Famous as Scotland’s ‘cradle of Christianity’, the site of Whithorn Priory and the museum of carved stones today illuminate our understanding of these early times.

INVESTIGATING WHITHORN PRIORY & MUSEUM

Information for Teachers

INVESTIGATING HISTORIC SITES
Whithorn is one of Scotland’s most ancient tourist destinations. Famous as Scotland’s ‘cradle of Christianity’, the site of the priory and the museum of carved stones today illuminate our understanding of these early times.

**Historical background**

Ninian, a local bishop, is said to have established the first Christian church in Scotland at Whithorn around 397 AD. His followers brought new skills as well as new ideas to this part of Scotland and the community which grew up around this first church was ideally placed to become a prosperous trading centre with social and economic links to other communities around the Irish sea. Artefacts from as far afield as Tunisia have been found on site, suggesting that Whithorn was far from isolated.

It is perhaps then not so surprising that a school of stone carving emerged at Whithorn, where skilled craft workers flourished. The stones now on display in the museum include Scotland’s earliest Christian monument, the Latinus stone, dating from the 5th century. The elaborate carved stones were originally part of the Whithorn landscape, many of them standing within the grounds of the early church and monastery. As a collection they demonstrate the prestige and influence of Whithorn from around the 7th-11th centuries.

Following periods under Northumbrian and Viking rule, the community was reinvigorated in the 12th century, when a cathedral was built and a priory established. Around this time the cult of St Ninian became very popular and by the 13th and 14th centuries there was a steady stream of pilgrims to the site of his shrine. Robert the Bruce visited shortly before his death in 1329, and James III, IV and V all made their way to Whithorn as pilgrims.

However, the priory was already in decline by the time of the Reformation in 1560, and pilgrimages were outlawed in 1581. Part of the old church served as the parish kirk until a new parish kirk was built on the site of the old cathedral in 1822. Around this time interest in Whithorn’s early Christian and medieval history revived, and the 20th century saw the return of modern day pilgrims to the site of Ninian’s church.
Before the visit

- Read The Story of Ninian (see additional resources) and discuss what a saint is.
- Look at maps of Scotland and Europe, discussing why Whithorn became a hub of trade and travel.
- Talk about the concept of pilgrimage, why people from many cultures visit holy places.
- Discuss symbols of Christianity, in particular the cross.
- Discuss Latin, how it was the language of the Church at the time. Study Roman numerals.
- Make a giant timeline with pupils, counting back the centuries with them from the present day to help develop a sense of time. Key events can be marked on the timeline.
- Both the Whithorn Story and the Museum display objects which have survived for hundreds of years. Discuss with pupils which materials survive and which decay. Look at objects around them today – which parts will survive for longest? Get pupils to think about what objects from the past might not have survived, the gaps in our knowledge of the past.

On the site of the priory, useful starting points are:

- What materials were used to build the priory? Where did they come from?
- Can you see any ways in which the priory has changed?
- What materials have not survived?

Pupils can create their own evidence record by:

- Taking notes
- Making quick drawings
- Using the stampers in the Museum
- Photography, video

On the Historic Scotland website: www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/education_unit teachers can find additional resources to help with work on site. These include compiling an Evidence Record and a My Impressions Record.

Suggestions for follow-up work

After the visit pupils can pool their findings to create a fuller record of the site and the lives of the people who lived there. A wide range of activities is possible, for example:

- Artwork relating to the stones, incorporated into poster, leaflet or souvenir design
- Class display of comparative 21st century religious symbols
- Carving on different types of stone, or modelling material
- A slide show with commentary of their visit
- Imaginative writing based on the lives of people who lived at the priory

Visiting Sites

In and around Whithorn there are a number of sites relating to the area’s Christian past. They include:

The Whithorn Story
An excellent museum telling the story of the area. Displays of artefacts and replicas. Run by the Whithorn Trust.

The Whithorn Priory Museum
Display of the remarkable carved stones from the area. Run by Historic Scotland.

Whithorn Priory
Ruined site of the ancient church and priory.

St Ninian’s Chapel, Isle of Whithorn
Ruined remains of the chapel, 5km south east of Whithorn.

St Ninian’s Cave at Physgill, 5km south of Whithorn.
Cave by the seashore said to have been used as a retreat by the saint. 20 minute walk.

A visit to these sites will help pupils to imagine what life was like for those who inhabited and visited Whithorn from its earliest Christian days.

A visit to Whithorn supports outcomes in 5-14 National Guidelines Environmental Studies - People in the Past. It may also support work in the Expressive Arts and in Religious and Moral Education.

The Curriculum for Excellence aspires to motivate and challenge pupils through a wide range of learning experiences. Site visits have a particular role to play in joining up learning outcomes across the curriculum and in supporting the four capacities.
Plan of sites in Whithorn

Aerial view of Whithorn, showing sites

Map of the wider area around Whithorn

On the trail of stones and stories

The Whithorn Story, the Museum and the Priory are all very close together in the centre of Whithorn. To avoid overcrowding, it is suggested that all pupils watch the audio-visual presentation *The Whithorn Story* (14 minutes) in the Visitor Centre of the Whithorn Story before splitting into three groups. These groups can then rotate around the three sites.

Finally, if time permits, the two further afield sites may be visited.

This pack provides simple background information which can be read to pupils, and points for discussion and investigation. It is organised as follows:

1. The Whithorn Story Visitor Centre
2. The Whithorn Priory Museum
3. The Priory
4. St Ninian’s Chapel, Isle of Whithorn and St Ninian’s Cave

You should allow about an hour and a half for your visit to the first three sites, plus an additional two hours if visiting the chapel at the Isle of Whithorn and St Ninian’s Cave.
Tour notes: On the trail of stones and stories

Setting the scene. This can be read to pupils in advance, possibly at school.

- Tradition tells us 1600 years ago, round about the year AD 397, a man called Ninian set up a church here. It was the first Christian church in Scotland. In the beginning the church was very simple, but over the years the church grew bigger and a village and then a town grew up around the church. Later there was a place for monks, called a priory, and much later there was a grand cathedral. The first church was white, which is how the name Whithorn gets its name.

- Whithorn became a famous centre for people to learn about Christian beliefs and people travelled here from far away. These people brought new ideas and new skills, so Whithorn also became a good place to do business. It became a trading centre too, and traded with countries across the sea.

- The people who lived and studied at Whithorn wanted to honour and worship God. One way of doing this was to make beautiful things for God. They made beautifully decorated books, sewed beautiful cloths and carved amazing patterns into stones and wood. The books and cloths have rotted away, but we can still see the carved stones today.

- After Ninian died, he was made a saint. His bones were buried at Whithorn in a special place called a shrine. People started to come to Whithorn to visit his shrine. They believed that making this journey would please God. These travellers were called pilgrims and their journey is known as a pilgrimage. Robert the Bruce came here as a pilgrim and so did many of the other Scottish kings.

- In the 1500s, the official religion of Scotland changed, and lots of the buildings here at Whithorn were destroyed, including Ninian’s shrine. It became illegal to make pilgrimages, so people stopped coming to Whithorn. Later on, a new church was built where the first church used to be.

- Archaeologists have found all kinds of objects here which tell us how people lived and worked at Whithorn hundreds of years ago. We can see some of these objects on display in the Whithorn Story. Today we can see the ruins of the old church at Whithorn and we can still enjoy looking at the carved stones. Some Christians still make pilgrimages here.
Location 1: The Whithorn Story Visitor Centre

**Information for teachers.**

- The excellent exhibition here displays many of the objects and findings from the excavations at Whithorn. There are also replica costumes to try on, and other activities.
- It may be possible to have a facilitated session in the Discovery Centre, which includes a simulated archaeological dig; ask when booking.
- We suggest that you allow the pupils to explore the exhibitions independently, though the following questions may be given to them as challenges, possibly to different groups of pupils, in order to help them focus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher prompts</th>
<th>Desired pupil responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What kind of things did people make at Whithorn?</td>
<td>Carved bone and antler items such as combs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metal objects such as pins, nails and ‘ear scoops’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woven fabrics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Items from leather (and cat skins!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What objects help us to know where their food came from?</td>
<td>Grew food – see plough and millstones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some food came from abroad – see the wine pots (amphorae) from the Mediterranea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bones give us clues about the animals that they ate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What clues can you find which tell us that the church at Whithorn became quite a rich place?</td>
<td>Visited by kings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gold items from church (e.g. gold ‘crozier’ head).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*After a group feedback session, continue through the Visitor Centre, out the back and up the street to the Whithorn Priory Museum.*
Did you know...  
Many Romans were Christians too, so there had been Christians in Scotland even before Ninian.

Location 2: Whithorn Priory Museum: the carved stones

Background information for teachers. This can be read to pupils.

- The carved stones in this museum include the oldest Christian object in Scotland. They were made more than 1,000 years ago by the first Christians at Whithorn.
- They used to be outside. Some of them were around the church and priory, but some were out in the fields and further away. Historians are not sure exactly what they were for. Maybe they were markers to show that you were coming to a holy place.
- Most of them are a bit damaged by the wind and weather because they are so old. When they were first made, historians think they were painted with bright colours.

Location 2a: The Latinus Stone (Stone 1)

- This is the first stone you see as you come in. It is the oldest Christian stone in Scotland. It is a kind of memorial stone for a man called Latinus and his four-year-old daughter, so is known as the Latinus stone. It was put up in about the year AD 450 by Latinus’ grandson, a man called Barrovadus.
- The writing is in Latin, the language used by the Romans. It was also the language of church services and of the Bible in those days. People know it is a Christian stone because the first part of the writing is from the Bible.
- It was probably first put up in the graveyard around the first church. Later it was re-used as a building stone in the cathedral.

Teacher prompts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Desired pupil responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top left corner looks broken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe when it was being re-used as a building stone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About half way down the writing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The last word on the stone – letters B and ROV are clear.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Look to the left, to the stones numbered 2-5.
Location 2b: The Early Christian Stones (stones 2-5)

**Background information for teachers. This can be read to pupils.**

- These stones are not quite as old as the Latinus stone, but they are still very old. They were carved in the 7th and 8th centuries. They were used as building stones later too.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Teacher prompts</strong></th>
<th><strong>Desired pupil responses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>These stones are all quite different, but there are some things that are the same on some of them. Can you find two things that are similar?</td>
<td>They all have crosses on them.&lt;br&gt;They use patterns with circles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why is the cross an important symbol for Christians?</td>
<td>Christians believe that God’s son, Jesus, was killed on a cross.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at stone number 2. It’s called the Peter Stone because the writing on it mentions Peter, one of Jesus’ followers. It used to stand by the road to the Isle of Whithorn.</td>
<td>Below the carving of the cross.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can you find the word Peter on the stone? Look for PETRI – Latin for Peter.</td>
<td>Not very good – very wobbly looking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you think of the way that the writing is carved?</td>
<td>Pupils’ own ideas. Maybe a metal cross used to be on top of the stone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the top of the stone there is a little hole. People aren’t sure exactly what this could have been. What do you think?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why do you think people re-used these stones as building stones?</td>
<td>They were handy and a convenient size.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why was this useful for archaeologists and historians later?</td>
<td>The stones probably were more protected as part of a building than they were outside in a graveyard. The writing and patterns have survived better.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Did you know...

Church services were often held in the open air in the early days. Some of the stones marked parts of land which were set aside for religious purposes.

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Location 2c: Heads, Shafts and Bases (stones 6-9)

Background information for teachers. This can be read to pupils.

- Gradually the craftspeople at Whithorn started developing a particular style of carved stone. Most of the stones were in the shape of a cross.
- Each cross had three parts to it: the top part, called the head, the middle part, called the shaft, and the bottom part, the base.
- All of the stones used to be outside, either as grave markers or marking a special place.
- They had to be fixed into the ground properly to stop them falling over. Some were fitted into a heavy base stone above ground, and others were dug deep into a pit to give them a secure foundation.

Teacher prompts

Look at stones number 6-9. Can you work out which parts of the cross each of these stones is?

Number 7 is a piece of the shaft.
Number 8 is a piece of the head.

It must have been difficult to get the crosses to stand up safely. Why do you think they were designed to stand up, rather than lie down?

Desired pupil responses

Numbers 6 and 9 are the bases of the stone, which the shaft would have slotted into.

Pupils’ own ideas. Maybe they were more eye-catching, more impressive. Maybe the challenge of getting them upright showed more effort to God. Maybe they were simply meant to be a stone version of Jesus’ cross.
Did you know...
Stone number 44 was found in 1992. It was being used as the part of a doorway in a house in George St in Whithorn!

Location 2d: Monuments of Faith and Knots and Crosses (stones 10-37)

**Background information for teachers. This can be read to pupils.**

- Gradually the stone workers at Whithorn began to have their own particular style. They all learnt from each other and began to use each other’s designs.
- They liked using complicated patterns showing lines weaving in and out of each other. Maybe they thought that if you looked at the pattern, that might help you to feel calm and more like praying to God.
- If you compare the carving to the wobbly writing we saw on the Peter stone, you can see how much their skills have developed.

<table>
<thead>
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</table>
| Look at stone number 12. This is quite a typical stone cross from Whithorn. Can you find:  
  - the cross shape?  
  - a pattern of circles on the shaft?  
  - a pattern which looks like rope weaving in and out of the circles? | All quite easy to find. |
| How many circles are in the shaft pattern? | Depends on which side of the cross you are standing – either six or three. |
| Can you follow the lines of ‘weaving’? The pattern should go ‘over and under’ each time. Get one or more pupils to trace one of the lines in the air above the stone to see where the lines end up. Chanting ‘over and under’ at the same time may help! |  |

Continued on next page...
Give the pupils the chance to explore this area independently for about ten minutes. You could give them a kind of treasure hunt, based on the following below.

There are also ‘stampers’ for children to print their own cross designs.

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can you find:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Three more stones with circles on the shafts</td>
<td>Many e.g. 30, 33, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• A stone which was later re-used as a gravestone, with the initials AM</td>
<td>Stone 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• A stone showing two carved figures</td>
<td>Stone 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• A very complicated pattern</td>
<td>Stone 20 – and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The tallest stone in Galloway</td>
<td>Stone 30 – the Monreith Cross</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Find out three more things which make stone 30 unusual. Use the information panel or the touch screen.

Has pattern on all four faces of stone.
Made of a different type of stone to all the others (sandstone – not found locally)
It marked the site of local court cases, rather than a grave.

Which is your favourite stone and why?
Have a go at sketching part of it.
Did you know...

An annual pilgrimage to St Ninian’s Cave still takes place every year on the last Sunday in August.

Location 2e: Stones from St Ninian’s Cave (stones 38-62)

Background information for teachers. This can be read to pupils.

- Ninian used to leave Whithorn. He might have walked to a cave by the sea, where he would stay praying to God and thinking in peace.
- Later this became a place for pilgrims to go. They went to the cave in memory of Ninian, and carved stones there. There might have been a kind of chapel there, like a mini-church.
- People still go there today and make their own crosses.
- These carved stones were all found at the cave.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are these stones as skilfully carved as the other ones? How/how not? Why do you think this is?</td>
<td>No – much less carefully carved. Designs are much simpler. Pupils’ own ideas. Maybe they were not carved by experienced craftspeople, but instead by ordinary people making pilgrimages to the cave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One of the stones was a kind of water basin for holy water. Which one do you think it was?</td>
<td>Stone 62.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leave the Museum and turn right towards the site of the old priory and the church. Stop by an information panel on the left, which shows what the old church and cathedral complex might have looked like. It is quite high up on a bank, so pupils may have difficulty seeing it.
Did you know...
The son of Robert the Bruce, David II, visited Whithorn in 1327. He had had two arrow heads stuck in his body since a battle. He couldn’t get one of them out until he made the pilgrimage when miraculously, the arrow left his body!

Location 3: The Ruins of Whithorn Priory

Background information for teachers. This can be read to pupils.

- The first church in Scotland was probably built somewhere on this little hill around 1600 years ago. Archaeologists think it was probably over to the right of the path, because they have discovered the remains of very old stone walls here.
- Ninian’s grave was probably in the vaults or cellars of the church, and the shrine that pilgrims visited would probably have been above it in the church itself.
- Since then there have been lots of other churches built on top of the site. There was also a Priory building here, where men lived like monks, spending their days praying and worshipping God. You can see a church which is still in use today.
- We are going to look at the most complete part of the old church – the building to our left. This was built about eight hundred years ago and is left from when there was a cathedral here.

Go up to the nave, and walk round to the left (west) to where there is a decorated door.

**Teacher prompts**

This doorway was built in the 1200s. What patterns can you see which show you that it was special?

Later on a porch was added to this door. Can you see any signs which show you where the porch used to be? It probably protected some of the carved stone work too.

Above the doorway is a little cubby hole. What do you think this might have been for?

Look at this outside wall. Historians think that the church used to be smaller. Can you see a line showing where it was added to?

**Desired pupil responses**

Four levels of stone archways. Patterns of zig zags and circles on the arches. Patterns of flowers at the tops of the pillars.

Very clear triangular mark cutting through the arch way showing position of roof.

Probably had a statue of a saint in it.

Change in stone work quite clear, about half way along, to left of four tall arched windows.

Go through the doorway into the nave.
**Did you know...**
In 1434 a Frenchman and a Scottish friend were travelling to Scotland by boat. They got caught up in a storm and vowed that if they survived, they would make an offering to St Ninian. They did survive and when they landed safely they went to Whithorn and gave the priory a silver model of a ship, engraved with the arms of the king of France.

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This part of the church has had many changes to it. Look in the far corner for some decorated arches. They are very old and were built in the 1300s. What do you think they could be for?</td>
<td>There used to be tombstones for important people in these arches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at where they are now. What does this tell us about where the floor of the church used to be?</td>
<td>The floor used to be much lower than it is now; for some reason it has been raised.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Go out of the other door, turn left, left again and walk round the outside of the nave.**

- This area used to be the cloister, a courtyard with buildings around it. This was where the people who lived at the Priory worked, thought and slept. There used to be a garden in the middle, where the graves are now.
- All around the courtyard was a covered passageway. If you look up, against the wall of the nave you can see some of the stone supports which used to hold up the roof over the passage.

Pupils will probably enjoy exploring the underground vault area, accessed via a stair on the other side of the path from the nave. This is a complex area with many layers of building on top of building, with reconstruction work taking place too in the nineteenth century. Ninian’s grave is likely to have been down here and above the vaults is probably the site of his shrine.

**Go outside the vaults to the east and you can see the outline of a much older church.**

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**Outline of older church**

*That is the end of our suggested tour of the Whithorn sites.*
Did you know...

Many people visited the shrine at Whithorn or the cave to try and find a cure for their illnesses by touching things connected to St Ninian. They would also have had special care at the infirmary part of the priory. Archaeologists have found the remains of herbs used as medicine and a possible surgeon’s knife at the priory.

St Ninian’s Chapel and Cave

If time permits, you can also visit the following two sites further afield:

Location 4a: St Ninian’s Chapel, Isle of Whithorn 5km south-east of Whithorn

The ruins of this 14th century chapel, much of it reconstructed, lie on a picturesque promontory by the sea. This was probably the site of the old harbour, the port of entry for pilgrims coming from Ireland or the Isle of Man. It emphasises Whithorn’s maritime connection with the wider world.

Location 4b: St Ninian’s Cave, Glasserton, 5km south of Whithorn

The traditional retreat of St Ninian, this cave is on the seashore. After leaving the bus at the north end of Physgill Glen, walk for about 15 minutes down a muddy and uneven track to reach the beach. The cave is quite obvious once you’re on the beach, about 400m west (to the right) of the end of the path. It becomes even more obvious as you get closer because of the number of modern crosses made out of lines of stones, branches etc. There are some very early crosses carved into the cliff, but they are hard to make out, and it’s best just to enjoy the remoteness of a site unchanged much since Ninian’s time.
Visiting Whithorn

Booking a visit: The Whithorn Priory Museum and Whithorn Priory are run by Historic Scotland. There is no charge for booked educational visits to either of these sites. The Whithorn Story is run by an independent trust, the Whithorn Trust. There is no entrance charge for schools in Dumfries and Galloway, and outwith pupils are charged 75p. Teachers have free entry with their school groups. To book a visit to any or all of these sites, contact 01988 500508. Sites open April-October only. Visits to The Whithorn Story during Winter by arrangement.

Pre visits: We strongly recommend that teachers make a pre-visit to Whithorn in order to familiarise themselves with the site and to make a risk assessment. This visit is likely to be free, but please phone in advance.

Location: In the centre or Whithorn. St Ninian’s chapel is in the Isle of Whithorn, another ten minutes drive, and St Ninian’s Cave is ten minutes on from this, followed by a twenty minute walk.

Parking: There is ample unrestricted parking at all sites.

Health and safety: Please note the following:
- Take care on the steps down to the Priory vaults.
- The walk to St Ninian’s cave is via an uneven woodland path which may become muddy in wet weather. Then there is a 400m walk over a stony beach.
- Pupils should be supervised at all times and should not climb on the walls.
- As part of our commitment to Green Tourism, we ask that any rubbish be disposed of back at school.

FAQ

Q What is the minimum of adults required?
A 1 adult to 10 pupils.

Q Is there disabled access?
A Wheelchair users have full access to the Museum and the Whithorn Story. Access to the vaults in the Priory and the Discovery Centre in the Whithorn Story is via steps. Access to the Chapel is via a gravel path, and access to the Cave is not possible in a wheelchair.

Q Are there lunch facilities?
A There are plenty of places to picnic in fine weather – the former dig site opposite the Whithorn Priory Museum has picnic tables. Otherwise it may be possible to reserve space at the Whithorn Story.

Q Where are the toilets?
A There are toilets, including accessible toilets in the Whithorn Story. There are also public toilets just outside (20p charge). There are public toilets close to St Ninian’s chapel, but none close to the Cave.

Q Do you carry out risk assessments on behalf of schools?
A Risk assessment of the site is the responsibility of the teacher in charge of the group. Hazard information sheets available on the Historic Scotland website provide information that can help teachers prepare their risk assessments.

Additional resources

For teachers:
Peter Yeoman Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland Historic Scotland/Batsford 1999. Includes an interesting chapter about pilgrimages to Whithorn.

www.whithornpriorymuseum.gov.uk This useful microsite has photographs and descriptions of the all the stones on display at Whithorn Priory Museum

www.scran.ac.uk Search for images of objects associated with the early and medieval church.

Historic Scotland Education Unit: For further information about school visits, events and resources for teachers linked to Whithorn Priory visit the education pages on: www.historic-scotland.gov.uk

For pupils:
Liz Niven A Play Aboot Ninian and The Story of Ninian Watergaw/Dumfries and Galloway Education Department 1997. These booklets recount the story of Ninian and are available through the Dumfries and Galloway Library Service. The story is written in English and the play in Scots.

www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/education/sysm/scots/index_choice.shtml This website looks at the life of monks in pre-Reformation Scotland.

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