Place-names and the Medieval Church in Menteith¹

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Introduction

Historians and archaeologists of medieval Scotland have long recognised that place-names are an important source for the study of social and landscape history, and are a way of examining aspects of medieval Scottish rural society which are otherwise hidden from view. Place-names have the potential to offer unique information about many aspects of historical and archaeological research. One such aspect concerns the medieval Church. While it is true we know a great deal about how the Church was run in medieval Scotland and who many of the main players were, it is still unclear how the Church interacted with the laity and the land at parish level. Place-names are one way of helping us understand more about that interaction.

Archaeologists and historians hoping to understand medieval rural society are often confronted with issues such as the uneven survival of archaeological remains, often due, at least in the Lowlands, to the rearranging of the landscape during the agricultural ‘improvements’ and industrialisation of the 18th and 19th centuries, or sparse documentary evidence, perhaps due to wars, the destruction of monastic libraries at the Reformation, or just plain carelessness. While some areas of Scotland have an abundance of historical material due to being centres of institutions, such as the medieval Church (St Andrews) and crown and government (Edinburgh), other areas have a dearth of such material. One such area is Menteith, that area of central Scotland situated between Stirling and Loch Lomond. It encompasses the towns and villages of Aberfoyle, Callander, Doune and Kippen (for a detailed definition of Menteith, see below and McNiven 2011, 18–26), and is perhaps most famously known for including the Lake of Menteith, the only lake in Scotland (see this volume, pp. 115–20). Menteith straddles the Highland Boundary Fault, where the land to the north and west is classic Highland Scotland, all mountains and glens, while to the south and east, the land consists of the gently rolling hills of the Teith valley, the flat carse-lands of the upper River Forth and the farmlands mostly reclaimed from the mosses such as Flanders Moss in the 18th century.

¹ This is a fully referenced and slightly updated version of an article which appeared in two parts in History Scotland: Part 1 titled ‘Place-names and the Medieval Church in Menteith’, Vol. 12, No. 6, 36–43 (November–December 2012), 36–43; and Part 2 titled ‘Place-names of Menteith’, Vol. 13, No. 1 (January–February 2013), 36–41. Thanks to the editor, Dr Alasdair Ross, for allowing the article to be published here.
The Catholic Church was the most significant institution in medieval Europe; its influence extended to all parts of the Scottish kingdom and Menteith was no exception. Menteith had a multi-layered religious experience and many of the place-names there contain the remnants of numerous aspects of religious life including early Christian establishments, saints’ cults, diocesan organisation, parishes churches and chapels, monasticism, church officials ranging from bishops to relic-keepers, and places that provided food, fuel, shelter and livings for priests and other churchmen, as well as places of those who provided services for the Church, the parishioners and others, such as pilgrims (see McNiven 2013b, where it is argued that most of the spittal-names in this area and the neighbouring earldom of Lennox were crusading endowments belonging initially to the Knights Templar and then to the Knights Hospitaller). The importance of religion can be appreciated by the number of place-names in Menteith that have, or potentially have, a religious element to them. There are at least 66 place-names in the earldom of Menteith that have elements with ecclesiastical connotations, including two elements that may denote lands belonging to the priory of Inchmahome: arn-, deriving from Gaelic earrann ‘share, portion of land (possibly belonging to a monastic institution)’, of which there are 18, and 13 names containing Scots offers/offerance-names or Gaelic aifreann ‘offering; Mass’.

Menteith was one of the ancient earldoms of Scotland – its name possibly derives from a British cognate of Welsh mynydd (borrowed into Gaelic as monadh) ‘mountain, muir’, combined with the obscure river name Teith (Watson 1926, 113). Medieval Menteith was in the diocese of Dunblane and consisted of eight parishes – Aberfoyle, Callander, Kilmadock, Kilmahog, Kincardine, Kippen, Leny and Port of Menteith; only Kilmahog and Leny have not survived as parishes into the modern era, having been incorporated into Callander by the early 17th century. All the parishes were in Perthshire until 1975 and lie to the north of the River Forth, with the exception of Kippen. For reasons that are not clear but, as we shall see, may have much to do with the priory of Inchmahome, Kippen was divided between Perthshire and Stirlingshire until 1891.

It is often written that the parish of Dunblane was in Menteith (Fraser, Menteith i, xvii; Hutcheson 1899, 2; Cockburn 1959, 7), but this is erroneous. Dunblane was in Strathearn (Rogers 1992, 345), but seems to have been included in the medieval deanery of Menteith, perhaps for administrative reasons, or, more likely, to prevent the cathedral from coming under the direct influence of the earls of Strathearn who were patrons of many of the churches in the deanery of Strathearn (McNiven 2011, 22–23). Another possibility is the

2 For full details of these parishes, see McNiven 2011 (see also PNPER 1, McNiven with Taylor, forthcoming)
The place-name Dunblane commemorates Bláán, an obscure saint who is supposed to have founded a bishopric at Kingarth on Bute (Yorke 2006, 115; Márkus 2012, 49; Macquarrie with Butter 2012, 330). Nothing is known of him beyond the legends described in the Aberdeen Breviary and these will not concern us here. The place-name Dunblane commemorates Bláán, an obscure saint who is supposed to have founded a bishopric at Kingarth on Bute (Yorke 2006, 115; Márkus 2012, 49; Macquarrie with Butter 2012, 330). Nothing is known of him beyond the legends described in the Aberdeen Breviary and these will not concern us here. Thomas Clancy has put forward the idea that the Bláán dedication at Dunblane is part of a movement eastwards of the cults of Cowal saints in the eighth century as Gaelic speakers moved out of their Dál Riata heartlands and into Pictish and British territories (Clancy 2004, 140; Woolf 2007, 102, 116). Dunblane first appears in the Chronicles of the Kings of Alba as Dulblaan, and the context is an attack on Dunblane by the Britons: ‘also the Britons burned Dunblane’ (Britanni autem concremauerunt Dulblaan) in the second quarter of the ninth century (Anderson 1980, 250; ES i, 288; Woolf 2007, 194), showing that Dunblane was already a significant place (Macquarrie 2001, 112). Dunblane is also found in the notes added to Félire Óengusso Céli Dé, probably in the 12th century, as ‘Dunblane his [Blane’s] chief monastery’ (Dul Blaan a primhchathair) (Stokes 1905, 184, 185). These early forms contain Pictish or British *dul or *dol ‘haugh, water-meadow’, which often combine with saints’ names, perhaps meaning that the produce of a water-meadow containing a saint’s dedication may have gone to the upkeep of a church devoted to that saint (Watson 1926, 418). The *dul*/*dol in this case may be the flat land immediately west across the Allan Water from the cathedral, or perhaps on the eastern side of the river, just to the south of the cathedral. There is no record of the generic dún ‘fort’ until 1161, when it is Dunblain (RRS i, no. 182), and in a 14th-century copy of an English manuscript dating to 1155 it is Dubblan (Cockburn 1938, 15).

3 My thanks to Gilbert Márkus for this suggestion.
4 For the cult of Bláán (or Blane), see Macquarrie 2012, 328–30.
5 ‘perhaps altered to Dulblaain’ (Anderson 1980, 250 footnote 128).
6 British Museum Cottonian Manuscripts, Cleopatra C IV. The document is a Papal Bull by Adrian IV to the bishops of Scotland in 1155. It is also printed in Hadden and Stubbs, Councils, vol. ii, pt 1, 231–32, but they seem to have wrongly identified the bishop of Dunblane as La (for Laurence); Cockburn (1938, 6), Somerville (1982, 40–41) and Fasti (Watt and Murray) have M. The identity of M. is not known, although Cockburn suggests that Malise, a common Strathearn aristocratic name, is possible (1938, 6).
Inchmahome

While the diocesan centre was at Dunblane, the ecclesiastical focus of Menteith was undoubtedly Inchmahome. The priory was founded around 1238 by Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, possibly due to the settlement between Comyn and Bishop Clement of Dunblane over rights in a number of Menteith churches (Inchaffray Liber xxix–xxxii; Young 2005, 75). However, a reason more sympathetic to Comyn might emphasise the fact that prior to the Reformation of 1560 the founding a monastic house was an indication of his piety. There are other examples in Scotland of magnates founding religious houses, including Inchaffray by Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, in 1200. Another reason why Comyn might want to found a monastery in his new earldom is that by founding a religious house where he was honoured as founder and patron, he had a symbol of territorial stability (Southern 1970, 244), which was important to someone coming from an immigrant Anglo-Norman background and who was, through marriage to the heiress of the earldom of Menteith, taking over a ‘native’ earldom (see McNiven 2011, 69–79 for a discussion of the politics of this period in Menteith). Here was a belief that God would help defend what one eminent historian has called a ‘weak title to land’ (Davis 1998, 253).

Inchmahome was home to a group of Augustinian canons from 1238, and it made an ideal retreat from the secular world while remaining near centres of population which enabled the priory to be in close proximity to those to whom it offered pastoral care, and to its source of wealth, i.e. the land and the people who worked upon it. However, there had been some kind of religious structure, possibly a parish church (Cowan and Easson 1976, 91), on Inchmahome before the foundation of the priory in 1238. Between 1189 and 1198,7 ‘Malcolm, parson of Inchmahome’ (Malcolmo persona de Insula Macholem) witnessed a charter of Cambuskenneth Abbey, near Stirling (Camb. Reg. no. 122). It is often stated by earlier writers that there was a ‘Culdee settlement’ on the island before the Augustinians built their priory (e.g. Hutchison 1899, 133), but there is no medieval evidence for this, and in any case many earlier historians were writing in an age when any group of clerics not of the reformed orders tended to be labelled ‘Celtic’ or ‘Culdee’. However, what is not clear is whether Malcolm the parson was the only cleric on Inchmahome at this time or whether he was part of a group of clerics like the personae mentioned in the Augustinian’s Account of the St Andrews Foundation Legend (PNF 3, 602,

7 In Camb. Reg. the date of this charter is 1210, but Gilbert Mármus (pers. comm.) has recently dated it to 1189 × 1198.
The combination of island and religious house has parallels elsewhere in Scotland, for example Iona, Inchcolm, Isle of May, Isle of Loch Tay priory and at St Serf’s Island in Loch Leven where a Céli Dé establishment was taken over by Augustinians from St Andrews (Veitch 1999). Nevertheless, while there are certain similarities between places such as Lochleven Priory and St Andrews regarding the combination of Céli Dé, personae and Augustinians, the evidence for this combination at Inchmahome is at best only circumstantial and analogical.

The name Inchmahome commemorates an early medieval saint. It had been thought that the island and the church on it were named after St Colmán of Druim Mór (Drumore) in County Down (Forbes, *Kalendars*, 304–05; MacKinlay 1904, 298–99; MacKinlay 1914, 93; Watson 1926, 279). This belief may have been based on the *Aberdeen Breviary* and the *Martyrology of Aberdeen*, liturgical books dating from the 16th century. In the *Aberdeen Breviary*, for 9th of June, it is written:

In cuius eciam honore monasterium quod Inchemaholmoch dicitur, Dunblenenensis dioeceses, solemnit satur dedicatum est (The monastery called Inchmahome in the diocese of Dunblane is also solemnly dedicated in his honour) (Macquarrie 2012, 128–89; *Aberdeen Breviarium* fol. cii)

The *Martyrology of Aberdeen* states

vij. *Idus Junij.* —In Scotia Sancti Colmoci episcopi et confessoris apud Inchmahomo – sepultus de quo in insula monasterium canonicorum regulare vita patrocinante Colmoco Deo famulancium vbi tanto iocundius celebrantur sua natalicia quanto salubrius claruerunt eius miracula (7th day of the Ides of June: In Scotland (the feast) of St Colman bishop and confessor buried at Inchmahome; in the island there is regular monastery of canons serving God under the patronage of this Colmucus, where the more joyfully his birthday9 is celebrated, the more beneficially his miracles will shine) (*Aberdeen Martyrology* in Laing 1854–57, 264).10

As well as being dedicated to saints (and objects) culted locally, e.g. Inchcolm and Columba, St Andrews and Andrew, and the Holy Rood or Cross at

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8 Rogers (1997, 77–79) discusses this problem of the definition of persona and states that ‘it seems that persona or parson was adopted into Scottish legal terminology [in the 12th century] only with the precise meaning of parish priest …’ Simon Taylor (*PNF* 3, 608, n336) discusses more recent thinking.

9 Note that a ‘birthday’ of a saint is actually their death-day, the day they are born into eternal life.

10 Thanks to Dr Simon Taylor for his help with this translation.
Holyrood, an Augustinian establishment was usually dedicated to either Christ, Mary or the Apostles, and Inchmahome, like Cambuskenneth, may have been dedicated to Mary. I have found no written evidence for a Mary dedication for Inchmahome, but a drawing of the seal of the priory shows Mary with the infant Jesus on her knee (MacGregor Stirling 1815, 111; Hutchison 1899, 131; MacKinlay 1910, 161). It was not unusual for Mary to be associated with another saint at Scottish monastic houses; she was, for example, paired with Cuthbert at Coldingham and Machutus at Lesmahagow (Hammond 2010, 74). In the later Middle Ages, at least, the Augustinian priory was also dedicated to Colmán, which indicates that the Augustinians wished to commemorate the saint they saw as the founder of the original religious establishment on the island. The seal mentioned above also shows the figure of a bishop, which is probably meant to represent St Colmán. In reality, however, the allegiance to Colmán is actually evidence of a late dedication, as it post-dates the foundation of the priory in c.1238. Indeed, the Bollandist scholar, Paul Grosjean, called it ‘une inventione médiévale’ (Grosjean 1961, 345), and Ronald Black believes that it was ‘unlikely that popular tradition distinguished Colmán from St Columba’ (Black 1999, 19), although Márie Herbert believes Colmán is the ‘likeliest candidate for patron of Inchmahome’ (Herbert 2008, 263).

It was believed that St Colmán to be the founder and bishop of the see of Druim Mór possibly in the fifth century (Muhr 1996, 104), although according to a Life of Colmán composed in the 12th or 13th centuries, he was a contemporary of St Patrick, Colum Cille and a teacher of St David of Wales (Herbert 2008, 255). There is no link with Scotland in the Life (Grosjean 1961, 344; Herbert 2008), and the cult of Colmán is probably a fragmentation of the cult of Colm Cill (Ó Riain 2011, 188). The Colmán connection seems to come through the influence of St Malachy, the 12th-century Irish reformer (Barrow 2003, 163–65; Duncan 1975, 150). Malachy, bishop of Down, the diocese where Druim Mór is located, and a papal legate (Herbert 2008, 258), had visited the Augustinian abbey of Arrouaise, and then David I at Carlisle on his journey back to Ireland from Rome in 1140. It is surely significant that shortly afterwards David founded an Augustinian house based on the Arrouaise model at Cambuskenneth. It is possible that Cambuskenneth, the nearest Augustinian house to Inchmahome, was the source of clergy to populate Inchmahome, and from the monastery near Stirling came the idea that Colmán of Druim Mór was the saint behind Inchmahome (Herbert 2008, 261).

However, if the original dedication is not Colmán of Druim Mór, then who is the saint behind Inchmahome? Simon Taylor has argued cogently that the saint in question is probably St Columba (Taylor 2000, 114). There are several Columba dedications on the route from Iona to Lindisfarne, and one of these,
Taylor suggests, is Inchmahome, the ‘island of Mo-Cholmóc’ (Taylor 2000, 114–15). What seems to have happened is that the Augustinians had arrived at a place with a saint embedded in its name, and perhaps not being entirely sure who it was, consulted with their Irish counterparts who suggested Colmán of Druim Mór based on evidence from their calendars of saints (Herbert 2008, 262–63).

This is a good opportunity to debunk a myth which still has currency today. In 1815 William MacGregor Stirling, minister of Port of Menteith, wrote that he had been ‘informed by good authorities’ that Inchmahome ‘signifies Isle of Rest’ (MacGregor Stirling 1815, 32). He added ‘this etymology\(^{11}\) harmonising so well with monastic retirement, the writer has, by poetic licence, availed himself’ (loc. cit.). What is most interesting regarding the meaning ‘Isle of Rest’ is that while toponymists such as MacKinlay, Watson and Taylor do not mention or consider this derivation, and thereby implicitly reject it, the 2003 edition of the official guide to the priory produced by Historic Scotland, mentions it three times within its 32 pages (Carver 2003, 3, 17, 19).\(^{12}\) The irony is that MacGregor Stirling retracted this dubious derivation himself in the early 19th century. A. F. Hutcheson, in his book on the history of Inchmahome, published in 1899, states that

Mr. M’Gregor Stirling himself eventually gave up his cherished derivation from *Innis-mo-thamb*, and with it, of course, the poetical interpretation *Isle of my Rest*. In a manuscript addition to his *Notes on Inchmahome* … he says, ‘This etymology [*Innis-mo-thamb*] must give way to Isle of St. Columba, or St. Cholmoc’ (Hutcheson 1899, 76–67)\(^{13}\)

\(^{11}\) In a footnote he states ‘the Gaelic, in which the *t* is quiescent, is *Inschemathamhe*. It is worth citing fully his comments from later in his book regarding the name Inchmahome: ‘*Inschema-chame, or Innis-mo-thamh, “Isle of my Rest” was probably the name in pagan times. We may account for the subsequent change to Inchmahome, or Inchmahomo, by supposing it a latinised and monkish corruption of the original Gaelic. Or say, it is a corruption of Saint Colmock, which might have been translated, *ma*, ‘good’ and *chamhe*, ‘Colmocus’; we may admit the possibility of a corruptive coalition of the pagan and Christian, the Gaelic and the Latin names. It seems impossible to say which of them might, or might not, by the negligence of a Saxon scribe, have been transformed into Inchmaquomock (sic). [The writer] not being a Gaelic scholar, he submits to the forgoing conjectures with due diffidence. They may be so far useful, should they lead to discussion among competent judges’ (MacGregor Stirling 1815, 119–20).

\(^{12}\) See p. 3 ‘… Inchmahome, otherwise known as “the isle of rest”; p. 17 ‘THE STORY OF INCHMAHOME: The Isle of Rest’; p. 19 ‘Known also as the ‘Isle of Rest …’

\(^{13}\) MacGregor Stirling was not convinced about the Columba dedication being Columba of Iona, but rather he thought it was ‘A saint of the name of Columba, and whose birth was English and noble, is mentioned by Fordun as having been buried at Dunblane about the year 1000 AD (Scotichronicon, sub anno 1295)’ (Hutchison 1899, 77). See Scotichronicon (Vol. 6,
MacGregor Stirling confirms this in a report which became the basis for the New Statistical Account for Port of Menteith, writing ‘... the island of St Columba, as Inch-ma-home is supposed to signify …’ (NSA x, 1097). Only once in the 2003 Historic Scotland guide is there a reference that the island priory may be dedicated to a saint, St Colmán. While the 2010 edition of the guide is an improvement in only mentioning ‘Isle of Rest’ once (Owen 2010, 22), it remains the case that if place-names are to be taken seriously, then toponymists need to try and ensure the guardians of Scotland’s heritage do not mislead the public with what is nothing more than spurious romanticism.

There were apparently four chapels attached to the priory (NSA x, 1105; Hutchison 1899, 141; Carver 2003, 19): one at Inchie PMH, where there is a chapel marked on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map; the second at Arnchly PMH (now lost, but it was on the western edge of Lake of Menteith, south of Mall)ing), which may have as its second (specific) element Gaelic claidhe ‘burial’, and where there is an old burial ground marked on the 1st edn OS map; the third at Chapelarroch DRY STL (NS517958), from Gaelic caibeal làraich ‘ruined chapel’. It is 300 metres north of Dalmary DRY STL, dail Màiri ‘the haughland of (St) Mary’, and 400 metres west of Arns DRY STL, derived from G earrann ‘portion, share, division’, which, as we shall see, may denote lands belonging to Inchmahome. The fourth chapel was Chapel of Boquhapple KMA. Boquhapple is said to be ‘house [or toun] of the chapel’ (NSA x, 1105; Hutchison 1899, 141; MacKay 2003, 24), but Gaelic both chapuill (earlier both chapuill [Bucopill 1317, Buchchoppill 1330; see McNiven 2011, 371–74 for discussion]) ‘hut, sheiling of the horse/mare’ is to be preferred. This is not to say that there was no chapel of Inchmahome at Boquhapple, or indeed at the other three places mentioned above, but I have been unable to find references to them as chapels in medieval texts, although Chapelarroch and Arnchly contain references to an ecclesiastical function in their names.

60–61 [Book XI, chapter 21]): ‘Habet enim ecclesia Dumblanensis justum titulum ad totum dominium de Appilbi, de Congere, de Troclingham et de Malemath in Anglia ex donacione reguli et domini eorumdem cuius filium a mortuis resuscitavit Sanctus Blaanus (nepos ex sorore Sancti Katani), quem baptizavit Blaanus et Columbam eum nominavit; uterque mirabilis in vita et miraculis coruscans, Columba in Dumblan’ et Blaanus in Botha insula tumulatur’ (Indeed, the church of Dunblane has just title to the whole lordship of Appleby,”Congere”, “Troplingham”, and “Malemath” in England, as gift of the under-king and lord thereof of whose son St Blane (nephew by his sister to St Chattan) raised from the dead. Blane baptised him and named him Columba. Each of these was admirable in life and spectacular for his miracles. Columba is buried at Dunblane and Blane on the Isle of Bute’).

14 MacGregor Stirling died in 1833 (Fasti iv, 360).
15 ‘... it was also known as Isle of Rest’.
There were, as we have seen, eight parishes in Menteith. I do not intend to give a full history of each parish here, for we are more concerned with the place-names of an ecclesiastical nature within each parish (see McNiven 2011 and \textit{PNPER} 1 for details of each parish and its development). However, as a brief outline we should note the locations of the medieval churches and when each church comes on record.

**Aberfoyle**

Aberfoyle is said to have been a monastery of Berach in an 11th- to 13th-century \textit{Life of Berach} (for whom, see below). The church, which sits next to the Pow Burn, 500 metres south of the present day village of Aberfoyle, is first noted as \textit{ecclesi\textless a} de \textit{Abirful} in 1260 (Fraser, \textit{Menteith} ii, 213). The parsonage was a prebend of Dunblane Cathedral by 1500 (\textit{RSS} i no. 595; Cowan 1967, 3), and may have been appropriated to Inchmahome at a date unknown (\textit{Fasti} iv, 334).

**Callander, Kilmahog and Leny**

Callander is the largest parish in Menteith stretching from the watershed between Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine in the west to Uamh Bheag on the border with Kilmadock (KMA) in the east, a distance of 35km. It is also 13.5km wide at its widest. Yet the three medieval parish churches of Callander, Leny and Kilmahog were within 2km of each other at the eastern end of this extensive area near the modern town of Callander. This may have much to do with density of population, itself influenced by geography.\textsuperscript{16} Callander was given to Bishop Clement of Dunblane as a mensal church for the cathedral by Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, in 1238 (McGregor Stirling 1815, 113–16; \textit{Inchaffray Liber}, xxxii; Fraser, \textit{Menteith} ii, no. 74; Cockburn 1959, 52). The medieval church of Callander stood near the mound marked on the current OS Explorer map as \textit{Tom ma Chisaig} ‘mound of my Kessog’ at the northern end of the bridge of Callander. In 1771, despite wishing to ‘have the stance of the Kirk continued in the present Kirkyard’, the parishioners saw their church moved to the centre of modern day Callander (Thompson 1985, 18). Callander came to include the much smaller parishes of Kilmahog and Leny, both of which are discussed below.

**Kilmadock**

First on record in Bagimond in 1274 as \textit{Kylmadoc} (Bagimond’s Roll (Dunlop),

\textsuperscript{16} For a similar situation, see parish maps of Kilmorack and Kiltarlity INV in Crawford and Taylor 200).
53, 72), the remains of the old church of Kilmadock are situated on a bluff above the confluence of the Annat Burn with the River Teith at NN706025. The church remained at the junction of the River Teith and Annat Burn until 1756, when a new church was built in Doune (OSA xx, 41). The church was appropriated to Inchmahome before 1429 when the vicar’s teinds were appropriated to the chancellorship of Dunblane Cathedral (CSSR iii, 16; Cowan 1967, 102–03; Cockburn 1959, 52).

**Kincardine in Menteith**

Kincardine first comes on record in 1189 × 1195 when it was appropriated to Cambuskenneth Abbey as a gift of the king (RRS ii, no. 371). A graveyard near the modern church is the resting place of the Muschets, who first came to the area in reign of William I, and is probably the site of the original church. It has been speculated recently that the burial enclosures in the churchyard today may contain the remains of the medieval nave and chancel (Oram and Fawcett 2008, KRD). The parish of Kincardine consisted of two parts prior to 1891. The parish of Kilmadock reached the River Forth leaving the main, or eastern, part of Kincardine, centred on the parish church and the area around what is now Blair Drummond, separate from the western part, centred on Boquhapple, and later, Thornhill. In 1891 the parish boundaries of Kilmadock and Kincardine underwent a dramatic change in the south in 1891 in order to make a unified parish of Kincardine which had previously been split into two parts: Kincardine was joined together by transferring a portion of Kilmadock to Kincardine (Shennan 1892).

**Kippen**

The church of Kippen was thought to have been the ancient burial grounds of the indigenous earls of Menteith (Camb. Reg. cxxix; Hutchison 1899, 123). This may go some way to explaining why the parish, entirely south of the Forth and divided between Perthshire and Stirlingshire, was in Menteith, although exactly when it came into the possession of the earls of Menteith remains unknown. It may be that Kippen was assigned to the earldom much earlier to supplement the arable land, which, given the upland and boggy nature of much of the earldom, must have been in short supply. The location of the original church is puzzling. It may have been within the village where the ruins of the pre-Reformation church stand, or it may have been, as local tradition states, on the Keir Hill of Dasher just north of the village of Kippen (Begg 2000, 17

17 The River Forth was the boundary between Perthshire and Stirlingshire, but Menteith was divided between the two counties prior to 1891 (see McNiven 2011, 411 for details of this division; a map can be found at p. 564).
Map 1: The Parish of Kincardine in Menteith: medieval period–1891
29). This *keir* may have been the *ceapan* ‘small lump or hill’ from which the church, parish and village took their name. The church of Kippen was granted to the bishop of Dunblane by Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, as a prebend of Dunblane Cathedral in 1238 (Cowan 1967, 116; *Inchaffray Liber*, xxix–xxxii), although the earl retained the rights to patronage (*RMS* ii no. 2306).

**Port of Menteith**

After the priory of Inchmahome was built the parish church was re-located to the hamlet of Port of Menteith, where its successor still stands. There is a reference to the church of *Port* by the mid-15th century (*CSSR* v no. 1158). The kirk was still annexed to the priory at the Reformation (*Assumptions*, 544, 548).

**Early ecclesiastical elements: *cill, annaid* and *eglēs***

In Menteith there are three notable early church elements: *cill, annaid* and *eglēs*. Indeed, the parish of Kilmadock has all three within 4km of each other. We will deal with the element *cill* first. There are two places in Menteith containing this element – Kilmadock and Kilmahog – with another, Kilbryde, just over the border from Kilmadock in Dunblane and Lecropt parish. All three were parish centres in the medieval period. Only one, Kilmadock, has survived as a parish into the modern era. Nearby, in Lennox, is one other *cill*-name, Kilmaronock parish, Dunbartonshire. It is thought that these belong to a group of early Gaelic church-names found in many parts of Scotland, although more often in the west. *Cill* is the dative of Old Gaelic *cell*, deriving from the Latin *cella*, meaning ‘cell, church’. The exact dating of their foundation is not clear, but Simon Taylor has said that there is evidence for *cill*-names in eastern Scotland ‘by the mid-eighth century’ (Taylor 1998, 3). We should be clear, however, that the date of a church’s foundation and the acquisition of its name need not always be the same, and also remember that *cill*-names continued to be formed into the late medieval and early modern periods, as long as Gaelic was spoken locally (Butter 2007, 5–6).

18 Note that *keir* is not Brit. *caer* ‘fort’ here, but rather a borrowing into Scots and applied to a small hill with fortifications or resembling a fort (see *PNF* 5, 414–15).

19 Killearn parish in Stirlingshire (and also in Lennox), is not a *cill*-name, but instead contains *G ceann* ‘head, end’. The earliest forms are: church of *Kyniner* 1234 × c.1270 *Lenn. Cart.*, 36 [with half plough of land on which it stood erected, and which in Scottish (i.e. Gaelic) was called *Lechenachereach*, given by earl of Lennox to Stephen of Blantyre (*Blantyre*); Ricardo Setone rectore ecclesie de *Kynherine* 1272 × 1286 *Lenn. Cart.*, 41 [date from *POMS*]; apud *Kylhenn* 1423 *RMS* ii no. 165 (see <http://www.kcfc.co.uk/courier/Courier29.pdf> [p. 21]).
One of the two *cill*-names in Menteith is Kilmahog. This church first comes on record in 1259 as a mensal church of the bishop of Dunblane (*CPL* i, 367; *Fasti* iv, 339; Cockburn 1959, 20, 70). The church does not appear on record again until 1494 (Fraser, *Grandtully* i, no. 25). Note that the identification with *ecclesia De Sancto Magbot* and *ecclesia De Sancti Mathoc* in Bagimond (Bagimond’s *Roll* (Dunlop), 54, 71) for Kilmahog is a mistake by Dunlop; these forms refer to St Madoes, east of Perth (Taylor 2005, 15). The territory of Kilmahog is difficult to define with any accuracy. However, there are at least two documents that give some indication as to the extent of the parish. In a charter of 1572, Donald Dewar held the lands of *Garrindewar* in dominio de *Stogartnay* (*RMS* iv no. 2092; Márkus 2009, 125, 139–40). The same charter tells us that ‘the lands of *Garrindewar* [were] founded for the ringing of a bell before dead people in the parish of Kilmahog in the time of papistry’.\(^{20}\) The whereabouts of *Garrindewar* are seen on a plan made by John Leslie, a surveyor for the Annexed Estates in 1775, who shows *Gartenjore* in the lands of Portnellan on the northern shores of Loch Venachar at approximately 0.5km north-west of Portnellan.\(^{21}\) Both *Garrindewar* and *Gartenjore* are forms of Gaelic *Gart an Dèoraidh* ‘enclosed field or settlement of the relic-keeper’. Another charter dating to 1620 shows that other lands in Kilmahog included *Landrick* (now Lendrick Lodge at NN549064), *Offrance* # (NN542060), and *Choischambie* # (NN546062), all given as being ‘in the parish of Kilmahog’ (in parochia de *Kilmahwg*) (*RMS* viii no. 172).\(^{22}\) These townships are shown as being at the western end of Loch Venachar, but since Kilmahog and *Gartenjore* were at the eastern end of the loch, it may be that the parish of Kilmahog consisted of the lands on the northern shore of Loch Venachar.\(^{23}\) There is an ambiguity here, however, since an Annexed Estate plan of 1775 shows that some of the lands, including Milton of Callander CLD and Blairgarry CLD along the northern shore belonged at that time to the Earl of Moray, whose lands were not forfeited after the rebellion of 1745; the lands lying at the eastern and western ends of Loch Venachar belonged to the Earl of Perth, whose lands were forfeited (NRS E777/313/2). It seems these lands had been divided in the later medieval

\(^{20}\) The text of which reads ‘que olim pro pulsatione unius campane coram mortuis personis infra parochiam de Kilmahug tempore papismatis fundate erant’ (Márkus 2009a, 139–40). This document is also in NAS as GD112/76/30.

\(^{21}\) NAS E777/313, pp.176–77.

\(^{22}\) The relevant part of the text of the charter reads ‘annuum redditum 300 merc. de terris de *Lanerk* (per Pat. Fergusoun alias Murdochesone occupatris), *Offrance* (per Arch. M’Claren occupat.), et *Choischambie* (per Jo. M’Kerres et Jo. Buchannane alias Leany occupatris), in parochia de *Kilmahwg*, senesc. de Menteith, vic. de Perth’.

\(^{23}\) For discussion of these lands and their early forms see the survey of the parish of Callander in McNiven (2011).
period, since they were all grouped together within the barony of Strathgartney in the Rentalia Domini Regis (Rental of the Lord King) (see ER vols ix–xv). But it may be that Kilmahog was a fragmented parish and included those lands along the northern shore of Loch Venachar, ranging from Bochastle in the east to Duncraggan in the west, that later belonged to the earl of Perth and which were forfeited after the 1745 Rebellion. It is not known exactly when Kilmahog was subsumed into Callander parish, but it may have been as late as the first quarter of the 17th century, when in 1620 there is mention of ‘the parish of Kilmahog’ (parochia de Kilmahwug) (RMS viii no. 172).

Earlier place-name scholars have said this is Cill Mo-Chug; a church dedicated to St Cug (MacKinlay 1904, 111; MacKinlay 1914, 502; Watson 1926, 315). Cug is possibly Cuaca from Meath in Ireland. Her name is found in Kilcock, County Kildare, and in Kilquhochadale, Kirkcowan parish WIG (Kyrkecok 1214–49, Holyrood Liber no. 69) in the reign of Alexander II (1214–49); see also Watson 1926, 167. The fair day of Kilmahog was 15th November, which is problematic, for Cuaca’s day is apparently 8th January; 15th November is Machutus’s day. In an act of Charles II in favour of Alexander Stewart, earl of Moray, for changing his fairs at Doune dating to 1669, where we are told that ‘upon the fifteenth day of November called St Mahans day, which wes of old kept at the kirk of Kilmahong’ (NAS PA2/29, f.115v–116). St Mahan has been identified here by the editor of the Records of the Parliaments of Scotland website with Machutus.24 If Machutus was the patron saint of Kilmahog, then we may be seeing the dedication of a British saint, who was identified as the saint in Lesmahago, Lanarkshire, by the monks of Kelso Abbey (Taylor 2009, 71–72; Watson 1926, 197). There is a possibility he could also be the saint in Loch Mahaick KMA, although what connections there were, if any, between Loch Mahaick and Kilmahog are unknown. The Machutus connection in Menteith might be strengthened by the fact that an island in Loch Ard AFE is apparently named after St Mallo (Geog. Coll. i, 343); Machutus is the Latin form of the name, most famously found in Brittany as St Mâlo. Nevertheless, whatever the possible circumstances of how Machutus may have become associated with Kilmahog, it may be considered doubtful that the name Mahog and its variants originally represented that saint.

Kilmadock may be named after St Cadoc or Docus of Llancarvan or Docgwin of Llandough in northern Wales. Either way, the saint being commemorated here is probably a British saint from the sixth or seventh century (Brooke 1963, 298; Watson 1926, 327; Watson 1927). The name Kilmadock means ‘church of my Doc’, the ma, from mo, being an honorific prefix, a Gaelic equivalent

24 <http://www.rps.ac.uk/> (search for Kilmahog).
to ‘saint’. James MacKinlay, writing in 1914, thought the church could have been dedicated to St Aedh, who was ‘better known perhaps under his honorific disguise as St Madoc or St Modoc’ (MacKinlay 1914, 147). The old church is marked *St Aedb’s Church* on the current 1:25,000 OS Explorer map, possibly under the influence of McKinlay. W. J. Watson disputed this dedication, saying that in this case it would have been M’Aedóc, which is stressed on the first syllable rather than on the second like Madoc (Watson 1926, 327). It is notable that the church is simply marked as ‘Kilmadock Church (ruins of)’ on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map of 1863. The confusion may have arisen due to the fair day of Kilmadock. An Act of Parliament in 1669 allowed the earl of Moray, the main landholder in the parish, to change the fair days of Kilmadock and Kilmahog. In Kilmadock, the fair had been held on the feast day of St Mittans, which was 31st January (NAS. PA2/29, f.115v–116). Cadoc’s feast day was 24th January (Watson 1927, 12); the feast day of Aed of Ferns, an Irish saint, better known by his hypocoristic form Maedóc (Mo-Aedóc), was 31st January, and it is possible that St Mittans could be a garbled hypocorism for Mo-Aedóc (Márkus, pers. comm.). What may have happened is that Kilmadock was originally dedicated to Docus the Briton, but as with Columba at Inchmahome, people had lost sight of the original commemoration by the later middle ages. It may be that, as they cast around for an explanation as to who the saint in Kilmadock was, Maedoc, and the nearness of his feast day, was sufficient for him to be commemorated in the parish.\(^{25}\)

There was a chapel at Lanrick, around 2km west of the old church of Kilmadock, implied by the *Chapelland* mentioned in 1509 (*RMS* ii no. 3347). It has been written that this was one of six chapels belonging to the ‘ancient monastery of St Madocus, now called Kilmadock’ (*OSA* xx, 89), but there is no medieval evidence for any monastery at Kilmadock.

Another indication of the cult of Cadoc or Docgwin or similar, is the surname Doig. Deriving from *Gille Doig* ‘the Servant of St Cadoc’ (Black 1946, 212), the name is first mentioned as Dog in 1463, when Walter Dog is named as Keeper of Doune Castle (*ER* vii, 189). This seems to be the same Walter who became Chamberlain of Menteith in 1467 (*ER* vii, 572). Sir Thomas Dog was prior of Inchmahome from 1469 to 1477 (*Glas. Mun. vol. ii*, 76; *Stirling Protocol Bk* (*Scot. Antiquary* x, 117, 140); Watt and Shead 2001, 109). Alexander Dog, canon of Inchmahome, resigned the lands of Achnabana (*Auchounbannow* 1491; *Auchinbanno* 1628, possibly *achadh na beannachd* ‘the field of the blessing’; see McNiven 2011, 272–73), just north of Doune in 1491 (*RMS* ii no. 2059), while by that date Wat Dogg had given his name

\(^{25}\) My grateful thanks to Gilbert Márkus for his assistance here.
Fig. 1 Remains of the Parish Kirk of Kilmadock

Photo: The Author
(along with Wat Smyth) to Watston, 1km south-west of Doune (NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v). The name Dog or Doig is found throughout Kilmadock in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period (see Black 1946, 212, for a summary).

Another early Gaelic ecclesiastical name in Kilmadock parish is Annet, from *annaid*, Old Irish *andóit*, often having the sense of ‘mother church’, but also a place where the relics of the patron saint of the parish were kept; the possession of relics would give an *annaid* the authority and status that would enable it to act as the mother church (Márkus, pers. comm.). It is unknown for an *annaid* to contain a saint’s dedication (MacDonald 1975, 137). We need not think of a name containing *annaid* as an early church site, but the element is an important indicator towards there being one in the surrounding district (Clancy 1995, 102; Taylor 1998, 8). *Annaid* place-names are generally in remote places, although in the case of Annet in Menteith (and possibly other Annats in Scotland) that may simply be because we have been blinded by the modern road network. The fact that we know there were a number of tounships in the vicinity in the Middle Ages suggests that the area was not so isolated. Annet is on the lower, gradual slopes of the Braes of Doune, only 3km north-west of the site of the old church of Kilmadock. Marked on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map almost half-way between Annet and the old church of Kilmadock is the Kirkton Knowe, a small rise said to contain ‘a chapel and graveyard’ (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN60SE 5). There may be a proprietorial aspect concerning Annet (Clancy 1995, 102), in that it could be the lands that supported a nearby church, possibly Kilmadock, i.e. the old church. Although evidence for this site only dates to the early 16th century, it seems that *annaid* dates in other parts of Scotland from the ninth to eleventh centuries (Clancy 1995, 111). Archaeological excavation of a long cist cemetery at Balnahanait (baile na h-*annaid* ‘the settlement of the *annaid*’) on the northern side of Loch Tay has produced radiocarbon evidence dating to 640–780 AD (Lelong 2003, 7). However, it may be that the *annaid* in Kilmadock was the old church at Kilmadock – the Annet Burn, which flows past the church, was originally called *Allt na h-*Annaide* (Watson 1926, 251). The name of the burn may then have been transferred to a settlement that appeared on the banks of the burn sometime later.26

The whole question of early church sites in Kilmadock is complicated by the fact that there is another early church name nearby: *Aiglesteinston* (Eglysdissentyn 1267). This place-name is now lost, but Roy appears to show it on the banks

26 This is where Part 1 of the History Scotland article ends.

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Fig. 2 Roy’s Map of c.1750: showing the position of Aiglesteinston in relation to Annet and other townships

Image Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland: <http://maps.nls.uk/>
of the Annat Burn, north of the township of Annet. However, Geoffrey Barrow (1983, 12) tentatively placed it in grid square NN6706, around 2km west of Annet, and the place-names on Roy’s map show that Barrow is indeed correct. What appears to be the Annat Burn on Roy is actually the Coillechat Burn, unless the townships have been placed alongside the wrong burn on the map. If we take the townships as reliable indicators of the whereabouts of Aiglesteinston, it was between Craigtoun27 and Ballachraggan.28 Two other names appear on the course of the burn shown on Roy; Balkorist (Balvorist) and Ballcanich (now a field name called Balmacansh). Aiglesteinston would seem to be at approximately Ordnance Survey grid reference NN679058, or perhaps it has been replaced by the name Drumloist29 or incorporated into the lands of that township.

A confirmation charter of Alexander III in 1267 states that Broculy (i.e. Brackland, Callander parish) had a border with Eglysdissentyn (Fraser, Menteith ii, 217);30 this suggests that Aiglesteinston was a major estate, bigger than later medieval sources imply. It may be that the lands of Aiglesteinston went up to the Sruth Geal ‘white stream’, the burn that now defines part of the western border between Kilmadock and Callander.

British *eglēs derives from the Latin ecclesia ‘church’ (Barrow 1983, Hough 2009). The second part of Aiglesteinston perhaps contains the saint’s name Iast or Iestyn, possibly an early Welsh saint; Iestyn son of Geraint seemingly founded churches at Llaniestyn in Anglesay and Caernarvonshire (Smith and Wace 1877–87 iii, 209). What connection he could have with Kilmadock is not known. In the place-name we may also have the possessive pronoun do ‘thy’ (Barrow 1983, 7). The possessives mo and do are often interchangeable as can be seen in Mobhì and Dabhì, saints names based on the name Berchán (Butter 2007, 104, 114). Another possibility is that the specific element is not last or Iestyn, but a Pictish cognate of Brit. seintyn ‘little saint’.

The early forms for Aiglesteinston are remarkable.31 The differences in these early forms led Geoffrey Barrow initially to think that there were two *eccles-names in the area (see Barrow 2003 [1973], 52 and McNiven 2011, 273–74), but from 1456 to c.1750 this place is intimately connected with Ballachraggan in the source material. Barrow only has one *eccles-name in this area in his 1983 article; he had obviously come to the conclusion, correctly in my view,
that, despite the myriad of differing early forms, these related to the same place. From 1267 to 1502 they follow a recognisable pattern similar to its earliest form. However, once we reach 1528 the name changes and the specific becomes -chechynauche, before it becomes more like its earlier forms again in Roy. Quite what is happening here is not at all clear. It may be that another saint’s name, albeit now unrecognisable, had replaced Iestyn or seintyn, assuming of course the people of the area knew they were dealing with the *eglēs ‘church’ element. There may be a tenuous naming connection here between Kilmadock and Aggischechynauche, since in the Middle Ages it was believed – whether it was true or not – that Cadoc taught the Irish saint, Cainnech of Achadh Bó, at Llancarvan in North Wales.

But why three early church terms in the one parish, and why so close to one another? It cannot be assumed that all three names were coined at around the same time. As well as being a mother church, annaid can also be a place in which a saint’s relics were kept (see DIL under andóit). This was thought to be the meaning of annaid in the late-19th century: Duncan Campbell, author of The Book of Garth and Fortingall, writes of the ‘annait or relic chapel’ in Glenorchy (Campbell 1888, 48–49). The case for Annet KMA being a ‘place where a saint’s relics were kept’, might be strengthened if we take into account W. J. Watson’s comment that he received information about Severie in Kilmadock from a ‘Miss Margaret Dewar, of the old family of Dewars of Severie and Annat [sic]’ (Watson 1926, 261 note 1). It has been noted above in the discussion of Gartenjore that a ‘dewar’, from G dèoradh, was a relic-keeper. There have been Dewars in Kilmadock since at least 1402, but Watson suggests they may be much older than that. If the Dewars had been long established in Kilmadock, then it may be that Annet was either a place where the relics, presumably thought to have been those of Cadog (or whoever the patron saint was) were kept or perhaps it was the original dwelling place of the keeper of his relics. Near Annet is Severie, Suidhe a’ Bhritheimh ‘the seat of the judge’ where oaths were taken on the relics (Watson 1927, 9). We have already noted that an important part of the dewar’s duty was ceremonial, such as ringing a bell in a burial procession in the case of the parish of Kilmahog. Relics were used in other ceremonies such as the granting of land and swearing of oaths, as was the case in Carolingian France and early medieval Wales and Ireland (Ganshof 1964, 30, 77; Márkus 2009, 118–24). We have no evidence of such use in Menteith, but it must rank as another task of the dewar.

Aiglesteinston remains an enigma. If it is not lands of an early British or Pictish church, as has been argued by Alan James for the element *eglēs in England (James 2009a; see also idem, this volume, pp. 23–25), then Aiglesteinston may have been an early church which had been supplanted by or transferred to the
Saints commemorated in Menteith place-names

There are a number of places which contain saints’ names; one Kil-name on the borders of Menteith, Kilbryde, Dunblane and Lecropt parish, was dedicated to St Brigit. W. J. Watson states that the original saint, Brigit (Bridget) of Kildare, who died in Ireland in the first half of the sixth century, was so popular that at least 15 other saints took her name (Watson 1926, 161), although these are probably local manifestations of the cult of Brigit of Kildare. The ancient church of Abernethy, also in Dunblane diocese, was dedicated to St Brigit of Kildare (ES i, cxx–cxxi). North of Callander there are the remains of St Bride’s Chapel at the southern end of Loch Lubnaig, which must be the ‘chaplaincy and hermitage of Lubnaig’ (capellania et Hermetage de Lupnow) mentioned in 1503 (RMS ii no. 2751).32 St Bride’s Chapel is undoubtedly old for two stone cross slabs were found in work carried out at the site in 1934 and 1971 (RCAHMS Canmore NMRS no. NN50NE 3). They have been dated to between the 11th and 13th centuries. There are two place-names associated with the chapel; Creag a’ Chaibeil and Àth a’ Chaibeil ‘the rock’ and ‘the ford of the chapel’ respectively. The former is opposite the chapel next to the A84 main road, while the latter is a ford across the Garbh Uisge to Coireachrombie.

In Kilmadock there are two chapels dedicated to St Fillan: one within Doune Castle and the other 1km south-east of the castle. Both these chapels are mentioned in a charter of 1581 to Sir James Stewart, lord of Doune, later earl of Moray, ‘the advocatioun, donatioun and rycht of patronage of the cheplanrie of Sanct Phillane, situatit within the said castell of Doun, and [the chepell of] the cheplanrie of Sanct-Phillane, situatit without the samyn’ (NAS, PA2/12, ff.79v–80r). When these chapels were built is unknown, but the one inside the castle presumably must post-date the building of the castle c.1380,33 making it probable that Robert duke of

32 See McNiven (2011, 258–59) for my argument that this is not a hermitage or chapel of Lipney, Logie parish STL, as seen in RCAHMS (2001, 16), McGloin (1967, 58) and McRoberts (1965, 213).

33 Although, as Gilbert Márkus (pers. comm.) points out, ‘one can imagine that a castle was built at a site where a chapel existed, and that the service of the chapel was maintained. Indeed, this might explain the presence of another chapel of the same dedication outside the castle – the people who once had access to the original one, now inside a castle and not open to the public, must make do with a new one outside’.
Fig. 3 A Cross Discovered at the Site of St Bride’s Chapel

Photo: The Author
The cult of Fillan was also evident in Leny; it is possible that Kippen also had a dedication to St Fillan. In 1536, Margaret Wilson was granted the lands of Arnbeg in Kippen Parish, with mill and lands, reddendo ‘pro molendino et ejus terris dimedium celd. farine capellano capelle S. Phillani’ (RMS iii no. 1574). However, it is not clear where this St Fillan’s Chapel, associated with Arnbeg’s mill, was located. It may be it was the chaplain at, for example one of the chapels of St Fillan at Doune, who held these rights in Kippen.

John Leslie, in his survey of CLD for the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates in 1775, wrote ‘At this place where the Old Kirk [of Callander] stood is a pretty little Mount called Tamakesok retaining its name from St McKessock Bishop and confessor here anno 520 whose Anniversary is kept the 10th day of March by a market held that day’ (NAS E777/313/3). This fair was called Latha Fhéill Mo-Cheasaig (Black 2000, 19). Kessog is especially associated with Luss DNB, where he is supposed to have been martyred and buried, and is
also associated with Auchterarder and Comrie PER (Watson 1926, 278). In Glenfinglas is Gleann Casaig (Glenkassik 1451 ER v, 476), which probably commemorates Kessog. Nearby is Cladh nan Casan (or ‘Ceasanach’ as W. J. Watson has it), which seems to mean ‘graveyard of Kessog’s people’ (Watson 1926, 278). Kessog’s name also appears in personal names in Menteith: Murtho Kessokissone and Kessok Murthauson are both mentioned as tenants in the lands of Cessintullie KMA in 1486 (ER ix, 627).

The church at Kincardine was dedicated to St Lolanus: the 16th century Martyrology of Aberdeen mentions ‘In Scotland St Lolanus bishop and confessor of Kincardine near Stirling’ (In Scocia Sancti Lolani episcopi et confessoris de Kyncardin prope Stirling) (Laing 1854–57, 268). The Martyrology and the Aberdeen Breviary have his day as ‘x Kl. Octobris’, i.e. 22nd September (Laing 1854–57, 268; Macquarrie with Butter 2012, 377–78). The story of how Lolanus came to Scotland is marvellously absurd, not only in its telling of how the saint cut off his arm to give back a key that would open a door back in Rome only if his hand was attached to it, but also in the fact that he is meant to have been a nephew of Serf and died in 1054. Given that Lolanus was said to be a contemporary with St. Serf (died possibly c.614), he would have been long lived indeed (Macquarrie with Butter 2012, 415). In a charter dated to 1189 × 1195 Kincardine was granted to the Augustinian abbey of Cambuskenneth. The abbey was to have ‘thirteen acres of arable, a brewer’s toft with a garden, a toft for St Lolanus’s Bell with a garden, and a toft for St Lolanus’s Crosier with a garden’ (RRS ii, no. 372). Richard Oram proposed that the tofts mentioned above were for the keepers of Lolanus’s bell and crosier, and he suggested that these keepers may have been déoraidhean ‘hereditary keepers’ (Oram and Fawcett 2008, KRD).

While there is no other evidence for this type of what Oram called ‘quasi-religious officer’ in Kincardine, they existed elsewhere in Menteith, as we have seen in Kilmahog and the discussion of Dewars in Kilmadock, and we also know that déoraidhean looked after the relics of St Fillan in the medieval parish of Killin (Taylor 2001, 186). Amazingly, after being lost for 250 years, what is thought to be the bell of St Lolan was discovered by a fisherman in the River Forth in 1929, and is now in the Museum of Religious Life, Glasgow (Appleby 1961, 133–38). However, it is possible that this bell

36 This was originally printed in Forbes, Calendars, 134.
37 ‘… ecclesiam de Kincardin cum capellis et decimis et oblationibus omnimodis et tresdecim acras terre arabilis et unum toftum brasiatoris cum uno orto, et unum toftum ad campanam Sancti Lolani cum uno orto, et unum toftum ad baculum Sancti Lolani cum uno orto …’
38 See also Mármus 2009, 138, who mentions this passage regarding crofts pertaining to St Lolan’s bell and crosier in the context of dewars receiving lands elsewhere in Scotland.
39 The bell is 25cm × 14cm. The bell is also described in TGAS, New Series viii (1933), 144–46.

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Fig. 5 Tom ma Chisaig: a regular, flat-topped mound in the parish of Callander

Photo: The Author
is not authentic; it has recently been argued by Gilbert Mármurk that ‘[t]here is no reason to suppose that the iron handbell now on display in St Mungo’s Museum, Glasgow, is St Lolan’s Bell, in spite of a rather hopeful tradition that it is. It was supposedly found in the River Forth, in the 1920s, but it is in far too good a condition for it to be a medieval bell which has lain in water for several centuries’ (Caldwell et al 2012, 238–39).

It is well understood that place-names with saints’ names attached to them often take a hypocoristic form. It has been argued that the saints’ dedications of Aberfoyle and Kippen, which, as we shall see, seemingly contain different names, probably represent the same saint. Aberfoyle was dedicated to the Irish saint St Berach or Berchán (Watson 1926, 194, 225). Berchán is simply Berach with the diminutive suffix -án and syncope (Butter 2007, 103). In an Irish Life of that saint, Berach so amazed Aedán mac Gabráin, king of Dál Riata, with his miracles ‘[and] Aedan offered the fort to Berach: that is Eperpuill [Aberfoyle], a monastery of Berach’s in Alba (Ocus ro edhbar Aodhan an dun do Bherach. Conadh hí sin Eperpuill i. cathair atá ag Berach i nAlbain)’ (Plummer vol. i, 35; Watson 1926, 225; Anderson 1980, 146; Butter 2007, 104). Although there are no place-names on any map associated with Berach/Berchán in Aberfoyle, a house now called Craigmore Guesthouse (and earlier called Abbeyfield) was named Feilbarachan. It was named after a field opposite that was used for the local games in the 1930s, and it may be this field, which lies between the River Forth and the Aberfoyle–Inversnaid road, that was used as the site of the fair in mid-October called Féill Bercháin.

Near the site sometimes said to be the original site of the church of Kippen, Keir Hill of Dasher. In modern times Movean was assumed to have been the patron saint of the parish of Kippen (MacKinlay 1914, 79; Begg 2000, 17–18). However, this assumption is based on a well called St Mauvais Well and a fair in October called Semvie’s Fair (Black 1999, 42; MacKinlay 1914, 79). No

40 For more on saints’ names in place-names, see the Leverhulme funded Database of Scottish Hagiotoponyms from a project based at the University of Glasgow with Prof. Thomas Clancy, Dr Rachel Butter, Gilbert Mármurk and Matthew Barr, at <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/>.
41 My grateful thanks to Dr Chris Dalglish of the University of Glasgow, Mr Louis Stott and Mr Alan Cooper of the Kinlochard Local History Group for information and their help in identifying Feilbarachan.
42 I have not come across any primary source for this statement. It seems to be based on a communication between Charles Plummer, editor of the Life of Berach, and Rev. Moncrieff-Taylor of Aberfoyle. Plummer has a note in his edition of the Irish Life which quotes from a letter from Moncrieff-Taylor who claims there were fairs in April and October held in a field called Feil-barachan (Plummer 1922 vol 2, 327–78; Butter 2007, 104, n311). Forbes notes only that Berchan was ‘celebrated in the province of Stirling’ and ‘went to Inchmahome in the Lake of Menteith’ (Forbes, Kalendars, 279).
actual dedication to the medieval kirk of Kippen itself has been found, but a chapel at Arnprior KPN was dedicated to St Bean; in the 1440s, Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm Abbey in the Firth of Forth, wrote of ‘Arnprior where there is a chapel of St Bean’ (Ernefrear ubi capella Sancti Beani) (Bower Scotichron Bk 2, ch. 10 (vol. 2, p. 190)). Movean is clearly for Mo Bhean, while Semvie is a contraction of St Mo Bhi. It is possible that Bean is Beóán, whose main church was in Co. Down in Ulster, although it could be that he was a British saint – there is a Kirkbean in Kirkcudbrightshire. Bean is also found by the 13th century in Kinkell PER and Fowlis Wester PER (Inchaffray Chrs nos. 9 and 28); he is Mobí in a calendar produced at Fowlis Wester. There was a Sanct Mavane’s Mill at Buchanty PER on record in 1542 (RMS iii no. 2832).

Lands belonging to the medieval church

The church in Menteith could not have functioned if it did not have people to administer it and the sacraments. There are a small number of place-names in Menteith that recall what we may term officers of the church. We have already mentioned the dewar above. The highest ranking official is the bishop, found in Achadh an Easbuig ‘the field of the bishop’, just over 2km north-west from the site of the church of Leny. The earliest reference is from the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map of 1866, but the name may date from 1237–38. In 1237, Pope Gregory assigned to the bishop of Dunblane ‘if it can be done without grave scandal, a quarter of the teinds of all the parish churches of the Diocese of Dunblane’ (Cockburn 1959, 48–49). Other churches certainly had to give a quarter of their teinds to Dunblane: at the Reformation the quarter of the teinds of the kirks of Tulliallan, Glendevon and Fossoway were assessed, as was ‘the bischoppis parte’ of the vicarage of Muthill (Assumptions, 349). As has been noted, Leny was appropriated to Inchmahome Priory in 1238, the year after the quarter of the teinds were assigned to the bishop of Dunblane, and so there may have been a need to distinguish which area of the parish paid the dues to the bishop and which area paid dues to the priory. Therefore, the produce of Achadh an Easbuig may have been equivalent to the quarter of the teinds of the parish of Leny that was paid to the bishop of Dunblane, even though in theory it should have been a quarter of the teinds of the whole parish that was collected by the bishop. Whether or not the quarter of the teinds of Leny were collected throughout the Middle Ages is unclear.

Deanston KMA was named after Walter Drummond, dean of Dunblane

43 <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1367057317>. I am grateful to Dr Butter for also allowing me to view and cite from her talk on St Bean to the Pictish Arts Conference on 9th October 2009.
Cathedral between 1497 and 1512 (Cockburn 1959, 261). I have found no record of Deanston earlier than 1585 (RMS v no. 842). Cockburn states that he was ‘the proprietor of Sackentown (i.e. Sauchinthome KMA), which was changed in name to Deanston, after him’ (Cockburn 1959, 261). It is notable that it is called ‘villam et terras capellanias de Sauchinthome alias Denstoun’ (the toun and chapel-lands of Sauchinthome alias Deanston) (RMS v no. 842), and therefore Cockburn’s assertion is eminently reasonable. Across the River Teith form Deanston is Clarkton KMA, which may be ‘settlement or farmstead of the cleric’. This may relate to the cathedral of Dunblane, but its very late appearance on Stobie’s map of Perthshire of 1783 admits the possibility that the name relates to someone with the surname Clark, but its proximity to Deanston is striking.

In Aberfoyle are two place-names denoting ‘priest’: Mulan an t-Sagairt ‘the knoll of the priest’ (NN419034), and Creag Bhuail an t-Sagairt ‘the crag of the cattle-fold of the priest’ (NN481018), while in Callander on the western side of Loch Lubnaig, is Maol an t-Sagairt ‘the maol of the priest’ (NN583123). These three names are only first on record on the 1st edn 6 inch OS map in 1866, and although I have been unable to find any traditions associated with them, they must pre-date the Protestant Reformation of 1560.

It may be that in the vast parish of CLD, where, as we have seen, all the medieval parish churches of Callander, Leny and Kilmahog were congregated at the eastern end of the parish, the priest had to travel to exercise his office. There appear to be no ecclesiastical place-names between modern Brig o’ Turk and Glengyle. There are burial grounds at the western end of Loch Katrine shown, one of which was the burial ground of the MacGregors, and was seemingly called Dal Naomh ‘holy haugh, water meadow’. In Glenfinglas, before it was flooded to make a reservoir, were Dal Naomh ‘holy haugh, water meadow’ and Tom Naomh ‘holy knoll’ (Hutchison 1879, 61). There is also the burial ground at Cladh nan Casan, mentioned above. Nearby is Linne a’ Chluig ‘the pool of the bell’, although it is not known if it refers to the sound of the water falling into the pool or to a place where a bell was rung summoning people to worship (Hutchison 1879, 60).

Many lands were given to the church by kings and the nobility to provide for its upkeep. While in theory any lands could be given to the church, in Menteith there are place-names with elements that suggest that these lands specifically belonged to the church. In Menteith there are at least 22 names containing the Gaelic element earrann ‘portion, share, division’, scotticised as arn-. There are grounds for believing it is an element that, at least in Menteith, is closely connected to the priory of Inchmahome (Watson 1926, 256; Fraser 1999, 206). This is strengthened by the fact that there are the place-names Arnprior...
KPN and Arnvicar and Arnclerich, both PMH, while in Arnbeg, Kippen, in 1459 it was stated that the Chapel of St Mary of Garwalde in the Muir of Dundaff, near Denny STL, was to have the ‘two merklands of Arnbeg, in which is situated the Cross (crux) of Kippen’ (RMS ii no. 672), which might mean a stone or wooden roadside cross. The first thing to note is that the cluster of earrann-names in Menteith is most remarkable; the only other comparable cluster is in found in Galloway.

Like Menteith, Galloway has 23 earrann-names, with a further three in southern Carrick in Ayrshire. There are two particular concentrations of this element with 14 in the area around Castle Douglas and seven around New Galloway in the Glenkens. Richard Oram states that these earrann-names found in Galloway represent assarts, ‘point to ecclesiastical involvement’, and ‘may represent areas taken out of waste by monastic estate managers or their tenants’ (Oram 2000, 258, following Brooke 1984, 49). There are five in the Castle Douglas cluster that seem to support this view; Ernespie (the Bishop’s Portion), Ernfillan (St Fillan’s Portion), Ernanity (earrann na h-annaide ‘the portion of the annaid’ Watson 1926, 170), Arnmannoch (the monks’ or monastic tenants’ portion), Chapelerne and Ernambrie (possibly almoner’s portion, from Scots *almry ‘almoner, one of the monastic officers’ (PNF 4, 630)). These earrann-names seem to have been lands belonging to a nunnery possibly founded by Uchtred of Galloway (Oram 2000, 90) or to Lincluden Collegiate Church, which was founded by Archibald the Grim in 1389 (Oram 2000, 197). The last three mentioned earrann-names are just across the Urr Water from Grange Farm, Kings Grange and Grange Burn, all containing Scots grange ‘monastic farm’; however, it is possible these are secular granges since there is no indication of their having been monastic lands other than the name (Alistair Livingston, pers. comm). In the parish of Kirkgunzeon, 9.5km east of Castle Douglas, there is another Armannoch, containing Gaelic manach ‘monk or monastic tenant’. The earliest documented instance of earrann in Galloway dates to 1408. This is a bit earlier than those found in Menteith, where the earliest case is Arnprior in the 1440s, found in Walter Bower’s Scotichronicon as ‘Ernefrear ubi capella Sancti Beani [Arnprior where there is a chapel of St Bean]’ (Bower Scotichron Bk 2, ch. 10 (vol. 2, p. 190). However, it is worth noting in

44 This muir is on the southern edge of St Ninians parish STL, marked now by Dundaff Hill (NS735844).
45 My thanks to Michael Ansell for his help in identifying these earrann-names in Galloway, and to Alistair Livingston for his help in identifying the church to which some of these earrann-names may have belonged.
46 Although note that Brooke (1994, 106) favours either David I or one of the Princes of Nithdale as a founder, based on the fact that the nunnery was in the Desnes Cro area of Galloway. My thanks to Alistair Livingston for this reference.
the case of Menteith and Galloway that the relative lateness of the evidence is not necessarily an indication of lateness of names, as both are document-sparse districts.

While the distribution of earrann-names in Menteith certainly suggests some kind of connection with Inchmahome, this association of earrann-names and the priory is largely circumstantial, based on the distribution of the earrann-names themselves. However, it should be noted that Arnprior, Arnvicar, Arnclerich and Arnmach were properties of Inchmahome in 1606 (NAS, PA2/16, f.86v–89r); Arnachly, has traditionally been said to have been a chapel of Inchmahome (NSA x, 1105); and Arns DRY STL, is next to Chapellaroch ‘ruined chapel’, another chapel traditionally said to have belonged to Inchmahome, and Dalmary ‘the haughland dedicated to the Virgin Mary’, patron saint of Inchmahome.

A name that might suggest a routeway is Spittal, deriving from Latin hospitalaria, ‘the hostelry or guest house of a monastery’, or hospitele, hospitalitas ‘inn, guest house, hospital’ (McNiven 2013b, 24). There are or were four Spittal names in Menteith, with a further six just over the ‘border’ in Lennox. The Menteith ‘Spittals’ are Spittalton KMA, Gartmore Spittal, actually in Drymen, and two now lost at Arnbeg and Arngibbon Kippen. A ‘Spittal’ may indicate in this area a place of rest or refuge, especially perhaps for those on pilgrimage. The fact that there are a number of place-names with the element ‘Spittal’ either in Menteith or in the neighbouring Lennox parishes may indicate that Menteith was a thoroughfare on the way to other localities, whether they be pilgrimage or market centres, although another suggestion is put forward below.

In 1491, there is mention of ‘the Spitale’ at Spittalton KMA (NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v). It seems that there was indeed a spittal here, perhaps an inn belonging to Inchmahome (the Spitale was leased to John Haldane of Gleneagles by David, prior of Inchmahome [NAS, PA2/6, 1st part, f.28v]); and it would seem that the inhabitants who farmed the lands of the spittal had taken the surname ‘Spittale’ by 1480 (Gilcrist and John Spittale are mentioned as tenants there in ER ix, 566). There is a Spittal just north of Buchlyvie shown on the OS 6 inch 1st edn (NS574940), and there were other spittals in Kippen at Arnbeg in 1686 (Retours PER no. 943) and at Arngibbon in 1550 (RMS iv no. 517), but nothing more is known of them (Hall 2006, 215–17).

It has been held that the element spittal may refer to lands ‘attached’ to a hospital ‘at a distance from which they belonged [but] in a number of instances, its occurrence admits of no explanation’ (Cowan and Easson 1976, 162). Indeed, Cowan and Easson state that, in the case of Balfron STL, ‘the occurrence of the name Spittal in this parish permits no explanation’, and, regarding Drymen STL, that ‘no explanation of these [spittal-names] can be given’ (Cowan and
Easson 1976, 195–96). However, this may be too pessimistic, for while some spittal-names are indeed evidence of hospitals, lands belonging to a hospital or perhaps an inn, we must surely consider some spittal-names to have been lands belonging to the Knights Hospitaller, or even the Knights Templar, the military religious orders founded to guard the Crusade routes in the 12th century. The Knights Hospitaller took over many lands of the Templars after the latter order’s suppression in 1312 (Cowan et al. 1983, xxvi). Any evidence for either of these orders in Menteith is lacking. However, recent research I conducted has revealed that the neighbouring earldom of Lennox – and especially the area nearest Menteith, namely the Balfron-Killearn-Drymen triangle – has a number of spittal-names and these have been shown to have been properties belonging to the Knights Hospitaller and the Knights Templar before the Reformation of 1560 and are probably evidence of endowments to help pay for the Crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries (McNiven 2013b). A typical example of a charter regarding these spittal-names in Lennox is one dated to 1557: ‘James Lord of St John’s preceptor of Torphelin [and] the saids templar lands of Spittell of Easter Catter’ in Kilmaronock parish DNB (NAS GD119/30).

At the Reformation the ‘tak of the paroch kirk and townis’ for the thirds of benefices of Callander parish was collected from lands concentrated in the eastern portion of that parish: Callander, Kirktown, Auchinlaich, Brackland, Gart, Claish, Greenock, Gartchonzie and ‘the tua Iberts’ (Assumptions, 348). Of particular interest here are the ‘tua Iberts’. Deriving from Old Gaelic idbart or idpart, and so Gaelic ìobairt ‘offering, sacrifice’, their whereabouts are now unknown, but there is a house on the southern side of Callander called the Old Manse, and next to it is Churchfields (NN629075). The Iberts of Callander are additions to a remarkable group detailed in Watson (1926, 254), situated in the parishes of Balfron, Drymen, Killearn, all STL, and Kilmaronock DBN, while in Monzie parish PER in 1640, Ibert is presented as ‘the church lands or glebe called The Ibert of the church of Monzie’ (Retours PER no. 494). Ibert in Drymen is described in 1621 as ‘the church lands of Ibert’ (terris ecclesiasticis de Ibert) (Retours STL no. 108), and in Balfron there is mention in 1698 of ‘the church lands called Ibert’ (terris ecclesiasticis vocatis Ibert) (Retours STL no.338). There may have been another in Menteith; it is now Lochan Eabarach (‘small, muddy loch’) in Aberfoyle, but Stobie shows it as Lochaneibart ‘the small loch of the Ibert’. It is not far from where the old parish church of Aberfoyle stood. It would seem that ìobairtean were lands for the upkeep of the local parish church. It is probable, as the above reference for Monzie states, that they became the glebe, i.e. lands that specifically supported a priest.

47 Easter Catter sits at NS474870, 250 metres south east of the motte of Catter.
48 ‘Terris ecclesiasticis seu gleba vocata the Ibert ecclesiae de Monzie’.
There is another place-name element in Menteith which has a similar meaning, if not etymology, to *ìobairt*. W. J. Watson held that the place-name Offers or Offerance is derived from Latin *offerendum* ‘offering, oblation’ (Watson 1926, 254). It was borrowed into Old Gaelic as *oifrend* ‘sacrifice or office of the Mass’, and is now G *aifrionn* or *aifreann* ‘Mass’. The element is most notably found in the abbey of Inchaffrey, *Innis Aifreann*, in Strathearn, often written in its Latin form *Insula Missarum* ‘Isle of Masses’. While it is possible that the Menteith offers or offrance-names were originally Gaelic terms, most have since taken on a Scots form with a plural ending (or, indeed, are Scots place-names), however, ‘le Offryn’ in Strathgartney has the singular, presumably Gaelic form in 1451 (*ER* v, 476), although it is called *Afrans* in 1636–52 (NLS Adv. MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 51)). This is *Offerans* shown on the OS 1st edn 6 inch map at the western end of Loch Venachar (NN542059), while at the western end of Loch Achray are a meadow called *An t-Oirrinn* and a crag called *Creag an Oirrinn*, now Creag Noran (Watson 1926, 255). Another group of offers-names follow the course of the River Forth from The Offers KRD (NS716954), just across the river from Gargunnock STL, to Offerance DRY (NS541962), 2km east of Dalmary DRY. There were two in KRD: The Offers, first mentioned in 1536 (*Offeris RMS* iii no.1560), and what is now Chalmerston, originally the Offers of Ochtertyre (terras de *Ouchtertire*, cum lie *Offeris* earundem alias *Chalmeristoun* nuncupatis) (*RMS* iii, no. 1560; Watson 1926, 255). There were three in PMH; one called Offrins of Gartur and the other two now lost, but one is shown on Stobie at what seems to be Carse of Shannoil, while the other is mentioned as *Offerone of Gartladernick*, near what is now Hilton (NRS GD15/183). There is a cluster of five in Drymen parish, all hugging the River Forth between the parish border with Kippen and the A81 Glasgow–Aberfoyle road. There was an *Offerandis de Caschelie* in Drymen parish (*RMS* iii, no. 3172; *RMS* vii, no. 354), which might be the now split touns of Wester Offerance, Over Easter Offerance and Nether Easter Offerance; Cashley is just on the border with Kippen, 1km south-west of Buchlyvie, also in this area shown in Blaeu was *Airncaishlie*, which seems to be a lost *earrann*-name. Further west was Offerance of Garchell, and there is still Offerance, near Dalmary. There were at least two others in Kippen, but this is not certain, since one may have had different names: in the 15th century *Offrendscheregart* alternates with *Offrenys de Kippan* (1461 *ER* vii, 52), which by the 16th century seems to have become *Offeris de Lekky* called (nuncupat.) *Schiregartane* (1584 *RMS* iv no. 230). This is obviously Shirgarton at the western end of the village of Kippen, but there was also ‘Nether Dasher called *Offeris* … lying near the church of Kippen’ in 1508 (*RMS* ii no. 3226), which W. J. Watson thought was ‘probably the old glebe of Kippen’ (Watson 1926, 255).
Watson seemed to think there was a great deal of similarity between the terms *aifreann*, *ìobairt* and *earrann*; indeed, he stated that the ‘Offerances and Offers of Menteith are to be compared with the names Arn clerich, Arnvicar, Arn prior in the same district … and all were doubtless connected with the priory of Inchmahome’ (Watson 1926, 256). However, it may be that we are not dealing with Gaelic *aifreann* here at all, but instead with Scots *offerand*. The *Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue* has the definition of *offerand* as ‘the action of making a religious offering, oblation or sacrifice or the thing so offered; a (religious) offering, an oblation’. It may be that the lairds gave land to the church or Inchmahome, not to support a priest, as in the case of *ìobairt*, but perhaps for the celebration of Masses in honour of their dead relatives and ancestors, possibly in the period following the Black Death, which arrived in Scotland in 1349. As Diarmaid MacCulloch recently wrote, Augustinians, as well as providing pastoral care for the local laity, ‘supplied spiritual services at what seemed like cut-price rates [compared to Cistercians and Benedictines]: the gift of a field from a modestly prosperous knight [...] a few pence from a poor man’s family at his death bed’ (MacCulloch 2009, 392). However, it may be not be necessary to look for a different meaning for Ibert and Offeris; they may in fact be equivalent terms, but using different languages. This would certainly be the case in places where Scots was well established by the time these *offers*-names come on stream, such as Kippen.

**Conclusion**

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

**Parish Abbreviations (pre-1975)**

- AFE Aberfoyle
- CLD Callander
- DLE Dunblane and Lecropt

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Appendix

AIGLESTEINSTON # KMA S NN6906 2 130m

*Eglysdissentyn* 1267 Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 217 [confirmation by Alexander III of a gift by Walter Stewart, earl of Menteith, to Gilbert of Glenkerny of ‘medietate ville de *Broculy* (Brackland CLD) cum pertinenciis, videlicet, illa medietate que iacet in parte uersus marchias de *Eglysdissentyn*’].

*Eglisdikin* c.1300 Fraser, *Wemyss* ii, 6

*Eglisdishintane* 1456 *ER* vi, 279

*Ecclysdynschan* 1461 *ER* vii, 53

*Elgildisdan* 1471 *ER* viii, 67

*Ecclisdisdane* 1478 *ER* viii, 531

*Eglisdisdane* 1480 *ER* ix, 564 [*Eglisdisdane et Balnegregane* (Ballachraggan KMA)]

*Eglisdisdane* 1484 *ER* ix, 597

*Eglisdisdane* 1486 *ER* ix, 625

*Eglisdisdane* 1488 *ER* x, 636

*Eglisdisdane* 1491 *RMS* ii no. 2035 [*Eglisdisdane, et Ballechragane*

*Eglisdisdan* 1494 *ER* x, 723

*Egillusdisdaine* 1499 *ER* xi, 415

*Eglisdisdanne* 1502 *ER* xi, 633

*Eglisdisdane* 1502 *ER* xi, 635

*Aggischechynauche* 1528 *RMS* iii no. 607 [*terras de Aggischechynauche, Ballechragane*]

*Agglische-chynnauche* 1535 *RMS* iii no. 1498 [*terras de Agglische-chynnauche, Ballecraggane*]

*Aggleschechinauch* 1541 *ER* xvii, 717

*Aglisschenochis* 1558 *ER* xix, 431

*Agglischechymueauch* 1595 *Retours* PER no. 54 [*terris de Agglischechymueauch et Ballecragane*]

*Heglish-Stinchenach* 1630–50 Sibbald TNS 157r [A myl benorth *Kailly-chat is Heglish-Stinchenach*]

*Eglischaynauch* 1670 *Retours* PER no. 809 [*terris de Eglischaynauch, Ballichragan et Ballicavis (Bamacansh KMA)]

*Eglischinnauch* 1677 *Retours* PER no. 892 [*terris de Eglischinnauch, Ballichragan*]
et Ballicaine]
Aiglesteinston c.1750 Roy 75

Brit. *eglēs + do + ? pn Iast or Iestyn or ? Brit. Seintyn

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49 For Ballachraggan and Balmacansh KMA, see McNiven (2011, 282–83, 288–89)
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*CSSR* iv: *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1433–1447*, vol. 4, ed. A. I. Dunlop and D. MacLauchlan (Glasgow 1983).

*CSSR* v: *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1447–1471*, vol. 5, ed. J. Kirk, R. Tanner and A. I. Dunlop (Glasgow 1997).


*DIL*: *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials).


*Fasti*: *Fasti ecclesiae Scoticane: the succession of ministers in the parish churches of Scotland from the Reformation, A.D. 1560, to the present time*, ed. H. Scott et al. (1915–61).


*Glas. Mun.: Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (Maitland Club 1854).


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