

Notes on some place-names in Borgue Parish

Ardwall Isle

Ardwall Isle is of archaeological importance as the site of a sixth-century Early Christian settlement with its oratory and cemetery. It has been known by various names over the years: in the nineteenth century, as Knockbrenn Isle (*Knockbuck's* in the 1851 Census), also *Laurie's* or *Larrie's Isle* after Laurence O'Hagan, Larrie Higgin, who was born in Ireland 1793/4, died 1867, buried in Kirkandrews kirkyard; he is listed as a shepherd in the 1851 Census, but is also said to have kept an inn on the island serving seafarers and maybe smugglers (thanks to Margaret Wright for this information).

The place-name Ardwall or Ardwell occurs in several locations in south-west Scotland: Ardwell, with Ardwell Bay, on the Carrick coast south-west of Girvan Ayr (Carrick was historically part of Galloway); High and Low Ardwell in Kirkcolm parish in the north Rhinns, Wigtownshire; Ardwell, with Ardwell House, Mote, etc., and Ardwall (sic) Point away to the west, all in Stoneykirk Parish in south Rhinns; Ardwell Hill on the west flank of the Cairnmore of Fleet, above Palnure in Minnigaff parish in the Stewartry; Ardwall, with Ardwall Mains, south of New Abbey in the Stewartry; and Ardwall in Anwoth parish, from which Ardwall Isle is named along with Ardwall Cottage (now The Shieling) and Sheds (which were farm cottages), Ardwall Hill and Deer Park, High and Low Ardwall and Low Ardwall Hill. Of these, the Ardwells in Carrick are represented by *Ardwall* on Blaeu's map; Ardwell in the south Rhinns shown as *Ardwel Cast(le)*, with *Ardwel Mill*, and *Port Ardwel* to the west; Ardwall in Anwoth is *Ardowale* 1536 in the Register of the Great Seal, and *O(ver) Ardwel* and *N(ether) Ardwell* appear on Blaeu's map, the latter corresponding to Ardwall House.

The two stately houses, Ardwell in Stoneykirk and Ardwall in Anwoth, are both seats of branches of the McCulloch (of Myreton) family; it is possible that others in this list have some McCulloch connection. So far as I can ascertain, no names of this form occur anywhere else in Scotland, nor indeed in Britain.

The first syllable looks obviously like *àird* 'a height'. For the second element, Sir Herbert Maxwell (in 'Studies in the Topography of Galloway' 1887, 54, though not in his 'Place-Names of Galloway' 1930) suggested *gall*, as seen in *Gall-Ghàidheil*, the 'foreign (i.e. part-Scandinavian) Gaels' who gave their name to Galloway. This is reasonably plausible, the Gaelic possessive form would have been *a'ghoill* 'of the stranger', the change of the palatalised 'gh' (rather like 'g' in Dutch) to 'w' being similar to that in the transformation of *Gall-Ghàidheil* into Galloway. The eponymous strangers need not have been *Gall-Ghàidheil* themselves, but incomers or people perceived as 'different' at some time when Gaelic was the main local language.

As Maxwell pointed out, *gall* in Gaelic can also mean a standing stone. There are indeed notable standing stones in the vicinity of Ardwell in Stoneykirk, but such monuments are not apparently associated with the others, and it seems that *gall* is not often used in this sense

in place-names in Scotland, Ireland or the Isle of Man: the usual word in Scottish Gaelic is *clach*.

**Árd-bhaile* is suggested (anent Ardwall Isle) on a Wikipedia page, with the meaning given as 'high town'; if this were the origin of these Galloway names, 'high, or chief, farm' might be more appropriate. The compound *àrd-bhaile* is attested in Scottish Gaelic, though only with the modern sense of 'city, metropolis'.

Another Gaelic possibility (suggested to me by William Patterson) would be **àrd mhaol* or **àird mhaoil*, 'high' or 'height of a' maol, that being a common term for a bare, rounded hill. Viewed from across the estuary, before landscaping works and tree-planting, the location of Ardwall could have matched that description. Whether the same can be said of the others listed above I am not sure: rounded hills are of course common in Galloway, and many of them may have been 'bare'.

But we may consider alternatives in other languages once spoken in our area. A Cumbric **ardd-waul* (*dd* pronounced as voiced 'th', like in 'father'; Old Welsh *ard-uaul*, Modern Welsh *ardd-wal*) 'height with a wall' is an interesting possibility, especially as there is a Penwhail in Girthon. Cumbric **ardd-wel* (Old Welsh *ard-uel*, Modern *ardd-wellt*) 'pasture height' is also possible, but *-wel* is less likely to have given forms like *-wale* in the 1536 record, and *ardd* is much less common as a place-name element in Wales than its cognate is in Scotland.

The second syllable, *-wall* or *-well*, equally obviously suggests Scots wall 'a well', or southern English 'well'. The falling together of 'wall' and 'well', along with the need to distinguish between, in particular, the two 'big houses', would explain the variation between Ardwall and Ardwell. But it seems unlikely that the name is English or Scots in origin, it is hard to find an explanation for *Ard-* in either language.

Prof. John MacQueen ('Place-Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and the Luce Valley') thinks the Ardwalls on the Rhinns are Old Norse, with 'almost certainly *völlr* "field"'; indeed, that word is seen in names like Dingwall and Kirkwall, and the form *velli* '(at) -field' could explain the *-wall/ -well* variation. However, the first element is a problem for a Norse etymology, MacQueen's suggestion *urt* 'herb' is phonetically unconvincing, development to *Ard-* would be abnormal even in one location, let alone consistently in six.

A final thought is of a Gaelic-Norse hybrid, introduced by the Gall-Ghàidheil, *àird-*+ *-völlr* adopted by Gaelic speakers as *-wall*. *Völlr* can mean 'pasture' or 'a paddock', and 'pasture-height', a hill with (perhaps enclosed) grazing, would suit the locations of the several Ardwalls and Ardwalls, and the expansion of livestock farming in the hills that apparently came with the *Gall-Ghàidheil*, and it would be consistent with the concentration of these names in the region most associated with those settlers.

So Cumbric **ardd-waul* or Gaelic-Norse **àrd-völlr* are not impossible, but either Maxwell's **àrd a'ghoill* or Mr. Patterson's **àrd mhaol* remain the best suggestions.

Barlocco

Barlocco, with Barlocco Isle, in Kirkandrews parish (earlier Borgue), is probably Gaelic **bàrr-locha* 'summit by a small loch', wholly appropriate to the location. Barloke to the east of Borgue by Kirkcudbright Bay, and Barluka in Twynholm, both have small lochs and are probably the same.

However, the proximity of Barlocco to the early Christian site on Ardwall Isle raises the tantalising possibility of a Brittonic **barr-logōd*. The latter element (from Latin *locāta*) meant 'a place set aside', but in mediaeval and early modern Welsh *llogawd* (now obsolete) was used for 'a monastery'. The same word may be present just across the Solway in Arlecdon in Cumbria, near St Bee's, if that was formed from Cumbric **ar-logōd* 'beside the monastery'.

The possibility of such an alternative interpretation is somewhat reinforced by another Barlocco, in Rerwick (with Barlocco Bay and Barlocco Heugh; this Barlocco is shown as such on Blaeu's map): there is no loch here, being on porous calcareous sandstone, but nor is there any known early monastic site nearby, though, given the liking of the monks for such locations all around the Irish Sea, one nearby on Hestan Isle is surely a possibility.

Barmagachan

Barmagachan in Kirkandrews parish takes its name from the MacGachen family granted lands in this area by the Lady Dervorgilla in 1282. It is recorded as *Barmakgachin* in 1457, and is spelt the same way in Blaeu's atlas, but there are many variants. The family name, ultimately *Mac Eacháin*, formed with a diminutive of *each* 'horse', is still quite common in Galloway as MacEachan, MacGeachan, McGachan, etc, and also in Ulster as MacGehan, Gahan, Keohane, Keoghan etc., and on the Isle of Man where it is Kaighan, Kaighin, Quaggin, Weggín, etc. The first element is probably *bàrr-* 'summit', perhaps referring to the motte (see under Moat below).

Boreland

Boreland, earlier Scots *bordland*, 'land providing supplies for the lord's table', is an important trace of the mediaeval feudal economy; essentially, the *bordland* was the 'demesne', which is the linguistic and economic ancestor of Scots *mains*, the laird's 'home farm'. Richard Oram in 'The Lordship of Galloway' considers that *bordlands* were probably developed by Anglo-Norman knights introduced by Uhtred and his heirs between the late twelfth and the end of the thirteenth centuries. There are still Borelands in nine of the 28 parishes in the Stewartry, and others are on record, including *Boreland of Cumpstoun* in Twynholm parish, which is now Mains of Cumpstoun. Boreland of Borgue is closely associated with the motte that overlooks it, see Moat below.

Borgue

The name of the parish is first recorded in the Dryburgh Cartulary as *Worgis* c1161 to 70, but from the mid- thirteenth century regularly as *Borg* or similar (*Boirg* on one of Blaeu's maps, *Borg* on another). There can be no doubt that this is Norse *borg*, though it is not impossible that Old English *burh* preceded it, cf. Burgh by Sands across the Solway at the western end of Hadrian's Wall. Nevertheless, the fact that Borgue became a large mediaeval parish (subsequently divided between Senwick and Kirkandrews) implies that it was the high-status settlement of a powerful Norse-speaking sea-lord.

The range of meanings of *borg* is similar to that of Gaelic *dùn*, usually translated as 'fort', and referring either to a fort constructed by the Norse-speakers or to a more ancient one, such as the 'galleried dun' at Castle Haven. However, it should be noted that, by the time of significant Viking activity in the Irish Sea in the ninth century and subsequent Scandinavian settlement in the tenth, Viking strategy had largely moved away from dependence on land-based forts, even coastal, preferring safe harbours as bases from where their highly mobile galleys could efficiently control coastal regions and well up the navigable rivers. Like *dùn*, *borg* in place-names in Norway and the North Atlantic islands can refer to a natural, prominent, typically conical hill, and that could be the case at Borgue.

So the name is not decisive evidence for a Scandinavian or earlier fort, the prominent hill on which Borgue church stands could well have been a natural *borg*. However, in the west of the parish, the stone fort at Castle Haven is still known locally as The Borgue. Here the name clearly does refer to a fort, albeit pre-Viking Age, and its position on a prominent seaside hill, now partly eroded, would have marked it out, especially as seen from the sea, as an archetypal *borg*, and perhaps it is the likeliest candidate as the eponymous *borg*.

Carleton

Though Norse in form, the common place-name Carl(e)ton, *Karlatun*, is not found in Scandinavia, it is a Scandinavian-influenced form of the Old English name Charlton, *Ceorlatun*, 'village of free men or peasants'. *Ceorlas* (modern English 'churls' notwithstanding) were a class of free peasantry of relatively high status in Anglo-Saxon society, and the presence of this name in Borgue parish implies that land was held here by farmers of this rank by the time of Scandinavian settlement in the tenth century. There is no reason to assume that the peasants in question were immigrant 'Angles', by the time the land was granted to them, they could well have been local inhabitants of English, British or mixed ancestry.

Clauchandolly

Early Gaelic *clochan* meant 'stones' (as it still does at Muscle Clauchan rocks on the Colvend coast), but (with a slight modification to the sound of the suffix, *-án*) it came to refer, especially in place-names, to prehistoric stone monuments, kirkyards, and ultimately to buildings, especially 'a church and the cluster of buildings around it'. Adopted into Scots,

clachan is the usual word for a small nucleated settlement, a hamlet (a larger settlement is a *toun*, 'village' is not a Scots word).

The spelling *Clauchan* is usual in earlier records for Galloway and Ayrshire, suggesting a pronunciation closer to Manx *claghan* and Irish *clochan* than modern Scottish Gaelic *clachan*. *Clauchandolly*, a former smithy in Senwick, was probably **Clachan na dalach*, 'hamlet of the meadow'. The old spelling is still used in *Clauchan of Girthon*, and *Langbarns in Tongland* was *Low Clauchan* on the 1st edition OS map.

But on the same map, the farm further up the hill in Tongland is already 'standardised' as High Clachan, and the settlement around Anwoth Old Church is Clachan of Anwoth, though *Clauchan* is used in the 1853 Census. Clachan is found as a single-element name in Wigtownshire at Kirkcolm in the North Rhinns and Clachan of Myrton in the Machars, and is an element in at least ten more place-names in Galloway.

Conchieton

This substantial farm on the Pulwhirrin Burn is recorded as *Conquhiton* in 1603, *Conquechtoun* 1605. There can be little doubt that Maxwell was correct in seeing an elided form of the familiar Galloway surname McConchie in this name. That surname is a Scots version of the modern Scottish Gaelic pronunciation of MacDhonnchaidh, son of Donnchadh, the Gaelic form of Duncan.

The history of this settlement since the mid-nineteenth century is a little complicated. In the 1851 Census, Conchieton is a farm, no doubt the one shown on the 1st edition OS map on the site of the present-day Conchieton Farm. A 'house' was also recorded in that Census, although Conchieton House is not shown on the map; Conchieton Lodge was also recorded in the Census, as two dwellings, and is shown on the map to the north of the farm, on the south side of the road between Twynholm and Gatehouse. The present Conchieton House stands to the south of that road at the junction with the lane to the farm, Conchieton Lodge on the north side; the road was for a time a stretch of the A75, but is now just an access lane.

Corseyard, Corsemartin and Corsewood

Most conspicuous for its 'coo palace', Corseyard, with Corseyard Point, by Kirkandrews, lacks early documentation. It would appear to be Scots, 'cross-yard', implying a cross once sttodd in an enclosure here, perhaps the dun on the point. Theoretically, Older Scots *cors-zard* could be a 'corpse-yard', but there is no record of any such compound.

'Corse' occurs not far away, in Corsemartin to the east of Borgue Old Manse, and Corsewood, with Corsewood Drum (ridge) to the north-west. Corsemartin is the name of a hill, though it seems to imply a cross associated with St Martin of Tours, the pioneer of monasticism in Gaul, with whom Anglian hagiography associates St Ninian of Whithorn (Maxwell lists a Corsemartin in Balmaghie, but this seems to be an error). This group of names is intriguing, but in the absence of early documentation, speculation is pointless.

Craigshundie Loch

Craigshinging hill near Murrayton, across the Fleet from Upper Rusko, is pretty surely Gaelic **Creag-sionnaich* 'fox crag'. Craigshinnie beneath Bennan in Kells parish has the same origin, and Craigshundie Loch, in Kirkandrews parish to the east of Knockbex, interestingly preserves an earlier form, Middle Irish *sindach*, implying that the name was given by early Gaelic speakers, and had already passed into local Scots usage by about 1200. 'Fox', in the absence of the definite article in all these cases might, as Maxwell points out, have been a man's nickname (see also Craiglowrie above). Under Craigshinnie and Craigshundie he refers to names from Pont, *Kraigsinday* and *Kraigsunday hil*, but I cannot find these on the Blaeu maps.

Croachan

Maxwell lists a *Croachan* in Borgue parish which I cannot find on OS maps, but it would probably be **cruachán*, a diminutive of *cruach*, meaning literally 'a heap, pile, stack', but in place-names used of hills. There are several hills with 'Cruach' names in south-west Argyll, including at least four named simply A'Chruach; most are low, rounded, and stand somewhat apart from others, though Cruach Àrdrain is a Munro, and Cruach Innse a Corbett. In Ireland, *cruach* is commonly Anglicised as 'Croagh', as in Croaghgorm, the Blue Stack Mountains in Donegal. Much nearer home, Croach Hill between Boreland of Kelton and Gelston Lodge seems a good example of a *cruach*; High Croach in Inch in Wigtownshire is likewise on a rounded hill; Croachie Moss in Kells parish is overlooked by a small rounded hill.

Dee

The name of the main river within the Stewartry is unquestionably the oldest and earliest-recorded place-name in Kirkcudbrightshire. In Ptolemy's *Geography*, written in the early second century but using records from the Roman military campaigns in northern Britain in the late first century, our Dee, as well as that in Aberdeenshire and the longest one, crossing the Welsh border, are recorded as *Dēoúa*, representing *Deva* in Latin, and *Dēwā* in early Brittonic.

Dēwā is a feminine form from the basic Indo-European word for 'a god', etymologically associated with brightness, light, the sky and the day. While **Diēus* was probably an Indo-European sky-god, in the Celtic languages **dēwos* was a common noun, 'a god', not the name of a deity until it was adopted as such with the coming of Christianity, doubtless following Christian use of Latin *Deus*.

**Dēwā* 'goddess', as well as occurring in the names of three major rivers in Britain, is seen in related forms in river-names or derived settlement-names in Wales (Afon Dwyfawr and Dwyfach, both in Gwynedd), Ireland, Gaul and Spain. As Professor Isaac has pointed out, the use of this word in naming rivers is 'a diagnostically Celtic cultural phenomenon'. The river could have been given this name at any time after early Celtic had been introduced to these parts; the date for that can never be known with any certainty, neither archaeological

evidence nor DNA can tell us what language prehistoric people spoke, but we can safely assume it is a name dating back well into the 1st millennium BC.

Doon Hill etc.

Doon is very common as a single element name in Galloway: there are 29 Doon Hills on OS maps covering Dumfries and Galloway; 19 of them are in the Stewartry, along with at least 15 other names like Doon, The Doon, Doon of N, etc. In Borgue parish alone there are no less than seven names with 'Doon': Auchenhay Doon and Doon Hill at Earlston are natural features, although Conchieton Doon (The Doon, an ancient monument, on OS maps), overlooking the junction with the 'new' A75, is a hill-fort; the Doon at Kirkandrews is an impressive promontory fort; Doon Wood and Hill to the north of that Doon may be named from it, though there are traces of fortifications in the Wood; and the Doon of Boreland is the hill on which Walter de Moreville erected the Moat (motte) of Borgue (there may have been an earlier hill-fort).

In Ulster, County Down is named from *An Dún*, Downpatrick, but the single-element names so common in Galloway are otherwise much less frequent, likewise on the Isle of Man. Elsewhere in Scotland, as in Ireland and Mann, *dùn* is seldom without some qualifying element: Doune in Stirlingshire is exceptional, it may have been, like Downpatrick, and a hill near Oban and another in the Grampians, **An Dùn*.

Maxwell simply declares that the numerous 'Doon' names in Galloway are from Gaelic *dùn*. Even in Gaelic, although the meaning is normally given as 'a fort', *dùn* is used sometimes of natural, unfortified hills. However, the evidence of so many single-element 'Doons', several without even the semblance of any fort, seems to me to suggest that *doon* came to be used by Scots speakers in our region, especially in the Stewartry, as a naming-term for a hill, especially a relatively small but prominent one.

If the widespread use of *doon* as a hill-name in our region was a Scots usage, Old English *dūn* (probably a cognate of *dùn*), which meant simply 'hill', could well have been an influence. Down(e) is the name of several places in the south of England, but not, so far as I can tell, in the north: as a single-element name the word (whether English or Gaelic) seems to occur elsewhere in Northumbrian territory only at Duns in Berwickshire.

Dun or *doon* is recorded in the Scottish National Dictionary from the eighteenth century onward, as a learned adoption of Gaelic *dùn* in archaeological contexts. However, the SND also lists *doon* as 'The goal or home in a game', a usage restricted to Galloway and Dumfriesshire, but associated with the more widespread *dool* (older Scots *dule*) used in the same sense. The editors associated *dool* with Middle English *dole* 'a boundary or landmark', and see it as derived from East Frisian *dole*, Middle Dutch *doel*, 'a heap of earth used as a target, a ditch used as a boundary-line'. There is a citation (among others) from Mactaggart's *Encyclopaedia*, but it is worth quoting him more fully: in an entry headed 'Dool-Hills or Doon-Hills' he says 'There are several hills in Galloway whereon have stood castles and other strengths of yore, termed Dool or *Doon-Hills*. These places of refuge seem to have existed prior to the Roman invasion, as the name Dool or Doon is never given to hills

where there are remains of Roman camps; the labours of these hills then belong to the ancient British or some Scandinavian wanderers'. He follows this with an entry on 'Dools': 'A school game... the *dools* are places marked with stones, where the players always remain in safety... it is only when they leave these places of refuge that those *out of the doons* (sic) have any chance to gain the game... Now this game seems often to have played in reality by our ancestors about their *doon-hills*.'

It does seem, then, that this playground use of *doon* in Galloway has been influenced by *dool*, but nevertheless, it is evidence that *doon* was current in local Scots as a word for a hill, especially one seen as a place of refuge. As Mactaggart says, 'school games are by no means unworthy of observation, as many of them bespeak matters of the olden time'!

Dromore

Dromore in Borgue parish, a hill and a dwelling on the Gatehouse to Kirkcudbright road, is one of several in Kirkcudbrightshire. Dromore farm, now the visitor centre, the Clints, and the Deep Nick of Dromore, lie west of the Big Water of Fleet in Kirkmabreck parish, though the railway station; renamed Gatehouse in 1912, was in a projecting corner of Anwoth. In Kirkcudbright parish is Drummore (sic) Castle, an important hillfort, with Dromore farm beside (now in the military range), and another Dromore or Drommore in Lochrutton parish gives its name to a roundabout on the A75; these are all *Drummore* on the 1st edition OS map, the settlement by the Fleet is *Drummoir* on Blaeu's map.

'Drum', Gaelic *druim*, 'back' of an animal, but in place-names 'a ridge', is very common in Galloway place-names, as ridges are in the landscape: Maxwell reckoned 'the word occurs in about 240 places', and I see at least 120 of those in the Stewartry. *Mòr* is 'big, great': Drummore Fort near Kirkcudbright has a neighbouring Drumbeg, **Druim-beag*, 'little ridge'.

However, the spelling 'Dromore' adopted in the Stewartry in the early twentieth century is more typical of Ireland, reflecting the Irish form *droim*, as in the town of Dromore in Co. Down, a townland and village in Co. Tyrone, and others further south: maybe the Irish influence came to the Fleet Valley with the railway line, the spelling there influencing that of the others (which remains variable in the Kirkcudbright and Lochrutton cases).

Drumhastie

A ridge in Kirkandrews parish, overlooking Rattrra to the south-east. Hastie is a Scottish surname, earlier a Scots nickname for an impetuous fellow. A combination of Gaelic *druim* with a Scots personal name would have been by no means impossible in the bilingual context; Drumrobbin south-east of Twynholm village may be another, albeit with a more typically English name.

It is however possible that 'hastie' is a garbled version of an earlier Gaelic word. If the first element were 'ridge of the...', and the following noun were feminine and began with a vowel, the formation would be **Druim na h-*, or if it were masculine and began with *f-*, it

would be **druim an* followed by 'softened' *fh*, e.g. *Druim an fhasdaidh* 'ridge of the hiring' pronounced 'drumanastie' or **Druim a'chaisteil* 'ridge fo the castle' pronounced 'drumachashtil' (there is no castle, but the hill overlooks Rattrra and Roberton Moat, see Rattrra below). But it is hard to find any plausible candidates, if there was a Gaelic predecessor, it is lost in the realms of guesswork.

Fleet

The name of our river may be Northumbrian Old English *flēot* or Old Norse *fljót*. Both words refer primarily to an estuary and tideway of a river, and both tend to be used especially of relatively narrow outlets to the sea or a larger river, which is appropriate in our case where the acute-angled mouth of the Fleet joins the much wider mouth of the Cree in Wigtown Bay.

The English word is found in a good many places in the south and east of England, London's River Fleet being the best-known, though now completely hidden underground. It seems to have been the prototype of several lesser rivers, streams and creeks on the Thames estuary, recalled in names such as Benfleet in Essex and Ebbsfleet in Kent. Other areas where the element occurs several times include the Channel coast from Portland to Selsey Bill, and around The Wash and the Humber and Tees estuaries. Further north Fleetham on the Northumberland coast seems to be an outlier.

'Fleet' occurs in field-names and other minor names in Yorkshire (West Riding), Westmorland and Cumberland): the reference is apparently to small creeks or watercourses, suggesting the word was current in such a sense local dialects, but in these areas it is at least as likely to have come from Norse as from English.

Norse *fljót* is not found in river-names in Norway, but does occur quite often in Iceland, where it is still current in the language, though now used to refer to a quiet stretch of a river rather than an estuary or creek. Scotland's other River Fleet, that flows from another Loch Fleet near Lairg in Sutherland, down to the Dornoch Firth, is certainly of Norse origin. But either Anglian or Scandinavian seafarers could have named our river in Galloway; its apparent popularity with the West Norse speaking Vikings of the North Atlantic perhaps favours the Nordic origin. Either way, it is the only substantial river in Galloway with a name of Germanic rather than Celtic origin.

There is one tantalising consideration: the English word 'fleet' meaning 'swift' is not recorded before the 15th century in the OED, and is not reflected in Older Scots, yet it is unlikely to have been a foreign introduction, it probably had an ancestor in Old English. The Galloway Fleet is indeed a swift river, flowing as the Big Water of Fleet from sources as high as 1640' (500m) on the Cairnsmore, and as the Little Water from Loch Fleet at about 1110' (335m), down to sea-level in little more than ten miles. It is probably coincidental, though it might have had some influence at least on the survival of the name in preference to any Brittonic predecessor or Gaelic replacement.

Ptolemy's 'Geography', in the early second century AD (but based in its British section on military surveys from the previous century) lists an estuary named *iēnā*, apparently to the west of the (Kirkcudbrightshire) Dee, so possibly the Fleet, the Cree or the Bladnoch. There were Antonine period forts at crossing points on both the Fleet (near Gatehouse cemetery) and the Bladnoch (upstream of the distillery), and the route between them would have forded Cree Bay, but the name is wholly obscure, no Celtic or other Indo-European elements or analogues can be found for it. It is either very ancient or very garbled.

It should be borne in mind whenever the early history, archaeology, topography and toponymy of the coastline and estuary are under consideration, that the relative sea-level along our part of the Irish Sea coast during the first millennium AD was appreciably higher than it is today, by as much as 1.5 – 2 metres. What is now low-lying land around the estuary and lower course of the river would have regularly been flooded at high tides, and the river would have been navigable upstream at least as far as the Roman fort at Barwhill.

Gaitgil

Gategill on the 1st edition OS Map, but recorded as *Gaitgil* in 1469 (when it was *alias ... Litiltoun*), and regularly *Gaitgi(l)* from 1560 onward. It is Gategill on the 1st edition OS map, but on current maps the house is Gaitgil, but the Hill and Bridge are spelt Gategill; the local pronunciation is 'gee-gill' (hard g in both cases). The second element is certainly either Old (West) Norse *gil* 'a ravine', or the same word, 'gill', used commonly in Scots and northern English (especially Lake District) place-names for a steep, narrow glen with a burn.

It is not certain which 'gill' the name refers to. The Gategill Burn, upstream named Littleton Burn (see Littleton below), and downstream Waulk Mill Burn (see Waulk Mill), flows down a steep-sided 'gill' to the west of White Hill, but Gaitgil House stands beyond White Hill to the east, and the eponymous 'gill' could be the valley, again quite steep-sided, running south from Gategill Hill towards Conchieton, with the watercourse that is the Slack Burn upstream, becoming Pulwhirrin Burn downstream by Mill of Borgue.

Maxwell takes the first element to be 'road': the road from Twynholm (the later course of the Old Military Road) skirted Gategill Hill on the north side, and the road from Kirkcudbright crossed Gategill Burn at Gategill Bridge by Gategill Barn. An alternative might be the Scots and northern English homophone *gate* 'goat' (Old English *gāt*, Old Norse *geit*).

Kinganton

Kinganton is marked as a ruin to the east of Barlocco farm on the 1st edition OS map.

Kingan is still a Kirkcudbrightshire surname, recorded in 1689 (Black locates the holder in 'Large', presumably one of the places named Larg, in Kirkmabreck or Minnigaff), along with *Kingam* 1679 (in Kirkcudbright) and *Kinging* 1684 (in Senwick). Kinganton looks to have belonged to someone of that name.

Reaney's *Oxford Dictionary of English Surnames* associates Kingan with the parish and barony of Kinghorn in Fife, but records for that place-name and as a Fife surname hardly justify any assumption that the Stewartry family were from there. Black's *Surnames of Scotland* derives it from 'Irish O'Cuineáin, descendant of Culineán (an attenuated form of Conán)', which is more plausible, allowing that 'Culineán' is probably a typographic error for *Cuineán*, and that that is a variant, not 'an attenuated form', of Conán. A spelling recorded in Galloway, *A'Kinzan*, supports the possibility that Kingan was a local version of this name. Conán, a name with a long and complicated history, is related to Welsh Cynan, and indeed, it is possible that Cynan, transmitted as a personal name from Cumbric via Gaelic into Scots, is behind Kingan.

However, Michael Ansell has pointed out that Cannan or Cannon was a surname formerly common in The Glenkens and still extant in Galloway. It is recorded in Galloway as Cannan in 1477, also *Acannan* in 1542. It is common on the Isle of Man, where a *Mac Cannanáin* is recorded from 950. In Ireland, *Ua Canannáin* is one of the earliest recorded surnames, of a leading family of the *Uí Néill* territory of Tirconnell known from 943. The Glenkens family may descend directly from this Irish clan, or be connected with the Manx branch. The etymology is not certain, *canán* 'wolf-cub' may be the origin. This seems less likely than O'Cuineáin to be relevant to Kinganton, but should not be ruled out.

In any case, some Scots formations with *-toun* involving a Gaelic family name are known to be part-translations of wholly Gaelic ones, e.g. Campbellton (see above), and this might have happened here.

However, it is possible that Kinganton, originated as a scribal error for Kingarton, which would probably be early Gaelic **cenn a'ghartain* 'head, end, of the small cornfield'.

Kirkandrews

In Galloway, Dumfriesshire and Cumberland there are several place-names, many of them being parish-names, with 'Kirk-' as the first element and the name of a saint as the second (there are at least a dozen in the Stewartry). 'Kirk' is of course the Anglo-Scandinavian word, from Old Norse *kirkja*, that passed into Scots and northern English as the usual word for a church (both Old English *cirice* and Old Norse *kirkja* go back ultimately to Greek *kyriakon* 'house of the Lord'). Consequently, these names have often been assumed to be English, Scots, or possibly Norse, in origin.

But there is a problem: the order of the elements is Celtic, names in any of those Germanic-family languages regularly have the generic element in second position, the qualifying element first – why is not **Andrewskirk*?

There has been much debate about this question among place-name scholars, but the view currently accepted by most is based on extensive study of name-formation in comparable bilingual situations, which shows that the best clue to the language in which a name was formed is not the origin of the individual elements but the structure of the name. So in these cases, we are probably looking at Celtic formations, even though neither 'Kirk-' nor (in

many cases) the saint's name are Celtic in origin. Names like Kirkandrews were most likely given by Gaelic speakers (many of them probably bilingual in Gaelic and either Norse, Northumbrian English, or Older Scots) who had adopted *kirk*, in preference to the more general *cill*, as their word for a church (perhaps specifically for an important church, such that may well have become a parish church as the parish system developed, mainly through the twelfth century).

The coastal settlement and parish of Kirkandrews (at various times carved out from, and reunited with, the parish of Borgue) was known in mediaeval times as Kirkandrews Purton to distinguish it from the other parish church in the Stewartry dedicated to St. Andrew, Kirkandrews Balmaghie, and from the two parishes of Kirkandrews (in Eskdale and upon Eden) in Cumberland (also Kirk Andreas on the Isle of Man). It was *Kirkandres* in 1296, *Kirkandris* 1426. Kirkandrews Balmaghie is recorded earlier, as *Kirkandrees* 1172-4, *Kirkandres* 1240-50. Returning to the origin of the name in the mouths of Gaelic speakers, it should be noted that in both these cases, as at St. Andrews, the -s is probably not a possessive (not Andrew's) but a reflection of the Gaelic form *Androis*, ultimately from the Greek *Andreas*.

Purtoun (*Purten* c1275, *Porton* 1335x6, *Purtoun* 1413) was pretty certainly the earlier name for the settlement. The name is probably Northumbrian Old English, or else early Gaelic, the descriptive element in either case being *port* from Latin *portūs*). **Port-tūn* would be 'harbour-farm', **portán* 'a small landing-place'; the reference in either case would obviously be to the small sheltered cove below Castle Haven 'galleried dun', and it raises the interesting possibility of a trading-site here still functioning as such at least in the time of Northumbrian rule, maybe even later. The proximity of the early Christian site on Ardwall Isle should also not be overlooked. The Stewartry parish-name Parton (*Portoun* in 1426) is probably identical in origin, there was a ferry-crossing on the Dee near the kirktoon, the Gaelic 'small landing-place' is probably more appropriate there.

Andrew is, of course, the apostle, brother of St Peter. According to the 12th century foundation legends of the cathedral of St Andrews, relics of the saint were brought to the place formerly known as *Kinrymond* (a Gaelicised version of Pictish **penn ri monad*, 'head or end of the king's upland or muir') during the reign of the Pictish King Unuist I (c729-61), though there is no certain evidence of there being a cult of St Andrews there until the late eleventh century. The see of St Andrews became the leading bishopric of the Kingdom of Scots, and so Andrew became the country's patron saint. It is possible that Kirkandrews was at some time associated with, the see of St. Andrews, but there is no evidence for this.

Earlier than the earliest date for the arrival of relics of St Andrew in Fife, his cult (and no doubt some relics of the saint) was established at another bishop's seat, of great importance in the Kingdom of Northumbria, namely Hexham. The monastery there was established by the formidable Bishop Wilfrid in 671-3, a time in his stormy career when he was Bishop of York. The dedication to St Andrew would have been no casual choice, the cathedral in York, and Wilfrid's other episcopal church at Ripon, were both dedicated to St Peter (signalling their allegiance to Rome when this was still a matter of controversy), the brother saints were frequently paired in dedications of associated churches. With which point in mind it is interesting to observe that, during the time of Northumbrian rule, the

monastery at Whithorn was known as *Locus Petri Apostoli*, as the 'Peter' stone there announces. This hints at the possibility that the dedication of Kirkandrews Purton may go back to the time of Northumbrian rule, and that the church (perhaps along with the monastic site on Ardwall isle) had some familial link with the monastery at Whithorn, and, together with Whithorn, some special association with Hexham and York. Kirkandrews Balmaghie, on the other hand, was at one time a possession of Iona, a rival monastic family to that of Wilfrid.

Knockbrex

Gaelic *cnoc* is usually translated 'knoll, hillock', and indeed generally does refer to fairly small but prominent features such as drumlins, but can name any free-standing eminence, a substantial rounded hill, even (at least in Ireland) big enough to qualify as a mountain. In modern Scottish Gaelic (and locally in Ulster), *cnoc* is pronounced much like 'crock', but in Scots and English it is equated with 'knock', i.e. 'nock'.

The concentrations of *cnoc* names around the Irish Sea, also in the inner Hebrides, and in Ross and southern Sutherland, coincide with areas where Gaelic-speakers were for some centuries in close contact with Scandinavian. Bilingualism would have been common in these areas, and the Old Norse hill-word *knúkr* might have contributed to the popularity of the Gaelic word in place-naming, and to the presence of *knock* as a common noun for a hillock in Scots and northern English (though there was probably also an Old English **cnucc* which occurs in place-names in Kent and neighbouring counties). All these Celtic and Germanic words are likely to have had a common, possibly non-Indo-European, origin.

'Knock' is very common in place-names in our region: there are around 125 names formed with this element in Stewartry, at least 300 on OS Pathfinder maps covering Dumfries and Galloway. It is also ubiquitous on the Isle of Man, where it appears as 'cronk' or 'knock'. It is common throughout Scotland and Ireland, and occurs in Cumberland and elsewhere in north-west England as far south as the Wirral.

Knockbrack is marked as a ruin on the 1st edition OS map a short distance west of a ford (now a bridge near the Raiders' Road car-park) on the Black Water of Dee; it is not shown on modern maps. The site lies within FCS plantations. A track from the river-crossing runs near the site, which is on a rounded hillock, and there appears to have been a wall around it.

The name may be compared with Knockbrack in Closeburn parish, in the Dumfriesshire hills, Knockbrake, which occurs four times in Wigtownshire, and near Maybole in Ayrshire, Knockbreck occurring twice in Kirkcowan, another south-west of Muirkirk in Ayrshire, also *Knockbrek* shown on Blaeu's map in Kirkcolm on the Rhinns, no longer extant, and Knockbrock on the road from St. John's Town of Dalry to Moniaive just east of the county boundary in Dumfriesshire.

Knockbrex is comparable to East and West Knockbrex in Penninghame parish (*Knockbrakis* in 1506), along with Knockbracks now in forestry north of Glentroll village, another (with a house marked as a ruin on the 1st edition OS map) in Cumloden Deer Parks, and a third in

Stoneykirk, and Knockbrax in Kirkinner. It is early Gaelic **cnoc bréc* (modern Gaelic *breac*), 'multicoloured, speckled knoll': names of this form in Galloway without a final *-s* or *-x* include *Knockbrack*, a farm-site and hillock near the Raiders' Road car-park on the Black Water of Dee, *Knockbrake*, which occurs four times in Wigtownshire, *Knockbreck* occurring twice in Kirkcowan, also *Knokbrek* shown on Blaeu's map in Kirkcolm on the Rhinns, and *Knockbrock* on the road from St. John's Town of Dalry to Moniaive just east of the county boundary in Dumfriesshire.

The Scots plural *brakis*, surviving as *-brex* (also as *-bracks*, *-brax*) might imply that at some time in the later middle ages there was more than one landholding included under this name, as is still the case in Penninghame. However, it is a little surprising that there are so many names with this *-s* form, it is possible that in some cases the Gaelic original was **Cnoc-breacas*, with the name-forming suffix *-as*, which occurs in Old Irish and is probably reflected in some Irish and Scottish place-names (e.g. Ceres, Leuchars and Wemyss, all in Fife; see also Larg below). The 'speckled knoll' in Kirkandrews is *Knockbrex Hill*, the small hill now maintained as a viewpoint. It is striking that all these **cnoc bréc* hillocks are either on the coast or in remote upland but in sight of old routeways; they would have been distinctive landmarks.

Littleton

The earliest mention dates from 1469, when *Litiltoun* was recorded alternative name for Gaitgil, a mile or so to the south. However, by the time of the 1st edition OS map, Littleton was where the farm now stands, on the Old Military Road east of Gatehouse, just east of the Littleton Burn which is at this point the parish boundary between Girthon and the northernmost corner of Borgue. Littleton Cothouses are listed in Girthon parish in the 1881 census, so were presumably west of the burn, which flows south-south-west towards Enrick, being variously named Gategill Burn (see Gaitgil above) and Waulkmill Burn (referring presumably to the fulling mill at Enrick, but works from the 18th century through to the realignment of the A75 in the 1980s have made the lines of watercourses here very hard to disentangle).

The name Littleton could have been given during the time of Northumbrian rule, or later when the Scots language had come to be used in place-naming. Although today Littleton is a substantial farm, at the time the holding (apparently at some distance away) was first named it must have been perceived as 'little' compared to some neighbouring settlement or settlements. Its apparent origin as an alternative name for Gaitgil suggests that maybe the two holdings had been combined, and that *Litiltoun* had formerly been a smaller neighbour, or earlier subdivision, of Gaitgil; if so the range of possible dates of origin lies probably between the twelfth and mid-fifteenth centuries.

Luskie Hill

The little hill overlooking the Gatehouse to Borgue road from the east near Barharrow may be Brittonic/ Cumbric **losgi* (Welsh *llosgi*) or **losgīg*, or else Gaelic *loisgte*; the literal

meaning in any case would be 'burnt'. The Cumbric form may be found across the Solway at Newton Arlosh in Cumberland, originally *Arlosk*, '(place) near burnt land', and equivalent forms occur in Welsh, Cornish and Breton place-names, while the Gaelic one is used fairly commonly in the Highlands of parched ground or places where, for one reason or another, the vegetation had been, or appeared to have been, burnt.

Big and Little Loskie, rather more substantial hills to the east of Carsphairn, and Craiglosk south-east of New Galloway are likely to share the same origin. A little more doubtful are water-names apparently involving this element: the name of Corselus Strand flowing beneath the western edge of the Rinns of Kells probably refers to brown vegetation on the marshland through which it flows (for the first element, see Carstramon above), the same may have been true in earlier times at the location of Luskie Plantation and Luskie Dam near Old Garroch east of St. John's Town of Dalry, and perhaps at Luskie Burn between High and Low Nunton, north-east of Borgue, in Twynholm parish. However, an alternative possibility in these watery cases is Gaelic *lusach* 'herby, weedy, abounding in plants'. Overall, it is somewhat intriguing that there are so many names apparently of this type in The Stewartry.

Moat

Scots *moat* corresponds to the Anglo-French *motte*, referring to an artificial, typically pudding-shaped, mound, put up by Anglo-Norman colonists or those following them, mainly in the later twelfth century. 'Motte' is commonly used by historians to avoid confusion with the English sense of 'moat' for a water-filled defensive ditch, and has in some cases replaced *moat*, for example Cally Motte; 'mote' is also used, in the Stewartry for the important sites Mote of Urr and Mote of Mark (though neither of these is a typical 'motte'). The quantity of such features in Galloway, especially in the Stewartry, is conspicuous. There are around 50 places in that county with 'moat' in their names, largely concentrated in the southern parishes which were the most fertile and populous. Some turn out to be natural features mistaken for mottes (for example Benmeal Mote), some have more or less vanished under ploughing, quarrying and other later activity, but conversely there are several other mottes marked on maps, or are known to archaeologists, but have no recorded names.

Beyond the hills to the east of the Fleet Valley there is a remarkable string of mottes, beginning in the south with Roberton Moat (see Roberton below), formed from a natural strongpoint by simply digging a ditch around the sides not already protected by a steep drop; it may have been a re-use of an earlier power base associated with the Brittonic-named Rattrra nearby (see under Rattrra below). It was probably established in the early thirteenth century by a junior member of the family of Ralph de Campania who held the impressive motte and bailey, with its own *bord-land* at Boreland of Borgue (which Ralph had inherited from its founder, Hugh de Morville; for *bord-land* see Boreland above), and named after one of the two or more Roberts in the de Campania lineage. Barmagachan Moat was probably established somewhat later, when the MacGachen family were granted lands in this area by the Lady Dervorgilla in 1282 (see further under Barmagachan above). Again, this motte seems more a statement of lordly status than a substantial military base.

Twynholm Moat (simply 'Moat' on OS maps) is adjacent to the main settlement in what was already a long-established territorial unit, and would have been in the twelfth century the largest – indeed, pretty well the only – 'village' in the Stewartry west of the Dee. Although there is no documentation, it was probably subject to the de Morville, and subsequently de Campania, lordship based at Borgue. Twynholm stands at the junction of routeways to the north from the harbours at Castle Haven and Ross Bay, and to the west from the crossing of the Dee at Kirkcudbright. In the north of Twynholm parish, Trostrie Moat overlooks a 'crossing farm' (the meaning of Brittonic **tros-tre*), where the road from Dumfries crossed the northward road and the high ridge between the Tarf and Fleet valleys; it is another non-standard motte where a natural ridge has been extended and its top levelled to form an impressive stronghold. In Balmaghie, Edgarton Moat overlooks the route from Ringford to the Glenkens. It may well take its name from an Englishman, most likely in the retinue of the de Morvilles. A couple of miles further north, Dinnance or Dunnance Moat, a *dùnan* 'small fort or hill' likewise guards the road.

Although there is no documentary evidence for the mottes in Twynholm and Balmaghie parishes, it seems this north-south chain from Robertson to Dinnance seems more than coincidental, suggesting the Anglo-Norman lords were granting landholdings to kinsmen and reliable tenants where they could build for themselves modest strongholds that were at least statements of power, capable of deterring minor raiding, and collectively a cordon sanitaire between the productive lands of the Tarf and lower Dee valleys and the wilder hill-country to the west.

Further west, Cally Moat or Motte has benefitted from being preserved, probably deliberately, as a landscape feature, within Moat Park, part of the grounds of Cally House. Nothing is known of its origins, nor of any structures built on it, though there would probably have been one or more wooden buildings and a surrounding palisade. It would have been lapped by the sea at high tide, but there is no evidence of any bailey, and, although defensible against minor attacks, free-standing mottes of this kind were perhaps more status symbols than sites of military power.

In Anwoth parish, Boreland Moat (otherwise known as Green Tower Motte) was a centre of local power probably constructed in the 1170s by an ancestor of the McCullochs, and occupied by them until Cardoness Castle was built on the overlooking hill. It is unusual in being formed by steepening and dividing a natural alluvial ridge into a motte and bailey, separated from each other and from the land by ditches which would have been filled at high tide. 'Motte and bailey' castles were typical of areas in England and Ireland where incoming Anglo-Norman lords were imposing their power on a doubtfully compliant local population, the presence of a bailey here suggests the lords of Anwoth maintained a garrison.

Kirkclaugh Moat is likewise an unusual structure on the coast, perhaps re-using an earlier promontory fort, as the motte is perched dramatically on the cliff-edge, with a pair of ditches to landward forming an L-shaped bailey in between.

Muncraig

Monkraig in Blaeu's Atlas, this farm in Kirkandrews lies in a valley between Muncraig Hill and Muncraig Heugh. Scots *heuch* or *heugh* is from Old English *hōh*, literally 'a heel', and in English place-names generally referring to a heel-like hill-spur with a marked summit. The Scots word often refers to such a land-form, but it is likely to be associated with 'a precipice, crag or cliff', and undoubtedly that is the feature indicated here by both *heugh* and *craig* – Muncraig Heugh being the seaward slope of Heugh Hill, dropping down to a steep, craggy cliff. Moreover, traces of prehistoric (probably iron-age) settlement and cultivation here imply that this was the feature that gave its name to the landholding.

The first element, Mun-, is ambiguous. In place-names it sometimes reflects early Gaelic **i-mbun* 'at the foot (of)', for example Moness at Aberfeldy and Monessie in Lochaber are at the feet of waterfalls (Gaelic *eas*), and Muncraig could be 'at the foot of the crag'. Alternatively, it could have been Gaelic *monadh*, or even Brittonic **mönith*, 'a hill, upland tract, rough grazing, common pasture'; this does occasionally appear as Mon- or Mun-, though normally before an initial 'd' or 't' in the second element that has absorbed the final consonant of the first, e.g. Mundurno in Aberdeenshire.

Plunton

This substantial estate in Borgue parish is evidenced today by a range of names including Plunton Castle, Burn, Hill, House, Mains, Mill, Bridge, and Lennox Plunton. If Daphne Brooke's interpretation, 'plum enclosure', is correct, the name is likely to be mediaeval, though if taken as 'plum-tree farm' it might be from the later years of Northumbrian rule. In either case, the 'plums' would have probably been damsons. However the earliest records, *Puncktoune* 1457 and *Pluncktoune* 1458, raise doubts, and, bearing in mind that the vowel is long in both Old English *plūm* and Scots *ploom*, it is not wholly certain that word really is present in this name, notwithstanding later forms that include *Plomtoun* and *Pluwmtoun* 1461, *Plumtoun* 1482, *Pluntoun* 1484, *Plumtoun* and *Plumptoun* in Blaeu's Atlas. It is good example of the lesson that the better-documented a place-name is, the more difficult it can turn out to be!

Pulwhirrin Burn

Pulwhirrin (or Pulwhirran) Burn is the main watercourse of the mediaeval parish of Kirkandrews, rising at the watershed near Conchieton and flowing south through Auchenhay, Plunton, Barmagachan and Rattrra to the sea below Kirkandrews. It is doubtless a Celtic *pol*, probably Gaelic *poll*, though the second element is a little problematic. It may be *fhuarain*, genitive of *fuaran* 'a natural spring'. The source of the stream has been obscured by mill and road works over the centuries, most recently the realignment of the A75, but it must have been an abundant source of fresh water. 'Softened' (and silenced) 'fh' is not strictly regular in Scottish Gaelic on a genitive masculine noun unless there is a definite article (*an fhuarain*), but the article may have been lost, and in any case the equivalent is *uráin* in Ulster Gaelic and *varrane* in Manx, something similar in Galloway

Gaelic could well have become ‘-whirrin’ or ‘-whirran’ in Scots speech. Other possibilities would be *a’chuirn*, an early genitive form of *càrn* ‘cairn’, though no conspicuous cairn is now to be found near it, or else *a’chaorainn* ‘rowan’.

Rattra

Rattra in Kirkandrews, *Rotrow* on Blaeu’s map, bears an interesting and significant Brittonic/Cumbric name, one shared by two Rattrays, in Blairgowrie in Perthshire and Buchan in Aberdeenshire. The early Celtic word **rātis* meant ‘an earthen rampart’, thence ‘a fortified enclosure’; it occurs in as many as seventeen place-names recorded in classical sources in the Celtic-speaking regions of the Roman Empire. It retained the sense of ‘a fort’, specifically ‘a ringfort’, in Ireland, where *rath* is very common in place-names. However, in Welsh, Cumbric and Pictish it came to be used (in the form **rawd*) for the home of a chieftain, and thence for an estate or a district administered from such a residence.

The second part of the name is *trev* ‘a farm’, both a habitation and the land associated with it. Threave, some twelve miles away on the Dee, is simply *trev*, and was probably ‘the farm’, having a specific role or status within an estate, it may well have been the ‘home farm’, ‘mains’, of the local chieftain. And likewise **rawd-drev* would have been ‘the principal farm of a district or estate administered from a chieftain’s fort (**rawd*)’, doubtless the neighbouring Robertson Moat (see Robertson below, Moat above). An alternative etymology, with the intensive prefix *rö-* (Modern Welsh *rhy-*), would give **rö-drev* ‘great farm’, implying much the same.

Roberton

As noted under Moat above, Robertson Moat was probably established by a junior member of the family of Ralph de Campania who held the motte and bailey, at Boreland of Borgue (see Boreland above), and named after one of the two or more Roberts in the de Campania lineage. Recent scholarly research has confirmed that a significant proportion of place-names of this form, with a personal name plus *-to(u)n*, were formed in southern Scotland and northern England during the period 1100-1250 (cf. Edgerton); this is consistent with the judgement of Prof. Richard Oram that Robertson Moat was constructed in the early thirteenth century, most probably between 1234 and 1240.

Ross

Ros (Welsh *rhos*, Gaelic *ros*) is a familiar element in place-names throughout Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany. In the various Celtic languages it came to acquire a range of different meanings, but the common and no doubt primary sense is ‘a promontory’, especially a flat-topped headland. The Ross of Borgue is a prototypical example, the name could well be ancient, maybe even as early as that of the River Dee whose mouth it guards.

Meikle Ross is the plateau that dominates the headland. Mull of Ross is **Maol Rois* 'bald rounded hill of Ross'. Ree of Ross is the 'toe' of the headland pointing south-east towards Little Ross island. *Ree* in Galloway Scots is a word for a stone-walled shelter for sheep; no 'sheep rees' are marked on the Ree of Ross on the 1st edition OS map, but maybe it was seen by sailors as a 'sheltering' feature, guarding Ross Bay, described by Symson in 1692 as one of the best harbours in the west of Scotland 'for here ships of all sizes are secure, blow the wind which way it will'. The origin of *ree*, which has many varied forms in other parts of Scotland, is far from clear. Gaelic *righe* (in the Highlands, *ruighe*) can mean 'a shieling', and might possibly be related to that word, but it more usually refers to the lower, gentler slope below a mountain: the eastern slope of the Ross towards the Dee might have been **Righe Rois*, anglicised to Ree of Ross.

Senwick

The medieval parish of Senwick comprised a large estate belonging to the medieval lords of Galloway, containing valuable cereal-growing land. The earliest recorded forms include *Sanneck* c1275, *Sa'nayk* 1296, *Sannak* 1458. These can be interpreted as reflecting a Gaelicised form of Old Norse **sand-vík*, 'sand bay', a common name around the north and west coasts of Scotland and in the Isles, appearing in Gaelicised form as *Sandaig* in Knoydart (site of Gavin Maxwell's *Camusfearna*) and on Tiree. The eponymous bay was probably Brighthouse Bay, though it could have been Ross Bay.

Daphne Brooke suggested 'Old English *sand-hnecca* (sandy neck)', but *hnecca* is a very rare as a place-name element, known only at Necton in Norfolk; *sand-hnecca* would mean 'sand-neck', not 'sandy neck'; moreover the 'neck' of the headland, between Ross Bay and Fauldbog Bay, is stony and boggy, and Fauldbog Bay is rocky, it is not a 'sandy neck'.

Solway

The earliest records are *Sulewaht* c1275, after that *Sulwath* with minor variations until the 15th century, when *Sulway*, *Solway* become usual. In all the early records it is *Aqua de*, 'Water of'. The second syllable in Solway is certainly Old Norse *vað* 'ford', so the name refers to one of the low-water crossing routes between Cumberland and Dumfriesshire, at the head of the inlet. The first element is probably Norse *súl*, 'a pillar or post' guiding travellers across the ford. A likely identification would be the Clochmabenstane, a huge glacial erratic at Gretna which would have been a prominent landmark; its name, like that of Lochmaben, incorporates that of a Celtic deity, Mabon. *Firth* is Scots, from Norse *fjirðr*, a fjord, an arm of the sea.

Stramoddie

Stramoddie is marked on OS maps as a location between Corseyard and Roberton in Kirkcubright; Stramoddie Strand is a wee burn that flows down into Castle Haven Bay.

The second part of the name is pretty surely Gaelic *madaidh* 'of (a) dog or wolf', and the first is probably *sròn* 'nose, snout', common in place-names referring to a pointed headland or hill-spur. Gaelic *srath*, 'a broad stretch of riverside land', proposed by Maxwell, would not be relevant here, but 'mastiff's snout' suits this location at the south-western end of Doves Hill very well.

Tannymaas

'A cottage situated partly in Borgue and partly in Twynholm' was, according to Malcolm Harper's 'The Bards of Galloway' (1889) the birthplace in 1783 of William Nicholson, celebrated with some justice as *The Galloway Bard*. It occupies a formerly cultivated area a short distance from the later route of the Old Military Road, between Twynholm and Gatehouse, though the cottage is now apparently unoccupied and is enclosed by a patch of mixed woodland. On OS maps it is shown (as *Tannymaws* on the 1st edition; also often spelt Tannie-). It is located in the northernmost point of Borgue parish, with Twynholm across the Mooryard (Muiryard) Burn to the east, and Girthon across the Littleton Burn slightly further to the west.

The first part of the name is *tamhnaich* '(at a) small piece of arable land' (see Tanniefad above). The second looks like Gaelic *màs*, genitive *màis*, which translates as 'buttock, rump, loin, thigh' etc.' It occurs in Irish place-names referring to long, rather low hills, as at Maas in Co. Donegal. Tannymaas is on a relatively level stretch of fairly high ground, but there is no feature that would obviously suggest the anatomical analogy – there are other sites in this part of Girthon parish that it would suit at least as well. An alternative possibility would be *magha* '(of, on) plain, level ground', with the plural –s commonly added for no obvious reason to Scots forms of Gaelic names. That might match the location more appropriately.

An antiquarian etymology invoking *teine* 'fire, beacon' and suggesting pagan ceremonies is sometimes recycled, but **teine mhagha* would be 'a field fire' not 'a fire field'.

Tarff Water

Gaelic *tarbh*, possibly earlier Cumbric *taru* (modern Welsh *tarw*), 'a bull'. There is another Tarf Water in the Machars, a tributary of the Bladnoch (nowadays the Kirkcudbrightshire river is spelt with 'ff', the Wigtonshire one with 'f', historically there was of course variation). Elsewhere in Scotland, there is a River Tarf in Atholl, Perthshire, and a Tarf Water in Angus, as well as related river names such as Tarvie, and a number of place-names that imply further, lost, watercourse names of this family. Rivers and streams were often named after animals in the Celtic languages, especially totemic ones like bulls and boars. Such names may well have connoted strength and/ or fertility, but they are rooted in ancient beliefs about which we can only speculate.

