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Authors	MacDonald, Aidan D. S.
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mud flats had provided convenient landing places.

Place-name study facilitated identification of the level grassy field, on which the Thing had met beside safe beach landings. Place-name study also identified existence of the essential requirements of the Thingstead: rich pasturing for the horses of thing-goers, fertile arable fields for provision of sustenance, water power for the milling of cereals, healthy clean waters for the needs of people and of horses, supply of timbers for booth construction and fuel for cooking and warmth. Place-names have shown all of these to have been in good supply on the estate which had provided essential agrarian maintenance of *Þing-völlr*.

David and Sandra Macdonald (from their talk at the Dingwall conference)

[1] NAS B14/1/1 Dingwall Burgh Register of Sasines
[2] NAS GD305 Cromartie Muniments
[3] NAS GD93 Munro Writs
[4] Dingwall Museum, Dingwall Town Council Minutes
[5] NAS B14/1/2 Dingwall Burgh Register of Sasines
[6] NAS B14/1/3 Dingwall Burgh Register of Sasines
[7] Martin, 1832 Dingwall Parliamentary Boundary
[8] NLS The Additional Sutherland Case 1770
[9] NAS GD1/436

CURADAN - BONIFACE REVISITED

In the list of notables, clerical and lay, who guaranteed the legislation of the Synod of Birr (697) appears 'bishop Curetán', between two individuals almost certainly connected with Iona. His own sphere of activity, therefore, may have lain in Scotland.

The Martyrology of Tallaght (828-33) enters, under 16 March, 'St. Curitanus, bishop and abbot *Ruis Mind Bairend*'. The Martyrologies of Gorman (1166-74) and Donegal (1628/30) have basically the same entry under the same date - the place-name now truncated to *Ruiss/Rois Meinn*. There are also Ca(i)ri(o)tán of Druim Lara (of which several), at 7 March (Tallaght, notes to Martyrology of Oengus (probably 11th or 12th century), Gorman, Donegal); and Coritan (Tallaght), Curitan (Donegal) in Cell Mór Dithruib (Kilmore, Co. Roscommon), at 9 August. There seems, however, to be little evidence for a widespread popular cult of a saint or saints named Curetán or the like, in Ireland: Kilcredaun, barony of Moyarta, parish of Moyarta, Co. Clare, is *Cill Chuiridáin* in the text, 'Miracles of Seanan' (probably 14th century). But Kilcredaun, barony of Tulla Lower, parish of O'Briensbridge, Co. Clare, is *Cill Chréadáin* (Place-Name Survey). The personal name or names seem(s) to be very rare.

Conversely, various 16th and 17th century sources, native and foreign, outline the career of a saint variously called Bonifacius or Kiritinus - Que(i)re(i)tinus, who is associated with two named churches in Angus; Restenneth and Tealing; Invergowrie (in Perthshire though just west of Dundee); and one in Ross – Rosemarkie – of which he was bishop and where he died and was buried. His feastday is 16 March. There are, furthermore, earlier indications of his cult at Rosemarkie: the Calendar of Fearn (before 1471) has 'bishop Boniface' at 16 March (apparently the earliest Scottish calendar entry); the Munro Writs refer to the Chapel of St. Boneface called Cuthyl Curitin, 1379/80 (Kincurdy, on the northern outskirts of Rosemarkie?); and the English chronicler Roger Howden (c.1200) has it that pope Boniface IV was buried in the cathedral church of Ross called Rosmarcin. Comparison also of the earlier record forms of the names Rosemarkie, Restenneth and Tealing (Invergowrie may present a special case) with the forms occurring in the various sources giving a version of the Bonifacius-Kiritinus legend, suggest that later medieval (13th/14th century?) written sources of some kind may have existed formerly.

There is, additionally, a fairly compact group of mainly minor dedications to a saint Curadán, seven in all, so distributed in Easter Ross and Eastern Inverness-shire that Rosemarkie may reasonably be regarded as the 'epicentre' of a local cult.

It is not possible, however, to demonstrate that the Curetán / Curitan(us) of the early Irish sources and the Bonifacius-Kiritinus of the later Scottish tradition must be one and the same. In favour of the identification is the consideration that Curetán of Birr, Curitan(us) of the Irish martyrologies and Bonifacius-Kiritinus ofthe Scottish tradition are all bishops; that the two latter share the same feastday; and that we seem to be dealing with a rare name. But it is impossible at present to equate the place-names **Ros Mind Bairend* and Rosemarkie. The latter shows considerable stability of form, within a range of essentially minor variations, from its first appearance in the written record in the 12th century to the present day: Ros-, Rois-, Rose-

mark(c)in(e), - markyn(e)(g), -merkyne, -merkin, -markie(y), -merkie(y), - markny(e) - the specific element being the original name of the stream now called the Rosemarkie Bum, which falls into the Moray Firth on the northern outskirts of Rosemarkie. (Cf. Invermarky 1476; Drum-markie). The former is Mend Bairend's *ros,* Mend Bairend being an apparently very rare personal name: the only historical instance known to me is the annalistic notice of the death in 695 (Annals of Ulster 695.3) of an abbot of Aghaboe (Co. Laois) of the name - *Quies Minn Bairenn abbatis Achaid Bo.*

As things stand now, therefore, the fact the **Ros Mind Bairend* cannot be identified with Rosemarkie (or any other church in Scotland or Ireland) renders unsafe any attempt to synthesise the various written traditions, Scottish and Irish, around one individual.

Aidan MacDonald (from his talk at Dingwall)

'CARDINAL'S WELL', DUNNICHEN, ANGUS

On the first edition Ordnance Survey map (1868 sheet number 039.16) on Lownie Hill in the parish of Dunnichen in Angus is marked 'Cardinal's Well' at NO 4907 4865. In 1859 the O.S. Name Book records that 'local tradition says it derived its name through being a resort of Cardinal Beaton'.

The O.S. revisited the well on 5th September 1967 (WDJ) and recorded: "This is a natural spring, encased in a concrete compartment set in to the hillside. Water still emits from it and it seems to serve as water supply to nearby cottages. "

Simon Taylor (Place-Names of Fife Vol. II (2005) p222) mentions this well in his discussion regarding Caurd Well in the parish of Kennoway, and also discusses a Cardan's Well in the parish of Monimail (Place-Names of Fife Vol. IV (2010) p581), where he suggests it is named after a sixteenth century Italian physician and scientist, Girolamo Cardano or Hieronimus Cardanus (1501-76). Taylor suggests that the Cardinal's Well in Angus might be connected with this same tradition.

However our well goes back further than the visit of this Italian to St Andrews in 1552. In 1457 there is a perambulation of the lands of Ouchtirlowny and Forfar recorded in the Arbroath Abbey Register (Liber S Thome de Aberbrothoc II no. 112):-

> … *et sic ascendendo versus occidentem et tenendo predictum rivulum pro marchia usque perveniatur ad le welstrynde vulgariter appellatum Cardynis Well* ("… and thus upstream towards the west and keeping to the aforesaid burn as a boundary as far as the flowing spring commonly called Cardyn's Well").

The lands of Ochterlony adjacent to Dunnichen, now Lownie (see Andrew Jervise, 1879, Epitaphs and Inscriptions II, p406) were granted to Arbroath Abbey 1226x99 by Johannes de Othyrlony, in exchange for those of Kenny in Kingoldrum (Liber S Thome de Aberbrothoc I no.306).

That the well continued to be of importance in marking the parish boundaries is confirmed when it appears in a document in the Forfar Burgh records of 1605, known as the Kingsmuir transumpt (F/5/50 Angus Archives, Hunter Library, Restenneth):-

> … *ad metas que dividunt terras monasterii de aberbrothock a dicta mora usque ad fontem vocat[um] cardeans wall* … ("… to the marches that devyds the land of the monasterie of Arbroith fra the said Kingsmuir evin to the wall called Gardeans wall …").

Simon Taylor (Place-Names of Fife 2005 Vol. II p222) considers that the Fife example contains the Scots word *caird* meaning a tinker.

There are in fact no fewer than five other natural springs above Cardyn's Well on this ridge below Lownie Hill, the southernmost of the Dunnichen Hill range. While they now mainly fill the drinking troughs of grazing cattle and sheep, it is quite possible for this place to have been a regular encampment for travelling tinkers, although no tradition of this survives.

The well is just on a shoulder of the hill nestling above the Arbroath-Forfar (by Dunnichen) road as it merges with the current B9128 Carnoustie-Forfar road. The O.S. name book states that the well served the cottages below, at Hillend. Indeed this may have been much more obvious in the past when the well spring may have trickled down to the road. It requires some imagination now, since a small quarry was opened up immediately to the south-west of the wall. George Dempster, Laird of Dunnichen encouraged his tenants to use his quarries to build both cottages and drystane dykes during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.