries, the Britons who inhabited the land up to the Forth-Clyde isthmus formed part of a linguistic and cultural continuum which extended south to the English Channel.” Thus, if court hills could be dated to, or before this period, it could be argued that this study area would have much in common with Northumbria; Cowan²²³ suggests that regions of southern Scotland were politically and ecclesiastically subject to Northumbria until the late tenth century.

Court hills and assembly sites seem to have been common to the British Isles and among the continental tribes, thus it would not be improbable that Anglo-Saxon incomers to England should continue the custom at pre-existing sites. Meaney²²⁴ suggests that although mounds were apparently the most popular and typical hundredal site, in some cases, they may have replaced earlier sites, such as trees and springs, which may point to an earlier date for the origins of court hills. Excavation at the Secklow Hundred Mound in Buckinghamshire suggests no evidence of construction before the thirteenth century; similarly the name ‘mutlow’ is a later Anglo-Saxon innovation to describe such sites.²²⁵ That hundredal mounds were being built into the

²²² Alcock, L., 2003, *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550-850*, Edinburgh, 1.

²²³ Cowan, I. B., 1961, “Development of the Parochial System in Scotland”, *SHR*, xl., 45. Cowan points out that as late as the twelfth century, the bishops of Durham continued to regard Teviotdale and Lothian as part of their diocese, even though by that period Teviotdale had pertained to the bishopric of Glasgow and Lothian had come under the jurisdiction of St Andrews.

²²⁴ Meaney, A. L., 1997, “Hundred Meeting Places in the Cambridge Region” in Rumble & Mills A. R., and A. D. (eds) *Names, Places and People: An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*, 215.

²²⁵ *Ibid*, 214. The Secklow Hundred mound was excavated by M R Petchy in 1977 and 1978. Mutlow: the ‘mut’ element is from *gemot* or meeting place, while the ‘low’ element signifies a mound; Alcock, *Kings and Warriors*, 1.

²²⁵ Cowan, Parochial System, 45. Cowan points out that as late as the twelfth century, the bishops of Durham continued to regard Teviotdale and Lothian as part of their diocese, even though by that period Teviotdale had pertained to the bishopric of Glasgow and Lothian had come under the jurisdiction of St Andrews.

later period is shown by the charter by which King Edgar formed the estates of the church of Worcester into a triple hundred in 964, which states that the new hundred should meet at Oswaldslow: a new central place suggesting the building of a new mound.²²⁶ Sadly, few mounds have been excavated and it would be premature to believe that all such mounds were later constructions, particularly as the Anglo-Saxons also seem to have utilised barrow sites, as will be seen below.²²⁷

Sample²²⁸ suggests a number of diagnostics for hundredal sites, including the presence of prehistoric monuments, which will be discussed below, and the presence of buildings, which at that period would probably imply timber halls, although this might apply only to larger royal sites. The existence of early assembly-places may be indicated by the element *thing*, which derives from the Old Norse *þing*.²²⁹ The first documentary evidence for *things* in ninth-century Birka is to be found in Rimbert's *Vita Ansgarii*, containing one description of a *thing*, in which "he sat at a thing where a hut was erected on the ground or field for the session,", implying that buildings might also have been an element in Scandinavian assemblies.²³⁰ Canmore lists only twenty-one timber halls within Scotland, and six of that number are scheduled as 'possible.' Within the study area, there are two timber halls: one in Callendar Park (Falkirk) and the other in Dalry parish. Curiously, the Ayrshire example is found on a court hill: a large barrow, excavated by Cochrane-Patrick in 1872.²³¹ The site had been described as a Neolithic round barrow, however it has since been re-interpreted as a timber hall.²³²

²²⁶ Finberg, H. P. R., 1961, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, Leicester, 56, 169.

²²⁷ Adkins & Petchy, R. A., and M. R., 1984, "Secklow Hundred Mound and Other Meeting Place Mounds in England," *AJ*, 141, 247.

²²⁸ Sample, "Assembly in Anglo-Saxon England", 138.

²²⁹ Pantos, "Old English vocabulary of Assembly", 157.

²³⁰ *Vita Ansgarii* chapter 18, cited in Brink, S., 2003, "Legal Assemblies and Judicial Structures in Early Scandinavia" in Barnwell & Mostert, P., and M. (eds) *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, 206. This *thing* was apparently attended by the Christian *præfectus*, Hergeir.

²³¹ Cochran-Patrick, R. W., 1875, "Note on some explorations in a tumulus called Court Hill, in the Parish of Dalry, and the county of Ayr", *PSAS* 10, 281-3; Laing, L. R., 1969, "Timber halls in Dark Age Britain –some problems", *TDGNAS*, 46, 113.

²³² Cochran-Patrick, "Court Hill", 281-3.

Both *Statistical Accounts* note the tradition of its being a seat of justice;²³³ however, modern writers describe a timber hall with the subsequent mound thrown up as a motte.²³⁴ Of course, even with excavation, the only remains might be timber post holes which would be extremely difficult to identify even by excavation, particularly if the timber structure were temporary in nature.

3.4.5 *Mottes & Court hills*

As noted above, there is much confusion over the difficulties in categorising and distinguishing between mottes and court hills. Large stepped mounds have been identified as mottes or earthwork castles, even though they do not present the classic motte form; but resemble Scandinavian *things* or *pings*, as Tynwald Hill on the Isle of Man and the Thingmote in Dublin.²³⁵ Often these mounds have traditions as court hills, such as Tomnacraois or Tom na Croiseige (Kiltarlity) overlooking the Beaully Firth in Invernesshire: a two-tiered earthen mound with a tradition of being “a Judgement Seat”.²³⁶ There are at least two possible tiered mounds within Doomster Hill (Govan) and Riccarton (Riccanton); both of which will be described more fully below.

Cathcart King²³⁷ lists 741 mottes in England and Wales and could only identify one example of a square motte, however, there would appear to be at least four square court hill sites within the study area alone, although some may have been lost, as descriptions are sometimes less than illuminating.²³⁸ Clearly, to build a square mound would require the expenditure of extra resources; and it might be useful to speculate as to the reason. In the case of Barnweill (Craigie), it has also been variously

²³³ NSA, (Dalry), 219-220; OSA, (Dalry), 157-8.

²³⁴ Laing, L. R., “Timber halls in Dark Age Britain”, 113; Scott, J. G., 1989, “The hall and motte at Courthill, Dalry, Ayrshire”, PSAS 119, 277.

²³⁵ Fitzpatrick, *Royal Inaugurations*, 47.

²³⁶ MacDonald, W. R., 1902, “The heraldry in some of the old churchyards between Tain and Inverness.” PSAS 367, 14-15. “The burial ground of Tomnacross ‘has only recently been enclosed for that purpose’. It contains the ‘Seat of Judgement’, an ancient circular mound with a smaller one on top, on which grew the ‘Hanging Tree.’”

²³⁷ Cathcart King, D. J., 1983, *Castellarium Anglicanum: an index and bibliography of the castles in England, Wales, and the islands*, 106. The only example identified is Cabal Tump, Pembridge in Herefordshire.

²³⁸ The sites are: Barnweill (Craigie); Riccarton (Riccanton); Dunan (Inverchaolain) and The Orry (Eaglesham).

described as a Roman square 'camp'²³⁹, a "homestead moat or castle earthwork"²⁴⁰ or possibly identified with the "Old Castle of Barnwyil" depicted by Pont.²⁴¹ Paterson²⁴² considers it to be "a law or seat of justice" associated with Barnweill Castle and NSA mentions Barnweill along with some other court hills in the parish, but does not give any details.²⁴³ The court hill at Riccarton (Riccarton) was landscaped when the present parish church was built upon it in 1823, however it may well have previously been represented the present steep-sided square platform or a stepped mound, which Paterson believed to be part artificial and part natural.²⁴⁴ It would seem that a logical motive for the construction of square court hills might be to provide space for timber halls or other structures.

3.4.6 Govan

Further evidence that court hills were a product of the early British kingdoms might be seen in Doomster Hill (Govan): once a large mound (some 6 metres high), since demolished and described as a "law hill."²⁴⁵ Doomster Hill has been interpreted as a large stepped mound erected before the end of the ninth century and likened to Scandinavian *things* or *pings* as noted above.²⁴⁶ It is adjacent to the present Old Parish Church at Govan, dedicated to St Constantine, built in 1884-8 on the site of earlier churches. Govan has one of the finest collections of Early Christian stones, including a sarcophagus, in Britain dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries found within a high status, secular, circular cemetery (possibly ninth-century); although some fifth-century radio-carbon dates may indicate a much earlier centre to St

²³⁹ OS Name Book no, 18, 41; Smith, *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire*, 128-129. *Barnweil Camps*: "The best-preserved square, or rather rectangular, Camp in Ayrshire is situated on Barweil Hill."

²⁴⁰ Talbot, "Early Scottish Castles", 5.

²⁴¹ Blaeu, J., 1654, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus*, vol. 5, Scotice et Hibernia, Amsterdam, "Coila Provincia".

²⁴² Paterson, *History of Wigtown and Ayr*, vol i, pt i, 265.

²⁴³ NSA, (Craigie), 765.

²⁴⁴ Paterson, *History of Wigtown and Ayr*, vol i, pt ii, 639.

²⁴⁵ OSA, (Govan), 294.

²⁴⁶ Driscoll, "Church Archaeology", 101-5.

Kentigern.²⁴⁷ A processional way has been identified between the hill and the church, which has been radiocarbon-dated to 734-887; giving an interesting array of dates for the complex.²⁴⁸

If court hills did indeed function as open-air, legal sites before c.1150 - the expansion of the Scots into the area and the establishment of an alternative political and Christian cult²⁴⁹ centre at Govan, complete with royal burial ground – would certainly have occurred within the period of their operation. The planting, or indeed, occupation of a political and religious cult centre in an area adjacent to the previous regime's legal centre and meeting-place might seem a judicious and prudent undertaking for an occupying administration. Possibly adding weight to this hypothesis is Clancy's proposition that the name Govan derives from Brittonic *gwovan* or 'small hill' – possibly referring to Doomster Hill.²⁵⁰

3.4.7 Conclusion

Assuming that court hills did serve a legal function, the dating of these sites, whether ascertaining their origins or period and duration of use, is far from simple or straightforward. As noted above, a large proportion of the antiquarian writers suggest that the court hills were associated with adjacent castles, functioning as the venues for their baronial courts, as seen above with Barnweill, and also at Sanquhar.²⁵¹ However, all the foregoing evidence would seem to indicate that the usage of court hills preceded the advent of mottes or stone castles; although it is possible that they continued to retain some legal function, even though courts appear to have been conducted at the castles on a regular basis relatively soon after their introduction. The lack of documentary evidence would perhaps point to the court hills not being

²⁴⁷ Allen & Anderson, J. R., and J., 1903, *The Early Monuments of Scotland: a classified illustrated descriptive list of the monuments with an analysis of their symbolism and ornamentation*, pt iii, 462-71; Driscoll, "Church archaeology", 101; Driscoll, S. T., 2002, *Alba: The Gaelic Kingdom of Scotland AD800-1124*, 26.

²⁴⁸ Driscoll, "Church archaeology", 105.

²⁴⁹ The British Christian cult centre was to St Kentigern and in Glasgow.

²⁵⁰ Clancy, T. O., 1998, "Govan, the Name Again", *The Friends of Govan Old Parish Church, 8th Annual Report*, 8.

²⁵¹ OSA, (Sanquhar), 482.

used so frequently; and there is a possibility is that court hills could have been reserved for special or ceremonial usage, such as the visit of a king as noted above. If castle-builders deliberately built their defensive edifices near court hills, it might imply that the site was ideal for their purposes or that an ulterior motive existed such as wishing to be associated with a site that retained some sort of authority thus assuming some of its antiquity and influence. Fitzpatrick points to some incoming families of Norman stock establishing open-air assembly sites in Scotland; such as the Grants of Strathspey, who, by the end of the fourteenth century had adopted the Ballintomb or Baile an Tuim for their gatherings and to elect their leaders.²⁵²

Similarly, Morris²⁵³ asserts that, in England, although it would be tempting to assume that most parish boundaries “preserve the outlines of pre-Conquest landholding;” landholding was always in a state of transition and thus parishes could be affected by changes of tenure. Cowan,²⁵⁴ however, asserts that although the system was not static, “it is even more remarkable that the total number of changes which did take place is remarkably small”, and the pattern that prevailed at the end of twelfth century changed very little before the Reformation. The presence of multiple court hills in single parishes, that have not been united, might imply that court hills predate the formation of parishes and the particular boundaries that were probably in force at that time. Certainly, the association between parish and manor became a part of the feudal development of eleventh-century, post-Conquest England; although by no means universal, it was prevalent. Cowan²⁵⁵ suggests that this process was paralleled in the twelfth century, with the parochial system gradually taking shape under Norman influence in areas of Scotland, particularly in the southern counties. It would appear that this

²⁵² FitzPatrick, E., 2001, “Assembly and Inauguration Places of the Burkes in Late Medieval Connacht”, in Duffy, Edwards & FitzPatrick, P. J., D., and E. (eds) *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250 – c.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement*, 360, 362. Ballintomb or Baile an Tuim (stead of the knoll) in Nairnshire is a flat-topped ridge overlooking the River Spey, the “site of a dramatic complex of prehistoric monuments”. The earliest recorded presence of Grants in Scotland is before the second half of the thirteenth century.

²⁵³ Morris, *Churches*, 229.

²⁵⁴ Cowan, *Parochial System*, 52.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 45, 46.

development was also to be seen to the north of the Forth-Clyde line, where it was previously assumed that the earlier “Celtic” ecclesiastical organisation maintained its hold. Of course, it is possible that multiple court hills could represent later centres of lordship, but this seems unlikely, as most of the preceding evidence points towards earlier dates for the court hills. The Grants of Strathspey adopted prehistoric complex that had apparently not been utilised previously by the local ruling element, is perhaps an extreme example of trying to invent a past connection and should perhaps not be considered as a universal paradigm. A pre-existing venue used to dispense law would prove a much simpler alternative.

Parishes boundaries, however, do seem to have an association with assembly sites, O’Grady²⁵⁶ notes the occurrence of *comhdhail* place-names shown on nineteenth century maps and the association *tulach* place-names with medieval boundaries. A high proportion of Anglo-Saxon hundredal sites are also found to be located in close proximity to parish boundaries.²⁵⁷

Similarly, Taylor²⁵⁸ discusses the occurrence of “threep” place-names near parish boundaries – these place-names are thought to relate to the location of courts and occur throughout lowland Scotland. As will be noted below, Meikle Dripps (East Kilbride) may be included in this category, and is at a meeting of parish boundaries and it is documented as a meeting-place for courts in the fourteenth century.²⁵⁹

O’Grady²⁶⁰ suggests that “...the apparent association of medieval boundary locations and the setting of assemblies in medieval Scotland is here proposed as a useful indicator of the antiquity ...”; which would intimate that

²⁵⁶ O’Grady, *Open-Air Assemblies*, 133, 170.

²⁵⁷ Pantos, A. 2002, *Assembly-places in the Anglo-Saxon period: aspects of form and location*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford. 12-3.

²⁵⁸ Taylor, S., (ed) 1998, *The Uses of Place-names*. Edinburgh, Scottish Cultural Press. 163, 252.

²⁵⁹ OPS, (East Kilbride), 508. “In 1371-72 Robert Maxwell, lord of Mernes granted his kinsman Sir John Maxwell, Knight, lord of Nether Pollok, and the lady Isobel his wife, the whole lands of Dryppis in the barony of Kilbrydeshire in the sheriffdom of Lanark, reserving to himself and his heirs the moothill (mons) nearest to the town of Dryppis, on the top of which a stone was erected, for holding his courts there so often as should happen to hold pleas on people of the said lands for wrong done to himself or his heirs.”

²⁶⁰ O’Grady, *Open-Air Assemblies*, 347-8.

the location of such court hills predated parish boundaries and possibly indicates the presence of earlier boundaries.

3.5 Patterns that emerged when court hills were looked at in the ArcView programme

There are very real difficulties related to assessing relationships between any of the site-types within the map-square, but this is of particular relevance to court hills which are not even proven to exist as a site-type. The most obvious way to assess association between sites is by measuring distance, however, it is difficult to decide what constitutes a relevant distance. Barrow²⁶¹ notes that “geographical association” of cuthill sites to prehistoric monuments is important in establishing their antiquity – unfortunately, he does not quantify that association. The author of *NSA* for Morton parish reports a gallows at Galliflat or Gallow’s Flat, “about a mile south of this seat of judgement.”²⁶² Christison’s assertion that some court hills “are in such desolate and uninhabitable localities as to be useless, one would think, for such a purpose,” might be relevant in regard to the question of distance.²⁶³ If court hills sprung from an earlier era – it is possible that distance may have been of lesser importance than other considerations, such as location within the landscape or proximity to other landmarks. Whilst this is obviously not a yardstick for other site-types, in the absence of any other suggestions, it might seem fitting to use this distance of one mile when considering patterns relating to court hills. However, as all the measurements in this study are metric, so it would be inconsistent to use imperial measurements in this case. One mile is equal to 1609.3 metres, which would not be a particularly convenient measurement, however, a measurement of 1,500 metres would be the obvious compromise and thus will be used in this study.

The following patterns emerged when the court hill sites were examined in connection with other sites within the ArcView programme:

²⁶¹ Barrow, “Popular courts”, 10.

²⁶² *NSA*, (Morton), 96.

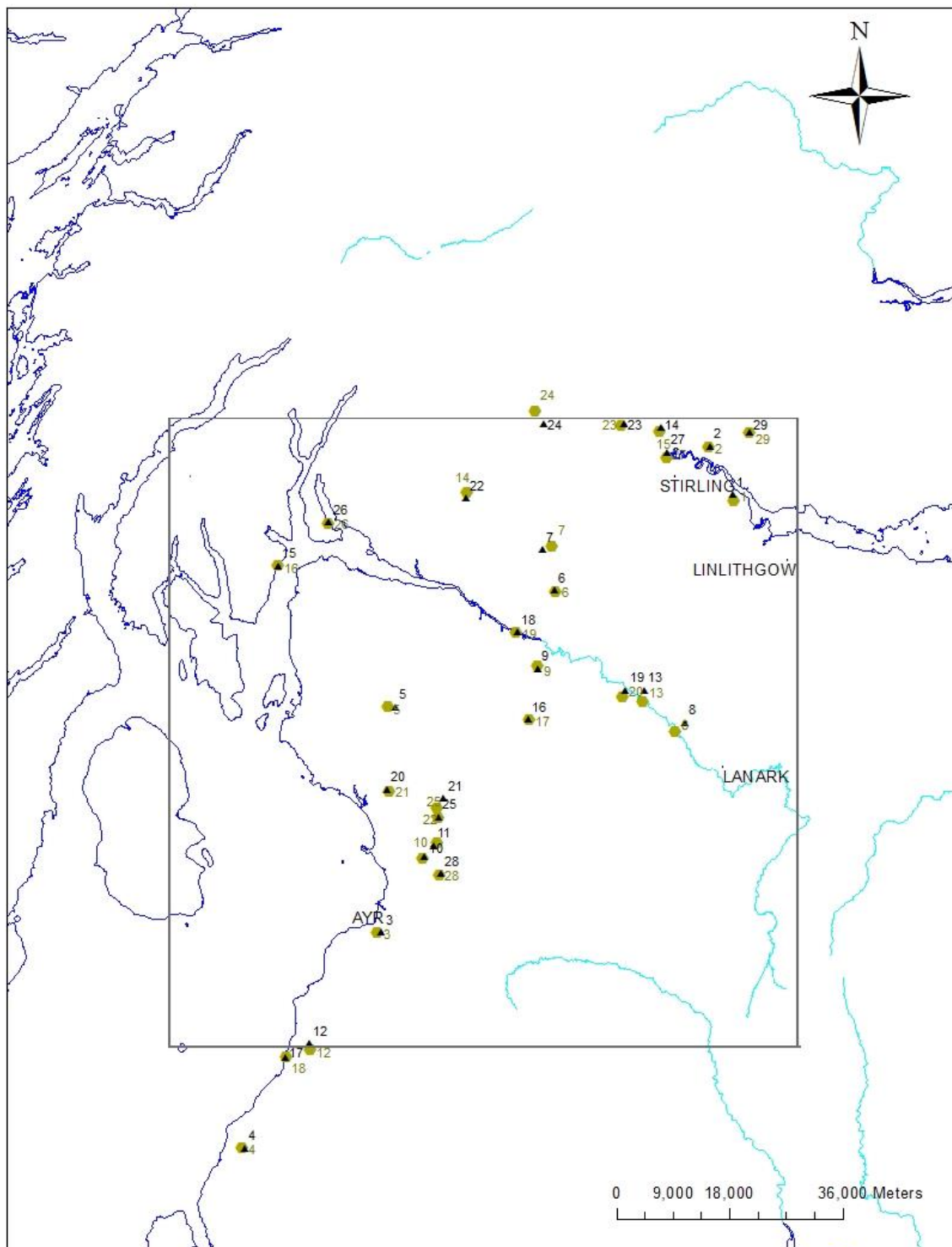
²⁶³ Christison, *Early Fortifications*, 14.

3.6 Parish Churches

3.6.1 Associations & Distances

Some twenty-nine or 46.2% of the court hill sites are less than 1,500 metres from parish churches, as shown in Map 3.3 and Table 3.10. The inclusion of Courthill of Craigharnet (Campsie), although not strictly within the agreed distance is discussed below.

Map 3.3: Courthills and Parish Churches



Key: Map 3.3 showing Courthills and Parish Churches

Courthills (▲)

No.	Parish	Court Hill
1	Airth	Airth
2	Tullibody	Alloa
3	Ayr	Alloway Mote
4	Ballantrae	Court Knowe 2
5	Beith	Court Hill
6	Cadder	Cadder Mote
7	Campsie	Courthill of Craigbarnet
8	Carluke	Law of Mauldsie
9	Cathcart	Court Knowe
10	Craigie	Barnweill
11	Craigie	Highlandside/Craigie
12	Dailly	Baron's Rock of Killochan
13	Dalziel	Cross Stone
14	Dunblane & Lecropt	Court Hill
15	Dunoon & Kilmun	Tom a'Mhoid
16	Eaglesham	The Orry
17	Girvan	Knockcushion
18	Govan	Doomster Hill
19	Hamilton	Mote Hill
20	Irvine	Lawthorn Mount
21	Kimarnock	Judas Hill
22	Kilmarnock	Catterlaw
23	Kincardine	Cuthill Brae
24	Port of Menteith	Tomavoid
25	Riccarton	Court Hill
26	Rosneath	Tom a'Mhoid
27	Stirling	Mote Hill
28	Tarbolton	Tarbolton Mote
29	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry

Parish Churches (●)

No.	Parish	Parish Church
1	Airth	Airth Parish Church
2	Alloa	Old Church of Tullibody
3	Ayr	Alloway Kirk
4	Ballantrae	Old Kirkcudbright Kirk
5	Beith	The Cross
6	Cadder	Cadder Church
7	Campsie	St Machan's Church
8	Carluke	Maudslie
9	Cathcart	Cathcart Old Parish Church
10	Craigie	Barnweill Parish Church
11	Craigie	Craigie Church
12	Dailly	Old Dailly Parish Church
13	Dalziel	St Patrick's Church
14	Drymen	Drymen Church
15	Dunblane & Lecropt	Lecropt Parish Church
16	Dunoon	Dunoon Parish Church
17	Eaglesham	Eaglesham Parish Church
18	Girvan	Girvan Old Parish Church
19	Govan	Govan Old Parish Church
20	Hamilton	Hamilton Old Parish Church
21	Irvine	Perceton Old Parish Church
22	Kilmarnock	Laigh Kirk
23	Kincardine	Kincardine Old Parish Church
24	Port of Menteith	Port of Menteith Parish Church
25	Riccarton	Riccarton Parish Church
26	Rosneath	St Modan's Parish Church
27	Stirling	Church of the Holy Rood
28	Tarbolton	Tarbolton Old Parish Church
29	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry Old Parish Church

Table 3.10: Court hills associated with parish churches

No	Name	Parish	Parish Church	Distance (in metres)
1	Court Hill	Riccarton	Riccarton Parish Church	75
2	Doomster Hill	Govan	Govan Old Church	90
3	Tom a'Mhoid	Dunoon & Kilmun	Dunoon Old Parish Church	90
4	Tullibody	Alloa	Old Church of Tullibody	110
5	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry Old Parish Church	130
6	Barnweill	Craigie	Barnweill Parish Church	140
7	Tom a'Mhoid	Rosneath	Rosneath Parish Church	150
8	Cadder Mote	Cadder	Cadder Church	150
9	The Orry	Eaglesham	Eaglesham Parish Church	150
10	Lawthorn Mount	Irvine	Perceton Old Parish Church	180
11	Tarbolton Mote	Tarbolton	Tarbolton Old Parish Church	180
12	Law of Mauldslie	Carluke	Mauldslie Church	c250
13	Knockcushion	Girvan	Girvan Old Parish Church	250
14	Cross Stone	Dalziel	St Patrick's Church	300
15	Court Knowe 2	Ballantrae	Old Kirkcudbright Kirk	400
16	Court Knowe	Cathcart	Cathcart Old Parish Church	400
17	Cuthill Brae	Kincardine	St Lolan's Parish Church	450
18	Court Hill	Dunblane & Lecropt	Lecropt Parish Church	450
19	Mote Hill	Hamilton	Hamilton Old Parish Church	600
20	Alloway Moat	Ayr	Alloway Kirk	650
21	Craigie/Highlangside	Craigie	Craigie Parish Church	740
22	The Mote	Stirling	Church of the Holy Rood	750
23	Catterlaw	Kilmaronock	Drymen Parish Church	850
24	Airth	Airth	Airth Parish Church	910
25	Baron's Stone of Killochan	Dailly	Old Dailly Parish Church	960
26	Tomavoid	Port of Menteith	Port of Menteith Parish Church	990
27	Court Hill	Beith	The Cross	1270
28	Judas or Justice Hill	Kilmarnock	Laigh Kirk	1500
29	Courthill of Craigbarnet	Campsie	St Machan's Parish Church	1600

The Mote Hill (Hamilton) is interesting as Waddell²⁶⁴ suggests that the presence of the Netherton Cross of possible tenth-century origin on the Low

²⁶⁴ Waddell, J. J., 1918, "The cross of S. Kentigern at Hamilton, and its environment." *TSES* 5, 3, 247-56. The Netherton Cross (Hamilton) was moved to its present position in the graveyard of Hamilton Parish Church in 1926, from its former location in Hamilton Low Parks. It is carved from a slab of local red sandstone, stands to a height of 2.1m and is

Parks implied the existence of a church nearby. However, in the absence of any more reliable evidence, it is the distance to the Old Parish Church, which will be used in this study.

3.6.2 *Law Stones & Parish Churches*

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, there are three standing stones, from which justice was reputedly meted out and have thus been included as court hills. In other places, such as some parishes in Orkney, standing stones were connected with district or “Sub-Foudry” courts: “In some of the Parishes and Islands a single standing stone is still seen in a central or commanding position. It may be difficult or impossible now to ascertain the purpose for which these large undressed blocks of stone were originally erected. ... in later times these standing stones became the places of public resort, where the Sub-Foudry Courts were held, and intimations relative to sales of lands and similar transactions were given, with the same view to publicity that similar intimations are now made at market-crosses and church-doors.”²⁶⁵

The Baron’s Stone of Killochan (Dailly) is described by Canmore as an “erratic boulder” which is “a large, fairly smooth stone some 8ft square and 5ft high.” It has “The Barons’ Stone of Killochan” carved on its south side, apparently by “Sir John Cathcart of Killochan some time ago;”²⁶⁶ and is sited in a field adjacent to Killochan Castle. There would seem to be no apparent reason for the stone to be in its present position, apart from its proximity to the castle; however some 400 metres to the south, in a fairly large wooded area (Mote Wood) is a large mound, possibly a cairn, known as Camregan or

decorated on all four sides. The style of decoration suggests that the cross is rather late, probably dating to the 10th century.

²⁶⁵ Stuart, J. (ed) 1841, *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v. Aberdeen: Spalding Club. 38-9. Evidence for this is found in some manuscripts relating to Kirkwall in 1514, 1550 and possibly 1553; “And, although it may be said that the “staine,” ... simply meant the Sub-Foudry Courts of the parish, yet this makes it all the more evident that these Courts had at least formerly been held at the standing stone or Heid Stone, and that the one was so associated with the other, that a “Court” and a “Staine” became synonymous terms.”

²⁶⁶ OS *Name Book* no xix, 66.

the Mote.²⁶⁷ An OS visit in 1959 described the cairn as “a large tree-covered mound of loose stones, 26m in diameter and 3m high with a flat top 6m in diameter. There is no surrounding ditch.” This intact cairn occupies a focal position above the 50ft raised beach contour and between the Penwhapple Burn to the east and the Water of Girvan on the west. There would seem to be no tradition attached to this mound, either as a motte or other monument; however, the name ‘Mote’ might imply that this was the site of the court hill rather than the present location of the stone. Evidence below will concern the common utilisation of cairns and barrows for court hills; and as seen above in the fourteenth-century charter concerning the lands of “Dryppis”, it was not uncommon for stones to be erected on the tops of moothills.²⁶⁸ Similarly, prehistoric standing stones are often found in association with cairns and barrows, as will be seen below. Although it is possible that the wood is of more recent origin, the setting is reminiscent of the glade or clearing described above by Barrow in respect of cuthills. The distance between the Camregan Cairn and Old Dailly Parish Church is 400 metres which is significantly less than the distance (960 metres) between the current site and Old Dailly Parish Church. Thus, it might be reasonable to suggest that the original site of the Baron’s Stone of Killochan was Camregan Cairn or the Mote.

The Cross Stone (Dalziel) would seem to present a similar case, in that there would appear to be a strong tradition that this stone had stood at the place from which justice was dispensed at the local baronial court, according to the antiquarian writers.²⁶⁹ This would also be consistent with the sixteenth century evidence from Kirkwall. Originally there would appear to have been three stones, which formed part of “an ancient cross” and stood “a short

²⁶⁷ Canmore, NX29NW3

²⁶⁸ Welsh, T. C., 1983, “Dripps (E Kilbride p): moot hill”, D & E Scotland, 39, 45.

²⁶⁹ OSA (Dalziel), 243. “In one place, however, near the centre of the parish, it [Watling Street] has been preserved entire, so as to point out the line to after times, the cross stone, the emblem of the baron’s jurisdiction, being placed upon it and secured by a large clump of trees planted around.” These points are echoed in *NSA* (Dalziel), 453, with the additional information: “One of them stands near the site of Baron Nesbit’s House. It is a heptagon, with a sword emblazoned on one side of it. The other two were placed where the Roman road deviated from the present one, but have been removed by recent improvements.”

distance SW of Dalziel Kirk;" the site being occupied by a tenement named "Cross-stone Place."²⁷⁰ The authors of the *Statistical Accounts* stated that it was fenced off at the end of the eighteenth century, broken up in the early nineteenth century, rescued by Lord Hamilton and later built into the wall of Dalziel School.²⁷¹ It is clear, then, that this particular stone had a fairly chequered career and it would be difficult to arrive at any reliable conclusion as to its original positioning, particularly, as this is an area which has been under continued rebuilding for some centuries. However, the fact that the tradition was continued so long must make this a likely candidate for being part of the judicial process associated with court hills. Canmore²⁷² gives a grid reference (NS 7565 5655) described as the "original site of this cross," that coincides with the Wilson's testimony, being some 300 metres southwest of St Patrick's Church. Therefore this is the grid reference that will be used in this study. The stone is described as a slender undressed, rough-shaped slab, with the appearance of "an early date" and, although there is a small incised cross on the face, it is suggested that this is not significant and that the stone has no features attributable to the Early Christian period nor to medieval crosses. This might point to the stone being from a somewhat earlier period, with the incised cross as a later addition, which might in turn suggest that it could be similar to the later Kirkwall example. However, this is speculation and although this all fits in rather nicely with the pattern it cannot be confirmed nor can the measurement be construed as an accurate.

The third stone, the Law Stone of Mugdock (Strathblane), might seem at first glance to be similar to the other two; however, when it is realised that this was a huge block of freestone, the largest of a row of similar stones, it would

²⁷⁰ Wilson, J. A., 1936-7, *A contribution to the history of Lanarkshire*, 2 vols. Glasgow, 160. According to Wilson, the cross is called the Motherwell Cross and it stood at the top of Windmillhill Street, in this he disagreed with Sneddon & Stevenson, G. T., and A. A., 1926, *Old Motherwell*, Hamilton, 28., who asserted that it stood at the top of Brandon Street. Dalziel Kirk is another name for St Patrick's Church.

²⁷¹ Sneddon & Stevenson, *Old Motherwell*, 26.

²⁷² OS Visit dated 27 August 1953. The grid reference is NS 7565 5655.

seem illogical to argue for similar changes in its location, although the possibility cannot be completely excluded.²⁷³

As will be seen below, the Law Stone apparently has no association with any religious sites apart from St Patrick's Well, although Strathblane is a parish which has two court hill sites within its boundaries. However, as discussed at length above, multiple court hills in a single parish that cannot be accounted for by the unification of those parishes, might imply that the court hills predate the formation of parishes and probably reflect earlier boundaries.

3.6.3 Dating of Parish Churches associated with Court Hills

Around AD1125, William of Malmesbury proposed that in post-conquest England, it was seen that "churches rise in every village."²⁷⁴ Although William of Malmesbury was undoubtedly endeavouring to emphasise the achievements of the Normans in England, this was a time of intense church-building within the context of local landowners; indeed, it would seem that by the thirteenth century "almost all medieval parish churches were in existence."²⁷⁵ Previously, churches that were later to become parish churches arose out of religious foundations.

Clearly, the date that a church was founded or built is germane to this study; however, as will be noted later in this study, documentary evidence is rarely available to give these dates. What documentary evidence is available tends to describe ownership of the church, usually when it had been appropriated to another institution, for example, for Beith, "The parsonage was appropriated to Kilwinning before 1286, in which year Robert, bishop of Glasgow, granted the vicarage to the monks, a transaction which was

²⁷³ Smith, J. G., 1896, *The Parish of Strathblane*. Glasgow, 252. "The "Law Stone of Mugdock" stands on the side of the road a few hundred yards to the south of Middleton farm-house. It is a huge block of freestone, and was the largest of a row of similar stones in a line to the south-eastward of it. It was no doubt placed there with infinite labour by some early Strathblane race, either as a place of worship or as a memorial of the dead. The "Law Stone" is the sole survivor of the row, the other stones having long ago been broken up and carried away for building purposes.

²⁷⁴ Cited in Morris, *Churches*, 147.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 141.

confirmed in 1333.”²⁷⁶ This, then, provides a *terminus post quem* for the church’s foundation date.

Dating church sites by other means such as architectural remains is very difficult as it is likely that more than one church had been built on the site and the likelihood of original remains is scant. The presence of early crosses or hogback stones is obviously a useful tool; however, documentary evidence seems to be the most readily available and reliable source of information for the purposes of this study. Therefore, as it seems improbable that many actual foundation dates will be forthcoming, it was decided to note dates as when the church was first mentioned in documentary sources.

The dates when the parish churches were first mentioned in documents is mentioned in the Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: Dates of parish churches associated with court hills

No	Name	Parish	Parish Church	1 st Mentioned
1	Court Hill	Riccarton	Riccarton Parish Church	1229
2	Doomster Hill	Govan	Govan Old Church	Possibly 8 th century
3	Tom a’Mhoid	Dunoon & Kilmun	Dunoon Old Parish Church	1270
4	Tullibody	Alloa	Old Church of Tullibody	c1170
5	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry Old Parish Church	1189 x98
6	Barnweill	Craigie	Barnweill Parish Church	End of 13 th century
7	Tom a’Mhoid	Rosneath	Rosneath Parish Church	Possibly earlier than 8 th century
8	Cadder Mote	Cadder	Cadder Church	1150
9	The Orry	Eaglesham	Eaglesham Parish Church	Pre-1430
10	Lawthorn Mount	Irvine	Perceton Old Parish Church	1468
11	Tarbolton Mote	Tarbolton	Tarbolton Old Parish Church	1335
12	Law of Mauldslie	Carluke	Mauldslie Church	1321
13	Knockcushion	Girvan	Girvan Old Parish Church	1236
14	Cross Stone	Dalziel	St Patrick’s Church	1199
15	Court Knowe 2	Ballantrae	Old Kirkcudbright Kirk	1275
16	Court Knowe	Cathcart	Cathcart Old Parish Church	1165 x 73

²⁷⁶ Cowan I. B., 1967, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, vol. 93. Edinburgh, 16. Cowan lists all the medieval parish churches and information about appropriate documentary evidence.

No	Name	Parish	Parish Church	1 st Mentioned
17	Cuthill Brae	Kincardine	St Lolan's Parish Church	1189 x 96
18	Court Hill	Dunblane & Lecropt	Lecropt Parish Church	1260
19	The Mote	Hamilton	Hamilton Old Parish Church	1150
20.	Alloway Moat	Ayr	Alloway Kirk	1236
21.	Craigie/ Highlangside	Craigie	Craigie Parish Church	1177
22.	The Mote	Stirling	Church of the Holy Rood	1163
23.	Catterlaw	Kilmaronock	Drymen Parish Church	Early 13 th century
24.	Airth	Airth	Airth Parish Church	
25.	Baron's Stone of Killochan	Dailly	Old Dailly Parish Church	Before 1214
26.	Tomavoid	Port of Menteith	Port of Menteith Parish Church	1238
27.	Court Hill	Beith	The Cross	1224
28.	Judas or Justice Hill	Kilmarnock	Laigh Kirk	Before 1312
29.	Courthill of Craigbarnet	Campsie	St Machan's Parish Church	12 th century

As mentioned above, the above dates are almost certainly not the foundation dates, although they do offer *terminii post quem*. It is difficult to assess whether many of the churches would comply with the notion that most parish churches were founded by the local landowners, under Anglo-Norman influence.²⁷⁷ This influence would probably have been somewhat later in Scotland than England: "the principle system was gradually taking shape during the reign of David I (1124-53)".²⁷⁸ It is perhaps of more interest to note that nine of the parish churches appear to have been much earlier foundations, as shown in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12: Early parish churches associated with court hills

Name	Parish	Parish Church
Court Hill	Riccarton	Riccarton Parish Church
Doomster Hill	Govan	Govan Old Church
Tom a'Mhoid	Rosneath	Rosneath Parish Church
Law of Mauldslie	Carluke	Mauldslie Church
Cross Stone	Dalziel	St Patrick's Church
Court Knowe 2	Ballantrae	Old Kirkcudbright Kirk
Court Hill	Dunblane & Lecropt	Lecropt Parish Church
Court Hill	Beith	The Cross
Courthill of Craigbarnet	Campsie	St Machan's Parish Church

²⁷⁷ Cowan, "Parochial system", 54.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 44.

The site of the pre-Reformation parish church of Riccarton is literally across the street from the present parish church,²⁷⁹ which was built on the site of the court hill. The suggestion of antiquity in respect of the pre-Reformation church is based on the appearance of its surrounding, sub-circular, raised graveyard. The immediate neighbourhood has been heavily developed and it is difficult to assess the nature of the original terrain; however, it appears low and fairly flat, so the height of the court hill and adjacent church would have been particularly striking (See Illustration 3.1).

Illustration 3.1: Court Hill (Riccarton) and Site of Riccarton Old Parish Church



Riccarton Old Parish Church (left) and burial ground (right), built on the site of the court hill.

The antiquity of Govan parish church has been rehearsed above, and needs no further description.

“The ancient church of Neueth”²⁸⁰ or Rosneath Parish Church was reputedly a pre-Christian *nemeton*, before becoming a Christian foundation dedicated to St Modan. The date of this foundation is uncertain; however, a possible eighth-century cross-slab²⁸¹ and early hogback stone have been identified within the early circular graveyard. The site of St Modan’s Well has recently

²⁷⁹ NSA, (Riccartoun), 615.

²⁸⁰ OPS 1851, 1, 28, appx 502.

²⁸¹ Allen, “Early Christian monuments of the Glasgow district”, 394-405. The cross-slab is known locally as St Modan’s Stone.

been discovered in the immediate vicinity of the court hill (Tom a'Mhoid) and church, which might also point to any early foundation. Rosneath will be the subject of a case study below.

Mauldslie Church (Carluke) or the Forest Kirk was dedicated to St Muag or Maluag;²⁸² and was also known as Eglismalesoch or Eglismalessok. Barrow²⁸³ proposes that names containing the *eglés* element could conceivably be sub-Roman; however, in Scotland, it is more likely to be in the period cAD450-650 (See Illustration 3.2).

Illustration 3.2: Site of Maudslie Church and Law of Maudslie (Carluke)



Site of the Maudslie Church (left) and Law of Maudslie (right).

Wilson²⁸⁴ suggests that St Patrick's Church or the Old Church of Dalziel was of great antiquity and possibly had pagan origins, although he offers no evidence for this assertion; some supporting evidence might be offered by the presence in the locality of four holy wells.²⁸⁵ The remains of Old Kirkcudbright Church (Ballantrae), now known as Kirkholm Church, appear to date from the fifteenth century; however the nature of the dedication might suggest an earlier foundation date, possibly to the seventh or eighth

²⁸² Cowan, *Parishes*, 27; *Name Book*, 1856, No 11, 15-16.

²⁸³ Barrow, "Childhood of Scottish Christianity", 6-7.

²⁸⁴ Wilson, *History of Lanarkshire*, 160 "As old as the hills are the wells of the parish of which three bear the names of saints, St. Patrick's well, near the site of the old Dalziel Kirk, St. Margaret's, St. Catherine's and the Lady well at Motherwell. Without doubt these springs were sacred in pre-Christian days and re-dedicated to the saints."

²⁸⁵ NSA, (Dalziel), 445.

centuries.²⁸⁶ The church was dedicated to St Cuthbert, whose remains were removed from Lindisfarne during the Viking raids; the ship was wrecked off the Galloway coast and it is understood that churches dedicated to him were founded at the places where his coffin rested on the journey to his final resting-place in Durham Cathedral.²⁸⁷ Cowan²⁸⁸ suggests that this church appears to have been an early Celtic church, which developed into one of the “old minster type, the *scollofhes*, representing the old community, still being in the possession of the church in 1177.” (See Illustration 3.3).

Illustration 3.3: Remains of Kirkholm Church & Court Knowe 2 (Ballantrae)



Remains of Kirkholm Church looking towards Court Knowe 2 (left) and Court Knowe 2 (right).

The final three parish churches are all thought to be early because of their associations with early saints who are reputed to have ministered in those areas and, in at least two cases, to have been buried there. St Moroc, a Celtic missionary (flourished cAD800) is said to have ministered and been

²⁸⁶ White & White, K. G., and M. M., 1961, “The kirks of Ballantrae, a survey of the buildings,” *AANHC*, 2nd series, vol.6, 211-14.

²⁸⁷ Mackinlay, J. M., 1914, *Non-Scriptural Dedications*, Glasgow, 256. Other churches founded in this way include Whithorn, Kirkclinton and Bewcastle.

²⁸⁸ Cowan, “Parochial system”, 44-45, Cowan suggests that the parochial system in southern Scotland developed in a similar fashion to England before the Norman Conquest – the parishes representing large districts served by clergy resident in the central churches, known to the early writers as *monasteria* or *minsters*.

buried in the church at Lecropt; which is now marked only by a disused burial ground.²⁸⁹ See Illustration 3.3.

Legend has it that an early saint, Inan, founded the chapel²⁹⁰ on the site of the Cross or first parish church of Beith. 'Inan' is probably a corruption of Winning or Finbarr of Moyville (died 759), founder of the nearby abbey at Kilwinning. The distance between the Cross and the Court Hill might seem too great, however, the parsonage was appropriated to Kilwinning before 1224,²⁹¹ the abbey apparently held authority on the Court Hill,²⁹² and there are several other religious sites and a crannog in the immediate area, as shown in Map 3.5. The nearest site is Bog Hall, a crannog; however, there are also two chapels (Low Fullwoodhead and St Bridget's Chapel), a holy well (St Bridget's Well) and the possible site of a cross (How o'Cruxlee). The cross probably stood in a deep hollow on a high conspicuous hill called "Cruxlee", some 750 metres west of St Inan's Chair, and Love²⁹³ suggests that this may have been the site of a wayside cross, either indicating the way to St Inan's Well, or that the lands around belonged to Kilwinning Abbey. This then was an area of early religious activity and might seem an appropriate place to site a court hill (See Illustration 3.4).

²⁸⁹ Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 329.

²⁹⁰ Mackinlay, J. M., *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs*, Glasgow, 78.

²⁹¹ Cowan, *Parishes*, 16.

²⁹² Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol iii, 557. The chapel passed into lay hands, by grant, in 1594.

²⁹³ Love, "Cairn on Cuffhill", 294.

Illustration 3.4: The Cross & Courthill (Beith)



View of the Cross at Beith (left) and the trees mark the site of the Court Hill (right).

The association of St Machan's Parish Church, well and tomb to the Court Hill of Craigbarnet (Campsie parish) might seem tenuous; however, they are the nearest sites to each other and there does appear to have been an uninterrupted line of sight between them. Traditionally, the church is said to have been founded by the sixth century, Irish St Machan, a disciple of St Cadoc, who is said to have been buried there.²⁹⁴ See Illustration 3.5.

²⁹⁴ Mackinlay, J. M., *Scriptural Dedications*, Glasgow, 197.

Illustration 3.5: St Machan's Church & Courthill of Craigharnet (Campsie)



Views of St Machan's Church (left) and Courthill of Craigharnet (mound with trees; right).

3.6.4 Conclusion

Twenty-nine or 42.6% of the court hill sites are associated with parish churches in that the distance is less than 1,500 metres. These statistics are fairly impressive and too great to be explained by coincidence: it could, therefore, be argued that a pattern has been established. This contention is strengthened when the following statistics are taken into account: twenty-six (89.6% of the twenty-nine court hills) are less than 1,000 metres distant from the parish church and eighteen (62.1% of the twenty-nine court hills) are less than 500 metres if Baron's Stone of Killochan (Dailly) is included.

These statistics echo evidence of other studies including the many examples cited by O'Grady²⁹⁵ and it is clearly a widespread phenomenon.

Riccarton New Parish Church (Riccarton) is built on the site of the court hill and this could perhaps be compared to the Stormont Mausoleum. The Mausoleum stands on the summit of the Moot Hill at Scone and was said to have been the remodelled aisle of the Mote Church, built in 1784 and replacing the original church built there in 1624.²⁹⁶ However, perhaps more

²⁹⁵ O'Grady, *Open-Air Assemblies*.

²⁹⁶ OSA, (Scone), 86-7.

noteworthy is a mound “within a stone’s throw of the Palace” marked on old charts as Chapelhill, which is reputed to have been the site of Scone Parish Church, which would seem to have been dedicated to St Modwenna, have been in the possession of Jedburgh Abbey and later Scone Abbey.²⁹⁷

Clearly, this evidence is very compelling and seems to strongly imply a relationship between court hills and parish churches; although, this does not in itself confirm that court hills were in use before the foundation of the adjacent parish church. However, O’Grady’s work²⁹⁸ does point to assembly sites, which includes the court hill sub-site, as being in use in the early Christian era and probably earlier. This would certainly imply that some parish churches were deliberately founded on sites near to the court hills – this will be discussed at some length in Chapter 5.

3.7 Churches (not parish) and Chapels:

A further fourteen or 20.5% of the court hills appear to be associated with churches or chapels and their associated sites, such as, holy wells and burial grounds. These sites are shown in Map 3.5 and Table 3.13. Dalmorton Mote (Straiton) has been included although it is slightly over the distance and the reasons for this will be discussed below.

Table 3.13: Court hills associated with churches and chapels (not parish churches)

No	Name	Parish	Site	Site type	Dist. (in metres)
1	Jock’s Hill	Linlithgow	St Ninian’s Chapel	Chapel	270
2	Court Hill	Dalry	Blair	Chapel	300
3	Sanquhar	Sanquhar	Kingscar St Nicholas’s Chapel	Hospital Chapel	330 330
4	Tulliallan	Tulliallan	Tulliallan Castle	Chapel	420
5	Court Hill	Kilsyth	Chapel Green	Chapel	c500
6	Dunan	Inverchaolain	Killellan	Chapel	650

²⁹⁷ Martin, A. S., 1905 ‘St David’s, Scone’ *Transactions Aberdeen Ecclesiastical Society*, 4: 1897-1905: 78 cited in Canmore entry: Scone Park, Chapel Hill, NO12NW 9.18.

²⁹⁸ O’Grady, *Open-Air Assemblies*.

No	Name	Parish	Site	Site type	Dist. (in metres)
7	Mote	Falkirk	St Helen's Chapel	Chapel	750
8	Judge's Mound	Largs	Annatyrd	Church	780
9	Judge's Chair	Kilmodan	Tobar n'Anait	Chapel	800
			Tobar n'Anait	Holy Well	800
10	The Moat	Kilmaurs	Knockentiber Chapel	Chapel	800
			Kilbridemore	Burial Ground	1100
			Fullarton Friary	Friary	1300
11	Courthill	Dalry	Chapel	Chapel	1350, poss closer
12	Tom a'Mhoid	Rhu	Stuckenduff	Chapel	1400
			Priest's House	Priest's House	1400
			Monk's Well	Holy well	1560
13	Motehill	Old Cumnock	Chapel Knowe	Chapel	1600
14	Salmon's Hill	Irvine	St Mary's Chapel	Chapel	1700
			Holy Well	Holy well	1700
15	Law Mount	Stewarton	Chapelton	Chapel	1700
16	Covington	Covington & Thankerton	St Ninian's Chapel	Chapel	1700
17	Dalmorton Mote	Straiton	Baing	Chapel	1970

As with the parish churches, the foundation-date or the first date mentioned of the churches and chapels is of interest when assessing their significance; however, unlike parish churches, there are very few dates available. Six of the sites are noted as: "popish chapel,"²⁹⁹ "pre-Reformation chapel"³⁰⁰ and "a Chapel, supposed to be a Romish one,"³⁰¹ - these are all commonly-used terms and are often employed to indicate a site before documentation was available. Only eight of the chapel sites have any degree of provenance and even those are not that useful, such as St Ninian's Chapel (Linlithgow), of which the earliest references to the chapel was in the time of Edward I.³⁰²

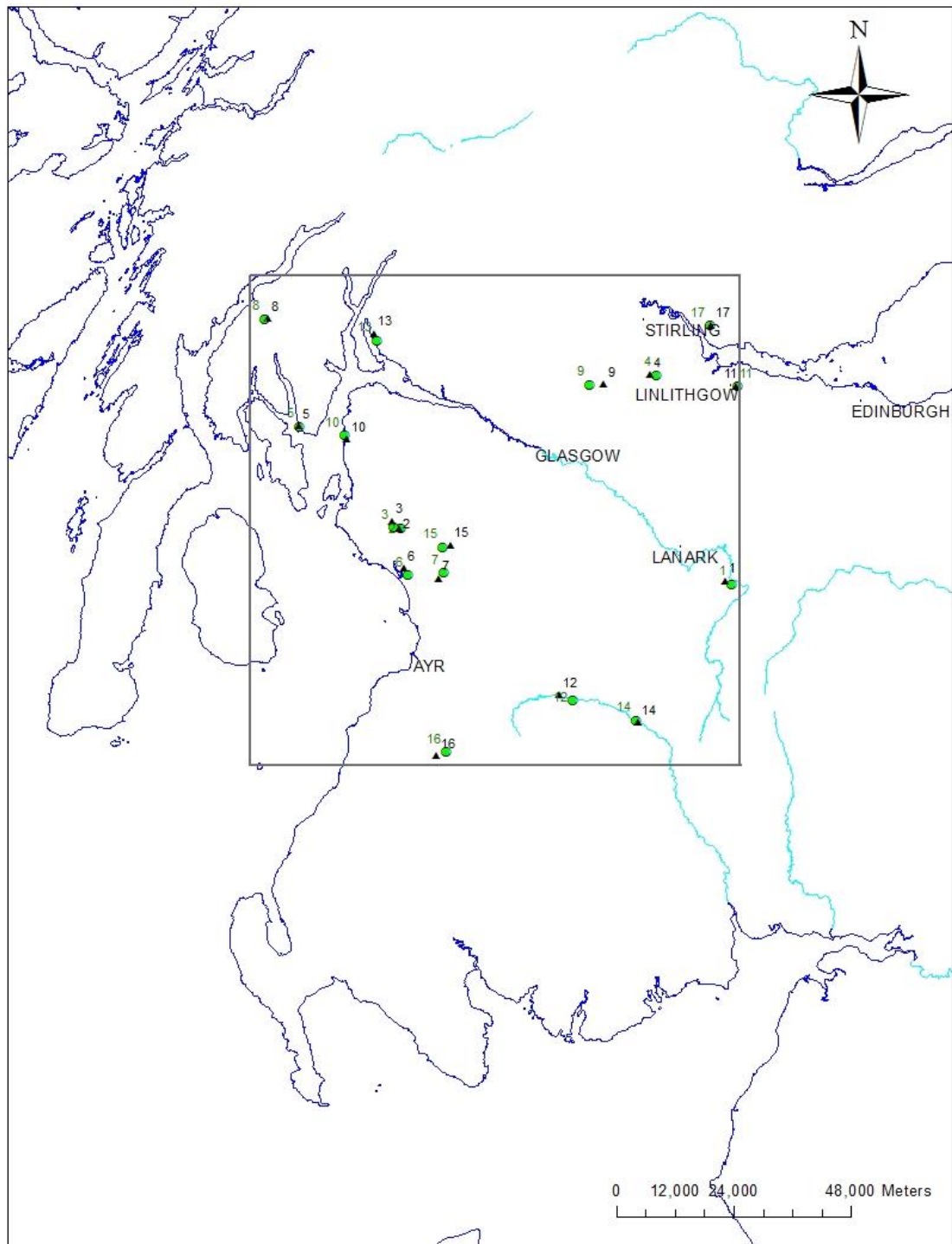
²⁹⁹ *Name Book*, no xxxvi, 36-7.

³⁰⁰ Paterson, *History of Ayr and Wigton*, vol i, pt i, 182.

³⁰¹ OSA, (Dalry), 158.

³⁰² Ferguson, Rev J., 1905, *Ecclesia Antiqua or, the History of an Ancient Church (St Michael's, Linlithgow) with an account of its chapels, chantries and endowments*, Edinburgh & London, 139.

Map 3.4: Chapels and Courthills



Key: Map 3.4 showing Chapels and Courthills

Courthills (▲)

No.	Parish	Court Hill
1	Covington & Thankerton	Covington
2	Dalry	Court Hill
3	Dalry	Courthill
4	Falkirk	Mote
5	Inverchaolain	Dunan
6	Irvine	Salmon's Hill
7	Kilmaurs	The Moat
8	Kilmodan	Judge's Chair
9	Kilsyth	Court Hill
10	Largs	Judge's Mound
11	Linlithgow	Jock's Hill
12	Old Cumnock	Motehill
13	Rhu	Tom a'Mhoid
14	Sanquhar	Sanquhar
15	Stewarton	Law Mount
16	Straiton	Dalmorton Mote
17	Tulliallan	Tulliallan

Chapels (●)

No.	Parish	Chapel/non-Parish Church
1	Covington & Thankerton	Covington
2	Dalry	Blair
3	Dalry	Chapel
4	Falkirk	St Helen's Chapel
5	Inverchaolain	Killellan
6	Irvine	St Mary's Chapel
7	Kilmaurs	Knockentiber
8	Kilmodan	Tobar na h'Annait
9	Kilsyth	Queenzieburn
10	Largs	Annatyrd
11	Linlithgow	St Ninian's Chapel
12	New Cumnock	Chapel Knowe
13	Rhu	Stuckenduff
14	Sanquhar	St Nicholas's Chapel
15	Stewarton	Chapel Hill
16	Straiton	Baing
17	Tulliallan	Tulliallan Castle

According to the *OS Name Book* entry,³⁰³ there are no remains of Stuckenduff Chapel (Rhu) to be found, however during ploughing in the nineteenth century, large stones that might have been the foundations of a house were found. There is nothing known of its history or dedication of the chapel. A burying ground was situated at the south side of the Chapel but there was no trace of it except for the slight track of a ditch which is supposed to have enclosed it; this ditch has since been filled up. In a small piece of unploughed land a little to the north of the chapel site, are some foundations of a building supposed to have been the Priest's House. Similarly, there are no remains of Killellan Chapel (Dunoon & Kilmun) which was thought to be dedicated to St Fillan of Rath Erren or possibly St Finan, as the name Kyllenane also occurs.³⁰⁴ The chapel was situated on a small knoll, although all that remains is a slight scarp on all but the eastern sides,

³⁰³ *OS Name Book* no xxxix, 39.

³⁰⁴ *OPS*, (Dunoon), 7.

enclosing a levelled area measuring 36m N-S by approximately 20m.³⁰⁵ The site of the chapel was used as a burial ground, but interments ceased many years before the publication of the *Name Book* in 1864 and there is no indication as to the dating of the chapel.³⁰⁶

The Chapel of St Helen (Denny & Dunipace) was first mentioned in a charter of 1542-3, confirming a charter of fourteen years earlier;³⁰⁷ and Gordon³⁰⁸ noted a structure at a place he called Chapel-Hill. This is likely to have been in the area marked on the OS map "Chapel Haugh" in the east part of Dennyloanhead. He described a "square spot of ground, surrounded with a rampart of stone and earth, about 200' in circumference, in the middle of which were the foundations of stone buildings." The site was then occupied by Chapel Place, which no longer exists, having been replaced by a modern block of buildings called "Chapel Buildings"; and adjacent to it is a disused burial ground containing tombstones bearing early 17th century dates.

Again there is very little evidence for dating St Ninian's Chapel (Covington & Thankerton) and the only available reference is from the OS *Name Book* entry: "The farmsteading of Muirhouse is built on the site of, and from the remains of, a chapel dedicated to St Ninian".³⁰⁹

Annatyrd (Largs) and Tobar na h'Annait (Kilmodan) are the only sites that have any real pretension to be early foundations. MacDonald³¹⁰ suggests that place names incorporating the word 'annait' indicates a 9th–10th century term for a church-site of any kind abandoned during that period and not subsequently re-used as the site of a focal church. Annait names and other theories will be discussed below and it is sufficient at this juncture to note

³⁰⁵ OS Survey Report of 1973. NS28NE2.

³⁰⁶ OS *Name Book* no. iv, 100.

³⁰⁷ Smith, "Artificial mound at Bonnybridge", 66-7.

³⁰⁸ Gordon, A., 1726, *Itinerarium septentrionale: or a journey thro' most of the counties of Scotland and those in the north of England*, London, 22, cited in Canmore.

³⁰⁹ OS *Name Book* no. xvi, 26.

³¹⁰ MacDonald, A., 1973, "'Annait' in Scotland: a provisional review." SS 17: 140-4. "The Annait names denote, I suggest, churches of any kind which were abandoned and subsequently replaced, but not, for probably a variety of reasons, at the same site *An annaid* means, therefore, 'the old church (-site)'."

that the indication of a nearby early religious foundation. MacDonald³¹¹ suggested that Annatyrd or Annetyrd (Largs), a farmhouse, was the site of a church; unfortunately the site has been quarried and in an area of urban development and thus the place-name evidence may be the only corroboration for this assertion. Again MacDonald³¹² has identified the holy well, Tobar na h'Annait, in upper Glendaruel as an annait place-name and suggested that this indicated the existence of an early church. Though not on OS 6", it is apparently near Kilbridemore (NS 030 908). The name is unlikely to have been invented, and probably indicates the site of an 'annait'. An adjacent old burial ground, Kilbridemore, and river named Allt na Croise, may imply an early Christian presence; although again nineteenth-century quarrying has probably destroyed any remaining archaeological evidence.³¹³

Dalmorton (Straiton) is particularly interesting as the references in Canmore describe a cairn variously as "a little lump not more than 2ft high,"³¹⁴ and "a grass-covered mound partly ploughed away, but still apparently in much the same state as when noted by Smith³¹⁵ - it measures 13.0m by 8.0m and 1.4m high."³¹⁶ The OS visit of 1980 suggests that the oval mound of stones known as Dalmorton Cairn shows little evidence of antiquity and may be little more than a field clearance cairn and proposes another mound to the south-southeast of Dalmorton farmhouse as a more likely alternative. Perhaps a more likely site may be a hill or mound known as the Mote, which appears on the First Edition and 1:10,000 OS maps. An OS visit³¹⁷ describes the Mote as a small kidney-shaped, grass-covered mound of earth and stone, with a level top, which was thought to be artificial, but there is no suggestion that it

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² *Ibid.*, 143.

³¹³ *OS Name Book* no xvi, 6.

³¹⁴ *OS Name Book* no ix, 75.

³¹⁵ Smith, *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire*, 184.

³¹⁶ OS visit of 9 September 1968.

³¹⁷ Canmore, OS visit of 1982 (undated): "A small grass-covered mound of earth and stone, c.28.0m in overall diameter, its height varying from c.3.5m on the S to c.6.5m on the N. The level top, eroded on the W and S sides, is kidney-shaped, measuring c.10.0m E-W by 5.0m maximum. At the base, on the SE side, a terrace-way is evident but is unlikely to be associated."

is a cairn or barrow. It has been noted as a possible motte,³¹⁸ but this was dismissed as unlikely by the OS visit of 1984. It would appear that there are no other traditions associated with the site and the name might imply the presence of a court hill, which may be further indicated by evidence below. Should the Mote prove to be the court hill, then the distance between the court hill and the chapel at Baing (Straiton)³¹⁹ is reduced to some 950 metres. The chapel at Baing was represented in the nineteenth century by the slight remains of a badly robbed structure which were said to have been a pre-Reformation chapel. One of the gables still stood at the end of the 18th century, but the site had been used as a quarry to wall the surrounding enclosure and all that remained was a turf-covered heap of rubble.³²⁰ See Illustration 3.6.

Illustration 3.6: Dalmorton Mote (Straiton)



Views of Dalmorton Mote (both panels).

3.7.1 Conclusion

The associated churches and chapels do not really shed any light on the dating of court hills. Equally, although it is difficult to find evidence to support the suggestion that the majority of the chapels were probably founded by the

³¹⁸ Webster & Simpson, "Charter evidence", 181.

³¹⁹ *OS Name Book* no lx, 115. Thomson's map depicts the farmhouse as being slightly to the north of the alleged site of the chapel.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

local landowners during the period of Anglo-Norman influence the two Annait sites do offer some potential that an earlier association is feasible.

However, it is clear that, as with parish churches, chapels and churches (i.e. those not of parish status) were also built close to court hills; although the incidence is less – about half in this study. This is somewhat strange, as clearly there are considerably more chapels than parish churches³²¹ and it might be expected that there would be a comparable higher number of associations. Little work seems to have been done on associations between court hills and chapels, so there is no comparative evidence; however, this phenomenon is discussed further in Chapter 5. It is, however, significant that when the number of court hills/church or chapel associations are added to court hill/parish churches, the total is thirty-seven or 60.7% of the court hills.

3.8 Other Religious Sites

Other religious sites associated with court hills include holy wells, crosses and a monastery – six or 8.8% of the court hills fall into this category and are noted in Map 3.6 and Table 3.14.

Table 3.14: Court hills associated with other religious sites (not churches or chapels)

Name	Parish	Site	Site type	Dist (in metres)
St Molaise's Table	Kilbride	St Molaise's Well & Oratory	Holy well	8
Mutehill	Glasgow	St Ninian's Well	Holy well	230
Court Knowe 1	Ballantrae	Ballantrae	Cross-incised stone	c480
Law Stone of Mugdock	Strathblane	St Patrick's Well	Holy well	c550
Queen Blearie's Mound	Paisley	Queen Blearie's Stone	Cross	800
Law	Tarbolton	Fail Monastery	Monastery	c1000

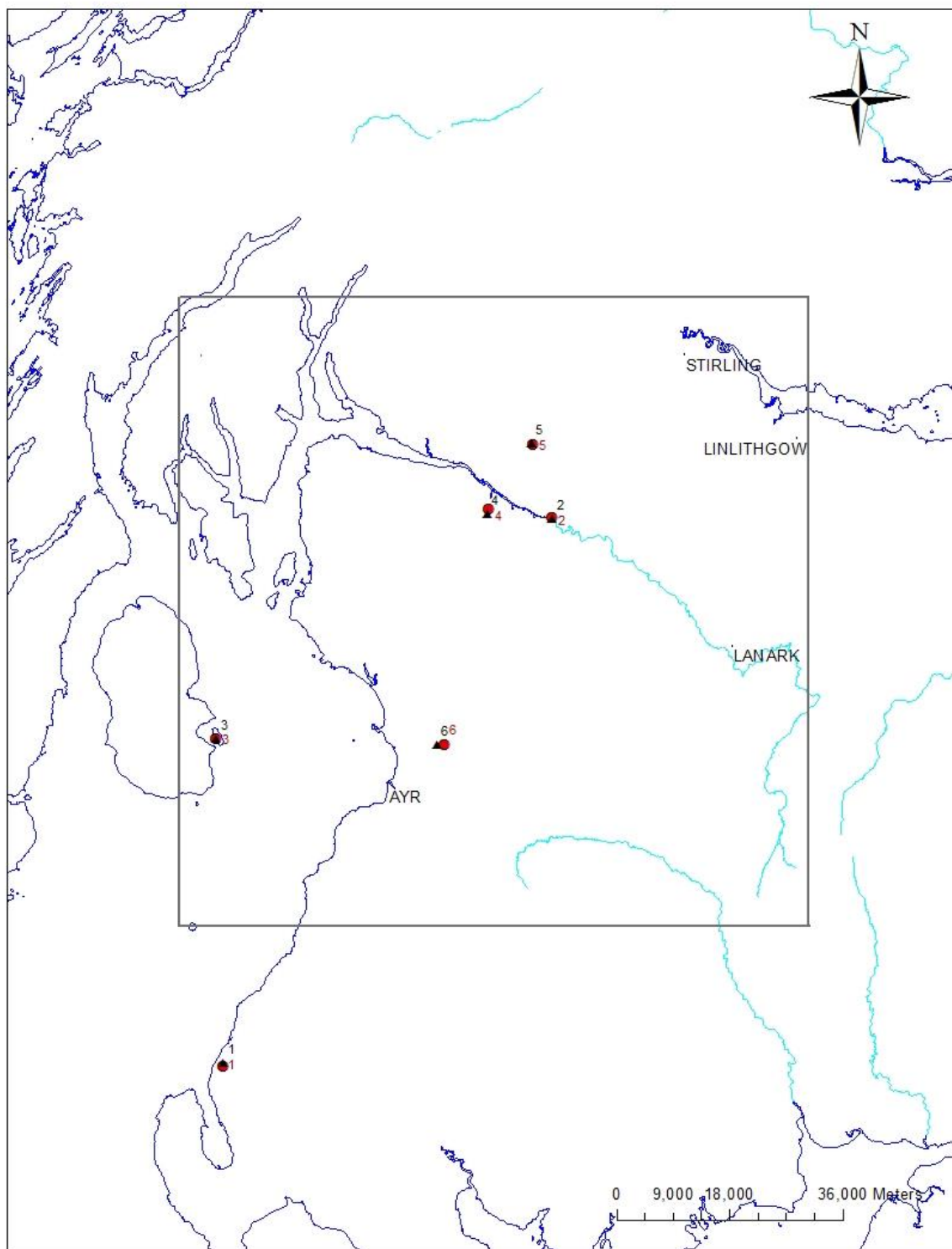
There are sixteen monasteries within the study area, although only four are included in this study; and Fail Monastery (Tarbolton) is the only monastery

³²¹ The number of chapels (76) in the gazetteer does not reflect the actual number of chapels in the database (283) as only those included in the final study have been included.

which has any spatial association with a court hill, although the distance was 1000 metres. The monastery was a house of the Trinitarian or Red Friars and the date of its foundation is uncertain, although it may have been around 1252. The first documented account was of its burning in 1349, but the house continued to exist until 1561 when it was “cast down” by Reformers; after which two poor men still lived in the convent until 1562, while four old beidmen of the convent lived outside.³²² As seen above, the Court Hill (Beith) was traditionally under the jurisdiction of Kilwinning Monastery, even though they were some miles distant from each other; thus it would not necessarily have been unusual for a court hill to have been associated with such a religious house. Indeed, St Molaise’s Table (Kilbride) may have presented a similar case.

³²² Cowan & Easson, I. B., and D. E., 1976, *Medieval religious houses, Scotland: with an appendix on the houses in the Isle of Man*, London, 109; NSA, (Tarbolton), 749.

Map 3.5: Other Religious Sites and Courthills



Key: Map 3.5 showing Other Religious Sites and Courthills

Courthills (▲)

No.	Parish	Court Hill
1	Ballantrae	Court Hill 1
2	Glasgow	Mutehill
3	Kilbride	St Molaise's
4	Paisley	Queen Blearie's Mound
5	Strathblane	Law Stone of Mugdock
6	Tarbolton	Law

Other Religious Sites (●)

No.	Parish	Name	Other Religious Site
1	Ballantrae	Ballantrae	Cross-incised stone
2	Glasgow	St Ninian's Well	Holy well
3	Kilbride	St Molaise's Well & Oratory	Holy well & oratory
4	Paisley	Queen Blearie's Stone	Cross
5	Strathblane	St Patrick's Well	Holy well
6	Tarbolton	Fail monastery	Monastery

At first sight, St Molaise's Table might seem to have been an unlikely court hill, being situated in an isolated spot on the coast of the Holy Isle. The only other sites within the vicinity are St Molaise's Well and St Molaise's Oratory and Cave; the reputed home of the saint, St Molaise, Abbot of Leithglinn, who died in 638, which contains stones identified as an altar and a font.³²³ The Table itself is an almost circular sandstone rock with a levelled top and four seats cut on the sides. It was also known as the 'Judgement Stone' and the "Saint's Chair,"³²⁴ which is particularly interesting as stones (*leaca*), either for sitting or standing upon, were very important in ritual in medieval Ireland, where they tended to take the forms of footprints or 'chairs'.³²⁵ Such 'chairs' were used for inauguration in Ireland; but were also associated with saints and *breitheamhna* or judges. In Scotland, saint's chairs are a fairly widespread phenomenon and sites in this study include the aforementioned

³²³ Wilson, D., 1863, *Prehistoric annals of Scotland*, London, 278. At the S side of the rock, evidently, steps led up to the top, one of the steps being made out of the rock; at the N end a handgrip is cut on the upper edge, and lower down a foot- hold has been made. The diameter of the top is 7ft, the circumference, 31ft, and height 7ft 1in. On the E face, a cross with a ring top is cut. Some pilgrim crosses may also be seen.

³²⁴ Balfour, J. A., 1909, "The ecclesiastical remains on the Holy Island, Arran." *PSAS*, 43, 156.

³²⁵ Fitzpatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, 105.

St Inan's Chair (Beith).³²⁶ Fitzpatrick³²⁷ gives an interesting example of a folk tradition collected by Thomas Wallace, c1901, which referred to the chief of the clan Mac Griogair planting his foot in a foot-print on court day. The notion of the existence of a Clann Ghroigair court hill is strengthened by a natural hollow called *Lag a Mhòid* (hollow of the moot) on a rise of ground known as *Tom a Mhòid* (moot knoll).

Some 1180 metres to the north of St Molaise's Table are circular foundations some seven metres in diameter and "the remains of an old chapel, built after the Gothic taste" which are reputed to represent the accepted site of the monastery founded by Ranald, King of the Isles and Argyll, who died around 1207, according to the *Book of Clanranald*.³²⁸ Ranald is also said to have founded the monastic order of Molaise, although the *Book of Arran* states that the founder was probably "the good John of Islay" who died in 1380.³²⁹ However, it might seem a reasonable proposition that a court hill at a complex associated with an early saint would be an appropriate setting for the monastic authorities to mete out open-air judicial judgement.

The Lawstone of Mugdock (Strathblane) is described above and Smith³³⁰ notes that St Patrick's Well was some "five or six hundred yards nearly due south of the Law Stone" and just on the brow of the "Bank of Mugdock". Although, the location of the well is not known, this was a sacred well and was visited by many pilgrims until the beginning of the nineteenth century.³³¹ There is no suggestion that there was ever a chapel connected with this well, and the association between holy wells and chapels will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this study. It is interesting to note that there are two court hill sites within the parish of Strathblane; the second site being the Moothill, which has no apparent associated sites.

³²⁶ There are three other saint's chairs within the study: Suidhe Blain or St Blane's Seat (Kingarth), Vinnin's Seat or St Winning's Seat (Kilwinning) and St Fillan's Seat or Chair (Houston); also Judge's Chair (Kilmodan) and Judgement Seat (Craigie).

³²⁷ *Ibid*, 121-2.

³²⁸ Balfour, "Ecclesiastical remains", 147.

³²⁹ Cowan & Easson, *Religious houses*, 235.

³³⁰ Smith, *Strathblane*, 256.

³³¹ *Ibid*.

Queen Blearie's Cross (Paisley) may possibly have been a high cross, although traditionally marked the spot where Marjory Bruce broke her neck falling from her horse when hunting and giving birth prematurely to Robert II, before dying.³³² It is interesting that it should also be associated with "Queen Blearie" like the court hill some 800 metres to the south, which might imply a previous closer association. It was described as "an octagonal pillar, the shaft probably of a cross, 10ft high without sculpture or inscription, inserted in a solid pedestal, also eight-sided and 6ft across".³³³ The cross had been removed by 1782, at which time part of it formed the lintel of a barn door; it had disappeared by 1836.³³⁴ The site is now part of a housing estate and there is no further information. However, it is interesting that the *OS Name Book*³³⁵ mentions that the stone was originally at Knoc (Knock) on the common moor at Renfrew Moor, as Fitzgerald³³⁶ gives *cnoc* or *knock* as one of the terms used by native chronicles, genealogical and bardic sources, etc., for assembly places in Ireland. See Illustration 3.7.

³³² Allen & Anderson, *The Early Monuments of Scotland*, vol iii, 471-72.

³³³ Crawford & Semple, G., and W., 1782, *The History of the Shire of Renfrew: Containing a Genealogical History of the Royal House of Stewart, with a Genealogical Account of the Illustrious House of Hanover, from the Time of Their Intermarriage with the Stewart Family, to the Present Period : Also, a Genealogical History of the Nobility and Gentry of the County of Renfrew, and an Exact Survey of the County : Together with the Present State of the Public Buildings, Manufactures, Different Religions, &c. &c.* cited in Canmore, NS46NE 13.

³³⁴ NSA, (Paisley), 14.

³³⁵ *Name Book* no xvi, 61.

³³⁶ Fitzgerald, *Royal Inaugurations*, 45. Other common words are *tulach*, *carn* and *cruach* or *cruachain*.

Illustration 3.7: The Queen Blearie's Mound/Mote Hill (Paisley)



Views of site of Queen Blearie's Mound/Mote Hill (both panels). The site of Mote Hill is the only green space in this part of the housing estate – the mound was removed some years ago, but the site has been preserved.

The cross-incised stone that is located some 480 metres from Court Knowe I (Ballantrae) has been dated to the eighth century or possibly the tenth or eleventh centuries and is some “9 inches by 13 inches by 3 inches thick and apparently worked on back and sides, bears in relief a Latin cross whose terminals are expanded in the style known as 'hammer head' and whose crossing is marked by an incised circle.”³³⁷ The stone was found on top of a drystone dyke at Shallochwreck Farm and there would appear to be no known site in the vicinity from which it could emanate; nor is its exact purpose known. Of course it is possible that it served a similar purpose to that of the How o'Cruxlee (Beith) as mentioned above i.e. that it was a marker to direct travellers to a specific location, the nearest of which might appear to be the court hill; or it may have been a place for making announcements associated with the court hill.

As mentioned above the Mutehill (Glasgow) was a problematic addition to this study. Mann has argued that Glasgow ought to have had a court hill, however, the site (the Mutehill) that he selected seemed to have very little

³³⁷ Foster, J., 1960 “The Ballantrae Cross”, *AANHC 2nd series*, vol.6, 9-11. It is in the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow.

supporting evidence. Glasgow has a plethora of religious sites so it would be odd if a fairly central located site, as the Mutehill, did not produce several associations. St Ninian's Well would seem to be the nearest to the Mutehill, however there are several other sites within a 500 metre radius, including St Ninian's Hospital, the Tron Church and the Trongate Chapel.³³⁸ Mann's reasoning may be sound: if Glasgow is compared to Govan in that they were apparently both early British cult centres; thus it might be expected that Glasgow would have the equivalent of Doomster Hill. It is true that Glasgow has experienced more urban development than Govan and thus if a court hill had existed then it is not unreasonable to assume that it disappeared beneath centuries of building developments and the tradition lost. However, it would not be a good research strategy to assume that a court hill should have existed and then choose an appropriate site; thus even though it is surrounded by religious sites which might appear to be associated, the Mutehill must be considered with a degree of doubt.

Strangely, Mann chose to ignore the traditional evidence that annual open air courts had been held at Summerton near Cowdaddens: "Here the magistrates and community were wont to assemble on the first day of the week about the middle of June, and to pass resolutions on the common affairs, ...".³³⁹ The reasons for this are unclear, however, the differences between Glasgow and Govan in relation to court hills is explored further in Chapter 5.

3.8.1 Conclusion

The religious sites mentioned in this section initially appear to have some sort of spatial association with their respective court hills; however, there are undoubtedly some problems, which cannot be glossed over completely. Certainly, there is some evidence to support the suggestion that St Molaise's Table (Kilbride) and Law (Tarbolton) might have served as court hills for their

³³⁸ The distances are 270 metres, 350 metres and 350 metres respectively. Other sites are St Ninian's Chapel (440 metres), St Thomas's Chapel (500 metres) and St Thenew's Chapel and Well (500 metres).

³³⁹ Renwick & Lindsay, R., and Sir J., 1921, History of Glasgow, 3 vols. Glasgow, 70-1.

respective monasteries in a similar fashion to the court hill at Beith. St Patrick's Well (Strathblane) was an important religious site, particularly if it was still being visited by pilgrims at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Therefore, any association with the Law Stone of Mugdock (Strathblane) could be considered significant. Associations with Queen Blearie's Cross (Paisley) and the cross-incised stone at Ballantrae, however, must remain doubtful; if only because it is impossible to be sure of their original locations. Cases can be made for both stones, as seen above, but these must always be suspect. The case for the Mutehill (Glasgow) is very difficult to substantiate; although it has been included in this section, the religious associations should not be viewed as significant as noted above.

So if the parish churches, churches, chapels and other religious sites are added together, then some forty-three or 70.5% of the court hills would appear to have some sort of spatial association with a pre-Reformation Christian site. However, as noted with chapels, little work has been completed between assembly sites, which includes court hills, and religious sites other than parish churches. This would seem to be significant data, however, the sample is too small to be conclusive and it would be more considerably more significance if it was comparable to data from other regions.

Perhaps, the one intriguing site is the apparent association between St Patrick's Well and the Law Stone of Mugdock (Strathblane). All the other associated sites are clearly built or erected; however, a well is a natural phenomenon and should thus be considered in a different light. Holy wells and their origins are explored at length in Chapter 4; however, it might be more logical to suggest that if the association is significant, then the well would have been in place before the court hill, in this case – a stone, was erected.

3.9 *Eglés* or *Eccles* and Annait Names

3.9.1 *Eglés* or *Eccles*

As mentioned above, Barrow³⁴⁰ suggested that the *eglés* or *eccles* element in a Scottish place-name could indicate the existence of an early church. In his article, Barrow points to the association of the Latin word *ecclesia* (i.e. congregation or church) being introduced into the Brittonic vernacular of the southern half of Britain during the earliest spread of Christianity into the native populations while still under Roman occupation. Place-name evidence charts the evolution of *ecclesia* through *ecclesia* to *eglés*, via the Welsh *eglwys* and the Cornish *eglos*, into the *eccles* of the English midlands and North of England, which may have been the way in which the pagan settlers identified areas of native Christian worship, although they do not appear to have adopted it into their own language as a term for church.

Barrow further identifies some twenty-six place-names within Scotland that may possess the *eglés* element and suggests that the implications of this notion are fairly far-reaching if they date from cAD400 for southern Scotland and cAD450 for southern Pictland.³⁴¹ Some six of the *eglés* place-names fall within the study are as shown in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15: Eglés Place-Names within the Study

Name	Parish	Earliest recorded Form
Carluke	Carluke	Eglismalesoch (1321)
Daleagles	New Cumnock	Daleglis (1401)
Eaglesham	Eaglesham	Egglesham (1161)
Eccles	Penpont	Ecclis (1488) Eclis (1523)
Eccles	St Ninians	Eccles (1147 x 50) Eggles (1203)
Egglesbrech	Falkirk	Egglesbreth (1080) Egglesbrec (1165 x 78)
Eglysdissentyn [lost]	Kilmadock	Eglysdissentyn (1267) Egisdikin (14 th C)

³⁴⁰ Barrow, G. W. S., "Childhood of Scottish Christianity", 1-15.

³⁴¹ Barrow suggests that the "important point is that the word could have become embedded in the place-name vocabulary only *after* conversion to Christianity but *before* P-Celtic or Brittonic usages had given way to those of Q-Celtic and Germanic speakers, in the west and south-east respectively"

Therefore, if Barrow's dates are correct, and court hills could be shown to be associated with *eglés* sites, it might be suggested that court hills are of a similar date or possibly earlier. This similarly assumes that the reason for siting the new Christian sites might be a desire to associate their sites with pre-existing places of local authority. Unfortunately Barrow only provides 4-figure grid references for these place-names which, as mentioned in Chapter 2, makes it very difficult to plot the sites on the map with any degree of accuracy as ArcView works on 12-figure grid references.

However, as seen above, the parishes of Carluke, Eaglesham and Falkirk all have court hills and churches which appear to have associations between them: the Law of Maudslie and Maudslie Church; the Orry and Eaglesham Parish Church (see Illustration 3.8); and the Mote and St Helen's Chapel respectively. The parish of St Ninians has experienced a great deal of urban development and it is not easy to distinguish archaeological sites among the buildings. St Ninian's Well has been identified as well chapel,³⁴² comprising of two chambers: the lower chamber, which has roughly dressed vaulting, had a square recess where the spring rises.³⁴³ This might imply an early religious site from which St Ninians may have taken its name; and Barrow identifies a cuthill site within the parish of St Ninians, for which unfortunately he can offer no grid reference.

³⁴² The implications of well chapels will be discussed in Chapter 4.

³⁴³ Walker, "Holy Wells in Scotland", 170-2.

Illustration 3.8: The Eaglesham Old Parish Church & The Orry (Eaglesham)



Views of The Orry (left) and the site of Eaglesham Old Parish Church (right).

So far evidence has not been found for a court hill within the parish of Kilmadock except that on Roy's map for the area there is a site marked Severie, which might be taken as implying a legal seat.³⁴⁴ Unfortunately Roy's map does not appear to equate with more modern charts and it is difficult to locate this site. However, the OS Report (1992) records a cist at Severie Cottage, which is described as "dilapidated" and situated on the summit of a pronounced grassy knoll to the south of the cottage, which had been ploughed and considerable damage incurred.³⁴⁵ Within the area of Severie Cottage are a chapel and well at Tobar nAnait at some 800 metres and there would similarly appear to be an "Anat" to the south of Severie on Roy's map.

Eccles Farm and Wood within the parish of Penpont are extant on modern maps, however there are no obvious churches or chapels within the immediate vicinity. Similarly there is no evident court hill site; however the OSA³⁴⁶ records "two moats of earth," although there is no suggestion that they might represent court hills. Homestead Moat is a circular earthwork to the east of Eccles Farm and it is interesting that further to the east are

³⁴⁴ Personal comment, Professor Dauvit Broun.

³⁴⁵ Canmore, NN70NW33, OS report dated 1992.

³⁴⁶ OSA, (Penpont), 445.

Gallows Brae and Gallows Dike, however, there is no supporting evidence for this theory; and thus Penpont cannot be included as sites with associated court hills.

A further eglés name is Daleagles (Old Cumnock) and a charter of 1401 of Robert III refers to “John Craufurd fillo Roger de Craufurd de Daleglis.”³⁴⁷ There is a Moat Knowe some 400 metres to the north which might imply the presence of a court hill. The parish of Cumnock was divided into Old and New Cumnock early in the eighteenth century as noted above; and according to Canmore, there are at two court hill sites: Court Knowe (New Cumnock) and Mote Hill (Old Cumnock).³⁴⁸

3.9.2 *Annait*

Watson³⁴⁹ may have been one of the first writers to note the *annait* place-name element which he suggested denoted the presence of “the patron saint’s church, or a church that contain the relics of the founder” and possibly implied a connection with a local monastery. Watson merely noted that they the place-name elements were fairly abundant, but not of great importance. As noted above, MacDonald³⁵⁰ suggested that the sites were of more importance and compiled a list of *annait* place-names, from which most of the sites within this study are taken via the Canmore database.

The most recent study of *annait* names has been completed by Clancy,³⁵¹ and he suggests that the word comes from Old Gaelic *andoit*, which may have had the initial meaning of ‘ancient/prior foundation’ and thus possibly the “first foundations in a particular area or by a particular person.” Clancy³⁵², however, further proposes that this place-name element corresponds roughly to its early medieval Gaelic definition as the mother

³⁴⁷ *Register of the Great Seal*, vol. ii, 11 Nov., 1425.

³⁴⁸ Canmore, NS51SE2 and NS51SE3 respectively.

³⁴⁹ Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 250-1.

³⁵⁰ MacDonald, “‘Annat’ in Scotland”, 139.

³⁵¹ Clancy, T. O., 1995, “Annat in Scotland and the origins of the parish.” *IR* 46, 91-115.

³⁵² *Ibid*, 114.

church of a local community. An important point considered by Clancy³⁵³ is that most of the 'annait' sites in Scotland are compounds, tending to imply a relationship with the church, rather than necessarily the church itself. It is possible that the element –yard, may imply a similar situation pertains in this instance.

There are ten *annait* sites within this study as shown in Map 3.16, three of which are in the parish of St Ninians: Craigannet Hill, Craigannet Craig and Easter Craigannet - they have all been identified as church sites by MacDonald; although they may all relate to a single topographical feature. This seems unlikely but as noted above Barrow has suggested there is a cuthill site within the parish, although whether there is any degree of association is open to question as Barrow does not provide a grid reference.

Annatyrd (Largs), Tobar nAnnait (Kilmadock) and both chapel and well sites at Tobar na h'Annait (Kilmodan) have already been mentioned above and are associated with Judge's Mound (Largs), Severie (Kilmadock) and Judge's Mound (Kilmodan) respectively. Longannet Point (Tullieallan) and Annathill (New Monkland) are within parishes which have no record of court hills; however the parish of Straiton does have a court hill (Dalmorton), but there would seem to be no association with Knockannot, the *annait* name identified by MacDonald.

3.9.3 Conclusion

Court hills would appear to have some association with both *eglés* and *annait* sites as of the six *eglés* sites, three or 50% appear to have some connection with court hills, while a case might possibly be made for a further two place-names (Kilmadock and St Ninians). The proposal for Penpont is somewhat strained and does not have any clear evidence, and the same must be said for the possible *eglés* site of Daleagles (New Cumnock).

³⁵³ *Ibid*, 101-103. "Manifestly, these places need not themselves be the places referred to as the *annaid*; equally they may express their relationship, by property, use or general proximity, to the local 'mother church'. We should not necessarily expect to find evidence of church-sites at the location of such names, but perhaps somewhere else, even sometimes at some distance."

The situation with *annait* names is far from clear mainly due to the dearth of evidence for the sites themselves; it seems unlikely that all the sites collected by MacDonald are churches particularly the three sites within the parish of St Ninians. If the St Ninians' sites are included, then seven of the tens sites have an association with court hills, but as this is most unlikely, the number should be reduced accordingly to four.

It is, however, interesting to note that Moot Hill at Scone has a close association with the Annaty Burn, which is a major stream within the parish, running through the centre of the village of New Scone.³⁵⁴ As will be seen below and has been noted in other studies, court hills are often associated with streams or rivers. The name of the burn strongly suggests that it was connected with an *annait* site, which would indicate an early Christian foundation. A very persuasive argument could be made that the siting of that early foundation was erected beside a court hill so giving the name to the stream.

3.10 Associations between Court Hills and Prehistoric Sites

Barrow³⁵⁵ notes that some twelve or 22.6% of his fifty-three sites have “an appreciable geographical association” with major prehistoric monuments: cairns, stone circles and standing stones, although he does not explain the exact nature or measurement of that “association”. He suggests that the association with prehistoric sites adds antiquity to cuthill sites and strengthens their similarity to English wapenshaw and hundredal sites. Certainly in pre-Christian Ireland and Scandinavia (including Scandinavian Scotland), assembly sites are often near to ancient monuments - the past being used to legitimise the authority of the present.³⁵⁶

Only twelve or 17.6% of the court hills are apparently associated with prehistoric sites and have no connections with other sites, as shown in Map 3.7 and Table 3.16.

³⁵⁴ Driscoll, *Govan*, 74.

³⁵⁵ Barrow, “Popular courts”, 11.

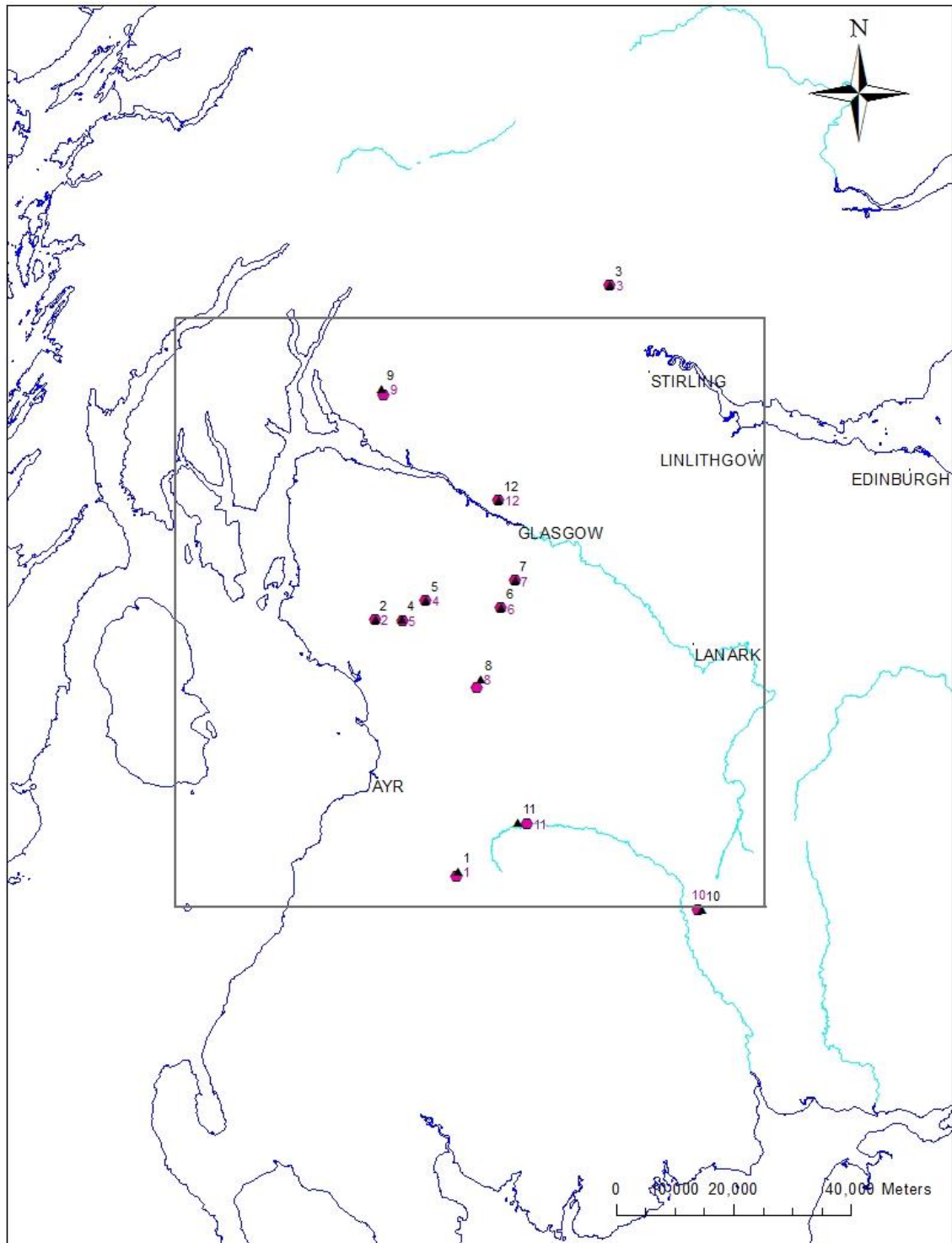
³⁵⁶ Semple, “Assembly in Early Anglo-Saxon England”, 39.

Table 3.16: Court hills associated with prehistoric sites – barrows, stones, etc

Name	Parish	Site	Site type	Dist
Meikle Dripps	East Kilbride	Meikle Dripps	Cists	None
Garret Law	Eaglesham	Garret Law	Cairn	None
Dawsholm Park	New Kilpatrick	Dawsholm Park	Cairn	None
The Judge's Cairn	Dunblane & Lecropt	The Judge's Cairn	Cairn	None
Craighead Law	Dunlop	Craighead Law	Standing Stones	Nearby
Court Hill	Dunlop	Barr Hill	Standing Stones	50
Law Hill	Dalry	Law Hill	Cist	100
Judgment Thorn	Morton	Morton Castle	Standing Stones	490
Dalmellington Mote	Dalmellington	Dalmellington	Cairn	c790
Court Hill	Luss	Auchintilloch Bay	Crannog	1200
Judge's Hill	Loudoun	Loudoun Park	Cairn	1440
Court Knowe	New Cumnock	Lochside	Barrow	1640

However, if the court hills with prehistoric sites and sites already included in one of the religious categories are added in (i.e. 19); then the total is a more impressive 32 or 52.5%, as shown in Table 3.17 and Map 3.6 - this would seem quite impressive in comparison with the cuthill sites, which have twelve matches or 22.6% (see Illustration 3.9-Illustration 3.12, Meikle Dripps (East Kilbride), Dawsholm Park (New Kilpatrick), Judge's Cairn (Dunblane and Lecropt) and Dalmellington Mote (Dalmellington)).

Map 3.6: Court hills associated with prehistoric sites



Key: Map 3.6 showing Courthills and Pre-historic sites

Courthills (▲)

No.	Parish	Court Hill
1	Dalmellington	Dalmellington Mote
2	Dalry	Law Hill
3	Dunblane & Lecropt	The Judge's Cairn
4	Dunlop	Court Hill
5	Dunlop	Craighead Law
6	Eaglesham	Garret Law
7	East Kilbride	Meikle Dripps
8	Loudoun	Judge's Hill
9	Luss	Court Hill
10	Morton	Judgement Thorn
11	New Cumnock	Court Knowe
12	New Kilpatrick	Dawsholm Park

Pre-historic Sites (■)

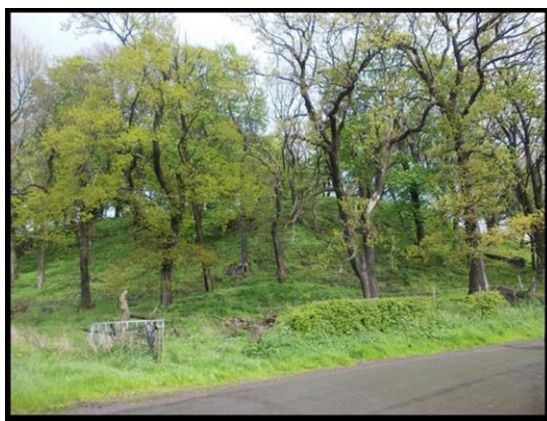
No.	Parish	Name	Other Religious Site
1	Dalmellington	Dalmellington	Cairn
2	Dalry	Law Hill	Cist
3	Dunblane & Lecropt	The Judge's Cairn	Cairn
4	Dunlop	Craighead Law	Standing Stone
5	Dunlop	Barr Head	Standing Stone
6	Eaglesham	Garret Law	Cairn
7	East Kilbride	Meikle Dripps	Cists
8	Loudoun	Loudoun Park	Cairn
9	Luss	Auchintilloch Bay	Crannog
10	Morton	Morton Castle	Standing Stone
11	New Cumnock	Lochside	Barrow
12	New Kilpatrick	Dawsholm Park	Cairn

Table 3.17: Court hills associated with prehistoric and religious sites

Name	Parish	Site	Site type	Dist
Law of Mauldslee	Carluke	Carluke	Cairns	In area
Courthill	Dalry	Courthill Grey Stone	Barrow Standing stone	None 100
Mote Hill	Hamilton	Mote Hill Heron Hill	Standing stone Cairn	None 930
Lawthorn Mount	Irvine	Lawthorn Mount	Barrow	None
Dalmorton	Straiton	Dalmorton	Cairn	None
Law Hill	Tarbolton	Law	Cairn	None
Barnweill	Craigie	Barnweill	Standing stone	70m
The Mote	Kilmaurs	Waterpark	Cairn	200
Dunan	Inverchaolain	Ardyne Ardyne Ardyne	Cairn Cairn Cairn	440 740 770
Court Hill	Kilsyth	Quinzieburn	Barrow	500
Court Knowe 2	Ballantrae	Polcardoch	Cairn	525
Mote	Falkirk	Falkirk	Dun	600
The Orry	Eaglesham	Kirktonmore	Cairn	850

Name	Parish	Site	Site type	Dist
Law Mount	Stewarton	Cairn Duff	Cairn	1000
Alloway Mote	Ayr	Cairn Crescent	Cairn	1080
Judge's Chair	Kilmodan	Carn Mor Carn Beag	Cairn Cairn	500 660
Baron's Stone of Killochan	Dailly	Craighead Hill	Dun	1170
Sanguhar	Sanguhar	Sanguhar Castle	Barrow	1180
Catterlaw	Buchanan	Endrick Water	Footprint	1300

Illustration 3.9: Meikle Dripps (East Kilbride)



Views of Meikle Dripps, where an elderly resident of adjacent Meikle Dripps Farm confirmed the tradition of the court hill and added that the adjoining field is known as “Law field”.

Illustration 3.10: Dawsholm Park (New Kilpatrick)



Views of site of Dawsholm Park, where there is no sign of a mound.

Illustration 3.11: Judge's Cairn (Dunblane & Lecropt)



Views of Judge's Cairn (Dunblane & Lecropt; both panels).

Illustration 3.12: Dalmellington Mote (Dalmellington)



Dalmellington Mote (left) is at the west end of the village and appears to be very preserved (right).

It is also interesting to note that ten or 16.4% of the court hills appear to have utilised prehistoric sites such as cairns, barrow, cists or standing stones as shown in Table 3.18. The reuse of monuments, such as cairns and barrows, was certainly a feature of early Anglo-Saxon England,³⁵⁷ and in Pictish

³⁵⁷ Williams, H. M. R., 1998, "Monuments and the past in early Anglo-Saxon England." *WA*, 30, 92.

Scotland³⁵⁸ thus it is not unreasonable to theorise that this would also be the case in the area of this study.

Table 3.18: Court hills which appear to have utilised prehistoric monuments

Name	Parish	Site	Site type	Dist
Meikle Dripps	East Kilbride	Meikle Dripps	Cists	None
Garret Law	Eaglesham	Garret Law	Cairn	None
Dawsholm Park	New Kilpatrick	Dawsholm Park	Cairn	None
The Judge's Cairn	Dunblane & Lecropt	The Judge's Cairn	Cairn	None
Law of Mauldslee	Carluke	Carluke	Cairns	In area
Courthill	Dalry	Courthill Grey Stone	Barrow Standing stone	None 100
Mote Hill	Hamilton	Mote Hill Heron Hill	Standing stone Cairn	None 930
Lawthorn Mount	Irvine	Lawthorn Mount	Barrow	None
Dalmorton	Straiton	Dalmorton	Cairn	None
Law Hill	Tarbolton	Law	Cairn	None

Williams³⁵⁹ suggests that Anglo-Saxon reuse of ancient monuments was widespread during the late fifth and sixth centuries and that in this the Anglo-Saxons were merely following earlier precedents for this practice in Roman Britain and on the Continent. Possibly the most obvious example is the usage of barrows for burials and in the later Anglo-Saxon period as execution sites. The importance of prehistoric monuments can perhaps be seen in the *Life of Wilfred*³⁶⁰ where an Anglo-Saxon priest appears to drawing magical power from a barrow; and similarly St Guthlac³⁶¹ (cAD673-714) apparently lived on a burial mound, was interred in it on his death and the mound later became the focus for Crowland Abbey.

Barrows and cairns were re-used in Ireland and Wales, where they tended to be known as *gorsedd*, and they were perceived as residences of pre-

³⁵⁸ Driscoll, S. T., 1991, "Archaeology of state formation in Scotland", in Hanson and Slater, W. S., and E. A. (eds.) *Scottish Archaeology, New Perceptions*, 99.

³⁵⁹ Williams, H. M. R., 1997, "Ancient landscapes and the dead: the reuse of prehistoric monuments as early Anglo-Saxon burial sites." *Medieval Archaeology* 41, 23.

³⁶⁰ Cited in Geary, P. J., *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, New York, 64.

³⁶¹ Noted in Felix's *Life of Guthlac* cited in Williams, "Monuments and the past", 102.

Christian gods and thus a source of magical power.³⁶² Similarly, Driscoll³⁶³ notes that in Scotland there was reuse of prehistoric monuments as settings for royal centres and particularly stresses their use during the period when kingdoms were beginning to develop in the fifth century.

Bradley³⁶⁴ suggests that the reuse of prehistoric monuments by later peoples is widespread and not restricted to any particular location or era; he cites Iron Age hill-forts using Neolithic causewayed enclosures, Romano-Celtic temples within Iron Age hill-forts and Anglo-Saxon churches in Roman buildings. He proposes that it is unlikely that there is any thought of continuation of the ritual belief or activity, but an attempt to establish their position and authority: “The past becomes a *resource* in the hands of the living. In such cases, links with a remote past, which could not be evaluated before the development of archaeology, may be used to legitimise the social order.” There is some suggestion that the Boothill at Scone may have been shaped from a prehistoric barrow.³⁶⁵

3.10.1 Court hills with no apparent associations with any other sites in the study

There are only four or 5.9% of the court hills that appear to have no sites of any kind in the vicinity, as shown on Map 3.7 and Table 3.19. The reasons for this are not immediately apparent, particularly as all the sites seem to be well-recorded by the antiquarians.

Table 3.19: Court hills with no apparent associations with other sites in the study

Name	Parish
Moothill	Strathblane
Mote Hill	Old Cumnock
Moat Hill	Kilsyth
Judgment Seat	Craigie

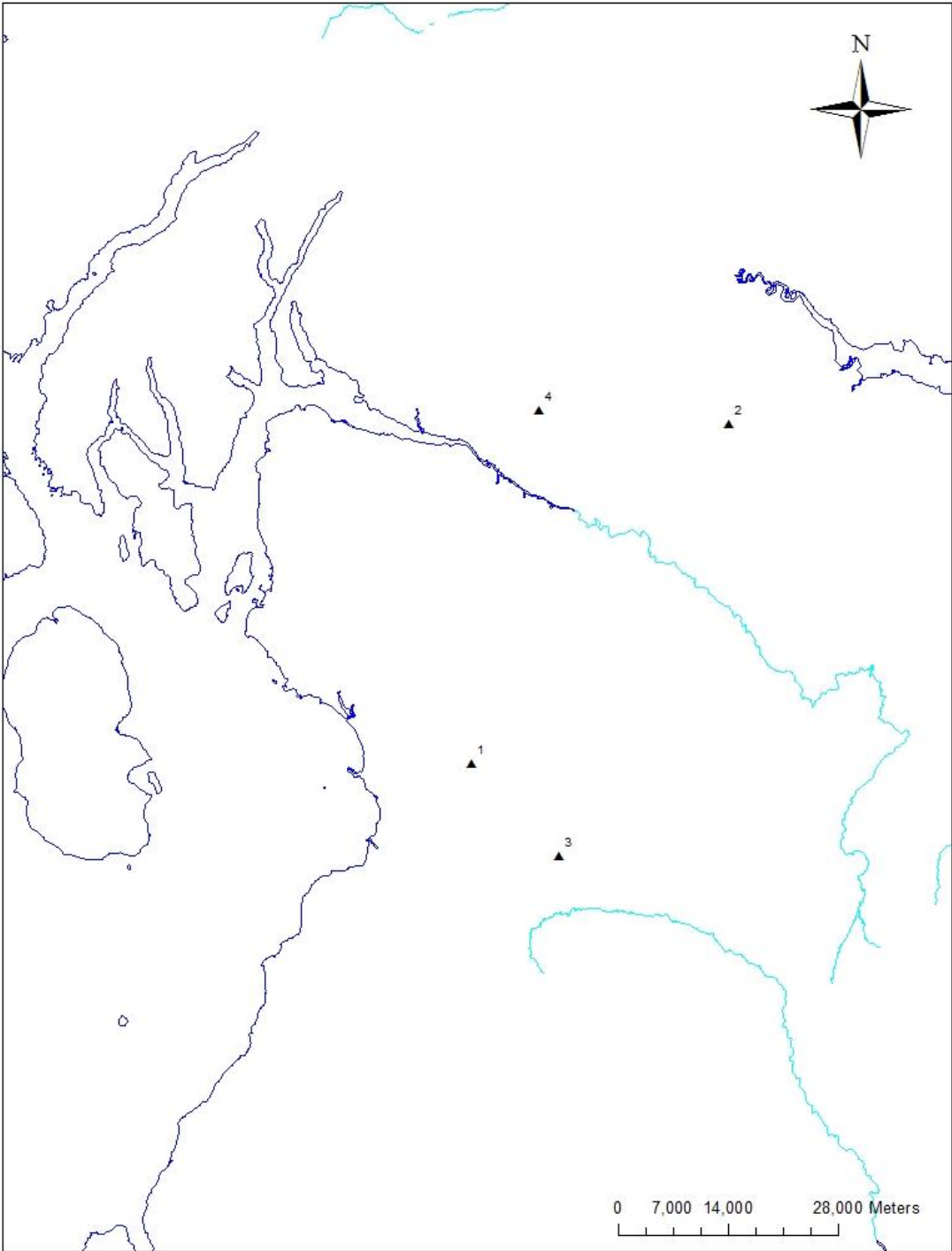
³⁶² Charles-Edwards, T. M., 2004, “Gorsedd, dadl, and llys: assemblies and courts in medieval Wales.” in Pantos & Semple, A., and S. (eds) *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, 97

³⁶³ Driscoll, “Church Archaeology”, 142.

³⁶⁴ Bradley, R., 1987, “Time Regained: the Creation of Continuity.” *JAA CXL*, 1-3.

³⁶⁵ Driscoll, *Govan*, 81.

Map 3.7: Courthills



Key: Map 3.7 showing Courthills (▲)

- | | | |
|---|-------------|----------------|
| 1 | Craigie | Judgement Seat |
| 2 | Kilsyth | Mote Hill |
| 3 | Old Cumnock | Mote Hill |
| 4 | Strathblane | Moothill |

It is interesting to note, however, that all the court hills with no apparent associations are in parishes that have more than one court hill and in each case, the other court hill is associated with a religious site.³⁶⁶ This phenomenon might add weight to the argument that court hills should be dated to a time before the formation of parishes, as if court hills were introduced after the boundaries were formalised then a second or third court hill might seem unnecessary. This, of course, assumes that parish boundaries tended to follow those of the twelve- or thirteenth-century lordships upon which they were based as argued above. If court hills predated lordships, then it is reasonable to speculate that they belonged to a much earlier age.

3.10.2 Associations of Gallows and Court Hills

Gallows in the vicinity of a court hill would certainly seem to strengthen the case that justice was meted out at court hills, although it might be wondered how often the sentence would involve death. Certainly the authors of the Statistical Accounts believed this to be the case: “When the feudal superior had the power of pit and gallows he had as ample jurisdiction as the justiciar or sheriff. ... in 1693, he condemned one of his own servants in Bencloich to be hanged for stealing silver plate from the Tower of Bencloich, and the man was forthwith hanged on the gallows-knowe of Bencloich, which is just south of the N.B. Railway, between New Mill and Muckcroft, just beyond “The Field of Blood.”³⁶⁷

Barrow,³⁶⁸ again, suggests that a gallows site in conjunction with a cuthill site and “a lord’s hall or castle” is significant; however, if cuthills and court hills are from an earlier era, then it might necessarily follow that they would have significance to later lordships. Similarly, if court hills were a product of an

³⁶⁶ Law Stone of Mugdock (Strathblane) is associated with St Patrick’s Well; Motehill (Old Cumnock) with Chapel Knowe; Court Hill (Kilsyth) with Chapel Green; and Craigie/Highlangside (Craigie) with Craigie Parish Church.

³⁶⁷ OSA, (Campsie), 269.

³⁶⁸ Barrow, “Popular courts”, 10.

earlier age, the gallows would not necessarily be the chosen execution method used. O’Grady³⁶⁹ suggests that, although some may reflect genuine execution sites, others may be later, indicating “post-medieval nomenclature”, while the use of hanging trees usually dates from the seventeenth century.

Semple³⁷⁰ describes various methods of punishment in early Anglo-Saxon England, including amputation of limbs, decapitation and strangulation, but not hanging. It is not at all certain that hanging would have been a preferred method of execution and the antiquarians seem to be thinking of the right to use “pit and gallows.” Although little work seems to have been completed in this area and possibly this is an area that requires further investigation.

Some twenty-three or 33.8% of the court hills appear to be associated with gallows sites and are shown in Table 3.20; whereas Barrow’s study has seven or 13.2% gallows sites.

Table 3.20: Court hills associated with gallows sites

Name	Parish	Gallows	Distance
Judgement Seat	Craigie	Doller Hill Mound	Nearby
Cross Stones	Dalziel	Gallows	Nearby
Law of Mauldslie	Carluke	Gallowlie	Nearby
Court Hill	Dunblane & Lecropt	Gallow Hill	Nearby
Tom a’Mhoid	Rosneath	Gallowhill	Not known – possibly with 100-200
Courthill	Dalry	Gallow Stone	“a small distance”
Sanquhar	Sanquhar	Gallows Knowe	c100
Tarbolton Mote	Tarbolton	Gallow-Hill	c100
Court Hill	Luss	Gallow Hill	175
Queen Blearie’s Mound	Paisley	Gallowhill	c200
Judge’s Chair	Kilmodan	Tom a’Chrochadaire	300
Salmon’s Hill	Irvine	Gallows	c300
Jock’s Hill	Linlithgow	Gallows Knowe	330
Court Hill	Kilsyth	Gallow Hill	c500
Cadder Motte	Cadder	High Gallowhill	c500
Tom a’Mhoid	Dunoon & Kilmun	Gallow Hill	c600
Law Stone of Mugdock	Strathblane	Gallow Knowe of Mugdock	630

³⁶⁹ O’Grady, *Open-Air Assemblies*, 360.

³⁷⁰ Semple, S., 2003, “Burial and Political Boundaries in the Avebury Region, North Wiltshire.” *ASSAH*, 12, 238.

Name	Parish	Gallows	Distance
Moothill	Strathblane	Gallows Hill	c650
Judge's Hill	Loudoun	Gallow Law & Cairn	c650
Judas or Justice Hill	Kilmarnock	Gallow Hill	1460
Knockcushion	Girvan	Gallow Hill	1500
Judgment Thorn	Morton	Gallows Flat	1 mile
Courthill of Craigharnet	Campsie	Gallows Hill	5000

The percentage of gallows-court hill associations, even if the distances for Judgment Thorn (Morton) and Courthill of Craigharnet (Campsie) appear too great, does seem to be quite impressive and to ignore such a result would seem unreasonable. It should also be noted that there is some disagreement concerning the means of execution favoured by the Anglo-Saxons, as Reynolds³⁷¹ suggests that hanging was the preferred method, citing evidence for two-post gallows structures at Sutton Hoo, Suffolk and South Acre, Norfolk, and the large number of corpses found with their hands tied behind the back. Similarly, Reynolds explains the presence of headless bodies as the fear of the corpse rising from the dead which was apparently prevalent among Anglo-Saxons.

Gallows sites then must remain an unknown quantity until more work has been completed.

3.11 Cuthill and *Eireachd* Sites

There are six cuthill³⁷² and two *eireachd*³⁷³ sites within the map-square, as shown in Map 3.2 and Table 3.21.

³⁷¹ Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England*, 105.

³⁷² The sites are: Cothill (Galston); Cuthelton (Denny & Dunipace); Cuthill (Whitburn); Couthally (Carnwath) and Coldrain (Fossoway).

³⁷³ The sites are: Airth (Airth) and Errickstane Hill (Crawford)

Table 3.21: Cuthill sites – association with other sites in the study

Name	Parish	Site Name	Site Type	Distance (in metres)
Cothill	Galston	Cairnsaigh Farm	Cairn	1370
		The Law (over river)	Cairn	1630
		Mossie (Loudoun) (over river)	Cairn	2380
Cuthelton	Denny & Dunipace	Woodyetts to NE	Cist	550
		Dunipace to W	Monastery	1170
		Kirkland to NE (across river)	Cairn	1180
Cuthill	Whitburn	Stoneyburn Chapel to SW – both cuthill & chapel on N bank of river	Chapel	2180
Couthally	Carnwath	St Mary's Parish Church (across river) to S	Parish Church	1880
		Calla to NE	Broch	2020
		More cairns to E & NE Further away		
Coldrain	Fossoway	Thorne Knowe to SE	Cairn	580
		Wood of Coldrain to NE	Castle	540
		Tullibole Church to NNW	Church	2570
		Tullibole Church to NNW	Cross-slab	2570
		Tullibole Church to NNW	Hogback stone	2570
Cuthill Brae	Kincardine	St Lolan's Parish Church to NE	Church	450
		Old Farm	Motte	400
Airth	Airth	Airth Parish Church to SE	Parish church	910
Errickstane Hill	Crawford	Fopperbeck Burn to WSW	Cairn	1750
		Hell's Cauldron to WSW	Cairn	2110
		Upper Howcleuch to WNW	Cairn	2430
		Upper Howcleuch 2 to WNW	Cairn	2660

As can be seen above, the results are a little disappointing, Cothill (Galston) is surrounded by cairns, but they are some distance away and it is difficult to suggest a direct association. Similarly, it would be difficult to propose associations between any of the sites with Cuthill (Whitburn), Couthally (Carnwath) and Errickstane Hill (Crawford). Cuthelton (Denny) and Airth (Airth) look more promising, however, the monastery at Dunipace is only marked on OS Monastic Britain Map (1950) and is not mentioned by any other source.³⁷⁴ There was a church at Airth at least as early as 1128,³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴ Easson, D. E., 1957, *Medieval religious houses in Scotland: with an appendix on the houses in the Isle of Man*, Edinburgh.

and was thus probably founded by a local landowner. Coldrain (Fossoway) may be one of the cuthill sites that Barrow maintains are associated with prehistoric monuments as it is only 580 metres from a cairn and only 540 metres distant from the castle of Wood of Coldrain, which might seem to have an association with the cuthill. The Wood of Coldrain is a square, moated enclosure known as Hall Yard, which traditionally contained a castle that had been a hunting seat of the Murrays; however, little is known of its origin or date.³⁷⁶ Indeed, Cuthill Brae (Kincardine) is the only site which appears to have any association with a parish church.

There are two further cuthill sites mentioned by Barrow, in the parishes of St Ninians and Denny & Dunipace (a second site) but there are no grid references and thus it is impossible to assess any associations. However, it is interesting that Maitland³⁷⁷ mentions two mounts or hills near the mansion-house of “Dunie-pass” or “Duni-pacie” supposedly meaning the hills of peace; however his opinion is that it is “tom-moid or court-hill, whereon were heard and determine causes both civil and criminal.”

3.12 Associations with Rivers

When considering the types of rural meeting places indicated by names of English Hundreds, the most striking thing is the amount that have ford in the name and are located beside rivers and streams, such as Lackford in Suffolk and Whittlesford in Cambridgeshire.³⁷⁸ Similarly, when looking for patterns associated with court hills, it soon became apparent after consulting 1st Edition and 1:10000 OS maps that court hills were often associated with streams and rivers as shown in Table 3.22.

³⁷⁵ Fawcett, R., 2002, *Scottish medieval churches: architecture and furnishings*, Stroud, 251. Date granted to *Holyrood Abbey* by David I.

³⁷⁶ Beveridge, D., 1888, *Between the Ochils and Forth: a description, topographical and historical, of the country between Stirling Bridge and Aberdour*, Edinburgh, 304, cited in Canmore, NO00SE6.

³⁷⁷ Maitland, *History and Antiquities*, 208-9.

³⁷⁸ Meaney, “Hundredal Meeting Places”, 200.

Table 3.22: Association between Court Hills and Rivers or Streams

No	Court Hill	Parish	Association with Stream or Rivers
1	Tulliallan	Alloa	In loop of River Forth
2	Moat of Alloway	Ayr	By the River Doon; on the outside of a loop; with no obvious crossing places
3	Court Knowe 1	Ballantrae	By Shallochwreck Burn; no obvious crossing places
4	Court Know 2		By river, by Heronsford Bridge
5	Court Hill	Beith	By river and bridge to the south
6	Cadder Motte	Cadder	Beside Bishopbriggs Burn; almost in a large loop of River Clyde; near bridge over River Clyde, where 2 roads meet
7	Courthill of Craigbarnet	Campsie	Pow Burn to the south
8	Law of Maudslie	Carluke	Appears to be in a loop of the Garrion Burn
9	Court Knowe	Cathcart	In loop of Cart Water
10	Covington	Covington	In “kink” in the Clyde; Thankerton Bridge to the south
11	Judgement Seat	Craigie	By Garrion Burn
12	Baron’s Stone of Killochan	Dailly	In loop created by Killochan Ford and Water of Girvan
13	Dalmellington Mote	Dalmellington	On the Muck Water
14	Courthill	Dalry	In a loop of the Rye Water; by crossroads; not far from stone bridge
15	Court Hill		Next to footbridge on Bombo Burn
16	Law Hill		On Dusk Water; at crossing point with road
17	Cross Stone	Dalziel	Near Coursingham bridge over South Calder Water
18	Judge’s Cairn	Dunblane & Lecropt	In “kink” of Ardoch Burn; ford & stepping stones to north
19	Court Hill		By Ardoch & Argaty Burns; bridge at Lerrocks to south-west
20	Craighead Law	Dunlop	By Glassart Burn; by footbridge
21	Garret Law	Eaglesham	Rivers all around – damned to form reservoirs
22	The Orry		By Eaglesham Burn; by footbridge
23	Meikle Dripps	East Kilbride	Towards top of loop in White Cart Water; Waterfoot Bridge, ford & footbridge in area
24	Knockcushion	Girvan	Appears to be in loop of Water of Irvine; “kink” in Doune Burn to east
25	Mutehill	Glasgow	To north of Clyde
26	Doomster Hill	Govan	In loop of River Clyde
27	Dunan	Inverchaolain	To west of Ardyne Burn
28	Ardein		In “kink” of Ardyne Burn; footbridge to the south
29	Lawthorn Mount	Irvine	Near Annick Water to the east
30	Judas Hill	Kilmarnock	In loop of Crawfordland Water & Fenwick Water

No	Court Hill	Parish	Association with Stream or Rivers
31	The Mote	Kilmaurs	Near Carmel Water; ford to southwest
32	Judge's Chair	Kilmodan	In small "kink" of Allt a'Chaol Ghlinne near junction with River Ruel & Kilbridemore Burn; cross roads near junction
33	Catterlaw	Kilmaronock	In loop of Endrick Water; at junction of routes near bridge
34	Court Hill	Kilsyth	In loop of Queensieburn; by mill
35	Judge Mound	Largs	By Shaw Glen river; road in loop around court hill mound
36	Judge's Hill	Loudoun	In loop of tributary of Bowhill Burn
37	Court Hill	Luss	On outside of loop in Finglas Water; by road to bridge
38	Judgement Thorn	Morton	Near Kettlestone Burn; footbridge to northeast
39	Court Knowe	New Cumnock	North of confluence of River Nith & Lane Burn; in "Y" formed by the two rivers
40	Dawsholm Park	New Kilpatrick	Appear to have been in loop of River Kelvin; near Dawsholm Bridge
41	Motehill	Old Cumnock	On peninsula surrounded on three sides by Lugar Water
42	Queen Blearie's Mound	Paisley	Near White Cart Water & road; river has been diverted to accommodate harbour & warehouse
43	Tomavoid	Port of Menteith	Near Lake of Menteith
44	Tom a'Mhoid	Rhu	In loop of East Burn
45	Court Hill	Riccanton	Near River Irvine to north; heavily developed so course of river is indistinct
46	Tom a'Mhoid	Rosneath	In "kink" as burn enters loch
47	Sanquhar	Sanquhar	To north of River Nith
48	Law Mount	Stewarton	By Annick Water
49	Mote Hill	Stirling	On edge of loop in River Forth; opposite the old bridge
50	Dalmorton	Straiton	In loop of Palmullan Burn; by Palmullen Bridge; near crossing of three paths
51	Tabolton Motte	Tarbolton	By tributary of Water of Fail
52	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry	By River Devon
53	Tulliallan	Tulliallan	By small burn

Fifty-three of the court hills or a remarkable 79.9% have an association with running water; and twenty-five or just under half of that number have an association with a loop or kink in the river. The reasons for this association with water is a matter of some speculation; the most obvious reason is communication, however it should be noted that most of the rivers are not navigable, but would presumably be useful for route guidance. It is noteworthy that a significant proportion (37 or 55.2%) appear to have

associated junctions, roads, bridges, stepping stones. This would imply that these sites were utilised by at least a proportion of the population otherwise the construction of roads and methods of crossing would be unnecessary.

It is possible that water was required for merely for drinking or some sort of ritual behaviour. However, Meaney³⁷⁹ suggests that rivers were very often used as ancient boundary markers and that this might have had some bearing on the choice of location; as noted above, assembly sites are often associated with boundaries.

It is also interesting that the cuthills seem to follow the same pattern as all the sites having an association with water.³⁸⁰ Of course, as noted above, the Moot Hill at Scone is associated with the Annaty Burn.

3.13 Conclusion

Court hills are an unproven site type, however, the results of the above study demonstrates that they would seem to compare favourably with the results for cuthills; suggesting that they were possibly a significant feature of the landscape and represent open-air meeting-places, possibly used for legal purposes. The association with churches and chapels does seem impressive and as the majority, including the monastery at Fail, would appear to have been founded by local landowners, who would presumably be involved in the choice of siting these new religious foundations. The choice of sites must have involved many factors but these associations certainly suggest that the presence of court hills may have been one of the factors considered by the church/chapel founders.

However, it would seem an unlikely scenario; as other forms of court were in use and open-air venues would eventually lost their appeal as a regular forum for legal proceedings, although they may have been useful for more ceremonial events. The boundaries of parishes would seem to have used

³⁷⁹ Meaney, "Hundredal Meeting Places", 199.

³⁸⁰ Cothill (Galston) appears isolated but by the Horn Burn; Cuthelton (Denny & Dunipace) is in small loop of the Little Denny Burn, by a footbridge; Cuthill (Whitburn) is in loop of the Breich Water near cross-roads and crossing-places; Couthally (Carnwath).

existing political boundaries, probably the lordships; however, the survival of multiple court hills within a single parish would imply that they predated lordships, as it is unlikely that more than one court hill would be required for each lordship.

Associations with *eglés* and *annait* sites, might imply origins and use in the Early Christian or possibly even pre-Christian ages. This proposal is supported by the early Anglo-Saxon model, which may have been superimposed on an earlier British one, particularly, in respect of the reuse of prehistoric monuments. There is evidence that barrows were also used as execution sites and for the burial of criminals,³⁸¹ and thus, although, a significant number of court hills appear to be associated with gallows sites, it is not illogical to assume that they were a later development. Unfortunately, most of the barrow and cairn sites have been removed or excavated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and thus supporting evidence has been lost. The re-use of prehistoric monuments would seem to represent a widespread practice by which groups in traditional societies “impose their version of reality on others and at the same time protect it from challenge”.³⁸² In the case of court hills, it is possible that there was a perceived magical aspect and other-worldliness of the prehistoric monuments such as barrows may have been significant in their choice as a venue for legal proceedings, public assembly or inauguration ritual. Similarly, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, court hills may have represented links with the past and a means to legitimise the new order.

The Moot Hill at Scone was identified above as possibly an early documented court hill site, and has been compared throughout the study to patterns which have appeared; and the results have proved to be similar. It should, therefore, be possible to suggest the elements that might point to the existence of a court hill and compare them to the Moot Hill at Scone. It would seem that a court hill is usually on a mound or high ground of some

³⁸¹ Semple, S., “A fear of the past: the place of the prehistoric burial mound in the ideology of middle and latter Anglo-Saxon England.” *WA*, 30, 111.

³⁸² Bradley, “Time regained”, 15.

kind; and has associations with religious sites, prehistoric sites and running water. The religious sites are particularly interesting and might be seen to fall into three categories. As will be seen in Chapter 4 concerning wells, one theory concerning holy wells is that the wells were sacred in pre-Christian ages and thus having an assembly site and court hill adjacent to such a well would imbue it with extra authority. Churches and chapels which are associated with court hills may be divided into two groups, early churches such as *eglés* and *annait* sites and parish churches that were founded by landowners in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It would seem that both of these groups might be building their institutions near court hills to gain authority from them. So it is not unreasonable to suggest that court hills predate the foundations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, the evidence supporting the associations with the first group of early churches must, at least in those cases, support an argument for much earlier usage. Exactly how these sites were used and by whom is a matter of opinion, however, some possible scenarios will be explored in Chapter 5.

A collation of all the court hill sites within the study can be seen in Table 3.23.

Table 3.23: Collation of all the court hill sites within the study

No	Court hill	Parish	Parish church	Other religious site	Prehistoric site	Using cairn	Water connection	Gallows
1	Airth	Airth	Airth Parish Church (910m)			No		
2	Tullibody	Alloa	Old Church of Tullibody (110m)	Priest's Well (95m)	Maiden Stone (cist) (100m)	No	Loop of River Forth	
3	Moat of Alloway	Ayr	Alloway Kirk 650m	Cambusdoon Cross (660m)	Cairn Crescent (1080m)	No	River Doon	
4	Court Knowe 1	Ballantrae		Kilantringan (2230m)	Shallochwreck Stone (480m)	No	Shallochwreck Burn	
5	Court Knowe 2	Ballantrae	Old Kirkcudbright Church (400m)		Polcardoch (cairn) (525m)	No	By river	
6	Court Hill	Beith	The Cross (1270m)	3 chapels, well & cross (850-1560m)	Bog Hall Crannog (425m)	No	Burn	
7	Cadder Motte	Cadder	Cadder Church (150m)		Cairns (c1100m)	No	Bishopbriggs Burn & River Clyde	High Gallowhill
8	Courthill of Craigbarnet	Campsie	St Machan's Parish Church (1600m)	St Machan's Well (1600m)	Ballagan House (2240m)	No	Pow Burn	Gallows Hill (5000m)
9	Law of Mauldslie	Carluke	Mauldslie Church (c250m)		Cairns (in area)	Yes	Garrion Burn	Gallowlie (nearby)
10	Court Knowe	Cathcart	Cathcart Old Parish Church (400m)	St Oswald's Well (400m)		No	Loop of Cart Water	
11	Covington	Covington	St John's Kirk (1780m)	St Ninian's Chapel (1700m)	Covington Cist (140m)	No	River Clyde	

No	Court hill	Parish	Parish church	Other religious site	Prehistoric site	Using cairn	Water connection	Gallows
12	Barnweill	Craigie	Barnweill Parish Church (140m)		Standing stone (70m)	No		
13	Highlangside/ Craigie	Craigie	Craigie Parish Church (740m)		Witches Stone (740m)	No		
14	Judgement Seat	Craigie			Lochlea Crannnog (2180m)	No	Garroch Burn	Doller Hill Mound (nearby)
15	Baron's Rock of Killochan ³⁸³	Dailly	Old Dailly Parish Church (960m)		Cairn (None)	Yes	Penwhapple Burn	
16	Dalmellington Motte	Dalmellington			Cairns (c790m)	No	On Muck Water	
17	Court Hill	Dalry		Blair Chapel (300m)		No	Bombo Burn	Gallowstone ("small distance")
18	Courthill	Dalry		Chapel (c1350m poss. closer)	Court hill (none) Greystone (100m)	Yes	Rye Water	
19	Law Hill	Dalry			Law Hill (100m)	No	Dusk Water	
20	Cross Stone	Dalziel	St Patrick's Church (300m)	Motherwell Cross (none)	Cist (1670m)	No	South Calder Water	Gallows (nearby)
21	Court Hill	Dunblane & Lecropt	Lecropt Parish Church (450m)	St Bryde's Well (450m)		No	Ardoch & Araty Burns	Gallows Hill (nearby)

³⁸³ As seen above, it may be that this court hill should be located at Mote Hill, in which case the distance from the church would be reduced, the cairn would not be utilised, and the water association would include Girvan Water.

No	Court hill	Parish	Parish church	Other religious site	Prehistoric site	Using cairn	Water connection	Gallows
22	The Judge's Cairn	Dunblane & Lecropt			The Judge's Cairn (none)	Yes	Ardoch Burn	Gallow Hill (2000m)
23	Court Hill	Dunlop			Barr Hill (50m)	No	Glassart Burn	
24	Craighead Law	Dunlop		St Mary's Chapel (2560m)	Craighead Law (nearby)	No	Glassart Burn	
25	Tom a'Mhoid	Dunoon & Kilmun	Dunoon Old Parish Church (90m)		Castle House cist (90m)	No		Gallow Hill
26	Garret law	Eaglesham			Garret Law (none)	Yes	Rivers all around – damned to form reservoirs	
27	The Orry	Eaglesham	Eaglesham Parish Church (150m)		Kirkton More (cairn) (850m)	No	Eaglesham Burn	
28	Meikle Dripps	East Kilbride			Meikle Dripps (none)	Yes	White Cart Water	
29	Mote	Falkirk		St Helen's Chapel (270m)	West Bonnyfield Dun (600m)	No		
30	Knockcushon	Girvan	Girvan Old Parish Church (250m)				Appears to be in loop of Water of Irvine; "kink" in Doune Burn to east	Gallow Hill
31	Mutehill	Glasgow		St Ninian's Well (230m)		No	River Clyde	
32	Doomster Hill	Govan	Govan Old Church (90m)		Doomster Hill (none)	Yes?	River Clyde	

No	Court hill	Parish	Parish church	Other religious site	Prehistoric site	Using cairn	Water connection	Gallows
33	Mote Hill	Hamilton	Hamilton Old Parish Church (600m)	Netherton Cross (1100m)	Mote Hill (none) Heron Hill (930m)	Yes?		
34	Ardein	Inverchaolain			Cairn (1690m)	No	Ardyne Burn	
35	Dunan	Inverchaolain		Kilellan (650m)	Ardyne (440m)	No	Ardyne Burn	
36	Lawthorn Mount	Irvine (Perceton)	Perceton Parish Church (180m)	Stane Castle Chapel (1180m)	Lawthorn Mount (none)	Yes	River Ayr & Annick Water	
37	Salmon Hill	Irvine		St Mary's Chapel & Well (1700m)		No		Gallows & well (c300m)
38	St Molaise's Table	Kilbride		St Molaise's Well (50m)		No	By coast/no rivers or roads apparent on island	
39	Judas Hill	Kilmarnock	Laigh Kirk (1500m)	Our Lady's Well (1520m)	Knockinlaw Cairn (1160m)	No	Crawfurdland Water & Fenwick Water	Gallow Hill (1460m)
40	The Mote	Kilmaurs	St Maur's Church (1580m)	Knockentiber (800m)	Waterpark (200m)	No	Near Carmel Water & ford to SW	
41	Judge's Mound	Kilmodan		Tobar n'Anait (800m) Kilbridemore (1100m)	Carn Mor (500m) Carn Beag (660m)	No	Allt a'Chaol Ghlinne	Tom a'Chrochadaire (300m)
42	Catterlaw	Kilmaronock	Drymen Church (910m)		Footprint (1300m)	No	In bend of River Ettrick	

No	Court hill	Parish	Parish church	Other religious site	Prehistoric site	Using cairn	Water connection	Gallows
43	Court Hill	Kilsyth		Chapel Green (c500m)	Queenzieburn (c500m)	No	Queenzieburn	Gallowhill (c500m)
44	Mote Hill	Kilsyth	Cumbernauld Chapel (2720m)		Cist (3360m)	No	Garrel & Ebroch Burns"	Gallows (1450m)
45	Cuthill Brae	Kincardine	St Lolan's Parish Church (450m)		Tumulus (400m)	No		
46	Judge's Mound	Largs		Annatyrd (780m) St Fillan's Well (1100m)		No	River Shaw	
47	Jock's Hill	Linlithgow		St Ninian's Chapel (270m)		No		Gallows Knowe (330m)
48	Judge's Hill	Loudoun			Loudoun Park (1440m)	No	Bowhill Burn	Gallow Law & Cairn
49	Court Hill	Luss		St Mary's Chapel (1875m)	Auchintilloch Bay (1200m)	No	Finglas Water	Gallow Hill (175m)
50	Judgement Thorn	Morton			Morton Castle (490m)	No	Kettlestone Burn	Gallows Flat (1 mile)
51	Court Knowe	New Cumnock			Lochside (1640m)	No	River Nith & Lane Burn	
52	Dawsholm Park	New Kilpatrick		Jordanhill Cross (1450m)	Dawsholm Park (none)	Yes	River Kelvin	
53	Motehill	Old Cumnock		Chapel Knowe (1600m)	Cumnock Cist (760m)	No	Lugar Water	Gallows Knowe (760m)
54	Queen Blearie's Mound	Paisley		St Nicholas's Chapel (1400m)	Queen Blearie's Stone (800m)	No	White Cart Water	Gallowhill (c200m)
55	Tomavoid	Port of Menteith		Port of Menteith Parish Church (990m)			By Lake of Menteith	Gallows knowe

No	Court hill	Parish	Parish church	Other religious site	Prehistoric site	Using cairn	Water connection	Gallows
56	Tom a'Mhoid	Rhu		Stuckenduff chapel			East Burn	
57	Riccarton	Riccarton	Riccarton Parish Church (75m)	Hospital (940m)		No	River Irvine	
58	Tom a'Mhoid	Rosneath	Rosneath Parish Church (150m)	St Modan's Well (500m)		No	Burn	Gallowhill (not known – possibly 100-200m)
59	Sanquhar	Sanquhar		Kingscar & St Nicolas's Chapel (330m)	Sanquhar Castle (1180m)	No	River Nith	Gallows Knowe (c100m)
60	Law Mount	Stewarton		Monk's Well (1560m)	Cairn Duff (980m)	No	Annick Water	
61	Mote Hill	Stirling	Church of the Holy Rood (750m)	St Marrokis' Chapel (190m)	Mote Hill (none)	No	River Forth	
62	Dalmorton	Straiton		Baing Chapel (1970m)	Dalmorton cairn (none)	Yes	Palmullan Burn	
63	Law Stone of Mugdock	Strathblane		St Patrick's Well (300m)	Middleton (none)	Yes		Gallow Hill (2000m)
64	Moothill	Strathblane		St Kessog's Chapel & Well (2000m)		No		Gallows Hill nearby
65	Law	Tarbolton		Fail Monastery (1050m)	Law (none)	Yes		
66	Tarbolton Motte	Tarbolton	Tarbolton Old Parish Church (180m)		Parkmill Cairn (1480m)	No	tributary of Water of Fail	Gallow Hill nearby
67	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry Old Parish Church (130m)		Cuninghar (stone circle) (620m)	No	by River Devon	Gallows Hill

No	Court hill	Parish	Parish church	Other religious site	Prehistoric site	Using cairn	Water connection	Gallows
68	Tulliallan	Tulliallan		Tulliallan Castle (chapel) (420m)	Dickson's Wood (cist) (920m)	No	By small burn	Gallows Ridge

An interesting exercise might be to consider a site which might be suggested as a possible court hill, but has no tradition or evidence attached to it. An example of such a site is actually named Court Knowe on the 1st Edition and 1:10000 OS maps and is in the parish of Cathcart. The Court Hill is mentioned once in the *NSA*³⁸⁴ but only in the context of providing a platform for Mary, Queen of Scots, to survey the Battle of Langside. The results of the exercise are encouraging, the Court Knowe is 400 metres from Cathcart Old Church and St Oswald's Well; also is positioned in a loop of the Cart Water. Cathcart parish church was dedicated to St Oswald and is reputed to be of sixth century date.³⁸⁵ However, prehistoric sites and a gallows site would appear to be absent in this case.

Driscoll,³⁸⁶ in his study of thanage in Pictish Scotland, suggests that the model thanage would include, among other components, "ceremonial centres which served as meeting places, the place to hold popular courts and the sites of quasi-religious inaugurations to high office." It might seem reasonable to assume that a similar model may have existed in the west. However the dating of such centres might seem to be somewhat earlier than Barrow suggests; the above study might imply that court hills and assembly sites in general might be an Iron Age phenomenon.³⁸⁷ It is interesting to note that in the charter concerning Seabags, Smith³⁸⁸ has chosen to add an 'o' ("C(o)urthill"), however, if he had chosen to remove the 'r' (i.e. Cu(r)thill); which might suggest that court hills and cuthills share the same origins.

It is notable that so many echoes of the names mentioned in this chapter are retained in the landscape and street names within the parishes of this study, as seen below in Table 3.24. A limited study of street maps elicited street and area names containing the following elements: courthill; gallow;

³⁸⁴ *NSA*, (Cathcart), 504. "When the unhappy Queen, from her station on the Court Hill of Cathcart, which commanded a view of the whole scene of action"

³⁸⁵ *OPS*, 1851.

³⁸⁶ Driscoll, *Archaeology of state formation*", 98-99.

³⁸⁷ Driscoll, *Govan*, 74.

³⁸⁸ Smith, "Artificial mound at Bonnybridge", 66-7.

cuthill; mote; tom a'moid and law. As discussed above "law" might be somewhat ambiguous, however, it was included for completeness.

Perhaps it is not surprising that the most widespread names would appear to be connected with "gallows" and thirty-one parishes have area or street names with this element. Sherifflats (Covington & Thankerton) would also seem to imply a legal association.

The courthill associations in all their forms imply that this site type may once have been important and there memory was retained in the landscape. Although, it must be acknowledged that street names do not, in general, necessarily provide accurate evidence as they cannot be assumed to have any contemporary or meaningful association with judicial sites. They have been included to demonstrate that the names continue to survive within the modern environment, which in itself is of interest however, all such names should definitely be approached with caution as in the case of the village of Rosneath, which will be the subject of the case study below.

The courthill, once known as Tom a'Mhoid, is now known as The Courthill and the street adjacent is also known as Courthill. However, the name "Tom a'Mhoid" is retained in a street name some two hundred metres away, beside the site of the old parish church and on the other side of the current main road. Perhaps of the more interest is that it would be a very sensible route to approach the courthill.

Table 3.24: Courthill and Gallow elements within parish area and street names

No	County [Shire]	Parish	Gallows hill areas	Court hill/Law hill areas
1	Argyll	Dunoon & Kilmun	Gallows Hill area	Tom a'Mhoid Road
2	Ayr	Ardrossan	-	Mote Gardens
3	Ayr	Ayr	-	The Mote estate [Alloway]
4	Ayr	Coylton	Gallowhill Quadrant	-
5	Ayr	Dalmellington	-	Mote Braes
6	Ayr	Dalry	-	Courthill Street Courthill Place
7	Ayr	Girvan	-	Mote Hill Road Mote Hill Crescent [Knockcushion Street]
8	Ayr	Irvine	-	Court Hill Mount [Lawthorn Road] [Lawthorn Roundabout]
9	Ayr	Kilmarnock	Gallow Knowe Church	Mote View
10	Ayr	Largs	Gallowhill Place Gallowgate Street Gallowgate Lane	-
11	Ayr	Maybole	Gallowhill [area] Gallowhill Avenue	-
12	Ayr	New Cumnock	-	Mote Cottage
13	Ayr	Ochiltree	Gallowlee Avenue	Lawhill Farm
14	Ayr	Old Cumnock	Gallows Knowe	-
15	Ayr	Symington	-	Lawhill Road
16	Ayr	Tarbolton	Gallowhill Avenue	-
17	Ayr	West Kilbride	-	Law Brae Law Castle Lawfield Avenue Lawoodhead Bridge

No	County [Shire]	Parish	Gallows hill areas	Court hill/Law hill areas
18	Clackmannan	Alloa	-	Lawswell
19	Clackmannan	Alva	-	Courthill
20	Clackmannan	Dollar	-	Lawhill Road
21	Clackmannan	Tillicoultry	-	Kingseat Drive & Tullich Terrace – near eachother
22	Dumfries	Morton	Gallows Brae [Thornhill]	-
23	Dumfries	Penpont	Gallows Dike [Burnhead]	Mote Hill
24	Dumfries	Sanguhar	Gallows Knowe	-
25	Dunbarton	Cumbernauld	-	The Mote
26	Dunbarton	Kirkintilloch	Gallowhill Avenue Gallowhill Road High Gallowhill area Gallowhill Grove Gallowhill area	-
27	Dunbarton	Rosneath	Gallowhill	Tom a'Mhoid Road Court Hill area
28	Lanark	Avondale [Strathaven]	Gallowhill Road Gallowhill Farm & Cottages	-
29	Lanark	Carluke	-	Law View [Wishaw]
30	Lanark	Carmunnock	Gallowhill Road	-
31	Lanark	Carnwath	Gallow Hill	Couthally Terrace Couthally Gardens
32	Lanark	Carstairs	Gallow Hill	-
33	Lanark	Covington & Thankerton	Sherrifflats [Thankerton]	-
34	Lanark	Dalserf	Gallowhill [Larkhall]	-
35	Lanark	Dalziel	-	Law Drive [Motherwell]
36	Lanark	East Kilbride	-	Law Place

No	County [Shire]	Parish	Gallows hill areas	Court hill/Law hill areas
37	Lanark	Glasgow	Gallowgate Gallowhill Road	Law Street Lawmoor Street Lawmoor Road Cuthelton Street Cuthelton Drive Cuthelton Terrace
38	Lanark	Glassford	-	Lawknowe Lawside area
39	Lanark	Hamilton	-	Mote Hill Mote Hill Court Mote Hill Grove Lawhill Road
40	Lanark	Lamington & Wandel	-	Moat area
41	Lanark	Lanark	Gallowhill Road Gallow Hill Recreation Ground Ducking Stane [Mouse Water]	Leelaw Leelawmuir
42	Lanark	Rutherglen	-	Gallowflat Street
43	Lanark	Wiston & Robertson	Gallow Burn [rises on Wallace's Seat] Low Gallowburn Plantation	-
44	Midlothian	West Calder	-	Cuthel Brae
45	Perth	Kilmadock	-	Cuthill Brae
46	Perth	Port of Menteith	Gallows Knowe	-
47	Renfrew	Cathcart	-	Courthill Avenue
48	Renfrew	Eaglesham		Rutherglen Glasgow
49	Renfrew	Greenock	Gallow Hill [Gourock] Gallahill Road [Gourock]	-
50	Renfrew	Houston	-	Law Hill
51	Renfrew	Kilmacolm	Gallowhill	-
52	Renfrew	Lochwinnoch	Gallowhill	

No	County [Shire]	Parish	Gallows hill areas	Court hill/Law hill areas
53	Renfrew	Mearns	-	Lawfield Avenue Courthill, Dunvegan Drive
54	Renfrew	Paisley	Gallowhill area Gallowhill Road Gallowhill Court Gallowhill Terrace	Motehill Road
55	Stirling	Baldernock	-	Courthill Clinic, Kenilworth Road Courthill (road)
56	Stirling	Denny	-	Law Place
57	Stirling	Drymen	Gallowhill	-
58	Stirling	Dunipace	Gallowhill	-
59	Stirling	Gargunnoch	Gallow Hill	-
60	Stirling	Kilsyth	Gallow Hill	Courthill Crescent
63	West Lothian	Bathgate	--	Cuthill Terrace Cuthill Crescent
64	West Lothian	Linlithgow	Gallowsknowe	-

3.14 Case Study: Rosneath

Rosneath is a small and rather sleepy village situated on the Rosneath peninsula, now at the centre of a small parish; but which once that parish encompassed a large area of land from Kilcreggan on the Gareloch, to Luss on Loch Lomond and Cardross on the Clyde.

On closer inspection, Rosneath was once a great centre and well into the last century, the Duke of Argyll maintained a castle on the shores of the Gareloch. However, Rosneath's history is long and of particular interest to this study due to the presence of a court hill adjacent to the parish church site of some great antiquity and a holy well, recently rediscovered after being "lost for almost a century.

The name in Gaelic, apparently means *Ros-neimhidh*, 'promontory of the nemeton' – a nemeton was reputedly a sacred space often surrounded by a grove; according to Watson,³⁸⁹ and was possibly an important assembly place for the local tribes. This might imply that the presence of a court hill might be a continuation from this early site.

The Court Hill at Rosneath has many characteristics often found in close proximity to court hills (see Illustrations 3.13 and 3.14). It is situated on a low hill, possibly man-made although it is difficult to assess as the whole is covered with vegetation in keeping with new incarnation as a nature reserve. There is also an adjacent stream with a crossing-place and near to a trackway and a gallows hill, two kilometres to the north-east.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 245-6.

³⁹⁰ *OS Name Book* no xvi, 29.

Illustration 3.13: Path towards the summit of the Roseneath Court Hill.



*View of the path leading up to the summit of the Roseneath Court Hill,
with the stream on the right-hand side.*

Illustration 3.14: The summit of the Roseneath Court Hill.



*View of the summit of the Roseneath Court Hill is in the vicinity of
the Notice explaining the site.*

Rosneath has had fairly major building development during hundred years or so, particularly from a large Ministry of Defence housing development

erected in the 1960s; however, the court hill remained intact. The main peninsula road runs close to the hill, but several road-widening works have not encroached upon the land. Some 200 metres to the northeast is the Parish Church with the remains of the Old Parish Church, which date from the eighteenth century in the graveyard (See Illustration 3.15).

Illustration 3.15: The Old Parish Church in the Graveyard of Rosneath Parish Church.



View of the Old Parish Church in the Graveyard of Rosneath Parish Church.

The Church is dedicated to St Modan, who was reputedly a 6th century Irish saint, who spent some time at Dryburgh Abbey before founding a church or possibly an abbey at Rosneath and eventually being enshrined in the Church. Although, thought to have been an early foundation, the earliest record of the church is 1199;³⁹¹ however, an eighth century cross-incised slab was found in the graveyard which might point to a much earlier foundation (See Illustration 3.16).³⁹²

³⁹¹ OPS 1851:28.

³⁹² Cowan & Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 99,

*Illustration 3.16: The Old Parish Church in the Graveyard of Rosneath
Parish Church*



*Parish Church 8th Century cross-incised slab – now housed in the
Rosneath Parish Church*

This complex has been completed by the rediscovery of St Modan's Well some 200 metres to the west of the Parish Church – the site is situated in a garden on the raised bank of the Clachan Burn that runs by the Church and pass the Court Hill into the Gareloch (See Illustration 3.17). The well is a dripping well, usually water drips down a bank or wall and is collected in a container. According to local tradition, some boy scouts were given the task of cleaning the container by the Duchess of Argyll which they did so assiduously that the site was ruined and then lost. It is perhaps of interest that the well features in the deeds of the house.

Illustration 3.17: St Modan's Well.



View of the St Modan's Well.

Illustration 3.18: Tom a'Mhoid Road, Roseneath.



View of Tom a'Mhoid Road, Roseneath.

The Court Hill was once known as Tom a'Mhoid; but it is now known as the Court Hill and the street to the north is known as Court Hill Road. However, there is a Tom a'Mhoid Road on the other side of the road from the Court Hill

and, coincidentally, the most direct path from past the Church to the Court Hill from a southerly direction (See Illustration 3.18).

4 Wells

4.1 Introduction

“St Fillan’s blessed well

Whose spring can frenzied dreams dispel

And the crazed brain restored”³⁹³

A survey amongst the British general public concerning the extent of knowledge about wells would probably come to similar conclusions as Sir Walter Scott, although possibly in not such a succinct and poetic manner. It is difficult to imagine the subject of wells being widely considered nowadays, but the odd lingering folk-memory might evoke vague details about wells being: visited on auspicious days, possibly as dawn breaks; to enlist the aid of a long-dead, probably obscure, saint for a specific cure; a forecast of the identity of a spouse; or simply good fortune or to continue to live for the ensuing year.³⁹⁴

St Fillan’s Well³⁹⁵ (Comrie), although not in the immediate area of this study, is entirely consistent with such stereotypical expectations: what appears to

³⁹³ Sir Walter Scott cited in Towill, E. S., 1978, *The Saints of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 57.

³⁹⁴ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 105-106. St Corbet’s Well (St Ninian’s) – traditionally anyone drinking its water before sunrise on the first Sunday of May would have their life prolonged for another year. In 1840, some old people were still living who, in their youth, had taken part in pilgrimages to the well located in the Touch Hills.

³⁹⁵ OSA, (Comrie), 181 “This spring, tradition reports, reared its head on the top of Dun Fhanlain (Fillan’s fief), for a long time doing much good; but in disuse, (probably at the Reformation!), it removed suddenly to the foot of a rock, a quarter of a mile to the southward where it still remains, humbled indeed, but not forsaken. It is still visited by valentudinary people, especially on the 1st of May, and the 1st of August. No fewer than 70 persons visited during May and August 1791. The invalids, whether men, women, or children, walk, or are carried round the well, three times, in a direction of Deisel, that is, from E. to W., according to the course of the Sun. They also drink of the water, and bathe in it. These operations are accounted a certain remedy for certain diseases. They are particularly efficacious for curing barrenness; on which account, on which account it is frequently visited by those desirous of offspring. All invalids throw a white stone on the saint’s cairn, and leave behind, as tokens of their confidence and gratitude, some rags of linen or woollen cloth. The rock on the summit of the hill, formed of itself, a chair for the saint that still remains. Those who complain of rheumatism in the back, must ascend the hill, sit in this chair, then lie down on their back, and be pulled by their legs to the bottom of the hill. This operation is still performed, and reckoned very efficacious. At the foot of the hill, there is a basin, made by the saint, on the top of a large stone, which never wants for water, even in

be a relatively unknown³⁹⁶ Irish saint, remote location, strange rituals, auspicious days for visitation and well-water that promises a cure for several ailments.

Modern medicine, dwindling interest in religion, indifference to superstition and a preference for urban living over the past decades, almost certainly accounts for the growing lack of interest in holy wells by the general population. However, holy wells were once a numerous and widespread phenomenon; indeed records and accounts from folklore and antiquarian writers suggest that there were in excess of 8,000 holy wells to be found in the British Isles.³⁹⁷ Of course, many have been forgotten or lost through building, agricultural practices and the falling water table. There are at least one hundred and fifty holy wells to be found within the parishes of the NS map-square and thus it would seem an ideal choice of site type for the second study.

The origins of holy wells and the observances practiced by visitors have never been fully understood and the perceived wisdom since antiquarians took an interest in this phenomenon until the present day is not only muddled and contradictory; but several conflicting solutions are presented with no suggestion of irony. The most popular and pervasive suggestion is that early Christians blessed and therefore Christianised pagan wells, so bringing their supernatural properties under the sway of the “true religion”, in accordance with the instructions sent to Augustine and his missionaries to Anglo-Saxon England.³⁹⁸ This explanation has certainly prevailed through the years and even endures with some modern authors:

the greatest drought. And all those who are diseased with sore eyes must wash them in this water three times.”

³⁹⁶ St Fillan of Strathfillan was known in the immediate locality of his well and nearby monastery; although he has a few other dedications in the west of Scotland, including two at Largs. Although known in Scotland variously as Fillan, Filan, Phillan, Fáelán or Faolan, he is not found in the more common dictionaries of saints and much of his career appears to have been purely legendary.

³⁹⁷ Strang, V., 2004, *The Meaning of Water*, Oxford & New York, 86.

³⁹⁸ This will be discussed at greater length below.

“With the advent of Christian missionaries ... the worship of gods and goddesses of the wells was gradually discontinued, but their places were taken by Christian saints by whom these wells were then dedicated.”³⁹⁹

“Natural springs were frequently used as pagan shrines: Christianity simply took them over, or moved in so that the shrines became Christian by association.”⁴⁰⁰

“When the Christian religion superseded paganism, the relationship of the people in the land did not change. Traditional tribal and clan territories were maintained: ... Christian priests took over the social position that the Druids of the sacred group had occupied formerly. ... The former pagan holy places were re-consecrated, and monasteries erected alongside the holy trees or standing stones, that were Christianised by having a cross cut upon them.”⁴⁰¹

Similarly, it was and is thought that when the sites were Christianised, the pagan gods and goddesses who had held sway over the pagan holy places, particularly wells, were replaced by Christian saints.

However, it was also noted that holy wells were created by early Christian saints, often when literally losing their heads, as with the three wells in Rome much visited by pilgrims “that had gushed forth when St Paul’s head had rebounded thrice after his execution ...”⁴⁰² Saints in Scotland tended not to lose their heads, indeed it would appear the only example of beheading is St Donnán of Eigg;⁴⁰³ although several holy wells were created by the disconnected heads of saints in England.⁴⁰⁴ Saints in Scotland tended to create holy wells by praying or striking the ground or rock; although the latter

³⁹⁹ McIntyre writing in 1944, cited in Rattue, 1995, *The Living Stream: Holy Wells in Historical Context*, Woodbridge, 1.

⁴⁰⁰ Lloyd writing in 1988, cited in Rattue, *The Living Stream*, 1. This will be discussed at greater length below.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰² Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 50.

⁴⁰³ Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, 107-111; Farmer, D. H., 1987, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 135. According to the [Martyrology of Donegal](#): “he was beheaded and 52 of the monks with him”; while the *Martyrology of Óengus* suggests that the building and monks were burned by a pagan Queen from the mainland. The traditional year of the massacre was 618.

⁴⁰⁴ Rattue, J., 1999, *Holy Wells and Headless Saints*, 1. Rattue lists St Kenelm's at Clent, St Osyth's, Essex and St Juthware's Well at Halstock, Dorset among others.

method is a widespread image found in several countries and religions.⁴⁰⁵ Columba managed to both Christianise a pagan well and create at least one holy well. The first story is found in Adamnán's *Life of St Columba*, describing a malevolent well in "the province of the Picts" which the people worshipped as a god and which punished anyone who dared to drink from it.⁴⁰⁶ The second story concerns a child named Lugucencalad, from Artdaib-muirchol (Ardnamurchan), who was brought to the saint to be baptised. Columba had no water to hand, so he knelt and prayed opposite a neighbouring rock. On rising, he blessed the face of the rock, from whence water gushed forth and the child was duly baptised.⁴⁰⁷

Similarly, there was a conviction among the antiquaries, again prevailing into the present, that all holy well-culture is Celtic in nature and thus holy wells tend to be found in the so-called Celtic regions of Great Britain: Scotland, Wales, Ireland and Cornwall. Rattue⁴⁰⁸ suggests that the implication behind the Celtocentrism throughout the study of holy wells is connected with the notion that the Celts "had a 'natural' tendency to appreciate the sanctity of water". Certainly, the Celts were credited by antiquarians with having influenced the distribution and nature of the cult in Britain, while also noting the widespread nature of water-worship throughout the world. However, the implication was that the nature of water worship was actually different in "the hot Eastern lands" as it was only to be expected that water and wells should

⁴⁰⁵ Rattue, *Living Stream*, 22. This image is found in Baluchistan, where the Islamic saint Sakhi Sarwar was the hero; also in Japan, where the miracle is wrought by either Saint Kobo Daishi or the monk-emperor go-Daigo.

⁴⁰⁶ Cited in Walker, "Holy Wells in Scotland", 152-3 "Whilst the blessed man was stopping for some days in the province of the Picts, he heard that there was a fountain famous among this heathen people, which foolish men, having their senses blinded of the devil, worshipped as a god. For those who drank this fountain, or purposely washed their hands or feet in it, were allowed by God to be struck by demonical art, and went home either leprous or purblind, or at least suffering from weakness or other kinds of infirmity. By all these things the pagans were seduced and paid divine honours to the fountain. Having ascertained this, the saint one day went up to the fountain fearlessly, and on seeing this, the Druids, whom he had often sent away vanquished and confounded, were greatly rejoiced, thinking that, like others, he would suffer from the touch of the baneful waters. The saint then blessed the fountain, and from that day the demons separated from the water; and not only was it not allowed to injure any one, but even many diseases amongst the people were cured by this same fountain after it had been blessed and washed in by the saint."

⁴⁰⁷ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 39-40.

⁴⁰⁸ Rattue, *Living Stream*, 11-12.

be held in special reverence as “their cooling waters were there doubly welcoming.”⁴⁰⁹

Lady Wilde⁴¹⁰, in her *Ancient Legends of Ireland*, suggested that the Eastern well cult could not have originated in a humid country, where water is not at a premium and “where the discovery of a well seemed like the interposition of an angel in man’s behalf.”

However, the concept of water as a sacred substance and well-worship is ubiquitous throughout virtually all religions and in most countries of the world. The Old Testament gives some striking examples of the consecration of Israelite kings at the wells of En Gihon and En Rogel; and instances of pilgrimages to the wells of Beersheba;⁴¹¹ while “he who entered the pool of Bethesda first, after it had been disturbed by an angel, was cured of his distemper.”⁴¹² Wells in Classical Greece, according to Oenamaus, had the power of prophesy – of the two springs at Delphi, the water from the Cassotis was used for purification and the Sybyl drank from the Castilian before prophesying.⁴¹³ The Romans held the feast of Fontinalia in honour of their sacred springs and worshipped water nymphs; a sacred well was found among the roots of the sacred ash in Scandinavian mythology; while the Germanic tribes believed that gods inhabited springs; and the “savage tribes of America worshipped the spirit of the waters, and left their personal ornaments as votive offerings.”⁴¹⁴

Curiously, Mackinlay⁴¹⁵ recounts a tale with distinct similarities to that of the pagan well of the Picts mentioned in the *Life of St Columba*. A soldier, Lieutenant Whipple, discovered a sacred spring while travelling in North Mexico, which was held to be sacred to the rain-god. Cleansing rituals,

⁴⁰⁹ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 22.

⁴¹⁰ Cited in Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 22-23.

⁴¹¹ Cited in Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 13.

⁴¹² Walker, “Holy Wells in Scotland”, 152.

⁴¹³ Rattue, *Living Stream*, 26.

⁴¹⁴ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 13; Walker, “Holy Wells in Scotland”, 152.

⁴¹⁵ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 205-6.

sacred vessels and taboos abound, although history does not relate whether the gallant officer did any more than note its existence.

It would seem that far from being a wholly Celtic invention, holy wells and their associated cults might be considered a universal phenomenon, both in Britain and probably throughout the rest of the world. As water is necessary for human life, it would probably be more surprising if its importance was not marked by such worship, populated by gods and goddesses and assigned properties such as the power of healing. Although, as will be seen below, much has been written about the various holy wells and their titular saints, little research appears to have been undertaken concerning distribution, other than to note the distribution patterns of various titular saints. The methodology of this study will consider the holy wells in a different way and, if not arrive at definite conclusions, may suggest some areas for further study. Thus, after considering definitions and types of wells, along with previous evidence and distribution, this study will consider the methodology used in identifying the sites, origins of well-worship, Christianisation, attributes, dating and demise of holy wells and the patterns that emerged when looked at in the ArcView programme, in connection with other sites within the database.

4.2 Definitions

The word “well” would probably evoke visions in the modern mind of the quintessential wishing-well, much favoured in gardens and shopping centres: a round, brick wall surrounding a shaft, at the bottom of which is water. Some form of winch with rope and bucket, probably surmounted by a rudimentary pointed roof, would complete the structure, in order to draw water from the well. The expectation that the majority of holy wells conform to this model is clearly too simplistic and whimsical:

“The ‘wells’ are, as a rule, mere springs or shallow pools, with a trickle of water keeping up the supply. They are not deep pits with a brick kerb and a

windlass, which the name conjures up in the eyes of the average Englishman.”⁴¹⁶

While it is certainly true that some holy wells have been architecturally enhanced, the above description definitely is and was the norm. The best example of building enhancement to a spring within the study area is St Peter’s Well at Houston;⁴¹⁷ which seems to be one of the wells that drew the attention of Walker,⁴¹⁸ whose work will be discussed below (See Illustration 4.1). The well is covered by a stone building that rather resembles a small house with a saddle-back roof, measuring just under 2 metres long, 1.5 metres wide and around 2 metres in height; however, even in 1883, it was “full of vegetation, and the water undrinkable.”⁴¹⁹

Illustration 4.1: St Peter’s Well (Houston)



Front (left) and side (right) view of St Peter’s Well in Houston

Possibly “well” is a misnomer and might be misleading, as the appellation might imply that a shaft has been dug into the ground to access the water. This is rarely, if ever, the case with holy wells. The majority of holy wells are

⁴¹⁶ Paton, C. I., 1941, “Manx Calendar Customs: Wells” *Folk-lore* 52, 185.

⁴¹⁷ OSA, (Houston), 720-1. “Houstoun, in antient times, called Kilpeter, i.e. Cella Petri, the tutelary saint. There is a well at a little distance, to the north-west of the church, called St Peter’s Well; it is covered with a wall of cut free-stone, arched in the roof, from which flows a plentiful stream of excellent water; and a stream of water passing hard by is called Peter’s Burn. There is a fair held in the month of July in the village, called Peter’s Day. Houstoun, the more modern name of the parish, may be supposed to be a corruption of Hew’s town, perhaps from Hugo de Padvinan who is said by Mr Crawford, in his History of Renfrewshire, to have obtained a grant of the barony of Kilpeter from Baldwin of Biggar, sheriff of Lanark in the reign of Malcolm IV. ... “

⁴¹⁸ Walker, “Holy Wells in Scotland”, 162.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid*, 164-167.

formed in cavities in the ground, which are usually circular in shape and filled by springs of water. A spring is a source of water which bubbles out of the ground inside the cavity or flows out of the rocks into the cavity. The overflow from the cavity may also form a small pool, which may also be considered holy.⁴²⁰ An example of this is St Machan's Well⁴²¹ (Campsie; see Illustration 4.2). A number of springs bubble out of the ground behind St Machan's Church – all looking very similar to the untutored eye. However, St Machan's Well is distinguished by a tree beside it sporting ribbons and rags – a local confirmed that this was the well and that an old lady's ashes had recently been laid to rest at the spot. This is interesting as it seems to be a modern manifestation of an old custom as when the RCAHMS inspectors visited in 1966, no sign could be found of the well, although there is no record of whether they spoke to any locals. The be-ribboned tree is quite obvious, so this might imply that the custom had been in abeyance at the time of the inspector's visit.

Illustration 4.2: St Machan's Well (Campsie)



View of St Machan's Well in Campsie (both panels)

⁴²⁰ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 1-2.

⁴²¹ Canmore, NS67NW17, "St Machan's Well ... is described in 1859 as "partly covered by a flagstone. It is 4' deep, and the water is partly piped off to the Clachan of Campsie." When visited in 1953, no structural remains survived, but there was still a spring, reinforced by surface drainage from across the lane. A runnel of water led from it through the wood N of the church and this seemed to have been at least partly covered, as stone slabs were noted lying beside it in places. Name Book 1859; ... There is no trace of this well."

The siting of springs is sometimes a little strange; Mackinlay⁴²² cites two wells where the springs gush from rocks on the coast that are overflowed at high tide, but “the spring water remains fresh when the sea retreats ...”; as does the spring water of St Molaise’s Well (Kilbride), which is similarly sited.⁴²³ St Patrick’s Well⁴²⁴ (Maybole) similarly gushes from the rocks at Croy; unfortunately, several springs of fresh water bubble out of the rocks, as can be seen in Illustration 4.3 but this appeared to be the most “conspicuous”.

Illustration 4.3: St Patrick’s Well (Croy)



Wells seem to have survived in all shapes and sizes, clean or dirty and full of vegetation – location may have some bearing on this. Two extremes can be

⁴²² Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 40. St Columba’s Well at Toberi-Clerich in St Kilda and St Mary’s Well in the parish of Tain, Ross-shire

⁴²³ NSA, (Kilbride), 24. “In glancing at these faint vestiges of ancient times, it would be unpardonable to omit the case of St Molios, in the Holy Isle. Molios (or, as the name means in Gaelic, the shaved servant of Jesus), was a disciple of St Columba, who, not considering the disciple of Iona sufficiently rigid, retired to the greater seclusion from the vices of the world, to this lonely isle, whence he diffused the light of Christianity among the formerly Pagan inhabitants of Arran. The cave which formed his residence is merely an excavation in the red sandstone, hollowed out by the sea, when the level was higher than at present, with its mouth defended by a wall of loose stones. On the roof of the cave there is a Runic inscription, stating the name and office of the saint, and a little raised above its floor, a shelf of rock, said to have been his bed. In the neighbourhood of the cave, there is a large flat stone, called his dining-table, and a spring of pure water (his bath) much resorted to in the ages of superstition, and celebrated for the healing virtues alleged to have been communicated to it by the prayers and blessings of the saint.”

⁴²⁴ Canmore, NS21SW2 . “St Patrick’s Well ... A small spring. The origin of the name is not known. Name Book 1856. A copious, natural spring which was piped in 1932 (date stone). Although the name is known locally, its origin could not be ascertained. ... this is the most conspicuous of several springs along the Croy foreshore.”

seen in Illustration 4.4 and Illustration 4.5: Tobar Cill Moire⁴²⁵ (Strathlachlan) and Lady Well (Tullibody). Tobar Cill Moire is sited on the side of the road virtually opposite the old parish church of St Maelrubha. The bowl was clearly well tended and cleaned regularly, however, on the day of the visit, the torrential rain had washed vegetation and mud into the well. Although the latter had a safety cover, presumably due to its location in waste ground behind a housing scheme, it was overgrown with weeds and rubbish.

Illustration 4.4: Tobar Cill Moire (Strathlachlan)



View of Tobar Cill Moire in Strathlachlan (both panels)

Illustration 4.5: Lady's Well (Tullibody)



View of Lady's Well in Tullibody (both panels)

Wells in towns tend to have been treated in three ways: built over and forgotten; built over but marking the site in some way or made into a feature.

⁴²⁵ Canmore, NS09NW17. "Traditionally, this well takes its name from Kilmorie Burial Ground. Name Book 1866. An iron-rimmed circular stone basin."

It is possible to experience all three of these with one field trip to Linlithgow, which reputedly is home to four holy wells as will be seen below.

It would seem to comply with tradition to describe these sites as holy wells, although it is quite clear that most do not have any of the attributes generally ascribed to that particular genre. In some instances, as in the *NSA* entry for St Molaise's, it is confusing, as it has proved to be in Canmore, which has four possible site type searches for wells. Although, there are definitions to aid the searcher, the system seems confused, as will be seen from Table 4.1. If the fact that some of the entries use more than one of the site types, this gives a total of only four hundred holy wells for the whole of Scotland. There are one hundred and fifty holy wells in this study, which, as will be discussed below are all taken from Canmore; it seems curious that over a third are to be found in one map square. The confusion arises from the difficulty in deciding between the terms and from the fact that some holy wells are described as merely "well".

Table 4.1: Definitions of Wells in Canmore

Site type	Definition	No of sites found in Scotland
Well	A shaft sunk in the ground to provide a supply of water	1,378
Holy Well	A well or spring which is reputed to possess miraculous healing properties	273
Spring	A point where water issues naturally from the rock or soil or into a body of surface water	122
Rag Well	An area around water where rags and clothing are tied or placed for ritual purposes	5

4.3 Types of Well

This study involves only holy wells within the database; however during the collection of data, it became clear that distinction should be made between different types of well: holy; non-holy; Celtic and ordinary wells.

As seen above, the system used by Canmore is confusing and when collecting sites for the database it was necessary to look at all entries in any way connected with wells. It seemed sensible to enter all the well-types into the database, although it was necessary to distinguish them for ease of interrogation, thus the four terms were used i.e. well-holy, non-holy well, well-Celtic and well. As the distinctions between these wells may not be immediately apparent, the definitions are as follows:

4.3.1 Holy well

A well or spring that is in some way considered to be holy or blessed with miraculous powers such as healing.

The name of a holy well will either:

- contain a dedication to a saint;
- reflect an ecclesiastical term such as chapel, priest, etc;
- merely mention the name of the area in which the well was located as the original dedication has been lost; although some, such as Warlock Gates⁴²⁶ (Lochwinnoch), are not necessarily easily explained;
- reflect the nature of its healing powers e.g. Virtue Well⁴²⁷ (New Monklands);
- include reference to a lay person – two instances in the database – Bruce's Well⁴²⁸ (Monkton & Prestwick) and Wallace's Well⁴²⁹

⁴²⁶ *OS Name Book* no xvi, 55. "The holy well is still to be seen. It was closed up with stones and rubbish, but the present farmer cleared it. It seems to have been enclosed with masonry work at one time; parts of this remain and it is supposed that a small door was attached."

⁴²⁷ *OS Name Book* no i, 88. "A mineral well which had been much resorted to in former days. It was filled up about 1856. It was sited a short distance north of Burnfoot."

(Cadder). The dedication of the former may have originally been to St Ninian. It might, therefore, be possible to speculate this was also the dedication of the holy well, but it was changed to reflect the story of Robert the Bruce. Wallace's Well, on the other hand, has no history of being a holy well and will, therefore, be classified as a non-holy well.

4.3.2 *Well Chapel*

A sub-classification of holy well is well-chapel, a site type that was particularly prevalent in Wales. Jones⁴³⁰ notes that he has found nearly 200 examples of chapels and churches built at or near wells and this phenomenon has been noted elsewhere. However, there are also several instances in Wales where chapels had actually been built over the well itself; although several have decayed or were destroyed during the Reformation and have been completely removed from the landscape.

There are further examples of non-Welsh well-chapels, often within larger churches, such as a spring inside St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, and holy wells can be found in the cathedrals of Carlisle, Winchester and Canterbury and the ministers of York and Beverley, plus one or two English parish churches. It has been suggested that: "Such wells may have been of special service in Border churches, which, like the cathedral of Carlisle, served as places of refuge for the inhabitants in case of sudden alarm or foray."⁴³¹ There are instances of churches being placed over springs, and under-floor channels for water, are known on the Continent, as at the cathedral of Notre

⁴²⁸ NSA, (Monkton & Prestwick), 173. Between Prestwick and Prestwick Toll, within fifty or sixty yards of King-Case or King's-Case, a charitable institution said to have been endowed by King Robert Bruce. Tradition says, that the Bruce, in consequence of great personal efforts in a hard-fought battle, was seized with an eruptive disease of the nature of leprosy; and that upon his recovery from this disease, under the conviction that his cure had been mainly effected by drinking of the water of Kingcase well, he built this lazar-house for the accommodation and relief of such as might be afflicted with the same disorder.*

⁴²⁹ Canmore, NS66NW39. This well appears on current OS maps as Wallace's Well, but was previously referred to as Auchinleck Well or not named. The association with Wallace may be recent.

⁴³⁰ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 24, 27.

⁴³¹ Rev T F Thistlethorn Dyer cited in Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 50.

Dame in Paris, Disentis in Holland, the Michaeliskirche in Hildesheim and Schöppingen.⁴³²

Rattue,⁴³³ on the other hand, suggests that this site type can be extended to include chapels that are adjacent to the holy well, with a processional path which maintained the degree of sanctity accorded to it by the medieval church – a sort of “sacred cul-de-sac” which would ensure that the path would be taken for one purpose only, often at the end of a long pilgrimage.

St Kentigern’s Well (Glasgow) is located within what is now the lower church of Glasgow Cathedral; although curiously there are another chapel and holy well dedicated to St Kentigern in Glasgow.⁴³⁴ St Ninian’s Well⁴³⁵ (Stirling) is also a possible well chapel, as a two-room building has been erected over it, which the writer of the *NSA* suggests might be a bath house. It seems more likely that it is a further rare example of a well-chapel in Scotland.⁴³⁶

Well-chapels are clearly an intriguing site-type and might be an interesting topic for future research; however, as there are only a maximum of two examples in this study, they will not be considered as a separate entity and will be included as holy wells.

⁴³² Morris, *Churches*, 87-8.

⁴³³ Rattue, *Living Stream*, 76. Rattue also uses the term “well-house” for this site type

⁴³⁴ Canmore, NS66NW17. “St Mungo’s Well, referred to in 1542 and 1572 as the well of St Kentigern, and in 1558 as “the well commonly called Sanct Mongowis Spoutis”, lay beside St Mungo’s Chapel. This closed circular well measures 2.0m in diameter and stands 1.0m above ground level. It is built of stone and bears signs of modern facing. A plaque reads: “Ancient Well of Little St Mungo. Restored 1906. Near this spot Christian Converts met St Kentigern (St Mungo) on his return from Wales. Near this spot also his meeting with St Columbus is said, by some historians, to have taken place.”

⁴³⁵ *NSA*, (Stirling), 184, 426. St Ninian’s Well is protected by a small building, part of which is supposed to have been a small chapel, but it is more likely to have been a bath. (St Ninian’s Chapel: probably Medieval).

⁴³⁶ Walker, “Holy Wells in Scotland”, 170-172. “The building erected over St Ninian’s Well comprises two chambers. The lower, which has roughly dressed vaulting, measures 16’ by 11’ and has a square recess where the spring rises. The room above is the same size, and is divided by timber partitions to form a dwelling-house. It is rough-cast externally. At present the wall is used for domestic washing.”

4.3.3 *Non-holy well*

This is a well or a spring that seems to have been purely secular in nature and never had any pretensions to be regarded as holy; although there is something e.g. name, that distinguishes it from a domestic well.

There are twenty-three such wells in the database, as shown in Map 4.1, and tend to have:

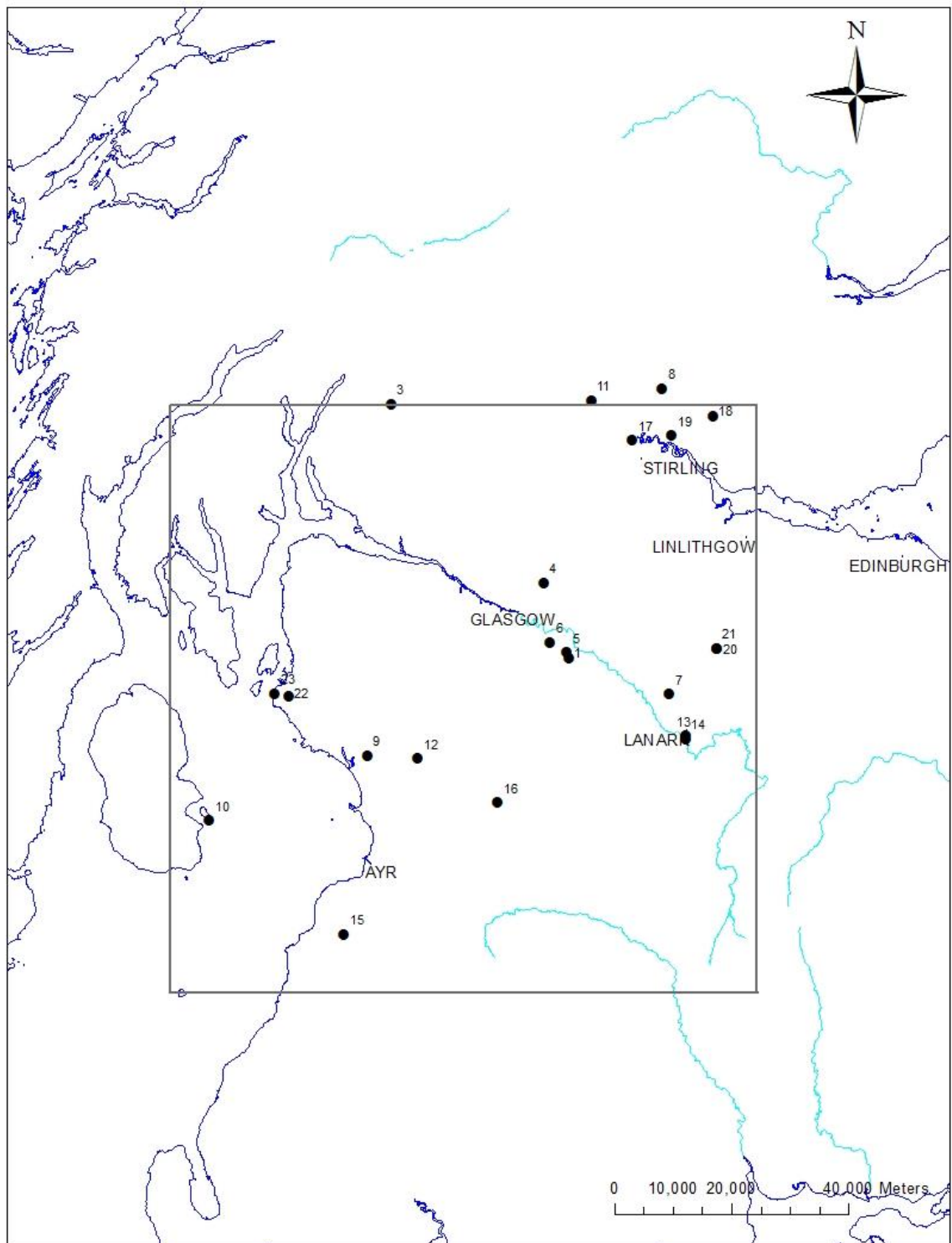
- no bibliographic references such as Dorothy's Well (Kilbride) – the interesting thing about this site is that it is almost totally isolated. One might speculate that the dedication is to St Dorothy, but it could equally have been a local crofter's wife;
- named to commemorate an event or famous person, such as Queen Mary's Well⁴³⁷ (New Monklands);
- Curious names such as Skatin's Well⁴³⁸ (Lanark).

Of course, it is entirely possible that some of these wells were in fact holy wells, but that the name has become so corrupted as to be unintelligible. Queen Mary's Well (Blantyre), for instance, may well have originally been St Mary's Well and renamed after the Reformation, retaining the saint's name but with a more acceptable legend. Of course, there is no evidence for this suggestion and the well will retain its non-holy.

⁴³⁷ *OS Name Book* no vii, 51. "The tradition is that Queen Mary, on her way from Hamilton Palace to Cathcart Castle, the day previous to the Battle of Langside (15 May 1568), rested for a short time at this well."

⁴³⁸ Morris & Morris, R. and F., 1982, *Scottish Healing Wells: Healing, holy, wishing and fairy wells of the mainland of Scotland*, Sandy, 138. "Mentioned in the 1567 order against washing clothes, was probably in the Wellgait, but has disappeared, as has the Blind Well mentioned in the Burgh records of 1650."

Map 4.1: Non-holy wells



Key: Map 4.1 showing non-holy wells (●)

No.	Parish	Court Hill	No.	Parish	Court Hill
1	Blantyre	Kenning's Well	13	Lanark	Skatins Well
2	Blantyre	Queen Mary's Well	14	Lanark	Blind Well
3	Buchanan	Halfway Well	15	Maybole	Welltrees
4	Cadder	Wallace's Well	16	Sorn	Dentibert Well
5	Cambuslang	Queen Mary's Well	17	Stirling	Butt Well
6	Cambuslang	Cairns Well	18	Tillicoultry	Lady Ann's Well
7	Carluke	Standing Stone Well	19	Tullibody	Tullibody
8	Dunblane & Lecropt	Spout Well	20	West Calder	Muldron Well
9	Carluke	Law of Maudslie	21	West Calder	Mug Well
10	Irvine	Stane Castle	22	West Kilbride	Dornell Well
11	Kilbride	Dorothy's Well	23	West Kilbride	The Wishing Well
12	Kilmarnock	Roman's Well			

Similarly, Mackinlay⁴³⁹ notes that this might be the case for a well-known as Bullion Well (Ecclesmachan): "There is a spring of this name issuing from the trap rocks of Tor Hill. It is a mineral well. The water is slightly impregnated with sulphretted hydrogen. In former times it was much resorted to by health-seekers, but it is now neglected." Mackinlay suggests that this well may have been dedicated to Martin of Tours as apparently 4 July used to be known as Martin of Bullion's Day in honour of the translation of the saint's body to a shrine in the cathedral of Tours. The implication for the etymology would seem to be a little strained: "it is derived from the French bouiller, to boil, in allusion to the heat of the weather at that time of the year." Canmore has no record of wells of any sort in Ecclesmachan, which for one of the so-called *Eglés* or *Eccles* sites within the study is a little disappointing. However, the Bullion Well is mentioned in the OSA,⁴⁴⁰ but although it is mentioned as a healing well, there is no suggestion that it was considered holy. This well will not be included in the study for reasons to be discussed below.

⁴³⁹ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 48.

⁴⁴⁰ OSA, (Ecclesmachan), 740-1. There is a mineral spring at no great distance from the manse, called the Bullion-well, of the same nature with Moffat water; to which, people labouring under scrophulous complaints used to repair: but it has not been much frequented for some years past.

4.3.4 Celtic well

As noted above, many commentators consider the Celts to have brought the well cult to Britain and it might have been interesting to compare Celtic wells with holy wells – an unbiased and unemotional study may well have given some clue to this allegation.

However, there is only one Celtic well within the study area: Carsbarnwood Orchard⁴⁴¹ (Cambusnethan). The identification of the well as Celtic seems to rely on whether a Celtic tricephalos, dug up in a domestic garden, was excavated from its original position beside a well. Its position in a domestic garden seems to imply that it is unlikely that it had not been disturbed or possibly moved at some point during the life of the garden. Similarly, the well is of comparatively modern construction and may or may not be successor to a well from antiquity.

Canmore⁴⁴² does not list any other Celtic wells; however twelve examples of Celtic heads are listed, including Carsbarnwood Orchard; although, none of the others are associated with wells of any kind. However, it would also seem that none of them were found in original locations, for example, three were found near Roman camps, a further three from gardens and fields, two from chapel sites and three from unknown sites.

⁴⁴¹Ross, A., 1974, "A Pagan Celtic tricephalos from Netherton, Lanarkshire." *GAS* 3, 27. "A boulder, on which two heads are carved in high relief and a face in low relief, a variant of the well-known and widely distributed pagan Celtic tricephalos, was dug up at NS 7769 5347 in 1967 when Mr J L Mahon was constructing a rock garden close to his house, Carsbarnwood Orchard. The site of the discovery is 680m from and 32m above the right bank of the River Clyde. The boulder, of local grey sandstone, stands to a height of 25 cms from a flattened base and measures 21 cms in width and 24 cms in depth. The heads and face are placed in a singular manner, the two heads - which closely resemble each other in appearance - being set on one side of the stone while the face, completely different from the heads in style, is on top of the boulder. If the tricephalos was found in situ, its close proximity to a well may have some significance, although household wells abound in the district, and this well may be of comparatively modern origin. However, the possibility that this originated as a sacred well cannot be ruled out. However, the find-spot is also close to a source which flows into the River Clyde, and may perhaps be associated with this. The tricephalos is now in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum (Accession no: A 6716)."

⁴⁴² Canmore: eleven other entries for Celtic Heads at: NO12NW33, Muirton (Tibbermore); NO24SW77, Beech Hill (Coupar Angus); NT02SE4, Hawkshaw (Tweedsmuir); NX88SE,8 Auldsgirth (Dunscore); NX89SW20, Kirkland (Glencairn); NX97NE136, Thornhill Museum (Dumfries); NX97SE26, Camp Hill (Dumfries); NY07NE2, Rockele Chapel (Lochmaben); NY07NW21 Collin (Thorthorwald); NY27NW4.02, Birrens (Middlebie) and NY27NW38, Middleby (Middlebie).

It would not seem sensible to have a category with only one example, particularly one identified on such scant evidence, as it would be difficult to extrapolate results with any confidence. However, it would seem that, as seen below, in common with most other cultures, wells were revered by the Celts and thus a Celtic well should perhaps be classed as “holy”. Therefore, had the provenance of this well been sound, to include it in this study might, at first, seem a viable option. However, even ignoring the problems with provenance, it cannot be assumed that such wells would be treated in the same way as Christians and it is difficult to suggest how data gained from this site could be usefully used in this study.

4.3.5 Wells

The final category in this section is ordinary wells, which would seem to be solely for domestic purposes and have been recorded in Canmore as they have been identified during archaeological excavations such as Hamilton Technical College⁴⁴³ (Hamilton) and Strathavon 51-53 Kirk Street⁴⁴⁴ (Avondale).

There are nineteen such wells in the database and they are not included in this study.

So as to avoid confusion in this study, all holy wells, springs, rag wells, fountains, etc., in the database are described as holy wells regardless of how they are described in Canmore or any other source material.

4.3.6 Previous Evidence

Much has been written about the holy wells of the British Isles, particularly by antiquarian writers and usually in the form of articles of varying length for

⁴⁴³ Canmore, NS75NW30. “During building operations at the new Hamilton Technical College extension on the site of the old barracks, workmen discovered three wells in line, N-S about 2ft below ground level. The wells were circular, of dry masonry each approximately 10ft apart. The diameters were 3ft, 5ft and 7ft and each was 20ft deep. According to Mr W Leeming, foreman, there may have been slab covered conduit connecting each well. They were bored into solid boulder clay.”

⁴⁴⁴ Canmore, NS74SW32.01. “A watching brief was conducted by D Hall of SUAT in June 1986, to observe the remains of a drystone built well revealed by developers. The well had a diameter of 0.96m and was revealed to a depth of 0.40m. 19th century china from its fill.”

archaeological and historical journals, especially *Folklore*. The writers tend to describe the holy wells or well customs in their own locality, usually county-based; or they concentrate on an aspect of holy wells. Examples are numerous, such as Parsons,⁴⁴⁵ who considers the association between white ladies and wells, and a piece on Manx Calendar Customs connected with holy wells by Paton.⁴⁴⁶

The coverage is very patchy, dependent upon the location of the contributor, with a definite bias towards Cornwall and Wales, which might go some way to explain the notion that holy wells are mostly found in Celtic areas. It has been suggested that extensive surveys of holy wells have been completed in Dorset, Cumbria and Somerset, but as Rattue⁴⁴⁷ has also suggested that this is true for Scotland; although reading for this study would imply that this is far from accurate.

Jones⁴⁴⁸ completed the first comprehensive survey of holy wells in Wales in 1954; his book was reprinted in 1992, although the survey and some of his conclusions may now appear a little dated. Obviously, most of the information pertains to holy wells in Wales; however, it is a useful source concerning the properties and location of holy wells and for comparison with holy wells in the study.

More recently, Rattue⁴⁴⁹ and Strang⁴⁵⁰ have each produced more general works that are far-reaching, bringing modern techniques and ideas to an area that has traditionally been descriptive and conservative. For instance, Rattue recognises that holy wells were probably far more widespread than modern survival indicates, considering other methods for identification that have been totally ignored in previous literature. Similarly, as an environmental anthropologist, Professor Veronica Strang brings that experience to her work, with thought-provoking results.

⁴⁴⁵ Parsons, C. O., 1933, "Association of the White Lady with wells" *Folklore*, 44.

⁴⁴⁶ Paton, "Manx Calendar Customs"

⁴⁴⁷ Rattue, *Living Stream*, 4.

⁴⁴⁸ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*.

⁴⁴⁹ Rattue, *Living Stream*.

⁴⁵⁰ Strang, *Meaning of Water*.

Modern technology has not forgotten holy wells and there are some online journals dedicated to the subject; although at least one seems to have ceased producing journals although the archives are still available.⁴⁵¹ The archive is fairly extensive; however the articles seem to concentrate on England and Wales. HOLYANDHEALINGWELLS⁴⁵² has a very colourful website and describes itself as a “blog”, producing a small issue each month, containing two articles that are a little short on text but have some very good photographs.

Far from being well-surveyed, the previous literature on holy wells in Scotland appears to run to only three substantial pieces of work. Walker,⁴⁵³ was a nineteenth-century architect who was mainly interested in architectural building that sometimes surrounded holy wells. He made detailed drawings of most of the buildings, which has provided a useful record, particularly for those holy wells that have been destroyed or allowed to fall into disrepair. He also produced an extensive list of all the holy wells known to him by dedication, with some surprising results, for example, “St Annet”,⁴⁵⁴ is apparently the titular saint of Tobar na H’Annait (Kilmodan).⁴⁵⁵ Certainly Walker collected a huge amount of information, which is very easy to access; although in some cases, he merely lists saints and place-names with no suggestions as to their exact location; which if no other reference is available can be extremely frustrating.

Mackinlay⁴⁵⁶ was prolific in his writings on saints and dedications, later producing two hefty tomes on the subject. This earlier collection of folklore of Scottish lochs and springs is useful in parts, but tends to rely heavily on the saints and their virtues; rather than giving an insight into the wells

⁴⁵¹ The Source Online Archive is available. [online]. [Accessed 1 June 2014]. Available at: <http://people.bath.ac.uk/liskmj/living-spring/sourcearchive/front.htm>,

⁴⁵² HOLYANDHEALINGWELLS: Exploring the folklore, history and mystery of the ancient water supplies. [online]. (accessed 15 September 2014) Available at: <http://insearchofholywellsandhealingsprings.wordpress.com/2014/09/>.

⁴⁵³ Walker, “Holy Wells of Scotland”.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 186

⁴⁵⁵ *Annait* names were extensively described in the previous chapter.

⁴⁵⁶ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*.

themselves. In many ways, this work is a product of its time and precisely what might be expected from a nineteenth-century antiquarian writer.

The final volume,⁴⁵⁷ compiled by Morris & Morris, takes the form of a gazeteer of holy wells on the Scottish mainland arranged by county, which makes it very simple to access; however, the content is fairly limited, often giving little more information than Canmore or the *Statistical Accounts*. The authors visited some of the wells and were able to give an update on their condition; although, it is now somewhat out of date. The explanatory chapters at the beginning of the book offer a diet of rehashed folklore and popular tradition concerning Celts, Druids and water-spirits with little recourse to references, washed down with descriptions of visits to wells. As will be seen below, their notions concerning the origins for holy wells in Scotland could easily have been written by an antiquarian folklorist during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.

The final source of evidence to be considered is that given by the writers of the *Statistical Accounts and Name Books*: a table showing the holy wells that are described in the *Statistical Accounts and Name Books* is shown at Table 4.2. Many authors of the *Statistical Accounts* omitted any mention of the holy wells in their parishes - particularly as during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most of the parishes were still rural in nature: the very areas where it is assumed visitations to holy wells continued and memories of such sites would presumably have remained fresh.

⁴⁵⁷ Morris & Morris, *Scottish Healing Wells*.

Table 4.2: Wells in Statistical Accounts, Name Books, Canmore and Antiquarian sources

No	Name	Parish	NSA	OSA	Name Book	Antiquarian sources Cited in Canmore
1.	Lady's Well	Airth	✓	✓	X	X
2.	Lady's Well	Alloa	✓	X	X	X
3.	Priest's Well	Alloa	X	X	X	X
4.	Lady's Well	Alva	X	X	X	X
5.	St Serf's Well	Alva	✓	✓	✓	X
6.	Our Lady's Well	Auchinleck	X	X	X	Scott et al 1915-61.
7.	St Oswald's Well	Avondale	X	X	✓	X
8.	Friars Well	Ayr	✓	X	✓	X
9.	Mungo's Well	Ayr	X	X	X	Lacaille 1929.
10.	St John's Well	Ayr	X	X	X	X
11.	St Katherine's Well	Ayr	X	X	X	X
12.	St Thomas's Well	Ayr	X	X	X	Paterson 1863.
13.	Chapel Well	Bathgate	X	X	✓	X
14.	St Bridget's Well	Beith	✓	X	✓	Chalmers 1824.
15.	St Inan's Well	Beith	✓	X	✓	Love 1876; Smith 1895.
16.	St John's Well	Bo'Ness & Carridon	X	X	✓	Salmon 1913.
17.	St Maha's Well	Buchanan	X	X	X	X
18.	Crossbasket	Cambuslang	X	X	✓	Ure 1793.
19.	St Aidan's Well	Cambusnethan	X	X	X	Scott et al 1915-61.
20.	St Columba's Well	Cambusnethan	X	X	X	Scott et al 1915-61.
21.	St Machan's Well	Campsie	X	X	✓	X
22.	St Shear's Well	Cardross	X	X	X	Irving 1879; Macleod 1891.
23.	St Bride's Well	Carmichael	✓	X	✓	Scott et al 1915-61.
24.	St Michael's Well	Carmichael	✓	X	X	Irving & Murray 1864.
25.	St Mary Magdalene's Well	Carnwath	X	X	✓	Wilson 1936-7.
26.	St Oswald's Well	Cathcart	X	X	X	Scott et al 1915-61
27.	Chapel Well	Clackmannan	X	X	✓	X
28.	Carnell Well	Coylton	✓	X	✓	Scott et al 1915-61.
29.	Chapel Well	Coylton	✓	X	✓	Scott et al 1915-61.

No	Name	Parish	NSA	OSA	Name Book	Antiquarian sources Cited in Canmore
30.	St Bryde's Well	Coylton	X	X	✓	Scott et al 1915-61.
31.	Monk's Well	Culross	X	X	X	Beveridge 1885.
32.	St Finan's Well	Dalry	X	X	X	Scott 1915-61.
33.	Lady Well	Dalziel	✓	✓	✓	X
34.	St Catherine's Well	Dalziel	✓	✓	X	Wilson 1937.
35.	St Margaret's Well	Dalziel	✓	✓	X	X
36.	St Patrick's Well	Dalziel	✓	✓	X	Sneddon & Stevenson 1926.
37.	Chapel Well	Douglas	✓	X	X	X
38.	Knockinhaglish	Drymen	X	X	X	Smith 1896.
39.	St Vildrin's Well	Drymen	✓	X	X	Forbes 1872; Walker 1883.
40.	St Bryde's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt	X	X	X	Watson 1926.
41.	St Philip's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt	X	X	X	Barty 1944.
42.	St Mary's Well	Dundonald	X	X	X	Paterson 1863.
43.	St Mary's Well	Dunlop	X	X	✓	Bayne 1935.
44.	Holywell Cleuch	Durisdeer	X	X	✓	Ramage 1876.
45.	St Cuthbert's Well	Durisdeer	X	X	X	Ramage 1876.
46.	Munzie Well	Eaglesham	✓	X	✓	Thomson 1903.
47.	St Conal's Well	Eastwood	X	X	X	Scott et al 1915-61.
48.	Cross Well	Falkirk	X	X	X	X
49.	Holy Well	Galston	X	X	✓	Walker 1883.
50.	Lady Well	Glasgow	X	X	X	Walker 1883. M'Ure 1736.
51.	St Mungo's Well (Glasgow Cathedral)	Glasgow	X	X	X	X
52.	St Mungo's Well (Saracen's Head)	Glasgow	X	X	X	Renwick 1908.
53.	St Ninian's Well	Glasgow	X	X	X	OPS 1851.
54.	St Thenew's Well	Glasgow	X	X	X	Walker 1883; Renwick & Lindsay 1821.
55.	Chapel Well	Glassford	X	X	✓	X

No	Name	Parish	NSA	OSA	Name Book	Antiquarian sources Cited in Canmore
56.	St Constantine's Well	Govan	X	X	X	Brotchie 1904.
57.	Lady Well	Hamilton	✓	X	X	(Account written 1874).
58.	St Fillan's Well	Houston	X	✓	✓	X
59.	St Peter's Well	Houston	X	✓	✓	Walker 1883.
60.	Chapel Well	Inverchaolain	X	X	✓	X
61.	Priest's Well	Inverchaolain	X	X	✓	X
62.	Chrisswell	Inverkip	X	X	X	Snoddy 1950.
63.	St Mary's Well	Irvine	X	✓	✓	X
64.	St Bryde's Well	Kilbarchan	X	X	X	Walker 1883
65.	Birnie's Well	Kilbirnie	✓	X	✓	X
66.	St Molaise's Well	Kilbride	✓	X	X	Headrick 1807; Balfour 1909.
67.	St Mary's Well	Kilmarnock	X	X	X	Scott et al 1915-61.
68.	St Ronan's Well	Kilmaronock	X	✓	X	Watson 1926.
69.	Lady's Well	Kilmaurs	X	X	X	McNaught 1912.
70.	Monk's Well	Kilmaurs	X	X	X	McNaught 1912.
71.	St Modan's Well	Kilmodan	X	X	✓	X
72.	Tobar a'Phiobain	Kilmodan	X	X	✓	X
73.	Tobar n'Annait	Kilmodan	X	X	X	X
74.	Bennecarrigan	Kilmory	✓	X	✓	X
75.	Tobar Chillum Chille	Kilmory	X	X	✓	X
76.	St Mirren's Well	Kilsyth	✓	✓	✓	X
77.	Kyle's Well	Kilwinning	X	X	✓	X
78.	St Winning's Well	Kilwinning	✓	✓	✓	Scott 1915-61.
79.	Christ's Well	Kincardine	X	X	X	X
80.	St Blane's Well	Kingarth	X	X	X	Hewison 1893-5.
81.	St Cattan's Well	Kingarth	X	X	✓	Watson 1926.
82.	St Mauvais' Well	Kippen	X	X	X	Forbes 1872.
83.	Chapel Well	Kirkmichael	✓	X	X	Paterson 1863-6.
84.	Lady Well	Kirkoswald	X	X	X	X
85.	St Ninian's Well	Lamington & Wandel	✓	✓	X	Walker 1883.
86.	My Lady's Well (Nemphlar)	Lanark	X	X	X	Reid 1922.

No	Name	Parish	NSA	OSA	Name Book	Antiquarian sources Cited in Canmore
87.	St Mungo's Well	Lanark	X	X	X	Reid 1922.
88.	St Patrick's Well	Lanark	X	X	X	Reid 1922.
89.	St Peter's Well	Lanark	X	X	X	OPS 1851.
90.	St Teiling's Well	Lanark	X	X	X	Reid 1922.
91.	Fairlie	Largs	X	X	X	OPS 1851.
92.	St Fillan's Well	Largs	X	X	X	Walker 1883.
93.	St Fillan's Well	Largs	X	X	✓	Walker 1883.
94.	Cross Well	Linlithgow	X	✓	X	X
95.	St Magdalene's Well	Linlithgow	X	X	✓	X
96.	St Michael's Well	Linlithgow	X	X	✓	X
97.	St Paul's Well	Linlithgow	X	X	✓	Mackinlay 1893.
98.	Lady Well	Livingston	X	X	✓	X
99.	Rose Well	Livingston	X	X	✓	X
100.	Johnshill Well	Lochwinnoch	X	X	✓	OPS 1851.
101.	Warlocks Gate	Lochwinnoch	X	X	✓	X
102.	Highlandman's Well	Logie	X	✓	X	X
103.	Glen Chapel Holm	Loudoun	X	X	✓	Paterson 1866.
104.	St Michael's Well	Mauchline	X	X	X	Gibb 1911; Scott et al 1915-61.
105.	Ladycross Well	Maybole	✓	X	✓	Walker 1883; Macfarlane 1907.
106.	St Anthony's Well	Maybole	✓	X	X	Walker 1883.
107.	St Helen's Well	Maybole	✓	X	✓	MacFarlane 1907.
108.	St Patrick's Well	Maybole	X	X	✓	X
109.	Bruce's Well	Monkton & Prestwick	✓	✓	X	X
110.	Lady Well	Monkton & Prestwick	X	X	X	Hewat 1908.
111.	St Nicholas's Well	Monkton & Prestwick	X	X	✓	Chalmers 1887-1902.
112.	Mary's Well	Morton	X	X	✓	Ramage 1876.
113.	St Patrick's Well	Morton	X	X	✓	X
114.	Lady's Well	Neilston	✓	X	✓	X
115.	St Conel's Well	Neilston	X	X	✓	Watson 1926.

No	Name	Parish	NSA	OSA	Name Book	Antiquarian sources Cited in Canmore
116.	Virtue Well	New Monkland	X	X	✓	Knox 1921.
117.	Ambrismore	North Bute	X	X	X	Plan of Ambrismore Farm 1780.
118.	Cruikland Chapel	North Bute	X	X	X	Hewison 1893.
119.	Lover's Well	North Bute	X	X	X	Hewison 1893.
120.	St Patrick's Well	Old Kilpatrick	X	X	X	Bruce 1893.
121.	Priest's Well	Rhu	X	X	X	Fraser 1869; Chalmers 1890; MacGibbon & Ross 1896.
122.	St Michael's Well (1)	Rhu	X	X	X	Barratt 1914.
123.	St Michael's Well (2)	Rhu	X	X	X	Fraser 1869.
124.	St Modan's Well	Rosneath	✓	X	X	X
125.	St Mary's Well	Rothsay	X	X	X	X
126.	St Bride's Well	Sanquhar	X	X	✓	Simpson 1939; Mackinlay 1893.
127.	Kate's Well	Shotts	X	✓	X	Groome 1901.
128.	High St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	X	X	✓	X
129.	St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	X	X	✓	X
130.	St Cuthbert's Well	Sorn	X	X	✓	X
131.	Christ's Well	St Ninians	X	X	✓	Drysdale 1940.
132.	Lower Milton	St Ninians	✓	X	✓	X
133.	St Corbet's Well	St Ninians	X	X	X	Mackinlay 1893.
134.	Monk's Well	Stewarton	X	X	X	X
135.	St Ninian's Well	Stirling	✓	X	✓	Walker 1883.
136.	St Thomas's Well	Stirling	X	X	✓	Fleming 1898.
137.	St Anthony's Well	Stonehouse	X	X	X	Naismith 1885.
138.	St Lawrence's Well	Stonehouse	X	X	✓	X
139.	St Ninian's Well	Stonehouse	X	X	✓	X
140.	St Patrick's Well	Stonehouse	X	X	✓	X
141.	Chapel Well	Straiton	X	X	✓	X
142.	St Blane's Well	Strathblane	X	X	X	Smith 1886.

No	Name	Parish	NSA	OSA	Name Book	Antiquarian sources Cited in Canmore
143.	St Kessog's Well	Strathblane	X	X	X	OS 1 st Edition; Smith 1886; Mackinlay 1914.
144.	St Patrick's Well	Strathblane	X	X	X	Smith 1888.
145.	Tobar Cill Moire	Strathlachan	X	X	✓	X
146.	Tobar an Longairt	Strathlachlan	X	X	✓	X
147.	Lady's Well	Tillicoultry	X	X	X	X
148.	St John's Well	Torspichen	✓	X	✓	X
149.	St John's Well	Torspichen	✓	X	✓	X

As can be seen in Table 4.3, only seventeen or 11.4% of the writers of the OSA mentioned holy wells in their parishes, and 35 or 23.5% of the authors of the NSA did so. This is very strange as antiquarian writers are cited in Canmore describing 90 or 59.2% of the wells, and the authors of the *Name Books* were also able to give information on 69 or 46.3% of the holy wells. So clearly there was information available about the holy wells, but presumably much was omitted as they were to be considered to be “popish” and thus to be avoided.

Table 4.3: Sources for wells – shown as percentages

Source	No of wells	Percentage of total	Percentage of 52	As a single source	Percentage of 89 as single source
OSA	17	11.4%	32.7%	4	4.5%
NSA	35	23.5%	67.32%	8	9%
<i>Name Books</i>	69	46.3%	-	45	50.6%
1 or more	27	17.8%	100%	-	-
Total no of wells mentioned in at least one of NSA & OSA:					52 34.9%
Total no of well mentioned in OS <i>Name Books</i> :					69 46.3%
Other Antiquarian Sources cited in Canmore:					90 60.4%

To ensure some order and uniformity to the *Statistical Accounts*, the writers were given a list of headings, from which to structure their writings. One of the headings is titled “*Hydrography*” and references to holy wells are usually included in this section or under the heading “*Antiquities*”; it is notable that the ministers often discuss the mineral wells within the parish, while tending to ignore the holy wells. Of course, these could be the same sites, but it is usually difficult to make any useful connections. For example, the author of the account for Logie parish ignores the holy well (Highwayman’s Well) and describes at some length the mineral springs discovered on the Airthney Estate.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁸ NSA, (Logie), 29. *Hydrography*: - This parish abounds with springs of the purest water. Two of these send forth mineral waters resembling those of Moffat. They are all one line, and about eight miles distant from each other, but the springs in this parish have never been analysed. There is a spring on the boundary of the parish which possesses a strong petrifying quality, and all the *fog* around it is turned to stone, from whence beautiful

A possible reason for this interest in mineral springs and disinterest in holy wells is hinted at towards the end of the OSA⁴⁵⁹ for Blantyre: “About fifty years ago, it was the common summer resort of many families from Glasgow: but from the changes of fashion, so frequent in relation to such objects of medical regimen, it is now almost totally deferred.” By the seventeenth century, visiting holy wells for cures was in decline and Strang⁴⁶⁰ suggests that concepts of secular and physical health had diverged, coinciding with a “burgeoning of science.” Some wells underwent a “secular renaissance” as mineral springs and spas; although holy well visitation certainly continued in rural areas. The wealthy visited the fashionable spas at Bath and Malvern; but clearly there were opportunities within Scotland to provide local spas for the Scottish gentry and middle classes who could not afford to travel to the more expensive and fashionable spas. The Dunblane Hydropathic (now known as the Dunblane Hydro) was opened in response to the demand for “a valuable and therapeutic source of pure water” from the Mineral Wells at Comrie (17 miles to the North) which was discovered in 1813.⁴⁶¹ Similar hydropathics opened at Creiff and Peebles; as well as smaller operations as suggested at Blantyre.

Even when a minister acknowledged the existence of holy or “popish” wells in his parish, it is unusual to do little but make a passing reference – this is the case at Dalziel.⁴⁶² The five holy wells were merely listed, before the

specimens are often taken. There is another spring in the parish at Campshead still stronger.

⁴⁵⁹ OSA, (Blantyre), 22. *Mineral Springs*. – There is a mineral spring in this parish, the water of which is frequently and successfully used, for sore eyes, scorbutic disorders, and a variety of other complaints. The water is sulphureous; it is very strongly impregnated, and is accounted the best of the kind in this part of the country. About fifty years ago, it was the common summer resort of many families from Glasgow: but from the changes of fashion, so frequent in relation to such objects of medical regimen, it is now almost totally deferred.

⁴⁶⁰ Strang, *Meaning of Water*, 90.

⁴⁶¹ Dunblane Hydro website. [online]. [Accessed 15 November 2013]. Available at: http://www.rampantscotland.com/stay/bldev_stay_dunblane.htm. The Hydro had a resident doctor, Dr Clark, advised up to forty resident guests to drink three glasses of the “waters” each day as well as other hydropathic treatments which were believed to cure rheumatism, alcoholic related diseases, depression and other ailments.

⁴⁶² NSA, (Dalziel), 445. Some of these wells have been seriously injured by the draining of quarries near them, and one by a similar operation with a regard to land has, to the great grief to those in the neighbourhood, been entirely destroyed. This well was of a mineral and supposed medicinal quality, and was considered by those who knew its quality to be

minister gets onto the more important business of complaining that a cup of tea will never taste the same after the sad demise of the Tea Well, which had recently dried up!

4.3.7 *Distribution of Holy Wells*

“Dr Mitchell, in *The Past and Present*, adds his valuable testimony that the wells are still adored in many parts of the country, and states that the adoration may be encountered in all parts of Scotland, from John O’Groat’s to the Mull of Galloway.”⁴⁶³

As seen above, the prevailing notion was that the cult of holy wells was Celtocentric, implying that most of the wells will be found in the western, Celtic parts of Britain. The rationale for this has been well-rehearsed and need not be reiterated at length here. Briefly, while the Romans tended to work with the local population and adopt some of their religious practices; the advent of the Anglo-Saxons sent the British population scurrying to the west and this Diaspora is confirmed by the change in place-names from east to west.⁴⁶⁴ The argument allows for the well-cult to be removed to the western areas; however, it fails to take into account that the Germanic tribes also seem to have been well-worshippers and it might seem odd these beliefs would be abandoned or put aside by moving to a new area.⁴⁶⁵

The patchiness of the surveys and literature in respect of holy wells, as noted above, must have a bearing on the apparent distribution of holy wells. It is surely no coincidence that large numbers of holy wells tend to be found in areas which have been well-surveyed. As will be discussed below, this study does not seek to conduct a complete survey of the study area; as such a

superior to any other, for the infusion of tea, and was therefore called the Tea Well. Those who had been in the practice of using it for that purpose think they have not got that beverage in perfection since it dried up.

⁴⁶³ Walker, *Holy Wells of Scotland*, 161-62.

⁴⁶⁴ Rattue, *Living Stream*, 12-13.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 14-15. “As regards well, it is not even clear that a large-scale influx of Teutons would make that much difference. They were not averse to well-worship. Tacitus tells us of a sacred lake with an island on which stood ‘an inviolate grove’. Nearby was kept a chariot sacred to a goddess, which was washed in the lake by slaves who were then ritually drowned (*Germania* 40).”

survey would necessarily involve intensive study of local documents, maps and site visits in all parishes. Clearly, this is an area which does require some thorough research particularly in the area of antiquarian authors from the local areas, as they often give valuable information which may be ignored. Also, the early maps are an excellent source and there is really no substitute for field work.

Morris⁴⁶⁶ suggests that students of holy well cults rarely consider geology when looking at distribution: clearly if the underlying rock structure is not conducive to the passage of water, springs cannot be formed. Thus, in England & Wales, in some areas, such as western counties, most of Wales, upland parishes on the flanks of the Penines, holy wells are common, whilst in other areas with less hospitable geology, they are not. Rattue⁴⁶⁷ suggests that the scarcity of holy wells in the east of England, may be connected with the fact that underlying geological structure is composed of gravels, chalks and sands; coupled with the lack of rainfall in this area.

Density of population must also have a bearing on the prevalence of holy wells; and in Wales, the lowest density of wells clearly coincides with the lowest population densities in the mountainous districts. In Scotland, lowly-populated Sutherland appears to return a figure of one holy well for every 338 square miles, while only Banffshire and Fife apparently have densities of holy wells higher than the western counties of England. However, caution is definitely required when using population density in an indiscriminate manner as St Kilda could apparently boast no fewer than nine named holy wells and springs.⁴⁶⁸

Physical survival of holy wells should also be taken into account when considering distribution, particularly destruction by construction and agricultural improvements. An example of this is St Vildrin's Well (Drymen),

⁴⁶⁶ Morris, *Churches*, 86-87.

⁴⁶⁷ Rattue, *Living Stream*, 19-20.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 18-21.

described in *NSA*⁴⁶⁹, as a prolific holy well with a statue of the saint; but only forty years later, Walker⁴⁷⁰ was met with “disappointment” on visiting the site: the statue had been broken up and used for buildings on the farm and the holy well had been covered and drained into a burn.

“The unnoticeable smallness of many of those consecrated wells makes very reminiscence and still semi-sacred character all the more remarkable. The stranger in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, hears rumours of a distinguished well, miles on miles off. He thinks he will find an ancient edifice over it, or some other conspicuous adjunct. Nothing of the kind. He has been lured all that distance, over rock and bog, to see a tiny spring bubbling out of a rock, such as he may see hundreds of in a tolerable walk any day. Yet, if he search in old topographical authorities, he will find that the little well has ever been an important feature of the district; that century after century it has not been forgotten.”⁴⁷¹

Taking this into account, it is indeed remarkable that the traditional sites of so many holy wells have survived.

There are one hundred and forty-nine holy wells included within this study and their distribution throughout the study area as can be seen at Map 4.2.

Distribution of the holy wells throughout the counties is shown at Table 4.4.

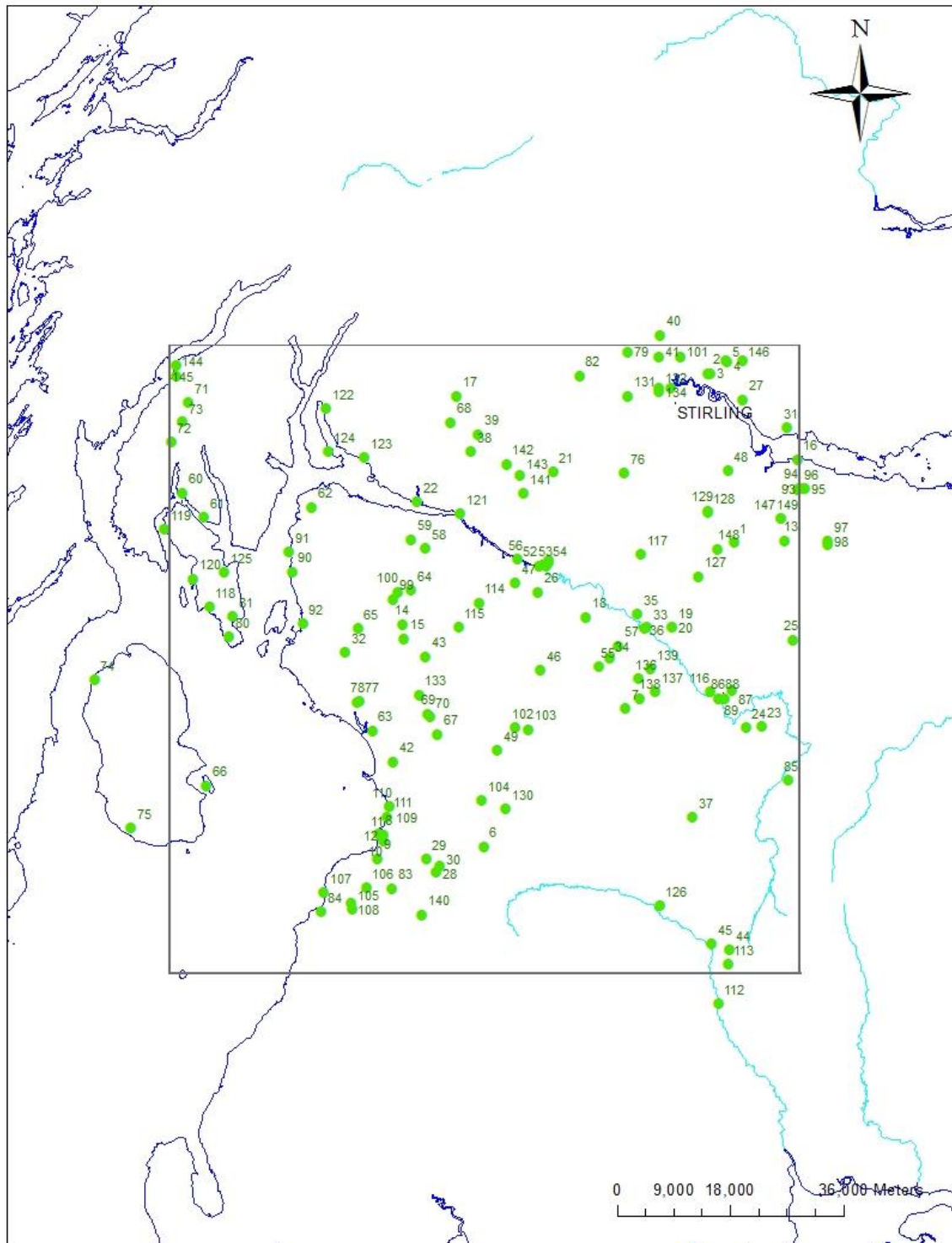
⁴⁶⁹ *NSA*, (Drymen), 102. There are many fine springs of water to be found in this parish. St Vildrin’s* well, on the farm of Finnich-Drummond, may be mentioned as remarkable for the large quantity of water which it discharges. In Roman Catholic times, and even within a hundred years, many a pilgrim drank of or bathed in its streams. An image of the patron saint, carved in stone, still presides over it. The world has either grown wiser, or these waters have lost their virtues, since not a knee bows now before the stony saint.

* The writer cannot find this saint in the Calendar. The above is the name current in the country.

⁴⁷⁰ Walker, “Holy Wells in Scotland”, 201-202.

⁴⁷¹ Dr J Hill Burton cited in Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 33.

Map 4.2: Distribution of the holy wells



Key: Map 4.2 showing distribution of the holy wells (●)

No.	Parish	Holy Well	No.	Parish	Holy Well
1	Airth	Lady Well	52	Glasgow	Lady Well
2	Alloa	Lady's Well	53	Glasgow	St Thenaw's Well
3	Alloa	Priest's Well	54	Glasgow	St Ninian's Well
4	Alva	St Serf's Well	55	Glasgow	St Mungo's Well
5	Alva	Lady's Well	56	Glassford	Chapelton
6	Auchinleck	Our Lady's Well	57	Govan	St Contantine's Well
7	Avondale	St Oswald's Well	58	Hamilton	Chapel Well
8	Ayr	St John's Well	59	Houston	St Peter's Well
9	Ayr	Mungo's Well	60	Houston	St Fillan's Well
10	Ayr	St Thomas's Well	61	Inverchaolain	Chapel Well
11	Ayr	St Katherine's Well	62	Inverchaolain	Priest's Well
12	Ayr	Friar's Well	63	Inverkip	Chrisswell
13	Bathgate	Chapel Well	64	Irvine	St Mary's Well
14	Beith	St Inan's Well	65	Kilbarchan	St Bryde's Well
15	Beith	St Bridget's Well	66	Kilbirnie	Birnie's Well
16	Bo'Ness & Carriden	St John's Well	67	Kilbride	St Molaise's Well
17	Buchanan	St Maha's Well	68	Kilmarnock	Our Lady's Well
18	Cambuslang	Crossbasket	69	Kilmaronock	St Ronan's Well
19	Cambusnethan	St Aidan's Well	70	Kilmaurs	Monk's Well
20	Cambusnethan	St Columba's Well	71	Kilmaurs	Lady's Well
21	Campsie	St Machan's Well	72	Kilmodan	Tobar Na H'annait
22	Cardross	St Shear's Well	73	Kilmodan	St Modan's Well
23	Carmichael	St Michael's Well	74	Kilmodan	Tobar A'phiobain
24	Carmichael	St Bride's Well	75	Kilmory	Tobar Challum Chille
25	Carnwath	St Magdalene's Well	76	Kilmory	Benbecarrigan
26	Cathcart	St Oswald's Well	77	Kilsyth	St Mirren's Well
27	Clackmannan	Chapel Well	78	Kilwinning	Kyle's Well
28	Coylton	St Bride's Well	79	Kilwinning	St Winning's Well
29	Coylton	Chapel Well	80	Kincardine	Christ's Well
30	Coylton	Carnell Well	81	Kingarth	St Blane's Well
31	Culross	Monk's Well	82	Kingarth	St Cattin's Well
32	Dalry	St Finan's Well	83	Kippen	St Mauvais' Well
33	Dalziel	St Margaret's Well	84	Kirkmichael	Chapel Well
34	Dalziel	St Catherine's Well	85	Kirkoswald	Lady Well
35	Dalziel	Lady Well	86	Lamington & Wandel	St Ninian's Well
36	Dalziel	St Patrick's Well	87	Lanark	St Peter's Well
37	Douglas	Chapel Well	88	Lanark	St Teiling's Well
38	Drymen	Knockinhaglish	89	Lanark	St Patrick's Well
39	Drymen	St Vildrin's Well	90	Lanark	St Mungo's Well
40	Dunblane & Lecropt	St Philip's Well	91	Largs	St Fillan's Well (2)
41	Dunblane & Lecropt	St Bryde's Well	92	Largs	St Fillan's Well (1)
42	Dundonald	St Mary's Well	93	Largs	Fairlie
43	Dunlop	St Mary's Well	94	Linlithgow	St Michael's Well
44	Durisdeer	St Cuthbert's Well	95	Linlithgow	Cross Well
45	Durisdeer	Holywell Cleuch	96	Linlithgow	St Magdalene's Well
46	Eaglesham	Munzie Well	97	Linlithgow	St Paul's Well
47	Eastwood	St Conal's Well	98	Livingston	Rose Well
48	Falkirk	Cross Well	99	Livingston	Lady Well
49	Galston	Holy Well	100	Lochwinnoch	Johnshill Well
50	Glasgow	Mungo's Well	101	Lochwinnoch	Warlock Gates
51	Glasgow	Lady Well	102	Logie	Highlandman's Well

No.	Parish	Holy Well	No.	Parish	Holy Well
103	Loudoun	Glen Chapel Holm	127	Shotts	Kate's Well
104	Mauchline	St Michael's Well	128	Slamannan	St Lawrence Well
105	Maybole	St Anthony's Well	129	slamannan	High St Laurence Well
106	Maybole	St Helen's Well	130	Sorn	St Cuthbert's Well
107	Maybole	St Patrick's Well	131	St Ninians	St Corbet's Spring
108	Maybole	Ladycross Well	132	St Ninians	Christ's Well
109	Monkton & Prestwick	St Nicholas's Well	133	Stewarton	Monk's Well
110	Monkton & Prestwick	Lady Well	134	Stirling	St Thomas's Well
111	Monkton & Prestwick	Bruce's Well	135	Stirling	St Ninian's Well
112	Morton	St Patrick's Well	136	Stonehouse	St Ninian's Well
113	Morton	Mary's Well	137	Stonehouse	St Anthony's Well
114	Neilston	St Conel's Well	138	Stonehouse	St Lawrence's Well
115	Neilston	Lady 'S Well	139	Stonehouse	St Patrick's Well
116	Nemphlar	My Lady's Well	140	Straiton	Chapel Well
117	New Monkland	Virtue Well	141	Strathblane	St Patrick's Well
118	North Bute	Ambrismore	142	Strathblane	St Blane's Well
119	North Bute	Lover's Well	143	Strathblane	St Kessog's Well
120	North Bute	Cruikland Chapel	144	Strathlachlan	Tobar Cill Moire
121	Old Kilpatrick	St Patrick's Well	145	Strathlachlan	Tobar An Longairt
122	Rhu	Priest's Well	146	Tillicoultry	Lady's Well
123	Rhu	St Michael's Well	147	Torphichen	St John's Well
124	Rosneath	St Modan's Well	148	Torphichen	St John's Well
125	Rothsay	St Mary's Well	149	Torphichen	St John's Well
126	Sanquhar	St Bride's Well			

Table 4.4: Distribution of wells among the shires in the study

County	No of Wells	Percentage
Ayrshire	40	26.4%
Lanarkshire	34	22.4%
Stirlingshire	21	13.8%
Argyllshire	16	10.5%
Renfrewshire	11	7.2%
West Lothian	10	6.6%
Dunbartonshire	7	4.6%
Dumfriesshire	5	3.3%
Perthshire	4	2.6%
Clackmannanshire	4	2.6%

How the holy wells were identified for inclusion in the study will be discussed below; however bearing in mind that holy wells will inevitably have been lost as discussed above, holy wells would seem to be fairly well-distributed throughout the study area. An interesting phenomenon is that 39 parishes or 44.8% have more than one holy well; indeed five parishes (Ayr, Glasgow, Lanark, Maybole and Stonehouse) have five holy wells each. This is a

feature that has been noted by other commentators, particularly Jones,⁴⁷² whose concern is mainly centred around how to identify the original titular saint. Jones gives an example of the parish of Llanreithan (Pembrokeshire) where there are wells dedicated to Saint David, Saint Arron and Saint Rheithan. Dedications will be discussed below; it will be an interesting exercise to seek patterns within parishes with multiple dedications.

Taking into account the multiple dedications, 88 of the 170 parishes in the database have holy wells (51.8%) and Table 4.5 shows the number of parishes in the counties with holy wells and Table 4.6 shows both the number of parishes in the shire along with the number of parishes with holy wells.

Table 4.5: Parishes with more than one well

Parish	Well
Alloa	Lady Well
	Priest's Well
Alva	St Serf's Well
	Lady's Well
Ayr	Friar's Well
	St John's Well
	St Katherine's Well
	Mungo's Well
	St Thomas's Well
Beith	St Bridget's Well
	St Inan's Well
Cambusnethan	St Aidan's Well
	St Columba's Well
Carmichael	St Bride's Well
	St Michael's Well
Coylton	St Bryde's Well
	Chapel Well
	Carnell Well
Dalziel	St Catherine's Well
	St Margaret's Well
	St Patrick's Well
	Lady Well
Drymen	Knockinhaglish
	St Vildrin's Well
Dunblane & Lecropt	St Bryde's Well
	St Phipip's Well
Durisdeer	Holywell Cleuch
	St Cuthbert's Well
Glasgow	St Mungo's Well

⁴⁷² Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 31.

Parish	Well
	St Mungo's Well
	St Ninian's Well
	St Thenew's Well
	Lady Well
Houston	Lady Well
	St Fillan's Well
	St Peter's Well
Inverchaolain	Chapel Well
	Priest's Well
Kilmaurs	Monk's Well
	Lady Well
Kilmodan	Tobar na h'Annait
	St Modan's Well
	Tobar A;Phiobain
Kilmory	Tobar Challum
	Bennecarrigan
Kilwinning	Kyle's Well
	St Winning's Well
Kingarth	St Blane's Well
	St Cattan's Well
Lanark	St Mungo's Well
	St Patrick's Well
	St Peter's Well
	St Teiling's Well
	Our Lady's Well (Nemphlar)
Largs	St Fillan's Well
	St Fillan's Well
	Fairlie
Linlithgow	Cross Well
	St Magdalene's Well
	St Michael's Well
	St Paul's Well
Livingston	Rose Well
	Lady Well
Lochwinnoch	Johnshill Well
	Warlock Gates
Loudoun	Glen Chapel Holm
	Our Lady's Well
Maybole	St Anthony's Well
	St Helen's Well
	St Patrick's Well
	Ladycross Well
Monkton & Prestwick	Bruce's Well
	St Nicholas's Well
	Lady Well
Morton	St Patrick's Well
	Mary's Well
North Bute	Ambrismore
	Cruikland Chapel
	Lover's Well
Rhu	St Michael's Well
	Priest's Well
Slamannan	St Lawrence's Well
	High St Lawrence's Well

Parish	Well
St Ninians	Christ's Well
	St Corbet's Well
	Lower Milton
Stirling	St Ninian's Well
	St Thomas's Well
Stonehouse	St Anthony's Well
	St Lawrence's Well
	St Ninian's Well
	St Patrick's Well
Strathblane	St Blane's Well
	St Kessog's Well
	St Patrick's Well
Strathlachlan	Tobar Cill Moire
	Tobar an Longairt
Torphichen	St John's Well
	St John's Well

Table 4.6: Number of parishes in shires with wells

County	No of Parishes in Counties	No of parishes with wells	Percentage
Ayrshire	44	21	47.7%
Lanarkshire	34	20	58.8%
Stirlingshire	21	9	42.9%
Renfrewshire	17	9	53%
Dunbartonshire	13	5	38.5%
Bute	6	3	50%
Perthshire	6	1	16.7%
West Lothian	5	5	100%
Clackmannanshire	5	4	80%
Dumfriesshire	5	3	60%
Argyllshire	5	3	60%
Kirkcudbrightshire	2	-	-
Fife	2	-	-
Midlothian	1	-	-
Kinross	1	-	-
Totals:	167	83	-

4.4 Methodology and criteria employed in identifying holy wells

The year, 1859, saw the introduction of a new water supply from Loch Katrine to Glasgow and from the turn of the nineteenth century, the city took its water from the Clyde. Before that time, Glasgow was entirely dependent on her wells; numbering thirty in 1736, some of which Mackinlay⁴⁷³ is able to name from earlier accounts. Quite clearly, though, most of these wells had

⁴⁷³ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 198-199. Mackinlay names wells from old accounts: Deanside or Meadow Well; Bogle's Well; Barrasytt Well near the foot of the Saltmarket; Priest's or Minister's Well; Lady Well beside the Molendinar, the Arns Well in the Green; St Thenew's Well and two wells to St Mungo (Kentigern).

been dug to provide water and had no pretensions to be cited as “holy”. Possibly five from the list were of interest to this study: Lady Well; St Thenew’s Well; Priest’s Well and the two wells dedicated to St Mungo. Thus it was imperative to identify wells that were definitely considered to be holy and not just a named-name that was used to provide a water supply for the locality.

When identifying the holy wells for inclusion in this study, one of the main considerations was the accuracy of map reference – clearly significant patterns will not be achieved with inaccurate map references. As mentioned above, at the end of the nineteenth century, Walker produced possibly the most comprehensive list of holy wells ever recorded in Scotland; however, in many instances, he merely reports a location.⁴⁷⁴ In many cases, Walker’s is the only extant reference and whilst this is of tremendous historical interest, with little clue to the exact location, the information is of limited use to this mapping study. Searching the early maps of the appropriate areas produced some results; however, Walker sometimes just listed names, which will not easily be identified.

Obviously, the aim of this study is to produce as many patterns as possible; however, imprecise map references will necessarily produce incorrect and potentially misleading data. Thus, it quickly became clear that the number of holy wells in the study should be determined by the accuracy of the map references even if some holy wells had to be excluded. In practice, this was not as draconian as feared; as seen above, most of the references to holy wells are to be found in the *OS Name Books* and that information is very accurate and easily accessible in the Canmore database. Similarly, the few references to wells in the *Statistical Accounts* are to sites that were already documented. The Bullion Well (Ecclesmachan), as described above, is possibly the only reference that might have produced a useful site, assuming that Mackinlay’s speculation concerning Martin of Tours is correct.

⁴⁷⁴ Walker, “Holy Wells in Scotland”, 194. “ST LAWRENCE – *Fairgirth* – “Traces of building still to be seen” (Harper’s *Rambles in Galloway*); *Slamannan*, two here, one being in the High Street; *Kinnord*, Aberdeenshire; *Rayne*; *New Duffus*.”

In summary, the holy wells included in this study are almost exclusively taken from Canmore, in the expectation that the quality of patterns produced from map references that are as accurate as possible will outweigh the inevitable loss of sites. Thus one hundred and forty-nine holy well sites were identified to be included in the study; however, two of the holy well sites are a little doubtful. St Anthony's Well (Maybole) is mentioned by Walker⁴⁷⁵ as a holy well, noting that sickly children were taken to it on the first Sunday in May and quotes the *NSA*⁴⁷⁶ by listing St Helen's Well (Maybole) separately. However, the MacFarlane⁴⁷⁷ quotes a late seventeenth century source cited in 1907, suggesting that the two wells are actually the same site.

Similarly, Walker⁴⁷⁸ lists St Fillan's Well as being located in Skelmorlie (Largs) and this would seem to be a different site to the St Fillan's Well noted in the *OPS*,⁴⁷⁹ "Fillan's Well is near to Chapel yards, on the Blackhouse Burn." Clearly, the author of *OPS* did not visit the site; as some thirty years earlier, although the site of the well was pointed out to the writer of the *OS Name Book*,⁴⁸⁰ the well had been drained. It would seem that the sites are different; however the site in Skelmorlie is not located and so the map reference is not entirely accurate, indeed the Canmore⁴⁸¹ map reference locates the well in the sea.

Whether or not to include these sites was a difficult decision and there seemed to be no logical solution to the dilemma. However, it was decided that these holy wells should be included as separate sites in the study; purely on the grounds that Walker's survey seems to have been the most extensive and thus possibly more accurate. Although it must be admitted that to have excluded the sites would be equally logical and legitimate.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 191.

⁴⁷⁶ *NSA*, (Maybole), 366.

⁴⁷⁷ Macfarlane 1906-8, vol ii, 4. Macfarlane cited Abercrommie, writing in the late seventeenth century, who gives both names for the same well.

⁴⁷⁸ Walker, "Holy Wells of Scotland", 190.

⁴⁷⁹ *OPS* 1851:89.

⁴⁸⁰ *OS Name Book* no xlii, 38.

⁴⁸¹ St Fillans Well: Canmore, NS16SE2.

The second consideration was correct identification of the dedications associated with the holy wells. Although distribution maps of saints' dedications would seem to be of limited use as, having been extensively produced in the past, this would merely be repetition and not be particularly innovative. However, previous distribution maps have tended to concentrate on the dedications – this study looks at distribution and dedications from another angle. The focus will be on the area and which dedication are found within that landscape.

Also, dedications are important in this study in order that patterns with other sites may be identified; this is particularly important when looking at the relationship between wells and other religious sites, such as churches and chapels. It was noticed that holy wells tended to be adjacent to churches and chapels and various suggestions have been mooted to account for this phenomena, which will be discussed below.

A breakdown of the holy well dedications in this study is shown at Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Dedications in the Study

Dedication	Number	Dedication	Number
V Mary	24	Thomas	2
Chapel	9	Aidan	1
Patrick	7	Annait	1
Brigid	7	Brendan the Voyager	1
Kentigern (Mungo)	6	Chattan	1
Michael	5	Constantine	1
John	4	Corbet	1
Ninian	4	Cuthbert	1
Priest	3	Finan	1
Christ	3	Friar	1
Cross	3	Helen	1
Fillan of Strathfillan	3	Inan	1
Katherine	3	Kessog	1
Lawrence	3	Machan	1
Monk	3	Margaret	1
Oswald	3	Mirren	1
Anthony	2	Mobhi mac Beoain	1
Blane	2	Molaise	1
Columba	2	Nicholas	1
Conal	2	Paul	1
Finbarr of Magbile	2	Philip	1
Holy	2	Ronan	1
Mary Magdalene	2	Teilo	1

Dedication	Number	Dedication	Number
Modan	2	Thenew	1
Peter	2	Vildrin	1
Serf	2		

No Dedication	15
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The dedications can be broken down into three specific types as shown in Table 4.8. Identifying the first two categories was relatively simple as the dedications are all fairly well-documented, as shown in Table 4.2. It should be noted that as there are one hundred and forty-nine wells in this study, lack of space dictates that full references will only be given for those holy well sites that actually form interesting patterns when used in the ArcView programme.

Table 4.8: Types of Dedication in the Study

Type of Dedication	Number	Percentage	Notes
Saints	113	75.8%	
Religious connotations	22	14.8%	Includes: Priest, Friar, Chapel, Holy, Monk, Annait, Cross
No Dedications	14	9.4%	
Total	149	100%	

The first two categories of dedications are fairly obvious: saints and those with religious connotations. As might expected, saints' dedications make up the majority of the dedications in this study: some one hundred and thirteen or 75.8% of the sites. While those with religious connotations⁴⁸² number twenty-two or 14.8% of the sites in the study.

The third category of holy well, those with no dedications, were possibly the most difficult to identify for inclusion within the study. There are fourteen (9.4%) holy wells with no dedications included in this study and each site

⁴⁸² The dedications of holy wells with religious connotations are Chapel, Holy, Monk, Priest, Cross, Annait and Friar.

was considered on its own merit. The basic requirement for inclusion was evidence from the *Statistical Accounts*, *OS Name Books* or antiquarian writers, usually gleaned from Canmore, that the well was considered to be “holy” regardless of the accepted local name. For example, the Canmore entry for Lover’s Well (North Bute) is “There is a holy or lovers' well near to St Michael's Chapel.”⁴⁸³ The apparent proximity to a named chapel and the belief of an antiquarian author who penned two volumes on the history of Bute, suggested that this site was a worthy inclusion to the study.

The sites without dedications included in this study are as follows:

1.	Ambrismore (North Bute)	8.	Bruce’s Well (Monkland & Prestwick)
2.	Cruikland Chapel (North Bute)	9.	Tobar a’Phiobain (Kilmodan)
3.	Highlandman’s Well (Logie)	10.	Warlock Gates (Lochwinnoch)
4.	Lower Milton (St Ninians)	11.	Tobar an Longairt (Strathlachlan)
5.	Johnshill Well (Lochwinnoch)	12.	Fairlie (Largs)
6.	Virtue Well (New Monkland)	13.	Bennecarrigan (Kilmory)
7.	Rose Well (Livingston)	14.	Lover’s Well (North Bute)

4.5 Origins of Well-worship in Christianity

4.5.1 “Paganism”

“The Celts are credited with bringing the water cult to Scotland. By the time they came it is likely that certain wells already had reputations for their health-giving properties. Each spring would probably be the home of a deity of one family, possibly of one clan, with a ritual devised by that group of people to praise or propitiate as required the water spirit.”⁴⁸⁴

Throughout this study, quotes from various writers have referred to “the Celts”, often making bold, unsubstantiated statements such as the one above. Whether the Celts moved to Britain in great numbers and thus presumably north to Scotland has been discussed at interminable length elsewhere and will not be rehearsed again. However, it would seem sensible to assume that the indigenous pre-Christian population of Britain⁴⁸⁵ would incorporate some form of nature-worship in their religious observance.

⁴⁸³ Hewison, *Isle of Bute*, 1893:113-4.

⁴⁸⁴ Morris & Morris, *Scottish Healing Wells*, 3.

⁴⁸⁵ The nature of that population is not really of interest in this study.

Certainly, when the Romans invaded Britain, one aspect of existing religious practice appears to have included some form of well-worship; and the Romans incorporated local religious practice and deities into their own devotions as they did elsewhere throughout their empire, although seemingly seldom with the intention of superseding the indigenous deities. The personalities of Roman gods and goddesses were often merged with those of the local deities, so reinforcing each other; although, of course, it is difficult to assess whether the local population similarly assimilated the “new order”. Similarly, it would be presumptuous to assume that “paganism” was either a nationwide cohesive entity or that so-called “pagan” societies were static in their beliefs. The most obvious examples for this sort of integration are the hot springs at Bath and the well at Coventina on Hadrian’s Wall.⁴⁸⁶

Certainly, in Gaul, water was important in Celtic worship, where gods and goddesses were associated with rivers and healing springs: the Danube was holy to the god Danuvius and the goddess Sequana gave her name to the Seine. Similarly there are six rivers in Britain called Dee, apparently from the Celtic “Deva” (“holy”) and the goddesses, Clotha and Belisama, presided over the Clyde and Ribble respectively.⁴⁸⁷

Pennick⁴⁸⁸ further suggests that nature deities were important to the continental Celts, with gods and goddesses of rivers, streams, hills, mountains, plants and animals; in particular, with healing springs, “including Sequana, Sirona, and Sulis were revered at therapeutic shrines”. Using the term “Celtic” in relation to the British Isles is fraught with problems but it is not a huge leap to suggest that the religious practices were similar to those of their continental neighbours. Thus wells, in the shape of springs, would probably have been revered and may well have had their own dedicated gods or goddesses.

⁴⁸⁶ James, S., 1993, *Exploring the World of the Celts*, London, 142.

⁴⁸⁷ Pennick, N., 1997, *The Sacred World of the Celts: An Illustrated Guide to Celtic Spirituality and Mythology*, Rochester, 72-75; Morris, *Churches*, 51.

⁴⁸⁸ Pennick, *Sacred World of the Celts*, 71-72.

The Celts are often associated with taking the heads of their enemies slain in battle as trophies and there are graphic descriptions of this phenomenon in the writings of classical authors such as Livy and Strabo.⁴⁸⁹ It is striking how often heads in various forms are connected with holy wells; as seen above, it was commonly believed that holy wells often gushed forth when the severed head of a saint hit the ground. Merrifield⁴⁹⁰ notes the significant number of wells containing skulls, which appear to have been deliberately deposited, as given the frequency and lacking any associated bones would not appear to have been accidental occurrences. Rattue⁴⁹¹ argues against referring to a “head-cult”, as it implies a degree of organisation and structure for which there is no proof – he would prefer to note a head-motif; although he also acknowledges that “the general combination of wells and heads” occurs more often than could be accounted for as accidental or random: “Stories may have been borrowed from place to place and saint to saint, but the idea must have originated somehow.”

Heads and skulls are sometimes associated with cures at holy wells – the sufferer would apparently drink from cups fashioned from human skulls, which were kept at the holy well for that purpose.⁴⁹² There are several examples of Wells of the Head or Heads in the British Isles, usually with elaborate stories to explain the name. Possibly the most famous such well in

⁴⁸⁹ Morris & Morris, *Scottish Healing Wells*, 15; Ross, A., 1998, *Pagan Celts*. London & Ruthin, 73. “Diodorus Siculus says of the practice of decapitating the enemy: ‘They cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle and attach them to the necks of their horses. The blood-stained spoils they hand over to their attendants and carry off as booty, while striking up a paeon and singing a song of victory; and they nail up these first fruits upon their houses, just as do those who lay low wild animals in certain kinds of hunting. They embalm in cedar oil the heads of the most distinguished enemies, and preserve them carefully in a chest, and display them with pride to strangers, saying that for this head one of their ancestors, or his father, or the man himself, refused the offer of a large sum of money. They say that some of them boast that they refused the weight of the head in gold; thus displaying what is only a barbarous kind of magnanimity, for it is not a sign of nobility to refrain from selling the proofs of one’s valour. It is rather true that it is bestial to continue one’s hostility against a slain fellow man.’”

⁴⁹⁰ Merrifield, R., 1987, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*, London, 45.

⁴⁹¹ Rattue, *Headless Saints*, 1.

⁴⁹² Pennick, *Sacred World of the Celts*, 76. Pennick also cites the island of Inisgloria, off the Mayo coast, where there was reputedly a rack of skulls, one of which was said to be that of St Brendan the Voyager. In former times, it is recorded, that fishing boats would lower their sails in honour of the saint as they sailed passed the site.

Scotland is the Tobar nan Ceann or the Well of the Heads (Invergarry), which has a fairly impressive monument to tell its tale.⁴⁹³ Curiously, a recent find of 9,000 year old human skulls shaped as drinking vessels at Cheddar Gorge in Somerset implies that such utilisation of skulls was not unique in British history.⁴⁹⁴

4.5.2 Christianisation

Christianisation of pre-Christian religious sites in Britain is often credited to the instructions issued by Pope Gregory the Great to the Roman missionaries on their way to England in 601, recorded by Bede.⁴⁹⁵ This seems fairly convincing; however, according to Adamnán, St Columba had begun implementing this policy some years before those instructions were delivered – interestingly, St Augustine’s mission in the south of England began in 597, the year of St Columba’s death. Of course, hagiography should not be treated as being historically accurate: it tended to be written to a formula and miracles were an essential element, providing proof of sanctity. However, Adamnán wrote his *Life of Columba* some years after the saint’s death and he would possibly have been familiar with the letters or instructions; although Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* was not completed until nearly thirty years after Adamnán’s death in 704.

⁴⁹³ Canmore, NN39NW 3. “The inscription on the monument reads: As a memorial of the ample and summary vengeance which in the swift course of feudal justice, inflicted by the orders of the Lord McDonnell and Aross, overtook the perpetrators of the foul murder of the Keppoch family, a branch of the powerful and illustrious clan, of which His Lordship was the chief. This monument is erected by Colonel McDonnell of Glengarry XVII. MacMhicAlaister his successor and representative in the year of our Lord 1812. The heads of the seven murderers were presented at the feet of the noble chief in Glengarry Castle, after having been washed in this spring: and ever since that event, which took place early in the sixteenth century, it has been known by the name of "Tobar-nan-Ceann", or the Well of the Seven Heads.”

⁴⁹⁴ *The Daily Telegraph*, 17 February 2011.

⁴⁹⁵ Morris, *Churches*, 70. “When Almighty God has brought to our most reverend brother Bishop Augustine, tell him what I have decided after long deliberation about the English people, namely that the idol temples [*fana idolorum*] of that race should no means be destroyed, but only the idols in them. Take holy water and sprinkle it in these shrines, build altars and place relics in them. For if the shrines are well built, it is essential that they should be changed from worship of the devils [*cultus daemonum*] to the service of the true God. When this people see that their shrines are not destroyed they will be able to banish error from their hearts and be more ready to come to places they are familiar with, but now recognising and worshipping the true God.”

This might then imply that incorporating elements of the indigenous religion into the new order might have been a sensible move for missionaries seeking to convert a populous; or it might be a phenomenon which is an inevitable unforeseen consequence. A recent newspaper item might serve to underline this point.⁴⁹⁶ The short item concerned a festival celebrated throughout Mexico which seems to combine the goddess Mictlantecuhlti, Queen of the Aztec underworld with elements of Roman Catholicism; although not surprisingly, the Vatican frowns on these practices. “La Nina Blanca” (the white girl) or “La Flaca” (the skinny girl) is graphically described as “the Grim Reaper meets the Virgin of Guadalupe”, has roadside altars and her blessings are apparently avidly sought by as many as five million Mexicans, who think of themselves as staunch Roman Catholics.

Bonser⁴⁹⁷ suggests that with the advent of Christianity, the former Druidical schools and colleges formed the foundations of schools in the monasteries under the direction of the converted Druids. It is sensible to assume that Christianisation would have entailed a certain merging of pre-Christian practices and customs, but this seems a little far-fetched.

One of the most enduring and possibly alluring arguments for Christianisation of pre-Christian holy wells is that the guardians of the wells, often goddesses, morphed into guardian or titular saints. St Brigid (Bridget, Brigit, Bride or Bryde) is usually presented as proof and the evidence, although largely unsubstantiated, is persuasive. The abbess of Kildare, often invoked for childbirth, is usually linked with the goddess Brigantia or Brigit,⁴⁹⁸ who was associated with healing and crafts. Much about her reported life might seem pagan in origin⁴⁹⁹ and she was an extremely popular saint in Scotland, with traditions concerning her foundation of the abbey of Abernethy

⁴⁹⁶ *Metro*, Wednesday 3 November 2010, 19.

⁴⁹⁷ Bonser, W., 1937, “Praying in Water.” *Folklore* 48: 385-8.

⁴⁹⁸ Davidson, H. E., 1993, *The Lost Beliefs of Northern Europe*, New York, 108.

⁴⁹⁹ Green, M. J., 1995, *Celtic Goddesses; warriors, virgins and mothers*, London, 199. Reputedly, she was born on the threshold of the house at sunrise (apparently a magical time and place); her father was of noble lineage, her mother was a slave-girl and her grandfather, a druid. She was fed on milk from a supernatural cow, she was marked as special from birth and a permanent fire burned at her abbey; all apparently reminiscent of pagan practice.

even though there is no evidence that she left Ireland.⁵⁰⁰ Her dedications in Scotland are prolific and six holy wells are dedicated to her using the various versions of her name.

St Maelrubha is the customary male saint quoted in connection with pre-Christian gods and he is linked with the old Celtic god, Mourie, and “in later centuries he was worshipped as the god Mourie.”⁵⁰¹ There are recorded instances of bulls being sacrificed to him as late as 1678.⁵⁰² Brooke⁵⁰³ suggests that St Kentigern’s curious method of locating a burial ground for St Fergus may be linked to pagan ritual and St Moluag’s name is often linked to the Celtic god, Lugh.

Jones⁵⁰⁴ suggests that the fact that the defeat of pagan opposition occurs so often in the *Lives* of saints was not only intended to enhance the prestige of the saint, but also reflected a folk-memory of actual opposition. Wells play such an important part in this struggle as an indication of how important water was in the religious practices of both pagans and Christians.

This importance of water, certainly to Christians is a further reason for the continued existence of holy wells: the necessity of water, in particular running water, in the baptismal rite, is associated with the spiritual rebirth through immersion in water, as initiated by Christ’s baptism by John the Baptist in the River Jordan.⁵⁰⁵ Thus it is difficult to understand how conversion could be achieved without the sacrament of baptism; although the use of streams and rivers is clearly not optimal and it was much simpler to have a source of

⁵⁰⁰ Clancy, T. O., 2010, “The Big Man, the Footsteps, and the Fissile Saint: Paradigms and the Study of Saints’ Cults in Scotland.” in Boardman, S., and Williamson, E. (eds) *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 1-20. Clancy discusses the problems of the introduction and spread of saints’ cults at some length, including the ‘foundational’ paradigm: “What I am trying to say is that the foundational role of a saint in relation to a given church is not quite the same as the process by which a church becomes associated with him or her as its patron.”

⁵⁰¹ Cited in Towill, *Saints of Scotland*, 95.

⁵⁰² Bowen, E. G., 1969, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*, Cardiff, 102. Hector Mackenzie and family were accused at the Presbytery of Dingwall of sacrificing a bull to St Maelrubha for the recovery from illness of his wife

⁵⁰³ Brooke, D. 1994, *Wild Men and Holy Places: St Ninian and the Medieval Realm of Whithorn*, Edinburgh, 25-26.

⁵⁰⁴ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 29.

⁵⁰⁵ Gospel of St Mark, 1, 4-5.

water in close proximity to the church or chapel. Eighty-three holy wells are recorded as having been used for baptism at one time or another and it is suggested that the eleven holy wells dedicated to St John the Baptist in England reflect this usage.⁵⁰⁶ There are four holy wells in this study dedicated to St John,⁵⁰⁷ and three were certainly dedicated to St John the Baptist. The holy well in Ayr is associated with the Church of St John the Baptist,⁵⁰⁸ which would certainly imply that it was used for baptism.

According to Argyll County Council,⁵⁰⁹ reporting in 1914, Chapel Well (Inverchaolain) was known as Tobar-abhaistidh or the Well of Baptism and appears to be the only holy well in the study to have any explicit connection to baptism.

Morris⁵¹⁰ suggests that medicinal and forecasting holy wells have pagan backgrounds, whilst the backdrop for holy wells associated with churches might have been a combination of paganism, plus springs utilised for Christian rites and becoming sacred by association with the titular saint of the church or chapel. Strang⁵¹¹ notes that, in recent years, 'born-again Christians' and 'New Age pagans' draw on what they certainly imagine to have been Britain's hyrologous past for their 'rituals'.

A more prosaic and practical consideration for the continuation of the holy well cult, certainly before the Reformation, must be the financial rewards that could accrue from having a popular holy well in the neighbourhood. Pilgrimages were an important part of pre-Reformation, Christian life; the Scottish Kirk was active in its attempt to purge the land of these heretical

⁵⁰⁶ Rattue, *Living Stream*, 66-67.

⁵⁰⁷ Two in Torphchen and one each in Ayr and Bo'Ness and Carriden; although the latter holy well was probably dedicated to St John the Evangelist.

⁵⁰⁸ Canmore, NS32SW35. "St John's Well, rediscovered some years ago, may be seen near the entrance gate (leading to St John the Baptist's Church) - A Mackenzie 1935. There is no trace of a well in the area indicated. It is not depicted on the OS 25" series."

⁵⁰⁹ Cited in Canmore, NS07NW3. The holy well is now known as Chapel Well and so called in this study.

⁵¹⁰ Morris, *Churches*, 88.

⁵¹¹ Strang, *Meaning of Water*, 93, 95. The holly ('holy') tree beside the holy well at Cerne Abbas in Dorset evidently often bears the trappings of well-dressings such as ribbons, in an effort to apparently revive what is considered to have been pagan Celtic practice.

customs and in 1638, the General Assembly enacted penalties against those making pilgrimages to holy wells.⁵¹²

4.5.3 *Attributes of Holy Wells*

Holy wells not only come in many shapes and sizes but they also have a huge variety of attributes, such as guardians, white ladies, divination and so on. To understand the phenomenon of holy wells fully, it might be useful to briefly rehearse some of these attributes:

4.5.4 *White Ladies*

Strang⁵¹³ suggests that water is essentially feminine as it is women who usually are involved with its procurement, use in the home and so on; thus water is engendered as feminine. Ladies, often 'white', are associated with wells in general – in Scotland, this was usually in the form of the *Glaistig* or 'maiden', a being who protects animals particularly cows and is linked to a specific place, such as the Maiden of Callart.⁵¹⁴ It has been suggested that this reflects the continuation of the Celtic goddess who was the guardian of the well; also that this is the origin of the various Lady Wells, which are now assumed to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁵¹⁵

4.5.5 *Guardians*

Guardians, apart from White Ladies, were a feature of many holy wells; fish and eels were possibly the most prevalent; although Spoer⁵¹⁶ notes a well near Jerusalem possessed by the spirit of a camel. Irish guardians tended to be trout or salmon; although frogs were fairly common throughout the British

⁵¹² Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 63.

⁵¹³ Strang, *Meaning of Water*, 23.

⁵¹⁴ Davidson, *Lost Beliefs*, 112.

⁵¹⁵ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 135; Parsons, *Associations of White Ladies*, 302.

⁵¹⁶ Spoer, H. H., 1907, "The Powers of Evil in Jerusalem." *Folklore* 18. 55. At Ramallah, a village eight miles from Jerusalem, the well was inhabited by the spirit of a camel: if the well was sluggish, the camel was apparently thirsty; if muddy, he was wallowing; if water murmurs, his was moaning.

Isles.⁵¹⁷ Scotland had holy wells with guardians including the common fish; however, possibly the most curious was the fly at St Michael's Well (Kirkmichael, Banffshire) whose movements, if lively, meant a good prognosis for a patient brought for healing at the well.⁵¹⁸

4.5.6 Healing

This attribute has already been mentioned above and is possibly one of the most well-known of holy well attributes. There are many examples around Scotland and all over the British Isles and some of these will be recorded elsewhere in this chapter. However, possibly Mackinlay⁵¹⁹ goes some way to suggesting an explanation for the connection between holy wells and healing: "Healing and holy have an etymological kinship ... If the body is healed, it is said to be whole and its owner hale; and if the soul is healed, it is said to be holy ... we need not wonder that healing wells were, as a rule, reckoned holy wells, and visa versa."

4.5.7 Divination

Jones⁵²⁰ suggests that divination was an important part of pre-Christian religion; however, it is the human condition to wish to know what the future holds. This must be the case otherwise astrologers, mediums, tarot card readers and so on would not have continued into the modern age; indeed internet fortune-telling would appear to be very lucrative employment. Perhaps the most common recourse to holy wells was to divine future matrimonial prospects, particularly for the female of the species; however, St

⁵¹⁷ Duncan, L. L., 1893, "Folk-lore Gleanings from County Leitrim", *Folklore*, iv, 182; Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 133.

⁵¹⁸ Morris & Morris, *Scottish Healing Wells*, 8. They cite Martin Martin writing of such a fish in his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*: "I saw a little well in Kilbride in the south of Skie with one trout only in it; the natives are very tender of it, and tho they often chance to catch it in their wooden pales they are very careful to preserve it from being destroy'd; it has been seen there for many years; there is a rivulet no far distant from the well, to which it hath probably had access thro some narrow passage."

⁵¹⁹ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 86.

⁵²⁰ Jones, *Holy Wells in Wales*, 107.

Winifred's Well in Glamorgan was apparently used to detect thieves.⁵²¹ St Bridget's Well (Sanquhar) is fairly typical for divination: the maidens of Sanquhar resorted to the holy well on May Day and each presented nine smooth white stones as an offering in the hope that they would see a vision of their future husband.⁵²²

4.5.8 Fertility

"Throughout their Christianisation, fertility remained the most important power in wells and springs, and there are numerous accounts of rituals requiring people to leave offerings (cloth or pins) or circle the well 'sunways' – in accord with the sun's diurnal course."⁵²³ The continuity of at least the fertility aspect at holy wells might be suggested by the presence of Venus or fertility figurines that are found at such holy wells. In Ireland, they are known as "Sheela-na-gig" which possibly means "Sheela of the breasts," and many such figurines have been found throughout Britain and the territory covered by ancient Gaul.⁵²⁴ Walker⁵²⁵ suggests that the reason that so many Scottish holy wells were dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Brigid was continuity from the "pagan" fertility wells.

4.5.9 Other attributes

Other attributes include the control of the weather, as in a holy well dedicated to St Fillan on the River Garry, which was apparently used to produce rain in a drought – an image of the saint was taken from the nearby church and

⁵²¹ *Ibid*, 110, 113. In the *Life of St Winifred*, a man had stolen and eaten a goat; he was taken to St Winifred's Well, which proclaimed his guilt.

⁵²² Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 296.

⁵²³ Strang, *Meaning of Water*, 89.

⁵²⁴ Guest, E. M., 1937 "Ballyvourney and its Sheela-na-gig", *Folklore* 48, 374; James, *World of the Celts*, 144.

⁵²⁵ Walker, "Holy Wells of Scotland." 112-113. "Many of the wells dedicated to 'Our Lady,' i.e., St Mary (Virgin Mary) and to St Bridget, the Mary of Ireland, were famous for the cure of female sterility, which, in the days when a man's power and influence in the land depended on the number of his clan or tribe, was looked upon as a token of the divine displeasure, and was viewed by the unfortunate spouses with anxious apprehension, dread, doubt, jealousy, and pain. Prayer and supplication were obviously the methods pursued by the devout for obtaining the coveted gift of fertility, looked upon, by females especially, as the most valuable of heavenly dispensations; and making pilgrimages to wells under the patronage of the Mother of Our Lord would naturally be one of the most common expedients."

washed in its water.⁵²⁶ Witches and wizards,⁵²⁷ fairies,⁵²⁸ the Devil⁵²⁹ and treasure⁵³⁰ were all to be found at holy wells; games⁵³¹ were played and offerings⁵³² made. However, possibly the oddest holy wells were those that punished or cursed visitors, often unsuspecting ones as at the Kittyfrist Well (Kilsyth), which punished unwary travellers who dared to drink its water, or the Gout Well of Larg (Minnigaff) which broke the leg of a piper who stole an offering to pay for ale.⁵³³ Strang⁵³⁴ notes two cursing wells in Wales: at Ffynnon Gybi, the victim's name was written on paper and hidden under the bank of the well and at Llanellian yn rhos, the curse was laid with the guardian.

4.5.10 Dating of Holy Wells

Holy wells are a numerous and widespread phenomena found all over the British Isles and beyond; however, as seen above, though there has been a plethora of written work, speculation, invention and interpretation, there is very little in the way of actual evidence or even well-conducted research. It is hardly surprising, then, that dating the origins or even trying to construct some sort of timeline for this site-type is almost impossible.

Writers and researchers on the subject from the antiquarians through to the present time seem to be almost universally of the opinion that the Celts were the instigators of well-worship. Much of this speculation is based on the

⁵²⁶ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 228.

⁵²⁷ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 127-128.

⁵²⁸ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 125; Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 125.

⁵²⁹ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 130; Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 84-85.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid*, 134.

⁵³¹ *Ibid*, 136.

⁵³² Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 93-95. Holy wells were seen as the haunt of spirits, whether Christian or not, and thus it was seen as "sensible" to propitiate those spirits with gifts.

Moore, A. W., 1894, "Well and Well-Worship in Man", *Folklore*, v, 218. White pebbles are possibly the oddest offerings but they appear to have been popular both in pre-Christian and Christian times.

Morris & Morris, *Scottish Healing Wells*, 10. Other offerings deposited in wells include votive tables, urns, altars, pottery and bottles. At St Thenew's Well (Glasgow), a tinsmith worked full-time to produce reproductions of limbs and body-parts to be hung on the tree beside the well and this continued until nearly the end of the eighteenth century.

⁵³³ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 26, 204. Please note that Kittyfrist Well (Kilsyth) is not included in this study as its designation as a holy well is doubtful.

⁵³⁴ Strang, *Meaning of Water*, 87.

erroneous interpretation that well-worship was either confined to or held ground in the so-called Celtic areas.⁵³⁵ It also fitted in rather well with the Classical writings which mentioned gods and gods presiding over rivers and wells; as well as lavish water-sacrifice such as that at Tolosa (Toulouse) where in 107 BC, the Roman general Caepio is reported to have looted around fifty tons of gold and a similar amount of silver from the temple and sacred lakes. This may seem somewhat excessive, until it is remembered that Julius Caesar himself was said to have cleared his debts and financed his career with the proceeds of his looting activities.⁵³⁶

However, the practice of depositing valuables, particularly weapons, in pools and rivers predates the Celts and dates back at least to the Bronze Age. It has been suggested that this marked a major change in religious practice in the Middle Bronze Age (c1400-1100 BC), when the old sky and earth deities were abandoned, along with their great stone monuments, in favour of new water deities. It has also been suggested that there is evidence of such deposition occurring somewhat earlier possibly in the Early Bronze Age (c1500-1400 BC).⁵³⁷

Such deposition, which is taken to indicate the veneration of water deities, continued into the Early Iron Age with the apparent sacrifice of humans who were deposited in bogs in Britain and Scandinavia; as well as the more usual votive offerings of ornaments, weapons and cauldrons containing food.⁵³⁸

Deposition is, however, not the only indication of water worship; rock art dating back millennia and figures from south-eastern Europe dating from c6000-4000 BC have been found to contain water symbolism.⁵³⁹ It is also possible to list water gods worshipped by the Egyptians, Babylonians and

⁵³⁵ *Ibid*, 23.

⁵³⁶ James, *World of the Celts*, 94. It is now believed by some authorities that the La Tène site, which typified the so-called second wave of continental Celts was actually a place of offering; which would then account for the hoards of metalwork.

⁵³⁷ Merrifield, *Archaeology of Ritual*, 24-25. The best example is an abundance of Early Bronze Age daggers that appear to have been deposited in the Thames to the west of London.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid*, 23. The humans were mostly killed by hanging or garroting and so could merely have been common criminals receiving their allotted punishment.

⁵³⁹ Strang, *Meaning of Water*, 84.

other ancient civilisations around the world as water worship in one form or another is to be found in virtually every country and civilisation. This should not be surprising as water is necessary for life to exist; thus to populate the sources of water (rivers, springs, pools, lakes, wells, etc) with gods, goddesses, spirits and guardians is logical. Similarly, seeking to propitiate and appease these entities with gifts, homage, rituals and so on is also to be expected.

It is really not possible to date the origins of water and well worship and it is probably enough to acknowledge that such worship dates far back beyond the Celts and into pre-history. Dating of individual wells is futile: it is possible in some cases to identify a *terminus post quem* date but that merely records the existence of the well, not when it actually became important as a 'religious' entity. Clearly, some wells could have been important far into pre-history, while others were 'created' in more recent times.

4.6 Patterns that emerged when holy wells were looked in the ArcView Programme

As with court hills, the main problem with assessing relationships between holy wells and other sites is deciding what constitutes the maximum distance at which an association could still be deemed to exist. Morris⁵⁴⁰ suggests that more than 200-250 metres might imply that there is no association between the holy well and another site; although, he does point out that some churches are built on hills and, because of the geography, the spring that feeds the associated holy well is at the base of the hill, which could be further away. Taking this into account, the distance at which a holy well is deemed to be associated with another site will therefore be 250 metres or less. This distance is, of course, purely arbitrary and as will be seen below, some holy wells would appear to be associated with churches and chapels as they have the same dedications, but the distance is greater than 250

⁵⁴⁰ Morris, *Churches*, 77.

metres. Again, fieldwork is an important element of this study and accessible wells and wells were visited to understand the landscape.

It is often noted that trees are associated with holy wells: oak, yew and ash are among the species that seem to have been held in special veneration.⁵⁴¹ Judging by the various penitentials and laws, trees appear to have been worshipped in the same way as wells, as in a law code promulgated by Cnut c1020, which stated “It is a heathen practice if one worships idols, namely if one worships heathen gods and the sun or the moon, fire or flood, wells or stones or any kind of forest trees, or if one practices witchcraft or encompasses death by any means, either by sacrifice or divination, or takes part in any such delusions.” Similar instructions to “... forbid the worship of wells, ... and the worship of trees and stones, ...” are found in Wulfstan’s *Canons of Edgar* (1005x1008).⁵⁴²

It would be interesting to test the theory that trees are associated with holy wells; however, trees are not usually noted in Canmore or maps and more importantly trees have a relatively short life span e.g. oak trees live for between three and four hundred years⁵⁴³, which would mean that individual trees would be unlikely to survive for the life of a holy well if that well could date from pre-Christian or early Christian times. Trees are occasionally mentioned in the *Statistical Accounts*, *OS Name Books* and antiquarian sources as being near to wells, often used as the receptacle for rags and other offerings, as noted above at St Thenew’s Well (Glasgow). Trees have been an important element in well worship as was noted for St Machan’s Well (Campsie) where an old custom has apparently been revived in recent year. However, this is a large subject and will not form part of this study.

The following patterns emerged when the holy well sites were examined in connection with other sites within the ArcView programme:

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid*, 76.

⁵⁴² *Ibid*, 60.

⁵⁴³ Morris, *Churches*, 76. Morris suggests that a 500-year-old tree would be considered to be very old indeed.

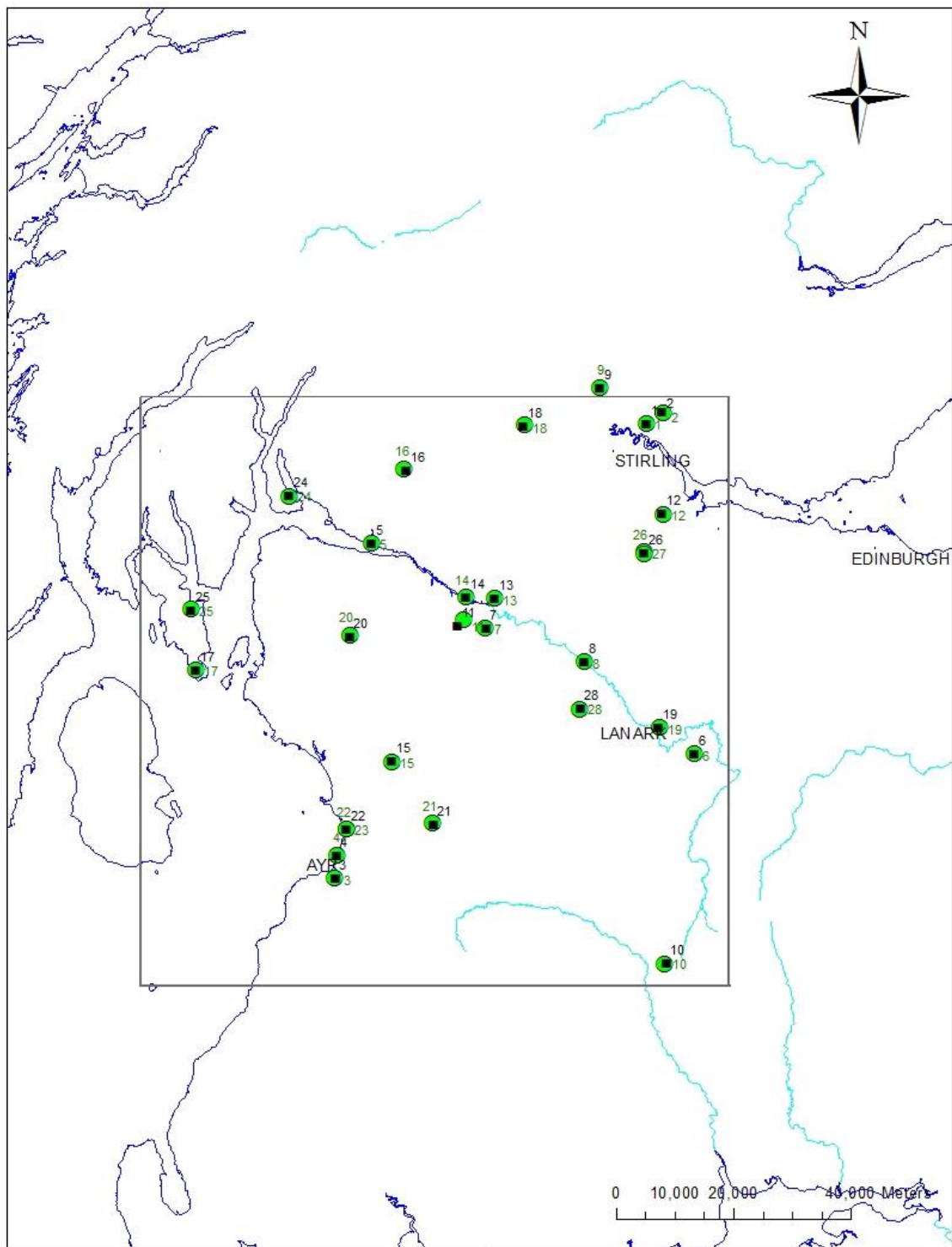
4.6.1 Associations with Parish Churches

Some twenty-eight or 18.7% of the holy well sites appear to be associated with parish churches, as shown in Map 4.3 and Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Associations between wells and parish churches

Name	Parish	Site Name	Distance (in metres)
Priest's Well	Alloa	Old Church of Tullibody	0
St Blane's Well	Kingarth	St Blane's Church	0
St Mary's Well	Rothsay	St Mary's Church	0
Mungo's Well	Ayr	Alloway Kirk	0
St John's Well	Ayr	St John's Church	0
St Shear's Wel	Cardross	Cardross Old Parish Church	0
St Mungo's Well	Glasgow	Glasgow Cathedral	0
Oswell's Well	Cathcart	Cathcart Old Parish Church	50
St Philip's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt	Dunblane Cathedral	50
St Patrick's Well	Dalziel	St Patrick's Church	75
St Mauvais's Well	Kippen	Kippen Church (1)	75
		Kippen Church (2)	75
		Kippen Old Parish Church	150
Our Lady's Well	Kilmarnock	Laigh Kirk	75
St Michael's Well	Carmichael	Kirk Hill	90
St Constantine's Well	Govan	Govan Parish Church	100
St Nicholas' Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Prestwick Old Church	100
St Mungo's Well	Lanark	St Nicholas's Chapel	130
St Michael's Well	Mauchline	Mauchline Old Church	130
High St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	Slamannan Church	130
Lady Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Prestwick Old Church	140
St Serf's Well	Alva	St Servano's Church	150
Cross Well	Falkirk	Falkirk Parish Church	150
St Ninian's Well	Stonehouse	St Ninian's Church	190
St Modan's Well	Rosneath	St Modan's Church	210
Johnshill Well	Lochwinnoch	St Winnock's Church	210
St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	Slammannan Church	230
St Cuthbert's Well	Durisdeer	Durisdeer Parish Church	250
St Conal's Well	Eastwood	Pollok Church	c250
St Marnock's or St Ronan's Well	Kilmaronock	Kilmaronock Parish Church	c250

Map 4.3: Associations between wells and parish churches



Key: Map 4.3 showing associations between wells and parish churches

Holy wells (●)

No.	Parish	Holy Well
1	Alva	Priest's Well
2	Ayr	St Serf's Well
3	Ayr	Mungo's Well
4	Cardross	St John's Well
5	Carmichael	St Shear's Well
6	Cathcart	St Michael's Well
7	Dalziel	St Oswald's Well
8	Dunblane & Lecropt	St Patrick's Well
9	Durisddeer	St Philip's Well
10	Eastwood	St Cuthbert's Well
11	Falkirk	St Conal's Well
12	Glasgow	Cross Well
13	Govan	Mungo's Well (Glasgow Cathedral)
14	Kilmarnock	St Contantine's Well
15	Kilmaronock	Our Lady's Well
16	Kingarth	St Marnock's Well
17	Kippen	St Blane's Well
18	Lanark	St Mauvais' Well
19	Lochwinnoch	St Mungo's Well
20	Mauchline	Johnshill Well
21	Monkton & Prestwick	St Michael's Well
22	Monkton & Prestwick	Lady Well
23	Rosneath	St Nicholas's Well
24	Rothsay	St Modan's Well
25	Slamannan	St Mary's Well
26	Slamannan	High St Laurence Well
27	Stonehouse	St Lawrence Well
28	Alva	St Ninian's Well

Parish Church (■)

No.	Parish	Parish Church
1	Alloa	Old Church Of Tullibody
2	Alva	St Servano's Church
3	Ayr	Alloway Kirk
4	Ayr	St John The Baptist's Church
5	Cardross	Cardross Old Parish Church
6	Carmichael	Kirk Hill
7	Cathcart	Cathcart Old Parish Church
8	Dalziel	St Patrick's Church
9	Dunblane & Lecropt	Dunblane Cathedral
10	Durisddeer	Durisddeer Parish Church
11	Eastwood	Pollok Church
12	Falkirk	Falkirk Old Parish Church
13	Glasgow	Glasgow Cathedral
14	Govan	Govan Old Parish Church
15	Kilmarnock	Laigh Kirk
16	Kilmaronock	Kilmaronock
17	Kingarth	St Blane's Church
18	Kippen	Kippen Old Parish Church
19	Lanark	St Ninian's Chapel
20	Lochwinnoch	St Winnock's Church
21	Mauchline	Mauchline Old Church
22	Monkton & Prestwick (Prestwick)	Prestwick Old Parish Church
24	Rosneath	St Modan's Parish Church
25	Rothsay	St Mary's Church
26	Slamannan	Slamannan Parish Church
28	Stonehouse	St Ninian's Church

However, this number is significantly raised if one takes into account associations that are greater than 250 metres; particularly as the dedications of holy wells and parish churches or chapels often coincide. There are a

further twelve holy wells with associations under 1000 metres and two over 1000 metres, as follows:

Lady's Well	Alloa	Old Church of Tullibody	390 m
St John's Well (1)	Torphichen	Torphichen Church	400 m
St Peter's Well	Houston	Houston Parish Church	420 m
Monk's Well	Kilmaurs	St Maur's Church	420 m
St Bride's Well	Sanquhar	St Bride's Church	420 m
My Lady's Well	Lanark (Nemphlar)	Nemphlar Parish Chapel (St Mary's)	460 m
St Aidan's Well	Cambusnethan	St Michael's Church	560 m
St Columba's Well	Cambusnethan	St Michael's Church	650 m
St Ninian's Well	Lamington & Wandel	St Ninian's Church	700 m
Christ's Well	Kincardine	Kincardine Old Parish Church	790 m
Highlandman's Well	Logie	Logie Old Church	1080 m
Birnie's Well	Kilbirnie	Kilbirnie Auld Kirk	1820 m

St Bride's Well (Sanquhar) and St Ninian's Well (Lamington & Wandel) have fairly obvious matches to the parish churches. Lady's Well⁵⁴⁴ (Alloa) was traditionally associated with the Old Church of Tullibody, even though the dedication appears to have been to St Serf. Similarly Houston Parish Church was dedicated to St Peter, Torphichen Church to St John, Nemphlar Parish Chapel to St Mary and Kilbirnie Auld Kirk to St Brendan the Voyager, as was Birnie's Well. The other five holy wells appear to have no real association at all with the parish churches, particularly in respect of dedications.

Therefore, there would seem to be a reasonable case to suggest that thirty-five parish churches and chapels; which would raise the percentage to 23.3% have an association with holy wells.

Jones⁵⁴⁵ suggests that where a holy well has the same dedication as the associated church or chapel, then it is likely that the church or chapel was possibly converted by that saint. However, with very few exceptions, this would seem unlikely in the case of most of the parish churches and chapels; as the majority are dedicated to Our Lady, John the Baptist, St Lawrence, St Bride and other saints who could not have been involved in the conversion.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.* "Lady's Well is a spring well, traditionally supposed to be associated with the Old Church of Tullibody (Name Book 1861). It has no features of special interest. It is 4' in diameter, but is so much filled up with stones and debris that it is now not more than 2' deep."

⁵⁴⁵ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 23.

Dedications will be considered separately below; however, the only 'local' saints would appear to St Kentigern⁵⁴⁶, St Blane⁵⁴⁷, St Serf⁵⁴⁸, St Mobhi mac Beoain⁵⁴⁹ and St Brendan the Voyager,⁵⁵⁰ but discussed briefly above, this should not necessarily imply that those saints were in any way personally involved with the well.⁵⁵¹

4.6.2 Associations with Churches (not Parish) and Chapels

Fifty-eight or 38.7% of the holy well sites appear to be associated with churches (not parish) and chapels, as shown in Map 4.4 and Table 4.10.

⁵⁴⁶ Mungo's Well (Ayr), St Mungo's Well (Lanark) and St Mungo's Well (Glasgow)

⁵⁴⁷ St Blane's Well (Kingarth).

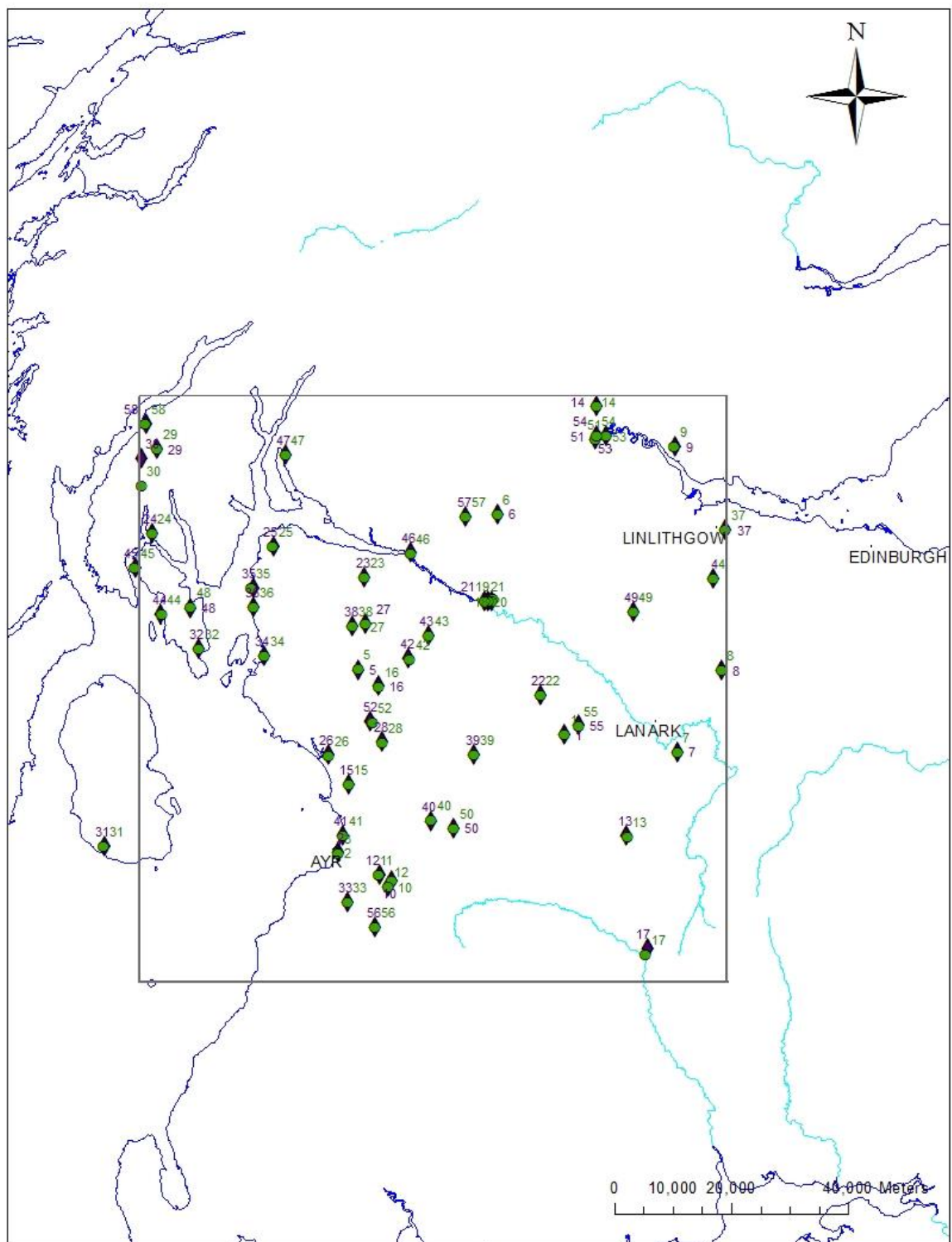
⁵⁴⁸ St Shear's Well (Cardross) and St Serf's Well (Alva).

⁵⁴⁹ St Mauvais's Well (Kippen).

⁵⁵⁰ Birnie's Well (Kilbirnie).

⁵⁵¹ Clancy, "Big Man, the Footsteps", 1-20. This article discusses the problems involved with trying to identify saints.

Map 4.4: Associations with Churches (not Parish) and Chapels



Key: Map 4.4 showing associations with Churches (not Parish) and Chapels

Holy wells (◆)

No.	Parish	Holy Well
1	Avondale	St Oswald's Well
2	Ayr	Friar's Well
3	Ayr	St Katherine's Well
4	Bathgate	Chapel Well
5	Beith	St Bridget's Well
6	Campsie	St Machan's Well
7	Carmichael	St Bride's Well
8	Carnwath	St Mary Magdalene's Well
9	Clackmannan	Chapel Well
10	Coylton	Carnell Well
11	Coylton	Chapel Well
12	Coylton	St Bride's Well
13	Douglas	Chapel Well
14	Dunblane & Lecropt	St Bryde's Well
15	Dundonald	St Mary's Well
16	Dunlop	St Mary's Well
17	Durisdeer	Holywell Cleuch
18	Glasgow	Lady Well
19	Glasgow	St Mungo's Well
20	Glasgow	St Ninian's Well
21	Glasgow	St Thenaw's Well
22	Glassford	Chapel Well
23	Houston	St Fillan's Well
24	Inverchaolain	Chapel Well
25	Inverkip	Chrisswell
26	Irvine	St Mary's Well
27	Kilbarchan	St Bryde's Well
28	Kilmaurs	Lady's Well
29	Kilmodan	Tobar Na H'annait
30	Kilmodan	St Modan's Well
31	Kilmory	Bennecarrigan
32	Kingarth	St Cattan's Well
33	Kirkmichael	Chapel Well
34	Largs	Fairlie
35	Largs	St Fillan's Well (1)
36	Largs	St Fillan's Well (2)
37	Linlithgow	St Paul's Well
38	Lochwinnoch	Warlock Gates
39	Loudoun	Glen Chapel Holm
40	Mauchline	St Michael's Well
41	Monkton & Prestwick	Bruce's Well
42	Neilston	Lady 'S Well

Chapels (●)

No.	Parish	Chapels
1	Avondale	St Oswald's Chapel
2	Ayr	102-4 High Street
4	Bathgate	Chapel
5	Beith	St Bridget's Chapel
6	Campsie	St Machan's Church
7	Carmichael	Harleyholm Hill
8	Carnwath	St Mary Magdalene's Chapel
9	Clackmannan	Chapelhill
10	Coylton	Carnell Chapel
11	Coylton	St Bride' Chapel
12	Coylton	Raithhill
13	Douglas	Andershaw
14	Dunblane & Lecropt	Lecropt
15	Dundonald	St Mary's Chapel
16	Dunlop	St Mary's Chapel
17	Durisdeer	Chapel Cleugh
18	Glasgow	St Mungo's Chapel
20	Glasgow	Tron Church
21	Glasgow	St Thenaw's Chapel
22	Glassford	Chapelton
23	Houston	St Fillan's Church
24	Inverchaolain	Fearnoch
25	Inverkip	Crisswell Chapel
26	Irvine	St Mary's Chapel
27	Kilbarchan	St Bryde's Chapel
28	Kilmaurs	St Maur's
29	Kilmodan	Tobar Na H'annait
30	Kilmodan	St Modan's Chapel
31	Kilmory	St Mary's Chapel
32	Kingarth	Little Kilchattan
34	Largs	Fairlie
33	Kirkmichael	Chapel Knowe
35	Largs	Annatyard
36	Largs	St Fillan's Chapel
37	Linlithgow	St Mary's Chapel
36	Lochwinnoch	Warlock Gates
37	Loudoun	Geln Chapel Holm
38	Mauchline	St Michael's Chapel
39	Monkton & Prestwick	Kingcase
40	Neilston	Aboon The Brae
41	Neilston	Chapell House
42	North Bute	Kilchousland Chapel

No.	Parish	Holy Well
43	Neilston	Lover's Well
44	North Bute	St Patrick's Well
45	North Bute	Priest's Well
46	Old Kilpatrick	St Mary's Well
47	Rhu	Kate's Well
48	Rothesay	St Cuthbert's Well
49	Shotts	Christ's Well
50	Sorn	Monk's Well
51	St Ninians	St Ninian's Well
52	Stewarton	St Thomas's Well
53	Stirling	St Lawrence's Well
54	Stirling	Chapel Well
55	Stonehouse	St Kessog's Well
56	Straiton	Tobar Cill Moire
57	Strathblane	Lover's Well
58	Strathlachlan	Tobar cille Moire

No.	Parish	Chapels
43	Neilston	Chapell House
44	North Bute	Kilchousland Chapel
45	North Bute	St Michael's Chapel
46	Old Kilpatrick (Kilpatrick)	Old Kilpatrick
47	Rhu	St Michael's Chapel
48	Rothesay	St Mary's Kilmary
49	Shotts	St Catherine's Chapel
50	Sorn	St Cuthbert's Chapel
51	St Ninians	Cambusbarron
52	Stewarton	Chapel Hill
53	Stirling	St Ninian's Chapel
54	Stirling	St Thomas's Chapel
55	Stonehouse	St Lawrence Chapel
56	Straiton	Chapel Hill
57	Strathblane	St Kessog's Chapel
58	Strathlachlan	Kilmorie

Table 4.10: Associations with Churches (not Parish) and Chapels

Name	Parish	Site Name	Distance (in metres)
St Bryde's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt	Lecropt	0
St Lawrence's Well	Stonehouse	St Lawrence's Chapel	0
Chapel Well	Glassford	Chapelton	0
St Kessog's Well	Strathblane	St Kessog's Chapel	0
St Thenew's Well	Glasgow	St Thenew's Chapel	0
		St Thomas's Chapel	0
St Mungo's Well	Glasgow	St Mungo's Chapel	0
Holywell Cleuch	Durisdeer	Chapel Cleuch	0
Glen Chapel Holm	Loudoun	Glen Chapel Holm	0
St Cuthbert's Well	Sorn	St Cuthbert's Chapel	0
St Mary's Well	Dunlop	St Mary's Chapel	0
St Conel's Well	Neilston	Chapell House	0
Carnell Well	Coylton	Carnell Chapel	0
St Bride's Well	Coylton	St Bride's Chapel	0
Chapel Well	Coylton	Raithwell	0
St Bryde's Well	Kilbarchan	St Bryde's Chapel	0
Warlock Gates	Lochwinnoch	Warlock Gates	0
		Castle Semple	1180
St Fillan's Well	Houston	St Fillan's Church	0
St Bridget's Well	Beith	St Bridget's Chapel	0
Bruce's Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Kingcase	0
Fairlie	Largs	Fairlie	0
Chapel Well	Kirkmichael	Chapel Knowe	0
Priest's Well	Rhu	St Michael's Chapel	0
Cruikland Chapel	North Bute	Kilchousland Chapel	0
St Mary's Well	Rothesay	St Mary's Kilmary	0
St Thomas's Well	Stirling	St Thomas's Chapel	0
St Ninian's Well	Stirling	St Ninian's Chapel	0
Tobar na h'Annait	Kilmodan	Tobar na h'Annait	0
Chapel Well	Bathgate	Chapel	0

Name	Parish	Site Name	Distance (in metres)
St Fillan's Well (2)	Largs	St Fillan's Chapel	0
St Mary Magdalene's Well	Carnwath	St Mary Madgalene's Chapel	0
St Paul's Well	Linlithgow	St Mary's Chapel	0
Chapel Well	Inverchaolain	Fearnoch	25
St Bride's Well	Carmichael	Harleyholm Hill	30
Chapel Well	Clackmannan	Chapelhill	30
Chapel Well	Douglas	Andershaw	50
Lovers Well	North Bute	St Michael's Chapel	c50
Christ's Well	St Ninians	Cambusbarren	50
St Machan's Well	Campsie	St Machan's Church	50
Chapel Well	Straiton	Chapel	50
St Modan's Well	Kilmodan	St Modan's Chapel	50
Chrisswell Well	Inverkip	Chrisswell Chapel (1)	50
		Chrisswell Chapel (2)	80
St Mary's Well	Dundonald	St Mary's Chapel	50
		St Ninian's Chapel	1100
		Chapel Hill	1170
St Ninian's Well	Glasgow	Tron Church	80
		Trongate	110
St Patrick's Well	Kilpatrick	Old Kilpatrick	90
St Chattan's Well	Kingarth	Little Kilchattan Chapel	90
St Mary's Well	Irvine	St Mary's Chapel	90
St Oswald's Well	Avondale	St Oswald's Chapel	100
Tobar cill Moire	Strathlachlan	Kilmorie Chapel	100
Kate's Well	Shotts	St Catherine's Chapel	100
Lady's Well	Neilston	Aboon the Brae	100
Friar's Well	Ayr	102-4 High Street	120
		Holy Trinity Chapel	250
St Michael's Well	Mauchline	St Michael's Chapel	130
Lady's Well	Kilmaurs	St Maur's Church	160
St Katherine's Well	Ayr	102-4 High Street	160
		Holy Trinity Chapel	215
Monk's Well	Stewarton	Chapelton	190
St Fillan's Well(1)	Largs	Annatyrd	200
Bennecarrigan	Kilmory	St Mary's Chapel	c250
Lady Well	Glasgow	St Mungo's Church	280
		High Street	320

However, as with parish churches and chapels, if the distance is expanded beyond 250 metres, the number of apparent associations increase; although not by nearly as many as for parish churches and chapels. It might appear that there are eight further dedications as follows:

Tobar an Laggairt	Strathlachlan	Chapel of Kilbride	400 m
Holy Well	Galston	St Mary's Chapel	450 m
St Michael's Well	Rhu	St Michael's Chapel	610 m
St Ninian's Well	Lamington & Wandel	Trinity Chapel	660 m
Virtue Well	New Monkland	Kippsbyre Burn (chapel)	1320m
St Helen's Well	Maybole	St Muireach's Chapel	1620 m

Lady Well	Dalziel	St Mary's Chapel (Bothwell)	1830 m
Mary's Well	Morton	Enoch (chapel)	2200m

It seems unlikely that Lady Well (Dalziel) could be associated with St Mary's Chapel (Bothwell) at a distance of over a mile, even though the dedications would appear to match. However, Holy Well⁵⁵² (Galston) would seem to be associated with St Mary's Chapel and Tobar an Laggairt (Strathlachlan) with the Chapel of Kilbride, as would St Michael's Well at Rhu; particularly as St Michael's Monastery was associated with the chapel. The other holy wells seem not to be associated, not only because of the distance, but also because of the dedication. Enoch was another name for St Thewlis and thus a very unlikely association for a holy well dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

If the four extra holy well associations are added, the total number of holy wells associated with non-parish churches and chapels seems to be sixty-two or 41.3%. If, however, all churches and chapels are taken into account, the total is ninety-nine or 66%, which is significant when arguing a connection between holy wells and churches and chapels. It is also significant that sixty-five of the holy wells are directly adjacent to or within 100 metres of their associated churches and chapels. This occurs in over two-thirds (65.7%) of the associations, which must add weight to the argument towards holy wells having been associated with churches and chapels; although probably not that the holy wells were all Christianised by the titular saints, when the number of dedications to biblical and non-British saints are taken into account.

It might be expected that the isolated nature of some chapel locations should provide at least the potential for more dedications of a localised nature; however, this would not seem to be the case. The majority of the chapels

⁵⁵² *Ibid.* "This well is listed by Walker as a holy well which has either not had, or has lost, its individual dedication. Walker, J. R. 1883. This is a spring well. There is no tradition concerning it and no further information can be got than that it is known by the name 'Holy Well'. Name Book 1856. The late Bishop of Galloway (Baron de Fresnes, Cessnock Castle) stated that the well is reputed to have healing qualities, and to have been dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Only a trickle of water spreading on to the surrounding slopes is now visible, but the well may have been covered as it is the supply for Cessnock Castle. ... A prolific spring at the top of a wooded bank. No well-head or artificial setting is evident. Below it and nearby is another issue, concrete covered and with a piped outlet."

and the associated holy wells appear to be dedicated to biblical and non-British saints. The wells that are dedicated to local saints are as follows:

St Kessog	St Kessog's Well	(Dunblane)
St Thenew	St Thenew's Well	(Glasgow)
St Kentigern	St Mungo's Well	(Glasgow)
St Conal	St Conal's Well	(Neilston)
St Fillan of Strathfillan	St Fillan's Well	(Houston)
	St Fillan's Well (1)	(Largs)
	St Fillan's Well (2)	(Largs)
St Ninian	St Ninian's Well	(Stirling)
St Machan	St Machan's Well	(Campsie)
St Chattan	St Chattan's Well	(Kingarth)

Thus, when considering dedications, there seems very little difference between parish churches and chapels.

Jones⁵⁵³ found nearly 200 examples of churches and chapels built at or near holy wells in Wales, although he does not specify what he considers to constitute "near". It would then seem that the incidences of associations in this study are of a similar magnitude.

4.6.3 Association with *Eglés* or *Eccles* and *Annait* Names

Only two or 1.3% of the holy well sites appear to be associated with *Eglés* or *Eccles* and *Annait* Names, as shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Association between Holy Wells and Eglés or Eccles and Annait Names

Name	Parish	Site Name	Site Type	Distance (in metres)
Tobar na h'Annait	Kilmodan	Tobar na h'Annait	Chapel	0
St Fillan's Well (1)	Largs	Annatyrd	Church	200

There are ten *Annait* sites and six *Eglés* or *Eccles* within this study, as discussed in the previous chapter; and, as these are thought to have been early Christian sites, it might be expected that a high proportion of these sites might have been the setting for Christianising of pagan wells. It is, therefore, unexpected that only two of the six *Annait* sites should be associated with holy wells.

⁵⁵³ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 23, 25.

Associations with *Eglés* or *Eccles* names are a little more difficult to assess, but the results are not promising: as seen above there may have been a holy well dedicated to St Martin of Tours (Bullion Well) in the parish of Ecclesmachan, which might imply an early dedication, as in the case of the dedication to this saint at Whithorn.⁵⁵⁴ However, the chapel in Whithorn was later rebuilt and rededicated to St Ninian, who was assumed to have Christianised the area – might it not be supposed that if the Bullion Well was a dedication to St Martin of Tours by an early missionary, then it might have been rededicated to that missionary during the succeeding years.

Of the parishes in the study containing *Eglés* or *Eccles* names,⁵⁵⁵ Carluke, Kilmadock and Penpont appear to have no holy wells at all; while Eaglesham's only holy well is Munzie Well, which appears to be dedicated to St Kentigern and to have no associated sites. It could be argued that the dedication is due to the fact that Eaglesham is only c13 miles from Glasgow. The fact that the dedication of the only holy well in Falkirk is "Cross" and of the three holy wells in St Ninians, one is dedicated to "Christ" and one is unknown is somewhat disappointing. The third holy well in St Ninians parish is dedicated to St Corbet,⁵⁵⁶ and is isolated in the Touch Hills with no apparent associated sites. This might, however, appear to typify Jones's requirements for early missionaries Christianising pagan wells: an early, unknown missionary with no other clues to his identity or mission except the holy well that bears his name. Unfortunately, this would seem to be the only example from the one hundred and fifty holy wells in this study, with the possible exception of St Vildrin, who will be discussed below.

⁵⁵⁴ Alcock, *Kings and Warriors*, 217. Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* suggests that St Ninian founded a stone church at Whithorn, which was dedicated to St Martin of Tours; although there is no suggestion that he was Christianising a pagan site.

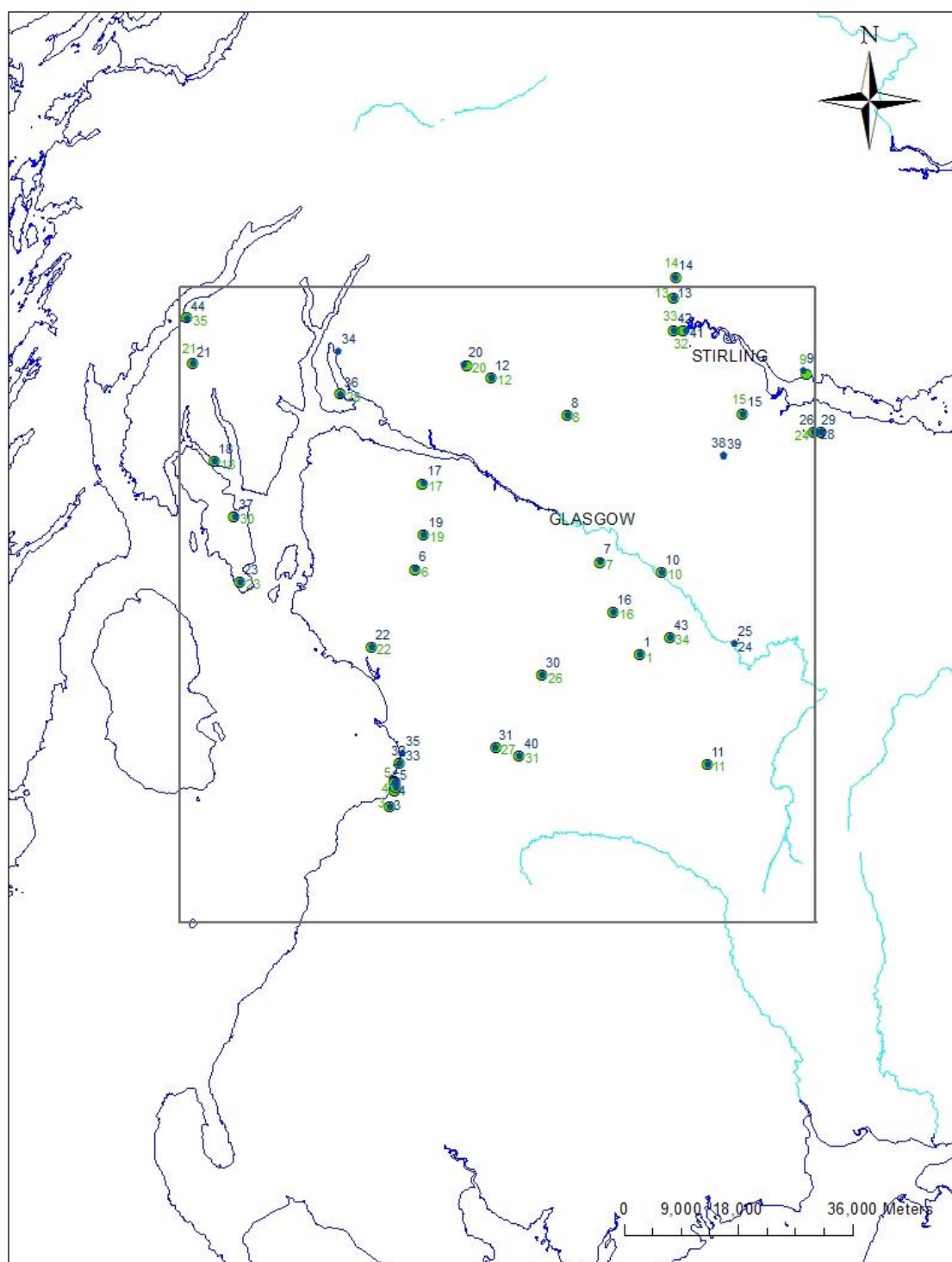
⁵⁵⁵ Carluke, Eaglesham, Falkirk, Kilmadock, Penpont, and St Ninians.

⁵⁵⁶ Canmore, NS79SW9. "St Corbet's Spring, resorted to until the beginning of the 19th century on the first Sunday in May, rises on the top of the Touch Hills (NS 729 918). It was said to prolong life. J M Mackinlay 1893. No trace of this spring was seen in the area of the Touch Hills. There is no local knowledge of it."

4.6.4 Associations with other Religious sites

Forty-five or 30.2% of the holy well sites appear to be associated with other religious sites, as shown in Map 4.5 and Table 4.12.

Map 4.5: Associations with other Religious sites



Key: Map 4.5 showing Associations with other Religious sites

Chapels (🔵)

No.	Parish	Holy Well
1	Avondale	St Oswald's Well
2	Ayr	Friar's Well
3	Ayr	Mungo's Well
4	Ayr	St Katherine's Well
5	Ayr	St Thomas's Well
6	Beith	St Inan's Well
7	Cambuslang	Crossbasket
8	Campsie	St Machan's Well
9	Culross	Monk's Well
10	Dalziel	St Margaret's Well
11	Douglas	Chapel Well
12	Drymen	St Vildrin's Well
13	Dunblane & Lecropt	St Bryde's Well
14	Dunblane & Lecropt	St Philip's Well
15	Falkirk	Cross Well
16	Glassford	Chapel Well
17	Houston	St Fillan's Well
18	Inverchaolain	Priest's Well
19	Kilbarchan	St Bryde's Well
20	Kilmodan	Tobar A'phiobain
21	Kilmaronock	St Marnock's Or St Ronan's Well
22	Kilwinning	Kyle's Well
23	Kingarth	St Blane's Well
24	Lanark	St Patrick's Well
25	Lanark	St Peter's Well
26	Linlithgow	St Paul's Well
27	Linlithgow	St Magdalene's Well
28	Linlithgow	Cross Well
29	Linlithgow	St Michael's Well
30	Loudoun	Glen Chapel Holm
31	Mauchline	St Michael's Well
32	Monkton & Prestwick	Bruce's Well
33	Kirkmichael	Lady Well
34	Largs	Priest's Well
35	Sorn	St Nicholas's Well

Wells (🟢)

No.	Parish	Other Religious sites
1	Avondale	Chapel Farm
2	Ayr	Auld Kirk
4	Ayr	Dominican Monastery
5	Maybole	Cambusdoon
6	Ayr	St Leonard's Hospital
7	Ayr	Hospital
8	Beith	St Inan's Chair
9	Cambuslang	Crossbasket
10	Campsie	St Machan's Tomb
11	Culross	Culross Abbey
12	Dalziel	Dalzell House
13	Douglas	Andershaw
14	Drymen	St Vildrin's Well
15	Dunblane & Lecropt (Lecropt)	Lecropt
16	Dunblane & Lecropt	Dunblane Cathedral
17	Falkirk	Falkirk Old Parish Church
18	Glassford	Chapelton
20	Houston	Kilallan
21	Inverchaolain	Newton
22	Kilbarchan	St Bryde's House
23	Kilmaronock	Kilmaronock Parish Church
24	Kilmodan	Glendaurel
25	Kilwinning	Kyle's Well
26	Kingarth	St Blane's Church
27	Linlithgow	Augustinian Friary
28	Linlithgow	St Magdalene's Hospital
29	Loudoun	Geln Chapel Holm
30	Mauchline	Abbot Hunter's Tower
31	Monkton & Prestwick	Kingcase
32	Rosneath	St Modan's Parish Church
34	Rothesay	St Mary's Church
33	Sorn	St Cuthbert's Field
35	Stirling	Allan Park
36	Stirling	St Thomas's Well
37	Stonehouse	Spittal

Chapels (🏰)

No.	Parish	Holy Well
36	Rosneath	St Modan's Well
37	Rothsay	St Mary's Well
38	Slamannan	High St Laurence Well
39	Slamannan	St Lawrence Well
40	Sorn	St Cuthbert's Well
41	Stirling	St Ninian's Well
42	Stirling	St Thomas's Well
43	Stonehouse	St Anthony's Well

Table 4.12: Association between Holy Wells and other Religious Sites

Name	Parish	Site Name	Site Type	Distance (in metres)
St Peter's Well	Lanark	St Patrick's Well	Well-holy	0
St Patrick's Well	Lanark	St Peter's Well	Well-holy	0
St Bryde's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt	Lecropt	Saint's tomb	0
St Thomas's Well	Stirling	St Thomas's Well	Hogback stone	0
St Margaret's Well	Dalziel	Dalziel House	Cross	0
Crossbasket Well	Cambuslang	Crossbasket	Cross	0
Chapel Well	Glassford	Chapelton	Font	0
Glen Chapel Holm	Loudoun	Glen Chapel Holm	Font	0
St Vildrin's Well	Drymen	St Vildrin's Well	Saint's effigy	0
St Fillan's Well	Houston	St Fillans	Font	0
		Kilallan	Font	0
		St Fillan's Seat	Saint's Seat	0
Bruce's Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Kingcase	Hospital	0
Lady Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Nicholas' Well	Well – Holy	0
St Nicholas' Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Lady Well	Well - Holy	0
Mungo's Well	Ayr	Cambusdoon (Maybole)	Cross	0
St Mary's Well	Rothsay	St Mary's Church	Cross	0
Priest's Well	Rhu	Priest's House	Priest House	0
St Paul's Well	Linlithgow	Augustinian Friary	Friary	0
		St Magdalene's Hospital	Hospital	0
St Inan's Wel	Beith	St Inan's Seat	Saint's Seat	0
		How o'Cruxlee	Cross	260
St Katherine's Well	Ayr	Dominican Priory	Monastery	0
		Auld Kirk	Friary	120
		Friar's Well	Well - holy	130
St Thomas's Well	Ayr	Hospital	Hospital	0
St Paul's Well	Linlithgow	Augustinian Priory	Monastery	0
St Bryde's Well	Kilbarchan	St Bryde's House	House	0
Chapel Well	Douglas	Andershaw	Font	50
Priest's Well	Inverchaolain	Newton	Burial ground	50

Name	Parish	Site Name	Site Type	Distance (in metres)
St Machan's Well	Campsie	St Machan's Tomb	Saint's tomb	50
Friar's Well	Ayr	Auld Kirk	Friary	50
		Dominican Priory	Monastery	50
Tobar a'Phiobain	Kilmodan	Glendaurel	Monk's Cell	50
St Blane's Well	Kingarth	St Blane's Church	Oratory	50
		St Blane's Church	Monastery	75
		St Blane's	Cross	105
		St Blane's Tomb	Saint's tomb	230
St Philip's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt	Dunblane Cathedral	Monastery	90
St Anthony's Well	Stonehouse	Spittal House	Hospital	90
St Oswald's Well	Avondale	Chapel Farm	Font	100
St Mary Magdalene's Well	Linlithgow	St Mary Magdalene's Hospital	Hospital	c100
Tobar cill Moire	Strathlachlan	Kilmorie Burial Ground	Cross	100
Monk's Well	Culross	Culross Abbey	Abbey	100
St Cuthbert's Well	Sorn	St Cuthbert's Field	Field	110
Cross Well	Falkirk	Falkirk Parish Church	Cross	150
St Michael's Well	Mauchline	Abbot Hunter's House	House	150
Kyles Well	Kilwinning	Kilwinning Abbey	Cell	170
		Kilwinnin	Barrow	200
Cross Well	Linlithgow	St Michael's Well	Holy well	190
St Michael's Well	Linlithgow	Cross Well	Holy well	190
St Modan's Well	Rosneath	St Modan's Shrine	Saint's tomb	210
		St Modan's Church	Crosses, slabs, etc	210
St Ninian's Well	Stirling	Allan Park	Hospital	230
High St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	St Lawrence Well	Well – holy	250
St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	High St Lawrence Well	Well - Holy	250
St Marnock's Well	Kilmaronock	Kilmaronock Parish Church	Cross slab	c250

The other religious sites fall into four main categories, all of which may possibly have been predicted from the preceding text and are as follows:

- Religious institutions i.e. monasteries, abbeys, friaries, etc
- Hospitals
- Sites associated with churches and chapels i.e. fonts, burial grounds, hogback stones, crosses, cross-slabs, etc

- Saint's seats, tables, tombs, etc

The first two categories would seem to be fairly self-explanatory i.e. that the holy wells were associated with these institutions and either attained the dedications of the institutions or retained the memory of those institutions in names such as Friar's Well.

The most interesting aspect of those sites associated with churches and chapels are possibly that at least six⁵⁵⁷ fonts seem to have survived, lending some credence to the suggestion that holy wells were necessary and used for early baptisms.

All so-called four saints' seats⁵⁵⁸ in the study have associated holy wells; which, assuming that these were the sites of early missionaries, again might imply that Christianisation or baptism was the main function of these wells. St Blane's Well (Kingarth) is virtually surrounded by sites with dedications to St Blane: parish church, monastery, seat, oratory, tomb and cross. Although the well is also known as the Wishing Well, there seems to be no record of healing or other miraculous properties, so it might seem that this would not have previously been a so-called pagan well. Similarly, neither St Fillan's Well nor St Inan's Well appear to have been credited with special attributes; indeed, only St Molaise's Well was famed for its "miraculous cures." Illustration 4.6 and Illustration 4.7 show St Inan's Well and Chair respectively – St Inan's Well is now overgrown and under a very large bush, however, the water is piped from it and was the water supply for the nearby cottage until relatively recently.

⁵⁵⁷ Chapel Well (Glassford) associated with Chapelton (chapel); Glen Chapel Holm (Loudoun) at Glen Chapel Holm (chapel); St Fillan's Well (Houston) has two associated fonts at Kiliellan and St Fillans; St Oswald's Well (Avondale) at Chapel Farm, which might imply the existence of a chapel.

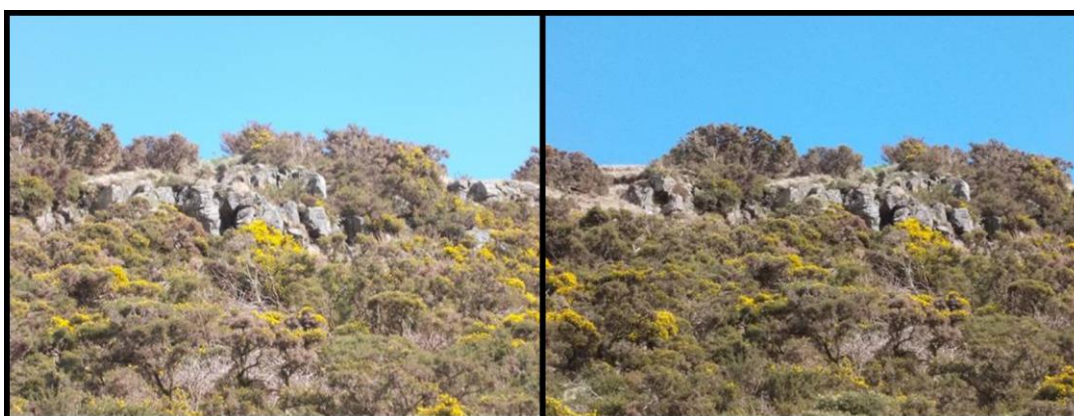
⁵⁵⁸ St Fillan's Seat (Houston); St Inan's Seat or Chair (Beith); Suidhe Blaan i.e. St Blane's Seat (Kingarth) and St Molaise's Table (Kilbride).

Illustration 4.6: St Inan's Well (Beith)



View of St Inan's Well in Beith (both panels)

Illustration 4.7: St Inan's Chair (Beith)



View of St Inan's Chair in Beith (both panels)

It is not unusual for holy wells to be associated with stones that are reputedly various pieces of saints' furniture: in Ireland, St Patrick's well is associated with St Patrick's Chair; St Patrick's Bed is near his holy well at Aughagrun; his bed and well are also to be found in the Isle of Man and other examples are found in Brittany and Cornwall.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁹ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 15. St Mauldron's Bed and Well in Cornwall.

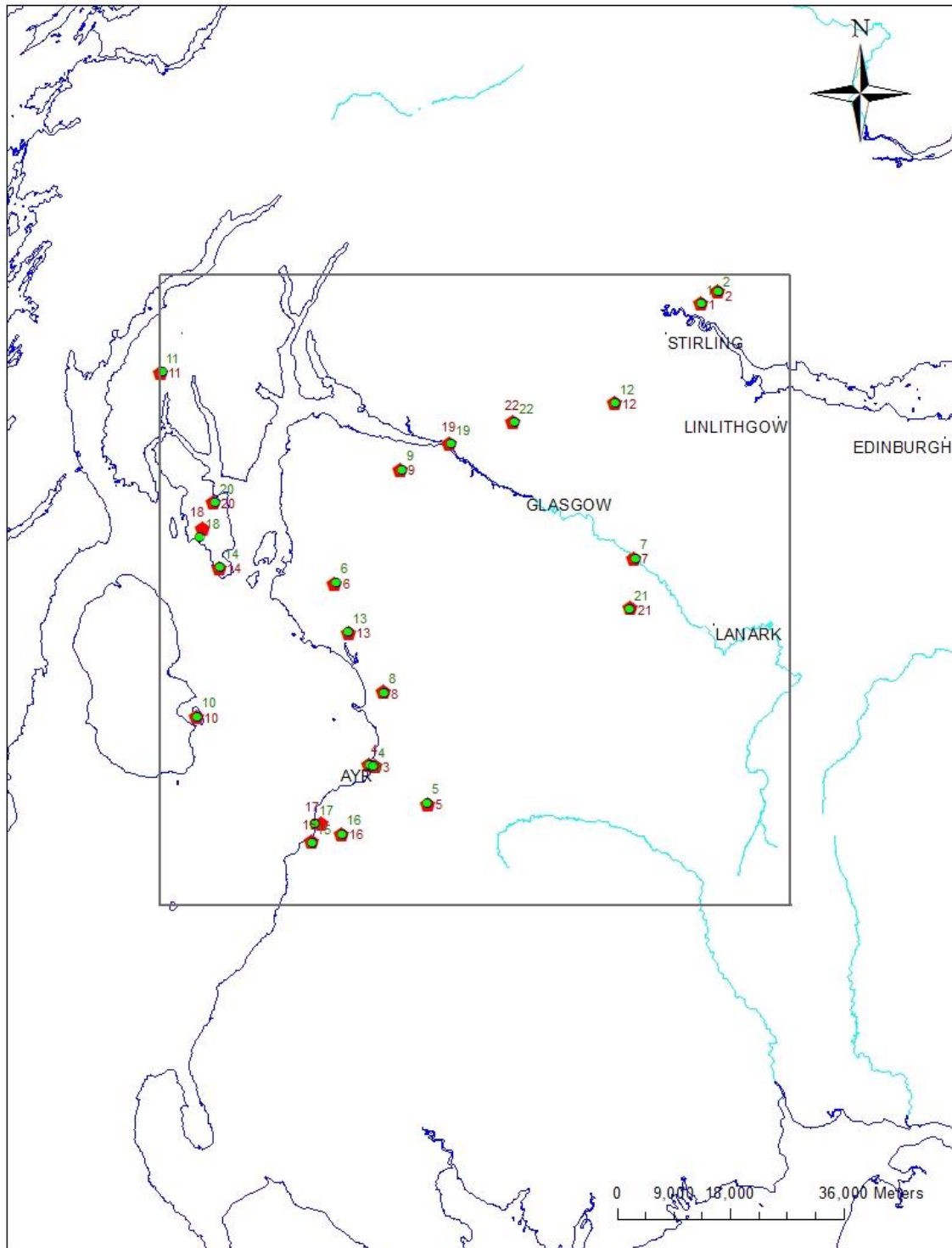
In the same way as St Corbet's Well (St Ninians) appears to fit the archetypal early well, it is possible that St Vildrin's Well⁵⁶⁰ (Drymen) also has pretensions to fit the paradigm.

4.6.5 Associations with Pre-Christian sites

Only 22 or 14.8% of the holy well sites appear to be associated with pre-Christian sites, as shown in Map 4.6 and Table 4.13.

⁵⁶⁰ Canmore, NS48NE7: "Though a spring still runs strongly a short distance below this site no remains of any structure now survive. As late as 1851 the well appears to have been 'ornamented with an image, said to be of its patron saint' and was resorted to on the strength of supposed healing virtues (OPS 1951); but by 1883 the 'image' had been broken up and used as building material in the farmhouse. It was stated at that time that the image 'was shaped like a cross, stood about 2ft 6ins high, and had a figure incised in the centre' (Walker 1883). This is the only dedication to St. Vildrin recorded by Bishop Forbes. Orig Paroch Scot 1851; A P Forbes 1872; J R Walker 1883; ... There is no trace of the well nor the effigy and Mr. MacQueen, who has lived on Laigh Finnick Farm for 86 Years."

Map 4.6: Associations with Pre-Christian sites



Key: Map 4.6 showing associations with pre-Christian sites

Chapels (🔴)

No.	Parish	Holy Well
1	Alloa	Priest's Well
2	Alva	St Serf's Well
3	Ayr	St John's Well
4	Ayr	St Katherine's Well
5	Coylton	St Bride's Well
6	Dalry	St Finan's Well
7	Dalziel	St Patrick's Well
8	Dundonald	St Mary's Well
9	Houston	St Fillan's Well
10	Kilbride	St Molaise's Well
11	Kilmodan	St Modan's Well
12	Kilsyth	St Mirren's Well
13	Kilwinning	St Winning's Well
14	Kingarth	St Blane's Well
15	Kirkoswald	Lady Well
16	Maybole	Ladycross Well
17	Maybole	St Patrick's Well
18	North Bute	Ambrismore
19	Old Kilpatrick	St Patrick's Well
20	Rothsay	St Mary's Well
21	Stonehouse	St Ninian's Well
22	Strathblane	St Patrick's Well

Wells (🟢)

No.	Parish	Other Religious sites
1	Alloa	Maiden Stone
2	Alva	St Serf's Glebe
3	Ayr	Sandy Knowes
4	Ayr	St John's Well
5	Coylton	Witch's Stone
6	Dalry	Aitnock
7	Dalziel	St Patrick's Church
8	Dundonald	Kemp Law
9	Houston	Kneelins
10	Kilbride	St Molaise's Table
11	Kilmodan	Lephinkill
12	Kilsyth	St Mirren's Well
13	Kilwinning	Kilwinnin
14	Kingarth	St Blane's Church
15	Kirkoswald	Kennel Mount
16	Maybole	Ladycross Well
17	Maybole	Knowside
18	North Bute	Carnahouston
19	Old Kilpatrick	Old Kilpatrick
20	Rothsay	St Mary's Church
21	Stonehouse	St Ninian's Church
22	Strathblane	Middleton

Table 4.13: Associations between Holy Wells and Pre-Christian Sites

Name	Parish	Site Name	Site Type	Distance (in metres)
Priest's Well	Alloa	Maiden Stone	Cist	0
St Serf's Well	Alva	St Serf's Glebe	Cist	0
St Mirren's Well	Kilsyth	St Mirren's Well	Standing Stone	0
St Fillan's Well	Houston	Kilallan 1, 2 & 3	Stone	0
		Kneelins	Stone	0
St John's Well	Ayr	St John's Church	Cist	0
St Mary's Well	Rothsay	St Mary's Church	Stone	0
Ladycross Well	Maybole	Ladycross Well	Stone	0
St Modan's Well	Kilmodan	Lephinkill	Cairn	50
St Mary's Well	Dundonald	Kemp Law	Dun	50
St Patrick's Well	Dalziel	St Patrick's Church	Cist	75
St Patrick's Well	Maybole	Knowside	Fort	80
St Molaise's Well	Kilbride	St Molaise's Table	Stone	70
St Patrick's Well	Old Kilpatrick	Old Kilpatrick	Cist	100
St Winning's Well	Kilwinning	Kilwinnin	Barrow	170
St Fillan's Well	Dalry	Aitnock	Dun	120
St Blane's Well	Kingarth	St Blane's Church	Cairn	170
St Lady Well	Kirkoswald	Kennel Mount	Cairn	180
St Ninian's Well	Stonehouse	St Ninian's Church	Cist	190
Ambrismore	North Bute	Carnahouston	Fort	200

Name	Parish	Site Name	Site Type	Distance (in metres)
St Bride's Well	Coylton	Witches Stone	Stone	220
St Patrick's Well	Strathblane	Middleton	Standing Stone	230
St Katherine's Well	Ayr	Sandy Knowes	Cist	250

"It is often claimed that churches were built upon or beside stone circles in order to depaganise them."⁵⁶¹ Morris suggests that given the number of prehistoric monuments and the fact that they have a tendency to "cluster"; it is not surprising that some religious sites including churches, chapels and holy wells are found in their vicinity. The question of whether this is by accident or indeed part of the Christianisation process is debateable and possibly in many cases almost impossible to determine.

All the pre-Christian sites in the database were included in the study for completeness: however, as no patterns were immediately apparent for most of these sites, it is difficult to understand how some of the pre-Christian sites are relevant in respect of wells e.g. cists,⁵⁶² of which there are seven associations with holy wells. The only sites that might seem to have relevance to this study would seem to be stones.

Rattue⁵⁶³ suggests that there is little evidence to believe that water was involved in Neolithic ritual which might intimate that it is unlikely for standing stones and stone circles to be found beside water. Thus holy wells would seem to have little relevance to pre-Christian stones; although Mackinlay⁵⁶⁴ insists that "... we may infer that some mysterious connection was supposed to exist between standing stones and wells by the aid of magic." The pagan magic was thus dispersed and vanquished by having a cross cut upon them;⁵⁶⁵

There are eight such stones near holy wells as shown in Table 4.13. St Molaise's Table (Kilbride) has been discussed above and there seems to be

⁵⁶¹ Morris, *Churches*, 82.

⁵⁶² Canmore definition: "Generally rectangular structure normally used for burial purposes; formed from stone slabs set on edge and covered by one or more horizontal slabs or capstones. Cists may be built on the surface or sunk into the ground."

⁵⁶³ Rattue, *Living Stream*, 9.

⁵⁶⁴ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 26-28.

⁵⁶⁵ Pennick, *Sacred World of the Celts*, 38.

no real evidence for any pre-Christian associations. The stone at St Mirren's Well (Kilsyth) appears to be dated 1687 and have no traditions attached to it. There are four stones beside St Fillan's Well, not including St Fillan's Seat: the stones, Kilallan 1, 2 and 3 appear to be standing stones with no traditions; however Kneelins is a small stone with indentations where the good saint spent his days praying. The stones at St Mary's Well (Rothesay) and Ladycross Well (Maybole) both have crosses cut into them; however, it would be dangerous to suggest that the small quantity of stones associated with holy wells in this study could constitute anything more than accidental association.

4.6.6 Holy Wells with No Apparent Associations

There are thirty-one or 20.7% of the holy wells with no apparent associations with other sites in the database as shown in Table 4.14. However, as discussed above, seventeen, or possibly nineteen, may be associated with churches and chapels, but the distance is greater than 250 metres. Of the remaining twelve holy wells, it is difficult to correlate any theme as to why they should have no associations; although, of course, it should be remembered that much depends on survival of sites and it may be that their various associated sites did not endure for whatever reason.

Table 4.14: Holy wells with no apparent associations

Name	Parish	Notes – sites notes are those nearest to the holy well
Lady Well	Airth	No sites under 2570
Lady's Well	Alloa	Old Church of Tullibody at 390 m
Lady's Well	Alva	No sites
Our Lady's Well	Auchinleck	No sites under 1150 m
St John's Well	Bo'ness & Carriden	No sites
St Maha's Well	Buchanan	No sites
St Aidan's Well	Cambusnethan	St Michael's Church (Parish) at 560 m Cambusnethan Parish Church at 620 m
St Columba's Well	Cambusnethan	St Michael's Church (Parish) at 650 m Cambusnethan Parish Church at 720 m
Lady Well	Dalziel	St Mary's Chapel (Bothwell) at 1830 m
St Catherine's Well	Dalziel	No sites under 2000 m
Munzie Well	Eaglesham	No sites under 650 m
Holy Well	Galston	No sites under 450 m; reputedly dedicated to Mary, therefore could be associated with St Mary's Chapel – map

Name	Parish	Notes – sites notes are those nearest to the holy well
		reference is unknown
St Peter's Well	Houston	Houston Parish Church at 420 m
Birnie's Well	Kilbirnie	Kilbirnie Auld Kirk (Parish chapel) at 1720 m
Monk's Well	Kilmaurs	St Maur's Church at 460 m
Tobar Challum Cille	Kilmory	No sites
Christ's Well	Kincardine	Kincardine Old Parish Church at 790m Cairn at 390 m
St Ninian's Well	Lamington & Wandel	Trinity Chapel at 660 m St Ninian's Church at 700 m
St Teiling's Well	Lanark	480m from Cleghorn Chapel
My Lady's Well	Lanark (Nemphlar)	Nemphlar Chapel (Parish Chapel) is 460 m – but site of well moved at some point – Chapel also dedicated to St Mary
St Paul's Well	Linlithgow	No sites
St Michael's Well	Linlithgow	No sites
Cross Well	Linlithgow	No sites, at the Market Cross
Rose Well	Livingston	No sites
Lady Well	Livingston	No sites
Highlandman's Well	Logie	Logie Old Church at 1180 m
St Anthony's Well	Maybole	No sites
St Helen's Well	Maybole	St Muireach's Chapel at 1620 m
St Patrick's Well	Morton	No sites
Mary's Well	Morton	Enoch (chapel) 2200m
Virtue Well	New Monkland	Kippsbyre Burn (chapel) at 1320 m
St Michael's Well (2)	Rhu	No sites
St Michael's Well (1)	Rhu	St Michael's Chapel at 610 m St Michael's Monastery at 620 m
St Bride's Well	Sanquhar	St Brides Church at 420 m
St Corbet's Well	St Ninians	Touchmuir (dun) at 540 m
Lower Milton	St Ninians	No sites
Tobar an Laggairt	Strathlachlan	Chapel of Kilbride (chapel) at 400 m
St John's Well (1)	Torphichen	Torphichen Church at 430 m (dedicated to John the Baptist)
St John's Well (2)	Torphichen	No sites

4.6.7 Dedications

A breakdown of the holy well dedications in the study is shown in Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 shows the three categories of holy well:

- Saints
- Religious connotations
- No dedication

Possibly, the most interesting observation is that the majority of dedications are to the Virgin Mary (24); her name appears as St Mary, Our Lady or just

Lady. This is also the most popular dedication in all parts of Europe and her holy wells are usually associated with a similar dedication at a nearby church or chapel; however, this is not always the case as can be seen from the examples above in the holy wells with no apparent associations. It has been suggested that such “Lady” wells are not dedicated to the Virgin Mary at all and refer instead to the old pagan guardian of the well.⁵⁶⁶

The cult of the Virgin Mary became popular and quickly spread in the fourth century and it might be suggested that her holy well dedications would therefore be early; however, the Virgin Mary was also a favourite saint of the Normans and there is evidence that there was some re-dedication during the centuries following the Norman Conquest.⁵⁶⁷ Thus dating dedications might not be nearly as simple as it might seem: to suggest that dedications to obscure local saints are early might be a little premature. Morris⁵⁶⁸ suggests that wells were more likely to be named for local saints during the period between c1200 and c1500, when the authorities at churches and chapels were hoping to maximise income from relics of saints and pilgrimage. Holy wells were certainly a good source of income with the possible promise of a cure as well as fulfilling the religious kudos gained from the act of pilgrimage itself. In the study, St Bryde’s Well (Dunblane & Lecropt) and St Modan’s Well (Rosneath) were adjacent to saints’ tombs and St Vildrin’s Well (Drymen) had a statue of the saint which was apparently considered holy. Although Brookes⁵⁶⁹ maintained that this argument is negated by the popularity of dedications to the Virgin Mary and the Trinity, where no relics would be available.

Arnold-Foster⁵⁷⁰ notes that no less than a fifth of the seventy dedications to St Oswald had been replaced by citations of greater saints. However, the evidence from wells, small though it is, is unequivocal. If a well changes

⁵⁶⁶ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 45-46. Jones puts forward a case to explain Welsh examples involving confusion with the “Ladi Wen” or the female guardians of some of the wells.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 45.

⁵⁶⁸ Morris, *Churches*, 86.

⁵⁶⁹ Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, 33-34.

⁵⁷⁰ Arnold-Foster cited in Rattue, *Living Stream*, 69.

dedication, the direction of change is upwards. In other cases, the well tends to preserve the old dedication when, usually, the church has lost it.

Certainly, the majority of dedications to the more exotic saints did not occur before the tenth century.⁵⁷¹ Thus, it is possible that a holy well may have endured several changes of religion and dedication throughout the centuries: pagan; Christian; early missionary saint and more exotic major saint!

There are ten holy wells that are merely known as “Chapel”; most of which not only imply the presence of a chapel, but tend to be associated with chapel sites. There are a further thirteen holy wells with no dedications and it might be supposed that these might lack associations – curiously only four have no associated sites. It would, therefore, presumably be extremely useful to this and future studies to ascertain the dedications for these twenty-three wells.

4.7 Conclusion

Table 4.15 shows a complete analysis of all the holy wells that have associations with churches, chapels, other religious sites and pre-Christian sites in the study; a total of one hundred and twelve or 74.7% of the holy wells is included and a significant number have more than one association. This number might be increased if holy wells with associations with distances greater than 250 metres were included.

The conclusions drawn from this study are mixed – it would seem that little progress has been made on the difficult problem of dedications or dating the holy wells. It is clearly difficult to determine whether a holy well was Christianised by an early missionary, used for baptisms, became holy through association with an early saint or adopted because of its proximity to a religious building or healing properties. Traditions may reflect folk memories of old gods and goddesses or rituals from pre-Christian or may just be muddled stories from more recent days. Modern tradition relates that Ffynnon Fil Feibion, a holy well in Carmarthenshire is so-named because a

⁵⁷¹ Morris, *Churches*, 91.

thousand youths fell in battle at that spot; however, the original dedication to the Holy Innocents would have been immediately apparent to pre-Reformation Welsh Catholics.

On the other hand, Bradley⁵⁷² suggests that the “past becomes a resource in the hands of the living ... which may be used to legitimise the social order” of the present. Thus, the Christian Church could use the holy wells to promote saints and those writers who wish to endorse the Celticism of their past.

However, this study has been useful when considering some of the notions about holy wells that had been assumed, but possibly never analysed in this detail before. The main finding must be that there would seem to be a definite connection between holy wells and their proximity to parish churches, churches and chapels. Although, it must be stressed that it throws little light on the reason or reasons for this juxtaposition – the chicken-and-egg nature of holy wells and churches and chapels will probably never be successfully resolved. An educated guess might be that it is likely that the holy well might have been in place before the building, as clearly it would not be possible to invent a spring of water – unless miraculous powers were used, of course!

The fact that water was necessary for churches and chapels to operate must also be a consideration; particularly for baptismal rites and purification of vessels. Thus, it might be expected that nearby water supplies would be necessary and possibly assume the name of the building; but would that water source necessarily adopt the name of the titular saint?

Holy wells associated with hospitals, monasteries and friaries might be easier to explain – clearly, a community would be in need of a water supply and it would be illogical to plan such a settlement without a source of water. The debate as to whether the water source had an importance before the building of the community is equally difficult to determine. The example of Bruce’s Well (Monkton & Prestwick) and the foundation of the hospital at

⁵⁷² Bradley, “Time regained”, 3-7.

Kingcase springs to mind; however, it is possible that the story was created later to advertise the healing properties of the holy well.

Evidence for associations between holy wells and pre-Christian sites, particularly standing stones and stone circles would appear to be sadly lacking. This might be due to site survival; although it would be wrong to assume that the database is lacking in these monuments.

The above conclusions might suggest that the study of holy wells is irrelevant, being a study of half-baked superstitions, customs and traditions. Jones⁵⁷³ suggests that such study can give useful information about the history of pre-Christian beliefs, Christianisation and early saints and missionaries. This seems a little ambitious, particularly in the prickly area of dedications and titular saints; however, it is possible that if future studies shift their efforts away from the usual considerations of saints and Celtic foundations, more interesting conclusions might be forthcoming.

Perhaps one of the first authors to consider holy wells in Scotland should have the last word on the importance of the study of this subject:

“Well-worship has a definite value as a survival. It serves to unite our own age of science with one of the far past, when the laws of nature as we understand them, were unknown. As a cult it has forsaken the busy haunts of men, but lingers still in quiet places, especially among the mountains. Superstitions die hard. The epitaph of this one has still to be written. Those who are waiting for its last breath need not be surprised if they have to wait yet awhile.”⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷³ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*, 4.

⁵⁷⁴ Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs*, 22.

Table 4.15: Holy wells with all associations

Name	Parish	Church (Parish)	Church/Chapel	Other Religious site	Pre-Christian site
Priest's Well	Alloa	Old Church of Tullibody [0m]			Maiden Stone (cist) [0m]
St Serf's Well	Alva	St Servano's Church [150m]			St Serf's Glebe [0m]
St Oswald's Well	Avondale		St Oswald's Chapel [100m]	Chapel Farm (font) [100m]	
Friars Well	Ayr		102-104 High Street [120m] Holy Trinity Chapel [250m]	Auld Kirk (friary) [50m] Dominican Priory [50 m] St Katherine's Well [130m]	
Mungo's Well	Ayr	Alloway Kirk [0m]		Cambusdoon (cross) [0m]	
St John's Well	Ayr	St John's Church [0m]			St John's Church (cist) [0m]
St Katherine's Well	Ayr		102-104 High Street [160m] Holy Trinity Chapel [215m]	Dominican Priory [0m] Old Kirk (friary) [12m] Friar's Well [10m]	Sandy Knowes (cist) [250m]
St Thomas's Well	Ayr			Hospital [0m]	
Chapel Well	Bathgate		Chapel [0 m]		
St Bridget's Well	Beith		St Bridget's Chapel [0 m]		
St Inan's Well	Beith			St Inan's Seat (saint's seat) [0m] How o'Cruxlee (cross) [260m]	
Crossbasket	Cambuslang			Crossbasket (cross) [0m]	
St Machan's Well	Campsie		St Machan's Church [50m]	St Machan's Tomb [50m]	

Name	Parish	Church (Parish)	Church/Chapel	Other Religious site	Pre-Christian site
St Shear's Well	Cardross	Cardross Old Parish Church [0m]			
St Bride's Well	Carmichael		Harleyholm Hill [30m]		Witches Stone (stone) [220m]
St Michael's Well	Carmichael	Kirk Hill [90m]			
St Mary Magdalene's Well	Carnwath		St Mary's Magdalene's Chapel [0m]		
St Oswald's Well	Cathcart	Cathcart Old Parish Church [0m]			
Chapel Well	Clackmannan		Chapelhill [30m]		
Carnell Well	Coylton		Carnell Chapel [0m]		
Chapel Well	Coylton		Raithwell [0m]		
St Bryde's Well	Coylton		St Bride's Chapel [0m]		
Monk's Well	Culross			Culross Abbey (abbey) [100m]	
St Finan's Well	Dalry				Aitnock (dun) [120 m]
St Margaret's Well	Dalziel			Dalziel House (cross) [0m]	
St Patrick's Well	Dalziel	St Patrick's Church [50m]			St Patrick's Well (cist) [75m]
Chapel Well	Douglas		Andershaw [50m]	Andershaw (font) [50m]	
Knockinhaglish	Drymen			St Vildrin's Well (saint's statue) [0m]	
St Vildrin's Well	Drymen				
St Bryde's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt		Lecropt (church) [0m]	Lecropt (Saint's tomb) [0m]	
St Philip's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt	Dunblane Cathedral [50m]		Dunblane Cathedral (monastery)	

Name	Parish	Church (Parish)	Church/Chapel	Other Religious site	Pre-Christian site
St Mary's Well	Dundonald		St Mary's Chapel [50 m]		Kemp Law (dun) [50m]
St Mary's Well	Dunlop		St Mary's Chapel [0 m]		
Holywell Cleuch	Durideer		Chapel Cleuch [0 m]		
St Cuthbert's Well	Durisdeer	St Cuthbert's Church [230 m]			
St Conal's Well	Eastwood	Pollok Church [c250m]			
Cross Well	Falkirk	Falkirk Parish Church [150 m]		Falkirk Parish Church (cross) [150 m]	
Lady Well	Glasgow		St Mungo's Church [280 m]		
St Mungo's Well (Glasgow Cathedral)	Glasgow	Glasgow Cathedral [0 m]			
St Mungo's Well (Saracen's Head)	Glasgow		St Mungo's Chapel [0 m]		
St Ninian's Well	Glasgow		Tron Church [80 m] Trongate [110 m]		
St Thenew's Well	Glasgow		St Thenew's Chapel [0m] St Thomas's Chapel [0m]		
Chapel Well	Glassford		Chapelton [0m]	Chapelton (font) [0m]	
St Constantine's Well	Govan	Govan Parish Church [100m]			
St Fillan's Well	Houston		St Fillan's Church [0m]	St Fillan's (font) [0 m] Kilallan (font) [0 m] St Fillan's Seat (saint's seat) [0m]	Kiliallan 1, 2 & 3 (standing stones) [0m] Kneelins (standing stone) [0m]
Chapel Well	Inverchaolain		Fearnoch [25m]		

Name	Parish	Church (Parish)	Church/Chapel	Other Religious site	Pre-Christian site
Priest's Well	Inverchaolain			Newton (burial ground) [50m]	
Chrisswell	Inverkip		Chrisswell Chapel (1) [50m] Chrisswell Chapel (2) [80m]		
St Mary's Well	Irvine		St Mary's Chapel [90 m]		
St Bryde's	Kilbarchan		St Bryde's Chapel [0m]	St Bryde's House (house) [0m]	
St Molaise's Well	Kilbride			St Molaise's Table (saint's seat) [70m] St Molaise's Cave [70m]	St Molaise's Table (stone) [70m]
Our Lady's Well	Kilmarnock	Laigh Kirk [75 m]			
St Marnock's Well	Kilmaronock	Kilmaronock Parish Church [c250m]		Kilmaronock Parish Church (cross slab) [c250m]	
Lady's Well	Kilmaurs		St Maur's Church [130m]		
St Modan's Well	Kilmodan		St Modan's Chapel [50 m]		Lepinkill (cairn) [50m]
Tobar a'Phiobain	Kilmodan			Glendaurel (monk's cell) [50m]	
Tobar n'Annait	Kilmodan		Tobar n'Annait [0m]		
Benbecarrigan	Kilmory		St Mary's Chapel [c250m]		
St Mirren's Well	Kilsyth				St Mirren's Well (standing stone) [0 m]
Kyle's Well	Kilwinning			Kilwinning Abbey (cell) [170m]	

Name	Parish	Church (Parish)	Church/Chapel	Other Religious site	Pre-Christian site
St Winning's Well	Kilwinning				Kilwinnin (barrow) [170m]
St Blane's Well	Kingarth	St Blane's Church [0m]		St Blane's Church (oratory) [50m] St Blane's church (monastery) [75m] St Blane's (cross)[105m] Saint's Tomb [240 m] Suidhe Blain (saint's seat) [700m]	St Blane's Church (cairn) [170m]
St Cattan's Well	Kingarth		Little Kilchattan Chapel [90m]		
St Mauvais' Well	Kippen	Kippen Church (1 & 2) [75m]			
Chapel Well	Kirkmichael		Chapel Knowe [0m]		
Lady Well	Kirkoswald				Kennel Mount (cairn) [180m]
St Mungo's Well	Lanark	St Nicholas's Chapel [130m]			
St Patrick's Well	Lanark			St Peter's Well [0 m]	
St Peter's Well	Lanark			St Patrick's Well [0 m]	
Fairlie	Largs		Fairlie [0m]		
St Fillan's Well (1)	Largs		Annatyrd [200m]		
St Fillan's Well (2)	Largs		St Fillan's Chapel [0m]		
Cross Well	Linlithgow			St Michael's Well (holy well) [190m]	
St Magdalene's Well	Linlithgow			St Mary Magdalene's Hospital [c100m]	
St Michael's Well	Linlithgow			Cross Well (holy well) [190m]	

Name	Parish	Church (Parish)	Church/Chapel	Other Religious site	Pre-Christian site
St Paul's Well	Linlithgow		St Mary's Chapel (chapel) [0m]	Augustinian Friary (friary) [0m]	
Johnshill Well	Lochwinnoch	St Winnock's Church [210m]			
Warlocks Gate	Lochwinnoch			Warlock Gate [0m]	
Glen Chapel Holm	Loudoun		Glen Chapel Holm [0m]	Glen Chapel Holm (font) [0m]	
St Michael's Well	Mauchline	Mauchline Old Church [130m]	St Michael's Chapel [130m]	Abbot Hunter's House [150m]	
Ladycross Well	Maybole				Ladycross Well (stone) [0m]
St Patrick's Well	Maybole				Knowside (dun) [80m]
Bruce's Well	Monkton & Prestwick		Kingcase [0m]	Kingcase (hospital) [0 m]	
Lady Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Prestwick Old Church [140m]		St Nicholas's Well [0m]	
St Nicholas's Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Prestwick Old Church [100m]		Lady Well [0m]	
Lady's Well	Neilston		Aboon the Brae [100m]		
St Conel's Well	Neilston		Chapell House [0m]		
Ambrismore	North Bute				Carnahouston (fort) [200m]
Cruikland Chapel	North Bute		Kilchousland Chapel [0m]		
Lover's Well	North Bute		St Michael's Chapel [c50m]		
St Patrick's Well	Old Kilpatrick		Old Kilpatrick's Church [90m]		Old Kilpatrick (cist) [100m]
Priest's Well	Rhu		St Michael's Chapel [0m]	Priest's House [0m]	

Name	Parish	Church (Parish)	Church/Chapel	Other Religious site	Pre-Christian site
St Modan's Well	Rosneath	St Modan's Church [210m]		St Modan's Shrine [210m]	
St Mary's Well	Rothsay	St Mary's Church [0m]	St Mary's Kilmary [0m]	St Mary's Church (cross) [0m]	St Mary's Church (stone) [0m]
Kate's Well	Shotts		St Catherine's Chapel [100m]		
High St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	Slamannan Church [130m]		St Lawrence Well [250m]	
St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	Slamannan Church [230m]		St Lawrence Well [250m]	
St Cuthbert's Well	Sorn		St Cuthbert's Chapel [0m]	St Cuthbert's Field [110m]	
Christ's Well	St Ninians		Cambusbarren [50m]		
Monk's Well	Stewarton		Chapeltoun [190m]		
St Ninian's Well	Stirling		St Ninian's Chapel [0m]	Allan Park (hospital) [230m]	
St Thomas's Well	Stirling		St Thomas's Chapel [0m]	Hogback stone [0m]	
St Anthony's Well	Stonehouse			Spittal House (hospital) [90m]	
St Lawrence's Well	Stonehouse		St Lawrence's Chapel [0m]		
St Ninian's Well	Stonehouse	St Ninian's Church [190m]			
St Patrick's Well	Stonehouse				St Ninian's Church (cist) [190m]
Chapel Well	Straiton		Chapel [50m]		
St Blane's Well	Strathblane				
St Kessog's Well	Strathblane		St Kessog's Chapel [0m]		

Name	Parish	Church (Parish)	Church/Chapel	Other Religious site	Pre-Christian site
St Patrick's Well	Strathblane				Middletone (standing stone) [230m]
Tobar Cill Moire	Strathlachan		Kilmorie Chapel [100m]	Kilmorie Burial Ground (cross) [100m]	

5 Some Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

“Churches *are* places. Most of the c. 12,000 ancient sites represent decisions taken before the thirteenth century, sometimes long before, when churches were located in relation to other components of the pattern of the landscape – roads, dwellings, cemeteries, fortifications, fields, earlier places of worship – some or all of which may since have altered or disappeared.”⁵⁷⁵

Arguably, Morris’s observations about English church-building would have been equally true for most building projects during those centuries, including those in Scotland. The Early and High Middle Ages was a time of expansion of population which led to the eventual growth of market towns and cities. However, the earlier landscape to which he refers must have remained relatively uncluttered; apart from natural features, contemporary building projects, plus residual architectural structures and buildings from yet-earlier eras. Would it then be logical to suggest that such builders and founders throughout their immediate regions, England, Scotland and possibly Britain might then make similar decisions as to locations of their buildings and their juxtaposition to pre-existing structures or natural features in the landscape? If so, then such decisions might then be seen in the landscape as identifiable patterns and, in essence, the identification of such patterns was the aim of this thesis.

As seen above, in order to avoid preconceived and previously defined notions concerning the type-sites within the study, holy wells and court hills were considered as neither type-site had been the subject of previous in-depth studies.

⁵⁷⁵ Morris, *Churches*, 3.

5.2 Wells

As noted above, holy wells in Scotland have been identified and described in three main studies;⁵⁷⁶ although no serious attempt appears to have been made to research or analyse their place within the landscape. Indeed, no concerted effort seems to have been made to locate all the wells within the topography of Scotland. More in-depth studies of holy wells have been undertaken, but with the exception of Jones⁵⁷⁷, the resulting books⁵⁷⁸ tend to be of a more general nature drawing examples from a number of British counties and foreign countries. Proximity of holy wells to chapels and churches is often assumed by writers on wells, but, with the possible exception of Jones⁵⁷⁹, nothing seems to have been done to verify the hypothesis, thus holy wells seemed entirely suitable as type-site for study.

5.3 Court hills

Court hills, on the other hand, had been included as curiosities in *Statistical Accounts*, *Name Books* and in the occasional footnote, with the possible exception of Barrow's paper on Early Medieval popular courts in Scotland.⁵⁸⁰ More recently, O'Grady's thesis⁵⁸¹ identified, described and assessed open-air judicial assemblies in Medieval Scotland, which include court hills; this is undoubtedly a formidable work, drew together a huge amount of previously dispersed evidence. This is a vast subject and O'Grady is to be congratulated on the sheer volume of data and area covered. However, this study was somewhat different in nature; in that geographical and subject areas considerably smaller. It may also suggested a slightly different approach to the study of elements within the historical and archaeological landscape.

⁵⁷⁶ Walker, "Holy Wells of Scotland"; Mackinlay, *Scottish Lochs* and Morris & Morris, *Scottish Healing Wells*.

⁵⁷⁷ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*.

⁵⁷⁸ Rattue, *Living Stream*; Strang, V., *Meaning of Water*.

⁵⁷⁹ Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*.

⁵⁸⁰ Barrow, "Popular Courts".

⁵⁸¹ O'Grady, *Open-air Assemblies*.

5.3.1 Conclusion

Thus far, the studies of holy wells and court hills above have certainly been able to identify patterns that clearly agree with juxtapositions with equivalent sites as noted in other studies. A high proportion of holy wells (74.7%), for example, appear to be associated with Christian and pre-Christian sites⁵⁸². However, it was interesting to note that holy wells appeared to be associated with more than twice as many chapels (38.7%) as were with parish churches (18.7%). Furthermore, 31.3% of the holy wells appear to be associated with other religious sites, whereas only 14.7% with pre-Christian sites.

5.3.2 What might be extrapolated from these results?

The main problem with formulating any meaningful hypotheses regarding holy wells is that it is almost impossible to assess whether any or all of the holy wells pre-date the associated sites. If, as some commentators⁵⁸³ believe, it could be proven that holy wells were originally pagan sacred wells that had been Christianised by early Christians, it might be possible to speculate as to why a higher proportion of chapels than parish churches appear to have been built near holy wells⁵⁸⁴. On the other hand, if it could be established that wells became holy merely by virtue of their proximity and/or use⁵⁸⁵ by the founder of an early chapel, an alternative inference might perhaps be suggested. Unfortunately, therefore, it is only possible to speculate and thus, perhaps, in the case of holy wells, it might be sufficient to merely note the findings of the study, rather than try to draw any inferences as to whether the presence of holy wells had any influence in the siting of religious sites, including churches and chapels.

⁵⁸² For this study, a distance of 250 m was used to indicate an association.

⁵⁸³ For example: Vince writing in 1978 "The tradition of worship at wells was deeply embedded in the pagan mind. Christianity redirected these observances and saints presided over the benefits attributed to the waters." cited in Rattue, *Living Stream*, 1.

⁵⁸⁴ For example: that these were early foundations as the sacredness of the pagan wells was extant and it was important for the early Christians to Christianise them and/or take on their inherent sanctity.

⁵⁸⁵ Morris, *Churches*, 239. Morris suggests that one of the considerations of site-selection for a church or chapel was a water supply.

On the other hand, available evidence might suggest that in the main, court hills, whether natural or man-made, were already *in situ* well before any Early Medieval ecclesiastical builders wielded a trowel in their vicinity.⁵⁸⁶ Excavations at the Secklow Hundred Mound in Buckinghamshire⁵⁸⁷ suggest that it was not a pre-existing landscape feature but was purpose-built during the Early Medieval period; however, this was still before the main church-building period. Comparisons between Anglo-Saxon hundredal mounds and Scottish court hills may not be entirely valid, except to suggest that both had similar open-air judicial function. The hundredal mounds were clearly an Anglo-Saxon phenomena in use during the Anglo-Saxon period and, as such, may have been newly-constructed or utilised pre-existing assembly sites. If it were possible, comparisons with sub-Roman assembly sites might be more appropriate than with Anglo-Saxon hundredal sites, as it might seem more likely that the use of court hills in Scotland had continued into the Early Medieval period from earlier eras.

It might then be possible to attempt to draw some conclusions or, at the very least, make some inferences from the data relating to court hills produced in Chapter 3. Perhaps, the most noteworthy statistics and information concerns the juxtaposition of parish churches to court hills and possible interpretations and implications will be discussed below. Morris suggested “Churches *are* places...” and, curiously, the previously-overlooked court hill may have the potential to suggest how some of those decisions may have been made when locating these “places” within the landscape of the NS map-square. It might then be possible to deduce that these considerations were used in other regions or, at least, throughout the western part of Scotland.

⁵⁸⁶ O’Grady, *Open-air Assemblies*, 379. O’Grady suggests that “Historically-attested outdoor courts from the 12th to 17th centuries were associated with a variety of settings”, including “natural hills, mounds, cairns, stone circles and standing stones”; although clearly there were hills that appear to have been constructed for the purpose such as Doomster Hill (Govan parish).

⁵⁸⁷ Adkins & Petchy, “Secklow Hundred Mound”, 246.

5.4 Parishes – Modern and Pre-Reformation

As discussed previously at length above⁵⁸⁸, the main source for assembling the sites for the database was Canmore and the parish-structure used similarly reflected that resource. Canmore uses the parish-structure based on the civil parish list as it was before 1975, when it was finally abolished.⁵⁸⁹ Morris⁵⁹⁰ and Cowan⁵⁹¹ stress that parish boundaries, both in England and Scotland respectively, appear to have been variable and unfixed from their inception. However, when trying to relate court hills to their surroundings, it became increasingly clear that it was impossible to make any meaningful deductions by continuing to use the 1975 parish boundaries.

Both Morris and Cowan have clearly been very influential in the formulation of this study. Cowan's work on medieval parishes, though possibly a little dated, is still among the most useful sources, particularly his definitive list of medieval parishes, without which providing a *terminus post quem* for the foundation of the parish churches within this study. Similarly, Morris's formidable work on churches in the landscapes may also be considered somewhat outdated, however, it was a work that inspired a great deal of this thesis.

Clearly, even assuming that it would be possible to establish pre-Reformation parish boundaries in Scotland, the variable nature of those boundaries could only add to the confusion. To complicate matters further, over the centuries, parishes were reformed by joining together, splitting or by areas disjoining from larger parishes. By using Cowan's definitive list of pre-Reformation parishes; however, it is possible to at least name the pre-Reformation parishes within the study area.⁵⁹² Although, obviously, it is not possible to accurately delineate the exact

⁵⁸⁸ Chapter 2: Methodology.

⁵⁸⁹ Civil parishes in Scotland had their origins in the ecclesiastical parishes of the Church of Scotland; however, they had no direct administrative function since 1930, when they were replaced by larger elected district councils, which then abolished in 1975.

⁵⁹⁰ Morris, *Churches*, 230. Precise positions of parish boundaries in England were not fixed until the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.

⁵⁹¹ Cowan, "Parochial system", 9.

⁵⁹² Cowan, *Parishes*.

boundaries of Cowan's medieval parishes, this will not affect the distances between the sites and an approximation of the boundaries will suffice for the purposes of this study.

Counties were originally included in the database as they appeared in Canmore; they have proved useful in locating the parishes within the map-square and for comparing the various regions. Obviously, using modern (as at 1975) counties with pre-Reformation parishes would be anachronistic, but they have been included, again for the purposes of location and comparison.

There are one hundred and sixty nine parishes, as at 1975, in the database; however, this number is subject to change when the following factors are taken into account. These changes were noted in Table 2.3, however, a brief recap might be useful.

5.4.1 Parishes formed post-Reformation

There are nineteen parishes in the database that were formed after the Reformation usually by areas disjoining from other parishes. These parishes will be removed from the list of medieval parishes. Alloa presents a dilemma as "A chapel of Clackmannan, pertaining to Cambuskenneth as such, it was still a pendicle of that parish at the Reformation, although probably quasi-parochial."⁵⁹³ Thus an arbitrary decision was made to retain Alloa in this study.

How the other parishes were united is relatively self-explanatory, in that the parishes involved are obvious in the name, with the exception of Bo'ness & Carriden. Bo'ness & Carriden was formed in 1895 and contained three parishes of Borrowstounness, Kinneil & Carriden; although Borrowtounness (or Borrowstownness) had been formed from the larger parish of Kinneil after the Reformation.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid*, 5.

The parishes are as follows:

- Dunoon & Kilmun (Argyllshire)
- Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich (Argyllshire)
- Alloway & Ayr (Ayrshire)
- Craigie & Barnweill (Ayrshire)
- Dreghorn & Pierstoun (Ayrshire)
- Monkton & Prestwick (Ayrshire)
- Alloa & Tullibody (Clackmannanshire)
- Covington & Thankerton (Lanarkshire)
- Lamington & Wandel (Lanarkshire)
- Libberton & Quothquhan (Lanarkshire)
- Wiston & Robertson (Lanarkshire)
- Dunblane & Lecropt (Perthshire)
- Bo'ness & Carriden (West Lothian)

5.4.2 *Parishes split post-Reformation:*

Again, self-explanatory and the affected parishes are as follows:

- Cumnock⁵⁹⁴ became New & Old Cumnock (Ayrshire)
- Kilpatrick⁵⁹⁵ became Old & New or East Kilpatrick (Dunbartonshire)
- Monkland⁵⁹⁶ became Old or West & New or East Monkland (Lanarkshire)

5.4.3 *Pre-Reformation parishes not included in the study*

Four medieval parishes described by Cowan have not been included as they probably did not ever possess parochial status;⁵⁹⁷ became parochial later;⁵⁹⁸ or quickly ceased to be parochial.⁵⁹⁹

When all these factors are taken into account, the resulting list of pre-Reformation parishes within the NS map-square numbers one hundred and sixty-four as shown in Table 5.1.

⁵⁹⁴ NSA, (New Cumnock), 480. "In 1650, the extensive parish of Cumnock was divided, and the southern division was formed into a distinct parish called *New Cumnock*, for which a new parish church was built."

⁵⁹⁵ NSA, (New Kilpatrick), 41. "As a separate parish, New Kilpatrick is of comparatively modern date, having been disjoined from Old Kilpatrick in 1649."

⁵⁹⁶ OSA, (New Monkland), 513. "The parishes of Old and New Monkland, were formerly united, under the general name of Monkland, ... But part of it being erected into a separate parish, about the year 1640, it was called *New Monkland*, and the other district Old Monkland, for distinction's sake."

⁵⁹⁷ Cowan, *Parishes*, 166. Polmadie was probably only ever represented by a hospital.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 198. Although Torrance had a hospital with associated church before 1296, it lay within the parish of Kilbride and did not appear as parochial until 1532.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 165-6, 6. Altermunin ceased to be a parish after David, earl of Huntingdon granted it to Kelso (1165 x 1189) and Pollok was granted to Paisley before the end of the twelfth century; however it ceased to be parochial after 1265.

Table 5.1: Medieval Parishes within the map-square according to Cowan (pre-1350 parishes are marked in red)

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
1	Argyllshire	Dunoon	Glassery Argyll	1	Tom a'Mhoid	1543	Royal [James II]
2	Argyllshire	Inverchaolain	Glassery Argyll	1	Dunan	c1250	Unidentified
				2	Ardein		
3	Argyllshire	Kilmodan	Glassery Argyll	1	Judge's Mound	by 1425	Unidentified
4	Argyllshire	Kilmorich	Glassery Argyll	-	-	c1246	Lord [Gilchrist Malcolm Macnachtan]
5	Argyllshire	Kilmun	Glassery Argyll	-	-	mid C13	Lord [Duncan, son of Fercher and Laumannus, son of Malcolm (1230 x 46)]
6	Argyllshire	Lochgoilhead	Glassery Argyllshire	-	-	1441	Lord [Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe (founder)]
7	Argyllshire	Strathlachan [Kilmorie, Kilmoir]	Glassery Argyll	-	-	before C16	Unidentified
8	Ayrshire	Alloway	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow		Moat of Alloway	by 1327	Unidentified
9	Ayrshire	Ardrossan	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	1226	Unidentified
10	Ayrshire	Auchinleck [Affleck]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	c1238	Lord [unidentified]
11	Ayrshire	Ayr	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	by 1327	Unidentified
12	Ayrshire	Ballantrae [Kirkcudbright- Innertig]	Carrick Glasgow	1	Court Knowe 2	mid C13	Unidentified
				2	Court Knowe 1		

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
13	Ayrshire	Barnweill	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	Barnweill	before 1335	Unidentified
14	Ayrshire	Beith	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	Court Hill	before 1286	Unidentified
15	Ayrshire	Colmonnel [Kilcolmonell]	Carrick Glasgow	-	-	before 1179	Unidentified
16	Ayrshire	Coylton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	before 1501	Unidentified
17	Ayrshire	Craigie	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Judgement Seat	c1177	Lord [Walter Hose or Cragyn]
				2	Highlangside/ Craigie		
18	Ayrshire	Cumnock	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Court Knowe	1401 x 55	Lord [Dunbars of Cumnock]
				2	Motehill		
19	Ayrshire	Dailly	Carrick Glasgow	1	Baron's Rock of Killochan	before 1214 x 16	Lord [Duncan, son of Gilbert, earl of Carrick]
20	Ayrshire	Dalmellington	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Dalmellington Mote	before 1501	Unidentified
21	Ayrshire	Dalry [Clachan]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Court Hill	1226	Unidentified
				2	Courthill		
				3	Law Hill		
22	Ayrshire	Dalrymple	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	before 1501	Unidentified
23	Ayrshire	Dreghorn [Langdregarine]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	before early C16	Unidentified
24	Ayrshire	Dundonald	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	c1221	Lord [Walter II, son of Alan, steward of Scotland]
25	Ayrshire	Dunlop	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Court Hill	mid C15	Unidentified
				2	Craighead Law		

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
26	Ayrshire	Galston	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	“early date”	Unidentified
27	Ayrshire	Girvan [Innergarvanne]	Carrick Glasgow	1	Knockcushion	after 1236	Unidentified
28	Ayrshire	Irvine	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Salmon Hill	before 1323	Unidentified
29	Ayrshire	Kilbirnie	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	before 1410 x 30	Unidentified
30	Ayrshire	Kilbride	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	before early C16	Unidentified
31	Ayrshire	Kilmarnock	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Judas Hill	before 1312	Unidentified
32	Ayrshire	Kilmaurs	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	The Mote	c1170	Lord [Robert, son of Wernebal]
33	Ayrshire	Kilwinning	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	c1162	Unidentified
34	Ayrshire	Kirkmichael [Munterdove]	Carrick Glasgow	-	-	before 1381	Unidentified
35	Ayrshire	Kirkoswald [Turnberry]	Carrick Glasgow	-	-	before 1214 x 16	Lord [Duncan, son of Gilbert, earl of Carrick]
36	Ayrshire	Largs [Kirbride]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Judge’s Mound	before 1174- 99	Lord [?Roger de Scalebroc]
37	Ayrshire	Loudoun	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Judge’s Hill	1238-9	Lord [“one of the family of Moreville”]
38	Ayrshire	Mauchline	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	by 1178	Unidentified
39	Ayrshire	Maybole	Carrick Glasgow	-	-	early C13	Lord [Duncan, earl of Carrick (1214 x 50)]

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
40	Ayrshire	Monkton [Monks St Cuthbert]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	1165 x 72	Lord [Walter Fitzallan, founder]
41	Ayrshire	Ochiltree	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	early C13	Lord [Sir John Colvillem]
42	Ayrshire	Pierstoun	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Lawthorn Mount	unknown	Unidentified
43	Ayrshire	Prestwick [Monk's Preswick] [Prestwick St Cuthbert]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	1165 x 72	Lord [Walter Fitz-Allan, founder]
44	Ayrshire	Riccarton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Riccarton	c1221	Lord [Walter II, son of Alan, steward of Scotland]
45	Ayrshire	St Quivox [Sancher-in-Kyle]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow			c.1221	Lord Walter II, son of Alan, Steward of Scotland
46	Ayrshire	Stevenson	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	late C12	Lord [possibly Steven, son of Richard]
47	Ayrshire	Stewarton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Law Mount	1152 x 89	Unidentified
48	Ayrshire	Straiton	Carrick Glasgow	1	Dalmorton	1214 x16	Lord [Duncan, son of Gilbert, earl of Carrick]
49	Ayrshire	Symington	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	1259	Unidentified
50	Ayrshire	Tarbolton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Tarbolton Mote	1335	Lord [John de Graham, lord of Tarbolton]
				2	Law		
51	Buteshire	Cumbræe	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	-	-	c1316	Lord [Walter, the High Steward]

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
52	Buteshire	Kilbride	Isles	1	St Molaise's Table	c1337	Lord [John of Menteith, lord of Arran and Knapdale]
53	Buteshire	Kingarth	Isles	-	-	1204	Lord [Alan the Steward]
54	Buteshire	Kilmory [Kilmorie]	Isles	-	-	1357	Lord [John of Menteith, lord of Arran and Knapdale]
55	Buteshire	Rothesay	Isles	-	-	1397 x 1406	Royal [James Stewart, the grandson of Robert III]
56	Clackmannanshire	Alloa	Fothric St Andrews	-	-	before Reformation	Unidentified
57	Clackmannanshire	Alva	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	-	-	1170 x 1179	Unidentified
58	Clackmannanshire	Clackmannan	Fothric St Andrews	-	-	1147 x 53	Royal [David I]
59	Clackmannanshire	Dollar	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	-	-	c1336	Unidentified
60	Clackmannanshire	Fossoway	Dunblane	-	-	1305 x 08	Lord [Gilbert de Hay]
61	Clackmannanshire	Tillicoultry	Dunblane	1	Tillicoultry	1189 x 95	Royal [William the Lion]
62	Clackmannanshire	Tullibody	Fothric St Andrews	1	Tullibody	c1170	Lord [Simon, son of Macbeth]
63	Dumfriesshire	Durisdeer	Nithdale Glasgow	-	-	by 1375	Unidentified
64	Dumfriesshire	Kirkconnel	Nithsdale Glasgow	-	-	by 1274	Unidentified

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
65	Dumfriesshire	Morton	Nithsdale Glasgow	1	Judgement Thorn	1171 x 78	Lord [Hugo]
66	Dumfriesshire	Penpont	Nithsdale Glasgow	-	-	C13	Unidentified
67	Dumfriesshire	Sanquhar	Nithsdale Glasgow	1	Sanquhar	by mid C15	Lord [Crichtons, lords of Sanquhar]
68	Dunbartonshire	Bonhill [Buchnull]	Lennox Glasgow	-	-	by c1454	Unidentified
69	Dunbartonshire	Cardross [Kilmahew]	Lennox Glasgow	-	-	1108 x 33	Lord [Maldoven, earl of Lennox]
70	Dunbartonshire	Dumbarton	Lennox Glasgow	-	-	1320	Royal [Robert I]
71	Dunbartonshire	Kilmaronock [Kilmoronock]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Catterlaw	1324/5	Royal [Robert I]
72	Dunbartonshire	Kilpatrick	Lennox Glasgow	1	Dawsholm Park	c1199	Lord [Alwin (II), earl of Lennox]
73	Dunbartonshire	Kirkintilloch [Leinyie, Lenyie]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Towe Hill	end C12	Lord [William, son of Thorald, sheriff of Stirling]
74	Dunbartonshire	Luss	Lennox Glasgow	1	Court Hill	c1430	Lord [Colquhouns of Luss]
75	Dunbartonshire	Rosneath [Neveth]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Tom a'Mhoid	1225/6	Lord [Amelec, son of Maldoven, earl of Lennox]
				2	Tom a'Mhoid		
76	Fife	Culross	Dunblane	-	-	1217	Lord [Malcolm, earl of Fife, founder]
77	Fife	Tulliallan	Dunblane	1	Tulliallan	1237	Lord [unidentified]

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
78	Kirkcudbrightshire	Dalry [St John's Town of Dalry]	Glenken/Desnes Galloway	-	-	unknown	Lord [?earls of March]
79	Lanarkshire	Avondale [Strathaven]	Rutherglen	-	-	1228	Lord [Hugh de Bygre]
80	Lanarkshire	Blantyre	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	mid C13	Unidentified
81	Lanarkshire	Bothwell	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	before 1397/8	Lord [Archibald, earl of Douglas]
82	Lanarkshire	Cadder	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Cadder Mote	1153 x 64	Royal [Malcolm IV]
83	Lanarkshire	Cambuslang [Drumsagart]	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1439	Lord [Archibald, 3 rd earl of Douglas]
84	Lanarkshire	Cambusnethan	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1159	Lord [William de Finemund]
85	Lanarkshire	Carluke [Eglismalesoch] [Forest Kirk]	Lanark Glasgow	1	Law of Mauldslie	1274 x 1329	Royal [Robert I]
86	Lanarkshire	Carmichael [Kirkmichael]	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	before 1179	Unidentified
87	Lanarkshire	Carmunnock	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	c1180	Lord [Henry, son of Anselm]
88	Lanarkshire	Carnwath	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	1164 x 74	Lord [William of Summerville, founder]
89	Lanarkshire	Carstairs [Castletarras]	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	1170	Unidentified
90	Lanarkshire	Covington	Lanark Glasgow	1	Covington	C12	Lord [“ lords of the manor”]

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
91	Lanarkshire	Crawford [Crawford- Douglas] [Crawford- Lindsay]	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	before 1164	Unidentified
92	Lanarkshire	Crawfordjohn [Crawford-John]	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	c1160	Lord [Wice, Lord of Wiston]
93	Lanarkshire	Dalserf [Machanshire]	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	c1116	Unidentified
94	Lanarkshire	Dalziel	Rutherglen Glasgow	`	Cross Stone	1199	Unidentified
95	Lanarkshire	Douglas	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	before 1423	Unidentified
96	Lanarkshire	East Kilbride [Kilbride]	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Meikle Dripps	1118 x 47	Unidentified
97	Lanarkshire	Glasgow	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Mutehill	1118 x 47	Unidentified
98	Lanarkshire	Glassford [Glasford]	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	before 1494	Lord [Lords Semphill]
99	Lanarkshire	Govan	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Doomster Hill	before 1152	Royal [David I]
100	Lanarkshire	Hamilton [Cadzow]	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Mote Hill	c1150	Royal [David I]
101	Lanarkshire	Lamington	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	“from an early period”	Lord [“lords of the manor”]
102	Lanarkshire	Lanark	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	c1150	Royal [David I]
103	Lanarkshire	Lesmahagow	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	1144	Royal [David I]

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
104	Lanarkshire	Libberton	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	c1360	Lord [John Maxwell of that ilk]
105	Lanarkshire	Monkland [Badermanock]	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1153-64	Royal [Malcolm IV]
106	Lanarkshire	Nemphlar	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	1165 x 1214	Royal [William the Lion]
107	Lanarkshire	Pettinain	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	c1150	Royal [David I]
108	Lanarkshire	Quothquhan	Lanark Glasgow			mid C13th	Lord [Somervilles of Carnwath]
109	Lanarkshire	Roberton	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	(1153 x 59)	Lord [Wice, lord of the vill of Wiston]
110	Lanarkshire	Rutherglen	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	1177 x 89	Royal [William the Lion]
111	Lanarkshire	Shotts [Bertramshotts]	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	before 1476	Unidentified
112	Lanarkshire	Stonehouse	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	before 1397/8	Lord [Archibald, earl of Douglas]
113	Lanarkshire	Symington	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	c1160 Lord	Lord [Simon Locard]
114	Lanarkshire	Thankerton [St John's Kirk, Tyntou]	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	c1180	Lord [Aneis de Brus]
115	Lanarkshire	Wandel [Hartside, Quendal]	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	"from earliest times"	Lord ["the lords of the manor"]
116	Lanarkshire	Wiston	Lanark Glasgow	-	-	1153 x59	Lord [Wice, lord of the vill of Wiston]
117	Midlothian	West Calder [Calder-Comitis]	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	1154 x 59	Lord [Duncan, earl of Fife]

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
118	Perthshire	Aberfoyle	Dunblane	-	-	by 1500	Unidentified
119	Perthshire	Dunblane	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	1	The Judge's Cairn	"an early date"	Unidentified
120	Perthshire	Kilmadock	Dunblane	-	-	by 1429	Unidentified
121	Perthshire	Kincardine	Dunblane	1	Cuthelton	1189 x 96	Royal [William the Lion]
122	Perthshire	Lecropt	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	1	Court Hill	1260	Unidentified
123	Perthshire	Muckhart	Fothric St Andrews			C13	Unidentified
124	Perthshire	Port of Menteith	Dunblane	1	Tomavoid	1238	Lord [Walter, earl of Menteith]
125	Renfrewshire	Cathcart	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Court Knowe	1165 x 73	Lord [Walter Fitz-Alan]
126	Renfrewshire	Eaglesham	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	The Orry	before c1430	Lord [lords of Mongomerie]
				2	Garret Law		
127	Renfrewshire	Eastwood	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	before 1265	Unidentified
128	Renfrewshire	Erskine	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1165 x 73	Lord [Walter Fitzallan]
129	Renfrewshire	Houston [Killellan, Kilallan]	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1202 x 27	Lord [Walter Fitzallan, the high steward]
130	Renfrewshire	Inchinnan	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1124 x 53	Royal [David I]
131	Renfrewshire	Inverkip	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	c1170	Lord [Baldwin de Bigre, sheriff of Lanark]
132	Renfrewshire	Kilbarchan	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1165 x 73	Lord [Walter Fitz-Alan]
133	Renfrewshire	Kilmacolm	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1165 x 73	Lord [Walter Fitzallan]

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
134	Renfrewshire	Lochwinnoch	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1163 x 65	Lord [Walter Fitzalan, founder]
135	Renfrewshire	Mearns	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	1188 x 99	Lord [Helias, son of Fulbert & brother of Robert & Peter de Polloc]
136	Renfrewshire	Neilston	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	early C13	Lord [William de Hertford]
137	Renfrewshire	Paisley	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Queen Blearie's Mound	c1163	Lord [Walter son of Alan, steward of Scotland]
138	Renfrewshire	Renfrew	Rutherglen Glasgow	-	-	c1163	Royal [David I]
139	Stirlingshire	Airth [Hereth]	Linlithgow St Andrews	1	Airth	c1130	Royal [David I]
140	Stirlingshire	Baldernock	Lennox Glasgow	-	-	unknown	Lord [the lordship of Bardowie]
141	Stirlingshire	Balfron	Lennox Glasgow	-	-	c1303	Lord [Sir Thomas de Cromennane]
142	Stirlingshire	Buchanan [Inchailoch] [Iniscailloch]	Lennox Glasgow	-	-	unknown	Lord [unidentified]
143	Stirlingshire	Campsie	Lennox Glasgow	1	Courthill of Craigbarnet	1165 x 89	Lord [David, earl of Huntington]
144	Stirlingshire	Drymen	Lennox Glasgow	-	-	early C13	Unidentified
145	Stirlingshire	Dunipace	Linlithgow St Andrews	1	Law Hill	1140 x 58	Unidentified
146	Stirlingshire	Falkirk [Eglesbrich] [Varia Capella]	Linlithgow St Andrews	1	Mote	1164	Unidentified

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
147	Stirlingshire	Fintry	Lennox Glasgow	-	-	before 1453-4	Lord [?earls of Lennox]
148	Stirlingshire	Gargunnoch	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	before Reformation	Unidentified
149	Stirlingshire	Bothkennar	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	1250 x 65	Unidentified
150	Stirlingshire	Killlearn	Lennox Glasgow	-	-	c1430	Lord [Patrick, lord Graham]
151	Stirlingshire	Kilsyth [Monyabroch]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Court Hill	early C13	Lord [earls of Lennox]
				2	Mote Hill		
152	Stirlingshire	Kippen	Dunblane	-	-	1238	Lord [Walter, earl of Menteith]
153	Stirlingshire	Larbert	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	1140 x 58	Unidentified
154	Stirlingshire	Logie [Logie-Atheron] [Logie-Wallach]	Dunblane	-	-	1158 x 78	Lord [Duncan, fifth earl of Fife]
155	Stirlingshire	Slamannan	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	unknown	Lord [unidentified]
156	Stirlingshire	St Ninians [Kirkton, Eaglis Ninian]	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	1140 x 58	Unidentified
157	Stirlingshire	Stirling	Linlithgow St Andrews	1	Mote Hill	c1150	Royal [David I]
158	Stirlingshire	Strathblane	Lennox Glasgow	1	Lawstone of Mugdock	by 1249	Lord [?earls of Lennox]
				2	Moothill		
159	West Lothian	Bathgate	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	before 1159	Unidentified

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Date	Royal/Lord/Church/Unidentified [Personalities – if known]
				No.	Courthills		
160	West Lothian	Carriden	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	1147 x 53	Unidentified
161	West Lothian	Kenneil	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	before 1161	Lord+ [Herbert, the king's chamberlain]
162	West Lothian	Ecclesmachan [Inchmachan]	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	late C13	Unidentified
163	West Lothian	Linlithgow	Linlithgow St Andrews	1	Jock's Hill	c1138	Royal [David I]
164	West Lothian	Torphichen	Linlithgow St Andrews	-	-	before 1448	Unidentified

5.5 Parishes, extensive lordship & *scirs*

Cowan⁶⁰⁰ suggests that prior to the twelfth century, Scotland was divided into a small number of large ecclesiastical areas, served by clergy at central proprietary churches. Although the process of founding lesser churches had probably been initiated earlier, a more local parochial system⁶⁰¹ was not readily discernable until the reign of David I (1124-53). The actual process and timescale for the development of this system appears to be shrouded in the mists of time; although it might appear that if not responsible for its initiation, the migration of Anglo-Continental nobility into Scotland was certainly influential in the process of church reform.⁶⁰²

It is possible that the most straightforward method of parochial development was to utilise pre-existing structures and boundaries; the most obvious being what Cowan⁶⁰³ designates “the feudal unit – the vill”. This association seems to have been confirmed by an ‘assize’ of David I that allowed for the support of the church on a particular estate to be met by a compulsory tithe levied on that estate. Faith⁶⁰⁴, describing the situation in Anglo-Saxon England, suggests that parish boundaries were stabilised in the tenth century and tended to be co-terminous with the signeurial estate. This association is not surprising, when as will be seen below, a high percentage of lesser churches, both chapels and parish churches, were founded by land-owners. However, this does not necessarily explain the siting of these churches - it might be assumed that in England that “church and manor kept company from the outset”⁶⁰⁵, but was this necessarily so in Scotland? Actually, even in England appearances might be deceptive as only twenty-nine per cent of medieval

⁶⁰⁰ Cowan, “Parochial system”, 50; Cowan, (edited by J. Kirk). 1995, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, 2.

⁶⁰¹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 1. “The term *parochial* was applied originally to an area within which a bishop’s sphere of authority was recognised, and even in the twelfth century it was still used in that sense.”

⁶⁰² *Ibid*, 2.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid*, 7-8.

⁶⁰⁴ Faith, R., 1997, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*, London, 167.

⁶⁰⁵ Cited in *Ibid*, 167.

churches stood fully inside the medieval settlement and many of the houses built near parish churches were constructed in later centuries.⁶⁰⁶

So, it might be useful to consider the origins of the estates as described above. The concept of 'extensive lordship'⁶⁰⁷ describes the process by which the "dominance of considerably developed local political authorities over a society based on a still relatively undeveloped agrarian economy took the form of a complex of rights to service and renders from the people of a given territory".⁶⁰⁸ This can be seen in the shift of power after the fourth-century collapse of Roman authority in Britain from the centralised *civitas* to the many smaller, successor kingdoms; indeed, it is possible that this was similar to the structure that existed in the sub-Roman Iron Age. It was a system in which the ruling elites were supported by tributes from their own estates and from those of subject territories; although the boundaries were not necessarily fixed. Eventually, hierarchies were established, land and rights to surplus were granted away and a system based on multiple estates and delegation from kings through sub-kings to ealdormen was developed to deliver the collected surplus and so ensure the creation of a sustainable economic base for both monarchy and aristocracy.⁶⁰⁹

Barrow⁶¹⁰ suggests that the early medieval equivalent administrative unit in Scotland was the thanage: thethane, a royal official, was originally responsible for the collection and distribution of agricultural surplus and the muster of man-power from the multiple estates. The model, in England and Scotland, was originally based on tribal communities and their hierarchies, which had come to be identified with the territories they inhabited. This landscape of extensive lordship and multiple estates gave rise to elite families controlling land units which became known as "small *scirs*" or shires.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁶ Morris, *Churches*, 242; 248-9.

⁶⁰⁷ This term was coined by Professor G Barrow.

⁶⁰⁸ Faith, *English Peasantry*, 4.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 8-9.

⁶¹⁰ Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 27 ff.

⁶¹¹ Faith, *English Peasantry*, 9-10.

Around forty *scirs* or shires have been identified in Scotland before 1350 in Scotland, almost exclusively in the east and to the north of the Forth; although four are found within the NS map-square: Machanshire (Dalserf); Herbertshire (Dunipace); Stirling and Culross.⁶¹² As “the shire obviously determined the pattern of lordship and land distribution over some long period prior to the twelfth century,”⁶¹³ it is likely that the distribution was more widespread than those so far identified in the east and low country. As these shires were identified mainly through historical documentation, which does not exist to the same extent in the west and the Highlands, it may be possible that other indicators could be used to suggest their presence. In his later paper concerning popular courts in Early Medieval Scotland, Barrow⁶¹⁴ suggested that each “shire of the early type” might contain a “customary court meeting-place”; although, again he sees distribution as being almost entirely in the east of Scotland. However, as previously mentioned, Barrow did not consider court hills as a factor in his studies.

Is it possible that if court hills are added to the equation that this situation could be reassessed?

5.6 Royal, Lord and Unidentified parishes

Churches in southern Scandinavia were often built on a manor by a nobleman; however, the king built many churches, mainly of stone, on royal farms and strongholds. This was particularly true during the early stages of church-building, although, of course the earliest churches were wooden. Collectives, particularly the congregation of a legal or settlement district, also built churches. Churches were often built on the ancient assembly site or *thing* set up for the district and “for large parts of Scandinavia, churches can be used as indicators for prehistoric sites.”⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² McNeill & MacQueen, 1996, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, 187. “The Old English and Middle English term *scir*, *scire* (*shire*), literally ‘division’,”.

⁶¹³ Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 53.

⁶¹⁴ Barrow “Popular courts”, 10-11.

⁶¹⁵ Brink, S., 2004, “Legal assembly sites in early Scandinavia” in Pantos & Semple, A and S, *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, Dublin, 72.

A similar situation as regards the ruling elite i.e. kings and lords, appears to have pertained in twelfth and thirteenth century Scotland. In Scotland, burghs should probably take the place of collectives, as from the reign of David I, parishes seem to have been created by their newly-formed burghs. Although, as it would appear that the new burghs and their associated parishes were simply shaped from pre-existing parishes; even if a new parish church was erected, it would not really be relevant to this study as it is the positioning of the original parish church that is of interest.⁶¹⁶ With the possible exception of Ayr, the parishes in the study either did not attain burgh status until after the parish had been formed or not at all. Ayr had held royal burgh status since 1205; however, according to Cowan,⁶¹⁷ the earliest parochial record i.e. “by 1327” may or may not post-date that as it is unclear how long before 1327 Ayr became a parsonage or that parsonage became a prebend of Glasgow Cathedral. However, William I built a castle at Newcastle upon Ayr in 1197 and the Crown retained Kyle under royal control until granting lordship to the earls of Carrick.⁶¹⁸ Thus, although it is unclear when Ayr achieved parochial status, it might be reasonable to assume that it was while still under royal control, therefore the parishes of Ayr and Alloway (a pendicle of Ayr and later annexed) will be designated as “royal” in this study, as will be further explained below.

The Church⁶¹⁹ also played a part in the building and siting of early churches; but the process a little more confusing. From an early date, it would appear that bishops founded proprietary churches on their episcopal estates; but as was the case in England, their importance was diminished by the erection of lesser churches by the king and lords. It would seem that in some areas churches began to appear on episcopal manors; although their erection was probably much earlier than the

⁶¹⁶ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 8. Cowan cites Edinburgh, which had originally been part of the burgh of St Cuthbert and the parish of Aberdeen-St Nicholas which was carved from the parish of St Machar.

⁶¹⁷ Cowan, *Parishes*, 12.

⁶¹⁸ Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 131.

⁶¹⁹ For the purpose of this study, “the Church” will include bishops and religious houses, following Cowan.

twelfth century. Cowan⁶²⁰ confirms that the situation to the north of the Forth-Clyde line did not differ greatly from that to the south.

Thus those churches, which would become parish churches or were built as parish churches, appear to have been founded by the Church, kings or lords, whether magnates or local lesser lords. By analysing Cowan's data concerning parish churches, it might be assumed that it would be simple to identify founders of the parish churches of those parishes containing court hills and note any resulting patterns. Unfortunately, Cowan's evidence is culled from documentary sources, which tends to be patchy and does not often include the names and dates of founders; indeed, only six are noted within the study area:

- Lochgoilhead: founded by Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe (1441)
- Monkton: founded by Walter Fitzallan (1165 x 72)
- Prestwick: founded by Walter Fitzallan (1165 x 72)
- Culross: founded by Malcolm, Earl of Fife (1217)
- Carnwath: founded by William of Somerville (c1180)
- Lochwinnoch: founded by Walter Fitzallan (1163 x 65)

Most of the evidence is taken from charters concerning the appropriation of churches; in some cases, only when the original appropriation⁶²¹ was confirmed by a king or prelate at a later date. Clearly, the latter charters are of little use to this study; although the former charters at least imply the nature of disposition of properties at the time of appropriation. This evidence is still useful as it gives a *terminus ante quem* i.e. a date before which the church must have been built; although there is little indication of how long before the date of appropriation or confirmation of appropriation the church was actually founded.

Those churches granted by kings and lords are usually straight-forward, for example: Craigie was: "Granted to Paisley by Walter Hose or Cragyn (c. 1177)"⁶²². Of course, it should be remembered that these dates are

⁶²⁰ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 4.

⁶²¹ *Ibid*, 11-12. "... a process which involved the diversion of parochial revenues to other religious institutions or persons ..." Cowan suggests that appropriation was the greatest flaw in the Scottish parochial system, as it built up the wealth of other clerical institutions to the detriment of the parish and its *curatus*.

⁶²² Cowan, *Parishes*, 37.

merely the date that the church was first recorded rather than the foundation date. However, the unidentified parishes are not nearly as obvious, for example: Ardrossan was “The church pertained to Kilwinning in 1226, when a compromise was reached between bishop of Glasgow and the abbot”.⁶²³ From this entry, it is difficult to establish accurately whether the church of Ardrossan had been established by Kilwinning or merely appropriated to the abbey before that date by a grant of the king or a lord. For the purposes of this study, parishes that do not appear to have any royal or lordly connections, but do have ambiguous references to religious institutions will be considered to be “unidentified”.

Thus, by using Cowan’s data, the pre-Reformation parishes can be designated as royal, lord or unidentified and using the criteria listed above, the one hundred and sixty-four pre-Reformation parishes shown in Table 5.1 can be divided as follows:

- Royal: 22 parishes i.e. 13.5%
- Lord: 79 parishes i.e. 47.9%
- Unidentified 63 parishes i.e. 38.6%

These sites are shown on Map 5.1. To show Royal, Lord and Unidentified parishes in the database.

Morris⁶²⁴ suggests that almost all pre-Reformation parish churches in England were in existence by the thirteenth century, however, documentary evidence is such that “the origins of all but a handful are unrecorded.” Documentary evidence for Scottish churches is far less forthcoming. Although Cowan⁶²⁵ suggests that the development of the parochial system is later than in England; the majority would seem to have been built during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As this study is concerned with the reasons for selection of sites by the founders of the early parochial churches, only those churches constructed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries will be considered. However, as most of the dates garnered from the available documentary evidence are for grants of appropriation which must have occurred after foundation, it

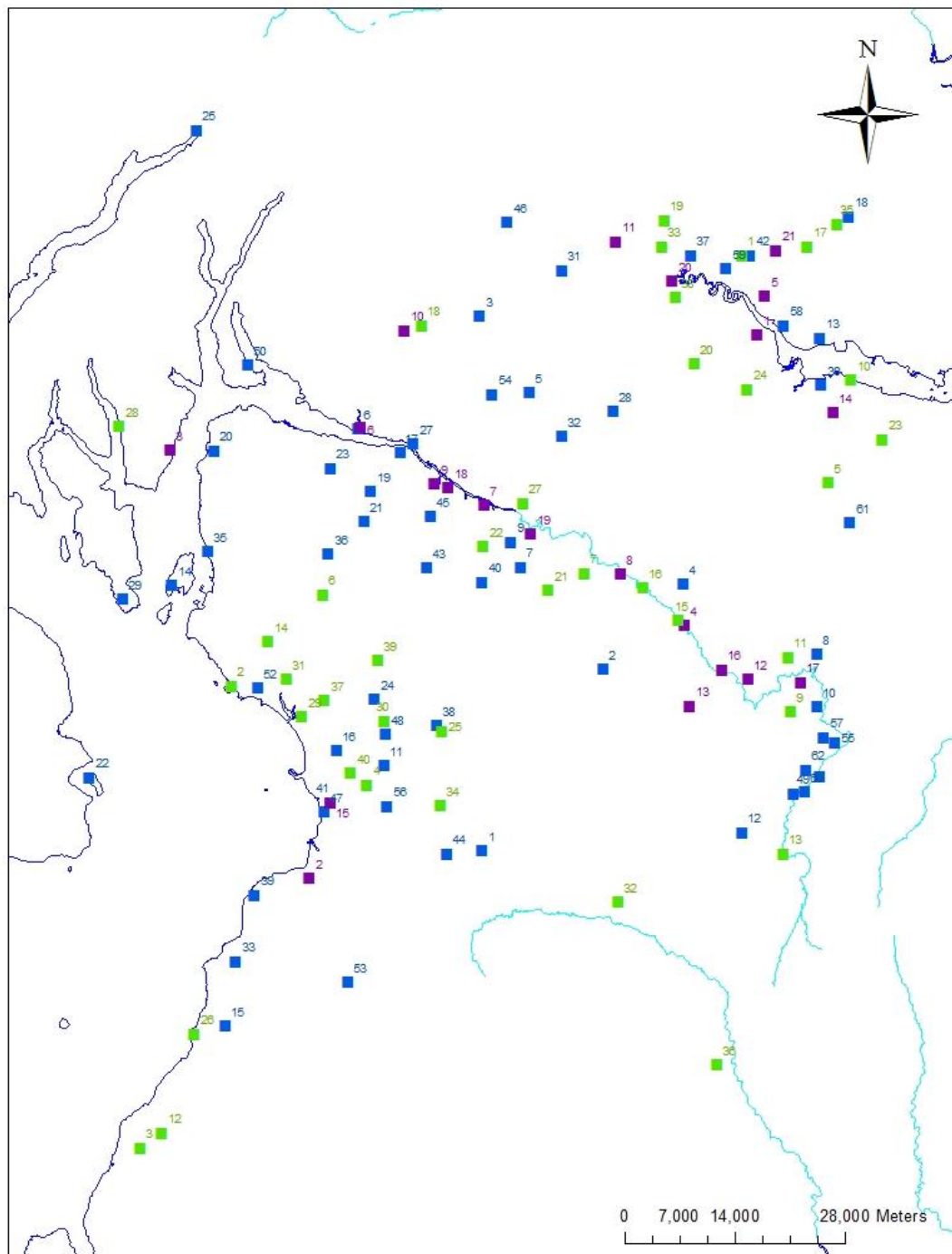
⁶²³ *Ibid*, 8.

⁶²⁴ Morris, *Churches*, 141.

⁶²⁵ Cowan, “Parochial system”, 44.

would seem sensible to extend the period to 1350. This would also seem appropriate as 1350 is the date suggested by Barrow as for the identification of shires as seen above.

Map 5.1: Royal, Lord & Unidentified parishes in the database



Key: Map 5.1 showing Royal, Lord & Unidentified parishes in the database

Lord parishes (■)

1 Auchinleck	32 Kirkintilloch
2 Avondale	33 Kirkoswald
3 Balfron	34 Lamington
4 Cambusnethan	35 Largs
5 Campsie	36 Lochwinnoch
6 Cardross	37 Logie
7 Carmunnock	38 Loudoun
8 Carnwath	39 Maybole
9 Cathcart	40 Mearns
10 Covington	41 Monkton
11 Craigie	42 Morton
12 Crawford-John	43 Neilston
13 Culross	44 Ochiltree
14 Cumbernauld	45 Paisley
15 Dailly	46 Port of Menteith
16 Dundonald	47 Prestwick
17 Erskine	48 Riccarton
18 Fossoway	49 Roberton
19 Houston	50 Rosneath
20 Inverkip	51 St Quivox
21 Kilbarchan	52 Stevenson
22 Kilbride	53 Straiton
23 Kilmacolm	54 Strathblane
24 Kilmaurs	55 Symington (L)
25 Kilmorich	56 Tarbolton
26 Kilmun	57 Thankerton
27 Kilpatrick	58 Tulliallan
28 Kilsyth	59 Tullibody
29 Kingarth	60 Wandel
30 Kinneil	61 West Calder
31 Kippen	62 Wiston

Unidentified parishes (■)

1 Alva	13 Crawford
2 Ardrossan	14 Dalry
3 Ballantrae	15 Dalserf
4 Barnweill	16 Dalziel
5 Bathgate	17 Dollar
6 Beith	18 Drymen
7 Blantyre	19 Dunblane
8 Bothkennar	20 Dunipace
9 Carmichael	21 East Kilbride
10 Carriden	22 Eastwood
11 Carstairs	23 Ecclesmachan
12 Colmonell	24 Falkirk

25	Galston	33	Lecropt
26	Girvan	34	Mauchline
27	Glasgow	35	Muckhart
28	Inverchaolain	36	Penpont
29	Irvine	37	Perceton
30	Kilmarnock	38	St Ninians
31	Kilwinning	39	Stewarton
32	Kirkconnel	40	Symington (A)

Royal parishes (■)

1	Airth
2	Alloway
3	Cadder
4	Carluke
5	Clackmannan
6	Dumbarton
7	Govan
8	Hamilton
9	Inchinnan
10	Kilmaronock
11	Kincardine
12	Lanark
13	Lesmahagow
14	Linlithgow
15	Monkland
16	Nemphlar
17	Pettinain
18	Renfrew
19	Rutherglen
20	Stirling
21	Tillicoultry

There are one hundred and twenty-four parishes that, according to Cowan's evidence, were in existence before 1350 as shown at Table 5.1 (highlighted in red) and the breakdown is as follows:

- Royal: 20 parishes i.e. 16.1%
- Lord: 64 parishes i.e. 51.6%
- Unidentified: 40 parishes i.e. 32.3%

Bearing in mind that it is possible that omission from the pre-1350 parishes may only be due to the lack of evidence⁶²⁶, it is not insignificant

⁶²⁶ For example: there are five parishes of unknown date: Pierstoun; Dalry (Kirkcudbrightshire); Baldernock, Buchanan and Slamannan. Two parishes are described as "pre-Reformation": Alloa and Gargunnoch; however, four parishes are included, as twelfth century, "being of an early date": Galston, Lamington, Wandel and Dunblane.

that three-quarters (75.6%) of the pre-Reformation parishes could be shown to have been founded before 1350.

5.7 Unidentified parishes

The unidentified parishes, however, do present something of a problem as to in effect ignore one-third of the pre-1350 parishes will clearly have an appreciable effect on any conclusions. For example, there are two unidentified parishes, which have court hills in fairly close vicinity to the parish churches. Those parishes, Ballantrae and Girvan, are shown at Table 5.2. The churches of Ballantrae and Girvan were clearly founded by early in the thirteenth century as they both appear to have been annexed to Crossraguel Abbey on its foundation. Crossraguel Abbey was founded by the Earl of Carrick;⁶²⁷ while both Ballantrae and Girvan were parishes within the earldom. It might, then, be possible to deduce that these were probably founded by the earl or one of his vassals and will thus be included in the total of lord parishes. A similar exercise might be undertaken with the other unidentified parishes and the results are shown in Table 5.3.

⁶²⁷ McNeill & MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish History*, 183. The earldom of Carrick was mentioned before 1200 and was in the hands of the Bruce family by 1296.

Table 5.2: Examples of Unidentified Parishes

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Royal/ Lord/ Church	Available Information
				No.	Courthills		
1	Ayrshire	Ballantrae [Kirkcudbright- Innertig]	Carrick Glasgow	1	Court Knowe 2 [Old Kirkcudbright Church (400m)]	(mid C13) Confirmed by Robert III (1404)	The church of St. Cuthbert of Innertig, now known as Ballantrae, was confirmed to Crossraguel by Robert III in 1404, although the initial annexation was possibly soon after the abbey's foundation in the mid-thirteenth century. ⁶²⁸
				2	Court Knowe 1		
2	Ayrshire	Girvan [Innargarvanne]	Carrick Glasgow	1	Knockcushion [Girvan Old Parish Church (250m)]	(before 1236) Confirmed by Robert III (1404)	The church of Innergarvanne with its chapel of Kirkdominie was confirmed to Crossraguel by Robert III in 1404 and while the original grant appears to have been made after 1236, it was probably before 1296 when a vicar appears on record. ⁶²⁹

⁶²⁸ Cowan, *Parishes*, 120.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid*, 73.

Table 5.3: List of Unidentified Parishes

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
1	Ayrshire	Ardrossan	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"The church pertained to Kilwinning in 1226, when a compromise was reached between bishop of Glasgow and the abbot, and the right to serve by a chaplain." ⁶³⁰	Simon de Morville built a castle c1140 and the castle and lands passed into the hands of the Barclay family until the end of the fourteenth century; therefore it might be suggested that this was a lord parish.	Lord
2	Ayrshire	Ayr	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"The parsonage had been erected into a prebend of Glasgow Cathedral by 1327 and so continued, while cure was a perpetual vicarage pensionary." ⁶³¹	A castle was built on the River Ayr by William I and he created a burgh at Ayr in 1205; thus it might be suggested that Ayr remained as a royal parish.	Royal
3	Ayrshire	Barnweill	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"The Trinitarian house of Fail stood within this parish, and the entire parochial revenues, which certainly pertained to that house in 1498, must have been annexed on its foundation before 1335." ⁶³²	Fail was located in Barnweill parish and founded by John de Graham, Lord of Tabolton in 1252, which might imply that the parish was lord.	Lord

⁶³⁰ *Ibid*, 8.

⁶³¹ *Ibid*, 12.

⁶³² *Ibid*, 14.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
4	Ayrshire	Beith	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"The parsonage was appropriated to Kilwinning before 1286,..." ⁶³³	Kilwinning was founded between 1162 and 1188 – the patron is uncertain; but possibly Richard de Morville. Suggested that Barony of Beith was gifted to Kilwinning by his wife towards the end of the twelfth century.	Lord
5	Ayrshire	Colmonnel [Kilcolmonell]	Carrick Glasgow	"Also known as Kilcolmonell, the church confirmed to the bishopric of Glasgow in 1179 and 1216, ..." ⁶³⁴	No suggestions.	Unidentified
6	Ayrshire	Dalry [Clachan]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"Claimed by Kilwinning as a chapel of Ardrossan in 1226, the abbot quitclaimed his right to the church which was to remain in the patronage of the bishop of Glasgow ..." ⁶³⁵	Suggested that lands in Dalry were gifted to Kilwinning by Hugh de Morville to Walter de Lynne, William de Blair or the Boyles of Kelburne.	Lord
7	Ayrshire	Galston	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	The parsonage pertained to Fail from an early date, although proof of this is not forthcoming until 1470. ⁶³⁶	The lands appear to be held by the Lockharts of Barr under Alan the Steward in the twelfth century.	Lord

⁶³³ *Ibid*, 16.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid*, 34.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid*, 45.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid*, 72.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
8	Ayrshire	Irvine	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	Annexed to Kilwinning at the Reformation, the parsonage had obviously been so for some considerable time. The cure was already a vicarage in 1438, while a deed of mortification of an annuity to a chaplain within the parish church made in 1323 was significantly sealed by the abbot of Kilwinning. ⁶³⁷	Site of Scotland's twelfth-century military capital and headquarters of the Lord High Constable of Scotland, Hugh de Morville.	Lord
9	Ayrshire	Kilmarnock	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	The parsonage was appropriated to Kilwinning before 1312, in which year Robert, bishop of Glasgow granted the vicarage to the monks. ⁶³⁸	Earliest occurrence of the name is in the Inquest of David – the Boyds were vassals of the de Morville family.	Lord
10	Ayrshire	Kilwinning	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"Both parsonage and vicarage teinds were undoubtedly appropriated to the abbey of Kilwinning on the foundation (c1162) ..." ⁶³⁹	Kilwinning was probably founded by Richard de Morville – the lands of Cunningham were granted to Hugh de Morville by David I.	Lord
11	Ayrshire	Mauchline	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"In origin a chapel situated within lands pertaining to Melrose by 1178, ..." ⁶⁴⁰	In 1165, Walter, son of Alan, High Steward, granted a charter to the Cistercian monks of Melrose.	Lord

⁶³⁷ *Ibid*, 91.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid*, 104.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid*, 110.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 144.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
12	Ayrshire	Pierstoun	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"Both parsonage and vicarage teinds of this church were annexed to Kilwinning at the Reformation, the cure evidently being a vicarage pensionary." ⁶⁴¹	Sir Hugh de Eglintoun held a charter for 'Pocertoun' in 1361.	Lord
13	Ayrshire	Stewarton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"The parsonage was annexed to Kilwinning at the Reformation, the original annexation probably dating from the foundation of the abbey 1162 x 89." ⁶⁴²	Reference to Wernebald being given these lands by Hugo de Morville.	Lord
14	Ayrshire	Symington	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	"Both parsonage and vicarage teinds pertained to Fail from an early date." ⁶⁴³	Name of village and parish was derived by Symon Lockhart, who held the land under Walter the Steward in 1165.	Lord
15	Clackmannanshire	Alva	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	"Granted to Cambuskenneth by Bishop Richard of Dunkeld 1170 x 1179, ..." ⁶⁴⁴	No suggestions	Unidentified

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid*, 165.

⁶⁴² *Ibid*, 187.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid*, 194.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 6.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
16	Clackmannanshire	Dollar	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	"The church which does not appear in Bagimond, would appear to have been annexed to Inchcolm at this date, although proof is not forth-coming until c. 1336." ⁶⁴⁵	No suggestions	Unidentified
17	Clackmannanshire	Muckhart	Fothric St Andrews	A parsonage in Bagimond, the church remained unappropriated at the Reformation, its patronage then lying with the archbishop of St. Andrews, as it had probably done since at least the thirteenth century. ⁶⁴⁶	No suggestions	Unidentified
18	Dumfriesshire	Kirkconnel	Nithsdale Glasgow	"The church had been annexed by 1274 to the abbey of Holywood with which the parsonage teinds continued at the Reformation, ..." ⁶⁴⁷	First of the house of Kirkconnel was reputed to be of Saxon origin who settled in the time of Earl David.	Lord

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 46-7.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 153.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 119.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
19	Lanarkshire	Blantyre	Rutherglen Glasgow	"There is little to distinguish this church from the priory founded here in the mid-thirteenth century, and upon which had been bestowed the revenues of the original parish church." ⁶⁴⁸	No suggestions	Unidentified
20	Lanarkshire	Carmichael [Kirkmichael]	Lanark Glasgow	"Also known as Kirkmichael, attempts have been made to identify the lands of Carmichael with those of Planmichel held by the see of Glasgow in the Inquest of c. 1120, but this identification appears doubtful. ... The church of "Chermiedh" confirmed to the bishop of Glasgow by Pope Alexander III identification can be made, however, until the confirmation to Joceline, bishop of Glasgow in 1179 ... but the church had become independent by 1296 and the patronage was subsequently granted by Robert I to Sir James Douglas, ... the church remained independent within lay patronage." ⁶⁴⁹	This is difficult: if the parish was held by the see of Glasgow in the inquest, this might imply that it was an early church parish. However, Cowan thinks this unlikely. The later grant by Robert I might imply that it was royal, but is this plausible? Possibly, it should remain unidentified.	Unidentified

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 19.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 27.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
21	Lanarkshire	Carstairs [Castletarras]	Lanark Glasgow	"The church of "Castletarras" was confirmed to the bishopric of Glasgow in 1170 by Pope Alexander III." ⁶⁵⁰	No suggestions	Unidentified
22	Lanarkshire	Crawford [Crawford- Douglas] [Crawford- Lindsay]	Lanark Glasgow	"Also known as Crawford-Lindsay, the church was confirmed to Holyrood by Pope Alexander III in 1164, William the Lion (1165 x 71) and Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, c. 1175." ⁶⁵¹	Crawford appears to have been granted to an English exile who settled in the area in 1068-9.	Lord
23	Lanarkshire	Dalserf [Machanshire]	Rutherglen Glasgow	"Also known as Dalserf, the lands of Mecheyn belonged to the bishops of Glasgow in the Glasgow Inquest (c. 1116), ..." ⁶⁵²	Dalserf passed to the de Brus family from the Comyns.	Lord
24	Lanarkshire	Dalziel	Rutherglen Glasgow	"The parsonage pertained to Paisley before 1199 by the grant of the true patron and Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow (1175-99), ..." ⁶⁵³	No suggestions	Unidentified

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 29.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid*, 38.

⁶⁵² *Ibid*, 142.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid*, 45.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
25	Lanarkshire	East Kilbride [Kilbride]	Rutherglen Glasgow	"Now known as East Kilbride, the church lay within the patronage of the bishop of Glasgow in the episcopate of Bishop John (x 1118 x 47), ..." ⁶⁵⁴	Granted to Roger, brother of Philip de Valognes who became Chamberlain of Scotland in 1165.	Lord
26	Lanarkshire	Glasgow	Rutherglen Glasgow	"The church belonged to the bishop's mensa [Glasgow] from the earliest days of the bishopric, being confirmed to it in 1170 by Pope Alexander III." ⁶⁵⁵	No suggestions	Unidentified
27	Perthshire	Dunblane	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	"The parsonage pertained to the mensa of the bishop of Dunblane, while the vicarage was annexed to the prebend of the dean of Dunblane cathedral. Both annexations were undoubtedly of an early date, ..." ⁶⁵⁶	No suggestions	Unidentified
28	Perthshire	Lecropt	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	"As compensation for the loss of the half fruits of Kinclaven (<i>q.v.</i>) this church was granted to the uses of Cambuskenneth in 1260 by Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, ..." ⁶⁵⁷	No Suggestions	Unidentified

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 96.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 74.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 51.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 129.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
29	Renfrewshire	Eastwood	Rutherglen Glasgow	"Confirmed to Paisley by Pope Clement IV in 1265, the parsonage, which appears to have incorporated that of Pollock, continued with the abbey at the Reformation." ⁶⁵⁸	Lands held by Sir John Stewart of Bonkyll (d.1298) who married the heiress of Bonkyll.	Lord
30	Stirlingshire	Drymen	Lennox Glasgow	An independent parsonage in the early thirteenth century, both parsonage and vicarage teinds had been annexed to the archiepiscopal mensa of Glasgow before the Reformation, the cure being a vicarage pensionary. ⁶⁵⁹	Held by the Drummonds, who reputedly arrived in Scotland in the train of Margaret, Queen of Malcolm Canmore.	Lord
31	Stirlingshire	Dunipace	Linlithgow St Andrews	"In origin a chapel of Kirkton, Stirling, it passed with its mother church of Eaglais Ninian to Cambuskenneth by the grant of Robert, bishop of St. Andrews 1140 x 58." ⁶⁶⁰	The earliest record of the lands of Dunipace, is in the <i>Cartulary of Cambuskenneth</i> , Gilbert de Umfraville gifted part of these lands to the Abbey in 1190 (reign of William I).	Lord

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 57.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 49.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 52.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
32	Stirlingshire	Falkirk [Eglesbrich] [Varia Capella]	Linlithgow St Andrews	"Known originally as Eglesbrich and later as Varia Capella, the church was confirmed to Holyrood in 1164, the donor apparently being Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, who confirmed the grant in 1166." ⁶⁶¹	Town situated within the barony of Callender and it appears to have been jointly owned by the Callender family and the abbots of Holyrood.	Lord
33	Stirlingshire	Bothkennar	Linlithgow St Andrews	"Both parsonage and vicarage fruits pertained to the nunnery of Eccles at the Reformation period. It is possibly this church which was granted or confirmed to the nuns by Bishop David of St. Andrews in 1250 x 65, when it appears as the church of Bucham." ⁶⁶²	'The carse of Bothkennar', also known as the 'Lordship of Bothkennar' apparently belonged to the Crown lands – among the feudal duties of the tenants was the task of transporting the royal household between Linlithgow and Stirling.	Royal
34	Stirlingshire	Larbert	Linlithgow St Andrews	"In origin a chapel of Kirkton, Stirling, it passed with its mother church of Eaglis Ninian to Cambuskenneth by the grant of Robert, bishop of St. Andrews, 1140 x 58." ⁶⁶³	No suggestions	Unidentified

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid*, 65.

⁶⁶² *Ibid*, 21.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid*, 127.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
35	Stirlingshire	St Ninians [Kirkton] [Eaglis Ninian]	Linlithgow St Andrews	"Also known as Eaglis Ninian or St. Ninians, Stirling, the church with its chapels of Dunipace and Larbert was granted to Cambuskenneth by Robert, bishop of St. Andrews (1140 x 58)." ⁶⁶⁴	In 1147, David I founded the Abbey of Cambuskenneth and gave it certain lands in this parish.	Royal
36	Stirlingshire	Strathblane	Lennox Glasgow	"Annexed to the hospital of Polmadie by the reign of Alexander III (1249-1285/6), ..." ⁶⁶⁵	According to NSA, Strathblane belonged to Lennox.	Lord
37	West Lothian	Bathgate	Linlithgow St Andrews	"Confirmed to Holyrood by Robert, bishop of St Andrews (1126-1159), a vicarage settlement took place in 1251." ⁶⁶⁶	It would appear that c1160, Uchtred, Sheriff of Linlithgow and Geoffrey de Melville came to Bathgate to measure out the land that would become the parish of Bathgate.	Royal
38	West Lothian	Carriden	Linlithgow St Andrews	"Granted to Holyrood by Robert, bishop of St. Andrews 1147-53, ..." ⁶⁶⁷	No suggestions	Unidentified

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 124.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 191.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 15.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 28.

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Cowan	Argument	Suggested designation
39	West Lothian	Ecclesmachan [Inchmachan]	Linlithgow St Andrews	"A parsonage in Bagimond, the church, which was also known as Inchmachten, remained unappropriated within the patronage of the archbishop of St. Andrews in the sixteenth century." ⁶⁶⁸	No suggestions	Unidentified

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 58.

The results, therefore, suggest that the unidentified parishes, including Ballantrae and Girvan, can perhaps be identified as follows:

- Royal 4
- Lord 23
- Unidentified 13

Which, in turn, would give the following breakdown of parishes:

- Royal 24 (19.3%)
- Lord 87 (70.2%)
- Unidentified 13 (10.5%)

5.8 Parishes & Court hills

When court hills are introduced into the mix, the results are also fairly interesting. Of the one hundred and twenty-four pre-1350 parishes, forty-three parishes or 34.7% contain court hills – again, when the patchy nature of the evidence is taken into account, this might be considered a significant percentage.

5.8.1 Parishes with multiple court hills

In the original study, there are thirteen parishes with two or more court hills; eight of these parishes are to be found among the pre-1350 parishes as shown in Table 5.2. As noted above, some multiple court hills might be explained by the later amalgamation of two or more parishes, such as Dunblane & Lecropt; however, it is difficult to account for the other multiple court hills. It is possible that there may be a number of reasons for this such as different usage, changes in ownership and so on. It is interesting to note that six or 75% of the parishes are lord parishes and also that at least one court hill in each parish appears to be associated with a religious site,⁶⁶⁹ while the others are either associated with prehistoric sites or have no associations. It might be reasonable to speculate that this might represent the amalgamation of two or more areas that each had an open-air assembly area. Thus, when the resulting parish was formed, the church or chapel⁶⁷⁰ was built in

⁶⁶⁹ Parish churches: Ballantrae, Craigie, Tarbolton, Rosneath; chapels: Kilsyth; cemetery: Inverchaolain.

⁶⁷⁰ A cemetery might imply the presence of a chapel that is no longer extant.

association with the assembly site that had become the most important or was perceived to be so at the time of foundation.

A further point is that six of the parishes have dates in the thirteenth century, with only one each from the twelfth century and fourteenth century. The fact that 85.7% of the dates fall within the latter half of the building period might support the above theory that two or more areas, each with a court hill, were merged to form each parish.

5.8.2 Court hills and Royal, Lord and Unidentified parishes

The forty-two parishes with court hills can also be broken down into royal, lord or unidentified parishes as seen in Table 5.4; and the breakdown is as follows:

- Royal 7 of 42 parishes i.e. 18.6%
- Lord 21 of 42 parishes i.e. 50%
- Unidentified 14 of 42 parishes i.e. 31.4%

However, for the sake of completeness, the following comparisons, as shown in Table 5.5, will include all court hills located in pre-1350 parishes within the study including those in unidentified parishes.

5.8.3 Unidentified parishes

Map 5.2 shows the unidentified parishes and associated court hills.

The breakdown of the fourteen unidentified parishes with court hills and their associations is as follows:

- Parish churches: 3
- Chapels & non-parish churches: 3
- Other religious sites: 1
- Prehistoric sites: 5
- No apparent associations: 2

Table 5.4: Pre-1350 parishes with multiple court hills

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Royal/ Lord/Unidentified (date)
				No.	Courthills	
1	Argyllshire	Inverchaolain	Glassery Argyll	1	Dunan	Lord (c1250)
				2	Ardein	
2	Ayrshire	Ballantrae [Kirkcudbright- Innertig]	Carrick Glasgow	1	Court Knowe 2	Lord (mid C13)
				2	Court Knowe	
3	Ayrshire	Craigie	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Judgement Seat	Lord (c1177)
				2	Highlangside/ Craigie	
4	Ayrshire	Dalry [Clachan]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Court Hill	Lord (1226)
				2	Courthill	
				3	Law Hill	
5	Ayrshire	Tarbolton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Tarbolton Mote	Lord (1335)
				2	Law	
6	Dunbartonshire	Rosneath [Neveith]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Tom a'Mhoid	Lord (1225/6)
				2	Tom a'Mhoid	
7	Stirlingshire	Kilsyth [Monyabroch]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Court Hill	Lord (early C13)
				2	Mote Hill	
8	Stirlingshire	Strathblane	Lennox Glasgow	1	Lawstone of Mugdock	Lord (by 1249)
				2	Moothill	

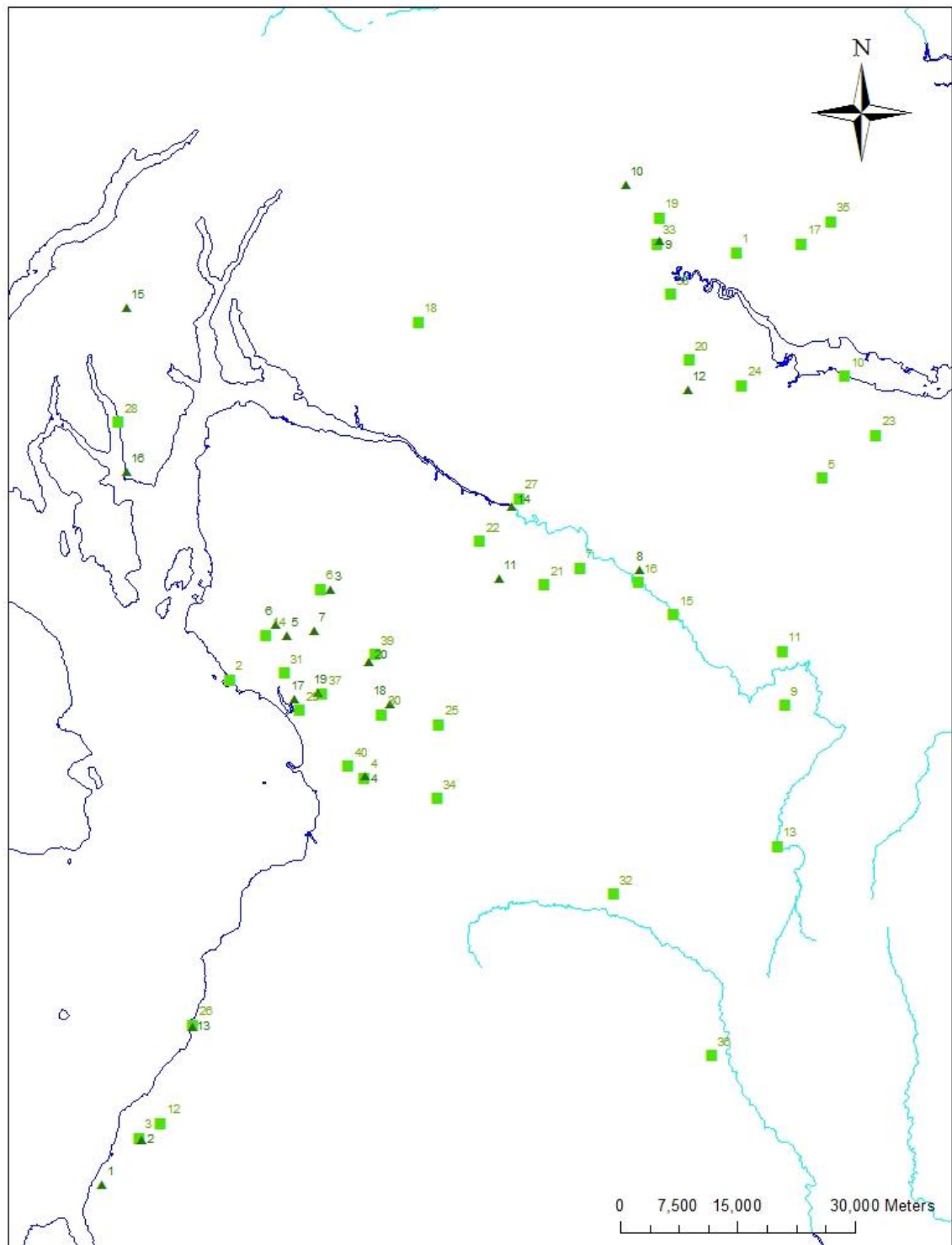
Table 5.5: Pre-1380 parishes with court hills – royal, lord & unidentified

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Royal/ Lord/ Church
				No.	Courthills	
1	Argyllshire	Inverchaolain	Glassery Argyll	1	Dunan	Lord (c1250)
				2	Ardein	
2	Ayrshire	Ballantrae [Kirkcudbright- Innertig]	Carrick Glasgow	1	Court Knowe 2	Lord (mid C13)
				2	Court Knowe 1	
3	Ayrshire	Barnweill	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow		Barnweill	Lord (before 1335)
4	Ayrshire	Beith	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow		Court Hill	Lord (before 1286)
5	Ayrshire	Craigie	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Judgement Seat	Lord (c1177)
				2	Highlangside/ Craigie	
6	Ayrshire	Dailly	Carrick Glasgow	1	Baron's Rock of Killochan	Lord (before 1214 x 16)
7	Ayrshire	Dalry [Clachan]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Court Hill	Lord (1226)
				2	Courthill	
				3	Law Hill	
8	Ayrshire	Girvan [Innargarvanne]	Carrick Glasgow	1	Knockcushion	Lord (after 1236)
9	Ayrshire	Irvine	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Salmon Hill	Lord (before 1323)
10	Ayrshire	Kilmarnock	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Judas Hill	Lord (before 1312)
11	Ayrshire	Kilmaurs	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	The Mote	Lord (c1170)
12	Ayrshire	Largs [Kirbride]	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Judge's Mound	Lord (before 1174-99)
13	Ayrshire	Loudoun	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Judge's Hill	Lord (1238-9)

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Royal/ Lord/ Church
				No.	Courthills	
14	Ayrshire	Riccarton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Riccarton	Lord (c1221)
15	Ayrshire	Stewarton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Law Mount	Lord (1152 x 89)
16	Ayrshire	Straiton	Carrick Glasgow	1	Dalmorton	Lord (1214 x 16)
17	Ayrshire	Tarbolton	Kyle & Cunningham Glasgow	1	Tarbolton Mote	Lord (1335)
				2	Law	
18	Buteshire	Kilbride	Isles	1	St Molaise's Table	Lord (c1337)
19	Dumfriesshire	Morton	Nithsdale Glasgow	1	Judgement Thorn	Lord (1171 x 78)
20	Dunbartonshire	Kilmaronock [Kilmoronock]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Catterlaw	Royal 1324/5
21	Dunbartonshire	Kilpatrick	Lennox Glasgow	1	Dawsholm Park	Lord c1199
22	Dunbartonshire	Kirkintilloch [Leinyie, Lenyie]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Towe Hill	Lord (end C12)
23	Dunbartonshire	Rosneath [Neveth]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Tom a'Mhoid	Lord (1225/6)
				2	Tom a'Mhoid	
24	Lanarkshire	Cadder	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Cadder Mote	Royal (1153-64)
25	Lanarkshire	Carluke [Eglismalesoch; Forest Kirk]	Lanark Glasgow	1	Law of Mauldslie	Royal (1274 x 1329)
26	Lanarkshire	Covington	Lanark Glasgow	1	Covington	Lord (C12)
27	Lanarkshire	Dalziel	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Cross Stone	Unidentified (1199)

No	County	Parish [Medieval Names]	Deanery Bishopric	Courthill & Associated sites		Royal/ Lord/ Church
				No.	Courthills	
28	Lanarkshire	East Kilbride [Kilbride]	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Meikle Dripps	Lord (x 1118 x 47)
29	Lanarkshire	Glasgow	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Mutehill	Unidentified (1118 x 47)
30	Lanarkshire	Govan	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Doomster Hill	Royal (before 1152)
31	Lanarkshire	Hamilton [Cadzow]	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Mote Hill	Royal (c1150)
32	Perthshire	Dunblane	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	1	The Judge's Cairn	Unidentified (" an early date")
33	Perthshire	Lecropt	Fife & Strathearn Dunkeld	1	Court Hill	Unidentified (1260)
34	Renfrewshire	Cathcart	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Court Knowe	Lord (1165 x 73)
35	Renfrewshire	Paisley	Rutherglen Glasgow	1	Queen Blearie's Mound	Lord (c1163)
36	Stirlingshire	Campsie	Lennox Glasgow	1	Courthill of Craigbarnet	Lord (1165 x 89)
37	Stirlingshire	Dunipace	Linlithgow St Andrews	1	Law Hill	Lord (1140 x 58))
38	Stirlingshire	Falkirk [Eglesbrich; Varia Capella]	Linlithgow St Andrews	1	Mote	Lord (1164)
39	Stirlingshire	Kilsyth [Monyabroch]	Lennox Glasgow	1	Court Hill	Lord (early C13)
				2	Mote Hill	
40	Stirlingshire	Stirling	Linlithgow St Andrews	1	Mote Hill	Royal (c1150)
41	Stirlingshire	Strathblane	Lennox Glasgow	1	Lawstone of Mugdock	Lord (by 1249)
				2	Moothill	
42	West Lothian	Linlithgow	Linlithgow St Andrews	1	Jock's Hill	Royal (c1138)

Map 5.2: Unidentified parishes & associated court hills



Key: Map 5.2 showing Unidentified parishes & associated court hills
Unidentified parishes(■)

1	Alva	21	East Kilbride
2	Ardossan	22	Eastwood
3	Ballantrae	23	Ecclesmachan
4	Barnweill	24	Falkirk
5	Bathgate	25	Galston
6	Beith	26	Girvan
7	Blantyre	27	Glasgow
8	Bothkennar	28	Inverchaolain
9	Carmichael	29	Irvine
10	Carriden	30	Kilmarnock
11	Carstairs	31	Kilwinning
12	Colmonnell	32	Kirkconnel
13	Crawford	33	Lecropt
14	Dalry	34	Mauchline
15	Dalserf	35	Muckhart
16	Dalziel	36	Penpont
17	Dollar	37	Perceton
18	Drymen	38	St Ninians
19	Dunblane	39	Stewarton
20	Dunipace	40	Symington (A)

Court hills(▲)

1	Ballantrae	Court Knowe 1
2	Ballantrae	Court Knowe 2
3	Beith	Court Hill
4	Barnweill	Barnweill
5	Dalry	Court Hill
6	Dalry	Courthill
7	Dalry	Law Hill
8	Dalziel	Cross Stone
9	Lecropt	Court Hill
		The Judge's Cai
10	Dunblane	Cairn
11	East Kilbride	Meikle Dripps
12	Falkirk	Mote
13	Girvan	Knockcushion
14	Glasgow	Mutehill
15	Inverchaolain	Ardein
16	Inverchaolain	Dunan
17	Irvine	Salmon Hill
18	Kilmarnock	Judas Hill
19	Perceton	Lawthorn Mount
20	Stewarton	Law Mount

Table 5.6: Pre-1350 parishes with court hills associations

Type of parish	Total parishes with court hills	Associations with the court hills				
		Parish churches	Chapels & non-parish churches	Other religious sites	Prehistoric sites	No apparent associations
Royal	7	6	1	0	0	0
Lord	21	12	5	1	13	3
Unidentified	14	3	3	1	5	2

It must be remembered that some are parishes have multiple court hills and clearly the number of court hills will be always be greater than the number of parishes that are associated with court hills will always – those parishes with no court hill associations are not being considered at this time.

5.8.4 Lord parishes

The breakdown of the twenty-one lord parishes with court hills and their associations is as follows:

- Parish churches: 12
- Chapels & non-parish churches: 5
- Other religious sites: 2⁶⁷¹
- Prehistoric sites: 9
- No associations: 2

As only those parishes with court hills are being considered, it must be remembered that the presence of multiple court hills among this number means that the number of court hill associations will always be in excess of the number of court hills.

Map 5.3 shows the Lord parishes and associated court hills.

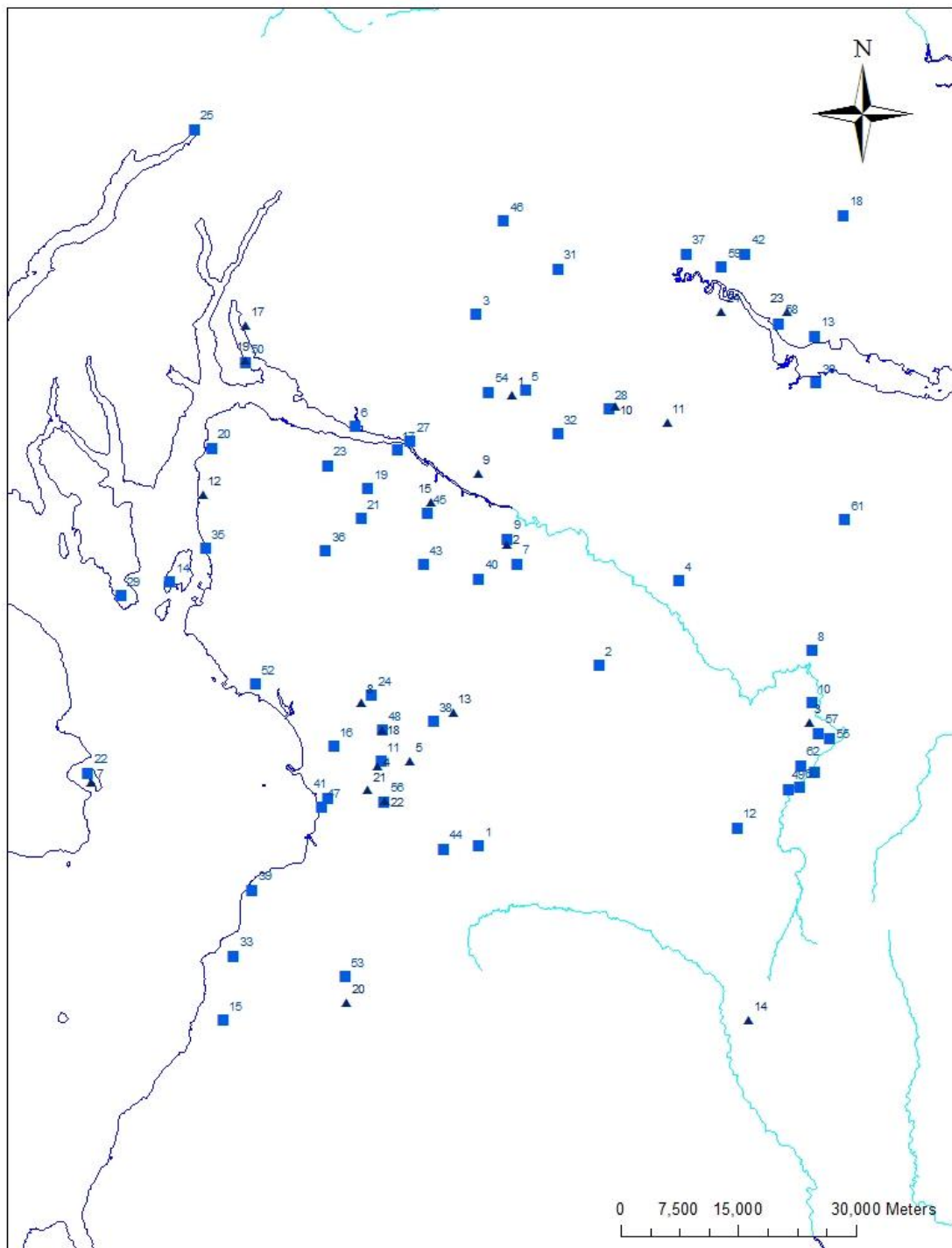
Lord parishes would appear to have a higher percentage of religious associations than prehistoric sites. However, if those parishes with two or more court hills are considered, four parishes⁶⁷² that have court hills that have religious sites associations also have court hills with prehistoric associations.

Dates for the first records of lord parishes are interesting in their symmetry: nine or 45% from both the twelfth and thirteen centuries, with two or 10% from 1300-50.

⁶⁷¹ The presence of a cemetery (Killellan) some 650 metres from Dunan (Inverchaolain parish) might indicate that a chapel once existed, thus although a cairn (Ardyne) is closer to the court hill (440 metres), the association has been changed to Other Religious site.

⁶⁷² Ballantrae, Craigie, Inverchaolain and Tarbolton.

Map 5.3: Lord parishes & associated court hills



Key: Map 5.3 showing Lord parishes & associated court hills
Lord parishes (■)

1 Auchinleck	32 Kirkintilloch
2 Avondale	33 Kirkoswald
3 Balfron	34 Lamington
4 Cambusnethan	35 Largs
5 Campsie	36 Lochwinnoch
6 Cardross	37 Logie
7 Carmunnock	38 Loudoun
8 Carnwath	39 Maybole
9 Cathcart	40 Mearns
10 Covington	41 Monkton
11 Craigie	42 Morton
12 Crawford-John	43 Neilston
13 Culross	44 Ochiltree
14 Cumbernauld	45 Paisley
15 Dailly	46 Port of Menteith
16 Dundonald	47 Prestwick
17 Erskine	48 Riccarton
18 Fossoway	49 Robertson
19 Houston	50 Rosneath
20 Inverkip	51 St Quivox
21 Kilbarchan	52 Stevenson
22 Kilbride	53 Straiton
23 Kilmacolm	54 Strathblane
24 Kilmaurs	55 Symington (L)
25 Kilmorich	56 Tarbolton
26 Kilmun	57 Thankerton
27 Kilpatrick	58 Tulliallan
28 Kilsyth	59 Tullibody
29 Kingarth	60 Wandel
30 Kinneil	61 West Calder
31 Kippen	62 Wiston

Courthills (▲)

1	Campsie	Courthill of Craigbarnet
2	Cathcart	Court Knowe
3	Covington	Covington
4	Craigie	Highlangside/Craigie
5	Craigie	Judgement Seat
6	Dailly	Baron's Rock of Killochan
7	Kilbride	St Molaise's Table
8	Kilmaurs	The Mote
9	Kilpatrick	Dawsholm Park
10	Kilsyth	Court Hill
11	Kilsyth	Mote Hill
12	Largs	Judge's Mound
13	Loudoun	Judge's Hill
14	Morton	Judgement Thorn
15	Paisley	Queen Blearie's Mound
16	Port of Menteith	Tomavoid
17	Rosneath	Tom a'Mhoid
18	Riccarton	Riccarton
19	Rosneath	Rosneath
20	Straiton	Dalmorton
21	Tarbolton	Law
22	Tarbolton	Tarbolton Motte
23	Tulliallan	Tulliallan
24	Tullibody	Tullibody

Scottish society underwent a major period of change in the twelfth century, including grants of land to Anglo-Continental elites; although grants of jurisdiction by the King to those settlers and native landowners alike appear only from the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214).⁶⁷³ It might be suggested that incoming Anglo-Continental settlers might endeavour to “stake their claim” on their new lands by appropriation and use of the ritual or traditional past to establish their own position and put it beyond challenge.⁶⁷⁴ Clearly, deliberately locating a new parish church beside the court hill or ancient site of public authority might seem a good tactical course of action. Therefore, some differences between the parishes of native and incoming lords might be expected.

No patterns are immediately apparent; the numbers are as follows:

- Native Lords: 7
 - David of Huntington 1
 - Earls of Lennox 3
 - Earls of Carrick 2
 - William, son of Thorald 1
- Anglo-Norman lords 10
- Unidentified 3

It is interesting to note the number of lord parishes in which court hills are associated with parish churches that are in parishes apparently directly subject to provincial lordships, as shown below.

- Rosneath Amelec, son of Maldoven, Earl of Lennox
- Dailly Duncan, son of Gilbert, Earl of Carrick
- Cathcart Walter Fitz-Alan
- Riccarton Walter II, son of Alan, Steward of Scotland
- Tarbolton John de Graham, Lord of Tarbolton
- Craigie Walter Hose or Cragyn
- Girvan Earl of Carrick
- Ballantrae Earl of Carrick
- Kilmaronock Earl of Lennox

However, it does not really explain the choice of site – clearly having the available resources also implies having the option of choice. The evidence does seem support a deliberate choice to site parish churches beside court hills rather than merely possessing the means to do so.

⁶⁷³ MacQueen, *Common Law*, 35-36.

⁶⁷⁴ Bradley, “Time regained”, 3.

The chapel associations are one each i.e.

- Kilsyth Earls of Lennox
- Kilmaurs Robert, son of Wernebold

The second court hill in Rosneath has a chapel; however, the above results cannot really be said to constitute a pattern.

5.8.5 *Royal parishes*

The breakdown of the eight royal parishes with court hills and their associations is as follows:

- Parish churches: 7 (87.5%)
- Chapel: 1 (12.5%)

Map 5.4 shows the Royal parishes and associated court hills.

These results are fairly impressive in their consistency and when added to the associated dates shown below must be seen as significant.

The chapel (St Ninian's) is in the parish of Linlithgow and this would seem an interesting case, the parish: "Granted to the priory of St. Andrews by David I (c. 1138) the church with its chapels of Binning...."⁶⁷⁵ However, the parish church of St Michael was first dedicated by Bishop David de Bernham in 1228⁶⁷⁶, although this only gives a terminus ante quem, i.e. a date after which it cannot have been founded – clearly, it must have been founded sometime before. The church of St Michael is located at the gate of the Palace - the church is actually inside the gate and the graveyard is outside, the wall of which forms one side of the approach to the palace. Clearly, it is unlikely that the site of the thirteenth-century parish church would have been moved to a site nearer the non-existent palace⁶⁷⁷, however, the site of the palace had previously been occupied by a royal manor. It has been suggested that the name "Linlithgow" is p-Celtic, which would imply that it was a centre of some antiquity and importance. Therefore, it could be suggested that St Ninian's Chapel was first a parish

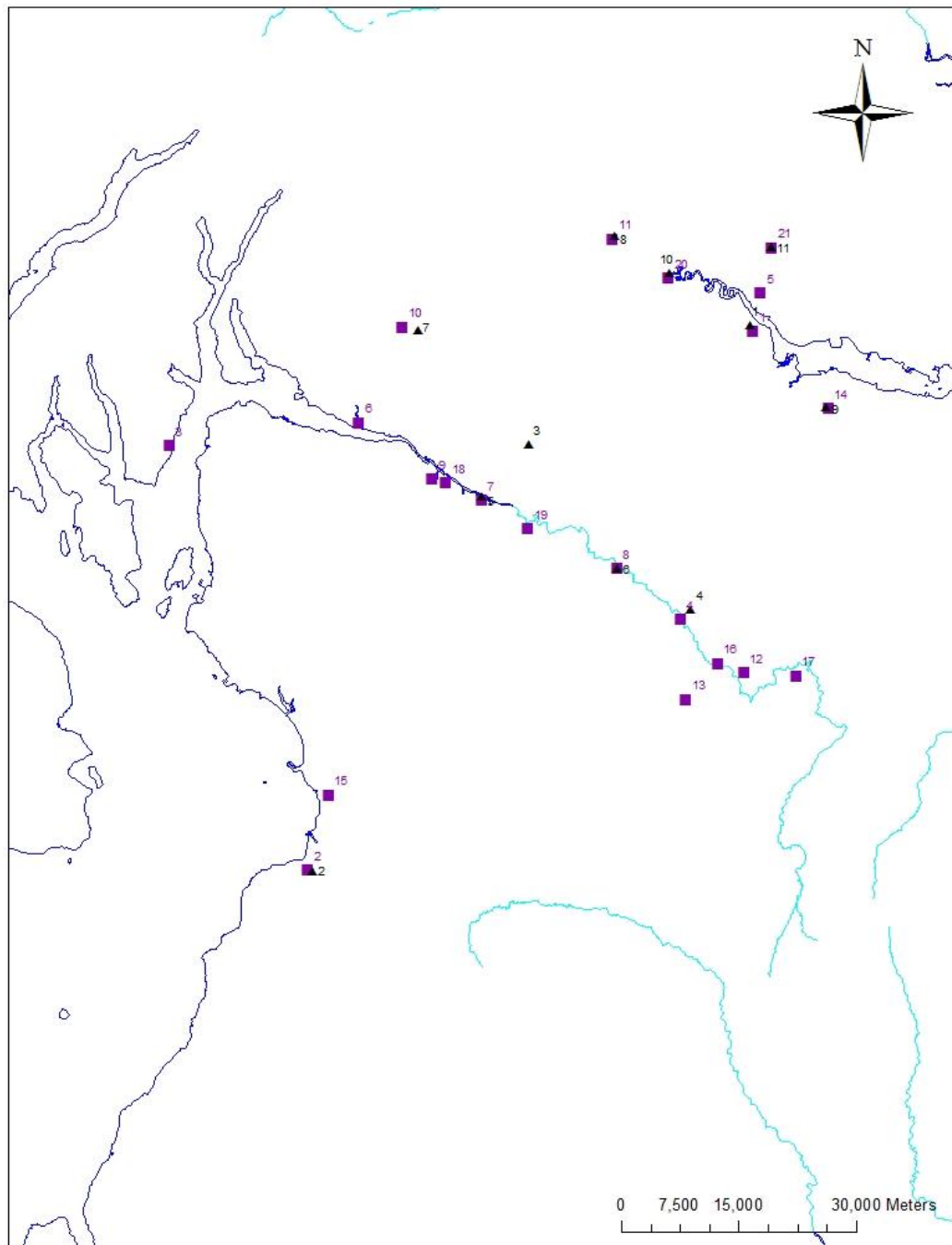
⁶⁷⁵ Cowan, *Parishes*, 133.

⁶⁷⁶ Bishop de Bernham dedicated many churches during this time.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.* NT07NW 9.00. James I began the rebuilding in 1424 after Linlithgow had been partially destroyed by fire - work continued into sixteenth century.

church, losing its parochial status when the new parish church, reputedly “perhaps the finest parish church in Scotland”⁶⁷⁸ was conceived and built – nearer to the royal manor and possibly more in keeping than the original.

Map 5.4: Royal parishes & associated court hills



⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.* NT07NW 14.00.

Key: Map 5.4 showing Royal parishes & associated court hills

Royal parishes (■)

1	Airth	12	Lanark
2	Alloway	13	Lesmahagow
3	Cadder	14	Linlithgow
4	Carluke	15	Monkland
5	Clackmannan	16	Nemphlar
6	Dumbarton	17	Pettinain
7	Govan	18	Renfrew
8	Hamilton	19	Rutherglen
9	Inchinnan	20	Stirling
10	Kilmaronock	21	Tillicoultry
11	Kincardine		

Royal court hills (▲)

1	Airth	Airth
2	Alloway	Moat of Alloway
3	Cadder	Cadder Mote
4	Carluke	Law of Maudslie
5	Govan	Doomster Hill
6	Hamilton	Mote Hill
7	Kilmaronock	Catterlaw
8	Kincardine	Cuthill Brae
9	Linlithgow	Jock's Hill
10	Stirling	Mote Hill
11	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry

The dedications are also interesting: St Michael the Archangel, the epitome of the warrior saint, was a dedication that tended to be associated with fortified places and high places. St Ninian, on the other hand, was a favoured Scottish royal dedication in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, St Ninians at Stirling is a good example.

Equally impressive would seem the dates when the churches in the royal parishes are first recorded – three-quarters in the 12th century.

• 12 th century	6	(75%)
• 13 th century	1	(12.5%)
• 1300-50	1	(12.5%)

5.8.6 *Conclusions*

The above results and maps certainly appear to produce fairly striking patterns within the pre-Reformation landscape, in particular, showing a significant connection between parish churches and court hills in royal parishes. The connections produced between court hills and parish churches in lord and unidentified parishes may not be as great as within the royal parishes, however, 40% is not an insignificant result.⁶⁷⁹ The remaining lord and unidentified parishes with court hills do tend to have associations with non-parish churches, chapels, other religious sites and prehistoric sites. To make any suggestions concerning those court hills associated with prehistoric sites other than to suggest a utilisation of a site which had some significance to the population would be futile. On the other hand, it could be argued that the religious sites were deliberately placed near to the court hills, as it would seem plausible that the court hills predated the religious sites.

Of course, the problem is how to interpret these results and patterns.

⁶⁷⁹ There are twelve lord and two unidentified parishes with associations between court hills and parish churches out of a joint total of thirty-five parishes.

5.9 Conclusions and possible interpretations

5.9.1 *Profile of Scottish public authority in twelfth and thirteenth centuries*

‘Feudalism’: a construct widely used during the last century, to describe and explain the hierarchical system of social relationships between lords and vassals, was held to be the dominant form of political organisation in medieval Europe. More current views would suggest that such a universal system did not exist, but clearly some sort of hierarchical relationship would be necessary, however, this would probably have differed widely certainly throughout Europe and possibly even within the constituent countries.

In his article,⁶⁸⁰ re-examining *cáin* in Scotland during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Broun endeavours to choose his words so that they are stripped of political innuendo. Thus he refers to ‘settlements’ rather than ‘estates’ or ‘lands’ and ‘exercising lordship’ rather than ‘holding land’.⁶⁸¹ A further distinction is made between exercising ‘specific’ lordship over a settlement and a more ‘general’ or extensive lordship “with an overarching responsibility for peace and security at its core”. The nature of the Scottish landscape, certainly in the north and west, tended towards the Irish pattern of scattered settlement rather than the English nucleated villages.

Barrow⁶⁸² describes patterns of lordship and ‘feudal settlement’ pertaining in twelfth and thirteenth century Cumbria: an area taking in northwest England (‘English Cumbria’) and southwest Scotland (‘Scottish Cumbria’), taking in the area from Galloway to Lennox in the north, i.e. from the River Duddon to Loch Lomond. Scottish Cumbria, with the exception of Galloway and the border counties, is neatly encapsulated in the NS map-square⁶⁸³; although it would appear to exclude the most easterly reaches

⁶⁸⁰ Broun, D., 2013, Forthcoming, 46-62.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid*, 47.

⁶⁸² Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 134.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid*, 125. Barrow’s map includes Lennox, Clydesdale, Nithsdale and modern Ayrshire in its constituent parts e.g. Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, etc. He divides Kyle

of the area. Barrow suggests that although there is little evidence concerning the conditions of Scottish Cumbria in the eleventh century, twelfth century accounts point to a kingdom with royal attributes and power or the exercise of overarching general lordship. Although Barrow sees this as “a relatively complete and not excessively complicated pattern”,⁶⁸⁴ the picture might actually be a little less complete and a little more complicated than he suggests.

Broun⁶⁸⁵ points to the west of Scotland, until the thirteenth century, being regarded as substantially different to the north and east. The rulers of Argyll and Galloway possibly being deemed kings in some instances and that parts of modern Ayrshire (Kyle, Cunningham, Carrick and Strathgryfe) probably continued to function through a form of local jurisdiction each with its own ruler.

It is possible, then, to envisage a landscape, at least in most of the area of the NS map-square, with an overarching general lordship in the form of the king; through subordinate general lordship in the shape of earls, down to the specific lordship of individual lords. It would, however, seem from the charter record that the whole continued to be based on the exacting of various tributes such as *cáin*, of which there is a suspicion that it continued to function as “recognition of subordination by local rulers to the king of Scots.”⁶⁸⁶

5.9.2 Profile of hierarchy within Scottish public authority in twelfth and thirteenth centuries

In the structure proposed above, the king presides over a hierarchical system with the ‘second tier’ composed of the provincial lordships, possibly including the earldoms.

There were thirteen Scottish earldoms in 1286, most of which appear to have developed from the mormaerships of what MacQueen describes as

into Kyle Regis and Kyle Stewart – a distinction supporting the view that the parishes of Ayr and Alloway should be designated as ‘royal’ in this study.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 126.

⁶⁸⁵ Broun, Forthcoming, 55. “regions south of the Forth ad west of Drumalban”

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 56.

“pre-feudal” Scotland north of the Forth-Clyde line.⁶⁸⁷ Eight earldoms⁶⁸⁸ existed before 1150, and the earldoms of Carrick, Lennox, Menteith and Ross are mentioned before 1200, with Sutherland created c1235.⁶⁸⁹ However, it is interesting that the earldoms were not conterminous and that the monarchy had retained pockets of royal or Crown desmesne among the earldoms. The map showing royal parishes illustrates this very well, as two distinct areas are visible along the Forth and Clyde.

It would appear that only native magnates held the rank of earl in the 12th century, but by 1286, five of the earldoms had passed to Anglo-continental families.⁶⁹⁰ If the siting of churches and chapels was dependent on the positions of court hills in the respective areas; then it might be implied from the lord parish results, that there was little difference in the parishes within the estates of indigenous and incoming earls. McNiven points out that by the time Walter Stewart succeeded to the earldom of Menteith, his family had been in Scotland for several generations, probably understood Gaelic and would probably have understood local customs.⁶⁹¹ It might be something of a stretch to suggest that the associations noted between court hills and religious sites might be explained by incoming Anglo-continental families endeavouring to establish an association with the traditional elements within the landscape. There is, of course, no reason to suppose that a connection with the traditional landscape had no bearing on the siting decisions, but this could equally have influenced indigenous as well as incoming Anglo-continental families.

This model would allow for various ‘tiers’ of local lords with specific lordship over one or a number of settlements. It would seem to be clear, though, that the divisions in the landscape were somewhat more

⁶⁸⁷ McNeil, P. G. B., 1996, “Administration”, in McNeill & MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish History*, 183. McNeil describes these earldoms as “provincial lordships”, a modern term to describe large estates.

⁶⁸⁸ Fife, Strathearn, Angus, Atholl, Mar, Buchan, Caithness and Dunbar in Lothian.

⁶⁸⁹ Ross was suppressed in 1168 and revived c1215.

⁶⁹⁰ McNeil, “Administration”, 183. Carrick had passed to the Bruces and Menteith to a junior branch of the Stewarts.

⁶⁹¹ McNiven, *Gaelic Place-Names*, 57

extensive than in later centuries. Barrow,⁶⁹² suggests that shires north of the Forth were much larger than later parishes, upon which he proposes that the parochial system was based, although they were not as big as those in Northumbria. This latter fact, he suggests is because Scotland north of the Forth is a relatively poor and sparsely populated area. As seen above, Barrow does not recognise shires in the west or the area of this study.

So, how can the results of this study be extrapolated in this landscape of public authority consisting of general and specific lordship?

5.9.3 *Some conclusions*

Barrow⁶⁹³ suggests that the Normans were particularly adept at adapting to an existing situation of public authority and points to the various scenarios in England, Wales, Scotland and later Ireland. In Cumbria, both English and Scottish, it would seem that the new “lordships fitted remarkably neatly into the pattern of establish secular divisions,” resulting in “a very high proportion of compact estates instead of dispersal and fragmentation” which was found in other areas of Britain. Thus, it is highly plausible that that landscape reflected that of an earlier era of public authority – when a more local form of kingship and/or sub-kingship practice was in vogue and there was little change.

Clearly, for public authority to be practiced in any meaningful fashion, there must be key points or nodes throughout the area of authority. Again, the expectation would be for the most important nodes to be operated and maintained by the most extensive lordship (royal) through the various ‘tiers’ down to specific or local lordship. Court hills, apparently operating as points of public assembly as a continuation from an earlier era, would seem to be appropriate and obvious points to operate as nodes. McNiven argues that an expression of lordship, both general and specific, was the ability to administer justice and suggests that the existence of gallow hills within the place-names of Menteith is

⁶⁹² Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 37-8.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid*, 117.

evidence that the earls “had the power of regality within their territories, including the right to put criminals to death.”⁶⁹⁴ Gallow hills are often found in the proximity of court hills within this study, which might suggest that this was not unusual occurrence. It might, then, be suggested that such an expression of power implied by the presence of a court hill and gallow hill within a settlement might be extremely attractive to a provincial or local lord, whether native or incomer.

“Almost every centre of royal power in David I’s Scotland – with the possible exception of Berwick upon Tweed – looks like an old centre.”⁶⁹⁵ Certainly Carluke, Linlithgow and Hamilton would all follow fall into this category, as would Govan. It is interesting that Dumbarton, which had been the “capital” of the kingdom of Strathclyde does not appear to have a court hill. It has been suggested that, following the disastrous Viking raid on Dumbarton in AD 870, the centre of power moved to Govan, possibly already a religious centre.⁶⁹⁶ Doomster Hill was a court hill, with certain similarities to Viking *things*,⁶⁹⁷ built adjacent to the parish church. It is similarly striking that Glasgow does not have an impressive court hill – the Mutehill, eventually identified by Mann noted in Chapter 3, does not seem to have had the same importance as that at Govan. Certainly, it did not survive and it was really only due to the diligence of Mann that it was finally identified. One suggestion might be that when Glasgow became the more prominent centre to the detriment of Govan, the structure of power had changed. Glasgow’s prominence was as a burgh, which presumably did not require the trappings of general and specific lordships.

The most striking result in this study has been the close juxtaposition between parish churches and court hills in royal parishes. If it is accepted that St Ninian’s Chapel (Linlithgow) was indeed the original parish church, then the occurrence of this phenomenon is one hundred per cent, which does seem a little too high for coincidence. Particularly when added to

⁶⁹⁴ McNiven, *Gaelic place-names*, 95. McNiven cites hunting as another.

⁶⁹⁵ Barrow, “Childhood of Scottish Christianity”, 14.

⁶⁹⁶ Driscoll, *Govan*.

⁶⁹⁷ Doomster Hill was stepped similar to the Thing on the Isle of Man.

the instance of twelve lord parishes with parish churches apparently sited near court hills. This latter result is more interesting when it is seen that the majority are located in parishes of provincial lords i.e. general lordship rather than specific lordship.

Ayrshire is perhaps overly represented in the case of the lord parishes, however, as discussed at length in Chapter 3, this is probably due to the superior coverage of local antiquarian authors. Although, it must be remarked that when the proximity of chapels, other religious and prehistoric sites to court hills is considered: those lord parishes would appear to be found scattered throughout the entire study area; so, interestingly Ayrshire does not seem to have the monopoly on preservation of the tradition.

In such a landscape, assembly points such as court hills which were or had been associated with a level of public authority would retain their significance. Is it enough merely to suggest that the siting of parish churches beside such places would be seen to be merely a further display of that authority?

This does seem a little restrictive.

There is a good argument to be made that the hierarchical system with 'tiers' of general to specific lordship can be seen in the correlation between court hills and parish churches. The royal nodal points would seem to be always represented with the siting of parish churches nearby. Similarly, the next tier of general or provincial lordship and possibly even the next tier, some more localised lords appear to have sited parish churches beside court hills. Travelling further down the hierarchy towards specific lordships, court hills maintain their nodal function but resources are such that chapels or other religious sites suffice. In some cases, often in parishes with two court hills, there are no religious associations, but the site itself appears to retain some sort of past authority such as a prehistoric site.

However, it might also be argued that in this study might be seen the suggestion of shires in the west of Scotland that Barrow failed to locate in

the documentary evidence – most of his shires being in the “east and low country, not west or the highlands.”⁶⁹⁸ The suggestion is that the earliest church were deliberately founded “shire by shire”⁶⁹⁹ and were often placed next to the shire centre as seen in the English shires of Hallamshire, Salfordshire and Bedfordshire. In the study area, it would seem that parish churches are being deliberately sited close to what where probably the nodal points of public authority i.e. court hills. Certainly, the instance of this occurrence in royal and lord parishes is striking and is difficult to ignore; thus surely this must at least be considered as the indication of the presence of shires in the previously barren west and highlands.

However the main difficulty with this hypothesis, as ever, is the pattern of survival of court hills as clearly to test it fully would require the mapping of significantly more court hills and parish churches than seems possible at the present time. McNiven’s thesis concerned a study of the Gaelic place-names of the earldom of Menteith; and through place-name evidence has possibly identified the presence of at least six more court hills.⁷⁰⁰ Sadly, this in-depth place-name study has not been possible for the rest of Scotland or even the NS map-square.

In the past, studies of court hills and assembly areas have merely noted the phenomenon of the proximity of parish churches to court hills, in the same way as proximity to rivers and boundaries was observed: an interesting fact. This is the first study that has endeavoured to take this further and examine possible motivation or intention – the occurrence would appear to be too great for coincidence, therefore it follows that such sitings were deliberate acts. As seen above, the most credible reasoning might be that this fitted into a landscape of public authority and reflected a hierarchical or nodal approach to power of the ruling elite, through king, magnate and local lord, with the intriguing possibility that evidence for a landscape of shires has also emerged.

⁶⁹⁸ Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 53.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 64

⁷⁰⁰ Tom-a-mhoid (Aberfoyle); Tom nam Boide (Calendar); Tulloch Knowe (Kilmadock), Cessintully (Kilmadock); Cuthel Brae (Kincardine) and Cockhill (Calendar).

However, clearly, the area of one map-square cannot necessarily be suggested as a model for the whole of Scotland and this is an area that would benefit from further research. Of course, in the same way that Barrow suggests that “a pattern of feudal settlement in England” is neither uniform nor constant, it is possible that Scotland similarly displays different practices in different regions – again this would only become apparent by further research.

Similarly, trawling the antiquarian writers for sites has not been fashionable; however, the results of this thesis might imply that this could be a profitable exercise. The antiquarian writers, in the main, assiduously recorded the landscape as they saw it and some went to great lengths to ensure that they recorded as much of the local oral history as they could. Their interpretation of this evidence may at times seem *jejune*, but certainly in this study, their writings have proved invaluable and perhaps should be considered as more important in the future.

And finally, the methodology: the practice of collecting sites and allowing patterns to emerge, does seem to have produced some interesting results and might also be worth pursuing in future studies. It is, of course, worth noting that neither the search for shires in the west and highlands nor an interest in extensive lordship were even considered at the beginning of this thesis – it was truly an organic, but most interesting process.

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Appendix 1: Gazetteers

Gazetteer – Barrows

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	229240	649580	NS24NE3	Courthill	Dalry	Ayr	Cochrane-Patrick 1875:281-3; Laing 1969:113; NSA (Dalry), 219-20; Scott 1990:271-8; Talbot 1975:54.
2	234650	640780	NS34SW10	Lawthorn Mount	Irvine	Ayr	OS Name Book no 31, 30; Smith 1895:123-4; Talbot 1975:54.
3	230000	643000	NS34SW19	Kilwinnin	Kilwinning	Ayr	Canmore.
4	255000	669000	NS56NE1	Dawsholm Park	New Kilpatrick	Dunbarton	OS Name Book no iv, 63.
5	279000	678300	NS77NE46	West Bonnyfield	Falkirk	Stirling	RCAHMS 1978:17, no 6.

Gazetteer – Cairns

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	209700	668350	NS06NE13	Ardyne	Inverchaolain	Argyll	OS Name Book no iv, 103.
2	203400	690420	NS09SW6	Carn Mor	Kilmodan	Argyll	OS Name Book no xviii, 7-8.
3	200270	684320	NS08SW4	Lephinkill	Kilmodan	Argyll	OS Name Book no xviii, 37.
4	232970	618620	NS31NW6	Cairn Crescent	Ayr [Alloway]	Ayr	Paterson 1847 vol i, 199; Smith 1895:158.
5	211860	584200	NX18SW2	Polcardoch	Ballantrae	Ayr	OS Name Book no vii, 35.
6	22150	599480	NX29NW3	Camregan, Mote Wood	Dailly	Ayr	RCAHMS 1983:36, no 270.
7	248000	605000	NS40NE6	Dalmellington	Dalmellington	Ayr	NSA vol v, 316.
8	226620	652690	NS25SE5	Law Hill	Dalry	Ayr	OS Name Book no xx, 77; Smith 1895:174.
9	242590	639680	NS43NW5	Knockinlaw Cairn	Kilmarnock	Ayr	OS Name Book no xxxiii, 47; Smith 1895:95.
10	240090	639610	NS43NW3	Waterpark	Kilmaurs	Ayr	OS Name Book no xxxvi, 35; McNaught 1912:37-8.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
11	224144	609871	NS20NW34	Kennel Mount	Kirkoswald	Ayr	CANMORE.
12	251460	637140	NS53NW9	Loudoun Park	Loudoun	Ayr	NSA vol v (Ayrshire), 845-6; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xliii, 95.
13	242090	645140	NS44NW9	Cairn Duff	Stewarton	Ayr	NSA vo v (Ayrshire), 734; OS <i>Name Book</i> no lviii, 58; Smith 1895:85.
14	238390	601640	NS30SE2	Dalmorton	Straiton	Ayr	OSA vol iii, (Ayrshire), 593-4; OS <i>Name Book</i> no lx, 75.
15	241000	628700	NS42NW5	Law Hill	Tarbolton	Ayr	NSA vol v (Ayrshire), 754.
16	209520	653200	NS05SE16	St Blane's Church	Kingarth	Bute	OS <i>Name Book</i> no iv, 63.
17	272000	656000	NS75NW34	Heron Hill	Hamilton	Lanark	Waddell 1918:247.
18	273940	705610	NN70NW1	The Judge's Cairn	Dunblane & Lecropt	Perth	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxv, 11.
19	255490	650680	NS55SE15	Garret Law	Eaglesham	Renfrew	OS <i>Name Book</i> no iii, 15.
20	256200	255490	NS55SE24	Kirktonmore	Eaglesham	Renfrew	CANMORE.
21	270100	677500	NS77NW27	Queenzieburn	Kilsyth	Stirling	RCAHMS 1963:65 no 37; RCAHMS 1982:7 no 2.

Gazetteer – Celtic Well

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	277690	653740	NS75SE21	Carbarnswood Orchard	Cambusnethan	Lanark	Ross 1974:26-33.

Gazetteer – Chapels

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	210755	668985	NS16NW4	Killellan	Dunoon & Kilmun	Argyll	OS <i>Name Book</i> no iv, 100; Scott et al 1915-61, vol viii, 317.
2	202100	676450	NS07NW2	Fearnoch	Inverchaolain	Argyll	OS <i>Name Book</i> no lviii, no 74; RCAHMS 1992:5, 74, fig 6c, 74.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
3	200270	689204	NS08SW4	St Modan's Chapel	Kilmodan	Argyll	Henshall 1972 vol ii, 329-30, no ARG 16; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xviii, 37; RCAHMS 1988:48, no 18 plan, 48B; <i>1st Edition OS Map</i> , sheet clxii (Kilmodan).
4	203000	690800	NS09SW11	Tobar na h'Anait	Kilmodan	Argyll	MacDonald: 139-40, 143.
5	200710	696580	NS09NW3	Chapel of Kilbride	Strathlachlan	Argyll	OPS 1854:75-6.
6	201080	695172	NS09NW2	Kilmorie Chapel	Strathlachlan	Argyll	NSA (Strathlachlan), 103; OPS 1854:75; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iv, 44.
7	233700	621900	NS32SW20	Holy Trinity Chapel	Ayr	Ayr	Dunlop 1953:91.
8	237250	653110	NS35SE10	St Bridget's Chapel	Beith	Ayr	NSA (Beith), 581; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xii, 113, 117; Chalmers 1887-94 vol iii, 557.
9	243000	617000	NS41NW5	Carnell Chapel	Coylton	Ayr	NSA (Coylton), 655; RCAHMS 1985:15, no 67; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 20.
10	240890	618050	NS41NW1	Raithwell	Coylton	Ayr	NSA (Coylton), 655; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xvii, 43; RCAHMS 1985:18, no 83; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 20,
11	242430	615980	NS41NW4	St Bride's Chapel	Coylton	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xvii, 7; RCAHMS 1985:18, no 85; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 20.
12	230890	648140	NS34NW2	Blair	Dalry	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xx, 196.
13	229500	648300	NS24NE6	Chapel	Dalry	Ayr	Chalmers 1887-94, vol iii, 560; Scott 1915-61, vol viii, 229.
14	234420	633640	NS33SW3	Chapel Hill	Dundonald	Ayr	NSA vol v, 677; Paterson 1863-6, vol i, 424; RCAHMS 1985:16, no 77.
15	235680	633600	NS33SE4	St Mary's Chapel	Dundonald	Ayr	Paterson 1863-6 vol i, pt ii, 423-4; RCAHMS 1985:16, no 76.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
16	236300	634500	NS33SE29	St Ninian's Chapel	Dundonald	Ayr	Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi, 510; Paterson 1863-6 vol i, 423; RCAHMS 1985:16, no 73; Scott et al 1915-61 vol viii, 217.
17	240800	650320	NS45SW1	St Mary's Chapel	Dunlop	Ayr	Chalmers 1887-94 vol iii, 556-7; OSA vol ix, 544-5; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxvi, 12; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 90.
18	253000	635000	NS53NW19	St Mary's Chapel	Galston	Ayr	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 39.
19	232250	638530	NS33NW23	St Mary's Chapel	Irvine	Ayr	Chalmers 1887-94 vol iii, 545-6; OSA vol vii, 184; OS <i>Name Book</i> no 31, 81; RMS, vol iv, 260.
20	235400	613360	NS31SE7	Chapel Knowe	Kirkmichael	Ayr	NSA (Kirkmichael), 496; Paterson 1863-6 vol ii, 257; RCAHMS 1983:20, no 138.
21	239680	639030	NS33NE3	Knockentiber Chapel	Kilmaurs	Ayr	Chalmers 1887-94 vol iii, 552; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxxvi, 37; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 112; OSA (Kilmaurs), 184.
22	221240	655510	NS25NW23	Fairlie	Largs	Ayr	OPS 1851:91.
23	219500	663760	NS16SE1	St Fillan's Chapel	Largs	Ayr	OPS 1851:89; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xlii, 41.
24	257100	638700	NS53NE7	Glen Chapel Holm	Loudoun	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no 43, 83; Paterson 1863-6 vol iii, pt ii, 542-3.
25	249795	627228	NS42NE7	St Michael's Chapel	Mauchline	Ayr	Cowan & Easson 1976:81.
26	230800	611800	NS31SW13	St Muireach's Chapel	Maybole	Ayr	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 51.
27	234650	624787	NS32SW2	Kingcase	Monkton & Prestwick	Ayr	NSA (Monkton), 173; OSA vol xii, 403; Cowan & Easson 1976:183; RCAHMS 1985:17, no 78.
28	266000	613000	NS61SE1	Chapel Knowe	New Cumnock or Old Cumnock?	Ayr	Hewat 1900:300-3.
29	253570	626010	NS52NW4	St Cuthbert's Chapel	Sorn	Ayr	OSA vol xx, 182; OS <i>Name Book</i> no lxvi, 113.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
30	239360	644210	NS34SE4	Chapeltoun	Stewarton	Ayr	<i>OS Name Book</i> no liii, 60; Smith 1895:85
31	240110	602380	NS40SW2	Baing	Straiton	Ayr	<i>OS Name Book</i> no lx, 115; RCAHMS 1983:27, no 186.
32	240210	609100	NS40NW4	Chapel	Straiton	Ayr	<i>OS Name Book</i> no lix, 15.
33	193990	623010	NR92SW10	St Mary's Chapel	Kilmory	Bute	<i>NSA</i> (Kilmory), 55; <i>OS Name Book</i> no 2, 114.
34	210090	656650	NS15NW2	Little Kilchattan Chapel	Kingarth	Bute	<i>OS Name Book</i> no vii, 43, Watson 1926:165, 277; Markus 2012:257,
35	203660	662640	NS06SW3	Kilchousland Chapel	North Bute	Bute	Hewison 1893-5 vol i, 234-5; <i>OPS</i> 1854:224; <i>OS Name Book</i> no vi, 51; Markus 2012:390.
36	199240	670590	NR97SE3	St Michael's Chapel	North Bute	Bute	Hewison 1893-5 vol i, 111-14 plan; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iv, 38.
37	208620	663703	NS06SE1	St Mary's Kilmary	Rothesay	Bute	Cowan & Easson 1976:195; Easson 1957:195; Markus 2012:514; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol iii, 418-23 figs 1355-6; RCAHMS 2009:6.
38	291300	691270	NS99SW4	Chapelhill	Clackmannan	Clackmannan	<i>OS Name Book</i> no iii, 35; RCAHMS 1978:6 no 18.
39	294040	689520	NS98NW2	Tulliallan Castle	Tulliallan	Clackmannan	RCAHMS 1933:280, no 532; Scott 1915-61 vol viii, 403.
40	286800	605500	NS80NE11	Chapel Cleuch	Durisdeer	Dumfries	<i>OS Name Book</i> no xiv, 88.
41	287000	600000	NS80SE31	Enoch	Morton	Dumfries	Ramage 1876:119-20.
42	279040	608860	NS70NE12	St Nicholas's Chapel	Sanquhar	Dumfries	Chalmers 1887-94 vol v, 153; Cowan & Easson 1976:199-200; <i>OSA</i> (Dumfries), 460.
43	246345	673081	NS47SE7	Old Kilpatrick	Kilpatrick	Dunbarton	Allen & Anderson 1903:452-3; Cowan 1967:108; <i>NSA</i> (Kilpatrick), <i>OPS</i> 1851:20-1; RCAHMS 1978:23, no 28.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
44	224895	689862	NS28NW1	St Michael's Chapel	Rhu	Dunbarton	Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi, 910; Fraser 1869 vol ii, 197-8; Irving 1860:415; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol ii, 557-9; RCAHMS 1978:13, no 69.
45	226090	686450	NS28NE4	Stuckenduff	Rhu	Dunbarton	<i>OS Name Book</i> no xxxix; RCAHMS 1978:15, no 83.
46	272540	641980	NS74SW4	St Oswald's Chapel	Avondale	Lanark	<i>OS Name Book</i> no ii, 95.
47	291720	639070	NS93NW1	Harleyholm Hill	Carmichael	Lanark	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 287.
48	299320	652950	NS95SE1	St Mary Magdalene's Chapel	Carnwath	Lanark	Wilson 1936-7 vol i, 103-4.
49	298380	636630	NS93NE12	St Ninian's Chapel	Covington & Thankerton [Covington]	Lanark	<i>OS Name Book</i> no xvi, 26.
50	268870	660870	NS66SE13	St Mary's Chapel (Bothwell)	Dalziel	Lanark	<i>OS Name Book</i> no v, 56.
51	283130	624710	NS82SW1	Andershaw	Douglas	Lanark	<i>NSA</i> (Douglas), 495.
52	260000	664760	NS66SW7	St Mungo's Chapel	Glasgow	Lanark	Renwick 1908:236-8; Scott et al vol iii, 454.
53	258900	664900	NS56SE26	St Thenew's Chapel	Glasgow	Lanark	Senex & JB 1856 vol iii, 597, 660-2.
54	258900	664900	NS56SE27	St Thomas's Chapel	Glasgow	Lanark	<i>OPS</i> 1851:5; Renwick & Lindsay 1921 vol i, 149-50; Renwick 1908:232-4.
56	268340	648700	NS64NE3	Chapelton	Glassford	Lanark	<i>OS Name Book</i> no xxvi, 33.
57	298105	631119	NS93SE41	Trinity Chapel	Lamington & Wandel	Lanark	<i>Canmore</i> .
58	273780	666790	NS76NW5	Kippsbyre Burn	New Monkland	Lanark	Chalmers 1887-94 vol iii, 698; <i>OPS</i> 1851:19; <i>OSA</i> (New Monkland), 280; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xlvi, 87.
59	284340	662930	NS86SW2	St Catherine's Chapel	Shotts	Lanark	Cowan & Easson 1976:156; Easson 1957: 56; <i>NSA</i> (Shotts), 628; <i>OS Name Book</i> no liii, 79; Scott et al vol iii, 276,

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
60	274870	643600	NS74SW2	St Lawrence's Chapel	Stonehouse	Lanark	<i>OS Name Book</i> no ii, 71.
61	277870	698110	NS79NE15	Lecropt	Dunblane & Lecropt (Lecropt)	Perth	RCAHMS 1979:35. No 314; Watson 1926:329.
62	222820	674080	NS27SW3	Chrisswell Chapel (1)	Inverkip	Renfrew	<i>OPS</i> 1851:88; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xii, 64; RCAHMS 1980:45; Scott et al 1915-61 vol ix, 248-9.
63	222700	674100	NS27SW13	Chrisswell Chapel (2)	Inverkip	Renfrew	Snoddy 1950:121.
64	238500	660900	NS36SE12	St Bryde's Chapel	Kilbarchan	Renfrew	<i>OPS</i> 1851:69.
65	236370	660540	NS36SE11	Warlock Gates	Lochwinnoch	Renfrew	<i>OPS</i> 1851:93; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xvi, 55.
66	245900	655000	NS45NE16	Aboon the Brae	Neilston	Renfrew	<i>NSA</i> (Neilston), 328-9; <i>OPS</i> 1851:96.
67	249300	658870	NE45NE3	Chapell House	Neilston	Renfrew	<i>OPS</i> 1851:94, 96; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xviii, 18; Watson 1926:189
68	283083	679353	N/A	St Helen's Chapel	Falkirk	Stirling	Smith 1934:66-7.
69	269500	677400	NS67NE7	Chapel Green	Kilsyth	Stirling	<i>OSA</i> (Kilsyth), 214; <i>OS Name Book</i> no liii; RCAHMS 1982:10, no 24.
70	277850	692500	NS79SE8	Cambusbarren	St Ninians	Stirling	<i>NSA</i> (St Ninians), 323; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xxvii, 95; RCAHMS 1963:171, no 174; RCAHMS 1979:32, no 284.
71	235560	659440	NS79SE42	St Ninian's Chapel	Stirling	Stirling	RCAHMS 1963:434, no 536; RCAHMS 1979:36, no 326
72	277884	693056	NS79SE52	St Thomas's Chapel	Stirling	Stirling	Fleming 1898:95-104.
73	255710	679690	NS57NE51	St Kessog's Chapel	Strathblane	Stirling	Mackinlay 1914:137; Smith 1886:167-8; 229, 261, 322 maps.
74	29830	668790	NS96NE3	Chapel	Bathgate	West Lothian	<i>OS Name Book</i> no x, 41.
75	30000	677000	NT07NW27	St Mary's Chapel	Linlithgow	West Lothian	Cowan & Easson 1976:163; Easson 1957:163; <i>RMS</i> vol ii, 2333
76	299600	677030	NS97NE12	St Ninian's Chapel	Linlithgow	West Lothian	<i>NSA</i> (Linlithgow), 175; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xl, 11.

Gazetteer – Cists

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	217370	676340	NS17NE5	Castle House	Dunoon & Kilmun	Argyll	<i>OS Name Book</i> no iv.69.
2	234200	621800	NS32SW50	Sandy Knowes	Ayr	Ayr	RCAHMS 1985:9, no 28.
3	233369	622021	NS32SW11	St John's Church	Ayr	Ayr	NSA (Ayr), 34-5; Paterson 1847 vol I, 172-3; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 4-5.
4	234000	648700	NS34NW8	Law Hill	Dalry	Ayr	NSA (Dalry), 220; Smith 1895:72.
5	286030	695330	NS89NE17	Maiden Stone	Alloa	Clackmannan	NSA (Alloa), 56; OSA (Alloa), 601.
6	246000	673130	NS47SE22	Old Kilpatrick	Old Kilpatrick	Dunbarton	<i>Canmore</i> .
7	297300	637300	NS93NE13	Covington Cist	Covington & Thankerton	Lanark	RCAHMS 1978:75-6, no 158.
8	275480	654850	NS75SE3.01	St Patrick's Church	Dalziel	Lanark	OSA (Dalziel), 459; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xxi, 61.
9	274780	647020	NS74NW4.01	St Ninian's Church	Stonehouse	Lanark	Wilson 1936-7 vol ii, 39-40.
10	288810	697230	NS89NE7	St Serf's Glebe	Alva	Stirling	Morris & Morris 1982:82.
11	293690	690240	NS99SW24	Dickson's Wood	Tulliallan	Fife	<i>Canmore</i> .

Gazetteer – Court Hills

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	217390	676410	NS17NE4	Tom a'Mhoid	Dunoon & Kilmun	Argyll	Armitage 1912:313; OSA vol ii (Argyllshire), 384.
2	210100	690000	N/A	Ardein	Inverchaolain	Argyll	OSA vol v (Argyllshire), 496.
3	210090	668994	NS16NW6	Dunan	Inverchaolain	Argyll	OSA, vol v (Argyllshire), 496; OPS 1854:62; <i>OS Name Book</i> no 4, 96; RCAHMS 1998:184, no 298.
4	203820	690960	NS09SW1	Judge's Chair	Kilmodan	Argyll	<i>OS Name Book</i> no 18, 11.
5	233850	617980	NS31NW3	Alloway Moat	Ayr [Alloway]	Ayr	NSA vol v (Ayrshire), 39; RCAHMS 1950-9 vol i; RCAHMS 1985:19, no 91; Smith 1895:157; Stell 1985:15; Talbot 1975:56.
6	207000	577900	NX07NE7	Court Knowe 1	Ballantrae	Ayr	<i>OS Name Book</i> no viii, 19.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
7	212110	583660	NX18SW22	Court Knowe 2	Ballantrae	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no vii, 37; Smith 1895:227.
8	236110	653930	NS35SE1	Court Hill	Beith	Ayr	NSA vol v (Ayrshire), 579-80; Love 1876:297; RCAHMS 1942-3.
9	240680	630110	NS43SW8	Barnweill	Craigie [Barnweill]	Ayr	Paterson 1863-6 vol i, pt i, 265; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xviii, 41; RCAHMS 1985:19, no 92; Smith 1895:28-9; Stell 1985:15; Talbot 1975:50.
10	242230	631770	NS43SW11	Craigie/Highlangside	Craigie	Ayr	Paterson 1863-6 vol i, pt i, 261; Smith 1895:128.
11	246380	632430	NS43SE3	Judgement Seat	Craigie	Ayr	Smith 1895:127.
12	222330	600260	NS20SW9	Baron's Stone of Killochan	Dailly	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no 19, 66.
13	NS40NE3	248190	605800	Dalmellington Mote	Damellington	Ayr	OSA vol xii (Ayrshire), 158; NSA vol v (Ayrshire), 315; Smith 1895:169; Christison 1893:382-4.
14	230590	648090	NS34NW3	Court Hill	Dalry	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no 20, 127.
15	229240	649580	NS24NE3	Courthill	Dalry	Ayr	OSA vol xii (Ayrshire), 157-8, 219-20; Cochran-Patrick 1875:281-3; Laing 1969:113; NSA vol v (Ayrshire), 219020; Scott 1990:271-80; Talbot 1975:54; Smith 1895:69-71.
16	234050	648770	NS34NW7	Law Hill	Dalry	Ayr	OSA vol xii (Ayrshire), 158; Smith 1895:71.
17	238600	648600	NS34NE10	Court Hill	Dunlop	Ayr	Smith 1895:84; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxvi, 52.
18	242700	652000	NS45SW7	Craighead Law	Dunlop	Ayr	Smith 1895:84; Bayne 1935, 34.
19	218500	598070	NX19NE11	Knockcushion	Girvan	Ayr	Smith 1895:215; Macfarlane 1935:84. 1906-8 vol ii, 13-4.
20	234650	640780	NS34SW10	Lawthorn Mount	Irvine [Perceton]	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no 31, 30; Smith 1895:123-4; Talbot 1975:54.
21	231570	640030	NS34SW15	Salmon's Hill	Irvine	Ayr	Smith 1895:124; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxxi, 31-2.
22	243750	639340	NS43NW28	Judas or Justice	Kilmarnock	Ayr	Smith 1895:104.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
				Hill			
23	238630	637950	NS33NE5	The Moat	Kilmaurs	Ayr	OSA vol ix (Ayrshire), 365.
24	219950	666370	NS16NE5	Judge's Mound	Largs	Ayr	Smith 1985:5; OSA vol ii (Ayrshire), 430-1.
25	251890	638570	NS53NW11	Judge's Hill	Loudoun	Ayr	Johnstone, Mair & Hearn 1994:fig 32; Scott 1969:15.
26	258340	614070	NS51SE2	Court Knowe	New Cumnock	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xlvi, 105; Smith 1895:168.
27	257680	607100	N/A	Mote Hill	Old Cumnock	Ayr	OSA vol vi (Ayrshire), 118.
28	257550	620690	NS52SE3	Motehill	Old Cumnock	Ayr	OSA vol vi (Ayrshire), 118; Smith 1895:166; OS <i>Name Book</i> no 52, 14; Warrick 1899:44.
29	242820	636390	NS43NW27	Court Hill	Riccanton	Ayr	NSA vol v (Ayrshire), 615; Paterson 1863-6 vol i, pt ii. 639.
30	241120	644770	NS44SW1	Law Mount	Stewarton	Ayr	Smith 1895:85; OSA vol vi (Ayrshire), 619; RCAHMS 1950-1.
31	238290	601640	NS30SE2	Dalmorton Mote	Straiton	Ayr	OSA vol iii (Ayrshire), 593-4; OS <i>Name Book</i> no lx, 75; RCAHMS 1942-3; RCAHMS 1983:10, no 40; Smith 1895:184.
32	241000	628700	NS42NW7	Law	Tarbolton	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no lxii, 51; Smith 1895:150.
33	243230	627340	NS42NW3	Tarbolton Mote	Tarbolton	Ayr	NSA vol v (Ayrshire), 748; OSA vol ix, 457; OS <i>Name Book</i> no lxii, 42; RCAHMS 1950-9, RCAHMS 1985:20, no 96; Smith 1895:148-9; Stell 1085:16.
34	205860	929700	NS02NE6	St Molaise's Table	Kilbride	Bute	NSA vol v (Buteshire), 24; Balfour 1909:156-8 illust.; Headrick 1807:80-1.
35	286070	695425	N/A	Tullibody	Alloa	Clackmannan	O'Grady 2008:575.
36	292420	697705	N/A	Tillicoultry	Tillicoultry	Clackmannan	O'Grady 2008:575.
37	294425	689685	N/A	Tulliallan	Tulliallan	Clackmannan	Scott 1958:23.
38	289500	599340	NX89NE9	Judgment Thorn	Morton	Dumfries	NSA vol iv (Dumfriesshire), 95-6. Ramage 1876:311.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
39	279450	608550	N/A	Sanquhar	Sanquhar	Dumfries	OSA vol vi (Dumfriesshire), 482; NSA vol iv (Dumfriesshire), 305; Armitage 1912: 318;
40	247240	687120	NS48NE3	Catterlaw	Kilmaronock	Dunbarton	Irving 1879 vol ii, 226; Chalmers 1887-94, vol vi, 864; RCAHMS 1950-9; RCAHMS 421957:xv; RCAHMS 1978:15, no 86; Stell 1985:17.
41	235210	687930	NS38NE4	Court Hill	Luss	Dunbarton	Fraser 1869 vol ii, 44; Irving 1879 vol ii, 242.
42	255000	669000	NS56NE1	Dawsholm Park	New Kilpatrick	Dunbarton	NSA vol viii (Dunbartonshire). 47-8; Bruce 1893:21-2.
43	225440	687920	NS28NE2	Tom a'Mhoid	Rhu	Dunbarton	OS Name Book no xvi, 29.
44	225460	683380	NS28SE2	Tom a'Mhoid	Rosneath	Dunbarton	OS Name Book no xvi, 45
45	261360	672450	NS67SW6	Cadder Mote	Cadder	Lanark	Maitland 1757:180; RCAHMS 1982:21, no 57; Wilson 1936-7 vol i, 151.
46	282100	651400	NS85SW2	Law of Mauldslie	Carluke	Lanark	OSA vol viii (Lanarkshire), 129; NSA vol vi (Lanarkshire), 581; RCAHMS 1978:59, 75, nos 75, 153.
47	297210	637350	N/A	Covington	Covington & Thankerton [Covington]	Lanark	OSA vol viii (Lanarkshire), 201-2.
48	275650	656550	NS75NE2	Cross Stone	Dalziel	Lanark	OSA vol viii (Lanarkshire), 243; NSA vol vi (Lanarkshire), 453; Wilson 1936-7:160; Sneddon & Stevenson 1926:28.
49	257800	655300	NS55NE53	Meikle Drips	East Kilbride	Lanark	OPS 1851 vol i, 508; Welsh 1974:46; Fraser 1863:470.
50	259400	664600	NS56SE13	Mutehill	Glasgow	Lanark	Mann, 1938, 7.
51	255500	665800	NS56NE18	Doomster Hill	Govan	Lanark	NSA vol vi (Lanarkshire), 690; OSA vol xiv (Lanarkshire), 294.
52	272695	656619	NS75NW4	Mote Hill	Hamilton	Lanark	Armitage 1912:314; NSA vol vi (Lanarkshire), 270-1; Stell 1985:19; Waddell 1918:247, 248.
53	278250	698450	N/A	Court Hill	Dunblane & Lecropt [Lecropt]	Perth	OSA vol xvii (Perthshire), 694.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
54	273940	705610	NN70NW1	The Judge's Cairn	Dunblane & Lecropt	Perth	<i>OS Name Book</i> no xxv, 11; RCAHMS 1979:8, no 17; RCAHMS 1994
55	259570	798980	N/A	Tomavoid	Port of Menteith	Perth	McNiven 2011:97, 268.
56	258750	660020	N/A	Court Knowe	Cathcart	Renfrew	<i>NSA</i> (Cathcart). 504.
57	255490	650680	NS55SE15	Garret Law	Eaglesham	Renfrew	<i>OS Name Book</i> no iii, 15.
58	257105	651908	NS55SE18	The Orry	Eaglesham	Renfrew	Ainslie 1789, plan no 1.
59	249030	665340	NS46NE9	Queen Blearie's Mound	Paisley	Renfrew	<i>OS Name Book</i> no i, 17, <i>Revision Book</i> 8/14, 16.
60	289700	687700	N/A	Airth	Airth	Stirling	Barrow 1992: 242, no. 3.8.
61	259410	678990	NS57NE47	Courthill of Craigbarnet	Campsie	Stirling	Cameron 1892:167.
62	281800	679500	N/A	Mote	Falkirk	Stirling	<i>OSA</i> vol xviii, (Stirlingshire), 23; Smith 1934:66-7.
63	272441	677584	N/A	Court Hill	Kilsyth	Stirling	<i>OSA</i> vol xviii (Stirlingshire), 297.
64	279100	675600	N/A	Moat Hill	Kilsyth	Stirling	<i>OSA</i> vol xviii (Stirlingshire), 439.
65	279330	694470	NS79SE3	The Mote	Stirling	Stirling	<i>NSA</i> vol xviii (Stirlingshire), 403; RCAHMS 1963:79-80, no 80; RCAHMS 1979:19, no 144.
66	256100	676600	NS57NE18	Law Stone of Mugdock	Strathblane	Stirling	Smith 1886:252; RCAHMS 1963 vol i, 68, no 63; RCAHMS 1979:16, no 118.
67	254950	677380	NS57NW2	Moothill	Strathblane	Stirling	Smith 1886: 18.
68	299400	677200	N/A	Jock's Hill	Linlithgow	West Lothian	<i>OSA</i> vol xiv (Linlithgowshire), 776.

Gazetteer – Crosses, Cross-incised stones, etc

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Site Type	Parish	County	Reference
1	201070	695150	NS09NW6	Kilmorie Burial Ground	Cross	Strathlachlan	Argyll	<i>OPS</i> 1854:76; <i>OS Name Book</i> no lxxxi, 94.
2	206910	577380	NX07NE6	Shallochwreck	Cross-incised stone	Ballantrae	Ayr	RCAHMS 1981:21, no 148.
3	236900	655300	NS35NE25	How o'Cruxlee	Cross	Beith	Ayr	Love 1876:294.
4	233170	618060	NS31NW5	Cambusdoon	Cross	Maybole	Ayr	RCAHMS 1985:14, no 66.
5	205860	629700	NS02NE6	St Blane's	Cross-incised	Kingarth	Bute	Headrick 1807:80-1.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Site Type	Parish	County	Reference
					stone			
6	208620	663670	NS06SE1	St Mary's Church	Cross slab	Rothsay	Bute	Markus 2012:6; Cowan & Easson 1976:195.
7	245233	687464	NS48NE2.01	Kilmaronock Parish Church	Cross slab	Kilmaronock	Dunbarton	CANMORE.
8	225348	683136	NS28SE3	St Modan's Church	Crosses, cross slabs, etc	Rosneath	Dunbarton	Allen & Anderson 1903 vol iii, 453-4.
9	266300	656580	NS65NE13	Crossbasket	Cross	Cambuslang	Lanark	OS Name Book no 7, 56; Ure 1793:154.
10	275990	654980	NS75SE2	Dalziel House	Cross	Dalziel	Lanark	NSA vol vi (Lanarkshire), 453; Sneddon & Stevenson 1926:31; Wilson 1936-7:160.
11	275650	656550	NS75NE2	Motherwell Cross	Cross	Dalziel	Lanark	Sneddon & Stevenson 1926:28; Wilson 1936-7:160.
12	272342	655555	NS75NW15	Netherton Cross	Cross	Hamilton	Lanark	Allen & Anderson 1903 vol iii, 471-2.
13	249320	666140	NS46NE13	Queen Blearie's Stone	Stone	Renfrew	Renfrew	Macfarlane 1906-8 vol ii, 202-3; NSA (Renfrew), 14; OPS 1851:77; OS Name Book no xvi, 61.
14	288730	680010	NS88SE18	Falkirk Parish Church	Cross	Falkirk	Stirling	RCAHMS 1963:150-1.
15	277880	693050	NS79SE52	St Thomas's Well	Hogback Stone	Stirling	Stirling	Fleming 189:95-105,

Gazetteer – Cuthills

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	260500	636900	N/A	Cothill	Galston	Ayr	Barrow 1992:240 no 2.33.
2	308430	700140	NO00SE6	Coldrain	Fossoway & Tullibole [Fossoway]	Kinross	OS Name Book no 88, 32; RCAHMS 1933:296, 32.
3	297200	648200	N/A	Couthally	Carnwath	Lanark	Barrow 1992:235, no 1.31.
4	302600	614400	N/A	Errickstane Hill	Crawford	Lanark	Barrow 1992:242, no 3.10; Watson

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							1926:182.
5	272363	699085	NS79NW40. 12	Cuthill Brae	Kincardine	Perth	McNiven 2011:170
6	289700	687700	N/A	Airth	Airth	Stirling	Barrow 1992:242 no 3.8.
7	282100	682000	N/A	Cuthelton	Denny & Dunipace	Stirling	Barrow 1992: 234, no 1.28, 240, no 2.32.
8	298900	663100	N/A	Cuthill	Whitburn	West Lothian	Barrow 1992:234, no 1.29.

Gazetteer – Gallows sites

No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	Gallow Hill	Dunoon	Argyll	Gallow Hill noted on 1st Edition OS Map, possibly centred on area of Royal Crescent
2	Tom a'Chrochadaire	Kilmodan	Argyll	OS Name Book no 18, 11.
3	Dollar Hill Mound	Craigie	Ayr	Smith 1895:128
4	Gallow Stone	Dalry	Ayr	NSA, (Dalry), 219-220.
5	Gallow Hill	Girvan	Ayr	Gallow Hill noted on 1st Edition OS Map.
6	Gallows	Irvine	Ayr	Smith, 1895:124.
7	Gallow Hill	Kilmarnock	Ayr	Smith 1895:104.
8	Gallow Law & Cairn	Loudoun	Ayr	Gallow Law & Cairn noted on 1st Edition OS Map.
9	Gallow Hill	Tarbolton	Ayr	NSA, (Tarbolton), 748.
10	Gallows Flat	Morton	Dumfries	NSA, (Morton), 96.
11	Gallows Knowe	Sanguhar	Dumfries	Brown 1891: 30
12	Gallow Hill	Luss	Dunbarton	Fraser 1869, vol ii, 44.
13	Gallowhill	Rosneath	Dunbarton	NSA, (Rosneath), 124.
14	High Gallowhill	Cadder	Lanark	Area of High Gallowhill noted on 1st Edition OS Map
15	Gallowlie	Carluke	Lanark	OSA, (Carluke), 132-3
16	Gallows	Dalziel	Lanark	OSA, (Dalziel), 243.
17	Gallow Hill	Dunblane & Lecropt	Perth	OS 6" map annotated by O G S Crawford, 5 June 1937.
18	Gallowhill	Paisley	Renfrew	Area of Gallowhill noted 1st Edition OS Map
19	Gallows Hill	Campsie	Stirling	OSA, (Campsie), 269
20	Gallows Knowe	Kilsyth	Stirling	OSA, (Kilsyth), 29.
21	Gallow Knowe of Mugdock	Strathblane	Stirling	Smith 1896:3 and note 1.

No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
22	Gallows Hill	Strathblane	Stirling	Gallows Hill noted on 1st Edition OS Map.
23	Gallows Knowe	Linlithgow	West Lothian	OS 6" Map 1913.

Gazetteer – Holy Wells

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	202080	676410	NS07NW3	Chapel Well	Inverchaolain	Argyll	OS Name Book no lviii, 74a; RCHAMS 1992:74.
2	205530	672464	NS07SE4	Priest's Well	Inverchaolain	Argyll	OS Name Book no vii, 12.
3	200280	684460	NS08SW2	St Modan's Well	Kilmodan	Argyll	OS Name Book no xviii, 44.
4	202050	687830	NS08NW3	Tobar a'Phiobain	Kilmodan	Argyll	OS Name Book no xviii, 25.
5	203000	690800	NS09SW11	Tobar na h'Anait	Kilmodan	Argyll	MacDonald: 139-40, 143.
6	201150	696630	NS09NW18	Tobar an Laggairt	Strathlachlan	Argyll	OS Name Book no lxxxi, 86.
7	201030	695040	NS09NW17	Tobar cill Moire	Strathlachlan	Argyll	OS Name Book no lxxxi, 93.
8	250000	620000	NS52SE10	Our Lady's Well	Auchinleck	Ayr	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 3.
9	233960	621930	NS32SW7.0 1	Friar's Well	Ayr	Ayr	NSA (Ayr), 37; OS Name Book no v, 26.
10	233370	622010	NS32SW35	St John's Well	Ayr	Ayr	Paterson 1847 vol i, 172-3; Mackenzie 1935:21.
11	233900	621810	NS32SW8	St Katherine's Well	Ayr	Ayr	Cowan & Easson 1976:116; Dunlop 1953:96-7; Pagan 1897:4, 5, 55, 61.
12	234000	621000	NS32SW40	St Thomas's Well	Ayr	Ayr	Paterson 1863-6 vol i, 92-3.
13	233100	618050	NS31NW25	Mungo's Well	Ayr (Alloway)	Ayr	Walker 1883:199.
14	237250	653110	NS35SE10	St Bridget's Well	Beith	Ayr	NSA (Beith), 581; OS Name Book no xii, 113, 117; Chalmers 1887-94 vol iii, 557.
15	237170	655450	NS35NE14	St Inan's Well	Beith	Ayr	Love 1876:293-4; Mackinlay 1893:78-9; RCAHMS 1942-3:200; Smith 1895:83.
16	243000	617000	NS41NW5	Carnell Well	Coylton	Ayr	NSA (Coylton), 655; RCAHMS 1985:15, no 67; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 20.
17	240820	618020	NS41NW1	Chapel Well	Coylton	Ayr	NSA (Coylton), 655; OS Name Book

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							no xvii, 43; RCAHMS 1985: 83; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 20.
18	242430	615980	NS41NW4	St Bride's Well	Coylton	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xvii, 7; RCAHMS 1985:18, no 85. Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 20.
19	228000	651000	NS25SE12	St Fillan's Well	Dalry	Ayr	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 84.
20	235660	633540	NS33SE16	St Mary's Well	Dundonald	Ayr	Paterson 1863-6 vol i, pt ii, 424.
21	240790	650300	NS45SW10	St Mary's Well	Dunlop	Ayr	Bayne 1935:14; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxvi, 7.
22	252120	635300	NS53NW4	Holy Well	Galston	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxviii, 83; Walker 1883:203.
23	232268	638518	NS33NW9	St Mary's Well	Irvine	Ayr	OSA (Irvine), 184; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxxi, 82.
24	242700	637900	NS43NW34	Our Lady's Well	Kilmarnock	Ayr	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 104.
25	241440	640630	NS44SW6	Lady's Well	Kilmaurs	Ayr	McNaught 1912:116-7.
26	241140	641120	NS44SW37	Monk's Well	Kilmaurs	Ayr	McNaught 1912:252.
27	230190	643150	NS34SW9	Kyle's Well	Kilwinning	Ayr	NSA (Kilwinning), 819; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xli, 69.
28	229860	643090	NS24SE11	St Winning's Well	Kilwinning	Ayr	NSA (Kilwinning), 815-6; OSA (Kilwinning), 143; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxvi, 82; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 116.
29	235400	613360	NS31SE7	Chapel Well	Kirkmichael	Ayr	NSA (Kirkmichael), 496; Paterson 1863-6 vol ii, 257; RCAHMS 1983:20, no 138.
30	224230	609580	NS20NW32	Lady Well	Kirkoswald	Ayr	<i>Canmore</i> ..
31	221240	655510	NS25NW23	Fairlie	Largs	Ayr	OPS 1851:234.
32	219000	667000	NS16NE8	St Fillan's Well (1)	Largs	Ayr	Walker 1883:190.
33	219500	663850	NS16SE2	St Fillan's Well (2)	Largs	Ayr	OPS 1851:89; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xlii, 38; Walker 1883:188.
34	257100	638700	NS53NE7	Glen Chapel Holm	Loudoun	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xliii, 83; Paterson 1863-6, vol iii, pt ii, 542-3.
35	255000	639000	NS53NE18	Our Lady's Well	Loudoun	Ayr	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 119; Walker 1883:197.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
36	249690	627370	NS42NE5	St Michael's Well	Mauchline	Ayr	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 119; <i>NSA</i> (Mauchline), 517.
37	228970	611080	NS21SE10	Ladycross Well	Maybole	Ayr	Macfarlane 1906-8 vol ii, 4; <i>NSA</i> (Maybole), 366; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xlvi, 116-7; Walker 1883:197-8.
38	229000	610000	NS21SE11	St Anthony's Well	Maybole	Ayr	Macfarlane 1906-8 vo ii, 4; <i>NSA</i> (Maybole), 366; Walker 1883:186, 191.
39	231322	613423	NS31SW2	St Helen's Well	Maybole	Ayr	Macfarlane 1906-8 vol ii, 4; <i>NSA</i> (Maybole), 366.
40	224590	612640	NS21SW2	St Patrick's Well	Maybole	Ayr	<i>OS Name Book</i> no xliv, 57.
41	234670	624790	NS32SW2	Bruce's Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Ayr	Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi, 495-7; Cowan 1976:183; RCAHMS 1985:17, no 78; OSA (Prestwick), 403; <i>NSA</i> (Prestwick), 173.
42	235000	626400	NS32NE13	Lady Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Ayr	Hewat 1894:91.
43	235000	626400	NS32NE13	St Nicholas's Well	Monkton & Prestwick	Ayr	Hewat 1894:91.
44	253560	626040	NS52NW6	St Cuthbert's Well	Sorn	Ayr	<i>OS Name Book</i> no lv, 114.
45	239670	644160	NS34SE5	Monk's Well	Stewarton	Ayr	<i>Canmore</i> .
46	240210	609100	NS40NW4	Chapel Well	Straiton	Ayr	<i>OS Name Book</i> no lix, 15.
47	205870	629870	NS02NE5	St Molaise's Well	Kilbride	Bute	Balfour 1909:158 illust; Headrick 1807:80-1.
48	193900	623000	NR92SW11	Bennecarrigan	Kilmory	Bute	<i>NSA</i> (Kilmory), 55; <i>OS Name Book</i> no ii, 114.
49	188070	646590	NR84NE1	Tobar Challum Cille	Kilmory	Bute	<i>OS Name Book</i> no iii, 39.
50	209442	653442	NS05SE9	St Blane's Well	Kingarth	Bute	Hewison 1893-5 vol i, 178-9.
51	210090	656650	NS15NW2	St Chattan's Well	Kingarth	Bute	Markus 2012:257; <i>OS Name Book</i> no vii, 43; Watson 1926:167, 277.
52	206365	658151	NS05NE44	Ambrismore	North Bute	Bute	May 1780-2.
53	203727	662635	NS06SW14	Cruikland Chapel	North Bute	Bute	Hewison 1893-5 vol i, 235.
54	199220	670540	NR97SE4	Lover's Well	North Bute	Bute	Hewison 1893-5 vol i, 113-4.
55	208667	663750	NS06SE2	St Mary's Well	Rothsay	Bute	Markus 2012:514; 1 st Edition OS Map

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							(Buteshire), Sheet cciv.
56	285630	695480	NS89NE11	Lady's Well	Alloa	Clackmannan	OS <i>Name Book</i> no i, 9; RCAHMS 1933:314-5, no 598.
57	286070	695330	NS89NE12	Priest' Well	Alloa	Clackmannan	RCAHMS 1933:315.
58	288560	697520	NS89NE42	Lady's Well	Alva	Clackmannan	<i>Canmore</i> .
59	288810	697230	NS89NE7	St Serf's Well	Alva	Clackmannan	Morris & Morris 1982:82, NSA (Alva), 188-9.
60	291250	691220	NS99SW8	Chapel Well	Clackmannan	Clackmannan	OS <i>Name Book</i> no iii, 36.
61	291110	697490	NS99NW44	Lady's Well	Tillicoultry	Clackmannan	<i>Canmore</i> .
62	286270	604450	NS80SE28	Holywell Cleuch	Durisdeer	Dumfries	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xiv, 129; Ramage 1876:110.
63	289120	603520	NS80SE29	St Cuthbert's Well	Durisdeer	Dumfries	Ramage 1896:110.
64	288870	601230	NS80SE30	Mary's Well	Morton	Dumfries	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xl, 108.
65	287340	594970	NX89SE22	St Patrick's Well	Morton	Dumfries	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xl, 17; Ramage 1876:328.
66	277960	610590	NS71SE22	St Bride's Well	Sanquhar	Dumfries	Mackinlay 1893:296; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xliv, 123-5.
67	239350	675000	NS37NE11	St Shear's Well	Cardross	Dunbarton	Cowan 1967:27; Irving 1879 pt ii, 306, 360; OPS 1851:26; OSA vol xviii, 218.
68	244780	687640	NS48NW2	St Ronan's Well or St Marnock's Well	Kilmaronock	Dunbarton	Barrett 1919:23; OSA (Cardross), 202; Watson 1926:309.
69	246230	673060	NS47SE21	St Patrick's Well	Old Kilpatrick	Dunbarton	Bruce 1893:60.
70	224895	689862	NS28NW1	Priest's Well	Rhu	Dunbarton	Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi. 910; Fraser 1869 vol ii, 107-8; MacGibbon & 71.Ross 1896-7 vol ii, 557-9; RCAHMS 1978:13, no 69; Irving 1860:415.
71	231000	682000	NS38SW14	St Michael's Well	Rhu	Dunbarton	Barrett 1914:202.
72	225210	682970	NS28SE41	St Modan's Well	Rosneath	Dunbarton	RCHAMS 1978:15, no 81.
73	298190	686770	NS98NE3.03	Monk's Well	Culross	Fife	Beveridge 1885 vol ii, 34-5.
74	272540	641980	NS74SW4	St Oswald's Well	Avondale	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no ii, 95.
75	266300	266300	NS65NE13	Crossbasket Well	Cambuslang	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no vii, 56; Ure

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							1793:154.
76	280000	655000	NS85NW2	St Aidan's Well	Cambusnethan	Lanark	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 240
77	280000	655000	NS85NW2	St Columba's Well	Cambusnethan	Lanark	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 240
78	291720	639070	NS93NW1	St Bride's Well	Carmichael	Lanark	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 287.
79	294173	639165	NS93NW2	St Michael's Well	Carmichael	Lanark	Irving & Murray 1864 vol ii, 8; OS <i>Name Book</i> no ix, 28.
80	299240	652990	NS95SE1	St Mary Magdalene's Well	Carnwath	Lanark	Wilson 1936-7 vol i, 103-4.
81	274440	657050	NS75NW11	Lady Well	Dalziel	Lanark	NSA vol vi, 445; OPS 1851 vol i, 58; OS <i>Name Book</i> no ixl, 23.
82	270000	650000	NS75NE11	St Catherine's Well	Dalziel	Lanark	OPS 1851 vol i, 58; Wilson 1936-7 vol ii, 159.
83	276004	654984	NS75SE1.01	St Margaret's Well	Dalziel	Lanark	OPS 1851:58; Wilson 1936-7:159.
84	275523	654895	NS75SE5	St Patrick's Well	Dalziel	Lanark	Mackinlay 1893:76; Wilson 1936-7 vol v, 160; Sneddon & Stevenson 1926:12, 13; OSA (Dalziel), 242.
85	283130	624680	NS82SW1	Chapel Well	Douglas	Lanark	NSA vol vi (Lanark), 495.
86	260376	665327	NS66NW9	Lady Well	Glasgow	Lanark	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 406; Walker 1883:184.
87	259990	664780	NS56SE17	St Mungo's Well	Glasgow	Lanark	Morris & Morris 1982:108; Renwick 1908:33; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 454.
88	260248	665577	NS66NW17	St Mungo's Well (Glasgow Cathedral)	Glasgow	Lanark	Cowan & Easson 1976:52, 207-8; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol ii, 160-203; Driscoll 1993:63-76.
89	259400	664900	NS56SE56	St Ninian's Well	Glasgow	Lanark	OPS 1851:15.
90	258900	664800	NS56SE29	St Thenew's Well	Glasgow	Lanark	Renwick & Lindsay 1921 vol i, 352ff; Walker 1883:190.
91	268340	648700	NS64NE3	Chapel Well	Glassford	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxvi, 33.
92	255360	665790	NS56NE21	St Constantine's Well	Govan	Lanark	Brochie 1905:288.
93	271400	652000	NS75SW22	Chapel Well	Hamilton	Lanark	<i>Canmore</i> .
94	298410	630540	NS93SE13	St Ninian's Well	Lamington & Wandel (Lamington)	Lanark	NSA (Lamington), 839; Walker 1883:199.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
95	288300	643600	NS84SE60	St Mungo's Well	Lanark	Lanark	Reid 1922:32-3; Morris & Morris 1982:138.
96	287440	643650	NS84SE63	St Patrick's Well	Lanark	Lanark	Morris & Morris 1982:138; OPS 1851:120; Reid 1922:30.
97	287440	643650	NS84SE63	St Peter's Well	Lanark	Lanark	Morris & Morris 1982:138; OPS 1851:120; Reid 1922:30.
98	289527	644967	NS84SE72	St Teiling's Well	Lanark	Lanark	Morris & Morris 1982:138; Reid 1922:27-30.
99	285965	644691	NS84SE74	My Lady's Well	Lanark (Nemphlar)	Lanark	Morris & Morris 1982:31.
100	275050	666540	NS76NE4	Virtue Well	New Monkland	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no i, 88; Knox 1921:21.
101	284190	663010	NS86SW2	Kate's Well	Shotts	Lanark	Cowan & Easson 1976:156; Easson 1957:56; NSA (Shotts), 628; OS <i>Name Book</i> no liii, 79; Scott et al vol iii, 276,
102	285613	673500	NS87SE2	High St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxiii, 11, 64; RCAHMS 1963:155-6, no 145, 436, no 549; Walker 1883:194.
103	285613	673230	NS87SE2	St Lawrence Well	Slamannan	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxiii, 11, 64; RCAHMS 1963:155-6, no 145, 436, no 549; Walker 1883:194.
104	277270	644690	NS74SE1	St Anthony's Well	Stonehouse	Lanark	Naismith 1885:161.
105	274840	643590	NS74SW2	St Lawrence's Well	Stonehouse	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no ii, 71.
106	274700	646800	NS74NW8	St Ninian's Well	Stonehouse	Lanark	Naismith 1885:160.
107	276600	648250	NS74NE4	St Patrick's Well	Stonehouse	Lanark	Naismith 1885:161.
108	278100	701500	NN70SE31	St Philip's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt (Dunblane)	Perth	Barty 1944:351.
109	277920	698130	NS79NE15	St Bryde's Well	Dunblane & Lecropt (Lecropt)	Perth	RCAHMS 1979:35. No 314; Watson 1926:329.
110	272919	698903	NS79NW40.05	Christ's Well	Kincardine	Perth	<i>Canmore</i> .
111	258700	660600	NS56SE58	Oswell's Well	Cathcart	Renfrew	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 381.
112	258970	648130	NS54NE3	Munzie Well	Eaglesham	Renfrew	NSA (Eaglesham), 385; OS <i>Name Book</i> no iii, 33.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
113	255000	662000	NS56SW18	St Conal's Well	Eastwood	Renfrew	Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 133.
114	238400	668990	NS36NE3	St Fillan's Well	Houston	Renfrew	Morris & Morris 1982:164-5; OSA (Houston), 316; OS <i>Name Book</i> no x, 14
115	240763	667502	NS46NW7	St Peter's Well	Houston	Renfrew	OSA (Houston), 315; Walker 1883:164-7.
116	222700	674100	NS27SW13	Chrisswell Chapel	Inverkip	Renfrew	Snoddy 1950:121.
117	238500	660900	NS36SE19	St Bryde's Well	Kilbarchan	Renfrew	Walker 1883:187-8.
118	229990	654760	NS25SE3	Birnie's Well	Kilbirnie	Renfrew	NSA (Kilbirnie), 691; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxi, 73.
119	235560	659460	NS35NE2	Johnshill Well	Lochwinnoch	Renfrew	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xvi, 64.
120	236360	660540	NS36SE11	Warlock Gates	Lochwinnoch	Renfrew	OPS 1851:93; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xvi, 55
121	246040	654950	NS45SE19	Our Lady's Well	Neilston	Renfrew	NSA (Neilston), 315-16, 328-9; OS <i>Name book</i> no xviii, 113. Metcalfe 1908: 189.
122	249304	658863	NS45NE4	St Conal's Well	Neilston	Renfrew	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xviii, 17; Watson 1926:189.
123	289810	668500	NS88NE6	Lady Well	Airth	Stirling	OSA vol iii, 495; RCAHMS 1963:436, no 548.
124	245730	691800	NS49SE2	St Maha's Well	Buchannan	Stirling	RCAHMS 1963 vol i, 435.
125	261060	679720	NS67NW17	St Machan's Well	Campsie	Stirling	OS <i>Name Book</i> no vii, 44; RCAHMS 1963:436, no 550.
126	248000	683000	NS48SE5	Knockinhaglish	Drymen	Stirling	Smith 1896:135.
127	249100	685680	NS48NE7	St Vildrin's Well	Drymen	Stirling	Forbes 1872:458; Mackinlay 1893:17-8; Morris & Morris 1982:176; OPS 1851:38; RCAHMS 1963:436, no. 551; Walker 883:201-2.
128	288812	679902	NS87NE34	Cross Well	Falkirk	Stirling	RCAHMS 1963:434-5, no 540.
129	272320	679560	NS77NW3	St Mirren's Well	Kilsyth	Stirling	RCAHMS 1963:435, no 542.
130	265250	695040	NS69NE2	St Mauvais' Well	Kippen	Stirling	MacAirt and MacNiocaill 1983 vol i, 49; Forbes 1872:xxv; Mackinlay 1914:79; RCAHMS 1963: 435-6, no 545.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
131	281350	698040	NS89NW2	Highlandman's Well	Logie	Stirling	OSA (Logie), 288; RCAHMS 1963:436, no 546.
132	277810	692510	NS79SE62	Christ's Well	St Ninians	Stirling	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxvii, 95; RCAHMS 1963:436, no 547.
133	272900	691800	NS79SW9	St Corbet's Well	St Ninians	Stirling	Mackinlay 1893:105-6.
134	279680	693012	NS79SE33	St Ninian's Well	Stirling	Stirling	NSA (Stirling), 394-5; Walker 1883:170-2.
135	277884	693056	NS79SE52	St Thomas's Well	Stirling	Stirling	Fleming 1898:95-104.
136	253600	681000	NS58SW12	St Blane's Well	Strathblane	Stirling	Smith 1886:4, 167.
137	255710	679690	NS57NE51	St Kessog's Well	Strathblane	Stirling	Mackinlay 1914:137; Smith 1886:167-8; 229, 261, 322 maps.
138	256340	676430	NS57NE20	St Patrick's Well	Strathblane	Stirling	Smith 1886:256.
139	297830	668790	NS96NE3	Chapell Well	Bathgate	West Lothian	OS <i>Name Book</i> no x, 41.
140	299880	681700	NS98SE79	St John's Well	Bo'ness & Carriden	West Lothian	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xiv, 23, 55; Salmon 1901:556-7, 268.
141	300216	677170	NT07NW11	Cross Well	Linlithgow	West Lothian	Dennison & Coleman 2000:25, 45, 72-3, 75, 113; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxxviii, 27, 42-3.
142	301160	677040	NT07NW42	St Magdalene's Well	Linlithgow	West Lothian	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xli:21.
143	300413	677119	NT07NW38	St Michael's Well	Linlithgow	West Lothian	Dennison & Coleman 2000:37-8, 75, 113 Fig 18; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xli:13.
144	300000	677000	NT07NW43	St Paul's Well	Linlithgow	West Lothian	Mackinlay 1893:67.
145	304740	668080	NT06NW14	Lady Well	Livingston	West Lothian	OS <i>Name Book</i> no i, 20.
146	304730	668690	NT06NW8	Rose Well	Livingston	West Lothian	OS <i>Name Book</i> no i, 15.
147	297240	672300	NS97SE6	St John's Well (1)	Torphichen	West Lothian	NSA (Torphichen), 36; OS <i>Name Book</i> no iv, 52.
148	287200	667390	NS86NE4	St John's Well (2)	Torphichen	West Lothian	OS <i>Name Book</i> no lvii, 16.

Gazetteer – Miscellaneous

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Site Type	Parish	County	Reference
1	205530	672464	NS07SE4	Newton	Burial Ground	Inverchaolain	Argyll	OS <i>Name Book</i> no vii, 12.
2	202050	687830	NS08NW3	Glendaurel	Monk's Cell	Kilmodan	Argyll	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xviii, 25.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Site Type	Parish	County	Reference
3	202880	690350	NS09SW2	Kilbridemore	Burial Ground	Kilmodan	Argyll	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xviii, 6.
4	235800	654300	NS35SE14	Boghall	Crannog	Beith	Ayr	Love 1876:288-9.
5	237180	655380	NS35NE14	St Inan's Seat	Saint's Seat	Beith	Ayr	Love 1876:293-4; Mackinlay 1893:78-9; RCAHMS 1942-3:200; Smith 1895:83.
6	230190	643150	NS34SW9	Kilwinning Abbey	Cell	Kilwinning	Ayr	NSA (Kilwinning), 819; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xli, 69.
7	257100	638700	NS53NE7	Glen Chapel Holm	Font	Loudoun	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xlili, 83; Paterson 1863-6 vol iii, pt ii, 542-3.
8	249771	627264	NS42NE2	Abbot Hunter's House	Abbot's House	Mauchline	Ayr	Cowan & Easson 1976:78; MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol iii, 204 fig 138.
9	253560	626040	NS52NW6	St Cuthbert's Field	Field	Sorn	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no lv, 114.
10	205860	629720	NS02NE4	St Molaise's Oratory	Oratory	Kilbride	Bute	Balfour 1909:151-6 plan.
11	200000	660000	NS06SE40	Reilgvail	Burial Ground	Kilmory	Bute	Hewison 1893 vol i, 33.
12	200000	660000	NS06SE39	Reiligglass	Burial Ground	Kilmory	Bute	Hewison 1893 vol i, 33.
13	200000	660000	NS06SE41	Reilignerget	Burial Ground	Kilmory	Bute	Hewison 1893 vol i, 33.
14	200000	660000	NS06SE37	Reilvourkie	Burial Ground	Kilmory	Bute	Hewison 1893 vol i, 33.
15	209491	653446	NS05SE5	St Blane's Church	Oratory	Kingarth	Bute	Markus 2012:257; OPS 1854:175, 184-5; OS <i>Name Book</i> no 4, 63.
16	209491	653446	NS05SE5	St Blane's Tomb	Saint's Tomb	Kingarth	Bute	Markus 2012:257; OPS 1854:175, 184-5; OS <i>Name Book</i> no 4, 63.
17	224895	689862	NS28NW1	Priest's House	Priest's House	Rhu	Dunbarton	Chalmers 1187-94 vol vi, 910; Fraser 1869 vol ii, 107-8; Irving 1860:415.
18	225348	683136	NS28SE3	St Modan's Shine	Saint's Tomb	Rosneath	Dunbarton	Cowan & Easson 1976:99; OPS 1851:28.
19	272540	272540	NS74SW4	Chapel Farm	Font	Avondale	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no ii, 95.
20	283130	624671	NS82SW1	Andershaw	Font	Douglas	Lanark	NSA (Douglas), 495.
21	268340	648700	NS64NE3	Chapelton	Font	Glassford	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xxvi, 33.
22	277870	698110	NS79NE15	Lecropt	Saint's Tomb	Dunblane & Lecropt	Perth	Cowan 1967:129; Watson 1926:329.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Site Type	Parish	County	Reference
						(Lecropt)		
23	238261	668936	NS36NE5	Kilallan	Font	Houston	Renfrew	OPS 1891:81; OSA (Lecropt), 316; OS <i>Name Book</i> no x, 12.
24	238390	668920	NS36NE4	St Fillan's Seat	Saint's Seat	Houston	Renfrew	Mackinlay 1895:254.
25	238261	668936	NS36NE5	St Fillans	Font	Houston	Renfrew	OPS 1851:81; OSA (Houston), 316; OS <i>Name Book</i> no x, 12.
26	238428	660830	NS36SE24	St Bryde's House	House	Kilbarchan	Renfrew	<i>Canmore</i> .
27	261021	679641	NS67NW2	St Machan's Tomb	Saint's Tomb	Campsie	Stirling	Mackinlay 1910:197.
28	249100	685680	NS48NE7	St Vildrin's Well	Saint's Effigy	Drymen	Stirling	Forbes 1872:458; Mackinlay 1893:17-8; Morris & Morris 1982:176; OPS 1851:38; RCAHMS 1963:436, no. 551; Walker 1883:201-2.

Gazetteer – Non-Holy Wells

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	233740	640150	NS34SW23	Stane Castle	Irvine	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no 31, 67.
2	242420	639660	NS43NW7	Roman Well	Kilmarnock	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no 33, 47; Paterson 1847:166.
3	229835	609669	NS20NE41	Welltrees	Maybole	Ayr	<i>Canmore</i> .
4	256040	632120	NS53SE12	Dentibert Well	Sorn	Ayr	<i>Canmore</i> .
5	220310	650260	NS25SW33	Dornell Well	West Kilbride	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no 63, 73.
6	217940	650790	NS15SE3	The Wishing Well	West Kilbride	Ayr	Cochran-Patrick & Cleland 1879:348-61.
7	206830	629150	NS02NE8	Dorothy's Well	Kilbride	Bute	<i>1st Edition OS Map Sheet lxxxvi (Kilmore and Kilbride), 1924.</i>
8	292670	698040	NS99NW43	Lady Ann's Well	Tillicoultry	Clackmannan	<i>Canmore</i> .
9	285650	694750	NS89SE5	Tullibody	Tullibody	Clackmannan	RCAHMS 1978:4-5, no 13.
10	268120	656770	NS65NE20	Kenning's Well	Blantyre	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no 4, 43-4.
11	267740	657730	NS65NE8	Queen Mary's Well	Blantyre	Lanark	OS <i>Name Book</i> no vii, 51.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
12	237770	700140	NN30SE18	Halfway Well	Buchannan	Lanark	<i>Canmore</i> .
13	263820	669600	NS66NW391	Wallace Well	Cadder	Lanark	<i>Canmore</i> .
14	264940	659500	NS65NW11	Cairns Well	Cambuslang	Lanark	<i>OS Name Book</i> no 7, 28; Wilson 1936-7 vol ii, 360.
15	267740	657730	NS65NE8	Queen Mary's Well	Cambuslang	Lanark	<i>OS Name Book</i> no 7, 51.
16	285280	650590	NS85SE4	Standing Stone Well	Carluke	Lanark	<i>NSA</i> (Carluke), 581; <i>OS Name Book</i> no 11, 81; RCAHMS 1978:80, no 174.
17	288000	643000	NS84SE62	Blind Well	Lanark	Lanark	Morris & Morris 1982:138; Reid 1922:32.
18	288100	643500	NS84SE61	Skatins Well	Lanark	Lanark	Morris & Morris 1982:138; Reid 1922:33-4.
19	293290	658440	NS95NW56	Mug Well	West Calder	Midlothian	<i>Canmore</i> .
20	293410	658460	NS95NW56	Muldron Well	West Calder	Midlothian	<i>Canmore</i> .
21	284000	702800	NN80SW12	Spout Well	Dunblane & Lecropt	Perth	(Undated) information in NMRS from Leslie J, Plan of Sheriffmoor 1766.
22	271950	700760	NN70SW46	Clan's Well	Kilmadock	Perth	<i>Canmore</i> .
23	278940	693890	NS79SE11	Butt Well	Stirling	Stirling	<i>Canmore</i> .

Gazetteer – Non-Parish Churches

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	233825	621956	NS32SW107	102-4 High Street	Ayr	Ayr	<i>Canmore</i> .
2	209100	578800	NX07NE3	Kilantroing	Ballantrae	Ayr	<i>OS Name Book</i> no viii, 6; Watson 1926:293-4.
3	219500	667100	NS16NE6	Annatyrd	Largs	Ayr	MacDonald 1973:139-40.
4	260100	665300	NS66NW12	High Street	Glasgow	Lanark	M'Ure 1736:61-2; Renwick 1908:225-6.
5	259542	664916	NS56SE21	Tron Church	Glasgow	Lanark	Cowan & Easson 1976:180; Easson 1957:180; Renwick & Lindsay 1921 vol i, 65, 133-4, 342-6; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 473.
6	259600	664900	NS56SE20	Trongate	Glasgow	Lanark	Renwick 1908:234-6; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 454.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
7	237550	660100	NS36SE10	Castle Semple Collegiate Church	Lochwinnoch	Renfrew	Cowan & Easson 1976:226; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol iii, 351-6 figs 1284, 1289; Scott et al 1915-61 vol ix, 241-2.

Gazetteer – Parish Churches

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
1	217421	676549	NS17NE6	Dunoon Old Parish Church	Dunoon & Kilmun (Dunoon)	Argyll	<i>OPS</i> 1854 vol ii, 64; Cowan 1967:54; <i>RMS</i> , ii. no. 3136; <i>CPL</i> , xi. 604-5; <i>RS</i> , 582, 118v; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 153; <i>RSS</i> , lvii, 28v.
2	216570	682073	NS18SE1	Kilmun	Dunoon & Kilmun (Kilmun)	Argyll	Cowan 1967:108; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 132-3; <i>RS</i> , 375, 124; <i>CPL</i> , xii. 242-4; Cowan & Easson 1976:181; Easson 1957:181; Scott et al 1915-61 vol viii, 318, vol iv, 33.
3	209095	675301	NS07NE2	Inverchaolain Church	Inverchaolain	Argyll	Cowan 1967:88; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 132; <i>CPL</i> , xii. 435; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 48, 52, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 492; <i>NSA</i> (Inverchaolain), 112, 113.
4	199512	684184	NR98SE5	Kilmodan Parish Church	Kilmodan	Argyll	Cowan 1967:103; <i>CPL</i> , vii. 376; <i>RSS</i> , ii. no. 4595; iv. no. 1646; <i>OS Name Book</i> no. xviii, 42; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iv, 30.
5	218900	712855	NN11SE3	Kilmorich Old Parish Church	Kilmorich	Argyll	Cowan 1967:106; <i>Inchaff. Lib.</i> , 137; <i>RMS</i> , ii, no. 3622; Watson 1926:293; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iv, 36, vol viii, 319.
6	219851	701461	NN10SE 4	Lochgoihead Kirk	Lochgoilhead	Argyll	Cowan 1967: 135; <i>RS</i> , 375, 124; <i>CPL</i> , xii, 242-4; Scott et al 1915-61 vol viii, 319.
7	209576	701530	NN00SE 10	Kilmolash Church	Strachur	Argyll	Cowan 1967:189; <i>OPS</i> ii. i. 77.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
8	223294	642421	NS24SW3	Ardrossan Old Parish Church	Ardrossan	Ayr	Cowan 1967:8; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 140; <i>MS Rental</i> , 60, 65, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 547; <i>RSS</i> . lxii. 146v; <i>NSA</i> (Ardrossan), 228; Scott et al, 1915-61 vol viii, 228.
9	255136	621531	NS52SE1	Auchinleck Old Parish Church	Auchinleck	Ayr	Cowan 1967:9; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 18, 225-6, 308; <i>MS Rental</i> , fo 28, cited Chalmers, 1887-94 vi, 524; <i>RMS</i> v, no 2070.
10	233369	622021	NS32SW11	St John the Baptist's Parish Church	Ayr	Ayr	Cowan 1967:12; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 276; <i>NSA</i> (Ayr), 34-5; Paterson 1847 vol I, 172-3; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 4-5.
11	233191	618051	NS31NW2	Alloway Kirk	Ayr (Alloway)	Ayr	<i>OPS</i> vol iii, 1; Cowan 1967:5; <i>RSS</i> iii. no. 2013; Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi, 530; Paterson 1863-6 vol i, 175. Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 1, <i>NSA</i> (Alloway), 38.
12	211684	583835	NX18SW3	Old Kirkcudbright Kirk	Ballantrae	Ayr	White & White 1961: 211-14; Cowan 1967:120;
13	234843	653979	NS35SW7	The Cross	Beith	Ayr	Cowan 1967:16; <i>CPL</i> ii. 310-11, 383; <i>RSS</i> 62, 147; <i>MS Rental Book</i> , 61, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 557; <i>NSA</i> (Beith), 593-8; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 81.
14	214464	585785	NX18NW25	Colmonell Parish Church	Colmonell	Ayr	Cowan 1967:34; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 51, 111; <i>RSS</i> iv. no. 1640; Chalmers 1887-84, vol vi, 541-2; Paterson 1863-6, vol ii, 127-9; Watson 1926:187-9.
15	242145	619244	NS41NW2	Coylton Old Parish Church	Coylton	Ayr	Cowan 1967:3; <i>RSS</i> I, no 2688, iii. no. 476; Chalmers 1887-94, vol vi, 527; <i>NSA</i> (Coylton), 655, 662; <i>OSA</i> (Coylton), 102; Paterson 1883-6, vol i, 216; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 20,
16	242731	632312	NS43SW25	Craigie Parish Church	Craigie	Ayr	Cowan 1967:37; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 114, 231-

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							36, 308; <i>RSS</i> iii. nos. 2756, 3026; <i>MS Rental Book</i> , 27, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 512-3; <i>RMS</i> v. no 2070; <i>NSA</i> (Craigie), 767-8; <i>OSA</i> (Craigie), 373; Paterson 1883-6 vol i, 255-8; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 21.
17	240506	629903	NS42NW1	Barnweill Parish Church	Craigie (Barnweill)	Ayr	<i>OPS</i> 1920 vol viii, 226; Cowan 1967:14; Easson 1957:91; <i>MS Rental Book</i> , 48, 51-2, cited Chalmers, 1887-84, vi. 516-7; <i>OSA</i> (Craigie), 112; <i>OS Name Book</i> No xviii, 33; Paterson 1863-6, vol i, pt i, 257, 264-5; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, vol viii, 226.
18	222540	599330	NX29NW1	Old Dailly Parish Church	Dailly	Ayr	Cowan 1967:42-3; Easson 1957:56; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 537; <i>OS Name Book</i> No ix, 63.
19	248050	605790	NS40NE5	Dalmellington Old Kirk	Dalmellington	Ayr	Cowan 1967:44; <i>RSS</i> , iii. no. 513; <i>OS Name Book</i> No xxi, 63; Paterson 1863-6 vol i, 369.
20	228000	648000	NS24NE11	St Margaret's Church	Dalry	Ayr	Cowan 1967:45; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 140; <i>RS</i> , 671, 231; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 58, 60, cited in Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 560; <i>RSS</i> , lxii, 146v; <i>OSA</i> (Dalry), 106; <i>NSA</i> (Dalry), 220; <i>OS Name Book</i> No xx, 136; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 84, vol viii, 229.
21	235748	614432	NS31SE 36	Dalrymple Parish Church	Dalrymple	Ayr	Cowan 1967:45; <i>RSS</i> , xlix. 9v; Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 529-39;
22	235169	638236	NS33NE37	Dreghorn Old Parish Church	Dreghorn	Ayr	Cowan 1967:48; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 65, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 549; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , lxi; <i>RSS</i> , xli. 38v; lxii. 146v.
23	235111	640585	NS34SE6	Perceton Old Parish Church	Dreghorn (Perceton)	Ayr	<i>RMS</i> , 1424-1513, vol ii, no 943; Cowan 1967:165; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> ,

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							61, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 549; <i>RSS</i> , lxii. 146v; <i>SHR</i> , vol. xxxii. 97; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 90.
24	236625	634271	NS33SE22	Dundonald	Dundonald	Ayr	Cowan 1967:52; <i>NSA</i> (Dundonald), 6; <i>OSA</i> (Dundonald), 618; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1985:16; Paterson 1863-6 vol 1:424-5; Gillespie 1939 vol i:30-1; Easson, 1957, 89; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 12, 18, 22, 25-7, 226; <i>Rental Book</i> , fo. 27-8, 49, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 509; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070;
25	240474	649414	NS44NW34	Dunlop Parish Church	Dunlop	Ayr	Cowan 1967:53; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 64, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 556; <i>RMS</i> , ii. no. 1382;
26	250006	636698	NS53NW7	Galston Parish Church	Galston	Ayr	Cowan 1967:72; <i>CPL</i> , xii. 314, 377; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , fo. 48, 52-3, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 517;
27	218630	598290	NX19NE8	Girvan Old Parish Church	Girvan	Ayr	Cowan 1967:73; <i>Crossraguel</i> , i. nos. 2, 22, 87; Chalmers 1887-94, vol vi, 538-9; Paterson 1863-6 vol ii, 76.
28	232205	538672	NS33NW38	Irvine Old Parish Church	Irvine	Ayr	Cowan 1967:91; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 60, 65, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 545; Paterson, 1863-6, ii. 86; <i>CPL</i> , ix. 66; <i>NSA</i> (Irvine), 629; Scott 1915-61 vol iii, 97, vol viii, 232.
29	231473	653647	NS35SW 2	Kilbirnie Auld Parish Kirk	Kilbirnie	Ayr	Cowan 1967:95; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 60, cited Chalmers 1887-94, vi, 559; <i>RMS</i> , vi. no. 1838; <i>RSS</i> , v. no. 2034; Watson 1926:189,
30	242767	637948	NS43NW8	Laigh Kirk	Kilmarnock	Ayr	Cowan 1967:104; <i>CPL</i> , ii. 310-11, 383; <i>Vet. Mon.</i> , nos. cccclxxxvii, diii; <i>MS. Rental Bk.</i> , cited Chalmers, Caledonia, vi. 552; <i>RSS</i> , lxii. 146v; Watson 1926:187-8; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii,

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							104.
31	241465	640770	NS44SW7	S Maur's – Glencairn Church	Kilmaurs	Ayr	Cowan 1967:105; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> nos. 283, 285-6, 279, 281-2, 284; Chalmers 1887-94, vol iii, 551-2; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 112.
32	230321	643294	NS34SW84	Kilwinning Old Parish Church	Kilwinning	Ayr	Cowan 1967:110; Easson 1957:59; <i>RS</i> , 446, 225; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 60, cited 1887-94, vi. 548; <i>RSS</i> , lxii, 147.
33	234542	608956	NS30NW5	Kirkmichael Old Parish Church	Kirkmichael	Ayr	Cowan 1967:122; <i>RS</i> , 446, 51; Chalmers 1887-94 vol iii, 533; Paterson 1863-6 vol ii, 257.
34	223884	607511	NS20NW2	Kirkoswald Old Parish Church	Kirkoswald	Ayr	Cowan 1967:123; Easson 1957:56; <i>Crossraguel</i> , i. no. 2, 3-4, 22, 55; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 113-4, 321, 427-8; Watson 1926:188; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 46.
35	220265	659441	NS25NW13	Skelmorrie Aisle	Largs	Ayr	Cowan 1967:127-8; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 308, 23-44; <i>Assumptions</i> , cited <i>OPS</i> , l. 90; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070;
36	249292	637387	NS43NE1	Loudoun Kirk	Loudoun	Ayr	Cowan 1967:139-40; <i>RS</i> , 584, 71v; 585, 136v; Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 554; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2085; <i>NSA</i> (Loudoun), 839; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 119.
37	249795	627228	NS42NE7	Mauchline Old Church	Mauchline	Ayr	Cowan 1967:144; <i>Mel. Lib.</i> , no. 73; <i>MS Rental Bk</i> , cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 554; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2085; Cowan & Easson 1976:81.
38	226252	615926	NS21NE4	Kirkbride Old Parish Church	Maybole	Ayr	Cowan 1967:144-5; <i>N.B. Chrs</i> , nos. 13-15, 22, 26-8; <i>RSS</i> , liv. 10; <i>NSA</i> (Maybole), 364; Paterson 1863-6 vol ii, 367-9; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 51.
39	235809	627688	NS32NE1	Monkton Old Parish Church	Monkton	Ayr	Cowan 1967:150; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 6, 409, 114, 321; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; <i>RSS</i> , lxii. 115; <i>NSA</i> (Monkton), 169-76; <i>OSA</i>

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							(Monkton), 394-5; Paterson 1863-6 vol i, 571-4; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 55; Chalmers 1887-94, vol vi, 505-8.
40	250562	621139	NS52SW30	Ochiltree Old Parish Church	Ochiltree	Ayr	Cowan 1967:158; <i>Mel. Lib.</i> , nos. 327, 397-400, 401-6, 445-6, 516; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 264; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 60.
41	256798	620156	NS52SE 54	The Square Old Church	Old Cumnock	Ayr	Cowan 1967:42; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 320, 342; <i>RMS</i> , ii. nos. 90, 1064.
42	235083	626478	NS32NE4	Prestwick Old Parish Church	Prestwick	Ayr	Cowan 1967:167; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 6, 409, 113-14, 321; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; Chalmers 1887-94, vol vi, 505-6; Cowan & Easson 1976:167; <i>NSA</i> (Prestwick), 169-70; <i>OSA</i> (Prestwick), 397; <i>OS Name Book</i> No 37, 25; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 58; Paterson 1863-6, vol i, 567-74.
43	242824	636394	NS43NW23	Riccarton Parish Church	Riccarton	Ayr	Chalmers, 1887-94, vol 3:511; Cowan 1967:171; Easson 1957:89; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 12, 18, 22, 25-7; <i>MS Rental Book</i> , fo. 27, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 511; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; <i>NSA</i> (Riccarton), 615; Paterson 1863-6, vol i, pt ii, 638-9.
44	226660	642150	NS24SE18	St Monk's Church	Stevenson	Ayr	Cowan 1967:187; <i>MS Rental Book</i> , fos. 36, 61, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 546; <i>Ayr Friars</i> no. 44; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 98; <i>CPL</i> , xiii. 37; <i>RSS</i> , lxii. 155; <i>NSA</i> (Stevenson), 468; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 122.
45	241888	645686	NS44NW33	Parish Church of St Columba	Stewarton	Ayr	Cowan 1967:187; <i>MS Rental Book</i> , fo. 61, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 555; <i>Mel Lib</i> , no. 517; <i>CPL</i> , ix. 146; <i>RSS</i> , lxi. 126v; lxii. 137v; <i>PSAS</i> , vol. xli.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							359.
46	238059	604907	NS30SE1	Straiton Parish Church	Straiton	Ayr	Cowan 1967:189-90; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 187; <i>Crossraguel</i> , i. no. 2, 3-4; Easson, 1957:56; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 56, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 536
47	238436	631418	NS33SE21	Symington Church	Symington	Ayr	Cowan 1967:194; Chalmers, 1887-94, vi, 513; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 136-7; <i>CPL</i> , x. 693-4; <i>NSA</i> (Symington), 569; <i>OSA</i> (Symington), 402; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 72; Paterson 1863-6 vol i, 735-6.
48	243024	627172	NS42NW27	Tarbolton Old Parish Church	Tarbolton	Ayr	Cowan 1967:195; Mel Lib, nos. 447, 452-3, 457-8, 518; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 340; Chalmers 1887-94, vol vi, 515-17; <i>NSA</i> (Tarbolton), 749-50; <i>OSA</i> (Tarbolton)75.
49	220667	648425	NS24NW80	West Kilbride Parish Church	West Kilbride	Ayr	Cowan 1967:208; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , lxviii; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 60, 64, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 561; <i>RMS</i> , vi. no. 1387.
50	215756	655168	NS15NE 12	Church of Maura	Cumbrae	Bute	Cowan 1967:42; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 237-44; <i>Assumptions</i> , cited <i>OPS</i> , l. 90; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; Allen & Anderson 1903:413, 417; Hewison 1893-5 vol i, 283
51	203224	632260	NS03SW5	Kilbride Chapel	Kilbride	Bute	Cowan 1967:95-6; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 237-44; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070
52	193990	623010	NR92SW10	St Mary's Chapel, Sliddery	Kilmory	Bute	Cowan 1967:107; <i>RMS</i> , i. no. 182; <i>RS</i> , 364, 136; <i>CPL</i> , viii, 473; <i>RMS</i> , iii. no. 2202; <i>RSS</i> , ii. no. 3646; <i>NSA</i> (Kilmory), 55; <i>OS Name Book</i> No ii, 114.
53	210100	656600	NS15NW6	St Catan's Church	Kingarth	Bute	Cowan 1967:112; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 15; <i>RS</i> , 289, 253; <i>CPL</i> , xi. 498; Hewison 1893-5:137; <i>NSA</i> (Kingarth), 84; <i>OPS</i> 1854

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							vol ii, 211; Scott 1915-61, vol iv, 33.
54	208620	663670	NS06SE1	St Mary's Church	Rothsay	Bute	Cowan 1967:174; RSS, i. no. 2394; <i>Bute Inventory</i> , cited OPS, II. i. 211; RSS, xli. 30; RSS, xli, 20; liv. 117; lx. 22; lxiii.127v; lxvii. 112; Cowan & Easson 1976:195; Easson 1957:195.
55	288634	692587	NS89SE6	Alloa Old Parish Church	Alloa	Clackmannan	Cowan 1967:5; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos. 19, 21; RMS vii. No. 1222; RCAHMS 1933:308, no 587.
56	288741	697324	NS89NE14	St Servano's Church	Alva	Clackmannan	Cowan 1967:6; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos. 15, 25; RMS vii. No. 1222; NSA (Alloa), 188-9; RCAHMS 1978:6 no.17; RCAHMS 1933:315-16.
57	290977	691838	NS99SW19	Clackmannan Old Parish Church	Clackmannan	Clackmannan	Cowan 1967:31; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos 23, 56-8, 62-3; <i>SHS Misc.</i> , vi. 62; <i>CPL</i> iv. 236, 240.
58	296369	698090	NS99NE4	Old Parish Church	Dollar	Clackmannan	Cowan 1967:46-7; <i>Inchcolm</i> no. xvi, xlix; NSA (Dollar), 109-10.
59	292395	697583	NS99NW9	Tillicoultry Old Parish Church	Tillicoultry	Clackmannan	Cowan 1967: 197; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos. 25, 220-1, 123-4, 217; RMS, vii. no. 1222; RCAHMS 1933:155; RCAHMS 1978:6-7, No 21.
60	289407	603770	NS80SE12	Durisdeer Parish Church	Durisdeer	Dumfries	Cowan 1967:56; Scott et al 1915-61 vol 2:312; Ramage 1876:108-12; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 320; <i>CPL</i> , xii. 800; xiii. 628; RSS, lxix. 265; <i>OS Name Book</i> No xiv, 138; RCAHMS 1920:59-60, nos 152-3; Scott et al 1915-61, vol ii, 312.
61	272350	615010	NS71NW1	St Connel's Church	Kirkconnel	Dumfries	Cowan 1967:119; <i>SHS Misc.</i> , v. 100; <i>CPL</i> , ix. 471; RSS, lx. 74; RCAHMS 1920:120 No 332.
62	289022	596968	NX89NE8	Morton Old Church	Morton	Dumfries	Cowan 1967:152; <i>Kel Lib</i> , nos. 279, 347, 4040; NSA (Morton), 94; Chalmers 1887-94, vol v, 170.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
63	284841	594471	NX89SW6	Penpont Church	Penpont	Dumfries	Cowan 1967:163; <i>SHS, Misc.</i> , v. 100; <i>CPL</i> , xii. 310-11; <i>RSS</i> , iv. nos. 106, 1763.
64	277910	610181	NS71SE4	St Bride's Church	Sanquhar	Dumfries	Cowan 1967:180-1; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 342, 525, <i>RS</i> , 418, 299v; <i>RSS</i> , xlix. 110; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7, vol iii, 434-6; RCAHMS 1920:189, no 548.
65	239490	679630	NS37NE3	Bonhill Old Church	Bonhill	Dunbarton	Cowan 1967:20; MS Rental Book, 36-7, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 906; <i>RSS</i> . lvi. 10v; <i>OPS</i> (Bonhill), 36.
66	239350	675000	NS37NE11	Cardross Old Parish Church	Cardross	Dunbarton	Cowan 1967:27; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> no. 108; <i>Assumptions</i> , cited <i>OPS</i> , i. 27; <i>RMS</i> . lv. no. 2664; Irving 1879, pt ii, 302; <i>OPS</i> 1851:45-8; <i>OSA</i> (Cardross), 179, 218.
67	276415	676007	NS77NE113	Cumbernauld Old Parish Church	Cumbernauld	Dunbarton	Cowan 1967:50; <i>CPL</i> , ii. 311, 382; RCAHMS 1982:10.
68	239760	675590	NS37NE14	St Patrick's Collegiate Church	Dumbarton	Dunbarton	Cowan 1967:50; Irving 1879:148-9; Dennison & Coleman 1999:16-17; Cowan & Easson 1976:177. <i>RSS</i> , iv. no. 1569; <i>RSS</i> , lxxviii. 16; <i>RMS</i> , vi. no. 1838; Easson 1957:177; Irving 1879, vol ii, 148-9.
69	245235	687481	NS48NE2	Kilmaronock Old Parish Church	Kilmaronock	Dunbarton	Cowan 1967:104; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos. 145-6, 148-9, 150; <i>CPL</i> , i. 542-3; <i>Assumptions</i> , cited <i>OPS</i> , i. 35; <i>RMS</i> , vii. no. 1222; Chalmers 1887-94:905-6; <i>OSA</i> (Kilmaronock), 205; RCAHMS 1978:14, no 76.
70	266534	673126	NS67SE4	St Ninian's Church	Kirkintilloch	Dunbarton	Cowan 1967:121; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> nos. 25, 132, 133-4, 136-9, 141, p. xxx; <i>OPS</i> 1851:48-9; <i>OS Name Book</i> no x, 77; RCAHMS 1982:20, No 55.
71	236100	692865	NS39SE1	St Kessog's Church	Luss	Dunbarton	Cowan 1967:141; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 340;

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							<i>Assumptions</i> , cited <i>OPS</i> , l. 31; Chalmers 1887-94, vol vi, 907-8; Fraser 1869, vol ii, 46, 56, 58; <i>NSA</i> (Luss), 23-6; <i>OPS</i> 1791-9:17, 264; <i>OSA</i> (Luss), 264; <i>RMS</i> , vol iv, no 1757; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 358-60; Watson 1926:277-8.
72	246345	673081	NS47SE7	Old Kilpatrick Parish Church	Old Kilpatrick	Dunbarton	Cowan 1967:108; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 113, 157-165; 164-9, 172-6, 180-203; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 143; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; Allen & Anderson 1903:452-3; <i>NSA</i> (Old Kilpatrick), 75; <i>OPS</i> 1851:20-1; RCAHMS 1978:23, no.28.
73	225348	683136	NS28SE3	St Modan's Parish Church	Rosneath	Dunbarton	Allen 1902:394-405; Cowan 1967:173; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 14, 209-10, 308, 321-4; <i>Assumptions</i> , cited <i>OPS</i> , i. 29; Allen & Anderson 1903, vol iii, 453-405; Cowan & Easson 1976:85, 99; <i>OPS</i> 1851:28, appx 502; RCAHMS 1978:15, no 81.
74	297953	686485	NS98NE2	Culross Old Parish Church	Culross	Fife	Cowan 1967:41; <i>PSAS</i> , vol. lx. 69-71, 73-5; Scott et al 1915-61, vol v, 13; RCAHMS 1933:69-70, no 149; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7, vol ii, 243, plan fig 645.
75	293367	688067	NS98NW7.0 1	Tulliallan Old Parish Church	Tulliallan	Fife	Cowan 1967:201; <i>SHS. Misc.</i> , vi. 72.
76	301580	701920	NO00SW6	Fossoway Old Parish Church	Fossoway	Kinross	Cowan 1967:70; <i>C.A. Chrs.</i> , nos. lxxxv, xcii, ciii; <i>OSA</i> , (Fossoway), 446-7.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
77	286035	695314	NS89NE13	Old Church of Tullibody	Tullibody	Kinross	Cowan 1967:201; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos. 123-4, 216, 217, 218-9; <i>RMS</i> , vii. no. 1222; <i>RS</i> , 664, 129v; <i>RSS</i> ii. no. 2858; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1933:308; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1978:7, no 22.
78	256258	593168	NX59SE63	Carsphairn Parish Church	Carsphairn	Kirkcudbright	Brooke 2000:358.
79	261879	681180	NX68SW148	St John's Old Church	Dalry	Kirkcudbright	Cowan 1967:44; <i>SHS Misc.</i> , vi. 74; <i>CPL</i> , ii. 361.
80	270380	644570	NS74SW10	St Mary's Church	Avondale	Lanark	Cowan 1967:11; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> , nos. 280, 460, 470-3; <i>RMS</i> , ii. 2452; Chalmers 1887-94, vol vi, 688n, 689; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 222.
81	268020	656680	NS65NE14	Kirkton	Blantyre	Lanark	Cowan 1967:19; Easson 1957:74; <i>OPS</i> , i, 59-60
82	270490	658604	NS75NW6	St Bride's Parish Church	Bothwell	Lanark	Cowan 1967:21; Cowan & Easson 1976:216; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7, vol ii, 530-7; <i>NSA</i> (Bothwell), 788; <i>OSA</i> (Bothwell), 321; <i>OPS</i> 1851, vol i, 53-5.
83	261567	672319	NS67SW13	Cadder Church	Cadder	Lanark	Cowan 1967: 24; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 26, 29, 212, 320; <i>CPL</i> , iii, 381; <i>Assumptions</i> , cited <i>OPS</i> , i. 50; <i>NSA</i> (Cadder), 411; <i>OSA</i> (Cadder), 479; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1982:20, no 52.
84	264557	659961	NS65NW12	Cambuslang Old Parish Church	Cambuslang	Lanark	Cowan 1967:25; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> nos. 335, 382; <i>RRS</i> lxi. 24v; <i>OPS</i> 1851:61; <i>OSA</i> (Cambuslang), 241.
85	276760	654020	NS75SE4	St Michael's Church	Cambusnethan	Lanark	Cowan 1967:25-6; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> p. vi, nos. 12, 272, 279, 413, 470-3; <i>RRS</i> lxiii. 107; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 240.
86	280690	650120	NS85SW3	Mauldslie Church	Carluke	Lanark	Cowan 1967:27; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 268; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> nos. 366, 477; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xi, 15-16; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iii, 284.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
87	294173	639165	NS93NW2	Kirk Hill	Carmichael	Lanark	Cowan 1967:27; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. i, 24, 51, 57, 62; Easson 1957:186; <i>CPL</i> , xi. 460-1; Irving & Murray 1864, vol ii, 8; <i>OS Name Book</i> no ix, 8.
88	259912	657487	NS55NE125	Carmunnock Parish Church	Carmunnock	Lanark	Cowan 1967:27-8; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 105-6, 109, 321.
89	297542	646411	NS94NE7	St Mary's Church	Carnwath	Lanark	Cowan 1967:28; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 24, 32, 51-2; <i>CPL</i> , ix, 2; <i>RS</i> , 352, 54; Cowan & Easson 1976:138, 175; Easson 1957:138, 175; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7, vol iii, 349-51; <i>NSA</i> (Carnwath), 84; <i>OPS</i> 1851:126; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xii, 77-8.
90	293882	646067	NS94NW10	Church of Carstairs	Carstairs	Lanark	Cowan 1967:29; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> no. 26, 32, 51, 57, 62, 111, 320, 542; <i>NSA</i> (Carstairs), 561; <i>OPS</i> 1851:124; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 272.
91	297506	639751	NS93NE19	Covington Parish Church	Covington & Thankerton (Covington)	Lanark	Cowan 1967:36; <i>RMS</i> i. no. 893; <i>RSS</i> ii. no. 1371; MacGibbon & Ross 1896, vol iii, 472-4.
92	293230	621139	NS92SW19	Kirkton	Crawford	Lanark	Cowan 1967:38; <i>Holy. Lib.</i> , nos. 27, 53 p. 169; Irving & Murray 1864 vol i, 64-110; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xviii, 38; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 297.
93	288016	623813	NS82SE11	Crawfordjohn Church	Crawfordjohn	Lanark	Cowan 1967:38; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> , nos. 336-7, 409, 413, 422, 471; <i>RMS</i> iii. no. 983, v. no. 1698.
94	279979	650712	NS75SE13	Dalserf Parish Church	Dalserf	Lanark	Cowan 1967:142; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 1, 8, 19, 26; <i>Mel. Lib.</i> , no. 121.
95	275480	654850	NS75SE3.01	St Patrick's Church	Dalziel	Lanark	Cowan 1967:45; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 113, 411, 428; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 112; <i>OSA</i> (Dalziel), 459; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xxi, 61;
96	283587	630952	NS83SW5	St Bride's Church	Douglas	Lanark	Cowan 1967:47; Easson 1957:186;

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
							<i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 320, 342, 525; Cowan & Easson 1976:228; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol ii, 520-37; <i>OPS</i> 1851 vol I, 152-4, 160;
97	263547	654525	NS65SW2	St Bride's Church	East Kilbride	Lanark	Cowan 1967:96; Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi, 692; <i>NSA</i> (East Kilbride), 885.
98	254000	661000	NS56SW17	Pollok Church	Glasgow	Lanark	Cowan 1967:74; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> no. 26, 28, 320, 525; Assumptions, cited <i>OPS</i> I, 2; <i>Glas Reg</i> no 525; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 473; Cowan & Easson 1976:180; Easson 1957:180; Renwick & Lindsay 1921 vol i, 65, 133-6.
99	273209	647006	NS74NW2	Glassford Old Church	Glassford	Lanark	Cowan 1967: 73-4; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> nos. 467, 483; <i>NSA</i> (Glassford), 295; Wilson 1936-7 vol ii, 25.
100	255349	665917	NS56NE17	Govan Old Church	Govan	Lanark	Cowan 1967:77-8; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 6-7, 26; <i>RSS</i> , v. no. 856; Allen & Anderson 1903 pt iii, 462-7; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 409-14.
101	272327	655534	NS75NW33	Hamilton Old Parish Church	Hamilton	Lanark	Cowan 1967:80; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 8, 26, 28; <i>Mel. Lib.</i> , no. 121; Easson 1957:81.
102	297816	630937	NS93SE16	St Ninian's Church	Lamington	Lanark	Cowan 1967:127; <i>CPL</i> , x. 184; xii. 506; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol i, 376; <i>NSA</i> (Lamington), 839-41.
103	288787	643246	NS84SE15	St Kentigern's Church	Lanark	Lanark	Cowan 1967:127; <i>Dry. Lib.</i> , nos. 43-5, 52, 209-10; <i>RSS</i> , lvi. 123; Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi, 709-10; Irving & Murray 1896-7 vol ii, 280; <i>NSA</i> (Lanark), 14; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol ii, 266.
104	285500	644500	NS84SE74	St Mary's Parish Chapel	Lanark (Nemphlar)	Lanark	Cowan 1967:154-5; <i>OPS</i> 1851:115.
105	281408	639873	NS83NW1.0 1	Lesmahagow Old Parish Church	Lesmahagow	Lanark	Cowan 1967:130; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> , nos. 3, 8, 180, 279; Allen & Anderson 1903:472.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
106	299109	642853	NS94SE79	Quothquan Church	Libberton	Lanark	Cowan 1967:132; <i>RMS</i> , i. no. 182; vi. no. 93; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 333-4; <i>CPL</i> , iv. 179; viii. 161);
107	271757	663220	NS76SW2	Old Monkland Parish Church	Old Monkland	Lanark	Cowan 1967:150; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 26, 29, 212, 321; <i>CPL</i> , iii. 381; <i>OPS</i> 1851 vol i, 128; <i>OS Name Book</i> no i, 81.
108	295499	642885	NS94SE2	Pettinain Parish Church	Pettinain	Lanark	Cowan 1967:164; <i>Dry. Lib.</i> , nos. 43-5, 209-10; Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi, 721-2.
109	299264	639491	NS93NE2	Quothquan Church	Quothquhan	Lanark	Cowan 1967:167; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 129; <i>RMS</i> v. no. 1477; Irving & Murray 1864 vol i, 437; <i>OPS</i> 1851 vol i, 137; Wilson 1936-7 vol i, 266.
110	294531	628728	NS92NW3	Roberton Parish Church	Roberton	Lanark	Cowan 1967:172; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> , no. 336; Irving & Murray 1864:151, 169; <i>OPS</i> 1851:148-9; <i>OS Name Book</i> no lix, 32.
111	261304	661707	NS66SW24	St Mary's Church	Rutherglen	Lanark	Cowan 1967:175; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 106-7, 109-10, 321; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol i, 372-5; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 486.
112	284340	662930	NS86SW2	St Mary's Church	Shotts	Lanark	Cowan 1967:17; <i>CPL</i> xiii. 489; <i>RMS</i> ii. nos. 1784, 3635; Cowan & Easson 1976:156; Easson 1957:156; <i>NSA</i> (Shotts), 628; <i>OS Name Book</i> no liii, 79; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 276.
113	274812	647011	NS74NW4	St Ninian's Church	Stonehouse	Lanark	Cowan 1967:189; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , lxxviii; <i>RSS</i> , lvii. 172; Wilson 1936-7:42.
114	299873	635159	NS93NE72	Symington Parish Church	Symington	Lanark	Cowan 1967:194; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> , nos. 33-4, 335-7, 413.
115	298437	635930	NS93NE17	St John's Kirk	Thankerton	Lanark	Cowan 1967:197; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> , nos. 275, 279, 338, 414, 471; Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi, 749-50; Irving & Murray 1864 vol i, 477; <i>NSA</i> (Thankerton), 874-5.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
116	296000	629000	NS92NE7	Wandel Parish Church	Wandel	Lanark	Cowan 1967:81; <i>CPL</i> , x. 184, xii. 506; <i>RMS</i> , ii. no. 3492; Chalmers 1887-94, vol iii, 743-4; Irving & Murray 1864 vol i, 211; Scott et al 1915-61 vol i, 264.
117	296146	631765	NS93SE43	Wiston Parish Church	Wiston	Lanark	Cowan 1967:211; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> , 334-7, 339, 279, 333-4, 460; <i>OPS</i> 1851 vol i, 146; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 321.
118	301769	663091	NT06SW1	West Calder Old Parish Church	West Calder	Midlothian	Cowan 1967:25; <i>Dunf Reg</i> , nos. 47, 84, 91, 94, 153, 237, 596; Fraser, Douglas, iii. nos. 18, 318-21; <i>RMS</i> , iv. no. 1798; Scott et al 1915-61 vol i, 178-80.
119	251842	700506	NN50SW3	Aberfoyle Old Parish Church	Aberfoyle	Perth	Cowan 1967:3; <i>RSS</i> , no. 595; <i>lb.</i> , ii. no. 1292; Fraser, 1880, ii.: 315-16; <i>NSA</i> (Aberfoyle), 1158; <i>OS Name Book</i> no ii, 14; RCAHMS 1979:31, no 272.
120	275559	702772	NN70SE36	Kilbryde Parish Church	Dunblane & Lecropt (Dunblane)	Perth	Cowan 1967:51; RCAHMS 1979:34; Scott et al 1915-61, vol iv, 342.
121	277870	698110	NS79NE15	Lecropt	Dunblane & Lecropt (Lecropt)	Perth	Cowan 1967:129; Watson 1926:329; RCAHMS 1979:35; MacLean, E 1963:47-50; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , no. 17, 184; <i>RMS</i> , vii. no. 1222.
122	199512	684184	NR98SE5	Kilmodan Parish Church	Kilmadock	Perth	Cowan 1967:102-3; <i>CPL</i> , viii. 101; <i>RS</i> , 423, 195; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xviii, 42; RCAHMS 1992:152-5, fig 158; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iv, 30.
123	272115	698742	NS79NW24	St Lolan's Parish Church	Kincardine	Perth	Cowan 1967:110; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos. 25, 121-4, 125-6, 130; <i>RSS</i> , i. no. 2233; <i>NSA</i> (Kincardine), 1258; RCAHMS 1979:34, no 308; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iv, 348.
124	300066	700977	NO00SW9	Muckhart Parish Church	Muckhart	Perth	Cowan 1967:153; <i>CPL</i> , I, 61; <i>SHS. Misc.</i> , vi. 37, 64.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
125	258290	701163	NN50SE90	Port of Menteith Parish Church	Port of Menteith	Perth	Cowan 1967:166; <i>Inchaff. Lib.</i> , xxix – xxxii., xxxi; RS, 402, 300v.
126	258726	660618	NS56SE57	Cathcart Old Parish Church	Cathcart	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:30; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 5, 109; <i>RMS</i> v. no. 2070; <i>NSA</i> (Cathcart), 509; <i>OPS</i> 1851:65; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 381,
127	257370	651880	NS55SE7	Eaglesham Parish Church	Eaglesham	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:24; <i>NSA</i> (Eaglesham), 403; <i>OS Name Book</i> No iii, 47; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 340, 525; <i>CPL</i> , xii, 413; <i>RMS</i> , iv. no. 1674.
128	254000	661000	NS56SW17	Pollok Church	Eastwood	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:57; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 308; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; <i>OPS</i> 1851:66; Scott et al 1915-61 vol iii, 133, vol viii, 23.
129	244713	671995	NS47SW24	Erskine Old Parish Church	Erskine	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:57; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 7, 113; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 143; <i>NSA</i> (Erskine), 523; <i>OPS</i> 1851 vol i, 80; <i>OS Name Book</i> no vi, 41.
130	241002	667077	NS46NW14	Houston Parish Church	Houston	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:83; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 113-114, 321; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol iii, 527-8; <i>OPS</i> 1851:82-3; <i>OS Name Book</i> no x, 43.
131	249040	668030	NS46NE11	Inchinnan Old Parish Church	Inchinnan	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:85; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 5; <i>CPL</i> , viii. 504; <i>NSA</i> (Inchinnan), 123-4; <i>OPS</i> 1851:78.
132	221123	672225	NS27SW9	Inverkip Old Parish Church	Inverkip	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:89; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 112-115, 321; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; <i>OPS</i> 1851:86; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xii, 1010.
133	238261	668936	NS36NE5	St Fillan's Church	Kilallan (Houston)	Renfrew	<i>Pais Reg</i> 7, 113, 318; Assumptions, cited <i>OPS</i> , i, 82; <i>RMS</i> , v, no 2072; Cowan 1967:102; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol 13iii, 527-9; <i>OPS</i> 1851 vol i, 81; <i>OSA</i> (Kilallan), 316; <i>OS Name Book</i> no x, 12; Watson 1926:193.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
134	240112	663242	NS46SW21	Kilbarchan Old Parish Church	Kilbarchan	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:94; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 7, 109; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2072.
135	235838	669988	NS36NE26	Kilmacolm Old Kirk	Kilmalcolm	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:103; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 7, 113, 318; <i>RS</i> , 292, 126; 401, 8; <i>RMS</i> , iii. no. 916; iv. no. 16; v. no. 2070; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol iii, 579. 529; <i>OPS</i> 1851:85-6.
136	235595	659122	NS35NE3	St Winnock's Church	Lochwinnoch	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:136; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 5, 62, 113, 249; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; <i>OPS</i> 1851:93; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xvi, 68.
137	255100	655600	NS55NE7	Mearns Church	Mearns	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:145; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 100-101, 321; <i>RMS</i> , v. no. 2070; <i>NSA</i> (Lochwinnoch), 519-20; <i>OPS</i> 1851:97.
138	248010	657363	NS45NE22	Neilston Parish Church	Neilston	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:145; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 104-5, 308, 321; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , 28, cited Chalmers 1887-94 vi. 848; <i>RMS</i> , v, no. 2070.
139	248558	663939	NS46SE2.02	St Mirin's Church	Paisley	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:161; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 5, 113, 249;; <i>RMS</i> , v, no. 2070; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol iii, 7-8.
140	250799	667547	NS56NW22	Renfrew Old Parish Church	Renfrew	Renfrew	Cowan 1967:170; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 28, 66, 525; lix, 133; <i>Pais. Reg.</i> , 249; <i>RSS.</i> , v. 2445; lb., lix, 133; <i>MS. Rental Book</i> , fo. 31, cited Chalmers, 1887-94, vi. 830; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol iii, 125-6; <i>OPS</i> 1851:74.
141	290035	686854	NS98NW12	Airth Parish Church	Airth	Stirling	Cowan 1967:5; <i>Holy. Lib.</i> , nos. 1-2, 75; RCAHMS 1963:143-8, no 137.
142	257676	675062	NS57NE 41	Baldernock	Baldernock	Stirling	Cowan 1967:12; <i>RSS</i> ii. no. 3102; <i>OPS</i> 1851:47; <i>OSA</i> (Baldernock), 277; RCAHMS 1963 vol i, 163-4, no 159; RCAHMS 1982:20, 51.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
143	254803	689262	NS58NW16	Balfroon Parish Church	Balfroon	Stirling	Cowan 1967:12; <i>Inchaff. Lib.</i> , 136; OSA (Balfroon), 535; RCAHMS 1979:31, no 278; RCAHMS 1963:1168, no 167.
144	241104	690614	NS49SW1	St Kentigern's Church	Buchanan	Stirling	Cowan 1967:35; RCAHMS 1963 vol i, 165-7, no 163; RCAHMS 1979:33 No 301.
145	261021	679641	NS67NW2	St Machan's Parish Church	Campsie	Stirling	Cowan 1967:26; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> nos. 101-3, 111, 116; <i>Kel. Lib.</i> , nos. 226, 386, 413; 147; MacKinlay 1910:197; <i>OPS</i> 1851:447; RCAHMS 1963:161-2, no 157; RCAHMS 1982:20, no 53.
146	247385	688075	NS48NE23	Drymen Parish Church	Drymen	Stirling	Cowan 1967:49; Lennox Cartularium, 30; RCAHMS 1963:165, no 162; RCAHMS 1979:32, no 289.
147	282031	683265	NS88SW83	Denovan Old Parish Church	Dunipace	Stirling	Cowan 1967:52; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos. 25, 109, 118; <i>Dunf. Reg.</i> , nos. 215, 237, 239.
148	288729	680025	NS88SE18	Falkirk Old Parish Church	Falkirk	Stirling	Cowan 1967:65; <i>Holy. Lib.</i> , App. i. no. I, App. ii, no. 4, 75; <i>CPL</i> , x. 711; RCAHMS 1963:150-1, no 140.
149	262682	686193	NS68NW18	Fintry Old Parish Church	Fintry	Stirling	Cowan 1967:66; <i>CPL</i> , x. 623; <i>RSS</i> , iii. no. 1774; OSA (Fintry), 115; RCAHMS 1963:169; RCAHMS 1979:33, no 286.
150	270698	694316	NS79SW1	Gargunnock Church	Gargunnock	Stirling	Cowan 1967:72; <i>RMS</i> , vii. no. 1222; OSA (Gargunnock), 115; RCAHMS 1963:170-1, no 172; RCAHMS 1979:33, no 296.
151	252290	685869	NS58NW7	Killearn Old Parish Church	Killearn	Stirling	Cowan 1967:101; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , no. 340; <i>CPL</i> , xiii. 296; NSA (Killearn), 66; <i>OPS</i> 1851, vol I, 40-1; <i>OS Name Book</i> no 15, 64; RCAHMS 1963 vol i, 164; RCAHMS 1979:34, no 304.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
152	271682	677201	NS77NW23	Kilsyth Old Parish Church	Kilsyth	Stirling	Cowan 1967:150; Fraser, 1874, ii. no. 401-2; Fraser, 1873, ii. 405; NSA (Kilsyth), 138-9; OPS 1851:43; OSA (Kilsyth), 214, 244, 299; RCAHMS 1963:160, no 155; RCAHMS 1982:10, no 27; Watson 1926:333.
153	265177	694850	NS69SE 1	Kippen Old Parish Church	Kippen	Stirling	Cowan 1967:116-17; <i>Inchaff. Lib.</i> , xxix-xxxii; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , no. 129; <i>CPL</i> , vii. 252-3; viii. 438; OSA (Kippen), 337; RCAHMS 1963:170, no 171; RCAHMS 1979:34, no 309.
154	285631	682217	NS88SE2	Larbert Old Parish Church	Larbert	Stirling	Cowan 1967:127; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos. 25, 109, 117; <i>RMS</i> , vii. no. 1222; RCAHMS 1963:156-8, no 146; RCAHMS 1978:35, no 111.
155	281522	696976	NS89NW8	Logie Old Church	Logie	Stirling	Cowan 1967:136; <i>N.B. Chrs.</i> , no. 5, 7, 9, 11; <i>SHS. Misc.</i> , vi. 54; <i>RS</i> , 255, 71v;; <i>RMS</i> , iv. no. 2378; RCAHMS 1963:5610; RCAHMS 1979:35 no 317.
156	285613	673397	NS87SE2	Slamannan Parish Church	Slamannan	Stirling	<i>OS Name Book</i> no xxiii, 11, 64; RCAHMS 1963:155-6, no 145, 436, no 549; Walker 1883:194.
157	279654	691677	NS79SE44	St Ninians Old Parish Church	St Ninians	Stirling	Cowan 1967:124; <i>Camb. Reg.</i> , nos. 85, 87-8, 117-8, 111, 114-16 119-20; <i>RMS</i> , vii. no. 1222; RCAHMS 1963:140-2, no 133; RCAHMS 1979:35, no 323.
158	279206	279206	NS79SE39	Church of the Holy Rood	Stirling	Stirling	Cowan 1967:187-8; <i>Dumf Reg</i> , nos. 2, 6, 110, 237, 284; <i>SHS, Misc.</i> , vi. 55; 347, 476; <i>RSS</i> , iii. no. 2578; iv. no. 1129; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol iii, 315; RCCAHMS 1963:129-40, no 131.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Parish	County	Reference
159	256365	679395	NS57NE40	Strathblane Parish Church	Strathblane	Stirling	Cowan 1967:191; <i>Glas. Reg.</i> , nos. 265, 284, 334, 338; <i>CPL</i> , x. 623-4; <i>RSS</i> , xl. 67; <i>NSA</i> (Strathblane), 575-6; <i>OSA</i> (Strathblane), 575; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1963 vol i, 162-3; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1979:36, no 327; Smith 1886:220, 309.
160	298998	668159	NS96NE9	Old Parish Church	Bathgate	West Lothian	Cowan 1967:15; <i>Holy Lib</i> , no. 75, Appendix ii, no. 1; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol i, 474-7; <i>OS Name Book</i> no xi, 14; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1929:188-9, no 290.
161	301889	681201	NT08SW9.02	Carriden Old Parish Church	Carriden	West Lothian	Cowan 1967:28; <i>Holy Lib</i> , nos. 9, 75.
162	305882	673663	NT07SE18	St Machan's Church	Ecclesmachan	West Lothian	Cowan 1967:58; <i>SHS Misc.</i> , vi. 55-6; <i>RSS</i> , v. no. 2617; Watson 1926:151.
163	298093	680583	NS98SE6	St Catherine's Church	Kinneil	West Lothian	Cowan 1967:114; <i>Holy Lib</i> , nos. 13-16, 75, 88; MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7, vol iii, 578-9; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1929:189-90, no 298; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1978:34, no 110.
164	300235	677284	NT07NW14	St Michael's Parish Church	Linlithgow	West Lothian	Cowan 1967:133; <i>St. A. Lib.</i> , 51, 144-7, 155-6, 159, 167-9, 186-8, 402-3; <i>RS</i> , 262, 234; 268, 127v; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1929:213-8, no 352.
165	303713	666887	NT06NW13	Kirk of Livingston	Livingston	West Lothian	Cowan 1967: 134; <i>NSA</i> (Livingston), 119.
166	296894	672516	NS97SE7	Torphichen Parish Church	Torphichen	West Lothian	Cowan 1967:198; Easson 1957:133; Cowan & Easson 1976:133, 161; MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol v, 139; <i>NSA</i> (Torphichen), 469-70; <i>OS Name Book</i> no lv, 31-8; <i>RCAHMS</i> 1929:234-7, no 379 plan, fig 292.

Gazetteer – Religious Houses [Friaries, Monasteries, Abbeys & Hospitals]

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Site Type	Parish	County	Reference
1	233900	621920	NS32SW7	Auld Kirk	Friary	Ayr	Ayr	Cowan & Easson 1976:130-1; <i>OS Name Book</i> no v, 26.
2	233900	621810	NS32SW8	Dominican Priory	Monastery	Ayr	Ayr	Cowan & Easson 1976:116.
3	233800	620400	NS32SW36	St Leonard's Hospital	Hospital	Ayr	Ayr	Cowan & Easson 1976:170.
4	231700	638700	NS33NW7	Fullarton Friary	Friary	Irvine	Ayr	Cowan & Easson 1976:134-7; <i>NSA</i> (Irvine), 676-7.
5	234650	624787	NS32SW2	Kingcase	Hospital	Monkton & Prestwick	Ayr	Cowan & Easson 1976:183; <i>NSA</i> (Monkton), <i>OSA</i> (Monkton), 403.
6	242129	628654	NS42NW2	Fail Monastery	Monastery	Tarbolton	Ayr	Chalmers 1887-94 vol vi, 491-3, 513, 515-7; Cowan & Easson 1976:65, 109, 112-3. 179; <i>NSA</i> (Tarbolton), 748-51; <i>OSA</i> (Tarbolton), 457-8; <i>OS Name Book</i> no lxii, 21
7	209491	653446	NS05SE5	St Blane's Church	Monastery	Kingarth	Bute	Cowan 1967:112; Markus 2012:252; <i>OPS</i> 1854:175, 184- 5, 210-1; <i>OS Name Book</i> no iv, 63.
8	279040	608860	NS70NE12	Kingscar	Hospital	Sanquhar	Dumfries	Chalmers 1887-94 vol v, 153; <i>OSA</i> (Sanquhar), 460; Cowan & Easson 1976:199-200.
9	298884	686246	NS98NE3	Culross Abbey	Abbey	Culross	Fife	Cowan & Easson 1976:63; MacGibbon & Ross vol ii, 231- 43.
10	277200	644700	NS74SE9	Spittal House	Hospital	Stonehouse	Lanark	Chalmers 1887-94 vol iii, 659; Cowan & Easson 1976:200.
11	278153	701381	NN70SE15	Dunblane Cathedral	Monastery	Dunblane & Lecropt (Dunblane)	Perth	MacGibbon & Ross 1896-7 vol ii, 86 plan;
12	279400	693000	NS79SE34	Allan Park	Hospital	Stirling	Stirling	RCAHMS 1979:36, no 325.

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Site Type	Parish	County	Reference
13	300000	677000	NT07NW34	Augustinian Friary	Friary	Linlithgow	West Lothian	Cowan & Easson 1976:118.
14	301120	677140	NT07NW20	St Magdalene's Hospital	Hospital	Linlithgow	West Lothian	Cowan & Easson 1976:185.

Gazetteer – Standing Stones, Stone Circles, etc

No	Easting	Northing	NMRS No	Name	Site Type	Parish	County	Reference
1	242650	615820	NS41NW20	Witches Stone	Stone	Coylton	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xvii, 41.
2	240730	630090	NS43SW13	Barnweill	Standing Stone	Craigie	Ayr	OS <i>Name Book</i> no xviii, 41; Paterson 1863-6 vol i, pt i, 265.
3	229200	649500	NS24NE19	Grey Stone	Standing Stone	Dalry	Ayr	Smith 1895:70-1.
4	238700	648500	NS34NE6	Barr Hill	Standing Stone	Dalry	Ayr	Smith 1895:85.
5	242700	652000	NS45SW8	Craighead Law	Standing Stone	Dunlop	Ayr	Bayne 1935:14.
6	228970	611080	NS21SE10	Ladycross Well	Stone	Maybole	Ayr	Macfarlane 1906-8 vol ii, 4; NSA (Maybole), 366; OS <i>Name Book</i> no xlvi, 116-7; Walker 1883:197-8.
7	292540	697090	NS99NW1	Cuninghar	Stone Circle	Tillicoultry	Clackmannan	OS <i>Name Book</i> no vii, 25; RCAHMS 1978:4, no 12.
8	257800	655300	NS55NE53	Meikle Dripps	Standing Stone	East Kilbride	Lanark	Welsh 1983:30; Fraser 1863:134.
9	272895	656619	NS75NW4	Mote Hill	Standing Stone	Hamilton	Lanark	Armitage 1912:314.
10	238260	668930	NS36NE5	Kilallan 1, 2 & 3	Stone	Houston	Renfrew	Morris & Morris 1982:164-5.
11	238260	668930	N/A	Kneelins	Stone	Houston	Renfrew	OS <i>Name Book</i> no x, 14.
12	272320	679570	NS77NW3	St Mirren's Well	Standing Stone	Kilsyth	Stirling	RCAHMS 1963:435, no 542.
13	256100	676600	NS57NE18	Middleton	Standing Stone	Strathblane	Stirling	Smith 1886:256.