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Richard A.V. Cox
and
Simon Taylor

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The Journal of Scottish Name Studies

JSNS is a peer-reviewed journal that exists to publish articles and reviews on place- and personal names relating to Scotland, her history and languages.

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THE ETYMOLOGIES OF *PLUSCARDEN* AND *STIRLING*

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It is something of a dictum within place-name studies that place-names contain a fairly limited lexicon, and that proposed etymologies suggesting obscure or lesser-used etymons are inherently suspect. While there is some merit to this as a rule of thumb, the phonology of names sometimes can only be explained by recourse to more obscure or problematic words, especially when these are the specific (modifying) elements in the name. Two names which have proved problematic to place-name scholars over the years, Pluscarden and Stirling, illustrate this point well. As will be seen below, each can be best explained by recourse to a comparatively unusual specific element, in each case the first element in the name.

I. PLUSCARDEN

The name Pluscarden has a problematic etymology. This note proposes a new solution. Pluscarden was the name of a Valliscaullian priory founded in 1230 or 1231 by King Alexander II; later in the middle ages it became a Benedictine house (Cowan and Easson 1976, 84). Transferred into lay hands at the Reformation, it was refounded in 1948 as a revived Benedictine priory (Pluscarden/history). The priory also developed into a medieval parish, which was later incorporated into the parish of Elgin. In the earliest original charter relating to it (of 1233), it is described as being founded in *foresta de Ploschardin* (MacPhail 1881, see plate opposite p. 66 for facsimile), and it is reasonable to assume that it was originally a topographical name, as was the case with many monastic foundations in Scotland, both early and medieval. This said, the name Pluscarden only gradually assumed a status as synonymous with the religious house, which seems early to have taken the name 'Valley of St Andrew' (cf. 1233 grant '*que dicitur Vallis Sancti Andree*'), perhaps consciously echoing the name of its mother house in Val de Choux, and almost certainly a name created with the foundation of the monastery (cf. *vallis sancti Andree apud Pluscardin* 1236). So initially then, this religious house can be thought of as lying in the newly designated 'valley of St Andrew' in the forest of Pluscarden. The early forms of the name Pluscarden do not vary notably over the course of the priory's medieval lifespan.

The name has generally been invoked in discussions of the proposed Pictish element **carden*, the meaning of which has in recent years become somewhat contentious. W. J. Watson was one of the first to discuss this term (1926, 352–53),

which he took (following earlier Welsh dictionaries) to be a British element meaning ‘thicket, brake’. Here he was thinking of *W. cardden*, now defined by *GPC* as ‘enclosure, fort; thicket’, but in William Owen-Pugh’s nineteenth-century dictionary, as ‘a wild place, thicket, brake’ (*GPC*, s. v.); he was followed in this understanding of the word by Nicolaisen among others (Nicolaisen 2001, 204). The word is not well attested in Welsh, however, and recent scholarship has instead inclined towards the ‘enclosure’ aspect which had been mooted by Andrew Breeze (Breeze 1999, 39–41; James 2009, 150–51; Taylor 2011, 101–02, and see most recently James 2013, 61, n 247).¹ Alan James (2009, 150–51) probably summarises the potential meaning best: ‘An impartial reading of the citations in [*GPC*] suggests that a *cardden* is somewhere difficult to get into or through. A meaning like “an enclosure surrounded by a thick hedge” would seem reasonable.’ But it should probably be admitted that whatever the meaning of the poorly-attested and -understood Welsh word, we do not know the semantics of its Northern Brittonic or Pictish cognate(s), and perhaps we would be better to try to derive a meaning from a survey of the topography related to these names. It was invoked as a distinctive Pictish element by Jackson (1955, 164), and its apparent phonology is of some importance in discussions of the features of Pictish, notably the development of the internal consonant cluster *-rd-* which, unlike in Welsh, has not been spirantised (see James 2009, 150; and 2013, 61–62, for potential influence of adoption into Gaelic; and further on this in Taylor, forthcoming).

Although Pluscarden is frequently invoked in discussions of **carden*, the first element is less often discussed. On the face of it, especially given its initial consonant, it appears to be a ‘P-Celtic’, i.e. Brittonic, element, though what that might be is less apparent. Watson (1926, 353) noted merely that it was stressed on the first element ‘now, at any rate’. Johnston (1934, 276) etymologised it by recourse to Welsh, ‘*plas cerddyn*, “place with the wood or brake”’, though it is not clear what his ‘*cerddyn*’ was meant to represent – I presume he was thinking of *cardden*. Welsh *plas* is a loan-word from OFr, perhaps via ME (see *GPC* s. v.; OED, *place*’), and as such is highly unlikely to be present in this name in twelfth-century Moray. Even if this were thought a possibility, the vowel in the first element – always *-o-* or *-u-* (*Ploschardyn*, *Pluscardin*)² – would seem to forbid this as a viable analysis. The obscure Cornish element *plos*, discussed by Padel in his *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (1985, 187), which he cites as meaning ‘filthy’, but with ‘derivation or cognates unknown’, is a possibility, but hardly inviting.

1 Dr Simon Taylor notes to me (pers. comm.) that the meaning ‘enclosure’ had been mooted much earlier: see his forthcoming Groam House Lecture for details.

2 The one exception, in 1237, seems merely a variant, and not a superior reading for a form attested in other copies as *Pluscardyn*.

The name is invariably stressed on the first syllable (despite the dominant second element stress in Scottish place-names), and this stress pattern invites us to take the first element as the specific, freeing us to pursue words which are not normally found as place-name generics. My proposal is that the word here is either G *plaosg* (OG *plaesc*), or a Pictish word related to it and to the Brittonic cognates W *plisc*, Mid. Breton *plusk*. These words are somewhat troublesome in their definitions, especially in a toponymic context, but, as we shall see, there are parallels to their use in place-names, and the phonology is an excellent fit.

Both Gaelic and Welsh words show an alternation in the first cluster between *bl-* and *pl-*. OG attests both *plaesc* and more frequently *blaesc* (DIL, s. v. *bláesc*), meaning ‘integument’ and also ‘eggshell’ or ‘nutshell’. The sense that it is the soft part of the shell, rather than the outer part, predominates, and is to be found in the modern ScG *plaosg*, which retains also a meaning of the lining of the egg, and also of the skull (see Dwelly, s. v.; HDSG slips). Whilst eggshells predominate in historical usages (see now Corpas na Gàidhlig, search under *plaosg*), nutshells are also present. The same is true of the W variants *plisg* and *blisg*, both taken as collectives, with singulatives in *-yn* (*plisgyn*, *blisgyn*). GPC (s. vv.) gives as meanings for *blisg* ‘shells, husks, fragments’; *plisg* has similar meanings.

Whilst this may initially seem an unlikely element to find in Pluscarden, the phonology suits it well, and the Breton form supports a potential Pictish **plusc*. We may, however, be dealing with a rendering into Latin/Scots orthography of G *plaesc*, ScG *plaosg*. More importantly, there is at least one other Gaelic name in Scotland which employs this as a specific: Creagan nam Plaosg, near Brig o’ Turk (NN545063) (McNiven forthcoming; Murray 2014, plate 1 for illustration, though given there erroneously as ‘Creagan nam Plaoisg’). Murray translates this as ‘The Little Rock of the Husks’. This provides a very exact, if smaller-scale parallel for the proposed usage in Pluscarden, with a more usual later Gaelic name-form in generic + def. art. + specific, instead of a preposed specific. I would take it that the association is with nuts, or nutshells, perhaps a location abounding in nutshells, because animals (including domesticated animals such as pigs) frequent the woods to eat easily-peeled nuts. For some sense of the semantic associations of *plaosg*, consider these lines from Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir’s ‘Coire a’ Cheathaich’ (MacLeod, 1978, ll. 2406–09):

*Bha cus r’a fhotainn de chnothan caoine
 ‘S cha b’ iad na caochagan aotrom gann,
 Ach bagailt mhaola, bu taine plaoisg,
 A’ toirt brìgh a laodhan nam maothshlat fann ...’*

Plenty of ripe nuts could be obtained,
 Nor were they empty shells, light and scarce,
 But naked clusters of thinnest husks,
 Battening on the pith of tender twigs ...

This identification, however, leaves the second element, now identified as the generic, uncertain. It is perfectly possible that we should still see it as P **carden*, and the earliest form from 1233, *Ploschardin*, might support this, if we take the *-ch-* to represent a lenited *c-*, but I think that an uncertain inference. Nonetheless, **plusc* or *plaesc* might readily combine with **carden* in such a way that the final of **plusc/plaesc* and the initial of **carden* would be elided. Strengthening the potential for this word to be the second element, Peter McNiven has noted (pers. comm.; and 2016) the presence of a place-name Carden, as well as Carden Hill nearby (NJ140627; it is Cardon on Roy's map, so is at least as old as the 1750s).

But we must also consider a potential generic in *ard(in)*, here presumably either G *àrd*, *àird* 'high (place), height', or a Pictish cognate of W *ardd*, with similar meaning (*PNFife* 5, 285–86). Both are found as place-name generics. The presumption here would be that we are dealing in the final syllable with the ubiquitous eastern Scottish suffix *-in*, the exact nature of which has been the subject of considerable discussion, both in and out of print (for most recent consideration, see *PNFife* 5, 407–12), but the solution to which is beyond the scope of this article. On balance, if it were from **ardin*, it might be difficult to account for the persistence of the ending *-en* in forms throughout the name's history in this scenario, but it must remain a possibility.

In these two possibilities we would then be dealing with either 'nutshell-enclosure' or 'nutshell-height', and the second of these, with its suggestion of tree-lined hills, might suit well the bank of hills now called Heldon Hill, but which was called in the mid-nineteenth century 'Eildon Hill' (with 'Eildon Wood'), which shelter Pluscarden to the north-west.³ The description of it in the OSNB is interesting, given its reference also to Pluscarden as a 'district': 'A prominent hill forming the northern boundary of the district known as Pluscarden, and over the summit of which passes the boundary between this parish and that of Alves' (OSNB Moray 1868–71, vol. 11). Recalling that initially the location of the monastery was described as a *foresta*, it might be appropriate

³ This name appears as Eildon Hill and Eildon wood on the OS 6" 1st edn and in the OSNB; but by the second edition it has become Heldon Hill and Heldon Wood. It is possible Eildon was originally a transferred name, and perhaps Heldon was the underlying local form – thought there is no sign of it in the OSNB. 'Eildon' however persisted on Bartholomew maps until mid 20th century. Consult the historic maps at maps.nls.uk/geo/explore for comparisons.

that the monastery might take its name from these hills. If from **carden* on the other hand, this perhaps referred to some feature, now lost, in the vicinity of the present monastery.

It is almost certainly a coincidence, but it is worth noting that it is not the only monastic foundation in Britain to use the word ‘nutshell’ in its name. Of the early medieval abbey of Nursling in Hampshire, Richard Coates notes: ‘It seems clear that this extraordinary name started as OE **hnutusciell* ‘nutshell’. We can only guess at the reason. (Ekwall thinks it a jocular name for a tiny place.) ... The presence of nut-trees in the district is apparently corroborated by the existence of *Nutfeld* in Rownhams and *Nutburn* in North Baddesley’ (Coates 1989, 124–25; cf. OED, s. v. *nutshell* for further comment).

PLUSCARDEN⁴ NJ141575

quartam partem unius dauache in *Pluscardyn* 1226 *Moray Reg.* no. 29
[Alexander II grants ‘a quarter of a davoch in Pluscarden’ to the church and bishop of Moray.]

foresta de *Ploschardin* 1233 MacPhail 1881, 65 [Original document; see plate opposite p. 66 for facsimile.]

vallis sancti Andree apud *Pluscardin* 1236 *RRS* iii, no. 237⁵

monachis de *Plaskardyn*’ (var. *Pluscardyn*) 1237 *RRS* iii, no. 255⁶

Symone priore de *Pluscardyn* 1239 *Moray Reg.* no. 41 [Witness.]

totum forestum nostrum de *Ploschardin* 1240 *RRS* iii [= Handlist no.378; MacPhail 1881, 199]

Pluskardin 1263 MacPhail 1881, 207-8 [Bull of Pope Urban IV]

Pluscardine 1272, MacPhail 1881, 210

Prior de *Ploshardyn* 1275 Bagimond’s Roll (Dunlop edn), 44

Prior de *Pleshardyn* 1276 Bagimond’s Roll (Dunlop edn), 76

Pluscartyn 1311 *RRS* v no. 15

Pluscardi 1369 *RMS* ii no. 1478

Pluscardin 1499 *RMS* ii no. 2505

le Drum de *Pluscardin* 1511 *RMS* ii no. 3552⁷

4 My thanks to Dr Peter McNiven for supplying a list of early forms, from an unpublished report completed for Historic Environment Scotland, 2016; I have augmented this, and am also grateful to Dr Simon Taylor for further forms.

5 I am grateful to Prof. Dauvit Broun for supplying these forms from the forthcoming *RRS* iii, and to Prof. Keith Stringer for permission to use them here.

6 The 14th-century copy of the Moray Register has *Plasckerdyn*, the 13th-century copy has *Pluscardyn*.

7 The use of *le* before *drum* here suggests that it is the Sc word *drum*, derived from G *druim* rather than a place-name as such (cf. Drum³ in the *Scottish National Dictionary*).

le Drwm de *Pluscardyn* 1528 RMS iii no. 544
 le Drum de *Pluscardin* 1531 RMS iii no. 1044
 priorem a *Pluscarde* dominum Robertum Hawor 1535 *Kinloss Records* ('Life of
 Abbot Thomas Crystall'), 26
 terras de Drum et *Pluscardane* 1542 RMS iii no. 2699
 petari[a] de ... *Pluscardin* 1568 RMS iv no. 1812
Pluskarden 1590s Pont 8 (Moray and Nairn)
Pluscarden 1596 RMS vi no. 410
 terras et baronia de *Pluscarden* 1620 *Retours* Elgin & Forres no. 139
Pluscarden 1654 Blaeu
Pluskarden c.1750 Roy
Pluscarden Abbey 1830 Thomson

II. STIRLING

The provenance of the name *Stirling* has been problematic over the years, with a variety of languages of origin, as well as etymologies, being suggested. Previous discussions of the name have emphasised its obscurity. W. F. H. Nicolaisen, in a note primarily about the spelling variations of this name, as well as those of Dunfermline, said of them: 'Both names share semantic opacity, either total or partial, on the lexical level', speaking of 'the absence of any persuasive evidence as to the exact morphological composition of *Stirling* and *-fermline*' (1989, 301; for Dunfermline, see now *PNFife* 1, 308–11). Alan James describes *Stirling* as 'very obscure', and whilst he argues for a Brittonic element **istre-* or **istriw-* as being the first element, notes 'the identity of the second element is a matter of speculation' (*BLITON*, s.v. **ister*, **istre-*, **istriw-*). This short note argues that there is a clear partial solution to the name, and a probable complete solution, and that its obscurity has been overstated.

It is worth considering a number of factors that have contributed to uncertainty about the name. First, there has been uncertainty about the language of origin, but a predominant sense that it ought to derive from a Brittonic language. This is perhaps motivated by the presumed (though to date not proven) early medieval origins of Castle Rock in *Stirling*, and a sense that it ought to have an original name derived from Brittonic, like its easterly and westerly volcanic outcrop companions with medieval castles on them, Edinburgh and Dumbarton (formerly **Al Clud*) (for best recent review of this,

<dsl.ac.uk>), although by 1542 (terras de Drum) it seems to have firmly become a place-name. It seems likely this refers to the ridge above *Pluscarden*, now known as Heldon Hill (see below). It is worth noting that this use of *drum* 'ridge' in Scots considerably antedates the first usage in the *SND*.

see Fraser 2008, 3–9). I will pick up on this issue at the end of the present note. An added complication here is that the original referent of the name Stirling is generally thought to be the castle or Castle Rock, whereas this cannot be certain. In our earliest documentation of the name, we already hear of a burgh, with churches, a castle and a shire called from it, and much more besides. Its bridge was one of its most prominent medieval features, to judge by the Matthew Paris map of c. 1250 (Paris map). Second, there has been uncertainty about the signals the early forms of the name are sending us and, in particular, about the weight we should put on the medial *-e-* in the early spellings of the name. And finally, the disparity between the modern Scottish Gaelic form of the name *Sruighlea* (AÀA s.n.), and its Scots orthographical counterparts, including in the early forms, has suggested problems particularly in relation to the final element. (A collection of early and modern forms is to be found at the end of this note.) I will leave discussion of the modern Gaelic form until later, but we should briefly consider the other matters.

It is probably J. B. Johnston who lies at the heart of the first two problems. In his infamously problematic *Place-Names of Scotland*, he mooted a Brittonic origin for the name in ‘*ystre Felyn*’, which he defined as ‘dwelling of Velyn’ (Johnston 1930, 301). His *ystre* must refer to the Welsh word found in *GPC* as *ystref*, *ystre*², a late development, according to *GPC*, from *tref*, *tre* ‘dwelling, habitation’, and therefore unlikely to be involved here. There are many improbable things about his discussion, but he has nonetheless been partially followed by other commentators, and his proposal for the first element certainly underlies the more recent discussion by James, who points more cogently in the direction of *ystre*¹ ‘border, edge’ as a possible first element (*BLITON*, s.v. **ister-*) and has much more plausible suggestions in place of Johnston’s *Velyn*. One reason why Johnston may have been followed in this proposal, aside from a default notion that Stirling ought to be a Brittonic name, may be Johnston’s representative, but perhaps deceptive, spread of spellings. He gives ‘*a[nte]* 1124 Strevelin, c. 1125 Struelin, *a[nte]* 1182 Striuellin, c. 1250 Estriuelin’ for his earliest spellings (1930, 300). As can be seen from the list of early forms below, Johnston’s instances emphasise some more unusual spellings at the expense of the dominant forms. In so doing, they give prominence to the medial *e-*; they hint at the original vowel of the first element being *e-*, and Johnston’s c. 1250 form also hints at a Welsh prosthetic *y-*.⁸

8 This I presume underlies James’s decision to analyse the putative word here as beginning with what in his orthography is represented by *ī-*. I am uncertain as to why a number of words in *BLITON* which developed a prosthetic *y-* in Welsh have been analysed under forms which imply presence of prosthetic **i-* in NBr (**ister-*, **istre-*, **istriw-*; **istiūm* etc. (cf. *W ystre*, *ystryw*, *ystum*), but not **strad* (cf. *W ystrad*)). There

All of this is to ignore the dominant spellings of the name, and also its modern pronunciation. So, the form *Estriuelin* is that from the c. 1250 map of the English cartographer Matthew Paris, and the initial *E-* is more likely to be a French reflex based on the initial consonant cluster *st-* than a relic of early Brittonic (the 1326 form *Estriuelin*, from a charter in French, underlines this point), and should be discounted against the huge weight of contradictory (and much earlier and more local) evidence. Likewise, the early forms show a fairly consistent first syllable in *striu-*, with the *-u-* almost certainly representing [v], based on subsequent development of the name, and this should be given primary place in any analysis, rather than *strev-* or *stru-*. Johnston's analysis also implies a stress on the medial *-e-*. This is completely unsupported by the later development of the name, which can only have happened if the *-e-* were at most an unstressed, and perhaps epenthetic vowel, or a phonetically meaningless orthographic convention. The modern form of the name, *Stirling*, depends on there having been a first-syllable stress in the name, and subsequent reduction and syncope of the medial vowel (if in fact the grapheme represents one in the first place). The dominant second-element stress in Scottish place-names has preserved the original form of many other early names and, if the *-e-* had been stressed, this too would have likely been preserved, i.e. the name would now be *StriVELin(g); cf., for example, a name like Stracathro.⁹ For these same reasons, it seems to me we should reject James's argument, which seems to follow Johnston's understanding of the name's stress and segmentation, that 'formations with **istre-* (in one of

is very little evidence in the Northern British material for this prosthetic *y-* which developed in Welsh (but not in Cornish, Breton etc.), unless one counts forms like *Estriuelin* and *Estrahanent* (for Annandale), in the former case certainly, and in the latter case arguably influenced by French rather than an underlying Brittonic form.

⁹ There is an analogous situation in the case of *Dunfermline*, with early spellings having *-fermelin* etc. See discussion in *PNFife* 1, 309–10. Of the medial *-e-*, Taylor notes: 'The earliest forms of the name consistently show *e* between *rm* and *l*; this might be radical, or it might simply be explained as an epenthetic vowel, which regularly developed in this environment in the Gaelic-speaking period', citing O'Rahilly 1932, 200. It is perhaps worth noting that there are considerable problems with the first set of propositions for the etymology of *Dunfermline* in *PNFife* 1 – involving the *-fer-* being from G *fear* as a gen. pl. fronting a kindred term (though the *n* that has been placed before *Fer* in the proposed **Dún nFer mB(e)lin*, **Dún nFer Melin*' is a mistake and should be omitted). This is not the place to explore this in detail, but the proposal as it stands is in need of some attention. There are few good parallels for these kindred terms in Scotland; and the proposed underlying Pictish form is unworkable as it stands, since it is predicated on a number of features unlikely in Pictish, e.g. the word for man being *uer* – this looks likely to have been **uwr*; or there being nasal mutation after a gen. pl. form – we have no indication of any sort of inflection of this sort in Pictish. It is possible that the etymology proposed was influenced by the potential name *Belin* that had been suggested as being present in *Stirling*.

its senses) + *-velin* ... or the personal name *Belin* ..., or **weilion* 'spikes, spears' ... all merit consideration.' All of these suggestions, which, taken on their own, are reasonably plausible, presuppose that the name was originally stressed on the medial *-e-*, but there is nothing in the name's development to suggest that this was the case, and much to predicate otherwise.

It is perhaps worth noting that the name is captured in a 14th-century Welsh Chronicle in the Red Book of Hergest, as *Ystriflin*.¹⁰ Two later manuscripts of the same Chronicle have variants in *Ystriflig* and *Ystrilig*, perhaps suggesting an original **Ystrifling*, in turn implying an underlying form along the lines of **Strivling*. This illustrates several points being made here – that the name was stressed on *striv-* and that, by the 14th century at any rate, no *-e-* was audible. The distracting prosthetic *y-* here is not historical; like the French *e-* in Matthew Paris, it is merely a function of the Middle Welsh tendency to apply a prosthetic *y-* in loan-words and loan-names beginning with *st-* (cf. *GPC sterling, ysterling* 'a sterling (English silver penny as monetary unit)'; also attested in the plural as *ysterlingot* in the 14th century).

Equally, there is no particular reason to presume that the name *Stirling* should be of Brittonic, rather than Gaelic, origin. For a start, as noted above, we do not know if the original referent of the name was the Castle Rock. Even if it were, by the time we have documentary evidence of the name Stirling (in the 12th century), neither Dumbarton nor Edinburgh, the two obvious comparanda, were going by a Brittonic name any longer – the former **Al Clud* now had a Gaelic name **Dún Bretan* (> ScG *Dùn Breatann*) 'the fort of the Britons'; and the Brittonic specific of the former *Din Eidyn* had been subsumed into the Old English name lying behind the modern form Edinburgh. So even if Castle Rock at Stirling was early medieval in date, and even if it originally had a Brittonic name, there is no good reason to presuppose that it need have continued forward to the name *Stirling*.

Nicolaisen, in the study mentioned above, handily summarised the likely development of the name on the basis of 'thousands of early spellings' – he was referring to forms of other names as well here, but in the case of *Stirling*, this is unlikely to be an exaggeration. Since this publication is not in a mainstream location,¹¹ it is worth quoting his summary in full before we move on:

Broadly speaking, the picture which emerges is this: almost from the very beginning of the recorded history of *Stirling* in the first half of the twelfth century, *-lin* (*-lyn*, *-line*, *-lyne*) and *-ling* (*-lyng*) spellings occur side by side although until the fifteenth century the former are much more common

¹⁰ For the source, see fn 19, below.

¹¹ I am very grateful to Dr Simon Taylor for pointing me in the direction of this article.

than the latter. From the fifteenth century onwards, *-ling* spellings are predominant and take over completely from the second half of the sixteenth century on. As far as the first component is concerned, the vowel *-e-* occurs sporadically throughout the record but metathesized forms in *Ster-* and *Stir-* (*Styr-*) are not found very frequently until the seventeenth century, usually later than the development of *Streve-* or *Strive-* via *Sterv-/Stirv-* to *Ster-/Stir-*, and, because of their lateness, normally associated with *-ling*. Leaving the parallel spellings with *-e-* [e.g. *Streve-*] aside, an oversimplified generalization would yield the following sequence: *Strive-lin* > *Striveling* > *Strivling* (or *Stirveling*) > *Stirvling* > *Stirling*, though in reality the picture is, of course, more complex, insofar as *-ling* forms are found while *-lin* is predominant, and *-lin* continues to be used well after *-ling* has become the regular spelling. (Nicolaisen 1989, 303)

If we concentrate on the early forms and discount the importance of the unstressed medial *-e-* as likely to be an epenthetic vowel, there is a clear candidate for the first element of the name. As can be seen, by far the dominant early forms of the name's first, and stressed, syllable are *striu-* and *striv-*, both probably representing [striv]. OG *sreb*, *srib* 'stream, river' (> G **sribh*: for clarity, the final *-b* of *sreb*, *srib* was pronounced [v]) seems a clear candidate for this element. It is not a common place-name element in either Ireland or Scotland, but is a very well-attested word, in both spellings, in OG (see *DIL*, s. v. *sreb*, *srib*). This word seems to have been preserved in ScG only as *sreabh/sramh* 'jet of milk coming from a cow's udder' (a meaning attested in the earlier language, cf. *DIL* *sreb* (c) 'Of milk in the cow's teat'), and this may account for the uncertain later development of the name in its Scottish Gaelic form (on which see below).

Analysis of the first element as OG *srib* 'stream, river' prompts the obvious proposal that the second element is OG *linn* 'pool, lake' (see *DIL*, s. v. 1 *linn*), ScG *linne* (see *PNF* 5, 425–26). An etymology as OG *srib-linn* 'river-pool' would account for almost all of the obvious features of the name in its early forms and its modern development in Scots orthography: the first-element stress (*srib*, as the specific, would be stressed), the variations in *-lin* and *-ling* (but see below) and the occasional appearance of *-e-* in the first syllable, in forms in *Strev-*. G *sr-* is invariably rendered as *str-* in the anglicised Latin orthography of medieval Scottish records. As noted above, the medial *-e-* in this analysis would be either an epenthetic vowel or an orthographical convention without phonetic weight. This term *srib-linn* would be a variant on the attested term *sruth-linn* 'eddying pool, pool in a stream, river-pool' (see *DIL*, s. v. *sruth*, compounds with nouns; and see below on a possible use of this term for Stirling), employing a different but virtually synonymous first noun for the compound. The original referent

of the name would be Stirling's most significant topographical feature in the middle ages – it is the point at which the river Forth widens and becomes navigable to ships (see Graham 1968–69, 278), and it is the point at which the river becomes tidal. The original *srib-linn*, then, would refer to this point on the river (perhaps then meaning 'highest navigable point on an estuary', or referring to a river-pool allowing harbourage), rather than any land feature such as the castle rock which overlooks it.

There are, however, a number of issues which need to be attended to. First, the early forms all show a preference for *-in/-yn* over *-ing* in the final syllable. Nicolaisen has discussed in detail the problems of deciding on the meaningfulness or otherwise of this sort of variation, adducing a variety of comparable names, of very diverse etymological origins. The ultimate outcome of his discussion must be that the orthography on its own is not capable of demonstrating the underlying element in these *-in/-ing* endings. As he puts it (1989, 314): 'The most likely explanation therefore seems to be that in these names *-n* and *-ng* are, like *-t-* and *-y-*, allographs over varying periods of time with one of them assuming the role of allographic norm either temporarily or permanently.' It is the *-ing* ending in particular which encourages us to think of G *linn*; if we were to emphasise the *-in* endings, we might think perhaps of the very frequent eastern Scottish ending in *-in* (*PNF* 5, 407–11). We could in this case make reference to OG *sriball* 'stream' (*DIL*, s. v.) with an *-in* ending, e.g. **sriballin*. In general, however, this *-in* suffix tends to reduce to *-ie* or the like in its development in Scots. There is no sign at all of this in any of the Latin/Scots forms. As a result, and given the situation of Stirling on the Forth, we can probably be confident of OG *linn* as the final element here.

A more searching problem is the Gaelic forms of the name. On the whole, there is no sign of the final *-n* in Gaelic forms of the name. It is worth noting one extraordinary outlier in this, an emigration pamphlet by Nahum Ward, from 1822, printed in Stirling itself, entitled *Eisdibh! Eisdibh! Eisdibh! Rabhadh dhoibh-san dam miann a dhol a dh'Ohio ann America* (Ward 1822, 'Listen! Listen! A warning to those of you who wish to go to Ohio in America'). The pamphlet, entirely in Gaelic, says it has been printed in *Sribhlinn*, and notes Mr Ward as residing for a time in 'Sribhlinn', glossing this as 'Stirling' (neither 'Duneidin' nor 'Glasgho' are similarly glossed, and this may suggest that the author was aware of this as an innovative or distinctive form). Despite this being precisely what I am proposing as the etymology of the name, given that this is such an isolated form, we are perhaps best to approach it instead as a learned or antiquarian confection, however difficult to explain.

The current standard form in Gaelic, *Sruighlea*, however, seems to be a compromise rendition, based on a great variety of uncertain forms attested

throughout the early modern and modern period. Taking a range of Gaelic forms into consideration, we can see that the end of the first syllable is represented by a variety of voiced consonants *-bh-*, *-th-*, *-gh-*, all of which would have been reduced in pronunciation when followed by *-l-*. A non-scientific scan of forms in *Corpas na Gàidhlig* (I have given below only a small sample) attests c. 23 forms in *Sruibh-* (with a further 3 in *Struibh-*), c. 40 in *Sruidh-* (with a few instances of *Struidh-*), some 15 in *Sruigh-* (with a few in *Struigh-*), and some 14 in *Sruith-* (and one in *Struith-*). One conclusion from all this is that the Gaelic name could readily be derived from an original in **sruibh-* (presumably from < **sribh* < OG *srib*) with all other forms in *-dh*, *-gh*, *-th* variants on this. Particularly relevant to this, perhaps, is the development of ScG *sruthladh* ‘cleansing, scouring’, for which Dwelly lists *srubhladh* as a variant (cf. *DIL sriblad* and *sreblaid* for potential OG origins). I am not suggesting any of these as the actual etymon of the name, but rather that ScG had a number of terms in *srubh-*, *sruth-* etc. with which the name was tacitly aligned.

These forms also show a great variety of final endings, including the vowel ending of the modern form (*-le*, *-la*, *-lea*), but also a number of consonantal endings: *-leadh*, *-ladh*, *-leach*, *-lach*, *-lath*). Watson (2002 [1906], 61–62), suggests for ‘*Sruighla* ... perhaps a reduced form of *-lach* or *-lann*’, but the forms do not seem to me to support this proposal. It is surprising that, with the exception noted above (and perhaps one in the Book of the Dean, see below), we never see *-linn* or *-ling*. One suggestion here is that many of these forms are based on an original **Sruibhleadh*, a Gaelic reinterpretation of the name, with the final syllable representing a verbal noun ending corresponding to Sc *-ing*. The proposition is that, despite the name having originated in Gaelic, it was reabsorbed into Gaelic speech, not from local Gaelic speech-communities, but via Scots, where it was treated as a Gaelic version of a Scots-based name perceived as ending in *-ing*.¹² It is worth underlining the chronological gap that pertains before we get our first proper Gaelic orthographical forms in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

There remain a number of references in outlying sources which are worth considering briefly here. First is a text which lies in between Scots and Gaelic, the Book of the Dean of Lismore. Chronologically, this also lies between the bulk of our early forms for Stirling, and the first in certainly Gaelic orthography. One text from this constitutes the earliest certain Gaelic text, albeit in Scots orthography, in which we find our name, there as *Strwlee*, in a genealogical text added to the manuscript, by its own witness, in 1542. The name also appears twice in a chronicle with probable Latin origins, as *Striweleich*, and *Streulyne*. These latter

¹² It is worth noting that Johnston, whom I have criticised above, makes this point about the Gaelic forms.

forms, particularly the second one, may be suspected of having been influenced by the underlying forms in their source, but it is nonetheless intriguing to see this variety of renditions in the one manuscript, and both *Strwlee* and *Striweleich* seem to reflect forms attested later in Gaelic orthography.¹³

One final source may be of relevance. The Middle Gaelic poem ‘The Prophecy of Berchan’ contains one verse which may perhaps allude to Stirling. This verse – according to Benjamin Hudson, referring to Causantín mac Cuilén †997 – says ‘his cattle-pound of battle will be his, at the stream called the Tay’: *a chomann catha bidh háe | de struthlinn fris n-abar Tóe* (Hudson 1996, 51, 89 §176). It should be noted that A. O. Anderson took this line to read *Sruthlinn* and *Abar Tóe*, ‘from Stirling to Abertay’ (1922 i, 519), and this reading is not without merit, though on balance we should probably prefer Hudson’s.¹⁴ Even if, as seems likely, the line does not constitute our earliest reference to Stirling, it does testify to the idea that the tidal, lower reach of a river might be called a *sruth-linn*, an attested word in OG, and nearly synonymous, as mentioned above, with the proposed *srib-linn* underlying Stirling.

The proposal, then, is that *Stirling* is in origin a Gaelic name referring to the place at which the river Forth became tidal, or perhaps better, the uppermost reach of the Forth estuary being navigable, its *srib-linn* ‘stream-pool’ or the like, perhaps reflecting an early harbour at the site. The early forms of the name support such an origin well, as does its subsequent development where the medial *-e-* in the spelling – prominent in previous etymologies – disappears, undoubtedly because it was either unstressed (and) epenthetic, or a phonetically meaningless orthographic convention. The later Scottish Gaelic forms of the name, it is proposed, represent a reabsorption and reanalysis of the Scots form of this name back into Gaelic, initially calquing the *-ing* ending of Stirling with a verbal noun ending *-adh* (as *Srùibhleadh*, an attested form, or similar), which was subsequently reduced and transformed in a variety of ways, as was the first syllable. Its development into a variety of forms was aided by the virtual absence of the Old Gaelic word *sreb*, *srib* from ScG except in restricted contexts.

I noted at the outset that this has consequences of a sort for a separate set of debates. These relate to the question of whether Bede’s *urbs Giudi* (and the

¹³ Again, despite my criticism of Johnston above, it is he who calls attention to these forms in the Book of the Dean.

¹⁴ I am unconvinced by Hudson’s ‘cattle-pound of battle’. The text supports a reading of *a chommann catha* ‘his alliance/company of battle’, i.e. his army. Hudson further suggests (note to §176d on p. 68) that we should read *fris n-abairt*, but I don’t see this as necessary, cf. *Druim C. risa n-apar Áni Clíach*, cited in *DIL* from *Mesca Ulad* (s. v. *as-beir*). One point in favour of Anderson’s interpretation is *de*, which cannot easily bear the translation ‘at’ that Hudson gives it.

forms in other texts related to it, such as *Iudeu, Iuddew*) was Castle Rock at Stirling (see most fully Fraser 2008). Whilst the present note does not directly address that question, it does clear away one problematic sub-argument, which is the suggestion that that location could not be *Giudi* because it already had a different, Brittonic name, the name lying behind Stirling. This note demonstrates that, whatever the location of *urbs Giudi*, the name Stirling was Gaelic, referred to the river Forth, and was not originally the name of Castle Rock.¹⁵

STIRLING NS790940

Non-Gaelic orthographical forms

in burgo meo in *st<ri>uelin* 1124 × 1127 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 26 [= *David I Chrs* no. 19, which prints *Strivelin*]

in *St<ri>uelin* 1127 × 1131, prob. 1128 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 1 [= *David I Chrs* no. 33, which prints *Strivelin*¹⁶]

Apud *striueliñ* 1128 × 1136 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 29 [= *David I Chrs* no. 44, which prints *Strivelin*]

st<ri>uelin 1128 × 1153 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 8 [in rubric = *David I Chrs* no. 49, which prints *Striuelin*]

st<ri>uelin 1128 × 1153 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 8 [= *David I Chrs* no. 49, which prints *Strivelin*]

Gilberto de *striueli<n>* 1136 × 1141, prob. 1136 *Glasg. Reg.* i no. 3 [witness; = *David I Chrs* no. 56, which prints *Strivelin*]

Gilleberto vicecomite de *st<ri>uelin* 1136 × 1143, prob. 1139 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 9 ['to Gilbert sheriff of Stirling'; = *David I Chrs* no. 67, which prints *Strivelin*]

capella castelli de *st<ri>uelin* 1139 × 1151 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 4 [= *SEA* no. 140, which prints *Strivelin*]

Waltero de *St<ri>uelyñ* prob. 1140 *Kelso Liber* ii no. 382 [witness; = *David I Chrs*

¹⁵ This note has been immensely improved by the suggestions of the editor, Simon Taylor, and the Journal's anonymous reviewer: that I have not incorporated all that person's wise suggestions is not meant as a reflection on their wisdom. I am grateful, as I have been too many times in my career, for a number of colleagues who have badgered this note into print, since it has been something I have discussed informally in a variety of contexts, but needed to be robustly argued in print to stand a chance of being convincing. These include Stephen Digney, James Fraser, Peter McNiven, Guto Rhys and Simon Taylor. The final trigger was a very extended Facebook exchange on the name, and I am grateful to the surprisingly large number of people who participated in that, and put up with me saying 'I think I know what the etymology is, but I want to publish it somewhere other than Facebook'. Here it is.

¹⁶ Correcting Lawrie's reading 'Struelin' in *ESC* no. 74; note Stirling appears twice in this charter, the first time as in burgo de *St<ri>uel'*, which Barrow has printed as *Strivelin*, using italics to indicate expansion of final syllable.

- no. 91, which prints *Striuelyn*]
- prepositis de *Striuelinis Scyra* 1140 × 1147 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 7 [‘to the grieves of Stirling’s shire’; = *David I Chrs* no. 99, which prints *Strivelinis Scyra*]
- St<ri>uelinschire* 1128 × 1147 *Holyrood Liber* no. 5 [original document; = *David I Chrs* no. 115, which prints *Striuelinschire*]
- apud *St<ri>uelin* 1128 × 1147 *Holyrood Liber* no. 5 [original document; = *David I Chrs* no. 115, which prints *Striuelin*]
- de *striueline* 1141 × 1147 *Holyrood Liber* no. 1, p. 5 [original document, with facsimile (actual size) at the end of *Holyrood Liber* Preface; printed (as *Striueline*) *David I Chrs* no. 147]
- forestariis de *striuelin sire* 1141 × 1147 *Holyrood Liber* no. 1, p. 5 [original document, with facsimile (actual size) at the end of *Holyrood Liber* Preface; printed (as *Striuelin sire*) *David I Chrs* no. 147. David I commands all his ministers and ‘foresters of Stirlingshire and Clackmannan’(omnibus ministris meis et forestariis de *striuelin sire* et de *clacmanant*) to allow Holyrood Abbey to take timber for building]
- Striueling* 1147 *Cambus. Reg.* no. 23^v [16th-c. copy]
- Ecclesie Sancte Marie de *Striueling* 1147 *David I Chrs*, no. 159 [16th-c. copy; = *Cambus. Reg.* no. 51, which prints *Striueling*]
- [ecclesiam] de *struulin* 1152 × 1159 *SEA* i, no. 120 [original document; a register copy (13th c.) printed *Dunf. Reg.* no. 92, which has *St<ri>uel’*]
- Walteri de *Streuelyn* 1153 × 1159 *RRS* i no. 129 [16th-c. copy; = *Dryburgh Liber* no. 159, which prints Valteri de *Strevelyn*]
- abbate de *striueli<n>* 1159 × 1164 *St A. Lib.*, 197 [= *RRS* i no. 228, which prints *Striuelin*; witness]
- Petro de *striuelin* 1159 × 1164 *St A. Lib.*, 197 [= *RRS* i no. 228, which prints *Striuelin*; witness]
- apud *striuel’* 1159 × 1164 *St A. Lib.*, 197 [= *RRS* i no. 228, which prints *Striuelin*]
- Striuelin* 1159 × 1164 *RRS* i, no. 228
- [ecclesiam] de *Strivelin* 1160 × 1162 *SEA* i no. 145 [= *Dunf. Reg.* no. 93, which prints *St<ri>uelin*]
- ecclesie Sancte Marie de *Striueling* 1163 × 1164 *Cambus. Reg.* no. 50 [16th-c. copy; = *RRS* i, no. 241]
- Striueling* 1163 × 1164 *Cambus. Reg.* no. 50 [16th-c. copy; = *RRS* i no. 241]
- Sterling* 1163 × 1164 *Cambus. Reg.* no. 50 [16th-c copy; = *RRS* i no. 241]
- ecclesiam de *St<ri>uelin* 1165 × 1169 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 596 [original document; printed in *SEA* i no. 163, as *Striuelin*]
- Ace de *Sterueling* 1178 *Cambus. Reg.* no. 36 [16th-c. copy; witness]

17 The Cambuskenneth Register, a 16th century copy, seems extremely consistent in using *Striueling*, with very minor variants, throughout, even into the 15th century.

ecclesie sancte Marie de *Striuelyn* 1180 *Cambus. Reg.* no. 16 [16th-c. copy]
 apud *Striuelyn* 1180 *Cambus. Reg.* no. 16 [16th-c. copy]
 Edwardo filio Patricii de *Steruelin* 1195 × 1214 *Cambus. Reg.* no. 37 [16th-c. copy;
 witness]
 in *Kars* apud *st<ri>uelyn* 1213 *Arb. Lib.* i no. 1 [= *RRS* ii no. 513, which prints
Striuelyn]
Estriuelyn pons c. 1250 *Matthew Paris Map*
 domini Johannis de *Striueling* 1282 *Camb. Reg.* no. 49, p. 70
 Willelmi de *Strueling* 1282 *Cambus. Reg.* no. 49, p. 70
 communitatis de *Striueling* 1282 *Camb. Reg.* no. 49, p. 70
 Patricius de *Striueling* 1323 *RRS* v no. 219
 Patricium de *Striuelyn* 1325 *RRS* v no. 278 [original document]
 a *Estriuelin* 1326 *RRS* v no. 299 [original document; in French]
 Apud *Striuilling* 1327 *RRS* v no. 320 [17th-c. copy]
*Ystriflin*¹⁸ yn y gogledd late 14th c. Red Book of Hergest¹⁹, p. 125r/col. 518, ll. 9–10
 v^cconquhy a *Strwlee* 1512 *Book of the Dean of Lismore* p. 144 [in Gaelic]
Striweleich 1542 *Book of the Dean of Lismore* p. 186 [in Gaelic]
Streulyne 1542 *Book of the Dean of Lismore* p. 186 [in Gaelic]

Gaelic orthographical forms

go *Sruighle* c. 1658 *Niall mac Mhuirich*, NLS Adv. MS 72.1.50, fo. 4v²⁰
*an t-Sruibhleach*²¹ ante 1868 Iain Lom, l. 16 [original poem early 17th c.]
Sruidhleadh ante 1813 attr. Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir, l. 5853
Sribhlinn 1822 Ward, 1822
 ann an *Sruithlath* 1851 Caimbeul 1851, p. 64
Sruileadh 1890s *Tales from Highland Perthshire*, no. 100

18 Two other, later manuscripts of this chronicle have *ystrilig* and *ystriflig*; see next footnote for source and discussion.

19 This is from a note of the battle of Bannockburn ('a slaughter of the English') in 1314, in a Chronicle (up to 1321) in the 14th-century Welsh manuscript, the Red Book of Hergest, a full transcript of the prose of which is available on the Medieval Welsh Prose web-resource (rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk). A few short extracts from this Chronicle were published, including this one, in Historical Manuscripts Commission 1902, p. 3, though with the incorrect date of 1414. There are variant copies of it also in two 15th-century manuscripts. This Chronicle has now been edited from its three manuscripts by Rebecca Try in a forthcoming article: 'A Forgotten Welsh Chronology in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 5267B, Peniarth 50, and the Red Book of Hergest'. I am grateful to Myra Booth-Cockcroft for calling the Chronicle to my attention, to Dr Ben Guy for alerting me to the edition and to Ms Try for graciously supplying me with a pre-publication copy.

20 I am most grateful to Prof. William Gillies for supplying me with this form.

21 This appears to refer to a type of sword made in Stirling.

do Shruila 1890s *Tales from Highland Perthshire* no. 101
 na ropairean 'Shruileadh 1890s *Tales from Highland Perthshire*, no. 101²²
 Sruibhla 1896 *Mac-Talla* vol. 5
 faisg air Sruighleidh 1896 *Mac-Talla* vol. 8
 Sruibhle 1905–07 Whyte, *Naigheachdan Firinneach*
 Sruibhleadh 1910 MacDougall, *Folk Tales and Fairy Lore*, p. 168
 Carraig Shruibhleadh 1910 MacDougall, *Folk Tales and Fairy Lore*, p. 168
 an Sruibhlea 1938 *Bonn-steidh*, p. 10
 Sruighlea 1965 Laing 1965, 44

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²² The storyteller, Peter MacGregor, had been resident for a time in Stirling, see Dilworth, *Tales*, 569–70.

- 53, and of his son Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139–52, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge 1999).
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THE QUESTION OF THE ETYMOLOGY OF *DUNADD*,
A FORTRESS OF THE DALRIADIC SCOTS



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§1 INTRODUCTION

The origin of the Scots/English name *Dunadd*,¹ a former centre of the Dalriadic Scots (Bannerman 1974;² Skene 1876 II, 229–30), presents a puzzle.³ Evidence for the pronunciation and appropriate spelling of the modern Gaelic form of the name and its relation to historical forms and to more recent variants is presented below, together with an outline discussion of a number of topographically plausible, but linguistically problematic, derivations.

§2 THE TOPOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

The initial element *Dun-* (from OG *dún*; ScG *dùn*) – denotes a fortification on an outcrop that rises out of the flats of Crinan Moss (ScG *A' Mhòine Mhòr*) on the Kintyre peninsula (NR 836 935). This outcrop was first occupied around 300 BC – with habitation through to the 4/5th century AD when further fortifications were constructed (Lane and Campbell 2000a; 2000b) – and was fortified until at least the 8th century. The *dùn* remained a focus for ceremonial activities as late as the 16th century (Lane and Campbell 2000a).

Sea-level changes indicate that the *dùn*, having already been named, was an island or promontory in Crinan Bay (Lathe and Smith 2015) and that the local River Add was then only a local inflow to the estuary. The outcrop itself retained insular or promontory status until c. 460–770 AD and estuarine waters may have been present as late as 1,000 years ago (Lathe and Smith 2015).

1 Generally spelt *Dunadd* today, while Bannerman (1974, 16) uses the more traditional form *Dun Add* (cf. *Dun-Add*, Gillies 1906, xxii) in acknowledgement of its structure perhaps. Of note, earlier OS maps distinguished between the name of the *dùn*: *Dun Add*, and that of the adjacent village: *Dunadd* (e.g. OS 25 inch, Argyll and Bute, Sheet CLX.3 – Kilmichael Glassary – 1873). Variant forms of the name include *Dunnad*, *Dunnod* and *Dounaid* (Lane and Campbell 2000a) and *Dunad* (*OPS* II, 48).

2 After Skene, it was generally accepted that Dunadd was the chief seat of Cenél nGabráin; Bannerman (122–13), however, after Watson, argues that Dunadd was a Cenél Loairn stronghold.

3 As it was to Kenneth Jackson (1983, 231): ‘... in Dunadd and Dunollie, first mentioned in the late seventh century, the second elements are obscure.’

§3 EARLY DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The fortification is recorded as (gen.) *Duin Att* (683 CE)⁴ and (acc.) *Dun At* (736 CE)⁵ in the Annals of Ulster (AU; Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983), and as (acc.) *Dun Ad* (736 CE)⁶ in the Annals of Tigernach (AT; Ó Corráin 1996); no other geographical feature in Britain outwith the immediate vicinity appears to bear the name form *Ad*, *At* or *Att*.⁷

§4 SCOTTISH GAELIC /ad/ [aː]⁸

Watson's guide (1926, 45)⁹ to the modern Scottish Gaelic pronunciation of our name implies final /aːd/ [aːt̪], with a half-long vowel, which, in Michel Byrne's edition of George Campbell Hay's poem 'An Ceangal' (Byrne 2001 I, 104), is interpreted as *Dùn Àd*, with long /aː/ [aː]. In his original edition,¹⁰ Hay in fact uses the form *Dùn Ad*, without lengthmark, although this is not conclusive evidence of a short vowel because it was published before lengthmarks on capital letters became the recommended norm in Scottish Gaelic.¹¹ The poem's metre, however, indicates a short vowel:

*Seadh, chaith mi mo thìom 's mo dhìcheall ri dàin, fhìr chòir,
gan snaidheadh 's gan liomhadh sa bhinn chainnt is àrsaidh glòir,
an Dùn Àd a thug binn, is an Ì a rinn cràbhadh fòil,
a labhair mo shìnsre 's na rìghrean an Sgàin o thòs. (Byrne, loc. cit.¹²)*

4 *Obsesio Duin Att*. Anderson (1922 I, 191 note 3) gives *Duin Aitt* in error, perhaps genitivising *Att* by virtue of the following *obsessio Dúin Duirn* in the same annal entry. *Att* is already in the genitive after *dún*.

5 *obtenuit Dun At*.

6 *obtenuit Dun Ad*.

7 Note also *Dunad* for *Dùn Athad*, Islay (Thompson, 1824), for which see §8. *Dunnet Head*, Caithness, with stress on first syllable, appears to have a different basis: 1223–24 *Donof* (Sutherland Charters, in *OPS* II, 788); 1275 Prebenda de *Dunost* (*Bagimond's Roll*, 51, though the MS possibly has *dunofc*); 1276 Ecclesia de *Dunost* (*Bagimond's Roll*, 69) – with thanks to Simon Taylor for these references.

8 Because of the similarity of name forms below, both phonemic and phonetic transcriptions are given.

9 'with a tendency to long *a*; it is pronounced as if it were spelled *Athd*', i.e. [aːd̪].

10 Deòrsa Caimbeul Hay, *Fuaran Sléibh* (1948), 54.

11 Recommended in the Gaelic Orthographic Conventions 2005.

12 'Yes, I have spent my time [and my greatest energies on poems, dear man], | chipping them and polishing them in the sweet speech of ancient utterance, | that delivered judgement in Dunadd, and that practised quiet piety in Iona, | the speech my forefathers spoke, and the kings in Scone from the beginning.' (*ibid.*).

This is not atypical of Hay's fondness for elaborate ornamentation, with internal and end rhyme¹³ as follows:

Fig. 1

Line	[a]	[i:]	[i:]	[a:] + stressless vowel + [ɔ:]
a	<i>caith</i>	<i>thìom</i>	<i>dhìcheall</i>	<i>dàin, fhìr chòir</i>
b	<i>snaidheadh</i>	<i>liomhadh</i>	<i>bhinn</i>	<i>àrsaidh glòir</i>
c	<i>Àd</i>	<i>binn</i>	<i>Ì</i>	<i>cràbhadh fòil</i>
d	<i>labhair</i>	<i>shinnsre</i>	<i>rìghrean</i>	<i>Sgàin o thòs</i>

Clearly, *Àd* here should read *Ad* in order to rhyme with *caith*, *snaidheadh* and *labhair*.¹⁴

Watson (ibid.) draws a distinction between the Gaelic pronunciation of the name of the *dùn* and the name of the river: 'At the present day, as I am informed by competent authorities, the river is locally *Abhainn Ad*, with no final *a*, and without the article', and the distinction between a short vowel in the river name and a half-long vowel in the *dùn*-name makes it, in Watson's view, 'more than doubtful' whether it is justified to assume, with Skene, that the two names cannot be separated from each other, concluding that 'we may safely leave the river *Add* out of the account'.

On the contrary, because of their proximity to each other, it seems likely that the two names are indeed connected, but that the river was named in association with the fort, long after the fort itself was named (§2, above). Furthermore, Watson's distinction between the pronunciation of the river and fort names is reconciled by noting that sporadic lengthening of short to half-long, sometimes long, vowels is found in the Gaelic dialect of the area.¹⁵

It might also be noted that a Scottish Gaelic form **Àd* (with a long vowel) should have made the folk etymology (*An*) *Abhainn Fhada* 'the long river' (with

13 In the form of assonance between (usually first-syllable) stressed vowels.

14 The metre is borne out in the second stanza: *Thèid sibh, a dhàin, thèid gu dàna, gun fhiaradh ròid, | ag èigheach 's gach àird rim luchd clàistneachd fìor chiall mo cheòil: | 'Troimh cheusadh is sàrach nan Gàidheal tha 'n dian fhuil beò, | is cha trèig iad an làrach gus an smàlar a' ghrian fo-dheòidh.* ('You will go, poems, you will go boldly, not looking aside on your road, | crying to my listeners in all the airts the true meaning of my music: | "Through the crucifixion and trials of the Gaels their fervid blood lives on, | and they will not forsake the field of battle till the sun is blotted out in the end."').

15 E.g. *na bi fada!* [na bi f̥ɑ.ɖə] 'don't be long!' (*LASID* IV, 227: Mid-Argyll, s.v. *ruith*); see also Cox 2010, 77–82.

a short vowel) less likely (§5, below), although folk etymologies frequently fail to observe phonetic realities. In addition, an original short vowel is likely to be understood in Dick and Bannerman's *Dùn Ad* (1987, 7–8) and in Slí Colmcille's Ir. *Dún Ad*, ScG *Dùn Ad*.¹⁶

§5 SCG *DÙN AD* – SCOTS/ENG. *DUNADD*

It seems, therefore, that the modern Gaelic form of the name of the fort should be taken to be *Dùn Ad*, with /ad/ [a_ɪ], i.e. with a short vowel in the specific element, although this is sporadically half-long in the local dialect. As far as the Scots/English form *Dunadd* is concerned, the final double *-dd* is mirrored in the nearby name *Badden* from ScG (*Am*) *Badan* '(the) thicket; (the) grove' (OS six inch 1843–82), from ScG *bad* m. + diminutive suffix *-an*.

§6 OG *DÚN AT*

Given the annalistic forms AU *Att*, *At* and AT *Ad* (§3, above), and given ScG *Ad* and Scots/Eng. *Add* (§§4–5, above), a progression of sorts in the written forms might be sought, but this would only be valid if the phonetic values of those forms matched the historical development of sounds from one linguistic period to another within the one language or from one language to another. However, OG orthographic *Att*, *At* and *Ad* do not formally equate with each other: they represent different phonemes (distinctive units in terms of meaning) in the language and only one of them can formally be correct in terms of representing the pronunciation at the time (see Appendix).

Following a broad vowel, post-stress double OG *-tt* nominally indicates OG voiceless /t/ *[t̪], which yields fortis or preaspirated *-t* /t/ [t̪]^h in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. OG *catt* (< L *cattus*) > ScG *cat* /kat/ [k^ha^(h)t̪] 'cat';¹⁷ post-stress single OG *-t* nominally indicates voiced /d/ *[d̪], which yields lenis or unaspirated *-d* /d/ [d̪] in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. OG *fot*, *fat* > ScG *fad* 'length';¹⁸ while post-stress single OG *-d* nominally indicates a voiced dental fricative /ð/ *[ð̪], which yields a velar fricative /ɣ/ [ɣ̪] (written *-dh*) in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. OG *fid* 'tree; wood' > ScG *fiodh* 'wood'. Scribes, however, were not always consistent, as indicated by the variation *Ad*, *At*, *Att* of the annals. Nevertheless, a modern Gaelic *ad* /ad/ [a_ɪ] would be expected to derive – all other things be equal – from an OG *at* /ad/ *[a_ɪ], the form mirrored in AU 736 *Dun At*, rather than from AU 683 (gen.) *Duin Att* or AT 736 *Dun Ad*.

16 <http://www.gaidhlig.colmcille.org/earra-ghaidheal/6-01-30/8/17>.

17 Unhelpfully, besides *-tt*, single *-t* is occasionally used to indicate voiceless /t/; further, *-tt* is occasionally used to indicate voiced /d/.

18 Further, double *-dd* is occasionally used to indicate voiced /d/.

Fig. 2

OG		ScG	
<-tt>	/t/ *[t̪]	<-t>	/t/ [t̪][^h t̪]
<-t>	/d/ *[d̪]	<-d>	/d/ [d̪]
<-d>	/ð/ *[ð̪]	<-dh>	/ɣ/ [ɣ̪]

§7 A DERIVATION FROM SCG *FADA* ‘LONG’

Early opinion on the origin of the name focused on the location of the *dùn* in proximity to the present-day course of the (River) Add. Skene ventures that the *dùn* took its name from the river, identifying the latter with Ptolemy’s *Longus fl[uvius]*, although this is now generally accepted to be Loch Linnhe.¹⁹ Skene interprets Ptolemy’s *Longus fl[uvius]* as ‘long river’, which Skene (I, 68) then renders as *Avon Fhada*, i.e. ScG *Abhainn Fhada* ‘long river’, suggesting that the final element might be a contraction of lenited ScG *fhada* (with silent *fh*) – but this is dismissed by Watson (1926, 45) on phonological grounds (§4, above).²⁰

Folk etymology yields the modern Gaelic form *Dùn Fhad* (e.g. Stiùbhart 2005, 27); this is predicated upon Skene’s notional form for the river, i.e. (*An*) *Abhainn Fhada*, an etymology which is at least as old as the late 17th century: *abuīn Fhada*, i.e. *Abhainn Fhada* (Niall MacMhuirich in *Reliquiae Celtica* II, 162); cf. Gillies (1906, xxii) who writes ‘**Dun-Add**, named upon the river Add (which is really **Fada**, *long*, with **f** aspirated away), *the fort upon the (river) Add*’; so also Johnston (1903, 109): *dùn fhada* ‘long hill’ or ‘fort’.

However, while lenition of an attributive adjective is expected after (radical case) feminine *abhainn*, no explanation is offered by proponents of the folk etymology for the lenition of *fada* after (radical case) masculine²¹ *dùn*; the reason why *fada* (OG *fota*, *fata*) has undergone apocope in this context, yielding **fad*, is also unexplained.²²

19 Thomas (1875) superimposed Ptolemy’s cartographical distances on a modern map, identifying Loch Linnhe, an identification endorsed by Rivet and Smith 1979, 141, and Isaac 2004. Indeed, the major cleft that marks the beginning of the Great Glen was overtly far more relevant to early cartographers than Crinan Bay, which is diminutive by comparison.

20 MacKenzie (1931, 87 and 100) suggests that ‘Add’, along with several other stream names, simply means ‘water’ but offers nothing to support his hypothesis.

21 Or neuter: OG *dún* was formerly neuter, later masculine.

22 The final schwa *[ə] in the form *Dùn Ada* given in the dictionary *Am Faclair Beag* (<http://www.faclair.com/>) may have arisen in partial response to this folk etymology,

§8 CONFUSION WITH ISLAY'S *DÙN ATHAD*

Dwelly's dictionary (1902–11) gives the form *Dùn Athad* for Dunadd; so also Taylor 2011, and this is the form used in a comparatively recent online article on the poet Iain MacLachlainn.²³ There seems to be no support, however, for a disyllabic form *Athad* at Crinan, either in historical forms, in literature, or in similar traces of the river name. It is possible that the modern variant form arose through confusion with the Islay name *Dùn Athad* (also *Dunad*, Thomson 1824), of a hillfort (NR 2849 4070) on a promontory six miles SW of Port Ellen, cited by the poet Uilleam MacDhùnLèibhe (1882, 5 and 201²⁴) and, slightly earlier, in an article on a botanical excursion to the island in 1844 (Balfour 1845, 39: 'Dunad or Dùn Athad'²⁵). However, the extant Islay fortification appears to be of relatively recent construction, and the form of its name may be no more than a latter-day (mis-)commemoration of Dunadd itself (Macniven 2015, 84²⁶), although this would leave the provenance of the form *Athad* at Crinan unaccounted for.

§9 A DERIVATION FROM OG *ÁTH* 'FORD'

OG *áth* 'ford' (ScG *àth* 'ford; isthmus or bridge of land between two sheets of water'²⁷) + suffix of place or moving water,²⁸ is potentially suitable from a

cf. /ɸu:n 'aɸ/ and /ɸu:n 'aɸə/ (Nils Holmer's notebooks; with thanks to Jacob King and Àdhamh Ó Broin).

23 John MacLachlann of Rahoy, Morven: *ged a bhuineadh e do Cloinn Ic Lachlainn Dhùn Athad an meadhan Earra-Ghàidheal* ('though he belonged to the MacLachlans of Dùn Athad in Mid-Argyll') http://www.bbc.co.uk/alba/oran/people/lighiche_iain_maclachlainn_rathuaidh/-30/8/17.

24 William Livingstone of Islay in 'Na Lochlannaich an Ìle' ('the Norse in Islay'): (gen.) *Bha 'm freiceadan air Mùr Dhùn-athad* ('the watch was on the wall of *Dùn Athad*'); and in 'Rannan do Uilleam Mac Ille Chrìosd' ('stanzas to Uilleam Mac Ille Chrìosd'): (voc.) *a Dhùn Ard-Athad* ('O fort of high *Athad*').

25 Dwelly includes several forms provided by Watson in his list of place-names, but his *Dùn Athad* is not marked as one of them; he may have acquired the form from Balfour's article.

26 The Canmore database states that 'The natural advantages of this site may have invited fortification from prehistoric or Early Historic times' (<https://canmore.org.uk/site/37290/islay-dun-athad#812104>) and the prominence may well have been inhabited in earlier times.

27 Cf. (Isle of Lewis) *Dùn Àtha* 'the (rocky) mound of the isthmus' (Cox 2002, 272), with gen. sg. of *àth*.

28 ScG *-(a)id/-id*, e.g. *Blathaid* (Watson 1904, 198; Eng. *Blaad*) < OG **Bláit* with OG *blá* 'green, field; place'. For further examples, see Watson, *ibid.*, xxxviii; Watson 1926, 444–45; (Fife) Taylor with Márkus V, 287.

topographical point of view. An *áth* + suffixed *t* would spontaneously yield /ɑ:t/ *[ɑ:t̪] in Old Gaelic, with simplification of the consonant cluster – cf. OG *nerta* for **nertta* from **nerthta*, gen. of *nerthath*, *nerthad* ‘strengthening’ (Thurneyson 1972, 87) – but retaining a long vowel, as in ScG *Ràtagan* with /ɑ:t/ [ɑ:t̪] (Eng. *Ratagan*, Ross-shire) < OG *ráth* ‘fort’ + dental suffix + suffixes -*óc* + -*án* (Watson 1904, 172), and so can be dismissed.

§10 A DERIVATION FROM OG *ATT* ‘SWELLING, PROTUBERANCE’

OG *att* is a topographically suitable candidate; it denotes a ‘swelling’ or ‘protuberance’ or – it might be inferred – an ‘outcrop’ or ‘promontory’, and would simply have been descriptive of the particular topography: an outcrop on the former estuarine flats of Crinan Moss.

However, the phonological evidence argues that an OG **Att* would yield ScG **At* /at/ [a^ht̪], which is impossible to reconcile with Scottish Gaelic *Dùn Ad* and its modern pronunciation or with any other documented Gaelic forms of the name.

§11 A DERIVATION FROM OG *ATT* ‘HEAD-COVERING, HAT, HOOD, HELMET’

ON *hattr*, *hōttr* m. ‘hat; (in place-names) round hill’ yields OG *att* m. ‘head-covering, hat, hood, helmet’ (*DIL*, s.v.; Marstrander 1915, 30, 98), with Old Norse long -*tt* yielding an expected double -*tt* /t/ *[t̪] in Old Gaelic, and employing one of a number of strategies used over time for dealing with Old Norse loans in initial *h-*, here with loss of the aspirate.

OG *att* is found in various compounds in Old Gaelic, e.g. *clocat* ‘helmet’, *gallat* ‘foreign helmet’, *máelat* ‘chain-mail hood’, where an original voiceless dental as final of a stressed syllable yields a voiced dental as final of an unstressed syllable in compound, e.g. OG *cloc* + *att* > OG *clocat*, which yields ScG *clogad* m. regularly.²⁹

OG *att* would be expected to yield ScG **at* with fortis or preaspirated -*t* /t/ [t̪][^ht̪]. Accordingly, ScG *ad(a)* f. ‘hat’, with final /d/ [t̪], is most probably a borrowing from Scots *hat*, although the former may conceivably have been influenced by the final of *clogad*³⁰ itself and of the semantically-related loan-

29 With compounds from OG *cloc* ‘bell’ (ScG *clag*, *clog*) + *att*; OG *gall* ‘foreigner’ (ScG *idem*) + *att*; OG *máel* ‘cropped head > crown of head’ (ScG *maol*) + *att*. For OG *clocat* and related issues, see Ó Cuiv 1976. Cf. Latin *sagitta* > OG *saiget* > ScG *saighead* ‘arrow’.

30 Feminine ScG *ad(a)* may have been the impetus for the initial rise of feminine instances of ScG *clogad*, which in turn yielded *clogaid* (through the nominativisation of the feminine dative form *clogaid*).

word *bonaid* 'bonnet' – otherwise ScG **at(a)* would have been forthcoming, cf. *còta* < Eng. *coat*.³¹

Given the above, a phonological link between ScG *ad(a)* and OG *att* cannot be made. In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that an original OG *att* yielded ScG *at* (regularly) and then *ad* through phonemic substitution³² once *ad* 'hat' had become standard in the language.³³

§12 CONCLUSION

While it might be argued on the basis of antiquity that AU *Att* is the authoritative historical form and that it would yield modern Gaelic **At*, which could mean 'swelling' etc., which would be topographically appropriate, one would have to accept that all Scottish Gaelic renditions of the name, written and otherwise, are aberrations, as well as Scots/Eng. *Add*.

The cut of Occam's razor would favour identifying AU *At* as the probable authoritative Old Gaelic form because of the modern Gaelic renditions of the name and, subsequently, Scots/Eng. *Add*, a scenario allowing for annalistic scribes to have used *Att* in error for *At* at one time and, innovatively, *Ad* for *At* at another.

Without evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that there is a phonological link between the Old Gaelic and modern Gaelic forms. The modern Gaelic pronunciation suggests that AU *At*, rather than AU *Att*, is the appropriate Old Gaelic spelling of the second element in our name, while orthographic innovation seems to be present in AT *Ad*, for former *At*.

Accordingly, all the derivations posited above can be dismissed on linguistic grounds for one reason or another: (§7) OG *fota*, *fata* 'long', with lenition and apocope unaccounted for; (§9) OG *áth* 'ford' + suffixed *-t*, which would yield a long vowel and a fortis or preaspirated consonant in modern Gaelic; (§10) OG

31 Modern Ir. *hata* derives from Eng. *hat*, cf. Ir. *cóta* < Eng. *coat*. (It should be noted that the development of Old Gaelic (and Old Norse) to Scottish Gaelic, on the one hand, and the development of Scots and modern English to Scottish Gaelic (in particular the development of plosives), on the other, do not always follow the same patterns.)

32 Cox 2009, 19–25; 19, n. 10.

33 Despite the semantic and phonological similarities between the etymologically distinct OG *att* 'swelling' and OG *att* 'hat', any apparent link is fortuitous – in the same way that the apparent link between the etymologically distinct Eng. *cape* 'promontory' and Eng. *cap* 'hat' is: Eng. *cape* being an adaptation of Fr. *cap* 'head', ultimately from Lat. *caput* 'head', Eng. *cap* (via OE *cæppe*) having been adopted from late Lat. *cappe* 'cap, head-covering' (*OED*).

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att ‘protuberance’ and (§11) OG *att* ‘hat’, both of which would yield a fortis or preaspirated consonant in modern Gaelic.

Given the distinctive topographical history of the area, it is tempting to see the transmutation from the annalistic forms *Att*, *At* and *Ad* to modern ScG *Ad* and Scots/Eng. *Add* as supporting a derivation of the final element in our name from OG *att* ‘swelling’ > ‘protuberance’. However, our central conclusion is that ScG *Dùn Ad* (yielding Scots/Eng. *Dunadd*) results from an earlier OG *Dún At*, a development which neither supports a derivation from the phonologically distinct OG *att* ‘swelling’ nor from any of the other proposed derivations discussed above. Because the fortification was first inhabited in around 300 BCE (Lane and Campbell 2000a; 2000b), conceivably before the arrival of the Dalriadic Scots or Gaels, it seems plausible that the Gaels adopted an earlier, Pictish or Brittonic, name for the *dùn*.³⁴

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34 As Wainwright (1955, 30) poses, ‘Was Dunadd a Pictish fortress before the Scots settled in Argyll?’

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APPENDIX

While the language of AU 683, AU 736 and AT 736 is Latin, the forms of the name Dunadd in these entries are cited using Gaelic orthography. This conclusion is supported by similar usage employed for other Scottish or presumed Scottish fort or stronghold names cited between 638–736, during which time 'Scottish events are recorded .. with progressively greater detail' and after which time Iona input to the annals is thought to cease (Bannerman 1974, 9–11):³⁵

³⁵ The following is based on Bannerman's list (1974, 15, n. 39), before presenting which he notes that 'AT will not be consulted on this point, for they have been tampered with to a considerable degree. An extreme example is the translation of some of the entries, which in AU are in Latin, into Irish.' Names from AT with parallels in AU

1. AU 712 *obsesio Aberte* is understood to contain the genitive of a name denoting modern English *Dunaverty* (Watson 1926, 236–37), containing the genitive of the Old Gaelic man's name *Ábartach*. An original *[*Dún*] *Ábartaig* or *Ábertig* (with fricatives *b* [β] and *g* [ɣ]) yields ScG *Dùn Ábhartaich*. For the omission of *dún*, cf. nos. 2, 3, 10.

2. AU 736 *combussit Creic* AT 736 *combussit Creic* contains an accusative name form equated by Skene with *Creich*, Mull (Skene 1867, cxxxi) but later on with the remains of an otherwise unnamed fort on the Craignis promontory, Argyll (Skene 1876 I, 290). Potentially, this might be the accusative of an OG **Crec* '[the] rock' (cf. modern ScG *creag*). For the potential omission of *dún*, cf. nos. 1, 3, 10.

3. AU 638 *obsesio Etin* is recorded in the Pictish Chronicle as *oppidum Eden*, the modern ScG *Dùn Èideann*, Dunedin or Edinburgh, 'which correctly represents OW *Eitin*, and [OG] *Etin*' (Watson 1926, 340–42). For the omission of *dún*, cf. nos. 1, 2, 10. For the dental consonant, see no. 15, below.

4. AU 683 *obsessio Dúin Duirn* is understood to denote modern English *Dundurn*, Loch Earn (Watson 1926, 488), with the genitive of an OG **Dún Duirn* 'the fort of the fist', with gen. sg. of *dorn* m.; so ScG *Dùn Dùirn*.

5. AU 681 *obsessio Duin Foither*; AU 694 *obsesio Duin Fother* is understood to denote modern English *Dunottar*, Stonehaven (Watson 1926, 509–12), with the genitive of an of an OG **Dún Foither* 'the fort of the slopes', with gen. pl. of OG *foither*; representable by a modern ScG **Dùn F(h)oithear*.

6. AU 734 *Dun Leithfinn distruitur* contains an unidentified name form, but the specific element of a nominative OG **Dún Léithfinn* or **Dún Léith Finn* (with lenited *f*-) might consist of the genitive of an OG **Liath Finn*, with *liath* m. 'grey place'³⁶ + *finn* adj. 'white; light-coloured; small'.

7. AU 686 *combustit Tula Aman Duin Ollaigh*; AU 698 *combusti(o) Duin Onlaigh*; AU 701 *distructio Duin Onlaigh*; AU 714 *Dun Ollaigh construitur*; AT 714 *Dun Ollaig construitur* (see note 35, above); AU 734 *iuxta Arcem Ollaigh*

are, however, cited below, and show some innovation in Gaelic orthography, viz (no. 12, below) AU *Credi* : AT *Credhi* (MS *credi*) marking lenition; (no. 14) AU *A<i>len* : AT *Ail[l]ean* marking the non-palatal quality of the final consonant; and (no. 15) AU *Att, At* : AT *Ad* in which /d/ is represented by *d*, while *d* = /ð/ is now rendered *dh* in (no. 12) AT *Credhi*; on the other hand, (no. 7) AU *Ollaigh* (MS *Ollaig*.) marks lenition : AT *Ollaig* does not – though only in the sense that the contraction in MS *Oll* is interpreted as *aig*, rather than as *aig*.

36 For the colour's use in Irish place-names, see Joyce 1893, 284–85.

contain a name form understood to denote modern English *Dunollie*, Oban (Watson 1926, 508–09), and in each case (notwithstanding the Latin acc. *arcem* ‘fortification’ in AU 734) represents the genitive of an OG **Dún O(n)llaig*, perhaps with the genitive of a masculine personal name **O(n)llach*. An OG **Dún O(n)llaig* would be expected to yield modern ScG **Dùn Òllaich* or **Dùn Amhlaich* or similar,³⁷ and the current ScG form *Dùn Olla* suggests that any original nasal consonant (or replacement long vowel) has been lost due to some folk etymology or due to the influence of the English form.

8. AU 712 *combustio Tairpirt Boitter*; AU 731 *combustio Tairpirt Boittir* has been equated with modern English *Tarbert*, Loch Fyne (Bannerman 1974, 113), and may represent an OG **Tairbert Boittir*. OG *tairbert*, whose original sense ‘carrying’ has been extended to ‘isthmus, a tongue of land between two sheets of water’, is frequent in place-names in Scotland. **Boittir* is obscure, although it looks enticingly like it might derive from an OG **báitte + tír* ‘flooded ground’³⁸ but, even were such a compound relevant, there seems to be no reason not to have expected **báittir*.³⁹

9. AU 680 *obsesio Duin Baitte*, with the genitive of an OG **Dún Baitte*, is compared by Bannerman (1974, 16, n. 8) with acc. *Dún mBáithe* found in the medieval tale ‘Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin’ (Binchy 1975, 68⁴⁰), but *-th-* would not have derived from *-tt-*.

10. AU 641 *obsesio Rithe*; AU 703 *obsessio Rithe* contains an unidentified genitive name form. For the potential omission of *dún*, cf. nos. 1, 2, 3.

11. AU 692 *obsesio Duin Deauē Diksi* contains an unidentified genitive name form, although Reeves (1857, 378 e) suggests (nom.) ‘Dun-Deauē’ is possibly *Dundaff*, Stirling.

12. AU 728 *iuxta Castellum Credi*; AT 728 *iter Picardachaib ac Caislen*

37 Cf. the ScG man’s name *Amhlaigh* < ON *Óláfr* via ON **Á*laifr* (Cox 2007, 141 + n. 5).

38 With the verbal adjective of OG *báidid*, also *báthaid*, ‘he drowns’; cf. ScG *Bàideanach* (Eng. *Badenoch*; Watson 1926, 118), in which an original *-t(t)* has been voiced in juxtaposition to the suffix *n-*, before the development of an epenthetic vowel.

39 Blaeu’s *The Battle Yle*, denoting a boat-shaped islet in East Loch Tarbert, is apparently preserved in the soubriquet George Campbell Hay uses to sign his poem *Aisling* (‘a vision’) in the periodical *An Gàidheal* (XXXV.1, 12; Byrne 2000 I, 6–5, II, 100); *Eilean A’ Chomhraig* (sic; ‘the island of the battle’). However, the islet is named *Eilean a’ Chòca* ‘the island of the boat’ on the OS 6 inch to 1 mile map.

40 Modern Ir. *Dún Baoi*, Eng. *Dunboy* – Cox and Ó Baoill 2015, 16, n. 8.

Credhi (see note 35, above) contain an unidentified name, although AU 728 is translated by MacAirt and MacNiocaill as ‘near Caisel Créidi’, i.e. with an OG **Caisel Créidi* ‘the castle of *Créidhe*’, with gen. of the woman’s name. AT employs the diminutive form of the generic, i.e. *caislén*.⁴¹

13. AU 725 *Ailen m[aic] Craich construitur*; AT 725 *Ailen Maic Craich construitur* contain an unidentified name translated by MacAirt and MacNiocaill as ‘the [fortified] island of *Craich*’s son’. The generic here is OG *ailén* ‘island’⁴², which O’Sullivan (2004, 5) renders ‘crannog’ in English, cf. no. 14.

14. AT 703 *Ailleán Daingean aedificatur*; AU 714 *Alen Daingen destruitur* contains an unidentified name, referred to as ‘an unknown crannog’ by O’Sullivan (2004, 5). From a Gaelic point of view, the specific element must be the Old Gaelic adjective *daingen* ‘fortified’ etc., ScG *daingean*. Possibly, we are dealing with an appellative rather than a place-name here, viz OG **ailén daingen* ‘a fortified crannog’. For the generic, cf. no. 13.

15. AU 683 *obsesio Duin Att*; AU 736 *obtenuit Dun At*; AT 736 *obtenuit Dun Ad*. The evidence from nos. 1–14, above, suggests that the place-names cited in the entries concerned are, with two minor exceptions, cited entirely using Gaelic orthography. The minor exceptions (in nos. 7 and 12) are simply the substitution of Latin words – *castellum* for *caiséil*; *arx* for *dún* – following use of the Latin preposition *iuxta* ‘near’, while the specifics themselves are still cited in Gaelic orthography.

It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that **Dún At* in AU and AT is also written using Gaelic orthography. The representation by *-t* of post-stress OG /d/ **[t̪]* is not, unfortunately, always consistent (§6, above), hence AU 683 (gen.) *Duin Att*; AU 736 (acc.) *Dun At*; AT 736 (acc.) *Dun Ad* – with which inconsistency we may compare AU 736 (gen.) *Dail Riatai*; AM⁴³ 2859.2 (dat.) *Dál Riada*; AM 165.1 (nom.) *Dál Riata*; and AM 572.3 (gen.) *Dal Riatta*. In both of these names, what became ScG *-d* in modern *Dùn Ad* and *Dàl Riada* would have been formally represented by *-t* in Old Gaelic, i.e. *Dún At* and *Dál Riata*; while, in the later Annals of Tigernach, the use of *-d* in the one name – i.e. AT 736 *Dun Ad* – is

41 Ir. and ScG *caisel* derive from Lat. *castellum* (Mc Manus 1983, 65); EG *caistéil* (so ScG *caisteal* with open [a] in the second syllable) derives from Anglo-Norman (Vendryes C–23).

42 From which, rounding dominates in modern Ir. *oileán*, but raising in modern ScG *eilean*.

43 AM = Annals of the Four Masters.

mirrored by the use of *-d* in the other name in all cases but one – viz AT 673 (gen.) *Dail Riata* – thus AT 717, 733 (gen.) *Dal Riada*; AT 723 (gen.) *Dal Ríada*; AT 731 (acc.) *Dal Riada*; AT 733, 736 (gen.) *Dail Riada*; see note 35, above.⁴⁴

The orthographic innovation in the representation of a post-vocalic dental stop from *-t* in Old Gaelic to *-d* in the later language is further seen in the development of OG [*Dún*] *Etin* to ScG *Dùn Èideann* (no. 3, above).

44 OG *Dál Riata* (ScG *Dàl Riada*; Scots/Eng. *Dalriada*) ‘the tribal territory of *Riata*’, a ‘[p]roto-kingdom of Northern Ireland that later flourished in Gaelic Scotland’, with the specific element from ‘the mythological ancestor *Eochu Riata*’ (MacKillop 1998, 113).

LEAPS OF THE IMAGINATION: THE LEAP TRADITION IN SCOTLAND

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This paper looks at the widespread, though now little noticed, tradition of naming prominent chasms or declivities in Scotland and particularly in the Highlands as a 'leap, a *leum* or a *loup*'. The most publicised 'leap', *The Soldier's Leap* over the river Garry at Killiecrankie in Perthshire, is today treated as a unique historical event and it is also a site for essentialist tropes regarding the character of the Gaelic Highlander. A recent research study recorded the following explanation of this 'leap' from a minibus driver/guide:

Chris describes the Battle of Killiecrankie and *The Soldier's Leap* which he tells us is 23 feet wide. Although he expresses some doubts about it himself he can understand that it is believable because 'if I was being chased by 300 ginger-haired, hairy Highlanders brandishing claymores, I would make that jump.' (Maclean 2014, 194)

This shallow understanding of *The Soldier's Leap* is perhaps part of a broader pathology. In his paper 'A Gleaner's Vision', in which he discusses the contribution of Thoms to the discipline of folklore collection, W. F. H. Nicolaisen says

What has hardly ever been discussed, however, is the major metaphor [...] underlying Thoms's [...] basic notion of a fragmented fossilisation of the past and present, the contrast between the harvester and the gleaner. (1995, 73)

It is the

gleaner's vision that bothers [Nicolaisen] most [...] he [Thoms] links it to a limited vision and thus, [...], turned generations of folklorists into gleaners and not harvesters.

This paper is an attempt to 'reap' from the 'past and present' record a richer harvest of comprehension of a once widespread phenomenon that can now be gleaned in only a few locations.

Nicolaisen himself laid down the groundwork. In 1968 he contributed a paper on the subject of the 'Prodigious Jump' to the *Volksüberlieferung Festschrift* in honour of Kurt Ranke. In 2011, this paper was reprinted in a collection of his work, *In the Beginning was the Name*. Nicolaisen, who makes the key point that the legend is the source of the place-name, also starts his consideration with *The Soldier's Leap* at Killiecrankie. He concentrates on Irish (noting the existence

of over 60 examples from Ireland) and Scottish examples for which he lists several: Rob Roy's Leap in MacGregor country; Maggie's Loup in East Lothian; *Leum Ruaraidh* (Rorrie's Leap) in Ross-shire; *Leum na Fèinne* (The Fenian Men's Leap) in Badenoch; *Leum Odair* (Odin's Leap) in North Uist; and Barry, Scabby and Matty's Loups in the Rhinns of Galloway. He mentions Crichope Linn over which there is Burleigh's Leap where a Covenanter, Balfour of Burleigh, escaped from dragoons by leaping over the *linn* (1968, 49). He describes one leap thus:

On Loch Ness side we have *Leum Ailein Mhic Raonuill*, Allan MacRanald's leap, where Allan MacRanald of Lundie was pursued after the massacre of the MacKenzies at Kilchrist, near Beauly, escaped by two desperate leaps, one across a deep chasm in a stream and the other into the loch itself from which he was ultimately rescued ... (1968, 49)

His paper locates such leaps within Stith Thompson's *The Motif Index of Folk-literature* (1955/58) where it has the classificatory number F1071, 'The prodigious leaper'. Nicolaisen also draws connections to other motifs, such as F1071.2.1 'Man clears river of enormous width in one leap', A972.5.2 'Chasms between rocks mark leaps of giants, heroes etc.', F684 'Marvellous Jumper', F989.1.1 'Horse's Tremendous leap', H1149.10 'Task: jumping across river in one bound' and H1562.4 'Test of strength: Prodigious jump' (47).

He traces their distribution across northern Europe, particularly in the German-speaking areas, and to one instance (a story similar to *The Soldier's Leap*) in North America where a Captain Samuel Brady leapt across the Cuyahoga River, Ohio.

Of the approximately 120 'leaps' so far noted by me in Scotland, they are normally over a river gorge, such as the Garry at Killiecrankie or the Findhorn or a cliff-edge chasm or geo as at *Dùn Èistean* (Ness, Lewis), though occasionally a gap between the land and an off-shore island and in some cases across prominent landscape elements. Where the architectural characteristics permit, they can be associated with man-made structures such as the castles of Old Wick, Huntingtower or Borthwick.

The 'leaper' can take various forms and it is possible to see a number of sub-sets with the range encompassing both Christ and the Devil. For example, the MacLagan manuscripts – around 9,000 items of folklore collected over a century ago as part of a survey entitled *Folklore of the West Highlands* – records that marks on rocks on the shore at Grass Point on Mull are said to resemble the footprints of a horse bearing the Devil (MacLagan, MML 7960a.2, Record no. 8296). There are mythic animals such as the MacLagan record of a Kelpie – a water horse – on Isle of Arran (MML 5795.a.1, Record 6917). There are giants and witches, one of the latter linked with the fort at Dunadd: near the fort's summit,

on a level surface of rock, beside the image of a wild boar, the print of the human foot is carved out of the rock – it is now thought that these images are associated with the crowning ceremony of the kings of Dalriada.

But Seton Gordon has ‘another fanciful tradition to account for this old footmark. It is said that the witch of Cruachan, landing after a great leap from the mighty hill above dark Loch Awe, landed here and left the mark of her foot’ (Gordon 1995, 335). Though ‘fanciful’, the ceremony site and Cruachan – ‘the sacred mountain of Argyll’ (Campbell 1999, 21) – appear to be now conflated in what may well represent a continuing tradition.

In the Ossianic tales of the Fianna (of which the heroes Fionn and Cú Chulainn are most prevalent), the leap is either the feat of the hero or is a mark of prowess.

For instance, *Leum Fhinn* (Fionn’s Leap) on the island of Baleshare, North Uist, is ‘where there are two hills together, one larger than the other, on the side of which Fionn sat placing his feet laterally on the hillside and pushing them with a view to making a tunnel through the hill. The earth became the little hill. The side of the larger hill, where the tunnel was said to be, is called *Simealair Fhionn* [Fionn’s Chimney] and the space between the two hills is called *Leam Fhionn* [Fionn’s Leap]’ (MacLagan MML 0729b.2, Record no. 899).

Such feats result in contrasting outcomes for the two heroes. For example, Seton Gordon – citing Professor W. J. Watson as his source – relates that the island of Loch Iubhair in Glen Dochart, near Luib, has a leap narrative associated with Fionn:

There lived a man named Taileachd whose sweetheart was one of the Sidhe [fairies]. Fionn too fell in love with her. In a stormy meeting between Taileachd and Fionn the fairy woman spoke as follows: ‘He of you who gains the victory in a leap will I follow with pleasure.’ Taileachd leaped from the isle to the mainland shore, and Fionn had no difficulty in making the same jump. Taileachd then said that they must carry out the leap backwards, and this he did successfully, but when it came to Fionn’s turn he just failed to reach the mainland shore and sank into the mud as high as his neck. Taileachd, before Fionn could move, struck off his head with his sword. (Seton Gordon 1949, 69)

Seton Gordon tells us that the Fingalians found Fionn’s head and put a finger under his ‘tooth of knowledge’ to learn that Taileachd was hiding in a cave on Ben Alder. They found him there and, after striking off his right and left hands and burning out his eyes with boiling beer, drove their spears through his heart (70).

Cú Chulainn, however, has a better leaping career and his salmon-leap

appears to be the most celebrated of Cú Chulainn's twenty-one *geasan* – tricks or devices such as the apple-feat, the edge-feat, the supine-feat and the *gae bolga*.

The Ulster Saga contains a number of these salmon-leaps. Richard Barber recounts that 'Cuchulinn [Cú Chulainn] got his scythe chariot made ready and set out to look for Emer at Forgall's dun, her father's house. And when he got there he leaped with his hero's leap over the three walls, so that he was inside the court, and there he made three attacks [...] and Forgall made a leap from the wall of the court to escape Cuchulinn and he fell in the leap and got his death from the fall' (Barber 1999, 270).

But a significant Scottish location for Cú Chulainn's salmon-leap is Dùn Sgàthaich near Ord of Sleat on Skye. T. W Rolleston describes the event:

When [...] he came to the Bridge of the Leaps, beyond which was the country of Skatha [Sgàthach]. Here he found [...] many sons of the princes of Ireland ... And among them was his friend Ferdia, whom he asked how he should pass to the dūn of Skatha. Now the Bridge of Leaps was very narrow and very high, and it crossed a gorge where far below swung the tides of a boiling sea, in which ravenous monsters could be seen swimming. 'Not one of us has crossed that bridge,' said Ferdia. 'For if a man step upon one end of that bridge, the middle straightway rises up and flings him back, and if he leap upon it he may chance to miss his footing and fall into the gulf, where the sea-monsters are waiting for him.'

Three times Cuchulain ran towards it from a distance and strove to leap upon the middle, but three times it rose against him and flung him back, ... But at the fourth leap he lit fairly on the centre of the bridge, and with one leap more he was across it, and stood before the strong fortress of Skatha (Rolleston 1912, 188).

James MacKillop (1988, 221) describes Cú Chulainn's salmon-leap as an aggressive, highly-effective combat strategy comparable to the aggressive jump of soccer players. Whatever its precise nature, that such leaps remained long in folk memory is shown by a record in the MacLagan manuscript (MML 7220.a) which notes that 'The Salmon leap – lying on ground with arms pressed tightly to sides. Gaelic Soc. records claim the leaper lay face down also with arms pressed and by use of chest was elevated 2 inches and propelled 6 inches forward.'

The esteem attaching to such leaping prowess is attested by a further MacLagan record of the tale explaining the loss of Tain's county-town status to Dingwall. The cause was Alasdair Sgilear (Skilled Alasdair), a renowned robber, who 'having been captured and brought to justice, and on being condemned to

death asked [...] “*Ma bheir sibh dhomh naoi leamanan agus naoi ceamanan, cha’n eil duine ann a Siorrachd Rois a bheireas orm*” (If you will give me nine leaps and nine steps, there is no one in Ross-shire who will catch me). The judges declined the offer and hanged him. On hearing the news of the death of Alasdair Sgilear, the enraged king deprived Tain of its status’ (MML 9083.a.1, Record no. 9931).

The leap was, therefore, a mark of considerable prowess and takes a central role, as in a tale from the Carmichael-Watson archive (f. 41r) that recounts Donald Herrich’s [*Hearach*] fatal leap, taken from a ‘Copy of a manuscript about the MacDonalds of Sleat and accompanying note’:

Hugh Macdonald of Sleat, Son of Alexander Lord of the Isles [...] had issue two Sons, the eldest Donald Galloch [...] the other Donald Herrach by a daughter of the Laird of MacLeod he had also an illegitimate son commonly called Gillespig duh [*sic*] or black Archibald. [...]

Their natural brother Gillespig duh [...] contrived under some specious pretence to inveigle Donald Herrich to the [...] Dun of Loch Scolpeg where he had made arrangements for his destruction. He and his associates were afraid of the personal prowess of Donald which was uncommon even at that time (as ‘his single blow left seldom work for two’) and were consequently obliged to act with more caution and duplicity [...] they therefore resolved [...] that they should pass some of their time in some gymnastick feats such as who should leap highest [...] they having previously contrived that one of their associates [...] should place a thong with a noose through the wooden partition of the apartment in which they were assembled and remain concealed on the opposite side ready when Donald Harrich would try the leap to get the noose over his neck and strangle him [...] while Gillespig dhu and the rest of the assassins could [...] finish him, this they did by running a red hot spit through his body.¹

Running in parallel with these feats of prowess, and as far back as the times of the Wars of Independence, is the tradition of the ‘fugitive leaper’. The eminent historical figure, William Wallace, is alleged to have made several leaps, for example near Loch Garr, in the park of Roseneath (the former seat of the Duke of Argyll), where there is

a remarkable rock, called Wallace’s Loup or Leap, from a tradition that [...] Wallace being closely pursued by a party of the enemy, leaped this rock on horseback. And escaped unhurt: his horse was killed in the fall

1 <http://www.carmichaelwatson.lib.ed.ac.uk/cwatson/en/fulltexttranscription/5040/0/8/10/leap/leap/ALL> (accessed 20 January 2017).

and buried at the foot of the rock, [...] the perpendicular height of the rock is thirty-four feet. (Cruttwel 1806, 355–56)

However, Robert the Bruce appears not to have leaped, although the Comyn's, his mortal enemies, feature at Randolph's Leap. Quoting a *Scots Magazine* article of November 1958, Nicolaisen describes this leap:

Midway down this stretch of the river Findhorn to Sluie is Randolph's Leap where [...] the battle of the 'Lost Standard' were fought. Cut off and surrounded on all sides, Alasdair Cumyn of Dunphail and four companions leapt over and fought their way to safety. Randolph's forces were in pursuit [...] Alasdair escaped by leaping across the river - but it is Randolph's name that is remembered. (2012, 48)

The prowess of a chief of the Robertsons, allied to Bruce, does not suffer such treatment in transmission. James Fargo tells us that Robertson's Leap on the River Ericht, which flows into Loch Rannoch near its western end, is named for Donnchadh Reamhar

who, disguised as a beggar, entered a MacDougall camp. Unfortunately, his great stature gave him away and he had to take to his heels. Having outdistanced all but one of his pursuers, Donnachadh turned back and slew him. But the remaining MacDougalls trapped Donnachadh at the River Ericht, [...] where he made a prodigious standing leap of 16 feet and was able to clear the river and escape.²

Moving forward chronologically, the protagonists in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and later 'Killing Times' of Covenanter suppression are represented by such as John Farquharson of Inverey on Upper Deeside and the Rev. Donald Cargill. Farquharson, 'the 'Black Colonel', had many narrow escapes from his enemies, the Government troops: 'On one occasion [...] he escaped, in *puris naturalibus* and with a mighty leap he cleared the Ey, [...] and the hump-backed bridge which takes the old road across the Ey near where he jumped is known as *Drochaid an Leum*, the Bridge of the Leap' (Gordon 1949, 387).

A near contemporary of the colonel's is remembered for his own leap at Blairgowrie. According to the Caterantrail website,

The route along the riverbank passes through pleasant mixed woodland to the Falls of Ericht, a narrow stretch of the river that incorporates Donald Car-

2 The website <http://www.genealogy.com/ftm/l/e/o/Trudy-L-Leonhard/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0097.html> (accessed 15 May 2015) quotes the source of the tale as Fargo, James E., *The Men of Lorne in Rannoch*.

gill's Leap. This is the site of a daring feat by a 17th century Covenanter who is said to have escaped from the government troops by leaping across the river.

For many years brave local people tried to emulate Cargill's feat – most were, however, unsuccessful and, failing to reach the safety of the opposite bank, fell into the icy river beneath! In 1960 the Town Council widened the river with explosives to discourage dangerous attempts to copy Cargill's exploit. So, the 'leap' you see today is much wider than in Donald's time.³

A particularly rich seam of tales is associated with the legendary warrior, the Gille Riabhach during the later phases of *Linn nan Creach* (The Age of Forays) in the later seventeenth century. The MacLagan manuscript referred to earlier has a 'Place Legend of Coll; *Leum an Gille Ribeach* [*sic*]' that is replicated in several islands. This tale relates that

On the farm of Grisapoll ... there are two places with the same name *Gille Ribeach*. The McLean and the McNeills were fighting for the island of Coll. The *Gille Ribeach* found himself standing beside a tailor of the clan McNeill. The tailor had an axe in his hand but the *Gille Ribeach* was quite unarmed. The tailor raised his arm to strike the *Gille Ribeach* with the axe. The *Gille*, who was standing on the edge of a stream, towards which his back was turned, to avoid the tailor's blow, made a spring backwards, crossing the stream and planting his feet on the elevated bank on the opposite side. The tailor, [...] enraged, threw the axe after him, whereupon, the *Gille*, picking it up, leapt [*sic*] back immediately and dispatched the tailor with his own axe. The stream [...] is about 12 feet wide with the opposite bank about six feet above the one from which he started. The other spot which bears the same name is on level ground and is marked by stones about 14 feet apart which mark the distance the *Gille Ribeach* is said to have leaped with a standing leap. (MML1411.A, Record no. 1764)

As mentioned, several locations have Gille Riabhach leaps with MacLagan MML 2301.1.2.1 being a very rich account from Mull that has the tailor named as *An tailear-lamh-an-tuath* (an tàillear làmh-na-tuaigh 'the Tailor of the Axe-hand), and in which the Gille slaughters MacLean's step-brother at Duart castle in front of his mother, MacLean's widow.

Although the leap is generally attributed to a named hero, there are unnamed individuals caught up in events such as the Battles of Mulroy of 1688

³ <http://www.caterantrail.org/trail/stage-1/cargills-leap> (accessed 26 November 2014).

and Killiecrankie less than a year later; John Prebble has a record of the escape of a MacDonald from The Massacre of Glencoe (Prebble 1966, 236).

The Jacobite campaign of 1745–46 gives us Fraser of Foyers' Cask's Leap named for James Fraser who was hiding in a cave near Foyers for a number of years after Culloden. The cask in question contained beer destined for Fraser, but the bearer was surprised by troops and the cask 'leaped' to freedom (Seton Gordon 1949, 249). The leap of Donald Maclaren of Inverenty, who was 'out' with Bonnie Prince Charlie at the Devil's Beef Tub (Errickstane Brae, near Moffat), we shall return to. Some locations with the *leum* name element, however, have no memory of the nature of the leaper. One example is Coylumbidge in Badenoch, and the same applies to many coastal loup.

The very broad range of leaping characters points, perhaps, to a pre-Christian and pagan origin of the tradition. Through time the device has assimilated Christian elements, as in the naming of *Tobar na buai* (Tobar na Buaidh, Barra) for which the Carmichael/Watson archive has the following record:

Mac De [Christ] & the *Donas* [Devil] were competing in leap – the Don defys [*sic*] the Lord who should leap farthest. The Lord's mark is farthest & so he won the vicy [*sic*]. *Tobar na buai* is under the *fala* [a high rock] and the footmark out from it hence the name. The D. [Devil's] footmark is splayed & ugly & the other is shapely & attractive.⁴

Subsequently it affixes to supposedly more mortal figures featuring in the hero tales of the *Táin* and Ulster Cycle, most particularly Fionn and Cú Chulainn. At this point it might be helpful to provide examples of the process of evolution suggested above.

That their *dramatis personae* have altered through time is demonstrated in the changing name and traditions associated with Loophead in West Clare, Ireland. In Gaelic it is *Ceann Leime* (Leap Head) and is, according to the West Clare website, now associated with the lovers Diarmaid and *Gráinne* who were escaping the army of Diarmaid's bitter suitor, Queen Maeve. Seemingly trapped, they escape when Diarmaid lifts *Gráinne* into his arms and leaps to an outcrop of rock, now known as Diarmaid and *Gráinne's* Rock.⁵

However, John O'Donovan, writing the 1839 Ordnance Survey Letters, recounts that the original tradition was that Loophead was *Leim Chonchulainn* (Cú Chulainn's Leap):

The history of the cause of the name was very vividly remembered [...] in

4 <http://www.carmichaelwatson.lib.ed.ac.uk/cwatson/en/fulltexttranscription/4098/0/1/10/leap/leap> (accessed 20 November 2016).

5 <http://www.westclare.net/anvilfarm/attractions.html> (accessed 23 December 2014).

the year 1820. Cuchullan [Cú Chulainn] had a Leanán (mistress) whom he wished to abandon, but the more he endeavoured to avoid her, the more anxious she was to be in his society. At length, finding that Ulster was not wide enough for him and her to live apart in, he left that Province by stealth, and reached this peninsula, when suddenly looking behind him he saw to his horror his Leanán at his heels, and he set off at his utmost speed, and coming at last to the very extremity of the land, and she close behind him, he saw a detached rock or small island before him. (At the distance of fifty-two feet.) He sprang forward and landed safely on it, but scarcely had his feet touched the ground here when he perceived his Leanán by his side, upon which he leaped backwards to the mainland again which he reached in safety; the Leanán did not hesitate an instant, but leaped backwards after him, tho' not with the same good fortune, as she came with her back against a large flag stone which projects from the top of the cliff, and falling down, was dashed to pieces.⁶

In Scotland, the traditional leap associated with a MacGregor clan chief mirror this Irish example. According to the website 'robroyways' (<http://www.robroyway.com>), at the entrance to Glen Lyon is MacGregor's Leap over the River Lyon. This was 'an ancestor of Rob Roy Gregor MacGregor who ... in 1569 ... made a daring leap ... [to escape from] the Campbells.'

Within current Gaelic tradition, this MacGregor is perhaps its most renowned of fugitive figures, beheaded on 10th April 1570 at *Caisteal a' Bhealaich* (The Castle of the Pass⁷), and whose memory is enshrined in the song *Griogal Cridhe*, sung to this day. Although now over-shadowed by Killiecrankie, this leap was sufficiently well known in anglophone circles to merit Turner's attention around 1801.

However, although T. Radcliffe Barnet describes this fugitive leap in Glen Lyon in a highly detailed form, he makes no associations with *Griogal*. Barnet's version of the tale has several of Stith Thompson's motifs and the section quoted here has an uncharacteristically detailed citing of locations along an extended pursuit:

Racing down the lochside to Fearnan, he crossed by Auchtar and Croftgarrow, into Glen Lyon. But the pursuing dogs were already after him, hot-scented. Nothing could save the Macgregor now. Except a leap across the river! So, with the breath of the first bloodhound on him, he leaped across the river and just managed to scramble up the farther rock. The

6 http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/history/osl/kilballyowenz2_cape_lear.htm (accessed 22 December 2014).

7 Now known as Taymouth Castle.

first dog leaped after him, and fell short into the boiling stream of death. The second did the same. The third, taking a mightier stride, reached the rock ... One stroke of the dirk sent it after the other two, to be drowned in the flood of Lyon. (Radcliffe Barnet 1946, 75)

Nicolaisen, however, notes that the location's Gaelic name is simply *Leum a' Chleasaiche* (The Stuntman's Leap⁸) and considers that the name perhaps enshrines an older tale (1995, 50). This is indeed the case, as shown by a tale collected by Lady Evelyn Stewart Murray from a Hugh Cameron, Baluain, in 1891. He recounts that there was a man of clan MacGregor whose wife had made a pact with his enemies to betray him. He suspected that things were not as they ought to be and 'fled down the moor, his enemies hard in pursuit. He came to a place where there was a high rock on one side and he leapt across the river. He reached the other side but was killed on the spot. To this day they call it MacGregor's Leap or *Leum a' Chleasaiche*' (Robertson and Dilworth 2009, 75). The editors also note the tale 'of an acrobat or showman who, many years after MacGregor's famous leap, died trying to emulate the feat and of a cairn, known as *Carn an Duine Ghointe*, The Fated Man's cairn, which was raised at the roadside to commemorate the tragic event' (502).

The process of enhancement of the leaper's status that has elevated an unknown individual to a historical clan chief, as in Glen Lyon, is also evident in the MacLaren 'Devil's Beef Tub' leap mentioned earlier.

According to Wikipedia, Donald, the MacLaren chief, was wounded at Culloden, although he managed to evade capture. In August 1746, he was subsequently apprehended and

escorted [...] to Carlisle for his trial ... While passing The Devil's Beef Tub (Errickstane Brae, near Moffat) he managed to hurl himself over the edge and into the mist making his way to the bottom. This place would later be known by the locals as 'MacLaren's Leap'.⁹

However, Bishop Forbes notes in his journal for 7th August 1769 that

In journeying over Errickstane Brae, [...] you come to a large green circular hollow of old called the Marquis of Annandale's Beef Stand, but now MacLaurin's Leap, because one MacLaurin, a drover, in 1746, made his escape from a party of soldiers taking him to Carlisle to be tried for his life, by rolling down this hollow, there happening very luckily to be a thick mist at the time, which favoured his design greatly. None of the souldiers [*sic*] durst attempt following him, so steep is the descent ... (Paton 1895–96, 230)

8 Gaelic *cleasaiche* 'juggler, conjurer; mountebank; actor' (Dwelly's *Dictionary*).

9 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clan_MacLaren (accessed 16 June 2013).

Here we have a fine illustration, not only of the raised status of the place-name – Marquis to Devil – but also the enhancement of the leaper.

Castles are a clear instance of a *terminus post quem* in that a ‘historical leap’ tradition can only arise once the structure takes on the form that enables the space to be leaped. This is the case with Borthwick castle, where visitors are invited to ‘look up at the twin towers and the “Prisoner’s Leap”, perhaps visualising the terrible fear of those prisoners who had chosen to risk death by jumping from one tower to the other to gain their freedom ...’¹⁰ Here ‘the jailers led prisoners to the top of one of the five-storey towers, [to] leap the 12 feet across to the other tower.’ There were ‘just two conditions: the prisoner had to start from a standing position, and his hands had to be manacled behind his back.’¹¹ Recently a third has been added in that the guides now tell visitors that the leap had to be made backwards (pers. comm.). Huntingtower, the double tower house outside Perth, was already famous for the Raid of Ruthven – the apparent forcible confinement of James IV by the Earl of Gowrie and other conspirators in 1582. The construction of the closely-adjacent tower house in the early seventeenth century created the appropriate conditions for a high-status leaper:

An extraordinary exploit of a fair lady [...] has given the name of the *Maiden’s Loup* to the space between its two towers ... The young lady being in an apartment in one of the towers with her lover, hearing the footsteps of the old countess, ran to the top of the leads and took a desperate leap of 9 feet 4 inches over a chasm of 60 feet, and luckily landing on the battlements of the other tower, crept into her own bed, where her astonished mother found her and of course apologized for her unjust suspicion. (Webster 1819, 640)

In the Highland and Gaelic context, turbulent events such as the Fife Adventurers and *Linn nan Creach* produce the tales of Allan Mòr Morrison at *Dùn Èistean* and An Gille Riabhach in Coll.

The tale of Allan Mòr was recounted by Thomas to The Society of Antiquaries for Scotland in 1878. To him this was a ‘wild and impossible story’ associated with the times of ‘The Fife Adventurers’ – the attempted colonisation of Lewis in the early seventeenth century. This rich tale commences:

Niall Odhar, uncle of Torquil Dubh, Chief of Lewis, attacked the Habost Morrisons in Dun Eystein [*Dùn Èistean*]. The Macleods arrived at Dun Ey-

¹⁰ <http://borthwickcastle.com/about/> (accessed 21 April 2015).

¹¹ <http://britishheritage.com/the-ins-and-outs-of-borthwick-castle-october-november-97-british-heritage-feature> (accessed 15 May 2015).

stein, at night where one of the Morrisons was shot by an arrow - *Baobh an Dòrlaich*, the Fury of the Quiver, the last arrow of the eighteen that should be used. On hearing the wounded Morrison cry for help, Allan Mor sprang across the ravine which separated Dun Eystein from the adjacent cliff, and reproached them with cowardice, and said, 'If you have come to fight you ought, according to the laws of war from the creation of the world, to have waited till there was light enough to see each other'

He asked for Neil's *lèigh* 'doctor' to attend the wounded man. Neil consented; Allan took the *lèigh* under his arm and leaped back across the ravine with him into the *dùn*. Thomas recounts that Allan's subsequent death at the hands of Nial is commemorated in an *iorram* 'boat song'.

*'S truagh nach robh mi fèin 's Nial Odhar
An' lagan beag os ceann Dhun Othail;
Biodag nam làimh, is e bhi fodham, —
Dhearbhinn fèin gun teidheadh i domhain;
'S gum biodh fuil a chleibh 'na ghabhail.*

'It is a pity that I and dun Neil were not
In a small hollow above Dun Oo-ail [*Othail*];
A dirk in my hand and he beneath.
I would be sure it should go deep,
And that the blood of his breast should flow down in rains.
(Thomas 1878, 545)

This song is still sung today and we shall return to *Dùn Othail*. The feat of the prodigious leap is in the instance of *Dùn Èistean* is enhanced by the carrying of the *lèigh*, and we have further examples of burdens, as in the case of:

Rory Beag Mackenzie [who] lap [i.e. leaped] the water pond of the water of Grudie [...] haweing a greyhound in each hand. That leap is yett marked and spoken of, the inhabitants of these parts admired it to this day.
(Mackenzie, Hector, 1710)¹²

A peculiar sub-genre is that of The Mutilated [Castrated] Leaper. Thomas (1878, already cited) continues his story at *Dùn Othail* where there is *Leum Mhic Neacail* 'MacNichol's Leap', 'the scene of a legend of which he had several and various editions. MacNicol, for some misconduct, was sentenced by the chief of Lewis to be mutilated. In revenge, he ran away with the only child of the chief. Pursued, he leapt with the child over the chasm to Dun Othail. He refused

¹² I am grateful to Dr Aonghas MacCoinnich for alerting me to this and other leap tales.

to surrender the child unless the chief were reduced to the same condition as himself. The chief consented. When he had gained his purpose, he sprang with the child over the cliff into the sea, saying "I shall have no heir, and he shall have no heir." As Thomas notes, this tale is attested from a number of locations; the South Uist people claim it to have been at Huishness [Uisinish on the east coast]. To Thomas this is a good of 'where the features of a place are fit, a legend is either originated there or is transferred to it.' He states that, 'nearly the same tale is told of a place in Mull, *Bidean Ghorraidh* and probably elsewhere.' He goes on to provide a supposedly historical event:

But the original tragedy occurred a long way south of Lewis; according to Gerald Barry it was 'apud castellum Radulphi', at Chateau Roux, now the chief town in the department of the Indre, in France. The story is told in the 'Itinerary through Wales' chap, xi, in words of the same meaning as those used by the bards of Lewis at the present day. It is most singular that an event which happened so far away, and probably more than seven centuries ago, should, though falsely located, be told in the islands with such distinctness. Whether it has been passed on from mouth to mouth, or whether it has been read from Giraldus by priests, it is nearly certain that it has been kept alive by repetition for at least three or four hundred years. (549/50)

Here we would seem to have evidence that the tradition is at least 'seven centuries' old. But, equally, we have evidence of much more recent Scottish creations similar to that of Captain Samuel Brady's leap across the Cuyahoga River, Ohio. The best example is 'The Mannie on the Rock', a polychrome carved wood statue by the bridge over the Culter Burn, Peterculter. This statue depicts Rob Roy as an 18th-century Highland warrior in tartan plaid armed with broadsword, pistol and targe. According to the website:¹³

There have been four different 'Rob Roy' statues in this location since around 1850, [when] a ship's figurehead of the Highlander was brought out from the docks of Aberdeen with the esparto grass and rags for use in the nearby paper mill. John Anderson, a carter employed by the mill had a brother on board the eponymous whaling ship 'Rob Roy' and from him he had got the redundant figurehead. [...] The manager of the mill, Robert Arbuthnott, gave permission to place the commanding figure up on the craggy rocks of the Culter Burn. This wooden figure lasted until about 1865 when a replacement was commissioned by public subscription. [...]

¹³ <http://www.bbaf-arts.org.uk/sites/bbaf/art-in-env/artefactdetails.asp?ArtefactNum=502>, accessed 6 November 2014.

In 1926, a third incarnation of Rob Roy was created carved from a log of Yellow Pine by a woodcarver, called Graham of the Hardgate [...] Once more in 1991, as the weather took its toll, Rob Roy saw a further change of face [...] The new statue was carved by Arnold Smith. Rob Roy, the fourth to stand on the site, was unveiled on Friday 28 June 1991 ...

Despite this detailed account, guides now recount a tale that Rob Roy leaped across the burn following a visit to his supposed academic relative James Gregory (1674–1731), Professor of Medicine, Aberdeen University.

Popular literature has also been responsible for the reascription and invention of new leaps. We noted earlier that Nicolaisen mentions Chrichope Linn, over which there is Balfour Burleigh's Leap. In *The Tale of Old Mortality* (1816), chap. XXII, Sir Walter Scott recasts the Linn as the Black Linn of Linklater:

So speaking, and ere John Balfour of Burley [Burleigh] was aware of his purpose, Henry Morton sprung past him, and leaped clear across the fearful chasm which divided the mouth of the cave from the projecting rock on the opposite side, and stood there safe and free from his enemy. (306)

This leap description is lifted lock, stock and barrel by R. L. Stevenson for his book *Kidnapped*. This time, however, the Balfour in question is the hero and the location is the River Coe. The precise location is vague, but Ian Nimmo (2005), in retracing the route of the *Kidnapped* heroes, notes that 'near the mouth of *Gleann Leac na Muidhe*, in Glencoe, the river is forced through a narrow gorge' (141).

Scott, however, was well aware of the wider application and appreciation of the leaper in Highland Scotland, as the quote from chap. XXVII of *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1828) makes clear, when he has a herdsman say, 'and as for the ten miles, they are but a Highland leap when one bears a message between his friend and his chief.'

The leap following the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689 is the one to which we return to conclude the tabulation of the leap in its many varieties. Not only is it the most cited, as a web search amply demonstrates, but it is also of interest as a vehicle for a variety of themes. Most contemporary accounts make precise reference to the battle and to a historical figure, Donald MacBean. The following records are representative.

The account at the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) visitor centre has it that '[o]n 27 July 1689 the peace and tranquillity of this beautiful gorge was shattered when the first shots in the Jacobite cause were fired. One soldier escaped by making a spectacular jump across the River Garry at the spot now known as Soldier's Leap.'¹⁴

¹⁴ <http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Killiecrankie> (accessed 20 April 2015).

The welcometoscotland website has

It was here, after the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, that Donald MacBean a soldier in the defeated government army escaped his Jacobite pursuers by leaping across this 5.5m (18.5ft) rocky chasm.¹⁵

Wikipedia tells us that '[i]n 1689, during the Jacobite Rebellion, the Battle of Killiecrankie was fought on the northern edge of the village. The Highland charge of the Jacobites took the government forces [...] by surprise and they were completely overwhelmed in only 10 minutes. Donald MacBean, one of William II of Scotland's [*sic*] supporters, [...] is said to have cleared the pass, from one bank to the other, at "The Soldier's Leap".'¹⁶

Finally the mysteriousbritain website has an account which echoes the explanation of Chris, the driver/guide quoted at the start of the paper in which '[t]raditionally "The Soldier's Leap" across the gorge is said to be where one of the government soldiers leapt to his escape during the height of the battle. This is dubious, as the stretch is daunting to say the least, however, who knows what you can do with a horde of bloodthirsty Highlanders on your tail.'¹⁷

Citing the sources for the NTS website, Nicolaisen states that there 'is not the slightest doubt about the authenticity of the account ...'¹⁸ (2011, 28)

However, in the following paragraph he is forced to state that the 'historicity of the events as told becomes somewhat doubtful' as he goes on to list both Randolph's and Donnacha Reamhar's leaps. Indeed, the earlier accounts of such battle-flight traditions have an anonymous leaper, thus enabling the tale to carry motifs beyond that of the simple fugitive. So while Seton Gordon, writing of the slightly earlier Battle of Mulroy, states the MacIntosh's 'standard-bearer is said to have leaped [...] across the River Roy at a spot where the most courageous of his enemies did not dare attempt to follow' (1949, 172), the almost contemporary oral tradition had an account in which the identity of the three fugitives is of less consequence than the ownership of the pursuing dogs. The notes on this tale, recorded in January 1951 by Calum I. MacLean from an Allan Macdonald in nearby Roy Bridge, say that the

Battle was fought at *Maol Ruadh*, Mulroy, and MacDonalds won. Three or four men ran away – MacIntosh asked whose men they were. Keppoch re-

15 <http://www.welcometoscotland.com/things-to-do/attractions/natural-features/perthshire-angus-dundee/soldier-s-leap-killiecrankie> (accessed 20 April 2015).

16 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Killiecrankie> (accessed 20 April 2015).

17 <http://www.mysteriousbritain.co.uk/scotland/perthshire/hauntings/killiecrankie.html> (accessed 20 April 2015).

18 His footnote 6a states that George Scottt-Moncrieff, quoting a memoir of 1728, names Donald MacBean as the leaper.

plied that the dogs were his, whoever the men belonged to. The men were killed. There is a leap, *Leum an Tòisich*, where two MacIntoshes jumped. (SSS Archive no. CIM Notebook I.I.1; 25)

Such variation in emphasis surfaces in a tale in the MacLagan manuscript, MML 9160.a.1 Record no. 10035, where ‘At the Battle of Killiecrankie, a Highland soldier who was running for his life, leaped across the pass and when he had got to the other side he shouted to his pursuers, “*Is gort a lean thu mi*”, You have followed me closely, to which the other, who turned out to be a Highlander, replied, “*Nan robh fios agam gu robh a’ Ghàidhlig agad, cha do lean mi thu cho teann.*” If I had known that you spoke Gaelic, I would have not have pursued you so hotly.’

In an evident effort to claim royal sympathy, the informant added that ‘when Queen Victoria ... was one-day riding ... and W. D. was leading her pony. This was a man the Duke of Atholl kept as a kind of fool, but he was no fool, but awfully witty. Well, W. was telling her Majesty every old story of interest about the place, and when he told her about the two Highland soldiers, she asked him what had made the man take such a dangerous leap as that one, to which he replied, “because your Majesty, they were going to shoot him”. “A very good reason,” responded the Queen.’

Finally, MacLagan 9160.a.1 offers a further variant tale on Killiecrankie, in which the fugitive having leaped to safety offers snuff to his pursuers. The sangfroid of the successful leaper calmly taking snuff on the far side of the leap, is at some far remove from the modern era essentialisms about Highlanders noted above.

We have seen, therefore, the persistence of a leap tradition that has adapted subtly to reflect the concerns and events of each passing generation. Song has always helped to maintain the specific associative elements, as with *Niall Odhar at Dùn Othail* and to a fugitive such as *Griogal Cridhe*. Their continued transmission, and the creation of the song that recounts the Huntingtower leap (‘Twa miles without St. Johnstone’s walls’, composed by Andrew Douglas in 1977, SSS Archive No. SA1977.125A3), attest to the continuing tradition. The increasing access to the rich archive of recorded folk-tale and place-name studies has re-invigorated this place knowledge and its celebration.

Is it perhaps optimistic to believe that future visitors to the gorge of the Garry at Killiecrankie – a key site for musings on the nature of the leap – will recognise that the countless film sequences of leaping heroes, from *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* to *The X-Men*, must in some fashion owe their existence to the traditions of Stith Thompson’s ‘The Prodigious Jump’?

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MUTHILL SAINTS: A PARISH OF CONFUSION

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1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to end some of the confusion regarding the dedications of the various churches and chapels of the historical parish of Muthill in Upper Strathearn in Perthshire, and most importantly make a proposal about which saint the parish church is dedicated to.¹ I hope in this way to clarify the situation and make it possible to provide a more informed basis from which further conclusions can be drawn. The Appendix gives a fuller listing of references to St Cattan's Fair in Muthill.

1.1 GENERAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The historical context in which these Muthill dedications should be seen has been most succinctly put by Thomas Owen Clancy, with some fine-tuning by Gilbert Márkus. Clancy (2004, 140) has suggested that secular relationships might have existed between the lords of 'the area around Culross and Strathearn in Perthshire' and 'the holders of Pictish kingship' towards the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth century. Clancy's thesis is that various leaders of the Dalriadan Cenél Comgaill, including Dargart, who was the father of two successive kings of the Picts, Bruide/Bridei (c. 697–706) and Nec(h)tan (706–729),² had moved eastwards from their home in the Cowal area bordering the Firth of Clyde in the West of Scotland to Strathearn in the East of the country. Clancy (138) suspects that Bruide's father Dargart's family had had interests in the area of Culross at least. He follows this up (140) with the hypothesis of a more general extension to Strathearn, the area of the 'royal power-base' at the period of the kingship of these sons, Bruide and Nechtan, of a Pictish mother Der-Ilei and a Dalriadan father Dargart.

Márkus (2011, 2012) observes that the early episcopal see at Kingarth in

1 I would like to express my thanks to Rachel Butter and Simon Taylor for their many useful comments on this article. Thanks also to Gilbert Márkus for additional suggestions and advice. Thanks are also due to the National Records of Scotland for permission to use sections of estate plan RHP3485 in the article. I am grateful to the National Library of Scotland for the facility they provide under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike licence on their Maps Website. I am also grateful to the National Library of Scotland for permission to quote part of a 1712 almanac page containing a reference to St Cattan's Fair at Muthill.

2 With minor interruptions.

Bute apparently ceases to exist with bishop Iolan, whose death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster in 689. During the eighth century, Kingarth was ruled by abbots and not by bishops. Márkus concludes that it was before AD 700 that the episcopal see dedicated to St Blane, traditionally Kingarth's first bishop, was moved to *Dul Blááin* (Dunblane). He interprets this as a sign of the decline of Cenél Comgaill power in the west and an increase in its power in the east.

Woolf (2007, 102) takes a different line. He sees the move from Kingarth to Dunblane as a reaction to Norse attacks on the West Coast, taking place in the mid-ninth century, in parallel to the translation of Columban relics to Dunkeld.

But the seventh century is also the period that bishops appear in Iona, which Márkus associates with an increase in power of the rival Cenél Gabráin in Argyll. So the first bishop in Iona was Céti/Coeddi before 697, following which time there were no more bishops in Kingarth.

For Dargart to be able to marry Der-Ilei, a Pictish princess, implies as Márkus (2017, 107) states, that Cenél Comgaill must already have had significant influence in Strathearn.

Macquarrie (1993, 132–33) and Taylor (1996, 100–01; 1999, 66) have both placed the foundation of St Serf's monastery in Culross in the late seventh century during the reign of Bruide, son of Dargart. The geographical location of Culross is described as follows in Macquarrie (1993) and Reeves (1873), quoting from different variants of the Irish manuscript 'De Matribus Sanctorum Hiberniæ':

(1)(a) ... Cuillennros hi Sraith Érenn hi Comgellaibh eter Sliabh nOcel 7 Mur nGiudan '... Culross in Strathearn in Comgellaig between the Ochil Hills and the Firth of Forth' (Macquarrie 1993, 124)³

(1)(b) ... Cuilendros hi Sraith hirend hi Comgellaig itir Sliab Nochel agus muir nGiudan '... Culross in Strathearn in Comgellaig between Sliabh nOchel [the Ochil Hills] and the sea of Giudi [the Frith of Forth]' (Reeves 1873, 242 n)⁴

Clancy (2004, 138) interprets the term *Comgellaig* as having the same reference as Cenél Comgaill. Clancy then interprets as a 'prominent signal of the influence of people from Cowal' the importation of the 'cults of various Cowal-area saints into Strathearn' (ibid., 140), of which the most interesting for Muthill are St Blane of Bute, his alleged uncle and/or tutor St Cattán of Bute, and St Kessog of Luss.

3 Citing Ó Riain 1985, 181.

4 Citing the Irish version in the Book of Lecan, fol. 43 bb. (following Reeves's transcription).

1.2 CHURCHES IN THE HISTORICAL PARISH OF MUTHILL

The pre-reformation parish appears to have contained at least four churches and chapels. According to Rogers (1992, 34–42), these four churches and chapels were

- (2)(a) The parish church in Muthill;
- (2)(b) A chapel near Struthill (Muthill parish);
- (2)(c) A chapel in Blairinroar (Muthill parish);
- (2)(d) A chapel at Braco (formerly in Muthill parish, now in Ardoch parish).⁵

Discussion has been inconclusive regarding the dedication of the parish church of Muthill, and while several potential dedicatees for Struthill have been proposed no consensus has been reached.⁶ I will present evidence below to suggest that the saint of Muthill parish was in fact St Cattan.⁷ It seems fairly clear that the saint involved in the case of the chapel near Struthill was St Kessog.

In the case of the former chapel in Blairinroar, we have the 1837 *New Statistical Account* (henceforth *NSA*) notice for Muthill parish with the tradition recorded there, to support a dedication to St Patrick. For the chapel at Ardoch we have no clear relevant historical information beyond the fact that there is mention of an ‘incumbent cleric’ in 1531 (Rogers 1992, 342), although archaeological work suggests it might be at least two centuries older.⁸ Place-name information now suggests that there is a possibility that this chapel might have been dedicated to St Blane. In other words it is conceivable that all three of the Cowal-area saints mentioned by Clancy have dedications within the pre-1891 bounds of the former parish of Muthill. This could be seen as a possible indication of the importance of Muthill in the diocese of Dunblane.

5 The present Ardoch parish church dates from 1780, when it was erected as a chapel of ease (Van Ballegooijen 2015).

6 See the *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Churches* <<http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=157804>>.

7 I will use the spelling *Cattan* in English and *Catan* in Gaelic. Further, in quoting forms from sources, I will stick to the forms given in the sources.

8 An archaeological description is given in Ross 1898. Dunbar (1966, 163) suggests that the remains are of fourteenth-century date. See also <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/25248>>. On NLS map Pont 21, dated c. 1583–1596, the chapel is (very approximately) indicated as *Chapp: larach* (not *Chappelarach* as given in the list at <<http://maps.nls.uk/pont/placenames/a-d.html>>). Pont uses the symbol ‘?’ to indicate abbreviations. Compare *K: of Kreef* for Kirk of Crieff. The real significance of the name *Chapp: larach* is ‘chapel ruin’, where *larach* is a Scots word *larach* ‘site or foundation of a building, the remains of an old building’ (*Concise Scots Dictionary*; Scots *larach* is a loanword from Gaelic *làrach*). At some time between the 1530s and the 1590s, the chapel seems to have been abandoned.

In what follows I will set out the structure of the rest of the article in greater detail.

1.3 CLAIMS MADE REGARDING DEDICATIONS TO ST PATRICK IN MUTHILL PARISH

Apart from the case of Blairinroar mentioned in §1.2, there are several other churches or chapels whose dedications to St Patrick have been discussed in the literature:

- (3)(a) Strageath
- (3)(b) Blackford
- (3)(c) Dolpatrick

All of these were mentioned by Forbes (1872, 336–37) as possibly representing the three (unnamed) churches alleged by the Aberdeen Breviary to have been founded by St Fergus in the area of Strageath. Forbes finds a connection with Patrick in all three, which he takes as supporting evidence for a link with the allegedly-Irish Fergus. In fact, as I will show, only one (Strageath) has an early (1200) dedication to Patrick; one was not a church at all (Dolpatrick) but does contain Patrick's name; and one was built in the late sixteenth century (Blackford) and its dedication to Patrick transferred from Strageath. None of these three was actually located in the historical parish of Muthill. Nevertheless, Forbes's invocation of Patrick in the area has exerted an undue influence on subsequent writing on the subject, as I will demonstrate in §§2.1–3.

1.4 THE DEDICATION OF THE CHAPEL AT STRUTHILL

The next section (2.4) deals with the question of the dedication of the chapel near Struthill. I discuss the respective merits of Sts Kessog, Michael and Patrick. I conclude that St Kessog is the only possible candidate.

1.5 MUTHILL VERSUS DUNBLANE

Section 3 deals with the relative importance of Dunblane and Muthill in the Diocese of Dunblane. This treatment, brief and inconclusive though it is, emphasises the fact that Muthill was of some considerable religious significance in the twelfth century, being both the seat of the Archdeacon of Dunblane – still at that period someone of major importance – and the home of a Céli Dé 'priory'. I conclude, however, that there is no actual evidence that the seat of the diocese was ever there.

1.6 THE CATTAN CONNECTION

Section 4 comprises two subsections. The first argues for a dedication to St

Cattan on the basis of the location of *St. Catton's Well* on an estate plan at about 50m distance from the ruined medieval church in Muthill.

My second argument is based on the four fairs held at Muthill Kirk. Three are named for one of the twelve disciples, James, and two of the four evangelists, Mark and Luke, while the fourth (the first in the year) is named for St Cattan. Taken together with the evidence of the well, I regard this as providing very strong supporting evidence for a dedication to St Cattan.

1.7 BLANE AND CATTAN

In §5, I deal with a number of further issues concerning Blane and/or Cattan. A significant point noted by Márkus (2012, 97) is the fact that their churches tend to be located close together.

2 CONFUSIONS: THE PATRICIAN CLAIMS

2.1 THE STRAGEATH THREE

Much confusion about Muthill has been caused by older interpreters of various aspects of St Fergus's life in the Strageath area of Strathearn. To add to the confusion, although Strageath was originally a separate parish, earlier religious writers and others did not always realise this and assumed that it had always been in Muthill parish, which forces us to discuss Strageath together with Muthill.

First, in order to set the picture, let me quote from the new edition of the early-sixteenth-century Aberdeen Breviary, edited by Macquarrie with Butter (2012). This fascinating work contains various readings in its 'Summer' volume concerning Fergus's missionary work, first in Strathearn, then in other places. What interests us here is his time in Strathearn (p. 358), where he apparently left no trace of his own name in dedications, but allegedly founded some churches.

I quote a short, relevant part from Macquarrie, with Butter, in (3):

(3) Fergusianus postquam in hybernia dignitate episcopali per multos annos frueretur, parata classe, paucis secum assumptis presbyteris et clericis, uiris Deo deditis, ad partes Scocie occidentales et ad confines de Strogeth⁹ applicuit, ubi cum eisdem solitariam admodum ducebat uitam. Uidensque terram, quod esset bona ad inhabitandum, statim humerum suum et manus ad operandum imposuit, et trium ecclesiarum iecit fundamenta.

⁹ Spellings of this name in *Stro-* are typical of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, i.e. the period in which the Aberdeen Breviary was composed. Earlier forms are more typically in *Stru-*. Those that come closest to the original Gaelic form *Srubh Ghaoithe* are *Strufkeath* (1200, Neville 1985 II, 19), *Strufgeith* [for *Strufgeith*] (1208 × 1210, Hodge 2007, 317), *Strubieth* (c. 1199, *Camb. Reg.* no. 221), not identified by Fraser as Strageath, but see Cockburn 1932, 117.

'After he had enjoyed episcopal dignity in Ireland for many years, (St) Fergus made ships ready and came to the western parts of Scotland and to the region of Strageith, having gathered together with him a few priests and clerks, men devoted to God; and there he led a very solitary life with them. And seeing that the land was good for habitation, he immediately put his arm and hands to work, and laid the foundations of three churches.' (Macquarrie, with Butter, 2012, 292–93).

The first question that I touch upon very briefly is whether the saintly Bishop Fergus of the Aberdeen Breviary (18 November) is to be identified with other Ferguses with Irish and Pictish connections. St Fergus allegedly only carried out missionary work in Pictish areas, for instance in Strathearn, Caithness, Buchan, Mar and Angus, after years in Ireland according to the Aberdeen Breviary.

Is it conceivable to identify him with the Irish martyrologists' St Fergus the Pict (8 September)¹⁰ and the Pictish bishop of Ireland,¹¹ Fergustus,¹² who attended a council in Rome in 721?

Fergustus the Pict made his appearance at a council in Rome which took

¹⁰ The Irish martyrologists include a reference on 8 September to a second Pictish name (*Mac Talarc* vel sim.; *Mart. Tallaght* has as its first four entries for September 8: Fintani Airdcain ocus *Mac Talaraigh*, ocus Maelecasni. *Fergus Cruithnech* ... (p. xxxiii). In a gloss in *Mart. G.* (p. 172), *Fergus* [MS *Fergas*] is described as *Cruithnech* 'Pict'. The names Adrian, Fintan, *Fergus* are directly followed by *Meic Thalairec* 'the sons of *Talarc*' at September 8. In the more extensive *Mart. D.* (p. 238), the order is Fionntain; *Fergus*, *Cruithneach*; Cruimther Catha; Maelcosni; *Meic Thalairec*. Notably the *son of Talarc* in *Mart. Tallaght* multiplies to the *sons of Talarc* later. Who these sons of *Talarc* were is never made clear. Only in *Mart. G.* is the name of *Fergus* followed directly by the phrase *MeicThalairec*. However *Talarc* is a well-known Pictish name. It seems odd that two Picts/Pictish names should occur in the context of the same saint's day. Is it possible that the original source read *Fergus Cruithnech Mac Thalairec*, but that the patronymic had become detached and later multiplied from *Mac* to *Meic* to reflect the number of immediately preceding names?

¹¹ I adopt the opinion of Clancy (2009, 25) that *Scotia* refers to Ireland in this case.

¹² Note that the Pictish version of this name would be expected to appear primarily as *Vergustus* vel sim. and not *Fergustus* in Latin from Roman sources. However, Pictish religious would be very familiar with the /w-/ /f/ correspondence between Pictish and Gaelic in the eighth century and would naturally have used /f/ in an Irish context. Proto-Celtic */st/ had developed to /s(s)/ in Old Gaelic, but the sequence /st/ had been reintroduced into Old Gaelic via Latin loanwords. This change of /st/ to /s(s)/ did not happen in Pictish – compare the brother kings, *Onuist* son of *Vrguist* (d. 761) and *Bredei* son of *Wirguist* (d. 763), as they appear in Anderson (1973, 249). In the Annals of Ulster, the death of the first is recorded as *Mors Oengusa m. Fherghussa regis Pictorum*. It is probable then that *Fergustus* is a gaelicised (and romanised) version of his Pictish name in a foreign context. In a Gaelic, non-Pictish context, it is more likely that his name would be fully assimilated to *Fergus*, as used in the Annals of Ulster.

place in 721 AD called by Pope Gregory the Second (*Sacr. Concil. XII*, 261–66). This had as its main purpose to make illegal various kinds of irregular marriage, sorcery, and also to forbid priests from having long hair. Fergustus signed as last of the 22 bishops attending (p. 265):

(x) Fergustus's signature formula (my emphasis)

Fergustus episcopus Scotiae Pictus huic constituto a nobis promulgato subscripsi '[I] Fergustus, bishop of Ireland, the Pict, have assented to this ordinance promulgated by us'

As Forbes points out (1872, 337–38), marital irregularities had been frequent in the Celtic countries. In addition, the problems surrounding the calculation of the date of Easter, and the question of the correct tonsure for priests had not long before been settled, apart from in Wales.

Clancy (2009, 25) interprets the term 'Scotiæ' as referring to the context of 'Pictish churchmen at work in Ireland at various points during [the] period 700 × 1000.'¹³

Even if we are to assume that the sainted Bishop Fergus had returned from Ireland to found three churches in the vicinity of Strageath, possibly in the first half of the eighth century if he is to be identified with the homonymous delegate to Rome in 721, there are severe problems attached to such an assumption. Firstly, would three places of public worship, or *ecclesiae*,¹⁴ likely have survived through to the twelfth century, when parish churches start appearing in large numbers? Some of the numerous *ecclesiae* then existing in Scotland achieved the status of parish churches; others had to make do with the lesser status of chapel; others were doubtless abandoned as a result of changing demography or other factors.

¹³ Clancy (2009, 30) also states that Sedulius, who signs the same document as Fergustus as second last with the formula *Sedulius episcopus Britanniae de genere Scotorum*, 'could easily be a bishop from Wales, but the association with Fergus makes the territory of the northern Britons quite attractive for this bishop's zone of operation.' An additional factor supporting this point of view is the above-mentioned fact that the church in Wales had not accepted the reforms regarding the calculation of Easter and the tonsure. This only happened in Wales in 768. Bishops from Wales would presumably then have not been very welcome at a papal council in 721. The British church in Strathclyde had, however, already submitted to the pope in 703 (Forbes 1872, 338). It is noteworthy that those present included nineteen bishops from Italy, two bishops from the Celtic British Isles, and one from Spain. Two out of twenty-two is an exceptionally high representation, unparalleled at this period. It is difficult to avoid thinking that they were perhaps present to report on developments connected to Iona's recent submission on the calculation of the date of Easter in 716, and on the tonsure in 718 (Evans 2008, 188–92).

¹⁴ I owe this term to Gilbert Márkus.

The period at which parish churches crystallised out from the greater mass of *ecclesiae* was about four hundred years later than Fergus's alleged missionary work. In other words, there are no convincing grounds for supposing that all three, or even any, of the churches that Fergus is assumed to have founded, and dedicated to St Patrick, would still be identifiable. Despite this, however, various religious writers have deemed it necessary to try and identify at least three such churches in the general area of Strageath.

The one constant feature is the former parish church of Strageath, which appears in all sources trying to identify these three churches. This church is first recorded in 1200 (*Inchaff. Lib.* no. 1; *Inchaff. Chrs* no. 9; Neville 1985 II, no. 6) as being dedicated to St Patrick in its grant by Gilbert Earl of Strathearn to the priory of Inchaffray. Most late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century religious writers, however, appear to have been completely ignorant of the former parochial status of Strageath and have assumed that it belonged to the parish of Muthill, as we will shortly see.

2.2 STRAGEATH, BLACKFORD, DOLPATRICK

Forbes (1872, 336–37) gives the churches founded by St Fergus in the Strageath area and dedicated to St Patrick, as *Strageath*, *Blackford* and *Dolpatrick*. He sees this 'as verification of the historical points of this history' which 'suggest a connection with Ireland.' He provides a reference to *OPS* (I, xxiii). In fact Innes does not mention dedications to St Patrick at all in *OPS*, merely the fact that Fergus is supposed to have founded three churches at Strageath.

Dolpatrick (now *Dalpatrick*) is presumably named for St Patrick¹⁵ and very likely had some relation with the church at Strageath, but there is no reason to suppose that there was actually ever a church there. In fact the lands of Dalpatrick are on the north bank of the Earn, directly opposite the kirk of Strageath, which is on the south bank of the same river. The modern settlements of Easter and Wester Dalpatrick¹⁶ are both within 500m of the ruins of the church, which gives the reader an idea of the large scale of Map 1. The church lies on the bank of the river, in the middle of what can best be described as a bend shaped like the number '2', and presumably to the south of the *Srubh* (Scottish Gaelic 'snout')

15 These forms seem to be restricted to the Eastern and Northern Highlands and Southern/Central Scotland, as well as Wales. They seem thus to represent Pictish and Cumbrian forms respectively in Scotland. In Welsh it is *dôl*, and in Scottish Gaelic *dàil*. Watson (1926, 415) suggests that *dàil* and older *doil* are dative (-locative) forms of borrowed *dol*.

16 *Wester Dalpatrick* was renamed *Dornock Farm* about 50 years ago, and *Easter Dalpatrick* has become plain *Dalpatrick*.

Map 1



Strageath (NN 881180), Strageath Church (NN 882185), Dornick Mill (NN 883185), Easter Dalpatrick (NN 889187) and Wester Dalpatrick (NN 882190). Perthshire, Sheet CVII, 6 inch OS 1st edn (surveyed 1863–64, published 1866); <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74428186>>. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

from which Strageath (formerly *Srubh Ghaoithe*, now *Strath Ghaoith*)¹⁷ gets its name.¹⁸

A ford and a ferry ('passage boat')¹⁹ formerly connected Dalpatrick with Strageath, so there would have been no need for a second church just across the river in any case. Both are visible on Map 1. The ferry is described in *Geog. Coll.* i (p. 131) and is not marked on the 2nd edition of the 6-inch map, while the ford dates from time immemorial and is still just passable with extreme care at low water.

¹⁷ Online at CWP, <<http://www.carmichaelwatson.lib.ed.ac.uk/img/images/cwmfo657.jpg>>.

¹⁸ The place on the point directly opposite the church is called *Dornick*, *Dornock*, which has an identical meaning (Watson 1926, 282) to the form *Dornoch* in Ross – *dornach* 'pebbly place' – referring in this case to a large pebble bank on the south side of the 2-bend in the Earn. For this reason, I assume that Strageath is named from the other part of the 2-bend, directly to the north of the church. This is termed *Broich Sand* on an estate map of the *Barony of Strathgeth* (RHP3412) which dates from c. 1760. On the 2nd edition 25-inch map (Perthshire Sheet, CVII.3, published 1900), it falls largely within field number 398 (viewable at the NLS map website).

¹⁹ Both ferry and ford were still marked on the 1st edition of the 6-inch OS map.

When parishes were established and their boundaries fixed (Rogers 1992, 27), Dalpatrick ended up in the parish of Crieff, presumably because the river provided an obvious boundary.

The church in Blackford was only built towards the end of the sixteenth century. The mention of *Blackford* in the context of an early dedication to St Patrick is therefore an anachronism. Strageath parish was an extremely large one. The kirk of Strageath used to lie at the far NW corner of the parish, while most parishioners lived at some distance on the other side of a stretch of moorland which dissected the parish.²⁰ The distance by road to the village of Blackford in the south of the former parish is about 11 miles. There were already complaints about the inaccessibility of Strageath church for most parishioners in 1419 (*CSSR* iv, p. 122).

The name of the parish was changed from Strageath to Blackford by Act of Parliament in 1617 (*RPS* 1617/5/49). The parish dedication to St Patrick was simply retained for the new church and was obviously not due to any separate missionary activity by St Fergus. A smallish area around Strageath, including the former parish church, was transferred to Muthill parish, giving rise to misunderstanding.

Skene (1877, 232–33) follows Forbes in quoting the list of Strageath, Blackford and Dolpatrick and regards these dedications to St Patrick as showing ‘that their founder had come from Ireland.’

Irish saints ix (p. 197), Mulcahy (1909, 42) and Barrett (1919, 169–70) repeat Forbes’s and Skene’s errors. Not only are they all mistaken regarding the presence of a church at Dalpatrick, they are also ignorant of the facts regarding the Strageath-Blackford relationship.

2.3 STRAGEATH, STRUTHILL, BLAIRINROAR – AND MUTHILL?

Rankin²¹ (1896, 13) – followed by Mackinlay (1904, 448) – mentions three churches dedicated to St Patrick: Strageath, Struthill and Blairinroar, all then in Muthill parish. Rankin is aware of the Strageath-Blackford connection and so avoids the Blackford trap. However, he apparently relied on Forbes (1872) for his information on the NSA account of Muthill.

Forbes describes the existence of a *St Patrick’s Well* in Muthill parish (in Blairinroar) but assumes wrongly that the following statement taken from Walker’s NSA account of Muthill, written in 1837, was applicable to the whole parish of Muthill:

²⁰ This was an extension of the Coire Odhar-Muir of Orchill moorland arm (see Rogers 1992, 331).

²¹ Rankin was the Church of Scotland minister of Muthill parish at the time.

(4) It is certain that the inhabitants, until very lately, held his *name* [my italics] in so high veneration, that on his day neither the clap of the mill was heard, nor the plough seen to move in the furrow.

In fact, it is clear from the following longer passage (5) from the *NSA* account that the sentence quoted in (4) has been taken out of context and misquoted:

(5) In the same district [of Blair-in-roan²²], is St Patrick's Well, so named from a chapel once there, probably dedicated to that saint. Part of the foundations of the chapel is still to be seen, and close by these are a few houses lately built, which bear the name of the saint. We know not what connection St Patrick had with this sequestered spot; but it is certain, that the inhabitants, until very lately, held his *memory* [my italics] in so high veneration, that on his day neither the clap of the mill was heard, nor the plough seen to move in the furrow. (*NSA* Vol. X (Perth), 311–33, Parish of Muthill; James Walker, August 1837)

Apart from a slight inaccuracy – ‘name’ instead of ‘memory’ – Forbes was also apparently not sufficiently aware that this *NSA* description was only applicable to the small Highland part of Muthill parish, essentially Blairinroar and the Upper Knaik Valley.

So when Rankin (1896, 13) repeats Forbes's mistake in interpreting (4) as referring to the whole parish of Muthill and copies Forbes's misquotation, using ‘name’ instead of ‘memory’, as in (6), we know that he did not consult the *NSA* text directly:

(6) the inhabitants of *Muthill* [my italics] until very lately [...] held S. Patrick's *name* ... [my italics]

Mackinlay (1914, 210) later wisely avoided specifying the three individual churches.

Fasti Eccl. Scot. 4, however, goes the whole hog: dedicated to St Patrick are not only Blackford-Strageath (p. 261), but also Muthill parish church itself (p. 284), as well as the former chapels at Struthill(l) and Blairinroar (Blairinroan) (p. 284).

As we will see shortly, neither Muthill nor Struthill were dedicated to St Patrick. However, although the evidence is not very old, it is plausible that the chapel at Blairinroar was so dedicated – despite the fact that it is some distance from Strageath. There is the quoted tradition of respect for St Patrick's Day (‘until very lately’ in the *NSA* in 1837), the former presence of St Patrick's Well (NN778173) and no counter-evidence at least, as there is in some cases.

But first we must look more closely at Struthill. My reasons for doing things

22 I.e. Blairinroar.

in this order are that we have a number of competing dedications for this chapel, whereas for Muthill parish church we are still in a 'state of presumed innocence'.

2.4 STRUTHILL

Struthill has the distinction of having been claimed for three different saints: Patrick, Michael and Kessog.

2.4.1 ST KESSOG

There is really not the slightest doubt that Kessog is the best candidate for the honour of patron saint of this chapel. Angus Watson (2002, 360) was not completely convinced of Kessog's relevance for Struthill, because of variation in the order of the surrounding place-names in the various sources. However, every time the 'chapel (and bell) of St Kessog' are mentioned, this follows two other names, Struthill and Barnacles, in that order. Basically, what we have are slight variations on the theme:

(7) ... Struthill, Barnacles[,] cum capella et sacra campana Sancti Kessogii, ...

In other words, every time St Kessog's Chapel is mentioned as such, it seems to be in closer contact with *Barnacles* than with *Struthill*. A bit odd, one might say, for a chapel that later came to be referred to as the *Chapel of Struthill*.

References of this type are known from 1474 (NRS GD160/1/17) until 1731 (*HOL Drummond*, pp. 211, 239). Apart from the first reference, the set in (7) are consistently preceded by another place, Culticheldich, some 600m east of *Struthill*. The frequently repeated order Culticheldich-Struthill-Barnacles, correctly indicates that these three places lie on a roughly west-to-east line. Struthill and Barnacles must have been close in geographical terms, but it seems that the chapel near Struthill was indeed more closely connected with the lands of Barnacles than with those of Struthill. Assuming (some) accuracy in the printed versions of the Great Seal (*RMS*) charters and Perthshire *Retours*, it is striking that there are also a couple of cases where the punctuation seems to emphasise a closer relationship between Barnacles and the chapel, in addition to the order of presentation:

(8) *RMS* v, no. 439 (1582): Struthill, Barnaclis cum capella et sacra campana S. Kassogi

Retours ii (PER), no. 708 (1662): Struthill, Barnacles cum capella et sacra campana Sancta Kessogii

The connection between *Barnacles* (and similar forms) and the 'capella' is not a problem, since Watson (2002, 359–60) provides two forms from 1389 –

Bar'n Eglis and *Bernaglis* – and *Eglis* fairly certainly represents Gaelic *eaglais* ‘church’.²³ These 1389 forms could represent Gaelic²⁴ *Barr na h-Eaglaise* ‘the hill of the church’ as Rogers (1992, 341) suggests. The church in this case would be what is later referred to as the *Chapel of Struthill*.

The principal problem would seem to be identifying the *barr* ‘hill’ in question. An additional problem is just what Gaelic *barr* would mean in this area. Dwelly’s dictionary gives as the primary meaning ‘top, uppermost part’. As a specific ‘Mid-Perthshire’ meaning, it gives ‘height, hill’.²⁵

The hill to the south is the *Meall a' Choire Odhair* ‘the (shapeless) hill of the *Coire Odhar*’.²⁶ This already has a Gaelic name, which incorporates a second Gaelic place-name, suggesting that the name is not particularly recent.²⁷

Then let us turn to the hill to the north, which would seem to represent the only other possible candidate. The two main settlements on the hill, now *Overhill* (on the Machany side of the hill) and *Underhill* (on the Muthill side), bear purely English/Scots names. In 1671, the former is *the Overhill of Pitzellonie* (*Dunb. Comm.*, p. 94; in 1700, the latter is *Netherhill of Petkellony* (*Muthill Reg.*, p. 17).²⁸ The recorded settlement name *Hill of Pittyellonie* (1669 *Dunb. Comm.*, p. 168), as well as *Netherhill* and *Overhill of P.*, suggest that the hill itself had come to be called *Hill of Pitkellony*. As it appears that the march between the lands of Drummond of Pitkellony and the lands of Drummond of Drummond – known as the Perth Estate – had followed the Machany Water for a significant period of time, the lands of Barnacles would have lain to the south of the Machany, and the lands of Overhill (of Pitkellony) to the north, as these occur contemporaneously in the records.

23 Compare *Eglismagril* in Strathearn (various sources with *eglis-* from the early thirteenth century to mid-sixteenth century).

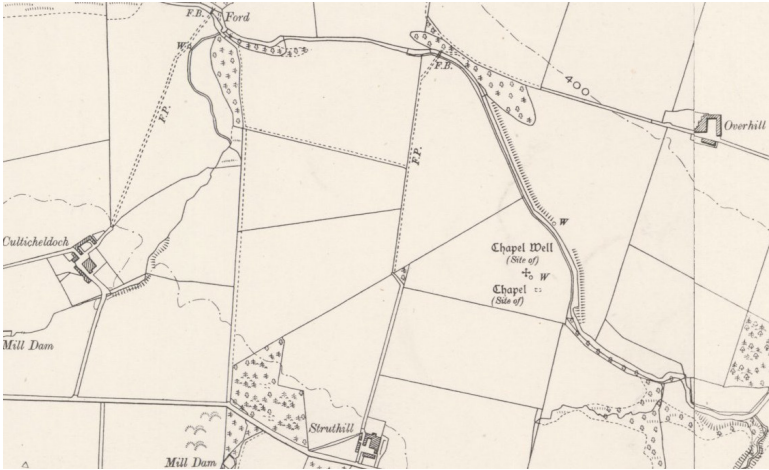
24 There is no special reason for (or against) assuming a Pictish cognate of Welsh and Cornish *bar(r)*, as Gaelic also has a form *barr* (Watson 2002, 360).

25 In fact ‘Mid-Perthshire’ has more to do with source of the dictionary maker than the source of the dictionary entries themselves. The dictionary maker was Robert A. Armstrong, who was born in Kenmore, but who in fact employed a wide variety of sources for his own dictionary entries, including Irish.

26 The name *Coire Odhar*, meaning ‘dun-coloured hollow or corrie’, appears to have been extended to encompass the whole stretch of dreary moorland containing that hollow.

27 Because of some scepticism by a reviewer regarding the validity of this reasoning, I looked for older forms of this name. Watson (2002, 412) gives *Meal Corryour* (spelling unclear) from Stobie (1783). I read *Meal-corryo.*, with the rest obscured by damage due to a fold. I would reconstitute this as *Meal-corryour* on the basis of Thomson and Johnson’s 1827 map, which is basically a copy of Stobie; they give *Meal corry our*.

28 In earlier records, these are known as *Over* and *Nether Pitkellony*.



Chapel (NN 855153), Culticheldoch (NN 846154), Struthill (N 852150). Perth and Clackmannan, Sheet CVII.SW, 6 inch OS 2nd edn (revised 1899, published 1901), <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/75655895>>. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Since, however, there is no other hill in the area capable of being termed a *barr*, then it would seem that the later lands of Barnacles might have run along the south side of the Machany, and that the Hill of Pitkellony, a long steep hill of over 500 feet in height, might have originally been called *Barr na h-Eaglaise*.

There is a problem in continuing with this line of thought, however. Muthill itself is directly on the other side of the Hill of Pitkellony. In fact, the hill begins inside Muthill. This is not surprising, as Pitkellony itself is only 400m from the centre of Muthill, and a mere 12m higher. In any case, if this hill had originally been called *Barr na h-Eaglaise*, then it would be much more likely that the church referred to would have been Muthill church itself rather than a much less important chapel.

An additional factor is that it seems obvious that Netherhill and Overhill have been named in relation to Muthill itself – Underhill/Netherhill (formerly *Nether Pitkellony*) is on the Muthill (northern) side of the hill, while Overhill (formerly *Over Pitkellony*) is on the other (southern) side. In other words, Overhill is on the ‘over’ side of the hill from the Muthill point of view.²⁹

²⁹ A reviewer objected to this interpretation of the terms *Nether* and *Over*. I admit that the usual meaning of the contrasting pair of terms *Ower*, *Over* and *Nether*, *Under* is ‘upper’ as against ‘lower’ in relation to relative physical height. This case is unusual, however. Firstly, the two places differ little in terms of height: Netherhill/Underhill is at 410ft, while Overhill is only slightly higher at c. 430ft. Secondly, and maybe more

Map 3



The Chapel Stead (?) near Struthill From: Plan of the estate of Pitkellony, Muthill, Perthshire. Crown Copyright, National Records of Scotland, RHP3485.

An alternative theory, but with the same result for the placement of Barnacles, would involve the Gaelic word *barran*³⁰, a diminutive of *barr*, whose meanings include 'crest, top of a rock'. It so happens that opposite the chapel site (on the Pitkellony side), there is a short but particularly steep and stony slope up to a clearly-defined crest. This is indicated on Map 3 by hatching. A *Barran Eaglaise* directly on the left bank of the Machany might well have given its name to a fermtoun on the other side of the river. On the 1753 estate map of Pitkellony (NRS RHP3485), the steep crested slope is named *Drum Braie* in Scots. A small area above the *Drum Braie* is called *The Drum*.

Muthill Reg. (p. 15) contains a reference to a child baptised in 1700 in the *Chappell of Struthill*. This is clearly not the chapel itself, but an ordinary dwelling house. There is a reference in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* (Mitchell 1906 I, 132) to the fact that the chapel had been demolished long before the date of 1700:

significantly, the two places are not intervisible: the Hill of Pitkellony, at more than 500ft, intervenes between them. This is an unusual situation for a *Nether/Over* pair of place-names. *Ower/Over* also has prepositional/adverbial usages in Scots – 'across, on the other side of' – but similar usages of *Nether* are apparently very rare. *Jamieson iii* gives 'nearer', but only for Southern Scots.

³⁰ *Barran* occurs as a relatively rare place-name element in eastern Scotland. A Perthshire example is *Corrabharran*, on Lochtayside. It occurs more frequently in Argyll.

(9) About a mile southwest from Muthil, upon the south side of the water of Mahiny [Machany] is ane old ruinous popish Cheaple, where the superstitious people used to bind distracted persons, upon a large stone in the middle of it, and it has been reported that they have been loose and restored to their right wits, against the next morning. But there are none living that can give certain accounts of its having such effects. ...

To put a stop to the abominable superstitions used at this Chapell the Presbytry of Auchterarder about the year 1650 ordered the wals of it to be thrown down so that ever since there is no more there but a heap of stones, yet it was long after that frequented by the ignorant and superstitious.

People remained determined, however, to try and find cures for their insane relations, as Walker (1883, 161) reports:

(10) The chapel hard by was ordered to be demolished by the Presbytery of Auchterarder in 1650, because of the rites practised in it, but that had little, if any, effect in checking the adoration of the well, for we find that in the year 1668 several persons testified before the Presbytery of Stirling that, having carried a woman thither, 'they had stayed two nights at the house hard by the well; that the first night they did bind her twice to a stone at the well, but she came into the house to them, being loosed without any help; the second night they bound her over again to the same stone, and she returned loose, and they declared also that she was very mad before that they took her to the well, but since that time she is working and sober in her wits.'

This house 'hard by the well' sounds very much like the above-mentioned *Chappell of Struthill*,³¹ referred to above in 1700. In *Statistics of the Annexed Estates: 1755–1756* (p. 53), eight people (two families) are recorded as living at *Chappell of Struthill*. On the 1753 Pitkellony estate plan (see Map 3 above), which is not much concerned with what is situated on the Perth Estate, southern bank of the Machany, the letters *The Chapel St[e]a[.]* can be read at the approximate location of the former chapel. I assume that the intention was to write *The Chapel Stead*,³² but that there was insufficient room to do so as a large table of acreages gets in the way. I would suggest that this was also probably in the same area as the fermtoun formerly referred to as Barnacles. There is no house 'hard by the well' on any more recent map that I am aware of. Why was it not referred to as the *Chapel of Barnacles*? Presumably Struthill and Barnacles had become

³¹ This is possibly the first reference to a *Chapel of Struthill*.

³² Or *Steading*.

a single farming unit, with the consequence that the name Barnacles no longer had any function.

2.4.2 ST MICHAEL

To turn to *St Michael*, this is hardly mentioned in the records. It appears in 1675 (in Perthshire Retour 880):

(11) ... Cultichaldich, *St Michill* (vel Struthill), Barnachills, cum capella et sancta campana *Sancti Cessogii* (vel Kessogii) ...

There are a number of odd features in this record. The spelling *St Michill* is suspect – why not ‘St Michael?’ The use of *vel* ‘or’ in the record indicates that the recorder of the Retour was unsure of the name. The sequences *mic* and *rut* could easily be confused if written carelessly. And in any case the chapel itself was supposed to have been demolished by this time.³³ I suggest that *St Michill* arose as a misreading of *Struthill*.³⁴ All this requires is a hand that does not clearly distinguish between <t> and <c>, one of the commonest of errors, and is careless about distinguishing the strokes (minims) of <m, n, i, u > and even <r>, and *Struthill* may be read via *Stuuthill* as *Stmchill*, which in turn is open to interpretation as *Stmichill*:

(12) Struthill > Stuuthill > Stmchill > Stmichill

Why two saints’ names should appear together is also inexplicable. It is also odd that we should have the abbreviation *St* with *Michill*, while *Sancti* is written out full with *Cessogii*. Whatever the case, the name *St Michill* had begun a life of its own as *St Michael*, and the chapel features in McCulloch (1860, 162) as a ‘chapel dedicated to *St Michael*’.³⁵

2.4.3 ST PATRICK

The first time we hear of a chapel and well at Struthill dedicated to St Patrick is in 1810, with Knox’s map (cited by Watson 2002, 429). I think this can be discounted as meaningful evidence of an old dedication.

2.5 CONCLUSIONS ON ST PATRICK

My conclusion is that it is likely that of these various churches and chapels

33 It is not unknown for retours to repeat parts of older retours that have become irrelevant.

34 Compare, for instance, Jankulak (2009, 109), quoting Picken (1992–96, 174), for a *Stumwoedgan* > *Saynt Morgan*.

35 I have heard this name given as *St Michael’s Chapel* myself in the 1960s in Crieff, Perthshire, and I recently (2016) came across it on a website.

supposedly dedicated to St Patrick, only two can be regarded as serious: definitely the former parish church at Strageath, already mentioned in 1200, and probably the chapel at Blairinroar in Muthill parish. Whether the latter derived its dedication from the alleged eighth-century evangelisation by St Fergus is another matter. The chapel at Struthill-Barnacles was dedicated to St Kessog.

3 MUTHILL AND DUNBLANE: IMPORTANCE AND POLITICAL STATUS

In this brief section, I point out that Muthill was formerly of some importance in the religious organisation of the diocese of Dunblane in the period up to and around 1200.

In his book, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, Dowden (1910, 10) says:

(13) ... it may be questioned whether the persons mainly concerned in its [the diocese of Dunblane] establishment were not the Earls of Strathern. Certainly the Earls of Strathern stood in a very peculiar relation to Dunblane. They are spoken of as 'patrons' of the see; and when bishops were confirmed or provided by the Pope, a bull announcing the appointment was addressed to the Earl of Strathern of the time. Nothing like this occurs, I think, in the case of any other Scottish bishopric.

Some early bishops of Dunblane were indeed referred to as bishops of Strathearn in certain charters: Bishop Osbert 1226 × 1227–1231 is mentioned in *Fasti Eccl. Scot. Med. Aev.* 3, p. 99; other examples are Bishop Symon (c. 1190) in *Inchaff. Chrs* no. 1) and Bishop Jonathan (1195 × 1198–1210) in Neville (1983 II, no. 3). What does this mean? Was the seat of the bishopric originally in Strathearn? We have, after all, examples of other early peripatetic bishoprics in Scotland. Or was it rather Dunblane that was regarded as being in Strathearn?

At this point it is necessary to emphasise the significance of the difference between the narrow geographical interpretation of Strathearn as the physical drainage basin of the River Earn, and political Strathearn which seems to have included much adjacent territory. At least much of Glenalmond, Glendevon, Balquhidder, including Strathyre,³⁶ as well as the parishes of Dunblane,³⁷ Kilbride, Fossoway, Culross, and Tulliallan are often recorded as being in Strathearn. In the case of Culross, this dates from the eighth century.³⁸ It was still part of a Perthshire exclave until 1891, a fact that was due to it being part of the *Seneschalship* or *Stewartry of Strathearn* during the Middle Ages. The adjacent

36 See *RMS* ii, no. 784, p. 168 (1464); no. 1171, p. 238 (1474).

37 See also Márkus (2012, 52). In fact both Kilbride and Dunblane are described as lying in the Stewartry of Strathearn in *RMS* charters (respectively iii, no. 1124, p. 245 (1532), and no. 1895, p. 423 (1539)).

38 See (1) above.

co-exclaval parish of Tulliallan, which shared its fate in 1891, is consistently described as being in *senescallatu Stratherne* in documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³⁹ It can therefore be stated with some confidence that Dunblane was formerly regarded as being located in (political) Strathearn.

The possible previous status of Muthill as an episcopal residence is mentioned in Macquarrie (1992, 128–29). Watson (2002, 349) refers to the prominent role taken by churchmen – and in particular Céli Dé (Culdees) – from Muthill in witnessing early charters of bishops of Dunblane. There is also some place-name evidence, such as the *Bishop's Brig* over the Machany, on the road from Dunblane to Muthill, and the *Bishop's Green*⁴⁰, near the old church in Muthill.

The archdeacon of Dunblane, like the bishop, has been known by various titles: the first-known archdeacon in the diocese, Andrew, actually used the title of *Muthill* (1165 × 1171), which the bishop seems not to have done; the second, Jonathan, used *Dunblane* (1178 × 1197, 1198); the third, John, *Strathearn* (1194 × 1199–1203 × 1210); the fourth, Gilbert (× 1210–1235) *Dunblane* and *Strathearn*; the fifth, Luke de Muthill, *Dunblane* again (1239–1240); the sixth, Duncan, *Strathearn* (1240 × 1255); and after that only *Dunblane* appears (Cockburn, 1959; *Fasti Eccl. Scot. Med. Aev.*).

The charter confirming the church of Aberuthven to Inchaffray (1195 × 1198) (Neville 1983 II, no. 3) was signed first in order by Jonathan, bishop of Strathearn; John (Johannes), archdeacon of Strathearn; Malgirk⁴¹ of Muthill; and fourthly Thomas the dean. Malgirk is identified in 1190 as a ‘canon’ and later he appears as ‘prior’ of the Céli Dé of Muthill. A similar charter, following the reconstitution of Inchaffray as an Augustinian priory shortly after 1200 (Neville 1983 II, no. 9), was signed first by the same four in the same order, except that Jonathan now signs as bishop of *Dunblane*. This is another possible indication that *Strathearn* was being used here to include Dunblane.

The conclusion is that we have too little evidence to determine whether or not the seat of the diocese was always in Dunblane. It is clear that (political) Strathearn was the most important half of the diocese vis-à-vis Menteith. It is also conceivable that the Céli Dé were demoted from Dunblane to Muthill, a possibility that Veitch (1996) considers in his article about *De domibus religiosis*.

Veitch allows for a certain vagueness in respect of Dunblane/Muthill. He points out (1996, 18), however, that it might be the case that the original compiler of *De domibus religiosis* was using two separate Scottish lists, one of (regular)

39 E.g. in *RMS* iv, no. 659, p. 146 (1551).

40 At NN 868171 on early OS 6-inch and 25-inch maps.

41 Quite possibly Malgirk was already ‘prior’, as he outranks the dean of Dunblane in both charters.

monastic sites and one of episcopal seats. He notes (p. 19) that Céli Dé are only mentioned in conjunction with episcopal seats, with the one exception of Iona. Elsewhere, only regular monastic orders are referred to. This would explain why Muthill is not mentioned at all in *De domibus religiosis*.

4. SAINT CATTAN

4.1 SAINT CATTAN'S WELL

We now come to our first strong piece of evidence for St Cattan as the dedication of Muthill parish church. On two plans of the estate of Pitkellony (Muthill) is to be found a *St. Cattans Well*, close to the old parish church. The oldest plan (RHP3485) was surveyed by William Winter in 1753. The second is a copy of the same plan made in 1765. My estimated grid reference for the well is NN 868170. On the 1753 map, there is a piece of land directly to the north of the well given as *Kildees's yard*.⁴² This assists in the placement of the well, as the school is clearly located on the south side of the same piece of ground as the well and *Kildees's yard* – though on the OS 6 inch 1st edn neither of the latter two is indicated. On the other hand, the OS 6 inch 1st edn is not very exhaustive in its indication of wells.

This means that the well would have been situated on the east side of the parochial school, about halfway between the roofless medieval church and the modern church building that replaced it. This puts it around 50m from the nearest part of the medieval church. This is close enough to suggest that the church was probably dedicated to Saint Cattan.

4.2 SAINT CATTAN'S FAIR

At the changeover from Julian to Gregorian calendars in 1752, in Scotland (as in England) Wednesday 2nd of September was followed by Thursday 14th September. This meant that the 25th of December arrived 11 days sooner than it would have otherwise. So we had 25th December (N.S.) at what would have been the 14th of December (O.S.). The Julian/Old Style Christmas did, however, remain as a date of significance for a long time. The 25th December (O.S.) became the Auld Yule of the 5th of January (N.S.) until 1799. In later centuries, further adjustments were necessary. See Table 1 below.

Many fairs and markets now adopted the N.S. dating, while others retained their O.S. dating. The O.S. dates were a potential source of confusion, however, as the difference between the two dating systems grew as the centuries advanced:

⁴² This is presumably the *Culdees* on Knox's 1810 map in Muthill village at NN 868171 (Watson, 2002, 383). I would suggest the reference is to a yard in Muthill owned by Drummond of Culdees.

Map 4



St Catton's Well, Muthill, from 'Plan of the estate of Pitkellony, Muthill, Perthshire'.
Crown Copyright, National Records of Scotland, RHP3485.

it is recorded that some O.S. fairs maintained a difference of 11 days after 1800, while the correct difference should have been 12 days⁴³ (Oliver and Boyd 1896, 59).

Julian-Gregorian Calendric Differences

Table 1

Time period	Difference (due to leap years)	Changeover time in period
1500–1699	10	Spain, Portugal, France etc.
1700–1799	11	Britain (1752), Sweden etc.
1800–1899	12	Japan
1900–2099	13	Russia, Greece, Turkey etc.

43 'The Publishers beg to call attention to the great inconvenience occasioned by reckoning Fair or Market Days according to Old Style. As in some places the Old Style is believed to be eleven, and in others—and that correctly—to be twelve, days later than the New, it is impossible for persons at a distance to know with certainty on what day a Fair computed by the Old Style is to be held.'

The first mention of fairs in Muthill I have found is from 1705. Three fairs were confirmed by Act of Parliament as belonging to John Drummond of Pitkellony:

(14) ... ordains and appoints three fairs to be kept yearly in all time coming, one thereof to begin on the *last Tuesday of July*, another to begin on *18 October* and the other to begin on *14 April*, and each of them to continue two days, and a weekly market on Tuesday, in all time coming, at the Kirkton of Muthill, in the stewartry of Strathearn and shire of Perth, and belonging to John Drummond of Pitkellony; (RPS 1705/6/160)

When confirmed, these three fairs in Muthill were supposed to take place as follows:

- (15) Fair days in Muthill (1705)⁴⁴
 (b) 14/15 April
 (15)(c) The last Tuesday in July and the following day
 (15)(d) 18/19 October

However, in practice, all three fairs appear to have deviated from these dates. For 1710, for example, we have records of four named fairs – note that the fairs (b), (c) and (d) in (15), above, correspond to the fairs (b), (c) and (d) in (16), below:

- | (16) Fair days in Muthill (1712) | Dates |
|---|------------------------------|
| (a) St Catans fair at the Kirk of <i>Muthil</i> | 8th January + following day |
| (b) St Mark Fair at the Kirk of <i>Muthil</i> | 25th April + following day |
| (c) St James fair at the Kirk of <i>Muthel</i> | 25th July + following day |
| (d) St Lukes Fair at the Kirk of <i>Muthel</i> | 20th October + following day |

Overview of dates of Muthill fairs^{† 45}

Table 2

(Original dedication)	(a) <i>St Catan's</i>	(b) St Mark's	(c) St James's	(d) St Luke's
O.S. dates	8 Jan	25 Apr	25 Jul	20 Oct
N.S. dates	19 Jan (8+11)	6 May (25 Apr+11)	5 Aug (25 Jul+11)	31 Oct (20+11)

†All four two-day fairs are for 'Horse, Nolt,⁴⁶ and Sheep'.

44 I start here with (b) as there is every reason to believe that a fourth fair preceded (b) historically. Possibly another landowner, such as Drummond of Drummond owned the other fair.

45 For a complete listing of the relevant fair data, see Appendix.

46 *Nolt* is a hypercorrect spelling for Scots *nowt* 'cattle'.

The following illustrates the typical appearance of a January listing of fairs in early almanacs:

Fig. 1

Fairs in January⁴⁷

The first Fair in the Year is at Kilsyth the 1 day, St Naughlans Fair at the Town of Old Meldrum 2 Tuesd, Dnmfermling 2 Wed: Tantan Fair at Laurence-Kirk, and at the Kirk of Bethenie in Gerry upon the 7 d at the Kirktown of Strowan in Athol. and St. Catans fair at the Kirk of Muthil 8 d. for Horse, Nolt and Sheep, two days - St. Mungo in Glasgow, & at the Town of Polwart 13 d. Dunkell and Kilwinning, 21 d: St Pauls Fair at Turriff in Buchan last Tuesd. a Fair at Hamilton last Thursday. ‡

(‘January’, *Edinburgh’s new almanack ...*, 1712, John Thomson)

‡ Quoted with the permission of the National Library of Scotland

St Catan’s Fair (a) and St Catton’s Well make a strong case for Muthill parish having been dedicated to St Cattán. The date of 8th January is not well-known in Scotland as St Cattán’s Day.⁴⁸ On the other hand, explicit saint’s days for St Cattán can hardly be said to be frequent. Rachel Butter (pers. comm.), however, has kindly informed me that *Dean Brown’s Book of Hours* also gives January 8th as the feast-day of St Cattán (McRoberts, 1968, 144–67). She further informs me that the *Glenorchy Psalter* has St Cattán’s feast-day on the 10th of January. The British Library has an online representation of this last calendar page at <<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/egermanucoll/c/zoomify75711.html>> (accessed 10th November 2017).

Here, it can be observed that St Fillán on the 9th precedes St Cattán on the 10th. Is it possible that the calendar-maker has erroneously made Cattán follow, rather than precede, the much more relevant St Fillán of Strathfillán (for Glenorchy)?

47 Unfortunately, I was unable to reuse the image of this almanac part-page which was put online by the Bavarian State Library via the now (since 1/1/2017) non-functional European Library website. The ultimate source of this was the National Library of Scotland. See the acknowledgements for further details. In this almanac, the date of the fair is given following the details of name and precise location. A number preceding a weekday name indicates the week of the month in which the fair took place.

48 The sparse, older evidence – Dempster’s 1622 *Menologium Scoticum*; Chambers/Camerarius’s 1631 *De Scotorum fortitudine* – for the celebration of St Cattán’s Day points to the 17th of May (O.S.) with St Cattán as the nephew/pupil of St Blane. In Ireland his day is, however, given as 1st of February.

St Mark Fair (b) starts on St Mark's Day as recorded in the Aberdeen Breviary and other saints' lists.

St James Fair (c) starts on St James' Day as recorded in the Aberdeen Breviary and other saints' lists.

St Luke's Fair (d) starts on St Luke's Day in (14d) but not in (15d). Here it is two days too late. This is not caused by Sunday falling on the day of the fair in a particular year, as the almanacs for different years all agree on the dates.

Some lists of fairs include only the fairs (b)–(d), while others give all (a)–(d). This may give us a clue as to the ownership of the fairs, as I observed in footnote 44. It is likely that fair (a) was owned by a different person than fairs (b), (c) and (d). The dedications are also different in style. Fair (a) is dedicated to the probable Celtic patron saint of the church and would therefore be expected to be older, whereas (b), (c) and (d) are dedicated to the biblical disciple James and the evangelists Mark and Luke.

5 BLANE AND CATTAN

5.1 CONNECTIONS

Márkus (2012, 97–98) observes that Blane (Blathan/Blaan) and Cattan/Catton (Catan) seem to have a propensity to occur close together as the patron saints of parishes.⁴⁹ He gives the following examples:

(17)

BLANE	CATTAN	DISTANCE	LOCATION
Kilblaan/Kingarth	Kilchattan	3km	Bute
Kilblane	Kilchattan	3km	Kintyre
Dunblane (Dul ...)	Aberuthven	23km	Dunblane diocese

Now we see that a second dedication to St Cattan in all probability occurs in the diocese of Dunblane, namely Muthill. As we saw in §3.1, Muthill had formerly been of some importance in religious terms. Possibly, it was once the diocesan caput, or at least the residence of the bishop, before that became Dunblane, although this is not certain. I have already mentioned Veitch's discussion (1996, 19) of the possibility that the compiler of the Scottish material had 'two separate agendas – one episcopal, one monastic.' In fact, it is also possible that there was a political motive in ignoring the Gaelic foundations that were not attached to episcopal seats. Muthill is nowhere mentioned in *De domibus religiosis*, while Dunblane is. What we do know for certain is that Muthill was the site of a Céili

49 This is not always the case. We have a former chapel near Edinample on Lochearnside, *Caibeal Bhlathain* or *St. Blane's Chapel*, in Balquhiddier parish, without any accompanying Cattan as far as is known.

Dé 'priory' at the end of the twelfth century, when Dunblane no longer was.

The shortest road distances, measured as walking distances, from Dunblane are in fact:

(18) Dunblane	Aberuthven	27.7km
Dunblane	Muthill	20.4km ⁵⁰

Neither of these distances really creates the same impression of 'intimacy', however, as do Márkus's 3km distances between the churches of Blane and Cattan in Bute and Kintyre. If the Ardoch chapel was in fact dedicated to Blane and we assume that the Muthill dedication is correct, the distance between them would be 7.9km, which might be regarded as more relevant. Aberuthven is further away at 16.7km.

5.2 A POSSIBLE CULT OF ST CATTAN IN STRATHEARN

There is a fair amount of evidence of a cult of St Cattan in Strathearn. So far we have two churches dedicated to him – Aberuthven (certainly) and Muthill (virtually certainly). Multiple dedications are not unique in Dunblane diocese, of course, where we find dedications to St Serf in the parishes of Dunning, Culross, Monzievaird, Tullichettle, Tillicoultry and possibly Dupplin⁵¹; to St Bean in Fowlis Wester, Kinkell and Kippen; and to St Kessog in Auchterarder, Callender and Comrie (ignoring chapel dedications).

I will not go into the details of the various grants of churches in Strathearn by the most important land-owners, the Earls of Strathearn, or the resultant protests when the interests of the various grantee monasteries conflicted with those of the bishops of Dunblane.⁵² I will simply look at how the granting of various churches might reflect attitudes to St Cattan.

The very first known grant by an Earl of Strathearn was Earl Ferteth and Countess Ethen's gift of the lands of St Cattan's church in Aberuthven, including associated common pasture, to the brethren of St John the Evangelist in Inchaffray, some time in the middle of the twelfth century.⁵³ It is at least noteworthy that this church should be one dedicated to St Cattan. It is not known precisely when this grant was made. Ferteth was earl from before 1138 to 1171 (Neville 1983 II, no. 1).

The next earl of Strathearn, Gilbert (or Gillebride 'devotee of St Bride'), confirmed his parents' gift of land to St Cattan's church of Aberuthven and

⁵⁰ As the crow flies, 15.9km.

⁵¹ Cockburn (1959) is the only source for this.

⁵² On this see Neville (2002).

⁵³ Neville (1983 II, 11).

further granted the church itself – his earliest grant of a church – in 1195 × 1198 (Neville 1983 II, no. 3), together with all the teinds, offerings and other income to Inchaffray.⁵⁴ Inchaffray, at this time, was still a community of secular priests leading an ‘eremitical existence’ in the words of Neville (2005, 132). Their leader is referred to as the hermit and his followers as the brethren. In 1200, Earl Gilbert and his wife announce a new foundation for Inchaffray. Malise,⁵⁵ ‘priest and hermit’, is given the task of reforming Inchaffray into an Augustinian priory.

At more or less the same time (between 1195 and 1198), Gilbert’s brother Malise granted the church of Muthill⁵⁶ – as his earliest grant of a church, also dedicated to St Cattan, as we have seen – together with its lands, teinds and income to the Tironensian Abbey of Lindores in Fife. Muthill church was at that point associated with a body of Céli Dé (‘canons’), whose leader was termed their ‘prior’.

So we have two sons of Earl Ferteth granting their first two churches, dedicated to the same St Cattan, at more or less the same time. Here they were following the example of their parent’s preceding grant of land belonging to Aberuthven (St Cattan). This would not be a coincidence if a cult of St Cattan had been in existence from at least the time of their father.

5.3 KEIRBLANE

Keirblane, also known as *Deanskeir*, was the fermtoun that largely underlies the present village of Braco, now in the modern parish of Ardoch. It was formerly in Muthill parish. *RMS* ii records a confirmation of a grant in 1442⁵⁷ by King James II to the bishop and chapter of Dunblane of a large number of properties in Strathearn and its surroundings, including *Kere-Decani*. According to Cockburn (1959), this was a reconfirmation directly from the crown, instead of from the then recently-executed Earl of Strathearn, of whom the same lands would have been held by the bishopric.

It is unclear whether the form *Keirblane* predates this time or not. The first record of this form of the name is from 1558. The purpose of tacking *Blane* on to this name is clear. This Keir had to be distinguished from another some miles to the south, on the border between Lecropt and Dunblane parishes (NS 769988). Even more confusingly, the owners of the southern Keir, the family of Stirling of Keir, later came to own this more northerly Keir (NN 837097).

54 Thanks to Gilbert Márkus for putting me on the right track here.

55 Note that *Malise* (Gaelic *Maol-Iosa* ‘the servant of Christ’) is a very frequent name in Strathearn at this period.

56 *Lind. Cart.* no. 127.

57 *RMS* ii, no. 270 (p. 62).

In 1592, an Act of Parliament (*RPS* 1592/4/120) confers the feu of the lands of 'Keirardoch⁵⁸, als ['also'] Keirblane, now commonlie callit the *Deanis Keir*' on John Graham, Earl of Montrose, which Mr Robert Gordon, dean of Dunblane, granted to George Drummond and his spouse. This act might be read as suggesting that *Deanis Keir* was a more recent form.

Unfortunately, because it was the property of the church, it hardly features in national records up until nearly the time of the Reformation. And, equally unfortunately, the records of the bishopric of Dunblane are no longer extant (cf. Cockburn 1959, 106). *Kere-Decani*⁵⁹ was that part of *Kere* that was assigned to the dean of Dunblane. As people obviously did not use the Latin term *Kere decani* in daily parlance, this must stand for (the) *Kere* (of the Dean). The first post-1442 reference to the place known to me appears only in 1558, encapsulated in a Great Seal charter of 1587 (*RMS* vi, no. 1234, p. 412), where it is referred to simply as *Kereblane*. At about the same time (1562), we find *The Kir* (*Assumption*, 315) in likely confirmation of the fact that the 1442 reference should be interpreted as *Kere*. So *Kere* (*The Kir*) and *Kereblane*⁶⁰ were alternative forms in the 1560s.

If *Keirblane* was an old name, it might represent another connection between Dunblane (or St Blane) and Muthill parish. We have to consider the possibility that the chapel in Ardoch might have been dedicated to St Blane, as I have pointed out above, although the evidence of this is limited to the name *Kereblane* itself. As the mention of *Chapp: larach* on NLS Pont map 21 indicates, it was a ruin before the end of the sixteenth century.

6 FURTHER QUESTIONS

6.1 FORGETTING SAINTS

How could Cattan have been forgotten so completely? Obviously St Catton's Well had not been forgotten in 1753, when it was noted on the above-mentioned

⁵⁸ *Keirardoch* (mistranscribed *Kercandoche* for *Kereardoche*) is another distinguishing form of the name. I have only encountered this name three times in a 20-year period at the end of the sixteenth century, however, as against fourteen occurrences for Keirblane, from the mid-sixteenth century until near the end of the seventeenth century. At Braco Village were also the *Bridge of Keir* over the *Keir Burn*, and the *Haugh of Keir* (now *Keirallan*). The Keirs, of which there are several additional ones in the general area, indicate a series of forts.

⁵⁹ In *APS* ii (p. 58), a virtually identical text gives *kere decanj* indicating more clearly that *Kere* was the vernacular name meant and that *decanj/-Decani* was not part of the proper name.

⁶⁰ Rogers (1992, 337, n 225 (p. 370)) wrongly identifies the occurrence of *Keir, Blane* (*sic*, with a misplaced comma) in Perthshire *Retour* no. 503 with the *Keirallan* of Ordnance Survey maps. *Keirallan* is to be identified with the former *Haugh of Keir* (*Haugh* on Stobie's 1783 map); see Van Ballegooijen 2015.

plan of the estate of the Drummonds of Pitkellony. But no such well is marked on any Ordnance Survey map.⁶¹ Before the Reformation, while it was a church of some importance in the diocese, the dedication would have been well known. But, by the time of the OSA, Cattan appears to have disappeared, from public recollection at least.

In the early eighteenth century, when St Cattan's Fair was the first of the year, people would have continually been reminded of his name, at least as long as the names of the fairs were used – the last mention of the named St Cattan's Fair I have found is in 1746 (*Merry Andrew Almanack*).

After the Reformation, the only function left for such holy wells was restricted to those that were reputed to have healing powers – to the annoyance of kirk sessions – as in case of St Kessog's well near Barnacles. Probably the well in Muthill was too close to the church of Muthill for comfort.

Under the influence of the Drummonds, episcopalianism remained strong longer in the parish of Muthill⁶² and adjacent areas than elsewhere locally; in the OSA of Muthill, no less than 10% of the parishioners are recorded as being adherents of the 'Church of England'.⁶³ This may have preserved the names of saints within the collective memory up until the time of the 1745 civil war when the Perth (Drummond) Estate was 'annexed'.

6.2 OTHER SAINTS

Various other saints' names make a brief appearance in the historic parish of Muthill.⁶⁴ *Ringain's Loup*, if this refers to St Ninian at all, is situated at a narrow point on the River Knaik about a kilometre north of the present village of Braco. There appears to be no tradition relating to this name.

The second saint who makes an appearance is rather more interesting. There was a hill in the small Balloch district of northern Muthill parish called *Knockmawhinner*. This name appears to represent *Cnoc MaChaineir*⁶⁵ 'the hill of

61 The 1st edn 6-inch map is not very good at noting wells.

62 The Episcopalians kept possession of the parish church until 1705, after the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688.

63 Interestingly, the first-mentioned (and thereby most important?) of the three Drummond of Pitkellony fairs, that of 25th July O.S./5th July N.S. (see (14) above), is St James' Fair, and St James is the dedication of the present episcopalian church in Muthill.

64 Cnoc Brannan, recently on the boundary between Comrie and Muthill parishes, was before 1891 on the border between Comrie and Monzievairst and Strowan parishes (Detached portion No. 4). I will therefore leave this hill, conceivably involving the name of St Brendan, out of further consideration.

65 Here we see the use of the affective prefix *ma-*.

St Cainner.' Its location is not quite certain, although the following description leaves little doubt where we should look – a possible grid reference is NN 826196 – although an alternative possibility is that it represents an older name for Knock Mary (NN 842199), which does not seem to be mentioned at all in older historical records:

(19) Notes and Traditions of Balloch.—The beautiful valley of Balloch lies about three miles westward from Crieff. The loch is half a mile in circumference, and seems as if set in a basin. From its west margin rises the deer forest of Torleum to a height of 1400 feet, finely wooded, and well stocked with deer. On the north are the steepes of Knockmawhinner⁶⁶ and the Whitedrums [NN 834198]. On the south are the famed forest terraces of Drummond, with the castle crowning the height, and on the east is an opening down into Strathearn. (Macara 1881, 250–51).

St Cainear is the patron saint of Kirkinner (Galloway) but also – presumably more relevantly – of Bothkennar (East Stirlingshire). Macquarrie (2012, 368–69) suggests that the offices of a continental St Cunera have been grafted on to a female Irish saint Cainner (Kennere) in the Aberdeen Breviary. The Scottish saint had her feast on 29th October.

The form of the name *Knockmawhinner* appears identically in at least three sources:

(20)

(a) 16/7/1684: William Drummond of *Knockmawhinner* is made a burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh⁶⁷ (*Edin. Burg.* 159–61).

(b) 1755–1769: A small wood called *Knockmawhinner* (*Reports on the Annexed Estates*, p. 14).

(c) 1881: the steepes of *Knockmawhinner* (Macara 1881, 250–51).

7 CONCLUSIONS

Let me sum up the more important conclusions of this article. These are

- The removal of incorrect preconceptions regarding Muthill saints' dedications.
- The confirmation of St Kessog as the saint of the chapel of 'Struthill', and a solid basis for the location of Barnacles.

66 If the writer is working from Torleum eastwards then Knockmawhinner is the slight protuberance between Torleum and the White Drums.

67 One of a group of 39[!] gentlemen of the name of Drummond who received that honour on the same day.

- The eighteenth-century estate maps of Pitkellony provide strong evidence for St Cattán as Muthill's dedication by recording his well close by the old parish church.
- St Cattán's Fair provides confirmatory evidence for this dedication.

Evidence for the existence of a cult of St Cattán is derived from the three following facts:

- Earl Ferteth and Countess Ethen granted the lands of the church of St Cattán of Aberuthven to the eremitical religious community of Inchaffray.
- Their eldest son Gilbert confirmed this grant, adding the church of St Cattán of Aberuthven and its income, to the (still eremitical) community of Inchaffray, as his first gift of a church in 1195 × 1198.
- Their second son Malise granted the church of St Cattán of Muthill and its income to Lindores Abbey as his first gift of a church in 1195 × 1198.

It is clear that Dunblane and Muthill were the two most important churches in the diocese in the twelfth century. Blane and Cattán, therefore, could be said to have maintained their relationship, whatever that was precisely.

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APPENDIX: Fair Days in Muthill

This appendix comprises the (formerly) available online list of relevant fairs in Muthill. Its main purpose is to emphasize the fact that it was not just a few isolated almanacs that contained St Cattan's Fair, but every almanac found with an entry for Muthill between 1708 and 1746. The almanac for a given year was generally produced at the end of the previous year.

Muthill fairs (b–d) up until 1754 (names as recorded)⁶⁸ Table 3

Muthill	(b)	(c)	(d)
<i>Parliamentary Act June 1705</i>	14 Apr	last Tuesday July	18 Oct
Actual dates	25 Apr	25 Jul	20 Oct
Merry Andrew 1708	[illegible]	St: James fair	St Lukes fair
Merry Andrew 1710	St: Marks fair	St: James fair	St: Lukes fair
Merry Andrew 1711	St: Marks fair	St: James fair	St Lukes fair
A description ... 1711 †	St. Mark Fair	St. James fair	St. Lukes Fair
Edinburgh's New 1712	St. Mark Fair	St. James fair	St. Lukes Fair
Edinburgh's New 1713	St. Mark Fair	St, James fair	St. Lukes Fair
Edinburgh's New 1714	St. Mark fair	St. James fair	St. Lukes Fair
Edinburgh's New 1715	St. Mark fair	St. James fair	St. Lukes Fair
Aberdeen's New 1729	no name ††	S. James fair	saint Luke's Fair
Edinburgh 1739	St: Mark f/r	St. James's Fair	St. Luke's Fair
Edinburgh 1740	no name	St. James's Fair	St. Luke's Fair
Merry Andrew 1746	no name	no name	St. Luke's Fair
Edinburgh 1748	no name	(3 Jul)	no name
Edinburgh 1749	no name	(3 Jul)	no name
Edinburgh 1751	no name	(3 Jul)	no name
Edinburgh 1752	no name	(3 Jul)	no name
Edinburgh 1753	6 May N.S.	5 Aug N.S.	31 Oct N.S.
Universal 1754	6 May N.S.	5 Aug N.S.	31 Oct N.S.

† The full name of this source is 'A DESCRIPTION of the Most Remarkable High-Ways, and whole known Fairs and Mercats in Scotland with Several other Remarkable Things: as also A Description of the High-Ways from one Notable Town to another, over all England, and thereby how to Travel from any of them to the City of *London*.' This was printed by the same printer as the series of Almanacs in the Edinburgh's New Almanach series.

†† Name of Muthill corrupted to M[o]ssulick.

68 Grey cells indicate unnamed fairs. The dates of fairs difference from the 'Actual dates' are given in brackets.

The fair that especially interests us, the January fair, is shown below:

Muthill Fair (a) until 1754 (names as written)⁶⁹

Table 4

Muthill	(a)
<i>Parliamentary Act Jun 1705</i>	<i>not mentioned</i>
Actual dates	8 Jan
Merry Andrew 1708	St: Catans Fair [barely legible]
Merry Andrew 1710	St: Catans Fair
Merry Andrew 1711	St: Catans Fair
A description ... 1711	St. Catans fair
Edinburgh's New 1712	St. Catans fair
Edinburgh's New 1713	St. Catans fair
Edinburgh's New 1714	St. Catans fair
Edinburgh's New 1715	St. Catans fair
Aberdeen's New 1729	st Catans Fair
Edinburgh 1739	St. Catan's
Edinburgh 1740	St. Catan's
Merry Andrew 1746	St Catans fair
Edinburgh 1748	no name
Edinburgh 1749	(9 Jan)
Edinburgh 1751	(9 Jan)
Edinburgh 1752	(9 Jan)
Edinburgh 1753	19 Jan
Universal 1754	19 Jan

It will be observed that, despite the deviant dates supplied for some fairs in the Edinburgh Almanack from 1749–1752, the dates of fairs from 1753 onwards default with the change of the calendar to the initial 'actual dates' + 11 days in the same almanac. So, post-1752, the January fair moves to 19 Jan (8+11); the April/May fair moves to 6 May (25+11); the July/August fair moves to 5 Aug (25+11); and the October one moves to 31 Oct (20+11). This illustrates the widespread tendency towards plagiarism and especially self-plagiarism in such almanacs before 1753, and suggests that the deviant Edinburgh dates immediately preceding 1753 were incorrect, but copied year after year.

69 Grey cells indicate unnamed fairs. The dates of fairs with differences from the 'Actual dates' are given in brackets.

Overview of Muthill fair dates – presumably mistaken ones italicised Table 5

Muthill (Original dedication)	(a) (St Catan's)	(b) (St Mark's)	(c) (St James's)	(d) (St Luke's)
'Actual' dates	8 Jan	25 Apr	25 Jul	20 Oct
Edinburgh Almanack 1749–52	<i>9 Jan</i>	25 Apr	<i>3 Jul</i>	20 Oct
Edinburgh Almanack 1753	19 Jan (8+11)	6 May (25 Apr+11)	5 Aug (25 Jul+11)	31 Oct (20+11)

Bibliographic information for almanacs[‡] in both article and appendix Table 6

Year	Short title	Author	Publication information	Place
1708	Merry Andrew	'Merry Andrew'	Printed by James Watson	Edinburgh
1710	Merry Andrew	'Merry Andrew'	Printed by James Watson	Edinburgh
1711	Merry Andrew	'Merry Andrew'	Printed by James Watson	Edinburgh
1711	A description (of the most remarkable high-ways) ...	[John Thomson]	Printed by John Moncur	Edinburgh
1712	Edinburgh's New Almanack	John Thomson	Printed by John Moncur	Edinburgh
1713	Edinburgh's New Almanack	John Thomson	Printed by John Moncur	Edinburgh
1714	Edinburgh's New Almanack	John Thomson	Printed by John Moncur	Edinburgh
1715	Edinburgh's New Almanack	John Thomson	Printed by John Moncur	Edinburgh
1729	Aberdeen's New Almanack	–	–	[Aberdeen]
1739	Edinburgh Almanack	'The Author'	–	[Edinburgh]
1740	Edinburgh Almanack	'The Publisher'	Printed by John Nairne	Edinburgh
1746	Merry Andrew	'Merry Andrew'	–	–
1748	Edinburgh Almanack	[John Chapman]	Printed by R. Fleming	Edinburgh
1749	Edinburgh Almanack	[John Chapman]	Printed by R. Fleming	Edinburgh
1751	Edinburgh Almanack	[John Chapman]	Printed by R. Fleming	Edinburgh
1752	Edinburgh Almanack	[John Chapman]	Printed by R. Fleming	Edinburgh
1753	Edinburgh Almanack	[John Chapman]	Printed by R. Fleming	Edinburgh
1754	The Universal Scots Almanack	John Chapman ^{‡‡}	Printed by Tho. & Wal. Ruddimans	Edinburgh

[‡] All are in the National Library of Scotland, except the Edinburgh Almanack for 1739, which is in the British Library.

^{‡‡} John Chapman claims, in the Universal Scots Almanack for 1754, to have calculated the Edinburgh Almanack for the eight preceding years.

OLIVER CASTLE, UPPER TWEEDDALE

William Patterson, *Scottish Place-Name Society*

There are some certainties about Oliver Castle in Upper Tweeddale. It was the name of a barony already in 1253, when grants of lands in Tweeddale to David Graham were confirmed by Alexander III.¹ The first surviving record of the name as a place where people lived is from 1200 × 1209, when *Adam et Cosowald filii Muryn apud castrum Oliveri* ('Adam and Cososwald, sons of Muirenn, at Oliver's castle') were among the witnesses to boundaries of Stobo PEB in upper Tweeddale, an estate belonging to the bishop of Glasgow.²

Nineteenth-century antiquarians, followed by later local histories and family histories, have treated it as equally certain that Oliver Castle was a stronghold built in the 12th century by an Oliver Fraser whose family had been settled for some time in East Lothian and who must have been the ancestor of later Frasers who are securely on record in Tweeddale. The castle is generally assumed to have been at Nether Oliver, NT0995 2506, on the western flank of the Tweed valley opposite the confluence of the Talla Water. On the opposite, southern side of the Bield Burn, at NT097 249, are the remains of a laird's house with lintel dated 1734, close to a later house still in use and now called plainly Oliver House. These two locations are indicated on Blaeu's map of 1654 by *N[ether] Oliver Castel* and *O[ver] Oliffer Castell*, respectively north-east and south-west of a tributary stream, which must be the Bield Burn. Below Over Oliver, beside the main A701 road at NT09970 24787, the house known for centuries as The Bield has evolved from a 17th- and 18th-century inn that perhaps incorporates remains of a 17th-century tower. On the opposite bank of the Tweed, in a tongue of land between the converging Tweed and Talla Water, the parish church of Tweedsmuir, a 19th-century structure that replaced a mid 17th-century building,³ stands on a mound that the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS, now subsumed in Historic Environment Scotland, HES) considered but rejected as a possible motte.⁴

None of the sites other than Nether Oliver thus gives any indication that it could have been the location for a 12th-century castle built by an incoming Anglo-Norman magnate. At that period it would typically have been of motte-and-bailey design, of which there are several examples in neighbouring Annandale but only one known in Peeblesshire, at Peebles itself. As such, or if a stone castle had been

1 *RRS* iv 1, no. 19.

2 *Glasg. Reg.*, no. 104.

3 Built for the new parish of Tweedsmuir, created by division of the very large parish of Drumelzier.

4 CANMORE at <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/49796/tweedsmuir-quarter-knowe>>.

built directly on firm elevated ground, it would have been likely to leave visible traces till the present day. However, the archaeological information provided by Historic Environment Scotland⁵ indicates that the much disturbed and stone-robbled remains present on the knoll are those of a substantial fort, of a 'period unassigned'. It reports also that:

... Elsewhere in the interior, and spreading over the defences on to the ground to the SW of the fort, there are numerous banks, stony foundations and excavated hollows all of which are clearly later in date than the fort. ... The site is traditionally supposed to have been occupied by the medieval castle of Oliver, which is mentioned in a document of c.1200. To judge from surface indications, however, none of the more recent remains seems likely to have formed part of a medieval castle, and without excavation, it is impossible to confirm the traditional identification of the site' (as reported by RCAHMS in 1967, following visits in 1960 and 1961).

CANMORE also reports that, after a further visit in 1974,

The remains of this fort are as described. The date of the later buildings and enclosures can only be determined by excavation, but it seems unlikely that they are associated with a medieval castle.

Given this lack of a verified 12th-century castle at the customarily assumed site or in its vicinity, the tradition of 'Oliver Fraser's castle' as the fortified *caput* of a barony is very much put in question. As for our 12th-century 'Oliver Fraser', it turns out that he is equally elusive.

There undoubtedly were land-holding Frasers in East Lothian by the end of the 12th century. An Oliver son of Kilvert, who has been widely assumed to have been a Fraser, granted to Newbattle Abbey land at Hailes in the Tyne valley east of Haddington ELO; this charter, *Carta Olyueri [filii] kylward*, is dated to 1179 × 1189.⁶ Not earlier than 1179, but possibly as late as the early 13th-century, Adam son of Udard confirmed to Newbattle Abbey land at Hailes next to the land of Bearford that Oliver had granted to them;⁷ Bernard Fraser, Master of the Nuns of Haddington, was a witness and Adam refers to *Olyuerus* as his *auunculus* ('uncle'). The next charter in the register is Earl Patrick's confirmation of the ploughgate that *Olyuerus kyluerti filius* had granted and no. 76 is *Carta Ade filii Vdardi* in increment of the grant made by *Olyvuerus auunculus meus*. No. 77 is *Carta Ade Fraser*, confirming that Adam is indeed a Fraser and referring again to Oliver as his *auunculus*. No. 78, *Carta laurentii fraser*, dated c. 1190 × 1231, confirms the grants

5 CANMORE at <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/48510/oliver-castle>>.

6 *Newb. Reg.*, no. 73.

7 *Newb. Reg.*, no. 74.

by *Olyverus auunculus patris mei* ('Oliver uncle of my father') and by *Adam pater meus* ('Adam my father').

However *Olyverus* is never accorded a surname and there is never any indication that *auunculus* in this instance is a father's brother, making Oliver implicitly a Fraser, rather than a mother's brother – which is the original Latin meaning of the term, father's brother being *patruus*, although both meanings converged in French *oncle*. Although it is not impossible that *castrum Oliuери* as recorded in 1200 × 1219 was named for a non-Fraser Oliver whose existence has not survived in written record, it may be noted that Oliver at the period in question was still a very rare name in Scotland,⁸ just beginning its currency due to the popularity of a group of *chansons de geste*, especially the 'Song of Roland', in which *Olivier* was at first Roland's adversary and then his wise and faithful ally. On the contrary the personal names associated with that place in the first reference to it typify the ethnic and linguistic mix in the recent past of the district, contriving to show four languages in three names: biblical Hebrew (Adam), Cumbric and Old English (Cososwald) and presumably Gaelic (Muirenn). A similar pot-pourri appears in other names of local witnesses: Paitin and Gilla Muire sons of Kercau, and Gilla Crist son of Uhting. The confirmation of 1253 of lands held by David Graham,⁹ which names Oliver Castle as a barony, mentions *Minnauer* (apparently adjacent Menzion) as having belonged to Henry of Ashkirk near Selkirk.

If, as the visible archaeological remains suggest, there was no 12th-century castle at the reputed site, it is highly implausible that a novel personal name of French origin would have been attached to prehistoric or early medieval remains by the early 13th century. Because of the importance of *Olivier* in the romances, a possibility to be considered is a place-name of literary motivation, on the lines of the several instances of *castellum puellarum* 'maidens' castle'. There are 'Oliver'-named places in Wiltshire, England, and in County Limerick, Ireland. However, the Irish instance is a country seat founded in the 17th century by a Captain Robert Oliver, who coincidentally was an officer in Oliver Cromwell's army.¹⁰ Oliver's Castle in Wiltshire, also known as Oliver's Camp, is a 'slight univallate' hill fort on a spectacular escarpment which figured in the Battle of Roundway Down in 1643, when fleeing parliamentary cavalry plunged disastrously over the scarp. It may actually have been used as a camp by soldiers in the Civil War.¹¹ Given the close

⁸ Dr Matthew Hammond, pers. comm., who provided much useful information on the documentation of Frasers in Tweeddale.

⁹ *RRS* iv, no. 19.

¹⁰ NUI Galway Landed Estates Database, at <<http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/estate-show.jsp?id=2421>>; 'Abandoned Ireland' website, at <http://www.abandonedireland.com/Castle_Oliver.html>.

¹¹ Report on the area of the battle for English Heritage: <<https://content.historicengland>>.

association with Oliver Cromwell's army, although he was not personally present, it would be a most remarkable coincidence if the hill fort had already been named for the literary Oliver or any other Oliver.¹²

An at least indirect interest in upper Tweeddale by a Fraser is suggested by the presence of *Gilleb[ertus] Fraser* as a witness to a grant of land to the chapel of *Broctun* (Broughton PEB) as dependent on the parish church of Stobo, in the presence of Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow and other witnesses whose places of residence indicate that they were fairly local to that part of the bishopric.¹³ This is dated 1175 × 1180. However, his transactions on surviving record¹⁴ concern land in Roxburgh and his other roles as witness concern land in Berwickshire and East Lothian, and there is nothing to indicate any connection to an ancestor or contemporary called 'Oliver' in upper Tweeddale. An early 13th-century Bernard Fraser is a prolific grantor and more prolific witness in surviving documents, but always within East Lothian or Berwickshire with a possible outlier in Roxburghshire.¹⁵

With a firm date of 28 August 1241 King Alexander II commanded a group of magnates including Gilbert Fraser, sheriff of Traquair, to inquire into an extent of land at Leithen Hopes near Innerleithen.¹⁶ On 18 November 1259 another inquest was held, into the lands of Kailzie near Peebles. This confirmed that the findings of a previous inquest held by a Gilbert Fraser, now titled sheriff of Peebles, were sound.¹⁷ By 21 July 1256 a Simon Fraser had succeeded Gilbert as sheriff of Traquair (*Tracquare*).¹⁸ These are firm proofs of a Fraser presence in Tweeddale by the mid 13th century, but it may be noted that the places with enough prestige to name a sherifffdom were Traquair and Peebles, not the Oliver[']s Castle where by the antiquarian tradition the head of the Frasers in Tweeddale should have bequeathed a relatively modern castle of at least motte-and-bailey type. Although Simon Fraser son of Simon Fraser held land at South Kingledoors (on the west side of the Tweed north of Oliver Castle) around 1300,¹⁹ this seems to have been a Fraser acquisition since 1214 × 1225, when Adam of Hastings granted to Arbroath

org.uk/content/docs/battlefields/roundway.pdf>, especially fifth page.

12 For a more personal view on the place and its name by archaeologist Prof. Howard Williams: <<https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2016/04/03/olivers-camp-olivers-castle/>>.

13 *Glasgow Reg.*, no. 48.

14 *PoMS* 2012 at <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/5885/#>>.

15 *PoMS* 2012 at <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/11520/#>>.

16 *RRS* iii, no. 279.

17 *PoMS* 2012 at <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4323/>>; *APS* i, 98–99.

18 *Midl Chrs.*, *Soltre* no. 41.

19 *Melr. Lib.*, no. 355; dated to 1291 × 1306.

Abbey part of his lands at Kingledoors.²⁰ West of Drumelzier, in 1270 × 1272 John Fraser of Glenholm, a clerk in the diocese of Glasgow, granted to Scone Abbey his and his predecessors' right to the patronage of the chapel of St Cuthbert at Glenholm PEB.²¹ Not long after this, Tweeddale Frasers, presumably heirs to the sheriffs of Traquair or Peebles, were briefly prominent in the turbulent history of Scotland in the decades around 1300 before lack of male heirs resulted in the passing of most of the Fraser lands in Tweeddale to the control of other families linked by marriage to Fraser daughters.

In summary, therefore, without modern excavation it is not certain that there can have been no 12th- or very early 13th-century castle near Tweedsmuir village, but for the present it seems highly unlikely. Equally, given the patchiness of early records it cannot be certain that there was by the very early 13th century no magnate with the French name Oliver/*Olivier* in upper Tweeddale, after whom Oliver Castle could be named. However, evidence for this is so tenuous, if not non-existent, that it can no longer be taken as a presumption.

In this light it may be worthwhile seeking alternative possibilities for the place-name. The *castrum* of the Latin form of the name must have represented at the beginning of the 13th century either a current perception of what was visible at, most likely, Nether Oliver, or a tradition of what visible lumps and bumps had formerly been. *Castrum*, like castle, implies a fortified place. A somewhat analogous case in the 'Old North' for a 'castle' name for a place with formerly visible ground disturbance and an antiquarian belief in a medieval stronghold, but no confirmation by archaeology of occupation other than Romano-British,²² is to be found at Castle Hewin,²³ on a ridge adjoining a significant route, in Cumberland (NY485 462). According to a late 18th-century writer local tradition made it a stronghold of 'King Ewaine',²⁴ a name which has invited association with historic and 'Arthurian' legendary figures named with various spellings such as *Owain*, *Ywain*, *Yvain*, or *Ewain*.

Given the dates of the first records, it may be an open question whether this naming was (1) the work of Cumbric-speakers and based on their own traditions, (2) the result of association with a visibly ancient site made arbitrarily by an elite

20 *Arbr. Liber i*, no. 122.

21 *PoMS* 2012 at <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/3487/#>>; *Scone Lib.*, nos. 119 and 119A.

22 This need not preclude post-Roman occupation: O'Sullivan 1985, 21.

23 *Castelewyn(e)* 1272, 1285, 1338, 1357 *The Place-Names of Cumberland* Vol. 1, 202.

24 'Gatehouse' gazetteer for fortifications in England: <<http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info/English%20sites/377.html>>; Historical Gazetteer of England's Place-Names at <<http://placenames.org.uk/browse/mads/epns-deep-20-c-mappedname-001482>>.

familiar with the French romances, or (3) made in awareness of both the courtly romances and local tales of the remote past, in which interest might have been raised by the pseudo-historic works of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In the first of these scenarios the 'castle' in all recorded occurrences of the name would have replaced a Cumbric term for a fortified place, maintaining the order of generic and specific. It would be difficult to place credence in the second of these scenarios.

In the case of the Tweeddale name, *castrum* and its translation as *castel*/ castle may have replaced an earlier vernacular term: either Old English *ceaster*, the origin of the 'chester' used in the naming of a great number of prehistoric to early medieval earthworks in the landscape of southern Scotland; or more likely without that intermediary a Cumbric **caer*, **dinas* or **din*. The *Oliueri* (genitive) of the earliest record points to understanding at the time that the place was associated with a person, rather than named for a physical feature. However, whereas at Castle Hewin a cross-fertilisation of French romance and local tradition might have served to motivate naming after *Owain*/*Yvain*, such considerations could not have led to naming a place in Tweeddale after the literary paladin Oliver. If there is nothing convincing to place an actual or even a literary Oliver at *castrum Oliueri*, it is worth bearing in mind that by the time of the document the personal name from the *Chanson de Roland* could have been familiar enough for a very similar older name to be assimilated to it by users of Old French, without consciously alluding to the doomed hero of Roncesvalles. It is notable that witnesses to a Holyrood Abbey charter of the early to mid 13th century, 'poss. × ca. 1211', included both a Roland, knight, and an Oliver, seneschal.²⁵

One Old English personal name stands out as similar enough to Oliver to be perhaps assimilated to it: *Ælfhere*; but there is reason to look somewhat further into the past for a name and a historic context that could have been associated in local tradition with the defensive works and would fit better with a Cumbric term for such a place.

In the scant and largely historically dubious Welsh records of the 'Men of the North' much attention has been given to a battle dated to 572 or thereabout and located just over the Border in Arthuret parish, now subsumed in the City of Carlisle District. For some the greatest interest is that this battle was stated to have made Merlin mad. For the purposes of this article the greatest interest is in the names of the enemies of the *Guendoleu* (modern spelling Gwenddolau) who was slain in the battle and who is almost certainly the eponym of Carwinley (*Karwindelhov* 1202), a minor place-name in Arthuret parish near the confluence of the River Esk and the Liddel Water.

The A, B and C MSS of the Welsh Latin Chronicles (*Annales Cambriae*) all mention the battle, B giving most detail; A and B follow similar courses and C is

²⁵ *PoMS* 2012 at <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5339/>>; *Holy. Lib.*, App. II, no. 6.

substantially different in its content. Although it might be suspected that greater detail would be due to later and dubious insertions, opinion may actually favour B as being less prone to demonstrable error and corruption than A.²⁶ The A version merely states *Bellum armterid* (often modernised as Arfderydd, for the name of the battle, surviving as the parish name Arthuret). Version B gives *Bellum erderit inter filios elifer et Guendoleu filium keidiau in quo bello Guendoleu cecidit merlinus insanus effectus est* 'Battle of Arthuret between the sons of Elifer and Gwenddolau son of Ceidiau, in which Gwenddolau fell [and] Merlin was made mad'. Version C simply notes *Bellum arderit*. Six years later A records *Guurci et peretur moritur* (with incorrect singular for plural verb), while B adds significant detail (with correct Latin plural): *Gurgi et peretur filii elifer moriuntur* 'Gwrgi and Peredur, sons of *Elifer*, die'.

These characters, and the battle, must have figured heavily in the history and enduring legend of the Men of the North, as there are further references in Welsh sources. The Harleian Genealogies, found in a manuscript with Version A of *Annales Cambriae*, give a brief genealogy for *Gurci ha Peretur mepion eleuther cascord maur ...* with *Coylhen* as first named ancestor. The epithet for *Eleuther* / *Elifer*, 'of the great retinue', suggests that he was renowned for the size and power of his warband. Another brief genealogy also naming *Coel* as the founder of the dynasty but with different names in the middle is found in *Bonhed Gwyr y Gogled* (Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd, 'Descent of the Men of the North'): *Gurgi ha Pheretur meibon Eliffer Gosgorduaur mab Arthwys mab Keneu mab Coel*, 'Gwrgi and Peredur, sons of *Eliffer* of the great retinue ...'. In an imaginary 'Conversation of Myrddin and Taliesin', *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, in the Black Book of Carmarthen, is a prophecy of the deaths of seven sons of *Eliffer* in the Wood of Caledon; this poem probably took its form in the late 11th century.²⁷ Also in manuscripts from the high Middle Ages and certainly not reliable history, but referring to events that may have been believed to have actually happened long before, are references in Welsh Triads (*Trioedd Ynys Prydein*) to Arfderydd and its antagonists.

One of the Three Prostrate (or humiliated) Chieftains (Triad 8)²⁸ is *Gwgawn Gwron mab Peredur mab Elifer Gosgor(d)uawr*, 'Gwgon Gwron son of Peredur son of *Elifer* of the great retinue'. Rachel Bromwich's explanation for this prostration is that these chieftains failed in asserting their territorial rights, and that in Gwgon Gwron's case this misfortune may have been due to pressure from the advancing English. In Triad 29, Three Faithful (loyal) Warbands, the warband of *Gwendolew ap Keidiau yn Arderyd* continued the battle for a fortnight and a month after their

26 Gough-Cooper 2012 and 2016.

27 Koch 2006, 1322.

28 Bromwich 2006, 15–16, 62–69.

lord was slain; and in Triad 30, Three Faithless (disloyal) Warbands, there is an explanation for the deaths of Gwrgi and Peredur some years later: [t]eulu Gwrgi a Pheredur, a adawssant eu harglwyd yg Caer Greu, ac oet ymlad udunt drannoeth ac Eda Glinvawr. Ac yna y llas ell deu. ('Warband of Gwrgi and Peredur, who abandoned their lord at Caer Greu, when they had an appointment to fight the next day with Eda Great-Knee. And there both were slain.')29

Given the small scale of the native polities in late 6th-century Britain, the perceived importance for later Welsh writers of the slaughter at Arfderydd may have been as the start of a chain of disastrous events affecting a much wider area in the following generations. If Gwenddolau's realm was around the head of the Solway Firth, his rivals for territory and overlordship, other than the English-speaking Bernicians established to his east, would have been to his south, north and north-west. It is not inconceivable that political boundaries in the region still reflected those of the *Carvetii* ('deer folk' who had a *civitas* in the Cumberland of the late Roman Empire), *Anauiionenses* (named from the River Annan or its goddess) and *Selgovae* ('hunters'; probably in the central Borders, but not the eponym of Selkirk).

In this wider region the ridge (Pont's *Annand head*)³⁰ which marks the watershed between Annan and Tweed, with the Clyde rising close to the west, is one of the most eligible physical features to mark an enduring boundary. In his study of 'The Men of the North' Tim Clarkson makes the pertinent observation, in searching for a home for the geographically obscure but important native kingdom of Rheged: 'Another void occupies the uplands where both Tweed and Clyde begin their journeys, a region supporting an elite presence attested by inscribed stones but to which no named kingdom can be assigned with confidence'³¹. However, rather than placing Urien of Rheged here it is perhaps not outrageous to envisage that this was the land of a successful mid-6th century native ruler called *Elifer*, who may have been dead or retired from military action when his sons defeated the rival Gwenddolau with great slaughter of his men at Arfderydd – only to lose their own lives a few years later, with *Elifer's* grandson Gwgon Gwron ceding the territory or at least part of it to aggressively expanding Bernicians in the following generation around or after 600.

If today's Carwinley has carried for over fourteen centuries a memory of the loser of one of the most notable battles between Britons in the 6th century, it would not be altogether surprising if the illustrious father of the victorious brothers were

29 This cannot be Ida, the first named king of English Bernicia, who was already dead before the battle at Arfderydd, but could be a chronologically muddled allusion, or a kinsman of the same name.

30 Pont MS map 34.

31 Clarkson 2010, 47.

remembered in the name of a fortified place associated with him, a **Caer Elifer*. The use of a generic + personal name formula for a **caer*, **din* or **dinas* by association with the once renowned Elifer would be of the same pattern, clearly, as Carwinley; but also other certain or probable instances such as Carruthers in Middlebie parish DMF (*Caer Ruther* 1350).³² In the same county adjoining Peeblesshire the use of 'castle' to refer to an undoubted ancient fort would have a parallel in Woody Castle close to the north-west of Lochmaben.³³ The name of Carstairs LAN in upper Clydesdale probably refers to the Roman fort at Castledykes, and has an unusual history in written record. Although its modern form which suggests derivation from **caer* has prevailed since the late 16th century³⁴, its earliest written forms have *Castel*.³⁵ Since it would be difficult to derive *Car-* from *Castel-* by plausible sound changes, a possible explanation is that the Cumbric name with **Caer-* survived for centuries in parallel with the 'learned' form, in local usage.

In the light of this discussion of the background to 'Oliver's Castle', *Castrum Oliuiri*, a previous incarnation as a **caer* (or less likely a **din* or **dinas*) *Elifer* is suggested as a more plausible, though necessarily tentative and unprovable, explanation than is provided by the antiquarian tradition of castle-building by an 'Oliver Fraser'.

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32 Watson CPNS, 368. There is a deserted village at NY250 807 (CANMORE <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/67196/carruthers-general>>), with small earthwork 'Settlements' in the vicinity.

33 CANMORE: <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/66277/woodycastle>>.

34 *Carstaris* 1579 RMS iv, no. 2881; *Kaerstarys* 1590s Pont MS map 34; *Carstairs* 1755 Roy Military Survey; *Carstairs* 1816 William Forrest 'The county of Lanark from actual survey'.

35 *Casteltarres* 1153 × 1165 *Glas. Reg.* no. 26; *Casteltarras* 1175 *Glas. Reg.* no. 32; *Casteltares'* c. 1223 × 1225 *Paisley Reg.*, 212; *Casteltarris* 1245 *Kelso Lib.* i, no. 281.

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REVIEWS

Carole Hough with Daria Izdebska (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), xxiii + 771 pp. £95 hardback. ISBN 9780199656431 (£35 paperback. ISBN 9780198815532)

The inclusion of onomastics in the Oxford Handbooks series is an important milestone in the discipline's history. It demonstrates the growing prominence of this field through the breadth of sub-disciplines evidenced in this publication and the wealth of current research. This publication offers guidance on some of the established arguments in onomastic theory, toponomastics, and anthroponomastics, and casts light on the relationship to name studies and other disciplines. Edited by Carole Hough, Professor of Onomastics at the University of Glasgow, *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* shows the ongoing progression of onomastics and promotes a sturdy foundation for future research. The publication is divided into seven parts: 'Onomastic theory', 'Toponomastics', 'Anthroponomastics', 'Literary onomastics', 'Socio-onomastics', 'Onomastics and other disciplines', and 'Other types of names'. There are 47 chapters, and the minimal overlap between them shows a healthy cohesion in name studies without becoming repetitive for the reader. The chapters discussed below are those which focus on Scottish onomastics, with several others chosen to show the range of name studies available in the volume.

'Part I: Onomastic Theory' begins with 'Names and Grammar' by Willy Van Langendonck and Mark Van de Velde, which gives a necessary guide to the grammatical function of names, the competing theories in this research field, and the comparison of names to common nouns, pronouns, and determiners with useful examples to aid the reader. A grammatical discussion of sense moves elegantly into the following chapter, Staffan Nyström's 'Names and Meaning', and the brief discussion of connotation sets up the grammatical aspect of this discussion for a number of subsequent chapters. The final section of this chapter regards names as prototypical to their categories, organizing the sub-sections from those argued to be the most prototypical to the least.

Simon Taylor's 'Methodologies in Place-Name Research' which heads 'Part II: Toponomastics' offers sage advice on historical toponymy, closely informed by the author's work on the *Place-Names of Fife* (5 vols., with Gilbert Márkus, 2006-12). Helpfully, Taylor has given a full account of the entry for Balquharn as it appears in the Survey of Scottish Place-Names, accounting for decisions made in the process of collating and displaying toponymic material, and showing that even the most mundane of place-names can benefit from a thorough analysis. 'Even in the cases where there is little or no doubt concerning a given element, a detailed engagement with the landscape can shed much light on the precise definition and application of the element involved' (p. 73). While the 'Fieldwork' section follows on from 'Sources', the landscape might be seen to be the ultimate source for toponomastics, and Taylor's chapter demonstrates his enthusiasm for both the archive and the hilltop.

Scottish, and more widely UK, toponymics, is in a healthy state in regard to the number of researchers currently poring over maps (digital and physical) in the

National Library of Scotland and trekking all corners of Caledonia. This is reflected in the *Handbook*, which alongside Taylor's contribution, boasts four chapters considering aspects of Scottish toponymy. Hough's 'Settlement Names' updates aspects of the seminal work of Nicolaisen on the distribution of generic elements by contextualizing settlement names in the UK in a worldwide context with the careful application of theories of cognitive toponymy to settlement names. As she concludes, 'the ultimate objective is systematic survey work on a global scale. Only then will it be possible to fit all the pieces of the jigsaw together' (p. 103). Alison Grant's 'Names and Lexicography' draws on the work of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, and the *Scottish National Dictionary*. This chapter sheds light on the value of the onomasticon, highlighting the differing values of toponymic and anthroponymic evidence on the lexicon, and echoing Hough in stating the need for systematic analysis of onomastic material for its lexicographical value. One example from the toponymicon is *dod*, for which Grant shows that onomastic evidence antedates the dictionary entry by over five centuries. Scottish hill terms have long been the research focus of Peter Drummond, whose chapter on 'Hill and Mountain Names' builds on his *Scottish Hill Names: Their Origin and Meaning* (2007) within an international setting. His discussion of the use of personal names in oronyms, often but not always of colonial origin, alongside descriptive terms, shows the political power of naming and the prestige attached to the naming of our highest landscape features globally. He also discusses the complexities of renaming, and of dual-naming policies, as can be seen in the well-documented example of Uluru/Ayers Rock (p. 123). From political power in the naming of relief features to political status and social identity in regional language, Margaret Scott's 'Names and Dialectology' maps out several lines of discussion within this sub-discipline, outlining the necessity to study non-standard varieties of language and unofficial names for onomastic research. The international output of sociolinguistic research provides a global framework for this sub-discipline, and the use of social media in engaging the community in onomastic research is demonstrated in the success of the *Scots Words and Place-names* project developed at the University of Glasgow.

Katharina Leibring's 'Given Names in European Naming Systems' in 'Part III: Anthroponomastics' gives an invaluable and concise history from the pre-Christian period to the present day. Motivations for naming are at the fore of this chapter and Leibring is careful to demonstrate the shortcomings of historical evidence while bringing to our attention the richness of written source material. Serge Brédart's chapter on recalling personal names in 'Part VI: Onomastics and Other Disciplines' clearly sets out the four possibilities for the 'tip-of-tongue' phenomenon. The reader is expertly guided through these hypotheses and as Brédart concludes, 'it is widely accepted that there is no one single factor explaining why personal names are more difficult to recall than are other kinds of words such as common nouns' (p. 487). With Leibring's chapter still in mind, the reader might wonder about tip-of-tongue phenomena in bynames of the Middle Ages or cognomens of the Roman Empire. The example given by Leibring of Marcus Tullius Cicero, of which the cognomen means 'chickpea', might require some thought as to the distinguishing feature it describes,

but perhaps it was difficult to forget the name of Publius Ovidius Naso or 'big nose' on meeting him. Might he have been glad to know he is remembered by posterity as Ovid?

The comparatively young discipline of Literary Onomastics (Part IV) is defined by Paul Cavill in the title of his chapter as 'Language-based approaches to names in literature'. Here, he illustrates the historical use of both personal names and place-names in literary texts. Cavill sets out the chapter with an overview of the subject, then takes the reader on a chronological journey from biblical contexts to Late Modern literature. He highlights the variety of motivations behind naming, including folk etymology, allegory, and punning, bringing a refreshing take to a subject which has not been as extensively researched as toponomastics. Also in this section is Karina Van Dalen-Oskam's chapter, 'Corpus-based approaches to names in literature', which focuses on electronic corpora as tools for researching all personal names in a substantial text, or across the whole body of an author's work. Using quantitative methods allows for alternative analyses of name data, and she persuasively demonstrates the need for this approach alongside qualitative studies in literary onomastics, while stating frankly the problems involved in handling large corpora.

Part V on 'Socio-onomastics' includes Katarzyna Aleksiejuk's chapter on 'Pseudonyms' which details traditional authorial practices as well as current approaches to online usernames, and Paula Sjöblom's chapter on 'Commercial Names', which contextualises globalised business-naming and product-naming practices. Guy Puzey's chapter on 'Linguistic Landscapes' and Laura Kostanski's chapter on 'Toponymic Attachment' showcase their important work in these areas of political toponymy. Puzey and Kostanski's edited volume, *Names and Naming: People, Places, Perceptions and Power* (2016) also furthers current endeavours in the relatively new field of critical onomastics.

The final section, 'Part VII: Other Types of Names', contains a mix of studies currently more peripheral to onomastics. A rollercoaster through the outback of naming, the chapter by Marc Alexander focuses on the names of stars, comets, and planets. In this chapter, the modern rules for naming celestial bodies are explained, along with their rationale, and the imaginative manner in which such rules have been constructed is outlined. For example, 'rules [...] govern which origin language should be used for newly-discovered Saturnian satellites based on the angle of the moon's orbit' (p. 634). One element which might improve Part VII would be the inclusion of a chapter on plant names, but this is a minor quibble in a thought-provoking concluding section to the publication.

A book edited in Glasgow, which has taken the reader to Saturn, with tours of islands, pseudonyms, and dialectology along the way, this is a much-needed compendium for every onomast's shelf. As a handbook, this publication balances the variety of topics within current onomastics research, not overemphasizing one area to the detriment of another, and provides a coherent appraisal of the research to this point in time. The geographical range of chapters oscillates from those which cover one region, to those which compare two regions, to those which take their examples from multiple regions. However, the handbook does perhaps struggle to bring the overarching discussion outside of the Eurocentric (including Britocentric) sphere.

Exceptions include Neethling's chapter on 'Street Names', which focuses on South Africa, Koopman's chapter on 'Ethnonyms' which discusses some African naming systems, and the 'Personal Naming Systems' chapter, a work of many hands collated by Edwin D. Lawson, with brief commentary on Chinese, Māori and Zulu names. While the Handbook could be seen to fall short in respect of its global reach, it does bring innovative and inspiring research to the fore, pointing to the many areas in which the next generation of onomasts might focus their research. It provides an ambitious framework for the discipline and amiably invites more to be done that does not merely tread the same path. In providing this structured approach to the discipline, the *Handbook* enables researchers to contextualize their own work and for the student, chapters conclude with further reading and possible future directions for topics, efficiently familiarizing the reader with the context of each study. I have no doubt this publication will be well-thumbed by academics, students, and many more with an interest in names. Perhaps the most necessary attribute of a handbook is not to be comprehensive, but to act as a gateway to a subject and to set a standard within an area of research, and this volume does this with the open invitation for others to join onomastic endeavours.

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Christian Cooijmans (ed.), Alan Macniven and John R. Baldwin (assoc. eds.), *Traversing the Inner Seas: Contacts and continuity in and around Scotland, the Hebrides, and the North of Ireland* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 2017), 290 pp. £14.95. ISBN 9781527205840

This volume is drawn from the 2015 residential conference of the Scottish Society for Northern Studies, comprising ten peer-reviewed papers, each of which stands alone as an important contribution to our understanding of the underlying Scandinavian stratum to the Gaelic heritage of the Hebrides, while they together weave a marvellously interdisciplinary tale of the sudden arrival of an enduring Viking culture along the 'Inner Seas', and across and beyond this littoral of the West Highlands and Islands. And it is this persistence that despite linguistically conceding to Gaelic pressure from the east and south makes *Innse Gall* 'the isles of foreigners', stand out from the semi-Scandinavian cultures of the mainland and Clyde.

There is little to criticise and much to digest in this high-quality publication, which includes a good number of fine maps and illustrations, many in colour. Unedited mistakes? There are a few, mostly in dealing with Gaelic names, along with a couple of formatting slips; but these are neither plentiful nor problematic. One repeated irritation is an adherence to the landlord-imposed spelling 'Rhum' for the island, despite it being some time since current owners Scottish Natural Heritage reverted to Rùm, subsequently adopted by the Ordnance Survey (OS), complete with diacritic. But the only major weakness in the book is its lack of an index, which will restrict the impact of its contents on related debates. The structure – not followed in this review – can only go some way in minimising this deficit, but is still useful in grouping the papers as subjects: 'Along', 'Across' or 'Beyond the Inner Seas'.

But in looking at the clear message coming out of the book, let us first turn to its last paper, dealing with the surprisingly late, closing chapter of Viking activity – in the fifteenth century, no less, and even into the sixteenth. And to really shake up our preconceptions, these last followers of the tradition were not only Gaelic-speaking caterans from the ‘highly militarised Hebridean society’ (p. 286) and associated lordship, but the target of their ‘recurrent, large-scale attacks’ (p. 275) was the docile Norse community of Orkney, with not even Shetland immune. In this paper, Ian Peter Grohse concentrates on one such assault of about 1461, which false-news folklore pictured as the result of a feud stemming from a bake-off breakfast at the royal court, but which seemingly had more to do with MacDonald ambitions for primacy in what was becoming Northern Scotland.

So a cultural trait, devoid of linguistic specificity, was so well established in the west as to long outlive its main staging post upstream in the route of Viking expansion. In a paper which is hopefully to be the last in toponymics entitled with the trope ‘What’s in a Name?’, Alan Macniven wonderfully tackles head-on the tropes of the Vikings as ‘restless adventurers’ involved in ‘seasonal exploitation’, with the level of ninth-century ‘cultural disjuncture’ (p. 23) identified in recent archaeological, linguistic and toponymic studies of the Western Isles, and the example of Iceland, exposing the Norse arrival as being an attack with ‘large-scale plantation of supporters [as] an important part of the colonisation process’ (p. 28). This would presumably have been the first chapter, setting the context for the others, were it not for the conference having taken place on the island of Coll and pride of place understandably going to a study of neighbouring Tiree (see below).

Focusing on the isle of Islay to the south, Macniven outlines the impact of Gaelic linguistic phenomena on original Norse names, such as projection, back-formation, prosthesis and the process by which Norse first-syllable stress can lead to the loss of unstressed middle and end elements of a name. He emphasises the importance of interdisciplinary corroboration and real-world comparators, and the linguistic variation to be found between the perception and reality of correct Norse. Once coined, names cease to be of necessity susceptible to grammar changes and fashions, but are unique address labels apart from the language. Not that they are immune to fashion, and gaelicisation by the OS in Islay – unusually, it should be said, though similar anglicisation of Gaelic names is found in Sutherland – lead to such puzzling but established monstrosities as *Beinn Tart a’ Mhill* ‘the hill of the thirsty hill’ (better, ‘of the hill-thirst’), from a probable **Hjartafjall* ‘hill of stags’, via a more modest Gaelic form.

Macniven defines name borrowing as onomastic transfer, in which the socially subordinate adopt established names and possibly adapt them phonologically, or even by lexical substitution. But there are no examples of such transfer from Gaelic into Norse. The social standing of the newcomers was such that the local traditions could be ignored. The Norse toponymic presence is to be found across all of Islay and on all land forms, with no focus on marginal terrain or defensive points. This was no piecemeal or humble arrival. But in subsequent centuries, from the mid twelfth to the eighteenth, Islay experienced repeated waves of Gaelic immigration of a different kind; one that

was subordinate, but 'relentless', to be seen in the many exegetic incorporations of Norse name units into Gaelic names and in a newer form of Gaelic names with a medial article. The important conclusion is that contrary to the established view of a north-south division in Viking activity, the southern Hebrides also suffered culturally, 'probably' from population disjunction, before experiencing a gradual and 'largely peaceful' re-gaelicisation (p. 45).

John Holliday compares 'almost 100%' (p. 2) of township and farm names in Orkney of Norse derivation with the count in Tiree, where the cover would appear from modern settlements to be nearer a third of that. He demonstrates that this comparison obscures evidence of a similar intensity of Norse. He tells of the good fortune of Tiree, due to widespread cultivation, being wholly covered by large scale OS mapping at 25", which 'rescued' 23 names with Norse elements. Further, he himself, after three decades of intimate knowledge of an island once on the rim of Dàl Riata, has amassed a collection of over 3,300 additional names; some being unrecorded 'last gasp' names on the point of being lost from memory. These provided further instances of Norse derivation.

Many of the former Norse names have been 'well curated' in their later Gaelic guise, including instances of the Gaelic definite article being applied; possibly even of translation. There is evidence too of the Norse post-nominal article, though this would have been limited to three cases were it not for the additional names. This he believes, whilst acknowledging that our understanding of the date for the development of this feature is being pushed back, puts Norse as perhaps still being productive for place-names in Tiree in the fourteenth century, with the language being that of the community from the mid ninth to mid twelfth, continuing till the fifteenth – just as monoglot Gaelic had continued for 300 years despite not being the language of the landowners. He concludes that there was 'a transformational and possibly violent Norse campaign to take control of the island' (p. 17), whereas 'Gaelic resettlement appears to have been gradual and only locally disruptive' (p. 18).

A major question in Scottish Scandinavian studies has been where to place the ninth-century *Laithlinn* from whence the Vikings were said to have come. The Gaelic annals have been thought to be referring to *Lochlai(i)nn*, modern Gaelic for Scandinavia, and for a part-mythical Norway from at least 1102. But how (more significantly I would say, why) would Norwegian fjords be seen as defining to the beleaguered Gael so early with *linn* 'loch'? Or if this, or *loth* 'marsh', is for estuary encampments, why a hybrid with Norse *land*, and for that matter a vowel evidenced only once. Indeed why assume a monophthong; and Kruse doesn't. He argues for a Common Scandinavian **laiþ*, producing *leið* 'road, sea course'; with the generic *land*, particularly common in south-west Norway and in the late ninth century applied to a 'territory'. Here too was the start of the maritime *Leið* leading up the coast and past a network of large farms.

And so this would be a Gaelic report of a Norse polity name **Laiþland* 'the land along the *Leið*'. Reported, says Kruse, just as our only record of Dàl Riata or of Fortriu come from Irish sources; just as Hwicce wouldn't be known from the toponymic record alone, and how *Norðweg/Nórveg* for Norway was recorded in England long before the Scandinavian carved sources.

Going to the other end of the Viking route via the Hebrides, Clare Downham

considers the view of Scottish affairs from Ireland, as transmitted to us by the annals of the Gaelic conflict with the Norse, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*. As ever with media dealings on Scotland, we have to beware propaganda, and even the 'chronologically impossible' (p. 89). The *Cogadh* presents a picture of constant antipathy between the Scots of Alba and a Viking people in unison across the waters between Scotland and Ireland. This suited well the interests of the descendants of Brian Boru, who at his most powerful had the Lennox and Argyll, then outwith Alba, in his ambit; Alba is the only polity not in Ireland to get significant attention. It is seen as part of the Gaelic world and as a potential ally in promoting Uí Bhriain rule in the Hebrides.

Cultural, social and economic networks – again arguably as in the modern media – are to be seen in the chronicles discussed by Nicholas Evans. These are communication networks, but selected for association with, and importance to, the Columban familia and the Norse colony of Dublin. Overall, it was as if the Vikings had closed down Irish international horizons, and possibly encouraged the development of Irish national identity. But Alba was still a viable ally.

Of more direct toponymic interest is Ryan Foster's 'site and situation' study of the Norse elements *sætr* and *ærgi* in Skye and the Outer Hebrides. They are to be seen in the context of what he identifies as a Hebridean regional polity of Innse Gall, with titled positions up to a *righ* 'king', in evidence. This developing hierarchy Foster postulates is reflected in the place-names, with subordinate farming units emerging. The continuity in genetics from the homeland to the colonies 'seems to suggest that overseas settlement included the importation and implementation of a farming economy from Scandinavia, rather than just a takeover of pre-existing settlements' (p. 108). A clean sweep.

So why the borrowing of *ærgi* 'shieling' (with 30 identified instances in the study area) from Gaelic, when their own *sætr* (54 instances) superficially has the same meaning and is equally situated to avoid wind-blown salt spray, with nothing to note in altitude differences? There are clear distribution differences, but also areas with both, and both are found exported beyond the Hebrides in Cumbria. Difference does appear, however, in aspect, with both open to the south, but *sætr* also to the east or even north-east. This aspect gives a wetter environment, and so more herbage mass and thus more nitrogen – often on rough, peaty soil, but fine for beef cattle. To this can be added the evidence of archaeology of cattle remains with fewer young calf deaths in Bostadh, Great Bernera, in *sætr*-dominant Lewis, indicating beef cattle, compared with over half killed in their first year, as associated with dairy cattle, at Bornais (Bornish) in *ærgi*-dominant Uist. Further, Foster points out that Early Gaelic *áirge* has more of a dairy-herd implication than its modern reflex. He tentatively concludes from what is an exciting excavation of a number of disciplines that the place-names show an overall intensification of farming during the Viking Age, with *sætr* applied to a summer farm with general grazing, and *ærgi* a borrowing made in the Hebrides or Ireland for an intensive summer milking place.

Another toponymy-history interface is tackled by Alexandra Sanmark. Focussing on the 11 previously proposed West Coast island sites, Sanmark considers the evidence for Norse *þing* sites for outdoor parliament and court activities here and at Govan.

One conclusion is that place-names in disciplinary isolation is insufficient, but they have to be part of an academic package; as too must be, for Norse names, comparison with what is known of contemporary Scandinavia. Drawing on this approach, another conclusion is that three of the sites must be rejected. Location is key, with genuine sites at the convergence of routes and close to water, fresh or saline, and to a mound; status can vary in bids for more than local prestige, as postulated for Finlaggan in Islay. No Scottish sites are mentioned in textual sources, however, so the toponymic record remains a crucial element of the package.

Not that *ping* itself, famously found elsewhere in Dingwall and Tingwall, is the element in all cases, as with Cnoc nan Gall, an antiquarian 'the hill of the foreigners' (better, 'others'), in Colonsay. But it is notable that two of the three rejected sites have no suggestion of the element as evidence: Manna in Tiree and Lagal(garve) in Kintyre (the other is Grulin in Eigg). Of significance is the outlier to the study, Govan, royal and administrative centre of the polity of Strathclyde. A direct Norse inspiration for the former Doomster Hill is questioned, and instead a post-Norse tradition of stepped mounds in Scotland and a redeveloped Tynwald Hill in Man is tentatively suggested. On the other hand, a possible indication of continuing tradition, or at least memory of it, through the linguistic change to Gaelic is to be found in À(i)rd nan Eireachd 'the height/point of the assemblies', near the mouth of Glen Hinnisdal in Skye (1733 Glen Tinwhill).

It will be a new topic to many and perhaps seen as peripheral, but it would be a mistake to skip the paper on hybridity in gaming culture by Mark A. Hall. This serves to the novice as an excellent introduction to overview of its archaeology and history, and tells a fascinating tale of cross-cultural and societal practice that is 'strongly indicative of the Norse-Gaelic transition' (p. 60). The best board-game players had high status (much like professional internet gamers of today), with fourteenth-century Gaelic *fithcheallaigh* among those qualifying for the best cut of ham at feasts. Hall reminds us that the distance between the cultures was not all that great: '[S]ome of the deeper rhythms of late Iron Age life in the Western Isles [...] continued during the new Scandinavian hegemony, and so it was with board games' (p. 77).

Likewise, in an account of his ongoing investigation of a corpus of upwards of 23 Viking Age hammerhead crosses, Jamie Barnes sees sculptures evidencing hybrid cultural practice. The epicentre seems to be the Solway area in the tenth to eleventh centuries, with a northern outlier at Kilmory Knap in Argyll. The mix of crucifix and Thor's hammer implies to Barnes syncretic religious practice, recognising and consuming different ideologies to form a new identity in a colonial environment. The crosses themselves were probably associated with the archaeologically elusive beach markets, with Luce Bay a prime candidate, in a 'conscious strategy deployed to create and manage a third space' (pp. 261–62).

The Gael had been replaced. But Gaelic was back, and the Viking culture stuck around for a good while. Together they contributed to a syncretic community that continues to influence Scottish life.

PEADAR MORGAN

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCOTTISH NAME STUDIES FOR 2016

SIMON TAYLOR
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This is the eighth such bibliography in *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* (*JSNS*),¹ the first appearing in *JSNS* 4 (2010) covering the years 2006–2009, the second in *JSNS* 5 (2011) covering the year 2010 and so on. It aims to present, in a continuous list arranged alphabetically by author, all relevant articles, chapters in edited books, monographs, CDs, e-books and PhDs (most of which are now available on-line) which appeared in 2016. This bibliography draws heavily on those which I compile for *Scottish Place-Name News* (*SPNNews*), the excellent twice-yearly newsletter of the Scottish Place-Name Society, which should also be consulted for shorter, often illustrated, articles on a wide range of Scottish toponymic themes.

For more extensive bibliographies of name studies in Britain and Ireland and, less comprehensively, other parts of northern Europe, see the bibliographic sections in the relevant issues of *Nomina*, the journal of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland. The material in these *Nomina* bibliographies is set out thematically and includes relevant reviews which have appeared in the given year.

I would be very pleased to hear from anyone who spots any omissions or errors in the following bibliography. I can be contacted via the *JSNS* website or by post c/o Clann Tuirc. Also, I would be glad to receive notice of anything published in 2017 for inclusion in *JSNS* 12.

In order to make it easier for the reader to find their way around, I have put in **bold** not only authors' surnames but also some of the key places, persons or elements discussed in the individual entries.

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¹ Thanks to Richard Cox, Alice Crook, Liz Curtis, Carole Hough, Alan James, Jacob King, Micheál Ó Mainnín, Maggie Scott and Alasdair Whyte for help in compiling this bibliography.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Professor Thomas Owen Clancy holds the Chair of Celtic at the University of Glasgow, where he has taught since 1995. He has been Principal Investigator for a number of recent place-name projects, including most recently the AHRC-funded 'Scottish Toponymy in Transition' (2011–2014) and the Leverhulme-funded 'Commemorations of Saints in Scottish Place-Names' (2010–2013). He is a former editor of *The Innes Review* and is joint series editor of *The International Companions to Scottish Literature*.

Professor Richard A. V. Cox's interests include Gaelic language and literature, including modern poetry and prose writing, publishing, lexicography, linguistics, onomastics and Norse-Gaelic contact. Formerly at the Departments of Celtic at Glasgow and then Aberdeen, he is currently Professor in Gaelic language and literature at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, University of the Highlands and Islands.

Dr Leonie Dunlop is currently in the final year of the MLA in Landscape Architecture at Edinburgh College of Art. In 2016, she completed her PhD entitled 'Breaking old and new ground: a comparative study of coastal and inland naming in Berwickshire' in the School of Critical Studies at the University of Glasgow. Her poetry has been published in the Dangerous Women Project, Gutter, Raum, and Dactyl, and she won the Alastair Buchan Prize in 2015.

Dr Richard Lathe is at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Edinburgh. A graduate of the university, he has held professorial appointments in Strasbourg, Edinburgh and Moscow. In addition to biomedicine, he has interests in the origin of life as well as in the music and early history of Scotland, with a special interest in the evolution of sea levels and their impact on migration and place-names.

Dr Coinneach Maclean is by training an archaeologist and for eight years was Deputy Chief Executive of the National Trust for Scotland. Since 2008 he has worked as a Gaelic-speaking Scottish Tour Guide Association Blue Badge guide, specialising in Gaelic and Highland Scotland. Since 2008 he has also been a trading partner in Iùl. His broad interests include archaeology, architecture, art, history, heritage and environment conservation, and all aspects of Gaelic culture. In 2014 he completed a doctoral research thesis: 'The "Tourist Gaze" on Gaelic Scotland' at the University of Glasgow.

Dr Peadar Morgan graduated in History and International Relations from the University of Aberdeen in 1982 and returned to part-time study to obtain a PhD

on 'Ethnonyms in the Place-Names of Scotland and the Border Counties of England' from the School of History, University of St Andrews, in 2013. He has worked since 2005 with the statutory Gaelic body Bòrd na Gàidhlig, latterly in research management, data processing and corpus planning. Current interests include topographic generics and geo-genealogy.

For **William (Bill) Patterson** place-names are the point of intersection for interests in language, history, archaeology, mythology and folklore, and the use and administration of land resources. From 1969 to 2012 he worked in town and country planning, from 1989 as a Reporter handling appeals and similar matters for the Scottish Office/Executive/Government. This involved making acquaintance with places and place-names around Scotland from Unst to Kirkmadrine, Carloway to Foulden. An early childhood living on Tyneside but with frequent visits to relatives in Edinburgh, Peebles and mining settlements in Lanarkshire, usually combined with exploration of historic places and hearing their stories, no doubt fostered the group of inter-related interests; as did the resulting exposure to many registers and varieties of speech, from parental Scottish Standard English enlivened by Scotticisms to rural Northumberland and retired Shotts coal miner. At the same time interest in the more exotic was encouraged by occasional sorties as far as the Firth of Clyde, the East Neuk of Fife, or west Cumberland.

Dr Norval Smith studied Latin and Ancient Greek at the University of Glasgow, and General Linguistics at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Following a working career at the Linguistics department of the University of Amsterdam, he is still affiliated there as a (retired) Guest Researcher. His specialities are phonology, creole studies and revitalising older linguistic documentation. His most recent publication was a large edited report for the Netherlands Foundation for Research (NWO), *Surviving the Middle Passage: the West Africa-Surinam Sprachbund* (2015), produced together with co-lead investigator Pieter Muysken of the Radboud University Nijmegen. He has had a life-long interest in the place-names of Strathearn, Perthshire, and did fieldwork with the last speaker of the Scots dialect of Fowlis (Strathearn).

Dr Simon Taylor has been working in various aspects of Scottish place-name studies since the early 1990s, including the production of detailed surveys of Fife (5 volumes, 2006–2012), Kinross-shire (1 volume, 2017) and Clackmannanshire (1 volume, forthcoming). He is employed half-time as a reader in Scottish Name Studies at the University of Glasgow. Editor of *JSNS* since its inception in 2007, he is now co-editor with Richard Cox.

COUNTY ABBREVIATIONS FOR SCOTLAND, ENGLAND AND WALES (PRE-1975)

ABD Aberdeenshire	KNT Kent
AGL Anglesey	LAN Lanarkshire
ANG Angus	LEI Leicestershire
ARG Argyllshire	LIN Lincolnshire
AYR Ayrshire	LNC Lancashire
BDF Bedfordshire	MDX Middlesex
BNF Banffshire	MER Merionethshire
BRE Brecknockshire	MLO Midlothian
BRK Berkshire	MON Monmouthshire
BTE Bute	MOR Morayshire
BUC Buckinghamshire	MTG Montgomeryshire
BWK Berwickshire	NAI Nairnshire
CAI Caithness	NFK Norfolk
CAM Cambridgeshire	NTB Northumberland
CHE Cheshire	NTP Northamptonshire
CLA Clackmannanshire	NTT Nottinghamshire
CMB Cumberland	ORK Orkney
CNW Cornwall	OXF Oxfordshire
CRD Cardiganshire	PEB Peeblesshire
CRM Carmarthenshire	PEM Pembrokeshire
CRN Caernarvonshire	PER Perthshire
DEN Denbighshire	RAD Radnorshire
DEV Devon	RNF Renfrewshire
DMF Dumfriesshire	ROS Ross and Cromarty
DNB Dunbartonshire	ROX Roxburghshire
DOR Dorsetshire	RUT Rutland
DRB Derbyshire	SFK Suffolk
DRH Durham	SHE Shetland
ELO East Lothian	SHR Shropshire
ESX Essex	SLK Selkirkshire
FIF Fife	SOM Somerset
FLI Flintshire	SSX Sussex
GLA Glamorgan	STF Staffordshire
GLO Gloucestershire	STL Stirlingshire
GTL Greater London	SUR Surrey
HMP Hampshire	SUT Sutherland
HNT Huntingdonshire	WAR Warwickshire
HRE Herefordshire	WIG Wigtownshire
HRT Hertfordshire	WLO West Lothian
INV Inverness-shire	WLT Wiltshire
IOM Isle of Man	WML Westmoreland
IOW Isle of Wight	WOR Worcestershire
KCB Kirkcudbrightshire	YOE Yorkshire (East Riding)
KCD Kincardineshire	YON Yorkshire (North Riding)
KNR Kinross-shire	YOW Yorkshire (West Riding)