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CAISEAL, CATHAIR, DÙN, LIOS AND RÀTH IN SCOTLAND, I

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Dùn

Of the five elements to be discussed here, dùn is by far the commonest, occurring wherever Gaelic is, or has been spoken in Scotland. The following rough estimate of its occurrence, by counties, based on the card-index of names appearing on the OS lin. sheets compiled and held by the Place-Name Survey of the School of Scottish Studies, will give some idea of its distribution. Aberdeen (17), Angus (14), Argyll (153), Ayr (13), Banff (7), Berwick (4), Bute (5), Caithness (3), Clackmannan (0), Dumbarton (11), Dumfries (16), East Lothian (6), Fife (13), Inverness (144), Kincardine (5), Kinross (1), Kirkcudbright (28), Lanark (9), Midlothian (1), Moray (8), Nairn (4), Peebles (2), Perth (49), Renfrew (5), Ross (42), Roxburgh (2), Selkirk (0), Stirling (18), Sutherland (9), West Lothian (2), Wigtown (16). It must be remembered, however, that none of the individual instances making up these approximate totals has been checked against its historical documentary forms, where these exist. Many of the names are more or less safe: some may prove on investigation not to contain dùn at all. (Some, in areas where English has been long established, may contain Anglo-Saxon dūn, "hill"). Nevertheless, these figures probably afford some idea of the extent of Gaelic-speaking settlement, or at least of Gaelic linguistic influence, both spatially and chronologically, throughout the country. (Though the totals include sites called "duns" by Scottish archaeologists, appearing as such on the OS maps, it is likely that in many, if not in most cases in present or recent Gaelic-speaking areas, the local names of the features in question have [or had] dùn as their generic. Most of these designations do, in fact, occur in such areas - in Sutherland, Inverness, Ross and Argyll).

In the discussion that follows, individual names are followed, wherever possible, by the parish(es) and county or counties in which they occur, in that order in brackets.

S of the Forth-Clyde isthmus in the main, where Cumbric British was the major language at the beginning of the historical period and, in some areas (especially Strathclyde), probably an important if not dominant element in the linguistic make-up of the local populations for long after, modern (and medieval) dun- must sometimes have replaced British din(as). The Gaelic for Edinburgh is Dùn-éideann, for earlier Din Eidyn, Dinas Eidyn: the meaning of the qualifying element is uncertain; but there are also Duneaton (Crawfordjohn, Lanark) and an obsolete Dunedin in Lauderdale, both of which may represent the same name (Watson 1926, 340-1). Dunpelder, the old name of Traprain Law in E. Lothian, has as its qualifying element British pelydr, "spear-shafts": Drumpellier, near Glasgow, is the same name in origin (Watson 1926, 345, 372). Din itself appears in Din Fell on Hermitage Water; Dinmont ("fort-hill"); Dinwoody or Dinwiddie (in Applegarth, Dumfries and in Ettleton, Roxburgh: the latter is Dunwedy 1504); Dinley on Hermitage Water; and Dinlabyre in Liddesdale (-le, "place of"): while dinas or dinis occurs in Cairndinnis, near Traprain Law; Tinnis or Tennis, near Yarrow Church; Tinnis Burn, a tributary of Liddel; and Tennis Castle, Drummelzier - there being forts, apparently, near all these places (Watson 1926, 372). The change of *d-* to *t-* is seen also in Tintern for Din Dirn and in Tintagel (ibid.). In Loudun, a hill-name, the older Celtic word-order may have survived, if it is older British *Lugudūnon, "fort of (the god) Lugus" (Watson 1926, 199). For the linguistic processes that eventually produced Late British *dīn from Common Celtic *dūno-, see Jackson 1953, 317-21.

Dùn and druim have sometimes become confused: Dunpelder near Glasgow is now Drumpellier (above); and Dunmedler is now Drummelzier, Peebles. But in Dumfries, there are two parallel

forms from the earliest records on: one with dùn and the other with (probably) Gaelic dronn, "hump, bent back", cognate with druim - the names originally of two neighbouring places. Watson derives the qualifying element from preas, "copse", a P-Celtic borrowing. (See Watson 1926, 419-20, 421-2). Watson (1926, 15) has, it seems, Drumbretton, "ridge of the Britons", for the name which appears on the OS lin. map as Dumbretton (Annan, Dumfries). Dunvornie (Urquart, Ross) is in Gaelic Dunbhoirinidh; but Drumwarny 1456, Drumwerny 1458, Drumworny 1507: "'drum' and 'dun' frequently interchange, in some cases at least because there was both a drum or ridge, and a dun or fort, and this is the case with Dunvornie" (Watson 1904, 115-6).

Dalmeny in W. Lothian has, as its older record forms show, dùn (perhaps gaelicized din) as its generic. There was, in Watson's day at least, no *-l-* in the local pronunciation. The qualifying element is of uncertain meaning (Watson 1926, 104). Duneaves (Fortingall, Perth) is in modern Gaelic Tigh-neimh' (for tigh-neimhidh), "house of the neimed", the English plural ending arising from the fact that there are two farms, Duneaves itself and Tynayere (Tigh-neimh' Ghearr, "short [little] Duneaves") (Watson 1926, 247-8).

In areas where dùn by itself has a well-established anglicized form, qualifying elements may have been lost on a significant scale, especially after Gaelic became extinct locally and its toponymy largely ceased to be understood. Such might be the case with names like Dun (Dun, Angus); Duns (Duns, Berwick); Hill of Dun (Old Kilpatrick, Dumbarton); Shancastle Doon (Glencairn, Dumfries); The Doon (in Borgue and in Twynholm, Kirkcudbright and in Kilmory, Bute); the common Doon (in Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, Ayr, E. Lothian, Moray); The Doons (Kirkpatrick Irongray, Kirkcudbright); Doons (Penpont, Dumfries) and Doons Law (Whitsome, Berwick); Doun Castle (Udny, Aberdeen); the common Doune (in Perth, Angus, Banff, Nairn, Inverness, Dumbarton, Ayr); and Down Law (?) (Roxburgh, Roxburgh). (All these are taken from the OS lin. maps, via the index of the Place-Name Survey, School of Scottish Studies: as, indeed, are all names mentioned hereinafter where no specific references are given). It is more difficult to decide whether or not names of the type Doon of Castramont and Doon of Culreoch (Girthon, Kirkcudbright), Doon of May (Mochrum, Wigtown), Doon of Urr (Kirkpatrick Durham, Kirkcudbright), Doon of Waterhead (Straiton, Ayr) and Doune of Relugas (Edinkillie, Moray), are influenced by earlier Gaelic (or P-Celtic) name-formations. Names like Mote of Doon (Kirkpatrick Durham, Kirkcudbright), Mote of Mark, may perhaps be compared. Tynron Doon (Tynron, Dumfries) is that - not Doon of Tynron. It seems quite likely that dùn was borrowed into a number of English (Scots) successor dialects (see further below: Alexander 1952, 50).

The same phenomenon would also have occurred, though by no means necessarily, when the qualifying element became quite irrelevant to the local circumstances of a given time and its significance was forgotten, or where a dùn had been long abandoned. An Dùn is not uncommon in areas now or recently Gaelic-speaking: in Inverness, Sutherland, Perth, Ross, Argyll and Caithness. Compare (An) Sean Dùn (in Kilninian and Kilmore and in Lismore and Appin, Argyll); Shandon (in Drymen, Stirling and in Rhu, Dumbarton). And some simple and purely descriptive qualifying elements of the kinds described below could have replaced older elements denoting ownership, actual or imaginary, function, or other real or believed relationship to the locality. These processes could have happened within one language, or during a change of language. No doubt new qualifying elements can be gradually adopted and old ones progressively abandoned, at any time during the creative life of the generic - which may also be used by itself.

Most qualifying elements probably are (or were) straightforward enough. The frequent Dùn Mòr (in Argyll, Perth, Inverness and Ross) and Dunmore (in Stirling, Fife, Perth and Argyll); Dùn Beag (in Inverness and Argyll) and Dunbeg (in Kirkcudbright and Argyll); Dunard (Logierait, Perth); Dùn Leathan (Kilninian and Kilmore, Argyll) are self-explanatory. Even such simple

names, however, may be ancient: an obsolete Dùn Mòr in Iona is mentioned by Adamnán as Munitio Magna in his Life of Columba (Watson 1926, 92: assuming that this is what Watson means). Colours are fairly frequent: Dùn Bàn (several in Argyll and Inverness), probably Dumbain (Bonhill, Dumbarton); Dùn Breac (Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Argyll) and Dumbreck (in Aberdeen, Stirling and Lanark); Dùn Buidhe (S. Uist, Inverness) and Dunbuy (Cruden, Aberdeen); Dundarg (Aberdour, Aberdeen), Dùn Dearg (Kilmuir, Inverness) and Dunjarg (Crossmichael, Kirkcudbright); Dùn Dubh (in Argyll and Inverness), Dunduff (in Perth, Fife, Lanark, Ayr and Dumfries: unless sometimes for Dùn Duibh, "Dubh's fort"?) and Dounduff (Edinkillie, Moray); Dumfin (Luss, Dumbarton: "white fort" or "Finn's fort"? Cf. Dùn Fhinn, Kildalton and Oa, Argyll); Dunglas (Southend, Argyll), Dùn Glas (Kilchoman, Argyll) and Dunglass (in Ross, E. Lothian, Stirling and Berwick); an Dùn Geal, near Fortingall, Perth (Watson 1926, 69); Dùn Liath (in Kilmuir and in Strath, Inverness). Sometimes the condition, nature, or, possibly, shape of the site is described: Dundurn (Comrie, Perth), Dùn Dùirn, "fort of the fist" (dorn), an important Early Christian stronghold: cf. Dùn Dà Làmh "fort of two hands", in Laggan, Inverness and Hill of Durn, "with remains of an old fortification", near Portsoy, Banff (Watson 1926, 488); Dunsappie, Edinburgh, "fort of the place of wisps" or "tufts of grass" (sopach), the interior still being, in Watson's day at least, full of rank grass (Watson 1926, 144-5); Dùn Briste (Barra, Inverness); Dùn Chlach (in Duirinish and in Harris, Inverness: clach, "stone"); Dùn Corrach (Kilchrenan and Dalavich, Argyll: probably corrach, "steep, precipitous"); Duncow (Kirkmahoe, Dumfries), older Duncoll, "fort of hazels" (coll) (Watson 1926, 183, 422); Dùn Garbh (Dores, Inverness). Animal associations occur: Dumbrock (Strathblane, Stirling: if broc, "badger"); Dumbuck (Old Kilpatrick, Dumbarton: boc, "buck"?); Dunamuck (Kilmichael Glassary, Argyll); Dùn nam Muc (Aberfoyle, Perth); Dunmuck (Colvend and Southwick, Kirkcudbright); Dùn an Fhithich (Kildalton and Oa, Argyll); Dundaff (St. Ninians, Stirling) and Dùn Dhamh (Buchanan, Stirling), possibly damh; Dùn nan Aighean (Kilchoman, Argyll: agh, "hind").

Dun- names are also qualified by reference to an associated feature of the landscape, natural or artificial, or to geographical location, absolute or relative. At the E end of Loch Awe is Dùn Abhach, "Awe fort" (Watson 1926, 75). Dunadd (Kilmichael Glassary, Argyll), probably a royal fortress of Scottish Dalriata, is presumably named from the river Add (see Watson 1926, 45, 395). Dùn Alaisgaig (Edderton, Ross) is, according to Watson (1904, 30-1, 275) "fort of Ali's Strip," O.N. Ali-skiki. Dùn-chroisg, Duncroisk (Killin, Perth), in Glen Lochay, at the mouth of Làirig Bhreislich, is "fort of the crossing" (Watson 1926, 486), Duntocher (Old Kilpatrick, Dumbarton) is "causeway-fort" - tóchar, "causeway, road": it is near the W end of the Antonine Wall, at the site of a Roman fort, which is presumably the dùn in question - the tóchar being a Roman road (Watson 1926, 486). Dunesslin (Dunscore, Dumfries) is "fort of the fall-pool" (Watson 1926, 183). Dundas (Dalmeny, W. Lothian) may be Dùn deas, "south fort": cf. Rahoy, "north rath" (below); and Duntarvie (Abercorn, W. Lothian) is Dùn tarbhaidh, meaning something like "fort of bull-place" (Watson 1926, 147). Dundreich (Eddleston, Peebles) is "fort of the hill-face" (Watson 1926, 140). Dunira (Comrie, Perth) is Dùn-iaráth, "fort of west-ford", on the Earn (Watson 1926, 478). Dunoon (Dunoon and Kilmun, Argyll) is in Gaelic Dùn Obhainn and Dùn Othainn, earlier documentary forms being Dunhoven, Dunhovyn etc. The site of the old fort is an eminence beside a stream and Dùn Obhainn is probably for an older Dùn Obhann, "fort of the river". The same name occurs in Stirlingshire as Denovan on the Carron, 1510 Dunnovane (Watson 1926, 508, 522). Dunnottar (Dunnottar, Kincardine) seems to be Dun-fother "fort of the slopes": obsessio Dúin-foither (AU 681); obsessio Dúin-fother (AU 694) etc.: cf. modern Gaelic faithir, faithear, foithear, fothair, "slope, terraced declivity" (?) (Watson 1926, 510-11, 509). There is also Dunotter (Newburn, Fife), which may or may not be related. The rocky peninsula at the

SE end of Loch Tummel is Dùn Teamhalach, "Tummel fort" - Duncaveloch 1473 (read -taveloch), Duntawlich 1630: anglicized Duntanlich (Dull, Perth): there were no remains of a fort that Watson could see, but "the place would be easily defended by a stockade across the neck of the peninsula" (Watson 1926, 451). Dùn Turcaid, Dunturket in Stratherrick, is "fort of boar-place" (Watson 1926, 444), though, again, Watson could find no fort there. There are also Dùn a' Chaolais (Barra, Inverness); Dùn an Achaidh (Coll, Argyll); Dùn an Ruigh Ruaidh (Lochbroom, Ross), "fort of the red slope", going with an Ruigh Ruadh - Rhiroy (Watson 1904, 251); Dùn an t-Sithein (Tiree, Argyll); Dùn an t-Sléibh (Barra, Inverness); Dunballoch (Kirkhill, Inverness: if bealach); Dun Carloway (Uig, Ross); Dùn Ceann a' Bhàigh (Tiree, Argyll: bàgh, "bay"); Dùn Coille Struy (Kilmorack, Inverness); Dùn Coire Falaich (Snizort, Inverness); Dùn Colbost (Duirinish, Inverness); Dùn Cuier (Barra, Inverness); Dùn Eorodale (Barvas, Ross); Dùn Flashader (Duirinish, Inverness); Dùn Gerashader (Portree, Inverness); Dùn Grianan (in Kilmuir and in Snizort, Inverness: cf. Greenan Castle, Maybole, Ayr, "for grianán, sunny knoll": Watson 1926, 200); Dùn-gobhal (Logie Easter, Ross), "fork-fort": the fork is formed by two deep ravines (Watson 1904, 61): Dungavel (in Avondale and in Wiston and Roberton, Lanark) is possibly to be compared; Dùn Grogary (N. Uist, Inverness); Dùn Leacainn (Inveraray, Argyll: leacann, "slope, hillside"); Dùn Mara (Barvas, Ross); Dùn Meadhonach (Colonsay and Oronsay, Argyll: meadhonach, "middle"); Dùn Merkadale (Bracadale, Inverness); Dùn Mingulay (Barra, Inverness); Dùn na Lagaidh (Lochbroom, Ross), at an Lagaidh - Logie - "the place of the hollow" (Watson 1904, 251); Dùn Ormidale (Kilmore and Kilbride, Argyll); Dùn Osdale (Duirinish, Inverness); Dùn Scurrival (Barra, Inverness); Dùn Suledale (Snizort, Inverness); Duntnilm (Kilmuir, Inverness: O.N. holmr, "holm, islet", borrowed into Gaelic as tolm: Watson 1904, 268); Duntuim (Dull, Perth: tom, "round hillock, knoll"). Many of these names seem to have as their qualifying element the name of the district in which they are, often a Norse name. Some names, in fact, more or less clearly incorporate the Norse word borg, "fort": Dùn Bhoraraig (Kilchoman, Argyll) and Dùn Boreraig (in Duirinish and in Strath, Inverness); Dùn Bhuirg (Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Argyll: cf. Dùn-bhuirgh, in Lewis, "a hybrid where dùn is tautological" [Watson 1904, 265]); Dùn Bhorranish (Uig, Ross: O.N. borgar-nes, "fort-promontory": Watson 1904, 269); Dùn Borve (in Barvas, Ross: cf. Watson 1904, 265; and in Duirinish and in Snizort, Inverness); Dùn Raisaburgh (Kilmuir, Inverness); Dùn Skudiburgh (Kilmuir, Inverness). In these cases the dùn and the borg may well be the same: one may compare Dùn Canna (Lochbroom, Ross), "can-fort", on Loch Cainneart (Kanaird), O.N. Kann-fjördr, "can-firth", where the original Norse name describes the shape of the dùn (Watson 1904, 256).

The qualifying element is often a personal name - sometimes, certainly, that of a traditional figure; though, even where the personages thus commemorated may be historical (including saints), usually little or nothing is now known of them. Dunaverty (Southend, Argyll) is Dùn Abhartaigh, "Abhartach's fort", as Roshearty near Fraserburgh, Rossawarty 1508, is "Abhartach's cape". It is probably the place referred to in AU (710): obsessio Aberte apud Selbacum (Watson 1926, 236-7). Dùn Bhalaire, at Ledaig in Lorne, is possibly "Balar's fort", though Watson could see no trace of fortification there: it is near the vitrified fort of Dùn mac Snitheachan (Watson 1926, 64-5). Dunblane (Dunblane and Lecropt, Perth) is Dún Blááin, "(St.) Bláán's fort" (Watson 1926, 164-5): it was probably an important early church; and it was a medieval cathedral church (Cowan and Easson 1976, 47, 204-5). Dundee (Angus) is in Gaelic Dùn Dèagh, which seems to mean "fort of Daig(h)": Daig (gen. Dega), "fire", was not a common Irish name (Watson 1926, 220). There is also Dundee (Marnoch, Banff); but, if it is related, it may be a transferred name here. Dùn Muirgil, otherwise Dùn Meirghil, in Glen Nant, near Taynuilt, Argyll, is probably "Muirgheal's fort" - Muirgheal, "sea-white", being a woman's name (Watson 1926, 238). It may, in

fact, be a saint's name (see further below), though the writer is not aware of any ecclesiastical remains or traditions here. Dunnivaig, near Lagavulin in Islay, the ancient seat of the MacDonalds of Islay, is Dùn Naomháig; Naomhág, earlier Naemóc, being "little saint", as in Cill Mo-Naomhaig, Kilmonivaig, in Lochaber (Watson 1926, 307). Again, the writer is not aware of any more tangible ecclesiastical associations of the site. Dunnichen (Dunnichen, Angus), older Dunnechtyn and Dunnichtin (the latter in 1575) and Dunachton in Badenoch (Alvie, Inverness), are Dùn Neachdáin, "Nechtan's fort" - the former being possibly the scene of the battle of Dùn Nechtain in 685 (AU and Tig.: bellum duin Nechtain, AU 685), where Brude King of the Picts routed the Angles of Northumbria (Watson 1926, 239, 313). Nechtan was a common Pictish name. Dunollie (Kilmore and Kilbride, Argyll), an important early stronghold of Lorne, is mentioned five times in AU: Dúin Ollaig (686), Dúin Onlaigh (698, 701) - all in the genitive case - Dún Ollaigh (714), iuxta arcem Ollaigh (734); and Watson considered that it is the Dún Ollaich maic Briuin of the story Táin Bó Fráich: nuthing is known of the eponymous Onlach or Ollach (mac Briuin) (Watson 1926, 508-9, 522). The old parish church of Cawdor in Nairn was at Barevan, for Barr Éibhinn, probably a commemoration of a female saint Áibind (it would now be Éibhinn or Aoibhinn) of Cluain Draignech (Watson 1926, 271). The old church is at Kirkton of Barevan and nearby is Dun Evan Vitrified Fort (OS 1in. map). The following names also contain, or seem to contain, a personal name: Dumbennan (Huntly, Aberdeen: a medieval parish: Dunbanan 1232, Dunbannane 1534 - stressed on -benn- [Alexander 1952, 266]: cf. Kildavanan, Bute and Kilvannan, Uist [Watson 1926, 301]? If so, apparently a saint's name); Dumcolm (Old Kilpatrick, Dumbarton; but possibly drum-); Dùn Adhamh (Snizort, Inverness); Dunalastair (Fortingall, Perth); Dùn Aonais (N. Uist, Inverness); Dùn Dubhaich (Kilbrandon and Kilchattan, Argyll); Dùn Mhurchaidh (in S. Uist, Inverness and in Ardnamurchan, Argyll); Dùn Cailein (Lismore and Appin, Argyll); Dùn Cholla (Colonsay and Oronsay, Argyll); Dùn Chonnuill (Jura, Argyll); Dùn Chonuill (Lochs, Ross); Dunconnel Hill (Lochwinnoch, Renfrew); Dùn Deardail (Dores, Inverness) and Dùn Deardail (Vitrified Fort) (Kilmallie, Inverness): traditionally Deirdre (Macbain 1922, xvi, 49); Dùn Dhomhnuill (Dull, Perth); Dùn Domhnaill (Colonsay and Oronsay, Argyll); Dundonald (Dundonald, Ayr); Dundonnell (Lochbroom, Ross); Dùn Diarmaid (Bracadale, Inverness); Dundonachie (Little Dunkeld, Perth); Dùn Guaidhre (Killarow and Kilmeny, Argyll); Dunharberry (Girthon, Kirkcudbright: Cairbre?); Dunkenny (Eassie and Nevay, Angus: Cainneach?); Dùn Mhic Leoid (Barra, Inverness); Dunneil (Kilmore and Kilbride, Argyll) and Dùn Néill (Duirinish, Inverness); Dùn Rannill (S. Uist, Inverness); Dùn Scaich (Sleat, Inverness: traditionally Scathach, who trained Cúchulainn in arms: Macbain 1922, 33).

Occasionally, a kindred, probably, or other distinct group is referred to. "Dun fir Volg", for Dùn Fear Bholg, in St. Kilda, is mentioned by Martin in his "Western Isles" and commemorates the Fir Bolg of early Irish tradition (Watson 1926, 64). Dùn Mac Tuathail, a fort on the E end of Drummond Hill, Aberfeldy, Perth, is "fort of the sons of Tuathal"; and Dùn Mac Glais, Dunmaglass, at the head of Strath Nairn, is "fort of the sons of Glas" (Watson 1926, 238). (This is Dunmaglass, Daviot and Dunlichity, Inverness: OS 1in. also has Dunmaglass, Kilmorack, Inverness, which, however, may be a transferred name). Dùn nan Ultach, in Kintyre, is "fort of the Ulstermen": cf., probably, Rathillet in Fife (below) and, certainly, Barnultoch in Wigtownshire (Watson 1926, 239).

Sometimes the individual or group in qualifying position is more anonymous. Dunree (Kirkmichael, Ayr), near Cassillis House (see further below) may be "King's fort" (Watson 1926, 199). Dùn Righ (Kilmartin, Argyll) may be the same. There are Dùn a' Chleirich (Sleat, Inverness) and Duntaggart (Logierait, Perth). Dunagoil (Kingarth, Bute) may be "fort of the foreigner" (gall, gen. sg. goill): cf. ?Dungoil (Fintry, Stirling) and Dùn nan Gall (in

Kilninian and Kilmore and in Tiree, Argyll). Dùn an Iarla (Duirinish, Inverness) seems to be "fort of the earl". Dùn Fhamhair (Kilmorack, Inverness) is apparently "fort of the giant". Dùn nan Ceard (Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Argyll) is "fort of the smiths". Dùn Sgalair (Snizort, Inverness) may be "fort of the squaller". Duntaylor (Dull, Perth) looks like "fort of the taylor" (tàillear).

An interesting group of names, some at least early, may contain old tribal or other ethnic designations, or possibly (in some cases) district names that may be derived from those of older population groups. Dumbarton, Dùn Breatann, "fort of the Britons", was the royal seat of the British Kingdom of Strathclyde (Watson 1926, 15), presumably throughout most of the history of that kingdom before its political extinction in the early 11th century. As, surely, with most names of this type, it was not given by the occupants themselves (the British called the place Alclut, "rock of Clyde": Watson 1926, 33), but by neighbours. Dunkeld (Dunkeld and Dowally, Perth), in Gaelic Dùn Chailleann, an important early ecclesiastical centre (Cowan and Easson 1976, 47), is *prima facie* "fort of the Caledones", a powerful tribe of northern Scotland during much of the Roman Iron Age. Early forms of the name are: princeps Dúin Chaillden (AU 873); abb Dúine Caillen (AU 965); Dún Callden (Book of Deer). The tribal name also occurs in Rohallion, *Ràth Chailleann, again *prima facie* "rath of the Caledones", near Dunkeld (see further below) and in Schiehallion, Sìdh Chailleann, "fairy hill of the Caledones", SE of Loch Rannoch. Dunkeld, Rohallion and Schiehallion are in the ancient province of Atholl, the name of which Watson considered to mean "New Ireland" (1926, 228-9). In view of these three names, it may be tentatively suggested that, though the Caledonian territory was at one time clearly much more extensive, we are dealing here not so much with the tribal name direct as with an old name of the province derived from the tribal name. (For a general discussion of the Caledones and their name and of Dunkeld etc., see Watson 1926, 19-22). In this connection, it is worth noting that the name of the old province lying immediately S of Atholl - *Fortriu (gen. Fortrenn): Strathearn and Menteith - is probably derived from the tribal name Verturiones, a people associated with at least a section of the Caledones by the 4th century Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus as together the two main divisions of the Picts at that time (Watson 1926, 68-9, 59; see also Wainwright 1955, 46-53, 2-3). Dumyat (Logie, Stirling), Dun-myat, possibly contains the tribal name Maeatae. This people, or amalgamation of peoples, is associated with the Caledones at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries by Roman writers; and they and the Caledones appear then to have been the two major tribal groupings in the north. Watson thought that the wall close to which they are said to have lived was Hadrian's Wall; but it is most likely that the Antonine Wall across the Forth-Clyde isthmus is meant. Their name probably survived until at least the late 6th century: Adamnán, in his Life of Columba, calls one of the battles of Aedán mac Gabráin, King of Scottish Dalriata c. 574-c. 608, "bellum Miathorum" (Miathi) - a battle sometimes identified with the Cath Chĩrchind (Circenn: the old provincial name probably corresponding approximately to Angus and the Mearns) of the Annals of Tigernach (? c. 598: see Anderson 1922, I, 118-19). Myothill, near Denny, Stirling, may be compared. Both Dumyat and Myothill may have lain near the southern frontier of a confederation whose territory, from the late 2nd or early 3rd century (?), perhaps embraced all of eastern Scotland as far N as the Mounth, where the Grampian massif almost cuts the eastern coastal plain in two near Stonehaven. (For general discussion of the Maeatae and their territory and of the names Dumyat and Myothill, see Watson 1926, 8-9, 56-9; Wainwright 1955, 5-6, 49-53). Denork, near St. Andrews in Fife, earlier Dunurc, is mentioned by Watson (1926, 28-30) in his discussion of the names Orcas, Orcades, (Inse) Orc - the Orkneys (modern Gaelic Arcaibh) - which he regarded as containing a Celtic tribal name: *Orcoi, "Boars" (cognate with Latin porcus, "pig"; O. Ir. orc, "pigling,

young boar"). The implication is that here again we may have dun- with an old tribal name as qualifying element, whatever its later significance. Watson also believed that some at least of the ancient names of Ireland were used as district names in Gaelic Scotland. In his discussion of Éire in this context, he mentions a fort at Dunearn (Burntisland, Fife); and Dùn Éireann - "a large fort" - near Dulsie Bridge on the Findhorn: Dunearn (Ardclach, Nairn). Compare Rottearns (below). Dunphail (Edinkillie, Moray), Dunfàil, may contain Fâl, "Ireland", or equally fàl, "hedge, palisade". (See Watson 1926, 225-33. For a possible alternative etymology of the river-names Earn, Findhorn, Deveron, Auldearn etc., see now Nicolaisen 1976, 187. Whatever the actual origins of these names, however - Celtic or pre-Celtic Indo-European - they could still have given rise to district names, which survived into early medieval times).

A significant number of these sites have remains of fortifications now commonly believed to be of broadly Early Christian date as they survive: whether built then *de novo*, or consisting of new building and older defensive works adapted to meet new requirements in that period. At Dunearn, near Burntisland, a stone-built ring-fort, possibly of Early Christian date, has been built within an existing series of fortifications in such a way as partly to overlie the N rampart of the latter: the combined works form, as it were, a citadel and outworks (Feachem 1955, 75 and fig. 4). At Dumyat, a freestanding citadel of similar type stands within a complex of contemporary outworks (Feachem 1955, 76-8 and fig. 5). (On Myot Hill there are the much wasted remains of what is probably an Iron Age fort, possibly of pre-Roman date: Feachem 1955, 78; Wainwright 1955, 24). Denork provides an example of what has been called a "long dun", consisting "essentially of a strong stone wall which runs round the edge of a steep-sided and comparatively flat isolated eminence of suitable size. The enclosure thus formed is shaped according to the irregular limit of the site and therefore defies classification within ordinary geometrical terms. The sites chosen for this class of structure were usually much longer along one axis than the other, ..." (Feachem 1955, 83 and fig. 10). All these sites seem to be more or less closely related, in terms of their requirements of defence and accommodation, to the so-called "nuclear forts", of which Dunadd and Dundurn are examples having, probably, some historical documentation. (See Feachem 1955, 81-3 and figs. 8 and 9. For general discussion of types of fortification possibly of this period, in Pictland and elsewhere, see Feachem 1955). At Dunkeld, on the other hand, the later medieval cathedral, which presumably stands at or near the focus of the earlier ecclesiastical settlement (see Macdonald and Laing 1969-70, 133), is situated on the river meadow beside the Tay in a position by no means naturally defensive.

The suspicion arises that, in many if not all of these names, dun- denotes primarily the administrative centre, secular or ecclesiastical or both, of a larger or smaller district - probably enclosed and often but not necessarily fortified. If so, one may, perhaps, extend this category to include church sites with names having generic dun- qualified by a saint's name (possibly also some secular dun- sites qualified by an apparently secular personal name, though it would be extremely difficult to proceed very far in this direction) and also dun-names that are those of medieval parishes, whatever the significance of the qualifying element. The following list of medieval parish names with (original ?) dun- is taken from Cowan (1967). Each parish name is followed by that of the diocese and deanery in that order. Dalmeny (St. Andrews, Linlithgow); Dumbarton (Glasgow, Lennox); Dumfries (Glasgow, Nithsdale); Dun (St. Andrews, Angus); Dunbar (St. Andrews, Haddington/Lothian); Dunbarney (St. Andrews, Gowrie); Dunbeath (Caithness); Dunbennan (Moray, Strathbogie); Dunblane (Dunblane); Dunbog (St. Andrews, Fife); Dundee (Brechin); Dundonald (Glasgow, Kyle and Cunningham); Dundurcus (Moray, Elgin); Dunfermline (St. Andrews, Fothric); Dungree (Glasgow, Nithsdale: but also Drumgreioch); Dunipace (St. Andrews, Linlithgow); Dunino (St. Andrews, Fife); Dunkeld (Dunkeld, Athole and Drumalbane);

Dunlappie (St. Andrews, Angus); Dunlichity (Moray, Inverness); Dunlop (Glasgow, Kyle and Cunningham); Dunnichen (Brechin); Dunninald (St. Andrews, Angus); Dunning (Dunblane); Dunnottar (St. Andrews, Mearns); Dunoon (Argyll, Glassary); Dunrod (Galloway, Desnes); Duns (St. Andrews, Merse); Dunscore (Glasgow, Nithsdale); Dunsyre (Glasgow, Lanark). These places, it is suggested, might have been, in their pre-parochial stage, local centres of administration - the residences of kings, lesser secular magnates or royal officials; or the sites of the leading churches; or both together. The matter will be taken a little further under *ràth* (below).

Apart from the instances of Sean Dùn, Shandon, noticed earlier, there seem to be a few other instances of the reversing of generic and qualifying element in this way, in both Gaelic and British. Fordoun, Fordun isin Mairne, "Fordoun in the Mearns" (*Lebor na hUidre*) is, according to Watson (1926, 511), the Gaelic equivalent of British Gordon, Gordoun, "great fort". The "nuclear fort" on Moncreiffe Hill, near Perth, is known as Moredun (Feachem 1955, 79), with the same meaning.

Dùnadh appears in Donibristle, Donibrysell and Donybrisle (12th cent.), for Dùnadh Breasail, "Breasal's fortress" (Watson 1926, 237). It may also be the generic in Dunidea (Kirkmichael, Perth), Duniehinnie (Kirkmaiden, Wigtown), Duniface (Markinch, Fife), Duniflat (Dunlop, Ayr), Dunimarle (Culross, Fife), Dunipace (Dunipace, Stirling), Dunnikier (Kirkcaldy and Dysart, Fife), Dunnideer (Insch, Aberdeen: dùnadh is suggested here by Alexander, 1952, 267-8), Dunnyduff (Keith, Banff), Dunnygask (Dunfermline, Fife), and perhaps in Dunnymuck (Kirkoswald, Ayr) - but in most cases the writer does not know the local pronunciation and has not seen older documentary forms. Dounie, near Ardgay, Ross, is in Gaelic Dùnaidh, earlier Donylawrne (1542), Donylawren (1564), Donylairne (Watson 1926, 122). There are places called Dounie elsewhere (N. Knapdale, Argyll; Rothes, Moray); as well as Doonie Point (Fetteresso, Kincardine), Doonies (Nigg, Kincardine), Doonies Hill (Aberdeen, Aberdeen), Dunie (in Fowlis Wester and in Kirkmichael, Perth), Dunnie (Glenisla, Angus); and perhaps Downey Hill (Westerkirk, Dumfries), Downie (in Monikie, Angus and in Kiltarlity and Convinth, Inverness), Downie Hillock (Cortachy and Clova, Angus), Downichills (Peterhead, Aberdeen), Downiepark (Tannadice, Angus), Downie Point (Dunnottar, Kincardine), Downies (in Banchory-Devenick, Kincardine and in Inverkeithny, Banff). Some of these, at least, might represent dùna(i)dh, by itself or with a qualifying element lost. Discussing the name Downiehills (Peterhead, Aberdeen), however, Alexander (1952, 50) says: "Downie, doonie, dunan, are common throughout Scotland for small hills; they are a diminutive from dun. Old maps of the Aberdeen neighbourhood show several mentions of 'Downie Hills' ... Pronounced Dooniehills, with meaning of fairy hillocks." In some of the foregoing instances, therefore, it is likely that we have to do with dùnan in this sense, presumably with the substitution of the Scots diminutive -ie for Gaelic -an.

Dùnan itself is common enough. As Dùnan simply, the OS 1in. maps have 3 in Argyll, 2 in Perth, 1 in Bute, 2 in Ross and 1 in Inverness. An Dùnan occurs 4 times, all in Argyll. It also occurs with a variety of qualifying elements: Dunandhu (Strathdon, Aberdeen) and Dùnan Dubh (N. Uist, Inverness), Dùnan Diarmaid (Kintail, Ross), Dùnan Garbh-Shròine (Craignish, Argyll: "of the rough nose", sròn used topographically of a promontory, headland, ridge), Dùnan Liath (Kincardine, Ross), Dùnan Mòr (in Durness, Sutherland and in Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Argyll), Dùnan a' Mharcaiche and Dùnan na Marcachd (both in Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Argyll, about 2 miles apart: "of the horseman" and "of riding" respectively), Dùnan nan Nighean (in Colonsay and Oronsay and in Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Argyll: "of the maidens" - there is also Dùnan Nighean in Tiree, Argyll), Dùnan Ruadh (in Barra, in Harris and in Sleat, Inverness). There is Dunans (in Kilmodan and in N. Knapdale, Argyll), with English plural; Dounan (in Kirkcolm and in Mochrum, Wigtown); Upper Dounans (Aberfoyle, Perth); Downan (in Ballantrae, Ayr and in Inveraven,

Banff); and Downans Plantation (Dalgety, Fife). Dunning (Dunning, Perth) is very likely Dùnain: a dative-locative formation. Duninbride, c. 1200, "a chapel or church in Inveravon parish" (Watson 1926, 275), may be the same, qualified by the saint's name Brigid (cf. Downan, above?).

Watson (1904, 14) translates the name Dùnach Liath (Kincardine, Ross) as "the grey place of dùns". There is also Dùnach in Kilmore and Kilbride, Argyll.

Dùn etc. are also found as qualifying elements. There are Achadun Castle (Lismore and Appin, Argyll) and Auchindown Castle (Mortlach, Banff); Loch an Dùin (Stornoway, Ross); Downcraig (Cumbrae, Bute) may be Creag an Dùin, with Germanic word-order: compare perhaps Downhill (Redgorton, Perth). Dùnach appears in Creag na Dùnaich (Strachur, Argyll); Allt ("burn") na Dùnaiche (Strath, Inverness); and Sruthan Glac na Dùnaiche (Jura, Argyll). Dùnan is fairly common here too: Allt an Dùnain (Glenorchy and Inishaill, Argyll); Eilean an Dùnain (in S. Knapdale, Argyll and in Harris, Inverness); Loch Poll an Dùnain (Lochbroom, Ross); Rudh' an Dùnain (in Assynt, Sutherland; in Barvas, Ross; in Bracadale, Inverness; in Colonsay and Oronsay and in Morvern, Argyll); Uamh an Dùnain (Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Argyll); Tom Dunan (Strathdon, Aberdeen).

The toponymic range of meanings of dùn is probably very wide and quite unspecialised. It seems likely, though the matter could stand systematic investigation and analysis, that the term could be used by Gaelic-speakers to denote enclosed settlement sites, fortified or not, of all periods and types from the Iron Age to at least post-Viking times. Dùn is also the generic in the names of important castles: Dunbar (Dunbar, E. Lothian), Dumbarton, Dundonald (Dundonald, Ayr), Dunollie (Kilmore and Kilbride, Argyll), Duunottar (Dunnottar, Kincardine), Dunstaffnage (Kilmore and Kilbride, Argyll), Duntuilm (Kilmuir, Inverness), Dunvegan (Duirinish, Inverness), Dunnivaig, in Islay. In some cases, however, it is certain and in many others it is probable that the dun-name originated prior to the period of Anglo-Norman settlement. It would, in fact, be very difficult to establish beyond doubt that a medieval castle had given rise to a dun-name, though there seems no reason at present why it should not have done so in areas which were predominantly or significantly Gaelic-speaking throughout the later middle ages. (It may transpire eventually that dùn had become obsolete as a creative element in the formation of place-names before the 12th century; but such may not, in fact, be the case). On the other hand, some dun-names apply to places where there does not seem (now at any rate) to be any trace of ancient human activity. Obviously, it would be dangerous to make much of what may simply be the result of the limitations of archaeological observation or technique. But the lexical range of meanings of dùn etc., as given in Dwelly's Gaelic-English Dictionary (5th Edition, 1949), may be relevant here. Dùn is given as 1. Heap. 2. Hill, hillock, mound. 3. Fortified house or hill. 4. Fortress, castle. 5. Fastness. 6. Tower ... Dùnach (as adjective only) is 1. Hilly, full of heaps or knolls. 2. Full of towers or forts. 3. Like a tower or fort. Dùnan is 1. Little castle. 2. Small heap, knoll or hill. 3. Dunghill. 4. Little fort (this last from Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary - Mid Perthshire): cf. Alexander (1952, 50), quoted above. It seems quite likely, therefore, that dùn and its derivatives could be applied to natural features that were potentially habitable or defensible, but not actually enclosed or fortified; or that resembled habitable or defensible locations in miniature. Here it is worth bearing in mind that they could thus be applied to mounds that covered structures or the ruins of structures that would not otherwise be so designated: burial mounds, for iustance. Compare, perhaps, in this connexion, Dùn Bharpa (Barra, Inverness: barpa, "cairn, supposed to be a memorial of the dead, barrow"). Even if this is the case, however, it must be an extension of the original range of meanings of dùn. Early Irish dún is given as, primarily, "'fort' ... in O. Ir. usually applied to residence of a chief or dignitary, ... Freq. used as Ir. equivalent for 'fortress' or 'city'; in Norman

period of any strongly enclosed or fortified place (whether a single residence or a burgh or town) ... 'Encampment' (= dúnad) ... 'Dwelling, residence' in general ..." (*Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*, dodénta - dúus, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1960).

Finally, though for purposes of the foregoing discussion, a distinction has been drawn between explicitly fortified and merely enclosed habitation sites (dùn has been consistently rendered "fort" for convenience), it would be unwise rigidly to insist on it. The difference between an enclosure purposely designed to withstand military attack and one erected simply to delimit an area of greater privacy and to inhibit casual intrusion by men or animals, was probably one of degree rather than of kind. Considerations of social and economic prestige, moreover, probably influenced the size and extent of the enclosing element(s) quite as much as those of security, at least in the pre-Norman period. And any strongly-built enclosure would have fulfilled its essential function if it discouraged attack only, without having to ward it off. These observations may well apply also to many castles and towers of the later medieval period, at any rate before the advent of cannon made itself felt. It is, perhaps, unlikely that such nice distinctions as would occur to the modern mind between expressly military and purely domestic lines of enceinte would have been readily understood by the builders, occupants or namers of dùns, of whatever period. Similarly, a distinction between centre of local or national administration and place of royal or aristocratic residence should not be overemphasized. For much of the middle ages the residences, usual or seasonal, of kings, secular dignitaries and great churchmen would tend also to be seats of government, whether formally or informally constituted, on a permanent or on an *ad hoc* basis.

(Part II of this paper will appear in the next issue of the Bulletin).

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