Places of Belief in Medieval Glen Lyon and Beyond: Onomastic and Archaeological Perspectives

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Introduction

When studying the early medieval landscape of Glen Lyon, place-names, which were coined in Scottish Gaelic and later Scots, seem to provide the strongest evidence for an early occupation or presence in the area. Archaeology can then build on these to offer a glimpse of the use and functions of some early sites. The literature engaging with these sites has seldom questioned their medieval origin. This paper investigates the available evidence to try and offer a new understanding of two areas in Glen Lyon and the devotions and beliefs that are associated with them in a longer-term perspective. Two key questions raised in this paper are: how do these two areas in Glen Lyon and the beliefs associated with them develop over time? And by approaching sites and place-names as palimpsests, what do we learn about their successive audiences?

To explore and respond to these questions, we investigate two areas in Glen Lyon, Highland Perthshire, centred around Craigianie (NN627476) and Cladh Bhranno (NN581476), located approximately 6km apart, which show evidence of early medieval and later activities (Fig. 1; appendix 1 and 2). By analysing these places from the two different and yet complementary perspectives of onomastics and archaeology, this paper engages with the available evidence to demonstrate the complexity of human interactions with these places.

Most available sources, such as Campbell (1886), Stewart (1928) or Watson (1926, 1937) present Craigianie and Cladh Bhranno through their connections to early saints, more specifically St Adomnán of Iona. These early medieval connections, recalled to us by the literary sources, are seemingly reinforced by archaeological features found on each site: an iron hand bell and a cross-incised slab at Cladh Bhranno, and a cross-incised standing stone at Craigianie. Crucially, the evidence – archaeological and onomastic – is generally post-hoc. It is evidence of a *memory* of an association of the saints with this landscape, rather than direct evidence of their presence.

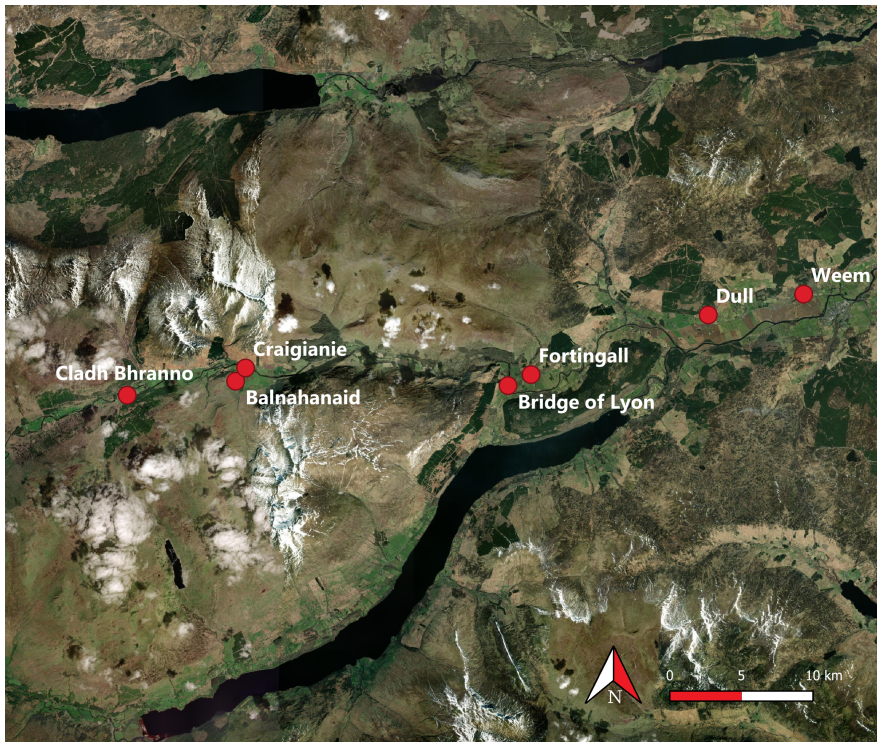

Fig. 1 Map of Glen Lyon and main sites discussed in the text. Map created by S. Evemalm-Graham with ESRI Satellite (ArcGIS) basemap (©University of Glasgow).

While many studies of landscapes focus directly on the people who lived in them and seek to use the landscape to understand their daily lives, we will investigate how memories of the lives of saints and other people are mediated through the landscape and how they become part of the cultural memory of Glen Lyon. It is vital to acknowledge that 'landscapes contain the traces of past activities, and people select the stories they tell, the memories and histories they evoke, the interpretative narratives that they weave, to further their activities in the present-future' (Bender 2001, 4). Therefore, we especially seek to investigate diachronic change and dynamism in places by focusing on the use and re-use of sites over roughly thirteen centuries, from the early medieval period until the present day, in their role within practices of memory creation, evocation and transmission. Many places accomplish this through persistent material features and through the power of naming things, though in variable proportions. For instance, there is little archaeological evidence at Cladh

Bhranno for a physical presence of the cult of St Adomnán, despite an onomastic connection. By studying these sites, we are able to address multiple cultural layers of belief visible in the folklore present in this area. This includes beliefs found in both Christian and mythical contexts. It should also be noted that there is a strong Irish cultural connection (see 'Historical overview' below), also visible in *fiannaigheacht* storytelling.[1]

Key elements permeating the discussion in this article are the notions of *place* and *landscape*. It is not our intention here to provide a definition of *landscape*, as it has been done elsewhere (e.g., Malpas 2011; Mitchell 2002; Bender 2006); however we want to provide the reader with an explanation of our use of this term in the context of the present article. First, the 'natural' and 'physical', topographical landscape is central to understanding Glen Lyon. It is a very long and narrow glen of approximately 30km, a small flat-bottomed glacial valley, with the River Lyon running through its centre. The historical road which runs through the glen follows the river, as it would be difficult if not impossible to cross it on its east-west axis if walking on higher ground (O'Neill 2017). These specific topographical settings, with the river at the centre and the steep hills on the south and north sides, have a deep impact on the inhabitants of and travellers through the glen, and strongly influence how they perceive the surrounding landscape, between the visible, the invisible, the welcoming, the dangerous, and the insurmountable.

Furthermore, a significant complementary analytical approach is the notion of landscape as a symbolic concept and sacred places (whether religious or mythical). Within this approach, the human perception of the landscape they interact with is key. People have charged specific natural places such as rivers, watersheds, rocky outcrops or hills with 'sacred' characteristics throughout prehistory and indeed recorded history (Anttonen 2013, 13–32; Nordeide 2013, 1–12). It is common to see these places marked by people with a stone monument or a cairn, for instance. This perception and interpretation of the landscape is central to the present discussion, as it highlights the interplay between humans and nature and how a physical place can be transformed into an imagined place through these interplays.

1. *Fiannaigheacht* (Modern Irish *Fiannaíocht*) is defined by Nagy (2006, 744) as 'the most enduring narrative cycle in the history of Irish and Scottish Gaelic written and oral tradition [...] it is a complex of smaller cycles having to do with various local heroes that grew out of, or were fitted into, a larger cycle centred on Finn mac Cumaill'.

The article is divided into three main sections. First, we will contextualise early medieval Glen Lyon by introducing two major ecclesiastical centres it is connected to, namely Fortingall and Dull, both situated east of the glen. These centres provide the backbone to our understanding of the archaeology of Craigianie and Cladh Bhranno. Second, the theoretical framework for this investigation will be introduced and finally, we will investigate the archaeological and onomastic material through these two sites.

Sources

The sources used in this survey are a combination of onomastics and archaeology. The documentary sources vary considerably and range from medieval charters to nineteenth-century antiquarian material. As far as possible, we try to engage with source-material which has sometimes been deemed unreliable by onomastic scholars, particularly folklore. Maps are used where relevant, but rarely pre-date the eighteenth century, with the notable exception of the place-name forms recorded in the Pont manuscripts (1583–1614) and Blaeu's Atlas (1654). Most of the place-names examined here represent minor features and it is therefore not surprising that there is a general lack of early forms and map forms. It should be noted here that, to an extent, and especially in terms of the onomastic evidence, much of what survives in our study area reveals more about how people from the late medieval period onwards – rather than those from the early medieval period – perceived to be an ancient landscape of belief.

Unfortunately, Perthshire suffers from severe limitations as regards some of the major place-name resources for Scotland. This particularly concerns the Ordnance Survey Name Books of Scotland, compiled in the mid-nineteenth century to form the basis for the OS 6-inch 1st edn maps, often containing a wealth of information, including local traditions and etymologising with varying results. Although these volumes have now been comprehensively digitised by ScotlandsPlaces,[2] many of the Perthshire volumes, including those covering Glen Lyon, were destroyed during the Second World War. This lack of source-material available in many other parts of Scotland further highlights the importance of combining archaeological and onomastic approaches to elucidate the history of this area.

2. The Ordnance Survey (OS) Name Books of Scotland. 1845-78. ScotlandsPlaces, https://scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books.

From a folklore perspective it is still an area abundantly rich in local and other traditions, many of which were recorded in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by antiquarians such as Duncan Campbell (1886) and Alexander Stewart (1928). We should consider that much of the folklore recorded during this time-period in Scotland was written from an external perspective, by antiquarians who did not necessarily have any personal familiarity with the area. In Glen Lyon we are fortunate to have folklore collected by people who had considerable personal familiarity with the area (see for instance Stewart 1928). Thus, in the glen, these traditions may reflect local (internal) perceptions of place to a greater extent than in some other parts of Scotland.

Whilst the Glen Lyon basin would undoubtedly benefit from a full-scale survey, this study is predominantly concerned with place-names which have undergone a traceable change in how the name is understood, loosely defined below as 'folk-etymologies', in addition to the archaeology and place-making of this area. Therefore, this study does not attempt a comprehensive survey and analysis of all place-names in the surveyed area. By focusing on place-names from a palimpsestic perspective, it is possible to study them according to the principles outlined above (also see 'Theoretical considerations' below), emphasising the dynamism of place-names and investigating their role as cultural memory markers. In doing so, the article will aim to generate a renewed interest in Glen Lyon, and function as a starting point for future, more comprehensive, interdisciplinary research in Perthshire.

The archaeology of the two areas analysed here also presents many challenges. First, many of the elements that constitute their archaeological records have either never been investigated or documented or have been lost. Second, while place-names, local traditions and standing monuments record activities at certain sites (such as Tom a' Mhóid, the 'moot hill' at Craigianie and mentions of assemblies at Caslorg Pheallaidh), archaeological investigations carried out at these sites seem to indicate that there was little to no human intervention in the layout of these sites. These results place a particular emphasis on the natural landscape, as their form clearly drew successive audiences to engage with the area.

Some of the material culture found at these sites is of particular significance locally, such as the presence of three iron hand bells in Cladh Bhranno, Balnahanaid and Fortingall, while other elements connect these sites to the wider archaeological landscape of Highland Perthshire, in particular the

presence of cross-incised stones. In this regard, it is fundamental to present the nearby ecclesiastical sites of Fortingall and Dull, as they contain the largest collections of stones from the area, and place the sites of Craigianie and Cladh Bhranno in a stronger historical context.

The archaeological aspects of this article are based on the results of the ongoing research project *The early Christian landscape of Glen Lyon* (2017–). This project was originally developed to investigate the sites of Craigianie and Cladh Bhranno, as their early medieval and medieval features are seemingly widely mentioned in the literature about the glen, but the sites were never the object of thorough archaeological investigations. During the three campaigns which took place in 2017, 2018 and 2019, geophysical surveys were conducted (including resistivity and magnetometry), as well as test-pit analyses, small-scale excavations and photogrammetric recordings (Busset, Maldonado and Kasten 2019a&b; Busset, Maldonado, Kasten and McCreadie 2020).

Paradigms

The use of paradigms as a tool for understanding place-names has previously been used in the context of understanding the spread of saints' cults, exemplified in Scotland by Clancy (2010a) who outlines several different explanations for the emergence of hagiotoponyms in a medieval Scottish context. In this discussion, a similar approach will be adopted in the context of perceptions of the landscape associated with Glen Lyon. These paradigms consider aspects of both physical and symbolic landscapes, as outlined above.

We will focus on four different paradigms which aim to explain how people have engaged with this area (Glen Lyon). Underlying each of these paradigms are varying levels of human engagement with the landscape through interpretation and re-interpretation, and use and re-use of sites (both natural and man-made). The proposed paradigms are:

1. A visually significant landscape. How do the physical characteristics of a particular place attract the creation of folklore and, more broadly, influence people's perception of different places? This paradigm particularly considers the physical landscape as defined above (i.e. as a symbolic concept).
2. Analogical re-formation, which has already been introduced above as one of the ways in which folk-etymologies are created, is the process by which a lexically opaque item is re-interpreted to have a more transparent meaning.

3. The wider regional context. In the introduction, the importance of considering the wider context of Glen Lyon was addressed, and we should also consider how already established folklore in other areas may have impacted on the emergence of similar narratives in our area. Similarly, the regional archaeological context (including different styles of sculpture and distribution of cup-marked rocks) should be considered.
4. A strategically important place. How does the geographic location of a particular area, in this case Glen Lyon, impact both on the emergence of local narratives and the powers that influence them?

These paradigms will be tested and evaluated at the end of this article in the context of our site studies and future potential areas of work will be addressed.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

A wider ecclesiastical landscape: Fortingall and Dull

To introduce the historical and archaeological backgrounds of Craigianie and Cladh Bhranno, an introduction to the wider historical landscape, and to Fortingall and Dull in particular, is necessary. Indeed, while they are present-day small villages of Highland Perthshire, these two sites were major ecclesiastical centres during the early medieval period, and the whole glen would have had a connection to them. Fortingall is located at the entrance to Glen Lyon, 13km east of Craigianie, and situated at the heart of a network of glens, several of which function as main routeways connecting Argyll – and Iona – to the west with Logierait and Dunkeld to the east (Robertson 1997, 133–134) (Fig. 2). It lies in the historical region of Athfothla (Atholl), which could be translated as 'new Ireland' suggesting that a Gaelic-speaking community may have settled in the area, possibly as early as the seventh or eighth century (Clancy 2010b, 79–102; Taylor 1999, 42). These routes cross an imposing ridge of mountains, Drumalban, 'the spine of Britain' (Taylor 2000, 112), which traditionally formed the boundary between Pictland and Dál Riata in Scotland. The modern parish of Fortingall now includes Glen Lyon and Glen Rannoch, which are two of the longest valleys in Scotland, making Fortingall a prominent place of passage in its wider landscape context.

Archaeological research carried out at Fortingall by the late Oliver O'Grady has uncovered the presence of a major rectilinear feature which seems to indicate a large monastic complex during the early medieval period (O'Grady 2011, 5–6). Interestingly, there is no mention of an early ecclesiastical site in

written sources, and the parish church is mentioned in records only from the thirteenth century onwards (O'Grady 2011, 4). However, the parish church in Fortingall is dedicated to St Coeti (d. 712), who was Bishop of Iona and a contemporary of St Adomnán (d. 704), and whose cult was limited to the Breadalbane area, of which Glen Lyon is part, as demonstrated by Simon Taylor (1999). However, before the work carried out by O'Grady showed the extent of the monastic enclosure, the importance of Fortingall during the early medieval period was revealed by the presence of a collection of high-quality stone sculpture carved in relief, which are located today in the parish church (Fig. 3). Carved stones, cross-incised slabs, standing crosses and specifically cross-slabs are indications that the site was part of a high-status ecclesiastical complex during the early medieval period. The collection of stone monuments and the ensemble of archaeological remains in Fortingall are completed by an iron hand bell (Robertson 1997).

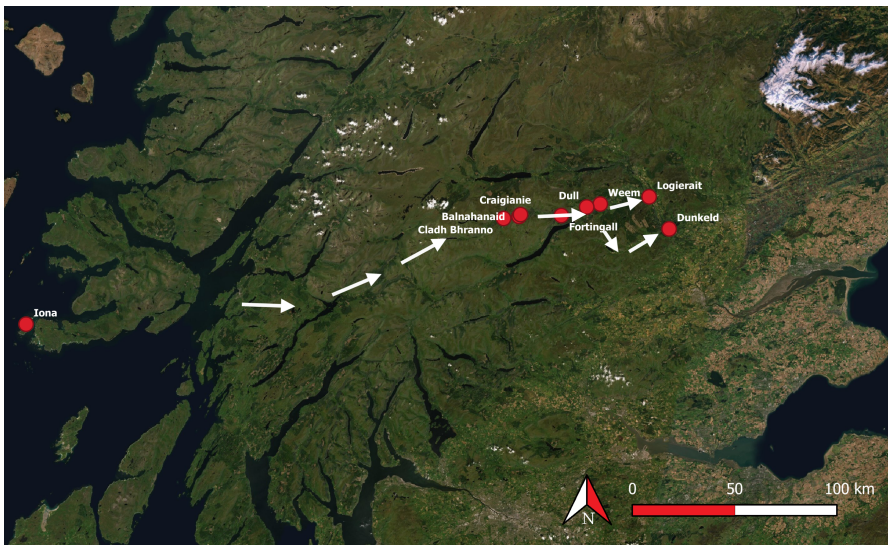

Fig. 2 Routeways connecting Iona to the west, to Dunkeld to the east through Glen Lyon. Routeways are approximate. Map created by S. Evemalm-Graham with ESRI Satellite (ArcGIS) basemap (©University of Glasgow).

The early ecclesiastical settlement at Dull, 8km east of Fortingall, seems also to be of an early date, even though it first appears in the historical records in the twelfth century (Clancy 2003; Macdonald & Laing 1970, 131–132). The parish church is dedicated to St Adomnán, whose name is also mentioned at a well,

Tobar-Eonan (NN803490),[3] situated in the parish, and also an annual fair, *Feil Eonan* (Taylor 1999, 68). Excavation of the post-medieval parish church and kirkyard of Dull in 2002–2003 produced some key elements to date the presence of an early church (Will, Forsyth, Clancy and Charles-Edwards 2003, 58). They indeed revealed the possible presence of an early medieval monastery (Will, Forsyth, Clancy and Charles-Edwards 2003, 59; 69). Similar to Fortingall, one of the most striking features in Dull is its collection of early carved stones, which seem to corroborate the significance of their status during the early medieval period.

Fig. 3 Fortingall 1. Cross-slab fragment carved in relief. Photograph: A. Busset

It is impossible to engage with the archaeology of early medieval Glen Lyon without discussing the collection of carved stones from Highland Perthshire. Indeed, these are one of the strongest indications of early medieval and medieval activities linked to religious devotions and are testimony to an array of practices (see Henderson and Henderson 2004). For the types of monuments found in Dull, Fortingall, Craigianie and Cladh Bhranno, many uses and functions can be proposed, from sanctuary stones marking the limits of the abbacy's land (Macdonald and Laing 1970, 131–132; Fig. 4), to burial markers, or focal points for devotions or religious gatherings. Furthermore, apart from the remarkable collection of cross-slabs carved in relief located in Fortingall, a particular type of early medieval carved stones, usually recumbent slabs incised with a variety of crosses, is found in the area around Fortingall, and more broadly in Highland Perthshire, as demonstrated by Robertson (1997, 135; Fig. 5).

3. Eonan or Eódhnan is a modern Gaelic development of Adomnán.

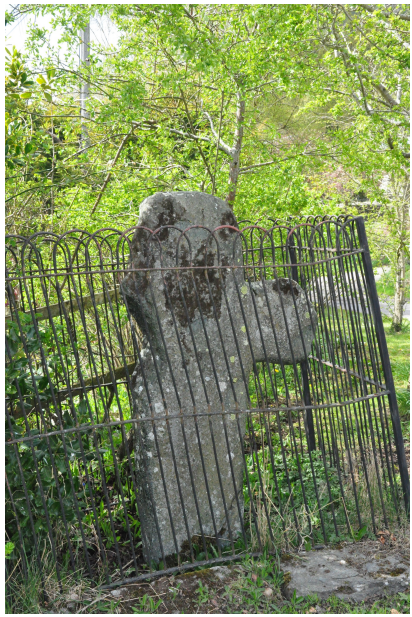

Fig. 4 Dull 10. Standing cross. Traditionally one of four garth crosses around Dull monastery.[4] Photograph: A. Busset

This type of monument, found in Dull, Fortingall, and at Cladh Bhranno, and the standing stone at Craigianie (Adomnán's Cross), may show 'Irish missionary work amongst the Picts' as early as the sixth century, according to the Hendersons (2004, 159). While the evidence of early medieval activities within the glen and beyond relies heavily on place-names, this type of incised stone seems to create strong connections between sites over a large geographical area. Dull and Fortingall have the largest collections of the region, with seven stones at Dull and five in Fortingall. One of the stones in Dull is of particular significance, as it bears an inscription allowing it to be dated to the first half of the eighth century (Will, Forsyth, Clancy and Charles-Edwards 2003). The preserved portion of the inscription 'BECLI' probably represents a personal name (Will, Forsyth, Clancy and Charles-Edwards 2003, 65). The shape of the cross – a Latin cross with rounded armpits – is found on two other stones at Dull, and is representative of the Iona type of cross (Will, Forsyth, Clancy and Charles-Edwards 2003, 64; Henderson 1995, 209).

4. Cf. Anna Ritchie, *Early medieval carved stones project*, 'Dull', HES; https://canmore.org.uk/site/25618/dull-cross (last accessed 30/7/2020)

Fig. 5 Fortingall 5 (right) and Fortingall 10 (left). Cross-incised slabs 7th to 9th centuries.[5] Photograph: A. Busset

Craigianie and Cladh Bhranno: the wider context

The first area discussed in this article primarily consists of sites centred around Craigianie Farm, situated on the north side of the River Lyon, with Balnahanaid located on the south side. These sites have been associated with early medieval and medieval activities not only because of local place-names, but also because of archaeological features: an iron hand bell, a possible long-cist burial ground, a cross-incised stone, and a possible 'footprint'. Footprints on rocky outcrops are frequently connected to rituals, often related to king-making in early medieval and medieval Ireland, but also to heroes and saints, and are closely intertwined with mythologies, legends and folklore (Fitzpatrick 2004, 99).

The second area discussed here is situated around the modern settlement of Bridge of Balgie, deep in Glen Lyon, approximately 20km west of Fortingall. This area contains the early burial ground of Cladh Bhranno (Kerrowmore), as well as several place-names associated with St Adómnan, such as *Eilean Eonan* and

5. Cf. Anna Ritchie, *Early medieval carved stones project*, 'Fortingall', HES: https://canmore.org.uk/site/259959/fortingall-church (last accessed 25/7/2020) and https://canmore.org.uk/site/294130/fortingall-parish-church (last accessed 25/7/2020).

Milton Eonan (see below and appendix 2). Cladh Bhranno is identified as an early site through the presence of a cross-incised recumbent stone, an iron hand bell, and a *bullaun* stone, or possible font. The term *bullaun* (from the Irish *bullán*, possibly itself borrowed from the English bowl; Dolan 2013) is a stone with one or multiple circular hollows, which usually seems to be connected to early medieval ecclesiastical sites (Dolan 2013). While more than 300 occurrences have been recorded in Ireland, their Scottish counterparts have never been systematically recorded (Forsyth, ScARF), and it is difficult to say whether this type of hollowed basins found in Highland Perthshire belong to the same tradition or is rather a traditional font. Indeed, the ones recorded on the sites within our area of interest are usually round in shape with a large circular cavity, wider than traditional *bullaun* stones (Fig. 6). Yet interestingly, this type of basin is observed on each site connected to a possible early church in this region: Weem (next to Dull, where two are recorded); Dull; Fortingall; Bridge of Lyon (at the entrance of the glen); and Cladh Bhranno (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 6 Bullaun Stones (or possibly fonts?). From bottom left clockwise: Cladh Bhranno, Weem, and Bridge of Lyon. Images: A. Busset

Iron hand bells are also a key element in discussing activities at these sites in the ninth or tenth century. The concentration of these artefacts is remarkable,

as three have been discovered in this area, in Fortingall, Balnahanaid and Cladh Bhranno, which is a considerable number out of a total of fourteen in the whole of Scotland (Robertson 1997, 134; Bourke 1983, 467). Bourke reports that Adomnán connects iron hand bells to Iona and the cult of St Columba, while evidence from Ireland suggests that iron hand bells were associated with early monasteries (Bourke 1983, 466). In AD 849, parts of St Columba's relics were brought to Dunkeld,[6] which became for a time the main administrative centre of the *familia* of Columba (Bannerman 1993, 17; Fig. 2). This major event set Dunkeld up as a significant place for pilgrimage and may have been the reason for bringing iron hand bells to religious places along the glen, which constituted one of the main routes between the west and the east, as discussed above. However, due to the highly portable nature of these objects, they may also have been brought to these places at later dates. Yet, while Fortingall retained some importance in the later medieval period, the same cannot be said of the sites of Cladh Bhranno and Balnahanaid, making it unlikely that these precious objects were brought there later than the fourteenth century (when a chapel near Bridge of Balgie is said to have been abandoned for one closer to Cladh Bhranno, see Campbell 1886, 320).

Unfortunately, of the three iron hand bells originally recorded in the glen, only the one from Cladh Bhranno remains, as the bell from Balnahanaid was lost sometime in the late nineteenth century, and the bell from Fortingall was stolen in 2017.

The cult of saints and St Adomnán

With the exception of Balnahanaid and possibly Cladh Bhranno, most (if not all) the place-name evidence for religious activity in the glen can be directly associated with St Adomnán, abbot of Iona (d. 704). There are also local traditions associating this saint with Glen Lyon more generally, including the undoubtedly fictional story given by Campbell (1886, 5–6) and Watson (2002 [1939], 172–3) which describes how Adomnán came to be in Glen Lyon:

> St. Eonan set out in company with St. Fillan to instruct the rude inhabitants of the Grampians in the doctrines of Christianity. The whole land lay before them, and–like the patriarchs of old, casting lots–

6. They were divided and sent from Iona to Kells and Dunkeld for protection (Bannerman 1993, 29; Anderson 1922, 279–280).

> Strathfillan, Balquhidder, &c., fell to St. Fillan; Glenlyon and its neighbourhood to Eonan (Campbell 1886, 5).

However, before tackling Adomnán's presence in Glen Lyon, a general introduction to the current state of scholarship on hagiotoponyms (place-names containing a saint's name) and the cult of saints in Scotland more broadly is pertinent. As a sub-branch of onomastics, hagiotoponymics has seen significant progress in recent years, resulting in ground-breaking studies by Butter (2007), Clancy (2013, 2010), Edmonds (2009, 2014), Márkus (2009, 2008) and Taylor (2001, 2000, 1999), among others. Interestingly, it may be due to their innately dynamic nature that the study of hagiotoponyms and saints' cults has seen this progress. We should begin by addressing the previously held opinion that a dedication to a saint in a place-name (especially a local one), indicates a direct association with that saint. It is now universally accepted that 'few church dedications in Scotland directly reflect an act of church-foundation by the person after whom they are named, or his/her disciples; almost all commemorate saints already dead, and often not of the immediate locality' (Clancy 2013, 1). Campbell's (1886, 320) account of Adomnán in Glen Lyon reminds us just how different the view of saints' cults was just over a century ago:

> Notwithstanding the prior claims of Saints Palladius, Ninian, and others, Adamnan made himself, without any mistake, the patron saint of Glenlyon. The traditions about him remained so vividly clear and strong, notwithstanding many ways of rehearsing them in detail, that he must have had a living personal connection with the place, and done things attributed to him.

On the other hand, this does not mean that a saint commemorated in a place-name was never present in the area, or even that they were not involved in the founding of the church. As Clancy (2010a, 9–10) points out, a saint could have founded a particular church without their name necessarily having originally been incorporated in the name of the church, and a dedication to a saint can sometimes reflect developments centuries after the death of the saint in question. For instance, Clancy (2010a, 10) has convincingly argued that although there is little doubt that St Donnan was himself present on the island of Eigg, the name Kildonnan 'The church of St Donnan' could have been coined centuries after Donnan's own lifetime. We would also do well to remember that

> there is a marked tendency for dedications and other commemorations, such as place-names, to express control in some form or another of a cathedral or monastery, with the saint 'at the centre' being found in the form of dedications and place-names throughout that area of control, be it in a diocese or a monastic *paruchia*, as a stamp of ownership or authority, both material and spiritual (Taylor 1999, 45–6).

Ultimately, saints are commemorated in place-names for many different reasons. Patterns of dedication can be both diverse and dynamic, which makes hagiotoponyms an excellent topic for a study of this nature.

Turning to Adomnán, we are dealing with a nationally important saint with a well-attested cult. In Scotland, his dedications are relatively widespread: The Saints in Scottish Place-Names (DoSH) database records thirty-six possible dedications to Adomnán with a notable concentration in Atholl. Similarly, the generics associated with the saint are highly varied, ranging from church-dedications to topographical features such as Eas Eoghannan 'Adomnán's waterfall' (NN424422) and Ardeonaig 'Adomnán's height' (NN665355; DoSH). Here, it is important to stress that these names highlight the fact that it is not only religious settlements and churches that commemorate saints, but it can also be natural features, as evidenced by the dedications to Adomnán.[7] As Butter (2007, 297) notes, however, we should also consider that some of these dedications may in fact have been to the later saint Adomnán of Coldingham (d. 686; see Forbes 1872, 264) and that some may represent the personal name Eoghanán.[8] Interestingly, in Glen Lyon, there is some evidence to suggest that Adomnán of Iona's cult there may have been connected to the influence of the *paruchia* of Iona during the early medieval period in Pictland, partially evidenced by the presence of dedications to another important Iona figure: Coeti, bishop of Iona (d. 712), a contemporary of Adomnán (Taylor 1999, 60–2). Taylor (1999, 61) has convincingly argued that there was an early Iona presence in Atholl:

7. This pattern is even more prominent for other saints such as St Brigit of Kildare. See DoSH 'Brig, Brigit, Bride (NS)' for a full map of her dedications in Scotland (accessed 23/12/2020).

8. Butter (2007, 297) has argued that 'Adomnán of Iona is the most likely object of cult in Scotland, but it is possible that Adomnán of Coldingham had devotees too (possibly at Dalmeny, for example, thinks *Watson* [1926] p. 152)'.

> We thus find Coeti linked to two important church sites within twenty kilometres of one another along a major route which leads from Argyll into the heart of Pictland via Strathfillan, Glendochart, Loch Tay and Strathtay [...] This must be significant of strong Iona influence, and since Coeti does not seem to have enjoyed great fame or prestige after his death, we can assume that his very localised cult found in Atholl was a result of contemporary presence in that area either of himself or of closely associated clergy.

Therefore, the evidence for Adomnán's cult in Glen Lyon may have had its roots in a historically strong Iona presence, potentially associated with early missionary activity in this area in the centuries immediately after his death. This does not, of course, explain the history and development of the individual place-names associated with Adomnán in Glen Lyon. These names require further unpacking on a micro-level before any conclusions can be drawn, but this possibly early Iona context in Atholl should be considered as an underlying influence on ecclesiastical place-names in the glen.

Theoretical considerations

Changing landscapes

Onomasticians have traditionally been predominantly concerned with establishing the original meaning of place-names. Nicolaisen (1976, 152) noted that the study of names 'has remained closely allied to the study of historical linguistics' and thus, name-studies have been

> almost exclusively etymological in nature, being concerned with the search for the 'correct' original form of words and names, and for their original meaning. In fact, names have largely been treated as words with peculiar qualities.

However, over the last few decades there has been an increasing interest in the human dimension of naming, allowing onomasticians to address various issues that go beyond creating an often linear historical narrative. In the context of place-names, this is now expressed in various areas of research, including socio-

onomastics and critical toponymic research.[9] Influenced by the progress made in other disciplines such as anthropology, cultural geography and landscape archaeology, onomasticians have increasingly acknowledged the need to approach place-names as fundamentally human expressions which are experienced as part of a wider landscape. As Barbara Bender (2001, 4) argues:

> The process by which we make landscapes is never pre-ordained because our perceptions and reactions, though they are spatially and historically specific, are unpredictable, contradictory, full of small resistances and renegotiations. We make time and place, just as we are made by them.

Simon Taylor (2016, 71–2) notes that, as our methodologies for place-name studies continue to develop, a central issue is the fact that names 'are constantly evolving, reflecting our changing relationship with and perceptions of an ever-changing world'. Importantly, socio-onomastics addresses this central issue by facilitating a deeper understanding of our constantly changing relationship with names and the world more generally. For the purpose of this interdisciplinary discussion, folk-onomastics, a sub-branch of socio-onomastics, will allow for a closer exploration of people's beliefs and perceptions of place-names. Unlike the traditional onomastic approach which concentrates on the meaning of names at the time of coining, folk-onomastics studies 'people's beliefs and perceptions about names and name use' (Ainiala 2016, 378). In doing so, it is possible to utilise folklore to unlock the role of place-names in preserving and creating shared memories in different communities. In particular, it allows us to explore people's beliefs and perceptions of places and how they change over time. Thus, our investigation utilises existing local traditions in Glen Lyon associated with the sites investigated in order to contribute a new and fresh perspective on the cultural landscape in the glen.

9. In the field of critical toponymic research, Jani Vuolteenaho and Lawrence D. Berg (2009, 6–7) have criticised the previous view of toponyms as 'ideologically innocent rather than power-charged semiotic dynamos for making meaning about places' which has 'yielded suspiciously innocent and bloodless accounts of history'. Similarly, Terhi Ainiala and Jan-Ola Östman (2017, 6) state that socio-onomastics 'explores the use and variation of names. The socio-onomastic research method takes into account the social, cultural, and situational field in which names are used'. Also see Ainiala (2016) and Puzey (2016).

To date, socio-onomastics has largely been approached synchronically in a modern-day context, using data collected through interviews (Ainiala and Östman 2017, 8), since from a historical perspective, it is more difficult to provide a clear understanding of people's attitudes towards place-names. One way of giving historical depth to the socio-onomastic approach is to study names where there is a discernible shift in local understanding of any given place or place-name over time. Consequently, by focusing primarily on folk-etymologies,[10] which have previously rarely been addressed in a Scottish context,[11] this study investigates place-names (and places more generally) as fluid expressions which can be interpreted and re-interpreted to suit the needs of the current user(s). It particularly engages with place-lore as evidence for different perceptions of the landscape. These perceptions may be prompted by a physically visible stimulus (see Caslorg Pheallaidh and *Craig-dianaidh* below), but they may also be expressed in more subtle ways as part of a wider landscape of local beliefs (see Ruighe Pheallaidh).

A useful tool when approaching places according to the principles outlined here is to think of them as palimpsests. This term was first used in the context of landscape studies (and by extension, one might argue, place-names) in the work of W.G. Hoskins (1955):

> For Hoskins the landscape was the material embodiment of people's activities. It was a *palimpsest*, the attentive reading of which allowed one to decipher the scribbled signatures of earlier activities […] a landscape that might at first sight appear to be primarily spatial is always, and irrevocably, shot through with time (Bender 2006, 304).

In doing so, Hoskins was able to 'uncover the layers of the palimpsest and to see, for example, a piece of the tenth century in the way a street makes an abrupt turn or does something else unexpected' (Hoskins 1955). Too often, such palimpsests, visible in stories, place-lore and other folk-traditions, have played

10. This term can be loosely defined as the re-interpretation of lexically opaque place-names by users but see further discussion below.

11. There are some notable exceptions including Donald Meek (1998) and, especially, W.F.H. Nicolaisen (1976, 158) who asserted that 'we ignore such place-name legends to our peril […] a folk-narrative genre which explains the origins of names through the main resource of mythology—the event—not only deserves our scholarly attention but is bound to repay our effort with interest'.

a minor role in onomastics, having been overshadowed by more traditional methods of research and 'rejected by the historical linguists as lacking scientific correctness' (Nicolaisen 1976, 153). In the context of Glen Lyon, the numerous local traditions which were recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by antiquarians and scholars reflect earlier layers of belief, sometimes going back several centuries. Additionally, some of these traditions are still locally known and people continue to engage with, and develop, these narratives (see the discussion on the cup-marked stone at Craigianie below).

In the context of understanding the forces that influence the emergence and re-interpretation of the toponymic landscapes considered here, we should also consider the frequently contested nature of naming and re-naming.[12] In medieval Glen Lyon, and indeed when examining many other toponymic landscapes, it may not always be possible to clearly detect and establish these power relations, particularly when the events that shaped them took place several centuries ago. Nevertheless, in approaching our material in this fashion, we investigate how events are portrayed for different reasons and consider the forces that influence the emergence of such narratives. Do they predominantly develop organically as part of a local set of beliefs, or are they significantly influenced by other forces (for instance; a wider ecclesiastical network)? Who records these narratives? Where possible, these factors will also be considered as part of this study. Moving forward, further systematic toponymic research into folklore is crucial, and whilst this article only covers a very small geographic area, it contributes to this field of research both theoretically and empirically by undertaking a highly detailed investigation of folklore on a micro-level.

Folklore and folk-etymologies

Several uses of the word 'folk' have already appeared in the brief outline above, but readers may question its precise application in this study. As discussed in the introduction to this volume, some scholars object to the term 'folklore' due to its potentially derogatory connotations (see Introduction to this issue). Both

12. An obvious example of this is the historical Anglicisation of Gaelic place-names in Ireland (and Scotland). According to Nash (2009, 140), the 'process of effacing the collective narratives and local knowledges of folklore, mythology and history condensed in Irish place names and authorizing new largely meaningless derivative forms has been seen as a form of colonial cultural violence deeply tied to the late nineteenth-century decline of the Irish language'.

folklore and folk-etymology (and to some extent folk-onomastics) have proved to be a contentious issue, not least during the discussions at the workshops leading up to this publication. It is therefore appropriate to clarify that in this discussion the 'folk' in folklore and folk-onomastics is used in the loosest sense of the word to denote engagement with places and names by a particular group of people (generally local).

The term folk-etymology alludes to a more specific set of issues that require further unpacking. It is typically used to denote a very specific linguistic phenomenon in which a lexically opaque place-name is re-interpreted and given an etymology which is ostensibly different from its meaning at the time of coining.[13] In linguistics the term folk-etymology is often used to refer to the phenomenon of analogical re-formation whereby 'they are arrived at by resemblances between the name or element in question and some familiar word, or words, whose meaning is known' (Cox 2002, 48). The term folk-etymology undoubtedly has differing definitions and applications depending on the discipline in which it is used. Here, it is used in the most basic sense to refer to the process by which the meaning of a (sometimes lexically opaque) place-name is re-interpreted to derive a sense that is culturally meaningful for its users, whether through folklore or analogical re-formation (or a combination of the two).

Place-names of power and devotion in Glen Lyon

Having introduced several theoretical concepts, we will now turn to Craigianie and Cladh Bhranno in Glen Lyon to analyse the archaeology and onomastics of each site, while discussing these considerations further. The sites found in the Craigianie area, situated 13km west of Fortingall, can be found at Balnahanaid and near Craigianie Farm (Fig. 7).

13. Taylor (1998, 7) mentions that *Dinnshenchas* ('lore of notable places') 'is being used more and more to describe it [folk-etymology], at least in Ireland and Scotland'. Whilst there is overlap between *Dinnshenchas* and folk-etymology in function, there are some important distinctions to be made. *Dinnshenchas* is commonly used to refer to the (scholarly) medieval Irish compilation of place-lore (extant in both prose and verse). As Rolf Baumgarten (1987, 2) asserts, *Dinnshenchas* entails a wide range of onomastic and linguistic activities: 'Early Irish scholars married paronomasia (punning) and folk etymology, with medieval scientific etymology, and developed it into a fine art'. Thus, the scholarly origin of *Dinnshenchas* is a point of divergence, but it highlights a strong interest in place-names, their meaning, origin and narratives in the Gaelic world.

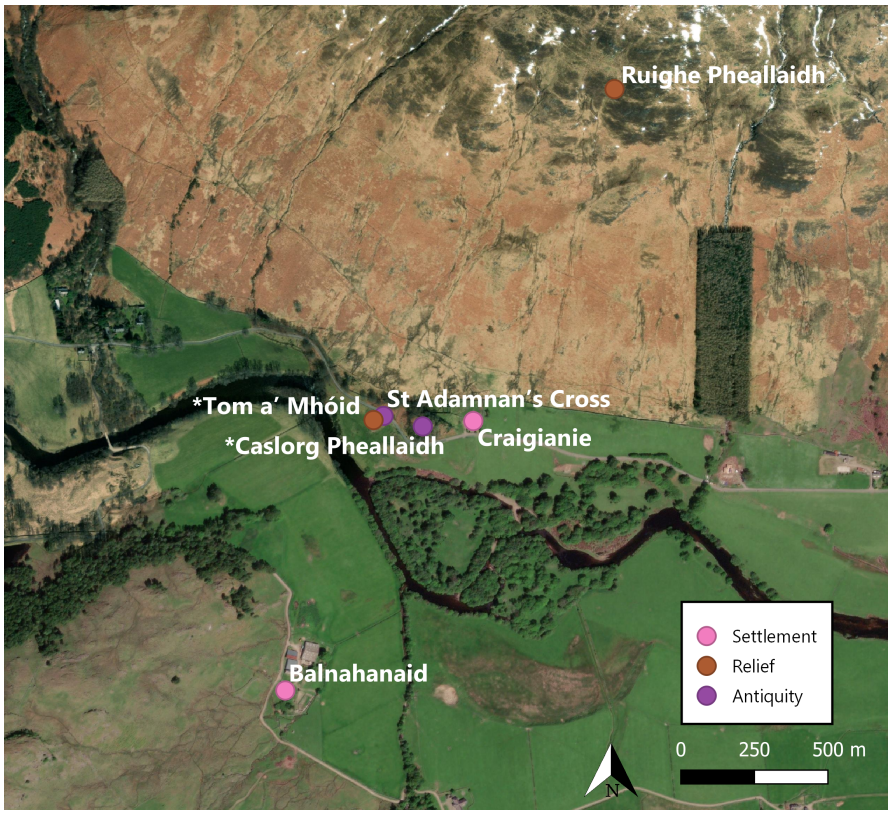

Fig. 7 Map of Craigianie area. Map created by S. Evemalm-Graham with ESRI Satellite (ArcGIS) basemap (©University of Glasgow).

Balnahanaid

We have identified Balnahanaid (NN623471) as a site of interest which potentially represents the earliest onomastic trace of Christianity in Glen Lyon. It is one of the few place-names discussed here which does not have any clear evidence for re-interpretation, folk-etymologising or folklore associated with it. Nevertheless, in terms of the archaeological evidence, and arguably the onomastic evidence, it is the focal point for early medieval activity at Craigianie and therefore needs to be addressed.

The early occupation of the site at Balnahanaid is only evidenced by a few elements, one of which is its place-name. Now referring to a farmhouse located 'on an old burial ground' (Watson 2002 [1939], 204), the name has been interpreted as G *baile* + G *annaid* 'the farm of the (mother church)' and the

element *annaid* (OG *andóit*) is of particular interest. This element has often been 'accepted as one of a number of early church terms present in Scottish placenames' (Clancy 1995, 91). Early name-scholars, looking to Ireland for comparative evidence, generally made the assumption that *annaid* in Scotland denoted an important early church. Watson (1926, 250) argued that it could be 'explained as a patron saint's church, or a church that contains the relics of the founder. That is the meaning in Ireland, and it is all we have to go upon', but also notes that 'how far it held with regard to Scotland is hard to say'. More recently, Clancy (1995, 114) has provided a more nuanced interpretation of the element in Scotland, concluding that 'any uncompounded *annaid* names may indicate the locations of these principle local churches, while compounded ones may indicate the property, burial ground or boundary of the *andóit*'. Thus, although the existence of this element in our area *may* indicate early Christian activity, its exact nature is more complex, and we cannot assume that there was an important early church site at Balnahanaid.

The site is locally known to be a burial ground, and tombs have been uncovered in the kitchen garden by the owner of the farm (HES 1975a); however, these were left undisturbed therefore they cannot be dated. The third element which constitutes evidence for an early medieval occupation/presence on the site of Balnahanaid is the discovery in 1870 of an iron hand bell, found 'between the wall and the eaves of an old cart-shed on the farm' (Anderson 1881, 181). Badly damaged then, it was only identified because the farmer had been made aware of the 'significance of the name of his farm indicating an ancient ecclesiastical connection' (Anderson 1881, 182). Despite being badly damaged, the shape of the bell identifies it as an example from the early medieval period, alongside other models (Bourke 1983). The bell was lost sometime in the late nineteenth century (see Fig. 8).

Fig. 8 Balnahanaid iron hand bell (lost). In Anderson (1881, 182).

Considering the inconclusive nature of the archaeological evidence, Clancy's (1995) argument that *annaid* names, particularly when found in compounds, may indicate lands belonging to the church may be an attractive one. If our *annaid* is of an early date, it could have belonged to any number of nearby churches, including Fortingall, Dull, or possibly Logierait, all of which were important early medieval church sites (see CSMPC). Balnahanaid is located in what was formerly a detached part of the parish of Weem. There may have been a historical connection between Dull and Weem, which would support an interpretation of Dull being the mother church (*annaid*) in Balnahanaid.[14] According to local traditions recorded by Stewart (1928, 24) and Campbell (1886, 139) there was a church or chapel at Balnahanaid in the past, but their accounts are problematic since it is not uncommon for an assumption to be made that because it was an ecclesiastical site, there ought to have been a chapel. Ultimately, without further evidence it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions regarding the existence of an early church here due to a severe lack of early forms (it first appears in the late sixteenth century), the lack of conclusive archaeological evidence and the fact that the element *annaid* does not necessarily denote a church site. However, all features of this site, including the element *annaid* and the hand bell, indicate that this area was likely used in some form by the church in the early medieval period.

The cross, the staff and the footprint at Craigianie

The ensemble of archaeological features around Craigianie Farm, on the slope north of the river, is composed of St Adamnan's Cross (NN625476), St Adomnán's Stone (NN624477; or staff/ crozier, also recorded as *Craig-dianaidh* in some sources, see below), and a possible footprint, referred to as Caslorg Pheallaidh (NN626476; recorded by Forbes (1872, 266) as the Footmark of S. Eonan. The name Craigianie, originally referring to the hill on which Caslorg Pheallaidh is located, has resulted in several folk-etymologies. As Watson (2002 [1939], 204) states, it most likely contains 'the old genitive of *ianach* (i.e. *eunach*), the act of fowling or hunting birds', but according to Stewart (1928, 24) Craigianie 'may mean either Craig Fhianaidh, the rock of the Feinne, or Craig

14. For instance, two stone crosses originally located at Dull church can now be found within Weem Parish church (see also King 1992, 78). See CSMPC 'Dull / Dow Parish Church' and 'Weem Parish Church' for further discussion of the history of these parishes.

Dianaidh, the rock defence.' Similarly, Campbell (1886, 319) writes that 'the country people always call this rock [*Craig-dianaidh*] Craig-fhiannaidh, that is the "Rock of the Feinne"'. Ultimately, these name forms all appear to refer to Craigianie and probably reflect a process of analogical re-formation whereby the phonological similarity of different words has resulted in the various folk-etymologies introduced here.

The area around Craigianie (see Appendix 1) displays a highly varied group of toponyms, ranging from minor to well-attested names and representing a number of different features, both natural and man-made. They all provide evidence for different expressions of local beliefs, whether based in a Christian or mythical context. They also show the dynamism of place-names, each name, physical place and story providing layers which combine to form a different palimpsest. St Adamnan's Cross, Caslorg Pheallaidh and *Craig-dianaidh* all have an association with Adomnán, but their transmission is often problematic and reflects many different, sometimes contradictory traditions. Thus, these traditions can be viewed as representations of different, sometimes overlapping, layers of beliefs – they form the palimpsest alluded to above. Although it may not be possible to trace their exact origins, by carefully unpacking these layers, we can examine how this landscape has been used and interpreted in different ways and for quite different purposes.

Fig. 9 Adamnan's Cross. Photograph: A. Busset

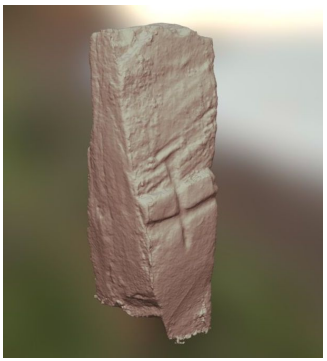

Fig. 10 Photogrammetric modelling of Adamnan's Cross (untextured). ©Megan Kasten

St Adamnan's Cross

The most prominent and visible feature nowadays is Adamnan's Cross (Fig. 9) which is situated on top of a steep knoll (Tom a' Mhóid), on the side of the modern road. It is a small standing stone of approximately 1.20 metres, which displays an incised cross on both of its flat faces. The main cross on its northern face is easily recognisable, and might have been originally intended to be carved in relief; however, it seems that part of the stone might have broken off, and the cross was incised instead. A small cross was also incised on the south face of the stone, but is difficult to discern today. Both crosses appear clearly on a photogrammetric model made by Dr Megan Kasten (University of Glasgow; Fig. 10).

In onomastic terms, St Adamnan's Cross is perhaps the least complicated of the three; with no known alternative names and a surviving early medieval cross-marked stone associated with the name. An assessment of the history of the place-name is a different matter as the name was not necessarily coined when the cross was erected. Also, we cannot assume that the cross was dedicated to Adomnán in the early medieval period. It is important to note that this name, similarly to the other three names with an Adomnán association in this area, represent micro-toponyms (that is, names which refer to minor local places), and any forms pre-dating the nineteenth century are virtually non-existent. Although there is little doubt as regards the early dating for the physical cross, the place-name and its association with Adomnán is more problematic and reflects the wider issues associated with the cult of Adomnán in this area which will be further discussed below.

The distinctive topography of the knoll on which the cross-marked stone is located, as well as its name, Tom a' Mhóid, seems to indicate that the place was used at some point as an assembly place. Containing the element G *mòd* 'assembly, meeting, court of justice' (Dwelly 1901, 11), both Tom a' Mhóid 'moot hill' (NN625476) and Lag a' Mhòid (approx. NN625476) were recorded by Watson (2002 [1939], 204; 1926, 271) who described it as 'the knoll on which the cross [St Adamnan's Cross] stands', also stating that 'the chief is said to have sat at the foot of the cross'. Both Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (2004, 121) and O' Grady (2014, 129) have discussed the possibility that this site was used as an assembly site by the MacGregors (Clann Ghriogair) in the later medieval period, particularly noting folk tradition which refers to the nearby footprint as 'the spot where the Mac Griogair chief planted his foot on court day' (Fitzpatrick 2004, 121). Campbell (1886, 319) states that it is an 'undoubted fact that it [the

hill of Craigianie] was a place on which judicial and other solemn meetings were held in very ancient times'. It is also worth noting that a poem in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* describes the MacGregor chief as 'Flath Ghlinne Liobhainn nan lann "prince of Glen Lyon of the blades"' (Maclauchlan 1862, 99; Watson 2002 [1939], 203).

The knoll (Tom a' Mhóid) was investigated in 2017 and 2018 during the *Early Christian landscape of Glen Lyon* project, and analyses showed that the striking topography of the site was mostly due to natural sediments deposited from the nearby mountainside. Traces of quarrying activities conducted at the top of the knoll likely contributed to the sediments found in the excavation trenches further down the slope. There were also indications of attempts at levelling up and creating a platform; however these could not be verified (Busset, Maldonado and Kasten 2019a; Busset, Maldonado and Kasten 2019b, 14). While the archaeology could not confirm human intervention on the shaping of the knoll, this does not diminish its striking appearance. On the contrary, it seems natural that such a prominent feature supports further the choice to hold political or religious assemblies at this place, as discussed above. Test-pit excavation performed on the site close to the cross produced sherds of pottery, which might date from the post-medieval period (Busset, Maldonado and Kasten 2019b, 17). While the cross itself probably dates from the early medieval period (seventh to ninth centuries: Ritchie 2016), the presence of this well-preserved albeit broken pottery seems to demonstrate continued or renewed interest on that site during the post-medieval period.

Caslorg Pheallaidh / the footprint

The next feature found on Craigianie Farm is situated on top of a small hill which dominates the area about 40m to the south-east, on the opposite side of the road. From the modern Craigianie Farm, a short walk up a small steep hill brings us to a rocky outcrop surrounded by gorse, on top of which the 'footprint' is located, at the base of a modern-day cairn (Fig. 11). This site may in fact represent the most prominent location in this area, possibly providing a focal point for systems of belief and expressions of power in the glen. Several different place-names have been recorded for the 'footprint', including Caslorg Pheallaidh and the Footmark of S. Eonan. However, the place-names do not survive on any maps and are only recorded as part of nineteenth-century antiquarian writings. Interestingly, only Forbes (1872, 266) records the dedication to St Adomnán, describing it as 'a natural fissure in the rock called

the Footmark of S. Eonan'. Most other sources, including Campbell (1886, 319), Stewart (1928, 24) and Watson (2002 [1939], 204) refer to it as Caslorg Pheallaidh 'The Footmark of Peallaidh', associating it with Peallaidh or Palladius (see below).

Fig. 11 Cairn on top of Craigianie hill. The 'footprint' (*Caslorgh Pheallaidh) is in the foreground, at the base of the cairn. Photograph: A. Busset

Fig. 12 The 'footprint', *Caslorgh Pheallaidh. Photograph: A. Busset

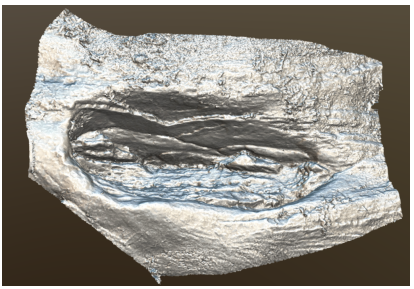

Fig. 13 Photogrammetric modelling of the 'footprint', *Caslorgh Pheallaidh (untextured). ©Megan Kasten

This 'footprint' is probably a natural feature, created by water eroding the rock through the ages, as supported by the presence of quartz veins which run through it (Fig. 12). As discussed by Fitzpatrick (2004, 108–109), 'certain marks on rocks, cliffs and mountains are almost universally identified in legend as footprints of supernatural beings. Many of these are no more than natural crevices and solution holes that resemble the imprint of the human foot. Their making is invariably attributed to the fantastic leaps of mythical heroes, giants and saints of magical proportions'. However, a photogrammetric analysis of the feature conducted by Kasten on Caslorg Pheallaidh seems to reveal that parts of it were physically altered by human intervention (Fitzpatrick *pers. comm*; Busset, Maldonado and Kasten 2019b, 29; Fig. 13).

If that is the case, it is unclear when this alteration took place. However, it seems to relate to traditions of devotional practices linked to other footprints. Furthermore, the landscape settings within which this 'footprint' is found can be compared to other examples, such as the location, carved in a rock, on top of a commanding place, with an extensive view of the surrounding landscape. Indeed, the visibility across the glen from this site is striking, as it is situated above a curve in the River Lyon, and therefore allows the person standing near it to see a large portion of the glen (Fig. 14). The place-names and traditions associated with this feature seem to reinforce this interpretation.

Another feature of interest, situated just below the 'footprint' to the west, is a natural semi-circular platform which offers a commanding view of the surrounding area. Investigations of the platform have once more demonstrated that it was entirely natural, or if any archaeological remains were present, that they were buried under a thick layer of gorse roots which prevented any further archaeological inquiries. While the archaeological surveys carried out on the site did not uncover any satisfactory evidence for the use of that platform, its proximity to several recorded features and association with place-names seem to indicate that it may possibly have been used for gatherings.

Fig. 14 Panorama of the viewshed from *Caslorgh Pheallaidh on top of Craigianie hill. The semi-circular platform is visible to the right. Image and photomontage: A. Busset.

The Peallaidh

It is clear that in order to fully understand different systems of belief in Glen Lyon, in addition to looking at the Christian toponymic landscape, in the context of Caslorg Pheallaidh we also need to address other expressions of belief; in this instance folklore associated with mythical figures. According to Watson (1926, 427; Watson 2002 [1939], 204) the Peallaidh referred to in Caslorg Pheallaidh was locally known as the chief or king of the *uruisg* tribe of water sprites in this area. 'Peallaidh' prominently occurs in Perthshire place-names and in Glen Lyon there is also a Ruighe Pheallaidh 'The Slope of Peallaidh' (NN629482) which still survives c.600 metres from Craigianie. The most notable instance of the Peallaidh in a place-name in this area is the folk-etymology which explains the origins of the name Aberfeldy. The second part of the name appears to refer to an older name, Peallaidh or Peldy, for what is now the Moness Burn (NN855484; Robertson 2019 [c. 1904], 41–2). Robertson (2019 [c. 1904], 42) is likely correct in his interpretation of the etymology of the river name as ultimately derived from a Pictish cognate of Welsh *pell* 'distant, remote, far'. However, in local folklore, it has been transformed into the Peallaidh mentioned above (Robertson 2019 [1904], 316). What is particularly interesting here is that it seems likely that this re-interpretation may ultimately stem from two different processes. First, it may be the result of analogical re-formation, considering the resemblance between *pell* and Peallaidh. This initial re-interpretation of the place-name may have prompted the emergence of stories associated with the Peallaidh. Second, the spectacular gorge and waterfalls at the Birks of Aberfeldy (the part of the Moness Burn which overlooks Aberfeldy) may have also contributed to the belief that a supernatural creature was present there, possibly living in the Den of Moness (NN853478) near the falls (Jacob King and Simon Taylor *pers. comm.*). One might wonder if this tradition ultimately had an impact on the emergence of Peallaidh folklore in Glen Lyon.

In some sources, Peallaidh names have been given a Christian dimension, as the specific element has been conflated with St. Palladius. For instance, Stewart (1928, 24) simply refers to the footmark as 'said to be that of St. Palladius' and Robertson (2019 [c. 1904], 41) reports that Aberfeldy 'has been held by popular etymologists, to stand for Palladius and the name of the burgh has been explained to mean Confluence of St Palladius and, even more erroneously, sometimes as Work of St Palladius'. Watson's (2002 [1939], 204) statement that '[t]he water-demon [Peallaidh] has of course been equated with St Palladius, a proceeding which the saint would hardly regard as a compliment' is

undoubtedly accurate. The re-interpretation of the specific element in Caslorg Pheallaidh as Palladius may simply be the result of analogical re-formation, considering the similarity between the two names, but the existence of nearby sites associated with Adomnán may also have contributed to the name being Christianised by antiquarians in the nineteenth and twentieth century (or possibly earlier, but there is no evidence to suggest that this was the case). Interestingly, there is clearly considerable overlap between the folklore of mythical and Christian figures in this area, further demonstrating the range of layers of belief in the glen (also see Craigianie and the *fianna* below).

Fig. 15 Boulder referred as 'Adamnan's Stone' by Stewart (1928, 24).
It is unclear whether the marks on the stone are actual cup-marks or natural features.[15]
Photograph: Megan Kasten

St Adomnán and the plague

There are various traditions that relate how St Adomnán stayed the plague in Glen Lyon near Craigianie by planting his crozier into a stone (see appendix 1 for a full list of these traditions). This stone and the traditions that surround it present the most challenging areas for discussion here: at least two different stones could be candidates. First, there is a recumbent stone, situated approximately 100m to the north-west of St Adamnan's Cross, also along the roadside. It is described by Stewart as having 'a few cup marks on it' (1928, 24).

15. Cf. HES 1975b, https://canmore.org.uk/site/24532/craigianie (last accessed 28/7/2020).

Second, there is a stone described by Barnett (1946, 64–65) as 'a rough flat stone with a deep hole in it'. These two descriptions do not seem to refer to the same stone. Indeed, the flat stone mentioned by Barnett seems to refer to the same 'big round stone with a hole through it' described by Stewart (1928, 24), but when visiting the area surrounding St Adomnán's Cross as part of the archaeological investigation of the area in 2018, no stone of that description was found. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the recumbent boulder situated along the road displays actual cup-marks, or if the marks visible on it are natural features (HES 1975b; Fig. 15). Yet, the tradition of a stone receiving Adomnán's staff (or crozier) to stop the plague from spreading in the valley is mentioned in many sources, and the tradition appears in some of the local place-names as well.

For instance, Stewart (1928, 24) recounts how 'when Eonan interceded for the Glenlyon people, he prayed that the plague should enter the stone, and the hole marks the miracle that was accomplished'. However, some aspects of the story are more problematic and there are several conflicting accounts. Both Stewart (1928, 24) and Watson (2002 [1939], 204) refer to St Adomnán's crozier piercing the stone resulting in the hole, making it likely that they refer to one of the stones mentioned above. Campbell (1886, 5–6) on the other hand states that the event took place on *Craig-dianaidh* 'the rock of safety', which refers to Craigianie. Barnett (1946, 66–7) takes a more comprehensive approach by stating that Adomnán first preached on the Rock of Safety, then asked the people to lay their hands on the stone cross and finally he fixed his crucifix in a 'rough flat stone' (see appendix 1). It is thus not entirely clear which stone the traditions refer to, but it is entirely possible that the different stories have diverged to denote different stones and variants of the event described.

Craigianie and the fianna

Craigianie itself also requires further attention. The confusion surrounding the name Craigianie has already been mentioned above and we can conclude that it most likely contains *ianach* 'the act of fowling or hunting birds'. But there is another dimension to this name which has already been alluded to; namely the association with the *fianna* recorded by Campbell (1886, 319) and Stewart (1928, 24). It seems likely that this is at least partially the result of analogical re-formation resulting in the folk-etymological association with the *fianna*. However, we should also consider the wider landscape of myths in this area. There are numerous traditions associated with Fionn mac Cumhaill (Finn

McCool) and the *fianna* in Atholl. Watson (2002 [1939], 196) mentions that An Dùn Geal (NN751477) north-east of Fortingall according to early modern folklore was Fionn's fort and Campbell (1886, 3) notes that there are five castles around Cashlie (NN488418) 'each bearing the name of a known Fingalian chief' (see also Watson 1913). The list can be made much longer, but these examples will suffice to demonstrate the wider landscape of the *fianna* in this area. To summarise, the traditions of Fionn mac Cumhaill and the *fianna* in Glen Lyon, and more specifically at Craigianie, may be the result of a combination of analogical re-formation and a prevalence of *fiannaigheacht* in the surrounding area. Clearly, to understand the folklore recorded in the glen, it needs to be viewed as part of a wider landscape of power and belief systems. Craigianie provides an example of how folklore in a very specific area can develop through several different cognitive processes, demonstrating how layers of belief in these landscapes can co-exist to form a palimpsest.

Summary

Evidence for Craigianie as a focal point for Christian beliefs during the early medieval period relies on the presence of St Adamnan's Cross and the lost iron hand bell recorded by Anderson at Balnahanaid. However, archaeological analyses conducted at the cross did not offer further evidence for early activities. The onomastic analyses seem to suggest activities from at least the late medieval period onwards, which might also be evidenced by the presence of the post-medieval sherds uncovered near St Adamnan's Cross, but these constitute a considerable time-gap with Adomnáns's own lifetime. It is possible that it was not until the late medieval period, and subsequent centuries, that the local traditions associated with this site emerged. It is particularly interesting that the traditions associated with St Adomnán at these sites in several instances relate to places and objects that, at the very least, were created and used several millennia before Adomnán could ever have been here, most notably the cup-marked rock which – if genuine – could not have been the result of Adomnán placing his crozier on the stone. Nevertheless, this raises the question of whose reality we are addressing – for the inhabitants of this area, it may very well have seemed real. In onomastic terms, this interpretation does not strictly represent the phenomenon of 'folk-etymology' since the term is usually used to denote the re-interpretation of the etymology of the place-name itself, a process which has not occurred here. However, it could be argued that it does in fact comprise a type of folk-etymology which combines the naming-

process with the visual, physical landscape. It is noteworthy that there is a pattern of the Adomnán associations at Craigianie appearing relatively late, representing minor features with few or no recorded map forms. Thus, any early date for these place-names, or even a specific association with Adomnán here, must be seriously questioned (see further discussion on Adomnán in Glen Lyon below).

We may be able to further unpack some of these different cultural layers by considering who creates these landscapes of belief. Are we dealing with an organically emerging landscape or one imposed by an external authority, or as is perhaps most likely, a combination of both? In the medieval period we are most likely seeing a combination of many different factors, including a wider ecclesiastical agenda promoted by Iona and local secular landowners wishing to pursue certain narratives to strengthen their authority. Considering the evidence for this area being used by the MacGregors of Glen Lyon in the later medieval period, several, if not all the stories associated with St Adomnán here may have emerged then, rather than in the early medieval period. Such narratives could have had a legitimising function in demonstrating the early religious significance of the site. This also raises questions regarding the relationship between the place-names associated with St Adomnán and Balnahanaid at Craigianie. The existence of a nearby early ecclesiastical site, whatever its exact nature, may also have prompted an association with an important local saint. If Balnahanaid did in fact refer to church lands rather than an actual church, Dull parish church mentioned above may be an attractive option. This church is dedicated to St Adomnán (see Will, Forsyth, Clancy and Charles-Edwards 2003, 59) and this could have influenced the emergence of the traditions associated with the saint at Craiginanie (also see above for a potential connection between Dull and Weem). This is of course conjecture, and the association with St Adomnán may simply reflect his prominence in Atholl, but it is nevertheless an intriguing possibility. It is also likely that the emergence and development of localised 'folk'-narratives has been present through the time-periods investigated here. These can be similarly diverse, and the context and motivation for interpretations of a site and/or name are potentially highly varied. This brief overview of the sites at Craigianie has demonstrated that there is no single, straightforward interpretation of people's perception(s) of place-names, and that place-names are living, dynamic expressions of people's understanding of the landscape. The narratives associated with these places

also show the considerable importance attached to this area, going back at least 150 years, but likely reflecting earlier traditions.

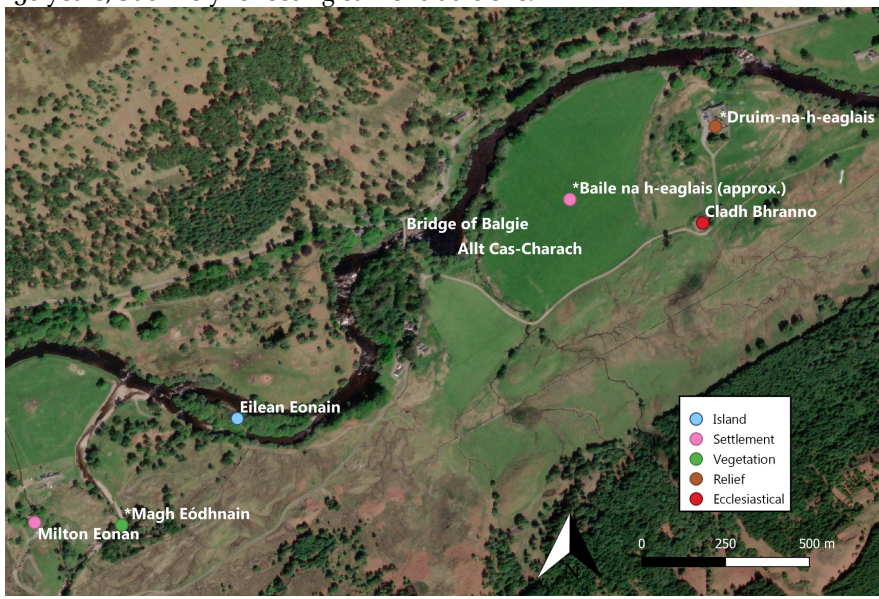

Fig. 16 Map of Cladh Bhranno area. Map created by S. Evemalm with ESRI Satellite (ArcGIS) basemap (©University of Glasgow).

Cladh Bhranno and Milton Eonan

The second area discussed in this paper is located further west, around the village of Bridge of Balgie. This area includes the site of Cladh Bhranno at Kerrowmore, a possible early chapel at Bridge of Balgie and Milton Eonan (Fig. 16).

Cladh Bhranno

Cladh Bhranno is a topographically remarkable site at the heart of Glen Lyon, with wide openings to the east and the west, while the north and south are barred by tall hills (Fig. 17). It is a flat area nestled in a curve to the south of the River Lyon. The main historical feature of the site is an old burial ground which was still in use occasionally at least until the mid-twentieth century (NN581467; HES 1969; Fig. 18).[16] To the east are the remains of a circular homestead

16. Interestingly, Alexander Stewart and Duncan Campbell are both buried in this burial ground (see Fig. 19).

(NN587469), and further to the south-east on the hillside are traces of a sheepfold (NN586464). Similar to Craigianie, the Cladh Bhranno area seems to share a connection with Iona and St Adomnán, visible in the place-names (see below) and the presence of an iron hand bell and a cross-incised slab located in the burial ground.

Fig. 17 Looking east from Cladh Bhranno burial ground, with Beinn Dearg, Cárn Gorm and Meall Garbh bordering the valley to the north. Photograph: A. Busset

Cladh Bhranno has, perhaps unsurprisingly, been associated with St Brénainn, but considering its early forms this is unlikely. Watson (1926, 427) proposes that it contains the personal name Branub, partially based on the form from the early thirteenth century when it is recorded as *capella de branboth* in *glenliun* (*St A. Lib*. 295). Taylor (1996, 96–8; 105) raises the possibility that the name may in fact contain the element *both* which has been used in Wales, Ireland and Scotland in an ecclesiastical context.[17] Several sources, including Pont's manuscripts (1583–1614), Blaeu (1654), Cameron (1770) and Stobie (1873) refer to this site as 'Balna-heglis with the kirk of Brennow'. This **Baile na-Eaglais* seems to contain G *baile* 'farm' and G *eaglais* 'church'.

17. See Welsh cognate *bod* 'dwelling residence' (Taylor 1996, 97) and OG *both* 'hut, bothy, cot; cabin'.

Accounts of an early church linked to Cladh Bhranno are contradictory, with Stewart and Campbell proposing different locations for the pre-fourteenth-century chapel. According to Stewart (1928, 208), the early chapel was located close to the Bridge of Balgie, where a small burn, Allt Cas-Charach (NN577467), meets the River Lyon. Campbell (1886, 320) states that it was originally located on a rising ground at Druim-na-h-eaglais ('Ridge of the church') where Kerrowmore Farm now stands (NN582469), situated 150 metres north of the site now identified as Cladh Bhranno. Both Campbell and Stewart indicate that the church was in use until the fourteenth century, when it was abandoned 'by Black John [Lord John of Lorne] after 1368 because, owing to the bog between the old and new sites [of the chapel], his wife, Janet, the cousin of King David Bruce, complained that she could not in all weathers go to the devotions without wetting her feet' (Campbell 1886, 320). The site mentioned by Stewart was visited in spring 2019 as part of the *Early Christian landscape of Glen Lyon* project, but no trace of a chapel could be located (Busset, Maldonado, Kasten and McCreadie 2020; HES 1969b). On the other hand, if the early chapel was situated on the higher grounds north of Cladh Bhranno, its remnants would now be concealed by the modern buildings of Meggernie activity centre (Fig. 18).

Fig. 18 Cladh Bhranno burial ground with Meggernie Centre (Kerrowmore Farm) in the background. Photograph: A. Busset

Fig. 19 Campbell and Stewart's tombs in Cladh Bhranno burial ground. Campbell's tombstone is situated in the foreground (flat tabletop), while Stewart's is situated further to the back, isolated near the north wall. Photograph: A. Busset

Aerial pictures of the burial ground seem to indicate a possible circular structure, wider than the current walls. The current sub-oval enclosure measures 31m long (east-west), by 28m (north-south), and a steep slope defines the east and north of the enclosure (Alexander 2004, 3). While geophysical surveys carried out around the burial ground have not been able to confirm the presence of a ditch, a small-scale test-pit analysis effectuated in April 2018 seemed to identify a projecting bank at the base of the north-east slope of the burial ground (Busset, Maldonado and Kasten 2019b, 11). As part of the same project, excavations carried out to the east of the cemetery in spring 2019 uncovered no evidence of a ditch or bank predating the modern wall, and all finds were modern midden material, except for a pivot stone (Busset, Maldonado, Kasten and McCreadie, 2020, 7–9; Fig. 20).

Fig. 20 Pivot stone discovered when excavating east of the cemetery in spring 2019. Photograph: A. Busset

A rectangular structure present on the OS 6-inch map of 1867 is situated between the burial ground and the farm (Fig. 21).[18] This structure referred to as the 'Kerrowmore enclosure' was investigated by Derek Alexander (National Trust for Scotland) and local schoolchildren as part of the Ben Lawers Historic Landscape project in 2003 and 2004 (Alexander 2004, 3). Discoveries made during these campaigns include iron slag which suggests medieval activities to the site (supported by the medieval burial ground), as well as a flint scraper, which could be evidence of prehistoric activity (Alexander 2004, 20). This would be supported by Campbell's (1886, 320) reference to a stone circle nearby.

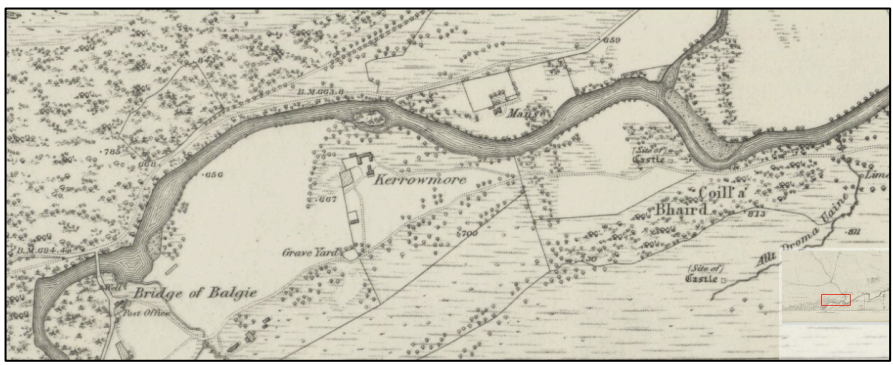

Fig. 21 Bridge of Balgie and Kerrowmore. 1867 OS 6-inch map. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.[19]

18. This structure has disappeared on the 1900 OS map.
19. https://maps.nls.uk/os/6inch/index.html (last accessed 21/10/2020).

Fig. 22 Cross-incised recumbent slab in Cladh Bhranno burial ground. Probably early Christian in date (Robertson, 1991, 71). Photograph: A. Busset

Linked to the early chapel and the burial ground, early occupation of the site is supported by the presence of an iron hand bell, a cross-incised recumbent stone (Fig. 22), and a font, or possible *bullaun* stone, located inside the burial ground, near the entrance (see photo in Fig. 6). The presence of one other early recumbent slab, likely from the medieval period and decorated with a two-handed sword, should also be noted. Stewart (1928, 207), Campbell (1886, 320) and Anderson (1881, 179) mention the presence of a church inside the burial ground from the fourteenth century. Stewart (1928, 207–208) further argues that the niche situated in the inner part of the burial ground's eastern wall (Fig. 23), was originally part of the church wall; however, this could not yet be verified. Excavations carried out by the *Early Christian landscape of Glen Lyon* project showed very little evidence of stratigraphy in a trench opened just outside this wall (Busset, Maldonado, Kasten and McCreadie 2020, 7–8). However, a large rectangular feature on the north-eastern corner appears to be built underneath the burial ground wall, seemingly pre-dating it. This could be evidence for the presence of an earlier structure, but further investigation is required (Fig. 24). The iron hand bell was probably kept in that niche until it was moved to its current location at Innerwick Church, 2km east of Cladh Bhranno (Fig. 25).

Fig. 23 Niche situated on the inside of the east wall in Cladh Bhranno burial ground. This niche would have housed Cladh Bhranno iron hand bell before it was moved to Innerwick chapel. Photograph: A. Busset

Fig. 24 Cladh Bhranno. Projecting feature underneath north-east corner of burial ground wall. Photograph: M. Kasten

Finally, it should also be noted that Cowan (1967, 102) states that the parish in which Cladh Bhranno was located was called *Killinlynar* which was 'known also as Glenlyon or Branboth'. He does not provide any sources for this name, and its earliest attestation is found in a highly dubious account stating that Glenlyon was 'called of old Killinlynar' (Scott 1923, 181). Without further evidence, this name-form must be taken as an anomaly, possibly confusing the parish with Killin to the south.

Fig. 25 Cladh Bhranno iron hand bell, now kept in the chapel of Innerwick. Photograph: A. Busset

Milton Eonan and St Adomnán

Turning to the second area of interest at Cladh Bhranno we return once again to St Adomnán, highlighting his prominence in the glen. Milton Eonan (NN570462), Eilean Eonain (NN573464) and Magh Eódhnain (approx. NN572463) all contain dedications to the saint. Local traditions attach considerable importance to the mill known as Milton Eonan, and it is often presented as the focal point for St Adomnán's presence in the glen along with the church supposedly built by him at Cladh Bhranno. Campbell (1886, 318) recounts how

> Eonan built a church, and preached the Peace-message; and first the men of the glen would listen to him not, but preferred the ways of their fathers. Eonan then built a mill turned by water, and there had been no such mill in the Glen ever before.

He also describes how, according to local folklore, Adomnán was eventually buried at Dull after the people of the glen were instructed to 'place his body on a bier, and run "lunnan"–bearing sticks–through rings of withs[20]–"dullan"–attached to the bier, and then taking him up they should carry him down the water, until a ring of withs–"dul"–broke' (Campbell 1886, 318). He was buried in that spot which was subsequently named 'Dul' (Campbell 1886, 318). Despite the

20. A *with* (n.) is '[a] band, tie, or shackle consisting of a tough flexible twig or branch, or of several twisted together; such a twig or branch, as of willow or osier, used for binding or tying, and sometimes for plaiting' (*OED*).

range of traditions recording this event, it is highly unlikely that they hold any historical accuracy. Campbell's (1886, 320) assertion that Adomnán 'must have had a living personal connection with the place, and done things attributed to him' does not hold true in light of modern hagiotoponymic research.

What, if anything, do these traditions tell us about the early history of this area and its subsequent development? Although the folklore is late, we should not necessarily assume that the association with St Adomnán cannot be early, and perhaps even early medieval. The possible presence of St Adomnán's cult in the glen at a relatively early date due to the influence of Iona has already been mentioned above. Additionally, when comparing the Adomnán place-names between our two study areas, we may argue that the association with St Adomnán at Cladh Bhranno may have pre-dated the traditions found at Craigianie. Several factors point to at least a possible late medieval association of St Adomnán with Cladh Bhranno, considering the 1632 *RMS* charter which gives it as *Mylntoun cum molendino Eonan nuncupato* ('with the mill called Eonan'). It is, however, worth noting that prior forms simply record the name *Mylntoun* without the specific element and it is possible that it was added very close to that date. Additionally, an early date would not mean that Adomnán was buried here or was necessarily ever present in Glen Lyon, despite Campbell's assertion. Rather it may indicate the wider sphere of Iona's influence and ownership of local churches dedicated to St Adomnán in the medieval period. Milton Eonan and Cladh Bhranno are tantalisingly close to each other geographically, particularly considering that Cladh Bhranno is the closest identifiable church site to Milton Eonan. If we consider the possibility that the name Cladh Bhranno stems from a personal name rather than a saint's name, we should also consider that the church may have been dedicated to St Adomnán, which could explain the place-names of the surrounding lands (Eilean Eonain and Magh Eódhnain) containing the name of the saint.

Summary

As already stated, the dedications to St Adomnán found at Craigianie are even more problematic than those at Cladh Bhranno since they appear very late in the sources and several of them are not recorded on any maps. This is perhaps not surprising considering that the names refer to minor features. It may therefore suggest that the association with St Adomnán around Craigianie is a later invention. There is considerable onomastic and archaeological evidence to suggest that Cladh Bhranno was a site of early Christian importance.

However, the evidence for an early association with Adomnán is flimsier. It seems likely that a local association with Adomnán in Glen Lyon would have pre-dated the surviving toponyms containing references to the saint. Notably, at least one of the place-names discussed in this study has early forms of some potential significance onomastically and ecclesiastically (see *annaid* above). However, ultimately it is clear that the sites at Craigianie and Cladh Bhranno reflect a process of interpretation and re-interpretation with the purpose of making sense of, and attaching significance to, the landscape.

Fig. 26 Hail and snow rushing through the glen from the west, leaving all the hills white on a perfectly sunny April afternoon. Photograph: A. Busset

PERSPECTIVES ON ONOMASTIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES IN GLEN LYON

Based on the observations made in relation to both the archaeological and onomastic evidence, we may evaluate the paradigms proposed at the beginning of this article:

1. *The physical landscape*

There can be little doubt that the striking physical landscape of Glen Lyon must have contributed to the emergence of the narratives discussed here. First, the way movement within the glen would have been constrained by the nature of the place, the steep hills restricting northern and southern access to the glen,

the ancient road following the river, the presence of marshes and burns which would have posed several challenges to travellers. The need for protection would have certainly been felt, especially while moving east to Dunkeld or west to Iona, when supernatural forces would have constituted a key element of the journey. Stuck between the rises to the north and the south, the traveller is exposed to the elements which are swift and dangerous: a sunny, breezy day can change into cutting wind, hail and ice within seconds, rendering the path perilous (Fig. 26).

Second, the visual landscape would have shaped the interplay between inhabitants or travellers and their surroundings. This is demonstrated by the locations chosen by successive people to create focal points for devotional practices: Tom a' Mhóid, on which St Adamnan's Cross is located, is probably natural but provided an elevated visible point in the landscape, especially when viewed from Balnahanaid or from the old road south of the river. Or higher still is the rocky outcrop, originally known as Craigianie, where the footprint Caslorg Pheallaidh and the platform are situated, with their magical properties. The commanding view of the glen from that location seems in itself to justify the legends associated with it; whether the 'footprint' is an entirely natural feature or has been enhanced by human intervention matters little. Thus, visual physical markers may prompt the creation of certain beliefs and narratives surrounding the sites in question. In particular, it seems likely that this has influenced the emergence of traditions surrounding Caslorg Pheallaidh and the cup-marked rock associated with Adomnán. We may conclude that visual markers in the landscape can be key-contributors to the emergence of folk-etymologies.

This is potentially part of a transformative place in that landscape, situated at the boundary between the natural and the supernatural, the terrestrial and the magical. It delivers a warning, as the slope to the north possibly has a mythical association, but it also provides protection to the people assembling there. This liminality is embodied by the physical landscape, but also by the names which are given to it.

Finally, the interconnections of time and place through the human experience of the landscape has been a central theme discussed here. Different time periods are embedded within the glen, represented by archaeological features which keep being used and reused and engaged with by their successive audiences, who give them names and meanings and power. These

are all connected by a visually striking landscape, which connects past, present and future in an ever-renewed palimpsest.

2. *Analogical re-formation*
This has likely at least partially contributed to the emergence of several of the folk-etymologies discussed here. In linguistic onomastics this is perhaps the most frequently mentioned explanation for the emergence of folk-etymologies, and it has undoubtedly contributed to the narratives and interpretations surrounding several of the place-names discussed here, including Craigianie. However, it should be noted that examples of this are often found in conjunction with one or several of the other paradigms (see for instance the footprint as a visible prompt), and it is important to note that they seldom (if ever) emerge in a linguistic vacuum.

3. *The wider context*
Our investigation has also revealed the importance of considering the wider context in an area abundant in folklore and myths. In particular, we have demonstrated that Fortingall and Atholl more broadly is an area rich in existing traditions associated with saints such as Adomnán and mythological themes associated with the *fianna*. Existing traditions may then prompt the creation of new associations and re-interpretations.

4. *A strategically important place*
The importance of the glen as a routeway is a recurring theme here, while being the most direct connection between Dunkeld in the east and Iona in the west, it may also have been a path specifically connected to pilgrimage. This may have been established in the ninth century when parts of the relics of St Columba were brought to Dunkeld from Iona. The presence of no less than three iron hand bells, as well as several ecclesiastical sites seemingly connected with early saints appear to support this interpretation.

Ultimately, most of these sites are likely to reflect a combination of one or more of these paradigms. For instance, in the case of Caslorg Pheallaidh it may be a combination of the physical footprint, existing stories of the Peallaidh (especially associated with Aberfeldy) and analogical re-formation when connecting the name with St Palladius. To return to the characteristics of hagiotoponyms discussed above, we may argue that if users of the name did indeed believe that it was Palladius who was commemorated here, this interpretation is also a valid one, representing one of the many ways in which

saints' dedications emerge.[21] This interface between myths and saints is an area which remains relatively unexplored in Scotland and should be addressed in future studies.

Conclusions

This article has posited two key questions: how do the sites in Glen Lyon investigated here and the beliefs associated with them develop over time? And by approaching sites and place-names as palimpsests, what do we learn about their successive audiences? Undoubtedly, to fully answer these questions a more exhaustive survey of both the glen and the surrounding landscape would be necessary since our investigation has only partially highlighted the importance of considering the wider landscape of beliefs and patterns of dedications. Having considered both the archaeological and onomastic material, we shall attempt to outline some of the processes by which places of belief in Glen Lyon have emerged during different time-periods.

Expressions of belief in the glen

Glen Lyon is a complex onomastic and archaeological landscape; many of the local traditions associated with these sites paint a contradictory and often confusing picture. We may never be able to fully trace their origins and the precise relationship they have to each other, but they do reflect a number of palimpsests, covering several different but overlapping, areas, which all combine to reflect a landscape to which considerable importance is attached. Onomastically, it demonstrates that we should not dismiss folklore and folk-etymologies as unreliable and unscientific since they can tell us just as much about people's relationship(s) with place as traditional onomastic approaches, albeit with different chronological emphasis.

The contributions in this volume highlight that place-names can fulfil fundamentally different functions (see Introduction to this issue). This is undoubtedly the case in Glen Lyon. The place-names in this area demonstrate that they do not only have a descriptive function. Rather, they are inherently dynamic and are representative both of changes in the landscape and people's fluid relationship with their onomasticon. By using this approach when studying both place-names and archaeology we are able to trace the very

21. See Clancy (2010a) for further discussion on the evolution of saints' cults in medieval Scotland.

different functions of place-names and places more generally. It especially allows us to understand the role of place-names as symbols of cultural memory.

Creating a timeline

As noted in our introduction, much of what survives in our study area reveals more about how people from the late medieval period onwards viewed what they perceived to be an ancient landscape of belief than those from the early medieval period. However, we may be able to propose an approximate timeline for the places and place-names discussed here. Some of our sites do appear to reflect early, sometimes prehistoric, human use, as demonstrated by the presence of possible cup-marked stones and a possible (destroyed) stone circle. Furthermore, a strong prehistoric presence is recorded at the entrance of the glen, in the Bridge of Lyon, as evidenced by the presence of a long barrow, tumulus, standing stones, and a cup-marked boulder, and several stone circles are recorded further east, between Fortingall and Dull.

The evidence for early medieval activities is complex and sometimes disconnected from its original context. This includes cross-incised stones such as Adamnan's Cross, the ensemble of iron hand bells, and the presence of possible *bullaun* stones or fonts at early church sites, but also possibly some of our place-name elements such as *annat* (but as discussed above, this is problematic). The place-names directly associated with Adomnán are not necessarily early medieval coinings, as has sometimes been assumed, and are perhaps more likely to indicate the activities in and engagement with the landscape in the later medieval or early modern periods. For instance, we have discussed the use of the site at Craigianie by the MacGregors in the later medieval period, which the 'footprint' may be connected to. Despite its inherently engaging nature, it must be assumed that the folklore associated with these sites primarily reflects later time-period(s) rather than providing an ancient relic of Adomnán's activities in Glen Lyon.

The joint dialogue resulting from this collaboration has been particularly productive in highlighting what we do not know about these sites. It is evident that both fields have relied on each other to try to create a narrative of the history of Glen Lyon, sometimes with problematic outcomes. For example, in the Craigianie area it is apparent that archaeologists and historians have sometimes relied on the onomastic evidence (particularly the presence of the element *annat*) to support an early date for the site. Similarly, onomasticians may turn to archaeology to support this interpretation, when in reality the

evidence is too complex and ambiguous to provide any firm dating. This demonstrates the importance of continued dialogues between the two disciplines and highlighting these issues can be instrumental in driving research forward.

Analysed separately, each site and feature discussed here seems to present at best circumstantial evidence for early medieval activities; however, woven together, the picture that emerges is one of a complex sequence of activities, use and re-use of different sites at different periods, from the early medieval to the early modern period, which are all crystallised in the local folklore and traditions recorded throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It may not be possible to discern the history from the myths, yet the landscape in which these features are planted creates the tapestry in which activities, beliefs and rituals can take root and flourish through the engagement of its local and travelling audience.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: The authors would like to express their gratitude to the editors Sarah Künzler and Simon Taylor for their invitation to participate in this volume, and for their support throughout this process. Our heartfelt thanks go to Rachel Opitz, Megan Kasten, Adrián Maldonado, Neil Hooper, and the two anonymous reviewers for their most helpful suggestions and comments; and to the Fortingall Roots and Judith and Rab Potter at the Meggernie Centre in Glen Lyon.

APPENDICES

As far as possible, each place-name entry is presented in the appendix according to the current standards of The Survey of Scottish Place-Names.[22] In addition to a detailed investigation of the place-names according to the principles discussed below (see theoretical considerations), the appendix also uses more traditional methods for place-name surveys, including any early forms and descriptions in relevant source-material. Head-entries have been compiled using a combination of the OS 6-inch 1st edn maps, documentary sources and complementary archaeological material. The majority of the place-names discussed were originally coined in Scottish Gaelic. Scots place-names may reflect later coinings, but in some instances originally Gaelic forms appear to

22. For instance, Taylor with Márkus (2006–2012).

have been translated into Scots or Scottish Standard English (see for example various forms for Caslorg Pheallaidh).

APPENDIX 1: *Balnahanaid and Craigianie*

BALNAHANAID FTL, WEE S NN623471 1 190m
Balvahannord 1583-1614 Pont texts
Bulnahainage 1770 Cameron
Balnahainagie 1783 Stobie
Balnahanaid 1861/1867 OS 6-inch 1st edn

G *baile* + G *an* + G *annaid* 'The farm of the (mother) church' (Taylor SSPN data (Perthshire))

The name refers to a farmstead on which the ancient burial ground is located (Watson 2002 [1939], 204).

Traditions

Campbell (1886, 319): 'There was an "annait" or relic chapel at Balnahannait'.

Watson (1926, 251–2): 'wherever there is an Annat there are traces of an ancient chapel or cemetery, or both [...] Another *Baile na h-Annaide* is in Glen Lyon, below Bridge of Balgie; here too there is an ancient burial-place'.

Stewart (1928, 24): 'and at Balnahanait, the farm to the west of it [Roromore], there was at one time a church and a churchyard. On Roroyare, the farthest west farm of the Toiseachd, there is a large *sithean*, or fairy mound, where in more superstitious ages unbaptised children were buried'.

CASLORG PHEALLAIDH FTL AO NN626476 1 210m
caslorg Pheallaidh 1939 Watson

G *cas* + G *lorg* + pn Peallaidh 'The Footmark of Peallaidh'
The footprint is located on a small elevation west of Craigianie. It is recorded by Forbes (1872, 266) as 'the Footmark of S. Eonan'.

Traditions

Campbell (1886, 319): 'On the top of this rock where the judge sat, there is what is called the footmark of Peallaidh, or St. Palladius, who was sent from Rome to convert the Irish in 432, but who, not being well received in the neighbouring isle, came to the land of the Picts where he died'.

Forbes (1872, 266): 'a natural fissure in the rock called the Footmark of S. Eonan'.

Stewart (1928, 24): 'Here on the rock is to be seen a footmark, said to be that of St. Palladius'.

Watson (2002 [1939], 204): 'On the rock which gives the farmhouse its name there is a mark which looks like the mark of a man's foot, ascribed by tradition ùruisg or water-demon Peallaidh, and called "caslorg Pheallaidh", Peallaidh was king of all the numerous uruisgs of this region and of Breadalban [...] The water-demon [Peallaidh] has of course been equated with St Palladius, a proceeding which the saint would hardly regard as a compliment'.

CRAIGIANIE FTL S NN627476 1 210m

Crageny 1502 *RMS* ii no. 2668
Craigena 1620 *RMS* viii no. 33
Craigena 1632 *RMS* viii no. 2011
Craig...nich 1783 Stobie
Craigance 1861/1867 OS 6-inch 1st edn

G *creag* + G *ianaigh* (gen. of *ianach*) 'The rock of fowling or hunting birds' (see Watson 2002 [1939], 204)

The name now refers to a farmstead, but it appears to originally have denoted the rock on which Caslorg Pheallaidh is located (Watson (2002 [1939], 204). It is recorded by Robertson (2019 [c. 1892-1916], 288) as 'Craigiane Creig Fhiannaidh *Craig Ianaidh* [B]; *Creig-iannaidh Craig ianaidh* [C]'.

Traditions

Campbell (1886, 5–6; 319): 'As the plague extended up the glen, St. Eonan's people, despairing of all human rescue, bethought themselves of the spiritual aid of their pastor, whose good help they importuned in the following lines:

Eonan nan gruidhean dearg
Eirich, is caisg plaigh do shluaigh;
Saor sinne bho'n Bhas
Is na leig orinn e nios no'n nuas.
Eonan of the ruddy cheeks, rise and check the plague of thy people. Save us from the death, and let it not come upon us east or west
[…]
The rock on which he prayed and preached in that dreadful crisis is called Craig-dianaidh – i.e., "rock of safety"'.

Campbell (1886, 319): 'the country people always call this rock Craig-fhiannaidh, that is the "Rock of the Feinne," which conforms quite as well to the undoubted fact that it was a place on which judicial and other solemn meetings were held in very ancient times, and continued to be held until about 1480, or some years later when Stewart of Garth and the Clan Iver quarrelled and fought as related by General Stewart'.

Forbes (1872, 266): 'farther down the glen there is Craig-Euny, Market-Euny'.

Stewart (1928, 24): 'On the north side of the river is Craigianie, which may mean either Craig Fhianaidh, the rock of the Feinne, or Craig Dianaidh, the rock of defence. Whatever its etymology, it was at one time used as a motehill where criminals were sentenced and perhaps also received punishment, and even the death penalty'.

Watson (1926, 271): 'How Adamnan stayed a great plague is still told in Glen Lyon, and the spot where he planted his crozier, thus setting a limit to the plague, is pointed out at Craigianie. Near this spot, on the south side of the public road, is a small upright slab with a cross on either side, one of them very small; the knoll on which the cross stands is *Tom a' Mhóid* "the moot-knoll"'.

Watson (2002 [1939], 204): 'Craigianie, Crageny, 1502, is in Gaelic Craig Ianaigh, also Craig Fhiannaidh, with supposed reference to the Fianna. The former is more likely to be correct: *ianaigh* is probably the old genitive of *ianach* (i.e. *eunach*), the act of fowling or hunting birds'.

Other traditions

Barnett (1924, 66–7): 'we remember that, long years after his coming, St Eonan stayed the plague which crept stealthily up the Glen from Fortingal […] so the kindly Saint gathered them on the Rock of Safety and calmed their fears by preaching to them the peace of Christ […] Then he himself

went and tended the sick, and the plague was stayed. Lay your hand on this ancient stone of the cross, which is all that is left, probably of a still older cross, and while you are thanking God for every medical missionary of ancient or modern times, who has not been afraid to pass his time among wounded or dying folks – take 127 steps farther up the road, and there, on the right hand-side, among the grass and summer flowers, you will find a rough flat stone lying with a deep hole in it. Here, tradition tells us, Eonan fixed his crucifix when he stayed the plague'.

Stewart (1928, 24): 'A little farther along [from St Adamnan's Cross] is a big round stone with a hole through it, and it has excited the wonder of antiquarians for some generations. It is almost hidden in a tangle of briar bushes, and the passer by may easily miss it. The local tradition of the origin of the hole is that when Eonan interceded for the Glenlyon people, he prayed that the plague should enter the stone, and the hole marks the miracle that was accomplished'.

Watson (2002 [1939], 204): 'A few yards from this, but on the other side of the road, is a stone pierced by a round hole. This hole was made by St Adamnan's crozier when he stayed the plague in Glen Lyon from advancing beyond that spot'.

RUIGHE PHEALLAIDH FTL R NN629482 1 510m
Ruigh Pheallaidh 1939 Watson

G *ruighe* + pn Peallaidh 'The slope of Peallaidh'

A hillside slope north of Craigianie which is recorded on the modern OS map, but not on the OS 6-inch 1st edn.

Traditions

Watson (2002 [1939], 204): 'A stretch of the hill above Camas-bhrachdain, west of Craigianie, is called Ruigh Pheallaidh, Peallaidh's reach or slope'.

ST ADAMNAN'S CROSS FTL AE NN625476 1 200m
St Eonan's cross 1886 Campbell

pn St Adomnán + Sc *cross* 'St Adomnán's cross'

At the top of the knoll, located on the roadside west of Craigianie, is a small standing stone on which two crosses have been incised on each flat face. The north face, facing the road, bears a cross which takes the whole width. It looks like it may have been intended originally as a cross carved in relief, which may have broken, and then incised only. There is also a small incised cross on the south face. That small cross is almost invisible to the eye today, but thanks to a photogrammetry model made by Dr Megan Kasten (University of Glasgow), it is possible to discern it (see Fig. 10). It is recorded on the modern OS map, but not on the OS 6-inch 1st edn.

Traditions

Campbell (1886, 319): 'St Eonan's cross, which marked the spot where he stopped, or was supposed to have stopped the plague, is a little to the west of the rock by the roadside. Some fanatic broke off the arms and top of it, probably at the time of the covenant; but on the broken shaft a rude figure of a cross was incised by some one who cherished old traditions'.

Barnett (1924, 66): 'Standing here to-day by this rude stone on which is incised a simple cross, we remember that, long years after his coming, St Eonan stayed the plague'.

Stewart (1928, 24): 'At the road-side, a little farther west, is a stone cross, said to have been erected to mark the deliverance of the Glenlyon people from the great plague This is supposed to have been brought about by the intercession of Eonan, but it may equally well have been the result of the sanitary precautions that he took to prevent its spread'.

TOM A' MHÓID FTL R NN625476 1 200m
Tom a' Mhóid 1926 Watson

G *tom* + G *an* + G *mòd* 'The assembly hill'

This is the hill on which St Adamnan's Cross stands (Watson 1926, 271). Watson (2002 [1939], 204) also states that the hollow beneath the stone is Lag a' Mhòid.

APPENDIX 2: *Cladh Bhranno*

***BAILE NA H-EAGLAIS** FTL S NN581467 (approx.) 1 200m
Balna-heglis 1583–1614 Pont texts

Bale naHeglis 1654 Blaeu
Balnehoclas 1770 Cameron
Balnehoclas 1873 Stobie

G *baile* + G an + G *eaglais* 'The farm of the church'
See Cladh Bhranno below.

CLADH BHRANNO FTL AE NN581467 1 200m
capella de branboth 1214 x 1229 *St A. Lib.*, 295–6
de le Brandvoy 1502 *RMS* 2, 567
the kirk of Brennow 1583–1614 Pont texts
kirk of Brennow 1700s Macfarlane (d. 1767)
de Beandroy 1620 *RMS* 8, 11
de Beandroy 1632 *RMS* 8, 685

G *cladh* + pn Branubh 'The burial ground of Branubh' or ? + G *both*
Taylor (SSPN data (Perthshire)) has compiled an excellent overview of this name, particularly its early forms. Watson (1926, 312) writes that 'Cladh Bhranno is an ancient graveyard on the south side of the river a little way below Bridge of Balgie where there was once a church or chapel, the font of which is still there, while the bell is in the custody of the Minister of Glen Lyon [...] I have taken the second part to be Branbhoth, genitive of Branubh [...] The Rev. C. M. Robertson, who served for some time in the district, gave it to me as Bràinibh or Brèanaibh, with long vowel; but as I heard it pronounced in Gaelic the vowel was short'. Taylor (1996, 96–8; 105) suggests that the name may contain *both* which has been used in an ecclesiastical context to refer to a hut or bothy.

Traditions
Campbell (1886, 320): 'We may accept the tradition without hesitation that it was St. Eonan or Adamnan, who, in his years of exile from the Monastery of Iona, built the Chapel of "Branboth" Breanvo, or, as it is now called, "Brennudh," near the Bridge of Balgie [...] The traditions about him remained so vividly clear and strong, notwithstanding many ways of rehearsing them in detail, that he must have had a living personal connection with the place, and done things attributed to him, such as the building of the chapel on the rising ground called still "Druim-na-h-eaglais," just where the farm-house of Kerrumore now stands, and putting

a mill on the stream of the neighbouring side-glen at Milton Eonan. It is supposed that he dedicated his chapel to St. Brandan of voyaging and travelling fame, but this is a little doubtful [...] The Chapel of Branboth was removed from Duim-na-h-eaglais to the present churchyard by Black John after 1368'.

EILEAN EONAIN FTL I NN573464 1 210m
Eilean Iainan 1861/1867 OS 6-inch 1st edn

G *eilean* + pn Eódhnan 'The island of Adomnán'

MAGH EÓDHNAIN FTL V NN572463 2 215m
Magh Eódhnain 1926 Watson

G *magh* + pn Eódhnan 'The plain of Adomnán'

This name is does not survive on any maps, but is given by Watson (1926, 270) as: '*Muileann Eódhnain*, "Adamnan's mill," and *Magh Eódhnain*, his plain, are near Bridge of Balgie in Glen Lyon'.

MILTON EONAN FTL S NN570462 1 220m
Mylyoun 1502 *RMS* ii no. 2668
?*Balemoulin* 1583-1614 Pont texts
Miltoun 1620 *RMS* viii no. 33
Mylntoun cum molendino Eonan nuncupato 1632 *RMS* viii no. 2011
Mulinconan 1770 Cameron
Mulinconan 1783 Stobie
Bail a' Mhuilinn Iainan 1861/1867 OS 6-inch 1st edn
Mullinconan 1862 Bartholomew

G *muileann* + pn Eódhnan 'The mill of Adomnán'

Traditions
Campbell (1886, 318): 'Eonan then built a mill turned by water, and there had been no such mill in the Glen ever before'.

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