RURAL SETTLEMENT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN SCOTLAND:

THE MEDIEVAL EVIDENCE [1]

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Evidence relevant to the study of rural settlement in early medieval Scotland is of four chief types, archæological, geographical, documentary and onomastic (with special reference to place-names). This paper is confined to the third and fourth types of evidence, and deals chiefly with the period from *c.* 1100 to *c.* 1300. Regionally, it is limited to the area from the Tweed to the Dornoch Firth, leaving out of consideration the Northern Isles and Caithness, most of the West Highlands and Western Isles, and the south-west, including Galloway. The area thus described has in the past been relatively neglected by the student of early medieval agrarian and social organisation, although it corresponds to the most populous and most centrally-governed part of the medieval Scottish kingdom.

For rural settlement, the traditional or "historical" divisions of Scotland have an obvious relevance, but precisely what this relevance amounted to remains an unanswered question. For W. F. Skene, at the time he published his famous book, *Celtic Scotland* (1876-80), matters seemed much simpler than they seem now. He drew a sharp division between "Saxon" Scotland, south of the Forth and east of the Clyde-Tweed watershed, and "Celtic" Scotland, and for him the twain would never meet. The evidence is more complex than he allowed it to be, more evidence has become available since his time, and in particular the whole trend of modern research is stressing more and more not the contrasts but the underlying resemblances and parallels between areas of "Saxon" and areas of "Celtic" settlement. An intensive study of the English agrarian scene has made us all familiar with the "highland" *versus* the "lowland" zone, the former with its scattered townships and

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small, compact holdings, the latter with its large nucleated villages built in a great open plain of arable, which was divided into two or three "fields" and cultivated according to a two- or three-field system of rotation of crops. The analysis of the English evidence has become more and more intensive. Regional studies show a much more complicated pattern than any simple "highland" and "lowland" zone division might suggest. It is conceded that open fields and nucleated villages were general in districts where agriculture predominated, e.g. the eastern midlands. But they might well be found in suitable places in the hilly west country, while in many parts of the "lowland" east, e.g. Kent, Essex and parts of East Anglia, they were rare or developed very late. An eminent student of English agrarian history has recently written "Norman England was a land of greater local variety, and rather less marked regional contrasts, than I had previously conceived it to be" (Lennard 1959:V). It was tempting for older scholars to apply the English lesson to Scotland, and assume a clear-cut division between the highlands and the far north, on the one hand, and the lowlands (especially the south-east) on the other. In the one there were scattered townships and small compact holdings; in the other, nucleated villages and open fields. The results of recent English studies should warn us in Scotland not to look for simplicity where there was local variety. At the same time, Mr. Lennard's phrase about "rather less-marked regional contrasts" may prove to be applicable to Scotland as well as England—especially if we include (as we must) in our "Scottish" regions the country between Tweed and Tees.

The nucleated village settlement is undoubtedly a reality for the lower-lying, flatter parts of south-eastern Scotland. The pattern is, as we should expect, that of Northumbria, not that of midland England. A number of nucleated villages, often having parochial status at an early date, often associated with lord's ownership, are to be found in this region in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[2] Frequently we find them linked to outlying settlements, much as their counterparts in Northumberland, Co. Durham and north Yorkshire will be found linked to outlying settlements. Where nucleus and outlyers formed a sizeable group it would normally be called a "shire", as in northern England. Thus we have Coldingham and Coldinghamshire, Bunkle and Bunkleshire, Haddington and Haddingtonshire.[3] This practice may be seen further west, for Edinburgh and Linlithgow were both shire-centres at an early

date, and so was Stirling.[4] In between the last two was Callendar, which, though not styled a "shire", has every appearance of being one.[5] Shire unity was to be found not so much in the peasantry who dwelt in the shire as in the shire-centre and the lord—usually the king, a bishop or abbot, or some great lay-man. It was also expressed in the officer who administered the shire and yet at the same time was virtually its hereditary tenant, the thane. The thanes of Lothian and Teviotdale referred to by David I and Earl Cospatric in the early twelfth century [6] cannot be envisaged apart from shire centres or other important royal or comital estates. Thus, a thane of Hadding-ton appears c. 1140,[7] and thanes of Callendar from before c. 1200 to the late thirteenth century.[8] We happen to know most about just those shires or vill-groups which were most likely to have lost their thanes at an early date, under pressure of royal reorganisation (Haddington) or ecclesiastical re-organisation (Coldingham). But embryonic shires may be seen in later ecclesiastical agreements anent mother churches and their dependencies, e.g. Edrom with Nisbet and distant Earlston (co. Berw.) or Ednam and Newton (co. Roxb.).[9] The shire pattern relates to a time when lords reckoned to consume the products of their estates, whether in cereals or live-stock, in a relatively unconverted form.

Turning to the smaller units of settlement, the villages and hamlets and farmsteads, the earliest documentary evidence that we have (not earlier than the twelfth century) shows what seems to be a pattern closely similar to, if not identical with, that found in the English northern counties. The arable lies open in a large tract round the village nucleus, and individual holdings consist of a number of rigs scattered about in the arable fields. The word "acre" is used, presumably to refer to the rig or to a group of rigs. By c. 1200 the word rig itself creeps into Latin documents, in the form *reia*. No word for a furlong is common, though "furlong" itself (in place-names) and its Latin equivalent *cultura* appear occasionally.[10] The Scandi-navian "wang" or "wong" never seems to occur. David I granted to Kelso Abbey half a carucate in Selkirk, and when Malcolm IV confirmed this grant he said: "Whereas this half-carucate in King David's time lay scattered about the field (*per campum dispersa*), and was not very convenient, I now grant the same quantity of land lying all in one piece."[11] This text introduces us to what was the universal, standard term in Latin documents for the major arable unit, the carucate (Scots,

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ploughgang, ploughgate), throughout south-eastern Scotland. It also shows that the English concept of an abstract carucate was familiar in Tweeddale (and presumably also in Lothian and the Merse) in the mid-twelfth century. Race fitz Malger (late twelfth century) grants to Jedburgh Abbey half the land of Shortbutts (*Scortebuttes*) in Liddesdale, in the territory of Sorbie (*Sourebi*), with one acre of arable next to Shortbutts on the east; and the whole shaw (*scawe*) of Sorbie, with one acre lying next to the shaw and belonging to it; with common pasture for 40 cows and their followers up to one year old, and two bulls, and 10 oxen, and two horses.[12] Shortbutts looks like the name of a furlong; the *territorium* of Sorbie was presumably the whole arable ground of the vill.

In the grant to Kelso above we have an instance of favoured treatment meted out to a religious house, but it is clear that great landowners could not always expect their arable to be consolidated, and, conversely, that peasant holdings were on the same pattern (though of course not on the same scale) as lords' holdings. We have almost no "peasant" documents for the area in the early period, but a charter of *c.* 1250 given by a member of the lesser gentry will show how small holdings might be made up. Cicely of Mow (co. Roxb.) grants 26 acres of arable in her demesne of Mow as follows: in *Hauacres* to the east of Gilbert Avenel's land 9 acres, with a ½ acre lying next to the Attonburn (*Aldetuneburn*)—these acres lie in parcels (*per particulas*); 2 acres through *Souhside*, and 1 acre next to the exit going towards Percy Law; 1 acre west of *Benelaun*; 9 acres and 1 perch in *Dederig*; 3 acres below *Parvula Hoga*; a half-acre in *Kydelauuecrofth*; and 8 acres of meadow, viz., 4 between the arable land of *Hauacre* and the ploughed furrow dividing it from Gilbert Avenel's meadow, and other 4 below Percy Swire between ploughed furrows.[13]

Along with the arable in rigs and acres, the meadow adjacent to the arable, and the common pasture near the village settlements and on the arable when not under crops there went, commonly, stretches of hill grazing, which were exploited in the summer months in the form of shielings. The shieling system is well seen on Lammermuir, where the parish boundaries are highly instructive. The villages which huddle below the edge of the higher ground have territory reaching far back on to the muir, where names like Penshiel and Gamelshiel preserve the ancient use of this uncultivated grazing.[14] Shielings were to be found in the southern uplands generally

and in the Cheviot Hills, e.g. in King David I's time the shielings of Riccalton (in Oxnam, co. Roxb.) went with the low-lying estate of Whitton.[15] It is virtually certain that the enormous expansion of the wool trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries made devastating inroads into the old shieling system, for the religious houses and other great land-owners tried (often successfully) to acquire and keep huge tracts of hill-pasture for themselves and their own flocks exclusively. There was a serious dispute over hill-pasture rights in the late twelfth century between Melrose Abbey and the men of Wedale (the valley of the Gala Water). We do not know its details, but it would not be rash to guess that the abbey was seeking to encroach upon or monopolise ancient shieling grazings.[16]

There is no indication in early documents of any system of "infield" and "outfield" cultivation, although the texts are not incompatible with the existence of such a system. The *terra* (*arabilis*) of which they speak over and over again would in that case be the infield of later times, kept under more or less constant cultivation, while outfield would often appear as pasture. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a period of steadily growing population and there was pressure on available land and a steady process of winning new arable from waste. Thus we hear of the "new land" of Crailzie (*Karelzi*) at Harehope above Peebles,[17] while the men dwelling on the moors above Borthwick who had to be reminded of their obligation to pay teind sound more like pioneers than refugees.[18]

The ecclesiastical organisation of the south-east bears out the picture of the area as made up chiefly of nucleated village settlements, with or without a pattern of "shires" of North-umbrian type. In Lothian, at least from Midlothian eastward, the church was usually located in the village settlement, close to the lord's hall or castle. In the twelfth century we find an established and often hereditary parish clergy, who were un-questionably members of the local aristocracy, man of standing in the community, like Uhtred the priest of Lilliesleaf who took his dispute over land in Lilliesleaf (*versus* Ansketill of Ryedale, a knight) to the Roman *curia* in the 1150's and 1160's,[19] or Peter, parson of Stobo and dean of Clydesdale, whose son David inherited his lands if not his livings.[20] Such men compare closely with the forebears of Saint Ailred of Rievaulx, hereditary priests of Hexham in Tynedale. It may be added that many parish churches of the south-east

were endowed with as much as a whole carucate of land, some with more.[21]

How, if at all, does this picture change north of the Forth? There the basic social unit was the township, relatively widely dispersed. Often there seems to have been no obvious nucleus of settlement, and the church may be located in a site which appears to have no clear relevance to any other major feature of the parish. Yet the differences may be exaggerated. In the flatter and lower-lying parts of Scotland benorth Forth, especially in Fife and the Carse of Gowrie, it looks as though the arable of any particular settlement might lie more or less in one piece, and be cultivated in rigs and acres. A charter of 1284, e.g., speaks of a ditch between the meadow and the arable land of the village of Markinch (Fife).[22] Early in the thirteenth century, William the Lion gave to John Waleran the land held by William Carpenter in *Ballebotlia* (now represented by Babbet in Kingsbarns), namely "the fifth rig" (*quintam reiam*) of the whole half of Ballebotle; and "in the fields of *Dreinin* (cf. Drony Road, in Kingsbarns) the land held by Roger of the Chamber; and the whole land of Airdrie (*Ardarie*) which William de Beauvoir held, viz., that land which is on the east of the burn flowing past the land of Geoffrey the chaplain as far as that well in the direction of Crail which in Gaelic is called *Tolari* (Toldrie)."[23] Here the "fifth rig" presumably means "every fifth rig", a good instance of an early runrig tenement. William, Bernard's son (late twelfth century) granted to Arbroath Abbey two bovates of arable in the *territorium* of Catterline (Mearns), viz., 7 acres lying together and adjacent to the abbey's existing property on the north side, and 19 acres lying together and near those 7 acres, beside the sea to the east, namely within the furlong (*cultura*) called *Treiglas*.[24] These examples show the existence north of Forth of large tracts of arable attached to settlements, Markinch, Crail and Catterline, divided into rigs and furlongs, such as we have seen to be the case in the south.[25]

Nevertheless, the differences between north and south remain. At this point, we must grapple with problems of terminology. Besouth Forth, the largest visible, physical unit of agrarian exploitation was the "field" (*campus, territorium, tellus* [26]), sometimes divided into furlongs, everywhere divided into rigs or acres, equally visible and physical. Unless we have positive evidence to the contrary, it is safe to assume that every *campus* or field belonged (in the social and geographical sense)

to some village or similar settlement—often, but not always, a nucleated village. Similarly, we may assume that every rig and acre belonged (in the legal or tenurial sense) to some individual or family or corporate proprietor. Alongside and overlapping these visible, physical units of field and rig were the semi-tangible or wholly intangible units of ploughgate and oxgang. Originally, no doubt, the ploughgate and the oxgang would have been as tangible and concrete as field and acre. Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is clear, there were a number of oxgangs and ploughgates besouth Forth which were actually physical entities. This was either by survival from a primitive period, or because the acres of which they were composed had been treated collectively for so long that the area which formed their total had acquired a physical reality. The consolidated half-carucate formed in Selkirk by Malcolm IV (referred to above) shows how this could happen. But in this period, as a rule, ploughgate and oxgang were essentially abstract concepts, expressions used to denote an approximate area, or rather, approximate capacity. The ploughgate was what one notional team of eight oxen could deal with, including what they actually ploughed and what they could not plough, in any one year. The oxgang was an eighth part of this, the contribution of a single notional ox. Mr. Andrew McKerral has said that the difference between Celt and Saxon was that the latter had an idea of superficial measurement in the acre, the oxgang of 13 acres, and the ploughgate of 104 acres; whereas the Celt was incapable of grasping the idea of superficial measurement (McKerral 1943:41, 46). With all respect, I would differ strongly on this point. The Saxons were not so much more precocious than the Celts as Mr. McKerral would have us believe. The English acre, oxgang and ploughgate were far from being standard, accurately measured areas. The acre was thought of primarily as an actual fixed piece of ploughed or ploughable ground, and acres varied considerably in area not only in different parts of the country but even in the same field or furlong. Hence we have reference to "full" or "complete" acres, implying the existence of "incomplete" acres. Whatever the nature of the gulf between Celtic and Anglian Scotland, it did not lie here.

North of the Forth we find a different usage with regard to the ploughgate, and this is where terminology becomes of crucial importance. Practically all our documents are in Latin, and their authors had a preference for Latin or thoroughly

latinised words. In south-country documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the words "ploughgate" and "oxgang" never (as far as I know) appear. Instead, we have *carucata* (*terre*) for the former, *bovata* (*terre*) for the latter. This is entirely on all fours with the usage in northern England, from the River Welland northwards. North of the Forth, the Latin documents of the twelfth century, with very few exceptions, use *carucata*, and occasionally *bovata*. We may give the following examples (car. stands for *carucata* in the actual text itself):

1. 1 car. called Balrymonth (St. Andrews, Fife).
2. 1 car. in Naughton (Balmerino, Fife), called *Melchrethre*.
3. 1 car. in Errol called *Le Murhouse* (Muirhouse).
4. ½ car. west of Invergowrie church called Dargie.
5. 4 car. of arable in Conveth (Laurencekirk, Mearns).
6. 1 car. in Durno (Chapel of Garioch).
7. 2 measured car. in Kennethmont (identifiable as Ardlair).
8. ½ car. measured in Rayne, known as (Easter) Tocher.[27]

With these instances from the late twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries may be compared the endowments of the Augustinian canons of Scone made by Alexander I in the early twelfth century: Innerbuist, 5 car., Banchory with 3, Fodderance (Lintrose) with 1, Kinnochtry with 1, Fingask with 1, Durdie with 3, Clien with 3, Liff with 6, Gourdie with 10, Invergowrie with 3.[28] It would be needless to multiply examples of texts which speak unblushingly and without hesitation of carucates north of the Forth. But attention has to be drawn to one notable difference. In six of the examples given, the carucates had names attached to them. It would be rash to state that carucates never have names south of the Forth, for we have at least one example in "the carucate on the Peffer Burn called *Porhoy*" (Prora, in Athelstaneford, E. Lothian).[29] But in general the formula south of the Forth is: "*x* carucate(s) in the vill of A.", while north of the Forth it is: "*x* carucate(s), by name B, C, D, etc. (in the vill of A)". The naming of a carucate does not by itself prove that it formed no part of an open-field pattern, any more than the fact that a carucate had fixed boundaries proves this. But when, over and over again, carucates appear with names permanently attached to them and with fixed marches, the presumption is strong that such carucates are not abstract units of measurement but compact pieces of arable which are not and never have been composed of rigs or acres

scattered across a large undifferentiated plain of cultivatable ground.[30] We may proceed, more warily, to a further presumption. In documents relating to the country benorth Forth, *carucata* may have been merely the most seemly, respectable term available to the latinizing clerks who wrote our documents. Thus, northern "carucates" might not be the same as southern, though they would have borne some relation to them.

There is some evidence to support this hypothesis. First, *carucata* is commoner in twelfth-century texts than in thirteenth, commoner in thirteenth-century texts than in fourteenth. It is commoner in royal texts than in private. Occasionally in the twelfth century, more commonly in the thirteenth century, quite commonly from the fourteenth century, a more exotic, more definitely vernacular term finds its way into our Latin documents. This is the word davoch, Irish, *dabhach*, a vat or tub or large measure of volume. It is a fair assumption that the davoch of land was not introduced into Scotland as late as the twelfth century. Its relative absence from texts of that period is best explained by clerical reluctance to use a term so uncouth and strongly vernacular that it was a century or more before it was made tolerable in the form *davata* (*terre*).[31] Secondly, we find the carucate and davoch existing side by side across the same stretch of territory, though with the carucate growing rarer as we go north, the davoch growing rarer as we come south. Thirdly, there are hints dropped by the texts themselves. The Crailshire document, cited above,[32] speaks of "half a Scottish carucate" of arable, proving that the clerk was aware of a difference between southern and northern carucates. There is some evidence that his "Scottish carucate" was merely periphrasis for "davoch". Whether or not this is so, it does seem to be true that the characteristic unit of agricultural capacity south of Forth was the carucate, north of Forth the davoch.

At this point we may cite a few examples of davochs from relatively early texts, to set beside our examples of carucates (d. stands for some form of the vernacular term *dabhach* actually occurring in the text):

1. 2 d. of Upper Rosehearty (Uactair Rosabard) (xi cent.).
2. *Dauach Icthar Hathyn*, with common pasture (xii cent., probably by the River Eden near its mouth).
3. 7 d. in Mearns, viz., the two Tipperties, Glenfarquhar, Kinkell, *Culbac*, Monboddo (xii cent.).

4. 10 half-d. in Strathavon, Banffshire, all named (xiii cent.).
5. 1 d. in Strathardle named Tullochcurran (*alias Pet-carene*) (xiii cent.).
6. 5 d. in Mearns, viz. Balmakewan, *Ackwendochan*, Balbegno, *Lacherach-geigh*, *Dauochendolach* (xiii cent.).
7. 1 d. called Inverquharity (Angus) (xiii cent.).
8. Whole d. of Resthivet (Chapel of Garioch) (xiii cent.).[33]

In western Moray, in what is now Inverness-shire, the two adjoining parishes of *Dulbatelach* (Dunballoch, now Kirkhill) and Convinth (*Coneway*) were said to contain nine and eleven davochs respectively. Dunballoch contained the davochs of Dunballoch, Fingask, *Moreweyn* (Lovat?), *Lusnacorn*, Moniack, the other Moniack and the three davochs of *Ferge*. Convinth had its own two davochs together with the davochs of Bruiach *Muy*, the other *Muy*, Dounie, Phoineas, Erchless, Buntait, Comar and Guisachan.[34] If I have identified these places correctly, it is clear that there was enormous disparity in area, but probably not in agricultural capacity, among these highland davochs.

There has been argument as to the meaning of davoch as applied to land. Mr. McKerral believed in 1943 that it was originally arable, and that according to the progress made in arable it would consist of a varying number of ploughgates (McKerral 1943:52). He reinforced this in 1947 by an apt quotation from Sinclair's *General View of the Agriculture of the Northern Counties*, to the effect that Inverness-shire arable farms were reckoned by the davoch or daugh, the *auchten* (eighth) and the boll (forty-eighth) (McKerral 1950:50). Unhappily, Mr. McKerral's later view (1950) seems to go back on this sound position, and to contain the belief that the davoch was originally and essentially a large fiscal unit. "When the davochs . . . ceased to function as fiscal units, and their original significance was forgotten, the terms became fluid, and were used as denominations for various kinds of agricultural holdings" (McKerral 1953:61), sometimes pasturage, sometimes ploughgates of arable. The late W. J. Watson, though of course he was well aware that *dabhach* meant a vat or vessel, nevertheless thought that as applied to land it was a unit of souming, that is, of pastoral capacity. Yet his illustration tells against this view: Pennant, writing of Lochbroom in the late eighteenth century, said "Land is set here by the davoch or half-davoch;

the last consists of 96 Scotch acres of arable, such as it is, with a competent quantity of mountain and grazing ground" (Watson 1926: 235 ed. n.).

It may be a noteworthy contrast that the English preferred to estimate their cultivated land in terms of the instrument which went into the soil at the start of the crop-growing process, while the Scots reckoned in terms of the amount of corn which emerged at the other end. Even so, I believe there is little doubt that the davoch, whenever it began to be used of land, was a strictly agricultural unit, a measure of arable capacity.[35] Of course it carried pasture with it, for men of the early Middle Ages were incapable of thinking of arable apart from the pasture and grazing that accompanied it. A suggestive pointer to the strictly arable character of the davoch is to be found in a comparison of two contemporary documents of the middle of the thirteenth century. *Circa* 1260, the Earl of Strathearn granted certain land in upper Glenalmond "to be held by its rightful marches *cum omnibus fortyris et communibus pasturis*". Between 1250 and 1256, Alan Durward granted the two davochs of Clintlaw and Balcashy (Angus) *cum molendino et fortyris ad dictas dauahcs spectantibus*.[36] In south-country documents of this period it is common to find arable grants accompanied by some phrase which guaranteed to the grantee possession of the "fore-earths", "fore-lands", or "head-lands" associated with the arable selions. The word *fortyr*, which is not well-attested in documentary sources, appears to be a Gaelic version of the English "fore-land", appropriate to arable but not to pasture.

The relationship of davoch to social unit (township, village, or farmstead) has never been clearly established. Davoch-names in *pett-* and *bal-*, of which there are many instances, suggest equation of davoch with township, but there are also davoch-names in *achadh-* (field). The davoch was too large for a peasant holding: only sizeable landowners held whole davochs. Yet the davoch possessed some unity; it was tangible, physical, concrete. It was commonly named, and had fixed boundaries. Its unity must surely have lain in the fact that its nucleus was a single stretch of arable, the north-country equivalent of the large fields of the south. The families who were dependent on this arable with its grazing would dwell close to it or round it, forming the township or homestead, the *pett* or *baile* to which a distinctive name would be given. Within this general pattern, the lord's land might well be distinct from the land of the

peasantry. Thus Swain, Thor's son, lord of Ruthven near Perth (late twelfth century), speaks of meadow on the Lochty Burn "beginning at the place which on the east is adjacent to the neyfs' land" (*terre rusticorum*)[37]; John of Inchyra (Carse of Gowrie, early thirteenth century) speaks of one full acre of arable at the end of the haugh on the west, next to the cottars' acres;[38] the bishop of St. Andrews (*c.* 1200) refers to Nydie as *Nidin Ecclesie* and *Nidin Rusticorum*—now Nydie and Bond Nydie;[39] the Kirkton of Arbuthnot, in the same period, had numerous petty tenants called *scoloc* living pastorally in return for rents of cheese and dun cows—the lord evicted them one after the other and began to plough their land as he ploughed his own adjacent land;[40] a mid-thirteenth-century charter speaks of the land of *Bondes* near Inverurie.[41]

It has often been remarked that davochs, like carucates, lent themselves to fractionalisation. Many scholars have mentioned the halves, thirds, quarters, fifths and eighths (to go no further) into which davochs might be subdivided. Surviving fractions may here and there betray the existence of a vanished davoch. Trianafour in Glenerrochtie (co. Perth) was presumably the upland "pasture third" of a lost davoch of Glenerrochtie, while Coignafearn and the other "coigs" at the head of Strathdearn must have formed fifths of another lost davoch. But it does not seem to have been realised that among fractions the half-davoch seems to have held a special place, standing in its own right as an established permanent unit, much as the bovate/oxgang stood in relation to the carucate/ploughgate. Thus, we have the revealing place-names, Lettoch (Black Isle), formerly Haldoch or *Leth-dabhach*; Lettoch near Grantown, and Halfdavoch (both Moray); Haddo in Fyvie and Haddo in Methlick (Aberdeenshire). There is also the evidence of the documents, especially many in the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*. Among these may be cited the ten half-davochs enumerated and named in Strathavon,[42] the half-davoch in Stratherrick called Boleskine,[43] the half-davoch of *Kyncarny*,[44] the half-davoch of Urquhart (Inverness-shire) "which is called the half-davoch of the church",[45] and the half-davoch "in which is situated the church of Insh" (in Badenoch).[46] If Pennant is to be relied on for the eighteenth-century equation $\frac{1}{2}$ davoch $= 96$ Scotch acres, we might hazard the inference that a half-davoch was roughly the same as a south-country carucate of 104 Scotch acres. It is suggestive of the capacity of the davoch and its relationship to the carucate that the common

endowment of north-country parish churches seems to have been half a davoch,[47] while a few possessed a whole davoch (e.g. Laggan in Badenoch, St. Peter of Strathavon, and Lhanbryde[48]). South of the Mounth we have churches endowed with half a carucate (e.g. Longforgan, Invergowrie[49]), while south of the Forth it was common enough for parish churches to possess a whole carucate. It would be extraordinary if parish churches in Moray should have been, in general, much better endowed than their counterparts in the Carse of Gowrie or in Lothian, and the inference is strong that a half-davoch was not greater than a south-country carucate. If we allow for a less efficient plough in the north, and smaller "acres", we should arrive at a relationship which at least seems reasonably acceptable. The historian, however, must pose the question of whether *carucata* in his texts always meant the same thing even in the same region; it might have been used in the earlier period for a whole davoch, later on for half a davoch. *Duldauach* (now lost, in Moray) appears as a half-carucate in a royal charter of the late twelfth century, and as a half-davoch two generations later.[50]

The geographical distribution of the davoch also raises interesting questions. It is not found anywhere south of the Forth-Clyde line, nor, in fact, was it general throughout the area to the north of this line. It is not found in Argyll, Lennox or Menteith, nor is there much evidence of its use in Strathearn. It can be found in Fife, Gowrie, Stormont and Atholl, and was evidently general throughout the country north of Tay as far as the Dornoch Firth area. Its absence from the Scandinavian north (Caithness and the Northern Isles) may, it has been argued, be due simply to the replacement of a Celtic by a Scandinavian term, leaving the older "substance" of the davoch in being (Marwick 1949). In the west highlands its distribution is hard to trace because of the scarcity of early texts; it occurs in Lochaber,[51] and in late documents which refer to "fiscal" davochs it is applied to Glenelg, Skye, the Small Isles and the Outer Isles.[52] Despite the Irish origin of the word, there seems to be something inescapably Pictish about the use of the davoch of land.[53]

Davochs usually had names, but the word itself does not enter frequently into place-names. Its use here should be compared with English place-names in *hīd* (hide, "household") and *hiwisc* with the same meaning.[54] Such names seem late relative to primary settlement, yet they must belong to a time

when the reckoning of a place at so many davochs was well established. The word davoch never seems to have been used as a synonym for *baile* or *pett*, and may have been attached to a settlement or piece of agrarian exploitation which was essentially subordinate to, dependent upon, some older or larger settlement. Thus Phesdo (Mearns) might have been the "firm davoch", *fas dabhach*, (or "empty davoch", *fàs dabhach?*) of some neighbouring centre (Kincardine?), while Dochfour, south of Inverness, was perhaps the "pasture davoch" of some centre which also possessed Dochnalurig and Dochgarroch. Fendoch was possibly the "white davoch" (*fionn dabhach*) of Glenalmond. Very few davoch-names refer to places of parochial status; Auchindoir in upland Aberdeenshire is one rare example (*Davachendor*,? "davoch of water or streams"). There survive in Banffshire and Aberdeenshire a number of davoch-names of a rather different type, e.g. the Daugh of Carron (also of Kinermony, Grange, Corinacy, Banffshire), and the Daugh of Invermarkie (also of Aswanley and Cairnborrow, Aberdeenshire). As found at present, these davochs look like the hill pasture or rough grazing attached to townships which are now and must always have been chiefly pastoral. But this hardly contradicts the general thesis propounded here that the davoch was in origin and in essence an agricultural unit. The word must have been adapted to semi-pastoral and wholly pastoral districts, and its survival in the areas mentioned may be due to that superfluity of nomenclature which is characteristic of north-eastern Scotland.

In Strathearn, writers of early documents seem to have been chary of using any word for a large arable unit, preferring *villa* or *terra* and giving the name of the place. Acres were found, and there were the familiar acres or rigs in big fields, e.g. "2 acres in the *villa* of Pitlandy" described as lying *in agro qui dicitur Fitheleresflat* (early thirteenth century).[55] "1 toft plus 1 acre of land plus land added elsewhere in the field (*in agro*) to make up 4 acres",[56] and "16 acres on the east side of the field called *Langflat*".[57] The 13-acre bovate appears in Strathearn,[58] and there is at least one text showing that even if the davoch or carucate was not used in Strathearn, nevertheless a subdivision of the davoch, the *rath*, was known there. An early-thirteenth-century charter speaks of the quarter of *Dunphalin* known as *Rath* (now Raith in Trinity Gask),[59] and this is to be compared with charters of the late twelfth century which speak of 2 bovates in Catterline (Mearns) called *Rath*.[60] Apparently

a *rath* was a quarter of a davoch, and it looks as though *Dun-phalin* formed a davoch even if it was not so called.

Lennox is well-known to have been the home of the *arachor*, a word fittingly preserved in the name of the village of Arrochar at the head of Loch Long. Like carucate, *arachor* has an obvious etymological connection with ploughing, and the texts leave no doubt that *arachor* was in fact a Gaelic term for the plough-gate. "Three-quarters of *Ackencloy Nether* which in Gaelic is called *arachor*, namely *Clouchbar, Barauchan* and *Barnaferkelyn*",[61] formed three-quarters of one whole *arachor*, and it was this which was the Gaelic term for the carucate. Two connected texts give us, first, "the half-carucate in Strathblane, where the church is built, which in Gaelic is called *arachor*" and, secondly, "the half-carucate in Strathblane, where the church is built, which in Gaelic is called *Leth-arachor*",[62] and a further text has "Half a carucate in Killearn, where the church is built, which in Gaelic is called *Leth-arachor*".[63] Here, clearly (despite the muddle or error in the first example), carucate = *arachor*, half-carucate = *leth-arachor*. Quarters as well as halves were common in the Lennox, indeed, perhaps we should note that they were especially common, showing a parallel with Argyll. There were other fractions also, and Blackthird, e.g., was doubtless the muirland or unploughable third part of the *arachor* of Darleith (in Cardross). In a markedly pastoral territory such as the Lennox, where rents were paid in cheeses and cattle, the presence of an arable unit, the *arachor*, is note-worthy. If pastoralism did really predominate in early medieval Scotland, still the arable tail seems to have wagged the pastoral dog.

It goes without saying, perhaps, that arable settlements north of the Forth were associated with areas of common pasture, not only in ground adjacent to the settlements them-selves, but also in stretches of muir and hill grazing used as shielings. David I, e.g., granted the Dunfermline monks at Urquhart in Moray the land of Penick, by Auldearn, together with the shielings of Fornighty (in Ardclach).[64] The granter of an interesting charter of the middle of the thirteenth century (noted by Watson 1926:136), has this to say of the muirland which in his day stretched from the great Roman camp at Ardoch to the ancient village of Muthil, in Strathearn: "The land called *Cotken* (Gaelic, *coitcheann*, "common") in *Kather-mothel* has been in the time of all my predecessors free and com-mon pasture to all the men dwelling round about it, so that

no one may build a house in that pasture or plough it or do anything which might hinder the use of the pasture".[65] The distinction between local pasture and shieling is well brought out by a late-twelfth-century charter in the Arbroath Cartulary, in which Humphrey de Berkeley, granting the lands of Balfeith (Mearns), with common pasture there and in his fief of Kinkell and Conveth, for up to 100 cattle with their progeny and as many swine and horses as required, adds: "The monks of Arbroath and their tenants may have a shieling from Easter to All Saints for these same beasts, wherever they please in Tipperty, Corsebauld or Glenfarquhar".[66] In a contemporary royal charter, Humphrey de Berkeley is granted forest rights over seven davochs in Mearns, including by name the two davochs of Tipperty and one davoch of Glenfarquhar.[67] Here, indeed, about these highland reaches of the Bervie Water, we may have an instance of davochs whose character was that of summer pasture and game preserve rather than arable farming.

Although it is not strictly relevant to rural settlement, it is impossible to discuss the agricultural units without some reference to the fiscal use to which these units were put. Not only may this throw light on the nature of the agrarian unit, but the tax-collector was a more precocious record-maker than the farmer, and consequently we have a fair amount of documentation of this fiscal aspect. South of the Forth, the Crown's forinsec service was levied according to the capacity of the taxpayers' land measured in carucates, and perhaps in bovates. Benorth Forth, forinsec service—called variously "Scottish service", "Scottish army", "common army" or just "army"—was levied *according to the number of carucates or the number of davochs*. Examples of the fiscal carucate may be found at Cassingray,[68] Airdrie[69] and St. Andrews,[70] while Allardice (Mearns) did "common service" for thirteen bovates.[71] Examples of the fiscal davoch are more numerous, but among them we may mention Balcormo, Morton of Blebo, Bruckly and Nydie (Fife), Blairgowrie (co. Perth), Lour, Kincriech, Inverquharity and Old Montrose (Angus).[72] Beyond the Spey, examples could readily be multiplied, and the student is referred to the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* for numerous instances.

In the Fife examples, it is very tempting to suppose that the term *carucata* was simply being used interchangeably with davoch. This would explain the use of the odd phrase "Scottish

carucate" in the Airdrie example, while it would also make intelligible the otherwise puzzling assessment of Cassingray in Kellie-shire at a ½ carucate and of Balcormo (surely also in Kellie-shire?) at 1½ davochs. But the Blairgowrie document (1235) tells us that Scone Abbey had its assessment reduced from 6 to 5 davochs because 2½ carucates had been taken away from its estate there.[73] If 1 carucate = 1 davoch, the canons of Scone were rather hard done by, but if 1 carucate = ½ davoch their treatment was not so harsh. Perhaps, here, the carucate represented the hard facts of the agricultural situation as it obtained at Blair in the 1230's, while the davoch assessment belonged to a much older period and had grown out-of-date. Otherwise, this may be additional evidence that *carucata* was used for a half-davoch.

When we study the documents relevant to Scottish agriculture which have survived from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we are rather like palæontologists trying to reconstruct the whole body of an extinct form of life from a chance survival of imperfect fossils. It is here that we badly need the help of archæology, geography and of the technological historian. We need to know much more about types of plough and of ploughing techniques, field shapes and sizes, corn yields, kinds of stock reared and so forth. A big heavy plough in the south would produce a quite different "ploughgate" from a small light plough in the north. Rearing cattle and sheep for local consumption or for milk and cheese would lead to very different conditions from those which obtained when the export of wool and hides became an important feature of the economy, and we need to know when these developments took place. To some of these questions we shall never know the answer, but we can go further than we have yet done. The preliminary contribution of the document student is that already *circa* 1100, when his sources largely begin, the social and agrarian pattern of Scotland both south and north of Forth appears to be of very long standing. A fiscal system based on the traditional agrarian units was well established, probably fairly ancient. It may have been copied from one or more of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, on the model of the hidage, or it may have been developed independently. In general, the peasant population met its obligations to its lords and clergy by rendering a cross-section of their produce more or less on the spot, or at least to some not very distant shire-centre. For the king, if not for lesser mortals, there may have been some degree of specialisation;

place-name evidence, at least, seems to suggest as much. There are, for instance, at least three localities benorth Forth which take their names from the *conveth* (*coinnmed*), the hospitality given to a visiting lord.[74] In Ayrshire there is the old settlement of Sorn, which apparently has the same significance (Dickinson 1960:173-4).[75] In Kinglassie (Fife), in what was the old royal demesne of Fothrif, there is the estate of Goatmilk, which evidently means what it says in the earliest recorded form of the name (*Gatemilc*),[76] while just north of the Lomond Hills, also on former royal demesne, is the estate of Cash, which looks like what would be made out of goatmilk and other kinds of milk as well (Gaelic *cais*, "cheese"). These names, and the cheese and cattle rents of Lennox and Mearns and other parts, remind us of the importance of pastoralism in early medieval Scotland. But davochs, carucates, and arachors, the prevalence of malt and *prebenda* in crown revenues, and the abundant references in every settled part of the country to mills and multures show that already by the twelfth century and probably long before, the pattern of rural settlement was chiefly determined by the amount of ground that could be ploughed and sown, and of the crops that could be harvested.

NOTES

[1] It must be emphasised that this paper does not aim to be definitive, but rather to make tentative suggestions with the object of stimulating further investigation and discussion.

[2] E.g., Greenlaw, Smailholm, Swinton, Edrom, Old Cambus (Merse); Oldhamstocks, Innerwick, Spott, Stenton, Tynninghame, Whittinghame, Athelstaneford (E. Lothian). Several of these villages have names indicating an early origin, such as Oldhamstocks, Tynninghame, Coldingham and Whittinghame (which was possibly the *Hruringaham* (al. *Hrutlingaham*) mentioned in the anonymous *Life of St. Cuthbert* as the home of Cuthbert's foster-mother, ed. B. Colgrave, p. 90). Longniddry and Tranent, which fit into this south-eastern pattern of nucleated villages, have British names (*Nodref*, "new settlement", *Tref yr neint*, "dells' settlement") which cannot have been formed later than *c.* 630.

[3] A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, Nos. 20, 122; J. Raine, *Hist. of North Durham*, Appendix, No. 36.

[4] Lawrie, op cit., Nos. 93 (Stirlingshire), 96 (Edinburghshire); G. W. S. Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV* (1960), No. 253 (Linlithgowshire).

[5] Cf. Lawrie, op. cit., No. 235, referring to a royal *placita* from Callendar. Callendar seems to have been a district rather than a single manor or vill. It contained an important church, called the "speckled church" (*an eaglais bhreac*, *faga circe*, *varia capella*, *la veyre chapelle*, now Falkirk), round which a sizeable settlement grew up later. This church had

dependent chapels before 1164 (*Charters of Holyrood* (Bannatyne Club), p. 169). For the thanes of Callendar, see below.

6 Lawrie, op. cit., No. 30; *Charters of Coldstream* (Grampian Club), Nos. 8, 11.

7 Lawrie, op. cit., No. 122.

8 See Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, p. 46.

9 Lawrie, op. cit., Nos. 117, 213 and p. 449 ; and No. 212.

10 A good example is in *Charters of Holyrood*, No. 34, a grant of six acres of Gorgie "which are within the *cultura* of Saughton beside the Water of Leith" (late twelfth century).

11 Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 187.

12 Scottish Record Office, Crown Office Writs, No. 5. *Sourebi* is now lost, but is represented by the name Sorbietrees near Newcastleton (in Castleton, co. Roxb.). Mangerton, close by, may contain the name of Race fitz Malger's father.

13 *Liber S.Marie de Calchou* (Bannatyne Club), No. 148 (slightly abridged). Since this land went with the toft and croft of one William of Molhope, it may in fact have formed an individual peasant holding.

14 Note especially the parochial boundaries of Whittinghame, Stenton, Spott, Innerwick, Oldhamstocks and Longformacus. The shielings of Bothwell (*Bothkil*) in Spott (seven miles from Spott church) are mentioned *c.* 1164 (Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 217).

15 Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 222.

16 For this dispute, see A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ii, p. 307; *Liber S.Marie de Melros* (Bannatyne Club), No. 112.

17 *Liber de Melros*, Nos. 82-85. This new land was evidently meant to be used in conjunction with hill sheep grazing.

18 *Liber de Scon* (Bannatyne Club), No. 44, where *Louchoruer* = Loquhariot in Borthwick. Note also the significant reference by King William the Lion (1189-96) to "my tenants of *Elrehope* whom I have transferred to places in my waste land of Selkirk". (*Liber S.Marie de Calchou* (Bannatyne Club), No., 13, p. 16.

19 Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 312.

20 *Liber de Calchou*, Nos. 112, 113; for Peter, see *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, i, p. 197.

21 Many examples of parish churches endowed with one carucate may be found in collections of twelfth-century charters, starting with Lawrie, op. cit., No. 50 (p. 46). *Charters of Holyrood*, Nos. 17, 33, are examples of half-carucate churches (Livingstone, Bolton). Airth had its endowment brought up to two carucates by King David I (Lawrie, op. cit., Nos. 92, 153).

22 *Liber Cartarum S.Andree in Scotia* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 420-1.

23 *Illustrations of Scottish History* (Maitland Club), No. 13.

24 *Registrum vetus de Aberbrothoc* (Bannatyne Club), No. 124. *Treiglas* is Gaelic *tràigh ghlas*, "grey (or green) strand".

25 A late-twelfth-century charter speaking of half a carucate "in Whitefield" (in Cargill) seems to have reference to a pattern of this sort (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxix, p. 15).

26 The first two terms are more common, but *tellus* in this sense of arable ground occurs in a document of 1170 relating to Tranent (*Scottish Historical Review*, 30:44).

[27] 1. Nat. Lib. Scotland, MS.15.1.18, No. 20; 2. Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 228; 3. *Charters of Coupar-Angus* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), No. 47; 4. *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 251; 5. Brit. Mus., MS.Add.33245, f.144; 6. Hist. MSS. Com., *Mar and Kellie* (1904), p. 3; 7. *Reg. Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Bannatyne Club), i, pp. 9, 218; 8. ibid., i, p. 10.

[28] Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 36.

[29] *Registrum de Neubotle*, No. 69.

[30] Sir Frank Stenton long ago drew attention to a named bovate in the English Danelaw, observing that it was probably composed of adjacent acres (*Danelaw Charters* (1920), p. xxxiii, n. 3).

[31] As, for example, Robert I's grant to Thomas Randolph of the earldom of Moray, under obligation of rendering Scottish service "from the several davochs" (*singulis davatis*), or Robert II's charter of Badenoch, described as *sexaginta davatas* (*Reg. Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club), No. 264 and Carte Originales, No. 21).

[32] *Illustrations of Scottish History*, No. 13. "Scottish" in texts of this date means pertaining to Gaelic-speaking Scotia, north of the Forth.

[33] 1. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 1 (p. 2); 2. *Liber Cart. S.Andree*, pp. 290-291; 3. Brit. Mus., MS.Add.33245, ff. 144-145; 4. *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, No. 16; 5. Ibid., No. 79 and *Charters of Coupar-Angus*, No. 38; 6. Brit. Mus., MS.Add.24276, f. 53; 7. Scot. Rec. Office, J. M. Thomson Photographs, No. 10; 8. Brit. Mus., Cotton Charter xviii. 23.

[34] *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, Nos. 21, 51. Lovat is alternatively known as *a'Mhormhaich*, to which Moreweyn may be an approximation. In Convinth we must assume that one other name, in addition to Convinth itself, embraced two davochs.

[35] It is not clear whether the davoch was in origin a measure of seed-corn or of corn-yield. By the twelfth century the term had come to denote a quantity of ground, and had lost its direct connection with measurement of volume.

[36] W. Fraser, *Red Book of Grandtully* (1868) i: 125; *Charters of Coupar-Angus* i, No. 55.

[37] *Liber de Scon*, No. 21. Swain's own land bore the name *Ahednepobbel*, "field of the shieling".

[38] *Liber de Scon*, No. 118.

[39] Brit. Mus., MS.Harl.4628, ff. 240 et seq.

[40] *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, Vol. 5 (Aberdeen 1852), 209-213.

[41] *Charters of Lindores* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), No. 116.

[42] *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, No.16.

[43] Ibid., No. 73.

[44] Ibid., No. 80.

[45] Ibid., No. 83.

[46] Ibid., No. 76.

[47] I have counted (probably not exhaustively) sixteen parish churches in the dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray endowed with a half-davoch each, referred to in the *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*. They are Abernethy, Abertarff, Abriachan, Altyre, Botarie, Dallas, Daviot, *Drumdalgyn*, Dumbennan, Essie, Glass, Kincardine, Kinnoir, Rathven, Rhynie and Urquhart.

[48] *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, Nos. 41, 46.

[49] Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, Nos. 122, 251.

[50] *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, Nos. 3, 31 (apparently not to be identified with Duldoich in Strathnairn, near Daviot, now lost).

[51] At least in the place-name Gargawach (Watson 1926:235), and by implication, fiscally, in *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, No. 264.

[52] *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, i, App. I, No. 9; cf. also J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii, No. 1633.

[53] Mr. Ralegh Radford has made the helpful observation that the distribution of the davoch corresponds closely to that of the Pictish symbol-stones.

[54] Ekwall, 1960, under Fyfield, Fifehead, Hyde, Hewish, Huish, etc.

[55] *Charters of Inchaffray* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), No. 56.

[56] Ibid., No. 57.

[57] Ibid., No. 99.

[58] *Charters of Lindores*, No. 68 (Forgandenny, early thirteenth century).

[59] *Charters of Inchaffray*, No. 52. *Dunphalin*, now lost, is represented by Millearn in Trinity Gask.

[60] *Reg. Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, Nos. 67-69.

[61] Hist. MSS. Com., *Second Report*, App. p. 166, No. 14.

[62] Hist. MSS. Com., *Third Report*, App., p. 386, Nos. 7, 9.

[63] Ibid., No. 11. An illustration of how exasperating the evidence can be is provided by the fact that Buchanan, called one carucate, did forinsec service of one cheese from each cheese-making household, while Luss, called two arachors, did service of two cheeses from each cheese-making household (Hist. MSS. Com., *Third Report*, App., p. 387, No. 28; *Cartularium de Levenax*, Addenda, pp. 96-8).

[64] Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 255.

[65] *Charters of Lindores*, No. 28.

[66] *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, No. 89 (*Tubertach, Crospath, Glenferkaryn*).

[67] Brit. Mus., MS.Add.33245, ff. 144-5.

[68] Hist. MSS. Com., *Fifth Report*, App., p. 623 (half carucate in shire of Kellie).

[69] *Illustrations of Scottish History*, No. 13 (half a Scottish carucate in shire of Crail).

[70] Scottish Rec. Office, Transcripts of Royal Charters, 1214-49, text of charter abridged in *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iii, No. 2132 (exemption from service due from a certain carucate).

[71] Hist. MSS. Com., *Fifth Report*, App., p. 629.

[72] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, i, p. 101 (red) (Balcormo); Nat. Lib. Scotland, MS.Adv.34.6.24, pp. 248-9 (Blebo); Bain, *Cal. Docs. Scotland*, ii, No. 1350 (Bruckly and Nydie); *Liber de Scon*, No. 67 (Blairgowrie); *Charters of Coupar-Angus*, No. 10 (Lour, Kincriech); Scot. Rec. Office, J. M. Thomson, photographs, No. 10 (Inverquharity); Hist. MSS. Com., *Second Report*, p. 166, No. 17 (Old Montrose).

[73] *Liber de Scon*, No. 67.

[74] (1) Conveth (in Laurencekirk), Mearns. Formerly the name Conveth applied to the whole parish. It was royal demesne in the late twelfth century, granted out by William the Lion. (2) *Convathe*, etc., the name of a royal thanage in Banffshire, now represented by Culvie (in Marnoch). (3) Convinth, west of Inverness, formerly royal demesne, granted as a fief to John Bisset (*Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, No. 21).

[75] There is also Sornfalla (in Douglas), Lanarkshire.
[76] Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 74.

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