



Jones-Edwards, Gwen (2026) *Studies on the early Lennox*. MPhil(R) thesis

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/85991/>

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk



STUDIES ON THE EARLY LENNOX

Gwen Jones-Edwards

B.Sc. (Hons.); M.B.,B.Ch.; LL M; M.Litt.

Ceiltis is Gàidhlig, Celtic and Gaelic

School of Humanities

College of Arts

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy

January 2026

ABSTRACT

This work examines the origins of the polity of the Lennox which evolved following the fall of the kingdom of Al Clut in 870. Given that no written documentation concerning the Lennox exists until charters began to be written in the mid-twelfth century, the work has mainly relied on extracting information from those charters. The aim has been that of searching for indications that could cast a retrospective light on the intervening years. A main emphasis has been on uncovering the role undertaken by the Al Clut Britons in the construction of the new Lennox. For this task the place-names within the charters were collated in order to establish the size, shape and geography of the Lennox. Thereafter, the place-names were examined to establish both the location of potential Brittonic estates and also to understand how the newer, Gaelic estates might have differed.

An examination of archaeological evidence within the Lennox points to a community of Britons who had become Scandinavianised. By the twelfth century these Britons had come to live in a decidedly Gaelic environment and culture: the influential Galbraith family of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is taken as being descended from this community. This work charts their career within the 12th, 13th and early 14th centuries, both in terms of the high offices which they held and also in terms of their possession of lands and estates. There is scant evidence alluding to the origins of the Lennox earls themselves, but that available has been assessed with some suggestion made as to how they came to be in power.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to Professors Thomas Clancy and Dauvit Broun, both of whom have supported me kindly and patiently while I have dived into countless rabbit-holes on my path to the production of this work. During my previous studies in 2016-18, Professor Clancy helped me make the sometimes-arduous transition from the world of medicine to that of Celtic Studies, a move that has been an utter joy for me. I thank him for the facilitative approach that so enthused me then and still does. Professor Broun, too, has always been there to point me in the right direction.

My thanks go to my friend Carol Shields for all her moral support and for reading some of the work and commenting upon it. To Carly McNamara I am indebted not only for support but also for teaching me how to make maps. And my heartfelt gratitude goes to John, my partner. He began his retirement at around the same time as I began this work. For him there has been no travelling or any of the holidays perhaps usual at retirement; instead, there has been the making of endless cups of tea and preparing of meals, all done uncomplainingly. John accompanied me on several field trips in and around the Lennox, the most memorable of them being the difficult trek to Clach nam Breatann over boggy, pitted and uneven ground, undertaken at a time when he already had a damaged knee. John, you have gone above and beyond the call of duty - but then I suspect that you would expect nothing less of yourself.

STUDIES ON THE EARLY LENNOX.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

1: Introduction

| | |
|-------------------------|----|
| 1.1: Setting the Scene | 9 |
| 1.2: Aims | 12 |
| 1.3: Research Questions | 12 |

2: Methodology

| | |
|--|----|
| 2.1: Charters | 13 |
| 2.2: Place-names | 14 |
| 2.3 Reliability of Transmission of the Charters relevant to the Lennox | 15 |

3: The Nature of the Lennox

| | |
|---|----|
| 3.1: Introduction | 17 |
| 3.2: Confidence Limits for the Boundaries of the Lennox | 19 |
| 3.3: Clach nam Breatann | 34 |
| 3.4: Geography of the Lennox | 38 |
| 3.5: Conclusion | 41 |

4: 12th and Early 13th Century Place-Names in the Lennox

| | |
|---|----|
| 4.1: Introduction | 43 |
| 4.2: The Place-names – an onomastic analysis | 44 |
| 4.3: The Arrachar | 83 |
| 4.4: Lennox as a place-name | 84 |
| 4.5: Mapping the place-names attested from 1150-1250 | 85 |
| 4.6: Conclusion | 91 |

5: The Galbraith Family and its Origins

| | |
|---|-----|
| 5.1: Introduction | 93 |
| 5.2: The Name ‘Galbraith’ – an Analysis | 95 |
| 5.3: Archaeological Evidence for Scandinavian Activity in the Lennox | 99 |
| 5.4: Conclusion | 108 |

6: The Galbraith Family in the 12th and 13th centuries (1170-1300)

| | |
|---|-----|
| 6.1: Introduction | 111 |
| 6.2: The Individuals | 113 |
| 6.3: Places associated with the Galbraiths | 138 |
| 6.4: Conclusion | 153 |

7: The Family of the Earls of Lennox

| | |
|--|-----|
| 7.1: Introduction | 155 |
| 7.2: Views of the Nineteenth-century Antiquarians | 155 |
| 7.3 Recent Authorship | 156 |
| 7.4: The Campsie Affair | 158 |
| 7.5: The Poetry of Muireadhach Albanach | 160 |
| 7.6.: Conclusion | 163 |

| | |
|----------------------|-----|
| 8: Conclusion | 164 |
|----------------------|-----|

9: Bibliography

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| 9.1: Primary materials | 168 |
| 9.2 Secondary materials | 169 |
| 9.3: Websites | 176 |

APPENDIX A: Glossary of all Settlements within the Lennox Charters

APPENDIX B: Glossary of Settlements within the Lennox from 1150-1250, along with the names of their possessors

Maps:

| | |
|--|-----|
| Map 1: Boundary Points in the Medieval Lennox by Settlement Locations | 27 |
| Map 2: Borders of the Lennox Forest | 32 |
| Map 3: Lennox Boundary, combining Settlement Locations and Forest | 33 |
| Map 4: Position of Clach nam Breatann | 37 |
| Map 5: Position of Balloch and roads in the area; William Roy 1747-1755 | 51 |
| Map 6: Place-names of potential Brittonic Derivation | 86 |
| Map 7: Place-names of probable Gaelic Derivation | 87 |
| Map 8: Place-names of indeterminate Language Derivation | 88 |
| Map 9: Place-names describing Topographical Features | 89 |
| Map 10: Place-names describing Human Activity | 90 |
| Map 11: Location of Boiden and Mid Ross Cemetery | 100 |
| Map 12: Luss and the Highland Border Complex | 102 |
| Map 13: Admiralty Chart of Scotland: Loch Lomond, 1953 | 148 |
| Map 14: Galbraith Possessions and Habitations within the late 12 th & 13 th century | 152 |

Figures:

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 1: Clach nam Breatann | 36 |
| Figure 2: Course of the Highland Boundary Fault Line at Loch Lomond | 39 |
| Figure 3: Duncryne Hill, Gartocharn | 62 |
| Figure 4: Kilbride Cross Slab, Glen Fruin | 72 |
| Figure 5: Killearn, Ridge leading to Dumgoyne | 73 |
| Figure 6: Linnbrain Hole | 76 |
| Figure 7: Drawings of the Luss Hogback | 104 |
| Figure 8: Book of Kells, Folio 2r | 105 |
| Figure 9: Frontispiece, Kelso Abbey | 106 |
| Figure 10: Detail of Arch Decoration at Kelso Abbey | 106 |
| Figure 11: Hogback Stone, Luss Graveyard | 108 |
| Figure 12: The Blackhall, Paisley | 122 |
| Figure 13: Loch Lomond and Inchgalbraith | 146 |

All photographs copyright of Gwen Jones-Edwards unless otherwise credited.

Tables:

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 1: The Earls of Lennox during the 12 th , 13 th and 14 th centuries | 113 |
| Table 2: Charters in which Gillescop Galbraith acted | 115 |
| Table 3: Charters in which Rodarcus Galbraith acted | 117 |
| Table 4: Charters in which Máel Coluim Beg acted | 123 |
| Table 5: Charters in which John of Drummond acted | 127 |
| Table 6: Charters in which Gilla Brigte of Drummond acted | 128 |
| Table 7: Charters in which Gilla Brigte and Máel Coluim acted | 129 |
| Table 8: Charters in which Arthur Galbraith, son of Gilleasbaig is mentioned | 131 |
| Table 9: Charters in which William Galbraith is mentioned | 132 |
| Table 10: Charters in which Murchadh Galbraith acts or is a beneficiary | 133 |
| Table 11: Charters benefitting Arthur Galbraith | 135 |

List of Parish Abbreviations

| | |
|-----|-------------|
| AAR | Arrochar |
| BDK | Baldernock |
| BFN | Balfron |
| BON | Bonhill |
| BUC | Buchanan |
| CAD | Cadder |
| CAS | Cardross |
| CND | Cumbernauld |
| CPS | Campsie |
| DPC | Dunipace |
| DRY | Drymen |
| DUM | Dumbarton |
| FTY | Fintry |

| | |
|-----|----------------|
| GGK | Gargunnock |
| GRM | Grangemouth |
| KLN | Killlearn |
| KMO | Kilmarnock |
| KSY | Kilsyth |
| LUS | Luss |
| MAY | Maybole |
| NKP | New Kilpatrick |
| OKP | Old Kilpatrick |
| RHU | Rhu |
| RNH | Rosneath |
| SBL | Strathblane |

Text Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| APS | Acts of Parliament of Scotland |
| BLITON | Brittonic Language in the Old North |
| Br | Brittonic Language |
| Clt | Celtic |
| CPNS | Celtic Place-names of Scotland, Watson 1926 |
| EG | Early Gaelic |
| Fraser ii | Fraser Lennox Volume II |
| G | Gaelic |
| HBFL | Highland Boundary Fault Line |
| Lennox Cart. | Lennox Cartulary |
| Liber Calchou | Liber S. Mariae de Calchou |
| MW | Middle Welsh |
| NBr | Northern Brittonic |
| NLS | National Library of Scotland |
| OW | Old Welsh |
| OS | Ordnance Survey |
| PoMS | People of Medieval Scotland |
| REG | Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis |
| RMP | Registrum Monasterii de Passelet |
| RMS | Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum |
| RRS | Regesta Regum Scotorum |
| W | Welsh |

1: INTRODUCTION

1.1: Setting the Scene

Dumbarton, or Dùn Breatann, to give it its modern Gaelic name, is likely to be the place-name most indicative of the ethnicity of the rulers of any of the capitals which served the variety of medieval kingdoms within the territory which is now Scotland. It would appear to be the only medieval capital now named for its inhabitants, there not being any named for the Picts, Gaels or Scandinavians. It is surprising, therefore, that our knowledge of the Kingdom of the Britons in the North is far from extensive; indeed, one could argue that it is significantly poorer than that available to us about the other Scottish peoples.¹ The name ‘Dùn Breatann’ seems to have been a retrospective Gaelic exonym, for it is unlikely that the Britons who ruled there called it such. Their name for it was Al Clut, meaning the ‘Rock of the Clyde’. We can theorise about the timing of the coinage of the name ‘Dùn Breatann’; however, we find it reported as ‘Dumbartane’ and ‘Dunbretane’ in charters of Alexander II dated in *Registrum Magni Sigilli* as 1222, and in the *Lennox Charters* as 1238.²

Our first certain notification of Al Clut comes before 704, the year of the death of Adomnán, who had referred to a man called Roderic, son of Tothal, as being king at Petra Cloithe.³ It is last mentioned within the *Annals of Ulster*, wherein is stated that it was besieged and conquered in 870 by the Norse Dubliners, Amlaíb and Ímar. Thereafter, references are made not to Al Clut but rather to ‘the Britons of Strathclyde’, with a particular statement being made in 871 that their king, Artgal, had been killed ‘on the advice’ of Constantine, the son of

¹ F. Edmonds, 2015, ‘The Expansion of the Kingdom of Strathclyde’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 23.1 pp43-66

² J.M. Thomson, ed., 1892, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum*, (HM General Register House, Edinburgh) Vol vii, No. 190; *Lennox Cart.* p1

³ A Macquarrie, 1998, ‘The Kings of Strathclyde, c 400-1018’ in A. Grant and K. Stringer, eds., *Medieval Scotland, Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh University Press) pp1-19

Cinaed. In 875, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle refers to the *Straeclead Wealas*, supporting the supposition that a new polity had emerged following the destruction of Al Clut.

It is not possible to place reliable geographical limits on either Al Clut or Strathclyde, there being no records from which to do so. Nevertheless, there is good evidence to suggest that the Kingdom of Strathclyde founded a new centre of political power at Govan/Partick, situated further eastwards along the Clyde. Perhaps the best evidence for this is the presence, at Govan, of many carved stones, including 5 hogback stones; these monuments form a significant collection which emphasise the wealth and influence which must have pertained in Strathclyde. Furthermore, there is evidence that this kingdom flourished to such an extent that it was able to expand a considerable distance into what is now English Cumbria. Evidence for such an expansion is demonstrated by the coining of new Brittonic place-names in the Cumbrian Vale of Eden as late as the early tenth century.⁴

While it is possible to state that the Kingdom of Strathclyde exerted influence which extended from Govan/Partick to Cumbria, it proves impossible to clearly define borders for the Kingdom of Al Clut, other than to say that its centre was at Dumbarton Rock. However, given that the Rock is sited on the confluence of the rivers Clyde and Leven, we must assume that the Vale of Leven had provided a 'back yard' for the citadel of Al Clut. It may have been its most important core territory; the Leven formed a direct conduit to Loch Lomond with its associated waterscape of fertile and easily defendable islands. Further than that, the Kingdom of Al Clut might be imagined to have ruled the territories along the Clyde, controlling the northern Clyde coast, alongside which there is a line of ancient hill forts, perhaps connected to its early beginnings.⁵ It may have ruled territories to the south of the Clyde though such a claim must be viewed as unsubstantiated. However, it is likely to have extended eastwards at

⁴ F. Edmonds, 2015, pp60-66.

⁵ Carman, Dumbarton Rock, Dumbowie, Sheep Hill and possibly Hill of Dun.

least as far as Govan, given that its kings removed there in haste. Its northernmost point has been suggested as being at Clach nam Breatann.⁶

If we search for an explanation as to why the Scandinavians perpetrated their difficult siege on Dumbarton Rock, we might contemplate the wresting of the control of Clydesdale as having been its ground. The control of Al Clut would have allowed the Scandinavians to push forwards into other territories. If so, we can imagine that an agreement between the Britons and Scandinavians had allowed for peace at the new, less defensible, British political centre at Govan/Partick in return for an unimpeded passage along Clydesdale for the Scandinavians. Indeed, when one contemplates the Scandinavian influence visible in the Govan stones, it is difficult to discount the likelihood that such an alliance had existed.⁷

Recent research has concentrated on the expansion of the Kingdom of Strathclyde eastwards and southwards from Govan/Partick.⁸ The inference, admittedly unconfirmed, has been that the lands surrounding Dumbarton Rock were simply given up to settlers. The likelihood that territories to the west of Govan/Partick were retained by the Britons in some form has not properly been considered. The annals are silent about the lands abutting Dumbarton from the time of the siege in 870, and we hear nothing more about them until an entry for 1005 which appears in *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*.⁹ The three recensions of the *Cogadh*, were first assembled during the 12th century at the behest of Muirchertach ua Briain, great grandson of Brian Bóruma.¹⁰ They contain the first mention of the Lennox in that the entry for 1005 tells us that Bóruma had waged a great campaign thereby subjugating the Northumbrians, the Britons, the Lennox, Scotland and Argyll.¹¹ Herein, a distinction is being made between the

⁶ See Chapter 3

⁷ S.T. Driscoll, 2004, 'Govan from Cradle to Grave', *The Society of Friends of Govan Old*

⁸ F. Edmonds, 2015, pp43-66; F. Edmonds, 2014, 'The Emergence and Transformation of Medieval Cumbria', *Scottish Historical Review*, 93.2 pp195-216

⁹ J.H. Todd, ed., 1867, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* (Longman's, London) pp135-136

¹⁰ M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 1966, 'Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib and the Annals: a comparison', *Ériu*, 47 pp101-126

¹¹ 'Shaxan ocus bretan ocus lemnaigh ocus alban ocus airer Gaoídhel', in Todd, *Cogadh*, p137

people of the Lennox and the Britons. Accordingly, this thesis will examine the western lands lost to the kings of Strathclyde, and seek to determine the extent, make-up and socio-political structure of the early Lennox.

1.2: Aims

An examination of the attested boundaries of the Lennox will be made which will take account of the language derivations of its place-names. This exploration will search for evidence of a continuing Brittonic presence in the Lennox, and for any relationship that they may have had with other peoples who were present as the Lennox was being formed.

The first dependable written information about the Lennox originates in charters of the 12th and 13th century. This work will be based on an examination of those charters; the specific goal will be to uncover the progress of Britons within the Lennox, with the aim of recognising any association or influence that they may have had with the rulers of the Lennox. There will also be an attempt to trace the origins of the ruling Lennox family. An understanding will be sought of the way in which society had stabilised within the Lennox following the 9th century fall of Al Clut.

1.3: Research Questions

- 1) What was the geographical extent and nature of the Lennox?
- 2) Is it possible to identify Brittonic place-names, and, if so, what can they tell us?
- 3) Is it possible to identify Brittonic families within the 12th and 13th century Lennox?
- 4) If so, what influence did they hold within the Lennox?
- 5) What were the origins of the ruling Lennox family?

2: METHODOLOGY

2.1: Charters

The mainstay of this research has been a thorough examination of the 12th and 13th century charter material relevant to the area of the Lennox. The four main primary source records consulted were the following.

Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax (1200-1398), edited by James Dennistoun, 1833

The Lennox, edited by Sir William Fraser, 1874

Registrum Monasterii de Passelet, edited by Cosmo Innes, 1877

Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, edited by Cosmo Innes, 1843

The charters mostly consist of legal documents pertaining to the grant of lands. For the purposes of this work, the charters contained within the first two collections above were translated in their entirety from the Latin. This information was combed in order to collect

- 1) the charter dates where available or computable
- 2) the names of the grantors, grantees and witnesses.
- 3) a list of the formal roles of those people where relevant
- 4) the names of all the lands granted.

In terms of the place-names

- a) all the place-names were collected for the purposes of defining the extent of the Lennox (Chapter 3, also see Appendix A).

- b) the place-names in charters pertaining to the period between 1150 and 1250 were collected for the purposes of onomastic analysis (Chapter 4, also see Appendix B).

Place-names and other information from the Lennox Cartulary are referenced according to the page on which the relevant charter begins.

Not all the charters in the 3rd and 4th collections above (Glasgow and Paisley) are relevant to the Lennox. They were combed to identify those that had a bearing on the area, whereafter the same process was followed as for the first two collections.

Additional relevant charters, available elsewhere, were also consulted.

Extensive use was made of the PoMS website (People of Medieval Scotland). This allowed the cross-referencing of personal names and places, the identification of sources, and the approximate dating of charters, when the charter itself did not contain a date.

2.2: Place-names

All the place-names available in the charters were listed and tabulated, with modern locations being sought for them. For this purpose, extensive use was made both of OS and historical maps.

Acknowledgment is made of the use of Denis Rixson's Land Assessment Website, which has useful information relating to place-names and their possible or probable modern locations.

Its research into late medieval and post-reformation units of land has been helpful in assisting to identify the modern-day locations of the 12th and 13th century charter place-names mentioned in this thesis.

2.3 Reliability of Transmission of the Charters relevant to the Lennox

The papers from which the Lennox Cartularium were copied had originally been kept with the Burgh records at Dumbarton. They had been transcribed by William McFarlane in the early 18th century, and he had them sent to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. By the 19th century the original Burgh of Dumbarton papers had disappeared. James Dennistoun, who edited McFarlane's transcriptions for the Maitland Club in 1833, believed that McFarlane's work had been mostly accurate; he believed this because of certain notes in the margins of his work which suggested that he had viewed the originals. In addition, the Maitland editor had viewed transcripts made by John Smith between 1760 and 1780; this person was a writer in the employ of the Duke of Montrose who had come into possession of the Lennox estate in 1703. Smith's transcripts appeared to him to have been taken from the originals rather than from McFarlane's copy, given that there were 'frequent blanks and trifling misreadings'. It is not clear whether those papers held at the Burgh of Dumbarton were in fact the same as those held by Montrose. James Dennistoun had also viewed transcripts made by a William Buchanan of Auchmar in 1715 from documents kept in Dumbarton, and he had compared the entire materials with the contents of the Paisley register. Dennistoun also had access to certain papers owned by the Colquhoun family of Luss which were separate to the Dumbarton papers, though he gives no opinion on their provenance. Given the loss of the Dumbarton Burgh papers, and their uncertain relationship to the Montrose papers, it is not possible to state whether they were originals, copies or indeed as to whether they were accurate or not.¹²

Sir William Fraser had access to papers in the possession of the Duke of Montrose. Some of these charters were to be found in the Lennox cartulary but it is not clear whether these were

¹² Lenn. Cart. pp ix-xix

the same copies as had been amongst the Dumbarton Burgh papers. Fraser chose to edit only those that had not yet been published. Fraser inspected them in 1850 at the charter room in Buchanan. He stated that some of those that he had included in his Appendix had not been in the Buchanan collection, but he did not enumerate or name them. He also had access to the Colquhoun papers, which included other early Lennox charters.¹³ Both the Buchanan and the Colquhoun papers are now kept with the National Records of Scotland.¹⁴

¹³ Sir W Fraser, 1874, *The Lennox*, (T & A Constable) pp v-vlix

¹⁴ <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk>

3: THE NATURE OF THE LENNOX

3.1: Introduction

Some authors have described the Lennox as being the northernmost part of the ancient Brittonic lands: that they have done so is perhaps because the Lennox was centred on Dumbarton, the capital of the kingdom of Al Clut. The inference has been that the entire Lennox must originally have been Brittonic, albeit its borders with Menteith and Argyll might suggest the possible existence of Gaelic areas within it. Stringer describes it as having been the ‘northern rump’ of the Kingdom of Strathclyde.¹⁵ Although Brown stresses the later Gaelic nature of the Lennox, he too maintains that it is thought to have been a Brittonic province: he states that a factor supporting its Brittonic nature was the emergence of its deanery, a part of the Diocese of Glasgow, whose own borders were thought to be coterminous with the Kingdom of Strathclyde.¹⁶ In fact, the Diocese of Glasgow, as initially constituted by David I, is not likely to have extended much further north than Glasgow itself, if at all.¹⁷ Nonetheless, most authors assume that the Lennox extended for at least the length of Loch Lomond. It is not possible to claim a Brittonic origin for the whole of the Lennox without further scrutiny. This chapter will examine the boundaries of the Lennox with the aim of establishing its shape and extent, as well as its geographical nature. Once its boundaries have been substantiated, an attempt can then be made to examine and map out the distribution of the languages found within the Lennox. The aim of this chapter will thus be the establishing of its boundaries. The following chapter will examine and analyse its place-

¹⁵ K. Stringer, 1985, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219* (Edinburgh University Press) p14

¹⁶ M. Brown, 2003, ‘Earldom and Kindred: the Lennox and its Earls, 1200-1458’ in S. Boardman and A. Ross, eds., *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland 1200-1500* (Four Courts Press, Dublin) p202

¹⁷ J.T.T. Brown, 1901, *The Inquest of David – fac-simile and text with translation and notes by JTT Brown* (Morison Bros. Glasgow)

names in an attempt to trace the extent of its erstwhile Brittonic lands and how they might have related to the Gaelic culture at the turn of the 13th century.

3.1.1: Traditionally Accepted Descriptions of the Boundaries of the Lennox

There appear to be no definitive descriptions of the geographical shape of the Lennox, but this has not prevented authors from providing depictions of it, albeit without an incontrovertible basis in fact. Wikipedia supplies unreferenced maps which show its position within Scotland.¹⁸ Neville, who has provided the most detailed study of the Lennox, has not attempted to delineate its exact limits, being content only to map out some of its most important settlements.¹⁹ Perhaps the most particular description of its boundaries was provided by Stringer, although he also neglects to provide specific referencing for his reasoning.²⁰ Nevertheless, it is useful to take his geographical outline of the Lennox, which follows, as a basis for further examination.

Stringer states that the northernmost limit of the Lennox was to be found at Clach nam Breatann (NN 337 218), a group of large, piled stones found on the northern bank of the river Falloch which is situated to the north of the end of Loch Lomond, into which the river runs. The eastern limit is described as having extended from Clach nam Breatann via the headwaters of the Forth and the Carron to Kilsyth (NS 271 678) in the east. Turning westwards from Kilsyth, the boundary is then said to have extended to Old Kilpatrick, loosely following the line of the Antonine Wall. From thence it followed the banks of the Clyde as far as Baron's Point (NS 221 811), which is situated on the west coast of the Rosneath peninsula.

¹⁸ [Wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Lennox](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Lennox)

¹⁹ C.J. Neville, 2005, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland, The Earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox, c 1140-1365* (Four Courts Press, Dublin) ppxiv - xv

²⁰ K. Stringer, 1985, p15

The border is then said to have run along the eastern banks of Loch Long to Arrochar from where it veered in a north-easterly direction to close the loop at Clach nam Breatann again.

3.2: Confidence Limits for the Boundaries of the Lennox

This section will note the settlements and other features most peripheral to the centre point of Dumbarton, and which are mentioned in the earliest charters pertaining to the Lennox. These early charters originate in the 12th and 13th century and are the main point of interest in this study: they demarcate lands over which the Earls of Lennox had control, which are therefore likely to have been within the Lennox. The assumption is here made that the boundaries of the Lennox had remained generally intact during the succeeding 14th and 15th centuries; thus, settlement names have also been collated for these periods, albeit the possibility is retained that the Lennox may by then have expanded. A detailed examination of the supposed deanery boundaries as an adjunct to this examination is outwith the scope of this thesis but it is suggested as a topic for future research, as are the place-names attested following 1250. The aim of mapping the most peripheral locations is to achieve a visual representation of the land that we can claim with a high degree of probability to have been part of the Lennox in the 12th and 13th centuries. The mapping will commence at Dumbarton and proceed eastwards and onwards in an anticlockwise fashion until returning to Dumbarton once again. A detailed onomastic consideration of place-names will be found in Chapter 4, but for the purposes of this chapter, modern place-names and locations will be given as headlines, and a visual map produced.

Thereafter a charter outlining the extent of the Free Forest of the Lennox will be considered; its putative limits will be superimposed or added onto the settlement limits.

3.2.1 The Peripheral Settlements of the Lennox

DUMBARTON, NS 398 754, DUM

Within the 12th century Dumbarton was in the possession of the Lennox earls. However, on the 28th of July 1238 Alexander II made a formal grant of the county of Lennox to Earl Máel Domnaig whereby he expropriated both Dumbarton Rock and the harbours which lay to both sides of the Leven.²¹

KILPATRICK, NS 469 728, OKP

Kilpatrick appears to have been the most important ecclesiastical centre in the Lennox: although churches at Rosneath, Luss and Campsie appear in the charters, the main bulk of the material is concentrated upon Kilpatrick. Amongst the first extant charters are ones which grant lands to it; it was itself later granted to Paisley Abbey by Earl Máel Domnaig c 1227²²

KILBOWIE, NS 498 706, OKP

This location appears in an early charter of Earl Alwin II which is dated 1174 x 1199; it is concerned with the gift of lands to the church at Kilpatrick.²³ Kilbowie is situated to the north-east of Dalmuir, today a part of Clydebank, and appears within the charter as *Cultbrit*.

²¹ *Lennox Cart.* p1

²² *RMP* p158

²³ *Lennox Cart.* p12

CARTONVENACH (BEARSDEN), NS 538 730, NKP

Cartonvene appears in the same Kilpatrick charter as Kilbowie. It's likely location was in present-day Bearsden, where it was possibly a centre of jurisdiction for the Galbraith family (see 6.3.1). Roman remains demonstrate that it was an important structural and strategic part of the Antonine Wall.

MUCKCROFT, NS 682 716, CAD

Although there had earlier been contention between William Cumin and the Bishop of Glasgow as to whether Muckroft had lain in the Lennox or not, in 1234 x 1253 Earl Máel Domnaig granted the carucate of *Mukeraw* to David de Graeme, the land having previously been held by Luke as deacon.²⁴ Muckroft today constitutes farmlands to the north-west of Moodiesburn.

KILDRUM, NS 771 748, CND

Kildrum is now a suburban area of Cumbernauld. A letter written to Edward II by Robert I in 1310, in which he appealed for peace, was signed at *Kyndromyn*, which was stated to be within the Lennox.²⁵

²⁴ *REG*, No.91; Sir W. Fraser, 1874, *The Lennox*, (T & A Constable) Vol II, no 10; PoMS/record/source/2776/#

²⁵ www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2013/june/headline_279405_en.html

ANTERMONY, NS 667 763 and CAMPSIE, NS 610 800, CPS

These two churches are mentioned within the earlier Lennox charters when they are granted to the Abbey of Kelso; they also caused its first documented political controversy when that grant was reversed (see 7.4).²⁶

GLINNS, NS 607 883, BFN and OLD LECKIE, NS 689 946, G GK

In a charter of 1286 x 1333, the Earl Malcolm, grandson of Máel Domnaig, granted to Malcolm of Luss the outer portions of the land of *Glyne* which lay between the borders of *Lekych* (Old Leckie) and *Syf* #.²⁷ Old Leckie lay to the east of Kippen in the Parish of Gargunnock.²⁸ Malcolm II's charter clearly names Old Leckie as bordering Glinns. Earl Malcolm II had gained Leckie when Robert I had given it to him as recompense for Cardross, which he had taken for himself.²⁹ At that point, therefore, the earldom of Lennox will have extended to the east of Kippen, although this was not the case during the time of the earlier earls and may have ceased to be the case for the later earls.

GARCHELL, NS 544 944, DRY

Garchell farm lies abutting Flanders Moss adjacent to Old Auchentroig. Both are mentioned with Gartclach NS 519 943 in a later charter of Earl Duncan dated 1385 x 1425.³⁰ Their position on Flanders Moss shows them to be on the border to Menteith.

²⁶ C.N. Innes, ed., 1846, *Liber S Mariae de Calchou*, (Bannatyne Club Edinburgh) No. 226; REG, Nos.101, 102

²⁷ *Lenn. Cart.* p24

²⁸ P.E.McNiven, 2011, 'Gaelic place-names and the social history of Gaelic speakers in medieval Menteith', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, Map 22

²⁹ poms.ac.uk/record/source/10303/#

³⁰ *Lenn. Cart.* pp75,76

BURN OF MAR, NS 442 908, BUC and SALLOCHY, NS 389 950, BUC

These locations are attested in a charter of Earl Donald, whose tenure extended from 1333 to 1365.³¹ Both locations lie on the east shore of Loch Lomond within the area later known as the Parish of Buchanan. The Burn of Mar (*Aldmarr*) flows to the south and west from behind Conic Hill, which rises to 361m, and is the first of the hills which extend northwards to Ben Lomond and beyond. These hills formed part of the Forest of Lennox (see below).

CRAIGROYSTON, NN 343 046, BUC

Cragtrostan is attested in a charter of Robert III dated the 8th of May 1405 which confirms the earldom of Lennox to Earl Duncan.³² Duncan's tenure as Earl of Lennox is given by Brown as between 1388 and 1425 but must have commenced earlier.³³ Craigroyston is confirmed to Duncan and his heirs 'together with the land of Makgilchrist': the latter first being attested in 1354.³⁴ Earl Donald refers to a drawing up of a charter by his antecedents anent the land of Makgilchrist; however, there is no longer a copy.³⁵ Craigroyston Woods lie between Rowardennan and Inversnaid and are today a Site of Special Scientific Interest.³⁶

PENINSULA OPPOSITE ARDLUI, NN 320 158, AAR

Although no longer bearing the name, *Elaig*, an island mentioned in a charter of Earl Donald between 1333 and 1365, appears on Roy's map as *Island Ellich*.³⁷ It is, in fact, a peninsula

³¹ *Lenn. Cart.*p56

³² *Lenn. Cart.*p7

³³ M. Brown, 2003, pp215-220

³⁴ *Lenn. Cart.*p62

³⁵ *Lenn. Cart.*p62

³⁶ <https://www.nature.scot/sites/default/files/site-special-scientific-interest/444/sssi-citation.pdf>

³⁷ *Lenn. Cart.*p62

which projects into Loch Lomond from its very northernmost point, and it forms the furthest point from Dumbarton which can definitively be stated to have been a part of the Lennox.

ARROCHAR, NN 298 038, AAR

‘Arrochar’ does not appear as a fixed place-name in any of the early Lennox charters, though a ‘Malcolm Makfarlane, Lord of Arrochar’ is referred to in a charter of Earl Duncan of 1385-1425; within this charter, Arrochar is referred to as Innerywach, and mentioned along with Keanlochlong and Glenloyn.³⁸ ‘Innerriach’ is marked on Timothy Pont’s map of 1583-1614 at the location of modern-day Arrochar. Arrochar was originally a part of the Parish of Luss until it became disjoined as its own parish in 1659: it seems always to have had but a loose connection with Luss. Early charters of Earl Máel Domnaig (d. c1250) give the northern boundary of Luss as defined by the River Douglas, which lies some miles south of Arrochar.³⁹ However, the area surrounding present-day Arrochar was the subject of a charter of c1272, at which point its carucate was granted by Malcolm I, Earl of Lennox, to Duncan, the son of Gillecríst, his brother.⁴⁰ At this point the holding appears to have become known as ‘the land of Makgilchrist; furthermore the charter stated that the original grant had been made by Earl Máel Domnaig to Gillecríst himself. The term ‘arrachor’ was a common name meaning a specific amount of land; it is a term found scattered throughout the Lennox charters but seems to be a term confined to the Lennox alone (see **4.3**).

³⁸ *Lennox Cart.* p65

³⁹ *Lennox Cart.* p19

⁴⁰ RMS Vol II, No.187 < poms.ac.uk/record/source/3718/#

GARELOCHHEAD, NS 240 912, RHU

Garelochhead is first attested in a charter of 1272 x 1296 concerned with the relaxation of duties of jurisprudence within the extensive lands held by Arthur Galbraith throughout the Lennox, *Keangerloch* being one of those lands.⁴¹

ROSNEATH, NS 254 832, RNH

Renynt is the subject of two charters, the first of which appears to be that of Amelec, the brother of Earl Máel Domnaig. The charter is dated 1222 x 1226 and concerns the donating of the church at Rosneath to the Abbey at Paisley.⁴² This gift was confirmed by Earl Máel Domnaig in his own, subsequent charter.⁴³

ARDENCAPLE, NS 281 841, RHU

Ard nan Each is described by the poet Muireadhach Albanach as being the home Amhlaíbh of Lennox, the brother of Earl Alwin. The poem is dated c 1217.⁴⁴ Indirect evidence suggests that by *Ard nan Each* is meant Ardencaple: no other settlement of the meaning, ‘hill of horses’ exists within the Lennox. The lairds of Ardencaple, known as the MacAuleys retained their seat there until the eighteenth century.⁴⁵ Amhlaíbh’s great-grandson was known as Walter of Faslane, which is in the vicinity of Ardencaple. Walter of Faslane held power in the

⁴¹ *Lennox Cart.* p28

⁴² *Lennox Cart.* p13

⁴³ *Lennox Cart.* p14

⁴⁴ ‘To Amhlaíbh of the Lennox’ in T.O. Clancy, ed., 1998, *The Triumph Tree* (Canongate Classics, Edinburgh) p260

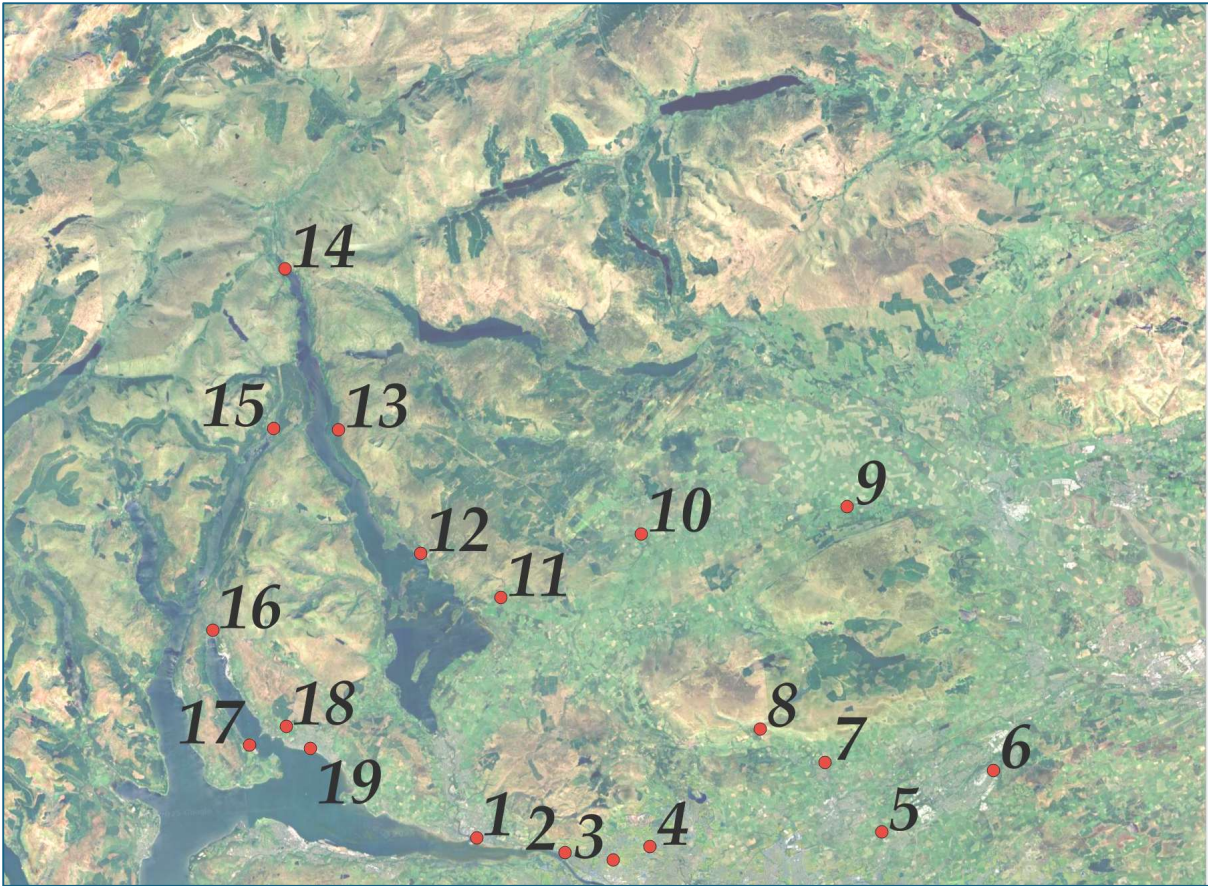
⁴⁵ W. and A.K. Johnston, 1900, *The Scottish Clans and their Tartans: with notes* (Edinburgh)

Lennox from 1365 to 1385 through his wife Margaret, his fourth cousin and direct descendent of Earl Máel Domnaig.

MILLIG (HELENSBURGH), NS 299 832, RHU

The settlement later developed as Helensburgh by Sir James Colquhoun in the mid-18th century is found in a charter of Earl Donald dated the 1st of November 1351.⁴⁶ It concerns his grants to Walter of Faslane of several estates including Colgrain, Camis Eskan and Millig, all of which form parts of Helensburgh today. Millig remained the settlement's name until wholesale changes were brought about by Colquhoun.

⁴⁶ *Lennox Cart.* p93



Map 1: Boundary points in the medieval Lennox as evidenced by settlement locations

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1: Dumbarton | 2: Kilpatrick | 3: Kilbowie | 4: Cartonvene |
| 5: Muckcroft | 6: Kildrum | 7: Antermony | 8: Clachan of Campsie |
| 9: Old Leckie | 10: Garchell | 11: Burn of Mar | 12: Salloch |
| 13: Craigroyston | 14: Elaig | 15: Arrochar | 16: Garelochhead |
| 17: Rosneath | 18: Ardencaple | 19: Millig | |

Information from the Lennox charters suggests that the most peripheral of the developed, medieval settlements in the Lennox lay in the locations marked on Map 1. Where the inference is that the boundaries lay as least as far as these locations, it is more difficult to mark out how boundaries might have lain further out from them. Notwithstanding this, it is

possible to suggest lines of travel that might have connected the peripheral settlements shown in Map 1. Commencing at Dumbarton, the boundary passed through Kilpatrick to Kilbowie, lying here to the south of the course of the Antonine Wall, a wall that may still have been partially well preserved during the 12th and 13th centuries. The boundary line continued its course to the south of that wall through Muckcroft, near Moodiesburn, and onwards until Cumbernauld where it appears to have crossed the line of the Antonine Wall and doubled back upon itself at an acute angle of approximately 40° until it reached Antermony and thereafter Campsie. At Campsie the usual direction of human travel possibly extended along the pass through the Campsie Fells to Fintry and onwards to the Glinns. From this position it is likely that there would have been a corridor as far as Old Leckie. McNiven states that the parishes of Kippen and Gargunnock, neither of which were in the Lennox, were co-terminous, but given that Old Leckie lies immediately east of Kippen and west of Gargunnock, a tract of Lennox land extending to it from Fintry is very likely to have existed, albeit perhaps temporarily. From Glinns onwards, the course extended to Garchell, loosely following the south-western limits of Flanders Moss. From Garchell, the boundary as evidenced by developed settlements may have traversed the area now covered by the Garadhban Forest as far as the Burn of Mar, from where it proceeded along the narrow eastern coastal strip of Loch Lomond towards Salloch and Craigroyston. The hills to the east are likely to have formed part of the Free Forest of Lennox (see **3.2.2** below for its dimensions). The northernmost settlement was found at the furthest tip of Loch Lomond at the peninsula called Elaig, from where the course turned southwards along the western banks to Glen Loyn. From there the boundary followed the western coast of Loch Long to Garelochhead, whence the line extended westwards into the Rosneath peninsula. From Garelochhead again the boundary followed the north coast of the Clyde through Ardencaple and Helensburgh until it returned to Dumbarton. However, at Dumbarton the boundary turned

northwards for a short distance, crossed the river Leven and returned southwards just beyond its eastern banks, forming an enclave which was excluded from the Lennox, and which belonged to the Scottish king.

3.2.2: The Forest of Lennox

Lands held as a free forest were granted to Earl Máel Coluim I of Lennox (1250-1303) by Alexander III in 1272.⁴⁷ This is our first indication of such an area belonging to the Lennox, but it is possible that it had already long been a possession of the Lennox earls.

The charter states the boundaries of the forest as follows.

*Est' Douglas vsque ad Sehynne' et ab Sehynne'
vsque ad Keryn' et sicut Keryn' descendit [in Phale et] deinde vsque
ad aquam quod dicitur Gall' et sicut idem Gall' descendit in lacu et
ab idem Gall' vsque ad Fynnovhyn' sicut descendit in Forth' et ab
idem [Fynnovhyn' vsque ad metam] orientalem. de Cramenane et ab
eadem meta vsque ad riuulum qui dicitur Melach' et a dicto riuulo de
Melach' vsque ad Keryn'.*

‘From the Easter Douglas to the *Sehynne* and from the *Sehynne* to the *Keryn*, and as the *Keryn* falls into the *Phal*, from there to the water which is called *Gall*, and as this *Gall* descends into the loch as far as the *Fynnovhyn* as this falls into the Forth and from the same *Fynnovhyn* to the eastern boundary of *Cramenane* and from that border until the burn that is called *Melach* and from that burn until the *Keryn*’.

⁴⁷ C.J. Neville and G. Simpson, 2013, *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Vol 4* (Edinburgh University Press) No 81

A later charter of David II (c. 1352), which is an inspeximus of that of Alexander III, exhibits different spellings, viz. *Ester Douglas, Fehyn, Keryn, Phale, Gall, Fynobhyn, Fortht, Cremennane, Melych* and *Keryn*.⁴⁸

The identification of these watercourses is not easily undertaken, particularly because some of these river names have disappeared. It is possible, however, to commence with the Eastern Douglas, which is likely to represent the river now known as the Inveruglas Water. The description ‘easter’ possibly related to the eastern reaches of that water as it ran from the Arrochar hills into the West bank of Loch Lomond at Inveruglas (NN 319 095). Modern maps give no clue as to ‘*Sehynne*’, but the ‘Fein’ is visible on Roy’s Military Map as an extended ridge just north of the hill which is known as Troisgeach (NN 291 193). The name *Sehynne* predates *Fehyn* by some 80 years but neither name seems now to be extant in those forms. This ridge forms the southern border of Gleann nan Caorann. The water, now known as the Dubh Eas, runs along Gleann nan Caorann and is likely to be the water referred to in the charters above as the *Keryn*. The Dubh Eas descends into the Falloch, presumably the *Phale*, just north of Inverarnan at NN 321 197 from where it would be possible to strike a short route towards Glengyle and the Gyle water, being possibly the *Gall* of the charter. The Gyle flows into Loch Katrine, which may then have been called Loch Gyle (NN 383 133).

The Forth arises in Loch Ard (NN 501 014), which lies some 6.5 km south of Loch Katrine as the crow flies. There is no obvious route, either in terms of a valley or of a water between Loch Katrine and Loch Ard, unless that route ran overland from Stronalachar on Loch Katrine (NN 402 103) to Loch Chon, and then onwards as the Water of Chon to Loch Ard. *Fynnobhyn*, or the white river, could possibly be a representation of the Water of Chon, which has waterfalls and thus ‘white water’.

⁴⁸ *Lennox Cart.* p2; RRS vi No 258

Aberfoyle, which lies on the northern bank of the Forth 1.5 km distant from Loch Ard was, at least by 1427, designated as part of the Earldom of Menteith.⁴⁹ The parish of Aberfoyle seemed mostly to have been located along the very upper reaches of the Forth and along Loch Chon and Loch Ard, whereby its northern borders occupied the southern Banks of Loch Katrine. It is possible, therefore, that this line formed the border between Lennox and Menteith, although McNiven puts Loch Chon and Loch Ard as lying entirely within the Parish of Aberfoyle.⁵⁰ No place-names in the Parish of Aberfoyle were attested before 1427, other than those of Aberfoyle itself and Kirkton of Aberfoyle, which were attested in 1260 and 1275 respectively. Kirkton lies on the south bank of the Forth; in it lie the remains of the post-reformation Old Parish Church of Aberfoyle, which may have been built on the site of the old, medieval church.⁵¹

The second *Keryn* which appears in the border description for the Lennox Forest must surely be the Carron, but it becomes difficult to trace the route which the boundary of the forest might have taken from the Forth to the eastern limits of Cremannan, an estate which encompassed Balfron, and thence onwards to the Carron. It is not evident how a route could have been traced from the Forth to Cremannan. Such a route would have passed through Flanders Moss, where drainage schemes were put into place from the eighteenth century onwards.⁵² As a result there is no clear trace of the rivulet which was called the *Melach*, nor of how and where it would have connected with the River Carron. We can assume, however, that the forest border will perhaps have taken a line eastwards of Cremannan, and, given that Fintry was certainly within the Lennox, then that line ran to the north of Fintry before turning southwards to meet the Carron.

⁴⁹ McNiven, 2011, p181

⁵⁰ McNiven, *ibid*, Map 3

⁵¹ <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofoldscottishchurches/site.php?id=158154> accessed 06/04/26

⁵² C. Mair, 1990, *Stirling: The Royal Borough* (Edinburgh, John Donaldson Publishers) pp169-170

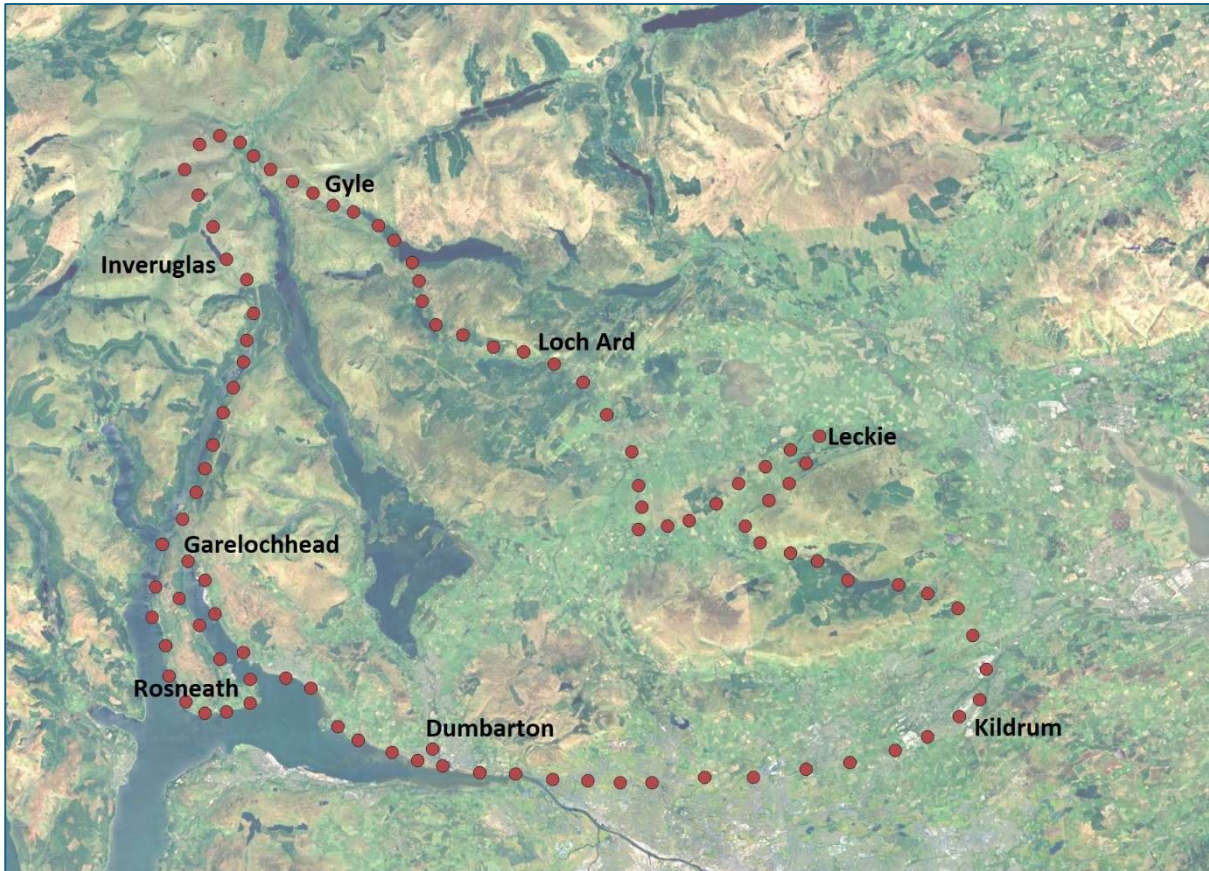


Map 2: Borders of the Lennox Forest

- | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1: Inveruglas | 2: Troisgeach | 3: Dubh Eas | 4: Falloch |
| 5: River Gyle | 6: Loch Katrine | 7: Water of Chon | 8: Forth |
| 9: Cremenann | 10: Melach | 11: Carron | |

The Free Forest of Lennox will have formed a substantial outer band of land which enveloped the settlements outlined at 3.2.1 along their northern and eastern reaches. To the north-east it is likely to have formed a border to the Earldom of Menteith and to Stirling. To the north-west it may have formed a border with Argyll.

3.2.3: Final Confidence Limits



Map 3: Lennox boundary, combining information from settlement locations and borders of forest.

Combining the information available in the charters, with regard both to settlement locations within the Lennox and to the extent of its forest, has allowed the depiction of the most likely boundaries of the Earldom of Lennox within the 12th and 13th centuries. Its shape is perhaps wider than traditionally described, extending towards Lochs Katrine, Chon and Ard in the north-east, as well as including parts of Flanders Moss and the settlement of Leckie. It would seem to encompass parts that later became accepted as being within the Earldom of Menteith when that earldom was reconstituted by James I in 1427, at which point the Lennox may have lost part of its original territory.

3.3: Clach nam Breatann

According to tradition, Clach nam Breatann, or Clach na Briton on the current OS map (NN 338 216), was the boundary stone for the Brittonic kingdom at its border with both Dalriada and Pictland, apparently at a point where all three territories met. Kirby firmly stated that the frontiers of the 'Kingdom of Strathclyde' reached as far as the 'Clach nam Breatann' on the western side of Glen Falloch at the head of Loch Lomond.⁵³ The stone is a conglomeration of rocks which may be erratic boulders, although the fact that they seem to sit on a distinct tumulus has also been taken as a suggestion that it is man-made. There does not appear to be an origin for the term Clach nam Breatann within manuscripts, so we can assume it to have been part of an oral tradition.

An entry for 716 AD in the Annals of Ulster states that a battle was fought between Dalriada and the Britons at a stone called the *Minuirc*, and that the Britons were defeated.⁵⁴ This stone has not been identified, although Watson notes that Skene supposed it to have been Clach nam Breatann.⁵⁵ Watson stated that *Min* could be cognate with Welsh *maen*, meaning a stone, and *uirc* with Welsh *iwrch*, a roe-deer. BLITON agrees with these derivations, but this still does not tell us where the Minuirc was situated.⁵⁶

A further stone, situated some 12 miles away above Lochgoilhead, is called Clach a' Bhreatunnaich (NN 216 025). It lies in an area which is unrelated to the Lennox. Local tradition also claims this to be a border stone between Dalriada and the Britons.⁵⁷ This stone is a definite glacial erratic; its size and location preclude human manipulation. Because of their names, it is tempting to suggest that this stone, along with Clach nam Breatann, form

⁵³ D.P. Kirby, 1971, 'Britons and Angles' in G. Menzies, ed., *Who are the Scots?* (BBC, London) p80

⁵⁴ *Annals of Ulster (to 1131)*, eds. Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Nac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983)

⁵⁵ CPNS, p387

⁵⁶ BLITON p60

⁵⁷ www.trove.scot/clacha'bhreatunnaich

part of a line of boundary markers for the Brittonic kingdom. Indeed, a rough line of place-names containing variations of the word *crìoch*, or border, was identified by Rennie.⁵⁸ On the trajectory from Clach nam Breatann to Clach a' Bhreatunnaich and beyond, this line contains names such as *Cnap na Crìche* (NN 280 154), *Cnoc na Tricrìche* (NN 170 965) and *Meall Crìche* (NS 104 805). It traverses the Arrochar Alps towards Lochgoilhead, thereafter bisecting the most easterly of the three Cowal peninsulas. However, this conjecture does not prove the existence of a Brittonic border at these locations because any borders, if indeed they existed, may have been more minor. The existence of stones bearing the name 'Breatannach' is more difficult to explain. It is possible that they marked events rather than boundaries. Skene's suggestion that one of these stones could have been the *minuiric* is unlikely to hold water for the following reasons: a visit to Clach nam Breatann will reveal that not only is it poorly visible and difficult to locate but that it stands above a steep-sided valley on extensive hilly and undulating ground, which is entirely boggy, and which would have made for an improbable battleground. Clach a' Bhreatunnaich is a huge erratic boulder perched on the ridge of a hill at a height of 350m, making it an equally unlikely battle site. Perhaps the stones had merely some folkloric significance, being possibly having been a reference to a figure such as Arthur. However, there do not appear to be explicit references to Arthurian legend in the wider area (but see discussion at **5.1.**)

One more interpretation should be that the word 'Breatann' derives not from a word meaning 'Briton', but rather from the Early Gaelic *bretnas*, meaning a 'brooch', albeit ultimately derived from *bretain* for 'briton'.⁵⁹ Morgan noted that *breatan* names were often associated with long projections in the landscape; he considered whether allusions had been made to

⁵⁸ E.B. Rennie, 1996, 'A Possible Boundary between Dal Riata and Pictland', *Pictish Arts Society Journal*, 10 pp17-22

⁵⁹ dil.ie/6755

pin-like shapes.⁶⁰ The structure of Clach nam Breatann is that of a projecting and narrowing stone lying on top of other jagged stones. It is possible, therefore, that its name is based on its physical structure rather than on any connection to Britons or their borders.

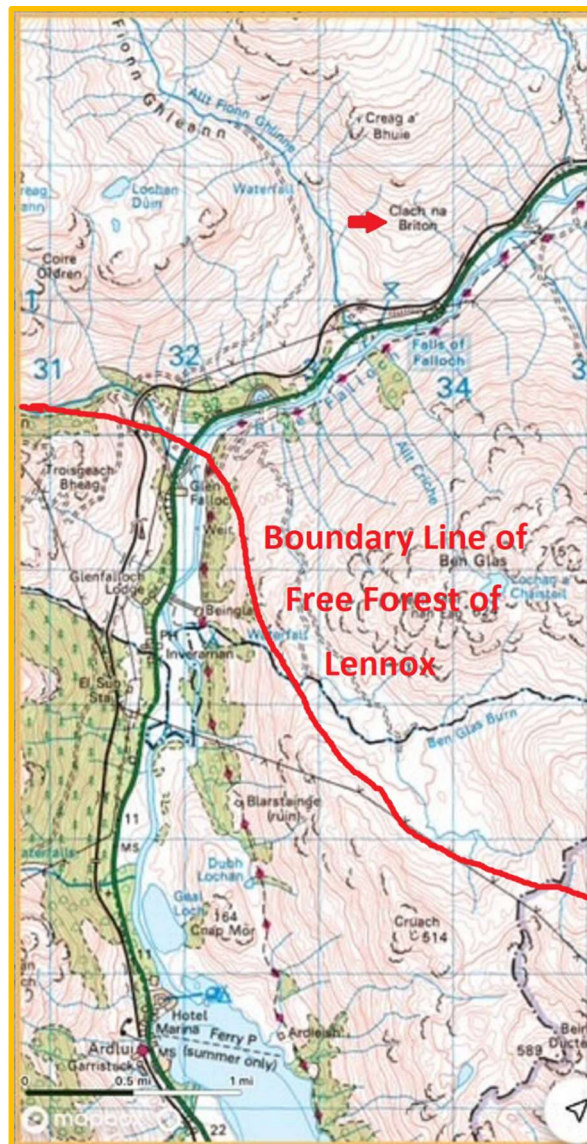


Figure 1: Clach nam Breatann

An examination of the immediate environs of Clach nam Breatann, and of the place-names which surround it, reveals no Brittonic influence. Given its more northerly position, this is not surprising; however, it may be significant that it lies to the north of the banks of the river Falloch, the name of which is most likely to derive from the Old Gaelic *folach*, or Scottish Gaelic *falach*, meaning ‘concealed’, or ‘hidden’. If this is its meaning, then it is indeed appropriate, given that the Falloch is well hidden at the base of its valley. This Gaelic name contrasts with the remaining major river names in the Lennox, which appear to have a Brittonic derivation. Moreover, Glen Falloch does not appear to have been a part of the Lennox, albeit the Falloch eventually runs into Loch Lomond. The northern border of the

⁶⁰ P.A.Morgan, 2013, ‘Ethnonyms in the place-names of Scotland and the Border counties of England’, PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, pp33-34

Forest of Lennox (see 3.2.2 above) appears to have followed the Dubh Eas to Inverarnan where it crossed the Falloch and from where it made an acute angle of 10° for Glen Gyle, thus excluding Glen Falloch proper. Clach nam Breatann is situated some 3.5 km north-eastwards from this juncture. For these reasons we cannot claim with any certainty that Clach nam Breatann and Glen Falloch were ever part of the Brittonic lands, nor specifically were they likely to have been a part of the kingdom of Al Clut.



Map 4: Position of Clach nam Breatann in relation to Free Forest of Lennox From OS App; accessed 25/07/25

3.4: Geography of the Lennox

The setting out in Map 3 of a well-defined area and boundaries for the Lennox allows a consideration of its geography. The Lennox lies straddled across the course of the Highland Boundary Fault Line (HBFL) by which it is divided into a much larger southern part and a narrower, northern strip. The fault line is 240 km long; it traverses Scotland from the Isle of Arran to Stonehaven whereby its most dramatic point is to be found in the Lennox. Here, its line can be followed across Loch Lomond from Conic Hill (NS 433 923) to Ben Bowie (NS 340 828) via the islands of Inchcailloch, Torrinch, Creinch and Inchmurrin. To the north of these islands lie the further islands of Inchtavannach, Inchconnachan, Inchmoan, Incheruin, Inchfad and Inchlonaig, along with several smaller islands, also caused by the geological event which caused the fault, albeit not following its direct line.

The geological event in question was the Caledonian Orogeny, which was a result of tectonic forces. Its product, the HBFL, is one of the most salient topographical features to be found in the islands of Great Britain. It forms a ridge which separates the Highlands from the Lowlands of Scotland. The ridge was formed because of the presence of rocks which were weaker and already eroded. These weaker rocks are situated between the high mountains of the Highlands and the sandstones and conglomerate rocks of the Midland Valley, and dip steeply into the Lowlands.⁶¹ The Dalradian rocks found to the north of the HBFL consist of metamorphosed igneous and sedimentary rocks.⁶²

⁶¹ G. Tanner, 2008, 'Tectonic significance of the Highland Boundary Faultline, Scotland', *Journal of the Geological Society*, 165 (5) p915

⁶² H. Chisholm, ed., 1911, 'Dalriadan', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol 7 (Cambridge University Press) p 777



Figure 2: Course of the Highland Boundary Fault Line at Loch Lomond, marked out in turn from Conic Hill through the islands of Inchcailloch, Torrinch, Creinch and Inchmurrin to Ben Bowie in the distance.

Photo: John Calderwood

The Midland Valley, lying to the south of the HBFL is a rift valley which is bordered at its southernmost point by the Southern Upland Fault, which runs from the Rhinns of Galloway in the west to Dunbar in the east. At the base of the Midland valley lay a chain of volcanoes which produced extensive lava fields. The Campsie Fells, situated within the Lennox, represent an elevated line of that lava flow, their westernmost peak, Dumgoyne NS 540 827, being formed of a volcanic plug.⁶³ The lava fields became covered by mud, silt and sand, carried into the valley by the mountains to the north and to the south, eventually being metamorphosed into Old Red Sandstone through the combined actions of rivers and heat.⁶⁴ Extensive glacial activity then covered and infilled the area with further deposits which

⁶³ www.geologyglasgow.org.uk accessed August 5th 2025

⁶⁴ www.scottishgeologytrust.org accessed August 5th 2025

included sands and gravels, thus obscuring the solid rock surface. This has resulted in the creation of extensive lands suitable for farmland but also of rough upland pastures and moorlands.⁶⁵

The last ice age ended following a temporary readvancement of ice, which was known as the Loch Lomond Stadial.⁶⁶ Active in Scotland, Wales and England, the Loch Lomond Stadial had a particular effect on the area known as the Lennox in that it carved out the depression that became Loch Lomond. Given that Loch Lomond lies on the HBFL, the glaciers carved the depression differently according to the underlying rock structure. In the north, the ice sheets carved out a deep, narrow basin, being constrained by the higher and harder rocks to their sides. Upon reaching the softer rocks to the south of the HBFL, the glaciers were able to spread out to carve a much wider but shallower basin. The result is a loch of two halves; a northern, fjord-like water channel which is poorly accessible from land and has depths of up to 160 m, contrasted with a southern loch which is easily navigable and has a maximum depth of 30m.⁶⁷

The remaining major lochs within the Lennox consist of Loch Long and the Gareloch, both of which afford potential portage, the first to Loch Lomond at Tarbert (NN 319 045), and the second between the Gareloch and Loch Long at Garelochhead (NS 240 912). The two most significant river courses are those of the Clyde and the Leven. The former is a major Scottish river which drains both the Lanarkshire and the Glasgow areas and forms a passageway outward to the Firth of Clyde and onwards to the Atlantic Ocean. The Leven is a short but fast-flowing river which drains Loch Lomond, entering the Clyde at Dumbarton; no longer

⁶⁵ I.B Cameron, and D. Stephenson, eds., 1985, *The Midland Valley of Scotland: British Regional Geology* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London) Chapter 1

⁶⁶ www.antarcticglaciers.org/thelochlomondstadial accessed 5th July 2025

⁶⁷ www.snh.org.uk/publications/on-line/geology/loch_lomond_stirling/loch.asp accessed 5th July 2025

navigable upstream because of weirs, passage was at one time possible from Loch Lomond and further from Loch Long via portage.

3.5: Conclusion

It is possible to see that the location and size of the medieval Lennox broadly fitted the descriptions that we find today, in particular that of Stringer. Nevertheless, the boundaries would appear to differ in four major respects.

- i) The first is that it cannot be demonstrated that Clach nam Breatann formed any part of the Lennox.
 - ii) The Forest of Lennox is likely to have extended the Lennox as far as Loch Katrine, and the Lennox will have incorporated Lochs Chon and Ard, and part of Flanders Moss.
 - iii) At some point during the beginning of the 14th century, Old Leckie, which lies on the banks of the river Forth, became part of the Earldom of Lennox. It lies in what subsequently became a part of the Parish of Gargunnoch, which lay in the environs of Stirling Castle; thus, at one time the Lennox extended further to the north-east than hitherto recognised.
 - iv) The Lennox extended eastwards further than Kilsyth, traditionally quoted as the south-eastern limit, and at least as far as Kildrum in present-day Cumbernauld.
- Thus, it occupied half the breadth of the central belt of Scotland.

The geology and geography of the area provided the Lennox with two distinct land spheres. The first, and the most valuable, was the southern province which afforded extensive tracts of agricultural lands. These farmlands bordered both the Clyde and the seacoast, from which outward connections would have been easy. In addition, the

southern part of Loch Lomond had within it a myriad fertile and habitable islands which were low-lying, and which would have been able to sustain sizeable populations.

The northern part of the Lennox consisted of rocky and often precipitous land which had but thin soil coverage. This area is likely to have been the less valuable part of the Lennox and the least easy to develop; however, it afforded an extensive land of free forest which would have supplied timber and charcoal, as well as providing profitable areas for hunting and hill grazing although much of its steep and rocky territory may have made a dairy-based form of agriculture less probable. It is likely that the larger population had always lived in the southern half of the Lennox, where the main economic activity was found. The development of the northern parts is likely to have been less immediately profitable, would have occurred through the agency of fewer people, and would have sustained significantly fewer families.

4: 12th AND EARLY 13th CENTURY PLACE-NAMES IN THE LENNOX

4.1: Introduction

This chapter will examine the earliest place-name attestations which we have for the Lennox. Most of these appear in the documents associated with the earliest known leaders of the Lennox, being Earls David, Alwin II, and Máel Domnaig. The charters examined here commence circa 1165 when Earl David had tenure and end with the death of Máel Domnaig circa 1250 – 1265. The objective is to consider the possible language of origin of each place-name. In so doing, the aim is not to delineate those origins in their own right, but rather to search for patterns of settlement within the Lennox, either in terms of geographical spread or of land usage. The place-names will be set out in alphabetical order, using their modern names where they exist, or the forms in the charters where they are lost place-names.

A perusal of Appendix B, which contains all the estate and farm place-names attested between 1150 and 1250, will show that they were exclusively Celtic; neither Norse nor Anglo-Saxon place-names are present in these records. However, a differentiation between Gaelic and Brittonic names can be difficult for two reasons. The first is that there is an abundance of cognate terms for which the derivation could potentially be either Brittonic or Gaelic. Although Scotland possesses place-names which are clearly either Gaelic, such as Argyll (Earra-Ghàidheal), or Brittonic e.g. Tranent (Tref y Nant), it also possesses place-names which could potentially have an origin in either: Dumbarton is such an example (Dùn [nam] Breatann or Din Brìthon, albeit a Gaelic derivation is accepted for it). The second difficulty is that Old Welsh is poorly attested in comparison with Early Gaelic. Moreover, Northern Brittonic has certain attestation only in place-names and its degree of similarity to Old Welsh is not known; thus, an assignment of names to it is challenging. Given the eventual ascendancy of Gaelic in the Lennox, it may seem safer to assign Gaelic origins to

most of its place-names. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to ensure that a proper consideration of Brittonic derivation takes place, given that the potential survival of such place-names may indicate earlier settlements.

In the analysis of the place-names, reference has been made to DIL (Dictionary of the Irish Language), BLITON (British Language in the Old North) and GPC (Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru). Cross-referencing between them was undertaken throughout as was a detailed consultation with both historical and OS maps.

Water names which appear in charter material concerning estate perambulations will not be treated; they are many, difficult to identify and would require an extensive discussion outwith the scope of this work.

4.2: The Place-names – an Onomastic Analysis

The abbreviations given here are Br for Brittonic, NBr for Northern Brittonic, OW (Old Welsh), MW (Mid Welsh) or EG (Early Gaelic) and G (Modern Gaelic). Given the limited scope of this thesis, attestations later than the early 14th century are given only when they clarify locations or derivations. The individual analyses will note whether the place-names are originally likely to have been topographical descriptors (**TD**) or whether they denoted human activity from the outset (**HA**).

ALDOCHLAY, NS 355 913, LUS

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>Cledhemh</i> | c 1225 | Fraser ii No.204 |
| <i>Aldenclebh</i> | c 1225 | Fraser ii No.204 |
| <i>Gledhech</i> | 1247 x 1251 | Len. Cart.p19 |
| <i>Cledhebh</i> | c1250 | Fraser ii No.207 |

NBr equivalent of MW *cleddyf* (sword)⁶⁸, or EG *claideb* (sword) **TD**

This estate was likely to have been named after the burn which descends on the northern side of Tom na Cona; it includes a series of waterfalls which cut through the rock thus possibly causing its description as a sword. *Cleddyf* is a term used to describe rivers in Wales, for instance the Cleddau rivers in Pembrokeshire. The low ridge, Maol a' Chlaidheamh (200m), through whose contours the river flows may have gained its name from the river. The possibility that it had been a contested sword-land might be considered, but by 1225, Cledhemh was certainly an established settlement. Aldochlay is an anglicisation of the Gaelic *Allt a' Chlaidheimh*, meaning the burn of the sword. Nevertheless, the early forms suggest that the name is perhaps more likely to have originated in the Brittonic, the spelling indicating a frontal 'e' sound rather than an 'ai' sound produced further back. Its position directly between Luss and Bandry (see below) suggests a Brittonic enclave.

ANTERMONY, NS 667 763, CPS

Altermunnin 1165 x 1174 RRS ii No.120

Altermunnin 1189 x 1195 RRS ii No.367

?OW *alt* (steep hill) + ? IBr **tirjo* (land) + ?Br **mano*-> MW *mawn* (peat), or ?EG *alt* (height, stream) + ?EG *tír* (land) + ?EG *móin* (peat) **TD**

Antermony is one of the oldest place-names attested in the Lennox. Its lands were given to Kelso Abbey along with the church at Campsie by David during his tenure as Earl of Lennox.⁶⁹ Antermony has a backdrop of steep hills which are peat-bound; the place-name as

⁶⁸ A NBr equivalent of *cleddyf* is not found in BLITON; it is here conjectured.

⁶⁹ *Liber Calchou*, No. 226 p186

interpreted above may thus be correct. Although Drummond has *G monadh* or *mòine* (peat),⁷⁰ the persistent final ‘n’ may point either to Br. **mawnen* or EG *móinin*, both indicative of a peat-moss. The language derivation cannot be given with certainty.

AUCHENCARROCH, NS 418 821, BON

Hachenkerrach 1247 x 1251 REG No.177

EG *achad* (field, enclosure, farm) + EG *in* (*def.art.gen.*) + EG *cáera* (sheep) **HA**

The farms of High, Middle and Low Auchencarroch, situated in the fertile upper Vale of Leven, continue to function as sheep farms

AUCHENCLOICH # Situated approximately at NS 539 761, NKP

Auchencloich c.1238 Lenn. Cart.p27

Achinclosch 1654 Blaeu, NLS maps

EG *achad* (field, enclosure, farm) + EG *in* (*def. art. gen.*) + EG *cloch* (*gen. cloiche*) (stone, rock) **HA**

This settlement is now lost but at one point formed an important part of the landholdings of the Galbraith family (see **6.3.1**). There are two sites on Craigmaddie Muir which have standing stones. A single stone is found at NS 587 765, and a site of three stones, known as the Auld Wives’ Lifts is situated close by at NS 587 763. It is possible that Auchencloch could have been situated in their vicinity. Alternatively there was once a stone at Mugdock,

⁷⁰ P.J. Drummond, 2014, ‘An analysis of toponyms and toponymic patterns in eight parishes of the upper Kelvin basin’ PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, p181

known as the Law Stone; if the location of Auchencloch had been here, then it would have been situated in the parish of Strahblane.

AUCHENTULLICH, NS 352 861, LUS

*Achadh*tulech 1240 x 1260 Lenn. Cart.p96

EG *achad* (field, pasture) + EG *in* (def. art. gen.) + EG *tulach* (hillock) **HA**

Auchentullich exists in two parts situated just west and north of Boiden (see **5.3.1**), being Auchentullich Namoin (of the bog) and Auchentullich Natra (of the beach)⁷¹.

BACCANE – ? AUCHENTOSHAN NS 477 726, OKP

Baccane 1174 x 1199 Lenn. Cart.p12

Baccan 1174 x 1199 RMP No.157

Baccan 3rd Mar 1230 RMP No.160

Bachan 1st Apr 1234 RMP No.164

Baccayne 14th Feb 1273 Lenn. Cart.p14

Baccan 11th Nov 1330 Lenn. Cart.p17

This location was cautiously identified as Auchentoshan by Bruce, presumably from the possible analysis of the place-name Auchentoshan as G *Achadh an t-oisean* (Field or farm of the nook).⁷² *Baccan* may have derived from either EG *bacc* (angle, bend, corner) or from a NBr equivalent OW *bach* (angle, bend, corner) or their diminutive derivatives EG *baccán* or OW *bachyn*, but its orthography may more readily suggest Gaelic. **TD**

⁷¹ NLSView map: Ordnance Survey, NS3486-NS3586 - AA - Ordnance Survey 1:2500 scale map - Ordnance Survey National Grid Maps, 1940s-1970s

⁷² John Bruce, *The History of the Parish of West or Old Kilpatrick*, (John Smith, Glasgow 1893), p94

BALDERNOCK, NS 576 751, BDK

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>Buthirnok</i> | 1208 x 1214 | REG No.103 |
| <i>Euthnok</i> | 1208 x 1214 | REG No.103 |
| <i>Buthernock</i> | 1238 | Lenn. Cart.p30 |
| <i>Buthernoc</i> | 1234 x 1253 | Fraser ii No.10 |
| <i>Butherernok</i> | 1296 x 1309 | Lenn. Cart. p71 |

EG *both* (lodge) + Ernoc (personal name) **HA**

Baldernock, now the name of a farm to the east of Milngavie, was once an important parish.

A version of the same name is also to be found at Balernock in Rhu parish.⁷³ The element *both* is likely to have been adapted from the Brittonic *bod*, meaning a dwelling or a residence; its distribution as an ecclesiastical indicator in Scotland is mainly in areas of Brittonic or Pictish influence.⁷⁴

BALGROCHAN NS 629 786 and NS 617 744, CPS

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Brengrochane</i> | 27 th Nov 1225 | Fraser ii, No.3 |
| <i>Brengrouchan</i> | 1272 x 1296 | Fraser ii, No.13 |

Br **brunnjo-* → OW *brinn* (hill) + Br **crūco-* < OW *cruc* < W *crug*, (hillock, cairn, tumulus) or EG *crúachán* (hillock, stack) **TD**

Two locations called Balgrochan are found relatively close together, one to the west of Torrance and the other north of Lennoxton.⁷⁵ Both lie close to Campsie. BLITON states that *brinn* is rare in the Old North, though common in Wales; however, found in the form **bren(n)* in Pictland, it fell together with *prenn*, meaning a ‘tree’. Modern Welsh *bryn* is masculine and

⁷³ Drummond, 2014, p122

⁷⁴ S. Taylor, 2006, ‘The Early History and Languages of West Dunbartonshire’ in I Brown, ed., *Changing Identities, Ancient Roots* (Edinburgh University Press) p30

⁷⁵ Drummond, 2014, p186

not demanding of the lenition found in Balgrochane. BLITON states that it may have been feminine in the Old North; this suggests the possibility that it might have functioned in both genders. A specific in Gaelic could have introduced an ellipsis leading to a form such as *gcruachán* if it had followed a definitive article in the plural genitive; however, no definitive article is here attested. Taylor has *brinn* as the specific element in *Balfron*,⁷⁶ and it is also to be found in *Linnbrain* (see below), perhaps making it an element that was indeed found in the area that became the Lennox.

BALLENCLERACH, NS 610 795, CPS

Balneglerauch 1208 x 1214 REG No.103

EG *baile* + EG *in* (def. art. gen.) + EG *clèirech* (clergyman) **HA**

This settlement is mentioned in a charter outlining the boundaries of the parish of Campsie. The modern Ballenclerach House is situated some yards from the ruins of Campsie Church: the name is originally likely to have referred to the farm belonging to the cleric there installed.⁷⁷

BALLOCH, NS 391 819, BON

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Riogh Bealaigh</i> | c 1200 | Muireadhach Albanach |
| <i>Bellach</i> | 3 rd Mar 1238 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Bellach</i> | 12 th Mar 1251 | RMP No.171 |
| <i>Bellach</i> | 18 th Nov 1274 | Lenn. Cart.p85 |
| <i>Bellach</i> | 1596-1674 | Joan Blaeu, Levinia Vicecomitatis |

⁷⁶ S. Taylor, 1996, 'Place-names and the Early Church in Eastern Scotland', in B.E. Crawford, ed., *Scotland in Dark Age Britain* (St Andrews) p104

⁷⁷ Drummond, 2014, p188

Balach

1717-1755

William Roy, Military Map

EG *belach* (gap, pass or road); or Br **bolco* (gap or pass) < MW *bwlch* (gap, pass, corner, point)

or alternatively

IE **g^uel-* < Clt. **balago* (to flow or flood) < MW *bala* (efflux of a river from a loch); or EG *balchad* (moisture)

TD

The place-name Balloch is generally taken as deriving from the EG *belach*. Early maps tell us that Balloch was not originally to be found at its modern location but rather on the East bank of Loch Lomond exactly at the origin of the river Leven (NS 387 825). This is the position to which the Earls of Lennox retired to their new caput following their exit from Dumbarton Castle in the early 13th century (see **3.2**). It is visible on the current OS map as ‘Castle Earthworks’. It is not certain whether the castle had pre-existed but it is possible that it had; it may have been the seat of the Riogh Bealaigh referred to by Muireadhach Albanach. It should be noted that there is a second, Victorian Balloch castle, to which this discussion does not refer. Hermann Moll (d. 1732) does not mark any location as being named Balloch. Joan Blaeu marks the Lennox castle as Belloch but marks no roads within its vicinity. William Roy also marks Balloch as being the Lennox castle. Blaeu and Roy show that the road northwards passed through Dumbarton within the vale on the east side of the Leven, crossing it at the approximate location of the modern Bonhill bridge (NS 395 798). From there the road appears to have travelled along the west side of the Vale of Leven at some distance from the river and northwards via Cameron (NS 375 832). Although Roy marks a road eastwards to Kilmarnock, this appeared to commence at Millton (now known as Milton of Haldane) (NS 402 818) and did not approach Balloch castle. It requires to be considered whether the meaning of the place-name Balloch refers to the river source, rather than to a pass or a road.



Map 5: Position of Balloch and roads in the area; William Roy 1747-1755

The 2009 edition of GPC has *bala* stemming from > Clt. *balago*, which it compares with EG *balchad*, meaning ‘moisture’ and it defines it as a place where a river originates from a lake. Owen and Morgan in DPNW (2007) define *bala* as meaning a crossing place skirting wet ground adjacent to a loch, stating that the word is always preceded by the definite article, with the meaning as given in GPC thus representing a semantic shift.⁷⁸

Balloch, Cumbernauld lies also within the Lennox. Its landscape is relatively flat, although Drummond states the meaning of the place-name as being ‘a pass’. He states that a Balloch Farm once stood on the south-western gap that ‘funnelled up’ to the confluence at Cumbernauld. He also states that this Balloch lay close to marshy ground which was known as Balloch Bog but that there is no evidence that there had been an adjacent loch.⁷⁹ The area now developed as Cumbernauld anciently lay on a large area of peat bog which had an

⁷⁸ DPNW, p 21

⁷⁹ Drummond, 2014, p225

extensive interconnecting wetland landscape.⁸⁰ Here the suggestion is that this Balloch may have represented a salient water system with its name originating in **balago* (moisture), or at least the possibility cannot be entirely discounted.

Turning to the geography of the Lennox castle at Balloch, however, there appears to be no historical evidence of marshy or wet ground; indeed, the level of the waters of the loch are likely to have been lower in the twelfth century (see 6.3). On the other hand, there is no good evidence for supposing a road, pass or junction to have been present at this location, nor is there a through path today, and the possibility must remain that the meaning is associated with the origin of the Leven where it leaves Loch Lomond. Given that the Vale of Leven will have been an important hinterland during the time of Alt Clut, with Balloch a significant point of access for Loch Lomond, the suggestion here is that the original name is more likely to have been North Brittonic derivative of **balago*.

BANDRY, NS 355 905, LUS

| | | |
|------------------|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Bannarad</i> | c 1225 | Fraser ii, No.204 |
| <i>Banuaras</i> | 1208 x 1234 | Lenn. Cart.p 95 |
| <i>Bannereth</i> | 1208 x 1265 | Lenn. Cart.p98 |
| <i>Bannerad</i> | 28 th Oct 1208-51 | Lenn. Cart.p25 |
| <i>Banghrach</i> | 1247 x 1251 | Lenn. Cart.p19 |
| <i>Bannereth</i> | 1247 x 1251 | Lenn. Cart.p19 (in discrepantum p 107) |
| <i>Banbrath</i> | c1250 | Fraser ii, No.207 |
| <i>Banwrith</i> | 1296 | Lenn. Cart.p20 |
| <i>Barrye</i> | 1560-1614 | Timothy Pont |
| <i>Barry</i> | c 1730 | Hermann Moll |

⁸⁰ www.Cumbernauldlivinglandscape.org.uk accessed 6th Oct 2025

Br *ban* (summit) + Br *rüð* (red) or Br *rito* (ford) **TD**

The representations of this name which we see on maps of the 16th and early 18th centuries suggest that the stress is on the second element, which is thus more likely to be the generic element. Versions ending in ‘th’ outweigh those in ‘d’, so that the orthography suggests that the colour red is being alluded to. *Banghrach* appears to be an outlier, which can possibly be attributed to scribal error. A connection to the descriptor red might be found in Tom na Cona, the hill lying directly behind Bandry Bay. Fraser, when referring to Bandry, does so exclusively as ‘Bandry Hill’.⁸¹ Tom na Cona is named for *Phleum Bertolonii*, commonly known as the Smaller Cat’s Tail which is often red in colour, depending on conditions. The Creag Roy burn descends from Tom na Cona, seemingly also having gained its name from the hill.

BARNEGO, NS 788 835, DPC

| | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Brengoene</i> | 10 th Aug 1217 | Fraser ii, No.202 |
| <i>Brengoene</i> | 26 th Aug 1239 | RRS iii, No.270 |
| <i>Brengoene</i> | 30 th Apr 1251 | RRS iv, No.7 |

Br **brunnjo*-> OW *brinn* (hill) + OW *gof*, *pl.gofein* (blacksmiths) **HA**

Barnego appears in a charter containing Kilsyth, Moniabroch and Glaskell#. BLITON has Barnego as *brinn* + *ī[r]* (definite article) and *goß*, but the definite article is not necessary with a specific formed in the plural.⁸²At Wester Barnego lie the remains of an earthwork situated on a promontory.⁸³

⁸¹ Sir W Fraser, 1869, *The Chiefs of Colquhoun Vol II*, (Edinburgh) p 11

⁸² BLITON p38

⁸³ [Wester Barnego, Ns78se 5, Ord... | Image | trove.scot](#) accessed 22.11.25

BLAIRBLENSHIE, approximately NS 694 835, CPS

| | | |
|------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| <i>Blarenebleschly</i> | 1208 x 1214 | REG No.103 |
| <i>Blarneblenchy</i> | 1208 x 1214 | REG No.103 |
| <i>Blairblinshy</i> | 1560 x 1604 | Timothy Pont 32, NLS |
| <i>Berblinchie</i> | 1755 | Roy, NLS |

EG *blàr* (field, level land) + EG *in* (def. art. gen.) + ?G *bleoghain* (milk) + ?G ? **HA**

This settlement exists no more, having been submerged by the Carron Reservoir. Drummond quotes a description in the OSA of excellent meadows.⁸⁴ It is possible, therefore, that Blairblenshie provided excellent milking grounds, but the interpretation must remain uncertain.

BLAIRSKAITH, NS 595 752, BDK

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Blareskavy</i> | 1208 x 1214 | REG No.103 |
| <i>Blaiskaith</i> | 1505 | RMS ii No.2816 |

EG *blàr* (field, level land) + unknown **HA**

Only one mention is made of Blairskaith in the early charters where it appears in the description of the borders of the parish of Campsie. By the sixteenth century the name had changed considerably. Drummond proposes *sgitheach* (hawthorn) for its specific element but that is uncertain.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Drummond, 2014, p261

⁸⁵ Drummond, 2014, p128

BONHILL, NS 394 796, BON

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Buthelulle</i> | 1247 x 1259 | REG No.177 |
| <i>Bohtlul</i> | 1274 | RMP No.216 |
| <i>Buchnul</i> | 1286 x 1333 | Lenn. Cart.p50 |

Br *bod* (dwelling place, abode) or EG *both* (cell, church) + ? *Lolanus* (Saint's Name) **HA**

Bonhill has been discussed by Taylor. He states that the first element is either Brittonic or influenced by it. If the second element is that of the saint Lolanus, as Taylor suggests, then it is possible that the dedication is ancient, and more likely to be Brittonic than Gaelic.⁸⁶

BOQUHANRAN, NS 489 710, OKP

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Monachkennane</i> | 1174 x 1199 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Monachkenneran</i> | 1174 x 1199 | RMP No.157 |
| <i>Monachkennaran</i> | 15 th Sep 1233 | RMP No.166 |
| <i>Monachkenneran</i> | 14 th Feb 1273 | Lenn. Cart.p14 |
| <i>Monachkenneran</i> | 11 th Nov 1330 | Lenn. Cart.p17 |

EG *manach* (monk) + ? *Cainer* (personal name) **HA**

Boquhanran is expressed as *Bawhanron* on Joan Blaeu's map of 1654. It lies adjacent to the Clyde on its north bank. It is most likely that the first element *monach* refers to monks. Taylor suggests that *kenneran* could refer to Saint Cainer, a female saint associated with the village of Kirkinner in Wigtownshire.⁸⁷ A dedication to Cainer exists also at Bothkennar,

Grangemouth (NS 903 834), situated between the Forth and Carron rivers: this could possibly be associated with a cult of Cainer within the Lennox. The element *both* might suggest a

⁸⁶ Taylor, 2006, p29

⁸⁷ Taylor, *ibid.*, p40

Brittonic origin for Bothkennar which may also have been the case at *Monachkennaran*, though the element *monach* in the latter suggests otherwise.

CAMPSIE, NS 610 795, CPS

| | | |
|---------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Chamsi</i> | 1189 x 1195 | RRS ii, No.367 |
| <i>Kamsi</i> | before 1208 | REG No.101 |
| <i>Campsy</i> | 1208 x 1214 | REG No.103 |
| <i>Campsi</i> | 28 th Dec 1220 | REG No.116 |
| <i>Kamsi</i> | 1208 x 1250 | REG No.102 |

Br *cambas* (bend or loop in a river); or ?EG *camas* (bay or a creek) **TD**

An early-attested name, its meaning accurately describes the twisting river of the Campsie Glen (now called the Kirk Burn). *Camas*, the singular W nominative form, is the basis of several place-names in Wales.⁸⁸ Br *cambas* is likely to underlie *Old Cambus* in Berwickshire (NT 805 695), a bay with steep cliffs; here Br *alt* (cliff) may form the first element.⁸⁹

Drummond puts forward an origin for Campsie in Gaelic, being *camas*, with the locative suffix *-aidh*.⁹⁰ There is no reason, however, for rejecting a possible Brittonic origin which later acquired a Gaelic suffix. Where it is not possible to rest upon a definitive origin for *Kamsi*, it should be noted that it lies adjacent to the settlement of *Brengrochane* (Balgrochan), making it more likely to have its origin in Brittonic.

⁸⁸ I. Williams, 1945, *Enwau Lleoedd* (Gwasg y Brython, Liverpool), p7

⁸⁹ www.Berwickshire-place-names.gla.uk/map/cceb0ae628c3d

⁹⁰ Drummond, 2014, p193

CARBETH, NS 534 794, SBL

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Gartbethe</i> | 27 th Nov 1226 | Fraser, Lennox ii, No 3 |
| <i>Garthebeth</i> | 1272 x 1296 | Fraser, Lennox ii, No 13 |

EG *gort* (enclosure) + EG *beithe* (birch-wood) **HA**

The Brittonic cognates, *garth* and *bedw*, would give the very similar ‘*Garthbedw*’; indeed, Watson suggested that the element *gart* had entered Gaelic from the Brittonic⁹¹ However, McNiven’s exploration of *gart* names demonstrates that this element was Gaelic.⁹² Often it denoted an enclosed piece of ground, in this case associated with birch trees, perhaps as a fence or in some other form.

CARDROSS, NS 391 750, CAS

| | | |
|------------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Cardinros</i> | 1221 x 1228 | REG No.108 |
|------------------|-------------|------------|

NBr equivalent of MW *cardden* (hedged enclosure) + Br* *rossa* > OW *ros* (promontory) **TD**

Although the modern village of Cardross is found further west along the Clyde coast at NS 344 775, the original location of the place known as Cardross was on the western side of the Leven estuary where Leven Grove Park is now situated. It was obtained by Robert I sometime between 1303 and 1329, who provided the Earl of Lennox with the estate of Leckie in return.⁹³ Taylor states that the distribution of **carden* in place-names is traditionally thought to be a Pictish word signifying a ‘woodland’.⁹⁴ Breeze, on the other hand, made the case that

⁹¹ CPNS, p198

⁹² P.E. McNiven, 2007 ‘The Gart-names of Clackmannanshire’, *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 1 pp61-76

⁹³ PoMS/record/source/10303/#

⁹⁴ Taylor, 2006, p28

in three instance of MW poetry it had the meaning of an enclosure or an encampment.⁹⁵ In 2009, James in reviewing the evidence suggested that *cardden* was most likely to refer to a place difficult to enter, perhaps because of an enclosing, thick hedge.⁹⁶ *Cardden* is a word in Welsh meaning a thicket or enclosure; *Y Gardden* is the name of several forts in Mid and South Wales. Given its presence in both Pictish and Welsh, it would seem unlikely that the word **carden* was not also found in the Brittonic language in the Old North. Taylor views it as problematic because Cardross is the only example outwith the Pictish heartlands, but it may, in fact, simply be the only survivor in the Brittonic kingdom. In addition, Taylor states that Welsh *rhos* may describe a moor but not a promontory; thus, he concludes that *Cardinos* is unlikely to be a Brittonic survival. However, some promontory place-names in Wales do indeed contain the element *rhos*; it may therefore have done so in the Old North.⁹⁷ Given that Cardross was situated but a stone's throw from Dumbarton Rock, it seems most likely that this was indeed a name coined in the Brittonic: this view is also expressed in BLITON, where it is accepted as such.

CLAIRINSH, NS 413 898, BUC

Clarines 1225 Fraser ii, No.4

EG *clár* (table) + EG *inis* (island) **TD**

Clairinsh is a small island lying on the shelf of Inchcailloch in Loch Lomond. As its name suggests, it is particularly flat, having a profile no higher than 10m in elevation.

⁹⁵ A. Breeze, 1999, 'Some Celtic Place-names of Scotland, including *Dalriada*, *Kincarden*, *Abercorn*, *Coldingham* and *Girvan*', *Scottish Language*, 18 pp39-41

⁹⁶ A.G. James, 2007, 'Review of Cavill, Paul and Broderick, eds.', *Language Contact in the Place-names of Britain and Ireland*, *Journal of Scottish Names Studies*, 3 pp150-1

⁹⁷ *viz* Rhosili and Rhoscolyn in H.W. Owen and R. Morgan, 2007, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* (Gomer) pp413, 415

COCHNO, NS 497 744, OKP

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Cochnach</i> | 1174 x 1199 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Cochinach</i> | 1174 x 1199 | RMP No.15 |
| <i>Cochmanach</i> | 1233 | RMP No.166 |
| <i>Cochmanach</i> | 1234 | RMP No.164 |
| <i>Cochnach</i> | 3 rd March 1238 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Cochnach</i> | 14 th Feb 1273 | Lenn. Cart.p14 |
| <i>Cochnach</i> | 11 th Nov 1330 | Lenn. Cart.p17 |
| <i>Cochmanach</i> | 3 rd March 1238 | RMP No.160 |
| <i>Cochmanach</i> | 1250 x 1303 | RMP No.160 |

Watson has this as Gaelic *cuachanach*, meaning ‘a place of little cups’, being a reference to the substantial cup-and-ring stone found at Cochno.⁹⁸ The somewhat later version of ‘Cochmanach’ may include Gaelic *monadh*, referring to the hill upon which the stone is found though perhaps being more possibly a misinterpretation of *cuachanach*. **TD**

CRAIGBANZO, NS 506 735, OKP

| | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Craguentalach</i> | 1174 x 1199 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Graguentalach</i> | 1174 x 1199 | RMP No.157 |
| <i>Craigbrentalach</i> | 1208 x 1250 | RMP No.162 |
| <i>Cragintalach</i> | 1208 x 1250 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Craguentalach</i> | 3 rd Mar 1230 | RMP No.160 |
| <i>Craguentalach</i> | 15 th Sep 1233 | RMP No.166 |
| <i>Cragbrecholach</i> | 14 th Feb 1273 | Lenn. Cart.p14 |
| <i>Cragbretholan</i> | 11 th Nov 1333 | Lenn. Cart.p17 |

⁹⁸ CPNS, p512

It is suggested by Taylor that *Craguentalach* was derived from G *crec* (crag), and possibly G *beinn* (peak), followed by G *tulach* (mound).⁹⁹ *Beinn* would regularly have been lenited to *bheinn* following feminine *crec*, and perhaps rendered as ‘*uen*’. The version found in RMP No.162 suggests that the word rendered could have been *bren* for *bryn* (hill) but it is more likely that the word given is OW *guinn* (white), which would lenite following the feminine OW *creic* where *bren* would not.¹⁰⁰ The derivation would then be Br *creic* (crag) + OW *guinn* (white) + OW *tâl(og)* (projecting). It is perhaps to be compared with Kirkintilloch, also in the Lennox, glossed in Nennius as *Caer-pen-talach*.¹⁰¹ Within his discussion on Kirkintilloch, Watson stated that those who used terms such as *tulach* would have understood its meaning in both languages. *Craigbanyoch* is noted along with Eddenbarnen in 1590, indicating that they were likely to be adjacent to each other.¹⁰² Bruce suggests Cragbrecholan to be the same place as Craigbanzeoch;¹⁰³ this name could later regularly give *Craigbanzo*, giving rise to Craigbanzo Street, which is situated just south of the eastern rock carvings on the elevated land known as Whitehill. These carvings are separate to those at Cochno and are likely to represent the location of Craguentalach. Taken together, the evidence suggests that this name originated in the Brittonic. **TD**

DALMONACH, NS 398 803, BON

| | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Dalmanach | 1174 x 1199 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| Dalmonach | 1174 x 1199 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| Dallenlenrath | 1225 | RMP No.212 |
| Dallevenach | 3 rd Mar 1230 | RMP No.160 |

⁹⁹ Taylor, 2006, p34

¹⁰⁰ BLITON p94

¹⁰¹ CPNS, p348

¹⁰² RMS, Vol 6, p702.

¹⁰³ Bruce, J. *History of West Kilpatrick*, p94

EG *dail* (water meadow) + EG *manach* (monk) **HA**

This portion of land lies on the east bank of the river Leven: it was granted to the monks at Paisley abbey by Robert Hertford, precentor of Glasgow (fl.1223 x 25 – 1228), along with the fishery of Linnbrain Hole (see below). The earlier charters show it as belonging to Kilpatrick.

Dalmonach is also represented by ‘Dallenlenrath’ but this is likely to be a scribal error.

DRUMCRENE, ? DUNCRYNE, NS 435 859, KMO

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Drumcrene</i> | 1174 x 1199 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Drumcreue</i> | 1174 x 1199 | RMP No.157 |
| <i>Drumerene</i> | 1208 x 1250 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Drumcrene</i> | 1208 x 1250 | RMP No.162 |
| <i>Drumerene</i> | 14 th Feb 1273 | Lenn. Cart.p14 |
| <i>Drumcreine</i> | 11 th Nov 1333 | Lenn. Cart.p17 |
| <i>Drumcreve</i> | 3 rd March 1330 | RMP No.160 |

EG *druim* (ridge) + EG *cruinn* (round), or Br* *drumo-* (ridge) + Clt.*krund-i-< Br *crwn*

(ridge) **TD**

Taylor suggests that the second element is *craobh*, meaning a tree but he does not quote the ‘*crene*’ forms.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, from the seven extant versions only two support *creve* while the remaining five renditions support a *crene* form. All the charters in which this place-name appears are associated with the church at Kilpatrick and with Paisley Abbey. *Drumcrene* may stand for Duncryne, Gartocharn, a prominent, rounded ridge, surrounded by fertile farmland. If so, it would be unusual in being the only early attestation in what became the parish of Kilmarnock, at some distance from Kilpatrick.

¹⁰⁴ Taylor, 2006, p34



Figure 3: Duncryne Hill, Gartocharn

DRUMDYNANIS

| | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Drumdinanis</i> | 1208 x 1250 | RMP No.158 |
| <i>Drumdinanis</i> | 1208 x 1250 | RMP No.173 |
| <i>Drumdyanans</i> | 14 th Feb 1273 | Lenn. Cart.p14 |
| <i>Drumdynand</i> | 11 th Nov 1330 | Lenn. Cart.p17 |

? Br *dūno-* (men); or EG *dúnain* (small fort). Br* *drumo-* (ridge) or EG *druimm* are equally possible, irrespective of the language of origin of the element ‘dinanis’. *Drumdyananis* is now lost so that it is impossible to draw locational evidence for its meaning. BLITON suggests that *dinnans* or *dinand* could refer to features such as standing stones, hence the ‘small men’.¹⁰⁵ Examples given are Dinnand in North Yorkshire, Dinnans in Kirkcudbright and Dinnans in Wigtown, whereby the possibility remains that the base word is Br *Dīn* (fort) which could have fallen together with EG *dún*. **TD**

¹⁰⁵ BLITON p108

DUMBARTON, NS 398 754, DUM

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Dunbretane</i> | 1214 x 1249 | Len. Cart. p1 |
| <i>Dumbertan</i> | 15 th May 1271 | RMP No.191-2 |

EG *Dún* (fortress) + EG *Bretanach* (Britons) **HA**

Dumbarton is first named in Alexander II's charter, above, of 1214 x 1249. It represents a Gaelic exonym. The location was referred to as Al Clud, or the Rock of the Clyde until the Viking siege of 870.

DUMFIN, NS 339 851, LUS

| | | |
|--------|-------------|---------------|
| Dunfin | 1240 x 1260 | Len. Cart.p96 |
|--------|-------------|---------------|

EG *dún* (fort or enclosed place) or Br* *dīn* (fort); + EG *finn* (white) or OW *fin* (border) **HA**

This is one of several places enumerated in a charter relating to southernmost parts of the lands of Luss. Dumfin, also known as Fingal's Hill, visible as a hill fort on the 1st edition OS map no longer exists, having been quarried. This may originally have been a Brittonic name referring to a border, placed as it is at the end of Glen Fruin and on the beginning of the hill downwards to Loch Lomond. If so, its Gaelic name may be an adaptation but its original language of derivation must remain uncertain.

DUNTIGLENNAN, NS 489 734, OKP

| | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Drumtethglunane</i> | 1174 x 1199 | Len. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Drumtechglunan</i> | 1174 x 1199 | RMP No.157 |
| <i>Drumtechglunan</i> | 15 th Sep 1233 | RMP No.166 |
| <i>Drumtglunan</i> | 1228 | RMP No.172 |
| <i>Drumteglunane</i> | 1208 x 1250 | Len. Cart.p14 |
| <i>Drumtheglunan</i> | 1208 x 1250 | RMP No.158 |

Drumthglunan

11th Nov 1330

Lenn. Cart.p17

EG *druim* (ridge) + EG *tech* (house) + Personal Name **HA**

The reference is to a house on a ridge. Duntiglennan sits at the base of the Kilpatrick Hills, but at a point where the ground is rising. ‘Glunan’ as a personal name is likely to incorporate the element *gille*, or servant. The saint Lolanus is suggested by Taylor as being the holy person venerated; if so, there may have been a local cult (see Bonhill above). Alternatively, the suggestion is made that the saint followed was Adomnán, later rendered as Èo(dh)nan.¹⁰⁶

EDINBARNET, NS 507 741, OKP

| | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Edenbernan</i> | 1174 x 1199 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Edenaneron</i> | 1174 x 1199 | RMP No.157 |
| <i>Edinbernan</i> | 15 th Sep 1233 | RMP No.166 |
| <i>Edinbernan</i> | 1 st April 1234 | RMP No.164 |
| <i>Edinbernach</i> | 3 rd March 1238 | RMP No.160 |
| <i>Edinarnach</i> | 3 rd March 1238 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Edinbernan</i> | 14 th Feb 1273 | Lenn. Cart.p14 |
| <i>Edinbernan</i> | 11 th Nov 1330 | Lenn. Cart.p17 |

EG *étan* (face,slope) + EG *bernán* (small gap).

Bernán may refer to the narrow, wooded ravine at Edinbarnet through which runs a small burn. **TD**

¹⁰⁶ Taylor, 2006, p34

FAIFLEY, NS 508 728, OKP

| | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Fynbertbealach</i> | 1174 x 1199 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Finbealach</i> | 1174-1199 | RMP No.157 |
| <i>Fimbelach</i> | 3 rd March 1230 | RMP No.160 |
| <i>Fynbalach</i> | 1208 x 1250 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Fimbelach</i> | 1208 x 1250 | RMP No.162 |
| <i>Fynbalach</i> | 14 th Feb 1273 | Lenn. Cart.p14 |
| <i>Fynbalach</i> | 11 th Nov 1330 | Lenn. Cart.p17 |

G *finn* (white) + G *belach* (road) **HA**

It is likely that the meaning here is of a holy road. The version transcribed as *Fynbertbealach* appears to contain within it the word *finbert*, meaning a feat or a miracle, thus supporting the likelihood that this was a passageway used for religious purposes, although alternatively this may have been a scribal error. Taylor suggests that the ‘holy road’ may have been a route by which Old Kilpatrick could have been reached from Strathblane, skirting the Kilpatrick Hills as it did so.¹⁰⁷

FINTRY, NS 616 868, FTY

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>de Fintref</i> | 1178 x 1199 | RMP No.157 |
| <i>Fintre</i> | 1208 x 1214 | REG No.103 |
| <i>Fyntrie</i> | 1238 | Lenn. Cart.p31 |
| <i>Fyntryf</i> | c.1247 | Lenn. Cart.p34 |

Br* *fin* (boundary) + Br* *trebā* >OW *treb* (dwelling, farm, estate) **HA**

Watson considered that this settlement was originally named *Gwendref*, with its specific deriving from *gwyn*, meaning ‘white’. This would have depended on an adaptation of *gwyn* into the Gaelic *finn*, with *tref* remaining untranslated. A more likely explanation is given in

¹⁰⁷ Taylor, 2006, p34

BLITON which points out the position of Fintry at the watershed between the Forth and the Clyde; it lies at the point where the Campsie and the Gargunnock Hills meet, thus making it more likely that it was regarded as a border settlement.¹⁰⁸ Alternatively, given that Fintry lies loosely on the borders of the Lennox (see 3.2.3) that border may once have been that of the old Brittonic kingdom of Al Clut

FRAOCH EILEAN, NS 366 926, LUS

| | | |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>Freuchelan</i> | 1247 x 1251 | Lenn. Cart.p19 |
| <i>Eilean Fraoch</i> | c 1250 | Fraser ii, No.207 |
| <i>Frechelen</i> | 1306 x 1329 | Lenn. Cart.p98 |

EG *fráech* (heather) = EG *ailén* (island) **TD**

This small island lies off the coast of Luss. It appears in a charter of Earl Maél Domnaig restoring the lands of Luss to Maél Domnaig, the Dean of Luss, from which he had earlier been alienated.¹⁰⁹ Fraoch Eilean occurs in other locations, its name perhaps being associated with the legendary hero Fraoch.¹¹⁰

GLASKELL #

| | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Glaskell</i> | 1208 x 1217 | Fraser ii, No.203 |
| <i>Glaskell</i> | 10 th Aug 1217 | Fraser ii, No.202 |
| <i>Glaskell</i> | 26 th Aug 1239 | RRS iii, No.270 |
| <i>Glashkell</i> | 30 th Apr 1251 | RRS iv No.7 |

EG *glass* (green) or Br *glas* (green) + Br **caldī* > OW *celli* (copse) **TD**

¹⁰⁸ BLITON p136

¹⁰⁹ Fraser ii, No.207

¹¹⁰ D.E.Meek, 1998, 'Place-names and literature: Evidence from the Gaelic Ballads' in S. Taylor, ed., *The Uses of Place-Names* (Edinburgh) p151

That Glaskell lay north of Campsie and south of the Carron is made plain by the description of the borders of the Parish of Campsie given in the Glasgow Register.¹¹¹ This charter also concerns Kilsyth, Moniabroch and Barnego, the latter here argued to be Brittonic; thus, *Glaskell* may also be likely to have a Brittonic derivation. Drummond suggests *G coille* for wood (EG *caill*), but the persistent ‘e’ spelling may point more firmly to a Brittonic origin in *celli*.¹¹²

GARTCONNELL, NS 538 730, NKP

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Cartonvene</i> | 1174 x 1199 | Lennox Cart.p12 |
| <i>Cateconnen</i> | 1174 x 1199 | RMP No.157 |
| <i>Kachconnen</i> | 15 th Sep 1233 | RMP No.166 |
| <i>Cartonvenach</i> | 1208 x 1250 | Lennox Cart.p26 |
| <i>Cartonwene</i> | 1272 x 1296 | Lennox Cart.p29 |

This place-name is difficult to interpret given that the two versions, *Cartonvenach/Cartonwene* and *Kachconnen/Cateconnen*, differ quite considerably, especially in their respective second elements. They can seemingly be connected only via a tenuous similarity between *Cart* and *Cate*. Nonetheless, that the names refer to the same place is confirmed by otherwise identical versions of Alwin’s charter granting lands to the church in Kilpatrick. The charters found in the Lennox Cartulary refer to *Cartonvene*, while those of the Paisley Register refer to *Cateconnen*. PoMS identifies the lands of Cartonvenach as being those of Gartconnell (NKP).¹¹³ Blaeu’s map shows a ‘Konnen’ as being to the north of ‘Milgay’ (Milngavie NS 540 744) , whereas Gartconnell is to its south. Both these places are placed by Blaeu east of ‘Kilmorduny’ (Kilmardunny NS 549 729), which is in fact to their

¹¹¹ REG, No.108

¹¹² Drummond, 2014, p2

¹¹³ PoMS/record/source/644/#

east, thus making the map inaccurate. In 1360 a William Galbraith, Lord of Catconnel acts as a witness in a charter of Isabel Flemyng.¹¹⁴ Given that the Galbraith family was in possession of Cartonvenach by 1238 (see 6.3.1), it seems likely that the names Cartonvenach, Cachconnen and Gartconnel refer to the same place.

The generic elements, variously *Cart* and *Cate*, could be suggestive of either Br *Caer*, meaning a fortress, or Gaelic *gart*, an enclosure. If the correct name was a version of *Cartonvene*, the specific element, *ven* or *wene*, are possibly for Br *maen*, or ‘stone’, though they might also be taken as G *medón*, the ‘centre’. *Caermaen* is a name extant elsewhere within the Lennox, being Carman Hill (NS 371 794). The specific *connen*, from the *Kachconnen* version, is more difficult to decipher but is possibly from Br *cynnen*, meaning a dispute or a lawsuit, or from G *contan*, also meaning a dispute. Alternatively, the specific element might be G *coitchenn* for common land, albeit this may not concord with a generic in *gart*, indicating an enclosure. Gartconnel is located on a hill upon which one street is today named ‘Court Hill’, which may have been a place where justice was once dispensed. **HA**

GLENBOIG, NS 604 874, FTY

Nentbolg c 1247 Lenn. Cart.p34

Nentbolg Ferdane c 1286 x 1333 Lenn. Cart.p53

Br *nanto* > OW *nant* (stream or valley) + Br *bulgo* > OW *bolg* (swelling or bulge) **TD**

Given that there is no significant valley formation at this location, the most likely meaning of *nant* here is that of a river. At Glenboig the river Endrick follows a series of salient oxbow meanderings, which probably gave rise to its description as ‘bulging’. The perambulation of

¹¹⁴ GD124/1/411, National Records of Scotland

the Nentbolg estate mentions a burn called Bolgy, which can no longer be identified but may alternatively have formed the origin of the place-name.¹¹⁵

GLEN FRUIN, NS 290 882, LUS

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>Freone</i> | c.1225 | Fraser ii, No.204 |
| <i>Gleanfroone</i> | 1208 x 1261 | Lenn. Cart.p91 |
| <i>Freone</i> | 1208 x 1265 | Lenn. Cart.p91 |

EG *glenn* (valley) + NBr equivalent of OW *fruinn* (bridle, restraint) **TD**

Glen Fruin is a glaciated valley which has a length of some eight kilometres, being at least a kilometre wide in most parts. The river Fruin is not a significant feature, being invisible in many parts of the valley; it is most likely, therefore, that the river is named after the valley. In the earliest attestation of its name, the valley is simply named *Freone*, while in the second attestation (Lenn. Cart. p91) it is referred to both as *Freone* and *Gleanfroone*. This suggests that the element ‘glen’ is Gaelic and was an addition to the original ‘fruin’. Coming to the element ‘fruin’, Watson suggested that it was ‘connected with the Gaelic word *freoine*’, meaning a ‘rage’.¹¹⁶ An alternative Gaelic meaning could derive from *fraon*, a now obsolete word, meaning a ‘place of shelter in the mountains’.¹¹⁷ Neither of these words appear to apply to Glen Fruin. Its position connecting the head of the Gare Loch to the southernmost part of Loch Lomond may provide the solution in that it would have provided for a convenient passageway between the two locations, easily and quickly traversed by horseback. Thus, *Freone* may possibly denote the Old Welsh word *fruinn* and allude to a bridleway.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ *Lenn. Cart.* p34

¹¹⁶ *CPNS*, p470

¹¹⁷ *Dictionarium Scoto-Celticum*, 1828 (Blackwood) p452

¹¹⁸ Cf. *W heol ffrwyn* (bridlepath), GPC

INCHCRUIN, NS 386 912, BUC

Yniscruny 1208 x 1265 Lenn. Cart.p25

EG *inis* (island) + EG *cruinn* (round) **TD**

INCHMOAN, NS 378 907, LUS

Ynismoin 1208 x 1265 Lenn. Cart.p25

EG *inis* (island) + EG *móin* (peat) **TD**

INVERLAUREN, NS 318 851, LUS

Inuerlaueran 1240 x 1260 Lenn. Cart.p96

Alauuran 1306 x 1329 Lenn. Cart.p98

EG *inber* (river mouth) + EG *labar* (loud, talkative), or MW *llawar* (noisy, talkative) **TD**

The Lauren passes through waterfalls due west of Inverlauren in Glen Fruin; it is likely that the burn is named after the loud nature of this water. The use of the generic ‘inver’ denotes the name as Gaelic; however, it is possible that the Gaelic *labar* was substituted for its Brittonic cognate, first attested as MW *llawar*. Inverlauren appears to have been a farm and continues to be so.

KILBOWIE, NS 499 711, OKP

Cultbrit 1174 x 1199 Lenn. Cart.p12

Cuiltebut 1174 x 1199 RMP No.157

Cultbuthe 30th Sep 1224 RMP No.175

Cultbuche 1230 RMP No.174

| | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Cultensuthe</i> | 1208 x 1250 | RMP No.158 |
| <i>Cultbuhe</i> | 1208 x 1250 | RMP No.173 |
| <i>Cultbovy</i> | 14 th Feb 1273 | Lenn. Cart.p14 |
| <i>Cultboy</i> | 11 th Nov 1333 | Lenn. Cart.p17 |

EG *cúil* (nook, corner) + EG *both* (hut, cow-shed) or EG *buide* (yellow) **HA**

The early forms do not necessarily support the inclusion of G *buide* (yellow) as a specific element as suggested by Drummond for Kilbowie, CND.¹¹⁹ Within the Lennox, the element *both*, meaning a hut, is seen represented as ‘buch’, for instance in Bonhill and Balfunning, where we see it as Buchnull and Buchmoyn respectively, and it is possible that this is what is meant in this instance. However, the later forms might more readily suggest the term *buide*. Taylor has suggested that *cuilt* has the meaning of a ‘nook’, along with the specific *buide*, thus a yellow nook¹²⁰. It is also possible that the end-meaning here is of a storeroom or cow-shed of some sorts within the corner of a field. *Suth* is likely to be a scribal error.

KILBRIDE, NS 307 867, LUS

| | | |
|------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Kealbride</i> | 1208 x 1265 | Lenn. Cart.p91 |
|------------------|-------------|----------------|

EG *cell* (church) + *Brigit* (personal Name) **HA**

The reference is to a church in Glen Fruin at which location there remain two cross slabs.

¹¹⁹ Drummond, 2014, p240

¹²⁰ Taylor, 2006, p 34



Figure 4: Kilbride Cross Slab, Glen Fruin

KILLEARN, NS 524 861, KLN

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>Kynerine</i> | 1234 x 1241 | Lenn. Cart.p35 |
| <i>Kynhern</i> | c. 1248 | Fraser ii, No.11 |
| <i>Kynerine</i> | 1272 x 1286 | Lenn. Cart.,p40 |
| <i>Kynerine</i> | 1272 x 1296 | Lenn. Cart.p38 |

Br *penno* > OW *penn*, Br **cemno* > OW *cemn* (ridge) or Br **cunjo* > OW *cin* (wedge) + Br **rindo* > OW *rin* (promontory or hill); or EG *cenn* (head) + ? **TD**

Killearn is situated at the base of a long wedge of land which extends to the prominent peak of Dumgoyne, which may explain the meaning of its name. The OW *penn* may describe this feature, given that it can represent the higher end of a long hill in a shape that BLITON describes as a 'lion couchant'.¹²¹ In geographical terms, the EG *cenn* can refer to the end of a

¹²¹ BLITON p234; GPC 1/535

territory, or of a feature, but it does not normally refer to a peak.¹²² Only four Scottish hills are called *Ceann*.¹²³ Where *cenn* may have described the end of a territory, it would not have defined the ridge that limited that territory, which was more usually called a *druim*. For these reasons, the words *penn*, *cemn* or *cin* were the most likely descriptors of the ridge at Killearn, if indeed it is that feature that is being described. Three of the place-name versions suggest a connecting genitive definite article making it unlikely that today’s pronunciation of the name Killearn follows the original stress pattern. The definite article here joining the generic element and *rin* is possibly a Northern Brittonic equivalent of *ir*, attested in the in 9th century, but denoted in W as *y*, *yr* and ‘*r*’.¹²⁴ *Penn ir rinn* is a common formation in Wales.¹²⁵ It is possible that G *cenn* became substituted for the original, later to be transmuted to ‘Kil’.



Figure 5: Killearn. Ridge leading to Dumgoyne

KILMANNAN, NS 516 797, KLN

| | | |
|--------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| Kynmonedhane | 27 th Nov 1225 | Fraser ii, No.3 |
| Kilmonathan | 1272 x 1296 | Fraser ii, No.13 |

¹²² Dil.ie/8622

¹²³ P. Drummond, 2010, *Scottish Hill Names* (Scottish Mountaineering Trust) pp26 +196

¹²⁴ GPC < “y 2/4580”

¹²⁵ e.g. Penrhyndeudraeth

Br *penno* > OW *penn*, (head) Br* *cemno* > OW *cemn* (ridge) + Br **moniðo* > OW *minid* (upland heathmoor) or Br* *māno* > MW *mawn*, *mawnen* (peat); or alternatively EG *cenn* (head) + EG *moned* (hill, moorland) or EG *móin* (peat) **TD**

Kilmannan is an area of high heather moorland within the Kilpatrick hills. Kilmannan reservoir, lies in the parish of OKP exists at NS 491 780; the name is repeated at the site of a modern farm at NS 516 797 which is in the parish of Killearn. The two locations are but 1 mile distant from each other. Other locations in Scotland bear similar names formed in Gaelic, for instance Kinmonth in Aberdeenshire (NO 785 815). Nevertheless, the cognate elements are so similar that it is impossible to discern the original derivation of Kilmannan. Given its proximity to Dumbarton Rock, a Brittonic origin cannot be dismissed.

KILPATRICK, NS 463 730, OKP

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Kilpatrik</i> | 1174 x 1199 | Lenn. Cart.p12 |
| <i>Kilpatrik</i> | 1174 x 1199 | RMP No.157 |
| <i>Kilpatrick</i> | 1208 x 1250 | Lenn. Cart.p13 |
| <i>Kilpatrik</i> | 1234 | RMP No.164 |
| <i>Kylpatrik</i> | 1207 x 1232 | RMP No.114 |
| <i>Kilpatrick</i> | 14 th Feb 1273 | Lenn. Cart.p16 |
| <i>Kilpatrik</i> | 11 th Nov 1330 | Lenn. Cart.p17 |

EG *cell* + *Pátraic* **HA**

This signifies the dedication of a church, in Gaelic, to Patrick. St Patrick's cult had existed in Brittonic Alt Clut before the demise of the citadel of Dumbarton Rock in 870.¹²⁶ This raises the question as to whether Patrick's 12th century Gaelic followers at Kilpatrick were more likely to have been Gaelicised Britons rather than Gaelic settlers.

¹²⁶ T.O. Clancy, 2009, 'The Cults of Saints Patrick and Palladius in Early Medieval Scotland' in Boardman, Davies and Williamson, eds., *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge) p31

KILSYTH, NS 724 780, KSY

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Kelvesyth</i> | 1208 x 1214 | RMP No.103 |
| <i>Kelnasydhe</i> | 10 th Aug 1217 | Fraser ii, No.202 |
| <i>Kelnasydhe</i> | 30 th Apr 1252 | RRS iv, No.7 |

EG *caille* (wood) + *na* (def. art.) +?EG *saiget* (arrow, shaft); or Br* *caldi* > OW *celli* (wood)
+ ?NBr equivalent of MW *saeth* (arrow, shaft) **HA**

Drummond makes a convincing argument as to why *Kel* does not here represent Gaelic *cell* (church).¹²⁷ Both *coille* and *celli* are possible substrates for the generic, and the specific may suggest a staff- or arrow-producing industry. The presence of the genitive definitive article *na* suggests that the derivation is more likely to be in Gaelic.

KINCAID, NS 651 767, CPS

| | | |
|-----------------|------|---------------|
| <i>Kyncaith</i> | 1239 | Len. Cart.p30 |
|-----------------|------|---------------|

Br *penno* > OW *penn* (head), or Br * *cemno* > OW *cemn* (ridge) or Br**cunjo* > MW *cin* (wedge) + Br *cę:t0-* > OW *coit* (wood) **TD**

The specific element is almost certainly *coit*, making it unlikely that the generic element was originally in Gaelic.¹²⁸ In many respects the three options given above for the generic element do not differ greatly from each other in that the general meaning would be one of a projecting woodland. This formation is found in Wales e.g. Cyncoed (originally Cefncoed) and Cefn-Coed-y-Cymmer.¹²⁹ If the original had been *penn* or *cin*, substitution with *cenn* may have occurred though a substitution of *cemn* might have been less likely.

¹²⁷ Drummond, 2014, p273

¹²⁸ Drummond, *ibid.*, p209

¹²⁹ GPC < “cefn 1/63”

LETYRMOLYN

Letyrmolyn c. 1238 Lenn. Cart.p27

EG *leittir* (slope) + EG *muilend* (mill) or IBr **let'tijā* > MW *llethir* (steep slope) + IBr **molīnā* > OW *melin* (mill) **HA**

Both Letyrmolyn and Thombethy (Tambowie NKP) were repossessed by Earl Máel Domnaig who said that he could not guarantee them to the hereditary heirs Maurice, son of Gillespic Galbraith and his son. In exchange they were give the land of Stochelmakessoc, which lay next to Auchencloich#.

LINNBRAIN HOLE, NS 393 802, **BON**

Lynbren 1228 RMP No.212

Br *lindon* > OW *lin(n)* (pool, lake) + Br **brunnjo-* > OW *brinn* (hill) **TD**

The yare of *Lynbren* was gifted to the monks of Paisley Abbey along with Dalmonach by Robert Hertford on his deathbed in 1228. Known today as Linnbrain Hole, this part of the river Leven constitutes a wide, curving pool, situated adjacent to a small hill still known today as Dalmonach.

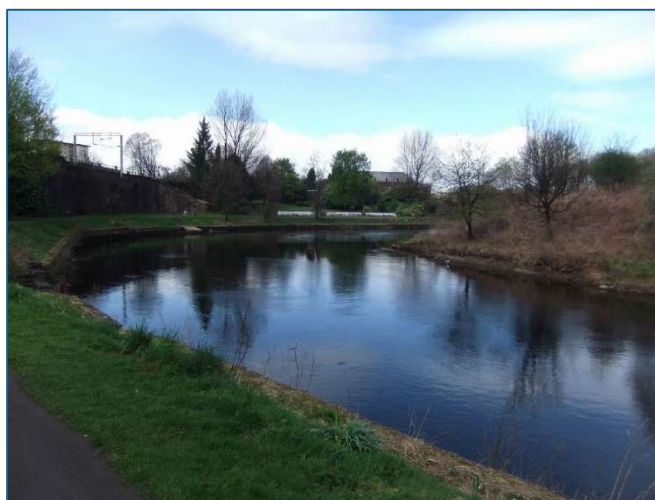


Figure 6: Linnbrain Hole showing hill on right side

LUSS, NS 361 928, LUS

| | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Luss</i> | 1208 x 1250 | Lenn. Cart.p96 |
| <i>Lus</i> | 1208 x 1250 | Lenn. Carr.p19 |
| <i>de Luskyr</i> | 2 nd Mar 1238 | Lenn. Cart.p30 |
| <i>Luss</i> | 1239 x 1248 | Lenn. Cart.p21 |
| <i>Luss</i> | 1296 x 1313 | Lenn. Cart.p21 |

Br* *lisso* (church enclosure) > Mod. W. *llys*, or EG *les* (enclosure); alternatively, Br **lusso* >Mod W *llus* (growth, springing up), or EG *lusán* (herbs) **HA**

It is popularly claimed that the place-name Luss derives from the Gaelic *lus*. Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba and Wikipedia both state that the Gaelic name for Luss is *Lus* but do not give a reasoning, other than quoting the legend that St Kessog is said to have been embalmed in herbs which subsequently spread to grow at the site. Yet vegetation at Luss does not appear to differ from that growing elsewhere on the western bank of Loch Lomond. Luss sits directly on that bank, having a wide frontage which sweeps from the Rhu wood in the north to Camstraddan in the south. Through it runs the Luss water, into which flow its tributaries, namely the Molloch and Auchengavin Burns; these carve out the larger hinterland associated with Luss. It seems unlikely that the area has been named for its vegetation, and more likely that it was named for its religious settlement albeit if named for vegetation, the root might still be the Brittonic **lussa* (herbs, springing up).¹³⁰ It is of note that the River Luce in Galloway is a moorland river, and cannot have the sense of vegetation.¹³¹ An alternative meaning given by McQueen for the Luce was ‘crooked or winding’, a description which could also apply to the Luss Water.¹³²

¹³⁰ J. MacQueen, 2002, *Place-names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley* (Stranraer and District Local History Trust) p92

¹³¹ Sir H. Maxwell, 1930, *The Place Names of Galloway* (GC Book Publishers, Wigtown) p204

¹³² A. Rivet and C. Smith, 1979, *The Place-names of Roman Britain* (Batsford, London), p399

However, Luss has a lengthy association with St Kessog, a 6th century Irish monk who is said to have worshipped on the nearby island of Inchtavannach and to have been murdered at the adjacent settlement of Bandry. The 19th century church of Luss has within its graveyard medieval burial slabs as well as a hogback stone; thus, there is good evidence for an early and important ecclesiastical settlement at Luss. Evidence for its continuing importance as a religious centre is clear in a charter of circa 1240 which involves the Dean of Luss.¹³³ The more pragmatic explanation for this place-name would be that it represented the enclosure of the ancient religious site. BLITON does not mention Luss as being one of the place-names with a *lisso* element but Taylor argues that the element may have had religious significance, at least under Pictish influence.¹³⁴ It may also be that a Brittonic ‘i’ sound, in a non-final position, where it gives an orthographic ‘y’ in modern Welsh, would have given a schwa sound in the Northern Brittonic kingdoms¹³⁵ consistent with the modern Scottish pronunciation of Luss. It is possible that this name could have arisen from the *G les*; however, its long existence would favour a Brittonic origin.

LUSSET GLEN, NS 469 726, OKP

Drunlosset 1208 x 1250 RMP No.162

Losset 26th Apr 1234 RMP No.164-5

EG *druimm* (ridge) or Br* *drumo* > MW *drum* (ridge)+ EG *losat* (kneading-trough) **TD**

Glen Lusset is a wildy wooded, small valley adjacent to the eastern side of Kilpatrick Church. Lusset is found in Wigtownshire, with Losaid being found in the Hebrides. Its position adjacent to the Gaelic-named Church suggests a Gaelic formation.

¹³³ Fraser ii, No. 207

¹³⁴ S. Taylor and G. Márkus, 2013, *The Place-names of Fife*, Vol 5 (Donington) pp426-8

¹³⁵ [A Standardised Cumbric Orthography – The Old North](#) accessed 15th September 2025

MONIABROCH, NS 713 778, KSY

Moniabrocd 10th Aug 1217 Fraser ii, No.202

Moniabrock 30th Apr 1251 RRS iv No.7

Br* *monið0* > OW *minid* (mountain, hill, moorland) or EG *moned* (hilly region, moorland) +

lBr *broc-*, *broh* > MW *broch* (badger, sharp-pointed) or EG *brocc* (badger, sharp-pointed) **TD**

The parish of Kilsyth was variously known as Moniabroch, though the latter name had declined in use by the beginning of the 13th century.¹³⁶ Pont's map shows the *Kirk of Monyabroch* as juxtapositioned with the castle of *Killsayth*.¹³⁷ Although the meaning of *broch/brocc* could allude to badgers, the meaning in terms of landscapes is more likely to signify sharp rocks or pointed stones.¹³⁸ Moniabroch and Kilsyth lie just south of the Kilsyth Hills, which display lava protrusions sometimes appearing as spectacular rocky outcrops.¹³⁹ Drummond gives the meaning as *moine* (moss) and *Ebroch* (a short 2.5km burn within Kilsyth) but perhaps the sharp outcrops give a more salient basis to this place-name.¹⁴⁰ The EG *moned* is a British or Pictish loanword in Scottish place-names; it is thus possible that the language of origin for this place-name is Brittonic.¹⁴¹

MUCKCROFT, NS 682 717, CAD

Mukeraw c. 1248 Fraser ii, No.10

Mucraw 27th Dec 1253 RRS iv No.19

Mukraw 1234 x 1253 Lenn. Cart.p37

Mucherach 1286 Lenn.Cart.p61

¹³⁶ C. Innes and J.B. Brichan, 1851, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (Bannatyne Club)

¹³⁷ T. Pont, *Map of the East Central Lowlands (Map 32), 1583-1614*, (National Library of Scotland)

¹³⁸ BLITON, p40

¹³⁹ P.M.Craig, 1980, 'The Volcanic Geology of the Campsie Fells Area, Stirlingshire', Ph D Thesis, University of Lancaster

¹⁴⁰ Drummond, 2014, p275

¹⁴¹ DIL.ie/32531

Mukeraw 1272 x 1296 Lenn. Cart.p40

EG *mucc* (pig) + EG *rath* (goods, chattel or property) or EG *cró* (enclosure or pigsty) **HA**

BLITON suggests that the element 'raw' could be a Gaelic replacement for Br. *ret* (for *rath*) or MW *creu* (for *cró*).¹⁴² The name may thus have been coined in Brittonic but later replaced by its Gaelic cognate terms.

REYNFODE #

Reinfode 1208 x 1250 RMP No.173

Reynfode 14th Feb 1273 Lenn. Cart.p14

Renfede 11th Nov 1330 Lenn. Cart.p17

? EG *rann* (part), ?EG *rian* (watercourse) + EG *fót* (turf) **?HA**

Reynfode appears in charters connected with lands belonging to the church of Kilpatrick, it is likely to have been situated close to them, in which case it might have been situated in the area surrounding modern-day Clydebank.

ROSNEATH, NS 254 832, RNH

Neuet 1174 x 1199 RMP No.157

Renyt before 1226 Lenn. Cart.p13

Neueth 1207 x 1222 RMP No.114

Renyt 1208 x 1250 Lenn. Cart.p14

Nemedh 1208 x 1250 Fraser ii, No.207

Neveth 1208 x 1250 RMP No.210

¹⁴² BLITON p257

Br* *rossā* > OW *ros* (promontory)+ Br* *nemēto* > OW *nimet* (place of worship); or EG *ros* (promontory) + EG *neimed* > G *neimheadh* (place of worship) **HA**

The charter entries refer to the church at Rosneath, originally granted to Paisley Abbey by Amhlaibh, brother of Earl Maél Domnaig, whose lands in the West of the Lennox encompassed Ardencaple, Faslane and the Rosneath peninsula. Amhlaibh's grant was confirmed by his brother and subsequently re-confirmed by Alexander II with the firm date of the 12th of March 1226.¹⁴³ The element *nimet*, meaning strength is taken to mean strength through worship. Fiacc's hymn to St Patrick, which is commented upon in the Vita Tripartita identifies *Nemthur/Nemptor* with *Alt Cluaide*, but it could alternatively be connected with *Neveth/Rosneath*.¹⁴⁴¹⁴⁵ The Br elements *ros* and *nimet* are cognate with EG *ros* and *nemed*, so that a Gaelic origin cannot be entirely excluded; however, Taylor comments that place-names containing *nimed* are most likely to be of Brittonic or Pictish origin given their usual geographical distributions.¹⁴⁶

ROSSDHU ISLAND, NS 364 898, LUS

| | | |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>Elanrosdui</i> | 1247 x 1251 | Lennox Cart.p19 |
| <i>Elan Rosduhue</i> | c 1250 | Fraser ii, No.207 |
| <i>Elanrosdufe</i> | 1306 x 1329 | Lennox Cart.p98 |

EG *ailén* (island) + EG *ros* (promontory) + EG *dub* (black) **TD**

This island lay off the Rossdubh peninsula. It is now underwater, the level of water in Loch Lomond having increased. It remains marked on hydrographic maps (see Map 12).

¹⁴³ RRS iii, No.116

¹⁴⁴ BLITON p223

¹⁴⁵ CPNS p246

¹⁴⁶ S. Taylor and G. Márkus, 2006, p454

STRATHBLANE, NS 562 793, SBL

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Stratblathane</i> | 1234 x 1265 | Fraser ii, No.6 |
| <i>Stratblathin</i> | 1234 x 1265 | Fraser ii, No.8 |
| <i>Stratblathan</i> | 1248 x 1253 | Fraser ii, No.9 |
| <i>Stratblathane</i> | 27 th Dec 1253 | Fraser ii, No.12 |
| <i>Stratblahane</i> | 1272 x 1296 | Len. Cart.p38 |

G *srath* (valley, meadow) + G *bláth* (flower); alternatively, Br **strato*-> OW *istrat/estrat* (broad, level valley) + ?Br *blith* (milch, fruitful, productive) **TD**

The Blane Water, a minor water, is a tributary of the Endrick; it is unlikely that Strathblane was named for it. The preserved forms of Strathblane demonstrate that the generic element is consistently written as *strat*, suggesting that this was Brittonic *istrat* or *estrat*, rather than G *srath*, which is missing the initial ‘t’, and ends in a softened ‘th’. Nevertheless, *blathan* is more potentially derived from G *bláth*, a flower. Ultimately the meaning might be similar to Br *blith*, which would also denote a fruitful valley, albeit the change in sound from ‘i’ to ‘a’ would be difficult to explain unless *bláth* had been substituted for it. It is not possible to be certain about the language of derivation, although the generic *strat* may make a Brittonic origin the more probable.

STROCHELMAKESSOC

| | | |
|-------------------------|---------|----------------|
| <i>Strochelmakessoc</i> | c. 1238 | Len. Cart.p27 |
| <i>Arochelmakessec</i> | c. 1238 | Len. Cart.p107 |

?EG *srón* (nose) or ?EG *sruth* (stream) + ?EG *cell* (church) + EG *mo* (my) + *Cessog* (Saint’s name); alternatively EG *arrachar* (a unit of land) + EG *mo* + *Cessog* **HA**

An alternative rendition, Arochelmakessoc, indexed in the Lennox Cartularium, is found in the Montrose papers; it may have referred to the arrachar, a unit of land associated with the

Lennox (see 4.3), and dedicated to St Kessog.¹⁴⁷ This land lay next to Auchencloich and is mentioned in the charter pertinent to the exchange of lands to the Galbraith family of Letyrmolyn and Thombethy, though it itself did not form part of the transaction.

TAMBOWIE, NS 524 754, NKP; or TOM BUIDHE, NS 256 955, RHU

Thombethy c.1238 Lenn. Cart.p27

EG *tom* (knoll) + EG *beithe* (birch) or EG *buide* (yellow) **TD**

Tambowie continues to function as a farm to this day. Tom Buidhe (NS 256 955) exists just north of Garelochhead and lies some four miles north of Letter (NS 215 869). Given that lands surrounding Garelochhead also belonged to the Galbraith family, it is possible that Tom Buidhe and Letter are the ones represented by Thombethy and Letyrmolyn.

4.3: The Arrachar

An *arrachar* was a unit of land within the medieval Lennox. The *Nentbolg* charter was concerned with *illam dimidiam arrachar*, while a charter of *Kynerine* had to do with the whole half of the carucate of land *que Scotie vocatus lecheracherach*, or a half-arrachar.¹⁴⁸

Thus it seems that an arrachar equalled a carucate in size. Broun has noted that the arrachar was a rare word in Gaelic.¹⁴⁹ Rixson notes that it is found almost only within the Lennox.¹⁵⁰

This word, deriving from Latin *aratrum*, meaning a ‘plough’, exists neither in modern Gaelic nor Irish. It exists in modern Welsh as *aradr* (a plough), albeit not in a form describing a land

¹⁴⁷ [Graham family, Dukes of Montrose | The National Archives](#)

¹⁴⁸ *Lenn. Cart.* pp34 -35

¹⁴⁹ D Broun, ‘The Origins of the Mormaer’, forthcoming

¹⁵⁰ [Land Assessment Scotland](#), accessed 27th October 2025

unit. The Highland dictionary of 1828 contains the word *arach*, meaning a ‘ploughshare’; it had extracted the word in turn from Lhuyd’s *Archaeologica Britannica* of 1707.¹⁵¹ DIL has *arathar* for a plough whereby it queries its use in the sense of a ‘ploughland’. Arrachar seems not to have survived the 17th century; this may have been because its use was localised to the Lennox.

The singular use of the word *arrachar* suggests that the Lennox had a culture unique in Scotland, perhaps having developed because of its particular mix of peoples.

4.4: Lennox as a place-name

‘Lennox’ is derived from the name of the river Leven. BLITON considers two possible early origins being IE **limo* < ‘flood’ (Welsh ‘*llif*’) and IE **sli-m-no* < ‘slippery (Welsh ‘*llyfn*’).¹⁵² It should be noted that the Leven does indeed have two qualities which distinguish it from other rivers, being both the speed¹⁵³ of its flow, and its smoothness, qualities instrumental in bringing the textile industry to its banks during the nineteenth century¹⁵⁴. Alternatively, Gaelic *Leamhain* might suggest a place of elms, a derivation which could have descended from Br **lem* > *leamhan* (elm) (Welsh ‘*llwyfen*’). One should consider, however, that *Ulma Glabra*, the Wych-elm, is a widespread native tree in Scotland, making it difficult to understand why the Leven should have been particularly renowned for elms above other rivers. Ptolemy’s *Lemannonios Kolpos* is the first mention of a Leven-type name in the area¹⁵⁵. However, had Ptolemy been repeating a word heard locally, he will have been repeating a p-Celtic rather than a q-Celtic word. Thus, the derivation is more likely to

¹⁵¹ *Dictionarium Scoto-Celticum*, 1828 (Blackwood)

¹⁵² BLITON p174-175

¹⁵³ The Leven is the second-fastest flowing river in Scotland

¹⁵⁴ Old Statistical Account, *Parish of Bonhill* p443

¹⁵⁵ CPNS p119

emanate from the words *limo or *sli-m-no. *Llif* and *llyfn* would better match today's pronunciation of the name *Leven* ['Livən]. than that of 'leamhan', which would give / 'ləvən/.

'Lennox' is derived from *Leamhain-ach*, '-ach' being, in this case, a Gaelic locative suffix.

This gave the nouns *Bretnach* and *Érennach*, meaning people of Britain or Ireland respectively. The word *Leamhain-ach* is indicative of people associated with the area surrounding the river Leven. Thus, it refers to the 'men of Lennox'; in *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* it is written in the form *Lemnaig* (see 1.1). The corresponding Welsh suffix is -og, which is also likely to have been a feature in Northern Brittonic. Either Northern Brittonic *lemnog* or an Early Gaelic *lemnaig* could have regularly given the name Lennox..

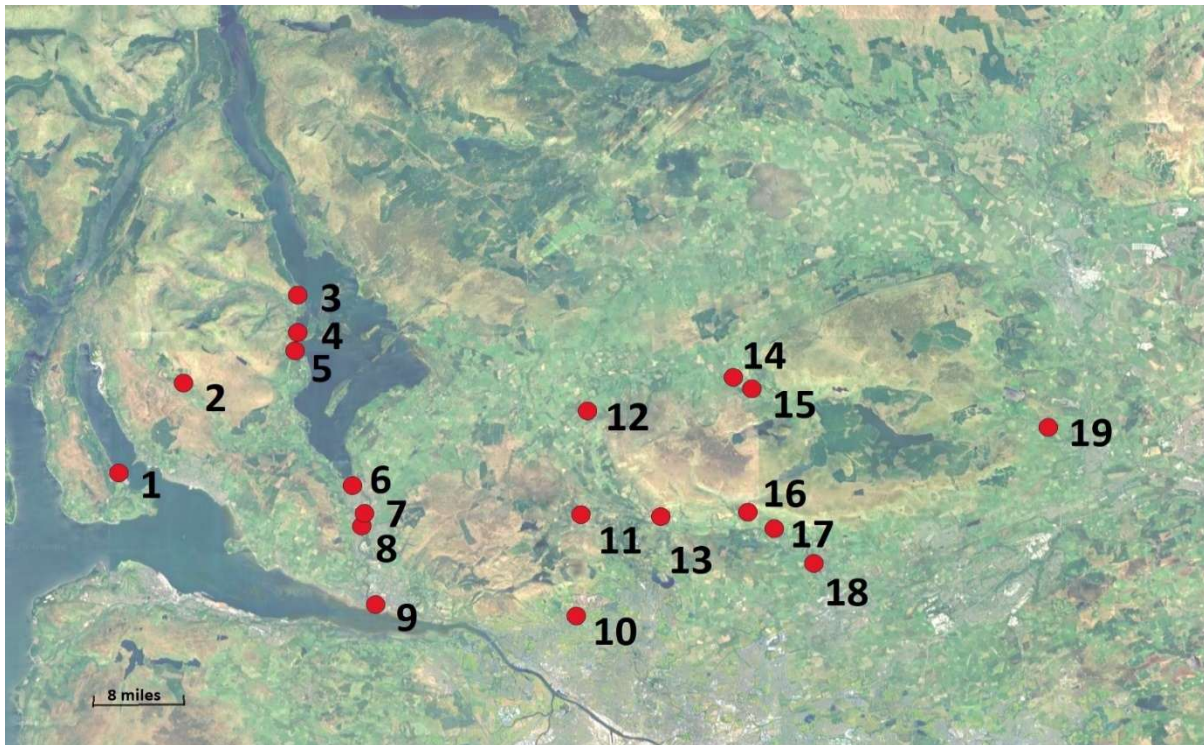
The Lennox family were so titled after their area; they will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.5 Mapping the names attested from 1150-1250

Within the following series of maps only those place-names with a firm location are included.

The maps demonstrate those place-names analysed in this chapter as having had potential Brittonic names as well as those which had certain Gaelic names. Further to that, the place-names are analysed according to whether they describe topography or as to whether they denote human activity.

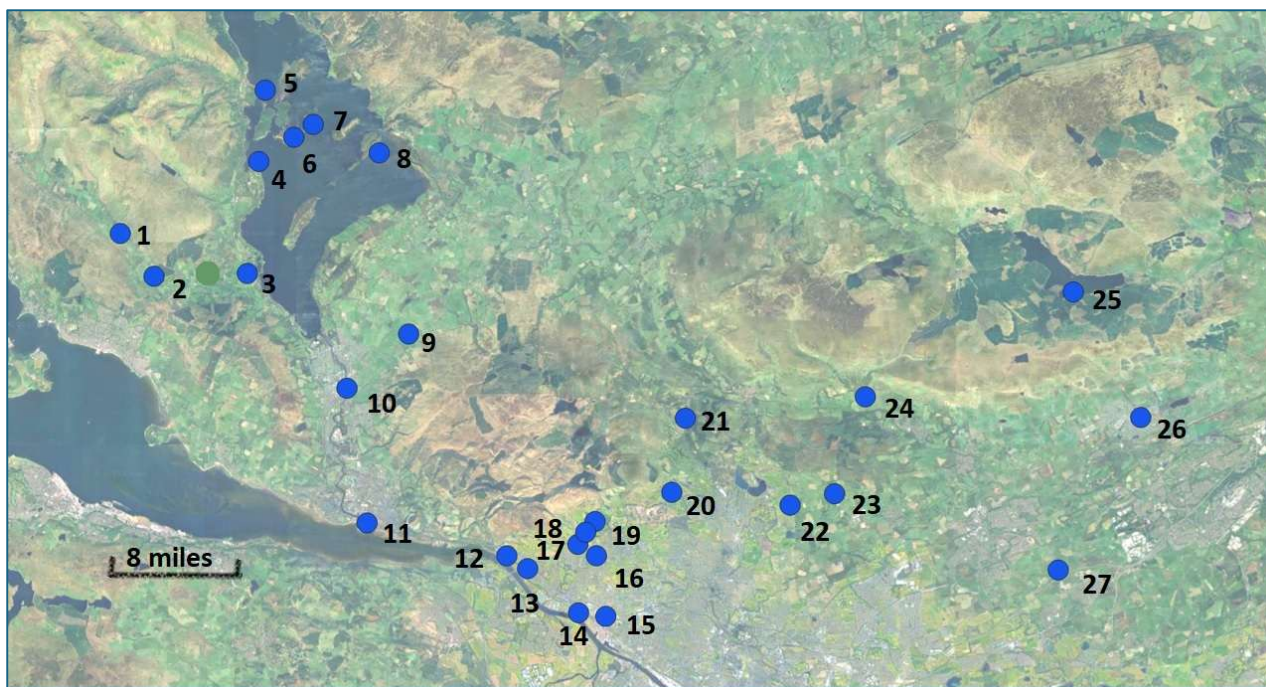
4.5.1: The Place-names – a Locational Analysis



Map 6: Place-names of potential Brittonic derivation attested 1150-1250 in the Lennox

- | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1: Rosneath | 2: Glen Fruin | 3: Luss | 4: Aldochlay |
| 5: Bandry | 6: Balloch | 7: Linnbrain | 8: Bonhill |
| 9: Cardross | 10: Craighbanzo | 11: Strathblane | 12: Killearn |
| 13: Campsie | 14: Glenboig | 15: Fintry | 16: Balgrochan |
| 17: Kincaid | 18: Moniabrock | 19: Barnego | |

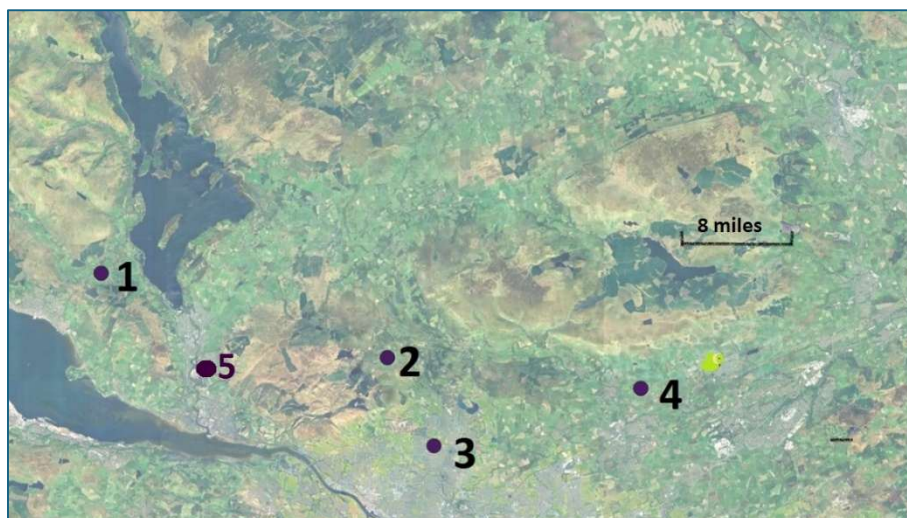
Lost place-name of potential Brittonic derivation: Glaskell#



Map 7: Place-names of probable Gaelic derivation attested 1150-1250 in the Lennox

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1: Kilbride | 2: Inverlauren | 3: Auchentullich | 4: Rossdhu Island |
| 5: Fraoch Eilean | 6: Inchmaon | 7: Inchcruin | 8: Clairinsh |
| 9: Auchencarroch | 10: Dalmonach | 11: Dumbarton | 12: Kilpatrick |
| 13: Luset Glen | 14: Boquhanran | 15: Kilbowie | 16: Faifley |
| 17: Duntiglennan | 18: Cochno | 19: Edinbarnet | 20: Tambowie |
| 21: Carbeth | 22: Baldernock | 23: Blairskaith | 24: Ballenclerach |
| 25: Blairblenshie | 26: Kilsyth | 27: Muckroft | |

Lost place-names of probable Gaelic derivation: Reynfode, Baccane and Strochelmakessoc



Map 8: Place-names of indeterminate language derivation attested 1150-1250 in the Lennox

1: Dumfries

2: Kilmarnock

3: Gartcraig

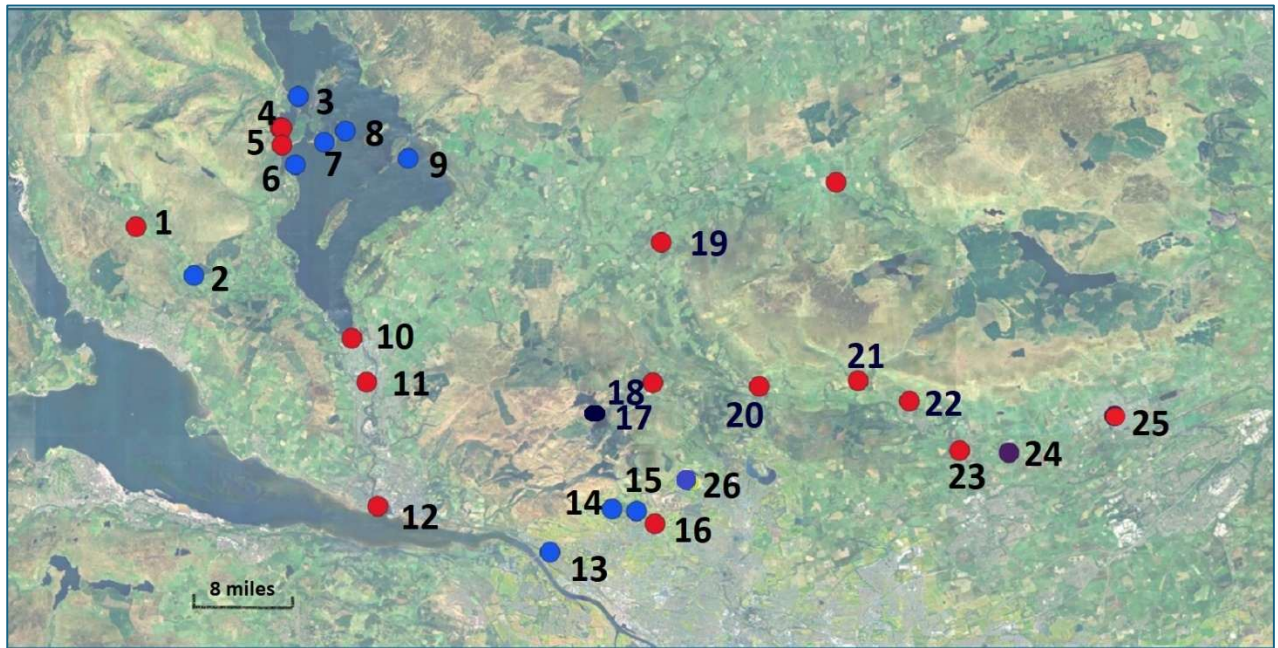
4: Antermony

5: Bonhill

Lost place-names of indeterminate language derivation: Drumcrene, Drumdynnis, Letyrmolyn

There does not appear to be a significant difference in the total spread of the earliest place-names according to possible language derivation. However, there is a Brittonic cluster in the Vale of Leven which abuts the original caput of Al Clut. There are Gaelic clusters surrounding the ecclesiastical settlement of Kilpatrick as well as to the immediate south of Loch Lomond and on its islands. Of note is the fact that no place-name is attested to the north of Luss in the period between 1150 and 1250: although the high and rocky land was probably being used for hunting, rough grazing and timber, it is likely that its development was not so significant as to have attracted settlement names.

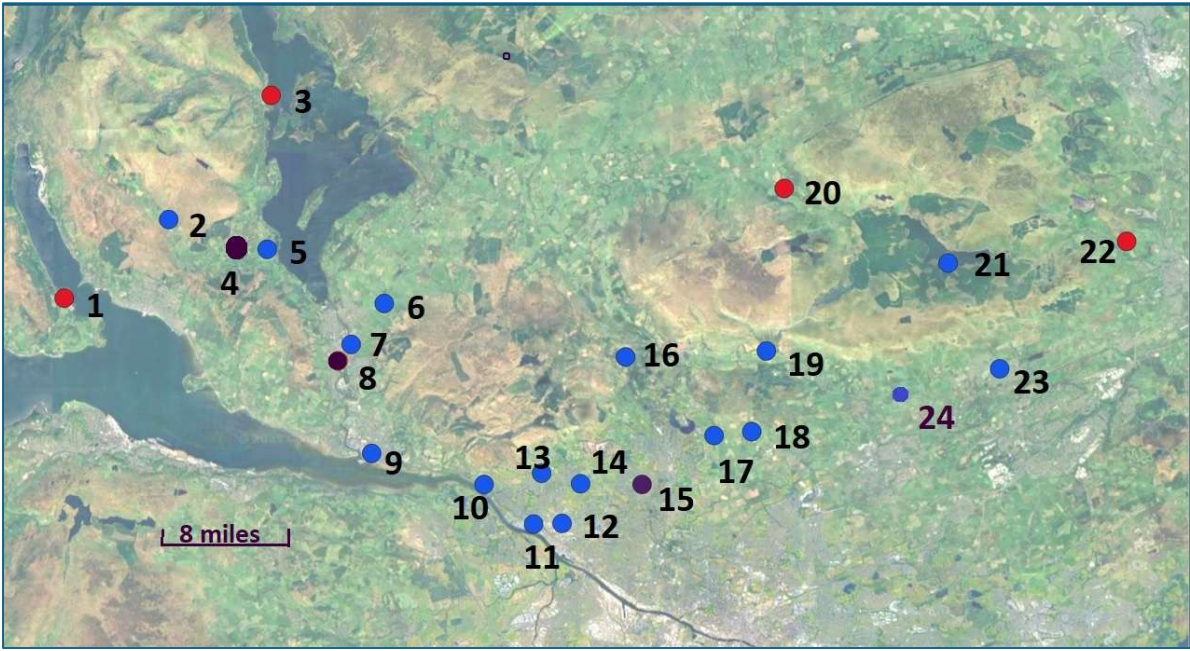
4.5.2: The Place-names – a Functional Analysis



Map 9: Place-names describing topographical features

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1: Glen Fruin | 2: Inverlauren | 3: Fraoch Eilean | 4: Aldochlay |
| 5: Bandry | 6: Rossdhu Island | 7: Inchmoan | 8: Inchcruin |
| 9: Clairinsh | 10: Balloch | 11: Linnbrain | 12: Cardross |
| 13: Lusset Glen | 14: Cochno | 15: Edinbarnet | 16: Craighbanzo |
| 17: Tambowie | 18: Strathblane | 19: Killearn | 20: Glenboig |
| 21: Campsie | 22: Balgrochan | 23: Kincaid | 24: Antermony |
| 25: Moniabroch | 26: Kilmannan | | |

Lost topographical place-names: Baccane, Drumcrene, Drumdynanis and Glaskell



Map 10: Place-names describing human activity

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1: Rosneath | 2: Kilbride | 3: Luss | 4: Dumfin |
| 5: Auchentullich | 6: Auchencarroch | 7: Dalmonach | 8: Bonhill |
| 9: Dumbarton | 10: Kilpatrick | 11: Boquhanran | 12: Kilbowie |
| 13: Duntiglennan | 14: Faifley | 15: Gartconnell | 16: Carbeth |
| 17: Baldernock | 18: Blairskaith | 19: Ballenclerach | 20: Fintry |
| 21: Blairblenshie | 22: Barnego | 23: Kilsyth | 24: Muckcroft |

Lost place-names denoting human activity: Letyrmolyn, Reynfode, Strochelmakessok and Auchencloich.

Places named in the charters all represented important land possessions, being farms, estates or churches. Yet these maps demonstrate differing naming practices. Estates with possible Brittonic names were mostly named after topographical features whereas those with Gaelic names tended to be concerned with types of human activity, be it ecclesiastic or agricultural.

Two estates of indeterminate language derivation, Antermony and Kilmannan, belonged to the topographical descriptor group; they may therefore have names that were originally Brittonic.

It is probable that those estates with Brittonic names were the older establishments, perhaps having been heritable properties for extensive periods. It is possible that they were significantly older than those named in Gaelic, though some, for instance Dumbarton, may have been renamed. These older estates may have been owned by an older stock of people. Nevertheless, the process of language change does not allow us to assume the arrival of new settlers. We do not know whether the population in the 13th century was significantly different to that of the 9th century; we can simply see that both the language and naming practices had changed. However, the estate names tell us that culture in the Lennox had been entirely Celtic up until the 13th century by which time it had become Gaelic: Brittonic place-names were still in place but were probably no longer being coined.

4.6: Conclusion

It is unlikely that the names collected in the early charter material form an exhaustive list of the place-names extant between the 12th and 13th centuries. It is unlikely either that all were recorded or that all charters survived; moreover, it is not certain when charters began to be produced within the Lennox. Whereas the production of charters in Scotland may have commenced in the first half of the 12th century,¹⁵⁶ no certainty can be assumed for their output in the Lennox. The first certain charter would seem to be that of William I in 1165 x 1174 confirming the donation of the churches of Campsie and Antermony to Kelso.¹⁵⁷ Yet, this

¹⁵⁶ D. Broun, 2003, 'Latin Charters and the Use of Gaelic', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 86 pp1-27

¹⁵⁷ RRS ii, No.120

does not negate the possibility that others had existed which simply did not survive. Alice Taylor argues that the development of charters as a means of recording land ownership was gradual.¹⁵⁸ The place-name collection in this chapter is thus but a partial snapshot of land ownership and societal changes within the Lennox. They clearly demonstrate language change but may also point to practices which were changing from those of the simple custody of land to its more active development. A warming of the climate began in around 1150 which expedited the founding of farming settlements, certainly in Wales and England and probably also in Scotland.¹⁵⁹ The place-names within this chapter which referred directly to agriculture were all formed in Gaelic except for Fintry: this suggests that Gaelic had already become or was becoming the dominant language by the middle of the 12th century. Agricultural changes did not take place because of language change; rather language change is likely to have broadly coincided with developmental progress. We can posit that this process took place during the early or middle part of the 12th century. The following two chapters will examine the part which certain Brittonic descendants had in the development of the Lennox.

¹⁵⁸ A. Taylor, 2016, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland 1124-1290* (Oxford) pp176-87

¹⁵⁹ J. Steane, 1985, *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales* (Taylor and Francis, London), pp174-5

5: THE GALBRAITH FAMILY AND ITS ORIGINS

5.1: Introduction

Of the family names which were recorded in those charters relevant to the Lennox, the name most likely to have a Brittonic connection is that of Galbraith. The element ‘braith’ might be understood to have arisen either from the Gaelic *britt* or *bretnach*, or alternatively from the OW **brittones* < MW *brython*, both meaning a Briton.¹⁶⁰ Galbraith is today rendered as ‘Mac a’ Bhreatannaich’ in Gaelic.¹⁶¹ The Book of the Dean of Lismore records the Galbraiths as ‘Mac an Bhreatnaigh’.¹⁶² The Clan Galbraith Society states that the family was closely associated with the area of the Lennox and that their first recorded chief had married the daughter of ‘Alwyn Óg’, son of Muireadhach, the first Earl of Lennox. The veracity of these claims will be tested in the body of this thesis. However, the claims of the Galbraiths to territorial association with the Lennox in the 12th and 13th centuries can be quickly confirmed by a search on the PoMS website. Twelve of the fourteen Galbraiths discoverable by this procedure are involved in actions solely associated with the Lennox. One of the remaining two Galbraiths, William of Dalsarf, was the son of William Galbraith of Lennox, whereas Hugh Galbraith of Aberdeen, acted as witness in the Dalsarf charter relating to William.¹⁶³

In his original paper of 1973, in which he claimed a Brittonic origin in the Lennox for the Campbell clan, David Sellar referred to the Galbraiths as probable Britons.¹⁶⁴ He quoted from George Black’s entry under Galbraith, which made a seeming Brittonic connection via verse:

¹⁶⁰ diL.ie/6867 diL.ie/6770; geiriadur.ac.uk/brython

¹⁶¹ C. Mark, 2003, *Am Faclair Gàidhlig-Beurla*, p719

¹⁶² W.J. Watson, ed., 1937, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (The Scottish Gaelic Texts Series) pp 14-15

¹⁶³ www.poms.ac.uk/search/Galbraith

¹⁶⁴ D.Sellar, 2025, *Pedigrees, Power and Clanship*, H.L. MacQueen, ed., (John Donald, Edinburgh) p258

'Breatunnach o'n Tala Dheirg

*Uaisle 'shliochd Albann do shloinne'*¹⁶⁵

(Britons from the Red Hall, noble branch of Scotland's race).

Black claimed this as an 'ancient Gaelic saying' but did not provide its source. In his opinion, the Red Hall was very likely to refer to Dumbarton, but he provided no evidence nor did he explain the connection to the Galbraiths. Bruford, in his treatise on Gaelic medieval romances, demonstrated that the Red Hall was to be found in the Arthurian tale *Aigidecht Artúir*, which appeared in the Middle Irish tale-lists. This tale had developed at the same time as its European counterparts; however, it was not certain that all the motifs were of continental origin, and likely that some were of original Gaelic provenance. Within *Aigidecht Artúir*, Camelot is referred to as *Dúnadh an Halle Dheirg*, whereas in other tales it is called *Dúnadh Chathrach an Chuill* or *An Bórd Cruinn*.¹⁶⁶ Black's identification of *An Tala Dheirg* with Dumbarton cannot stand; moreover, the name Galbraith cannot be associated with it, nor does the poem prove their Brittonic descent.

Sellar also made the seeming assumption that the Lennox represented lands which had been Brittonic in their entirety. 'How far', he asked, 'can the transition, north of the Clyde, from Briton to Gael, from the kingdom of Strathclyde to the earldom of Lennox, be traced?'. Yet, that the Lennox was part of the kingdom of Strathclyde cannot be substantiated, nor do we have evidence that it underwent a wholesale settlement by Gaels. The appellation '-braith', as discussed in detail below, will allow us to postulate that the family known as Galbraith were in some way associated with people of Brittonic descent. If so, an appraisal of their lives and influence in the Lennox might provide us with that clearer picture of the transition from

¹⁶⁵ G.F. Black, 1946, *The Surnames of Scotland: their origin, meaning and history* (New York Public Library) p285

¹⁶⁶ A. Bruford, 1969, *Gaelic Folk-tales and Medieval Romances: a study of the Early Modern Irish 'Romantic Tales' and their oral derivatives* (The Folklore of Ireland Society, Dublin) pp11-30

Briton to Gael, that Sellar had requested. However, before proceeding with that investigation, it would be helpful to further examine the possible origin of the name Galbraith either to confirm or to refute the supposition.

5.2: The Name Galbraith – an Analysis

5.2.1: Onomastic Analysis

While there is certainty that the element ‘-braith’ pertains to Brittonic descent or association, the element ‘gal’ is not easy to decipher. Derived from the EG *gall*, it has five attested meanings. Three of those are unlikely to be part of the name Galbraith, being a) an ancient Gaul, b) an Anglo-Norman or c) a Hebridean.¹⁶⁷ The two other meanings of ‘gall’ are i) foreign and ii) Scandinavian. In modern Gaelic, the word ‘gall’ denotes a foreigner, or a person who is different in some way. In particular, the modern usage indicates a Lowlander, as opposed to a Highlander; the inference is that although the person is not from another country as such, there is something so dissimilar about him that he may be singled out as ‘other’. In medieval Scotland, the Old Gaelic *gall* seems to have become used in exactly this way, being applied to Scandinavians who had settled in various parts of Western Scotland from the 10th to the 12th centuries, and who had become Gaelicised to some extent. Hence, we come across the term *Gall-goidil*: however, the precise meaning of that term is unclear, and it appears to shift both in meaning and location over time.

We first encounter the *Gall-goidil* during the 9th century, at which point the moniker may have been a loose term denoting Scandinavian groups who were operating in various parts of the Irish Sea.¹⁶⁸ The first definite Scottish location is suggested in the Martyrology of

¹⁶⁷ www.dil.ie/25308

¹⁶⁸ T.O. Clancy, 2008, ‘The Gall-Ghaidheil and Galloway’, *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 2 p26

Tallaght in which reference is made to St Bláán of Kingarth and Bute, both of which it describes as being *in Gallgaedelaib*.¹⁶⁹ Clancy states that the entry for Bláán must have been made by at least the tenth century; it can be inferred that the Scandinavians had hold of the Firth of Clyde by then.¹⁷⁰ Thus they are likely to have bordered onto the lands which eventually became the Lennox. Various authorities have looked upon the *Gall-goídil* as being primarily Scandinavian in culture, and discounted their presence, for instance in Galloway, because of a lack of Norse toponymy¹⁷¹ Jennings, and also Clancy, make the persuasive argument that the Gall-goídil were, on the contrary, Gaelic-speakers whose presence is to be found in Gaelic place-names.¹⁷² These were Gaels who had been scandinavianised but who are likely to have continued to use the Gaelic language. Here it is argued that Scandinavians had taken on some Gaelic language, hence becoming at least partly Gaelicised. Crystal sets out the most likely scenario for the assumption of new languages by existing peoples: his research describes the way in which language is acquired ‘via a “bottom up” process, a bilingualism being acquired by the super-added population which eventually slips, first into a semilingualism, and then into monolingualism’.¹⁷³ In this case, the Gaelic language, dominant in terms of speakers, might have been acquired by Scandinavians who were associated in some way with *Gall-goídil* society: while at the same time characteristics of the Scandinavian culture was acquired by the Gaels, either through a simple co-existence or through control. Such a process would explain the lack of Norse place-names, on the one hand, and the Scandinavianisation on the other. This process may also have applied to the Galbraiths of Lennox. It is here argued that the Galbraiths were Britons who had acquired

¹⁶⁹ Clancy, 2008, p30

¹⁷⁰ Clancy, *ibid.*, p35

¹⁷¹ eg R.D. Oram, 1995, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland with a special study of Bysbie’, in B.E.Crawford, ed., *Scandinavian Settlement in North Britain* (Leicester) pp127-40

¹⁷² Clancy, 2008, p21; A. Jennings, 2001, ‘Galloway, origin of’ in M. Lynch, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (Oxford) p258

¹⁷³ D. Crystal, 2000, *Language Death* (Cambridge University Press) pp78-9

Scandinavian characteristics but who had retained their own language; indeed, such an outcome is strongly suggested by the lack of Norse place-names within the Lennox.

By the middle of the ninth century, the term *gaill* had come almost exclusively to mean a Scandinavian.¹⁷⁴ It is possible that *gall-goídil* was no longer an ‘othering’ name with the continuing connotation of foreignness but simply a name to denote the fusion of two peoples. However, it is likely to have been an exonym. ‘Double-barrelled’ nomenclatures tend not only to be rare, but also to be imposed externally. The term ‘Anglo-Saxon’, for instance, was primarily found amongst continental writers until the 9th and 10th centuries, while the English called themselves *angelcynn*.¹⁷⁵

Gall-britt, or ‘Scandinavianised Briton’ is a term which is not attested elsewhere. It originates in Gaelic, being formed of *gall* and *britt*, denoting a Briton. In his treatise on medieval Gaelic names Ó Maolalaigh does not overtly discuss the linguistic origin of the name Galbraith, rather he leaves it open by appending a question mark to it.¹⁷⁶ It is a moot point as to whether, in this instance, the *gall-britt* had once been referred to as such in the Brittonic language, perhaps as **all-brython*, or some similar construct, EG *aile* being a synonym of *gall* and having the Brittonic cognates *eil*, or *all*.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it seems that by some point between 870 and the 12th century the family had acquired a Gaelic name.

¹⁷⁴ Clancy, 2008, p23

¹⁷⁵ R. Marsden, 2004, *The Cambridge Old English Reader* (Cambridge University Press) pp53,401

¹⁷⁶ R. Ó Maolalaigh, 2019, ‘Gaelic Personal Names and Name Elements in Scottish Charters’, 1093-1286, in M. Hammond, ed., *Personal Names and Naming Practices in Medieval Scotland* (Boydell and Brewer) p57

¹⁷⁷ R. Matasović, 2009, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Brill, Leiden) p31

5.2.2: The Scandinavianised Britons

It is not clear whether these Scandinavianised Britons were related to the *gall-goídil*, or whether they constituted a different people. The evidence is that the Firth of Clyde was part of *Gallgaedelaib*, albeit that evidence rests on but one entry in a martyrology,¹⁷⁸ but there does not seem to be any evidence that a wholesale settling of Scandinavian people had occurred at Al Clut following its siege. Nevertheless, we can imagine that some number may have remained in the area consolidating their gains or perhaps keeping the waterways of the Clyde or the Leven navigable. If that had been the case, a successful settlement in the 10th century Al Clut would have been facilitated by an acculturation with the Britons and an acquisition of the Brittonic language which was at least partial. This process may have occurred through inter-marriage. Such a cultural modification would have formed good reason for the creating of a *gall-britt* term analogous to *gall-goídil*, although it is impossible to know by whom it would have been coined.

If the term *Gall-britt* had been formed early on, it is possible that there was a sizeable Gaelic-speaking population already living in the vicinity of Al Clut. Alternatively, a significant proportion of the Brittonic population may already have been speaking Gaelic or was bilingual. It is almost certain that at least a part of their society had been bilingual by the end of the 9th century, given that certain kings of Strathclyde had Gaelic names.¹⁷⁹ A third possibility might be that neighbouring, Gaelic-speaking *gall-goídil*, perhaps in the Firth of Clyde, had coined the phrase in order to distinguish the Scandinavianised Britons of Al Clut from themselves.

¹⁷⁸ Clancy, 2008, p30

¹⁷⁹ A. MacQuarrie, 1993, 'The Kings of Strathclyde c 400-1008', pp1-19; Eochaid (fl. 878-889) and Malcolm (fl. 973-997)

5.3: Archaeological Evidence for Scandinavian Activity in the Lennox

5.3.1: Graves and Goods

The bulk of the archaeological findings within the Lennox were, until recently, associated with the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages, and several later medieval cross slabs. The sole Scandinavian findings were those of a hogback stone at Luss (see 5.3.2) and a grave mound situated at Boiden on Loch Lomond, which was discovered by antiquarians in 1851. Boiden mound had once been topped by a cairn, and was found to contain a bent sword, which had lower and upper guards, but no pommel, a spearhead and a dented shield boss. The findings lay within a space of some two and a half square feet, but they were subsequently lost, the only record of them being illustrations.¹⁸⁰ No skeleton was found, but the acid soil would not have been conducive to its preservation. These grave goods were identified as being of 9th century Scandinavian type, the bent sword being typical of the ‘killed’ swords found elsewhere in Scandinavia.¹⁸¹

Alcock and Alcock’s excavation of Dumbarton Rock during the 1970s uncovered a sword pommel of Scandinavian provenance, which may have been evidence of the siege of 870. The other finds consisted of two lead weights, one of which was plain, and the other of which had been decorated with a glass ornament. It is thought that these were more likely to represent trading activity than battle; thus, there may have been a continuing Scandinavian presence on the Rock, which was associated with peacetime activity rather than with periods of aggression.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ J. Anderson, 1872-4, ‘Notes on the relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by specimens in the Museum’. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10 pp 536-94

¹⁸¹ C.E. Batey, 2003, ‘Carrick, Mid Ross: A Viking Cemetery on Loch Lomond’, in T. Horne, *The Viking Age in Scotland* (Cambridge University Press) p314

¹⁸² L Alcock and EA Alcock, ‘1990 Reconnaissance excavations on Early Historic Fortifications and other royal sites in Scotland, 1974-84: 4, Excavations at Alt Clut, Clyde Rock, Strathclyde, 1974-75’, *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 120 95-149

The most recent find, which has been significant, is that of a Scandinavian cemetery at Mid Ross, some yards distant from Boiden. Uncovered in 2003 during preparatory work for the impending construction of a golfing complex, the excavated site consisted of a penannular ring ditch of some 45 metres in diameter. It contained a possible 14 graves which lay in a north-west/south-east position. In six of these were found Viking grave goods, probably dating from the 9th century and produced partly of local material. A second group of 9th–10th century graves had an east-west orientation without grave goods; these possibly represented Christian burials. In addition, there were the remains of a rectangular timber building, which may have been a church. Batey considered that the Boiden and Mid Ross burials constituted one single cemetery.¹⁸³



Map 11: Location of Boiden and Mid Ross Cemeteries

¹⁸³ C Batey, 2003, p318

5.3.2: Hogback Stone

A major collection of hogback stones is found at Govan. These massive 10th century monuments are considered to be testament to the wealth and power of the kingdom of Strathclyde, and to be evidence of the acculturation which had occurred between the Britons and the Scandinavians, in that the stones incorporate designs and motifs attributable both cultures.¹⁸⁴ There is but one hogback stone situated within the Lennox, which is found at Luss. This complete hogback has variously been dated to the 10th or 11th century. Given that it was carved from grey sandstone, Barnes considered it possibly connected to the sandstone hogbacks at Govan, albeit the latter are of red sandstone.¹⁸⁵ As it was not carved in the local igneous stone, he reasoned that the Luss hogback had not originated in the area, but on this point he erred. Pierce and Becket, in their survey of the Luss and Dalserf hogbacks, noted that the local volunteers had intimated that the Luss hogback matched stone found locally.¹⁸⁶ Grey sandstone, or greywacke, is found in the rocks of the Highland Border Complex, which lies in several areas between the Dalradian rocks to the north of the Highland Fault Line, and the Midland Valley which lies to the south of the fault line. The Dalradian rocks consist of hard metamorphic rocks such as schist and slate, whereas the Midland Valley is composed of soft sedimentary rocks such as sandstone and coal. Rocks of the Highland Border Complex are found at various sites between the Dalradian and the Midland areas; they consist of a mixture of rock types which were formed in a marine environment. These marine rocks were elevated and changed in the wake of the formation of the fault line, and they include

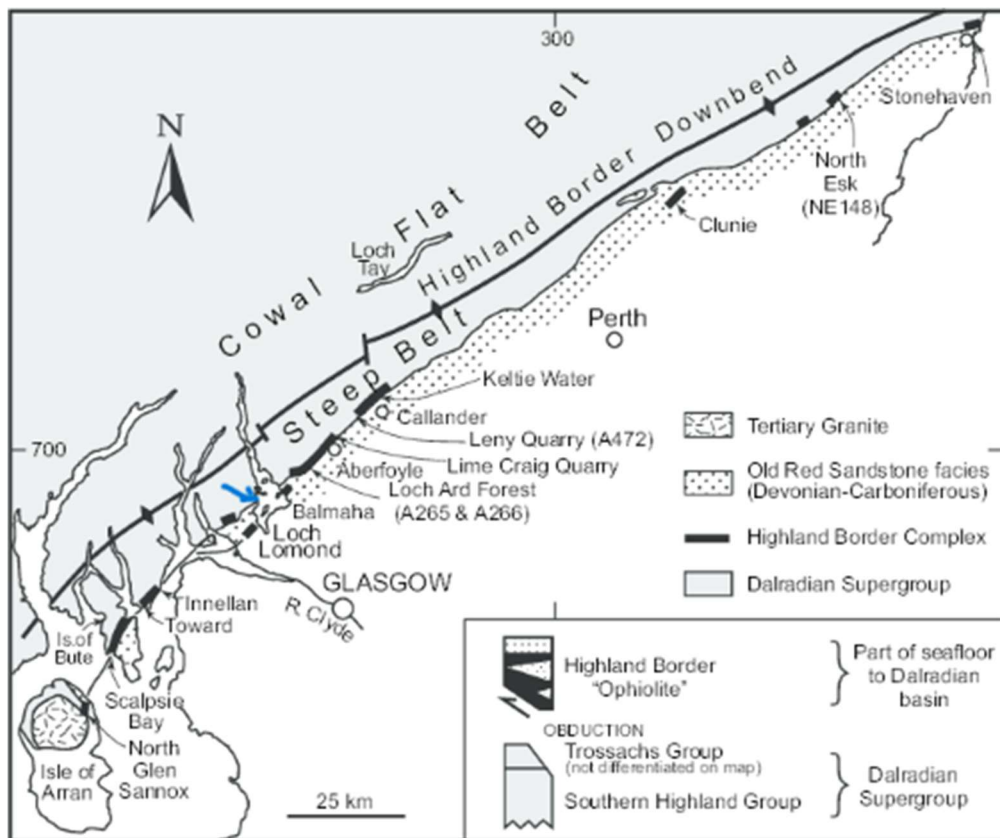
¹⁸⁴ O. Owen and S. Driscoll, 2011, 'Norse Influence at Govan on the Firth of Clyde, Scotland' in S Sigmundsson, ed., *Viking Settlements and Viking Society: Papers from the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Viking Congress, Reykjavik and Reykholt, 16-23 August 2009* (University of Iceland Press)

¹⁸⁵ J Barnes, 2019, 'Of Warriors and Beasts: The Hogbacks and Hammerhead Crosses of Viking Age Strathclyde and Northumbria', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow

¹⁸⁶ E. Pierce and A. Becket, 2018, 'Hunting Hogbacks: Excavation and Surveys at Dalserf, South Lanarkshire, and Luss, Argyll and Bute'. *Northern Studies*, 49 p44

greywacke. Luss is situated on an area of Highland Border Complex, as illustrated in the map below; thus, it is an area where grey sandstone is found.¹⁸⁷

It is almost certain, therefore, that the Luss hogback was carved from local stone, and that it was not transported from elsewhere. Having established that fact, the next inquiry must be as to the origin of the stone carver himself.



Map 12: Geological Map in the Vicinity of the Highland Border Complex: researchgate.net.

Position of Luss marked by blue arrow.

¹⁸⁷ W.G. Henderson and N.J. Fortey, 1982, 'Highland Border rocks at Loch Lomond and Aberfoyle', *Scottish Journal of Geology*, 18 pp227-245

The hogback stone at Luss was first examined in 1885 by J Russell Walker, who described it in detail and provided intricate drawings of it.¹⁸⁸ AD Lacaille repurposed Walker's drawings for his own 1928 paper, leading to the local misapprehension that this hogback stone was first discovered during the 1920s.¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately Walker does not tell us where it had lain so that we cannot know how closely the stone had been found to the site of the church at Luss. Despite a 2015 restoration, there appears to have been a substantial deterioration in the surface of the stone since Walker produced his diagrams. His description is therefore the most accurate available.

At a length of five feet and eleven inches, the hogback has a plainly tegulated roof which contrasts with the intricately carved side panels, the sides of which have a surrounding beading. One side panel has ten pillars which support eight entire arches. The other side panel shows five pillars supporting three entire arches; this side also includes three circular motifs, each encompassing a different internal design.

¹⁸⁸ J. Russell Walker, 1885, 'Note on a peculiar class of recumbent monuments.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 19 pp418-419.

¹⁸⁹ A.D. Lacaille, 1928, 'Ecclesiastical remains in the neighbourhood of Luss, with notes on some unrecorded crosses and hog-backed stone', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 62 pp85-106

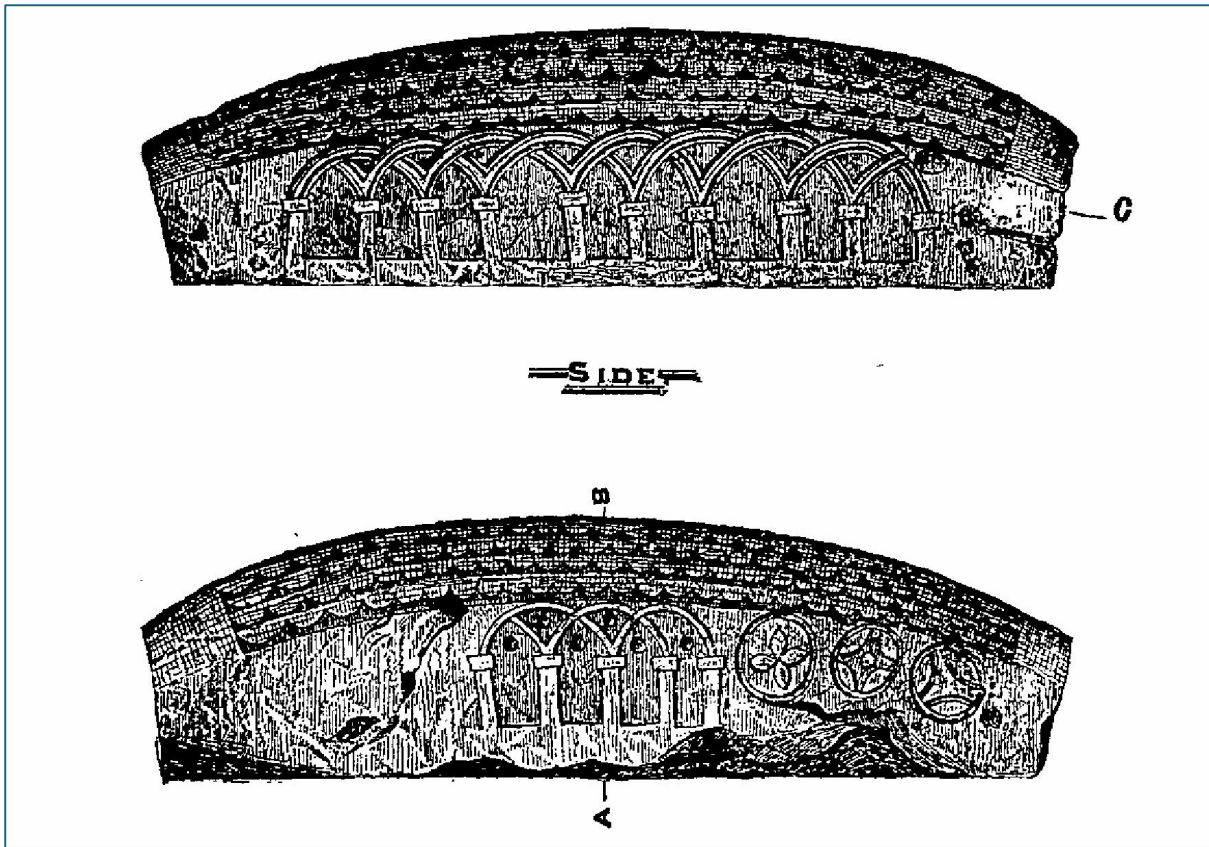


Figure 7: Drawings of the Luss Hogback taken from J Russell Walker, 1885.

There has been some debate about the dating of the side panel carvings, with some authors stating that they may well have been a later addition. Lang stated that a re-carving might have taken place because the design was somewhat haphazard.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, he noted that arcades such as those exemplified on the Luss hogback were also to be seen in the blind alleys at Durham Cathedral which dated from 1093, as well as in the crypt at Lastingham, Yorkshire, dating from around the same period.

Fiona Baker, an archaeologist associated with the restoration of the hogback in 2015, believes that the hogback had been re-carved.¹⁹¹ Barnes does not believe so; his reasoning is that the

¹⁹⁰ J.T. Lang, 1972, 'Hogback Monuments in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 105 pp206-235

¹⁹¹ F. Baker, 2003, *Notes on Hog Back Stone*, Helensburgh Archaeology Service, Note available at Luss Church.

beading cleanly separates the tegulated roof from the carving below. I agree with Barnes. My own examination of the hogback demonstrated that the surface of the carved arcades is confluent with that of both the beading and the tegulation. If the stone had been re-carved, the new cutting would have had to delve into the rock to remove any previous design. The arcades could not then have been made flush. Equally, it is unlikely that the sides had ever been left plain: Barnes' thesis helpfully provides photographs of all the extant Scottish, English and Welsh hogbacks, and demonstrates that none has plain sides. Indeed, Barnes suggested that the side panels may have been inspired by illustrations such as those in the Book of Kells, his theory being that they may have been 10th century carvings.¹⁹²

An exploration of, and comparison with, the photographs in Barnes' thesis highlights the unusual artistic nature of the Luss hogback. It is the only such stone in the whole collection on which are featured arches. The similarity with the arches depicted in the Book of Kells is striking. Just as in the Book of Kells, the arches rest on columns whose capita are square, albeit the arches of the Luss hogback interlace, and span three columns, whereas those in the Book of Kells span only two.



Figure 8: Book of Kells, Folio 2r, <https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie>

¹⁹² Barnes, 2019, p189

Stylised decorative arches are to be found at Kelso Abbey, of which there are several sets. These carvings are of interlacing arches which are set on capitals, but which have no columns. The capitals are not square, as on the Luss hogback and in the Book of Kells; rather they seem triangular. The most prominent Kelso carving is set immediately above the main door to the Abbey.



Figure 9: Frontispiece, Kelso Abbey, showing interdigitating arches.



Figure 10: Detail of Arch Decoration at Kelso Abbey

There appears, therefore, to be a significant artistic difference between the Luss hogback and other hogbacks to be found in Strathclyde and Northern England. This uniqueness in design may suggest that the new Romanesque style of church architecture, introduced to Scotland during Malcolm III's reign and utilised at his son David I's new abbey at Kelso, was simply copied when the Luss hogback stone was carved. If that were true, the date of the Luss carving could not be earlier than the mid-12th century.

It remains to be considered whether the hogback at Luss bears any further relation to those at Govan. In her thesis, Megan Kasten states that there is no evidence to point definitively to a carving school in Govan, but that there appears, at least, to be a connection between monuments in Govan and St Blane's in Bute, which is evidenced by trends of carving found in both places.¹⁹³ It is more difficult to make a clear connection between Govan and Luss. Other than the ubiquitous tegulation, there are no carved features that would link the Luss hogback to those in Govan. Nevertheless, there remains the possibility that the carver had originated in Govan but had carved the Luss hogback *in situ*. The other possibilities are that he came from elsewhere along the Firth of Clyde or, indeed, that he was a local man from Luss or Dumbarton. It seems impossible to date the carving of the stone, which could have taken place at any time between the 10th and the 12th centuries. We can, however, posit the theory that the unique Luss carvings had been locally commissioned by a person influenced by the illustrative material produced in Gaelic or Border monasteries.

¹⁹³ M.N. Kasten, 2019 'The Govan Stones revealed: digital imaging in the analysis of early medieval sculpture' PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, p342

If we consider a mid-12th century date for its carving, it is then tempting to suggest that its commissioner belonged to the family of Máel Domnaig, son of Gilla Muire, who was granted the lands of Luss by Earl Máel Domnaig between 1208 and 1234.¹⁹⁴



Figure 11: Hogback Stone, Luss Churchyard

5.4: Conclusion

The five hogback stones at Govan, and the single stone at Dalserf, demonstrate an unequivocal Scandinavian influence within the Kingdom of Strathclyde. It is not possible to state with certainty whether the stones were the product of the Britons or of the Scandinavians, yet there must have been significant co-operation and influence between the two peoples. The discovery of the cemetery at Mid Ross makes clear that Scandinavians were likely to have lived and worked on the shores of Loch Lomond. The evolution of burial practice, from the pagan burial of Boiden to what appear to be Christian burials at Mid Ross,

¹⁹⁴ Fraser ii, No.204

implies a settled co-existence of Scandinavian and Britons.¹⁹⁵ Downham suggests that the settlement at Mid Ross may not have been directly associated with the siege of the Rock.¹⁹⁶ This concept is supported by the admittedly meagre evidence for post-siege trade at Dumbarton Rock.

The Scandinavians seem to have become a settled part of the territories which later became known as the Lennox, but do not appear to have dominated the landscape. There are no place-names of Scandinavian origin discernible within the Lennox and the archaeological evidence is, as yet, sparse, consisting of one cemetery, a small number of individual artifacts and one Scandinavian-influenced hogback stone. Nevertheless, the evidence available clearly indicates Scandinavian activity along the West bank of Loch Lomond. Neither the place-name Ross (Mid Ross) nor Boiden are found in the early charter material, so it is not possible to date them. However, it is probable that the former, a marshy promontory, derives from NBr *ros*, and possible that the latter derives from Br **botā* > MW *bod*, 'a dwelling', though the earliest form is found in Roy's map.¹⁹⁷ Mid Ross consists of a marshy promontory.¹⁹⁸ These locations lie in line along the western bank of Loch Lomond with Bandry, Aldochlay and Luss, which are also potential Brittonic place-names thus supporting the case for considering that this was an area inhabited by Scandinavianised Britons.

Returning now to the issue of the name Galbraith, if the concept of Scandinavianised Britons can be accepted for a well-established settlement along Loch Lomond, then the name *Gall-britt* would seem to have been appropriate for the people who lived there. These may have

¹⁹⁵ C.H. Buchanan, 2012, Scandinavians in Strathclyde: multiculturalism, material culture and manufactured identities in the Viking Age, in A. Ritchie, ed., *Historic Bute: Land and People* (Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, p21

¹⁹⁶ C. Downham, 2015, 'The break-up of Dál Riata and the rise of the Gallgoidil', in H.B. Clarke and R. Johnson, eds., *The Vikings in Ireland and beyond: before and after the Battle of Clontarf* (Four Courts Press, Dublin)

¹⁹⁷ William Roy, 1747-1755

¹⁹⁸ BLITON pp31/258

been a people who continued to partly espouse the Scandinavian culture which gave impetus to the Luss hogback stone but later became influenced by Gaelic art-forms. It seems possible then to regard the Galbraith family as having been the descendants of a Scando-brittonic culture who lived within the territories of the old kingdom of Al Clut and who eventually became Gaelicised.

The next chapter will follow the activities of the Galbraith family within the 12th and 13th centuries.

6: THE GALBRAITH FAMILY IN THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES

(1170-1300)

6.1: Introduction

A substantial collection of charters pertaining to the Lennox has survived. Two dedicated cartularies have been assembled from various recensions; they are those collected by Sir William Fraser in 1874, and those collected by James Denistoun for the Maitland Club in 1883.¹⁹⁹ The Fraser collection contains charters from the early modern period, as well as late medieval charters. The Maitland collection contains charters which pertain only to the ancient earls, whose rule ended with certainty when the last of their line, Earl Duncan, was executed in 1425. In addition to these dedicated cartularies, further charters relevant to the Lennox have been preserved in the Register of the Monastery of Paisley and in the Episcopal Register of Glasgow. Of these charters, the earliest which are relevant to the Lennox are those of Earl Alwin II, who is likely to have ruled at the cusp of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An estimation of Earl Alwin II's floruit and a discussion regarding his origins will be the subject of chapter 7.²⁰⁰ In this chapter, the emphasis will be on the 12th and 13th origins and activities of the family of Galbraith, who appear to have contributed significantly to life and politics within the Lennox.

Members of the Galbraith family appear both as tenants of the Earls of Lennox, and also as witnesses to the many charters produced by the earls over the years. They are, of course, only one of several families who appear within the charters as tenants and witnesses. What is

¹⁹⁹ Fraser ii; *Lennox Cart.*

²⁰⁰ Although using Gaelic names for succeeding earls, I will apply the name of 'Alwin' to this earl as it is stated in the charters.

special about the Galbraiths, however, is their longevity within the Lennox, given that they appear in the very first extant charters and continue to be present throughout the medieval era. Other families, such as the Lindsays, the Grahams and the Colquhouns come to prominence later in time, but they are not a presence in the first written materials emanating from the Lennox earldom. Moreover, of the 14 persons found under the keyword ‘Galbraith’ in a search of the People of Medieval Scotland website for the years 1093 to 1371, at least 13 of them originate in the Lennox.²⁰¹

The clear localisation of, as well as the permanence of the Galbraith family in the Lennox during the late medieval area, raises questions not only about their role within the earldom, but also about their land possessions within the area. This chapter will seek to address both issues. It will present the facts that can be gleaned about individual members of the Galbraith family, as well as the places within the Lennox that were eminently associated with them. Given that the emphasis here is on the origin of the Galbraith family rather than on their continuing prominence during the late medieval period, the sources here referred to will pertain only to the era between the end of the twelfth and the end of the thirteenth century. Information about individual members of the Galbraith family will be headlined under their Gaelic names unless it is not possible to ascertain the original name, whereupon the Latin names will be quoted as they appear in the charters and other source information. The name ‘Galbraith’ will, however, be kept in its modern anglicised form, which is closer to the version found in the medieval sources than is the modern Gaelic ‘Mac a’ Bhreatannaich’.

The charters related to individual members of the Galbraith family will be tabulated. Some of the individuals are named in large numbers of charters simply as signatories on a witness list, but their inclusion on a witness list does not necessarily tell us more than that the fact that the

²⁰¹ However, two of the persons listed may, in fact, be the same individual.

individual was an aristocrat ranked highly enough to act as a witness. The tabulation will, therefore, be confined to those charters which point to a familial or to an employment relationship of a particular individual, or which otherwise add significantly to an understanding of his or her role or importance within the Lennox. The tabulation will include information about the source of the charter, its subject, its date and its grantor.

The table below provides a key to the succession of the Earls of Lennox for the purpose of easily timelining the charters.

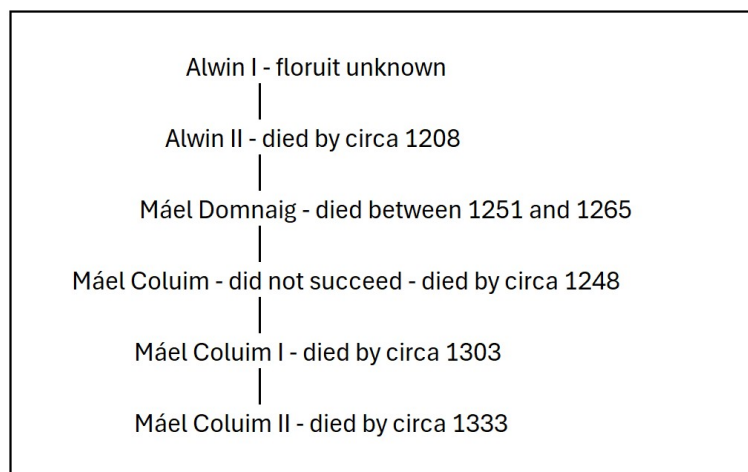


Table 1: The Earls of Lennox during the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries

6.2: The Individuals

6.2.2: Gilleasbaig Galbraith

Gilleasbaig Galbraith is the first member of the Galbraith family to appear in charters appertaining to the Lennox. He appears in a charter found in the REG which is ascribed to Alwin II between 1208 x 1214. The document grants the church of Campsie to the Cathedral of Glasgow and its bishop Walter. In sixth place of a line of nineteen witnesses is ‘Gilescop

Galbrad', who is described as *nepote meo*'.²⁰² The term '*nepote meo*' tells us that he was counted either as Alwin II's nephew, or as his grandson. This suggests that the Galbraith family was in some way related to that of the Earls of Lennox. It does not tell us that the Lennox family was itself of Galbraith descent: indeed, this is unlikely given that the material provides the names of many brothers and sons of the earls who do not bear the name Galbraith. A subsequent charter by Máel Domnaig, Alwin II's son, which is also dated 1208 x 1214, renews the grant of the church of Campsie to Glasgow. In this charter 'Gillescop Galbrath' was the witness in seventh place, canons of the cathedral having taken precedence in the first two places.²⁰³ There were in total twenty-four witnesses, suggesting that Gilleasbaig was a person of some consequence within the Lennox hierarchy. Where he is not singled out as having been related to Máel Domnaig, he is further identified through a linking with one of the other witnesses, Máel Coluim Beg, who is described as Gilleasbaig's son. Given that Gilleasbaig was a witness to charters of both Alwin and Máel Domnaig, and that his son was of an age to act as witness for a charter by the latter, Gilleasbaig himself may have been in his prime at the point when power passed from Alwin to his heir.

Evidence that Gilleasbaig Galbraith was a man of some importance seems strengthened by another of Máel Domnaig's charters, in which the lands of Colquhoun in Luss are granted to Umfrido de Kilpatrick.²⁰⁴ As a nephew of Alwin II, he would have been first cousin to Alwin's son. If Gilleasbaig's family connection to Alwin II was rather that of a grandson, he would have been first cousin once removed to Máel Domnaig. Mention is made neither of Gilleasbaig's father nor his mother. Had he, however, been a nephew through his father, then this father would have been the brother of Alwin; given that Alwin's sons are named in various charters, we might have expected to be provided with the name of that brother but we

²⁰² *REG*, p 86, No.101

²⁰³ *REG*. p86, No.102

²⁰⁴ *Lenn Cart*, p25

are not, and it is thus likely that Alwin's brother (if he had any) was not Gilleasbaig's father. Equally, the names of Alwin's sons are known, but none is named as Gilleasbaig's father. It seems likely, therefore, that the family connection was either through a sister or a daughter of Alwin's who is not named. If this was the case, then it would be expected that Gilleasbaig's father was also a Galbraith, so that Gilleasbaig might have been viewed as coming from a more minor part of the Lennox family. Notwithstanding that, he stands as the witness in third place in the Luss charter: his name follows luminaries such as Walter, the King's Seneschal and Máel Domnaig's son, Malcolmus. Moreover, he is positioned before Máel Domnaig's three brothers, Hamelynus, Malcolmus and Duncanus, suggesting that he was a relative of quite some significance.²⁰⁵

| Subject | Family Relationship | Subject of Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Gilescop Galbrad, witness | Nephew or grandson of Alwin II | Grant of Church of Campsie to Glasgow | REG No. 101 | 1208 x1214 | Earl Alwin II |
| Gillescop Galbrath, witness | Not noted | Renewal of Church of Campsie to Glasgow | REG No. 102 | 1208 x1214 | Earl Máel Domnaig |
| Gilaspec Galbraith, witness | Not noted | Grant of Colquhoune lands to Umfrido de Kilpatrik | Lenn. Cart.p 25 | c.1219 | Earl Máel Domnaig |

Table 2: Charters in which Gillescop Galbraith acted

²⁰⁵ *Lenn Cart*, p25

6.2.3: Rodarcus Galbraith

Rodardo nepote meo appears as a witness in the fourth place of importance within the one charter of Earl Alwin II which survives within the Lennox cartularies, his other charters surviving in the Paisley and Glasgow Registers. This important example, undated in the cartulary, sets out the extensive lands which Alwin II granted to the church of Kilpatrick. Given the breadth of these lands, this may, in effect, have been a founding charter for a ‘modern’ church on an ancient site of pilgrimage.²⁰⁶ This charter does not name Rodarcus as being of the Galbraith family; however, it does name him as being *nepote meo* of Earl Alwin II and places him in a significant position in the witness list behind the personages of Alwin’s two sons, Máel Domnaig and Máel Coluim, and of Máel Domnaig, Alwin’s deacon.

The Latin name ‘Rodardus’, as written in the Lennox cartulary, could render Gaelic ‘Rúaidrí’, or alternatively the Welsh names ‘Rhodri’ or ‘Rhydderch’. Within the Paisley Register, a charter with identical subject matter appears. In this charter, which is dated 1199, the witness’s name is written as ‘Rodarco: this suggests, although it does not confirm, that the name ‘Rhydderch’ might be a more likely original for the Latin rendering.²⁰⁷ Rhydderch was a name well-attested in the area; reference can certainly be made to Rhydderch Hael, died circa 614, a king of Al Clut, and a Rhydderch ap Dyfnwal, floruit 971, may thereafter have been a king of Strathclyde.²⁰⁸ Adomnán refers to Rhydderch Hael as Roderic the son of Tothail.²⁰⁹ The name Rhydderch may have a base in the element *derch*, meaning exalted, or dignified, albeit the first attestation is dated in the 15th century.²¹⁰ As we will see below, Rodarcus’s family base was in the Kilpatrick area, which had probably been within the Kingdom of Al Clut. In his lifetime there may have been an ongoing memory of that

²⁰⁶ *Lenn Cart*, p12

²⁰⁷ C.N.Innes, ed., 1832, *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet (1163-1529)*, No.157

²⁰⁸ A Macquarrie, 1993, pp1-23

²⁰⁹ *Adomnán’s Life of Columba*, eds. AO and MO Anderson (Edinburgh, 1951, lib.1, cap 8

²¹⁰ *GPC*; H. Gruffudd, 2010, *Enwau Cymraeg i Blant (Y Lolfa, Talybont)* p167

Kingdom, as well as of the Kingdom of Strathclyde; thus, it is not inconceivable that his name could have reflected upon the past glory of those realms. Rodarcus’s description as ‘nepote meo’ indicates with a certainty that he, along with Gilleasbaig Galbraith, had been either the nephew or the grandson of Alwin II. That he was also a member of the Galbraith family is evidenced by two further charters. The first of these charters records the granting of the land of Dalmannach (Dalmonach, BON) to a Robert Hertford by Dughall, the brother of Mael Domnaig, Earl of Lennox, and is dated between 2nd Nov 1208 x 16th Apr 1228.²¹¹ Within this charter Rodarcus is noted in relation to ‘Gillescop Gallebrad’ as being ‘*Rochero fratre ejus*’, or ‘Rodarcus his brother’. A second charter with the less firm dating of 4th Dec 1214 x 1241 outlines Máel Domnaig’s grant to the monks of Paisley, which enabled them to fish the river Leven by use of a single net.²¹² Within this charter and in relation to ‘*Gillescopo Galbrat*’, Rodarcus is noted, once again, as being ‘*Rodrico fratre suo*’. Their shared surname seems to make clear that Gilleasbaig and Rodarcus shared the same father. It seems likely, as discussed above, that their Galbraith father was not a member of the Lennox family; for this reason, and for both Gilleasbaig and Rodarcus to have been nephews or grandsons of Alwin II, the inference must be that they also shared a mother who was probably a sister or daughter of the earl.

| Subject | Family Relationship | Subject of Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| Rodardo, witness | Nephew or grandson of Alwin II | Charter of Lands of Kilpatrick | Lenn, Cart.p12 | undated | Earl Alwin II |

²¹¹ RMP, p217

²¹² RMP, p213

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Rochero, witness | Brother of Gillescop Gallebrad | Charter of Lands of Kilpatrick | RMP p157 | 1208 x 1228 | Earl Mael Domnaig |
| Rodarco, witness | Brother of Gillescopo Galbrat | Charter of Leven Fishing Rights | RMP, p218 | 1214 x 1241 | Earl Máel Domnaig |

Table 3: Charters in which Rodarcus Galbraith acted as a witness

6.2.4: Gilchrist Bretnach

Gilchrist Bretnach, or Gilchrist the Briton, acts as a witness in a charter of Duncan, son of Gilbert, son of Fergus, which is to be found in the *Chronicle of Melrose*, dated 1193. The charter grants lands in Maybole (MAY) and Beoch (MAY) to Melrose Abbey. Gilchrist Bretnach appears as the fifth witness on the list, Áed, the son of either Earl Alwin I or Alwin II, being the first in the list. Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, further clerics and the Earl of Fife appear as witnesses behind Gilchrist Bretnach.²¹³ However, we cannot be certain whether this positioning of witnesses is significant, because we find no other substantive mention of Gilchrist Bretnach in any source. and can make no firm assessment of his social importance.

Áed is the only individual that we can recognise with any confidence as being from the Lennox. Áed is described as the son of Alwin, the Earl of Lennox, albeit the charter does not tell us whether this person was Alwin II or his father, Alwin I. A popular genealogical source claims Áed to have been the first chief of Clan Galbraith, and to have been the father of

²¹³ Anderson, Anderson and Dickinson, eds., 1936, *Chronicle of Melrose* (Humphries & Co. Ltd., London) No. 29.

Gilleasbaig and Rodarcus Galbraith.²¹⁴ This seems unlikely because the implication would be that Áed was considered a ‘Scandinavianised Briton’ where his father, either Alwin I or II was not, unless, that is, Áed’s mother was descended from the Britons, and Áed was a half-brother to other sons.

Alternative claims are made that Gilchrist Bretnach was the father of Gilleasbaig and Rodarcus Galbraith, and that he was the progenitor of the Galbraith family.²¹⁵ Websites such as Wikipedia and Senchus put forward the claim that Gilchrist Bretnach had married a sister of Alwin II and that he was the father of Gilleasbaig and Rodarcus Galbraith. Some of them firmly allege that the family stronghold was at Inchgalbraith in Loch Lomond.²¹⁶ This information appears to be conjectural and self-perpetuating, with little evidence to support it, either in terms of a marriage or of fatherhood. In fact, Gilchrist Bretnach appears in only one medieval source, which is the Melrose charter examined above. Moreover, the epithet Bretnach would appear to differ substantially from the name Galbraith. Where the latter infers a sense of otherness (see above in Chapter 5), the term Bretnach would seem simply to describe a person of Brittonic origin; it makes no further description than that. It cannot be claimed with any confidence, therefore, that Gilchrist Bretnach was associated with the Galbraiths.

Nevertheless, we should note that a Gilchrist does appear in charters pertaining to Earl Máel Domnaig. If the word *nepote* were to indicate that Gilleasbaig and Rodarcus were grandsons rather than nephews of Alwin II, and if Gilchrist Bretnach were indeed their father, then we would expect him to have been contemporary with Máel Domnaig. In several of Máel

²¹⁴[http://www.geni.com/people/Eth_of_Lennox,_1st_Chief_of_Galbraith_\(c.1170 - 1193\) - Genealogy](http://www.geni.com/people/Eth_of_Lennox,_1st_Chief_of_Galbraith_(c.1170_-_1193)_-Genealogy), accessed 21/03/25

²¹⁵ [http://ancestors.familysearch.org/en/GCG7-SZWGilchrist Bretnach \(1140-1242\)](http://ancestors.familysearch.org/en/GCG7-SZWGilchrist_Bretnach_(1140-1242)), accessed 21/03/25; [Clan Galbraith: Part 1 « Senchus \(https://wordpres.com\)](https://wordpres.com) – accessed 21/03/25

²¹⁶ [Clan Galbraith - Wikipedia](#), accessed 21/03/25,

Domnaig's charters, a witness called Gilchrist is described as his brother, and could possibly have been his brother-in-law, given that the term *frater* sometimes had that meaning.²¹⁷

However, if this Gilchrist was the father of Gilleasbaig and Rodarcus, he would have been witnessing charters significantly later than had his two sons. He would also have been witnessing grants of land to his great-grandson, William *vide infra*, who was the grandson of Máel Coluim Beg, Gilleasbaig's son;²¹⁸ thus this Gilchrist cannot reasonably have been the same person as Gilchrist Bretnach.

6.2.5: Máel Coluim Beg

Máel Coluim Beg is perhaps the most frequent witness to charters pertaining to the Lennox family in the early thirteenth century. He stands as witness in no fewer than ten of the Lennox Cartulary charters, and in eleven of the charters pertaining to religious houses. His appearance in multiple documents is likely to be due to his position as seneschal to Earl Máel Domnaig. In a charter of 1208 x 1214, which confirms the granting of the Church of Campsie to the Abbey of Kelso, he is described as '*Malcolmo Begge, senescaldo meo*' and follows '*Gallepradhe*' (Galbraith) in the witness list.²¹⁹ That he, too, is a Galbraith is clear from two charters in which he is specifically described as the son of Gilleasbaig Galbraith. One charter, contained in the Glasgow Register, has similar content to that of the Kelso Register in that it is also a charter of Máel Domnaig confirming the granting of the church of Campsie, albeit this time to the Cathedral at Glasgow. Its witness list is worded differently in that here Máel Coluim Beg's name follows that of Gillescop Galbrath, and he is specifically named as being

²¹⁷ Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/frater> 'a brother-in-law' - at meaning C 2, accessed 29.06.24

²¹⁸ *Lennox Cart.* p30

²¹⁹ *Liber Calchou*, 1, (1113 – 1567), No.222

‘Malcolm beg filio gilascop’.²²⁰ Seemingly contemporaneous documents appear, therefore, to grant the church of Campsie both to Glasgow Cathedral and to Kelso Abbey. An examination of these charters will be made in Chapter 7, but for now it suffices to point out that Máel Coluim Beg’s position as seneschal was very likely facilitated by the importance of the Galbraith family as relatives of the Lennox family, which brought with it significant political influence.

Máel Coluim Beg appears as a witness in an inquest investigating the misappropriation of the lands of Monachkenneran (OKP), (now Boquhanran in Clydebank), which properly belonged to the church at Kilpatrick.²²¹ These lands had been commandeered by Gilbert the son of Samuel of Renfrew; the church requested their restitution. Two hearings took place; Máel Coluim Beg appeared at the church in Ayr at Martinmass, on the 11th of November 1233. He testified that a man called Beda Ferdan, who had lived in a house abutting the eastern side of the cemetery at the church in Kilpatrick, had had possession of Monachkennaran; Beda’s only payment for the said possession had been the hosting of guests visiting the church at Kilpatrick. Máel Coluim Beg confirmed that he had first been aware of this during the earldom of Alwin. Alwin had also given to the church the lands of Kachconnen, which Máel Coluim Beg himself had then possessed, although he had later sold the land out of fear. The inference was that he knew he should not have held these lands, which rightfully belonged to the church, just as other of the lands of the church, which included those of Cochmanach (Cochno), Fimbelach (Faifley), Edinbernan (Edinbarnet) and Craguentalach (Craigbanzo), now held by Dufgall, son of Earl MáeDomnaig, rightfully belonged to Kilpatrick. Dufgall, in the hearing at Irvine on the 21st of September of that year, had already confirmed that he should not have possessed those lands, but that he had accepted them because he did not want

²²⁰ *REG.* p86, No. 102

²²¹ *RMP*, p166

to offend his father, brother or forebears. We can estimate Máel Coluim Beg's probable birth date from this court appearance. A witness called Nemias had concurred with Máel Coluim Beg, stating that around 50 years had passed since the occurrence of those incidents for which they were providing evidence. If we assume that Máel Coluim Beg had been some twenty years of age at the time of those incidents, then it is probable that he was born in 1170 or thereabouts. If the estimation of a birth date of circa 1170 is correct for Máel Coluim Beg, he will have reached an age of approximately 80 by the time he witnessed the Muckroft charter, *vide infra*. This would point to his being in excellent health during his old age during the early 13th century, though this would not have been impossible. Further evidence from Rodarcus Beg, *vide infra*, suggests that Máel Coluim Beg had known about the circumstances in Kilpatrick not because of any office he may have held but because it had been his home. The holding of the Monachkennaran lands was subsequently formally renounced by Gilbert, son of Samuel, in 1236 at the Blackhall in Paisley, which lay outwith the Lennox, in the presence of Walter Fitzalan, where he agreed to pay 60 Marks in instalments to Earl Máel Domnaig during the Glasgow fair, at Martinmass and at the Pentecost.²²²



Figure 12: The Blackhall, Paisley

²²² RMP, p170-71

| Subject | Family/Empl't Relationship | Subject of Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Malcolmo Begge, witness | Seneschal to Máel Domnaig | Granting of Church of Campsie to Kelso Abbey | Register Kelso Abbey, 1, no 222 | 1208 x 1214 | Earl Máel Domnaig |
| Malcolm beg, witness | Son of Gilascop | Renewing of Church of Campsie to Glasgow | REG No. 102 | 1208 x 1214 | Earl Máel Domnaig |
| Malcolm filio Gillescop, witness | Son of Gillescop | Granting of Church of Campsie to Glasgow | REG Glas No. 101 | 1208 x 1214 | Earl Alwin II |

Table 4: Charters in which Máel Coluim Beg acted

6.2.6: Rodarcus Beg de Carric

Rodarcus Beg also acted as a witness during the inquest into the lands of Monachkennaran.²²³

The report into the inquest simply states that he agreed with everything which his brother, Máel Coluim Beg, had said. When asked how he claimed to know these things, he said simply that he had seen all that had been described during his adolescence, given that he had been born and brought up in the parish of Kilpatrick. It seems likely, therefore, that Máel Coluim Beg and Rodarcus Beg had both been raised at Kilpatrick, or that, at the very least,

²²³ RMP, p 166

Kilpatrick was one of the family homes where perhaps others of the Galbraith family had also been brought up. It is of interest that they both bore the epithet of 'Beg'. It is not possible to say whether this referred to physical stature, or to age within a family. They may have been the youngest children in the family, or perhaps 'beg' had been used as a term of endearment. There is no confirmation that Rodarcus was also the son of Gilleasbaig Galbraith, it is possible that he had shared only a mother with Mael Coluim Beag, who may herself have, been called 'beag', perhaps as a physical descriptor. It is of note that Máel Coluim and Rodarcus, along with Máel Coluim's son John, are the oldest persons recorded on the PoMS website as having the name 'Beg'. The others who are noted with the name 'Beg' are recorded later on in the 13th and in the 14th centuries, and located outwith the Lennox.

No exact information survives as to why the adult Rodarcus Beg became referred to as a man of Carrick. One possibility is that he had entered the service of Donnchadh, the first Earl of Carrick, perhaps as an administrator or as a soldier. He was not the only man of Lennox known to have connections with Carrick; there is evidence, as we saw above, that Áed, the son of Alwin I or II, had acted as a witness for Donnchadh's grant of lands in Maybole and Beoch. A Raderic MacGillescop and Christina, his spouse, the daughter of Roger Skelbrooke, confirmed Skelbrooke's donation to the monks of Melrose Abbey of the fishery of Doon, along with a saltpan. It is tempting to connect this Raderic MacGillescop with Radarcus Beg.²²⁴ In any case, it seems clear that there existed a working relationship between both church and secular authorities in Paisley, the Lennox and Carrick. For example, the matter of the alienation of the church lands of Kilpatrick was referred to Pope Gregory IX, who sent instructions in 1234 from his palace at Spoleto not to Paisley or the Lennox, but to the dean and masters of the schools of Ayr. His clear instructions were that they should bring Dufgall before them for judgment in Ayr. We can but wonder why the authorities in Ayr were to be

²²⁴ Innes, C. ed., 1837, *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros* (i) (Bannatyne Club) No.36

counted as a better jury than those in Paisley, other than they were deemed to be more impartial, but in the event, Dufgall conceded his claims, and the matter was ended by the Abbot.²²⁵

6.2.7: John

In a charter of Earl Máel Domnaig which grants a carucate of land in Mukraw (Muckroft, CAD) to David de Grame, one witness, John, is described as the son of Máel Coluim Beg, who similarly acts as a witness.²²⁶ Fraser dates this charter to c.1248; it is dated in PoMS between 1234 x 1253. A second charter concerning the granting of lands in *Kealbride* (Glen Fruin, RHU) to a Donald, son of Macynel (MacNéill, MacConail?), describes him simply as John, the son of Malcolm; this charter is dated 1208-1265.²²⁷

An inquest into the inheritance of lands that had belonged to Stephen of Blantyre had listed three witnesses as *mac Gall*, possibly meaning Galbraith, although the element *gall* could have referred to alternative persons counted as ‘other’, but not to the Galbraiths. The three persons styled as such are *Malcolmus filius Galle*, *John mac Gall* and *Mauricius filius Galle*. The charter has the firm date of the 8th of May 1263; it is very unlikely, therefore, that the person named as *Malcolmus filius Galle* can be Máel Coluim Beg, who would probably have been around 90 years of age by then, if still alive.²²⁸ Neither the PoMS website nor Ó’Maolalaigh proffer a convincing explanation for the name *Gall*, of which there are but six examples visible via a search in PoMS, including John mac Gall. The interpretation found in PoMS is, indeed, ‘Galbraith’. Two of the people called ‘Gall’ in the Blantyre charter can be

²²⁵ RMP No. 164

²²⁶ *Lenn Cart.* p37; *Fraser ii*, No.10

²²⁷ *Lenn Cart.* p91

²²⁸ Poms.ac.uk/record/source/4333/#; APS, 1, 102

tentatively identified (but are positively identified by PoMS) as Mauricius, son of Gillescop Galbraith *vide infra*, and John, who is probably the same person as the *Johanne filio Malcolmi (Beg)* who appears in the Kilbride charter. That leaves a third person, who is called Malcolmus filius Galle. He may have been a son of Máel Coluim Beg, or possibly his grandson through John *vide infra*.

A later charter, dated circa 1300, is written in relation to the rights of the daughters of a John ‘of Drummond’ (*sic*),²²⁹ but no charters provide John the son of Máel Coluim Beg with the name ‘of Drummond’. Notwithstanding the lack of evidence, the PoMS website states that John of Drummond probably was the son of Máel Coluim Beg.²³⁰ John *filio Malcolmi* may also have been ‘of Drummond’ (see the later discussion about the Drummonds), but for the reasons which follow, the John of Drummond identified on PoMS is probably not Máel Coluim Beg’s son.

It is the case that the John of Drummond identified on PoMS was taken prisoner at the Battle of Dunbar on the 16th of May 1296, and taken to Wisbech Castle in Cambridgeshire.²³¹ It is very unlikely, though not impossible, that a person engaged in battle at the end of the 13th century could have been the individual who acted as witness to a charter no later than 1265. Moreover, it is improbable that a man healthy enough to act as a soldier in 1296 could have been the son of Máel Coluim Beg who was alive and signing Earl Alwin II’s charters between 1208 x 1214.²³²

²²⁹ *Lenn Cart*, p46

²³⁰ poms.ac.uk/record/source/16922#

²³¹ poms.ac.uk/record/source/7870/#

²³² *REG*, No.101

| Subject | Family Relationship | Subject of Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|--|----------------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| Malcolmo Beg, Johanne filio suo' Witness | Son of Máel Coluim Beg | Grant of Land of Mukraw to David de Grame | Lenn. Cart.p37 | 1234 x 1253 | Earl Máel Domnaig |
| Johanne filio Malcolmi, Witness | Son of Máel Coluim Beg | Grant of Kilbride to Domhnal Macynel | Lenn. Cart.p 91 | c. 1251 | Earl Mael Domnaig |
| John mac Gall, Witness | Not stated | Inquest into lands of Stephen Blantyre | APS, I, 102 | May 5 th 1263 | |
| Johannis de Drummond, witness – unlikely to be the son of Máel Coluim Beg | Father of Margaret and Christine | Confirmation of grant of land to Margaret and Christine, daughters of John of Drummond, of lands of Ardeureane and Ardenalochreth | Lenn. Cart.p 46 | 1286 x 1333 | Earl Máel Coluim |

Table 5: Charters in which John acted

Nevertheless, there is good reason to surmise that the family of Máel Coluim Beg, son of Galbraith, did indeed become the family 'of Drummond'. I will seek to lay out the evidence in the discussions below of other individuals named 'of Drummond'.

6.2.8: Gilla Brigte, Parson (*Persona*) of Drummond

This individual had a floruit approximating to that of Máel Coluim Beg. He is known to have been a witness to three charters. These include a charter granting the lands of Buthernock (Baldernock, BDK) to William Galbraith, which is firmly dated the 2nd of March 1238.²³³ He is co-witness to John, the son of Máel Coluim Beg in the Kilbride charter, *vide supra*.²³⁴ He also acts as witness to Earl Máel Domnaig's confirmation of a legal action intended by his son and heir, Máel Coluim, before the latter's untimely death; that action would have been the grant of land in Stratblathan (Strathblane, SBL) to David de Grame.²³⁵ No family relationships are given for Gilla Brigte, but his location in Drymen is clear. Consistently described as being the Parson of Drymen in the three charters in which he is mentioned, it is possible that he was related to Gilchrist of Drymen (see 6.2.16), also a cleric. If so, they may have constituted a clerical dynasty related to the Galbraiths.

| Subject | Family Relationship | Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|--|---------------------|---|--------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Gilberto Persona de Drummane, witness | None stated | Carta terrarium de Butherknockis et Kyncaith Willielmo Galbraith | Lenn. Cart.p31 | 2 nd March 1238 | Earl Máel Domnaig |
| Gilberto Persona de Drumyn, Witness | None stated | Carta terra de Kealbride Donald filio Macynel | Lenn. Cart.p 91 | c. 1251 | Earl Máel Domnaig |

²³³ *Lenn. Cart.*p30

²³⁴ *Lenn.Cart.*p91

²³⁵ *Fraser ii*, No.9

| | | | | | |
|--|-------------|---|-------------------|---------|----------------------|
| Gilberto Persona de Drumyn, witness | None stated | Grant of half carucate of Stratblathane to David de Grame | Lennox ii no 9 | c. 1248 | Earl Máel Domnaig |
|--|-------------|---|-------------------|---------|----------------------|

Table 6: Charters in which Gilla Brigte of Drummond acted as witness

6.2.9: Máel Coluim and Gilla Brigte de Drummond

Máel Coluim and Gilla Brigte de Drummond are frequent witnesses to Lennox charters during the late 13th century. It is known that Gilla Brigte was alive in 1296, for he swore fealty to Edward I in that year, being described within the *Instrumenta Publica* as Gilbert of Drymen (*Dromund*) in the County of Dumbarton.²³⁶ Both Gilla Brigte and Máel Coluim of Drummond together witness a charter which is dated c.1300, in which Matilda of Arnot grants a quarter of her lands of Kepdouri (Kepdowrie, DRY) and Herdas (Ardeas, BUC) to her husband, Symon of Hawden; in this charter Gilla Brigte and Máel Coluim are styled as *Gilberto de Drumund* and *Malcolmo fratre suo*. It is clear, therefore, that they are brothers.²³⁷

| Persons | Family Relationship | Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|--|------------------------|---|----------------------|------------|---------------------|
| Gilberto and Malcolmo, witnesses | Brothers | Grant of land of Kepdouri and Herdas to Symon of Hawden | Lennox ii No. 209 | c. 1300 | Matilda of Arnot |

Table 7: Charters in which Gilla Brigte and Máel Coluim of Drummond acted

²³⁶ poms.ac.uk/record/source/7552#

²³⁷ *Fraser ii*, No.209

6.2.10: Drymen, ‘Drummond’ and the Galbraiths

From the information given in the charters and documents already referred to, we can be certain that the name ‘Drummond’ refers to the village of Drymen (DRY). We can also be relatively confident that the individuals called Gilla Brigte of Drummond, Máel Coluim of Drummond and John of Drummond were related to each other. If we consider Máel Coluim Beg, his son John, and Gilla Brigte, parson of Drummond, in conjunction with the aforementioned Drummond individuals, we can see that there are in total two people called Máel Coluim, two people called Gilla Brigte and two called John. The evidence is circumstantial; however, given the fact that first names were often repeated in families, and that these individuals were co-located in Drymen, then a familial connection is strongly suggested. It may therefore be possible to place Máel Coluim Beg in Drymen, which would suggest that the Drummond family of the later 13th century was descended from Gilleasbaig Galbraith through his son Máel Coluim Beg. It may be that Gilla Brigte, parson of Drymen, was a brother or cousin of Máel Coluim Beg, and that Máel Coluim Beg’s son, John, had his own sons who were called Máel Coluim, Gilla Brigte and John Drummond.

These suppositions can constitute no more than a hypothesis because there are no charters extant which involve the transfer of land in Drymen. This may be as a reason for their loss; another possibility is that the lands of Drymen had remained within the same family over time, thus requiring no transfer and no legal documentation.

6.2.11: Arthur Galbraith, son of Gilleasbaig

Only once do we hear about Arthur Galbraith, described as the son of Galbraith (Gillescop), who acts as a witness to Máel Domnaig’s charter granting the lands of Baldernock (BDK)

and Kincaid (CPS) to William, the son of Arthur.²³⁸ There is no further documentary evidence available about him. However, as the son of Gilleasbaig Galbraith, he will also have been the brother of Máel Coluim Beg, Rodarcus Beg of Carrick, as well as Murchadh *vide infra*. It may be that Arthur disappeared from legal documents because he had died in young age.

| Subject | Family Relationship | Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|--|--|---------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| Arthur Galbraith, here mentioned as the father of the beneficiary, William Galbraith | Son of Gillescop Galbraith and father of William Galbraith | Carte Terrarum de Butherknockis | Lenn. Cart.p 30 | 2 nd March 1238 | Earl Máel Domnaig |

Table 8: Charters in which Arthur Galbraith, son of Gilleasbaig, is mentioned

6.2.12: William Galbraith

The charter in the table above tells us that William, the grandson of Gilleasbaig Galbraith, inherited the lands of Baldernock (BDK) and Kincaid (CPS) from his father Arthur.

Thereafter he appears to have left those lands to William and Mary of Ross. This couple elected to pass those lands onwards to Patrick de Graham, with the consent of Earl Máel Coluim.²³⁹ The charter tells us that William and Mary had inherited the lands in a ‘hereditary fashion’; we can assume that Mary was William’s daughter, or that William de Ross had been his nephew, and that the male Galbraith line in Baldernock did not survive.

²³⁸ *Lenn. Cart.*p30

²³⁹ *Fraser ii*, No.14

| Subject | Family Relationship | Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|---|---------------------------------|---|-------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Willielmo, beneficiary | Son of Arthur Galbraith | Carte Terrarum de Butherknockis | Lenn Cart.p30 | 2 nd March 1238 | Earl Máel Domnaig |
| William Galbraith, Original benefactor to Walter and Mary | Possible father to Mary of Ross | Charter of resignation of lands of Drumloche and Drumfada to Patricio de Graham | Lennox ii, No. 14 | c 1280 | Walter de Ross and Mary, with consent of Earl Máel Coluim |

Table 9: Charters in which William Galbraith is mentioned as both beneficiary and erstwhile benefactor

6.2.13: Murchadh Galbraith, son of Gilleasbaig

Murchadh became a major landowner when he was granted the lands of Cartonvenach (Gartconnell, NKP) by Earl Máel Domnaig in about 1238. The charter named him as being the son of Galbraith, so that we can state that he is also the brother of Máel Coluim Beg, Rodarcus Beg and Arthur. This charter was unusual in that it made specific mention of Murchadh's wife, Katarine, the daughter of Cospatrik. Furthermore, it stipulated that the land granted was to remain in Murchadh's family following his death, even if he were not to have direct heirs.²⁴⁰ An additional grant came to Murchadh in the shape of *Auchencloich* (centred on Milngavie (NKP)). This further grant explicitly included Murchadh's son, Arthur, but was made only upon the exchange of lands of Tambethy (BDK) and Letyrmolyn, which had been in Murchadh's possession, for Earl Máel Domnaig claimed that he could not guarantee those

²⁴⁰ *Lenn. Cart.* p26

lands to them.²⁴¹ Murchadh appeared as witness in other charters; he also acted as a sealer at an inquest into lands at Blantyre, where he is called Mauricius filius Galle. PoMS provides a floruit for Murchadh of 1235 x 1272. This may not be correct because the Cartonvenach charter of 1238 shows him to have been a married man by that stage. A birth date of c.1235 would also have made him about 60 years younger than his brother Máel Coluim; it is more likely that he was born in c.1190.

| Subject | Family Relationship | Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Mauritio filio Galbraith | Son of Gillescop Galbraith | Grant of Cartonvenach to Murchadh | Lenn. Cart.p 26 | c. 1238 | Earl Máel Domnaig |
| Mauritio filio Gillaspic Galbraith | Son of Gilescoep and father of Arthur | Grant of Auchencloich to Murchadh | Lenn. Cart.p 27 | Unknown | Earl Máel Domnaig |
| Mauricius filius Galle | Sealer | Inquest into lands of Stephen of Blantyre | APS, 1, 102 | May 5 th 1263 | |

Table 10: Charters in which Murchadh Galbraith acted or benefited

²⁴¹ *Lenn. Cart. p27*

6.2.14: Arthur Galbraith

Arthur, the son of Murchadh, became a man of quite some significance within the Lennox. Four extant charters tell us that he was granted extensive lands and powers. The charter appearing on p 27 of the Lennox cartulary demonstrates that he was in possession of the lands of Auchencloich, along with his father, Murchadh. It is likely that he will also have inherited his father's land of Cartonvenach (NKP) upon his father's death. Later in his life, in around 1289, he was granted further lands, which were situated in various parts of the Lennox; these included Balfunning (DRY), Gilgirinane and Tyrwaldouny, both of the latter being situated some distance away and adjacent to Cartonvenach.²⁴² Additionally, in a charter relaxing his duty to attend the earl's court, we learn that he had also in his possession the lands of Bannachra (LUS), Garelochhead (RHU) and Finnart (RHU).²⁴³ The Bannachra charter refers to a previous charter which is no longer in existence. Meanwhile he was given the liberty to make prisons on all the lands of which he was in possession as well as to perform raids and searches.²⁴⁴

He is noted as a witness in 11 further charters and appended his seal to the charter detailing the resignation by Simon Crok of the lands of Balgrochan (CPS), Kilmannan (KLN) and Carbeth (SBL). In this case he appended his seal alongside that of *Malcolm de Drinneth* (Malcolm de Drummond).²⁴⁵

²⁴² *Lenn. Cart.*p29

²⁴³ *Lenn. Cart.*p28

²⁴⁴ *Lenn. Cart.*28

²⁴⁵ *Fraser* ii, No.13

| Subject | Family Relationship | Charter | Source | Date | Grantor |
|---|----------------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Arthur Galbraith, Beneficiary along with his father | Son of Maurio Galbraith | Grant of Auchencloich to Murchadh | Lenn. Cart.p27 | Unknown | Earl Máel Domnaig |
| Arthur Galbraith, beneficiary | | Relaxation of Court Responsibilities: Banchorane, Keangerlach and other lands. | Lenn. Cart.pp28,29 | c 1289 | Earl Máel Coluim |
| Arthur Galbraith, beneficiary | | Dispensation to make prisons on his own lands | Lenn. Cart.p28 | 1286 x 1300 | Earl Máel Coluim |

Table 11: Charters benefiting Arthur Galbraith

6.2.15: Further Members of the Galbraith Family

The charters show us that there were several more people called Galbraith, all of whom were possibly descended from Arthur Galbraith. Amongst their number were Patrick, who was seneschal at the beginning of the 14th century.²⁴⁶ Patrick was a contemporary of a Mauricius Galbraith; indeed, the two were witness to the same charter.²⁴⁷ It is possible that they were brothers, and the sons of Arthur Galbraith. Donald Galbraith is also a contemporary, being

²⁴⁶ Lenn. Cart.p48

²⁴⁷ Lenn. Cart.p49

witness to a charter of circa 1300.²⁴⁸ Thus, it is possible that he was also a son of Arthur Galbraith.

Patrick, Mauricius and Donald Galbraith are clearly contemporaries of Gilbert and Malcolm de Drummond to whom it is likely that they were related, if the connection to Drymen, as suggested in 6.2.10 above, is correct. Their family relationships are posited in the diagram below at 6.2.17. They will not be further discussed because they were mainly active during the fourteenth century, thus lying outwith the remit of this thesis.

6.2.16: Other Persons of Interest in the 13th Century

Ewano filio Gillaspeck

This witness appears in Earl Alwin II's early charter of the thirteenth century, discussed above, which concerns the grant of lands to the Church of Kilpatrick. It is possible that he is a son of Gilleasbaig Galbraith. He appears in the same witness list as Rodardus *nepote meo*, who would have been his uncle, if Ewan had indeed been Gilleasbaig's son. It seems likely that he was also a Galbraith; however, he does not appear in any further charters and so it is impossible to conclusively prove any relationship between them.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ *Lenn. Cart.*p45

²⁴⁹ *Lenn. Cart.*p12

Gilchrist of Drymen (de Drumane)

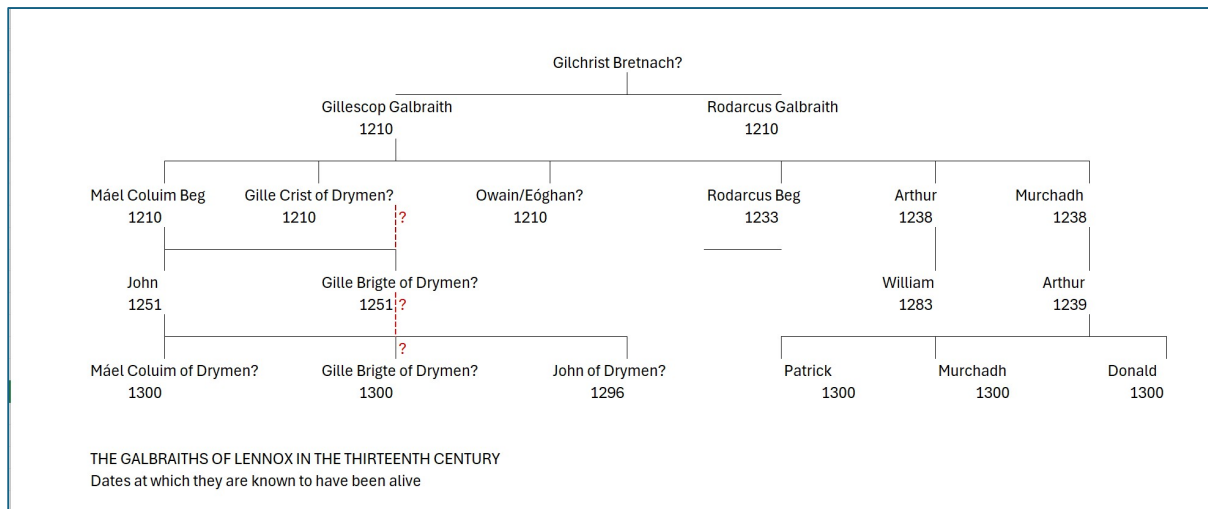
Gilchrist of Drymen is described in a charter anent the lands granted to the Church at Kilpatrik as being Earl Alwin II's chaplain.²⁵⁰ He is noted above (6.2.8) as being a possible progenitor of Gilla Brigitte of Drymen, Parson of Drymen. A Gilchrist Bretnach is traditionally claimed as father to Rodarcus and Gillescop Galbraith; this claim is made on several websites including Wikipedia and 'The Peerage'; however no proof is given that he was indeed their father.²⁵¹ ²⁵² Gilchrist Bretnach appears in only one charter, being that associated with the lands of Maybole-beg and Beoch, which were granted to Melrose Abbey, and which has the firm date of 1193. Áed, the son of Alwin II also appears as a witness for this charter. If Gilchrist Bretnach had been the father of Gillescop and Rodarcus Galbraith, then he might have been the man who had married Alwin's sister, and thus the father of Alwin II's nephews: however, there is no sure evidence to support this conjecture. Gilchrist Bretnach cannot be shown conclusively to be the same person as Gilchrist of Drymen. Nevertheless, if the Galbraith family already had access to the Drymen lands, Gilchrist of Drymen may well have been a member of the family, related in some way to Máel Coluim Beg, possibly being his grandfather, uncle or brother. Additionally, his office as a cleric of Drymen may suggest that he was related to Gille Brigitte of Drymen, perhaps as his father. However, as no further information is available about this person, further identification cannot be made.

²⁵⁰ *RMP*, No.157

²⁵¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clan_Galbraith

²⁵² <https://www.thepeerage.com/p58585.htm#i585845>

6.2.17: The Galbraith Family and its Possible Relationships



--- ? = alternative line of descent for the two persons called Gille Brigte of Drymen

6.3: Places associated with the Galbraiths

While contemplating the lands held by the Galbraiths, we can be certain only that they held territories that are specifically mentioned in charters. Some charters will have been lost over the centuries, with the consequence that valuable information about the tenure of Galbraith land will have disappeared. That that is the case is perhaps suggested by the charter concerning the liberty of Arthur Galbraith, the son of Murchadh Galbraith, to hold courts and make prisons in certain of his lands. Within this charter the relevant lands are referred to as having been set out in previous documents, which are unspecified.²⁵³ It is probable that some lands were possessed by the Galbraiths before charters became recorded, or had simply never been made the subject of charters for reasons that are not clear. What follows can make a definite consideration only of those places that are plainly labelled as Galbraith lands.

²⁵³ *Lennox Cart.*p28

Nevertheless, lands which are associated with the Galbraiths, but for which there is insufficient proof of tenure, will also be considered. In addition, lands, merely believed to have been held by the Galbraiths in the thirteenth century will be discussed. Also contemplated will be lands known to have been Galbraith lands during the fourteenth or fifteenth century but for which no ‘entry date’ can be ascertained.

6.3.1: Places referred to in Charters as being possessed by the Galbraiths

Page 27, Lenn. Cart.

AUCHENCLOICH #, NKP

Auchencloich is now a lost place-name. It remains visible on Blaeu’s map of 1654 as *Achinclosch*, where it is situated between *Milgay* (Milngavie) (NKP) and *Mukdock* (Mugdock) (NKP). Granted to Arthur and Murchadh Galbraith, it is possible that the name Auchincloich represented an unusually large area which contained several small settlements; Auchincloich inferior was granted by Earl Máel Coluim to Patrick de Graham (d 1296), in which charter it was described as a three-quarter carucate.²⁵⁴ It was described as ‘*Auchincloych Major* and *Auchincloych Minor* in 1609²⁵⁵

TAMBETHY, NS 52969 75575, NKP

In return for the grant of Auchencloich, Murchadh Galbraith and his son, Arthur, were required to give up the tenancy of Tambethy. This settlement is most likely to be the one known today as Tambowie; by now it is subsumed into Craigton, north of Milngavie, where

²⁵⁴ *Lenn Cart.* p38

²⁵⁵ *RMS*, Vol VII , No 190, 1609

there is both a Tambowie Road and a Tambowie House. An alternative is that it was to be found at Tombuoy (Tam Buidhe) NS 256 955 (RHU).

LETYRMOLYN #

Likewise, he was required to give up Letermolyn; this place-name now seems lost.

Page 26, Lenn. Cart.

CARTONVENACH, NS 538 730, NKP

Cartonvenach appears to be written variously as *Cartonwene*²⁵⁶, *Cachconnen*²⁵⁷ and *Cateconnen*²⁵⁸. This area was granted to Murchadh Galbraith, son of Gilleasbaig Galbraith in c.1238. It seems already to have been in the possession of the Galbraith family, at least at one juncture. By 1233, Máel Coluim Beg had already sold the lands of Cartonvene for fear, because Earl Alwin had granted them to the church of Saint Patrick.²⁵⁹ Given Máel Coluim Beg's likely birth date of 1170 *vide supra*, it seems most likely that he had come into possession of this land following its grant to the church of Kilpatrick c1175 x1199,²⁶⁰ but the mechanism by which he gained that land is obscure. It may be that it had already been possessed by his father, Gilleasbaig. Máel Coluim Beg probably came to sell the land before the inquest was about to take place. It is possible that he sold it to his brother Murchadh, to whom Earl Máel Domnaig later formally granted the land. Whatever the true position, it

²⁵⁶ *Lenn Cart.*p12

²⁵⁷ *RMP*, No.166

²⁵⁸ *RMP*, No.157

²⁵⁹ *RMP*, No.166

²⁶⁰ *RMP*, No.157

seems very possible that the Galbraith family had already held the land of Cachconnen, or Cartonvenach, before Earl Alwin II had decided to grant it to the church.

The name is problematic and has been discussed in Chapter 4. The lands of *Cartonvenach* have been identified as the modern Gartconnell (NKP), which has been subsumed into today's Bearsden.²⁶¹ Today's Gartconnell Road leads a short distance westwards from the location of Gartconnell Farm (now demolished) to 'Court Hill': the possibility must remain that this was once a *catter*, a hill utilised in dispensing medieval law and justice and pertaining to the jurisdiction of the Galbraith family.

P 30, Lenn. Cart.

BUTHERNOCK, NS 576 751, BDK and KYNCAITH, NS 651 767, CPS

The lands of Buthernock and Kyncaith were granted to William, Gilleasbaig Galbraith's grandson, in around 1239. Baldernock is now a hamlet to the east of Milngavie. Kincaid is now subsumed into the village of Milton of Campsie.

Fraser Lennox, II, No. 14

DRUMFAD, NS 293 849, RHU, BUCHERNOG, NS 253 885, RHU and DRUMLOCH?

In this charter dated c.1280, Walter and Mary Ross resigned lands that they had inherited from William, son of Arthur Galbraith, whereafter they were granted to Patrick de Graham. These lands were Drumloch in the territory of Buchernoc, and the land of Drumfode.

²⁶¹ poms.ac.uk/record/place/644/#

Today the name *Drumfad* is found only as Drumfad Wood. It lies between Helensburgh to the south and Glen Fruin to the north. To the west lie *Little, High and Laigh Balernock*. It is very likely, therefore, that the *Buchernoc* referred to in this charter is Balernock in Rhu, and not Baldernock, East Dunbartonshire. Drummond has taken *Drumloch* to mean Drumlockhart in Baldernock.²⁶² The name Drumlockhart has persisted solely as the name of a cottage near Barraston (BDK), where it is seemingly an old name, 'well known throughout the parish'.²⁶³ The name 'Drumloch' does not exist in the vicinity of Balernock (RHU); however, this cannot be taken to mean that it did not exist at one time. Ambiguities in charter place-names were often clarified by stating that a land was 'next to' or 'adjacent to' other named lands. Charters also tended to describe lands that were close to each other; thus, it would seem unusual for Drumfad and Drumloch, if distant from each other, to be contained in the same charter without further explanation as to their geographical locations. It would seem more reasonable, therefore, to accept Drumloch as having been adjacent to Balernock rather than to Baldernock.

For the purposes of this thesis however, a further exploration with regard to Drumloch does not need to be made. Drumfad (RHU) marks Balernock as having been within Galbraith territory: it is already clear (*vide supra*) that Baldernock (BDK) was also a Galbraith possession.

P 28 and P29 Lenn. Cart.

Both these charters refer to lands held by Arthur, the son of Murchadh Galbraith; they date from c.1289 and demonstrate that Arthur Galbraith possessed extensive territory during the

²⁶² Drummond, 2014, p134

²⁶³ www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk OS1/32/3/13 accessed 8th July 2024

latter half of the thirteenth century. However, the charters are not primarily concerned with land tenancy but rather with a relaxation of legal obligations in those lands. Some of the lands may already have been held for quite some time before they come to prominence in the late 13th century charters. The lands named are those of Banchorane (Bannachra, LUS), Keangerlach (Garelochhead, RHU), Fynnard (Finnart, RHU), Buchmoyn (Balfunning, DRY), *Kilgerintyn or Gilgiranane* (adjacent to Gartconnell, but now lost, NKP), and Auchincloich # (NKP).

BANNACHRA, NS 344 842, LUS

At this site on the southern banks of the Fruin Water stand both a bronze age cairn and the ruins of a 15th century tower house, probably built by the Colquhoun family who are said to have to have purchased the lands from the Galbraiths in around 1512.²⁶⁴

GARELOCHHEAD, NS 240 912, RHU and FINNART, NS 233 932, RHU

Both these lands are to be found on the Gare Loch which lies in the very West of the Lennox, not far located from Bannachra in the very West of the Lennox.

BUCHMOYN, NS 510 894, DRY

Buchmoyn (Balfunning), situated some 3 miles from Balfron, and 27 from Garelochhead, demonstrates the large geographical spread of territories that had been granted to Arthur Galbraith within the Lennox.

²⁶⁴ www.portal.historicenvironment.scot/bannachra accessed 16th July 2025

KILGERINTYN (adjacent to Gartconnell)

Little is known of this lost place-name other than its approximate location, next to lands which had been held long-term by members of the Galbraith family including Máel Coluim Beg and Murchadh. It was also written as Gilgiranane.²⁶⁵

6.3.2: Places associated at an early period with the Galbraiths, but for which no charter evidence is available

KILPATRICK, NS 463 730, OKP

Rodarcus Beg testified that he had been brought up in Kilpatrick. It is not clear how many members of the Galbraith family had lived there, nor is it evident whether they had owned land in the immediate area. The fact that many of the surrounding lands to the east of Kilpatrick had been granted to it by Earl Alwin II would suggest that any personal possession by the Galbraiths might have been limited, or rather that they possessed lands situated towards Dumbarton and the west. Yet Máel Coluim had held Cartonvene at some period. It is possible that some or all the brothers of Rodarcus, including Máel Coluim Beg, Arthur and Murchadh, had been raised in a family which was either domiciled in Kilpatrick or had held land in its immediate vicinity.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Lenn.Cart.p29

²⁶⁶ RMP, No.166

DRYMEN, NS 475 886, DRY

The lands of Drymen seem to be associated with the Galbraiths through Máel Coluim Beg and his family, who appear to be known as the Drummonds. The link between John, the son of Máel Coluim Beg, and the persons known as Drummond is not wholly proven, but there is strong circumstantial evidence to show that it is a likely connection. Gilchrist de Drummond has a clear connection to the area: if he was a son of Gilleasbaig and the brother of Máel Coluim, the date of possession will have been early and will probably have existed at least by the 12th century. Gilchrist de Drummond is known to have been alive and to have witnessed a charter in 1210. Thus, it is likely that he was born in the latter half of the 12th century, by which time the family connection to Drymen will already have existed.

CULCREUCH, NS 620 877, FTY

Culcreuch Castle stands just north of Fintry and Nentbolg (Glenboig, FTY).

Some sources claim that Culcreugh was an ancient seat of the Galbraith family. Moncrieffe states that it had been so since at least 1320, although he does not provide a source for this information.²⁶⁷ Although it is clear that Culcreugh was possessed by the Galbraiths, at least by the 15th century, there is no information within either the Lennox Cartulary or Fraser's Lennox confirming an early grant of this land to the family. The Wikipedia site for Culcreuch states that it was owned by Maurice Galbraith by 1296, notwithstanding the fact that there appears to be no documentary evidence to suggest that it was.²⁶⁸ However, it is known that Arthur Galbraith possessed Buchmonyn (Balfunning, DRY) by 1289. Balfunning lies only five miles distant from Fintry. It may well be, therefore, that both Fintry and Culcreuch were

²⁶⁷ I Moncrieffe of that ilk, 1967, *The Highland Clans* (Barrie and Rockcliff, London) p200

²⁶⁸ www.wikipedia.org Culcreuch Castle, accessed 11th July 2024

in the possession first of Arthur, and then of Murchadh, his son, during the late 13th century. The only definite mention of a Galbraith of Culcreugh within the available charters is that of *Jacobo Galbraht de Kilcrewch*, who witnesses a charter in 1506; yet possession may have been much earlier, and have been that of Arthur Galbraith.²⁶⁹

INCHGALBRAITH, NS 369 903, LUS

This very small island lies some 500m distant from Inchmoan in Loch Lomond. Early references to it are as Eilean a' Chasteil, or Island of the Castle. It appears as *Yi na Chastel* on Timothy Pont's map No 17 of 1583-1614.²⁷⁰ The words Galbraiths Yl appears written over the larger area, but it is not clear whether this refers solely to Inchgalbraith or also to the adjacent islands presents in the Luss Bay. Slightly pear-shaped, Inchgalbraith has a diameter of only some 25m. It is not easily accessible as it does not have a beaching area.²⁷¹ The island contains a ruined stone tower, with masonry rubble covering its entire surface area. Originally considered to be a possible crannog, an archaeological exploration found solid bedrock, thus making it unlikely that Inchgalbraith is an artificial island.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ Fraser ii, No.112

²⁷⁰ <https://maps.nls.uk/view/00002311>

²⁷¹ Personal information supplied to me by email from Loch Lomond Leisure (Luss Speedboats) on 18th May 2024

²⁷² Canmore.org.uk/Inchgalbraith accessed 11th July 2024



Figure 13: Loch Lomond – Inchgalbraith - seen lying before the island of Inchmoan

A hydrographic map of Inchgalbraith (map 12) shows it to lie on the Inchmoan shelf, with depths of water of between 6 and 18 feet separating it from that island. It is not certain that the straits between the two islands could ever have been accessed except by boat, although evidence from the New Statistical Account for the Parish of Bonhill suggests that water levels in Loch Lomond had already risen significantly over the years, and that the church of Auchenheglish (BON) had been drowned.²⁷³ The NSA for the Parish of Luss makes a similar claim; it states that the ancestral Colquhoun house at Camstradden Bay was entirely under water by 1845 and that stepping stones over the river Falloch at the northern end of Loch Lomond were several feet under water, even in drought.²⁷⁴ Therefore, it is possible that a causeway had once existed which connected Inchgalbraith and Inchmoan, and that Inchgalbraith once had a larger surface area. It is also possible that the 18 foot drop visible in the hydrographic map below could have formed a hill on which the castle was built.

²⁷³ New Statistical Account, Parish of Bonhill, Volume 8 (1845) p 222

²⁷⁴ New Statistical Account, Parish of Luss, Volume 8 (1845) p 158



Map 13: Admiralty Chart of Scotland: Loch Lomond 1953. Soundings in fathoms (1 fathom = 6 feet)²⁷⁵ National Library Scotland

Inchealbraith, or Eilean a' Chasteil, is not mentioned in any of the extant charters pertaining to the Lennox; however, the island of Innesdouenag appears in a charter of c.1225 which grants the lands of Luss to Máel Domnaig the son of Gille Mhuire.²⁷⁶ Máel Domnaig is granted 'all Innesdouenag near the fort'. If the Old Gaelic *dúnaig* is taken as being the specific for the island name Innesdouenag,²⁷⁷ then it can be postulated that Innesdouenag and Inchealbraith are one and the same, even if the remains of the castle now present might not be the remains of a 13th century fortress.²⁷⁸ However, it is possible that the specific 'douenag' represents the '*a' mhanaich*' of the neighbouring island Inchtavannach, or that it had been named after one of the many small islands of Loch Lomond upon which there were fortifications. Alternatively, it could simply have been named after Máel Domnaig mac Ghille Mhuire.

²⁷⁵ <https://maps.nls.uk/view/101962640> accessed 11th July 2024

²⁷⁶ Fraser *ii*, No.204

²⁷⁷ Dil.ie/19229

²⁷⁸ despite archaeological exploration they remain of uncertain date > Canmore.org

It seems clear that Inchgalbraith was once the fortress of a powerful family. Along with Bandry Bay (LUS) and its adjoining islands of Inchconnachan, Inchmoan, Inchgalbraith and Inchlonaig, it is claimed by tradition for the Galbraith family by both antiquarians and popular websites. While it is certain that the lands of Bandry Bay were granted by Earl Máel Domnaig to the sons of Gille Mhicheil, the Galbraith Society make the unsubstantiated claim that this Gille Mhicheil was a Galbraith. The relevant charter to which the Galbraith Society refers is contained in the Lennox cartulary on pages 25-6²⁷⁹. It is an instrument whereby Earl Máel Domnaig confirmed a charter to the benefit of the three sons of *Gillemychel*, being *Gillemichel*, *Gillemartyne* and *Gillecondad*, and through which they were to continue their control of Innisdomarot (?Inchtavannach), Innisconegan (Inchconnachan), Ynismoin (Inchmoan) and Yniscruny (Inniscruin).²⁸⁰ There is no further information about these persons, nor is there confirmation that they were related to the Galbraiths, even though the Lennox Cartulary index claims them to have been so. It would seem, therefore, that the island's name, Inchgalbraith, is retrospective, and that it has been so applied because of tradition. Albeit there is a possibility that the powerful family who had a seat on Innis a' Chasteil/Inchgalbraith were indeed the Galbraiths, it cannot be so claimed with any degree of certainty. Nevertheless, if the Galbraiths were the descendents of the Scando-britons who had once populated the area (see 5.4), there is room to theorise that the island of Inchgalbraith could well have been part of their territory before the recording of land possession in charters.

6.3.3: Mapping the Galbraith Possessions

It is now possible to plot out the lands that the Galbraith family held from the end of the 12th century and during the 13th century. Examination of Map 14 demonstrates that the Galbraith

²⁷⁹ Clangalbraith.org, accessed 2nd July 2024

²⁸⁰ *Lennox Cart.* p25

territories were situated throughout the Earldom of Lennox, which straddled the medieval sheriffdoms of Dunbarton and Stirling.²⁸¹ Such a visualisation of their possessions and habitations over time allows us to imagine the location of their original bases, and to understand how their geographical influence had expanded over time.

Our first certain allusion to a Galbraith home was made by Rodarcus Beg during the Inquest into the Kilpatrick church lands in 1233. He stated clearly that he had been brought up in Kilpatrick and that he knew the area very well. The suggestion is that this was a major Galbraith home, and that it was possibly the seat of his father, Gilleasbaig Galbraith. As Scandinavianised Britons, this family may have had a link to Dumbarton and its possible trading station. From there further connections might have extended along the Clyde to Kilpatrick and along the river Leven to the west bank of Loch Lomond as far as Luss. It is also possible that a connection had originally extended southwards along Loch Lomond to the Leven, rather than northwards, perhaps having originated via portage from Loch Long. Connections in this manner to Luss may have given a basis to the Clan Galbraith tradition of holdings in Luss, Bandy and the islands, which may have included Inchgalbraith, albeit such a tradition cannot be substantiated.

That the family became influential through Gilleasbaig, the nephew or grandson of Alwin II, is not in doubt. The proliferation of charters with which Gilleasbaig's son, Máel Coluim Beg, was involved points to an ever-increasing position of authority for the Galbraith family within the Lennox, which seems to have been rewarded with incremental land gains. The first known formal grants of land were made to the family in 1238 and 1239, but it is not certain that the concession of these lands (Cartonvenach, Tambethy and Buthernock) were fresh grants. It is possible, especially in the case of Cartonvenach that they had been lands

²⁸¹ *Lenn. Cart. p9*

possessed by the Galbraiths long before the formality of charters. Máel Coluim Beg had certainly *possessed Cartonvenach* before the Inquest of 1233. It is possible that this had been a traditional Galbraith land requisitioned by Alwin II, who required lands to grant to his major church at Kilpatrick. That they were original Galbraith lands can be supposed from the fact that Alwin's grant was reversed to the benefit of the Galbraith family once again when *Cartonvenach* was later granted to Murchadh, who was also a son of Gilleasbaig Galbraith.

This consideration allows us to surmise that the early Galbraith lands were probably on the North-eastern bank of the Clyde. If so, they marched in the one direction along the river from the direction of Dumbarton to Kilpatrick, from whence they progressed the relatively short distance through today's Clydebank to the lands surrounding what are now Milngavie and Bearsden. In the other direction it is possible, despite the lack of concrete evidence, to imagine that the lands extended northwards along the Leven and along the west bank of Loch Lomond.

Some of the place-names in the Kilpatrick and Clydebank area may include Brittonic elements, these were discussed in **Chapter 4**. A further enclave of Brittonic place-names exists at Fintry and Nentbolg (Glenboig, FTY), which are situated near to Culcreuch. It remains impossible to tell whether these were certain early Galbraith possessions; we can only be certain that the Galbraith family controlled Culcreuch in the early 16th century, and that Arthur Galbraith had held Balfunning (DRY), close by to Drymen, and perhaps the lands in between Drymen and Fintry, by the end of the 13th century. It is possible that the Brittonic place-names in the Fintry area reflect early possession by the Galbraith family. Nevertheless, control over the nearby Drymen lands cannot be proved, despite the strong circumstantial evidence which points to it (see **6.2.10**)

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, further sizeable grants of lands were made to the Galbraiths, mostly in the very western parts of the Lennox along the coasts of Loch Long and the Gareloch. It seems unlikely that these were original Galbraith possessions; the granting of these lands is perhaps more likely to reflect the increasing power of the family as the thirteenth century progressed. It is curious, however, that the grant of the land of Balfunning (DRY) was made at the same time as the grant of the western lands. Balfunning was situated some distance away, to the east of Drymen and at the borders of the earldom of Menteith. If the lands at Balfunning had already been an early and ongoing Galbraith possession, as mooted above, then the question arises as to the purpose of adding it to a charter which had, ostensibly, to do with new lands.



Map 14: Galbraith Possessions and Habitations within the late 12th century and the 13th century

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ● | Possible Galbraith Possession |
| ● | Certain Galbraith Possession |
| 1170 – date of known first possession | |

6.4: Conclusion

The evidence set out in Chapter 5 makes it reasonable to surmise that the Galbraiths had their origins in Britons allied with the Scandinavians who had patrolled the Clyde, the Leven and Loch Lomond. They may have been related to the people whose graves were found at Mid Ross and Boiden. By the 12th century they were fully part of the Gaelic culture which now pertained within the Lennox. They had become a powerful and influential family who were interrelated to the ruling Lennox family and by the end of the thirteenth century, their members had possession of large tracts of lands situated throughout the Lennox.

Máel Coluim Beg and his brother Rodarcus, the sons of Gilleasbaig Galbraith, had been raised in Kilpatrick during the latter part of the twelfth century and were born to a family which was already an established presence in the area. By the 12th century the name of Galbraith can probably be regarded as having been a family name rather than an ethnonym. The one Brittonic name by which it had possibly called sons was Rhydderch but their surname alluded to a certain Brittonic past. The family now belonged to an educated elite within a Gaelic milieu; it had long acclimatised itself to Gaelic culture and was using Gaelic names for its children, The opinions and expertise of its members seem to have been highly valued; several Galbraith individuals appeared frequently as witnesses to charters as well as to inquests into land ownership. Máel Coluim Beg was respected sufficiently to become seneschal to the Earl of Lennox, and it seems possible that his own family was important enough to assume its own name of 'Drummond'.

It is not possible to know the full and exact extent of the lands possessed by the Galbraith family between the late 12th and the beginning of the 14th centuries. Many Galbraith lands may have been held long before charters were written, their possession not noted in legal documents because their land had not changed hands.

To our certain knowledge, therefore, we can be sure only that the Galbraiths possessed the lands shown in green in Map 14. The lands held during the early thirteenth century appear to have been in the South-eastern part of the Lennox and to have been centred around Kilpatrick and Cartonvenach. It is possible that some of these were lands had long been held, perhaps even since the Galbraiths had become Scandinavianised in the wake of the siege of 870. Circumstantial evidence suggests that it is also possible that they had held lands in Luss, Drymen and Fintry, and by the late 13th century they certainly held Balfunning: the potential Brittonic derivation of these four place-names suggests that these may have all been older heritable estates.^{282 283}

By the end of the 13th century, it appears that new, Gaelic-named lands were granted to Arthur Galbraith in the Garelochhead area, signifying an increasing power and influence.

Little has yet been researched about the origin of the family from which sprang the earls of Lennox. Although their culture within the 12th and 13th centuries was decidedly Gaelic, their ultimate ancestry is unclear, and it is not known how they achieved their hegemony within the Lennox. The Lennox family rewarded the Galbraiths with lands, and it incorporated them within their jurisdiction as valued working officers as well as members of its own family, albeit the reason for that preferment must remain unexplained. The next chapter will examine the Lennox family with an emphasis on their background, their culture, and their claims to heredity.

²⁸² For Luss and Fintry, see Chapter 4. For Drymen: Br* *drumō* > MW *drumain* (ridges); alternatively, EG *drommana* (ridges)

²⁸³ EG *both* (dwelling) + EG *móin* (turf); alternatively, Br* *botā* > MW *bod* (dwelling) + Br* *māno* > MW *mawn* (turf)

7: THE FAMILY OF THE EARLS OF LENNOX

7.1 Introduction

A wealth of information is available through charter material about the Earls of Lennox and their family within the 13th and 14th centuries. This material tells us a great deal about the way in which they administered the Lennox, and it clearly demonstrates that they operated within a Gaelic culture; however, the charters tell us nothing about the role of the Lennox family within the preceding 11th and 12th centuries, nor do they tell us anything about their origins. Neville describes the Lennox family as ‘native earls’; not only does she portray them as having been Gaelic earls in the 13th and 14th centuries, but also as having had a ‘native Gaelic past’.²⁸⁴ For this supposition she supplies no evidence, nor is she able to define what the word ‘native’ might signify in this case. Moreover, she does not explain how the Brittonic Al Clut might have been transformed into the native Gaelic land of the Lennox earls.

An assessment of the background of the Lennox family is confounded by a dearth of information, because they do not appear in the records until the very end of the 12th century. Our understanding of their origins is perforce murky and obscure. In this chapter the views of previous writers who have discussed the Lennox family will be contemplated while further material is examined which may provide us with further hints in the matter of the origin of this family.

7.2 Views of the Nineteenth-Century Antiquarians

In his 2-volume compendium on the Lennox, Sir William Fraser discussed the origins of the ruling family as he understood them.²⁸⁵ His clear views were that the Lennox family was

²⁸⁴ C. Neville, 2005, p2

²⁸⁵ Fraser, *The Lennox Vol I*, pp190-202

descended from Arkil, a Northumbrian lord who had fled his home when William the Conqueror had ridden north. An Alwine mac Arkil is a frequent witness to the charters of David I, to whom he acted as *rannaire*, or butler.²⁸⁶ Fraser's theory was that Alwine mac Arkil had been the grandson of the original Arkil, whose son was also called Arkil. Alwine mac Arkil also became *rannaire* to Malcolm IV and had, according to Fraser, been created Earl of Lennox by him. By his own admission, Fraser had no evidence for this, but he found the explanation reasonable and quoted a Saxon origin for the Lennox family with some confidence. The identification of Gilla Andréis in PoMS as the son of Alwine mac Arkil is a significant challenge to this theory, for no Gilla Andréis appears as a member of the Lennox family.²⁸⁷

WF Skene, while dismissing Fraser's theories as 'Saxonising', propounded his own beliefs which were based on the oral tradition of the Drummonds of Perthshire, accompanied by circumstantial evidence relating to the offices of the seneschals of Strathearn.²⁸⁸ Elsewhere he stated that the Lennox 'seemed to have acquired a Gaelic population', thus apparently introducing the notion that its original inhabitants had at some point been replaced or that there had been significant Gaelic settlement.²⁸⁹

7.3 Recent authorship

Later studies have emphasised the Gaelic nature of the Lennox. Taylor stated that it was settled by Gaels following the fall of Al Clut, if not before.²⁹⁰ There is no incontrovertible evidence for Gaelic place-names before the early 12th century albeit we have no detailed

²⁸⁶ poms.ac.uk/record/person/206/#

²⁸⁷ poms.ac.uk/record/person/205/#

²⁸⁸ W.F. Skene, 1902, *The Highlanders of Scotland* (A MacBain) pp271-2

²⁸⁹ W.F. Skene, 1890, *Celtic Scotland, Vol III* (David Douglas, Edinburgh) p25

²⁹⁰ S Taylor, 2006, p20

knowledge of them before then. Moreover, the cultural dominance of Gaelic may not have depended on a large-scale immigration but may instead have been the consequence of economic needs, or for reasons of prestige.²⁹¹ That Gaelic is likely to have been a language spoken by at least some later aristocrats in Al Clut is evidenced by the name of the early Strathclyde king Eochaid (fl. 878-89).²⁹² By the late 11th century, a pre-existing and increasing bilingualism could well have provided the conditions necessary for a final adoption of the Gaelic language: this may have been catalysed as a result of the expansion of Máel Coluim III's kingdom of Scotland and by the destabilisation caused by the Norman invasion, even if these did not affect the Lennox directly.²⁹³

In Stringer's opinion, the Gaelic influence in the Lennox had emanated from Dalriada, and it had enabled the domination of the Gaelic language, although he does not provide evidence for this view.²⁹⁴ Newton looks no further than the poetry of Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh, *vide infra*, in order to claim an Irish origin for the Earls of Lennox; he does not go so far as to consider possible Brittonic origins.²⁹⁵ Brown also appraises Ó Dálaigh's poem, remarking that while the poem provided the family with an ancient royal Gaelic pedigree, it also confirmed its long tenure in an area, which Brown points out had once been mainly Brittonic.²⁹⁶ These two facts do not easily marry and are a seeming contradiction. Brown posits an inception during the 10th century for the Lennox dynasty.²⁹⁷

²⁹¹ D Crystal, 2000, p 77; For instance, the majority of the population of Éire is of Irish descent, but only a small minority speaks Irish as a daily language.

²⁹² A MacQuarrie, 1993, pp13-16

²⁹³ D Broun, 2004, 'The Welsh Identity of the kingdom of Strathclyde c.900-c.1200' *Innes Review*, Vol 55 pp 139-141

²⁹⁴ KJ Stringer, 1985, p15

²⁹⁵ Newton, M., *Border Disputes: Gaelic Cultural Identity and Interaction in Lennox and Menteith*, www.celtic-cultural-studies.com/papers,02,newton-01.html, 2000

²⁹⁶ Brown, 2003, p202

²⁹⁷ Brown, *ibid.* p223

7.4 The Campsie Affair and its bearing on the origins of the Earldom of Lennox

David of Huntingdon was formally created Earl of Lennox by his brother, William I, in a charter of 1178; other than the brief mention in *Cogadh Gaedhel*, this is the first formal mention that we have of a place called the Lennox.²⁹⁸ That David already held power in the Lennox by that point is exemplified by his granting of the churches of Campsie and Antermony to Kelso Abbey.²⁹⁹ Given that the Campsie charter was produced at Roxburgh, and that William I had lost control of Roxburgh castle by 1174, David's grant of the church of Campsie must have occurred before then. The Campsie charter is the only extant charter emanating from David as Earl of Lennox. He had exited the earldom at least by 1193, when a charter in respect of Maybole and Beoch in Ayrshire was witnessed by Áed, the son of Alwin, Earl of Lennox; this provides a certain date by which either Alwin I or Alwin II had acceded to the earldom.³⁰⁰ By 1208 x 1214, Alwin II had made a new grant of the church of Campsie to the cathedral of Glasgow, in which charter he describes himself as

*Alewinus Comes de Levenax filius et heres Alewini Comitis de Leuen.*³⁰¹

The reference to his father as earl is enigmatic, being the only certain reference to an earl called Alwin I. It is possible that Alwin I had become earl and then died at some point between David's resignation and Alwin II's accession. Alternatively, Alwin I may have been a local ruler who had preceded the creation of David as earl, but, if so, he is unlikely to have been styled *comes*. Indeed, Barrow stated that there is unlikely to have been an earl of

²⁹⁸ *RRS, William I*, Ch. 205

²⁹⁹ *Liber Calchou*, No. 226

³⁰⁰ *Liber Calchou*, No.29

³⁰¹ *REG*, No.101

Lennox in 1160-1164,³⁰² though he later changed his view by suggesting that David had been made earl purely for the duration for Alwin II's minority.³⁰³

Notwithstanding this conundrum, it might be construed as unwise for Alwin II to have reversed the King's brother's gift of Campsie to Kelso: one wonders what his motivation for this challenge might have been. Could it possibly have been an act of redress on behalf of his father and family? For his charter did inevitably lead to contention, the matter eventually being settled in the chapel at Roxburgh Castle in 1220, where the Abbey of Kelso quitclaimed Campsie Church for 10 silver marks annually.³⁰⁴

Alwin II was succeeded by his son Máel Domnaig at some point between 1208 and 1214, the latter being subsequently succeeded by his grandson between the years of 1251 and 1265.³⁰⁵ It is unlikely that Máel Domnaig will have been born much before 1175. We have already arrived at a birthdate estimation of circa 1170 in the case of Máel Coluim Beg, who was probably Alwin II's great nephew (see **6.2.5**). If this is correct, then depending on the age of Alwin's putative sister, Máel Coluim Beg's grandmother, it might be possible to posit Alwin II's birthdate as being at least as early as 1150. At his supposed death in 1208 x 1214, he might have been some 60 to 70 years old, an age entirely possible for aristocrats of that era who escaped battle or accident.

If the same process is applied to Alwin I, we can posit his birthdate as circa 1125; for his father, known in poetry as Muireadhach, the birthdate might then be estimated as around 1100. Is it possible, therefore, to surmise that the Lennox family had been leading aristocrats in the area at least from the turn of the twelfth century?

³⁰² RRS, i, p12

³⁰³ RRS, ii, p257

³⁰⁴ REG, no 116

³⁰⁵ Poms.ac.uk/record/person/2087

7.5 The Poetry of Muireadhach Albanach

Two poems dedicated to the Lennox family were ascribed in seventeenth-century Irish anthologies to Muireadhach Albanach.³⁰⁶ That this poet is to be identified with Muireadhach Ó Dálaigh of Lissadell, Meath is suggested by the fact that two of the ‘Albanach’ poems have thematic similarities with the Lissadell poet. If the two poets are indeed one and the same, it might be possible to propose a date for the authorship of the two Lennox poems based on the references in Ó Dálaigh’s poems to events in Ireland. Simms bases a timeframe for his work on the coming of age of an Irish subject (Richard de Burgh) in 1214, and the putative death of Alún Óg, the subject of the first Lennox poem, in 1217. She makes the assumption that Alún Óg is the same person as Alwin II, presumably because his father was the elder Alwin; however, for reasons given below it is more likely that the poem is an elegy written for Alwin I. The second poem is written for Amhlaibh, the son of Alwin II and brother of Earl Máel Domnaig, for whom there is no floruit recorded. Muireadhach Albanach’s life will have extended at least until 1224, for some years later he composed a poem to Cathal Ua Conchobair, who had died in that year.³⁰⁷ The poem to Richard de Burgh was not, of course, necessarily penned while Muireadhach was in Ireland. Muireadhach may already have been in Scotland before 1214; indeed, this would make sense if we were to assume that Alwin II was still alive when the poem to his father was written. Yet, the dating of these poems is at best uncertain and only a wide timeframe can be settled upon.

The ode to Alún Óg and the poem to Amhlaibh are well localised in a ‘here-and now’ style to the area of the Vale of Leven and its surrounds. The river Leven is accurately described as a

³⁰⁶ K. Simms, 2006, ‘Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh and the Classical Revolution’, in I. Brown, T.O. Clancy, S. Manning and M. Pittock, eds., *Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh University Press); The poems are available in translation in TO Clancy, 1998, pp 258-262. The original version is to be found in B Ó Cuív, ‘A poem attributed to Muireadhach Ó Dálaigh’, in *Celtic Studies: essays in memory of Angus Mattheson, 1912 – 1962*, ed. J Carney and D Greene (London, 1968), pp92-8; also at <https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/poem/1672>

³⁰⁷ www.dib.ie/biography/o-dalaigh accessed 25th October 2025

Gearrabhann (a short river)³⁰⁸, its course running through the fertile *Strath Leamhna*, which Albanach compares enviously with his own land at Ard nan Each, apparently a damp marshland.³⁰⁹ The ‘Mormhaer’s’ caput is based firmly at Balloch, and there is reference to *céim catha Gall* (the step of a troop of Norsemen)³¹⁰ on the Lennox’s borders, which is probably an allusion to the contemporary rulers of Argyll and the Hebrides.

Alún Óg is portrayed not as the son of a namesake but as the son of Muireadhach, apparently the *rígh bealaigh*, or king of Balloch. The term *óg* cannot refer to Alwin II, who, as we have seen, will probably have been at least in his 50s by the year 1200. This suggests that the poem is elegiac, and that it refers to Alwin I. The subject is portrayed as a smooth-skinned young man, destined upon and excelling in his role as mormhaer. His mother is the daughter of yet another man called Ailin, whose further identity is unknown, nor is it clear whether the alternative spellings of Alún and Ailín are significant. The second poem refers to Amhlaibh’s father without naming him, but we can assume with some confidence that this must be Alwin II, who is lauded by the poet as a great benefactor. The son of a woman named Arbhlatha is also praised for his benevolence, through which device we are possibly hearing about Alwin II’s mother.

This close depiction of the Lennox family in the 12th century is juxtaposed with the tale of Corc, who is their apparent ancestor. A version of Corc’s story, ‘Conall Corc and the Kingdom of Cashel’, is found in the Book of Lecan.³¹¹ Connal Corc, a legendary figure, was the son of Lugaid and possibly a grandson of Ailill Flann Bec. The legend tells us that he was expelled from Ireland to Scotland, whereupon his father died and Crimthann mac Fidaich,

³⁰⁸ The river Leven is but seven miles long.

³⁰⁹ Likely to be today’s Ardencaple, close to Faslane and a known territory of the MacAulay family. Much of this land is steep and also boggy.

³¹⁰ L McKenna, *Aithdioghlaim Dána* (Irish Texts Society, vols 37,40, 1939/40) poem 42; <https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/poem/1672>

³¹¹ V. Hull, ‘Conall Corc’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 27 1, pp420-21

presumably a rival, became king. In Scotland Corc is said to have married a Pictish princess. By the time he had returned to Ireland, Crimthann had also died, and Corc became king of Cashel through the agency of two swineherds. A separate tale in *Lebor na Cert* tells us that the swineherds, Duidriu and Cuiriran, inspired by St Patrick's forthcoming arrival in Ireland, encouraged the angelic blessing of Corc as King of Cashel³¹² Through this agency, Corc, who was ultimately descended from Éogan Már, became the progenitor of the Eógnachra of Munster. His floruit is thought to have been in the fourth century.

Muireadhach Albanach tells us that Corc was married to Leamhain, the daughter of Fearadhach *mac riogh Alban*, who produced their son Maine. Leamhain was to drown in the mouth of the *Gearrabhann*, which thereafter became known as the Leven, and Maine possessed land called *Magh Leamhna*, or the Vale of Leven, thus becoming the progenitor of the Lennox family.³¹³ It is not clear as to which figure the name Fearadhach might refer to, nor to what political constellation was meant by *Alban*.

The poem to Alún Óg demonstrates, at best, a concatenation of characters and floruits; nevertheless, this device provided not only a royal Irish lineage for the Lennox family but also a similarly high-ranking Scottish pedigree. It emphasised their membership of the bulk of Irish Gaeldom while simultaneously cementing their right to the possession of their lands by highlighting their descent from Scottish royalty. The twelfth-century Alwin I is described by Muireadhach Albanach as a *mórmhaer* of lands which his family had possessed since the time of Maine. However, in reality he may have been no more than a member of the local elite who exercised a minor but prestigious position.³¹⁴

³¹² M. Dillon, 1952, 'The Story of the Founding of Cashel' *Ériu*, 16, pp61-73

³¹³ *Irish Texts Society*, 2, p386

³¹⁴ D Broun, 'The Origins of the Mormaer', forthcoming

7.6 Conclusion

It would appear that the Lennox family had been in place as rulers since at least the end of the 11th century, if not longer. This culturally Gaelic family was in a difficult position in which it needed to emphasise its ancient birthright to the Lennox as well as championing its royal Irish descent. Its aim was to maintain its control over the Lennox while simultaneously facilitating an ability to function as Scottish aristocracy, albeit the Lennox was not yet an integral part of the Scottish kingdom.

It is unlikely that the Lennox family had the Irish origin claimed: if it had been an indigenous elite exercising an ancient hegemony, its origins would have been British. Its Scottish claim through the princess Leamhain, along with its onomastic origin tale, seems more the stuff of legend. Ultimately it is not possible to define the origins of the Lennox family; nonetheless, it is clear that it was a family which cleverly hedged its bets. Ultimately it was able not only to carve out a political state of its own but also to survive through centuries, its line not ending until the execution of its last Earl, Duncan, in 1425.³¹⁵

³¹⁵ M Brown, 2003, p 264

8: CONCLUSION

The extent of the Brittonic kingdom had probably reached no further north than the northernmost tip of Loch Lomond. This point also formed the northernmost part of the Lennox, from where the limit of the earldom spread eastwards to Loch Katrine and thence south-eastwards to Kildrum. From there, the border had turned westwards for Dumbarton along the Antonine Wall. Its northern hinterland contained mountain and moorland; the south was replete with fertile land, as evidenced by the salient production of cheeses which often formed payments for tenancy.³¹⁶ Both parts of the Lennox had significant waterways. In the 12th and 13th centuries, charter references to its estates demonstrate that the division between those with potential Brittonic and those with probable Gaelic place-names was roughly equal. Gaelic names tended to demonstrate agricultural and social development, whereas the Brittonic names were more likely to describe the landscape, possibly because they were the older properties. Some place-names remained obviously Brittonic, such as *Brengrochan* and *Kynerine*, and had not yet been Gaelicised. This suggests that the general population was preserving these Brittonic names in a robust oral form which then came to be written in the charters. It seems that Brittonic place-names were retained for some significant Lennox estates at least until the mid 13th century; however, while it is not possible to demonstrate when the last Brittonic names were coined, the coining of Gaelic names, such as Drumthethglunnane, which is attested in 1174 x 1199, suggests that the Gaelic language had probably replaced the Brittonic language at least by then.

Eminent Brittonic-descended families were an important part of the social structure. We can identify the Galbraiths as one such family because of their very name, although other families were not clearly labelled. Boardman states, for example, that the Campbells could have been

³¹⁶ Lenn.Cart. p45

descended from ‘old British stock’ given that many of them held high office and lands within the Lennox and Clyde region.³¹⁷ As for the Galbraiths, not only did they hold important office, but they were also closely related to the ruling Lennox family. They had been connected to Scandinavians who are likely to have put down roots in the area following the siege of 870, when they may have secured its waterways, and they had become the *gall-britt*. In due course this community had become fully Brittonic, but by the 12th century it had further evolved and had become Gaelicised. During the 12th and 13th centuries, the Galbraiths held vast estates within the Lennox, as well as high offices within the administrative system. Some of their estates had potential Brittonic names which may point to an ancient heritable status; they may have long belonged to the Galbraiths, and it is possible that some had been in their possession even during their incarnation as Scandinavianised Britons. Indeed, it is possible that many of the families who held those estates with potential Brittonic place-names were the descendants of Britons: that they had come, by the 12th and 13th centuries, to bear Gaelic names may merely have been a marker of their aristocratic class.³¹⁸ It is not possible to discern exactly how society had evolved into the structure that we see in the 12th and 13th century Lennox; however, the remnants of a Scandinavian culture and the erstwhile co-existence of two Celtic languages must have made for a multi-variant and distinct culture. This factor may have contributed to the self-sufficiency and independence which had caused the author of *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh* to describe the *Lemnaig* as a people apart from those around them.³¹⁹³²⁰

There is no evidence to suggest a wholesale settling or subjugation by Gaels within the Lennox, although there were surely some Gaelic incomers. The evidence does no more than

³¹⁷ S.I. Boardman, 2006, *The Campbells 1250-1513* (John Donald) p35

³¹⁸ See Appendix A for estate owners in the 12th and 13th centuries

³¹⁹ *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, see Chapter 1

³²⁰ M. Brown, 2003, p204

prove language change; this is likely to have commenced as a long-term bilingualism followed by an increasing use of Gaelic as *lingua franca* for the purposes of trade, success and relevancy within a land dominated by the Kingdom of the Scots. As for the ruling Lennox family itself, it is impossible to know whether it had been an ancestral family within the area or whether they were incomers. Nevertheless, the inherent insistence in poetry that they had been long-term inhabitants of the territory may point to a Brittonic past despite all the effort to emphasise Gaelic roots. Whatever their origin, it is certain that some of their greatest allies within the Lennox were of Brittonic stock: the Galbraith family with whom they were so closely related bore a moniker that tells us as much. Indeed, the Galbraiths' continuing existence within the 12th and 13th centuries tells us that a significant Brittonic population had remained within the area. It tells us that following the fall of Dumbarton Rock they had exercised significant power within Al Clut, and that they were continuing to so within the new polity of the Lennox.

Following the fall of the Rock in 870, the kings of Al Clut had moved their court to Govan. It is possible that a cadet family had then taken over the reins for the Lennox hinterland, removing their caput from the Rock to Balloch; after all, poetry written for the Lennox earls referred to them as kings of Balloch, no doubt with their approval. If so, Brown's estimation that they came to power in the 10th century may be correct.³²¹ They certainly became strong rulers, surviving against the odds until 1457.³²² The Strathclyde kings may have agreed to this as a pragmatic arrangement, carefully dividing a new kingdom of Strathclyde from an incipient Lennox state through a border which lay conveniently along the Antonine Wall. The new order may have coined the name Dumbarton deliberately; it is possible that it was not an exonym, as has been hitherto thought. It may have been coined not by an 'other people', but

³²¹ M. Brown, 2003, p223

³²² M. Brown, *ibid.*, p204

rather by the Gaelicised Britons of the emergent Lennox who had done so in recognition not only of their old fortress, but also of their own persistent strength.

9: BIBLIOGRAPHY

9.1: Primary Materials

Anderson, Anderson and Dickinson, eds., 1936 *Chronicle of Melrose* (Humphries & Co. Ltd., London)

Barrow. G.W.S., ed., 1960, *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Acts of Malcolm IV* (Edinburgh University Press)

Barrow, G.W.S., ed., 1971, with the collaboration of Scott, W.W., *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165-1214* (Edinburgh University Press)

Brown, J.T.T., 1901, *The Inquest of David – facsimile and text with translation and notes by JTT Brown* (Morison Bros. Glasgow)

Campbell, A. ed., 1882, *Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax ab Initio Seculi Decimi Tertii usque ad Annum M.CCC.XCVIII* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh)

Todd, J.H, ed., 1867, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, (Longman's, London)

Fraser, Sir W., 1874, *The Lennox* (Edinburgh)

Hennessy, W.H. tr., 1887, *Annals of Ulster* (Dublin)

Innes, C., ed., 1832, *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet (1163-1529)* (Maitland Club, Glasgow)

Innes, C., ed., 1837. *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros* (Bannatyne Club)

Innes. C., ed., 1846, *Liber S. Mariae de Calchou* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh)

Innes, C., ed., 1843, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensi* (Edinburgh)

Johnstone, R.R., ed., 2018, *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle* (Birlinn, Edinburgh)

McKenna, L., 1939/40, *Aithdioghluim Dána, Vols. 37,40* (Irish Texts Society)

Neville, CJ and Simpson, G., eds. 2013, *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Vol 4* (Edinburgh University Press)

Paul, J.B., ed., 1882, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Scotorum, Vol II*, (HM General Register House, Edinburgh)

Stringer, K., ed., 2020, *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Vol 3* (Edinburgh University Press)

Thomson, J.M. ed., 1892, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, Vol VII* (HM General Register House, Edinburgh)

Webster, B. ed., 1982, *Regesta Regum Scotorum, Vol 6* Edinburgh University Press)

9.2: Secondary Materials

Alcock, L. and Alcock, E.A., 1990, 'Reconnaissance excavations on Early Historic Fortifications and other Royal Sites in Scotland, 1974 – 1984: Excavation at Alt Clut, Clyde Rock, Strathclyde, 1974 -75', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland*, 120 pp95-149

Anderson, J. 1883, 'Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland*, 10 pp536-594

Baker, F., 2003 '*Notes on Hog Back Stone*', Helensburgh Archaeological Service, Luss Church

Barnes, J., 2019, 'Of Warriors and Beasts: The Hogback Stones and Hammerhead Crosses of Viking Strathclyde and Northumbria', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow

- Batey, C.E., 2003, 'Carrick, Mid Ross: A Viking cemetery on Loch Lomond' in Horne, T. *The Viking Age in Scotland* (Cambridge University Press), pp313-321
- Black, G.F., 1946, *The Surnames of Scotland; their Origin, Meaning and History* (New York Public Library, New York)
- Boardman, S.I., 2006, *The Campbells 1250-1513* (John Donald)
- Breeze, A., 1999, 'Some Celtic Place-names of Scotland, including Dalriada, Kincarden, Abercorn, Coldingham and Girvan', *Scottish Language*, 18 pp34-51
- Broun, D., 2003, 'Latin Charters and the use of Gaelic', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 86 pp1-27
- Broun, D., 'The Origin of the Mormaer', forthcoming
- Broun, D., 'The Welsh Identity of the Kingdom of Strathclyde', *Innes Review*, 55 2, p121
- Broun, D. and Hammond, H., *People of Medieval Scotland* < www.poms.ac.uk
- Brown, M., 2003 'Earldom and Kindred: The Lennox and its Earls, 1200-1485', in Boardman, S. and Ross, A., eds., *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland 1200-1500* (Four Courts Press, Dublin)
- Bruce, J., 1893, *The History of the Parish of West or Old Kilpatrick* (John Smith, Glasgow)
- Bruford, A., 1969, *Gaelic Folk-tales and Medieval Romance, a study of the Early Modern Irish 'Romantic Tales' and their oral derivation* (The Folklore of Ireland Society, Dublin)
- Buchanan, C.H., 2012, 'Scandinavians in Strathclyde: multiculturalism, material culture and manufactural identities in the Viking Age', in Ritchie, A., ed., *Historical Bute: Land and People* (Scottish Society for Northern Studies, Edinburgh)

Cameron, I.B. and Stephens, D., eds., 1985, *The Midland Valley of Scotland: British Regional Geology* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London)

Chisholm, H., ed., 1911, 'Dalriadan', *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol VII* (Cambridge University Press)

Clancy, T.O., 2009, 'The Cult of Saints Patrick and Palladius in Early Medieval Scotland' in Boardman, S., Davies JR., and Williamson, E., eds., *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge)

Clancy, T.O., 2008, 'The Gall-Ghaidheil and Galloway', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 2 p26

Clancy, TO., ed., 1998, *The Triumph Tree* (Canongate Classics, Edinburgh)

Craig, P.M., 1980 'The Volcanic Geology of the Campsie Fells Area, Stirlingshire', PhD Thesis, University of Lancaster

Crystal, D., 2000, *Language Death* (Cambridge University Press)

Dictionary of Irish Biography < www.dib.ie/biography

Dictionary of the Irish language < www.Dil.ie

Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources < www.logeion.uchicago.edu

Dictionarium Scoto-Celticum, 1828 (Blackwood, Edinburgh)

Dillon, M., ed. 1952, 'The Story of the Founding of Cashel', *Ériu*, 16 pp61-63

Downham, C., 2015, 'The break-up of Dál Riata and the rise of the Gallgoidil', in Clarke, H.B. and Johnson, J. eds., *The Vikings in Ireland and beyond: before and after the Battle of Clontarf* (Four Courts Press, Dublin)

Driscoll, S.T., 2004, 'Govan from Cradle to Grave', *Society of Friends of Govan Old*

Drummond, P., 2014, 'An Analysis of Toponyms and Toponymic Patterns in Eight Parishes of the Upper Kelvin Basin', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow

Drummond, P., 2010, *Scottish Hill Names* (Scottish Mountaineering Trust)

Edmonds, F., 2014, 'The Emergence and Transformation of Medieval Cumbria', *Scottish Historical Review*, 93 pp1-29

Edmonds, F., 2015, 'The Expansion of the Kingdom of Strathclyde', *Early Medieval Europe*, 25 pp43-66

Fraser, Sir W., 1869, *The Chiefs of Colquhoun*, (Edinburgh)

Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru < www.geiriadur.ac.uk

Gruffudd, H., 2010, *Enwau Cymraeg i Blant* (Y Lolfa, Talybont)

Henderson, W.G. and Fortey, N.J., 1982, 'Highland Border rocks at Loch Lomond and Aberfoyle', *Scottish Journal of Geology*, 18 pp227-245

Hull, V., 1959, 'Conall Corc', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 27 1, pp400-421

Innes. C., and J.B. Brichen, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (Bannatyne Club)

James, A.G., *Brittonic Language in the Old North* < www.spns.org.uk/bliton

James, A.G., 2007, 'Review of Cavill, Paul and Broderick, eds.: Language contact in the place-names of Britain and Ireland', *Journal of Scottish Place-name Studies*, 3 pp135-158

Jennings, A., 2001, 'Galloway, the origin of' in M. Lynch, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (Oxford)

Johnston, W. and Johnstone, A., 1900, *The Scottish Clans and their Tartans: with notes* (Edinburgh)

- Kasten, M.N., 2019, 'The Govan Stones revealed: digital imaging in the analysis of early medieval sculpture', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow
- Kirby, D.P., 1971, 'Britons and Angles' in Menzies, G., ed., *Who are the Scots?* (BBC, London)
- Lacaille, A.D., 1928, 'Ecclesiastical Remains in the neighbourhood of Luss, with notes on some unrecorded crosses and hog-backed stone', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 62 pp85-106
- Lang, J.T., 1972, 'Hogback Monuments in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 105 pp206-235
- MacQuarrie, A., 1998, 'The Kings of Strathclyde c. 400 – 1018', in Grant, A. and Stringer, K.J., eds., *Medieval Scotland, Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh University Press)
- MacQueen, J., 2002, *Place-names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley* (Stranraer and District Local History Trust)
- Mair, C., 1990, *Stirling: The Royal Borough* (John Donaldson Publishers, Edinburgh)
- Mark, C., 2003, *Am Faclair Gàidhlig-Beurla* (Routledge)
- Marsden, R., 2004, *The Cambridge Old English Reader* (Cambridge University Press)
- Matasović, R., 2009, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Brill, Leiden)
- Maxwell, Sir H., 1930, *The Place-names of Galloway* (GC Book Publishers, Wigtown)
- McNiven, P.E., 2011, 'Gaelic Place-names and the social history of Gaelic speakers in medieval Menteith', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow
- McNiven, P.E., 2007, 'The Gart-names of Clackmannanshire', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 1 pp61-76

Meek, D., 1998, 'Place-names and Literature: Evidence for the Gaelic Ballads' in Taylor, S., ed., *The Uses of Place-names* (Edinburgh)

Moncrieffe of that Ilk, I., 1967, *The Highland Clans, the dynastic origins, chiefs and background of the Clans and of some other families connected with Highland history* (Barrie and Rockliff, London)

Morgan, P.A., 2013, 'Ethnonyms in the place-names of Scotland and the Border counties of England', PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews

Neville C.J., 2005, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland: The Earldom of Strathearn and Lennox, c 1140-1365* (Four Courts Press, Dublin)

New Statistical Account, Parish of Bonhill, Parish of Luss (1834 -1845) <
www.digitalresearchservices.ed.ac.uk/resources/statistical-accounts-of-scotland

Newton, M., 2000, *Border Disputes: Gaelic Cultural Identity and Interaction in Lennox and Menteith*, < www.celtic-cultural-studies.com/papers

Ní Mhaonaigh, M., 1996, 'Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib and the Annals: a comparison', *Ériu*, 47
Old Statistical Accounts, (1791 -1799) <
www.digitalresearchservices.ed.ac.uk/resources/statistical-accounts-of-scotland

Oram, R., 1995, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-west Scotland with a special study of Bysbie', in B.E.Crawford, ed., *Scandinavian Settlement I North Britain*, (Leicester), pp127-140

Ó Maolalaigh, R., 2019, 'Gaelic Personal Names and name Elements in Scottish Charters, 1093 – 1286', in Hammond, M., ed., *Personal Names and Naming Practices in Medieval Scotland* (Boydell and Brewer Incorporated)

- Owen, O. and Driscoll, S.T., 2011, 'Norse Influence at Govan on the Firth of Clyde, Scotland' in Sigmundson, S. ed., *Viking Settlements and Viking Society: Papers from the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Viking Congress, Reykjavik and Reykholt, 2009* (University of Iceland Press)
- Owen, H.W, and Morgan, R., 2007, *Dictionary of Place-names of Wales* (Gomer)
- Rennie, E.B., 1996, 'A possible boundary between Dal Riata and Pictland', *Pictish Arts Society Journal*, 10 pp17-22
- Pierce, E. and Becket, B., 2018, 'Hunting Hogbacks: Excavation and Surveys at Dalsarf, South Lanarkshire, and Luss, Argyll and Bute', *Northern Studies*, 49
- Rivet, A., and Smith. C., 1979, *The Place-names of Roman Britain* (Batsford, London)
- Rixson, D., *Land Assessment Scotland*, website Rixson - <https://www.las.denisrixson.com>
- Sellar, D., 2025, in H.L MacQueen, ed., *Pedigrees, Power and Clanship* (John Donald, Edinburgh)
- Simms, K., 2006, 'Muireadhach Ó Dálaigh and the Classical Revolution' in Brown, I. et al eds., *Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh University Press)
- Skene, W.F., 1890, *Celtic Scotland Vol III* (David Douglas, Edinburgh)
- Skene, W.F., 1902, *The Highlanders of Scotland* (A MacBain)
- Steane, J., 1985, *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales* (Taylor and Francis, London)
- Stringer, K., 1985, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219* (Edinburgh University Press)

Tanner, G., 2008, 'Tectonic significance of the Highland Boundary Fault Line, Scotland', *Journal of the Geological Society*, 165 (5) pp915-921

Taylor, A., 2016, *The Shape of the State of Medieval Scotland, 1124-1290* (Oxford)

Taylor, S., 2006, 'The Early History and Languages of West Dunbartonshire' in Brown, I. ed., *Changing Identities, Ancient Roots* (Edinburgh University Press)

Taylor, S., 1996, 'Place-names and the Early Church in Eastern Scotland' in Crawford, B.E., ed., *Scotland in Dark Age Britain* (St Andrews)

Taylor, S. and Márkus, G., 2006, *The Place-names of Fife, Vol 5* (Donington)

Walker, J. Russell, 1885, 'Note on a peculiar class of recumbent monuments', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 19 pp418-419

Watson, W.J., 1926, *Celtic Place-names of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London)

Watson, W. J., ed., 1937, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (The Scottish Gaelic Texts Series)

Williams, I., 1945, *Enwau Lleoedd* (Gwasg y Brython, Liverpool)

9.3: Websites

Searches for archaeological information:

www.canmore.org.uk

www.trove.scot

Searches for Galbraith family information:

www.ancestors.familysearch.org

www.clangalbraith.org

www.geni.com

www.portal.historicenvironment.scot/bannachra

www.nrscotland.gov.uk

www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk

www.thepeerage.com

www.wikipedia.org

www.wordpress.com (Clarke. T., Senchus)

Searches for geographical and geological information:

www.antarcticglaciers.org

www.cumbernauldlivinglandscape.org.uk

www.geologyglasgow.org.uk

www.scottishgeologytrust.org

www.snh.org.uk

Searches for place-name information:

<https://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk>

<https://old-north.org.uk/wordpress>

National Library of Scotland < www.maps.nls.uk

<https://www.nrsscotland.gov.uk>

www.wikipedia.org

Search for poetry:

<https://bardic.celt.dias.ie>

APPENDIX A

This appendix lists the estate names contained within charters relevant to the Lennox dating from c 1165 to 1566. No water names are included.

*From Roy's Map

** a part of

*** ? Duncryne, Gartocharn (KMO)

| Modern name | Name in charter | Charter | Date |
|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Aldochlay (LUS) | <i>Cleadheame</i> | Lenn. Cart. p25 | 1219 x 1241 |
| | <i>Cledhemh</i> | Fraser ii, No.204 | 1225 |
| | <i>Gledhech</i> | Lenn. Cart. p19 | 1208 x 1265 |
| Altdownick (RHU) | <i>Aldawmill</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| Antermony (CPS) | <i>Altermunnin</i> | RRS ii No. 120 | 1165 x 1195 |
| Ardardan (CAS) | <i>Ardeureane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p45 | 1293 x 1308 |
| Ardencaple (RHU) | <i>Airdhengappil</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |
| Ardenconnel (RHU) | <i>Ardenavonvell</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |
| Ardyle (BUC) | <i>Arduly</i> | Lenn. Cart. p40 | 1272 x 1296 |
| Arrachar (AAR) | <i>Keanlochlong</i> | Lenn. Cart. p65 | 1385 x 1425 |
| | <i>Innerywach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p65 | 1385 x 1425 |
| Arrachy (BUC) | <i>Errachy</i> | Lenn. Cart. p40 | 1272 x 1296 |
| | <i>Errachymore</i> | Fraser ii No. 40 | 1405 |
| Auchencarroch(BON) | <i>Hachenkerath</i> | REG No. 177 | 1247 x 1251 |
| Auchengaich (RHU) | <i>Achingarth</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| Auchengavin (LUS) | <i>Achigahane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p77 | 4 th Jul 1395 |
| Auchentroig (DRY) | <i>Auchintroig</i> | Lenn. Cart. p75 | 1385 x 1425 |
| Auchentullich (LUS) | <i>Achadhtulech</i> | Lenn. Cart. p96 | 1240 x 1260 |
| Auchenvnell (LUS) | <i>Achinvnalmoir</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| Balloch (BON) | <i>Ballach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1238 |
| Bandry (LUS) | <i>Bangurach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p 9 | 1208 x 1265 |
| | <i>Bannerad</i> | Lenn. Cart. p25 | 1219 x 1241 |
| Balcorrach (CPS) | <i>Ballecorrach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p52 | 1333 |
| Balernock (RHU) | <i>Bullernok</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Baldernock (BDK) | <i>Buthernock</i> | Lenn. Cart. p30 | c1239 |
| Baldow (CPS) | <i>Balletyduff</i> | Lenn. Cart. p52 | 1333 x 1365 |
| Balfunning (DRY) | <i>Buchmoyn</i> | Lenn. Car. p28 | 1272 x 1296 |
| Balgrochan (CPS) | <i>Bengrochane</i> | Fraser ii No. 3 | c1225 |
| Ballat (DRY) | <i>Ballatt</i> | Lenn. Cart. p 43 | 1286 x 1333 |
| Ballenclerach (CPS) | <i>Balnegerauch</i> | REG No. 103 | 1208 x 1214 |
| Ballindalloch (BFN) | <i>Balinodalach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p31 | 1286 x 1333 |
| Balloch (BON) | <i>Ballach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1238 |
| Bandry (LUS) | <i>Bannarad</i> | Lenn. Cart. p95 | 1208 x 1234 |
| | <i>Bannereth</i> | Lenn. Cart. p98 | 1208 x 1265 |
| Bannachra (LUS) | <i>Banchorane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p28 | 1272 x 1296 |
| Barnego (KSY) | <i>Brengoene</i> | Fraser ii No. 202 | c1217 |
| Bencloch (CPS) | <i>Ballinlochnach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p52 | 1333 x 1365 |
| Blairblenshie (CPS) | <i>Blarenebleschly</i> | REG No. 103 | 1208 x 1214 |
| Blairhosh (KMO) | <i>Blarechos</i> | Lenn. Cart. p47 | 1286 x 1333 |
| | <i>Nader Barquhos</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Blairnyle (KMO) | <i>Blarmyle</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Blairskaith (BDK) | <i>Blarekavy</i> | REG No. 103 | 1208 x 1214 |
| Bonhill (BON) | <i>Buthelulle</i> | REG No. 177 | 1247 x 1251 |
| | <i>Buchuul</i> | Lenn. Cart. p50 | 1283 x 1333 |
| Boturich (KMO) | <i>Boturich</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Boquhanran (OKP) | <i>Monachkennane</i> | Lenn. Cart p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| Buchanan (BUC) | <i>Buchquhanane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p56 | 1315 x 1354 |
| Burn of Mar (BUC) | <i>Aldmarr</i> | Lenn. Cart. p56 | 1315 x 1354 |
| Camis Eskan (CAS) | <i>Cameskanys</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |
| Camoquhill (BFN) | <i>Camkell</i> | Lenn. Cart. p31 | 1286 x 1333 |
| Campsie (CPS) | <i>Kamsi</i> | REG No. 101 | 1208 x 1214 |
| Camstraddan (LUS) | <i>Camysradoch</i> | Lenn. Cart. p77 | 4 th Jul 1395 |
| Carbeth (BDK) | <i>Gartbethe</i> | Fraser ii No. 3 | c1225 |
| Cardross (CAS) | <i>Cardinros</i> | REG No. 10 | 1221 x 1228 |
| Carmane (BON) | <i>Carnane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p51 | 1333 |
| Catter | <i>Catyr</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Cather</i> | Lenn. Cart. p52 | 1333 x 1365 |
| Clairinsh (BUC) | <i>Clarines</i> | Fraser ii No. 4 | 1225 |
| Cleddans (NKP) | <i>Candouan</i> | Fraser ii No. 206 | c1248 |
| Cochno (NKP) | <i>Cochno</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x1199 |
| | <i>Cochinach</i> | RMP no. 157 | 1174 x 1199 |
| Coille Mhòr (BUC) | <i>Calemor</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Colgrain | <i>Culgrayane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |
| Craigbano (OKP) | <i>Craguentalach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| Craigievern (DRY) | <i>Cronverne</i> | Lenn. Cart. p43 | 1333 x 1365 |
| Craigroyston (BUC) | <i>Trostane</i> | Lenn. Cart. 62 | 1315 x 1354 |
| Cremannan (BFN) | <i>Cramenane</i> | RRS iv No. 81 | 1272 |
| Croy (KLN) | <i>Croyne</i> | Lenn. Cart. p45 | 1306 x 1329 |
| Cùl an Eadain (BUC) | <i>Keledeyn</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Colgrain (CAS) | <i>Culgrayane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |
| Dalmonach (BON) | <i>Dallenlenrath</i> | RMP No. 212 | 1225 |
| | <i>Dallevanach</i> | RMP No. 158 | 1214 x 1228 |
| | <i>Dalmanach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| Dalmuir (OKP) | <i>Blarmore</i> | Fraser ii No. 206 | c1248 |
| Dalnottar (OKP) | <i>Dallenotter</i> | Fraser ii No. 206 | c1248 |
| Dalquhurn (CAS) | <i>Dalchorne</i> | Lenn. Cart. p40 | 1272 x 1286 |
| Drumakill (DRY) | <i>Drumekill</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Drumfad (RHU) | <i>Drumfad</i> | Lenn. Cart. p77 | 1385 x 1425 |
| Drumquhassle(DRY) | <i>Drumchastell</i> | Lenn. Cart. p50 | 1283 x 1333 |
| Duirland (RHU) | <i>Durling</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| Dumbarton (DUM) | <i>Dunbretane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p1 | 1214 x 1249 |
| Dumfin (LUS) | <i>Dunfil</i> | Lenn. Cart. p95 | 1214 x 1251 |
| Duntiglennan (NKP) | <i>Drumtethglunane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| Duntocher (NKP) | <i>Drumthoker</i> | RMP No. 158 | 1214 x 1228 |
| Drymen (DRY) | <i>Drummane</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Edinbarnet (NKP) | <i>Edinbernan</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| Ellich (BUC)* | <i>Elaig</i> | Lenn. Cart. p62 | 1315 x 1354 |
| Faifley (NKP) | <i>Fynbertbealach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Fin Glen (CPS) | <i>Fynglenane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p52 | 1333 x 1365 |
| Finnart (RHU) | <i>Fynnard</i> | Lenn. Cart. p28 | 1272 x 1298 |
| | <i>Finphort</i> | Fraser ii No. 205 | c1248 |
| Finnich (KLN) | <i>Fynvoych</i> | Lenn. Cart. p45 | 1306 x 1329 |
| | <i>Drumfynvoych</i> | Lenn. Cart. p45 | 1306 x 1329 |
| | <i>Blarvotych</i> | Lenn. Cart. p45 | 1306 x 1329 |
| | <i>Fynwyck</i> | Lenn. Cart. p54 | 1306 x 1329 |
| Fintry (FTY) | <i>Fyntryf</i> | Lenn. Cart. p34 | c1247 |
| Fraoch Eilean (LUS) | <i>Freuchelan</i> | Lenn. Cart. p19 | 1208 x 1265 |
| Garchell (DRY) | <i>Blarindess**</i> | Lenn. Cart. p75 | 1385 x 1424 |
| | <i>Garchellis</i> | Lenn. Cart. p75 | 1385 x 1425 |
| Garelochhead (RHU) | <i>Keangerloch</i> | Lenn. Cart. p28 | 1272 x 1296 |
| Gartclach (DRY) | <i>Garthclachach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p75 | 1385 x 1425 |
| Gartconnell (NKP) | <i>Cartonvene</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |

Gartness (KLN):

The following place-names are noted on William Roy's military map as lying in the vicinity of Gartness:

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------|
| <i>Eschend*</i> | Lenn. Cart. p66 | 1333 x 1365 |
| <i>Renrich*</i> | Lenn. Cart. p66 | 1333 x 1365 |
| <i>Renroch*</i> | Fraser ii No. 21 | 1342 x 1362 |
| <i>Garcher*</i> | Lenn. Cart. p66 | 1333 x 1365 |
| <i>Duncarme*</i> | Lenn. Cart. p66 | 1333 x 1365 |
| <i>Drumtheane*</i> | Lenn. Cart. p66 | 1333 x 1365 |

The lands of Drunnercharne and Estomer are said to lie close to the land of Garterer, which is said to lie close to the land of Renroch:

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Garterer</i> | Fraser ii No. 21 | 1342 x 1362 | |
| <i>Drunnercharne</i> | Fraser ii No. 21 | 1342 x 1362 | |
| <i>Estomer</i> | Fraser ii No. 21 | 1342 x 1362 | |
| Glenboig (FTY) | <i>Nentbolg</i> | Lenn. Cart. p34 | c1247 |
| Glen Douglas (LUS) | <i>Glen Douglas</i> | Fraser ii No. 34 | 1392 |
| Glen Fruin (LUS) | <i>Gleanfroone</i> | Lenn. Cart. p91 | 1208 x 1265 |
| | <i>Freone</i> | Fraser ii No. 204 | c1225 |
| | <i>Glenfrone</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| Glen Loin (AAR) | <i>Glen Loyn</i> | Lenn. Cart. p65 | 1385 x 1425 |
| Glinns (BFN) | <i>Glyne</i> | Lenn. Cart. p24 | 1286 x 1333 |
| Inchcailloch (BUC) | <i>Inchecallach</i> | Fraser ii No. 40 | 1405 |
| Inchconnachan(LUS) | <i>Innisconnegan</i> | Lenn, Cart. p25 | 1219 x 1241 |
| | <i>Inesconogaig</i> | Lenn. Cart. p20 | c1296 |
| Inchcruiin (BUC) | <i>Yniscruny</i> | Lenn. Cart. p25 | 1219 x 1241 |
| Inchfad (BUC) | <i>Inchefad</i> | Fraser ii No. 40 | 1405 |
| Inchmoan (LUS) | <i>Ynismoin</i> | Lenn. Cart. p25 | 1219 x 1241 |
| Inverlauren (LUS) | <i>Innerlaueran</i> | Lenn. Cart. p96 | 1240 x 1260 |
| Inveruglas Isle(AAR) | <i>Elandouglas</i> | Lenn. Cart. p62 | 1315 x 1354 |
| Island I Vow (AAR) | <i>Elannabot</i> | Lenn. Chart. p83 | 1272 x 1296 |
| | <i>Elanvow</i> | Lenn. Cart. p62 | 1315 x 1354 |
| Keppoch (CAS) | <i>Keppoch</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |
| Kilbowie (NKP) | <i>Cultbrit</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| | <i>Cultensuthe</i> | RMP No. 158 | 1214 x 1228 |
| Kilbride (LUS) | <i>Kealbride</i> | Lenn. Cart. p91 | 31 st May 1226 |
| Kildrum (CND) | <i>Kyndromyn</i> | BC Cotton Titus | 1310 |
| | | A XIX folio 87 | |
| Kilpatrick (OKP) | <i>Kilpatrik</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| Killearn (KLN)` | <i>Kynerine</i> | Lenn. Cart. p35 | 1214 x 1251 |
| Kilmannan (OKP) | <i>Kynmonedhane</i> | Fraser ii No. 3 | c1225 |
| Kilsyth (KSY)` | <i>Kelnasydhe</i> | Fraser ii No. 202 | c1217 |
| | <i>Moniabrocd</i> | Fraser ii No. 202 | c1217 |
| Kincaid (CPS) | <i>Kyncaith</i> | Lenn. Cart. p30 | 1239 |
| Kirkmichael (CAS) | <i>Kyrkemychell</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |
| Knockour | <i>Knokgowr</i> | Lenn. Cart. p55 | 1353 |
| Leckie (GGK) | <i>Lekych</i> | Lenn. Cart p24 | 1286 x 1333 |
| Ledlewen (KLN) | <i>Ladlewn</i> | Lenn. Cart p59 | 1394 |
| Ledrishbeg (KMO) | <i>Ledrysbeg</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Letrualt (RHU) | <i>Leterwwald</i> | Lenn. Cart. p94 | 1335 x 1565 |
| | <i>Latrowelmoir</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| | <i>Latrowall</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Levengrove (CDS) | <i>Cardinros</i> | REG No, 108 | 1221 x 1228 |
| Linnbrain (BON) | <i>Lynbren</i> | RMP No. 212 | 1225 |
| Luss (LUS) | <i>Luss</i> | Lenn. Cart. p19 | 1208 x 1265 |
| Lusset Glen (OKP) | <i>Drunlosset</i> | RMP No. 162 | 1208 x 1250 |
| | <i>Losset</i> | RMP No. 164-5 | 1234 |
| Mamore (RHU) | <i>Mammore</i> | Fraser ii No. 205 | c1248 |
| | <i>Mawmoire</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| Mambeg (RHU) | <i>Mambeg</i> | Fraser ii No. 205 | c1248 |
| | <i>Mawbeg</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| Millig (RHU) | <i>Muleig</i> | Lenn. Cart. p93 | 1 st Nov 1351 |
| Muckcroft (CAD) | <i>Mukraw</i> | Lenn. Cart. p37 | 1234 x 1253 |
| | <i>Mukkerach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p40 | 1272 x 1286 |
| | <i>Mucherrach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p61 | 1315 x 1353 |
| Mugdock (SBL) | <i>Mukdoc</i> | Fraser ii No. 43 | 1392 |
| Poachy Glen (BON) | <i>Pocheburne</i> | Lenn. Cart. p51 | 1333 |
| Portchable (AAR) | <i>Fortkebillis</i> | Lenn. Cart. p65 | 1385 x 1425 |
| Portnellan (KMO) | <i>Porthnelane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p55 | 1333 x 1365 |
| Rosneath (RNH) | <i>Nemedh</i> | Fraser ii No. 207 | c1250 |
| | <i>Renyt</i> | Lenn. Cart. p13 | 1222 x 1226 |
| Ross (BUC) | <i>Ross McRath</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Rossdhu Island(LUS) | <i>Elanrosdui</i> | Lenn. Cart. p19 | 1208 x 1265 |
| Ross Priory (KMO) | <i>Rossvue</i> | Lenn. Cart. p55 | 1333 x 1365 |
| Sallochy (BUC) | <i>Sallachy</i> | Lenn. Cart. p56 | 1315 x 1354 |
| Shanacles (KMO) | <i>Shenaglas</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| Strathblane (SBL) | <i>Stratblahane</i> | Fraser ii No. 6 | c1240 |
| Stuckinduff (RHU) | <i>Stukindaf</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| Strone (RHU) | <i>Strone</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| Tambowie (NKP), or Tombuoy (RHU) | <i>Thombethy</i> | Lenn. Cart. p25 | c1238 |
| Tarbert (AAR) | <i>Tarbert</i> | Fraser ii No. 34 | 1392 |
| Tullichewan (BON) | <i>Tulechwyne</i> | Lenn. Cart. p50 | 1286 x 1333 |
| Tullochan (KMO) | <i>Tulchane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p55 | 1333 x 1365 |

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Wester C'ron (KMN) | <i>Cambrown Tympane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p86 | 1293 x 1308 |
| Whitehill (NKP) | <i>Craguentalach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| | <i>Cragbrecholach</i> | Lenn. Cart. p14 | 1273 |
| Woodend (BNH) | <i>Stukeroger</i> | Lenn. Cart. p91 | 1333 x 1365 |

Unknown Locations

| | | | |
|--|--|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>Achawle</i> | | Fraser ii No. 40 | 1405 |
| <i>Achresmoltane</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p33 | 1333 x 1365 |
| <i>Ardenalochreth</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p45 | 1306 x 1329 |
| <i>Auchencloich</i> (NKP), or <i>Auchincloich</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p27 | c1238 |
| | | Lenn. Cart. p28 | 1272 x 1333 |
| <i>Baccane</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Blairvarden</i> | | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| <i>Blarechoranns</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p45 | 1306 x 1329 |
| <i>Blaremulen</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p45 | 1306 x 1329 |
| <i>Blarneforde</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p29 | 1293 x 1308 |
| <i>Blarthangan</i> | | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| <i>Blayrwoyltan</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p94 | 1335 x 1365 |
| <i>Blayrwanyrtan</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p94 | 1335 x 1365 |
| <i>Correacleath</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p40 | 1272 x 1286 |
| <i>Dallifinan</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p14 | 1273 |
| <i>Drumcrene</i> *** | | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Drumdianis</i> | | RMP No. 158 | 1214 x 1228 |
| <i>Elanclew</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p20 | c1296 |
| <i>Forlingcaroche</i> | | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| <i>Gilgirinan</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p29 | 1293 x 1308 |
| or <i>Kilgeryntyn</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p28 | 1272 x 1333 |
| <i>Glaskell</i> | | Fraser ii No. 202 | c1217 |
| <i>Holmdalmartyne</i> | | Lenn. Cart. p61 | 1315 x 1353 |

The four following island names may refer to Inchtavannach (LUS) but it is also possible that they might refer to any of the small islands in Loch Lomond upon which were found small fortresses. They cannot be identified with certainty:

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>Innesdonichag</i> | Lenn. Cart. p19 | 1208 x 1265 |
| <i>Innisdomarot</i> | Lenn. Cart. p25 | 1219 x 1241 |
| <i>Innis-domhnach</i> | Fraser ii No. 207 | c1250 |
| <i>Inesdouenag</i> | Lenn. Cart. p95 | 1214 x 1251 |
| | | |
| <i>Lairg</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| <i>Lanartaydy</i> | Lenn. Cart. p52 | 1333 x 1365 |
| <i>Lentrelloc</i> | Fraser ii No. 206 | c1248 |
| <i>Letyrmolyn</i> | Lenn. Cart. p27 | c1238 |
| <i>Lurgloin</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| <i>Mogadavacross</i> | Lenn. Cart. p38 | 1286 x 1333 |
| <i>Rachortane</i> | Lenn. Cart. p31 | 1286 x 1333 |
| <i>Reinfode</i> | RMP No. 158 | 1214 x 1228 |
| <i>Reynfode</i> | Lenn. Cart. p14 | 1273 |
| <i>Stokdow</i> | Fraser ii No. 163 | 1566 |
| <i>Strochelmakessoc</i> | Lenn. Cart. p27 | c1238 |
| <i>Syf</i> | Lenn. Cart. p24 | 1286 x1333 |
| <i>Temkyte</i> | Fraser ii No. 93 | 1493 |
| <i>Tomfyne</i> | Lenn. Cart. p52 | 1333 x 1365 |
| <i>Tyrwaldouny</i> | Lenn. Cart. p29 | 1293 x 1308 |

APPENDIX B

Containing the properties attested in charters from 1165-1250 and their possessors.

Modern names are in brackets.

| Name in Chart | Possessor | Charter | Date |
|--|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>Aldenclebh</i> [Aldochlay (LUS)] | Maldouni filio Gillemore | Fraser ii No. 204 | c1225 |
| <i>Auchentullich</i> [Auchentullich (LUS)] | Maldouni filio Gillemore | Lenn. Cart. p96 | 1240 x 1260 |
| <i>Antermunnin</i> [Antermony (CPS)] | Kelso Abbey | RRS ii No.120 | 1165 x 1174 |
| <i>Auchincloich</i> [Near Gartconnell (NKP)?] | Murchadh and Arthur Galbraith | Lenn. Cart. p27 | c1238 |
| <i>Baccane</i> [Auchentoshan)OKP)?] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Ballenglerauch</i> [Ballenclerach (CPS)] | Church of Glasgow | REG No. 103 | 1208 x 1214 |
| <i>Bannarad</i> [Bandry)LUS)] | Maldouni filio Gillemore | Fraser ii No204 | c1225 |
| <i>Blareskavy</i> [Blairskaith (BDK)] | Church of Glasgow | REG No.103 | 1208 x 1214 |
| <i>Blarenebleschly</i> [Blairblenshie (CPS)] | Church of Glasgow | REG No.103 | 1208 x 1214 |

| | | | |
|--|---|------------------|---------------|
| <i>Brengoene</i> [Barnego (KSY)] | Malcolm and Eva, sister of Earl Máel Domnaig | Fraser ii No.202 | 10th Aug 1217 |
| <i>Brengrochane</i> [Balgrochan (CPS)] | Simon Croc | Fraser ii No.3 | 27th Nov 1225 |
| <i>Buthelulle</i> [Bonhill (BON)] | Forveleth filia Keraldi | REG No. 177 | 1247 x 1251 |
| <i>Buthirnok</i> [Baldernock (BDK)] | Church of Glasgow | REG No.103 | 1208 x 1214 |
| <i>Cardinros</i> [Levengrove (CAS)] | Church of Glasgow | REG No.108 | 1221 x 1228 |
| <i>Cartonvene</i> [near Gartconnell NKP)] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Clarines</i> [Clairinsh (BUC)] | Absalon filio Macbeth | Fraser ii No.4 | 1225 |
| <i>Cochno</i> [Cochno (OKP)] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Craguentalach</i> [Craigbanzo (OKP)] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Cultbrit</i> [Kilbowie (OKP)] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Dalmonach</i> [Dalmonach (BON)] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |

| | | | |
|--|--------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| <i>Drumcrene</i> [?Duncryne (KMO)] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Drumdynanis</i> [unknown] | Paisley Abbey | RMP No. 158 | 1208 x 1250 |
| <i>Drunlosset</i> [Lusset Glen (OKP)] | Paisley Abbey | RMP No.162 | 1208 x 1250 |
| <i>Dunbretane</i> [Dumbarton (DUM)] | Alexander II | Lenn. Cart. p1 | 1214 x 1249 |
| <i>Dunfin</i> [Dumfin (LUS)] | Maldouni filio Gillemore | Lenn. Cart. p96 | 1240 x 1260 |
| <i>Drumtethglunane</i> [Duntiglennan (OKP)] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Edenbernan</i> [Edinbarnet (OKP)] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Elanrosdui</i> [Rossdhu Island (LUS)] | Gilmore filio Maldonei | Lenn. Cart. p19 | 1247 x 1251 |
| <i>Finbealach</i> [Faifley (OKP)] | Church of Kilpatrick | RMP No.157 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Fintryf</i> [Fintry (FTY)] | Luce filio Michaelis | Lenn. Cart. p34 | c 1247 |
| <i>Freone</i> [Glen Fruin (LUS)] | Maldouen filio Gillemore | Fraser ii No.204 | c 1225 |

| | | | |
|---|--|-------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Freuchelan</i> [Fraoch Eilean (LUS)] | Gilmore filio Maldonei | Lenn. Cart. p19 | 1247 x 1251 |
| <i>Gartbethe</i> [Carbeth (BDK)] | Simon Croc | Fraser ii No.3 | 27th Nov 1226 |
| <i>Glaskell</i> [unknown] | Malcolm and Eva, sister of Máel Domnaig | Fraser ii No. 203 | 1208 x 1217 |
| <i>Hachenkerrach</i> [Auchencarroch (BON)] | Forveleth filia Keraldi | REG No.177 | 1247 x 1251 |
| <i>Innerlaueran</i> [Inverlauren)LUS)] | Maldowen filio Gilleme | Lenn. Cart. p96 | 1240 x 1260 |
| <i>Kamsi</i> [Campsie (CPS)] | Church of Glasgow | REG No101 | 1208 x 1214 |
| <i>Kealbride</i> [Kilbride (LUS)] | Donaldo filio Macynel | Lenn. Cart. p91 | 1208 x 1265 |
| <i>Kelveysyth</i> [Kilsyth (KSY)] | Malcolm, son of Eva, sister of Máel Domnaig | Fraser ii No.202 | 10 th Aug 1217 |
| <i>Kyncaith</i> [Kincaid (CPS)] | William Galbraith | Lenn. Cart. p30 | 1239 |
| <i>Letyrmolyn</i> [unknown] | Murchadh and Arthur Galbraith | Lenn. Cart. p27 | c1238 |

| | | | |
|--|--|-------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Luss</i> [Luss (LUS)] | Maldowen filio Gilleme | Lenn. Cart. p96 | 1240 x 1260 |
| <i>Lynbren</i> [Linnbrain Hole (BON)] | Paisley Abbey | RMP No.212 | 1228 |
| <i>Kynmonedhane</i> [Kilmannan (KLN)] | Simon Croc | Fraser ii No. 3 | 27 th Nov 1225 |
| <i>Monachkennerane</i> [Boquhanran (OKP)] | Church of Kilpatrick | Lenn. Cart. p12 | 1174 x 1199 |
| <i>Moniabrocd</i> [Moniabroch (KSY)] | Malcolm, son of Eva, Sister of Máel Domnaig | Fraser ii No. 202 | 10 th Aug 1217 |
| <i>Mukeraw</i> [Muckcroft (CAD)] | David of Grahame | Fraser ii No. 10 | c1248 |
| <i>Nentbolg</i> [Glenboig (FTY)] | Lucio filio Michaelis | Lenn. Cart. p34 | c1248 |
| <i>Reinfode</i> [unknown] | Fergus Cuningham, et Malcolmi heredis sui | RMP No.173 | 1208 x 1250 |
| <i>Renyt</i> [Rosneath (RNH)] | Amelec, brother of Máel Domnaig | Lenn. Cart. p13 | before 1226 |
| <i>Stratblathane</i> [Strathblane (SBL)] | David of Grahame | Fraser ii No.6 | 1234 x 1265 |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>Strochelmakessoc</i> | Murchadh filio Gilaspic Galbraith | Lenn. Cart. p27 | c1238 |
| [unknown] | | | |
| <i>Thombethy</i> | Murchadh filio Gilaspic Galbraith | Lenn. Cart. p27 | c1238 |
| [Tambethy (NKP) or Tombuoy (RHU)] | | | |
| <i>Yniscruny</i> | Sons of Gilmychel | Lenn. Cart. p25 | 1208 x 1265 |
| [Inchcruin (BUC)] | | | |
| <i>Ynismoin</i> | Sons of Gilmychel | Lenn. Cart. p25 | 1208 x 1265 |
| [Inchmoan (LUS)] | | | |