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# Gaelic Place-names and the Social History of Gaelic Speakers in Medieval Menteith

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Roinn na Ceiltis is Gàidhlig, Oilthigh Ghlaschu

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## ***Abstract***

This thesis illustrates that place-names are an essential resource for our understanding of Scottish medieval rural society, with a particular emphasis on Menteith. Place-names are an under-utilised resource in historical studies, and yet have much to inform the historian or archaeologist of how people used and viewed the medieval landscape. We know a great deal of the upper echelons of Scottish medieval society, especially the politics, battles, and lives of significant figures, such as various kings and great barons. However, we know next to nothing of the people from whom the nobility derived their power. The thesis is divided into two parts. Part 1 begins by defining the extent and geography of the medieval earldom of Menteith. The source material is analysed, highlighting the advantages and pitfalls of different sources that can be used for place-name studies. The different languages spoken in Menteith in the Middle Ages, ranging from P-Celtic to Scottish Gaelic to Scots, can be seen in the onomastic evidence. A crucial question that is explored, if not fully answered, is ‘what P-Celtic language was spoken in Menteith: British or Pictish?’. This is followed by an exploration of what we know of the Gaelic language in Menteith. Documents and place-names allow us to pinpoint the beginnings of the change from Gaelic to Scots as the naming language in the area to the later 15<sup>th</sup> C. A brief survey of the historical background shows the influence the earls of Menteith and other nobles may have had on the languages of the earldom. The final two chapters of Part 1 look at the issue of using place-names as a historical resource; Chapter 5 explores secular activities, such as hunting and agriculture. Chapter 6 is a case study examining how place-names can inform us of the medieval church. Part 2 is a survey of the place-names of the six parishes that consisted of the medieval earldom of Menteith, including early forms and analysis of the names.

*Abbreviations used in the text*

*Parish and counties*

ABO Aberdour

ABN Aberdeenshire

AFE Aberfoyle

ALL Alloa

ANG Angus

ARG Argyll

AVA Alva

AYR Ayrshire

BQR Balquhidder

BUC Buchanan

CLA Clackmannanshire

CLD Callander

CLK Clackmannan

DLE Dunblane and Lecroft

DNB Dunbartonshire

DRY Drymen

DXE Dunblane

FIF Fife

GGK Gargunnock

KMA Kilmadock

KMD Kilmordan

KPN Kippen

KRD Kincardine

KRX Kilbride

KXM Kilmahog

LAN Lanarkshire

LEX Lecropt

LXY Leny

LOI Logie

PER Perthshire

PMH Port-of-Menteith

SLN Saline

STL Stirlingshire

TBX Tullibody

WLO West Lothian

*Other abbreviations*

BLITON British Language in the Old North

Brit. British

C Century

E ecclesiastical site

fem. feminine

gen. genitive

IrG Irish Gaelic

m metres

masc. masculine

MG Middle Gaelic

NAS National Archives of Scotland

NLS National Library of Scotland

nom. nominative

OD	Ordnance Datum
OI	Old Irish
OG	Old Gaelic
OS	Ordnance Survey
P	Parish
pl.	Plural

RCAHMS Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments Scotland

S	settlement
Sc	Scots
ScG	Scottish Gaelic
sg.	Singular
SNH	Scottish Natural Heritage
SSE	Scots Standard English
TNS	Robert Sibbald's 'Topographical Notices of Scotland'
V	vegetation
W	Welsh

\* Indicates a reconstructed or hypothetical unattested form

# Indicates an obsolete name, i.e. the head-name no longer appears on modern maps and is not known locally.

Place-names in *italics* indicates an early form. However, note that a Gaelic reconstruction of an Anglicised place-name will also appear in italics within brackets after the place-name, e.g. Anie CLD (*Àth an Fhèidh* 'ford of the deer').

A place-name depicted in **bold** and often followed by a parish abbreviation in Part 1, e.g. **Callander** CLD or **Gartenjore** CLD, indicates a cross-reference to early-forms and the associated discussion that can be found in Part 2.

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suggested I go to university at the age of thirty-four. Regretfully, she did not live to see me complete my undergraduate degree. It is to her memory that I dedicate this work.

# Chapter 1

## ***Introduction***

This study will attempt to show that place-names are an essential tool for developing our understanding of rural society in medieval Scotland. The focus here will be mainly on Gaelic place-names in the medieval earldom of Menteith. Place-names are often mentioned by historians and archaeologists as having the potential to inform us of how humans used and viewed the landscape of Scotland in the past. However, many historical researchers have bemoaned the lack of systematic place-name surveys of Scottish counties, which has meant that the ability to use place-names in their work has been greatly hampered.<sup>1</sup> Recent funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) enabled the research project ‘The Expansion and Contraction of Gaelic in Medieval Scotland: the onomastic evidence’, the main output of which was *The Place-Names of Fife* series, by Simon Taylor and Gilbert Má rkus; this is the first full place-name survey of a Scottish county for over forty years. This PhD thesis is a part of that project, and it was a privilege to be able to gain access to some of the results of the Fife material, which helped inform many issues regarding the Menteith place-names.

The history of a language’s use is intimately connected with social change. However, researching the history of Gaelic speakers when Gaelic was at its peak, and began to decline, before 1300 in eastern Scotland, is difficult using established methods of research. Unlike England, which has many manorial and estate records, and of course Domesday Book, there is a marked dearth of such detailed documentation for social history in Scotland as a whole before 1300, and indeed for many parts of Scotland, including Menteith, before the Protestant Reformation. The best source is charters, but their survival is uneven and information limited. New methods have to be employed to tease out Scottish social history, focussing

<sup>1</sup> Alex Woolf is merely among the latest to complain of the lack of place-name surveys (Woolf 2007, 330). See also Chapter 5 for discussion of this topic.

particularly on place-names. The potential of common generic elements (such as *baile* in Balkerach KMA) as indicators of widespread social developments is not generally appreciated. There is often an assumption that place-names relate to population movement rather than social change among existing inhabitants. As a result, Gaelic generic elements with an almost exclusively regional concentration, such as *earrann* ‘portion’, have hardly been discussed. Also, a particular generic is often examined in isolation, in terms of its distribution, rather than in the context of neighbouring place-names, landscape and environment, and lordship. Place-name elements also have the potential to indicate areas of specific economic or agricultural activity. What is striking about Menteith is the remarkable prevalence of two place-name elements: one is *gart*, meaning ‘enclosed arable field surrounded by waste’; this element also extends to Clackmannanshire, northern Lanarkshire, as well as the area between Lake of Menteith and Loch Lomond. It is significant, though, that it is prevalent in areas of former forest or waste land, such as bog, perhaps suggesting settlements of foresters or peat-diggers. The other prevalent element is *earrann*, anglicised as *Arn-*, meaning ‘portion, share, division’, some of which can be shown to have been lands belonging to Inchmahome Priory.

In order to build up the social landscape of the area in the context of lordship and environment, this work will use place-names as well as documents, and where possible archaeological evidence, and thus increase our understanding of the dynamic of Gaelic society in Menteith prior to the language’s decline. The area includes secular landlords, such as the earl of Menteith, and ecclesiastical landlords, such as Inchmahome Priory. First of all, however, we need to define Menteith territorially, and say something about its geographical situation in order to understand something of its settlement patterns.

## *Menteith Physical*

### *Topography, Geology and Soils*

Covering an area which is 48 km east to west and 27 km north to south, Menteith has a dual character. The area is dominated by two distinct landforms. There is the flat low-lying Forth valley to the south and east, which contains the lowest point in Menteith, where the Rivers Teith and Forth meet; here the elevation of the land is just five metres. The mountains and hills to the north and west contain the highest point in the earldom, Stùc a' Chroin at 975 m. The reason for this dichotomy is because the district is split in two by the Highland Boundary Fault (HBF). This fault line runs on mainland Scotland from the northeast near Stonehaven to around Helensburgh in the southwest. As far as Menteith is concerned the HBF runs just north of Aberfoyle and Kilmahog and on through Glen Artney. The effects that this major geological fault has had on the history of Scotland in general and Menteith in particular have been profound. It has not only determined the type of agricultural activity on either side of the fault, but it has also been a major cultural and linguistic boundary, and this will be explored more fully in Chapter 3.

Menteith is influenced by air masses from both the Atlantic and the Continent. These have combined with a 'diverse interaction between geology, geomorphology, climate and soils' to form the 'basic infrastructure' of the landscape (SNH 2005, 7). The geology<sup>2</sup> is extraordinary and too complex for this thesis to go into in detail. The rocks on the northern side of the HBF are of the Dalradian Supergroup and contain harder metamorphic rocks, mainly schists, gneisses, and quartzite, laid down around 570 million years ago (Browne, Mendum, and Monro 1993, 1). Those rocks to the south are younger Devonian rocks (around 400 million years old), mainly of softer Old Red Sandstone. In the middle of all this is the Highland Border Complex, the remains of a small ocean containing grits, shales, limestones and pebbly

<sup>2</sup> More on the geology can be found at *Loch Lomond to Stirling: Landscape fashioned by Geology*, an online SNH publication, at [http://www.snh.org.uk/publications/on-line/geology/loch\\_lomond\\_stirling/default.asp](http://www.snh.org.uk/publications/on-line/geology/loch_lomond_stirling/default.asp).

conglomerates (SNH 2005, 7-9), the physical manifestation of which is the Menteith Hills that overlook the Lake of Menteith. More recent geological and climatic events have also left their mark on Menteith. A series of glaciations have shaped the area. The most recent was the Loch Lomond Re-advance of around 10,000 years ago. Glaciers reached Callander and Lake of Menteith (Browne and Mendum 1997, 18). Apart from the more obvious effects, such as the U-shaped valleys of Loch Lubnaig and Loch Katrine, glaciation also produced a series of terminal moraines that can be seen immediately to the east and south of Lake of Menteith and north of Arnprior and Buchlyvie. These have created ridges of higher areas in the flat carselands of the Forth (Evans and Rose 2003, 49). The Lake of Menteith was created out of a depression caused by the glaciation process. The carselands were formed by the most recent geological event: the retreat of the ice and the flooding of the lower parts of Britain by the sea. This produced a deposit of estuarine clays in the Forth valley which are now above sea-level due to the isostatic rebound of the land after the departure of the ice (Mithen 1999, 37). The result is a very fertile valley, but one that until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century was a peat bog in many parts. This rebounding of the land after the removal of the ice has left some raised beaches which can be seen in the area between Kippen and Buchlyvie.

The soils reflect the complexity of the underlying geology and past geomorphological processes. Brown forest soils are the most widespread away from the areas containing the carselands and the higher ground to the north and west. The carselands are made up mostly of gleys.<sup>3</sup> A more detailed survey can be seen in Grieve (1993). Grieve also produces a map showing the agricultural uses of these soils (1993, 38; see Map 2), which demonstrates that there is a marked difference between the Highlands and the Lowlands in terms of crop

<sup>3</sup> Gleys are widespread throughout Scotland, being developed under conditions of intermittent or permanent waterlogging. Gleys are often confined to depressed or receiving sites where anaerobic conditions result from the periodic or long-term waterlogging, either a direct result of surface water collection or groundwater conditions. They also occur where the soil is dense and water is prevented from moving through the soil (<http://www.macaulay.ac.uk/explorescotland/gleys.htm>).

growing ability, with the Lowlands having the best of such land. The Highlands, on the other hand, are more useful for pastoral activity.

#### *Water courses*

Menteith is dominated by two water courses, the River Teith and the River Forth. Until the two rivers meet about three kilometres north-west of Stirling Castle, the Teith can be said to be the greater of the two rivers, and it could be argued that the Forth is a tributary of the Teith rather than the other way round. The Teith is fed from the north by a number of lochs and burns to the north and west of Callander. The waters of Loch Doine and Loch Voil BQR, flow into the River Balvag through Strathyre and into Loch Lubnaig. Below this loch the river is named the Garbh Uisge ‘rough water’. From the west the Teith is supplied by Lochs Katrine, Achray, and Venachar. This system meets the Garbh Uisge via the Eas Gobhain ‘smith waterfall’ at Callander. As their names suggest, both these rivers are noted for their swiftness, but when they meet at Callander the change is remarkable: the river (now the Teith) becomes slow moving and quiet and forms a floodplain, which the river often reclaims in times of heavy rainfall. The Teith has a number of tributaries from this point, especially from the north via Stùc a’ Chroin and the Braes of Doune. Among the more notable of these tributaries are the Kelty Water, Annat Burn, and Ardoch Burn. The Teith flows fairly steadily from Callander through an undulating Lowland valley with no great deal of meandering until it reaches the River Forth at Drip, just 3km NW of Stirling Castle.

The River Forth has a different character altogether. Flowing down the slopes of Ben Lomond via Lochs Chon and Ard, it runs at first through a Highland landscape not unlike that of the upper reaches of the Teith drainage system. Once the Forth and its tributaries reach the area around Gartmore, however, the landscape could scarcely be more different. The ground from Gartmore to Stirling, a distance of 25 km, is among the flattest to be found in the British Isles. It rises from five meters at the confluence of the Teith and Forth near Stirling to only

seventeen metres at Baad Spring, just south-east of Gartmore. The result is that the Forth takes a slow, meandering journey along the flat carselands. These carselands are hemmed in by the steep-sided Gargunnock Hills and the more gently sloping Kippen and Ballindalloch Muirs to the south. To the north is a ridge of higher ground between Thornhill and Callander which separates the Forth valley from the Teith.

### *Defining Menteith*

The earldom of Menteith occupied that area of central Scotland basically to the east of Stirling and to the west of Loch Lomond (see Map 3). The earldom of Menteith was centred on the islands in the Lake of Menteith. The island of Inch Talla was one of the principal residences of the earls of Menteith. The neighbouring island of Inchmahome was home to a group of Augustinian canons based in the priory there founded in 1238 by Walter Comyn. Menteith sat between two other earldoms: Lennox lay to the south and west and Strathearn to the north and north-east. To the east were the shires and later sheriffdoms of Stirling and Clackmannan. Menteith was one of the ancient provinces of *Scotia*, i.e. Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde isthmus (Broun 1998, 6), and yet it is not always clear what constituted the area said to be Menteith. The difficulty in defining the area is not helped by the fact that the documentary evidence for Menteith is often sparse and erratic. Some parts of the earldom can be well documented throughout the medieval period, while others areas only have more plentiful documentation from the 16<sup>th</sup> C. This inconsistency is exemplified by the priory of Inchmahome: in the most accessible volume of printed material there is a foundation charter dating to 1238 and then next to nothing until 1526 (see Fraser, *Menteith*). Menteith does not come on record until about 1164 when a Gilbert, earl of Menteith is listed as a witness to a charter of Scone Abbey (*RRS* i, no. 243). The area itself is mentioned in a subordinate role to Strathearn (*stradeern cum meneted*) in *De Situ Albanie*, a source that has been dated to the reign of William I, perhaps between 1165 and 1184 (Skene 1867, 136; Skene 1880, 42-3;

Dickinson, Donaldson and Milne 1952, 5; Howlett 2000, 135).<sup>4</sup> According to this source Menteith was a *subregio* of Strathearn. While the area of this *subregio* is never at any time precisely marked out, we can say that it included at least the valley of the River Teith. The question is how much of the area on either side of this river can we say was in the district of Menteith?

Part of the problem with trying to define the territorial extent of Menteith is that the sources are not always in complete agreement. Indeed, our most convenient sources for determining the extent of the earldom are extremely late. *The Gazetteer of Scotland* of 1848, and Francis Groome's version of 1880, tells us that Menteith 'comprised all the lands west of the Ochil Hills in Perthshire, whose waters discharge themselves into the Forth' with the exception of Balquhidder parish which was historically part of the earldom of Strathearn (Gazetteer 1848; Groome 1882, under *Monteith*). According to the 1848 gazetteer the district of Menteith included the parishes of Callander, Aberfoyle, Port-of-Menteith, Kilmadock, Kincardine, and Lecroft, and parts of the parishes of Kippen, Dunblane, and Logie. In the *Red Book of Menteith*, Sir William Fraser largely concurs with this assessment; he states the parishes of Port-of-Menteith, Aberfoyle, Callander and Leny, Kincardine, Kilmadock, Lecroft, Dunblane, Logie, and parts of Kippen 'are included in the district known as Menteith' (Fraser *Menteith*, xvii). Fraser adds Leny to Callander, but we may still question whether the *whole* of the parishes of Dunblane and Logie were in Menteith. Another author, meanwhile, states that the territorial extent of the earldom of Menteith 'comprises the modern parishes of Callander, Kilmadock, and Lecroft, with portions of Logie and Dunblane, all lying north of the central ridge; and Aberfoyle, Port of Menteith, Kincardine, and part of Kippen, on its southern slopes' (Hutchison 1899, 2).

<sup>4</sup> An alternative date between 1202 and 1214 was proposed by Daivit Broun (2000). However, Prof. Broun has since gone back to believing the date to be between 1165 x 84 for reasons that are complicated, but which depend on how the evidence of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 139 and the MSS copied from it are interpreted (Broun pers. comm.).

The uncertainty of the boundary of the district of Menteith is then compounded yet again by our fourth and most modern source, J.H. Cockburn's *The Medieval Bishops of Dunblane and Their Church* published in 1959. Here Cockburn states that medieval Menteith 'comprised the parishes of Aberfoyle, Leny, Port-of-Menteith, Callander, Kilmahog, Kincardine, Kippen, Dunblane, and part of Logie' (Cockburn 1959, 7). In this list it appears that Leny was a separate parish from Callander, as was Kilmahog, and only part of Logie is included, but Lecroft is absent. This is probably because Lecroft was a detached part of the diocese of Dunkeld (McNeil and MacQueen 1996, 353). Cockburn has included Leny and Kilmahog as separate parishes because, although they had been long subsumed into Callander, they were discrete parishes in the Middle Ages. He does not mention Kilbryde in this list, which was also a separate parish in the Middle Ages, as shall be seen. He includes presumably the whole of the parishes of Dunblane and Kippen. Although he does not mention the division of Kippen between Stirlingshire and Perthshire prior to 1891, it seems unlikely that Cockburn would have been unaware of it, but it is surprising that he has not commented on the fact.

The situation regarding the parish of Kippen is odd. Kippen lies south of the River Forth. It is also notable that Kippen is in a sort of no-man's land with the parishes of Drymen and Balfron to the west and south, which were in the Lennox, the successor to the kingdom of Dumbarton or Strathclyde north of the River Clyde, and was in the diocese of Glasgow. To the east was the parish of Gargunnock, originally a part of the parish St Ninians or Eccles. St Ninians formed the core of the *castrensis provincia*, or the province of the castle of Stirling (Duncan 1975, 161), which was probably the soke or shire of Stirling, extant by the reign of Alexander I (1107-24) (*RRS* i, 40), and it formed part of the diocese of St Andrews and was probably earlier part of the region of Manaw. There is a tradition, the dating of which is uncertain, that the parish church of Kippen was the burial place of the indigenous Gaelic earls of Menteith (*Camb. Reg.* cxxix; Hutchison 1899, 123). Kippen was also split internally, between STL and PER, which may be a result of later tenurial holdings. The largest PER

portion almost certainly consisted of lands belonging to the priory of Inchmahome; while parts of the largest STL portion belonged to the Livingstones of Callendar, near Falkirk, STL. Duncan is of the opinion that it was not until the later medieval period that some of the eastern parishes of Lennox were attached to Stirlingshire (Duncan 1975, 161).<sup>5</sup> Kippen, however, was in the earldom of Menteith in 1238 when the church was granted as a prebend to Dunblane Cathedral (Cowan 1967, 116).

Two of our modern sources – Fraser and Cockburn – seem to include the whole of Dunblane parish in the earldom of Menteith, when in fact the situation may be more complicated than that. The 1848 Gazetteer has only part of the parish of Dunblane in Menteith. The obvious question is: which part? The most likely candidate not to be included in the earldom of Menteith is the medieval parish of Kilbryde centred on the church at NN77560277, three km north-west of Dunblane Cathedral. Kilbryde was a separate parish at the Reformation (Kirk 1995, 343). It was united with Dunblane in the sixteenth century<sup>6</sup> but was still a barony in the following century.<sup>7</sup> The reason why it was probably not in Menteith is that it was given to the abbey of Inchaffray by Gilbert, earl of Strathearn in 1203 x 1219 (Cowan 1967, 95), although the barony of Kilbryde was part of the holdings of the post-1427 earls of Menteith. It seems probable that Kilbryde was a detached portion of the deanery of Strathearn within the deanery of Menteith. This is not so unusual a situation for Strathearn parishes; Culross and Tulliallan were detached portions of Dunblane diocese (Strathearn deanery?)<sup>8</sup> surrounded by St Andrews diocese (Fothrif deanery) and detached parishes of Dunkeld. A further complication arose in 1855 when the parish of Ardoch was created out of the parishes of Muthil, Blackford and Dunblane (Corbett and Dix 1993, 174).

<sup>5</sup> These parishes were Drymen, Balfron, Fintry, Killearn, and Buchanan or Inchcailloch.

<sup>6</sup> RCAHMS Canmore, NMRS No. NN70SE 36.

<sup>7</sup> NAS GD49/232 dated 1632; NAS GD22/3/637 dated 1644.

<sup>8</sup> There are no sources to say which parishes were in which deanery, and so we cannot be sure which deanery the parishes of Tillicoultry and Tullibody were in. Culross and Tulliallan may have been in the deanery of Strathearn, as they are usually mentioned as being in the ‘senescallatum de Strathearn’ for much of the Middle Ages and beyond (Taylor 2006, 223).

Menteith was part of the diocese of Dunblane until the Protestant Reformation of 1560.<sup>9</sup> The cross-slabs inside Dunblane cathedral seem to suggest that there was a church at Dunblane from an early date (Rogers 1997, 85). Stephen Driscoll argues that the sculpture on the cross-slabs 'hint at [Dunblane's] early importance' (Driscoll 2002, 47). It is unclear when Dunblane became the chief seat of the bishopric because there was a community of *Céli Dé* at Muthil, and it is possible that it was this institution that was the main ecclesiastical focus of the area in early medieval times (Cowan and Easson 1976, 204; MacQuarrie 1992, 128-9; Semple 2009, Chapter 5).

By 1155 the diocese had been reconstituted and by the 13<sup>th</sup> C, bishops used the title of Dunblane or Strathearn, suggesting that Dunblane was originally part of Strathearn (*Inchaffray Chrs* nos. 3 and 13; Neville 2005, 150).<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Rogers (1992, 345) asserts that Dunblane was not in Menteith, but, along with Kilbryde, 'formed the most southwesterly part of the earldom [of Strathearn].' He argues that this was because the earls of Strathearn were prominent in the reconstitution of the see of Dunblane in the mid 12<sup>th</sup> C, and were recognised by the papacy to have held the patronage of the episcopal church.

By the thirteenth century the diocese was split into two sections headed by the deans of Muthil or Strathearn, and Menteith (later Dunblane). It would seem that the territory of the deanery of Menteith/Dunblane was coterminous with the earldom of Menteith (Cowan and Easson 1976, 204; *Fasti* (Watt and Murray), 120). However, that does not necessarily mean the *parish* of Dunblane was in any secular lordship of Menteith; unlike the other parishes of this study it is never mentioned as being in the earldom or stewartry of Menteith. Indeed, in 1535 the lands of Cambushinnie and Glassingall, both in DLE, are referred to as being 'in senesc[allatum] de Stratherene' (*RMS* iii, nos. 1559, 1560). While a study of the parish of

<sup>9</sup> After the Reformation the diocese of Dunblane was subject to a complicated reorganisation, and parts of Menteith appear in the Presbytery of Dunblane, while others were in the Presbytery of Stirling (see maps in McNeill and MacQueen (1996, 382-91)).

<sup>10</sup> *Inchaffray Chrs* no. 3, dated to 1198 has Jonatha Episcopo de *Strathern*, while no 13, dated to 1200 has Ionantha episcopo de *Dunblanensi*.

Dunblane and Lecroft is of course desirable, it will not be included in this thesis for the simple reason it was not in Menteith, at least in the secular sense. The reason the parish of Dunblane was in the deanery of Menteith may simply have been an administrative ploy, and possibly has much to do with Bishop Clement asserting the independence of his episcopal authority and his cathedral from the pernicious influence, as he saw it, of the earl of Strathearn (Neville 2005, 153). There is a notable conjunction of the establishing of Dunblane as the see and the first appearance of the deanery of Menteith. Clement was elected bishop in 1233 (*Chron. Melrose* 82; *Fasti* (Watt and Murray), 100); he moved the seat of his diocese permanently to Dunblane the following year (Macquarrie 1992, 129), and the first mention of the deanery of Menteith is 1235 (*Fasti* (Watt and Murray), 120). The parish of Dunblane may have been a parish which was in reality independent of both Strathearn and Menteith, and was a territory which was under the direct jurisdiction of the bishop.

The parish of Lecroft, still independent of Dunblane after the 1891 reorganisation of Scottish counties and parish boundaries, was granted to Cambuskenneth Abbey in 1260 (*Camb. Reg.* no. 184). Lecroft was in the diocese of Dunkeld, and is part of a small group of Dunkeld parishes on the southern fringe of the territory of the diocese of Dunblane, including Alva and Dollar (Cowan 1967, 129; McNeil and MacQueen 1996, 353). It was not, so far as I am aware, ever mentioned as being in any secular lordship of Menteith in the medieval period. This small parish was united with Dunblane parish in 1898 (Corbett and Dix 1993, 174).

A document dating to 1261, but reproducing material from a charter dating to 1213,<sup>11</sup> shows that the lands of the earls of Menteith were spread over a wide area (see comment *RRS* ii, no. 519; *CDS*, i, no. 2276; *SP* vi, 126). The document formed part of an agreement between two brothers, both confusingly named Maurice. The brothers were distinguished by the

<sup>11</sup> The document is an *inspeximus* of Henry III of England drawn up during a dispute over the inheritance of the earldom after the murder of Earl Walter Comyn in the late 1250s (Duncan 1975, 583).

appellations elder and younger. Both brothers had claims to the earldom, and after arbitration by Alexander, future king of Scots (as Alexander II), Gilbert of Strathearn and Malcolm of Fife, the younger Maurice became earl of Menteith, perhaps due to more appropriate inheritance rights.<sup>12</sup> The Maurices came to an agreement whereby the elder would hold the lands<sup>13</sup> of *Muylin* (Malling PMH) and *Radenoche* (Rednock PMH), as well as *Tum* (*Thom?* PMH),<sup>14</sup> *Cacelyn* (Cashley DRY STL), *Brathuli* (Bracklinn CLD), and *Cambuswethe* (Cambuswallace? KMA). The younger Maurice also gave his brother the lands of *Saveline* (Saline SLN FIF), *Mestrym* (Menstrie AVA CLA), *Kenelton* (Kinneil? Bo'ness and Carriden parish WLO NS9875),<sup>15</sup> and *Stradlochline* (Strathlachlan? KMD ARG NS026965)<sup>16</sup> to be used for the marriage of his daughters (see Map 4). The majority of these lands are in Menteith, but Cashley was in the Lennox, albeit only just – it is just one km west of Buchlyvie KPN, Strathlachlan is on the western side of the Cowal peninsula, Saline is in west Fife, and Kinneil is in West Lothian. It will be useful to clear up two names, *Saveline* and *Mestrym*. Boardman (2006, 15) displays some hesitation in thinking that these names are Saline SLN FIF and Menstrie AVA CLA. In fact, there can be little doubt that they are. As Boardman states, Menstrie (*Mestreth* in Watson 1926, 264, quoting *ER* i, 24) remained in the hands of the Campbells into the sixteenth century (Boardman 2006, 13). But so, too, did Saline,<sup>17</sup> and both places are sometimes mentioned in the same charter. For example, in 1541, Archibald, earl of

<sup>12</sup> Details of this dispute and its consequences can be found in Chapter 4.

<sup>13</sup> Spellings taken from RRS ii no. 519, which are same as CDS i no. 2276. Fraser (*Menteith* ii, 214) has '*Muyline et Radenoche et Tum et Cattlyne et Brathuli et Cambuswelhe*' and '*Savelime...Mestrym et Kenelton et Stradlochlem*'.

<sup>14</sup> Now lost, but see *Retours* Perthshire no. 934, dated 1684, '...terras de *Thom* vocata *Barnsdaill* alias *Watson...*' Watson is at NGR NN715008. For an earlier mention, dated 1317 x 1332, see NAS GD198/38. See also survey of KMA.

<sup>15</sup> It is not clear where *Kenelton* was, but Kinneil WLO may be a possibility as it was called *Penneltun* by Bede (*HE*, 59). MacDonald does not have *Kenelton* in his survey of the place-names of West Lothian (1941, 30-1).

<sup>16</sup> Strathlachlan is in western Cowal. While the identification of *Stradlochline* with Strathlachlan seems reasonable, difficulties arise when it is taken into account that the eponym of Strathlachlan is usually taken to be Lachlan Mòr, whose father and uncle were alive in 1240 (Sellar 1971, 29, 33). Gillespic MacLachlan held Strathlachlan in 1293 (Boardman 2006, 12). In the reign of William I the earls of Menteith had responsibility for the finding of warrantors for disputed goods 'de Kentire uel de Comhgal (from Kintyre or from Cowal)' (A. Taylor 2009, 254, 280).

<sup>17</sup> See Taylor (*PNF* i, 531-2) for discussion of this name.

Argyll held ‘terras de *Littill Sawling*, et lie *Bordland de Sawling*, vic. *Fiffe*; terras de *Menstre*, vic. *Clakmannane* (*RMS* iii, no. 2307).

All the modern sources mention that the parish of Logie, or parts of it, was in Menteith. The lands of *Mestrym* (Brit. \*maes + \*trev ‘plain settlement’), mentioned above, are generally held to be Menstrie in Clackmannanshire (Watson 1926, 364; Nicolaisen 1976, 216; Boardman 2006, 15). Menstrie was in Logie parish until 1891 when it was transferred to Alva parish. Around 1178 Bishop Symon of Dunblane confirmed a grant of Logie-Airthrey<sup>18</sup> by an unknown donor to the nuns of North Berwick and this was witnessed by, among others, John, rector of Kilbryde, and three Culdees from Muthil (*N.B. Chrs*, no. 5; Cockburn 1959, 29). The church of Logie was further confirmed to the nuns in 1228 by Malcolm, earl of Fife (*N.B. Chrs*, no. 7; Fergusson 1905, 11-12). What this confirms, however, is that Logie was in the diocese of Dunblane. If the lands of Menstrie, lying in the eastern part of Logie, were part of the earldom of Menteith, it may be that the whole of Logie was in Menteith in the early Middle Ages. However, there is no mention of Logie being in the medieval earldom of Menteith.

So which parishes were in Menteith in the Middle Ages? Perhaps the clearest answer is to be found in the primary sources. The six parishes of the study area are all described as being in the medieval earldom, stewartry, or lordship of Menteith. Aberfoyle (AFE) is said to be ‘in comitatu de *Menteith*’ in 1489 (*RMS* ii no. 1862); Callander (CLD) is ‘in comitatu de *Mentheth*’ in 1451 (*RMS* ii, no. 465). Of the two parishes subsummed into CLD, Leny is mentioned as being in ‘senescallatum de *Menteith* in 1599 (*Retours PER* no. 57), while *Garrindewar*, in the parish of Kilmahog, is said to be in ‘dominio de *Strogartnay*, senes[callatu] de *Menteith*’ in 1572 (*RMS* iv, no. 2092). Kincardine (KRD) is in the ‘senesc[allatu] *Menteith*’ in 1503 (*RMS* ii

<sup>18</sup> According to Cockburn (1959, 42 n. 13), this parish was also called ‘Logie Woloch’. Unfortunately, Cockburn fails to reveal where he received his information. He has been followed in this by Cowan (1967, 136), who calls it ‘Logie Wallach’. I have found no other mention of Woloch in connection with Logie. Significantly, no mention of Woloch/Wallach is found in *OSA*, *NSA*, or in the fullest history of the parish (Fergusson 1905). Logie Wallach is in fact Logie Ruthven or Logie-in-Mar, now Logie Coldstone. Logie Ruthven was dedicated to ‘St Wolock’ (Davidson 1878, 55); for some further details of this saint’s cult in Scotland, see MacKinlay (1914, 142-3). It is not known how the erroneous association between Woloch/Wallach came about.

no. 2707); Kippen (KPN) is ‘in dominio de Menteith’ in 1459 (*RMS* ii no. 672); and Port-of-Menteith (PMH) is *Porte in Menteth* in 1467. Kilmadock (KMA) is not actually mentioned as being in Menteith until 1662 when Coilechat is stated to be ‘in parochia de Kilmadock et senescallatu[m] de Monteith’ (*Retours PER* no. 693). However, other lands in the parish are shown as being in the earldom in the Middle Ages: Doune is shown as *Dwne in Meneteth* in 1381 (Fraser 1879, 237), Lanrick is ‘omnibus [et] singulis terris de tribus *Lanarkynys* in *Menetheth*’ in 1317 x 1332 (NAS GD198/38), and Annet is ‘in dominio de *Menteith*’ in 1526 (*RMS* iii no. 397).

### *Conclusion*

Menteith lies at the boundary between the Highlands and the Lowlands. The geology has determined that there are two distinct parts: the mountainous region to the north and west, and a relatively flat area to the south and east. Both parts have different soils and are suited to different kinds of agriculture: pastoral in the north; arable in the south. Menteith sits on the southern edge of the diocese of Dunblane, at the border of two other medieval dioceses; Glasgow and St Andrews, and is surrounded by two larger earldoms – Lennox and Strathearn – to the north, west, and south, with the royal land of Stirling to the east. As we shall see, it also lay at the cross-roads of three languages, British, Gaelic, and Scots. All of this – geology, geography, and language – has had a major impact on the nomenclature of Menteith. However, before we can study the place-names and social history of Menteith, we need to know something of the strengths and weaknesses of the source material.

## Chapter 2

### *The Source Materials*

The sources that can be used in the study of Scottish place-names and social history are wide ranging and varied. They extend from royal charters and administration records to maps and modern local histories. The dates of these documents range from the earliest available records, such as early Irish and English chronicles in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, to the very latest maps. There is a wide variation in both quantity and quality of sources. Generally, the earlier the period, the less material we have to work with, but as we reach the century or so before the Protestant Reformation the amount of material available begins to increase exponentially. There are several reasons for the lack of documentation before the 16<sup>th</sup> C, including war with England; the take-over of religious institutions by noble families through the commender system, who have misplaced or destroyed documents, such as cartularies; and perhaps there was a disproportionate amount of earlier material lost when the ship carrying Scottish records back to Scotland after the Restoration of 1660, floundered in a storm off eastern England (Webster 1975, 128). The increase in documentation is largely due to the fact that large parts of Menteith came into the hands of the Crown after the execution of Murdach, duke of Albany, in 1425. However, this increase in documentation does not mean that as we move forward to the modern era the quality of the source material necessarily becomes better for place-name research. Rather, a place-name can often become transformed by the linguistic and orthographical conventions of other languages. In the Lowlands, for example, a Pictish or British name may have been first Gaelicised and then Scotticised rendering its meaning obscure or difficult to interpret precisely. The place-name scholar deals with a huge variety of documents and he or she may never become an expert in a particular type of document in the way that a historian whose main research interest is

charters, for example, would, or the way a historical geographer might be familiar with maps and estate plans. Nevertheless, the toponymist has to have more than a passing acquaintance with the documents consulted in the course of research. There is a need to be aware above all of the potential pitfalls in these documents and how those flaws came about, both in original manuscripts and in printed sources. This section will look at the different types of sources available for place-name and social historical research in Menteith and comment on the advantages and pitfalls of each source. Understanding the nature of the sources is vital for interpreting the documents and unlocking their potential for use in research.

### **Maps**

Maps are probably among the first tools that toponymists and historians will reach for when studying a particular area. Maps help researchers not just to discover what place-names there are and the spellings of those names, but to get a spatial and topographical representation as to where the place-names are and how they relate to the landscape in which they are situated, and other place-names around them. However, beyond these first impressions, maps are much more sophisticated than just the representation of a landscape on paper or screen. They have a ‘grammar and vocabulary’ all of their own, which has to be learned for maps to become intelligible. Difficulties can arise when a researcher is not aware of the ‘conventions and inaccuracies’ contained in a map (Hindle 1998, vii), and why a map was produced in the first place. There are a small number of earlier maps that can profitably be used for the place-name research of Menteith, the best and most complete being James Stobie’s survey of *The Counties of Perth and Clackmannan* published in 1783. This was the largest and most detailed map of any part Scotland up to that date (Quarto 2005). Other maps include those by Blaeu, Gordon, Adair, Roy, and the 1<sup>st</sup> edition of the Ordnance Survey, whose surveyors surveyed Menteith in 1862.

Not all of these maps are of equal value as a historical resource for a toponymic survey of Menteith. Blaeu covers only the southern portion of PMH in what is otherwise a map of Lennox (Blaeu 27). This map is based on Timothy Pont's or Robert Gordon's work in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The place-names on the map are often anomalous. For example, *Achincler* instead of Arnclerich or *Ardinclerich* as is often found in documents. This may be a simple misreading of Pont's MS by the Dutch type-setters. But other strange instances of naming occur, such as dividing **Shannochill** PMH into two distinct places, *Schenna* and *Chaill*, each having its own settlement symbol.<sup>19</sup> What is most frustrating about Blaeu, however, is what he does not show; namely any other part of Menteith. This is presumably because Pont's or Gordon's maps were lost before they could be sent over to Amsterdam for Blaeu to engrave, since it seems that either Pont or Gordon actually surveyed Menteith, as can be seen from Robert Sibbald's 'Topographical Notices of Scotland' (hereafter TNS (NLS Adv.MS.34.2.8)).<sup>20</sup>

John Adair was active in the last two decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He began his career with a survey of Clackmannanshire c.1681. He also surveyed 'the counties around Stirling', probably not long after. While this is a worthwhile resource for studying place-names in Menteith, it is largely restricted to KRD and parts of KMA. It also concentrates on the major tounships, such as **Coldoch** KRD or **Spittalton** KMA, and omits any mention of minor settlements. However, the map is, for instance, confirmation that the name Blair Drummond was not in use before this map was made, for there is no mention of the mansion of George Drummond who bought the lands in 1683 (see **Blairdrummond** KRD in Part 2).

James Stobie was commissioned by the Duke of Atholl to survey his estates in Perthshire. Stobie was the Duke's factor and the map was to become a powerful tool in the

<sup>19</sup> This type of error can be seen elsewhere in Scotland, e.g. Kilwinning AYR, which has been misread as *Hill* and *Winnin*. My thanks to Prof Clancy for this example.

<sup>20</sup> For relevant material relating to Menteith see <http://maps.nls.uk/pont/texts/transcripts/ponttext131v-132r.html> and <http://maps.nls.uk/pont/texts/transcripts/ponttext156v-157r.html>. Also printed, albeit imperfectly, in *Geog. Coll. ii*. The relevant sections for Menteith are to be found at 566-7 and 609-13.

transformation of the Perth and Clackmannanshire landscapes during the Improvement period (Fleet 2005, 40). The map was also sponsored by some of the Duke's friends, such as Thomas Graham of Balgowan in Perthshire and Lord Cathcart at Schawpark, near Alloa in Clackmannanshire (Fleet 2005, 42). The map is incredibly detailed compared with many other maps of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and shows small details such as mills and enclosures. The map is also a valuable source for some of those place-names that have not survived, e.g. ***Coischambie*** CLD, and indeed preserves place-names that do not appear in any other source, such as ***Balvorist*** PMH. Many of the Gaelic place-names themselves are written down using Scots or Scottish Standard English orthography rather than following more conventional Gaelic orthography. Any obvious errors that do creep into the map appear to be the result of the engraver, Thomas Conder (Fleet 2005, 44). Two examples are *Garteehairn* instead of *Gartechairn* [**\*Gartochairn**] KMA and *Balloohriaggan* instead of *Ballochriaggan* [**Ballachraggan**] KMA.

Twenty or so years before Stobie surveyed Perthshire, General William Roy produced his Great Map (see Roy 2007).<sup>21</sup> This map was produced as a result of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, when it was realised by the British Army that there were no reliable detailed maps of Scotland. William Roy and his team surveyed the country between 1747 and 1755. The outcome was one of the most remarkable maps of Scotland ever made, and shows the country at a time just before the great changes of the agricultural 'Improvements' which began in earnest later that century. The map's use as a tool for place-name research, however, can be erratic at times, but it is useful in many ways as the source of many places for which this map is their only occurrence in the historical record, e.g. *Balrioch* in north-western PMH. The map produced by William Roy and his team was executed at a scale of one inch to 1000 yards, or 1  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches to a mile. While the map does contain some distortion and errors, these are remarkably few for a map of the whole of Scotland, excepting the Western and Northern Isles,

<sup>21</sup> Also available on the National Library of Scotland website at <<http://www.nls.uk/maps/roy/index.html>>

completed in a little over eight years (Moir 1973, 111). Roy's main concern was to produce a map that could be used as a tool for the military and as such it contains more information about relief, route-ways, and main settlements than it does about the smaller places. In asking 'how reliable are the place-names?' Skelton states simply that 'most of the surveyors were certainly Scots – but not Gaelic speakers' (Skelton 1967, 13). This includes Roy, who was from near Carluke, Lanarkshire (Owen and Pilbeam 1992, 3). Nearly all the Gaelic names have been written down using Scots or SSE orthography, probably as the surveyor heard them or thought he heard them. There has been some attempt at showing lenition, especially a lenited 'c' which they would presumably have been familiar with in any case through words such as 'loch'. An example is *Shennachal* for **Shannochill** PMH. At other times it is clear that the surveyor has indeed simply written down what he thought he heard – *Carse of Fuer* for **Cassafuir** PMH. It has also been said that the 'place names often indicate the local pronunciation rather than correct spelling' (Moir 1973, 112). Therefore, by being based on what the surveyors heard rather than the documentary record, the early forms from Roy's map are still valuable in their own right, as it may preserve aspects of pronunciation that maps and other documents based on earlier forms might conceal.

Roy's work helped set the stage for the Ordnance Survey who did most of their work in first surveying Menteith in 1862-3. The 1<sup>st</sup> edition of the OS was concerned from the outset accurately and systematically to represent as far as possible the place-names that would appear on the maps. A place-names committee, under the auspices of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, was set up for Scotland to advise on the Gaelic place-names. The committee examined the surveyor's finding and made recommendations to the OS. However, there was a 'longstated principle' that OS names should 'follow those in common use by the residents of an area, even if these were etymologically incorrect or suspect' (Owen and Pilbeam 1992, 75). A glance at the Object Name Books in NAS for Menteith seems to confirm the aspiration to accuracy, and many people were consulted regarding the names, although in

Menteith it tended to be those in authority, such as ministers, factors, and landowners (Withers 2000, 535). However, more work would need to be done on the subject of ‘naming authority’ in the OS Name Books, for this reliance on those in ‘authority’ does not seem to be universal, and in Fife the majority of informants had no status labels attached, with only the occasional minister, teacher and factor involved, although almost all were men.<sup>22</sup> The survey by the OS forms the basis of the names that appear on maps today. However, we should not regard them as infallible, and indeed W.J. Watson stated that the OS was guilty of an ‘outrageous mangling of our Gaelic names’, and that ‘as far as Gaelic form of names go, the present maps are most defective’ (Watson 2002 [1904], 47). An example of a minor name in Menteith which has been given different spellings since the 1860s is *Allt a' Mhangam* in PMH for \**Allt a' Mhangain* ‘burn of the fawn’, a small burn flowing through Aberfoyle from the north. This is shown as *Allt Vingen* on the 1862 map, but is *Altmhengan* in the OS Original Object Name Book, dated to 1859-64 according to NAS (RH4/23).<sup>23</sup>

### **Documents**

Documents, of course, are where toponymists and historians obtain most of their information regarding place-names. However, there is a great variety of documents, and not all of them are of equal use, and others can have traps for the unwary researcher. Since the 13<sup>th</sup> C documents relating to Menteith were generally written by speakers of Scots rather than of Gaelic. As such, Gaelic orthography is usually not followed, but rather the application of a Scots and SSE orthography is often the norm.

The earliest documents useful for place-name research are those found in the Irish annals or Anglo-Saxon chronicles. Some information can be found in such texts as the lives of Irish saints, especially if there is a Scottish connection, however tenuous. A difficulty with these

<sup>22</sup> My thanks to Simon Taylor for this information.

<sup>23</sup> For more on the subject of the OS naming policy in the 19<sup>th</sup> C see C. Fleet and C.W.J. Withers (no date) *A Scottish Paper Landscape* at <[http://www.nls.uk/maps/os/6inch/os\\_info1.html](http://www.nls.uk/maps/os/6inch/os_info1.html)>

sources is that they are often much later copies, sometimes many times over, of earlier documents, with all the inherent issues regarding mistakes or orthography likely to have been made during the copying process. One example of a name in Menteith recorded in an early Irish saint's Life, is that of *Eperpuill* [**Aberfoyle**]. The Life of the Irish Saint Berach states that a fortress at Aberfoyle was given to the saint by Áedán mac Gabráin in which to found a monastery (Plummer 1922 vol i, 34; vol ii, 35) and which was perhaps sited near the old parish church which sits on the south side of the River Forth, a few hundred metres from where the Pow Burn meets the river. The main problem here is that the manuscript containing the Life of St Berach from which this information comes is taken from a copy made by the 'poor friar' Michael O'Clery, who copied it from a 'bad old vellum book' in 1629 (Plummer 1922, vol ii, 43). We are not told how old the vellum book was, and indeed its age was perhaps something which O'Clery himself was not aware of. However, the form of Irish in which the Life is written suggests it is indeed old, perhaps dating from 1000 – 1200, and that we have the earliest form of Aberfoyle contained in it.<sup>24</sup>

The value of collecting early forms is evident in those names which are most obscure. For names where the meaning is reasonably straightforward collecting vast amounts of early forms need not be required: **Doune** KMA is invariably written in one of two main ways – Doun(e) or Down(e), sometimes with the final 'e', sometimes without. Its origin is undoubtedly ScG *dùn* 'fort'. However, also in KMA lies an \**eccles*, an early British name meaning 'church'. It is first written as *Eglysdissentyn* in 1267 (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 217) and its final appearance in the historical record is in Roy c.1750 as **Aiglesteinston** PMH. It is *Eglisdesyndane* in 1451 (*ER* v, 475), by 1480 it is written as *Eglisdisdane* (*ER* ix, 564), and is still recognisable as such in 1508 (*ER* xiii, 631). Once we reach the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> C, however, a drastic change has taken place to render the place-name almost

<sup>24</sup> See 'background details and bibliographical information' to *Bethada Náem nÉrenn* at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/G201000/> This site also adds that '[o]ver 99% [of the document is] in Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish'.

unrecognisable: in 1528 it is *Aggischedynache* (*RMS* iii no. 607) and by 1670 it is *Eglischaynauch* (*Retours PER* no. 809). The change of form was enough to make Geoffrey Barrow think he was dealing with two distinct places when he first wrote his book *The Kingdom of the Scots* in 1973 (see Barrow 2003, 52 for map). He had realised his mistake ten years later (Barrow 1983, 12). The only reason we know it is the same place is because in most sources it is nearly always associated with the nearby settlement of **Ballachraggan** KMA. There has so far been no satisfactory explanation for the change from *Eglysdissentyn* to *Aggischedynache* to *Aiglesteinston*, but any explanation is unlikely to be arrived at without recourse to the early forms.

While looking at original documents is of course the ideal, the sheer number of early forms to be collected means that place-name scholars will normally resort to using the various published volumes of documents such as the cartularies of monastic establishments, or the printed collections of many types of royal or government records, such as *Register of the Great Seal* (*RMS*), *Exchequer Rolls*, or *Register of the Privy Seal* (*RSS*). These editions of records are very convenient and lend themselves very well to the laborious nature of toponymic research, where the analysis of a place-name depends upon a number of early forms. However, there is a tendency to treat these *collections* of primary sources as primary sources in their own right (Ross 2006, 202). This can lead to problems if the researcher is not aware of the limitations of the sources. An example is the early *Exchequer Rolls* which are printed in the first volume of that name. Two sets of sheriffs accounts are printed for the years 1264-6 and 1288-90, and within them is a spelling of Menstrie in Clackmannanshire, written as *Mestreth* (*ER* i, 24). The drawback with using this particular source is that it is based on an early 17<sup>th</sup> C transcript of a now lost account (Webster 1975, 123), and the original may have been in a highly cursive script making it difficult to read accurately. Generally, however, periodic checks on the sources can help in confirming the trustworthiness or otherwise of these materials. To date, at least as far as the royal and government records for Menteith are

concerned, no major issues regarding the spellings of names have come to light that cannot be overcome by the quantity of early forms for those names that are mentioned often. It is also the case that those names that are noted repeatedly can often be found in other records and so can be cross-checked. However, there are place-names that are mentioned infrequently or indeed only once. Here we sometimes can infer from places elsewhere in Scotland that have a similar name. An example is **Coille-don** PMH, perhaps originally *\*comhdhail-dhùn* ‘court hill’. A similar place-name dating to 1253 is *Coleduns* in Kingoldrum ANG (see p.97 for fuller discussion).

The main concerns regarding documents for Menteith are not necessarily the quantity of documents, but rather their haphazard survival from earlier periods and the uneven coverage of records in a particular area. Those lands which belonged to the crown, such as the Stewartry of Menteith, will often be found earlier in the historical record than those that were in the hands of some other major landholder, such as the post-1427 earldom of Menteith. We may also count land use as a factor in determining whether a place-name comes down to us from an earlier time. The Stewartry of Menteith, consisting of much of CLD and KMA, was used as a hunting area for the kings of Scotland from at least the time of James I to the Reformation. As a result there are a large number of early forms in the *Exchequer Rolls* from the mid 15<sup>th</sup> C through to the mid 16<sup>th</sup> C. The records of the post-1427 earldom of Menteith, consisting of AFE and the eastern part of PMH, are rather more sparsely populated with early forms. However, even within parishes landholding patterns have an effect on when a place-name appears in the record. The Stewart earls of Moray held large parts of KMA and CLD as part of the Stewartry of Menteith, having been granted the lands there in the mid 16<sup>th</sup> C. Other landowners also held lands in these two parishes which do not come within the direct influence of the Stewartry, and so are not on record quite so early. For example, the Muschets held **Annet** and **Coillechat** in KMA, the earliest forms of which only date from 1508 (*RMS* iii no. 3225). These lands split the Moray holdings in two, since the earls of Moray held most of

the lands to the east and west of Annet and Coillechat. These Stewart lands are on record at least half a century earlier in the case of **Calziebohalzie** KMA to the east of Annet (*Kilyebouchalye* 1451 *ER* v 474), and by over two centuries in the case of *Eglisdisentye* (*Eglysdissentyn* 1267 *Fraser* 1880 ii, 217) which lies to the west of Annet. The Stewart earls of Moray also held lands in CLD, but here they were not the majority landholder. The Drummond earls of Perth held much of the lands in the barony of **Strathgartney** CLD, and here, too, many of the lands of the old hunting forest of Menteith are on record relatively early. Lying next to Strathgartney are the lands (and former parish) of **Leny** CLD and the former parish of **Kilmahog** CLD. Both these territories are notably lacking in early forms, not so much for the two names themselves – they come on record in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries – but rather for lands elsewhere in these areas. **Anie** CLD (*Àth an Fhèidh* ‘ford of the deer’), at the southern end of Loch Lubnaig, for example, can be found no earlier than on Stobie’s map of 1783, and yet at that point in time was already divided into *Upper* and *Lower Anie*. **Gartenjore** CLD (*gart an deòraidh* ‘enclosed settlement or field of the relic keeper’) only appears on record four times between 1539 and 1775, but presumably the *deòradh* had been an important figure in the local community.

Before the Grahams were given the earldom of Menteith in return for having Strathearn taken from them by James I, the earldom was in the hands of the descendants of Walter Stewart, earl of Menteith from at least 1258 to the late 1280s, and who was earl in right of his wife, a daughter or niece of the last of the earliest line of earls that we are aware of. Prior to Walter Stewart the earldom was held by Walter Comyn, husband of Walter Stewart’s wife’s sister or cousin. Given the propensity of barons from the reign of David I for keeping charters detailing the extent of their properties, especially those barons close to the king or those acting for monastic institutions, it seems unlikely that there were no land-holding records kept before the Grahams attained the earldom. But for Menteith, at any rate, it is as Geoffrey Barrow once put it when writing about another, earlier, context, ‘in Scotland it is hard to

avoid the impression that the slate was wiped clean c.1100 and a fresh start made' (1992, 109). The same might be said of Menteith in 1427. It would appear the Grahams had no need to be concerned with the charters of the previous earls because the earldom reverted to the king and he granted out Menteith anew, giving AFE and the SE portion of PMH to Malise Graham as the new earldom of Menteith, while keeping the rest, or at least most of it, for himself, but now renamed the Stewartry of Menteith.

If we had a cartulary or some similar group of documents for Inchmahome we might have a greater amount of early forms of place-names for much of the earldom. But if any such cartulary ever existed, it has not survived. Despite the lack of a surviving cartulary for Inchmahome, we know something of the lands that were held at the Reformation because these lands were then transferred to the Erskines who kept some charters and other records, such as rentals, of their properties, after the demise of **Inchmahome** PMH as a monastic institution. A group of fifteen documents has been printed by Fraser (*Menteith* ii, nos 74-89), one of which is a copy of the 1238 foundation charter from *Inchaffrey Liber*, published in 1847. All the other documents, however, date from 1526 to 1587, and seem to have survived because they related to the Erskine barony of **Cardross** PMH, created in 1606 from the demesne lands of Inchmahome, and the Erskines only kept what was important to them. The lands of **Inchmahome/Cardross** had been in the hands of the Erskines since that family held the commendatorship of **Inchmahome** from 1529 (*Stirling Recs* ii, 265-6; Hutchison 1899, 160-1; Dilworth 1986, 60). Other charters detailing the barony of **Cardross**, survive in the *Register of the Great Seal* (see *RMS* iv no. 1027; NAS PA2/16, f.86v-89r.; Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368).

There is nonetheless a significant amount of documents from before the creation of the new earldom in 1427, and many were printed by Sir William Fraser in his *The Red Book of Menteith*, published in two volumes in 1880, but they are not in the quantities of later periods, something that Menteith has in common with much of the rest of Scotland. While the

*Red Book of Menteith* is a tremendous resource for place-names in the earldom, many of the documents printed by Fraser are not always concerned with property and even those that are often do not go into detail. Like any historical source it too has to be handled with care, as it can be prone to errors which can mislead even the most careful toponymist. The most glaring example as far as Menteith is concerned relates to **Ruskie** PMH in a charter of Murdach, earl of Menteith to Gilbert of Drummond of the western half of **Boquhapple** KRD dated to 1330, where it states ‘...totam occidentalem dimidietatem ville de *Buchchoppill*, propinquius terre de *Busby* adiacentem, infra comitatum nostrum de Meneteth...’(‘the whole of the western half of the *toun* of *Buchchoppill*, lying near the land of *Busby*, in our earldom of *Meneteth*’) (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 227).<sup>25</sup> *Busby* in this case should be *Rusky*, and this is confirmed by a later charter in *RMS* [ii no. 187], which, along with virtually the same wording, has *Rusky* in place of *Busby*. The significance of this mistake is to change what may be a loan word into Gaelic from British, *rúsc/rúscach* ‘fleece, skin, bark, barky’ (MacBain 1911, 298; *DIL* s.v. *rúsc*) or possibly *rùsgach* ‘a marshy place’<sup>26</sup> into a Scandinavian *bý(r)* ‘farm’ name.

Another source produced by Fraser that mentions some of the churches in Menteith is *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth* or the register of Cambuskenneth Abbey (*Camb. Reg.*), an Augustinian abbey near Stirling, founded in c.1140. The cartulary is a copy of earlier documents and was created in 1535, and validated by the Clerk Register in that year and confirmed by the great seal of James V (Duncan 1975, 642). However, this legalisation process is not necessarily a guarantor of accuracy. Many of the early charters in *Camb. Reg.* seem to reflect forms in the original, although there are exceptions (see *David I Chrs.* no. 213, where the spelling for Tullibody CLA [*Tulibody*] looks remarkably modern, and Barrow’s note to this charter where he states that some place-name spellings seem to have been updated by

<sup>25</sup> There is a facsimile of the charter in Fraser, *Menteith* ii (between pp 226 and 227), and it seems to show ‘Rusby’. C.f. *Regis* on line 5 for the initial ‘R’, which is a misreading of ‘B’ for ‘R’, and *heredibus* on line 3 for an example of the letter ‘b’ in this copy of the charter; Fraser was notorious for misreading proper nouns. I have so far been unable to locate the original.

<sup>26</sup> From MacBain (1911); Watson has Ruskich in Glenlyon as dative-locative of *rùsgach* (Watson 2002, 203).

the copyist). While the cartulary has various documents that have many of the earliest forms of place-names such as Tullibody CLA and Cowie STL, it is limited in its usefulness for place-name research in Menteith, as it is rare for the majority of these charters to go into detail about the places named within it. However, there is one charter for the parish of Kincardine which does contain details of lands granted to Cambuskenneth supposedly in 1193 x 1195. These lands include 'thirteen acres of arable, a brewer's toft with a garden, a toft for St Lolan's Bell, a toft for St Lolan's Staff with a garden, and the whole land between the well of *Faylayat* on the east side of the burn falling from *Garthow* on the west, with meadow on each side as far as the muir of *Lanpurry* and grazing for 13 cows in the *Borland*' (*Camb. Reg.* no. 127; *RRS* ii no. 372). The problem with this charter is that it looks later than it professes to be. The form of *Garthow* seems late, when it would have probably been \**Garthoch* (see **Gartoch** KRD) or similar in the late 12<sup>th</sup> C (Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 38-44). The fact that *Borland* (**Boreland** KRD) appears this early in a charter for Menteith ought to make one a bit suspicious; the earliest attestation for Bordland in Scotland I have found so far is 1324 for *Suthbordeland* in Inverkeithing parish, Fife (Taylor, *PNF* i, 374). *DOST* has 'le *Bordland* in villa de *Langforgund*' dating to 1377. Winchester has no earlier forms than 1376, for a Bordland in Peeblesshire, and his earliest attestation for the term in England is 1315 for one in Wakefield, Yorkshire, while in Wales he has one in Glamorgan dated to 1272 (Winchester 1986, 138-9). While we need not necessarily doubt that these lands (but perhaps not with those names) were indeed given to Cambuskenneth in 1193 x 1195, what we might have in this document is a later insertion into the 1535 cartulary, rather than early Scots penetration into this particular Gaelic speaking milieu in the late 12<sup>th</sup> C.

A group of documents dating to the period immediately after the Reformation of 1560 come under the name of *The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices*. These have recently been printed in 1995 (Kirk 1995). It was decided in 1562 by the crown and parliament that those who held benefices at the Reformation should retain their livings for

their lifetimes, except for 'one third of the fruits' of those benefices (Donaldson 1978, 31; Kirk 1995, xiv). These thirds are detailed in *Books of Assumption*, the record of the rentals and revenues of the benefices of most of the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland, including parishes, chapels, cathedrals, and monasteries. This third went to the crown and to help support the reformed Kirk financially. While a very useful record in many respects – every church in Menteith is mentioned – they are frustrating to the toponymist. We are told that a certain church is due an amount of money and victuals from the lands of its parish, but we are rarely told what those lands are. The one exception is **Callander** CLD, and even then the lands detailed are for the eastern part of the parish only (Kirk 1995, 349; see also CLD survey introduction for details). We know that the producers of these accounts must have gone to a large number of farms, or perhaps seen the records of those farms, to enquire how much was paid to the local church, as the account for Airth parish shows (Kirk 1995, 157-8). But nothing like this has come down to us for Menteith, except the Callander account just mentioned.

*Retours (Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum)* begins for PER in the mid 16<sup>th</sup> C. and carries on until 1700. Like RMS and RSS it is mostly in Latin and follows a set formula. *Retours* is a wonderful source for place-names and is a mainstay of Scottish toponymics, but like all other sources it is not without its problems. In the mid 17<sup>th</sup> C as Scotland came under the control of Oliver Cromwell and his Commonwealth, the entries for this period occur in Scots or are perhaps written by Englishmen of the Cromwell government, and so the spellings of place-names have the potential to be distorted by people who did not understand the local languages, i.e. both Scots and Gaelic. Another problem, and it is one that it shares with RMS, is that the editor of the printed volumes was sometimes not sure of the spelling of the name in front of him, and so offered another possibility. This is usually signalled by the Latin word *vel* 'or'. Without having checked the originals, it is not always clear why he picked the form he did. Examples of this can be found in an entry for **Alltan nam Breac** AFE, where the form *Alanaprick* is followed in brackets '*vel Alcraneprick*' (RMS ix no.

1502, dated 1643), while the entry for **Balkerach** KMA has *Bellikeireuch* followed by ‘vel *Belliekeroch*’ (*Retours* PER no. 1165, dated 1668).

Other documents include the *Rentall of the County of Perth* set up by an Act of Parliament in 1649, and printed in 1835 with a contemporary rental for comparison. While a useful document, it has to be used with some care as there seem to be a number of transcription errors in it, although it is not clear if these errors are in the original document or whether the errors are part of the editor’s transcriptions in the 1835 book. The whereabouts of the original is as yet unknown. Sometimes the spellings of early forms of place-names are consistent with other documents, e.g. *Coldoch* and *Bowhapple* [**Coldoch** and **Boquhapple** both KRD], but on other occasions the spellings can be markedly different, e.g. *Darre* instead of *Dalgrey* or *Dargraw* and *Castrie* instead of *Cowstry* or *Custrie* [**Coustry** and **Daira** both KRD]. This might not be such a major problem for some names, but for those that might be British or Pictish, such as *Coustry* (with a Brit. \**trev* ending ‘settlement, farm?’), the difference in the vowel could potentially mislead were it not for the availability of other forms. Another problem is that the document is concerned chiefly with the total rental value owed by a landowner, but not necessarily his individual lands. So the Earl of Airth [and Menteith] has a value of £1333 placed on his ‘haill lands in this parish [i.e. PMH]’, but we are not told what his lands are. However, sometimes the *Rentall* has the earliest forms for some places, such as *Cuthell* for **Cuthil Brae** KRD, and so despite its drawbacks is nevertheless useful in many respects.

### **Websites**

Mention must be made of that modern source of place-name material, the internet. Here it is useful to distinguish between a resource created for the internet and one which makes available an older resource online. An example of the latter category includes the National Library of Scotland website where it is possible to view images of the original maps on a

computer screen. Here, of course, we need to know about the limitations of the original sources. Material created for the internet is not strictly the original material, but rather modern editorial transcriptions of medieval and early modern documents, a digital equivalent of the printed volumes of *RMS* and other collections of documents. They too have their pitfalls. There are two main websites that have been used for Menteith material. One is, on the whole, very reliable for early spellings of place-names, if not always their location. This is the *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* website <<http://www.rps.ac.uk>>, in its own words a ‘fully searchable database containing the proceedings of the Scottish parliament from the first surviving act of 1235 to the union of 1707’. This is the result of a project run by a team at the University of St Andrews, and was subject to the serious intellectual rigours we can expect of a group of historians from a highly reputable organisation. As intimated the main problem with this website, so far as place-names are concerned, is not so much the spellings of early forms, but their location.<sup>27</sup> One example is contained in a document called ‘Ratification in favour of the earle of Marr’: a place called *Leckie* is marked by a small red cross, which accesses a pop-up window wherein is the information ‘possibly Leith’; it is in fact Old Leckie in Gargunnock Parish, Stirlingshire at NS689946. There is also Wester Leckie and Inch of Leckie nearby (Ref no 1685/4/93 [NAS PA2/32, f.187 -188v]). Sometimes the spelling of the *modern* name is wrong: the lands of Manor in Logie parish STL have been rendered as ‘Manner’ in the translation (NAS, PA2/16, f.13v-15r.); this is perhaps not as serious a mistake, at least in this case, as wrongly transcribing an early form of a place-name, but it could have implications in wrongly identifying a place. However, one potential advantage of websites is that errors can be relatively easily corrected.

The other readily available website useful for toponymists of Scotland is that of the National Archives of Scotland <<http://www.nas.gov.uk>>. Here the reliability of spellings of

<sup>27</sup> Although a note of caution should be sounded here, since what no one has so far done with RPS is check their spellings of place-names against the original. My thanks to Dr Simon Taylor for this information.

early forms falls short of the standards seen in the *RPS* website. The main problem, though, is not so much the mis-spelling of early forms, but a lack of consistency. In some documents the NAS staff have tried, not always successfully, to transcribe what is written on the document, and it is this transcription that appears on the website. In charter NAS GD220/1/C/3/1, dating to 1427, which has been published by Fraser (*Menteith* ii, 293-5), and whose place-names have been printed in *Scots Peerage (SP)* (vi, 142-3), and in neither perfectly, the NAS also made errors in their transcription of it. The deserted settlement of **Crantullich** AFE, in the charter is rendered *Cravenculy* by both Fraser and *SP*; however, the ‘c’ is commonly mistaken for a ‘t’ in medieval documents, and is transcribed as *Crabancouly* by the NAS. The correct reading of the original MSS should be *Cravanetuly* (*Craobh an Tulaich*). At other times it seems the NAS prefer to use the modern form of the place-name instead of the early form. A case in point here is Stronachlachar in Buchanan parish STL, where charter GD220/1/D/5/5/8 (1586) has ‘...the lands of Blairquhanis, Cassill [Cashell], Arduill, Correrklet [Corrie Arklet] with the loch and islands thereof, the lands of Stronachlachar, the lands of Dow [Dhu]...’. The problem here is the form of Stronachlachar looks very modern when compared to other sources such as Stobie, who has *Stronclachaig*, and Roy, who has *Stronclachan*. There is also the problem on this website of inconsistency of presentation even within one document. This means that we cannot trust this website for early forms and there is no alternative to a trip to NAS to see the original document for oneself.

The comparative paucity of early medieval sources for Menteith means that we are unable to go into the kind of detail that researchers of other areas can. In England, for example, it is possible to undertake surveys of certain areas using such documents as Anglo-Saxon charters and Domesday Book. This makes it possible to look at the place-names and social history of parts of England up to half a millennium before we can attempt a similar exercise for Menteith. In parts of Scotland we can look at areas in detail up to 300 years earlier, and this has been done for Fife (See Taylor, *Place-Names of Fife* series). The main advantage Fife has

over Menteith is that a greater number of cartularies survive for many of the monastic institutions based there. This allows toponymists and historians to examine the society of parts of Fife in more detail much earlier than is the case for Menteith. This is particularly true in the areas around Dunfermline and St Andrews where charter material exists from the 12<sup>th</sup> C (Taylor *PNF* i; Taylor *PNF* iii). Another aspect an area like Fife has that Menteith does not is a collection of boundary charters, where a territory can be traced in minute detail in some cases, as can be seen in Márkus' study of Caiplie, Kilrenny parish in east Fife (Márkus 2007), where he shows the language changing from Gaelic to Scots through the place-names in a charter dating to 1235. It is not clear why there are no boundary charters for Menteith, but it is notable that many such charters relate to monastic institutions and burghs, and the lack of a cartulary for Inchmahome and a burgh comparable to Crail FIF may be among the reasons for the absence of such documents.

## Chapter 3

### *Language in Menteith*

The study of language in Menteith is often problematic. During the medieval period there were three languages which were spoken in the area, all of which have left their mark on the toponymic landscape. There were probably considerable periods of concurrence between these languages, although the exact chronological outlines have still to be determined. The oldest language was p-Celtic, possibly Pictish, but perhaps more likely to have been British. The second language that became dominant was Gaelic, which was followed by Scots. As an approximation we might see British dying out and replaced by Gaelic c.900. Scots probably started making inroads shortly after Richard de Montfiquet was granted the lands of **Kincardine KRD** by William I 1189 x 1195 (*RRS ii no. 334*). The process of scotticisation was more or less complete by the 20<sup>th</sup> C, although small groups of Gaelic speakers could still be found in the Callander area (Watson 1926, 113).

### *P-Celtic in Menteith*

It is generally held that p-Celtic Pictish was spoken north of the River Forth and another p-Celtic language, called British for the purposes of this thesis,<sup>28</sup> was spoken south of the Forth. However, the River Forth was not always the great early medieval linguistic barrier it is often presented as. The longest lasting British speaking kingdom, Strathclyde, earlier the kingdom of Dumbarton or Alclut, extended north of the River Clyde, but its territorial extent did not stop at the line of the River Forth. Strathclyde not only incorporated the modern county of Dunbartonshire, but also included what became western Stirlingshire including the area

<sup>28</sup> The p-Celtic language spoken south of the River Forth has also been called Cumbric or Brythonic by historians and linguists (see Jackson 1955; Forsyth 2001, 378; and map in Talyor 2002).

surrounding Loch Lomond, which reaches some distance north of the Forth.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the northern extent of this kingdom is held to be marked by a rock called *Clach nam Breatann* ‘rock of the Britons’<sup>30</sup> at the northern end of Loch Lomond, although there is no contemporary record of this stone as a boundary marker. Menteith is situated to the east of that kingdom covering much of central Scotland between Loch Lomond and Stirling. To the north was the earldom of Strathearn, which was certainly a Pictish territory with major centres at Dundurn, Forteviot, and Moncreiff Hill, among others. To the east was Clackmannanshire and Fife. Clackmannanshire will be dealt with shortly, but that Fife was Pictish is evidenced by a number of Pictish symbols stones found in the county, and that place-name element usually held to be an indicator of Pictish, but borrowed into ScG, the *pett-* name, such as Pittenween and Pitliver (Taylor 1995, 2006, 2009). English came to be spoken in Lothian in the early Middle Ages, and while that will not concern us here, we should nevertheless note that the area has a large number of British place-names, including, for example, Linlithgow and Pencaitland. The area between the Forth and Clyde was also British-speaking as shown by examples such as Glasgow and Larbert, the latter containing *pert* ‘bush, copse’.

To the south-east of Menteith are the parishes of Gargunnock and St Ninians, both originally part of the soke or shire of Stirling, extant by the reign of Alexander I between 1107-24 (*Dunf. Reg.* no. 4; Barrow 2003, 3), and along with Clackmannanshire was probably part of the early medieval British region of Manaw. This area has been described as a buffer zone between Picts and Northumbrians (Clancy 2004, 139), while it has been stated that

<sup>29</sup> The southern portion of Strathclyde seems to have included much of SW Scotland, including Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, and Renfrewshire, among others (see maps in MacNeill and McQueen 1996, 75-6). Further details on Strathclyde in the Middle Ages can be found in Broun (2004) and Macquarrie (1993).

<sup>30</sup> Shown as *Clach na Briton* on the OS maps from 1<sup>st</sup> edn to the present, at NN337216; the stone is c.4 km N of the boundary between PER and DNB. See also comments made by E.B. Rennie (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NN32SW 2, where it is stated that it marked the boundary between ‘the ancient kingdoms of Dalriada, Pictland and Strathclyde’. Another stone, *Clach nam Breatunnach*, ‘stone of the Britons’ marked the boundary between ‘the Scotti and the British’, near Lochgoilhead.

Clackmannanshire, and presumably by extension Manaw, was a recurrent ‘theatre of war’; there were major battles in the area in 582/3, 711, and in 875 (Taylor forthcoming). The political geography was against Manaw’s long term survival, lying as it did on the boundaries of three more powerful kingdoms – Pictland, Lothian, and Strathclyde (Taylor forthcoming). But given that the language north of the Forth was generally held to be Pictish, and Clackmannanshire, which is also north of the Forth, was part of Manaw, a British kingdom, Taylor asks ‘how should we classify [Clackmannanshire’s] non-Gaelic Celtic place-names such as Aberdona and Dollar?’, for when it comes to Clackmannanshire ‘definitions of British or Pictish become less straightforward’, than for the rest of Scotland (Taylor forthcoming).

It is possible that a similar situation exists for Menteith. It is usually assumed that because Menteith was north of the Forth, it must have been Pictish (Skene 1886, 340; map 1b in Wainwright 1955; Taylor 2002, 13). Menteith and Clackmannanshire are separated only by the parish of Logie STL, which includes the ridge of land that the Wallace Monument and the University of Stirling now sit upon. Logie is now part of STL, but in the Middle Ages it was the subject of a very complicated split between the counties of CLA, PER and STL. It includes Dumyat ‘fort of the Maeatae’, a British tribe who inhabited the area when the Romans were active in this vicinity (Watson 1926, 59, 100; Smyth 1984, 42). In one of the Clackmannanshire portions of Logie was the village of Menstrie. This place first comes down to us as *Mestrin* in 1178 x 1179 (*Camb. Reg.* no. 36); this is probably British \*maes + \*trev ‘hamlet on the plain’ (Watson 1926, 264) or ‘farm or settlement on a plain or open field’ (Taylor 2004, 15). What may be significant is that Menstrie was part of the lands of the earl of Menteith in 1213 (*CDS* i, no. 2276; *RRS* ii no. 519). There seems to be nothing inherently Pictish about Menteith: there is no connection archaeologically and toponymically; there are no Pictish symbol stones, nor even any *pett*-names, a Pictish element borrowed into Gaelic, meaning ‘land-holding’, but most frequently found in place-names on former Pictish territory. What Menteith does have that could make it Pictish is its connection with Strathearn in the

later Middle Ages, where Menteith is mentioned as a *subregio* of Strathearn in the *De Situ Albanie*, which dates to 1165 x 1184. Perhaps just as important is that Menteith, like Strathearn, was part of the diocese of Dunblane in the Middle Ages, and indeed was called the deanery of Menteith from 1235. Indeed, there was an attack on Dunblane by the Britons in the second quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> C (Britanni autem concremauerunt *Dulblaan* ‘also the Britons burned Dunblane’) (Anderson 1980, 250; *ES* i, 288; Woolf 2007a, 194), which may mean the city was occupied by Picts or possibly by this date Gaels. One of the reasons for thinking Menteith used to be Pictish is that it was thought that Strathearn and Menteith made up a major part of the kingdom of Fortriu (Skene 1886, 340; Watson 1926, 113; map 1b in Wainwright 1955; Smyth 1984, 43; Lynch 1992, 20; Driscoll 2002, 28). However, this has now been convincingly shown by Alex Woolf to have been in the region of Moray and Inverness (Woolf 2006).

As far as the p-Celtic place-names are concerned, the earldom of Menteith sends out something of a mixed message. In Menteith there are two place-names containing *\*lanerc* ‘clearing, pasture’: **Lanrick** KMA, and **Lendrick** CLD, with another just over the border in DLE, Landrick. Another *\*lanerc* north of the Forth, Lendrick Hill (NO019036), can be found in Fossaway parish KNR, but all the other *\*lanerc* place-names in Scotland are south of the Forth, the most famous of course being Lanark LAN, but it is also found in Barlanark in Glasgow, Carlenrig ROX, and probably Drumlanrig DMF (Nicholaisen 2001, 211; Taylor forthcoming). Lendrick in ANG is probably a transferred name from **Lendrick** CLD (Taylor forthcoming).

If *\*lanerc* place-names have a rough south of Ochils distribution, another place-name element has a markedly north of Forth distribution, and this is *\*carden*, long thought to have meant ‘woodland, thicket’ (Nicholaisen 1996, 24), but now thought to mean ‘encampment, enclosure’ (Breeze 1999). Nicholaisen shows this element occurring twenty-three times in Scotland. This is found most famously in Kincardine, a place-name found seven times in

Scotland, including **Kincardine** KRD in Menteith where it was an important baronial and parish centre until supplanted by **Blair Drummond** in the late 17<sup>th</sup> C. It is also most likely found in **Cardross** PMH, another important medieval barony. Cardross in DBN in the heart of the old kingdom of Strathclyde is *Cardinros* in the early 13<sup>th</sup> C (*Glas. Reg.* no 108; Taylor 2006, 28), and is the only \**carden*-name in Scotland outside of what we would normally think of as historical Pictland. Another \**carden*-name might be present in **Garden** KPN, which has ‘c’ for ‘g’ in a number of early-forms. It is also near the site of a possible fort (RCAHMS Canmore NS59SE 5) and is only 1 km east of a broch (Main 1998). However, Garden may be a *gart*-name, of which there are a large number in this area and we should sound a word of warning on that element. Cynthia Neville has written of *gart* being Brittonic (Neville 2005, 81), possibly following Watson, who commented that the large number of *gart*-names to the east of Glasgow ‘may be due to the British influence’, but adds ‘though of course *gort*, *gart* of Gaelic and *garth* of Welsh both mean ‘field, enclosure’’ (Watson 1926 198). I have previously argued that we should see *gart* rather as a post 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century Gaelic coining for an assart (McNiven 2007).<sup>31</sup>

Another place-name element that has a seemingly dual identity is \**eccles* ‘church’. This element is discussed more fully in the context of KMA (see p.148-151). In a British context \**eccles* probably derives from P-Celtic \**eglēs*, with some in England dating to the Romano-British period (Hough 2009, 119). It had been suggested that \**eglēs* in England originally denoted landholding belonging to the British Church of the 6<sup>th</sup> C (James 2009, 141). Simplex \**eccles*-names in Scotland south of the Forth may date to before c.650 (Taylor 1998, 3). However, in Pictland there are no simplex \**eccles*-names; the majority have saints’ names as specifics, meaning that many of these place-names may have been coined in the 8<sup>th</sup> C (Taylor 1998, 6-7). A study by Geoffrey Barrow produced a map showing at least twenty-six \**eccles*-names recorded in Scotland, including **Aiglesteinston** KMA in the Menteith parish of KMA

<sup>31</sup> See Chapter 5 for a fuller discussion on this element as it relates to Menteith.

(Barrow 1983, 4). This has such a complicated naming history that Geoffrey Barrow initially thought there were two in KMA, which first appears as *Eglysdissentyn* in 1267 (Barrow 2003, 52; Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 217). Fifteen of these *eccles*-names are north of the Forth including the one in KMA. The others are south of the Forth, but have an easterly distribution, i.e. they are mainly in eastern Stirlingshire or Lothian. There are only two in the old kingdom of Strathclyde, but neither of these is in the earldom of Lennox. *Eglysdissentyn* had ceased to be a church certainly by the time it appeared on record, having been replaced by **Kilmadock** KMA. It may be no coincidence that the *cill*-name seems to celebrate a British saint, known as Cadoc, Docus or Docgwin (Watson 1926, 327; Watson 1927; Brook 1964, 298).<sup>32</sup> Watson prefers the former, and the saint may date to the early 6<sup>th</sup> C. We need not necessarily believe that Cadoc or whoever the saint was actually travelled to the junction of the Annet Burn and the River Teith to set up a church, but at the very least it may indicate the transmission of the cult of a British saint by British speaking people.

Another place-name with a mainly Pictish distribution in Scotland is *\*aber* ‘river- or burn-mouth’ and this is represented in Menteith by **Aberfoyle** AFE, where it was *Eperpuill* in the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>C *Life of Berach* (Plummer 1922, vol. i, 35). Here it is simply ‘confluence of the poll’, now the Pow Burn. Pow is a Scots pronunciation of British *\*pol*, meaning ‘a sluggish stream or burn’ (*DOST* under ‘poll, pow’; Barrow 1988, 212), or simply ‘burn’ in southern Scotland (Barrow 1998, 59-61). Aberfoyle is one of around sixty places containing the element *\*aber* in Scotland, with the vast majority occurring north of the River Forth, again in what we would think of as historic Pictland. **Aberfoyle** is among the most southerly of those found north of the Forth, and is the most westerly of those found south of the River Tay. Remarkably, it is the generic in twenty-six Scottish parishes (Taylor forthcoming). However, the element’s ‘Britishness’ is shown by the fact that *\*aber* also occurs south of the Forth and in Wales. However,

<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 6 on the Church and Menteith for more discussion on this topic.

given that *aber* is not found in Lennox or Strathclyde (with the exception of *Abercarf*, now Wiston in South Lanarkshire), we may indeed be seeing a Pictish influence in Scotland.

The other place-name that is probably of a p-Celtic origin is **Menteith** itself. The earliest forms are *Meneteth* and *Menedet* or similar from the mid-1160s to the early 15<sup>th</sup> C. This perhaps derives from Norther British \**mōnið* (James 2009b, 152), a word related to W *mynydd* or Cornish *menedh*, older *menit*, 'mountain or rough grazing' (Watson, Index under *mynydd*), and which was loaned into ScG as *monadh*. *Monadh* has a limited distribution, occurring, like *aber*, mainly within historic Pictland, although it does occur south of the Forth (Barrow 1998, 62-6). Watson thinks Menteith derives from *minit-ted* 'Teith Moor', but the meaning of Teith was obscure to him (Watson 1926, 113).

There are other place-names that are p-Celtic in origin in Menteith, but they all, much like **Kincardine**, contain elements which seem to have been borrowed into Sc Gaelic. Without going into great detail,<sup>33</sup> they include *preas* 'bush' in **Bofrishlie** AFE, and *pòr* 'seed, grain', but in place-names meaning 'crop-land' in **Cassafuir** KMA (Jackson 1972, 68-9; Taylor 2008, 293). Another element that may have been borrowed into Gaelic from p-Celtic is *blàr* 'muir, grazing'. This element, discussed in more detail below (p.110-113), very rarely exists as a place-name element in Ireland, where it has the different meaning of battlefield (Taylor 2006, 31).<sup>34</sup> The fact that the element is very common in Scotland, and it certainly occurs in Pictland, as can be seen in Blair Atholl and Blairgowrie, the grazing lands of the districts of Atholl and Gowrie, may mean that its use in Scotland was influenced by a related British or Pictish word (Taylor 2006, 31). In Menteith, it occurs nineteen times, and is used as small units of grazing or even arable. However, the fact that it is not exclusively Pictish is shown by the fact that *blàr* occurs elsewhere in Scotland, including Galloway, where there are at least

<sup>33</sup> See the place-name surveys for more details of British or British-derived place-name elements.

<sup>34</sup> *Blàr* can also mean battlefield in Scotland.

eighteen place-names beginning with *blàr*, and a cluster of nine in Lennox at the southern end of Loch Lomond (Taylor 2006, 31-2; Taylor forthcoming).

The close study of the p-Celtic place-names of Menteith has given us some questions that remain to be more fully explored. But as has been found with neighbouring Clackmannanshire, there is a great deal of difficulty in distinguishing between the Pictish and British languages on place-name evidence alone. However, it seems that if there is a boundary to be drawn in relation to Pictish and British, even if it is only for convenience, and even if in the end we are only distinguishing between dialects of Northern British, then we might be justified on the basis of *\*lanerc*, the saint's name Docus, and the political geography, in placing that boundary not at the River Forth, but rather at the Ochil Hills and the uplands to the north of Doune and Callander, in other words, on the northern boundaries of present day Clackmannanshire and Menteith (see Map 5). Equally, however, on the basis of *aber*, *eccles*, *\*carden*, *monadh*, and *blàr*, we might also be justified in removing that boundary altogether and simply call the p-Celtic languages of Northern Britain 'British'.<sup>35</sup>

#### *Gaelic in Menteith*<sup>36</sup>

The study of the Gaelic language in Scotland as a whole, and Menteith in particular, can be rather frustrating: we know more about the language's decline than we do about its rise and when it prospered. This is entirely due to the lack of documentation, particularly in the Gaelic language; most of the documents of the area were written in Latin or Scots and it is difficult to obtain information on the extent of Gaelic in Menteith until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Just as problematical is the question of when Gaelic first came to be spoken and when it became the predominant language of Menteith. Place-names provide one of the best routes into the Gaelic language in Menteith, but these have to be used with care. Place-names generally give no

<sup>35</sup> See also Alan James' (2009b, 142) discussion of the relationship between British and Pictish. He also discusses many of the p-Celtic elements mentioned above.

<sup>36</sup> Discussion of Gaelic in the place-names of Menteith can be found in Chapters 5 and 6; this section will review the evidence for Gaelic in primary and secondary source material.

*terminus post quem*, and so any dates can only be relative. An additional problem in Menteith is that Menteith is bisected by the Highland Boundary Fault (HBF). Although this is obviously a geographical fault-line, the perception that it was also an approximate cultural boundary has generally meant that those place-names to the south and east of this fault are mainly recorded in Scottish English orthography, while many Gaelic place-names to the north and west are recorded in modern Gaelic orthography. However, the linguistic situation is more complex than this statement implies, and probably has much to do with decisions taken by the Ordnance Survey.<sup>37</sup> What is perhaps surprising is that Gaelic should have survived so long in Menteith. It is ironic that at least from the reign of James VI much effort was spent on trying to eradicate Gaelic from the remoter parts of the Highlands, and especially the islands off the west coast, and yet the language hung on stubbornly just twenty kilometres away from Stirling, one of the main royal centres of medieval and early modern Scotland.

It is improbable that we will know exactly when Gaelic was first spoken in Menteith on a regular basis, but if Menteith was a major route-way on the journey from Iona to Lindisfarne (Taylor 2000, 114; Taylor 1999, 49), then Gaelic may have been introduced by Gaels travelling between these important Christian centres. However, it is also likely that the district was a crossroads between Picts, Gaels, Britons, Angles, and Vikings in their battles for supremacy of northern Britain. The rich agricultural lands of the ancient region of Manaw were highly coveted in this period and many battles were fought for control of it. While it is probable that the area on both sides of the head of the Firth of Forth, i.e. Clackmannanshire and East Stirlingshire, including the fortress of Stirling, were core parts of this kingdom, it is unclear whether Menteith, or part of it, was ever included in Manaw.<sup>38</sup> According to the *Annals of Ulster*, Aedán mac Gabráin, king of Dál Riata, won a battle in Manaw in 582-3.<sup>39</sup> This may be the battle against the *Miathi* mentioned by Adomnán his *Life of St Columba* (Sharpe

<sup>37</sup> see Chapter 2 for more discussion on this topic.

<sup>38</sup> However, see map in Driscoll (2002, 14), which seems to show Menteith in Manaw.

<sup>39</sup> At CELT, *sub anno* U582-3, 'The battle of Manu, in which Aedán son of Gabrán sun (sic) of Domangart was victor'; 'The battle of Manu won by Aedán'.

edition 1995, 119).<sup>40</sup> A fort near **Aberfoyle** is traditionally said to have been given to St Berchán or Berach by Aedán to be the site of a monastery (Watson 1926, 194, 225; Anderson 1980, 146; Duncan 1975, 43; Butter 2007, 102).<sup>41</sup> There was a cult of Saint Berach or Berchan at **Aberfoyle**, where a fair, *Fèill Bearchàin*, was also held (Watson 1926, 194). Aedán was styled in a pre-1100 poem as prince or king of Foirthe (Watson 1926, 53; Clancy 1998, 182), which could ‘connect him to the Forth region’ (Anderson 1980, 146).

In 642, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, the Gaels, under the leadership of Domnall Brecc, a successor to Aedán, were defeated by the Britons at the Battle of Strathcarron in STL (Smyth 1984, 118; Clancy 1998, 114). This battle, the earliest recorded instance of hostility between Gael and Briton, was commemorated in a stanza found in one of the extant versions of *Y Gododdin*. Strathcarron, which now lies under the Carron Valley Reservoir, west of Falkirk, is only twenty km SW from the island of Inchmahome. Of course there are a number of ways from Dál Riata to the Carron Valley and the plain of Manaw, and many of them do not involve striking through Menteith. However, the point here is that at some time during these struggles it is likely that Menteith was among those areas that were ‘crucial mediator[s] of communication and conflict’ (Clancy and Crawford 2001, 29).

By the ninth century the depredations of the Vikings, and in particular the defeat of the ‘men of Fortriu’ at the hands of the ‘heathens’ in 839 (*Annals of Ulster*), may have caused, whether forcefully or opportunistically, the Gaels to move into Pictish territory (Clancy and Crawford 2001, 61; Woolf 2007a, 66-7, Chapter 3). The Gaels later supplanted the Pictish dynasty, although by what means is not clear. Gaelic became the dominant language of Scotland north of the Forth, replacing whatever form of p-Celtic that existed there, it seems, within a very short period of time, although it must have taken a couple of generations or more. Why this should have been is not clear, but it may be because of the type of lordship the

<sup>40</sup> Sharpe has doubts as to whether these sources are describing the same battle (Sharpe 1995, 268-9), as does A.O. Anderson (*ES I*, 89-90, 96-7).

<sup>41</sup> A.A.M. Duncan states that Aedán carved ‘out for himself a principality on the Forth which included Aberfoyle’ (Duncan 1975, 43).

Gaels brought with them. It is possible there was a wholesale ethnic cleansing of Pictland, but this seems unlikely given the potential manpower any ‘conquerors’, if that is what they were, had to call upon (Campbell 1998, 56).<sup>42</sup> Religion, or more specifically Christianity, must also have been a factor in the spread of the Gaelic language. By the seventh and eighth centuries Iona had become the pre-eminent Christian centre in the north of Britain (Driscoll 2002, 21). The prestige and influence of Iona may have had a great impact on the spread of Gaelic in Scotland north of the Forth-Clyde line. Another view might suggest that the eastwards migration of the Gaels fleeing the Viking onslaught of the western seaboard, coupled with the takeover, peaceful or otherwise, of the British and Pictish regions by the kings of Dál Riata, meant that the Gaelic language spread at an impressive rate (Forsyth 2001, 378). In many areas north of the Forth Gaelic replaced Pictish due to the ‘social, political, and cultural upheavals’ that happened in Scotland from the seventh century (Forsyth 2001, 378). However, this whole subject of Gelic replacing p-Celtic is a highly complex matter and for the latest attempt at trying to resolve it see Woolf (2007a, 322-342). In any case, the result was that Scotia experienced a change in cultural identity, one that was persuasive enough to eventually bring an end to the Picts and Britons as distinct peoples (Driscoll 2002, 21; McNeill and MacQueen 1996, 62). How precisely this change from p-Celtic to Gaelic affected Menteith is not known, but the transfer of Cowal saints, such as Bláán and Kessog, into this general area may indicate the movement of Gaels westwards, taking over the lands of the Picts and Britons north of the Firth of Forth and Campsie Fells/Gargunnock Hills massif. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, it may be that this transfers of Cowal saints is evidence of connections via routeways and family ties. Whatever the means, by 1100 Gaelic was established as the most common spoken language in most of Scotland (Forsyth 2001, 378).

<sup>42</sup> Campbell states that the *Senchus Fer nAlban* ‘allows for a maximum of about 2000 [fighting] men’ in the seventh century.

Watson argued that the difference between Gaelic and British was not as great as it is today or even during the medieval period (Watson 1934-6, 117, 126). Gaelic did not instantly become the language of everybody at once (Withers 1984, 17). In spite of differences in the languages of the Gaels and Picts and Britons, it may have been easier for the Gaels to impose their language on the Picts and Britons of Strathclyde than it was for Scots-speakers to do the same to Gaelic-speakers from the fourteenth century onwards. That Gaelic prospered in Menteith is evident from the place-names. For example, of the seventy-three place-names in PMH on the current (2002) 1:50,000 OS 'Landranger' map, fifty-one are Gaelic in origin.

In Scotland as a whole Gaelic reached its peak in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and Fife 'lay at the heart of a Gaelic-speaking kingdom with a Gaelic-speaking king' (Taylor 1994, 102). Gaelic had also ventured into Lothian, although it did not take root there so readily. By the twelfth century, it had retreated north and westwards across the Forth and the (Stirlingshire/West Lothian) Avon. In the thirteenth century Gaelic had begun its retreat from Fife and had disappeared from there 'probably [by] the first half of the fourteenth century' (Taylor 1994, 100).<sup>43</sup> There are many reasons for this decline. Chief among them are: the rise of burghs, where many of the merchants were of non-Gaelic origin, and spoke English or perhaps Flemish; the imposition of a non-Gaelic system of lordship, traditionally called feudalism, where the aristocrat himself was not, or was not often a Gaelic speaker; a Church which had a preference for Scotto-Norman clergy, and in which Latin was the *lingua franca* of that organization; and a royal court which was or became Anglophone (and also francophone for a time in the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>44</sup>), in speech and in influence.

Gaelic was the language of the earls of Menteith prior to c.1231. Like their neighbouring earls in Strathearn and Lennox, it is possible that these Menteith earls had interpreters to

<sup>43</sup> Withers (1984, 18) states that Gaelic had begun to retreat in the late eleventh century, Murison favours the twelfth century (1974, 76), while Barrow contends that it may have clung on in parts of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan-shires until the early fourteenth century (2003, 332-3).

<sup>44</sup> See Walter of Coventry's comments in the early 13<sup>th</sup> C 'more recent kings of Scots profess themselves to be Frenchmen, both in race and in manners, language and culture; and after reducing the Scots to utter servitude, they admit only Frenchmen to their friendship and service' (Anderson 1908, 330, n. 6).

assist them with the governing of the earldom in the new multi-lingual environment (Neville 2005, 216). The earls of Menteith who gained the earldom after the demise of the earliest line of earls are often thought to have spoken mainly Scots or even French, presumably since they were descended from Anglo-Norman stock who came to Scotland in the course of the 12<sup>th</sup> C. Walter Comyn married the daughter of the last indigenous earl, Muirethach c.1231. Comyn had been lord of Badenoch prior to this (Brown 2004, 28-9; Young 2005, 63). His father, William, had been Justiciar of Scotia and earl of Buchan (Brown 2004, 13, 28). It is unlikely that Comyn did not understand Gaelic, for without it his job as leader of the people of Badenoch and Menteith would have been difficult. His successor, Walter Stewart, must also have been well acquainted with Gaelic, coming from a family whose major power base was Kyle and Cunningham in Ayrshire (Barrow 2003, chapter 15). Indeed, from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> C Arran and Knapdale were in the hands of Walter Stewart and remained in the hands of the Menteith Stewarts until the Campbells acquired them in the 1360s (Boardman 2006, 15, 64). It seems unlikely the Stewarts, like the Comyns in Badenoch, could have been effective lords over these territories unless they understood Gaelic (see p.72-5). There is evidence for the later medieval and early modern periods of Scottish nobles whose estates had significant populations of Gaelic-speakers being able to speak ‘the language of the tenantry of their estates, even if they habitually spoke Scots themselves’ (MacCinnich 2008, 314, see also n.15).

Despite all the pressures associated with what may be called ‘Europeanisation’ (Bartlett 1993, chapter 11), Gaelic hung on stubbornly in Menteith even though its *caput* was only twenty-two km from Stirling, one of the main centres of medieval Scotland. The reasons why are not entirely clear. There seems no obvious explanation why many parts of lowland Menteith remained Gaelic speaking until the late eighteenth century when most other areas of the Scottish Lowlands from Edinburgh to Inverness had spoken Scots since the thirteenth century or earlier. However, the reasons must include close contact with the Gaelic west and

the lack of a sizeable burgh within Menteith itself.<sup>45</sup> Our evidence for the Gaelic language as a live entity in Menteith in the medieval period is frankly pretty scant, and indeed, our best evidence for the prevalence of the use of Gaelic as an everyday language in Menteith comes from the late seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries, particularly from material such as the *Old Statistical Account*. Prior to this place-names and personal names are about all we have to go on. The problem is that many of the place-names may have already been extant for a great number of years by the time they come on record from the twelfth century onwards.

Difference in language only seems to have become a cultural issue between the Lowlands and Highlands in the fourteenth century. John of Fordun is the earliest commentator of the cultural dichotomy of those who inhabited Scotland: Lowlanders spoke 'Teutonic' (*lingua Theutonica*) Highlanders were 'Scottish' (*lingua Scotica*) in speech (MacGregor 2009, 7). Lowlanders came to see a Gaelic speaker as someone who was inferior, and the language was thought of as 'barbarous' (Withers 1984, 23-4). Issues of national identity in which Lowland Scots wished to be seen as distinct from the English ensured that by the late fifteenth century the language of the Lowlands came to be known as 'Scottis', rather than 'Inglis' as it had been before (Murison 1974, 75, 81; Lynch 1992, 68); Gaelic was called 'Irish' or 'Erse', an allusion to its origins (Murison 1974, 81; Withers 1984, 23). This sense of cultural difference was reinforced by a physical distance as Gaelic retreated behind the Highland/Lowland boundary (Withers 1982a, 143). The Highlands was *terra incognita* to many Lowlanders, and the frequent skirmishes between those on either side of the mountains underpinned the view among Lowlanders that Highlanders were wild ruffians, although they cannot have been solely responsible for all the trouble. Nevertheless, they were blamed and the *Register of the Privy Council* brims with tales of marauding Highlanders attacking their neighbours. One example is that brought to the Council on 14<sup>th</sup> December 1592: John Elphinstone complained

<sup>45</sup> The hamlet of Port-of-Menteith was erected into a burgh of barony in 1467 (*RMS ii no. 902*), but it can hardly have attracted the amount of trade or numbers of Scots speakers as, for example, the burgh of Crail in Fife did in the 13<sup>th</sup> C.

that ‘Patrik Steuart of *Balquidder*’<sup>46</sup> and others along ‘with convocatioun of a grite nowmer of hieland men and sornaris<sup>47</sup> of clannis’ had come to Elphinstone’s lands in *Drumquhasil*<sup>48</sup> and other places on 31<sup>st</sup> July 1592 and took 36 ‘ky’, ten ‘oxin’ and ‘divers and sindrie guidis’. Further, on 31<sup>st</sup> October, ‘with twa bagpipes blawand befoir thame’ the highlanders ‘maist barbarouslie reft and awaytuke’ 196 cows, 66 horses, and 300 sheep (*RPC* v 1592, 28). As well as their thieving ways, the Gaelic language was seen as a barrier to the civility of the Highlander. James VI inherited the English throne in 1603 conscious of the fact that he reigned over a country in the north that was divided by language, while most Englishmen (parts of Cornwall excepted) spoke English. He also inherited a mainly Welsh-speaking Wales and Irish-speaking Ireland too. James had been concerned about the lack of unity in Scotland for some time. Other kings had attempted to increase their power in the north by bringing the magnates, notably the Lord of the Isles, to heel. It had been thought that James VI began the systematic assault on the Gaelic language mainly through legislative action, the most famous being the Statutes of Icolmkill or Iona of 1609, strengthened in 1616 (Withers 1984, 28; Goodare 1998; MacGregor 2006). The Statutes of Iona were part of James’ desire for the Highlanders to recognise his authority, pay their rents and taxes, and conform to the rest of Scottish, and British, society, although their effectiveness, at least to begin with, was probably not great. However, it has recently been argued that the provision in the sixth Statute requiring the clan chiefs to send their ‘eldest sone...or dochter, to the scuills in the Lowland...to speik, reid, and wryte Inglishe’ (*RPC* ix 1609, 28-9), was to help ‘equip the elite with a skill essential in fulfilling the remit envisioned for them in the Statutes, as local agents of central government’ (MacGregor 2006, 147). Indeed, it has been recently argued that Scots was by this stage prevalent, especially as a literary and official language, amongst Gaelic

<sup>46</sup> Balquidder PER.

<sup>47</sup> ‘A person who exacts free quarters and provisions by threats or force, as a means of livelihood’ (*DOST* under *sornar*).

<sup>48</sup> There is a Park of Drumquassle (NS483869), Easter Drumquassle Farm (NS486871) and Wester Drumquassle (NS 481874), all in DRY STL. The Steuarts would probably have gone through Menteith at some point in this expedition.

speakers, especially amongst the elite where it was the ‘normal language of business’ (MacCinnich 2008, 320). Nevertheless, it may be that the Statutes of Iona helped set the tone of the offensive against Gaelic that was to come.

Paradoxically, the great project of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries, the bringing of the Protestant religion to the people, was hampered in the Highlands because the language of that project in Britain, English, could not be understood by a great many Highlanders. A lack of Gaelic-speaking ministers and the large size of the parishes in the Highlands meant that the Word of God, as the Protestants believed it, made little headway. It is through the efforts to remedy this situation that in the late 17<sup>th</sup> Century we have the first systematic surveys of the extent of the Gaelic language in the Highlands. Part of the solution to the lack of religious instruction was to send a Gaelic Bible to every Highland parish. It was a Menteith man who took on the responsibility of producing the Bible in Scottish Gaelic: the Rev. Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle (Withers 1984, 43). The Bible had been translated into Irish Gaelic, but in Irish type, in the early 1600s, but it was not published until 1685. It was this which Robert Kirk translated into Scottish Gaelic. He died in 1692 apparently exhausted by this work (Withers 1984, 44). The Scottish Kirk needed to know how many Bibles they required and where to send them. Someone, perhaps James Kirkwood, an English minister (Withers 1980, 83), prepared two lists in 1698. From *An Account of the Parishes in the Highlands, 1698*, we learn that there are six Gaelic parishes in ‘Monteith’ (Withers 1984, 46). The second list entitled *A More Particular List of the Highland Parishes, 1698*, gives us the names of the parishes that are Gaelic speaking, or mainly so. In ‘Monteith in Dumblane Presbyterie’ are *Aberfoill, Callender, Kilmadock, and Port*. Also listed amongst the Menteith parishes are *Balquhidder* and *Buchanan*, although these were actually in Strathearn and Lennox respectively (Withers 1984, 52). This list informs us that Balquhidder, Aberfoyle and Callander have no minister, while for Buchanan, Kilmadock, and Port (i.e. Port-of-Menteith) the list states that ‘these 3 last need ane Irish preacher tho they have none’ (Withers 1980, 73; Withers 1984, 52).

Unfortunately, this is all the information the ‘lists’ provide us with. But already we know more about Gaelic as a living language at this time in Menteith than we do for any previous period.

In 1724-5 two pieces of evidence come to light about the state of Gaelic in Menteith. One is general, the other more detailed, but it only concerns the parish of Port-of-Menteith. In 1724 Alexander Graham of Duchray, probably a Gaelic speaker (Withers 1984, 59), wrote what may be termed as a proto-Statistical Account of a number of parishes in Menteith, Lennox and Western Stirlingshire. The Menteith parishes are **Callander**, **Kilmadock**, **Kincardine**, **Port [of Menteith]**, **Aberfoyle**, and **Kippen** (*Geo. Coll.*, 334-52). In **Callander**, ‘all the inhabitants of this paroch use the Irish language’ (*ibid*, 337). While in **Aberfoyle**, ‘all the inhabitants use the Irish language’ (*ibid*, 344). In **Port [of Menteith]**, ‘the inhabitants of the most part of this paroch use the Irish language’ (*ibid*, 342). We are left to assume that the inhabitants of the parishes of **Kilmadock**, **Kippen**, and **Kincardine** spoke only Scots.

**Port-of-Menteith** parish was subject to a more detailed survey in 1725. The reason for the survey was a dispute over the presentation of which of two men should be minister of the parish, one of whom was a Gaelic speaker. The population of Port-of-Menteith was not totally Gaelic-speaking, but it was felt that a Gaelic-speaking minister would ‘be useful to both Highlanders and Lalanders therein’ (Withers 1982b, 18). One hundred and fifty people could not speak English, and ‘as many besides, that can do little more than buy and sell in that language’ (*ibid*). This was disputed by the proposers of the other candidate who declared that many of the people on the list of those who wanted the Gaelic-speaking candidate could understand English. However, there were parts of **Port-of-Menteith** parish that were more Gaelic than others, and lists of ‘Irish Families’ were produced for the parish at this time. The barony of **Drunkie** PMH, in the north-west, had 43 people who were classed as ‘Irish’, and who presumably spoke Gaelic or mainly so. **Dullater** barony, in the north, had 49 ‘Irish’; Port barony had 40, while there were 26 ‘Irish’ persons in **Rednock** and **Ruskie** to the east and

which is mostly Lowland in character (Withers 1982, 21-2). In 1755, there were 1865 people in the parish (Kyd 1952, 45). If we can assume that there had been no great explosion in population in the thirty-one years from 1724, these Gaelic speakers represent a small percentage – 8% – of the population of Port-of-Menteith parish.

After the '45 Rebellion some of the estates of the supporters of Bonnie Prince Charlie were confiscated by the government. A document on the Forfeited Estates dating from 1755-6 includes the baronies of **Callander** and **Strathgartney** in CLD.<sup>49</sup> This shows that there were 388 'English' speakers out of a population of 532, or 73%, in **Callander** barony, and 235 'English' speakers out of 414 people, or 57%, in **Strathgartney**.

The Statistical Accounts in the 1790s and 1840s are perhaps the last major pieces of testimony regarding the state of Gaelic in Menteith. It is worthwhile quoting what the ministers of the Gaelic-speaking parishes say.

**Aberfoyle** – 'In antient times, the Gaelic language alone was spoken in this parish; and, even in the memory of man, it extended many miles farther down the country than it now does. The limits of this antient toun, however, are daily narrowed here as every where else, by increasing intercourse with the low country. At present, everybody understands English, though Gaelic is chiefly in use. The service in church is performed in English in the forenoon, and in Gaelic in the afternoon' (*OSA* x, 129).

**Callander** – 'The language spoken by persons of rank and of liberal education, is English; but the language of the lower classes is Gaelic' (*OSA* xi, 611-2).

**Kilmadock or Doune** – 'In the quarter towards Callander, the generality of the inhabitants speak Gaelic; and this is perhaps still more corrupt than even the Scotch, in the other quarters of the parish. It is impossible to conceive any thing more offensive to the ear, as the conversation of these people. The true Gaelic is a noble language, worthy of the fire of Ossian, and wonderfully adapted to the genius of a warlike nation; but the contemptible language of

<sup>49</sup> *Statistics of the Annexed Estates 1755-1756* (SRO [now NAS], 1973), 63-7.

the people about Callander, and to the east, is quite incapable of communicating a noble idea' (*OSA* xx, 53). This *Account* was written by Mr Alexander MacGibbon, who was not the minister of KMA at the time. It is unclear who MacGibbon was, but he may have been a local writer.<sup>50</sup> The parishioners of Logierait PER also seem to have spoken 'a corrupted dialect of the Gaelic', according to the minister, Thomas Bisset, a native of neighbouring Moulin (*OSA* v, 82; *Fasti* iv, 189). What these men mean by 'corrupt' is not clear, but it may be a reference to the Gaelic dialects in Kilmadock and Logierait at this time.

In **Kincardine** parish Gaelic was spoken only by migrants from the Highlands who worked on the draining of the Moss and in agriculture. There is no mention of **Port-of-Menteith** or **Kippen** as regards Gaelic in the *OSA*.

Writing in the *NSA* In the 1840s, the **Aberfoyle** minister states that 'at present, the inhabitants all understand and speak English' (*NSA* x, 1156). In **Callander**, 'both English and Gaelic languages are spoken in the parish, and divine worship on the Sabbath is performed in both' (*NSA* x, 356), and Gaelic was taught in both the parochial school at Callander and at a school in **Brig o' Turk** CLD (*NSA* x, 358). **Kilmadock** only had a 'few families' who spoke Gaelic. In Kincardine, even the use of Gaelic amongst the migrants working on the Moss had fallen so much that 'few or none can profit by a sermon from the pulpit in that language' (*NSA* x, 1266).

Exactly when Gaelic finally died out in Menteith can only be conjectured, but perhaps the last piece of evidence should belong, appropriately enough to W.J. Watson. In trying to determine a meaning for 'Teith', he spoke to 'four Gaelic-speaking men born near **Callander**, two of whom were over 80 and had excellent knowledge of the place-names...' (Watson 1926, 113). He gives no date, but it was possibly in the years on either side of 1900. Watson gave

<sup>50</sup> The only Alexander MacGibbon I have so far been able to come across with any kind of local connection is one who wrote *Answer to the satirical poem on Stirling* (NLS Hall.195.e.1(2)).

the Rhind Lectures, the basis of his *History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland*, in 1916, two years after his appointment as Professor of Celtic at Edinburgh University.

Gaelic declined in Menteith due to a number of factors, most of them in common with other parts of the Highlands. There had been an assault on Gaelic by the government and the Kirk since the Reformation. The language was ‘obnoxious to the lowland, presbyterian intellect’ and it was felt to ‘underlie the barbarity, jacobitism and Catholicism of the Highlands’ (Durkacz 1983, 52). Other, more mundane causes included the spread of the British State in the shape of roads, the military, institutions, such as the postal service, and the railways; the Highland Clearances had their effects in Menteith, too; and, more pertinently for Menteith, the rise of literary tourism, especially after Walter Scott wrote his Highland novels and poems, particularly *Lady of the Lake*, published in 1810, which was based in the area, brought closer contacts with English-speakers and indeed English people. These factors ensured not only the death of Gaelic in Menteith, and indeed much of the Highlands, but also led to a name change for its (modern) defining feature from the Loch to **Lake of Menteith**.

### *Scots in Menteith*

A survey comparable to that of Gaelic has not been done for the Scots language in Menteith. What will be attempted here is a preliminary survey of Scots place-names. Below (p. 122-28) there is a discussion looking at the elements *baile* and *toun* together in some detail, as they can be valuable indicators of language and social change. Other Scots place-names will be looked at below to try and arrive at a rough sense of chronology as to when Scots became the language of place-name generation in each parish.

Given the lateness of the source material, it is unlikely that we will be able to tell precisely when Scots began to take root in Menteith. As far as we can sure, the earliest lord whose first language was not Gaelic in this area is Richard de Montfiquet who gained the lands of Kincardine in 1189 x 95 (*RRS* ii no. 334). It may be no coincidence that **Drip** occurs in KRD. It

is thought to be derived from Sc *threip* ‘argument, dispute’. While the earliest use of the word in *DOST* is c1200 (for *Threpland* ABO FIF<sup>51</sup>), Barrow thinks this element dates to ‘an active period of boundary definition at a period (twelfth to thirteenth century?) when the use of Older Scots was becoming fairly general throughout Scotland’ (Barrow 1998, 68). Strengthening Barrow’s case is reference to *le Drep*, now Meikle Dripps LAN, on the border of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire granted to Walter son of Alan by Malcolm IV in 1161 (*RRS* i, no. 184), and granted by Walter to Paisley Abbey in 1165x1173 (*Reg. Passelet*, 5).<sup>52</sup> Also in KRD is **Boreland**, which appears from its inclusion in a document of 1189 x 95 in *Camb. Reg.* to be an early Scots place-name, but see discussion on p. 39 for the view that this is actually a later name. Certainly the earliest use of Scots in a place-name is by one of the earl of Menteith’s clerks in 1317 x 1322 where there is a Scots plural ending added to *Larakynys* (i.e. **Lanrick** KMA), which itself is a British place-name with a probable Gaelic plural *-ean* ending.<sup>53</sup>

It is not until the 15<sup>th</sup> C that the documentary record begins to bring more Scots place-names into view. This has much to do with the surviving documentation and who it was produced for. In other words, they are more likely to appear because they are in royal documents, especially charters, *RMS* and *ER*. The earliest Scots place-name to appear in the 15<sup>th</sup> C is **Brigend** AFE in a charter of James I granting Malise Graham the earldom of Menteith in 1427. We must not discount the possibility that to the Gaelic-speaking locals of AFE it was

\*Ceann Drochaid, but to the royal clerks it was known by the Scots name, although, since Graham was from Strathearn and his father had been earl of Atholl, he may have had some knowledge of Gaelic. Also in AFE, two *toun*-names come on record in 1489, Milton and Kirkton.

<sup>51</sup> This is found in *Dunf. Reg.* no. 168, and has been dated to 1214 x c.1226 (Taylor 2006, 57).

<sup>52</sup> My thanks to Dr Amanda Beam-Frazier for informing me of the date of this charter. A confirmation charter by Pope Alexander III, where *Threp* is mentioned, is dated to 1172 (*Reg. Passelet*, 409).

<sup>53</sup> See Lanrick KMA for a short discussion of ScG *-ean* ending.

From the 1450s a number of Scots place-names appear in *ER*, particularly in KMA. Here we have the notable situation where there are two groups of place-names containing the element *camas*, one near **Callander**; the other near **Doune**. The **Callander** group contains the Gaelic suffixes *mòr* and *beag* in **Cambusmore** and **Cambusbeg**; the **Doune** group, with the exception of **Cambuswallace** and **Cambusedward**, all contain the Sc formula 'X of Cambus', i.e. **Burn of Cambus**, **Milton of Cambus**, **Carse of Cambus**, and **Brae of Cambus**. The **Doune** group of Cambus-names is an example of a ScG-named estate with its divisions designated in Scots, while the Callander group show ScG designations. Also near **Doune** are the places **Newton of Doune**, *Cobylland de Doune* (*ER* v, 675), and **Parkland of Doune**, all first appearing on record in the *Exchequer Rolls* between 1451 and 1461.

Elsewhere in KMA, Scots place-names appear in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> C. *The Spitalic*, later **Spittalton**, appears from 1491 (NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v), while **Lochfield** dates from 1517. One documented renaming of a Gaelic place-name to Scots is \*Tom, which is *Tum* in 1261 (*RRS* ii no. 519 note), but is *Thom*, tunc vocat. *Barnisdale* in 1509 (*RMS* ii no. 3347), and finally appears as **Watston** in 1684 (terras de *Thom* vocata *Barnsdail* alias *Watsone* (*Retours PER* no. 934)). *Barnsdail* must have been a subdivision of the estate of **Watston** KMA, since the latter place existed in 1491, where it was the *toun* of either *Wat Smytht* (sic) or *Wat Dogg* or perhaps both (NAS PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v).

KPN is particularly poorly documented as a parish. Aside for the church of **Kippen**, which comes on record in 1238 (*Inchaffray Liber*, xxxi) and in 1275 (Bagimond (Dunlop edition), 54), no other place-name in KPN appears until the 1440s. This makes any statement regarding the emergence of Scots necessarily tentative. What we can say is that aside from some of the places whose names begin with *Arn-*, such as **Arnrior**, **Arnmore**, etc., being part of the lands of **Inchmahome** Priory (see p.116, 160), by the mid 15<sup>th</sup> C some other parts of the parish were in the hands of the king, including **Arnbeg**, **Arnfinlay**, **Drum**, **Shirgarton**, and **Treinterane** (*ER* v, 475). There may have been a Gaelic presence in the 1440s as

**Arnrior** first comes on record then as *Ernefrear* (Bower *Scotichron.* Bk. 2, ch. 10 (vol. 2, p. 190)). This shows signs of Gaelic lenition, but that may have been due to Bower's informant, possibly a Gaelic-speaking monk at **Inchmahome**. It may be that the parish was bi-lingual in the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> C, since we also know that **Garden** KPN had the surname Sinclair as a suffix, i.e. *Carten-Sinclare* in 1465 (*RMS* ii no. 844). The Sinclair in question was William Sinclare, master of Orkney and Caithness (Magistri Orchadien' et Cathanen'), connected to the Scots-speaking Sinclairs of Rosslyn MLO (Barrow 2003, 281), who had been earls of Orkney since 1379 (Nicholson 1974, 192). In 1465 Garden was in the hands of Malcolm MakClery, an attorney at Stirling (*Stirling Protocol Bk*, 116). One name which may show that the ScG element *earrann* was borrowed into Scots as *arn-* in the 16<sup>th</sup> C is **Arnmanuel**. The nunnery of Manuel STL came into the possession of the Livingstons of Calendar, Falkirk in 1545, but the Livingstons had held lands in KPN since at least 1454 (*ER* v, 675). **Arnmanuel** does not appear on record until 1581 (*RSS* viii no. 210).

However, most place-names in KPN do not appear until the 16<sup>th</sup> C or later; the clearly ScG **Ballamenoch** KPN, near **Buchlyvie**, first appears on Blaeu in 1654 as *Balemeanach*, at a time when Scots had been spoken in the parish for at least two centuries. In 1426 part of the lands of **Torrie** KMA is named *Torrie-Spens* after 'Johanni de Spensa, burgensi de Perth' (*RMS* ii no. 45), who may have been one of the conduits by which the Scots language gained a hold in Menteith. We need not necessarily think that Spens himself settled in Menteith, but his representative, perhaps a factor or similar, may have.

### *Conclusion*

Three main languages have left their mark on the nomenclature of Menteith. The earliest of these, the place-names strongly suggest, was a p-Celtic language, although whether it could be further refined as Pictish or British type is for further research. Gaelic is the language of the vast majority of the place-names in Menteith, and this was probably the language of a

large percentage of the population for most of the Middle Ages. Gaelic continued to be spoken in many of the Highland parts of the area until at least the 19<sup>th</sup> C. Scots probably started making inroads into Menteith from the 12<sup>th</sup> C as part of the transfer of lands to Anglo-Norman magnates, such as the Muschets of *Kincardine*. An early example may be **Drip** KRD, but most Scots place-names in Menteith are only rooted from the 15<sup>th</sup> C when a cluster of Sc toun-names emerge in the barony of Cessintully KMA. There is no evidence for the two languages living cheek by jowl as there is in Fife, probably because the main evidence for this in Fife is perambulation charters, a feature absent from Menteith. However, the formation of ScG *baile*-names north of the River Teith at the same time as the *toun*-names are being coined suggests Gaelic was still a vibrant language in 15<sup>th</sup> C Menteith.

Having examined the source material for place-name research and the languages of Menteith we are nearly ready to reveal what the place-name evidence can tell us of medieval rural society in Menteith. First, however, we will now have a brief look at a historical framework and see how language how Gaelic the group we know most about in Menteith were: the earls and other major landlords.

## Chapter 4

### *Menteith: Historical Framework*

This is not intended to be a comprehensive account of the history of the earldom of Menteith, but rather an outline showing, as far as possible, how Gaelic the earls of Menteith and other nobles were throughout the Middle Ages. This brief chapter will also look at issues such as cultural exchange between Menteith and other parts of the Gàidhealtachd, landholding, and marriage. The careers of the post-Reformation earls need not concern us here, and are covered in great detail in Hutchison (1899, 284-317).

### *Earls of Menteith to Dukes of Albany, 1164 – 1425*

The first known earl of Menteith is Gillecrist who flourished in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> C. (Fraser, *Menteith* i, 4; *SP* vi, 125). We know nothing about him beyond the fact that he was a witness to several charters. He first comes on record in 1164 as a witness to a confirmation charter of Scone Abbey; he is designated here ‘Gillecrist comite de Meneteth’ (*RRS* i, no. 243). Fraser (*Menteith*, i, 6) and Hutchison (1899, 217) state that Gillecrist was succeeded by Muretach or Murdach c.1180, which must be a mistake since Gillecrist witnessed a charter of William I to William de Monfort in 1189 x 1199 (*RRS* ii, no. 335). A charter of William I confirming a grant of the church of Moulin to Dunfermline Abbey by Malcolm earl of Atholl, is witnessed by ‘Comite Mauricio de Meneteth’ in 1187 x 1195 (*RRS* ii, no. 337). This Maurice is referred to as *Murethach* earl of Menteith (‘comite de menetheth’)<sup>54</sup> when he is witness to an agreement between Gilbert, prior of St Andrews and his canons and the *Céli Dé* of St Andrews in 1198 (*SP* vi, 125; *St A. Lib.* 319). It had been thought that Muirethach and Maurice were either two different people (Hutchison 1899, 217), or that Maurice/Muirethach was the elder

<sup>54</sup> No capital ‘M’ in *menetheth*.

of the two brothers of the same name who were sons and successors of Gillecrist (*SP* vi, 125).

The *Scots Peerage* writer seems to be correct, for what seems to be happening is that this is part of a phenomenon where Gaelic names were being assimilated to continental ones around this time. As Matthew Hammond has written ‘scribes often rendered Gaelic names in their Latin ‘equivalents’’ (Hammond 2007, 85): for example Gilbertus was equivalent to GilleBrigte, while Muirethach, a Gaelic name meaning ‘lord’ (Jackson 1972, 45), became assimilated, at least in Latin texts, to Mauricius (Hammond 2007, 91).<sup>55</sup>

Muirethach had been earl for a number of years before his right to the earldom was challenged by his younger, probably half-brother, confusingly also named Muirethach. It may be that the elder Muirethach was an illegitimate son of Gillecrist and the younger Muirethach had a more suitable claim to the earldom, at least in the eyes of the new Anglo-Norman establishment. The only reason we know about the circumstances surrounding the younger Muirethach’s succession is due to a dispute between two female heirs, Isabella and Mary, regarding the inheritance of the earldom in 1261. The documents that enlighten us of the dispute form part of an *inspeximus* charter, or an official copy of a document made under a seal, by Henry III of England in 1261 of an agreement made in 1213 by the two Muirethachs before Prince Alexander, later Alexander II of Scotland (*RRS* ii, no. 519). The documents were brought before Henry by Isabella, daughter of Muirethach the younger and former wife of Walter Comyn who had died in 1258. The agreement states that Muirethach the elder will resign the earldom of Menteith in favour of his younger brother, ‘juniorem fratrem ejus’. The elder Muirethach was to have certain lands within Menteith for his lifetime.<sup>56</sup> These were to return to the earldom after his death. Muirethach the younger was also to give his brother certain lands outwith Menteith for the elder Muirethach to give his daughters in marriage,

<sup>55</sup> Other possible ScG names that could have been Latinised as Maurice include Muirchertach or Murchad. My thanks to Thomas Clancy, Daivit Broun, and Simon Taylor for discussions on this topic. In depth research on the ‘Europeanisation’ of native names is overdue.

<sup>56</sup> See Chapter 1 for the location of these lands.

'Idem vero Mauricius junior eadem die tradidit fratri suo Mauricio seniori ad maritandas filias suas' (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 214).

However, while the agreement appears to be amicable, it is hard to imagine the elder Muirethach giving up his earldom lightly, even if he was of 'doubtful legitimacy' (Duncan 1975, 200). If Gillecrist had still been alive in 1195 – realistically, according the available evidence, the last possible date he could have been earl – then Muirethach the elder would nevertheless have been earl for eighteen years before resigning in favour of his younger brother in 1213.<sup>57</sup> There, quite simply, have to be other reasons for the elder Muirethach giving up the earldom. Duncan suspected that the elder Muirethach resigned the earldom of Menteith in favour of his younger brother, his male heir, who then pledged to provide for his daughters (Duncan 1975, 200). Another possibility is that the elder Muirethach was coming to the end of his life – we hear no more of him after this – and he wanted to secure an orderly succession to the earldom while ensuring his daughters were cared for. While this is what happened in the short term, within half a century of the agreement between the Muirethachs bitter disputes had arisen over who would succeed to the earldom. It is a recurring theme that for much of the time the inheritance of the earldom failed in the male line and consequently passed to heiresses, meaning the title of earl was held in right of the holder's wife. If the holder predeceased his wife, the title reverted back to the woman, who remarried. This led to competition for the prize not just of the woman but also of the earldom that came with her. The younger Muirethach was earl until c.1231, leaving two women as heirs: Isabella and Mary. Duncan (1975, 584, n.34) and Brown (2004, 55) assert that they were cousins not sisters. Isabella was the daughter of the younger Muirethach; Mary the daughter of the elder (see also Genealogical Tree 5 in Duncan 1975, 634). Boardman, however, stresses that the relationship between the two women cannot be 'proven either way' (Boardman 2006, 30, n.40).

<sup>57</sup> This of course rises to twenty-three years if he succeeded in 1190.

Around 1232 Isabella married Walter Comyn, Lord of Badenoch. Comyn did not become earl of Menteith immediately, however; it was not until 9<sup>th</sup> January 1234 that he was designated as such (Duncan 1975, 543; *SP* vi, 127-8). The Comyns in Scotland could trace their origins to a prominent Anglo-Norman family who followed David I north and had been active at the Scottish court since 1136 (Young 1997, 15). The dichotomy of Gaelic v. Anglo-Norman or celtic v. feudalism in Scottish historiography has meant there is a tendency to see these Anglo-Norman knights who arrived with David I in the 12<sup>th</sup> C as still being Anglo-Norman in the 13<sup>th</sup> C. It has been written recently that William Comyn, Walter's father, was 'the first 'Norman' earl in Scotland' when he gained Buchan by right of his wife c.1212 (Young 2005, 63). In following such a view, it is tempting to see Walter Comyn, too, as being an Anglo-Norman baron. However, by the time Walter Comyn became earl of Menteith, he had been Lord of Badenoch, which included Lochaber in the west, since c.1229 (Young 1993, 178; Young 2005, 63; Barrow 2003, 345). The presumption must be, then, that Comyn could speak Gaelic. Already one of the pre-eminent members of the Scottish nobility – he was Alexander II's agent in subduing Galloway, a Gaelic area, in 1235 – Comyn's power rose with the dignity afforded the holder of an earldom. His acquisition of the earldom of Menteith, a 'marcher earldom that controlled important passes from central Scotland into Argyll', meant that Comyn gained certain rights over the jurisdiction of parts of Cowall and Kintyre (Murray 2005, 301). Indeed, by the time of the Scottish Wars of Independence in the late 13<sup>th</sup> C and early 14<sup>th</sup> C, the Comyns had developed deep roots in the Highlands (Nicholson 1974, 74). It is doubtful, therefore, if Walter Comyn could have governed his new territories, Menteith included, if he could not understand Gaelic. Comyn's career is told in more detail by Young (1985 and 1997), Brown (2004) and Duncan (1975).

In 1258 Walter Comyn died in circumstances that are unclear: the English chroniclers, including Matthew Paris, say he fell from his horse (Anderson 1908, 376); many Scots nobles believed he was poisoned (*Chron. Fordun*, 293; Young 1997, 59; Hutchison 1899, 222).

Countess Isabella did not allay suspicion by marrying Sir John Russell, an English knight, probably from Ely in Cambridgeshire, almost immediately after Comyn's death. It was not proved that they had poisoned the earl, but they were put in prison anyway and deprived of their estates. Once free they fled to England where they appealed to Henry III. Other than inspect Isabella's writs, discussed above, there was nothing much Henry could do. The Countess and her husband were dead by 1273. They were succeeded by a daughter, also Isabella (*CDS* ii no. 466; *SP* vi, 129; ).

After Walter Comyn's death in 1258 the earldom passed eventually to Walter Stewart, husband of Mary, perhaps daughter of Muirethach the elder. Walter Stewart's tenure was not without problems: the Comyns were anxious to keep the earldom in their family and Sir John Comyn, Earl Walter Comyn's younger brother, forced his sister-in-law, Isabella, to renounce the earldom in his favour. Sir John lost out in preference to Walter Stewart, who was using the title of earl of Menteith by April 1261 (*SP* vi, 130; Duncan 1975, 584; Young 1997, 73). The Comyns then advanced the claim of William Comyn by right of his wife, Isabella, daughter of Isabella and Sir John Russell. It was partially successful: in 1285 Walter was left with half of the lands of the earldom, and the title of Earl; the other half of the lands went to William and Isabella (Hutchison 1899, 224-5). The lands of Menteith had been partitioned between co-heirs (Brown 2004, 92). It was perhaps the first time an earldom rather than a barony had been divided in this way (Duncan 1975, 584). We are not told which portion went to whom, but Hutchison believed the western half went to Stewart, while the Eastern half went to the Comyn interest (Hutchison 1899, 225). How this division translated itself on the ground is not clear; but it is possible that Stewart retained the parishes of AFE, western CLD, and the western-part of PMH (the eastern part, or a portion of it, may have belonged to the priory of Inchmahome), while the Comyns gained (or re-gained) eastern CLD, KMA, KRD, and KPN.<sup>58</sup> It

<sup>58</sup> There is no evidence for the partition being made along these parochial lines as such, I am merely surmising based on Hutchison (1899, 225). He quotes Wyntoun: 'The Kyng than of his counsale/ Made this delyverans thare

may be that the later major divisions of Menteith, including the post-1427 earldom (i.e. AFE and the western half of PMH), the Stewartry of Menteith (KRD, parts of KMA, and parts of KPN), the barony of **Strathgartney** (western CLD), the barony of **Doune** (parts of KMA and north-east PMH), and barony of **Cardross** (i.e. the lands of Inchmahome in south-east PMH), all had their origins in this split in 1285. Isabella, however, was not content with the situation. She and William Comyn had no children, and when William died in 1291, Edward I, by now in *de facto* command of Scotland, married Isabella off to Sir Edmund Hastings, an English knight and brother of Sir John Hastings, one of the rival Competitors to the Scottish throne during the Great Cause. The Comyn portion of Menteith went to Hastings. In a letter to Pope Boniface in 1301, Edmund's seal designates him as 'S[ir] Edmundi Hasting Comitatu *Menetei*'<sup>59</sup> and 'Dominus de *Enchimchelmok*' (Hutchison 1899, 226).

Meanwhile, Walter Stewart, 'habitually known' by his Gaelic nickname of Ballach 'spotted', and a name with which he styled himself in his supplication to the pope in order to marry the heiress of the earldom of Menteith (Boardman 2007, 92; Theiner 1864, no. 237<sup>60</sup>), found favour at the Scottish court. By 1263 he was Sheriff of Ayr and was responsible for watching the eastern shore of the Clyde estuary where his family had major landholdings (Cowan 1990, 121-2). Walter Stewart must also have been a Gaelic speaker. His family came from the Gaelic speaking area around the Firth of Clyde and had extensive lands in Strathgryfe, North Kyle, Cowal and Bute (Barrow 2003, Chapter 15; Boardman 2007, 84). Indeed, as we have seen, from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> C Arran and Knapdale were in the hands of Walter Stewart and remained in the hands of the Menteith Stewarts until the Campbells acquired them in the 1360s (Boardman 2006, 15, 64). Like Comyn in Cowal and Kintyre, the Stewarts could not have been effective lords over these territories unless they had an intimate knowledge of Gaelic. The

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finale;/ That erldume to be delt in twa/ Partis, and the tane of tha/ Wyth the chemys [mansion] assigned he/ Til  
Walter Stewart: the lave to be/ Made als gud in all profit;/ Schyre Willame Comyn till have that quyt/ Till hald it in  
fre barony/ Besyde the erldume all quytly'.

<sup>59</sup> Note that Edmund Hastings is not being called 'earl of Menteith' here, but 'from the earldom of Menteith'; *comitatu* is ablative sg. of Latin *comitatus* 'earldom, county'.

<sup>60</sup> Theiner has Bulloc for Ballach.

Stewart connection in the build-up to the battle of Largs was troublesome for Menteith, however. Much of the military activity directed against the Stewarts by the MacSweens, allies of King Hakon of Norway, was targeted at the Stewart's new acquisition of Menteith, presumably striking via Loch Long, Tarbet, and Loch Lomond (Cowan 1990, 121-2; Boardman 2006, 15, 30, n. 35). This activity was such a threat to Stirling that Alexander III was required to pay expenses to 'vigilant men in the castle of Stirling when the king of Norway was in these parts'<sup>61</sup> (Cowan 1990, 121 quoting *ER* i, 24). By 1271 Stewart was Sheriff of Dumbarton and prominent in the witness lists of royal charters (Young 1997, 73), and was part of the Turnberry Band, signed in September 1286, which supported the Bruce claim to the throne. He died between 1293 and 1295 (Hutchison 1899, 230; *SP* vi, 132); Mary, his wife, died around 1290. In 1286 Stewart gave the church at **Kippen** to Cambuskenneth Abbey in order to obtain a burial place at the abbey for his daughter-in-law, Matilda (*Camb. Reg.*, no. 129). Walter and Mary were buried near the high altar at Inchmahome Priory, where their effigies can still be seen.

Walter's heirs, Alexander and Alan were unfortunate to succeed as Scotland was in the turmoil of the Wars of Independence. Alexander died before 1306, when Alan, his son, is mentioned as earl (Hutchison 1899, 233). Alan was at Robert I's coronation at Scone in March 1306, but was captured a short time later, possibly at the battle of Methven, and died in captivity around 1308-9. However, Scottish royal control of Menteith after Edward's death is indicated by Robert I issuing of a charter at Inchmahome in September 1308, and another in April 1310 (*RRS* v, nos. 2 and 13).

Also prominent in the history of these times was Sir John Menteith, second son of earl Walter Stewart.<sup>62</sup> After a career of switching sides, he had submitted to Edward in 1304, and perhaps in recognition of his previous service to Edward in France in 1297, Menteith was

<sup>61</sup> 'in expensis hominum vigilantium in castro tempore quo rex Norvegia fuit in partibus istis xxxv s. vi d.'

<sup>62</sup> See Fraser, *Mentieth*, i, 460-70 for genealogical tables of the various branches of the earls of Menteiths.

rewarded with the position of Sheriff and constable of Dumbarton, and was in charge of the castle there (Boardman 2006, 38). John Menteith's role in the betrayal of William Wallace in 1305 is well known, but Menteith's misfortune, at least as far as his reputation is concerned, is for Wallace to have been in his jurisdiction at the time of capture; many other nobles would have done exactly the same (Watson 2007, 41). Edward made Menteith earl of Lennox in 1306, possibly to offset the fact that the Hastings brothers held the lands of the earldom of Menteith. After the death of Edward I in 1307, Sir John changed sides for the last time. His service to King Robert ensured that his seal was appended to the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320. Here he is styled *Johannes de Menetethe Custos Comitatus de Menetethe*,<sup>63</sup> 'John of Menteith guardian of the earldom of Menteith' (Duncan 1997, 779). He held this position on behalf of Mary, his great-neice, daughter of his nephew Earl Alan. John Menteith was a significant landholder with the lands of **Rusky** in Menteith and probably lands in Knapdale and Arran (Boardman 2006, 39). He died around 1323. He had at least three children, including John, who also had a son called John,<sup>64</sup> and Joanna, who managed to marry four earls<sup>65</sup> (*SP vi*, 132-3).

The Menteiths had a 'maritime lordship' in the Firth of Clyde, which was centred on lands including Knapdale, Cowal and Arran and had authority over castles in Argyll and Bute, namely Sween, Skipness, Lochranza, and perhaps Brodick (Boardman 2006, 39, 63-4). They effectively shared policing duties in the Firth of Clyde along with the Steward and the Campbells (Boardman 2006, 47). These lordships provided a link with their neighbours, the Campbells, until that family took over Knapdale and Arran before 1357 (Boardman 2006, 64). Indeed, it may have been due to the relationships of one of those remarkable Menteith women that Sir John Menteith I regained his reputation, at least among the nobility. For Colin

<sup>63</sup> [http://www.geo.ed.ac.uk/home/scotland/arbroath\\_latin.html](http://www.geo.ed.ac.uk/home/scotland/arbroath_latin.html).

<sup>64</sup> All of these Johns were designated 'Sir' and it is unclear sometimes which of the latter two is which (see Boardman 2006, 63 and 88, note 52). They will be designated from here as John Menteith I, II, or III.

<sup>65</sup> She married Malise, seventh earl of Strathearn, John Campbell, earl of Atholl, another earl of Strathearn (a Sir Maurice of Moray, created earl in 1344), and William, fifth earl of Sutherland. Her daughter to Sir Maurice, also Joanna, married Archibald, third earl of Douglas.

Campbell married Helena a daughter or granddaughter of Sir John (Boardman 2006, 50, note 19). The links with the Gaelic heartlands, then, were deep, and it was surely impossible for the Menteiths to carry out these duties unless they had a command of the Gaelic language.

Under Robert I the two halves of the earldom was reunited. But the second phase of the Wars of Independence impacted on Menteith as two other earls were killed including Murdach and John Graham; the latter had married Mary, daughter of Earl Alan, in 1333-4. Mary and John had a daughter, Margaret, who, quite simply, is noted for her marital alliances. In short, she was married four times and had five papal dispensations in order to unite with these husbands.

The rapid turnover of members of the nobility due to the Wars of Independence and a lack of royal leadership after the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 when David II was in English captivity meant lesser nobles had to take charge. This led to competition among 'junior kinsmen of the old comital lines' (Brown 2004, 328). Margaret of Menteith was married to John Drummond of Conraig, her third husband, in order to settle the feud between the Menteiths and Drummonds before 1360, which seems to have been instigated by the killing of Brice Drummond of **Boquhapple** in 1330 and culminated in the battle of **Tarr at Rusky**,<sup>66</sup> in which three Menteith brothers were killed (Hutchison 1899, 323-5). The feud simmered on until 1360 when both families were summoned to halt the feud. As part of the marriage agreement John Drummond was given the lands of **Aberfoyle** in 1361 (*RRS* vi no. 264; Penman 2004, 248, 260).

The Drummonds had gained the barony of **Kincardine**, effectively at least the eastern portion of KRD, around 1367, when John Drummond of Conraig,<sup>67</sup> near Creiff PER, married Mary Muschet (*RRS* ii, no.334, note; Mackay 2003, 23). The Mushets had been in Menteith

<sup>66</sup> I have been unable to find a date for this battle. It is not clear if it occurred soon after the death of Brice in 1330 or was the occasion for the agreement of 1360. The battlefield itself must have been near the 'fort' at Tamnafalloch PMH at NN628007 in the middle of three farms containing the element Tarr; Upper Tarr, Lower Tarr, and Easter Tarr, all lying to the west of Thornhill KRD.

<sup>67</sup> Not the one who married Margaret of Menteith, but presumably his son.

since Richard Montfiquet (de Montefixo) was granted the lands of '*Kincardin iuxta Strievelin*' in 1189 x 95 by William I (*RRS* ii no. 334). Richard was the first lord to come on record in Menteith whose first language was not Gaelic. The Montfiques came from Calvados in Normandy before c.1165 (Black 1946, 622; Barrow 2003, 292). Lack of male heirs meant that Mary was heiress. She resigned the lands to the king, who then granted to John Drummond of Conraig all the lands in the sheriffdoms of Perth and Stirling that had been Mary's father's (*RRS* vi, no. 500). The Muschets retained the lands of **Burnbank** KRD (*Geog. Coll.*, 339), and **Tolgarth** KRD.<sup>68</sup> but seem to have become 'extinct' before 1724 (*Geog. Coll.*, 339). The present **Blair Drummond** has only been so named since around 1684 when George Drummond of Blair, near Blairgowrie PER bought the lands of **Kincardine** from James, Fourth Earl of Perth (Mackay 2003, 23).

Like the Comyns and the Stewarts, the likelihood that the Drummonds spoke Gaelic must be high. Originally from Drymen STL, where a 'considerable number' of the local population spoke Gaelic in the late 18<sup>th</sup> C<sup>69</sup> (*OSA* viii, 549), the Drummonds, were lords of Drummond Castle in Muthill parish, just 4 km SW of Crieff PER. Large parts of Muthill and Crieff were still Gaelic speaking in the early 18<sup>th</sup> C (Withers 1983, 130), and almost half the population of both parishes spoke Gaelic in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> C (Withers 1983, 131). In Menteith, the Drummonds left their mark in the shape of a tombstone at **Inchmahome** Priory. According to Steer and Bannerman the tombstone dates to before 1372 (1977, 25), and the John Drummond represented here was involved in a mid fourteenth century feud with the Menteiths of Rusky. It is notable in that it has similarities to grave-slabs more commonly found in the Gaelic west (compare, for example, Drummond's monument (Fraser, *Menteith* i, plate between xl and xli) with that of Bricius MacKinnon on Iona (Steer and Bannerman 1977, 24). It is probable that the tombstone for Drummond, complete with bascinet helmet, spear in

<sup>68</sup> Now lost but at approx. NS710995, based on NAS RHP 24481.

<sup>69</sup> Although only '3 or 4' did not understand English (*OSA* viii, 549).

the right hand, shield on the left arm, and a sword suspended from the belt at the waist, was carved by a ‘West Highland craftsman’ (Steer and Bannerman 1977, 25), showing that there were still very strong cultural links between Menteith and the Gaelic west in the fourteenth century. The two figures at the head of the figure of Sir John are St Michael on the left, and on the right, in his bishop’s robes, probably Colmán, at that time believed to be the saint of **Inchmahome**<sup>70</sup> (Hutchison 1899, 126-7). Steer and Bannerman (1977, 160-1) reject on stylistic grounds an early 14<sup>th</sup> C date (*SP* vii, 29).

The last man Margaret of Menteith married was the most significant, at least in terms of prestige: Robert Stewart, third son of Robert II. He became earl of Fife and Menteith, and duke of Albany (for his career see Nicholson (1974), Penman (2004), and Boardman (1996)). He and his father had wide ranging political and territorial interests in the Gàidhealtachd, including Atholl, Badenoch, and Strathearn (Boardman 2007, 101). Albany grew up in a Gaelic speaking household; Dubhghall de Ergadia or ‘of Lorn’ was his ‘chaplain and secretary’ while he was earl of Fife and Menteith (Boardman 2007, 107, n.71; Watt 1977, 359), and Robert II was the natural leader of the large Gaelic population of his lands surrounding the Firth of Clyde, and was a very influential figure in the Gàidhealtachd even before he became king in 1371 (Boardman 2007, 84). Albany’s lasting contribution to the history of Menteith is that he was the builder of the castle at **Doune**, which seems to have been partially built by 1381 (Fawcett 1994, 8). The castle became a favourite residence of Albany and later kings used the castle as a base when hunting in the forests of Menteith, in particular Glenfinglas (Pringle 1995, 6-7). After Albany’s death in 1420, his son Murdoch was duke for five years before James I was released from captivity in 1424. James had Murdoch executed at Stirling Castle the following year, in revenge for the tardiness of Robert and Murdoch in trying to secure the king’s release from eighteen years of English captivity. The earldom of Menteith went to the crown.

<sup>70</sup> See Chapter 6 for discussion of this saint.

### *The Graham earls*

The attack on the Albany Stewarts by James I, which culminated in the execution of Murdoch, Duke of Albany in 1425, brought a ‘rich windfall’ to the king (Nicholson 1974, 318). The earldom of Menteith along with those of Fife and Lennox were forfeited to the Crown. Two years later, in one of his ‘acquisitive’ moments, James wrested the earldom of Strathearn from Malise Graham possibly because Malise’s father, Patrick, was a close ally of the Albany Stewarts (Brown 1994, 85-6; Nicholson 1974, 318). By way of compensation James gave ‘dilecto consanguineo nostro Malizeo’<sup>71</sup> (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 293) only part of the lands of Menteith, which were then elevated to the newly constituted earldom of Menteith. Malise was given the poorer part of the former earldom, amounting to the parish of **Aberfoyle** and the western part of **Port-of-Menteith** parish (see Map 6). A charter given to Malise by James details what lands he received. They are:

*Craynis, Craigughty, The Glassert, Drumlean, Ledard, Blareboyane, Gartnerichnich, Blareruskin, Forest of ‘baith sidis’ of Loch Chon, Blarehullichan, Marduffy, Couligartan, Frisefleware, Craigmuck, Inchrie, Gartinhagil, Bofrishlie, Boninty, Dounans and Balleich, all AFE. Tereochnane, Druim-buidhe, Crahavie, Achray, Glasahoile and Crantullich, Rubha Saonach, Brigend, Gartloaning, Drummanuster [Arndrum?], Schannochill, Arnachly and Monievreckie, Gartmoulin, Ernomul, Arntamie, Auchmore, Port and Inchtalla, all PMH (NAS GD220/1/C/3/1).*<sup>72</sup>

The other lands of the former earldom went to the crown, which was erected into the Stewartry of Menteith, centred on **Doune** Castle, and the barony of **Strathgartney**, effectively the greater part of western CLD. Malise did not enjoy his new earldom for long. Two months

<sup>71</sup> ‘Our beloved cousin Malise’.

<sup>72</sup> Original charter in Latin. Names in *italics* are lost. Names in **bold** can be found in the surveys in Part 2. See Appendix 1 in Part 2 of this thesis for an updated transcription of this charter. It is also printed imperfectly in *SP* vi, 142-3, and Fraser, *Menteith*, ii, 293-4.

later he was sent to England as a hostage as part of the deal that had released James from custody three years earlier. The issue of why James went to the effort of conferring the title of earl on Malise was perhaps bound up with the need for someone with the necessary prestige to replace the earl of Crawford as a captive in England (Brown 1994, 86). The earldom of Strathearn had been alienated to the crown after the death of David II, and was given by the regent Albany for life to his half brother Walter Stewart, earl of Atholl. By giving Strathearn to the earl of Atholl, James was merely confirming the status quo, and in the process kept a valuable ally on his side (Duncan 1984, 11-12). Duncan states that James had in fact been generous to Malise by granting him the title of Menteith along with part of the earldom. While it is true that Malise's lengthy incarceration as a hostage could not have been predicted, when coupled with the deprivation of Strathearn, Malise may not have thought James was being especially charitable.

Malise was to remain as a hostage for twenty-five years, not being released until 1453. Given that Malise came from Strathearn, and that he was a great-grandson of Robert II and his mother, Euphemia, was the daughter of David, Earl Palatine of Strathearn, eldest son of Robert's second marriage (Hutchison 1899, 270; *Scots Peerage* vi, 142), then it is probable that Malise's ability to understand Gaelic was high. Malise was still alive in 1490 and had at least five surviving children, including Patrick, who was father to Malise's heir, Alexander, as well as John and Walter, who were given many of their father's lands in 1489.<sup>73</sup>

Alexander, Patrick's son, succeeded to the earldom in 1493, and the reason for the delay in making him earl may have been due to Malise's support for James III, of whom he was a favourite. Alexander was invested as earl between the lake (of Menteith) and the 'Coldone' (Fraser, *Mentieth* ii, 301-3), the latter marked today as '**Coille-don'** (see p.97 for this place-

<sup>73</sup> Details of Malise's children can be found in *Scots Peerage* vi, 145-51. In terms of lands (those in *italics* now lost), John, by Malise's second wife, was given **Port**, **Arntamie**, **Monievreckie**, **Gartmoulin**, **Malling**, **Cranys-more**, and the **Lake of Menteith** and its islands (*RMS* ii no. 1861); Walter was given Loch Chon, **Glasahoile**, **Culligart**, **Rubha Saonach**, **Inchrie #**, **Milton of Aberfoyle**, **Kirkton of Aberfoyle**, **Bofrishlie**, **Boninty**, **Dounans**, **Balleich**, **Gartloaning**, **Gartcarn**, **Garhat**, and **Cranisbeg** (*RMS* ii no. 1862)

name). Alexander had, in the main, an undistinguished career, but it was during his tenure that the first perpetual commendator appeared at **Inchmahome**, in 1529 (Watt and Shead 2001, 110), allowing the Scots-speaking Erskine earls of Mar, based at Alloa CLA, to gain many of the lands of **Inchmahome**, later the barony of **Cardross**.

In terms of place-names it is notable that Alexander gave the lands of **Craigughty** and 'de duabus *Crannce*' to Sir John Colquhoun of Luss in 1512 (Fraser, *Colquhoun*, ii, 321).<sup>74</sup> Craigughty is on the slopes above the modern village of Aberfoyle at approx NN523011. The location of 'de duabus *Crannce*' is problematic. They are obviously *Craynes [E]stir* and *Craynes [W]estir* (see under **Cranys** # AFE) as shown in the charter to Malise Graham by James I in 1427. They later come on record in 1489 and 1495 as *Cransmore* and *Cransbeg* (also *Cranisbeg*) (*RMS* ii, nos. 1861, 1862, and 2230). Exactly where they were is unknown, but judging by their position in the charter and by the sequence of the other lands from **Craigughty** to Loch Chon, it may be that *Craynes* or *Cranis*, like **Craigughty**, is in the vicinity of the present day village of **Aberfoyle**. In the charter of 1427 to Malise Graham, both places are first on the list, suggesting they were of some importance.

Alexander died in 1537, succeeded by William. Unfortunately, the most interesting event of William's tenure, at least for this thesis, was the manner of his death, probably in September 1543. There are a number of versions of the tale, but one given by Sir Walter Scott has gained acceptance by Hutchison (1899, 280-4) and Michael Newton (1999, 158-61). This poem can be found in the introduction to Captain Edmund Burt's *Letters from the North of Scotland* (*Burt's Letters*, xlxi-l). The couplets in Burt's book apparently came from a now lost source called the 'Invernahyle Papers', and was related by Sir Walter Scott, who had a deep interest in Gaelic culture (Sellar 2001, 5). Scott had many Highland contacts – 'especially Alexander Campbell and John Ramsay', and it may have been these men who were

<sup>74</sup> Sir William Fraser misinterprets the place-names in Colquhoun's charter as 'the two *Carucates*' and '*Craigwihte*', which is a misreading (Fraser, *Colquhoun*, i, 74).

intermediaries of the text. It is not known at this point whether the tale was recorded in Appin or Menteith Gaelic (Newton pers. comm.). The couplets relate that the earl was at a wedding when a group of Stewarts of Appin, led by Donald of Ord, arrived uninvited to the event and ate the food laid on for the guests. Earl William was apoplectic at the audacity of the Appin Stewarts and pursued them as they fled. As they caught up with them a Menteith man shouted out ‘A Stiubhartaich dhuibh na h-Apainn/A cheardaich ghais air a chàl’<sup>75</sup> To which a Stewart, as he drew his arrow, replied, ‘Ma tha an Apainn againn mar dhùthaich/Is dùth dhuinn gun tarraing sinn feàrsaid’<sup>76</sup> (Newton 1999, 160). The Menteith man was shot and in the ensuing melee the earl was killed. If the story is true (although the incident is supposed to have taken place the day after the Battle of Pinkie in September 1547, not 1543, the year of the earl’s death), then it shows that in the mid-sixteenth century Gaelic must have been as natural a language to use in Menteith as Scots, although we should be wary of drawing too much on the very literary nature of the exchange of couplets.

Having revealed something of the history and language of the nobility of Menteith, it remains for us to discover what place-names can tell us about medieval rural society and the medieval church in Menteith and how the landscape was used and viewed by Gaelic-speakers in the Middle Ages.

Having set the scene in Chapter 1, discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the source material in Chapter 2, looked at the languages of Menteith in the Middle Ages in Chapter 3, and seen that Gaelic was spoken by many of the earls and barons of medieval Menteith in Chapter 4, we will now examine what place-names can tell us of medieval secular society in Chapter 5, and what we can learn about the medieval Church from place-names in Chapter 6.

<sup>75</sup> ‘You dark Stewart of Appin/You pale, cabbage-eating tinker!’

<sup>76</sup> ‘Just as Appin is our homeland/So it is in our nature to launch a missile’.

## Chapter 5

### *Place-names as a historical resource*

This chapter will attempt to show the strengths and limitations of using place-names in relation to rural settlement studies. The main focus of this chapter are the Gaelic place-names of Menteith, and as such this chapter will concern itself largely with that language, although there are a number of British and Scots names that deserve consideration and some of those will be mentioned here. Investigations into the place-name element *gart* showed that place-names have great potential to shed light on the history of an area where the archaeology and documentary evidence is lacking (McNiven 2007), and that they can offer historians and archaeologists a way of studying aspects of Scottish medieval society that are not often seen in the sources, especially for the period before the Wars of Independence. Attempts to study the medieval rural settlement and society in Scotland before c.1130 are often frustrated due to the paucity of documentary evidence. Given that the earliest charters for Scotland date only to the first half of the 1090s (Duncan 1958; Duncan 1999), this is a problem that affects the whole country and not just the more well documented Lowlands. The study of archaeological remains is often similarly limited due to their obliteration during the agricultural ‘improvements’ begun in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and before in some cases, and the industrialisation of much of the Lowlands since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, leaving only the more substantial remains such as later medieval tower-houses, monasteries, even later churches, as well as objects such as cross-slabs and hog-back stones, some of which may date from the middle to the end of the first millennium AD.

Historians, archaeologists and historical geographers have long complained that ‘it is often difficult to match visible landscape features with documentary references’ (Whyte 1998, 77).

There have been many articles and books published over the past four decades since Horace Fairhurst published his seminal surveys of Highland rural settlement archaeology such as those of Rosal in Sutherland and Lix in Glendochart PER (Fairhurst 1968 and Fairhurst 1969). These publications have detailed the often problematic search for the remains of rural settlement and endeavoured to provide solutions by trying to hammer the square documentary evidence into the round archaeological hole. The problem is that although there is often documentary evidence of settlement dating back to the medieval period, the archaeological evidence is typically only for the final stage of settlement prior to the land being cleared in the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Archaeologists and geographical historians in particular have often been at the forefront of this research regarding 'our understanding of man's endeavours in the countryside during the twelfth to seventeenth centuries' (Yeoman 1991, 112), particularly when it comes to the material remains and forms of rural settlement (see also Parry and Slater 1980; Dodgshon 1981; Hingley 1993; and Govan 2003). But we must remember, too, the enormous contributions that historians such as Margaret Sanderson (1982) and Geoffrey Barrow (1973; 1988; 1989) have made to that understanding. Barrow has added another dimension that the other researchers in this complex field often only allude to, and that dimension is place-names.

Some researchers in Scottish medieval rural settlement studies have mentioned the potential that place-names have in this field of inquiry, but that potential is often reduced to a paragraph in an eight or more page article, probably because they are under the impression that the subject is too difficult, although admittedly it can be very laborious. At the end of an otherwise unashamedly archaeological review of rural settlement studies, Peter Yeoman does admit that place-names have a very important part to play, but does not elaborate (Yeoman 1991, 125). Piers Dixon, reviewing rural settlement in the Lowlands, states that place-names are 'another approach to the development of village settlement' (Dixon 2003, 57). Part of the problem may be that many researchers who would like to use place-names are also

frustrated by the fact that the discipline of place-name study is often *element* or *subject* based, i.e. there is a tendency to look at particular generics, such as *pett* or *baile* or to look at subjects like saints' cults, when what they may require is an *area-based* study looking at all generics within that area. By looking at an area, the potential for using place-names as a source for studying social history and land-use becomes more compelling. One historian who has used place-names in such a way in order to look at the people below the ranks of lords and senior clerics is Richard Oram in his study of Galloway (Oram 2000, chapter 9). It is worthwhile, nevertheless, quoting Ian Whyte who points out that 'where landscape and archaeological evidence is lacking, place names provide an underutilised source of evidence on settlement...The potential for using place names to analyse changes in post-medieval settlement is particularly under-exploited' (1998, 77). It can be strongly suggested that potential is under-exploited for *all* periods before the Improvements of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As Dauvit Broun quite rightly states: 'if we want to know more about social developments before there is a sufficient density of documentary record to shed light on the lives of most of Scotland's inhabitants, then we must look to place-names as our chief resource. This is true for the entire middle ages, not just the period before 1100' (Broun 2006, 14). He also points out that the lack of funding of place-name research in Scotland compared to England and Scandinavia means that there is 'little chance that place-names will reveal their treasures'. The financial support from the AHRC for the research project 'The Expansion and Contraction of Gaelic in Medieval Scotland: the onomastic evidence', of which this PhD thesis is a part, will hopefully have gone some way to rectifying this situation. What this chapter, and indeed this PhD as a whole, aims to show is that place-names, and also personal names, need no longer be a subject which merits a cursory glance or to which only lip-service is paid, but which can make a significant contribution to both the debate and substance of Scottish medieval rural settlement studies. For rural settlement studies should be more than just looking for archaeological evidence of buildings and the like, and although place-names will not be able

to tell us about issues such as types and dimensions of housing, we are nevertheless able to glimpse the medieval landscape in a way that would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, without them. (Note: only those place-names in **bold**, and are mostly settlement-names, are detailed in the parish surveys in Part 2).

### *Place-names in Menteith*

Many settlement names in Menteith are simply explanatory, for example, **Cambus** KMA, deriving from ScG *camas* 'bend, bay' and which indicates that the two places bearing this name lie in one case on or near a bend in the River Teith and on the other on or near a bend in the Annet Burn. **Aberfoyle** is Brit. \**aberphuill*<sup>77</sup> the place at 'the mouth of the *poll* or sluggish stream, [i.e the Pow Burn]', and **Kincardine** is probably ScG *ceann* with a borrowing of Brit. \**carden* 'the head or end of the enclosure or encampment'. There are three place-names with the element \**lanerc*, **Lendrick** CLD, **Lanrick** KMA, and Landrick DLE, from a Brit. word meaning 'clearing in a wood'. These names are useful for studying language, language change, and historical linguistics, but they need not necessarily tell us anything about how the land was used in medieval times other than that the land had been cleared for settlement by the time Gaelic arrived as a place-naming language in Menteith. Similarly, many hill names are also descriptive, Beinn Dearg 'red mountain' or Creag Bheithe 'birch crag' (although the latter can tell us something of the vegetation). Due to the limited historical information these descriptive types of names can yield, they will not be discussed here, although many of those that are settlement-names will of course be discussed in the parish surveys. Place-names that have or could have ecclesiastical connotations, except for one or two elements, will be investigated in Chapter 6 of this thesis. This chapter will consider names that shed light on such subjects as land use, routeways, administration, judicial and activities such as hunting and transhumance. Many of the minor names, an example of which is Creag na Caorach CLD

<sup>77</sup> See discussion of Aberfoyle in AFE parish survey for evidence that this may be evidence of Gaelicisation.

'crag of the sheep', that appear on the OS maps tend not only to be in Gaelic, but are mainly to be found in the Highland portion of the study area, and so there will no doubt be a bias towards that area for minor names such as these. It may be that a survey of the field names of Menteith could shed light on minor names in the Lowland portion of the earldom.

### *Routeways*

The modern road network can sometimes deceive the historian into thinking that these are the routes that have been followed from time immemorial. Some roads are indeed old, but others were not built until after the Jacobite Rebellions of the 18<sup>th</sup> C (Page 2008). It is not often appreciated that hills and valleys were not always the impediment to someone on foot or horseback that they are to the modern motor-car. Probably the earliest indication of transport in Menteith is an Iron Age 'semi-solid disc wheel of tripartite construction', which may have been attached to a cart of some kind, found in **Blair Drummond** Moss c.1830 (Piggot 1957; Armit 1997, 82). People had to move through the landscape not only to arrive at a destination, but also to achieve or participate in a task of one sort or another. To this end the upland areas of the parishes of **Aberfoyle**, **Callander**, and **Port-of-Mentieth** are congested with route names, in particular the ScG element *bealach* 'pass'. There are at least thirty *bealach*-names in these areas, along with another four that possibly or probably have an anglicised version of the element, making it the most numerous place-name element in Menteith. Three of the four anglicised names, all of which have become permanent settlements, are to be found on the lowland parts of KMA and PMH, namely **Ballochallan** KMA (*Bealach Àilein*) 'meadow pass', **Ballochraggan** PMH and possibly KMA<sup>78</sup> (*Bealach Chreagain* or *Chreagan*) 'pass of crags' or 'little crag pass', and **Ballochneck** KMA (*Bealach Chnuic*) 'small hill pass'. All the other *bealach* names are upland passes indicating movement

<sup>78</sup> **Ballochraggan** KMA might be *Baile nan Creagan* 'tounship of the crags' or *Baile a' Chreagain* 'tounship of the little crag'.

from one corner of a parish to another or between parishes. While many of the passes are spectacular in terms of their location and views, most of their names are simply descriptive: e.g. Bealach nan Sgliat CLD (NN599121) is ‘pass of the slates’, indicating the geology through which the pass travels. Best avoided in inclement weather is Bealach Choire Mholaich CLD (NN621117) ‘stormy corrie pass’, while good footwear is advisable while negotiating Bealach Garbh CLD (NN490036) ‘rough pass’.

Other *bealach*-names, however, show a more direct human involvement. Bealach nan Corp CLD (NN558109) ‘pass of the corpses’, is apparently a reference to an incident when a group of people on the way from Glen Finglas to a funeral at **St Bride’s Chapel** fell through the ice of the frozen Lochan nan Corp just north of Ben Ledi (*OSA* xi, 583),<sup>79</sup> although the *corp*-element might simply indicate that it was a route to the burial ground at **St Bride’s Chapel**, and the dramatic incident may simply be mythical. There are three passes called Bealach na h-Imriche ‘pass of the flitting’, one in AFE (NN466056) and two in CLD (NN484111 and NN599117). These may indicate the movement of people, possibly women as they relocated due to marriage, or perhaps more likely, the movement of milk-cows and women at ‘the big flitting’ to the sheiling grounds once the men had prepared them for use and habitation (Fenton 1980, 101; Fenton 1999, 135). Alternatively, they may relate to the period of the Highland Clearances in this area towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> C, in which case they are then obviously late place-name formations. This brings us to a problem with many of these *bealach*-names. Other than the ‘balloch’ type names already mentioned above, many *bealach*-names only come on record with the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6-inch maps, the surveys for which were done in the early 1860s for Menteith. Slightly earlier on record is *Bealach nam Bò* (NN480074) ‘pass of the cows’ on Ben Venue. While this, too, seems a modern name – it is *Bealoch-nam-Bo* c.1848 (*Gazetteer* vol. i 1848, 117) – it surely relates at the very least to the droving trade of the 18<sup>th</sup> C as Highlanders moved their cattle to the trysts at Crieff and Falkirk. Francis Groome

<sup>79</sup> There is no indication from the *OSA* as to when the supposed incident occurred.

thought it dated back to the days of the Highland caterans, who would drive cattle stolen from the Lowlands up this route (Groome 1882-5). The problem is that although these *bealach*-names are numerous, and many of the routes are presumably old, we cannot be sure all these names date to the medieval period.

*Bealach* is not the only routeway name in Menteith. Barrow writes that *lairig* ‘pass’ is another common routeway element in Scotland (Barrow 1992, 216). It is not common in Menteith, although it is present. **Lairig** CLD (NN488093) near **Brenachoile** on the northern shores of Loch Katrine is mentioned in *ER* from at least 1461 as *Larg* (*ER* vii, 51) and in the *Rentalia Domini Regis* from 1480 (*ER* ix, 561). It is last shown as *Lairig* in the plans of the Annexed Estates drawn up in 1775 (it is shown as an unmarked ruin on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS). *Làirig* is combined with *bealach* in Bealach na Seann Lairige (NN550122), possibly to produce the alternative meaning of ‘pass of the old burying-place’<sup>80</sup> at the head of Gleann Casaig CLD, which like Bealach nan Corp, might be a way to **St Bride’s Chapel**.

Àth ‘ford’ is perhaps not so numerous as one might expect in an area teeming with rivers and burns. Those that there are tend to be concentrated at the southern end of Loch Lubnaig; Àth a’ Choire ‘ford of the corrie’, Àth a’ Chaibeil ‘ford of the chapel’ and **Anie** CLD. The latter is ScG Àth an Fhèidh ‘ford of the deer’. Again, none of these are on record early, although Anie is on record from at least 1783, but this may be more of a problem to do with available documentation rather than late coining. Where we do have a relatively early record of an àth-name is on the River Forth. Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm Abbey in the Firth of Forth, wrote in the 1440s of an ‘Auchmore’ (presumably for àth mhòr ‘great ford’) in his *Scotichronicon* (Book II, chapter 10), which Barrow thought was **Cardross** (Barrow 1992, 212-3), while in Harrison and Tipping’s opinion it signified **Frew** KRD (2007, 464). However, the ford at **Frew** would have been famous in Menteith, and it is likely that Bower’s informant, probably a monk from Inchmahome, would have mentioned **Frew** had it been that ford he

<sup>80</sup> Dwelly gives ScG *lairig* as ‘burying place’, taken from Armstrong’s Dictionary.

meant. The ford at **Frew** was one of the main routes across the upper Forth in the middle ages. It appears to be this ford that is mentioned in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* as the 'fords of Forthin' before 995 (*ES* i, 512; Watson 1926, 52-3). The name, according to Watson is ScG Gaelic *na Friùthachan* and derives from Brit. *frwd* 'current' (Watson 1926, 349-50),<sup>81</sup> indicating a shallow spot in a fairly deep river. Another possible *àth* is **Alinan Ford** PMH(*àth linne* plus locational or diminutive suffix?) nearly 1 km SE of **Aberfoyle**, although more early forms would be needed to be sure.

Other routeways which now have SSE names, but which must surely have had Gaelic or even British names include Pass of Achray AFE, Pass of Leny CLD, possibly Duke's Pass AFE, and Pass of Trossachs CLD/AFE, in ScG *na Tròsaichean* 'cross places', from Brit. *traws* 'cross, athwart' (Watson 1926, 350). Scots route-names include *Brigend* CLD, now **Brig o Turk** or *Ceann Drochaid*, and mentioned since 1451 as *Westirbrigend* and *Estirbrigend* (*Hidderbrigend* from 1461) in *ER*. Two ferry points across the River Teith and River Forth are indicated by the place-name **Cobleland**, one of which still exists in AFE (NS531987), while the other is Cobleland of Doune, mentioned as *Cobylland de Doune* in 1461 (*ER* vii, 53). According to *DOST* a *cobil* was a 'short flat-bottomed rowing-boat, chiefly used in salmon-fishing or as a ferry-boat' (see also Taylor, *PNF* iv, forthcoming, where he discusses Coble House, Leuchars parish, Fife).

A name suggestive of one of the earliest roads in Menteith is **Straid** CLD (NN655059). This cottage sits at the side of the A84 main road between **Doune** and **Callander**, or rather between the two Roman forts of **Bochastle** and **Doune**. The name derives from ScG *sràid* meaning 'street', and was possibly a paved road that served the two forts. The *sràid* element may also be present in Callander, which is in modern ScG Calasràid *caladh-sràid* 'ferry street' (Watson 1926, 515). However, some of the early forms contain *-drate*, which might be for *drochaid* 'bridge' (c.f. Ballindrate, Co. Donegal (Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 74) and Poldrait

<sup>81</sup> See now discussion of Frew in survey of KRD for alternatives to W. *frwd*.

*Poll (na) Drochaid*, Glasgow (Taylor 2007a, 3)). Many early forms of **Callander** show *Calyn* et *Calendrate* (1451 RMS ii, 465) or *Calen* et *Calendrath* (1510 RMS ii, 3339): for discussion of the *Calyn/Calen-* element, see **Callander** CLD.

Another name that might suggest a routeway is Spittal, deriving from Latin *hospitalaria*, ‘the hostelry or guest house of a monastery’, or *hospitale*, *hospitalitas*, ‘an inn, guest house, hospital’. There are or were four Spittal names in Menteith, with a further six just over the ‘border’ in Lennox. The Menteith ‘Spittals’ are **Spittalton** KMA (NS685991), Gartmore Spittal, actually in DRY (NS506972), and two now lost at **Arnbeg** KPN (NS629949), **Arngibbon** KPN(NS607941). A ‘Spittal’ may indicate in this area a place of rest or refuge, especially perhaps for those on pilgrimage. The fact that there are a number of place-names with the element ‘Spittal’ either in Menteith or in the neighbouring Lennox parishes may indicate that Menteith was a thoroughfare on the way to other localities, whether they be pilgrimage or market centres.

In 1491, there is mention of ‘the Spitale’<sup>82</sup> at **Spittalton** KMA. What is not quite so clear is whether there was indeed a *spittal* here, either as a property, perhaps an inn of **Inchmahome**:<sup>83</sup> or if ‘the Spitale’ is derived from the inhabitants who had the surname ‘Spittale’ in 1480 (Gilcrist and John Spittale are mentioned in *ER* ix, 566), or whether it was they who took their name from the place. In c.1750 Roy shows *Spittel* near the cross-roads of the road from Aberfoyle to Stirling via **Thornhill** and from the ford at **Frew** to **Doune**, but it had been Spittalto(u)n since at least 1528 (RMS iii no. 621). There is a Spittal just north of **Buchlyvie**, and there were other spittals in KPN at **Arnbeg** in 1686 (*Retours PER* no. 943 [particata terrae vocata *Spittell* of *Arnbeg*]) and at **Arngibbon** in 1550 (RMS iv no. 517 [*Spittal de Arnegibbun*]), but nothing more is known of them (Hall 2006, 215-7).

<sup>82</sup> NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v

<sup>83</sup> *The Spitale* was leased to John Haldane of Gleneagles by David, prior of Inchmahome (NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v).

It has been held that the element *spittal* may refer to lands ‘attached’ to a hospital ‘at a distance from which they belonged [but] in a number of instances, its occurrence admits of no explanation.’ (Cowan and Easson 1976, 162). Indeed, Cowan and Easson state that in the case of Balfron STL, ‘the occurrence of the name Spittal in this parish permits no explanation’, and regarding Drymen STL, they state ‘no explanation of these [Spittal-names] can be given’ (Cowan and Easson 1976, 195-6). However, this may be too pessimistic, for while some *spittals* are indeed hospitals, lands belonging to a hospital, or perhaps an inn, we must surely consider some *spittal*-names to have been lands belonging to the Knights Hospitaller, or even the Knights Templar, the military religious orders founded to guard the Crusade routes in the 11<sup>th</sup> C. The Knights Hospitaller took over many lands of the Templars after the latter order’s suppression in 1312 (Cowan *et al* 1983, xxvi). Any evidence for either of these orders in Menteith is lacking; indeed, there are apparently only three certain associations concerning the Hospitallers in Scotland – at Temple and Torphichen WLO, and Maryculter ABN (Hall 2006, 60). However, the distribution map of ‘unknown hospital types’ in Hall (2006, 46) shows a wide distribution in eastern and southern Scotland, and while it is certainly the case that more research is needed into the connection between the place-name element *spittal* and the Hospitallers and Templars, it may be significant that in Drymen Parish STL there is a Spittal Ballat at NS525903; the settlement immediately to the west is now called Templelea, but on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map of 1862, it was called Temple Ballat, indicating a property belonging to the Templars. Further confirmation of the connection between spittal and Hospitallers/Templars in the area is found in a charter dated to 1557 regarding ‘James Lord of St John’s preceptor of Torphechin [and] the saids templar lands of Spittell of Easter Catter’ in Kilmarnock parish DNB (NAS GD119/30).

*Hunting and deer management*

While passes and routeways could presumably be used by just about everybody, hunting was a more restricted past-time, limited essentially to the king and his aristocratic colleagues. It is an activity that has nevertheless left its mark on the landscape of Menteith, at least toponymically speaking. There are at least 12 place-names in Menteith that seem to relate to hunting or animals that were hunted, mainly deer. Large areas of upland Menteith were major hunting reserves in the Middle Ages. The existence of these hunting forests is confirmed by the place-name evidence. There were royal hunting forests at **Strathgartney** and Glenfinglas, with a deer park near **Doune** (Gilbert 1979, 39). There was also a baronial hunting forest in AFE which must have been the post-1427 earls of Menteith's hunting grounds: 'In this paroch was a Forrest of red deer called the Forrest of Monteath. But after the death of the late Earl of Monteath [i.e. the eighth earl who died in 1684] and that (sic) it fell into the family of Montrose the Forrest was neglected and there are noe deer in it now' (*Geog. Coll*, i, 343). This hunting forest in AFE seems to have been centred on Ben Venue (Mills, Quelch & Stewart 2009, 48). Although not explicitly hunting terms in themselves, some place-names can give us an idea of the prey that was pursued: just to the north of Ben Venue is Creag Dhamh 'stag rock', while to the north of Ben Ledi CLD is Creag Chath-bhoc 'rock of fighting bucks'. Red deer were not the only quarry; Bad na h-Earbaige 'thicket of the young roe deer' indicates that other species of cervidae were also sought. Other deer places can be found at **Anie** CLD, ScG *Àth an Fhèidh* 'ford of the deer', and at the nearby Tom *Àth an Fhèidh* 'small hill of Anie'. In Glen Finglas is Mainnir Fèidh 'fold or pen of the deer' (see also *DIL* under *mainder* 'enclosure for cattle'), suggesting a holding area or perhaps a place, such as a deer-trap, where the deer could be shot at ease (see illustration in Dixon 2002, 43). **Brig o' Turk** CLD may be a reminder that deer was not the only prey, the turk element is ScG *torc* pl. *tuirc* 'boar'. However, it may have originally meant not the animal, but the river, called the River Turk. The element may relate to the narrowness of the gorge here, much like the ends of a Celtic torc neck ornament (R. Cox, pers. comm.), or, perhaps more likely, to the perceived

'burrowing' nature of the river as it flows through the gorge (King 2008, 154); Welsh *twrch* 'boar' is a reasonably common river element in Wales (Owen and Morgan 2007, 479). There are a number of ScG *muc* 'pig' names and these may in some cases refer to boar or wild pigs, but some of these places may also have been areas where domesticated pigs were reared, and so will be discussed under the heading 'livestock and animal husbandry' below. After travelling through Bealach Coire nan Saighead CLD, deer could also be shot at the Coire nan Saighead 'corrie of the arrows', a reference to the weapon of the hunter. Places where hunts were staged included Creag na Comh-sheilg 'rock of the joint hunting' on the parochial border between CLD and BQR, and which is near where stags were hunted on the nearby Ardnadave Hill, probably ScG *àird an daimh* 'height of the stag'; at Glac nan Sealg AFE 'defile of the hunts'; and at Ellrick AFE from OG *elerc*, later ScG *eileirig* 'deer trap'. The absence of this word in Irish Gaelic suggest that there may be a Pictish or British provenance for the word (Taylor 2008, 296), although it may derive from OI *erelc*, deriving from *air-* 'before, in front' + *selc* 'hunting' (Kelly 1997, 277). There are two Elrigs just over the border from AFE; one in BUC at NS443991 and the other in DRY at NS475984. Organised hunting in AFE is shown in place-names just south of **Balleich** AFE, including Deer Craig, and shown on the OS 6 inch 1st edn is Easter Park and Wester Park, as well as Park Burn. Sc *park* in place-names (apart from modern field-names) refers to land enclosed or emparked for hunting (see *DOST* under *park*).

#### *Authority and Justice*

Hunting was one expression of aristocratic power; the ability to administer justice was another. Authority and justice were defined by boundaries, both abstract and physical. Abstract in that there were limits as to what crimes a local lord could try at his courts, although the earl of Menteith and other major landlords, such as the Erskines of **Cardross** and probably the prior of **Inchmahome**, had the power of regality within their territories, including the right to put criminals to death. Three Scots names that show some lords in

Menteith had this power of life and death are Gallow Hill KRD and KRX and Gallows Knowe PMH. Physical boundaries usually defined a territory, and often these were burns or other topographical features. ScG *crioch* 'boundary' is found in two burn names, both Allt na Crìche 'burn of the boundary' between KMA and DLE and in CLD. The latter is certainly the boundary between the estate of Leny and the barony of Callander, as is shown on an estate plan of 1843 (NAS RHP1442/1-2), and was very probably the boundary between the medieval parishes of Leny and Callander. In the uplands of PMH is Meall na Crìche 'lump of the boundary'. Around 1615, Leny was divided between the three parishes of Callander, Kincardine, and Port-of-Menteith (*RMS* vii, no 1222), and it may be that Meall na Crìche is a remnant of the old parochial boundary. At the very least it was an estate boundary, probably between **Dullater** and **Drunkie**.

While places of execution are in Scots or SSE, places of justice are in Gaelic: one of the most notable is **Severie** KMA *Suidhe a' Bhrithaimh* (Watson 1926, 261) 'seat of the judge'. Another is **Cuthil Brae** KRD, which probably contains Sc *couthal*, itself a borrowing from ScG *comhdhail* meaning '(place of) assembly, meeting'.<sup>84</sup> As Barrow points out, the word itself need not mean a court of law (Barrow 1992, 220), but the location of the Cuthil, a large mound marked as a cairn on the OS map, surely points to it being one: it is only 400m south of Gallow Hill and 400m north of the site of a motte and the site of the castle of **Kincardine** KRD, as well as being 600m NE of the church of Kincardine. Another possible *comhdhail*, according to Barrow, may be **Cockhill** CLD to the south of Callander, where a fair, called the Cockhill Fair, was held on May 16 (Barrow 1992, 228; Black 1999, 18). Black states that this was a 'major event in the Highland drover's year', and the privileges enjoyed by the drovers, including free grazing for a week, 'suggests a meeting ground of great antiquity' (Black 1999, 18).

<sup>84</sup> See O'Grady (2008) who has recently completed a PhD on the setting and practice of open-air judicial assemblies in Medieval Scotland. He has a large chapter (no. 4) reviewing the place-names and place-name literature of such sites, but note that his 'McNiven 2004' references relate not to my work, but work on Clackmannanshire by Simon Taylor, some of which has been printed in Taylor (2004).

Investitures were held near the **Coille-don** PMH, said by Hutchison to be ScG *coille dùn* ‘wood fort’ (1899, 43), a 23m hill on the northern shore of Lake of Menteith. The derivation ‘wood fort’ is extremely doubtful; RCAHMS Canmore expresses reservations as to whether it was a fort or ceremonial site as Hutchison suggests. However, ceremonial site it was, for this was the site where Alexander, heir of his grandfather Malise, the first post-1427 Earl of Menteith, was given sasine of the earldom in 1493 ‘at the shore of the lake of Inchmahome near the Coldone (ad ripam lacus de Inchmahomok prope le *Coldone*)’ (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 302). It is likely that this, too, is a *comhdhail*. The *col-* element being *comhdhail* has parallels elsewhere in Scotland; Coldrain, Fossoway parish, KNR, is *Cothildurane* in 1363-(RMS i, 825; Barrow 1992, 234), while in Kingoldrum ANG was *Coleduns*, a place where a decision was reached in the presence of the Justiciar of Scotland and others in 1253 during a perambulation (*Arb. Lib.* i no. 294; McNeill and MacQueen 1996, 416). The second element may be ScG *dùn* ‘fort, hill’, with ‘hill’ the meaning in this case, making \**comhdhail-dhùn*, with a Sc plural, although such a word order is untypical (although it could be treated as a compound), and in the 13<sup>th</sup> C we would expect the dental fricative *dh* in *comhdhail* to show in the early forms, perhaps as \**Cothedunes* or similar. However, in Menteith, presumably the dental fricative would have disappeared by the 15<sup>th</sup> C leaving *col-*. It is shown as *K. of Cowden* on Blaeu in 1654, and while the designation of K[irk] is a mistake, it shows that the *Coldone* of Menteith was an important place.<sup>85</sup>

**Tomavoid** PMH and **Tom a' Mhòid** CLD contain ScG *mòd* ‘court of justice, trial, assembly, meeting’ (O’Grady 2008, 139). Tomavoid was noted to be ‘2 acres of land commonly called Courthill or Tomnavoit, part of Muir of Borland’ in 1747 (NAS GD15/87) and was almost certainly the court of the barony of **Cardross**, and before that may have been the court of the priory of Inchmahome. **Tom a' Mhòid**, on the eastern shore of Loch Lubnaig, and only found on record from the 1<sup>st</sup> edn 6 inch OS map in 1862, may have been the local court of the

<sup>85</sup> I would like to record my grateful thanks to Dr Taylor and Gilbert Márkus for their help with *Coldone*.

Stirlings of Keir for their holdings in this part of the barony of Strathgartney. According to one local historian of AFE there was another 'Tom-a-mhoid...in Glen Dubh,<sup>86</sup> about 250 yards west of the Ballimore or Glen Dubh cottage' (Joynson 1996, 39). This is the Tom a' Mhòid at NN414029, just over 1km W of Stronmacnair BUC, and is shown on the 6-inch OS map of 1861-3 (Stirlingshire sheet IV), but it is not actually in AFE; it is just over the border in Buchannan parish. Much of this area seems to have come under the Menteith hunting forest area in the Middle Ages. Duchray, Blairvaich, and other places in that area are mentioned in *Rentalia Domini Regis* (see for example, *ER* ix, 623). The previous name for Loch Dhu House AFE (NN429037) was *Croit-an-shluic*<sup>87</sup> 'croft of the pit', on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map. Dwelly has the alternative meaning for ScG *sloc*, gen. *sluic*, as dungeon. Tom a Mhòid and *Croit an Shluic* are only 2km apart, separated by the hill **Mulan an t-Sagairt**, but how or if these two places were connected is not at all clear, but if 'pit' is the meaning, it may have been a primitive prison. However, some of these *Tom a' mhòid* place-names might not be courts at all, but may simply be assembly places for medieval hunts.

Another court or assembly place, shown on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, is implied in *Tom na Boide* CLD 'hill of the swearing, oath' (it now sits at the bottom of the Glen Finglas Reservoir). However, it may have been a Tom a' Mhòid that has been reinterpreted. Next to *Tom na Boide* was *Tom na Caillich* 'hill of the (old) woman' and *Tom na Feileidh* which looks like 'hill of the kilt' but this may be a spelling mistake on the part of the OS and should perhaps instead be *Tom na Fèille* 'hill of the fair (or feast or banquet)'. The division between the sexes can also be seen on the northern shore at the eastern end of Loch Katrine; just to the south of Bealach an Duine 'pass of the man' is Fèith na Cailliche and Allt na Cailliche 'bog' and 'burn of the woman' respectively. These may have been near the meeting places of these groups or they may simply be routes to the sheiling grounds.

<sup>86</sup> Note that this Glen has a Loch Dhu and it is not be confused with the Loch Dhu 2km to the NE.

<sup>87</sup> Although we would expect *croit an t-slavic*.

Assemblies of some kind, probably courts, were held at Tullock Knowe KMA, just across the River Teith from **Doune**. This contains ScG *tulach* ‘mound, place of assembly’, and is most likely the ‘Tullochan alias Courthill in Watston’ mentioned in 1557. It was here that Alexander Seton had to appear ‘to produce his titles to the 50 shillinglands of Torr of Ruskie’ (NAS GD430/129). This is a ‘flat-topped and turf covered cairn...[it] reiterates the possible association between ‘*tulach* monuments’ and the settings of judicial assemblies in Scotland...’ (O’Grady 2008, 162). There may have been a *tulach* ‘small hill, assembly mound’ in **Cessintully** KMA possibly ScG *Seisgeann Tulaich?* ‘bog of (the) hillock?’, but whether the *tulach* does indeed relate to an assembly mound is not known. This was an estate and later barony in the middle ages, which contains a cluster of Sc *-toun* names, and is preserved in **Brae of Cessintully** KMA, but where any *tulach* was situated is not known.

Authority did not just come in the shape of the earls. The representative of the king is present in **Glentirranmuir** KPN. The *tirran* element seems to derive from ScG *siorram* ‘sheriff’. In 1451 the following appears: ‘terras de *Treenterene* ac terras de *Inherne* vocatas vulgariter le Third Parte, de *Shereffis lande* de *Kippane*’ (RMS ii, no.508), *Inherne* may be a distorted form of An Errann ‘the Portion’. The early forms – *Treinterane* (1451 ER v, 475), *Terinteran* (1453 ER v, 596) – suggest either ScG *trian an t-siorraim* ‘third part of the sheriff’ or *tir an t-siorraim* ‘land of the sheriff’. Another third part can be found near **Leny** CLD: **Trean** Farm, *Trien* on Stobie in 1783. Watson says that *Trian* was rare (1926, 236) and yet we seem to have it twice in Menteith. There are also at least two other Thirds in the area, this time in Scots or SSE, **Third** KPN and **Wester Third** PMH. Stobie shows another *Third*, split into *E.* and *W. Third*, in KPN near **Garden**. *Third* may have been a relatively common unit of land assessment in Menteith, and has left traces in other parts of Scotland, including Thirdparts in different areas of AYR and one in FIF (Taylor 2009, 353). Another unit of assessment can be seen in Merkland, next to **Arnprior** KPN. The post of sheriff has already been mentioned,

but there are no place-names, so far as I am aware, that commemorate the earl or the mair, a subordinate officer of a sheriffdom, who appears in the records in the 15<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>88</sup>

There would be no point in a lord having an estate unless it provided for him, and one place-name that indicates ‘the demesne lands, or lands which directly supplies the household of the feudal superior’ (Taylor *PNF* i, 374) is Sc *bordland* ‘mensal land, table land’. There were at least four in Menteith; one in KMA, one in KRD, and two in PMH. In KRD, the bordland is now the name of a hill, **Boreland** Hill, but is on record from at least 1535 (*Camb. Reg.* no. 127), although the original document dates from 1189 x 1198 (*RRS* ii no. 372). This seems unlikely since the name only dates elsewhere in Scotland from the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> C (see p.39 for details). *Bordland de Cammys* KMA only appears on record in 1471 and 1478 (*ER* viii, 67, 531), but it is not clear whether it is among the **Burn of Cambus** group or **Cambusmore**, although given that the **Burn of Cambus** group was part of the estate of **Doune** Castle, we should perhaps look to *Bordland of Cammys* as being that estate’s mensal lands. One of the **Bordlands** of PMH only dates from after the Reformation, but this is probably rather a problem with the lack of earlier sources than late place-name formation. This is ‘the lands of *Boirdland* called Demesne lands of *Cardross*’ in 1563 (NAS GD124/1/977), probably earlier the mensal lands of Inchmahome. The other PMH bordland is the *Borland of Rusky*, now shown as Mid and Easter **Borland** in eastern PMH, and mentioned in an Act of the Lords of Council in 1485 (Napier 1835, 124).

### *People and professions*

The variety of people represented in the place-names of Menteith ranges from the king to the shepherd. Tom an Righ and Tom na Banrig’ne (sic, presumably for *banrighinn*; *Tom-na-ban-rie* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 157v) ‘hill of the king’ and ‘hill of the queen’ respectively, might more properly be discussed under hunting, as they are found in Glen Finglas CLD, one of the

<sup>88</sup> The definition of mair here is from *DOST*. Malcolm MacNoyare was mair of Menteith in 1454 (*ER* v, 676).

medieval royal hunting forests. Who the king and queen were is not known exactly, but one candidate for *banrighinn* might be Mary, Queen of Scots. She was introduced to hunting in France as a child and enjoyed hunting in Scotland as queen with her husband, Darnley (Fraser 1969, 81; Wormald 1988, 118). Another possibility is Margaret Tudor, wife of James IV, who was given the Stewartry of Menteith as part of her marriage contract in 1503 (*RMS* ii no. 2721). Another possible royal name is Loch Macanree, 700 m SW OF Lake of Mentieth, perhaps being *Loch Mac an Rìgh* 'lake of the son of the king', but who the son of the king was is not known. Many of these minor place-names are late to appear in the historical record, and some only date from the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS of the 1860s, which presumably means we cannot exclude nostalgia, antiquarianism, or romanticism. However, if genuine, Tom an Rìgh and Tom na Banrig'nn probably date from at least the mid 15<sup>th</sup> C to the mid 16<sup>th</sup> C, when Glen Finglas was used as a royal hunting forest. From the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> C the forest passed into the hands of the Stewarts, lords of Doune, later earls of Moray.

At least five, possibly six, places have names that show these were either places where metal-working took place or else belonged to people who carried out such activities. There are four places containing ScG *ceàrdach* 'smithy, forge': Creagan na Ceàrdaich AFE, Creag na Ceàrdaich CLD, **Arivurichardich** CLD, probably from ScG *àirigh mhòr a' cheàrdaich* 'big sheiling of the smithy' and Coire na Ceàrdaich CLD, with possibly another near **Renagour** AFE; here Stobie shows *Craig nacardroch* (for Creag na Ceàrdaich?), but it is not marked on any OS map for the area. ScG *gobhann*, pl. *goibhnean* 'smith' is found in Tom a' Ghobhainn CLD, Eas Gobhain CLD, and Creag Gownan AFE. One name that is probably post-medieval and indicates the production of alcoholic liquors, is Tom a' Bhranndaidh 'hill of the brandy' which may point to illicit spirits distillation, although brandy is made from grapes, so we may be looking at *branndaidh* being used as another word for whisky here. The raw material for the 'brandy', or rather whisky, may have come from the neighbouring field housing Tom an Eòrna 'knoll of the barley'.

Personal names can be found in a number of places and many date to the later middle ages. Most obvious are those places in KMA that end in Sc *toun*, such as **Norrieston**, **McOrriston**, and **Murdieston**. These will be discussed in more detail below. More recent seems to be **Jennywoodston** KPN, first on record in 1756. However, it is not only Sc place-names that have personal names attached. Two ScG *baile*-names have surnames as the specific, **Balvalachlan** CLD, *Balclaichling* 1662 (*Retours PER* no. 708), 'farmstead of a person called McLauchlan' and **Balmacansh** KMA, *Ballicavis* 1670 (*Retours PER* no. 809) 'farmstead of a person called McCawis'. The latter is now a field-name but there was a settlement named *Ballecauich* on Stobie in 1783. A Donald McCawis was a tenant in the lands of *Eglisdisdane* and *Balnegregane* in the barony of Doune in 1480 (*ER* ix, 564), lying close to Balmacansh.

Other features, whether settlements or hills and burns and the like, with personal names are very rare, but on the northern side of Loch Katrine is Allt Tormaid 'Tormod's Burn'; Tormod is the ScG equivalent of English/Scots Norman. This name only appears on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS in 1862, and we can only speculate whether or not it dates back to the medieval period. However, it may not have originated as a personal name; Tormaid may in fact be a re-interpretation of ScG *torman* 'rumbling'.<sup>89</sup> **Strathgartney**, a prominent barony in Menteith from the 14<sup>th</sup> C, seems to contain the personal name Gartnait. *OSA* for Callander in the 1790s states that the *-gartney* element 'borrowed its names from Gratnach or Gretney, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Mar, who possessed this tract of land in the year 1114' (*OSA* xi, 583). However, Gartnait was a name that was perhaps more common in the North-East of Scotland, i.e. Aberdeen and Buchan (see Clancy 2008, 378 for the saint's cult Gartnait, and Forbes, *Kalendars*, 355 for the suggestion that Garntat or Garnard was the original name for Gervadius or Gernadius, i.e. Gerardine (Dransart 2003, 247, n.67)). Gartnait is a name mentioned in the Pictish king lists in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Cs (*ES* i, cxxiv), including the sons of Aedán mac Gabráin and Domnall Brecc (Smyth 1984, 70). Gartnait is also mentioned as the name of a mormaer in the Gaelic Notes in

<sup>89</sup> My thanks to Dr Aonghas MacCinnich for this suggestion.

the Book of Deer, along with the place-name *Pett mc garnait* (Jackson 1972, 19; Taylor 2008, 282). There is a Gartnach ‘comes’, with no territorial title, who witnessed the charter of the foundation of Scone Abbey in 1115 (*Scon Liber.* no. 1).<sup>90</sup> A Gartnach was styled earl of Buchan in c.1150 (*Handbook Brit. Chron.*, 502), and Christina Bruce, sister of Robert I, married Gartnait, who became 7<sup>th</sup> earl of Mar, in the 1290s (Barrow 1988, 44, 86, 141). But, overall, while there seems to be nothing in the record which may prove or disprove the minister for Callander’s theory, there is no direct evidence linking the earls of Mar to **Strathgartney**.

#### *Livestock and animal husbandry*

For an area that is ideally suited for livestock rearing and transhumance, Menteith is notably lacking in place-names that recall those who watched over their flocks or herds. Indeed, only **Calziebohalzie** KMA ScG *coille buachaille* ‘cowherd or shepherd’s wood’ contains any herdsman type name.

There are a large number of place-names in Menteith that show where and what types of animals were reared. Again many of these names only come on record from the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS in the 1860s, but most will be much older than that, although how many are medieval is a moot point. Most of the names with animals as an element are landscape features like hills and parts of hills or burns, but some are or were settlement names. While most of the names in this section are concerned with animals, they had to eat somewhere and one place where they did so was at Lòn Mòr AFE ‘Big Meadow’ just to the south of Loch Achray. Other meadow/grazing names will be discussed under the elements *blàr* and *dail* below. ScG *pòr* gen. *pùir*, is found in **Cassafuir** PMH. This word is discussed in Watson (1926, 376-7), Jackson (1972, 68-9), and Taylor (2008, 292-3). Watson suggests *pòr* means ‘meadow’, while Jackson thinks ‘crop-land’ is more likely. Taylor on the whole follows Jackson, stating: ‘A cursory study of the positions of these place-names, often at or near the centre of lowland parishes,

<sup>90</sup> For the date of the founding of Scone Abbey see Duncan (2002, 85).

on good, well-drained soil, suggests Jackson's interpretation as 'crop-land' is more likely' (Taylor 2008, 293). However, the position of **Cassafuir**, ScG *cas a' phùir* (modern ScG genitive is *pòir*), makes its meaning ambiguous. It sits at 90m on the south-facing slope rising out of **Flanders Moss**, south of Loch Rusky, where there was a medieval castle, and centre of a medieval barony. It lies at almost the same height and latitude as **Brae of Boquhapple**, which was part of the medieval estate of Boquhapple, probably ScG *both chapaill* 'horse sheiling'. It may be that Watson's 'pasture' derivation is appropriate here, and so 'foot of the pasture or meadow'. Equally, however, the area between Loch Rusky and **Cassafuir** may have been the arable of Rusky Castle, perhaps making it 'foot of the crop-land'.

**Boquhapple** KRD, as seen above, is probably not 'bothy of the chapel' despite the assertions of previous authors (Hutchison 1899, 141; MacKay 2003, 24), but is more likely to be ScG *both chapaill* 'horse bothy or sheiling' indicating that the area may have been an important horse rearing area at some point in the medieval period, which became an important estate in the later medieval period. It is notable that the nearby Wards of Goodie were used as waste for the king's horses when the monarch was hunting in the area in 1471 (*ER* viii, 70). Other horse place-names can be found in **Balleich** AFE (ScG *baile eich*), and the now lost *Blarachapuill* (ScG *Blàr a' Chapaill*) AFE 'grazing field of the mare, horse', above it is Meall a' Chapuill (sic) 'lump or round hill of the mare, horse'. In CLD are Beinn Each 'horse mountain' and Mòine nan Each 'peat bog of the horses', which may be an area, such as there were in Atholl, where semi-feral horses were kept (Bil 1990, 165-7). There are three foal names in CLD; Lagnan nan Searrach 'hollow of the foals' and two Bealach nan Searrach 'pass of the foals' on the ridges of hills mid way up either side of Loch Lubnaig. Cattle are represented in Bealach nam Bò, mentioned above, and also in Meall nan Gamhainn PMH 'round hill of the stirks', Coire a' Ghamhainn CLD 'corrie of the stirks', and Allt Tairbh CLD 'bull burn', although in the latter the specific *tarbh* might equally refer to the 'roaring' nature

of the stream (Watson 1926, 453). Cattle were held at \*Buail an t-Sagairt ‘cattle-fold of the priest’ presumably somewhere next to Creag Bhail an t-Sagairt AFE.

Sheep create something of a dating problem. That there were sheep in the area is confirmed by the *Rentalia Domini Regis* in ER; part of the rent for many of the tenants in Strathgartney was sheep as can be seen for example in 1461 at **Stank** CLD where one sheep (i muton) was to be paid; at nearby **Coilentogle** CLD, perhaps containing ScG *seagal* ‘rye’ as the specific (*Cùil an t-Seagail* ‘nook of the rye’)), and indicating an area of arable land, it was two sheep (ii mutons) (ER vii, 51). As shall be seen, the place-name evidence also confirms the existence of sheep. However, the sheep in question were a smaller species than those we are used to seeing today, perhaps not so unlike the Soay sheep of St Kilda (Grant 1961, 78-9; Richards 2000, 72). These sheep tended to be kept near the settlements (Grant 1961, 79). The familiar blackface sheep we are used to seeing around the Highlands are a fairly recent introduction having arrived with the Highland Clearances dating in this area to around the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> C. There are only three place-names with *caora* ‘sheep’ as an element (and which show signs of morphological variation) – Meall na Caora CLD and Creag na Caorach CLD, and Tom Dubh nan Caorach AFE ‘small black hill of the sheep’, while there are two places where it would appear wool was sheared or perhaps sold or stored (also with morphological variation) – Tom na h-Olann AFE ‘hill of the wool’ and Creag na h-Olla CLD ‘rock of the wool’. The latter two place-names may be modern as the yield of wool from pre-Clearance Highland sheep was apparently ‘derisory’ (Richards 2000, 72), although see the place-name *le Wlplays*, dating to 1295, which may be ‘the wool place’ in Renfrewshire (*Reg Passeelet*, 95).<sup>91</sup> The other small ruminant glimpsed in place-names is the goat. Meall nan Gobhar PMH and Meall nan Gabhar CLD are both ‘round hill of the goats’ while Gleann nam Meann is probably ‘glen of the kids [i.e. young goats]’.

<sup>91</sup> Thanks to Prof. Clancy for alerting me to this source.

In the area of Gleann nam Meann and Glen Finglas CLD there are three transhumance names, all with the ScG element *àirigh* ‘sheiling’. Creag na h-Àirigh sits above the southern entrance to Gleann nam Meann, where there are the remains of at least 22 sheiling huts (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN51SW 37), while over the hill in Gleann Casaig is Airigh Dhubh Airde ‘sheiling of the black or dark height’. Across the Glen Finglas Reservoir from these two *àirigh*-names is another Creag na h-Àirigh ‘crag of the shieling’. Yet another Creag na h-Àirigh can be found on the western side of Loch Lubnaig, just above Creag na h-Olla ‘crag of the wool’ previously mentioned. Also in CLD, but in the hills above **Leny** and **Kilmahog** is Àirigh Coire a' Mholaich ‘sheiling of the coire of the rough place’. Further east is the only sheiling name in Menteith that has become a permanent settlement, **Arivuiricardich**, probably from ScG *àirigh mhòr a' cheàrdaich* ‘big sheiling of the smithy’. Bil (1992, 393-5) discusses the ScG term *bothan* as a possibly sheiling name, but does not show any in Menteith. However, it may be that **Boquhapple** (\**both chapail*) ‘horse sheiling’ and **Buchlyvie** KPN (\**both shliabh-in?*) ‘hut or sheiling of the moorland’ were originally shielings, but if so they had become permanent settlements by the early 14<sup>th</sup> C in the case of **Boquhapple**, and by 1490 regarding **Buchlyvie**. Other possible *both*-names include two settlements shown on Stobie which are now burn names: **Bofrishlie** AFE (containing Brit. loan into ScG *preas* ‘bush’) and **Boninty** AFE. *Both*-names can be quite high-status, perhaps sometimes ecclesiastical, for example Balquhidder (*Bu[t]hfyder* c.1268) and Balfron (*Buthbren* 1233) (Taylor 1996, 95-8, 104).

Pigs were kept or hunted at Sgiath nam Mucan Dubh CLD ‘wing shaped hill of the black pigs’ and Dùn nam Muc AFE ‘hill-fort of the pigs’. **Calziemuck** PMH is *Cailzemuche* in 1507 (RMS ii no. 3142) and is in ScG *coille muc* ‘pig wood’. This became a settlement in the middle ages and nearby was *Hogwood*, evidently either the same wood or part of the settlement of **Calziemuck** but translated into Scots, although in older place-names Sc *hog* means sheep

(DOST), but Hogwood only comes on record in 1863.<sup>92</sup> Another possible *muc* place-name is **Mill of Muck** KRD on record in an estate plan of 1754, and was probably the mill on the Muck Burn,<sup>93</sup> which seems to be the burn that flows out of Loch **Watston** (NAS RHP24481). High above Stank Glen CLD on the western side of Loch Lubnaig is Bioran na Circe ‘point of the grouse’. Fish, and salmon in particular, were at times a substantial source of rent for a few places in Menteith and there are references to the fishings of Loch Lubnaig, the stank of Goodie, and other lochs in Menteith, and there were cruives or fishing traps on the River Teith at Doune from at least the mid 15<sup>th</sup> C, and the rent from the fishings of Doune being worth 260 (ijlx) salmon (ER vii, 53). Fishing has not left its mark on many place-names in Menteith, but **Stank** CLD, from a Sc word that can mean fishpond (DSL), may have been one of the places where fishing took place on Loch Lubnaig; in 1528 there is a reference to ‘piscaria lacuum et stagnorum de *Lugnok...*’ (RMS iii no. 612), and we know that the loch ‘abound[ed] with trout’ in 1724 (*Geog. Coll.* i, 336), while it seems probable that trout were also caught at **Alltan nam Breac** AFE ‘small burn of the trout’, on record as a settlement from 1643 (RMS ix no. 1502).

#### *Common Elements*

There are a number of elements that are common in Menteith and can help us to understand medieval rural society in the area. Many of these elements have been treated by other toponymists largely as evidence for linguistic change or population movement, but here we will treat them primarily as indicators of changes within rural settlement. All these elements have their own distribution maps (see Part 2).

#### *Achadh* (see Map 7)

<sup>92</sup> Marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map c.250m to the E of Calziemuck.

<sup>93</sup> See comments regarding hydronyms made in discussion of turk-element in Brig o' Turk above.

According to Dwelly, *achadh* means ‘field, plain, meadow’. In Ireland, it is ‘the most widespread and least specific term for a field’ (Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 12). *Achadh* later became an element in settlement names, but there is a semantic difference between it and *baile*. *Baile*, meaning ‘farm, settlement’, and discussed below, implies a permanent settlement, while *achadh* may have originally been an area where ‘agricultural activities ancillary’ to *baile* took place (Nicolaisen 2001, 164). *Achadh* eventually became a place of permanent settlement in many cases as the population grew and people colonised areas that were only used for agriculture. In the Ochils, it has been suggested that *achadh* seems to have the sense of ‘piece of ground cleared for grazing or cultivation’ (Watson 1995, 155). *Achadh* appears in the Ochils at heights of between 50 and 500 m, and is found mainly on gentle hill slopes and flattish areas. They are found reasonably close to important early settlements, and it is possible that they were the cultivation and grazing sites of these places (Watson 1995, 155). In the Gaelic notes in the Book of Deer, there seems to have been a distinct difference between *achadh* and *sliabh* ‘upland, moorland, open, unenclosed land’ (Taylor 2008, 284). In the Book of Deer there is a phrase *etar sliab acus achad* ‘both upland and *achad*’, implying *achadh* was land which was enclosed for both arable and pastoral purposes (Taylor 2008, 284).

*Achadh* is a reasonably common place-name element in Menteith, occurring at least fifteen times. The distribution of the element in Menteith is peculiar; there are seven in CLD, five in PMH, and two in KMA. There are none in AFE, KPN, or KRD. *Achadh* appears at heights of between c.20 m (*Achmore* PMH) to c.400 m (Sron Achaidh na h-Airde CLD), but most occur between c.80m and 220m. There are three in the vicinity of **Lake of Menteith** PMH, two called **Achytle**, although one, to the north of the lake, seems to be a re-naming (see below), leaving two, *Achmore* and *Auchyle* on the west side of the lake. Both are now lost, but may have been the grazing or cultivation of the important place of Malling, mentioned as *Muyline*, probably for ScG *muileann*, in 1261, perhaps the main mill of the earls of Menteith. **Achrig**

and **Auchinsalt** PMH may be connected to **Rednock** and **Ruskie** respectively. There is one outlier in KMA as far as Menteith is concerned at **Achnabana**, but it does not look so isolated once nearby Auchenteck and Auchinlay DLE are taken into consideration. The others are grouped into clusters of three, only four *achadh*-names in these three clusters are or were settlements, the rest are fields. **Auchleshie** KMA, Achnagarn and **Auchenlaich** CLD are settlements that straddle the Keltie Water to the W of **Callander**; to the north of **Leny** CLD are Tom an Achaidh Mhòir ‘knoll of the big field’, Tom an Achaidh Bhig ‘knoll of the small field’, and **Achadh an Easbuig** CLD ‘field of the bishop’, all being perhaps some of the arable of the medieval parish of **Leny**. In Glen Finglas CLD are Sron Achaidh na h-Airde ‘projecting height of Achadh na h-Airde’, possibly a field connected to the shielings in this area, while Ard Achadh ‘high field’ and **Achnahard** *achadh na h-àird* ‘field of the height’, may have originally been the enclosed land, or in-field, of the settlement of **Duart** (*dubh-àird*). It is notable that Ard Achadh was still just a field when the OS surveyed the area in 1863, but **Achnahard** has been a settlement since at least 1451 (*Auchnaharde* 1451 ER v, 476).

In five places *achadh* is what it purports to be, i.e. a field-name. These are Sron Achaidh na h-Airde CLD, Ard Achadh ‘high field’ CLD, Tom an Achaidh Mhòr and Tom an Achaidh Bhig, both CLD, and **Achadh an Easbuig** CLD.<sup>94</sup> The last is discussed below (p.158). Like many of these types of names, their first occurrence is on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS of 1862. The other ten *achadh*-names are or were settlements, all Scotticised as *auch/ach*, and, apart from Achnahard CLD, all are in the lowland portion of Menteith. **Auchyle** PMH, possibly *achadh coille* or *caol* ‘wood field or narrow field’ is on the western side of Lake of Menteith. Another Auchyle in PMH lies on the eastern side of the lake, but this is marked as *Unchenoch* on Stobie. Also in PMH was *Achmore* ‘big field’, just to the north of Loch Macanree on the west of Lake of Menteith, this name only appearing on Stobie. Much earlier on record is **Auchrig** PMH

<sup>94</sup> Tom an Achaidh Mhòr, Tom an Achaidh Bhig, and Achadh an Easbuig are in what was formerly the parish of Leny.

possibly ‘crag field’, it sits below crags on the S side of Beinn Dearg, and dates from at least 1489 as *Auchryg* (*RMS* ii no. 2465). The second element seems to have been reinterpreted as Sc *rig* ‘long extent of land’. Further east in the same parish is *Auchinsalt*, the specific of which is obscure, but c.f. OI *salt* ‘leap’. In CLD is **Auchenlaich**, again the specific is obscure, but ScG *laogh* ‘calf’ is a possibility. On Stobie near Bracklands was *Achnagarn* possibly *achadh na gartan* ‘field of the small enclosed settlement’ or *achadh nan cairn* ‘field of the cairns’ the latter with nasalisation in gen. plural. Two *achadh*-names are or were in KMA **Achnabana**, on record in 1491 as *Auchounbannow* (*RMS* ii no. 2059) and is possibly ‘field of the blessing’, the specific being ScG *beannachd* ‘blessing’. At that date the lands were in the hands of sir Alexander Doig, canon of Inchmahome. The final *achadh*-name is **Auchleshie** on the border between KMA and CLD, the specific possibly being ScG *lios*, gen. sg. *liosa*, and so the name could mean ‘field of the enclosure’. The enclosure in question may be the oval-shaped fort at NN649078 (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NW60NW 10).<sup>95</sup>

### *Blàr* (see Map 8)

Another common element is *blàr*, occurring at least 17, possibly 18, times in Menteith. The word in place-names is usually taken to mean ‘field, plain’ (Dwelly s.v.), but can also mean ‘peat-bog, battlefield, or cleared space’. Taylor has the meanings ‘open, level land, muir’ for Blair, Ballingry FIF (Taylor, *PNF* i, 141), and ‘field, muir’ for Blair in both Carnock and Culross FIF (Taylor *PNF* i, 207, 232). In Fife *blàr* seems to represent quite extensive lands; those in Culross appear to encircle the burgh (Taylor, *PNF* i, 232). This is not quite how the element seems to work in Menteith, where it appears to be associated with more compact grazing lands, as it is in parts of Lennox (Neville 2005, 102). With the exception of **Blairhoyle** PMH, **Blaircessnock** PMH, **Blairfechans** KPN, and **Blairgorts** KPN, all the *blàr*-names are in the

<sup>95</sup> Dwelly gives other meanings for *lios*, including ‘enclosure or stall for cattle, garden, court, dispute’, all of which are possible here.

Highland part of Menteith, and the distribution is entirely west of KMA (Blair Drummond is a transferred name dating to after 1683). There is a continuation of these *blàr*-names into neighbouring Lennox, with Blairfad, Blairmore, and Blarnavaid lying between Balfron and Drymen, and a cluster of nine lying in the SW corner of Kilmaronock parish DNB. This cluster seems to be divisons of an area that was known as Blair or Am Blàr (Taylor 2007b, 31-2).

There is a striking cluster of *blàr*-names in AFE running up the valley containing Loch Chon and Loch Ard, and these must represent grazing lands in what is or was a steep-sided, wooded-valley. One place-name tells us what animal grazed there; **Blarachapuill**, on the banks of Loch Chon, is ‘grazing of the horse(s)’. **Blaregal** AFE may be ‘grazing of the foreigner’ and is presumably associated in some way to the Leac a’ Ghoill, perhaps ‘stone of the foreigner’ on the hill above. ScG *Gall* in this case could relate to watching out for strangers or foreigners, or possibly Lowlanders (Peadar Morgan pers. comm.). It is notable that there is a hill near Leac a’ Ghoill called Tom nan Saighdearan ‘knoll of the soldiers’, probably to do with the barracks at Inversnaid built after the 1715 Jacobite Rising, but it shows that here, too, there was a look-out watching – probably by the soldiers – for movement in and out of the glen. **Blairhullichan** AFE may well be the grazing lands of a settlement associated with a nearby *tulach* ‘small hill, assembly place’. **Blaranross** AFE was the grazing lands of the peninsula (An Ross?) projecting into the SE corner of Loch Ard; the lands of *Rose* cum le *Cragmuk* are mentioned in the 1427 charter of James I to Malise Graham of the earldom of Menteith (NAS GD220/1/C/3/1). In c. 1567 the lands of *Blairinros* were ‘bowgank’ or bowganged, in other words were ‘set in pasture for cows’ (NAS RH9/3/84; Sanderson 1982, 23, 249; *DSL* s.v. *bowgang*). **Blairuskin** may have been a piece of grazing beside the meeting place of burns flowing into the Water of Chon. The specific *uskin* could be ScG *uisgean* ‘waters’ and it would seem that the eponymous *blàr* extended on both sides of the Water of Chon, i.e. **Blairuskinmore** and **Blairuskinbeg**, with a number of small burns running through the land on the **Blairuskinmore** side, one of which is called Allt Tairbh ‘bull burn’, so we may be

looking at a grazing spot for cattle, but it could be that, as we have noted above, the specific *tarbh* refers simply to the ‘roaring’ nature of the stream (Watson 1926, 453). Just south of **Blairuskinbeg** is Stob a’ Bhlàir Bhàin ‘point of the white plain or field’, which is presumably a grazing area and is only 800 m north of Tom Dubh nan Caorach ‘Black hill of the sheep’. Elsewhere in AFE is **Blairvouach** on the northern shore of Loch Ard, this is perhaps ScG \**blàrbhòach* ‘field or plain of the cattle place’, but the early forms are too few, anglicised, and a bit erratic to be able make any clear sense of them. In the north of AFE, on the southern shore of Loch Achray, is Blàr Loisgte ‘burnt plain’, meaning, perhaps, an area deliberately cleared of bracken or other undergrowth to make a grazing field.

Over the border in CLD, on the northern shore of Loch Achray, is Blair House, a name that is marked as ‘Manse’ on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, and does not appear as ‘Blair Ho.’ on an OS map until the One Inch 7<sup>th</sup> Series in 1957. Just 600 m to the east is Feadan a’ Bhlair Chois ‘channel of Blair Chois’, in which Blair Chois can be translated as ‘the plain foot or, field or plain at the foot (of a burn)’. This might mean that the area towards the eastern end of Loch Achray was called *blàr* or possibly Am Blàr and was an area of grazing. **Blairgarry** lies 5km east of Blair House on the northern shore of Loch Venachar. On record from 1451 as *Blaregeragh* (ER v, 476), Blairgarry sits on what looks like an alluvial fan created by sediment from the Milton Glen Burn. The *garry*-element is a little problematic, but it could be related to ScG *garbh* ‘rough’. To the north of Callander, on the slopes of the Keltie Water is Còinneach Bhlàir ‘moss or foggage [grass left in the field during winter, see *DOST* under *fog*] plain’, next to it is Creagan a’ Choinnich Bhlàir. Also in CLD, on the eastern side of Glen Finglas, is Creag a’ Bhlàir ‘crag of the field or plain’, and this is possibly the grazing of the settlements of Achnahard and Duart a short distance to the north. Across the Finglas Water from Creag a’ Bhlàir is what is now called Tom Erraich, but on the 1st edn OS 6 inch map is *Tom na h-Airidh* ‘hill of the sheiling’. Three other upland *blàr*-names could be found in PMH, just to the south

of Loch Venachar: *Blairholich*<sup>96</sup> (Fraser, *Stirling*, 321), *Blarnacaorach* and *Blareidh*, probably for *Blàrfhèidh*. These three are now all lost, but the latter two are ‘field or plain of the sheep’ and ‘field or plain of the deer’ respectively, and date from at least Stobie’s map of 1783, where they are *Blarnachuiroch* and *Blarae*. They are most likely of an older date, although need not, of course, necessarily be medieval.

Of the four lowland *blàr*-names, two are in PMH and two in KPN. Blairhoyle PMH is *blàr choille* ‘wood field or plain’ and is indicative of grazing within or beside what was previously a wooded area beside Flanders Moss. **Blaircessnock** PMH is presumably the grazing grounds of either **Cardross** or **Inchmahome** and is mentioned as *Blarecesnoche* in a rental of **Inchmahome** of 1646 (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368). The specific must be the same as that of Cessnock on the south-side of Glasgow and of Cessnock Castle and Cessnock Water in Ayrshire. It may be OG *seiscenn* ‘unproductive ground, marsh, swamp, bog’, with an adjectival ending *-ach*,<sup>97</sup> which would suit the location of **Blaircessnock**, sitting at the edge of Flanders Moss. In KPN, across the River Forth from **Blaircessnock**, are Wester **Blairgorts** and **Blairfechans**. Both these places only come on record from the 17<sup>th</sup> C, 1609 in the case of **Blairfechans** (*Blairfichane RMS* vii, no. 58), while **Blairgorts** dates from 1610 (*Blairgrotis RMS* vii no. 354). The early forms for **Blairgorts** suggest it is not a *gart*-name, but rather the specific may be ScG *grod* ‘putrid, stinking’, perhaps relating to marshy grazing land that is frequently flooded by the nearby un-named burn. The specific in **Blairfechans** is unclear, but ScG *faiche* (or rather pl. *faichean*) ‘green, field, meadow’ may be possible.

More research needs to be done on this element in Scotland as a whole, but it can be seen from the foregoing that, depending on locality, *blàr* in Menteith is generally found to contain relatively level land, which has been cleared for both pastoral and arable purposes in

<sup>96</sup> See Gartnasale in survey PMH for discussion of the location of this place.

<sup>97</sup> My Thanks to Prof Thomas Clancy for this suggestion.

predominantly upland areas where the soil is generally of poor quality. In some cases these *blàran* may have been enriched by the sediment of the burns flowing down from the hills.

### *Dail* (see Map 9)

This name means a natural water-meadow or haughland. Water meadows are low lying land at the side of a river, creating a flood plain. During the summer when the land around the river was dry, the grass was cut to produce hay. The act of the river flooding also fertilised the land with silt from the river, and, due to the enhanced productive nature of the soil from the nutrients many of these *dailean* gave their names to permanent settlements. The element is a loan word borrowed into ScG from Pictish or British (Watson 1926, 414; Taylor forthcoming; James BLITON under /\*dōl/).<sup>98</sup> Fraser states the word is ‘pre-Celtic’, although he may have confused pre-Celtic with pre-Gaelic. An equivalent to ScG *dail* is found in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, usually as *dol*; it is typically anglicised as *dal* in Scottish place-names, although it was also *dol* in earlier periods (Fraser 1999, 204; see also ).

There are or were eleven *dail*-names in Menteith, with five in AFE, three in KMA, and three in CLD. Watson wrote that there are about 46 place-names beginning with *dal* in the index of *Retours* (Watson 1926, 414); of the eleven for Menteith only **Daldorn** can be found in that publication.<sup>99</sup> Most *dail*-names are, as we would expect, beside a river, while two, **Daldorn** KMA and Dail Malio AFE, are at the side of a loch. Only two did not become settlements: one is Dail Malio, with Malio being pronounced as /ma'lu/ on the northern shore of Loch Ard, which may be dedicated to a saint. There is a reference to an island in Loch Ard named after ‘St Mallo’ (*Geog. Coll.* i, 343). Quite who this obscure saint was, is a mystery, but Machutus could

<sup>98</sup> My thanks to Dr Taylor for this reference.

<sup>99</sup> *Dalgrey* is shown in the index, but this is Daira KRD, which is probably not a *dail*-name; the overwhelming majority of the early forms start with *Dar-*.

be a candidate (see p.144 below).<sup>100</sup> Another place named after him, if the specific is indeed a saint's name, near the old church of Aberfoyle is Bad Malio 'thicket of Malio'. The other place-name with the element *dail* that did not become a settlement is Creag Dail-thuim-ghairbh AFE 'crag of the haughland of a place called \*Tom-garbh (rough knoll)', which lies on the Duchray Water some 2.5km W of Couligartan. It is one of three place-names containing *dail* that were on this river. Further east were **Dalavie** AFE (*Dalley* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502), just across the water from Duchray Castle DRY, and **Daldanet** AFE a km along the river. Both are obscure, the early forms being confusing and erratic. Also in AFE was **Dalchon** 'Water-meadow of or beside the Water of Chon' on record from 1643 (*Dalthone* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502). It is now called Lochard Cottages. Due to forestry planting in the 20<sup>th</sup> C, the settlements in AFE containing *dail*-names have now disappeared. However, three *dail*-names that are still settlements today can be found in KMA, **Daldorn** *Dail Dòbhran* 'haugh of otters' at the side of the Easter and Wester Lochs of Daldorn, and two are located on the banks of the Keltie Water, Dalvey (dail bheith) 'birch haugh' and **Dalvorich**, the specific of which is unclear, but could be Morich, from Muireadhach, either a saint of that name, who is culted in Argyll at Kilmorich (Watson 1926, 293), or perhaps even one of the earls of Menteith.

In Glenfinglas CLD, before it was flooded to make a reservoir, was, apparently, a *Dal Noambh* [sic] (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NN51SW 2), evidently for *dail naomh* 'holy meadow'. This is clearly the *Dalnaif* mentioned in Sibbald (TNS 157v) in 1630-50. Next to it was 'Tam Noambh [sic] or the Holy Knoll' (Hutchison 1879, 60-1). RCAHMS Canmore (NMRS No. NN51SW 2) thinks '[t]he description of Tom Naombh [sic] fits the hill called Tom an Fhaile (NN521103)'. A 'myl' upstream from *Dalnaif*, according to Sibbald, was *Dalcharry*. None of these places are marked on any map of the area. Hutchison also records that there

<sup>100</sup> Another possible candidate may be MoLuóć or MoLua (Watson 1926, 292), but there are no references to this saint in Menteith.

was a *Dal Noambh* [sic] at the western end of Loch Katrine, presumably near Glengyle (1879, 61).

### *Earrann* (see Map 10)

In Menteith there are at least 22 names containing the element *Arn-*, an Anglicisation of ScG *earrann* ‘portion, share, division.’ These are also discussed briefly below (p. 160) since there are grounds for believing it is an element that, at least in Menteith, is closely connected to the priory of Inchmahome (Watson 1926, 256; Fraser 1999, 206). The ecclesiastical nature of the element is shown by the place-names **Arnyprior** KPN, **Arnclerich** PMH, and **Arnvicar** PMH, and by the fact that **Arnbeg** was in the hands of the chapel of *Dundafmure*, near Denny STL in 1480 (*ER* ix, 564).<sup>101</sup> However, we should at least try to put them into some agricultural context here, which might give us a clue as to their coining. The first thing to note is that the cluster of *earrann*-names in Menteith is most remarkable. The element is absent from Fife, and the only other comparable cluster is in found in Galloway.

Like Menteith, Galloway has a large number of *earrann*-names; an unpublished map made by Michael Ansell of the Scottish Place-name Society (see Map 11), shows 23 *earrann*-names in this region with a further three in southern Carrick in Ayrshire. There are two particular concentrations of this element with fourteen in the area around Castle Douglas and seven around New Galloway in the Glenkens. Richard Oram states that these *earrann*-names found in Galloway represent assarts and ‘point to ecclesiastical involvement’ and ‘may represent areas taken out of waste by monastic estate managers or their tenants’ (Oram 2000, 258, following Brooke 1984, 49). There are five elements in the Castle Douglas cluster that seem to support this view; Ernespie (the Bishop’s Portion), Ernfillan (St Fillan’s Portion), *Ernanity* (*earrann na h-annaide* Watson 1926, 170), Arnmannoch (the monk’ or monks’ vassals portion), Chapelerne, and Ernambrie (possibly almoner’s portion, from ‘Sc \*almry, almoner,

<sup>101</sup> See Arnbeg PMH for details of the location of the chapel of *Dundaffmuir*.

one of the monastic officers' (Taylor, *PNF* iv, 630)). These last three are just across the Urr Water from Grange Farm, Kings Grange, and Grange Burn, all containing Sc *grange* 'monastic farm'. It is also notable that there is a Cultam Hill nearby. This might commemorate Holm Cultram Abbey in Cumbria founded by Prince Henry, son of David I of Scotland, c.1150 (Duncan 1975, 148), and which had lands in Galloway in the Middle Ages, including the church of Kirkgunzeon (*Holm Cultram Cart.*, no. 120). Kirkgunzeon lies 9km NE of the Castle Douglas cluster of *earrann*-names. In the parish of Kirkgunzeon, 9.5 km E of Castle Douglas, there is another Armannoch, with ScG *manach* 'monk or monastic tenant'. The element *earrann* survives in Galloway as *arn-*, *ern-*, and *iron-*, with the earliest documented instance dating to 1408 (Oram 2000, 258.). This is a bit earlier than those found in Menteith, where the earliest case is **Arnrior** in the 1440s found in Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* as '*Ernefrear ubi capella Sancti Beani [Arnrior where there is a chapel of St Bean]*' (Bower *Scotichron.* Bk. 2, ch. 10 (vol. 2, p. 190). However, it is worth noting in the case of Menteith and Galloway that the relative lateness of the evidence is not necessarily an indication of lateness of names, as both are document sparse-districts.

*Earrann* may not be assarted land in many cases in Menteith, but may instead be an element associated with a new tenurial situation. It seems unlikely that those *earrann*-names in Kippen parish are assarts, for it would be surprising if agricultural activity had not been going on in **Kippen** centuries before large parts of the parish became the arable land of the priory of Inchmahome. Viewed from the Menteith Hills to the north, **Kippen** presents a gently sloping, arable contrast to the moss of the carselands of the River Forth. **Kippen**, or at least the PER parts, had seemingly been part of Menteith since the time of the Gaelic earls. It seems strange that they would have what is an anomalous piece of territory south of the Forth, surrounded as it is on one side by the earldom of Lennox and on the other by the shire or soke of Stirling, when all the other Menteith territory is to the north of the river. They may have been given or had taken the territory that is now the parish of **Kippen** to supplement

what would have been a distinct lack of arable land in the rest of Menteith. It is very likely, then, that arable farming had indeed taken place in **Kippen** for many years before the monks of the priory of **Inchmahome** were given their portions centred on that of the prior, perhaps by Walter Comyn not long after he founded the priory in 1238. Oram states that **Arnvicar** and **Arnclerich** in PMH are also assarts which 'lie in the former marshland on the valley floor' (Oram 2000, 258). This is only partly correct; on the modern map these places look as if they are on the flat carseland, but they do in fact sit on a ridge of terminal moraine some distance off the floor of the carse. **Arnvicar** sits at a height 36m OD, while **Arnclerich** is at 47m OD. The surrounding carse sits at a height of 14m OD. This area of moraine seems to constitute a ridge of arable and grazing land rising out of the surrounding moss. Supporting this view is that there were other settlements on this ridge including **Cardross**. Originally belonging to **Inchmahome**, this settlement became the seat of a branch of the Erskine family who became earls of Mar, and had a bordland, or land whose main purpose was to provide for the laird, and so was the main arable area of the estate nearby.

This is not to say that there were no assarts among the *earrann*-names, for there are indeed some *earrann*-names that are on the carse – **Arnmach** 'portion of the cultivable land?', **Arnochoile** 'portion of the narrow', and **Arnachly** now lost but on record as *Ernetly* in 1427 (NAS GD220/1/C/3/1), all in PMH – and it is possible that these may represent later expansion by the monks of **Inchmahome** on to the wastes of Flanders and Gartrenich Mosses.

While the distribution of *earrann*-names in Menteith certainly suggest some kind of connection with **Inchmahome**, it should be noted that other than **Arnrior**, **Arnvicar**, **Arnclerich**, and **Arnmach**, which were properties of Inchmahome in 1606 (NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r), and possibly **Arnachly**, which has traditionally been said to have been a chapel of Inchmahome (NSA x, 1105), this association of *earrann*-names and the priory is largely circumstantial, based on the distribution of the *earrann*-names themselves. Nevertheless, it

may be significant that in CLA all the *earrann*-names there are in parishes (Arns in AVA, Arns in CLK, and Arnsbrae in TBK, now ALL) where the local churches belonged to Cambuskenneth. Also Arns DRY, is next to Chapellaroch ‘ruined chapel’, another chapel traditionally said to have belonged to **Inchmahome**, and Dalmary ‘haughlands dedicated to the Virgin Mary’, patron saint of Inchmahome (see p. 135 below).

### *Gart* (see Map 12)

Another element not found in Fife is *gart* meaning ‘enclosed field or settlement’. These *gart*-names are part of a large group that extend in a rough triangular area from Clackmannanshire to Loch Lomond to Glasgow. There are at least 157 in that area (McNiven 2007, 62), of which at least 26 are or were in Menteith. Quite why they stop at the medieval Fife border is not clear. I have previously argued that *gart* in Clackmannanshire are the settlements of the foresters of the medieval forest of Clackmannan (McNiven 2007). The material to support this view comes from charter evidence from monasteries such as St Andrews and Holyrood which received rights to take timber from the forest for building material from the 1140s. There is none of this kind of evidence for Menteith, but that is probably due to lack of documentation which, as we have seen, is a major problem for Menteith. A close look at documentation for neighbouring Lennox may give a clue as to the coining of these names, but other *gart*-names in Menteith are undoubtedly assarted land taken from the moss that covered large parts of lowland Menteith. The 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map shows a remarkable clearance in the moss at **Gartrenich** PMH, which could confirm the suggestion that many *gart*-names are an expansion of settlements into wasteland such as forests or bogs (McNiven 2007, 62). Although this need not always be the case: John Bannerman remarked ‘many of the existing *gart*-farms [of Lennox and Menteith] are on the best low-lying ground, while *achadh* and *baile* farms are generally higher up and/or on

poorer ground. I occupy one of the *achadh* farms and would gladly swap it for one of the neighbouring *gart*-farms' (Bannerman pers. comm., 2007).

While not mutually exclusive, it is noticeable that the distribution of the two of the main habitative elements found in Menteith, *baile* and *gart*, are somewhat distinct from each other. *Baile*-names predominate in the east of Menteith, while *gart*-names are predominantly in the west of the earldom. *Baile*-names tend to sit on the higher ground away from the areas of carseland which formed part of the large mosses, such as **Flanders Moss** PMH. Indeed, only in the area around **Callander** is there any convergence between the two elements, although it is not clear why. It is especially instructive to compare the distribution of *baile*-name and *gart*-names in PMH (see maps 12 and 13). All the *baile*-names are to the east of Lake of Mentieth, while the *gart*-names are all largely to the west of the lake. Bannerman's association with *achadh* and *baile* being situated on poorer ground than *gart*-names may not reflect the situation in the Middle Ages. The *baile*-names in Menteith are either on ridges of higher land up from the floor of the carse, or on the south-facing slopes to the NE of Lake of Menteith, suggesting good drainage, while the *gart*-names are either on the carse floor or on the edge of the carse, signifying some connection with the bogs that have been reclaimed or are still extant. It may be that some of the *gart*-names are on the best land today because they were on land that was subject to intense 'improvement' in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Cs.

That there seems to be some kind of distinct difference between *earrann* and *gart* is suggested by an entry in the charter of 1427 granting the earldom of Menteith to Malise Graham by James I: *terras de Gartmulne et de Ernemul* (NAS GD220/1/C/3/1). In 1489 there is reference to *Gartmulze* and *Myllyn* (RMS ii no 1861). *Myllyn* is now **Malling** PMH from ScG *muileann* 'mill', which is on record in 1261 as *Muyline* (TNA C.66/76)<sup>102</sup> and on Stobie's map of Perthshire with Clackmannan of 1783 **Gartmoulin** is shown near Malling. *Ernemul* must

<sup>102</sup> This document is held in the English National Archives: (Patent Roll, 45 Henry III), m.4, *inspeximus* of 20 Sept 1261. This document is also published in RRS ii, no. 519 (comment), Fraser *Menteith* ii, 214-15, and CDS i, nos. 2275-6

have been the ‘portion of the mill’ while **Gartmoulin** was the ‘enclosed field or settlement of the mill’. It may be that *Gartmoulin* was the mill-land belonging to the secular lord, i.e. earl of Menteith, while *Ernemul* was the mill-land belonging to **Inchmahome**. Why **Gartmoulin** survived into the 18<sup>th</sup> C and *Ernemul* did not is not clear, but it may be to do with the area around Malling becoming wholly secular land, and perhaps *Ernemul* was given to the earl of Menteith, perhaps in exchange for other lands elsewhere in Menteith or PMH.

Cynthia Neville states that *gart* is Brittonic, and that along with the ‘elements such as *ach* [and] *baile*...testify to the antiquity of crop farming’ in the valleys of the Leven, Endrick and Blane in the earldom of Lennox (Neville 2005, 81). While it is certainly true that *gart* is related to Welsh *garth* ‘field, enclosure’ (Watson 1926, 198), it seems unlikely that it is the Brittonic version of the word which is being used here. It is probable that Neville was influenced by W.J. Watson in this regard. In trying to make sense of the large cluster of *gart*-names mainly in the area to the east of Glasgow, including places such as Gartcosh and Gartsherrie, Watson thought the prevalence of the element there ‘may be due to British influence’ probably in view of the fact that this area was in the old kingdom of Strathclyde, but adds the caveat ‘though of course *gort*, *gart* of Gaelic and *garth* of Welsh both mean ‘field, enclosure’ (Watson 1926, 198).

The *gart*-names of Menteith do not form a contiguous block like those in Clackmannanshire. Instead there are several clusters of *gart*-names within Menteith: a group of ten spreads out south-westwards from Lake of Menteith straddling the border of PMH and AFE, and includes **Gartmoulin**, **Gartlebruck Gartrenich**, **Gartur**, **Garkechan** and **Gartledenye**, now **Hilton**, in PMH, and **Gartartan**, **Gartmore**, **Gartloaning**, and **Crinigart** in AFE. There is another cluster of five around Callander; **Gart**, *Gartcosh*, *Achnagarn*,<sup>103</sup> **Gartchonzie**, and **Gartenjore**, with a group of three in the east near Kincardine kirk; **Gartincaber**, **Gartoch**, and **Tollgart**. A further group of three lies in the west at the western side of Loch Ard,

<sup>103</sup> *Achnagarn* may not be a gart-name, but may be ScG *càrn* with nasalisation in gen. plural ‘of the cairns’.

**Couligarten**, **Gartnerichnich**, and Barr a' Ghartain. Kippen may also have three *gart*-names, **Shirgarton**, and possibly **Wester Blairgorts**<sup>104</sup> and **Garden**. There are three isolated *gart*-names, one at **Culligart** AFE and one at **Gartnasail** in the uplands of PMH, with **Greingart**, possibly with ScG *grian* 'sun' as the specific, near Row KMA, mentioned in 1639 (*Retours PER* no. 486). Another possible now lost example is named *Garnimpy* and shown on Stobie in the barony of **Cessintully** KMA.

These are not the only *gart*-names in the vicinity: immediately over the border in Drymen STL and in the earldom of Lennox between the River Forth and the watershed with the Endrick Water are at least another thirteen. On the southern side of the Forth-Endrick watershed, stretching from Killearn in the east to near Balloch on Loch Lomond-side in the west, there is another group of at least sixteen.

### *Keir*

In Menteith there are a number of small mounds often containing the remains of a fortification of some kind. Many of these mounds have the element *keir* in their name. In Menteith they are found mainly in KPN, where there are five such places: Keir Brae of Garden, Keir Hill of Dasher, Keir Knowe of Drum, Keir Hill of Glentirran, and Keir Knowe of Arnmore. On the southern boundary of KPN, in Balfron parish, is Keir Knowe of Glinns. In PMH, near **Easter Tarr**, is Keirhead with the remains of a fort called Keir, while the remains of a possible motte called Keir can be found at nearby **Mid Borland** PMH. There is also a Keir Hill near **Cardross** PMH. The element *keir* is problematic; it had been thought that names containing *keir* were derived from Brit., Pictish or ScG \**cair* 'fort'. That may indeed be the case for simplex names that can be dated reasonably early, such as Keir near Dunblane PER, on record as *Kere* from at least 1477 (*RMS ii* no. 888); however, many of the *keir*-names in Menteith

<sup>104</sup> Although see above under *blàr* where it is suggested that the *gort* element may actually be ScG *grod* 'putrid, stinking'.

contain the Scots generics *hill* or *knowe*, making it likely that *keir* had been borrowed into Scots, perhaps as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> C, and that we are not dealing with Brit., Pictish, or ScG \**cair* in this area (see also Taylor, forthcoming; Taylor, *PNF* v, Elements Glossary, forthcoming). The earliest occurrence of the forts of KPN and PMH being called *keirs* is in *OSA* for KPN in 1795 (*OSA* vxiii, 329). An earlier word for these remains, at least in **Kippen** KPN, may have been ScG *ceapan*, diminutive of *ceap* 'block, small, conspicuous hill'.

#### Baile and toun and language change (see Maps 13 and 14)

A major development in the history of the earldom was the change in language from Gaelic to Scots. There is often an assumption that changes in place-name generics relate to population movement rather than language shift among existing inhabitants, but this does not seem to be borne out by the evidence in Menteith. What was happening in Menteith in the medieval period, and presumably over much of Scotland, especially in the Lowland/Highland boundary area, is not a movement of population, but a change in the language of that population from Gaelic to Scots, and this can be shown in the place-names. However, that change took a long time to take effect over the whole earldom.

The reason for commenting on both these place-name elements together will become clearer as we proceed, but, simply put, while it is generally held that ScG *baile* will often be earlier than Sc *toun*, the chronology of these two elements in Menteith is not quite so clear cut over the whole of the earldom as it would be in other parts of Scotland, such as the Highlands. As we shall see, both elements could be used to coin place-names in Menteith at the same time. However, there are undoubtedly cases where it is highly likely that a *baile*-name in Lowland Menteith is of an earlier date than a *toun*-name, particularly if they are in the same area. Examples include **Balmeanoch** KPN being earlier than **Jennywoodston** in the same parish, and similarly **Ballanucater** PMH would be considered an earlier formation than nearby **Norrieston** KRD simply because Scots had replaced Gaelic in the lowland portion of

Menteith probably by the Protestant Reformation of 1560 if not before, and therefore we would expect a *baile*-name in this area to be of earlier date than a *toun*-name.

To deal with *baile*-names first, there are or were 23 names with this generic in Menteith, the earliest on record is **Balleich** AFE. Most *baile*-names conform to those found in other parts of Scotland including Fife, for example, in that they are the *baile* of something, whether that something is a topographical feature, e.g crags in **Ballachraggan** CLD, a personal name, Gilbert in **Balgibbon** CLD or MacLaughlan in **Balvalachlan** CLD (by far the largest number of *baile*-names in Fife contain personal names), or an occupation, *fùcadair* ‘waulker, fuller’ in **Ballanucater** PMH. However, there are four **Balbegs** in PMH and three **Balmeanochs** in the earldom, one each in PMH, CLD, and KPN. This situation is not paralleled in Fife. The **Balbegs** are not tounships in their own right, in contrast, for example, to **Ballachraggan** CLD on record from 1450 or *Ballynmolyn* (\*Baile Mhulin) (*ER* v, 476, dated 1451), now **Milton of Callander**, but rather the **Balbegs** are or seem to be the equivalent of something like *little-toun* in Scots. In other words, they are divisions of existing places, i.e. **Cardross**, **Ruskie**, **Rednoch**, and what is now **Invertrossachs**,<sup>105</sup> all of which would presumably have been the *baile mòr*. We may be looking at something similar to the situation in CLA where Dollarbeg was a division of Dollar, and perhaps alternative names for these Balbeg places were \*Ruskybeg, \*Rednockbeg, or some such. Similarly, **Balmeanoch**, the equivalent of Scots Middleton, is the *middle-toun* of an existing place, namely **Leny**, **Buchlyvie** and **Rednock**. These seem to be late formations of *baile* names despite them all being in the lowland parts of Menteith, and are perhaps indications of a vibrant Gaelic language still being spoken in the later Middle Ages at a time when we might have expected Scots to have taken over.

From the 15th C we begin to get Scots *-toun* names, this generic having much the same meaning as ScG *baile*, ‘farm, settlement’. There is a reluctance among some of those who

<sup>105</sup> Roy shows a *Balrioch* as the prominent place in the NW corner of PMH. NSA asserts that the estate name was Drunkie (*NSA* x, 1108).

study rural settlement to use the term *toun* when referring to such settlements. The reason given is that there is confusion with the modern concept of a town as an urban settlement and that, as a result, ‘township’ is the preferred term for a farming unit (Dixon 2003, 55). But *toun* is a term that was used by medieval people themselves and as long as it is properly and clearly explained when writing about this type of settlement, the term should not provide too much of a barrier to understanding its use in rural settlement studies.

*Toun*-names in Menteith are concentrated within a 5km circle of **Thornhill** KRD, with a particular cluster in the barony of **Cessintully** just to the east of **Thornhill**. Some of the generics of *toun*-names clearly contain Gaelic surnames, but they may have been Scots speakers, although we must remember that Gaelic was still spoken in PMH just 5 miles to the west in 1724. Others contain Scots-surnames such as Young and Baxter. The earliest of the *toun*-names is the ephemeral **Donald-youngistoun** which is on record in 1488-9, and which then disappears when Donald Young's portion of **Cessintully** is sold to someone else. This exchange of lands is one reason for the appearance of new names in new languages. Also ephemeral, at least in name, is **Baxtertoune** KMA, on record from 1541 as *Baxtartoun* (*ER* xvii, 716). It was also known as **Boghall**, which it still is today. The other *toun*-names shown on the current OS map in the barony of **Cessintully** do not come on record until the 1520s but some of the surnames attached to them as specifics are found in the *Rentalia Domini Regis* in the *ER* dating from the 1480s and many continue to appear in these records until the mid 16<sup>th</sup> C. As regards **Mackeanston** KMA Donald McCane is on record from 1480 as a tenant in the lands of *Sessintuly*. **Mackreiston** KMA dates from 1527 (*RMS* iii no. 450), although there are no MacRaes, or variants of that name, on record in *Rentalia Domini Regis* for the barony of **Cessintully**, but Donald MacRath<sup>106</sup> was a tenant in *Eister Cammis* KMA in 1480 (*ER* ix, 564). Regarding **McOrriston** KMA, Thomas and Forsith McCorane are tenants in the lands of **Cessintully** in 1480 (*ER* ix, 566), but the place itself dates only to 1528 (*Makcorrestoun RMS*

<sup>106</sup> Black has Macrae as a variant of Macrath (1946, 560).

iii no. 626). **Munnieston** KMA also dates from 1528 (*Munnowstoun RMS* iii no. 626), although there is no-one with that name in *Rentalia Domini Regis* or elsewhere. It may be that this is a surname based on the Gaelic word for monk, *manach*, and so this may have been land originally belonging to Inchmahome, but there is no record of it being such. **Murdieston** KMA dates from 1527 (*Murdestoun RMS* iii no. 450); there are a number of people from whom the settlement is perhaps named; Murdach Smyth was a tenant of **Cessintully** from at least 1480 to 1488 (*ER* ix, 566, *ER* x, 635). In 1484 Johannes Murthoson becomes a tenant (*ER* ix, 599), while in 1486 Murthoch Kessokissone and Kessok Murthauson are both mentioned as tenants in **Cessintully** (*ER* ix, 627). The possibility is that all these people mentioned above are 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> generation descendants of Gaelic speakers, but, based on the Scots patronymics, probably all spoke Scots by this time. As Simon Taylor has noted for Fife in the 13<sup>th</sup> C ‘for place-names to become Scots in this...period, it clearly needed not just a Scots-speaking laird, but also the proximity of a Scots-speaking community’ (Taylor 1994, 104). Quite how Scots ended up the dominant language in this part of Menteith by the late 15<sup>th</sup> C is not clear, but changes in tenure and in tenants, perhaps due to the lands changing hands as they were feued to followers of the kings or other dominant landlords, such as the earl of Moray, must be a possibility.

Other *toun*-names outside the barony of **Cessintully** include nearby **Norrieston** KRD, named after the Norries, one of whose number, Robert Norry, was a servant (*servitori*) to James II in 1450 (*RMS* ii no. 321) and who was a witness to the collection of rents in Menteith in 1453 (*ER* v, 596). The place comes on record rather late, *Norrieston* (1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78), but like many of the place-names of Menteith, this may be more to do with those imperfect source materials rather than late settlement formation. Norry’s descendants became major landholders in Menteith, and nearby **Boquhapple** KRD was in the hands of James Nory in 1471 (*ER* viii, 70). In PMH is **Lennieston**, on record from 1637 (*Lenistoun RMS* ix no. 681), but who the eponymous Lennie was is unknown. There are at least three

possibilities: the settlement may somehow relate to the medieval parish of **Leny**, which was a fragmented parish before its incorporation into CLD and PMH, or it may have borne some kind of proprietorial relationship to the Buchanans of **Leny**, or it could simply be the name of a tenant who has not made it into the historical record. **Watston** KMA is another early *toun*-name, on record from at least 1491 as *Wat Doggistoun* and *Wat Smy[th]toun* (NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v). Walter Dog<sup>107</sup> was ‘camerarii de Menteith’ in 1471 and it was probably he who had been husband to Elizabeth Nory of **Boquhapple** in 1480 (*ER* ix, 563). Walter Smyth was a tenant in *Collach*, probably **Coldoch**, or part of it, in 1480 (*ER* ix, 563). It is not clear which ‘Wat’ was the tenant at **Watston**, and indeed it is not clear if the specific, i.e. ‘Wats’, is a genitive singular or plural; it may be that **Watston** was farmed by both men. **Deanston** only comes on record in 1585 (*Denstoun RMS* v no. 842), but if it was the settlement of the dean of Dunblane Cathedral, then it must date to before the Reformation of 1560. *Murdieston* CLD, a farm on what are now the grounds of the Roman Camp Hotel in Callander, is late on record, 1775 so far as I can gather (NAS E777/313/105); it is now commemorated in a street-name in the town. The late appearance need not necessarily equal a late foundation; after all nearby **Balgibbon** CLD first appears in the same source. It is notable that **Arngibbon** KPN first appears in 1503 (*RMS* ii no. 2753), and it is possible that **Balgibbon** also dates from at least this time or perhaps earlier.

The earliest recorded *toun*-name in Menteith is **Milton of Callander** CLD, and it is with this name we see the direct translation of *baile* to *toun*. In 1451 the original name of the settlement was *Ballynmolyn* (*ER* v, 476). Ten years later the settlement became *Myltoune* (*ER* vii, 51), at least in administrative terms for the rent collectors of the Exchequer, but it almost certainly remained *Baile Mhuilinn* to the local Gaelic speakers, since what is now Milton Glen Burn, where the mill received its power, was until 1895 called *Allt Gleann Baile Mhuilinn*. Other early *toun*-names can be found in AFE. In 1489 there is *Kirkton de Abirfull* (**Kirkton**

<sup>107</sup> See Chapter 6 for a short discussion of this surname.

AFE) and *le Myltoun de Abirfull* (**Milton** AFE) (*RMS* ii no. 1862). Next to **Kirkton**, shown on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6-inch map in 1863, was a stone circle called the ‘Clachan’. However, *clachan* can also be a ScG term for kirkton (MacBain 1911, 85; MacDonald 1987). Rather later on record are **Hardiston** KPN (*Hardistoun* c.1750 Roy 26) and **Jennywoodston** KPN (*Janniewoodstown* 1756 NAS RHP 3479). In 1693 there is mention of ‘parte terrarum de *Arnefinlay* occupata per Robertum Hardie’ (*Retours PER* no. 993). This ‘part of the lands of **Arnefinlay**’ seems to have later become Hardiston. Other *toun*-names tend to be sub-divisions of existing places, e.g. **Netherton** KRD is the ‘lower toun’ of either **Norrieston** or **Boquhapple**.

While Scots was becoming the dominant language of Menteith, particularly the Lowland part, Gaelic was still spoken in much of the earldom; one *baile*-name provides a hint that Gaelic place-names did not suddenly stop being coined in the later Middle Ages in Menteith. In KMA there is what is now a field name called **Balmacansh**. This is shown as a settlement called *Ballacauich* on Stobie’s map of 1783, but is on record from at least 1670 (*Ballicavis, Retours PER* no. 809). What is notable here is that Donald McCawis appears in the *Rentalia Domini Regis* as a tenant in the lands of **Aiglesteinston** and **Ballachraggan** KMA from 1480, c. 1.5 km NW of **Balmacansh**. This is exactly the same time as Forsith McCoran *et al* are being named as tenants in the barony of **Cessintully**, and who are giving their names to *toun*-names in that area. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that at around the time when Scots *toun*-names were being formed south of the River Teith, *baile*-names were still being coined north of the river. It is not known whether the Gaelic surnames south of the Teith, such as McCane or McCoran, are of Gaelic speakers or speakers of Scots with Gaelic surnames. Nevertheless, the likelihood that Donald McCawis, probably the eponym behind **Balmacansh**, was Gaelic-speaking is high, and certainly higher than for someone residing in the barony of **Cessintully**, such as Donald McCane. However, south of the river Teith, we may have another late *baile* formation, this time in CLD. **Balvalachlan** only comes on record in 1662, but much like the

MacRaes of **Mackrieston**, mentioned above, MacLaughlans are attested elsewhere in Menteith in the Middle Ages; Gillespy McLachlan was a tenant of **Auchinhard** CLD in 1484 (*ER* ix, 595), while Walter Maklauchlane held **Letter** in **Strathgartney** CLD in 1546 (*ER* xviii, 401).

### *Conclusion*

Rural settlement studies are often hampered from giving a full picture of how people used the land in the Middle Ages. Researchers in this multi-disciplinary field are, like most historical disciplines, restricted as to what they can achieve due to the limitations of their sources, whether it is archaeological evidence, which has often disappeared because of constant development, or documentary evidence, which is often fragmentary or just plain vague. Many researchers cite the potential of place-names as a way of helping them understand the medieval countryside, but, due to lack of specialists, this potential is, as stated above, very rarely taken further. Also, it is a feature of place-name studies themselves to focus on a particular generic and this is often examined in isolation, in terms of its distribution, rather than in the context of neighbouring place-names, landscape and environment, and lordship. While this is often very necessary to understand the nature of the generic, hopefully it can be seen from the above by discussing a number of different types of place-names in a regional context, that place-names have a great deal to offer researchers in rural settlement studies. But it is important to realise that to be effective in this regard, there is a need not only to properly evaluate the meanings of the place-names themselves, but also to get down not just to regional level, but also to parochial or late medieval baronial level to find out what is happening on the ground, so to speak, and until we do that we are potentially missing a large and important part of the history of Scotland's people.

## Chapter 6

### *Case Study: Place-names and the Medieval Church in Menteith*

Like many areas of Scotland, and indeed Europe, Menteith had a multi-layered religious experience. The most significant institution in medieval Europe was undoubtedly the Roman Catholic Church. The multifaceted evidence of the medieval Church in Menteith includes early Christian establishments, saints' cults, diocesan organisation, parishes, monasticism, lands given to the Church, and church officials from bishops to relic-keepers. The most visible aspect remaining today is medieval monasticism as represented by **Inchmahome** Priory, which occupies the largest island in the **Lake of Menteith**. Along with Dunblane Cathedral it was the religious focus of the district, but, as shall be seen, the institution whose remains are to be seen today is not the first establishment to be based on the island. The importance of organised religion can be appreciated by the number of place-names in Menteith that have, or potentially have, a religious element to them. There are at least sixty-six place-names in the earldom of Menteith that have elements with ecclesiastical connotations, including two elements that may denote lands belonging to the priory of Inchmahome; *arn-*, deriving from ScG *earrann* 'portion, share', of which there are eighteen, and thirteen names containing Sc *offers/offerance*-names or ScG *aifroinn* 'offering; mass'. The remnants of religious life contained within these place-names deal primarily with churches, chapels, and places that provided food, fuel, shelter, and livings for priests and other churchmen, as well as places of those who provided services for the Church, the parishioners, and others, such as pilgrims.

Menteith's position in the diocese of Dunblane has been outlined above (p.22-3) of this thesis. Within the diocese of Dunblane there were at least thirty-seven parishes before the Protestant Reformation of 1560. Of these, perhaps only between nine and twelve were in the

deanery of Menteith, reflecting the greater wealth and pre-eminence of Strathearn. The Menteith parishes were: **Aberfoyle**, **Callander**, Dunblane, **Kilmadock**, **Kilmahog**, **Kincardine**, **Kippen**, Leny, and **Port-of-Menteith**. It is possible that Logie STL, Tillicoultry CLA, and Tullibody CLA may also have been in the deanery, but there is no information regarding the composition of the Dunblane deaneries.<sup>108</sup>

The existence of an early church at Dunblane is indicated by three factors. First, and most visible, is the square tower incorporated into the south aisle of the cathedral. This was originally a free standing tower built in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fawcett 2002, 70),<sup>109</sup> although there seems to have been a building attached to the north side (Hughes 1933, 16), where there is a raggle for a roof etched into the tower.<sup>110</sup> The cathedral itself was mostly built after 1237 (Fawcett 2002, 35), but the tower was incorporated into it, despite sitting at an angle which is out of harmony with the rest of the building. It seems probable that if there was any significant group of clergy at Dunblane they may have been members of the *Céli Dé*, or at least influenced by them (Donaldson 1985, 5), although ‘their presence cannot be authenticated’ (Cowan and Easson 1976, 204). We know there was a group of these monks at Muthill (MacQuarrie 1992, 128). Muthill also had a square tower which has been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fawcett 2002, 72), indicating that, like Dunblane, it was also an important church. The second factor in determining an early church at Dunblane is the existence within the cathedral of an early medieval cross carved in relief on one side of a stone slab with a ‘confused’ scene on the reverse, with a figure on a horse and a ‘free standing cross of the Irish Type’ (Ritchie and Breeze 1991, 27). The cross has Pictish features, but its peculiar pattern

<sup>108</sup> Neither Cowan (1967) nor McNeill and MacQueen (1996) give the deaneries of Dunblane diocese, unlike, for example, the diocese of St Andrews, and it is not possible to be sure at this point whether Logie, Tullibody and Tillicoultry actually were in the deanery of Menteith.

<sup>109</sup> But see also MacQuarrie (1992, 128) where he says the tower may be of an 11<sup>th</sup> century date, and Driscoll (2002, 47) who suggests a date of ‘around 1100’. Fawcett based his dating on the Romanesque features of the arches in the windows in the belfry and the door on the north-side of the tower (Fawcett 1997, 20). He dates the tower at Muthill to a similar date based also on the romanesque features of the windows in the belfry.

<sup>110</sup> My thanks to Mhairi-Claire Semple for information regarding the tower at Dunblane. For greater discussion on the early medieval tower at Dunblane, see Semple (2009, especially Chapter 5)

may indicate a Gaelic influence (Driscoll 2002, 47). The third factor is the place-name Dunblane itself. It is in the *Chronicles of the Kings of Alba* as *Dulblaan*,<sup>111</sup> and the context is an attack on Dunblane by the Britons in the second quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> C (Britanni autem concremauerunt *Dulblaan* ‘also the Britons burned Dunblane’) (Anderson 1980, 250; *ES* i, 288; Woolf 2007a, 194), showing that Dunblane was already a significant place (Macquarrie 2001, 112). Dunblane is also found in the later notes added to *Féilire Óengusso Céli Dé* as ‘*Dul Blaan* a primhchathair’<sup>112</sup> composed in the 12<sup>th</sup> C (Stokes 1905, 184-5). These early forms contain Pictish or British \**dul* or \**dol* ‘haugh, ‘water-meadow’, which often combine with saints’ names, perhaps meaning that the produce of a water-meadow containing a saint’s dedication may have gone to the upkeep of a church devoted to that saint. The \**dul* /\**dol* in this case may be the flat land immediately west across the Allan Water from the cathedral, or perhaps on the eastern side of the river, just to the south of the cathedral. There is no record of the generic *dùn* ‘fort’ until 1161 when it is *Dunblain* (*RRS* i, no. 182), although in a 14<sup>th</sup> C copy of an English manuscript<sup>113</sup> dating to 1155 it is *Dubblan* (Cockburn 1938, 15). The specific element is the saint’s name Bláán. This obscure saint is supposed to have founded a bishopric at Kingarth on Bute (Yorke 2006, 115). Nothing is known of him beyond the legends described in Forbes (*Kalendars*, 280), MacKinlay (1914, 111-13), and Macquarrie (2001), and taken mainly or wholly from the *Aberdeen Breviary*, but these need not concern us here. Clancy has put forward the idea that the Bláán dedication at Dunblane is part of a movement eastwards of the cults of Cowal saints in the 8<sup>th</sup> C as Gaelic speakers moved out of their Dál Riata heartlands and into Pictish and British territories (Clancy 2004, 140; Woolf 2007a, 102, 116). Macquarrie, however, adds that the importance of Bláán’s cult may not have been prominent in Strathearn and Menteith until the 12<sup>th</sup> C (Macquarrie 2001, 113).

<sup>111</sup> ‘perhaps altered to *Dulblain*’ (Anderson 1980, 250 footnote 128).

<sup>112</sup> *Primhchathair* is translated by Stokes as ‘chief monastery’.

<sup>113</sup> British Museum Cottonian Manuscripts, Cleopatra C IV. The document is a Papal Bull by Adrian IV to the bishops of Scotland in 1155. It is also printed in Hadden and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. ii, pt 1, 231-2, but they have the bishop of Dunblane as *La* (for Laurence), not *M.* as Cockburn (1938), Somerville (1982, 40-1), and *Fasti* (Watt and Murray) have.

The ecclesiastical focus of Menteith was undoubtedly the priory at **Inchmahome**. The priory was founded around 1238 by Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, possibly due to the settlement between Comyn and Bishop Clement of Dunblane over rights in a number of Menteith churches (*Inchaffray Liber* xxix-xxxii; Young 2005, 75). However, a reason more sympathetic to Comyn might emphasise the fact that in the 13<sup>th</sup> C founding a monastic house was an indication of his piety. There are other examples in Scotland of magnates founding religious houses, including Inchaffray by Gilbert, earl of Strathearn in 1200. Another reason why Comyn might want to found a monastery in his new earldom might be because he 'wanted that symbol of territorial stability – a religious house where [he] would be honoured as founder and patron' (Southern 1970, 244). Tied into this territoriality, and pertinent in the case of someone from an immigrant family taking over a 'native' earldom, was the belief that God might be able to help defend 'a weak title to land' (Davis 1998, 253). The architectural history of **Inchmahome** Priory has been surveyed by MacGibbon and Ross (1896),<sup>114</sup> Gifford and Walker (2002, 537-40), and Fawcett (1994 and 2002). For the Augustinians the island of **Inchmahome** made an ideal retreat from the secular world while remaining near centres of population which enabled the priory to be in close proximity to those to whom it offered pastoral care, and to its source of wealth, i.e. the land and the people who worked upon it. There was a religious structure of some kind, perhaps a parish church (Cowan and Easson 1976, 91), on **Inchmahome** before the foundation of the priory in 1238. In 1189 x 1198,<sup>115</sup> Malcolm, parson of **Inchmahome** (*Malcolmo persona de Insula Macholem*) witnessed a charter of Cambuskenneth (*Camb. Reg.* no. 122). Hutchison (1899, 133) states that there was a 'Culdee settlement' on the island before the Augustinians built their priory, but there is no medieval evidence for this. Hutchison, however, was writing in an age when any group of clerics not of the reformed orders tended to be labelled 'Celtic' or 'Culdee'. What is not clear is

<sup>114</sup> MacGibbon and Ross state that the church at Inchmahome bears a 'striking resemblance to Dunblane Cathedral', but on a smaller scale (1896 vol. ii, 115).

<sup>115</sup> In *Camb. Reg.* the date of this charter is 1210, but Gilbert Márkus has recently dated it to 1189 x 1198.

whether Malcolm the parson was the only cleric on Inchmahome at this time or whether he was part of a group of clerics like the *personae* mentioned in the Augustinian's Account of the St Andrews Foundation Legend (Taylor, *PNF* iii, 602, 608).<sup>116</sup> The combination of island and religious house has parallels elsewhere in Scotland, for example, Iona, Inchcolm, Isle of May, Isle of Loch Tay priory, and most notably at St Serf's Island in Loch Leven where a *Céli Dé* establishment was taken over by Augustinians from St Andrews (Veitch 1999). Nevertheless, while there are certain similarities between places such as Lochleven Priory and St Andrews regarding the combination of *Céli Dé*, *personae*, and Augustinians, the evidence for this combination at Inchmahome is at best only circumstantial as well as being analogical.

The name **Inchmahome** commemorates an early medieval saint. It had been thought by modern writers that the island and the church on it were named after St Colmán of Druim Mór (Drumore) in County Down (Forbes, *Kalandars*, 304-5; MacKinlay 1904, 298-9; MacKinlay 1914, 93; Watson 1926, 279). These writers may have based their knowledge on the *Aberdeen Breviary* and the *Martyrology of Aberdeen*, liturgical books dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> C. In the *Aberdeen Breviary* it is written:

‘...in cuius eciam honore monasterium quod Inchmaholmoch dicitur Dunblenensis dioceses solenniter est (...in his [Colmán's] honour the monastery of Inchmahome, in the diocese of Dunblane was solemnly dedicated)’ (*Aberdeen Breviarium* fol.cii).

The *Martyrology of Aberdeen* states:

‘vij. Idus Junij.—In Scotia Sancti Colmoci episcopi et confessoris apud Inchmahomo – sepultus de quo in insula monasterium canonicorum regulare vita patrocinante Colmoco Deo famulancium vbi tanto iocundius celebrantur sua natalicia quanto salubrius claruerunt eius miracula (In Scotland (the feast) of St Colman bishop and confessor buried at Inchmahome; in the island there is regular monastery of canons

<sup>116</sup> Rogers (1997, 77-9) discusses this problem of the definition of *persona*, and states that ‘it seems that persona or parson was adopted into Scottish legal terminology [in the 12<sup>th</sup> C] only with the precise meaning of parish priest...’. Taylor (2009, 608, n. 336) discusses more recent thinking.

serving God under the patronage of this Colmocus, where the more agreeably his birthday is celebrated, the more beneficially his miracles will shine' (*Aberdeen Martyrology* in Laing 1854-7, 264).<sup>117</sup>

As well as being dedicated to saints (and objects) culted locally, e.g. Inchcolm and Columba, St Andrews and Andrew, and the Holy Rood or Cross at Holyrood, an Augustinian establishment was usually dedicated to either Christ, Mary or the Apostles, and **Inchmahome**, like Cambuskenneth is dedicated to Mary. I have found no written evidence for a Mary dedication for **Inchmahome**, but a drawing of the seal of the priory shows Mary with the infant Jesus on her knee (MacGregor Stirling 1815, 111; Hutchison 1899, 131; MacKinlay 1910, 161). It was not unusual for Mary to be associated with another saint at Scottish monastic houses; she was, for example, paired with Cuthbert at Coldingham and Machutus at Lesmahagow (Hammond 2010). In the later Middle Ages at least the Augustinian priory was also dedicated to Colmán, which indicates that the Augustinians wished to commemorate the saint they saw as the founder of the original religious establishment on the island. The seal mentioned above also shows the figure of a bishop, which is probably meant to represent St Colmán. In reality, however, the allegiance to Colmán is actually evidence of a late dedication, as it post-dates the foundation of the priory in c.1238. Indeed, the Bollandist scholar, Paul Grosjean, called it 'une invention médiévale' (Grosjean 1961, 345), and Ronald Black believes that it was 'unlikely that popular tradition distinguished Colmán from St Columba' (Black 2000, 19), although Herbert believes Colmán is the 'likeliest candidate for patron of **Inchmahome'** (Herbert 2008, 263).

St Colmán was founder and bishop of the see of Druim Mór possibly in the fifth C (Muhr 1996, 104), although according to a Life of Colmán composed in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> C, he was a contemporary of St Patrick, Colum Cille, and a teacher of St David of Wales (Herbert 2008, 255). There is no link with Scotland in the Life (Grosjean 1961, 344; Herbert 2008). The

<sup>117</sup> My grateful thanks to Dr Simon Taylor for his help with this translation.

Colmán connection seems to come through the influence of St Malachy, the 12<sup>th</sup> C Irish reformer (Barrow 2001, 163-5; Duncan 1975, 150). Malachy, bishop of Down, the diocese where Druim Mór is located, and a papal legate (Herbert 2008, 258), had visited the Augustinian abbey of Arrouaise, and then David I at Carlisle on his journey back to Ireland from Rome in 1140. It is surely significant that shortly afterwards David founded an Augustinian house based on the Arrouaise model at Cambuskenneth. It is possible that Cambuskenneth, the nearest Augustinian house to **Inchmahome**, was the source of clergy to populate **Inchmahome**, and from the monastery near Stirling came the idea that Colmán of Druim Mór was the saint behind **Inchmahome** (Herbert 2008, 261).

If the original dedication is not Colmán of Druim Mór, then who is the saint behind **Inchmahome**? Simon Taylor has argued cogently that the saint in question is probably St Columba (Taylor 2000, 114). There are several Columba dedications on the route from Iona to Lindisfarne, and one of these, Taylor suggests, is **Inchmahome**, the ‘island of Mo-Cholmóc’ (Taylor 2000, 114-5). What seems to have happened is that the Augustinians had arrived at a place with a saint embedded in its name, and perhaps not being entirely sure who it was, consulted with their Irish counterparts who suggested Colmán of Druim Mór based on evidence from their calendars of saints (Herbert 2008, 262-3).

This is a good opportunity to debunk a myth which still has currency today. In 1815 William MacGregor Stirling, minister of Port-of-Menteith, wrote he had been ‘informed by good authorities’ that **Inchmahome** ‘signifies Isle of Rest’ (MacGregor Stirling 1815, 32). He added ‘this etymology,<sup>118</sup> harmonising so well with monastic retirement, the writer has, by

<sup>118</sup> In a footnote he states ‘the Gaelic, in which the *t* is quiescent, is Inschemathamhe’. It is worth writing fully his comments from later in his book regarding the name Inchmahome. ‘Insche-ma-chame, or Innis-mo-thamh, ‘Isle of my Rest’ was probably the name in pagan times. We may account for the subsequent change to Inchmahome, or Inchmahomo, by supposing it a Latinised and monkish corruption of the original Gaelic. Or say, it is a corruption of Saint Colmock, which might have been translated, *ma*, ‘good’ and *chamhe*, ‘Colmocus’; we may admit the possibility of a corruptive coalition of the pagan and Christian, the Gaelic and the Latin names. It seems impossible to say which of them might, or might not, by the negligence of a Saxon scribe, have been transformed into Inchmaquomock (sic). [The writer] not being a Gaelic scholar, he submits to the forgoing conjectures with due diffidence. They may be so far useful, should they lead to discussion among competent judges’ (MacGregor Stirling 1815, 119-20).

poetic licence, availed himself' (*ibid.*). What is most interesting regarding the meaning 'Isle of Rest' is that while toponymists such as MacKinlay, Watson, and Taylor do not mention or consider this derivation, and thereby implicitly reject it, the current official guide to the priory produced by Historic Scotland mentions it three times within its 32 pages (Carver 2003, 3, 17, 19).<sup>119</sup> The irony is that MacGregor Stirling retracted this dubious derivation himself in the early 19<sup>th</sup> C. Hutcheson (1899, 76-7) states that:

Mr. M'Gregor Stirling himself eventually gave up his cherished derivation from *Innis-mo-thamb*, and with it, of course, the poetical interpretation *Isle of my Rest*. In a manuscript addition to his *Notes on Inchmahome* ...he says, 'This etymology [*Innis-mo-thamb*] must give way to Isle of St. Columba, or St. Cholmoc.'<sup>120</sup>

MacGregor Stirling confirms this in a report which became the basis for NSA for PMH,<sup>121</sup> writing '[t]he island of St Columba, as *Inch-ma-home* is supposed to signify...' (NSA x, 1097). Only once in the current Historic Scotland guide is there a reference that the island priory may be dedicated to a saint, St Colmán (Carver 2003, 17). If place-names are to be taken seriously by members of the public and others interested in history, then toponymists need to try and ensure the guardians of Scotland's heritage do not mislead the public with what is nothing more than spurious romanticism.

There were apparently four chapels attached to the priory (NSA x, 1105; Hutchison 1899, 141; Carver 2003, 19): at **Inchie** PMH (NS592999), where there is a chapel marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map; **Arnchly** PMH (now lost, but was at NS554998), might have as its specific ScG *claidhe* 'burial', and where there is an old burial ground marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map; Chapelarroch DRY (NS517958), from ScG *caibeal làraich* 'ruined chapel'. It is 300 m N of

<sup>119</sup> See p.3 '...Inchmahome, otherwise known as 'the isle of rest'.

p.17 'THE STORY OF INCHMAHOME: The Isle of Rest'.

p.19 'Known also as the 'Isle of Rest...''

<sup>120</sup> MacGregor Stirling was not convinced about the Columba dedication being Columba of Iona, but rather he thought it was 'A saint of the name of Columba, and whose birth was English and noble, is mentioned by Fordun as having been buried at Dunblane about the year 1000 A.D. (*Scotichronicon*, sub anno 1295)' (Hutchison 1899, 77).

<sup>121</sup> MacGregor Stirling died in 1833 (*Fasti* iv, 360).

Dalmary DRY, *dail Màiri* ‘haughland of (St) Mary’, and 400m W of Arns DRY, derived from ScG *earrann* ‘portion, share, division’, which, as we have seen above (p.160), may have been lands belonging to **Inchmahome**. The other chapel was Chapel of **Boquhapple** KRD, KMA (NN655005). **Boquhapple** is said to be ‘house [or *toun*] of the chapel’ (*NSA* x, 1105; Hutchison 1899, 141; MacKay 2003, 24), but as we have already noted above (p. 104), ScG *both chapall* (earlier *both chapuill*) ‘hut, sheiling of the horse/mare’ is to be preferred. This is not to say that there was no chapel of **Inchmahome** at **Boquhapple**, or indeed at the other three places mentioned above, but I have been unable to find references to them as chapels in medieval texts. The lands that owed rental to **Inchmahome** can be seen from a feu-rental dating from 1646 (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368). This rental shows twenty-nine places, most of which are situated to the SE of the priory in what became the barony of **Cardross**. After the monastery was built the parish church was then moved to the hamlet of **Port-of-Menteith**, where its successor still stands.

The parish churches were the bedrock of the Church in Menteith, as they were throughout Christendom. There are six parishes in Menteith today – AFE, CLD, KMA, KRD, KPN, and PMH, while in the Middle Ages there were also the parishes of **Leny** and **Kilmahog**, both of which were united with CLD in the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> C. It is not intended here to give a full history of all these churches, for we are more concerned with the place-names of an ecclesiastical nature in each parish. However, as a brief outline we should note when each parish church comes on record.

**Aberfoyle** is said to have been a monastery of Berach (of whom see p.156-7 below) in a 11<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> C *Life of Berach* (Plummer 1922, vol. i, 35). The church, which sits next to the Pow Burn, 500 m S of the present day village of **Aberfoyle**, is first noted in 1260 (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 213). The parsonage was a prebend of Dunblane Cathedral by 1500 (*RSS* i no. 595; Cowan 1967, 3), and may have been appropriated to **Inchmahome** at a date unknown (*Fasti* iv, 334).

The church of **Callander** was given to Bishop Clement of Dunblane as a mensal church for the cathedral by Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, in 1238 (McGregor Stirling 1815, 113-6; *Inchaffray Liber*, xxxii; Fraser, *Menteith* ii, no. 74; Cockburn 1959, 52). The medieval church of **Callander** stood near the mound marked on the current OS Explorer map as *Tom ma Chisaig* ‘mound of my Kessog’ at the northern end of the bridge of Callander. In 1771, despite wishing to ‘have the stance of the Kirk continued in the present Kirkyard’, the parishioners saw their church moved to the centre of modern day **Callander** (Thompson 1985, 18). Callander came to include the much smaller parishes of **Kilmahog** and **Leny**, both of which are discussed below. It is notable that **Callander** is not mentioned in Bagimond, while **Kilmahog** is (Bagimond’ Roll (Dunlop), 54, 71), which might suggest that **Kilmahog** was the principal church in this area. CLD is the largest parish in Menteith stretching from the watershed between Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine in the west to Uamh Bheag in the east, a distance of 35 km. It is also 13.5 km wide at its widest. Yet the three medieval parish churches of CLD, LXY, and KXM were within 2 km of each other at the eastern end of CLD near the modern town of **Callander**. This may have much to do with density of population, itself influenced by geography.<sup>122</sup>

First on record in Bagimond in 1274 as *Kylmadoc* (Bagimond’ Roll (Dunlop), 53, 72), the remains of the old church of **Kilmadock** are situated on a bluff above the confluence of the Annat Burn with the River Teith (NN706025). The church remained at the junction of the River Teith and Annat Burn until 1756, when a new church was built in **Doune**. The church was appropriated to **Inchmahome** before 1429 when the vicar’s teinds were appropriated to the chancellorship of Dunblane Cathedral (*CSSR* iii, 16; Cowan 1967, 102-3; Cockburn 1959, 52). The parish boundary of **Kilmadock** underwent a dramatic change in the south in 1891 in

<sup>122</sup> For a similar situation, see parish maps of Kilmorack and Kiltarlity INV in Crawford and Taylor (2003).

order to make a unified parish of **Kincardine** which had previously been split into two parts (Shennan 1892).

**Kincardine** first comes on record in 1189 x 1195 when it was appropriated to Cambuskenneth Abbey as gift of the king (*RRS* ii, no. 371). The modern church, built in 1814-16 (Gifford and Walker 2002, 238), is situated 200 m NW of a graveyard at NS721987. This graveyard is the resting place of the Muschets who first came to the area in reign of William I (*RRS* ii, no. 334), and is probably the site of the original church. It has been speculated recently that the burial enclosures in the churchyard today may contain the remains of the medieval nave and chancel (Oram and Fawcett 2008, KRD). The parish of **Kincardine** consisted of two parts prior to 1891. KMA reached the River Forth leaving the main, or eastern, part of **Kincardine**, centred on the parish church and **Blair Drummond**, separate from the western part, centred on **Boquhapple**, and later, **Thornhill**. At **Boquhapple** there was seemingly a chapel of **Inchmahome** (Hutchison 1899, 141). In 1891, KRD was joined together by transferring a portion of KMA to KRD. At the Reformation the manse and glebe extended to ‘aucht acres in toft and croft’, while the roof ‘in the midis betuix the body of the kirk and the queir has ane faltie couple and the thaking unclosit above the samin’ (Kirk 1984, 36).

The church of **Kippen** was thought to have been the ancient burial grounds of the indigenous earls of Menteith (*Camb. Reg.* cxxix; Hutchison 1899, 123). This may go some way to explaining why the parish was in Menteith, although as we have seen above (p.117), it may be that **Kippen** was assigned to the earldom to supplement the arable land, which, given the upland and boggy nature of much of the earldom, must have been in short supply. When it came into the possession of the earls of Menteith remains unknown. The location of the original church is puzzling. It may have been, as local tradition states, on the Keir Hill of **Dasher** at NS653951 (Begg 2000, 29), or it may have been where the ruins of the pre-

Reformation church stand c.300 m SE (Oram and Fawcett 2008, KPN).<sup>123</sup> This keir may have been the *ceapan* ‘small lump or hill’ from which the church, parish, and village took their name (see Kippen KPN for details). The church of **Kippen** was granted to the bishop of Dunblane by Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith as a prebend of Dunblane Cathedral in 1238 (Cowan 1967, 116; *Inchaffray Liber*, xxix – xxxii), although the earl retained the rights to patronage (*RMS* ii no. 2306). However, the church became the cause of a dispute between the cathedral and Cambuskenneth Abbey when in c.1286 Walter Stewart, successor to Comyn as earl of Menteith, granted the patronage and church to the abbey (Oram and Fawcett 2008, KPN). That there was a dispute is perhaps not too surprising, since while not a rich benefice, the church of **Kippen** was worth 3 merks when Bagimond visited in 1275, which compares with 2 merks for **Kilmadock**, 20 shillings for **Kilmahog**, and 2 pennies for Tulliallan, all in the same diocese of Dunblane (Bagimond’ Roll (Dunlop), 53-4). By the Reformation the church was ‘ruinus in wallis, ruff and thak’, and a ‘masoun, a wrycht and a sklattar’ were to be brought in to repair it (Kirk 1984, 10). Further repairs were done in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> C, before a new church was built in 1823-7.

After the priory of **Inchmahome** was built the location of the parish church of the area which appears to have stood on the island was moved to the hamlet of **Port-of-Menteith**, where its successor still stands. The parish church had been moved to Port by the mid-15<sup>th</sup> C, when there is a reference to the church of ‘Port’ (*CSSR* v no. 1158). The kirk was still annexed to the priory at the Reformation (Kirk 1995, 544, 548). By then the fabric of the kirk had ‘altogther decayit’, and the elders had to promise to ‘appoint craftsmen for repairing off the kirk in ruff and thakk’ (Kirk 1984, 11-12).

In Menteith there are three notable early church elements: *cill*, *annat*, and *\*eccles*. Indeed, KMA has all three within 4km of each other, which surely demands an attempt at an explanation. Many early church- or parish-names contain the names of saints as their

<sup>123</sup> See also RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NS69NE 1 and 2 for details.

specifics, while other parish churches which do not contain ecclesiastical-elements as part of their name, e.g. **Aberfoyle** or **Kippen**, were dedicated to saints. Where an early church-name has the name of a saint attached that saint will be discussed here. All other saints will be discussed under saints cults below. We will deal here with the element *cill* first. There are two places in Menteith containing this element: **Kilmadock** (KMA) and **Kilmahog** (KXM), with another, Kilbryde (KRX), just over the border from KMA in DLE. All three were parish centres in the medieval period. Only one – KMA – has survived as a parish into the modern era. Nearby, in Lennox, are two other *cill*-names, Killearn STL and Kilmaronock DNB, both parishes. It is thought that these belong to a group of early Gaelic church-names found in many parts of Scotland, although more often in the west. *Cill* is the dative-locative of OG *cell*, deriving from the Latin *cella*, meaning ‘cell, church’. The exact dating of their foundation is not clear, but Simon Taylor has said that there is evidence for *cill*-names in eastern Scotland ‘by the mid-eighth century’ (Taylor 1998, 3), although we should be clear that the date of a church’s foundation and the acquisition of its name need not always be the same.

Kilbryde (KRX) was not in Menteith in the Middle Ages, but was part of the lands of the Graham earls (1427-1694) through their ancestral Strathearn connection and so will be considered briefly here.<sup>124</sup> KRX was included in the deanery of Strathearn of Dunblane diocese. KRX commemorates St Bridget. Watson states that the original saint, Bridget of Kildare, who died in Ireland in the first half of the sixth century, was so popular that at least fifteen other saints took her name (Watson 1926, 161). The ancient church of Abernethy, also in Dunblane diocese, was apparently dedicated to St Brigid of Kildare (*ES* i, cxx-cxxi), although she developed the profile of St Brigid of Abernethy. What we are probably seeing in Kilbryde is a local manifestation of the cult of Brigid of Kildare. KRX comes on record c.1211, when Malise, parson of Kilbryde witnessed a charter by Bishop Abraham of Dunblane

<sup>124</sup> James I took the earldom of Strathearn from Malise Graham and gave him part of Menteith in 1427. See Chapter 4 for details.

(*Inchaffray Chrs*, no. 31), but the church was granted to Inchaffray Abbey, before 1219 when the grant was confirmed by Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn (*Inchaffray Chrs*, no. 39; Rogers 1992, 348-9). The remains of the church are located at NN756028, on the east bank of the Ardoch Burn. The parish was united with DXE before it could be mapped by the surveyors of the Improvement period of the late 18<sup>th</sup> C, and consequently it is now difficult to reconstruct with any accuracy. The parish was a barony until at least the seventeenth century,<sup>125</sup> and the lands of the barony may give us a clue as to the extent of the parish. When purchased by John Stirling in 1662, the barony included the modern farms of Nether Glastry (NN748044), Dalbrack (NN743051), Grainston (*Grayngetoun* in 1662 NN758033), and chapel-lands of *Bowtoun*<sup>126</sup> (Barty 1994, 134).<sup>127</sup> This estate straddles the Ardoch Burn, and lies to the west of a slight watershed which separates the burn, which drains into the Teith, from Strathallan and the parish of Dunblane (Rogers 1992, 349). The western border of the parish with KMA was formed by Allt na Crìche 'burn of the boundary'. It may be that the Ardoch Burn is a davach name, i.e. *ard-dabhach*, 'high davach', and this unit of land with its old church of St Brigid was 'a significantly distinct unit to be established as a parish' (Rogers 1992, 349). However, this would make Ardoch the only *dabhach*-name in Menteith, and perhaps *àrdach* 'high place', might provide a more satisfactory explanation. Whereas many parishes in Scotland were formed from a number of baronies, Kilbryde is an example of a single barony parish.<sup>128</sup> Kilbryde was incorporated into DXE in 1618 because the teinds were insufficient to support a minister (Barty 1994, 82).

One of the two *cill*-names in Menteith proper is **Kilmahog**. Earlier place-name scholars have said this is *Cill Mo-Chug*; a church dedicated to St Cug (MacKinlay 1904, 111; MacKinlay

<sup>125</sup> NAS GD49/232 dated 1632; NAS GD22/3/637 dated 1644.

<sup>126</sup> See *Retours*, Perthshire no. 905, dated 1680, 'terris ecclesiasticis vocatis *Boutoune* de Kilbryde, infra diocesin de *Dumblane*'. Bowtoun is shown on Stobie at approx. NN758027.

<sup>127</sup> See also Rogers (1992, 349) where he has some of these lands from Barty's 1944 version of the *History of Dunblane*.

<sup>128</sup> Alexander Grant (1984, 65 and 124) wrote that many baronies corresponded to, or were roughly equivalent to, parishes, and while that may be true of some parts of Scotland, this was not the norm in Menteith, where most parishes are made up of multiple baronies.

1914, 502; Watson 1926, 315). Their belief was that Cug is possibly Cuaca from Meath in Ireland. Her name is found in Kilcock, County Kildare, and in Kilquhochadale, Kirkcowan parish, WIG [Kyrkecok (*Holyrood Liber* no. 69) in the reign of Alexander II (1214-49); Watson 1926, 167]. The fair day of **Kilmahog** was 15<sup>th</sup> November (NAS. PA2/29, f.115v-116),<sup>129</sup> which is problematic for Watson and MacKinlay's identification of the saint: Cuaca's day is apparently 8<sup>th</sup> January (Watson 1926, 167); 15<sup>th</sup> November is Machutus' day. In a document dating to 1669, we are told that 'upon the fifteinth day of November called St Mahans day, which wes of old kept at the kirk of *Kilmahong*' (NAS. PA2/29, f.115v-116). Basing his information on the date, the modern editor of this text on the *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland* website identifies St Mahan with Machutus. If Machutus was the patron saint of Kilmahog, then we may be seeing the dedication of a British saint, who was identified as the saint in Lesmahago LAN, by the monks of Kelso Abbey (Taylor 2009a, 71-2; Watson 1926, 197). There is a possibility he could also be the saint in **Loch Mahaick** KMA, although what connections, if any, there were between **Loch Mahaick** and **Kilmahog** are unknown. The Machutus connection in this area might be strengthened by the fact that an island in Loch Ard AFE is apparently named after St Mallo; Machutus is the Latin form of the name, most famously found in Brittany as St Mâlo. (*Geog. Coll.* i, 343).

**Kilmahog** first comes on record in 1259 (*CPL* i, 367; *Fasti* iv, 339) as a mensal church of the bishop of Dunblane (Cockburn 1959, 20, 70). The church does not appear on record again until 1494. Note that the identification with *ecclesia De Sancto Maghot* and *ecclesia De Sancti Mathoco* in Bagimond (Bagimond' Roll (Dunlop), 54, 71) for **Kilmahog** is a mistake by Dunlop; these forms belong to St Madoes, east of Perth (Taylor 2005, 15). Like Kilbryde, the territory of **Kilmahog** is difficult to define with any accuracy (see Map 15). However, there are at least two documents that give some indication as to the extent of the parish. In a charter of 1572, Donald Dewar held the lands of *Garrindewar* in dominio de *Stogartnay* (RMS

<sup>129</sup> Also RPS ref. 1669/10/151

iv, no. 2092; Márkus 2009, 125, 139-40). The same charter tells us that the Dewars of **Kilmahog** performed a ceremonial function in ringing a bell before the dead within the parish of Kilmahog in the time before the Reformation.<sup>130</sup> The whereabouts of *Garrindewar* are seen on a plan made by John Leslie, a surveyor for the Annexed Estates in 1775, who shows **Gartenjore** in the lands of Portnellan on the northern shores of Loch Venachar at approx. NN585065.<sup>131</sup> Both *Garrindewar* and **Gartenjore** are forms of ScG \**Gart an Dèoraidh* 'enclosed field or settlement of the relic-keeper'. Another charter dating to 1620 shows that other lands in KXM included **Landrick** (NN549064), **Offrance** # (NN542060), and **Choischambie** # (NN546062), all given as being 'in parochia de *Kilmahwg*' (*RMS* viii, no. 172).<sup>132</sup> These tounships are shown as being at the western end of Loch Venachar, but since **Kilmahog** and **Gartenjore** were at the eastern end of the loch, it may be that the parish of Kilmahog consisted of the lands on the northern shore of Loch Venachar. There is an ambiguity here, however, since an Annexed Estate plan of 1775 shows that some of the lands, including **Milton of Callander** CLD and **Blairgarry** CLD along the northern shore belonged at that time to the Earl of Moray, whose lands were not forfeited after the rebellion of 1745. It seems these lands had been divided in the later medieval period, since they were all grouped together within the barony of **Strathgartney** in the *Rentalia Domini Regis*. But it may be that Kilmahog was a fragmented parish, and included those lands, ranging from **Bochastle** CLD in the east to **Duncraggan** CLD in the west, along the northern shore of Loch Venachar that later belonged to the earl of Perth and which were forfeited after 1745. It is not known exactly when **Kilmahog** was subsumed into CLD, but it may have been as late as the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. One source (*Fasti* iv, 339) states **Kilmahog** was united with **Callander** in the

<sup>130</sup> The text of which reads: 'que olim pro pulsatione unius campane coram mortuis personis infra parochiam de Kilmahug tempore papismatis fundate erant, ([the lands of *Garrindewar* were] founded for the ringing of a bell before dead people in the parish of Kilmahog in the time of papistry...') Márkus 2009a, 139-40). This document is also in NAS as GD112/76/30.

<sup>131</sup> NAS E777/313 pp.176-177.

<sup>132</sup> The relevant part of the text of the charter reads 'annuum redditum 300 merc. de terris de *Lanerk* (per Pat. Fergusson alias Murdochesone occupatis), *Offrance* (per Arch. M'Claren occupat.), et *Choischambie* (per Jo. M'Kerres et Jo. Buchannane alias Leany occupatis), in parochia de *Kilmahwg*, senesc. de Menteith, vic. de Perth'.

16<sup>th</sup> century, and it was certainly still an independent parish in 1572, and possibly in 1593 (*RPC v*, 41).<sup>133</sup> However, it may also be the case that the parish was still in existence in 1620 as ‘parochia de *Kilmahwg*’ (*RMS viii*, no. 172).

The parish of **Kilmadock** has, as has been noted, the distinction of having three early church place-name elements – *cill*, *annaid*, and *\*eccles*. **Kilmadock** may be named after St Cadoc or Docus of Llancarvan or Docgwin of Llandough. The saint being commemorated here is probably a British saint from the sixth or seventh century (Brooke 1963, 298; Watson 1926, 327; Watson 1927). The name **Kilmadock** means ‘church of my Doc’, the *ma*, from *mo*, being an honorific prefix. MacKinlay thought the church could have been dedicated to St Aedh, who was ‘better known perhaps under his honorific disguise as St Madoc or St Modoc’ (MacKinlay 1914, 147). The old church is marked *St Aedh’s Church* on the current 1:25,000 OS Explorer map. Watson disputes this dedication, saying that in this case it would have been M’Aedoc, which is stressed on the first syllable rather than on the second like Madoc (Watson 1926, 327). It is notable that the church is simply marked as ‘Kilmadock Church (ruins of)’ on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map of 1863. MacKinlay does seem to accept that Docus is the saint in his earlier book (1904, 114). The confusion may have arisen due to the fair day of **Kilmadock**. An Act of Parliament in 1669 allowed the earl of Moray, the main landholder in the parish, to change the fair days of **Kilmadock** and **Kilmahog**. In **Kilmadock**, the fair had been held on the feast day of St Mittans, which was 31<sup>st</sup> January (NAS. PA2/29, f.115v-116). Cadoc’s feast day was 24<sup>th</sup> January (Watson 1927, 12). 31<sup>st</sup> January was the feast day of Aed of Ferns, an Irish saint, and it is possible that St Mittans could be a ‘garbled hypocorism’ for Mo-Aedoc (Márkus pers. comm.). What may have happened is that **Kilmadock** was originally dedicated to Docus the Briton, but as with Columba at **Inchmahome**, people had lost sight of the original commemoration by the later middle ages. It may be that as they cast around for an

<sup>133</sup> ‘The Port, Callenteich, Kilmahuig, Lany, Abirfull’ are all mentioned as parishes on 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 1593 in a commission to Earl of Argyle to command the ‘McGregours and Stewartis of Baquhidder and divers utheris brokin men of the Hielands’ to appear before him to answer various charges of violence and general lawlessness.

explanation as to who the saint was in **Kilmadock**, Maedoc, and the nearness of his feast day, was sufficient for him to be commemorated in the parish.<sup>134</sup> It should be noted that Watson states that Cadog was the saint behind St Madoes PER (Watson 1926, 327), but the stress, which is on the *Mae*, rather than the *-dock* of **Kilmadock**, makes it unlikely. There was a chapel at Lanrick, implied by the *Chapelland* mentioned in 1509 (*RMS* ii no. 3347). It was cited as a chapel of the ‘ancient monastery of St Madocus, now called Kilmadock’ (*OSA* xx, 89). MacKay believed that this was one of six chapels attached to the ‘ancient monastery’ (MacKay 2003, 39).<sup>135</sup>

Another indication of the cult of Cadoc or Docgwin or similar, is the surname Doig. Deriving from *Gille Dog* ‘Servant of St Cadoc’ (Black 1946, 212), the name is first mentioned as Dog in 1463, when Walter Dog is named as Keeper of Doune Castle (*ER* vii, 189). This seems to be the same Walter who became Chamberlain of Menteith in 1467 (*ER* vii, 572). Sir Thomas Dog was prior of **Inchmahome** from 1469 to 1477 (*Glas. Mun.* vol. ii, 76; *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 117, 140); Watt and Shead 2001, 109). Alexander Dog, canon of **Inchmahome**, resigned the lands of **Achnabana** (possibly *achadh na beannachd* ‘field of the blessing’) KMA in 1491, while by that date Wat Dogg had given his name (along with Wat Smyth) to Watston KMA (NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v). The name Dog or Doig is found throughout KMA in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period (see Black 1946, 212 for a summary).

Another early Gaelic ecclesiastical name in KMA is **Annet**, from *annaid*, OI *andóit*, often having the sense of ‘mother church’, but also a place where the relics of the patron saint of the parish were kept. It is unknown for an *annaid* to contain a saint’s dedication (MacDonald 1975, 137). We need not think of a name containing *annaid* as an early church site, but the element is an important indicator towards there being one in the surrounding district (Taylor

<sup>134</sup> My grateful thanks to Gilbert Márkus for his assistance here.

<sup>135</sup> The supposed other chapels were Annet, Torrie, Walton, Bridge of Teith, St Fillans within the castle, and Newton [i.e. St Fillans outwith the castle], but there is no medieval evidence to corroborate this statement.

1998, 8; Clancy 1995, 102). *Annайд* place-names are generally in remote places, although in the case of **Annet** in Menteith that may simply be because we have been blinded by the modern road network. The fact that there were a number of tounships in the vicinity (see discussion of *Eglysdissentyn* below) suggests that the area was not so isolated. It may be that the unclassified road from **Burn of Cambus** (NN704031) to **Dalvorich** (NN651067) was the main road before the military road from Stirling to **Callander** was built in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. **Annet** is on the lower gradual slopes of the Braes of Doune, only 3km NW of the site of the old church of **Kilmadock**. Marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map almost half-way between **Annet** and the old church of **Kilmadock** is the Kirkton Knowe, a small rise containing a ‘chapel and graveyard’ (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN60SE 5). There may be a proprietorial quality concerning **Annet** (Clancy 1995, 102), in that it could be the lands that supported a nearby church, possibly **Kilmadock**, i.e. the old church. Although evidence for this site only dates to the early 16<sup>th</sup> C, it seems that *annaid* dates in other parts of Scotland from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> C (Clancy 1995, 111). Archaeological excavation of a long cist cemetery at Balnahanaid (*baile na h-annaid* ‘settlement of the annat’) on the northern side of Loch Tay has produced radiocarbon evidence dating to AD 640–780 (Lelong 2003, 7). However, it may be that the *andóit* in KMA was the old church at **Kilmadock**, and the Annet Burn, which flows past the church, was originally called \**Allt na h-Annaide* or some such (Watson 1926, 251). The name of the burn may then have been transferred to a settlement that appeared on the banks of the burn sometime later, although Watson maintains that the burn was named after the settlement (Watson 1927, 9).

The whole question of early church sites in KMA is complicated by the fact that there is another early church name nearby: **Aiglesteinston** (*Eglysdissentyn* 1267). This place-name is now lost, but Roy appears to show it on the banks of the Annat Burn, north of the tounship of Annet (Roy 75). Barrow (1983, 12) tentatively places it in grid square NN6706, which appears to be around 2km too far west. But the place-names on Roy’s map show that Barrow

is indeed correct. What appears to be the Annet Burn on Roy is actually the Coillechat Burn, unless the tounships have been placed alongside the wrong burn on the map. If we take the tounships as reliable indicators of the whereabouts of **Aiglesteinston**, it was between *Craigtown*<sup>136</sup> and **Ballachraggan** KMA.<sup>137</sup> Two other names appear on the course of the burn shown on Roy; *Balkorist*<sup>138</sup> and *Ballcanich*.<sup>139</sup> **Aiglesteinston** would seem to be at approximately NN679058, or, perhaps it has been replaced by the name **Drumloist**<sup>140</sup> or incorporated into the lands of that tounship. A confirmation charter of Alexander III in 1267 states that *Broculy (Brackland* CLD) had a border with *Eglysdissentyn* (Fraser, *Mentieth* ii, 217); this suggests that **Aiglesteinston** was a major estate, bigger than later mentions in the *Exchequer Rolls, RMS* and *Retours* imply. Between **Brackland** and **Aiglesteinston** are **Balvorist** and **Ballachraggan**. It may be that the lands of *Aiglesteinston* went up to the *Sruth Geal* ‘white stream’, the burn that now defines part of the western border between KMA and CLD.

\**Eccles*, a ‘Celtic coinage’ meaning ‘church’ (Hough 2009), derives from the Latin *ecclesia*, ‘church’, and was borrowed into British (either the Cumbric or Pictish dialect of this probable border region; see p.49 above). The second part of the name perhaps contains the saint’s name Iast or Iestyn, possibly a 4<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> C Welsh saint; Iestyn son of Geraint seemingly founded churches at Llaniestyn in Anglesay and Caernarvonshire (Smith and Wace 1877-87, vol. iii, 209). What possible connection he could have with **Kilmadock** is not known. In the place-name we may also have the possessive pronoun *do*, ‘thy’ (Barrow 1983, 7). The possessives *mo* and *do* are often interchangeable as can be seen in *Mobhì* and *Dabhì*, saints names based on the name Berchán (Butter 2007, 104, 114). Another possibility is that the

<sup>136</sup> Now lost, but was at NN680054 (RCAHMS Canmore NN60NE 42).

<sup>137</sup> See e.g. *ER* ix, pp. 564, 597, 625, where *Eglisdisdane* is mentioned with *Balnegregane*, i.e. *Eglisdisdane et Banegregane*.

<sup>138</sup> **Balvorist** KMA.

<sup>139</sup> **Balmacansh** KMA.

<sup>140</sup> NN682061.

specific element is not Iast or Iestyn, but Brit. *seintyn* ‘little saint’ (see Woolf (2007b, 8) for discussion of this element in the name Constantín).

The early forms for **Aiglesteinston** are remarkable. The differences in these early forms led Geoffrey Barrow think to there were two \**eccles* names in the area (see Barrow 2003, 52, and survey for KMA), but from 1456 to c.1750, this place is intimately connected with Ballachraggan in the source material. Barrow only has one \**eccles*-name in this area in his 1983 article; he had obviously come to the conclusion, correctly in my view, that despite the myriad of differing early forms, these related to the same place. From 1267 to 1502 they follow a recognisable pattern similar to its earliest form, *Eglysdissentyn*, with a few minor deviations. However, once we reach 1528 the name changes and the specific becomes not -*dissentyn*, or similar, but -*chechynauche*. It continues much like this until 1677, and in c.1750 it is last mentioned as **Aiglesteinston**, having become more like its earlier forms once again. Quite what is happening here is not at all clear. It may be that another saint’s name, possibly Coinneach(?), had replaced Iestyn or seintyn, assuming of course the people of the area knew they were dealing with a ‘church’ element. There may be a tenuous naming connection here between Kilmadock and *Aggischechynauche* (the 1528 form), since in the Middle Ages it was believed, whether it was true or not, that Cadoc taught the Irish saint, Cainnech of Achadh Bó, at Llancarvan.

But why three early church terms in the one parish, and why so close to one another? It cannot be assumed that all three names were coined within reasonable concurrency. As well as being a ‘mother church’, *annaid* can also be a place in which a saint’s relics were kept (see *DIL* under *andóit*). This was thought to be the meaning of *annaid* in the late-nineteenth century: Duncan Campbell, author of *The Book of Garth and Fortingall*, writes of the ‘*annait* or relic chapel’ in Glenorchy (Campbell 1888, 48-9). The case for **Annet** KMA being a ‘place where a saint’s relics were kept’, might be strengthened if we take into account Watson’s comment that he received information about **Severie** KMA from a ‘Miss Margaret Dewar, of

the old family of Dewars of Severie and Annat (sic)' (Watson 1926, 261, note 1). It has been noted above in the discussion of **Gartenjore** that a 'dewar', from ScG *dèoradh*, was a relic-keeper. According to Mrs Anne Nicholson of Roxburghshire (pers. comm.), there have been Dewars in KMA since at least 1402, although she has so far only managed to track down a James Dewar who was born in **Kilmadock** in 1633.<sup>141</sup> However, Mrs Nicholson is of the opinion that the Dewars of **Kilmadock** originated from Glen Dochart, and only arrived in KMA in the early 15<sup>th</sup> C. But Watson suggests they may be much older than that (Watson 1927, 9). If the Dewars had been long established in KMA, then it may be that **Annet** was either a place where the relics, presumably thought to have been those of Cadog, were kept or perhaps it was the original dwelling place of the keeper of his relics. Near **Annet** is **Severie**, *Suidhe a' Bhrithaimh* 'seat of the judge' where oaths were taken on the relics (Watson 1927, 9). We already have noted that an important part of the dewar's duty was ceremonial, such as ringing a bell in a burial procession in the case of the parish of **Kilmahog**. Relics were used in other ceremonies such as the granting of land and swearing of oaths, as was the case in Carolingian France and early medieval Wales and Ireland (Ganshof 1964, 30, 77; Márkus 2009, 118-24). We have no evidence of such use in Menteith, but it must rank as another task of the dewar.

**Aiglesteinston** remains an enigma. If it is not lands of an early British church, as is argued by Alan James for the element \**eccles* in England (James 2009a), then **Aiglesteinston** may have been an early church which had been supplanted by or transferred to the site of the old kirk of **Kilmadock**. Ultimately, however, we may simply have to take Geoffrey Barrow's advice and admit that we may never know why some chapels and churches never made it to parochial status, but instead are among the 'very large number of ecclesiastical place-names

<sup>141</sup> Mrs Nicholson has been researching her family tree. She states that the Dewars have only been at Annat since the marriage of Margaret Stewart and John Dewar both born in the late 18<sup>th</sup> C. But the Dewars seem to be a long established family in the area; according to Mrs Nicholson the 1402 date of Dewars in KMA is 'anecdotal, my gt [great].gt.gt. uncle James Dewar [1835-1902] included the information in his family history...'. Mrs Nicholson further informs me that from the late 18<sup>th</sup> C to the mid 19<sup>th</sup> C 'almost every farm on the Braes of Doune was worked by a Dewar'.

in *cill*, \**eccles*, *cladh* etc. which have survived in the record, tradition and current use, far in excess of the total known parishes' (Barrow 1989, 10).

As we have seen, many of the places mentioned above contain saints' names, but other churches and chapels were also dedicated to saints. We have seen a probable Brigid of Kildare dedication at Kilbryde DLE. North of **Callander** there are also the remains of **St Bride's Chapel** at the southern end of Loch Lubnaig (NN585098), which must be the 'capellania et Hermetage de Lupnow' mentioned in 1503 (*RMS* ii, no. 2751).<sup>142</sup> **St Bride's Chapel** is undoubtedly old for two stone cross slabs were found in work carried out at the site in 1934 and 1971. They have been dated to between 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> C. (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN50NE 3). There are two place-names associated with the chapel; *Creag a' chaibeil* and *Àth a' chaibeil* 'rock' and 'ford of the chapel' respectively. The former is opposite the chapel on the **Anie** side of the A84 road, while the latter is a ford across the Garbh Uisge to **Coireachrombie**.

In KMA there are two chapels to St Fillan: one within **Doune** Castle and the other 1 km SE of the castle at NN734004. Both these chapels are mentioned in a charter of 1581 to Sir James Stewart, lord of **Doune**, later earl of Moray, in 1581 'the advocatioun, donatioun and rycht of patronage of the cheplanrie of Sanct Phillane, situatit within the said castell of Doun, and [the chepell of] the cheplanrie of Sanct-Phillane, situatit without the samyn' (NAS, PA2/12, ff.79v-80r.). When these chapels were built is unknown, but the one inside the castle must post-date the building of the castle c.1380, making it probable that Robert duke of Albany was responsible for the dedication (Taylor 2001, 191). The chapel outside the castle was extant in 1518 (NAS GD224/906/1) and local tradition states it was 'one of six erected by Robert the Bruce to commemorate the victory of Bannockburn' (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NN70SW 13, quoting OS Name Book 1863). MacKay states it was in ruins in 1568 (2003, 76).

<sup>142</sup> See parish survey of CLD under Lubnaig, for my argument that this is not Lipney LOI, STL.

Just over 1 km SE from the chapel of St Fillan outside **Doune** Castle was ‘Priest’s Croft’ (RCAHMS Canmore NS79NW 11).<sup>143</sup>

The cult of Fillan was also evident in Leny; in an account of the families of **Leny**, and Buchanan of **Leny** written c.1560, Robert Buchanan wrote that ‘the Lanyis of that Ilk hes bruikit that leving without any infestment, except ane litill auld sourd, gauin to Gilesicmvir be the King, and ane auld relict callit Sant Fillanis tuithe, quhilke servit thaim for thar chartour quhyle Alexander his dayis’ (Fraser, *Stirling*, 414). This is a reference to a time when lands were held prior to the introduction of charters. The church of *Lanyn* was appropriated to Inchmahome in the agreement between the earl of Menteith and the bishop of Dunblane of 1238 (*Inchaffray Liber*, xxxi). **Leny** was still a separate parish in 1576 when Duncan M’Kynnair is named as ‘vicarii de *Lanye*’ (RMS iv, no. 2524). Leny was divided between the three parishes of **Callander**, **Kincardine**, and **Port-of-Menteith** around 1615 (RMS vii, no 1222). Like Kilbryde and **Kilmahog**, the territorial extent of Leny is difficult to determine, only more so. Clues are hard to come by. There is an intriguing and yet confusing passage in the *OSA* for Callander:

Callander was formerly divided into two parishes, the one called *Leney*, and the other a chapel dependent on *Inchmahomo*, where the NORIES of that ilk had their family burying place. The remains of both are visible, and people bury at both places. (OSA xi, 575).

It is not entirely clear what is going on here, but it appears that this is *not Norrieston*, near **Thornhill** KRD. A clue may come from RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NN60NW 14, where it would appear that there has been a division of the mound (or perhaps church) at the junction of the Eas Gobhain and Garbh Uisge. This mound seems to have been the site of the original church, now often called Little Leny, part of which seems to have become the Buchanan burial

<sup>143</sup> The Canmore reference given states: ‘Mrs Row-Fogo, Row House, in whose family the Row estate has been for the past 500 years... states that the field centred on NN 7435 9960 is known as ‘Priest’s Croft’.

ground, now a mausoleum, while the remains of another building nearby was the burial ground of the Nories. It should be stressed that this second chapel cannot be the church at **Callander**, since the churches of **Leny** and **Callander** were in existence by 1238 (*Inchaffray Liber*, xxxi), long before the splitting of the parish of **Leny** in 1615. Nevertheless, while **Leny** was indeed divided between three parishes (see below), it may be that this division between the *church of Leny* into the *chapels* of the Buchanans and Nories has confused earlier writers into believing that this was the division of the *parish of Leny*. Just to complicate matters, there is a graveyard marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn 6 inch OS map near **Leny** House (NN613089), although there is no notice of it in RCAHMS Canmore, which may mean it is modern.

The parish of **Port-of-Menteith** ‘was considerably enlarged by the addition to it of lands taken from the parish of **Leny**’ (*Fasti vi*, 359). It seems reasonable to think that **Leny**, apart from consisting of the lands on the north bank of the Garbh Uisge, just west of **Callander**, also comprised lands along the southern shore of Loch Venachar in what is now PMH, including West Dullater. It is notable that ScG *crioch* ‘boundary’ is found in two burn names, both called Allt na Crìche ‘burn of the boundary’, one between KMA and DLE and the other in CLD<sup>144</sup>. The latter is certainly the boundary between the estate of **Leny** and the barony of **Callander**, as is shown on an estate plan of 1843 (NAS RHP1442/1-2), and may have been the boundary between the medieval parishes of **Leny** and **Callander**. In the uplands of PMH at NN567044 is Meall na Crìche ‘lump of the boundary’, and it may be that this hill is a remnant of the old parochial boundary. It is also possible that **Leny** also included part of the detached portion of KRD, and it was this that was then transferred to KRD in 1615. If so, then we could be looking at what was obviously a fragmented parish of **Leny**.<sup>145</sup>

John Leslie, in his survey of CLD for the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates in 1775, wrote ‘At this place where the Old Kirk [of **Callander**] stood is a pretty little Mount called

<sup>144</sup> Allt Crioch is a boundary between Drymen and Buchanan parishes.

<sup>145</sup> As far as I can tell Lennieston PMH has nothing to do with this situation and seems to be a personal name plus Sc *toun*.

*Tamakessok* retaining its name from St McKessock Bishop and confessor here anno 520 whose Anniversary is kept the 10<sup>th</sup> day of March by a market held that day' (NAS E777/313/3). This fair was called *Latha Fhéill Mo-Cheasaig* (Black 2000, 19). Kessog, like Bláán discussed above, is one of a number of saints' cults that were imported from Cowal to the Stirling-Strathearn-Lennox area (Clancy 2004, 140). He is especially associated with Luss DNB, where he is supposed to have been martyred and buried (Watson 1926, 278), and is also associated with Auchterarder and Comrie PER (Watson 1926, 278). In the Glenfinglas area CLD, is Gleann Casaig (*Glenkassik* 1451 *ER* v, 476), which probably commemorates Kessog. Nearby, at NN523104, is Cladh nan Casan (or 'Ceasanach' as Watson has it), which seems to mean 'graveyard of Kessog's people' (Watson 1926, 278). Kessog's name also appears in personal names in Menteith: Murtho Kessokissone and Kessok Murthauson are both mentioned as tenants in the lands of **Cessintullie** KMA in 1486 (*ER* ix, 627).

The church at **Kincardine** was dedicated to St Lolanus, described in the 16<sup>th</sup> C Martyrology of Aberdeen as *Sancti Lolani episcopi et confessoris de Kyncardin prope Stirling* 'bishop and confessor of Kincardine near Stirling' (Laing 1854-7, 268)<sup>146</sup>. The Martyrology has his day as 'x Kl. Octobris', while Watson and MacKinlay have it as 22<sup>nd</sup> September (Watson 1926, 324; MacKinlay 1914, 331), in other words the same date as the Martyrology of Aberdeen. The story of how Lolanus came to Scotland is marvellously absurd, not only in its telling of how the saint cut off his arm to give back a key that would open a door back in Rome only if his hand was attached to it, but also in the fact that he is meant to have been a nephew of Serf and died in 1054. He would have been long lived indeed. In a charter dated to 1189 x 1195 KRD was granted to Cambuskenneth. The abbey was to have 'thirteen acres of arable, a brewer's toft with a garden, a toft for St Lolan's Bell with a garden, and a toft for St

<sup>146</sup> This was originally printed in Forbes, *Kalendars*, 134.

Lolan's Crosier with a garden' (*RRS* ii, no. 372).<sup>147</sup> Richard Oram proposed that the tofts mentioned above were for the keepers of Lolan's bell and crosier, and he suggested that these keepers may have been *dèoraidhean* 'hereditary keepers' (Oram and Fawcett 2008, KRD).<sup>148</sup> While there is no evidence for this type of what Oram called 'quasi-religious officer' in KRD, they existed elsewhere in Menteith, as we have seen in **Kilmahog** and the discussion of Dewars in KMA, and we also know that *dèoraidhean* looked after the relics of St Fillan in the medieval parish of Killin (Taylor 2001, 186). Amazingly, after being lost for 250 years, what is thought to be the bell of St Lolan was discovered by a fisherman in the River Forth in 1929 (Applebey 1961, 133-8).<sup>149</sup>

In a recent study Rachel Butter argued that the saints dedications of AFE and KPN, which although seemingly containing different names, probably represent the same saint. The extraordinarily complicated nature of these dedications are detailed in Butter (2007, 100-115), and it is not the intention to repeat that material at length here. The saint in question is Berach, but as we will see, his name took various forms in Menteith.

AFE was dedicated to St Berach or Berchán, an Irish saint (Watson 1926, 194, 225). In an Irish Life of that saint, Aedán mac Gabráin, king of Dál Riata, was so amazed by Berach's miracles that he gave a fortress at **Aberfoyle** (*Eperpuill*) for Berach to use as a monastery (Plummer 1922, vol. i, 35; Watson 1926, 225; Anderson 1980, 146; Duncan 1975, 43; Butter 2007, 102). In **Aberfoyle** there was a fair in mid October called *Féill Bercháin* (Watson 1926, 194, 225; Butter 2007, 104).<sup>150</sup> Berchán is simply Berach with an additional suffix *-an*, and

<sup>147</sup> '...ecclesiam de Kincardin cum capellis et decimis et oblationibus omnimodis et tresdecim acras terre arabilis et unum toftum brasiatoris cum uno orto, et unum toftum ad campanam Sancti Lolani cum uno orto, et unum toftum ad baculum Sancti Lolani cum uno orto...'.

<sup>148</sup> See also Márkus (2009, 138) who mentions this passage regarding crofts pertaining to St Lolan's bell and crosier in the context of dewars receiving lands elsewhere in Scotland.

<sup>149</sup> The bell is 25 cm x 14 cm. The bell is also described in *TGAS*, New Series viii (1933), 144-6, and can be seen at the Museum of Religious Life, Glasgow.

<sup>150</sup> I have not come across any primary source for this statement. It seems to be based on a communication between Charles Plummer, editor of the *Life of Berach*, and Rev. Moncrieff-Taylor of Aberfoyle. Plummer has a note in his edition of the Irish Life which quotes from a letter from Moncrieff-Taylor who claims there were fairs in April and October held in a field called *Feil-barachan* (Plummer 1922 vol 2, 327-8; Butter 2007, 104, n.311).

syncope (Butter 2007, 103). There are no place-names associated with Berach/Berchán in AFE.

Near the site sometimes said to be the original site of the church of **Kippen**, Keir Hill of Dasher, is a well called St Mauvais Well. In the 1880s an '80-year-old native' of KPN remembered that there was a fair called Semvie's Fair held in the parish on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Wednesday of October Old Style (Black 1999, 42), while MacKinlay states it was held on 26<sup>th</sup> October (MacKinlay 1914, 79). Forbes states that the church of **Kippen** was dedicated to Movean (Forbes, *Kalendars*, 320), while in the 1440s, Walter Bower wrote of *Ernefrear ubi capella Sancti Beani 'Arnrior' where there is a chapel of St Bean'* (Bower *Scotichron.* Bk. 2, ch. 10 (vol. 2, p. 190). Movean is clearly for Mo Bhean, while Semvie is a contraction of St Mo Bhí. Bean is probably Beóán whose main church was in Co. Down in Ulster, although it seems he may have been a British saint – there is a Kirkbean in Kirkcudbrightshire – or it could be that Beóán is another form of Berach (Butter pers. comm.).<sup>151</sup> Berach was also culted as Bean by the 13<sup>th</sup> C in Kinkell PER and Fowlis Wester PER (*Inchaffray Chrs* nos 9 and 28); he is Mobí in a calendar produced at Fowlis Wester. There was a Sanct Mavane's Mill at Buchanty PER on record in 1542 (*RMS* iii no. 2832).

While it may indeed be the case as Butter suggests that Berach/Berchán and Bean/Mobhi were the same saint, in medieval AFE and KPN the parishioners and clergy would surely have believed that they were praying to different saints and would not necessarily have made connections regarding the different forms of the name Berach. As Butter states in her talk regarding Bean, there would have been the 'impression of the separate identity of a saint as not only does he or she have a different church, a different family and a different feast day, but he or she also has a different name' (Butter pers. comm.).

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Forbes notes only that Berchan was 'celebrated in the province of Stirling' and 'went to Inchmahome in the Lake of Menteith' (Forbes, *Kalendars*, 279)

<sup>151</sup> I am grateful to Dr Butter for allowing me to view and cite from her talk on St Bean to the Pictish Arts Conference on 9<sup>th</sup> October 2009.

In the north of KMA is **Loch Mahaick** (*Lochmaquhayak* 1532). Watson thought the name commemorated a saint called Tua, ‘the silent one’ (1926, 298); and the name of the loch was an anglicised version of *Mo-Thathaig*. However, it may be that he was mistaken, for the early forms point strongly to a lenited *c* making a medial /x/ as opposed to a lenited *t* or /h/ (Márkus 2008, 70). The saint here may be Machutus (see discussion of Kilmahog, above p.144).

The Church in Menteith could not function if it did not have people to administer it and the sacraments. There are a small number of place-names in Menteith that recall what we term officers of the Church. We have already mentioned the dewar above. The highest ranking official is the bishop, found in **Achadh an Easbuig** CLD, but formerly in LXY and just over 2km NW of the site of the church of Leny. The earliest reference is from 1862, but the field may date from 1237-8. In 1237, Pope Gregory assigned to the bishop of Dunblane ‘if it can be done without grave scandal, a quarter of the [teinds] of all the parish churches of the Diocese of Dunblane’ (Cockburn 1959, 48-9). Other churches certainly had to give a quarter of their teinds to Dunblane: at the Reformation the quarter of the teinds of the kirks of Tulliallan, Glendevon, and Fossoway were assessed, as was ‘the bischoppis parte’ of the vicarage of Muthill (Kirk 1995, 349). As has been noted, Leny was appropriated to Inchmahome Priory in 1238, the year after the quarter of the teinds were assigned to the bishop, and so there may have been a need to distinguish which area of the parish paid the dues to the bishop of Dunblane and which area paid dues to the priory, hence **Achadh an Easbuig**. Whether or not the quarter of the teinds of Leny were collected throughout the Middle Ages is unclear.

**Deanston** comes on record in 1585. This may have been a *toun* belonging to the dean of Dunblane Cathedral, although none are on record in this area. It is notable that it is called ‘villam et terras capellanias de *Sauchinthome* alias *Denstoun*’ (the toun and chapel-lands of Sauchinthome alias Deanston) (RMS v no. 842). Across the River Teith form **Deanston** is **Clarkton**, which may be ‘settlement or farmstead of the cleric’. This may relate to the

cathedral of Dunblane, but it appears very late (1783), and so there is also the possibility that the name relates to someone with the surname Clark, but its proximity to **Deanston** is striking.

In AFE are two place-names denoting 'priest': **Mulan an t-Sagairt** 'knoll of the priest' (NN419034), and Creag Bhail an t-Sagairt 'crag of the cattle-fold of the priest' (NN481018), while in CLD on the W side of **Loch Lubnaig**, is Maol an t-Sagairt 'promontory of the priest' (NN583123). These three names are only first on record on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn 6 inch OS map in 1862, and although I can find no traditions associated with them, they must pre-date the Protestant Reformation of 1560.

It may be that in the vast parish of CLD, where, as we have seen, all the parish churches were congregated at the eastern end of the parish, the priest had to travel to preach. There appear to be no ecclesiastical place-names between modern **Brig o' Turk** and **Glengyle**. There are burial grounds at the western end of Loch Katrine shown on the 1:25, 000 OS Explorer map at NN385135 and NN406119. The latter was the burial ground of the MacGregors.<sup>152</sup> Hutchison writes that this was called Dal Naomh 'Holy Field' (Hutchison 1879, 61). There was also, apparently, a *Kil-ma-challaig* place-name at the 'foot of Ben Dochty' (Ben Ducteach NN348154), the derivation cautiously offered is 'the cell of nuns' (Wilson 1908, 80-1), but might instead be *coille na cailleach* 'wood of the women'. In Glenfinlas, before it was flooded to make a reservoir, were, apparently, a Tom Naomh 'Holy Knoll' and a Dal Naomh 'holy meadow'<sup>153</sup> (Hutchison 1879, 60) There is also the burial ground at Cladh nan Casan,<sup>154</sup> mentioned above. Nearby is Linne a' Chluig 'pool of the bell', although it is not known if it refers to the sound of the water falling into the pool or to a place where a bell was rung summoning people to worship (Hutchison 1879, 60).

<sup>152</sup> Details can be found at RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NN41SW 2.

<sup>153</sup> Not to be confused with the Dal Naomh mentioned above at the W end of Loch Katrine.

<sup>154</sup> see RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NN51SW 1 for details.

Many lands were given to the Church by kings and the nobility to provide for its upkeep. While in theory any lands could be given to the Church, in Menteith there are place-names with elements that suggest that these lands specifically belonged to the Church, at least when they were coined. We have seen above (p.115-6) that many places containing the ScG element *earrann*, Scotticised as *arn-* in Menteith, could be lands belonging to **Inchmahome**. This is strengthened by the fact that there are the place-names **Arnrior** KPN and **Arnvicar** and **Arnclerich** PMH, while in **Arnbeg** KPN in 1459 it was stated that the Chapel of St Mary of *Garwalde* in the Muir of Dundaff, near Denny STL was to have the ‘two merklands of **Arnbeg**, in which is situated the Cross (crux) of Kippen’, (*RMS* ii no. 672), which might mean a stone or wooden roadside cross.

At the Reformation the ‘tak of the paroch kirk and townis’ for the thirds of benefices of CLD was collected from lands concentrated in the eastern portion of that parish: **Callander** (Easter, Middle and Wester), *Kirktown*, **Auchinlaich**, **Brackland** (Easter, Middle and Wester) **Gart**, **Claish**, **Greenock**, **Gartchonzie** (Easter and Wester), and ‘the tua Iborts’ (*Kirk* 1995, 348). Of particular interest here are the ‘tua Iborts’. Deriving from OI *idbart* or *idpart*, and so ScG *iobairt*, ‘offering, sacrifice’, their whereabouts are now unknown, but there is a house on the southern side of **Callander** called the Old Manse, and next to it is Churchfields (NN629075). The *Iborts* of **Callander** are additions to a remarkable group detailed in Watson (1926, 254), situated in the parishes of Balfron STL, Drymen STL, Killearn STL, and Kilmaronock DNB, while in Monzie parish in 1640, *Ibert* is presented as ‘terris ecclesiasticis seu gleba vocat *The Ibert* ecclesiae de *Monzie*’ (*Retours PER* no. 494). *Ibert* in Drymen is described in 1621 as ‘terris ecclesiasticis de *Ibert*’ (*Retours STL* no. 108), and in Balfron there is mention in 1698 of ‘terris ecclesiasticis vocatis *Ibert*’ (*Retours STL* no. 338). There may have been another in Menteith; it is now **Lochan Eabarach** (small, muddy loch?) in AFE at NN519001, but Stobie shows it as *Lochanibart* ‘small loch of the Ibert?’. It is not far from where the old parish church of **Aberfoyle** stood at NN518005. It would seem that *iobairtean*

were lands for the upkeep of the local parish church. It is probable, as the above reference for Monzie states, that they became the glebe, i.e. lands that specifically supported a priest.

There is another place-name element in Menteith has a similar meaning, if not etymology, to *iobart*; Watson held that the place-name Offers or Offerance is derived from Latin *offerendum* ‘an offering, oblation’ (Watson 1926, 254; see Map 16). It was borrowed into OG as *oifrend* ‘sacrifice or office of the Mass’, and is now ScG *aifreann* or *aifrionn* ‘Mass’. The element is most notably found in the abbey of Inchaffrey, *Innis Aifreann*, in Strathearn, where it was often written in its Latin form *Insula Missarum* ‘Isle of Masses’. While it is possible that the Menteith *Offers* or *Offrance* names were originally Gaelic terms, most have since taken on a Scots form with a plural ending (or, indeed, are Scots place-names), although ‘le *Offrym*’ in Strathgartney has the singular, presumably Gaelic form in 1451 (*ER* v, 476), although it is called *Afrans* in 1636-52 (NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)). This is **Offerans** shown on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn 6 inch OS map at the western end of Loch Venachar (NN542059), while at the western end of Loch Achray are a meadow called *An t-Oirrinn* and a crag called *Creag an Oirrinn*, now **Creag Noran** (Watson 1926, 255). Another group of Offers names follow the course of the River Forth from **The Offers** KRD, just across the river from Gargunnock, to Offerance DRY, 2 km E of Dalmary DRY. There were two in KRD; **The Offers**, first mentioned in 1536 (*Offeris RMS* iii no.1560), and what is now **Chalmerston**, originally the Offers of **Ochtertyre** (terras de *Ouchtertire*, cum lie *Offeris* earundem alias *Chalmeristoun* nuncupatis (*RMS* iii, no. 1560; Watson 1926, 255)). There were three in PMH; one called Offrins of **Gartur**, and the other two now lost, but one is shown on Stobie at what seems to be Carse of **Shannochill**, while the other is mentioned as *Offerone of Gartladernick* (see **Gartledeny** PMH), near what is now **Hilton** PMH (NAS GD15/183). There then is a cluster of five in DRY, all hugging close to the River Forth between the parish border with KPN and the A81 Glasgow-Aberfoyle road. There was an *Offerandis de Caschelie* in DRY (*RMS* iii, no. 3172; *RMS* vii, no. 354), which might be the now split touns of Wester Offerance, Over Easter Offerance, and Nether Easter Offerance; in

this area shown in Blaeu was *Airncaishlie*. Further west was Offerance of Garchell, and there is still Offerance, near Dalmary. There was at least two others in KPN, but this is not certain, since one may have had different names: *Offrendscherelart* (1451 ER v, 475), alternates with *Offrenys de Kippan* (1461 ER vii, 52), which then seems to become *Offeris de Lekky nuncupat. Schiregartane* (1584 RMS iv no. 230). This is obviously **Shirgarton** at the western end of the village of Kippen, but there was also *Nethir Dischoure* vocat. *Offeris...jacent<ibus>* prope ecclesiam de *Kippone* 'Nether Dasher called *Offeris...lying near the church of Kippen'* (1508 RMS ii no. 3226), which Watson thought was 'probably the old glebe of Kippen' (Watson 1926, 255).

Watson seemed to think there was a great deal of similarity between the terms *aifreann*, *iobairt*, and *earrann*; indeed, he stated that the 'Offerances and Offers of Menteith are to be compared with the names **Arnclerich**, **Arnvicar**, **Arnrior** in the same district...and all were doubtless connected with the priory of **Inchmahome'** (Watson 1926, 256). However, Gilbert Márkus thinks there is 'more of a difference' between the two terms *iobairt* and *aifreann* (Márkus pers. comm.). He thinks *iobairt* 'refers to offerings made by lairds etc. to the church, for the support of priests'; in other words people are offering land to the church. *Aifrionn* and offers, on the other hand, seem to refer specifically to the Mass itself; i.e. it is 'an offering made by the church to God' (Márkus pers. comm.). But how might this translate to the place-names on the ground, as it were? It may be that we are not dealing with ScG *aifrionn* at all, but instead Sc *offerand*; *DOST* has the definition of *offerand* as 'to present (a donation of any kind, prayers, etc.) as a religious offering or sacrifice'. It may be that the lairds gave land to the Church or Inchmahome, not to support a priest, as in the case with *iobairt*, but perhaps for the celebration of Masses in honour of their dead relatives and ancestors in the period following the Black Death, which arrived in Scotland in 1349. As Dairmaid MacCulloch recently wrote, Augustinians, as well as providing pastoral care for the local laity, 'supplied spiritual services at what seemed like cut-price rates [compared to Cistercians and

Benedictines]: the gift of a field from a modestly prosperous knight [...] a few pence from a poor man's family at his death bed' (MacCulloch 2009, 392). However, it may be not be necessary to look for a different meaning for Ibert and Offeris; they may in fact be equivalent terms, but using different languages. This would certainly be the case in places where Scots was well established by the time these *offers*-names come on stream, such as Kippen.

### *Conclusion*

There are a remarkable range of place-names showing the variety and vitality of religious life in Menteith in the medieval period. These include early churches and saints' cults, lands of officials in the church, and the kinds of places that went to support the church economically and helped sustain the parishioners spiritually. By teasing out information in documents and by looking at place-names outside the area with parallel terms we can begin to gain some understanding of the activity of the church 'on the ground', as it were, in Menteith. While place-names are often unlikely to give us the names of individuals at specific points in time, it has been demonstrated in this chapter that they have the potential to tell us a great deal about how the Church was supported by the land and the people.

## *Conclusion*

The aim of this thesis has been to show that, when used as a historical resource, place-names have a major role to play in enhancing our understanding of medieval rural society. By historical resource it is meant that place-names are a source for studying the social history of a given area, in terms of subjects such as agriculture, lordship, land use, Christian religious life, and language. Place-names have other uses too, of course, particularly in subjects such as historical linguistics, environmental history, and in understanding past perceptions of landscape.

### *Menteith*

Divided into two distinct parts by the Highland Boundary Fault (HBF), the geography of Menteith is characterised by two contrasting geological landforms – the Highlands to the north and west and the Lowlands to the south and east. Menteith is defined as the six parishes of AFE, CLD, KMA, KRD, KPN, and PMH, although there are indications that Menteith may have included Logie STL in the early 13<sup>th</sup> C. Ecclesiastically, Menteith was part of the diocese of Dunblane, and although Dunblane itself was part of the earldom of Strathearn, it was part of the Deanery of Menteith. It is probably this that has led many previous commentators to believe that Dunblane was in the earldom of Menteith. Traditionally it has been thought that the area to the north of the HBF was Gaelic-speaking, while to the south it was Scots-speaking. However, this is only true from the later Middle Ages; even in the Lowlands of Menteith the vast majority of the place-names are Gaelic. There were speakers of Scots in Menteith prior to the 13<sup>th</sup> C, such as the Muschets of Kincardine, but their influence on the place-names of Menteith was restricted to the area adjacent to Stirling, including Drip KRD. It is only in the late 15<sup>th</sup> C that the documentary record and place-name evidence

indicates Scots-speakers on the ground coining Scots place-names in the Lowlands, e.g. McOrriston and Watston KMA.

### *Sources*

When studying the place-names of a particular area, the researcher has to be familiar with a large range of historical sources. It is important to know not only what the documents are, but who they were produced for and why. In Menteith, most documents were produced for the crown and major landlords. A few others were produced for the Church, both medieval and post-Reformation. In the course of the study it was found there were biases towards those areas that were in the hands of the crown in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Cs. This meant that the parish of Callander, for example, had a greater density of documents, and therefore more early forms of place-names, than the parish of Aberfoyle, which was in the hands of the Graham earls of Menteith. Particularly instructive were the *Exchequer Rolls* for KMA which were able to give us what were probably the eponyms for many of the Sc *toun*-names and a ScG *baile*-name which combine with personal-names in the parish, including MacKeanston, Watston and Balmacansh. All these people are on record in the 15<sup>th</sup> C. This contrasts with KPN where there are also a couple of *toun*-names containing personal-names. However, their late appearance in the historical record – and KPN is not so well recorded as KMA – means we have less information on how old Jennywoodston KPN, for example, actually is. Furthermore, we have no idea who Jenny Wood was, whereas we can trace the family behind McOrriston KMA in the records for several generations.

Toponymists also need to be aware of the limitations of their documents. One document, a charter from the register of Cambuskenneth Abbey, showed how important it was that we do not take documents at face value, and, like any historical source, they have to be subjected to close scrutiny. The document purports to date to 1193 x 1195. However, the text as we have it exists in a 16th-century transcription, and the place-name evidence indicates that it has

been considerably updated (for discussion, see p. 38-9 and also Boreland KRD for more details).

### *Language*

There were three languages spoken in Menteith in the Middle Ages: a P-Celtic language, Gaelic, and Scots. There was probably a great deal of overlap in the period when British and Gaelic were spoken, and later between Gaelic and Scots. A preliminary study of the P-Celtic place-names and the political geography of the surrounding area in the early Middle Ages suggested that the P-Celtic language was more likely to be British than Pictish. However, on the basis of the P-Celtic place-names in Menteith and in neighbouring Clackmannanshire, it may be that we need to rethink our definitions and perceptions regarding British versus Pictish. The fact that many of the P-Celtic place-names have elements – such as *\*aber*, *\*lanerc*, and *\*mōnið* – that can be found in Scotland south of the Forth (and indeed in Wales) as well as in historical Pictland, may mean that we should term the language of Northern Britain ‘British’, although it is appreciated that there was a distinctive material culture and political situation in many areas north of the Forth that is peculiar to the Picts, and it is likely that for many scholars a Pictish/British division will remain if only for convenience.

Gaelic was the language of Menteith for the bulk of the population for most of the medieval period; the vast majority of the place-names in the earldom are Gaelic. The Highland Boundary Fault is often a convenient shorthand for the divide between Gaelic and Scots in the Middle Ages, but this is not borne out by the evidence for Menteith. As this study and others by Charles Withers (1980, 1982a, 1982b, 1983) have shown, Gaelic survived south of the HBF well into the 18<sup>th</sup> C. Moreover, it was still vibrant enough in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> Cs to be the naming language in the northern part of KMA as seen in the place-name Balmacansh. What is striking is that the person most likely to be behind this place-name, Donald McCawis, is on record in the *Rentalia Domini Regis* at the same time, i.e. the 1480s, as many of the men

who were the eponymous tenants of the cluster of *toun*-names in the barony of Cessintully KMA, including MacKeanston and McOrriston. This continued use of *baile* into the 16<sup>th</sup> C to coin place-names in Menteith contrasts with Fife where *baile* seems to have stopped being used as a place-naming element by the early 13th C at the latest.

Scots most likely started to make inroads in Menteith with the arrival of the first immigrants lords who arrived in the reign of William I, in particular Richard de Montfichet, progenitor of the Mushets of Menteith, who was given the lands of Kincardine in the late 12<sup>th</sup> C. However, Scots had difficulty establishing itself in Menteith due to the lack of burghs, and despite the presence of a large monastic institution – Inchmahome. This contrasts with Fife where burghs and monasteries were among the catalysts for the rise of Scots north of the Forth. In the 15<sup>th</sup> C Scots probably gained a boost when the earldom of Menteith was forfeited to the Crown in 1427, two years after the return of James I from captivity in England. James probably sent in his Scots-speaking officials, such as Robert Nory, who was the king's mair in Menteith in 1451. Many of the Scots place-names only come on record from the 16<sup>th</sup> C, but from at least the 1480s in the barony of Cessintully KMA there are a number of tenants, such as Forsyth MacCorran and Donald MacCane, whose surnames give rise to a group of Sc *toun*-names, including McOrriston and Mackeanston.

#### *Earls of Menteith and other major lords*

It has often been thought that once the last of the line of indigenous earls died out in the 13<sup>th</sup> C, they were replaced by Anglo-Norman earls. However, a brief survey of the history of the earls of Menteith and other major landlords demonstrates that the Gaelic/Norman dichotomy is too simplistic where these lords are concerned. Although Walter Comyn and Walter Stewart, the first two earls that replaced the indigenous earls were descended from 12<sup>th</sup> C immigrant Anglo-Norman families, it is likely that they actually spoke Gaelic and had fully integrated themselves into Gaelic culture. Walter Stewart's by-name Ballach 'spotted,

freckled' shows he moved in a Gaelic-speaking milieu, while his predecessor, Walter Comyn, grew up in the Gàidhealtachd, where his father was the earl of Buchan from c.1212. Prior to becoming earl of Menteith, Comyn was Lord of Badenoch, an area, by the 13<sup>th</sup> C, at the heart of the Gàidhealtachd. It is likely, then, that Comyn and Stewart were valuable Scots-speaking lords (and probably French-speaking lords in the 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> Cs) in the service of their king along with their Lowland peers, but could be equally effective Gaelic-speaking lords in their own lands.

Many of the other lords in Menteith can also be shown to be familiar with Gaelic culture. The Grahams, who gained a truncated earldom of Menteith in 1427, came from Strathearn; they were also descended from Robert II, a king with a great affiliation for the Gàidhealtachd. It is unlikely that the Grahams did not have some Gaelic, otherwise they could not have ruled Aberfoyle, a Gaelic speaking area until at least the late 18<sup>th</sup> C. The Drummonds, who eventually became lords of Kincardine, and were based at Drummond Castle near Crieff PER, an area which was still largely Gaelic-speaking in the 1790s, left a carved graved slab at Inchmahome. This grave slab, carved by a West Highland craftsman, is indicative of deep links with the Gaelic West.

#### *Place-names as a historical resource*

Researchers into medieval rural society in Scotland have long stated that place-names have the potential to inform us of aspects of rural society that cannot be uncovered by documentary research or archaeology. It has been found that it is often difficult for these researchers to match up the documentary and archaeological evidence. While a place might often be found in the historical record in the medieval period, it is usually only the last phase before abandonment that is uncovered archaeologically, perhaps as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> C in many cases. As such many researchers cite place-names as one potential answer to how we might discover more about medieval rural society. In Scotland place-name research into rural

society is hampered by the lack of quality surveys both at a county and national level. However, this thesis along with the recent AHRC funded survey of Fife by Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus should help meet the needs of historians and archaeologists hoping to understand more about how place-names can help them uncover various aspects of medieval rural Scotland.

Five main topics were examined in the thesis in a bid to show the ability of place-names to inform the debates and questions arising from using place-names as a historical resource: (1) routeways; (2) hunting and deer management; (3) authority and justice; (4) people and professions; and (5) livestock and animal husbandry. A group of six common elements - ScG *achadh*, *blàr*, *dail*, *earrann*, *gart*, and Sc *keir* - were also analysed to see what their distribution could tell us of how the Gaels organised the landscape to suit their particular needs. Also examined in the context of language change were ScG *baile* and Sc *toun*, where it was discovered that *baile* was used later than and in different way from Fife.

(1) The most common element indicating a routeway in Menteith is ScG *bealach* 'pass'. However, these are mainly associated with the high mountain passes, and there may be doubts as to how old some of these names actually are, although in many cases the actual passes themselves will be very old. Important exceptions to the mountain pass 'rule' are three lowland passes – Ballachallan CLD, Ballochneck KMA, and Ballochraggan PMH, all having the anglicised *balloch/ballach* for *bealach*, and the early forms of which suggest were routes in the Middle Ages. Many of these *bealach*-names were named in relation to particular destinations, such as sheiling grounds (Bealach na h-Imriche) or burial grounds (Bealach nan Corp). *Àth* 'ford' was not found to be numerous in an area crossed by two large river systems. However, another ford was signified by Frew, deriving perhaps from the Brit. equivalents of W *frwd* 'current' or Brit. equivalents of W *ffrau* 'stream, flow, flood' or W *ffraw* 'swift, lively, brisk'. The element *spittal* can mean a routeway in other parts of Scotland, e.g. Spittal of Glenshee PER, perhaps indicating an inn or hostel, may in Menteith be lands belonging to the

Knights Hospitaller or Templar, the military orders set up to protect the crusade routes.

Nearby in Balfron and Kilmarnock parishes are place-names containing *spittal* that can be shown to have belonged to these orders in the Middle Ages.

(2) An important facet of aristocratic life in the medieval period was hunting. Hunting was a highly organised activity and there were areas set aside for this purpose. Menteith has a number of place-names that show which parts of the landscape were used to hunt deer. Some names include the possible prey – Creag Dhamh ‘stag rock’ AFE – while other names show where traps were laid – Glac nan Sealg AFE ‘defile of the hunts’; and Ellrick AFE from OG *elerc*, later ScG *eileirig* ‘deer trap’.

(3) However, one of the most important aspects of aristocratic life was the administration of authority and justice. In place-names this often took the form of court-hills or mounds. There were at least two places called Tom a’ Mhòid ‘hill of the court, meeting’, two places with ScG *comhdhail* meaning ‘(place of) assembly, meeting’ including Cuthil Brae KRD and Coille-don PMH. The latter, despite the modern form of its name, was almost certainly a *comhdhail*, probably for \**comhdhail-dhùn* ‘court hill’ and it was here that the earls of Menteith received sasine of their earldom in the Middle Ages.

(4) Place-names can tell us about industrial and agricultural activity. ScG *ceàrdach* ‘smithy, forge’ and *gobhann* ‘smith’ can be found in a number of places in Menteith, indicating the importance of the skilled metal worker in a pre-industrialised society. The smith would have made an array of items ranging from horse-shoes to agricultural tools and weapons, such as swords. The smith would have been a highly respected and prized member of rural society.

(5) Medieval society was predominantly agricultural and Menteith contains many place-names that deal with livestock and animal husbandry. These indicate, at least in the uplands, that pastoral agriculture was the major farming activity. Examples of place-names specifying arable land are few. Coilentogle CLD may have ScG *seagal* ‘rye’ as the specific, and Cassafuir

KMA contains ScG *pòr*, which in this case probably means ‘cropland’. Menteith abounds in animal-names, including ScG *capall* ‘horse, mare’, *muc* ‘pig’, *bò* ‘cattle’, *searrach* ‘foal’, *gobhar* ‘goat’, and *caora* ‘sheep’ to name a few, indicating the wide range of animals used in the medieval economy of Menteith. The lack of such names in the Lowlands and in Scots does not, of course, indicate a dearth of such activity south of the HBF; it simply means that, for whatever reason, Scots-speakers, or perhaps more precisely, modern Scot-speakers, saw no need to define the landscape in the way Gaelic-speakers did, and this may be why such minor names were not recorded by the Ordnance Survey.

The thesis made major new contributions towards our understanding of a variety of important generics, including:

*Achadh*: As in many parts of Scotland, *achadh* was originally a ‘field’, but in many cases became a permanent settlement as people settled areas previously given over to agricultural use. *Achadh* occurs fifteen time in Menteith, mainly in PMH and CLD, with a couple in KMA. The definition given by Simon Taylor regarding the use of *achadh* in the Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer, ‘land enclosed for both arable and pastoral purposes’, seems to be most appropriate for Menteith. *Achadh* in the low-lying areas, such as Auchleshie and Auchenlaich, may have been enclosed arable areas that became permanent settlement. Conversely, in the upland areas, such as in the hills above Leny, *achadh* – e.g. Tom an Achaidh Bhig – may have been an enclosed pastoral field that did not become a settlement.

*Blàr*: this element is confined to western Menteith. Only four of the eighteen *blàr*-names are situated in the lowlands, suggesting a mainly pastoral context, with some of the specifics in the place-names signifying compact grazing land in predominantly upland districts.

*Earrann*: Anglicised as *Arn-* in Menteith, *earrann* does not suggest an area of assarted land, as *gart* does; most *earrann*-names are on well drained land on rises above the carselands and areas of former moss. There are nineteen *earrann*-names in Menteith, with another three just outside the study area in DRY, and the element has a distribution suggesting a close

association with Inchmahome Priory. Indeed, three *earrann*-names contain specifics of church officers – Arnprior, Arnvicar, and Arnclerich. Arnmach was part of the property of Inchmahome at the Reformation, while Arnachly, with a burial ground nearby, is said to have been a chapel of the priory. Arns DRY is next to Chapelarroch ‘ruined chapel’ and Dalmary, containing the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary, one of the patron saints of Inchmahome. It is unclear whether the other sixteen *earrann*-names were originally property associated with Inchmahome since there are no records that shed light on the theory. However, another large cluster in Galloway also suggests an ecclesiastical dimension to *earrann*, with names such as Arnmannoch and Ernespie.

*Gart*: The *gart*-names of Menteith are part of a wider cluster of *gart*-names in central Scotland, found in a rough triangle ranging from Clackmannanshire in the east to the SE tip of Loch Lomond in the west to northern Lanarkshire in the south. There are 26 *gart*-names in Menteith. Unfortunately, the lack of early documentation for Menteith precluded the sort of conclusions that could be given for the *gart*-names of Clackmannanshire, where there was evidence to suggest that they were the settlements of the medieval foresters of Clackmannan.

However, there is a different distribution within Menteith of *gart* compared with *baile*, with the latter tending to be on higher, probably better drained land. *Gart*, on the other hand, predominated on the lower lying lands on the edge of the mosses of Menteith, suggesting different economic and social circumstances behind the coining or function of these elements.

#### *Place-names and the medieval Church in Menteith*

Given the centrality of the Augustinian priory of Inchmahome, it is perhaps not surprising that the medieval Church and Christian religion looms large in the place-names of Menteith. A case study in Chapter 6 into place-names and the medieval Church demonstrates the vitality of religious life in Menteith. These place-names form an important resource for studying religion in Menteith because despite there being a major priory in the earldom, it is poorly

documented before 1529. By looking at two groups of place-name generics – ScG *earrann* and Sc *offers/offerance* – we can gain some idea of what lands may have supported the priory. While there is room for debate as to whether all places containing *earrann* indicate lands belonging to Inchmahome, as indicated above (p. 172), the element *offers/offerance* does seem to indicate lands that were given to Inchmahome, perhaps by local lairds, in exchange for masses for the dead.

As well as lands belonging to or perhaps associated with a religious order, we can catch a glimpse, albeit a brief one, into diocesan administration. Achadh an Easbuig LXY must be lands linked to the bishop of Dunblane: it is argued above that these are lands that fulfilled the obligation to pay the quarter of the teinds of the parishes of the diocese of Dunblane that were assigned to the bishop for the purposes of funding a dean of the cathedral and its canons in 1237. Other officers found in the place-names include priest (*sagart*) and the keeper of relics (*dèoradh* or *dewar*).

Saints' cults can often be among the most challenging subjects in place-name studies, and those of Menteith were no exception. They are challenging because they are rarely transparent in terms of the identity of the saint behind the name, and dating these place-names can be extremely problematic. Many assumptions as to the identiy of some of the saints have been challenged. Among the saints who seem to be found in Menteith are Columba, Kessog, Fillan, Machutus, Berach, and Lolanus. There are three *cill*-names in Menteith – Kilmadock, Kilmahog, and Kilbryde – and all have insular saints embedded within them, suggesting that these are relatively early foundations. It is possible that these *cill*-names date to at least as early as those in Fife or Atholl which may date to the 8th C. Kilmadock appears to be dedicated to a British saint, possibly called Docus, Cadoc, or Docgwin. The precise mechanism for the transference of his cult to central Scotland is unknown, but the cult may be broadly contemporaneous with some of the P-Celtic place-names of Menteith discussed in Chapter 3.

Kilmadock is distinct in Scotland for having three early church-names – *cill*, *\*eccles*, and *annaid* – in close proximity to each other, however, no firm conclusions could be reached as to why. It was speculated, albeit very tentatively, that it may have much to do with an early church – *Aiglesteinston* – being replaced by a more conveniently placed church –Kilmadock – at a later date, and, based on the longevity of the Dewar surname, from ScG *deòradh* ‘relic keeper’, in KMA, Annet may have been the place where the relics were kept.

Place-names have a great deal to tell the historical researcher. In a poorly and erratically documented area, such as Menteith, we have seen how place-names can enhance our understanding of life in medieval Menteith. If we are to know more about the people of Scotland below the level of the nobility and landholding sections of society, and be better informed of topics such as land use and agricultural practices, lordship and justice, hunting, routeways, settlement patterns, language and language change, and how the medieval Church impacted on the people of Menteith and Scotland, then we need to realise the asset that place-names constitute in Scottish historical studies. Place-names, then, are an essential historical resource.

## Part 2

## Part 2

### *Parish Surveys*

The sheer number of early forms available for this study has led to a reliance on the printed material in publications such as *RMS*, *Retours*, *ER*, and the cartularies of various monasteries printed by the Bannatyne Club. Since there was sufficient material in the aforementioned books, most of the documents that were consulted in NAS were of plans and maps, although some documents, especially for those areas not so well covered by the printed material, were also looked at. It was found that many of the early forms from those documents did not differ greatly from the printed material.<sup>155</sup> These documents and maps were especially useful for clarification of the whereabouts of certain places. To save space, I have streamlined the presentation of early forms and represented the most necessary citations. However, all early forms have been checked and retained on a fuller version.<sup>156</sup>

The layout of the parish surveys generally follow the pattern as seen in Taylor and Márkus's *Place-Names of Fife* series (see Taylor, *PNF* i, 11-14 for details). It is intended here only to give a summary of that information. In the first line of each entry is the headname, followed by a three-letter parish abbreviation. There then is a single letter, usually 'S' for settlement (see abbreviations list for other letters), then pre-1975 county abbreviation for Perthshire, PER. This is followed by the NGR. The single digit used for accuracy of locations is a simplified version of that used in *PNF*: 1 for absolute accuracy; 2 assumed on the basis of contextual evidence, such as old maps; 3 places the location within any adjacent kilometre square; 4 shows that it is or was within the given parish. The first line is concluded by the altitude of the settlement or feature.

<sup>155</sup> Although there were exceptions, notably NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2 (1427), printed imperfectly in Fraser, *Menteith and Scots Peerage*.

<sup>156</sup> All of these forms have been retained on a memory stick to be held by the Department of Celtic and Gaelic at the University of Glasgow.

An example is:

ARNBEG KPN S STL, PER NS629949 1 56m.

This conveys information for Arnbeg, which is in the parish of Kippen. It is a settlement, and is now in Stirlingshire, but was in Perthshire prior to the 1892 boundary changes (note, however, only in the survey of Kippen will the county abbreviations be placed in the first line; all the other parishes in Menteith are in Perthshire). It is at the NGR indicated, which is accurate, and sits at a height of 56 m OD. Where appropriate, a hash symbol (#) is used to indicate that the name, as far as can be ascertained, is now obsolete.

After the early forms, in the first line of the analysis, an attempt has been made to provide the modern Gaelic form for many of the place-names coined or mediated by Gaelic-speakers. These forms are based on the principals formulated by Ainmean Àite na h-Alba.<sup>157</sup> Where possible, an alternative form has also been given for when the name was in use by Gaelic speakers in the Middle Ages. Note, however, this is an area of Scotland where there is often no evidence for an initial nominative article, and for the sake of simplicity these are not included here; e.g. Dasher AFE may be rendered in modern ScG as *An Deisear*, but since no evidence for this exists in the early forms, here it is simply *Deisear*. Where there is evidence in the early forms for internal genitival article, they will be included in the modern forms, but if there is no evidence then the internal genitival article will not be included.

Since the current language of Menteith is Scots (or SSE), all the pronunciations shown for the place-names in Part 2 are based on the IPA system as found in the *Concise Scots Dictionary*, xxii-xxiii. However, not every place-name has a pronunciation; assume where there is no pronunciation for place-names coined or mediated by Gaelic-speakers that these places are either now lost or that I was unable to gain access in order to obtain a pronunciation. Pronunciations for names coined in Scots are not included. Please note, however, that I am hard of hearing, so any pronunciation will be approximate only, but are

<sup>157</sup> See <http://www.ainmean-aite.org/>

nevertheless given here as a guide. I am grateful to Revel McKeand, Balleich AFE, Dianne Louttit, Kippen, Alan Higginson, Balvalachlan CLD, Robert Grant, Drumloist KMA, and Campbell Millar, Ballachraggan KMA, as well as the owners/occupiers of many places for the pronunciations they provided.

Notes on the ecclesiastical nature of the parishes can be found in Chapter 6 of Part 1 of this thesis.

Note that the surveys in Part 2 of this thesis deal mainly with settlement-names found on the 1:50,000 OS map. The exceptions are places, mainly from the 1:25,000 OS map, that can shed light on important aspects of medieval society in Menteith, such as Coille-don PMH.

MENTEITH

*Meneteth* 1163-4 RRS i, no. 243

*meneted* 1165 x 1184 *De Situ Albanie* [pars enim tertia *sradeern* cum *meneted*]

*Menetheth* 1198-9 *St Andrews Liber* no. 341

*Menteth* 1224 *Pais. Reg.* no. 214

*Menetheth* 1236 *Lind. Cart* no. 22

*Menteth* 1250 *Pais. Reg.*, 172

*Menethet* 1251-2 *Glas. Friars* no. 3

*Monent'* 1261 RRS ii, no. 519 [Inspeximus of Henry III of England]

*Menthet* 1263 *Pais. Reg.*, 121

*Meneteth* 1313-14 *Inchaffray Chrs* no. 121

*Meneteth* 1315 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 341

*Meneteth* 1318 x 1327 RRS v, no. 410

*Menynteth* 1342 *Holyrood Liber* no. 95

*Meneteth* 1388 *Holyrood Liber* no. 103

*Menynteth* 1391 *Holyrood Liber* no. 105 [*Menteth* also written]

*Mentheth* 1451 RMS ii, no. 465

*Menteith* 1473 RMS ii no. 1143

*Menteith* 1489 RMS ii no. 1862

*Monteeth* 1630-50 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Menteth* c.1636-52 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Monteith* 1662 (*Retours PER* no. 693)

*Monteith* c.1685 Adair, Stirling

*Monteath* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 338

*Menteith* 1783 Stobie

*Monteith* 1848 *Gazetteer*, 378-9

*Monteith* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

*Monteith* 1896 2<sup>nd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map, sheet 38

*Menteith* 1907 3<sup>rd</sup> end OS 1 inch map, sheet 38

There are a great number of early forms for the name Menteith, the above is only a representative sample showing the development since the 12<sup>th</sup> C. See short discussion on page 51 for analysis of this name.

/men'tiθ/

## ***Parish of Aberfoyle***

### *Introduction*

The parish of Aberfoyle (see Map 17) is almost wholly to the north of the Highland Boundary Fault. Although smaller than CLD, AFE is comparable in size to PMH, KMA and DLE, but contains far fewer settlements than any of those other parishes. This reflects the upland nature of the parish where the hills rise to 727m in the case of Ben Venue. Most of the settlement is restricted to a strip of land in one valley, an arm of the River Forth, which contains Loch Chon and Loch Ard, and a small area of flat land between the latter body of water and the present day village of Aberfoyle. A further line of settlements can be traced along the north of the parish on the southern shore of Loch Katrine, which then extends to Loch Achray and the Black Water to its meeting with Loch Venachar.

In 1427, AFE formed part of the area which was re-designated the earldom of Menteith by James I. This post-1427 territory was much smaller than the ancient earldom had been. James took the earldom of Strathearn from his cousin, Malise Graham. James compensated Malise with what may justifiably termed the poorer quarter of the old earldom, and a long period of captivity in England (see p. 80 for details). This quarter of the old earldom consisted of all of the parish of Aberfoyle, with the places listed and detailed below in the gazetteer, and lands in PMH lying mostly to the west of the Lake of Menteith. Despite being a core part of the post-1427 Earldom of Menteith, Aberfoyle is pretty poor in terms of documentation. This documentation, mainly charters, is, however, relatively rich in place-names and many of the earliest forms for AFE come from these few documents. Stobie also shows a more densely populated parish with more settlements on the cusp of the 'Improvement' era. It seems the present village of Aberfoyle grew around the settlement of Craiguchty, on the slopes above the northern end of the present bridge (see Stobie 1783 and 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map). The

medieval church lying near the mouth of the Pow Burn gave the parish, and subsequent village, its name.

ABERFOYLE AFE PS NN524010 1 38m

*Eperpuill* 11<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup>C *Bethada Náem nÉrenn* (Plummer 1922, vol. i, 35) [Conadh hí sin *Eperpuill* i cathair atá ag Berach i *nAlbain* ‘that is Eperpuill, a monastery of Berach’s in Alba’]

*ecclesi<a> de Abirful* 1260 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 213

*Ecclesia de Aberful* 1275 *Bagimond* (Dunlop edition), 54

*Ecclesia de Aberpul* 1276 *Bagimond* (Dunlop edition), 71

*kirk of Abbyrule* 1278 *Stirling Protocol Book*, 40

*Abirfull* 1360 *RRS* vi no. 264

*Abirfule* 1479 *ADC* ii, 28

*Abbirfule* 1482 *Stirling Protocol Book*, 51

*Abirfule* 1532 *RSS* ii no. 1292 [Presentatio Jacobi Kennedy super rectoria de *Abirfule* prebenda infra ecclesiam Cathedralem *Dunblanensem* existente]

*Abirfull* 1573 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 315 [kirk and vicarage of *Abirfull*]

*Aberfule* 1581 *RMS* v no. 143 [Lie mans et gleib de *Aberfule*]

*Abirfull* 1593 *RPC* v, 41

*Aberfule* 1622 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 321

*Abrefewill* c.1632-52 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Aberfoill* 1643 *RMS* ix no. 1502

*Aberfoyle* 1654 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 158

*Aberfoyle* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 342

*Aberfoil* c.1750 Roy 70

*Aberfoil* c.1750 Roy 70

*Aberfoil* Ph 1783 Stobie

*Aberfoil* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

*Aberfoyle* 1903 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch sheet 38

Brit. \**aber* + poll

\**aber phuill*, ScG *Obar Phuill* '(place at the) mouth of the burn'. Dwelly (1902-12, 1003) gives *Obair phuill*. The Pow Burn enters the River Forth 0.5km NE of the old Kirk of Aberfoyle. Aberfoyle is named in *Bethada Náem nÉrren* as *Eperfull*, meaning 'confluence of the poll or pow' according to Watson (1926, 225), who also states that the word *pow* (or rather *poll*) is Welsh rather than Gaelic (Watson 1926, 204). Poll as Brit. word meaning 'stream, burn' was loaned into ScG as *poll*, and thence into Scots as *pow* (Barrow 1998, 59-61; Clancy 2008a, 99). The *DOST* definition of 'poll; pow' is 'a slow moving, ditch-like stream, flowing through carseland', which agrees with Barrow (1988, 212), who states that a pow is a burn 'flowing sluggishly through carseland, often having deep, peaty pools with crumbling overhanging banks'. The Pow Burn has been canalised along its lower, flat reaches before it meets the River Forth, perhaps in the 'Improvement' era of the late 18<sup>th</sup> C; Roy shows the Pow Burn as a meandering stream throughout its lower course. For other early forms of Aberfoyle see Kirkton and Milton below.

The early form of Aberfoyle in *Bethada Náem nÉrren*, *Eperpuill*, could suggest that the first element is ScG *eabar* 'swamp, marsh', and that the name as a whole is ScG, since the second element shows *puill* the gen. sg. of ScG *poll*, which the early forms in charters down to 1622 consistently show as -*u-* (-*w-*).

/'abər fɔɪl/

ACHRAY AFE S NN502063 1 90m

*Achray* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Auchray* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Achrai* 17th C *Geog. Coll.* ii, 567

*Achray* c.1750 Roy 70

*Achray* 1783 Stobie

*Achray* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

ScG àth + *crathaidh*

Àth *Chrathaidh* ‘ford of shaking’ is the derivation according to Watson (1926, 81, 477). It is not known where the ford in question is, but it could be near the site of the bridge carrying the A821 Aberfoyle-Callander road. The site is now occupied by the Loch Achray Hotel.

/a'xre/

ALINAN FORD AFE WO NN526004 2 23m

*Alinen* 1784 Stobie

*Alinan Ford* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXX

ScG ? àth + ? *linne*

Àth *Linneain* ‘ford of the little pool’ may be possible, but the forms are too late to be certain. The final *-en/-an* may be a locational suffix or a diminutive. This ford may indicate that this was an important routeway and may have been a key crossing of the River Forth before the bridge was built at Aberfoyle.

ALLTAN NAM BREAC AFE W NN532056 2 101m

*Alanaprick* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Auldanabreik*, a trout burn 17<sup>th</sup> C *Geog. Coll.* ii, 567

*Auldnabreck* 1783 Stobie

*Alltan nam Breac* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *alltan + an + breac*

*Alltan nam Breac* ‘little stream of the trout (pl.)’. The editor of *RMS* ix has ‘vel *Alcraneprick*’ after *Alanaprick*, which may be a transcription error for \**Altaneprick*. *Alltan nam Breac* is the name of a burn, but the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map shows an un-named settlement at this NGR, while Stobie shows *Auldnabreck* here. The *p* spelling in the earliest form probably represents nasalisation of *b* following the *m* in genitive plural article *nam*.

ALTSKEITH AFE S NN469021 1 75m

*Aldskea* c.1750 Roy 70

*Auldskea* 1783 Stobie

*Lochard Lodge* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

*Altskeith* 1924-5 1 inch popular edn OS map, sheet 66

ScG *allt + sgeith*

*Allt Sgeith* ‘burn of spurting or gushing’. 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map has the burn named as *Allt na Sgeith*, although this would make *sgeith* fem. and Dwelly has it as masc. However, in OI it was fem. (see *DIL* under *sceith*). Dwelly variously has *sgeith* as ‘spawn; avoid; overflow, as a river; and spread, as water’, obviously relating to flow of the water. It is worth noting that ScG *sgiat* (gen. sg. *sgeith*) ‘wing, portion of land jutting out into sea’ is fem. Between 1783 and 1863 there was a name change to *Lochard Lodge*, which might be related to the tourist trade

that sprung up after the publication of Sir Walter Scott's work, such as *Lady of the Lake* in 1810.

/alt'skiθ/

ARNDRUM AFE R NS501987 1 138m

*Arndrum* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *earrann + druim*

*Earrann Droma* 'ridge portion'. Arndrum only appears from the 1<sup>st</sup> edn of the Ordnance Survey, however, it is one of a large number of *earrann* names in Menteith, some of which were lands belonging to the priory of Inchmahome, and Arndrum may have been one. The ScG form *Earrann Droma* contains the irregular declension in the genitive sg. of *druim*; this can also be found in Tyndrum PER, which is rendered in ScG as *Taigh an Droma* 'house of the ridge' (<http://www.ainmean-aite.org>). See also Drummanuster # below.

/arn'drʌm/

BALANTON AFE S NN526008 1 34m

*Ballintone* 1643 RMS ix, no. 1503

*Balinton* 1783 Stobie

*Balanton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXX

ScG *baile + an + tòn*

*Baile na Tòine* or *nan Tòn* ‘steading of the buttock-shaped hill(s)’. There is a small hillock 300m to the SE. There is a Ballanton in KMA (q.v.), and this may have the same derivation, but a person called Ballone had property there for a time in the 15<sup>th</sup> C, and so it could be a pn Ballone + Sc *toun*. The pronunciation suggests that situation does not apply here. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

/bələn'to:n/

BALLEICH AFE S NN516001 1 24m

*Balech* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Baleth* 1489 RMS ii no. 1862

*Balech* 1495 RMS ii no. 2230

*Baleich* 1510 RMS ii no. 3693

*Balleche* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Balloch* c.1750 Roy 70

*Balleich* 1783 Stobie

*Balleich* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *baile* + *each* (gen. *eich*)

*Baile Eich* or *Each* ‘horse(s) steading’. This is one of a small number of horse place-names in Menteith (see p. 104). This is the earliest *baile*-name on record in Menteith (see p. 123-129 for more discussion of this element).

/bəl'ix/

BLAIRHULLICHAN AFE S NN449017 1 50m

*Blaretuchan* 1425 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Blairhilloquhan* 1530 RMS iii no. 960

*Blairuluchane* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Blairchulichon* c.1750 Roy 70

*Blarhulichan* 1783 Stobie

*Blarhulachan* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *blàr + tulach + -ean*

*Blàr Thulaichean* ‘hillocks plain’. Although the derivation postulated here is ScG *tulaichean*, pl. of *tulach*, this place-name may contain a diminutive of *tulach*, i.e. *tulachan*, so *blàr thulachain* [gen. sg. of *tulachan*] – or *thulachan* [gen. pl.] ‘small hillock(s) plain’; cf. OI *tulchán* in *DIL*. Indeed, the earliest form might represent *tulchan*, perhaps with epenthesis. The forms from 1530 reflect lenition of *t*, showing an underlying *blàr thulaichean*. It is one of a number of *blàr*-names in the earldom (see p. 110-114 for discussion of *blàr*).

/bler'hulixən/

BLAIRUSKIN AFE S NN438 035 1 124m

*Blareuscanys* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Blairusken* c.1750 Roy 70

*Blaruskan-beg* 1783 Stobie

*Blaruskan-more* 1783 Stobie

*Blaruskinbeg* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

*Blaruskinmore* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

ScG *blàr + uisgean*

Although the specific looks like ScG masc. noun *uisgean* ‘waters’, we should be cautious in seeing plural forms in *-an*, as this may imply later coinage; the only secure attestations are in the 16<sup>th</sup> C Book of the Dean of Lismore (however, see Lanrick KMA for the possibility of ScG plural *-an* in the 14<sup>th</sup> C). Another possibility, is a diminutive, c.f. *DIL uisceán*. The earliest form points to there being subdivision by 1427 as is shown by the Scots plural *-ys* ending. Blairuskinmore (q.v. below) is near the meeting point of a number of small burns flowing into the Water of Chon. The main or primary holding must have been Blairuskinmore, and this seems to be borne out by the Roy form. (See p. 110-114 for discussion of *blàr*).

/bler<sup>l</sup>uskən/

BLAIRUSKINBEG AFE S NN438035 1 75m

*Blareuscanys* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Blaruskan-beg* 1783 Stobie

*Blaruskinbeg* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

En Blairuskin + ScG *beag*

BLAIRUSKINMORE AFE S NN438 035 1 124m

*Blareuscanys* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Blairusken* c.1750 Roy 70

*Blaruskan-more* 1783 Stobie

*Blaruskinmore* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

En Blairuskin + ScG *mòr*

BLARACHAPUILL # AFE S NN429047 2 117m

*Blaircapell* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Blairquople* c.1750 Roy 70

*Blarchaple* 1783 Stobie

*Blarachapuill* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

ScG *blàr + an + capall*

*Blàr a' Chapail* 'field or plain of the mare or horse'. This is one of a small number of names indicating horse in Menteith, including, sitting above *Blarachapuill*, shown on the 1,25,000 OS Explorer map, Meall a' Chapuill, 'round hill of the horse'. There is also Boquhapple, presumably *both chapaill* 'horse hut' and Mòine nan Each 'peat bog of the horses'. It reminds us of how important horses were in a pre-industrialised society, in particular to the upper sections of that society, in terms of transport and military needs. It may be that Blairuskin (qv above) and *Blarachapuill* formed contiguous grazing lands, much like the nine found in Kilmarnock parish DNB (Taylor 2006, 31-2). See p. 110-114 for discussion of *blàr*.

BLARANROIS # AFE S NN480012 2 58m

*Ros et Blairneros* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Blairinross* c.1750 Roy 70

*Blarinness* 1783 Stobie

*Blaranrois* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *blàr + en An Ros*

*Blàr an Ros* ‘plain or field of An Ros’. For An Ros, see Ros AFE, below. An Ros appears along with Craigmuck (q.v. below) in NAS GD220/1/C/3/1 (*terræ de Rose cum le Cragmuk*), and must relate to the promontory jutting into the south side of Loch Ard at its eastern end where *Blaranrois* is shown on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS. The 1643 form shows there are two separate, but connected places. The form given by Stobie is an error. See p. 110-114 for discussion of *blàr*.

BLAREGAL # AFE S NN417067 2 147m

*Blairgoll* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Blairgald* c.1750 Roy 71

*Blaregal* 1783 Stobie

ScG *blàr + gall*

*Blàr Gall* ‘field or plain of foreigners?’ ScG *gall* can also mean ‘standing stone’, but there is no indication of a standing stone near Blaregal #. The burn flowing past the site is un-named, but there is a *Leac a' Ghoill* ‘slab-stone or declivity of the foreigner?’ at NN426073 sitting at 341m or 194m above the former site of *Blaregal*. Who the foreigners were, if that is the specific, is unknown, but it could simply mean Lowlander. There is a Blair-na-Gaul in Kirkhill parish INV and also a Leac nan Gall in Kilchalmone ARG and a Leac a' Ghoill in Inverchaolain ARG. See p. 110-114 for discussion of *blàr*.

BLAIRVOUACH AFE S NN455025 1 73m

*Blareboyane* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Blairviok* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Blairvoich* c.1750 Roy 70

*Blarvuiok* 1783 Stobie

*Blairvouach* 2001 1:25,000 OS Explorer Sheet 365

‘Field or plain of?’ The early forms regarding the specific are too erratic to be able to give a derivation. The earliest form almost certainly refers to this place, as the 1427 charter to Malise Graham states ‘terrás de *Drumlaen*, terrás de *Ladarde*, terrás de *Blareboyane*, terrás de *Gartnerthynach*’ (NAS GD220/1/C/3/1): Blairvouach lies between Ledard and Gartnerichnich. See p. 110-114 for discussion of *blàr*.

BOFRISHLIE # AFE S NS511996 2 30m

*Bovfresle* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Bofressely* 1489 RMS ii no. 1862

*Bofressely* 1495 RMS ii no. 2230

*Bofresle* 1510 RMS ii no. 3693

*Bophreslie* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Blairfrusly* c.1750 Roy 70<sup>158</sup>

*Bofreslie* 1783 Stobie

*Bofrishlie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

Both *Phreaslaidh* ‘hut of the copse place’. The name survives in the Bofrishlie Burn. Watson is of the view that *preas* is a Gaelic borrowing from British *pres* ‘thicket’ (Watson 1926, 419-21). This may account for the British *-le* ‘place (of)’ suffix (Watson 1926, 350, 372, 420). However, it is likely that if *Bofrishlie* does have the British \*-le-suffix, then either the whole name is British, with the generic being *bod* ‘dwelling’, or it is ScG *both* + en \*Frishlie, the en being British. See also Nicolaisen (1996, 29). However, it could be ScG *preaslach*, gen. sg. *preaslaich*, -aigh ‘undergrowth’ (Dwelly). Another possibility is OG *freslige* ‘lying beside or with, contiguity’ (*DIL*). See p. 51 for discussion of this name in a p-Celtic context.

<sup>158</sup> The writing crosses a fold in the map here, making it difficult to read, it could be *Blairfrisly*.

/bo'friʃli/

BONINTY AFE S NS495985 2 90m

*Bonente* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Bonynty* 1489 RMS ii no. 1862

*Boninty* 1495 RMS ii no. 2230

*Bonente* 1510 RMS ii no. 3693

*Bonintrie* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Boninky* c.1750 Roy 70

*Boninty* 1783 Stobie

*Boninty* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *both + neanntag* ?

*Both Neanntag* or *Neanntaig* ‘nettle sheiling or sheiling of nettles?’. Marked as ‘Ruins’ on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map. The name survives in the Boninty Burn. The specific could be ScG *neanntag* (now *deanntag*) ‘nettle’, OG *nentóć* (fem.) ‘nettle’. Another suggestion might be *nent*, cf. W. *nant*, pl. *neint* ‘stream, valley of a stream’, which seems to appear in Scottish names mostly as *nent*, c.f. Tranent ELO in Watson (1926, 360); the second element could then be *nent + -in*.

/bo'ninti/

BRAEVAL AFE S NN535003 1 25m

*Braevall* 1783 Stobie

*Braevall* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXX

ScG *bràigh + baile*

*Bràigh a' Bhaile* ‘upland of the township’. The forms appear late in the record, but if the derivation is correct, the *baile* in question could be Aberfoyle or Balanton.

/bre'<sup>v</sup>al/

COBLELAND AFE S NS531987 1 27m

*Cobleland* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXX

Sc *coble + land*

‘Land belonging to someone who operates a ferry-boat’. A coble is defined by *DOST* as a short flat-bottomed rowing-boat, chiefly used in salmon-fishing or as a ferry-boat (see p. 91 for discussion of coble).

CRAHAVIE AFE S NN542055 1 82m

*Crantafy* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Crachravie* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Crachavie* 1783 Stobie

*Crahayie* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *craobh?* or ScG *crann?* + ?

This settlement sat at the western end of Loch Venachar, it is marked on the current 1: 25,000 OS Explorer map, but is uninhabited. The earliest form is placed between *Drumboy* (Druim-

Buidhe) and Achray in the charter to Malise Graham; the medial ‘r’ of *Crachravie* may be a mistake for a ‘t’. Both ScG *craobh* and *crann* mean ‘tree’.

CRAIGMUCK AFE S NN489002 1 37m

*le Cragmuk* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Craigmuck* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Craigmuick* c.1750 Roy 70

*Craigmuck* 1783 Stobie

*Craigmuck* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *creag + muc*

*Creag muice or muc* ‘pig rock or pigs’ rock’. This may have been a place where pigs were kept, or where they were allowed to roam freely. The name indicates that livestock was an important resource, and that this was once deciduous woodland; it is now in the midst of a Forestry Commission conifer forest.

CRAIGUCHTY AFE S NN520911 1 48m

*Craguthy estir* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Craguthi westir* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Craiguthie* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Craiguchty* 1783 Stobie

*Craigughy* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXX

ScG *creag + uchd?* + *-in?*

*Creag Uchdaidh?* ‘rounded or breast –shaped rock?’ or *Creag Uchda*, containing the gen. sing. of G *uchd* (masc.). Shown as a sprawling settlement on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS, this was the medieval

heart of what is now the village of Aberfoyle, and it is notable that Stobie does not show a settlement called Aberfoyle: that is reserved for the name of the parish; Craiguchty is the name of the settlement. The name survives in Craiguchty Cottage at the NGR shown. The element is found in Outh, near Dunfermline (Taylor, *PNF* i, 342). The final syllable could be the ScG *-in* ending, possibly a locative ending or diminutive suffix (Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 30-8; see Leny CLD below for the rarity of this ending in Menteith).

/kreg<sup>'</sup>xti/

CRANTULLICH AFE S NN472089 1 116m

*Cravenetuly* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Krantullich* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Crantullich* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIII

ScG *craobh + an + tulach*

*Craobh an Tulaich* ‘tree of the hillock’. The earliest form appears to show *craobh* plus the definite article; it may be that the ‘n’ in the later forms is a mistake for ‘v’. It is tempting to see the *tulach* as a ‘place of assembly’, but given its remoteness, this may be wishful thinking. However, it could be an assembly place related to the hunting forest of the earl of Menteith.

CRANYS # AFE S NN5201 4

*Cranys estir* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Cranys westir* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Cranysmore* 1489 RMS ii no. 1861

*Cranisbeg* 1489 RMS ii no. 1862

*Cranysbeg* 1495 RMS ii no. 2230

*Crannce* 1512 Fraser, *Colquhoun* ii, 321 [de duabus *Crannce*]

*Over Cryance* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

ScG *crann?*

'Tree?'. *Cranys estir* and *westir* are the first mentioned settlements in the charter of James I to Malise Graham (NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2) regarding the founding of the new and truncated Earldom of Menteith in 1427. Exactly where they were is unknown, but judging by their position in the charter and by the sequence of the other lands from Craiguchty to Loch Chon, it may be that *Cranys*, or something like it, was the original name of part of the present day *village* of Aberfoyle. There had clearly been subdivision of the lands of *Cranys* by 1427 as is shown by the Scots plural ending -*ys*.

COULIGARTAN AFE S NN454007 1 51m

*Culyngarth* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Cullingartin* 1530 RMS iii no. 960

*Cullingartin* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Cullgarten* c.1750 Roy 70

*Culegarten* 1783 Stobie

*Couligartan* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *cùl* or *cùil +an + en* \*Gartan

*Cùl* or *Cùil a' Ghartain* 'back or corner of the \*Gartan', where \*Gartan may be an existing name meaning 'the small enclosed field or settlement'. 600 m south of this settlement is Barr a' Ghartain 'summit or hill of the gartan'.

/kulɪ<sup>l</sup>gɑrtən/

CULLIGART AFE S NN428087 1126m

*Calgart* 1489 RMS ii no. 1862

*Calgart* 1495 RMS ii no. 2230

*Calgartmoir* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Calgartbeig* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Cullgartmor* c.1750 Roy 71

*Calagart* 1783 Stobie

*Culigart* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIII

ScG *caladh* + *gart*

*Caladh Gairt* ‘shore or ferry of the enclosed field or settlement’. The consistent *cal-* in the early forms probably means it is not ScG *cùl* ‘back’ or *cùil* ‘corner’, but has perhaps been influenced latterly by Coulligartan AFE (q.v. above). Watson considers it to be ‘harbour-field’ (Watson 2002 [1913], 130), which would suit its location on the southern shore of Loch Katrine. Roy shows two distinct settlements, but only names *Cullgartmor*. See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

DAISHER # AFE S NN442004 2 98m

*Deschore* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Deshert* c.1750 Roy 70

*Dasher* 1783 Stobie

*Daisher* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *deisear*

*Deisear* ‘place having a southerly exposure’. See also Dwelly under *deisear* where he says ‘The north side of the country around Loch Tay is called Deisear, and the south side, Tuather’. *Daisher* sat on a south facing slope. It was already ruins by the time the OS visited it in 1863. There is a Dasher in KPN which has the same derivation.

DALAVIE # AFE NN481001 2 54m

*Dalley* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Dalvy* c.1750 Roy 70

*Dalevie* 1783 Stobie

*Dalavie* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *dail +an ? + beith*

*Dail a' Bheithe* ‘birch-haugh’ is a possibility, but this interpretation depends on whether the medial vowel is a definite article or not. If it is, then *beith* is behaving more like a masc. noun rather than fem., so *Dail a' Bheithe* rather than *Dail na Beithe*. Local pronunciation would have been crucial here, but sadly the place is now lost. If the stress was on second element, then ScG *leamhan* ‘elm’ is plausible. *Leamh/leamhán* ‘elm’ exists in Irish places such as Lavagh, Donegal and Sligo and Lavey, Derry and Cavan (Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 107-8). See p. 114-116 for discussion of *dail*.

DALCHON # AFE S NN449021 2 40m

*Dalthone* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Dalchon* 1783 Stobie

ScG *dail + en Chon*

*Dail Chon* ‘water-meadow of or beside the Water of Chon’. The element *chon* may represent a primary river-name rather than a genitive of ScG *cù* ‘dog’. Water meadows are low-lying land around a river, creating a flood plain. During the summer when the land around the river was dry, the grass was cut to produce hay. This was used as winter feed for the animals. The act of the river flooding also fertilised the land with silt from the river. It is now called Lochard Cottages. See p. 114-116 for discussion of *dail*.

DALDANET # AFE NN494003 2 33m

*Daldornick* c.1750 Roy 70

*Daldanid* 1783 Stobie

*Daldanet* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

ScG *dail* + ?

‘Water-meadow of ?’ The earliest form, although very late in time, suggests ScG *dorn* ‘fist; pebble’, and so ‘pebbly haugh’, but Roy can be unreliable, especially since his surveyors were not Gaelic-speakers (see p. 30-31). The other forms fail to shed light on what the specific might be. See p. 114-116 for discussion of *dail*.

DOUNANS AFE S NN525012 1 43m

*Downans* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Downam* 1489 RMS ii no. 1862

*Downane* 1495 RMS ii no. 2230

*Dounance* 1510 RMS ii no. 3693

*the Downnace* 1573 Fraser, Menteith ii, 316

*Downnance* 1643 RMS xi no. 1502

*Dounins* c.1750 Roy 70

*Up<sup>r</sup>. Dounance* 1783 Stobie

*Neth<sup>r</sup>. Dounance* 1783 Stobie

*Nether Donnans* 1791-99 OSA x, 117

*Upper Dounans* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXX

ScG *dùn + -an*

*Dùnan* 'little fort or hill'. The final *-an* is probably a diminutive. It also has the Scots plural ending in all the forms bar one, as indicated by the *-s* or *-ce* suffixes, suggesting tounship splitting by the early 15<sup>th</sup> C. It is not known where any fort, if there was one, was situated (there is nothing on RCAHMS Canmore relating to Dounans). Dounans sits 1 km N of Doon Hill (NN525001), and may named to distinguish it from that hill.

/'dunənz/

DRUIM-BUIDHE AFE S NN539039 2 130m

*Drumboy* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Drambuy* 1643 RMS ix, no. 1502

*Trombuy* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v ['Item *Trombuy* is upon the southside of L. *Dronky...*']

*Druim-buidhe* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *druim + buidhe*

*Druim Buidhe* 'yellow ridge'. The settlement has now disappeared and the name survives as *Druim Buidhe*, a 218 m high ridge 1km to the SSW and it is from this ridge that the settlement is most probably named.

DRUMLEAN AFE S NN484023 1 80m

*Drumlaen* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Drumlean* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Drumlain* c.1750 Roy 70

*Drumlean* 1783 Stobie

*Drumlean* 1791-99 OSA x, 126

*Drumlean* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

ScG *druim + leana?*

*Druim Lèana* ‘meadowland ridge’? As well as ScG *lèana* (Dwelly), from OG *lénae* (DIL), ‘meadowland’, *lethan* ‘broad’ might be possible, but if the latter, it would involve the dental fricative disappearing before earliest form. This has happened in Menteith in Ballamenoch KPN and Balmeanoch CLD, where the specific is ScG *meadhanach* ‘middle’. Black (1946, 420) states that *Lean* is a ‘shortened form of (Mac) Lean, q.v.’. In his entry of MacLean he writes that MacLean derives from ScG ‘*Mac Gille Eoin*, earlier *Mac Ghill’ Eathain*’. He also asserts that ‘the *l* is all that remains of *gille* (Black 1946, 536). However, this must remain unlikely, for whoever the mysterious Gille Eoin might have been, we might have expected more of the name to appear in the earliest form, especially at least the *g* of *Gille*.

/drʌm'len/

DRUMMANISTER # AFE R NS518989?

*Drum<m>anust<er>* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

ScG *druim + ? mainistear*

*Druim Mainistir* ‘monastery ridge’. There is a hill called ‘The Ministrie’ at the NGR on the current 1:25,000 OS Explorer Map and on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn 6 inch OS map. It lies 1.5 km E of Arndrum (q.v. above), which contains ScG *earrann* ‘portion’ (see p. 116-119 for more on that element, which I argue may be lands belonging to Inchmahome Priory). In the original charter there is clearly an abbreviation mark above the ‘um’. Although I am not aware of its use in Scotland, *mainistear* ‘monastery’ is used as an element in Irish place-names (Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 119). Nearby is also Drum Wood, through which the AFE/PMH parish-boundary runs.

DUNVARIG # AFE S NN430045 2 123m

*Dunneverig* c.1750 Roy 70<sup>159</sup>

*Dunvarig* 1783 Stobie

ScG *dùn* + ?

‘Hill-fort of ?’ There may not actually have been a fort here, just the perception of one or a hillock that looked like one. See next entry for Dunverig #, and also Dunaverig PMH.

DUNVERIG # AFE S NS523989 2 57m

*Donverig* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Donneverig* c.1750 Roy 70

*Dunverig* 1783 Stobie

*Dunverig* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXX

ScG *dùn* + ?

<sup>159</sup> The writing merges into the shading for the hill here and is rather difficult to read, but c.f. Roy’s transcription of *Dunverig* below.

‘Hill-fort of ?’ Marked ‘ruins’ on 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS. It is not known why there should be two such similar names in AFE. There may be some kind of duplication taking place. See previous entry for Dunvarig #, and also Dunaverig PMH.

/dunə'vərɪg/

FRENICH AFE S NN413068 1 97m

*Frenich* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*W. Frenich* 1783 Stobie

*E. Frenich* 1783 Stobie

*Frenich* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXI

ScG *fraon* (OG *fraen*) ? + *-ach* ?

*Fraonaich* ? ‘place of shelter in the mountains’. This may be an oblique/locative form of *Fraonach*, or perhaps an adjectival form of ScG *fraon* meaning ‘place of shelter’; cf. mod ScG *fraoineasach* ‘sheltered’. Another possibility might be ScG *fearann* ‘land’, which apparently can become Anglised as ‘*fren*’ (see Watson, Index under *fearann*), which in this case might mean ‘cultivated land’ amongst predominantly pastoral land. The *-ach* ending may mean ‘place of’. However, see also Dwelly *freineach*, Badenoch for *raineach* ‘fern’. Frenich sits on a piece of flat land at the head of Loch Chon.

/'frenɪx/

GARTLOANING AFE S NS514982 1 100m

*Lonanys et Garquhat* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Gartalunan* 1489 *TA i*, 122

*Gartloanbeg* 1489 *RMS ii* no. 1862

*Gartloanbeg* 1495 *RMS ii* no. 2230

*Gartloanbeg* 1510 *RMS ii* no. 3693

*Gairtlonen* c.1632-52 *NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10* (Gordon 51)

*Gartlonnin* c.1750 *Roy 70*

*E & W Gartloning* 1783 *Stobie*

*Gartloaning* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn *OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX*

ScG *gart + lònainn*

*Gart Lònainn* ‘enclosed field or settlement of cattle lane or pass’. This settlement had been sub-divided by at least 1427, and there was another settlement nearby called *Garquhat*, presumably \**Gartchait* (or similar) ‘enclosed field or settlement of the wild cat’ (see p.119-122 for more discussion of the element *gart*). *Lònainn* is a loan-word into ScG from Sc *loan* ‘cattle lane or pass’. *Garquhat* is never mentioned again, and Gartloaning might be the result of a combination of two names, one deriving from ScG, the other from Sc.

In 1489 there was a battle near *Gartalunan* (*Gartloaning AFE*). Here the forces of James IV defeated a group of rebels led by the earl of Lennox bent on avenging the death of James III after the Battle of Sauchieburn in 1488. Afterwards James IV gave a thanks offering at the kirk of Kippen (*TA i*, 122; Nicholson 1974, 537; Dawson 2007, 38).

/gart'loniŋ/

GARTNERICHNICH AFE S NN445028 1 71m

*Gartnerthynach* 1427 *NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2*

*Gartinerenach* 1530 RMS iii no. 960

*Gartnerinoch* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Gartnerunich* c.1750 Roy 70

*Gartnerenich* 1783 Stobie

*Garsnerichnich* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

*Garsnerichnich* 1895 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1 inch OS map, sheet 38

*Gartnerichnich* 1956 1 inch OS 7th Series sheet 53.

ScG *gart + an + ?*

*Gart an Airchinnich?* ‘enclosed field or settlement of?’ See p.119-122 for discussion of ScG *gart*. Due to the instability of the early forms, it is unclear what the specific is in this case. However, it is likely that there is a definite article, and a possibility for the specific might be OI *airchinnech* ‘head, leader, superior’, although there is no evidence for its use in Scotland. If this is the specific it could mean later metathesis had taken place. According to *DIL*, *airchinnech* was a monastic office anglicised as *erenagh* in Ireland.

/'gartner'ixnix/

GLASAHOILE AFE S NN466088 1 117m

*Gassel* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Glaskalze* 1489 RMS ii no. 1862

*Glaskailyhe* 1495 RMS ii no. 2230

*Glaschailly* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Glaschyll* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Glashchyle* c.1750 Roy 71

*Glasschoil* 1783 Stobie

*Glasahoile* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIII

ScG. *glas + coille*

*Glas-Choille* ‘green or grey wood’. The medial vowel in the 1863 form may be an epenthetic vowel (c.f. the normal Gaelic pronunciation of Glasgow in ScG Glaschu / Glascho with epenthetic vowel).

GLASSERT, THE AFE S NN478018 1 47m

*Glasswerde* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Glaschart* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Glashart* 1783 Stobie

*Glashart* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

*The Glassert* 1957 1 inch OS 7th Series sheet 54

ScG *glas + àird*

*Glas-Àird* ‘green height’. It may signify good upland grazing. Stobie shows the settlement further away to the east from the shore of Loch Ard, whereas the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map shows the settlement at the shore of the loch. It is not clear if the second element relates to Loch Ard or not.

INCHRIE # AFE NN515009 2 21m

*Inchere* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Inchrie in Aberfoill* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Inchrie* 1783 Stobie

ScG *innis +rèidh?*

*Innis Rèidh* ‘flat, even haughland’. Inchrie has now disappeared, but sat on the haughland on the southern abnk of the River Forth 1 km E of Aberfoyle.

KINLOCHARD AFE S NN455023 1 44m

*Kinlochard* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

ScG *ceann + en* Loch Ard

*Ceann Loch Àrd* ‘head of Loch Ard’. There is no mention of this place earlier than the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS.

KIRKTON AFE S NN518005 1 27m

Ecclesia de *Aberful* 1275 *Bagimond* (Dunlop edition), 54

Ecclesia de *Aberpul* 1276 *Bagimond* (Dunlop edition), 71

kirk of *Abirfule* 1479 ADC ii, 28

*Kirkton* de *Abirfull* 1489 RMS ii no. 1862

*Kirkton* de *Abirfull* 1494 RMS ii no. 2230

le *Kirkton* de *Abirfull* 1512 RMS ii no. 3693

Lie mans et gleib de *Aberfule* 1581 RMS v no. 143

*Kirktown* 1783 Stobie

*Kirkton* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXX

Sc *kirk + toun*

‘Church tounship of Aberfoyle Parish’. The site of the old church of Aberfoyle is situated here and is only 500m west of where the Pow Burn meets the River Forth, and which gave rise to the name of the original church.

LEDARD AFE S NN461025 1 67m

*Ladarde* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Ladard* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Leadard* c.1750 Roy 70

*Ledard* 1783 Stobie

*Ledard* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

ScG *leathad + en Ård*

*Leathad Ård* ‘slope of Ard’. The Ledard Burn forms one of the more substantial sources of Loch Ard. It is not clear whether the ‘a’ of Ard should have a length mark, i.e. Ård. It may be that *Leathad Ård* is adjectival, and high or lofty slope is meant here.

/led'ard/

LETRUNCHEN AFE NN422057 2 120m

*Letterunscheone* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Leterinchuen* c.1750 Roy 71

*Letrunchen* 1783 Stobie

ScG *leitir + uinnseann*

*Leitir Uinnseann* ‘ash tree slope’. The name has survived in *Rubha Letrunchen* ‘Promontory of Letrunchen’ at NN419055.

LOCHAN EABARACH AFE W NN519001 1 22m

*Lochaneibart* 1783 Stobie

*Lochan Eabarach* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXX

ScG *lochan + lobairt* or *eabarach*

'Small loch of the sacrifice/offering or small muddy loch'. It is unfortunate that we do not have earlier forms. The lochan is only about 400m SE of the old kirk of Aberfoyle. If it is an Ibert name, as the Stobie form suggests, then it is one of a small group in this part of central Scotland (see p.160-163 for details). Historically this would have been ScG *Lochan lobairte*. On the basis of late evidence it could be ScG *eabarach*, the adjectival form of *eabar* 'mud, puddle', which would suit its location on the flat land connecting the Pow Burn to the River Forth. As it is so near the old kirk of Aberfoyle, it is possible that the form with *Eabarach* has been affected by the first element of the parish-name Aberfoyle (see Aberfoyle, above); this may have happened as late as the first half of the 19th century.

MILL OF CHON AFE NN451022 1 40m

*Mill of Chon* 1783 Stobie

*Mill of Chon* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXII

'Mill on the Water of Chon'. Marked as a corn mill on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map.

MILTON AFE S NN503014 1 31m

le Myltoun de *Abirfull* 1489 RMS ii no.1862

le Miltoun de *Abirfull* 1494 RMS ii no. 2230

le Miltoun de *Abirfull* 1512 RMS ii no. 3693

*Myltoun* de *Abirfull* 1530 RMS iii no. 960

*Milltown* of *Aberfuyle* 1640 Laing Chrs no. 2277

Mill of *Aberfoil* c.1750 Roy 70

*Milltown* 1783 Stobie

*Milton* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

Sc *mill + toun*

'Tounship of the mill [of Aberfoyle Parish]'. This would have been the main mill of the parish, where the parishioners would have taken their grain to be ground. The name of the river on which Milton stood, and which provided the power for the mill, is Avondhu.

MULAN AN T-SAGAIRT AFE R NN419034 1 427m

*Mulan an t-Sagairt* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXI

ScG *mulan + an + sagart*

*Mulan an t-Sagairt* 'small hillock of the priest'. Comes on record only from 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS but presumably dates prior to the Reformation. Dwelly has ScG *mulan* as 'small hill, hillock, knoll', but at 427m it is hardly small; it is the same height as Beinn Dearg, which towers above Lake of Menteith, 11m higher than Dumyat, which dominates the western end of the Ochills, and only 31m lower than Caerletheran, highest of the Gargunnock Hills. C.f. *DIL* OI *mul* 'globular mass, heap, lump' and *mullán* 'hillock, heap'.

RENAGOURAFE S NN503013 1 39m

*Ranygour* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Runnagour* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIX

*Runnagour* 1895 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1 inch OS map, sheet 38

*Renagour* 1903 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. 1inch OS map, sheet 38.

Scg *rinn* or *rubha* + *an* + *gobhar*

*Rinn* or *Rubha na Gobhair* or *nan Gobhar* ‘point or promontory of the goat or goats’. *Rubha na Gobhair* (fem.) or *Rubha an Ghobhair* (masc.) are both possible. According to the OS Original Object Name Book for AFE (NAS RH4/23/16) the factor, a Mr Jolly, spelled it *Runnagour*, while the minister Rev. W. Stewart spelled it *Runagour*. Mr Jolly apparently had ‘no objections to this mode of spelling but leaves it entirely to [the OS] discretion’. The Name Book has *Runa-gour* ‘The Goat’s Point’, while in a different hand is ‘rather *Rudha na-Goibre*’. While the modern forms suggest ScG *rinn*; the ‘point’ is formed by the meeting of the Duchray Water and the Avondhu, which then becomes the River Forth. However, *rubha* ‘promontory’ is reasonably common in AFE, see Letrunchen, above, and Rubha Saonach, below.

/rənə<sup>g</sup>ʌr/

ROS # AFE S NN480012 2 58m

*Rose* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Ros et Blairneros* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*An Ros* ‘the promontory’. See Blaranrois AFE above for disussion of this name.

RUBHA SAONACH AFE NN412096 1 125m

*Savnach* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C3/1/2

*Sawnocht* 1489 RMS ii no.1862

*Saunoch* 1495 RMS ii no. 2230

*Inoch* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Rudha Saonach* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXII

ScG *ruba* + en \*Samhnach?

Dwelly has *samhnach* meaning ‘deer park’, in which case Rubha Saonach could be ‘deer park point or promontory’. We know that the area was a hunting forest, as Alexander Graham states in 1724: ‘In this paroch was a forest of red deer called the forest of Monteath. But after the death of the late earl of Monteath [the 8th earl died in 1684] and that it fell into the family of Montrose the forest was neglected and ther are noe deer in it now’ (*Geog. Coll.*, i, 343). However, it is not clear where Dwelly got *samhnach* from; is not in other Gaelic dictionaries, including Armstrong, a frequent source of Perthshire Gaelic for Dwelly.

The last form of 1643, if my assumption that this is meant to be Saonach is correct, seems to be a transcription error.

## ***Parish of Callander***

### *Introduction*

The area that came to be known as the parish of Callander (see Maps 18 and 19) was a complex patchwork in the Middle Ages; it contained three parishes – Callander, Kilmahog, and Leny. It also consisted of the baronies of Callander, Doune, Keir, Leny and Strathgartney. The lands in the barony of Doune<sup>160</sup> which lay in the medieval parish of Callander included Brackland CLD. The barony of Strathgartney made up most of the parish and included Achnahard, Ardcheanochrochan, Ardmachmuin, Blairgarry, Brenachoile, Chaoruinnach # Coilantogle, Coireachrombie, Coischambie #, Dreppan #, Duart, Duncraggan, Edra, Glengyle, Gleann nam Meann, Groddich #, Hidderbrigend # (now part of Brig o Turk) Larg #, Lendrick, Letter, Milton of Callander, Offerens #, and Stank. Also part of ther barony and probably part of the forest of Glenfinglas, were the now lost Westirbrigend # (now part of Brig o Turk), and *Dountehagarty, Dousse, Lagane, and Strononich*, whose whereabouts are unknown. These lands are situated in the area stretching from the southern end of Loch Lubnaig to the western end of Loch Katrine. Included in the barony of Strathgartney was the medieval parish of Kilmahog (KXM), which included Kilmahog, Lendrick, Coischambie #, Offers #, Gartinjore #. It is possible that Duncraggan, Drippan #, Bochastle, and Potnellan, were also in KXM. The barony of Leny seems to have been a small barony consisting of the lands around Leny House, and formed part of the medieval parish of Leny (LXY). The barony of Callander made up the eastern most part of the medieval parish of CLD, and included Callender, Kirktown #, Auchenlaich, Garth, Claish, Greenock, Gartchonzie, and ‘the tua *Iberts*’ (Kirk 1995, 349). The present town of Callander was built on land ‘which was formerly the farms of *Kirkton*,

<sup>160</sup> For the baronies of Doune and Strathgartney I’m using here the *Rentalia Domini Regis* to show which lands are in respective baronies. The King’s Rentals date from 1480 and are first found in *ER ix*. The details of these names can be found in the surveys.

Murdiestoun, *Ballantoun*,<sup>161</sup> Balgibbon & East Mains' (NAS E777/313/105). The barony of Callander also included those upland areas to the north of the present town of Callander rarely mentioned in the records, but shown on a plan drawn for the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates in 1775 (NAS E777/313/2), namely *Arivouricherich*, *Beglarig*, *Coryardrish*, *Corychroin*, *Lurgavouie*, *Stroanetrykin*, *Tomscridan*, and *Tombae*. This plan also shows that the Stirlings of Keir had lands to the north-west of Callander barony; these must be part of the barony of *Keir*, including *Lubnoch* (q.v. below under Loch Lubnaig). This is further confirmed by remarks made by a surveyor of the road from Stirling to Fort William sometime between 1724 and 1736, who wrote that the lands on the east side of Loch Lubnaig, 'belongs to Stirling of *Kire*, is called *Lochlubnigside*...one side is Stirling of *Keer*, Other side is Lord Perth' (NLS Acc. 10497.58 (m))<sup>162</sup>; and by the Rev James Robertson, minister for CLD who wrote 'opposite [Creag na Comh-sheilg 'crag of joint-hunting' NN580125] lies the hunting seat of Mr Bruce of Kinnaird, a part of the estate of *Keir*' (OSA xi, 583).

ACHADH AN EASBUIG CLD, LXY E NN599092 1 180 m

*Achadh an Easbuig* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

ScG *achadh + an + easbaig*

*Achadh an Easbaig* 'field of the bishop'. In the barony of Leny. The earliest reference is from 1862, but the name may date to at least 1237 when Pope Gregory assigned to the bishop of Dunblane 'if it can be done without grave scandal, a quarter of the [teinds] of all the parish churches of the Diocese of Dunblane' (see Chapter 6 for more discussion of this name). An alternative might be that it was lands belonging to Giolla Espuig Mór of Leny mentioned in a

<sup>161</sup> This is the only time this name appears; c.f. Ballinton KMA and Balanton AFE.

<sup>162</sup> This is a plan and comments on the road from Stirling to Fort William entitled 'MS Diagram with description of the proposed roads from Callander to Fort William'. The original is held in the Department of Geography at the University of Edinburgh.

charter of Alexander II to Alan and Margaret of Leny in 1237 (Leny Charter Alexander II). See p. 107-110 for discussio of *achadh*.

ACHNAHARD CLD S NN528091 1 150m

*Auchnaharde* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Achinharde* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Auchinhard* 1480 *ER* ix, 40

*Auchinhard* 1529 *RMS* iii no. 854

*Achinherd* 1529 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 392

*Auchinhard* 1532 *RMS* iii no. 1123

*Auchinhard* 1561 *RMS* iv no. 1392

*Achinhard* 1567 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 403

*Auchinhard* 1580 *AMW* i, 308

*Auchinhard* 1588 *RMS* v no. 1429

*Auchinhard* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97

*Auchinhard* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877

*Achanard* c.1750 *Roy* 70

*Achnahard* 1783 *Stobie*

*Achnahard* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch *OS map*, sheet CXIV

ScG *achadh + an + àirde*

*Achadh na h-Àirde* ‘field (or farm) of the height’; In the barony of Strathgartney. Part of the hunting forest of Glenfinglas in the medieval period. Auchenhard WLO shares the same derivation (Watson 1926, 145; MacDonald 1941, 78). See p. 107-110 for discussio of *achadh*.

/,axnə'hard/

ANIE CLD S NN588102 1 150m

*Lower Anie* 1783 Stobie

*Up<sup>r</sup> Anie* 1783 Stobie

*Aney* 1791-99 *OSA* xi, 581, 586

*Aney* NSA 1835 *NSA* x, 352

*Anie* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXIV

ScG àth + an + fiadh

Àth an Fhèidh ‘ford of the deer’. Fèidh is the genitive sg. form of fiadh ‘deer’. Angus Watson suggests that Anie may derive from annaid ‘(old) church, mother church’ (Watson 2002a, 47). While the site of St Brides Chapel could be seen to lend support for that view, the place-name Tom Àth an Fhèidh 700m north (NN588109) makes it more likely that we are looking at ‘ford of the deer’ rather than ‘mother church’, and this interpretation is corroborated by the modern pronunciation of the name, with stress on the final syllable. Tom Àth an Fhèidh seems to mark the boundary of the lands of Anie. *Up<sup>r</sup> Anie* is marked on Stobie, presumably this is the site of the present Anie; *Lower Anie* is marked nearer to St Bride’s Chapel. The ford crossed the Anie Burn at NN588100, just to the SW of the present farm, and was on the Old Military Road marked on the 1:25,000 Explorer map.

/a'ni/

ARDCHEANACROCHAN CLD S NN512071 1 122m

*Ardkankokane* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Arcankokenes* 1480 *ER* ix, 561

*Arknanknokneis* 1486 ER ix, 622

*Auchandnoquhane* 1508 RMS ii no. 3193

*Ardechandnoquhane* 1509 RMS ii no. 3350

*L. Airdkeanknoken* c.1636-52 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Arichandnaquhan* 1640 *Retours PER* no. 494

*Ardchadnquhin* 1670 *Retours PER* no. 806<sup>163</sup>

*Ardkenochrockan* 1775 NAS E777/313/2

*Ardkencnocan* 1783 Stobie

*Ardcheanochrochan* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXII

*Ardcheanochrochan* 1895 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1 inch OS map, sheet 38

ScG *àirde + ceann + an + cnocan*

*Àrd-cheann a' Chnocaín* 'big summit or promontory at/of the head or end of the small hill'.

*Àrd-cheann a' chnocaín* explains both the evident lenition and the lack of genitival form of *ceann* 'head, end'. The best interpretation of this name as it stands is something like 'upper-head, big summit of \*a' Chnocháin', but the whereabouts of this place is unknown. The name survives in the burn name Allt Ardcheanacrochan. The name of the settlement was changed in the 20<sup>th</sup>C, first to Trossachs Hotel and then to Tigh Mor 'big house', and may have been simply to make it easier for potential guests to pronounce. There was a change in pronunciation which is reflected in the early forms from *cn-* to *cr*, which seems to have taken place in the early modern period (after 1775). This reflects modern ScG pronunciation, and is a good indication for evidence that this sound-change had taken place in the Gaelic of Menteith by the 18<sup>th</sup> C. The change from /n/ to /r/ in Gaelic words beginning *cn* or *gn* is 'comparatively late' according to O'Rahilly; he suggests the change took place in Scotland by the mid-16<sup>th</sup> C or later (O'Rahilly 1932, 22-3).

<sup>163</sup> *Retours* editor has (vel *Ardchandnaquhin*) immediately after main entry.

ARDCHULLARIE MORE CLD S NN585136 1 145m

*Ardquhowloure* 1462-3 *Laing Chrs.* no 151 [his lands of *Strathir* namely  
*Ardquhowloure..lying in the earldom of Strathern*]

*Ardquhilloure* 1533 *Fraser Stirling*, 351

*Aldchulery* c.1750 Roy

*E. Ardchullarie* 1783 Stobie

*Ardchullarie More* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXIV

ScG *àird + cùil + odhar*

*Àird Chùil Odhair* ‘promontory of the dun-coloured nook’. Angus Watson (2002, 30) has ‘G *àird* ‘point, promontory’ as the first element; the contours form a modest promontory at the site of the present dwelling. The two earliest forms suggest *chùil odhair* ‘(of) dun-coloured nook’ for the remainder, perhaps as an e.n.’ (see also his discussion on *cùil*, 453-4, where he has ‘**cùil** G f ‘corner, nook’). The lands of *Ardchullarie* were split in two at some point, but this may have been a reflection of the natural situation in any case, for the Ardchullarie Burn runs through the middle of the territory leaving Ardchullarie More on the southern side of the burn Archchullarie Beg<sup>164</sup> was on the northern side. More than that however, Ardchullarie More was in Menteith, while Ardchullarie Beg was in Strathearn because the Ardchullarie Burn was the boundary between CLD and BQR. The form found in Roy refers presumably to \**allt chùil odhair* ‘stream of the dun-coloured nook’ or \**allt chùl àraigh* ‘stream of the back sheiling’, although the latter may be a later reinterpretation. The Roy form could suggest we are dealing with an existing name \**Cullarie*: so we may have ‘promontory of \**Cullarie*’ and ‘burn of \**Cullarie*’.

<sup>164</sup> Now lost, but marked ‘Ruins of’ on 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXIV.

ARDMACHMUIN CLD S NN436101 1 138m

*Ardmakmonyn* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Ardmacmonyn* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Ardmacmonan* 1480 *ER* ix, 562

*Ardmacmonane* 1483 *ER* ix, 595

*Ardmacmonain* 1486 *ER* ix, 622

*Ardmakmouane* 1559 *RMS* iv no. 1339

*Ardmokmonon* 1613 *Retours PER* no. 1102

*Ardmakmonane* 1640 *Retours PER* no. 494

*Ardmochmoynan* 1775 *NAS E777/313/122*

*Ardmachmuin* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXIII

ScG àirde + surname?

‘Height or promontory of?’ Barony of Strathgartney. There is no longer a settlement here but the place-name is still marked on the 1:25,000 Explorer map. If it is a surname, it does not appear in the *Rentalia Domini Regis*, and there is no discussion of a similar name in Black (1946), but the saint in St Monans FIF is a possibility (see Taylor, *PNF* iii, 557-8 for the similarity of many of the early forms of St Monans).

ARIVURICHARDICH CLD S NN643138 1 340m

*Arivouricherich* 1775 *NAS E777/313/2*

*Arivurichardich* 1783 Stobie

*Arivurichardich* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXV

ScG àirigh + mòr +an + ceàrdach

*Àirigh Mhòr a' Cheàrdaich* 'The big sheiling of the smithy'. ScG *cèardach* 'smithy' is fem., but the early forms suggest it is being treated as masc., i.e. *a' Cheàrdaich* rather than *na Ceàrdaich*. The middle *i* (between *vur* and *chardich*) may represent the definite article. This was part of the uplands of the barony of Callander, and seems to have been part of the grazing lands of the barony.

/'ari vuri'ardix/

AUCHENLAICH CLD S NN648072 1 82m

*Auchinvaik* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349)

*Auchinlaich* c.1755 NAS E729/2/21

*Auchinlauch* 1783 Stobie

*Auchenlauch* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXIV

*Auchenlauch* 1895 2<sup>nd</sup> edn OS 1 inch sheet 39

*Auchenlaich* 1904 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch sheet 39

*Auchenlaich* 1924 1 inch popular edn OS map, sheet 66

ScG *achadh + an + laogh* ?

*Achadh an Laoigh* or *nan Laogh* 'field of the calf or calves?'. The earliest form looks like it contains a transcription error *v* for *l*. The specific seems to have been assimilated to Sc *laich* 'low-lying ground'. However, a place called Achloa in Glenlyon, 3km NE of Fortingall, might offer another possibility; it is mentioned by Watson as being *Achadh Laogh* 'calves' field'; early forms include *Achleys* and *Auchinleys* (Watson 2002 [1930], 196). See p. 107-110 for discussion of *achadh*.

/,ɔxən'lai/

BAD A' CHOIS CLD S NN546062 1 100m

*Bad a' Chois* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXIII

ScG *bad + an + cas*

*Bad a' Chois*, ‘thicket of the foot [shaped land]’, however, historically it would have been *Bad na Cois(e)*, since ScG *cas* is fem. *Bad a' Chois* might reflect the local dialect, where ScG *cas* was masc. in the Menteith dialect. Note, however, Dwelly *còs* ‘cave, crevice’, which is masculine.

See *Coischambie* below for discussion of this name.

BALAMEANOCHE CLD, LXY S NN614087 2

*Balmeanoch* 1783 Stobie

*Balmanoch* 1843 RHP 1442/1

*Balameanoch Woods* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXV

ScG *baile + meadhanach*

*Baile Meadhanach* ‘middle farmstead or settlement’. See p. 124 for discussion of this and two other places called *baile meadhanach* in Menteith.

BALGIBBON CLD S NN640076 1 85m

*Ballgibbon* 1775 NAS E777/313/105

*Balgibbon* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXIV

ScG *baile + pn Gibbon*

'Tounship or farmstead of Gibbon' Barony of Callander. The *-gibbon* element is probably the same as that in Arngibbon KPN. This was one of the farms that came to make up the present town of Callander in the 18<sup>th</sup> C. Black (1946, 297) has Gibbon as a 'diminutive for Gibb...+ French diminutive suffix *-on*'; while he has Gibb as 'a pet or diminutive form of Gilbert'. According to Black, Gibbon was 'an especial favourite in Perthshire at an early date...' (*ibid*). The name was not unknown in Perthshire; a Gibun de Mulfiche<sup>165</sup> witnessed a charter of Robert, earl of Strathearn in 1233 x 1235<sup>166</sup> (*Lind. Cart.*, no. XXVII), while Gibun de Haya witnessed a charter of Alexander, abbot of Coupar Angus in 1220 (*Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXVI). These two names may be based on the Old French name Giboin.<sup>167</sup> It is tempting to see Arngibbon as the 'portion of Gilbert (de Camera)', who was prior of Inchmahome between 1450 and 1468x69 (Watt and Shead 2001, 109), but this is mere conjecture, as is wondering whether Balgibbon CLD belonged to him also. Another possibility is Gilbert of Glenkerny, i.e. the lordship of Glencarnie, Duthil parish MOR (Ross 2003, 161), who was given half the lands of *Broculy* or Bracklinn in 1267 (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 217; see Bracklinn below); Bracklinn is 2.5km NE of Balgibbon. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

Another possible meaning for the specific is ScG *gibein*, gen. *gibein* 'hunch on the back [shaped rise]'. W.J. Watson has Balgibbon in Dwelly as *Bail' a' ghibein* (Dwelly 1902-12, 1006).

BALVALACHLAN CLD NN635061 1 67m

*Balclaichling* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708

*Balclachling* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 880

*Balwicklauchlane* 1765 *NAS E729/8/68*

<sup>165</sup> Mulfiche or Montfiquet is the original spelling of the Muschets of Kincardine in Menteith. The Montfiques came to Scotland via Normandy around 1165 (Black 1946, 662); they were granted Kincardine in 1189 x 1195 (*RRS* ii, no 334).

<sup>166</sup> The charter was also witnessed by Clement, bishop of Dunblane, who was elevated to that post in 1233, and G. (Gilbert), archdeacon of Dunblane, who was last heard of as being in that post on 7<sup>th</sup> May 1235.

<sup>167</sup> My thanks to Dr Matthew Hammond for this suggestion.

*Bailivichlachlan* 1775 NAS E777/313/117

*Ballachlachlin* 1783 Stobie

*Boglot* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXIV

*Boglot* 1927 OS 1 inch popular edition sheet 62

*Balvalchlan* 1954 OS 1 Inch Seventh Series sheet 54

ScG *baile* + MacLauchlan

*Baile Mhic Lachlainn* ‘farmstead of a person called MacLauchlan’<sup>168</sup> Barony of Callander.

Fourteen new farms or lots were proposed in the area to the south of Callander by the surveyors of the Annexed Estates, the body set up to improve the estates of those who had their lands forfeited after the ‘45 and to discourage further rebellion. The 1775 form comes from John Leslie’s plan and covers the proposed enclosure of Lot 9, a 90 acre farm occupied by John Ferguson and John MacLauchlan. The *Boglot* entries are a bit puzzling, but may have been a name change perhaps after the last mentioned John or his heirs had died; the nearby lands of *Greenock* were marked on the Annexed Estate plan as *Greenock Moss* (NAS E777/313/2). With regard to the earliest forms, it is interesting that Black (1946, 533) shows spellings from the 17<sup>th</sup> C showing *M'Clachlane* or *McClauchlan*. The forms for 1765 and 1775 show the genitive singular *mhic*, which comes through in the current spelling of the name as ‘v’. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

/,balvə'laxlən/

BLAIRGARRY CLD S NN574061 1 100m

*Blaregeragh* 1451 ER v, 476

*Blaregarre* 1461 ER vii, 51

<sup>168</sup> Or a variant spelling of that name. See Black (1946, 533), under *MacLachlan*.

*Blairgarry* 1480 *ER* ix, 562

*Blargarry* 1483 *ER* ix, 594

*Blargarre* 1528 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 380

*Blairgare* 1565 *RMS* iv no. 1622

*Blairgarry* 1576 *Retours PER* no 38

*Blairgairie* 1581 *NAS PA2/12*

*Blairgarrie* 1587 *RMS* v no. 1429

*Blairgarrie* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97

*Blairgarrie* 1611 *RMS* vii no. 465

*Blairgarry* 1628 *RMS* viii no 1239

*Blairgarrie* 1628 *RMS* viii no 1243

*Blairgarrie* c.1750 *Roy*

*Blargarie* 1783 *Stobie*

*Blargarry Cottage* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> *Ed OS* 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *blàr + garbh* or *garadh?* or ScG *geàrr + -óc*

‘Rough plain?’ or ‘enclosed plain?’ or ‘plain of the short place?’ Dwelly has ScG *gàradh* as meaning ‘garden, dyke, mound’, in which case, the derivation may be ‘plain or muir of the dyke’, i.e. ‘enclosed plain or muir’. However, Blairgarry may be thought unlikely to contain G *gàradh* as this is a loan-word from Old Norse *garð(r)* ‘enclosure, garden, yard’ etc. (Taylor, *PNF* i, 66). There is an Old Irish word *gárad* which also relates to enclosure; Kelly (1997, 377 footnote 118) states that it is one of three types of temporary fences, which he translates as ‘drought-fence’ (Kelly 1997, 632). Dwelly under *garadh* gives ‘den, cave’, seemingly referring to a fox’s hole or den. *DIL* under *garad* also gives ‘den, cave’. See p. 110-114 for discussion of *blàr*.

/bler'gari/

BLAIR HOUSE CLD S NN519067 1 102m

This is a modern name. It is marked as 'Manse' on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXII, and it is not marked as 'Blair Ho' until the One Inch to the Mile 7<sup>th</sup> Series, sheet 54 in 1957. It was still marked as 'Manse' in the One Inch popular edition OS in 1924-5.

BOCHASTLE CLD S NN612077 1 73m

*Montcastell* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Mochastir* 1452 *RMS* ii no. 567

*Muntcastell* 1453 *ER* v, 597

*Moncastel* 1456 *ER* vi, 357

*Moncastel* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Mochastir* 1474 *RMS* ii no. 1173

*Mochastir* 1502 *RMS* ii no. 2657

*Monquhastell* 1590 *Retours PER* no. 1058

*Mochastyre* 1640 *Retours PER* no. 494

*Mochaschyre* 1670 *Retours PER* no. 806

*Bochastle* 1775 *NAS E777/313/2*

*Bocastle* 1791-99 *OSA* xi, 607

*Bochastle* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXIII

ScG *both?* + *caistéal*

*Both Chaisteil* 'castle hut'. Watson (1926, 240) suggests that the forms with initial *m* are the result of nasalisation or eclipsis due to the OG preposition *i* or *an*, 'in'. An initial *b* in these

circumstances becomes *m*, while the lenited ‘c’ in most of the forms point to ScG *caistéal*, ‘castle’; the ‘castle’ in this case being the Roman fort 200m NE.

However, the first element could be ScG *mòine* ‘moss’ which would suit the location between the *Garbh Uisge* and *Eas Gobhain* rivers which would have been regularly flooded in the past. The medial *t* in some early forms could be a vestige of the old Gaelic gen. sg. definite article *ind. Both* appears very late, it could be either re-interpretation (so generic element substitution) or generic element variation between *mòine* and *both*.

*Caistéal* is a fairly common element for fortifications of varying dates, i.e. Iron Age, Roman, and early Medieval, that are not *normally* classed by archaeologists as hill-forts. Drumquhassle *druim chaisteil* near Drymen, is named after the remains of a nearby Roman fort, and there are a number of broch-like structures in Glenlyon PER and near Pitlochry PER that have *caistéal* in their names. The more usual element for a hill-fort in many parts of Scotland is ScG *dùn*, and 1km W of Bochastle is Dunmore, a hill-fort of possible Iron-Age or early Medieval date (see also Dunmore below).

/bo'hasl/

BRACKLAND CLD S NN663085 1 157m

*Brathuli* 1261 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 214 [mentioned in an inspeximus of Henry III of England of a charter of William I of Scotland dated to 1213].

*Broculy* 1267 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 217 [mediata ville de *Broculy* cum pertinenciis, videlicet, illa mediata que iacet in parte uersus marchias de *Eglysdissentyn* ‘half of the farmstead of *Broculy* with pertinents, namely, that half which lies in part towards the marches of

*Eglysdissentyn'* (confirmation by William I of a gift by Walter Stewart, earl of Menteith, to Gilbert of Glenkerny<sup>169</sup>]).

*Broculli* 1330 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 229 [totam terram de *Estir Broculli* in *Mentethe*]

*Brokclen* 1480 *ER* ix, 564

*Broklen* 1483 *ER* ix, 597

*Broklen* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Brokle* 1509 *RMS* ii no. 3363 [terras dimedietatis. de *Brokle*]

*Brokland* 1528 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 380

*Brokland* 1529 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 392

*Brokland* 1529 *RMS* iii no 854

*Brokland Eister* 1531 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 395

*Brokland* 1532 *RMS* iii no. 1123

*Brokland* 1550 *RMS* iv no. 536

*Eister Brokland* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349)

*Westir Brokland* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349)

*Brokland* 1561 *RMS* iv no. 1392

*Brakland* 1579 *RMS* iv no. 2902

*Brokland* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 98

*Brokland* 1611 *RMS* vii no. 465

*Brakland* 1611 *RMS* vii no 510

*Brokland* 1618 *RMS* vii no. 1809

*Brackland* 1630 *Retours PER* no. 400

*Brokland* 1650 *RMS* ix no. 2157

*Brockland* 1667 *Retours PER* no. 763

*Brackland* 1668 *Retours PER* no. 774

<sup>169</sup> See Balgibbon CLD for location of Glenkerny.

*Brochlands* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877

*Bracklands* 1783 Stobie [E. and W. *Bracklands* shown]

*Brackland* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXV [Wester, Middle and Easter *Brackland* shown]

The early forms make a derivation difficult. It is unlikely that it is ScG *breac + linne* ‘speckled pool’ or Sc *brack + land* ‘land of the ground broken up for cultivation’. The earliest form from 1261 may have a ‘c’ rather than a ‘t’. The fairly consistant ‘o’ from 1267 to 1675 may mean the name contains ScG *broc* ‘badger’. Dwelly has an obsolete meaning of *broc* as being ‘grey, dark grey’. *Broc* may be functioning as an adjective, i.e. ‘badger-coloured’, it would regularly cause lenition if it comes before the noun it is qualifying, regardless of gender of that noun. OG *brocc* ‘badger’, is found in noun + noun compounds, including names, e.g. Brocros (Hogan 1910, 128). The second element, then, could be ScG *tulach*, so the early forms may be for *broc thulaich* ‘badger-coloured, grey mound’ or ‘badger hillock’. Brackland is in the barony of Doune in *ER*, but is part of the ‘tak of the paroch kirk of Callander’ in the *Books of Assumption*.

It is notable that there are differences in how the OS spells the name: the famous Bracklinn Falls, which are nearby, are named *Falls of Brackland* in 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map in 1863, and they are crossed via the *Bridge of Brackland* and both are in the *Brackland Glen*. On the present 1:50,000 Landranger map the farms are all Brackland with their respective prefixes of Wester, etc, but the falls are Bracklinn Falls. On the present 1:25,000 Explorer the farms are all Bracklinn with their respective prefixes of Wester, etc, while the Bridge of Brackland crosses the Bracklinn Falls that flow through the Brackland Glen. The farmer has always known it as Bracklinn, which it was when his father farmed here in the 1950s.

/'braklin/

BRAELENY CLD, LXY S NN636111 1 230m

*Braeleny* 1957 One Inch 7<sup>th</sup> Series, sheet 54.

ScG *bràigh* or Sc *brae + en* Leny

*Bràigh Lànaidh* ‘upland of Leny’. See also Leny, below. On the face of it this looks like a new name, but Thompson (1985, 17) makes mention of a ‘Duncan McNab of *Braeleny*’ who joined the ’45 Rebellion. On the 1<sup>st</sup> edn 6 inch OS map, sheet CXV what is now Braeleny is called Luirgeann (see below), and it is still called this on the 1 inch popular edn (sheet 62) dated to 1924-5. It is *Braeleny* on the One Inch 7<sup>th</sup> Series in 1957 In the Annexed Estate plan of 1775 (NAS E777/313/2), it seems to have been called *Lurgavouie*, but it was on the border of the estate of Leny, and this may have influenced its later name.

/bre'ləni/

BRAES OF GREENOCK CLD S NN631054 1 101m

*Braes of Greenock* 1863 1st edn OS Sheet CXXIV

Sc *brae + of + en* Greenock

See Greenock below.

BRENACHOILE LODGE CLD S NN477099 1 140m

*Branchellye* 1458 *ER* v, 476

*Branquhelze* 1461 *ER* vii, 51

*Branquelye* 1463 *ER* vii, 183

*Branquhelye* 1464 *ER* vii, 248

*Branoquahalye* 1480 *ER* ix, 562

*Branochquahaleye* 1486 *ER* ix, 622

*Branoquahalye* 1488, *ER* x, 644

*Branquahailye* 1490, *ER* x, 689

*Branquahalye* 1513 *ER* xiii, 634

*Branchile* 1559 *RMS* iv, no. 1339

*Branquahalye* 1597 *RMS* vi, no.

*Branquahalyie* *RMS* vii, no. 1949

*Branquahalyie* 1642 *RMS* ix, no. 1137

*Branquhalzie* 1613 *Retours*, *PER*, no. 1102

*Branchalzie* 1670 *Retours*, *PER*, no. 802

*Braechyle* c.1750 *Roy* 15/3d

*Breanchoil* 1783 *Stobie*

*Brenachoil* 1863 1st edn *OS Sheet CXIII*

ScG *breun + coille*

*Breun-Choille* ‘stinking, putrid wood’. While *Bràigh na Coille* ‘upland or upper part of the wood’ might seem the obvious meaning, we would not expect lenition of *coille*, a fem. noun after the definite article *na*. Instead the earliest forms suggest ScG *breun/brean* (adj.) ‘stinking, putrid’, and *breun* would cause lenition. The extra syllable that appears from 1480 on might be explained as result of epenthesis.

/brena'xɔ:l/

BRIG O' TURK CLD S NN536066 1 102m

*Kenndrochart* c.1636-52 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Bridge of Turk* c.1750 Roy 70

*Bridge of Turk* 1783 Stobie

*Bridge of Turk* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXIII

*Brig o' Turk* 1907 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map, sheet 38

Sc *brig* + *of* + en Turk, earlier ScG *ceann drochaid*?

The ScG name of this settlement is *Ceann Drochaid* ‘Bridge End’. There has been a bridge here since at least 1451, when the touns of *Estirbrigend* and *Westirbrigend* are mentioned (*ER* v, 476). *Estirbrigend* became *Hidderbrigend* by 1461 (*ER* vii, 51). The Turk element refers to the River Turk which flows from Glen Finglas. This river is called Finglas Water until it reaches a gorge at roughly where the modern dam sits at NN529079. The gorge has been postulated as a reason for naming the river from here Turk; it may be a reminder of the Celtic neck ornament called a *torc*, genitive *tuirc*, which narrows, but does not meet at the front (Richard Cox pers. comm.). More likely may be the genitive of *torc* ‘boar’, *tuirc*, cognate to W. *twrch* ‘boar’, found as a hydronym in Wales. The element relates to the perceived burrowing or rooting nature of the river (Owen and Morgan 2007, 479; G. Rhys, pers. comm.). See also Hiddirbrigend and Westirbrigend, below.

CALLANDER CLD PS NN627080 1 73m

Ecclesie de *Callander* 1238 *Inchaffray Liber* xxxii [taken from MacGregor Stirling (1815, 113-116)]

vicarage of *Kalendrech* 1438 *CSSR* iv no. 464

vicarage of *Kalendich* 1438 *CSSR* iv no. 466

*Calendrate* 1451 *RMS* ii no. 465 [terræ de *Calyn* et *Calendrate* cum molendino et piscatura earundem, in comitatu de *Mentheth*, vic. Perth]

*Calindrade* 1457 RMS ii no. 606 [terras de *Calyn*, et *Calindrade*. (James II confirms charter to James, Lord Livingstone of the barony of *Calentare*, i.e. Callendar, Falkirk)]

*Calendrate* 1498 ER xi (*Calan* et *Calendrate* index in *Libri Responsionum*)

*Calandrath*, vic. *Perth* 1510 RMS ii no. 3399 [terras duarum partium de *Calen* et *Calandrath*, vic. *Perth*]

*Calantreth* 1510 RMS ii no. 3404 [terras de *Calen*, *Calantreth*, et *Dowglas*, cum pendiculis, le outsettis, tenentibus, etc, vic. *Perth*. (James IV grants barony of *Kalendare* to William Lord Livingstone)]

*Calendreth* 1551 RSS iv no. 1370

*Callender* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349) [Tak of the paroche kirk of *Callender*]

*Eister Callender...Myddell Callender...Westir Callender* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349)

*Calyndrade* 1566 RSS v no. 2823 [*Kaling* et *Calyndrade* et de *Douglas* ac de *Terynteray*]

tour of *Kalendar* 1590's *Geog. Coll.* ii, 566<sup>170</sup>

*Callenteich* 1593 RPC v, 41

*Calyndrade*, *Callendraith* 1594 RMS vi no. 118 [terras de *Caling* et *Calyndrade*...pro advocatione ecclesie de *Callendraith*]

minister de *Callindreth* 1615 RMS vii no. 1222

the kirk of *Callander* 1649 NAS. PA2/24, f.270r-270v

*Callander* 1654 *Blaeu Atlas* (2006 edition), Map 1

*Callendar* 1654 *Blaeu Atlas* (2006 edition), Map 2

*Callindrade* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708 [*Calling*, *Callindrade* et *Dowglas*... terris terrisque dominicalibus de *Callindrade*... villa et terris de *Eister Callindrade*... baroniam de *Callindrade*]

<sup>170</sup> The 'tour', or tower, of Callander lay on the south bank of the River Teith at approx NN629076 (see RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN60NW 8).

*Callindrade* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 880 [terris de *Calling*, *Callindrade* et *Douglas*, viz terris dominicalibus de *Cullindrade* (sic)... *Eister Callindrade* et *Garth*... baroniam de *Callindrade*]

*Calendar* 1685 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.11 (Adair 3) *A Mape of the countries about Stirling*

*Callender* c.1750 Roy 70

*Mains of Callander* 1765 E729/8/68

*Callander* 1775 NAS E777/313/2

*Callander* 1783 Stobie

*Callander* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXV

ScG ?

Watson (Watson 2002 [1913], 130) has *Calasraid* ‘harbour-street’ ‘ferry-street’, which is almost what the minister for Callander has in *OSA*.<sup>171</sup> By the time Watson wrote *CPNS* in 1926, he stated that ‘Callander on Teith...is a transferred name from Callander (sic)<sup>172</sup> near Falkirk’ (Watson 1926, 106), and it is probably the case that from at least the 16th C the form of the Menteith name has been influenced by Callendar STL.

The earliest form dating to 1238 may be a transcription error. This comes from a charter concerning the foundation of Inchmahome Priory printed in the *Inchaffray Liber*, which in turn comes from Rev MacGregor Stirling’s *Notes on the Priory of Inchmahome* (MacGregor Stirling 1815); MacGregor Stirling had seen the original charter, now lost (see Hutchison 1889, 136, note 1 for details of this charter). Given that he was responsible for the ‘Isle of (my) Rest’ derivation for Inchmahome, perhaps we should not be too confident in his transcription of *Callander* in his book, although he has given us an early form for Leny as *Lanyn*, which is reasonably consistent with other early forms, (q.v. below).

<sup>171</sup> ‘...*Calla-straid*, which is the Gaelic name given to it by the common people: *Calla*, signifying the landing place at the Ferry, where the village is built; and *Straid*, the street or avenue leading from the castle of Callander to the same ferry.’

<sup>172</sup> Now normally spelled *Callendar*.

The early *Calen/Caling* forms may relate to the original name of the estate, which may have straddled the River Teith. *Calendrate* etc may have been a subdivision of this estate, and the *sraid* element, also found in Straid KMA, perhaps relating to a potential Roman road between the Roman forts at Doune and Bochastle. Some of the early forms contain *-drate*, which might be for *drochaid* 'bridge' (c.f. Poldrait *Poll (na) Drochaid*, Glasgow (Taylor 2007a, 3) and Ballindrate, Co. Donegal (Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 74)). The *Calen-* element, although obscure, seems to be found in nearby Coilhallan Wood to the W of the modern town, probably ScG \*coille chailin or chalan or some such.<sup>173</sup>

/'kaləndər/

#### CALLANDRADE CLD S NN622074 1 82m

There are two places, within 200m of each other, called Callandrade and Callandrade Cottage on the current OS 1:25,000 Explorer map. On the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV, they are *Callander Cottage* and *West Mains* respectively. *West Mains* is shown on the Annexed Estate plan NAS E777/313/2, and this may be *Westir Callander* mentioned under Callander above in the *Books of Assumption of the Thrids of Benefices* from the 1560s. *East Mains*, presumably *Eister Callander* in the 1560s, is shown on NAS E777/313/14 just along from *West Mains* and is shown on the other side of what is now the A81 road from *West Mains* on the 1<sup>st</sup> Ed OS 6 inch map. John Leslie wrote in 1775 that 'At *East Mains* was the original seat of the earls of Callander where the Old Castle stood til within these last three years bypast' (NAS E777/313/3). Stobie has a 'Big Hoose' symbol called *E. Mains* there. The modern names may be antiquarian re-namings. See discussion of Callander, above.

#### CARNACH CLD NN582105 1 131m

<sup>173</sup> My thanks to Jake King for bringing this to my attention.

*Stankkernagh* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Kerenach* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Karenoch* 1530 *RMS* iii no. 933

*Kerenoch* 1535 *RMS* iii no. 1497

*Kirmache* 1596 *Retours PER* no. 1081 [There has been a probable minim confusion here and it should be *Kirinach*. Cf *Kerynock* below.]

*Kerenoch* 1622 *Retours PER* no. 1111

*Kiurnach* 1630-50 Sibbald *TNS* 144r

*Kerynock* 1682 *Retours PER* no. 914

*Chaoruinnach* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

ScG *caorann + ach*

*Caorannach* ‘mountain ash/rowan tree place’. The last form contains *caorunn* ‘mountain ash; rowan tree’. The NGR is taken from the position of *Chaoruinnach* in 1862; the name is found in Coire Carnach at NN572098. See also Stank CLD, below, in connection with earliest form.

CLASH CLD NN638067 1 70m

*Clasche* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349)

*Clash* 1765 NAS E729/8/68

*Claish* 1783 Stobie

*Clash* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV

ScG *clais*

*Clais* ‘furrow; hollow’. Barony of Callander. This place is not shown as Clash (or similar) on the Annexed Estate plan NAS E777/313/2, but seems to be named ‘Lot 4’.

/klaʃ/

COCKHILL COTTAGE CLD NN628051 1 120m

Named after a small hill called Cock Hill, 500m NW. Settlement shown, but not named on Stobie and 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV (although Cock Hill, i.e. the hill, is named on the latter). The settlement is not named on a map until 1924-5, when it appears on the OS 1 inch popular edition map. This may be a possible *comhdhail* site according to Barrow, since a fair, called the Cockhill Fair, was held here annually on May 16 (Barrow 1992, 228; Black 1999, 18; see also p. 96 for discussion).

/kok hil/

COILANTOGLE CLD S NN595068 1 112m

*Cultyntogill* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Colletogill* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Colydoglen* 1480 *ER* ix, 561

*Coilyedochlen* 1486 *ER* ix, 622

*Colyedochlen* 1488 *ER* x, 644

*Colyedogle* 1494 *ER* x, 724

*Calyedochill* 1499 *ER* xi, 416

*Cultinogill* 1502 *ER* xii, 634

*Cultintogill* 1528 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 380

*Cultentogill* 1529 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 392

*Cultintogille* 1529 *RMS* iii no. 854

*Cultintogill* 1531 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 396

*Cultintogille* 1532 RMS iii no. 112

*Collintogill* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97

*Cullintogill* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616

*Cullintogill* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877

*Cuilanteogle* 1783 Stobie

*Coilantogle* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *cùil+ an + seagal.*

*Cùil an t-Seagail* ‘nook of the rye’. The current form, containing *coil-*, presumably for ScG *coille* ‘wood’, may be a later reinterpretation. The forms in *ER* ix –xi (1480 – 1499) are best seen as written by someone who misunderstood what was being said or had been written. The only way it is possible to tell that *Colydoglen* (and the other early forms) is in fact Coilantogle is by its place in the list of rentals, and the consistent rent throughout of ‘iii *l*, vi *s*, viii *d*, ii bolle ordei, ii mutones’, although note the rent asks for two bolls of barley (ii bolle ordei), not rye.

/kɔlan'togɪl/

COIREACHROMBIE CLD S NN584096 1 128m

*Corycrommy* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Correquhorme* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Correquhorumby* 1510 RMS ii no. 3411

*Corryquhrumby* 1528 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 380

*Correquhorumby* 1532 RMS iii no. 1150

*Correquhorumby* 1535 RMS iii no. 1497

*Correquhombie* 1629 *Retours PER* no. 373

*Corrychrombie* 1783 Stobie

*Coireachrombie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

ScG *coire* + an + *cromb* + locative ending

*Coire a' Chrombaidh* 'corry of \*(the) Crombie? (where Crombie means 'bent place'). See Taylor (2006, 545-8) for his discussion on Crombie TOB, FIF. The c(h)rombie here may refer to the un-named burn which flows past Coireachrombie or perhaps to Loch Lubnaig, which itself contains the ScG element *lùb*, 'bend'. The *coire* seems to be near the upper reaches of the unnamed burn flowing past the settlement. On the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map *Corieachrombie Ford* is shown opposite the modern settlement.

/,cɔɪə'xrɔmbɪ/

CARNACH CLD NN582105 1 131m

*Stankkerynagh* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Kerenach* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Karenoch* 1530 *RMS* iii no. 933

*Kerenoch* 1535 *RMS* iii no. 1497

*Kirmache* 1596 *Retours PER* no. 1081 [There has been a probable minim confusion here and it should be *Kirinach*. Cf *Kerynock* below.]

*Kerenoch* 1622 *Retours PER* no. 1111

*Kiurnach* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 144r

*Kerynock* 1682 *Retours PER* no. 914

*Chaoruinnach* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

ScG *caorunn + ach*

A *Caorannach* ‘mountain ash/rowan tree place’. The last form contains *caorunn* ‘mountain ash; rowan tree’. The NGR is taken from the position of *Chaoruinnach* in 1862; the name is found in Coire Carnach at NN572098. See also Stank CLD, below, in connection with earliest form.

COISCHAMBIE # CLD S NN546062 1 100m

*Caschkamby* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Corscamby* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Coschcammy* 1480 *ER* ix, 561

*Coschcamby* 1486 *ER* ix, 622

*Coschambeis* 1508 *RMS* ii no. 3193

*Coschambeis* 1509 *RMS* ii no. 3350

*Coschambies* 1596 *Retours PER* no. 1081

*Coschambies* 1622 *Retours PER* no. 1111

*Coshambie* 1775 *NAS E777/313/164*

*Coischambie* 1783 Stobie

ScG *cas + cam + ?*

*Cois Chamaidh* ‘[place at the] foot of the bend?’ The place-name *Coischambie* (Stobie seems to be the last time it appears on record) refers to a settlement that may have been where Loch Venachar Cottage now sits (see 1:25,000 OS Explorer map at NN551061). The *coise* (gen. of *cas* ‘foot’) refers to the foot shaped territory of *Coischambie*, which is bound to the north by Lendrick and *Dreppen* or *Cathdreppan*, and to the south by Duncraggan and *Offrans*. It is clearly defined on the Annexed Estate plan dating from 1775. The earliest form with final

-is etc is *Coschambeis* 1508 which could be a Scots plural. The *cas* part of the name survives today in Bad a' Chois (q.v.), while the cam 'bend' element might refer to bend in the un-named burn (\*Cambie?) that flowed past the settlement of *Coischambie*.

CREAG NORAN CLD S NN505066 1 110m

*Creag Noran* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS

ScG *creag + an + aifreann, aifrionn; OG oifrend*

'Sacrifice; offering; Mass'.

*Creag an Oirrinn* 'crag of the offering, Mass'. Watson mentions that '*Oirrinn* is a dative form of ScG *oifreann* 'sacrifice, Mass' (Watson 1926, 255), but it must also have been a genitive form too. Watson further states that '[a]t the west end of Loch Achray the meadow at the bridge on the road to Aberfoyle is called *an t-Oirrinn*, and the rock west of it (part of the Trossachs) is *Creag an Oirrinn*: this is probably *Offroune in Strogartnay*' [see *RMS* iii, no. 2969] (Watson 1926, 255). Creag Noran is at NN505066. See Offerans # CLD, below and discussion on p.

161-163

DREPPAN #CLD S NN541071 1 231m

*Caseldraper* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Cathedraper* 1471 *ER* vii, 68

*Caschdrapane* 1480 *ER* ix, 561

*Cachdrapane* 1484 *ER* ix, 594

*Cathdrapane* 1488 *ER* x, 644

*Cathdrapane* 1509 *RMS* ii no. 3350

*Drapane* 1541 *ER* xvii, 714

*Truchdrapan* 1596 *Retours PER* no. 1081

*Kathdrapan* 1622 *Retours PER* no. 1111<sup>174</sup>

*Drippan* 1775 *NAS E777/313/122*

*Dreppan* 1783 Stobie

*Drepan* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

There is so much variation in the first element that it would be hard to make an accurate guess. The earliest form seems to suggest ScG *caiseal* ‘castle’, while other forms suggest ScG *cas*, gen. *coise* ‘foot’, or possibly ScG *cas* ‘steep’ (Dwelly). The second element might be a loan from Sc *threap/thriep* ‘quarrel, debate’, which is found in Drip KRD. By 1863 the OS has marked *Drepan* as being in ruins.

/'dripən/

DUART CLD S NN531089 1 173m

*Dowarde* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Dowart* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Doward* 1529 *RMS* iii no. 854

*Wester Dowar* 1529 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 392

*Dowart* 1529 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 396

*Doward* 1532 *RMS* iii no. 1123

*Dowart* 1580 *AMWi*, 308

*Dowart* 1602 *Retours* no. 97

*Dowart* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616

*Dewart* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877

*Dowart* c.1750 Roy 70

<sup>174</sup> The editor of *Retours* has *Eister Lanarky* et *Kathdrapan* (*Truchdrapan*?).

*Duart* 1783 Stobie

*Duart* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet no CXIV

ScG *dubh + àird*

*Dubh-Àird* ‘black height’ Barony of Strathgartney. This is the same *àird* ‘height’ referred to in Achnahard, above. There is also a ‘Ard Achadh’ marked on the 1:25,000 Explorer about 250m to the west of Duart. All of these *àird* names seem to refer to a relatively high, possibly arable area above what was the valley floor of Glenfinglas before the reservoir was built in the 1950s.

/'duərt/

DUNCРАGGAN CLD S NN536064 1 90m

*Drumcragane* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Drumcragane* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Drumquharragane* 1508 *RMS* ii no. 3193

*Drumquharragane* 1509 *RMS* ii no. 3350

*Drumquhraggan* 1596 *Retours PER* no. 1081

*Drumquhraggane* 1622 *Retours PER* no 1112

*Duncraggan* 1783 Stobie

*Duncraggan* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet no CXXIII

ScG *druim + creagan*

*Druim Creagan* or *Creagain* ‘ridge of crags or ridge of the little crag’. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century generic substitution or dissimilation of *r* meant that *druim* had become *dùn*. The early forms

from 1508 to 1622 show lenition, which indicates *Druim Chreagan* or *Druim Chreagain*, the problem of lenition might be explained by an underlying *Druim a' Chreagain*. Duncraggan is now a farm, but until at least 1907 it seems to have been the name of the settlement that is now called Brig o' Turk (q.v. above).

/dʌn'kragən/

DUNMORE CLD A NN601076 1 190m

*Dun bo chaistil* 1837 NSA x, 354

*Dunmore* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet no CXXIII

*Dunmhor* 1898 Walker (1898, 4)

ScG *dùn + mòr*

*Dùn Mòr* 'great or big fort'. Stobie (1783) shows *Old Castle* at this point. The 1837 form suggests a probable antiquarian connection with said Roman fort at Bochastle CLD (see above). This form comes from the minister of Callander, whose Gaelic is suspect, 'A mile west of Callander, there are the remains of a fortification on top of a hill, called *Dun bo chasitil*, the hill of the castle' (NSA x, 354). The correct form, had the fort been called it, would be *Dùn both chasiteil* 'hill-fort of the hut of the castle'. Details of the fort can be found at RCAHMS Canmore website, NMRS no. NN60NW 7. No indication of a date for the fort is given is given there, although the National Park notice board near the Kilmahog church site states it dates to c.700BC. It was doubtless a very important fort, and perhaps the reason why the Romans built their fort nearby.

EASTER BRACKLINN CLD S NN664082 1 170m

See Brackland, above for details.

EDRA CLD S NN460108 1 142m

*Eddirdalekgagh* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Eddirlelachach* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Eddiralekach* 1478 *ER* viii, 532

*Eddirallekach* 1480 *ER* ix 562

*Edirdalelaikhauch* 1499 *ER* xi, 417

*Eddralekhauch* 1502 *ER* xii, 634

*Eddirlacoch* 1559 *RMS* iv no. 1339

*Eddrelechabed* 1613 *Retours PER* no. 1102

*Eddera-Laekach* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Eddrelechebeth* 1640 *Retours PER* no. 494

*Edraleafdach* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIII

*Edraleafdach* 1927 OS 1 inch popular edition sheet 62

*Edra* 1957 OS 1 inch map, sheet 54

ScG *eadar + dà + leacach*.

*Eadar Dà Leacach* ‘Place between two slopes’ This is also Watson’s derivation (2002 [1912], 103). See also *DIL leccach* and Dwelly *leacach* ‘side of a hill, bare summit of a hill’. This place lies between the tounships of Letter and Strone, both of which have given their names to nearby burns. It is not clear when the settlement became Edra, but it must have been before 1957.

/'ɛdra/

FARMSTON CLD, LXY S NN618082 1 80m

*Farmstown* 1783 Stobie

*Farmstown* 1843 RHP 1442/1

*Farmston* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

Sc *farm + toun*

It is not clear why this place has a medial *s*. It may be that *farm* is a personal name, and the medial *s* is a possessive in this case, but I have come across no reference to such a name so far.

GART CLD S NN641064 1 65m

*Garth* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349)

*Garth* 1675 *Retours* PER no. 880

*Cart* 1662 *Retours* PER no.708

*Gart* 1765 NAS E729/8/67

*Gart* 1775 NAS E777/313/2

*Gart* 1783 Stobie

*Gart* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

ScG *gart*

*Gart* ‘enclosed settlement or field’. This is one of a large number of *gart*-names to be found between medieval Fife and the River Clyde (see p. 119-122 for more discussion of this element). It is unusual to find *gart* as a simplex, and indeed there appears to be only two others in this fairly large distribution area; Gart, now Garden, in CUS FIF (Taylor *PNF* i, 244) and Garth in DNY STL (Reid 2009, 58).

/gart/

GARTCHONZIE CLD S NN605071 1 79m

*Eister Gartquhone* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349)

*Wester Gartquhone* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349)

*Gartcomie* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708 [villa et terris de *Gartcomie* cum molendino]

*Gartchonzie Mill* 1765 E729/8/61

*Gartchonzie* 1775 E777/313/2

*Easter Gartchonzie* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *gart* + pn *Coinneach*, gen. *Choinnich* ? or *còinneach* ?

*Gart Choinnich* or *Chòinnich* ‘Kenneth’s enclosed field or settlement’ or ‘mossy, foggage enclosed field or settlement?’. The specific may be the saint’s name Coinneach, earlier Cainnech (see A. Watson 2002, 149, for his discussion of this term with *Dalchonzie* COM, PER). *Gart* + personal name is not common, but see Gartfinnan CLA and Gartwhinzean KNR, where the specific may be Finnan in both cases (McNiven 2007, 71, 74). An alternative explanation for the specific could be ScG *còinneach* ‘mossy, foggage’, c.f. Ben Chonzie *Beinn na Còinnich* ‘mossy mountain’ in Drummond (2007, 206), and Còinneach Bhlàr ‘foggage plain’ in p. 112 of this thesis. See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

/gart'hōnzi/

GARTENJORE # CLD S NN586066 2 130m

*Garyndewyr* 1539 RSS ii no. 2898

*Garrindewar* 1572 RMS iv no. 2092

*Carnedewar* 1640 *Retours PER* no. 494

*Gartenjore* 1775 NAS E777/313/176

ScG *gart* + definite article + *deòradh*

*Gart an Deòraidh* ‘enclosed settlement or field of the relic keeper’. (see p. 144-145 for more details). See Márus (2009a), Watson (1926, 264-6) and Taylor (2001, 186) for discussions on dewars, and p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

GLENGYLE CLD S NN386135 1 143m

*Glengill* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Glengelye* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Glengell* 1463 RMS ii no. 761

*Glengaile* 1474 RMS ii no. 1171

*Glengelye* 1478 *ER* viii, 533

*Glengalye* 1480 *ER* ix, 562

*Glengailye* 1494 *ER* x, 725

*Glengaile* 1572 *Retours PER* no. 28 [terris de *Glengaile*]

*Glengyle* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 102 [terris de *Glengyle*]

*Glengyle* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Glengyll* 1685 *Retours PER* no. 936 [terras et montem vocatum the *Brae of Stragartney* alias *Glengyll*]

*Glengyle* 1783 Stobie

*Glengyle* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXII

ScG *gleann* + *gall?* or *goil?*

This name may contain ScG *gall*, gen. sg. *goill* ‘stone’, perhaps meaning a standing stone. Another possibility for the specific might be ScG *goil*, gen. *goile* ‘boiling’, in this sense meaning ‘agitated water’.<sup>175</sup>

GREENOCK CLD S NN631054 1 101m

*Grenok* 1526 RMS iii no. 397

*Grenock* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349)

*Grineok* 1587 RMS v no 1429

*Greneok* 1602 *Retours* PER no. 93

*Gernock* 1653 *Retours* PER no. 616

*Grenock* 1662 *Retours* PER no. 708

*Greinock* 1675 *Retours* PER no. 877

*Greinock* 1675 *Retours* PER no. 880

*Greenock* 1765 E729/8/66

*Greenock Moss* 1775 NAS E777/313/2

*Greenock* 1783 Stobie

*Braes of Greenock* 1863 1st edn OS Sheet CXXIV

ScG *grianag*.

*Grianag* ‘sunny knoll’. The early forms could suggest O.G. or M.G. *grianóc*, however, it is also possible that it represents an adjectival form *grianach* ‘sunny (place)’ The name probably alludes to the settlement being on a south-facing slope, see Watson (1926, 201) for a short discussion of this name.

/'grinək/

<sup>175</sup> My thanks to Peadar Morgan for his assistance here.

GRODDICH # CLD S NN523091 1 150m

*Grodichlarg* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Grodich* 1461 *ER* vii, 51

*Grodich* 1480 *ER* ix, 562

*Grodich* 1488 *ER* x, 645

*Grodich* 1532 *RMS* iii no. 1123

*Grodich* 1580 *AMWi*, 308

*Grodich* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97

*Gredick* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616

*Gredoch* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877

*Groadich* c.1750 *Roy* 71

*Groddich* 1783 *Stobie*

*Grod Achadh* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

ScG *grod* + *-ach*

*Grodach* ‘stinking or putrid place’. In the barony of Strathgartney. *Achadh* is very late in record, and is most likely a re-analysis on part of OS or their informants. The earliest form, *Grodichlarg*, is meant to be two separate places; see Larg # CLD below.

HIDDERBRIGEND # CLD S NN5506 3

*Eisterbrigend* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Hidderbrigend* 1461 *ER* vii, 51

*Hiddirbrigend* 1471 *ER* viii, 68

*Hithirbrigend* 1478 *ER* viii, 532

*Hidderbrigende* 1480 *ER* ix, 561

*Hiddir Brigend* 1484 *ER* ix, 594

*Hyddirbrigend* 1494 *ER* x, 725

*Hyddirbrigende* 1499 *ER* xi, 416

*Hiddirbrigend* 1508 *ER* xiii, 632

Sc *hither + brig + end*

'End of the bridge nearest this side [i.e. the Lowlands or Stirling]'. This seems to refer to a settlement on the eastern side of what is now Brig o' Turk (q.v. above), and seems to be the place named *Brigend Estir* in 1541 (*ER* xvii, 714). There is also a Westirbrigend (q.v. below). There is also a Brigend in AFE.

IBERT # CLD S NN629075 2 70m

*Ibertis* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 349) [the tua *Ibertis'*, 1 b meal]

OG *idbard*; ScG *iobairt*

*Iobairt* 'offering or sacrifice'. This is the only reference to the existence of an *Ibert* in CLD. The NGR is for a building called Churchfields, next to the Old Manse (NN629075).<sup>176</sup> Watson (1926, 254) points out *iobairt* is 'an offering or gift of land to a church'. See p. 160-163 for discussion of this element.

KILMAHOG KXM, CLD S NN60804 1 76m

*Kilma[hug]*<sup>177</sup> CPL i 1259, 367 ['Indult to Robert, bishop elect of Dumblane, in consideration of the smallness of his episcopal income, to hold to his uses the church of

<sup>176</sup> Churchfields is marked on the 1:2,500 scale OS map, it is not known how early this name is; the building is shown, but not marked on the 25 inch OS map of 1862 (Perth and Clackmannan sheet CXXIV/1)

<sup>177</sup> CPL has *Kilmaling*, but note Cockburn (1959, 70), quotes the above, but in an endnote on page 80 writes the following important information:

*Kilma[hu]g*, in his diocese, of his patronage, value 10 marks, on the death or resignation of the rector'].

*Kylmahug* 1494 Fraser, *Grandtully* i, no. 25

*Kilmahug* 1529 RMS iii, no. 763 [D. Walt. Menteith vicario de *Kilmahug*]

*Kilmahug* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995), 295 [The parish kirk of *Kilmahug* extending to 100 merks]

*Kilmahug* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995), 348 [£37 13 s 4 d out of the kirk of *Kilmahug*]

*Kilmahug* 1572 RMS iv, no. 2092 [parochiam de *Kilmahug*]

*Kilmahuig* 1593 *RPC* v, 41

*Kilmahug* 1599 RMS vii no. 243 [Apud ecclesiam de *Kilmahug* in vicecomitatu de Menteith]

*Kilmahwg* 1620 RMS viii, no. 172 [parochia de *Kilmahwg*]

*Kilmahugg* c.1636-52 Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Kilmachage* 1649 NAS. PA2/24, f.270r-270v [...the pertinentis, lyand within the parochine of *Kilmachage* and annexit to the kirk of *Callander*]

*Kilmahug* 1654 *Bleau Atlas* Map 1

*Kilmahong* 1669 NAS. PA2/29, f.115v-116 [...of other tuo fairs yeerly, one upon the fifteinth day of November called St Mahans day, which wes of old keeppt at the kirk of *Kilmahong*]

*Killmachog* c.1750 Roy 70

*Kilmahog* 1783 Stobie

*Kilmahog* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

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'C[alendar of] P[opal] R[egister] 1 367. There is no such parish in the diocese [of Dunblane]. I thought at one time that the chapel at Mallings, attached to, and near, Inchmahome Priory was meant, but it was not in the Bishop's patronage. I finally concluded that this word was a misreading of Kilmahug, near Callendar. From Mr Peter D. Partner, whose assistance I asked while he was working in the Vatican Library, I received this confirmation, 9 Sept. 1954: "I have consulted the original register and I find that your conjecture is perfectly right. The word, quite clear, and repeated twice, is KILMAHUG".'

ScG *ceall* + saint's name

'Church of my ?'. One of two *cill*-names in Menteith, along with Kilmadock KMA, with Kilbryde DLE nearby. Thought by MacKinlay (1904, 111 and 1914, 502) and Watson (1926, 315) to be dedicated to Cùg/Chùg, perhaps being Cuaca (See p. 144-146 for discussion of this place-name).

/,kilmə'hɔg/

LARG # CLD S NN485095 2 170m

*Grodichlarg* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Larg* 1461 *ER* vii, 51

*Larg* 1478 *ER* viii, 532 [media parte de *Larg*...alterius medie de *Larg* cum insula]

*Larg* 1484 *ER* ix, 595 [*Larg* cum insula]

*Larg* 1499 *ER* xi, 417 [Le *Larg* cum insula]

*Large* 1502 *ER* xii, 634 [Le *Large* cum insula]

*Larg* 1559 *RMS* iv no. 1339

*Large* 1640 *Retours PER* no. 494 [Terris nucupatis *Large*, cum insula vocata *Ylemulloche* (Eilean Molach), ac piscaria de *Lochtrachrone* (Loch Katrine)]

*Lairge* 1670 *Retours PER* no. 806

*Larg* 1613 *Retours PER* no. 1102 [terris nuncupatis the *Larg*, cum insula nuncupata *Ile Mulloche*, et piscaria de *Loch Cathron*]

*Lairig* 1775 E777/313/122

ScG *làirig*

*Lairig* ‘pass’. Barony of Strathgartney. This was at the eastern end of Loch Katrine, and may have been on the main route into Strathgartney. The Annexed Estate plan show *Lairig* as part of the lands of Brenachoile, and a deserted settlement is shown at the NGR above on the 1<sup>st</sup> Edn OS 6 inch map. There is a Rubha na Laraiche marked on the 1:25,000 OS Explorer at NN486091. Eilean Molach is at NN488083. The earliest form, *Grodichlarg*, is meant to be two separate places; see also Groddich, above.

LENDRICK CLD S NN549064 1 111m

*Estirlanyrky* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Estirlanarche* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Estirlanarke* 1478 *ER* viii, 532

*Estir Lanerky* 1480 *ER* ix, 561

*Estir Lanarke* 1494 *ER* x, 724

*Lanarkie* 1508 *RMS* ii no. 3193

*Lanarky* 1509 *RMS* ii no. 3350

*Eister Lanarkie* 1596 *Retours PER* no. 1081

*Eister Lanarky* 1622 *Retours PER* no. 1111

*Lendrick* c.1750 *Roy* 70

*Lendrick* 1783 Stobie

*Lanrick* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

*Lendrick* 1927 OS 1 inch popular edn, sheet 62

Brit. \**lanerc*

‘Clear space, glade’. In the barony of Strathgartney. This is one of two *lanerces* in Menteith; there is also Lanrick KMA, with Landrick just over the border in DLE. The CLD *lanerc* is divided into Easter and *Offers*, *Offers* may originally have been the western division of *lanerc*.

The final *-e* or *-y* in some of the early forms may represent a diminutive or locational suffix. A short discussion of *\*lanerc* as it relates to Menteith can be found on p. 48. See also Offerans CLD, below.

/ləndrɪk/

LENY CLD, LXY PS NN622077 1 67m

*Lani* 1237 Leny Charter (Alexander II) [carta nostra confirmasse Alano de *Lani* et Margarete de *Lani* filie quondam Gillespic de *Lani* militis, terras de eodem infra vicecomitatum de *Perth*]<sup>178</sup>

*Lanyn* 1238 *Inchaffray Liber*, xxxi

vicarii de *Lanye* 1576 RMS iv, no. 2524

*Lany* 1593 RPC v, 41

*Lenie* 1599 *Retours PER* no. 57 [Duncanus Dryisdaill, haeres Magistri Alexandri Dryisdaill vicarii ecclesiae de *Lenie*, patris, in 3 glebis seu terris ecclesiasticis ecclesiae de *Lenie*]

*Leny* 1615 RMS vii, no 1222 [parochie de *Leny*]

*Leany* 1625 *Retours PER* no. 341 [3 glebis seu terris ecclesiasticis ecclesiae de *Leany*]

*Lany* 1630 *Retours PER* no. 400

*Lany* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466 [terras ecclesiasticas de *Lany*]

*Lany* 1650 *Retours PER* no. 602 [the 3 glybes of kirkland of *Lany*]

*Leny* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708 [peciis et portionibus terre vocatis terris ecclesiasticis ex antiquo gleba ecclesiae de *Leny*]

*Lany* 1663 *Retours PER* no. 715 [3 glebis seu terris ecclesiasticis ecclesiae de *Lany*]

*Leanzie* 1667 *Retours PER* no. 763

*Lennie* 1668 *Retours PER* no. 774

<sup>178</sup> My thanks to Prof. Dauid Broun for allowing me to use his unpublished edition of this charter.

*Lenie* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 946

*Lenie* 1694 *Retours PER* no. 1008

*Lennie* 1783 Stobie

*Leny House* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

ScG *lèan* or *lèana*

*Lánaidh* ‘damp meadow; swampy plain’. The area around the old church of Leny is frequently flooded in winter. Watson gives it as *Lànaigh* (1926, 145), which he holds to be different in derivation from Lennie, Corstorphine MLO, but fails to give any meaning. Leny House sits 1.5 km NW of the site of the old kirk, but was the secular centre of the estate of Leny. In the grounds, next to the main A84 road are said to be the remains of the castle of Leny, which are marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map as *Caisteal Briste* ‘broken castle’. The site of the old Kirk was later called Little Leny (Thomson 1985, 9). The 1238 form seems to contain the ScG *-in* suffix, meaning ‘place of’ or ‘place at’, which would be the only certain occurrence of it in Menteith; however, see Callander CLD, above, for reservations regarding the source. This is unlike Fife and elsewhere in eastern Scotland (there are seventeen place-names with this ending attested in Taylor, *PNF* i alone; see, for example Logie, Dunfermline parish), although it occurs on the borders of Menteith in Cashley DRY STL and Menstrie LOI CLA, where they were *Cacelyn* and *Mestrym* in 1213 x 1261 (*RRS* ii no. 519). The general absence of this locative ending in Menteith is probably much to do with the lateness of the evidence, where there are so few place-name forms from before c.1300, by which time it has been reduced to *-ie/-y* in places like Fife. See Ó Maolalaigh (1998, 30–8) and Taylor, *PNF* v, (Elements Glossary, forthcoming) for discussion of the *-in* suffix.

/'lənɪ/

LETTER CLD S NN463107 1 152m

*Lettir* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Lettir* 1478 *ER* viii, 533

*Lettir* 1494 *RMS* ii no. 2205 [terras de *Lettir*, in dominio *Strogarthnaa*]

*Lettir* 1506 *RMS* ii no. 2969

*Lettyr* 17<sup>th</sup> C *Geog. Coll.* ii, 566

*Letter* 1783 Stobie

*Letter* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIII

ScG *leitir*

*Leitir* ‘slope, side of a hill’. There is another Letter in PMH, where there are also West and Easter Dulatter. Watson states that ‘a *leitir* always slopes towards water, stream or loch’ (Watson 2002, 185). Ian Fraser agrees, having this element as a ‘site of a steep slope overlooking an inland loch’ (Fraser 2008, 186), in this case Loch Katrine.

/'lɛtər/

LOCH LUBNAIG CLD W NN585125 1

*Lubnoch* 1448 Fraser, *Stirling* no. 26 [*Lubnoch*...in dominio de *Strogartnay*]

*Lupnoch* 1489 *RMS* ii no. 1811 [*Lupnoch* ...in unam liberam baroniam de Kere]

*Lupnow* 1503 *RMS* ii no. 2751 [*Lupnow* cum piscariis...advocatione et donatione cappellaniarum et Harmetage de *Lupnow* in unam liberam baroniam de Keir]

*Lupno* 1513 *RMS* ii no. 3846 [terras de *Lupno* in baroniam de Kere]

*Lupnoch* 1526 *RMS* iii no. 397

*Lugnok* 1528 RMS iii no. 612 [piscaria lacuum et stagnorum de *Lugnok*, *Locbannoquhaire* et *Gudy*]

*Lupnoch* 1532 RMS iii no. 1123

*Lupnoch* 1561 RMS iv no. 1392 [piscariis lacuum et aquarum de *Gudy* et *Teith*, viz. *Lochbanequaire* et *Lupnoch*]

*Lupno* 1579 RMS iv no. 2902 [*Lupno* cum piscariis...advocatione capellaniarum et heremetagii de *Lupno*]

*Lupnochis* 1630 Retours PER no. 392 [terris de *Lupnochis*, in baroina de *Keir*]

*Lupno* 1630 Retours PER no. 400 [terrass de *Lupno* cum piscariis...advocatione capellaniae et hermitagii de *Lupno*, unitis in baroniam de *Keir*]

*Lupno* 1668 Retours PER no 774 [terrass de *Lupno* cum piscariis...advocationem capellaniae et hermitagii de *Lupno*, unitis in baroniam de *Keir*]

*Lupno* 1694 Retours PER no 1008 [terrass de *Lupno* cum piscariis earundem...advocationem capellaniae et hermitagii de *Luppno*, unitis in baroniam de *Keir*]

*Lochlubnigside* 1724-36 NLS Acc. 10497.58 (m) [*Lochlubnigside*...one side is Stirling of *Keer*, other side is Lord Perth]

*Loch Lubnaig* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXIV

ScG *loch* + *lùbnach*

*Loch Lubnaig* 'loch of place of curves or bends'. Cf. ScG *lùb*, OI *lúb* 'bend, twist'. See Watson (1995, 95), who has a short entry on *Lipney*, now Dumyat Farm LOI STL, which has many of the same early forms as are shown here and this has confused him and others, including John Harrison and RCAHMS (2001, 16, fn 16), into thinking these deal with *Lipney*. However, *Lipney* is almost always shown in conjunction with *Fossakie*, *Ashintrule* (or *Lossintrule*), Logie,

and Blairlogie,<sup>179</sup> all of which are lands and settlements surrounding Dumyat LOI STL. What clinches it, aside from references such as the charter granting Stirling of Keir the lands of *Lubnoch* in the barony of Strathgartney (*Lipney* is in the barony of *Logyblair*), are the references to fishings at *Lupno*; there are no fish worth eating that warrant a mention in any charter of the Kings of Scots to be had in the Menstrie Burn, the nearest stretch of water of any consequence to *Lipney*.

The name is now found in Loch Lubnaig, but there are indications from Pont and Gordon that Lubnaig was not the only name for this loch. In a map drawn in 1636-56, Gordon shows *Loch Heuure* (NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)), while Pont, copied by Gordon c,1630-50 writes of ‘*Stratheuure ...at Loch-heuure head*’ (Sibbald TNS, 144r).

See also St Bride’s Chapel CLD below.

/lɒx 'lubnɪg/

LOTS OF CALLANDER CLD S NN633063 1 70m

*Lots of Callander* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXIV

This is one of the fourteen divisions or lots of land to the south of Callander created by the Commission for the Annexed Estates after the failed Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-6, and shown on the Annexed Estate plan, NAS E777/313/2. It was an attempt at Improvement, but of the 14 lots only four seem to have survived to the present day. This place-name refers either to Lot 7, given to Duncan McNee or, Lot 8 which was given James McNee. See also Balvalachlan

<sup>179</sup> See, for example, villam de *Logy*, *Blarlogy*, de les *Pullis*, de *Lubnach*, de *Fossachy*, *Lossynrule* (1451 RMS ii no. 462); *Logy...Blair de Logy...Le Pullis...Fossoquhy...Lupnouch et Lessinrule* (1502 ER xii, 638); terrarum et baroniae de *Logyblair*, continentis terras de *Lipnoche*, *Ashinrule*, *Fossoquhyemane*, *Logye* et *Blair* (1635 Retours STL no. 156); the lands and barony of *Logie Blair*, containing the lands of *Lipnoch*, *Ashinrule*, *Fassochie maner*, *Logie* and *Blair* (1685 NAS PA2/32, f.187-188v). None of these examples, and they are typical, mention fishings of *Lipney* (or its earlier variants), for the simple reason that there are none.

CLD, Boglot CLD, and Mollans CLD. It is not clear why the plural in Lots has survived, unless the whole of this area came to be known as 'The Lots' or some such, and the name has persisted even although only one remains.

LUIRGEANN CLD S NN636111 1 230m

*Luirgeann* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 6 inch OS map, sheet CXV

*Luirgeann* 1924-51 inch popular edn (sheet 62)

ScG *lurgann* or *luirgeann*

*Luirgeann* 'shank/ridge'. This is now Braeleny (q.v.), but must be the area named *Lurgavouie* (*lurgadh bhuide?*) 'yellow ridge') marked on John Leslie's plan of 1775 (NAS E777/313/2). Dwelly gives ScG *luirgeann* (f.) as a variant of *lurgann* (f.) 'shaft, shin, leg; hind leg of a horse' and ScG *lurg* 'ridge of a hill extending gradually into a plain'. In Ireland, *lorga(n)* 'shank; ridge' is found in Lurgan, Co. Armagh (Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 117); c.f. *DIL lurga* 'shin-bone; shank; stalk; stem'.

MID BRACKLINN CLD S NN683085 1 170m

See Bracklinn above.

MILTON OF CALLANDER CLD S NN577063 1 100m

*Ballynmolyn* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Myltoune* 1461 *ER* vii, 51

*Milton* 1480 *ER* ix, 561

*Mylnetoun* cum molendino 1502 *ER* xii, 634

*Miltoun de Stragartnay* 1596 *Retours PER* no. 1081

*Myntoun de Stragartnay* 1622 *Retours PER* no. 1111

*Milltown* 1783 Stobie

*Millton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *baile + muileann*; Sc *mill + toun*

'Mill steading'. Sc *Miltoun* is a direct translation of ScG *Baile a' Mhuilinn*. This re-naming occurs within ten years of Baile Mhuilinn/Milton coming on record. What is also notable, however, is that what is now called Milton Glen Burn, whence the mill got its power, was still called *Allt Gleann Baile Mhuilinn* as late as 1895 (see 2<sup>nd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map sheet 38). However, this may be a reflection of OS naming practices, where Scots/English names were given to settlements but Gaelic names to burns and relief features in certain contexts. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile* and *toun*-names in Menteith.

MOLLANDS CLD S NN630069 1 75m

*Mollands* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch, sheet CXXIV

This could be a surname such as Mollins or Mollans (see Black 1946, 605). This is Lot 1 on the Annexed Estate plan E777/313/2.

OFFERANS # CLD S NN549064 2 80m

le *Offrynn* 1451 *ER* v, 476

*Offren de Lanarkky* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Offran de Lanarke* 1478 *ER* viii, 532

*Offerens de Lanerky* 1480 *ER* ix, 561

*Offerens de Lanerky* 1484 *ER* ix, 594

*Offrens de Lanarky* 1486 *ER* ix, 621

*Offrens de Lanarky* 1488 *ER* x, 644

*Offeris de Lanarky* 1494 ER x, 725  
*Offerans de Lanerky* 1499 ER xi, 416  
*Offrens de Lanerk* 1502 ER xii, 634  
*Offroune in Strogartney* 1506 RMS ii no. 2969  
*Offeres de Lanark* 1508 RMS ii no. 3193  
*Offeris de Lanark* 1509 RMS ii no. 3350  
*Offerane* 1541 ER xvii, 714  
*Afrans* 1636-56 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)  
*Offrans* 1775 E777/313/122  
*Offerans* 1783 Stobie  
*Offerans* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *aifreann, aifrionn*; OG *oifrend* or Sc *offering*

'Offering, sacrifice, Mass'. See p. 161-163 for more discussion of this name. See also Lendrick CLD.

PORTNELLAN CLD S NN588063 1 93m

*Portynellane* 1451 ER v, 476  
*Portnellan* 1461 ER vii, 52  
*Portnellane* 1471 ER viii, 66  
*Portnellane* 1478 ER viii, 531  
*Portnellan* 1590 Retours PER no. 1058  
*Portnellan* 1640 Retours PER no. 494  
*Portnellane* 1663 Retours PER no. 715  
*Portnellane* 1670 Retours PER no. 806  
*Portnnelan* c.1750 Roy 70

*Portnellan* 1783 Stobie

*Portnellan* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *port + an + eilean*

*Port an Eilein* ‘harbour of the island’. There is a small island opposite here called Portnellan Island marked on the OS Explorer map. It was presumably more visible before the raising of the water in Loch Venachar due to the weir at the east end.

/port'nelən/

PORTNELLAN CLD S NN403123 1 130m

*Portnailane* c.1750 Roy 71

*E. Portnellan* 1783 Stobie

*W. Portnellan* 1783 Stobie

*Portnellan* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXII

ScG *port + an + eilean*

*Port an Eilein* ‘harbour of the island’. There are a group of islands sitting in Loch Katrine opposite here.

ST BRIDE'S CHAPEL CLD E NN585098 1 124m

advocatione et donatione capellaniarum et Harmetage de *Lupnow* 1503 RMS ii no. 2751

[united ‘into a free barony of Keir’ (in unam liberam baronia de *Keir*)]

advocatione capellaniarum et heremetagii de *Lupno* 1579 RMS iv no. 2902

advocatione capellaniae et hermitagii de *Lupno*, unitis in baroniam de *Keir* 1630 *Retours*

PER no. 400

advocationem capellaniae et hermitagii de *Lupno*, unitis in baroniam de *Keir* 1668 *Retours*

PER no. 774

advocationem capellaniae et hermitagii de *Luppno*, unitis in baroniam de *Keir* 1694

*Retours* PER no. 1008

*chapel of St Bridget* 1791-99 OSA xi, 581 ('two [rude figures...cut out of stone] have lately been discovered, on the farm of *Aney*, at the *chapel of St Bridget*' )

*St Bride's Chapel* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

The chapel of St Bride is described at RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN50NE 3. There are two place-names associated with the chapel; *Creag a' chaibeil* and *Àth a' chaibeil*, or 'rock' and 'ford of the chapel' respectively. The former is opposite the chapel on the Anie side of the A84 road, while the latter is a ford across the Garbh Uisge 'rough water', to Coireachrombie. See Loch Lubnaig CLD above.

St Bride's Chapel is undoubtedly old and two stone cross slabs were found in work carried out at the site in 1934 and 1971. They have been dated to between 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> C. (see Canmore ref. above), but there is no indication here as to how early the dedication to Bride is. St Bride was Brigid of Kildare, who died in Ireland in the first half of the sixth century.

STANK CLD S NN582105 1 132m

*Stankkernagh* 1451 ER v, 476

*Stank* 1461 ER vii, 52

*Stank* 1530 RMS iii no. 933

*Stank* 1535 RMS iii no. 1497

*Staink* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 144r

*Stank* 1783 Stobie

*Stank* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

Sc *stank*

*DOST* defines stank as ‘A pond; freq[uently] one specially built or used for keeping fish and, as such, one of the appurtenances of an estate; a pool or other piece of standing water smaller than a loch’. The ‘stank’ could be the bay at the south-western end of Loch Lubnaig, just 200m E of the settlement of Stank. The existence of this name seems to show that the Scots language had taken root in this part of the Highlands in the mid 15<sup>th</sup> C. However, It is notable that there is also a ScG word *stang* meaning ‘pool, standing water’, which MacLennan (1925) states as deriving from Latin *stagnum* ‘standing water, pool, marsh’, but the origin of the ScG word is probably Scots *stank*. This word may have been borrowed reasonably early into Scots Gaelic, and so Stank CLD may still be a ScG name. In IrG, however, *stang* was borrowed from Old Norse or English and means a small unit of land perhaps between ¼ of an acre and an acre (Ó Mainínn 1993, 94).

Angus Watson (2002, 47) has written that ‘At Loch Lubnaig [are] indicators of a power centre are at the southern end. [One is]: Stank NN58 10, the main holding of the barony of Strathyre...’. However, Stank was clearly marked in *Rentalia Domini Regis* and other documents such as *RMS* as being in the barony of Strathgartney. See (Coire) Carnach CLD.

STRATHGARTNEY CLD R NN4511

*Strogartney* 1449 *RMS* ii no. 291

*Strogartnay* 1451 *RMS* ii no. 462

*Strongartnay* 1468 *RMS* ii no. 971

*Strogartnay* 1473 *RMS* ii no. 1143

*Strogarthnaa* 1494 *RMS* ii no. 220

*Strogartnay* 1502 RMS ii no. 2657

*Stra-gartnay* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131r

*Strath Gairt* c.1632-52 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Strathgartney* c.1750 Roy 70

*Strathgartney* 1775 E777/313/122

*Strathgartney* 1783 Stobie

*Strath Garney* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXII

ScG *srath* + p.n. Gartnait

*Srath Gartnaidh* ‘wide valley of Gartnait’. The early forms point to ScG *sron* ‘nose, headland’, which may relate to the promontory that projects midway into the northern side of Loch Katrine, the highest point of which is Cruinn Bheinn. See p. 102-103 for discussion of the –*gartney* element possibly being Garnait.

STRONE CLD S NN453106 1 128m

*Strowingarrold* 1451 ER v, 476

*Strongarwold* 1461 ER vii, 52

*Stronegarvald* 1559 RMS iv no. 1339

*Stron[e?]gar[i?]velrie* Roy 71<sup>180</sup>

*Stroangarvaltry* 1783 Stobie

*Strongalvaltrie* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIII

*Strone* 1957 OS One inch Seventh Series sheet 54

ScG *sròn* + e.n \*Garbh-Allt or \*Garvald

<sup>180</sup> This name is difficult to read on Roy, partly due to the fact it is placed over a burn; neither the NLS or SCRAN website editions make it any clearer.

*Sròn Garbh-Allt* ‘promontory or nose-shaped hill of Garvald’. Garvald represents ScG *garbh allt* ‘rough burn’; this was probably the earlier name for the Strone Burn. The *sròn* may have been the hill marked *Meall Mòr* ‘Big Lump or Hill’ immediately west of the settlement.

/stron/

TARANDOUN # CLD S NN602072 1 97m

*Tarndoun* 1775 E777/313/122

*Tarndoun* 1783 Stobie

*Tarandoun* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXXIII

ScG *tòrr + an + dùn*

*Tòrr an Dùin* ‘conical hill of the fort’. The *dùn* refers to the fort at nearby Dunmore, c.200m to the north. Assuming the generic is ScG *tòrr*, then this is one of small number of *tòrr*-names in Menteith: there is also Torrie KMA, Upper, Lower, and Easter Tarr surround Tamnfalloch KMA, and in KRD there is Mill of Torr. There is an unmarked building on the 1:25,000 OS map at the above NGR.

THOMASGREEN CLD S NN638109 1 217m

*Tomnascriden* 1765 NAS E729/8/69

*Tomscridan* 1775 NAS E777/313/2

*Tomascrieden* 1783 Stobie

*Corychrone* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXV

*Corychrone* 1924-5 OS 1 inch popular edn sheet 62

*Thomasgreen* 1957 1 inch Seventh Series OS

ScG *tom + an + sgrìodan*

*Tom an Sgrìodain* ‘hillock of the scree or stoney ravine’. Part of the grazing lands of the barony of Callander. See Angus Watson (2002, 88) for his discussion of Leaccan Sgridain BQR. The two late Corychrone forms may relate to the area around nearby Stùc a’ Chroin, where there is also a Lochan a’ Chroin and a Gleann a’ Chroin.

/tɔməs'grɪn/

TOM NA BOIDE # CLD OR NN523088 1 160m

*Tom na Boide* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

ScG *tom + an + bòid*

*Tom na Bòide* ‘hill of the oath’. Prof. Nicolaisen, in a note to the OS wrote, ‘*Tom na Boide* is a perfectly good name form and should be retained until a less suspect authority than Hutchison can be found to support any alternative spelling’ (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN50NW 3). This refers to Hutchison (1879, 61) who called it ‘Tom a’ Moidh’ and may have confused *bòid* with *mòd* ‘court, assembly’ (see Tom a’ Mhòid CLD and Tomavoid PMH). Also marked nearby on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map are *Tom na Caillich* ‘hill of the old women’ and *Tom na Feileidh* ‘hill of the market/banquet [or kilt]?’; suggesting this was the main meeting place for either the community of Glen Finglas or the royal hunting parties who frequented this glen in the Middle Ages.

TOM A’ MHÒID CLD OR NN588129 1 234m

*Tom a’ Mhòid* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXIV

ScG *tom + an + mòd*

*Tom a' Mhòid* ‘court or assembly hill’. This is on the eastern shore of Loch Lubnaig in the barony of Keir. There are no traditions associated with this place so far as I am aware.

TREAN FARM CLD, LXY S NN619083 1 80m

*Trien* 1783 Stobie

*Trean* 1843 RHP1442/1

*Trean* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch sheet CXV

ScG *trian*

*Triān* ‘third part’. Another ‘third part’ can be found near Leny LXY, CLD: Trean Farm, *Trien* on Stobie in 1783. Watson says that *Triān* was rare (1926, 236) and yet we seem to have it twice in Menteith. It also occurs in KPN in *Treinterane* (1451 *ER* v, 475), probably ScG *trian + an + siorram*, part of the estate of Glentirranmuir (q.v. in KPN survey). However, since ‘thirdpart’ is common all over Scotland, this may be a Gaelicisation of a Scots term. See Thirds KPN.

/'trian/

WEST BRACKLINN CLD S NN651083 1 150m

See Bracklinn above.

WESTERBRIGEND # CLD S NN5306 3

*Westirbrigend* 1451 *ER*, 476

*Westirbrigend* 1461 *ER* vii, 51

*Westirbrigend* 1471 ER viii, 66

*Westirbrigend* 1480 ER ix, 562

*Westirbrigend* 1494 ER x, 725

*Vestirbrigende* 1499 ER xi, 417

*Westir Brigend* 1502 ER xii 635

*Brigend Westir* 1541 ER xvii, 714

Sc *wester + brig + end*

See *Brig o' Turk* CLD and *Hidderbrigend* CLD, above, for discussion.

## **Parish of Kilmadock**

### *Introduction*

See Chapter 6 for the medieval Church in KMA (See Map 20). The secular lordship was based on the castle at Doune. The castle sits on a narrow isthmus between the River Teith and the Ardoch Burn. The castle was built for Robert duke of Albany in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> C, and may have been ‘partly habitable’ by 1381 (Fawcett 1994, 8; Fraser 1879, 237-8; Fraser, *Menteith* i, 478). However, the name almost certainly derives from ScG *dùn* ‘fort’ and the site may have originally been a prehistoric fort or an ‘early Norman castle’ (Simpson 1937, 73). Any such structure must now lie under the 14<sup>th</sup> C castle, but the Romans had ‘recognised the strategic advantages’ of the site in the early 1<sup>st</sup> C, when they built a fort and annex on the western side of the Ardoch Burn (Fawcett 1998, 8; RCAHMS Canmore Ref. no. NN70SW 36). Among these ‘strategic advantages’ in the medieval period was the fact that it was an important stronghold guarding one of the main routes to the Highlands (Pringle 1987, 6). In 1541 the lands that were given for the upkeep of the castle were detailed in *Rentalia Domini Regis*: ‘James Stewart clamis thir landis fallowing assignit to him be the quenis grace for keiping of the castell of *Down...*'; these lands included Carse of Cambus, Wester Argaty, Drumcampsy #, Balkerach, Frew, and Park of Doune (*ER* xvii, 714-15).

Kilmadock is notable for a cluster of place-names ending in Sc *toun* ‘farmstead, settlement’. These are concentrated in the southern part of the parish, between the River Teith and the Goodie Water, in the medieval barony of Cessintully. These are Whirrieston, Munniestoun, Mackreiston, Mackeanston, Spittalton, McOrriston, Murdieston, Netherton, Norrieston, and possibly Ballinton. On the northern bank of the River Teith there is mention of Donald McCawis. This man or his sons continue to be mentioned in records to at least 1508. Donald

seems to have been the originator of the place now called Balmacansh, called *Ballacauch* in Stobie (see p. 123-129 for details of the *baile-* and *toun*-names in Menteith). See Chapter 6 for details of the medieval church in KMA, including the remarkable occurrence within the parish of three early church-elements – *annat*, *cill*, and *\*eccles*.

There were significant changes in the parish boundaries of KMA and KRD in 1891. The reason was to join the two parts of KRD; land was taken from the southern part of KMA and added to KRD, while land was taken from the northern section of the detached part of KRD and added to KMA.

ACHNABANA # KMA S NN725031 2 70m

*Auchounbannow* 1491 RMS ii no. 2059 ['which (lands) sir Alexander Doig, canon of Inchmahome, brother of the said James, has personally resigned' (quas D. Alex. Dog, canonicus de *Inchmaquhom*, frater dicti Jac., personaliter resignavit.)]

*Auchinbanno* 1628 RMS ix no. 1308 [*Auchinbanno et Severie*, cum lacu de *Lochmauhayak*]

*Auchinbaine* 1674 *Retours PER* no. 860 [in terris de *Auchinbaine* extendentibus ad 13 solidatas et 4 denariatas terrarum antiqui extensus, infra senescallatum de *Monteith*]

*Auchnabanach* c.1750 Roy 75

*Achnabana* 1955 MacKay 2003, 12

ScG *achadh +an + beannachd*

*Achadh na Beannachd* 'field of the blessing'. Mackay (2003, 12) has 'white field', but the medial syllable is almost certainly the definite article, so the specific is unlikely to be the adjective 'white'. Mackay (2003, 12) gives the information that *Achnabana* is *Wardhead Cottage*, which can be seen on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map. W.J. Watson suggested that it derived from *Achadh nam Bannaomh* 'field of the female saints' (Watson 1927, 10). A further, albeit tenuous, religious connection, is shown in 1491 when Alexander Doig, a canon of

Inchmahome Priory, held the lands, but it is hard to see how a canon could have resigned church lands, if that is what they were, to his brother. It may be that Alexander was holding direct from the king. If the specific is *beannachd*, then it may be compared with Cairnbanno, New Deer ABD (Taylor 2008, 402). Another possibility for the specific is ScG *banbh* 'pig', so *Achadh nam Banbh* 'field of the pigs'. Achnabana lay 4 km SE of Loch Mahaick, and Roy shows it in the vicinity of Argaty. See p. 107-110 for discussion of *achadh*.

AIGLESTEINSTON # KMA S NN6906 2 130m

*Eglysdissentyn* 1267 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 217 [confirmation by Alexander III of a gift by Walter Stewart, earl of Menteith, to Gilbert of Glenkerny<sup>181</sup> of 'medietate ville de Broculy (Brackland) cum pertinenciis, videlicet, illa medietate que iacet in parte uersus marchias de Eglysdissentyn'].

*Eglisdikin* 14th C Fraser 1888 ii, 6

*Eglisdishintane* 1456 *ER* vi, 279

*Ecclysdynschane* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Elgildisdan* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Ecclisdisdane* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Eglisdisdane* 1480 *ER* ix, 564 [*Eglisdisdane* et *Balnegregane*]

*Eglisdisdane* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Eglisdisdane* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Eglisdisdane* 1488 *ER* x, 636

*Eglisdisdane* 1491 *RMS* ii no. 2035 [*Eglisdisdane*, et *Ballechragane*]

*Eglisdisdan* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Egillisdisdaine* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Eglisdisdanne* 1502 *ER* xi, 633

<sup>181</sup> See Balgibbon CLD for location of Glenkerny.

*Eglisdisdane* 1502 *ER* xi, 635

*Aggischechynauche* 1528 *RMS* iii no. 607 [terrás de *Aggischechynauche*, *Ballechragane*]

*Agglische-chynnauche* 1535 *RMS* iii no. 1498 [terrás de *Agglische-chynnauche*,  
*Ballecraggane*]

*Aggleschechinauch* 1541 *ER* xvii, 717

*Aglisscenochis* 1558 *ER* xix, 431

*Agglischechymueauch* 1595 *Retours PER* no. 54 [terrás de *Agglischechymueauch* et  
*Ballecragane*]

*Heglish-Stinchenach* 1630-50 *Sibbald TNS* 157r [A myl benorth *Kailly-chat* is *Heglish-Stinchenach*]

*Eglischaynauch* 1670 *Retours PER* no. 809 [terrás de *Eglischaynauch*, *Ballichragan* et  
*Ballicavis*]

*Eglischinnauch* 1677 *Retours PER* no. 892 [terrás de *Eglischinnauch*, *Ballichragane* et  
*Ballicaine*]

*Aiglesteinston* c.1750 *Roy* 75

Brit. \*eccles + do + pn *Last* or *Iestyn* or Brit. *seintyn*?

'Church of thy *Last* or *Iestyn* or little saint'. See p. 148-152 for discussion of this name.

ANNET KMA S NN647054 1 196m

*Annat* 1508 *RMS* ii no. 3225 [terrás suas de *Calzecat* et *Annat*]

*Annot* 1510 *RMS* ii no. 3500 [*Calychat* et *Annot*]

*Annat* 1526 *RMS* iii no. 397

*Annat-Estir* 1531 *RMS* iii no. 1081 [terrás de *Calyequhat* et *Annat-Estir*]

*Annand Estir* 1517 *RMS* iii no. 136 [terrás de *Calyequhat* et *Annand Estir*]

*Annettis* 1536 RMS iii no. 1560 [terris de *Tor*, molendino et prato earundem, *Calyequattis* et *Annettis*]

*Annotis* 1539 RMS iii no. 1895 [*Calzequattis* et *Annotis*]

*Annottis* 1542 RMS iii no. 2825 [*Calequattis* et *Annottis*]

*Annat* 1546 Retours PER no. 1052 [*Eister Annat*]

*Annat* 1547 ER xviii, 413 [*Estir Annat*]

*Annot* 1550 RMS iv no. 507 [terræ de *Calyechat* et *Annot*, cum earum silva]

*Annatis* 1554 RMS iv no. 901

*Annat* 1574 RMS iv no. 2127 [terræ de *Calyequhat* et *Annat*]

*Annet* 1595 RMS vi no. 211

*Annottis* 1612 Retours PER no. 1094 [*Callechattis* et *Annottis*, jacentes infra senescallatum de *Monteith*]

*Annottis* 1617 RMS vii no. 1582 [*Eister Annottis*]

*Annets* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 157r

*Annottis* 1662 Retours PER no. 708 [*Callechattis* et *Annottis*, jacentes infra senescallatum de *Monteith*]

*Annatis* 1675 Retours PER no. 880 [*Cullochattis* et *Annatis*, jacentes infra senescallatum de *Monteith*]

*Anit* c.1685 Adair Stirling

*Annat* 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 338

*Anat* c.1750 Roy 75

*Annet* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV

ScG *annaид*, OI *andóit*

*Annaid* ‘mother church’. See p. 147-148, 150-152 for discussion of this name.

/ənət/

ARGATY KMA S NN737032 1 82m

*Argadycorntoun* 1451 *ER* v 474

*Argadymasoun* 1451 *ER* v 474 [*Argadycorntoun* et *Argadymasoun*]

*Ovyrargady* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Estirargady* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Argady Corntoun* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Westirargady* 1461 *ER* vii, 53 [*Ovyrargady*...*Estirargady*...*Argady Corntoun*...*Westirargady*]

*Ovirargady* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Estir Argady* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Argady Corntoune* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Westir Argady* 1471 *ER* viii, 67 [*Ovirargady*...*Estir Argady*...*Argady Corntoune*...*Westir Argady*]

*Uvirargady* 1480 *ER* ix, 565

*Westir Argady* 1480 *ER* ix, 565

*Argady Corntoun* 1480 *ER* ix, 565

*Estir Argady* 1480 *ER* ix, 565 [*Uvirargady*...*Westir Argady*...*Argady Corntoun*...*Estir Argady*]

*Argaty* 1488 *ER* x, 44

*Argati Corntoun* 1494 *ER* x, 721

*Uvir Argati* 1494 *ER* x, 721

*Ergati Estir* 1494 *ER* x, 721

*Ergati Westir* 1494 *ER* x, 721 [*Argati Corntoun*...*Uvir Argati*...*Ergati Estir*...*Ergati Westir*]

*Argatheis* 1497 *RMS* ii no. 2365

*Argaty* 1502 *ER* xii, 29

*Argaty-Cortoun* 1506 RMS ii no. 2932  
*Ester Argaty* 1506 RMS ii no. 2932  
*Over Argaty* 1506 RMS ii no. 2932 [*Argaty-Cortoun...Ester Argaty...Over Argaty*]  
*Argatyis* 1526 RMS iii no. 375  
*Westir Ergady* 1528 RMS iii no. 612]  
*Wester Ergady* 1528 Fraser, Menteith ii, 385  
*Westir Argade* 1528 Fraser, Menteith ii, 387  
*The Wester Argade* 1531 Fraser, Menteith ii, 396  
*Ardgaddy* 1532 RMS iii no. 1123  
*Argatheis* 1556 RMS iv no. 1051  
*Argatie* 1558 RMS iv no. 1322  
*Ardgaddy* 1561 RMS iv no. 1392  
*Westir Argaddy* 1564 RMS iv no. 1513  
*Argeteis* 1584 RMS v no. 761  
*Argathie* 1587 RMS v no. 1429  
*Argaties* 1629 Retours PER no. 373  
*Argaties* 1629 Retours PER no. 374  
*Wastir Argathie* 1628 RMS viii no. 1243  
*Wester Argoathie* 1675 Retours PER no. 877  
*Argitie* c.1685 Adair Stirling  
*Argaties* 1700 Retours PER no. 1048  
*Argatie* 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 337  
*Argatie* c.1750 Roy 75  
*Argaty* 1783 Stobie  
*Argaty* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXV

The derivation ‘windy height’ has been suggested by MacKay (2003), presumably from *àird gaothach*. This is not supported by the early forms, however; *Ard-* is only found in three of the early forms above, in 1532, 1602, and 1653, so it is almost certain that these are anomalies. What we may have is rather the preposition *ar* ‘at, on’ (see Anderson and Anderson 1961, 157 for their discussion of Urquhart, where *ar* ‘at, on’ is borne out also by the stress-pattern in the modern place-name.). The second element may be ScG *gad* ‘withy, osier’ plus a locational affix, and so meaning ‘on or beside the osier-place or osier plantation’. However, it may be that the Argaty Burn which flows through the lands of Argaty was originally named \*Gady (c.f. Gadie Burn, also containing ScG *gad* north of Bennachie, ABD; Watson 1926, 442).

The forms *Argadycorntoun* et *Argadymasoun* in 1451 are indicative of sub-division of the Argaty estate by this date. The *Masoun* element is a surname or a trade name; its precise whereabouts are now unknown, but Johanni Masone appears as a tenant of *Uvirargady* and *Lundylug* in *Retalia Domini Regis* in ER in 1480 (ER ix, 565), which may mean that \*Argaty-Mason was another name for \*Over Argaty. The *Cornton* element is most likely the place where the corn was grown for the estate. The estate of Argaty was a reasonably definable entity and its old divisions can be seen in the place-names remaining today. As well as Argaty, there is Mill of Argaty (NN747016), Cornton (NN739024), Westerton (NN735025), and Easterton (NN742021). See also Lundie below.

/'argətri/

ASHENTREE KMA S NS694984 1 30m

*Aschintre* 1615 RMS vii no. 1296 [terrás de *Aschintre* alias *Coldocht*]

*Aschintrie* 1632 RMS viii no. 1902 [terrás de *Ovir* alias *Midle Coldoche* aliter lie *Aschintrie*]

*Eschintrie* 1649 RMS ix no. 2018

*Ashintrees* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 80

*Ashintries* c.1685 Adair Stirling

*Ashens* 1783 Stobie

*Ashentree* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX [*Easter and Wester Ashentree* shown]

Sc *eschin* + *tree*

*Eshin* is an adjectival derivative of ash (tree) (*DOST*).

AUCHLESHIE KMA S NN655076 1 86m

*Achynlessy* 1461 *ER* vii, 53 [molendini de *Achynlessy*]

*Achlessy* 1471 *ER* viii, 67 [*Achlessy*...molendini de *Achlessy*]

*Achinlessy* 1478 *ER* viii, 531 [*Achinlessy*...molendini de *Achinlessy*]

*Achlesse* 1480 *ER* ix, 564 [*Achlesse*...molendini de *Achlesse*]

*Achlesse* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Achlesse* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Achlesse* 1488 *ER* x, 636 [*Achlesse*...molendini de *Achlesse*]

*Achlesse* 1494 *ER* x, 723 [*Achlesse*...molendini de *Achlesse*]

*Auchinlessy* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Auchinlossy* 1502 *ER* xii, 633

*Auchinlessy* 1508 *ER* xiii, 630

*Auchinclesh* 1509 *ER* xiii, 635

*Auchlesch* 1541 *ER* xvii, 717

*Auchinleshe* 1572 *RMS* iv no. 2101

*Auchlenshee* 1598 *RMS* vi no. 809

*Achaleshy* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Auchlessie* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 80

*Achlessie* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 338

*Achlishie* 1775 NAS E777/313/2

*Auchleshie* 1783 Stobie

*Auchleshie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV

ScG *achadh + an + lios?*

*Achadh na Lise?* ‘field of the fortified place’? If *lios* is the specific, then it may refer to the fort lying 500 m to the WNW. The ending could be from gen. sg. *liosa*. However, we wouldn’t expect the palatal *s* to develop. It might have developed an alternative gen. containing palatalisation, Cox in *Brìgh nam Falal* gives both *liosa* and *lise* as gen. sg. (also both m. and fem.). For the frequently-occurring *e* in the specific cf Lesmahagow (Taylor 2009, 71-4), and Auchterless ABD (MacDonald 1987a, 40). See p. 107-110 for discussion of *achadh*.

/ɔx'liʃɪ/ or /ɔx'lɛʃɪ/

BALKERACH KMA S NN724017 1 102m

*Balkeragh* 1451 *ER* v, 474

*Balkerach* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Balkeroch* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Balkerach* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Balkeroch* 1486 *ER* ix, 626

*Balkerauch* 1488 *ER* x, 44

*Balkeroch* 1488 *ER* x, 637

*Balkerach* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Balkarow* 1502 *ER* xii, 29

*Ballekerauch* 1502 *ER* xii, 631

*Ballekerach* 1528 *RMS* iii no. 612 [8 libratas 6 sol. 8 den. ant. ext. de *Drumcamsy* et  
*Ballekerach*]

*Ballekeraucht* 1528 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 385

*Ballikeroch* 1528 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 387

*Bellekerock* 1532 *RMS* iii no. 1123 [terrás dominicales de *Downe*, *Drumcampsey* et  
*Bellekeroch* nuncupat.]

*Ballekeroch* 1581 *RMS* v no. 280 [terrás dominicales de *Doun* vocat. *Drumcampsey* et  
*Ballekeroch*]

*Bailekeroch* 1581 *NAS, PA1/12*, ff79v-80r.

*Balliekeirauch* 1587 *RMS* v no. 1429 [terrás de dominicales de *Doune* vulgo lie *Maynis* alias  
*Douncampsie* et *Balliekeirauch*]

*Bailliekerauche* 1592 *NAS, PA2/14,ff.74v-80r.* [totas et integras terrás dominicales de  
*Doun* vulgo lie *Manis de Doun*, alias *Doun Campsie*, et *Bailliekerauche* nuncupatum]

*Balliekeirauch* 1602 *RMS* x no. 30

*Bellikerauch* 1652 *Retours PER* no. 97

*Belliderrauch* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616

*Bellikeireuch* 1668 *Retours PER* no. 1165<sup>182</sup>

*Bellieberaik* 1675 *Retours* no. 877

ScG *baile + carraigh?*

*Baile Carraigh* ‘pillar-stone farmstead’. On the western edge of the village of Doune there is a house named ‘Balkerach’, appropriately enough, in Balkerach Street. There seems to have been a separate settlement here in the Middle Ages, and which seems to have been a small

<sup>182</sup> *Retours* editor has (vel *Belliekeroch*) here.

farm as late as at least 1954. It has since been incorporated into the modern village. Although first vowel of the specific is a consistent 'e', it could be ScG *carragh* 'pillar-stone, rock', and there is a standing stone at NN72560182. The OS Object Name Book states: 'This stone is situated about 100yds north of Doune Railway Station....Traditionally said to have been a Roman signal stone' (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NN70SW 30). See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

/bal'kərəx/

BALLACHRAGGAN KMA S NN677065 1 145m

*Ballecragan* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Balnegregane* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Balcregane* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Balnegregane* 1480 *ER* ix, 564

*Balnegregane* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Balnegregane* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Ballegregan* 1488 *ER* x, 636

*Ballechragane* 1491 *RMS* ii no. 2035

*Ballegegan* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Ballegreganne* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Ballechragane* 1528 *RMS* iii no. 607 [terræ de *Aglistechynauch*, *Ballechragane* et  
*Gartincabir*]

*Ballecraggane* 1538 *RMS* iii no. 1498 [terræ de *Agglische-chynnauche*, *Ballecraggane*, et  
*Gartincabire*]

*Ballincragan* 1550 *RMS* iv no. 536

*Ballathragane* 1573 RSS vi, no. 1836

*Ballecragane* 1595 *Retours PER* no. 54

*Ballichragan* 1670 *Retours PER* no. 809 [terras de *Eglischaynauch, Ballichragan*, et  
*Ballicavis*, unitis in tenandriam de *Craigtoone*]

*Balcraigan* c.1750 Roy 75

*Balloohriaggan*<sup>183</sup> 1783 *Stobie*

*Ballachraggan* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXII

ScG *baile + an + creagean*

*Baile nan Creagan* ‘tounship of the crags’. The modern farm sits between two out-crops in a largely peat/heath landscape. Some of the earliest forms contain the definite article, and the specific-initial ‘g’ could represent nasalisation of *c* following genitive plural article. It is not clear, however, whether we can rule out *bealach* as the generic in some of these forms, perhaps as a generic substitution. There may also be variation with *Baile a' Chreagain* ‘tounship of the little rock’. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

/balə'xragən/

BALLANDORNICK # KMA S NN676002 1 65m

*Balmadornik* 1517 *ER* xiv, 489

*Balmadornyk* 1527 *RMS* iii no. 458

*Ballindornok* 1540 *RMS* iii no. 2278

*Balmadornyk* 1541 *RMS* iii no. 2377

*Balnadornok* 1562 *RMS* iv no. 1425

<sup>183</sup> This should presumably be *Ballachriaggan*. This kind of misreading or misspelling by the draughtsman or engraver is a fairly common occurrence in Stobie’s maps; see \**Garteehairn* below for another example.

*Ballindornik* 1573 RSS vi no. 1836

*Ballindornik* 1587 RMS v no. 1429

*Ballindornik* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97

*Balindornik* 1605 *Retours PER* no. 146

*Ballendirnik* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616

*Ballandornick* 1783 Stobie

ScG *baile + an + dornach*

*Baile an Dornaich* ‘tounship of the pebbly place’. Another possibility is ScG *doirneag* (fem.) gen. sg. *doirneige* meaning little stone, or similar, so *Baile na Doirneige* ‘tounship of the little stone’ or *Baile nan Doirneag* ‘tounship of the pebbles’. Watson (1926, 488) has Baldornoch near Clunie PER as meaning ‘pebbly stead’. This seems to be the old name for Hillhead KMA. It is notable that the forms for 1517, 1527, 1541, and possibly 1562 all contain medial *ma*. It is not clear what this represents, but a personal name beginning with *mac* or *mo* may be possible; however, Black (1946) contains no similar names. Another possibility is that *ma* represents minim confusion and rather than *ma*, *in a* is meant. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

BALLICHRAW # KMA NN659055 3

*Ballichraw* 1783 Stobie

ScG *baile or bealach + crodh or crò?*

*Baile or Bealach a' Chruidh* ‘cattle farm or pass’. ScG *crodh* and *crò* are alternative spellings of the same word. The second element might be ScG *crò* ‘fold, pen for sheep or cattle’. This only appears on Stobie. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*, and p. 88-90 for *bealach*.

BALLINGREW KMA S NS692990 1 42m

*Ballingrew* 1573 *RSS* vi no. 1836

*Ballingrew* 1625 *RMS* viii no. 782

*Balingrow* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156r

*Balnagrew* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Ballingrew* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 338

*Ballingrew* 1783 Stobie

*Ballingrew* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

ScG *baile + an + craobh*

*Baile nan Craobh* ‘tounship or farmstead of the trees’. The specific shows signs of nasalisation, which suggests MG gen. plural *na gegraobh*, where there is regular nasalisation in MG after gen. plural. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

/balən'gru/

BALLINTON KMA S NS681983 1 17m

*Ballinton* 1528 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 367

*Ballintoun* 1573 *RSS* vi no. 1836

*Ballingtone* 1576 *RMS* iv no. 2508 [6 mercatas de *Cessintullie* alias *Ballingtone* nuncupatas]

*Ballinton* 1587 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 366

*Ballantone* 1619 *Retours PER* no. 269 [in 6 mercatis terrarum antiqui extentus de *Cessintullie* alias *Ballintone*]

*Ballintone* 1637 *Laing Chrs* no. 2221 [...the east portion of the lands of the *Kerse of Ballintone*]

*Ballintoune* 1646 *Retours PER* no. 558 [6 mercatis terraum de *Cessintullie* alias vocatis

*Ballintoune*]

*Ballintone* 1684 *Retours PER* no. 934 [6 mercatis terrarum de *Cessintullie* alias *Ballintone*]

*Balinton* c.1695 Adair Stirling

*Ballintune* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 953 [6 mercatis terrarum de *Cessintullie* alias *Ballintune*]

*Ballanton* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 338

*Ballanton* c.1750 Roy 70

*Ballinton* 1783 Stobie

*Ballinton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

ScG *baile + an + tòn* or pn Ballone + Sc *toun*

*Baile na Tòine* ‘tounship of the backside, arse?’. There is also a Balanton in AFE. ScG *tòn* (fem.) is found in place-names to refer to arse or buttock-shaped hills, but there is no significant hill nearby. Ballinton is situated on the edge of the carse, and it may be the rise up from the carse-floor that is being referred to here. The pronunciation of the specific (/tən/ rather than /tɔ:n/ as in Balinton AFE) may reflect the fact that the settlement is in the midst of a dense cluster of *toun*-names. However, it may be that this is actually a Sc *toun* name; see NAS GD430/61 (dating to 1532) which is a ‘charter by Robert, Commendator of Inchmahome and the convent thereof in favour of Master Francis Ballone, priest of St Andrews diocese, of an annual pension of £20 Scots from teind sheaves of lands of Broich, Deanston and Cambuswallace, in parish of Kilmadock’. A ‘Dene Andrew Ballone’ was the ‘superior’ of Inchmahome prior to the Erskines becoming commendators in 1529 (Dilworth 1986, 64).

There appears to have been another Ballinton in KMA, perhaps between Daldorn KMA and Auchinsalt PMH (see, for example, *Retours PER* nos 936 and 953, and *Laing Chrs* no. 2272 where it is *Balindune* in the latter). See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile* and *toun*.

/'baləntən/

BALLOCHALLAN KMA S NN654056 1 68m

*Ballachallane* 1565 RMS iv no. 1622 [*Cammis-Wester* alias *Ballachallane*]

*Ballichallin* 1608 RMS vi no. 2180 [*Cambusbeg-Westir* alias *Ballichallin*]

*Ballichallon* 1613 RMS vii no 797 [*Cammusbeg-Wester* vocatas *Ballichallon*]

*Ballachan* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 338

*Ballachallan* c.1750 Roy 70 [House of *Ballachallan*]

*Ballachalan* 1775 NAS E777/313/2

*Ballachallan* 1783 Stobie

*Ballachallan* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *bealach* + *àilean*

*Bealach Àilein* ‘meadow pass’. Dwelly has the ScG m. noun *àilean* meaning ‘green, plain, meadow’. This place sits on a flat plain c.3 km to the SE of Callander, and just 300m W of the place-name *Straid* ‘[Roman?] road’, and was probably on or part of the main route from Doune to Callander and the North. See p. 88-90 for *bealach*.

/,baləx'älən/

BALLOCHNECK KMA, KRD S NN655017 1 91m

*Ballocknock* 1687 *Retours PER* no. 968 [50 solidatis terris terrarum de *Brae de Boquhapell nuncupatis Ballochknock*]

*Ballichroik* 1783 Stobie

ScG *bealach + cnoc*

*Bealach Cnuic* or *Cnoic* ‘small hill pass’. If this is the derivation, Stobie appears to show an approximation of the modern Scottish Gaelic pronunciation, which might suggest either Gaelic speakers in the area at that time or a lingering knowledge of the pronunciation. The current spelling as shown from 1862, might represent a vowel change or mistake made by the compiler of the OS name book. There is another Ballochneck in Drymen parish (NS555931), 2km WSW of Buchlyvie; early spellings for this latter name include *Ballochneck* (GD22/3/483/5, dating to 1701) which might have the meaning ‘pass [or tounship, if *baile*] of the horse’. See p. 88-90 for *bealach*.

/,baləx'nek/

BALMACANSK KMA S NN685052 1 120m

*Ballicavis* 1670 *Retours PER* no. 809 [terrains de *Eglischaynauch*, *Ballichragan*, et *Ballicavis*, unitis in tenandriam de *Craigtonne*]

*Ballicaine* 1677 *Retours PER* no. 892 [terrains de *Eglischinnauch*, *Ballichragane* et *Ballicaine*]

*Ballachcaush* 1782 RHP 14317

*Ballecauich* 1783 Stobie

ScG *baile + pn McCawis*

*Bail’ ic Camhais* from *Baile Mhic Camhais* is a possible ScG form for this name. Donald McCawis appears in *ER* from 1480 (*ER* ix, 564) as a tenant in the lands of *Eglisdisdane* et *Balnegregane* in the barony of Doune, (see 123-129 for more on this place and other *toun-*

names in Menteith). This is now a field name (information from Mr Robert Grant, farmer at Drumloist). The *n* in the modern pronunciation of the specific presumably occurred due to a misreading in documents of *n* for *u*. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

/balmə'kanʃ/

BALVORIST KMA S NN673071 1 151m

*Bellitmorych* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Bellikmorik* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Bellikmorik* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Ballermorik* 1480 *ER* ix 564

*Ballemorik* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Ballemorik* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Ballemorik* 1488 *ER* x, 637

*Balmorich* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Balmorische* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Balmoriche* 1502 *ER* xii, 633

*Balmoris* 1528 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 380

*Ballemorist* 1529 *RMS* iii no. 854

*Ballemorist* 1529 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 392

*Ballemorist* 1531 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 395

*Ballemorist* 1550 *RMS* iv no. 536

*Ballemorist* 1561 *RMS* iv no. 1392

*Ballivorist* 1564 *RMS* iv no. 1513

*Ballemoreis* 1573 *RSS* vi no. 1836

*Ballivorist* 1581 RMS v no. 280

*Balleivorist* 1587 RMS v no. 1429

*Ballemoreist* 1611 RMS vii no. 465

*Balmorist* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877

*Ballvorust* 1783 Stobie

*Balvorist* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *baile* + ?

Two of the earliest forms (1471 and 1478) have *Bellik-* as the generic, which could suggest *bealach* ‘pass’ (the 1461 form has *Bellit-*; the *t* could be a scribal error for *c*). The specific could be the personal-name Maurice or Muiredhach, which occurs often in Menteith (see Chapter 4 for instances of nobles with this name). The early forms show an *-ych/-ik/-ich* ending, while later we have an *-ist* ending, which also occurs in another *Balvorist* shown on Stobie southeast of Lake of Menteith between Cardross and Arnclerich PMH. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

/bəl'vurɪʃ/ (information on pronunciation from Mr Campbell Millar [age 50+] of Ballachraggan, whose father always pronounced that way. Mr Millar’s family have farmed at Ballachraggan for several generations).

BAXTERTOUNE # KMA S NS681995 1 37m

*Baxtartoun* 1541 *ER* xvii, 716 [iiij mark land in *Cessintuly* callit *Baxtartoun*]

*Baxtartoun* 1565 RMS iv no. 1622 [*Baxtartoun* alias *Boghall*]

*Baxtartoun* 1587 RMS v no. 1429 [*Baxtartoun* alias *Boghall*]

*Baxtartoun* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97 [*Baxtartoun* alias *Boighall*]

*Baxtertoun* 1628 RMS ix no. 1239 [*Baxtertoun alias Boghall*]

*Baxtertoun* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616 [The few-dewties of the landis of *Baxtertoun alias Boghall*]

*Baxtertoune* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877 [*Baxtertoune alias Boighall*]

Pn Baxter + Sc *toun*

Thome Baxter was a tenant of Cessintully in 1480 (*ER* ix, 566). *Baxtaroun* had its name changed to Bogton in the 16<sup>th</sup> C. (See Boghall below). See 123-129 for discussion of Sc *toun*-names.

BLACK PARK KMA S NN726024 1 79m

*Black Park* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc *black* + *park*

Shown as a wooded area on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS, with no settlement to be seen. Not shown on Stobie. The *Parkland de Doune* or *Park de Doune* is on record from 1461 (*ER* vii, 54) until at least 1675 (*Retours PER* no. 877), and is probably related to the hunting grounds of Doune Castle, a favourite hunting estate of the Stewart kings from James I. In 1478 a note in *ER* viii (536) states 'propter vastitatem de parc de *Doune* ['on account of the laying waste of the Park of Doune']'.

BOGHALL KMA S NS681995 1 37m

*Boghall* 1551 *ER* xviii, 520

*Boghall* 1565 RMS iv no. 1622 [*Baxtaroun alias Boghall*]

*Boghall* 1587 RMS v no. 1429 [*Baxtertoun alias Boghall*]

*Boghall* 1595 *Retours PER* no. 1071

*Boighall* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97 [*Baxtertoun alias Boighall*]

*Boghall* 1603 *Retours PER* no. 119

*Boghall* 1604 *RMS vi* no. 1496

*Boghall* 1625 *RMS viii* no. 782

*Boghall* 1628 *RMS ix* no. 1239 [*Baxtertoun alias Boghall*]

*Boghall* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616 [*Baxtertoun alias Boghall*]

*Boighall* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877 [*Baxtertoune alias Boighall*]

*Boghall* 1783 Stobie

*Boghall* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *bog + hall*

Boghall was originally called Baxtertoune # (see above).

BORDLAND DE CAMMYS # KMA S NN651063 2

*Bordland de Cammys* 1461 *ER vii*, 53

*Bordland de Cammys* 1471 *ER viii*, 67

*Bordland de Cammys* 1478 *ER viii*, 531

Sc *bordland + of + en \*Cambus (1) ?*

The forms are placed in Cambus (1) on the basis that they are in the same grouping as *Brocklen* [Brackland CLD], *Achinlessy* [Auchleslie KMA] and Cambusbeg KMA in *ER*. See p. 39 and 100 for discussion of *bordland*.

BRAE OF BOQUHAPPLE KMA, KRD S NN656018 1 99m

*Bra de Buchquhopill* 1461 *ER vii*, 52

*Bra de Buchquhopill* 1486 ER ix, 624

*Bra de Buchquhopill* 1497 RMS ii no. 2374 [Confirmation charter of Robert Nory of Bochquhopill of terrarum de *Bra de Buchquhopill*]

*Bra de Buchopple* 1509 RMS ii no. 3359

*Rupis de Buchquhopill* 1548 RMS iv no. 214

*Braboquhoppill* 1573 RSS vi no. 1836

*Bray de Boquhoppill* 1579 RMS iv no. 2902

*Bray de Boquhoppill* 1630 Retours PER no. 400

*Brae de Boquhaple* 1686 Retours PER no. 946

*Brae de Boquhapell* 1687 Retours PER no. 968 [50 solidatis terris terrarum de *Brae de Boquhapell* nuncupatis Ballochknock]

*Brae of Bowhapple* 1783 Stobie

*Brae of Boquhapple* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *brae + of + en* Boquhapple

See Boquhapple KRD for details of this place-name.

BRAE OF CESSINTULLY KMA S NN670129 1 84m

*Bra de Cessintuly* 1512 ER xiv, 489

*Bray de Cessintuly* 1527 RMS iii no. 458

*Bra de Cessintulie* 1541 RMS iii no. 2377

*Bray de Cessintuly* 1562 RMS iv no. 1425

*Bra Sissintuly* 1563 ER xix, 518

*Bra Cessintullie* 1573 RSS vi no. 1836

*Bray de Cessintullie* 1605 Retours PER no. 146

*Breaceousintully* 1783 Stobie

*Brae of Cessintully* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *brae + of + en* Cessintully

BROICH FARM KMA S NN693018 1 66m

*Broich* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Broiche* 1640 *Laing Chrs* no. 2273

*Broiche* 1646 *Retours PER* no. 558

*Broich* 1685 *Retours PER* no. 940

*Broich* 1783 Stobie [*Upper, Middle* and *Nether Broich* shown]

*Wester Broich* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *bruach*

*Bruaich* '[river] bank; conspicuous slope'. It might be thought that Broich is too far away from the River Teith to merit being Gaelic for a river bank, but Stobie shows that there was originally a settlement closer to the river called *Nether Broich*, with *Middle Broich* and *Upper Broich* running in almost a straight line south-westwards up the hill away from the river. The present Broich would seem to be the *Upper Broich* shown in Stobie, but it is shown as *Wester Broich* in the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map. There is also a Broich in KPN. (See also Taylor *PNF* iv, 386-7, for his discussion of Ballenbreich, Flisk FIF).

The development of the name may indicate a dative form; see A. Watson (2002, 208) where he states Bruchmore, Monzievaird and Strowan parish PER, is ScG '*bruach* dat.-loc. of *bruach*' '(place at) bank' (of a watercourse, loch &c) plus *mòr* 'big'. It stands beside the Earn'. He also states that 'Broich (Glendevon), earlier *Bruach* and *Bruich*, and Broich (Crieff), both of which show evidence of dat.-loc. forms and appear to take their names from their position beside a watercourse' (A. Watson 2002, 208).

/brɔɪx/

BUCHANY KMA S NN711029 1 45m

*Puchantie* 1720 KMA Kirk Session records (MacKay 2003, 28)

*Buchany* 1783 Stobie

*Buchany* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

MacKay proposed *both + an + nì* 'hut of the cattle' (2003, 28), but this has to be rejected on the grounds that *nì* is not found in place-names. Watson seems to suggest that the district name Buchan might be Pictish, perhaps similar to 'W. *buwch*, a cow' (Watson 1926, 119), but given the lateness of recorded forms for Buchany it is not clear if that applies here.

Watson (1926, 119) has Buchany in KMA as *Buchny* in 1511. However, the *RMS* reference he quotes (*RMS* ii no.3694) clearly has *Buchny* 'in dominio de *Stratherne*, vic. *Perth*'. This instead refers to Buchanty in Fowlis parish PER on the banks of the River Almond, 9km NE of Crieff. Note also that Prof. Watson's *Buchondy*, is not Buchanty in Glen Almond, as he states: this must be Balquhandy PER, 3 km SE of Dunning PER; it is notable that there are charters in *RMS* ii [nos 115, 1703, 3840] which mention *Buchondy* along side the lands of Corb PER which is c.4 km SW of Balquhandy. Angus Watson states that Buchanty 'has a potentially Pictish name, implying a long-standing settlement important enough for its name to be preserved throughout a period of language change' (A. Watson 2002, 572). Whether this same reasoning can apply to Buchany KMA is unclear considering the paucity of the early forms, and the initial 'p' of the earliest form may indicate a different derivation altogether.

/'bukənɪ/

BURNBANK KMA, KRD S NS705988 1 29m

*Burnebank* 1526 RMS iii no. 397

*Burnbank* 1544-5 ER xviii, 382

*Burnebank* 1617 RMS vii no. 1582 [liberam baroniam de *Burnebank*...liberum tenementum de *Burnebank*]

*Burnbank* 1625 RMS viii no. 782

*Burnbank* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Burnbank* c.1685 Adair Stirlieing

*Burnbank* 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 339 [the old tower of *Burnbank*]

*Burnbank* 1783 Stobie

Mains of *Burnbank* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *burn + bank*

The burn referred to is now the Burnbank Burn, which flows from north of Gartincaber to the River Forth at Arnieve. Burnbank was originally in KRD before the parochial reorganisation of the late 19<sup>th</sup> C, and Burnbank Wood is still in that parish, while Burnbank Lane lies c.500m south of Kincardine parish church.

There are the remains of a towerhouse at NN709988 (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NS79NW 6). This was a residence of the Muschet family, others included Tolgarth # KRD, Torr # KRD, Mill of Goodie KRD and Cuthil KRD (NSA x, 1258-9). Nearby is a gravestone to the memory of Margaret Drummond, wife of George Muschet of Burnbank, and her three children, who died of plague in 1647.

BURN OF CAMBUS KMA S NN707031 1 52m

*burn of Cammez* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 157r [...*the burn of Cammez* falling in *Teth* hard at the kirk of *Kilmadok*]

*Burn Cambus* c.1750 Roy 75

*Burn of Cambus* 1783 Stobie

*Burn of Cambus* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *burn + of + en Cambus* (2)

In 1630-50 it was written that 'Half a myl thence the burn of *Cammez* falling in *Teth* hard at the kirk of *Kilmadok*' (Sibbald TNS). This is confirmed in the 1790s by the writer for *OSA* (xx, 49) who mentions 'the other rivulet of consequence is *Annat*, or *Cambus...*' and, writing of Buchany, states, 'Buchany unites with another village at the burn of *Annat*, (here termed the burn of *Cambus*)' (*OSA* xx, 56). The modern settlement is named after this burn, which is now called the Annet Burn.

CALZIEBOHALZIE KMA S NN723073 213m

*Kilyebouchalye* 1451 *ER* v 474

*Kelyeboquhalye* 1451 *ER* v, 477

*Kelyeboquhaliye* 1453 *ER* v, 594

*Kalyebuchailye* 1454 *ER* v, 675

*Kalyebochalye* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Calyebuchalye* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Cailyebucquhailye* *ER* viii, 531

*Calyebuchqualye* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Cailyebuchquhailye* 1486 *ER* ix, 626

*Calye Buchquhalye* 1488 *ER* x, 636

*Calye Buchquhalye* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Cailye Buchquahalye* 1499 *ER* xi, 415  
*Calyee Buchquahalyee* 1502 *ER* xii, 633  
*Calzebuchquhalze* 1528 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 380  
*Cailzeboquhailze* 1528 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 392  
*Calzeboquhailze* 1529 *RMS* iii no. 854  
*Calzeboquhalze* 1531 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 395  
*Cailzeboquhailze* 1561 *RMS* iv no. 1392  
*Calzeboquhalze* 1564 *RMS* iv no. 1513  
*Tailyeboquhailye* 1573 *RSS* vi no. 1836  
*Callebachallie* 1588 *RMS* v no. 1429  
*Calyebachalyie* 1592 *NAS, PA2/14*, ff.74v-80r.  
*Callebohalzie* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97  
*Callebohalzie* 1611 *RMS* vii no. 465  
*Callebachallie* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616  
*Cullibachallie* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877  
*Calliebachalzie* c.1750 *Roy* 75  
*Calliebahalzie* 1783 *Stobie*  
*Calziebohalzie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn *OS* 6 inch map sheet CXXV

ScG *coille + buachaillie*

*Coille Buachaillie* ‘cowherd’s or shepherd’s wood’. Cowherd is the original meaning, but it can also mean shepherd. The *z* (originally a yogh) is being used to signify the palatalisation or slenderisation of the preceding *l*. It is relatively common in Scots spellings of Gaelic-derived words and names. According to Mackay (2003, 31), Calziebohalzie was pronounced in the 1950s as ‘kalya-bo-halya with the *a* [presumably all of them] as in far’. However, the farmer

of Ballachraggan, Mr Campbell Millar, gave the information that the current pronunciation equates phonetically with the spelling.

/'kalzi bo'halzi/

CAMBUS (1) KMA S NN651063 1 75m

For early forms see Cambusmore, Cambusbeg, Cambusbarclay, Cammuslittill.

ScG *camas*

*Camas*; Dwelly has *camas* meaning ‘crooked rivulet’. *DIL* has *camm* as ‘crooked, bent, curved, twisted’. The word is common in simplex forms, and in these it is usually a bay, curved beach, or curved inlet (see Hogan 1910, 154; c.f. Cambus CLA). The *camas* generic in KMA may relate to the large semi-circular bend in the River Teith between Callander and Cambusbeg or a large bend in the Kelty Water near where Cambusmore sits. This is one of two areas on the north bank of the River Teith that derives from ScG *camas*. Another area c.6km SE of Cambusmore also contains a number of ‘Cambus’ names, which are dealt with under the head-name ‘Cambus (2)’ in this survey. This is a sub-divison of what was presumably a place called \**Cambus* or \**Cammas*. NGR is that of Cambusmore.

CAMBUS (2) KMA S NN707031 1 52m

For early forms see Burn of Cambus, Cambuswallace, Cambusedward, and Milton of Cambus.

ScG *camas*

*Camas* (See Cambus (1), above for definition). The *camas* generic here may relate to the large bend in the Annet Burn between its confluence with the River Teith and the settlement called Burn of Cambus. The Annet Burn was also called the Burn of Cambus (q.v. above).

CAMBUSBARCLAY # KMA S NN651063 1 75m

*Cambusberclay* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Cambusberklay* 1453 *ER* v, 673

*Cammisbarcle* 1480 *ER* ix, 564

*Cammisbarcla* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Cammisbercla* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Cammusbarklay* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Cammisbarcla* 1499 *ER* xi, 418

*Cammusbarklay* 1502 *ER* xii, 633

*Cammysberclay* 1508 *RMS* ii no. 3193

*Cammysberclay* 1510 *RMS* ii no 3350

*Camusbarklay* 1596 *Retours PER* no. 1081

*Cammisbarclay* 1622 *Retours PER* no. 1111 [*Cammisbarclay* alias *Cammismore*]

*Cammis-Barclay* 1627 *RMS* viii no. 1164 [*Cammis-Barclay* alias *Cammismoir*]

*Cammis-Barclay* 1631 *RMS* viii no. 1840 [*Cammis-Barclay* alias *Cammismoir*]

*Cammis-Barclay* 1631 *RMS* viii no. 1861 [*Cammis-Barclay* alias *Cammismoir*]

*Cambusbarclay* 1648 *Retours PER* no. 581 [*terrarum de Cambusbarclay* alias *Cambusmoir*]

*Cambus-Barclay* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 949 [*Cambus-Barclay* nuncupatis *Cambusmoir*]

En Cambus (1) + pn Barclay

There is no indication from the sources as to who the eponymous Barclay was. See Cambuswallace and Cambusedward, below, for other surnames connected to Cambus place-names. This is now Cambusmore (q.v. below).

CAMBUSBEG KMA S NN661052 1 66m

*Cammysbeg* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Cammisbeg* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Cammisbeg* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Cammisbeg* 1488 *ER* x, 636

*Cammusbeg* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Cammusbeg* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Cammisbeg* 1499 *ER* xi, 417

*Cammisbeg* 1502 *ER* xii, 633

*Cambusbeg* 1510 *RMS* ii no. 3411

*Cammysbeg* 1527 *RMS* iii no. 456

*Cammisbeg* 1565 *RMS* iv no. 1622 [*Cammis-Eistir* alias *Cammisbeg*]

*Cambisbeg* 1565 *RMS* v no. 1429

*Cambisbeg* 1592 *NAS*, PA2/14, ff.74v-80r

*Camisbeg-Wester* 1597 *RMS* vi no. 569

*Cambusbeg* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97

*Cambusbeg-Westir* 1608 *RMS* vi no. 2180 [*Cambusbeg-Westir* alias *Ballichallin*]

*Cambisbeg* 1611 *RMS* vii no. 465

*Cammusbeg-Wester* 1613 *RMS* vii no 797 [*Cammusbeg-Wester* vocatas *Ballichallon*]

*Cambesbeg* 1628 *RMS* viii no. 1239

*Cambusbeg* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616

*Cambusbeg* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 949

*Cambusbeg* 1783 Stobie

*Cambusbeg* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG en \*Cambus (1)+ ScG *beag*

*Camas Beag* ‘small Cambus’. The *camas* generic may relate to the large semi-circular bend in the River Teith between Callander and Cambusbeg or a large bend in the Kelty Water near where Cambusmore (see below) sits. This is a sub-division of what was presumably a place called \**Cambus* or \**Camas* analogous with the Scots affixes Easter, Wester, Upper, Nether, etc., found in place-names. Note that in 1565 *Cammis-Eistir* was Cambusbeg, while in 1608 *Cambusbeg-Westir* was Ballachallan. This is one of two areas on the north bank of the River Teith that derives from G *camas*. Another area c.4km SE of Cambusbeg contains a number of ‘Cambus’ names.

/,cambəs'beg/

CAMBUSEDWARD # KMA S NN702044 1 106m

*Cambusedwarde* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Cammysewart* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Cammyseward* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Cammisedward* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Cammisedward* 1480 *ER* ix, 564

*Cammisedwart* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Cammisdewart* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Cammisedwart* 1488 *ER* x, 634

*Cammisedward* 1494 *ER* x, 721

*Cammisedward* 1495 *ER* x 758

*Cammisedwarde* 1499 *ER* xi, 413

*Cammisedward* 1502 *ER* xii, 631

*Cammesedwart* 1529 *RMS* iii no. 854 [*Miltoun de Cammes* alias *Cammesedwart*]

*Cammesedward* 1561 *RMS* iv no. 1392 [*Mylntoun de Cammes* alias *Cammesedward*]

*Cammisward* 1564 *RMS* iv no. 1513 [*Mylntoun de Cammes* (alias *Cammisward*)]

*Cammeswaird* 1581 *RMS* v no. 280 [*Mylntoun de Cammes* alias *Cammeswaird*]

En Cambus (2) + pn Edward

'Cambus belonging to or associated with Edward' This now called Milton of Cambus. Who the eponymous Edward was is not known, but see comments to Cambuswallace, below.

CAMBUSMORE KMA S NN651063 1 75m

*Cammismore* 1529 *RMS* iii no. 847

*Cammysmore* 1580 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 380

*Cammismoir* 1621 *RMS* viii no. 172

*Cammismore* 1622 *Retours PER* no. 1111 [*Cammisbarclay* alias *Cammismore*]

*Cammismoir* 1627 *RMS* viii no. 1164 [*Cammis-Barclay* alias *Cammismoir*]

*Cambusmoir* 1631 *RMS* viii no. 1809

*Cammismoir* 1631 *RMS* viii no. 1840 [*Cammis-Barclay* alias *Cammismoir*]

*Cammismoir* 1631 *RMS* viii no. 1861 [*Cammis-Barclay* alias *Cammismoir*]

*Camismoir* 1646 *Retours PER* no. 558

*Cambusmoir* 1648 *Retours PER* no. 581 [*terrarum de Cambusbarclay* alias *Cambusmoir*]

*Cambusmoir* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 949 [*Cambus-Barclay nuncupatis Cambusmoir*]

*Cambusmore* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 338 [the Tower of *Cambusmore*]

*Cambsmore Castle* c.1750 *Roy* 70

*Cambusmore* 1783 Stobie

*Cambusmore* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

En Cambus (1) + ScG *mòr*

*Camas Mòr* 'big Cambus'. See Cambus above for fuller analysis of the name. This was also known as *Cambusbarclay* until at least 1686. MacKay (2003, 32) mentions that 'Cambusmore' is mentioned in a charter of 1485', but I have been unable to locate it.

/,cambəs'mor/

CAMBUSWALLACE KMA S NN711033 2 64m

*Cambuswethe* 1261 RRS ii no. 519<sup>184</sup>

*Cambusvallance* 1491 RMS ii no. 2008

*Campiswallace* 1510 RMS ii, no. 3527

*Cambusvallance* 1513 RMS ii no. 3877

*Cammes Wallace* 1529 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 391

*Cammis-Wallace* 1611 RMS vii no. 1582

*Cammiswallace* 1614 Retours PER no. 226

*Cammez Wallace* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 157r

*Cambuswallace* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 338

*Cambuswallace* 1783 Stobie

*Upper Cambuswallace* 1783 Stobie

En Cambus (2) + pn Wallace

<sup>184</sup> This name is printed in a comment by Barrow regarding an inspeximus charter by Henry III of England of a charter by William I regarding the agreement by the two Maurices of Menteith regarding who should succeed to the earldom in 1213. Fraser (*Menteith* ii, 227) has *Cambuswalhe*, while CDS (i, 447) has *Cambuswathe*.

'Cambus belonging to or associated with Wallace'. There is a tradition that the second element is William Wallace, the hero of the Scottish Wars of Independence (MacKay 2003, 32), and while this is not to be dismissed lightly given Wallace's exploits in the Stirling area in 1297, it can't originally refer to him, given the *Cambuswethe* form. It has perhaps become associated with him through re-interpretation. The 1491 and 1513 forms may relate to the Vallance or de Valognes family who were related to the Comyns by marriage when Walter Comyn was earl of Menteith in the 13<sup>th</sup> C (see *CDS i* under Valognes for more details). If the specific is a personal name, such as Wallace, I have found no direct evidence regarding the identity of the person involved. However, it is only around 1km SE from where *Cambusedward* (q.v. above) stood, and there may be some kind of allusion to the hero and anti-hero of the 1297-1307 phase of the Scottish Wars of Independence.

Cambuswallace Wood is marked on the current 1:25,000 OS Pathfinder map at NN706038, but is not marked on the 1st edn OS six inch map. MacKay (2003, 32) says this is the old name for Doune Lodge which is at the NGR given in the head form.

CAMMUSLITTILL # KMA S NN651063 2

*Cammyslitill* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Cammyslitill* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Cammyslite* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Cammislite* 1480 *ER* ix, 564

*Cammis Litll* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Cammislitll* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Cammislitll* 1488 *ER* x, 636

*Cammislitll* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Cammis Litll* 1499 *ER* xi, 416

*Cammis Litll* 1502 *ER* xii, 633

*Cammislittill* 1608 RMS vi no. 2180 [*Cammislittill* (alias *Cammis-Rattray*)]

*Cammuslittill* 1613 RMS vii no. 797 [*Caummuslittill* alias *Cammus-Macray*]

En \*Cambus (1) ? + Sc *little*

In ER *Cammis Litill* is alway placed with *Estir Cammis*, i.e. *Estir Cammis et Cammis Litill* and on the basis of the 1565 form *Cammis-Eistir* (note word order here) alias *Cammisbeg* it has been placed in Cambus (1). However, there is no guarantee that this need be so, and it might be placed among Cambus (2).

CARDONA KMA S NN689008 1 79m

*Cardona* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

I have been unable to find this place-name in any document or map before 1862, which probably means it is a modern name. It may be the place marked *Plouthall* on Stobie in 1783. There is a town called Cardona in Catalonia with an important medieval castle, but what, if any, connections there might be with Cardona KMA, is unknown, although a nobleman, Fernando Ramon Floch, 2<sup>nd</sup> duke of Cardona, died in the same year as Willam Graham, 3<sup>rd</sup> earl of Menteith in 1543.<sup>185</sup> The castle of Cardona was besieged during the Peninsuar War of 1807-1814, but it is not known if any British or Scottish units took part, giving rise to the place-name in KMA.

CARSE OF CAMBUS KMA S NS716029 1 46m

*Carse of Cambus* 1783 Stobie

*Carse of Cambus* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

<sup>185</sup> Information from Wikipedia.

Sc *carse* + *of* + en Cambus (2)

A carse is usually low-lying land next to a river. See *DSL* under *carse* (and *DOST* under *cars*) which states ‘Origin doubtful’. The word is ‘First found in a [Gaelicised] form c.1143 *Charter Dav. I*: ‘apud Strevelyn, una salina in *Carsach* [Carse of Forth]’. O.Sc. *cars*, *carse*, *kers*, a stretch of land along the bank of a river, from 1292, chiefly in place-names’. The *carse* element refers to the flat land between Doune and the Annet Burn running down to the Teith. Carse is being used here in the same sense as the carselands lying next to the River Forth.

CARSE OF MCORRISTON KMA S NS674980 1 13m

*Bog de McCarranstoun* 1625 *Retours PER* no. 782

*lie Boig de MCorranstoun* 1635 *RMS ix* no 337

*Carse of Maccoraustown* 1783 Stobie

*Carse of Mcorriston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *carse* + *of* + en McOrriston.

See Carse of Cambus KMA for discussion of Sc *carse*. It is notable that *carse* replaces *bog*.

This name-change could reflect drainage and improvement, where a carse was seen as being less marshy, and more productive agriculturally, than a bog.

CESSINTULLY KMA S NN670129 1 84m

*Seskentuly* 1330 Fraser, *Menteith ii*, 226

*Sessyngtulych* 1454 *ER v*, 673

*Cessyntuly* 1461 *ER vii*, 54

*Sessintuly* 1471 *ER viii*, 67

*Sessintuly* 1480 *ER ix*, 565

*Cessintully* 1482 *RMS ii* no. 1820

- Sessintuly* 1484 *ER* ix, 598
- Cessintuly* 1486 *ER* ix, 627
- Cessintuly* 1499 *ER* xi, 414
- Centuly* 1502 *ER* xii, 23 [...*terrarum doinorum de Menteith et Centuly*]
- Cessintuli* 1502 *ER* xii, 28 [dominorum de *Menteith et Cessintuli*]
- Cessintuly* 1509 *ER* xiii, 636 [ville de *Cessintuly*]
- Cessintuly* 1527 *RMS* iii no. 450
- Cessintulie* 1528 *RMS* iii no. 626 [baronia de *Cessintulie*]
- Cessintuly* 1537 *ER* xvii, 742
- Cessintule* 1538 *RMS* iii no. 1767
- Cessintuly* 1541 *ER* xvii, 715 [*Baronia de Cessintuly*]
- Cessintuly* 1541 *ER* xvii, 716 [*Mylntoun of Cessintuly*]
- Cessintuly* 1557 *RMS* iv no. 1205 [*Wester Spittaltoun of Cessintuly*]
- Cessintulye* 1565 *ER* xix, 540
- Cessintully* 1567 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 403 [miln and miln landis of *Cessintully* pertaining to Paule Dog]
- Cessintullie* 1576 *RMS* iv no. 2508 [6 mercatas de *Cessintullie* alias *Ballingtone* nuncupatas]
- Cessintulli* 1613 *Retours PER* no. 223
- Cessintully* 1613 *Retours PER* no. 1100
- Dominio de Cessintullie* 1613 *Retours PER* no. 1101
- Cessintullie* 1619 *Retours PER* no. 269 [*Cessintullie* alias *Ballintone*]
- Sessin-tilly* 1630-50 *Sibbald TNS* 156v
- Cessintullie* 1640 *Retours PER* no. 492 [in terris de *McKeanstoun* alias vocatis 3 libratis terrarum de *Cessintullie*]
- Cessintullie* 1646 *Retours PER* no. 558 [6 mercatis terraum de *Cessintullie* alias vocatis *Ballintoune*]

*Cessintullie* 1658 *Retours PER* no. 673 [ane merk land of *Cessintullie* alias *Murdochestoun*]

*Cessintullie* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 703 [30 solidatis terrarum de *Westerspitteltoun* vocatis  
30 solidatis terrarum de *Wester Spitteltoun* de *Cessintullie*]

*Cessintullie* 1667 *Retours PER* no. 758 [30 solidatis terrarum de *Wester Spitteltoun* de  
*Cessintullie*]

*Cessintillie* 1682 *Retours PER* no. 920 [in 2 mercatis terris de *Cessintillie* nuncupatis  
*Murdochstoune*]

*Cessintullie* 1684 *Retours PER* no. 934 [6 mercatis terrarum de *Cessintullie* alias *Ballintone*]

*Cessintullie* 1690 *Retours PER* no. 983 [30 solidatis terrarum de *Wester Spitteltoun* vocatis  
30 solidatis terrarum de *Wester Spitteltoun* de *Cessintullie*]

*Mill of Cessintully* 1783 Stobie

*Mill of Cessintully* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

ScG *seisgeann* ? + *tulach*

*Seisgeann Tulaich?* ‘bog of (the) hillock?’. The earliest form might suggest OG *seiscenn* ‘unproductive ground, marsh, swamp, bog’ (*DIL*), ScG *seisgeann* ‘extended marsh; fenny country’ which would suit the location next to Flanders Moss. Watson (1926, 415) thought Sessintully might contain ScG *seas*, meaning ‘seat, bench’, or in this case a terrace or plateau. Dwelly has *seas* as a Perthshire Gaelic masculine noun meaning ‘bench made on a hay-rick by cutting off part of the hay’, while *DIL* has *sess* as being ‘the bench of a boat’.

There is no settlement now called Cessintully, but there must have been such a place, for in 1509 there is mention of the ‘ville de *Cessintuly*’ (*ER* xiii, 636). However, the name survives in Brae of Cessintully (see above) and Cessintully Mill. From 1528 we hear of the ‘baronia de *Cessintulie*’ (*RMS* iii no. 626), and this barony contained the largest cluster of Sc -toun names

in Menteith (see 123-129 for details) The Cessintully Burn was the march between Cessintully and Boquhapple.

These lands were often divided up between different landholders. In 1528 Bertholomew Balfoure was in possession of '6 marcatas terrarum de *Makcorrestoun*, 2 marcatas in *Murdowstoun*, 3 marcatas de *Munnowstoun* et *Makcreistoun*, 4 marcat. de *Boghall*, in baronia de *Cessintulie*' (RMS iii no. 626). While in 1565 James Stewart of Doune, ancestor of the earls of Moray held the lands of '*Baxkartoun* alias *Boghall*, 20 solidatarum de *M'Creistoun*, 20 solidatarum de *M'Moristoun*, 5 marcatarum de *M'Coreinstoun*, 2 marcatarum de *Murdostoun*, molendini de *Cessintulie*' (RMS iv no. 1622).

/sesin'tʌli/

CESSINTULLY MILL KMA S NS672997 1 30m

*Molendinum de Sessintuly* 1480 ER ix, 566

*Molendinum de Cessintuly* 1494 ER x, 722

*Molendinum de Cessintuly* 1495 ER x, 759

*The Myln of Cesintuly* 1541 ER xvii, 716

*Molendini de Cessintullie* 1592 NAS, PA2/14, ff.74v-80r.

*Molendini de Cessintullie* 1602 Retours PER no. 97

*Molendino de Cessintullie* 1613 Retours PER no. 1101

*Molendinum de Cessintullie* 1675 Retours PER no. 877

*Mill of Cessintully* 1783 Stobie

*Mill of Cessintully* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

SSE mill + of + en Cessintully

CLARKTON KMA S NN712022 1 35m

*Clerktown* 1783 Stobie

*Clarkton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *clark + toun*

‘Settlement or farmstead of the cleric’. This may relate to the cathedral of Dunblane, note there is also Deanston 0.5km S of Clarkton. There is also the possibility that the name relates to someone with the surname Clark.

COILENTOWIE KMA S NN693036 1 69m

*Callintoyis* 1607 *Retours PER* no. 175 [*Over et Middle Callintoyis*]

*Kaillintuy* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 157r

*Callentoyes* 1637 RMS ix no. 683

*Callantue* 1783 Stobie

*Coilentowie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV [*Upper and Lower Coilentowie*]

ScG *coille + an + ?*

The specific may be *na tuatha* ‘of the tenantry, of the local population’. See Angus Watson’s discussion of Sleugnacoy [read *Sleugnatoy*] Comrie Parsh PER, where he suggests the specific may be a reference to a common muir (Watson 2002a, 186). In the case of Coilentowie, it may be a common wood. Angus Watson also explains the vowel change by stating WJ Watson’s account of \**Dail Mo-Thuae* > *Dalmahoy* and \**Monadh Ruadh* > *Monthroy* (A. Watson 2002 186; Watson 1926, 152, 403). The vowel change is likely to be due to different orthographies in different languages. Another possibility might be ScG *toll* ‘hollow’ as in Pittowie, Crail parish, Fife (Taylor 1997, 13; PNF iii, 223-4).

/,kɔlən'tʌui/

COILLECHAT KMA S NN687038 1 67m

*Calzechat* 1508 RMS ii no. 3225

*Calyechat* 1510 RMS ii no. 3500

*Calyequhat* 1517 RMS iii no. 136

*Calyequhat* 1526 RMS iii no. 397

*Calyequhat* 1531 RMS iii no. 1081

*Calyquhattis* 1536 RMS iii no. 1560

*Calzequhattis* 1539 RMS iii no. 1895

*Callequhattis* 1542 RMS iii no. 2825

*Calyequhat* 1547 ER xviii, 413 [*Estir Calyequhat*]

*Calyequhat* 1566 ER xix, 553 [*Eister Calyequhat*]

*Calyquhat* 1595 RMS vi no. 211

*Cullyechat* 1615 RMS vii no. 1191

*Calyiechat* 1617 RMS vii no. 1582 [*Eister Calyiechat*]

*Calyechatt* 1626 RMS viii no. 782

*Kailly-chat* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 157r

*Calyechatt* 1662 Retours PER no. 693

*Cailichat* 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 338

*Callachatt* c.1750 Roy 75

*Calichat* 1783 Stobie

*Coillechat* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV [*Wester Coillechat* also shown]

ScG *coille + cat*

*Coille Chait* or *Chat* ‘wildcat wood’ or ‘wildcats’ wood’ or *Coille a' Chat* ‘wood of the wildcat’.

The *z* (originally a yogh) is being used to signify the palatalisation or slenderisation of the preceding *l*. It is relatively common in Scots spellings of Gaelic-derived words and names. Mackay states Coillechat is pronounced as ‘killyhat’ (2003, 48). This is one of several properties which belonged to the Muschets of Kincardine or Burnbank. It was not part of the Stewartry of Menteith and therefore does not appear in earlier volumes of the *Exchequer Rolls*, despite the fact that Ballachraggan and Calziebohalzie, the lands on either side of Coillechat, often do.

/kɔli'hat/

COULATTIS # KMA, KRD? S

*Conulathe* 1317 x 1322 NAS GD198/38 [march of land of *Conulathe*, with 4 merkland in *Conulathe* adjacent to land of *Thom*]

*Codlaugh* 1451 ER v, 475

*Codelaucht* 1453 ER v, 596

*Collauch* 1461 ER vii, 52

*Colloch* 1478 ER viii, 531

*Collach* 1480 ER viii, 563

*Collouth* 1491 NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v [the teyndis of *Collouth*, *Borowbank<is>*, *Lochfeld*, *Wat Dogg<is> toun*, *Wat Smy<tht>toun* and the *Spitale*, within the parrichoune of *Kilmadok*]

*Colacht* 1493 RMS ii no. 2159 [terrás de *Colacht*, et *Auchillay*, in senesc. de Menteith; ac etiam terrás de *Costen*, et *Dargraw*, in baronia de Kincardin] (charter to William Drummond by James IV)]

*Collocht* 1503 RMS ii no. 2707 [terrás de *Collocht*, *Cowstre*, *Dargraw*, et *Auchlawy*, in baronia de *Kincardin*, senesc. Menteith]

*Conlath*<sup>186</sup> 1505 *Retours PER* no. 1049 [terrārum de *Conlath*, nunc vocatarum *Schaquhythorne*<sup>187</sup>]

*Conlath* 1505 NAS GD198/69

*Cowlache* 1507 RMS ii no. 3142

*Cowlache* 1509 RMS ii no. 3288 [dimed. 4 mercatarum de *Cowlache* vocat. *Sauchinthome*]

*Cowlath* 1509 NAS GD198/71

*Cowlache* 1509 RMS ii no. 3347 [dimed. 4 mercatarum de *Cowlache* nuncupat. *Sauchinthome*]

*Cowlache* 1512 RMS ii no. 3748 [dimed. quatuor mercatarum *Cowlache* nuncupat. *Sauchinthome*]

*Coulatis* 1572 RMS iv no. 2101 [dimed. 4 mercatarum de *Coulatis Sauchinthome* nuncupat.]

*Coulattis* 1617 *Retours PER* no. 248 [dimidietate 4 mercatarum terrarum de *Coulattis*, *Sauchinthome* nuncupata]

This is now Sauchans and Watston in KMA. The *Exchequer Roll* forms change from *Codlaugh* to *Colloch* and *Collach* and then back to *Codloch* and *Coldoch* between 1451 and 1488 (see Coldoch KRD for discussion).

<sup>186</sup> The editor of *Retours* has (vel *Coulach*) immediately after this name.

<sup>187</sup> There has probably been an editorial misreading here of *m* as *rn*, and it should read '*Schaquhythome*'.

CORSHILL KMA S NS685996 1 51m

*Corshill* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *cross* or *corse* + *hill*

This could be ‘cross’, in the sense of ‘hill lying athwart or across’, possibly a route, or perhaps less likely ‘hill with a cross on it’ (cf Crosshill Ballingry parish FIF (Taylor, *PNF i*, 144).

CUPTREE KMA S NS690993 1 45m

This is shown as *Spittalton*<sup>188</sup> on all OS maps from the six inch map dating to 1862 and through all subsequent 1 inch maps to the popular edition of 1924. The place had changed its name to Cuptree by the time the 1954-7 1 inch OS map was published; it is not known why. It seems to be *Mid Spittaltown* shown on Stobie in 1783.

DALDORN KMA, KRD S NN668031 1 86m

*Daldauran* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Daldanran* 1646 Retours PER no. 558

*Daldorane* 1685 Retours PER no. 940

*Daldauran* 1686 Retours PER no. 953

*Daldurn* 1783 Stobie [W and E. *Daldurn* shown along with *Loch of Daldurn*]

*Daldorn* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV [map shows *Easter* and *Wester Lochs of*

*Daldorn*]

ScG *dail* + *dòbhran*

<sup>188</sup> Note that this is not to be confused with the Spittalton 0.5km to the WSW, which was presumably part of the same estate at one point.

*Dail Dòbhran* ‘haugh of otters’ or *Dail Dòbhrain* ‘otter’s haugh’. Another possibility is ScG *dobhran* ‘water(s)’. Just 500m NE of the settlement are two small lochs called Easter and Wester Loch of Daldorn. The haugh probably refers to the water-meadow surrounding these lochs. Either *dòbhran* or *dobhran* is to be preferred to the ScG word *dorn* ‘fist’, referring in some place-names to fist-sized pebbles (Watson 1926, 488), since the final syllable ‘-auran/-oran’ (for /ɔrən/) clearly has some longevity in the earliest forms. The settlement of Daldorn is named *Kames* on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS six inch map in 1862. It remains that name through all subsequent 1 inch maps to the popular edn of 1924. By 1954-7 it is Daldorn Farm on the 1 inch OS map of that date. The name Kames may relate to that of the proprietor. See p. 114-116 for discussion of *dail*.

/dəl'dɔrn/

DALVEY KMA S NN654071 1 80m

*Dalvey* 1783 Stobie

*Dalvey* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *dail + beithe*

*Dail Bheithe* ‘birch haugh’. See also Dalavie # AFE. See p. 114-116 for discussion of *dail*.

/dəl've/

DALVORICH KMA S NN651067 1 75m

*Dalverich* 1783 Stobie

*Dalvorich* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *dail* + ?

This specific of Dalvorich has similarities to the specific in the early forms of Balvorist KMA, q.v. above. We could be dealing with the name Maurice here or rather a Gaelic adaptation of it, c.f. Balvorist KMA, above. One possibility is that it is one the earls of Menteith immediately prior to Walter Comyn becoming earl in 1238 (see Chapter 4). Another possibility is a saint's name, Muireadhach, cf. Kilmorich, now part of Lochgoilhead in Argyll (Watson 1926, 293). See also Balvorist PMH. See p. 114-116 for discussion of *dail*.

/dəl'vɔrɪx/

DEANSTON KMA S NN714016 1 33m

*Denstoun* 1585 RMS v no. 842 [villam et terras capellanias de *Sauchinthome* alias *Denstoun*]

*Deanstoun* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Deanstoun* 1657 Retours PER no. 648 [in the toune and chappell lands of *Sainthinhone* (*Sauchintoune*) alias *Deanstoun*]

*Deanstoun* 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 338

*Deinstone* c.1750 Roy 75

*Deanstown* 1783 Stobie

*Deanston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc Dean + *toun*

'Settlement or farmstead of the dean [of Dunblane Cathedral?]. I have found no tenurial links to Dunblane Cathedral, but if Deanston is not linked to Dunblane, then it could be a personal name. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

DEANSTON FARM KMA S NN704016 63m

*Deanston Farm* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> Ed OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

En *Deanston + SSE farm*

DILLOT # KMA S NN692024 1 61m

*Dulet* 1637 RMS ix no. 681

*Dulat* 1640 *Laing Chrs* no. 2272

*Dullet* 1646 RMS ix no. 1651

*Dulatt* 1783 Stobie

*Dillot* 1862 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *dubh + leathad*

*Dubh-Leathad* 'dark slope'. The settlement has now disappeared but was on the north-facing slope of the south bank of the River Teith.

DONALD-YONGSTOUN # KMA S NS6899

*Donaldyoungistoun* 1488 ER x, 635 [illa parte vocata *Donaldyoungistoun*]

*Donald-Yongstoun* 1489 RMS ii no. 1820 [super una parte terrarum de *Cessintully* nuncupata *Donald-Yongstoun*]

pn Donald Young + Sc *toun*

Donald Young is mentioned in the *Exchequer Rolls* from 1480 (*ER* ix, 566) until at least 1488 (*ER* x, 635) when he disappears from the record, perhaps because his land has been given to Walter Symsoun in 1489. Donald Young's son Gilchrist is mentioned in 1480 (*ER* ix, 566) and appears to be the Gilcrist Donaldson mentioned in 1484 (*ER* ix, 599) and 1486 (*ER* ix, 627). See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

DOUNE KMA S NN727015 1 37m

*Dune* 1317 x 1332 NAS GD198/38 [ville de *Dune*]

*Dwne* 1381 Fraser 1879, 237 [charter by Walter Lesley, lord of Ross...apud *Dwne* in *Meneteth*]

*Doune* 1407 RMS i no. 890 [Apud *Doune* in *Menteth*]

*Douny* 1425 RMS ii no. 20 [Apud *Douny* in *Menteth*]

*Doun* 1430 RMS ii no. 150 [Apud castrum de *Doun*]

*Doune* 1451 RMS ii no. 462 [dominium de *Menteth* cum castro de *Doune*]

*Down* 1451 *ER* v, 474

*Doune* 1453 *ER* v, 594 [casti de *Doune*]

*Neuton de Doune* 1453 *ER* v, 594

*Cobylland de Doune* 1454 *ER* v, 675

*Parkland de Doune* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Doune* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Newtoune de Doune* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Doune* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Doun* 1478 RMS ii no. 1365 [Merarete Regine Scotie...dominia de *Menteth*, *Strogartney*, et *Buquhidder*, cum castro de *Doun* in *Menteth*]

*Cobbilland de Doune* 1480 *ER* ix, 39 [Et eidem de firmis Passagii de *Cobbilland de Doune*]

*Baronia de Downe* 1480 *ER* ix, 564

- Brasina de Doune* 1480 *ER* ix, 565
- Molendinum de Doune* 1480 *ER* ix, 565
- Parkland de Done* 1484 *ER* ix, 598
- Baronia de Downe* 1486 *ER* ix, 625
- Castri de Doune* 1488 *ER* x, 44
- Baronia de Doune* 1494 *ER* x, 723
- Cobilland de Doun* 1494 *ER* x, 723
- Baronia de Dounne* 1499 *ER* xi, 415
- Newtoun de Doune* 1499 *ER* xi, 415
- Castri de Doune* 1502 *ER* xii, 25
- Baronia de Downe* 1502 *ER* xii, 633
- Newtoune de Dounne* 1502 *ER* xii, 633
- Doune* 1503 *RMS* ii no.2721 [comitatum de *Menteith*, ac dominium et castrum de *Doune*  
(part of the marriage contract between James IV and Margaret Tudor)]
- Baronia de Doune* 1508 *ER* xiii, 630
- Parkland de Dounne* 1509 *ER* xiii, 634
- Parkland de Down* 1512 *ER* xiv, 489
- Doune* 1528 *RMS* iii no. 612
- Downe* 1532 *RMS* iii no. 1123
- Down* 1539 *RMS* iii no. 1906
- Doune* 1541 *RMS* iii no. 2498
- Newtoun of Downe* 1573 *RSS* vi no. 1836
- Doun* 1611 *RMS* vii no 465 [Castri de *Doun*]
- Down* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 338
- Down* c.1750 Roy 75
- Doune* 1783 Stobie

ScG *dùn*

*An Dùn* ‘fort’. Dwelly has Doune as *An Dunaidh*, but Collins Batholomew’s *Map Alba* (2006) has *An Dùn*. The name almost certainly refers to the mound, perhaps an earlier fortification, where the 14<sup>th</sup> C castle currently stands.

/dun/

DRUMBANE KMA S NN664065 1 124m

*Drumbane* 1783 Stobie

*Drumbane* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV [*Upper and Nether Drumbane* shown]

ScG *druim + bàn*

*Druim Bàn*. The conventional rendering might be ‘white or fair ridge’, and it could have been coined as a topographical name in Gaelic, which only later became a settlement-name, but not necessarily in the Gaelic-speaking period. Ansell (2008, 4) states the element *-ban* in the now lost *Keresban* AYR is ‘most likely G *bànn* ‘white’’. However, a number of dictionaries have alternative meanings that might be relevant here. Dwelly has *bànn* meaning ‘waste’, while Mark (2004) has ‘fallow’ or ‘empty, unoccupied’, and *DIL* has ‘untilled land’.

/drʌm'bɛn/

DRUMCAMPsy KMA R NN743032 2

*Drumcampsy* 1451 *ER v 474*

*Drumcampsi* 1453 *ER* v, 594

*Drumcampsy* 1454 *ER* v, 675

*Drumcampsy* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Drumcampse* 1486 *ER* ix, 626

*Drumcampsy* 1488 *ER* x, 44

*Drumcampse* 1488 *ER* x, 637

*Drumcampsy* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Drumcampsy* 1502 *ER* xii, 631

*Drumb de Campsy* 1528 *RMS* iii no. 612

*Drumcamsy* 1528 Fraser, Menteith ii, 385 [aucht pound, six shillingis, aucht penne land of  
auld extent of *Drumcamsy* and *Bellekeraucht*]

*Drumcampse* 1531 Fraser, Menteith ii, 396 [the Castell of *Doune* in Menteytht, the mains of  
the samyn callit *Drumcampse* and *Calkerauche* (sic.)]

*Drumcampsy* 1532 *RMS* iii no. 1123 [terras dominicales de *Downe*, *Drumcampsy* et  
*Bellkeroch* nuncupat.]

*Drumcampsy* 1564 *RMS* iv no. 1513 [terras dominicales de *Downe* vocatas *Drumcampsy* et  
*Bellekeroch*]

*Drumcampsie* 1581 NAS, PA2/12, ff.79v-80r [all and haill the manis [of] *Doun* callit  
*Drumcampsie* and *Bailekeroch*]

*Douncampsy* 1587 *RMS* v no. 1429 [terras dominicales de *Downe* vugo lie *Maynes* alias  
*Douncampsy* et *Balliekeirauch*]

*Doun Campsie* 1592 NAS, PA2/14, ff.74v-80r [totas et integras terras dominicales de *Doun*  
vulgo lie *Manis de Doun*, alias *Doun Campsie*, et *Bailliekerauche* nuncupatum]

*Douncampsie* 1611 *RMS* vii 465 [lie *Maynis de Doun* alias *Douncampsie* et *Belliekerache*]

*Douncampsay* 1628 *RMS* viii no. 1239 [terras dominicales de *Doun* alias *Douncampsay* et  
*Bellikerauch*

*Doun-Campsie* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616 [The *Maynes of Doun* otherways *Doun-Campsie* and *Belliderrauch*]

*Douncampsie* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877 [terras dominicales de *Doune* alias vocatas *Douncampsie et Bellieberaik* (vel *Belliekeroch*)

ScG *druim* + \**Campsy*?

*Druim Camsaidh* ‘ridge of \**Campsy*’, suggested by the 1528 form. \**Campsy* itself may mean ‘place on or at a (river-)bend’. C.f. Campsey/Campsie, Co. Derry, and Campsie, Co. Tyrone, which are on bends of the River Faughan and Camowen River respectively (MacKay 2007, 32-33).<sup>189</sup> According to MacKay (2003, 63), ‘Drum Campsie [sic] lay a little east of north of ‘Doun’ and was as distinct from it as was Balkerach which lay to the north-west’, although see NAS GD1/406/19, dated 1752, which is a ‘disposition by Robert Mitchell, late merchant in Doune and John Christy, tenant in Ochtertyre, in favour of James Baine, late tenant in Mansfield and now resident in Doune, of part of the lands of *Doune Campsie* lying at the west end of the town of Doune in parish of Kilmadock, shire of Perth’. This is repeated in 1787 in an instrument of sasine (NAS GD1/406/20). On the 1:2,500 scale OS map there is marked the ‘Mains of Doune’ in what is now the south-east corner of the Moray Public Park about 0.5 km N of Doune Castle at NN729016. There was a change of name between 1581 and 1587, probably due to a re-interpretation of Drumcampsie, with regard to its proximity to and close association with Doune (for the substitution of *Drum-* for *Dun-* elsewhere in Menteith see Duncraggan CLD). The original *druim* may be the ridge immediately to the north of the town running NE from the Ardoch Burn and running parallel with the A84 road.

DRUMLOIST KMA S NN682061 1 142m

<sup>189</sup> My thanks to Mícheal Ó Mainínn and Paul Tempan for these references. Campsey, Co. Derry has the early form *Camsan* dating to 1613. In IrG Campsey and Campsie are Camsán ‘river bends’.

*Drumloist* 1782 RHP14317

*Drumloist* 1783 Stobie

*Drumloist* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *druim + loisgte*

*Druim Loisgte* ‘burnt ridge’. This name may be indicative of settlement expansion. It seems to be on the lands of or near to *Eglisdisdane*, and may have replaced that settlement at some point after c.1750 when *Agglesteinston* is named on Roy.

While not common in Menteith, the *loisgte* element is present in at least one other place-name: *Blàr Loisgte* ‘burnt plain’ on the south side of Loch Achray in AFE at NN511060.

/drʌm'lɔɪst/

DRUMMORE KMA S NN693001 1 60m

*Drummore* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

ScG *druim + mòr*

*Druim Mòr* ‘big ridge’. This may not be a genuine ScG name, but may be a modern Sc name, since I have found no earlier reference that the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS for this name. However, *druim-* names are not unknown in this area: almost 1km due east, marked on Stobie, was *Drumshogle*.

DRUMMOND KMA S NN668043 1 148m

*Drummond* 1783 Stobie

*Drummond* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV [North and South Drummond]

pn Drummond or ScG *druimean*

It is not known who the eponymous Drummond was, but if the settlement dates from the medieval period then a relation of the Drummonds who were the major landowners of Kincardine parish must rank high on the list. However, it may not be a personal-name, and may be the topographical name ScG *druimean* 'little ridge', but perhaps influenced by the presence of Drummonds.

DRUMVAICH KMA S NN675043 1 58m

*Drumvaich* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *druim + bāitheach*

*Druim Bhàthaich* 'ridge of the byre, cow-house'. Cox in Brigh nam Falal has *bàthach*, gen. sg. *bàthaich* as fem., while Dwelly has *bàthaich* (nom. and gen. sg.) as masc. This appears to be the *Drumbuck* shown on Stobie.

/drʌm'vɔɪx/

EARLAND KMA S NS679978 1 12m

*Ireland* 1783 Stobie

*Earland* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc ? + *land*

There is a Sc verb *Ere* (*eir, ear*) meaning ‘to engage in ploughing; to draw the plough’. The derivation may be ‘plough-land’. *DOST* shows *ere* being used by Andrew Wynton, writer of the *Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland* in the early 15<sup>th</sup> C.

EARN KMA S NN701010 1 76m

*Earn* 1543 NAS GD430/118

*Earne* 1637 RMS ix no. 681

*Earne* 1640 *Laing Chrs* no. 2272

*Earne* 1646 RMS ix no. 1651

*Earn* 1783 Stobie

*Earn* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

ScG *earrann?*

*Earrann* ? ‘portion, share, division?’. Note that there is also an ‘Earn’ almost 7km to the E in PMH at NN636017. (See 116-119 for discussion of *earrann*). If this is the derivation, it is only one of two used as a simplex in Menteith.

/ern/

EAST BRAE KMA S NN714040 1 105m

*East Brae* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc *east + en Brae* [of Cambus (2)]

This part of the Brae of Cambus mentioned since 1451. The 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS also shows *West Brae* c.200m NW of East Brae.

EAST LUNDIE KMA S NN731042 1 123m

*E. Lundie* Stobie 1783

*Easter Lundie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc *east* + en Lundie

EAST TORRIE KMA S NN656042 1 71m

*Torry Estir* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Torre Estir* 1486 *ER* ix, 624

*Torre Estir* 1502 *ER* xii, 631

*Torre-Eister* 1535 *RMS* iii no. 1531

*Torre Estir* 1547 *ER* xviii, 420

*Torrie-Eister* 1609 *RMS* vii no. 176

*Torrie-Eister* 1625 *RMS* viii no. 843

*Torrie-Eister* 1637 *RMS* ix no. 742

*Eister Torrie* 1663 *Retours PER* no. 715

*Easter Torrie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *easter* + en Torrie

This seems to be *Nether Torry* marked on Stobie. The place is still called *Easter Torrie* on the 1 inch OS popular edn published in 1927, but became East Torrie by 1957 on the OS 1 inch map of that year. See also Torrie KMA below.

EISTER CAMMIS # KMA S NN661052 2

*Estircammis* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Estircammys* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Estircammis* 1480 *ER* ix, 564

*Estir Cammis* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Estir Cammys* 1499 *ER* xi, 416

*Estir Cammis* 1502 *ER* xii, 633

*Estir Cammys* 1527 *RMS* iii no. 456

*Eister Cammis* 1615 *RMS* vii no. 1193

*Eister Cammis* 1627 *RMS* viii no. 1164

*Eister Cammis* 1631 *RMS* viii no. 1840

See Cambusbeg, above, for details

EASTER COILLECHAT KMA S NN687038 1 66m

*Calichat* 1783 Stobie

*Coillechat* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

*Easter Coillechat* 1906 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map sheet 39

SSE *easter + en* Coillechat

This was presumably the original Coillechat, and was renamed Easter Coillechat in the early 20 th C. It is marked as '*Calichat* in ruins' on Stobie.

EASTER ROW KMA S NS751992 1 65m

*Estir Row* 1451 *ER* v, 474

*Estyrrow* 1454 *ER* v, 673

*Estir Row* 1502 *ER* xii, 631

*Estir Row* 1535 *RMS* iii no. 1478 [ville de *Estir Row*]

*Eister Row* 1570 RMS iv no. 1930

*Eister Row* 1599 RMS vi no. 831

*Eister Row* 1607 *Retours PER* no. 173

*Eister Row* 1620 RMS viii no. 26

*Eister Row* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 942

*E. Row* 1783 Stobie

*Easter Row* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *easter + en Row*

EASTERTON KMA S NN749021 1 77m

*E. Argaty* 1783 Stobie

*Easterton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc *easter + toun*

This is Easterton of Argaty as can be seen in the Stobie form.

ESSMITCHELL KMA S NN701056 1 167m

*Ashmichel* 1783 Stobie

*Essmitchell* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *eas + pn* Michael or Mitchell

*Eas Micheil* (modern *Eas Mhicheil*) ‘waterfall of Michael or Mitchell’. There is a waterfall on the Annet Burn c.400 m NNW of the settlement of Essmitchell. It is not known who the eponymous Michael or Mitchell is, but if Michael, then a saint’s name is possible. The *-tch-* of *mitchell* may be a Sc mispronunciation of the *-ch-* in *michel* shown in the Stobie form. 17km

to the west, the bridge across the Black Water between Loch Achray and Loch Venachar is called Brig o' Michael.

/es'mitʃəl/

GARTOCHAIRN # KMA S NS7099 2

*Garteehairn* 1783 Stobie [This is how it is shown on Stobie (1783), which must be a misprint by the engraver for *Gartochairn* or *Gartachairn*]

ScG *gart +an + càrn*

*Gart a' Chàrn* 'enclosed field or settlement of the cairn'. Bannerman does not have this name on his unpublished list of *gart*-names. See p. 119-112 for discussion of *gart*.

GALDCHOLLOCHOYES # KMA/KRD?

*Galconath* 1476 RMS ii no. 1240 [terras de *Galconath*, in dominio de *Menteith*, vic. *Perth*]

*Galcquholochis* 1539 RMS iii no. 1895

*Galdchallochyis* 1542 RMS iii no 2825

*Galchollochoyis* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Galdochollachoyes* 1595 Retours PER no. 1094

*Galdchollochoyes* 1662 Retours PER no. 708

*Culdshalot* [vel *Galdoch*] *Lochoyes* 1675 Retours PER no. 880.

This place is usually mentioned in conjunction with Coillechat and Annet KMA, but its whereabouts are not known. The earliest form may be a misreading and might be instead be

\*Galcollach or similar. It is possible that *Galdchollochoyes* is not near Annet and Coillechat, but

is instead part of the estate of Coldoch. The -colloch- element may be *collach* 'hazel wood' (Watson 1926, 378, 420, 482). This seems to be the same element that is in *Coulattis* KRD and possibly in Coldoch KRD (q.v. below). The first element might be ScG *gall* 'foreigner or standing stone'.

GARTINCABER KMA S NN698001 1 56m

*Gardyngabir* 1451 *ER* v 476

*Gartnagabra* 1451 *ER* v 478

*Gartyngabir* 1456 *ER* vi 279

*Gartyncabir* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Garthingabir* 1467 *ER* vii 488

*Garthincabir* 1471 *ER* viii, 66

*Garngabir* 1480 *ER* ix, 563

*Garngabir* 1484 *ER* ix, 596

*Gartingabir* 1486 *ER* ix, 624

*Gartincabir* 1488 *ER* x, 634

*Gartincabir* 1494 *ER* x, 721

*Gartincabir* 1502 *ER* xii, 631

*Gartingabir* 1508 *ER* xiii, 629

*Gartincabir* 1509 *ER* xiii, 633

*Gartincabire* 1535 *RMS* iii no.1498

*Gartingabir* 1546 *ER* xvii, 717

*Gartincabir* 1587, *Fraser, Menteith* ii, no. 88

*Gartinkeyr* 1630-50 *Sibbald TNS* 156v

*Gartincaber* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 80

*Garncabber* c.1750 *Roy* 75

*Gartincaber* 1783 Stobie

*Gartincaber* 1791-9 OSA xx, 43

*Gartincaber* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

ScG *gart + an + cabar*

*Gart nan Cabar* ‘enclosed field or settlement of the tree-trunks or poles’. The initial *g* in the specific in many of the forms might suggest nasalisation following the genitive plural. It is not known what *cabar* actually refers to, but may be a significant tree or trees of some kind, or it might refer land recently cleared from woodland, with tree-stumps still extant. See p. 119-112 for discussion of the element *gart*.

/gартəн'кебəр/

GLENHEAD KMA S NN754009 1 92m

*Glenhead* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *glen + heid* or SSE *head*

GLENWHILK KMA S NN748031 1 83m

*Glenwhilt* 1783 Stobie

*Glenwhilk* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc *glen + ScG cuilc f., gen. sg. cuilce*

*Gleann Chuilc* ‘rush, reed valley’. The *wh-* of *whilk* probably represents a lenited ‘c’.

GREENBURN KMA S NN691004 1 66m

*Greenburn* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *green* + *burn*

GREINGART # KMA?

*Greingart* 1628 *Retours PER* no. 366 [*Baux de Row et Greingart*]

*Greingart* 1639 *Retours PER* no. 486 [*Bankis de Row cum pendiculo de Greingart*]

ScG *grian* or Sc *green?* + ScG *gart*

*Grian Gairt* ‘sunny enclosed field or settlement’. These are the only times this *gart*-name appears on record so far as I can gather, but it is presumably in the vicinity of Row KMA. It probably contains ScG *grian* ‘sun’ as the specific, but we can’t entirely exclude possibility that this name has a Scots specific, i.e. green. (see 119-112 for discussion of the element *gart*). The first element could, however, be ScG *grian* (masc.), gen. sg. *grein*. Dwelly gives the meaning as ‘ground or bottom of the sea; bottom of a lake or river; land’, marking it as obsolete. *DIL* gives *grian* m. or n. o-stem ‘gravel, sand, sea or river bottom’ (See Taylor, *PNF* iii, 57, n.5 and 156; Taylor, *PNF* v, forthcoming).

GREYSTONE KMA S NS742998 1 47m

*Greystone* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

SSE *grey* + *stone*

This place seems to be named after a standing stone called ‘The Grey Stone’ c.200m to the NW.

HILLHEAD KMA S NN676003 1 64m

*Hillhead* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

SSE *hill + head*

This appears to be the ‘new’ name for *Ballindornick*, q.v above.

HILLSIDE OF ROW KMA S NS754998 1 84m

*Hillside* 1783 Stobie

*Hillside of Row* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> Ed OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *hillside + of + en Row*

INVERARDOCH KMA S NS737007 1 51m

*Inverardoch* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

This is a modern name at least as far as the dwelling place goes; the present house was built in 1859 (MacKay 2003, 76). It is not known if the confluence of the Ardoch Burn and the River Teith was called *\*Inbhir Ardo(i)ch* in Gaelic-speaking times. Beveridge states ‘[f]ormerly known as *Newton*’, and gives a possible 1613 form as *Innerardy* (1923, 36), although the source he refers to – Paton (1918, 142) – is not clear, although there is mention of *Drongy*, presumably Drunkie PMH.

KILMADOCK KMA EP NN707025 1 31m

*Kylmadoc* 1275 Bagimond (Dunlop edition), 53 [Vicarius de *Kylmadoc*]

*Kylmadoc* 1276 Bagimond (Dunlop edition), 72 [De Vicario de *Kylmadoc*]

*Kilmadok* 1491 NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v. [the parrichoune of *Kilmadok*]

*Kilmadok* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 341) [the vicarage of *Kilmadok*]

*Kilmadok* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 544) [The kirk of *Kilmadok*]

*Kilmadok* 1560s *Books of Assumption* (Kirk 1995, 548-9) [The kirk of *Kilmadok*]

*Kilmadok* 1581 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 419

*Kilmadok* 1587 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 360

*Kilmadok* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r. [the kirk of *Kilmadok*]

*Kilmadok* 1609 RMS vii no. 189

*Kilmadock* 1610 RMS vii no. 301 [terras ecclesiasticas de *Leny*, de *Lintrethin*, de *Kilmadock*]

*Kilmadok* 1615 RMS vii no. 1197 [parochia de *Kilmadok*]

*Kilmadok* 1615 RMS vii no. 1222 [ecclesiam de *Kilmadok*]

*Kilmadok* 1617 RMS vii no. 1613 [necnon decimas garbales aliasque decimas et devorias  
tam rectoriarum quam vicariarum ecelesiarum de *Porte* et *Kilmadok* ad prioratum de  
*Inchemahomo*]

*Kilmadok* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 157r

*Kilmadok* 1637 Retours PER no. 466 [terras ecclesiasticas de *Kilmadok*]

*Kilmadock* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368) [The kirklandis off  
*Kilmadock*]

*Kilmadock* 1662 Retours PER no. 693 [parochia de *Kilmadock*]

*Kilmadock* 1680 Retours PER no. 906 [parochia de *Kilmadock*]

*Kilmadock* c.1685 Adair Stirling

*Kilmadock* 1700 Retours PER no. 1048 [parochiam de *Kilmadock*]

*Killmadock* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 337

*Killmadock* c.1750 Roy 75

*Kilmadock* 1783 Stobie

*Kilmadock* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *cill + mo* + saint's name Docus or Docgwin

*Cill mo-Doic* ? 'church of my Docus or Docgwin'. See p. 146-147 for a discussion of this place-name.

/kɪlma'dɔk/

KIRKTON KMA S NN703030 1 102m

*Kirkton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *kirk + toun*

I have been unable to find earlier forms.

LANRICK KMA S NN685031 1 40m

*Lanarkynys* 1317 x 1322 NAS GD198/38 [omnibus singulis terris de tribus *Lanarkynys* in Menetheth]<sup>190</sup>

*Lanarkynnus* 1507 RMS ii no. 3142 [le tribus *Lanarkynnus*]

*Lanark* 1507 RMS ii no. 3142 [dimid. molendini de *Lanark*]

*Lanarkynnus* 1509 RMS ii no. 3288 [dimed. trium le *Lanarkynnus*]

*Lanurk* 1509 RMS ii no. 3288 [dimed. molendini de *Lanurk*]

*Lanarkynnus* 1509 RMS ii no. 3347 [dimed. de tribus *Lanarkynnus*]

*Lanerk* 1509 RMS ii no. 3347 [dimid. molendini de *Lanerk* cum domibus, molendino et aquaductu ejusdem extra aquam de *Teth*, cum dimed. capelle de *Lanerk*, le *Chapelland...*]

*Lanarkynnus* 1512 RMS ii no. 3748 [dimed. tribus *Lanarkynnus*]

<sup>190</sup> This charter is printed in Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 225-7.

*Lanark* 1512 RMS ii no. 3748 [dimed. molendini *Lanark* cum domibus et aqueductu ejusdem extra aquam de *Teth*, cum dimed. chapelle de *Lanrik*, dimed. terre viz. le *Chapell-land...*]

*Lanerikis* 1572 RMS iv 2101 [dimed. de thre *Lanerikis*]

*Lanrik* 1572 RMS vi no. 264 note 1

*Lanerikis* 1617 Retours PER no. 248 [dimidietate terrarum de 3 *Lanerikis*]

*Lanerk* 1617 Retours PER no. 248

*Lainrick* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Lanrickes* 1637 RMS ix no. 681

*Lanerik* 1637 RMS ix no. 681

*Lanerkis* 1640 Laing Chrs no. 2272

*Lanerikis* 1646 Retours PER no. 558

*Lanerikes* 1646 Retours PER no. 558

*Lanerks* 1684 Retours PER no. 934 [dimidio molendini de *Lanerks*, et dimidio capellae de

*Lanerk...Over et Nether Lanerks*]

*Lanerk* 1685 Retours PER no. 940

*Lanerks* 1686 Retours PER no. 953

*Lenrick* c.1685 Adair Stirling

*Lendrick* 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 338 [the old tower of *Lendrick*]

*Lendrick* c.1750 Roy 75

*Lendrick* 1783 Stobie

*Lanerick* 1791-9 OSA xx, 47

*Lanrick* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV [*Upper Lanrick* and *Lanrick Castle* shown]

Pictish or British \**lanerc*

'Clearing in a wood'. The early forms (*tribus Lanarkynnis*) imply strongly that the lands of Landrick were divided into three parts and we can see this at least as early as 1317 x 1322. The early forms also show a -*yunn* affix, perhaps a locative or a diminutive ending, or possibly a Gaelic plural ending -*ean*, along with the Scots plural -*is*. If it is a ScG plural, then it may be one of the earliest attestations of it being used in Scotland; this plural ending is only securely dated in the early 16<sup>th</sup> C *The Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Ó Maolalaigh pers. comm.). It seems significant that in the early forms *Lanarkynn* (and variants) is only mentioned when the three 'Lanarks' are concerned; in other words in 1509 the place is called *Lanark*, not *Lanarkynn*. If it does represent a ScG plural, then this shows that division of Lanrick took place when Gaelic was the everyday language of the area. The mill of *Lanark* was the mill of the estate of Lanrick.

This is one of two *lanerces* in Menteith; there is also Lendrick CLD, while just over the border in DLE is Landrick (see p. 48 for this element as an indicator of p-Celtic in Menteith).

There was a chapel at Lanrick, indicated by the *Chapelland* mentioned in 1509, and at least later this was a private chapel of the owners of Lanrick. It is also cited as a chapel of the 'ancient monastery of St Madocus, now called Kilmadock' (see p. 147 above).

/'lanrik/

LERROCKS KMA S NN738038 1 102m

*Lerocho* 1783 Stobie

*Lerrocks* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc *larach* from ScG *làrach*

*DOST* has Sc *larach* as meaning ‘the site or the foundation of a building, or of a stack; the traces of an old building’, much the same as ScG *lärach*. It is not known what type of foundation or building is alluded to here, but a ‘peat larach’, an ‘artificial mound on which peat was stacked to dry after cutting’ has been suggested (MacKay 2003, 81). However, to have left its mark on the local nomenclature, we may be looking at something more significant in terms of remains. The earliest mention of larach in *DSL* relates to a croft called *Tailzourcroft* in Strathearn in 1508 (see also *RMS* ii no. 3238).

The final ‘o’ in the Stobie form is very likely to be an engraving error mistaking *o* for *s*.

/'lərɔks/

LOCH MAHAICK KMA W NN705065 1 206m

*Lochmaquhayak* 1532 *RMS* iii no. 1154 [terræ de *Severie*, cum lacu de *Lochmaquhayak*]

*Lochmaheck* 1650 *Retours PER* no. 602 [loch callit *Lochmaheck*]

*Loch Machoig* c.1750 *Roy* 16/2a

*Loch Maghaig* 1791-9 *OSA* xx, 46

*Loch Mahauke* 1783 *Stobie*

*Loch Mahaick* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *Loch + mo + saint's name.*

See Watson (1926, 152, 251, 298) who suggests Tua ‘the silent one’ as the saint’s name, and give the ScG rendering of this place-name as *Loch Mo-Thatháig*. However, see p. 158 for short discussion of this name.

/'lɒx ma'hek/

LOCHFIELD KMA S NN707000 1 57m

*Lochfeild* 1517 RMS iii no. 136 [terras de *Lochfeild*, cum piscatura lacus ejusdem]

*Lochfeild* 1526 RMS iii no. 397

*Lochfeild* 1531 RMS iii no. 1081

*Lochfeild* 1555 RMS iv no. 985

*Lochfeild* 1566 ER xix no. 553

*Nethir Lochfeild* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Nether Lochfeild* 1612 Retours PER no. 1094

*Lochfeild* 1618 RMS vii no. 582

*Nether Lochfeild* 1662 Retours PER no. 708

*Nether Lochfeild* 1675 Retours PER no. 880

*Lochfield* 1783 Stobie

*Lochfield* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *loch* + *field*

'Open agricultural land beside a loch [Watston]' (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

LONGBANK KMA S NN736013 1 38m

*Longbank* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

SSE *long* + *bank*

Not shown on Stobie.

LOWER DRUMBANE KMA S NN661061 1 99m

*Drumbane* 1783 Stobie

SSE *lower + en Drumbane*

The settlement is still called Nether Drumbane on the 1 inch Popular edn published in 1927.

LUNDIE KMA S NN728041 1 127m

*Lundylug* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Lundyskeot* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Lundy Arthure* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Lunde Skeoch* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Lundeluge* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Lundearthoure* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Lunde McCane* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Lundy Skeach* 1480 *ER* ix, 565

*Lundy Arthur* 1480 *ER* ix, 565

*Lundy McCane* 1480 *ER* ix, 565

*Lundylug* 1480 *ER* ix, 565

*Lundy Skeach* 1486 *ER* ix, 626

*Lundy Arthur* 1486 *ER* ix, 626

*Lundy McCane* *ER* ix, 626

*Lundy Lug* 1486 *ER* ix, 626

*Lundylug* 1491 *RMS* ii no. 2035

*Lundyskeuch* 1491 *RMS* ii no. 2035

*Lundy-Arthur* 1491 *RMS* ii no. 2035

*Lundy-Makcane* 1491 *RMS* ii no. 2035

*Lundy Makcan* 1495 *ER* x, 759

*Lundy Lug* 1495 *ER* x, 759

*Lundeis* 1497 *RMS* ii no. 2365

*Lundeys* 1498 *RMS* ii no. 2407

*Lundiis* 1502 *ER* xii, 25

*Lundy McCane* 1502 *ER* xii, 631

*Lundy Lug* 1502 *ER* xii, 631

*Lundy-makchane* 1506 *RMS* ii no. 2932

*Lundyis* 1526 *RMS* iii no. 375

*Lundeis* 1556 *RMS* iv no. 1051

*Lundeis* 1584 *RMS* v no. 761

*Denis-Lundies* 1615 *RMS* vi no. 1197 [terrás de *Denis-Lundies*, extenden. ad 6 mercat.  
terrárum, in regalitate Dumblanen., parochia de *Kilmadok*]

*Lundeis* 1629 *Retours PER* no. 374

*Lundies* 1700 *Retours PER* no. 1048 [*Lundies Easter* and *Wester*...terrárum de *Easter  
undies* alias vocatarum *Kings Lundies*]

*Lundie* 1783 Stobie [*W.*, *Middle*, and *E. Lundie* shown]

*Lundie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV [*Wester*, *Mid*, and *Easter Lundie* shown]

ScG *lunndan*

*Lundaiddh* ‘green meadow, marshy ground’. From a postulated Pictish *Lunndan*, see Taylor (2008, 338) where he gives reasons for thinking that *lunndan* may be of Pictish origin. The form Lundy in Sc or SSE may be due to loss of the final nasal in the language contact situation.

The *-skeach/skeauach* element in many of the forms is probably ScG *sgitheach* ‘bush; whitehorn, hawthorn; thicket of hawthorn’, while the *-lug* element is likely to be ScG *luig*, genitive of *lag* ‘hollow’.

The Arthur and McCane elements in some of the early forms are obviously personal names and could relate to tenants. Quite who the eponymous Arthur and McCane were is not known; the names do not appear among the tenants or landholders in the *Rentalia Domini Regis* in *ER*, but note that there was a Donald McCane on record as a tenant in the lands of *Sessintuly* from 1480. It would appear that he is the eponym of Mackeanston KMA (*ER* ix, 566). It is not known if he had any connection to Lundy McCane, but he did have lands elsewhere in Menteith, including half the lands of Lendrick and Dreppan # in CLD (*ER* ix, 561, 594).

There had been sub-division of this estate by 1451 and later forms show the Scots plural. Lundie seems to have been a distinct estate but was perhaps combined with Argaty for taxation purposes in the sixteenth century.

/'lʌndɪ/

MACKEANSTON KMA S NN685001 1 52m

*Makanestoun* 1541 *ER* xvii, 715

*Makanestoun* 1573 *RSS* vi no. 1836

*Makeanstoun* 1609 *RMS* vii no. 189 [terras de *Makeanstoun*, alias vocatas 3 libratas terrarum antiqui extensus de *Cessintullie*]

*McKeanstoun* 1635 *RMS* ix no 337

*M'Keanstoun* 1640 *Retours PER* no. 492

*Mackenstown* 1783 Stobie

*Mackeanston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Pn McCane + Sc *toun*

A certain Donald McCane is on record from 1480 as a tenant in the lands of *Sessintuly*. It would appear that he is the originator of Mackeanston (*ER* ix, 566; see also Cessintully, above, for those lands that comprised the barony of Cessintully). In 1484 Donald's son Andrew is also mentioned as a tenant in the lands of Cessintully (*ER* ix, 599), and both men are still mentioned as tenants until at least 1502 (*ER* xii, 599). Both men held thirty shillings of land each, but in 1509 Andrew is mentioned as a tenant in three pounds or 'tribus libratis' (i.e. sixty shillings) of land (*ER* xiii, 636), which suggests that either Donald had died or had resigned his portion in favour of his son, a practice frequent in early modern Scotland (Sanderson 2007, 173). The first mention of a place called *Makanestoun* in 1541 tells us it was:

'Clamit be Donald McCaane in auld few, payand yeirlie vii li x s few maill and vii s iii d mart siver, and producit his faderis charter thairupon' (*ER* xvii, 715).

This is presumably the original Donald's grandson, who was given sasine of 'trium libratarum terrarum de *Cessintuly*' in 1537 (*ER* xvii, 742).

Black (1946, 522) states that the name derives from Maclan and notes that 'half the lands of *Lanerky* and *Caschdrapane*' in CLD were 'leased to Donald McCane or M'Kane in 1480' (Black 1946, 522 quoting *ER* ix, 561, 594). It is not known whether this is the same Donald McCane in Cessintully. It is also notable that a McCane is behind a division of Lundie KMA from 1451 to 1506 (see Lundie above). See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

MACKRIESTON KMA S NN671004 1 41m

*Makreistoun* 1527 *RMS* iii no. 450

*Makcreistoun* 1528 *RMS* iii no. 626

*McCreistoun* 1551 *ER* xviii, 520

*Maccreistoun* 1567 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 403

*McReistoun* 1573 *RSS* vi no. 1836 [Rednoch with the myln of *McReistoun*]

*Makrestoun* 1587 RMS v no. 1429

*Macrostoun* 1592 NAS, PA2/14, ff.74v-80r [firmas feudifirme et devorias viginti solidatarum terrarum de *Macrostoun*]

*M'Creistoun* 1597 RMS vi no. 520

*Makcreistoun* 1602 Retours PER no. 97

*McCreistoun* 1603 Retours PER no. 119

*M'Cristoun* 1604 RMS vi no. 1496

*McCreistoun* 1609 RMS vi no. 176

*McCreistoun* 1614 RMS vii no. 993

*McCreistoun* 1628 RMS viii no. 1243

*Makcreistone* 1634 Retours PER no. 431

*Makcreistone* 1634 Retours PER no. 432

*McCreistoun* 1653 Retours PER no. 616

*Maikristoune* 1675 Retours PER no. 877

*Mackreistown* 1783 Stobie

*Mackreiston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Pn MacCrae + Sc *toun*

Black has this surname as a form of MacCrae (1946, 479). What we seem to have is *Makcre* with the Scots *-is* ending. What is odd here is that, unlike the other *toun* names in the barony of Cessintully, there is no mention of anyone called MacCrae, or any of its variants, in the *Exchequer Rolls* for the period when all the other *toun*-names in Cessintullie are coined, or indeed in any other source, and yet it is on record far more times than Mackeanston. There seems to have been a Macray at Cammuslittle # KMA in 1613 (RMS vii no. 797 [*Caummuslittill* alias *Cammus-Macray*]). See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

/ma'kris,tən/

McORRISTON KMA S NS679989 1 31m

*Makcorrestoun* 1528 RMS iii no. 626

*Makcorreistoun* 1541 RMS iii no. 2376

*McCorolstoun* 1541 ER xvii, 716

*Makcorenstoun* 1547 RMS iv no. 160

*McCoreinstoun* 1565 RMS iv no. 1622

*McCorranestoun* 1567 Fraser, Menteith ii, 403

*McCorenstoun* 1587 Fraser, Menteith ii, 366

*Makcorranstoun* 1587 RMS v no. 1429

*McCarranstoun* 1592 NAS, PA2/14, ff.74v-80r.

*Makoranstoun* 1602 Retours PER no. 97

*McCorrestoun* 1604 RMS vi no. 1496

*Makcorestoun* 1609 RMS vii no. 176

*Mackcorranstoun* 1609 RMS vii no. 189

*McCorranstoun* 1611 RMS vii no. 465

*McCorranstoun* 1625 RMS viii no. 782

*McCorranstoun* 1625 RMS viii no. 902

*McCarrenstoun* 1628 RMS viii no. 1243

*Mackorenstoun* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*McCorranstoun* 1635 RMS ix no 337

*McCoranstoun* 1653 Retours PER no. 616

*Markloranstoune* (vel *McCorronstoune*) 1675 Retours PER no. 877

*Maccoristoun* c.1685 Adair Stirling

*Maccoraustown* 1783 Stobie

*McOrriston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Pn McCorane + Sc *toun*

Thomas and Forsyth McCorane are tenants in the lands of Cessintully in 1480 (*ER* ix, 566). Black (1946, 558) has this name as a form of Macquarrie and in 1499 Thomas and Forsyth are designated McQuhorane and McQuarrane respectively (*ER* xi, 414). Both men cease to be tenants in 1502 when Thomas McQuorrhane exchanges his portion with Alexander Balfour ‘Thome McQuorrhane in excambium cum Alexandro Balfour’ (*ER* xii, 632). In the same year Maurice McCorrane pays twenty shillings for entry into the lands of Cessintully (*ER* xii, 632). There are no more mentions of any of these men after this, and the lands are usually divided between the earls of Moray or the Balfour family. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

/ma'kɔris,tən/

MAINS OF BURNBANK KMA, KRD S NS705988 1 29m

*Mains of Burnbank* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *mains +of+ en* Burnbank

A mains farm was ‘originally, the home farm of a landed estate’ (Nicolaisen 2001, 80), and according to *DSL* is an ‘aphaeretic form of *domains*, O.Fr. *demeine* (Eng. *demesne*), Med.Lat. *dominicum*, ‘the lord (of the manor)’s lands’.

MANSFIELD KMA S NN723034 1 84m

*Mansefield* 1783 Stobie

*Mansfield* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc *manse?* + *field*

'Field belonging to a manse'? It lies c.2 km NE of the old kirk of Kilmadock.

MID LUNDIE KMA S NN728041 1 127m

*Middle Lundie* 1783 Stobie

*Mid Lundie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc *mid* or *middle* + en Lundie

MID TORRIE KMA S NN653041 1 87m

*Middle Torrie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *mid* or *middle* + en Torrie

MILL OF ARGATY KMA S NN746016 1 50m

*Mill of Argaty* 1783 Stobie

*Argaty Mill* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV

Sc *mill* + *of* en Argaty

MILTON OF CAMBUS KMA S NN702044 1 106m

*Miltoun de Cammes* 1529 RMS iii no. 854 [*Miltoun de Cammes* alias *Cammesedwart*]

*Mylntoun de Cammes* 1561 RMS iv no. 1392 [*Mylntoun de Cammes* alias *Cammesedward*]

*Mylntoun de Cammes* 1564 RMS iv no. 1513 [*Mylntoun de Cammes* (alias *Cammisward*)]

*Mylntoun de Cammes* 1581 RMS v no. 280 [*Mylntoun de Cammes alias Cammeswaird*]

*Mylntoun de Cammis* 1587 RMS v no. 1429

*Miltone de Cammes* 1592 NAS, PA2/14, ff.74v-80r

*Mylntoun de Cammes* 1602 Retours PER no. 97

*Molendino de Cambus* 1609 Retours PER no. 192

*Mylnetoun de Cammes* 1611 RMS vii no. 465

*Mylntoun de Cammes* 1628 RMS viii no. 1239

*Milntoun of Cames* 1653 Retours PER no. 616

*Molendino de Cambus* 1665 Retours PER no. 734

*Molendino de Cames* 1670 Retours PER no. 804

*Milltown* 1783 Stobie

*Milton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *Mill + toun +en \*Cambus* (2)

'Mill farm of Cambus'. See also Cambusedward, above.

MUNNIESTOUN KMA S NN679006 1 73m

*Munnowstoun* 1528 RMS iii no. 626

*Munnowstoun* 1541 RMS iii no. 2376

*Monethstoun* 1541 ER xvii, 716

*Munnochstoun* 1551 ER xviii, 520

*Monashtoun* 1587 RMS v no. 1429

*Monashtoun* 1592 NAS, PA2/14, ff.74v-80r.

*Monaschtoun* 1602 Retours PER no. 97

*Monochstoun* 1603 Retours PER no. 119

*Munoustoun* 1608 RMS vi no. 1496

*Monoustoun* 1609 RMS vii no. 176

*Monaschestoun* 1611 RMS vii no. 465

*Munnochstoun* 1625 RMS viii no. 782

*Manachstoun* 1628 RMS viii no. 1239

*Monachstoun* 1628 RMS viii no 1243

*Monnachstoun* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616

*Monechstown* 1783 Stobie

*Munnieston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

ScG surname + Sc *toun*

This is perhaps a surname based on the Gaelic word for monk, *manach*, which according to Black was a personal name in PER written as *Monach* or *Munnoch* (Black 1946, 606, 619). This may have been a settlement of a tenant of the priory of Inchmahome. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

MURDIESTON KMA S NN674006 1 16m

*Mudestoun* 1527 RMS iii no. 450

*Murdowstoun* 1528 RMS iii no. 626

*Murdostoun* 1539 RMS iii no. 2053 [2 marcas terrarum de *Cessintule*, quas dictus Pat[ricii] Nory] de rege Jac. IV. in feodifirma habuit, jacen. ex occidentali latere ville de *Murdostoun*]

*Murdestoun* 1541 RMS iii no. 2278

*Murdowstoun* 1541 RMS iii no. 2376

*Murdochstoun* 1551 ER xviii, 520

*Murdostoun* 1565 RMS iv no. 1622

*Murdochstoun* 1587 RMS v no. 1429

*Murdochstoun* 1587 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 366

*Mordoichstoun* 1592 NAS, PA2/14, ff.74v-80r.

*Murdochstoun* 1602 *Retours PER* no. 97

*Murdochstoun* 1603 *Retours PER* no. 119

*Murdestoun* 1604 *RMS* vi no. 1496

*Murdestoun* 1609 *RMS* vii no. 176

*Murdostoun* 1628 *RMS* viii no. 1239

*Murdestoun* 1628 *RMS* viii no. 1243

*Murdachstoun* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Murdochstoun* 1653 *Retours PER* no. 616

*Murdochestoun* 1658 *Retours PER* no. 673 ['John Dog potioner of *Murdochstoun*...in ane  
merk land of *Cessintullie* alias *Murdochestoun*']

*Murdochtoun* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 877

*Murdochstoune* 1682 *Retours PER* no. 920 [David Muschet 'in 2 mercatas terris de  
*Cessintillie* nuncupatis *Murdochstoune*, ex occidentali latere villaes de *Murdochstoune*']

*Murdiston* c1750 Roy 70

*Murdochstown* 1783 Stobie

*Murdieston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI [*West and East Murdieston* shown]

Pn Murdoch + Sc *toun*

Who the eponymous Murdoch was is unclear. Murdoch Smyth was a tenant of Cessintullie from at least 1480 (*ER* ix, 566) to 1488 (*ER* x, 635). In 1484 John Murthoson becomes a tenant (*ER* ix, 599), while in 1486 Murdoch Kessikisson and Kessok Murthauson are both mentioned as tenants, and in 1494 John Smyth Murdoson is a tenant (*ER* x 722). There are no Murdoson or Murdos mentioned in *ER* after this date, which might suggest that the name Murdieston (or its earlier variants) was recognised locally before the name was noted by

clerks of the Exchequer and other branches of the king's government. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

ROSEHALL KMA S NN708049 1 137m

*Rosehaagh* 1783 Stobie

*Rosehall* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *rose + haugh*

'Haughland of roses'.

ROW KMA S NS741993 1 31m

*Row* 1453 *ER* v, 495 [*prati de Row*]

*Row* 1502 *RMS* ii no. 2678 [*terris de Row*]

*Rowe* 1537 *RMS* iii no. 1705

*Rowis* 1540 *RMS* iii no. 2218

*Row* 1557 *RMS* iv no. 1174

*Row* 1607 *Retours PER* no. 173

*Row* 1610 *RMS* vii no. 301

*Row* 1620 *RMS* viii no. 26

*Row* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Row* c.1685 Adair Stirling

*Row* 1783 Stobie [*Row, W. Row, E. Row* and *Thorn of Row* shown]

*Row* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII [*Row, Easter Row, Wester Row, Hillside of Row* and *Row Smithy* shown]

*Rubha* ‘point, promontory’. Watson (1926, 246) has Row (now Rhu) DNB as *an Rubha* ‘the point’. Row in Menteith seems to refer to the steep ground sharply rising from the carse of the Forth on the north side of the Teith between Blair Drummond and Ochtertyre, and when viewed from the east, e.g. Stirling University campus, has the appearance of a promontory. It is unusual, however, to find *rubha* so far inland, although there are several other instances of *rubha* in Menteith, esp in AFE. See also Easter Row KMA and Wester Row KMA for early forms. Note that Dwelly spells *rubha* as *rudha*.

/ru/

SAUCHANS KMA S NN700006 1 70m

*Sachines* 1637 RMS ix no. 681

*Sauchanes* 1640 *Laing Chrs* no. 2272

*Sauchans* 1646 RMS ix no. 1651

*Sachans* 1646 *Retours* PER no. 558

*Sauchans* 1684 *Retours* PER no. 934

*Sauchines* 1685 *Retours* PER no. 940

*Sauchan* 1686 *Retours* PER no. 953

*Sauchans* 1783 Stobie

*Sauchans* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *sauchen*

‘(Place of) willows’. This may be the ‘sauchin’ of *Sauchinthome*, see below for details. The owner of Sauchens informed me that a new cottage built on the grounds of the farm is called ‘The Willows’.

/'sɔxəns/

SAUCHINTHOME # KMA S

*Shaquhythome* 1505 NASGD198/69

*Schaquhythorne* 1505 *Retours PER* no. 1049 [terrarium de *Conlath*, nunc vocatarum

*Schaquhythorne*]

*Sauchinthom* 1507 RMS ii no. 3142 [*Cowlache* nuncupat. *Sauchinthom*]

*Sauchinthome* 1509 RMS ii no. 3288 [*Cowlache* vocat. *Sauchinthome*]

*Sauchinthome* 1509 RMS ii no. 3347 [*Cowlache* nuncupt *Sauchinthome*]

*Sauchinthome* 1512 RMS ii no. 3748 [*Cowlache* nuncupat. *Sauchinthome*]

*Sauchinthome* 1572 RMS iv no. 2101 [*Coulatis Sauchinthome* nuncupat.]

*Sauchinthome* 1585 RMS v no. 842 [villam et terras capellanias de *Sauchinthome* alias  
*Denstoun*]

*Sauchinthome* 1617 *Retours PER* no. 248 [terrarium de *Coulattis, Sauchinthome* nuncupata]

*Sauchinholme* 1685 *Retours PER* no. 940

Sc *sauchen* + en Thom

The first element is likely to be the Scots adjective *sauchen*, ‘sallow or willow’. It is a reasonably common element in place-names and can be found locally in Sauchie CLA, and Old Sauchie STL, as well as further afield in Sauchen ABD and Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, the latter named after a settlement called *Saughyhall* in Richardson’s map of Glasgow of 1795.

See also Coulattis KMA, above, and Thom KMA and Watston KMA, below.

SEVERIE KMA S NN704075 1 221m

*Savarie* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 80

*Soverie* 1650 *Retours PER* no. 602

*Sevrie* 1782 RHP14317

*Severie* 1783 Stobie

*Severie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXV

ScG *suidhe + an + breitheamh*

*Suidhe a' Bhreitheimh* 'seat of the judge'. According to Watson a 'large stone on a knoll in front of the farm-house' was the seat of the Judge of Menteith (Watson 1926, 517; see p. 96 above). Watson further reports that tradition states that this stone is where people were judged and punished. 4 km SE in DLE is the Judge's Cairn.

Note that the original Severie is now called Severie Cottage (see below); the Severie mentioned in the headform above was called *Coldhome* from at least the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map in 1862 until the one inch popular edition of 1924. This appears to be the *Sheals* shown on Stobie in 1783 (although, confusingly, Stobie shows *Coldhame* on his plan for the earl of Moray in 1782 [RHP14317]). See also Severie Cottage and Waterside below.

/,səvər'i/

SEVERIE COTTAGE KMA S NN705080 1 241m

See note above under Severie.

SHRUBHILL KMA S NN745000 1 74m

*Shrubhill* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *shrub + hill*

Not shown on Stobie.

SPITTALTON KMA S NS685991 1 36m

the *Spitale* 1491 NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v

*Westir Spittaltoun* 1528 RMS iii no. 621

*Spittaltoun* 1535 RMS iii no. 1456 [*Westir Spittaltoun de Cessintuly*]

*Spittaltoun* 1557 RMS iv no. 1205 [*Wester Spittaltoun of Cessintuly*]

*Wester Spittaltoun* 1565 RMS iv no. 1622

*Wester Spitteltoun* 1571 RMS iv no. 1993

*Spitteltoun* 1575 RMS iv no. 2426 [*Coldoch-Eister alias Spitteltoun nuncupatas*]

*Spitteltoun* 1580 RMS v no. 752 [*Coldoch-Eister alias Spitteltoun*]

*Spitteltoun* 1597 RMS vi no. 520 [*Wester Spitteltoun de Cessintullie*]

*Spitteltoun* 1608 RMS vi no. 2180 [*Westir Spitteltoun vocatas Westir Spitteltoun de Cessintullie*]

*Spittiltoun* 1616 RMS vii no. 1438 [*Wester Spittiltoun vocatas Wester Spittiltoun de Cessintullie*]

*Spitteltoun* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Spitteltoun* 1631 RMS viii no. 1859 [*Westir Spitteltoun de Cessintullie*]

*Spitteltoun* 1635 Retours PER no. 442 [*Coldoche-Eister alias Spitteltoun*]

*Spittiltoun* 1636 RMS ix no. 581 [*Coldoche-Eister alias Spittiltoun*]

*Spitteltoun* 1662 Retours PER no. 703 [*Westerspitteltoun vocatis 30 solidatis terrarum de Wester Spitteltoun de Cessintillie*]

*Spitteltoun* 1667 Retours PER no. 758 [*Wester Spitteltoun de Cessitillie*]

*Spitteltoun* 1690 Retours PER no. 983 [*Wester Spitteltoun vocatis 30 solidatis terrarum de Wester Spitteltoun de Cessintullie*]

*Spittel* c.1750 Roy 70

*Spittaltown* 1783 Stobie [W. *Spittaltown*, Mid. *Spittaltown* and E. *Spittaltown* shown]

*Spittalton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI [*Spittalton*<sup>191</sup> and *Upper Spittalton* shown]

Sc *spittal* + *toun* or pn *Spittal* + Sc *toun*

See p. 92-93 for discussion of the element *spittal*, and p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

STRAID KMA S NN655058 1 74m

*the straid* 1770s NAS E777/313 [Plan of *the straid*, by John Leslie, surveyor]

*Straid* 1783 Stobie

*Staait* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *sràid*

*Sràid* ‘street, road’. Road must be the preferred meaning here in such a rural location. Bain has ‘Early Irish *sráit*’, c.f. *DIL* which defines *sráit* as ‘street, road, path, way’. *Sraid*, c.5km from the Roman fort at Bochastle and 8km from the Roman fort at Doune, may indicate a Roman road or other paved road (c.f. Barrow (1992, 210) where he writes of Old English *straet* as being a possible indicator of Roman roads). The modern A84, the main road between Callander and Doune, follows the likely course of the Roman road connecting the two forts, or close to it.

/stred/

THOM # KMA S NN715008 1 44m

<sup>191</sup> Spittalton is shown twice on this map; the easterly of the two is now called Cuptree (see above).

*Tum* 1213 x 1261 CDS i, no. 2276; RRS ii no. 519 note

*Thom* 1317 x 1332 NAS GD198/38; Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 255-6

*Thome* 1507 RMS ii no. 3142

*Thome* 1509 RMS ii no. 3288

*Thom* 1509 RMS ii no. 3347 [dimed de *Thom*...terras *Thom*, tunc vocat. *Barnisdale*]

*Thom* 1512 RMS ii no. 3748 [dimed. de *Thom*...terras de *Thom*, tunc *Bernisdal* vocat]

*Thome* 1572 RMS iv no. 2101 [dimed. de *Thome*...cum mansione, manerie et loco infra dictas terras de *Thome*, tunc *Barnisdaill* nuncupat.]

*Thome* 1617 *Retours* PER no. 248

*Thome* 1646 *Retours* PER no. 558 [dimidietate de *Thome*...*Thome* nunc *Barnesdaill* nuncupato]

*Thom* 1684 *Retours* PER no. 934 [dimidietate de *Thom*...terras de *Thom* vocata *Barnsdail* alias *Watson*]

*Thom* 1686 *Retours* PER no. 953 [dimidium de terrarum de *Thom*...*Thom* nunc vocato *Bariesdale* alias *Watson*]

ScG *tom*

*An Tom* 'hillock'. The *thom* element may relate to Tulloch Knowe, near the bridge of Doune.

This seems to be the *Tullochan* mentioned in 1557 (NAS GD430/129<sup>192</sup>), which is only c.400m NE of Watson. The name changed to *Barnisdaill* sometime in the early 16<sup>th</sup> C, which seems to have Sc *dale*, meaning 'a share, portion, or piece of land'. See also Sauchinthom KMA above, and Watson KMA below.

TORRIE KMA S NN653041 1 89m

<sup>192</sup> The relevant section reads: 'Alexander Seton...to compear before Archibald Napier and his bailies at his court to be held...at *Tullochan* alias *Courthill* in *Watson*, there to produce his titles to the fifty shillingland of *Tor of Rusky*...12 Dec 1557'

*Thorri* 1317 x 1332 NAS GD198/38

*Torry* 1426 RMS ii no. 45 [Rex concessit Johanni de Spensa, burgensi de *Perht*...terras de *Torry*, et de *Drumgy* in comitatu de *Menteth*]

*Torre* 1453 ER v, 596

*Torry* 1476 RMS ii no. 1274

*Torry* 1509 RMS ii no. 3359

*Torres-Spens* 1525 RMS iii no. 312

*Torres-Spens* 1531 RMS iii no. 1077

*The Kingis Torry* 1541 ER xvii, 717

*Torry Spens* 1557 RMS iv no. 1163

*Torrie-Spens* 1614 RMS vii no. 1023

*Torry* 1783 Stobie [*Upper Torry*, *Nether Torry*, *Hill of Torry* and *Mill of Torry* shown]

*Torrie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV [*Wester*, *Middle* and *Easter Torrie* shown]

ScG *tòrr + -in*

*Tòrraidh* '(conical) hill place'. The *-in* ending could be a diminutive or a locative ending. There is a small hill 650 m to the north of Mid Torrie (which supplies the NGR), marked 'Dun' on the 1:50,000 OS Landranger map. This must be the *tòrr* in question, although another fort was discovered in 1956-8 some 950 m to the SE of the Dun. Further details can be found at RCAHMS Canmore NMRS nos. NN60SE 1 and NN60SE 3.

*Torrie-Spens* must be named after John de Spensa, designated 'burgensi de *Perht*' in 1426 (RMS ii no. 45; see p. 67 above). Torrie is now split into West, Mid, and East Torrie. This is one of a small number of *tòrr* -names in Menteith: there is also Tarandoun CLD, Upper, Lower, and Easter Tarr surround Tamnafaloch KMA, and in KRD there is Mill of Torr. See also Easter Torrie and Wester Torrie KMA for early forms.

/torɪ/

TYNAMOIN # KMA S NN654060 2 75m

*Tynmoan* 1783 Stobie

*Tynamoin* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *taigh + an + mòine*

*Taigh na Mòna* or *na Mòine* ‘house of the peat’ Perhaps it is best to think of this place as a house where peat was stored rather than one made of peat.

TYNASPIRIT KMA S NN663046 1 59m

*Tynaspirit* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

ScG *taigh + an + spiorad*

*Taigh an Spioraid* ‘house of the spirit’. ScG *spiorad* (masc.) ‘spirit; spirituous liquors’ (Dwelly). It is presumably the latter here, and may have been a place where whisky was distilled.

UPPER DRUMBANE KMA S 664065 1 120m

*Upper Drumbane* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *upper + en* Drumbane

UPPER LANRICK KMA S NN679030 1 70m

*Upper Lanrick* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *upper* + en Lanrick

UPPER SPITTALTON KMA S NS697994 1 36m

*Upper Spittalton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *upper* + en Spittalton

WATERSIDE KMA S NN696082 1 245m

*Waterside* 1783 Stobie

*Waterside* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXV

Sc or SSE *water* + *side*

WAT DOGGISTOUN # KMA S NN715008 1 44m

*Wat Doggistoun* 1491 NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v

Pn Wat Dog + Sc *toun*

See Watson below.

WATTESMETHISTOUN # KMA S NN715008 1 44m

*Wat Smy[tht]toun* 1491 NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v

*Watte-Smethistoun* 1489 RMS ii no. 1820 [una parte terraum de *Coldoch* nuncupata *Watte-Smethistoun*]

Pn Wat Smith + Sc *toun*

See Watson below.

WATSTON KMA S NN715008 1 44m

*Wat Doggistoun* 1491 NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v

*Wat Smy[tht]toun* 1491 NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v

*Watston* 1543 GD430/119-122

*Watston* 1557 GD430/129 [*Tullochan alias Courthill in Watston*]

*Watstoun* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Watstone* 1684 *Retours PER* no. 934 [*terrass de Thom* vocata *Barnsdail* alias *Watstone*]

*Watstone* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 953 [*Thom* nunc vocato *Bariesdale* alias *Watstone*]

*Watstoun L<och>* c.1685 Adair

*Watstown* 1783 *Stobie*

*Watston* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Pn Wat or Walter + Scots *toun*.

This place is almost certainly named after either Walter Dog (modern Doig) or Walter Smyth, or perhaps both, who were tenants in *Coldoch Westir* (see comments on Coulattis above) in 1488 (*ER* x, 635). Although *Wat Doggistoun* and *Wat Smy[tht]toun* were undoubtedly separate settlements, it is not known which of the two was the foundation of Watston. The two men or their families are tenants of other places in this area, holding of the king. Patrick Dog is a tenant of *Collach (Coulattis)* in 1484 (*ER* ix, 596). Indeed the Dogs were still tenants in the area until at least 1541 (*ER* xvii, 715-6), while the Smyths are last seen in 1502 (*ER* xii, 632, 636). Walter Dog was 'camerarii de Menteth, Strogartnay, Buchquhidder, Drummond, et Duchray' in 1471 (*ER* viii, 66). The lands of Watston were formerly known as *Thom* (q.v. above). See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

WESTER COILLECHAT KMA S NN682040 1 70m

*W. Calichat* 1783 Stobie

*Wester Coillechat* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *wester + en* Coillechat

WESTER LUNDIE KMA S NN720040 1 119m

*Lundies* 1700 *Retours PER* no. 1048 [*Lundies Easter and Wester*

*W. Lundie* 1783 Stobie

*Lundie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXV [*Wester, Mid, and Easter Lundie shown*]

Sc *wester + en* Lundie

WESTER ROW KMA S NS739995 1 18m

*Westir Row* 1451 *ER v*, 475

*Vesterrow* 1454 *ER v*, 673

*Westirrow* 1461 *ER vii*, 53

*Westir Row* 1491 *RMS ii* no. 2035

*Westir Row* 1527 *RMS iii* no. 439

*Wester Row* 1545 *RMS iii* no. 3078

*Westir Row* 1549 *ER xviii*, 484

*Wester Row* 1558 *ER xix*, 426

*Westir Row* 1570 *RMS iv* no. 1930

*Wester Row* 1616 *Retours PER* no. 242

*Wester Row* 1630 *Retours PER* no. 398

*Wester Rowis* 1639 *Retours PER* no. 485

*Wester Rowes* 1687 *Retours PER* no. 955

*W. Row* 1783 Stobie

*Wester Row* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *wester + en Row*

WESTERTON KMA S NN735025 1 70m

*Westerton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn 6 inch OS map, sheet CXXV

Sc *wester + toun* [of Argaty]

This was known as Wester Argaty from 1461 (*ER* vii, 53) until 1783 (Stobie), see also Argaty KMA.

WESTER TORRIE KMA S NN651043 1 86m

*Wester Torre* 1559 RMS iv no. 1343

*Wester Torrie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXIV

Sc *wester + en Torrie*

WHIRRIESTON KMA, KRD S NN662012 78m

*Quarriestown* 1783 Stobie

*Whirrieston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Pn Quarrie + Sc *toun*

According to Black (1946, 677), Quarrie is the same name as Quarrel and Quarrier, the latter meaning someone who works in a quarry. The surname Quarrel derives from Quarrel, Falkirk

parish STL. While a surname is likely, I have found no one with this name in the documentary record.

## **Parish of Kincardine**

### *Introduction*

Kincardine underwent a drastic change in the 1891 parochial reorganisation in Scotland (Shennan 1892, 245-7; see Map 21). Prior to this date KRD was split into two distinct parts separated by KMA, which extended to the River Forth. The eastern part was designated the barony of Kincardine, and contained Kincardine, Ochtertyre Chalmerston, Drip, Bad, Westwood, Cambusdrenny, Bordland #, Cowstry, Dargraw #, Tolgarth #, Ross The Offers, Lochfield, Coldoch, Arnieve, and Mukersyde # (*RMS* iii no. 1560). The western part of the parish, with modern Thornhill at its centre, may have had at its heart the lands of Boquhapple, perhaps originally *\*bothchapaill* 'horse bothy or sheiling', perhaps indicating an important horse rearing area. In 1891, KRD was given those parts of KMA south of the Goodie Water and the modern B8031 road to connect the two parts, while KMA was given land on the eastern fringes of its border with KRD and most of the northern half of the detached portion, i.e. north of the modern A873 road, as compensation.

The majority of KRD is almost completely flat with only the northern part of the parish showing any signs of height; Boreland Hill is the highest point at 55m. In fact thirty-nine of the fifty-four place-names on the 1;50,000 OS map are under 20m, with the vast majority of those being 9 to 13m in height. Much of the parish was covered in a peat bog (variously called Kincardine Moss, Blairdrummond Moss, Drip Moss, or the Great Moss) until the late 18<sup>th</sup> C. Of the 5000 acre Blair Drummond estate, 2000 acres were peat bog (Mackay 2005, 113). Much of the moss was 3m thick and Lord Kames of Blair Drummond is usually credited with beginning the process of clearing it (*ibid.*). Stobie shows the settlements of people, called the Moss Lairds, who were charged with clearing the moss. However, as John Harrison (2003, 28) has argued persuasively, clearance on the edges of the moss must have begun much earlier,

for how else are we to explain the Gaelic names of places here, such as Arnieve, Baad, Cambusdrennie, Offers, and Ross in KRD, sitting as they do like *freiceadain* on the front line between *Gaidheal* and *Gall*. Baad and Cambusdrennie are on record by 1423. Harrison thinks '[the Gaelic names] are likely to have originated by the 12<sup>th</sup> century', although he does concede that 'specialised survey would be needed to confirm their origin so early as that' (*ibid.*). Harrison may be correct in his assumption, but there is no evidence for these place-names before the 15<sup>th</sup> C. However, the Scots place-name Drip is not on record before 1423, a similar situation to Cambusdrenney and Baad, but we know Drip exists in Lanarkshire as a place-name in the 12<sup>th</sup> C.

ARNIEVE KRD S NS707968 1 10m

*Ardinneucht* 1536 RMS iii no.1560

*Ardynneuth* 1539 RMS iii no. 1895

*Ardinneuth* 1539 RMS iii no. 1978

*Ardneif* 1542 RMS iii no. 2825

*Arneif* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Arneif* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 880

*Arnive* c.1750 *Roy* 70

*Arnive* 1783 Stobie

*Arnieve* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

ScG *àird + an + neimhidh?*

*Àird an Neimhidh* 'height of the *nemeton*; church-land'. The earliest forms indicate a generic of G *àird* 'height' along with the genitive definite article *an*. It had become *Arneif* by 1582, and through the loss of *d* before *n* this has come to look like an *Arn*-name, ScG *earrann* 'portion, division'. The specific could be a word related to Gaulish *nemeton* 'sacred grove, sanctuary',

and so it may be ‘the height or portion of the *nemeton*’. This element is behind such names as Rosneath, across the water from Helensburgh, and Navtie in Fife. Watson and Barrow think a *nemeton* is ultimately a pagan term (Watson 1926, 244; Barrow 1998, 56, 58-9), but at some point developed into Gaelic as *neimhidh*, ‘churchlands; chapel’ from OIr *nemed* ‘sacred; noble or sacred place’ (Taylor, PNF i, 151). It may be, therefore, that Arnieve was part of the lands of Inchmahome or even Kincardine parish church. It is part of ‘terras et baroniam de *Kingcardin*’ in 1536, and is still described as such in 1675.

There may be some objection in seeing *àird* in a landscape which is seemingly completely flat, but may originally have been a rise in the peat that was here before the Improvements of the 18-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries. The impression of height seems to be confirmed by looking at the aerial views on Google Earth where the Burnbank Burn makes a fairly deep indent into the soil as it meanders to meet the River Forth 300m NW of Arnieve. Compare Hill of Drip near the meeting of the Rivers Teith and Forth; it stands at 14m, just 6m in height above the old Bridge of Drip 250m to the east. In any case, we need not think of *àird* as meaning a great or significant height in this particular landscape: *àird* (or its m. equivalent *àrd*) can mean promontory or headland, and the raised ground may have given the perception of such a feature in the flat landscape. A recent survey of the moss has highlighted the occurrence of ‘raised mosses’, which can have ‘surprisingly steep slopes’ and ‘are raised into mounds through retaining water delivered by rainfall’ (Harrison and Tipping 2007, 465). This may be what had happened at Arnieve. See p. 116-119 for discussion of *earrann*.

/ar'niv/

BAAD KRD S NS763945 1 10m

*Bad* 1423 Fraser, Menteith ii, 291

le *Bad* 1472 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 116 [sasine of *Drippis*, le *Bad*,  
*Cambusdrany*, and *Westwood* to Malcolm Fleming]

*Bad* 1474 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 127)

*Bad* 1536 *RMS* iii no.1560

*Bad* 1582 *RMS* v no. 439

*Bad* 1589 *RMS* v no. 1616

*Bad* 1596 *RMS* vi, no. 402

*Bad* 1612 *Retours PER* no. 1094

*Bade* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78

*Bad* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 880

*Bade* c.1685 Adair

*Baad* Ferry c.1750 Roy 75

*Baad* 1754 RHP24481 [*The Four Farms of the Baad*]

*Baad* 1783 Stobie

*Baad* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

ScG *bad* or Sc *bad*

*Am Bad* ‘spot, cluster, thicket’. Loaned into ScG from Pictish. MacBain states that it is ‘probably a Pictish word’. Watson thought it was ‘simply British *bod* ‘residence’ retained in the specialized sense of ‘place,’ ‘spot’ (Watson 1926, 424). Taylor disagrees with Watson’s suggestion that it is cognate with W *bod* ‘residence’, but agrees that it meant ‘spot, cluster, tuft’ (see Taylor, *PNF* i, 229, where he discusses Bads, Culross FIF, and also Taylor, forthcoming, where he discusses Bad under P-Celtic loan-words attested as common nouns in Scottish Gaelic).

*Bad* was also borrowed from ScG into Scots (*DSL*). The possibility that this could be a Scots coining here this may be supported by use of the definite article in the second oldest form,

although that is not necessarily evidence for the original language of coining. A second point against Baad KRD being Scots is that Sc *bad* seems to appear very late; the earliest attestation in *DSL* is 1754, 331 years after Baad KRD appears on record. See also Baad Spring PMH.

/ðə ba:d/

BANKHEAD KRD S NS714911 1 37m

*Bankhead* 1783 Stobie

*Bankhead* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *bank + heid*

Bankhead sits near the top of the bank rising from the carse.

BLACKDUB KRD S NS759965 1 10m

*Blackdubb* 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156v

*Blackitt* c.1750 Roy 75

*Blackdub* 1754 RHP24481 [*Wester and Easter Blackdub*]

*Blackdub* 1783 Stobie

*Blackdub* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *black + Sc dub*

'Black stagnant pool'. *DOST* has *dub* as meaning 'a small and stagnant pool of water'. The earliest reference is to 1496. Another *Blackdub* can be seen on the southern edge of Bridge of Allan LOI, STL on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map.

BLAIR DRUMMOND KRD S NS732989 1 32m

*Blair Drummond* 1724 *Geog.Coll.* i, 339

*Blairdrummond* 1745/6 Edgar

*Blair* c.1750 Roy 75

*Blairdrummond House* 1754 RHP24481

*Blairdrummond* 1783 Stobie

*Blair Drummond* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Transferred name *Blair + pn Drummond*

This a transferred name. The Drummonds' main seat was at Drummond Castle near Muthill, and they held the barony of Kincardine until 1683 when it was sold by the earl of Perth to a kinsman, George Drummond of Blair in Blairgowrie. He may have called it Blair Drummond to distinguish it from Drummond Castle 22km to the north. The name Drummond derives ultimately from Drymen STL, from where the Drummonds appear to have had their original base. They first come on record in 1225 when Malcolm Beg appears as a steward to the Earl of Lennox (*Scots Peerage* vii, 28), and gain the barony of Kincardine in 1364 through the marriage of John de Drummond to Marie de Montefixo. The surname does not appear until 1271 when Malcolm Drummond appears as a witness at an inquest of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 218, *SP* vii, 30). The Drummonds had close connections with Menteith and a Drummond, probably John Drummond who obtained a papal dispensation to marry Margaret, Countess of Menteith in 1360, is commemorated on a grave slab found at Inchmahome Priory (Steer and Bannerman 1977, 161).

BOQUHAPPLE KRD S NS656001 1 28m

*Bucopill* 1317 x 1322 NAS GD198/48

*Buchchoppill* 1330 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 227 [Charter of Murdach, earl of Menteith to Gilbert of Drummond of the western half of Boquhapple, ‘...totam occidentalem dimidietatem ville de *Buchchoppill*, propinquius terre de *Busby* adiacentem, infra comitatum nostrum de Meneteth...’ (note *Busby* should be *Rusky*, c.f. next early form)]

ville de *Buchchopill* 1431 RMS ii no. 187 [totam occidentalem dimedietatem ville de *Buchchopill* propinquius terre de *Rusky* adjacentem; infra comitatum de Menteth]

*Bochquhopill* 1451 ER v, 475

*Buchquhopill* 1476 RMS ii no. 1274 [terræ de *Buchquhoppill* superiore et inferiore]

*Buchquhoppill* 1478 ER viii, 531<sup>193</sup>

*Buthquhopil* 1482 *Stirling Protocol Bk (Scot. Antiquary* xi, 31)

*Buchquhoppill* 1524 RMS iii no. 286

*Balquhopill* 1525 RMS iii no. 312

*Buchquhopill* 1529 RMS iii no. 763

*Buchquhopill* 1532 RMS iii no. 1195

*Boquhopill* 1536 RMS iii no. 1548

*Buchquhopill* 1539 RMS iii no. 1899

*Bochquhoppillis* 1542 RMS iii no. 2851

*Buchquhopill* 1548 RMS iv no. 214

*Balfouris-Bochquhoppill* 1550 RMS iv no. 432 [quartam partem terrarum suarum de *Balfouris-Bochquhoppill* alias *Rattounraw* nuncupat.]

*Balfouris-Bochquhoppill* 1554 RMS iv no. 956

*Boquhoppil* 1559 RMS iv no. 1343

*Kingisboquhoppill* 1572 RSS vi, no. 1836

*Buchquhoppill* 1576 RMS iv no. 2508

<sup>193</sup> The entry reads ‘Et de iij li de firmis prime partis de *Buchquhoppill*. Et de v li secunde partis ejusdem. Et de iiij li s tercie partis ejusdem. Et xxxiiij s iij d quarte partis dicte terre. Et de xxxiiij s iij d quinte partis ejusdem.’

*Boquhoppill* 1583 RMS v no. 627

*Buchable* late 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156v

*Balvhoppell* 1613 RMS vii no. 901

*Boquhople* 1614 RMS vii no. 1023

*Bolquhople* 1630 RMS viii no. 1624

*Balquhopple* 1633 RMS viii no. 2266

*Bowhapple* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78 [Rottinraw of Bowhapple...Wester Bowhapple...Easter Bowapple]

*Balwapel* c.1685 Adair

*Wester Bowhapple* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 339 [Wester and Easter Bowhapple]

*Balwhaple* 1745/6 Edgar

*Balquaple* c.1750 Roy 70

*Bowhapple* 1783 Stobie

*Boquhapple* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

ScG *both + capall* (earlier *capull*)

*Both Chapail* ‘horse/mare sheiling’. The grapheme *quh* in the early forms indicates lenition of the initial *c* of *capall*. Boquhapple may have been an important horse-rearing area in the earlier Middle Ages. It is notable that Wards of Goodie, c.1 km SW, was used as waste for the king’s horses during hunting trips (*ER* viii, 70; Gilbert 1979, 125), so we may be looking at a similar situation here. On the OS 1:25,000 Explorer map there are marked Mains of Boquhapple (NN661000), Boquhapple House (NN658001), Middleton of Boquhapple (NN655002), Chapel of Boquhapple (NN655005), Brae of Boquhapple KMA (NN657018), and Moss-side of Boquhapple (NS658986). The latter two places are 3km apart, suggesting Boquhapple was a reasonably extensive estate. On the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map a settlement called *Boquhapple* (i.e. without any qualifiers) is shown, but this is now Mollan (NN651004). The –

*quhapple* element has been interpreted as ‘chapel’, perhaps of Inchmahome (Hutchison 1899, 141 – where he has ‘House of the Chapel’), but this seems unlikely and ScG *capall* is to be preferred, (although, note in CLD there are two places associated with St Bride’s Chaple: *Creag a’ chaibeil* and *Àth a’ chaibeil*, or ‘rock’ and ‘ford of the chapel’ respectively). This is not to deny that there may have been a chapel at Boquhapple, as indicated by the modern name Chapel of Boquhapple (NN655005 on the 1:25,000 OS Explorer), but the name does not appear on the rental of Inchmahome in 1646 (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368), and there is no other medieval text that mentions a chapel here.

The entry for 1330 has the place-name *Busby*: this is an error; the 1431 entry, which is basically a duplicate of the 1330 charter shows the correct form, *Rusky*, which makes more sense since Rusky PMH is only 3km west of Boquhapple. As can be seen from the above, there is a complex tenurial situation regarding the lands of Boquhapple. Regarding the entry for 1550, *Balfouris-Bochquhoppill alias Rattounraw* (Sc *rotten row* ‘rat-infested row [of houses]’), Stobie appears to show *Rottenrow* at what is now Mains of Boquhapple. The *Exchequer Rolls* show Andrew de Balfour and Michael de Balfoure having rights to the rents of some properties in the immediate vicinity in 1451 and 1453 respectively (*ER* v, 477, 596).

/bo'hwapl/

BORELAND HILL KRD R NS724994 55m

*Borland* 1189 x 1198 *RRS* ii no. 372 [*Camb. Reg.* no. 127 (16<sup>th</sup> C copy)]

*Bordland* 1536 *RMS* iii no. 1560

*Bordland* 1539 *RMS* iii no. 1895

*Bordland* 1554 *RMS* iv no. 901 [*Bordland cum lie ward*]

*Bordland* 1582 *RMS* v no. 439

*Boirland* 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156v

*Boirlands* 1649 Perth Rentall, 79

*Borland* c.1685 Adair

*Boreland* 1754 RHP24481

*Boreland Hill* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *bordland*

‘Mensal land, table land’.

See p. 39 and 100 for a discussion of this name.

BRIARLANDS KRD S NS742983 1 13m

*Brierland* 1754 RHP24481 [*Wester and Easter Brierland*]

*Brierylands* 1783 Stobie

*Easter Brierlands* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

*Wester Brierlands* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

*Brierlands* 1926 1 inch popular edn OS map, sheet 67

Sc *brier + land*

‘Lands of the thorny wild plant’. Stobie shows an adjectival form.

BURNSIDE KRD S NS730978 1 12m

I have not been able to find this place-name on any map before the 1:50,000, and even then it is not on the first edition of this series published in 1976. There is an un-named building shown in the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII.

The eponymous burn seems to be called the Ross Burn, judging by the lane called Rossburn Lane marked on 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map. This may be the burn that flows from Loch Watston KMA, called Burn of Muck on RHP24481 in 1754.

CAMBUSDRENNY KRD S NS752944 1 10m

*Cambusdreny* 1423 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 291

*Cambusdrany* 1472 *Stirling Protocol Bk (Scot. Antiquary* x, 116 [sasine of *Drippis*, le *Bad*,  
*Cambusdrany*, and *Westwood* to Malcolm Fleming]

*Cammysdrany* 1474 *Stirling Protocol Bk (Scot. Antiquary* x, 127)

*Cambusdrany* 1474 *Stirling Protocol Bk (Scot. Antiquary* x, 128)

*Cammisdranie* 1479 *Stirling Chrs and Docs*, p.204

*Cammysdrynye* 1536 RMS iii no. 1560

*Cammysdryne* 1539 RMS iii no.1895

*Cummysdrynye* 1542 RMS iii no.2825

*Cambusdrynnyn* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Cambusdranie* 1589 RMS v no. 1616

*Cambusdrani* 1596 RMS vi no. 402

*Cambusdranie* 1612 *Retours PER* no. 1094

*Cambusdrennie* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78

*Cambusdrany* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708

*Cambusdrainy* c.1685 Adair

*Cambusdrany* 1745/6 Edgar

*Camsdrainy* 1754 RHP24481

*Camisdrenie* c.1750 Roy 75

*Cambusdrennie* 1783 Stobie

*Cambusdrenny* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

ScG *camas* + *draighneach*

*Camas Draighnigh* ‘bend of the blackthorn thicket’ Stobie shows *E.*, *M.*, and *W. Cambusdrennie*; while West and East Cambusdrennie survive today on the 1:25,000 OS Explorer. Note that the name is Cambusdrenny on the 1:50,000 OS Landranger, suggesting inconsistency within the Ordnance Survey (c.f. Brackland CLD above). On the 1754 estate plan the surveyor, William Winter, shows a sheiling (*sheil*) on the very edge of the unclaimed moss c.300m north of the modern settlement of East Cambusdrennie, near the modern unclassified road called Chalmerston Road. See Cambus (1) KMA for *camas* element.

Watson has Drynie in the Black Isle as *Draighnigh*, a locative of *draighneach*, and Bardrainney, Renfrewshire, as *barr draighnigh* ‘top of blackthorn thicket’ (Watson 1926, 200).

An alternative analysis may be ScG *camas* + en \*Drenny. The final -y may be a reduction of ScG locational ending *-in*, although this is rare in Menteith (see Leny CLD for discussion of this ending).

/cambʌs'drenɪ/

CARRAT KRD S NS748970 1 10m

*Carrot* 1754 RHP24481

*Carrat* 1783 Stobie

*Carrat* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

It has not been possible to ascertain what this name means nor even what language it was coined in.

CHALMERSTON KRD S NS731952 1 10m

*Chalmeristoun* 1542 RMS iii no.2825 [lie *Offeris* earundem alias *Chalmeristoun* nuncupatis]

*Chalmerstoun* 1582 RMS v no. 439 [lie *Offeris* earundem alias *Chalmerstoun* nuncupatis]

*Chalmerstoun* 1612 *Retours* PER no. 1094 [lie *offeris* earundem alias *Chalmerstoun* nuncupatas]

*Chalmerstone* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78

*Chalmerstoun* 1662 *Retours* PER no. 708 [lie *Offerris* earundem alias *Chalmerstoun* nuncupatas]

*Chalmerstoun* 1675 *Retours* PER no. 880 [*Offeris* earundem alias *Chalmerstoun* vocatis]

*Chamberstoun* c.1685 Adair

*Chamberstown* c.1750 Roy

*Chalmerston* 1754 RHP24481

*Chamberstown* 1783 Stobie

*Chalmerston* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Pn Chambers/Chalmers + Sc *toun*

Chalmers ultimately derives from Old French *de la chamber*, of the chamber, i.e. a chamber attendant, possibly of a noble or the treasury. The medial *b* of chamber was lost in Scots through elision; the medial *l* of chalmer was used to indicate the length of the preceding vowel (Black 1946, 145). Who the original Chalmers/Chambers was is not known, but a possibility is James Chauymers, clerk at the king's chapel (clerico capelle domini Regis) mentioned in 1454 regarding the *Exchequer Rolls* for Menteith (ER v, 674). Chalmerston was originally called the 'Offers of Ochtertyre'; see p. 161-163 for more details of the element *offers/offerance*.

COLDOCH KRD, KMA S NS699982 1 22m

*Codlaugh* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Codelaucht* 1453 *ER* v 596

*Codloch Westir* 1486 *ER* ix, 624

*Codloch Estir* 1486 *ER* ix, 624

*Coldoch Westir* 1488 *ER* x 635

*Coldoch Estir* 1488 *ER* x 635

*Coldoch* 1489 *RMS* ii no. 1820 [una parte terraum de *Coldoch* nuncupata *Watte-Smethistoun*]

*Colacht* 1493 *RMS* ii no. 2159 [terrás do *Colacht*, et *Auchillavy*, in senesc. de Menteith; ac etiam terras de *Costen*, et *Dargraw*, in baronia de *Kincardin*]

*Coldoch Westir* 1499 *ER* xi, 414

*Coldoch Estir* 1499 *ER* xi , 414

*Coidloch* 1525 *RMS* iii, no. 312

*Collocht* 1503 *RMS* ii no. 2707 [terrás de *Collocht*, *Cowstre*, *Dargraw*, et *Auchlawy*, in baronia de *Kincardin*, senesc. Menteith]

*Coldoch-Westir* 1508 *RMS* ii no. 3193 [5 mercatas de *Coldoch-Westir* per. And. Smythe occupatas]

*Coldoch Vestir* 1509 *RMS* ii no. 3350 [5 mercatas de *Coldoch Vestir* per. And. Smyth occupabat]

*Coldoch Ester* 1513 *RMS* ii no. 3876

*Coldoch* 1536 *RMS* iii no.1544

*Coldochis* 1536 *RMS* iii no.1560

*Culdochis* 1539 *RMS* iii no.1895

*Culdowchis* 1539 *RMS* iii no.1978

*Coldoch* 1542 *RMS* iii no.2653

*Coldoch*, W.1542 RMS iii no.2779

*Culdochis* 1542 RMS iii no.2825

*Coldoch-Ester* 1542 RMS iii no.2851

*Coldochis* 1567 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 403

*Coldoch-Eister* 1575 RMS iv no. 2426 [terras suas *Coldoch-Eister* alias *Spitteltoun* nuncupatas]

*Coldoch* late 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156v

*Coldoch-Wester* 1608 RMS vi no. 2042 [*Coldoch-Wester* alias *Craigheid*]

*Coldochis* 1613 RMS vii no. 930

*Coldoch* 1615 RMS vii no. 1296 [(Confirmation charter of Paul Dog 'de Dunrobene' of) terras de *Coldoche-Eister* alias *Nather Coldoch*...terras de *Over* alias *Middill Coldoch*]

*Coldoche* 1632 RMS viii no. 1902 [terras de *Coldoches-Eister* alias *Nathir Coldoche*, terras de *Ovir* alias *Midle Coldoche* aliter *Aschintrie*, cum turre, terras de *Dunrobene* jacen<tibus> infra terras de *Coldoche*]

*Coldoch* 1649 Perth Rentall, 82 [*Easter Coldoch*]

*Coldoch* c.1685 Adair

*Coldoch* 1745/6 Edgar

*Coldoth* c.1750 Roy 75

*Coldoch* 1783 Stobie

*Coldoch* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

*Coldoch* was originally a large estate containing not just *Coldoch* as it is today, but also the modern East *Coldoch* and South *Coldoch*. Note, however, East *Coldoch* is not the same place as *Coldoch-Eister* mentioned above; the latter place is now Spittalton KMA. Similarly, *Coldoch-Wester* is now Craighead. Furthermore, there is a place which was called variously *Conulathe*, *Cowlauch*, *Collocht*, etc., from c.1317 to 1617 (see *Coulattis* KMA above), and is now Sauchans

and Watson in KMA. The *Exchequer Roll* forms change from *Codlaugh* to *Colloch* and *Collach* and then back to *Coldoch* and *Coldoch* between 1451 and 1488. What is important here are the names of the people who stayed in or owned these places. In *ER* ix – xii we see the same people turning up. In 1480 there resides in *Collach* Alexander Muschet, Walter Smyth, Andrew Smyth, James Redheuch, Patrick Dog, and Elizabeth Nory, among others. In 1486 it becomes *Coldoch* and only Alexander Muschet is not mentioned. The others are mentioned up to at least 1502.

What may have happened is that the estate of *Cowlauch/Coldoch* has been split and the southern portion became *Coldoch* to differentiate it from its northern neighbour, perhaps similar to the situation regarding Alva/Alloa in Clackmannanshire (see also comments to Collessie FIF (Taylor, *PNF* iv, forthcoming)). See Watson (1926, 378, 420, 482) for *collach* ‘hazel wood’, but it may be likely that forms beginning *cod(e)l-* are closer to the namers’ original intention than forms beginning *cold-*, and so the *-doch* element is unlikely to be ScG *dabhach*, which is often anglicised as *doch* or *do*. There are a number of names for different parts of Coldoch, all of which can be seen in the list above, but they include Spittalton, Craighead, Ashentree, and *Dunrobene*. Only the last of these is no longer extant. See also Coulattis and Galdcollochyes KMA.

There is a broch at NS696981, which sits on the top edge of the slope that rises above the carse. See RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NS69NE 6 and Graham (1951, 12-14).

/kɔl'dɔx/

COUNTRY KRD S NS728996 1 46m

*Cowstry* 1536 RMS iii no. 1560

*Coustry* 1539 RMS iii no. 1895

*Cowstry* 1539 RMS iii no. 1978

*Custre* 1542 RMS iii no. 2825

*Custri* 1554 RMS iii no 901

*Custre* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Cowstri* 1595 *Retours PER* no. 1072

*Cowisky* late 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156v

*Custrie* 1612 *Retours PER* no. 1094

*Custrie* 1613 RMS vii no. 930

*Castrie* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 80

*Custrie* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708

*Custrie* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 880

*Cowstri* c.1750 Roy 75

Brit. ? + \*trev

'? settlement, farm'. The first element could be a word similar to W. *caws* 'cheese'. According to John Lesley in his *Historie of Scotland*, published in 1578, Menteith was famous for its cheese: 'westwarde [of Stirling] lyes monteith, nobilitat and mekle commendat through the name of sik cheise as nane fyner' [westward lies Menteith, renowned and much commended through the name of such cheese as none finer] (Cody 1888, vol. 1 28-9). However, if the *cous-* element is W. *caws*, then this is the only 'cheese' name to be found in Menteith. Couston has survived in South Hill of Couston and in Valley of Cousty (sic), the latter being a disused gravel pit and was called Valley of Couston on the 2<sup>nd</sup> edn OS six inch map. The tounship of Couston, shown as *Cowstrie* on Roy, had disappeared by the time Stobie surveyed the area in 1783. A large part of the area from Blair Drummond to the bridge at Doune, and bounded by the River Teith and the modern A84 road, was given over to policies for the Blair Drummond estate, so it is possible this area was 'cleared' soon after Roy surveyed the area c.1750.

/'kustri/ or /ðə 'kustri/

COWDEN KRD S NS767948 1 10m

*Cowden* 1754 RHP24481

*Cowden* 1783 Stobie

*Cowden* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Lack of earlier forms means we cannot be sure in which language this place-name was originally coined. Taylor (2006, 302) offers three possibilities: ‘one is that it is from G *calltann* ‘hazel’; another from Sc *coo* + Sc *den* ‘cow den(s) or steep valley(s)’; a third from Sc *cow* ‘shrub, bush, especially of heather, broom or whin (gorse)’ (*SND*) + Sc *den*, in the sense ‘heathery, broomy or whinny den’, the first and third possibilities would be consistent with the other shrub- or tree-like names such as Baad and Brierlands.

CRAIGHEAD KRD, KMA S NS689980 1 15m

*Craighead* 1608 RMS vi no. 2042 [*Coldoch-Wester* alias *Craigheid*]

*Craighead* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 80

*Craighead* 1685 Adair

*Craighead* c.1750 Roy

*Craighead* 1783 Stobie

*Craighead* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *craig* + *heid*

It is difficult to be certain what the ‘craig’ in question here is. It could be the cairn shown at NS691982 or perhaps the broch at Coldoch c.600 to the east. However, Crawford (1949, 21), when writing of the route north from Frew, notes the ‘cliff at Coldoch’, which must be the significant and sudden rise of the ground from the carse. This part of the lands of Coldoch was called *Coldoch-Wester; Coldoch-Easter* (not the same as East Coldoch) became Spittalton by at least 1575 (*RMS* iv no. 2426). See discussion under Coldoch KRD.

CUTHIL BRAE KRD S NS725991 1 32m

*Cuthell* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78

*Cuthill* 1783 Stobie

Sc *couthal + hill + brae*

‘Hill of the local, open air court’. *Couthal* is borrowed from ScG *comhdhail* ‘assembly, meeting’ (Barrow 1992, 220; see also O’Grady (2008 125-134) and p.96-97 above for disussion of *comhdhail*). There is a large mound towards the top of Cuthil Brae, marked as a cairn at NGR given above. This is 400m north of the castle/motte and church site of Kincardine and 400m SE of Boreland Hill, which suggests that it is a court hill rather than Sc *cuthill* ‘grove, small wood’. See RCAHMS Canmore NS79NW 2.

DAIRA KRD R NN724008 1 43m

*Dargraw* 1488 *RMS* ii no. 1596

*Dargraw* 1493 *RMS* ii no. 2159

*Dargraw* 1503 *RMS* ii no. 2707

*Dargraw* 1539 *RMS* iii no. 1895

*Dargrow* 1539 *RMS* iii no. 1978

*Dargraw* 1542 *RMS* iii no. 2825

*Dargra* 1554 RMS iv no. 901

*Dargraw* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Dalgray* 1595 *Retours PER* no. 1072 [terriss de *Cowstrie* et *Dalgray* in *Kinkaryne* in *Menteith*,  
in baronia de *Kinkaryne*]

*Derrara* late 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156v

*Dargra* 1612 *Retours PER* no. 1095

*Darre* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 80

*Dargrolie* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708

*Dargralie* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 880

*Dalgrey* c.1685 Adair

*Daroch* c.1750 Roy 75

*Dairay* 1783 Stobie

*Daira* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

The first element could be Sc *darg* ‘an extent (of meadow) which can be mowed in a day’. The earliest forms point to the second element being Sc *raw* ‘row of houses’ (c.f Balgray FIF, which is from *bagraw* (Taylor, *PNF* ii, 218)).

/'d̪era/

DRIP KRD S NS769946 1 7m

*Dripps* 1423 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 291

*Dripps* 1472 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 127) [sasine of *Drippis*, le *Bad*,  
*Cambusdrany*, and *Westwood* to Malcolm Fleming]

*Dryppis* 1474 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 127)

the Foorde of *Tirps* mid 15<sup>th</sup> C Brown 1891, 18<sup>194</sup>

*Druppis* 1526 RMS iii no.409

*Druppis* 1536 RMS iii no.1560

*Druppis* 1539 RMS iii no.1895

*Druppis* 1542 RMS iii no.2825

*Druppis* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Drippis* 1589 RMS v no. 1616

*Druyip-foord* late-16<sup>th</sup> C. NLS Pont texts 156v

*Drippis* 1596 RMS vi no. 402

*Drippis* 1612 *Retours PER* no. 1094

*Droip* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78

*Drippis* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708

*Drips* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 880

*Drip Ferry* c.1750 Roy 75

*Drip* 1745/6 Edgar

*Drip* 1783 Stobie

*Drip* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *threip* from OE *préapian*

'Debateable land; disputed land'. This settlement is on the edge of the earldom of Menteith as it meets several territorial boundaries: the shire or soke of Stirling and earldom of Menteith; the parishes of Kincardine and St Ninians; the dioceses of Dunblane and St Andrews. See p. 64-65 for a short discussion of this name as an indicator of Scots penetrating in Menteith at

<sup>194</sup> This is from part of a chronicle in metre by John Hardynge, an English chronicler, a contemporary of Henry V and Henry VI. He seems to have visited Scotland in the reign of James I (1406-37) ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Hardyng](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Hardyng)). The relevant part of his chronicle has: 'From *Sterlyng* then over the river of Foorth/ Pass alongest the bridge to *Camskinelle*,/ and if it be broken toward the North,/ Unto the Foorde of *Tirps* under the fell/ Then spedē you westward, thre miles as men tell/ Wher ye may passe to the down of *Menteth*/ Which passeth from y<sup>r</sup> Foorth thre miles unneth' (Brown 1891).

an early date. See also Barrow (1998, 68, 71) and (2003, 317-8) for a short discussions of Dripp LAN and *threep*.

This was one of the main routes from Stirling to the north and west. Watson (1926, 349) states that Frew was the first place where the Forth was fordable, but as can be seen from the Hardying reference, there seems to have been a ford at Drip in the early 15<sup>th</sup> C. By 1724 a 'ferry boat' had replaced the ford (*Geog. Coll.* i, 339). The bridge of Drip was built between 1745 and 1770.

DRIPTEND KRD S NS753962 1 10m

*Dripend* 1903 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map, sheet 39

En *Drip* + Sc *end*

This place is marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, but is not named.

EAST COLDOCH KRD, KMA S NS704984 1 17m

*E. Coldoch* 1783 Stobie

*East Coldoch* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *easter* + en *Coldoch*

Note that this is not *Coldoch-Eister* mentioned in some charters. East Coldoch seems to be an even later subdivision; *Coldoch-Eister* is the earlier name of Spittalton KMA (*RMS* iv no. 2426).

EAST FREW KRD, KMA S NS689971 1 12m

*Easter Frew* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map sheet CXXXI

*East Frew* 1957 1 inch seventh series OS map, sheet 54

This is one of two places marked as *Easter Frew* on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map in 1863, and appears to have been named East Frew to distinguish between the two places which are only c.500m apart. See Easter Frew below.

EAST MOSS-SIDE KRD S NS654992 1 13m

*Mosside* c.1750 Roy 70

*Mosside* 1783 Stobie

*East Moss-side* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *east + en Moss-side*

EASTER FREW KRD, KMA S NS696969 1 11m

*Estir-Frew* 1528 RMS iii no. 612

*Er Frew* c.1750 Roy 70

*Easter Frew* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *easter + en Frew*

EASTER ROSS KRD S NS726959 1 10m

*Ross* 1783 Stobie

*Easter Ross* 1904 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map, sheet 39

Sc *easter + en Ross*

There is no mention on any map of Ross between 1783 and 1904. Easter Ross implies there had been a Wester Ross at some stage, but there is no sub-division shown on Stobie, and the OS shows no settlement until 1904. Ross is on record from at least 1536 (see below).

FREW KRD, KMA S NS668961 1 8m

*Frew 1451 ER v, 475*

*Frewe 1478 ER viii, 530*

*Frew 1488 ER x, 635*

*Frew 1499 ER xi, 414 [Le Frew... in manibus Archibaldi Edmonston pro custodia castri de Doune']*

*Frew 1502 ER xii, 631*

*Frew 1528 RMS iii no. 612 [Estir-Frew and Middill-Frew]*

*Frewis 1532 RMS iii no. 1123*

*Frewis 1542 RMS iii no. 2851*

*Frewis 1561 RMS iv no. 1392*

*Frewis 1564 RMS iv no. 1513*

*Frewis 1581 RMS v no. 280*

*Frewis 1588 RMS v no. 1429 [Eister et Vester Frewis]*

*Frew late 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156r ['Upon the northsyd of Forth ovir the coble is Wester Frew, a myl benorth it is Easter-Frew']*

*Frewis 1611 RMS vii no. 465 [Eister et Westir Frewis]*

*Frewis 1615 RMS vii no. 1296 [omnibus Frewis cum warda de Gwdye]*

*Frewis 1628 RMS viii no. 1239 [Eister et Westir Frewis]*

*Frewis 1628 RMS viii no. 1243 [Eister, Midill et Westir Frewis]*

*Frewes 1643 RMS ix no. 1400 [terrarum de Coldoches et Frewes cum warda de Guyde]*

*Frew c.1685 Adair*

*Frew 1745/6 Edgar*

*Ford of Frew c.1750 Roy 70*

According to Watson, the Gaelic for Frews is *Na Friùthachan* and seems to be related to W *frwd* ‘current’ (Watson 1926, 348-9). Frew has the Sc plural *-is* ending by at least 1532, and the *Eister* and *Middill* Frew of 1528 implies there was a Wester Frew by this date. The fords of Frew are situated near where the Boquhan Burn meets the River Forth and so would presumably be a place where the alluvium or silt from the burn would build up, hence a place where we would expect to find a current and a ford. This is confirmed by the aerial view on Google Earth, which shows the Forth has narrowed here due to the build up of silt.

However, the lack of a dental stop has placed doubts as to whether W *ffrwd* is the word behind this place. Alternatives might include W *ffrau* ‘stream, flow, flood’ attested in the 12<sup>th</sup> C, or W *ffraw* ‘swift, lively, brisk’ also attested in the 12<sup>th</sup> C (*GPC*; Guto Rhys pers. comm.). Frew might not relate to the actual ford itself, but may instead be an earlier name for the Boquhan Burn, the largest burn to flow down from the Gargunnock Hills, which meets the River Forth at or very near the old ford of Frew, and just 100 m downstream from the Bridge of Frew.

The Fords of Frew were one of the main crossing points from north to south across this part of Menteith. The strategic crossing point was the best known west of Stirling. Indeed, it has been said that they were known in early Medieval times as one of the ‘seven wonders of Scotland’ (Watson 1926, 350; Crawford 1949, 20); which may refer to the construction built by Cinaed mac Alpín noted in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* ‘And Kenneth walled the banks of the fords of *Forthin*’ (*ES* i, 512). *Forthin* could be an early form for Frew; OI *foirthiu* can mean ‘fords’ (DIL). However, it may be that *Forthin* is an early form for the River Forth (Taylor *PNF* i, 39, 41-2).

Harrison and Tipping (2007, 464) are of the opinion that the ‘Auchmore’ (*Àth mhòr* or ‘great ford’) mentioned in Bower’s *Scottichronicon* (Book II, chapter 10) signifies Frew, whereas Barrow believes it to be the ford at Cardross (Barrow 1992, 213). It is likely that Barrow is correct, for the ford at Frew would have been famous in Menteith, and Bower’s

informant, probably a monk from Inchmahome, would presumably have mentioned Frew had it been that ford he meant.

/fru/

GARTOCH # KRD S NS715997 2 45m

*Garthow* 1189 x 96 RRS ii no. 372 [16<sup>th</sup> C copy]

*Gartoch* 1754 RHP24481

*Gartoch* 1783 Stobie

ScG *gart* + *-ach*?

*Gartach* ‘enclosed settlement or field place?’ This is one of a large number of *gart*-names stretching from the east borders of Clackmannanshire to the River Leven and River Clyde in the west, and is one of a small cluster in this part of Menteith, the others being Gartincaber KMA and \*Gartocharn KMA. (See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*).

GOODIEBANK KRD, KMA S NS668979 1 12m

*Goodiebank* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

En Goodie + Sc *bank*

‘Settlement on the banks of Goodie Water’. See Wards of Goodie PMH for early forms of Goodie. The Goodie Water flows eastwards out of Lake of Menteith and meets the River Forth at NS702970, c.0.5 km NW of Arnieve KRD. The river has been canalised for much of its upper course, and is shown as such on Stobie’s map of 1783. However, Roy (c.1750) shows it as a meandering river over the whole of its course. Although now merely a burn, it seems to have

been more substantial with a body of standing water along its length; in 1507 there is mention of 'stagn<um> de Gudy (*RMS* ii no 566), and in 1685 this body of water was known as the 'Laik de Guddie' (*Retours PER* no. 940). The 'laik' seems to have been near Calziemuck PMH; a charter of 1509 states 'tertiam partem de *Keilzemuk*, cum piscaria earundem in stagno de *Gudy* [the third part of Calziemuck, with the fishings of the same in the lake of Goodie]' (*RMS* ii, no. 3347). In 1583, the Master of Works at Stirling Castle could state that Stirling Castle has 'the maist plesand sitwatione off ony of his hienes palayes be ressone it will have the maist plesand sycht of all the four airthis, in speciall perk and gairdin, deir thairin, up the rawerais of *Forthe*, *Teyth*, *Allone*, and *Gwddy* to *Lochlomwund*' (*AMW* i, 310).

The name Goodie may derive from ScG *gaoth* (f. and m.) 'inlet, tidal stream; bog'. Kingoodie, Longforgan PER (*Chingothe* 1153x56 *RRS* i no.123), is possibly from ScG *ceann* + Sc G *gaoth* 'head or end of the inlet'. The element is found as *gaoth* (m.) in modern Irish, OG. *gáeth* (m. & f.) 'sea, stream, estuary; shallow stream into which tide flows and which is fordable at low water' (*DIL*). However, note that W.J. Watson said Goodie in Menteith derived from W. *gwd* 'a twist, turn', *gwden* 'coil, noose', which relates to the 'many small bends' in the river (1926, 444).

HILL OF DRIP KRD S NS766955 1 15m

*Hill of Drip* 1754 RHP24481

*Hill of Drip* 1783 Stobie

*Hill of Drip* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *hill* + *of* + en Drip

At 14m Hill of Drip sits on a rise above the surrounding flat farmland. The settlement is only c.300m from the old bridge and may be on the site of the original settlement overlooking the bridge on the higher dry ground.

KINCARDINE KRD PES NS719988 1 22m

*Kincardin* 1189 x 1198 *RRS* ii no. 334 [*Kincardin* iuxta *Strievelin*]

*Kincardin* 1189 x 1195 *RRS* ii no. 372<sup>195</sup>

*Kincardin* 1189 x 1198 *Camb. Reg.* no. 122<sup>196</sup>

ecclesia de *Kyncardyn* 1193 x 1195 *RRS* ii no. 371

*Kincardin* 1207 *Camb. Reg.* no. 26

*Kyncardyn* c.1220 *Camb. Reg.* no. 123

*Kincardin* 1239 *Camb. Reg.* no. 126

*Kyncardyne* 1408 *RMS* i no. 899 [*Kyncardyne* infra vicecomitatum de *Strivelynge*]

*Kyncardyn* 1424 *RMS* ii no. 4 [baronia de *Kyncardyn*, vic. *Perth*]

*Kincardin* 1448 *RMS* ii no. 291

*Kincardin* 1484 *RMS* ii no. 1596

*Kincardin* 1503 *RMS* ii no. 2707

*Kingcardin* 1536 *RMS* iii no. 1560

*Kincardin* 1539 *RMS* iii no. 1895

*Kincardin* 1542 *RMS* iii no. 2825

*Kincairdein* 1560s Kirk 1995, 538 [The kirks of *Kippone* and *Kincaridein*, £80]

*Kincardin* 1579 *RMS* iv 2888 [Rex confimavit cartam Andree Hagy vicarii de *Kincardin* in Menteith]

*Kyncardin* 1582 *RMS* v no. 439 [molendinum de *Kyncardin*, cum mansione et manorio de *Kyncardin*]

*Kincairn* late 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156v [kirk of *Kincairn*]

*Kinkaryne* 1594 *Retours PER* no. 1072

<sup>195</sup> See also *Camb. Reg.* no 127.

<sup>196</sup> Dated by Fraser to c.1210, but has recently been dated by Gilbert Márkus to 1189 x 98 (pers. comm.).

*Kinkardin* 1612 *Retours PER* no. 1094

*Kincardyne* 1645 *RMS ix* no. 1072 [*Kincardyne cum crofta S. Lollani*]

*Kincairne* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78

*Kincairdin* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708 [terras et baroniam de *Kincairdin* in Monteith]

*Kincarden* c.1685 Adair

*Kincarden Kirk* c.1750 Roy 75

*Kincardine* 1783 Stobie

*Kincardine* [parish] 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

ScG *ceann* + ? Brit. or ScG \**carden*

*Ceann Chàrdainn*. The first element is Gaelic *ceann* ‘head, end’; the second is the Pictish or Gaelic loan-word from Pictish \**carden* (Watson 1926, 353, Jackson 1955, 150, Nicolaisen 2001, 204). Accepted by all these scholars as meaning ‘woodland’, it has recently been argued by Andrew Breeze that it may mean ‘enclosure, encampment’ (1999, 39-41). Given the very ‘Pictish’ distribution of place-names with this element, it is perhaps best to see the Gaelic first element *ceann* as an adaptation or translation of the cognate Pictish \**pen* ‘head, end’ (Taylor, *PNF* i, 570; see p. 48-49 above for the element \**carden*). This is one of three places out of six called Kincardine that became a parish centre, the others are in Aberdeenshire, Inverness-shire and Ross-shire; while one became the centre of a sheriffdom, later a county, Kincardineshire. See KRD introduction for more details regarding the baronial situation, and p. 140 for the church of Kincardine.. Regarding the modern ScG form, *Ceann Chàrdainn*, this is the form used by Ainmean Aite na h-Alba (Jake King pers. comm.); Watson (1904, 1) has *Cinn-chàrdain*, while Dwelly (1902-12, 1018) has *Cinn Chardainn*.

/kɪn'kardən/

LITTLEWARD KRD, KMA S NS657974 1 13m

*Litill Ward* 1540 RMS iii no. 2059 [terras de *Litill Ward* vulgo nuncupat....quas Wil<liam>  
Balfour de *Buchquhopill* resignavit]

*Title Ward* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78

*Lit. Ward* 1783 Stobie

*Littleward* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *little* + en Ward

According to *DOST*, *ward* can mean ‘a (? Usu[ally] enclosed) piece of ground, a field, paddock, freq[uently]. put to or reserved for a particular use’. It is not known what the ‘particular use’ was here, but see Wards of Goodie PMH, which was used as grazing for the king’s horses in 1471 (*ER* viii, 70). There is probably some relationship to Wards of Goodie PMH, marked as *Ward* in Stobie.

LITTLEWARD WESTER KRD, KMA NS651971 1 13m

*Littleward Wester* 1904 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map, sheet 39

En Littleward + Sc *wester*

A building is shown here on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map but is not named.

MELDRUM KRD S NS720996 1 42m

*Meldrum* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

The lateness of this name strongly suggests that it is a personal name or surname, or perhaps a transferred name from Aberdeenshire. No settlement is shown here on Stobie.

MILL OF MUCK # KRD S NS717992 2 30m

*Mill of Muck* 1754 RHP24481

Sc *mill + of + en* Muck

Stobie shows only 'Mill' at this point. The Muck element, relating to a burn, presumably derives from ScG *muc* 'pig'. The burn in question is that which flows from Loch Watston, it is unmarked on any map of the area, but Mackay shows this as 'Burn of Muck' on a map based on RHP24481 (Mackay 2006, 113). A building is shown at the NGR but no name is attached on any current map. See Muckersyde # KRD, below.

MILL OF TORR KRD S NS742988 1 12m

*Mill of Toir* 1610 RMS vii no. 354

*Tor* 1612 Retours PER no. 880

*Mylne of Torrey* 1649 Perth Rentall, 80

*Tor* 1662 Retours PER no. 708

*Tore Mill* c.1685 Adair

*Mill of Torr* 1754 RHP24481

*Mill of Torr* 1783 Stobie

*Mill of Torr* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *mill + of + en* Torr

Torr was a separate settlement nearby and probably derives from ScG *tòrr* '(Conical) hill'. This may relate to the tumulus shown on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map at NS739986. It is mentioned in NSA for KRD as being surrounded by a 'circular foss...vulgarly called Wallace's Trench. It is 63 yards [14m] in circumference...' (NSA x 1262-3). The tumulus was

approximately a metre in height when viewed by the OS in 1968 (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NS79NW 20), but was presumably a good deal higher in the past. See Torr # KRD below.

MOLLAN KRD S NS651004 1 24m

It would appear that this is a relatively new name, but may be based on ScG *muileann* 'mill'. The place is called *Boquhapple*, i.e. without any qualifiers, on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map of 1863. Next to it is a place called *Little Mill*, which is marked on Stobie.

MOSS-SIDE OF BOQUHAPPLE KRD S NS658986 1 13m

*Moss-side of Boquhapple* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

S moss + side + en Boquhapple

This seems to show the southerly extent of the ancient territory of Boquhapple. It is called *King's Boquhapple* on estate plan RHP3965. Netherton (q.v. below) was also part of *King's Boquhapple* (Harrison 2003, 125). Nearby Wards of Goodie was used as waste for the king's horses during hunting trips (*ER* viii, 70; Gilbert 1979, 125), a similar situation may have occurred here.

MUCKERSYDE # KRD S 3

*Mukarsyde* 1536 RMS iii no.1560

*Mukerside* 1539 RMS iii no.1895

*Mukersyde* 1539 RMS iii no.1978

*Mukerside* 1542 RMS iii no.2825

*Mukarsyde* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Muckarsyde* 1612 Retours PER no. 1094

*Mukersyde* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708

En Muck(er) + Sc *side*

'(Settlement) at the side of the Muck(er) burn (?). There is an un-named burn, (called the Muck Burn?) which begins in Loch Watston and flows past the eastern side of Kincardine Church before seeming to join the Ross Burn 300m west of the entrance to the Safari Park, but there are so many drainage channels and straightened minor burns in this area of former moss that it is difficult to be certain. See also Mill of Muck above.

MYME KRD, KMA S NS664973 1 13m

*Mime* 1783 Stobie

*Myme* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

It has not been possible to determine the meaning of this place-name nor in which language it was coined. If ScG then *maim* (plural of *màm* 'hill of particular form, slowly rising not pointed') might be possible, but only if there had been a significant rise in the moss here before it was cleared; the whole area is now completely flat.

/məɪm/

NETHERTON KRD S NS661990 1 13m

*Netherton* c.1750 Roy 70

*Netherton* 1783 Stobie

*Netherton* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

*Sc nether + toun*

'Lower settlement [of Boquhapple]'. This was part of King's Boquhapple (see Moss-side of Boquhapple above) (Harrison 2003, 125).

NORRIESTON KRD S NS670994 1 23m

*Norrieston 1649 Perth Rentall, 78*

*Noristoune 1681 Retours PER no. 913 [terras de Noristoune, infra parochiam de Noristoune et senescallatum de Monteith]*

*Noristoun c.1685 Adair*

*Noriestoun 1688 Retours PER no. 968 [David Norie...de Noriestoun...in 6 mercatas terras terrarum de Eister Boquhapell nuncupatis Noriestoun]*

*Noriestoune 1693 Retours PER no. 994 [terriss de Noriestoune infra senescallatum de Monteith et parochiam de Noriestoun]*

*Noriston c.1750 Roy 70 [Kirk of Noriston]*

*Norristown 1783 Stobie*

*Norrieston 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI*

Pn Nory/Norrie + Sc *toun*

'Settlement of someone called Nory/Norrie'. It has not been possible to find earlier references to Norrieston than 1649, but the Norrys have been associated with Menteith since at least 1451, when Robert Nory collected the rents of Terrintirran # KPN (*ER* v 479). This branch of the Nory family seems to originated in 'Tarbart', although which one is uncertain. In 1485 James Nory of Tarbart (Jac. Nory de Tarbart) witnesses the charters of Malise Graham granting the lands of the post-1427 earldom to his sons John and Walter (*RMS* ii no. 1861, 1862). James Nory pays £4 for the rents of Boquhapple in 1478, and there is confirmation that Boquhapple is in the hands of James Nory two years later (*ER* viii, 563 – *Bochople...in*

manibus Jacobi Nory). A female relative, Elizabeth Nory, widow of Walter Dog, lived at Brae of Boquhapple (*ibid.*). In 1497 James IV confirmed a charter of Robert Nory for the lands of Wester Boquhapple and Brae of Boquhapple (*RMS* ii no. 2374) This is one of a small number of names around the eastern end of Thornhill ending in *Sc -ton*.

Norrieston is mentioned twice in *Retours* as a parish, possibly because there was a concerted campaign from 1652 to have the detached part of KRD made into a separate parish in its own right. The campaign finally succeeded in 1878 (Dixon 1995, 76).

NORTH MID FREW KRD, KMA S NS672978 1 13m

*North Mid Frew* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *north* + en Mid Frew

The northern division of Mid Frew.

NYADD KRD S NS742974 1 11m

*Naad* 1754 RHP24481

*Nadd* 1783 Stobie

*Naiadd* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Nyadd refers to a small natural mound c.150m S of the farm off Nyadd. Its meaning and language in which it was originally coined are unknown, although ScG *neimhidh* ‘*nemeton*; church-land’ or a related word could be a possibility (see Arnieve for discussion of ScG *neimhidh*).

John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, in the 18<sup>th</sup> C, wrote ‘I heard my grandmother (who was married in 1692) say that when she came to Ochtertyre her father-in-law told her the little

hill called the *Naad* was, in his younger days, surrounded by the moss, which is now 350 yards distant.' (Ramsay 1888, vol ii, 194-5).<sup>197</sup>

/njad/

OCHTERTYRE KRD S NS751978 1 9m

*Uchtirtire* 1424 RMS ii no. 4 [de terris que vocantur *Uchtirtire* in baronia de *Kyncardyn*]

*Ochertyre* 1536 RMS iii no. 1560

*Ouchtertire* 1542 RMS iii no. 2825

*Auchtertyre* 1589 Retours PER no. 52

*Ochertyre* 1536 RMS iii no. 1560

*Ochertyre* 1539 RMS iii no. 1895

*Ochertire* 1542 RMS iii no. 2825

*Ochtirtyre* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Auchtertyre* 1610 RMS vii no. 354

*Ochtirtyir* 1612 Retours PER no. 1094

*Ochertyre* 1649 Perth Rentall, 78

*Ochertyre* 1662 Retours PER no. 708

*Ochtirtyre* 1675 Retours PER no. 880

*Auchtertyr* c.1685 Adair

*Ochertyre* 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 339

*Auchtertyr* c.1750 Roy 75

*Ochertyre* 1783 Stobie

*Ochertyre* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

<sup>197</sup> My thanks to John Harrison for this reference.

ScG *uachdar + tir*

*Uachdar Tire* ‘upper part of (the) land’. Given that Ochtertyre is the second lowest place in the study area at 8.6m OD, it might seem strange that Ochtertyre is the only place in Kincardine Parish with the sense of ‘upland; upper part’. However, it may be that *tir* ‘land’ refers to land with high agricultural potential, so within that semantic range it does not have to be elevated. Of course height can be relative, and it may be the height of the adjoining moss – which could reach a depth of 4m in places (i.e. the ground was 4m higher than it is now) – had a bearing on the coining of the name. Ochtertyre is directly across the River Teith from the steeply rising ground of the Keir estate in neighbouring Dunblane and Lecroft parish. However, since the River Teith, which forms the parish boundary and had been an important boundary here for a long time, it may be that the coiners of the name will have had flat Kincardine rather than the more hilly Dunblane and Lecroft in mind.

There are other places in Scotland with this name, including Auchtertyre near Tyndrum PER, Auctertyre near Coupar Angus ANG, and Ochtertyre near Crieff PER.

/ɔxtər'tair/

THE OFFERS FARM KRD S NS716954 1 9m

*Offeris* 1536 RMS iii no.1560 [Ros et Offeris]

*Offeris* 1539 RMS iii no.1895

*Offeris* 1539 RMS iii no.1978

*Offers* c.1685 Adair

*Offers* 1754 RHP24481

*Avers* c.1750 Roy 75

*Offrans* 1783 Stobie [W. Offrans, M. Offrans, E. Offrans]

*Offers* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

ScG *aifreann, aifrionn*; OG *oifrend* or Sc *offering*

This is on the site of *Er Avers* shown on Roy. The original site (*Avers* on Roy) was approx. 750m E at NS709957. See p. 161-163 for discussion of the *offers* element.

POWBLACK KRD, KMA S NS669969 1 12m

*Powblack* 1783 Stobie

*Powblack* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *pow + black*

‘Black small, sluggish burn’. There are a small number of small burns flowing out of the area of the old moss that are called Pow, and this is perhaps the general term for such a water-course in this area. It is remarkable that we do not have \*Blackpow here but Powblack. This inverted form is more like ScG than Sc. It is likely that the ScG form would have been \*Polldubh or similar. It may be Powblack is due to a Sc translation of ScG *dubh* ‘black’, but the names of other burns, such as Pollaby, and the place-name Poldar, may have influenced the word order of Powblack.

ROBERTSON’S LANE KRD S NS737968 1 11m

*Robertson’s Lane* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Pn Robertson + SSE *lane*

A ‘narrow, often rural, road, street, or path’ (*OED*) named after one of the Moss Lairds? It is unlikely to be Sc *loan*, since by the time the ‘lane’ was built, it is likely the landowner, the Drummonds of Blair Drummond, spoke Scots Standard English.

ROSS KRD S NS726959 1 10m

*Ros* 1536 RMS iii no. 1560

*Ros* 1539 RMS iii no. 1895

*Ros* 1539 RMS iii no. 1978

*Ros* 1542 RMS iii no. 2825

*Ros* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Ross* 1612 Retours PER no. 1094

*Ros* 1662 Retours PER no. 708

*Ross* 1675 Retours PER no. 880

*Ross* 1754 RHP24481

*Ross* 1783 Stobie

*Easter Ross* 1904 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map, sheet 39

ScG *ros*

*An Ros* ‘promontory’; this is the primary ScG meaning of *ros*. The etymology denotes ‘standing out before’ (MacBain 1911, 295). In the case of Ross KRD it may have meant a promontory or headland in the moss. However, it is notable that MacBain has *ros* as a Brit. word meaning ‘knoll’, c.f. Arnieve for discussion of areas of high ground in the moss.

SOUTH COLDOCH KRD, KRD, KMA S NS702975 1 12m

*Carse* c.1750 Roy

*Carse of Coldoch* 1783 Stobie

*Carse of Coldoch* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Renamed South Coldoch sometime after the 1 inch popular OS map was published in 1924.

SOUTH KIRKLANE KRD S NS717967 1 12m

*Kirklane* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Kirklane was a lane, now the B8075 road, which was presumably built to help facilitate the clearance of Kincardine Moss. A string of settlements were built along its length, which are shown on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map; South Kirklane was one of those. See Robertson's Lane above for discussion of SSE *lane*.

SOUTH MID FREW KRD, KMA S NS679973 1 12m

SSE *south + en* Mid Frew

The southern division of Mid Frew. There is a north Mid Frew on record from at least 1863 (1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI), but what is now South Mid Frew is Mid Frew on all maps up to the 1 inch Popular edn of 1927. It is not known when it became South Mid Frew.

SOUTHFIELD KRD, KMA S NS684966 1 11m

*Southfield* 1783 Stobie

*Southfield* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

SSE *south + en* field

Presumably the southern field of the Frew estate.

STOCK O' BROOM KRD, KRD, KMA S NS683971 1 12m

*Stock of Broom* 1863 edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *stock + of + broom*

The *broom* element seems to relate to the plant called broom. *DOST* has two meanings for *stock*; one relates to a fishing station on the River Tay in use from 11<sup>th</sup> C to 16<sup>th</sup> C and is mentioned in the foundation charter of Arbroath Abbey as *Sthoc* (*RRS ii*, no. 197). The other meaning is ‘tree-trunk, stump’, and used in place-names from 13<sup>th</sup> C. Either meaning may suit here: Stock o’ Broom sits on the banks of the River Forth, but note also place-names that have plants in their names, such as Brierlands KRD and possibly Cambusdrenny KRD.

Near here is a as a possible moated site mentioned in McNeill and MacQueen (1996). See also Canmore NS69NE 20.

THORNHILL KRD S NS664999 1 43m

*Thornliehill* 1696 NAS RS59/8 [*Thornliehill of Kings Boquhapple*]

*Thornhill* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 339

*Thornhill* 1745/6 Edgar

*Thornhill* c.1750 Roy 70

*Thornhill* 1783 Stobie

*Thornhill* 1863 edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *thorn + hill*

This a ‘new’ settlement sitting on a rise above the carse which was originally the location of a fair authorised here in 1695 on the Kings Boquhapple (Dixon 1995, 76). This fair-ground became the site of the village of Thornhill.

TOLLGART # KRD NS710995 2 40m

*Tolgart* 1476 *RMS ii* no. 1240

*Tolligarth* 1508 *RMS ii* no. 3223

*Tolgarth* 1517 RMS iii 136

*Tulchgart* 1517 NAS GD22/3/446

*Tolgarth* 1531 RMS iii no. 1081

*Tolgarth* 1536 RMS iii no. 1560

*Tolgarth* 1539 RMS iii no. 1978

*Tolgarth* 1579 RMS iv no. 2888

*Tuggairt* late 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156v

*Folgarth* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78

*Tolgairth* 1670 *Retours PER* no. 809

*Tollgart* 1754 RHP24481

ScG *tulach + gart*

*Tulach Gairt* ‘hillock, assembly mound of the enclosed field or settlement’. One of a small cluster of gart-names in this part of Menteith along with Gartoch and Gartincaber. See p. 119-122 for discussion of the element *gart*.

TORR # KRD S NS742988 2

*Tor* 1536 RMS iii no.1560

*Tor* 1539 RMS iii no.1895

*Tor* 1539 RMS iii no.1978

*Tor* 1542 RMS iii no.2825

*Tor* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Torr* late 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156v

ScG *tòrr*

*Tòrr* ‘(conical) hill’. See Mill of Torr KRD for discussion.

WEST DRIP KRD S NS756955 1 11m

*West Drip* 1904 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition OS 1 inch map, sheet 39

Sc *west* + en Drip

There is a settlement shown here on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, but it is not named. Stobie shows this area covered in the temporary settlements of the Moss Lairds, those people who cleared the moss from the late 18<sup>th</sup> C. Many of these people were Highlanders from the Balquhidder area, and they brought with them a temporary resurgence of Gaelic to the area.

WESTER FREW KRD, KMA S NS664962 1 11m

*Vester Frewis* 1588 RMS v no. 1429 [*Eister et Vester Frewis*]

*Wester Frew* late 16<sup>th</sup> C NLS Pont text 156r [Upon the northsyd of Forth ovir the coble is  
*Wester Frew*, a myl benorth it is *Easter-Frew*]

*Westir Frewis* 1611 RMS vii no. 465 [*Eister et Westir Frewis*]

*Westir Frewis* 1628 RMS viii no. 1239 [*Eister et Westir Frewis*]

*Westir Frewis* 1628 RMS viii no. 1243 [*Eister, Midill et Westir Frewis*]

*Wr Frew* c.1750 Roy 70

Sc *wester* + en Frew

WEST MOSS-SIDE KRD S NS648995 1 13m

*Mosside* c.1750 Roy 70

*Mosside* 1783 Stobie

*West Moss-side* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *west* + en *Moss-side*

WESTWOOD KRD S NS740949 1 10m

*Westwood* 1472 *Stirling Protocol Bk (Scot. Antiquary x, 116)*

*Vest Woud* 1474 *Stirling Protocol Bk (Scot. Antiquary x, 127)*

*Westwod* 1536 RMS iii no. 1560

*Westwod* 1542 RMS iii no. 2825

*Westwod* 1582 RMS v no. 439

*Westwod* 1589 RMS v no. 1616

*Westirwod* 1595 *Retours PER* no. 1094

*Westwod* 1596 RMS vi, no. 402

*Westwood* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 78

*Westerwood* 1662 *Retours PER* no. 708

*Westerwoods* 1675 *Retours PER* no. 880

*Wastwood* c.1685 Adair

Westwood 1783 Stobie

Westwood 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

Sc *west* + *wood*

One of the properties that formed the barony of Kincardine. The very name presumes there was an \*Eastwood at some point, but there is never any indication of such a place, unless of course Baad 'copse' was originally understood in bilingual times as being the 'east wood' in this area.

WESTWOOD LANE KRD S NS742955 1 10m

*Westwood Lane* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXII

En Westwood + SSE *lane*

Route to settlements of Moss Lairds, which then became a settlement in its own right. See Robertson's Lane above for discussion of SSE *lane*.

WOODLANE KRD S NS712979 1 12m

*Woodlane* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map sheet CXXXI

Sc *wood + lane*

Route to settlements of Moss Lairds, which then became a settlement in its own right. See Robertson's Lane above for discussion of SSE *lane*.

## **Parish of Kippen**

### *Introduction*

Kippen (see Map 22) is relatively poorly documented in medieval sources, which may have much to do with the loss of surviving materials such as a cartulary or rentals from Inchmahome Priory. Kippen is the only Menteith parish south of the River Forth. It was divided into four parts between the counties of Perth and Stirling, each having two portions.<sup>198</sup> The rationale behind this division is not clear. The largest PER portion may have been lands of Inchmahome Priory granted by the earls of Menteith sometime around the foundation of the priory in 1238. This is supported by the fact that of the seven place-names in the parish containing *earrann* ‘portion, division’, six are in the largest PER segment, including Arnsprior ‘portion of the prior’. Also, the road from Arnsprior to Port-of-Menteith, the landing place on the east side of the Lake of Menteith, ran through the main PER part, and crossed the major ford at Cardross, which seems to have been the ‘Auchmore’ (*àth mòr* ‘big ford’) mentioned by Walter Bower in the 1440s (Bower *Scotichron* Bk 2 ch. 10 (vol. 1, p. 190); Barrow 1992, 213). Crucially, there is a mention in a charter of 1451 of ‘terras de Treenterene ac terras de Inherne vocatas vulgariter le Third Parte de Shereffis lande de Kippone (the lands of Terrintirren and the lands of Inherne commonly called the Third Part of the Sheriff-lands of Kippen)’ (RMS ii no. 508). *Inherne* may be a distorted form of An Errann ‘the Portion’, which could account for the largest PER portion, if this was indeed the lands given to Inchmahome by an earl of Menteith, perhaps Walter Comyn in 1238. The reasoning behind the smaller PER portion is still puzzling, but it may be a much later division, and originally the two STL portions were divided only by the largest PER portion, which itself was later divided into Arnsprior, Arngibbon, Arnmore, Arnbeg, Arnfinlay, and Arnmanuel.

<sup>198</sup> The author of a local history of Kippen relates that ‘a portion of the Manse, e.g. the kitchen part, is in Perthshire, the remainder being in Stirlingshire, thus enabling the dinner to be cooked in Perthshire and partaken of in Stirlingshire’ (Chrystal 1903, 18).

However, we need not necessarily see the division of the parish as dating to 1238. Kippen's position on the border of three medieval territories may also help partly explain its peculiar split. To the west and south lay the parishes of Drymen and Balfron, which were in the earldom of Lennox and the diocese of Glasgow, while to the east lay the parish of Gargunnock, a later division of the *parochia* of St Ninians, itself co-extensive with the soke or shire of Stirling, or *castrensis provincia* (Duncan 1975, 161), and diocese of St Andrews. To the north were the parishes of PMH and KRD, the earldom of Menteith proper, as it were, and the diocese of Dunblane. By the end of the medieval period there were eleven baronies in the parish – Arnbeg, Arnfinlay, Arnmanuel, Arnmore, Arnprior, Broich, Buchlyvie, Dasher, Garden, Glentirren, and Shirgarton (Chrystal 1903, 19). It is noteworthy that five of the seven *earrann*-names became baronies. Also of note in KPN is the amount of small hills given the name *keir* (see p. 122-123 for details).

ARNBEG KPN S STL, PER NS629949 1 56m

*Ernebeg* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Ernbeg* 1456 *ER* vi, 279

*Ernbeg* 1459 *RMS* ii no. 672 [2 marcatas terrarum de *Ernbeg*, in quibus situatur *Crux de Kippone*, in dominio de *Menteith* '2 merklands of Arnbeg, in which is situated the Cross of Kippen, in the lordship of Menteith']<sup>199</sup>

*Ernbeg* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Ernebeg* 1471 *ER* viii. 67

*Ernbeg* 1471 *ER* viii, 531

*Ernbeg* 1480 *ER* ix, 40

*Ernbeg* 1480 *ER* ix, 564

<sup>199</sup> The full text of this charter reads: 'REX, pro salute anime sue, &c., in puram elemosinam,— concessit uni capellano et successoribus ejus divina celebraturis in CAPELLA BEATE MARIE IN GARWALDE, in mora de Dundaff—2 marcatas terrarum de Ernbeg, in quibus situatur Crux de Kippone, in dominio de Menteith, vic. Perth'.

*Ernebeg* 1484 *ER* ix, 596

*Ernbeg* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Ernbeg* 1488 *ER* x, 636

*Ernbeg* 1489 *RMS* ii no. 1817

*Ernebeg* 1494 *ER* x, 722

*Ernebeg* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Ernbeg* 1502 *ER* xii, 25

*Arnebeg* 1502 *ER* xii, 26

*Ernbeg* 1502 *ER* xii, 633

*Arnbegin* 1536 *RMS* iii no. 1574

*Ardinbeg* 1541 *ER* xvii, 714

*Arnebeg* 1542 *RMS* iii no. 2602

*Arnebeg* 1574 *Retours PER* no. 33

*Arnebeg* 1644 *RMS* ix no. 1571

*Arnbegin* 1651 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 70

*Arnbegin* 1654 *Blaeu Lennox*

*Arnbegin* 1665 *Retours PER* no. 734

*Arnbegin* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 943 [particata terrae vocata *Spittell* of *Arnbegin*]

*Arnbeag* 1746 Edgar

*Arnbegin* c.1750 Roy 26

*Arnbegin* 1783 Stobie

ScG *earrann + beag*

*Earrann Beag* ‘small or lesser portion’. Regarding the modern ScG form, I have lenited *beag* ‘small’ here on the basis that a fem. noun lenites a following adjective. However, there are few clear instances of lenition after *earrann*, which is fem.; it may be that in Menteith *earrann* was

largely treated as a masc. noun, and so lenition has been left out in *earrann*-names unless there is evidence for it (see Arnfinlay and Arnprior below for evidence of lenition). One of seven *earrann*-names in KPN, and of around 16 in Menteith plus three others just over the border in DRY, in Lennox. There is an Arnmore 'big or greater portion' nearby suggesting there has been a subdivision of a larger *earrann* at some point before 1459. Note that there seems to have been a cross situated here in 1459. We have no way of knowing now whether it was made of stone or wood. Also mentioned is the chapel of St Mary in *Garwalde* in the muir of Dundaff. This muir is on the southern edge of St Ninians parish STL, marked now by Dundaff Hill. There is a Garvald in nearby Denny parish at NS783834, but John Reid, author of the *Place names of Falkirk and East Stirlingshire*, is convinced that this is not the *Garwalde* mentioned in 1459, since Garvald, Denny parish, was part of the barony of Dunipace, whereas Dundaff was part of Strathcarron. Reid thinks the chapel in question may have been Kirk o' Muir, on the northern shore of the Carron Valley Reservoir (Reid, pers. comm.).

The reference to the *Spittell of Arnbeg* in 1686 may be Spittal, c.300 m N of the centre of Buchlyvie; alternatively this could be the Spittal of Arngibbon (see Arngibbon below). See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*, and p. 92-93 for a discussion of the element *spittal*.

/arn<sup>b</sup>eg/

ARNFINLAY # KPN S STL, PER NS6194 3

*Erneinlaw* 1451 ER v, 475

*Ernylnlay* 1451 ER v, 478

*Ernrynlay* 1453 ER v, 596

*Erninlaw* 1451 ER vii, 52

*Ernfinlaw* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Ernnlaw* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Ernynlaw* 1480 *ER* ix, 564

*Ernelaw* 1484 *ER* ix, 596

*Ernlaw* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Ernelaw* 1488 *ER* x, 636

*Ernelaw* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Ernlaw* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Erneinlaw* 1502 *ER* xii, 25

*Ernlaw* 1502 *ER* xii, 26

*Ernelaw* 1502 *ER* xii, 633

*Arnfinlaw* 1536 *RMS* iii no. 1544

*Ardinfinlay* 1541 *ER* xvii, 714

*Ernfinlay* 1542 *RMS* iii no. 2653

*Arnfinlay* 1542 *RMS* iii no. 2851

*Ardfinlay* 1567 *Fraser, Menteith* ii, 403

*Arnfinlay* 1613 *Retours PER* no. 1101

*Arnfinlay* 1654 *Blaeu Lennox*

*Arne-Finlay* 1655 *Retours PER* no. 632 [*Arne-Finlay* callit *Keystoun* and *Clayford*, within the pareoch of *Kippin*... - ane pairt of the lands of *Arne-Finlay*]

*Arne-Finlay* 1655 *Retours PER* no. 633 [pairt of the lands of *Arne-Finlay* callit *Callumfairleyes-land*, within the pareoch of *Kippin*...Ane pairt of the saids lands of *Arne-Finlay* lyand]

*Arne-Finlay* 1655 *Retours PER* no. 634 [ane pairt of the lands of *Arne-Finlay* callit *Bethan's Land*, in the pareochin of *Kippin*,...the halfe of ane pairt of *Arne-Finlay* callit *Fairleyes-land*, with half of the wood of *Arne-Finlay*...Ane portion of the lands of *Arne-Finlay* callit *Blaire's-*

*land,...ane uther half of t hat portion of the lands of Arne-Finlay callit Fairleyes-land; - ane half of ane pendicle of the lands of Arne-Finlay, lyand rinrig with a pendicle of the samen, and half the wood of Arne-Finlay]*

*Arnfinlay* 1682 *Retours* PER no. 921 [in portione terrarum de *Arnfinlay* vocata *Callum-Fairliesland*]

*Ardenfinlay* 1688 *Retours* PER no. 976

*Arnefinlay* 1693 *Retours* PER no. 993 [in parte terrarum de *Arnefinlay* vocata *Callum-Fairliesland*]

*Arnefinlay* 1693 *Retours* PER no. 993 [parte terrarum de *Arnefinlay* occupata per Robertum Hardie]

*Arnfinlay* 1745/6 Edgar

*Castle Arnfindlay* c.1750 Roy 26

*Arnfindlay* c.1750 Roy 70

*Aronfinles* 1756 RHP 3479 [lands of John Harvie of *Aronfinles*]

*Arnfinlay* 1783 Stobie

ScG *earrann* + pn *Fionnlagh*

*Earrann Fionnlaidh* ‘portion of Finlay’. The lenited *f* of *Fionnlagh* is rarely recorded in earliest forms, but then becomes the standard form from 1530s onwards. Who the eponymous Finlay was is not known. However, in view of the fact that Kippen was a prebend of Dunblane Cathedral, there is the intriguing possibility that ‘Finlay’s Portion’ belonged to Finlay Colini, who was an archdeacon at the cathedral in 1400 x 1403 before being elected bishop of Dunblane in 1403. He remained in that role until 1419 (Watt and Murray 2003, 102, 117). As can be seen from the *Retours* entries for 1655, there was quite a complicated tenurial situation. It is unclear where the places of these tenants were, although Stobie shows a *Clayfold* just south of *Arnfinlay*. Regarding the forms dating to 1655 to 1693 which mention

Callum Fairliesland, a charter of 1633 granted to Issobelle Fairlie 10 merks of land of old extent of *Arnmanuell* (*RMS* viii, no. 2245), so we could be looking at a son or other male relative called Callum. In any event the Fairlies had been in Kippen since at least before 1586 when Duncan Fairlie is mentioned as an elder at the Visitation of Kippen after the Reformation (Kirk 1984, 9). The entry for 1693 is noteworthy for it may provide a *terminus post quem* for the establishment of Hardiston (NS692941), just south of where *Arnfinlay* was situated. An estate plan of 1756 shows *Arnfinlay* having a western border with the lands of Arnsprior. By the time of the Statistical Account of 1791-9, the minister, John Campbell, could write of ‘the castle of *Arnfindlay*, of which no vestiges now remain...’ (*OSA* 18, 329). See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

ARNGIBBON KPN S STL, PER NS608942 1 61m

*Ernegibboun* 1503 *RMS* ii no. 2753

*Eringibboun* 1508 *RMS* ii no. 3236

*Arngibbon* 1530 *RMS* iii no. 934

*Spittal de Arnegibbun* 1550 *RMS* iv no. 517

*Arringibbon* 1586 Kirk 1984, 9

*Arngibbon* 1587 Kirk 1984, 63

*Arringibbon* 1588 Kirk 1984, 76

*Eister Arngibboun* 1600 *Retours* PER no. 62

*Arngibboun* 1606 *Retours* PER no. 189

*Eister Arnegibboun* 1606 *RMS* vi no. 1723

terras de *Arnegibboun* 1631 *RMS* viii no. 1792

*ArnGibbon* 1646 *Geog. Coll.* ii, 604

*Arngibbo<ns>s* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*W. Arngibbons* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Arngibboun* 1656 *Retours PER* no. 638

*Wester Arngibbone* 1684 *Retours PER* no. 993

*Arngibbon* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 351

*E. Arngibon* 1745/6 Edgar

*W. Arngibon* 1745/6 Edgar

*Arngibbon* c.1750 Roy 26

*W. Arngibbon* c. 1750 Roy 26

*Arngibbon House* c.1750 Roy 70

ScG *earrann* + pn Gibbon

*Earrann Gioboin* ‘portion of Gilbert’. For discussion of the *-gibbon* element see Balgibbon CLD.

Note the reference to the *Spittal de Arngibbon* in 1550, and see p. 92-93 for discussion of the element *spittal*. The place-name Spittal c.300 m N of Buchlyvie at NS575941 may be the *Spittal de Arngibbon* mentioned in 1550, but see also Arnbeg KPN. See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

/arn'gibən/

ARNGOMERY KPN S STL NS640950 1 46m

*Irne cummery* 1474 *Stirling Protocol Bk (Scot. Antiquary x, 123)*

*Irncumray* 1474 *Stirling Protocol Bk (Scot. Antiquary x, 123)*

*Irne cumrie* 1581 *RSS* viii no. 210

*Arncomrie* 1627 *Laing Chrs* no. 1993 [the lands of *Arncomrie* alias *Broiche*...lying in the sheriffdom of Stirling]

*Arngomery* 1817 *Grassom*

ScG *earrann* + ? *comrach*

*Earrann Comaraidh* ‘portion of the confluence place’. See Watson (1926, 476) where he states ScG *comrach* means ‘place of confluence’, from ScG *comar* ‘a confluence’. Arngomery is just 200m SW of the confluence of the Broich and Arngomery Burns. See Taylor (2006, 239) for discussion of the *comar* element in Comrie FIF. Arngomery had an alternative name of *Broich*, which may explain the absence of Arngomery between 1627 and 1817. The Broich is still the name of a building on the property of Arngomery today (see 1: 10,000 OS sheets NS 69 NW and NS 69 SW). Blaeu and Roy show *Broich* on their maps. Grassom, however, shows *Arngomery* at a distance to the SE on the eastern side of the smaller PER portion (at approx. NS649942) rather than on the western side of this part. The *-gomery* element may have been modelled on the well-known personal-name and place-name Montgomery. See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

/arn'gʌməri/

ARNMANUELL # KPN S STL, PER(?) NS6394 3

*Arnmanwell* 1581 RSS viii no. 210 [Arnmanwell...in the parish of Kippen and sheriffdom of Streviling]

*Arnmanuell* 1633 RMS viii, no. 2245

*Ardmanwell* 1646 Geog. Coll. ii, 604

*Arnmanuel* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Arnmanuall* 1697 Retours STL no. 334 [Arnmanuall, infra baroniam de Buchlyvie et parochiam de Kippen]

ScG *earrann* + pn Manuel

*Earrann Manueil* ‘portion of Manuel’. Black (1946, 581) states this example of a surname derives from the priory of Manuel in Muiravon parish, STL, which was a religious establishment for nuns. Two of his examples are monks – a monk of Holyrood in 1299 and an abbot of Newbattle in 1413 x 1419. His earliest reference to it being used as a surname is from the Ragman Rolls in 1296. The priory at Manuel might be considered a likely source for the specific in Arnmanuel, for the Livingstones of Callendar, near Falkirk, who had the lands of *Terrintirran* KPN (q.v.), gained possession of the demesne lands (*terras dominicales*) of Manuel Priory in 1545 (*RMS* iii, no. 3308).<sup>200</sup> This may explain Arnmanuel’s late arrival in the historical record, but it also means that here *arn-* has probably been borrowed into Scots (see p. 67). See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

The 1815 estate plan shows *Arnmanuel* as a march on the western edge of *Broich*, now Arngomery.

ARNMORE KPN S STL, PER NS626935 1 134m

*Ernmore* 1474 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 124).

*Ermore* 1477 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 137).

*Arnmore* 1528 *RMS* iii no.718

*Ermoir* 1531 *RMS* iii no. 1088

*Ermoir* 1550 *RMS* iv no. 437

*Armoyr* 1553 *RMS* iv no. 802

*Ardmoir* 1553 *RMS* iv no. 866

<sup>200</sup> My thanks to Dr Kimm Curran for her help in disentangling the possible Livingstone connection between Arnmanuel and Manuel Priory, although a direct link has still to be confirmed.

*Ardmoir* 1557 RMS iv no. 1188

*Arnmoir* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Arnmore* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 351

*Arnmore* 1745/6 Edgar

*Arnmore* c.1750 Roy 26

*Arnmore* 1783 Stobie

*Arnmore House* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet sheet XV

ScG *earrann + mòr*

*Earrann Mòr* ‘big or greater portion’. Although it appears late on record, Arnmore must, at the very least, date to 1459 when Arnbeg first comes on record, for Arnmore and Arnbeg are most likely subdivisions of the same original territory. NGR is for the place named as ‘Laird’s House’ on the 1:25,000 OS Explorer map; this is marked as *Arnmore House* on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map. See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

/arn'mor/

ARNPRIOR KPN S STL, PER NS612949 1 33m

*Ernefrear* 1440s Bower *Scotichron.* Bk. 2, ch. 10 (vol. 2, p. 190) [*Ernefrear ubi capella Sancti Beani* ‘Arnprior where there is a chapel of St Bean’]

*Arnpriour* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027

*Arnepriour* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 354

*Arnepriour* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 360

*Arnpriour* 1584 RMS v no. 714

*Arrinpriour* 1586 Kirk 1984, 10

*Arnepryor* 1598 RMS vi no. 707

*Ardinpryor* 1610 RMS vii no. 301

*Arnepryor* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Arnpriour* 1646 *Geog.Coll.* ii, 604

*Arnepriour* 1646 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368

*Arnpry whole* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Arnpryor* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 351

*Arnpryer* 1745/6 Edgar

*Arnrior Castle* c.1750 Roy 26

*Arnrior* 1756 RHP 3479

*Arnrior* 1783 Stobie

*Arnrior* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet sheet XV

ScG *earrann* + ScG *prior*

*Earrann Phrioir* ‘prior’s portion’. The earliest form seems to show lenition. Prior is attested in Irish Gaelic regarding a Scottish context in 1203, when there is mention in Annals of Ulster of Domnall h-Ua Brochan, prioir Ia ‘Domnall Ua Brochain prior of Iona’.<sup>201</sup> While Arnprior comes on record at a fairly late date it may date back to the foundation of Inchmahome Priory; it can hardly date to earlier than that, for whatever kind of institution existed on the island of Inchmahome previous to 1238, it was not a priory. Dwelly gives ScG *luamh* and *seachn-ab* as alternative words for ‘prior’. See p. 156-157 for discussion of St Bean.

The lands of Arnprior were, as might be expected, lands of Inchmahome and are shown as such in a rental of 1646. However, the lands of Inchmahome came into the possession of the Erskine Family in 1556 before the Reformation and Arnprior was one of the estates they gained. An estate plan of 1756 clearly delineates the lands of Arnprior, which extends from

<sup>201</sup> <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100001B/index.html>

the current village up to the muir beyond the modern farm of Jennywoodston. See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

/arn'praiər/

BACKSIDE OF GARDEN KPN S STL NS597956 1 20m

*Backside* 1817 Grassom

*Backside* 1860 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet VIII

Sc *back + side*

'Rear part of the estate of Garden'.

BADENKEP KPN S STL NS594921 1 146m

*Badincape* 1776 RHP2736

*Baddankep* 19th C RHP1870

*Badenkep* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

ScG *bad + an + ceap*

*Bad a' Chip* or *Bad nan Ceap* 'thicket of the block(s), top(s)'. It is not known what the *ceap* refers to.

/'badən,kɛp/

BALLAMENOCH KPN S STL NS581935 1 59m

*Balemeanach* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Ballamenoch* 1817 Grassom

*Ballamenoch* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV [Easter and Wester Ballamenoch shown]

ScG *baile* or *bealach* + *meadhanach*

*Baile* or *Bealach Meadhanach* ‘middle farmstead or settlement or pass’. The early forms point strongly to the generic being ScG *baile* ‘farmstead, settlement’, perhaps being the *middle toun* of Buchlyvie. However, the local interpretation given to me by the owner of Ballamenoch suggests that the generic may be ScG *bealach* ‘pass’. If it is *bealach meadhainach*, then it could be the ‘middle pass’ to the grazing lands of Buchlvie Muir (see also p. 124 for discussion of this name elsewhere in Menteith).

/balə'menox/ or / balə'minox/

BLACKHOUSE KPN S STL NS592959 1 14m

*Blackhouse* 1817 Grassom

*Blackhouse* 1860 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet VIII

Sc *black* + *house*

In the Outer Hebrides a Blackhouse was a dwelling built of turf; houses of stone were often called white-houses (see *DSL* under Black-house). In this case, Blackhouse may be a building constructed from the turf of Flanders Moss, which would have extended onto the lands on the southern bank of the River Forth. Note that there is another Blackhouse in the parish (see below).

BLACKHOUSE KPN S STL NS637996 1 11m

*Blackhouse* 1817 Grassom

*Blackhouse* 1860 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet IX

Sc *black + house*

See preceding entry for discussion.

BLAIRFECHANS # KPN S STL NS5894 3

*Blairfachane* 1622 RMS viii no. 1164

*Blairfachan* 1631 RMS viii no. 1659

*Blairfachane* 1633 Retours STL no. 146

*Blairfachane* 1637 RMS ix no. 730

*Blairfacken Hill* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Blairfachan* 1668 RMS xi no. 1160

*Blairfechans* 1680 Retours STL no. 282 [terris de *Blairfechans* cum lie coatterie ejusdem, infra parochiam de *Kippen*]

ScG *blàr + faichean?*

*Blàr Faichean?* ‘plain or muir of the fields’? Dwelly has *faiche*, -*an* as ‘field; plain, meadow, green; field where soldiers are reviewed’. *Faichean* seems to be the plural form,<sup>202</sup> and by the late 17<sup>th</sup> C it had acquired the Scots plural indicating sub-division, or it may be translating the ScG plural. In Ireland, *faithche* is described as a ‘green or lawn in front of a fort or residence or church; an open space in or before a city; a green meadow, or playingfield; sometimes referred to as a place for cattle’, and in Cormac’s Glossary it is ‘a levelled space’ (see *DIL* under *faithche*). See p. 110-114 for the element *blàr*.

<sup>202</sup> The ScG plural -*an* ending is certainly attested in the early 16<sup>th</sup> C Book of the Dean of Lismore (Ó Maolalaigh pers. comm.), but in Menteith it may date to the ealy 14<sup>th</sup> C if the early forms for Lanrick KMA (q.v.) contain, as they seem to, the plural -*an* ending.

BLAIRGORTS KPN S STL NS594939 1 50m

*Blairgrotis* 1609 RMS vii no. 354

*Blairgortis* 1622 RMS viii no. 1164

*Blaagortie* [or *Blairgortis*] 1631 RMS viii no. 1659

*Blairgroites* 1637 RMS ix no. 730

*Balegoris* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Blairgoats* 1668 RMS xi no. 1160

*W<sup>r</sup> Blargart* c.1750 Roy 26

*Blairgorts* 1817 Grassom [E. and W. *Blairgorts* shown]

*Blairgorts* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV [Wester and Easter *Blairgorts* shown]

ScG *blàr + gart* or *grod*

*Blàr Ghairt* or *Blàr Grod*. There is an ambiguity in this name. If the specific is ScG *gart*, then the meaning could be ‘plain of the enclosed settlement or field [or enclosed settlement or field of the plain]’. It could also be the plain or muir of a place called Gart, or perhaps Garden. But if, as the earliest form suggests, the specific is actually ScG *grod* ‘putrid, stinking’, then the meaning may be ‘putrid plain or muir’, perhaps relating to marshy grazing land frequently flooded by the nearby un-named burn. See p. 110-114 for the element *blàr*.

/bler'gurts/

BLINKBONNY # KPN S STL NS5992 3

*Blinkbonny* c.1750 Roy 26

*Blinkbonie* 1776 RHP2736

Sc blinkbonnie

'A Sc compound often applied to places enjoying a good view, the Sc equivalent of Bellvue or Belvidere' (Taylor, *PNF i*, 297).

BROICH KPN S STL NS673950 1 57m

*Broiche* 1586 Kirk 1984, 9

*Bruicch* 1654 Bleau Lennox

*Broich* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 351

*Broich* 1745/6 Edgar

*Broich* 1817 Grassom

ScG *bruach*

*Bruaich* 'bank [of the Arngomery Burn]'. This seems to have been an alternative name for Arngomery (q.v., above). The development of the name may indicate a dative form; see A. Watson (2002, 208) where he states Bruchmore, Monzievaird and Strowan parish PER, is ScG '*bruach* dat.-loc. of *bruach*# '(place at) bank' (of a watercourse, loch &c) plus *mòr* 'big'. It stands beside the Earn'. He also states that 'Broich (Glendevon), earlier *Bruach* and *Bruich*, and Broich (Crieff), both of which show evidence of dat.-loc. forms and appear to take their names from their position beside a watercourse' (A. Watson 2002, 208). See discussion of Broich KMA.

/brɔix/

BUCHLYVIE KPN S STL NS574937 1 NS575937 46m

*Boclyvy* 1490 NAS PA2/6, 1st part, f.14r<sup>203</sup>

*Bochlivy-Grahame* 1541 RMS iii no. 2403

*Bouchlive* 1542 RMS iii no. 2604

*Bochclevie* 1549 RMS iv no. 269

*Bochclivie* 1558 RMS iv no. 1232 [terras de *Mylntoun* de *Bochclivie*]

*Bochlyvie-Grahame* 1594 RMS vi no. 108 [terras de *Bochlyvie-Grahame*, *Mylntoun* et  
*Middeltoun* earundem]

*Bochlyvie* 1633 RMS viii no 2245

*Bucenbuy* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Bucklyvie* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 351

*Buchlywe* 1745/6 Edgar

*Buchlyvie* c.1750 Roy 70

*Hill of Buchlyvie* c.1750 Roy 26

*Buchlyvie* 1817 Grassom

? ScG *both* + ? ScG *sliabh* + ? -in

*Both Sliabhach* or *Slèibhidh/Sliabhaigh*? '(place of) hut, shieling, *both* of (upland) moorland'?

See Taylor (2006, 61-3) for his interpretation of Bucklyvie ABO FIF. Like its Fife counterpart, Buchlyvie STL has an upland situation, rising as it does out of the carselands of the River Forth. The modern village sits on the lower slopes at a height of about 48m, but 3km to the south at a height of 175m is a plateau called the Muir of Buchlyvie (NS580914). The specific may be *sliabhach* (adj.) 'pertaining to a *sliabh* 'mountain, moorland'.

/bʌk'laivi/

<sup>203</sup> At www.rps.ac.uk as ref. no. 1490/2/83 'Judicial proceedings: acts of the lords auditors of causes and complaints'.

CAULDHAME KPN S STL, PER NS645944 1 103m

*Caldhame* c.1750 Roy 26

*Cauldhame* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

Sc *cauld + hame*

'Cold home'. A fairly common name, at least eleven of them can be found on Scottish 1:50,000 OS maps.

CLAYLANDS KPN S STL NS633941 1 120m

*Clayland* c.1750 Roy 26

*Claylands* 1817 Grassom

*Claylands* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

Sc *clay + land*

CLAYMires KPN S STL NS590943 1 34m

*Claymires* 1817 Grassom

*Claymires* 1863 edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Sc *clay + mire*

'Clay bog'.

CLONEY KPN S STL, PER NS624940 1 115m

*Clone* 1783 Stobie

*Cloney* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

ScG *claon* or ScG *cluain*

*Claonidh* or *Cluainidh* ‘slope’ or ‘meadow, pasture’. Either meaning would probably suit here, as would *Cluanach* ‘a meadowy place’ and the locative *Cluanaigh*. The settlement sits midway on the north-facing slope between Kippen Muir and the carselands of the Forth. If ‘meadow, pasture’ is the meaning, it may have been the grazing lands of Arnmore.

/klɒnɪ/

CULBOWIE KPN S STL NS573927 1 105m

*Kilboy* 1558 RMS iv no. 1232

*Coulbuy* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*E Culbowie* c.1750 Roy 26

*Culbuy* 1776 RHP2736

*Culbowie* 1817 Grassom

*Culbowie* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV [Easter and Wester *Culbowie* shown]

ScG *cùil* or *cùl + buidhe*

*Cùil* or *Cùl Buidhe* ‘Yellow corner or back’. This is an eastern division of a place called *Cùlbuidhe* or *Cùlbuidhe*. Whether it refers to the colour of the geology or vegetation is not clear. The settlement was divided into Easter and Wester by 1750.

/kʌl'bʌui/

DASHER KPN S STL NS662941 1 90m

*Dischoure* 1508 RMS ii no. 3226 [*Over et Myddil Dischoure*, cum molendino earundem, necnon tenandriam de *Nethir Dischoure* vocat. *Offeris...jacentibus* prope ecclesiam de *Kippane*]

*Dischoure* 1508 RMS ii no. 3228 [*Over, Nether et Myddil Dischoure*]

*Dischoir* 1528 RMS iii no. 680 [*Ovir, Nethir et Middill Dischoir*]

*Dischor* 1575 Retours STL no. 11 [*Over Dischor, Nether Dischor et Midle Dischor*]

*Disheour* 1603 Retours STL no. 39 [*Over Disheour, Nether Disheour et Midle Disheour*]

*Descherris* 1647 Retours STL no. 188 [*Over, Midle et Nether Descherris*]

*E. Dashur* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*M. Dashur* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Deshors* 1679 Retours STL no. 280 [*Over, Midle et Nether Deshors*]

*Deshers* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 351

*Dasher* 1745/6 Edgar

*Dashouse* c.1750 Roy 26

*Dasher* 1817 Grassom

*Dasher* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

### ScG *deisear*

*Deisear* ‘place having a southerly exposure’. See Daisher # AFE for discussion. It seems unlikely that Keir Hill of Dasher is named after this farm since it sits 1.3km to the NW from Dasher, but it may be that Dasher was originally a much bigger estate.

/dəʃər/

*Dighty* c.1750 Roy 26

*Dighty* 1817 Grassom

*Dighty* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

This is possibly the original Celtic name for the nearby Cuthbertson Burn, perhaps a p-Celtic reflex of Gaelic *deagh*, ‘good’. A river called the Dighty Water can be found to the north of Dundee and Broughty Ferry ANG.<sup>204</sup>

/'dixti/

DRUM KPN S STL NS636954

*Drummys de Kippen* 1451 ER v, 475

*Drummys de Kippian* 1461 ER vii, 52

*Dronnys de Kippane* 1471 ER viii, 67

*Drummys de Kippane* 1480 ER ix, 564

*Drummis de Kippane* 1486 ER ix, 625

*Drummys de Kepan* 1499 ER xi, 415

*Drummys de Kippane* 1502 ER xii, 633

*Drummys of Kippane* 1541 ER xvii, 714

*Drum de Kippane* 1542 RMS iii no. 2602

*Drumb de Kippen* 1574 Retours PER no. 33

*Drummis de Kippen* RMS v no. 722

*Drumb de Kippen* 1623 Retours PER no. 316

*Drum de Kippen* 1635 Retours PER no. 442

*Drum de Kippen* 1642 RMS ix no. 1072

<sup>204</sup> My thanks to Dr Jake King for his help with this name.

*Drums* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Drum de Kippen* 1694 RMS ix no. 1571

*Drum* 1745/6 Edgar

*Drum* 1817 Grassom

*Drum* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet VIII

Sc *drum*

‘Ridge’. Here *Drum* appears to be a loan from ScG *druim* since there is a Scots plural on all early forms until the mid-16th c, and ScG *druim* tends not to appear on its own (see also Taylor, *PNF* ii, 156). Some 375m east of the modern farm of Drum is Keir Knowe of Drum, which was presumably the site of the original *druim*. On the Keir sat a motte, measuring 23m by 21m, for details of which see RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NS69NW 9.

/drʌm/

EASTER CULBOWIE KPN S STL NS573927 1 105m

*E Culbowie* c.1750 Roy 26

*Easter Culbowie* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Sc *easter + en Culbowie*

FAIRFIELD KPN S STL NS638956 1 13m

*Farfield* 1817 Grassom

*Fairfield* 1860 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet IX

Sc *fair* or *far + field*

It might mean the field that gives good returns for the amount of wheat sown or it could be the field that is furthest away from its original settlement, possibly Drum or Arnmanuel; a plan of 1815 shows the area being on the border of these two estates (RHP 45).

GARDEN KPN S STL NS597945 1 38m

*Carten-Sinclare* 1465 RMS ii no. 844

*Garthesainclire* 1472 Stirling Protocol Bk (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 62)

*Gartane Sinclare* 1472 Stirling Protocol Bk (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 116)

*Garten* 1472 Stirling Protocol Bk (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 118)

*Garten* 1480 Stirling Protocol Bk (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 162)

*Garden-Sinclare* 1496 RMS ii no. 2297 [terras de *Garden-Sinclare*, turrim et fortalicium earundem...]

*Garden* 1497 RMS ii no. 2384

*Garden* 1508 RMS ii no. 3228

*Garden-Forester* 1508 RMS ii no. 3228

*Garden-Forestar* 1528 RMS iii no. 679

*Carden* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027

*Cardene* 1562 Fraser, Menteith ii, 354

*Gairden* 1575 Retours STL no. 11

*Cardenn* 1586 Kirk 1984, 10

*Gardene* 1588 Kirk 1984, 76

*Carden* 1588 Kirk 1984, 76

*Garden* 1598 RMS vi no. 707

*Gairden* 1603 Retours STL no. 39

*Eister Garden* RMS vii no. 301

*Middle Garden* 1611 *Retours* STL no. 371

*Garden* 1619 *Retours* STL no. 96

*Gardyne* 1635 *Retours* STL no. 156

*Gardene* 1637 RMS ix no. 730

*Cardenn* 1646 *Geog. Coll.* ii,605

*Garden* 1647 *Retours* STL no. 188

*Carden* 1654 Blaeu Lennox [E., M., and W. *Carden* are all marked]

*Carden* 1679 *Retours* STL no. 280 [baroniam de *Carden*]

*Gardenn* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 351

*Gartend* c.1750 Roy 70

*Garden* 1783 Stobie

*Garden* 1817 Grassom

ScG *gart* + diminutive ending *-in* or Brit \**carden*

*Gartan* or *Càrdainn* ‘small enclosed field or settlement’, or ‘fort, enclosure’. The fact that some of the early forms begin with ‘c’ instead of ‘g’ may mean that we are looking at the Brit. or ScG loan-word from Pictish of \**carden*, meaning ‘woodland’ or ‘enclosure, encampment’ (Taylor, *PNF* i, 100, n.16; Breeze 1999, 39-41). See p. 48-49 for short discussion of \**carden* and 119-122 for discussion of the element *gart*.

Marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map is a rectangle marked ‘site of Tower of Garden’ at NS953948. RCAHMS Canmore states the tower, which may date to 1496, may have been demolished in 1749 when the current mansion was first built, but the ruins were apparently still ‘pretty entire... within a rampart and ditch’ in 1878, but, according to RCAHMS Canmore, nothing now remains (NMRS no. NS59SE 4). Within the estate of Garden, shown on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map are *Gardenmill* and *Gallows Hill*.

There is mention of a *Keir-brae of Garden* in *OSA* where the minister, Rev. John Campbell, states 'On the summit of each of [the kiers of Kippen] there is a plain of an oval figure, surrounded with a rampart, which in most of them still remains entire' (*OSA* 18, 329). And Chrystal would have Garden as *cathair-dun*, a sort of Gaelic equivalent of 'Castlehill' (Chrystal 1903, 23). However, later visits by the RCAHMS and the Ordnance Survey place doubts as to whether there was ever a \**cairn/caer* or keir at this site RCAHMS Canmore (NMRS no. NS59SE 5).

/gar'den/

GARTREE #KPN STL NS5992 3

*Gartrea* c.1750 Roy 26

*Gartree* 1776 RHP2736

ScG *gart* + ?

The early forms are too late to be at all certain, but possibilities are ScG *rèidh* 'level', also ScG *ruighe* 'sheiling', and perhaps unlikely, *rìgh* 'king'. See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

GLENTIRRANMUIR KPN S NS669946 1 35m

*Glenturin* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Glentirren* 1665 RMS xi no. 834 [uniting the whole (of the lands of *Terrantirren*) into the barony of *Glentirren* with the manor-place thereof as principal messuage]

*Glentirren* 1681 Retours STL no. 284

*Glentirran* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 351

*Glonuron* 1745/6 Edgar

*Glenturen* c.1750 Roy 26

*Glenterran Mill* 1817 Grassom

*Glentirranmuir* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

ScG *glen* + en \**Tirran* + Sc *muir*

This was originally part of the lands of *Terrintirran* (q.v. below), however, given the late date of the name it is probable that we have the Scots borrowing of *gleann* 'glen' here. Near here is Keir Hill of Glentirran which may have been the site of an early settlement. Next to it is a burial ground marked on the current 1:10,000 OS map. RCAHMS Canmore reports that the old house of Glentirran stood '200 yards from the old bridge of Boquhan' and gives an NGR of NS668994 for the site (NMRS No. NS69SE 3). Note that Blaeu shows a *Duntyren* to the north of Arngibbon on his map. A Gabriell Levinstoun of *Dunturan* is mentioned in the Visitation of Kippen in 1586 (Kirk 1984, 9).<sup>205</sup>

/glən'turən,mjur/ or /glən'tirən mjur/

GRIBLOCH KPN S STL NS631918 1 164m

*Griveloche* 1745/6 Edgar

*Griblochs* c.1750 Roy 26

*Gribloch* 1817 Grassom

*Gribloch* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

ScG *gnìomh* ? + *loch*

<sup>205</sup> He is of of *Duntyran* later in the same piece (Kirk 1984, 10) and of *Duntirrane* in 1588 (Kirk 1984 75).

The earliest form might suggest *gniomh*, which Dwelly gives as ‘parcel of land’, taken from *Armstrong’s Gaelic Dictionary*, which has a Perthshire bias (Watson 2002, 9). *DIL* and Kelly (1997, 573, n.119) have *gním/gnímh* meaning ‘a division of land, equivalent to the twelfth part of a ploughland’. The initial *gn* of *gniomh* is pronounced like the *gr* of green, but with ‘strong nasalisation of the neighbouring vowel’ (Black 2006, 7). However, this word is very rare in Scotland, and it is not at all clear if this is the word in this place-name. The unreliable Chrystal derives Gribloch from ‘a corruption of Garbhlach, the rough place’ (Chrystal 1903, 20). See Ardcheanochrochan CLD for the change from /n/ to /r/ in Gaelic words beginning *cn* or *gn*.

An alternative might be the *gryfe*-element – c.f. Irish *gríobh* – in Strathgryfe RNF, which Watson speculates might be ‘claw’ (Watson 1926, 470). *Gríobh* can also mean ‘fierce’ (*DIL*).

/'grɪbləx/

GRIBLOCH HOUSE KPN S STL NS641935 1 172m

*Gribloch House* 1957 OS 1 Inch Seventh Series sheet 54

This is a transferred name; the building and name first appear on the above mentioned map.

HARDISTON KPN S STL, PER NS612940 1 86m

*Hardistoun* c.1750 Roy 26

*Hardiestown* 1783 Stobie

*Hardiston* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Pn Hardie + Sc *toun*

'Farmstead or settlement of someone called Hardie'. In 1693 there is mention of 'parte terrarum de *Arnefinlay* occupata per Robertum Hardie' (*Retours PER* no. 993). This 'part of the lands of Arnfinlay' seems to have later become Hardiston. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

HEIGHTS KPN S STL NS587932 1 98m

*Heights* 1817 Grassom

*Easter Heights* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

*Wester Heights* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Sc *heights*

This is a settlement on the slopes above Buchlyvie.

HILL OF ARNMORE KPN S STL, PER NS621950 1 42m

*Arnmore* 1783 Stobie

*Hill of Arnmore* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet CXXXI

Sc *hill + of + en* Arnmore

Part of the lands of Arnmore. It sits on a small eminence and is so called to distinguish it from the original and main settlement 1.6km to the south. Stobie shows two settlements called *Arnmore* some distance apart with a *Keir know* in between them. The main settlement is marked with a 'Big Hoose' symbol.

JENNYWOODSTON KPN S STL, PER NS616932 1 136m

*Janniewoodstown* 1756 RHP 3479

*Woodstown* 1783 Stobie

*Jennywoodston* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Pn Jenny Wood + Sc *toun*

'Farmstead or settlement of Jenny Wood'. It is not known who the eponymous Jenny Wood was, nor if there is anyone with the surname Wood on record in KPN. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *toun*.

KEPP # KPN S PER, STL NS609951 1 15m

*Kipe* 1536 RMS iii no. 1544

*Kep* 1542 RMS iii no. 2653

*Kep* 1542 RMS iii no. 2851

*Kep* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027

*Kept* 1584 RMS v no. 714

*Kept* 1598 RMS vi no. 707

*Kept* 1610 RMS vii no. 301

*Kep* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Kep* 1745/6 Edgar

*Cape* c.1750 Roy 70

*Kepp* 1783 Stobie

*Kepp* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch PER sheet CXXX

ScG *ceap*

*Ceap* 'block, small, conspicuous hill'. The name may refer to a prominent rise in the flat carse-lands. Marked on Stobie's map a few metres to the west is *Little Kepp*, obviously a subdivision of what was once a larger farm.

KIPPEN KPN PS STL NS651948 1 75m

Ecclesiam de *Kippen* 1238 *Inchaffray Liber*, xxxi

ecclesia de *Kyppe* 1275 Bagimond (Dunlop edition), 54

*Sheriffisland de Kippene* 1451 RMS ii no. 508 [terræ de *Treenterene* ac terræ de *Inherne* vocatas vulgariter le Third Parte, de *Shereffis lande de Kippene*]

*Crux de Kippene* 1459 RMS ii no. 672 [2 marcata terrarum de *Ernbeg*, in quibus situatur

*Crux de Kippene*, in dominio de *Menteith*]

*Kyppan* 1472 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 62)

*Kepan* 1477 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 136)

*Kippan* 1478 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 158)

*Kepene* 1482 *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* xi, 33)

*Kippene* 1496 RMS ii no. 2306 [de ecclesia parochiali de *Kippene*, Dunblanen. dioces., et jure patronatus ejusdem, infra comitatum de *Menteith*]

*Kippene* 1513 RMS ii no. 3822

*Kippene* 1559 *Retours* STL no. 7

*Kippen* 1560s Kirk 1995, 343 [The vicarage of *Kippen* £4]

*Cipane* 1560s Kirk 1995, 543 [The kirks of *Cipane* and *Kincar[d]ine*<sup>206</sup> set in assedation for £73 6s 8d]

*Kippen* 1604 *Retours* STL no. 48

*parochia de Kippen* 1633 RMS viii no. 2245

*parochiam de Kippen* 1644 RMS ix no. 1571

*Kippon Kirk* 1646 *Geog. Coll.* ii, 605

K. of *Kippen* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Kippon* 1745/6 Edgar

*Kippen* c.1750 Roy 26

<sup>206</sup> The addition of [d] by James Kirk in his edition of the *Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices*.

ScG *ceap* +*-an*

*Ceanan* ‘small lump of a hill’? Two historians of Kippen have offered derivations which are unsatisfactory or erroneous. Chrystal (1903, 18), following the *OSA* for Kippen (*OSA* xviii, 317), contends that Kippen derives from ScG *ceap*, which is related, he says, to English *cape* ‘promontory’. This supposedly perfectly describes Kippen’s situation in that it juts out from the Gargunnock Hills to the carselands of the River Forth below, and this is certainly how it appears from the east, especially when viewed from somewhere such as Row KMA. However, Eng. ‘cape’ derives ultimately from Latin *caput* ‘head’, while ScG *ceap* derives from Latin *cippus* ‘post, pillar, stake’, and became the ScG word for a shoe-maker’s block or last. Chrystal also proposes a derivation from ScG *ciopan* ‘stumps or roots of trees’ (Chrystal 1903, 18). This apparently relates to the remains of an old forest that is sometimes found under the carse (c.f. Loch Goosey AYR , where the *goosey*-element may be ScG *giuthasach* ‘abounding in pine’<sup>207</sup>). Begg has erroneously put forward the possibility that the *-pen* of Kippen could be Brit. *pen* ‘end, head’. Kippen, according to Begg, is made from two words; ScG *ceap* and Brit. *pen* and thus ‘convey[s] the ‘headland’ meaning’ (Begg 2000, 17), but this is not possible.

What, then, can be the meaning behind Kippen? Angus Watson has Kippen, near Auchterarder, and Kippendavie and Kippenrait DLE, as deriving from ScG *ceap*, plural *ceapan* ‘turf, tussock, or when a hill name, ‘lump of a hill’ (Watson 1995, 89). In Kippen KPN, however, it may be more likely that it is ScG *ceap* with the diminutive ending *-an*, producing *ceapan*, and that it refers to one of the kiers found in the parish, perhaps the one nearest the old kirk, i.e Keir Knowe of Dasher (see p. 122-123 for discussion of the element *keir*).

/'kipən/

<sup>207</sup> My thanks to Michael Ansell.

KNOWEHEAD KPN S STL NS644921 1 158m

*Knowhead* c.1750 Roy 26

*Knowhead* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

Sc *knowe* + Sc *heid* or SSE *head*

'Head/top/end of the small hillock'. This Knowehead is in the SE corner of the parish, but both Roy and Grassom also show a *Knowhead* just east of Buchlyvie, which may be on the site of the remains of a broch called the Fairy Knowe (NS586942), where a Roman coin dating to AD 71-8 was found (Robertson 1983, 410; RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NS59SE 3).

LARABEN KPN S STL, PER NS624954 1 34m

*Laraben* 1783 Stobie

*Laraben* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch PER sheet CXXXI

ScG *lär + an + beinn*

This may be *Lär na Beinne* or *Lär nam Beann* 'low ground of the mountain(s)', i.e. lands at the bottom of the Gargunnock Hills.

/larə'bɛn/

LINTMILN KPN S STL, PER NS611926 1 150m

*Lint Mill* 1783 Stobie

*Lintmiln* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch PER sheet CXXXVI & CXXXVII

*Sc lint + mill*

‘Mill for processing lint or flax’. The 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS map shows the body of water lying 700m to the south as being a ‘Mill Dam’, which was used to power the lint mill.

LITTLE KERSE KPN S STL NS656956 1 11m

*Littlekerse* 1817 Grassom

*Little Kerse* 1860 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet IX

*Sc little + carse*

‘Smaller or lesser settlement on the low alluvial land’ along the banks of the River Forth. See Carse of Cambus KMA for discussion of Sc *carse*.

MERKLAND KPN S STL, PER NS610947 1 35m

*Merkland* Roy 26

*Merkland* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch PER sheets CXXXVI & CXXXVII [*Wester Merkland, Middle Merland, and Easter Merkland* shown]

*Sc mark + land*

DOST has merkland as ‘A piece of land assessed as having an annual rental value of one mark at the time of assessment (viz. chiefly, Old Extent)’. On the current 1:50,000 OS map it is marked as one place, i.e. ‘Merkland’, but on the current 1:25,000 Middle and Wester Merkland are shown, while Easter Merkland is shown on the 1:10,000 map. Neither is more than c.300m from the other.

MIDDLE KERSE KPN S STL NS653955 1 13m

*Kerse* 1817 Grassom

*Middle Kerse* 1860 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet IX

Sc *middle + carse*

See Carse of Cambus KMA for discussion of Sc *carse*.

MIDDLETON KPN S STL NS601951 1 29m

*Middletoun* 1558 RMS iv no. 1232

*Middletoun* 1594 RMS vi no. 108

*Middletown* 1783 Stobie

*Middletown* 1817 Grassom

*Middleton* 1860 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet VIII

Sc *middle + toun*

'Central farmstead or settlement [of Garden]'.

NEWBURN KPN S STL, PER NS613957 1 12m

*Newburn* 1783 Stobie

Sc *new + burn*

This may refer to a new settlement placed beside a relatively newly dug drainage channel or course for a burn.

OFFERS # KPN STL, PER S NS646949 1 65m

*Offeris de Schirgartane* 1451 RMS ii no. 444

*Offrendscherregart* 1451 ER v, 475

*Offeris de Schirgartane* 1451 RMS ii no. 444

*Offerende de Scheregartane* 1453 ER v, 595

*Offrend de Schergarten* 1454 ER v, 676

*Offrenshiregartan* 1456 ER vi, 279

*Offrenys de Kippan* 1461 ER vii, 52

*Offrennys de Kippone* 1471 ER viii, 67

*Offrennys de Schyrgartoun* 1472 RMS ii no. 1079

*le offeris de Schyregartane* 1472 Stirling Protocol Bk (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 116)

*Offerinny of Schirgartane* 1472 Stirling Protocol Bk (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 118)

*Offrennys de Schirgartane* 1472 RMS ii no. 1080

*Offeranis de Kippone* 1478 ER viii, 531

*Offren de Kippone* 1480 ER ix, 564

*Offrens de Kippone* 1484 ER ix, 596

*Offrens de Kippone* 1486 ER ix, 625

*Offeris de Kippan* 1494 ER x, 723

*Offrens de Kippone* 1499 ER xi, 415

*Offrens de Schirgartane* 1502 ER xii, 26

*Offrenis de Kippone* 1502 ER xii, 633

*Offeris* 1508 RMS ii no. 3226 [*Nether Dischoure* vocat. *Offeris*]

*Offeris de Lekky* nuncupat. *Schiregartane* 1584 RMS iv no. 230

lie *Offerance de Leckye* nuncupat. *Scheirgartan* 1617 RMS vii no. 1615

Sc *offering* or ScG *aifreann, aifrionn*; OG *oifrend*

'Offering, sacrifice, Mass'. It is not entirely clear whether the 'Offers of Shirgarton' is the same as that called 'Nether Dischoure', but Watson thought it was 'probably the old glebe of Kippen' (Watson 1926, 255). This is one of a number of *Offers* names found along the course of the River Forth. See p. 161-163 for discussion of this element.

OXHILL KPN S STL NS580938 1 39m

*Oxhill* 1817 Grassom

*Oxhill* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

'Hill where oxen were kept' or perhaps relating to oxgang, a unit of c.13 acres of arable.

PARKS OF GARDEN KPN S STL,PER NS601969 1 15m

*Parks* 1783 Stobie

*Parks of Garden* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch PER sheet CXXX

Sc *park* + SSE of + en Garden

SETTIE KPN S STL NS639941 1 124m

*City* 1817 Grassom

*Settie* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

ScG *sìth* ?

There are no conspicuous hills nearby which might be a 'fairy hill'. Other possibilities include

ScG *siteag* (fem.) 'dunghill' or ScG *sèideag*, diminutive of *sèid* (fem.) 'truss of hay'.

SHIRGARTON KPN S STL, PER NS646949 1 65m

*Schirgartane* 1451 RMS ii no. 444 [*Offeris de Schirgartane*]

*Schirgartane* 1485 RMS ii no. 1613

*Scheirgartane* 1542 RMS iii no. 2602

*Scheirgartane* 1574 Retours PER no. 33

*Schargartoun* 1598 RMS vi no. 707

*Schergarrane* 1623 *Retours PER* no. 316

*Scheirgartin* 1635 *Retours PER* no. 442

*Schiergartane* 1642 RMS ix no. 1072

*Skergarten* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Schirgartoun* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 351

*Shurgartoun* c.1750 Roy 26

*Shergarton* 1783 Stobie

*Shirgarton* 1860 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet IX

ScG *siar + gart + -an*

*Siar Ghartan* ‘west little enclosed field or settlement’. For more early forms of Shirgarton see Offers # KPN, above. See p. 119-122 for discussion of the element *gart*. Watson renders it in conventional Gaelic as *siar-ghartan*, but says it is now represented by ‘Garden near Cardross’ (1926, 203.), by which he means Garden KPN. It is difficult to be sure why he thought this since Shirgarton is 5km *east* of Garden, and in any case it is clearly marked on the 6 inch OS map, which Watson must surely have had access to. Instead Shirgarton must have been named in relation to the village of Kippen.

The forms for 1584 and 1617 mention the \*Offers of Leckie; it is not clear why, unless there was some tenurial link with the settlement of Leckie (now marked as Old Leckie) in neighbouring Gargunnock parish, some 4 km E of Shirgarton.

/ʃr'gətən/

TERRINTIRRAN # KPN S STL NS669946

*Treinterane* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Treinteray* 1451 *ER* v, 479

*Treenterene* 1451 *RMS* ii no. 508 [terræ de *Treenterene* ac terræ de *Inherne* vocatas vulgariter le Third Parte, de *Shereffis lande de Kippone*]<sup>208</sup>

*Treinterane* 1453 *ER* v, 595

*Terinteran* 1453 *ER* v, 596

*Trenterane* 1454 *ER* v, 675

*Teren, et Terand* 1500 *RMS* ii no. 2513 [terræ de...*Teren, et Terand* in *Kippone*]

*Terene et Terand* 1513 *RMS* ii no. 3822 [terræ de *Terene et Terand*, in *Kippone*]

*Terran et Terrand* 1559 *Retours* *STL* no. 7 [terræ de *Terran et Terrand*, in *Kippone*]

*Terturane* 1583 *RMS* v no. 627

*Terrintirran* 1587 *Retours* *STL* no. 358 [terris de *Terrintirran* in *Kippan*]

*Terrinterrane* 1604 *Retours* *STL* no. 48 [in terris de *Terrinterrane* in *Kippen*]

*Terintirran* 1615 *RMS* vii no. 1346

*Terrintirrin* in *Kippen* 1646 *NAS PA2/23 f.504 r – 504 v*

*Tarrantirren* 1665 *RMS* xi no. 834 [the lands of *Tarrantirren* with manor-place thereof...in the parish of *Kippen*...uniting the whole into the barony of *Glentirren*...]

*Terrintirran* 1681 *Retours* *STL* no. 284 [terris de *Terrintirran*, infra parochiam de *Kippen*, unitis in baroniam de *Glentirren*]

ScG *trian + an + siorram*

*Trian an t-Siorraim* ‘third part of the sheriff (lands)’. The earliest forms certainly suggests *trian* ‘third part’, while the consistent *t* of the *tirren*-element derives from the fact that *s* is silent in ScG after the form of the definite article *an t-*. The 1451 *RMS* form gives the translation of ‘Third part of the Sheriff’s land of Kippen’, however, why the final consonant

<sup>208</sup> The comma after ‘le Third Parte’ seems to be an addition by the editor of the printed edn of *RMS*.

should consistently be *n* rather than the expected *m* or *v*, is not clear. Where the other two thirds were is not clear, although note that there is a Thirds 1 km SE of Buchlyvie and Stobie shows *E.* and *M. Thirds* N of Arnprior at what is now Easter Garden. Whether these are also parts of the Sheriff-lands is not clear. See introduction to KPN for comments of the name *Inhere* mentioned in 1451. Terrintirran later became part of the barony of Glentirran in 1665 (*RMS xi no. 834*). The exact whereabouts of Terrintirran are unknown; NGR is for Keir Hill of Glentirran.

THIRDS KPN S STL NS584934 1 81m

*The Thirds* c.1750 Roy 26

*Third* 1817 Grassom

*Thirds* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Sc *third*

'Part of land that was divided into three parts'. Note that Stobie shows *E. Third* and *M. Third* in the PER portion, north of Arnprior, roughly where Easter Garden now sits, and when we combine these thirds with Terrinterran # (q.v.) we have three thirds in Kippen.

THORNTREE KPN S STL, PER NS609935 1 129m

*Thorntree* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Sc *thorn + tree*

TOWNHEAD KPN S STL, PER NS606933 1 127m

*Tounhead* c.1750 Roy 26

*Townhead* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Sc *town + heid*

WESTER BLAIRGORTS KPN S STL NS594939 1 50m

*W<sup>r</sup> Blargart* c.1750 Roy 26

*W. Blairgorts* 1817 Grassom

*Wester Blairgorts* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Sc *wester + en* Blairgorts

WESTER CULBOWIE KPN S STL NS571922 1 133m

*Culbowie* c.1750 Roy 26

*Wester Culbowie* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

ScG *wester + en* Culbowie

WESTERTON KPN S STL NS658949 1 53m

*Westerton* 1860 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet IX

Sc *wester + toun*

‘Western settlement or farmstead’. It is not entirely clear what this is meant to be the western settlement of, but it could be *Glentirran*. The 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS shows a *Glentirranmill* at NS664954, c.700m NE of Westerton. Grassom, however, seems to show Westerton as being *Fauldfoots* in 1817.

WHITELEYNS KPN S STL NS579923 1 140m

*Whitelyes* 1817 Grassom

*Whitelees* 1863 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XV

Pn Whitely

There is no indication from the source material who the eponymous Whitely was.

WRIGHTPARK KPN S STL NS643926 1 158m

*Wrightspark* 1817 Grassom

*Wrightspark* 1861 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch STL sheet XVI

Pn Wright + Sc park

Johne Wright is mentioned as an elder of the Kirk in Kippen in 1586 (Kirk 1984, 9).

## ***The Parish of Port-of-Menteith***

### *Introduction*

The parish of PMH is in the centre of Menteith (see Map 23), surrounded by CLD to the north, AFE to the west, KPN to the south and KMA and KRD to the east. The parish was originally slightly smaller on its northern side, as in 1615 it gained part of the parish of Leny (*RMS* vii no. 1222). The lands of Dullater were usually said to be in ‘dominio de Strogartney’ or the lordship of Strathgartney (e.g. *RMS* ii, no. 567). The barony of Strathgartney was wholly in what is now CLD, i.e. the southern boundary of the parish comprised the northern shores of Lochs Katrine, Achray, and Venachar, and yet the lands of Dullater (now Easter and West Dullater) are found on the southern shore of Loch Venachar. What may be significant is the boundary name in the NW corner of the parish near Invertrossachs of *Meall na Crìche* ‘round hill or lump of the boundary’. There are two other *crioch* place-names in Menteith, both called *Allt na Crìche* ‘burn of the boundary’, in CLD and KMA, and both are burns marking parish boundaries. The CLD *Allt na Crìche* marked the boundary between Callander and Leny, while the KMA *Allt na Crìche* marks the boundary between KMA and DLE.

Other than for mentions of Inchmahome<sup>209</sup> and of some lands belonging to the earldom of Menteith after it fell to the Crown by forfeiture in 1425, the sources for PMH are almost devoid of place-name evidence prior to the two decades or so before the Protestant Reformation of 1560. In *RMS* there is a list of lands dating to 1643 which show the lands of the post-1427 earls of Menteith in PMH: Inchie, Port, Inchtalla, Portend, Arnetamie, Malling, Ballochraggan, Monyvreckie, Gartmoulin #, Gartrenich, Arnachley #, Shannochill, islands and gardens of the priory of Inchmahome, in the parish of Port (*RMS* ix no. 1502).<sup>210</sup> Another charter dating from around the same time shows the lands of Ruskie which remained in the

<sup>209</sup> See Chapter 6 for discussion of this name.

<sup>210</sup> Also in the charter are the now lost *Inchiemoy*, lie *Mylnetoun*, and *Auchmore*.

hands of the descendants of the Stewarts of Menteith: Auchinsalt, Earn, *Sheriffiestoun*, Lennieston, Calziemuck, Dunverig, Tarr, *Balebeg*, and Borland (*Laing Chrs*, no. 2272). The lands of Cardross in PMH, which came down to the Erskines of Mar, can be deduced from a charter dating to 1605: Poldar, Gartledeny # and Hilton, Arnprior, Arnigar, Gartur, Lochend, the mill of Cardross, Arnclerich, Blaircessnock, Ballingrew, Hornyhaick #, Wards of Goodie, Bordland # called the Mains of Cardross, loch and isles of Inchmahome, Arnmac, the kirk lands of Port (NAS PA2/16, f.86v-89r).<sup>211</sup> Stobie shows a greater density of settlement in the area around Invertrossachs, much of which must have been cleared, possibly for sheep or aesthetic reasons in the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century.

ARNACHLY # PMH S NS553998 2 37m

*Arnachley* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Arnachly* 1783 Stobie

*Arnchluy* 1840s NSA x, 1105

*Arnachly* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *earrann* + ?

See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*. Lack of modern pronunciation makes it difficult to state what the specific might be, but the obsolete ScG masc. word *claidhe* ‘burial’ is a possibility (see Dwelly s.v. *claidhe*). This supposed to have been one of four chapels belonging to Inchmahome Priory (NSA x, 1105; Hutchison 1899, 141; Carver 2003, 19). There is an old graveyard at NS554996, although remains of gravestones are few, if any. (see RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NS59NE 4). See also Shannochill PMH, below.

ARNCLERICH PMH S NS601991 1 46m

<sup>211</sup> The full text of this document, with translation can be seen at [www.rps.ac.uk](http://www.rps.ac.uk), ref. no. 1605/6/120.

*Arniclerycht* 1526 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 385

*Ardinclerich* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027

*Ardincleriche* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 354

*Ardinclericht* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 360

*Ardinclerich* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r

*Ardinclarich* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Arnecleriche* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

*Achincler* 1654 *Blaeu Lennox*

*Arnchlerich* 1783 Stobie

*Arnchlerich* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *earrann + clèireach* or *àird + an + clèireach*

*Earrann a' Chlèirich* or *Àird a' Chlèirich* ‘portion of the cleric or height of the cleric’. Although the genitive singular of *clèireach* is given in the analysis, the absence of lenition before the 1783 form, indicates the place-name might contain gen. plural *nan clèireach* ‘of the clerics’. The earliest forms point towards *àird* ‘height’ and this is perfectly plausible given that Arnclerich sits on a ridge of terminal moraine about 30m above the carse floor (Milton of Cardross at NS598996 sits at 17m OD). However, the fact that there are a fairly large number of other *earrann*-names in the area (around 21), including Arnvicar and Arnprior, and that the settlement was a property of Inchmahome, means it could be just as likely that the generic is *earrann* ‘portion, division, share’. We could also be looking at generic element variation or substitution here.

In a Scottish context *clèireach* is also found as *achad na glérec* in the 12<sup>th</sup> C Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer (Taylor 2008, 289; Jackson 1972, 19, 49). *Clèireach* is a loan word from Latin *clericus*. See also *DIL cléirech*. See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

Painted on a piece of wood nailed to a tree at the entrance to the modern farm is  
*Arnaclerich*.

/arn'klerix/

ARNMACH PMH R NS576999 1 22m

*Armavak* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r

*Armawak* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

*Arnmach* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

*Arnmaack* 1899 Hutchison 1899, 52 [Hutchison also has the spellings *Arnmack* (p.52) and  
*Arnawk* (p.73)]

ScG *earrann* + *magh* + diminutive ending?

'Portion of the small plain?'. The earliest forms might represent \**maghag* or \**maghog*, although there are no such lexical items and the evidence suggest a final plosive for the most part rather than a fricative. However, ScG *maghach* 'abounding in fields' exists as an adjective. See also *DIL* where OG *macha* or *machad* means 'an enclosure for milking cows, a milking yard'. Hutchison (1899, 52) thinks it could be 'portion or field of the swine', the specific containing ScG *muc*, but there is no sign of the vowel /u/ in any of the early forms.

Blaeu shows an *Arnaack* between Cardross and the River Forth at approx NS608974. It is unclear if this is an error and should be placed nearer to Lake of Menteith or if it is indeed another *earrann*-name. No *earrann*-name is shown on Robert Gordon's map of area dating to c.1636-52 (NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)) or on Roy or Stobie here. See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

ARNOCHOILE WOODPMH V NS5497 3

*Arnochyle* c.1750 Roy 70

*Ornachoil* 1783 Stobie

ScG *earrann + an + caol*

*Earrann a' Chaoil* 'portion of the narrow'. The 'narrow' might be the stretch of land E of Gartmore, which is bound by the River Forth to the N and Fir Hill to the S. See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

ARNTAMIE PMH S NS565010 1 50m

*Erntomy* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Ernthom* 1489 RMS ii no. 1861

*Arnetomie* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Arntammy* 1783 Stobie

*Arntamie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *earrann + toman*

*Earrann Tomain* 'portion of the small knoll'. There is a possibility that Arntamie contained the eastern ScG *-in* suffix, meaning 'place of' or 'place at', but see Leny CLD for the rarity of this ending in Menteith. See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*.

/arn'tomi/ earlier /arn'temi/

ARNVICAR PMH S NS586980 1 35m

*Arnvicare* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027

*Arnevicar* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 354

*Arnevicar* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 360

*Arneviccar* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r

*Arneviccar* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Arnewiccare* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

*Airnvicar* 1654 *Blaeu Lennox*

*Arinvikar* c.1750 Roy 70

*Arnvicar* 1783 Stobie

*Arnvicar* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *earrann* + ScG *biocair*

*Earrann Bhiocair* ‘portion of the vicar’. *DIL* states that MG *bicáire* is loaned from Latin [i.e. *vicarius*] and is attested in the *Annals of Connacht* in 1357. Dwelly does not have this word, while Mark’s *Gaelic-English Dictionary* (2004) has *biocair* ‘vicar’. The word is attested in the surname MacVicar from the late 15<sup>th</sup> C (Black 1946, 568). See p. 116-119 for disussion of the element *earrann*.

/arn'vikər/

AUCHENSALT PMH S NN649014 1 82m

*Achanasilt* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Auchinsall* 1640 *Laing Chrs* no. 2272

*Achinsall* 1646 *Retours PER* no. 558

*Auchinsalt* 1684 *Retours PER* no. 934

*Auchinsalt* 1689 *Retours PER* no. 940

*Auchinsalt* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 953

*Achinsalt* 1783 Stobie

*Auchinsalt* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV

ScG *achadh + an + sult* ?

*Achadh an t-Suilt?* ‘field of the fatness?’ Although the first form on the list falls between 1630-50, it looks earlier than the 1640 and 1646 forms, having traces of ScG *achadh*, rather than the Sc form *auchin-*. The second element looks as if it has been assimilated to SSE *salt* reasonably early. Dwelly has *sult* and a variant *salt*, gen sg *sailt*, as ‘fat, plumpness, fatness’, while *DIL* has *sult* ‘fatness, prosperous’. If this is indeed the second element, then it may relate to the productiveness of the land here. See p. 107-110 for discussion of the element *achadh*.

/,əxən'sɔlt/

AUCHRIG PMH S NN599032 1 173m

*Auchryg* 1498 *RMS ii* no. 2465

*Auchrek* 1502 *RMS ii* no. 2673

*Auchray* 1505 *Retours PER* no. 1049

*Auchrig* 1509 *RMS ii* no. 3288 [terras de *Over* et *Nethir Auchrig*]

*Auchreg* 1563 *RMS iv* no. 1489 [*Auchreg Over et Nethir*]

*Auchreg* 1630 *RMS viii* no. 1623 [5 mercatas terrarum de *Auchreg Ovir et Nethir...cum privilegio lie mure et mos dict. terris de Auchreg infra terras de Letter et baroniam de Ruskie*]

*Auchcraig* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Auchreg* 1684 *Retours PER* no. 940

*Auchcraig* c.1750 Roy 70

*Achrigg* 1783 Stobie

*Auchrig* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

ScG *achadh* + *creag*

*Achadh Creige* ‘crag field’. The settlement sits below the steep rocky south-east face of Beinn Dearg. ScG *creag* usually comes into place-names as *craig*, but in this instance may have come from a genitive singular, *creige*, perhaps re-formed by analogy with masc. o-stem nouns such as *fer*, gen. sg. *fir*, so *cre(a)g*, gen. sg. \**crig*. The *creag* element has later been re-interpreted as Sc *rig*. See p. 107-110 for discussion of the element *achadh*.

/'ɔx'rɪg/

AUCHYLE #PMH NN542003 1 36m

*Achachyl* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Auchyll* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Achachyill* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Achyle* c.1750 Roy 70

*Achoil* 1783 Stobie

*Auchyle* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *achadh caol?*

*Achadh Chaol?* ‘narrow field’. The anglicised spellings in -y-, suggesting palatalisation, might be an attempt to represent the sound of ‘ao’ of ScG *caol* ‘narrow’ which is not found in Scots or English. This now lost settlement was situated on the western side of Lake of Menteith, but note that there is another Auchyle c.5km ENE at NN591017, which seems to be marked as

*Unchenoch* on Stobie, although it is marked as Auchyle on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map. See Unchenoch PMH, below. See p. 107-110 for discussion of the element *achadh*.

/əx'əil/

AUCHYLE PMH S NS591017 1 30m

This is marked as *Auchyle* on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS, but seems to have been called *Unchenoch* from at least 1451 to 1783. See Auchyle # above and Unchenoch # PMH.

BAAD PMH S NS537966 1 26m

pendicula vocat. lie *Bad* 1555 RMS iv no. 978

pendicula vocata lie *Bad* 1568 RMS iv no. 1815

pendicula terrae vocata lie *Bad* 1606 *Retours PER* no. 161

pendiculo vocato *Bad* 1636 RMS ix no. 457

pendiculum vocatum *the Bad* 1641 RMS ix no. 991

*Badden* 1654 *Blaeu Lennox*

*Badd* 1783 Stobie

*Baad* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG or Sc *bad*

*Am Bad.* For discussion of *bad* see Baad KRD. This place is now called Baad Spring; the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map shows a ‘well’ a few metres to the north of the settlement which presumably accounts for the ‘Spring’ in the modern name.

BAAD SPRING PMH S NS537966 1 26m

See immediately preceding for details.

BALEBEG # PMH S NN635009 2 34m [Ruskie]

*Balbeg* 1640 *Laing Chrs*, no. 2272

*Balbeg* 1646 *Retours PER* no. 558

*Balivege* 1684 *Retours PER* no. 934

*Ballibeg* 1685 *Retours PER* no. 940

*Ballibeg* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 953

*Balebeg* 1783 Stobie

ScG *baile + beag*

*Am Baile Beag* ‘small tounship or farmstead’. One of four places called *baile beag* (Balebeg, Ballabeg, or Ballybeg) in PMH, near Arnvicar, Ruskie, Rednock, and Invertrossachs. See p. 124 for discussion of this name.

BALLABEG PMH S NS591979 1 38m [Arnvicar]

*Balbeg* 1783 Stobie

*Ballabeg* 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *baile + beag*

*Am Baile Beag* ‘small tounship or farmstead’. One of four places called *baile beag* in PMH. See p. 124 for discussion of this name.

/balə'beɪg/

BALLABEG PMH S NN605020 1 58m [Rednock]

*Balbeg* c.1750 Roy 70

*Ballbeg* 1783 Stobie

*Ballabeg* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

ScG *baile + beag*

*Am Baile Beag* ‘small township or farmstead’. One of four places called *baile beag* in PMH. See p. 124 for discussion of this name.

/balə'beg/

BALLAGLINE # PMH NN606026 2 100m

*Ballochlyng* c1750 Roy 70

*Ballachling* 1783 Stobie

*Ballagline* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

ScG *bealach + claon?* or *linne?*

*Am Bealach Claon?* or *Bealach Linne?* ‘sloping pass or lake (loch) pass’. *Ballagline* must have been the main pass from Port-of-Menteith towards Callander. The A81 Aberfoyle-Callander main road follows this route. If lake/loch is the derivation, then it must mean Loch Rusky 1 km NE. *Ballagline* is still visible on the 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map of 1903, but had disappeared by the time the 1 inch popular edn was published in 1924. See p. 88-90 for discussion of *bealach*.

BALLANGREW PMH S 611985 1 37m

*Ballingrew* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027

*Ballingrew* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 354

*Ballingrew* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 360

*Ballingrew* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r

*Ballingrew* 1634 *Retours PER* no. 431

*Ballingrew* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Ballingrew* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

*Balengro* 1654 *Blaeu Lennox*

*Balingrew* 1783 Stobie

*Ballingrue* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *baile + an + craobh*

*Baile nan Craobh* ‘tounship or farmstead of the trees’. The specific shows signs of nasalization, which can occur in OG after gen. plural, suggesting *baile nan craobh*. Note that in 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v there is mentioned *Balingrow* and *Balnagrew*; these forms belong to Ballingrew in KMA (NS692990). See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

/balən'<sup>l</sup>gru/

BALLANUCATER PMH S NN630022 1 99m

*Balnoucater* 1783 Stobie

*Ballanucater* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV

ScG *baile + an + fùcadair*

*Baile an Fhùcadair* ‘tounship or farmstead of the fuller or wa(u)lker of cloth’. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

/balə'nu,kətər/

BALLOCHRAGGAN # PMH S NN559011 1 77m

*Balchreigan* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Balcraggane* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Ballachraggan* 1783 Stobie

*Ballochraggan* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *bealach + creagan*

*Bealach Creagain* ‘little crag pass’. Ballochraggan sits below the crags of Craig of Monievreckie. There are other *bealaichean* through the Menteith Hills in the vicinity of this place, including Bealach Conasgach ‘whin or gorse pass’ and Bealach Cumhang ‘narrow pass’. Ballochraggan may have been reinterpreted at an early date as *baile a' chreagain* ‘tounship of the little crag’ through generic element variation or substitution between *bealach* and *baile*, since the earliest forms look like *baile*. See p. 88-90 for discussion of *bealach*.

BALLYBEG # PMH S NN558045 3 120m [Invertrossachs]

*Ballybeg* 1783 Stobie

ScG *baile + beag*

*Baile Beag* ‘Small tounship or farmstead’. One of four places called *baile beag* in PMH. See p. 124 for discussion of this name.

BALMEANOCH # PMH S NN604022 2 50m

*Ballemanoch* 1573 *Laing Chrs*, no. 881

*Ballmenoch Castle* c.1750 Roy 70

*Balmeanoch* 1783 Stobie

ScG *baile + meadhanach*

*Baile Meadhanach* ‘middle tounship or farmstead [of Rednock]’ is perhaps the most likely meaning, but the earliest form and the proximity of the settlement to Inchmahome suggest the specific of *manach* ‘monk’ could be a possibility. There are two other Balmeanochs in Menteith, one near Leny CLD and one near Buchlyvie KPN. See p. 124 for discussion.

BALVORIST # PMH S NS598986 2

*Balvorist* 1783 Stobie [*W. Balvorist* and *E. Balvorist* marked on map]

ScG *baile + ?*

This is the only time this place-name is mentioned as far as I am aware. See discussion of *Balvorist* KMA. See p. 123-129 for discussion of *baile*.

BARBADOES PMH S 549968 1 14m

*Barbadoes* 1783 Stobie

*Barbadoes* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

This is probably a settlement of someone who was involved in transatlantic trade before the American War of Independence and was based in the Caribbean island of Barbados for a while. There are documents in NAS dealing with the correspondence of Robert Graham of Gartmore who was ‘Receiver-General of Jamaica’ in 1762 (NAS GD22/1/566), as well as other material relating to the affairs of other Menteith Grahams in the West Indies. Jamaica could

be a generic term for the West Indies in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Cs.<sup>212</sup> The nearby lands of Baad Spring had been in the hands of the Grahams from at least 1573 (NAS GD22/3/498) to 1869 (NAS GD22/1/510 ).

BIGRAM PMH S NN611011 1 29m

*Bigran* 1783 Stobie

*Bigram* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

It has not been possible to determine the meaning or language of this place-name.

/'bigrəm/

BLAIRCESSNOCK PMH S NS 609991 1 38m

*Blaircessenoch* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027

*Blairsessenache* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 354

*Blairsessenocht* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 360

*Blairsesnoch* 1573 *Laing Chrs*, no. 881

*Blair-Sesnoch* 1596 *Laing Chrs*, no. 1304

*Blairsesnoch* 1596 *Laing Chrs*, no. 1312

*Blairsesnocht* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r

*Blairsesnoch* 1626 *Laing Chrs*, no. 1972

*Blairsesnok* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Blarecesnoche* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

*Blaircessnock* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Blaircesnock* 1653 *Laing Chrs*, no 2444

<sup>212</sup> My thanks to Dr Sheila Kidd for this information.

*Blairsesnock* 1659 *Laing Chrs*, no. 2535

*Blairsesnoch* 1677 *Laing Chrs*, no. 2770

*Blairsesnoch* 1683 *Laing Chrs*, no. 2814

*Blarsesnoch* 1783 Stobie

*Blaircessnock* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *blàr + seasgannach*

*Blàr Seasgannach* ‘marshy grazing, plain, or muir’. The specific must be the same as that of Cessnock on the south-side of Glasgow and of Cessnock Castle and Cessnock Water in Ayrshire. It may be the adjective of ScG *seisgeann* ‘fenny country; extended marsh’ (OG *seiscenn* ‘unproductive ground, marsh, swamp, bog’) which would suit the location of Blaircessnock, sitting at the edge of Flanders Moss. See p. 110-114 for discussion of *blàr*.

/bler'sesnək/

BLAIRHOYLE PMH S NN613019 1 33m

*Blairwhoil* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Blairchoil* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Blairquoill* 1681 NAS GD1/393/5

*Blairquheile* 1707 NAS GD22/1/95

*Blairquhoyle* 1758 NAS GD1/185/10 [*Blairquhoyle* commonly called *Leitchtown*]

*Blairhoyle* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

ScG *blàr + coille*

*Blàr Choille* ‘wood plain’. According to Hutchison (1899, 65), Blairhoyle was granted by James V to John Leech or Leitch in 1517 in recognition of his father’s service at Flodden four years previously. Prior to that, it was part of the Stewartry belonging to the crown. At some point Blairhoyle was re-named *Leitchtown*, and is marked as such in Stobie. It remained *Leitchtown* until at least 1853 (NAS CS228/G/15/22) or, according to Hutchison (1899, 65), the 1870’s, when it was changed back to Blairhoyle. However, it was clearly already that name when the OS surveyed the area in 1862. The 1758 form may point to the fact that the place had an alternative name, perhaps something like Leitchtown alias Blairhoyle. The formula is found elsewhere in Menteith, (see, for example, Watson KMA). See p. 110-114 for discussion of *blàr*.

/bler'hoil/

BORDLAND # PMH NS611974 2 14m

*Boirland* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 350 [totas et integras terras nostras de *Boirland*, vulgo nuncupatas terras dominicales de *Cardros*]

*Boirland* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 354 [terrarum de *Boirland* vulgo nuncupatarum terras dominicales de *Cardros*]

*Bordland* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 363 [all and syndrie the teind schaves of the landis of *Bordland*, liand within the baronie of *Cardros*, alsua pertening to oure said abbay of *Inchemahomo*]

*Bordland* 1606 NAS PA2/16, f.86-89r [landis of *Bordland* callit the *Maynis of Cardrose*]

*Bordland* 1637 Retours PER no. 466 [terras de *Bordland* alias lie *Maynis de Cardrois* vocata]

*Bordland* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

*Borland* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Sc bordland*

'Mensal land, table land'. The demesne lands, or lands which directly supplies the household of the feudal superior (Taylor, *PNF* i, 374). Winchester (1986) discusses this element in a British context, and points out that mains and bordland are the same thing (1986, 132). His earliest form for this Bordland is that for 1637. See p. 39 and 100 for discussion of this name in Menteith.

BORLAND PMH S NN646004 1 25m

*Borland of Rusky* 1485 Napier (1835, 124)

*Boirland* 1640 *Laing Chrs*, no. 2272

*Borlands* c.1750 Roy 70

*Borland* 1783 Stobie

*Borland* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI [Easter, Wester and Mid Borland shown]

*Sc bordland*

'Mensal land, table land'. See p. 39 and 100 for discussion of this name. This seems to be *Borland of Rusky* mentioned in an Act of the Lords of Council in 1485 (Napier 1835, 124).

/'borlənd/

BRUCEHILL PMH S NS598978 1 38m

*Brucehill* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Pn Bruce + Sc hill

This name may be a 19<sup>th</sup> C commemoration of the visits by Robert I to Inchmahome in 1308 and 1310. He issued at least two acts at the priory (*RRS* v nos 2 and 13).

CALZIEMUCK PMH S NN603008 1 37m

*Calzemuk* 1462 NAS GD430/54

*Cailzemuche* 1507 RMS ii no. 3142

*Keizemuk* 1509 RMS ii no. 3347

*Kelzemuk* 1512 RMS ii no. 3748

*Calzemuk* 1550 RMS iv no. 432

*Killemuk* 1551 RMS iv no. 596 [2 mercat. terrarum de *Killemuk* in senesc. de *Menteith*]

*Calzemuk* 1556 RMS iv no. 1086

*Calzemuk* 1586 RMS v no. 627

*Kailly muck* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Calziemuck* 1605 Retours PER no. 146

*Calziemuk* 1617 Retours PER no. 248

*Calzemuck* 1640 Laing Chrs no. 2272

*Calzemuck* 1646 Retours PER no. 558

*Calmuck* 1649 Perth Rentall, 76

*Calziemuck* 1684 Retours PER no. 934

*Calziemuck* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

ScG *coille + muc*

*Coille Muc* ‘wood of pigs’. Marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map c.250m to the E is ‘*Hogwood* (in ruins)’, which seems on the face of it to be a translation of the ScG name. However, *hog* can also mean ‘young sheep, yearling’ in Sc place-names. However, if Hogwood really is a translation, the use of *hog* for *muc* shows that it belongs to the modern SSE-speaking period.

/keli'mu/

CARDROSS PMH S NS605976 1 31m

*Cardros* 1445 *CSSR* iv no. 1158 [mention of Patrick de *Cardos* and Maurice de *Cardros*, prior and prior elect of *St Colmocus de Insula* respectively]

*Cardrose* 1445 *CSSR* iv no. 1263 [mention of Patrick de *Cardose* and Maurice de *Cardrose*, prior and prior elect of *Insula Sancti Colmois* respectively]

*Cardross* 1526 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 329

*Cardross* 1548 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 334

*Cardrus* 1562 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 354

*Cardrus* 1583 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 365

*Cardaruss* 1587 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 367

*Cardrous* 1598 *RMS* vi no. 707 [3 sectas ad 3 placita capitalia apud terras de *Cardrous*]

*Cardrose* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r [all and haill the landis and baronie of *Cardrose*]

*Cardross* c.1636-52 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Cardrois* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466 [in terris, dominio et baronia de *Cardrois*]

*Cardrose* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

*Cardross* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Cardross* c.1750 Roy 70

*Cardross* 1783 Stobie

*Cardross* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *cardden + ros*

*Càrdainn Rois*. This was presumably earlier \**Carddenros* or similar. Watson states Cardross DNB was ‘Copse point or moor’ (Watson 1926, 353). For discussion of the element \**carden* see Kincardine KRD, and p. 48-49 above. Although it has recently been argued by Andrew Breeze that \**carden* may mean ‘enclosure, encampment’ (1999, 39-41), the whereabouts of any fort in this area is not known, but there is a Keir Hill just over 1 km NW of Cardross.

/'kardrɔs/

CARSE OF SHANNOCHILL PMH S NS539985 1 18m

*Carse of Shannochill* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *carse* + *of* + en Schannochill

See Carse of Cambus KMA for discussion of Sc *carse*. This seems to be a place called *Offrns* marked on Stobie.

CASSAFUIR PMH S NN616022 1 91m

*Cassiefuar* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Cassievoirie* 1684 *Retours PER* no. 934

*Cassievoir* 1685 *Retours PER* no. 940

*Cassievoire* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 953

*Carse of Fuer* c.1750 *Roy* 70

*Carsafuar* 1783 Stobie

*Cassafuir* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV

ScG *cas* + *an* + *pòr* (gen. *pùir*)

*Cas a' Phuir* 'foot of the pasture or crop-land'. The consistant medial syllable indicates a definite article, and the specific is unlikely to be ScG *fuar* 'cold'. See p. 103 for a short discussion of this name.

/casə'fur:/

CASTLE OF REDNOCK PMH S NN600023 1 47m

*Rednock Castle* 1783 Stobie

*Castle of Rednock* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

Sc *castle + of + en* Rednock

'Fortified dwelling of Rednock'. This site is traditionally said to been founded by Sir John Menteith, the *imannis proditor* or 'greatest traitor' in the national history, according to Hutchison (1899, 60, 262). However, while there may have been some kind of castle at Rednock in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the current remains – 'a circular rubble stair tower rising approximately three storeys' (Gifford and Walker 2002, 640) – date from the 16<sup>th</sup> C (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS No. NN60SW 6). Hutchison states the castle may have been built by George Graham, first of the Grahams of Rednock (1899, 59 note 2).

COILLE-DON PMH R NN573009 1 23m

*Coldone* 1493 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 301

K[irk] of *Coudon* c.1636-52 (NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51))

K[irk] of *Cowdon* 1654 *Blaeu Lennox*

*Coldon* 1815 MacGregor Stirling (1815, 69, 110)

*Coille-don* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

*Coldon* 1899 Hutchison (1899, 43)

*Cowdon* 1899 Hutchison (1899, 43)

*Coille-don* 2001 1:25,000 Explorer sheet 365

See p. 97 for discussion of this name. A modern, i.e. 20<sup>th</sup> C., house called ‘Coldon’ sits 0.5 km NNW of Coille-don, and is presumably a transferred name.

COLLYMOON PMH S NS585963 1 13m

*Culziemun* 1783 Stobie

*Callamoon* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *coille + mòine*

*Coille Mhòine* ‘moss wood’. *Moon* is the Sc form for ScG *mòine*. The NGR is for Collymoon Farm. 350m E are the Pendicles of Collymoon, which are a small group of properties won from the Collymoon Moss in the 18<sup>th</sup> C.

/kɔli'mun/

CRINIGART PMH S NS528985 1 56m

*Crinegart* 1783 Stobie

*Crinigart* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *crìon + gart*

*Crion-ghart* ‘little enclosed field or settlement’. This seems to be the local interpretation, and Dwelly has *crìon* meaning ‘little, mean, diminutive’. It only sits 1 km N of Gartmore House.

/'krɪnɪ,gart/

CULNAGREINE PMH S NN561046 1 102m

*Kowilrigreen* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Culrigrean* 1783 Stobie

*Culnagreine* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

ScG *cùl + ri + grian*

*Cùl na Grèine* ‘back towards the sun’. The OG dative of *grian* is *gréin*, and it may be that the OG name is *cúl ri gréin*, and this has possibly been reinterpreted as *cùl na grèine*, with gen. sg. of *grian*. The two early forms show this contains preposition *ri* ‘towards’. The name probably refers to the fact that the place is at the foot of a NW facing slope. The amount of direct sunshine it receives, especially in the winter, must be minimal. Names with *ri* are found elsewhere in Scotland; Sharpe (1995, 15) writes that there is *Carn Cúil ri Érenn* or ‘the cairn of the Back towards Ireland’ on Iona. Ó Maolalaigh discusses place-names with *re* which occur in Scotland and Ireland (1998, 17-18).

DOG ISLE PMH R NN568003 1 18m

*Dog Isle* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Hutchison writes that ‘[n]ot far from the western shore of the lake lies the third and smallest of the islands. It is called *Inchcuan* [ScG *innis chon*] or ‘Dog Island,’ because it is supposed to have been used for the kennels of the earls’ hunting dogs’ (1899, 96). However, there may have been re-interpretation in this case: in Ireland, IrG *cuan* can mean ‘harbour’ (Hughes and

Hannan 1992, 6); c.f. *DIL* *cúan* ‘haven, harbour, bay’. Dwelly, following Armstrong, has ScG *cuan* meaning ‘harbour, haven, bay’. There is certainly a pronounced bay on the western side of Lake of Menteith opposite Dog Isle.

DRUNKIE PMH S NN562051 1 120m

*Drumgy* 1426 RMS ii no. 45

*Drungy* 1500 RMS ii no. 2511

*Drumgy* 1536 RMS iii no. 1548

*Drumgy* 1548 RMS iv no. 214

*Drongy-Neische* RMS iv no. 1214 [25 solidat. terrarum de *Drongy-Neische*...in senesc. de Menteith]

*Drongie* 1583 RMS v no. 673

*Drongy* 1610 *Retours* PER no 215

*L. Dronky* c.1636-52 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Dronzie* 1649 *Retours* PER no 590

*Drumkey* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76 [*Drumkey Wester* belonging to James Stirling and *Easter Drumkey* belonging to Alexander Grahame are both mentioned in the rental]

*Drunkie* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 341

*Drunkie* 1783 Stobie

*Drunkie* c.1845 NSA x, 1108

OG *drong* + locative?

*Drongaiddh*. *DIL* has *drong* meaning ‘indefinite number of individuals grouped together for some purpose, band, crowd, usually of persons’, perhaps relating to a meeting place. This was renamed Invertrossachs around the time that *NSA* was written c.1845. It is not immediately clear if this place is named after Loch Drunkie or the Drunkie Burn, presumably earlier \*allt

Drunkie or similar, or whether these water features were named after the place. Loch Drunkie marks the border between AFE and PMH, but the settlement of Drunkie lay in PMH.

There is a Drongan in East Ayrshire, 11 km E of Ayr (NS446184) and Drunzie KNR has many of the same early forms as Drunkie PMH: *Drumgy* 1504 RMS ii no. 2871; *Drungy* 1536 RMS iii no. 1628.

DULLATER PMH S NN584051 1 89m

*Dowlettir* 1451 ER v, 475

*Dulettir* 1452 RMS ii no. 567

*Dowlater* 1453 ER v, 597

*Duletterestir* 1454 ER v, 676

*Dulatyr* 1461 ER vii, 52

*Dulettir* 1471 ER viii, 66

*Dullatir* 1480 ER ix, 563

*Duletter* 1502 RMS ii no. 2657

*Dulatar* 1525 RMS iii no. 296

*Duflettir* 1526 RMS iii no. 345

*Dufletter* 1541 RMS iii no. 2307

*Dulettir* 1601 RMS vi no. 1277

*Dowletyr* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Dulleter* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76 [Colin Campbell of Mochaster, for Easter Dulleter...]

Archibald Stirling, for Wester Dullater...]

*Duleter* c.1750 Roy 70

*Dullater* 1783 Stobie

ScG *dubh + leitir*

*Dubh-Leitir* ‘dark hill-side’. The name refers to the settlements at the foot of north-facing slopes of Ben Gullipen and Beinn Dearg. Easter Dullater eventually became the property of the Campbells of Glenorchy. See also Easter Dullater and Wester Dullater below. The lands of Dullater may have been part of the parish of Leny (see PMH introduction above) .

/du'lətər/

DUNAVERIG PMH S NN622013 1 38m

*Dumverrick* 1640 *Laing Chrs* no.2272

*Duneverig* 1783 Stobie

*Dunaverig* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

ScG *dùn* + ?

‘Hill-fort of ?’. This could relate to the fort at Tamnafalloch, 800m to the SE (q.v.below). See also survey of AFE where there are two other *Dunverigs*, both now lost.

/dʌnə'verig/

DYKEHEAD PMH S NS596979 1 40m

*Dykehead* c.1750 Roy 70

*Dikehead* 1783 Stobie

*Dykehead* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *dyke* + *heid*

'Head or end of a dyke'. The eponymous dyke being perhaps the head-dyke, commonly a turf or stone wall used to keep animals from straying onto the arable land.

EARN PMH S NN636017 1 79m

*Ern* 1783 Stobie

*Earn* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV

ScG *earrann*?

*Earrann* 'portion, share, division' Note that there is also an 'Earn' almost 7km to the W in KMA at NN707010. See p. 116-119 for discussion of the element *earrann*. If this is the derivation, it is only one of two used as a simplex in Menteith.

/ɛrn/

EAST LODGE PMH S NN593056 1 84m

*East Lodge* 1903 3<sup>rd</sup> edn OS 1 inch map, sheet 38

This was probably a dwelling of an estate worker who served the 'Big Hoose' at Invertrossachs.

EASTER BORLAND PMH S NN649008 1 34m

*Easter Borland* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

Sc *easter* + en Borland

EASTER DULLATER PMH S NN602063 1 98m

*Duleterestir* 1454 *ERv*, 676

*Easter Dulleter* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76 [Colin Campbell of Mochaster, for Easter Dulleter...]

*Little Duleter* c.1750 *Roy* 70

*E. Dullater* 1783 Stobie

*Easter Dullater* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

Sc *easter + en Dullater*

EASTERHILL PMH S NS545969 1 19m

*Fr Hill* 1783 Stobie

*Easterhill* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *easter + hill*

'Eastern [settlement] of or by the hill'. The hill in this case is the 80m Fir Hill 700m west. On Stobie there is also a *W. Hill* marked, which now seems to be Hill Cottage marked on the current 1:25,000 OS Explorer.

EASTER LENNIESTON PMH S NN626017 1 72m

*E Lenistoun* 1783 Stobie

*Easter Lennieston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV

Sc *easter + en Lennieston*

EASTER POLDAR PMH NS647973 1 12m

*Ester Pollouris* 1533 *NAS GD15/266*

*Eister Poldore* 1604 NAS GD124/1/1001

*Eister Poldarie* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r [the landis of *Eister Poldarie*]

*Easter Poldure* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Eister Poldure* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

*Easter Poldover* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Er Polder* c.1750 Roy 70

*E. Polder* 1783 Stobie

*Easter Poldar* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

Sc *easter + en Poldar* (see *Poldar* PMH, below, for analysis of this name).

EASTER TARR PMH S NN638006 1 25m

*Er Tarr* c.1750 Roy 70

*E. Tarr* 1783 Stobie

*Easter Tarr* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

Sc *easter + en Tarr*

FARAWAY PMH S NS614965 1 13m

*Faraway* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

SSE *faraway*

This has been known by other names in the past. It is marked on Stobie as *Nether Mains* [of Cardross]. However, before then, the place seemingly was called *Hornyhaik* # (Harrison

2003, 129-31). It is not known why it is called Faraway, unless it is the 'furthest away settlement of Cardross' or something similar.

FLANDERS MOSS PMH S NS630980 1 18m

*Flanders Moss c.1685 Adair*

*Moss-fflanders 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 341*

*Flanders Moss 1745/6 Edgar*

*Flanders Moss c.1750 Roy 70*

*Flanders Moss 1783 Stobie*

*Moss-Flanders 1840's NSA x, 1097*

*Flanders Moss 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI*

Sc? *Flanders + Sc moss*

'Low-lying or flooded marsh land'. In the Flemish speaking Low Countries *Vlaanderen* literally means 'Flooded Land' or 'Lowland',<sup>213</sup> but it is not clear if the name Flanders in Menteith originates from this, even although the meaning seems noticeably similar. It is remarkable that none of the sources prior to the late 17<sup>th</sup> C seem to mention the name Flanders Moss. Robert Gordon mentions the 'Moss' in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> C, but calls it 'the great moss cald the kings moss' (Sibbald TNS 156r). Its ScG name is A' Mhòine Fhlànrásach (Watson 1926, 255). There is the possibility that men from Flanders in the Low Countries were used to clear the moss or that their methods were. Trade and military adventures in Flanders from the Middle Ages until the 17<sup>th</sup> C may have influenced the name. There is no evidence to indicate that it was named Flanders Moss due to Flemish settlement in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> centuries as there had been in other parts of Scotland, such as Moray.

<sup>213</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 15<sup>th</sup> edn 1981 Macropaedia vol. iv, 172: 'French Flandre, Flemish Vlaanderen. The name appeared as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> C and is believed to mean Flooded Land'.

FREUCHAN PMH S NS518975 1 82m

*Fruichan* c.1750 Roy 70

*Treuchan* 1783 Stobie [*E. Treuchan* and *W. Treuchan*]

*Freuchan* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *fraoch* + *-an*

*Fraochan* ‘little heathery place, little place of heather’. C.f. Freuchie, Falkland parish FIF (*PNF* ii, 160-1). Stobie’s form is a mistake, perhaps by the engraver.

/'fruxən/

GARTARTAN PMH S NS539978 1 42m

*Gartavirtane* 1434 *ER* iv, 590

*Gartavertane* 1452 *RMS* ii no. 519

*Gartallartane* 1509 *RMS* ii no. 3333 [Rex confimavit cartam Joh. Lindesay de *Gartallertane*...terras suas vocatas le West-third de *Gartallertane*]

*Gartavertyne* 1531 *RMS* iii no. 1069

*Gartavertane* 1573 *RMS* iv no. 2114 [4 mercat. terrarum de *Gartavertane-Lyndsay*]

*Gartavertan* 1583 *RMS* v no. 673

*Gartavertane* 1606 *Retours PER* no. 161 [4 mercatis terrarum de *Gartavertane-Lyndsay*]

*Gartavertane* 1622 *Retours PER* no. 302

*Gartavertan* 1634 *Retours PER* no. 437 [Occidentali dimidietate terrarum de *Gartavertan* vocata *Thomalag*]

*Garavertone* 1636 RMS ix no. 457 [4 mercat. ant. ext. de. *Gartavertone-Lindsay*, occidentalem dimidietatem terraum de *Gartavertone* lie *Thomeclag*]

*Gartavertoun* 1641 RMS ix no. 991 [*Gartavertoune-Lindsay* cum decimis, lie Wester-halff de *Gartavertoune* vocatam *Thomelag*]<sup>214</sup>

*Gartavertan* 1695 Retours PER no. 1014

*Gartartin* c.1750 Roy 70

*Gartartan* 1783 Stobie

*Gartartan* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *gart* + ?

'Enclosed field or settlement of ?' The specific is unclear, but a possibility might be a form of the pn Abhartach, seen in Rosehearty ABN or Dunaverty on Mull of Kintyre (Watson 1926, 237). The whereabouts of *Thomelag* is unknown, but the specific could be ScG *clag*, gen. *cluig* 'bell'. There are the remains of a late 16<sup>th</sup> C tower-house c.500 m SE of the modern farm of Gartartan. See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

/gar'tartən/

GARTLEDENYE # PMH S NS595971 1 16m

*Gartladdernak* 1513 NAS GD15/183/2 [*Offrone de Gartladdernak*]

*Gartcledynye* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027 [*Gartcledynye* cum molendino de *Arnprior*]

*Gartladerony* 1562 NAS GD15/183/5

*Gaitledernie* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r [the landis of *Gaitledernie* and *Hiltoun Myln*]

*Gartledeny* 1637 Retours PER no. 466 [*Gartledeny* alias terras de *Hiltoun*]

*Gartledeny* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368) [*Gartledeny* alias *Hiltoun*]

<sup>214</sup> The editor of RMS has '(vel Thomeclag)' here.

ScG *gart* + ?

The variation of early forms makes this difficult to decipher. The name is now lost, but the 'alias Hill' survives in Hillton, just W of Cardross. The *Offerone of Gartladernick* is an 'Offers' name, of which there are several in this part of Menteith. For discussion of this element, see 161-163, and p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

GARTMORE PMH S NS528977 1 59m

*Gartmoir* 1536 RMS iii no. 1573

*Gartmoir* 1554 RMS iv no. 978

*Gartmoir* 1568 RMS in no. 1815

*Gartmoir* 1583 RMS v no. 673

*Gartmoir* 1606 Retours PER no. 161

*Gartmoir* 1637 Retours PER no. 437

*Gartmore* 1695 Retours PER no. 1014

*Gartmor* c.1750 Roy 70

*Gartmore* 1783 Stobie

*Gartmore* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *gart* + *mòr*

*Gart Mòr* 'big enclosed settlement or field'. Gartmore became an important settlement of a branch of the Grahams of Menteith, who had been connected to Gartmore since at least 1554.

The village of Gartmore dates to the early 18<sup>th</sup> C. See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

/gart'mor/

GARTMOULIN # PMH S NS5599 2

*Gartmulne* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Gartmulze* 1489 RMS ii no. 1861

*Gartmullie* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Gartmoulin* 1783 Stobie

ScG *gart + muileann*

*Gart Muilne* ‘enclosed field or settlement of the mill’. The mill referred to is probably Malling PMH. *Gartmoulin* is associated with Malling and the settlement of Monievreckie in the three charters mentioned in the early forms above. Stobie shows *Gartmoulin* approx. half-way between Malling and Shannochill. See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

GARTNASAILL # PMH S NN558005 2 120m

*Gartinsalze* 1532 Fraser, *Stirling*, 321 [quinque mercatas terrarum de *Drongy*, nuncupatas  
*Gartinsalze et Blairholich...*]

*Gartnasale* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Gartnasail* 1783 Stobie

ScG *gart + an + sàil or sail*

*Gart na Sàile* or *Saile* ‘enclosed field or settlement of the heel or willow’. This may refer to a heel-shaped relief feature, but Dwelly also has the sense of ‘foot’, i.e. *sàil beinne* ‘the foot of a hill’. Another possibility is ScG *sail*, gen. *saille* ‘willow’. Stobie shows this settlement just to the south of the now lost *Drunkie Mill* that sat next to the burn that exits from Loch Drunkie, and at the bottom of the north-western slopes of the Menteith Hills. The earliest form of Gartnasail shows signs of palatalisation, with the ‘z’ representing the Sc yogh.

*Blairholich* only appears in this charter, so far as I am aware; the specific appears to be *tulach*, which might mean the mound called Tom an Righ, shown next to the house of Invertrossachs at NN559051. The alternative is that it represents Blairhullichan AFE, but this seems unlikely. See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

GARTRENICH PMH S NS556984 1 25m

*Gartrennichie* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Gartreney* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Gardrenick* c.1750 Roy 70

*Gartrenich* 1783 Stobie [E. & W. *Gartrenich* shown]

*Gartrenich* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *gart* + *reithneach* or *raineach*

*Gart Rainich* ‘bracken enclosed field or settlement’. The suggestion *reithneach* ‘bracken’ comes from John Bannerman’s unpublished list of *gart*-names following on from Watson (1926, 240), although there is no mention of the word in Dwelly, who uses *raineach*, gen. *rainich*. The 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map shows a remarkable clearance in the moss, which could confirm the suggestion that garts are an expansion of settlements into wasteland such as forests or bogs (McNiven 2007, 62). See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*.

/gart'renix/

GARTUR PMH S NS573983 1 43m

*Gartours* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027 [*Gartours Uvir et Nethir*]

*Garturs* 1573 *Laing Chrs* no. 881

*Garturs* 1596 *Laing Chrs* no. 1304 [*Garturs*, Over and Nether]

*Garturs* 1596 *Laing Chrs* no. 1312 [*Garturs*, Over and Nether]

*Gairtours* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r [the landis of *Gairtours*, over and nather]

*Gartours* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Garturris* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368) [*Owier* and *Nethire Garturris*]

*Gairtures* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Garturs* 1652 *Laing Chrs* no. 2444

*Gartor* 1654 *Blaeu Lennox*

*Garturs* 1659 *Laing Chrs* no. 2535

*Gartur* 1667 *Laing Chrs* no. 2616

*Garturs* 1677 *Laing Chrs* no. 2770

*Garturr* 1683 *Laing Chrs* no. 2814

*Gartur* c.1750 Roy 70

*Gartur* 1783 Stobie

*Gartur* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *gart + ùr*

*Gart Ùr* ‘new enclosed field or settlement’. ScG *ùr* can also have the sense ‘fresh, green’. See Achadh Úr, now Freshford, Co. Kilkenny (Hogan 1910, 11). See p. 119-122 for discussion of *gart*. The pronunciation is probably influenced by the similar sounding English word *garter*.

/gart<sup>l</sup>Ùr/

GLENHEAD HOUSE PMH S NN608027 1 113m

*Glenside* 1783 Stobie

*Glenhead* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

Sc *glen + heid* or *side*

GLENNY PMH S NN571019 1 130m

*Glanais* 1432 NAS GD79/4/4<sup>215</sup>

*Glenny* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Glennie* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Gleny* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 341

*Glennie* c.1750 Roy 70 [*N<sup>r</sup> Glennie* and *Upp<sup>r</sup> Glennie* shown]

*Glenybeg* 1783 Stobie

*Glenymore* 1783 Stobie

*Glenny* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX [*Nether* and *Over Glenny* shown]

ScG *gleann + -in?*

*Gleannaidh* ‘little glen or glen place(?)’ For further early forms see Nether Glenny and Over Glenny, below. Glenny was split into Over and Nether by at least 1502. Only Nether Glenny survives today, although the remains of Over Glenny can still be seen on the current 1:25,000 OS Explorer map. It is noticeable that Stobie has Gaelic affixes, which may indicate that the language was still spoken in this part of PMH at that time or that they were the local names. In 1724, Alexander Graham of Duchray opined that ‘the inhabitants of the most part of this paroch use the Irish language’ (*Geog. Coll.* i, 342; see p. 61 above for details).

/'gləni/

<sup>215</sup> My thanks to Dr Steve Boardman for alerting me to this charter.

GRAHAMSTON PMH NN605010 1 25m

*Gramestoune* 1651 NAS GD22/1/34 [part of the lands of Rednoch called *Gramestoune*]

*Grahamstown* 1783 Stobie

*Grahamston* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Pn Graham + Sc *toun*

Quite which Graham of Menteith was the founder of this tounship is unknown. In the *Perth Rentall* of 1649 there are eight Grahams, including the Earl of Menteith, with properties in PMH.

HILTON PMH S NS595971 1 16m

*Hiltoun* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r [the landis of *Gaitledernie* and *Hiltoun Myln*]

*Hiltoun* 1637 Retours PER no. 466 [*Gartledeny* alias terras de *Hiltoun*]

*Hiltoun* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368) [*Gartledeny* alias *Hiltoun*]

*Hiltoun* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Hilltown* c.1750 Roy 70

*Hilltown* 1783 Stobie

*Hilton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *hill* + *toun*

This was originally named Gartledeny #, q.v. above.

HORNIEHAICKE # PMH S NS614965 1 13m

*Hornahic* 1555 RMS iv no. 1027

*Horniehaik* 1610 RMS vi no. 236

*Hornehaik* 1610 RMS vi no. 301

*Hornyhaik* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Horniehaicke* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

?

This is now called Faraway PMH (see above). The *-haik* element looks similar to the modern form of Loch Mahaick KMA, although the early forms of the specific in both places are different.

INCHIE PMH S NN591000 1 23m

*Inchie* 1643 *RMS ix* no. 1502

*Inchy* 1654 Blaeu Lennox [Mill of *Inchy*]

*Inchrie* c.1750 Roy 70

*Inchrie* 1783 Stobie [also *Neth<sup>r</sup> Inchie* shown nearby]

*Inchie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

OG *inse*?

Thurneysen (1946, 186) has *inse* as a dative of OI *inis* ‘island’. In modern ScG *innis* means ‘haugh, riverside meadow’, but Dwelly has *innis* as meaning ‘field to graze cattle in; pasture, resting place for cattle’.

/'ɪntʃɪ/

INCHMAHOME PMH S NN574005 1 21m

*Insula Macholem* 1189 x 1198 *Camb. Reg.* no. 122 [Malcolmo persona de *Insula Macholem*]<sup>216</sup>

*Inchmaquhomok* 1238 *Inchaffray Charters*, xxxi [insula de *Inchmaquhomok*]<sup>217</sup>

<sup>216</sup> My thanks to Gilbert Márkus for clarifying the dating of this charter.

*Insula Sancti Calmoth* 1275 *Bagimond* (Dunlop edition), 53

*De Priore Sancti Colmoti* 1276 *Bagimond* (Dunlop edition), 71

*Idle de Seint Colmoth* 1296 *Inst. Pub.* (Adam Priour del Idle de Seint Colmoth [for Colmoch] é le Couent de mesme le lu ('Adam prior of the isle of St C. and the convent of the same place') [*Ragman Roll*]).

*Enchimeholmok* 1301 Fraser, *Menteith* i, xlviij<sup>218</sup>

*Insulam Sancti Colmoci* 1308 *RRS* v no. 2

*Insulam Sancti Colmoci* 1310 *RRS* v no. 13

*Inslue B. Colmoci* 14th C *RMS* i app. ii no. 1371

*Inchemacholmok* 1358 *ER* i, 558

*St Colmocus de Insula* 1445 *CSSR* iv no. 1158

*Insula Sancti Colmois* 1445 *CSSR* iv no. 1263

*Inchmaqwomo* 1454 *CPR, Letters* x, 623

*Inchmahomok* 1485 *RMS* ii no. 1861 [unacum lacu de *Inchmahomok* ac insulis ejusdem]

*Inchemolquomo* 1501 *ER* xi, 296

*Inchmaholmois* 1502 *TA* ii, 136

*Inchmahomo* 1530 *RMS* iii no. 960 [*Portum de Inchmahomo*]

*Inchemohomo* 1555 *RMS* iv no. 1027 [Regina confirmavit cartam Johannis commendatarii perpetui monasterii de *Inchemohomo*]

*Inshmahomo* 1560s Kirk 1995, 548

*Inchemahom* 1574 *RPC* ii, 347 [Pryorie of *Inchemahom*]

*Inchemahomo* 1584 *RMS* v no. 720

<sup>217</sup> Letter of bishops William of Glasgow and Galfrid of Dunkeld, recording a mandate of Pope Gregory IX: 'furthermore, we ordain that it is lawful for the said earl [Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith] and his successors to build a house of religious men of the order of St Augustine, without impediment or contradiction of the said bishop or his successors, on the island of Inchmahome, 'in insula de *Inchmaquhomok*'.

<sup>218</sup> See Hutchison (1899, 226) for drawing of a seal of Sir Edmund Hastings, husband of Isabella, Countess of Menteith, on a letter sent by English earls and barons to Pope Boniface, where there is the legend 'S. Edmundi Hasting Comitatu Menetei... Dominus de *Enchimchelmok* (sic)'.

*Inchemahomo* 1586 RMS v no.1113

*Inchmahomo* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r [priourie of *Inchmahomo*]

*Inchmahume* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Inch-ma-humo* c.1636-52 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Inshmahomo* 1637 Retours PER no. 466

*Inche mahumo* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Inchmahome* 1663 Laing Chrs no. 2569

*Inchmacolme* 1684 Retours PER no. 934 [(parish of) *Port de Inchmacolme*]

*Inshmacolme* 1686 Retours PER no. 953 [(parish of) *Inshmacolme*]

*Inchmahomo* 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 340

*Inch-ma-homa* 1783 Stobie

*Portmahom* 1817-19 Sir Walter Scott ['...in the island of *Portmahom* in the *Lough of Monteith* there are the most splendid Spanish chestnuts...' in (Grierson 1933, 302)]

*Inchmahome* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *innis + mo + pn Columba*

*Innis Mo-Choluim* 'island of my Columba'. See p. 133-137 for discussion of this place-name.

/ɪntʃmə'ho:m/

INCH TALLA PMH S NN572004 1 22m

*Inchtolloch* 1485 RMS ii no. 1861

*Inchtulloch* 1485 RMS ii no. 1862

*Illantullo* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Island tulla* 1783 Stobie

*Inch Talla* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *innis + tulach?* or *talla?* or *tallach?*

While the early forms suggest *tulach* as the specific, there has been a re-interpretation in modern times as *innis talla*, containing ScG *talla*, gen. sg. *talla* 'hall', a loan-word from Scots or SSE *hall*. Another possibility is ScG *tallach* 'of, or belonging to, halls or courts'. Inch Talla was the seat of the earls of Menteith for many centuries. On the island are the remains of a 'castle' built mainly in the 17<sup>th</sup> C (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN50SE 5.00). However, the fact that two charters were place-dated here in 1485 suggests that a lordly dwelling of some sort existed here at that date. There seems to be generic variation in 1643 with ScG *eilean* 'island' replacing ScG *innis* or Sc *inch*, while it has been translated into SSE in Stobie.

INVERTROSSACHS PMH S NN561051 1 139m

*Drunkie* 1783 Stobie

*Inner-Trosachs* 1845 NSA x, 1108

*Invertrossachs* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

Invertrossachs was a name coined in the 19th C, as the minister for PMH wrote in NSA: 'Mrs Eastmont is at present erecting a mansion on her property of *Drunkie* (see Drunkie PMH, above), in the northern part of the parish, which will command a fine view, including Loch Venachar...The name of the property has lately been changed to *Inner-Trosachs'* (NSA x, 1108). Roy shows a *Balrioch* here c.1750 (Roy 70); there is no other mention of this place, so far as I am aware, but see 123-129 for discussion of *baile*. Stobie shows a greater density of settlement in this area in 1783.

LAKE OF MENTEITH PMH W NN578005 1

*lacu de Inchmahomok* 1485 RMS ii no. 1861

the loch and ilis of *Inchmahomo* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r

*Loch Inchmahume* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*L. Inch-ma-humo* c.1636-52 NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)

*Loch Inche mahumo* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Loch of Monteith* c.1685 Adair

*Loch of Monteith* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 340

*Loch of Menteith* 1783 Stobie

*Loch of Monteith* 1791-9 OSA vii, 140

*Lough of Monteith* 1817-19 Sir Walter Scott ['...in the island of *Portmahom* in the *Lough of Monteith* there are the most splendid Spanish chestnuts...' in (Grierson 1933, 302)]

*Lake of Inchmahome* 1840s NSA x, 1099

*Lake of Monteith* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

SSE *lake + of + en* Menteith

During the 19<sup>th</sup> C the 'country people of the surrounding district were in the habit of speaking of it as the Loch o' Port, and by that name it is still known to the older among them' (Hutchison 1899, 68). The modern name for this body of water is recent and seems to reflect literary tourism following in the wake of Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (although the 'lake' in the title of Scott's poem refers to Loch Katrine), first published in 1810. However, several factors may have influenced the lake's name change, particularly that Menteith was the general setting for Scott's *Lady of the Lake*; and the fact that it was called *Loch of Menteith* only from the late 17<sup>th</sup> C. The popularly held notion that it is a 'lake' because in geographical terms it is different from Scotland's other stretches of inland fresh water must be rejected; there are many other examples of Lowland bodies of water that are called lochs, e.g. Linlithgow Loch WLO, Bishop Loch near Glasgow, and Loch Leven KNR.

Another theory is that 'lake' derives from of Sc *laich* 'stretch of low-lying ground' (*DOST*), meaning, in effect, the land surrounding the lake, and a cartographer mistook this Sc word for lake.<sup>219</sup> However, there is no evidence for the area around the lake being called *laich*, and perhaps this theory should be rejected.

LETTER PMH S NN603036 1 177m

*Lettyr* 1507 RMS ii no. 3085

*Lettir* 1584 RMS iv no. 764

*Letter* 1630 RMS viii no. 1623

*Letter* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Lettir* 1670 *Retours PER* no. 806

*Leter* c.1750 Roy 70

*Letter* 1783 Stobie

*Letter* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

ScG *leitir*

*Leitir* 'slope, side of a hill'. This place sits at the bottom of the southern slope of Ben Gullipen. Watson states that 'a *leitir* always slopes towards water, stream or loch' (Watson 2002, 185). Ian Fraser concurs, having this element as a 'site of a steep slope overlooking an inland loch' (Fraser 2008, 186); the inland loch in this case is Loch Rusky, 1 km to the E.

/lɛtər/

LOCHEND HOUSE PMH S NS5591996 1 18m

*Lochend* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027

<sup>219</sup> This is the explanation given on the National Park notice board next to the pier for the boat to Inchmahome.

*Lochend* 1606 NAS, PA2/16, f.86v-89r [the landis of *Lochend*]

*Lochend* 1646 Inchmahome Rental (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 368)

*Lochend* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Lochend* 1654 *Blaeu Lennox*

*Lochend* c.1750 Roy 70

*Lochend* 1783 Stobie

*Lochend* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *loch + end*

'(Place) at the end of the loch'. The loch to which this place refers is Lake of Menteith (see above). *Loch* had been borrowed into Scots from ScG by the time John Barbour wrote his *Bruce* epic in 1375 (*DOST*). There is also Lochend Farm c.500m SE of Lochend House, but this seems to be a relatively recent place as it is not on earlier maps, including the 1924 1 inch OS popular edition.

LOWER TARR PMH S NN626007 1 16m

*Lower Tarr* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

Sc *lower + en Tarr*

This seems to have previously been called *West Tarr*.

MALLING PMH S NN562006 1 35m

*Muyline* 1261 NA C.66/76 (Patent Roll, 45 Henry III), m.4, *inspeximus* of 20 Sept 1261<sup>220</sup>

*Myllyn* 1489 RMS ii no. 1861

*Mylling* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

<sup>220</sup> This document is also published in *RRS* ii, no. 519 (comment), Fraser *Menteith* ii, 214-5, and *CDS* i, nos. 2275-6

*Maling* 1745/6 Edgar

*Millyng* c.1750 Roy 70

*Milling* 1783 Stobie

*Malling* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *muileann*

*Muileann* ‘mill’. To have been mentioned so early and on its own, this seems to have been an important mill, perhaps the earl of Menteith’s or Inchmahome Priory’s chief mill. It sits at the eastern edge of the Lake of Menteith, and Stobie shows a mill symbol here, and there are the remains of an old dam shown on the 1:10,000 OS map. Malling sits in an area where there is some judicial and lordly symbolism. Nearby are Gallows Hill, the mound called the *Coille-don*, where the earls of Menteith were invested with their earldom, and there was a fair of St Michael was held near Malling (Hutchison 1899, 46). Nearby were *Gartmulane* and *Ernomul* ‘enclosed field or settlement of the mill’ and ‘portion of the mill’ respectively, both date from at least 1427 (NAS GD220/1/C/3/1). The final *-ing* ending since the mid-17<sup>th</sup> C was probably originally an allograph with *-in*. However, increasing Anglicisation of many Scots since the 18<sup>th</sup> C meant that as *-ing* the was standard in the English of England, it gave the allograph *-ing* more status than *-in*, and this then led to a change in pronunciation, at least in places like Stirling (Nicolaisen 1989, 313-4).

/ma'lɪŋ/

MID BORLANDPMH S NN646004 1 24m

*Mid Borland* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

Sc *mid + en* Borland

MONDOWIE PMH S NN566016 1 127m

*Mondowe* 1432 NAS GD79/3/4

*Mundoy* 1502 RMS ii no. 2670

*Montdoy* 1508 RMS ii no. 3228

*Montdowy* 1528 RMS iii no. 678

*Montdowy* 1528 RMS iii no. 680

*Montrewy* 1542 RMS iii no 2591

*Monduy* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Montdownie* 1649 *Perth Rentall*, 76

*Mondovie* 1724 *Geog. Coll.* i, 341

*Mondowie* 1783 Stobie

*Mondowie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

ScG *mòine* + dubhaidh

*Mòine Dubhaidh* ‘moss of the black place’. The 1542 entry may be a transcription error.

/mɔn'doi/

MONIEVRECKIE PMH S NS555009 1 75m

*Monybrachys* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Monbrochy* 1489 RMS ii no. 1861

*Mony-wraky* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 131v

*Monybrachie* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502

*Monyvraken* c.1750 Roy 70

*Moneverich* 1783 Stobie

*Monievreckie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *monadh + breacaidh*

*Monadh Bhreacaidh* ‘moor of the speckled place’. Monievreckie is now an abandoned settlement but is clearly shown on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, and the walls of this settlement are shown on the current 1:25,000 Explorer map. The name is survived in the Craig of Monievreckie, a 400m hill 1.4km to the NW. This now called Stonefield, q.v. below.

/'mənɪ'vrɛki/

NETHER GLENNY PMH S NN571019 1 130m

*Nether Glenny* 1526 RMS iii no. 345

*Nether Glene* 1541 RMS iii no. 2307

*Nethir Glene* 1542 RMS iii no. 2811

*Nether Glenny* 1526 RMS iii no. 345

*Nether Glene* 1541 RMS iii no. 2307

*Nethir Glene* 1542 RMS iii no. 2811

*Nethir Glene* 1572 RMS iv no. 2016

*Nether Glenny* 1605 Retours PER no. 146

*Neather Glenie* 1695 Retours PER no. 1018

*Gleny* 1724 Geog. Coll. i, 341

*Nr Glennie* c.1750 Roy 70

*Glenybeg* 1783 Stobie

*Nether Glenny* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *nether* + en Glenny

'Lower Glenny'.

NEWTON PMH S NN614014 1 53m

*Newton* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

Sc *new* + *toun*

It is not known when this settlement came into being, but it may be the product of population growth and expansion into previously arable land as late as the 18th century. Some 600m to the W marked on Stobie and 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map is *New Grahamston*, while on the latter map is also *Arthurfield* and *Morrison's Croft*, which also seem to suggest expansion of settlement.

OVER GLENNY # PMH S NN570018 1 190m

*Uvirglenny* 1502 RMS ii no. 2670

*Over Glenny* 1508 RMS ii no. 3228

*Ovir-Glenny* 1528 RMS iii no. 679

*Over Glenny* 1528 RMS iii no. 680

*Ovir Glenny* 1542 RMS iii no. 2591

*Uppr Glennie* c.1750 Roy 70

*Glenybeg* 1783 Stobie

*Glenymore* 1783 Stobie

*Over Glenny* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *over* + en Glenny

*DSL* has *over* as meaning the upper or higher of (especially) two places.

POLDAR PMH S NS647973 1 12m

See Easter Poldar PMH, above, for early forms.

ScG *poll + dobhar*

*Poll Dobhair* ‘dark water’. Harrison writes ‘any confusion with the Dutch *polder* should be resisted. Both *Poldar* and *Polder* are found, the earliest being *Polder* in 1533; *Poldure* in 1637 (*Retours*, Perth, 466) seems anomalous especially as the corresponding charters had *Polder*. The assumption that it is from Gaelic *poll dhu* – black pow – is reasonable but unconfirmed’ (Harrison 2003, 113). In fact, the early and modern forms rule the element *dhu* or *dubh* out. However, although the second element could be ScG *dobhar* ‘water’, Dwelly quotes Armstrong who has *dobhar* as a Perthshire Gaelic word meaning ‘dark, obscure’, and *DIL* has OG *dobur* as ‘dark, unclean’. The first element is ScG *poll* ‘pond, bog, mire, mud’, but perhaps came from a similar Brit. word meaning ‘stream, flowing water’ (Barrow 1998, 59). Poldar, then, could be ‘bog or dark water’. Wester Poldar was at NS629961. The settlement of South Flanders was originally the *Pendicles of Wester Poldar* (1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map). Shown on 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map entering the River Forth is the stream, The Pow, which may earlier have been called \*Poll.

Just 4 km NW of Easter Poldar, flowing out of the northern end of Flanders Moss, is another small burn called The Pow; at its confluence with the Goodie Water was a settlement called *Pollabay*, marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, which was the original name for that burn or pow.

/'po:l,dər/

PORTE OF MENTEITH PMH PS NN583012 1 20m

*Porte* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Porth* 1445 *CSSR* iv, no. 1158

*Porte* 1467 *RMS* ii no. 902 [erection of Port into a burgh of barony 'fecit villam de *Porte* in Menteth, vic. Perth, liberum burgum in baronia']

*Port* 1489 *RMS* ii no. 1861

*Port* 1489 *RMS* ii no. 2230

*Portum de Inchmahomo* 1530 *RMS* iii no. 960

*Porte* 1637 *Retours PER* no. 466

*Poirt of Inch-mahume* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Port* 1643 *RMS* ix no. 1502

*Port de Inchmahomo* 1646 *Retours PER* no. 558

*Port de Inchmacolme* 1684 *Retours PER* no. 934

*Port* c.1750 Roy 70

*Port of Menteith* 1783 Stobie

*Port* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *port*

*Port* 'harbour, ferry'. This was the landing point of the boats carrying the monks to and from Inchmahome Priory.

/port ɔv mən'tiθ/ or /portə mən'tiθ/

PORTEEND PMH S NN572012 1 30m

*Portend* 1783 Stobie

En Port + Sc end

This settlement may mark the westwards extent of the lands of Port.

REDNOCK PMH S NN599022 1 45m

*Radneuche* 1261 NA C.66/76 (Patent Roll, 45 Henry III), m.4, *inspeximus* of 20 Sept 1261<sup>221</sup>

*Radnoch* 1451 *ER* v, 475

*Rednach* 1461 *ER* vii, 52

*Rednach* 1480 *ER* ix, 563

*Redenach* 1488 *ER* x, 635

*Rednach* 1497 *RMS* ii no. 2365

*Rednach* 1498 *RMS* ii no. 2407 [terrarum *Rednach* alias nuncupat. *Inchanach* ]

*Rednauch* 1499 *ER* xi, 413

*Rednoch* 1506 *RMS* ii no. 2932 [15 merc. de *Rednoch* et *Unchoquham*]

*Rednoch* 1506 *RMS* ii no. 2935 [10 mercatas de *Rednoch* et *Unchoquhame*]

*Reidnoch* 1526 *RMS* iii no. 375 [terrars de *Reidnoch*, *Incheno...*]

*Rednoch* 1535 *RMS* iii no. 1488

*Rednoch* 1553 *RMS* iv no. 839

*Rednoch* 1556 *RMS* iv no. 1051

*Reidnoch* 1558 *RMS* iv no. 1322

*Reidnoch* 1584 *RMS* v no. 761

*Rednoch* 1585 *RMS* v no. 787 [terrars de *Eister Rednoch*]

*Riednoche* 1598 *RMS* vi no. 728

*Rednoche* 1619 *Retours PER* no. 265

<sup>221</sup> This document is also published in *RRS* ii, no. 519 (comment), *Fraser Menteith* ii, 214-5, and *CDS* i, nos. 2275-6

*Rednoch* 1629 *Retours PER* no. 374

*Rednock* 1630-50 *Sibbald TNS* 156v

*Rednoch* 1647 *RMS ix* no. 1853 [terræ de *Inchnoche* et *Rednoch*]

*Rednoche* 1650 *RMS ix* no. 2161 [terræ de *Eister Rednoche*]

*Rednock House* 1783 Stobie

*Rednock* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

ScG *raithneach* or Brit. *redinauc*

*Raithneach* ‘fernry (place)’. See Watson (1926, 78) for a short discussion on this element. Cf. W *rhedynog* ‘fernry’ (*GPC*). The centre of the estate may have shifted from Castle of Rednock (q.v. above) to Rednoch House sometime during the Improvement period of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Stobie shows Rednock House, Castle of Rednock, Rednock, and Mill of Rednock spread over quite a large area, suggesting that the original estate was quite considerable.

/'rednɔk/

RHYNACLACH PMH S NN609017 1 62m

*Rinaclach* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIII

ScG *ruighe +an + clach*

*Ruighe nan Clach* ‘sheiling of the rocks’. If this is the derivation, then it is one of only a handful of *ruighe*-names in Menteith. Bil (1992, 391) shows three, all on the border with Strathearn, but does not name them. Sheiling-names are not numerous in Menteith, and those that do exist are in ScG *airigh* (see p. 106 for details). Another possibility for the generic is ScG *rinn*

'point'. The whereabouts of the *clach* or *clachan*, presumably a standing stone or stones, is not known.

/rəɪnə'clax/

RUSKIE PMH S NN626006 1 136m

*Ruschy* 1306 x 1309 NAS GD198/36

*Rusby* 1330 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 227 [Charter of Murdach, earl of Menteith to Gilbert of Drummond of the western half of Boquhapple, '...totam occidentalem dimedietatem ville de *Buchchoppill*, propinquius terre de *Rusby* adiacentem, infra comitatum nostrum de Meneteth...' (note *Busby* in Fraser is a misreading of *Rusby*, and should be *Rusky*, c.f. next early form)]<sup>222</sup>

*Rusky* 1431 RMS ii no. 187 [totam occidentalem dimedietatem ville de *Buchchopill* propinquius terre de *Rusky* adjacentem; infra comitatum de Menteth]

*Rousky* 1454 Napier (1835, 120) [(payment) de relevio medietatis terrarum de *Thom, Lanerky* ac de *Rousky*]

*Rusky* 1455 Napier (1835, 152-3)

*Rousky* 1450s ER ix, 665 [saisin of Elizabeth Monteith to half the lands of *Lanarky* and *Rousky*]

*Rusky* 1462 NAS GD430/54

*Ruske* 1485 Napier 1835, 123

*Rusky* 1505 *Retours* PER no. 1049

*Rusky* 1507 RMS ii no. 3142 [Elizabethe Menteithe domine de *Rusky*... dimedietatem terrarum de *Rusky*]

<sup>222</sup> I have been unable to trace the location of the original charter. According to Dr Alan Borthwick it is not in the National Archives of Scotland.

*Rusky* 1509 RMS ii no. 3347 [dimed. terrarum de *Rusky*, cum messuagio, dimed. lacuum, dimed. molendini earumdem, et auqeductu dicti molendini]

*Ruskye* 1563 RMS iv no. 1489

*Rusky* 1572 RMS iv no. 2101

*Ruskie* 1572 RMS vi 265n [terras suas baronie de *Ruskie* et *Lanrik*]

*Ruskie* 1617 *Retours PER* no. 247

*Rowiskich* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Ruskie* 1646 *Retours PER* no. 558

*Ruskie* 1686 *Retours PER* no. 953

*Ruskie* c.1750 Roy 70

*Ruskie* 1783 Stobie

*Ruskie Mill* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

There are two possibilities for the meaning of the name of this place: one is that it is a loan word from Brit. *rusgenn* into Gaelic as *rúsc/rúscach* ‘fleece, skin, bark’ (MacBain 1911, 298; *DIL*), perhaps relating to a place where the animal skins were processed. The other possibility is ScG *rùsgach* ‘a marshy place’. Watson has Ruskich in Glenlyon as dative-locative of *rùsgach* (Watson 2002, 203). The latter may be the better option, as it could refer to Loch Rusky, a marshy loch, or it could refer to the settlement of Ruskie, which is on the edge of Flanders Moss.

The original place of Rusky was NN614034 on a small island in Loch Rusky, the level of which was raised in the mid-1960s. This is traditionally said to be the castle of Sir John Menteith, betrayer of Wallace and signatory to the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320.

Rusky is reasonably well recorded in the sources for the mid to late 15<sup>th</sup> C as it was the cause of yet another Menteith inheritance dispute caused by the extinction in the male line of the family descended from Sir John Menteith (see Napier 1835; Riddell 1835). In the ‘college

of Glasgow' there is supposed to be a deed of Isabel, duchess of Albany dating to 1451, where she is styled 'domini de *Rusky*' (Riddell 1835, 107), however, I have not found the document in the Special Collections catalogue of the university library so far.

/'ruski/ (settlement) /'rʌski/ (loch)

SHANNOCHILL PMH S NS543993 1 63m

*Schanghil* 1427 NAS GD220/1/C/3/1

*Schenochylis* 1643 RMS ix no. 1502 [*Over et Nethir Schenochylis*]

*Schenna* [and] *Chaill* 1654 Blaeu Lennox

*Shennachal* c.1750 Roy 70

*Shanachoil* 1783 Stobie

*Shannochill* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX [*Over and Nether Shannochill*]

ScG *seann + cill*

*Seann Chill* 'old church'. The early forms show too much variation to be sure, and the specific could be *coille* 'a wood'. However, the remains of a chapel and graveyard 1 km to the NE at Arnchly # PMH, may indicate that the derivation is *seanchill* 'old church', with an epenthetic vowel represented by the medial 'o'. The name-form *seanchill* for 'old church' is known in Ireland, where it is Anglicised as Shankill in County Antrim and Dublin (Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 141). Blaeu shows Shannochill as two separate places *Schenna* and *Chaill*.

/ʃənə xl/

SOUTH FLANDERS PMH S 625969 1 13m

Appears on 1st Edition OS 6 inch map as 'Pendicles of Wester Polder'. But seems to have also been known as South Flanders since at least 1858 (Harrison 2003, 135).

STONEFIELD PMH S NN549005 1 75m

*Stonefield* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

SSE *stone + field*

Stobie seems to show this as *Moneverich* (see Monievreckie PMH).

SUIOCH # PMH S NN640017 1 77m

*Suyack* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Soyak* 1640 *Laing Chrs* no. 2272

*Suioch* 1783 Stobie

ScG ? \**suidheag*, diminutive of *suidhe* 'seat' ?

This seems to be the place now named Union (q.v. below).

TAMAVOID PMH S NS595990 1 52m

*Tomnavoit* 1747-1785 NAS GD15/87 [2 acres of land commonly called *Courthill* or *Tomnavoit*, part of Muir of *Borland*]

*Courthill* 1783 Stobie

*Tamavoid* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

*Tom-a-mhoid* 1899 Hutchison 1899, 57 [*Tom-a-mhoid*, or 'moot-hill']

ScG *tom + an + mòd*

*Tom a' Mhòid* 'hill of the court, assembly place'. See Chapter 5 for discussion of court sites.

/tama'*vɔ:d*/

TAMNAFALLOCH PMH R NS629008 1 50m

*Tomnafalloch* c.1750 Roy 70

*Tomna-falloch* 1783 Stobie

*Tamnafalloch* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

ScG *tom + an + falach?*

*Tom an falach* 'hill of hiding, concealment'? If the word *falach* 'hiding, concealment' is indeed present here, we should expect *Tom an Fhalaich* (as it is masc.). If there had been variation in gender (especially if was an OG neuter noun), *Tom na Falaich* could be a possibility, but the lateness of the forms prevent a definitive derivation. Watson (2002 [1928], 175) states that Glen Falloch at the head of Loch Lomond is 'sometimes supposed to mean 'hidden glen' or 'glen of hiding'', although he thought the *-falloch* element was based on IrG *fail* 'a ring'. See RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN60SW 3 which states Tamnafalloch means 'hill of strife', and for details of a fort on this site, which is 'similar in all respects' to the forts at Easter Torrie KMA and Auchenlaich CLD.

There is a local tradition that this was a place where a battle took place between the Menteiths and their neighbours, possibly the Drummonds (see Chapter 4 for details). Several gravestones and a sword and coat of mail were found here in the 19<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>223</sup>

/tamnə'*faloχ*/

<sup>223</sup> <[http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/search\\_item/index.php?service=RCAHMS&id=24404](http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/search_item/index.php?service=RCAHMS&id=24404)>

TARR PMH S NN626007 1 14m

*Tor of Rusky* 1557 NAS GD430/129 [the Fifty shillingland of *Tor of Rusky*]

*Tor de Rusky* 1558 NAS GD430/201 [mansione de *Tor de Rusky*]

*Torr of Rowiskich* 1630-50 Sibbald TNS 156v

*Tare of Ruskie* 1640 *Laing Chrs* no. 2272

*W. Tarr* c.1750 Roy 70

*Tarr* 1783 Stobie [*E & W Tarr*]

*Tarr* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI [*Upper, Lower, and Easter Tarr* shown]

ScG *tòrr*

*Tòrr* '(conical) hill'. Tarr seems to be derived from ScG *tòrr*, which presumably relates to the small hill *Tamnafallock* 'hill of the blood place' 400 m to the NE, q.v. above. *W[est] Tarr* seems to now be called Lower Tarr.

/tar/

UNCHENOCH # PMH NN597015 2 30m

*Unschēnach* 1451 *ERv*, 475

*Inchanach* 1498 *RMS* ii no. 2407 [terrārum *Rednach* alias nuncupat. *Inchanach* ]

*Inchanach* 1499 *ER* ix, 161

*Wynshenauch* 1502 *ER* xii, 631 [Quinque marcate de *Redenauch* vocate *Wynshenauch*]

*Unchoquham* 1506 *RMS* ii no. 2932 [15 merc. de *Rednoch* et *Unchoquham*]

*Unchoquhame* 1506 *RMS* ii no. 2935 [10 mercatas de *Rednoch* et *Unchoquhame*]

*Incheno* 1526 *RMS* iii no. 375 [terrās de *Reidnoch*, *Incheno...*]

*Unschēnach* 1556 RMS iv no. 1051

*Inschenoch* 1584 RMS v no. 761

*Inschenoch* 1629 *Retours PER* no. 374

*Inchnoche* 1647 RMS ix no. 1853 [terras de *Inchnoche et Rednoch*]

*Unchenoch* 1783 Stobie [E and W *Unchenoch* marked]

ScG *uinseann + -ach*

*Uinseannach* ‘Ash-tree’ with adjectival or locational ending (see also Letrunchen AFE).

Forms with *Inch-* etc might then be seen as the assimilation of the first syllable to a more common place-name element (a form of generic element substitution). This place changed its name to Auchyle in the 19<sup>th</sup> C (see Auchyle PMH, above).

UNION PMH S NN640017 1 77m

*Union* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXIV

Renamed from Suioch # PMH? It probably commemorates the Union of 1801 between the parliaments of Britain and Ireland.

UPPER TARR PMH S NN629011 1 47m

*Upper Tarr* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

Sc upper + en *Tarr*

Stobie shows an un-named settlement here.

WARDS OF GOODIE PMH S NS644998 1 13m

*Warde de Gudy* 1451 ER v, 475

*Ward de Guddy* 1452 RMS ii no. 566

*Warde de Gudy* 1461 ER vii, 52

*warde de Gudy* 1471 ER viii, 70 [de firms de *warde de Gudy*, ex eo quod non assedantur sed deputate vaste pro equis regis...]

*Ward de Gudy* 1529 RMS iii no. 854

*Ward de Gudy* 1532 RMS iii no. 1123

*Warda de Gudy* 1542 RMS iii no. 2851

*Warde de Guddy* 1556 RMS iv no. 1027

*Ward de Gudy* 1561 RMS iv no. 1392

*Ward de Gudy* 1581 RMS v no. 280

*Waird de Gudie* 1587 RMS v no. 1429

*Varda de Gwdy* 1613 Retours PER no. 1101

*Waird de Guidy* 1637 Retours PER no. 466

*Waird de Guddies* 1675 Retours PER no. 877

*Ward of Gudie* c.1750 Roy 70

*Ward* 1783 Stobie

*Ward of Goodie* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXXI

Sc *ward + of + en* Goodie

DSL has ward as meaning 'land held by knight service'. Who originally had the land is unclear, but by 1471 the land was used as waste for the king's horses when hunting in the area. See Goodiebank KRD for discussion of the element Goodie.

WEST DULLATER PMH S NN584051 1 92m

*Wester Dowlattir* 1432 NAS GD 79/3/4

*Wester Dullater* 1649 Perth Rentall, 76

*Duleter* c.1750 Roy 70

*W. Dullater* 1783 Stobie

Sc *west* + en Dullater

WESTER THIRD PMH S NS527965 1 22m

*W. Third* 1783 Stobie

*Wester Third* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *wester* + *third*

Stobie shows all three Thirds, *E.*, *M.* and *W. Third*. Quite what they are the thirds of is unclear.

WHITEHILL PMH S NS584973 1 17m

*Whitehill* 1783 Stobie

*Whitehill* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *white* + *hill*

WINDYGATE PMH S NS534991 1 32m

*Windygate* 1862 1<sup>st</sup> edn OS 6 inch map, sheet CXXX

Sc *windy* + *gate*

This would appear to be a relatively recent name. Stobie shows two nearby places; *Camas* 'bend' and *Tynvanie*, presumably for *taigh na* [?] 'house of the [?]'.

## Appendix

### 1. Transcript of NAS GD220/1/C/3/1 Charter by James I to Malise Graham 1427

Letters in angled brackets <x> are expansions of abbreviations, should it be deemed necessary, or other missing letters.

Phrases or letters in square brackets [x] are where the manuscript is difficult to read due to tearing, folding, or fading, and are generally taken from Fraser, *Menteith* ii. Modern capitalisation has been used and punctuation generally follows Fraser.

Jacobus dei gratia rex Scotorum Omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem. Sciatis nos dedissem concessisse et hac p<rese>nti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto consanguineo Malizeo / comiti de Menteth<sup>224</sup> omnes et singulas terras subscriptas v<i>z terras de Craynis estir, Craynis westir, Craguthy<sup>225</sup> estir, Craguth*<i>*<sup>226</sup> westir, terras de Glasswerde,<sup>227</sup> terras de Drumlaen,<sup>228</sup> terras de Ladarde,<sup>229</sup> terras de Blareboyane,<sup>230</sup> / terras de Gartnerbynach,<sup>231</sup> terras de Blareruscany,<sup>232</sup> terras fores<t>a de baith le sidis de Lochcon,<sup>233</sup> terras de Blaretuchane<sup>234</sup> et de Marduffy,<sup>235</sup> terras de Culyngarth<sup>236</sup> et Frisefleware,<sup>237</sup> terras de Rose<sup>238</sup> cum le Crammuk,<sup>239</sup> / terras de Inchere,<sup>240</sup> terras de

<sup>224</sup> Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 293, *Meneteth*.

<sup>225</sup> Craigughty AFE.

<sup>226</sup> Fraser has 'Craguthi' here, but it is not clear if there is an 'i' actually present or if it is merely a mark by the scribe's nib.

<sup>227</sup> The Glassert AFE.

<sup>228</sup> Drumlean AFE.

<sup>229</sup> Ledard AFE.

<sup>230</sup> Blairvouach AFE.

<sup>231</sup> Gartnerichnich AFE.

<sup>232</sup> Blairuskinmore AFE.

<sup>233</sup> Loch Chon AFE.

<sup>234</sup> Blairhullchan AFE.

<sup>235</sup> Unknown, but Meall Dubh AFE (NN444009) could be a possibility.

<sup>236</sup> Couligartan AFE.

<sup>237</sup> Whereabouts unknown.

<sup>238</sup> See Blaranrois # AFE.

<sup>239</sup> Craigmuck AFE.

<sup>240</sup> Inchrie # AFE.

Gartinhalig<sup>241</sup> Bovfresle,<sup>242</sup> terras de Bonente,<sup>243</sup> terras de Downans<sup>244</sup> et Balech,<sup>245</sup> terras de Tercothane,<sup>246</sup> terras de Drumboy,<sup>247</sup> terras de Crantafy,<sup>248</sup> terras de Achray,<sup>249</sup> terras de Glassel<sup>250</sup> et / de Cravanetuly,<sup>251</sup> terras de Savnach,<sup>252</sup> terras de Brigend,<sup>253</sup> terras de Lonans et Garquhat,<sup>254</sup> terras de Dru<m>manust<er>,<sup>255</sup> terras de Schanghil,<sup>257</sup> terras de Ernetly<sup>258</sup> et Monybrachys,<sup>259</sup> terras de Gartmulne<sup>260</sup> et de Ernemul,<sup>261</sup> / terras de Ernetomy,<sup>262</sup> terras de Achmore<sup>263</sup> cum le Porte<sup>264</sup> et le Inche<sup>265</sup> cum pertinenciis iacentes infra vicecomitatum de Perth. Quas quidem trras cum pertinenciis in liberum comitatum de Menteith constituimus ordi / [nam]us<sup>266</sup> et de nouo erigimus ceteras autem terras que dicto comitatu ante hanc nostram concessionem ab antiquo fuerant et que in p<rese>nti carta nostra non continentur p<er> expressum nobis et successoribus nostris / [<inperp>tuum tenore presencium

<sup>241</sup> Whereabouts unknown.

<sup>242</sup> Bofrishlie AFE. Fraser has 'Bobfresle', but the second 'b' is actually a 'v'. Compare 'Savnach' in line 5 of the original charter.

<sup>243</sup> Boninty AFE. SP and Fraser have 'Bouento', but the final 'o' is almost certainly an 'e', but it is difficult to be so sure about the first 'n' in my interpretation; it could indeed be a 'u', but the modern and early spellings suggest in it more likely to be an 'n'.

<sup>244</sup> Dounans AFE.

<sup>245</sup> Balleich AFE.

<sup>246</sup> Whereabouts unknown.

<sup>247</sup> Druim Buidhe PMH.

<sup>248</sup> Crahavie # AFE.

<sup>249</sup> Achray AFE.

<sup>250</sup> Glasahoile AFE.

<sup>251</sup> Crantullich AFE. Text in charter may perhaps read Crawaneculy or Cawanetuly.

<sup>252</sup> Rubha Saonach AFE.

<sup>253</sup> Bridgend AFE.

<sup>254</sup> See Gartloanning AFE for these two places.

<sup>255</sup> There is clearly an abbreviation mark above the 'um', but Fraser and SP don't state what is missing. SP has 'Dramanust'. A résumé of the charter given to me by NAS staff shows 'Drummanister'; there is a hill called 'The Ministrie' at NS517989 shown on the current 1:25,000 OS Explorer Map. There is also a mark on the charter above.

<sup>256</sup> There is a mark on the charter above the 'de' here, which may be a mark indicating a note in the margin. However, any such note, had one existed, must have been in the missing section of the parchment on the right.

<sup>257</sup> Shannochill PMH.

<sup>258</sup> Arnachly # PMH.

<sup>259</sup> Monievrackie PMH.

<sup>260</sup> Gartmoulin # PMH.

<sup>261</sup> Whereabouts unknown, but presumably in the vicinity of Malling PMH.

<sup>262</sup> Arntamie PMH.

<sup>263</sup> Achmore PMH.

<sup>264</sup> Port of Menteith PMH.

<sup>265</sup> Inchtalla PMH.

<sup>266</sup> Charter torn here; Fraser *Menteith*, 294, has 'ordinamus'.

reseruamus].<sup>267</sup> Tenendas et habendas omnes et singulas prenominatas terras cum pertinenciis prefato Malizeo et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis / [quibus forte deficientibus, nobis et successoribus]<sup>268</sup> nobis libere [reuertendas] de nobis et heredibus nostris in liberum comitatum de Menteith in feodo et hereditate in perpetuum, per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas / [et diu]isas in boscis, planis, mori[s], [mar]resiis, viis, semitis, aquis, stagnis, [pratis, pascuis et pasturis], molendinis, multuris et eorum [sequelis]<sup>269</sup> aucupacionibus, [ve]nacionibus et punctionibus cum fabrilibus et bracinis, peta / [riis], turbariis et carbonariis cum curiis, eschaetis et curiarum exitibus, cum furca et fossa, sok, sak, thol, theme, infangandtheif et o[utfang]andtheif, bondis, bondagiis, natuuis et eorum sequelis ac cum omnibus / aliis et singulas liberatibus co<m>moditatibus et aisiaiments ac iustis pertinenciis suis quibuscu<m>que tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subt<er>ra quam supra terram, ad prenominatas t<err>as cum pertinentiis spectantibus seu iuste / spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum, libere, quiete, bene, et pac[e]. Faciendo nobis et heredibus nostris dictus Malizeus et heredes sui masculi de corpore suo legitime procreati seu procreandi tres sectas curie / annuatum ad tria placita capitalia apud Perth tenanda, ac wardam [releuium] et maritagium cu<m> contigerint pro predictis t<er>ris cum p<er>cinentiis una cu<m> serviciis debitiss et consuetis, In cuius rei testimonium p<rese>nti carte nostre / magnum sigillum [nostrum] apponi precepimus. Testibus reuerendo in Christo [patre] Johanne episcopo Glasguen<si>, cancellario nostro, Johanne Forestarii, camerario nostro, Waltero de Ogilvy, thesaurario nostro, Roberto de Laweder, / iusticiariorum nostro ex parte australi aque de Forth, militibus, et magistro Wilelmo de Foulis preposito de Bothuile custode priuati sigilli nostri. Apud Edinburgh sexto die me<n>sis Septembris anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo.

<sup>267</sup> There is a tear and fold in the charter here, making it difficult to read. The phrase in square brackets is what is written in Fraser *Menteith*, 294.

<sup>268</sup> There is another fold and tear in the charter here. The phrase in square brackets from in Fraser.

<sup>269</sup> There is a hole in the MSS here.

## **References**

### *Abbreviations*

*JSNS* Journal of Scottish Name Studies

*PSAS* Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

*SHR* Scottish Historical Review

*SHS* Scottish History Society

*SRS* Scottish record Society

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*Arb. Lib. Liber S.Thome de Aberbrothoc*, Bannatyne Club, 1848-56.

*Bower Scotichron, Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, vol. 1 (1993) edd. John and Winifred MacQueen (Aberdeen).

*Burt's Letters* *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland as related by Edmund Burt* (London 1754; Birlinn edn with foreword by C.W.J. Withers, 1998).

*Camb. Reg., Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth*, Grampian Club 1872.

*Chron. Fordun, Joannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871-2).

*CDS*, J. Bain (ed) *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*.

*Coupar Angus Chrs Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*, ed. D.E. Easson (SHS 1947).

*CPL Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss and others (London, 1893- ).

*CSSR iv Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1433-1447*, vol. 4, eds. A. I. Dunlop & D. MacLauchlan.

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*Dunf. Reg. Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, 1842.

*ER, The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. J. Stuart & others, 1878-1908, Edinburgh.

*ES, Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286* ed. A.O. Anderson, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1922).

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*OSA, The [Old] [S]tatistical [A]ccount of Scotland: drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes*, ed. Sir John Sinclair (Edinburgh, 1791-99).

*Perth Rentall, Rentall of the County of Perth by Act of the Estates of Parliament of Scotland, 1649* Ed. William Gloag, Perth, 1835.

*Retours, Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum, quae in publicis archivis Scotiae adhuc servantur, Abbreviatio*, ed. T. Thomson (3 vols., 1811-16).

*RMS, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum* ed. J.M. Thomson & others, Edinburgh, 1882-1914.

*RPC, The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. J.H. Burton & others (Edinburgh, 1877-)

*RRS i, Regesta Regum Scottorum vol. i (Acts of Malcolm IV)* ed. G.W.S. Barrow, (Edinburgh, 1960).

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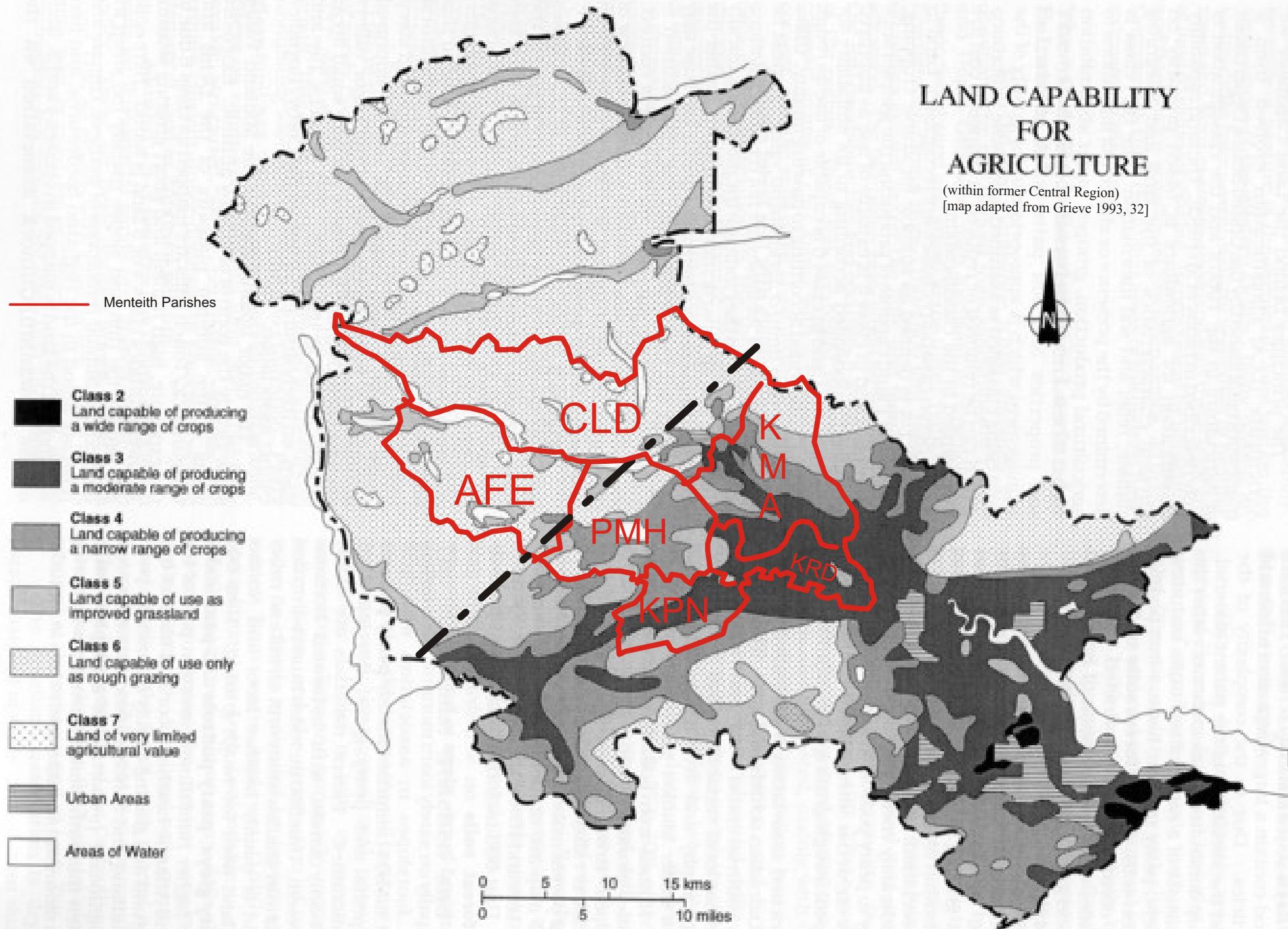
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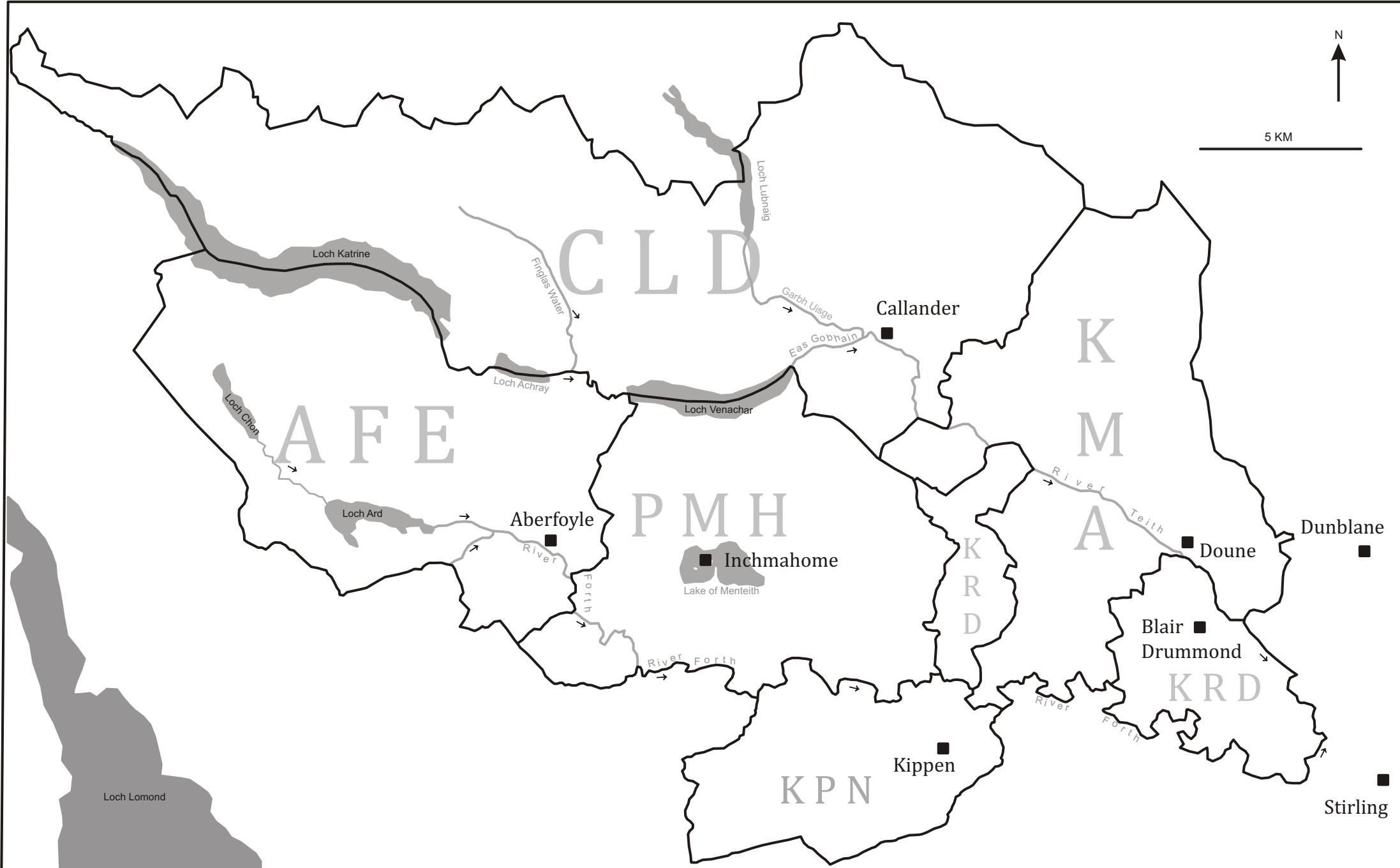


Map 1

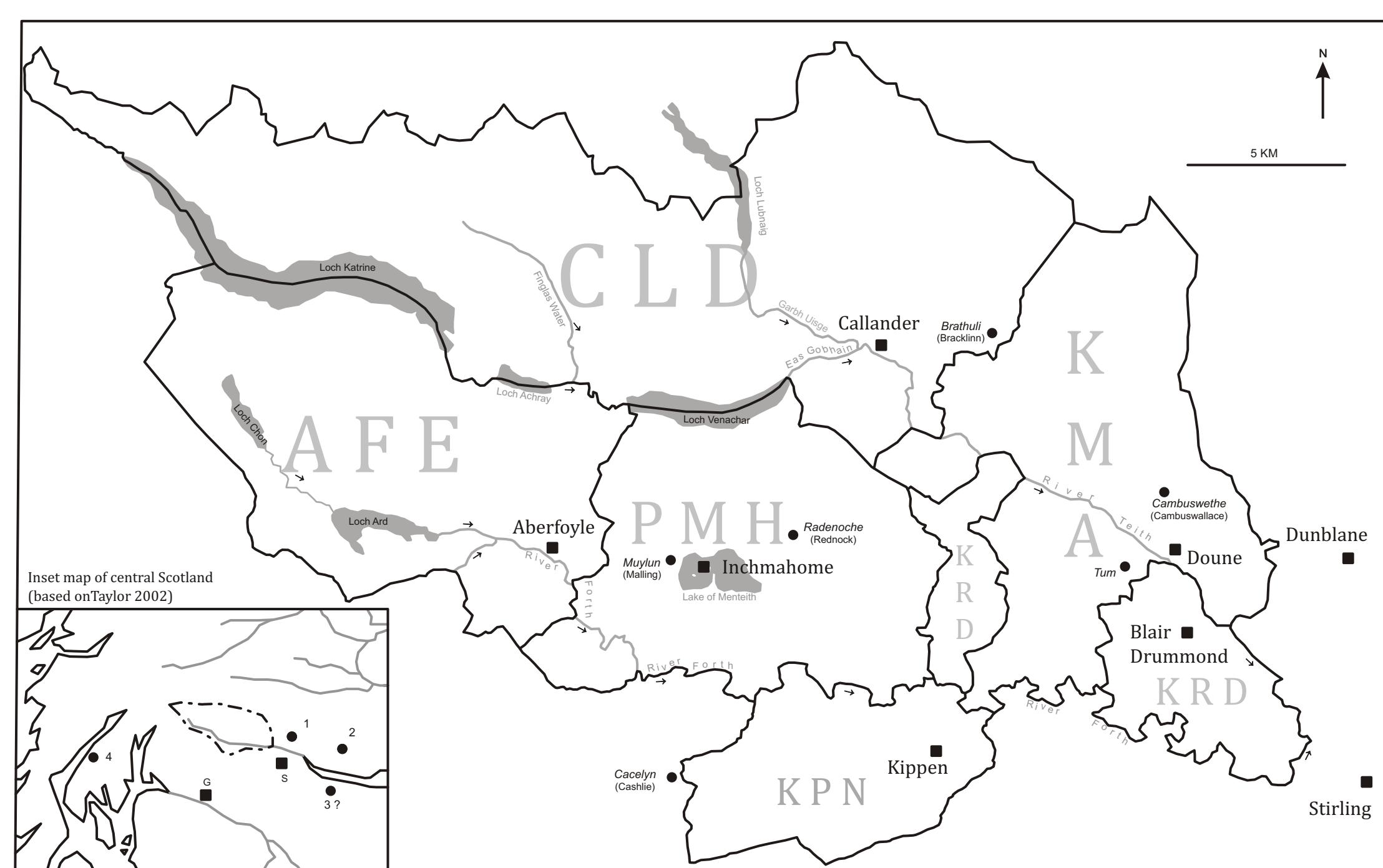
## LAND CAPABILITY FOR AGRICULTURE

(within former Central Region)  
[map adapted from Grieve 1993, 32]





Menteith parishes and principal places



Place-names from inspeimus charter of Henry III from 1261 regarding an agreement between Muirethach the elder and Muirethach the younger in 1213

Key to inset map

1. Mestrym (Menstrie CLA)    2. Saveline (Saline FIF)

G Glasgow    S Stirling

— Earldom of Menteith

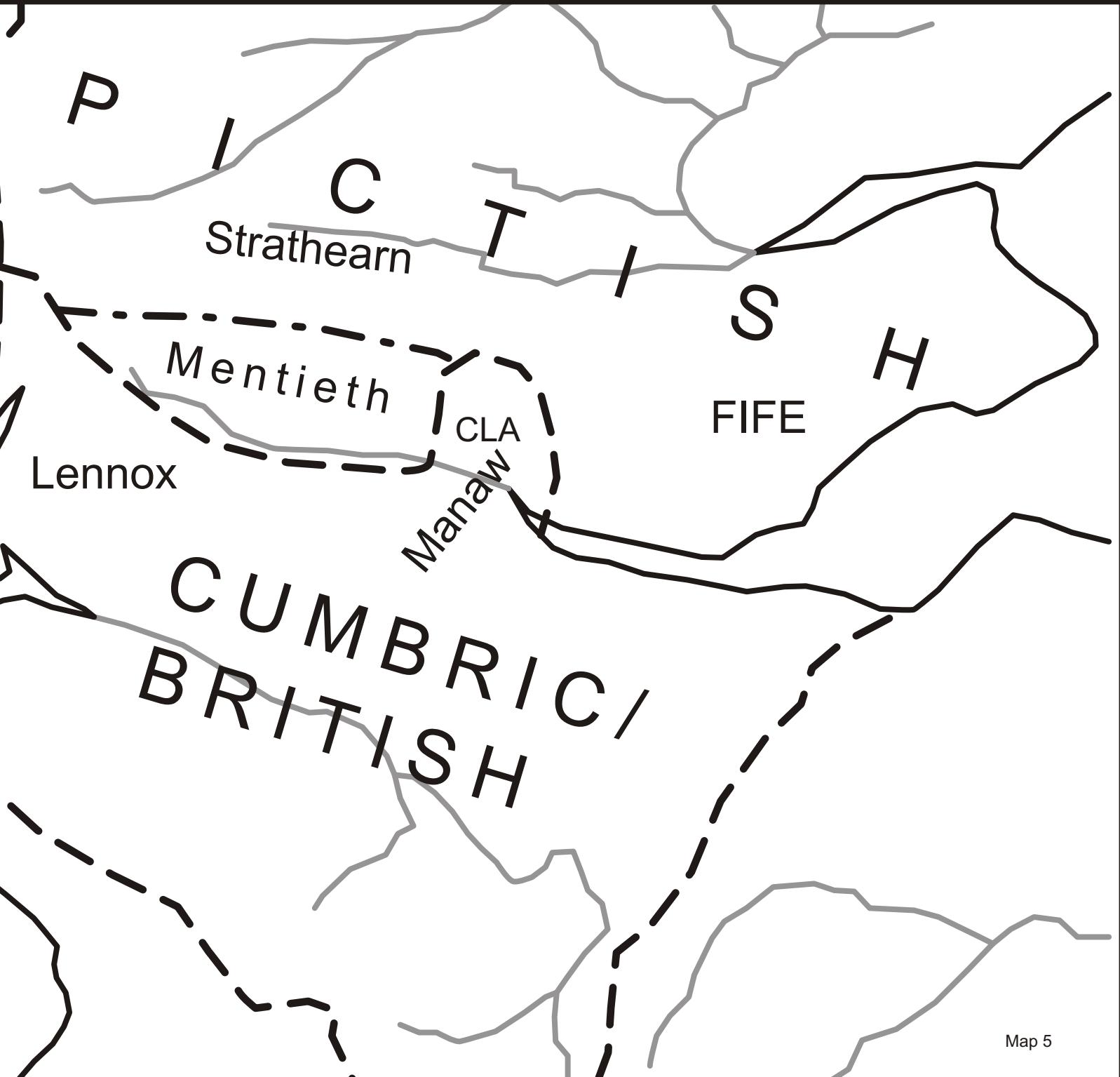
● Place-name in Inspeimus Charter

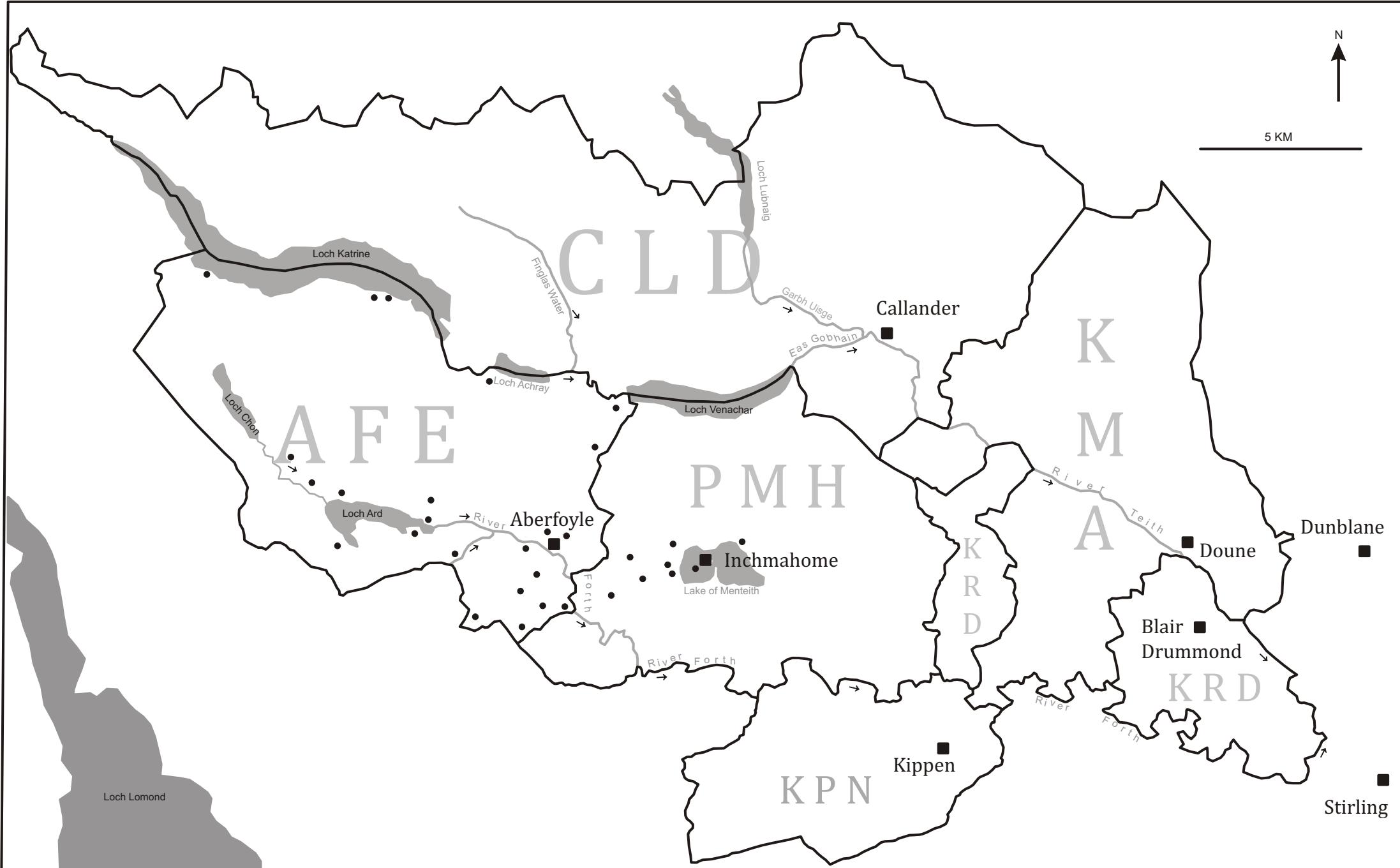
Map 4

Linguistic Boundaries  
(based on Taylor 2002)

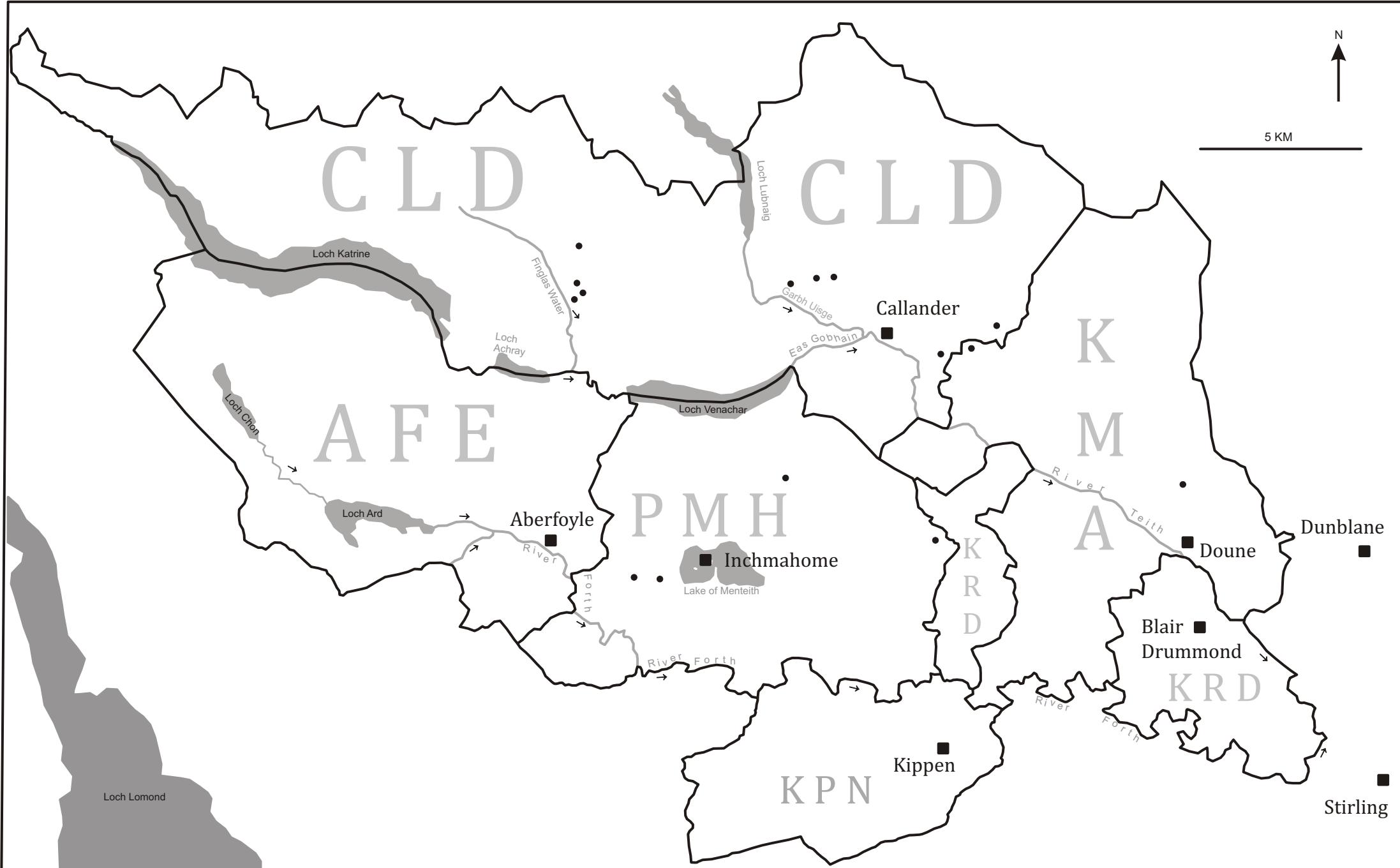
— — —  
Linguistic boundaries shown on  
Taylor 2002

— - -  
Proposed linguistic boundary  
between Cumbric/British and Pictish  
(i.e. the boundary between Menteith/  
Clackmannanshire [CLA] and  
Strathearn)



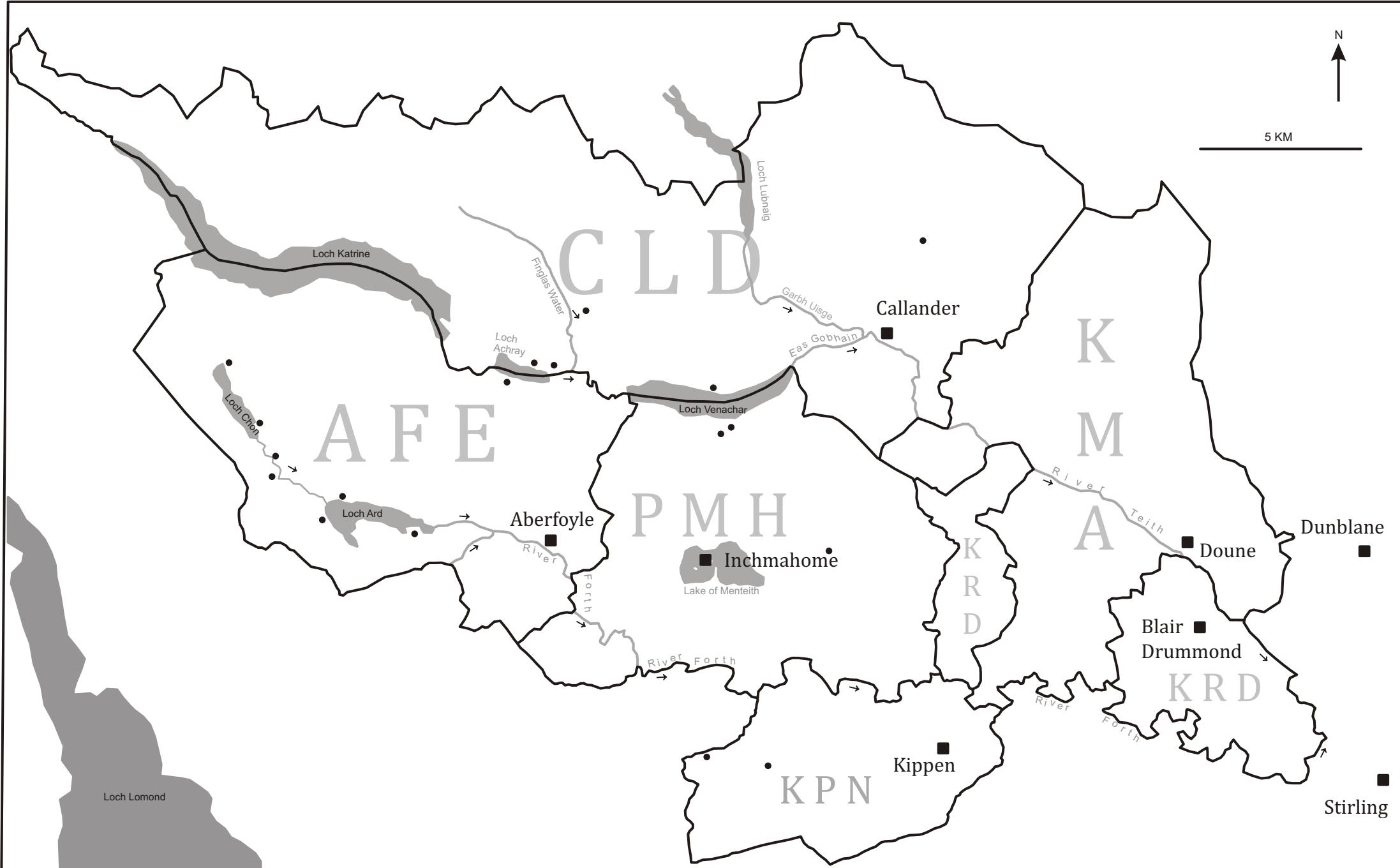


Lands given to Malsie Graham in charter of James I in 1427 (NAS GD220/1/C/3/1)



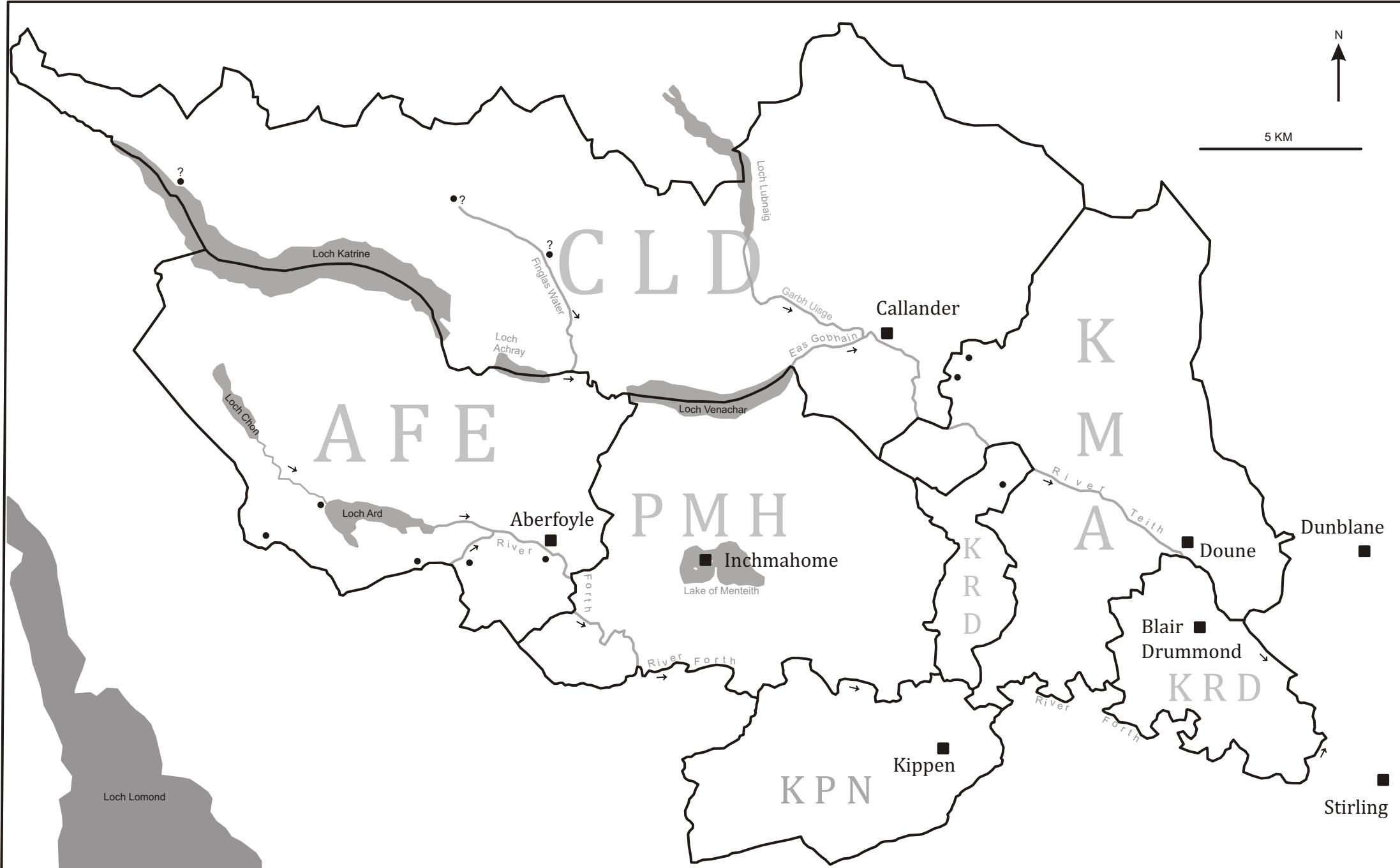
• Place-name containing *ScG achadh*

Place-names containing *ScG achadh*



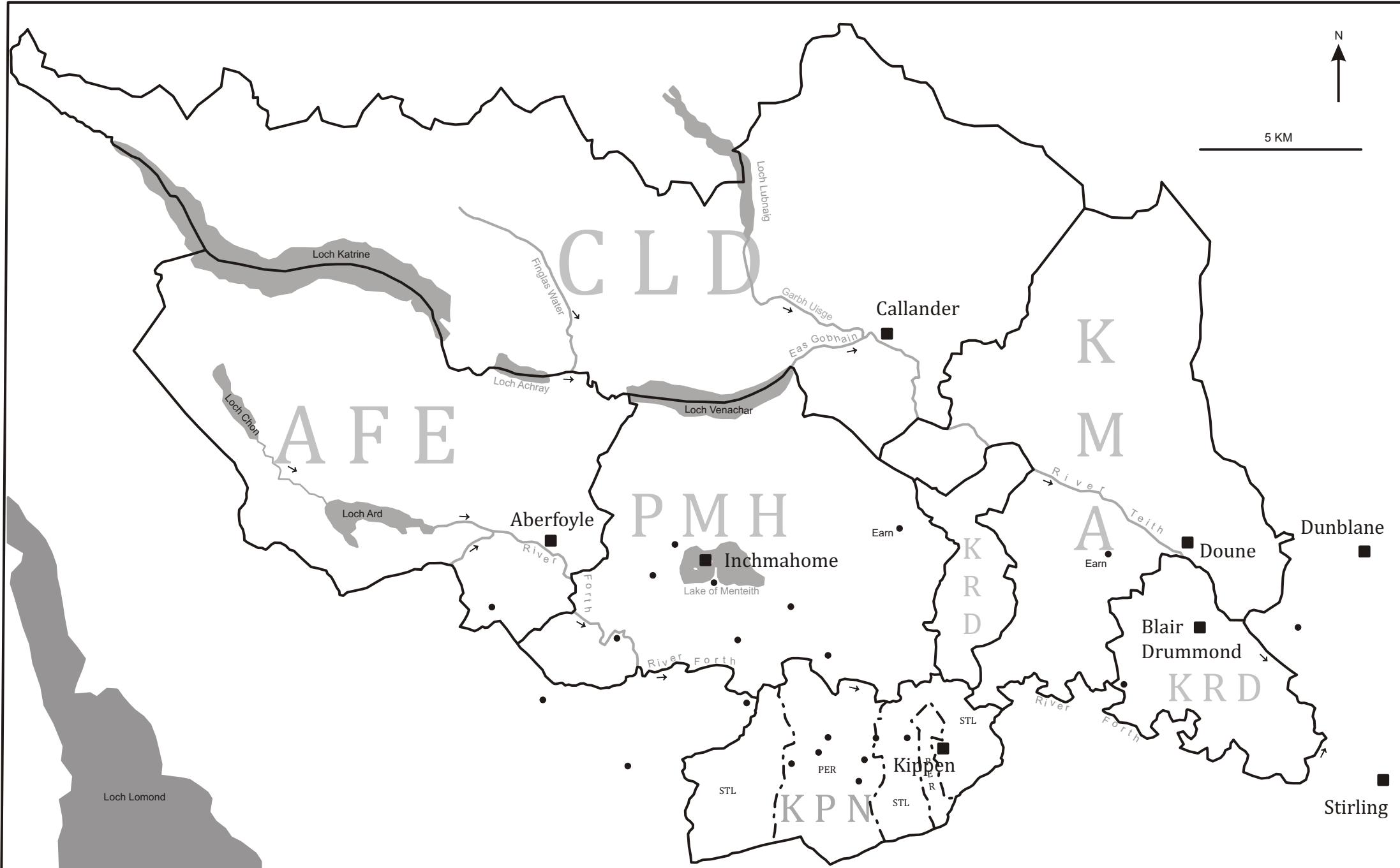
- Place-name containing ScG *blàr*

Place-names containing ScG *blàr*



- Place-name containing *ScG dail*

Place-names containing *ScG dail*



- Place-name containing ScG *earrann*



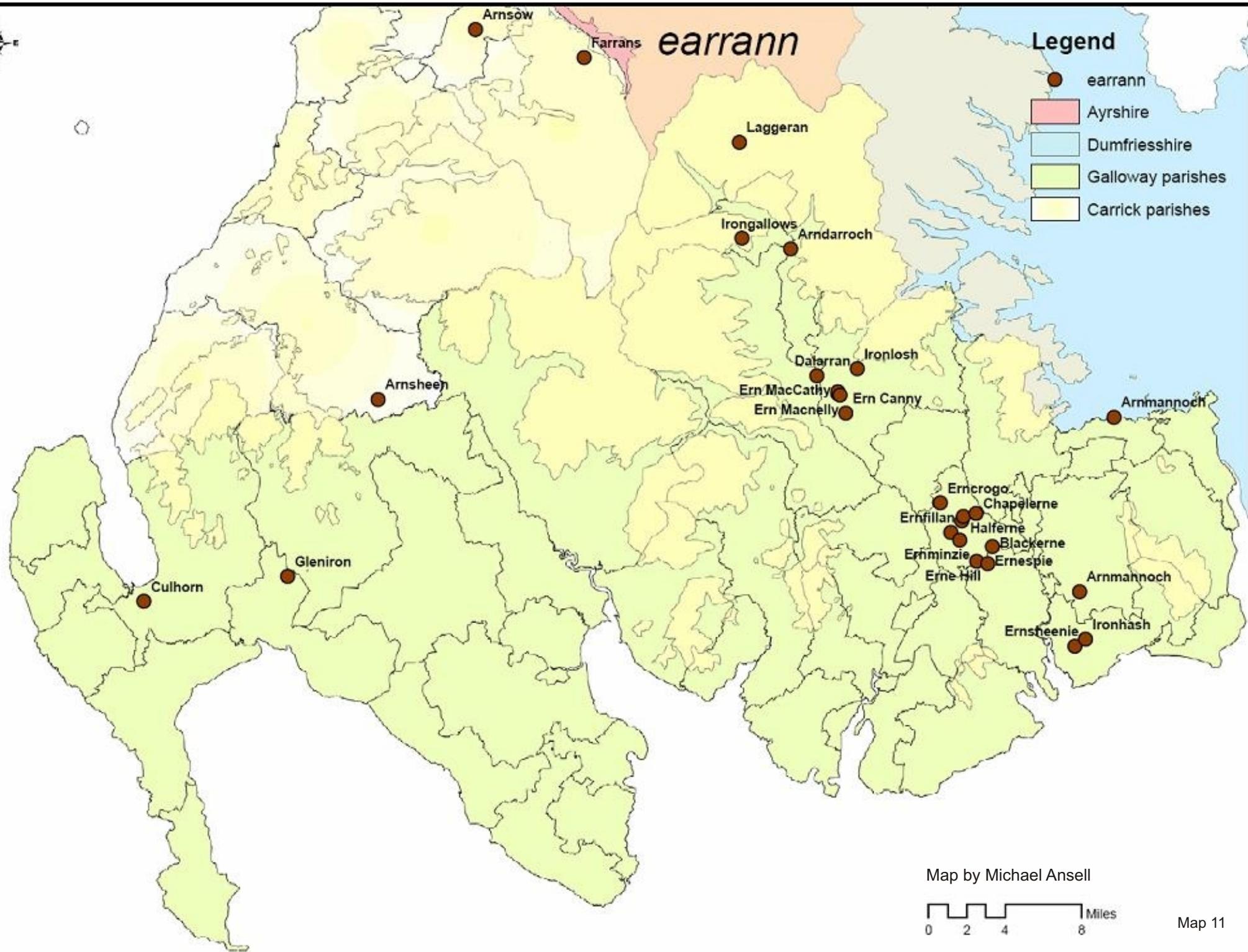
Arnsow

Farrans

# earrann

## Legend

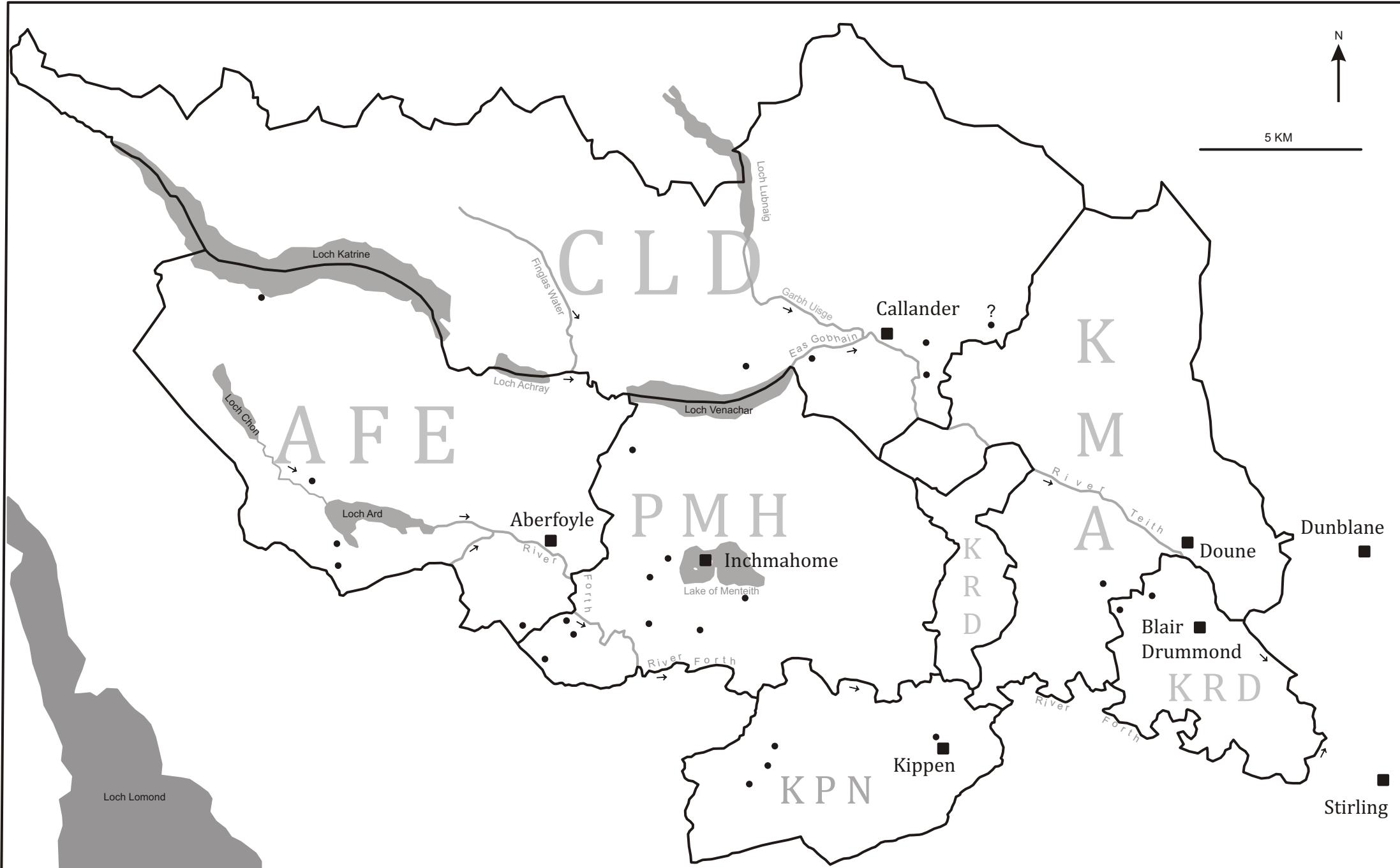
- earrann
- Ayrshire
- Dumfriesshire
- Galloway parishes
- Carrick parishes



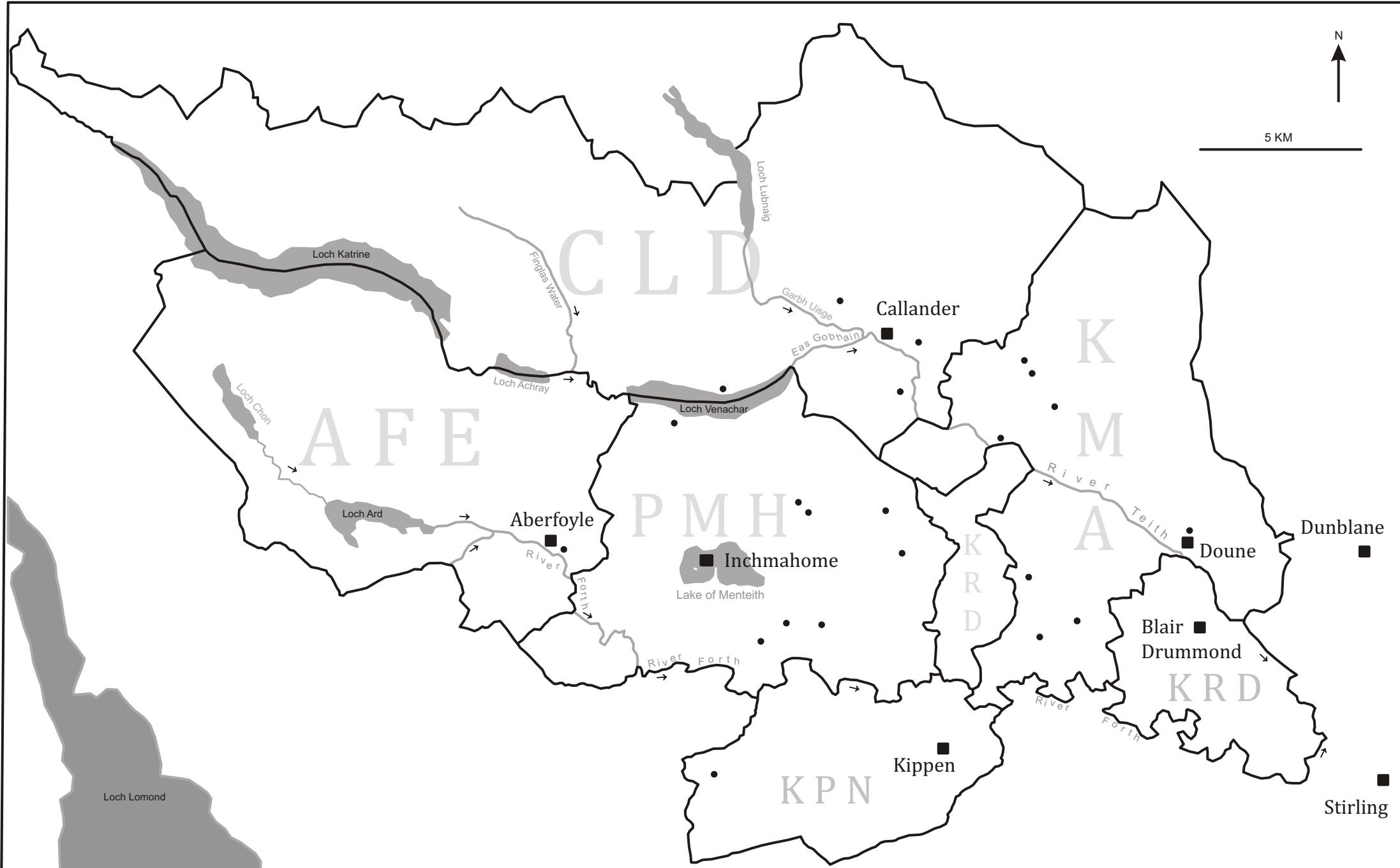
Map by Michael Ansell

Miles  
0 2 4 8

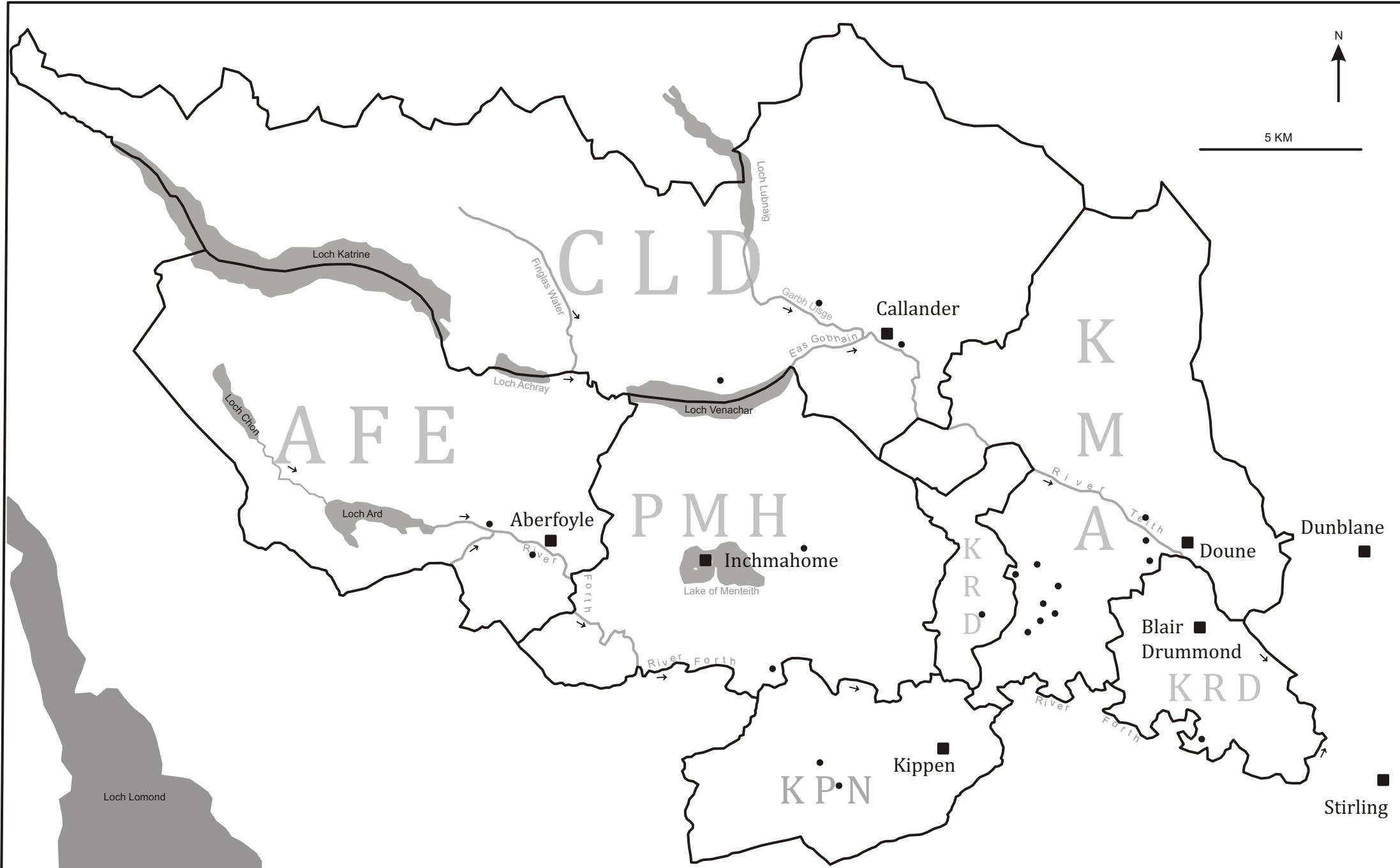
Map 11



• Place-name containing ScG *gart*



• Place-name containing ScG *baile*



- Place-name containing *Sc toun*

Place-names containing *Sc toun*

## The Parishes of Leny and Kilmahog

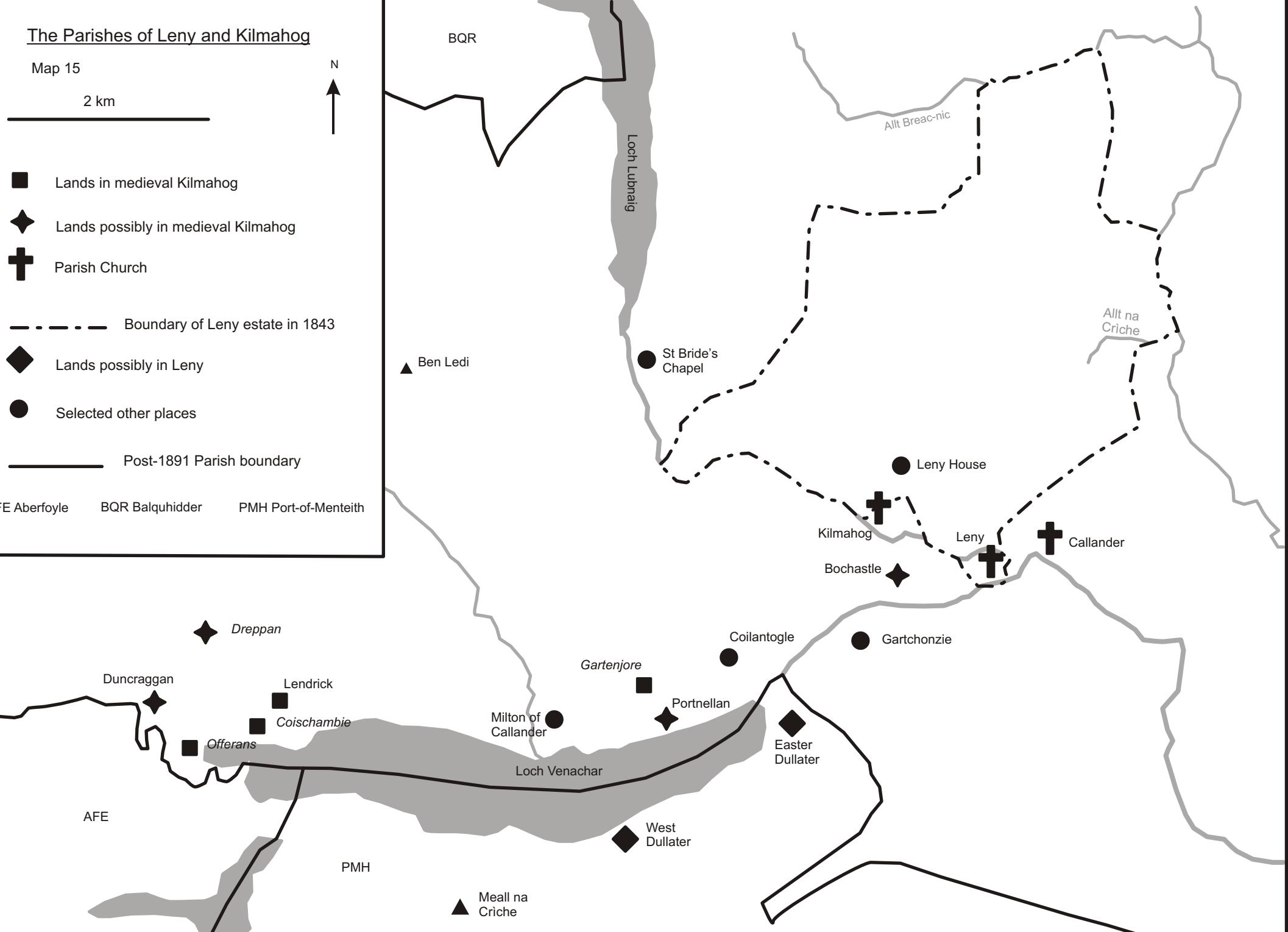
Map 15

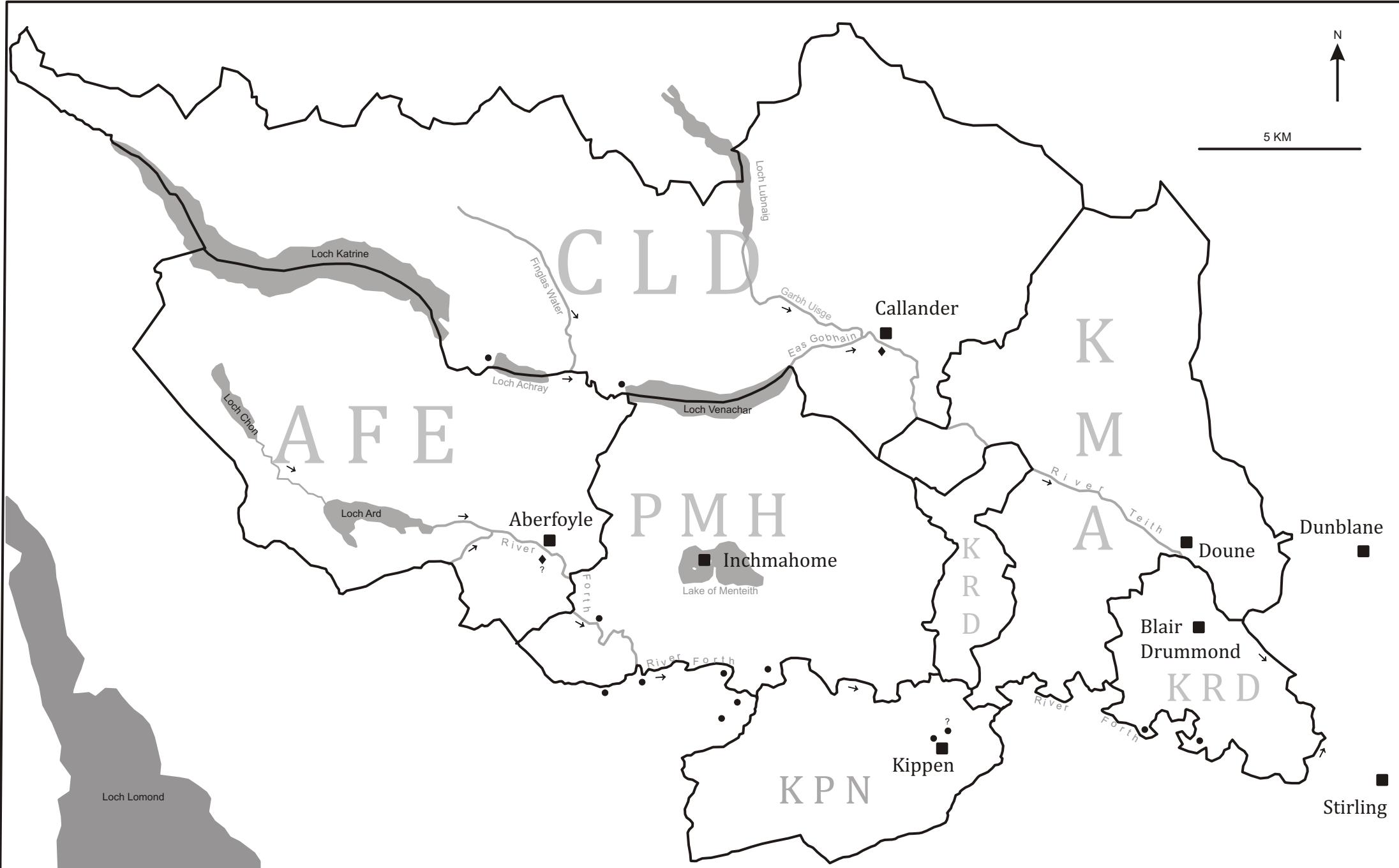
2 km



- Lands in medieval Kilmahog
- ◆ Lands possibly in medieval Kilmahog
- ✚ Parish Church
- Boundary of Leny estate in 1843
- ◆ Lands possibly in Leny
- Selected other places
- Post-1891 Parish boundary

AFE Aberfoyle    BQR Balquhidder    PMH Port-of-Menteith





Distribution of ScG *aifrionn* or Sc *offers-* and *iobairt*-names in Menteith

- Place-name containing ScG *aifrionn* or Sc *offers-*
- ◆ Place-name containing ScG *iobairt*

# The Parish of Aberfoyle

Map 17

BUC

CLD

184

Culligart

Coille Mhòr

Glasahoile

Crantullich

333  
Creag Dhamh

Bealach nam Bo

392

324

French  
Blaregal

Loch Chon  
112

504

Allt Glasahoile

727  
Ben Venue

Achray

CLD

Alltan nam Breac

185  
Dùn nam Muc  
Crahhvie

PMH

BUC

427  
Mulan an t-Sagairt

Croit an shluic

Blairuskinmore

## Key

Parish boundary

River or burn

Settlement

Other Site

Spot height in metres

BUC

DRY

Allt Crioch

Duchray Water

DRY

138 Arndrum

124  
The  
Ministrie

Dunverig  
Cobleland

Boninty

Dounans

Balanton

25

Braeval

Kirkton

Balleich

Bofrishlie

Craiguchty

Milton

Renagour

Cuivlona

Dalavie

Craigmuck

Daldanet

Aberfoyle

Balintore

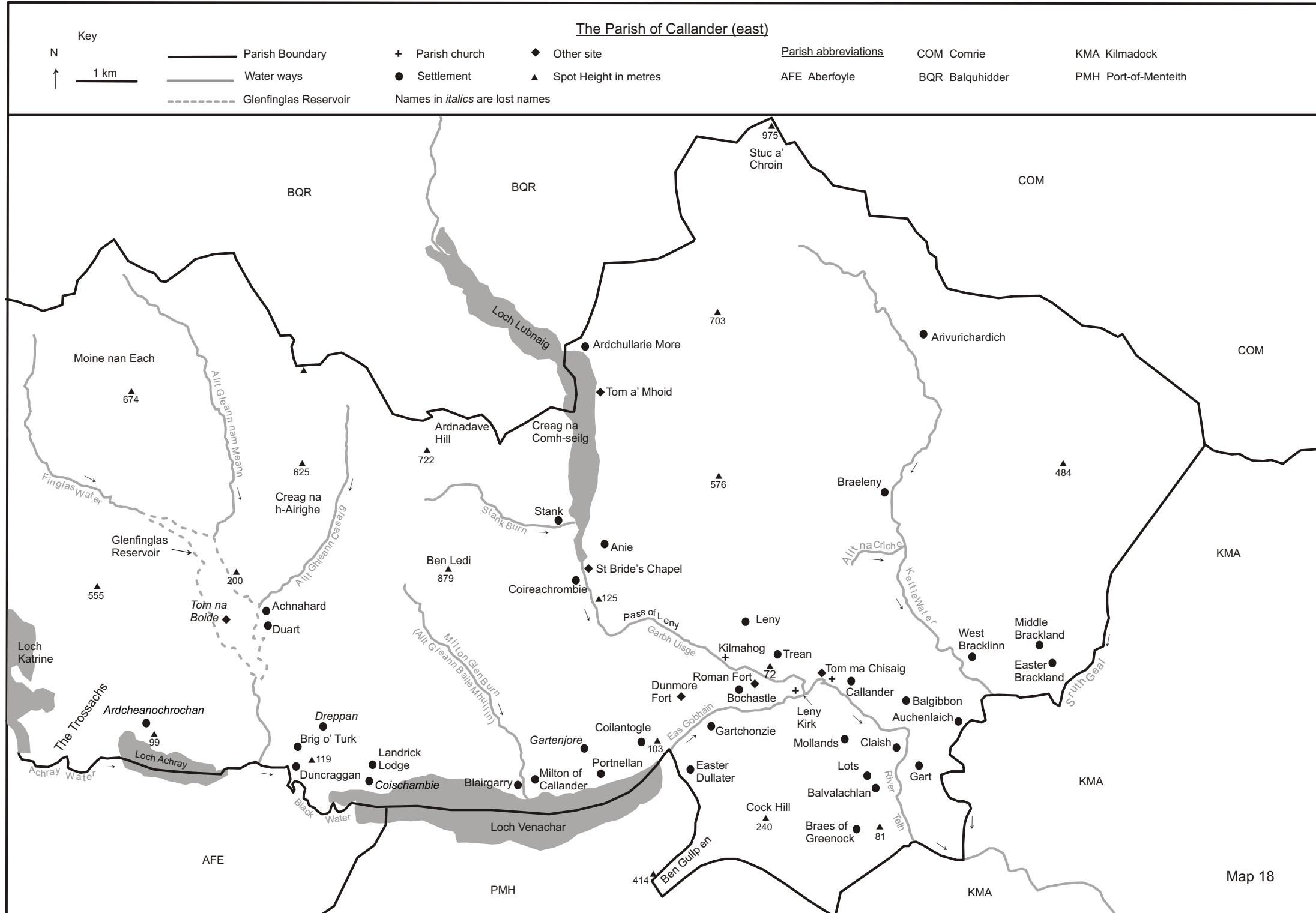
Arndrum

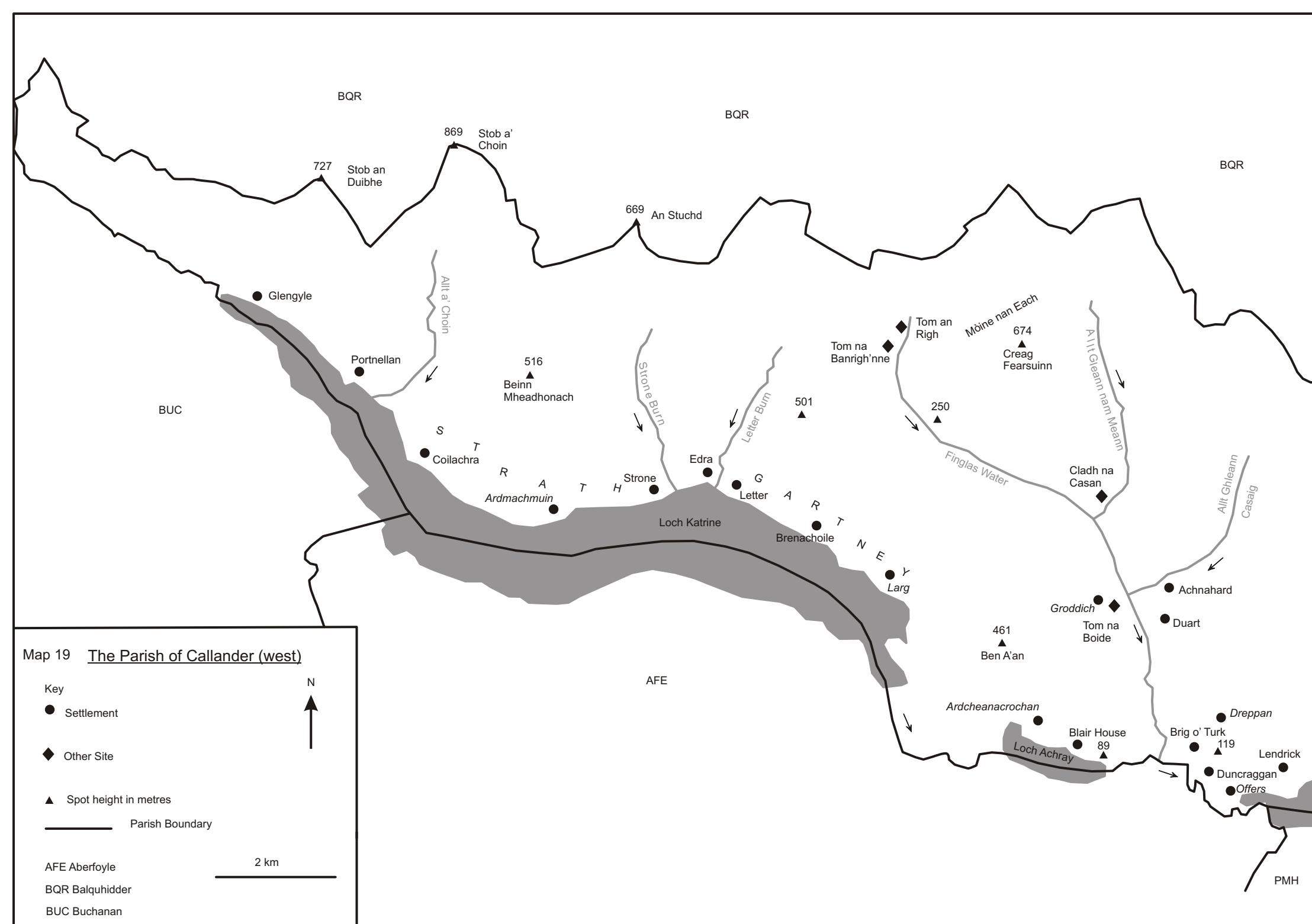
The  
Ministrie

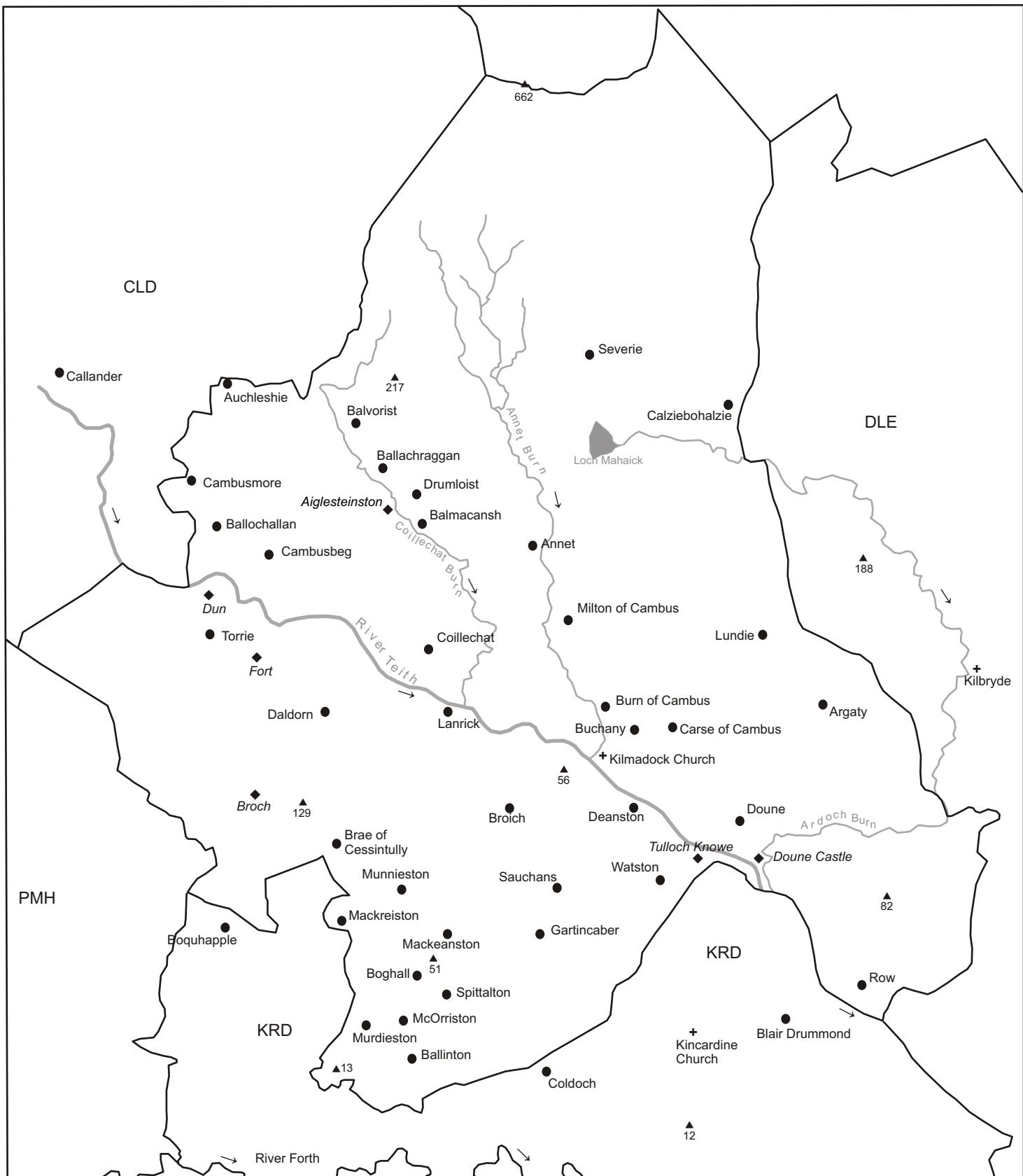
Dunverig

Cobleland

Boninty







The Parish of Kilmadock 1891 - 1975

*Key*

Parish Boundary 1891 - 1975

Main water courses

+ Parish Church

▲ Spot height

◆ Other sites

*Abbreviations*

CLD Callander

KRD Kincardine

DLE Dunblane and Lecroft

PMH Port-of-Menteith

## The Parish of Kincardine-in-Menteith

N

1 km

- Key**
- Parish boundary from medieval period to 1975
  - - - Parish boundary from medieval period to 1891
  - - - - Parish boundary 1892-1975
  - Water ways
  - + Parish church
  - Settlement
  - ◆ Other site
  - ▲ Spot height in metres
  - ↔ Major ford

### Parish abbreviations

CLD	Callander
DLE	Dunblane and Lecroft
GGK	Gargunnock
KMA	Kilmadock
KPN	Kippen
PMH	Port-of-Menteith
SNI	St Ninians

