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Logie is a fairly common place-name and place-name element in Scotland east of the Great Glen, north of the Forth and south of the Dornoch Firth.¹ Previously, it has been taken that it derives from Scottish Gaelic (ScG) *lag* ‘a hollow’, earlier *log*, developing from Old Irish/Old Gaelic (hereafter OG) *loc* ‘hollow, ditch’ (see Dwelly *lag*; eDIL 2 *loc*). W. J. Watson explained it as ‘*Logaigh*, later *Lagaigh*, dative of *logach*, “place in the hollow”’ (1926, 147), having previously offered a derivation from ScG *lag* with an ‘-aidh’ ending (1904, 58). In this he followed the explanation prevalent in the 18th and 19th centuries, for instance in the Statistical Accounts.² The spelling *lagaidh* predominates in ScG forms of these names. The proposed dative has been seen as having a locative function (Watson 1926, 147; A. Watson 1995, 96), though the supposed underlying **logach* has not been fully discussed (probably better ‘having a hollow or hollows’, cf. Dwelly *lagach* ‘full of dens, pits or hollows’; it is seemingly not attested in OG).³ On the basis of this derivation, names in *logie* are to be related to the large number of ScG place-names containing the element *lag* ‘hollow’ or its diminutive *lagan*, found throughout the historical Gàidhealtachd, including south-western Scotland.

1 This is a much revised version of work begun in 2005 and first presented in paper form in 2007, and subsequently circulated to colleagues in various informal ways. As a consequence, précisés of the basic ideas here have been presented by me in previous work (e.g. Clancy 2008, 377–78) and have also surfaced in the work of others (e.g. PNFife 1, 335–36; 4, 567–68; 5, 429; James 2016, 187; Forsyth 2005, 127). The fully worked-out statement of the argument presented here has been over-long in gestation and has undergone some transformation and refinement. I am most grateful in particular to Dr Simon Taylor for material and logistical help and encouragement throughout, especially in the initial and final stages, and for extraordinary patience throughout, and to other colleagues for various forms of help and encouragement, in particular Gilbert Márkus, Dr Peter McNiven, Dr Paul Tempan, Dr Bronagh Ní Chonaill, Prof. Dauvit Broun and Prof. Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh. The shortcomings are mine alone.

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2 See footnotes to Appendix 1 for some instances of the minister-authors’ comments on the derivation of the parish names.

3 Another interpretation might be that *lagaidh* is simply a gaelicisation of Scots *logie*. But see below for my argument that *lagaidh* could instead come from OI/OG *lacad* ‘weakening, laying low’ (i.e. a soft, boggy or low-lying place), cf. Dwelly *lagachadh*.

The situations of many of the places using the element *logie* in eastern Scotland are not incompatible with this explanation, being in hollows or on riverbanks, and this has added plausibility to this derivation. Nonetheless, there are some peculiarities to the cohort of *logie*-names, which will be explored fully below; for instance, there are a large number of churches – mostly parishes – employing this element and, where we have historical forms of these, they first appear as *login* or *logyn*, so they cannot derive from an earlier *logach/lagach* or its dative *logaidh/lagaidh*. These, and other factors to be discussed, suggest that there may be a different explanation at work behind the *logie*-names.

In 2003 Andrew Breeze proposed an etymology for the Midlothian place-name *Loquhariot* (formerly the parish name, now Borthwick MLO), in which he argued that the first element is a ‘Cumbric’ word **loc*, which can be paralleled in all the other Brittonic languages (and also in Old Gaelic), and is derived from the Latin word *locus*, originally ‘place’, but also ‘holy place, sacred place, church’, meanings developed in the late antique and early medieval periods (for which see DMLBS, s.v. *locus*(7); Sharpe 2002, 144–45, Jankulak 2000, 76–78). The present article arises from a consideration of whether at least some of the eastern names in *logie* benorth the Forth could be derived from a related ecclesiastical word, either Gaelic or Pictish in origin, rather than from *G lag* ‘hollow’.

In this article, I hope to demonstrate that the term which actually underlies some of the eastern *logie* names was **login* ‘ecclesiastical site, church’, a productive and hitherto undetected ecclesiastical place-name element in eastern Scotland. I will attempt to show the significance of this for our understanding of the early church in Scotland. In the process, I will show that it is necessary to reconsider the etymologies and relationships of some of the words involved. Finally, in an appendix, I will return to Andrew Breeze’s original suggestion anent *Loquhariot*, and consider whether the use of the ecclesiastical element **login* is limited to eastern Scotland north of the Forth, or whether there are traces of a wider phenomenon at work.

DISTRIBUTION OF **LOGIN* VS *LAG/LAGAN*

Names in *lag* certainly meaning ‘hollow, low-lying ground’ can be found in many parts of Scotland, and there are some in Ireland (see Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 103) and in the Isle of Man as well (Broderick 2006, 134). An exhaustive list of Scottish names is unnecessary to demonstrate the point; by way of random examples, Islay boasts Laggan and Lagavulin (NR285555, NR404457 and see Macniven 2015, 222–23, 167–68); in Cowal we find Laglingarten (NN144080); Watson notes Lag an Dùin in Lochcarron (Watson 1904, 193). As noted (and see Appendix 1), names in *logie* are primarily found in a catchment area of eastern

Scotland between the Dornoch Firth and the Forth,⁴ and names in *lag* and *lagan* are known here as well: the uplands of Badenoch and other parts of Moray have such names, e.g. (for *lag*) Lagvaich and Lagual in Inveravon parish (NJ220305, NJ243230), and (for *lagan*) Laggan (in Inveravon parish, NJ209269; in Knockando parish, NJ235416; in Mortlach parish, NJ342369).

The south-west of Scotland also boasts an array of names in *lag* and *lagan*, such as Lag (NX878862; NX889786) and Laggan (NX545530; cf. Laggan of Dee, NX573745), all in rather boggy locations, as are some names with added specifics, e.g. Laganabeastie Burn (NX1273) and Laggangarn (NX221715). There are no *logie* names in the south,⁵ but there are a series of place-names found as *logan*, such as Logan (House) AYR, Logan (House) LAN, Logan Water DMF, Logan WIG and Logan MLO, which seem by their situation or intrinsic wetness (cf. Logan Water) to indicate that they may come from OG *locán* '(small) hollow, low lying ground'.⁶

However, in eastern Scotland between the Forth and the Dornoch Firth there is a distinctive series of names rendered in Scots orthography as *Logie*. The early forms of many of these names (see Appendix 1) make it clear that these names derive from an element **login*, often spelled *logyn*, *login* etc. As such, the dominant analysis of these names – that of W. J. Watson (1904, 58; 1926, 147; 2002, 38) – must be at least partially incorrect. His view, as noted above, was

4 There are also a few places in the west with *logie* forms, e.g. Loggie on Loch Broom (*Logy* Blaeu 1654; *Loggie* Roy 1752; but note nearby broch 'Dùn Lagaidh' (cf. Dùn na Lagaidh, in Watson 1904, 251)).

5 On a surface level, Logie Braes WLO looks like an outlying exception, but this is based on a false analysis. We must reject the interpretation of MacDonald (1941, 96), who takes the name *Logie Brae(s)* in West Lothian to be 'probably *logaigh*, later *lagaigh*, dative of *logach*, "place in a hollow"', referencing Watson (1926, 147). There are a number of problems here. First, it seems clear that the primary name is that of the Logie Water, not that of the settlement. Second, the early forms of both hydronym (*Water of Logy* 1578; *Leugy R* 1654) and settlement (*Logy Bray* c. 1540; *Lugybra* 1552; *Lugybray* 1577; *Lugybra* 1591) – for all of which see MacDonald 1941, 96 – indicate that the more likely underlying name is one based on a Northern British cognate of *Wllug* 'bright, shining', with which compare the Luggie Water in Dunbartonshire and the Lugton in Ayrshire (see James 2016, 192–94; Clancy 2013, 294–96; Nicolaisen 1958). John Wilkinson (1992, 19) has already suggested this possibility. It is worth noting in passing that MacDonald's further suggestion that the *brae* here is from Gaelic rather than Scots seems to have no justification, especially once it is realised that the primary name is the hydronym.

6 There is apparently no relation between the several instances of the name *Login* in Wales and any of our terms. Owen and Morgan (2007, 302) derive this name (which is peculiar as a Welsh name in having initial *l-* rather than *ll-*) from a corruption of *halogen* 'stinking (stream)'. The underlying word *halog* is present in other place-names and is discussed in some detail by Pierce (2002, 93–94). I am not thoroughly convinced by this explanation but have no alternative proposition.

that *logie* derived from the dative form of *logach* ‘place in the hollow’, ultimately from *log*, ScG *lag* ‘a hollow’; he saw the dative as having been *logaigh*, later *lagaidh* in ScG orthography. In fact, at least in the case of the names detailed below, there is no trace in the early forms of *-ach* or *-aigh* endings;⁷ instead we are clearly dealing with *log* + the suffix *-in*. This suffix has been much discussed; the fullest review of it to date has concluded that it should be taken as a ‘suffix used to indicate a place-name ... “place of” or “place at”’ (Taylor, in PNFife 5, 407–11: 407; see also Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 30–38). I continue to have some doubt that this is quite the correct interpretation but lack a convincing alternative; however, whether we take the suffix as being locative or otherwise probably has little effect on the ultimate interpretation here. It clearly does not function as a simple diminutive ending and so cannot simply be an eastern reflex of OG *locán*, as found in southern Scotland. It is important to realise that the suffix *-in* is found in place-names attached to words derived from both Gaelic and Pictish and discussions of its meaning have had recourse to both Goidelic and Brittonic influences.

A further distinctive aspect of this set of names is that 14 of them are those of medieval parishes, while others are churches or sites linked to churches. From north to south, the medieval parishes are Logie Easter ROS (*Logynmethet* 1274; *Logy Estir* 1572); *Logie Wester* ROS (*Logynbride* 1275); *Logie-Fithenach* MOR, now Edenkillie (*Logyn Fythenach* 1208 × 15; *Logyn* 1229); *Logie Durno* ABD, often just Durno, and ultimately the parish of Chapel of Garioch (*Logindurnach* 1232 × 1237); *Logie Buchan* ABD (*Logyntalargy* 1275; *Logy* 1362); *Logie Mar* ABD, also *Logie Ruthven* (later *Logie-Coldstone*: *Logymar* 1239 × 1241; *Logyn Rouen*’ 1245 × 1255); *Laggan* INV (*Logynkenny* 1239); *Logie Montrose* ANG, later *Logie-Pert* (*Logyn* 1250 × 1259); *Logie Dundee* ANG (*Logyndunde* 1178 × 1188); *Logierait* PER (*Login Mahedd* 1189 × 1195; *Laggan Rait* 1654); *Lagganallachy* PER (*Logynaueleath* 1274); *Logiebride* PER (*Loginbrid* 1274); *Logie Murdoch* or *Logie FIF* (*Loginmurthak* 1245 × 1255); *Logie STL* (*Login Atheren* c. 1178; *Login* c. 1199). In addition, there is the chapel of *Logie FIF* in Rosyth parish (capella de *Logyn* 1250 × 1272), the lands of *Logie MOR* adjacent to the church of Duffus in Moray (*Logy juxta ecclesiam de Duffhes* 1294) and a number of other sites employing the element that seem related to ecclesiastical sites, which will be explored later in this article.

A number of things are evident from this collection of names. Many of the names vary within the documentary record between simplex forms and some sort of compound. Of the compounds, many contain a saint’s name as

7 Watson (1926, 101) notes *Logoch* in East Kilbride (NS637456: *Loga* 1654 Blaeu). This name is presumably related to the nearby ‘*Logie Little*’ burn which runs into the Little Calder.

specific element, at least in their medieval form: Logie-Wester (*Logynbride*: Brigit), Logie Buchan (*Logyntalargy*: Talorcan), Laggan (*Logynkenny*: Cainnech), Logierait (*Login Mahedd*: Mo Ched/Coeti), Logiebride (*Loginbrid*: Brigit), Logie-Murdoch (*Loginmurthak*: Muiredach); and, although its early forms are very difficult, Lagganallachy seems to contain a personal name (OG Amalgaid: cf. *Logynauelath*) which, although it does not correspond to any known saint's name, may be taken by analogy to be an unknown local saint. A number of these names, at least in their later medieval or modern forms, contain regional names as specific: Logie Buchan, Logie Mar, Logie Montrose; and a number seem to contain local toponyms, some of which alternated as names for the respective parish: Logie-Durno (also Durno), Logie Mar (Logie-Ruthven), Logie-Dundee. A number contain in their medieval forms words which are quite uncertain, but which may be toponyms: Logie Easter (*Logynmethet*), Logie-Fythenach.

In most of these features, the above examples contrast with the greater part of the corpus of names in *G lag* and *lagan* elsewhere in Scotland. Leaving the case of southern Scotland to one side for the moment, outwith the area in which *Logie*-names are found (i.e. eastern Scotland between Forth and Dornoch), neither *logie* nor *lag/lagan* are found compounded with a saint's name. Equally, there are no parish or other overtly ecclesiastical names employing these elements outwith this area.⁸ While parish names are an imprecise measure of the earlier history of churches, it is notable how many of the *logie*-names are present in Bagimond's Roll. The one area of overlap in terms of the formal presentation of these names is that, just as with names in *Logie*, simplex forms in *Lag*, *Laggan*, *Logan* are also common in instances where the name clearly refers to a hollow or low-lying area. Topographical features are otherwise known to be productive of ecclesiastical names, including parish names. *G innis* 'island' provides a potential parallel to *logie* as it is found in simplex form as a name for parishes (Inch WIG, Insh INV, Insh ABD), and also combined with a saint's name in parish names (Inchinnan RNF, Inchadney PER), as well as in names of other non-parochial ecclesiastical sites (Inchaffray, Inchcolm, Inchmarnock). But there is one clear difference in their distribution patterns: only names in *logie* in the east have forms with a saint's name, or are a parish name – there are no instances of this with *lag* or *lagan* in the west – and this contrasts strongly with *innis*, where such names are distributed throughout those parts of Scotland where Gaelic was once spoken. At the very least, then, there is a *prima facie* case for considering this subset of eastern ecclesiastically-linked names in *logie* as being distinct.

8 However, it should be noted that in his forthcoming Glasgow University doctoral thesis, Alasdair Whyte argues that ecclesiastical associations suggest that Laggan (Mull) is an example of a name deriving from *locán* 'ecclesiastical site, church'.

DESCENDANTS OF *LOCUS*

It is in this context that the existence in all the medieval Celtic languages of words descended from Latin *locus* 'place', and having the extended meaning of 'ecclesiastical place, consecrated place, church', is of interest. The Latin word *locus* itself was developing these and other ecclesiastically-oriented meanings during the late antique and early medieval periods (see Sharpe 2002, 144–45; Jankulak 2000, 76–78). As discussed in detail below, such meanings for this Latin term are well attested in the Latin literature of various Celtic countries, especially Ireland, and may also be found in Scotland, both on inscriptions and in literature from Iona.

Latin *locus* was adopted, directly or indirectly, by all of the well-attested medieval Celtic languages. On the Brittonic side we have Old Welsh (OW) *loc*, Welsh (W) *llog*, which in compound gave *mynachlog* 'monastery' (lit. 'monks' place'; see *GPC* s.vv.); Old Cornish (OC) **lok*, Cornish (C) **log* (see Padel 1985, 149–50); and Old Breton (OB) *loc*, Breton (B) *log* (Fleuriot 1985, 244, s.v. *loc*(2); Deshayes 2003, 471). Welsh seems also to have adopted Latin words developed from *locus* as separate lexical items, but still with ecclesiastical connotations: *llogawd* 'monastery, church; closet, cell study; pantry, storehouse' < Latin *locatum*; *llogell* '(small) place, small room, cell; chest, box, etc.' < Latin *locellus* (paralleled in OC *logel* and B *logell* 'small hut'). The Breton term *log* was very productive of ecclesiastical place-names, usually in the form *Loc-* + a saint's name, e.g. Locronan, and usually translated 'chapel', sometimes 'hermitage'. Its period of productivity as a toponym is suggested to be perhaps the 11th century and later; the earliest attestations certainly belong to that century (Jankulak 2000, 76–78). There is only one modern Cornish place-name which employs it in a similar fashion – Luxulyan (near St Austell), which is derived from **lok* + *Sulyen* – but there are signs that OC **lok* was prone to replacement by *lann* (Padel 1985, 152; 1988, 112). Neither W *llog* nor words derived from it appear to have been used in Wales as productive toponymic elements but, as noted above in reference to Breeze's suggestion anent *Loquhariot* and explored further in Appendix 2, a Northern British (NBr) cognate **loc* may have been so employed in southern Scotland.⁹

The situation of the Goidelic languages is more complex. L *locus* did indeed give rise to a word – OG *loc* – with locational meanings, but, as I explore below, as defined currently in the Dictionary of the Irish Language it is difficult to disentangle it from a word *loc* meaning 'hollow, low-lying place'. In the modern Gaelic languages, *log* and its by-form *lag* primarily have the meanings 'hollow,

9 See also discussion by James 2016, 196–97; and note that he suggests the presence of a NBr cognate of W *llogawd* in a number of place-names in the southern Scotland and northern England (also James 2011).

low lying ground, pit, ditch' (see Dinneen and Dwelly), though *log* in the sense simply of 'place' is found in Modern Irish, as also in compounds such as the word for 'place-name', *logainm*. Although OG *loc* does, as we shall see, have ecclesiastical connotations, it is never found in this meaning in toponyms in Ireland. Where *log*, *lag* or *lagan* are present in Irish toponyms, it seems to be in the purely topographical sense of 'hollow' etc. (see Flanagan and Flanagan, 103). For instance, the ModIr word *log* is used productively in mountain locations, where it is taken to mean 'hollow, corrie, glacial cirque'. In some instances it has come to be applied, secondarily, to mountains (see Price 1967, 502).¹⁰ There is also a great range of developed usages for *log* 'hollow' in Modern Irish, especially in compounds, e.g. *log-staidhre* '(well of) staircase' (cf. Foclóir s.v. *log*).

There is no parallel to this situation in the Brittonic languages, where *W llog* and OB *loc* do not appear to have any meaning related to 'hollow, low-lying land'.¹¹ I suspect that it is first of all because the ecclesiastical associations of OG *loc* did not persist into the later medieval and modern Gaelic languages, and moreover because the word has become entangled with *loc* > *log*, *lag*, *lagan* 'hollow, low-lying land', that toponymists in Scotland have reached exclusively for this latter meaning in analysing the eastern Scottish names in *logie*/**login*. Although we will need to defer momentarily the question of whether *logie*/**login* names derive from a Brittonic language (in this case, Pictish) or from Gaelic, it will nonetheless be helpful to attempt, briefly, to disentangle OG *loc* 'ecclesiastical site' from *loc* 'hollow, low-lying land'. This will allow for a firmer conviction that this was a meaning available to Gaelic in the early Middle Ages; it will clarify potential reasons for the apparent overlap between the two words/meanings, and also, as will be seen, release an important collection of sources which may allow for a clearer definition of what *logie*/**login* may have originally meant.

OG/MG *LOC*, *LOCÁN*, G *LOG*, *LAG*, *LAGAN*

One of the stumbling blocks to understanding the element **login*, which appears to lie behind some of the names in *logie*, is the prevailing impression of the relationship between OG *loc* 'place' > 'ecclesiastical place, consecrated place' and *loc* (> ScG *lag*) 'hollow'. Currently, both are presented in dictionaries as different semantic reflexes of the same word. The RIA Dictionary of the Irish language (DIL, s.v.) incorporates under the same entry for *loc* the following meanings:

10 I am very grateful to Paul Tempan for extensive discussion of this issue in spring 2007 and for supplying a list of such names both in Co. Wexford and in Connacht.

11 There does, on the other hand, seem to be close overlap between the developed meanings of *W llogell* and Irish *logall* (not attested in DIL, however), which both look to be from L *loculus*. See also B *laguenn*, OC *lagen*, and discussion below for the suggestion that these are borrowed from L *lacus*.

(as I) a. 'place (in general, usually inhabited or intended for habitation)'; b. 'dwelling (place), habitation'; and also 'plot of ground, site' (with further related meanings which do not concern us here: 'place or spot on the body; place or origin of composition; position (of words, letters etc.)); and (as II) a. 'hollow, pit, ditch', and b. 'burial place, grave'.¹² The evidence is against all these meanings ultimately being of the same origin. Importantly also, the ecclesiastical connotations of *loc* are entirely lost in the presentation of these definitions. Later in this article, I attempt to give some sense of the semantics of both *locus* and OG *loc* in early medieval texts from the Gaelic world, in order to get a firmer handle on its range of meanings, but some preliminary observations are necessary here, in order to clarify that we are in fact dealing with what were originally two separate Gaelic words.

At the outset, it may be noted that a reading of the examples under the DIL entry for *loc* demonstrates that there is a strong ecclesiastical thread throughout, even where the lexicographers have chosen to place these samples under ostensibly non-ecclesiastical meanings. So, examples given under 'place (in general, usually inhabited or intended for habitation)' include *in ndorus eccalsa ... i lluc lére* 'in the door of the church ... in the place of piety'; *is fri cathardu 7 eclaisi domiditer luicc, .i. primluic* 'it is in regard to monasteries and churches that ecclesiastical sites are reckoned, i.e. chief-sites' (for sources of passages, see DIL and below). Under 'dwelling (place), habitation', DIL cites *inna loc coseccartha* 'of the consecrated places'; under 'plot of ground, site', it cites *con tised Patricc do thoorund a luic lais 7 dia choisecrad* 'until Patrick should come to mark out his church and to consecrate it'. Even under the definition 'burial place, grave', some of the examples cited by DIL could as easily mean 'holy place, church' (*dona llocaib inro hadnaicit* 'to the places/churches in which they were buried'). These examples allow us to construct a primary definition, not given by DIL, which accords closely with the early medieval semantics of Latin *locus*, and with the main meanings of W. *llog* and OB *loc*, 'sacred or consecrated place, church'. As we have seen, these are both loan-words from Latin *locus*. It should be clear, then, that OG *loc* 'place' is indeed a loan-word from Latin *locus* (despite the question-mark in relation to this in DIL). The scholastic usages of *loc* found under the definitions as 'place in a text' (largely attested in the glosses), and as 'place of composition' (largely found in *accessus* prologues), should surely have guaranteed that anyway (for these in Latin, see DMLBS, *locus*). It is clear that 'place' (and not 'hollow') is its primary meaning, with the dominant

¹² I suspect this final definition – which, as we shall see, is hard to substantiate – has been responsible for a sense that, if there is an ecclesiastical aspect to the Scottish toponyms, it is through the meaning 'burial, grave' overlapping semantically with the meaning 'hollow' (see, for instance, comments by Taylor cited in Breeze 2003).

ecclesiastical associations probably borrowed alongside the word *locus* itself from its Latin church context, or developing concurrently.

The implications of the DIL entry (II) that the meanings ‘hollow, pit, ditch’ are related to *loc* ‘place’, and that ‘burial place, ditch’ develops from the meaning ‘hollow’ (and it should be noted that this is only implied by its layout), should be re-examined. If *loc* ‘hollow, pit, ditch’ really belongs to the same lexical item as *loc* ‘place, dwelling place etc.’, it could only be as a secondary development – it is not present in the semantic range of the Latin word *locus*, nor in its derivatives in the Brittonic languages (though see below, at fn 16). It is not easy to envisage how the development of *loc* ‘place’ to *loc* ‘hollow, ditch’ might have happened. It is possible that the meaning ‘burial place, grave’, if taken over from similar meanings attached to L *locus* (see DMLBS), might have produced a meaning ‘hollow, ditch’, but, as noted above, where OG *loc* can be translated ‘grave’, closer investigation of the citation texts in DIL reveals that its more precise meaning is rather ‘place of burial, burial site’ and not the actual excavated turf itself. There is, in fact, very little in the available evidence to suggest that the primary meaning of *loc* involves burial sites, except incidentally. It is presumably possible that the frequent placing of consecrated sites, cemeteries and churches in hollows gave rise to this meaning, but, if *loc* has a primary meaning of ‘place’ and if the Latin word from which it derives had meanings of ‘ecclesiastical site, consecrated place’, this seems a strained argument. The logical conclusion is that we are instead dealing with two distinct lexical items, from two separate etymological roots; in other words, OG *loc* ‘place (etc.)’ and *loc* ‘hollow (etc.)’ have separate origins.

Since OG *loc* ‘hollow (etc.)’ cannot easily be derived from OG *loc* ‘place (etc.)’ or from L *locus*, there are a number of alternative possibilities we may pursue for its origins. The sense of OG *loc* ‘hollow, pit, ditch’ strongly overlap with those of Latin *lacus* ‘basin, tank, pond; lake’ and its by-product *lacuna* ‘ditch, pit, hole; pool, pond; a hollow, cleft, cavity’ (whence, through French, and French via Spanish, are derived English *lake* and *lagoon*). We cannot, however, look to it being a Gaelic cognate of Latin *lacus*. Gaelic already seemingly has such a cognate in *loch* (paralleled also by *W llwch*, *B loc’h*, though there are problems here; see Matasović 2009, 243; James 2016, 191), which shows the expected development of historic IE and Proto-Celtic intervocalic /k/ to /x/ in Gaelic – for the etymological trail, see OED, *loch*, noting cognate with OE *lagu* and Gaulish place-names in *Loco-*; and *lay*, n.1 ‘lake, pool’, noting origin in Old Germanic **lagu-z* < pre-Germanic **lakú-s*, and cognate with L *lacus*).¹³ Despite surface

13 For ancient Celtic place-names from proto-Celtic **loku-* ‘lake’ in both Britain (e.g. *Locatrebe*) and on the Continent (e.g. *Locuriton*), see Deleamarre 2012, 179–80; Rivet and Smith 394–95; Falileyev 2010, 23 on *locu-*; and, further, Matasović 2009, 243 on

similarities, there should be no direct relationship between *G loch* and *OG loc*.

We could instead posit another Latin loan-word, this time from Latin *lacus* > *OG lac*. It should be noted that such a borrowing has been proposed as lying behind Middle Breton *lag* ‘cloaque’, *laguenn* ‘inundated field’ and *OC lagen* ‘gl. *stagnum*’, *C lagen* ‘pond, puddle, slough’ (see Matasović 2009, 243; Deshayes 2003, 447; Nance 1999, 95). While this is not impossible, it should be noted that in the meanings of *loc* ‘hollow (etc.)’ there is little sense of the primary meanings of the Latin word, ‘pond, lake’; watery associations seem secondary. There are also some phonological problems, as an original *OG lac* should not then naturally develop to *OG loc*.

This said, potentially the earliest attestation of the meaning ‘hollow’ appears as *lac*. This is in *Scéla Cano meic Gartnain*, a probably 10th-century tale with a Scottish setting, where Cano’s father Gartnan leaves a *dabach* of treasure buried *i llac mara* ‘in a shallow of the sea’ (Binchy 1975, 21). O’Brien (1930–32, 87) took this phrase to mean ‘a part of the sea usually covered by deep water, but shallow at certain low tides’.¹⁴ It should be noted that DIL took Binchy/O’Brien as understanding the word here to be *OG lac* ‘weak’ and this is something we will return to below. From its earliest attestation, then, alternative forms, *loc* and *lac*, seem to exist for this word. This is paralleled in its diminutives: *locán* ~ *lacán* (DIL, s.v. *locán*).

A third and, to my mind, preferable derivation presents itself however. In Modern Irish – and in Scottish Gaelic where the dominant form is *lag* – there seems to be some semantic overlap between the meaning ‘hollow’ and the word *lag* ‘weak, feeble’, < *OG lac* ‘weak, feeble’. With regard to Modern Irish, Dinneen (s.v.) intersperses under *lag* the meanings ‘a weak person or thing; a hollow cavity or sag; a pool, in a river’. As we have seen, DIL took this to be the word underlying the passage in *Scéla Cano meic Gartnain*, *i llac mara* (s.v. *lac*). A proposal that *G lag* ‘hollow’, developed from *lac* ‘weak, feeble’ via the meanings ‘a weak place, a place where the ground gives way’ > ‘hollow, pit, ditch’ is attractive.¹⁵ Again, though, as with the derivation from *L lacus*, we are presented with the problem of *OG/MG loc* and *ModIr log* ‘hollow’, which phonologically should not arise in *OG* directly from an original *lac*.

**loku*. A separate but related item, **laku* ‘marsh’, has been posited as present in some Gaulish names, but this is very uncertain; see Falileyev 2010, 21: *laco-*, including the potential relationship with *OG lac* ‘weak’ and *Wesh llac*. On the development of *-o-* instead of *-a-* in the Gaelic cognate of *L lacus*, see also Thurneysen 1998, 51.

14 Simon Taylor (pers. comm.) notes: ‘In this regard, might be worth re-visiting etymology of Scots *lake*: PNFife 5, 418: **lake** Sc or SSE ‘a small ... pool especially one formed at ebb-tide on the shore’ (*SND*). All the Fife examples refer to just such tidal features. Salt Lake KBS, Witch Lake SSL (Vol. 3). Halley’s Lake ABE (Vol. 4).’

15 Additionally, the *ScG* word *lagaidh*, cited by Watson in reference to *Logie* (e.g. 1904, 58), could be more easily interpreted as a development of *OG lacad* ‘weakening’.

A solution to this may perhaps be found in the very frequent creation in Gaelic of phonological pairs in monosyllabic words with short-vowel *o* ~ *a* alternation. Examples, as cited in the medieval Irish Grammatical Tracts (Bergin 1921–23, 116 §69), include: *colg* ~ *calg* ‘point, sword’, *clag* ~ *clog* ‘bell’, *gal* ~ *gol* ‘weeping’, *coll* ~ *call* both as ‘hazel-tree’ and ‘loss, destruction’. In most cases, forms in *-a-* predominate in ScG (and sometimes in northern Gaelic dialects generally); forms in *-o-* in Irish or southern dialects. This readily replicates the situation with *log* and *lag*, which are, incidentally, included in the same list of variants in the Grammatical Tracts. In this particular case, two other factors may be at work. DIL notes that forms in *-o-* operate in the dative and genitive singular of *lac* ‘weak’, so oblique forms may have had some effect on the development of the word. Equally, we could posit contamination from *loc* ‘place’; for instance, that *lac* meaning ‘weak place, low-lying place’ gave rise to ‘hollow, ditch’, but encouraged assimilation to *loc* because of its locative associations. This, however, does not explain the strong semantic overlap between Latin *lacus* and OG *loc*, ModIr/SG *lag* ‘hollow, pit, ditch’. Perhaps this is merely a coincidence?¹⁶

As a final note on this section, and by way of summarising my proposals, I would suggest that the entries in DIL need to be revisited and substantially rewritten. One proposed layout would be:

1. *loc* (from L *locus*) place

(a) in general

(i) place in text (glossing L *locus*);

(ii) place of composition, *accessus* prologues;

16 The exact semantic ranges of the proposed OG *lac* > G *lag* ‘weak, feeble’ > ‘hollow, low lying ground’ do seem to be attested in Welsh from the early modern period. W *llac*(1) ‘slack, loose, lax, infirm’; and *llac*(2) ‘small pool ... a gap; lacuna’ uncannily replicate the meanings attested for OG *lac* as adjective and (as proposed here) as substantive, but in both cases the Welsh words are considered to be loan-words from E *slack*, in its meanings as an adjective, and as a noun meaning ‘hollow on a shore, morass’. Welsh even attests the meaning found in OG *lac mara*, cited above, as GPC notes: ‘Ar lafar clywir *llac* yn yr ystyr “a hollow on the sea-shore containing water”’, citing Fynes-Clinton 1913, 340. W *llac* in both meanings is only attested late (16th century), as are some derivative verbs (*llaciaf*, *llacio*; *llacâf*, *llacáu*), and this supports the English derivation, but it is to be wondered if there is an underlying Welsh word that has been influenced by English here – Matasovic 2009, 232, s.v. **laggo-*, wrongly I believe, suggests it derives from Goidelic. A further consideration (for another occasion) is that the Germanic complex underlying the English adjective *slack*, and underlying ON *slakki* which seems to be the direct origin of the noun meaning ‘hollow on the shore, morass’ etc., seems to derive from the same ultimate root as L *lax*, and hence perhaps OG *lac* ‘weak’. In other words, there seems to be some convergent evolution of cognate words for ‘weak’ and for ‘hollow, low-lying ground’, in both the Celtic and in the Germanic languages, and this might bear some examination.

(b) ecclesiastical site, consecrated place, church

2. *loc, lac* (?from *lac* adj. 'weak')

'hollow, ditch, pit'; 'low-lying land'

1. *locán* [as current DIL entry *locán*

(a): 'dwelling place; monastery, monastic site']

2. *locán, lacán* 'little hollow' (diminutive of 2. *loc*)

REVISITING THE DISTRIBUTION OF *LAG, LAGAN, LOGAN, LOGIE*

Armed with the understanding that there may be two separate words in play which underlie our place-names, we can briefly return to the question of the distribution of these elements within Scotland. As we have seen, OG *loc* 'ecclesiastical site, consecrated place, church' is available as a term to lay alongside Brittonic cognates, as possibly being the etymon of those names in *logie*/**login* with ecclesiastical associations. A fuller discussion of the ecclesiastical dimensions of these sites, and how *logie* names might fit in to the ecclesiastical toponymy of Scotland, is offered below, including consideration of its language of origin. What is posited for the moment is that at some point during the early Middle Ages, **login* was used to name a series of ecclesiastical sites in eastern Scotland.

However, the distribution of G *lag* and *lagan* – and in parts of Ireland also Ir *log* – meaning 'hollow, low-lying ground' is, as we have seen, very extensive. If there are two elements at work here, how do we distinguish between them, and was there any articulation between them? One suggestion would be that *lag, lagan* 'hollow' came to predominate later in the Middle Ages. We have seen that attestations of this word in the lexicon are somewhat later than those for *loc* 'place (etc.)'. Many place-names in Scotland employing *lag, lagan* appear to be late, incorporating, for instance, the definite article with the specific, a form that Toner has assigned to the 10th century and later (Toner 1999), for example Lagavulin (*Lag a' Mhuilinn* 'the hollow of the mill'). Southern Scotland may provide the clearest clues to the chronology of this development. As already noted, there are a small number of place-names in *logan* in southern Scotland, all in watery locations suggestive of derivation from OG/MG *locán* 'hollow'. With one exception, none has any ecclesiastical association.¹⁷ In upland SW Scotland, however, in areas where Gaelic was spoken longer, there is a much wider

17 The exception is Logan, a chapel of either Kirkpatrick (?Kirkpatrick-Fleming) or of Reynpatrick (later Redkirk) in the 13th century *Glas. Reg.* p. 107: 1223 *Rempatrik cum capella de Logan; ecclesiam de Kyrkepatric cum capella de Logan*. The uncertainty lies in the Register, but Reynpatrick is probably correct.

proliferation names in *lag* and *lagan*. We could posit that *logan* was the form which entered the non-Gaelic speech of lowland areas in the south as a proper name-form, and also in some cases entered written record, whilst *lag*, *lagan* came to predominate in areas which maintained Gaelic speech into the later Middle Ages. There is one example of *logan* in Midlothian, *Logan Burn*, which must presumably have been coined in the relatively tight window of Gaelic influence on the toponymy of this area, arguably between the 960s and the 12th century. The nearby name Auchendinny helps give the Midlothian *Logan Burn* a Gaelic toponymic context. Thereafter, however, Logan was essentially fossilised in a Scots form based upon OG/MG *locán* (where the *-c-* was pronounced /g/); as noted above, the forms of place-names in the south-west more generally show the (later?) phonological development to ScG *lag* and *lagan*. The fact that any of these elements are found in south-western Scotland indicates that they were actively in use during the period associated with the coming of Gaelic to that area, i.e. from c. 900 on (for which see Clancy 2008a).

This scenario works well for Scotland north of the Forth also. As *lag*, *lagan* ‘hollow’ became a common element in Gaelic during its spread across northern Scotland, in areas where Gaelic remained spoken into the later Middle Ages, earlier names from **login* ‘ecclesiastical site’ sometimes became assimilated to it. We can see this happening orthographically with a number of our sites, e.g. Laggan INV (*Logynkenny* 1239; *Lagankenze* 1451); Lagganallachie (*Logynauelath* 1274; *Laganalachie* 1793) Logierait (*Login Mahedd* 1189 × 1195; *Laggan Rait* 1654; and note *NSA* comments that Gaelic speakers refer to it as *Logan*). That later Gaelic speakers such as W. J. Watson and his neighbours and informants in Easter Ross saw no apparent ecclesiastical meaning, and etymologised names like Logie as referring to a ‘hollow’, is thus not surprising. The same may be true of Gaelic speakers already in the later Middle Ages: *loc* as an ecclesiastical term seems to have been diminishing by the later Middle Gaelic period, judging by the paucity of later citations. Assimilation was no doubt encouraged by the fact that many churches called *logie*/**login* were indeed in low-lying positions or hollows – they are accompanied in this situation, however, by a great number of churches *not* called Logie! Some of the place-names in eastern Scotland now called Logie (and variants), especially those with no apparent ecclesiastical association, may yet be from OG/MG *loc*, *locán* > *lag*, *lagan* ‘hollow’ and have been coined in the Middle Gaelic period. The form of these names, however, received the converse treatment to that of Laggan and Lagganallachy: surrounded by prominent names from **login*, and deprived of an active Gaelic-speech community, they were assimilated to the Scots rendition *logie*, thus creating two sets, rather than one, of ‘false friends’.

A further aspect of these names which may contribute to the scenario

outlined above is that the names in *logie*/**login* ‘ecclesiastical site’ may originally have been coined in Pictish. Whilst it is clear that this was a meaning available in the Gaelic lexicon in the early Middle Ages, as we have seen, nowhere else in the Gaelic-speaking world do we find use of OG *loc* ‘ecclesiastical site’ as a toponymic element. This contrasts with the Brittonic world, which sees sporadic use of the cognate element in Cornish, and extensive use from the 11th century in Breton; and a NBr cognate may also have been so used in southern Scotland. The prevalence of simplex forms of *logie*-names may also be relevant. This could be have been encouraged, at least initially, by a language-contact situation, where **login* was taken into Gaelic as a free-standing toponymic item, rather than a fully-transparent lexical item. A parallel might be with simplex names in **eglēs* (see discussion in Clancy 2014, 10–14).

As will be discussed below, even if this is a Pictish element, the cultural context of naming is at least partially Gaelic, as indicated by some of the saints commemorated in these names. As such it is difficult to be completely certain of the language of origin, and I do not want too much of the following argument to depend on certainty about that. However, if names in *logie*/**login* were originally coined in Pictish, it would explain much about their limited distribution. Equally, if this were so, we would probably be dealing with a *terminus ante quem* of c. 900 for the creation of these names and presumably, therefore, for the church-sites underlying them.

THE SEMANTICS OF L *LOCUS* AND ITS CELTIC DERIVATIVES

It is probably worth at this stage turning to survey the evidence for L *locus* in an ecclesiastical sense and its derivatives in the Celtic languages, both to reinforce this explanation for our eastern names in *logie*/**login* and to try to refine our understanding of what the element might have meant. Two important and impressive pieces of epigraphy serve as starting points. The well-known cross-slab from south of Whithorn, the ‘Peter’ stone, reads *LOCI PETRI APOSTOLI*. The use of *locus* here is paralleled in a lost inscription from Peebles which supposedly read ‘*Locvs Sancti Nicolai Episcopi*’, but probably featured a different name (on both inscriptions, see Forsyth 2005, 127–28, and references; 2009). It is also paralleled in Old Gaelic on the very interesting pillar-stone from Kilnasaggart, Co. Armagh, which reads *IN LOC SO TANIMMAIRNI TERNOHC MAC CERAN BIC ER CUL PETER APSTEL* ‘This place, Ternóc son of Ciarán the Little has donated it for the sake of Peter the Apostle’ (see Forsyth 2005, 127). Both imply that Latin *locus* and OG *loc* could mean, in the 7th and 8th centuries, a ‘piece of land, or perhaps a church, dedicated to or thought to be in the possession of a saint’. The fact that in both cases we are dealing with a universal saint – the apostle Peter – is relevant: *locus/loc* cannot in either of these cases refer to the burial place of the

saint, for instance. At most, it could refer to a place where a relic of St Peter was kept; but it may be simpler to see these as church sites dedicated to Peter. This fits well with the meaning of OB *loc* in Brittany as well, albeit perhaps enshrined in place-names only from the 11th century. Padel notes *locus* in a Cornish context in the sense of monastery, in a charter of 994: *locusque atque regimen sancti Petroci*, which he translates ‘and the monastery and rule of St Petrock’ (Padel 1985, 151–52) and further notes that the meaning ‘monastery’ was not confined to Celtic regions, citing Dimier (1972) for its common usage in Continental texts (cf. also DMLBS, *locus*(7)). Perhaps the most famous Latin usage of the term can be found in *locus Sancti Iacobi*, the name for the earliest core of Santiago de Compostela; here it is the ‘place’ of St James relating in a special way to the presence of his relics there (cf. López-Mayán 2011).

The Latin evidence from the Gaelic world is helpful, though inconclusive in terms of narrowing down a precise meaning. Two books of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (Wasserschleben 1885, 171–79; Flechner forthcoming) are devoted to the discussion of places associated with the church, entitled *De Locis* (Book 42) and *De Locis Consecratis* (Book 43). The first of these is at least partly taken up with issues to do with the founding of churches; the second with the demarcation of *loca*. Here is found one of the most famous descriptions of the typical early insular ecclesiastical site, here called a *locus* (Flechner, forthcoming, §43.4):

Duos uel III terminos circa locum sanctum debent fieri. Primus, in quem praeter sanctorum nullum introire permittimus omnino; quia in eum laici non accidunt et mulieres, nisi clerici. II, in cuius plateas plebium rusticorum cateruas non multum nequitiae deditas intrare sinimus. III, in quem laicos, homicidas, adulteros meretricesque permissione et consuetudine introire non uetamus. Inde uocantur primus sanctissimus, II sanctor, III sanctus, defferentes honorem discrepantibus. Nota quod defecit nomen quarto.

There ought to be two or three boundaries around a holy *locus*. The first, to which we strictly forbid entry to anyone except holy men; for no laymen and women approach it, except clerics. The second, to the precincts of which we allow entry to crowds of rustic plebes that are not much given to wickedness. The third, to which we do not refuse entry to laymen, killers, adulterers and harlots, by permission and custom. On account of which the first is called most holy, the second more holy, the third holy, proclaiming their dignity by being distinct. Note that a name for the fourth is missing.¹⁸

18 I am very grateful to Dr Roy Flechner for sharing with me, and allowing me to cite here, his forthcoming edition and translation of the *Hibernensis*.

Various passages from the *Hibernensis* would lend to alternative interpretations of the term – as ‘church’ (§42.2), as ‘monastery’ (§42.7), as ‘developed ecclesiastical site’ (§§43.2, 43.3). There is certainly in many passages an implication that these *loca* are the sites of the saints (*loca sanctorum*), implying the presence of relics and reliquaries, if not locally buried venerated holy people (§42.3).

A whole series of hagiographical texts have been discussed by Etchingham, whose treatment I follow here, where *locus* clearly means ‘church’: St Carthach, returning to his homeland, *multa loca Deo ibi edificauit*; and *loca et parrochias suas viris fidelibus commendavit* (Etchingham 1999, 122–23). Perhaps the most interesting usage is in the 7th-century *Liber Angeli*, a propagandistic tract from Armagh, which refers to a series of different kinds of church which should pay tribute to Patrick, and these include in one place *liberae aeclesiae* ‘free churches’, and *cynubitarum monasteria* ‘monasteries of coenobites’ and, in another, *omnis aeclessia libera* and [*omnis*] *ciuitas ab episcopali gradu uidetur esse fundata* ‘every church which is seen to be founded by the episcopal order’, and *omnis ubique locus qui dominicus appellatur* ‘every *locus* anywhere which is called *domnach*’ (Etchingham 1999, 84; also quoted and discussed by Sharpe 1984, 254–58).

It is worthwhile, with this in mind, re-reading the story of the baptism of Artbranan on Skye found in Adomnán’s *Vita Sancti Columbae* i.33. The location of the story is *alicuius locus* and the term *locus* is further emphasised several times in the tale. The Andersons wanted to align *locus* here with *G baile* ‘homestead, farmstead’ (1991, 62), but this seems very inappropriate in a 7th-century text (see Toner 2004 on the lateness of topographical *baile*). Rather, if it is not simply ‘place, spot’, we might wish to think that Artbranan has come to ‘a certain church’ or ‘ecclesiastical foundation’. This reading would radically change the setting of the tale from a putatively pagan Skye to a partially Christian one. It may well be that Adomnán’s language is deliberately ambiguous, the *locus* on one level meaning simply ‘place, spot’, and on another hinting at the ‘ecclesiastical site, consecrated place, church’ that the location of Artbranan’s baptism would (presumably) later become.

Turning to the vernacular languages, I noted above some instances where OG *loc* clearly means ‘consecrated place, monastery’, in the same way as L *locus*, and it is worth reviewing some of the evidence from DIL already presented in a different context. An Irish rule calls for the monk to be praying *in ndorus eccalsa ... i lluc lére* ‘in the doorway of a church ... in a place of piety’ (O Neill 1907, §25b), thus placing the term in a clearly monastic context. The preface to the Martyrology of Oengus, explaining the term *loc*, here normally ‘the place of composition’ in its *accessus* prologue, tells us *Is aire is locc artus, ar is fri cathardu 7 eclaisi domiditer luicc, .i. primluic, 7 cáduis doibside* ‘This is why

'place' (*loc*) has pre-eminence, because it is by monasteries and churches that ecclesiastical foundations (*luic*) are adjudged, i.e. chief-places (*prímluic*), and there is reverence towards them' (Stokes 1905, 2). This suggests the potential for its use as an overarching term for ecclesiastical sites, a term which could encompass both monasteries or developed ecclesiastical foundations (*catharda*) and churches (*eclaisi*). The early 9th-century poetic text of the Martyrology uses the diminutive: *Ind locáin ro gabtha | déssib ocus trírrib, | it rúama co ndálaib, | co cétaib, co mílib*. 'The [little] churches [or 'places'] that have been taken / by pairs and by threesomes, / they are [now] Romes with congregations, / with hundreds, with thousands.' (Stokes 1905, 26: Prol. 209).

Perhaps the most eloquent use of *loc* as 'church, ecclesiastical site' is in the *Additamenta* in the Book of Armagh (Bieler 1979, 176–79). The passage in question is likely to have been composed by 715 and perhaps dates from an earlier period, 661–688 (Bieler 1979, 48). Note that this passage uses *port* for 'place, spot' and *eclais* for 'church building', allowing *loc* to be employed in an over-arching meaning, which here would appear to be the whole ecclesiastical or monastic site (I have supplied punctuation and word-breaks):

Co-n-gab iar-suidiu i nDomnach Féicc et báí and co-n-torchartar tri fichit fer dia muintir lais and. Di-sin du-lluid in t-aingel cuci 7 as-bert fris is fri abinn an-iar a-tá t'eserge i Cúl Maige airm i fuirsitis in torcc arimbad and fu-rruimtis a praintech port i fuirsitis in n-elit arimbad and fu-rruimtis a n-eclis. As-bert Fiacc frisin aingel na-nd-rigad co-n-tised Patricc do thoorund a luic lais 7 dia choisehrad 7 co-mbed húad nu-ggabad a locc. Du-lluid iar-suidiu Patricc cu Fíacc 7 du-rind a locc les 7 cutsecar 7 fo-rruim a forrach n-and 7 ad-opart Crimthann in port sin du Patricc ar ba Patric du-bert baithis du Chrimthunn 7 i Slebti ad-ranact Crimthann.

After that he [Fiacc] took up in Domnach Féicc, and he was there until sixty men of his community had died beside him there. After that, the angel went to him and said to him that it is west of a river in Cúl Maige that your resurrection is; where they should find the boar, it should be there they should establish their refectory; where they should find the hind, it should be there they should establish their church (*eclais*). Fiacc said to the angel that he would not go there until Patrick should come to mark out his ecclesiastical foundation (*loc*), and to consecrate it, and so that it might be from him he would take his ecclesiastical foundation (*loc*). Patrick came after that to Fiacc and he marked out his ecclesiastical foundation (*loc*) for him, and he consecrated it, and established his *forrach* ('meeting-place?') there, and Crimthann offered that spot (*port*) to Patrick, for it was Patrick who administered baptism to Crimthann,

and in Sleaty Crimthann was buried. (Stokes and Strachan 1903, 242; my translation, based on Stokes and Strachan).

While many of the Latin and Gaelic usages suggest that *L locus* and OG *loc* seem to refer to a monastery or larger ecclesiastical site, Etchingham (1999, 346) does call attention to some uses of *loc* where a hermitage or isolated cell in the vicinity of a monastery is being referred to, in particular in the probably 9th-century 'Rule of Colum Cille': *i llucc foleith hi fail prím-cathrach* 'in an abode [or 'cell?'] apart at a principal ecclesiastical centre'; and *locc umdaingen umat cona óendorus* 'a solid abode [or 'cell?'] about you with its single entrance' (Meyer 1901). This sense seems to be reflected in some of the uses of the diminutive *locán*, as in the final stanza of the beautiful *M'oenuarán i n-aircclán*, a 9th-century poem (Murphy 1956, 22):

*Ba sí in chrích fom-themadar
eter lissu lann
locán álainn eladglan,
os mé m'oenu ann.*

May the boundary which guards me
between the ramparts of the church enclosure
be a lovely *locán* made holy by graves/memorial slabs,
with me alone within it.¹⁹

It is perhaps worth noting that these uses of *loc* and *locán* to mean 'retreat, hermitage, separate cell' seem to be of the 9th century. It may be that, prior to it going out of common usage in its ecclesiastical meaning in the vernacular, OG/MG *loc* was narrowing its semantic range and coming to mean a very specific (and small) type of religious site.

My emphasis here has been on the evidence of Latin and Old and Middle Gaelic texts. These are the most abundant and clear witnesses to the usage of *L locus* 'ecclesiastical site' and one of its vernacular descendants. As noted, however, Welsh, Cornish and Breton also developed words from *L locus*, and in Old Breton *loc* was used extensively in toponymy. Whilst OW *loc*, *W llog* does not feature in place-names, we find it attested from the OW period in texts. It clearly had a meaning almost but not quite synonymous with *llan* 'church', to judge from its frequent pairing with it. So a Welsh law text indicates in the case of someone

19 Translation mine, differing from Murphy; but note the text is problematic in the first line, and in the third, and Murphy's edition is thus a composite one. Perhaps read, with three of the manuscript witnesses, in line 1 *Ba sí baes fom temadar* 'May the foolishness which guards me ... be ...'; and line 3 *iladlán* 'full of tombs'.

defaulting on surety that *ny byt naud ydau enteu ... nac en loc nac en llan* 'he will have no sanctuary ... neither in *llog* nor in *llan*' (Jenkins 1963, 10, §143; for context see Pryce 1993, 192–95). This usage is paralleled in poetry in the Black Book of Carmarthen: *Ni percheiste creirev | na lloc na llanev* 'You do not respect relics / nor *llog* nor churches' (Jarman 1982, §5.73–74; see also Haycock 1994, 21.73–74, where she translates *lloc* 'fangre gysegredig', i.e. 'consecrated place'). A legendary poem placed in the mouth of Taliesin uses it in a sense which prompts the editor to translate 'sanctuary': *Kyn vy argywrein y'm garw gyfloc, / ry prynhom-ni an lloc yth ty-di, Vab Meir*. 'Before being laid in my sore burial ground, may we secure our sanctuary in your house, o Son of Mary.' (Haycock 2007, 82, §2.52–53; note *cyflog*, translated here as 'burial ground', is a compound of *llog*). The Welsh evidence is thus equally wide-ranging and inconclusive, encompassing usages which imply burial and others which seem to use *llog* as a generic term for any ecclesiastical site or consecrated place. It would be useful to know if the pairing of *llog* and *llan* in the instance above was one of contrast (cf. the frequent pairing in the laws of *llys* and *llan*, court and church) or was simple repetition of synonyms; but the evidence does not allow us to go this far.

WHAT WAS A *LOGIN?

This brief exploration of *L locus* and its medieval Celtic descendants in insular sources thus sheds some light on what an ecclesiastical element **login* might mean. Emboldened by some of these passages, I would like to return to the main area of Logies in eastern Scotland. If, as I am proposing, **login* is in many of these names an ecclesiastical element, what might it mean?

At its most basic it clearly meant 'ecclesiastical site'. The examples in both Latin and the vernaculars cover the span of large monastic sites and smaller church buildings with some uses more attuned to sites of pastoral care and even hermitages. Some of the earliest references suggest that both *L locus* and OG *loc* served as a primary term for an ecclesiastical site – used early, and in a fairly unspecified way, for religious foundations. Both in *Liber Angeli* and in the *Additamenta* the term is associated with places called *domnach*, which have been thought in an Irish context to be early churches (Flanagan 1984; see also Márkus 2003). Might **login* fulfil such a role in eastern Scotland? The Latin term *locus* in Continental perspective, and also in the usage on inscriptions in southern Scotland, seems often to refer to the place of a saint – either their burial place or where (some of) their relics are housed. This is bolstered by some of the passages from the *Hibernensis*, and OG *loc* can sometimes lean towards this meaning. Where we see association with saints in the Scottish place-names, perhaps this is by way of calling a site 'the place of St X', for example *Logyntalargy* = **login Talorcain* 'the place of St Talorcain', i.e. the place where his relics are to

be found. This said, the term was clearly capable of being used in simplex form, and one reading of the records might suggest that that is the underlying basis of almost all of them, given the evident detachability of the saints in most of the names. That being so, we need a meaning which can withstand being simply 'the ecclesiastical site', 'the church'. It is perhaps worth thinking in that context of the Welsh term *merthyr*, recently and thoroughly explored by David Parsons (2013). *Merthyr* too is found in simplex form, but otherwise usually with saints' names; it has a limited distribution and seems not to have been a term which remained productive into the later part of the early Middle Ages, being often superseded by *llan*.

A further parallel worth exploring would be the OE term *stōw*. Like **login* this word fundamentally means 'place' but comes to mean 'ecclesiastical place, consecrated place, church'; like **login* it appears as a simplex or with a saint's name (see Gelling 1982). Perhaps one of the most notable simplex examples of *stōw* is Stow MLO (Dixon 1947, 359–60), where it was a site of considerable importance, as far as our records can demonstrate. As with *W merthyr* and **login*, some of the personal names sometimes attached to the element *stōw* are very obscure and have prompted the suggestion, by Padel and others, that we may be dealing here with functions other than that of saints – secular founders or resident priests or the like (see further Clancy 2010, 10–11; Padel 2002, 312–13).

How does this map onto the place-name record? There are a number of features which may aid diagnosis. Firstly, the distribution is geographically limited, as we have seen, to eastern Scotland north of the Forth and east of the Great Glen. Secondly, the distribution is also somewhat dispersed, in comparison with other ecclesiastical place-name elements (e.g. *cill*, *both*) which occur in clusters (see discussion in Taylor 1996). In each medieval diocese there seems to have been perhaps only one or two, hence the distinctions of, for example, Logie Wester, Logie Easter; Logie Buchan, Logie Mar; Logie Montrose, Logie Dundee – all of which seem likely to be alternative strategies within dioceses and deaneries for keeping multiple parishes called **login* in order amongst records.²⁰ But this dispersed record may have more fundamental implications for our analysis. Consider the situation in more detail: Aberdeen has three parishes, each lying in a different medieval deanery (Buchan, Mar, Garioch²¹); Moray had two parishes

²⁰ This had already been proposed in the 18th century by some of the *OSA* commentators – see footnotes to App. 1, below.

²¹ Though if Ardlogie at Fyvie (also in Buchan) or Logie at Fintray (also in Garioch) should be considered in origin an ecclesiastical name (see App. 1), this argument would need to be revisited.

with **login* names,²² one in Elgin deanery and another in Strathspey deanery; Ross has two parishes in **login* and, while Ross did not have separate deaneries, each lies in a separate region within Ross (north and south of the Cromarty Firth); St Andrews had one **login* parish in Fife deanery and, while two were in Angus deanery, they sit in very different parts of it – and it is curious in this context that Brechin diocese has no **login* parishes. Dunblane has one **login* parish. There is really only one cluster, as such, of names in **login* with clear ecclesiastical associations, and that is in Perthshire, all of them falling in Dunkeld diocese in the Middle Ages (to which we may add the more distant chapel of Logie at Rosyth). No other ecclesiastical place-name has such a seemingly methodical pattern of distribution, and one interpretation of this might be that ecclesiastical sites in **login* were founded systematically, perhaps during a restricted time period, and had a primary or central function in the church in their local areas; were perhaps, so to speak *the* ecclesiastical site or consecrated place in their local area for a time.²³ That most of them did not grow into anything of greater significance might be due to waves of ecclesiastical change altering the environment and shifting emphasis onto other types of foundations. One might think, for instance, of the foundation of Dunkeld and its prominence from the 9th century on, eclipsing a potential earlier prominence for Logierait.

It may be that the place-names that commemorate saints can provide us with some fix on the context and chronology of the creation of these names. There are a mix of ‘types’ of saints commemorated. One is very local and probably Pictish: Talorcan, who is otherwise commemorated only in a limited number of sites in the east (e.g. Kiltarlity, NH 497 439); and once in the west, in Skye (see further Watson 1926, 298). It is very uncertain who this individual is, though one plausible suggestion has been that he is the *Tolarggan Maphan* who is recorded as dying in 726 (AU 726.3; Clancy 2008b, 376–78; MacQuarrie with Butter 2012, 421). The other strongly ‘Pictish’ saint is Wallach/Voloc, who is associated with Logie Mar, though never incorporated in its name.²⁴ There is nothing known about this saint, but he seems definedly local, and bears a name which, despite some other suggestions,²⁵

22 Again, if the Logie at Duffus (also in Elgin deanery) is considered an ecclesiastical name in origin, this would need to be revisited.

23 One further point is worth noting, and that is that to date I have not found a single instance among the medieval parishes in *logie* where that parish contains another place-name with an ecclesiastical generic. This gives some force, I think, to the argument for **login* being ‘ecclesiastical site’, as one might expect otherwise there to be some overlap of *logie*-names and ecclesiastical generics. Where the parishes have come to bear other names, they have been ‘secular’/topographical names (Edinkillie, Auchtergaven etc.).

24 The form ‘Logie-Wallach’ cited by Cowan regarding Logie STL (‘Logie-Atheron’) seems to be a phantom. See App. 1 below under Logie by Stirling for full discussion of this problem.

25 Primarily, there has been an assertion that this name is equivalent to OG *Faelchú*,

is best explained by reference to the Welsh cognate *Gwallawg*, later *Gwallog* (MacQuarrie with Butter 2012, 421; Clancy 2008b, 377).

So some of the **login* churches commemorate fairly obscure Pictish saints. But there is also a strong Gaelic dimension on show. Logierait is a prominent example. It is one of those which in early forms contained its patron as a specific: 'Mo Ched', i.e. bishop Cóeti who died as bishop of Iona in 712 (AU 712.1; see <<http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=52>>). Simon Taylor (1996, 1010–12; 1998, 57–60) has elsewhere explored the ramifications of his rather limited cult on the Tay and the probability that it retains traces of his activity in Atholl during his lifetime – in this it allies with the broadly spread cult of Coeti's contemporary abbot in Iona in the late 7th century, Adomnán.²⁶ This suggests that we should not date Logierait's origins as a place-name before Coeti's death (though presumably the site itself could pre-date his time) but, given his relative cult obscurity, it may be that we should not date it much after this either. The *logie*-cluster in Perthshire may thus have its origins in a period of Gaelic, indeed, Iona-based influence in the area c. 700.

Two other Gaelic saints commemorated in these names have much wider cults: Cainnech (a.k.a. Kenneth) found in Laggan, and Brigit found twice (Logie Easter, Logiebride). The cult of Cainnech may again point to Iona influence, given his prominence in Adomnán's Life of St Columba and the distribution of place-names commemorating a saint named Cainnech (see <<http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=400>>). It is perhaps worth noting the two neighbouring parishes along the Spey are Adomnán's at Insh and Columba's at Kingussie. Brigit's cult is much more difficult to pin down. Hers is probably the most widespread saint's cult in Scotland after the Virgin Mary, in terms of hagiotoponyms. Nonetheless, she seems to have been culted by the Pictish church in the east as well as by Gaels (Clancy 2014, 23–32), with the foundation legend of Abernethy in particular looking to her as patron. By contrast, the names Muiredach and Amalgaid (if that is the correct derivation for the second element of Lagganallachy) are definedly Gaelic, and quite obscure (for other instances of Muiredach, see PNFife 4, 554; there are no other known instances of Amalgaid). It is perhaps worth noting that one place where Muiredach seems to have been culted is Kilmorich in Perthshire (and in Dunkeld diocese, NO002506), very near to both Lagganallachy and not far from Logierait.

and that this is the abbot of Iona of that name being commemorated. The name in W would be *Gweilgi*, and thus it seems unlikely that the forms *Volocus* or *Wallach* could represent this name, even in Pictish form.

26 Julianna Grigg has recently built speculatively, but interestingly, on these connections in seeing Logierait as the centre of Bishop Coeti's activities c. 700 (Grigg 2015, 148–49, 175–76).

It is probably important not to build too firm a context in this article for the **login* place-names, as it is more important to establish clearly the phenomenon of this as an ecclesiastical place-name element in eastern Scotland. Nonetheless, drawing together some of these strands, the evidence may point to foundations established during a restricted period, with chronological links to individuals flourishing in the late seventh and early eighth century, one with clear links to Iona, the other seemingly Pictish. Atholl seems to be an important region for understanding these names. The period c. 700, a period of reconsolidation of the church in Pictland after 685, and of contact between Iona and the Pictish kingdom, is one suggestive timeframe. As suggested above, some of the evidence suggests a *terminus ante quem* of c. 900. Thereafter, not only might we have more trouble explaining the use of the element (especially if it is Pictish), but we might also struggle to explain the absence of any of the major Gaelic saints, such as Columba or Patrick, from the saints commemorated.

The peculiar range of commemoration is something they share with the **eglēs* names of eastern Scotland north of the Forth. While there is no real overlap in the saints commemorated by each set of names, and while the distribution patterns are different, they are each fairly distinct from the huge run of names in *cill* and the saints commemorated by them. The sites associated with each set of place-names also share a relative tendency to lapse into comparative obscurity during the religious developments before 1100. I have set out elsewhere some views concerning the **eglēs* names north of the Forth and the context we might put them in (Clancy 2014). Again, the 8th century is indicated by a number of features of the evidence. The **eglēs* names also share a fate of sorts with **login* – if my analysis above is correct – in that during the period of Gaelic dominance in eastern Scotland, these names were misunderstood and potentially reanalysed. As with other aspects of the names, then, this too might suggest they were named in Pictish, though in a context at least partly influenced by Gaelic churchmen.

A cautionary note is worth sounding, however: as we have seen, those names which include saints' names as an intrinsic part of the name are in the minority, and this suggests we should not build too much on the contextual evidence they may provide, despite the rather narrow contextual window that seems indicated by the cults of Talorcan and Coeti. There is one further problem here which is worth flagging up, though as a problem to solve on another occasion, when all ecclesiastical generics can be examined together. The problem is that, coming from different angles, multiple analyses have ended up proposing the period c. 700 and through the 8th century as the period of creation of different types of ecclesiastical sites and different types of ecclesiastical toponyms. The clusters of *cill* place-names in eastern Scotland have been argued to be best explained by recourse to the period c. 700 (Taylor 1996); **eglēs* likewise (Clancy 2014); and

now **login*. Can these all be right? Does this create too narrow a chronology? And, if they are all from this period, what are their different distributions and dedications telling us?

OTHER LOGIES

This article has focused on those names in *logie* where early records show them to have been originally **login* and where there is very clear ecclesiastical association; in particular on the names of medieval parishes in *logie*. As noted above, there are a variety of other names in *logie* to be found in the same area, and occasionally beyond, where there is no ecclesiastical association. For many of these, the most likely explanation is that these names do derive from OG *loc*, *lac*, ScG *lag*, *lagan* 'hollow (etc.)' and that they have been assimilated in Scots orthography to *logie*. For many of these, it is also uncertain if the word lying behind the name is **login* or some other form. There are also one or two areas where, in addition to the *logie* parish name, there are a variety of other *logie* names in evidence, and articulating the relationship between them is difficult. A clear example of this is the former parish of *Logie-Fythenach*, later Edinkillie (for details, see App. 1). Whatever the original location of the **login* name in the original parish name, it has given way to a seemingly secular or at least topographical name.

But there is one further category of *logie* place-name that bears some consideration. These are names employing *logie* and associated in some way with medieval parish churches bearing other types of names. Two of these are presented in some detail in App. 1. Ardlogie, in the parish Fyvie, lies very close to the core of the parish, near the parish church of St Peter's, and to the Tironensian Priory. The earliest grant of land to that priory, moreover, makes it clear that it was on the lands of Ardlogie that the religious house was built: *in domo religiosa constructa in terra de Ardlogie prope ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Fyvyn* (*Arb. Lib.* i, no. 234). A second example is the now lost **login* near Duffus described indeed in 1294 as *Logy juxta ecclesiam de Duffhes* (*Mor. Reg.*, p. 145), which evidently lay right next to the church of St Peter's. While one option is to see these also as the 'hollow' word, both these instances, with their clear juxtaposition of church and *logie* place-name, invite instead the possibility that these too go back to an ecclesiastical **login*, and that that has been supplanted as the medieval name of the parish by another name (not one incorporating ecclesiastical elements in either case). There are a number of other *logie* names which invite the same sort of scrutiny, though they currently lack the same firm link in early sources to the medieval church and, as such, I have not presented these fully in App. 1. In Meigle parish PER, for instance, *Logymigill* (e.g. *Logymegill* 1490 *RMS* ii, no. 1966) is now represented by the arm of the parish which juts out to the east, containing

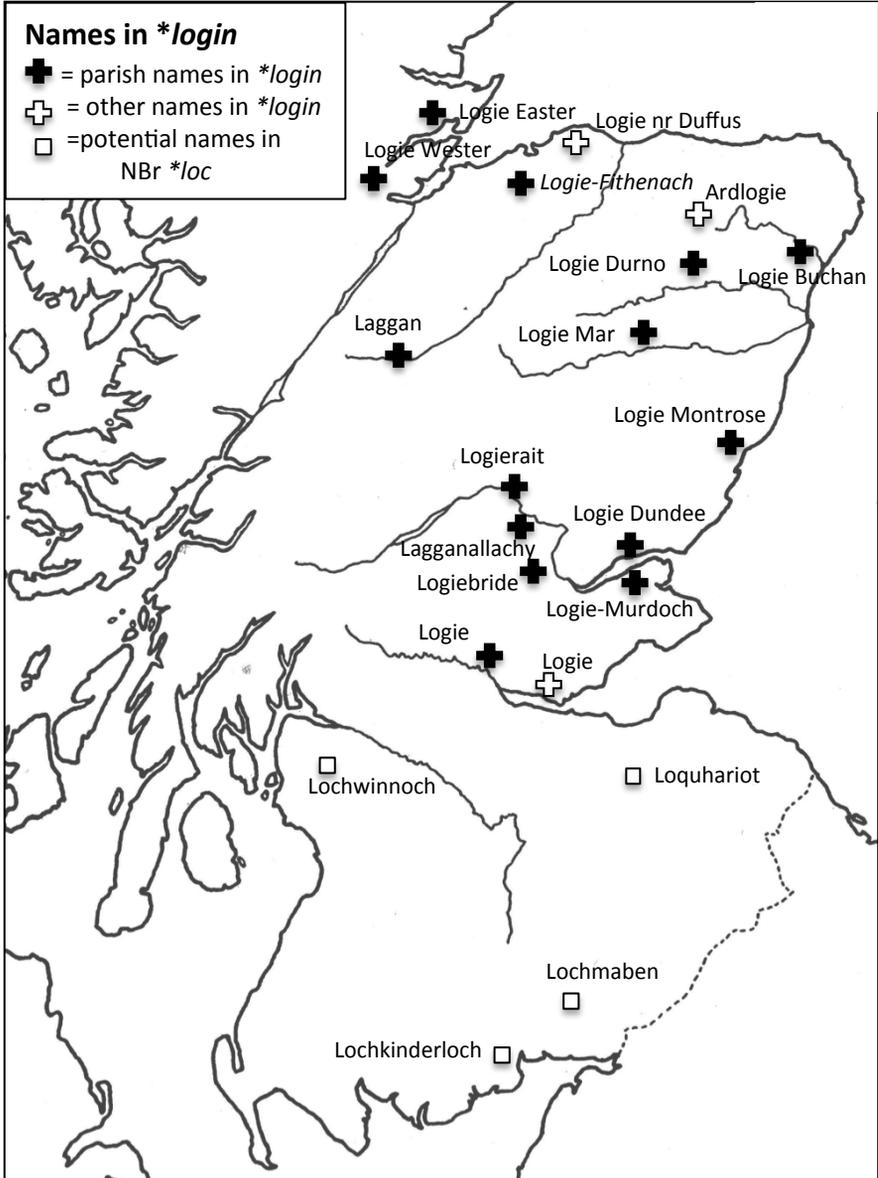
the farms of Langlogie (NO311455) and Nether Logie (NO320468); 1m south of Kirriemuir is the estate of Logie (NO390520). Perhaps the most tempting of all in this regard is Logie Fintray, in the parish of Fintray ABN (NJ863157). This lies no great distance from St Meddan's Church, the old kirk of Fintray (NJ871155), along the river Don. Fintray shows clear signs of being an early church. It may thus be that there are a number of further ecclesiastical *logies*, derived from our element **login* 'ecclesiastical site, church', where the name *logie* has been displaced by an estate name and *logie* confined to a subsidiary part of the lands of the parish. It is hard, on available evidence, to be certain how many of our current names in *logie* might be representative of this scenario; since we are almost certainly dealing with a mix of names deriving from OG *loc* 'hollow' and from **login* 'ecclesiastical site', it may prove impossible to determine this firmly. The main point here is that, in future work on this set of names, we should avoid too readily assuming that all *logie* names have this ecclesiastical origin; but we should also avoid assuming that names that have no overt ecclesiastical connection are not of ecclesiastical origin. The case needs to be made in every instance.

CONCLUSIONS

In this article I have sought to present evidence to show that eastern Scotland north of the Forth possessed a hitherto-undetected ecclesiastical place-name element, **login*, based ultimately on the Latin word *locus* 'place; ecclesiastical site, holy place', at its broadest meaning 'ecclesiastical site, church'. This new element considerably changes the map of ecclesiastical toponymy in eastern Scotland and expands and complicates the available evidence for understanding its evolution.

The distribution of this element is in many ways 'Pictish', but aspects of the names in question are also suggestive of a Gaelic context, at least within ecclesiastical circles. Since the Brittonic languages and, as we have seen, Gaelic had access to words derived from L *locus*, it is difficult to be certain if these names were Pictish or Gaelic in origin. Since OG *loc* 'church' is not elsewhere employed as a toponymic element in the Gaelic world, and since we can see Brittonic cognates so employed elsewhere in the Brittonic world, including possibly in southern Scotland, on balance we may wish to lean towards seeing **login* as a Pictish element in origin. This view is to some extent bolstered by the later assimilation of these names, sometimes in form and generally in the understanding of Gaelic speakers, to the elements *lag*, *lagan*, which, as we have seen, were productive elements in Gaelic Scotland in the Middle Ages. If these names are Pictish, they should pre-date 900; aspects of some of the names suggest potential contextualisation in the 8th, perhaps the early 8th

MAP OF THE MAIN PLACE-NAMES DISCUSSED IN THE ARTICLE
 FOR DETAILS, SEE APPENDIXES 1 AND 2.



century, but a broad period of creation of these names during the formation of the Pictish church, 650–850, would be a conservative summary of what the evidence suggests. Because of the dispersed distribution of the names, it has been further suggested that the period of creation of the names was relatively confined and the product of some sort of systematic organisational moment in the church in eastern Scotland – though this may be an illusion caused by the nature of our early records, and we need to allow for there perhaps having been more ecclesiastical **login* names than is currently evident. One way or another, future research will need to try tease out the differences among the ecclesiastical generics in use in eastern Scotland in the early Middle Ages – particularly *cill*, **eglēs*, **login* and *both* – to try to establish, if possible, the distinctive semantics of these terms and the extent to which their use was determined by function, chronology, culture or linguistic origin.

APPENDIX 1

A survey of Logie-names in Scotland north of the Forth, presented alphabetically by pre-1975 county and parish. The Logie-names which are or were formerly parishes are in bold type.²⁷ I have tried to adopt a consistent practice, somewhat at odds with some current naming practices on maps and in the scholarship, regarding Logie-names, by using a hyphen when the second element is a conjoined modern parish (e.g. Logie-Pert, Logie-Coldstone), but not where it is another place-name, such as the regional or deanery name (e.g. Logie Mar, Logie Buchan), another (settlement?) name defining it (e.g. Logie Durno, Logie Ruthven). When the second element is a saint's name or a defining adjective, I have followed the dominant trend in the representation of the place-name and, where possible, used the current name. I have differed from Cowan 1967 in representing these names. Some of the forms he created for his medieval parishes (e.g. Logie-Atheron) do not represent the evidence well and misleadingly imply a currency for certain names: more than Cowan's representation would imply, many of these names were simply 'Logie' or 'Logy'.

ABERDEENSHIRE

ARDLOGIE Fyvie FYV (Aberdeen diocese, Buchan deanery) NJ780372
terra de *Ardlogy* 1285 *Arb. Lib.* i, no. 234 [‘in the religious house constructed

²⁷ The early forms in this Appendix are in many places substantially based on or augmented by material generously supplied to me by Dr Simon Taylor, much of it compiled for the parish survey in the original Scottish Place-Names Database. I am also grateful to him for advice and assistance in formatting this section.

on the land of Ardlogie next to the church of St Peter of Fyvie' (in domo religiosa constructa in terra de *Ardlogy* prope ecclesiam Sancti Petri de *Fyvyn*); see also *ibid.*, no. 235]

Ardlogy 1654 Blaeu

Ardloggie 1747–52 Roy

Ardlogie 1843x1882 OS 6" 1st edn

G àrd 'high' or àird 'height' + ? *logach* 'having a hollow' or **login* 'ecclesiastical site'

This estate, which was fairly extensive judging by divided lands, e.g. Mill of Ardlogie, Upper Ardlogie, East Mains of Ardlogie, lies above a bend in the River Ythan, just SSE of the Tironensian Priory of Fyvie. The priory, according to the earliest record, was built on the land of Ardlogie, suggesting that Ardlogie was even more extensive originally, and more or less encompassed all the land around St Peter's church at Fyvie. The lands are perhaps best seen on the 1768 Estate plan, recently digitised (NRS RHP11: see <<http://www.scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/>>, sub 'Fyvie, parish'), where the main lands are divided into the Farm of Ardlogie, Kirkton (where the church and the old priory are), and Peter-well (among others). As with several other examples, then, a case could be made for **login* here being related to an early church on the site. The presence of such a church is suggested by the presence of several Pictish symbol stones built into the modern parish church, built in 1808 (See <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/19032/fyvie-st-peters-church>> for further details).

LOGIE BUCHAN LOB (Aberdeen diocese, Buchan deanery) NJ989298

(The NGR is for the Kirkton of Logie Buchan.)

ecclesi<a> de *Logy* 1270 × 1279 *Abdn. Reg.* ii, 52 [18 merks]

ecclesia *Logyntalargy* 1275 Bag. Roll, p. 43

Logynathi 1276 Bag. Roll, p. 67²⁸

concessio ecclesie de *Logybuchan*' 1362 *RRS* vi, no. 277 [rubric of NLS, MS Adv. 34.4.4, fo. 11r; printed also *Abdn. Reg.* i, 95; 'grant of the church of Logie-Buchan' by David II to the canons of Aberdeen Cathedral]

ius patronatus ecclesie de *Logy* in *Buchania* 1362 *RRS* vi, no. 277 [text; also *Abdn. Reg.* i, 95; 'the right of patronage of the church of Logie in Buchan'; see previous]

ius patronatus ecclesie de *Logy* in *Buchania* 1362 *Abdn. Reg.* i, 96

28 This is a very anomalous form for the name – perhaps it incorporates the G word for a ford, *àth*?

dictam ecclesiam de *Logy* 1362 *Abdn. Reg.* i, 96 [‘the said church of Logie’]
 ecclesi<a> de *Logy* *Abdn. Reg.* i, 97 [rubric]

ecclesie nostre communis de *Logy in Buchania* 1362 *Abdn. Reg.* i, 98 [‘the
 church of our community (of Aberdeen Cathedral) of Logie-Buchan’;
 thereafter in this document (97–99) simply *Logy* ×3]

ecclesia<a> et parochi<a> de ... *Logie super Ethinsyde* 1630 *RMS* viii, no.
 1554

Logy K[irk] 1654 Blaeu

Logy 1750 James Dorret

Logie Buchan 1792 *OSA* IV, 421²⁹

Kirkton of *Logie Buchan* 1866 OS 6" 1st edn

**login* + en Buchan

Situated at the tidal lower reaches of the Ythan, south of the river, this parish church was given to the canons of Aberdeen Cathedral in 1361, though possession was not consistent (Cowan 1967, 136–37). The church built on the site in 1787 seems to have been dedicated to St Andrew (NMRS: <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/82149/logie-buchan-parish-church>>), though this is on the authority of the often unreliable *Fasti*. The earlier name would seem to indicate commemoration of St Talorcan, for whom see MacQuarrie with Butter 2012, 416–17. With the early forms compare Kiltarlity INV (*Kiltalargy* 1224 *Moray Reg.*; *Kiltalargyn* 1224 *Moray Reg.*; and see Watson 1926, 298).

Dedication: Talorcan

LOGIE DURNO Chapel of Garioch CHG, formerly Logie-Durno (Aberdeen diocese, Garioch deanery) NJ704264 (site of kirk)

The parish/church name alternates in the Middle Ages among forms with Logie and forms simply with Durno/Durnach. I give below firstly forms containing Logie, secondly forms with Durno on its own (including settlement names).

Logindurnach 1232 × 1237 *Lind. Cart.* no. 19 [‘land between *Meikle Durno and Logie-Durno’ (inter *magnam Durnach et Logindurnach*); see Durno CHG for more details]

29 The Rev. William Paterson, the author of the *OSA* account (*OSA* Vol. IV, p. 421) notes ‘*Logie* is derived from the Gaelic; and is said to signify “a low lying place”. The parish is called *Logie Buchan*, probably to distinguish it from other parishes, called Logie in this county, such s *Logie Mar* and *Logie Durno*.’

- parochia de *Logindurnach* 1251 *Lind. Cart.* no. 80 [Aland Durward grants 5 merks annually 'to the chapel of the Blessed Mary situated in the parish of Logie-Durno' (site in parochia de *Logindurnach*); see Chapel of Garioch CHG]
- uicario ecclesie de *Logindurnach* 1251 *Lind. Cart.* no. 80 ['to the vicar of the church of L.']
- the kirk of *Logie Dornoch* 1561 *Assumption*, 32
- Logydornocht* 1561 *Assumption*, 36 ['with the brewhouse of the same']
- the kirk of *Logydornocht* 1561 *Assumption*, 36
- the vicarage of *Logydornocht* 1574 *Assumption*, 448 ['in *Garioche*'; for date, see p. 451]
- Logy Durno* 1654 Blaeu
- Liogy* 1747-52 Roy
- LogyDurn* 1750 James Dorret
- Logie Durno* 1867 OS 6" 1st edn (also Logie Durno Church)

**login* + en Durno

Cf. parish name simply as **Durno** and variants:

- Durnach* 1178 × 1182 *RRS* ii, no. 205 [mid-13th c. copy; = *Lind. Cart.* no. 1; one of the properties (no descriptor) granted to Lindores Abbey by Earl David on its foundation]
- ecclesiam de *Durnach* 1195 *Lind. Cart.* no. 93 [papal confirmation of Earl David's grants to Lindores Abbey; see Stringer 1985, 93-96]
- ecclesiam de *Durnach* 1198 × 1199 Stringer 1985, no. 44 [= *Lind. Cart.* no. 2; granted to Lindores Abbey by Earl David]³⁰
- ecclesi<a> de ... *Durnach* 1219 × 1232 *Lind. Cart.* no. 15 [Earl John of Huntingdon's confirmation of his father, Earl David's, grants to Lindores Abbey]
- magnam Durnach* 1232 × 1237 *Lind. Cart.* no. 19 (... terra illa ... inter *magnam Durnach* et *Logindurnach* ...)
- ecclesi<a> de *Durnach* 1270 × 1279 *Abdn. Reg.* ii, 53
- Mekildurno* 1509 *Abdn. Reg.* i, 353
- M[eikle]* *Durno* 1654 Blaeu
- Meickle Dornea* 1747-52 Roy
- M Durno* (×2) 1750 James Dorret
- Durno* 1867 OS 6" 1st edn

G *dòrn* + G *-ach*

³⁰ For the dating of this charter, see PNFife 4, 61 fn.2.

G *dòrn* 'fist', by extension 'pebble'; so 'place of pebbles or rounded stones'? (but sometimes 'fist-like place', for an outcrop of land); see Watson 1926, 182–83, 488. (Dornock DMF; Dornoch, Dornie by Eilean Donan ROS etc.).

The medieval church sits somewhat to the north of the Urie, just after the confluence with the Gadie. Its parish history is complex, as it incorporated Chapel of Garioch, south of the Urie, and Chapel of Garioch latterly became the name of the composite parish (also taking in parts of Fetternear). Logie Durno was given to the abbey of Lindores 1191 × 1195 (see above, and Cowan 1967, 137, for more details). The element *logie* also appears in a number of other places in the parish, e.g. Logie Elphinstone, Glenlogie. The former is not a name of great antiquity. There are a number of Pictish sculptured stones in the vicinity, including the circular ogam inscription at Logie Elphinstone; the 'Maiden Stone' lies north of the chapel at Chapel of Garioch.

LOGIE also **Logie Mar** also **Logie Ruthven**, LMX since 1618 in composite parish of Logie-Coldstone LOC (Aberdeen diocese, Mar deanery) NJ436024 (The NGR is for St Woloch's Stone, as church is not marked.)

ecclesia de *Ruchauen* 1199 × 1207 *St A. Lib.* 374–75 [for **Ruthauen*?]
 concessio ecclesie de *Logymar* 1239 × 1241 *Abdn Reg.* i, 16 [rubric; granted by Duncan earl of Mar to canons of Aberdeen Cathedral]
 ecclesiam de *Logyrothman* in *Mar* 1239 × 1241 *Abdn Reg.* i, 16 [text; for **Logyrothuan* or the like?]
 ecclesia de *Logyn Rouen'* 1245 × 1255 *Arb. Lib.* i, 242
 ecclesi<a> de *Logyruthuen* 1270 × 1279 *Abdn. Reg.* ii, 52 [14 merks]
 terras de *Logy* 1429 *RMS* ii, no. 134
Logy K. 1654 *Blaeu*
Lioggy 1747–52 *Roy*
Logie 1793 *OSA* IX, 510³¹
 (mains of) *Logie* 1867 *OS 6*" 1st edn (also Mill of Logie, Milton of Logie)

**login* + en Mar or en Ruthven

Like Logie Durno, Logie Mar seems to have gone by the name of another nearby place, perhaps the main secular settlement, at Ruthven (NJ454027, for Upper Ruthven). Its name, for which I have not given full forms, is probably

³¹ Robert Farquharson, the author of the *OSA* account, notes: 'The name of the parish of Logie is expressive of its local situation. It is a corruption of the word *Lag*, which in the Gaelic language, signifies a "hollow or low situation."' (*OSA* Vol. IX, p. 510).

Pictish **ruð* 'red' + **men* 'stone', cf. Welsh *rhudd, maen*. If *Ruchauen* in 1199 × 1207 is the later Logie Ruthven/Logie Mar, then it was given by Duncan earl of Mar to the erstwhile céli Dé church of Monymusk at the time but, by 1239 × 1241, it had been given to the canons of Aberdeen cathedral. Logie Mar and Coldstone were united in 1618 to form Logie-Coldstone, and the centre of the parish shifted to Coldstone. Logie Mar fell out of prominence and the modern map does not even indicate a kirkyard, though there is one (Davuit Broun, indignant pers. comm.). As a result, the NGR given above is that for St Woloch's Stone.

The dedication to St Wallach/Volocus is fairly well supported, even if it was never incorporated in the place-name. The Aberdeen Breviary states that the churches of *Tunmeth* (Dunmeath) and *Logy in Mar* are dedicated to this saint, who remains fairly obscure (see MacQuarrie with Butter 2012, 421). A problematical factoid has found its way into the scholarship, by which Logie near Stirling (or Logie Airthrey) was also known as 'Logie-Wallach', and this has led people to call into question the dedication to Wallach here. As far as I can determine, there is no record of Logie by Stirling being so called.

St Woloch's Stone seems to be prehistoric. The recently transcribed OSNB entry for it (1867, Aberdeenshire, Vol. 56, p. 116) supplies the following information, as 'St Wollock's Stone':

A large standing stone, standing about six feet high, and placed against the Logie Colston Grave yard wall. It is said that St Wolock used preach standing against this stone. "In the parish of Logie is the church of Logie, dedicated to St Wolock, whose feast is held on the 29th January" Copied from the papers of the Spalding Club page 632. [= *A&B Collections*] The site of St Wolocks church is not known It is said he preached here about the fifth century and a Fair is annually held in honour of his memory on the 30th of January. The site of the Ancient church cannot be identified now.

Ainmean Àite na h-Alba (<http://www.gaelicplacenames.org/databasedetails.php?id=2883>) notes Diack's record of the local Gaelic version of the name as *Lògaidh*, with pronunciation as /lòkie/. This looks to me like a gaelicised version of the Scots form *Logie*; certainly it does not show the adaptation to *lagaidh* or *lagan* seen elsewhere.

Dedication: Wallach/Volocus

ANGUS³²

LOGIE also **Logie Montrose LXM**, later incorporated in composite parish of Logie-Pert (St Andrews diocese, Angus deanery) LOP NO705634

Ecclesia de *login cuthel* 1243 MS Paris BN Latin 1218, fo. 2v [printed *Login Cuthel* Wordsworth 1885]

ecclesia de *Logyn'* 1250 × 1259 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 313, p. 210 [10 merks]

ecclesia de *Logyn* 1275 Bag. Roll, p. 40 [2 merks; listed after church of Dunninald (*Duninaght*) ANG (3 s. 4 d.) and before vicarage of Pert (vicarius de *Perch*) (1 merk)]

parochia de *Logymontros* 1496 *RMS* ii, no. 2304

parochia de *Logy-Montrose* 1524 *RMS* iii, no. 246.

Logymontros 1562 *Assumption* 374

Loge K[irk] 1654 Blaeu

Logy Kirk 1747–52 Roy

Logie, or Logie-Montrose 1793 *OSA* IX, 33³³

Church of *Logie* 1861 OS 6" 1st edn

The NGR given is for the old church of Logie, which sits in a curvilinear churchyard against a bank adjacent to the North Esk. Its situation could easily be described as a 'hollow'. Its designation as *Logie-Montrose* was probably to distinguish it from *Logie-Dundee*, both within the diocese of St Andrews, and the Angus deanery, and situated from the 13th century near developing burghs. After the reformation it was united with neighbouring Pert,³⁴ and thereafter known intermittently as Logie-Pert. The modern parish church is at NO665645. Its earliest attestation as *Login Cuthel* seems secured by its placement in David de Bernham's itinerary of consecrating parish churches, coming as it does between Aldbar and Inchbrayock (Wordsworth 1885, xvi; also Anderson 1922 ii, 524). The second element is not certain; it

32 In addition to the places in Angus discussed above, there is a further conspicuous Logie place-name in Kirriemuir Parish: Logie House at NO393520 (see <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/32312/logie-house>>). This is *W Logy* and *E Logy* 1583–92 Pont; *Loge* 1654 Blaeu; *Liogy* 1747–52 Roy. It is a 16th-century tower house. There is no ecclesiastical connection known to me, and it does not lie very near to Kirriemuir.

33 The Rev. Alexander Peter, the author, notes: '*Logie*, which is a very common name through Scotland, is said to be of Gaelic extraction, and to signify a "flat or low situation," which particularly corresponds to that of the Old Church of Logie, which is situated in a hollow or low ground, by the side of the Northesk river' (p. 33).

34 This is well documented on the Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches website: <<http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158740>>.

could be the G *còmhdhal*/Sc *couthal* ‘open air court’ element discussed by Barrow and others (see PNFife 5, 340, and references there), but if so it is the only trace of such a name here.³⁵ The parish dedication is supposedly Martin; some indication of this may be found in Martin’s Well (NO707627) in Martin’s Den, which forms the SSE border of Logie parish and lies very close to Logie kirk.

Dedication: ?Martin

LOGIE also Logie Dundee LOX (and then in Liff LIX, and Liff and Benvie LIB), later incorporated into Dundee parish (St Andrews diocese, Angus deanery) NO382312

ecclesia de *Logyn Dundho* 1165 × 1178 *Scone Lib.* 40

ecclesia de *Logydunde* 1178 × 1188 *RRS* ii, no. 276 [= *Scone Lib.* no. 42]

terra de *Logydunde* 1178 × 1188 *RRS* ii, no. 276 [= *Scone Lib.* no. 42]

ecclesia de *Logyndunde* 1243 Pontifical³⁶

ecclesia de *Logyn Dunde* 1250 × 1259 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 313, p. 209

vicarage pensionary of *Logydundy* 1561 *Assumption*, 399

vicariis ecclesiarum parochialium de ... *Logy* 1631 *RMS* viii, no. 1769

Logie 1654 *Blaeu*

Liogy 1747–52 *Roy*

Logie Church 1861 OS 6th 1st edn

The church was confirmed to Scone 1165 × 1178 by the bishop of St Andrews (see Cowan 1967, 137, for further details); the parish was united with Liff and Invergowrie between 1574–1613, Liff and Invergowrie having previously been pendants of Logie (see Cowan 1967, 137), and all these later amalgamated into the parish of Liff and Benvie (LIB). Canmore cites mention of carved stones, now lost, having been recovered from the foundation of the church (<<https://canmore.org.uk/site/31938/logie-church>>; and see Jervise 1868 for illustration). Wordsworth 1885 erroneously identified this with the nearby neighbourhood of Lochee (by mid-19th-century, a much more prominent settlement than Logie owing to its expansion during industrialisation), and this has been followed intermittently by others since, e.g. in CSMPC (<http://>

35 It is perhaps worth noting that Logie Fintray lay very near to a Cothal place-name; also that Coldstone, near Logie Mar, may contain the *còmhdhal* element.

36 Note that Wordsworth 1885, xvii, identifies this with Lochee, and others have followed suit (e.g. *RRS* ii, no. 303), but, despite the proximity of Lochee to the site of Logie and the fact that Lochee would have been in Logie parish, this is incorrect. They are different names, Lochee likely taking its name from the nearby burn of that name.

arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158738), which also provides more discussion of the site. However, the 'documentation' section of this resource several times erroneously 'translates' the original documents' *Logyn*, *Logie* etc. as 'Lochee', e.g. for 1165 × 1178³⁷; it further confuses matters by including a 1637 reference to Lochlee in Brechin diocese, an entirely different parish.³⁸

Dedication: unknown

FIFE

LOGIE Dunfermline DFL, formerly Rosyth RHX (Dunkeld diocese, Fife and Strathearn deanery) NT077864

(Ewen de) *Login* 1204 × 1208 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 171
 capella de *Logyn* 1250 × 1272 *Inchcolm Chrs* no. 22
 teyndis of *Logie* 1574 *Inchcolm Chrs*, p. 223
Logy 1654 Blaeu
Logie 1856 OS 6" 1st edn

For full references and discussion, see PNFife 1, 335–36.

Whilst not a parish, this chapel belonged to the bishops of Dunkeld until the 16th century and thus remains of some significance. The medieval parish in which it was situated, Rosyth, also belonged to Dunkeld diocese.

LOGIE also **Logie-Murdoch** LOG (St Andrews diocese, Fife deanery) NO404204

(church of) *Logymurdach* 1245 × 1255 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 313
 (church of) *Loginmurthak* 1245 × 1255 *St A. Lib.* 34
 (church of) *Logimuohaud* 1275 Bag. Roll, p. 38
Logie 1390 × 1406 *RMS* i, app. 2, no. 1734
Logymurthache 1390 × 1406 *RMS* i, app. 2 × no. 1960
K<irk> Of Logy 1654 Blaeu (Pont) East Fife

37 This is also problematic in SEA, nos. 202, 224, which give Logie Dundee as 'Lochee'.

38 This results in some fairly garbled material, e.g. 'On 6 January 1637 the bishop and the laird of Dun recommended that the parishes of Lochee [sic, and recte 'Lochlee'] and Lethnot should be joined to that of Navar [citing NRS GD45/13/181] and worship subsequently appears to have been concentrated at Lethnot.' This has nothing to do with Logie Dundee.

Luggie 1775 Ainslie/Fife
Logie 1854 OS 6" 1st edn

For full references and extensive discussion see PNFife 4, 567–68, 554–58, and for discussion of Muiredach, see above.

INVERNESS-SHIRE

LAGGAN also **Logie-Kenny** (ScG *Lagan Choinnich*) LAG (Moray diocese, Strathspey deanery) NN534896

Logykenny 1224 × 1233 *Moray Reg.*, p. 83³⁹
Logynkenny 1239 *Moray Reg.*, p. 35
Logikenuy 1274 Bag. Roll, p. 45
 (lacus de) *Lagankenze, Lagankenzee* 1451 *Moray Reg.*, p. 233
Lagankenith 1630 *Geog. Coll.* II, p. 173
Lagankenich 1630 *Geog. Coll.* II, p. 173
Laggan Chyinch (sic) 1630 *Geog. Coll.* II, p. 599
Wr Loggan 1747–1752 Roy
Luggan 1792 *OSA* III, 145

**login* (and later G *lagan* ‘small hollow’)+ pn OG *Cainnech*, ScG *Coinneach*

By the time of the OS 6" 1st edn, the name of the church and settlement seems to have become displaced. The church site itself is thereafter referred to on maps as ‘St Kenneth’s Church’, the settlement, often, as Kinloch Laggan; the OSNB only records *Laggan* as the name of the parish. This church is sited in an area which remained Gaelic-speaking into the modern period, and the original **login* has been modernised or gaelicised as *lagan Choinnich* (see Watson 1926, 276). Watson also notes of the site that ‘The site of the old church of Laggan, with its cemetery, near the head of Loch Laggan, is not in a hollow, but on a pleasant sunny plateau: the original *lagan* was somewhere near this.’

The commemoration of St Cainnech is embedded in the name. This is almost certainly Cainnech of Aghaboe, in Ireland, mentioned several times in Adomnán’s Life of Columba, and well known outside it (see Ó Riain 2011, 138–40; <<http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=36>>. The NMRS entry (<<https://canmore.org.uk/site/24302/st-kenneths-church>>) on the kirkyard

³⁹ Also note, this record mentions *unam dauacham terre apud Logykenny scilicet Edenlogyn*

disturbingly describes him as ‘a distinguished Irish Pict who visited Scotland in the late 6th century’ (following Simpson 1935); it remains a problem that such descriptions lurk about authoritatively on public record sites.

Dedication: Cainnech (Coinneach)

MORAY

#LOGIE Duffus parish DUF (Moray diocese, Elgin deanery) NJ174688

Logynaedal, Logyndykis ... in terra de Logy 1190 *Mor. Reg.*, p. 131

Logyn juxta Duffus 1208–1215 *Mor. Reg.*, p. 41

Logyn juxta ecclesiam de Duffhes 1294 *Mor. Reg.*, p. 145

This place-name, or indeed perhaps series of place-names, seems to have disappeared early on. The reference to *Logyndykis* is a reminder of the early intrusion of the Scots language into this area under the settlement of Freskin, to whose activities this grant belongs (cf. the parish of Dyke NH990584, *Dich* 1189 × 1195 *RRS* ii, 360; *Dyk* 1213 × 1222 *Mor. Reg.*, no. 54), as well as of the considerable drainage in evidence in this part of Elginshire. The specific in *Logynaedal*, which appears only once, is very uncertain. The parish church of Duffus was dedicated to St Peter, but there is no way of knowing if this is a new or old dedication. Duffus looks like a topographical or settlement name, probably based on G *dubh* + *-as, -us* ‘black place’ (see Watson 1926, 499; PNFife 5, 286–87).

#LOGIE-FITHENACH now Edinkillie parish EDK (Moray diocese, Elgin deanery) NJ019465 (NGR is modern parish church, built in 1741; Logie House is at NJ012505)

Logyn Fythenach 1208 × 1215, *Mor. Reg.*, p. 41

ecclesia de Logyn 1229 *Mor. Reg.*, p. 21

Logyfythenach, Logynfytheanach 1236 *Mor. Reg.*, pp. 30–31.

Logyfenach 1287 *Mor. Reg.*, p. 284

capellano de *Logy* 1287 *Mor. Reg.*, p. 284

totam terram ecclesie beati Johannis Baptisti de *Logynfythenach* 1287 *Mor.*

Reg., p. 284

?*Logie-Buchannach, Ihons-Logy, Mekil Logy* 1583–96 Pont 8

Loggie 1747–52 Roy (but see discussion below)

**login* + ?

The church was assigned as prebend of archdeacon of Moray, 1208 × 1215 (*Mor. Reg.* no. 46); it was under the name of Edinkillie by the 16th century (*Edinkellie* 1560 × 1570 *Assumption*, 487). The parish lay along the River Findhorn. It has been difficult to ascertain precisely where the original medieval church lay. The most prominent local name is Logie House, 2.5 miles north of the modern church of Edinkillie; it lies at the centre of an estate contributing names to the landscape: Logie Wood, Moss of Logie, Mains of Logie, Bridge of Logie over the Dorbock Burn near the Doune of Relugas (a vitrified fort). Despite this, it may not be the original church site; the complexities intensify when one considers Pont's map (8, 1583–96) (followed more legibly by Blaeu), which shows, as well as *Mekil Logy* roughly corresponding to the modern Mains of Logie, *Ihons-Logy* and, opposite the river from it, *Logie-Buchannach*. Roy's *Loggie* sits more or less where Blaeu's *Ihons-Logy* does, and these both seem to correspond well to a number of hagiotoponyms evident on the OS 6" 1st edn: *Meads of St John*, *St John's Pool*. This situation, however, puts a putative 'St John's Logie' on the east side of the Findhorn, in Rafford parish, formerly Altyre (see <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1369925047>). This location puts it into the zone of Altyre, with its important Pictish sculpture and ogam inscription. On the west of the Findhorn, Blaeu also gives *Logie-Buchannach*, modern Logiebuchany (NH988549). This lies just to the west of Darnaway Castle, the main residence of the earls of Moray from the later Middle Ages. It is possible that *Logie-Buchannach* is a representation of earlier Logie-Fithenach, perhaps simply by means of a scribal error. However, Darnaway and Logiebuchany historically lay (just) in Dyke parish.

The description of the church as 'ecclesia beati Johannis Baptisti de Logynfythenach' in 1287 seems to put the issue beyond question: Blaeu's *Ihons-Logy*, and the cluster of St John place-names, must be connected to Logie-Fithenach. I suspect also connected is the *Logygown* – perhaps the second element a rendering of the name John – which appears in the Moray Register and elsewhere, e.g. *Logygown et Ardorie* 1525 *Mor. Reg.*, p. 399 (described as in the parish of Edinkillie). In 1561 it appears to have been given to Thomas Cumming of Altyre – is this when a portion of the original Logie changed parish? My current hypothesis, though there are several other possible ones, is that 'St John's Logie' lay at the heart of Logie-Fithenach, but that Logiebuchany and Logie House and its estate also represent refracted portions of the original church and parish lands. Presumably, though, the original parish church lay near the Meads of St John, on the east of the Findhorn.

The second element in the name Logie-Fithenach is somewhat

problematic. It seems often to have been taken to have something to do with its wooded location, presumably thinking of G *fiodh* ‘wood’, OG *fid* (e.g., perhaps, OG *fidánach* ‘abounding in trees’). This is possible, but an adjective based on OG *fithead*, G *fithean* ‘boar’ better suits the word we have; so *fitheanach* might mean ‘possessing or full of wild boar’. Inevitably, the putative Pictish kingdom name *Fidach* (on which see Broun 2000, 32–33) also springs to mind but should probably be left to one side.

Dedication: John the Baptist

PERTHSHIRE⁴⁰

LAGGANALLACHY LYX now in Little Dunkeld LDK (Dunkeld diocese, Atholl deanery) NN991410

Loghantlot 1274 Bag. Roll, p. 45

Logynauelath 1274 Bag. Roll, p. 45

Logynaueलोche 1294 *Coupar Angus Chrs* I. 140–42

Logyalloquhy 1505 *Rentale Dunkeldense*, p. 12

villas et terras de ... Mekill ... Middill ... Eister *Logie* 1606 *RMS* vi, no. 1778

kirktown de *Logiealloquhy* 1606 *RMS* vi, no. 1778

Laganalachie 1793 *OSA* vi, 354

Lagganallachy 1863 OS 6" 1st edn

**login* (later as ScG *lagan*) + pn *Amhalghaidh*⁴¹

40 In addition to the three names detailed here, we should take note of Logiealmond, which is now a parish, but was not a medieval parish name – it has a complex administrative history, and is an amalgam of various medieval parishes; the amalgamated parish was called Monzie, until changed by the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889: see OSNB Perthshire, Vol. 59, p. 1, which also describes the constituent parts. That said, Logiealmond was an estate of some importance and has records going back to the central Middle Ages, so it is not impossible it started out as a **login*-name, though there are no clear ecclesiastical associations. Where not a simplex *Logie/Logy*, the name incorporates the local river name, the Almond. Early forms include *Logiyawmond* 1493 (*RMS* ii, no. 2177); *Logy-almont* 1654 Blaeu; *Logie Almond* 1747–52 Roy. It is further mentioned as one of the five parishes in Wester Stormont in MacFarlane’s collections: *Logy-Almond* 1600 × 1700 *Geog. Coll.* ii, 571. This is either a mistake or it suggests that the name had some currency in earlier centuries (though its status as an amalgamation of other parts is somewhat problematic for that explanation). For clear discussion of the relationship between Logie, Logiealmond, its medieval parishes and the later parish, see Rogers 1992, 353–56, and map on p. 315.

41 The Rev. Robert Allan, author of the *NSA* account for Little Dunkeld in 1845, speculates instead that its ‘name may signify “the valley for burying,” from the two

The current form of the name seems to reflect absorption into modern Gaelic and transformation of **login* to ScG *lagan*, as happened with a number of other names. That a rendition into Scots orthography as 'Logie' was also available is suggested by the nearby farm of Meikle Logie (NN985412), perhaps represented as Mid Logie on Roy. John Rogers, who explores its parish and estate history notes that '[i]t seems probable that it was the lordship of Strathbraan which lent its form to the parish of the Lagganallachie' (1992, 384; cf *RMS* vi, no. 1778).

It was united with Little Dunkeld, apparently in the 17th century, but Lagganallachy church seems still to have been in use in 1843 (*NSA*). An unsubstantiated factoid, perhaps to be traced to Huw Scott's *Fasti*, suggests that the parish was also known as Inismogranachan, and this has found its way into NMRS (under Lagganallachie: <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/26246/lagganallachie>>) and also CSMPC (<<http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=157254>>), where it is represented as a full alternative name for the site. This does not seem to be correct, or at least there is no evidence for it. Inismogranachan, now Inchmagranachan, is a settlement on the Tay, separated from Lagganallachy by hills and some distance; it is not in Strathbraan; it was probably always in the parish of Little Dunkeld. In fact, it seems to me more likely that Inchmagranachan was the original name, and location, for the parish-church of what became Little Dunkeld, especially as Inchmagranachan (and not Little Dunkeld) is included in Bagimond's Roll (*Inchemegranoc*, *SHS Misc.* vi, 49), as also is Lagganallachy (see above). Inchmagranachan is almost certainly a hagiotopeponym, though who the saint **Mo Ghranóc*/**Mo Ghranachan* might be is uncertain. Taking Inchmagranachan as the original church of Little Dunkeld would fill the lacuna noted by Cowan (1967, 134), who says of Little Dunkeld that it does not appear in Bagimond's Roll (this is repeated in the CSMPC record for Little Dunkeld).

While it cannot be certain that the second element in Lagganallachy is a personal name, it seems very likely that it is, although it does not seem to have been transparent to any of the scribes. Various suggestions have been made, with Mackinlay (1914, 138) asserting that it was 'under the invocation of an Irish bishop named Allocus, or with the honorific prefix Mocheallog, who gave his name to Cill-Mocheallog in Limerick'. Hew Scott, *Fasti*, suggested Kelloc; the *NSA* suggested 'St Aulachy'. In fact the forms suggest the OG name *Amalgaid*, later Amhalghaidh, which often fell together with Amlaíb, later Amhlaoibh (a name taken from ON Ólafr, earlier Ánleifr). A personal

Gaelic words, *Lagan* and *adhlaic*; or it may be connected with Aulachy, a traditionary saint.' (*NSA* Vol. x, pp. 1013–14).

name of this sort crops up in the family of the earls of Lennox, with similar mangling (Ó Maolalaigh forthcoming; Black 1946, 37).⁴² There is no known Gaelic saint of this name.

LOGIEBRIDE LBX former parish, now in Auchtergaven parish AUG (Dunkeld diocese, Angus Deanery) NO047342

Loginbrid 1274 Bag. Roll, p. 45

Logibryde 1358 RMS i, app. 2, no. 1134 B [17th c. transcript]

ecclesiam de *Logybride* 1484 × 1506 Myln, *Vitae*, 42

Logybride 1539 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 534 [lying in West Stormont (*Veststarmonth*), regality of Dunfermline]

Logybrid 1539 RMS iii, no. 1950 [= *Dunf. Reg.* no. 534]

Bryds Kirk 1654 Blaeu

Logiebride Church 1864 OS 6" 1st edn (also OSNB)

Hill of *Logiebride* 1864 OS 6" 1st edn

After being annexed to Auchtergaven in the 17th century, the site seems to have gone out of use, except for burial, and the commemoration was evidently still transparent, cf. St Bride's Well nearby. Blaeu's form 'Bryds Kirk' is also interesting from this point of view. It appears to have become a prebend of Dunkeld Cathedral in the later Middle Ages. For further discussion, see CSMPC (<http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=157217>). John Rogers (1992, 380–84, with map p. 381) explores it as one of a complex group of small medieval parishes linked to estates scattered through Strathord.

Dedication: St Brigit

LOGIERAIT, ScG *Lagan Rait* or *Lagan* LOR (Dunkeld diocese, Atholl deanery) NN971518

(church of) *Login Mahedd'* 1189 × 1195 *RRS* ii, no. 336 [= *Scone Lib.* no. 27; lists four dependent chapels]

de *Logy Mehedd* in *Atholia* c. 1198 × 1203 *Scone Lib.* no. 55 [rubric]

(church of) *Logy Mehedd* in *Atholia* c. 1198 × 1203 *Scone Lib.* no. 55⁴³

42 *Auleth* 1238 *Lenn. Cart.*, 30–31; *Aulech* 1234 × 1253 *Lennox* ii, no. 10; *Aueleth* 1214 × 1231 *Arb. Lib.* no. 133. A full discussion of name and name-forms is to be found in Ó Maolalaigh, forthcoming.

43 SEA no. 48 gives dates as 1187 × 1203. This incidentally reveals the importance

toftum unum in prefato *Logyn* c. 1198 × 1203 *Scone Lib.* no. 55
Logy Mehed 1236 × 1249 *Scone Lib.* no. 100
ecclesia de *Logynrath* 1274 Bag. Roll, p. 47
Logyrate 1379–85 *RMS* i, no. 757
Logirate 1390 *RMS* i, no. 802
Laggan-rat 1583–96 Pont 23
ecclesia<a> et parochi<a> de *Logyrait* 1631 *RMS* viii, no. 1769
Laggan Rait 1654 Blaeu
Logierate 1747–52 Roy
Logyrait 1750 James Dorret
Logierait 1845 *NSA X*, 685⁴⁴
Laggan 1845 *NSA X*, 685

**login* + pn Mo Choid/Mo Ched, and later + en Rait (from *G rath* ‘fort’)

This was clearly a highly significant church, presumably even before it enters the written record. It is interesting that in due course it attracted as its second element Rait, the caput of the earldom of Atholl. That does not tell us about its status in the earlier Middle Ages of course, but it may indicate some long-standing relationship between Logierait and the structures which preceded the earldom in Atholl. Equally, it is interesting, in terms of how we understand

of Logierait in our earliest records: confirming the church to Scone Abbey ‘with full teinds etc. rightly belonging to that church, that is from Rait, which is the caput of the earldom (of Atholl) ...’ (cum plenariis decimis etc ad eandem ecclesiam iuste pertinentibus viz de *Rath* que est capud comitatus et de toto thanagio de *Dulmonyeh* (see Dalmarnock LDK) et de toto thainagio (sic) de *Fandufiuth* (Findowie in Strathbraan) cum capellis de *Kylkemy*, *Dunfoluntyn*, *Kilcassyn*, *Kilmichel* de *Tulichmat* et omnibus ad easdem capellas pertinentibus et toftum unum in prefato *Logyn* cum communi pastura sicut in carta comitis Henrici (c. 1198–1211) continetur ...); for Bp Richard’s confirmation charter in similar terms, see *Scone Lib.* no. 109 (c. 1251–1272) (I am grateful to Simon Taylor for this information.)

44 The author, the Rev. Samuel Cameron, notes (p. 685) that ‘This parish is never spoken of by the Gaelic inhabitants but by the name of Laggan. In old authors, we find “Logie in Athole” mentioned. It would appear, therefore, that Rait is a modern affix to Laggan or Logie, – the name by which the parish or district was originally known, and which means *a hollow*. Perhaps Rait was added to distinguish it from the parish of Laggan in Baddnoch, which was anciently within the same regality, under the “Lords of Badenoch and Athole,” who were princes of the Royal family of Scotland. *Rait* is supposed to be the same word with *reite*, which means arbitration or settlement of differences. Logierait is, therefore, *the hollow of arbitration*, – very descriptive of its situation and character as the seat of a court of regality. It must, however, be observed, that, according to the usual uncertainty of Gaelic etymology, Rait is a syllable to which several different meanings may be given.’

the meaning of **login*, to see chapels employing the element *cill* dependent on it in the 12th century. Logierait has early medieval sculpture, as has one of its dependant chapels (Dunfallandy). All this suggests that Logierait is a place of considerable importance; I have suggested above that it, and the other Perthshire *logies*, might particularly help us understand the term **login*.

The name commemorates Coeti, bishop of Iona who died in 712 (AU), but was already active as bishop in 697, when he was signatory to Adomnán's Law of the Innocents (Ní Dhonnchadha 1982, 180, 191). (For a full resumé of the evidence, see <<http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=52>>). Another Coeti, or much more likely another version of the same person, is celebrated at Donaghedy in Co Tyrone, and it is at least interesting, in light of comments made above, that Coeti is associated with a *domnach* name in Ireland and a **login* name in Scotland – and that we have clear contemporary evidence that he was a bishop. Coeti appears here in the hypocoristic form Mo Choid or Mo Ched, and there are variants on this in a number of local place-names. (For discussion, see Watson 1926, 314; Taylor 1998, 58–59; Taylor 1996, 101–04).

Dedication: Coeti (Mo Choid/Mo Ched)

ROSS AND CROMARTY

LOGIE also **Logie-Wester**⁴⁵ LWX now Urquhart and Logie Wester ULW (Ross diocese) NH535540

ecclesia de *Longibride* 1238 *Vet. Mon.* no. 97

Legidibride 1256 *Vet. Mon.* no. 182

vicarius de *Logynbrid* 1275 Bag. Roll, p. 50

Alexander Bayne de *Logye-Westir* ... villam et terras de *Westir Logye* 1628

RMS viii, no. 1343

ecclesia<a> parochialium de ... *Logie* 1631 *RMS* viii, no. 1720

Logywreid 1630 *Geog. Coll.* ii, 553

Logy 1654 Blaeu

Lagy Vrud 1699 × 1709 *Wardlaw MS*, 230

Loggy ... *Loggy Wester* 1793 *OSA* V, 203⁴⁶

45 This parish benefits from coverage in *OPS* ii, 548–51.

46 The Rev. Charles Calder, the author of the *OSA* account, notes that 'Loggy, the name of the other united parish, is a Gaelic word, descriptive of the situation of the old church of that parish, of which the ruins are still extant in a pleasant valley, on the water of Conan, with the contiguous grounds gently sloping towards it, and overlooked by those on the opposite side of the river. It is called Loggy Wester, to distinguish it from another parish of the same name, within the bounds of this Synod' (p. 203–04).

Like many of our *logie* names this site is convincingly in a hollow, something noted by Watson (1904, 113). Simon Taylor (pers. comm.) says of it: 'The site of the medieval parish kirk of Logie Wester is on a raised piece of ground in a low-lying situation, protected by steep slopes, in mature woodland near the south bank of the River Conon. It is now marked by the presence of an overgrown graveyard (NH535540).' Watson gives the modern ScG form *Lagaidh*.

The forms are actually quite problematic, with only the early form from Bagimond having a clear rendition of what we would expect from a putative **login Brighde* or similar. Some forms (e.g. *Logwreid* 1630) have the second element as *wreid*, *vrud*, which is unconvincing as a rendering of the name Brigit. It is worth noting in this context that the contrasting name in Ross, Logie Easter, originally had a second element which looks unlikely to be a personal name. Some of the forms might thus support instead a second element *bràighe*, gen. sg. *bràghad* 'neck; upland country'.

Support for the commemoration, however, seems to come from accounts of a fair held there on St Brigit's day ('Bridfaire', Wardlaw MS, p. 230).

Dedication: St Brigit

LOGIE EASTER, Logie⁴⁷ LOE (Ross diocese) NH749760

ecclesia de *Logynmethet* 1274 Bag. Roll, p. 50

vicarius de *Logynmechet* 1274 Bag. Roll, p. 51

Locuinethereth 1277 *Moray Reg.*, p. 82⁴⁸

(canonry and prebend of) *Logymechet* 1428 *CSSR* 1423–1428, p. 232

Logy Estir 1572 *Reg. of Ministers*

Logy 1654 Blaeu

Liogy 1747–52 Roy

Loggie 1792 *OSA IV*, 472⁴⁹

The parish church seems to have moved several times. NH749760 is the site of the original medieval parish church, which was replaced by a church at

47 This parish benefits from an account in *OPS* ii, 466–68.

48 This has been referred to Logie Wester, but is more likely a mistake for Logie Easter (Simon Taylor suggests 'Logymethereth', cf. *Logynmethet*).

49 The Rev. John Ross, the author, notes: 'The name *Loggie* (in the Gaelic *Lagie*) signifies "a hollow." The church formerly stood in a beautiful hollow, surrounded by braes or hillocks' (p. 472).

NH757759, which seems to have been in use between 1767 and 1820 (<<https://canmore.org.uk/site/14547/logie-easter-old-parish-church>>). The old parish kirk at NH749760 is described thus in the OSNB in 1873: 'The ruins of a presbyterian Church on the site of an ancient R.C. [Roman Catholic] Chapel (which was in use) prior to the reformation, after which it became the first presbyterian church in the parish but has been in disuse Since 1767. The walls are still entire in portions of the building and in other portions the foundations are only observable, It is Surrounded by a public burial ground and is still used as Such.' It is this site which Watson (1904, 58) describes as 'the little hollow in which the old church at Marybank stands'.

The second element in the early forms is very uncertain, but is likely to be a place-name and also likely to be represented by the modern settlement name Meddat (NH777744). The same word or name seems to be incorporated in early forms of the neighbouring parish of Kimuir Easter (ecclesia ... vicarius de *Kelmormethet* 1274 Bag. Roll, p. 50). Watson (1904, 62), citing other linked names (e.g. *Drummethat*) and early forms, as well as a Gaelic version *Meitheid*, suggests we are dealing with 'a root "meith"' which he connects with a number of other words, but probably correctly with *G meath* 'fail', OG *meth* 'decay, blight, failure' 'which is appropriate, of soft or spongy place'. The suffix may be that found in a number of Scottish place-names such as Tarvit, Glorat, Mossat – see Watson 1926, 444–45; PNFife 5, 287). The putative OG **methat* lying behind these names may be a district name, given its appearance in the two parishes..

Dedication: uncertain

STIRLINGSHIRE

LOGIE LOI (Dunblane diocese) NS816968

- ecclesia de *Login Atheren* c. 1178 *N.B. Chrs*, no. 5
- ecclesia de *Login* 1180 × 1204 *Misc. Charts* no. 4
- ecclesia de *Login Athran* 1210 × 1215 *N.B. Chrs*, no. 11
- vicarius de *Logyn* 1274 Bag. Roll, p. 54
- parochia de *Logy* 1322 × 1328 *Dunf. Reg.* no. 355 (= *RRS* v, no. 416)
- Kyrk of *Logy* 1555 *N.B. Chrs*, p. 71
- parochia de *Logy* 1628 *RMS* viii, no. 1298
- Logre* 1681 John Adair
- Logie Kirk* 1747–1752 Roy
- Logie* 1864 OSNB Vol. 20, p. 1 (as parish name)

This parish has a very complex administrative history, especially in modern times. For a brief précis of this, see <<http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1176>>. It belonged to the diocese of Dunblane but was assigned to the nunnery of North Berwick in the 12th century. It is their records, primarily, which employ the distinguishing marker of the nearby estate of Airthrey (Atheren, Athran) attached to the church name *Login*, and it is not as ubiquitous a marker as modern scholarship's frequent references to Logie-Atheron or Logie-Airthrey may imply. Formally, this is interesting, as we thus have two important churches with old and complex estate histories, both with simplex names, next to each other in the Forth valley: Eccles and Logie.

This is not the only problematic aspect of modern scholarship. Cowan (1967, 136) claims that Logie was '[a]lso known as Logie-Wallach'. I have traced this view as far as Hew Scott in his *Fasti* (1866–71 Vol. 4, 354), who simply calls Logie by Stirling 'Logie Wallach' in the title for his entry on the parish and makes some comment on the eponym (see above, under Logie Mar, for discussion). Scott's work is prone to unsubstantiated assertions of this sort and there are many identifications of the dedicatees of churches which are incorrect or, to be more cautious, for which no evidence can be found before Scott's assertions. Because of the prominence of Scott's *Fasti*, this erroneous name for the parish has spread far and wide, for instance, on genealogical websites identifying ancestors as having been ministers of 'Logie Wallach' and the like. Whoever originated this factoid was presumably thinking here of Logie Mar, which is likely to have been dedicated to a St Wallach or similar (see above). However, I have not yet found any trace of it being referred to as 'Logie-Wallach', either.⁵⁰ At present, then, I believe 'Logie Wallach' to be a form generated erroneously by Scott – perhaps new evidence on this will come to light.

A circumstantial argument might well lead to a conclusion that the dedicatee of Logie was St Serf, owing to the fact that one of his miracles is attached to Airthrey in his medieval Life (see Macquarrie 1993). This may

50 Peter McNiven comments on this factoid (2011, 25 n.18) and rightly exposes it as incorrect, but managed to trace the assertion only as far as Cockburn 1959. (Note also the substantial and increasingly problematic discussion of the name, and of 'Woloc'/'Uallach' as eponym, in Cockburn 1963, 70–72; 1965, 150; and Anderson 1966, 11 – most of which is best disregarded. It should be noted that Cockburn also seems responsible for the idea, thankfully of limited dissemination, that there were two churches, 'Logie-Woloc' and 'Logie Serf'.) McNiven comments that 'Logie Wallach is in fact Logie Ruthven or Logie-in-Mar', but, as noted above, I have been unable to substantiate this idea, except insofar as the saint seems to have been commemorated there. I should note my gratitude to Dr McNiven for sharing with me some of his work on the complex parish of Logie.

well be so, but the commemoration is not embedded further in the parish record.

Dedication: ?Serf

APPENDIX 2

WAS *LOG A NORTHERN BRITISH ECCLESIASTICAL PLACE-NAME ELEMENT SOUTH OF THE FORTH?

As noted above, this article was originally prompted by an article by Andrew Breeze (2003), in which he proposed that the origin of the place-name *Loquhariot*, later Borthwick MLO, was to be found in the Brythonic element **loc* 'sacred place'. The element, as we have seen, is derived from Latin *locus*, is well-attested as supplying the names of churches in Brittany (e.g. Locronan) and is also attested sparsely in Cornwall. Whilst it is unknown as a toponymic element in Wales, it does supply important elements in the ecclesiastical lexicon of Welsh, such as *mynachlog* 'monastery', making it part of the common Brittonic lexicon and onomasticon, and hence a plausible item to find in Northern British (NBr) place-names. Breeze further proposed that, on analogy with the Breton and Cornish parallels, the second element in *Loquhariot* should be taken as a Brittonic personal name, with the most likely candidate being one related to Welsh *Gwrward*. While this article was prompted by Breeze's proposal, it does not depend on it, the evidence for **login* being somewhat different and operating in a different context. As a result, I have preferred to keep consideration of the case of *Loquhariot* to this appendix, so as not to bring it too firmly into the main line of argument.

If Breeze's analysis of *Loquhariot* is correct, a further consideration is whether there are any other names in southern Scotland like it, or whether it is rather to be seen as a very isolated (and therefore difficult to explain) instance of the use of **loc* in a Northern British linguistic context. In this appendix, I would like to explore three contenders for names to set alongside *Loquhariot*, though each is considerably more problematic than it as a name containing NBr **loc*. The main stumbling-block in each case is that the element that may be derived from **loc* has been realised as *loch* and all three places are, indeed, on lochs. This contrasts with *Loquhariot* where, although the first element was often realised as, and perhaps understood by scribes as, representing *loch* 'loch', there neither is nor as far as we can tell has there ever been a loch anywhere nearby. In the case of **login* in our eastern Scottish names north of the Forth discussed above, what made a firm case for this as an ecclesiastical element was the absence of

parishes containing the equivalent ScG *lag*, *lagan* 'hollow' or of *lag*, *lagan* + a saint's name outwith the restricted area in which our parish names in *logie* are found. It is different with the element *loch*, as there is nothing at all untypical about the combination of *loch* with a personal name, and very often a saint's name, across Scotland, and particularly in Gaelic contexts (Loch Mahaick; Loch Coluim Cille; Loch Maree).

What all four names in the south have in common is that they are all sites of significant churches attested in our earliest reliable evidence, from the 12th century; all became medieval parishes; all four, it may be argued, contain as a second element a Brittonic personal name. The forms the place-names take in the earliest sources are comparable, but in all the instances except Loquhariot, there is a good alternative explanation for the first element. As a result, the argument in this appendix will need to remain inconclusive, much more than the discussion in the main article. Nonetheless, it is an argument worth making, if only to test the context within which the name Loquhariot is understood and to establish the extent to which there are NBr comparanda for the names in *logie* benorth the Forth.

As each name contains its own particular problems, we will take each in turn, starting with a review of the evidence for Loquhariot. For this name, as for Lochkindeloch below, the early forms are wildly variant and so I have given quite a full account of these forms.

LOQUHARIOT now Borthwick Parish, BOR (St Andrews Diocese, Haddington deanery) NT370608

(The NGR is for the farmstead of Loquhariot; Borthwick Church is NT368596.)

Lohwerwet 1124 × 1153 *RRS* i, 167

(ecclesia de) *Lohworuora* c. 1150 *Glas. Reg.* i, 13

(ecclesia de) *Louchforuer* 1163 × 1164 *RRS* i, 264

(ecclesia de) *Louchferuer* 1165 × 1171 *RRS* ii, 133

Leuchoruer 1165 × 1174 *RRS* ii, 203

(ecclesia de) *Lachoruar* 1174 *Glas. Reg.* i, 30

(tota petera⁵¹ de) *Locqueward* (que vocatur Wluestrother) 1175 × 1185
Newbattle Reg. 11

⁵¹ Dixon 1947, 108, takes 'peteram' as 'rock' and uses it to reinforce his etymology for Loquhariot (see below). Given the form in *RRS* ii, *petaria*, this should rather be taken as *petera*, *petaria* 'peat-bog', which corresponds well to the derivations of *Wluestrother*, as well as to the topography. On *Wluestrother*, see further Dixon 1947, 109. See Márkus 2007, 83–84, PNFife 2, 329–30; PNFife 3, 288–90 for other instances of *petera*, *petaria* 'peat-bog'.

- (petaria de) *Lochqwerwerd* (que vocatur Wuluestrother) 1175 × 1185 *RRS* ii, 246
 (ecclesia de) *Lohcwhoreuerd* 19 April 1179 *Glas. Reg.* i, 43
Lothwerverd c. 1180 *Vita Kentigerni* ch. xli
 (ecclesia Sancti Kentigerni de) *Lochwerweth* 1198 × 1202 *Scone Lib.*, 33
 (ecclesia de) *Lochoruer* 1226 *Scone Lib.*, no. 103, p. 67
 (William de Hay of) *Lochorvire* 1290, *CDS* v, 143 (§71)
 (ecclesia de) *Lochforuer* 1326 *RRS* v, 550
 (William de Hay of) *Locherworth* 1413 *CDS* v, 285 (§942)
 (le Mote de) *Lochorwart* 2 Jun 1430 *RMS* ii, §157⁵²
 (ecclesia parochialis de) *Lochorwart* 1449 *Midlothian*, 306 (foundation
 charter of Crichton Collegiate Church)
 (ecclesia de) *Lochorquhart* 1449 *Midlothian*, 307
Lochquarrat (terras de Mot de ... et castrum) (nunc Castrum de Borthuik
 nuncupatum); (terris ecclesiasticis de) *Lochquharret* (vocatis Tortraik)
 15 Sept 1643 *Retours* i, Edin. §916
 (the landis of) *Lochquharrett* (and Hagbray, within the parochin of
 Borthwick) 25 Jan 1659 *Retours* i, Edin. §1080
Lochwharet 1630 Pont (Hondius)

As Breeze notes, the absence of a loch makes an etymology deriving from a Brittonic element **loc* (/log/) (< L. *locus*) ‘consecrated place, church’ attractive. The church was undoubtedly an early one, with Jocelin’s Life of St Kentigern claiming it as one of his foundations (*Vita Kentigerni*, ch. xli). Certainly it was dedicated to St Kentigern, as various sources indicate (e.g. *Scone Lib.* no. 33). The Life further details the presence of a cross of Kentigern on the site and indicates miracles attending it. The family of Borthwick gave their name first to the castle which was the seat of their lands in Loquhariot and then to the parish itself, a process occurring across the 14th and 15th centuries (Dixon 1947, 109).

The second element of Loquhariot was taken by Breeze to be the Brittonic name which would in Welsh become *Gwrward*.⁵³ This name is attested relatively early on an inscription from Margam in South Wales as *Guorgoret* (see Sims-Williams 2003, 127, and, for dating, 365, sub. 1014/231/908). The various forms of this name, found

52 And see Dixon 1947, 108–9, for further references to the Motte of Loquhariot.

53 James 2014, 30–31, is incorrect in a number of respects in his dismissal of Breeze’s analysis. He claims Breeze ‘suggests **log-wored*’ as the analysis of the name, but this is nowhere proposed by Breeze, who instead proposes an attested Brittonic personal name, ‘that represented by Middle Welsh *Gwrwardet*, Cornish *Guruaret*, and Old Breton *Uuruuoret*, *Uuruoret*’ (Breeze 2003, 105). James’s main reason for rejection seems to be that ‘the several 12th century forms all have *-wer[t/d]* as the second syllable’ (31). As can be seen from the forms above, this is simply incorrect, and could be seen to be so from both Breeze’s article and from the forms in Dixon.

also in Cornish and Breton, point to a derivation from **uor-*, a preposition here used as an intensifier, and **uoret*, in Welsh later *guoret*, ModW *gwarded* ‘succour, help’.⁵⁴ Breeze’s argument certainly would account for the changeability of the name, as also for the strand of spellings employing *-f-*, since historical /w/ developed to /f/ in Gaelic, and a Brittonic /w/ or /gw/ is likely to have been gaelicised as /f/. As Breeze notes, these forms in *-f-* suggest that a strand of the documentation has been affected by Gaelic orthographical conventions, or perhaps a Gaelic reinterpretation of the name – this may be where the syllable appearing as *-fer-* in the early forms comes from, as a Gaelic misinterpretation of the first syllable of the personal name. We would probably wish, however, to posit an original **Uoruoret*, as no form of the name shows the historical development of /w/ > /gw/ which was regular in Welsh after about 800 (Jackson 1953, 367–68, 385–94).⁵⁵

This personal name would appear to have undergone two distinct types of compression in the forms that we have contained in the place-name with, on the one hand, the final syllable subject to syncope (e.g. *Locquhoreuerd*) or omission (e.g. *Lachoruar*) and, on the other, the first two syllables of the name falling together, whilst the final syllable was preserved (e.g. *Lochwharet*). It is harder to explain the vowel change in forms like *Lohwerwet* etc., but there are sufficient forms in which the vowel qualities are as expected in order to bear out **Uoruoret* as the underlying name. Although the name itself is unknown from northern Britain, the underlying element *Uoret* is arguably attested as a personal name on the famous ‘Drosten Stone’ inscription from St Vigeans (Clancy 1991, 349–50; and now Clancy 2017, for important correctives and further discussion).

All in all, then, Breeze’s basic case seems to make sense of the complicated range of forms for *Loquhariot*.⁵⁶ I would not, however, accept his further argument

54 Pace Breeze, who wants the first element to be W *gwr* ‘man’; he builds an unlikely side-argument upon this etymology (but see above for a partial reclamation of his observations). The underlying element **uo-rett-* is found also in Gaulish nomenclature, see D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* (Oxford 1967), 127. It may be noted that in a more literal sense **uo-rett-* ‘runs under’ seems to be what lies behind the name of the Forth (PNFife 1, 39–45). See also James 2016, 297–98 for these elements in NBr.

55 This is implied, I take it, by Breeze (2003, 105) when he cites the man in question as being called *Uuoruueret*, but he does not explain the form, which I presume he has derived from Breton instances of the name cited earlier in the article.

56 Breeze did not discuss the earlier suggestion by Dixon that the name should be interpreted as *loth urchair* ‘Marsh of the hill-spur’ (Dixon 1947, 108). This analysis is in any case untenable. The early forms do not support a generic *loth*, nor will *urchair* account for the variety of forms of the specific, including the fairly consistent final dental (*-rt*, *-rd*, *-ret* etc.). Dixon supported his etymology by reference to *Urquhart DFL*, but this has a quite different etymology; his cross-reference to *Petnaurcha* needs to be corrected in light of Taylor’s recent discussion dissociating the two place-names (PNFife 1, 363, 354–55).

that the name should belong to a 10th- or 11th-century stratum of Cumbric names in southern Scotland. This is predicated on a number of difficult assertions. Breeze (2003, 105-6) states: 'The closeness of early attestations of *Loquhariot* to Welsh, Cornish and Breton forms does not indicate a toponym surviving three centuries of English occupation, which would probably distort it beyond recognition. It points rather to a form of the tenth or eleventh century, when Cumbric was still spoken on Lothian's borders.' The notion of an English 'occupation' is problematic and emotively charged. Northumbrian rule and English settlement without doubt were features of the Midlothian landscape from the seventh century. There is little reason to posit a complete hiatus in Brittonic speech in the area, however. Nor is there much evidence that the reception of earlier toponyms into English had the distorting effect he envisages and a sizeable number of counter-examples could be marshalled (e.g. Abercorn, Dunbar etc.). The early forms of *Loquhariot* (which are hardly *undistorted!*), if they indicate anything, seem rather to suggest a coinage in the period before c. 800, since a key sound change appears not to have occurred. Historical /w/ had become /gw/ in Welsh already by c. 800 and appears to have developed thus in Cornish somewhat later. This sound change does seem to have developed in Northern British/Cumbric – see, for instance, the name of the queen in the *Life of Kentigern*, *Languoreth* – but we do not have clear evidence as to whether it was on the same time-scale (Jackson 1953, 367–68, 385–94; Sims-Williams 2003, 211–14; James 2013, 56–57). It is unlikely to have occurred earlier than in Wales, however. Pictish does not look to have developed this sound-change at all; we know Breton did not. If the Welsh analogy is anything to go by, however, this could easily be a name created before c. 800.

That Cumbric was spoken in the area in the 10th and 11th centuries, and that new names, such as the famous example of *Penteiacob* cited by Breeze, were still being coined in the 11th century, merely gives us one medium for preservation for the name; it does not exclude an earlier coinage. I suspect Breeze has been influenced here by the Breton place-name evidence, which, as noted, does look to come from the 11th century or later.

LOCHMABEN LMB (Glasgow diocese, Annandale Deanery) PS NY081824

*Locmaba*N 1166 RRS II, 178–79

Louchamaban (Willelmo clericus de) 1161 × 1173 Stringer 'Records', 215⁵⁷

Lohmaban 1189 CDS I, 30 (§197)

(ecclesia Sancte Marie Magdalene de) *Lochmab(en)* 1202 *Glasgow Reg.* I,

83

57 See Lochkinderloch, below, for more details on this charter.

- (ecclesia de) *Lochmaban* (alt. MS *Locmaban*) 1204 × 1207 RRS II, 418–19
 (ecclesia de; garbarum bladi ecclesiarum de) *Loumaban* 1223 *Glasgow Reg.*
 I, 105
 (ecclesia de) *Loghmban, Logmban* 1223 *Glasgow Reg.* I, 106–07
 (ecclesia de) *Locmaban* 1223 *Glasgow Reg.* I, 107–08⁵⁸

It has long been proposed that this place-name is in some way connected with the Latin word *locus*, but not in the way envisaged in the current context. Lochmaben has long been linked with the place mentioned in the Ravenna Cosmography as *locus Maponi* and possibly preserved on an inscription from Birrens (Rivet and Smith, 395–96).⁵⁹ That the *diversa loca* listed in Ravenna refer to sites of tribal assembly or the like has been proposed, and some authors have sought to link the *locus Maponi* with the Clochmabanstane instead, a stone pillar on a headland in the Solway Firth (see <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/67441/lochmaben-stone>>), at just the sort of liminal spot one might associate with an assembly site – apart, however, for the topography, which at least in its current state is fairly forbidding from the point of view of assembling anyone (for discussion, see Radford 1954).

What is not in doubt is that the second element in Lochmaben is the Brittonic name *Mabon*, derived ultimately from the theonym *Maponos*, but unusually for such names possessed also by a number of putative living individuals of the early medieval period, including a character linked with other ‘Old North’ Welsh figures such as Owein son of Urien (Bromwich 2006, 424–28). The name is also attested in one place-name in southern Scotland, at Mabonlaw in Roxburghshire (NT455154; Williamson [1942], 50; *Mabinlaw* 1654 Blaeu); and for the fort at this site, see <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/54125/mabonlaw>>).

As such, Lochmaben is a complicated example of the sort of name which we might sit alongside Loquhariot. On the one hand, it seems quite possible that the *loch-* in Lochmaben derives originally from L *locus* or its Brittonic equivalent, despite the presence of two significant lochs on the site. On the other hand, it is difficult to place this name firmly into the context of NBr **loc* as an ecclesiastical place-name element. One solution may be to think of the earlier name (represented by Latin *locus Maponi*) being reanalysed in a Christian context (especially one in which real individuals and not just deities could bear

58 There are many later forms that could be cited but they rarely vary from the early forms.

59 The inscription is problematic in a number of respects. Reading CISTUMUCI LO(CO) MAbOMI, a number of features militate against straightforward acceptance of this as ‘locus Maponi’. Rivet and Smith argue, not entirely convincingly, for reconstructing **louco* and reading as ‘loch’. See PNRB 395–96.

the name Mabon), and taken as being the church or burial site of a holy man named Mabon.

***LOCHKINDELOCH** now New Abbey NAB (Glasgow diocese, Desnes deanery)
PS NX970642

- Lochenelo* 12 May 1161 × Aug 1173⁶⁰ Stringer 'Records', 215⁶¹
Lochchendelo c. 1176 × c. Mar 1185 Stringer 'Records', 217–18
Lochchildela c. 1176 × c. Mar 1185 Stringer 'Records', 217–18
Lochkendeloch Aug. 1196 × Nov. 1200 *Kelso Lib.* I, no. 254 (see Stringer 'Records', 222)
Lochkendloch 1254 × 1261 *Kelso Lib.* ii, no. 468⁶²
Louquindelow 1360 (inspection of charter of 1273) *RRS* VI, 264–65
Lochkindeloch 1559 *RMS* iv, §1688
Lochkindelo 1577 *RMS* iv, §1127
Lochkindelow 1592 *RMS* iv, §2146
Loch Kinner 1752–1755 Roy
Loch Kinder 1797 Ainslie, Stewartry of Kirkcudbright
Loch Kinder 18** OS 6" 1st edn
Kinder Kirk 18** OS 6" 1st edn
Loch Kindar 1888–1913 OS 6" 2nd edn
Kindar Kirk 1888–1913 OS 6" 2nd edn

The forms of this name are the most problematic of the four to unravel. The presence of the kirk site on an island in a loch is seemingly reinforced by the (apparent) double reference found in various forms of the name, for instance *Lochkendeloch*. It looks as if this has led to a sense that one or other of these 'lochs' was superfluous and so forms based on either 'Loch Kinder' or 'Kinder Loch' have arisen, mostly the former. This has also given rise to a reinterpretation of the name of the church as 'Kirk Kinder' and variants. The early forms show fairly clearly that the final syllable of the name was not *-loch* (or not definitely so) and, if any element in the name represents the loch in which the church island sits, it is the first.

60 Stringer 'Records', 215, notes 'possibly 1166 × 1172'.

61 The original charter is CRO, Carlisle, Lowther Medieval Deed, D/Lons/L5/1/51, and was printed by F. W. Ragg, 'Five Strathclyde and Galloway charters', *CWAAS Trans.*, new series, 17 (1917), 218–19, and thence in other collections (see Stringer 'Records', 215, for references and discussion). I cite his article here for trustworthiness of the orthography.

62 *Pace* Brooke, 'Desnes Cro', who cites this as 466 and gives much earlier dates.

It seems outrageous to suggest that in neither instance does it go back to *loch*, but this is a possibility. Daphne Brooke (1987, 58) was the first to suggest this. Whilst acknowledging the likelihood of *loch* as the first element, she noted: 'It is possible however that it is derived from the Brittonic *loc* [sic] (Latin *locus*) with the meaning shrine or monastery.' This was a very significant site and provided the underpinning for the later foundation of Sweetheart Abbey, whose name (as New Abbey) the parish now bears. As such, it does not seem outlandish to hypothesise – without accepting the hypothesis – that *loch* could be for original NBr **loc*, though the church site was, as with Lochmaben, directly on the loch.

The second element is more problematic and it is not certain how or whether it should be segmented. One obvious option would be to see it as comprised of G *ceann* (or OG *cenn*) 'head, end' + another element. It does not seem likely that this other element would be *loch*; the *-e-* that often appears before it could be an epenthetic vowel but could equally well be part of a three-syllable word of some sort. The original ending could have been a *-ch*, as the transformation of original G *-ach*, *-och* to *-o* in Scots-based orthography is well attested in Scottish place-names. This change is, however, best attested north of the Forth, and is a transformation which usually belongs to the 13th century (see Ó Maolalaigh 1998). Our earliest sources, however, already show an ending in *-o/-a*. I have found no very convincing word or combination of words which would explain all the varied early forms.

The hypothesis we are testing here would instead consider whether the *loch* might be for original NBr **loc*, followed by a Brittonic personal name. Again, Daphne Brooke has already proposed this, suggesting that the second element was the Welsh personal name *Cynddelw*. This was on the basis of a very poorly attested, and possibly non-existent, northern Welsh saint, *Cynddelw*, discussed via the work of Molly Miller (Brooke 1987, 59; Miller 1979, 35, and see p. 127 n.23). There is a wider and more problematic argument here about the presence of saints culted in Gwynedd in this corner of Kirkcudbrightshire – not in itself impossible, but problematic as argued. The personal name seems to be attested in an Anglesey place-name *Bodgynddelw*, in Llaneugrad parish (SH493827) which may or may not be a hagiotopeponym (for the name, see Richards 1969, 16).

Whatever the merits of Brooke's arguments concerning north Welsh saints in Kirkcudbrightshire, the highly variable forms of the second element in this place-name would, indeed, be explained by a personal name comparable to W *Cynddelw*. Though this is a straightforward Welsh name with nothing diagnostically late about it, it is, nonetheless, not attested to my knowledge in Welsh sources prior to the 11th century.⁶³ There are some glimpses of similar

63 One of the participants at the battle of Mynydd Carn in 1081 is named as *Cendelu m. Conus o Von*, i.e. *Cynddelw* son of ?*Cynnws* of Anglesey (Evans 1990, 36, l. 8). Evans

Gaelic names, e.g. OG/MG *Coin-* or *Conndelgach*, attested in some of the genealogies of the saints (Ó Riain 1985, index, s.nn.); and the name *Caindellach* is once attested in Irish genealogies (see O'Brien 1962, index, s.n.).

All in all this remains a perplexing name. Along with the next example, the topography makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that we should simply read *loch-* as 'loch'. The argument retains plausibility really only in company with these other names – though they too are quite problematic and there is clearly some danger of circularity.

LOCHWINNOCH LWH (Glasgow diocese, Rutherglen deanery) PS NS355591

Louhenauhe 1161/2 *RRS* i, 225

(lacus de) *Loucwynhok* 25 May 1195 × 1199 *RRS* ii, 372

(lacus de) *Loghwinnoc* c.1202 *Paisley Reg.* 14

(capella de) *Lochwinnoc* 1202 × 1207 *Paisley Reg.*, 113

per ripam de *Locwinnock* 1219 × 1228 *Paisley Reg.*, p. 23

(lacus de) *Locwinnoc*, *Locwinnock* 1208 × 1214 *Paisley Reg.*, p. 23

lacum *Loucwynhok* 1283 × 1286 *Paisley Reg.*, p. 254

(capella de) *Lochwynoc* ??? *Paisley Reg.*, p. 308

Lochcunyeoch 1505 *RMS* ii, §2939

(septum sive parca) *Lochvin3ok* 1504 *Glas. Reg.* ii, 506f. (foundation charter of Semple Collegiate Church)

parochia de *Lochwinnyoch* 1539 *RMS* iii, no. 2050

Lochwinyeok 1572 *RMS* iv, §2104

Lochwinyoch 1591 *RMS* iv, §2070

Kirk of *Lochwhinno* 1583–1596 Pont, Renfrewshire

Kirk of *Loch Winnoch* 1654 Blaeu

Lochwinnoch 1843–1882 OS 6" 1st edn

St Winnoc's Church 1843–1882 OS 6" 1st edn

This name is the least problematic insofar as analysis of the second element as a personal name is concerned. *Winnoc* is almost certainly to be referred to the multi-formed saint or saints who appear in other local parishes in the Cart-Garnock valleys as Innan, Inan, Winning etc. This is a Brittonic name in its form and a number of individuals bearing this name are known from Cornish and Continental sources as well. I have elsewhere (Clancy 2001; 2002) argued that the individual here is the saint known now to scholarship as Uinniau, though certainty will remain elusive on this point. As with Lochmaben and

notes (pp. 110–11) further his genealogy in Bartrum 1966, 111. It is not impossible that this character is connected with *Bodgynddelw*.

Lochkindeloch, however, the site is undoubtedly on a loch, the widening of the basin of the Cart. It was given early to Paisley, and as such its boundaries are well attested. The early forms do suggest the possibility of an underlying *loc* rather than *loch* in the name, but the orthography is not such as to provide a solid argument for this – and the earliest form is problematic altogether.

It thus seems that the best we will manage in our investigation of the possible use of a NBr **loc* ‘ecclesiastical site’ is a verdict of not proven. These four churches could be early ecclesiastical sites, employing a NBr place-name element **loc* coupled with British personal names, perhaps those of saints culted at the site, or of the proprietors or founders of the sites, or in one case a theonym reinterpreted as a saint’s name; but, with three of these churches situated on the lochs which, *prima facie*, could provide the first element in each name, this argument must struggle to go beyond the suggestive.

This may, then, have attendant effect on how we judge Breeze’s original argument anent Loquhariot. If Loquhariot is, indeed, the only example of NBr **loc* in southern Scotland, does this analysis then lose some credibility? And while the argument in the main article above, concerning **login* north of the Forth, does not in any way depend on Loquhariot containing NBr **loc*, the presence of that element south of the Forth would undoubtedly expand our ability to analyse its meaning and extent.

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