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

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II *Ràth*

Ràth (obsolete), masc., is given as 1. fortress 2. artificial mound or barrow 3. village, town 4. royal seat ... 6. plain, cleared spot 7. residence (this last from the Highland Society's Gaelic Dictionary); and ràth, masc., gen. ràtha, as 1. circle 2. raft, by Dwelly (1949). MacBain (1911, 287-8), lists ràth, raft; and ràth (obsolete), fortress, residence, comparing Latin pratum, meadow and Welsh rhath, cleared spot, suggesting (following Rhys, with no specific reference) that the latter is a borrowing from Gaelic. Early Irish ráth, ráith, masc. and fem. (original gender doubtful), gen. sg. rathi (in a Latin context, possibly a latinised form representing a native gen. sg. ráith),? ráith, ratho, -a, -i, raithe (individual citations), rátha, ráith(e) (Irish Grammatical Tracts), is given as "an earthen rampart surrounding a chief's residence, a fort, rath; sometimes by extension used of the enclosed dwelling also; ... exceptionally of a grave-mound; ... (also) of an (earthen) rampart or wall in general" *(Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*, R, Royal Irish Academy 1944 (1978), 2. ráth and ráith). In modern Irish ráth (also ráith), gen. sg. ráithe, rátha, is usually fem., but masc. in Connacht (Dinneen 1927). The Scots Gaelic gen. sg. may have been both ràith and ràtha (is it in fact attested in the older literature?). If the names Raigmore and Raigbeg (see further below) do in fact contain a diminutive ràthag, then it seems likely that ràth in Scots could be dialectally feminine. The cognate word in Gaulish is ratin (for -im, acc. sg. masc.) "rampart", an i-stem (Lewis and Pedersen 1937, 172). The British cognate occurs in the Romano-British name for Leicester, Ratae Coritanorum, 'ramparts (so 'fort') of the Coritani' (the local tribe), probably with reference to the Roman fort or forts there. This is a latinised form of British *rātis, which the authorities cited below regard as probably feminine. It occurs as (a) Ratis (abl. pl.), Ratas (acc. pl.), Rátě (in Greek), Rate (Corion). It gave ultimately Welsh rhawd in beddrawd, 'grave-mound, tomb; cemetery'. (See Rivet and Smith 1979, 443-4 for discussion of the name, for other certain or possible instances of the word in Gaulish and British place-names and inscriptions and for references.)

The numerical strength of ràth in Scotland is very much slighter than that of dùn and its distribution more restricted. From N to S, the approximate incidence by counties of probable or possible instances (judging, it must be emphasised, from the OS name-forms), again calculated roughly from the OS lin. card index of the Place-Name Survey, School of Scottish Studies, is as follows: Caithness (1), Sutherland (1), Ross (1), Inverness (9), Nairn (1), Banff (4), Aberdeen (9), Kincardine (1), Angus (1), Perth (7), Argyll (3), Fife (5), Renfrew (1), Lanark (1), Ayr (5), Midlothian (1), Peebles (1), Kirkcudbright (1). Apart, however, from making the same cautionary qualifications here as it was felt necessary to make in the case of dùn, these totals must be analysed further on a regional basis if the possible significance of the overall

distribution is to become clearer. Of the four northernmost counties - Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Inverness - all but Caithness lie astride the mountain spine that divides Scotland N of the Forth-Clyde isthmus N and S. For the 8th century and the first half of the 9th, and perhaps earlier, this E-W watershed is seen also as the broad frontier zone between the Irish-speaking Scots to the W and the Picts to the E - politically and to a no doubt fluctuating extent culturally. Sutherland's one (possible) instance is in Durness parish, in the extreme NW of the county and W of the watershed. The single likely occurrence in Ross is in Edderton to the E of the watershed - in fact on the E coast of the county. Of the nine in Inverness, one only is W of the watershed, in Lochaber; while eight are E of it, notably along the line of the Spey Valley. The north-eastern counties, Nairn, Banff, Aberdeen and Kincardine, account for fifteen; to which may be added the thirteen in Angus, Perth and Fife. Argyll, conversely, has only three. The counties broadly of the valley and firth of the River Clyde, Renfrew, Ayr and Lanark, have seven (all in the form Raith). Renfrew's one is in Lochwinnoch, which lies fairly close to the southern border of the county with Ayr, due S of Port Glasgow on the Clyde. The one in Lanark is in Bothwell, on the Clyde. Of the five in Ayr, two are in Fenwick, NE of Kilmarnock; one in Tarbolton, NE of Ayr town; and two in Coylton, SE of Ayr: all, i.e., in the hinterland of the great bay on which the town of Ayr stands. SE Scotland, S of the Firth of Forth, is represented by one in Midlothian (Ratho) and one in Peebles (Newlands). Extreme SW Scotland is represented by one instance only, in Borgue, Kirkcudbright. Thus NW ("Scottish") Scotland, from Cape Wrath to Argyll and including the Hebrides, has five; NE ("Pictish") Scotland, from Caithness to the Firth of Forth, has thirty eight; the SW quarter of the country has eight; and there are two outliers in the SE quarter.

An inference, therefore, that may plausibly be drawn from the regional distributions of ràth is that a significant number of its occurrences are ultimately of P-Celtic origin: Pictish in the NE and perhaps Cumbric British in the SW. (The possible connotations of rait(h) are discussed below. Though there is a superficial resemblance in their modern forms between SW Raith and NE Rait(h) - compare also Rattra (Kirkcudbright) with Rattray (Aberdeen and Perth) - the absence of pre-12th century documentation does not allow one legitimately to infer Scots-Pictish immigration into Strathclyde and the SW generally during, say, the 10th and 11th centuries.) This is not to say that individual instances, or groups of instances in originally P-Celtic speaking regions, especially perhaps peripheral examples, may not be Gaelic: some names, in their present guise at least, seem to be so pure and simple. But originally Gaelic names may have arisen here because the prior existence of toponymic systems that used the postulated P-Celtic element(s) to a significant extent influenced the choice of Irish ráth rather than a term of closely related range of meanings. The point is that the Dalriatic Scots do not seem to have used ráth at all commonly as a toponym: they may have been encouraged to make rather more frequent use of it when they expanded into those areas of Pictland (and the SW?) whose place-nomenclature displayed a term or terms recognizably similar to their own word in form and range of connotations. Admittedly, such arguments on the basis of E-W distribution, where the element under discussion is known to be an early Irish lexical item and may also be (as here) an early toponym in Ireland, beg the question how far the pre-Norse place-nomenclature, especially in the Hebrides, has been replaced by a Norse or Norse-Gaelic one. Conclusions drawn or suggestions made on the basis of negative evidence are always thus open to other interpretations. But in this case, the suspicion that the Scots did not employ ráth to a significant extent as a toponym is perhaps reinforced by the marked paucity of ráth names in NE Ulster (Flanagan 1972/3, end-map: 'Rath-'), indeed in Ulster generally.

It is suggested, furthermore, that among the postulated P-Celtic Pictish rath-names, a significant number denotes centres of administration of probably varying degrees of importance, whatever particular kind or kinds of settlement (archaeologically speaking) were originally envisaged by the term. The following discussion of individual places is based on the OS 6 in. and 1:10,000 scale maps ("OS 6 in.") and the accompanying records of the OS Archaeology Division, Edinburgh, to which reference should be understood unless otherwise specified. (The writer is, once again, indebted to the staff of the OS Archaeology Division for permission to use and quote from their invaluable archive.) The names discussed are those shown on the OS 1in. maps (via the 1 in. index of the Place-Name Survey, School of Scottish Studies), or given by Watson (1926), or both. No attempt has been made, for present purposes, to standardise measurements.

Rothiemay (Rothiemay, Banff): Rothiemay Castle (site of), NJ 553484, may have been built on a motte site, though the surviving stone building may only have been later 15th century in its oldest parts. It is now destroyed. The church (remains of), NJ 555482, is traditionally ascribed to St. Drostan (cf. Watson 1926, 318), though the medieval church may have been dedicated to St. Peter. In this connection, it is perhaps worth noting the nearby Mannoch Hill (? manach), at NJ 547493. Rothiemay was erected into a parish church 1244 x 51, having been originally a chapel of Rechmalrune (lost) (Cowan 1967, 174, 169). Drostan may well have been a Pictish saint (cf. Watson 1926, 316-8, 337, 519). Rothiemay is on the R. Deveron, about a mile and a half below the junction of the Isla and the Deveron (NJ 534475). Here we seem to have the common 12th and post-12th century combination of castle and (parish) church, near an important river junction. Rothiemay is 'rath of the plain', the second element being Gaelic magh: cf. Rothmaise below (Watson 1926, 377-8, 501). Magh, perhaps with a now lost qualifying element, might represent the remains of an old district name here. The nearby name Mayen, to ESE at NJ 579478, may be 'little plain' (maighín) (Watson 1926, 388).

Rothie (Fyvie, Aberdeen): Wells of Rothie, NJ 717378; South Wells of Rothie, NJ 708367; Rothie Norman, NJ 731361; Rothie Vale, NJ 736370; Rothiebrisbane, NJ 746378; Den of Rothie, on the Fordoun Burn, NJ 747372. Rothie Brisbane: c. 1300, carta Thome Brisbane (of the lands of Little Rothy); 1465, Rothybirsbane; 1506, Rothybrisbane; 1680, Rothibirsben - Brisbane being an Anglo-Norman family name apparently. Rothie Norman: 1257, villa Normanni; 1362, Rothynorman; 1509, Rothynormond; 1545, Rothe; 1696, Rothie -- locally usually called simply 'Rothie'. The early documentation seems to show the lands of Rothie in the possession of two families, Norman and Brisbane. Rothie Norman now denotes the district and village, Rothie Brisbane a farm. (See Alexander 1952, 109-10.) The scatter of 'Rothie' names certainly suggests that the name was originally that of a district on the N side of the Fordoun Burn, which flows into the R. Ythan opposite Fyvie. This burn seems to be so named from about Rothie Norman down, below the confluence of the Black and Red Burns: Alexander (1952, 59) says that Fordon, Fordoun is the name of the houses on the W side of the Ythan opposite Lewes of Fyvie; and that the burn of Rothie is called the Fordoun burn from the Den of Rothie downwards. There does not seem to be or to have been any likely archaeological site in the relevant area to which the element ràth might have attached itself: since Rothie is (now at least) in Fyvie parish, it is possible that Rothie was originally a district dependent on a rath-centre at Fyvie itself. In which case it is worth noting that Fyvie Church, at NJ 768377 on the site of the medieval church of St. Peter, is the findspot of a Class I Pictish symbol stone (of broadly 6th to 7th century date?) and of a Class III cross-shaft (?) of perhaps the second half of the 9th or early 10th century, while another Class I stone was found in the village (Allen 1903, part 3, 164-6, 194-6). Fyvie was a medieval

parish (Cowan 1967, 71). Though Alexander (1952, 59) draws attention to a projecting rocky point at Fordoun as having perhaps something to do with the name, it seems possible that the names Fordoun (if 'great fort': cf. Watson 1926, 511, n. 1) and Rothie are connected, with reference to Fyvie, since the Fordoun Burn forms the S boundary of the district of Rothie and falls into the Ythan opposite Fyvie. Fyvie Castle, if a site of ancient occupation, is at NJ 763392.

Murriel (Insch, Aberdeen) is Rathmuryel, 1245; Ranthmuriell, Rathmuryell, 1257; Radmuriel, 1291; Ratmuryell, 1366; Rochmureill, 1557; terrae templariae de Rochmuryiell vocatae Christiskirk, 1623; Murriell, 1696 (Alexander 1952, 341). Christ's Kirk (Kennethmont) now the name of a farm: 1560, Rochmuriel or Christ's Kirk; 1567, Christiskirk; 1626, Christiskirk de Rothmurrielle; here a fair was held called Christ's Fair or the Sleepy Market, because it was held at night (ibid. 210). The name Sleepytown (Kennethmont) is supposed to have some connection with this market (ibid. 375). The medieval parish church of Rathmuriel was granted to Lindores 1191 x 5; by the Reformation it had become a pendicle of Kennethmont, which also pertained to Lindores (Cowan 1967, 168). The name is 'Muriel's rath', Muriel, Gaelic Muirgheal 'sea-white' being a woman's name (Watson 1926, 238). Muriel is found among the virgins and widows in the Dunkeld Litany: Muriel's Well is near the site of the old church of Rath-Muriell, a suppressed parish in the Garioch, now joined to Kinnethmont and in later times called Christ's Kirk (Forbes 1872, 417). The farm now called Murriell is at NJ 615265, in the Dawache of Murriell. Christ's Kirk on the Green is just over half a mile WNW of Murriell, at NJ 605268, where are the remains of the church and a disused graveyard. The annual fair called the Sleepy Market was apparently held until the mid 18th century on the green around the church: the farm of Sleepytown is at NJ 609271, within half a mile of Christ's Kirk to NE; Old Market Stance is shown at NJ 603270, a few hundred yards NW of Christ's Kirk. Here we seem to have, between the places now called Murriell and Christ's Kirk, the secular and ecclesiastical administrative foci of a district very likely represented later by the parish of Rathmuriel. This district (and later parish) was originally designated by a rath-plus-saint name; but, when the church was rededicated, the old designation gradually came to be confined to the place now known as Murriell. (Alternatively, the centre of both secular and ecclesiastical administration was at the church site; the old rath-name, on becoming obsolete as a district name, attaching itself eventually to one farm, perhaps the home farm of its original territory.) The old parish of Rathmuriel must now belong partly to Kennethmont and partly to Insch.

The old parish of Rothket in the Garioch, Aberdeen, granted to Lindores 1191 x 5, included within its bounds the chapel of Inverurie. It disappears from record soon after this grant and the chapel became the parish church (Cowan 1967, 174). Watson (1926, 381-2), quoting early forms Rothket 1195 and Rothketh 1199, suggests that the name may be 'fort-wood', where -ket(h) is a P-Celtic element cognate with Welsh coed from an early Celtic cēto-, 'wood', an element apparently not uncommon in S and NE Scotland. 'Rath of the wood' might be a preferable translation, if -ket(h), originally with or without a qualifying element of its own, represents a district name: cf. Rothiemay etc. Since the specific here is probably P-Celtic, the generic may well be so also.

There are three places called Rattray, Rattra. 1. Rattray (Rattray, Perth): the Castle of Rattray, Motte and Bailey, is at NO 209453, on Castle Hill. The parish church, in the diocese of Dunkeld and deanery of Angus, was assigned as the prebend of the subchanter of Dunkeld by Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld (1147-69) (Cowan 1967, 169). It is probably that at NO 189457, in Old Rattray; the castle site being some 2200 m. to E of Old Rattray, outside the town, which is on the R.

Ericht. 2. Rattray (Crimond, Aberdeen): 1170, villa de Rettre; 1274, Retref; 1324, Retreff; 1350, Retref; 1460, Ratreff; 1595, half Daauch of Ratrey; 1597, the Bruch of Rattrey: Rattray, Blairgowrie (1) has similar old forms, Rotrefe, Retreff, etc.; and Rattra in Kirkcudbright (3) is compared (Alexander 1952, 107). Old Rattray is at NK 087578; Castle (site of), on Castle Hill at NK 087579 - the Comyn family apparently held a castle here in the early 13th century; Burgh of Rattray (site of), NK 086574 - the town is apparently first mentioned in the first half of the 13th century, was declining in the mid 17th century and had practically disappeared by the mid 18th. Castle Hill is immediately N of Old Rattray; Burgh of Rattray about 450 m. SSW of Old Rattray. There does not seem to have been a church here and this Rattray was not the name of a medieval parish. 3. Rattra (Borgue, Kirkcudbright): Rattra is at NX 602490; Rattra village site, at NX 607494, is about 700 m. to NE - the ruins of an old town called Rattra, where there was of old a weekly market, but the town long since demolished, are mentioned in an account of the parishes of Galloway contained in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections and written in 1684 (Mitchell and Clark 1906-8, 2, 66). Roberton Motte, at NX 603485, is about 1000 m. SSW of Rattra village site; Barmagachan Motte, at NX 613494, some 600 m. E of it; and Kirkandrews church (remains of), at NX 600481, some 1500 m. SSW of it. Rattra here was not the name of a medieval parish. Watson (1926, 167-8) believed that Kirkandrews in Borgue was one of the four Galloway churches formerly belonging to Iona that were transferred to the abbey of Holyrood in Edinburgh by King William the Lion. But Cowan (1967, 13; cf. 117) thinks that this was Kirkandrews - Balmaghie, in the same county.

Watson (1926, 364) considered that Rattra, Rattray was composed of Gaelic ràth and "British" tref, quoting for Rattray in Perth - Rotrefe, 1291; Rettref, 1296; Rothtref, 1305; Rotreffe, Rettreff, temp. Robert I (1306-29) - and additionally for Rattray in Aberdeen - Rethtre, temp. David II (1329-71). Tref "stead" is discussed in general by him (1926, 357-8): it is very common in Wales, but Gaelic treabh is very rare in Irish place-names; it is found all over southern Scotland, and N of the Forth-Clyde isthmus "it occurs fairly often on the eastern side of the country; in the west two possible instances occur in the Kintyre region". As Watson says (p. 358), it seems pretty clearly to be a P-Celtic element in Scottish place-names. In that case, it may reasonably be suggested that rath- in these names is also a (gaelicized) P-Celtic element. All these places display clear traces of having once been administrative centres of some sort.

Rathen (Rathen, Aberdeen) is Rathyn, c. 1250; Rathyn in Buchania, 1327; Rathin, 1350; Rathin, 1461 (Alexander 1952, 107). It was a medieval parish (Cowan 1967, 168): St. Ethernan's Church (remains of) is at NK 001609; but there seems to be nothing to note from the OS 6 in. record. Ethernan or Itharnan is said in the Breviary of Aberdeen to have founded the church of Rathin in Buchan: he was probably a Pictish saint (Watson 1926, 321).

Rathven (Rathven, Banff) was a medieval parish, the revenues of the church of which were annexed to a hospital founded here 1224 x 26 (Cowan 1967, 169). The remains of St. Peter's Church are at NJ 443654. A short distance to SE, at NJ 457649, is Fordannet Bridge, over the Burn of Rannas. This name may contain Gaelic annaid (a part-translation of Àth na h-Annaide ?), for the possible implications of which in Scottish place-names, see MacDonald (1973). On the analogy of Methven, Meckfen, or Ruthven (Watson 1926, 387-8), the second element of Rathven might be P-Celtic maen 'stone', or Old Irish maigen, 'spot, place': the latter is perhaps more likely.

Rothiemurchus (Duthil and Rothiemurchus, Inverness): the six davachs of Rothiemurchus belonged, according to MacBain, (1922, 193) to the Bishops of Moray, who sometimes feued the whole of Rothiemurchus to some powerful secular magnate. This may serve to explain why what appears to be the chief (or only ?) castle of the district, Loch an Eilein, situated at NH 898079 on a probably natural island in the loch of that name and probably dating from the 15th century as it survives, lies about one and a half miles SE of the likely site of the medieval parish church. The parishes of Duthil and Rothiemurchus were apparently united in 1625; but in 1824 Rothiemurchus was, for ecclesiastical purposes only, disunited from Duthil and formed into a Quoad Sacra parish with a government church. The site of this church is now represented by Graveyard at NH 885092, on the R. Spey; and there does not seem to be (or to have been in recent times) any other likely site for the medieval church. (The name Rothiemurchus does not appear as such on the present OS 6 in. maps; nor, apparently, in the indices of the relevant Original Name Books.) Within a half mile N of Graveyard, at NH 885097, is (the) Doune: it was a modern mansion house in 1842 and the writer has no information as to the possible antiquity or otherwise of the name. Rothiemurchus seems already to have been a mensal church of the bishops of Moray in the first half of the 13th century (Cowan 1967, 174). Rothiemurchus is in modern Gaelic Ràt-a-mhurchuis, Ratemorchus 1226 and Rathmorcus (apparently of much the same date): - murchus seems to be a personal name, possibly Muirgus 'Sea-choice' (MacBain 1922, 158-9). Watson, while conceding the possibility of MacBain's derivation, suggests also Muirgéis 'Sea-swan' (1926, 517). It does not seem that either is a known saint's name. Here, then, a superficial possibility exists of a rath-centre represented both by the old parish name and church site and perhaps by the adjacent Doune (surely dùn): but this suggestion, to be either proved or disproved, needs much closer examination.

Rothiemoon (Abernethy and Kincardine, Inverness), is situated a short distance up the R. Nethy from its junction with the Spey, at NH 995209. It is worth noting Tom a' Chrochair, Gallows (site of) and the adjacent farmhouse of Tomachrochar, a short distance to the W at NH 983212. MacBain (1922, 181) gives the name in Gaelic as Ràt a' Mhòin, 'rath or stead of the peat-moss'; which Watson, in his introduction to MacBain (p. XXVII) emends to Ràt a' Mòine, observing that "we should have expected "na mòna"". There is, however, a neighbouring name Mondhuie; and a significant amount of drained land around the river junction, up the adjacent reach of the Spey and around Rothiemoon itself. Rothiemoon was not a medieval parish name; and the only, admittedly very slight, indications that the place might once have fulfilled some sort of administrative function are the nearby presence of a traditional place of execution and the situation of Rothiemoon in relation to the river junction.

Rotmell (Dunkeld and Dowally, Perth): Rotmell Farm is at NO 004470; some 300 m. to the SW and above the R. Tay is Rotmell Castle (site of), at NO 002468. Nothing seem to be known of the castle: it was removed c. 1800 and nothing now remains of it. Dowally Church, at NO 001480 is rather over half a mile NNW of Rotmell Farm: it is said to have been built in 1500 and to have been replaced in 1818. According to Myln (*Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*), the parish of Dowally was erected from that of Caputh by Bishop George Brown of Dunkeld (1484-1505/6) (Cowan 1967, 47). A local etymology of the name Rotmell seems to be or to have been 'Ràth a' Bhile' or 'Ràit a' Bhile', possibly 'rath of the margin' or 'edge'. The castle site is on the edge of a steep drop to the Tay, but the etymology seems somewhat doubtful. If correct, however, the qualifying element here is presumably Gaelic. It is possible that a church existed at Dowally before its erection to parochial status and that there was a formal relationship of long standing between

the church and castle sites. Nothing more definite, however, can be suggested on the basis of what seems to be known at present about either site.

Reay (Reay, Caithness): both Watson (1926, 117-8) and MacBain (1922, 11) take Reay to be Gaelic ràth, drawing attention to the nearby Beinn Ràtha. But if so, it is odd that the oldest documentary form of the parish name instanced by Innes (1850-5, 2.2 (1855), 742) shows no trace of the original -th, even if it were already silent in speech. It is Ra, 1223-45, 1550, 1574, 1576; Ray, 1561-66; Rhae, 1640, 1726; Rae, 1642, 1726; Reay, 1726. MacBain took the first part to be magh, 'plain'; but Watson pointed out in his introduction to MacBain (p. X) that the name is in Rob Donn's Gaelic poetry Mìoghradh, gen. Mìoghraidh, rhyming with inntinn, cinnteach, gnìomh sin and that in Strathy it was then colloquially Meaghrath - making a derivation from magh impossible. Meaghrath, Meadhrath applies now to the parish of Reay; and was the form generally heard by Watson, though he had also heard Mìodhrath. Watson thought that the first part is most probably Old Irish mid-, 'mid, middle', comparing meadh-bhlath, 'luke-warm', often pronounced mìodh-bhlath; and he took the whole to mean 'mid-fort', "probably with reference to its position midway between the waters of Halladale and Forss" (p. 118). Dùnrath, Dounreay, about two miles E of Reay village, he thought might be 'fort-rath', with reference to a broch near it, rather than a postulated early Celtic *Dūno-rāton or *Dūno-rātis. "The a of the (unstressed) second syllable of Meadhrath, Mìodhrath, Dùnrath, is open, indicating that it was originally long" (p. 118). This being so, the documentary forms of the name cited above perhaps suggest a dat.-loc. formation ràith.

The ruins of the old church of Reay, which was apparently dedicated to a St. Colmán, are at NC 969648, in Reay village; and there is here evidence of Early Christian ecclesiastical activity. Set into the W wall of the old church is a Class III sculptured cross-slab, formerly lying horizontally over an 18th century grave in the middle of the old burial ground (Allen 1903, part 3, 36); and in 1947 a Pictish sculptured stone, not likely to be much later than the 8th century, was found built into the S wall of the parish church, in the village at NC 967648 (Stevenson 1949-50, 218 and plate 25). It is also worth noting in this connection that a Class I Pictish symbol stone was found c. 1853 on the links by the shore at Sandside, at NC 952651, and is now at Sandside House (Allen 1903, part 3, 29-30). Sandside House is about 1000 m. WNW of Reay.

It is conceivable that we have to do here too with a rath-centre that eventually gave its name to its district. In which case, meadh-, mìodh- in the modern Gaelic form of the name might reflect the former existence of adjacent rath-centres on either side of it; or the fact that a formerly larger district came in time to be restricted to its middle portion. One might then render Beinn Ràtha (800 ft.), at NC 954613, which with its northern spur Beinn Ràtha Bheag (586 ft.) overlooks Reay from the SSW; and Dùnrath, where are the remains of a tower-house at NC 983669 probably dating from the second half of the 16th century but perhaps occupying an earlier site - as Hill of Reay and Dùn of Reay respectively. Dounreay and Reay old church could then be the secular and ecclesiastical centres of the administrative district. Reay parish church was almost certainly one of the six churches of the diocese of Caithness reserved to the bishop's mensa in the constitution of bishop Gilbert (1224 x 45) (Cowan 1967, 169).

The name and its significance are, however, problematical. Reay is well outside the normal distribution of probable P-Celtic place-name elements in NE Scotland (see maps 6 and 7 in Jackson 1955). And there is apparently no trace in the surviving record of the kind of qualifying element

usual farther S. It may, therefore, be purely Gaelic. If so, it may have referred originally to a specific archaeological site, or sites: there are numerous hut circles and enclosures and a number of brochs in the vicinity of Reay village shown on the OS 6 in. record sheets. On the other hand, and whatever the language of its original coining, it may not represent ràth at all.

Rothens (Monymusk, Aberdeen) is at NJ 688172. St. Finan's Chapel (remains of), at NJ 684172, is 400 m. due W of Rothens: still visible are the footings of St. Finan's chapel within a now disused graveyard. Watson (1926, 285-6) attributes this church at Abersnithack in Monymusk to Fínán styled lobur, 'the infirm'. But Abersnithock, Monymusk, is earlier Eglismenythok: 1211, Eglismenythok; 1245, Eglismeneyttok; c. 1211, Eglismonychcok; 1540, Englismanichto. This seems to have been turned into Abersnithock at least as early as the 16th century: 1573, Abersnethok; 1732, Abersnithick; 1828, Abersnithack (Braehead of Monymusk). Abersnithock is near the E end of the old ford across the Don; the farm is now called Braehead and the site of the chapel there is easily identified: there is a scarcity of data about it, traditional or otherwise. (See Alexander 1952, 136). Braehead farm, at NJ 682176, is 700 m. NW of Rothens. Possibly two church sites are involved here, though this seems rather unlikely.

Rottal (Cortachy and Clova, Angus) is situated at NO 370696 on the R. South Esk, in Glen Clova. It is, admittedly, not a very promising name on the face of it. But about one mile to NW, at NO 361709, is Wheen. Wheen is earlier Eglismaquhen: Heglish Macwhin is shown at the site of the farm of Wheen on maps attributed to Timothy Pont (roughly 1590 to 1600) and Robert Gordon (roughly 1620 to 1640). The church site seems to have disappeared completely; but the field-name 'Chapel-shade' on the farm presumably contains a memory of it and may give an indication of its whereabouts.

In these two cases we may have a long-defunct rath-centre coupled with an eccles-, eglis-church. It is likely that many of these churches are very ancient indeed: the writer has discussed them briefly (MacDonald 1979, 14 and 17, with reference to Barrow's more detailed study (1973)) and agrees with Barrow that, as a toponymic generic, the element is probably P-Celtic in origin. Few of them were medieval parish names: the two in question here were not. Without further investigation, however, this suggestion can only be very tentative. Rottal, as said above, looks somewhat dubious. Rothens, Monymusk, is locally The Rothens; and Alexander (1952, 364) draws attention to the presence here of some gravel ridges of glacial formation, which may have something to do with the name.

There is a number of other instances, about which information is even less concrete or not available at all from the OS 6 in. record, though some have qualifying elements pointing in the same general direction. Rothmaise (Rayne, Aberdeen) contains the cognate of Welsh maes, Cornish maes, mes, Breton meaz, all meaning 'open field, plain', from early Celtic magos, stem mages-, with -st-suffix: cf. Polmaise in Stirling, 'pool (or hollow) of the plain' - Rothmaise is therefore 'fort on the plain', parallel with Rothiemay (above) (Watson 1926, 377-8). It is Rothemas 1175; Rothmase 1304; Rotmase 1333 (Watson); Rathmais 1697; Rothmeiths, Rothmaiths 1696: on the hill of Rothmaise are remains of a hillfort (Alexander 1952, 364). The qualifying element is, therefore, P-Celtic and might, as was suggested earlier for Rothiemay, represent an old district name, with or without a lost specific of its own. Mains of Rothmaise is at NJ 676329; Hill of Rothmaise at NJ 689338, about a mile NE of Mains of R. Beside Mains of R., to NE at NJ 680331, are the site of St. Mary's Chapel on Chapel Brae and Well: nothing remains of the chapel and

there is nothing to note here. At Freefield House is shown Castle (site), NJ 676312: this information is apparently based on the Original Name Book and nothing else seems to be known about the site. Freefield House is a mid 18th century building and replaced the castle, which is shown on Gordon's map. There is now no trace of the castle. Freefield House is rather over a mile S of Mains of Rothmaise. Kirktown of Rayne (Cowan 1967, 169) is at NJ 697302, about a mile and a half SE of Freefield House. There is no indication of a hillfort on Hill of Rothmaise in the OS 6 in. record. Rathelpie (St. Andrews and St. Leonards, Fife) is 'Ailpin's rath' (Watson 1926, 237, quoting an older record form Rathelpin, for which he gives no date). Ailpin was originally a Pictish name. It is at NO 500163 (from first edition 6 in.), being shown but not named on the 6 in. 1958; and now within the town of St. Andrews. Nothing significant appears in the OS 6 in. record. Ramornie (Kettle, Fife), Ramorgany 1512, seems to be Ràth Morganaigh, 'rath of (the) Morganach', i.e. of a man of Clan Morgan of Aberdeenshire (the Mackays of Sutherland too were known as Clanna Morgainn, also as Morganaigh or Morganaich), Morgan being originally a P-Celtic name (Watson 1926, 238-9). Ramornie Mains is situated on the N bank of the R. Eden at NO 321097, but there is nothing to note from the OS 6 in. record. The Original Name Book (Fife, no. 14, p. 32) has Ramornie House, "the Mansion house of the Estate of Ramornie. It is ... situated on the north bank of the River Eden ..." Rathillet (Kilmany, Fife), NO 365209, is Radhulit before 1200, Rathulit 1528, probably for ráth Ulad, 'rath of the Ulstermen' (Watson 1926, 239). Rathillet House is at NO 359208. The lands of Radhulit, among other lands, were granted to Duncan earl of Fife and his heir by King Malcolm IV, 1160 x 1162 (Barrow 1960, 228-9). There is nothing to note from the OS 6 in. record. Radernie (Cameron, Fife), possibly a rath-name, is at NO 467097. Westfield of Radernie, NO 454095, is about three quarters of a mile W of Radernie; Nether R., NO 458105, and Wester R., NO 454107, about one mile NW of Radernie; Easter R., NO 472107, is about three quarters of a mile to NNE. The Original Name Book (Fife, no. 21) enters Radernie twice: a farm of 56 acres with farmhouse (p. 5: corrected from Easter R.); and (p. 10) a tract of 254 acres of land divided into two farms of 127 acres each. It may conceivably have been the name of an estate at one time; but, even if the generic is ràth, the writer has no suggestion to offer at present as to the etymology of the specific. Cameron does not appear to have been a medieval parish; and there is nothing else to note from the OS 6 in. record. Rothin (Boyndie, Banff): two adjacent farms are so called, at NJ 601582 and NJ 604582; also in square NJ 6058 are Rothin Croft and Hill of Rothin - otherwise there is nothing of obvious significance in the OS 6 in. record. Rothmackenzie (Fordyce, Banff) is the name of a farm at NJ 578588, about two miles WNW of Rothin. Again, there is nothing to note from the OS 6 in. record. The qualifying element, in its modern form, looks like a personal or kindred name. Rothney (Premnay, Aberdeen) is at NJ 629277; Rothney Hill at NJ 626272, about half a mile to SSW; Newtown of Rothney at NJ 638275, about half a mile to ESE; and Oldtown (presumably of Rothney) at NJ 632275, on the SE outskirts of Rothney. It is Rotheneyk, 1359; Rothnoth, 1454; Rothnik, 1600; Rothnay, 1623 - stressed now on roth- (Alexander 1952, 364). Rothney is immediately S of Insch, across the Shevock and the parish boundary; but Mains of Rothney, at NJ 641285, is in Insch parish, about one mile NE of Rothney. Insch old church, NJ 633281, was dedicated to St. Drostan (Watson 1926, 318): there are here the ruins of what is said to be a 17th or 18th century building on a medieval site. This church, also known as Inchmabanin, was granted to Lindores 1191 x 5 (Cowan 1967, 87). The modern stress in the name Rothney, however, makes it a doubtful instance of ràth. It is perhaps the same name as Rothnick (Fetteresso, Kincardine): here N, S and E Rothnick and Rothnick Croft are all in square NO 8795; but there is nothing to note from the OS 6 in. record. None of these names is that of a medieval parish.

The distribution apart, it will have been noticed that a number of these names contains what are almost certainly P-Celtic rather than Gaelic elements: Rattray, Rothket, Rothmaise, perhaps also Rathelpie and Ramornie - though personal names, being likely to pass easily from one language into another, are obviously less reliable indicators of the linguistic origin of a particular place-name. Other constituent elements are Gaelic as they survive: in Rothiemay, Rothiemoon, Rathillet, probably Rathven, also Rothiemurchus, Rathmuriel, Rothmackenzie - with the same caution about personal names, especially perhaps saints' names. Two admittedly doubtful instances may be associated with eccles- names: Rothens and Rottal. Is is a moot point how far the Picts used dun- during the historical period. Dun- is, of course, common Celtic and there is no obvious *a priori* reason why they should not have done so commonly. But Pictish dun- names would probably have been assimilated rapidly to Gaelic dùn; whereupon Pictish specific elements could easily have undergone translation, replacement or adjustment by folk etymology. NE Scottish dun-names are not superficially conspicuous for their display of P-Celtic specifics (see MacDonald 1980-81, passim); though two fairly important names may well be Pictish in origin - Dunnichen (also Dunachton) and Denork (MacDonald 1980-81, 34, 35-6, 36 and refs.). Ràth, on the other hand, may have had a short life as a creative toponymic generic in NE Gaelic compared with dùn, thus permitting the survival in recognizable form of a proportionately larger number of P-Celtic specifics. (The argument may reasonably be extended to include names of the type Rattray, Rattra; though in such cases, assuming that they have been correctly analysed, rath- is, of course, the specific.) It seems to the writer, though the supporting evidence admittedly constitutes no clear demonstration individually or indeed cumulatively, that rath- in NE Scotland is often a Pictish equivalent of Gaelic dun-, in the postulated sense of administrative centre (cf. MacDonald 1980-81, 35-7). If this be so, we surely have a doublet in the names Dunkeld and Rohallion. The writer has discussed Dunkeld in this context (MacDonald 1980-81, 35, with refs. See also Jackson 1954, 14-16). Rohallion Castle (ruins of), at NO 038400, is about two miles SSE of Dunkeld, across the R. Tay, in the parish of Little Dunkeld, Perth. The Z-plan tower-house, of probably 16th century date, overlooks the R. Tay from the W, from the slope of Birnam Hill. Duncan's Camp, NO 046392, just over half a mile to SE of Rohallion Castle, is a small putatively Iron Age fort occupying a fairly strong defensive position near the summit of Duncan's Hill. It is formed on a natural plateau 200 x 90 ft. and has an irregular oblong shape. Only slight traces of defences now survive, in the shape of two ramparts and ditches, which cover the entrance in the N, and the possible foundations of a stone rampart in the SW. It is not possible to say, however, that this fort has any direct connection with the name Rohallion. But it is worth noting Court Hill, NO 048390, a few hundred yards SE of Duncan's Camp on or just below a spur of Duncan's Hill. Both these sites are also on the W bank of the Tay. It is suggested that, when Pictish rath- here was superseded by Gaelic dun-, the older form of the name settled on one place within the administrative district of Atholl; very likely a dependent centre serving a sub-district immediately adjacent to Dunkeld on the other side of the river, or having some other formal and direct relationship with the nearby provincial 'caput'. As the name henceforth of a minor centre, it passed into Gaelic (modern G. Ràth Chailleann) and, eventually, into English.

It would be quite profitless at present to speculate about the specific type or types of archaeological site denoted by the postulated Pictish and Picto-Scottish rath-names. The surviving structural remains at any given place seem to be usually of 12th or post-12th century date. It is, indeed, possible that these names were coined precisely to denote Anglo-Norman and later secular and ecclesiastical centres; and that they were accepted at the same time by the Anglo-Norman bureaucracy of the Canmore Kings and their successors - writing in Latin or Norman-French.

It is, however, in the highest degree unlikely, on grounds of general historical considerations alone, that Celtic names of whatever origin were thus given official recognition by the recording agencies of the 12th century and later, unless they were already well-established place-names that could hardly be ignored or gratuitously replaced without causing unnecessary confusion and difficulty. It is much more probable historically that such names denoted originally pre-12th century dispositions; and that what is to be seen now on the large-scale OS maps and, for the time being, apparently also on the ground, is some of the upper-levels evidence (stratigraphically speaking) for continuity into the later medieval period of both occupancy of the site of an earlier rath-centre and its basic function(s) in the local landscape. Such centres, whatever their overall extent and the nature of their internal layout individually, were most probably enclosed, from motives of protection and prestige, if not of explicitly military defence (cf. MacDonald 1980-81, 39).

In some cases at least, the name of the proposed rath-centre must have been extended in time to denote also the territory that it administered. Indeed, while allowing that rath, as a lexical item and probably also as a toponym, probably referred originally to a (single) enclosed settlement site, it might be unwise, in the context of the developed administrative system suggested here, to make too clear-cut a distinction between the 'caput' and its dependent district. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility, furthermore, that, for whatever reason or reasons, a rath-centre might shift its location within its territory and still retain the original name. (An example of this kind of extension, though apparently not having to do with an old administrative centre, unless long defunct, is almost certainly to be found in a charter of King William confirming to Arbroath Abbey a grant of two oxgangs of arable called Rath' in the territory of Catterline, Mearns, with the liberty to build a mill there, dated 17 August 1212 x 14, probably 1214, at Elgin: ... donacionem ... de duabus bouatis terre que vocantur Rath' de territorio de Kateryn. The same land is mentioned in a general confirmation of the king of the property and privileges of Arbroath Abbey, dated 25 February, 1213, at Selkirk: ... donacionem ... de duabus bouatis terre que uocatur Rath' in territorio de Katerin ... Rath' is now lost. See Barrow 1971, 471, 464. The use of the plural 'vocantur' suggests that it was the two oxgangs only that were called Rath; but the earlier use of the singular 'uocatur' might indicate that the 'terra' of Rath was in fact larger than this.)

It seems likely that many, at least, of the places called Rait(h) are to be referred to Gaelic or gaelicized ràth. Raitts in Badenoch is Ràt in Gaelic (Reatt, 1603; Rait, Blaeu); and ràt is a common NE form of ràth. It appeared to MacBain to be a strengthened form ràth-d, and he compared Irish Kealid from caol and croaghat from cruach; Scots Bialaid, from bial, 'mouth'. (See MacBain 1922, 141, 158-9, 266.) Watson (1926, 444-5), however, refers Irish Caolaid (caol), Cruaghad (cruach), Uaraid (uar), Scots Bialaid (O. Ir. bélat, from bél) to an ending -ad, -aid, representing an early -ant- and not uncommon in Irish names of places and streams. Among other Scottish examples in names of places he gives Treasaid, Tressat on Loch Tummel, 'battle-place' (treas); and Tarvit in Fife, 'bull-place' (tarbh); and in names of streams (not uncommon here also), Duinnid in Kintail (donn), Glorat in Stirlingshire, Glóraid 'babbling stream' (glór, 'voice, speech'), Gleann Lìomhaid, Glen Livet, comparing Lìomhunn of Glen Lyon. Whatever its precise development, ràt is doubtfully of Pictish origin, as MacBain speculated (1922, 141, 158-9): he himself quotes Rathmorcus beside Ratemorchus for Rothiemurchus (158-9); and Rait in Nairn is Rathe 1187 x 89 (Barrow 1971, 300-1).

It is noticeable that rait(h) is not, in its modern forms, followed by a qualifying element. At least, those assembled for discussion here are not; and the probable or possible instances given by Alexander (1952) do not show qualifying elements in any of their (few) older documentary forms: Raittshill, Tarves - 1696 Raitshill (here derived from the surname Rait); Rathiehillock, Tyrie - 1629 Rathiehillok; The Ratt, Fyvie (107; cf. 119); Raich, Forgue - called the Raich, compared with Raiths, Dyce, called the Raiths - 1616 Rethis, 1648 Reathes of Dyice (358). In fact, the suspicion that rait(h), to the extent that it may be ràth, refers to a specific topographical feature, whether natural or artificial or both, is strengthened by a more detailed consideration of the names under discussion here.

At Rait (Kilspindie, Perth), NO 226267, is a fort on Rait Hill, NO 229267, in actual fact a promontory fort of putatively Iron Age date. A narrow, steep-sided spit of land, about 500 ft. long and 25 to 30 ft. high has been cut off by three ramparts aligned roughly E-W and averaging 50 m. long. Gravel quarrying has now practically destroyed the site (1963). Rait Church (remains of) is at NO 227268, in Rait and just to W of Rait Hill. It was in origin a chapel of Scone and passed to the priory of Scone on its foundation by Alexander I, c. 1120, being confirmed by name to the priory by Richard bishop of St. Andrews (1165 x 78). The church was still a pendicle of Scone in 1395, but seems to have attained parochial status in the 15th century (Cowan 1967, 167-8). The parish of Rait was united to Kilspindie in the early 17th century and Rait church dismantled. Annat Cottage, NO 223264 (roofless and not named on 6 in. 1970), is within half a mile of Rait Church to SW: see MacDonald 1973, listed Perthshire 12, p. 141. Note also Fingask Castle, NO 228274, about half a mile N of Rait Church. It is probably 16th century in origin. It will be noticed, however, that Rait was not an early medieval parish: the immediately striking feature of the locality is Rait Hill and its fort; and the proximity of Fingask Castle may be fortuitous in the present context.

Rait Castle (Nairn, Nairn), at NH 893525, is a rare example of a small stone hall-house of the early 14th century. It occupies a bad defensive position, being overlooked from the S by a rough irregular knoll. Slight traces on the N side of the castle suggest an enclosing ditch. There is also evidence of earlier building on the site. The detached building, 32 ft. by 16 ft., SE of the hall-house, may be the chapel of St. Mary of Rait, or Hermit's Chapel, apparently mentioned in c. 1189-99 and in 1343. Just over half a mile S of Rait Castle are the remains of a dun, at NH 895516. It is prominently situated on a rocky knoll on the Hill of Urchany. Oval on plan, it has measured 14.0 m. NW-SE by about 20.0 m. transversely. Several base stones of the outer wall-face survive in the NW and SE and the rubble wall-core is exposed in the NW; in the NE and SW the wall has overlain rock outcrop and has gone. The fort is putatively of Iron Age date. At NH 892529, crop-marks 250 m. ENE of Raitcastle indicate an earthwork enclosed by two ditches interrupted on the E, possibly for an entrance (*The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Nairn District, Highland Region*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Archaeological Field Survey, published by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 1978, p. 16, no. 112, entry dated May 1978). Here the name Rait could originally have referred to a predecessor of the surviving medieval complex; to the dun; or to the crop-mark earthwork. The suspicion remains with the writer, however, that it denotes primarily the "rough irregular knoll" overlooking Rait Castle from the S.

Little Raith (Auchterderran, Fife), NT 205916, is a farm - the farmhouse being built on a large knoll. Adjoining the farmhouse was a tumulus, in which three cists were found in 1855: two

contained an urn each with burnt bones, the third contained no urn. These may have been Bronze Age cinerary urns. About a mile SSW of Little Raith, in the parish of Auchtertool, is Raith Hill, at NT 201904. Auchtertool parish church and Kirkton are about half a mile to SE of it, the church being at NT 207901. The parish church of Auchtertool, in the diocese of Dunkeld, was confirmed to Inchcolm abbey by Pope Alexander III in 1178, having apparently been granted by some unknown donor within the previous decade (Cowan 1967, 10-11). Note perhaps Castle Hill, between Auchtertool and Kirkton, a little to NE of Kirkton; and perhaps also Hallyards Castle (remains of), at NT 211913: a 16th or 17th century structure apparently, very fragmentary and overgrown in 1959.

It seems very likely, however, that Little Raith is named in contradistinction to Raith Hill; and that both names refer to topographical features, whether or not either or both ever supported enclosed habitation sites. The Original Name Book (Fife, 10, p. 60) says in its entry for Little Raith: "The place where they (the cists) were found has a natural stronghold appearance." The Original Name Book, furthermore (Fife, 132, parish of Auchtertool, p. 7), describes Raith Hill as "A small hill of very singular appearance to the south of the farmhouse of Walton; covered with furze, about a hundred feet higher than the ground about; the place has the appearance of a huge heap of rubbish piled artificially in the shape of a pentagon at base with retiring slopes nearly at an angle of 45°." Raith Hill is within the 500 ft. contour; Little Raith within the 450 ft. contour. There seems to be nothing else of significance in the Original Name Books for the parishes of Auchterderran and Auchtertool.

Raith (Trinity Gask, Perth) is a farm at NN 933182, on the S slope of a spur on the 75 m. contour. A few hundred yards to NNW of Raith, on the summit of the spur at 91 m., is Roman Signal Station (site of), NN 931185. It was discovered in 1901 on the farm of Raith and is situated on the highest land for five miles around, but not on a knoll. Four postholes were found, set square and nine feet apart. No signs of a ditch or mound were observed, but the excavation may have been too limited to disclose them. A Flavian date was suggested for the structure. Nothing is visible on the ground. A mile or so to the W of Raith are the sites of Roman temporary camps of Severan date. There is nothing else to note from the OS 6 in. record sheets. It seems most improbable that the small and possibly early signal station would have given rise to a rath-name perhaps several centuries after it had gone out of use (even assuming that anything remained to be seen); though it is possible - and no more - that Raith here refers to one or more of the temporary camps. Again, however, the writer suspects that the reference is to the spur on which the farmhouse is situated, whether or not there was early medieval occupation of the site or its immediate vicinity.

Similarly, Raitshill (Tarves, Aberdeen), NJ 864283, is a farm on the southern end of a spur projecting S at a height of 121 m. There is nothing to note here from the OS 6 in. record sheets; and nothing to note in the Original Name Books.

Raitts Burn (Alvie, Inverness), falls into the Spey at NH 790017, something over half a mile S of Balavil House, which, at NH 791026, stands a little to E of Raitts Burn. Upper Raitts, NH 775023, is about a mile WSW of Balavil on the W side of Raitts Burn: there is here an extensive depopulated settlement. Balavil is about two and a half miles NE of Kingussie. There is nothing else to note from the OS 6 in. record sheets. "*Belleville* is, in its English form, of French origin, and means "beautiful town". The old name in documents and in maps was Raitts, and in the 1776 Roads' Map this name is placed exactly where Belleville would now be written. Gaelic

people call it Bail' a' Bhile, "the town of the brae-top", an exact description of the situation. Mrs. Grant of Laggan (in 1796) says that Bellavill "is the true Highland name of the place", not Belleville; and it has been maintained by old people that the place was called Bail' a' Bhile before "Ossian" Macpherson ever bought it or lived there. Whether the name is adopted from Gaelic to suit a French idea, or *vice versa*, is a matter of some doubt, though we are inclined to believe that James Macpherson was the first to call old Raitts by such a name" (MacBain 1922, 265). It seems just as likely that Bail' a' Bhile has been frenchified, but the point to note is that Balavil-Raitts has a hill-top location; and that the site may have been occupied for human habitation over a long period. "*Raitts* - the English plural being used to denote that there were three Raitts - Easter, Middle, and Wester ... The Gaelic is Ràt, ..." (MacBain 1922, 266).

Raich (Forgue, Aberdeen) is at NJ 622437; Hill of Raich at NJ 615441; and Bogs of Raich at NJ 620442. The only possible feature to note seems to be the "four-poster" stone circle at NJ 618436, a few hundred yards to WSW of Raich. It measures 4.3 m. NW-SE by 3.3 m. NE-SW overall; the W corner has been destroyed by ploughing, but the rest survives in good order and comprises an upright stone in each of the remaining three corners, with a straight curb of boulders on edge between them (1973). Judging from the OS illustration cards, this is perhaps an unlikely ràth. There is otherwise nothing of obvious significance on the OS 6 in. record sheets; and nothing to note in the Original Name Books under Hill of Raich. Raiths (Dyce, Aberdeen) is a farm at NJ 878135. There is nothing to note here on the OS 6 in. record sheets. Cf. Alexander 1952, 358 (above).

Raith House (Kirkcaldy and Dysart, Fife), NT 256917, was apparently built in 1692-94, and has been altered since. Note possibly Castle Hill, NT 264915, about half a mile SE of Raith House, which is now on the western outskirts of Kirkcaldy. There seems to be otherwise nothing of significance in the vicinity.

In Bothwell parish, Lanark, are Raithlands, NS 713583; and Raithdale, NS 715582, a little to ESE of Raithlands. Both are a short distance NW of Bothwell Haugh, on the eastern outskirts of Bothwell and the N bank of the Clyde. Both names seem to be modern, as they do not appear in the Original Name Books. That authority (Lanark 5, Bothwell parish, p. 130) describes Raith as a farm a little to N of Bothwell Haugh: the house must have been near the two surviving names, which represent presumably subdivisions of the original farm. There seems to be nothing else to note here. The Roman fort of Bothwellhaugh overlooks Bothwell Haugh from E, at NS 730577. It occupies a strong defensive position at the W end of a broad level promontory, protected on the NW and SW by an abrupt fall of 16 m. to the banks of the South Calder Water and the R. Clyde respectively. There is an extensive area of flat ground between the fort and the equally steep NE flank of the promontory. The easiest access was by way of the comparatively narrow neck of the promontory on the E. The fort is now only partly visible above ground; but its area has been established by excavation as 1.65 ha. (4.1 acres). (S of the Clyde, just over half a mile E of Kirkton of Blantyre at NS 691567, is Auchinraith. There is nothing to note here from the OS 6 in. record sheets. In the Original Name Book (Lanark 4, Blantyre parish), Auchinraith House is described as a mansion; and Auchinraith as a village consisting of "a few farm houses and poor dwellings belonging to various proprietors and feuars" (p. 47). There seems to be nothing else to note herein.) It seems very likely that Raith in Bothwell originally denoted the Roman fort, then presumably a more conspicuous feature of the landscape, on its clearly fairly formidable and striking site.

Raith Burn (Lochwinnoch, Renfrew) is formed by the junction of the White Grain Burn and the Black Grain Burn; and falls into the R. Calder at NS 310631. There is nothing to note on the OS 6 in. record sheets; and apparently nothing informative in the Original Name Books - there being, it seems, no place called Raith in 1856-7.

In Fenwick parish, Ayr, there are two occurrences of Raith. Nether Raith is a farm at NS 469415; Raithburn is a farm at NS 477461, three to four miles NNE of Nether Raith; and Raithill is a farm at NS 482466, half a mile NE of Raithburn. There is nothing to note at any of these places on the OS 6 in. record sheets.

In Coylton parish, Ayr, there are also two occurrences of Raith. Raithhill, a farm, is at NS 409182. At NS 408180, just to S of Raithhill, is the traditional site of a chapel and Chapel Well, on Raithhill farm. All traces of the chapel were removed c. 1805, according to the Original Name Book; and there is now no trace of the building and no further information concerning it. There is nothing else to note from the OS 6 in. record sheets; nor from the Original Name Books. A second Raithhill Farm is at NS 421218, some three miles NNE of the first, with Raith Hill, NS 424218, adjacent to E. There is nothing to note here from the OS 6 in. record sheets. The description of Raith Hill in the Original Name Book, however, is of some interest (Ayr 17, Coylton parish, p. 26): "A small arable rise east of Raith Hill house (farm) with a round clump of old trees on its summit, which appears very prominent all around the surrounding neighbourhood ...".

Raith (Tarbolton, Ayr) is a farm at NS 396268, with Raith Hill, NS 392265, a little to SW of it. Raith Hill was noted as a mound by Christison at the end of the 19th century, who thought that the name suggested the possible site of a fort. Raith Hill is a natural hill surmounted by a tree platform: there is no sign of a mound or fort and no additional information has been forthcoming about it; and the available air photographs (1946) show nothing significant. There is nothing else to note from the OS 6 in. record sheets. The Original Name Book (Ayr 62, Tarbolton parish, p. 8) describes Raith Hill as "A small round hill on the farm of Raith. Mostly arable land, except a small round patch of wood on its summit ...".

Most of these names seem to be associated with settlement, whether ancient or modern originally, on or near high ground, hill, hillock or hill spur. In most cases, admittedly, extant archaeological sites to which the element ràth might have referred, are not in evidence - though they may once have existed. The possibility must be borne in mind, therefore, that ràth, like dùn, may sometimes have denoted a natural topographical feature that appeared a more or less suitable location for a habitation site protectively enclosed, whether or not such a site had ever been built there (cf. MacDonald 1980-81, 38-9). The most likely cases of this considered here would appear to be Little Raith (Auchterderran) and Raith Hill (Auchtertool, Fife); though several of the other instances discussed above may have had the same denotation originally. It may also be noted that, with the exception of Rait (Kilspindie, Perth), none of these names is that of a medieval parish. It is a moot point whether rait(h), to the extent that it represents original ràth, is Gaelic or a (presumably) gaelicized P-Celtic element, or a mixture of both. But it is noticeable that Gaelic ràth (including its diminutives) denotes a specific "rath-like" archaeological site in a significantly greater number of instances (proportionately speaking) than does the postulated P-Celtic rath-; though this may simply be because most of the clearly Gaelic names discussed here are probably much more recent formations than the suggested originally P-Celtic names. The matter will be taken a little further under lios.

Some rath-names in the NE of the country are, in their present forms, purely Gaelic. Rathmore (Edderton, Ross: Rhamore on OS 6 in.) is an ràth mòr (Watson 1904, 23-4, who enters it as Ramore). Rhamore is at NH 677844: there are hut circles and settlement and field system shown in the vicinity on the OS 6 in. record sheets, also a cairn; but these are not clearly related to the name at all. Ralia (Kingussie and Insch, Inverness) is ràth liath (MacBain 1922, 277). The farm of Ralia is at NN 714975, overlooking the Spey from S. Centred at NN 709975, a little to W of Ralia, are about a dozen stone clearance heaps and the footings of some rectangular buildings and traces of walls. There is nothing else clearly significant to note from the OS 6 in. record sheets; nor from the Original Name Books. Rabreck (Abernethy and Kincardine, Inverness) is a farm in Strathspey at NH 960197. There is nothing to note here from the OS 6 in. record sheets. The present 6 in. spells the name Raebreck; the Original Name Book (Inverness, 1, parish of Abernethy and Kincardine, p. 12) has Robreck, with no variant spellings. The accent is presumably on the second syllable, which is pretty certainly Gaelic breac; the first may or may not be ràth.

As has been observed already, rath-names seem to be uncommon in the NW of the country.

Rahoy (Morvern, Argyll), is Ràth-thuaith, 'north rath' (Watson 1926, 147). The farm of Rahoy is at NM 639563; Caolas Rahuaidh, the narrows of Loch Teacuis immediately below Torr an Fhamhair, at NM 631562; and Monadh Rahuaidh, a hill of 311 m., at NM 641577, about a mile N of Rahoy farm. A vitrified dun stands at NM 632564 on the summit of Torr an Fhamhair, a small steep-sided hill situated 700 m. W of Rahoy, overlooking the N side of Loch Teacuis from a height of 45 m. OD. It was excavated in 1936-7. The grass-grown bank that largely conceals the wall is about 7 m. wide at base and stands to a maximum height of 1.5 m. internally and 3.2 m. externally. The enclosed area is about 12 m. in diameter. The sections showed that the wall was vitrified and had been timber-laced; and there was evidence that it had originally been faced on both sides and had been at least 3 m. and possibly as much as 3.7 m. thick. There were few finds and no pottery; but a looped and socketed iron axehead and part of a bronze brooch of La Tène 1c type are thought likely to belong to the 3rd century B.C.

Lochan nan Ràth (Ardchattan, Argyll) is centred at NM 920354, being one of a number of lochans in the Moss of Achnacree. Though there are several cairns in the vicinity, the nearby names Achnacairn, Lochan a' Chuirn, Càrn Bàn - Cairnbaan indicate that these were called cairns in the local Gaelic. One of the raths must be the earthwork enclosure on the S shore of the lochan, at NM 919353. The enclosed area measures about 42 by 27 m. within a bank now partially levelled and an external quarry ditch now largely filled up. The interior is featureless and the date of the site uncertain. The 1/10000 and 1/2500 sketch survey of the OS 6 in. record gives a superficial appearance now of two adjacent earthworks, which might account for the genitive plural here. On the other hand, other similar sites around the lochan may have disappeared since the name was coined.

Concerning the following possible instances, there is nothing to note from the OS 6 in. record. Loch nan Rath (Durness, Sutherland) is a hill lochan centred at NC 405392; Allt nan Rath NC 4139, is a small burn just to E of Loch nan Rath, flowing SE into Allt a' Choire Ghràinde; and Bealach nan Rath, at NC 401385, is above and a little to S of Loch nan Rath. Carraig an Ràtha is in Kildalton and Oa, Argyll, at NR 461587. Rathliesbeag (Kilmonivaig, Inverness) is at NN 210851: as the name stands, it appears to incorporate both ràth and lios.

Ratho (Ratho, Midlothian) is Ratheu c. 1258, 1288-90, 1296, 1298; Rathew 1315, 1306-29; Rathow c. 1315; Rathau 1377; Rathaw(e) 1377, 1378; Rathou 1452; Ratho 1292; Retheu, Rethow 1306-29; Rothew 1371 (Dixon 1947, 274: only the earliest recorded instances of each form are given here). It looks very much, therefore, as Dixon thought, following Watson (1926, 355), as if Ratho is rath-, with British plural termination -au. Both Watson and Dixon postulate a wholly British rhathau: this is more likely than Gaelic ràth with British plural termination, since Watson cites from the Retours an obsolete Penratho in East Lothian, probably for Pen-rhathau, 'head of (the) raths'. Ratho Church is at NT 138709; Ratho Hall at NT 135710; and Ratho Mains at NT 136701. Immediately adjacent to the church on the NE, on the South Platt hill (a name no longer on the OS 6 in.), at NT 139710, is the site of three enclosures, destroyed apparently in the early 19th century. A contemporary description states that the main enclosure occupied about one acre on the summit of the eminence, surrounded by a ditch and rampart made of large stones mixed with black earth. There were also two circular enclosures, one on the E, the other on the W side of the main enclosure, of from 30 to 40 feet diameter and similarly surrounded by a substantial rampart of large blocks and black earth and paved internally with flags of freestone. Human remains in cists are also said to have been found, as well as some large blue and yellow beads. In view of this account, but depending of course on their actual age, it may be suggested that the name Ratho might originally have applied to these three structures situated beside the church. The church of Ratho (Rathewe) is one of those listed under the year 1243 as having been dedicated by David of Birnam, bishop of St. Andrews (Anderson 1922, 2, 523).

Romanno is in Newlands parish, Peebles. Watson (1926, 153-4), quoting Rothmaneic mid 12th century, Rumannoch 1266, Rumanach, etymologises the name as Ràth Manach, 'the monks' rath', "with reference to the great rath on the high ground above Romanno". He draws attention to a grant of land here in the mid 12th century to Holyrood Abbey in Edinburgh and suggests that the name could have arisen after that grant or could refer to an older establishment of the Celtic Church. Romanno House Farm is at NT 167483; Romanno Mains at NT 171484, a little to E; and Romanno House at NT 166485, a little to N. Romanno Tower (site of) is located at Romanno House Farm on the OS 6 in. record sheet: the "tower of Romanno" is apparently mentioned in 1591 as belonging to the Murrays of Romanno; but no information was found concerning the site in 1964. It is worth noting Moot Hill at NT 164482, above Romanno House Farm to SW. Romanno is above the Lyne Water to E: the crossing represented by Romanno Bridge may be an ancient one. But if Watson was referring to the fort on Whiteside Hill, about a mile and a half to S of Romanno House Farm, it is possibly too far away to be the rath that gave rise to the name. It is a fort of one acre, and enclosure, of Iron Age date but with a fairly complex structural history of several phases, at NT 168460. It seems unlikely that the name Romanno Hope, just over a mile NE of the Whiteside Hill fort at NT 184469, strengthens Watson's (presumed) identification. There is a fort site nearer at hand, about a mile SSW of Romanno House Farm on the SW slope of Penria Hill at NT 163469. Nothing is now visible here, but it was described in 1715 as "a little round fortification of earth and stone, with a ditch about it"; and a "circular entrenchment" is mentioned in 1775. The nature of the site is uncertain. Newlands Church (remains of), at NT 161465, is about half a mile NW of the Whiteside Hill fort. The site was probably occupied by a church from the early 14th century, though the earliest part of the surviving structure probably dates to the first half of the 16th century. It was abandoned in 1838. The patronage of this church was granted in 1317 to Dunfermline abbey (Cowan 1967, 156). It seems as likely as not that rath- here originally referred to a site at Romanno itself; but the qualifying element does not seem helpful in trying to decide whether an actual structure was denoted, or some kind of administrative centre.

Ràth, masc., should form a diminutive ràthan. Allt an Rathain Ruaidh, in the parishes of Boleskine and Abertarff, and Daviot and Dunlichity, Inverness, is at NH 556179. The OS 6 in. record sheets have "hut circle" and "settlement and field system" on the slopes of Carn Liath to W of the burn; and there are other such in the vicinity. But even if we are dealing with the diminutive of ràth here, it is not certain that the word applies to these or similar structures. On the maps, however, rathan may be misleading. Mullach an Rathain (Applecross, Ross), is a hill of 1023 m. at NG 911576, part of Liathach. Nothing of archaeological significance, naturally, appears on the OS 6 in. record sheets. Describing Liathach, Watson (1904, 210-11) has this to say: "An Rathan, 'the pulley', designates two jagged stumps of rock near the top of the mountain, and seen from the sky-line from the head of Loch Torridon. 'Rathan' is the local name for the grooved pulley at the end of the spindle of a spinning wheel which receives the driving cord. Another place-name at Torridon contains the word. The ridge falling eastwards from the highest point of Ben Alligin is deeply notched three times, so that it presents a serrated outline of three peaks and notches, and these are named na Rathanan, 'the pulleys'." In his Introduction (p. XXXII) he says "Na Rathanan, the pulleys, require to be seen to be appreciated." A more likely instance of ràthan is Rottenreoch (Muthill, Perth). On the OS 6 in. record sheet this name seems to apply to a Neolithic long chambered cairn at NN 842206. This is a mound of earth and stone aligned SSW-NNE, 60 m. long, 16 m. wide, having a maximum height of 0.7 m. at the N end, with the remains of cists showing in the mound. On plan, it is a long, sausage-shaped mound. The application of the name seems to be confirmed by the Original Name Book (Perth 62, Muthill parish, p. 111): "This name (Rottenreoch - no variant spellings) is applied to a small oblong elevation said to be the resting place of those who fell in a clan battle said to have been fought between the Murrays and the Drummonds in the year 1490. The elevation is composed of loose stones and is now planted with beech. At present it is only about two feet higher than the general surface, as large quantities of the stones have been removed from time to time to enclose the surrounding farms." There seems to be nothing else to note from the Name Book, which is in poor condition towards the end with pages wholly or partly missing. (The Original Name Books for the survey of Perthshire at the scale of 6 in. to 1 mile do not survive.) The name may be ràthan riabhach, "brindled" or "greyish mound", with reference to its appearance at a former stage. Dwelly's dictionary, cited at the outset, gives "artificial mound or barrow" as a meaning of ràth.

It was suggested above that the diminutive ràthag indicates that ràth could be dialectally feminine. The instances to be discussed here are, in fact, all in eastern Inverness-shire. Raigmore and Raigbeg in Strathdearn are referred to rà'ig or ràthaig, from ràt(h) by MacBain (1922, 158-9, though, according to him, the old forms show here an internal -v-: Ravochmore - and he compares Kilravock, "which is now pronounced Kill-ra'ag"); and by Watson (1924, 114), who cites for Raigbeg, Reauchbeg 1507 and Rauchbeg 1508 and for Raigmore, Rauchmore 1507, 1508. Watson is both more explicit and more detailed than MacBain. He gives Ràthaig Bheag and Ràthaig Mhór and translates "the little Rathlet" and "the big Rathlet" respectively. Of Raigbeg he says further: "ràth ... is sometimes applied with us to hut-circles, e.g. Cùil na Ràtha, a small holding near Bonar-Bridge (in SE Sutherland: ràth is fem. here), with a hut-circle close to the dwelling-house. I did not see the structure which gives its name to Raigbeg, but as described to me it appeared to be a hut-circle". Of Raigmore he says: "This structure is on the top of a birch-clad knoll in the fields below the farmhouse of Drumbane. It is almost or quite circular, with a diameter of about 33 feet, and is marked by a low turf-covered wall of earth and stones. It has been used as a place of burial, and my informant ... judged that the last burial took place nearly a hundred years ago. A small mound within the enclosure may mark a grave. The knoll itself is

called An Sìthean, the Fairy Seat. ... It may be added, in connection with the burials in Raigmore, that in Ireland it was not unusual to bury unbaptized children in a Rath." Raigbeg is at NH 811290, on the R. Findhorn in Strathdearn. It is not now apparent from the OS 6 in. record sheet (1975) to what the name originally referred; but there are numerous hut circles and field-systems shown a mile or so away to E and S. Raigmore, at NH 809271, is also on the R. Findhorn in Strathdearn, about a mile and a half S of Raigbeg. The Original Name Book (1868-73) also says that it is a disused graveyard. It is a circular enclosure consisting of turf-covered wall-footings, 12.0 m. in diameter and 0.3 m. in height, situated atop a small wooded knoll, around the base of which are traces of walling and ruined buildings. There was no local information to confirm it as a disused burial ground in 1966. It is perhaps worth pointing out, following Watson's observation about Irish practice, that the enclosure here need not have been built originally as that of a Christian cemetery. (Raigbeg only appears on the 1 in. index cards - in the parish of Moy and Dalarossie, Inverness.) Watson's other general observation that ràth in Scots Gaelic can denote hut-circles receives confirmation from another Sutherland example: a N-S ridge centred at NC 911228, between the R. Helmsdale (to W) and the Kildonan Burn (to E) and above the Strath of Kildonan, on which many hut circles and field-systems are shown on the OS 6 in. record sheet, is called (Creag) Druim nan Ràth. Another Raigmore is in the parish of Inverness and Bona, now within the suburbs of Inverness itself and largely built over: Raigmore Hospital is at NH 685448. A source cited by the OS records states that there was a moot-hill on the estate of Raigmore (NH 683455); but the OS reasonably suggests that confusion has arisen here with the better-attested moot-hill on the neighbouring estate of Culcabock, at approximately NH 683446. This latter site is said to have been in use until the end of the 18th century and to have been removed finally c. 1884: there is no local knowledge of it (1962). The name Raigmore may well, however, have applied originally to a specific site: possibly to a cairn such as that originally at NH 687454 and now re-erected at NH 687450. There seems to be nothing helpful in this connection in the Original Name Books.

Some superficially possible names probably do not contain ràth at all. MacBain (1922, 318-19) thought that Rothes in Moray is ràth with the termination '-as', '-us', '-ais' denoting 'place', 'station': 'place of raths or granges'; but Watson (1926, 498-9) made Rathais, Rothes 'fortunate' or 'lucky station' (rath, 'good fortune, grace' and fas, 'stance, station'). Rath-soluis (Bracadale, Inverness), NG 387342, is part of a N facing hill slope and nothing significant is shown in the vicinity on the OS 6 in. record sheet. It is possibly to be compared with Resolis (Resolis, Ross), Gaelic Ruigh-sholuis, 'slope of light' or 'bright slope' (Reisolace 1662): the site of the parish church is a slope with a bright south-easterly exposure (Watson 1904, 120-1) - though such seems an odd name for a slope facing N, unless it is a humorous application. Similarly Rahane (Rosneath, Dumbarton) may be referable to ruigh. The name Rahane, NS 230878, is located on the E slope of Mam Mór (217.10 m.), overlooking the Gare Loch. Meikle Rahane, NS 235868, is a farm on the E slope of Maol Riabhach (195 m.), also overlooking the Gare Loch, about a mile to SSE; and Little Rahane, NS 237861, is a farm on the same slope about half a mile farther S. There is nothing to note from the OS 6 in. record sheet. Rahane itself may be a transferred name: it does not appear in the Original Name Book - Meikle and Little Rahane both do (spelled Rahaen).

Note 1. RATHINVERAMON (Watson 1926, 430).

The discussion below of the dates, ancestry and relationships of the sources, and of the location and historical context of Rathinveramon, is based on M.O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, Edinburgh and London 1973, pp. 49, 52, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 96, 213, 235, 236, 237, 249 n. 121; and on Anderson 1922, I, lvii-lviii, 291, 517-18. The text passages in which the various forms of the place-names occur are to be found in Anderson 1973, 250, 267, 274, 275, 283, 284, supplemented by Anderson 1922, I, 291, 517-18 (for List G). The quotation from the Latin text of Fordun is taken from *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation), ed. W.F. Skene, transl. F.J.H. Skene, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1871 and 1872 (The Historians of Scotland, vols. I and IV), Book 4, ch. 34, vol. 1, p. 177.

Certain of the Scottish regnal lists say of King Donald, son of Alpin, who died in 862, that he died in Rathinveramon: "Rathinueramon" (Regnal List D); "Raith in veramont" (List F as read by Innes, 1729), "Inverament" (List F in Harleian MS 4628); "Raich i(n) ueramo(n)", with bar over "i" and "o" (List G); "Rait inueramon" (List I). The Scottish Chronicle says of him: "obíit in palacio Cinnbelathoír", where "cinn-" of the MS might be read as "cum" and "-thoír" has probably been altered from "chor". The Prose and Verse Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose says (in verse), s.a. 859, that "he is said to have been assassinated at Scone" - a statement in which it is followed essentially by the chronicler John of Fordun.

The same regnal lists say of King Constantine, son of Culen, who died in 997, that he died in Rathinveramon: "interfectus est a Kynnet filio Makcolm' in Rathinueramon" (List D); "interfectus a Kinat filio Malcolm I in Rathveramoen" (List F); "interfectus a Kineth filio Malcolin in Rathinueramon" (List I); "Rathinueramon" also apparently in List G. The Prose and Verse Chronicle says (in verse), s.a. 994, that he "was slain by the sword, at the head of the river Almond (ad caput amnis amon), in Tegalere ("in Teg ale re", scanned Tĕgălērĕ; variant, "in ius regale", which does not fit the metre); ... Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, struck him." Fordun, describing dynastic struggles between 994 and 1004, says of Constantine and Kenneth that "they met ... in Lothian, near the banks of the river Almond" (... in Laudonia, juxta ripam amnis Amonde ...), where both the leaders were killed. (It is worth noting that the Annals of Tigernach, Chronicon Scotorum and the Annals of Clonmacnoise note Constantine's death in Scottish civil war, s.a. (997).)

M.O. Anderson has postulated a 12th century Latin regnal list, from which two groups of texts ("X" and "Y") are descended, one of which (X) comprises Lists F, D, I, K and (from Kenneth son of Alpin onwards) G (closely related to F), N and the Verse Chronicle. She believes that the parent text of the X group took final shape in the reign of Alexander II (1214-49). The chroniclers Fordun and Wyntoun also used texts of this group. List D is in a MS of c. 1500. List F survives only in two 18th century copies, that of Innes and that in a Harleian MS. List I could be as early as the first quarter of the 14th century, but seems rather later. List G is incorporated in a Chronicle of England to 1347, in a 14th century MS. The Verse Chronicle is a rendering in Latin elegiac couplets of the regnal list from Kenneth son of Alpin (c. 843-58) onwards, complete with the chronicle notes on the Kings. It was copied piecemeal into margins and spaces of the Chronicle of Melrose, probably not later than 1264. It is the earliest surviving version of a regnal list in point of MS date. M.O. Anderson believes that the original Verse Chronicle was probably composed before the death of Alexander II. It and List I are closely akin to Lists

F and G. John of Fordun's Chronicle (to 1153) appears to have been concluded 1384 x 1387. Fordun had certainly seen a copy of the Verse Chronicle (his statement that Donald son of Alpin died at Scone is one of his borrowings from it), but probably not the version actually in the Chronicle of Melrose.

The Scottish Chronicle is one of several short but valuable texts relating to ancient Scotland preserved in a 14th century codex now generally known as the Poppleton MS. At least a large part of this codex, including the beginning and the end, was compiled and written at York by order of brother Robert of Poppleton. A Robert of Poppleton (in the West Riding of Yorkshire) was a Carmelite friar who became prior of the convent at Hulne near Alnwick in 1364; and the MS may have been compiled in the Carmelite house at York shortly before this date. This would agree with the writing of the MS. It looks as if all the Scottish pieces (or most of them at least) represent a collection of materials made by someone in the reign of King William (1165-1214), who contemplated writing a history of ancient Scotland. The whole collection was probably transcribed at least once in the 13th or early 14th century. The Scottish Chronicle runs from Kenneth son of Alpin to Kenneth son of Malcolm (971-95): in its present form it may be partly the work of the compiler of materials in William's reign.

Though the documents in which the name Rathinveramon occurs are very much later in their present form than the two historical dates at which it appears, whatever their ultimate ancestry, there seem no good grounds for dismissing it as spurious out of hand. The occurrence at 862 may reasonably be referred on the available evidence, as A.O. Anderson suggested, to a site at or near the junction of the R. Almond and the R. Tay, in Perthshire. So might also the occurrence at 997 - were it not for the fact that Fordun says that King Constantine was killed near the R. Almond in Lothian. Admittedly, Fordun's unsupported testimony permits no more than the most tentative and circumspect suggestion; but it would be as well in this latter context to consider the R. Almond that falls into the Firth of Forth at Cramond, a few miles W of Edinburgh. (A.O. Anderson in fact does so, but only in his index: see Rathinveramon.) Moreover, Fordun (assuming that he did not misunderstand them, or embroider them unduly) may well have had access to texts, perhaps of or related to M.O. Anderson's X group and containing more circumstantial information concerning the death of King Constantine (including the Lothian setting), which have not survived.

The junction of the Almond and the Tay is at NO 100267. Bertha Roman permanent fort (site of) is within the junction, on the N bank of the Almond and the W bank of the Tay, at NO 097268: it must be a candidate for the site of Rathinveramon. On the other hand, it is perfectly possible that Rathinveramon was on or near the E bank of the Tay opposite the junction: the Scone complex lies on the E side, at NO 116265, about one mile to ESE of the junction.

The other R. Almond falls into the Firth of Forth at NT 188770. At the river mouth and on the E bank is the site of a Roman permanent fort, at NT 189768. It encloses an area of just under five acres. Excavations in 1954-66 showed that it was first built c. 140 A.D., with a second, Antonine, occupation and a third under Severus. Some probably civilian use of the fort, with minor building in the Roman manner, also took place in the post-Severan period, with which may be associated a little 4th century pottery. Cramond parish church is centrally placed within the fort, at NT 189768, partly overlying the Principia, though the fort is aligned WNW-ESE and the church ENE-WSW. It was originally dedicated to St. Columba (St. Columba's Well at Cramond, 'between the lands of the common of Cramond and the sea shore' is mentioned in 1601: Watson 1926,

152) and is now a mainly modern building. The 15th century tower is the oldest part remaining, though there appears to be 14th century masonry reused in the main body of the church, which was rebuilt in 1656 and subsequently altered in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. A bronze ring with Anglo-Saxon runes was found in 1870, three feet below the surface while digging a grave near the oldest part of the church: it is now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. Cramond Tower, just outside the NE corner of the fort at NT 190769, is probably a late 15th or early 16th century building of the bishops of Dunkeld.

There seem, therefore, to be some archaeological indications of some sort of sub- and post-Roman continuity of occupation of the site. There are one or two other pointers in the same direction. The church and part of the lands of Cramond are stated to have passed to the bishops of Dunkeld through the grant of Robert Avenel, who died in 1185: the church certainly pertained to the episcopal mensa during the episcopate of Geoffrey (1236-49) (Cowan 1967, 37). But the lost name Abbot(s)lands - Abbotlandis 1505, 1510-11 (Dixon 1947, 162) - though admittedly late as it survives, suggests a more ancient connection with Dunkeld. The name may well be a translation of Gaelic apthaine (abthen, abbathain, apthane, etc.), often latinized abthania (or translated: abbatia), "abbacy": the writer hopes on a future occasion to adduce good reasons for postulating that this term in Scottish documents and place-names - it survives as Appin in Perthshire and Argyll, probably Abden in Fife, etc. - should be rendered "lands pertaining to the office of abbot", "abbot's lands", rather than "abbey-lands". (For some discussion of apthaine - abthania, see Anderson 1922, I, 576-7; Skene's Fordun, II, 412-14, with list of the then known documentary instances of the term. See now also I.B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (2 ed., London 1976), 48, 50, 53-4.) Columcille was also the patron of Dunkeld (Watson 1926, 280) and this association may go back to the mid 9th century. In 849, relics of Columcille were taken from Iona to Ireland (Annals of Ulster): this seems to have been a decisive move and, as Anderson pointed out, could hardly have been made without previous arrangement with the Scots King. The Scottish Chronicle, under the reign of Kenneth son of Alpin (c. 843-58), says that in the seventh year of his reign (i.e. probably 848-9), he brought the relics of St. Columba to a church that he had built - probably to Dunkeld, though the church is not actually named. (Septimo anno regni sui reliquias sancti Columbe transportauit ad ecclesiam, quam construxit: Anderson 1973, 250.) It seems likely that a division of the relics was made at this time, as Anderson suggested, part going to Ireland and part to a successor church of Iona in Scotland. Indeed, it appears as if, for a time at least, Dunkeld was regarded as the chief church of the Scots kingdom. At 865 the Annals of Ulster enter the obit of Tuathal son of Artgus, chief bishop of Fortriu (primepscop Fortrenn) and abbot of Dunkeld: since Dunkeld is in Atholl, not Fortriu, the name of the province is here probably being used for the Kingdom. (See Anderson 1922, I, 279-80, 288, 296.) The writer hopes to show, again on some future occasion, that there is some evidence to suggest that Dunkeld was expanding territorially S of the Forth into Bernicia, perhaps already in the second half of the 9th century. The church or lands of Cramond may have come into its possession at this time or somewhat later.

Cramond is Karramunt 1166-1214; Caramonde 1178-9; Caramund(e) 1178-9, c. 1182-3, 1251-72, 1256, 1278; Caramound 1210-29; Karamund c. 1250, 1288-90, 1289; Cramund(e) c. 1250, c. 1300, 1288-90, 1289; Crawmond(e) 1329 etc.; Craumond(e) 1329 etc.; Crammond 1654; etc.: 'fort(caer) of Almond' - the modern form being due to contraction of the first syllable, arising from the stress on the first syllable of Almond; compare Caraile (c. 1153) = Crail, in Fife: British caer here

probably denotes the Roman fort, as it very often does in Wales (Dixon 1947, 156; Watson 1926, 365-6, 369).

The plain of Lothian, at least, was probably in fairly secure Scots control by this time: the Scottish Chronicle notes under the reign of Indulf (954-62) that "in his time, the fortress of Eden was evacuated, and abandoned to the Scots until the present day" (in huius tempore opidum Eden (possibly edeu in MS) uacuatum est ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem): the place in question seems as likely as not to be the castle rock of Edinburgh (Anderson 1922, I, 468-9; Anderson 1973, 252).

At both places, then, there are Roman permanent forts. If, however, one or both of them are in fact the location of royal-aristocratic residences named after the mouth of the Almond (one or both), it remains a moot point whether ráth denotes the whole enceinte of the Roman ramparts, or an enclosure utilising part of the Roman works or standing wholly within them. The choice of a Roman fort might indicate that the existence of ramparts surviving in good enough condition to be recognizable for what they were and to be wholly or partly reburbished, was a decisive factor in making that choice; though location at a convenient quarry of raw materials might have been an equally potent, if not the major factor, in the minds of the early Christian builders: much might have depended on how long the fort(s) lay derelict altogether. But if two places called Rathinveramon are in question, it seems to this writer that, on the evidence available to him, that at Cramond is more likely to have been situated within Roman defenses than that in Perthshire.

Note 2. RÁTH ÉRENN IN ALBA.

Discussing (pp. 225-33) Éire etc. as district names in Gaelic Scotland, Watson (1926, 227, 285), refers to St. Fillan (Fáelán, later Faolán), who is designated 'of Ráth Érenn in Alba' (Foelan ... ō Raith Erend i nAlbain ...; note on Félire of Oengus, June 20, in LB). He argues forcibly that this was not St. Fillan's at the lower end of Loch Earn: "... no such name exists there, either now or on record, though the Old Stat. Acc. of Comrie mentions *Dùn Fhaoláin*, 'Fillan's Hill' (or Fort), with St. Fillan's Well on the top of it. *Ràth Éireann* is, as I believe, still extant; it appears on record as 'Raterne in the earldom of Stratherne', 1488 ...; Raterne, 1466 ..., now Rottearns, in the parish of Ardoch. As this is quite outside the Valley of the Earn, the meaning must be 'Rath of Eire' - a district." Again, "Ráth Érenn, 'Ireland's rath', I believe to be Rottearns in Ardoch parish (p. 227)."

In fact, the note on the Félire of Oengus at June 20 in LB has of Fáelán: "From Raith-hErenn; he is in Scotland, near Glenn-Drochta in the west"; and in Rawlinson B505, "Faelan the dumb, from Srath-hErenn in Scotland." The Martyrology of Gorman also says of Fáelán at June 20 that he is "in Raith-Erenn in Scotland". The Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght says of him at June 20 "in Srath-Eret in Scotland". (See Anderson 1922, I, 231.) By Glenn-Drochta is probably meant Glen Dochart, the glen of the R. Dochart, which flows into Loch Tay at Killin: Strath Fillan joins the upper end of Glen Dochart proper from the NW. In 1317/18 Robert I granted the patronage of the church of Killin to the Augustinian abbey of Inchaffray to provide a canon to serve in the church of Strathfillan. A priory then developed there: in 1318 the bishop of

Dunkeld bestowed the church of Killin on the abbot of Inchaffray and the canons of that monastery, who by appointment of the abbot should serve in the chapel of St. Fillan in Glendochart, provided that a sufficient number of canons should be settled there. The revenues of the church of Killin were made over to the prior and canons dwelling at and serving in the chapel of St. Fillan (Cowan and Easson 1976, 98). There had probably been an earlier religious foundation in Glen Dochart: the 'abbot of Glendochir (or Glendocheroch)' mentioned as a local magnate, along with the Earl of Atholl, in the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214), was probably a layman at that stage (Cowan and Easson 1976, 52), enjoying the revenues or at least occupying the abbot's lands of a defunct community. Strathfillan was originally a chapel in Glen Dochart, apparently attaining parochial status after the erection of the priory, whereupon it and Killin continued as one united parish (Cowan 1967, 191, 102). If Killin was the original parish church of the whole district, it seems likely that a pre-12th century ecclesiastical settlement was located there rather than at Strathfillan.

Glen Dochart, however, was almost certainly not the location of Ráth Érenn: it has crept into the note because of its association with a saint Fáelán. But Fáelán of Ráth Érenn and Fáelán of Strathfillan were apparently two different traditional personages: Fáelán of Strathfillan is at January 9 in the Martyrology of Aberdeen, which serves to identify him with Fáelán of Cluain Moescna in Fir Tulach, Co. Westmeath, of the Irish calendars; whereas Fáelán of Ráth Érenn, June 20, is also said to be of Cell Fáelán in Laiges (Watson 1926, 164, 227, 284-5). An Irish writer, with no detailed knowledge of Scots topography or ecclesiastical traditions, may well not have known this. The variant readings 'Srath-hErenn' and 'Srath-Eret' quoted above do point to Strathearn and specifically (pace Watson) to St. Fillans at the E end of Loch Earn: a short distance SE of St. Fillans is the early Christian fortress of Dundurn (see R.W. Feachem, "Fortifications", in *The Problem of the Picts*, ed. F.T. Wainwright, Nelson 1955, 82-3, fig. 9 and pl. 4). It is probably the place said to have been besieged in 683 (AU: Duin duirn); and Regnal List D says that King Giric (878-89) died in Dundurn (Dunduin, Anderson 1973, 267), as do the Prose and Verse Chronicles (in verse), s.a. 879 (Anderson 1922, I, 191, 364, 368). It was presumably a stronghold of at least spasmodic importance and likely to have been known beyond the confines of its own district - possibly as far afield as Ireland.

Dundurn, or St. Fillan's Hill, is at NN 708232, guarding the exit of the R. Earn from Loch Earn. On it are St. Fillan's Well and St. Fillan's Chair (it is presumably the Dùn Fhaoláin of the Old Statistical Account of Comrie); and the low ground separating Dundurn from the main hill massif immediately to S is Bealach an t-Sagairt. About 400 m. NW of the foot of Dundurn, at NN 703235, is St. Fillan's Chapel (remains of): the surviving ruins are apparently of late medieval date, but seem to be on an earlier site. It does not appear to have been a medieval parish church; but the immediate proximity of the documented (and archaeologically significant) fortress and a church of a St. Fáelán gives rise to a very strong suspicion that by Ráth Érenn was meant Dundurn. Watson's objection that Ráth Érenn is not recorded locally, either now or in the past, can be met by assuming (what is indeed quite likely) that it is a literary creation that never had local currency and that does not, therefore, reflect historical colloquial usage. If, furthermore, the name is Irish, or at any rate Gaelic, ráth here may denote simply the hill and its fortifications, without having any additional connotation of administrative centre: in other words, the postulated Picto-Scottish rath- need not be in question here. Dundurn was, according to this argument, the rath *par excellence* of Earn as a great fortress of at least some historical

and traditional importance, whether or not it was still occupied when the name Ráth Érenn was coined.

On the other hand, though there seems to be no trace of a St. Fillan's church or chapel in the vicinity of Rottearns, this place could have been important and could be, as Watson suggests, 'Rath of (a district) Éire' - where rath- has the Picto-Scottish connotation proposed in this paper. Rottearns House (there are also West, Easter Rottearns, Middleton of R.) stands at NN 835076, on the S bank of the Allan Water at its junction with the Keir Burn and the R. Knaik, in Strathallan. It lies about one and a half miles S of the Roman fort at Ardoch; and apparently on the line of the Roman road, which may well have crossed the Allan at this point. Though there seems to be nothing else to note from the OS 6 in. record sheets, Rottearns, at the junction of three streams and the possible crossing of a Roman road, occupies a likely strategic position for a post-Roman centre of administration.

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