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## HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

# KIRKMADRINE STONES



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# HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

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# 1 Summary

## 1.1 Introduction

The Kirkmadrine collection contains 12 early medieval carved stones which are displayed in a porch attached to the west end of the church (Appendix 3). The three earliest of these form the largest collection of Latin-inscribed stones at one location in Scotland. The site is contemporary with the early monastery at Whithorn...new guidebook considers them together...

All but two of the stones were found within the churchyard, although they have been moved several times before they were gathered into the purpose-built porch as part of the restoration of the church by architect William Galloway in 1890. The porch was refurbished and the display renewed in 2014. The site is free access and no accurate visitor statistics are known; it is estimated that 1,000 people visit annually.

## 1.2 Statement of significance

The carved stones from Kirkmadrine can be dated to AD 500-1100, a period for which there is precious little evidence in southwest Scotland. For the early part of this period, the evidence from Galloway is largely limited to two sites, Kirkmadrine in the Rhins and Whithorn in the Machars.

The three Latin-inscribed pillars, Kirkmadrine 1, 2 and 3 (Figure 1) are of international importance for the evidence they provide of the early church in Britain and Ireland in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The key aspects of their significance are highlighted below:

- The concentration of early Latin-inscribed stones at Kirkmadrine indicate the site's importance; only twelve such stones are known in Scotland. A lost Latin-inscribed stone from Curghie, 12km SE of Kirkmadrine, is likely to have been related to this collection. Two Latin-inscribed stones are known from the larger monastic site at Whithorn; one of these (the Petrus stone), on geological evidence, came from the Kirkmadrine area and may have been commissioned there.
- The inscriptions, in their form and content, are exceptionally important to our understanding of a period where evidence is very scarce. These stones provide the earliest recorded personal names in Galloway, which together show a mixture of Brittonic, Irish, Roman and Gaulish name forms. The use of Latin script and the appearance of a rare, early form of Christian symbolism, the Chi-Rho cross, shows continued contact with Latin-speakers beyond Hadrian's Wall and the Continent, as well as the emerging early church in Ireland.
- Together, the concentration and survival of the early stones indicate an important and as yet unrecorded early monastery peopled by learned community. The relationship of this site to the better known site at Whithorn

at this early (6<sup>th</sup> century) date is clearly significant and more may be revealed by further study.

- Kirkmadrine's premier national importance was recognised in the first attempt to preserve key elements of British heritage, in the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 and displayed since 1890.

Aside from the early Latin stones and the cultural contacts they reveal, the later stones date primarily to the period roughly 800-1100, linked to a flourishing of carved stones known as the 'Whithorn School'. These are regionally significant for the following reasons:

- This is the largest collection of carved stones of this period in Galloway outside of Whithorn.
- The styles of carving have close parallels with Iona and Argyll as well as the 'Whithorn School', and it may be that Kirkmadrine acted as a bridge between the Gaelic-speaking west and Hiberno-Norse Irish Sea zone.
- The place-name Kirkmadrine dates to this period, and along with this flourishing of stone carving, relates to a re-foundation of the site as a parish church.
- The name and the stones place this site within the realm of the Gall-Ghàidheil, or 'stranger Gaels', Irish-speaking Norse descendants strongly linked to the Viking kingdom of Dublin and Man which expanded to southwest Scotland in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

## 2 Assessment of values

### 2.1 Background

Kirkmadrine is now a disused church and burial ground in the Rhins of Galloway, set within a landscape of improved grassland and arable (Figure 2). Kirkmadrine formerly served as the medieval parish church of Toskerton, united with Clayshant into Stoneykirk parish in 1618, but formerly belonging to Whithorn Priory (Anderson 1845). The medieval village of Toskerton is now lost, but it is depicted in the vicinity of Kirkmadrine as late as Blaeu's *Atlas of Scotland* (published 1654). Toskerton had formerly supported a 13th-century manor of some standing, as John of Toskerton is referred to as *dominus*, 'lord' as well as seneschal and knight; his lands possibly covered the extent of the modern united parish of Stoneykirk (M'Kerlie 1877: 458-462). The kirk town was the site of a gallows in later days (Robertson 1911: 283).

The churchyard is situated on a locally prominent ridge, and contains a conspicuous mound topped with a 19th-century stone memorial cross to John MacTaggart of Ardwel (RCAHMS 1912: 154-157). As seen in Figure 3, surviving gravestones (mainly 18-19th-century) form a tight cluster to the south of the church, occupying the knoll upon which the church sits. The church is marked as ruinous on the 1st edition OS map, and in its current form is a 19th-century restoration as a mausoleum to the MacTaggarts of Ardwel, although the east and north walls incorporate elements of an earlier building. The current rectangular enclosure was built as part of these

operations in 1840, and extends to the south to form a tree-lined avenue, for which Kirkmadrine stones 1 and 2 were reused as gateposts (Craig 1992: 120).

Kirkmadrine 1 and 2 were first noted in this position by Dr. Arthur Mitchell in 1860 (Mitchell 1872). After making enquiries, Mitchell found local schoolmaster William Todd who had recorded three inscribed stones in the churchyard in c. 1810. The third stone (Kirkmadrine 3) was not located until 1916, severely truncated for use as a gatepost for the manse of the United Free Church a mile to the east (Maxwell 1917). A fourth Latin-inscribed stone had also been found covering a burial at Low Curghie (12km south of Kirkmadrine) around 1860 but was apparently reburied (Reid 1957). No drawing survives of this stone, but it would seem to be of a similar date to the Kirkmadrine 1-3.

Kirkmadrine 1, 2 and 7 were drawn for inclusion in the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (Stuart 1867), which brought the site to national attention; plaster casts of the stones were also made for the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh by 1861. Mitchell published the account of his discovery of the stones in 1872, and in 1882, the surviving stones were included in the first Ancient Monuments Protection Act, along with such monuments as Stonehenge and Avebury. In 1889 architect and antiquarian William Galloway, who had been restoring Whithorn Priory, was commissioned to restore the ruined church (Muir Watt 2001). During these operations more stones were found in and around the church, and they were installed in a purpose-built porch at the west end of the restored ruin of Kirkmadrine Church, where they are still displayed today. The original iron grates were replaced by a glass screen in 1962/63 (Craig 1992: V. 3, 119-121). After episodes of vandalism and worsening conditions, this porch was refurbished in 2013-2015 and the stones redisplayed. Historic Scotland commissioned a research report on the carved stones in 2013, on which this report is largely based (Forsyth and Maldonado 2013).

## 2.2 Evidential values

The Latin-inscribed stones are an important survival from the earliest days of Christianity in Scotland. Thanks to the efforts of antiquaries as summarised above there is a detailed biography of the stones' movements since c 1800. From the fact that the three Latin-inscribed stones were standing in the churchyard as late as c. 1840 we can deduce that the site has not been substantially disturbed. However, the stones have not survived unscathed: Kirkmadrine 1 and 2 both bear holes drilled into them from their use as gateposts, and Kirkmadrine 3 was significantly truncated for reuse. Thanks to the hard-wearing greywacke, the carvings are still fresh and legible but for a break damaging the first line of the inscription on Kirkmadrine 2 which was already noted by their first observation by William Todd in c. 1810. The later stones have fared the worst as none of them survives in a complete state. The majority of these have apparently been cut down for use as building material, indicating they were built into the fabric of the church at some point.

The site has only been ‘excavated’ by architect William Galloway in 1889, whose architectural trenches would have largely followed existing wall foundations. The church incorporates stretches of original (possibly medieval) walling towards the east end, and the restored church presumably reuses the original footprint of the earlier ruined church. At least one stone, Kirkmadrine 4, was found built into the church during these restoration works. It is thus highly likely that there are more fragments of sculpture incorporated into the foundations of the church, or in surrounding field walls; Kirkmadrine 7 was found by one of Stuart’s draughtsmen in the 1860s in reuse as a stepping stone in a nearby dyke. Only two of the stones were brought in from elsewhere: Kirkmadrine 8 was found at Ardwell House 3.6km to the southeast, and another was found at East Ringuinea in a field dyke 700m south of the church (Craig 1992). No other archaeological invention has been recorded, although geophysical survey (results inconclusive due to underlying geology) was carried out by Adrián Maldonado in the surrounding fields in 2013.

The quality and content of the inscriptions (see below) strongly points to the existence of a monastic community here in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, but due to the lack of archaeological investigation none has yet been found. The elevated churchyard is largely free of gravestones but for a small cluster south of the church, and the surrounding fields are used for grazing so plough damage would be minimal.

## 2.3 Historical values

### **Early Christianity and St Ninian**

The potential to demonstrate the earliest days of Christianity here is palpable. The three Latin-inscribed stones reveal at least three personal names of those who lived and worked here 1500 years ago. The earliest of the three, Kirkmadrine 1, commemorates two *sancti et praecipii sacerdotes*, ‘holy and outstanding priests’, Viventius and Mavorius. It has been argued and generally accepted that the peculiar phrasing here indicates that *praecipii sacerdotes* means these were bishops (Dowden 1898). These names have been subject to considerable debate, mainly on their supposed Gaulish provenance; Dowden noted that there were three recorded bishops named Viventius in 6th century Gaul alone. Parallels from 4th-century Roman Britain have turned up more recently, including a lead salt-pan inscribed *Viventi episcopi*, or Bishop Viventius, from Shavington, Cheshire (Penney and Shotter 1996), and a silver cup from the Water Newton, Cambridgeshire silver hoard naming a Viventia and an Innocentia (both female) as dedicatees, along with a Chi-Rho/alpha and omega monogram (Mawer 1995). Mavorius, on the other hand, is not attested in any other Late Antique inscription, and it appears to be a Latinised Celtic name, perhaps \**Magurix* (Sims-Williams 2003: 32). As Forsyth (2005: 124) has put it, ‘[e]ither man could be a Gaul, but there is no reason to think they were not Britons’.

The damaged inscription on Kirkmadrine 2 reads *---s et Florentius*, with no further information. The most likely interpretation is that it commemorated two

individuals like Kirkmadrine 1, with one name consisting of five letters ending in –s, and Florentius. The name Florentius is very common in Gaul, Spain and North Africa, another indication that whoever these individuals were, they were well within the mainstream of Late Antiquity (Handley 2001: 194-195). It may be that the two stones were meant to be read together, making it possible that these two were also priests or bishops.

Another importance of these commemorations is that there is no filiation provided for these men; unlike the Latinus stone at Whithorn, which adds *nepos Barrouadi*, ‘descendant of Barrouados’ (Forsyth 2009), it is implied here that these men are instead sons of the Church. This recalls similar inscriptions in Wales naming ecclesiastical personnel, such as the 6th-century stone at Aberdaron (Capel Anelog), Caernarvonshire, which reads *Senacus presbyter hic iacit cum multitudinem fratrem*, ‘here lies Senacus the priest with a multitude of brothers’ (Macalister 1945: 368-369). While this stone has no cross, it is also laid out horizontally, uses ligatured Roman capitals, and also abbreviates *presbyter* with an abbreviation bar.

The formula *id est*, ‘that is’, was once thought to be a third name, but Forsyth now highlights this along with the abbreviation bar above SCI (for *sancti*) as aspects of manuscript culture which indicates this is the product of a learned community. In this respect, it is worth highlighting the presence of at least two bishops here; 6th-century bishops in Britain and Ireland were likely to be based at monastic establishments, and the quality of this inscription suggests this is the case here.

Kirkmadrine 3 is observably the latest of the three. The form of the letters has changed, becoming closer to that found on contemporary manuscripts such as the *Cathach* of Columba, c. 600. The N now has a more horizontal cross-bar, while the U and M have flattened out. There are still obvious similarities, including the ligatured ET and the encircled Chi-Rho, which is of almost exactly the diameter of that on Kirkmadrine 2, although the angular terminals of the slender-armed cross have now become more like the ‘Maltese cross’ seen in the *Cathach* and at Arraglen, Co. Kerry, the latter of which is an ogham stone naming a priest dated to the late 6th/early 7th centuries (Swift 1997: 70-83).

The inscription *initium et finis* is unique to Kirkmadrine. It echoes the theological message of the alpha and omega symbols on Kirkmadrine 1, finishing the Biblical quote from Revelations 21: 6, “I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end [*initium et finis*].” It is exceptionally unusual for an Insular Celtic inscription of this period to consist solely of a scriptural quotation, and to not mention an individual. The creativity and experimentation on show here is once again indicative of a highly literate centre of learning.

Finally it is worth mentioning the lost stone from Low Curghie. According to the description of William Todd, it bore a Latin inscription recording the name Ventidius, who was described as a sub-deacon (Reid 1957). The stone was

said to be found covering a grave, which would be highly unusual for a Latin-inscribed stone of this period, so it may have been reused and could still be part of the Kirkmadrine collection.

Overall, outside of the written work of Gildas, these stones are the most eloquent and complete statement of a functioning ecclesiastical hierarchy anywhere in Britain and Ireland in the 6th century. That includes the stones from nearby Whithorn, which mention a secular patron Latinus, and the protection of the apostle Peter, but name no clergy nor mention any specific church or monastery. This raises intriguing questions about the nature of the early site at Whithorn and its relationship with Kirkmadrine. Whithorn certainly becomes a major monastery from at least the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when Bede first records the name of the founder St Ninian, but the archaeology of the earliest years of the site reveals imported wine amphorae and fine glass vessels on a level only seen in hillforts like Dinas Powys (Campbell 2007). The evidence for a monastery is rather stronger at Kirkmadrine from the inscriptions alone, but the lack of archaeological investigation means we cannot compare the two. In short, the possibility of a major monastic centre at Kirkmadrine is evidenced directly and exclusively by the carved stones on display.

### **Galloway in the Viking Age**

The remaining crosses from Kirkmadrine are of an entirely different form and seem to have served a range of functions. Kirkmadrine 4-8, plus the lost cross-shaft number 9 RCAHMS (1912: 157, no 445), are fragments of cross-slabs and cross-shafts, some of which may have been grave markers. Like the Latin-inscribed stones, there are more here than at any site in the Rhins. However, these later stones are each completely unique and while these are very difficult to date, it is likely they all fall in the range of 9-11th centuries, or broadly the 'Gall-Ghàidheil' period of Hiberno-Norse influence in the Irish Sea and Clyde firthlands. Parallels for these stones can primarily be found in the Whithorn collection, which at this stage becomes a centre of carved stone production. Only at Whithorn, Kirkmadrine and a single cross-slab at Kilmorie, is there evidence for relief sculpture of the period in Galloway, pointing to centres of particular importance and investment.

This is relevant to the peculiar place-name, Kirkmadrine, which would appear to combine the Scots word kirk with a Gaelic form of dedication. In this area the kirk element is always paired with a Gaelic saint or word form (Nicolaisen 1976: 39-46). The earliest surviving form is Kirkmadryne (1567), although it appears in early maps as Kirk Makdryn (1654) and Kirk McDryn (1755). By the 19th century it had settled onto Kirkmadrine, with the stress on the last syllable. Watson (1926: 162-163) suggested the dedication could be to the obscure Irish saint Draighe of Sruthair; there are several early ecclesiastical sites in Ireland named Kildreenagh, including Cill Draighneach (Kildreenagh), Lohar, Co. Kerry, with its 7th-century carved cross bearing pendant alpha and omega (Okasha and Forsyth 2001: 171-174).

But this Irish connection need not be earlier than the Gall-Ghàidheil period. Contrary to previous theories of an early Irish settlement in Galloway, it would

appear that nearly all the Gaelic place-names in the area date from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onward (Taylor 2007), and it is clear that the 9-12th centuries were a period of Hiberno-Norse domination in Galloway (Hill 1997). Recently, Alison Grant (2004) has clarified this considerably for the southwest, noting that the kirk+name construction represents Gaelic syntax, but with a Germanic root word for church unlike in Argyll where kil- names predominate. The proliferation of these names across the southwest suggests that kirk+name was the preferred nomenclature for a church when parishes began to form, and the pre-Norman character of the saints in these names (Patrick, Cuthbert, Medan, Brioc) suggests that this occurred in the 10-11th centuries (Grant 2004). The name Kirkmadrine then was almost certainly coined during the Gall-Ghàidheil period of settlement in the Rhins, where a new pattern of lordship and landholding necessitated the deployment of new place-names, by this point invariably in Gaelic (Grant 2004; Taylor 2007). This period also coincides with the formation of the medieval parish churches of Galloway, as seen in the distribution of the 'Whithorn School' of sculpture in the Machars, which also dates roughly to this period (Craig 1991).

The coining of the place-name thus coincides with the second phase of stone carving at Kirkmadrine, and these stones may relate to a refoundation of the church as a parochial centre subject to a mother-church at Whithorn. The identity of the dedication inherent in the name Kirkmadrine is still under debate. Other possibilities have been suggested, including St Martin of Tours, patron saint of the first church at Whithorn (Maxwell 1917: 207); St Mathuris, a Gaulish contemporary of St Martin (Stuart 1867: 36); and the pan-Celtic sovereignty goddess Madrun/Matrona (Brooke 1998). Without any earlier recorded form of the name, it is not possible to say more, but the form as we have it now, with its characteristic kirk+ Gaelic name syntax, is absolutely typical of the Viking Age churches of Galloway.

#### **Other early medieval evidence**

In addition to the crosses of this period, there are a group of undiagnostic carved stones which can only be deemed medieval: Kirkmadrine 10-12 and East Ringuinea. The latter of these was found outside the churchyard and includes later graffiti, but 10-12 were all found on site and are documented in early photographs. The *bullau* stone (11) is a type found frequently in early church sites in Ireland, but with notable examples in Galloway including St Ninian's Cave. Stones 10 and 12 may be unfinished cross-heads, but more likely relate to industrial activity; however, similar grooved and pitted stones are also found at St Ninian's Cave.

#### **2.4 Architectural and artistic values**

The church itself is a 19<sup>th</sup> century restoration but incorporates some earlier masonry, most noticeably at the E end, and may preserve the ground-plan of the former church (the mausoleum measures 12.7m by 5.6m within walls 0.9m thick). The mausoleum was built for Lady McTaggart Stewart of Ardwell in neo-Romanesque style, modelling it on the 12<sup>th</sup> century church of Cruggleton. The link between the two sites is the architect who worked to restore them, William Galloway. Correspondence published by Julia Muir-

Watt (2001) of the Whithorn Trust shows that Galloway excavated the foundations of Kirkmadrine in 1889 and remarked on their similarity to the medieval church at Cruggleton. Galloway was an eminent early antiquarian who is also known for his excavations and discovery of the Latinus Stone at Whithorn. The porch set into the west end of the church was designed by him to house the stones in 1890, incorporating a finely incised encircled Chi-Rho cross on the pediment, inspired by the early stones.

This is one of the earliest purpose-built enclosures for displaying carved stones, and the link with William Galloway makes Kirkmadrine a tangible legacy of the work of a famed antiquarian investigator of the early Church in Scotland (Ritchie 2012).

The stones themselves are a significant contribution to art history in Scotland. The Chi-rho cross is exceedingly rare in early medieval Scotland and ties Kirkmadrine with the continuing Roman Empire in Byzantium. The later stones are smaller and less impressive but in aggregate attest to a period of liturgical experimentation in Galloway, related but not entirely subject to the modes of the Whithorn School. Indeed, with its incised and sunken crosses, there are many parallels to the early carved stone collections at Cladh a' Bhile and Iona in Argyll.

## 2.5 Landscapae and aesthetic values

One of the great advantages, and challenges, of Kirkmadrine as a historic site is its rural isolation. It is off the beaten path for most tourists, but this is by design – placed at the heart of the Rhins, surrounded by boggy terrain, near to the sea but visually cut off from it, it is in a similarly 'hidden' location to Whithorn in the Machars. The overall effect of the isolated setting of this ancient church is similar to that of Cruggleton – timeless and ancient all at once – and is an aspect of the site that is worth preserving.

The hard-wearing greywacke of the area is the reason why the ancient inscriptions remain legible today, and it is worth noting the difference in appearance between the smooth, water-worn pillars used for the early Latin-inscribed stones and much rougher later cross slabs. It has been argued that the early stones are reused prehistoric standing stones like those at Laggairn, but these are unlike the bulky, granite pillars found near Kirkmadrine. They are, however, redolent of the more slender portal stones used for Clyde-type cairns at sites like Cairnholy.

There are several springs and wells surrounding this site, but one open pool in particular to the northwest of the church is the source of a burn now diverted to run along the 19<sup>th</sup>-century tree-lined avenue, and is a good candidate for an early holy well. The natural ridge on which the church stands makes it seem as though it is built on a mound, which may have been part of the reason why this site was chosen. The large high-cross memorial to the McTaggart is placed on a prominent mound within the churchyard which makes good use of the natural topography.

## 2.6 Natural heritage values

The site has no noted habitats or species of significance. The area around the church is managed as mown amenity grassland and has little natural heritage value. The wider setting will have natural heritage value and its important landscape qualities are discussed at 2.5 above.

## 2.7 Contemporary/use values

The Kirkmadrine Stones are generally only seen as part of the wider influence of Whithorn, but as discussed in section 2.3.1 (above), it is likely that Kirkmadrine was an important monastic centre in its own right. Regardless, it is clear that the historical trajectories of Whithorn and Kirkmadrine are inextricably tied. The displays at the Whithorn Trust Museum and in the recently updated Historic Scotland guidebook to Whithorn both incorporate the Kirkmadrine Stones as part of their historical context in Galloway.

The site is also significant as part of the long ecclesiastical heritage of Galloway, with its network of Celtic saints in place-names and early carved stones. The spiritual value of Kirkmadrine rests in its use of the Chi-Rho monogram, providing crucial early evidence for the adoption of Christianity in southwest Scotland. Kirkmadrine regularly features in pilgrimage walks of the area, most recently in a project of the Scotland's Churches Trust (The St Ninian Pilgrim Journey).

The link with Whithorn means that the sites are often thought of as part of a single phenomenon, and this should be encouraged in order to develop both tourist and academic attention to this lesser-known site. And finally, the involvement of William Galloway here and at other early Christian sites in Galloway he investigated (including St Ninian's Cave, Cruggleton, the Wells of the Rees, and Whithorn) places Kirkmadrine in its 19<sup>th</sup> century context as much as its medieval one.

## 3 Major gaps in understanding

- What is the nature of the 6<sup>th</sup>-century site to which the early Latin-inscribed stones belonged, and what was the precise relationship to Whithorn?
- How did this relationship change once Whithorn became the major monastic centre in the area from the 8<sup>th</sup> century?
- What was the nature of the 9-11<sup>th</sup> century church to which the later carved stones seem to relate?
- Who is the saint commemorated in the place-name?
- Were Viventius, Mavorius and Florentius priests, Gaulish bishops, Latin-speaking Britons, or even just obscure late Roman martyr-saints?
- Is there a pre-Christian cult site here as evidenced by the possible holy well and reused standing stones?

## 4 Associated properties

Whithorn Priory, Chapel Finian, Laggangairn standing stones, St Ninian's Cave, St Ninian's Chapel, Ruthwell Cross

## 5 Keywords

Latin inscription, Chi-Rho cross, Early Christianity, St Ninian, Gall-Ghàidheil, monastery

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Timeline

- **C. 450** The Latinus Stone is erected in Whithorn.
- **C. 550-600** Kirkmadrine 1 and 2 are erected.
- **C. 600** Kirkmadrine 3 is erected.
- **Early 7<sup>th</sup> century** The Peter Stone is erected at Whithorn, using Portpatrick stone sourced from the Rhins of Galloway, possibly via Kirkmadrine.
- **Late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century** Northumbrian expansion into Dumfries and Galloway; erection of the Ruthwell Cross, re-foundation of monasteries at Hoddum and Whithorn.
- **730** First mention of the cult of St Ninian by Bede in the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, followed by the 8<sup>th</sup> century *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*.
- **9-11<sup>th</sup> centuries** second flourishing of carved stone activity at Kirkmadrine, heavily influenced by the 'Whithorn School' of carving.
- **10<sup>th</sup> century** Hiberno-Norse or Gall-Ghàidheil expansion into Galloway begins, evidenced by Gaelic and *kirk-* place-names.
- **13<sup>th</sup> century** first documented manor belonging to John of Toskerton.
- **1618** medieval parish of Toskerton united with Clayshant into Stoneykirk parish; Kirkmadrine Church goes out of use.
- **C. 1810** William Todd first records Kirkmadrine 1-3 in the churchyard.
- **C. 1840** The churchyard is enclosed with a tree-line avenue for an approach; Kirkmadrine 1 and 2 reused as gateposts and Kirkmadrine 3 reused as gatepost for the United Free Church Manse 1 mile to the east.
- **C. 1860** Ventidius Stone (lost) recorded by William Todd at Low Curghie.
- **1860** Dr Arthur Mitchell first encounters Kirkmadrine 1 and 2 in reuse.
- **1861** plaster casts of the stones made for the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh

- **1867** Stuart illustrates stones from Kirkmadrine in *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, II.
- **1882** Kirkmadrine Stones scheduled as part of the first Ancient Monuments Protection Act.
- **1889** Excavation of foundations of Kirkmadrine by architect William Galloway in advance of restoration
- **1890** Stones housed in purpose built porch attached to the west end of the restored church
- **1903** Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson produced the analytical catalogue of *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, which includes Kirkmadrine.
- **1916** Kirkmadrine 3 discovered in reuse as a gatepost for the manse of the United Free Church a mile to the east.
- **1962/3** the stone collection was placed under guardianship and the iron grate of the porch was replaced with glass.
- **2013-15** Historic Scotland renovated the glass display area, improving the visibility and information boards.

#### Appendix 2: Visual catalogue of stones

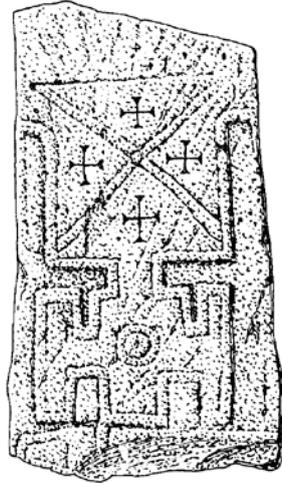




Kirkmadrine 3



Kirkmadrine 4



Kirkmadrine 5

