THE FORMATION OF THE PARISH UNIT AND COMMUNITY IN PERTHSHIRE

JOHN MALCOLM ROGERS

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
University of Edinburgh
1992
This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my grandfather, David Laing Drummond.
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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis, which is entitled "The Formation of the Parish Unit and Community in Perthshire and is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Edinburgh is wholly my own work and has been composed exclusively by me.

John M Rogers
31 March 1992
ABSTRACT

One of the most fundamental aspects of the twelfth century reformation of the Scottish Church was the establishment of a network of local parishes. The creation of parishes provided the revenues which, through appropriation, supported the reformed bishoprics and monastic houses which were the principal elements in the new ecclesiastical hierarchy. More significantly, however, parishes provided enduring local communities with an identity which has only been dislocated in recent times. The nature of parishes has not been fully appreciated, however, and their territorial and community aspects have received little attention from historians who have concentrated on parishes as ecclesiastical units. The institution of the parish was introduced to Scotland in the twelfth century, a late date by comparison with England and much of Continental Europe, and the provision of a full network of parishes was achieved in a remarkably short period of time. The formation of parishes has traditionally been attributed to Anglo-Norman influence and, in particular, to the settlement of incoming Anglo-Norman lords who built churches for parochial purposes on their new estates. The evidence for Perthshire, however, challenges this view and demonstrates that the principal persons involved in parochial establishment were the kings of Scots and the native earls who held much of the land there and who had organised their territories into parishes largely in advance of the settlement of Anglo-Norman lords. Furthermore, the forms taken by parishes were determined to a very great extent by the pre-existing patterns of settlement and secular territorial organisation. Similarly, churches which became parochial had, in many cases, a long history as local estate churches before the twelfth century. The parish units and communities of twelfth century Perthshire were largely the already established local units and communities in a new ecclesiastical guise.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a matter of great pleasure to me that my thesis will be the last to be submitted under the supervision of Professor Geoffrey W S Barrow before his retirement from the Sir William Fraser Chair of Scottish History and Palaeography. Professor Barrow's constant enthusiasm for my research has been a source of great encouragement and his advice and friendship during and before my postgraduate studies have been invaluable. My thanks are also due to my friends and colleagues in the Department of Scottish History of the University of Edinburgh and, latterly, in the Registry of the University of Aberdeen; to the staff of Edinburgh University Library, Aberdeen University Library, The National Library of Scotland and The Scottish Record Office. I must also thank the Earl of Dalhousie for kindly granting his permission for the inclusion in this thesis of the text of a charter from his Muniments. For their support and encouragement, I am grateful to my family and, particularly, to my mother who has typed the entire manuscript of this thesis. Finally, the completion of this thesis is due not inconsiderably to Diane, who lived with it for so long, and to Fred, who knows why.
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KEY TO MAPS

River or stream
Parish boundary
Hill summit (Height in Metres)
Church or Kirkton
Settlement
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ABBREVIATIONS AND TEXTUAL CONVENTIONS

Citations of printed source materials conform to the "List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560", published as a supplement to the Scottish Historical Review, October 1963. Full details of the works cited in this way are given in the bibliography.

Certain other abbreviations are used when referring to frequently cited sources and other works, as below:

ACD Non-Scriptural
Mackinlay, J.M.; Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural Dedications, (Edinburgh, 1910)

ACD Scriptural
Mackinlay, J.M.; Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Scriptural Dedications, (Edinburgh, 1910)

Adams, Commonties,
Adams, I.H.; Directory of Former Scottish Commonties, (SRS New Series 2, Edinburgh, 1971)

Atholl Charters
HMC 7th Report, app. 703-16; "Report on the Charters of His Grace the Duke of Athole, K.T." by William Fraser

Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots
Barrow, G.W.S.; The Kingdom of the Scots, (London, 1973)

Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era

Barrow, "Childhood of Scottish Christianity"
Barrow, G.W.S.; "The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: a note on some placename evidence", (Scottish Studies 27, 1983)

Barrow, Kingship and Unity

Blair, Minsters and Parish Churches

Cowan, Medieval Parishes Cowan, I.B.; The Parishes of Medieval Scotland, (SRG 93, 1967)

CPNS Watson, W.J.; The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1926)

Dowden, Medieval Church Dowden, J.; The Medieval Church in Scotland: Its Constitution, Organisation and Law, (Glasgow, 1910)

Duncan, Making of the Kingdom Duncan, A.A.M.; Scotland, The Making of the Kingdom, (Edinburgh, 1975)


FES Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae; The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation; Scott, H. (ed.); new edition, (Edinburgh, 1923-1950)


NLS National Library of Scotland

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Perth Rental</td>
<td>Gloag, W., (ed.); Rentall of the County of Perth by act of the Estates of Parliament of Scotland, 4 August, 1649, (Perth, 1835)</td>
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<td>Shennan, Boundaries</td>
<td>Shennan, H.; Boundaries of Counties and Parishes in Scotland as settled by the Boundary Commissioners, (Edinburgh, 1892)</td>
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<td>SRO</td>
<td>Scottish Record Office</td>
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When giving dates *ca.* (circa) is used for an approximate single date and the form 1187 x 1189 is used to indicate a date not earlier than the first date shown and not later than the second. For charters dated before 25 March in any year the form 1187/8 is used to indicate the given year and the correct year by modern reckoning.

The location of places is given by six-digit National Grid references (e.g. NO 11 22); *ca.* is placed before a grid reference where the approximate location of a place no longer recorded on maps has been ascertained from other information. Unidentified and obsolete place-names are given in quotation marks.

The agricultural capability of land in particular districts is given according to the standard classification used by the Macaulay Institute for Soil Research, Aberdeen, in the *Soil Survey of Scotland*, which is summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Land suited to arable cropping</th>
<th>Land capable of producing a very wide range of crops</th>
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<td>Land capable of producing a moderate range of crops</td>
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<th>Land suited only to improved grassland and rough grazings</th>
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<td>Land capable of use as improved grassland</td>
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<td>Class 6</td>
<td>Land capable of use as rough grazing</td>
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<td>Land of very limited agricultural value</td>
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Although this is a modern classification it can be helpful when discussing the medieval situation as it categorises the capability of land, based on soil, climate, exposure and other factors, before any improvements which may be made through husbandry. It is, therefore, a classification which is largely independent of technological considerations.
Chapter 1

Introduction
The greatest work of transformation for the Scottish church and people accomplished between the time of Saint Margaret and the middle of the thirteenth century was the creation of a national system of parishes.

This statement neatly summarises the profound change in Scottish society which was brought about by the establishment of a network of local parishes. The formation of parishes took place within the general framework of the ecclesiastical reformation which transformed the Church in the kingdom of the Scots from the late eleventh to the mid-thirteenth century and against the background of increasing Anglo-Norman and Continental influence on the kingship, government, aristocracy and society of Scotland in the same period. Parishes provided the bricks of which much of the reformed Scottish Church was built, as the establishment of the bishoprics, cathedrals and monasteries which were the principal channels by which Scotland was brought fully into the mainstream of the Roman Catholic Church of Christendom was sustained to a great degree by parochial revenues. The kings of Scots, who were foremost in instigating and sustaining reform, had limited resources but the creation of parishes provided a ready source of revenue which could be diverted through appropriation to the support of the new ecclesiastical institutions. The formation of parishes, however, had consequences which extended much further than the hierarchy of the Church as it bound all members of society into a specific relationship with local churches, both financially and pastorally. Each parish contained a community of parishioners who were obliged to pay a tenth of their income to the local church from whose incumbent priest they received the services of Christian ministry.
The relationships which were created by the establishment of parishes, moreover, have continued to exercise a very substantial influence on the people of Scotland by forming enduring local parish community identities which have only been significantly dislocated in comparatively recent times. It is, indeed, true to say that "few institutions in Scotland have served the needs of so many men, women and children so well for such a lengthy period of time".3

Despite the extent to which the establishment of parishes influenced the church and society of medieval Scotland it has received relatively little detailed attention from historians. There is no comprehensive account of the formation of parishes, the ambitious first attempt at providing such an account having been left incomplete.4 A more modern survey of parishes, Professor Cowan's collection of material on The Parishes of Medieval Scotland, while it is an invaluable work, is by his own admission a study of the appropriation of parochial revenues rather than of the origin of parishes.5 The best discussion of the development of parishes in Scotland is still an article by the same author which is now thirty-one years old.6 Cowan's pioneering work in the field should, since its publication, have been tested by a series of detailed local studies of parochial formation but only Dr Ash's research on the diocese of St Andrews,7 and Professor Barrow's discussion of the church in Badenoch and Strathspey8 have attempted to examine the process at local level.
The traditional view of the establishment of parishes in Scotland has stressed the role of Anglo-Norman influence and particularly of the new Anglo-Norman aristocracy which were steadily introduced into the kingdom from around the beginning of the twelfth century. In the mid-nineteenth century, Cosmo Innes expressed the process thus:

The new settlers in Scotland were of the progressive party, friends to civilisation and the Church. They had found churches on their manors, or if not already there, had erected them. To each of these manorial churches the lord of the manor now made a grant of the tithes of his estate ... and forthwith the manor - tithed to its church - became what we now call a parish.  

Innes at least recognised the prior existence of many of the churches which were to become parochial during the twelfth century but it is the role of incoming Anglo-Norman lords which has been stressed subsequently. Bishop Dowden, in what is still the standard work on the Church in medieval Scotland, published in 1910, although he does not wholly ignore the ministry of the earlier Celtic Church, describes the origin of parishes in a process by which, a landowner, desirous of securing the ministrations of the Church for his family, and his tenants and serfs, would erect a building and grant some land, commonly a ploughgate, for the support of a priest. And here is the origin of lay patronage ... The grant of land was supplemented by tithes, and thus the parish clergy came to be established ... The parochial system - the division of the whole country into districts, each assigned to the charge of a priest - is an outcome of Anglo-Norman influence in the early part of the twelfth century.
While it was undoubtedly important, however, the Anglo-Norman influence has tended to be overstated. At the most excessive, it has been claimed that,

it was not that Celtic traditions were modified by Anglo-Norman ideas; in church even more than state the new polity completely superseded the old; an almost completely equipped church was substituted for the native chaotic order of things; and for carrying out this civil and ecclesiastical revolution David (i.e. King David I) relied on the Englishmen and Anglo-Normans whom he brought into the country in large numbers. 2

It must be said, however, that the extent to which the formation of parishes was the work of newly settled Anglo-Norman lords has never been properly or fully examined in detail and their role in parochial establishment has been assumed rather than proven by historians. The character of Anglo-Norman influence on the formation of parishes has been assessed too much in terms of it having introduced to Scotland the concept and practice of local churches as appurtenances of an estate and in lay control: the "proprietary church". The foundation of such churches in Continental Europe and England played a considerable part in establishing local churches which subsequently became parochial and it has been imagined that churches which were in lay control, both in patronage and property, had to be created in Scotland before they could be elevated to parochial status. The "proprietary church" has been regarded as a feudal institution and hence has been attributed in Scotland to the settlement of Anglo-Norman barons. It is certainly true that such churches were planted in Scotland by Anglo-Norman settlers. Nevertheless, it is equally the case that lesser local
churches had been founded in the kingdom, particularly in the southern part, from an early date and well in advance of the Anglo-Norman colonisation. Furthermore, many churches had fallen into secular control during the later period of the Gaelic kingdom of the Scots and laymen frequently enjoyed the revenues of ecclesiastical offices and their churches. In Perthshire, for example, there is evidence of lay "abbots" at Dunkeld, Abernethy and Kilspindie, while the revenues of the Celtic bishopric of Dunblane and its dependent churches had been seized by lay lords before the twelfth century. The situation differed from that of the rest of Europe only in that the Scottish churches did not possess tithes which could be appropriated by secular landowners. Even if lay control of local churches is to be seen as a pre-condition for parochial formation, then, it is not necessary to postulate the widespread introduction of "Anglo-Norman" proprietary churches as a precursor to the establishment of "Anglo-Norman" parishes.

The formation of parishes in England was accomplished over a lengthy period between the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the mid-thirteenth century. Communal churches, known as monasteria, minsters, were established at important centres to provide pastoral care for large parochiae which were based upon secular territorial divisions shortly after the conversion of each kingdom. From the tenth century onwards there was a rapid proliferation of local or "private" churches with resident priests within the parochiae of the minsters and between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries these churches obtained
parochial status, eclipsing the minsters and dividing their *parochiae* into local parishes. A parallel and overlapping process elevated chapels which had originally been dependencies of minsters to a parochial function.\textsuperscript{18} Professor Cowan argued that this process also occurred in Scotland, partly attributing the development of lesser churches perhaps to Celtic landowners and certainly to bishops before the twelfth century, but principally considering it a product of Anglo-Norman penetration and settlement.\textsuperscript{19} There were communal churches in the Gaelic kingdom of the Scots which appear similar to the English minsters, some of which survived into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as at Dunblane, Muthill, Methven, Abernethy and Dunkeld in Perthshire.\textsuperscript{20} There is also evidence, as has already been noted, for the erection of lesser churches both during the Anglo-Norman colonisation and before.\textsuperscript{21} Even in identifying these two elements, however, Cowan largely failed to answer adequately the question which he raised of the extent to which the development of the parish system was influenced by earlier ecclesiastical organisation.\textsuperscript{22} The work of Ash and Barrow which has been mentioned above\textsuperscript{23} has confirmed that the question is a crucial one and it is partly in the hope of providing a further piece of the answer that the present study has been undertaken.

A further dimension of the process of parochial formation concerns the establishment of parishes both as defined territorial units and as communities of parishioners. Here too, the question of the extent to which pre-existing arrangements influenced developments is central. The "native chaotic order of things", is a poor assessment of the
kingdom of the Scots before the twelfth century as there is abundant evidence of a highly structured system of administrative and jurisdictional territorial organisation at a local level during the Gaelic and, indeed, the Pictish period. The influence of that system on the development of a new type of local unit, the parish, must be properly assessed and, furthermore, pre-twelfth century ecclesiastical arrangements must be discussed within the context of their contemporary territorial and social setting.

This study will examine the process of the formation of parishes in terms of legal changes, local churches, territorial expression and community organisation. It will do so giving full recognition to the Anglo-Norman influence which was pervading the kingdom of the Scots in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that that influence was most significant at the highest level of society in developing a royal awareness of the contemporary modes of thought and government, secular and ecclesiastical, of England and Continental Europe. The idea that the kings of Scots simply opened up their realm to new clerical and secular lords who would then independently instigate reforms by virtue of their cultural and social background is a misconception and to attribute the establishment of parishes directly and primarily to the incoming Anglo-Norman aristocracy is to misrepresent the true situation. In the creation of a parish network, as in so many other of the radical changes which were implemented in Scotland, the initiative lay with the kings of Scots and they maintained a close and deliberate control of developments.
Furthermore, the developments in church, state and society which occurred in twelfth century Scotland took place within the framework of an already established kingdom with a distinctive institutional and social structure. Many of the characteristics of that kingdom were preserved and influenced profoundly the nature and direction of change. The history of eleventh to thirteenth century Scotland should be viewed as a process of the fusion of the traditions, institutions and society of the Gaelic kingdom with those which were imported from the developing feudal kingdoms of Anglo-Norman England and Continental Europe. The study of the development of any single institution, in this case the parish, must give due weight to both of the elements involved in that process.

The present study is concerned with the seventy-two medieval parishes which were established in the southern, central and eastern districts of the County of Perth before the end of the thirteenth century. (See Map 1) These districts included the earldoms of Gowrie and Strathearn, and a large area incorporating Perth and its hinterland and Stormont which was substantially in royal control at the beginning of the twelfth century. It is a particularly interesting region as it lay at the heart of the Gaelic kingdom of the Scots and contained the symbolic cult-centre of the kingship, at Scone. Furthermore, it covers a diversity of types of landscape which affected the disposition of early settlement and, in turn, the location and geographical expression of parish units. In addition, the region includes lands and churches which were subject to three episcopal sees: Dunkeld, Dunblane and
Map 1:
The Parishes of Medieval Perthshire

- Parishes in the study area
- Parishes outwith the study area
St Andrews. All three also had a pre-twelfth century role as the seats of Celtic bishops and a number of other important early churches and royal centres were located in the district, including Abernethy and Forteviot.

The discussion of this part of Perthshire will examine the legal mechanisms by which parishes were created, the principal persons involved in the process, and the chronology of parochial development. Consideration will also be given to the parish churches in an attempt to assess their relationship to earlier local ecclesiastical organisation. The main part of the discussion, however, will concentrate on the establishment of parishes as territorial units and communities in relation to the contemporary and pre-existing patterns of settlement and local organisation. The process of parochial formation will be examined as one which created not only local churches with defined rights to teinds and other revenues but also territorial units and communities of parishioners.
Notes to Chapter 1:

1. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, 72
2. Scots teind, rather than English tithe will be used throughout to refer to the ecclesiastical tenth.
3. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, 75
4. *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, 3 vols, (Bannatyne Club, 1851-5)
6. Cowan, "Parochial System", which was published in 1961.
8. Barrow, G.W.S., "Badenoch and Strathspey, 1130-1312 : 2. The Church", (Northern Scotland, 9, 1989), 1-16
10. Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 112
11. Ibid. 111-12
15. Cowan, "Parochial System", 48
16. Ibid. 47
17. See below, Chapter 2, pp. 42, 51, 55-6; Chapter 5, p. 183; Chapter 6, pp. 218.
19. Cowan, "Parochial System", 50
20. See Chapter 3, pp. 73, below.
21. Cowan, "Parochial System", 47
22. Ibid. 44
23. See p. 15, above.
Chapter 2

Teinds and Patrons: the Introduction of Parishes to Perthshire
The first stage in discussing the formation of a network of local parishes in Perthshire must involve establishing the chronological limits within which the development of that network took place. Furthermore, it is important to discover the legal mechanisms and the principal persons involved in the process.

The hallmark of the medieval parish system in Scotland, and a substantial part of its practical reality, was the payment of the teind. Teinds were the principal revenue which supported the new ecclesiastical order, whether expressed in local parish benefices or, via appropriation, in cathedrals and monastic houses. Payment of teind was introduced to Perthshire, as to Scotland generally, by King David I (1124-53); an innovation which "undoubtedly had the effect of territorially and legally creating the parochial unit." There is no evidence that teinds were paid in Scotland before David's reign (except perhaps in Lothian, which was subject to the Anglian Church of Northumbria until the early twelfth century and may have had a rudimentary parish structure), or that the king was merely enforcing an established but poorly observed practice. Both Malcolm IV (1153-65) and William I (1165-1214), in their brieves enforcing teind payment, looked to King David as their point of legal reference for the practice, suggesting that he was the originator of the practice in their kingdom. Furthermore, there is some evidence which demonstrates David deliberately establishing and regulating the right of pre-existing churches to the teinds of defined local areas which thereby became their parishes. In 1147 x 50, for example, King David
presided over an agreement between Robert, bishop of St Andrews, and Geoffrey, abbot of Dunfermline, concerning the teind revenues and burial rights due to Eccles (now St Ninians), the mother church of the "soke" or shire of Stirling (soca de Struelin), in the light of a claim by the chapel of Stirling Castle to the teind of the royal demesne lands within the shire as granted by Alexander I (1107-24). The church of Eccles itself dates back to the fifth to seventh centuries, and had probably had a long history as the matrix ecclesia of the shire of Stirling before the mid-twelfth century, but the dispute over the teind revenues due to it indicates that it was undergoing a change in status as part of the process by which it was established as the local ecclesia parochialis. This must have taken place after Alexander I's grant of the demesne teinds, when the rights of any local parish church were not apparently a consideration. Less contentious examples of the establishment of the teind rights of local churches under David I include the grant of the whole teinds and church dues of Haddingtonshire (omnes decimas et rectitudines ecclesiasticas de tota Hadintunshire) to St Mary's church of Haddington in ca. 1141, and two important examples which can be drawn from the evidence for Perthshire.

In ca. 1120, in a move of great significance for the reform of the Scottish church, Alexander I granted the church of the Holy Trinity situated at Scone, the "principal seat of his kingdom", to a group of Augustinian canons sent from the priory of St Oswalds at Nowell in Yorkshire, together with its extensive endowment of lands and conveth dues. It is evident, however, that this grant was made before the
parochial establishment of Scone, for in 1124 x 53 David I granted to
the canons at the church the teind of the whole parish of Scone
\((\text{decimam totius parochie de Scon})\) in grain, cheeses, catches of fish,
and all else from which teind was due.\(^{10}\) The specification in the
charter of items on which teinds were to be rendered is significant as
it suggests that the concept and practice of teind payment was as yet
unfamiliar and therefore needed clear explanation when applied to a
Scotian\(^{11}\) church. Despite the difficulties involved in interpreting
correctly the twelfth century use of the term \(\text{parochia}\)\(^{12}\), it is clear
that at Scone the term was used by David I in the specific sense of an
area which rendered teind to a local baptismal church. It was the
teind of the same area which Richard, bishop of St Andrews, confirmed
to Scone Abbey in \(\text{propricis usus}\) in 1165 x 78\(^{13}\), and King David’s grant
formed the basis for a legal decision by William I regarding the rights
of the canons of Scone to the teind of fishings in the River Tay
adjacent to the parochial territory.\(^{14}\)

The second example concerns the church of Rhynd, to the south-east of
Perth. In 1143 x 47, David I granted the lands of Rhynd \(\text{(Rindalgros)}\)
to Reading Abbey in the hope that a daughter house would be founded
there.\(^{15}\) Apparently a small party was sent from Reading to attempt the
foundation, for before the end of his reign David I issued a mandate to
the men of the sheriffdom of Perth to render the teinds due to the
monks of Rhynd, again specifying the items of which a teind should be
paid.\(^{16}\) From a confirmation charter of Malcolm IV it is evident that
these teinds were due in right of the church of Rhynd which the monks
had either built there or had acquired with the estate. It is worth noting that at both Scone and Rhynd the establishment of parishes was connected with the foundation of reformed monastic houses, illustrating the interconnection of various aspects of the reform of the Scottish Church.

It is important to appreciate the innovatory nature of the establishment of the teind rights of local churches which began under David I as we can identify thereby the chronological appearance of parish churches amongst the large number of pre-existing churches and chapels in Perthshire. As a determining criterion in accounting a church to be parochial that church must be recorded with teind rights.

The identification of such churches may be made in several ways. Where a church is recorded *cum decimis*, usually in a grant appropriating it to a religious house, the conclusion is obvious. The earliest Perthshire example of such a grant concerns the church of Longforgan and dates to 1147 x 12 June, 1152. Foulis Easter, Megginch, Strathardle, Kinclaven and Redgorton can be dated through similar grants. The church of Perth may also be an example of a church being granted *cum decimis*, although the evidence is less explicit. The church is first mentioned in ca. 1128 as ecclesia burgi de Perth, when it was confirmed to Dunfermline Abbey by David I. The dues attached to the church are not specified at this date, but in 1154 x 59 Malcolm IV confirmed the burgh church to Dunfermline with its lands and all teinds of his lordship. These teinds were confirmed by
Pope Alexander III in 1163 as *totam decimam dominiorum Regis de Perth*.\(^{25}\)

It seems likely that the church of Perth was parochially established to serve the developing burgh and the royal lordship in which it lay by the deliberate assignation of the teinds of the lordship to the church, perhaps as early as the date (before ca. 1128) at which David I granted the church to Dunfermline.\(^{26}\)

While some churches can clearly be shown to have been granted *cum decimis*, a more cautious approach is necessary when dealing with grants where less precise phrases, such as *cum omnibus iustis pertinenciis suis*, or variants of it, are used, since it cannot be assumed that these always implied teind rights in a twelfth century context.\(^{27}\) Nevertheless, several churches which were so granted can be shown to be entitled to teind rights shortly after the initial grant.

The church of Logie on the southern border of Perthshire, for example, was confirmed to the Cistercian nuns of North Berwick by Simon, bishop of Dunblane, *cum omnibus iustis pertinenciis suis*, following a (now lost) grant by Duncan (II), earl of Fife, (1159-1204).\(^{28}\) Within his father's lifetime, however, Malcolm, son of Earl Duncan, confirmed the church to the nunnery using the much more precise phrase, *cum terra eiusdem ecclesie et cum decimis pertinentibus*\(^{29}\) Similarly, the church of Meigle was first granted to the priory of St Andrews by Simon de Meigle before 1183 with its chapel and kirktoun and with the revenues which his predecessors used to receive from it annually.\(^{30}\)

A charter by William I, however, dating to 1178 x 85, makes it clear
that the revenues in question were teinds. In a further example, Bendochy church passed from Dunfermline Abbey to Coupar Angus Abbey, following litigation between the houses, in ca. 1221. From a slightly later dispute over the lesser teinds of towns lying on and near the boundaries of Bendochy and Blairgowrie parishes, it is clear that the abbey of Coupar held the teind rights of Bendochy parish. At Rossie in Gowrie the church was granted to St Andrews Priory by Matthew, archdeacon of St Andrews in 1160 x 62 cum omnibus eidem ecclesie juste pertinentibus and confirmed in similar terms by Arnold, bishop of St Andrews, and Malcolm IV. Although not specifically recorded with teind rights the church seems to have become parochial at about this time, and was certainly so by 1177 x 88 when the priory granted the lands and church patronage of Rossie to James of Perth, who in turn presented a relative, Geoffrey of Perth, to the benefice. St Andrews retained the superiority of the church, the teinds of which were fully appropriated to the uses of the priory in 1240.

In such cases it would be misleading to attribute the parochial elevation of the churches involved to the period between the imprecise initial grant and the subsequent evidence where teind rights are specifically mentioned. Rather, the evidence should be read in the light of the developing precision and standardisation in the usage of legal terminology which occurred in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, combined in this instance with the desire to promote the idea and practice of teind payment. It is reasonable to assume that the churches of Logie, Meigle, Bendochy and Rossie were
already parochial at the date at which they were first granted to the respective religious houses.

By analogy, it also seems acceptable to identify the churches of Findogask and Culross as parochial by the dates at which they were granted to religious houses, even although the rights and pertinents of the churches cannot specifically be shown to have included teinds until some time later. Findogask was granted to the hospital of St John at Brackley in 1210 by Seher de Quincy, earl of Winton, with all pertinents belonging to the church in consequence of the rights of patronage (ecclesiam de Gasc cum omnibus pertinenciis suis cuius ius patronatus ad nos spectat). From an agreement between Brackley hospital and Robert, bishop of Dunblane, in 1266, it becomes clear that Brackley held the teinds of the church. The church of Culross was granted with the estate of the same name to the abbey founded there by Malcolm, earl of Fife, in 1217. It seems probable that the teinds of the church passed to the abbey at this time although no certain evidence of the fact exists until the Reformation.

In a number of instances where the available evidence is less explicit than that provided by grants of appropriation, churches may be recognised as parochial by the date at which their incumbent clergy are recorded as parson, since the office of parson was a benefice which depended on the support of parish teinds. Although caution has been urged with regard to the twelfth century usage of ecclesiastical terms in English records it seems that persona was adopted into Scottish
legal terminology only with the precise meaning of parish priest, which became firmly established in England in the course of the twelfth century.

Amongst the Scottish charters dating to before 1153 collected by Sir Archibald Lawrie,64 references to priests and other clerics are relatively frequent. The Latin terms which were used for these priests are sacerdos and presbyter,66 while the Gaelic cognate of the former, sacart, was apparently used for priests in the Celtic Church.47 The priests who are recorded as sacerdos or presbyter, however, were neither certainly nor exclusively parish incumbents and the terms were employed to describe a variety of clerics. Some appear without designation by a church,48 while others are attached to churches which were not parochial by the date of the reference, even if they later became so.49 Viewed against this vague usage, the three instances where the term persona appears in Lawrie’s collection are impressive in their precision. When Robert, bishop of St Andrews, confirmed the grant of the lands and parish churches of Channelkirk and Saltoun made by Hugh de Moreville to Dryburgh Abbey in ca. 1150 he specified that the churches were to be held as the parsons held them, after their deaths.50 In other words, the abbey was to assume the benefices of the parochial clergy. Similarly, when Roger de Ov granted Langton church to Kelso Abbey in ca. 1150, he specified that the church was to be held with all its appurtenances, in free and perpetual alms, as Henry, parson of the same, held it.41 Henry the parson was a witness to this grant and in 1162 x 64, presumably after his death, the church with its
teinds was confirmed to the abbey by Arnold, bishop of St Andrews. In the third instance, Robert, bishop of St Andrews, placed Herbert, bishop of Glasgow, in sasine of the church of Borthwick (Lohworiura) in Midlothian and, on the presentation of Bishop Herbert, received the prior of Scone as parson (in personam). In 1163 x 64, the church of Borthwick was confirmed to the new abbey of Scone with its teinds and other dues. A brief of William I which dates to 1165 x 74 indicates that the teind rights of the parsonage of Borthwick church dated from the time of David I.

The usage of *persona* in Scotland, then, appears to have been precise from the first, perhaps because the term was imported from England only in the mid-twelfth century, by which time the anomalies in its use there were fast disappearing. A parson was a parish priest, attached to a specified local church and enjoying its teind revenues by virtue of his office. By the middle of the thirteenth century, certainly, it is apparent that *persona* was synonymous and interchangeable with the term *rector ecclesie* which became increasingly the standard designation of parish priests, but there is nothing to suggest that *persona* had had any less precise meaning in the twelfth century.

The parsons who begin to appear as charter witnesses in records concerning Perthshire from the mid-twelfth century on are always connected with a local church, and in a number of cases these churches can be shown to be parochial at a similar date from other evidence. At Muthill, for example, the first known parson, Patrick, appears in
the time of Lawrence, bishop of Dunblane (1155-71). His successor, Michael, is recorded in 1179 and was evidently the parochial incumbent when Malise, brother of Earl Gilbert of Strathearn, granted the church *cum decimis* to Lindores Abbey in 1195. In another example, Stephen, parson of Errol, is first recorded as a witness to an agreement over the teinds due to his church from lands held by Coupar Angus Abbey within the parish. At a slightly later date, in 1211, Patrick, parson of Exmagirdle, was guaranteed the life tenure of his benefice when the church of Exmagirdle was granted to Lindores Abbey. In the same way, Cambuskenneth Abbey could not enter into possession of the parish church of Forteviot until after the death of Richard the priest, who had been appointed to the benefice by King Malcolm IV.

Given the nature of the usage of *persona*, we can safely assume that the appearance of a parson in record sources implies that the church to which he was attached was already parochial. The use of such evidence gives us our earliest record of the parish churches of Muthill, Kilbride, Tullicheddill, Blairgowrie, Dunblane, Forgandenny, Crieff, Fowlis Wester, Dunning, Monzievaird, Strowan, Methven, Kilspindie, Muckersie, Clunie, Moneydie, Monzie, Balquhidder and Glendevon.

As no substantial body of source material survives for the early history of the medieval bishoprics of Dunkeld and Dunblane, Perthshire presents some special difficulties with regard to the dating of churches whose parsonage teinds were appropriated to the *mensa* of a
bishop or to the support of a cathedral prebend. Only rarely does
record evidence illustrate such appropriations, as when Kippen church
was assigned to a prebend in Dunblane Cathedral in 1238,66 or when papal
permission was granted to Robert de Prebenda, bishop-elect of Dunblane,
in 1259 to annex the parsonage revenues of Kilmahog to his mensa.67 In
the sixteenth century Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum,68
however, Alexander Myln reports the appropriation of a number of
churches to the uses of the cathedral of Dunkeld. Although the early
part of Myln's work is unreliable in some of its details and must be
used with caution,69 it is possible that it may be substantially correct
in its record of these appropriations. Myln, as chief clerk and then
official of Dunkeld diocese,70 was closely in touch with the legal
business and papers of the cathedral. For a time he was keeper or
supervisor of the cathedral register (now lost) which was in use in his
day71 and although the charters of Dunkeld had been "taken to the isles"
for safe custody before Myln's period of office,72 some if not all of
them had probably been copied into the register kept by Myln or into
the "old register" which was also in use at Dunkeld in the early
sixteenth century for legal reference.73 Myln obviously had access to
the records of the cathedral in the period before, and presumably
during, the compilation of the Vitae, which would have included the two
registers and perhaps an earlier collection of "Bishops' Lives" which
formed the source for the early part of the Vitae,74 and may have
employed original charters which were not available to Myln.75
In the entry for Bishop Geoffrey (1236-49), the Vitae records that the bishop granted the churches of Inchaidan (now Kenmore, at the east end of Loch Tay) and Clunie to the dean of Dunkeld as his prebend. It is very probable that this grant is correctly reported since the chapter of Dunkeld was reorganised under a dean (replacing the earlier archdeacon) only shortly before the election of Bishop Geoffrey. The first known dean of Dunkeld occurs from 1231 x 36 - 1245 and, as Bishop Geoffrey apparently continued the reform of the cathedral begun by his predecessor, it would not be surprising if one measure taken was the provision of a permanent prebend for the new head of the chapter. It is interesting that a parson of Clunie is known in 1215 x 21 and in 1221 and, at the later date, is a charter witness in the company of Adam de Prebenda, described simply as a canon of Dunkeld, but who was later to become the first dean of the cathedral. The church of Clunie had evidently not been appropriated to the deanery by 1221.

An earlier appropriation of the church of Rattray to "Quasdub", succentor of Dunkeld, is also recorded by Myln and attributed to Bishop Gregory (1147-69). This cannot be fully accurate, as the office of succentor was not established at the cathedral until 1238 while the church of Rattray only appears as a simple prebend in 1274 and, indeed, until 1420, although it had been assigned to the succentor before the compilation of the Vitae. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine how Myln could have invented the name "Quasdub", which must have been unusual even in the twelfth century, and this may indicate
that the entry in the Vitae is based on an original charter (or a copy of one) amongst the cathedral records. Bishop Gregory may have erected the church of Rattray into a simple prebend which was only later attached to the succentorship. The question is obscured somewhat by the fact that from ca. 1195 to ca. 1220 the church was held by Matthew, dean of Christianity, who is styled "Dean of Rattray". In the later Middle Ages deans of Christianity (or rural deans) were normally drawn from the parish clergy, but since the status of such deans in early references is difficult to assess, it is not impossible that the office could have been held by a prebendary of the cathedral. The church was certainly a prebend by 1238 when its incumbent was one Malcolm, canon of Dunkeld.

Beyond those reported by Myln, several other churches were appropriated to the uses of Dunkeld Cathedral during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The mensal churches of Alyth, Auchtergaven and Little Dunkeld, the prebend of Obney and the chancellor's benefice of Lethendy cannot be dated with any certainty before 1274, but some closer indication of the date at which the churches of Aberdalgie, Cargill and Tibbermore were appropriated to the episcopal mensa may be ascertained. Between 1195 and 1203, chaplains of Cargill and Tibbermore are recorded as witnesses to episcopal charters and in 1215 x 19 a chaplain of Aberdalgie is similarly recorded. Although capellanus is another term whose usage must be assessed with care, it is probable that these episcopal chaplains, designated by the churches which they apparently served, should be interpreted as the clerics
appointed to perform pastoral duties in churches which had already been appropriated to the bishops' *mensa*. Such clerics would soon be described generally as vicars in the wake of the thirty-second canon of the Fourth Lateran Council which crystallised and regulated the developing vicarage system and Tibbermore, at least, is described as a vicarage when next recorded in 1274. Similarly, the church of Forgandenny, which was served by parsons between 1195 and 1225, is recorded as a vicarage shortly after the latter date and was presumably appropriated to the bishops' *mensa* in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

In the diocese of Dunblane, several churches are first recorded during the episcopate of Bishop Clement (1233-58), who made strenuous efforts to restore the revenues of the see, rebuild the cathedral and reorganise the chapter. To improve the financial provision for the episcopal *mensa* and the support of the dean and canons at Dunblane, Pope Gregory IX assigned a quarter of the parsonage teinds of all parish churches in the diocese to Bishop Clement in 1237. Although the bishop failed to secure the quarter teinds of all the parishes in his diocese, it is apparent that he did manage to annex those of Balquhidder, Comrie, Tulliallan and Fossoway.

Most of the remaining parishes in the area of Perthshire under consideration are not recorded until the second half of the thirteenth century when lists of ecclesiastical benefices were drawn up for the purpose of levying taxes to support the Crusades. The most complete of
these which has survived is that compiled by Master Baiamund de Vitia, who was appointed collector in Scotland of the tithe for the Holy Land by Pope Gregory X on 20 September, 1274. The list is usually known as Bagimond's Roll. Fordun records that Baiamund began his collecting activities at an ecclesiastical council held at Perth on 6 August, 1275, but the churches listed in the Roll under the first year have been dated to 1274 in Table I (see below) as the collection was to be made for six years from 24 June, 1274, and Baiamund would have understood the primus annum to be from that date to the 23 June, 1275. In addition to identifying certain churches for the first time, Bagimond's Roll can also be used in a few cases to deduce the prior appropriation of churches which do not appear in the Roll and which are not otherwise recorded, but whose appropriation is known from later records. Professor Cowan makes this assumption with regard to the churches of Alyth, Auchtergaven, Lethendy and Little Dunkeld, and the same can be inferred for the church of Dunkeld itself, all of which were appropriated to the uses of Dunkeld Cathedral by the late date at which they first appear on record. The assumption appears to be valid, as no contrary evidence exists and no other reason might explain the absence of these churches from both years of Bagimond's Roll for which the Dunkeld diocese portions have survived.

A few parishes in the Perthshire part of the diocese of St Andrews can be dated to slightly earlier than Baiamund's collection by their appearance in a surviving fragment for that diocese of an earlier taxation roll which was drawn up probably in 1256 following a grant by
Pope Innocent IV to Henry III of England in 1254 of the portion of Scottish benefices assigned to the Crusade. There has been some debate over the nature and dating of this fragment and similar portions which survive for the dioceses of Aberdeen, Brechin and Moray, but they have been assigned most convincingly to 1256 as a Scottish counterpart of the "Norwich Taxation" in England. The churches of Kinnoull, Luncarty, Muckhart, Arngask and Pottie can be dated to 1256 from their appearance in this Roll.

Earlier dates for two further parish churches in St Andrews diocese can be inferred from other evidence. Moncreiffe is specifically described as a parish in ca. 1208 and, in 1227 x 30, a land transaction was concluded in the cemetery of the parish church. The church of Collace can be dated as parochial in 1242 when it appears in a roll of churches which were dedicated by David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews. Other churches in the roll can be shown from independent evidence to have been parochial before the date of their dedication and it seems clear that the dedication ceremonies were simply consecrating the churches concerned and confirming them in their parochial role.

The information assembled through the above discussion and presented in Table I below forms an essential and interesting piece of data. It demonstrates that of the seventy-two parishes in existence before 1300, only just over half are recorded before the end of the reign of William I (1214). Three quarters are known by the middle of the thirteenth century but not until Bagimond's Roll does the full total
become apparent. Nevertheless, Table I alone cannot answer fully the
questions regarding the chronology of the parochial organisation of
Perthshire. It must be remembered that, in most cases, the entries in
the Table depend on the first appearance in the documentary record of
churches which were already of parochial status rather than on evidence
which demonstrates the date of their creation as such. Furthermore,
there are several reasons for suggesting that the establishment of
parishes was virtually completed by the end of the twelfth century.

Firstly, all of the evidence which indicates the actual process of
parochial formation is of twelfth century date. The earliest examples
of this process under David I have been discussed above and to those
can be added several further cases. At Abernethy, the medieval parish
was formed when the old abbacy was dismantled by William I following
the death of Orm, the hereditary lay abbot, between 1189 and 1195. The
teind revenues of Abernethy were divided between the parsonage, which
was then granted to Arbroath Abbey, and the community of Céli Dé who
survived at the church, and the associated churches of Flisk and
Cultrain were detached and given separate parochial status. Laurence,
son of Orm, issued a quitclaim confirming this arrangement and only
inherited his father's landed estate, not the abbacy from which it
derived. In another case, at Inchture, an episcopal chapel of the
bishops of St Andrews was elevated to parochial status with a dependant
chapel of Kinnaird by Bishop Richard and William I, apparently acting
in conjunction, between 1165 and 1170. The joint action may have been
necessary because the bishops had anterior rights in the chapel which
was to be promoted while the lands of Inchture and Kinnaird, which were to form the parish, were royal estates.\textsuperscript{112} A similar cooperation may have occurred at Rossie, where both David I and Robert, bishop of St Andrews, (1123 x 4 – 1159) had a share in the estate which they granted to Matthew, archdeacon of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{113} It can hardly be coincidental that very soon afterwards Matthew conveyed the whole lands and their church, here mentioned for the first time, to St Andrews Priory.\textsuperscript{114} Further indications that the formation of parishes was accomplished in the twelfth century will emerge in later discussion but, significantly, very few, if any, instances of parochial establishment can be inferred from the increasingly full body of source material which becomes available in the thirteenth century.

Secondly, the evidence suggests that by ca. 1200 the parishes which are recorded were part of a well-established and clearly understood system. A grant of the church of Fowlis Wester in 1210, provides a remarkably full definition of a working parish,\textsuperscript{115} and it is only one of a number of contemporary churches which were similarly established. Four other Strathearn churches were granted to the priory of Inchaffray (which was raised to an abbey after 1220/21)\textsuperscript{116} by Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, in almost exactly the same terms between 1200 and 1223\textsuperscript{117} and we may suppose that the five others also granted by Earl Gilbert, but for which the evidence is less explicit, were equally fully installed.\textsuperscript{118} Similar evidence which is indicative of established parishes can also be drawn from elsewhere in Perthshire. Particularly persuasive are the agreements made by Coupar Angus Abbey with the churches of Errol,
Rattray and Cargill in 1189 x 98, 1195 x 1203 and 1200 respectively,\textsuperscript{119} whereby the abbey commuted the teinds of lands belonging to it in those parishes for fixed money payments. From these agreements it must be inferred that the lands acquired by the abbey were already settlements paying teinds to known parish centres, or were undeveloped lands within fixed geographical parishes which would be expected to render teinds to their respective churches when exploited by the abbey.\textsuperscript{120}

Finally, of the parishes which are not recorded until the mid-thirteenth century and after, it has to be said that their earlier non-appearance is not surprising. Churches which remained unappropriated, which accounts for most of those which are first recorded only in the taxation rolls of 1256 and 1274, do not usually appear in earlier records except through chance appearances by their parsons as charter witnesses.\textsuperscript{121} The same is also true of mensal and prebendal churches where no record of the appropriation has survived.\textsuperscript{122} Given that local clergy appear as witnesses to episcopal charters more frequently than to those by laymen, together with the absence of a substantial body of records for the early history of the cathedrals of Dunblane and Dunkeld, such chance appearances are relatively scarce. We must allow, then, that by the end of the twelfth century Perthshire was provided with a comprehensive network of parish churches, and that it is only the deficiencies in the surviving records which prevent this from being demonstrated more fully.
The principal persons involved in the establishment of parishes can be identified, in part at least, as those who are first recorded as the patrons of the parish churches. A brief examination of the evidence for church patronage and parochial formation is worthwhile, since the assumption persists among scholars that the erection of parishes depended to a large extent on the establishment of new feudal estates and the settlement of incoming Anglo-Norman landholders who would build churches on their feus. Indeed, it has been argued that lay patronage of local churches in Scotland originated only in the importation of the, by this date canonically condemned, concept of the "proprietary church" by incoming Norman lords. In Perthshire, however, much land remained in the hands of native lords, while the establishment of feudal estates took place later than in the south of Scotland and, as shall become apparent, largely after the parochial organisation of the sheriffdom had been completed. Only in a few cases can the formation of the parish be directly related to the prior establishment of a feudal holding.

At Errol, the parish was established by William de la Hay, who was granted the feu for the service of two knights by William I in 1178 or 1179, or perhaps by his son, David, who was confirmed in possession of the estate on 17 September, 1195 or 1196. The foundation of the new parish church evidently displaced the earlier ecclesiastical organisation of the area by superseding the old church of Ecclesdouenauin ("the church of St Naemhart", now represented by Clashbennie in Errol parish), which belonged to the bishops of
St Andrews, as in 1202 x 14 William I confirmed an agreement made between David de la Hay and William (Malvoisin), bishop of St Andrews, over the lands of Ecclesdouenauin and the patronage of the church of Errol. In 1331 x 33, Gilbert de la Hay, lord of Errol, granted to Coupar Abbey the patronage of the church which he said was founded by his ancestors and situated in his barony of Errol. Similarly, at Foulis Easter, a chapel on the estate which was granted as a knight's feu to William Maule before 1165 was promoted by the new lord to parochial status. He appointed his nephew, Thomas the clerk, to the new parochial benefice, while confirming the anterior rights of the church of St Andrews in the former chapel.

In two further cases the establishment of parish churches may have been due to local lords who were not first generation incoming settlers and who did not certainly hold their lands by feudal tenure. The church of Findogask is first recorded in the patronage of Seher de Quincy whose father, Robert, had married Orable, heiress of Ness, son of William. Ness, whose baptismal name was Scottish although his father's was Norman, held several estates in Fife, Lothian and Perthshire, including Findogask, which he apparently acquired by his father's marriage to a native Scottish heiress. He was responsible for beginning the building of the elaborate Romanesque parish church of Leuchars, probably at the time when he raised the church to parochial status, and may also have established a parish church on his lands of Findogask. In a similar instance, at Methven, the parish church may have been established by the native lord, Waltheof, son of Cospatric, before the
estate passed to Philip de Mowbray through his marriage to Galiena, daughter and heiress of Waltheof, in the late twelfth century.\textsuperscript{135}

The situation regarding several other churches which are first recorded on private lay estates is more obscure. The churches of Redgorton and Kinnoull were in the patronage of the earls of Fife by the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{136} They lay on lands which had most probably been granted to the earls by the Crown, although no direct evidence for such grants has survived,\textsuperscript{137} but it seems impossible to determine whether or not the estates had been parochially organised before they passed to the earls. In the case of Arngask, the church patronage belonged to the local lord of Fargie in the late thirteenth century,\textsuperscript{138} but again the evidence is insufficient to determine the situation in which the parish originated. Three further churches, Dupplin, Tulliallan and St Madoes, are also first recorded in private lay patronage but since they all remained unappropriated they have left little trace in early records.\textsuperscript{139} The bulk of the evidence which is discussed below, however, demonstrates that the principal persons involved in parochial formation in Perthshire were not lesser local lords such as William de la Hay, William Maule and Ness, son of William.

It has been seen that the early initiative in the formation of parishes lay with David I, and both he and his grandsons, Malcolm IV and William I, continued to be closely involved in the provision of parish churches for royal estates. In the twelfth century the Crown possessed extensive lands in south-east and central Perthshire, including the
earldom of Gowrie and estates in the Perth district, lower Strathearn and Stormont. The churches of the four principal royal manors of Gowrie - Scone, Coupar, Longforgan and Strathardle - were promoted to parochial status at an early date; Scone and Longforgan certainly under David I and Coupar and Strathardle shortly thereafter. The Crown was also involved in the parochial organisation of Inchture and Rossie within the earldom. Elsewhere, it is evident that royal initiative was responsible for the creation of the parishes of Rhynd, Abernethy and Perth, and we may suppose a similarly direct involvement in the parishes of Forteviot and Kinclaven which were in royal patronage in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

There is some evidence that in the twelfth century the Crown was also closely involved in the formation of many of the parishes which are first recorded in the patronage of the bishops of Dunkeld. Of the parishes under consideration here which lay in the diocese of Dunkeld, nineteen were certainly in episcopal patronage. Only four of them, however, appear to have been established by the bishops on estates pertaining to their see. The parishes of Dunkeld and Little Dunkeld were almost certainly based on the demesne lands in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral which were inherited by the reformed bishopric from the earlier Celtic abbey of Dunkeld. The extent of the possessions of the see in the area can be seen from the fact that no fewer than six land-based prebends were assigned to the support of cathedral canons out of episcopal estates within the original parish of Little Dunkeld, while an extensive tract of land on the west bank of
the Tay in the parish was traditionally known as the "Bishopric" because of the bishops' estates there. The teind revenues of the large parish of Little Dunkeld, which until the episcopate of George Brown (1484-1507) included the territory now within the parishes of Dowally and Caputh, were mensal to the bishops from an early date, while those of the very small parish of Dunkeld, which included little more than the cathedral town, pertained to the prebend of the treasurer. The parishes of Muckersie and Lecropt also appear to have been episcopal foundations on estates belonging to the see. (A similar situation evidently explains the inclusion in Dunkeld diocese of the mensal churches of Abercorn, Aberlady, Bunkle and Preston outwith Perthshire.) Muckersie, a small parish on the Water of May in Strathearn, remained an independent church in the patronage of the bishops until erected into a cathedral prebend in the mid-fifteenth century. Lecropt was granted to Cambuskenneth Abbey by Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, in 1260 although, significantly, the bishop retained his episcopal dues in the church "according to ancient usage".

In contrast to the small number of churches on episcopal estates, at least nine of the remainder which are recorded in the patronage of the bishops were on royal estates: Rattray, Cargill, Alyth, Abernyte, Lethendy, Tibbermore, Forgandenny, Aberdalgie and Lagganallachie. Another four churches - Auchtergaven, Obney, Logiebride and Moneydie - may also have been on royal lands, and only that of Crieff was certainly not so. The early history of some of these parishes is poorly documented and some of the lands are first recorded as private
secular estates, but it is probable that all were royal lands until the second half of the twelfth century at least. Most of the lands of Tibbermore parish, for example, were held by Swain, son of Thor, the ancestor of the de Ruthven family, by 1183 x 94, but it is likely that he received the estate by royal gift through service to Earl Henry, son of David I, for the sake of whose soul he made a grant to Scone Abbey. Swain's grant was confirmed by William I, probably as superior lord of the lands, in 1189 x 94. Similarly, the estate of Forgandenny may well have passed to Roger de Barclay, who held it in the early thirteenth century, by royal grant, as members of the de Barclay family are recorded in connection with the Scottish court from the reign of Malcolm IV onwards and are known to have received other lands from the Crown. Aberdalgie was certainly held of the Crown in the thirteenth century while Strathbraan (which was approximately equivalent to Lagganallachie parish) was granted by Malcolm IV to Duncan, earl of Fife, in 1160 x 62. The lands of Rattray, Cargill, Alyth, Abernyte and Lethendy can also be shown to have been in royal possession in the twelfth century before they were granted to other lords.

A remarkable fact regarding all of these lands is that none of them carried the patronage of their churches to their new owners when they were granted by the Crown. In every case, rather, the church patronage rested with the bishops of Dunkeld and all of the parsonages were eventually appropriated to the uses of the cathedral. As there is no record that the churches were granted to Dunkeld after the estates
which they served had passed out of royal hands (and in any case it would be a remarkable coincidence if at least ten separate lords all chose to give the churches on their lands to Dunkeld Cathedral given the nearby presence of the monasteries of Scone and Coupar which otherwise enjoyed the largesse of local lords), it seems that the churches must have belonged to the bishops before the estates were granted. The fact that such a high proportion of the episcopal churches were originally on royal lands suggests that they were deliberately assigned to the cathedral by the Crown. It is possible, indeed, that the parishes were erected and granted to the see as part of a single process designed to establish a reformed ecclesiastical structure in central Perthshire, where perhaps the Celtic abbey and bishopric of Dunkeld had exercised jurisdiction. Unfortunately, the shortage of early records for the cathedral prevents certainty on this point, but any alternative suggestion is not readily forthcoming. It is interesting to note that sixteenth century tradition at Dunkeld remembered David I as the principal reformer of the see and it has been seen that the same king initiated the establishment of parishes on his Perthshire estates. It may also be significant that there was a close connection between the kings of Scots and both the eleventh century abbacy and twelfth century bishopric of Dunkeld. Ethelred, the last lay abbot of Dunkeld, who died in ca. 1106, was the elder brother of Alexander I and David I, both of which kings were, therefore, successive heirs to the hereditary abbacy of Dunkeld as descendants of Crinan, lay abbot of Dunkeld and father of Duncan I, their grandfather. Neither king appears to have occupied the office but
they may have used some of its resources in the reconstitution of the
bishopric. Furthermore, of the twelfth century bishops of the see,
Gregory (1136 x 47 - 1169) apparently enjoyed the favour of David I,\textsuperscript{168}
Richard (1170-78) was appointed by William I, having previously been
royal chaplain,\textsuperscript{169} and Walter de Bidun, who died as bishop-elect in 1178,
had been chancellor to David I, Malcolm IV and William I.\textsuperscript{170} It is clear
that all three of these kings were closely interested in the fortunes
of the see and that part of that concern was expressed through the
 provision of an adequate number of parish churches within episcopal
control which might be applied to the uses of the cathedral.

After the Crown, the most significant landholders in twelfth century
Perthshire were the native families who held the earldoms of Atholl,
Menteith and Strathearn. Atholl lies outwith the scope of this study,
but from grants of Logierait church to Scone Abbey and Moulin to
Dunfermline Abbey by Malcolm, earl of Atholl, before 1189\textsuperscript{171} we can infer
that the parochial organisation of the earldom was under way in the
second half of the twelfth century and that the earls were closely
involved in the process. The involvement of native earls in the
establishment of parishes can be seen more clearly in the diocese of
Dunblane, which incorporated the earldoms of Strathearn and Menteith.
The reconstitution of the see around the middle of the twelfth century
appears to have been very largely the work of the earls of Strathearn.
The earls were regarded by the papacy as the patrons of the cathedral
church and the episcopal office,\textsuperscript{172} and they are described in a royal
charter of 1443 as superior lords of the bishop and chapter.\textsuperscript{173} Just as
the earls were closely involved at diocesan level, so too they were prominent in the establishment of parish churches within their earldom, and no fewer than sixteen parish churches were in the patronage of the earls.

Unfortunately, the period when these parishes must have been erected is not well-attested in surviving records. A charter by Earl Gilbert dating to ca. 1198 records that the church of Aberuthven had been endowed with lands by his father, Earl Ferteth, and mother, Ethen. This endowment must have taken place before the death of Earl Ferteth in 1171 and may represent part of the process by which St Cattan's church of Aberuthven was promoted to parochial status. If so, it would agree with a similar date for the parochial establishment of Muthill, another comital church (although in the hands of Malise, brother of Earl Gilbert, through a grant of lands in 1172 x 73) which was evidently completed by the 1170's. As has been noted, however, the foundation of the Augustinian priory at Inchaffray by Earl Gilbert in 1200 furnishes us with a picture of a network of well-established parishes in Strathearn. Ten of the comital churches were granted to the canons of the new priory by its founder before his death in 1223: Aberuthven, Strogeith, Auchterarder, Kinkell, Dunning, Monzievaird, Fowlis Wester, Kilbride, Tullicheddill and Trinity Gask; together with the church of Madderty which the earl acquired with the feu granted to him by the Crown. Of the remaining comital churches, the patronage of Strowan was subsequently granted to Inchaffray by Malise (III), earl of Strathearn, in 1283 while Fossoy, Balquhidder and Comrie remained independent until the fourteenth century.
For parishes in the earldom of Menteith which, like Atholl, lies outwith the main scope of this study, the evidence is less detailed and slightly later in date, but here too it is apparent that the native earls were prominent in establishing parishes. Of the six parishes into which the earldom was divided, five at least were in comital patronage. By an agreement of 1238 between Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, and Clement, bishop of Dunblane, the revenues of four of the comital churches were divided between the cathedral and the newly-founded priory of Inchmahome. The patronage of the fifth church, Aberfoyle, was reserved to the earldom in a charter of 1260 which concerned the surrounding estate. It is also likely that the sixth church in the earldom, Kilmadock, was in comital patronage, since it had been granted to the earls' priory of Inchmahome by 1429, and probably as early as 1274 when the church was served by a vicar.

In contrast to the prominent position of the earls of Strathearn and Menteith, the bishops of Dunblane do not appear to have been particularly active in establishing parishes in their diocese, a situation which is reflected in the smallness of the number of churches of which they had the patronage. Of the parishes within the study area, only Glendevon and Monzie were certainly in episcopal patronage and, in both cases, the evidence is of relatively late date. The only other church of which the bishops may have held the patronage was Exmagirdle, which Bishop Abraham (1210 - 1220) granted to Lindores Abbey as part of an agreement to recover the church of Muthill for the episcopal mensa. The church may not have been in episcopal
possession for long before this date, however, since it apparently passed to the bishops as a pertinent of the town of Exmagirdle which was granted to the church of Dunblane by Philip de Mowbray, lord of Methven, in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{188}

The predominance of the native earls in parochial formation in the diocese of Dunblane, and the relatively insignificant role of the bishops, may have resulted from the decline of the see in the later period of the Celtic church,\textsuperscript{189} which was only arrested by the reconstitution of the mid-twelfth century. In 1234 Bishop Clement complained to the pope that nearly all of the episcopal possessions of Dunblane had been seized by "secular persons" during a century-long vacancy in the see and that this situation had continued despite the subsequent appointment of several bishops. If it is valid, however, this complaint must refer to possessions held by Dunblane in the period before parishes were established. Bishop Clement's petition, which is reported in a papal mandate by Pope Gregory IX to the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld dated 11 June, 1237,\textsuperscript{190} specifically refers to two vacancies in the see, one of over one hundred years and a second (later) of almost ten years (\textit{pene per decem annos eadem ecclesia iterum pastoris solacio destituta}). The ten year vacancy is apparently a reference to the difficulty of securing a bishop for Dunblane immediately before Clement's appointment. Radulf occurs as bishop-elect from 1223 x 25 but resigned without consecration before 12 January, 1226, while his successor, Osbert, appears to have been largely ineffective and retired to Holyrood Abbey before his death in 1231.\textsuperscript{191} As a succession of bishops is known at Dunblane from 1155 to
the earlier vacancy must have occurred before the reconstitution of the see and may be comparable to similar difficulties experienced in the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. During this period the jurisdiction of Dunblane over local churches had been encroached upon. In 1238 Bishop Clement renounced certain payments and caings which he and his predecessors had claimed, probably unsuccessfully, from all the churches in the earldom of Menteith. These were probably small sums which had been paid to Dunblane in recognition of the nominal authority of the pre-twelfth century bishops who had their seat there. What may have happened is that during the "hundred year" vacancy before 1155, when the first of the new bishops is recorded, Dunblane had lost control of the local (but not yet parochial) churches within its jurisdiction, but it seems clear that it was the "secular persons" amongst whom the earls of Strathearn and Menteith must have been foremost, who had reputedly misappropriated the churches, who were responsible for promoting them to parochial status during the twelfth century. The basis for most of the litigation which arose after 1237 between Bishop Clement, the earls and the various religious houses to which churches in the diocese had been granted, was the papal award of a quarter of the teind revenues of all the parish churches in the diocese, rather than any strong anterior right to the parochial revenues or patronage on the bishop's part. Only in two cases, Aberuthven and Tullicheddill, did Bishop Clement claim that churches which had been granted by laymen to other religious houses pertained by right to his mensa.
This brief study of patronage has demonstrated that the most prominent role in the establishment of parishes in Perthshire was played not by clerics or by incoming settlers, but by the kings and native earls who held much of the land in the sheriffdom. The close involvement of the earls, indeed, suggests that they were operating as royal agents, by virtue of their offices, in the implementation of royal policy for ecclesiastical reform. The general assumption that the provision of parish churches in Scotland was largely due to the development of feudal estates under incoming Anglo-Norman lords, whether lay or ecclesiastical, must be modified accordingly. Certainly this was not the case in Perthshire, which contained much of the heartland of the old Scotian kingdom and which lay beyond the regions of southern Scotland where intensive Anglo-Norman settlement took place at an early date.
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<td>Obney</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>ibid. 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Madoes</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>ibid. 54; (cf. ibid. 71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alyth</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>Cowan, <em>Medieval Parishes</em>, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auchtergaven</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>ibid. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lethendy</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>ibid. 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Dunkeld</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>ibid. 134</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Notes to Chapter 2:

1 Cowan, I., "Some Aspects of the Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland", (RSCHS 13, 1959), 204-5
2 Cowan, "Parochial System", 51
3 Morgan, M., "The Organisation of the Scottish Church in the Twelfth Century", (TRHS 4th Ser. 29, 1947), 135
4 In England, systematic attempts were made to enforce the payment of tithes by royal, episcopal and conciliar decrees from the early tenth century onwards; see D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (eds.), Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church, i, (Oxford, 1981), nos. 11, 17, 20, 27, 40, 86, 132. There is no evidence that similar decrees were issued in Scotland in this period. The situation in Ireland, which in many ways provides the closest parallels to the tenth to twelfth century Scottish Church, is unclear, but one of the complaints made by the twelfth century ecclesiastical reformer Maol Maodoc Ua Morgair (St. Malachy) of the inhabitants of his diocese of Connor and Down was that "they did not give first fruits or tithes". J. Watt, The Church in Medieval Ireland, (Dublin, 1972), 17, (quoting the Life of St. Malachy by St. Bernard of Clairvaux).
5 RRS i, 65-6, no. 233; RRS ii, nos. 71, 124, 281, 374. cf. Barrow, G.W.S., David I of Scotland (1124-53), the Balance of New and Old, (Reading, 1985), 4-5, for David's reign as a point of legal reference generally.
6 ESC no. 182; RRS i, no. 50; Barrow, G.W.S., Kingdom of the Scots, 38-9. There are a number of early grants of the teind of various royal revenues such as that by King Alexander, but these should not be confused with parochial teinds.
8 ESC no. 134
9 Scone Liber no. 1; the phrase ecclesie de Scon in principai sede regni nostre fundate is used in a confirmation of the foundation of the abbey by Malcolm IV, RRS i, no. 234; cf. Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 171.
10 RRS i, no. 57 (7), lost act inferred from ibid. no. 243.
11 Scotia is used in this thesis to indicate that part of Scotland to the north of the Forth-Clyde line.
12 Cowan, "Parochial System", 43-4; cf. Blair J., Minsters and Parish Churches, 1, for a discussion of the term in English records.
13 Scone Liber no. 48; for the significance of the phrase in proprius usus, see Cowan, "Some Aspects of Appropriation", 207
14 RRS ii, no. 65; the closely contemporary endorsement of this charter: Willelmus Rex de decimis piscium parochie de Scon, should be noted.
15 ESC no. 156
16 Ibid. no. 202
17 RRS i, no. 137
For the pre-existence of many of the churches which became parochial, see Chapter 3 below. Earlier churches had been supported by landed endowments and possibly by certain customary dues, (Cowan, "Parochial System", 51). Teinds are, therefore, the most useful distinguishing feature of medieval parish churches.

The results of the following discussion are set out in Table I, pp. 58-60 below.

A large proportion of the evidence for parish churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries derives directly or indirectly from records resulting from the widespread appropriation of church revenues to religious houses. This evidence has been made readily accessible by the researches of Professor Ian Cowan.

ESC no. 225, which dates to before the death of Earl Henry, son of David I. Lawrie identified the church in this charter as Forgan in Fife, remarking that the priory of St. Andrews held two churches called Forgan, in Fife and in Gowrie, (ibid. p. 427), and was followed by Cowan (Medieval Parishes, 68) who compounded the error with a reputed later dispute over the patronage of Forgan in Fife between the priory and Alan de Lascelles. A charter by Malcolm IV confirming his grandfather’s grant, however, (RRS i, no. 122) adds to the gift half of the carucate of land with which he had previously endowed the church. The carucate in question was Kingoodie, (ibid. no. 123), which is in Longforgan parish (no. 33 29), and therefore indicates that the church granted by King David was (Long)Forgan in Gowrie. Further proof of this identification is given by a charter of David, earl of Huntingdon, who confirmed the half carucate and additional lands to the priory, (Stringer, K.J., Earl David of Huntingdon, (Edinburgh, 1985), 265-6). Earl David held the estate of Longforgan but is never known to have held Forgan in Fife, (ibid. 58-9 and chapters 4 and 5, passim). Once this identification is made, it is no longer necessary to postulate a dispute over Forgan in Fife and, in any case, the evidence cited by Cowan does not indicate any such dispute. Rather, Alan de Lascelles simply granted the church to St. Andrews priory in October 1199 x 7 July, 1202, (St. A. Lib., 260, 274-5, 106-7). It is notable that the distinction between the two Forgans only appears in the St. Andrews Register after this date, (ibid. 103-6, 107).

See Table I for full references.

Dunf. Reg. no. 1
RRS i, no. 118
Dunf. Reg. no. 237
For a fuller discussion of the formation of Perth parish see pp. 206-12, Chapter 6 below.

The church of Holy Trinity, Dunkeld, for example, was granted to Dunfermline Abbey and confirmed by Malcolm IV in such terms, (Dunf. Reg. nos. 123, 36), but was never entitled to teinds and did not become parochial.

N.B. Chrs. nos. 5, 9
SHS Misc. iv, 308-9, dating ante 1199; Malcolm issued a similar confirmation as earl in 1204 x 14, N.B. Chrs. no. 7.

The grant is known from a papal confirmation of 1183 by Lucius III, St. A. Lib. 59. It was presumably made after 1163, as the church does not appear in a general papal confirmation to St. Andrews in that year, (ibid. 53-6).

RRS ii, no. 201. Significantly, a papal confirmation of Meigle to St. Andrews by Pope Gregory VIII in 1187 still uses the less precise omnibus redditibus et pertinentiis suis although the church certainly enjoyed teind rights by that date.

C.A. Chrs. i, no. 33; cf. ibid. no. 32
Scone Liber no. 8
St. A. Lib. 126-7; RRS i, no. 194
See p. 43 below.
Spalding Club Misc. ii, 318; NLS Charter 7712
St. A. Lib. 163-4
Inchaff. Chrs. app. no. IVA
Ibid. no. IV
RRS v, no. 141; PSAS 1x (1925-6), 69-71
Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 41
Dowden, Medieval Church, 113-4; Addleshaw, G.W.O., Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Canon Law, (London and York, 1956), 6-7
Early Scottish Charters Prior to A.D. 1153, (ESC), collected by Sir A.C. Lawrie, (Glasgow, 1905)
cf. Medieval Latin Word List, 327
ESC nos. 20, 212
Ibid. no. 73, dating to 1127, has among its witnesses priests of Oldhamstock, Ayton ('Litun'), Lennel (now Coldstream), Ednam and Legerwood. Although all of these churches eventually became parochial, Ayton was only a dependant chapel of Coldingham until the thirteenth century, (Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 12), Lennel and Legerwood cannot be dated as such until the mid-twelfth century, (ibid. 129-30), and only Ednam was certainly parochial by 1127, (ibid. 59-60). Swain, priest of Fishwick, who is called alternatively sacerdos and presbyter, held a church which cannot be dated as parochial before ca. 1150, (ibid. 67; ESC nos. 106, 111, 178, 228, 236), while Gilbert, priest of Stichill, held a church which was only a chapel of Ednam until the thirteenth century, (ibid. no. 111; Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 188).
ESC no. 211
Ibid. no 192 and p. 410
Kelso Liber no. 451
ESC no. 230, where the text has been mistranscribed by Lawrie. The reading in personam is confirmed by Glas. Reg. no. 11. The charter has a witness list which is evidently a later composite but there seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the main body of the text which dates to 1147 x 50.

RRS i, no. 243

RRS ii, no. 124. Cowan (Medieval Parishes, 20) suggests that Scone may only have held the patronage of Borthwick. The placing of the church in sasine of the Bishop of Glasgow in 1147 x 50, however, and the re-emergence after 1283 of Borthwick as an independent church (ibid.), together with the teind rights of Scone Abbey prior to 1283, make it clear that it was the parsonage which pertained to Scone. The patronage, indeed, probably never belonged to Scone, resting first with the Bishops of Glasgow and afterwards with the Lords Crichton (Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 21).

The conclusions here are not altered by the additional pre-1153 charters in reproduced in RRS i.

e.g. for Balquhidder compare Inchaff. Chrns. nos. 95, 96; for Comrie compare ibid. nos. 96, 100, 103.

The standard formula used is X persona de Y, where X is the cleric and Y his church.

N.B. Chrns. no. 5; Arb. Lib. i, nos. 211, 212

Lind. Cart. no. 127

C.A Chrns. nos. 3, 4, 5

Lind. Cart. nos. 42, 45

RRS i, no. 257; RRS ii, no. 161

See Table I for full references.

Inchaff. Lib. app. no. 11. The parish of Kippen was partly in Perthshire but mainly in Stirlingshire and is not included in this study.

Cal. Papal Letters i, 367; cf. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 103

Myln, A., Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum, (Bannatyne Club no. 1, 1831 revised edition), ed. C. Innes; the latter section of the work has also been edited and translated in Dunkeld Rentale, 302-334.

Dowden, Bishops, 47

Dunk. Rent., vii

Ibid. 305, 309, 311

Ibid. 305; Myln records a tradition to this effect but had not witnessed the removal of the documents himself.

Ibid. 312

Ibid. x

See RRS i, 98; Cowan, I., "The Organisation of Scottish Secular Cathedral Chapters," (RSCHS 14, 1960), 19-47, for further positive views on Myln's work and source material.

Myln, Vitae, 10

Watt, Fasti, 101-2

Ibid. 102; MRHS, 205-6; Myln, Vitae, 10

Inchaff. Chrns. nos. 36, 48, 49; Watt, Fasti, 102

Myln, Vitae, 5
"Quasdub" is derived from Welsh (P-Celtic) gwæs, "lad", "servant", (compared with Gaelic gille) and means "the servant of St. Dub". Similar names, such as Gospatrick, are found amongst the native Scottish population in the twelfth century but became scarce thereafter; cf. CPNS, 178.

The parsonage revenues of Little Dunkeld pertained to the episcopal mensa, those of the vicarage to the prebend of the treasurer; Cowan, *Medieval Parishes*, 134.

See below, p. 40.


MRHS, 205; Cowan, *Medieval Parishes*, 14, 34-5, 70, 200-1; *C.A.Chr.* nos. 92, 103


Churches which had previously been appropriated should not appear separately in the Roll, their revenues being accumulated into the assessment of the cathedrals and monastic houses to which they were assigned. Where incorrect inclusions or omissions were made in the first year they were generally corrected in the second.
101 OPS i, xxxvi; St.A. Lib. 29-38; Arb. Lib. 231-47; Dunf. Reg. 203-11.

102 Arb. Lib. 240-1, 241-6; Aberdeen Registrum 51-6; Moray Reg. 362-3

103 Tout, T.F. (ed.), The Register of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, AD 1292-1324, (Canterbury and York Society, London, 1913), vii-xix, esp. xii; Nicolaisen, op.cit. 178-92; For a contrary view see Dunlop in SHS Misc. vi, 12-13; Cosmo Innes' view that the rolls reflect the position of Scottish benefices at the beginning of the thirteenth century, with twelfth century antecedents, (OPS i, xxxvii) is unlikely to be correct.

104 SRO GD 45/27/96; Moncreiffe ii, 631-2, no. 1; 633, no. 2.


106 Forteviot, Foulis Easter and Errol, for example, are all listed as having been dedicated in 1241 and 1242 (ibid., 46-7, 50-1, 54-5) and are all known to have been parochial well beforehand, in 1164, 1165 x 72, and 1189 x 98 respectively, (see Table I for full references).

Only four more parishes were established in Perthshire before the Reformation, all in the late fifteenth century: Kinfauns and Rait in Gowrie (Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 111-2, 167-8), and Caputh and Dowally out of the parish of Little Dunkeld, (Dunkeld Rentale, 312-3.)

108 See pp. 27-30 above.

109. RRS ii, no. 339; Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 41, 67; the other dependant chapels of Abernethy - Dunbog, Abdie and possibly Dron - attained separate parochial status shortly thereafter, (ibid. 1, 51; SHS Misc. vi, 54, 71).

110 Arb. Lib. i, no. 35

111 RRS ii, no. 240; NLS Adv. Mss. 15.1.18, no. 22; RRS ii, no. 23; St.A. Lib. 138-9, 147-9; cf. ibid. 149-52 which records the grant of Inchture both ex dono Regis Willelmi and ex donacione bene memorie Ricardi episcopi.

112 See RRS ii, no. 135 for Kinnaird; the evidence for Inchture is complex and is discussed in Chapter 5 below, but it too seems to have been a royal estate in the first half of the twelfth century.

113 RRS i, nos. 99, 120.

114 St.A. Lib. 126-7, 130-32; RRS i, no. 194

115 Inchaff. Chrs. no. 28; see Chapter 4, pp. 95-6 and note 1, below.

116 MRHS, 91; Inchaff. Chrs. 250

117 i.e. Aberuthven, Madderty, Kinkell and Trinity Gask; Inchaff. Chrs. nos. 13, 14, 15, 45; cf. ibid. no. 3 for an earlier grant of the church of Aberuthven to the "brethren" of Inchaffray before the house was reformed according to the Augustinian Rule.

118 i.e. Strogeith, Auchterarder, Dunning, Monzievaired and Kilbride; Ibid. nos. 9, 10, 21, 22, 39, where nos. 9, 10 and 21 show that these churches were not treated differently in confirmation
charters to those in note 117 above for which fuller evidence has
survived.

119 C.A. Chrs. i, nos. 3, 4, 6, 7

120 On the development of the wasteland of "Edderpolles" (now
Carsegrange), in Errol parish, by the monks of Coupar, see
RRS ii, no. 322 and notes, p. 332; Duncan, Making of the
Kingdom, 176, 320-21. The Abbey held the teinds of "Edderpolles"
for an annual payment of two marks to Errol church, (C.A. Chrs. i,
os. 3, 4).

121 The independent parsonage of Kilspindie, for example, is only

122 eg. the churches of Tibbermore, Cargill and Aberdalgie discussed
on pp. 38-9 above.

123 See Chapter 1, pp. 16-19, above, and Ritchie, R.L.G., The Normans

124 See Chapter 1, pp. 16-18, above, and Morgan, "Organisation of the
Scottish Church", 148-49.

125 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 279-314; Morgan, "Organisation of the
Scottish Church", 135

126 RRS ii, nos. 204, 383

127 Barrow, "Childhood of Scottish Christianity", 6-7

128 RRS ii, no. 562; Spalding Club Misc. ii, 306. The details of
the agreement have not survived.

129 C.A. Chrs. i, no 113

130 Traditionally, William Maule received the estate from David I
after the Battle of the Standard in 1138. This cannot be
verified, as no charter recording such a grant has survived, but
William Maule certainly held Foulis, which he describes as "my
feu", by 1165 x 72, (St.A. Lib. 264-5). See note 131 below for
dating.

131 Ibid. 264-5, which dates to between the consecration of Richard,
bishop of St Andrews (28 March, 1165), and the consecration of
Matthew, archdeacon of St Andrews, as bishop of Aberdeen
(2 April, 1172); ibid. 40-41, 41-42; cf. ibid. 53-56, 130-32,
for earlier episcopal rights in the chapel.

132 Inchaff. Chrs. app. nos. IVa, IVb; Ritchie, The Normans in
Scotland, 285-6

133 Ibid. 284-5

134 Ibid. 285; Cruden, Scottish Medieval Churches, 128-135

135 For Philip de Mowbray see Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era 185-86.

136 Laing Chrs. no. 6, for Redgorton; the patronage of Kinnoull may
be assumed, since the earls held the estate and in 1283
Alexander, son of the earl of Fife, was the rector of the church,
(NLS Adv. Ms. 15.1.18, no. 45; cf. RMS i, app. i, no. 68).
Both the estate and church patronage passed together to the
Erskines after being resigned by Isabella, countess of Fife, in
1360, (RMS i, no. 246; app. i, nos, 142, 151; app. ii, nos.
1408, 1544; Camb. Reg. nos. 160-1, 163).

137 See Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 84-86, for land acquisition by the
earls of Fife in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Professor Barrow's suggestion that the lands of Redgorton may
have passed to the earls via the marriage of Earl Malcolm to the
doughter of Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, (as did a number of
lands in the earldom of Strathearn) is certainly possible, but is
no more supported by the available evidence than the suggestion
that they acquired the estate by royal grant. The family of
Strathearn themselves owed their other lands in Stormont to Crown
infeftment (RRS ii, no. 524), while the earls of Fife certainly
gained the lands of Strathord, Strathbraan, and Discher and Toyer
in central Perthshire by royal gift, (RRS ii, no. 190, RRS ii,
no. 568A; RRS i, app. ii, no. 1396; this evidence is discussed
more fully in Chapter 8 below).

138 Camb. Reg. nos. 1, 2, 3, 4
139 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 55, 178, 200-1
140 The earldom of Gowrie had apparently been in royal hands since at
least the reign of Donald Ban (1093-4 and 1094-97), Skene, Celtic
Scotland, iii, 275; cf. RRS i, no. 245.
141 Stormont is discussed more fully in Chapter 8 below.
142 i.e. Coupar Angus, formerly in Gowrie, Perthshire; see Chapter 5
below.
143 RRS i, nos. 57 (4), 243
144 For Scone and Longforgan see pp. 27-8 and 29 above; Strathardle
was parochial before it was granted to Dunfermline Abbey by
William I in 1183 x 95 (RRS ii, no. 141). The evidence for
Coupar is complex and is discussed at length in Chapter 5 below,
but the manor was parochially organised (parish of Bendochy) by
the early thirteenth century at the latest.
145 See pp. 42 and 43 above.
146 See pp. 28, 42 and 29 above.
147 RRS i, no. 257; RRS ii, nos. 323, 371; Myln Vitae, 10
148 Dunkeld Rentale, 349-51; see Chapter 8, p. 393, below.
149 OSA xii, 398
150 Myln, Vitae, 42-3
151 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 134
152 Ibid. 53
153 Cowan, "Parochial System", 134
154 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 153, where, however, the identification
of "Mucrosin" is incorrect. "Mucrosin" (St. A. Lib. 59) was in
the "Boar's Raik" near St Andrews and was apparently
an alternative name for Centrigmonaid; CPNS 397; ACD Scriptural,
203, 206.
155 Camb. Reg. no. 184, (salvis nobis et successoribus nostris
episcopalibus in eadem ecclesia prout antiquitus facere
conseuerunt)
156 Crieff belonged to the earldom of Strathearn. Why its church was
a possession of Dunkeld is unclear.
157 The evidence is more fully discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 8
below.
158 Scone Liber no. 21
159 RRS ii, no. 331
160 Lind. Cart., nos. 68, 69
161 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 174-5; Kingdom of the Scots, 123;
RRS ii, nos. 171, 185, 277, 345, 346
162 RRS i, no. 190 and p. 228, note 1; RRS ii, no. 484 and p. 443;
Cal Docs Scot ii, no. 1970
163 RRS i, nos. 57(10), 243; RRS ii, p. 5 and nos. 222, 334, 410,
430, 524. For Sir Henry de Abernyte, knight, see Midlothian
Chrs., 13; Laing Chrs. no. 6; N.B. Chrs. no. 7; Scone Liber no. 86.
164 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 2, 4, 6, 27, 84-5, 126, 131, 197
165 Myln, Vitae, 5
166 ESC no. 14; Dunbar, Scot Kings, 32
167 Ibid. 12, 32
168 Myln, Vitae, 5
169 Dowden, Bishops, 50
171 RRS ii, no. 336; Dunf. Reg. no. 147
172 Theiner, Monumenta, nos. 284, 386; Stevenson, Documenta ii, 11-78.
173 APS ii, 58, app. no. 8, a charter of James II confirming the rights and possession of Dunblane which it held of the earls of Strathearn and of the Crown. The earldom was forfeited to the Crown in 1437, hence the necessity for this royal confirmation. A considerable part of the estate of the bishop and chapter of the cathedral which they held in capite of the earls lay in the parish of Dunblane which was in the earldom of Strathearn rather than that of Menteith as is often supposed.
174 Inchaff. Chrs. no. 3
175 Ibid. xxxii, although Bishop Dowden was too optimistic in his reading of this evidence.
176 RRS ii, no. 136
177 See pp. 34-5 above
178 Inchaff. Chrs. nos. 9, 13, 15, 21, 22, 28, 31, 39, 41, 45.
179 Ibid. no. 4; RRS ii, no. 258
180 Inchaff. Chrs. no. 112 and pp. 292-3
181 See ibid. nos. 95, 96 for parsons of Balquhidder at the earl's court. By 1432 the church was a prebend of Dunblane Cathedral, although still in lay patronage (Cal. Papal Letters viii, 453). The patronage of the church of Fossoway was granted to Coupar Abbey in 1305 x 6 by Sir Gilbert de Hay of Errol, who held it of the earls of Strathearn, (C.A. Chrs. i, nos 85, 86).
182 He was the immediate successor of the line of native earls through marriage with Isabel, daughter of Earl Maurice (d. 1231 x 34), Scots Peerage vi, 126-7.
183 Inchaff. Liber app. no. 11
184 Fraser, Menteith, no. 6
185 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 102-3; SHS Misc. vi, 53
186 Cal. Papal Letters i, 367; RRS i, nos. 1057, 2390
187 Lind. Cart. nos. 42, 45
188 This grant is inferred from Lind. Cart. no. 133, a charter by Sir John de Mowbray, lord of Methven, dating to 1300, which narrates that his predecessors had granted the lands of Emmagirdle to Dunblane Cathedral. As Bishop Abraham had possession of the town by 1211 x 14 (ibid. no. 42 and p. 249), it must have been granted to the cathedral by Philip de Mowbray (for whom see Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 185-6)
189 Donaldson, G., "Scottish Bishops' Sees before the reign of David I", (PSAS 67, 1952-53), 113, 115
190 Theiner, Monumenta, no. 91
191 Watt, *Fasti*, 75; Dowden *Bishops*, 195-6
192 Watt, *Fasti*, 75
194 *Inchaff. Lib.* app. no. 11
195 Watt, *Fasti*, 75
196 *Inchaff. Lib.* app. no. 11; *Arb. Lib.* i, 176; Theiner, *Monumenta*, no. 91
197 *Inchaff. Chrs.* no. 60
Chapter 3

The Parish Kirks
The preceding discussion has demonstrated that seventy-two parishes were created in the area of Perthshire under consideration largely, if not wholly, before ca. 1200. Each of these parishes was provided with a church and, although it is clear that the establishment of parishes was an innovation of the twelfth century, important questions remain unanswered regarding the relationship of the churches of these new parishes to previous local church provision. No discussion of the development of parishes can be complete without an attempt being made to address these questions.

In England, the provision of many local churches which were to become parochial originated in the foundation of private "proprietary churches" by kings, bishops and especially local landowners within the large parochiae of communally-served minster churches in the tenth to twelfth centuries.¹ The network of local parishes was developed through a readjustment of the jurisdictional rights and corresponding territories of the old minsters and these new churches.² In the process, old churches were rebuilt and many wholly new local churches were created as "between 1050 and 1150 the English Church acquired new building-stock on a scale unparalleled before or since".³

Professor Cowan has argued that this process was replicated in Scotland, beginning on episcopal estates but receiving its main impetus from Anglo-Norman penetration in the course of the twelfth century.⁴ While there is certainly some truth in this argument, especially with regard to areas of southern Scotland where Anglo-Norman settlement was
intensive at an early date, it does not address the question of the
degree to which parish churches themselves were the successors to
earlier local churches rather than new foundations with no precursors.
The earliest, and often cited, charter evidence for the establishment
of a local church in Scotland dates to ca. 1105 and certainly concerns
a church with no predecessor. It was built on the estate of Ednam
(Roxburghshire) which had only recently beforehand been reclaimed from
wasteland for cultivation by a possibly immigrant lord, Thor Longus.
Probably because this is the earliest example, however, it has been
allowed too much importance as a general model for the establishment of
local churches in twelfth century Scotland at the expense of a proper
appreciation of the question of continuity.

It is not easy to assess either the extent or character of local church
provision in Perthshire before the twelfth century and, correspondingly, to determine the degree of continuity between
pre-parochial and parochial churches. The documentary record directly
illustrates churches surviving into the twelfth century from the
previous period at only a few locations, and then usually concerns
churches which were of more than ordinary importance. At Abernethy,
Muthill, Dunblane and Methven, small communities of Celtic clergy
survived into the thirteenth century and were evidently similar in
character to the corporate bodies who served the English minsters. It
seems that a further group of such clerics also existed at Dunkeld in
the twelfth century but had declined by 1214 x 29, at which date the
chapter of Dunkeld Cathedral disposed of the customary revenues in the
lands of Redgorton which they had formerly received ad opus Macleins et Scoloccorum. Of these churches, however, at least Dunblane, Abernethy and Dunkeld were early ecclesiastical centres of considerable importance and two of them survived as the seats of reformed medieval bishoprics. Muthill and Methven, and to an extent Abernethy, shared the fate of the English minsters which declined in status to become ordinary parish churches by the thirteenth century. The documentary record gives us no direct information on lesser churches than these before the twelfth century.

Such archaeological and architectural evidence as exists does not take the discussion much further. The round tower at Abernethy and the square towers at Dunblane, Muthill and Dunning which are associated with later medieval churches were probably built in ca. 1090 x ca. 1130 by religious communities which were still sufficiently active and important at that period to require a substantial belfry, a place of secure deposit (perhaps for relics) and a strong refuge. The construction of these towers within the fifty years or so before the churches with which they were associated became parochial indicates a continuity of ecclesiastical occupation and function at these sites in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially when taken in conjunction with the documented survival of communities of clergy at all of the churches except Dunning. Nevertheless, this evidence is still restricted to a small number of churches, at least two of which, Dunblane and Abernethy, were of special importance in the pre-parochial period. It may be, indeed,
that the towers at Dunning and Muthill should be taken to indicate that those churches too were of greater than usual status.

A further group of parish churches may be related to earlier ecclesiastical sites by their apparent association with carved, cross-bearing stone slabs of the Pictish and immediately post-Pictish period. Although the function and significance of Pictish monumental sculpture are matters of some debate, it can hardly be doubted that at Meigle, which has a large and impressive collection of cross-slabs and other carved stones, there was a church of some importance with an associated sculpture workshop in the eighth to tenth centuries. The establishment of a church at Meigle may well be connected with a mission to southern Pictland led by the Northumbrian cleric Curitan (Boniface) in 714-17, or at least with the "Romanizing" reform of the Pictish Church which took place from the second quarter of the eighth century onwards of which Curitan's mission was an important part. In other examples, it may also be argued that where cross-slabs are known to have been discovered or located at or near a parish church the ecclesiastical associations of the site are of some antiquity. Hence Alyth, Fowlis Wester, St Madoes, Rossie and possibly Crieff, Dunning, Dupplin and Muckersie may date back as church sites to the eighth to tenth centuries. Certainly, cross-slabs at Dunblane, Dunkeld, Abernethy and Forteviot are associated with churches which are known from other evidence to date from the Early Christian period. At most of these sites, however, the important factor of continuity of occupation and use of the churches cannot be demonstrated even if, by
analogy with Dunkeld, Dunblane and Abernethy where communities of Celtic clergy survived into the parochial period, such continuity seems likely. A considerable chronological gap often exists between the Early Christian evidence, which is of tenth century date at the latest, and the documented appearance of a parish church at a site in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Beyond this, neither the currently available archaeological nor architectural evidence can tell us much of local churches in the pre-parochial period.

Place-name evidence can advance the discussion a little further, as we can identify Kilbride and Kirkmichael as early church sites from the Gaelic toponymic element *cill* (<Latin *cella*, "cell", "church") which appears in their names and which can be dated to the century or so before ca. 800. Similarly, Exmagirdle (Gaelic *Eaglais mo-Ghrilláin*, "my-Grillán's church") embodies the P-Celtic *egles*, "church" and dates to between the mid-fifth and mid-seventh centuries. Again, however, it must be recognised that there is no certainty at any of these three sites of a continual use of the churches through to the parochial period.

A more substantial body of evidence for local churches before the twelfth century exists in the tutelary dedications which were attached to them. The importance of this type of evidence to the discussion of the early Scottish Church has, of course, long been recognised but the use which has been made of it has not always been sufficiently critical or careful. Furthermore, given the lack of a thorough scholarly
examination of the whole subject of church dedication in Scotland, it remains a difficult type of evidence to utilise. At least the unreasonable assumption that every place-name or church dedication which involves the name of a saint of the Celtic Church recalls an actual visit to the site by that saint has been corrected. The evidence of dedications, rather, demonstrates the influence of a saint's cult in topographical and ecclesiastical naming, either through direct personal association with a place, through the missionary work of followers of the saint, or, and perhaps quite commonly, through admiration for the saint within the general milieu of popular religious belief. Undoubtedly many dedications do recall the actual activities of a saint or of his or her followers, especially where the saint concerned is not one of the better known or where the distribution of commemorations is concentrated in a specific locality, but it must be recognised that they might just as readily have resulted from the more general devotion to the cult of saints which was a feature of both the Celtic and the Roman Churches.

For the purposes of our discussion the importance of dedicatory evidence depends on the date at which the dedications were attached to the churches of Perthshire. If the dedications can be shown to belong largely to the period before the twelfth century, then the original churches themselves can be similarly dated, whereas a large number of twelfth century or later dedications would imply the widespread establishment of wholly new churches, or at least a very substantial reorganisation in local church provision. The starting point for such
a discussion must be a collection, as far as is possible, of the dedications of the parish churches and this material has been fully set out in Table II below. The quality of evidence for dedications, however, is variable and it has been thought advisable to categorise the churches according to the type and quality of evidence which records their tutelary saints. The churches have been grouped together where their dedications are attested by record sources (category 1); where their dedications are certainly recorded by other evidence types, particularly place-names (category 2); where dedications attributed to churches in secondary works are supported by other evidence such as a local fair or topographical feature which also bears the saint’s name (category 3); and where dedications are given in secondary works but without supporting evidence (category 4).\(^{30}\) In addition, it has been necessary to list separately a small group of churches which are attributed dedications which either rest on uncertain evidence or are demonstrably wrong (category 5).\(^{31}\) Churches whose dedications are lost or unknown are listed at the end of Table II (category 6). A further subdivision has been made in the first four categories between dedications to (a) non-scriptural and (b) scriptural saints. (It does not apply to categories 5 and 6). Admittedly this categorisation depends largely on the vagaries of the survival of the various types of evidence employed, but at least it allows a more critical appreciation of the material than might otherwise have been the case.

The assembled evidence demonstrates that the large majority of parish dedications were to saints belonging to the insular church who were
active in the fifth to ninth centuries. Twenty five churches were certainly so dedicated, with another five probably and four possibly so. In contrast, at most only nine churches had Scriptural dedications, while three were dedicated to non-Scriptural, Continental saints. The dating of these dedications is more difficult since, as has been said, it cannot certainly be assumed that the dedications to insular saints imply the actual presence of those saints or even of their immediate followers, which would allow dedications to be dated according to the known chronological limits of the saints involved. Furthermore, Celtic hagiology was not unknown to the Scottish Church in the later middle ages and dedications to insular saints, especially the better known among them such as Columba, Adamnán and Ninian, may be of medieval date. Nevertheless, it is possible to demonstrate that a considerable number of the churches in Perthshire received their dedications before the twelfth century.

In two cases which have already been mentioned, Kilbride and Kirkmichael, the name of a tutelary saint forms the qualifying element of a place-name containing the early Gaelic word cill. Such names are not likely to have been formed much after ca. 800. Similarly, Exmagirdle embodies the P-Celtic egles in a compound name with the saint's name, Grillán, as the qualifier and belongs to the Pictish church of the mid-fifth to seventh centuries. A further five church sites - Findogask, Forgandenny, Logiebride, Cambusmichael and Tibbermore - belong to the early stratum of place-names which incorporate the tutelary saint as the qualifying element in a compound
name with the descriptive topographical word for the site of the church. Logiebride embodies Brigid in a name meaning "St. Brigid's Hollow" (Gaelic lagan, "hollow") while Forgandenny ("St. Eithne's [place] on or above the hill") and Findogask ("St. Findoca's ridge") contain the names of the female saints Eithne and Findoca respectively. Cambusmichael and Tibbermore recall the Scriptural Archangel and Virgin while the Holy Trinity dedication of Trinity Gask church may also have been employed in a name of this type as it appears in the form Gask crist in the thirteenth century. St Madoes might also belong to this stratum of names if it represents an anglicised Gaelic name from which the principal element has been lost leaving only the qualifier, in this case the saint's name in the genitive case. The evidence of place-names, then, combines with the dedicatory material to demonstrate that at least eight of the Perthshire churches which became parochial in the twelfth century had been in existence for some considerable time before that date.

The inclusion of St. Brigid in the cill name of Kilbride and in Logiebride is interesting as it allows us to suggest a similarly early date for two further dedications to the saint at Abernethy and Fossoway. This group of dedications may indicate a local cult of St. Brigid, perhaps inspired by the tradition that Abernethy was granted to the saint by Nechtan, king of Picts. A similar cult, possibly of eighth or ninth century date, may explain the four or five dedications to St. Serf which stretch from his traditional centre at Culross on the Forth north to, and along, Strathearn by way of Dupplin,
Dunning, Monzievaird and Tullicheddill. Another such local cult would account for the several commemorations, including the churches of Kinkell and Fowlis Wester, of St. Bean (or Beóán) in upper Strathearn and Glenalmond.

Where the early ecclesiastical associations of the site of a parish church with a dedication to an insular saint are also indicated by the presence of Early Christian archaeological evidence such as the carved cross-bearing slabs of eighth to tenth century date discussed above, it may be permissible to assign the dedication to a similarly early date with some confidence. The dedication of Meigle church to the Scriptural St. Peter may date to the early eighth century activities of Curitan already discussed and the dedication to the Archangel Michael at Crieff may be of a comparable date to those at Kirkmichael and Cambusmichael which may also date to the eighth century. Both churches are associated with Pictish cross-slabs and may, by analogy, provide a chronological horizon for the other churches which have cross-slabs but which are dated to non-Scriptural saints. One such dedication, that of Dunkeld to St. Columba, may also be closely datable if, as seems probable, it was related to the transfer in 849 of some of the saint's relics to the church of Dunkeld which had been built or re-built shortly beforehand by Kenneth mac Alpin. An eighth or ninth century date can also be inferred for the dedications of Dunning, Dupplin, Abernethy and Fowlis Wester if, as suggested above, they belong to local cult groupings. The dedication of Dunblane may date as early as the seventh century lifetime of its saint as Dunblane was
the chief monastery of Blään, bishop of Kingarth in Bute. If so, it would pre-date the sculptured stones there by at least a century. Indeed, many of the churches associated with cross-slabs may in origin pre-date the sculptures. It is more likely that Christian monumental sculpture should have been placed at a church rather than vice-versa, as Christian (if not clerical) communities presumably commissioned the sculptures. In any event, for the purposes of this discussion, it may be assumed with some certainty that churches which display associated cross-slabs and dedications to insular saints or Scriptural saints who are in evidence locally in the pre-medieval period date back at least to the eighth or ninth century and possibly earlier. To the examples of such churches already discussed can be added Alyth (St. Mo-Luóc), St Madoes (St. Cadoc or Doc) and Rossie (St. Commán). Muckersie, the only church with a cross-slab whose dedication has not survived, may be of a similarly early date to this group.

Beyond these examples, where an early date for the tutelary dedication of the churches is supported by other evidence, most of the dedications to insular saints cannot be closely dated. As most of the dedications are to less well-known saints, however, and there is ample evidence of early dedications to saints from the same milieu in the cases discussed above, it is not too arbitrary to assign most of them to before the twelfth century even if this cannot be certainly demonstrated in every instance.
There are few parish church dedications, indeed, which appear to belong to the period from the twelfth century onwards. The dedication to St. Laurence at Monzie may be of such date, since another commemoration of the saint, at Rossie, was apparently added to an earlier dedication to St. Commán in the medieval period. The date of dedication of certain other churches such as Perth (St. John) and Arngask (St. Columba) must also remain doubtful, and dedicatory evidence does not assist us with the chronology of the twenty-seven churches whose tutelary saints are unknown. Of these latter, however, at least Forteviot, Bendochy and Muckersie can be shown to date back to before the twelfth century as ecclesiastical sites, illustrating that the lack of a surviving early dedication or Christian monument need not imply the lack of an early church site. In sum, the evidence which is available demonstrates that a very large proportion of the parish churches of twelfth century Perthshire were the successors to earlier local churches.

The fact that a parish church can be shown to have been on an early church site does not, of course, prove in itself the continual use of a church there from the date of its origin until it was promoted to parochial status. There are, however, strong indications that this was the case. That so many churches which became parochial in the twelfth century retained their earlier tutelary saints suggests that those dedications had been maintained by their attachment to churches which had continued to function in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This is a particularly persuasive argument as it seems that in this late phase
of the Celtic Church close familiarity with hagiology waned and that a reconstruction of various details of saints' lives was necessary in the later middle ages. Had strong ties between local churches and their tutelary saints not continued in this period there seems little reason for the survival of the early dedications during the wholesale reconstruction of the Scottish church in the twelfth century when it might otherwise have been expected that popular saints from the hagiology of the Roman Church would have replaced those of the native tradition to a greater extent than is apparent. Even though many local churches were rebuilt in the course of their promotion to parochial status it seems clear that they were simply the successors of earlier churches on their sites and were "new" only in terms of their fabric. It may also be the case that the formation of parishes utilised existing local churches because of an established relationship to and status within the territorial communities which became their parishes. The prominent role of native earls, who would have been well acquainted with the estate and community organisation and with ecclesiastical provision in their earldoms, in parochial formation may have contributed greatly to the survival of existing churches in parochial guise. In many cases the establishment of parish churches may simply have involved a technical, legal and ecclesiastical change in the status of local churches which were already intimately related to territorial communities. To explore such questions fully, however, it is necessary to undertake a detailed examination of the parochial units and communities of Perthshire.
### TABLE II : DEDICATIONS OF PARISH CHURCHES

#### 1a Non-Scriptural dedications attested by record sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberuthven</td>
<td>Cattán</td>
<td>Inchaff. Chrs. no.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arngask</td>
<td>Columba</td>
<td>Camb. Reg. no. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auchterarder</td>
<td>Cessóc</td>
<td>Inchaff. Chrs. no. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culross</td>
<td>Serf</td>
<td>RRS v, no. 141; cf. PSAS 60, (1925-26), 67ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunkeld</td>
<td>Columba</td>
<td>Holy. Lib. no.66, p. 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunning</td>
<td>Serf</td>
<td>Inchaff. Chrs. no. 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fossoway</td>
<td>Brigid</td>
<td>C.A.Chrs. no. 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foulis Easter</td>
<td>Mo-Ernóc</td>
<td>St.A. Lib. 348; cf. ACD Non-Scriptural, 74-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowlis Wester</td>
<td>Bean</td>
<td>Inchaff. Chrs. no. 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilbride</td>
<td>Brigid</td>
<td>ibid. no. 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinkell</td>
<td>Bean</td>
<td>ibid. no. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madderty</td>
<td>Ethernan</td>
<td>ibid. no. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monzievaird</td>
<td>Serf</td>
<td>ibid. no. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossie</td>
<td>Commán and Laurence</td>
<td>St.A. Lib. 348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Madoes</td>
<td>Cadoc or Doc⁵⁹</td>
<td>Spalding Club Misc. ii, 310; cf. CPNS, 327; RMS iii, no. 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strogeith</td>
<td>Patrick</td>
<td>Inchaff. Chrs. no.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tullichedill</td>
<td>Serf</td>
<td>Inchaff. Chrs. no. 41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1b Scriptural dedications attested by record sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Longforgan</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>St.A. Lib. 61⁶⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>John the Baptist</td>
<td>Dunf. Reg. no. 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scone</td>
<td>Holy Trinity</td>
<td>Scone Liber no. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strathardle</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Dunf. Reg. no. 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Gask</td>
<td>Holy Trinity</td>
<td>Inchaff. Chrs. no. 45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2a Non-Scriptural dedications certainly recorded by other evidence types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abernethy</td>
<td>Brigid</td>
<td><a href="#">Skene, <em>Picts and Scots</em>, records the (?tenth century) tradition that Abernethy was gifted to St. Brigid; <em>CPNS</em>, 275; cf. <em>RRS</em> ii, no. 152, where half the annual rent for Abernethy was to be paid on St. Bride’s (Brigid’s) Day; the common seal of the church of Abernethy displayed an image of St. Brigid, Laing, <em>Seals</em> i, 172.</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunblane</td>
<td>Bláán</td>
<td><a href="#">Place-name; <em>CPNS</em>, 164-5</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exmagirdle</td>
<td>Grillán</td>
<td><a href="#">Place-name; <em>ibid.</em> 519; cf. <em>Scottish Studies</em> 27, (1983), 7</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findogask</td>
<td>Findoca</td>
<td><a href="#">Place-name; <em>CPNS</em>, 286-7</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgandenny</td>
<td>Eithne</td>
<td><a href="#">Place-name; <em>ibid.</em> 284, 381</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logiebride</td>
<td>Brigid</td>
<td><a href="#">Place-name; <em>ibid.</em> 274</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megginch</td>
<td>Martin</td>
<td><a href="#">The parish was later known as St. Martins from its tutelary saint; cf. <em>OSA</em> xi, 554.</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strowan</td>
<td>Rónán</td>
<td><a href="#">ACD Non-Scriptural, 151-2; <em>OSA</em> xii, 718; Mackinlay, <em>Pre-Reformation Church</em>, 22</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2b Scriptural dedications certainly recorded by other evidence types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambusmichael</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td><a href="#">Place-name; <em>ACD Scriptural</em>, 344; cf. <em>OSA</em> xi, 554</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibbermore</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td><a href="#">Place-name; <em>CPNS</em>, 504, which is confirmed by <em>Dunk. Rent.</em>., 313</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3a Probable dedications, recorded in secondary works with supporting evidence; non-scriptural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alyth</td>
<td>Mo-Luóc</td>
<td><a href="#">CPNS, 292-3; <em>ACD Non-Scriptural</em>, 160</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balquhidder</td>
<td>Angus</td>
<td><a href="#">CPNS, 272</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Church Dedication References

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comrie</td>
<td>Cessóc</td>
<td>CPNS, 297-8; cf. RMS ii no. 640 for a royal charter dated <em>Apud Comre in festo B. Kessogi confessoris</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinnoull</td>
<td>Constantine</td>
<td>ACD Non-Scriptural, 201-3; FES, 218; OSA xi, 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luncarty</td>
<td>Fáelán</td>
<td>ACD Non-Scriptural, 168-9; FES, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monzie</td>
<td>Laurence</td>
<td>FES, 178; Forrester, D.M.; Logiealmond, (Edinburgh and London, 1944), 41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3b Probable dedications, recorded in secondary works with supporting evidence; scriptural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crieff</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>FES, 265; Forrester, op. cit., 41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4a Possible dedications, recorded in secondary works but without supporting evidence; non-scriptural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collace</td>
<td>Ucan</td>
<td>Lockhart, W.; <em>The Church of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century</em>, (Edinburgh and London, 1892), 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupplin</td>
<td>Serf</td>
<td>SFDC 8, part iv, (1961), 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logie</td>
<td>Uallach</td>
<td>SFDC 9, (1963-65), 70, 150; 10, (1966), 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muthill</td>
<td>Patrick</td>
<td>FES, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redgorton</td>
<td>Colin and Mary</td>
<td>FES, 241; Forrester, op. cit., 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pottie</td>
<td>Pothinus⁴¹</td>
<td>ACD Non-Scriptural, 323; FES, 201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4b Possible dedications, recorded in secondary works but without supporting evidence; scriptural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meigle</td>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>ACD Scriptural, 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>References</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blairgowrie</td>
<td>Ninian or</td>
<td>ACD Non-Scriptural, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forteviot</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Traditionally, Forteviot church was built and dedicated to St. Andrew (ES i, 266-7; PSAS 26 (1891-2), 435-7; Alcock, &quot;Forteviot&quot;, 215); there is no medieval or later evidence, however, which records the dedication of Forteviot and its connection with St. Andrew must remain doubtful; cf. ibid. 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilspindie</td>
<td>Pensandus</td>
<td>Thus in ACD Non-Scriptural, 481, apparently on the assumption that the place-name represents the cill of St. Pensandus. Early forms of the name, however, show that it was derived from ceann, &quot;head&quot;, &quot;end&quot;, (Scone Liber no. 84; Arb. Lib. i, no. 215; Spalding Club Misc. ii, 312). The qualifying element is therefore unlikely to be a saint’s name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagganallachie</td>
<td>Aulachy</td>
<td>In this case the place-name qualifier is said to derive from St. Aulachy, (OSA xii, 397; ACD Non-Scriptural, 138; FES, 158). Nevertheless, this etymology of the name is unconvincing. Watson (CPNS, 478-9) discusses names in -allachy, -allochy, etc. as derived from early Irish ailchide, &quot;stony&quot;. The early forms of the name, Loghantlot and Logynauelath, (SHS Misc. vi, 47, 73) are not very helpful in resolving the question.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glendevon</td>
<td>Kentigern</td>
<td>FES, 275, says that the early church of Glendevon parish was that in Gleneagles dedicated to St. Mungo, but Gleneagles was actually in Strogeith parish and St. Mungos was a chapel in that parish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Mungo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Church Dedication References

The dedication to St. Bean is alleged on the grounds that the place-name is the saint's name with the affectionate possessive pronoun, i.e.; *mo-Bheathan*, *(ACD Non-Scriptural, 139-40; Forrester, op.cit. 41)*. While such a name does occur in the vicinity, however, *(ibid. 40-41; CPNS, 311)* the place-name, Methven is derived from P-Celtic *meddaen*, "mead stone" *(ibid., 387)*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methven</td>
<td>Bean</td>
<td>The dedication to St. Bean is alleged on the grounds that the place-name is the saint's name with the affectionate possessive pronoun, i.e.; <em>mo-Bheathan</em>, <em>(ACD Non-Scriptural, 139-40; Forrester, op.cit. 41)</em>. While such a name does occur in the vicinity, however, <em>(ibid. 40-41; CPNS, 311)</em> the place-name, Methven is derived from P-Celtic <em>meddaen</em>, &quot;mead stone&quot; <em>(ibid., 387)</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6 Lost or unknown dedications

**Churches of:**

- Aberdalgie
- Abernyte
- Auchtergaven
- Bendochy
- Cargill
- Clunie
- Errol
- Inchture
- Kinclaven
- Lethendy
- Little Dunkeld
- Lundeiff
- Moncreiffe
- Moneydie
- Muckersie
- Muckhart
- Obney
- Rattray
- Rhynd
- Tulliallan
Notes to Chapter 3:

1. Blair, Ministers and Parish Churches, 1
2. Ibid., 1, 10-15
3. Ibid., 9
4. Cowan, "Parochial System", 47-50
5. ESC no. 24
7. Dowden, Medieval Church, 111-12; Cowan, "Parochial System", 48,
   although Cowan does acknowledge that not all churches which are
   first recorded in the twelfth century were necessarily new
   foundations.
8. Lind. Cart. nos. 46, 47, 48, 51; Arb. Lib. i, nos. 34, 25, 214, 215; Cowan, "Parochial System", 46
9. Myln, Vitae, 4-5; MRHS, 47; Watt, Fasti, 101
10. Lind. Cart. nos. 33, 34; the Macleins et Scoloccorum were a
    group of Celtic clerics surviving at Dunkeld but who were
    probably not such an organised "school" as Bishop Dowden
    suggests; cf. ibid. p. liv and note 1; Cowan, "Parochial
    System", 46.
11. Donaldson, G.; "Scottish Bishops' Sees before the reign of
    The Celtic Church in Scotland, (London, 1894), 119; Skene, Celtic
    Scotland, ii, 307-11
12. Cowan, "Parochial System", 44-5; MRHS, 89
13. Fernie has dated the round tower of Abernethy fairly convincingly
    to ca. 1090 x 1130, together with the early ecclesiastical
    buildings at Brechin, Egilsay, Restennet, Edinburgh Castle and
    St. Andrews; Fernie, E.; "Early Church Architecture in
    Scotland", (PSAS 116, 1986), 393, 407. Cruden dates Abernethy
    rather earlier than this but associates it in function with the
    square towers of Dunblane, Dunning, Muthill, Markinch and
    St. Andrews which are dated to the late eleventh to early twelfth
    centuries; Cruden, S.; Scottish Medieval Churches, (Edinburgh,
    1986) 10, 14-20; cf. Donaldson, G.; "Scotland's Earliest Church
    Buildings", (RSCHS 18, 1972), 4-8.
14. Cruden, op.cit., 19-20, discusses these functions of the square
    towers which, in the light of Fernie's argument (see note 13
    above), may be extended to include Abernethy.
15. Abernethy became parochial in 1189 x 95, Muthill by 1155 x 71,
    Dunblane by 1191 x 98 and Dunning before ca. 1200; see Table I,
    Chapter 2, above. At the most extreme dating possible, the
    towers may have been built up to a century before the parochial
    establishment of the churches with which the were associated.
16. ECMS, ii, 296-305, 329-40; The Meigle Museum, Perthshire :
    Catalogue of Early Christian and Pictish Monuments; Ancient
    Monuments of Scotland, (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1957). Work by the
    Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
    on south-east Perth (publication forthcoming) has identified
    fragments of a church or other substantial building among the
    carved stones at Meigle.
17. Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 71; Henderson, I., "Pictish
    Archaeological Sites", 13, in An Historical Atlas, 11-13 and
    Map 11.
18 ECMS ii, 286, 289, 292-96, 306-7, 328 for Alyth, Fowlis Wester, St Madoes and Rossie where the sculptured stones clearly have a long association with the church sites, even though that at Fowlis Wester has been re-used as a market cross and stands in the village square a few hundred yards in front of the church. A second cross-slab at Fowlis was discovered embedded in a wall in 1931 during the restoration of the church, (Mackie, E.W.; Scotland : An Archaeological Guide, (London, 1975), 178). A similar re-use of a cross-slab as a market cross may account for the present location of the Crieff stone, (ECMS ii, 313-5). The former location of the slab now housed in Dunning church is not recorded, (cf. ibid. 319). The Dupplin stone (ibid. 319-21) stands on its own 730m WSW of Dupplin Castle (NO 050 189), (List of Ancient Monuments in Scotland), Scottish Development Department (Edinburgh, ca. 1983), and may have been at the medieval parish church, the exact site of which is unknown. The site of the medieval church of Muckersie is also lost but may have been where the cross-slab once stood, about half a mile N of Invermay House, (ECMS ii, 327).


20 See p. 73 above.

21 The current work being done on Perthshire by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (first volume published as North East Perth : an archaeological landscape, RCAHMS, Edinburgh, 1990), may identify previously unnoticed early Christian sites. Outwith the study area of this thesis, such sites have been identified in Perthshire at Dull and Fortingall; see Macdonald, A.O.S. and Laing, L.R.; "Early Ecclesiastical sites in Scotland : A field survey; Part II", PSAS 102 (1969-70), 129 ff.

22 The original form of Kirkmichael, the church of Strathardle, was Kilmichael; Dunf. Reg. no.227.

23 Nicolsen, Scottish Place Names, 143-44

24 Barrow, "Childhood of Scottish Christianity", 7, 12

25 It is worth noting that another eales church in Perthshire does seem to have survived into the twelfth century at Clashbennie (Ecclesdouenauin) when it was superseded by the new parish church of Errol. See Chapter 2, pp. 45-6, above.

26 The work of James M. Mackinlay, still provides the most comprehensive study of the subject, although it is relatively uncritical in its treatment of the evidence for dedications and is unreferenced. A recent thesis by Morag Redford on "Commemorations of Saints of the Celtic Church in Scotland", (Edinburgh University, M.Litt., 1988) has assembled a large amount of material on dedications but is rather disappointing in its discussion of the evidence. CPNS continues to be invaluable for individual saints and place-names.

The distinction which is commonly made between "Celtic-type" dedications, where the dedication is said to recall the founder of the church or the monastic patron of the founder, and "Roman-type" dedications, where physical attachment is rarely implied but the saint is drawn from the common hagiological stock, has been over-emphasised (see for example Simpson, W.D.; The Historical St. Columba, 1st edn. (Aberdeen, 1927), 2; Bowen, E.G.; The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales, (Cardiff, 1954), 2.) It cannot be used as a guiding principle (Anderson, M.O.; "Columba and Other Irish Saints in Scotland" in McCracken, J.L. (ed.); Historical Studies 5, (London, 1965), 27). Anderson, "Irish Saints in Scotland", 27; Mackinlay, J.M., The Influence of the Pre-Reformation Church on Scottish Place-Names, (Edinburgh, 1904) 13

I have not discovered any other evidence to corroborate the dedications suggested in category 4.

Category 5 does not include churches for which wrong dedications have been reputed are recorded if their correct tutelary saint is otherwise known.

The churches in category 5 are ignored for the purposes of this discussion.

Bowen, op. cit., 7-8; Anderson, "Irish Saints in Scotland", 26

See p.76 and note 23 above.

See p. 76 and note 24 above.

Barrow, "Childhood of Scottish Christianity", 1-2

CPNS, 500, where Watson has "tail-like point of land running out from a plateau" for gasq. "Ridge" is a convenient shorthand form and describes well the situation of Findogask on the long, low ridge which runs through the parish and its neighbour, Trinity Gask.

CPNS 284, 286-7, 381

ACD Scriptural, 344; OSA xi, 554; CPNS 504

Lind. Cart. no. 54, where it is the place-date of the charter. Christ and the Trinity were interchangeable in such dedications.

Chron. Picts - Scots, 6; Anderson, Early Sources i, cxx-cxxi, 121-22; Macdonald and Laing, op. cit., 130-1

CPNS 332; Skene, Celtic Scotland ii, 258-9; St. Serf's priory on Loch Leven, which is said to date from the mid-ninth century (MRHS, 50), would form a geographical link between Culross and the main part of Strathearn.

CPNS 310-11

cf. p. 75 and note 17 above; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 71

See pp. 79 and 80 above.

Skene, Celtic Scotland i, 305, 310, 316 and note 75

See pp. 80-1 above.

CPNS 164, 273; Anderson, "Irish Saints in Scotland", 27

ECMS assigns Dunblane no. 1 to the late Class III grouping of stones but it is an unusual cross-slab which may be earlier than allowed by Allen and Anderson's classification. Certainly the fragment known as Dunblane no.2 shows interlace and key patterns which are analogous to the Northumbrian-influenced sculpture of the eighth century; cf. ECMS 315-7.
50 See Table II for full references.
51 Anderson, "Irish Saints in Scotland", 27, argues that dedications to lesser saints are likely to be early associations.
52 Most pre-twelfth century dedications are in fact probably pre-1000, as the Celtic Church appears to have enjoyed its most active periods in Scotland in the sixth and seventh centuries, and again in the century or so after the union of the Pictish and Dalriadan kingdoms; ibid. 27-34.
53 St. Laurence was one of the saints added to the dedication of the church of Scone in ca. 1120 (Scone Liber no. 1) and may indicate the growing influence of Roman hagiology in Scotland.
54 i.e. those listed in Table II, categories 5 and 6.
55 For Forteviot see Alcock, op.cit.; the dedication of Bendochy church may be unknown but the place-name recalls the blessing of an early church site there by a founding saint, (CPNS, 263); for Muckersie see p. 75 above.
56 Anderson, "Irish Saints in Scotland", 26-7
57 See Cruden, op.cit., 126-28; MacGibbon, D. and Ross, T.; The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland; (Edinburgh, 1896), 1; Lindsay, I.G., "The Kirks of the Diocese of Dunblane", (SFDC, 1960), 9-12. There is insufficient specialist discussion to assess whether or not there was a "Great Rebuilding" of local churches in Scotland to parallel that in England.
58 See Chapter 2, pp. 52-4.
59 Professor Barrow has suggested to me that the dedication might simply be to a St. Doc. This would certainly agree better than Cadoc with the form of the name St Madoes but I have not identified a St. Doc otherwise. Watson, (CPNS, 327, 520) suggests that Doc may simply be a shortened form of Cadoc.
60 The church of Longforgan is said to have been dedicated to St. Monenna, (ACD Non Scriptural, 131-3) on the grounds that the saint is traditionally said to have founded a church at Lonfortin, (cf. Eposito, M.; (ed.); "Conchubran : Vita Sanctae Monennae", (Proc. Royal Irish Academy, 28 1910), 233-4). Although this identification has been reasserted more recently, (Boyle, A.; "St. Ninian and the Life of St. Monenna", (Analecta Bolandiana 91, 1973), 21 and note 5), Lonfortin cannot be Longforgan since its name is from longphort, "sheiling", while Longforgan is a compound of for and gromn, "on or above the bay" (CPNS, 381), with a late medieval Scots "lang" added. The closest parish place-name in Perthshire to longphort is Luncarty (ibid., 493-4) but that church was dedicated to St. Fillan. The ecclesiam sancti Andree de forgrund in a papal confirmation dating to 1156 (St.A. Lib. 51-3) must be Longforgan (see Chapter 2, p. 62, note 21, above), and demonstrates the true dedication.
61 In the light of early dedications in Scotland to St. Martin, with whom St. Pothinus was associated, this dedication is not as unlikely as it may first appear. There was another commemoration of St. Pothinus in Aberdeenshire; ACD Non-Scriptural, 321-3.
Chapter 4

Parishes in the Settlement Landscape
The foregoing chapters have demonstrated that the development of parishes in Perthshire was an innovation belonging to the twelfth century but heavily influenced, in terms of church sites at least, by pre-existing ecclesiastical arrangements. The full nature and character of the new parishes, however, have not as yet been properly examined. At first sight it may seem unnecessary to define a parish in a twelfth century context but by doing so we may appreciate better the full implications of what was established as the new local ecclesiastical unit. The definition may be derived most usefully from an actual example, the Strathearn parish of Fowlis Wester, allowing us to gauge the contemporary understanding of the institution. In 1210, Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, made a grant in alms to the Augustinian Priory of Inchaffray of the church of St. Bean of Fowlis with all its rightful pertinents in teinds, oblations, and obventions, with the endowed land of the church, with common pasture of the parish and with all other easements pertaining to the said church. This list of pertinents demonstrates that by the early twelfth century the old local church of Fowlis had become entitled to a teind of the income of a given community, the members of which came to the church for the sacraments of baptism, marriage, burial and the Eucharist, at which times they rendered the customary offerings known as oblations and obventions. In addition to these revenues the church of Fowlis was supported by a portion of land and a share in the common pasture of the community to which it ministered. The implication of these dues is that, by the early thirteenth century at least - and presumably when the parish was established during the second half of the twelfth
century - the parish was understood to have a specific identity both in its community of parishioners and in the geographical expression of that community, the phrase "with common pasture of the parish" (cum communi pastura parochie) which is used in Earl Gilbert's charter being of particular significance in this regard. While the parish was technically and legally an ecclesiastical abstract, it is clear that in practice each parish embodied a defined unit of settlement, the religious focus of which was the parish church. This physical dimension is essential to our understanding of the establishment of parishes.

Before the territorial significance of parishes can be properly assessed, however, it is essential to establish as clear as possible a picture of the framework of parishes which was created. Of the seventy-two parishes under consideration which had been formed during the twelfth century, sixteen - almost a quarter of the total - had disappeared before the first detailed, accurate maps of parishes became available through being united with other parishes into which they were thereafter wholly absorbed. A further five parishes were united and remained as joint parishes. Many such unions arose from the inadequate provision of ministers following the Reformation, with initially loose groupings of parishes developing into complete amalgamations by the seventeenth century. The parish unions are summarised in Table 3 below. The original forms of these "lost" parishes, accordingly, were never mapped in any detail. Correspondingly, a further fourteen parishes were enlarged from their original dimensions through the
absorption of previously independent neighbouring parishes. Only just over half of the total number of parishes survived unaffected by mergers to appear on the earliest detailed maps. It is necessary, therefore, to attempt to reconstruct a "map" of the medieval parish framework before a proper examination of its significance can be undertaken.

The evidence for the geographical form of medieval parishes is problematic as the first comprehensive, detailed record does not appear until the publication of the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey one-inch maps, produced in the second half of the nineteenth century. A comparison of these maps with James Stobie's less accurate one-inch Map of the Counties of Perth and Clackmannan, drawn in 1783, suggests that parishes had changed little in the intervening century or so. Before that date, however, there is no detailed evidence for the form or boundaries of parishes, leaving a gap of some seven hundred years from the date at which parishes were established. Furthermore, the parishes which were "lost" before the eighteenth century have never been mapped. Nevertheless, at least Stobie's map and the First Edition Ordnance Survey maps record the surviving parishes as they were before the very radical boundary changes which were effected in 1890-91 by the Boundary Commissioners appointed under the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889. In Perthshire, where "the boundaries of the ... parishes were unusually complicated, and presented problems of great difficulty and complexity", only fifteen of the seventy-two parishes under discussion were unaffected by the 1890-91 alterations.
In order to reconstruct the form of parishes which have been lost through unions and amalgamations it is necessary to utilise a variety of other types of evidence. This is best illustrated by discussing the actual examples of parishes which lost their separate existence.

The parish of Aberuthven in Strathearn was annexed to Auchterarder before 21 February 1618 but records of the action taken by the Commissioners appointed for the plantation of kirks to secure an adequate stipend for the united charge demonstrates that the original parish of Auchterarder had contained Fosswell (NN 96 10), Coul (NN 96 12), Coulshill (NN 97 09) and Cloan (NN 96 11 with Upper Cloan, NN 96 10). Likewise, the old parish of Aberuthven can be shown to have contained Pairney (NN 98 16), Beld Hill (NN 98 11) and part of Strathy (NN 98 16), which were exempted from making a teind contribution to the new parish church. The "remainder" of Aberuthven parish, while mentioned as such, is not described in detail in the source. Nevertheless, it had probably contained the barony of Aberuthven which, in 1665, comprised the kirklands of Aberuthven (ca. NN 97 15 and NN 96 14), Belhie (NN 97 15), Loanhead (NN 97 15) and Bailieslands (NN 96 15) and the remaining part of Strathy. The Statistical Account for Auchterarder states that the old parish of Aberuthven lay on the east of Auchterarder and this statement appears to confirm the other evidence available for the original forms of the parishes. A reconstruction of the pre-union parishes of Auchterarder and Aberuthven is shown on Map 2.
Map 2:
Parishes of Aberuthven and Auchterarder

River Earn
Nether Fordun
Belhie
Strathy
Bailieclands
Aberuthven
Kirkton of Auchterarder
Castleton
Auchterarder
Kirkton of Auchterarder
Drumfossil
Mid Fordun
East Fordun
Coul
Pairney
Black Maller
Steele's Knowe
Coul's Hill
Black Hill
Muirton
Fosswell
O CLean
Upper Coul
Upper O CLean
Maller
334
398
482
485
474
0
1
2 Miles
0
N
The parish of Cambusmichael was annexed to Megginch (now St Martins) in the later seventeenth century following unsuccessful attempts by the Presbytery of Dunkeld to provide separate stipends for each of the churches which had been jointly served since the Reformation. A charter of 1593, however describes the lands of "Murhall" (unidentified) with Pitlochrie and Chapelfield (NO 11 32) as lying in parochia de Cambusmichael, while the 1650 Rental of the County of Perth gives the touns of Cambusmichael parish as Cambusmichael (NO 11 32), Craigmakerran (NO 14 32), Newmiln (NO 12 30), Over Colen (ca. NO 11 31) and Byres (NO 12 32). The dimensions of the lost parish can be largely reconstructed from this information.

The original form of Dunkeld parish is problematic and will be discussed elsewhere, but it seems to have been very small and lands had to be annexed to it in 1643 from Caputh in an (ultimately successful) attempt to provide a sufficient stipend for the charge. Dunkeld formed a joint parish with Dowally by the time of the Statistical Account. Dupplin and Aberdalgie formed a joint parish after their union in 1618 but no records survive which demonstrate the original form of either parish. Similarly, Exmagirdle parish has left few clues as to its original dimensions, although it may simply have comprised what survived until 1891 as a detached part of the parish of Dron. If so it would have been a very small parish containing only the toun of Exmagirdle (now Glencairn, NO 10 16) and a small area of hill to the south (See Map 5 below).
In contrast to Dupplin, Aberdalgie and Exmagirdle, the parishes of Fossoway and Foulis Easter have left a much clearer impression of their early forms as in both cases they were united to parishes which lay within another county. Fossoway was united to the Kinross-shire parish of Tulliebole in ca. 1614 but all of the former parish remained in Perthshire until 1891 except the barony of Carnbo. The pre-1891 County boundary, therefore, largely preserved the original frontier between Fossoway and Tulliebole and confirms the statements in the first and second Statistical Account that Fossoway consisted of two distinct and disjoined districts. The northern district contained the baronies of Fossoway and Carnbo while the southern comprised Aldie (NT 05 99), Solsgirth (NN 98 95), Gartwhinzean (NT 01 97), Pitfar (NT 00 96) and Blairingone (NS 98 96). As the components of the lands of Carnbo which were annexed to Kinross-shire can also be reconstructed, the original form of the whole of Fossoway parish can be recovered and is illustrated on Map 3.

The situation of Foulis Easter is even more straightforward as, despite its union to the Forfarshire parish of Lundie in 1618, it was unaffected by any disjunction of its component parts. The parish was preserved from 1618 to 1891 as the portion of the united charge which lay in Perthshire, the County boundary again preserving that of the former parish.

Kilbride was united to Dunblane in the sixteenth century but, beyond the fact that it lay in the west of the parish around Kilbryde Castle (NN 75 03), little can be discerned of the form of the parish. Kinkell
parish, which was united to Trinity Gask before 1860 when the Synod of Dunblane considered the state of the united parishes, has similarly left little direct record of its original dimensions. From a petition by the minister of the united charge asking for a church to be provided for the parishioners of Kinkell "so that they may be free of the inconvenience of passing of the water" (i.e. crossing the River Earn to reach the church of Trinity Gask), however, it can be assumed that the old parish was the portion of the united charge which lay to the south of the Earn. Lagganallachie, which was united to Little Dunkeld in the early seventeenth century, is a further case where little direct evidence of its early form has survived. The church (NN 98 40) was in Strathbraan, however, and that strath most probably formed its parish.

Lethendy parish was united to Lundeiff (now Kinloch) at the relatively late date of 26 November 1806. Accordingly, it is shown extant on Stobie's map and the form of the parish shown there is confirmed by other records which demonstrate that it contained the Kirktoun (NO 12 41), Lethendy (NO 14 41, Pittendreich (NO 15 41), Blackloch (NO 12 43) and Gothens (Redgothins, Roidgoyn, NO 16 41 and NO 17 40). Logiebride parish was united to Auchtergaven in 1618, disjoined in 1632 but reunited in 1647. The exact dimensions of the parish are not known but it lay "within the bosom" of the parish of Auchtergaven around the church of Logiebride (NO 05 34). This description suggests that the parish was relatively small and compact and was virtually surrounded by the two arms of Auchtergaven which stretched west to the watershed with Strathbraan.
The parish of Luncarty was annexed to Redgorton before 1626 when a new minister was admitted to the joint charge. A charter of 1597, however, describes as lying in the parish the 'Haltoun', 'Myrtoun' and 'Myltoun' of Luncarty, the Kirkhill and the 'Bardismuir', with their fishings in the River Tay. Unfortunately, none of these place-names appear to have survived but the large modern village of Luncarty stands at the junction of the Ordie Burn and the Tay. (NO 09 29). It is likely that the parish of Luncarty was centred in this area and lay in what is now the northern arm of Redgorton parish which stretches along the west bank of the Tay.

The parishes of Monzievaird and Strowan formed a joint charge possibly from the late sixteenth century and certainly before 1665. The joint parish straddled the River Earn and it appears that the old parish of Strowan had lain to the south of the river, while that of Monzievaird lay to the north. This is apparently confirmed by a tack of teinds of "lands lyand within the halff of the parochine of Strowan", dating to 1630 which identifies Strowan (NN 81 21), Lochlane (NN 83 20), Glascorrie (NN 80 20), Glentarf (NN 79 19) and Trian (NN 76 18, in a detached part of the parish) as in Strowan parish (the other places named in the tack cannot be identified). All of these towns are situated in the part of the united parish lying to the south of the Earn.

Muckersie parish was united to that of Forteviot by a decreet of the Commission on the Plantation of Kirks dated 19 June 1618.
Map 4
Muckersie Parish
The original components of Muckersie can be largely reconstructed, however, from charters of 1605 which describe the Mains and Mill of Invermay (now represented by the Home Farm of Invermay, NO 05 15; cf. Green of Invermay, NO 05 16) with their pendicles, the lands and mills of Muckersie (ca. NO 06 15), 'Myretoun' (now represented by Muirhead NO 03 15) and the adjacent Bogtonlea and other pendicles as lying in the parish. Similarly, a decreet of valuation issued by the Teind Commissioners in 1636 describes the lands of Invermay (NO 06 16) with their pertinents as lying in the parish of Muckersie, now united to Forteviot. From this evidence it can be demonstrated that Muckersie was formerly a parish lying on the west bank of the Water of May. A reconstruction of the parish is shown on Map 4.

The parish of Obney is unusual in that it is the only known instance in Perthshire of an apparently pre-Reformation parochial union. The "prebend" of Obney is recorded in Bagimond's Roll but it appears in a list of prebends of Dunkeld Cathedral of which only some were parish churches. There does appear to have been an early parish church at Obney, nevertheless, as in the early sixteenth century the "teind sheaves of the church of Obneyis" were accounted for by the granitar of Dunkeld. After ca. 1509, however, the toun and lands of Obney are generally simply included in the accounts for the parish of Auchtergaven. Obney was apparently absorbed into Auchtergaven parish before the Reformation and had probably had a close association with it for a considerable period before that as both churches were appropriated to the mensa of the bishops of Dunkeld. Largely because
of the early date of the union, the dimensions of Obney parish are relatively unknown but it did include at least ‘Easter’ and ‘Wester’ Obney and probably consisted of the north-western district of the later Auchtergaven parish which contains Upper and Nether Obney (NO 03 36), Meikle Obney (NO 03 37) and the Obney Hills.

The situation of the early parishes of Moncreiffe and Pottie, which lay to the south of Perth, is complex. Cowan simply describes the relationship between the two parishes and that of Dunbarney as obscure, while maintaining that Moncreiffe was in origin a pendicle of Dunbarney. It is clear, however, that Moncreiffe was originally an independent church for an explicit reference to the parish of Moncreiffe in ca. 1208 survives. Furthermore, a charter of 1227 x 30 mentions the cemetery of the church of Moncreiffe, which indicates a parochial church with burial rights, at least in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the earliest reference to Moncreiffe as a pendicle of Dunbarney does not appear until 1566 and it is possible that it maintained its separate identity until the Reformation. The lands of Pottie (or Kirkpottie) were annexed to the (post-medieval) parish of Dron quoad sacra in ca. 1652. This annexation appears to have become permanent thereafter as no later references can be found which describe Pottie as lying in Dunbarney parish and it was not among the parochial enclaves dealt with by the Boundary Commissioners in 1890-91. This situation appears to have led to the mistaken impression that there were originally two separate parishes of Pottie and Dunbarney, of which only the latter survived after 1652. In 1256, however, a single
parish is indicated by a reference to the ecclesia de Potyn cum capella Dunberny. A later reference of 1467 mentions the parish church of "Pote" now called Dunbarney so it appears that the original church had been superseded in the parochial role by the chapel of Dunbarney. This presumably took place before 1292 when Pope Nicholas IV issued a dispensation to Conrad de Brunforte, describing him as the rector of the church of Dunbarney.

The original form of the parishes of Pottie/Dunbarney and Moncreiffe, then, must be sought within the pre-1891 parish of Dunbarney and the lands of Pottie. Kinmonth (NO 16 18 and NO 16 19) is described as lying in the parish of Moncreiffe in ca. 1208 and, together with the lands of Moncreiffe (now Moncreiffe House and Chapel, NO 13 19), Easter Moncreiffe (NO 14 19) and Moncreiffe Hill, occupy the part of Dunbarney parish lying to the north of the River Earn. This district can reasonably be assumed to represent the original parish of Moncreiffe. Correspondingly, the district to the south of the Earn presumably represents the original parish of Pottie or Dunbarney, with the addition of the land of Pottie from Dron (see Map 5). Unfortunately, Pottie is now represented only by Pottiehill in Glenfarg (NO 15 13) and the extent of the estate annexed to Dron in 1652 is unknown. It is possible, however, that the church and lands of Pottie, lying in the south-east corner of the later Dron parish, were originally detached from the main body of Dunbarney parish. If so, this may help explain why Pottie kirk was superseded for parochial purposes by its chapel at Dunbarney.
The parish of Rossie in Gowrie was united to Inchture by Act of Parliament on 22 August 1670. Fortunately, this union took place after the compilation of the 1650 Rental of the County of Perth which lists the towns of Rossie parish as Rossie with its mill (NO 28 30), Baledgarno (NO 27 30), Ballindean (NO 25 29; cf. Ballindean House, NO 26 29) and "Templelands". The parish can thus be shown to have lain to the north of Inchture before the Union.

Tullicheddill parish was united to Comrie after the Reformation, but it is possible to largely reconstruct its original dimensions from a tack of the teinds of lands belonging to David, Viscount Stormont, "lyand within the old parochine of Tulliechettill" dating to 1630. This lists the lands as Dalness ("Dalniskae", NN 73 17), Drummondernoch (NN 79 20), Fairness (NN 78 21), Tullybannocher (NN 75 21), Cultybragan ("Culter Birgane", NN 76 19), "Barones Landis", Meiggar (NN 76 18), Blairmore (NN 73 18), "Culincarie" (ca. NN 72 15), Findhuglen (NN 72 15), Auchnashelloch (NN 71 15) and Drumchork (NN 79 19). The parish church lay about one mile from Comrie near Cultybragan and was therefore at the north-east end of the parish which stretched along the Water of Ruchill in Glenartney, as shown on Map 6. By the eighteenth century the lands of Meiggar, Drumchork, Findhuglen and Auchnashelloch lay in detached areas of the united parish of Monzievaird and Strowan, while Fairness and Drummondernoch were within the main body of that parish, but as they are specifically described in 1630 as having been in Tullicheddill parish the annexation of these lands must have taken place after the union of Tullicheddill
to Comrie (no record of such annexations appears to have survived). The probable boundary between Tullicheddill and Comrie was the summit watershed above the Forest of Glenartney by way of Ben Halton (NN 72 20), Coire a Choire (NN 68 19), Meall na Pearna (NN 65 18) and Ben Vorlich (NN 63 18). On the north-east it seems that Tullicheddill parish reached as far as the River Earn, although the exact boundary is not clear.

In addition to those occasioned by parochial unions, a few changes were caused to the medieval parish “map” by the establishment of new parishes in the later middle ages. The parish of Caputh was erected out of Little Dunkeld by George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld, in 1484 x 1505 and shortly thereafter was divided into the two parishes of Dowally and Caputh by the same bishop. Kinfauns parish was established out of Scone between 1395 and 1419 and Rait similarly became a parish, having previously been in Scone, in the fifteenth century. In all four cases, nevertheless, the form of the original parishes can be recovered simply by incorporating the lands of the new establishments back into their previous parishes as there is no evidence that any of their creations involved the annexation of lands from more than one old parish.

The establishment of three further parishes took place between the Reformation and the period at which detailed map evidence becomes available. The parish of Dron was erected shortly after the Reformation having previously been the territory served by a chapel of
Abernethy and within that parish. Kinnaird was erected out of Inchture after the Reformation but seems simply to have included lands which had hitherto lain exclusively in the original parish, while the creation of Coupar Angus parish in 1618 involved simply the division of an earlier single parish, Bendochy, into two parts. The reconstruction of the original parish in these cases is again straightforward.

Beyond the wholesale union of parishes and the creation of new parishes, there is very little evidence that the forms of the parishes which were established in the twelfth century were altered significantly during the seven centuries or so before they were first mapped in detail. It has been remarked that "parish boundaries constitute one of the longest lived, and most stubbornly enduring monuments of the British countryside" and this certainly seems to be supported by the Perthshire evidence. Only in seven instances is there a record of deliberate alterations being made to parish boundaries before the sweeping revisions of 1890-91. The parish of Arngask was twice enlarged, in 1642 by the annexation of lands from the neighbouring Forgandenny parish and in 1669 by the addition of lands from the Kinross-shire parishes of Orwell and Strathmiglo. In 1659 and 1672 the parish of Tulliallan was similarly enlarged by the annexation of lands from Culross parish. The parish of Tibbermore was also affected by boundary changes, as in ca. 1614 lands in the parish which lay to the north of the River Almond were transferred to Redgorton parish. Megginch (or St Martins) parish was also enlarged
in the seventeenth century by the annexation of certain lands from Cambusmichael. In the three further cases of known boundary changes the exact details are less clear. The first, Tullicheddill, has been discussed above. In the second case, at an unknown date before 1687, lands from Strogeith parish, including the medieval church site (the post-Reformation church of the parish was at Blackford), were annexed to Muthill parish. Thirdly, at Dunkeld, certain lands were transferred from Caputh when a new parish of Dunkeld was established in 1643 but only some of the lands named in the charter creating the parish were permanently annexed, the rest remaining in Caputh for reasons which cannot now be recovered.

With the exception of these seven instances, there is no evidence that parish boundaries were altered substantially, other than by unions or new creations, from the time that they were established until the date at which they were mapped. While it must be acknowledged, of course, that records of some further changes may not have survived, it does seem clear that the form and boundaries of medieval parishes had a remarkable durability. This is not particularly surprising since the legal establishment of teind rights had the effect of fixing the boundaries between the lands which owed teinds to each parish church. Such ecclesiastical boundaries would not have been easily altered by subsequent changes in patterns of secular landholding and estate organisation. Furthermore, the appropriation of parish revenues to religious houses, which could generally muster considerable legal defences to protect their rights, effectively fossilised parish
boundaries. This factor was of particular significance in Scotland where some eighty-six per cent of parishes had their revenues appropriated before the Reformation.

The sum of the evidence assembled above allows a reasonably complete reconstruction to be made of the "map" of the parishes which were established in south, east and central Perthshire during the twelfth century. The territorial significance of that map, however, has still to be assessed if the process by which the parish network was established is to be properly comprehended. Each parish within that network was far more than simply a church with teind rights; it was a community of parishioners in its fullest social and territorial expression—a clearly defined unit of settlement in an ecclesiastical guise. The example of Fowlis Wester discussed above demonstrates clearly that the very existence of a parish was dependent on the parish community to which it ministered and from which it derived its revenues.

Discussing the European situation in general, Reynolds has commented that,

By the thirteenth century there is ample evidence that many parishes were in fact very effective communities. Yet it has to be acknowledged that the most effective of them were those that belonged to villages or towns which also enjoyed a purely secular unity. Hard as it is, moreover, to say how far one sort of unity promoted the other or profited from it, one point seems to be clear: parish communities did not develop because of any particular encouragement from the hierarchy of the church.
While reinforcing the importance of the parish community, this statement seems to pose a crucial question in the Scottish context: that of the significance of the secular pattern of settlement and territorial organisation which was contemporary with the creation of parishes in determining the forms taken by them. The extreme rapidity of parochial establishment in Scotland, by comparison to the lengthy process of development which occurred in England and on the Continent, would seem to have allowed little scope for a gradual evolution of parish communities as such. Nor, however, is there any evidence to suggest that parishes were artificially delineated by the ecclesiastical authorities or by secular powers on their behalf. Since it has been seen that the formation of parishes in Scotland did not depend on the contemporary establishment of the new form of secular territorial unit, the knight's feu, it may be that pre-existing settlement units exercised a substantial influence on the forms taken by parishes. In England, indeed, the relationship between pre-feudal secular territorial units and parishes has been sufficiently well established to enable discussion of the former to proceed on the basis of evidence provided by parish boundaries. Such a discussion of the Scottish situation would be premature, since the correspondence of ecclesiastical to secular patterns of territorial order has not been widely demonstrated in any detail. Nevertheless, the influence of secular settlement units on the formation of parishes must be examined if that process is to be fully understood.
An undoubted problem exists in the absence of much direct evidence for the components of parishes as such before the late middle ages at best. Places are rarely described in charter sources as lying within specific parishes until the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and there are no detailed accounts of the component *touns* and lands of Perthshire parishes in other types of documentary record until the sixteenth century. 87 The evidence which does exist is for the pattern of secular territorial organisation and settlement which was broadly contemporary with the formation of parishes. In order for this evidence to be of any significance to this discussion, however, it must be shown that the "map" of the forms and boundaries of medieval parishes is meaningful in terms of twelfth century settlement structures. In other words, where the components of an estate which was in existence at the time at which a parish was established can be shown to occupy the area enclosed by the parish boundary, it is a reasonable assumption that the form of the parish was borrowed from that of the secular unit. Such an approach to the question would appear to be justified by the relationship between parish churches and pre-existing local churches which has already been demonstrated88 and which suggests the possibility of a wider relationship between parishes and the communities served by those local churches before the twelfth century. The following chapters, therefore, will attempt to examine the formation of parish units and communities in relation to the twelfth century pattern of secular territorial organisation and settlement in south, east and central Perthshire.
### Table III SUMMARY OF PARISH UNIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>United to or with</th>
<th>Date of Union</th>
<th>References and Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberuthven</td>
<td>Auchterader</td>
<td>Bef. 21 Feb 1618</td>
<td>SRO TE 8/2. On 21 Feb 1618 action was taken by the Teind Commission to provide for the stipend of the united parishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambusmichael</td>
<td>Megginch</td>
<td>Late 17th c.</td>
<td>OSA xi, 554, dating to 1794 says that the parishes had been united for over 100 years. They were jointly served in the mid-17th c. although not formally united; Hunter, Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, 323-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunkeld</td>
<td>Dowally</td>
<td>Post-Reformation</td>
<td>Dunkeld and Dowally formed a joint parish by the time of the Statistical Account; OSA xii, 314, and had effectively been joined since the Reformation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupplin</td>
<td>Aberdalgie</td>
<td>1618</td>
<td>Aberdalgie and Dupplin formed a joint parish after their union in 1618; OSA xi, 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exmagirdle</td>
<td>Dron</td>
<td>ca. 1652</td>
<td>FRS iv, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fossoway</td>
<td>Tullibole (Kinross)</td>
<td>ca. 1614</td>
<td>FRS v, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foulis Easter</td>
<td>Lundie (Forfar)</td>
<td>31 Jan 1618</td>
<td>FRS v, 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilbryde</td>
<td>Dunblane.</td>
<td>16th c.</td>
<td>FRS iv, 342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinkell</td>
<td>Trinity Gask</td>
<td>Bef. 12 Oct 1690</td>
<td>On 12 Oct 1680 the Synod of Dunblane considered the state of the united parishes; Wilson, <em>Diocesan Synod of Dunblane</em>, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagganallachie</td>
<td>Little Dunkeld</td>
<td>Early 17th c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lethendy</td>
<td>Lundeiff</td>
<td>26 Nov 1806</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logiebride</td>
<td>Auchtergaven</td>
<td>1618, disjoined in 1632 but reunited in 1647</td>
<td>Hunter, <em>op.cit.</em>, 325-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luncarty</td>
<td>Redgorton</td>
<td>Bef. 1 Mar 1626</td>
<td>On 1 Mar a new minister was admitted to the united parishes; SRO CH 2/299/35, p. 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moncreiffe</td>
<td>Dunbarney</td>
<td>Bef. 1566</td>
<td>St. Giles Reg., no. 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monzievaird</td>
<td>Strowan</td>
<td>Bef. 12 Apr 1665</td>
<td>Monzievaird and Strowan formed a joint parish possibly from the late 16th c.; FES iv, 281, and certainly before 12 Apr 1665; Wilson, <em>op.cit.</em>, 24-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muckersie</td>
<td>Forteviot</td>
<td>19 June 1618</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obney</td>
<td>Auchtergaven</td>
<td>Bef. 1274(?)</td>
<td>Cowan, <em>Medieval Parishes</em>, 158; see pp. 106-7, above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossie</td>
<td>Inchture</td>
<td>22 Aug 1670</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tullicheddill</td>
<td>Comrie</td>
<td>16th c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes to Chapter 4:

1. Inchaff. Chrs. no. 28; ecclesiam sancti Beani de foulis, cum Omnibus iustie pertinentiis suis, in decimis et oblationibus et obuentionibus, cum dotali terra ecclesie, cum communi pastura parochie ceterisque aisiamentis ad predictam ecclesiam pertinentibus.
2. Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 180-84
4. The reason for the uneven number (five) of parishes which became joint charges is that one of those, Dunkeld, was joined with Dowally, which was not established until the late middle ages, see p. 112 above. The other joint parishes were Aberdalgie and Dupplin, and Monzievaird and Strowan.
5. The *Accounts of Collectors of Thirds of Benefices* (SHS 3rd Series 42, 1969), and the Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers and of their stipends after the period of Reformation (Maitland Club, 1830), illustrate the contents which parish benefices were grouped after the Reformation.
6. The apparent numerical discrepancy between the sixteen parishes which lost their separate existence due to their absorption into other parishes and the fourteen parishes which were enlarged by such unions is due to the fact that two parishes were united to parishes outwith Perthshire (Fossoway and Foulis Easter).
7. The First Edition 1 : 63,360 (1" to 1 mile) maps for Scotland were published from 1856-1887 and were derived from a survey commissioned in 1840; Harley, J.B.; *Ordnance Survey Maps : a Descriptive Manual*, (Southampton, 1975), 71, 105.
8. Stobie; *Map of The Counties of Perth and Clackmannan* (1783); 1" to 1 mile, on nine sheets. See *Royal Scottish Geographical Society, The Early Maps of Scotland*, vol 2, (Edinburgh, 1983), 221 for full references. Stobie’s map is the first to show parish boundaries for Perthshire.
9. Shennan; *Boundaries of Counties and Parishes in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1892) discusses the terms of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889 and the work of the Commissioners appointed under it in full detail.
10. Shennan, *Boundaries, 206*
11. SRO TE 8/2, 795-813; cf. Inchaff. Lib., no. 51, p. 115, which describes Pairney, Pairney Hill and Strathy as "within the parochine of Abberuthven" in a tax roll of 1620.
12. RMS xi, nos. 766, 853
13. OSA xi, 37
14. See Table 3, below.
16. RMS v, no. 22 73
17. Perth Rental, 20
18. See Chapter 8, p. 389-93 below
19. SRO TE 5/364
20. OSA xii, 314
See Table 3, below.

Shennan, *Boundaries*, 72, 243

See Table 3, below. Carnbo was annexed to Kinross-shire by Act of Parliament in the seventeenth century, *OSA* xi, 207; Shennan *Boundaries* 48, 220.

*OSA* xi, 206; *NSA* x, 1016-17

See Chapter 7, pp. 295-97 below

See Table 3, below

See Table 3, below

See Table 3, below.

Wilson, J.; *Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane* (1662-1688) (Edinburgh, 1877), 164

See Table 3, below.

See Chapter 8, pp. 384-86, below.

See Table 3, below.

*RMS* vi, no. 941; *Dunk. Rent.*, 165; *Perth Rental*, 46-7

See Table 3, below.

*NSA* x, 443

See Table 3, below.

*RMS* vi, no. 586

*FES* iv, 281

Wilson, *op. cit.*, 24-5

Stobie's map shows Strowan as the southern, and Monzievaird as the northern division of the parish; *NSA* x, 724

*Inchaff. Lib.*, no. 47, p. 113

*SRO* TE 29/15, Bundle F, v

*RMS* vi, nos. 1588, 1589

*SRO* TE 8/5, pp. 1-5

*SHS Miscellany* vi, 48-9, 73-4

*Dunk. Rent.*, 76, 84

*Cowan, Medieval Parishes*, 50-1, 148, 166

*Dunk. Rent.*, 76, 84

*Cowan, Medieval Parishes*, 50-1, 148, 166

*Moncreiff* ii, no. 1, pp. 631-2


*St. Giles Reg.*, no. 153

*OSA* xi, 144

*FES* iv, 301-4; *OSA* xi, 144

*Dunf. Reg.*, 208; cf. *St. A. Lib.*, 34; *Arb. Lib.*, i, 238

*CPL* xii, 297

*Theiner, Monumenta*, no. 345

*Moncreiff* ii, no. 1, pp. 631-2

See Map 5, above

*APS* viii, app 46; cf. app. 56 and p. 19

*Perth Rental*, 6, 7

*FES* iv, 262

*Inchaff. Lib.*, 114, no. 48

*OSA* xii, 268

They are shown thus on Stobie's Map; cf. Shennan, *Boundaries*, 207, 214-5.

*Myln*, *Vitae*, 42-3

*Cowan, Medieval Parishes*, 111-2
68 Ibid. 167-8
69 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 48
70 RMS vii, no. 1956
71 Barrow, G.W.S; "Introduction to Part I; Territorial Organization : Resources and Boundaries," in Sawyer, P.H., (ed); Medieval Settlement : Continuity and Change, (London 1976), 13
72 SRO TE 8/3; pp. 291 ff; NSA x, 886; Mackie, J.; Annals of Arncask, (Glenfarg, 1958), 112
73 FES v, 14; OSA xi. 98, 614
74 FES iv, 241; SRO CH 2/299/35, p. 240; See Chapter 6, p. 243, below
75 See Chapter 5, p. 179 and note 23, below.
76 SRO GD 160/12/4/1; See Chapter 7, p. 325, below
77 SRO TE 5/364
78 Cowan "Parochial System", 51; Reynolds, S.; Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300, (Oxford, 1984), 81
79 Roffe, D.; "Pre-Conquest Estates and Parish Boundaries", in Faull, (ed), Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement, (1984), 116
81 See pp. 95-6, above.
82 Reynolds, op.cit., 79
83 See Chapter 1, p. 17, above
84 There would appear to be no surviving records which indicate a process of delineating parish units other than by reference to existing secular territorial units. The absence of such records can hardly be due to the vagaries of evidence survival alone.
85 See Chapter 2, pp. 45-7, above.
87 The Dunkeld Rentale is one of the earliest sources for the component towns of parishes in that diocese but does not begin until 1505.
88 See Chapter 3 above.
Chapter 5

The Parish Units (1) : Gowrie
The district of Gowrie was the subordinate sub-division of the early historic province of Atholl, being the principal part. It developed into an earldom which was in royal hands by the reign of Donald Ban (1094-7) and remained so in the twelfth century. Whether or not the earldom occupied the whole district seems uncertain as Malcolm IV derived distinct revenues from Gowrie as earl and as king but, whatever the case, the whole territory from the principal watershed between Perthshire and Mar to the Firth of Tay was under royal lordship at the beginning of the twelfth century. This provided a particularly rich resource as Gowrie contains much excellent agricultural land, particularly in the Carse of Gowrie, the Braes of the Carse, and the alluvial plain of the River Isla in Strathmore. In addition, the district possessed considerable grazing lands of good quality in its northern part, including what became the Forests of Alyth and Drimmie during the twelfth century, and on the upper slopes of the Sidlaw Hills. It is not surprising that Gowrie featured prominently in the institutional and social developments of twelfth century Scotia as successive kings utilised its resources to introduce new ecclesiastical and secular landholders. By the end of the twelfth century, Gowrie had been divided into twenty parishes: Abernyte, Alyth, Bendochy, Blairgowrie, Cambusmichael, Cargill, Collace, Errol, Foulis Easter, Inchture, Kilspindie, Kinnoull, Longforgan, Megginch (alias St Martins), Meigle, Rattray, Rossie, St Madoes, Scone and Strathardle (alias Kirkmichael).
The documentary record, which is relatively rich for Gowrie, provides notice of a number of administrative sub-divisions of the district which existed during the formative period of these parishes: the four royal "manors" (maneriis) of Scone, Coupar, Longforgan and Strathardle, and the thanage of Alyth. In addition to these units a number of other thanages may be inferred from the rights which were attached to possession of certain estates. Professor Barrow has demonstrated that when feudal barons were planted in Scotia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they were frequently granted the jurisdiction of sake, soke, toll, team, infangthief, pit and gallows and that this represented the local civil and criminal jurisdiction previously exercised by thanes on behalf of the king or another lord. In Gowrie, the rights certainly attached to the known thanage of Alyth and passed with it to the fourteenth century feudal baron, Sir James de Lindsay. The same jurisdiction also attached to the estates of Blairgowrie, Cargill, Errol and Foulis, and identifies them as further thanages in the district.

The identification of units such as the "manors" and thanages of Gowrie is of particular importance if the relationship between the formation of parishes and the contemporary secular territorial organisation is to be examined. Thanages, so named from the officers who were responsible for their administration, are an example of a type of unit best described as the multiple estate. The multiple estate has been identified as the common type of estate organisation throughout Wales, England and Scotland, although known by a variety of local names, in
the pre-feudal period and its importance in discussing the evolution of settlement organisation has been recognised. Whatever the precise details of its origin, it seems clear that the institution in Britain developed in the Celtic period as it pre-dates the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian settlement of England. Multiple estates were essentially units of lordship and took the form of a principal settlement or caput with a number of dependent settlements, a pattern frequently expressed in charter sources of the ninth to twelfth centuries by the formula manerium cum apendiciis suis, where manerium is usually replaced by the name of the caput. The caput was the focal point for the lord's authority in the estate and was where he, or his local representative, would have his residence and hold his court. The demesne lands of the estate would also be centred on the caput and the inhabitants of the estate were required to perform defined duties related to the farming of the demesne. In addition, they were required to render specified dues to the lord or his representative at the caput. Multiple estates, however, were not simply abstract units of lordship. They contained within their bounds all of the resources required to support their economies and, thereby, to produce the necessary renders. Accordingly, they were arranged in the landscape to exploit those resources, which often produced rather irregular geographical forms, even including areas detached from the main body of the estate, and frequently led to a specialisation of function, such as the management of pasture, amongst the component settlements. Furthermore, multiple estates usually incorporated elements which were common to all their settlements, most notably common pasture and often a single estate mill.
For the purposes of this discussion, multiple estates are significant as they appear in the twelfth and thirteenth century documentary record - usually called shires or thanages - as the operating units of local territorial organisation during the period of parochial formation. As such they provide a framework against which to examine the forms adopted by parishes. It would appear that the four manors of Gowrie were multiple estate units for King David I granted the teind of his prebenda, the principal tribute in corn due to the Crown, of his oats and of his cain of hides and cheeses from the manors to the priory of Scone. These revenues were exactly the type which would be extracted by a lord from his multiple estates. The royal manors were clearly estates of some importance and offer a convenient starting point for the discussion of the formation of parish units in Gowrie.

Historically, the most prominent site in Gowrie was Scone. Although there are difficulties regarding its status in the Pictish period, Scone appears to have developed its undoubted later role as the symbolic centre of the kingdom of the Scots during the late Pictish period. The evidence for twelfth century Scone provides a particularly interesting example of parochial formation. In ca. 1120 Alexander I granted the church of the Holy Trinity at Scone to Augustinian canons from St. Oswalds Priory at Nostell for the purposes of founding a daughter house. His successor, David I, elevated the church to parochial status and granted the canons the teind of the whole parish of Scone, and in 1165 x 78 Richard, bishop of St Andrews, confirmed the church of Scone to the canons with its
chapels of Kinfauns, "Crag" and Rait. The most significant feature of this series of charters is that, because the date of Alexander I's grant precedes the parochial establishment of Scone, it is possible to trace more of the detail of that process than is often the case elsewhere.

The church which Alexander I gifted to the Nostell canons was not parochial by 1120. It was endowed with a widely scattered group of settlements situated in Gowrie and Angus: Innerbuist (NO 11 29), Banchory (NO 19 40), Fodderance (now Lintrose, NO 22 37), Kinnochtry (NO 21 36), Fingask (NO 22 27), Durdie (NO 21 24), Clien (NO 20 23), Liff (NO 33 33), Gourdie (NO 35 32) and Invergowrie (NO 34 30), each of which had a specified amount of arable land and which rendered conveth dues. This endowment was of a pre-parochial type as the lands do not correspond to, or lie within, a cohesive area of ministry and no teind rights of the church are mentioned, while the ecclesiastical arrangement of a principal church with dependent chapels spread over a relatively wide area is a pre-twelfth century feature. While elsewhere this type of arrangement appears to have been broken up under the influence of parochial formation, at Scone it was preserved until the fifteenth century (when Kinfauns and Rait were elevated to parochial status) in a large parish, perhaps because the date at which the Augustinian Priory was established at the mother church preceded the erection of the parish.

The area which became the parish of Scone (see Map 7) was coterminous with that previously served by the church of Scone and its three
chapels. Confirmation of this is given by a charter of William I in which the king declared that after the charter of the canons of Scone had been read in his presence it was judged that the canons should have the teind of the catches of fish from royal fishings in the River Tay opposite the territories of Scone, Kinfauns and "Crag" (now obsolete, "Crag" was on the Tay in the north-west corner of the modern Kinfauns parish). That the charter which was the basis of this judgement was almost certainly David I's (now lost) grant of the teinds of the whole parochia of Scone or Malcolm IV's confirmation of the same, which included catches of fish in the specified list of tithable commodities, is confirmed by the twelfth century, and therefore closely contemporary, endorsement on King William's charter which reads Willelmus Rex de decimis piscium parrochie de Scon.31

The territorial basis for Scone parish was the manor which had developed around the important site by the beginning of the twelfth century and which was served by the church of Scone and its chapels. From a charter of Alexander II in 1234 it is known that Scone was also called a thanage, the whole of which was eventually granted to the abbey in property by Robert I in exchange for certain royal revenues.32 This thanage does not appear, however, to have equated to the whole manor of Scone as a charter of 1452 confirming the lands of the abbey only includes certain of the lands of the whole parish, namely Sherifftown (NO 10 28), Innerbuist (NO 10 29), Colen (NO 11 30),
Friartown (NO 14 30), Gairdrum (NO 16 29), Boghall (NO 17 27), Barclayhill (NO 12 29), Ardgilzean (NO 11 29), Lethendy (NO 12 28), Bonhard (NO 16 26), Balgarvie (NO 14 26), Kincarrochie (NO 12 25, now represented by Quarrymill) and Balformo ("Balquhormok", NO 12 25). These towns equated only to the part of Scone parish which survived as such after the disjunction of Kinfauns and Rait. The only lands held by Scone in the territories of Kinfauns and Rait were Clien and Fingask respectively, which had been acquired not as part of the thanage of Scone but as part of the endowment of Holy Trinity Church in ca. 1120. The lordships of Kinfauns and Rait were leased to Scone Abbey for an annual rent by Alexander II in 1233 but these lands did not remain with the abbey and were granted to other lords in the fourteenth century. From a petition to Edward I by the abbey of Scone, however, it appears that Rait and Kinfauns were both thanages in their own right, independently of the thanage of Scone. For the territorial basis of Scone parish, then, we must envisage an extended multiple lordship incorporating three thanages and served by four churches, focused ecclesiastically and administratively on Scone. The early establishment of the Augustinian priory helped to preserve the full form of the manor of Scone which lent its structure to the twelfth century parish.

The parish of Strathardle was the most northerly in Gowrie and was the only completely "Highland" parish of the district lying generally at an altitude of over 200m in the southern reaches of the Grampians. The parish incorporated the greater part of the straths of the River Ardle,
the Shee Water and its upper tributaries, and the Black Water. Until
the 1891 boundary changes it did not reach as far south as the meeting
of the Ardle and the Black Water where the River Erich is formed and
therefore was composed of two major valleys which were separated from
each other by an area of high land around the Ardle–Shee watershed (see
Map 8).

Strathardle is first documented in the reign of David I as one of the
four royal manors of Gowrie and it was evidently administered for the
Crown by a thane. The church of the manor was Kilmichael (now
Kirkmichael) and was endowed with adaine lands. It had been elevated
to parochial status within the diocese of Dunkeld by 1183 when
William I granted the church with its lands, teinds, alms and offerings
to Dunfermline Abbey. As with other early units of lordship, it is
difficult to assess precisely what was encompassed by the manor or
thanage of Strathardle. The earliest reference to specific lands
within the manor, however, confirms that it was a multiple estate.
In 1232 Andrew, bishop of Moray, exchanged his lands of Dallas in
Morayshire with Duncan, son of Gillemichael Macadh, for a davach of
land in Strathardle called "Petcarene" (alias "Tullachourene",
Tullochcurran, NO 07 60). The phrase used to describe the lands is
unius davache terre in Strathardel, que appellatur Petcarene. The
significance of pit- or pett- names (pett "portion", "share") as
indicative of the dependent touns of multiple estates has been
recognised and the settlement of Petcurran ("the quern portion") seems
clearly to have been an arable toun within the multiple estate of
Strathardle.
Before 1279 Strathardle had been granted to the family of Inchmartin, presumably by Alexander III although no charter of grant has survived.\(^4\) The Inchmartins' possession of Strathardle is recorded in 1279 when John de Inchmartin made an agreement with Dunfermline Abbey over the apdaine lands of Kilmichael and "Lereuach". The abbey doubtless held these lands with the church of Strathardle and by this agreement they quitclaimed the apdaine to John while reserving a portion as a glebe for the church.\(^4\) In 1312 another (Sir) John de Inchmartin, younger son and heir of the earlier John, made an agreement with the abbey of Coupar by which the monks quitclaimed "Lochteskyr" and "Lethrylloch" to Sir John, and which fixed the marches between John's lands of Strathardle and the abbey's lands of Glenisla.\(^4\) The boundary given was from the watershed between Loch Beanie ("Lochteskyr", NO 16 68) and Glen Beanie (NO 17 67) by the ridge of Craigenloch Hill (NO 16 69) to the head of Gleann Carnach (NO 16 71) at the watershed between Glen Brighty (NO 16 72) and Strathardle. The loch and lands are described as lying between the abbey's lands of Glenisla and Sir John's lands "of Strathardle". The significance of this agreement for our purposes is that it demonstrates that Strathardle was a unit which incorporated more than simply the valley from which it took its name, as the lands and loch quitclaimed lie on the east side of Glenshee and the boundary marked is along the main Isla-Shee watershed. Furthermore, it corresponds to the boundary between Strathardle and Glenisla parishes. This evidence suggests strongly a very close connection between the form of the manor and of the parish of Strathardle.
A further component of the lordship can be illustrated from a later agreement between Sir John de Inchmartin and Coupar Abbey in 1327. Following a grant to the abbey of his lands of Murthly in Mar, Sir John had difficulty in obtaining a confirmation of the gift from the earl of Mar and made provision for an annual payment of twelve marks to the abbey out of his Strathardle lands until such time as confirmation could be gained and the monks could take possession of Murthly. The twelve marks were to be paid out of the lands of Inverchroskie More, Inverchroskie Beg and "Morkloch" in the barony of Strathardle (Inverchroskie is at NO 06 62 and "Morkloch" was presumably in the same vicinity). If these proved insufficient the difference was to be made up out of Sir John's barony of Dounie in Strathardle (baronia sua de Duny in Strathardolf). As the charter specifically refers to the barony of Strathardle and to a distinct barony of Dounie in Strathardle, both of which were part of Sir John's Strathardle lands, it appears that it gives evidence of a principal (demesne?) estate and a large dependent estate, both within the manor of Strathardle and here disguised as feudal baronies. Strathardle then was an extensive multiple estate centred on demesne lands and the church of Kilmichael, embodying the "barony" of Dounie and extending into Glenshee. A correlation between this unit and the form of Strathardle parish is strongly suggested and can be demonstrated in greater detail through the later history of the Strathardle lands.

Following the death of Sir John (II) de Inchmartin (post-1334) and the early death without issue of his son Gilbert (1346), the Inchmartin
family estates passed to John's daughter Isabella. She married Sir Alan Erskine and both died in ca. 1400 leaving two co-heiresses. The younger, also Isabella, married Sir John Wemyss of Kincaldrum taking to him half of the Inchmartin and Erskine lands which passed in turn to their descendants, the Wemyss of that Ilk. The elder, Margaret, took the other half of the lands to her husband, Sir John Glen, and their estates were subsequently divided between their three daughters, Marjory, Isabel and Christian. 49

The Wemyss of that Ilk continued to hold a "third part" of Strathardle until after 1610 (why a third rather than a half is unclear but the Wemyss part of Strathardle is always so called), together with the title "de Strathardle" and, after the Reformation, the patronage of the church of Kirkmichael. 50 In 1614/15, however, James VI granted the lands to David Spalding, erecting them into a barony of Ashintully, following the resignation by Sir John Wemyss of that Ilk of his "third part lands of Strathardle". 51 These lands were said to comprise the demesne lands of Ashintully (NO 10 61), the lands of Over and Nether Weirie (NO 10 60 and 11 60), Spittal (of Glenshee, NO 10 69), the glen called Gleann Beag (from NO 11 70 running north-north-east), Cambus (NO 11 70), "Tomezecharow", Dalhenzean (NO 12 68), Soilzarie (NO 13 59), Tomnamean (NO 13 60), "Tomphin", Ballachraggan (NO 12 59), "Pitvirren" (? = Balvarran, NO 07 62), 52 Easter Dounie (NO 09 58), Ballinauld (probably Balnald, NO 07 59), 53 Balnakilly (NO 07 60), Glen Derby, 54 Dalreoch (NO 06 62), Wester and Middle Inverchoskie (NO 06 62) and Kirktoun alias Tomeclachan (i.e. Kirkmichael, NO 08 60),
with the patronage of the church. All of these places which can be identified are in Strathardle parish and extend from Kirkmichael east into Glenshee and as far north as Gleann Beag.

The passage of the lands inherited by the daughters of Margaret Erskine and Sir John Glen cannot always be traced in unbroken sequence but part of the lands of Inverchroskie, "Mucklarie", Dalrulzion (NO 13 58), "Dalma" and "Deonach", Tullochcurran and Glen Derby, "Kinnaird" and a third part of Glenshee passed to the Stewarts of Balvany (earls of Atholl, 1457-1595), perhaps through the Stewarts of Fortingall who obtained by grant and purchase some of the lands in Strathardle which had been inherited by the descendants of the Glen heiresses.\(^5\)

The barony of Dounie, which is attested as part of Strathardle in 1327, can be partly reconstructed from a charter by John Ferguson of Dounie, which was confirmed by James IV granting Over Dounie, Cultalonie (NO 07 58) and Stronamuck (NO 08 62), but reserving to himself in liferent the remainder of the barony of Dounie residuum baronie de Downy. This comprised Nether Dounie (cf. Mains of Dounie, NO 09 58), "Edinarocht" (now obsolete, this was at NO 08 62 on the west side of Whitefield Hill), "Pitbrane" (Tullochcurran), Glen Derby, Finegand (NO 14 66), Binzian More and Beg (cf. Easter Binzian, NO 12 69), Invereddrie (NO 13 68), Runavey (now Westerton of Runavey, NO 12 69), Kerrow (NO 13 68), Cuthell (NO 09 71) and Dalmunzie (NO 09 71),\(^6\) By this date the Fergusons of Dounie also held lands which had recently been annexed to their barony by royal charter following the resignation
of Dorothy Tulloch in "Murthlie", Inverchroskie, Dalrulzion, "Leourch" (cf. "Lereuach" of 1279), "Dalmava" (?Dalvey, NO 08 57), Glenderby, "Petbrane" and "Kinnaird", which are described as lying in the lordship of Strathardle. Again the lands named are all within Strathardle parish and are scattered throughout it. In 1611 these Ferguson lands, which by that date had passed to the Scotts of Balwerie, are described as,

the third part lands of Stratharrell with the partis pendicles and pertinents thairof whilks third part landis of Stratharrell with the pertinents conteins and comprehenis thairin all and haill the landis of Glenschie and all and haill the landis and baronie of Downie.

It seems that the original barony of Downie probably comprised the areas to the south of Kirkmichael around Downie, Cultalonie and Stronamuck, perhaps with pendicles represented by the large number of towns with baile- names in lower Strathardle. It had obviously been increased in the later middle ages by the annexation of certain lands from Glenshee and the demesne lands of Strathardle.

The manor of Strathardle, then, provided the form for the parish of the same name. All of the lands which can be traced back to the Inchmartin lordship of Strathardle, and hence to the royal manor, lie within the parish and together account for its whole content as it was before 1891. Furthermore, the Celtic church at the caput of the manor became the parish church and when the boundary between Strathardle and the neighbouring Glenisla was defined it lent itself to the parish boundary.
The situation of the royal manor of Coupar is more complex and presents several difficulties, not least because in the medieval period it was incorporated within the parish of Bendochy. There was an early church at Coupar, which Cowan says was superseded by the abbey church for parochial purposes. He also notes that after the Reformation the abbey was accounted as lying within the parish and was not disjoined from it until 1618. Nevertheless, there is no evidence for the church of Coupar ever having been parochial before that date. The Statistical Account says that "Bendothy (sic) was the parish church of Coupar Angus before the abolition of Popery" and if correct this would date the association to before the Reformation. Furthermore, in his survey of Scottish parish clergy between 1540 and 1574 Haws found no evidence of parochial service at the abbey of Coupar, while in post-Reformation lists of the possessions of Coupar Abbey the spiritualities never include a parish church or teinds of Coupar. Finally, in the charter of 1618 which includes the provision for the erection of a parish of Coupar, no mention is made of an earlier Coupar parish. What is said is that the parish of Bendochy is divided in the middle by the water of Isla, making access to the church difficult for those who live on the south of the river. A new church is therefore to be built within the precincts of the monastery of Coupar, to be called the church of Coupar and to serve the parishioners living on the south of the Isla and in the town of Coupar, which is hereby erected as a separate parish church. In discussing the relevance of the manor of Coupar to parochial formation, then, we are concerned with a large medieval parish of Bendochy which contained both of the present parishes of Bendochy and Coupar Angus (see Map 9).
The junction of the Rivers Ericht and Isla lay within this parish. Around the confluence of the rivers is a quite extensive basin lying below the 50m contour in which were sited the granges of Coupar and Aberbothrie which were developed by Coupar Abbey. On the west of the Ericht the land rises to 75m on a low ridge. Bendochy and Couttie, both at 40m, lie towards the bottom of this ridge on the north bank of the River Isla. North of this ridge the ground was marshy, forming part of the large moor below Blairgowrie, as is recalled by the shallow loch called Monk Myre (NO 20 42). To the east of the Ericht the land rises gradually from 30m to 50m and then more steeply beyond Aberbothrie to St Fink (150m, NO 21 47) and Tullyfergus (200m, NO 21 49). The "Coupar Angus" part of the parish, to the south of the Isla, was located on the river plain at between 30m and 60m.

Perhaps because it does not so immediately equate to a medieval parish of the same name, the composition of the manor of Coupar is harder to reconstruct than those of Scone and Strathardle. In 1161 Malcolm IV granted to the newly-arrived Cistercian monks of Coupar his whole land of Coupar with all its rightful appurtenances, by its proper marches and with its fishings in the Ericht and the Isla. The church of Coupar was also granted to the monks, the bishop of St Andrews having resigned his rights in it.65 The inclusion of fishing rights in the Ericht suggests that at least part of the lands of Coupar lay to the north of the Isla as access to the Ericht would not otherwise have been possible. This is consistent with the place-name of Coupar which is most probably a P-Celtic compound of co(n) and bero(n), cognate with
Gaelic comar and Welsh cymmer and meaning "confluence". The most prominent confluence in the vicinity is that of the Ericht and Isla and the name suggest a site within the angle of that river junction rather than to the south-west where the present town of Coupar Angus lies. In the same charter Malcolm IV granted his protection to the monks within the marches of the abbey and its granges. Although these granges are not named a contemporary charter to Coupar Abbey (now lost) by the same king granted to the monks the grange of Coupar with the church situated within that grange, and the granges of Balbrogie, Tullyfergus and Drimmie. It may be that here we have the "whole land of Coupar", namely Coupargrange (NO 22 42) in the angle of the Ericht and the Isla confluence, with its dependent town of Balbrogie (NO 24 42), Tullyfergus (NO 21 49) and Drimmie (NO 16 51) under the guise of monastic granges. Balbrogie, if Gaelic baile- names represent dependent settlements within larger units in the same way as earlier pit- names, is particularly interesting in this respect.

This suggestion would give us a manor situated within, but not coterminous with, the parish of Bendochy. The early church of Coupar was the church at Coupargrange and it cannot have been physically supplanted by the abbey church, for in 1173 x 78 William I specifically granted a half-ploughgate of land for the site of the abbey, which was presumably not within the original manor of Coupar. In 1891 an area of land including the ruined abbey and its precincts was transferred to Perthshire, having been the only part of Coupar Angus parish which had previously lain in Forfarshire. Given that the abbey was in
St Andrews diocese, while Bendochy parish was in the diocese of Dunkeld,\textsuperscript{72} the likely explanation is that the site of the abbey lay not only outside the manor of Coupar but also outside Bendochy parish and was only incorporated within it after the monks secured possession of Bendochy church (see below).

That neither the original church of Coupar(grange) nor the new abbey church became parochial must be due to the prior parochial organisation of the manor of Coupar. Why Bendochy had become the parish church of the area which encompassed the royal manor and church of Coupar, however, is difficult to account for. Although the dedication of Bendochy church is unknown, the place-name means the "(place of) blessing", (Gaelic beannachadh; M. Ir. bendachtu, dative bendachtan), which Watson says often indicates the place where a saint founded his church and this suggests that there was an early church at Bendochy.\textsuperscript{73}

It may have been dependent on the Celtic abbey of Dunkeld, for in ca. 1150 Andrew, bishop of Caithness, granted the church of the Holy Trinity of Dunkeld to Dunfermline Abbey, having received it shortly before from David I.\textsuperscript{74} The lands which pertained to this church were Fordie (NO 09 41 in Caputh parish), "Dunmernach" (probably in Kinclaven parish), Bendochy, Couttie (NO 21 40 in Bendochy parish), "Inchturfy" (now obsolete, near Taymount in Kinclaven parish) and (Little) Keithick (NO 19 38 in Cargill parish). This scattered endowment of Holy Trinity church, which never became parochial itself, presents several difficulties,\textsuperscript{75} but its importance to this discussion is that it carried to Dunfermline the lands of Bendochy with their old
church and the nearby lands of Couttie. Elsewhere in Scotland at Cleish, Crombie, Newburn and Woomet, Dunfermline Abbey is known to have raised early chapels to parochial status and to have founded churches on lands which it acquired. It seems likely that the abbey also restored the church of Bendochy and raised it to parochial status. The abbey was certainly in possession of the parish church of Bendochy by ca. 1220. Nevertheless, this does not account for the form taken by Bendochy parish.

It may be that for the solution to the problem we must envisage a larger estate of Coupar than that allowed for by Malcolm IV's grant of the "whole land" to Coupar Abbey. One clue which suggests that this may have been the case is the place-name of Couttie which has been abbreviated from its early form, "Cupermaccultin", meaning "Coupar of the sons of Ultan." Given that Coupar is a rarely occurring P-Celtic name and that there is not even a minor confluence near Couttie, together with the fact that the Gaelic qualifier in "Cupermaccultin" bears no relation to the original name meaning, it seems that "Cupermaccultin" should be read as a name which identifies part of a larger estate distinguished by its ownership. Couttie is properly seen as a part of Coupar which had become partly detached by the twelfth century. The same may also be true of the toun of Bendochy which lies between Couttie and Coupergrange and the "whole land" of Coupar granted by Malcolm IV should perhaps be viewed as the residue of the original estate by the date of the grant.
If this suggestion is correct it may explain the dispute which arose in the early thirteenth century over Bendochy between the abbeys of Coupar Angus and Dunfermline. In ca. 1220 papal mandatories reported that, following a complaint raised by Coupar against Dunfermline and "J", clerk, regarding the church of Bendochy, they had summoned the parties to adjudication and that, in consequence of the contumacy of Dunfermline, they had placed Coupar in possession of the lands of Bendochy and Couttie. Dunfermline subsequently complained to the papal curia about this decision and additional arbiters were appointed. They oversaw an agreement between the parties by which Dunfermline was to observe the marches of its lands of Bendochy, Couttie and Keithick with those of the monks of Coupar, respective rights in the adjacent peatmoss were agreed, and Coupar was to hold the church of Bendochy for an annual payment of two marks to Dunfermline. Cowan says that the church of Bendochy was apparently confirmed to Dunfermline by Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld (1214-1229), before this dispute, but a more likely explanation of the incomplete entry in the Dunfermline Register which he refers to is that it was a note of a charter by Bishop Hugh confirming the above settlement, which is specifically said to have been made with the assent of the bishop. The dispute between Coupar and Dunfermline doubtless arose because each felt their rights in the parish being infringed by the other. The monks of Coupar, who were anxious to secure ecclesiastical independence by commuting the teinds due from their lands elsewhere, cannot have relished the fact that their central estate lay within the parochial jurisdiction of another abbey. They may even have felt that Dunfermline's foundation of
Bendochy, which presumably took place before the establishment of Coupar Abbey, had usurped the rights of the manorial church of Coupar. It is also worth noting that, as part of the settlement, respective rights in the peatmoss were agreed. This may well indicate an early common moor of the towns of Coupar and strengthens the evidence for a connection between them. It would appear, then, that as at Scone and Strathardle the form of a medieval parish was borrowed from the pre-existing multiple estate unit, although at Coupar the parochial elevation of a church which was not at the estate caput is an important difference.

The fourth of the royal manors of Gowrie, Longforgan, is also recorded as a shire and was administered for the Crown in the twelfth century by a native family of thanes. In ca. 1150 David I granted the church of Longforgan to St Andrews Cathedral Priory, with all the teinds and dues from the whole royal lordship and men of "foregrund et de foregrund seihire", and with a toft of land. Malcolm IV confirmed this grant in 1153 and added an endowment of half a carucate of land to the church. In a separate charter of similar date he granted the half carucate, described as in schira de forgrund que dicitur chingothe (Kingoodie, NO 33 29), to St Andrews Priory. It seems clear that these grants resulted from the raising of the church at the shire caput to parochial status by endowing it with teind rights and a glebe, and that the shire of Longforgan was to provide the parish for the church. Stringer has remarked that the present day large, rectangular parish reaching back from the Tay into the Sidlaws delineates the
approximate bounds of the shire.88 The settlement pattern within the parish, with the caput situated on the best locally available arable land and dependent settlements at Monorgan (NO 32 28) and "Auchtercoman" (ca. NO 25 33)89 - the latter providing grazing lands - and at Kingoodie, has the appearance of a complete multiple estate unit90 (see Map 10).

There is some evidence, nevertheless, that the manor of Longforgan was a larger unit than simply the shire (and parish) of the same name, incorporating several estates and perhaps churches, such as existed at Scone. In 1239 x 53 the church of Longforgan was described as a mother church (matrix ecclesia),91 suggesting that it enjoyed an enhanced status over other churches in its vicinity. There were chapels within Longforgan parish at Dron and Monorgan92 but their dates of foundation and operation have not been discovered and it may be that they were not the daughter churches of Longforgan which are implied by the designation of mother church.

A possible larger manor of Longforgan is also suggested by evidence concerning the estates of Longforgan, Inchture and Inchmartine. In ca. 1178 William I granted various lands to his brother, David, earl of Huntingdon, including Longforgan and Pitmiddle (David had, in fact, held Longforgan since ca. 1172).93 Earl David subsequently granted a number of lands to his illegitimate son, Henry of Stirling, including part of Monorgan, Pitmiddle (NO 22 30 in the modern Kinnaird, but previously Inchture parish), and part of Inchmartine (NO 25 28 and
NO 26 28 in Errol parish). The family who appear in the mid-thirteenth century bearing the name "de Inchmartin" were descended from Henry of Stirling. There is no record that Earl David acquired the lands of Inchmartine as a separate estate and it seems that he held it as part of Longforgan. Following the partition of his estates between his three surviving daughters, part of Inchmartine passed to the Balliols and later lords with a third of Longforgan, while Inchmartine is described as lying in baronia de Longfargund on several occasions in the fourteenth century. Why Inchmartine was included in Errol parish is unclear but the links between its chapel and the church of Errol were weak and the lands originally belonged to the lordship of Longforgan.

The situation of Inchmartine also calls into question the early alignment of the lands of Inchture parish, which lay between Inchmartine and Longforgan. The church of Inchture first appears on record in 1163 x 20 September, 1164, when the chapel (capellam de Inchehore) was granted to St Andrews Priory by Richard, bishop-elect of St Andrews, and confirmed by Malcolm IV. The gift was confirmed by Bishop Richard after his consecration on 28 March, 1165 x 1169. At a slightly later date the chapel was raised to parochial status, for in 1165 x 70 William I granted the church of Inchture (ecclesia) with its chapel of Kinnaird and all pertinents of the church to St Andrews Priory. In 1173 x 78 Bishop Richard confirmed this grant and the church is explicitly recorded with teind rights by 1178 x 1184. Kinnaird did not become a separate parish until after the Reformation.
although the lands formed a detached part of Inchture parish, being separated from it by Inchmartine in Errol parish.

The lands of Inchture parish appear to have been composed of three main parts; Kinnaird, Inchture and Powgavie. These parts did not remain linked, if they had previously been so, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, other than through their inclusion in Inchture parish. Kinnaird was granted to Ralph Ruffus, with the exception of Pitmiddle which belonged to Richard, the king’s clerk (and which subsequently passed to Earl David), as a knight’s feu by William I,⁹⁹ to be held with the rights of sake and soke, toll, team and infangthief. As pit and gallows rights were not included in the charter it is difficult to know whether Kinnaird had formerly been a thanage, but it certainly has the appearance of a multiple estate unit in its own right. Pitmiddle, although disjoined by the twelfth century, had been a dependent toun of the caput at Kinnaird, as presumably were the touns of “Dunore” and “Kinbrichter” within the feu.¹⁰⁰ An area of waste in the estate is implied by a reference to the hunting lodges of Kinbrichter in 1205 x 1211 and the lordship had a mill by ca. 1196 x 1214.¹⁰¹ That Kinnaird was provided with an early chapel may also be significant.

Powgavie was granted, with Tealing in Angus, to William Giffard in 1196 x 1201 by William I, having previously been held by William Giffard’s father, Hugh.¹⁰² This may be significant as Hugh Giffard had close links with David, earl of Huntingdon, and received from him Fintry and another feu in Dundeeshire, and possibly
the superiority of "Auchtercoman". It is not known from whom Hugh Giffard received Powvarie but his other landed interests nearby resulted from his attendance on Earl David and the same situation may have led to his acquisition of Powgavie. Inchture itself was in possession of a family "de Inchture" by the early thirteenth century and they continued to hold it until the mid-fourteenth century. Their origins cannot be traced but it is just possible that they were descended from Robert Basset, the most prominent member of Earl David's familia, as a Thomas Besate held lands at Balgay (NO 27 27) in Inchture in the fifteenth century. If so, this would provide further evidence of a connection between the lands of Inchture parish and David, earl of Huntingdon, and hence with the manor of Longforgan.

It may be that the manor of Longforgan was composed of the shire of the same name with one or more dependent estates including the lands of Kinnaird, Inchture and Inchmartine. There is no doubt that the central shire provided the basis for Longforgan parish but it may also be true that the dependent estates lent their form to another parish, Inchture. The chapels of Inchture, Kinnaird and Inchmartine could have been subject to the mother church of Longforgan but why only Inchture attained parochial status and incorporated Kinnaird within its parish, and why Inchmartine was included in the parish of Errol, remains obscure. It is notable, however, that Inchmartine was the only part of Errol parish which did not belong to the earlier multiple estate of Errol (as will be seen below) and that only it separated Kinnaird from the main body of Inchture parish.
Beyond the four royal manors, the multiple estates in Gowrie which can be identified from the documentary record are Alyth, Blairgowrie, Cargill, Errol and Foulis, each of which also shared its name with a parish. The parish of Alyth slopes up from the River Isla to Alyth village (NO 24 48, 100m) and then on to the Hill of Alyth (281m and 295m summits), the Hill of Loyal (270m) and Barry Hill (208m). These hills form a natural division within the parish. To their north the land drops down to between 150m and 200m before climbing again on to the higher slopes of Balduff Hill (425m), Drumderg (422m), Hill of Three Cairns (379m), Hill of Kingseat (380m) and Corb (406m). The Forest of Alyth occupies the high land here and extends east into Glenisla. Beyond the Forest lies the district of Blacklunans where the land slopes steeply from the Black Water up to the summits of Cairn Gibbs (520m), Meall Mor (551m) and Mount Blair (774m).

Early settlement in the parish was concentrated in the southern part around Alyth and Bamff (NO 22 51). Alyth itself probably has a P-Celtic name and its early dependencies are represented by Pitnacree (NO 24 48), Pitcrocknie (NO 25 48) and Pitdray (NO 21 51). Certain Gaelic place-names represent the developing settlement relationships in the parish during the ninth to eleventh centuries. Auchteralyth (NO 28 51) was the upland (uachdar) of the principal estate while Balwhyme (NO 23 50), Balhary (NO 26 46) and Balendoch (NO 28 47) represent further dependent settlements similar to those with pit- names. Balendoch is particularly interesting as it recalls the arable unit which it farmed - a davach to the south-east of Alyth.
Bamff may represent an early Gaelic settlement of some importance, recalling as it does the Irish homeland of the settlers, while most of the other settlement and topographic names in the parish are of Gaelic origin. Blacklunans is shown by early forms of the name such as "Balcluna(s)", "Bawclownan" to have originated as a baile-name (probably baile cluaintean, "stead of the pastures or meadows"). Although until 1891 the lands of Balcklunans were in Forfarshire their inclusion in Alyth parish, together with the place-name, suggests that Blacklunans was an early outlying dependency, with a specialised pastoral function, of the main settlements in the parish (see Map 11).

Alyth is recorded as a thanage which had a royal castle by the end of the twelfth century. The castle, which was later known as Inverquiech (NO 27 49), is first recorded in 1196 x 99 and probably owed its establishment to the development of the royal hunting forest after about 1150. From the early fourteenth century the components of the thanage of Alyth can begin to be identified. In 1319/20 Robert I made a grant to Coupar Angus Abbey of "Aythnacathyl" and "Blarerouthnakis" infra thanagium nostrum de Alvth, and in 1374/5 Robert II granted his castle place of Inverquiech, together with all the lands which had belonged to John de Welhame and John de Balcasky in the thanage of Alyth, to Sir James de Lindsay. In 1375 the same king repeated the grant to James de Lindsay and added to it the lands formerly held by Bernard de Hawden, Richard de Bekyrtona, Robert de Seton and Thomas de Rattray in the thanage of Alyth. These lands had been recovered by the Crown by compensating the holders with equivalent lands elsewhere and
were granted to James de Lindsay with his other lands in the thanage and the castle of Inverquiech in one free barony with rights of pit and gallows, toll, team and infangthief, and with the services of the free tenants of Auchteralyth and Incheok. Although the lands thus granted to James are not specified and are later described simply as the thanage, lordship or barony of Alyth, they can be identified from later grants out of the barony and from records of the holdings of the Lindsays and their successors (the Lindsays, earls of Crawford from 1398, were succeeded in Alyth and other lands by the Ogilvies of Airlie). The lands which can be thus identified covered a substantial part of the parish including Alyth and its pendicles (one of which is named as Petnacree), Tullymurdoch (NO 19 52), Balloch (NO 26 49), Watersheal with Craighead (NO 19 54), the Forest of Alyth, Inverquiech, Auchteralyth, Incheoch (NO 25 52), Bogside and Shanzie (NO 27 50), Buchal (NO 27 51), Bruceton (NO 28 50), Jordanstoun (NO 27 47), Corb (NO 16 56), Kingseat (NO 14 54), and Rannagulzion (NO 17 53).

One part of the parish which did not pass to the Lindsays was the barony of Bamff. In 1232 Alexander II granted to Master Ness, his physician, the lands of Kinkeadly (NO 21 51), Pitdray (NO 21 51), Ardormie (NO 23 52) and Bamff, described as lying in the feu of Alyth, and the lands of Foyal (NO 21 50), with pit and gallows, sake and soke, toll, team and infangthief, for the service of one quarter of one knight. Despite the jurisdictional rights granted to Master Ness, which might imply an independent earlier thanage, both the description in feodo de Alyth and the fractional service required suggest that this
estate was a component of something larger and it seems likely that the lands were originally part of the thanage of Alyth, here disguised under feudal terminology. Ness was presumably to exercise the jurisdiction previously allocated to the thane for that portion of the thanage of Alyth which passed in property to him, hence the specification of the rights attached to the lands. The apparent exclusion of Foyal from the "feu" is difficult to account for but it was obviously connected with the other lands of Bamff and in 1364 the mill of Foyal enjoyed the multures of at least Ardormie.119

The parish of Alyth, then, took its form from the thanage of the same name, which encompassed the major estates of Alyth and Bamff together with a substantial upland area which was reserved for royal hunting in the twelfth century and later became, or more probably reverted to, common pastureland.120 The church of the parish was an early mensal church of Dunkeld and was endowed with the lands of Kirklandbank and Balwhyme, the latter of which was used to support a chaplaincy of St. Ninian within Alyth churchyard.121

The church of Blairgowrie was parochial by 1189 x 98 and in 1195 x 1207 an annual pension of 100 shillings out of the church revenues was granted to Cambuskenneth Abbey.122 This pension was continued in 1356/7 when the church was granted to Scone Abbey by the bishop of St Andrews in exchange for the church of Carrington.123 Blair was a royal estate in the twelfth century, the most prominent feature of which was the extensive moor which covered most of the southern part of the parish
and from which the lordship derived its name.  

Pingask Loch, White Loch, Black Loch, Hare Myre, Stormont Loch (or Loch Bog) and Monk Myre now mark the central portion of the Moor while Ardb Blair (NO 16 44, ard + blār, "above the moor") and Myreside (NO 17 44) indicate its northern boundary. When surveyed for a process of division in the eighteenth century, the commonty of Moor of Blair was 712 acres in extent. In 1198 x 1202 William I granted the whole marsh belonging to his demesne of Blair to Coupar Abbey. This was later exchanged by Alexander II with the monks for two and a half carucates in the feu of Meikle Blair in advance of a grant by the same king to Scone Abbey of the remainder of Meikle and Little Blair. The lands granted to Scone were to be held with sake and soke, pit and gallows, toll, team and infangthief, for the service due from six davachs, namely the service pertaining to the six davachs of Blair minus the one davach held by Coupar Abbey. Here, then, we have a picture of Blair as a royal lordship, probably a thanage, composed of six davachs lying around a large common moor, which became a feudal estate in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Such a lordship, however, does not account for the form of the whole parish of Blairgowrie (see Map 12). The lands of Blair held by Scone Abbey are described in 1581 as "Mekill Blaer, Abden de Blaer, lie Brewland de Blaer, granorum molendinum de Blaer, lie Newton de Blaer, Parkheid, Woltoun de Blaer, Lytill Blaer, Lochend cum lacu de Blaer." These lands occupied only the south of Blairgowrie parish. It is true that Scone Abbey did hold other lands in the parish, but
these are attributable to separate grants to that which gave them Meikle and Little Blair. Banchory (NO 19 40) was granted to Scone by Alexander I in ca. 1120,\textsuperscript{131} while Cloquhat (NO 15 52) and Creuchies (NO 20 50, formerly in Blairgowrie parish as a detached part) were possessions of the abbey from an unknown date but at least earlier than 1235.\textsuperscript{132} Part of Mause (NO 16 48) was granted to Scone in 1414 by Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, presumably with its pendicles of Morgenstone and Rochallie.\textsuperscript{133}

The part of Blairgowrie parish lying to the north of the Lornty Burn does not appear to have been in the "feu" of Blair, but it too was in royal possession in the twelfth century. Persie (NO 13 54, formerly in Blairgowrie parish) was granted to Coupar Abbey by William I,\textsuperscript{134} while Robert I granted the lands of Drumlochy (NO 1547 and 1548) to Thomas de Camera, whose descendants continued to hold it of the Crown until at least the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{135} The parts of Mause which were held by the Ramsays of Bamff and the Logans of Restalrig were probably also granted by the Crown although no charters have survived to confirm this.\textsuperscript{136}

Blairgowrie parish, then, appears to have been composed of a central royal demesne estate of Blair, together with an upland area to the north of the Lornty Burn. Both parts were royal possessions in the twelfth century but their relationship to each other is difficult to assess. At any rate, the upland part was subject to some alteration in the medieval period under the influence of monastic landowners. This
process may throw some light on the development of the form of Blairgowrie parish.

In addition to the lands of Letcassy, Coupar Abbey also held Persie and Cally in Blairgowrie parish through a gift by William I dating to 1195 x 1206. In this grant the king reserved to himself that part of Cally which lay to the south of the River Ardle towards Clunie. Shortly after the king's grant, in 1203 x 1206, the monks made an agreement with the church of Blairgowrie to commute the teinds of Letcassy and Persie for an annual payment of a stone of wax. A charter by Henry, bishop of St Andrews, in 1429 relates that the town of Persie, which had belonged to the parish of Blair from its foundation, had been transferred to Bendochy parish by agreement between the abbots of Coupar and Scone. The date of this charter is not recorded but it presumably took place after 1356 when Scone received the church of Blair. The annulment of the transfer after February 1390/91, which was repeated by Bishop Henry's charter, was apparently ineffective for Persie and Cally continued to form a detached part of Bendochy parish until 1891.

The situation is given added complexity by an arbitral decision of 1418 which apparently linked the question of Persie to that of an annual payment of the small teinds of Banchory, Cloquhat and Creuchies, due by Scone to Coupar Abbey. Shortly after Coupar secured the church of Bendochy from Dunfermline in 1221, the canons of Scone agreed to pay to Coupar and their chaplain of Bendochy all the small teinds and
offerings of the villeins and servants of Banchory, Cloquhat and Creuchies, which lands belonged to Scone, in return for freedom from taking the (great) teinds from those lands and a stone of wax annually. The chaplain was to administer the sacraments to the inhabitants of the named lands, reserving the rights of the bishop of St Andrews. It may be that the lands had been disputed between the parishes of Bendochy and Blairgowrie since their establishment and that after the agreement (perhaps after 1356) they were settled in Blairgowrie parish, Creuchies forming a detached portion.

Part of the reason for the difficulties experienced in this upland area may be that before the abbeys of Scone and Coupar acquired holdings there, much of the land was hunting forest, waste and moor. The royal forests of Drimmie and Alyth lay to the north-east and that of Clunie to the west, with the moors of Cochragie and Drumlochy to the north-west of Blairgowrie. The part of Cally reserved by the king in 1195 x 1206 must have lain partly at least in Cochragie Muir and was probably retained for hunting. It is notable that the detached area of Blairgowrie at Blackcraig (NO 11 52) was separated from the main body of the parish only by Persie and Cally on the north of the Ardle (Persie at least had originally lain in Blairgowrie), and by Cochragie Muir on the south of the river. The later commonty of Cochragie Muir appears to have been largely included in Kinloch parish, but it extended into Blairgowrie and the boundary, at least in the northern part, must have been very imprecise (there was no natural boundary between Kinloch and Blairgowrie parishes on the main part of Cochragie Muir).
Given that the idea of hunting reserves as exclusive areas with specific rights was only introduced into Scotland in the twelfth century, it may be suggested that the royal forests had previously accommodated a much more communal usage, perhaps including hunting, pasturage and turf and timber extraction. Grants such as that by Malcolm IV to Coupar Abbey of pasture in his forest of Drimmie for their animals may simply have restated an established practice in the guise of a concession under new legislation. Just as the delineation of specific "forests" led to some redefinition of rights and boundaries so did the development of areas which had previously been largely waste by monastic and other landowners. The boundaries between Cloquhat and Drimmie were perambulated in 1224 and between Drimmie and Alyth under William I, and subsequent perambulations and orders to observe the marches occurred periodically. The fixing of boundaries accompanied the establishment of exclusive land rights especially, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, under the influence of monastic estate development and an association between these land rights and parish boundaries is not surprising given that monastic landlords frequently also had an interest in the teind rights of their estates. At Blairgowrie, it appears that the rather ill-defined upland area which was nominally related to the thanage of Blair obtained definite marches only during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and that this was reflected in the form of the parish.

Cargill church is mentioned incidentally in a charter of 1195 x 99 and is definitely recorded as parochial by 1200 when an agreement was made
over teinds belonging to it. The parish is bounded on the north by the River Isla and on the north-west by the River Tay. From the rivers the land rises to a plain of between 100m and 140m which covers a large part of the parish. In the south-east an area of the parish climbs into the Sidlaw Hills up to Kings Seat (see Map 13).

In 1171 x 78 William I granted to Coupar Angus abbey the lands of Keithick, in the north-east of the parish, "by the marches by which they held it in the time of King David I" according to the very imperfect abbreviate in which the charter has survived. The reference to David I's time is problematic as Coupar Abbey was not founded until after that king's death. Cowan and Easson read the reference as suggesting that the foundation of the abbey had been projected by David I, but another reading seems more probable. It has already been mentioned that lands of Keithick were attached to the church of the Holy Trinity of Dunkeld at least as early as the reign of David I. From subsequent records it is clear that this was Little Keithick in Cargill parish. It would appear that Keithick, which was one of the older settlements in the area, with a P-Celtic name, had been divided, perhaps during the reign of David I, hence the reference to the marches of the part of Keithick which was granted to Coupar, in other words the boundaries which the lands of Keithick had in David I's time. The lands of Keithick which passed to Coupar were those now represented by Keithick and Mains of Keithick (NO 20 38), perhaps with Balgersho (NO 21 38) as a pendicle. These lands are now in Coupar Angus parish and appear to have been in Bendochy before the Reformation, but in
ca. 1200 Coupar Abbey made an agreement with the church of Cargill to commute the teinds belonging to "the lands of Keithick which King William gave to the monks "in the parish of Cargill", for a money payment.\textsuperscript{155} The abbey’s part of Keithick therefore appears to have been effectively annexed to their parish of Bendochy at some time after ca. 1200 when they secured Bendochy church.

The remainder of the lands which formed Cargill parish appear to have been apportioned between three estates in the twelfth century. In 1173 x 78 William I granted the royal hunting forest of Campsie (NO 12 33) to Coupar Abbey.\textsuperscript{156} The same king also apparently gave the lands of Buttergask (NO 21 34) to one of his attendants, Hugh of Calder, out of which Hugh granted forty acres of arable with accompanying rights to Scone Abbey.\textsuperscript{157} King William’s grant to Hugh of Calder probably preceded the grant which he made to Richard de Montfiquet in 1189 x 95, as Richard was to have Cargill as fully as when the king held it on the day on which he granted it.\textsuperscript{158} This suggests that the original estate of Cargill had been diminished, no doubt by the earlier grants of Campsie, Buttergask and Keithick. As Richard was granted Cargill together with Kincardine in Menteith, with sake and soke, pit and gallows, toll, team and infangthief, for the service of one knight, it is probable that Cargill had formerly been a royal thanage, and that the addition of Kincardine was made in compensation for the diminution of Cargill.
Some evidence for an early connection between the lands of Cargill and Campsie is that Richard de Montifiquet was given the right to hold Cargill in forest by the same conditions which were granted to Coupar Abbey with Campsie. That much of the lands of Cargill had been waste or forest in the early twelfth century or before is borne out by the toponymy of the parish. The etymology of Cargill itself is uncertain but it probably refers to an early fortification (Gaelic cathair) which preceded the motte of Cargill. Of other names in the parish only Campsie (Gaelic camaisidh > "Kamsy", Campsie), Balholmie (earlier "Balquhonie", "Balchony" for baile + (?)coinneach, "moss") and its pendicle, Craigieholm, and Buttergask (Gaelic gasg, "a tail of land") have Gaelic origins. The majority of names in the parish, especially in the part which was granted to Richard de Montifiquet, are of English origin. These can hardly have been created much earlier than Richard's acquisition of the estate and may well represent his development of an area which had previously been kept waste for hunting. A charter by Richard to William, son of Alexander, of half a carucate of land in Whitefield ("Withefeld") with common pasture, a perambulated bovate, a messuage and a toft and croft for the service of one twentieth part of a knight in ca. 1195, is particularly suggestive of agricultural development through subinfeudation. Laystone ("Lesingestune", NO 18 38), mentioned in the same charter, is another twelfth century English name. Burrelton (NO 19 36) may be a further example while Stobhall (NO 13 34) is a slightly later English name.
A further indication of developing settlement is that it evidently led to a conflict of interests between Sir William de Montifiquet, Richard’s successor, and the monks of Coupar Abbey. In ca. 1220 the abbey complained to the Pope against Sir William over his transgressions on the lands, pastures and other things of the monks. This dispute evidently arose from Coupar’s possession of Campsie and Keithick at either end of Sir William’s estate of Cargill. The boundaries between them were ill-defined because of their former association and recent development, and the fixing of the marches of Keithick with Laystone and of Campsie with Cargill was part of the agreement reached between the parties. By the same agreement Sir William conceded to the monks various rights on the moorland of Laystone and Cargill, and free passage through his lands.

Coupar Abbey was involved in a further boundary dispute in the parish at about the same time, on this occasion over the marches between Campsie and the lands of Cambusmichael and Craigmakerran which belonged to Scone Abbey. Again, this points to the development of land which had previously been waste with ill-defined boundaries. It is worth noting that the boundary perambulated and marched out from the River Tay at Byres (NO 12 33) as far as Redford (NO 14 33) was on the line of the boundary between Cambusmichael and Cargill parishes.

The process by which the chapel at Foulis Easter became a parish can be illustrated from charter sources. The chapel was an episcopal possession of the bishops of St Andrews and in 20 November 1160 x 24 January 1162, Bishop Arnold granted it to St Andrews Priory.
an unknown date, but before ca. 1165, the lands of Foulis were granted to William Maule as a feu, probably for knight service, and it seems that William was instrumental in raising the chapel on these lands to parochial status. In 28 March 1165 x 2 April 1172, William Maule granted the chapel of Foulis to St Andrews Priory, thereby confirming Bishop Arnold’s earlier grant, with an increased endowment of land, rights to teind and offerings, common pasture and a tithe of the mill of the feu. Although the church is still described specifically as a chapel (capella) and was confirmed as such to the priory by Hugh de Mortemer in the early thirteenth century, it has many of the hallmarks of parochial status. Furthermore, at a similar date to his grant to the priory, William Maule granted the church (ecclesia) of Foulis to his nephew, Thomas the clerk, with church lands whose boundaries are specified in the charter and which probably equated to the increased landed endowment granted to St Andrews Priory with the "chapel". This grant was confirmed by Roger de Mortemer after 1189 x 94. Thomas was to pay one mark annually to the priory for his tenure of the benefice.

The lands of Foulis had a mill and common pasture as pendicles of the feu, and the unity of the whole estate was such that it passed down as a single property through to the nineteenth century, even preserving its identity after being united to the Forfarshire parish of Lundie in 1618. When Foulis was granted to Roger de Mortemer, son-in-law of William Maule, in 1189 x 94, presumably on the same terms as William Maule had held it, the feu carried the rights of sake and soke, toll, team and infangthief, with pit and gallows and had evidently
been a thanage before William acquired it. This would seem to be confirmed by the existence of a *cuthill* (<comhdhaill) place-name in the parish, representing an early court site where a thane or similar local officer would have exercised his jurisdiction.\(^{178}\)

The parish church of Errol was founded by William de la Hay, who received Errol in 1178 x 82, or his son David, who was confirmed in possession of the estate on 17 September 1195 or 1196, for the parish church was established before 1189 x 98 when an agreement over teinds due to it was made.\(^{179}\) In 1178 x 82, "Herol" was granted to William de la Hay with sake and soke, toll, team and infangthief for the service of two knights.\(^{180}\) (The rights of pit and gallows were also specified when the estate was confirmed to David de la Hay in 1195 or 1196).\(^{181}\) The feu had been a thanage and was evidently of some substance given the double knight's service involved.

Most of the parish of Errol (see Map 14) can be demonstrated to have corresponded to the Hay's feu. In the south-east of the parish, "Ederpolles" was granted to Coupar Abbey by William de la Hay in 1187 x 95\(^{182}\) and was subsequently developed as a grange by the abbey. The adjacent Aithmuir was held by the second son of William de la Hay of Errol, also called William, and included the new settlement of Muirhouses ("le Murhouse") and lands held of the Hays by Roger son of Baldric.\(^{183}\) It bordered Powgavie in Inchture parish to the east, Carsegrange to the north, and on the lands of Randalston, which probably took their name from Randulf de la Hay who held them in
1214 x 50, to the west. Next to Randalston on the west were the lands of Lornie, also in the feu, with Clashbenny and Gallowflat at the extreme west of the parish. The demesne lands of Errol village occupied the central portion of the parish, extending as far as Inchmichael in the north-east. Balchalum and Inchcoonans were also probably included in the demesne lands.

The only part of the parish which cannot be shown to have been in the feu was Inchmartine in the north-east corner. There was a chapel at Inchmartine which, in 1241, was granted an increased endowment by Henry of Stirling. Patronage of the chapel pertained to Henry and passed to his descendants "de Inchmartin". When Gilbert de la Hay of Errol granted the patronage of Errol church to Coupar Abbey in 1331 he included the chapel of Inchmartine in the grant, but the relationship between the churches was not strong, as when Errol was finally ceded to the Charterhouse of Perth in 1429 (the earlier grant to Coupar was ineffective), the patronage of Inchmartine chapel remained in lay hands. Another chapel within Errol parish, which had been founded by the monks of Coupar at Carsegrange, made an agreement with the Charterhouse over its offerings and other dues, but no similar arrangement seems to have been made on behalf of the chapel of Inchmartine. The weakness of the link between Errol and Inchmartine churches suggests that there was no pre-parochial connection between them and the same appears to have been true of the lands of Inchmartine and the feu of Errol. With the exception of Inchmartine, however, there is a close correspondence between the form of Errol parish and the feu, and hence the thanage, of the same name.
There is a demonstrable coincidence of the forms of the documented multiple estates of Gowrie with the forms of medieval parishes. The remaining parishes in the district cannot be matched to such estates, at least in the documentary record, but it is worth examining their forms in relation to the settlement pattern in order to establish any similar correspondence to early territorial organisation.

Inchture parish has already been considered. To the north of Inchture lay the parishes of Abernyte and Rossie (see Map 15). Rossie (alias Rossinclerach) was on apdaine lands which appear to have been divided before the mid-twelfth century between the Crown and the bishops of St Andrews. David I after 1145 x 52, granted part of the apdaine ("abbacia") of Rossie to Matthew, archdeacon of St Andrews, and Robert, bishop of St Andrews (1123 x 24 – 1159), granted another part of the apdaine to the same party, both of which grants were confirmed by Malcolm IV in 1153 x 59 (possibly x 1156). Some lands in the apdaine, however, appear to have been retained by the Crown and were granted to other lords. In the early thirteenth century Duncan of Ballindean (Ballindean is at NO 25 29) and Hugh Cameron were among the group of local men who witnessed a charter by Gilbert Scot, son of Ewen of Monorgan. Duncan of Ballindean was perhaps a native tenant of the Crown holding one of the townes of Rossie, but later references to Ballindean seem scarce. Hugh Cameron is the first of a number of Camerons who appear locally in the thirteenth century. The Camerons held lands in Fife and may also have held Baledgarno (NO 27 30) in Rossie from the early thirteenth century, as they appear with some
Map 15
Abernyte and Rossie Parishes

Kings Seat
Pitkindie
Abernyte
Milton
Baledgar
Ballindean
Kirkton
Rossie
Castlehill
frequency in the company of other local men from this part of Gowrie.\textsuperscript{195} They adopted the designation "de Baledgarno" at the end of the century.\textsuperscript{196} Beyond the baile- place-names of Ballindean and Baledgarno, which may indicate dependent toune of an early ecclesiastical (apdaine) estate of Rossie, however, there is little evidence which allows the identification of any territorial unit underlying the medieval parish.

Abernyte church is not recorded before Bagimond's Roll in 1274.\textsuperscript{197} The lands of Abernyte appear to have formed a feu for Sir Henry de Abernyte who is known in the first half of the thirteenth century, and presumably also for Reginald de Abernyte who is recorded at the beginning of the century.\textsuperscript{198} Documentary evidence regarding Abernyte is slight but the form and place-nomenclature of the parish suggests that it was based on an estate unit centred around the early settlement of Abernyte.\textsuperscript{199} Below Abernyte village are the Kirkton, Milton and Southfield which were among its pendicles, while the place-names Pitkindie, Baldirdie, Balloleys and Balchunnie in the upper part of the parish may represent early dependent toune.\textsuperscript{200} Abernyte appears to be very similar in form to Foulis which enjoys better early documentation and where, as has been seen, a thanage lent its form to a feudal barony and to the parish.

Cambusmichael was a compact royal estate which David I granted to Scone Priory before 1153 with its men, lands and waters, meadows, pastures, woods and plains, by its rightful marches and with all pertinents.\textsuperscript{201}
There is no mention of a church in this grant but in 1165 x 78 the church of Cambusmichael was amongst those which were confirmed to Scone Abbey by Richard, bishop of St Andrews. The most likely explanation is that the canons of Scone acquired an old church as a pertinent of the lands of Cambusmichael which they restored and raised to parochial status to serve the estate.

The lands of Cambusmichael parish are recorded in 1650 as Cambusmichael (NO 11 32), Byres (NO 12 32), Craigmakerran (NO 14 32), Newmiln (NO 12 30) and Over Colen (NO 10 30). All of these towns had formerly been held by Scone Abbey although only Cambusmichael was explicitly granted to the canons, an example of a whole estate being conveyed by the formula of a principal named settlement with its un-named pertinents. In 1214 x 29 the bounds between Scone's lands of Cambusmichael and Coupar Abbey's lands of Campsie were perambulated and marked, and the heading of the agreement in the Scone cartulary makes it clear that Byres was also included in Scone's lands, being the part of Cambusmichael lying nearest to Campsie. Newmiln, at the southern extremity of the parish, was probably built by Scone Abbey and it received the multures of Craigmakerran, Byres and Friarton (in Scone parish). It may have been built to supplement the work of a mill at Pitlochry (NO 12 32) which is recorded in a Scone charter of 1414 and which may have been the early mill of Cambusmichael estate.
The parish of Cambusmichael, then, appears to mirror the early estate of the same name, consisting of the toun and church of Cambusmichael with early dependencies at Pitlochry and Craiggakerran. At the latter there was a cuthill court site of the type whose relationships has been noted, and probably an early chapel of St. Ciaran. The common land of the estate may have been the "Drichmuir" (now represented by Blairmuir Wood, NO 14 32). Byres and Redford, with their English names, and perhaps Over Colen (since its name is borrowed from Colen in the adjacent part of Scone parish), probably represent the development of settlement under Scone Abbey in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Megginch parish, known later from its church dedication as St Martins, appears to have had a similar estate structure to Cambusmichael. The settlement relationships in the parish focused on a site with a probable P-Celtic name and a church with a dedication with Pictish associations, and involved at least two dependent touns with pit-names, at Petfrethen (NO 15 30) and Pitskellie (NO 15 29). The parish lay in Dunkeld diocese and was probably associated with the Celtic abbey of Dunkeld as the church was supported by apdaine lands (now represented by Abbey, NO 15 30). It was also endowed with the lands of Petfrethen which lay to the west of the church. The bishops of Dunkeld appear to have had some rights in the church and kirklands for in 1183 x 95, by which date the church was parochial, David Uvioth resigned any claim which he had in them to Bishop John. The bishop subsequently granted the church and lands to Holyrood Abbey.
David Uvioth is the first of that family who is known to have held Megginch.\textsuperscript{214} The Uvioths are attested as landholders in the Perth area from the mid-twelfth century and William (?) Uvioth was sheriff of Perth in 1163 x 64.\textsuperscript{215} How the family came to hold lands and office in Perth is uncertain but they were obviously locally associated with Malcolm IV and William I who may have granted them their lands. It is possible that the Uvioths also had links with the lords of Ruthven and with the earls of Strathearn, although these may only have been contemporary local attachments.\textsuperscript{216} The Uvioths acquired lands north of Perth including Balhousie and the now obsolete Inveralmond\textsuperscript{217} at an early date, and evidently held Megginch by 1183 x 95. David Uvioth had at least two sons, Alexander and Philip,\textsuperscript{218} and in ca. 1208 one "Philip de Melginch" occurs locally as a charter witness.\textsuperscript{219} It seems likely that he is the same man as the Philip Uvioth recorded in the late twelfth century and that he adopted his designation from his father's lands. The succession of the early Uvioths of Megginch cannot be traced in detail but Sir Stephen, lord of Megginch, is recorded in 1230 overseeing the giving of sasine of Megginch church to Holyrood following the resignation of Walet the parson.\textsuperscript{220} In a further charter of about the same date given by Stephen de Megginch he describes Megginch as "my feu" (feudo nostro de Melginche).\textsuperscript{221} The charter concerns the sale of a house, toft and two acres in Stephen's lands of Balhousie (Balursin) and thus connects Stephen de Megginch definitely with the Uvioths, as Balhousie continued to be an Uvioth (later Evioth) possession.\textsuperscript{222} It seems that the Uvioths acquired Megginch as a feu in the twelfth century, most probably by royal grant. The Uvioths of
Megginch continued to hold the estate into at least the next generation for in 1237 Duncan de Megginch quitclaimed the half lands of "Drumcrok" (unidentified) in the parish of Megginch to Inchaffray Abbey after the abbey claimed the lands on the strength of a grant by Duncan's father (presumably the Sir Stephen de Megginch of ca. 1230). After this date the lands of Megginch disappear from documentary records until the fourteenth century when they were held by the Earls of Mar. In 1372 Earl Thomas confirmed Cairnbeddie (NO 14 31) in his barony of Megginch to Maurice Drummond, and in 1403 Isabell Douglas, countess of Mar, granted the lands of Megginch to David, earl of Crawford. Earl David subsequently endowed a chaplaincy in the parish church of Dundee with monies from his lands of Megginch and Balgray (NO 17 30) and the barony mill. Petskelly and Auchmagee (ca. NO 17 31) are also known to have been part of the Crawfords' barony of Megginch.

We have, therefore, an estate of Megginch comprising St. Martin's church, kirklands of Abbey and Petfrethen, the town of Megginch and dependent settlements of Drumcrok, Cairnbeddie, Balgray, Petskelly, Auchmagee, and the mill of Megginch. The P-Celtic core of the estate, represented by Megginch, Petfrethen and Petskelly, the later dependencies with baile- names at Balgray and Balhill (NO 18 30) and with an achadh name at Auchmagee, together with the topographic names of Drumcrok and Cairnbeddie, testify to the pre-twelfth century development of the estate. During the twelfth century the estate became a feudal holding later known as the barony of Megginch and it is clear that this estate largely provided the form for the parish of the
same name. Nevertheless, the estate does not account for the inclusion of Friarton, Gairdrum (NO 16 29) and Boghall (NO 17 27) in the parish. These lands were certainly in the parish by 1650, but there is no evidence which connects them to the lands or barony of Megginch. Rather, they belonged to Scone Abbey, as dependencies within the thanage of Scone. This apparent anomaly is explained, however, by the fact that between 1646 and 1650 the Presbytery of Dunkeld annexed Friarton, Gairdrum and Boghall to Megginch from Scone parish as part of an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to disjoin the united parishes of Cambusmichael and St Martins. Given this information, the correspondence of Megginch parish to the early estate of the same name may be asserted.

Collace, which lay to the east of Megginch, seems to be similar to the smaller multiple estates in Gowrie which underlay parishes such as Foulis, Cambusmichael and Megginch, but there is little documentary evidence regarding Collace. Its church was dedicated to the obscure St. Ucan and was parochial by 1242. The town of Collace itself was the centre of an estate which contained a kirkton (NO 19 31), Milton (NO 19 34) and at least one settlement with a baile- place-name, Balmalcolm (NO 20 32). The estate seems to have passed to the Fentons as a barony in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and it was disputed between Fenton heirs in the mid-fourteenth century. The barony included the lands of Kinrossie which comprised Thorngreen (NO 18 32), as well as the properties mentioned above, all of which were in the parish.
The parish of Kinnoull lay mainly on higher land at the west end of the Sidlaws and, until 1891, comprised Kinnoull itself with three detached areas at Balbeggie, Balthayock and Inchyra. Arranged in this fashion it was intermixed with the large parish of Scone (see Map 16). The barony of Kinnoull, together with the patronage of the church, was granted to the earls of Fife before 1288. Following the resignation of her estates by Isabella, countess of Fife, in 1360, the barony of Kinnoull was granted to the Erskines and by the sixteenth century it had passed to the Crichtons of Crichton and Sanquhar. Unlike many of the parishes surrounding it, however, it is difficult to relate the parish of Kinnoull to the estate of the same name. The barony of Kinnoull, rather, seems to have been the central area of the parish only, without the enclaves, and to have comprised the demesne lands of Barnhill (NO 12 22), Pitculane (now Gannochy, NO 12 24), Muirhall (NO 14 24) and the various pendicles of Kinnoull which are now included in the Bridgend district of the city of Perth. The original estate seems to have been Kinnoull with a substantial dependency of Pitculane. The pit-name may be significant for the dating of this estate as although Kinnoull itself had a Gaelic name, (cinn alla, "at head of Crag", its church bore a dedication to the sixth century St. Constantine, which is suggestive of a church dating to the Pictish period. 

Documentary evidence for the parochial enclaves of Kinnoull is relatively poor except in the case of Inchyra (NO 18 20). Inchyra was probably granted to James of Perth, a prominent provost of the burgh,
in the late twelfth century, as his son and heir, Duncan (d. ca. 1250), who appears to have been knighted, took the surname "de Inchyra" and was in possession of the lands by 1202 x 15. Inchyra was inherited in turn by Duncan's sons, John (d. 1283 x 1298) and then David. There is nothing in the Inchyra evidence, however, to connect the lands to those of Kinnoull, or the family of James of Perth to the earls of Fife. The information for Balthayock and Balbeggie is slight, but Balthayock belonged to a family of Blairs by the later fifteenth century. It is possible that they were connected with the earls of Fife in the thirteenth century and received the lands of Balthayock from them out of their estate of Kinnoull, but the evidence is tenuous.

Although there is no immediately apparent historical connection between Kinnoull and its enclaves it may nevertheless be possible that the form of the parish was influenced by the earlier settlement pattern. It has already been suggested that the central estate may date back to the Pictish period and it is worth considering the fact that the parochial enclaves contain no fewer than three Gaelic baile-names. Inchyra also has a Gaelic place-name, innis, which is associated elsewhere in Gowrie with the expansion of settlement by Gaelic speakers, as are baile-names. Given that these place-names probably belong to a slightly later period than that of the establishment of the estate of Kinnoull and that they are situated on generally poorer land than many of the nearby important settlements, it is perhaps not too improbable to suggest that Balbeggie, "Balhiggilles" (now Murrayshall, NO 15 26)
Balthayock and Inchyra represent an extension of settlement dependent on Kinnoull in the ninth to eleventh centuries. The development of the important and extensive manor of Scone in the same period would explain the intermixing of the boundaries which were subsequently adopted by the respective parishes.

The parish of Kilspindie lay on the southern slopes of the Sidlaws, sandwiched between the lands of Rait and Kinfauns. The estate and church of Kilspindie belonged to the bishops of St Andrews by, and probably before, the twelfth century, and the church had been raised to parochial status in episcopal patronage by 1214. In 1211 x 31 one Malcolm, "abbot" of Kilspindie, appears as a charter witness (Malcolmo abbate de kinspinedin) and is likely to have been the hereditary tenant of episcopal apdaine lands which pertained to the church of St Andrews. Presumably it the same Malcolm de Kilspindie who appears without the designation of "abbot" in 1247 when Bishop David de Bernham granted to him the lands of Kilspindie, "Finegally" and "Dundinauch" (unidentified). A later Malcolm de Kilspindie, son and heir of Ralph de Kilspindie, granted his whole land of Kilspindie to Sir Nicholas de Hay, lord of Errol, in 1291 x 97, to be held of the bishops of St Andrews for an annual rent of 15 shillings of silver. Thereafter, records of Kilspindie are scarce, but it evidently continued to be held of the bishops. In 1622/3 James VI confirmed a charter by Archbishop John Spottiswoode granting to Patrick Douglas of Kilspindie in feu-ferme the lands of Kilspindie with the lands and touns of the same called "Craigmale, Frieland and Standandstanis" (unidentified), lying
adjacent, with the manor place, mills and patronage of the church, the whole being in the barony of Kilspindie and regality of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{253}

Because Kilspindie and Rait parishes were united before 1620, and in the absence of other evidence, it is difficult to assess whether or not the earlier Kilspindie parish comprised only the episcopal estate. If this was the case, Kilspindie would have been a very small parish. The lands of Rait parish, however, can be reconstructed\textsuperscript{253} and the remainder of the joint parish consisted of the known episcopal estate, the lands of Durdie (held by Scone Abbey from ca. 1120 and described as in Kilspindie parish in 1633),\textsuperscript{254} and the barony of Pitroddie (alias Baltrodie).\textsuperscript{255} Both Durdie and Pitroddie were originally in royal hands, the latter being granted to Alexander Lindsay in 1373 by Robert II following a resignation by Margaret de Abernethy.\textsuperscript{256} It can be assumed that the Abernethys possessed Pitroddie by royal grant since the lands were resigned to the Crown as superior lord. By 1619 the barony of Pitroddie comprised Evelick (NO 20 25), Montague (NO 18 28), Bowhouse (NO 18 29), Goddens (NO 18 25) and Turfhills (ca. NO 17 26) as well as Pitroddie itself (NO 21 25).\textsuperscript{257} It may be that Pitroddie represents an early dependency of Kilspindie and that the latter estate may have underlain the form of the parish but the available evidence prevents any certainty on this.

The parish of St Madoes lies at the west end of the Carse of Gowrie. There may have been an important early church at St Madoes which was perhaps connected with the Pictish ecclesiastical centre of Abernethy
which it faced across the Tay. The legacy of such a connection might explain the unusual inclusion of St Madoes in the medieval diocese of Dunblane (it was unique amongst Gowrie parishes in this respect) in which Abernethy also lay.

The place-names of St Madoes parish also display a strong Pictish element, with two pit-name sites near the church at Pitcoag (NO 20 21) and Pitfour (NO 20 20). Both pit-sites, like St Madoes village, lie on a pocket of freely drained Brown Forest soil between the 10m and 20m contours which provides a small area of excellent agricultural land - the best to be found anywhere in Gowrie. The high quality of this site may explain the concentration of Pictish elements at St Madoes, which appears to have formed a compact but important multiple estate, incorporating several touns, good arable and pasture land, and provided with a church. That such a small area was encompassed by St Madoes parish, and that it was included in an untypical diocese for Gowrie, suggests that the parish was based on this cohesive and durable early settlement unit.

The parish of Meigle was based on an estate which is first documented in the second half of the twelfth century in possession of a family who took the name de Meigle. At some time between 1163 and 1183, probably nearer the latter date, Simon de Meigle granted the church of Meigle, with the adjacent chapel, teinds, kirkton and the revenues which Simon and his predecessors had formerly drawn from it, to St Andrews Priory. Despite royal and papal confirmations their gift was challenged by
Richard de Prebenda, bishop of Dunkeld, in ca. 1205, who maintained that it had been made to his prejudice. The details of the case are not known but it appears that the church was restored to the bishop, probably because he had legitimate anterior rights. The bishop subsequently granted the church to the common fund of Dunkeld Cathedral while retaining the Kirktoun (now Belmont, NO 28 43) as an episcopal residence.

The topography of the parish is similar to that of the southern (Coupar Angus) part of Bendochy parish, being sited on a continuation of the Isla plain at about 50m elevation. A slight ridge rises to 60m and would have provided good natural drainage for part of the land in the parish. It is recalled by the place-name Drumkilbo (NO 30 44; Gaelic druim, "back", "ridge"). Drainage would have been very important for early settlement as although the soil type around Meigle is amongst the best to be found in Strathmore, much of the parish appears to have been prone to waterlogging before the canalization of the burns which bound and dissect it. The place-name Meigle, a P-Celtic compound of mignon and dol, meaning "bog meadow", expresses the town's situation on slightly raised arable land between areas of moor.

Surrounding the town and church of Meigle itself were its dependent settlements of Balmyle (NO 27 44), Balmacron (NO 28 44), Camno (NO 27 42) and Logiemeigle (now Langlogie, NO 31 45, and Nether Logie, NO 32 47), all of which have Gaelic names. Together these comprised
the estate of Meigle which was granted to Simon de Meigle or his father, "Euard", probably as a knight's feu. No charter of grant has survived but the de Meigles, from their personal names and their misappropriation of ecclesiastical revenues, have the appearance of an incoming Anglo-Norman family. The estate descended through the family as a barony until shortly before 1398 when it passed to David de Lindsay and through the barony the component elements of the original estate can be traced.

The demesne lands of Meigle eventually passed to the Fullartons of that Ilk (Fullarton, NO 29 44, was a later farm on the lands of Meigle) with the marsh of Meigle, lands of Balmacron and attendant pendicles and rights, including a share in the commonty of Whitehills. These lands are all described as lying in the barony of Meigle, as are those which passed to different proprietors; Logiemeigle, Balmyle and Potento, "Shepletoune" and the commonties of Greenmyre and Pilmormuir. The three commonties lay along and across the ill-defined western boundary of the parish and were common to the lands named above as well as to Broomend, Drumlilbo and Camno. The parish of Meigle was based on the multiple estate which survived into the twelfth century and beyond as a feudal barony.

The parish of Rattray lies on the east of the River Erich, which also forms its southern boundary. In the south of the parish the land rises from the wide haugh of the Erich on to the hill of Broad Moss. The town of Rattray (NO 18 45) and its offshoots of North and
South Littletown of Rattray, Easter Rattray (NO 20 45) and Westfields of Rattray (NO 18 46) are situated here, with Hatton and Bonnington (NO 18 47) and the former commony of Broad Moss on the slopes above. The northern side of the Hill of Broad Moss drops steeply into Glenballoch (now Glendams, running west from NO 19 48) which bisects the parish. On the northern side of the glen the land rises to over 240m and in the north of the parish climbs from the River Ericht on to the Hill of Drimmie. The parish formerly had a detached upland area at Easter Bleaton in lower Glenshee.

Rattray, situated on the best land in the parish, has a P-Celtic name comprising tref, "homestead", and a first element which may be P-Celtic rath or Gaelic ráth, "a circular fort." This fort may well have been the mound on which a medieval motte was later built. The higher parts of the parish have Gaelic names. Glenballoch may have been the "glen of the pass" (bealach, "pass"), but the early form of the name was Glenbachlach(e), which suggests the Gaelic adjective bachallach, "like a staff, crook or crozier", (or Irish bachlach, "rustic", "serf", (?)"shepherd"). Drimmie is from Gaelic druman, -ain, "ridge, hill, summit".

Rattray is recorded in 1177 x 80 as a royal lordship out of which William I granted two measured ploughgates of arable to the monks of Coupar Abbey. Subsequently, Rattray appears to have been granted to a family who took their surname from their lands. Sir Thomas de Rattray is recorded in 1253 and Sir Adam de Rattray in ca. 1256.
The same or another Sir Adam is known in 1291 and 1294. In ca. 1302 Eustace of Rattray, lord of that Ilk, was brought to penance by Coupar Abbey for crimes committed against certain lay brothers. Thereafter, Eustace gave to the abbey the whole common which belonged to him hereditarily or otherwise in the lands of Drimmie in the tenement of Glenballoch, with the consent of Adam de Glenballoch, lord of that land. Shortly before, the same Adam de Glenballoch had first leased and then granted to Coupar his whole land of Drimmie with its mill, reserving to himself only the demesne lands of Glenballoch. It appears from these grants that the whole parish was composed of two lordships - Rattray and Glenballoch - but there is some evidence which suggests a close relationship between the respective proprietors and perhaps also between the two estates.

Eustace de Rattray held lands in the common of Drimmie by hereditary right, possibly through his holding of Rattray. Since Coupar Abbey and presumably Adam de Glenballoch also held rights in the common land of Drimmie we may suggest an early lordship comprising Rattray, Glenballoch and perhaps the town (grange) of Drimmie sharing an area of common land which was briefly reserved for royal hunting in the twelfth century. This would have been a similar pattern, although on a smaller scale, to the adjacent thanage of Alyth. The possibility of a connection between the estates of Rattray and Glenballoch is strengthened by an apparently close association between their respective lords. The personal name Adam appears in both families in the thirteenth century. Between 1256 and 1294 there were either one
or two Adams de Rattray who would have been contemporaries of the
Adam de Glenballoch who was the grandfather of the man of the same name
who is recorded in ca. 1300.27

Furthermore, the later Adam de Glenballoch and his Rattray neighbours
are often associated with each other. Adam de Glenballoch appended his
seal to Eustace de Rattray’s charter to Coupar Abbey in ca. 1302, while
John de Rattray (Eustace’s brother) appears first in a list of pledges
who guaranteed Adam’s agreement with the abbey in 1299/1300.27 Finally,
both Adam’s and Eustace’s grants to Coupar were confirmed by Robert I
in a single charter of 1309, a copy of which remained in possession of
the Rattray family.28 If there was indeed an early connection between
Rattray and Glenballoch then Rattray parish may also have taken its
form from an early multiple estate as happened so often elsewhere in
Gowrie.
Notes to Chapter 5:

1 CPNS, 107-8
2 Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 275
3 RRS i, 42 and no. 245
4 RRS i, no. 245; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 153. See also Chapter 6 below, where it is clear that the district of Strathearn was not equivalent to the earldom of the same name.
5 The predominant soils in Gowrie are of the rich Brown Forest type which, given the good natural drainage available on the lower slopes of the Sidlaw Hills (including the Braes of the Carse) and in Strathmore beyond the flood plain of the Isla, provided agricultural land which was capable of productive cultivation with minimal improvement. Above the 150-200m contours much of the area provided good quality grazing land. In areas of poorer drainage, such as the Carse of Gowrie, there was extensive peat moor before the eighteenth century agricultural improvements. Laing, D., "Soils", in Jones, S.J. (ed); Dundee and District, (Dundee, 1968), 94-106; Laing, D.; Soils of the Country round Perth, Arbroath and Dundee, Memoirs of the Soil Survey of Great Britain, Scotland No. 8, (1976). On the development of hunting forest after ca. 1150 see Gilbert. J.M.; Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1979), Chapters 1 and 2.
6 The important abbeys of Scone and Coupar were royal foundations in the area while Gowrie was among the earliest districts of Scotia to be used for the settlement of feudal landowners.
7 RRS i, no. 243
8 C.A.Chr. i, no. 100; RMS i, no. 610
9 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 41; RRS ii, 50
10 RMS i, no. 630
11 Blairgowrie, Scone Liber no. 67; Cargill, RRS ii, no. 334; Errol, RRS ii, nos. 204, 383; Foulis, RRS ii, no. 302
12 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 7-68, esp. 27-8; Sawyer, P.H., English Medieval Settlement (London, 1979), 7
14 Ibid. 254. The multiple estate developed in the British Isles in the Celtic period, although the institution itself was not necessarily "Celtic"; ibid., 263.
15 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 24-5
16 Jones, op.cit., 251, 252-54
17 Sawyer, Medieval Settlement, 6-7; Barrow, G.W.S., "Introduction to Part I : Territorial Organisation - Resources and Boundaries", in Sawyer, Medieval Settlement, 11
18 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 52-3
19 Ibid., 28-68, includes a discussion of the terminology applied to Scottish multiple estates.
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20 RRS i, no. 57 (4)
21 Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 133-34; Anderson, M.O., Kings and
Kingship in Early Scotland (Edinburgh, 1973), 133
22 Scone Liber no. 1; the charter text makes it clear that the
church was already dedicated to the Holy Trinity when Alexander I
granted it to God and Saints Mary, John, Michael, Laurence and
Augustine.
23 RRS i, no. 57 (7); see Chapter 2, p. 28, above.
24 Scone Liber no. 48
25 Scone Liber no. 1; the amount of conveth due from each
ploughgate was regulated in 1163 x 64, RRS i, no. 243
26 See Chapter 2, pp. 26-7, above. It is interesting to note here
the comparison between the church of Holy Trinity, Scone and the
church of Holy Trinity at Dunkeld, which was also at an important
early centre and was endowed with scattered lands in Stormont and
Gowrie, see p. 143, below.
Cowan, "Parochial System", 46-7
27 Ibid., 43-4
28 See Chapter 4, p. 112, above.
29 RRS ii, no. 165; the location of "Crag" is given by a charter of
1509 confirming the sale of the whole fisheries within the barony
of Kinnoull, namely lying between Kincarrochie (ca. NO 12 25 in
Scone parish), belonging to Scone Abbey, and Cragtoun, pertaining
to the same abbey. "Crag" or Cragtoun must therefore have been
at ca. NO 13 21, now in Kinfauns (formerly Scone) parish and
represented by the modern Walnut Grove; RMS ii, NO 33 37.
30 RRS ii, 230 : notes on the original charter source (SRO RH 6/8)
for no. 165.
31 Scone Liber nos. 66, 131
32 Scone Liber no. 215; on Friartown, Gairdrum and Boghall see
p. 179, below.
33 Scone Liber no. 215; cf. p. 127, above.
34 Scone Liber no. 75
35 RMS i, app. ii, nos. 499, 1293; app. i, no. 108; nos. 730, 742,
743.
36 Memoranda de Parlamento, 1305, ed. Maitland, F.W., (Rolls Series
98, 1893), 172-73, no. 277
37 Shennan, Boundaries, 70, 218-19
38 The thane of Strathardle witnessed a charter in ca. 1190,
Arb. Lib. i, no. 35
39 Dunf. Reg. no. 227; apdaine means "abbacy", hence "abbey lands",
the abbey in this case most probably being the Celtic house at
Dunkeld; CPNS, 124.
40 Dunf. Reg. no. 73; the entry in Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 190 is
wrong in attributing the grant to Malcolm, earl of Atholl.
41 Moray Reg. no. 79; the alternative name of Tullochcurran is from
C.A.Chrs. no. 38. "Petcarene" appears in later records at
"Petbrain" or "Petbrane"; RMS iv, no. 1527; CPNS 411.
42 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 59-60
43 CPNS, 411
Sir Alexander de Inchmartin is the first recorded member of the de Inchmartin family who were descended from Henry of Stirling, illegitimate son of David, earl of Huntingdon. He is known from ca. 1260 and died before 1279. His son, John, succeeded and is known until his death in 1306. As Strathardle was a royal manor the Inchmartins could only have acquired it by Crown grant.

Dunf. Reg. no. 227

NLS Adv. Ms. 35.4.12A; "Luchteskyr" is now called Loch Beanie from the nearby but unconnected Glen Beanie, but is correctly shown on Ordnance Survey maps before the present series as Loch Shechernich. "Lethryaloch" is said in the charter to lie to the north of the loch and was therefore on the southern slope of Craigenloch Hill (NO 16 69). This agrees with the place-name as "Lethry" is for Gaelic leiter, "a hillside, slope". cf. C.A.Chr. i, no. 87.

RMS vi, no. 328; C.A.Chr. i, no. 110. Donnie is now represented by Mains and Easter Donnie at NO 09 58 and Croft of Donnie at NO 08 59.

C.A.Chr. i, 132, 161-62, 189, 192, 206; Fraser, Wemyss, i

RMS ii, no. 3636; RMS iii, no. 953; Retours, Perth, no. 209. Sir John Wemyss of that Ilk (d. 1507) was styled John Wemyss of Strathardle during his father's lifetime, and this may have been a general title for the apparent heirs of Wemyss; Fraser, Wemyss, i.

RMS vii, no. 1156; cf. Retours, Perth, nos. 498, 684

On the translation of pit- to baile- names see Nicolaisen, Scottish Place Names, (156-57); such translations may have been more widespread than he supposed.

There was another "Balinauld" near Spittal of Glenshee but this is probably the Balnald which was combined with Balnakilly and Kirkmichael in 1511 as a Burgh of Barony, RMS ii, no. 3636. Listed as "Glengeynit", and variably as "Glennatnay" (1470, RMS ii, no. 1004), "Glenganot" (1511, RMS ii, no. 3682), "Glengaisnothe" (1512, RMS ii, no. 3769), "Glengaisnot" (1611, SRO GD 16/24/164), etc. Watson CPNS, 445 notes that it is now Glen Derby (NO 04 59). He says that local tradition connects the glen with geese and that the qualifier is probably a diminutive of Old Irish ged, "goose" meaning "little goose" and hence by transference, "the glen of the goose stream", (Gaelic Gleann Geunaid).

RMS ii, nos. 1004, 1122, 1151. Christian, fourth daughter of Sir John Stewart of Balvany (earl of Atholl, 1457-1512), married Neill Stewart of Fortingall who held lands including Tullochurran and Dalnagairn in Strathardle. Neill Stewart temporarily disposed of some of his lands to his relatives and friends to protect his possessions during the litigation which followed his attack on the Menzies' castle of Weem. His line ended in an heiress after the death without children of his son John in 1577. The earls of Atholl were the nominal superiors of all the Stewarts of north-west Perthshire. Stewart, C.P., The Stewarts of Fortingall, (1879), 18-22, 74, 85-6; Scots Peerage i, 442 and note.
56 RMS ii, no. 3769
57 Ibid. no. 3682
58 SRO GD 16/24/164. Robert Ferguson of Downie died without heirs before 21 March 1521/2. His lands reverted to the Crown and were subsequently granted to Thomas Scot in a new grant of free barony; RMS iii, nos. 226, 1703, 1841.
59 i.e.: Ballinluig and Balinruich (NO 09 57), Balchracan and Balnabroich (NO 09 56), Balmyle and Ballintuim (NO 10 55), Balmachreuchie (NO 10 53) and Balintua (NO 08 56).
60 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 36
61 OSA xii, 71
62 Hawa, C., Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, (SRS, 1972), 47-8
63 C.A.Chrs. ii, no. 198 (= APS iv, 340-1); C.A.Chrs. ii, no. 297
64 RMS vii, no. 1956
65 RRS i, no. 226
66 CPNS, 476, 521
67 RRS i, no. 282
68 The grange of Drimmie is shown by an inventory of 1760 penes Brigadier N.H. Crawford of Naughton, Wormit, Fife (Naughton House, Box E, Bundle xix; cf. NRA(S) 134 and 413), to have been Wester Drimmie, now Rannagulzion House (NO 16 51), Milton and Cairns of Drimmie, which were formerly a detached part of Bendochy parish. Melkle, J., Places and Place-names Around Alyth, (1925), 145; Shennan, Boundaries, 69, 217.
69 Although baile- simply means "toun" or "homestead", its use in Eastern Scotland seems to correspond with the earlier pit- as indicating dependent touns within multiple estates; cf. Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 59-60
70 RRS ii, no. 154; the abbey church was probably begun around this date and was in use by 1186; C.A.Chrs. i, xxviii-xxix.
71 Shennan, Boundaries, 37, 202
72 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 16. Cowan is wrong, however, in placing Coupar Angus in Dunkeld diocese for the abbey is specifically said to be in St. Andrews diocese on a number of occasions. See for example C.A.Chrs. ii, nos. 119, 120, 138.
73 CPNS, 263
74 Dunf. Reg. no. 123; RRS i, no. 100
75 See Chapter 8, pp. 389-91, below, and note 26, above
76 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 31, 39, 156, 211
77 C.A.Chrs. i, no. 32
78 CPNS 238. For Ultan, an early Gaelic name, see O'Brien, M.A., (ed.), Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae, i, (Dublin, 1976), 749-50
79 Watson gives only Coupar Angus, Cupar in Fife and Couttie as examples; CPNS 521.
80 For a grant of Cargill, "as fully as the king held it on the day he granted it" see RRS ii, no. 334 and below p. 163, which may provide evidence of a comparable situation.
81 C.A.Chrs. i, no. 32
82 Ibid. no. 33 (= Dunf. Reg. no. 217)
Cowan, *Medieval Parishes*, 16; the entry in the Dunfermline Register, *Dunf. Reg.* no. 128, is only given as "Confirmacio de Ecclesia de Bennachtin Hugonis episcopi. 128. Hvgo dei gratia etc."

e.g. C.A.Chrst., i, nos. 3, 6, 7

 e.g. C.A.Chrst., i, nos. 3, 6, 7

RRS i, p. 42; nos. 57, 248; RRS ii, no. 16

St. A. Lib. 187, dating probably to before the death of Early Henry on 12 June 1152.

RRS i, nos. 122, 123


The difficult name Auchtercomon, now obsolete but represented geographically by Lochton (NO 25 33) and Littleton (NO 26 33) is first recorded as "Hoctor Comon" in *ca.* 1150, (ESC no. 221). The first element is Gaelic *uachdar*, "upland", which Dr. John Bannerman has suggested to me is often qualified in place-names by a noun (cf. Auchterarder, Auchtergaven. He considers the early Gaelic personal name *Commän* (see O’Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, i, 554), to be a possibility and it may be significant that the nearby Rossie church was dedicated to St. Commän. (cf. Auchtertool, Fife, for another example of a *uachdar* name with a personal name as a qualifier, -tool being from Tuathal; *CPNS*, 147). Monorgan, a name which apparently dates to a period when the meaning of Forgan had been forgotten as *forgan* is a P-Celtic compound of *fór*, "over" and *gronn", "bog" (*CPNS*, 381), is Gaelic M_oin-Fhöraruinn, "the bog of Forgan" (*ibid.*).

Monorgan and Auchtercomon were held by members of the same native family in the twelfth century. Andrew, bishop of Caithness, was granted, or confirmed in possession of, Auchtercomon by David I in *ca.* 1150; ESC no. 221; cf. Duncan, *Making of the Kingdom*, 266. His brother, Ewen, who was possibly sheriff of Scone in the time of Malcolm IV, held Monorgan; RRS i, 47, nos. 243, 252; RRS ii, no. 133; St. A. Lib., 269-70; NLS Chr. 7710. Longforgan parish also contained a local court site - the Hund Hill. This is unidentified but may have been the "Market Knowe" (*ca.* NO 31 30), a Bronze Age burial mound (cf. the court site at the "Stayt of Crieff" on another Bronze Age mound, Chapter 7, app. I, below).

St. A. Lib. 161-62

OSA xi, 414

Lind. Cart., no. 65; SRO GD 1/346/1; Fraser, *Melvilles iii*, no. 11.

RMS i, app. i, nos. 478, 649; no. 641; SRO GD 103/11/, 197; Fraser, *Melvilles iii*, nos. 18, 45

See below, p. 171.

RRS i, no. 240; a confirmation of a charter by Richard as bishop-elect, which has not survived; NLS Adv. Ms. 15.1.18, no. 22.

RRS ii, no. 23; St. A. Lib. 138-39

RRS ii, no. 135
The lost place-names of Dunore and Kinbrichter are identified as in Kinnaird by a reference in Scots Peerage ix, 121, to an old inventory of Kinnaird charters containing an entry of a mid-thirteenth century charter by Allan de Kinnaird granting the lands of Flawcraig and Craighall (in Kinnaird), "quicks wer callit of befoir Dunnoir and Kinbrichour".

For the possible relevance of mills to the early settlement pattern see Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 52-3; cf. also the discussion of Foulis and Abernyte on pp. 168, 174, below.

Stringer, op. cit., "Acta" nos. 26, 27; RRS ii, no. 419; StA Lib., 59; cf. Spalding Club Miscellany ii, 246, no. vii, for a later Hugh Gifford as superior lord of Auchtercomon.

Alyth is a difficult name to account for but Meikle, J., Places and Place-Names Around Alyth (Alyth, 1925), 34-38, suggests that it is derived from a Pictish cognate of Welsh arleithio, "over the moistening or softening", in the sense of "a place overlooking soft ground subject to flooding." Although Meikle is not always reliable, his discussion of Alyth is based on a consideration of all the recorded forms of the name and the corresponding grammatical and phonetic construction.

Balloch (NO 26 49) is from bealach, "pass", rather than baile. Balduff (Hill) is uncertain; cf. Meikle, op. cit., 42.


Dunk. Rent. 76, 85, 86; C.A. Rental i, 131; Meikle, op. cit., 55-6

Shennan, Boundaries, 45, 200-1

RRS ii, no. 410; Gilbert, J.M., Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1979), chapters 1 and 2, passim, discuss the introduction of formal hunting forests to Scotland.

C.A.Chr., i, no. 100

RMS i, no. 610

Ibid. no. 630

RMS i, no. 763; SRO GD 16/12/1; SRO GD 16/12/5. The interchangeability of the terms thanage, barony and lordship here is noteworthy.

The Lindseys' lands of Alyth passed to the Ogilvies of Airlie in the late fifteenth century. Earlier writs have, therefore, been preserved among the Airlie Muniments, SRO GD 16. See also the Bamff Charters in Ramsay, Bamff, and SRO GD 83, Ramsay of Bamff, Additional.

SRO GD 16/12/1-4, 5-8, 10, 33, 50; SRO GD 83/993/39-44; SRO GD 16/15 p. 239 ff.; ADC ii, (1496-1501). 147, 149, 253

Ramsay, Bamff, no. 1

RRS vi, no. 324
120 The commonalty of Forest of Alyth, which was divided in 1792, was 7946 acres in extent; Adams, Commonties, 181-2.

121 SRO GD 16/12/209-10; Dunk. Rent., 313-14

122 Camb. Reg., nos. 25, 26, 46-8

123 Scone Liber, nos. 174-6; Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 19

124 Blair is from Gaelic blár, "moor".

125 Adams, Commonties, 186-87

126 RRS ii, no. 420

127 Anderson, Oliphants, no. 4; C.A. Rental i, 327-28, no. 20; Scone Liber, nos. 67, 71

128 Scone Liber, no. 67

129 The feu of Blair was apparently held by a private landowner in the twelfth century, as Stephen de Blair granted "Letcassy" to Coupar Abbey.

130 RMS v, no. 258. "Mekill Blaer" is Blairgowrie; Newton was at NO 17 45; "Parkheid" is Parkhead, NO 21 43; "Woltoun" is The Welton, NO 19 44; Little Blair was at NO 20 43; the Lake of Blair is now represented by Loch Bog with Lochend to the east at NO 19 42; the "Abden de Blaer" was possibly near the parish church as the name recalls an ardaine site.

131 Scone Liber, no. 1

132 Ibid., no. 63, which dates to ca. 1222

133 Scone Liber, nos. 210, 202, 203, 205; Perth Rental, 39; Rochallie and Morganstone are listed together in RMS v, no. 258.

134 RRS ii, no. 397 (= C.A. Rental i, 322, no. 6)

135 RMS i, app. ii, no. 473; Scone Liber, no. 205; C.A. Rental i, 278; RMS iii, no. 311

136 Ramsay, Bamff, no. 6; Scone Liber, no. 201

137 RRS ii, no. 397

138 BM Cotton Ch. xviii, 33

139 Scone Liber, no. 209

140 Shennan, Boundaries, 70, 218-19

141 C.A. Chrs. ii, no. 124

142 Scone Liber, no. 83

143 Gilbert, op. cit., 94

144 Shennan, Boundaries, 69, 217-18

145 For the commonalty of Cochrage Muir see Adams, Commonties, 193-93

146 Gilbert, op. cit., 8-10

147 RRS i, no. 226; C.A. Rental i, 320, no. 2; Naughton House, Box E, Bdle. xix, item 2

148 C.A. Chrs., no. 34; Naughton House, Box E, Bundle xix, items 3-8

149 RRS ii, no. 148 (= C.A. Rental i, 321-2, no. 5)

150 MRHS, 73

151 Dunf. Reg. nos. 85, 398, 496

152 Keithick is probably derived from a Pictish form of Early Celtic ceto, "wood", cognate with Old Welsh coet, now coed; CPNS, 381-82; cf. comment on RRS ii, no. 148, where a reading of the reference as being to the marches which Keithick had before 1153 is suggested.

153 Balgersho appears in association with Keithick in a perambulation of 1466, C.A. Chrs. ii, no. 140
Osborne xii, 71; cf. Perth Rental, 36, where Keithiecut is accounted under Coupar parish in 1650.

C.A.Chr., i, nos. 7, 8, 28

RRS ii, no. 154


RRS ii, no. 334

Ibid., nos. 334, 154

Nicolaisen, Scottish Place-Names, 162-64; P-Celtic cair is unlikely.


Retours, Perth, nos. 708, 880

CPNS, 500; "Butter-" may be for Gaelic bothar, (Irish bothar), "a lane, street".


SRO Maitland Thomson Photographs, no. 6; RRS ii, no. 377

C.A.Chr., i, no. 30

That Cargill and Campsie bounded each other in the charter shows that the later Stobhall was originally part of the lands of Cargill. Stobhall became a seat of the Montefquis of Muschets and their Drummond successors; cf. Retours, Perth, nos. 708, 880.

C.A.Chr., i, nos. 30, 31

Ibid. no. 24, (= Scone Liber, no. 57), from one part of a cirograph agreement of which the other half is Drummond Castle.

St. A. Lib., 53-6, 130-32

Traditionally, William Maule received the lands of Foulis from David I after the Battle of the Standard in 1138. He is known to have held Foulis, which he describes as his feu, by 1165 x 72, (St. A. Lib., 264-65).

Ibid., 264-65, which dates to between the consecration of Bishop Richard of St. Andrews (28 March 1165) and the consecration of Matthew, archdeacon of St. Andrews, as bishop of Aberdeen (2 April 1172).

Ibid., 40-1

Ibid., 41-2

St. A. Lib., 264-65

e.g. Perth Rental, for the estate in single ownership in 1650 and 1835; cf. Chapter 4, p. 102, above.

RRS ii, no. 302

Barrow, G.W.S., "Popular Court Sites in Early Medieval Scotland", (Scottish Studies, 25, 1981), 1-24, esp. 10, 20

RRS ii, nos. 204, 383; C.A.Chr., no. 3

RRS ii, no. 204

Ibid., no. 383; Spalding Club Miscellany ii, 310, no. 12

C.A. Rental i, 336-37, no. 46; RRS ii, no. 322. "Ederpolles" means "between the pows"; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 176.
183 C.A.Chrs. i, nos. 42, 47. Although Aithmuir is a Gaelic name, _aith moir_, "big ford", le Murehouse is an English name implying an area of arable land newly created on or near the grazing lands of Aithmuir. For Roger son of Baldric, see C.A.Chrs. i, no. 57; Spalding Club Miscellany ii, no. 11.

184 C.A.Chrs. i, nos. 47, 82

185 With the Randalston recorded in 1305 (C.A.Chrs. i, no. 82) compare the _diuisam Randulf de Hava_ which is mentioned in 1214 x 50 (Spalding Club Miscellany ii, no. 7)

186 Incaffe. Chrs. no. 68

187 Fraser, Melvilles iii, no. 11

188 C.A.Chrs. i, no. 113

189 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 86

190 C.A.Chrs. i, no. 143; C.A. Rental i, 250, 272; ii, 207

191 See p. 149, above

192 RRS i, nos. 99, 120

193 St.A. Lib., 269-70; see also NLS Adv. Ch. A.3, a charter by Richard de Kinnaird, early thirteenth century, which is witnessed by the same.

194 Reaney, P.H.; Dictionary of British Surnames, (London, 1958), 59

195 eg. SRO GD 1/346/1; C.A.Chrs. no. 57; Spalding Club Miscellany ii, no. 7; Fraser, Melvilles iii, no. 11

196 CDS ii, 194-99; C.A.Chrs. i, no. 82

197 SHS Misc. vi, 48

198 Laing Chrs. no. 6; N.B. Chrs. no. 7; Scone Liber, no. 86 (wrongly indexed as Abernethy); NLS Adv. Chr. A.3

199 Abernyte contains P-Celtic _aber_, "confluence"; cf. CPNS, 484

200 For Balchunnie see NSA x, 222

201 RRS i, no. 57 (3)

202 Scone Liber no. 48

203 Perth Rental, 20; see Chapter 4, p. 100, above

204 Scone Liber no. 215; p. 227, no. 37; RRS i, no. 57(3)

205 Scone Liber no. 57; C.A.Chrs. i, no. 24

206 Scone Liber, p. 227, no. 37

207 Ibid. no. 204

208 Craigmakerran, "cum lie Cwthill earundem" appears in RMS v, no. 258 and RMS vi, no. 2138. The name Craigmakerran obviously includes a Gaelic saint's name, perhaps Ciaran.

209 Megginch is probably a compound including P-Celtic _mig-_, "bog or quagmire" and Gaelic _innig_; cf. CPNS, 374-76.

210 St. Martin's cult may have been introduced to Pictland by St. Ninian; ACD Non-Scriptural, 309-10

211 RRS ii, no. 297

212 Holy. Lib. no. 66

213 Lost grant, confirmed by William I, RRS ii, no. 297

214 The name appears variously as "Hunest", "Hunet", "Vnieth", etc., for Uvioth or Uvieth, derived from Old English _Wülfaeat_ and eventually producing the late medieval Scots name Vinzet, Winzet, Wingate, etc.

215 Scone Liber nos. 22, 56, 106; C.A. Rental i, 333; RRS i, nos. 120, 243
Philip Uvieth witnesses a charter by Swain son of Thor, lord of Ruthven, in 1183 x 94; Scone Liber, no. 21. For Philip (Uvioth) de Megginch witnessing a charter by Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, see Inchaff. Chrs. no. 27, dating to ca. 1208.

Scone Liber nos. 56, 116

They witnessed his charter in 1183 x 95, Holy. Lib. no. 66

Inchaff. Chrs. no. 27

Holy. Lib., app. ii, no. 13. Wallet, uncle of Sir Stephen de Megginch, and probably the same man as Walet the parson, appears as a charter witness to Scone Liber no. 116.

Ibid. no. 116

Nisbet, A., A System of Heraldry ii, (Edinburgh, 1722-42), 245;

Inchaff. Chrs., 273

Inchaff. Chrs. no. 27

NLS Adv. Ms. 29.4.2 (vii), fo. 61; RMS i, app. ii, no. 1830;

Maitland Club Miscellany i, 358

RMS i, no. 880

Retours, Perth, nos. 543, 744. The location of "Auchmagee" is shown by Perth Rental, 20-21, to be partly represented by the modern Rosefield (NO 17 31).

Achadh, "field", shows evidence of arable farming in the Gaelic-speaking period.

Perth Rental, 20-21

Scone Liber no. 215


See Chapter 2, p. 41, and Chapter 3, p. 87, above.

RMS vi, no. 359; RMS i, no. 942; for local appearances of the Fentons in the second half of the thirteenth century see Spalding Club Miscellany ii, 309, no. 10; 309-10, no. 11; 311-12, no. 14.

Shennan, Boundaries, 202-3, 238

Ibid. 70, 239-41

Kinnoull was among lands restored to Earl Duncan of Fife in 1315 and had previously been held by his father, also Duncan, who died in 1288; RMS i, app. i, no. 68; Barrow, G.W.S., Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland, 3rd edn. (Edinburgh, 1988) 390-91

RMS vi, no. 239; RMS ii, no. 3337

RMS iii, no. 2213; iv, nos. 287, 820

Pitculane or Gannochy is described as a lordship within the barony of Kinnoull in 1487; SRO GD 16/18/1-2.

CPNS, 479

St. Constantine appears in a Brittonic or P-Celtic context. That he was not an Irish saint is further suggested by the fact that he was confused in Irish Martyrologies with Constantine, King of Picts; ACD Non-Scriptural, 201-3; OSA xi, 300.

RMS ii. no. 415; CPL i, 74; Spalding Club Miscellany ii, 317-18, no. 22; May Recs. no. 38

The succession James of Perth - Duncan (de Inchyra) - John de Inchyra is attested by Scone Liber no. 118, which was witnessed by John's brother, David, who held Inchyra after John's death; Spalding Club Miscellany ii, 314-15, no. 19.
Sir William de Blare was steward of Fife in 1235 and Alexander de Blare, knight, witnessed two charters in the company of the sons of Earl Duncan in ca. 1241; Black, Surnames of Scotland, 81; St.A. Lib., 263. Perhaps significantly, a William de Blare witnessed a charter by John de Inchyra temp. Alexander III (Scone Liber no. 118) and David de Blare, "del Counte de Perth" rendered homage to Edward I in 1296 (CDS ii, 204).

Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 103

Balthayock and Balhiggilles are on Class 4 land with Class 5 in the vicinity and must have been of marginal arable quality. Balbeggie is at the upper limit of an area of Class 2 land but with a northerly exposure.

Balhiggilles is Gaelic baile na-h-ealais, "township of the church". The name should recall a church site but it is possible that it was a town allocated to the support of the early church of Kinnoull as endowed land.

Arb. Lib. i, no. 215; Ash, M., "The Diocese of St. Andrews under its 'Norman' Bishops", (SHR 55, 1976), 115

For Pitrodie alias Baltrody compare RMS i, no. 489 with RMS vii, no. 2051 and Retours, Perth, no. 543 with no. 744. The barony of Pitrodie contained, by the seventeenth century at least, lands in Megginch, Kilspindie and St Madoes parishes, and Pitrodie itself in Kilspindie. It is not the now lost "Petfrethen" in Megginch parish as is suggested in the notes to RRS ii, no. 297.

RMS vii, no. 504

The wholly Pictish place-name Pitfour, "share of the pasture", may indicate the grazing lands of the estate, which perhaps lay on the poorly drained land to the south of Pitfour; cf. CPNS, 376-77.

Simon de Meigle's charter has not survived but the church of Meigle first appears in a papal confirmation to St. Andrews in 1183. It is not included from the previous confirmation of 1163. William I confirmed Simon's grant in 1178 x 85; St.A. Liber, 53-6, 59; RMS ii, no. 201.

NLS Adv. Ms. 15.1.19, no. 4

Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 145; RMS ii, no. 2608; Jervise, A., Land of the Lindsays, revised ed., (1882), 363
262 The burn of Cammo was canalised in 1759 as part of the division of the commonty of Whitehills which had previously acted as a watergang for the Mill of Cammo and was frequently flooded; Adams, Commonties, 195.

263 CPNS, 375

264 The favoured names in the de Meigle family were Simon and Michael; a Roger de Meigle is known in 1296 (CDS ii, 200), and the first known personal name is "Euard" (C.A. Rental i, 343, no. 70), which can hardly have been a native name. For similar disputes and traditional beneficiaries see Cowan, "Parochial System", 48-50.

265 RMS i, no. 690; app. ii, nos. 1748, 1829

266 Retours, Perth, no. 258

267 RMS ii, nos. 1966, 3262; Retours, Perth, nos. 377, 615, 784, 935. Potento is now Cardean, the new name being borrowed from the site of a Roman fort to the north of the Dean Water (NO 28 46) in 1856; Mackay, A., Meigle, Past and Present, (Meigle, 1876), 47; Keppie, L., Scotland's Roman Remains, (Edinburgh, 1986), 164

268 Adams, Commonties, 195-96

269 Ibid., 198

270 Shennan, Boundaries, 70, 219


272 The Gaelicbachall (Latin, baculum, baculus, "a staff"), does not usually take the form bachlach in place-names, although Watson (CPNS, 266-67) gives Dulbachlach (ca. 1203, now Wardlaw, Inverness-shire) as an example of such a name.

273 RRS ii, no. 222

274 Warden, A.J., Angus or Forfarshire iv, (Dundee, 1884), 28; Highland Papers ii, 129-30; CDS ii, no. 508 and p. 178

275 C.A. Chrs. i, nos. 72, 74

276 Ibid. nos. 66, 69, 73; this is East and Middle Drimmie, NO 17 49 and NO 17 50, in Rattray parish, adjacent to the monks' grange of Drimmie.

277 Gilbert, op. cit., 338; RRS i, no. 226

278 C.A. Chrs. i, nos. 69, 73

279 Ibid. nos. 72, 66

280 C.A. Rental ii, 287, app. iii, no. 5, is a general confirmation of grants to Coupar Abbey by Gilbert de Hay, Constable, for Robert I, which apparently incorporates a similar charter of the same date dealing only with the grants by Adam de Glenballoch and Eustace de Rattray; HMC 4th Report, (1873), 536, (Rattray of Rattray and Cargill Muniments).
Chapter 6

The Parish Units (2) : The Perth District
To the west and south of the medieval burgh of Perth lay a district containing seventeen parishes. It was bounded on the east and north-east by the River Tay, and stretched from the River Almond south on to and over the eastern end of the Ochil Hills where Perthshire bordered the counties of Fife and Kinross. A number of parishes lay across the county boundaries until the late nineteenth century. Beyond its inclusion in the province of Fortrenn it is difficult to place this region in any early historical context. It contained the eastern and most fertile part of the strath of the river Earn, but was not in the earldom of Strathearn. Nor does it ever appear to have been a part of the earldom of Gowrie which it faced over the Tay. There is some evidence, however, which might point to the region having been within the districts of either Strathearn or Gowrie.

Professor Watson considered that Strathearn meant "Ireland's strath" (i.e. Gaelic strath + Eire), rather than "strath of the River Earn", and that it was a Gaelic district name which partly displaced the old Fortrenn in the period of intensive Gaelic migration to and settlement in Pictland (ninth and tenth centuries). The strongest evidence which supports this view is the occurrence of related places and place-names beyond the river valley. Culross on the Forth, for example, is described as lying in Strathearn and, significantly, the parish of Culross formed a detached enclave of Perthshire until 1891. Similarly, but within the Perth district, the Strawearn Burn (ca. NO 11 09) in the Ochils on the border between Perthshire and Kinross is evidence of a connection with the Strathearn region. A further argument for
assigning the Perth district to Strathearn might be found in the fact that four of its parishes - Abernethy, Dupplin, Exmagirdle and Findogask - were within the diocese of Dunblane which had a close connection with the district and earldom of Strathearn. Similarly, all of the Dunkeld parishes in the Perth District were placed within the rural deanery of Fife and Strathearn, although that was not apparently established until the late fifteenth century. At the same time, however, six parishes in the district were included in the St. Andrews rural deanery of Gowrie which was established during the twelfth century (the two other parishes in the diocese being in the deanery of Fothric). This suggests that the Perth district had some connection with Gowrie. Such a connection is also indicated by the fact that the lords of Abernethy, whose extensive lands straddled Perthshire and Fife along the Rivers Earn and Tay, exercised legal jurisdiction at Abernethy over their men of Fife and Gowrie. "Gowrie" here must refer to the Perthshire part of the lordship (now Abernethy and Dron parishes).

There seems, then, to be no clear historical territorial alignment in the region around Perth. The evidence of its possible inclusion in either Strathearn or Gowrie combines with the intermixing of three dioceses (and four rural deaneries) to suggest that it was a fluid border between the better defined provinces of the early historic period. At the same time, however, it should be remembered that the district contained important royal centres at Forteviot, Perth and Abernethy, and was close to the royal cult-site of Scone.
This concentration of regnal sites, taken together with the fact that much of the land in the district is first recorded as Crown demesne in the twelfth century, might reflect the growing importance of the area to the royal house from the ninth century onwards, if not earlier, as its portion of the heartland of the kingdom of Scotia. That would explain why the region was not aligned with any of the surrounding provinces or earldoms. The acquisition of the earldom of Gowrie by the Crown in the tenth century might explain the increasing association with Gowrie at the expense of Strathearn and the older Fortrenn, and hence the description of some parts of the Perth district as being in Gowrie. Whatever the actual case, the end product of the complex and largely obscure early history of the Perth district is that it emerges into twelfth century record with a curious assortment of settlement structures, ecclesiastical associations and other circumstances, all of which are reflected in, and influenced, the development of parishes.

The parish of Perth appears at first sight as something of a special case within the sheriffdom to which it gave its name, as it was the only one which contained a substantial urban development of early date. Perth was situated at a strategically and commercially vital point where the tidal limit of the Firth of Tay is reached, allowing the river to be crossed without the use of a ferry, while enabling sea-going ships to berth just below the crossing. The long-standing importance of the location is demonstrated by the fact that the principal Roman route through Scotland crossed the Tay just north of Perth near the fort of Bertha (Derder's Ford, NO 10 26), and that the
staked ford at Perth itself had been replaced by one of the earliest recorded bridges in Scotland before 1210.9 The commercial importance of Perth, at the junction of land and sea-based routes, is shown by the fact that the earliest urban development there took place along the banks of the Tay at the Watergate, where boats could be beached and early wharfage established, possibly in the eleventh century, and certainly by the first quarter of the twelfth.10 The stimulus for this development probably came from the eleventh century re-establishment of trade, especially with England, and the opening of Continental markets to supply wool to the growing Flemish textile industry.11

The town of Perth acquired the status of a burgh early in the reign of David I12 and that king continued to encourage its development.13 The burgh expanded rapidly during the twelfth century, being enclosed by a clausura (ditch?) with ports by the middle of the century, but outgrowing the defences shortly thereafter, necessitating the establishment of a "new burgh" outside the ports in the 1180's or 1190's.14 It reached the boundaries of its main medieval wall and ports by the early fourteenth century.15

Perth was also important as a centre of royal authority and administration. It appears in the known itineraries of Alexander I and David I,16 and prominently in those of Malcolm IV and William I.17 There was a royal castle at Perth before 1210,18 the town was the site of one of the new royal mints,19 and a sheriffdom was established there by David I. The original sheriffdom was smaller than its later medieval
form but it had absorbed the early sheriffdom of Scone by 1228 and that of Auchterarder by a century later. The settlement of Perth itself can be dated back to the Pictish period by its P-Celtic place-name, *pert*, "wood", "copse", but it probably did not develop as a principal royal centre until the eleventh century, perhaps replacing the ninth and tenth century royal Scotian palace to the north at Rathinveramon.

The parish church of Perth, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, lay within the earliest phase of urban development in the burgh and is first recorded, described as *ecclesia burgi*, in 1128, by which date it had already been appropriated to Dunfermline Abbey by David I. The parish which it served, however, was considerably larger than the burgh of Perth, stretching from Moncreiffe Hill in the south to the River Almond along the west bank of the Tay (see Map 17). The church of St. John the Baptist was to become increasingly associated with the burgh, burgesses and trade guilds of Perth, and owed much of its rich furnishings to their prosperity, but the form of its parish cannot be explained by reference to the burgh alone. As Professor Cowan has remarked,

The emergence of the urban parish cannot be dissociated from that of parochial origins in general. Indeed, it may be doubted whether many truly urban parishes existed in medieval Scotland. Burghs acted as a catalyst and frequently, but not invariably, contained the church of the parish in which it stood. Whether a church initially stood within a town is often debatable; it is certain it did not always do so. The parish itself was seldom only co-extensive with the burgh and usually extended far beyond its limits. To this extent the origins of the urban parish must be sought not in the town, but rather in the countryside surrounding it, in which parishes recognisably antedate the appearance of towns.
Map 17
Perth and
Rhynd Parishes

River T

River Earn

Letham
Tulloch
L.Hillend

O.

Vale of Earn

Moncreiffe Hill

Rhynd

Elcho

OGrange

Friston

Tosaphie

Balhepburn

Fingask Castle

Rhynd

Bellhouse

Towcester

Craigie

22 Delta
It has, of course, to be said that at Perth the earliest references to both parish church and burgh appear in the same charter\textsuperscript{28} but the reference is an early example of both institutions and in no way implies that they were mutually dependent in origin. Subsequent evidence makes it clear that the parish church of Perth was far more than simply the burgh church recorded in 1128.

In 1157 x 60 Malcolm IV confirmed St. John's church to Dunfermline Abbey in a charter whose detail indicates that the church had a dependent chapel situated within the castle which lay to the north of the town.\textsuperscript{29} The church and chapel were confirmed with their rightful pertinents, namely Tarsapie (NO 12 21), "Baleglinen" (now Friarton, (NO 11 21), Craigie (NO 11 22), "Baleglassin", "Baleclarim" (possibly Muirton, (NO 10 25),\textsuperscript{30} the two Tullilums (NO 10 23) and "Balegillurs" with "Pet ultin". The Perth churches certainly did not have exclusive property rights in the various lands listed, which covered most of the parish, as several of them are later recorded in the hands of other proprietors,\textsuperscript{31} and it may well be that the named lands were the principal town which composed the parish and from which tithes were drawn. Whether or not that was the case, it should be noted that one pit-name and four baile-names, which represent early dependent settlements of a multiple estate caput,\textsuperscript{32} were among those which were attached to the lands which were focused, ecclesiastically at least, on the town of Perth. This strongly suggests a multiple estate of pre-parochial (and pre-burghal) date grouped around the royal centre of Perth.
The chapel of Perth castle which was confirmed to Dunfermline had previously been held by the monks from Reading Abbey who were established at Rhynd (see below) and later on the Isle of May, by a grant of David I. It was exchanged by them with Dunfermline for certain annual revenues from Perth as part of the same transaction, and probably on the same date, as Malcolm IV's confirmation charter. The chapel enjoyed some teind rights which, although it has been wrongly suggested that this indicates an eleventh century arrangement, may be compared with the situation at Stirling, where Alexander I had granted the demesne teinds of the shire of Stirling to the new castle chapel there on the occasion of its dedication. The origins of two further early chapels which are recorded in Perth parish, and which were dependent on St. John's, are less certain. The first was dedicated to St. Leonard and was granted to Dunfermline Abbey by Robert, bishop of St. Andrews, in ca. 1150 x 59. The Continental dedication of the chapel suggests that it was a medieval foundation dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century when the Scottish Church was re-establishing its links with the Church of Rome and becoming open to the influence of Catholic hagiology. St. Leonard's was perhaps established by the early reforming bishops of St. Andrews at the royal centre of Perth which lay within their diocese. The second chapel is first recorded as the church of "Balglinen" in 1163. Shortly thereafter it was confirmed to Dunfermline Abbey with the church of St. John's as ecclesia de villa Glinen, and was subsequently confirmed to the abbey until the mid-thirteenth century, after which it disappears from record. No original grant of the chapel to
Dunfermline is known and it is possible that it was a pre-twelfth century chapel dependent on St. John's, situated in the town of Balle格linen (now Friarton) which, as has been seen, was a pertinent of St. John's. The chapel may have become disused during the thirteenth century.

The lands of Perth parish lay on royal demesne, part of which, at Balhousie (NO 11 24) and "Inveralmond" (now obsolete), was evidently granted to the family of Uvioth in the twelfth century for service to the Crown. Other parts of the parish were leased by the Crown in feuferme to provide revenues, some of which, from Craigie and St. Magdalenes, were diverted to the support of the Dominican Friary founded at Perth by King Alexander II in 1231 on the site of the former castle and royal garden or "Gilten Herbar".

As a royal demesne multiple estate whose form was defined well before the twelfth century (as is evident from the place-names of its component towns), Perth was an ideal location for the establishment of a parish in the reign of David I, and it is not surprising that Perth is one of the earliest recorded Perthshire parishes. The location of Perth also lent itself to the creation of another new type of institution by the same king, a royal burgh. The evidence demonstrates, however, that it was the old royal centre and its related estate which provided the geographical and settlement framework within which the development of the parish took place, rather than the new burgh.
The parish of Rhynd lies to the south-east of Perth, bordered on the east by the River Tay and on the south by the River Earn. Early forms of the name show it to have been Rindalgros, meaning "point (or headland) of thorn bush" (rinn, "a point, headland" + dealg, "thorn, pin + ros, "bush, thicket"), "the point in question being that formed by the junction of the Rivers Tay and Earn in the south-east of the parish. It was in this part of the parish that the original town of Rhynd lay (now represented by Easter Rhynd, NO 18 18 and Wester Rhynd NO 17 18), rather than at the modern village which has borrowed the name (NO 15 20)."

In 1143 x 47 David I perambulated the bounds of the lands of Rhynd and granted them to Reading Abbey, "in the hope that, if the gift could be augmented, Reading would found a daughter house there." It seems that Reading acquired the church of Rhynd with the lands, or built a church there very quickly, for in 1147 x 53 David I issued a mandate to the men of the sheriffdom of Perth to pay to the monks of Rindalgros the teinds which were due to them in grain, cheeses and all else tithable. Professor Duncan has argued that this mandate refers not to the teinds of the town of Rhynd, but rather to the teinds due to the monks from the chapel of Perth castle, on the grounds that Malcolm IV issued a new charter (including the word dedisse, which usually indicates a first grant rather than a confirmation) of the teinds of the town of Rhynd to the monks there, and that it is unlikely that a royal writ would be necessary for the enforcement of tithes so local. This second objection is hardly convincing given the relative novelty of teind
payment in Scotland at that date, and the contemporary royal efforts to enforce it universally. The first objection is, however, more difficult. Malcolm IV's charter, which dates to 1153 x 59, does indeed look like a new grant, although too much stress should not be placed on the technical meaning of *dedisse* at so early a date. Nevertheless, a papal confirmation by Adrian IV of the possessions of Reading Abbey, which must date between 5 December 1154 and 3 February 1159, includes *manerium quod dicitur Rindalgros ex dono David Regis Scotie cum decimis piscariis et aliis pertinentiis suis*. Even if this confirmation post-dates Malcolm IV's charter (which it could conceivably do, although it does not mention it), it is clear that the teinds of Rhynd were held to belong to Reading by grant of David I. In the light of this evidence, Malcolm IV's charter must be seen as a more explicit confirmation of the situation which had existed in the reign of his grandfather.

The teind rights of the church of Rhynd continued to be the subject of debate, especially with regard to the valuable Tay fishings which lay adjacent. In the early thirteenth century the Priory of May, which by then held Rhynd as a dependency, disputed the Tay fishings with the opposite proprietor, Duncan of Inchyra. The Inchyra fishings were again involved in 1231 when agreement was reached between the canons of Scone Abbey and the Priory of May over the teinds of the Tay fishings which lay in the part of the river which flowed between the parish of Scone and Rhynd. May Priory claimed the teinds of the fishings of Sleepless Inch (NO 14 22), "Elpenslau" and "Chingil" (unidentified but
perhaps around Balhepburn Island, NO 17 20), and Inchyra (ca. NO 18 20) as being situated within Rhynd parish, but Scone bought out the claim, which must, therefore, have had some validity, for an annual payment of two merks sterling.

The monks of Reading, then, acquired the town of Rhynd, which was marked out for them, together with the church and full rights to the parochial tithes. At first sight, it looks as though this evidence implies the creation of a wholly new estate and corresponding parish in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, it cannot be treated as such for it is evident that the territory of the parish extended beyond the estate held in property by Reading. Part of the lands within the parish passed to the royal butlers, for in 1203 x 09 Malcolm, pincerna domini regis, made an agreement with May Priory over the parochial rights of the church of Rhynd with regard to the chapel which he had founded within the parish at "Ricardeston" (now lost). Malcolm was probably the son of William de la Hay who had been royal butler in ca. 1172 (in succession to his uncle, Ranulf de Soules), and his service to the Crown no doubt explains his possession of the town of "Ricardeston". Further lands in the parish, at Elcho (NO 16 20), with Grange of Elcho, (NO 14 21) belonged to the family of Lindsay by the thirteenth century, and David Lindsay founded a Cistercian nunnery there before 1248. It seems likely, then, that the parish of Rhynd was based on an extended royal estate, of which Reading Abbey received only the caput and church, leaving other lands in what became the parish to be granted away by the Crown.
One of the most complex and yet most interesting examples of parochial formation concerns Abernethy, the more so because it can be examined in detail from relatively early documentary evidence. The village itself stands below the northern slopes of the Ochil Hills near the junction of the Rivers Earn and Tay with its parish lying along the river haughs and extending south into the Ochils. The present parish is considerably altered from its medieval form having formerly included Mugdrum (NO 22 18) and its island, Pitcairlie (NO 23 14), and Lumbennie (NO 23 16) which were annexed to Newburgh after the creation of that parish in 1632;\(^{58}\) as well as Easter Colzie (NO 22 13), Nocharrie (NO 20 12) and Pitlour (NO 21 11), which were transferred to the parishes of Newburgh and Strathmiglo in 1891.\(^{59}\) Furthermore, the parish formerly lay partly in Perthshire and partly in Fife, but in 1891 the lands of Balvaird (NO 17 12), Mucklebein (Bein Inn, NO 16 13), Catochil (NO 17 13), Dumbarrow (NO 19 12), Glentarkie (NO 19 11) and Pittuncarty (NO 19 11) were transferred from Fife while remaining in Abernethy parish, thus placing the whole of the parish in Perthshire.\(^{60}\)

Abernethy is one of the few churches for which documentary evidence of its original foundation survives. Although the evidence is problematic, it seems that the church was founded \(ca.\) 600 by Nechtan son of Irb, king of Picts.\(^{61}\) He is said to have endowed the church with territory stretching from the stone in Aberargie (NO 16 15) to the stone beside Carpow (NO 21 17) called "Lethfoss", and from thence upwards to "Athan" (perhaps "Macduff's Cross" NO 22 26).\(^{62}\) The note which records this grant survives attached to a list of Pictish Kings
contained in the fourteenth century Poppleton Manuscript, but cannot be more closely dated than between the end of the ninth and the early twelfth century. Nevertheless, even if it only represents a late attempt by the community of Celtic clerics who survived at Abernethy into the feudal period to protect their interests, it is unlikely to be wholly fictitious. Carved Pictish stones in and around the village of Abernethy provide evidence of a church of some importance there between the seventh and tenth centuries, while the unusual round-tower of Irish type, dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, demonstrates that the Celtic church of Abernethy retained some vigour and prosperity until a relatively late date. A list of witnesses to a grant made by Ethelred, earl of Fife and lay abbot of Dunkeld, fourth son of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, dating to ca. 1100, illustrates that a group of Céli Dé and other clergy, some of whom were secularised, survived at Abernethy until the twelfth century and, indeed, there is evidence of a continuing Céli Dé presence until the house was converted into an Augustinian priory in 1272 or 1273. It is also possible that Abernethy may have been the seat of a Pictish bishopric in the eighth century although the evidence for this is late and uncorroborated. By the twelfth century, however, Abernethy lay within the jurisdiction of the diocese of Dunblane, and may have done so for some time previously. A not improbable scenario is that the royal church of Abernethy became an episcopal seat during the eighth century reform of the Pictish Church, only to decline and come within the orbit of Dunblane after the union of the Picts and Scots in ca. 843, although it remained a church of some importance.
The earliest charter evidence concerning Abernethy dates to 1173 x 78, when William I confirmed to Orm son of Hugh, the abbacy of Abernethy, as it was on the day on which David I died (24 May 1154) save for ten pounds worth of land granted by the king to Henry Revel in marriage with Orm's daughter, Margaret. Orm was to have the right of pit and gallows at Abernethy for his men of Fife and Gowrie. This charter shows that the abbacy of Abernethy had become laicised by the later twelfth century and, since the grant to Orm was a confirmation, evidently was a heritable property held under the Crown. The process by which the church of Abernethy and its lands became a secular holding is not certain and the origin of the twelfth century lords of Abernethy is said by the Scots Peerage to be obscure, but a reasonable assessment of both can be attempted. Hugh, father of Orm, lord of Abernethy, has been identified with Hugh son of Gillemichel, earl of Fife (ca. 1128 - 39). No surviving documentary evidence actually records the formula "Orm son of Hugh son of Earl Gillemichel", but a comparison of the generations of the Fife and Abernethy families indicates that there is nothing chronologically impossible about the suggested identification. Earl Gillemichel's oldest son, Duncan, is known as earl of Fife from 1136 or 1139 and died in 1154. His son, also Duncan, was styled earl in 1159 and died in 1204. Hugh was most probably Earl Gillemichel's second son. He appears as a Fife lord with Earl Duncan in 1153 x 62, while his son, also Hugh (or Eau) is recorded in 1165 x 72 granting the church of Markinch to St. Andrews Priory. Of the Abernethy family, Orm son of Hugh is known from 1160 x 62 when he appears as a witness to a charter by Bishop Arnold of
St. Andrews in the company of Earl Duncan and various local men of Fife and Gowrie. He was evidently in possession of some of his estates by 1165 x 71, when he exchanged the lands of Balbirnie in Markinch with Earl Duncan for the lands of Glenduckie and Balmeadie in Dunbog parish. King William's confirmation of Abernethy to Orm in 1173 x 78 may in fact have been granted several years after Orm succeeded his father in the abbacy. Hugh, son of Earl Gillemichel, and Hugh de Abernethy were therefore closely contemporary as were their known sons, Hugh (Eau) and Orm.

Beyond this evidence, the possession by Orm of Balbirnie in Markinch and by Hugh (Eau) of the church of Markinch at around the same date is a strong indication of some connection. Furthermore, as it will be argued below that Dunbog formed part of the original lordship of Abernethy, we can accept that the possession by Earl Duncan (II) of lands there is another indication of some connection between the Fife and Abernethy families.

A further piece of evidence regarding the origins of the Abernethy family can be drawn from heraldry. Although the relationship between Ethelred, earl of Fife, son of Malcolm III; Constantine "Macduff", earl of Fife ca. 1124 - 1128 x 36; and Gillemichel "Macduff", earl of Fife ca. 1128 x 36 - 1136 x 39, is uncertain the royal kinship of the twelfth and thirteenth century earls of Fife is suggested by their arms of "or, a lion rampant gules" the royal arms without the treasure." The Abernethys of that Ilk also bore "or, a lion rampant gules
Although many Scottish families used the lion rampant in their arms, relatively few did so with the royal colours of red on a gold ground and showing a blue tongue, and hardly any except the Fife and Abernethy families are attested as doing so by relatively early evidence.  

Taken together, the evidence for a close connection between the Fife and Abernethy families is impressive. It seems highly probable that Hugh, son of Earl Gillemichel, and Hugh de Abernethy were the same man, the younger brother of Duncan (I), earl of Fife. The younger Hugh (Eau) and Orm would therefore be brothers, with Orm perhaps the elder as he received the more substantial of his father's estates at Abernethy. Both would be cousins of Earl Duncan (II) of Fife, in whose company Orm de Abernethy appears frequently. The kinship of the Fife and Abernethy families is helpful to the discussion of the abbacy of Abernethy. It has been noted already that Ethelred, earl of Fife, made a grant in ca. 1109 to the clerical community of Abernethy. Ethelred was also lay abbot of Dunkeld and it is possible that Abernethy too had fallen under lay control and was in possession of the earls of Fife from the late eleventh century. This situation would not be unusual, given that the see of Dunblane, which should have had control over Abernethy, had been moribund for at least a century before its reconstitution in ca. 1150 and other of its possessions and rights had fallen prey to the mormaers of Strathearn and Menteith. It seems, had become a laicised
abbacy in possession of the earls of Fife during the eleventh century and was employed in the early twelfth century to provide for the younger son of Earl Gillemichel and his descendants.

We can begin to discuss the dimensions and composition of the lordship of Abernethy which was derived from the lay abbacy with the ten pound lands granted by William I to Henry Revel as the marriage portion of Orm de Abernethy's daughter, Margaret, and therefore excepted from the abbacy as confirmed to Orm. This comprised Coultra (NO 35 23), Balmerino (NO 35 24) and "Balendarg" (now Grange, NO 35 22). These lands were confirmed to Richard Revel, Henry's nephew, by William I and then by Alexander II, together with the lands of "Esterardint" or "Ardint" (now represented by Ardie Hill, NO 35 22) which were added to the estate by William I. From William I's charter to Orm son of Hugh, it is apparent that Coultra, Balmerino and "Balendarg" at least originally lay within the lordship of Abernethy. Furthermore, as the service due by Richard Revel for the increased estate was that of one knight, made up of half for the original ten pound land and half for the additional lands of Ardie, it seems probable that both parcels of land (which lie adjacent) were originally parts of a single estate which was reunited under Richard. In 1225 Richard's successor, his younger brother Adam de Stawell, sold the lands to the dowager Queen Ermengarde, widow of William I, who wished the estate for the endowment of her projected foundation of a Cistercian abbey in north-east Fife. From this transaction we discover that the dependent touns of Coultra and Balmerino were Ballindean (NO 36 22), "Ballindard"
(="Balendarg", i.e. Grange), and "Corbi" (now Birkhill, NO 33 23). Together, the Revel lands occupied the whole of Balmerino parish and conveyed to the owners patronage of the parish church. That the whole estate was originally a component of the lordship of Abernethy is confirmed by a charter of Laurence de Abernethy (son and heir of Orm), dating 1231 x 42, quitclaiming all his rights in the lands to Balmerino Abbey, to which they had been granted by Queen Ermengarde and her son, Alexander II.

One further aspect to be noted from the evidence for Coultra is that the Crown, as superior of the lordship of Abernethy, felt free to divert its resources to suit royal purposes. It is therefore all the more probable that the estate had originally been in the hands of the Crown through the laicised abbacy, and had passed to the earls of Fife only in the person of Ethelred.

The extent of Crown control over the lordship can be seen in the passage of Abernethy from Orm to his eldest son, Laurence, in 1189 x 95. At that date, probably on Laurence's succession, William I granted the church of Abernethy to his recently founded abbey of Arbroath, together with its pertinents, namely the chapels of Dron, Dunbog, and Abdie, the lands of Ballo (ca. NO 18 14) and Pitlour (NO 20 11), and half of the teinds belonging to the abbot of Abernethy. The grant of the church of Abernethy to Arbroath was complicated by the facts that a community of Céli Dé still survived there, and that most of the ecclesiastical revenues were in the hands...
of the lay lords of Abernethy. King William’s charter further stipulated that the second half of the abbot of Abernethy’s teinds should belong to the Céli Dé, and that Arbroath should have all the teinds from the territory of Abernethy except those pertaining to the churches of Flisk and Coultra, and those of the abbot of Abernethy’s demesne which traditionally belonged to the Céli Dé, namely from Mugdrum (NO 22 18), Carpow (NO 20 17), "Balehirewell", "Balcolly" and Innernethy to the east of the burn (NO 18 17). Apparently on the same occasion, Laurence de Abernethy issued a quitclaim confirming the king’s charter. Where the king’s charter mentions the demesne of the abbot of Abernethy, Laurence substitutes dominio meo, demonstrating that he, like his father, was lay abbot of the church. William’s charter was a deliberate dismantling of a traditional possession designed to reorganise the abbacy of Abernethy into a more acceptable (to the modern, feudal norm) territorial estate, while restoring ecclesiastical revenues to their proper purpose. In that sense it is a clear example of royal overlordship being used in the furtherance of the policy aims of restructuring secular landownership and reforming the church which were a prominent feature of the Canmore dynasty of Scottish kings.

For the purposes of our discussion, the transaction is also interesting as it illustrates a substantial settlement unit in transition from the historical milieu in which it had evolved to a new pattern of territorial order, influencing parochial formation in the process. Since the lordship of Abernethy probably had an ecclesiastical origin
as the estate of the early royal church with its dependent district, the example is particularly valuable, incorporating as it does several local churches (see Map 18). The territory (territorium) of Abernethy was obviously extensive and embodied the various lands served by the churches of Dron (NO 14 15), Dunbog (NO 28 17), Abdie (NO 26 16), Flisk (NO 33 22) and Coultra, as well as Abernethy itself. All of the five surrounding churches had been ecclesiastically dependent on the communally-served church of Abernethy. This arrangement seems to accord well with the minster-type church with associated chapels serving a wide area found extensively in England and postulated by Professor Cowan for eleventh century Scotland. The 1189 x 95 charter granting Abernethy to Arbroath shows us this arrangement as it was in the process of breaking up, as the teinds of the churches of Flisk and Coultra, formerly pertaining to Abernethy, were explicitly excepted from the grant. This was no doubt due, in the case of Coultra at least, to the parochial establishment of the church after the estate which it served had passed to the Revels and had become effectively disjoined from Abernethy. Cowan suggests that the "parish" of Coultra was incorporated into the parish of Balmerino in the thirteenth century, but does not seem to have realised that the lands of Balmerino were part of the estate of Coultra and that the churches of Coultra and Balmerino were one and the same. The baile name of Balmerino tends to confirm its origin as a dependency of the principal town of Coultra, as were the nearby "Balendarg" and Ballinldean. Balmerino only became prominent with the establishment of the abbey there in the early thirteenth century and the corresponding
reorientation of settlement towards what would be the major local consumer and, increasingly, the prominent ecclesiastical site. A similar explanation would seem plausible for the church of Flisk in 1189 x 95, although the lack of early evidence makes certainty impossible. If the church had attained parochial status by that date it would seem that the founders must have been the Abernethy family themselves, since they held Ballinbreich (NO 27 20) in the parish in the earlier thirteenth century when Laurence de Abernethy granted an annual rent of ten shillings to St Andrews Priory out of the lands and confirmed a grant by his mother to the priory of a toft, four acres and a fishing out of the same town. In an interesting parallel to Balmerino and Coultra, Ballinbreich, another town with a baile name, appears to have superseded Flisk as the principal settlement in the parish. The estate of Ballinbreich, which included most of Flisk parish and carried the right of patronage of the church, passed to the Leslie earls of Rothes, apparently through the marriage of Sir Andrew, Lord Leslie, to Mary, younger daughter and co-heiress of Sir Alexander de Abernethy, before 1324.

In 1189 x 95 the churches of Dron, Dunbog and Abdie are still recorded as chapels of Abernethy. Nevertheless, this may be only partly a true representation of the actual situation at that date. The evidence for Abdie is slightly problematic, as the identification of that church as a chapel of Abernethy depends on the equation of the name form Erolyn, which appears in the Arbroath charters, with Abdie. As Abdie certainly appears in the cartulary of Lindores Abbey as Ebedyn, it is
plausible to argue that Erolyn is merely a scribal variant, albeit inaccurate, for Ebedyn and therefore is Abdie. Such an identification certainly fits well into the geographical pattern for Abernethy, while no alternative is readily forthcoming. The major difficulty with accepting Erolyn as Abdie, however, lies in the fact that the chapel of Erolyn would seem to overlap historically with the parish church of Abdie or, as it became known in the late twelfth century, Lindores.  

In 1178 x 82 (probably 1178), William I granted Lindores, amongst other lands, to his brother David, earl of Huntingdon. Earl David subsequently granted the parish church of Lindores to his newly founded abbey there in ca. 1198. Erolyn, however, continues to be confirmed to Arbroath by successive bishops of Dunblane until the time of Bishop Abraham (1210 x 14 - 1220), as a chapel of Abernethy. Accordingly, it would seem that Abdie or Lindores and Erolyn must be different churches. Nevertheless, the identification of Erolyn with Abdie may be allowed to stand if it is accepted that its confirmation to Arbroath until 1210 x 20 was merely the result of the repetition of the original form of the earliest episcopal confirmation by Bishop Simon of Dunblane in 1189 x 94, after that had lost any real meaning. If so, Arbroath Abbey must have lost (or perhaps never had) effective control of the church which passed to, or was appropriated by, Earl David with the estate of Lindores, being erected by him thereafter into a separate parish church. This suggestion would seem to be supported by the fact that Dunbog was similarly confirmed to Arbroath until 1210 x 20, while as early as ca. 1198 it was confirmed.
to the same abbey as a parish church in proprio usu by Bishop Roger of St. Andrews. Of the original grant by William I, and quitclaimed by Laurence de Abernethy, Arbroath only retained, in the same form, the church of Abernethy with its chapel of Dron and lands of Ballo and Pitlour. Those are certainly the possessions as recorded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The chapel of Dron may also have attained parochial status briefly in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, for in Bagimond's Roll it is recorded as making payments for both parsonage and vicarage in both of the first two years of collection. If it ever was a parish church, however, it lost that status soon afterwards as it is listed only as a chapel of Abernethy in possession of Arbroath until the Reformation.

The situation recorded in 1189 x 98, then, shows us what had been an extended ecclesiastical network of churches focused on Abernethy in the early twelfth century and before, but which was being broken up into separate parishes by the later twelfth century under the pressure of church reforms and changing patterns of landownership.

Just as Abernethy was an ecclesiastical centre, so too it was the caput of an extended unit of lordship in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and probably earlier. This too was being dissolved during the second half of the twelfth century, as has been seen in the evidence for Coultra, and in the exercise of royal overlordship during the succession of two of the hereditary lords, Orm son of Hugh, and his son Laurence. Laurence emerged from the process only as a landowner,
albeit a substantial one, holding as tenant-in-chief of the Crown, but
with the ecclesiastical revenues which had belonged to his father and
grandfather restored to the church.

In the parish of Abernethy itself the lords of Abernethy held almost
all the land, including the former demesne of the abbots comprising
Mugdrum, Carpow, Innernethy, "Balehirewell" and "Balcolly". It is
interesting to note that the identifiable demesne lands all lie within
the area roughly delineated by the Poppleton Manuscript note, further
supporting the authenticity of the latter and suggesting an estate of
some considerable antiquity. A dispute over the division of the parish
teinds between the Céli Dé and Arbroath Abbey refers to the lands of
Pitcairlie (NO 23 14), "Petkary"), Pitmedden (NO 22 14), "Malcarny"
(NO 17 16), Pitcurran (NO 19 15, "Petkorny"), Pethwnegus" (Pitmenzies,
NO 22 13) and Gowlie ("Galthanin", NO 15 16), which probably also
belonged to the lords of Abernethy although the teinds were lost to
them in 1189 x 98. Beyond these lands the possessions of the
de Abernethy family within the parish can be traced through various
grants by them and their successors, the Stewart and then Douglas earls
of Angus. The estate included Aberargie (NO 16 15); Innernethy;
Little Pottie (? north of Aberargie, ca. NO 16 14); Pitversie
(NO 18 15) and "Petblay"; "Balnecroych" (unidentified but near
Innernethy); Culfargie (NO 16 17); Clunie (NO 22 17); and
"Balnebyn" (? Binn, NO 17 13) and Drumcairn (NO 1714). These lands
effectively occupied the whole parish of Abernethy except the lands of
Colzie in the south-east corner. Colzie appears in ca. 1208 x 10 in
possession of the family of Olifard, when Walter, son of Walter Olifard, granted the lands of Colzie and Abernethy to Alan, son of Alan, son of Cospatric de Swinton. The origin of the Olifard lordship of Colzie is not known, but it is not impossible that the lands were acquired by either of the Walters through royal service, as the terms of Walter son of Walter's charter make it clear that he was tenant-in-chief under the Crown. If so, this may be another example of the Crown disposing of the traditional lordship of Abernethy to new vassals, as at Coultra and Lindores. In any case, the connection between Abernethy and Colzie seems clear from the inclusion of the terra de Abernithin in Walter Olifard's charter. This may be Easter Colzie (NO 21 13), with the terra de Culesin representing Wester and Mid Colzie (NO 20 14 and NO 21 14). With the exception of Colzie, the whole lands of the parish belonged to the family of Abernethy and this substantial property probably represents the central demesne and dependent estate of the original extended lordship of Abernethy.

Outwith the parish of Abernethy the family held the lands of Ballinbreich or Flisk and had once held Coultra and Balmerino. The lands of Balmeadie and Glenduckie which they received from Earl Duncan of Fife in Dunbog parish in exchange for Balbirnie in Markinch were also probably an original part of the Abernethy lordship, given that that had belonged to the Fife lords before it passed to the de Abernethys. To the west of Abernethy the family also held the lands of Dron, for in 1203 x 30 Laurence de Abernethy exchanged his lands of Wester Dron (NO 12 15) and Mundie ("Munethin", NO 11 15) with
Reginald de Warenne for lands in Forgandenny. In four out of the five estates which were served by chapels dependent on Abernethy, then, the lords descended from the lay abbots of that church held some, if not all of the land.

The evidence for the remaining estate with a dependent church, Lindores, is less certain, but a royal appropriation of the estate may have taken place in order to infeft Earl David, just as happened at Coultra with Henry Revel, and probably at Colzie with Walter Olifard. One possible strand of evidence which connects the de Abernethys with Lindores is the place-name Ormiston (NO 24 16) in Lindores parish which perhaps recalls a new settlement established by Orm de Abernethy in the twelfth century before the estate of Lindores was disjoined and granted to Earl David. This, together with the identification of the chapel of Erolyn as the later church of Abdie or Lindores, and by comparison with Dron, Dunbog, Flisk and Coultra, makes it very likely that the estate of Lindores or Abdie had once belonged to the Abernethy lordship.

Professor Barrow has suggested that Abernethy was a shire of the type common in eastern Scotland in the tenth to twelfth centuries, but it seems likely than an even more complex unit of lordship was involved. Lindores, which was probably originally a part of that lordship, was a shire in its own right, being described as such in 1260 and 1281. There is also some evidence that Coultra was a shire, for it was held by the Revels for the service of one knight with the rights of pit and
gallows, toll, team and infangthief; a situation which indicates the conversion of a thanage into a knight's feu in the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{122} If the component estates of Lindores and Coultra were shires or thanages, it is hardly likely that the principal settlement at Abernethy would have been of lesser status. This is reinforced by the fact that Abernethy was designated by William I to be the jurisdictional \textit{caput} for all Orm son of Hugh's men of Fife and Gowrie.\textsuperscript{123}

The abbacy or lordship of Abernethy, then, was a complex settlement unit comprising a central multiple estate and at least two (and by analogy, probably five) dependent shires or thanages. Each of these was served by a chapel that was dependent on the ancient mother church of Abernethy. This lordship should be compared with the royal manors of Scone and Longforgan in Gowrie which, it has been suggested, were similar multiple shire groupings. The lordship of Abernethy broke up into its component parts in the course of the twelfth century, each becoming a parish in its own right. An additional point of interest is that Abernethy straddled two sheriffdoms and, although originally wholly in Dunblane diocese, was divided between Dunblane and St. Andrews in the twelfth century as the eastern dependencies broke away and were established parochially within St. Andrews diocese.

Given the type of complex estate grouping at Abernethy and in Gowrie, it is plausible to expect similar groupings elsewhere in the Perth district, with the component multiple estate units of larger lordships becoming parishes in the course of the twelfth century. Nevertheless,
only in one further example, at Methven, is there reasonable evidence of a comparable situation, although it is perfectly possible that the variable quality of surviving source material has disguised further examples.

The parish of Methven lies between the River Almond and the Lochty Burn and until 1891 had a detached enclave to the north at Tullybeagles in upper Strathord (see Map 19). The parish church, which is first recorded in ca. 1211, was the successor of a communally served Celtic church, some of whose clergy survived into the thirteenth century. In the 1256 tax rolls contained in several monastic cartularies, the church is listed as Methphen cum capella, and although the chapel has not been identified, it is possible that it served the enclave at Tullybeagles which contained at least one early settlement, recalled by its baile place-name, at Balquharn (NO 03 35).

The lands of Methven parish were acquired at the end of the twelfth century by Philip de Mowbray, who became one of the closest companions and counsellors of William I towards the end of his reign, in marriage with Galiena, daughter and co-heiress of Waltheof son of Cospatric, a native lord who also possessed the lands of Dalmeny and Inverkeithing. The actual evidence for the Mowbray tenure of Methven does not emerge until a century later, when John de Mowbray, knight, is described as dominus de Methven in 1301. Shortly thereafter, in 1304, Sir John de Mowbray sued Malise, earl of Strathearn, for ravaging his lands of
Methven and taking the castle there, while Roger de Mowbray is described as lord of Methven in 1313. This Roger was the last of the de Mowbrays to hold Methven, as he was tried and convicted of treason, and his lands forfeited, at Scone on 4 August 1320, for his part in the Soules conspiracy. Methven was amongst the extensive forfeited Mowbray estates. Nevertheless, despite the comparatively late date of the evidence which directly connects the Mowbrays with Methven, it is almost certain that the estate had been amongst those acquired by Philip de Mowbray with Galiena. Philip and his wife are first recorded in connection with the Perth district in ca. 1208, and Mowbrays appear frequently in the area throughout the thirteenth century, while in 1266 x 79 one William de Mowbray was rector of the parish church of Methven. As Methven was an independent parsonage until made collegiate in 1433, it is probable that William owed his benefice to the patronage of a secular kinsman, and that the de Mowbrays were therefore lords of Methven at that date. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether the church of Methven owed its parochial establishment to the native ancestors of Galiena, or to the Anglo-Norman lords from the English Honour of Mowbray.

The suggestion that the Mowbrays held Methven from the late twelfth century is strengthened by an examination of two other parishes in the district which appear to have been connected with Methven – Moncreiffe and Pottie or Dunbarney (see Map 5).
The parish of Moncreiffe lay to the north of the River Earn on and below the southern slopes of Moncreiffe Hill. The earliest surviving charter which relates to land in the parish is by Philip de Mowbray and Galiena and grants the lands of Kinmonth to Hugh son of William, for the service of a quarter of a knight. The charter shows that Moncreiffe was among the lands acquired by Philip through his marriage. It also identifies some of Philip's adherents, for Hugh son of William may have been from the Honour of Mowbray, as were at least two of the charter's witnesses, Philip de Coleville and Henry de Howthorpe (de "Houtorp"). Another witness was Elias de Dundas, who had been a knightly vassal of Waltheof son of Cospatric, and had apparently attached himself to the new lord of Dalmeny, Philip de Mowbray. A further witness was one John "de Craggin", who also attested a charter by Waltheof son of Cospatric, to Elias of Dundas. It is interesting to find this man associated with the successive lords of Dalmeny for a kinsman of his seems to have been the earliest known tenant of Moncreiffe itself, either under Waltheof or Philip de Mowbray.

In 1227 x 30, "Patricius de Craghin" quitclaimed his rights in Moncreiffe in favour of David de Moncreiffe for a payment of forty merks. This quitclaim was made in the court and presence of the grantor's lord, Philip de Mowbray. Some confusion has arisen over this transaction as a result of the authors of the Moncreiffe family history having used a late transcript of the charter rather than the original which was unknown to them. The transcript, which was used for the printed version of the charter, contains several misreadings, the most
important of which are that the grantor is styled "Patricius de Nagtun" whereas it is clear that his surname should be "de Craghin",\textsuperscript{144} and the grantee is given as "David de Munehtes" instead of the original "David de munehtcrefn\textsuperscript{149} On the basis of the printed version, the village of Nawton in the Honour of Mowbray has been suggested as the place of origin of Patrick "de Nagtun",\textsuperscript{150} but in the light of the original charter it is clear that Patrick in fact belonged to the family "de Craggin" who are found amongst the followers of Waltheof son of Cospatric, and of Philip de Mowbray. The place of origin of the surname is now represented by Craign (NT 15 76 and NT 13 76), adjacent to Dundace in Dalmeny parish.

It seems possible that Patrick de Craggin was the tenant of Moncreiffe under Waltheof, and that he was bought out by the new lord, Philip de Mowbray, to be replaced with an incoming Mowbray follower called David, who took his surname from his new Scottish lands,\textsuperscript{151} David was succeeded by Sir Matthew de Moncreiffe, to whom Patrick, brewer of Kintillo, (NO 13 17) in Dunbarney parish quitclaimed all his rights in thirty acres of land in Moncreiffe which he had held of Sir Matthew in wadset.\textsuperscript{152} At around this time the tenure of Moncreiffe was reorganised on a more regular feudal basis. First the overlord, Roger de Mowbray (son and heir of Philip and Galiena) secured a royal licence for Matthew de Moncreiffe to hold his lands heritably in free warren,\textsuperscript{153} and then, in 1249 x 51, regranted the lands of Moncreiffe and "Balconachin" to Matthew, remitting the old ferme (vetus firma) which had been payable for the lands in favour of the service of one-twentieth of a
The family of Moncreiffe continued to hold the estate of the de Mowbray lords of Methven until the forfeiture of the latter and beyond, continuing to the present day as Moncreiffe of that Ilk.

Dunbarney or Pottie parish lies to the south of the River Earn adjoining Abernethy on the east, Dron on the south and Forgandenny on the west. Most of the parish is low-lying, largely below the 20m contour, although a narrow arm at Pitkeathly formerly extended south on to the Ochils rising to above 150m. The enclave at Pottie was also on higher land, between 100m and 240m.

The earliest recorded landowner specifically connected with Dunbarney is Reginald de Dunbarney who witnessed a charter by Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, in 1211 x 14. It seems very probable that he can be equated with the contemporary Reginald de Warenne who held lands around and in the adjacent estate of Exmagirdle, and who was lord of Kilgraston (ca. NO 13 17 in Dunbarney) which, with its arable fields and mill, seems to have been the principal settlement in the parish by the thirteenth century. Robert de Warenne, whose exact kinship to Reginald is uncertain, also held lands within the Kilgraston estate and others of his family held lands nearby. Reginald de Warenne, who died before 1247, was succeeded in Kilgraston by his son, also Reginald, and he in turn by his daughter, Mirabilla. Roger de Dunbarney, who is recorded in 1203, witnessing a charter by Reginald de Warenne, may be the same Roger brother of Reginald, and may have acquired a holding in his brother’s estate of Kilgraston and Dunbarney.
The de Warenne lordship of the lands of Dunbarney parish is therefore clearly attested from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Reginald de Warenne senior was not, however, the earliest Anglo-Norman proprietor of the lands, for in 1247 his widow, Orabille, confirmed to Scone Abbey the toft, croft and lands in Kintillo, adjacent to Kilgraston, which they had held of Hugh Say, her brother.\(^{166}\) Orabille was the heiress of Hugh Say and it seems likely that the lands in Dunbarney parish passed to Reginald de Warenne from Hugh in marriage with Orabille. It was no doubt in this context that Hugh "Sax" appeared as a witness to a charter by Reginald in 1215 x 25,\(^{167}\) and it is interesting to note that another contemporary member of the de Say family, Geoffrey, is recorded in association with the English Honour of Warenne.\(^{168}\) Reginald de Warenne, whose exact relationship to the English branch of the family is uncertain,\(^{169}\) may have owed part of his Scottish lands to the earlier advancement of the de Says, who were connected with the principal Warenne Honour and family. Reginald's further advance in Scotland was due to the favour of the Scottish Crown.\(^{170}\)

The origin of Hugh de Say's lordship of Dunbarney is more difficult to account for. His ancestral home was the village of Sai, about two miles south-east of Argentan (dep. Orne) in Normandy,\(^{171}\) and members of the family settled widely in England from the period of the Conquest,\(^{172}\) but the name looks a little outlandish in Scotland and the family does not seem to have settled there on a permanent basis.\(^{173}\) The de Say connection with the Honour and family of Warenne might have provided a background for the appearance of Hugh de Say in Scotland in the wake of
Reginald de Warenne but, as has been seen, the reverse seems to have been the true situation. It may be, however, that as at Moncreiffe it is necessary to look to the de Mowbray lords of Methven for the origin of the de Say holding of Dunbarney.

We have already seen that a substantial number of men from the English Honour of Mowbray are recorded in Scotland with Philip de Mowbray. Unfortunately, no such clear connection can be demonstrated between Hugh de Say and Philip. Nevertheless, there is at least one recorded instance of a de Say-Mowbray association when William, son of Herbert de Say (de Saue) witnessed a charter by Roger de Mowbray at York in March 1176. It is also notable that Nigel d'Aubigny, the twelfth century founder of the great Anglo-Norman Honour of Mowbray, acquired possession of extensive lands in the Orne valley in Normandy in or after 1107, where the de Say ancestral lands lay. As the Mowbrays held their Normandy lands until 1204 there would have been ample opportunity for members of the de Say family to move to England and perhaps Scotland in Mowbray service. One further piece of evidence which may add weight to the possibility that Hugh de Say was a Mowbray adherent is that another Mowbray follower seems to have acquired lands in Dunbarney parish. As has been suggested, Patrick de Craggin, a known adherent of Philip de Mowbray, may be equated with the Patrick who is recorded before 1247 as the brewer of Kintillo. This association of one Mowbray follower with lands in Dunbarney strengthens the case for a similar origin of the de Say estate there.
The thirteenth century evidence, therefore, suggests that Methven, Moncreiffe and Dunbarney were all within the estate which belonged to Philip de Mowbray, as also to his predecessor, Waltheof son of Cospatrick. From the fourteenth century forfeiture of the Mowbrays onwards, furthermore, the sources attest a connection between the lands of the three parishes which cannot be explained simply by their joint inclusion under de Mowbray proprietorship.

From Robert I Robert Stewart received the lands and barony of Methven forfeited by Roger Mowbray. This grant began a lengthy period when Methven was retained by the Crown and applied to the provision of members of the royal family. Robert II granted Methven to his second son, Walter, earl of Atholl, and after the Atholl forfeiture of 1437 the barony was employed in supporting the dowager Queen of Scots. From 1439 to 1528 lands which are described as lying in the lordship or barony of Methven were frequently set at feuferme. Very interestingly, these included not only Tippermallo (NO 02 24), Busby (NO 03 26), Dalcrue (NO 04 27), Lyndoch (NO 03 28), Ardittie (NO 00 29 and NO 01 28) and Cassochie (NO 00 26) in Methven parish itself, but also Easter Moncreiffe (NO 14 19), Wallaceton (NO 15 18) and Kinmonth in Moncreiffe parish, and Kilgraston, Dunbarney and Pitkeathly (NO 11 16) in Dunbarney parish. To these references can be added charters of 1407 and 1436 which describe Dunbarney as lying in the barony of Methven, another of 1385 in which Kinmonth is similarly described, and a resignation and regrant of the lands of Easter Moncreiffe performed in 1313 at the Mowbray's baronial court of Methven held at 1a
Farnyhill de Kelkerry. Together with the evidence for a connection between Methven, Dunbarney and Moncreiffe, and the survival of a communal church at Methven into the thirteenth century, these references may be sufficient to argue that at Methven we are dealing with an extended multiple lordship of pre-twelfth century origin similar to that which is better documented at Abernethy. If so, a similar process by which the component estates with their churches separated into individual parishes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries might be envisaged. Such a scenario would certainly account for the inclusion of Methven parish as a detached portion of St. Andrews diocese (deanery of Gowrie), together with the parishes of Dunbarney and Moncreiffe. Furthermore, the jurisdiction of the lord's court at Methven over the whole of the three parishes seems similar to the rights of pit and gallows exercised at Abernethy over the whole of the original multiple lordship there.

If there was a multiple lordship based on Methven then it was less physically tangible than that at Abernethy, consisting of several discrete units scattered over a relatively wide area. This should not, however, be seen as an argument against a multiple lordship of Methven as it will become apparent that associated lands and estates elsewhere in Perthshire could often be removed from each other by some distance. The balance of evidence suggests that Methven, Dunbarney and Moncreiffe were components of a complex unit similar to those at Abernethy and in Gowrie whose constituent parts with their churches became individual medieval parishes.
The parish of Tibbermore lies to the west of Perth and extends from the River Almond west and south to the broad summit of the low ridge which rises north of the River Earn. Until ca. 1614 the parish extended north of the Almond to include the church and lands of Pitcairn (now Pitcairngreen, NO 06 27). The parish also had, until 1891, two small detached areas surrounded by the parish of Perth, the larger of which was at Tullilumb.

Tibbermore parish church had evidently been established and already appropriated to the mensa of the bishops of Dunkeld by 1195 x 99. In the course of the parochial formation, Tibbermore appears to have superseded the church of St. Serf of Pitcairn which is said to have once been the principal church of the parish. Although the traditional account of the disuse of Pitcairn church - that an infant son of Lord Ruthven was drowned in the Almond on returning from his baptism at Pitcairn - is probably fictitious, both Tibbermore and Pitcairn churches are attested by their dedications to be of pre-twelfth century date (Tibbermore is Gaelic tiobar Moire, "Mary’s Well", the dedication of the Holy Well being borrowed from the neighbouring chapel), and there may well be some truth in the reported re-ordering of the churches. After Pitcairn church was restored and provided with a manse and glebe in the late fifteenth century it was described as an ecclesia parochialis, which suggests that it had a prior claim to that status over Tibbermore. It seems probable that Tibbermore was originally a dependent chapel of the mother church of Pitcairn (although the pit- place-name of Pitcairn would suggest that
it was itself in origin a dependent settlement of another town, but that during the twelfth century Tibbermore was preferred as the parish church, no doubt because the bishops of Dunkeld established a residence there. Both churches were mensal to the bishops of Dunkeld, and had probably been earlier possessions of the Celtic abbey of Dunkeld. There were episcopal lands in the vicinity of each, the bishops' lands of Tibbermore being first mentioned before 1179, while the lands of Over Pitcairn with their mill are recorded in possession of the bishops at a later date.

Another aspect of the bishops' of Dunkeld interest in Tibbermore parish may have led to the creation of its detached area at Tullilumb. In 1262 Bishop Richard granted a chapel at Tullilumb to a group of Carmelite Friars thereby founding Scotland's earliest Carmelite house. Shortly before this date the lands for the church and house of the friars must have been secured, no doubt by the bishop, from the proprietor of Tullilumb. His successor, Sir Robert de Hotot, granted the friary five acres of the arable of Tullilumb in augmentation of his predecessor's gift of the site of the friary. Sir Robert's charter is guaranteed by the common seal of the burgh of Perth and its witnesses include the alderman and several other burgesses. This suggests some connection between the lands of Tullilumb and the town of Perth. Furthermore, as has been seen, Tullilumb was included within the parish of Perth in the twelfth century. It seems that Bishop Richard, having secured a piece of land for his Carmelite foundation, had it incorporated within the parish of Tibbermore and hence within
his own diocese (Perth was in St. Andrews diocese), for the friary is
certainly described as in Dunkeld diocese in Robert de Hotot’s charter.
The friary was later to become an important residence of the Dunkeld
bishops.\textsuperscript{201}

The greatest part of the lands of Tibbermore parish did not, however,
belong to the bishops of Dunkeld. Rather, they formed an estate which
was apparently granted to an incoming landowner in the middle of the
twelfth century. Before 1179 Swain son of Thor granted a toft at
Tibbermore, described as lying between the lands of the bishop (of
Dunkeld) and the land of Gilchrist Macmal, in the south part of the
toun of Tibbermore, to the priory of Inchcolm, together with as much
land as the canons could reclaim from Swain’s wood of Tibbermore
adjacent to the toft.\textsuperscript{202} At a slightly later date in 1183 x 94, Swain
son of Thor granted Ahednepobbel (lost in Tibbermore parish), with a
toft in Tibbermore, a meadow on the south of the Lochty Burn, and
common pasture and easements of his wood, to Scone Abbey.\textsuperscript{203} This latter
grant was made for the weal of the soul of Earl Henry, son of David I,
(d. 12 June 1152), which suggests a connection between Swain and the
royal house. The personal names Thor and Swain, although probably
originally Scandinavian,\textsuperscript{204} and the connection with Earl Henry, who was
earl of Northumberland, suggest that these men were natives of Anglian
Northumberland or Lothian. Either Thor or his son were rewarded for
their services to Earl Henry with the lands of Tibbermore around the
middle of the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{205}
From Swain son of Thor, the family descent of the lords of Ruthven (NO 08 25 in Tibbermore) can be clearly traced. His son, Alan, appears to have succeeded only briefly, for it was Swain's grandson, Walter son of Alan, who confirmed his grandfather's charters to Inchcolm and Scone. Walter was the first of the family known to have used the surname de Ruthven, and was succeeded in turn by his sons Gilbert (d. 1266 x 79) and William (d. post 1298). From charters by Gilbert de Ruthven it is apparent that the family's estate included not only Ruthven and Tibbermore, but also Easter and Wester Cultmalundie (NO 04 22 and NO 03 22) in the west of Tibbermore parish. Ruthven and the Cultmalundies, and probably also Tibbermore, shared common pasture which seems to have lain on the marshy ground to the west of Wester Cultmalundie now represented by Methven Moss (ca. NO 01 23, the Moss spans the boundaries between Findogask, Methven and Tibbermore, and formed part of the larger wetland lying along the Pow Water and upper Lochy Burn) and Westmuir (NO 02 21). These lands account for the whole of Tibbermore parish, excepting the small episcopal lands. Nether Pitcairn, to the north of the Almond with the bishops' lands of Over Pitcairn, appears in later record as among lands forfeited by John, third earl of Gowrie (lineal descendant of the early lords of Ruthven) in 1600 and it is probable that they had formed part of the earlier Ruthven estate. This may be supported by the fact that a charter of Gilbert de Ruthven dating to before 1279 was witnessed by William and Robert de Pitcairn. As they appear amongst men of Strathearn, Gowrie and the Perth district, it is possible that they were tenants of Gilbert, holding Pitcairn in Tibbermore parish, rather
than members of the better known family of Pitcairns who were based in Fife. 212

The impression given by the evidence for the Ruthven estate, especially in that a common pasture was shared by its component touns, is of a single multiple estate unit which was granted intact to an incoming royal follower in the mid-twelfth century, and in which the church of Dunkeld had long-established ecclesiastical rights. This unit formed the basis of the parish of Tibbermore, although the identity of the original capital settlement is obscured by the uncertain status of the two early churches of Tibbermore and the fact that the principal secular settlement came to be at Ruthven by the thirteenth century, rather than at either of the two church sites.

The parish of Findogask lies to the west of Tibbermore, straddling the broad, low ridge between the River Earn and the Pow Water. The name Gask seems to refer to this ridge, which narrows and terminates in the neighbouring parish of Trinity Gask (Gask is gaesg, "a tail like point of land running out from a plateau"). 213 The prefixes which now differentiate Findogask and Trinity Gask are drawn from the dedications of their churches, to St. Findoca and the Holy Trinity respectively. 214 The parishes were also formerly distinguished as Nesgask 215 and Gask Comitis (Earl's Gask), the latter referring to Trinity Gask's situation in the earldom of Strathearn.
The earliest known holder of the lands of Findogask was Ness son of William, lord of Leuchars, who appears as a witness to royal charters from late in the reign of David I and survived until after 1175. His origins are obscure, since his own name suggests a native Scot but his father's makes an Anglo-Norman origin preferable. Ritchie suggests that he was the son of an early Norman lord and a native Scottish heiress, from whom he acquired his extensive lands, and although this cannot be proved it seems similar to the settlement of the Mowbrays at Methven and elsewhere by marriage. That Ness named his daughter Orable, a name popularised by the chivalric *chansons de geste*, suggests that he was familiar with Anglo-Norman courtly society, but his sons, who may have been illegitimate, were given the native names Constantine and Patrick. The question of Ness' origin must remain unresolved, but his daughter Orable married Robert de Quincy, son of Saher (I) de Quincy of Northamptonshire. The marriage was probably arranged by the king of Scots, with whom the de Quincys had family connections, and it is possible that Ness' estates were deliberately diverted to Robert de Quincy in preference to Ness' sons or to the later husbands of Orable after the death of Ness. Thereafter the estate of Gask passed to Saher de Quincy, son of Robert and Orable, who became earl of Winchester and died on Crusade in 1219, and in turn to his son, Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland, (d. 1264).

The earliest charter evidence for the Gask estate dates to 1200 x 03 when Orable granted eight acres of land in the territory of Gask to
Inchaffray Abbey. Her son, Saher, augmented or exchanged this gift in ca. 1218 by granting a further ten acres in the territory of Gask, together with pasture for ten cattle in the common pasture of Gask. A greater part of the revenues of the estate, however, were applied to the uses of the Hospital of Ss. James and John at Brackley in Northamptonshire, founded in ca. 1150 by Robert, earl of Leicester. In 1210 Saher de Quincy granted the parish church of Gask to the hospital, which gift was confirmed by Alexander II in 1215. Before 1234, Roger de Quincy granted the demesne of Gask to the hospital, with pasture for twenty four oxen, fifteen cows and one hundred sheep, four acres of meadow lying to the west of the church of St. Findoca towards the mill of Gask, and timber rights in the wood of Gask. This grant was made for the upkeep of three chaplains at the hospital but, despite efforts to secure the service, the intention was not carried out and the demesne of Gask was restored to Roger by an agreement of 1242. Roger made further grants to Brackley of the mills of Gask (ca. NN 99 17), the lands of Keir with the brewhouse (Nether Keir is at NO 01 17) and the lands of Clathybeg (NN 99 20).

The estate of Gask which belonged to Ness son of William, and then to the de Quincys appears to have occupied the whole of the parish of the same name. It comprised a demesne in the central and south-west part of the parish (now represented by Hilton of Gask and Gask House, NN 99 18, and Findogask, NO 00 20) with outlying settlements at Keir and Clathy (NN 99 20, Clathybeg is adjacent and Clathymore to the north-east at NO 01 21). The estate was well provided with woodlands.
and with common pasture, which probably lay in the north of the parish around the extensive commonty of Methven Moss (ca. NO 00 23). This location for the woods and pastures of Gask would seem to be confirmed by a charter by John Comyn dating to 1278 by which he allowed the canons of Inchaffray right of way through his lands by the public road passing across the ford of Athbethy (probably where the present road crossed the Cowgask Burn near Redhills, NN 98 22) and leading to the town of Perth. The ford is said to lie in John's wood of Rosmadirdyne (now represented by Ross farm, NN 99 22), and the road to Perth was probably on or near the line of the present minor road which crosses the parish from Blaewanders to Newmiln. Measures were taken in the charter to regulate any trespass of the abbey's beasts on John's pasture while using this route, which suggests that the pasture of Gask lay in this area.

It is not certain how John Comyn, son of Sir John Comyn of Badenoch, acquired the lands of Gask (he evidently possessed the estate in 1278 as the charter discussed above and another of the same date were granted at his court of Gaskness), but his cousin, Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, had married Isabella (alias Elizabeth or Marjory) de Quincy, daughter and co-heiress of Roger de Quincy, and may well have acquired Gask with his share of the de Quincy estates. A subsequent grant by Alexander Comyn to his kinsman would not be unusual, even though no direct evidence for it survives. There is little difficulty in accepting John Comyn's possessions in the north of the parish as components of the original Gask estate.
The estate thus reconstructed corresponds with the parish of Findogask, a well-provided, self-contained unit which may, like its church, pre-date the twelfth century in origin. It is impossible to ascertain whether the parochial establishment of the estate was effected by Ness son of William, or by his de Quincy successors, but it may be in Ness’ favour that elsewhere on his estates, at Leuchars, he was the founder of the elaborate Romanesque parish church. There is no evidence to suggest that the estate of Findogask was a component in any wider unit of lordship, as at Abernethy and Methven, before the twelfth century, although such an association is not impossible. Rather, it appears as a single, discrete estate unit, similar in form to those of several neighbouring parishes.

The parishes of Aberdalgie and Dupplin, which are situated together on the north bank of the River Earn to the south-west of Perth, were united in 1618. There was no medieval precedent for this ecclesiastical association, however, as Aberdalgie lay in the diocese of Dunkeld and was mensal to the bishopric, while Dupplin was an independent parsonage in the diocese of Dunblane. The two parishes were linked by secular lordship by the second quarter of the fourteenth century, as both were in possession of the family of Oliphant (or Olifard), but even here there is no evidence of an earlier association.

The Oliphants are known in Scotland from the reign of David I, and probably entered the service of the king as vassals of the earldom of Huntingdon. The first of the family known to have held the lands of
Dupplin, which was to become the principal seat of the Oliphant lords Oliphant, was Adam who in ca. 1225 disputed the boundaries of his lands of Dupplin with the adjacent landowner, Reginald the priest and parson (and apparently proprietor) of Aberdalgie. Although the early history and genealogy of the Oliphants is often difficult, it is probable that one branch of the family acquired the estate of Dupplin through royal service before 1225.

The Oliphant connection with Aberdalgie did not begin until after the end of the thirteenth century. Reginald the priest is an obscure figure, but in the later thirteenth century the estate belonged to the Wisharts. The Wishart lordship did not, however, survive the Wars of Independence, and Aberdalgie passed to the Oliphants, perhaps through marriage with a Wishart heiress, for Sir William Oliphant, (d. 1329) was styled lord of Aberdalgie and was buried in Aberdalgie churchyard. Both Aberdalgie and Dupplin, then, were in possession of the Oliphants by the second quarter of the fourteenth century. They were obviously held of the Crown, for in 1365 David II confirmed the lands to Walter Oliphant, to be held in free barony and free forest of the Crown, following on a resignation of the same lands to the king, together with other lands of which Walter was tenant-in-chief.

Beyond this little can be said of the early history of the estates and parishes of Aberdalgie and Dupplin. Both were relatively small and seem only to have contained single touns. There is no evidence in any of the usual sources that either estate was composed of a group of
related settlements, and each only seems to have contained the principal toun and church. At Aberdalgie, for example, parochial teinds were only collected from the toun of Aberdalgie itself, and the sum was often simply included in the teinds of Tibbermore parish in the accounts of Dunkeld cathedral, (both churches were mensal to Dunkeld). 246

The touns of Aberdalgie and Dupplin were both provided with mills, at Milltown of Aberdalgie (NO 07 21) and Mill of Muir (ca. NO 04 19) respectively. 247 For pasture, they may have shared a common grazing in the north of the united parish in the district known as Lamberkine (ca. NO 06 22 and NO 07 22). While there is no documentary evidence that this was the case, it seems probable that the difficult place-name Lamberkine may share the first element with the better known and much larger Lammermuir in East Lothian and Berwickshire, where there was extensive sheep and cattle pasture. 248 The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue suggests that the first element in Lammermuir may be an Old English lamb(e)ru or lambra, the plural or genitive plural from lam, "lamb, the young of sheep", 249 dating from the early to middle twelfth century, with obvious reference to the extensive pasturing of sheep there. The use of such an English word, perhaps in its Middle English form in place-naming in the Perth district is perfectly possible from the second half of the twelfth century onwards, given the increasing use of Middle English terms in Scotland north of Forth from that date. 250 The second element in Lamberkine is obscure, especially since no early forms of the name can be discovered. 251 Nevertheless, if we accept that Lamberkine may well have been pastureland then it is probable that the touns of Aberdalgie and Dupplin utilised it.
Single toun parishes such as Dupplin and Aberdalgie appear to have been are not common in Perthshire but, given that they were composed of adequately provisioned, self-contained settlement units, each with arable toun, kirk, mill and pasture land, there is no serious objection to their having been based on early secular units. Aberdalgie certainly can be dated to well before the twelfth century by its P-Celtic place-name (aber, "confluence", + Gaelic dealg, "thorn, pin" (cognate with Cornish delc),\textsuperscript{235} at least in its origin as a settlement. Furthermore, there is no evidence that either of the parishes owed its form to the creation of early knights’ feus, which would have been the only alternative explanation.

The small parish of Exmagirdle appears to have been a further example of a single toun estate and parish, in this case on an even smaller scale than at Aberdalgie and Dupplin.\textsuperscript{233} It lay to the west of Dron around the present Glenearn (formerly Exmagirdle) House (NO 10 16), to which parish it was united in ca. 1652,\textsuperscript{234} although separated from it by a narrow arm of Dunbarney parish until 1891.\textsuperscript{239} The parish of Exmagirdle was most probably equivalent to the portion of Dron which was a detached enclave until 1891, and therefore stretched southwards on to the north slopes of the Ochil Hills where the extensive Commonty of Forgandenny lay.\textsuperscript{236} The pasture lands of Exmagirdle were presumably part of the commonty.\textsuperscript{237}
The ancient church of Exmagirdle, dedicated to St. Grillán, can be
dated in origin to the Pictish period from its place-name which
incorporates the P-Celtic element ecrles, "church". The church had
become parochial by 1211 x 15, when it was ceded to Lindores Abbey by
Abraham, bishop of Dunblane, as part of an agreement over the church of
Muthill, reserving the benefice to the incumbent parson, Patrick, for
life. An interesting feature of the transaction involving Muthill and
Exmagirdle is that three surviving communities of Celtic clergy, at
Dunblane, Muthill and Methven, enjoyed some rights in the church of
Exmagirdle, which they quitclaimed to Lindores in return for money
payments made by Bishop Abraham. A possible explanation for this
situation is that Exmagirdle, an important church in the Pictish
period, had decayed after the restoration of the Scottish Gaelic Church
in the later ninth century with some of its revenues being diverted to
support the new ecclesiastical order. This seems more probable than
postulating an early, more direct connection between the four churches
(for example in a minster with dependent chapels structure) as it is
difficult to imagine that the churches of Dunblane and Muthill, both
important in their own right, could have been dependencies of
Exmagirdle at any period. The distance between Dunblane, Muthill and
Exmagirdle also argues against a corporate ministry, especially given
the substantial number of other early local churches which lay between
them. On balance, it seems more acceptable to envisage the revenues of
the earlier Pictish church of Exmagirdle being carved up amongst
important local Gaelic churches in or after the ninth century.
Given the early date of the establishment of a church at Exmagirdle, it is surprising that its associated district, at least in so far as represented by the later parish, was so small. Professor Barrow has suggested that churches with egles names were associated with shires, but there is no way in which the district of Exmagirdle parish could have been composed of a multiple estate of any form. The lands of Exmagirdle appear rather obliquely in thirteenth century records. Roger de Berkley, who held adjacent lands in Forgandenny, granted to Lindores Abbey the lands which had previously been debated between Forgandenny and Exmagirdle in ca. 1215 x 25. At a similar date, Reginald de Warenne, lord of lands in Forgandenny and Kilgraston on either side of Exmagirdle, quitclaimed his rights in the toun of Exmagirdle to Lindores for a money payment made by Bishop Abraham of Dunblane. Again in the same period Reginald de Warenne and Adam, his nephew, granted Lindores small areas of land lying around Exmagirdle. These grants appear to have resulted from a desire by the monks of Lindores to rationalise and define their possession of the toun and lands of Exmagirdle which they had acquired with the church from Bishop Abraham in 1211 x 14. A similar desire is reflected by the fact that the abbey commuted the traditional services of cain and conveth due from Exmagirdle for an annual payment, and secured from Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, and his successor, Robert, promises to perform the military service due to the Crown from the toun. The extent of these measures suggests that the status and rights of both the church and toun of Exmagirdle had been ill-defined before they were acquired by the abbey, and perhaps had been encroached upon by neighbouring
churches and estates before the thirteenth century. The reason why this should have been so, given the apparent stability and durability of many of the early estates within the pre-feudal settlement pattern of Perthshire, is more difficult to discover. One important clue, however, is provided by a later charter, dating 22 January 1301, by which John de Mowbray, lord of Methven, declares that his predecessors had granted by charter to the cathedral church of Dunblane the lands of Exmagirdle and, Bishop Abraham having made over the lands to Lindores Abbey, confirms the lands to Lindores free of aids and services.²⁶⁷ It is probable that by his predecessors, John meant the previous Mowbray lords of Methven who, as has been seen, acquired their lands in Perthshire by marriage around 1200. As the estate of Methven incorporated Dunbarney and Moncreiffe in a complex settlement unit, so too it may have encompassed the lands of Exmagirdle. Such a relationship would perhaps explain the rights of the Celtic church of Methven in Exmagirdle, and also the rights of Reginald de Warenne, who was otherwise involved in the multiple lordship of Methven, in the town of Exmagirdle. The only objection which can be made to this postulated relationship, apart from the negative one of lack of certain evidence, is the inclusion of Exmagirdle parish in Dunblane diocese while Methven, Dunbarney and Moncreiffe all lay in St. Andrews. The evidence which has been discussed for Abernethy, however, demonstrates that such divisions of previously associated churches between the diocese of St. Andrews and Dunblane could take place, while the brief possession of the lands of Exmagirdle by Bishop Abraham,²⁶⁸ and the rather longer period during which the Celtic church of Dunblane must have drawn
conveth from Exmagirdle, provide historical horizons when a transfer of Exmagirdle to the jurisdiction of Dunblane could have taken place.

It does seem possible, then, that Exmagirdle had once been a component of the extended lordship of Methven. Whether the argument can be taken any further to suggest that Exmagirdle, as probably the oldest church within that lordship, may have been the original ecclesiastical centre of it, must be left as a hypothetical question in the absence of better evidence. It should be noted, nevertheless, that the survival of such a small estate as Exmagirdle as a medieval parish surely suggests a more than ordinary early importance for the town and church, however much that importance had declined by ca. 1200.

The parish of Madderty was the most westerly of the Perth district, bounded on three sides by the lands of the earldom of Strathearn (see Map 20). Although the history of Madderty is largely associated with the earls of Strathearn and their abbey of Inchaffray it was not originally within the earldom but was a royal estate. In 1185 x 1190 (probably 1187 x 89), William I granted Madderty, with its rightful marches and all its pertinents, to Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, for the service of one knight. The lands were guaranteed to Earl Gilbert against any claim by the previous tenant, Gillecolm the Marischal, or his heirs, who had forfeited the lands for his part in the northern rebellions of Donald MacWilliam against the Crown. It is probable that Madderty had been a royal thanage as Earl Gilbert was to hold it with rights of sake and soke, toll, team and infangthief.
The church of Madderty, which had become parochial by ca. 1199 when Earl Gilbert granted it to the brethren of Inchaffray, can be dated by its dedication to St. Ethernan back to the Pictish period. It continued after the mid-ninth century as the ecclesiastical centre of a multiple estate unit within the jurisdiction of the Celtic abbey of Dunkeld, as is shown by the rights which the medieval bishops inherited in the church and its attached apdaíne lands. The components of the estate of Madderty can be traced through a series of charters by which Earl Gilbert granted to Inchaffray the lands of Arduinie (NN 94 19), "Achadlongsih" (now represented by Auchlone Wood, NN 92 21), Dubheads (NN 96 21) and the apdaíne of Madderty (secured from the bishop of Dunkeld and now represented by Abbey, NN 95 22); a site for a mill on the Pow Water, the lands of Ardbennie (NN 94 21) and "Baleful" (now Williamston, NN 97 22); and the lands of "Balmacgillon" (Bellyclone and Nether Bellyclone, NN 93 20, the lands must have extended north to the Pow). This effectively made over to Inchaffray the whole of the parish lands and the canons developed their principal estate there to the extent that the site of the abbey, originally in the shire of Fowlis, was transferred to Madderty parish.

The place-names of the settlements in the parish show that the estate developed to its full extent during the Gaelic period, before the twelfth century. Two of the settlement names incorporate baile, "township" ("Balmacgillon" and "Baleful"), an element which appears to represent dependent settlements of a multiple estate. In addition the name "Achadlongsih" is undoubtedly a secondary, dependent Gaelic name.
as it incorporates achadh, "field." Ardunie and Ardbennie both contain Gaelic ard, "height. The etymology of Madderty is uncertain but it may be the name of the tutelary saint with the Gaelic honorific prefix mo- (mo-Ethernan > Mathernan > Madernin, Maddiryn, etc). Professor Mackinnon dismissed this etymology, however, on the grounds that saints names are rarely, if ever, found in topography without a descriptive prefix such as kil-, tobar-, laggan- etc. It is possible, nevertheless, that if Madderty was originally Mo-Ethernan it might belong to an, admittedly rare but not unknown, group of similar names of which St Madoes, would be another example but in anglicised form. Whatever the case, Madderty itself, with its Pictish church, is the oldest surviving settlement in the parish and developed as the caput of a multiple estate during the ninth to twelfth centuries. It was this estate which gave its form to the twelfth century parish of the same name.

Madderty is a particularly valuable example as documentary evidence survives which demonstrates the settlement relationships within the estate more clearly than is often the case. As has been seen, William I granted Madderty to Earl Gilbert as a knight's feu, describing the lands simply as Maddyrnin per rectas divisas suas et cum omnibus iustis pertinenCiis. After Earl Gilbert granted the lands of Ardunie, Auchlone and Dubheads to Inchaffray in ca. 1200, the same king confirmed these lands to the Abbey on condition that the earl and his heirs would continue to perform to the Crown, for the remainder of
Madderty, the service which had been due for the whole feu, (ita tamen quod predictus Comes et heredes sui facient michi et heredibus meis de residuo de Madernin totum serviciun. quod michi debetur de toto feudo de Madernin.\textsuperscript{33} This condition, which is much more explicit than the usual saluo servicio meo,\textsuperscript{34} clearly demonstrates that the feu known as Madderty was much more than the \textit{toun} itself, but applied to the whole of the multiple estate which is suggested by the toponymic evidence. Since that can be seen to have given its form to the parish of the same name the relationship between pre-feudal multiple estates and parochial units is illustrated by good documentary evidence in the case of Madderty. By extension, this example surely strengthens the similar argument which can frequently be made for other Perthshire parishes, but on less explicit evidence.

The parish of Forteviot straddles the River Earn to the west of Aberdalgie and Dupplin and Forgandenny (see Map 21). The principal lands of the parish lie to the south of the Earn around Forteviot (NO 05 17) on the Water of May, but a substantial part of the parish lies north of the Earn around Cairnie (now represented by Wester Cairnie, NO 03 18, and Upper Cairnie, NO 03 19). The parish of Muckersie, lying on the Water of May, was annexed to Forteviot in 1640, thereby increasing the area of the principal part of the parish,\textsuperscript{35} and until 1891 Forteviot had two detached enclaves at Mailer (NO 09 20) and Whitehill (NO 08 10).\textsuperscript{36}
Map 21
Forteviot
Parish
Forteviot was an important royal centre, probably in the Pictish period and certainly by the second half of the ninth century when the new Scotian kings built an apparently elaborate palace and church there.\textsuperscript{287} There was still a royal residence at Forteviot in the twelfth century,\textsuperscript{288} and from a charter of 1314 it is known that the lands of Forteviot formed a royal thanage.\textsuperscript{289} This latter reference is especially useful, since it demonstrates that the part of Forteviot parish lying to the north of the Earn, Cairnie and "Dolcorachy" (now Bankhead, NO 04 18) were within the thanage.\textsuperscript{290} From later evidence it appears that this northern district was provided with a chapel known as Chapel of Muir,\textsuperscript{291} and although its date of foundation is unknown, it lay near the Dupplin Cross (which, despite it name, was actually in Forteviot parish at NO 051 189), a free-standing Pictish carved cross of ninth century date.\textsuperscript{292} The Chapel of Muir may well have been the chapel of Forteviot parish church recorded in 1256,\textsuperscript{293} but the two enclaves of the parish also appear to have had chapels. That at Mailer is recalled by Kirkton of Mailer (NO 09 20) and that at Whitehill by the Chapel Burn (ca. NO 07 09). Again, neither of these chapels may be closely dated but an early, pre-parochial arrangement by which the three remoter areas of Forteviot were served by dependent chapels of the mother church would have parallels elsewhere in Perthshire.

The ancient church of Forteviot had attained parochial status by 1164 when Malcolm IV granted it to his chaplain, Richard of Stirling, to be held as freely as any church of the royal demesne in Scotia.\textsuperscript{294} Some ten years later, William I granted the church, after the death of Richard,
to Cambuskenneth Abbey and shortly thereafter, supplemented the gift with four acres of arable and a toft and croft for the abbey's buildings at Forteviot.\(^{295}\) The appropriation, nevertheless, was ineffective, perhaps because the cathedral church of St. Andrews claimed ancient rights in Forteviot.\(^ {296}\) St. Andrews apparently tried to press its claim to the revenues of Forteviot in the later fifteenth century, but not until 1495 did the archbishop secure the church, and then only as a prebend of St. Salvator's College.\(^ {297}\) St. Andrews did, however, hold some lands in the parish, although it is not known how it acquired them, which suggests that there is some historical truth in the legendary association.\(^ {298}\)

The greatest part of the lands of the thanage of Forteviot remained in direct control throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and only from the beginning of the fourteenth century does it become possible to identify the component parts of the estate. Robert I, in a charter already noted, granted Cairnie and "Dolcorachy" in the thanage to Inchaffray Abbey,\(^ {299}\) while the same king granted lands in the southern part of the parish at Forteviot and Kildinny (NO 06 17) to one of his supporters.\(^ {300}\) Throughout the medieval period Forteviot was retained close to the royal family and was variously applied to Crown purposes,\(^ {301}\) passing eventually part to the Stewarts of Tiry and part to the Ruthvens.\(^ {302}\) The settlement relationships within the parish cannot be particularly closely traced but it seems reasonably clear that it was the royal thanage of Forteviot with its enclaves and chapels which lent its form to the medieval parish of the same name. One further
piece of evidence which is worth noting is that the lands of Kildinny are recorded as having pasture rights in the Common of Forgandenny, in the parish of Forteviot. This suggests that the commonty extended west as well as east beyond the bounds of Forgandenny parish, although whether the part which lay in Forteviot parish was in the main body of the parish or the upland enclave at Whitehill is uncertain. Perhaps the latter option is more likely and may help explain the relationship of the enclave to the main estate in the parish, as detached pasture lands.

The parish of Forgandenny lies to the west of Dunbarney and stretches south from the River Earn on to the Ochil Hills. The parish has twice been reduced in size by the disjunction of parts of its territory which were then annexed to the parish of Arngask. In 1632 the lands of Fordell (NO 13 12) and Blairstruie (NO 13 13) were described as being in Arngask parish but formerly in Forgandenny, and in 1642 the lands of East Fordell (NO 14 12), West Fordell (NO 13 12), "Paris", Deuglie (NO 12 10 and NO 10 11), Blair (NO 11 10), Plaines (NO 10 10), "Glendye" and "Glendye Milne" were transferred from Forgandenny to Arngask. The parish was further altered in 1891 when the farms and lands of Auchtenny (NO 06 10), Middlerigg (NO 06 08), Condie (NO 07 12) and Binzian (NO 07 14) were transferred from Forgandenny to Forteviot. The parish has been reconstructed in its medieval form on the basis of this information and is shown as such on Map 22. This reconstruction is generally confirmed by a list of the touns in Forgandenny which paid teinds to the parish church in 1505-06.
Map 22
Forandenny Parish

- River Earn
- Coventre
- Forandenny
- Kinnaird
- Dumbults
- Culterchar
- Ardargie
- Community of Forandenny
- Rossie Ochil
- Condie
- Auchengawan
- Water of May
- Auchtenny
- Stronoch
- H
- L
- H
- Plains
- O
- Oblair
- Fordell
- O
- Deuglie
- West Deuglie
- O
- Deuglie
- O
- O
- Strawearn Barn

Legend:
- River
- Village
- Community
Unfortunately, the early evidence for Forgandenny is particularly poor and allows little discussion of settlement relationships within the parish. What is known is that in the early thirteenth century Reginald de Warenne held the lands of Coventre (NO 10 18) for knight service of the Crown.\(^{308}\) In the same period Roger de Berkely held lands in the parish which bordered on Exmagirdle and which were apparently quite substantial since the household there included a steward, mair and servant.\(^{309}\) Roger de Berkely may also have held of the Crown, for he had at least one vassal in his own right.\(^{310}\) Unfortunately, it is not even possible to trace the passage of the de Warenne and de Berkely lands in Forgandenny in later records, thereby shedding some light on the earlier situation, for Forgandenny is not recorded again until 1382 when it was among lands which were confirmed to Euphemia, lady of Ross.\(^{311}\) To compound these difficulties, a third landowner is known in Forgandenny in the early thirteenth century. Before 1203 Saher de Quincy granted to Cambuskenneth Abbey the lands of Deuglie (now Abbot’s Deuglie, NO 10 11), with the boundaries by which his grandfather, Ness son of William, held them.\(^{312}\) In furtherance of this gift Saher secured for Cambuskenneth the lands and rights in Deuglie which had been granted by his grandfather to his chamberlain, Duncan son of Hamelin.\(^{313}\) Although it has been seen that Ness son of William held extensive estates including Findogask to the north-west of Deuglie, no connection can be traced between Findogask and Forgandenny.

It seems as though Forgandenny was a Crown estate which was apportioned amongst royal adherents in the twelfth and early thirteenth century,
but the settlement relationships within the parish or any multiple estate which may have underlain it cannot be demonstrated from surviving evidence. The only clue to an earlier settlement unit was the large commonty of Forgandenny which lay around Culteuchar Hill, and which may have represented the survival of a shire moor, but as the commonty extended into both Dron (Abernethy) and Forteviot parishes the value of even this evidence is unclear.

To the south-east of Forgandenny, and south of Dron, lay the parish of Arngask. Before it was enlarged by the addition of lands from Forgandenny discussed above it must have lain wholly to the east of the River Farg and was, therefore, the part of the enlarged parish which was in the county of Fife until 1891. The place-name Arngask, which means "division or height of the crossings", attests its situation on the summit ridge of the Ochils where an old route from Kinross and Western Fife climbs over the hills before descending through Glen Farg towards Perth.

The church of Arngask appears in lay patronage in 1281 when William, bishop of St. Andrews, confirmed a charter by Gilbert, lord of Fargie granting the church to Cambuskenneth Abbey. This grant was followed by the resignation of the parson of the church who had been presented to the benefice by Duncan, lord of Fargie (presumably the predecessor of Gilbert), and the institution of Cambuskenneth in the benefice by the Official of the bishop of St. Andrews. The patronage of Arngask church obviously pertained to a lordship which contained Fargie...
(NO 15 11) and presumably Arngask itself. In 1295 the mill of this lordship (molendinum de Arrvngrosk) was granted to Cambuskenneth by Henry de Freslay, lord of Fargie. The de Freslays, from Farsley in Yorkshire, were relative latecomers in the main period of Anglo-Norman settlement in Scotland. The first mention of a member of the family occurs in 1249, but not until the 1280s do references become frequent. The main lands held by the de Freslays were in Fife and they seem to have acquired Arngask in the late thirteenth century. Duncan and Gilbert may have been members of the family or were perhaps native lords to whom Henry de Freslay succeeded, possibly by marriage to an heiress. The name Duncan suggests a native rather than an Anglo-Norman lord, while Gilbert, when not accompanied by a definitive surname, can never certainly be said to be an Anglo-Norman forename rather than a latinised Gillebrigde in twelfth or thirteenth century Scotland. Whatever the exact details were, it is clear that the de Freslays were lords of Arngask towards the end of the thirteenth century. An interesting feature of Henry de Freslay's grant of the mill of Arngask to Cambuskenneth referred to above is that it details the multures to be paid by the inhabitants of the surrounding towns. Those of Arngask, Conland (NO 14 11) and Newton (NO 15 10) were to pay every sixteenth sack and those of Pitillock every twenty-fourth sack. The lord's demesne of Fargie was to pay every sixty-fourth sack unless the land was leased to a tenant who would then pay every sixteenth sack. All of these towns lay within Arngask parish, but the mill also claimed multure from the tenants of Binn (NO 17 13), Catochil (NO 17 13) and
Balvaird (NO 17 12) in the neighbouring parish of Abernethy. This claim was obviously uncertain, as no specific multure fee was laid down, and the rights were disputed in the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{323} It may be that the arrangement was a customary one, the lands in Abernethy parish being closer to the mill of Arngask than to that of Abernethy. It might also be significant that the part of Abernethy which contained Balvaird, Catochil and part of Binn lay, like Arngask, in Fife until 1891. What Henry de Freslay's charter does show, however, is one aspect of the relationship of the dependent \textit{toun} of the parish to the \textit{caput} of Arngask and to its mill which may represent an early "shire mill". The lands over which the mill had an undoubted claim to multure probably all lay within a multiple estate of Arngask or Fargie.\textsuperscript{324} Arngask and Fargie (which included Letham, NO 15 11,\textsuperscript{325} and New Fargie, NO 15 12) certainly did; the name Newton suggests a pendicle, and Conland seems to be similar. Pitillock, besides its \textit{pit}- name which suggests an early dependency, can be related to the lordship of Arngask by the fact that Adam de Pitillock appears as a witness to a charter by Henry de Freslay and was probably a vassal of Henry's estate.\textsuperscript{326} The parish of Arngask, then, seems to have been based on the compact, multiple estate which was similar to those at Findogask and Madderty.

Two parishes in the Perth district, Muckhart and Muckersie, remain to be discussed. As both contained substantial episcopal estates they can conveniently be treated together, although geographically separated by the summit ridge of the Ochil Hills. The parish of Muckhart lies on the southern slopes of the Ochils and is bounded on the south and east
by the River Devon. The parish is not recorded as such until 1256, although an earlier reference mentions the kirklands of Muckhart and Pitgober amongst others. It was an independent parsonage in the patronage of the bishops of St. Andrews throughout its history until the Reformation.

Besides the church patronage, the bishopric of St. Andrews also possessed the whole of the lands of the parish of Muckhart, which is recorded as a shire. In 1452 the lands of Mukart-schire were among those confirmed to James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews, (1440-65) by James II to be held in regality. When the temporalities of the Archbishop of St. Andrews were erected into a lay holding after the Reformation, the lands included the lordship and barony of Muckhartshire, comprehending the towns and lands of Balruddie (NO 02 01), Pitgober (NS 97 98), Blairhill (NT 00 99), Ballilesk (NO 00 01) and Castleton with Castleton Hill (NN 97 00). Between them, these lands occupied the whole of the lower part of the parish of Muckhart, with an area of hill and common moor on the Ochil slopes to the north, represented by the present Commonedge Hill (98 01).

The shire of Muckhart formed a compact multiple estate and evidently provided the form for the parish. Unfortunately, the dedication of its church is unknown and no evidence survives to date the church before the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, it is probable that the parish was established by the twelfth century bishops of St. Andrews out of a demesne estate which they had inherited from their Celtic predecessors.
Marinell Ash has demonstrated the extent to which the episcopal demesne of St. Andrews, which is first fully recorded in 1207, was composed of lands which had belonged to the Celtic abbey of Cenrigmonaid, and while there is no direct evidence concerning Muckhart, it seems that the shire was among the lands which passed from the abbey to the medieval episcopate. It was close to the lands around Lochleven which were acquired by the abbey in the tenth or eleventh century and were later known as Bishopshire, and formed a western extension to the central demesne lands of the bishops in Fife.

The parish of Muckersie seems to have been based on a similar episcopal estate to that of Muckhart, although in this case in possession of the bishops of Dunkeld, and perhaps inherited from the Celtic abbey there. The parish lay to the south of Forteviot on the Water of May, extending up the northern slopes of the Ochils. It was in the diocese of Dunkeld and its church was an independent parsonage in episcopal patronage until erected into a prebend of Dunkeld Cathedral by Bishop Thomas Lawder in 1452 x 69. The appearance of the parson of Muckersie amongst other clergy of Dunkeld diocese as a witness to a charter by Bishop Hugh (1214 - 1229 x 30) provides evidence of the connection at an earlier date.

There is little medieval source material for the lands of Muckersie parish and the situation has been slightly confused by the editor of the Dunkeld Rental who apparently failed to recognise that the church and parish of Muckersie were distinct from the lands of the same name.
in Kinclaven parish which also belonged to the Cathedral.\textsuperscript{337} It seems most probable, however, that the parish was erected by the twelfth century bishops of Dunkeld out of an estate which had been a long-established possession of their church in the Celtic period.

With Muckhart and Muckersie our examination of parochial formation in the Perth district concludes. The district provides many questions to which answers are not always apparent and much remains uncertain. Nevertheless, it is fairly clear that the pre-existing settlement pattern and its ecclesiastical provision exercised a profound influence on the formation of parishes in the twelfth century. Some dislocation did of course take place, as when the large multiple lordships of Abernethy and Methven were divided into several medieval parishes, but even here it was the already established component multiple estates with their churches which provided the basis for parochial units. The overall pattern which emerges is very similar to that which has been discovered in Gowrie.

Although not properly part of the Perth district, it seems most appropriate at this point to consider the parishes of Culross and Tulliallan which, until 1891, formed a detached part of the County of Perth on the Firth of Forth.\textsuperscript{338} The inclusion of Culross and Tulliallan in Perthshire appears to have been due to an ancient connection with the district, and perhaps the mormaership of Strathearn. Culross is certainly described in a legendary account of the life of St. Serf, its patron saint, as lying in Strathearn,\textsuperscript{339} while the earls of Strathearn
retained superiority over the lands of Tulliallan as late as the fifteenth century. 340

Culross is known to have been a shire and was in possession of the earls of Fife by 1217 when Earl Malcolm granted the whole land of the shire (totam terram schyre de Culenros) to the Cistercian Abbey which he had founded there. 341 The lands remained with the abbey and, in 1587, comprised Culross itself with Lurg and Kincardine, Sands, Kellywood and various pendicles including the "Schyrismilne". 342 The common land of the shire lay to the north and was known as Culross Muir. 343 There seems little difficulty in relating the form of this shire to the parish of the same name (see Map 23).

Tulliallan is more problematic, as it is less well documented than the neighbouring Culross. Until it was enlarged by the addition of lands from Culross, 344 it was a small parish and appears only to have contained the toun of Tulliallan itself. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Tulliallan was held by Archibald, earl of Douglas, and was subsequently granted to Sir John de Edmondstoun. 345 By the sixteenth century Tulliallan belonged to the family of Blackadder. 346 It may be that Tulliallan is comparable to the dependent estates found attached to major units in Gowrie and at Abernethy and Methven and that, like them, it became an individual parish in the twelfth century. The evidence is uncertain, however, and prevents any clear assertion from being made. It does seem, nevertheless, that the inclusion of
Tulliallan in the enclave of Perthshire on the Forth is most readily explained by an association of its lands with the adjacent shire of Culross.
APPENDIX I:

Renunciation and quitclaim by Patrick de Craggin of the lands of Moncreiffe in favour of David de Moncreiffe for payment of 40 merks sterling, made in the court and presence of the grantor's lord, Philip de Mowbray.

(Moncreiffe, 1227 x 30)

Omnibus christi fidelibus clericis et laicis ad quos presens scriptum peruererit patricius de craghin eternam in domino salutem. Sciatis me assensu et consensu heredum meorum et amicorum renunciasse omni iuri meo. si quod unquam habui uel habere me dixi in terra de munehccref cum pertinentiis suis et quietum clamasse pro me et heredibus meis. dauid de munehtcref et heredibus suis inperpetuum in curia et in presentia domini mei philipi de mubre. et in presentia magistri mathei cancellarii domini regis. et domini Johannis abbatis de Lundors. et domini Roberti de mubre. et Galfridi et ade. de dunfermel' et Cambuskinel priorum. et thome de lastalric. thome et Johannis de hai. et dauid de sancto michaele. et helie de dundas. et henrici de fortibus. et reginaldi de Varand. et michael scotici. et malcolmi de maluill militum. et Willelmi de Vaus clerici domini regis. et bridi poccanahe tunc temporis iudicis regis. et hñaldi de craghin fratris mei. et aliorum proborum hominim clericorum et laicorum. pro quadraginta marcis sterlingorum quas predictus dauid pro se et successoribus suis mihi et heredibus meis pro bono pacis. et predicte terre quieta clamatone amicabiliter
pacuit. Ego autem presentibus uiris prenominatis. pro me et heredibus meis in manum iohannis abbatis de Lundors. ne contra hanc pacis formam aliquo ingenio contrauenire. fideliter affidaui. In huius uero renunciatonis. et quiete clamationis testimonium et confirmationem. presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus. magistro matheo cancellario domini regis. domino meo philippo de mubrei in cuius curia et presentia fuit. hñaldo de craghin fratre meo. cum ceteris prefatis uiris. et multis aliis qui ad diem pacis in cimiterio ecclesie de munehccref presentes fuerunt.

Source: Original charter, SRO GD 45/27/96; Earl of Dalhousie Muniments. This charter is included by permission of the Earl of Dalhousie.

Note: A version of this charter has been published, from a late transcript; Moncreiffes, ii, 632-33, no. 2, but it contains a number of errors, particularly in the form of personal names.
Notes to Chapter 6:

1 i.e. Aberdalgie, Abernethy, Arngask, Dunbarney or Pottie, Dupplin, Exmagirdle, Findogask, Forgandenny, Forteviot, Madderty, Methven, Moncreiffe, Muckersie, Muckhart, Perth, Rhynd and Tibbermore. Cullross and Tulliallan will also be discussed in this chapter.

2 Fortrenn (Irish genitive of Fortriu) was the Gaelic name for the province of the Pictish Verturiones; Anderson, M. O., Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland, (Edinburgh and London, 1973), 80, 139-41.

3 CPNS 227-8

4 See below, p. 274 and notes. 338, 339.

5 Strawearn is simply an aspirated pronunciation of Strathearn.

6 The dioceses and deaneries are as given in Cowan, Medieval Parishes; the dates for the establishment of deaneries are from Watt, Fasti.

7 RRS ii, no. 152; see below p. 218

8 Keppie, L., Scotland's Roman Remains (Edinburgh, 1986), 158.

9 The bridge of Perth was destroyed by a flood in 1210; Fittis, R.S., Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, (Edinburgh and Perth, 1885), 20, on the evidence of the Scotichronicon.


11 Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 463-4

12 Dunf. Reg. no. 1

13 ESC no. 248

14 Spearman, op. cit. 50-51; RRS ii, nos. 233, 278 and p. 304

15 Spearman, op. cit. 52; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 467-69.

16 ESC nos. 48, 61, 134; itineraries based on the place-dates of royal charters.

17 RRS i, 27, 114-15; ii, 5, 81, 96-105

18 It too was destroyed in the flood of 1210; see note 9 above.

19 RRS ii, 17

20 Muir, R.,"The Development of Sheriffdoms" in Historical Atlas, 30

21 Nicolaisen, Scottish Place-Names, 164

22 Alcock, L., "Forteviot: A Pictish and Scottish Royal Church and Palace", in Pearce, S.M. (ed), The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland, (BAR British Series102, 1982), 211-40. Rathinueramon "the fort at the mouth of the (River) Almond", was possibly on the site of the Roman fort of Bertha (NO 09 26).

23 Spearman, op. cit. 48

24 Dunf. Reg. no. 1

25 Shennan, Boundaries, 247-48; that the parish of Perth formerly extended as far north as the Almond is also shown by a charter of Malcolm IV granting to St. John's church the teind of Tay fishings between "Balmackennedi" (now lost) and "Inueramun" (now represented by the Inveralmond Industrial Estate, NO 09 26), RRS i, no. 182.
26 Fittis, *op. cit.* 298-317
27 Cowan, I.B., "The Emergence of the Urban Parish" in Lynch *et al., op. cit.* 82.
28 i.e. Dunf. Reg. no. 1
29 *RRS i*, no. 157
30 It has been suggested (*RRS i*, no. 157, rubric) that Baleblarim is Balm Blair (NO 07 28), but that lies to the north of the River Almond and is not known to have ever been in Perth parish. A literal translation of Baleblarim, Gaelic *baile blár*, would be Muirton.
31 See below p. 212.
32 See Chapter 5, p. 132, above.
34 Duncan, *Making of the Kingdom*, 467. An eleventh century date for a chapel with teinds is improbably early in the light of the discussion of teinds in Chapter 2 above.
35 *RRS i*, no. 50
36 Dunf. Reg. no. 90
37 ACD Non-Scriptural, 336-44
38 Dunf. Reg. no. 90
39 Ibid. no. 40
40 Ibid. nos. 106, 110, 142, 239
41 An Uvioth, possibly William, was sheriff of Perth in the 1160s; *RRS i*, no. 243. The Uvioths (later Eviots) of Balhousie and Megginch have been discussed in Chapter 5 above.
42 Perth Blackfriars, nos. 1, 2, 5
43 See Chapter 2, p. 29, above.
44 CPNS 463, 495
45 OSA xi, 539
46 May Recs. no. 1
47 That some Reading monks did come to Rhynd is evident from charters addressed to them, but a permanent house was never established. The monks removed to the Isle of May, another Reading property, around 1160; cf. Duncan, "Isle of May", 53-58; *MRHS* 59-61.
48 May Recs. no. 8
49 Duncan, "Isle of May", 58; cf. p. 210, above.
50 May Recs. no. 7
51 See Chapter 2, p. 26, above.
52 Holtzmann, W., *Papsturkunden in England iii*; Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Gottingen, Philologische - Historische Klasse, Dritte Foige 33, (Gottingen, 1952), no. 126, dating between the consecration of Pope Adrian IV and the death of Abbot Reginald, to whom the charter is addressed. Reginald's death is given as 3 non Februarii, 1158 (i.e. 3 February, 1159), by Dugdale; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new ed. iv, (London, 1846), 31.
53 May Recs. no. 38
54 Ibid. no. 39
55 Ibid. no. 41
56 *RRS ii*, 37 and no. 498
57 MRHS 146; Pitmiddle Village and Elcho Nunnery (Perthshire Society of Natural Science, Archaeological and Historical Section, 1988), 50
58 Laing, A., Lindores Abbey and its burgh of Newburgh (Edinburgh, 1876), 198, 203-3; Butler, D., The Ancient Church and Parish of Abernethy, (Edinburgh and London, 1897), 236; NSA ix, 56; NSA x, 839
59 Shennan, Boundaries, 256
60 Ibid. 199
61 Anderson, Kings and Kingship, 92-93
62 Ibid. 247; for the place-names see CPNS 370, 462-63, 477-78, 498; for Athan = Macduff's Cross (?), see Butler op.cit. 243-44.
63 i.e. Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS Latin 4126, printed and edited in Anderson, Kings and Kingship, 93-94; Lind. Cart. nos. 51, 54; MRHS 46, 89
64 See Chapter 3, p. 74, above.
65 ESC no. 14; Anderson, Kings and Kingship, 93-4; Lind. Cart. nos. 51, 54; MRHS, 46, 89
66 Ibid. 46
68 RRS ii, no. 152; for the name ofOrm's daughter see St.A. Lib. xxxviii, no. 44.
69 Scots Peerage vii, 396
70 RRS ii, no. 152, rubric
72 Scots Peerage, iv, 4-5
73 RRS i, no. 181
74 St.A. Lib. xxi; the formula used is Hugo, filius. Hugonis, filli Gillemichel comitis de Fif; cf. ibid. 216
75 Ibid., 130-32
76 RRS ii, no. 14
77 Nisbet, A., A System of Heraldry, (Edinburgh, 1722-42), i, 276
78 Ibid. 281-82; Scots Peerage vii, 416
79 I am grateful to Professor Barrow for notes on the heraldic links between the Abernethy and Fife families.
80 See Chapter 2, p. 55, above.
81 Balm. Lib. nos. 2, 3; cf. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 104-5
82 RRS ii, no. 573; Balm. Lib. no. 3; cf. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 104 and note 85
83 Balm. Lib. nos. 1, 4, 5, 6; cf. MRHS 72-73
84 Balm. Lib. no. 1; cf. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 104-5 and note 85
85 Balm. Lib. no. 4
86 Ibid. no. 7; cf. no. 1
87 RRS ii, no. 339
88 Arb. Lib. i, no. 35. The witness lists to King William's and Laurence de Abernethy's charters are very similar, suggesting that they were issued on the same occasion.
89 Blair, Minsters and Parish Churches, 1-2; Cowan, "Parochial System", 44-47
90 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, , 41
91 St.A. Lib. 268, dating ante 1245
92 Scots Peerage vii. 268-73; cf. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 67
93 Arb. Lib. i, nos. 34, 35
94 Lind. Cart., pp. xl-xl1 and nos. 62-64
95 This seems to be another example of the principal town of a parish being superseded by an original dependency where a medieval abbey was founded, as at Balmerino/Coutra.
96 RRS ii, no. 257
97 Lind. Cart. no. 2; cf. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 1. The site of the abbey was actually about 1½ miles north-west of the parish church of Abdie (NO 24 18 and NO 25 16 respectively).
98 Arb. Lib. ii, nos. 331, 417, 689
99 Ibid. no. 211; nos. 212 213, the confirmations by bishops Jonathan and Abraham follow Bishop Simon's charter verbatim.
100 Ibid. nos. 211-13
101 Ibid. no. 147; cf. no 157 and Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 51. Cowan wrongly dates the grant of Abernethy and its chapels to Arbroath, which he assigns solely to Laurence son of Orm, to 1175, some fifteen to twenty-two years too early (cf. ibid., 3).
102 Arb. Lib. ii, nos. 331, 417, 689
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105 Ibid. no. 211; nos. 212 213, the confirmations by bishops Jonathan and Abraham follow Bishop Simon’s charter verbatim.
106 Ibid. nos. 214-15; for "Pethwngus" > Pitmunzies, now Pitmenzies, see Retours, Fife, 893, 946, 1412
107 John Stewart, earl of Angus (d. 1331) married Margaret, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir Alexander de Abernethy, by which marriage the lordship of Abernethy passed to the earls of Angus. Their son, Thomas Stewart, died in 1361 and was succeeded by his daughter, Margaret. She became countess of Angus and Mar and was mother to the son of her brother-in-law, William, earl of Douglas. This son, George Douglas, was resigned the earldom of Angus by his mother, along with the lordships of Abernethy and Boncle. His descendants were the Douglas earls of Angus. Scots Peerage i, 169-71, 172-74 & ff.
108 Ibid. vii, 398
109 SRO GD 90/1/18
110 Fraser, Douglas iii, no. 42
111 Ibid. no. 407
112 Ibid. no. 74
113 Ibid. no. 65
114 Ibid. no. 340; SRO GD 90/1/30
115 Swinton, G.S.C., "Six Early Charters", (SHR ii, 1905), 174-75, no. 3; RRS ii, no. 484
116 Swinton, op.cit. 175; See Anderson, Oliphantes vi-vii, for the two Walter Olifards in royal service.
117 RRS ii, 442-43, no. 484, rubric and comment
118 Fraser, Douglas iii, no. 281
119 cf. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 39; Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 51
120 Ibid. 51
121 Lind. Cart. nos. 114, 125
122 RRS ii, 49-51
123 Ibid. no. 152
124 Shennan, Boundaries, 207, 212
125 Inchaff. Chr. no. 32
126 Lind. Cart. no. 48
127 Dunf. Reg. 209; St.A. Lib. 34; Arb. Lib. i, 238; see Chapter 2 for a discussion of these tax rolls.
128 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 24
129 Ibid. 25, 185-86; Scots Peerage iii, 244-45
130 Lind. Cart. no. 133
131 CDs ii, no. 1592
132 Moncreiff. ii, 642-43, no. 10
133 Barrow, G.W.S., Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland, 3rd edition (Edinburgh, 1988), 281, 310. Roger in fact died shortly before the Scone parliament but his corpse was presented in order that the forfeiture could be correctly pronounced.
134 RMS i, app. ii, no. 222
135 Moncreiff. ii, 631-32, no. 1
136 RRS vi, no. 423; confirmation by David II dating to 1369, of a charter by Gilbert de Ruthven of 1266 x 79, which was witnessed by William de Mowbray, then rector of the church of Methven. It is worth noting that the principal charter witness was Sir Geoffrey de Mowbray.
137 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 147
139 Moncreiff. ii, 631-32, no. 1, dating to ca. 1208
140 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 25 and note 10
141 For an earlier member of the Coleville family, Thomas de Coleville, who received a knight's fee in Yorkshire from Roger de Mowbray in ca. 1154 x 57, see Greenway, Mowbray Charters, no. 356. See ibid. no. 377 for Howthorpe in Hovingham parish, North Yorkshire, in possession of the Mowbrays; cf. ibid. nos. 34, 74.
142 APS i, 92
143 Dundas is at NT 11 76 in Dalmeny parish; cf. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 25, note 119
144 APS i, 92
145 SRO GD 45/27/96; see Appendix I below
146 NLS Society of Antiquaries Collection, Cartae Variae p. 326
147 Moncreiff. ii, 632-33, no. 2
148 See Appendix I below for the correct version of the charter. The first occurrence of the grantor's name is poorly written if it is meant to be craghin, but it is not the Nagtun of the printed
version nor the gaghin of the SRO inventory entry. The first (two) letter(s) is unlike other 'g' forms in the charter and is certainly not an 'n' but may be 'cr'. One of the attendants at Philip de Mowbray’s court is given in the printed version as "Bernaldi de Grahm", but the correct reading is hñaldi de craghin, possibly for Hunald or Halenald de Craghin, brother of the grantor. This name is even more clear in the witness list as hñaldo de craghin. The family surname was therefore craghin (Craggin) rather than Nagtun or Gaghin.

149 The form is Dauid de munehtcref, the surname also appearing as the place-name in terra de munehtcref, (or possibly munehtcraf) and cimiterio ecclesie de munehcraef. The original charter has some slight damage caused by folding, but nothing to justify the extent of the misreadings in the transcript.

150 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 25, note 120

151 The origins of David de Moncreiffe are not precisely known but it is likely that he came to Scotland in the service of Philip de Mowbray; cf. ibid. 25-6 and note 120.

152 Moncreiffs ii, 633-34, no. 3. The charter dates ante 1247 and contains the earliest known reference to the Bridge of Earn (NO 13 18) which would have linked Dunbarney and Moncreiffe on the road to Perth. Patrick, brewer of Kintillo, may be the same man as Patrick de Craggin.

153 Ibid. 635, no. 4

154 Ibid. 635-36, no. 5; cf. ibid. 636-37, no. 6, for a royal confirmation by Alexander III dating 20 October 1251; cf. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 131-32.

155 Moncreiffs ii, 642-43, no. 10

156 See Chapter 4, p. 109, above

157 Now annexed to Dron; Shennan, Boundaries, 243-44.

158 Lind. Cart. no. 43

159 Ibid, nos. 70, 72; see pp. 44-45 below

160 Douglas, W. "Culross Abbey and its Charters" (PSAS 60, 1925-26), 71-2

161 Ibid. 72

162 e.g. Lind. Cart. no. 71, for Adam, nephew of Reginald de Warenne.

163 Moncreiffs ii, 640-42, no. 9; cf. PSAS 60, 71-72

164 Fraser, Douglas iii, no. 281

165 Witness to Lind. Cart. no. 72

166 Scone Lib. no. 87

167 Lind. Cart. no. 72


169 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 197

170 Fraser, Douglas iii, no. 281, makes it clear that Reginald’s lands in Forgangenny were held direct of the Crown.


172 Burke’s Peerage, 2381-82; Complete Peerage xi, 464 ff; Early Yorkshire Charters iii, Farrer, W. (ed.), (Edinburgh, 1916), no. 1421 and notes pp. 126-27; no. 1492
The derivation of the family and place-name of Seton in East Lothian from the de Says, temp. David I (Chalmers, G., Caledonia, new ed. ii, (Paisley, 1887), 517; i.e.: (de) Say - Say's toun - Seton), is rightly treated with scepticism by Lawrie (ESC, 424) and Boyle (Scota Peerage viii, 559). Say or Sai does not appear in Black's Surnames of Scotland.

Greenway, Mowbray Charters, no. 126

Moncreiff's ii, 633-34, no. 3; see above note 158

RMS i, app. ii, no. 222

Groom, F.H., Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1886), v, 30

RMS ii, nos. 1121, 1387, 3510, 3800, 3863; ii, no. 592

RMS ii, nos. 1553, 1554; iii, no. 420

RMS ii, nos. 910, 1776, 2553, 2756; iii, nos. 4, 355; cf. ii, nos. 202, 324, 425, 1231, 1963, 2119, 3283 for unidentified lands described as in the barony or lordship of Methven.

NLS Ch. 12595; SRO GD 86/11

Moncreiff's ii, 643-44, no. 11

Ibid. 642-43, no. 10; the hill cannot now be identified but may have been near Lawmuir, NO 02 23, in Methven parish.

RRS ii, no. 152; cf. above p. 218. It is also worth noting that tradition recalls a thanage of Methven; OSA xi, 449.

See, for example, the discussion of Fowlis Wester and Crieff in Chapter 7 below.

With regard to the multiple lordship of Methven see also what is said about Exmagirdle, pp. 254-58, below.

FES iv, 241; SRO CH 2/299/35, P. 240

Shennan, Boundaries, 247-48

C.A. Chrs. i, nos. 6-8; Inchafl Chrs. no. 7

Dunk. Rent. 313

Ibid. 313

CPNS 504; Dunk. Rent. 313

Dunk. Rent. 313; NLS Adv. Ms. 29.4.2 (vii), fos. 157-58

cf. Dunk. Rent. 313; Myln, Vitae, 11 for the death of Bishop Gregory at Tibbermore in 1249. Tibbermore was an important administrative centre for the medieval bishopric; Dunk. Rent. xiv, 4-59 passim.

Inchcolm Chrs. no. 37

Dunk. Rent. 19, 48-51, 343; RMS viii, no. 2242; Retours, Perth no. 797.

MRHS 138

Maitland Thomson Photographic Negatives, Edinburgh University Library, no. 1, dating ante 1329

See above pp. 244-45

Dunk. Rent. 201, 216, 221, 224, 234-35

The grant was confirmed by one of Swain's descendants, William de Ruthven of that Ilk, in 1362; Inchcolm Chrs. no. 37. Swain's charter has not survived but the toft at Tibbermore was confirmed to the Priory in a Papal Bull of 6 March 1178/79; ibid. no. 2; cf. pp. xx-xxi.

Scone Lib. no. 21; cf. RRS ii, no. 331
cf. Scots Peerage iv, 254; Cowan, S., The Ruthven Family Papers, (London, 1912), 12; for the suggestion that Thor was of Scandinavian origin.

Thor witnessed a charter by David I at Perth in ca. 1130; ESC no. 87.

Inchcolm Chrs. no. 37; Scone Lib. nos. 78, 125. The charter by Walter son of Alan confirmed in no. 125 dates ca. 1214 x 23.

Inchaff. Liber. no. 28; Lind. Cart. nos. 26, 28

Scots Peerage iv, 255-56

SRO GD 212, Box 1, no. 6, pp. 14, 15, 19-22; RRS vi, nos. 422-23

Ibid.

RMS vi, no. 1880

William and Robert de Pitcairn do not appear in the History of the Fife Pitcairns, Pitcairn, C., (Edinburgh and London, 1905). The first known of that family is the John de Pitcairn who received Innernethy from Sir Hugh de Abernethy in ca. 1250; Ibid. 9; SRO GD 90/1/18. The main Pitcairn family lands lay in Fife.

CPNS 500

See Chapter 3, p. 80, above.


Ibid. 284

Ibid. 285

Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 23 and note 99

See SHR 35 (1956), 152; (review of Ritchie, Normans, by A. Duncan).

Ritchie, Normans, 285-86; Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 22

Saher (I) de Quincy married Maud de Senlis, stepdaughter of David I of Scotland; Ibid. 22. Orable is explicitly called Ness' heiress; St.A. Lib. 254, 290, in preference to her brothers; Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 23 and note 99, and her estates were retained by Robert de Quincy and his heirs even after Robert and Orable had divorced; Ritchie, Normans, 285-86

Papal confirmation of the grant occurs in 1203; Inchaff. Chrs. no. 21.

Ibid. nos. 38, 42. The grant was made in exchange for seven acres which the canons claimed from Saher, but it is not clear whether those seven acres are to be equated with the eight acres granted by Orable.


Inchaff. Chrs. app. nos. 4a, 4b

Simpson, op.cit., no. 1

Ibid. nos. 2, 3

Ibid. Calendar of lost acts

cf. Innergask, which lies to the north at NO 00 21. It is a curious name since no stream or confluence is nearby.
The place-name Muirend, NN 99 21, may be significant in this context.

Inchaff. Chrs. no. 108

Ibid. 291, where Ross Farm is said to be "then as now part of the lands of Gasknes" (Findogask).

Ibid. no. 109

Scots Peerage ii, 254-55; Inchaff. Chrs. 129

Ritchie, Normans 285 and note 2; cf. Crudens, Scottish Medieval Churches, 126-35 for architectural dating of Leuchars church contemporary with Ness’ lordship there.

FES iv, 193

Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 2

Ibid. 55

Anderson, Oliphants, i-ii; Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 289; Anglo-Norman Era, 98

Scots Peerage vi, 534

CDS ii, no. 1970

Scots Peerage vi, 534

Anderson, Oliphants, xx1; Scots Peerage vi, 534

RFS vi, no. 341; note the phrase inter ceteras terras quas de nobis tenuit in capite used by the king of Walter’s lands; cf. ibid. nos. 337-40, 342-43 for a series of similar charters confirming resignation and regrants made by Walter Oliphant, possibly on the occasion of his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert I.

e.g. Dunk. Rent. 194-95, 200, 207, 214, 220, 223

For Mill of Muir in Dupplin parish see SRO CH 2/299/35, pp. 254-5, 273.

Shead, N.F., "The Abbey of Kelso in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", in Historical Atlas 44; Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 261

The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, iii, (Chicago and London. 1959), 523

See Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 199-203.

It is not likely to be kyne, kine, etc., "cattle" which appears in Scotland only at a much later date than the twelfth century (DOST iii, 486), and which in any case would make little sense as a noun qualifying the genitive plural of lam.

CPNS 463

Exmagirdle was the smallest parish in medieval Perthshire.

FES iv, 203; NSA x, 864

Shennan, Boundaries, 243-44

cf. p. 266 and 269, below

CPNS 515 says that the common of Exmagirdle was known as "Cuthkin" i.e. coitcheann, but a closer reading of the source cited shows that the "Cuthkin" in question is the Muir of Orchill, discussed in connection with Muthill in Chapter 7 below.

Barrow, "Childhood of Scottish Christianity, 6 et passim

Lind. Cart. nos. 42, 45

Ibid. 46-48

Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 63-64

Lind. Cart. no. 68

Ibid. no. 70
Ibid. nos. 71-2
Ibid. no. 42
Ibid. nos. 42-44. The quitclaims by the Celtic communities of ecclesiastical revenues mentioned above fall into this pattern.
Ibid. no. 133, dated at Methven on St. Vincent’s Day (22 January), AD 1300, (i.e. 1301)
This could only have lasted between the Mowbray grant to Dunblane and Bishop Abraham’s grant to Lindores, i.e. ca. 1200 x 14.
RRS ii, no. 257 and pp. 292-93
RRS ii, 49-51
Inchaff. Chrs. no. 4; cf. nos. 9, 14 for confirmations to the Augustinian canons of Inchaffray in 1200.
CPNS 321; Anderson, RS i, 180
Inchaff. Chrs. nos. 7, 32, 36, 48, 50
Ibid. no 11; cf. nos. 7, 12
Ibid. no. 19
Ibid. no. 24
Ibid. no. 33; cf. no. 19
It is now included in Madderty; cf. OSA xi, 418-19, 422
Nicolaisen, Scottish Place-Names, 141
Inchaff. Chrs. no. 11
RRS ii, no. 258
Inchaff. Chrs. no. 11
Ibid. no. 20
See, for example, William I’s second confirmation of lands in Madderty to Inchaffray; Ibid. no. 24
See Chapter 4, p. 104, above
Shennan, Boundaries, 244-45
Alcock, op.cit. 229
Ibid. 216; RRS i, no. 256; ii, no. 17
RRS v, no. 39
Ibid. cf. Inchaff. Chrs. 321-22
Ibid. 171, app. no. 11, 321-22
St.A. Lib. 34; Dunf. Req. 208; Arb. Lib. i, 238
RRS i, no. 257
RRS ii, nos. 161, 208
Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 69; Alcock, op.cit. 216; the foundation legend of Forteviot claims a connection between St. Andrews and Forteviot.
Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 69
NLS Adv. Ms. 15.1.18; Retours, Perth, No. 854
RRS v, NO. 39
RMS i, app. ii, nos. 464, 482. The first reference, together with RMS i, no. 395, shows that Kildinny was originally Kindony or Kyndenvy, a name involving Gaelic ceann, "head", rather than the historically more significant cill, "church".
e.g. RMS i, no. 730; iii no. 570
RMS iii, nos. 1253, 1553; Retours, Perth, no. 854
Ibid. no. 854
SRO TE 8/3, pp. 291 and ff.
PES iv, 209
Shennan, *Boundaries*, 204, 244

Dunk. *Rent.*, 195

Fraser, *Douglas* iii, no. 281

Lind. *Cart.*, nos. 68, 69

Ibid. no. 69

*RMS* i, no. 742

Camb. *Reg.*, no. 71; cf. no. 72, a royal confirmation by William I dating 1196 x 1203

Ibid. no. 73; cf. *St. A. Lib.*, 287-88, 290-91

Adams, *Commonties*, 190


*CPNS* 485-86

Camb. *Reg.*, no. 1

Ibid. no. 2

Ibid. no. 3

Ibid. no. 5

Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, 180

Camb. *Reg.*, no. 2

Ibid. nos. 9, 10

Henry de Freslay also styles himself lord of Arngask and Fargy; Ibid. no. 7

Ibid. no. 9

Ibid. no. 7


Cowan, *Medieval Parishes*, 153

*RMS* ii, no. 1444, confirmation by James III dated 9 July 1480

*RMS* v, no. 2273. The castle of Muckhart was a residence of the bishops of St. Andrews, built by Bishop William de Lamberton in the 1320s; *Chron Bower* i, 362; *Ordnance Gazetteer* v, 80.

Adams, *Commonties*, 197

Migne, op. cit. no. 175

Ash, M., "The Diocese of St. Andrews under its 'Norman' Bishops", (SHR 55, 1976), 105-26, exp. 108-15

Ibid. 110; cf. Ash in *Historical Atlas*, 40-41 and 153, map 45

Myln, *Vitae*, 24; cf. Dunk. *Rent.*, 337, 35; *RMS* ii, no. 1056

Holy. *Lib.*, 53, no. 66

Dunk. *Rent.*, 394 (index entry); see Chapter 8, p. 379, below.

Shennan, *Boundaries*, 45, 251-54

*CPNS* 227-8; Anderson, *ES* i, 127; the reference is from the Book of Lecan, a fourteenth century Irish compilation, and describes Culross as in the *Commissary of Strathearn*. *Commissary* appears to mean "hostage lands" (Anderson, *ES* i, 188) and may imply a dependent territory of the heartland of Strathearn.

SRO GD 15/333

*RRS* v, no. 141; *PSAS* 60, (1925-6), 69-71

Ibid. 78

Beveridge, D., *Culross and Tulliallan*, (Edinburgh and London, 1885), i, 27; ii, 361

Ibid. i, 257-60; *OSA*, xi, 98

SRO GD 15/332, 333, 334, 335

*OSA*, xi, 626; Beveridge, op. cit., 91
Chapter 7

The Parish Units (3) : Strathearn
By the twelfth century the largest single territorial unit within the old Pictish province of Fortrenn was the earldom of Strathearn, which almost certainly was the successor of a pre-twelfth century mormaership. It lay along the River Earn from the east end of Loch Earn to Innerdunning (NO 02 17), but it also stretched beyond the river strath westwards to include the whole of Loch Earn side (Comrie parish) and, indeed Strath Larig and Loch Voil side (Balquhidder Parish). Southwards from the Earn the earldom extended into and across the Ochils incorporating much of Strathallan, Glendevon and Fossaway. To the north it included parts of Glen Almond and, at one point, reached as far as upper Strathbraan.

The family of earls of Strathearn emerge into historical record with Malise (I), who was probably the Mallus comes who witnessed Alexander I's foundation of the Augustinian priory of Scone in ca. 1120. He is certainly recorded shortly thereafter, but nothing is known of his parentage and little of his personal biography. Earl Malise survived until after 14 June 1141. No direct documentary evidence pertaining to the situation within the earldom of Strathearn survives from the time of Earl Malise or of his successor, Earl Ferteth (x 1160-1171). This is particularly unfortunate, as it must have been during their lifetimes (especially Ferteth's) that the ecclesiastical reorganisation of the earldom, with the reconstitution of the bishopric of Dunblane and the formation of local parishes, would have taken place. Nevertheless, from the time of Earl Gilbert, son of Ferteth, (1171-1223) on there is a sizeable documentary record concerning the
lands and churches within the earldom, largely resulting from Earl Gilbert's conversion of the old eremitical house of Celtic clerics at Inchaffray (NN 95 22) into a priory of Augustinian canons in 1200, and his and other subsequent grants to the priory.

Earl Gilbert was succeeded by his son, Robert (1223-1237 x 44), and then son succeeded father for four generations of earls all of whom were called Malise. The last of these, Earl Malise (V) was forfeited by David II in 1344, thus bringing the native line of the earldom to an end. Thereafter, the earldom passed briefly to Maurice Murray, and then to Robert Stewart (1357-71), (later King Robert II) and his son, David Stewart (1371-89). The earldom reverted to the Crown in 1437.

There were eighteen parishes in the earldom of Strathearn, all but one (Crieff) being in the diocese of Dunblane: Aberuthven, Balquhidder, Comrie, Crieff, Dunblane, Dunning, Fossoway, Fowlis Wester, Glendevon, Kilbryde, Kinkell, Monzie, Monzievaird, Muthill, Strogeith, Strowan, Trinity Gask and Tullicheddill. All of these parishes are discussed in this chapter, as are Auchterarder and Logie, although neither of these were in the earldom of Strathearn. Auchterarder was apparently a royal thanage, although surrounded by lands of the earldom, while the parish contained some lands which belonged to the earls of Strathearn. Logie, on the southern border of the earldom, belonged to the earls of Fife in the twelfth century and had no particular association with Strathearn. It is most convenient, however, to include it in the present discussion because of its geographical situation and comparability with the southern Strathearn parishes.
In 1194 x 98, Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, made a grant in frank marriage with his daughter, Maud, to Malcolm, son of Duncan, earl of Fife, of the lands of Glendevon, Carnbo, Aldie, Fossoway, Dalkeith and Pitfar. This estate represents the south-eastern extension of the earldom of Strathearn beyond the watershed of the Ochil Hills. Professor Barrow has remarked that, since all the places named in the grant lie in the parishes of Glendevon and Fossoway, "we may reasonably conclude that this estate has determined the boundaries of the later parishes". Whether or not the parishes were established at a later date than Earl Gilbert's grant cannot be determined with certainty, but they are unlikely to have been much so and may, in fact, pre-date the charter. Nevertheless, it is worth considering the relationship between the estate and the parishes in greater detail.

The original form of Fossoway parish can be reconstructed (see Map 3) and it can be demonstrated that the territories of Carnbo, Aldie, Fossoway, Dalkeith and Pitfar all lay within the parish. This correspondence between the estate and the form of the parish can be demonstrated further by the later history of the lands. Since Earl Gilbert's grant of 1194 x 98 was made in frank marriage the lands reverted to the earldom of Strathearn after Earl Malcolm of Fife died without heirs in 1230. The estate was subsequently broken up and passed to separate tenants. The principal lands of Fossoway were apparently granted to the Hays of Errol, for in 1294 Fossoway was amongst the estates confirmed to Sir Nicholas de Hay in free warren by King John. The estate carried with it the patronage of the parish
church, for in 1305 x 08 it was granted to Coupar Angus Abbey by Gilbert de Hay and confirmed by Malise, earl of Strathearn. 17 This was followed by an episcopal confirmation and later grant in usus proprios to the abbey by Bishops Nicholas and Maurice of Dunblane respectively. 18 The Hays of Errol continued to hold Fossoway until at least the seventeenth century, 19 and while details of the estate are scarce it included at least the Kirkton and Thornton of Fossoway. 20 It is probable that the whole estate of Fossoway was that part of the northern division of the parish which remained in Perthshire after the seventeenth century annexation of Carnbo to Kinross-shire. 21 The New Statistical Account certainly states that the north part of the parish comprised the baronies of Fossoway and Carnbo, while the Perth Rental of 1650 lists the lands of Wester, Middle and "Thornestowne" of Fossoway with the Common of Fossoway. 22 The estate of Fossoway, then, seems to have lain between the River Devon and the South Queich, with the arable settlements on the better quality land at Kirkton, Middleton, Thornton and Easter Fossoway below ca. 200m, and grazings on the higher lands to the north-west. 23

Lying adjacent to Fossoway on the east of the South Queich were the lands of Carnbo. Part of this estate passed to the family of Meckphen before ca. 1370, when Roger de Meckphen granted his whole lands of Carnbo to the abbey of Inchaffray. 24 In ca. 1609 the abbey was entitled to an annual rent of 10 shillings from the lands of Carnbo. 25 Another part of Carnbo came to be known as Carnbo-Stewart from its possession by the Stewarts of Grandtully. In 1419, Christiana de Mure granted
Alexander Stewart, son of Sir John Stewart, lord of Lorne and first Stewart of Grandtully, her lands of Carnbo in the earldom of Strathearn. The lands were held by the Stewarts until 1534 when they were sold to Robert Mercer of Meikleour. The lands of Carnbo-Stewart were not annexed to Fife and Kinross-shire with the rest of the original barony in the seventeenth century and appear as a detached part of Perthshire on Stobie's map and on First Edition Ordnance Survey one-inch maps. This survival of Carnbo-Stewart as a separate unit is fortunate as it demonstrates the dominant settlement pattern of the area. The lands consisted of a narrow strip running from the arable settlement itself (NO 04 04) on the 250m contour (which is higher than most comparable settlements in the district), north-north-west on to the western flank of Innerdouny Hill, which was part of a large common grazing. This shows what must have been the typical settlement alignment on the Ochil slopes, with each arable town on the lower lands having grazings stretching above it on to the higher lands.

The larger part of Carnbo had passed by the fifteenth century to the Lundys of Balgonie, and comprised the lands of Nether Carnbo, three quarters of Over Carnbo (the fourth may be represented by Carnbo-Stewart), Braughty and Golland. It was this estate which was annexed to Fife (later Kinross) and in 1615 it passed to the Hallidays of Tullibole. The full dimensions of the estate appear in the Retours for Perthshire in 1620 and 1666 which record the lands as Nether Carnbo, Braughty, Golland, Over Carnbo with its pendicles of Craighead, Earnside, Eastside, with the hill of Dunraw, Carnhill,
Cloon, Cormadill, Melloche, Blacklaw, Innerdouny, Brunrig, Hogrig and Sheilrigg. These lands occupy the whole of the part of Fossoway which was annexed to Fife and then to Kinross in the seventeenth century.

The southern division of Fossoway parish contained the estates of Pitfar, Aldie and Dalkeith which were mentioned in the charter of 1194 x 98. Pitfar is in itself a significant name, since pit- (or pett-) names appear to have represented components of multiple estates. The farm of Pitfar (NT 00 96) was itself the centre of an estate which shared its name in the south-west of Fossoway parish. Having reverted to the earls of Strathearn after 1230 it was subsequently granted to William de Murray (de Moravia), first of the Murrays of Tullibardine, in ca. 1284, together with Dundovan in Glendevon parish. In (?)1363, Walter Murray of Tullibardine granted the abbey of Culross his lands of Auldtoun of Pitfar, Castlebeg (NN 99 96) and "Cothildurane". The charter conceded further that Walter and his successors would continue to pay the annual cain of four merks to the earl of Strathearn due for the lordship of Pitfar, naming its lands as Blairingone (NS 98 96), "Garthconlon" (probably Gartwhinzean, NT 01 98), Castlemore (unidentified but presumably near Castlebeg) and Solsgirth (NS 98 95), so that the abbey might hold their lands in the lordship free of secular service or exaction. This charter illustrates well the components of the estate of Pitfar and, incidentally, suggest a similar multiple settlement structure for the other lands named in Earl Gilbert's charter of 1194 x 98. Such a structure would seem to be confirmed by the evidence discussed for
Fossoway and Carnbo. (The exception may be Dalkeith, for which see below). The estate of Pitfar was probably the whole of Fossoway parish lying west of the Gairney Burn. From later records it can be shown that Barnhill was a pendicle of Pitfar, while common grazing for the estate lay between Gartwhinzean and Pitfar.

The adjacent estate of Aldie, lying to the east of the Gairney Burn, was a similar multiple settlement unit. It too passed to William de Murray of Tulliebardine, although it had first been held by his brother, John Murray, of the earls of Strathearn. The estate is now represented by Wester Aldie (NT 03 97), Parks of Aldie (NT 06 98), Hilton and Middleton of Aldie (NT 05 99) and Easter Aldie (NT 06 99). As at Pitfar, Fossoway and Carnbo, Aldie had an area of commonty, represented by Craighead Common alias Drumbog (NT 04 99).

The situation of Dalkeith is uncertain. Geographically, there does not seem to be space for an estate of Dalkeith which was similar in composition to those already discussed. By 1631, Dalkeith was part of the lands of Aldie, and remained so in 1891, and it is probable that it may always have been only a dependency of the Aldie estate.

The parish of Fossoway, then, encompassed four substantial multiple settlement estates which apparently dictated its form in the twelfth century. The curious division of the parish into two disjoined parts, which seems to have been an original feature, perhaps indicates the strength of the early relationships which bound together the four estates in a hierarchical multiple estate focused ecclesiastically on
the church of St. Brigid of Fossoway. That the traditional render of 
cain was due from at least one of the component estates, Pitfar, tends 
to confirm the pre-twelfth century origin of the unit.

Glendevon was amongst the lands granted by Gilbert, earl of Strathearn 
to Malcolm of Fife in 1194 x 98, but it did not lie in Fossoway parish. 
Rather, Glendevon formed a separate parish situated in the heart of the 
Ochil Hills, almost totally above the 250m contour and containing no 
land of better than Class 5 quality. Following its reversion to the 
earls of Strathearn, Glendevon appears to have been broken up into its 
constituent parts which were separately granted thereafter. The lands 
of Dundovan passed to local tenants before being granted to the 
incoming Murrays of Tullibardine in 1280. In the late thirteenth or 
early fourteenth century the earls of Strathearn appear to have 
increased the Murray’s holding in the parish, as in 1362 the various 
lands in Strathearn which were confirmed to Walter Murray of 
Tullibardine by David II included Dundovan, Glendevon and Glenquey. In 
1445, the lands of Clow Dundovan, Borland, Dundovan and Glenquey 
were incorporated in the barony of Tullibardine. The name Dundovan 
has not survived but Borland, the lord’s demesne (NN 98 04) and 
Glenquey (NN 98 03) have. The mill of Glendevon, which was part of the 
Murrays’ holding, was at the present Glendevon village. In the 
south-east corner of the parish, the lands of Auchlinsky (formerly at 
ca. NN 99 04 on the east side of the Glenquey Burn, with Nether 
Auchlinsky, NN 98 02 and Auchlinsky Hill) were granted by Malise, earl 
of Strathearn, to Gilbert de Hay of Errol, who held the adjacent lands
of Fossoway. In the western part of the parish were the lands of Glensherrup, which belonged to the Lindsays of Byres by the seventeenth century, but little is known of their history. The parish had pasture in the surrounding hills, the most significant part being recalled by the commonty of Commonedge, which was shared between Glendevon and Muckhart.

Beyond this, little can be said of the parish of Glendevon. It appears to have been based on an estate which was similar in form to those which were components of Fossoway parish, but why it should have become a parish in its own right is unclear. It may be that, because it lay on much poorer land than the estates of Fossoway, and was therefore larger in area, coupled with the remoteness of its western parts from the church of Fossoway, Glendevon was provided with an early chapel, perhaps dependent on St. Bride's church of Fossoway, which was erected into a parish church in the twelfth century. Pairing of multiple estates, one largely upland pasture and one lowland arable, to better exploit all available agricultural resources in a district does appear to have been a relatively common feature elsewhere, and a similar situation may have existed at Fossoway and Glendevon.

The parish of Dunning stretched south from the River Earn on to the northern face of the Ochils and to the head streams of the Water of May at Corb Glen and Tonguey Faulds (see Map 24). The parish church was granted to Inchaffray Abbey by Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, in 1200 x 03, and the estate which it served was an important thanage of
the earldom. Anecol (Anecholle, Anechul, etc.), thane of Dunning, witnessed a number of charters by Earl Gilbert around 1200. and his family continued to be prominent at the earl’s court throughout the thirteenth century, holding the stewardship of the earldom for two generations. It is very probably that the late medieval family of Thane of Edindunning were descended from the thirteenth century thanes.

An examination of the settlement pattern of Dunning parish logically begins with the thanage (or shire) of the same name. In 1247, the second teinds of the rents and customary dues of the earldom of Strathearn, which had been granted to Inchaffray Abbey by earl Gilbert in 1200, were commuted into a money payment by earl Malise (II), which was to be met partly by 20 merks out of the earls’ fermes of Dunning. Brice, thane of Dunning, was directed to pay the twenty merks to the abbey. In 1283 the abbey apparently found it necessary to pursue its claim to the revenues and in the resulting agreement an additional annual payment was granted out of the thanage of Dunning and Pitcairn. Pitcairn (now Pitcairns, NO 02 14) was evidently a component of the estate of Dunning as when the abbey’s revenues of forty-two merks due from the "tenement" of Dunning were farmed out to Sir Maurice de Murray in 1344 the ten merks of them which were due from Pitcairn were retained. The forty-two merks from the thanage were confirmed to the abbey in 1358 by Robert Stewart, earl of Strathearn.
The thanage of Dunning included a substantial property which was held directly by the thanes and passed to their descendants, later recorded as the barony of Edindunning *alias* Thanesland. The name Edindunning signifies the "(hill) face of Dunning", (Gaelic *aodann*, "face") and the lands were situated on the gentler slopes of the Ochils above the present village of Dunning. Kippen (NO 01 12) and Quilts (NO 02 12) were parts of Edindunning and are in the district suggested by the name, while Stobie's map of Perthshire shows the now obsolete name "Tensland" (i.e. Thanesland) near Quilts farm. Edindunning also included the upland part of the parish which is still recorded on Ordnance Survey maps as the Common of Dunning (NO 01 09). Much of the estate of Edindunning passed to the Rollos of Duncrub in the sixteenth century.

Edindunning is only one of a number of place-names in the parish which indicate the early pattern of settlement. It was the upper district of the thanage lying above the modern village of Dunning which was formerly the Kirkton. The name Dunning is of uncertain etymology but was probably in origin the name of a watercourse, as the place-name Innerdunning (NO 02 17), where the Dunning Burn meets the Earn, suggests and the name of the burn lent itself to a cluster of local places. Just south of Innerdunning is the modern farm of Baldinnies (NO 02 16), and this Gaelic place-name seems to be a translation of an earlier P-Celtic Pit Dinnin, (*Pettdunan* ?), "share or portion of Dunning". Easter and Wester Pit Dinnin are shown on either side of the Dunning Burn, with the former on the site of the present Baldinnies,
and the latter at ca. NO 02 17, on William Roy's Military Survey.\textsuperscript{67} It should be noted that Roy shows Dunning as "Dinnin" and Innerdunning as "Inverdinnin", illustrating the common source of the names. The modern Findony (NO 01 13), furthermore, is given by Roy as "Findinnin" (Stobie has "Findinning"), and it too would appear to have taken its principal name element from Dunning, with the Gaelic qualifier \textit{fionn}, "white". This series of names shows a developed settlement pattern stretching from the haugh of the Earn south to the Ochil watershed (Common of Dunning), running through the centre of Dunning parish.

Pitdinnin was only one of the pit- names in the parish. Pitcairns has been noted above and to these can be added Pitmeadow (NO 02 12, formerly Petwardy > Petmadie), which had upland pendicles of Blaberryhill and Fairnyknowes (ca. NO 02 11) and grazing rights in the Common of Dunning,\textsuperscript{68} and the now lost \textit{Petychethy} (Petynskethy, Pettinskeith, etc.), which may have been near Leadketty (NO 01 15) if, as seems possible, both names share a common second element. These names indicate a number of dependent \textit{touns} of the shire of Dunning.

\textit{Petychethy}, Leadketty and Findony, together with Duncrub (NO 00 14) and the meadow of Dunning formed the estate which was granted by David, earl of Strathearn and Caithness, to John Rollo in 1380.\textsuperscript{69} The charter which records this grant has a clause which reserves to the earl his court site or \textit{cathedra comitis} and the chief mansion of the lands of Findony which lay adjacent to the \textit{cathedra} on the east.\textsuperscript{70} The court site is now represented by Gallows Knowe, to the south of Findony farm.
and, with the chief mansion, formed the administrative and legal focus of the thanage.

The parish of Dunning, then, appears to have adopted its geographical form from the earlier thanage. The *caput* of the unit situated around the modern village of Dunning combined both administrative and ecclesiastical foci, and lay at the hub of a group of related settlements, some of which took their name from it, others which had names in *pit-* indicating early dependencies, or its later Gaelic equivalent *baile-* (Balgour, NO 01 16 and NO 00 16, and Balquhandy, NO 03 11). The arable settlements were concentrated in the lower part of the parish, with common pasture and other grazing in the Ochil Hills to the north. The only settlements in the parish which cannot be related to this pattern by surviving records or toponymic evidence are Rossie and Dalreoch, but both of these were alienated by early land grants. Rossie was among a number of scattered lands which were granted to Malise, son of Earl Ferteth, as a knight's feu by his brother, Earl Gilbert, in 1172 x 73, while Dalreoch passed to the Murrays of Tullibardine in the late thirteenth century. Both of these small estates, nevertheless, were probably early dependencies of the thanage of Dunning and accordingly were incorporated in the parish which it otherwise corresponds to so closely. Rossie, indeed, may represent a pre-Christian religious nucleus in the district as Tarrnavie, the boat-like mound below Craig Rossie, derives its name from *tarr,* "belly" and *neimhídh*, "sacred grove", "place dedicated to a god". Dunning is an impressive example of the relationship between
the form of the parishes which were established in twelfth century Strathearn and pre-existing settlement units.

The type of settlement pattern discovered in the thanage of Dunning is repeated in the two adjacent parishes to the west, Aberuthven and Auchterarder. These parishes were united by 1618 but it is possible to identify their original dimensions (see Map 2). The early settlement relationships in Aberuthven parish, however, are not well-attested in record sources. Maria, daughter of Earl Robert, held the lands of Strathy and Pairney in the second half of the thirteenth century, out of which she granted an annual pension of 100 shillings to Inchaffray Abbey. The earls of Strathearn also appear to have retained demesne lands at Aberuthven, for Earl Malise (II) granted four merks out of his fermes there to Inchaffray in 1247. In ca. 1260, Pairney was among a group of lands on the northern slopes of the Ochils which was granted to Sir David de Graham by Earl Malise (II). Nevertheless, the settlements of Aberuthven (P-Celtic aber, "confluence" + Gaelic ruadh-mhaighin, "red spot, red place"; cf. Welsh rhuddfaen, "red stone") and its upland dependency of Pairney ("Perny", 1260; "Pronny", 1268/69; for P-Celtic prenn, "tree", plural prenau, or Gaelicised locative, prenach), were established at an early date (in the Pictish period) and probably provided the basis for the development of the estate which later gave its form to Aberuthven parish.

Although superficially the settlement pattern of Auchterarder parish appears to be typical of the area, the formation of the parish unit
presents several peculiar difficulties. As has been seen the lands of Coul, Cloan, Coulshill and Fosswell lay in the original parish of Auchterarder and were all south of the Ruthven Water. These lands belonged to the earls of Strathearn and were granted to Sir David de Graham in ca. 1260 together with the adjacent lands of Bardrill and Kincardine in Strogeith parish, and Pairney in Aberuthven, in an estate which was to become the barony of Kincardine. The patronage of St. Kessog's church of Auchterarder (NN 94 14, it was superseded by a church in the burgh after the Reformation) was also in possession of the earls, and Earl Gilbert granted the church to Inchaffray in 1200. The principal estate of Auchterarder was, however, a royal property, and its town became a burgh in the thirteenth century. In 1226 Alexander II granted a teind of his rents of Auchterarder to Inchaffray Abbey, while burgesses of Auchterarder are first recorded among the jurors who determined the marches of Wester Feddal in 1246, following a royal grant of the lands to Lindores Abbey. Wester Feddal is described in the grant as lying in the thanage of Auchterarder, but was in fact some seven miles to the west of the burgh in the parish of Dunblane (NN 82 08, now in Ardoch). The early thanage became a sheriffdom in the course of the thirteenth century, for in 1290 Malise, earl of Strathearn, rendered an account to the Exchequer as farmer of the burgh of Auchterarder and baillie of the sheriffdom of the same. The sheriffdom, which was the poorest in Scotland in 1304, was short-lived and was absorbed into that of Perth after 1306/7, although the burgh survived until the sixteenth century.
The royal estate of Auchterarder was granted as a barony to William de Montfiquet of Cargill in 1328 by Robert I. William's eldest daughter and principal heiress appears to have married John Drummond in the 1340s and the Montfiquet lands of Cargill, Kincardine-in-Menteith and Auchterarder passed to their descendants. The Drummonds of Cargill or Stobhall were granted the titles of Lord Drummond in 1487/8 and Earl of Perth in 1605, and in 1662 the earl of Perth's lands and barony of Auchterarder comprised Polhillock (ca. NN 94 13), the Kirktoun of Auchterarder (NN 94 14 and NN 95 14), Easter and Wester (now Mid) Fordun (NN 95 15, NN 94 15; cf. Nether Fordun, NN 95 16), Borland (NN 93 13), "Thriephill", "Kirkhill", and the mill of Auchterarder (Milton, NN 95 12). Together with the common burgh moor and the moor of Drumtastill (obsolete name, Stobie shows "Tersal" near Mid Fordun), and the burgh which belonged to small proprietors, this estate occupied the whole of Auchterarder parish north of the Ruthven Water.

Auchterarder, then, presents us with a curious situation where the parish was split between the Crown and the earls of Strathearn. As there is no evidence that the earls held their lands in the parish of the Crown this seems to have been an original feature. The arrangement is perhaps comparable with the situation at Cupar in Fife where both the Crown and the earls of Fife had interests in a single estate, as is recalled by the distinct king's muir and earl's muir there. There is nothing to suggest, nevertheless, that the thanage of Auchterarder included the upland part of the parish which belonged to the earls, or to account for the earls having the patronage of the parish church.
Wester Feddal is an added difficulty. It was part of the thanage and apparently formed what must have been a detached enclave of the parish of Auchterarder in the thirteenth century. This suggests a correspondence of thanage to parish of the type which has been discovered elsewhere, but it does not account for the earls' interest in the parish. In the absence of further information or a better alternative explanation of the existing evidence, the difficulties involved in the formation of Auchterarder parish must remain problematic and unresolved.

To the north of Auchterarder lay the parishes of Kinkell and Trinity Gask, which were united in the mid-seventeenth century (see Map 25). The old parish of Kinkell was that part of the united parish which lay south of the River Earn around South Kinkell (NN 94 16). Although the farm of North Kinkell lies to the north of the Earn there is no evidence that it was included in Kinkell parish, and only South Kinkell is explicitly described as in parochia de Kinkell. The parish must always have been small. Little is known of its early history, but it appears similar to the single town parishes of Aberdalgie and Dupplin in the Perth district. In 1200 the parish church was granted to Inchaffray by Earl Gilbert, with its teinds, offerings and oblations and with its endowment land and common pasture rights. These latter pertinents show that the church served an estate which was at least substantial enough to be self-sufficient in arable and pastoral land.
The larger part of the united parish lay almost wholly to the north of the Earn (a small portion at Colquhalzie, NN 91 17, was south of the river), and represents the old parish of Trinity Gask, so named from its church dedication to distinguish it from the neighbouring Findogask. In 1221 x 23 Earl Gilbert granted the church to Inchaffray Abbey with all its teinds, offerings and easements, its endowed land and common pasture of the parish. ¹⁰¹

The parish appears to have contained two distinct early estates. In 1284 Earl Malise (II) issued a charter with the place date in plena curia domini Malisii comitis de Stratheren tenta apud Dunfally. ¹⁰² The exact location of the court site is unknown, but it was situated in a compact lordship of the same name. In 1223/24 Earl Robert granted Inchaffray his lands of Raith (NN 93 18), being a quarter of the whole of Dunfallin. ¹⁰³ Some years earlier in 1210 x 18, Earl Gilbert had granted the abbey a site for a mill on the Earn to the east of his mill of Dunfallin (now represented by Mills of Earn, NN 92 16). ¹⁰⁴ Later records attest more fully the dimensions of Dunfallin. In 1468 Robert Mercer of Innerpeffray granted various lands to Thomas Oliphant of Dron including the lands of Shearerston (NN 92 18), described as lying in dominio de Dunfally, the lands of the middle-quarter of Dunfallin, and the quarter lands of the west quarter of Dunfallin called Cailmore (shown on Stobie's map at ca. NN 92 17). ¹⁰⁵ At the same time, Thomas Oliphant received ten merks annualrent out of the lands and mill of Dunfallin, and the lands of the east quarter of Dunfallin with "le Murefauld". ¹⁰⁶ Dunfallin was apparently an estate which occupied the
whole of the western part of Trinity Gask parish which was divided into quarters, and its caput was obviously a place of some importance in the earldom of Strathearn.

The eastern division of the parish lay on the western end of the broad ridge north of the River Earn and was occupied by the estate of Gask (Gaelic gasq, "a tail-like point of land running out from a plateau"), evidently used here as a district name. In the early thirteenth century, part of the lands were held by Geoffrey, son of Lugan the knight, who took the surname de Gask. He was apparently succeeded by an heiress who married Sir Malcolm de Murray, whose son, William, was the first of the Murrays of Tullibardine. In 1362 the lands of Nethergask (now Gascon Hall, NN 98 17) were among those confirmed to Walter Murray of Tullibardine, and in 1444 the lands were referred to as Gask-Murray. The Murray's part of the estate lay on the south face of the Gask ridge, while to the north were the lands of Cowgask (formerly, "Kulgask", Gaelic cul + gasg, "the back of Gask"; the name survives only in the Cowgask Burn), which were granted to Walter son of Alan, by Earl Gilbert in marriage with his daughter, Cecilia, and confirmed to him by Earl Robert in 1225 x 29. This estate ultimately passed to the Oliphants of (Findo)Gask and was composed of Mains of Cowgask (ca. NN 97 19), Drum of Cowgask with the mill (ca. NN 96 20), Chapelhill (NN 96 19, the date and dedication of the chapel implied by the name are unknown) and small pendicles in the vicinity.
The early relationship between Gask and Cowgask is shown by their shared name. The grazing lands which they may have held in common lay on the Muir o' Fauld, on the summit ridge between them (NN 97 19). Dunfallin had a similar moor, the Muir o' Lea (NN 92 17). The two estates being encompassed in one parish is reminiscent of the pattern already examined at Fossoway, but no certain evidence clearly attests any larger unit of lordship of which Dunfallin and Gask may have been components, and which may have lent its form to Trinity Gask parish. Nevertheless, the parish church was situated towards the centre of the parish at Kirkton (NN 96 18), at a location which may have lain close to the boundary between Dunfallin and Gask. A further indication of a possible connection between the two estates is that "le Murefauld" is said to have belonged to the east quarter of Dunfallin in 1468. If "le Murefauld" is now to be equated with Muir o' Fauld, it is possible that Dunfallin was a larger unit than first thought, extending to the east of the parish, where Muir o' Fauld lies, and perhaps even once encompassing Gask as a subsidiary estate. The east quarter of Dunfallin cannot be identified as such in surviving records, but amongst the Perthshire Retours there is mention of an annualrent from Lawhill alias Easter Gask. This alternative name is hard to account for as Lawhill (NN 96 17) lies to the west of all the other towns of Gask. It may be that Easter Gask was a name compounded from the east quarter of Dunfallin and the estate of Gask and that its alias, Lawhill, recalls the earls' court site of Dunfallin. If so, an early lordship of Dunfallin with a substantial dependency of Gask in which the ecclesiastical (Kirkton) and secular (Lawhill) foci were close
together, may have determined the form of the twelfth century parish of Trinity Gask.

To the north of Trinity Gask parish, but separated from it by Madderty, lay the large parish of Fowlis Wester, (so called to distinguish it from Foulis (Easter) in Gowrie) stretching from the north bank of the Pow Water to Glenalmond and, at one point, as far north as upper Strathbraan (see Map 26.) The village of Fowlis contained a church dedicated to St. Bean and two Pictish cross-slabs dating to the eighth or ninth century. The earls of Strathearn had a court site nearby and a castle about one mile to the west. It was an important site in the earldom, and the caput of the shire of Fowlis. The town took its name from the compound foghlaís, an Irish name-form with close P-Celtic cognates meaning sub-stream or rivulet, and was at the centre of an extended settlement unit in which a strong P-Celtic influence on place-names is apparent. To the north-east was Pitlandie (NN 93 24), with Pethmane to the north-west (ca. NN 92 24), while another pit-name lay to the west at Pittencloch (NN 89 12). Near to the latter was Abercairney, whose name may combine P-Celtic aber, "confluence", with carden, "thicket". Pittencloch, "the share of the clerics", is particularly interesting in respect of the nearby Ballyglash (now obsolete but shown on 1st edition Ordnance Survey maps near Auchilhanzie, NN 89 24), the "baile at the (old?) church" (Gaelic eglais, P-Celtic egles). The church recalled by this name probably dated back to the Pictish period and had apparently become disused before the twelfth century, and possibly before it was employed in
the naming of the Gaelic *baile*. Further traces of P-Celtic settlement may be seen in the difficult name Buchanty (NN 93 28) which may be connected with Welsh *buwch*, "a cow",¹⁲ and in the Pow Water which forms the southern boundary of the parish. In 1200 Earl Gilbert granted his newly founded priory of Inchaffray licence to fish in Pefferin, the Pow Water.¹²³ The name (also recorded in the form Polpefery) derives from Welsh *pefr*, "radiant, beautiful",¹²⁴ while the element *pol-* was often used in Scotland of sluggish streams which formed marshlands, as at Edderpolles, "between the Pows", (now Carsegrange),¹²⁵ and Powgavie in the Carse of Gowrie. There was formerly a substantial wetland around the Pow Water.¹²⁶

Around this nucleus of settlement dating to the Pictish period considerable development took place in the Gaelic-speaking period from ca. 800. The *baile* names of Ballyglass, Belnollo ("Ballenolleth", 1268,¹²⁷ NN 90 24) and Bellour (NN 98 25) are accompanied by names in *achadh*, "field" at Auchilhanzie, and Auchloy (NN 90 23), and a similar name at Gorthy (NN 96 23) which derives from *gort*, "field, enclosure". A more substantial component in the settlement pattern - a davach - is represented by Ardoch (NN 91 25), *ard-dabhach*, "the high davach". Fowlis itself may have been situated on another davach, since the adjacent place-name Lacock (ca. NN 92 24; "Lekog", 1365)¹²⁸ probably represents *(le) coig*, used here for a quarter davach (i.e. the portion of five *techs* or houses)¹²⁹ It is worthwhile noting in this respect that Fowlis and Lacock shared a commonty situated to the east of the Buchanty Burn (NN 94 26) on what is now Murrays Hill and a Forestry
Commission plantation. Given the meaning of the first element in their names, it is possible that the nearby toun of Pitlandy and Pethmane formed the other two quarters of the davach of Fowlis. A second commonty in the parish lay on the ridge north of Milquhanzie Hill around NN 91 26. By the eighteenth century it was called the Commony of Hill of Ardoch and was held in common by Abercairney and Cultoquhey. It is unlikely, however, that these settlements comprised the original davach of Ardoch which seems rather to have lain to the north-west and perhaps had grazings extending into the arm of Fowlis parish which included Meall Tarsuinn and Connachan.

Before the late twelfth century this developing settlement pattern had been embodied in the shire of Fowlis. The community of clerics at Inchaffray, the Isle of Masses, was originally sited in this shire, as in ca. 1198 Earl Gilbert addressed a charter to the brethren de insula Missarum in fougles. In 1218, after the brethren had been converted to the rule of St. Augustine, Earl Gilbert granted them three acres of land in the shire of Fowlis which the canons had reclaimed from the marsh adjacent to their house, but the abbey site was effectively cut off from the main settlements in the shire by the wetlands of the Pow and its principal estates were to develop in Madderty parish to the south rather than in Fowlis. The abbey site was eventually incorporated into Madderty. Another charter demonstrates that lands in the west of the parish were also in the shire, for in 1268 Earl Malise (II) described Belnollo as in syro de foğlais. These references indicate a connection between the form of the shire and that
of the parish and we may reasonably assume that the latter was adopted from the former, especially since the shire was still a fully functioning unit of territorial administration in the earldom of Strathearn during the period when the parish was established. The curious form of the unit itself, however, with its two northern extensions, requires some further examination.

In ca. 1260 Earl Malise (II) granted to Malise de Logy, the second son of Sir Malise, steward of Strathearn, the lands of Culnacloich (NN 94 29), "Garfene" (probably Girron, NN 90 35) and Kipney (NN 96 30) with "Corecase", described as in Glenamone, by their right marches and with all pertinents, et cum fortyris et communibus pasturis. These lands all lie in the arm of Fowlis which stretched from the River Almond to the River Braan. Culnacloich, Kipney and Girron are all situated on the best available land in this district, with a large hinterland of moor and hill. The phrase cum fortyris et communibus pasturis is essential to our understanding of the settlement pattern in the area since the fortyris were the pastoral uplands which accompanied the arable holdings (fortir, "upper land", "over land"; cf. Welsh gorthir, "higher land", gwrthtir, "upland"), which, with the common grazings, would have occupied the hill and moor above Culnacloich, Girron and Kipney. Elsewhere, fortirs are recorded as the uplands pertaining to the arable of davachs, and it seems probable that this arm of Fowlis contained another davach with its attendant pastures. In ca. 1365 the boundaries between Culnacloich and the adjacent lands of Lethendy in Crieff were agreed and the estate granted to Malise de
Logy became a part of the Logiealmond family holdings. In 1835 its full extent was detailed in the *Perth Rental* when it contained Girron, Corrianduie, Drums, Culnacloich, Castlehill (ca. NN 95 29), Frenchton (NN 95 29), Williamston (NN 95 28), Smithfield, Torbeg, Louisfield, Mount Rachel, Shelligan (cf. Shelligan Burn, on the western border of Culnacloich), Tomnafour, Woodleyburn, Kipney, Francesfield (NN 96 29), Morningside (NN 96 30) and Larichellig (probably a pass between the Glenalmond and Strathbraan parts of the estate). Although many small pendicles are listed here which, from their English names probably date to after the twelfth century, they all lay within the area of the probable Glenalmond davach which seems to have underlain this part of Fowlis parish.

A similar explanation would seem to explain the second arm of Fowlis parish which includes Connachan (NN 88 27) and extends into the upper part of Glenalmond as well as the small detached enclaves of the parish to the north-west on the south and west slopes of Sron Bealaidh (NN 83 33, now in Monzievaird and Strowan parish). This area may have formed the *fortire* and common pastures of the davach of Ardoch, although there is no certain evidence on this point.

The parish of Fowlis, then, adopted its form from the shire of the same name, a complex multiple estate which was composed of a number of davachs with their attendant upland grazings, and which was focused on the important administrative and ecclesiastical centre of Fowlis. The parish is also an important example of a type of large-scale settlement
unit found in upper Strathearn and a useful point of comparison when discussing other parishes in the district.

The adjacent parish of Crieff had an even more curious form than that of Fowlis, with which it was intertwined (see Map 26). The principal part of the parish lay between the River Earn and the Shaggie Burn, while to the north the parish extended into upper Glenalmond before following the River Almond east and south through the Sma' Glen, virtually surrounding the more westerly of the northern arms of Fowlis. Crieff also had small enclaves in Glenshervie and near Auchilhanzie. Near the town of Crieff was a court site of the earls of Strathearn known as the "Stayt" of Crieff (ca. NN 86 20), on a re-used bronze age burial mound. The earls also appear to have had a residence nearby at Inchbraikie (NN 92 21), marked as "Moat" on Ordnance Survey 1:50 000 maps, where there are the remains of a motte and a later medieval castle.

Early settlement relationships in Crieff parish are more difficult to trace than in the case of Fowlis since the surviving documentary evidence is poorer, but a similar pattern seems probable, given that Crieff was also a shire of the earldom centred on an important administrative and legal caput. The place-name of Crieff is Gaelic craoibh, "a tree", but may be a translation of the older P-Celtic cognate pren which is commonly found in place-names. The pit-names of Pittentian and Pittachar (NN 87 20) and the names of Kincardine (NN 87 21; Gaelic ceann, "head" + P-Celtic cardden, "thicket") and
Cairnleith (NN 87 20, where the second element may be similar to Welsh lliath, "damp, moist") illustrate the extent of settlement around Crieff in the Pictish period. The names are concentrated around the principal town of the parish in a similar fashion to those at Fowlis. There is also evidence of Pictish settlement in the name of the lands of Dalpatrick in the southern part of the parish.

Dalpatrick belonged in the early thirteenth century to Nigel de Luuetoft who probably arrived in Strathearn in the train of Matilda, wife of Earl Gilbert. (Matilda’s mother, Maud de Senlis, had married Richard de Luuetoft of Worksop and Hallam in the Honour of Huntingdon.) Nigel granted six acres of land in his town of Dalpatrick, which was alternatively known as "Kenandheni" (ceann ind ensaig(h), "head of the marsh"), to Inchaffray Abbey in 1226 x 34. The estate afterwards passed to Robert de Meckphen, probably through his marriage to Soliva who was perhaps the daughter and heiress of Nigel de Luuetoft. There is little further early documentary evidence for lands in Crieff, but the original principal estate is probably represented by the town itself, which had common grazing on the Knock of Crieff (NN 86 22), with Easter Crieff (now Crieffvechter, NN 88 20) and Culcreiff, "the back of Crieff" (Gaelic cul, "back", NN 86 23), together with Pittentian, Pittachar, Cairnleith and Dalpatrick. The court site at the "Stayt" would have been in this estate as would the castle of Inchbraikie on its natural island of higher land in the marsh which occupied the eastern part of the estate.
It is difficult to connect this central estate with the large upland part of the parish but an important clue is given by several late charters. In the area now covered by the town of Crieff there were formerly two farms of Gallwellbeg and Gallwellmore. In 1596 James VI granted in feuferme to Anthony Murray the lands of Gallwellbeg cum communia et communi pastura ac "lie schilling" in Glenalmond consueta. A similar phrase occurs in a charter of 1610 by which Patrick Drummond of Milnab granted to his son the mills and mill-lands of Milnab (NN 85 22, now in the town of Crieff), and the whole lands of Gallwellmore with pasture and shielings in "Dalmelpnie" and within the bounds of Glenalmond where the lands anciently had their shielings. Unfortunately, "Dalmelpnie" cannot now be identified but it may have lain in the vicinity of Stonefield (NN 85 25). Nevertheless, the fact that Gallwellbeg and Gallwellmore both had shielings and common pastures in Glenalmond, apparently with a long-established usage, provides a definite connection between the lowland and upland parts of the parish. A similar connection is suggested by a charter of 1542 by which James V erected various lands held by the Murrays of Tullibardine into a barony of Trewin. These lands included the terras de Westir Thomnok cum prato et nemore, terras foreste de Corymuklaw, terras de Glenshervy, in dominio de Straitherne. "Westir Thomknok" is now represented by Tomaknock (NN 87 21) near Crieff, while "Corymuklaw" is Corrymuckloch (NN 89 34) in the north-east of the parish and Glenshervie (ca. NN 81 35) was a detached enclave of the parish. As in the case of Gallwellmore and Beg, it seems as if arable lands in the lower part of the parish were accompanied by upland grazings.
The whole of the Glenalmond part of Crieff parish cannot, however, be explained simply as the grazing lands of the town of Crieff and its adjacent settlements for that would not account for the part of the parish in Glenalmond lying around and to the east of the Sma’ Glen. The place-name Fendoch (NN 90 27, fionn dabhach, "the white davach") indicates a substantial arable unit in this part of the parish. In 1443 Robert Duncanson, lord of Fendoch, granted the lands of Fendoch ("Fynnach") in Strathearn to Sir David Murray of Tullibardine,163 and in the following year the lands were incorporated in the barony of Tullibardine by James II.166 In a subsequent confirmation of the barony to William Murray, dated 1457, the lands of Fendoch were granted in free forest and their bounds given as “beginning at the burn of Corrymorgil and so passing by the water of Almond as the said water runs to the mill of St. Havene, and thence to the burn of Connothane”.167 The burn of Corrymorgil ("Corryvorgil" in another confirmation of 1542)168 is the Allt Coire Mhurcha, which falls from Coire Mhurcha (NN 87 30) into the River Almond along the former parish boundary. As the mill of St. Havene (mo-Bheathan) was near Buchanty (NN 93 28) and the burn of "Connothane" (Connachan is at NN 88 27) is now the Fendoch Burn,169 the lands of Fendoch appear to have been the part of the Glenalmond district of Crieff parish lying to the west of the River Almond and the Sma’ Glen. The pattern seems similar to the Glenalmond davach of Fowlis parish with the arable land accompanied by a considerable hinterland of hill and moor. Fendoch seems to represent a substantial dependency of the multiple estate caput of Crieff.
The larger part of the Glenalmond district of Crieff parish lay to the east and north of the Almond. The lands of Lethendy (ca. NN 94 28) in this district belonged to Sir Bartholomew of Lone in ca. 1365,170 and by the fifteenth century had passed to John de Mowbray. A connection between Lethendy and the uplands to the north-west is suggested by a charter of John de Mowbray granting his lands of Lethendy and "Cultrany" in Strathearn to Andrew de Cardney in 1420.171 The name "Cultrany" survives in Allt Coire Chultrain (NN 83 31) in upper Glenalmond. By the sixteenth century the lands had apparently passed to the Murrays of Tullibardine as in 1538 Easter Lethendy and Middle Cultrany were among lands which were annexed to the barony of Tullibardine by James V.172

The full details of the settlement relationships within Crieff parish cannot be discovered but perhaps it is sufficiently clear from the above discussion that the parish took its form from the shire which comprised a central estate around the toun of Crieff with attendant hill and moor pastures, together with at least one substantial dependent estate (i.e. the davach of Fendoch with its pastures). The lands of Lethendy may have formed part of a similar unit to Fendoch and both estates were probably bound to the administrative caput of Crieff, hence their inclusion in the twelfth century parish.

The parish of Strogeith, known since the seventeenth century as Blackford,173 lies to the south of the River Earn west of Kinkell and Auchterarder, and extends from the river south into the Ochil Hills.
At the summit watershed of the Ochils it borders on Glendevon parish and Clackmannanshire (see Map 27). The form of the parish has been significantly altered by the annexation of the lands of Orchil (NN 87 11) and Rhynd (NN 85 09) to the parish of Ardoch when that was created quoad omniam in 1855; by the disjunction of a small upland part near Frandy farm (NN 91 03) which was annexed to Glendevon parish in 1891; and by the disjunction of the lands of Strogeith themselves which were annexed to Muthill parish at an unknown date but before 1687. The effect of this last alteration has been to remove the original parish church (NN 882 185) and the barony of Strogeith from the modern parish of Blackford.

The principal estate of Strogeith survived into the late middle ages as a barony in possession of a family who took their name from their lands. It is recorded in the late fifteenth century as held by John Strogeith of that Ilk. In ca. 1500 the barony was granted to John, lord Drummond, and comprised the Bordland of Strogeith (Strageath Mains, NN 89 18) Auchinglen (NN 90 17), Over and Nether Cuilt (cf. Cuitburn, NN 88 17), "Tomquhair", Kirkton of Strogeith (ca. NN 88 18) with the mill, Aulichcroy (ca. NN 85 20), Aulichingrew (ca. NN 85 20) and Aulichmore (NN 84 20 and NN 85 20). The lands of Drumquhair also appear to have been part of the estate (ca. NN 88 17; cf. "Tomquhair" above.) The inclusion of these lands in Strogeith parish must have meant that the parochial territory formerly extended a considerable way westwards along the south bank of the Earn and the location of the estate on the lower lands near the river doubtless
explains the name Strogeith, which is Gaelic Srath-gaoithe "strath of
the marsh". 181

That the large district of the modern Blackford parish was originally
that of the church of Strogeith on the Earn is confirmed by the facts
that Blackford became the alias of the parish name in the seventeenth
century, and that the lands of "Rahallie" (ca. NN 88 11, now
represented by Easterton Farm) are described as "lyand in the parochin
of Strogeyth". 182 These lands had been granted to Inchaffray in or
before 1219 by Earl Gilbert, in exchange for the teind of the profits
of the courts of the earldom. 183

The parish of Strogeith appears to have taken its form from a unit
known as "Catherlauenach". Professor Watson derived the name from
Gaelic Cathair Leamhnach, "elm fort", and noted that it came to be used
as the name of a district. 184 He says that the name survives in
Carlownie Hill (NN 95 08) on the border of Strogeith and Auchterarder,
but he does not identify the "elm fort", 185 although he may have had in
mind the Roman fort of Strogeith (NN 89 17) 186 since he suggests that the
adjacent "Cathermothel" (see below) was named after the Roman camp of
Ardoch. Professor Barrow, however, considers that Catherlauenach and
Cathermothel may always have been used as district names and that the
districts represent shires. 187 If correct, this argument would remove
any necessity to discover the original fort of "Catherlauenach".
In 1234 Alexander II confirmed a grant by Earl Robert to Conghal, son of Duncan, son of Malise, steward of Strathearn, of *villa illa de Catherlauenach que dicitur Tulichbardene*, (Tullibardine, NN 91 13), and in 1251 x 69, Earl Malise (II) granted *Kyncardyn in Kather leuenas* (Kincardine, NN 94 11), to his sister, Amabilie, as her marriage portion. From these references it is apparent that "Catherlauenach" was a substantial district and, from what we know, similar in form to the parish of Strogeith. We should probably envisage a pre-twelfth century multiple estate of the earldom of Strathearn known as "Catherlauenach" which lent its geographical dimensions to Strogeith parish.

The pattern of settlement within the multiple estate and correspondingly the parish, is complex. The principal lands and church of Strogeith lay in the strath of the Earn. To the south of these lay the large plain of Machany (Gaelic *magh-an-aigh*, from *magh*, "a plain"), extending across both Muthill and Strogeith parishes (cf. the Water of Machany and the place-names Leadmachany, *leathad Magh-an-aigh*, "the slope of Machany", NN 87 15 in Muthill; and Milton of Machany and Machany House, NN 90 15 in Strogeith), with its upland, Auchtermachany (*uachdar magh-an-aigh*) to the south of the Machany Water in Strogeith (now represented by Strathallan Castle, NN 91 15) South again, the lands of Tullibardine occupy the lower hill slopes with Kincardine, Gleneagles, Bardrill and Ogilvie above extending into the heart of the Ochils.
In 1172 x 73 Earl Gilbert granted a knight’s feu to his brother, Malise, which was composed of a number of scattered estates in Strathearn, including Ogilvie (now Blackford, NN 89 08), Bardrill (NN 91 07), Kincardine and Auchtermachany in Strogeith parish. Malise married Ada, illegitimate daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, but apparently had no issue and was succeeded by his nephew, Fergus, son of Earl Gilbert. In ca. 1247 Fergus granted a chalder of oatmeal from his town of Auchtermachany to Inchaffray Abbey. Most of the lands held by Malise ultimately reverted to the earls of Strathearn. As has been noted, Kincardine was granted to Amabilie for her marriage by her brother, Earl Malise (II). Her husband may have been Sir David de Graham, for in ca. 1260 the same earl granted Kincardine with Bardrill and various lands in Auchterarder and Aberuthven parishes to him. The estate of Ogilvie was granted, before 1323 x 29, to the Murrays of Drumsergard, who also held Abercairney in Fowlis and other lands in the earldom. Another branch of the Murrays obtained the estate of Tullibardine. Conghal son of Duncan, who held Tullibardine from 1234, and his wife Ada, had two daughters, Maria and Muriel, who were co-heiresses to the lands of Tullibardine. Muriel married Sir Malise, steward of Strathearn, and their daughter, also Ada, married Sir William de Murray. In 1284 Muriel granted her half lands of Tullibardine to William de Murray and Ada, and her charter was confirmed by Henry, older brother of Ada. At about the same date Muriel’s sister, Maria, quitclaimed her (eastern) half lands of Tullibardine to Sir William Murray for an annual rent of 12 merks, thereby re-uniting the estate under a single proprietor.
de Murray of Tullibardine was the first of the family who were ultimately to become earls of Atholl in 1629.

Although Bardrill was granted to Sir David de Graham in ca. 1260 it appears that only part of the lands were involved, for in the early fourteenth century Sir John de Logy granted the eastern part of Bardrill to Simon Hawden. An old connection between Tullibardine and Bardrill may perhaps be traced through this grant, since Sir John de Logy was the son of Sir Malise, second son of Malise, steward of Strathearn and Muriel, daughter of Conghal of Tullibardine. It seems that the eastern part of Bardrill also had attached the half lands of Banheath (NN 90 07) and of Glenfrandy (probably the former enclave of Strogeith at Frandy farm) as pendicles. If Sir John de Logy owed his part of Bardrill to a family inheritance, as seems likely, then it is possible to envisage an original larger estate of Tullibardine which included Bardrill and its pendicles and perhaps other lands in the south of the shire of "Catherlauenach". Tullibardine may have been a substantial dependency of the principal estate of Strogeith within the shire, in a similar arrangement to those of Fowlis and Crieff parishes. If it also included the lands of Gleneagles, which had passed to the Hawdens or Haldanes by unknown means by the fifteenth century (also through a connection with the Logys?), then Tullibardine may originally have been served by the old chapel of St. Mungo which was situated in Gleneagles, and which was perhaps an ecclesiastical dependency of Strogeith church.
Despite the disruption caused to the original settlement pattern of "Catherlauenach" by its division into a number of separate estates in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is still possible to see some traces of the original structure of the extended multiple estate. The available evidence cannot be stretched any further than has already been done for Tullibardine, but it is perhaps acceptable to envisage a shire of "Catherlauenach" composed of at least two substantial estates - the caput of Strogeith and the dependency of Tullibardine - which was not dissimilar to those of Fowlis and Crieff and which, like them, lent its form to the parish which was established there in the twelfth century.

The parish of Muthill, to the west of Strogeith, stretched from the strath of the River Earn, south into Strathallan and west to the watershed with Glenartney (see Map 28). Much of the land in the west of the parish consists of poor soils at altitudes above 200m while even at lower elevations the soil condition degenerates to Class 4 and 5 west of Ochtermuthill and Dalchirla. A further area of Class 4 and 5 land exists in upper Strathallan at Braco and Ardoch, while an arm of organic soil forms blanket bog and moor eastward from Coire Odhar over the Muir of Orchill and extending onwards through Strogeith parish as far as Muirtown (NN 92 11). This moorland effectively divides the two fertile districts (Class 3 land) of the parish where the arable settlements are concentrated. The larger of these districts lies in the north of the parish, drained by the Machany Water and the Drummond Burn, while the smaller, southern district is drained by the River Knaik and the Bullie Burn, which fall into the Allan Water.
As at Strogeith, the parish of Muthill appears to have been based on a large district or unit of settlement, probably a shire, known in this case as "Cathermothel". The name represents Cathair Mhaothail, "the fort(?) of Muthill", which Watson suggests is derived from the important Roman camp in the parish at Ardoch. It may be nevertheless, that cathair should be read, as Professor Barrow suggests, with the sense of a district, possibly a defined administrative district. In his discussion of the term, Watson notes that cathair is very common, if localised, in the names of towns in Ireland, where it certainly has the meaning of "circular stone fort", but that it is rare in Scotland. Some of the Scottish instances which he sites certainly occur with reference to specific forts, as at Cadder, the site of a Roman fort, and the White and Brown. Other supposed examples, however, are much less certain. Sanquhar, sean-cathair, would only mean "old fort" if the meaning of cathair in Scotland as "fort" can be proven, but the nearby Coire na Cathrach, "corrie of the cathair" is more suggestive of a district name-meaning for the cathair of Sanquhar. Similarly, Stracathro, "the strath of the cathair", suggests a meaning other than "fort", especially when the "fort" in question cannot be located with any certainty (compare this with the similar situation at Strogeith). Furthermore, the cathair of the mormaers or earls of Lennox discussed by Watson seems much more likely to have been an administrative district with the furcas nostra de Cathar, ("our gallows of cathair"), representing part of the jurisdictional mechanism by which authority was exercised over the district. In this last instance the gallows of cathair appear similar to the (pit and) gallows rights
which attached to many Scottish baronies which had formerly been thanages. Watson’s assertion that "Cathermothel" was the name of the Roman fort of Ardoch is unsupported by surviving evidence. The name certainly occurs in connection with lands near to Ardoch but the proper sense of "Cathermothel", as with the adjacent "Catherlauenach" discussed above, is as a district. Furthermore, the village of Muthill is some five miles north of the camp of Ardoch and it is difficult to see how an initial connection could have been made between the two places in advance of the establishment of the unit which incorporated both. For "Cathermothel" to have been created as the Gaelic name of the Ardoch fort before being applied to a district such a previous connection between Muthill and Ardoch would have had to have existed. It is much more probable, however, that "Cathermothel" was created as the name of the district centred on the toun of Muthill, which housed an important early church and a local court site. If the suggestion is correct, then the cathair of "Cathermothel", "Catherlauenach" and elsewhere in Scotland should be seen as a term which was applied to units which appear similar to those which were otherwise known as shires or thanages.

Whatever the origin of the name, "Cathermothel" survived into the twelfth century as a substantial district within the earldom of Strathearn. Due to the nature of the surviving evidence it is possible to gain a clearer impression of the pattern of settlement which it embodied than for the neighbouring "Catherlauenach". Although the name of the principal toun, Muthill, is derived from Gaelic maoth Old Irish
moith, "soft, tender, yielding" (of substance or texture), probably with reference to wet ground conditions, there are some indications of pre-Gaelic settlement in the vicinity in the pit-names of Pitkellony (NN 86 16) and Pett (NN 86 15). Other local names of the P-Celtic stratum are Pirnhill (NN 87 16), from pren, "a tree", and Dalchirla (NN 82 15) which incorporates dol, "meadow, dale, valley". Around this nucleus the pattern of settlement developed in the Gaelic-speaking period with Muthill and its attendant upland (uachdar) of Ochtermuthill (NN 82 16) at the centre of a large number of places with Gaelic names. The most significant among these are three which recall davachs - Ardoch (NN 83 10), Dochlewan (NN 85 11) and Culticheldoch (NN 84 15). The incorporation of this developing settlement pattern into the larger unit of "Cathermothel" appears to have been due to the means of exploitation of the available grazing lands.

It has been noted that there is a large area of Class 4 and 5 land to the east of Coire Odhar. While such land is ill-suited to arable cropping it provides considerably better grazing than is available on the rougher hill slopes above ca. 200m and much of the land in Muthill parish between the Allan and Machany Waters appears to have been given over to common pasture. The lands of Muthill, with others in Strathearn, had been granted to Malise, son of Earl Ferteth, by his brother, Gilbert, in around 1172 x 73. Malise evidently granted the teinds of his caine and rents from Muthill and his other lands to Lindores Abbey, for in ca. 1220 x 39 his nephew and heir, Fergus, son of Earl Gilbert, granted the abbey the lands of Feddal in
"Cathermothel" in exchange for these second teinds. The lands (Easter Feddal, NN 82 09) lay adjacent to the lands of Wester Feddal (NN 82 08) which Lindores acquired at a similar date from Alexander II. In augmentation of his gift, Fergus granted the abbey the lands of Beannie (NN 82 12) and "Concrag" in 1233 x 34. An important equation can be made through these grants between "Cathermothel" and the parish of Muthill, for Feddal is said to have lain in "Cathermothel" in Fergus' charter of 1220 x 39, and in 1239 an agreement was made between Lindores and the bishop of Dunblane over the teinds from Feddal, Beannie and "Concrag" which were due to the mensal church of Muthill by reason of their being in parochia de Mothel.

The principal importance of these grants in discussing the pattern of settlement, however, lies in a subsequent declaration of 1244 x 58 by Fergus, to the effect that the lands called "Cotken" in "Cathermothel" were in the time of all his ancestors free pasture to all the men residing around them. He therefore forbade anyone to build a house in the pasture or to plough any part of it. The inclusion of this declaration in the Lindores cartulary indicates that it was of interest to the monks either because they wished to preserve their rights in the pasture for their men of Feddal, Beannie and "Concrag", or because they themselves were guilty of infringing the common right of pasture. The moor of "Cotken" (Gaelic ceitcheann, Old Irish ceitchonn, "common") is located in "Cathermothel" by Fergus' charter and was apparently connected with the arable town of Feddal and Beannie. The connection is supported by two later tacks of the lands of Beannie and "Cathkin"
made by Lindores to Sir John Stirling of Keir in 1516 and 1532. The
moor also provided common grazing for other arable town in Muthill
parish, for in 1642 John Chisholm of Cromlix was retoured heir to his
father in various lands including Nether Ardoch (now Ardoch House,
NN 84 09) with commonity in the moor of Over and Nether Ardoch called
"Cathkyne-muire", infra parochiam de Muthill. The Chisholms of
Cromlix also held the lands of Raith (NN 83 09 and NN 83 10) with the
mill of Over Ardoch (Over Ardoch is at NN 83 11), lands of Nether
Ardoch, Braco (NN 83 09), Keirallan (NN 83 08), and Gannochan
(NN 85 09) which had formerly belonged to the bishops of Dunblane and
probably had common rights in Cotken moor.

Dowden suggest that Cotken was the low moor and hill to the north and
north-east of the camp of Ardoch, while Barrow equates it with the
Muir of Orchill. Both suggestions are partly correct but neither
recognises that the moor of Cotken also extended well into the northern
part of Muthill parish. In ca. 1367 Robert Stewart, earl of
Strathearn, granted to Maurice Drummond the lands of Dalchirla and
or "Shyremore" "Serhymore" with the office of Coroner of the earldom. In 1399 this
grant was repeated with the addition to the lands of the custody of the
north part of "Cathkin" in Auchtermuthill. These offices continued
with the Drummonds and were added to their hereditary stewardship of
the earldom. In 1474 the office of Coroner was confirmed to
John Drummond of Cargill, unacum custodia de boreali Cathkend et
communi de Octer-Mythele. From these references it is apparent that
the moor of Cotken probably also included the commonty known as the
Muir of Drummawhance, which was common to the lands of Leadmachany (NN 87 15), Mill of Ness (ca. NN 87 15), Drummawhance (NN 88 14), "Tonruchan" (now Dunruchan, NN 80 16), "Craigenquhollich" (possibly Craggan, NN 81 17), "Tomerclay", "Drumlacanoch" (near Boreland, NN 85 17), Bennybeg (NN 86 18), Findal (ca. NN 87 19), Dargill (NN 86 19), Pett (NN 86 15) and the Ward of Muthill. The right of entry and exit to the moor was via Drummawhance and, as most of the lands listed above lie to the north and north-west of Drummawhance, it seems as though the moor was south of Drummawhance on the north slopes of the Muir of Orchill. We must envisage, then, a very extensive area of common moor around which the arable settlements of "Cathermothel" were arranged, and which provides clear evidence of a connection between the northern and southern districts of the cathair and of the later parish.

It is also possible to gain some understanding of the disposition of the arable components of "Cathermothel". It has been noted that the lands of Muthill were granted to Malise, son of Earl Ferteth, in ca. 1172 x 73. Although we cannot be certain of the extent of the estate it may have been equivalent to the whole cathair since it evidently included the lands of Feddal, Beannie and "Concrag" which passed to Malise's nephew, Fergus. In his grant of Feddal to Lindores Fergus also included the common easement of taking timber for construction and agricultural use from his wood. The pursuit of this right led to disputes between the abbey and local landowners in the mid-thirteenth century. In 1257 Robert, brother of the steward of Strathearn, gave up
an action (perhaps raised through official duties in the office of forester of the earldom which later passed to the Drummonds) against the abbey over their right to take timber for Feddal from the wood of Glenlichorn (NN 79 12).\(^{237}\) It would seem that the lands of Feddal were connected, therefore, with woodlands in the valley of the River Knaik to the west. A similar connection may have existed between the arable and the common grazing along the Bullie Burn which survived until the nineteenth century as the commonty of Braco and Feddal (Back Muir, 1038 acres around NN 79 10; Fore Muir, 431 acres around NN 80 09).\(^{238}\) The second agreement over timber rights was made between the abbey and Joachim de Kinbuck over the wood of "Curelundyn".\(^{239}\) This name has not apparently survived but may be represented in Torlum Wood (NN 82 18) as Torlum was formerly known as Corlundy.\(^{240}\) If this identification is correct, it provides another important connection between the northern and southern districts of the parish.

The history of the lands held by Malise, son of earl Ferteth becomes largely obscure after the time of his nephew, Fergus, but it appears that many of them reverted to the earls of Strathearn. Part of the lands, however, were granted by Fergus to one of his retainers, Sir Roger de Louuetot,\(^{241}\) who is described by Fergus as "my knight" and who held lands adjacent to Beannie and "Concrag".\(^{242}\) The lands held by Sir Roger were probably Orchill (NN 86 11) and Garrick (NN 84 12) as in 1450 David "de Loutfuete" was confirmed in the lands of "Urchilmany", and in 1536 James V granted the lands of Urchtil et Garvok cum molendino to William de Graham, earl of Montrose, following a
resignation by Patrick "Loutfut" de Urchtill (Orchill). These lands were apparently originally part of the estate of Muthill and, from their situation, may have been components of the davach of Dochlewan.

The bishops of Dunblane held a considerable estate in Muthill parish, apparently through the patronage of the earls of Strathearn. It included Braco, Ardoch, Gannochan and Keirallan in the south of the parish, and the lands of Dunruchan, Muthill, "Drumlakach" (cf. "Drumlacanoch" above), Benniebeg (mistranscribed as "Renybeg" in 1442/43), Dargill and Findal in the north. This last group of lands appears to be the same as the estate of Leadmachany which was held by the bishops in 1582 and which had common pasture on the moor of Drummawhance. It is probable that the estate was granted to the cathedral of Dunblane after the reversion of Muthill to the earls of Strathearn.

Much of the remainder of the north part of the parish was granted to the family of Drummond in the fourteenth century. In 1346, Sir Malcolm de Drummond was given the lands of "Tulicrowene" and "Dronane". His second son, Maurice, received the lands of Dalchirla and "Serhmorous", together with the custody of North Cotken and the Common of Ochtermuthill, the offices of coroner and forester of the earldom, and the demesne lands of "Drommane" and "Tulychravin", all from Robert Stewart, earl of Strathearn. Maurice was the first of the family of Drummond of Concraig who received the hereditary stewardship of Strathearn in 1371 x 89. It is not necessary to trace in detail the
subsequent history of the Drummond estates in Muthill parish, which included the whole of the north part of the parish other than the lands of the bishop of Dunblane, but it should be noted that the demesne lands of "Drommane" and "Tulychravin" are represented by Mains of Drummond (NN 83 17) and Boreland (NN 85 17) respectively, and that "Tulychravin" (the name is obsolete) at least, formed an early lordship containing Culloch (NN 78 18), Auchingarrich (NN 78 19), "Cuinyrfrowach" and "Cinycrotyr" in the west of the parish.

The identification between "Cathermothel" and Muthill parish also seems to be evident in the ecclesiastical pattern of the district, for within the medieval parish there were no fewer than three dependent chapels, at Struthill, Blairinroar and Ardoch. The chapel and holy well of Struthill (NN 85 15) are said to have been dedicated to St. Patrick, but in the Drummond charters Struthill is often associated with the lands of "Barnacles" (now obsolete, the name represents barr(n)eaclais "hill or ridge of the church") and the chapel and bell of St. Cessog, and acquired the Patrick dedication only by association with Muthill church which was dedicated to that saint. The chapel at Blairinroar Blár an Rodhar, NN 79 18) is also said to have been dedicated to St. Patrick, and the dedication survived in the name of a small hamlet, St. Patricks, just south of Culloch (NN 78 18). This chapel may represent a very old church site of fifth to seventh century date, if a P-Celtic place-name, egles, "church" is recalled by "Glashnafad", which is marked on Stobie’s map near Culloch. Neither of these chapels, with their dedications to saints of the Celtic church,
Struthill with its holy bell of Celtic type, and Blairinroar with its possibly ancient egles, can have been medieval establishments, although both survived throughout the middle ages in connection with local cults. The dating of the chapel of Ardoch is more difficult. The remains of the chapel and cemetery, which were within the remains of the Roman fort, are of medieval date, and the only evidence of an incumbent cleric dates to 1531, while the dedication of the chapel is unknown. Nevertheless, it is possible that Ardoch also had a pre-medieval chapel to serve the davach and surrounding settlements. The chapel was endowed with the lands of Raith (alias "Chapelland"), a name which it has been suggested might indicate a quarter davach, and may represent the portion of the davach assigned for the support of the chaplaincy.

The early chapels of Struthill, Blairinroar and possibly Ardoch probably developed as dependencies of the mother church of Muthill which housed a corporate body of Céli Dé who survived into the thirteenth century. It has been argued that such communities served associated churches and an arrangement of Muthill church with three dependent chapels ministering to the large shire of "Cathermothel" seems plausible. The process of parochial establishment in the twelfth century did not involve the dissociation of the chapels from their mother church as happened at times in Gowrie, the Perth district and elsewhere, but rather crystallised the earlier arrangement within the parish. In 1198 Pope Innocent III confirmed the churches of Muthill in Strathearn and Kennethmont in Aberdeenshire to Lindores Abbey with their chapels, lands, teinds and other pertinents.
The picture presented by the evidence for Muthill parish, then, is that it took its form from an extended multiple estate known as "Cathermothel", which comprised a number of substantial settlement groupings including the davachs of Ardoch, Dochlewan and Culticheldoche, the lordship of "Tulychravin", and others which are less tangible in surviving evidence, arranged around a large area of common moor with further pasture and woodlands in the higher areas to the west. This unit was focused for both secular and ecclesiastical purposes on the caput of Muthill with its important early church and court site. There is sufficient evidence to equate this cathair of Muthill with the later parish of the same name in terms of its geographical extent and settlement community. Furthermore, the ecclesiastical provision for the cathair appears to have been preserved within the parish. Muthill forms a particularly persuasive example of the influence of pre-twelfth century settlement units on the formation of parishes and is particularly useful as it embodies a large and complex pattern of a type which becomes increasingly common in upland Perthshire.

The parish of Dunblane lay to the south of Strogeith and Muthill in Strathallan (see Map 29). Much of the land in the river strath is of good quality alluvial and brown forest soil below 200m, although liable to flooding along the river banks and with pockets of poorer gleying soil along the strath from Kinbuck south to Auchinlay and west to Dalbrack and The Bows. Above 200m the land quality deteriorates rapidly and with hill and moorland including, on the northern rump of the Ochils, the extensive Sheriff Muir which was a commonty until 1772.\textsuperscript{265} The Sheriff Muir may have been the survivor of the common
Map 29
Dunblane and Kilbryde
grazing of an early shire of Dunblane (i.e. the shire muir) but no further evidence exists to indicate such a unit directly. The surviving evidence for Dunblane parish, indeed, is generally poor and the loss of most of the records for the medieval cathedral and diocese of Dunblane is particularly lamentable.

Dunblane was not, as has been thought, in Menteith, but was part of the earldom of Strathearn and formed, with the neighbouring parish of Kilbryde, the most south-westerly part of the earldom. The earls of Strathearn were prominent in the reconstitution of the see of Dunblane around the middle of the twelfth century and continued to hold patronage of the episcopal church. They also seem to have been generous in endowing the cathedral, for the bishop and chapter held a substantial estate in Dunblane and Muthill parishes of the earls of Strathearn which was confirmed to them by James II in 1443 (8 February 1442) after the forfeiture of the earldom to the Crown in 1437. The episcopal estate in Dunblane parish included the city of Dunblane itself, Brigend (NN 77 01), Corscaplie (NN 76 02), Auchinlay (NN 77 02 and NN 77 03), Drumduills (NS 79 99), Ramoyle (ca. NN 79 01), Classingalbeg (ca. NN 79 04), Buttergask (NN 87 08) and Blueton, (NN 85 08), as well as Cromlix (NN 77 06 and NN 78 06, see also Crofts of Cromlix, NN 78 03), and various pendicles of these lands. It is not known at what date the cathedral received these lands from the earls of Strathearn but Dunblane tradition of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century remembered Earl Gilbert as the founder of the bishopric. This cannot be fully accurate as the See was restored in
ca. 1150, but the tradition may have originated in an extensive landed endowment of the cathedral by the earl. 273

Apart from the episcopal lands two other substantial estates appear to have occupied the parish. The first was at Kinbuck (NN 79 04) and was held in the early thirteenth century by Sir Richard de Kinbuck, an attendant at the court of Earls Gilbert and Robert, and son of Sir Lugan who was possibly an earlier retainer of Earl Gilbert. 274 Sir Richard was one of the brothers of Ysenda, second wife of Earl Gilbert, 275 and almost certainly held the estate of the earl for knight service. He was apparently succeeded by Sir Joachim de Kinbuck (known 1246-66) 276 and then by Alan de Kinbuck (known 1287). 277 The estate appears to have included Cambushinnie (NN 78 07 with Wester Cambushinnie, NN 79 06, Mid and Nether Cambushinnie, NN 80 06 and Cambushinnie Hill, NN 78 09), as in 1395 Malcolm de Drummond, lord of Mar, confirmed grants of parts of the lands of Cambushinnie to Cambuskenneth Abbey which had been made by his predecessors, Richard son of Lugan and Joachim de Kinbuck. 278 Cambushinnie Hill survived as a commonty until the eighteenth century, 279 and it seems as though Kinbuck with Cambushinnie and the commonty formed a compact estate in the north-west of Dunblane parish.

The north-eastern arm of the parish, stretching along the southern bank of the Allan Water from Balhaldie to Buttergask contained a further estate, although the most northerly lands of Blueton and Buttergask belonged to the bishops of Dunblane. There are no early records of
this estate, known as Rottearns (rāth éireann, "Ireland's fort"), but in 1466 James III confirmed the lands to William de Stirling following a resignation by his father, Sir William de Stirling of Keir. The lands came to be known from their proprietors as Rottearns-Stirling (Raterne-Strivelin). From subsequent confirmations of the estate to the family it is apparent that Rottearns was also known as the Coigs of Strathallan. The name Coigs of Strathallan, which is now represented by Quoiggs House (NN 83 05), Dam of Quoiggs (NN 83 06) and Upper Quoiggs (NN 82 06), indicate that Rottearns was a dàvach divided into four quarters or coigs. An interesting charter of 1551 (after the lands had passed from the Stirlings of Keir by forfeiture and had been acquired by the Graham earls of Montrose) records the boundaries of Rottearns as being the church lands of Dunblane called Blueton-Buttergask, the stream called the "Mylneburne", the Water of Allan and to the limits of the mountains above "Coryne". The "Mylneburne" cannot be certainly identified but may be that which runs between Upper Quoiggs and Mains of Balhaldie (NN 82 05), and would therefore form the western boundary of Rottearns. The mountains above "Coryne" (now Carim Lodge, NN 86 04 in Blackford) must be Little and Mickle Corum (NN 95 03 and NN 85 02) and it is notable that the boundary between the parishes of Dunblane and Blackford here runs exactly along the summit watershed of Little and Mickle Corum on to Blairdenon Hill (NN 86 01). The higher lands here are steeply sloped with poor soil and probably represent the upland grazing for the dàvach of Rottearns.
The surviving evidence is insufficient to allow any closer indication of early relationships between the various estates in Dunblane parish but it is possible that they were part of a shire based around the Sheriff Muir and focused on an important religious centre originally founded in the sixth century by St. Bláán on the dun or fort site of Holmehill near Dunblane. There is some indication of pre-Gaelic settlement around Dunblane in the place-names "Pitzeavoch" (now reduced to Pisgah, NN 79 00) and Landrick (P-Celtic lanerc, "a glade or clearing", NN 79 02), so it may be possible to see this area as the nucleus around which a multiple estate pattern developed in the Gaelic-speaking period and from which the form of Dunblane parish was later adopted. By analogy with other parishes in Strathearn this seems probable even although it cannot be demonstrated in any great detail.

The parish of Kilbryde was united to Dunblane by the Commissioners of Parliament for Plantation of Kirks on 16 February 1618. There is little evidence which allows a reconstruction of the original parish to be made but it appears to have consisted of a single estate which was similar in size to those which were only components of the neighbouring parishes of Dunblane and Muthill. In this respect it is unusual for Strathearn, although the small parish of Kinkell provides a parallel.

The parish church of St. Brigid, which was the successor to an earlier church dated by its kil-name to before ca. 800, was granted by Earl Gilbert to Inchaffray after ca. 1211 when Malise, parson of Kilbryde, witnessed a charter by Bishop Abraham, and before 1219 when
the church was confirmed to Inchaffray by Earl Gilbert. It was located on the east bank of the Ardoch Burn, south of Grainston, (ca. NN 75 03) and was endowed with the adjacent lands of Bowtoun.

The estate which was served by the church cannot be reconstructed in detail but it was a late medieval barony and appears to have included Glastry (NN 74 04), Dalbrack (NN 74 05), "Carrene", mill and mill-lands of Newbole (ca. NN 75 02), Tenandry (ca. NN 75 03), "Braelane", Grangetoun (now Grainston, NN 75 04, possibly the original estate demesne) and the Chapel Lands (Bowtoun).

The clue to the form of Kilbryde parish may lie in the name of the Ardoch Burn by which it was drained. This can hardly have been named after Ardoch in Muthill parish, from which it is some seven miles distant. The burn drains away from the strath of the Allan Water into the River Teith and therefore forms a slight watershed with Strathallan which may have separated Kilbryde and Dunblane parishes. If the Ardoch Burn recalls another davach (ard-dabhach, "the high davach") along its banks it is possible that this davach, with its old church of St. Brigid, was a sufficiently distinct unit to be established as a separate parish.

The parish of Logie lay to the south of Dunblane on the southern slopes of the Ochil Hills and bordered by the River Forth (see Map 30). It was not within the earldom of Strathearn but neither did it belong to the more westerly district or earldom of Menteith. It may have had a long history as a border area and until 1891 it was divided between
the three counties of Perth, Stirling and Clackmannan. The lands of
the parish were in the possession of the earls of Fife in the twelfth
century, together with the patronage of the parish church. Duncan,
earl of Fife, granted the church to the priory of North Berwick in
1154 x 78, the gift being confirmed by Malcolm, earl of Fife, and
Simon, bishop of Dunblane. The earls of Fife may have held Logie of
the Crown, for William I confirmed the grants by Earls Duncan and
Malcolm to Northberwick of the church of Logie with the lands of
"Drumnach" (perhaps now represented by Drumbrae, NS 80 97), Airthey
(NS 81 95), Menstrie (NS 84 96) and half of "Brech". Furthermore, it
was royal brieves which enforced payment of teinds of royal fermes of
Bothkennar and Airthey in the fourteenth century.

It is difficult to trace the early settlement relationships within
Logie parish from the surviving documentary evidence, but it may be
that place-name evidence allows a better understanding of the
situation. Logie itself simply means "a hollow" but the name is
frequently associated with a saint's dedication recalling an early
church. This seems to have been the case at Logie, where the
alternative name for the church site was Logie Woloc (or Woloch),
recalling an early dedication to St. Uallach. The church was also
known as Logie Airthey, and this suggests that Airthey (which, from its
early form Athernin appears to refer to a ford, ath) was the name of
the district in which the church stood. The parish includes a number
of interesting names which may shed some light on the early settlement
organisation in the area. Manor (NS 82 95) may be compared with the
same name in Peebleshire, which is from P-Celtic *maenor*, literally
meaning "the stone girt residence of the chief of a district", but
with a more significant meaning in recalling a multiple estate
comparable with the royal manors of Gowrie. Interestingly, at Manor
in Peebles there is another place-name including the Old Welsh term
poues, "rest, repose" > Powis, which may indicate the seat of a local
chief. In Logie, the name Powis also occurs (NS 81 95) and even
combines with *maenor* in Manor Powis (NS 82 95). It is difficult to
avoid the conclusion that these names indicate the *caput* of a multiple
estate which originated in the Pictish period and perhaps came to be
known later as Airthrey. If so, early dependent *tounes* would be
indicated by the place-names Pendreich (formerly Pittendreich),
Menstrie (P-Celtic *maes dref*, "hamlet in the plain"; [of the form-
*maethrie* in William I's charters]), and Gogar. A later dependency
would be indicated by Balquharn (NS 86 97) in the east of the parish.

It seems as though the place-names of Logie parish indicate an early
multiple estate *maenor* and, in this context, it is worth noting that
the Pictish hillfort of Dumyat lies in Logie parish (NS 83 97). Dumyat
was a fort of the Pictish Maetace or Miathi and may have lain on or
near their southern border, an interesting situation given the fact
that Logie parish straddled three later sheriffdoms. The significance
of sites such as Dumyat to the development of early administrative
units of lordship is increasingly being realised and it may be that
the parish of Logie derived its form from a multiple estate which
survived into the twelfth century having originated as a Pictish *maenor*
grouped around the fort of Dumyat.
In the north-west of the earldom of Strathearn the amount and quality of surviving early documentary evidence becomes generally poorer. As a result it can be difficult to examine in detail the settlement pattern within the parishes involved - Monzie, Monzievaird, Strowan, Comrie, Tullicheddill and Balquhidder. Nevertheless, the type of settlement units which have been found to underlie parishes elsewhere in the earldom can provide useful points of comparison and allow us to maximise what evidence is available.

The parish of Monzie had, until 1891, three detached areas, the largest in the district of Logiealmond, another in the high lands of upper Glenalmond to the west of Auchnafree (NN 81 33), and a third to the east of Crieff at Innerpeffray (NN 90 18). As a result of the actions taken by the Boundary Commissioners in 1891 the detached enclave in Logiealmond actually became the main body of the parish while the other two detached areas and the original parish centre itself were annexed to Crieff, Monzievaird and Strowan. Monzie parish has therefore been altered almost beyond recognition from its original form, which is shown on Map 26.

The parish church remained an independent parsonage in the thirteenth century but was later annexed to the mensa of the bishops of Dunblane. The church can be shown to have had a Celtic predecessor from the fact that it was endowed with lands known as The Ibert (NN 88 25), which is derived from Gaelic lobairt, "offering" and denotes an early (certainly pre-twelfth century) church endowment.
The estate on which the church stood was a thanage within the earldom of Strathearn, as appears from the late medieval family of Toshach of Monzie who held lands in the parish and derived their name from their descent from earlier thanes (Gaelic toiseach or toisiche, "thane"). The lands of Monzie appear to have been divided into quarters, of which the Toshachs held only one by the sixteenth century. The other three-quarters were held by a family with the name Scot of Monzie. They are recorded as early as 1488/89, but how they acquired the estate is unknown. The main lands of the Scots and the Toshachs seem to have lain around the town of Monzie itself (NN 87 25) and it is not impossible that, as elsewhere in Strathearn, the quarters of Monzie represent the divisions of an original davach. That this was in fact the situation would tend to be confirmed by the evidence for the attachment of upland grazings in one of the parochial enclaves to the quarters of Monzie, as was the case with the davachs in Fowlis parish and seems to have been a common settlement pattern in the earldom generally. Both the Scots and the Toshachs of Monzie (the full extent of the latter's estate only becomes apparent after it had passed by marriage to the Campbells of Glenorchy had grazing lands and shielings at Auchnafree, Larichfrasken (NN 81 33), Stuck Chapel (CA. NN 78 34) and other small pendicles in the detached part of the parish in upper Glenalmond. The connection between the principal lands of Monzie and the upland grazings is also shown by later references. It seems, then, that a davach of Monzie with attendant pastures occupying the main part of the parish and the enclave in upper Glenalmond would be a reasonable assumption.
Such a pattern would not, of course, account for the inclusion of the other two detached areas in Monzie parish. Unfortunately, there is little evidence for the lands of Innerpeffray, which belonged to the Drummond family,\textsuperscript{321} which explains their incorporation in the parish of Monzie. They seem to have comprised a compact, self-contained estate and this may have been an original dependency of the caput of Monzie. The Logiealmond enclave provides better evidence. It was centred on the town of Logie (NO 01 29) and before 1320 belonged to the family of Logy of that Ilk (later Logy of Logiealmond).\textsuperscript{322} It may be possible to date the origin of the possession of the lands by that family to the mid-thirteenth century, as the first recorded member is Malise de Logy, second son of Sir Malise, steward of Strathearn, who in ca. 1260 received the adjacent Glenalmond lands (in Fowlis parish) from Earl Malise (II).\textsuperscript{323} Since Malise had adopted the surname de Logy by that date it is probable that he already held the Logiealmond estate of the earls of Strathearn. In 1320 Sir John de Logy had his lands forfeited for his part in the Soules conspiracy,\textsuperscript{324} but his son, also John, was later restored to the estate by Robert Stewart, earl of Strathearn, and David II.\textsuperscript{325} The barony of Logy came to be known as Logiealmond during the fifteenth century,\textsuperscript{326} and passed through heiresses to the Hays of Errol, the Drummonds, and finally the Stewarts of Grandtully.\textsuperscript{327} Only from the period of Grandtully lordship is a record of the full dimensions of the barony preserved, but it had not apparently been altered or divided since the thirteenth century. From this record it can be seen that the barony occupied the whole of the Logiealmond enclave of Monzie parish.\textsuperscript{328}
The Logiealmond enclave should most probably be compared with the
adjacent Glenalmond part of Fowlis parish which was a substantial
dependent estate of the main *caput* of Fowlis. A similar situation
existed at Crieff with its large Glenalmond dependencies. The three
parishes of Fowlis, Crieff and Monzie were curiously intermixed and, as
a later reason for this cannot be found, this disposition seems to have
been borrowed from the extended multiple estates on which the parishes
were based. The relationships between the various components of
Fowlis, Crieff and Monzie were therefore formed at a period before the
twelfth century. It seems most probable that they arose as a result of
a regulated division of the valuable pasture lands in and above
Glenalmond accompanied by the extension of arable settlement where
possible from the principal lowland *caputs*. As there is place-name
evidence of developed settlement in the Pictish period around the *toun*
of Fowlis and Crieff at least, it may be plausible to suggest the
period of the main Gaelic colonisation of Strathearn in the ninth and
tenth centuries as the date when this extension of settlement from the
early centres took place, giving the final form to the large shires
which in turn determined the shape of the later parishes.

The parishes of Monzievaird and Strowan were united in the late
sixteenth or early seventeenth century but were formerly separate as
the areas north and south of the River Earn, which now runs through the
united parish, respectively. Strowan parish was the smaller of the
two and extended from the south of the Earn on to the ridge of the hill
of Torlum, bordering Muthill parish, while Monzievaird lay north of the Earn between the River Lednock and the Barvick Burn and extended into the higher hills to the north as far as Creag na h-Iolaire (NN 75 27) and Ben Chonzie (NN 77 30), including Glenturret. The united parish had four detached areas in Glenartney but this seems to have been a post-Reformation development and has been discussed above in connection with the reconstruction of the form of Tullicheddill parish. The form of the parish has also been altered by the annexation to it in 1891 of an area of land which was claimed by no parish at Auchnafree (NN 81 33), and of certain lands from Crieff, Monzie and Fowlis Wester parishes. The parishes are shown on Map 26 as they were before these changes took place.

There is little early evidence for either parish. Both parish churches, St. Ronan's of Strowan (NN 82 21) and St. Serf's of Monzievaird (NN 84 23) were in the patronage of the earls of Strathearn and were granted to Inchaffray Abbey. Both were also the successors of earlier churches. St. Ronan's bell, of Celtic type, was the property of Strowan church and was kept by a dewar who was supported by the town of Ballindewar (ca. NN 81 21), while the kirklands of Monzievaird were known as lie Yburd (Gaelic Iobairt, "offering"). The estates which came to be the parishes of these churches were thanages of the earldom of Strathearn. Duncan, thane of Strowan, witnessed charters by Earl Gilbert in 1200 and 1201 x 03, but there is scant record of the thanage thereafter. Skene suggests that the sixteenth century family of Toshach of Monzievaird (Gaelic toiseach, "thane")
were the descendants of the thanes of Strowan, but there is no evidence to support this contention and no reason why the Toshachs of Monzievaird could not have been descended from earlier, but unrecorded, thanes of Monzievaird itself. This latter suggestion is, indeed, more probable, as the family held a substantial estate in the parish comprising the lands of Monzievaird (now represented by Brae of Monzievaird, NN 84 24, and Loch Monzievaird, NN 84 23) and Glenturret, in a similar way to which the Thanes of Edindunning and the Toshachs of Monzie held lands within their respective parishes. Closer examination of the thanages of Strowan and Monzievaird does not seem possible in the light of the scarcity of evidence, but the likelihood that they, with their early churches, provided the basis for the twelfth century parishes fits well with the situation elsewhere in Strathearn.

The parishes of Comrie and Tullicheddill were united in the sixteenth century, but it is largely possible to reconstruct the dimensions of Tullicheddill parish (see Map 6). Tullicheddill was among the lands granted by Earl Gilbert to his brother, Malise, in 1172 x 73, and the church was granted by the same earl to Inchaffray, but thereafter there is a long silence in the records about the parish. Not until the sixteenth century do the lands of Tullicheddill (alias Cultybraggan) reappear in documentary sources, when it is evident that there were a number of tenants on the estate, the most prominent being the Redheughs. It may be just possible to identify the type of settlement structure in the parish as a principal estate, known in the seventeenth century as the barony of Tullicheddill, with a group of dependencies in upper Glenartney, but little more can be said from surviving evidence.
The parish of Comrie is little better served by the sources. Much of the land of the parish, which stretched from Comrie (NN 77 22) along both sides of Loch Earn to Lochearnhead (NN 58 23), lies above the 200m contour with steep slopes and generally poor soil. Arable settlements were concentrated in the eastern part of the parish in the strath of the River Earn and lower Glen Lednock, with only a few towers along the lochside below 200m. Not far from the eastern end of Loch Earn was the hill fort of Dundurn, a frontier post of the Pictish province of Fortriu in the seventh to ninth centuries. Although an important site at that date the status of the fort declined rapidly after the Picto-Scottish union of ca. 843 when the local emphasis fell increasingly on the centres of lordship in the more fertile parts of the mormaership of Strathearn at Crieff and Fowlis. The early chapel of St. Fillan at Dundurn never became a parish church, that status going rather to St. Cessoc's church of Comrie. The parish church was an independent parsonage in 1274/75 but was appropriated to the support of a prebend in Dunblane cathedral before 1306.

It is not certain that the lands of Aberuchill (NN 74 21) were in Comrie parish rather than Tullicheddill but in 1322 x 29 Earl Malise (IV) granted them to Sir John Murray of Drumsergard, together with the adjacent Rossruchill. In any case, Aberuchill, despite its long history as a settlement, does not seem to have been of particular importance in either parish. The principal estate in Comrie parish appears to have been the lordship of Comrie which, by the fifteenth century at least, carried with it the office of mair of Strathearn.
The lordship had its principal arable towns in the river strath around Comrie and in lower Glenlednock, to which soums of pasture and other grazings were attached. The now obsolete name Aberlednock, at the junction of the Lednock and the Earn, provides evidence of the antiquity of at least some of the settlement in this district. The full dimensions of the lordship of Comrie cannot be recovered from the documentary record but it may be that the parish had the same type of settlement pattern as Tullicheddill with a principal estate and a large hinterland.

The author of the Statistical Account for Comrie parish says that it formed the western boundary of Strathearn. While that is geographically accurate it is not true of the medieval earldom of Strathearn which extended westward to include Balquhidder. The fermes of Balquhidder are accounted amongst those of the earldom regularly in the fifteenth century.

Balquhidder parish reaches from the west end of Loch Earn south to Loch Lubnaig and west along Loch Voil and Loch Doine to the border of Perthshire and Argyll. Much of its land is mountainous and, as in Comrie, arable towns are concentrated along the more open parts of the river straths in the east of the parish. The principal lands were situated around the Kirkton of Balquhidder (NN 53 20) at the east end of Loch Voil. The parish church, which succeeded the old church of St. Angus, remained independent in the thirteenth century but had been appropriated as a prebend of Dunblane Cathedral by 1432.
The settlement history of Balquhidder is more clearly understood than in many of the parishes of highland Perthshire thanks to the detailed research of Dr. James Stewart. He has noted the long-standing importance of the Kirkton of Balquhidder as a religious focus and caput of lordship as well as a strategic crossing-point of ancient north-south and west-east land routes. More importantly, he has argued convincingly for the considerable antiquity of the settlement pattern embodied in Balquhidder parish and suggests that it was a thanage within the mormaership of Strathearn whose traditional tenants, the chiefs of what was to become Clan Labhran (MacLaren), were related by blood to the mormaers (later earls) of Strathearn. The kinship can be traced back to the time of Earl Malise (I) and Disiab, ancestor of Clan Labhran, in the early twelfth century.

In what is a very significant argument for our discussion, Stewart demonstrates that within the larger multiple estate of Balquhidder there were four component estates or lordships. The first, known in medieval record as the Barony of Balquhidder, was the duthchas or heritable land of the Labhran chiefs, and was a unit comprising Tulloch (NN 51 20), "Lembar", Lednascriden (ca. NN 53 20), Kirkton of Balquhidder, Achleskine (NN 54 20), Achtoo (NN 52 20), Cuilt (ca. NN 57 22) and "Drumness". The chiefs of Clan Labhran also held what was to become the barony of Strathyre, and had overlordship of west Balquhidder and Ardveich. These four estates completed the territorial structure which underlay the parish. The historical durability of these units (which did not begin to alter radically until
the later seventeenth century) within the settlement pattern of Balquhidder has been demonstrated clearly by Stewart from documentary evidence which it is not necessary to rehearse again here. What is perhaps specially significant is that Stewart's findings show that Balquhidder conforms to a common pattern in Strathearn with parishes based on large settlement units composed of a number of estates focused on a caput which contained the local administrative and ecclesiastical centres. Given this, it is probably not necessary to imagine, as Stewart does, a partible inheritance between Clan Labhran heirs in the twelfth or thirteenth century to account for the fourfold division of Balquhidder into its component estates, as the similar pattern elsewhere seems to be of greater antiquity, especially where it can be shown that the dependencies were related to davachs. Balquhidder forms a fitting conclusion to our discussion of the earldom of Strathearn which illustrates so clearly the powerful influence of the pre-twelfth century settlement pattern on the formation of medieval parishes.
APPENDIX II:

The 'Stayt' of Crieff: A court site of the earldom of Strathearn

In his report on the muniments of Charles Home Drummond Moray of Abercairney, John Stuart, Steward, says that,

several documents illustrate the mode of proceeding in the courts of the Earls Palatine of Strathearn, which were held by their stewards on a hillock called the 'Stayt' or 'Schat' of Crieff, near the town of that name. This seems to have been a large sepulchral mound adapted to the purpose of a meeting place. It was removed about ten years ago, and on trenching the site, two cists were discovered, in one of which human remains and an urn were discovered.

(HMC 3rd Report, 1872, app. 418)

A description of the site of the Steward Court of Strathearn is given in the New Statistical Account of Crieff in 1838 (NSA x 497), where it is said that the spot referred to is a circle of about twelve yards diameter, situated in a field belonging to Mr. McLaurin of the Broich, about half a mile south-east of Crieff. In "comparatively modern times" the circle had been surrounded by a low wall of earth and stone. The NSA also tells us that in 1665 the court was moved to the newly built Tolbooth in Crieff.

The term 'Stayt', used to describe the court, appears again in certain of the Atholl muniments at Blair Castle. In 1516 and 1583, retours of service were "expede at the 'Skath' of Crefe", ('Scait' of Crieff in 1583) before the Steward of Strathearn, (Atholl Charters nos. 84, 118).
On the basis of the above references, Mungo Headrick submitted a paper to the Society of Antiquaries in 1913 entitled "The 'Stayt' of Crieff - a bronze age burial site", (PSAS 48, 1913-14, 365-69). In the article, Headrick discussed the site where an urn, now in the National Museum of Antiquities, had been found. He gives the following description of the site:

Prior to 1860 there was, on the lands of Broich, a low mound some 12 yards in diameter, which had at one time been surrounded by a wall of earth and stone. The site is indicated on the O.S. (Ordnance Survey) map, about 330 yards east of the entrance to Broich, on the south side of the road leading from Crieff towards Highlandman, and on the field side of the narrow belting of wood which skirts the road there. In November, 1860, the mound was levelled and ploughed over, exposing two burial cists and a clay urn.

The site does not survive on the modern O.S. map, nor is it marked on the First Edition of the O.S. 1" map (1896), although there is a standing-stone marked near the place described by Headrick. On the First Edition 6" map, however, the "Stayt of Crieff (site of)" is indicated as described above. By comparison of this site with the modern O.S. maps a grid reference for the 'Stayt' can be given approximately as NN 867 207.

As to the name 'Stayt', Headrick suggests that it is for stede, steid, 'a place', and cites a legal usage from Balfour's Practicks, "then aucht the clerk to title the court, makand mentioun of the day, zeir, and steid, quhan and quhair the court is haldin". (The reference can be found conveniently in Stair Society 21, 1962, 38). Headrick's argument is strengthened by the fact that Balfour is specifically discussing procedure in baronial courts at this point.
Notes to Chapter 7:

1. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* iii, 49-51
2. *Scone Liber* no. 1
3. ESC nos. 49, 74, 94, 109
5. See Chapter 2, pp. 42-4, above.
6. *Inchaff. Chrs.* xxiii-xxviii and nos. 1-9. The priory became an abbey in 1220 or 1221; MRHS 91
8. *Inchaff. Chrs.* lxix-lxx; *Scots Peerage* viii, 253-54
14. See Table I, above, for dates of parishes.
15. See Chapter 4, pp. 102, above.
16. Spalding Club Misc. ii, 313-14, no. 17
17. *C.A.Chrs.* i, nos. 85-6
18. *Ibid.* nos. 92, 103
19. *Retours, Perth,* no. 478; *RMS* iii nos. 2099, 2517
20. *RMS* iii, no. 834
21. See Chapter 4, p. 102, above
22. *NSA* x, 1017; *Perth Rental*, 98
23. The higher lands above Fossoway - Couls Knowe, Easter and Wester Downhill, Ferneyhill, Tormaukin and Whiterigg - were annexed to Glendevon parish in 1891; Shennan, *Boundaries*, 220.
24. *Inchaff. Chrs.* no. 136
26. Fraser, *Grandtully* i, no. 7
27. *Ibid.* nos. 16, 17, 41; *RMS* iii, nos. 1184, 1372
28. *OSA* xi, 224-25
29. Adams, *Commonties*, 133
30. *RMS* ii, nos. 2088, 3567
31. From *Retours, Fife*, nos. 311, 759, 770 and *RMS* ii, no. 1995, it seems as though Tulliebole parish was originally in Fife, but it is not clear how or when it ceased to be so and became a part of Kinross.
32. *RMS* vii, no. 1261
33. *Retours, Perth*, nos. 288, 745
34. Moray Reg., Cartae Originales no. 9; cf. *Scots Peerage* i, 452-53
35. Douglas, W., "Culross Abbey and its Charters", (PSAS 60, 1925-26, 67-94), 76
36. *Retours, Perth*, nos. 588, 681
37. *OSA* xi, 228
38. Raine, *North Durham*, no. 144
40. *RMS* viii, no. 1817
41. Shennan, *Boundaries*, 267
Hence there was very little potentially good arable land in the parish. Class 5 land is only useful for pasture, Soil Survey of Scotland; Sheet 5, Eastern Scotland, Macaulay Institute for Soil Research (Aberdeen, 1982), 170.

MHC 7th Report, app. 703-716, Report on the charters of the Dukes of Atholl, no. 7. (Atholl Charters); Moray Reg., Cartae Originales no. 9.

Atholl Charters no. 13
Ibid. no. 36

For Bordland, "land providing supplies for the lord's table", see POST i, 304; cf. RRS vi, no. 281 for the demesne of Glendevon (dominica de Glendovane) used where Bordland appears in later charters. Neville's suggestion that "Bordland" as a place-name signifies the extension of arable cultivation in Strathearn in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is misleading and seems to be based on an incorrect assumption that the name means "borderland" or something similar. Neville, C.J., "The Earls of Strathearn from the twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century", (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1983), 8; cf. note 178, below.

Inchaff, Lib. app. no. 12
Adams, Commoneties, 197


Inchaff, Chrs. nos. 21, 22, for confirmations of the church to the abbey.

Ibid. nos. 4, 9, 11, 14-16, 19
Neville, "Earls of Strathearn", 174-75

Inchaff, Chrs. lxxx
See ER iii, 33, no. 90. for the scire de Donyn.

Inchaff, Chrs. no. 9; cf. no. 5
Ibid. no. 76
Ibid. no. 77
Ibid. nos. 113, 114

Inchaff, Chrs. no. 130
Ibid. nos. 133-34
SRO GD 56/28-30; GD 56/35; GD 198/223

Cf. CPMS 448, 481, 488, 493, for similar names.


SRO GD 56/35; cf. Perth Rental, 93, for "Greenhill, formerly Glendunning or Common of Dunning, part of Thanesland".

The church and kirklands were on the site of the modern Dunning village. The kirklands were called Kincledia, which is at NO 02 14 in Dunning village; SRO GD 56/48.


NLS Adv. Ms. 15.1.23, no. 11; SRO GD 56/36
NLS Adv. Ms. 15.1.23, nos. 9, 10
367

cf. **HMC 3rd Report**, 406; NLS Adv. Ms. 15.1.23, note 1 to no. 9

**RRS** ii, no. 136

**Atholl Chrs.** no. 9

**CPNS**, 248; Professor Barrow has discussed the significance of *neimhíd* names in a recent paper read to the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh.

**SRO TE 8/2, p. 795; See Chapter 4, p. 98, above.**

**Inchaff. Chrs.** app. no. 5

**Ibid.** no. 116

**Ibid.** no. 76

**SRO GD 220/1/A1/3/3**

**CPNS**, 388

**SRO GD 220/1/A1/3/3**

**Inchaff. Chrs.** app. no. 5

**CPNS**, 351-52

**SRO GD 220/1/A1/3/3-4; cf. **HMC 2nd Report**, app. 165-77

**ACP** Non-Scriptural,

**Inchaff. Chrs.** nos. 9, 18, 31

**Ibid.** no. 54

**Lind. Cart.** nos. 22, 23

**ER** iv, 51

**SHS Misc.** ii, 25


**RRS** v, no. 337

**Scots Peerage** vii, 35-36; cf. **RRS** vi no. 318; **RMS** ii, nos. 1549, 2169, 3306; **SRO GD 160/17/4**

**Retours, Perth**, no. 708

**Adams, Commoneties**, 184

**Perth Rental**, 95

**Inchaff. Chrs.** no. 67 describes the garbal teinds of Feddal as pertaining to the church of Auchterarder.

**RRS** iv, 286

See Chapter 4, pp. 103, above

**Retours, Perth**, nos. 88, 752

**Inchaff. Chrs.** nos. 9, 15

**Ibid.** no. 45

**Moray Reg.** app. no. 14

**Inchaff. Chrs.** no. 52

**Ibid.** no. 34

**RMS** ii, no. 947

**Ibid.**, cf. no. 2946

**CPNS** 500

Barrow, **Anglo-Norman Era**, 125; **Inchaff. Chrs.** lix-lx; nos. 27, 46

**Scots Peerage** i, 452 and note 4

**Atholl Chrs.** no. 13

**RMS** ii, no. 284

**SRO GD 90/1/15; Inchaff. Lib.** app. no. 8

**Retours, Perth**, no. 896

**RMS** ii, no. 947

**Retours, Perth**, no. 283
117 OS A xli, 442; Neville, "Earls of Strathearn, 20-21; cf. Fraser, Grandtully, app. 1, no. 72
118 CPNS, 458
119 Ibid. 463
120 Ibid. 267
121 cf. Barrow, "Childhood of Scottish Christianity", 6, for egles becoming "clash" in the place-name Ecclesdouenaunin > Clashbennie.
122 CPNS, 119
123 Inchaff, Chrs. no. 9
124 CPNS, 452
125 Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 320
126 Inchaff, Chrs., 317
127 Ibid. no. 96
128 Fraser, Grandtully, app. i, no. 72
130 Adams, Commonwealth, 190-91
131 Note also the connection between Fowlis and Pitlandy suggested by the fact that Thoebald de Fowlis (tebald de foahlais), who witnesses Inchaff, Chrs. no. 26, in ca. 1208, later appears as Theobald de Pitlandy (ibid. no. 56; cf. no. 103)
132 Adams, Commonwealth, 190-91
133 See below p. 319
134 Inchaff, Chrs. no. 3
135 Ibid. no. 37
136 Ibid. 317-8
137 See Chapter 6, p. 260, above.
138 Inchaff, Chrs. no. 96
139 Fraser, Grandtully, app. i, no. 73
140 Now annexed to Little Dunkeld and Monzie parishes; see Shennan, Boundaries, 211.
141 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 269 and note 39
142 Ibid. 269-70; Easson, op. cit., 64-65.
143 Fraser, Grandtully, app. i, no. 69
144 Perth Rental, 109
145 See Appendix II, below.
146 Neville, "Earls of Strathearn", 19
147 ER iii, 34-35
148 CPNS, 351-52
149 Ibid. 352-53
150 Ibid. 471
151 Ibid. 414-17
152 Inchaff, Chrs. lxxxii-iii
153 CPNS, 417
154 Inchaff, Chrs. no. 55
155 Ibid. no. 57
156 The town included the Bordland or lord's demesne; RMS ii, no. 3465
157 Adams, Commonwealth, 188
158 RMS iii, nos. 2573, 3057
The place-name Inchbraikie has as its first element *innis*, representing an "island" of high land in a water-logged district. Compare Inchaffray and Isle (NN 95 23) in the Pow marsh to the east of Inchbraikie.

Stobie shows "Galdenbeg" at ca. NN 86 21; cf. RMS vi, no. 395, which shows that Gallwellmore and Beg were in the area now occupied by the town of Crieff.

RMS vi, no. 395

SRO GD 160/59/6

RMS iii, no. 2833

Shennan, Boundaries, p. 56, 207, 209

*Atholl Charters* no. 34

Ibid. no. 36

Ibid. no. 44

Ibid. no. 96

CPNS, 311

Fraser, *Grandtully*, app. i, no. 73

*Atholl Charters* no. 22; cf. nos. 24, 25

Ibid. no. 93

Retours, Perth, nos. 501, 598

*FFS* iv, 257; the form of Strogeith, Dunblane and Muthill parishes before the creation of Ardoch is shown on Stobie’s map.

Shennan, Boundaries, pp. 66, 220

SRO GD 160/12/4/1

SRO GD 160/2/10; GD 160/41/1; RMS ii, nos. 2269, 2534

See RMS vii, no. 930 for "Bordland de Strogeith aliter lie Maynig". This reinforces the point made in note 46 above.

SRO GD 160/12/13-15; RMS ii, no. 3500; iii, nos. 1557, 1789

Retours, Perth, no. 708

CPNS, 493

Inchaff. *Liber*, p. 90; cf. note 179 above.

Inchaff. *Chre.*, no. 39

CPNS, 223

There is no known hillfort site on Carlownie Hill.


Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, p. 63 and note 284; cf. pp. 333-34, below

*Moray Reg. Cartae Originales* no. 10

Ibid. no. 12

*Inchaff. Chre.*, 327

RRS ii, no. 136 and p. 211 "Comment"

Ibid. no. 136

*Inchaff. Chre.* lxix-lx; *Lind. Cart.* lxviii; *Scots Peerage* viii, 243

*Inchaff. Chre.* no. 75

SRO GD 220/1/1/3/3 David de Graham, however, was accumulating many estates in this period, possibly through land speculation, so it may not be necessary to postulate a marriage to Amabilie de Strathearn; Duncan, *Making of the Kingdom*, 562-63

SRO GD 24/5/1 no. 6

See above p. 328, and note 194
198 Scota Peerage i, 453 and note 7
199 Moray Reg., Cartae Originalae no. 13
200 Ibid., no. 14
201 Ibid., no. 15
202 SRO GD 198/2
203 Neville, "Earls of Strathearn", 177
204 SRO GD 198/6; GD 198/8
205 cf. SRO GD 198/12 and GD 198 passim (Haldane of Gleneagles muniments); St. Mungo's chapel of Gleneagles is at NN 93 08; cf. OSA xi, 91
206 CPNS, 223, 365
207 See above p. 328, and note 193
208 CPNS, 222-23
209 RRS ii, 49-51
210 For the church see MRHS, 51. The court site was known as Ward of Muthill (NN 868 172). cf. Neville, "Earls of Strathearn", 22.
211 cf. Barrow, Kingdom, 7-68, esp. 65-66
213 CPNS, 351
214 cf. Ibid., no. 414
215 RRS ii, no. 136
216 Lind. Cart., no. 24
217 Ibid., no. 22
218 Lind. Cart., no. 26; cf. no. 54; the "Concrag" here is not Concraig, NN 85 19; cf. Ibid., 244
219 Ibid., no. 54
220 Ibid., no. 28
221 CPNS, 135-36
222 Lind. Cart., 299-300, app. iii, nos. 67, 69
223 Retours, Perth, no. 503; cf. no. 652
224 Ibid., no. 503
225 Ibid., where the lands are described as in baronia de Dunblane. The Chisholm lands in the episcopal barony are not surprising since the family provided the bishops of the See for over a hundred years from 1487; Dowden, Bishops, 207-8
226 Lind. Cart., 245
227 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 52
228 SRO GD 160/1/3/1
229 SRO GD 160/1/5. The charter is now missing from the collection but is recorded in an inventory of 1701.
230 SRO GD 160/2/2-3
231 RMS ii, no. 1160
232 SRO GD 160/36/4; GD 160/37/9
233 SRO GD 160/34/4; GD 160/36/13; GD 160/37/6; GD 160/37/9; RMS v, no. 440
234 RMS v, no. 440
235 RMS ii, no. 136
236 Lind. Cart., no. 24
237 Ibid., no. 111
238 Adams, Commonleis, 183
239 Lind. Cart., no. 112
240 Porteous, A., *The History of Crieff*, (Edinburgh, 1912), 93
241 Roger de Luetot witnesses charters by Fergus in ca. 1220 x 39
and 1233 x 34; *Lind. Cart.* nos. 24, 26
242 Ibid. no. 26
243 Anderson, *Oliphants*, 10, no. 17; *RMS* iii, no. 1594
244 *APS* ii, 58, app. no. 8
245 *RMS* v, No. 440; See p. 40 above
246 *RMS* i, app. ii, no. 1086; note of a confirmation charter by
David II, dated to ca. 1346 by *Scots Peerage*, vii, 331
247 SRO GD 160/1/2; GD 160/1/3/1-2; GD 160/1/5; Fraser,
*Henteith* ii, 249, no. 32
248 Ibid. 276, no. 48; confirmation by Patrick, earl of Strathearn
dated 14 Feb. 1408 (1409), of a now lost charter by Earl David
Stewart, (1371-1382 x 89).
249 *Atholl Charters* nos. 26, 39
250 *OSA* xii, 788; Macfarlane, *Geographical Coll.* i, 128-33
251 *ACP Non-Scriptural*, 102, marked on OS 1 : 10 000 as St. Patrick's
Well and Chapel.
252 SRO GD 160/7/1; GD 160/17/3
253 *PFS*, iv, 284
254 *ACP Non-Scriptural*, 102
255 Marked on OS 1" maps, 1st edition, now obsolete.
256 cf. Barrow, "Childhood of Scottish Christianity", esp. p. 6
257 *ACP Non-Scriptural*, 102; MacFarlane, *Geographical Coll.* i,
128-33
259 *RSS* ii, no. 1020
260 Petours, *Perth*, no. 503, now Chapel Hill (NN 83 09) and Slacks of
Wraith (NN 83 10).
261 Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 52
262 *Lind. Cart.* no. 47; *Moray Reg.*, 469; *North Berwick Charters*,
7, 12
263 Cowan, "Parochial System", 46-7
264 *Lindores Liber*, 39-40, app. no. 2
265 Adams, *Commonties*, 189
266 Barrow, *Kingdom*, 52
267 e.g. *Scots Peerage* vi, 124
268 See Chapter 2, p. 52, above
269 *APS* ii, 58 app. no. 8
270 Ibid.; for Bleto-Buttergask, now Blueton, see *RMS* iv, no. 622
271 *RMS* iv, no. 2912
272 Turnbull, W.B.D.D., (Ed), *Extracta e variis chronicis Scocie*,
(Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1842), 92.
273 It is worth remembering in this context the (erroneous or
exaggerated) assertion by Bower that Earl Gilbert divided his
earldom into three parts, giving one third to Dunblane and
another to Inchaffray; *Inchaff. Chrs*, xxvi.
274 Ibid., nos. 27, 30-31, 40-41, 43; p. 273; Barrow, *Anglo-Norman
Era*, 125
275 *Inchaff. Chrs*, no. 46
276 *Lind. Cart.* no. 23; *Inchaff. Chrs*, nos. 74, 76, 87, 95
277 Ibid. no. 118
278 Ibid., 273; Camb. Reg. no. 68
279 Adams, Commonties, 183-84
280 CPNS, 227
281 RMS ii, no. 88
282 RMS ii, no. 1811
283 "Reterne-Strivelin alias Coygis de Strathalloun", RMS ii, no. 2751; "Reterne-Striveling alias nuncupat le Coigis de Strathalloun", Ibid. no. 3846
284 cf. Easson, "Systems of Land Assessment", 70-71
285 RMS iii, nos. 396-97, 2673
286 RMS iv, no. 622
287 Barty, A.B., The History of Dunblane, (Stirling, 1944), 20. Holmehill is shown on Stobie's map at ca. NN 79 00; cf. CPNS, 164-65.
288 cf. Barty, op. cit., 21; CPNS, 356
289 Barty, op. cit., 82
290 Inchaff. Chrs., nos. 31, 39
291 Retours, Perth, nos. 905, 963
292 Barty, op. cit., 13-34
293 Shennan, Boundaries, 272, 276-77, 280-83
294 N.B. Chrs., nos. 5, 7
295 Ibid. no. 9
296 RSS v, nos. 71, 124
297 See Chapter 3, pp. 79-80, above.
298 SPDC 9 (1963-65), 70, 150; 10 (1966), 11; Walcott, M.E.C., Scoti-Monasticon : The Ancient Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1874), 206
299 N.B. Charters nos. 5, 11
300 cf. CPNS, 477-78
301 cf. CPNS, 383
302 See Chapter 5, p. 125, above.
303 CPNS, 382-83
304 Ibid., 413
305 Ibid., 364; North Berwick Charters no. 9
306 CPNS, 210
307 Wainwright, F.T., et. al., The Problem of the Picts, (Perth, 1955), 6, 24, 30, 51
308 Professor Leslie Alcock has been the pioneer of this work; a brief summary of his views is presented in PSAS 118, (1988), 327-334, a synopsis of his Rhind Lectures given at the University of Edinburgh in 1988.
309 Shennan, Boundaries, 207, 213
310 Inchaff. Chrs., nos. 56, 96, 112, 114 for parsons of Monzie until 1283.
311 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 151
312 Retours, Perth, no. 494, has terras ecclesiasticas seu gleba vocata the Ibert ecclesiae de Monzie.
313 CPNS, 254
314 Dwelly, op.cit., 960-61; Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 239
315 RMS iv, no. 894; v, no. 904
316 RMS ii, no. 1823; cf. Ibid. iv, no. 2554
Compare the davach of Fowlis divided into four touns and the davach of Rottearns with its four coigs, discussed above, pp. 316-17, 347.

RMS v, no. 904

RMS ii, no. 965; Retours, Perth, no. 494

Ibid. nos. 623, 806


Fraser, Grandtully i, ccxxxv

See above, pp. 318-19.

Fraser, Grandtully, i, ccxxxv; Barrow, G.W.S., Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland, 3rd Edition, (Edinburgh, 1988), 310

Fraser, Grandtully i, no. 72; RRS vi, nos. 353, 406

Fraser, Grandtully, i, no. 92

Ibid. ccxxvii and nos. 96, 100, 104

Perth Rental, 101

See above p. 319.

See above pp. 322-3.

Wilson, J., Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane 1662-1688, (Edinburgh, 1877), 24-25. The parishes are shown as north and south of the Earn on Stobie's map.

Inchaff, Chre., nos. 22, 39, 112

Fras., Chre., nos. 22, 39, 112

PMS iv, nos. 2061, 2062; CPNS, 254

Inchaff, Chre., nos. 15, 19

Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 270

PMS ii, nos. 3343; iv, nos. 2605, 2748

PES iv, 262

See Chapter 4, pp. 111-12.

RRS ii, no. 136

Inchaff, Chre., no. 41

SRO GD 160/3/2

SRO GD 160/3/1; GD 160/3/3; GD 160/3/5-6; GD 160/3/8

Retours, Perth, nos. 217, 493, 880


The last recorded historical date for the fort is 889; Gilbert, op.cit., 168-71.

A parish of Dundurn was supposedly annexed to Comrie in the sixteenth century (FES iv, 268), but there is no evidence for the existence of such a parish before the Reformation, (Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 52). FES iv, 268, says that Dundurn parish (alias St. Fillans), was disjoined again from Comrie in 1894 but it is more probable that it was established for the first time at that date.

Comrie was listed as an independent parsonage in Bagimond's Roll (SHS Misc vi, 54, 71), but had been appropriated to Dunblane by 1306 when the incumbent cleric is recorded as vicar. (C.A.Chre., i, no. 86).

SRO GD 24/5/4

Its place-name contains P-Celtic aber, "confluence".
351 RMS II, no. 1248
352 RMS II, no. 640; cf. nos. 1248, 2296; iii, no. 1288; Retours, Perth, no. 672
353 OSA xii, 269
354 ER v, 170-75, 202-25, 248
355 See Table 2, above.
356 Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 14
358 Ibid. 21, 23, 30-32
359 Ibid. 44-46, 55-56, 65
361 Stewart, op.cit. 66
362 Ibid. 76
363 Ibid. 77
Chapter 8

The Parish Units (4) : Central Perthshire
Lying to the north of the River Almond, west of Cowrie, and south-east of Atholl lay a substantial district which contained thirteen parishes: Auchtergaven, Clunie, Dunkeld, Kinclaven, Lagganallachie, Lethendy, Little Dunkeld (which included the late medieval parishes of Caputh and Dowally), Logiebride, Luncarty, Lundeiff (later known as Kinloch), Moneydie, Obney and Redgorton. With the exception of Luncarty, which was in St Andrews, all of these parishes were in the diocese of Dunkeld and no fewer than eleven of them had their teind revenues applied to the uses of Dunkeld Cathedral or were in the patronage of its bishops. Given this, and the fact that a significant amount of land in the district belonged in property to the bishops of Dunkeld, it is particularly unfortunate that so few records of the medieval cathedral and diocese of Dunkeld have survived. As a consequence, many of the questions surrounding the formation of parishes and the disposition of early settlement in this central region of Perthshire are difficult to resolve. Furthermore, not even the fact that many estates in the district were in royal hands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has provided much documentary evidence to assist in answering these questions.

Historically, much of the district was known as Stormont. While that term is now generally applied only to the part lying to the north-east of the River Tay it is clear that it formerly also included the lands between the Almond and the Tay. An early topographical account of Stormont describes it as being composed of two parts, one lying to the north-east and the other to the south-west of the Tay, while Redgorton,
which lies in the southern part, is described as in Stormont in the thirteenth century. Precisely what sort of territorial unit Stormont was, however, is difficult to assess. The name is Gaelic and simply means "stepping-stones moor" (stair, stoir + monadh). Professor Duncan has suggested that it may have been an early provincial earldom which was in royal hands before the twelfth century and comparable to Gowrie, but there are no references of any form to earls or an earldom of Stormont. It appears, moreover, that Stormont overlapped with the earldom of Gowrie and included Blairgowrie and Bendochy. Stormont, then, seems only to have been a district name and cannot be claimed with any certainty to have represented a more specific unit.

The parish of Kinclaven is the only one in the district which can be directly related to an early multiple estate, as Kinclaven was a royal thanage. The thanage or lordship was provided with a castle of twelfth or thirteenth century date, and had been converted into a feudal barony, held for the service of one knight, by the fourteenth century. The parish lay in the angle of the Tay where it turns to flow south towards Perth (see Map 31). Its church was granted to Cambuskenneth Abbey in 1189 x 94 by William II but only half of the fruits apparently passed to the abbey and the whole benefice was later secured by Dunkeld Cathedral as the prebend of the precentor.

The thanage contained the touns and lands of Kinclaven itself (NO 15 38), Airntully (NO 09 35), "Tulibeltane", "Dalmernok minore", Ballathie (NO 14 37), Innernyte (NO 12 35), "Muckersie" and minor
Map 31
Kinclaven Parish

- River Tay
- Kercock
- Kirk O' The Muir
- Balmain
- Ballathie
- Court Hill
- Kinclaven Castle
- Kings Mycel
- Innernyte
- Airthully
- Myretoun
- Taymount
- Inchtyrfe
pendicles. At first sight, this would seem to indicate a thanage which was larger than the medieval parish as Tullybelton is the name of a village some miles to the west in Auchtergaven parish (NO 03 33). Nevertheless, a charter of 1510 records that the lands of Innernyte and "Tulybeltane" in the thanage of Kinclaven had adjacent fishings in the River Tay. As the better known Tullybelton is a considerable distance from the Tay, it appears that there was another "Tulibeltane" (now obsolete) on the Tay near Innernyte and, therefore, within the parish of Kinclaven. The lands of Muckersie have also caused some confusion as there was a parish of the same name in Strathearn. The parish was on an estate of the bishops of Dunkeld and the lands of Muckersie in the thanage of Kinclaven were also an episcopal possession. The two Muckersies appear to have been confused by the editor of the Dunkeld Rental but it is clear that the Muckersie in Kinclaven was, like "Tulibeltane", close to the River Tay, in which it had fishing rights. Further confirmation of the position of Muckersie is given by a charter of Robert I confirming rights in the common pasture and moor of Airntully and Muckersie to the men of Dunfermline Abbey at Inchturey. An earlier charter of late thirteenth century date records an agreement made over these common grazings between the king's lands of Airntully and the lands of Inchturey. The moor of Airntully and Muckersie was evidently the common muir of the thanage of Kinclaven and its position is recalled by the place-names King's Myre (now a shallow drainage loch, NO 11 36), Myretoun (NO 11 35) and Moorhead (NN 10 36).
It seems relatively clear that the form of Kinclaven parish was adopted from the earlier royal thanage. The situation regarding the other parishes of central Perthshire, however, is much less clear, as there is little direct evidence of any further multiple estates.

A lordship or barony of Strathord in the district is first recorded in the thirteenth century when William I granted it to his daughter Marjorie in marriage. The estate was acquired by Malcolm, earl of Fife, in 1240 from Countess Marjorie by exchange and was held by the earls of Fife until resigned by Isabella, countess of Fife, in 1389. Precisely what was encompassed in the lordship of Strathord, however, is uncertain. The name itself relates to the district in Auchtergaven parish where the Ordie Burn forms its strath, but the barony evidently incorporated lands at some distance from the burn including Balmacolly (NO 05 34), Logiebride (NO 04 34), Over Blelock (NO 05 34), Pitlandie (NO 07 30), Balmblair (NO 07 28), Moneydie (NO 06 29), "Rogpono" and "Fordeis". Furthermore, the late medieval barony of Redgorton was created out of some of the lands of Strathord and included the manor and fortalice of Strathord, Nether Blelock (NO 06 34), Gourdiehill (NO 03 22), Letham (NO 06 32), "Balbrogow" and Pitlandie. All of the above lands lie scattered throughout the parishes of Auchtergaven, Logiebride, Moneydie and Redgorton (see Map 32), while the teinds of the Mains of Strathord were accounted under the church of Auchtergaven. Furthermore, Strathord evidently bordered Murthly on the north, probably along or near the present boundary between Little Dunkeld and Auchtergaven parishes, and as
Map 32
The Lordship of Strathord

River Tay

Munro of Thirn

Oveney Hills
Muckle Oveney
Upper Oveney
Corry Burn
Corry

Colstraner
Airlywright
Auldtregaran

Carnorie
Balnagask Burn

Balnagask

Moneydie

Glen ski

Shorel

Tullybelton

AUCHT

Leadmore

Letham

Kinnaird

Kinnaird

Kiernan

Kiernan

Kincardine

Kincardine

Kincardine

Kincardine

Kincardine

Kincardine

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Strathord was often paired with Strathbraan in charters, it may have bordered with that district on the west.

It is clear that Strathord was not a multiple estate of the type which underlies single parishes elsewhere in Perthshire as its dimensions were too large and its components too diverse. Nevertheless, it may be comparable with the multiple lordships of Abernethy, Methven, Scone and Longforgan, containing a group of multiple estates each of which formed an individual parish. In the case of Strathord, the components would have been Auchtergaven, Redgorton, Moneydie and Logiebride and perhaps also the small parishes of Obney and Luncarty. There may be some evidence to support the suggestion of such an early multiple lordship of Strathord in its place-names. Auchtergaven means the "upper part of the winter land", (Gaelic uachdar ghamhair) and presumably recalls the seasonal use of the district probably for pastoral farming. Moneydie may recall a similar function since the name incorporates the word monadh, (Gaelic with P-Celtic roots) meaning "hill ground". It is possible that these names imply specialised multiple estates with a principally pastoral role within a larger unit. Auchtergaven in particular must have been an "upper part" in relation to some other component. Much of Auchtergaven parish was formerly moorland, as is recalled by the substantial Muir of Thorn (NO 07 37 and NO 08 37) and Cairnleith Moss (NO 07 36). If Auchtergaven and Moneydie were multiple estates with a specialised function they may have been grouped with lower-lying arable estates at Redgorton and Luncarty. The name of Redgorton, from its early forms such as Rochgortene, Rothgorthin and
Rathogtanan, appears to have contained the element gortan, "a field" or "garden", a name suggestive of arable farming.

If there was such an early extended lordship of Strathord it is not easy to reconstruct any firm evidence of the component estates which may have become parishes within it. Early dependent touns are suggested at Pitsundry (NO 05 34) and Balmacolly (NO 05 34) but whether they belonged to Auchtergaven parish or to Logiebride, the dimensions of which parish are unclear, cannot be ascertained. Moneydie parish certainly contained early dependencies at Pitlandie (NO 07 30) and Pittendynie (NO 05 29), while Pitmurthly (NO 08 28) was a part of the lands and barony of Luncarty and Balmblair (NO 07 28) lay in Redgorton. Furthermore, it should be noted that the customary render of conveth, which appears to have been levied on multiple estates, was provided by at least one davach in Redgorton, and the similar render of cain was due as late as 1577 from the lands of Moneydie-Roger (NO 05 28) which formed a detached part of Auchtergaven parish. It may be that there is just sufficient evidence to suggest an extensive lordship of Strathord whose component multiple estates lent their forms to the medieval parishes of Auchtergaven, Logiebride, Moneydie and Redgorton, and perhaps Obney and Luncarty.

The lordship or barony of Strathbraan, which lay along the River Braan from Amulree (NN 89 36) to just west of Inver (NO 01 42) was first granted to Duncan, earl of Fife, by Malcolm IV in 1160 x 62. It apparently reverted to the Crown but was secured again by the earls of
Fife, with Strathord, in the thirteenth century. The barony returned to royal control again after the 1389 resignation of her lands by Isabella, countess of Fife, and were held partly by the lords of Ruthven from 1500.

The exact dimensions of the barony of Strathbraan do not become clear until the early seventeenth century, but it seems as though it had contained royal hunting forest during the medieval period. There was a royal residence at Trochrie (NN 97 39) which was probably a hunting lodge associated with the forests of Strathbraan, namely Torchaig ("Torquhak", NO 00 39), Craig Hulich ("Craignacullich", NN 89 37), Glen Fender ("Glenfyndowr", NN 89 39) and "Cambruach". In 1606, James VI granted the lands and barony of Strathbraan to Sir William Stewart of Banchory, at which time the barony comprised Innercochill (NN 91 38), Cablea (NN 91 38), Milton (NN 91 38), Deanshaugh (NN 92 38), Ballinreigh (NN 91 37), Ballachraggan (NN 93 38), Tomnagrew (NN 94 39), Tomnagairn (NN 94 39), Borelick (NN 95 39), Tombane (NN 94 40), Drumour (NN 96 39), Salachill (NN 95 42), Trochrie, Pitloch (NN 96 41), Ballinoan (NN 97 40), Ballinlick (NN 98 40), Lagganallachie (NN 98 40), Ballintow (NN 99 41), Kennacoil (NN 99 41), "Tulloch", "Tiriefowak", "Carstorune" and the "Smyddiecroft". The barony terminated on the north-east on the hill of Brannan (Birnam since the eighteenth century) and Strathbraan evidently bordered on both Murthly and Strathord, since the Forester of Brannan was instructed to observe the bounds of Murthly and Strathord in 1345. It seems probable that it was the lordship of Strathbraan which lent its form to the parish of Lagganallachie (see Map 33), although the exact dimensions of the
Lagganallachie is described as the church of Strathbraan in the New Statistical Account,4 while William Fraser recalled "a former parish, lying chiefly in the district of Strathbraan, called Lagganallachie".49 Furthermore, the patronage of Lagganallachie church pertained to the barony of Strathbraan after the Reformation.50

The parish of Lethendy lay to the north of the Tay before its union to the adjacent Lundeiff (or Kinloch) parish.51 In 1211 x 14 William I confirmed the lands of Meikleour and Lethendy to Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, as they had previously been held by his brother, Malise, as a knight's feu with the rights of pit and gallows, sake and soke, toll, team and infangthief.52 The terms of this grant imply that the feu represented the replacement of an early thanage by a feudal barony and this appears to be confirmed by the fact that the traditional render of cain was paid from the lands of Meikleour at least.53 The whole estate was held by the family of Strathearn throughout the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries54 and until Malise, earl of Strathearn, granted Meikleour to Malcolm de Innerpeffray in the early fourteenth century.55 By comparison with the situation elsewhere in Perthshire it should be expected that the thanage of Meikleour and Lethendy might have provided the basis for a twelfth century parish. Nevertheless, this does not seem to have been the case as Lethendy formed a distinct parish while Meikleour lay in Caputh (formerly Little Dunkeld). There is no evidence which might suggest that this situation resulted from changes in parochial organisation after the twelfth century and from 1505, when
records become available, it is clear that the teinds of Meikleour were due to the church of Caputh. It seems, then, that the division of the thanage or feu between two parishes was an original twelfth century feature and, as such, was untypical of the pattern discovered elsewhere. It may be that some earlier division of the estate is implied by the fact that the thanage was known unusually by the names of two places but the situation remains unclear.

To the north of Lethendy lay the parish of Lundeiff, later known as Kinloch. There are no surviving records relating to lands in the parish before the fourteenth century when the barony of Glasclune is documented. Thomas Bisset granted the barony in dowry to Isabella de Fife and, following a resignation by his son, also Thomas, the barony passed to John Herring, first of the Herrings of Glasclune. The barony had been enlarged by annexation before its components were first recorded in detail but it apparently originally contained the Mains and Castle of Glasclune and Easter Glasclune (NO 15 47), Wester Glasclune (NO 13 47), Cochrage (NO 12 51), Balcairn (NO 14 44), Galmyre (ca. NO 12 47) and "Balbirdo". There is insufficient evidence to determine whether or not this barony was based on an earlier multiple estate and, if so, whether it equated to the full parish of Lundeiff. It may be worth noting, however, that the parish contained the large commonty of Cochrage Muir which may have been in origin a shire muir.
West of Lundeiff lay the large parish of Clunie, stretching from the Loch of Clunie (NO 11 44) north. Much of the land in the parish lies above the 200m contour and consists of hill and moorland. This district was a royal hunting forest by at least 1161, known as the Forest of Clunie. In the south of the parish on the shore of the Loch of Clunie there was a motte castle (NO 11 44) which may have been a hunting lodge for the forest. A later castle, built by George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld, stood on an island in the Loch of Clunie.

The lands of Clunie evidently formed a royal estate in the twelfth century as in 1196 x 99 William I granted a toft at Clunie to William Giffard and instructed that he be put in sasine of it by the king’s sheriff. In the later fourteenth century, Robert II granted the annual rents of his lands of "Mucklywere" and Concarraigie (NO 10 44), with the mill and meadow of Clunie, to John de Roos for his sustenance while exercising the offices of keeper of the royal castle of Clunie and justiciar of the forests of Cluny and Alyth. The lands of Cluny later passed to the Herrings of Glasclune before being resigned by them in 1501 in favour of Bishop George Brown. It appears that the parish of Clunie was based on a royal estate which may be comparable in its disposition with the better documented nearby thanage of Alyth. Certainly, as at Alyth, the estate contained a substantial area of upland waste which became legally formalised as a royal hunting forest during the twelfth century.
The final parishes in central Perthshire which remain to be considered are the two Dunkelds, the very large parish of Little Dunkeld and the very small parish of (Meikle) Dunkeld (see Map 34), so named from the relative importance of their principal towns rather than on account of their respective sizes. Here, the lack of evidence concerning Dunkeld Cathedral is particularly regrettable since the parishes contained much land which was closely associated with the cathedral and the Celtic abbey which preceded it.

The situation of the parish of Dunkeld is rather obscure. The Statistical Account of the parish says that it was not extensive and that its bounds had never been defined properly, comprising only what had formerly been the city of Dunkeld. There had been a church dedicated to St. Columba at Dunkeld since before 849, which was the seat of a Celtic bishop and abbot. By the eleventh century the episcopal office was vacant and the abbey had become laicised. Indeed, both Alexander I and David I were hereditary lay abbots of Dunkeld in succession to their elder brother Ethelred, although neither king chose to occupy the office. St. Columba's church appears to have become parochial in the twelfth century and was appropriated as the prebend of the treasurer of Dunkeld cathedral. Parochial service appears to have been conducted in the cathedral church, which succeeded the original St. Columba's.

The situation is complicated by the existence of a further twelfth century church in Dunkeld, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. This church,
together with its lands of Fordie (NO 09 41 in Little Dunkeld parish, now Caputh), Bendochy and Couttie, Little Keithick, Inchturfy (now obsolete, in Auchtergaven) and "Dunmernach" (probably "Dalmernok" in Kinclaven), was granted to Andrew, bishop of Caithness, by David I. Bishop Andrew subsequently granted the church to Dunfermline Abbey and his grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV and Bishops Gregory and Richard of Dunkeld. Cowan says that Holy Trinity was the early parish church of Dunkeld and was possibly supplanted by that of St. Columba, as it disappears from record after 1234, Dunfermline having failed to make good its claim to the church. Nevertheless, Holy Trinity church was confirmed to Dunfermline Abbey as late as 1450/51, so the church apparently continued in existence until that date at least. It does not seem, however, that Holy Trinity was ever a parish church. No teind rights of the church are recorded in any of the grants and confirmations concerning it. Rather, it was the scattered endowment of lands which supported the church. The comparability of this endowment with that of Holy Trinity church at Scone has already been noted and it is significant that at Scone, which did become a parish church, the endowed lands were quite distinct from the parochial territory which came to be served by the church.

A number of other early churches in the east of Scotland were also dedicated to the Trinity including Dunfermline, St. Andrews, Brechin and Elgin cathedrals and Urquhart priory, together with the parish churches of Auchtermuchty, Moonzie, Trinity Gask and possibly Cupar, and a chapel on Forfar Loch. It is possible that many of these
dedications represent a special veneration for the Trinity which was introduced to Scotland by Queen Margaret, who had her church of Dunfermline dedicated to the Trinity in ca. 1072 after Lanfranc’s episcopal seat at Canterbury. Turgot, Margaret’s biographer, is said to have dedicated the church at Scone to the Trinity in 1114, and although this cannot have been at the same time as the foundation of the Augustinian priory, as is reputed in the source, the act of dedication may be correctly reported. Turgot may also have been connected with the establishment of the church of the Holy Trinity at St Andrews. The Scottish Holy Trinity churches may date to the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and, as they often seem to have been associated with important earlier church sites, as at Dunkeld, St Andrews, Brechin and Scone, may represent part of an intermediate stage in the ecclesiastical reformation of medieval Scotland. This would certainly have provided a historical context for the establishment of a church of the Trinity at Dunkeld which, nevertheless, did not become parochial because of the pre-eminence of the church of St. Columba and the restoration of the bishopric and cathedral church there.

The parochial status of St. Columba’s church, notwithstanding the position of Holy Trinity church, is also rather uncertain. Apart from the smallness of the parish, a charter of 1643 records that,

the kirk of Dunkell, whilk wes of old the cathedral kirk of the Diocie of Dunkell, hes bene servit be the minister at the kirk of Littel Dunkell thir [blank in manuscript] yeares bygane, and hes not beine ane paroche kirk be it self for the service of the cure and function of the ministrie thairat.
It is not clear whether this refers only to the period following the Reformation but the same charter contains provision for the erection of a new parish church of Dunkeld and the annexation of certain lands to it from Caputh. This was only partly successful as, while Tullimillies (ca. NO 02 43), Drumbuie (NO 03 44), Hatton (NO 03 44) and King's Seat (NO 01 43) were later part of Dunkeld parish, Fungorth (NO 03 43), Haughend (NO 03 42), "Graystoun" and "Blackhills", which were supposed to be similarly annexed, remained in Caputh. It seems that, from the twelfth century, the cathedral church provided parochial service for the town of Dunkeld but that at or shortly after the Reformation the parish was effectively joined to Little Dunkeld. Certainly, the parish had no obvious territorial basis and is untypical of Perthshire. It may be that Dunkeld attained parochial status in the medieval period only because of the importance of the church of St. Columba there.

In marked contrast to Dunkeld, the parish of Little Dunkeld was very extensive, particularly before the creation of Caputh and Dowally parishes out of its lands by George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld. It lay on both sides of the Tay stretching from the border with Logierait parish in the earldom of Atholl to the north-west, to Meikleour and Murthly on the south-east. Much of the land in Little Dunkeld parish belonged to the medieval bishopric of Dunkeld. The extent of the episcopal possessions is demonstrated by the creation of six land-based prebends - Fungorth (NO 03 43), Ruffel (ca. NO 10 41), Craigie (NO 11 43), Caputh (NO 08 39), Inchmagranachan (NN 99 44) and Ferdischaw (NO 00 44) - out of them, while an extensive area in the parish to the
west of the Tay was known as the "Bishopric" from the bishops' estates there. Furthermore, it was stated that after Bishop George Brown secured the lands of Fordie from Dunfermline Abbey in 1506 he was able to ride four ways between his residences of Dunkeld and Cluny all on cathedral lands, by way of Cardney (NO 05 45), Letter (NO 03 43), Stenton (NO 06 40) and Caputh.

As a result of the lack of early records for Dunkeld Cathedral, it is difficult to examine the relationship of Little Dunkeld parish to the early settlement organisation of the district. Myln says that Bishop Gregory (1139 x 47 - 1169) obtained from Pope Alexander III a bull of apostolic protection for his church with a specification of all the possessions it then held, but while a bull of protection is extant, dating to 1163, it does not specify the possessions of the church. It is particularly unfortunate that neither this nor any similar record of the twelfth century possessions of Dunkeld has survived since there is considerable uncertainty over how the bishopric came to hold its extensive lands in Dunkeld and how, if at all, these related to earlier possessions of Dunkeld Abbey.

Myln records that William I granted to Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld, the lands of Dalguise (NN 99 47) and the teinds of the royal cain of the prebenda of palaces in malt from royal demesnes and manors (manerius, i.e. shires) which had pertained to the abbey of Dunkeld. This grant cannot be fully accurately reported, as Bishop Cormac is not known after 1131 x 32 and was probably succeeded by Bishop John (1138-1139)
and certainly by Bishop Gregory before 1147, so that it would have been impossible for William I (1165-1214) to have made a grant to him. It has been suggested, therefore, that the grant was actually made to Bishop Cormac by David I as that king expressly reserved the dues pertaining to Dunkeld when he confirmed to Dunfermline Abbey in ca. 1150 the teinds of his cafin and malt of Fife and Fothrif, whereas he had not done so in a similar charter to Dunfermline in ca. 1128. Nevertheless, David I is also reported by Myln to have granted Auchtertool in Fife with thirty prebenda to Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld. As there are no difficulties in accepting the contemporaneous existence of David I and Bishop Gregory, and as Myln explicitly refers to the terms of the king’s charter (prout in carta dicti Sancti Davidis regis continetur), it seems that this grant is accurately reported. If so, it is possible that it was this grant which David I took account of in his second charter to Dunfermline Abbey. Accordingly, it may be that the grant of Dalguise and various revenues to Dunkeld was made by William I although, in that case, Myln must have mistaken the bishop to whom the grant was made. It is easier to accept that Myln, when consulting the records of Dunkeld, may have misread a "G" (for Bishop Gregory, to whom the grant could have been made) for a "C" than that he mistook the initial "W" for "D", if the bishops’ and kings’ names were not given in full.

A grant of Dalguise in the early years of the reign of William I would fit with the local tradition which records that the lands of the "Bishopric", in which Dalguise lay, were granted to Dunkeld "by King William the Lion in 1060". It may also be the case that the customary
revenues which were restored to the bishopric at the same time had been derived by the abbey of Dunkeld from royal estates in its vicinity. Nevertheless, it is difficult to discover certain evidence for royal demesnes and manerii in the Dunkeld district. The lands of Meikleour, in Little Dunkeld parish, formed part of a royal thanage and the barony of Murthly may have been a similar estate before it passed to the family de Ireland in the fourteenth century. Furthermore, in a charter of 1183 x 1203 by John, bishop of Dunkeld, reference is made to the thanages of Dulmonych and Fandufuith. Dulmonych is probably Dalmarnock (NN 99 45) in the "Bishopric" and may be the same as the lands of "Dunmernoch in Strathtay" which were granted to and then recovered from the monks of Lindores by Alexander II. It has been suggested that Fandufuith is now Findowie in Strathbraan, but although the name is correct it seems unlikely that the lordship of Strathbraan, discussed earlier, contained a separate thanage of Findowie. There is, however, a Knock of Findowie in Caputh parish (NO 04 47) and it is possible that its name recalls a town of Findowie in the vicinity which may have been the caput of the recorded thanage. If so, it may have occupied the northern part of Little Dunkeld parish which lay east of the Tay while the thanage of Dalmarnock lay on the opposite bank. This can be no more than conjecture and, curiously, the teinds of Dalmarnock and Findowie are said to have belonged to Logierait church, which was the principal church of the earldom of Atholl. The lands of the "Bishopric", however, are reputed to have been granted to Dunkeld only after the death or forfeiture of an earl of Atholl and it may be that the earls had infringed on the anterior rights of the church of Dunkeld.
during the period before its twelfth century restoration, as happened in a similar way at Dunblane." If so, the earls had appropriated revenues from thanages in the territory of Dunkeld to their own principal church of Logierait which was situated at the caput of their earldom."

There may, then, be some slight evidence to suggest a grouping of multiple estates around the abbey of Dunkeld, including Dalmarnock, Findowie, Murthly and part of Meikleour and Lethendy, which provided the territorial basis for Little Dunkeld parish. Such an unit may have been intimately associated with the abbey of Dunkeld before falling into lay control, including that of the royal lay abbots, in the period before the twelfth century. If this hypothesis is correct, however, it does not explain why Little Dunkeld, rather than St. Columba’s church at Dunkeld, became the parish church for the district. The situation remains perplexing and, as so frequently happens elsewhere in central Perthshire, the lack of early evidence frustrates attempts to resolve it.
Notes to Chapter 8:

1. See Chapter 4, p. 112, above.
2. See Chapter 2, pp. 38-9, above.
3. See Chapter 2, pp. 47-8, above and Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 164.
4. Macfarlane, Geographical Coll., ii, 571-72
5. Scone Liber nos. 100, 110
6. CPNS, 120
7. Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 164
8. Macfarlane, Geographical Coll., ii, 571-72
9. RMS i, no. 729; RMS ii, no. 3483; RMS iii, no. 1373
10. Groome, F.H., Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, new ed. iv, (Edinburgh, 1886), 397
11. RMS vi, no. 438
12. RRS ii, no. 323
13. Camb. Reg., no. 184
14. RMS i, nos. 729, 745; RMS iii, no. 1373
15. RMS ii, no. 1904
17. Dunk. Rent., 306, 309
18. Ibid., 394, (Index entry)
19. RMS iii, no. 2275
20. RRS v, no. 406; Inchturfy, now obsolete, was near Taymount in Auchtergaven.
21. Dunf. Reg., no. 332
22. RRS ii, no. 568 A
23. Balmerino Liber, no. 10
24. Scots Peerage, iv, 14
26. RMS i, app. ii nos. 1134, 1338; RMS ii, nos. 962, 1463
27. Atholl Chrs. no. 40
28. Dunk. Rent., 76, 84, 95
29. RRS ii, no. 568 A; RMS i, app. ii, no. 1223
30. CPNS, 432
31. cf. CPNS, 391-407
32. OSA xii, 29
33. Scone Liber, nos. 72, 85, 100
34. cf. CPNS, 80
35. RMS iii, no. 2974
36. See Chapter 5, p. 126, above.
37. Lind. Cart. nos. 32, 33
38. RMS iv, no. 2670
39. RRS i, no. 190
40. RRS ii, 478
41. Fraser, Grandtully i, p. li; RMS ii, no. 2557
42. Fraser, Grandtully i, p. xlvi
43. Ibid., p. xlvi
44. RRS vi, no. 1778
45. Fraser, Grandtully i, pp. xlix, 1
Ibid. no. 3
See Chapter 4, p. 103, above.
NSA x, 1013-14
Fraser, Grandtully i, p. xxix
RMS vi, no. 1778
See Chapter 4, p. 103, above.
RMS ii, no. 524
Lind. Cart. no. 24; See Chapter 5, p. 127, above
Arb. Lib. i, no. 86; RMS ii, no. 419; C.A.Chrs. i, no. 35
RMS v, no. 130
Dunk. Rent., 75, 83, 95-8, et passim, 101-189
RMS i, no. 221
Ibid. no. 350
RMS ii, no. 1995
Ibid. no. 3423
Adams, Commenties, 192-93
RMS i, no. 226; David I visited Clunie in ca. 1141, (ESC no. 136, place-date of charter) and the forest may have been established at that date.
It was traditionally a hunting lodge of Kenneth mac Alpin, (OSA xii, 256-57). The castle of Clunie is described as castri nostri by Robert II in 1376/7, (RMS i, no. 596).
Dunk. Rent., 312
RMS ii, no. 410
RMS ii, no. 410
SRO GD 16/5/3; SRO GD 16/5/6 -7
SRO GD 16/5/12
See Chapter 5, pp. 152-56, above.
OSA xii, 316-17
See Chapter 2, p. 51, above.
Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 53
Ibid. 53; OSA xii, 322
See Chapter 5, p. 143, above.
See Chapter 5, p. 143, above.
See p. 379 and note 20, above.
See p. 377, above for "Dalmernok minore" in Kinclaven.
Dunf. Reg. no. 123
Ibid., no. 123
RMS i, no. 229; Dunf. Reg. nos. 124, 125
Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 53
RMS i, no. 429
See Chapter 5, p. 192, note 26, above.
ACD Scriptural, passim
Anderson, ES ii, 64-5
Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 167; Barrow, G.W.S., "A Scottish Collection at Canterbury", (SHR, 31, 1952), 22
Anderson, ES ii, 159-60, note 3
89 Young, D., *St Andrews*, (St Andrews, 1969), 57-8; Lang, A., *St Andrews*, (St Andrews, 1893), 29; cf. however, Rankin, W., *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity, St Andrews*, (Edinburgh, 1955), 14-16, where the evidence for Turgot's involvement is questioned.

90 SRO TE 5/364

91 Dunk. Rent., 312-13

92 Ibid., 349-51

93 See Chapter 2 p. 49, above; Fraser, *Grandtully i*, xxx.

94 Dunf. Reg. no. 496

95 Dunk. Rent., 310

96 Myln, *Vitae*, 5

97 Fraser, *Wemyss ii*, 1-3, no. 1

98 See Chapter 5, p. 125, above.

99 Myln, *Vitae*, 5

100 Watt, *Fasti*, 96

101 RRS i, no. 65; ESC nos. 74, 209

102 Myln, *Vitae*, 5

103 For Myln's access to the Dunkeld records which were extant in his day see Chapter 2, p. 36, above.

104 NSA x, 1009; the date given for the grant is clearly wrong.

105 See above, p. 386.

106 Fraser, *Grandtully i*, nos. 1, 2, 3, for John de Ireland holding Murthly in the fourteenth century.

107 Scone Liber no. 55

108 Lind. Cart. no 22

109 RRS ii, 341

110 Scone Liber no. 55

111 Robertson, J.A., *Comitatus de Atholia*, (Edinburgh, 1860), 13

112 See Chapter 2, p. 55, above.

113 Scone Liber no. 55
Chapter 9

Conclusion: The Formation of Parish Units and Communities
The evidence for the forms of parish units which has been assembled in the preceding chapters demonstrates overwhelmingly the determinant influence of the pre-existing pattern of secular territorial organisation. It would not be appropriate here to attempt to discuss the origin of multiple estate organisation in Scotland, although it was of considerable antiquity. The words shire and thane were commonly used to describe multiple estates and their officers in the twelfth century, but it is clear that the institution to which they were applied had already been embedded in Gaelic and, indeed, Pictish society. For the purposes of this discussion, multiple estates are significant as they represent the standard local unit in the pattern of secular territorial and administrative organisation which was current in the period immediately prior to, and largely contemporary with, the establishment of parishes in the twelfth century. Furthermore, it is certain that the existence of multiple estates was in no way due to the Anglo-Norman influence which was to become pervasive in Scotland during that century and to which the establishment of parishes has been attributed. It is sufficient to note that the Gaelic kingdom of the Scots was organised into a network of provincial territories within which the common local unit was the multiple estate, known as the shire, thanage, cathair, or by some other name. This organisational framework would have been clearly understood by the kings and native earls who took the leading role in the establishment of Perthshire parishes. It was, after all, in the support of their lordship that multiple estates had their primary purpose.
Of the seventy two parishes which have been examined in this discussion, twenty eight can be directly related to known multiple estates in their geographical forms, while a further twenty seven may probably be so on relatively strong evidence, even although the units concerned are not explicitly recorded as multiple estates in documentary sources. In other words, over two-thirds of the Perthshire parishes under consideration shared their territorial forms with pre-existing secular administrative units.

In the two earldoms within the study area the evidence for this continuity of form is particularly impressive. The four royal manors of Gowrie: Scone, Longforgan, Strathardle and Coupar, all determined the forms of twelfth century parishes, as did the known thanages of Alyth, Cargill, Errol and Foulis. It is also very likely that Abernyte, Blairgowrie, Cambusmichael, Collace, Inchture, Megginch, Meigle, Rattray and St Madoes were multiple estates which lent their forms to parishes virtually unaltered. Of the parishes in Gowrie only three: Kilspindie, Kinnoull and Rossie, cannot be related to pre-existing settlement units with any certainty although in these cases it may simply be that the lack of surviving evidence has obscured the situation. It seems clear that the network of secular administrative subdivisions within Gowrie is fairly fully recalled by the twelfth century parish "map". A similar picture emerges from the Strathearn evidence where twelve of the eighteen parishes in the earldom can be directly related to multiple estates: Balquhidder, Crieff, Dunblane, Dunning, Fossoway, Fowlis Wester, Monzie, Monzievaird, Muthill,
Strogeith, Strowan and Trinity Gask. Another four parishes: Comrie, Tullicheddill, Glendevon and Aberuthven, apparently demonstrate a similar relationship, if on less clear evidence. The Strathearn pattern is particularly impressive as a number of large, complex multiple estates were involved, including the shires of Fowlis and Crieff and the cathair of Muthill, and their forms were adopted wholesale as parochial territories despite the fact that they can hardly have provided convenient pastoral districts.

In the Perth district and central Perthshire the available evidence presents a less comprehensive picture of the correspondence between the forms of multiple estates and parishes. Nevertheless, at least Abernethy, Forteviot, Madderty, Muckhart, Culross, Kinclaven and Lagganallachie provide clear examples of such a relationship. There are also reasonable grounds for arguing that Dunbarney, Moncrieff, Methven, Perth, Rhynd, Tibbermore, Arngask, Findogask, Muckersie, Tulliallan, Auchtergaven, Clunie, Little Dunkeld, Logiebride, Moneydie and Redgorton parishes borrowed their forms from earlier multiple estates. In total, of the seventy two Perthshire parishes which have been examined only fifteen cannot readily be connected with pre-existing estates.

When the evidence for the pre-twelfth century existence of the Perthshire churches which became parochial, and which can be shown to have had a continuity of usage from their pre-parochial to their parochial functions, is laid alongside that for the form of parish
units a further element in the pattern becomes apparent. In Strathearn, all but two of the parishes which borrowed their forms from multiple estates had parish churches which demonstrably had been churches before their parochial elevation. Thus underlying those parishes were the thanage of Balquhidder with the church of St. Angus; the shire of Crieff with the church of St. Michael; the shire of Dunblane with its communal church of St. Blàñ; the shire of Dunning, the thanage of Monzievaird and the lordship of Tullicheddill with their churches dedicated to St. Serf; the lordship of Fossoway with the church of St. Brigid; the shire of Fowlis Wester with the church of St. Bean; the cathair of Muthill and Strogeith with their churches of St. Patrick; the thanage of Strowan with the church of St. Ronan and the lordship of Comrie with the church of St. Cessoc. In addition, the lordship of Dunfallin which lent its form to Trinity Gask parish contained the church of Gasc crist. The date of the Christ or Trinity dedication is uncertain but it was most probably pre-parochial. The thanage of Monzie with its church dedicated to St. Laurence and, therefore, of uncertain date, is the only one which does not readily conform to the common pattern.

In Gowrie, a similar situation to that in Strathearn is evident, with parishes based upon the thanage of Alyth with the church of Mo-Luóc; the thanage of Foulis with the church of Mo-Ernoc; the manor of Longforgan with St. Andrew's church; the manor of Scone with its pre-parochial Trinity church; the manor of Strathardle and the estate of Cambusmichael with their churches of St. Michael; the lordship of
Collace with the church of St. Ucan; the lordship of Meigle with the early important church dedicated to St. Peter, and the lordship of St Madoes which borrowed its name from the church of St. Doc or Cadoc. The manor of Coupar, however, provided the parochial territory for the early chapel of Bendochy while the thanage of Errol was erected into a parish with a new church. In neither of these latter cases was the parish church the principal pre-parochial church of the estate but in both instances rather extraordinary circumstances explain the displacement of the churches in favour of those which became the parish churches.15

The evidence for the Perth district and central Perthshire is, once again, less full than that for Gowrie and Strathearn. Even so, the familiar pattern is apparent. In the Perth district, parishes were based on the shire of Abernethy with its important communal church of St. Brigid; the thanage of Forteviot with its early royal church; the thanage of Madderty which, as at St Madoes, borrowed its name from its early church dedication; the shire of Culross with the church of St. Serf; the lordship of Arngask with the probably pre-parochial church of St. Columba; the lordship of Tibbermore with St. Mary's church; the lordship of Findogask with the church of St. Findoca; and two of the component multiple estates of the extended lordship of Methven; Methven itself with the early communal church which was possibly dedicated to St. Bean, and Dunbarney with the church of St. Pothinus.16 In central Perthshire the lordship of Logiebride with St. Brigid's church and the lordship of Redgorton with the church of
St. Colin provide evidence of a similar pattern to that found elsewhere.

The situation regarding multiple estates which lent their forms to parishes but for which evidence concerning their churches has not survived, and of parishes with known earlier churches but which cannot be related closely to multiple estates is less certain. Such cases include the thanage of Cargill, the shire of Muckhart, and the early churches of Kinnoull, Rossie and Forgandenny. In at least some of these instances, however, it is reasonable to suppose that the combination of a multiple estate and an early church underlay the twelfth century parish, even if the available evidence prevents any more definite assertion. Indeed, only with the single toun parishes of Aberdalgie, Dupplin, Exmagirdle and Dunkeld, and perhaps of Obney, is there good reason not to envisage the translation of an early church and multiple estate into a parish.

It is clear that the patterns of secular territorial organisation and of local church provision which existed at the beginning of the twelfth century and, indeed, which had been in place for some centuries before that, exercised a profound influence on the formation of parishes. It is not an overstatement of the situation to say that the parishes created in twelfth century Perthshire were, to a very great degree, simply the well-established local territorial communities and their churches in a new ecclesiastical guise. Each multiple estate was a defined territory which had an administrative and jurisdictional focus,
the caput, and contained a community distributed throughout its component towns. The boundaries and internal relationships of each estate would have been clearly comprehended both by the members of its community and by the lord - royal, comital or ecclesiastical - who governed it and who depended on its effective operation. The prominence of those lords, as opposed to incoming Anglo-Norman settlers, in establishing parishes in Perthshire goes a long way towards explaining why the multiple estates were so readily adapted to a parochial function. Furthermore, just as the familiar secular estates generally provided the geographical basis and the community for the new parishes so too it was the long-established local estate churches which were elevated to a new status as parish churches.

The process by which the various multiple estates of Perthshire were converted to their new parochial role is explicitly and fairly fully demonstrated by David I's grant of the church of Longforgan to the priory of St. Andrews in 1147 x 52. King David gave to the canons the ecclesiam de Forearund cum decimis et consuetudinibus et rectitudinibus de toto dominio meo et de omnibus hominibus meis de Foregrund et de Foregrund seihire; the church of Forgan with the teinds, customary renders and rights of his whole lordship and of all his men of the town of Forgan and its shire. This grant conferred upon the church of Forgan a new parochial status by applying to it the teind revenues of the community who lived within a defined and well-established lordship, the shire of Forgan. The coincidence of the name of the church, the principal town and the shire at Longforgan should be noted as it
provides an important point of comparison for the situation elsewhere. Just as the church of Forgan was first the church of the shire of Forgan before becoming the church of the parish which adopted the common name, so too the ecclesiam Sancti Ethernani de Madernin should be understood to be the church of the thanage of Madderty in a parochial guise, the ecclesiam Sancti Beani de Poulis the shire church of Poulis Wester, the ecclesiam de Fortheuie the church of the thanage of Forteviot, and the ecclesiam de Strathardolf the church of the royal manor or thanage of Strathardle. These are only some examples of the common charter practice, which no doubt reflected the true situation, of referring to each parish church as the church of the estate in which it lay, and confirms the role which the churches had previously held in relation to the estates. The "church of Strathardle" is an explicit example of this form as Strathardle was the name of the estate rather than of its caput and kirktown, Kirkmichael. As such, it confirms the practice of naming churches by their estates which is less clearly visible elsewhere where caput and estate both carried the same name. The relationship between estate and church which underlies the name form was translated into a relationship between parish and church in the same way that the estate concerned was utilised as the territorial and community basis of the parish. It is worth noting that the name form "X of Y", where "X" is a feature and "Y" the name of a place, as in "church of Forgan" is a basically Gaelic word order, although represented here in charter Latin, and, accordingly, such names are not likely to have been created in Perthshire much later than the early twelfth century, especially as
they relate to prominent elements in the toponymic landscape. The name form, rather, points to an established usage in the Gaelic kingdom. A further example of the process of parochial formation may be provided by Perth, where the church was entitled to the *totam decimam omnium dominiorum Regis de Perth*. This evidence is less explicit than that for Longforgan but again shows a parish which was defined directly by reference to a pre-existing unit in the settlement pattern.

There is little doubt, then, that in the great majority of cases the formation of parishes in Perthshire during the twelfth century was accomplished by the translation of existing local estate units and their churches into a new role as parishes and parish churches. Shires and other multiple estates became geographical parishes, shire churches became parish churches, and shire communities became communities of parishioners. The establishment of teind rights, indeed, which legally created parishes, had the effect of hardening boundaries and fossilised the patterns of territorial organisation and settlement of pre-twelfth century Scotland. As a consequence, parishes and parish boundaries have preserved substantially intact a record of those patterns since the twelfth century despite subsequent changes in the structure and character of secular landholding and territorial order.

The introduction of parishes to Perthshire, as to Scotland generally, took place from the reign of David I and was completed before the end of the twelfth century. It was a product of an increased royal
awareness of contemporary European ideas and institutions and of the corresponding desire by the kings of Scots to develop their realm in accordance with those ideas. Parochial formation was a crucial part of the ecclesiastical reformation which brought the church of the kingdom into full participation in the Roman Catholic Church of medieval Christendom. Since it was the court and aristocracy of Norman England that provided the most direct channel through which the kings of Scots had access to the new modes of thought and government, the formation of parishes may in many ways be said to have been an "Anglo-Norman" innovation. The evidence from Perthshire, however, clearly demonstrates that the process did not depend on the prior settlement of Anglo-Norman lords at local level. Nor was the institution of the parish imported and applied in any abstract manner. Rather, it was adapted to the existing social and territorial structure of the Gaelic kingdom. The parishes of twelfth century Perthshire were elements in a wholly orthodox and thoroughly reformed branch of the European Catholic Church. Their genesis lay in an Anglo-Norman milieu: they were nonetheless distinctively Scottish.
Notes to Chapter 9:

1 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 64-5

2 Ibid., 58-64. The large number of Perthshire multiple estates which have at least a Pictish "core" of a caput and one or more dependencies bearing P-Celtic place-names is notable.

3 See Chapter 1, pp. 16-19, above.

4 See Chapter 2, pp. 52-4, above.

5 The evidence for Gowrie is discussed fully in Chapter 5 above.

6 The only evidence for a disruption of earlier settlement relationships during the formation of parishes concerns Inchmartine; see Chapter 5, pp. 148-9, above.

7 Discussed in Chapter 7, above.

8 Logie, on the southern border of Strathearn, also demonstrates the relationship between multiple estate and parish, while the thanage of Auchterarder bore some relation, if now obscure, to the parish of the same name. Both parishes are discussed in Chapter 7 although neither lay in the earldom of Strathearn.


10 Discussed in Chapters 6 and 8, above, respectively.

11 See Chapter 3, above, for a full discussion of this evidence.

12 Dedications to Christ appear to be earlier than those at the same churches which were later accorded Trinity dedications. Trinity Gask may belong to the group of late eleventh or early twelfth century Trinity dedications in Fife, Perthshire and elsewhere and its Christ dedication, or at least its church, may be considerably older. See Chapter 3, p. 92, note 40, above.

13 Laurence appears to be a twelfth century dedication but it may have replaced an earlier commemoration at Monzie, just as it was added to St. Commán's church at Rossie. See Chapter 3, p. 83, above.

14 The Trinity church at Scone was quite definitely pre-parochial; cf. note 12 above. See Chapter 5, pp. 127-27, above.

15 See Chapter 5, pp. 143-44, 170, above.

16 The dedication of the church of Moncreiffe, the third component estate of Methven, is unknown and there is no other evidence of a pre-twelfth century church there even if such a church seems likely.

17 ESC no. 225; cf. Chapter 5, p. 146; RRS i, no. 174, has ecclesiam de Foregrund cum ... decimis et rectitudinibus ecclesie pertinentibus de tota schira de Foregrund.

18 Inchaff. Chrs. no. 9; cf. ibid. nos. 4, 14.

19 Ibid. no. 28

20 RRS i, no. 257; cf. RRS ii, no. 161

21 RRS ii, no. 242

22 Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 53; Nicolaisen, Scottish Place-Names, 58-9.

23 English place-names were being formed in much of the study area in the twelfth century, displacing Gaelic name formation.

24 Dunf. Reg. no. 237
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NLS Charters (NLS Ch.)
NLS Society of Antiquaries Collection, Cartae Variae

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