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edited by
Richard A.V. Cox
and
Simon Taylor

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The Journal of Scottish Name Studies

JSNS is a peer-reviewed journal that exists to publish articles and reviews on place- and personal names relating to Scotland, her history and languages.

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THE ARRAN PLACE-NAME SURVEY

1974–75

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the early spring of 1974 I was presented with the opportunity of undertaking a collection and survey of the place-names of the island of Arran.¹ This unusual situation came about as a result of the wishes and desires of the Arran Society of Glasgow to have a scientific collection and assessment of Arran place-names undertaken by the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh. In this regard, the then incumbent of the Chair in the School, Professor John MacQueen, was asked by the Society to provide personnel for this assignment. I was not the first but in fact the fourth (if I recall correctly) to be asked; the previous three, for one reason or another, were unable to complete the task.² Now under pressure from the Arran Society, Prof. MacQueen, mindful that I had expressed an interest in the project, called me into his office and put the case to me. He said that many of the recordings made by Prof. Nicolaisen were of poor sound quality – Nicolaisen himself admits that in his own Tape Register – and suggested that I take over where Nicolaisen had left off and seek to re-establish contact with as many of his informants as possible who were still living. It was pointed out to me that prior collections were incomplete and I would have to rescue what was left in Arran to complete the job. This I agreed to do.

2. THE NAME *ARRAN*³

OIr. nom. *Ara, Arand, Arann: Arann na n-aignhedh n-imdha* ‘Arran of the many stags’, gen. *Arann: loingsech Ile ocus Arann*, dat. *Araind* (cf. Watson 1926, 96),

¹ For background information regarding Arran, see *The Book of Arran* I (1910), II (1914), McLellan (1970), and Storrie (1967a/b). For details of Arran Gaelic, see Shaw (1778), Kennedy (1894–96), Robertson (1896–97) and Holmer (1957). For earlier works on Arran place-names, see Cameron (1890) and Currie (1908). For present-day works, see Fraser (1999).

² So far as is known, the first was Prof. Dr Wilhelm (Bill) F. H. Nicolaisen (1927–2016) who made a substantial collection of Arran place-names from oral sources between June 1961–July 1964. Second and third, so far as I am aware, were Ian A. Fraser and William Gillies. Finally, Ian Fraser was asked by Prof. MacQueen, apparently under pressure again from the Arran Society of Glasgow, to complete the Arran place-name survey and prepare the material for publication. It finally came out in Fraser 1999. Of his eighteen informants (*ibid.*, 66), five were new to him, eleven were taken over from Nicolaisen and two from myself. He told me he recorded two of his informants at any rate in 1981 (tape reference no. PN1981/05; personal comm. via telephone with Ian Fraser 2/3/2018).

³ Cf. Broderick (2013, 18–19; 2017, 151–52).

MxB *Aran*, Fordun II, 10 *Arane*, MWIS §3 *Aran*, MM 217 *Arran*, ON (Háks 322) *til hereyeia* (var. *uið hereyar*), (ibid., 326) *hers-ey*,⁴ G *Arainn* [εrin'] (GA 6),⁵ [ar'rinj] (SAG 123).

Watson (1926, 97) regards the meaning of Arran (with short initial *a*) as 'unknown, and the name may be pre-Celtic', but views (ibid. 87) Ir. *Árainn* (with long initial *ā*) as deriving from OIr. *áru* 'kidney', from its shape. In this regard, Ian Fraser (1999, 11) makes the following pertinent remarks:

The fact that Arran is roughly kidney-shaped is not in dispute, but to suggest that those who coined the name were aware of the nature of the physical outline of the island is stretching credibility to the limit. There is absolutely no reason to believe that Dark-Age man looked at Arran as an entity in the shape of a kidney. Nevertheless, islands and island groups viewed from the sea can present characteristic shapes and outlines, to the extent that sailors approaching from a distance may well have been influenced by such impressions when selecting a name. This is true also of mountains, since many peaks are named because of the shape or outline which they exhibit, and not from any characteristic which may be obvious when one views the land from their summits (Fraser 1999, 11).

However, Deirdre and Laurence Flanagan (2002, 17) suggest that Ir. *Árainn* (with long initial *ā*) 'is a word construed as meaning "ridge" and is virtually confined to Aranmore, Co. Donegal: *Árainn Mhór* 'large ridge', and the Aran Islands, Co. Galway: *Árainn* + Islands 'ridge (islands)', presumably from their shape as seen from a distance, though without any discussion. In this same vein, but with some discussion, Owen and Morgan (2007, 17–18) regard the two examples of *Aran* that they cite, viz *Aran Benllyn* and *Aran Fawddwy*, as 'ridge' names < *ár* + dim. suffix *-an*, including the two diminutive forms, viz *Arenig Fach/Fawr*, as well as the related 'ridges' of the collective variant *Eryri* (ibid., 443).⁶

In this context see also PCelt. **ar-*, *ara-*, *aro-* 'moving, rising, raised' with

4. As noted by Nicolaisen (1992, 3), the Old Norse name for Arran, *Hersey*, 'is only recorded in connection with the movements of Hákon Hákonsson's fleet in 1263. It is therefore difficult to judge how widely the island was known by the Norsemen and for how long they used a name of their own for it.' However, given that there are seemingly similar names in Norway (e.g. *Hereyar*, *Hereane*, as supplied to Nicolaisen by Hermann Pálsson), the Arran variant may owe its existence to the Norwegian names.

5. E.g. [bɔn' i mi də ɣerɪn'] 'I belong to Arran', but original [a] is sometimes retained: [dɔɫ ə ɣarɪn'] 'going to Arran' (GA 100).

6. Watson (1926, 97) notes also that there are several Welsh names which appear similar: *Afon Aran* (Radnorshire), *Aran Mawdd-[w]y* and *Aran Benllyn* (hills near Bala); *Arenig Fach/Fawr* (hills North-west of Y Bala).

o-grade root cognates in OIr. *or* m. *o*-stem 'border, limit', MW *or* m. 'border, edge'; Av. *ar-* 'get moving', Gk ὄρος {oros} 'mountain', Hitt. {arai} 'gets up'. PIE root: formation originally preconsonantal zero-grade PIE **h₃r-* < **h₃er-* 'get moving' (IEW 326–32, LIV 266–67). The meaning 'border' of the Neo-Celtic reflexes derives from the frequent appearance of mountains and ridges as political and ethnic boundaries (cf. Isaac PNPG/CE, s.v. *ar-*, *ara-*, *aro-*). The Irish, Scottish and Welsh forms in *a-* would predate the *o*-grade forms of Neo-Celtic. All the same, a pre-Celtic origin of the name, as Watson suggests (above), cannot be ruled out either.

On the question of the meaning '?ridge (island)', from what I have seen either in real life or from photographs, this could apply to *all* examples of *Aran* (variously spelt) in Ireland, Scotland and Wales (*pace* Coates 2009, 232; 2012, 62).

3. THE ARRAN PLACE-NAME SURVEY 1974–75

3.1 GAELIC IN ARRAN

Although at the time of my visits to Arran in 1974–75 there were a number of Gaelic speakers living in Arran, they were in fact not from Arran itself, but from further north in the Hebrides, from such places as Skye, Lewis etc. In my time, so far as was then known, only one fluent native speaker of Arran Gaelic – Donald Craig, see below – was still living, though there were others who had spoken Gaelic in their younger days, but who had forgotten most of it through lack of use in the meantime. With regard to Gaelic in Arran, Holmer (1957, 1–2) notes that three sub-dialect areas⁷ were then attested: (1) Northside (around Lochranza, including Catacol and Cock of Arran area); (2) Westside (Shiskine and west coast); (3) Southside (Corriecravie to Brodick).

The latter two are closer to each other than to the Northside and show similarities to Manx and East Ulster Irish. The Northside dialect bears resemblance to Tarbert (Mid-Argyll) Gaelic, presumably from its ferry connections with the Tarbert area. However, Arran Gaelic, particularly in the West and South, was at that time in a precarious position. It was on the point of extinction, and with it also a knowledge and pronunciation of the older Arran place-names as attested by the tiny number of Arran tradition-bearers still living at that time. For linguistic reasons, at any rate, Arran was a 'high priority' area for investigation by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (Gaelic Branch) and the precarious linguistic situation there now became a matter of urgency.

3.2 PROVENANCE OF THE INFORMANTS

Between the years 1961 and the 1990s, three place-name surveys of Arran

7. See also Robertson 1896–97, 229.

were conducted by the following investigators: Wilhelm Nicolaisen (1961–64), George Broderick (1974–75) and Ian Fraser (1981), in which fifty-one informants all told were sound-recorded, many by more than one investigator.⁸ Work was undertaken throughout the island, but obviously concentrated on those areas where place-name knowledge could be found. As a result, the informants were categorised according to the area scheme noted above, but with an additional area in the east to cater for the place-name knowledge found there, viz Northside, Westside, Southside and Eastside.

The fifty-one informants were distributed as follows: Northside 5/51 (9.80%); Westside 25/51 (49.02%); Southside 18/51 (35.29%); Eastside 3/51 (5.88%).⁹ That is to say, the largest number of informants came from the Westside, where Arran Gaelic evidently held out the longest. The reputedly last native speaker of Arran Gaelic, Donald Craig (1899–1977), originally of Auchencar, Machrie, latterly of Pirmill, came from the Westside.

3.3 MY FIRST VISIT TO ARRAN (MARCH 1974)

At the time of my first visit to Arran, I was working from November 1973 to July 1974 as a research assistant and clerk for the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (Gaelic Branch) (LSS)¹⁰ under the direct supervision of David Clement¹¹ whom I had accompanied as assistant on several occasions (even before November 1973) to Arran to obtain taped material of Arran Gaelic from its surviving informants, as a result of which I was fairly *au fait* with the scene in Arran. In order to give the place-name undertaking some depth, Clement advised me to work on the topic for a doctorate, and to this end I registered for a PhD at the University of Leeds in March 1974 under the supervision of the Celticist and Manx expert Robert L. Thomson. The first part of my task took me to the Ordnance Survey and Rolls Offices in Edinburgh and to the Estate Office for Arran in Brodick to assess the amount of place-name material lying in documentary sources.

My preliminary visit to Arran to make sound-recorded interviews took place between 19–20 March 1974 (travelling there and back on the days before and after these dates). For my visit I was equipped with an Uher 4000 Report-L professional tape recorder as used by the LSS, along with a number of blank

8. Details of this can be found in the Appendix under Provenance of Informants.

9. Details of the various places with numbers of informants from each area can be found in the Appendix under Provenance of Informants.

10. The overall director of the LSS (Gaelic Branch) was Kenneth H. Jackson, Professor of Celtic Studies, University of Edinburgh.

11. I first met David Clement in August 1972 when Professor Jackson sent him to the Isle of Man to interview the reputedly last native Manx Gaelic speaker, Ned Maddrell. I accompanied Clement on his visit to Ned Maddrell on Thursday 17 August 1972.

reel-to-reel tapes and a set of six-inch Ordnance Survey maps of the island.¹² During this preliminary visit I made recordings from three persons, viz George Macalpine of Glen Rosa (formerly of the Cock of Arran), John Kerr of South Newton (by Lochranza) and Jimmy Kelso of Shiskine. Of the three informants I visited, John Kerr and George Macalpine were former informants of Nicolaisen; Jimmy Kelso, a local character from Shiskine, was known to David Clement.

3.3.1 NEWS OF A SUDDEN HEART ATTACK

I was only a short time back in Edinburgh from my first Arran visit when news came that John Kerr¹³ – our only informant from the South Newton district near Lochranza and with a knowledge of some forty rare Gaelic names from that area – had apparently suffered a sudden heart attack and lay on his deathbed in Lamlash hospital. David Clement ordered me to betake myself back to Arran pronto. I left Edinburgh the following day in the LSS van and arrived in Arran late that same afternoon, and made for Lamlash hospital early the following morning. I found John Kerr lying in his bed in a weak state. I did not take in the tape-recorder and maps out of respect for the situation. Nevertheless, I could not risk his sudden departure, so I discreetly asked him the names – he knew what to give – and I took them down in phonetic script, forty-two names in all.¹⁴ I was conscious all the while of obtaining as much of the passing tradition as I could, since the knowledge of it would die with him if uncollected. I managed to get the names down and was very grateful to him for them. I was about 20–30 minutes or so with him; he died two days later, as we later heard.

3.4 FUNDING

Given the success of the two-day preliminary visit of March 1974, efforts were now made to seek to obtain funding for the project over a three-year period. To this end I went back to Professor MacQueen to discuss matters with him. We mulled over such possibilities as the British Academy, Carnegie Trust etc.

12. For the final visit to Arran in May 1975, I inadvertently forgot to pack my set OS maps before leaving! Fortunately my erstwhile host, Mr Peter Mackenzie, had a set which he said I could make use of for the visit. He indicated I could keep hold of the set until I was finished with it. For the purposes of the place-name transcription, Mr Mackenzie's set is marked 'Set 2'.

13. According to David Clement, John Kerr 'had an authentic pronunciation, but couldn't be induced to produce good stretches of spoken Gaelic, even by Willie Matheson.' (email: Clement-Broderick 14/8/2009). In a second email later that day, Clement added, 'John Kerr had a good pronunciation and what he said in Gaelic was reliable' (email: Clement-Broderick 14/8/2009).

14. My notes just tell me that I took down the names in 'March 1974', i.e. before 31 March of that year.

However, nothing came of it. At the beginning of 1975 or thereabouts, David Clement sought funding from private business contacts which yielded the small but welcome sum of £250 – required for daily living for one year at that time was something like £1250 – but which nevertheless enabled me to get started with my first 1975 Arran visit, in the hope that further funding might materialise.

On my return to Edinburgh – after the first 1975 visit – it became clear that no further funding would be forthcoming. The £250 I had had barely covered the costs of the first visit. I then stood at a crossroads. Should I give up the project entirely or should I reassess the situation? The position was this: Arran Gaelic was on its way out. It was believed there was just one full speaker left (Donald Craig), as noted earlier. But there were a number of Arran people still around who could provide me with the Gaelic names in an expected pronunciation (as I was to witness fifteen years later in the Isle of Man). Should I take a chance and leave things for a while, or strike now while the iron was still hot. I spent a night in rumination and the following morning took the decision to continue with the oral collection on the money I already had. I then went to my bank and arranged and obtained a personal loan of £1000 to ensure completion of the oral collection. As a result, copyright on the material subsists in my name.

3.5 MY VISITS TO ARRAN IN 1975

My first 1975 visit lasted for a week, from 15–21 February (working from 16/2 to 20/2/1975), during which time I recorded eight informants. The visit started off with an informal visit to Shiskine character Jimmy Kelso and, accompanied by his wife and a local pal of his, all four of us made merry with plenty of whisky, and Jimmy entertained us with local stories¹⁵ and songs, including a stanza or

15. One of the stories Jimmy Kelso related concerned a murder committed on Goatfell, Arran's highest mountain, in July 1889. He says, 'About the year 1890 when my father was coming home one day he met a man who was running towards him on the road and he was very short of breath and sweating profusely, and my father was wondering what was up with him as he went by. Some months later he discovered that it was a certain John Laurie, the same man who had been sentenced and imprisoned in Perth gaol for murder. According to tradition, Laurie was spending his holidays in Arran with a friend of his, Englishman Edwin Rose, a fellow workmate at their work in Lanark, and the two of them were staying in accommodation in Brodick. One day they went for a walk in the mountains, and when they reached the northside of Goatfell facing Glen Sannox it was there that Laurie pushed his friend over the cliff and buried him in a narrow cave at the foot of the mountain and covered him with heather. It was some time afterward that a shepherd's dog discovered the decayed body.

'The authorities did not arrest Laurie at all until another friend of his saw him walking the streets of Glasgow wearing an expensive sheepskin coat and recognised the coat as that belonging to Rose. He then spoke to Laurie about it and persuaded him to give himself up to the authorities. He did just that and a while later was committed

two of the renowned Arran song *Faidhir an Seasgairn* 'Shiskine Fair'.¹⁶ The next day the recording sessions got underway in earnest: my first 'victim' was Donald Craig (see above); seven other informants followed (see Appendix).

My second 1975 visit to Arran took place soon after the first, from 28 February to 17 March (working from 1 March to 16 March), and the third visit from 15 May to 23 May (working from 16 May to 22 May). By that time I felt I had obtained as much as I was likely to get on Arran place-names, collecting material from a total of thirty-one informants on nineteen reel-to-reel tapes (see Appendix). Although it took me a good while to repay the loan, nevertheless, I felt it had all been well worthwhile and I was satisfied that I had rescued the available oral material of Arran Gaelic place-names from almost certain oblivion – the documentary material could be obtained at any time.

Shortly after my third and final visit to Arran, I left Edinburgh and shelved the Arran material until a later date and cancelled my PhD registration at the University of Leeds. However, as it turned out, I registered for a PhD a second time two years later, in 1977, at the Queen's University of Belfast (under the supervision of Professor Dr Heinrich Wagner) in order to conduct work on Late Spoken Manx, which was awarded in December 1981. Eight years later, I undertook a survey of the place-names of the Isle of Man, which was to take me sixteen years to complete (1989–2005) (see Broderick 1994–2005).

3.6 COLLECTING PLACE-NAMES IN ARRAN

During the course of my visits to Arran between 1974–75, I interviewed, as noted above, some thirty-one informants, mainly on the western side of the island where traditions seemed to have lingered the longest, and all of them were most helpful in availing me of their knowledge. The place-names obtained from the Arran people were mainly Gaelic and consisted of names of settlements – farms, villages, bothies, towns etc. – mountains, hills, glens, passes, crevices, individual rocks and unusual features, gullies – George Macalpine was particularly

to Perth prison. He was not condemned to death but was kept there in bondage for many years. It is a curious thing, but when his day of release came he said he would prefer to stay in prison than to go back home. And it came about that he died in prison without seeing home again.' Jimmy told us that story on 16 February 1975, and the full story came out in the *Scotsman* on 10 October 2005. [See 'The Arran Murder, 1889' in William Roughead, *Twelve Scots Trials*, Edinburgh and London: William Green & Sons, 273–302 – Eds.]

16. This tells of a horse-trading fair held at night at the former mill which occupied the site to the rear of the present Hamilton Arms hotel in Shiskine. The fair was discontinued c. 1865, or thereabouts, seemingly through growing lack of support. For Kelso's text, see *Tocher* 28 (Spring/Summer 1978), 254–55. For fuller texts, cf. Holmer 1957, 180–81, *The Book of Arran* II, 344–47; cf. also Broderick (forthcoming).

forthcoming with such names in Glen Rosa – fields, parts of fields – particularly good in this respect was Jock Henderson¹⁷ for the Whitefarland area – roads, paths, coastal inlets, creeks, tidal rocks, islets etc. In many cases my informants, who had not used or heard some of the names for quite some time, occasionally required time to think them through. In order to put the informant at ease and to obviate any inhibitions, spiritual assistance in the form of a wee dram of whisky was offered. This is an integral and indispensable part of the field-worker's equipment in Scotland,¹⁸ coming under the rubric of entertainment, and was usually dispensed before work commenced. Not all informants availed themselves of this facility, however.

In some cases it was not only place-names that were obtained, but also stories, including memories of illicit distilling and smuggling, the Clearances, fairy tales of the International Folktale variety (e.g. Jock Henderson's 'An duine cruiteach agus na sitheachan' (the humpbacked man and the fairies)), stories about various personalities (e.g. 'Seònaidh 'Leasbuigh', i.e. John Sillars of Balliekine) and the occasional (Arran) Gaelic song, as noted above, etc. One of my informants, a Ms Marion Murchie of Lochranza, was well up on certain aspects of Arran history, particularly relating to the Dukes of Hamilton and Montrose, former Earls of Arran.¹⁹

17. There was apparently some concern about Jock Henderson's origins, that it was thought for a while that he came from Lewis and, if so, that his pronunciation of the Arran Gaelic place-names would be correspondingly affected. Former LSS field-worker David Clement wrote: 'I know JH attended Gaelic classes from a Lewis man [...]. I knew JH's father was an English speaker – his mother had spoken so little English when she went into service in the lowlands [of Scotland] that she insisted on her family knowing English well [...]' (email: Clement-Broderick 11/8/2009). The same day, co-editor of *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* Richard Cox informed me that he had sought a copy-birth-certificate of Jock Henderson from the Scottish Record Office and noted that 'John Henderson was born 23/11/1885 in "Ballakin" [in Arran; G *Bàn-leacann* 'white stony place, white hill-slope' (cf. Fraser 1999, 69, s.v. *Balliekine*)], registered in Lochranza 10/12/1885]. Father: Archibald; mother Marion, née McCrindle [...]' (email: Cox-Broderick 11/8/2009). Nevertheless, David Clement was wary of him, noting in a second email that same day that '[...] He gave me so many Hebridean [i.e. non-Arran] pronunciations [...]. Three days later, Clement declared, 'I decided against using him [for Arran Gaelic]' (email: Clement-Broderick 14/8/2009).

18. In contradistinction to the Isle of Man where whisky is not accepted. Instead the *bean a' taigh* prepares tea and scones once the recording session is over. It is during this later period of the interview that the hosts feel at ease to tell of folklore traditions, e.g. attitudes towards death in former days etc.

19. The association of the Dukes of Hamilton with Arran evidently ended in 1906 when the only daughter, the Lady Mary Louise Douglas-Hamilton, a distant cousin of the 12th Duke William of Hamilton, Alfred Douglas-Hamilton, married James Graham, 6th Duke of Montrose, thus ending over 500 years of Hamilton connections with

My informant Donald Craig, as mentioned above, turned out to be the reputedly last full native speaker of Arran Gaelic. He styled himself as *Domhnall 'ac a' Charraig* when I first met him in March 1974. He had a distinct glottal stop, a feature of Arran Gaelic.²⁰ His wife Cathie did not speak Gaelic at all.²¹ Donald

Arran. Their residence in Arran, Brodick Castle, was acquired by the National Trust for Scotland from the Lady Jean Fforde (1920–2017, only daughter of James Graham, 6th Duke of Montrose, and Marie-Louise Douglas-Hamilton Forster) in 1958 in lieu of death duties. For further details, see Brodick Castle: Wikipedia, Earl of Arran (accessed 20/2/2018), Wikipedia, Lady Jean Fforde (accessed 21/4/2018).

The Duke of Hamilton, famed for his meeting with Rudolf Hess, Hitler's Deputy in the Nazi Party, following his flight to Scotland in May 1941, was Douglas Douglas-Hamilton (1903–1973) who became 14th Duke of Hamilton on his father's death in 1940. The Dukes of Hamilton were by then (since 1906) no longer Earls of Arran. As a keen sportsman Hamilton attended the Berlin *Olympiade* of 1936. In Berlin he was present at numerous functions, including a grand dinner for the British contingent hosted by Joachim von Ribbentrop, German ambassador to Britain and, later, foreign minister, where he was introduced to Hitler and other leading members of the National Socialist government. Hamilton had previously met Ribbentrop in London as the Ambassador to the Court of St James. Hamilton was invited by Hermann Göring to inspect the newly-reinstated Luftwaffe on account of his professional interest in aviation. As Hess and Hamilton were highly competent pilots with a great interest in aviation, a meeting between them at such functions would be expected, given that Hamilton had attended a dinner party in Berlin at which Hess was also present. But it seems that Hess was not formally introduced to Hamilton then or at any other time.

On 10 May 1941 Rudolf Hess, apparently with Hitler's knowledge (though there is as yet no firm evidence to support this), parachuted into Scotland, allegedly in order to meet Hamilton concerning a possible link-up between Germany and Britain regarding the Soviet Union. He crash-landed at Floors Farm near Eaglesham by Glasgow at 22:34 and gave his name as 'Alfred Horn', a friend of the Duke of Hamilton. Hess, however, was taken to hospital due to injuries sustained during his descent. Hamilton was informed of the prisoner – though he did not recognise the name – and went to visit him. Hess revealed his true identity, whereupon Hamilton, finding himself in a tricky position, informed the British authorities. Hess was then imprisoned until the end of the war and the subsequent Nuremberg Trials. Nonetheless, in spite of British government assertions to the contrary, there was a suspicion of prior contact with Hess, allegedly concerning matters of espionage during Hamilton's time in Germany before the war (cf. Douglas Douglas-Hamilton, 14th Duke of Hamilton: Wikipedia, accessed 20/2/2018).

20. A glottal stop is in fact recorded in Arran. For details see Holmer (1957, 37–38, 81–82). See also in *SGDS* Points 31–35, e.g. II/1: *thubhairt* 'say' (preterite), 31 [huʔər'tʃ], 35 [hʊʔər'tʃ], II/7: *adharc* 'horn', 33 [eʔər'k], 34 [øʔər'k], 35 [øʔər'k], II/8: *agaibh* 'at you' pl., 31–33 [eʔi], 35 [øʔi], II/9: *aghaidh* 'face', 32 [ɛʔiv], 33 [ɛʔiv], (without) [eʔiv], 35 [ɛʔiv], (without) [ɛʔiv], III/360: *duine* 'man' 33, 35 [dʉ'nə] etc. For details of the *SGDS* Arran informants, see *SGDS*/I: 84–85.

21. In a telephone conversation of 17/2/2018, Donald Craig's daughter, Mrs Elizabeth Dale (née Craig), told me her mother Cathie came from Machrie in Arran but was

Craig died two years later in May 1977, and with him Arran Gaelic passed into history.²²

3.7 MY HOST

For two of my three visits in 1975, my host was Peter Mackenzie of the Arran Society of Glasgow, who very kindly put me up in his home *Tigh na Cachla*, now 'Burnside', North Feorline, near Blackwaterfoot. He was most helpful in suggesting possible informants for me and would often drive me to them in his VW minibus – even though I had the LSS van with me – and would get things going with them to break the ice, so-to-speak. In the case of Nicolaisen's former informants, however, I would go on my own in the LSS van. As anyone, Mr Mackenzie had his own particular foibles, one of which was of a morning before breakfast to set a large teapot on one of the heating plates on the stove to keep the tea warm. But it had the effect of stewing the tea so that it came out very strong indeed. Nevertheless, I enjoyed my time with him and very much appreciate all he did for me.

3.8 THE AFTERMATH

It is now over forty years since I made my sound-recorded collection of Arran place-names. On a visit to Arran in July 2009 – my first since 1975 – I enquired about my former informants and was told that all the old Arranites, as they were termed, had passed on. In a chance visit to the post office in Pirmill, I enquired about Donald Craig's daughter, Mrs Elizabeth Dale, who was then living with her husband Alec Dale in Donald's house 'Learig', in Pirmill. The lady at the post office rang Mrs Dale for me and I made arrangements to go and see her that afternoon (a Wednesday). She took me into the sitting room; nothing had changed from the time Donald was there, so far as I could tell.²³ She gave me

married to an Alasdair Stewart of The Oa in Islay where she lived for some five years, after which her husband died suddenly, and Cathie returned to Arran with her then two children. In Arran she later met her second husband, Donald Craig, after his return to the island following a sojourn of some years in Wyoming USA shortly after his demobilisation after the First World War. At no time, according to Elizabeth Dale, did her father live in Islay. Mrs Dale confirmed that her mother Cathie had no Gaelic, even though her first husband was apparently a native Islay-Gaelic speaker; she did not learn any while in Islay. According to her grand-daughter, whom I met on a visit to Elizabeth on 8/4/2018, Cathie was apparently quite hostile to Gaelic and discouraged people from learning it. According to Elizabeth, Cathie died in 1996.

22. Ironically, the passing of spoken Manx Gaelic into history, with the death of its reputedly last native speaker Ned Maddrell on 27 December 1974, took place around the same time.

23. It had on my most recent visit (8/4/2018).

details about a number of people I had had dealings with during the 1970s, one of whom was John (Jock) Henderson,²⁴ 'Schoolhouse', Machrie. Elizabeth said that he was a great-uncle of hers.²⁵ She also mentioned Jimmy Kelso of Shiskine; she said his house was still in North Feorline (NGR904288) – it had the curious name 'Briar Knowe'. On leaving Arran at the end of my three-day visit that month, I got the impression that an era in Arran tradition had come to an end.

During my most recent visit to Arran, on the occasion of the 27th Annual Conference of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, held in Blackwaterfoot, 6–9 April 2018, I handed over the two sets I had of Ordnance Survey six-inch maps of Arran to Dr Jacob (Jake) King for the School of Scottish Studies Archive and discussed with Jake and David Clement (as former Executive Director of the Scottish Gaelic Linguistic Survey) the final phase of the Arran Place-Name Survey.

ABBREVIATIONS

Av. – Avestic

b. – born

CMCS – *Cambridge/Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*

f. – father

Fordun, John of, c.1380 (*Chronica Gentis Scottorum*) (Skene 1871–72) (List of LNN (in Megaw 1978, 313–14) seemingly from an informant in Scottish Royal court circles of late 14th c., cf. McDonald 2002, 15)

G – Gaelic

GA – *The Gaelic of Arran* (Holmer 1957)

24. Jock Henderson's grandson and wife turned up at 'Learig' on the occasion of my visit on Sunday afternoon (8/4/18). He looked very much like his grandfather.

25. In an email dated 6/9/2018, Mrs Elizabeth (Liz) Dale explained to me that, 'My great grandmother Marion McCrindle (from Ayrshire) married Daniel Kerr of Ball[i]ekine who died very young, leaving her with two very small daughters, Jean and Elizabeth, the latter of whom was my dad's [Donald Craig's] mother. Marion remarried a Henderson from Shiskine and they had quite a large family of boys, one of whom was Jock, thus becoming my grandmother's half brother and my dad's uncle. My grandmother, Elizabeth, married John Craig of Machrie and they had 10 offspring, of whom my dad was second born [...].'

In an email dated 11/8/2009, Richard Cox told me that Mrs Dale was daughter to Donald Craig [Pirmill, formerly of Auchencar] (Ma 3); that her grandmother was a Mrs Elizabeth Craig of Glaick, Machrie (Ma 2), a second-cousin to John (Jock) Henderson, Balliekine; and that her father was Donald Craig (1899–1977, Pirmill, formerly of Auchencar, Machrie) (Ma 3), and his mother Elizabeth Kerr of Glaick, Machrie (Ma 2), (Im 5) (email: Cox-Broderick 11/8/2009). Mrs Dale confirmed to me that John Henderson was in fact a great uncle of hers (17/2/2018). (The references in round brackets refer to Holmer's list of informants in Holmer 1957, 3–4).

- Gk – Greek
 H – Holmer 1957
 HáKS – Hákon Hákonsson's Saga – *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (13th c.)
 Hitt. – Hittite
 IEW – *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Pokorny 1959)
 Int. – Interviewed
 Ir. – Irish
 LIV – *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (Rix 2001)
 LSS – Linguistic Survey of Scotland
 m. – mother
 MM – Martin Martin (1698)
 MW – Middle Welsh
 MWIS – *Monro's Western Isles of Scotland* (1549, MS 1661) (Munro 1961).
 MxB – Manx Bull of 1231 (c.1340–1505). For a list of place-names in the Bull, see Megaw (1978, 313–314)
 OIr. – Old Irish
 ON – Old Norse
 PCelt. – Proto-Celtic
 PIE – Proto-Indo-European
 PN – Place-names
 PNPG/CE – *Place-Names in Ptolemy's Geographia – Celtic Elements* (Isaac 2004)
 r. – reared
 SAG – *Studies in Argyllshire Gaelic* (Holmer 1938)
 SGDS – *Survey of Gaelic Dialects of Scotland* (Ó Dochartaigh 1997)

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APPENDIX²⁶

Arran Place-Name Survey 1974–75

Reel-to-reel tape recordings made by George Broderick of place-names in the island of Arran, Scotland, 19–20 March 1974; 16–21 February, 1–16 March and 16–22 May 1975.²⁷

1. TAPE REGISTER

Tape no.	Date	Speed	Informant
PN1974/26/1–2	19/3/1974	3¾	George Macalpine (74), Glen Rosa (ex Cock of Arran): PN 225.
PN1974/27/1	19/3/1974	3¾	John Kerr (82), South Newton (by Lochranza): PN 225, 226.

26. The material of all three Arran surveys (sound-recordings and maps) are housed in the Place-Name Archive of the School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LD.

27. The original 19 reel-to-reel tapes deposited in September 1990 at the Place-Name Archive were digitised by the School in 2011, © George Broderick 1975, 2011.

PN1974/28/1–2	20/3/1974	3¾	James (Jimmy) Kelso (84), Shiskine: PN General.
PN1975/1/1	16/2/1975	1⅞	Jimmy Kelso, Shiskine: stories and song 'Faidhir an Seasg-ainn' (2 st.).
PN1975/1/2	21/2/1975	1⅞	Jimmy Kelso, Shiskine: PN 253. Peter Mackenzie (c. 65), Shiskine: Seònaidh 'Leasbuigh stories.
PN1975/2/1	17/2/1975	1⅞	Donald Craig (75), Pirmill: PN Pirmill and Auchencar, PN 237, 243.
PN1975/2/2	18/2/1975	1⅞	Ian Robertson (c.70), Dunrigh, Blackwaterfoot: PN Bellevue and Area 253. 1⅞ Angus Macelvie, Kilpatrick, Blackwaterfoot: PN Kilpatrick and Area 253.
		1⅞	Charlie Currie and Jock Campbell, Drumadoon, Blackwaterfoot: PN Drumadoon and Machrie 248, 253.
PN1975/3/1	19/2/1975	1⅞	James Craig, Carmahome, Kilpatrick, Blackwaterfoot: PN Kilpatrick and Area 253. 1⅞ John Henderson, Midrimar, Blackwaterfoot: PN Toryvocklin 253.
PN1975/3/2	20/2/1975	1⅞	Neil Clark (78), Lochranza: PN Lochranza and Area 225; stories.
PN1975/4/1	1/3/1975	1⅞	Neil Clark (78), Lochranza: PN 225, 226, 237, 238.
PN 1975/4/2	3/3/1975	1⅞	William Todd, Glenree: PN Glenree and Area 253, 254. 1⅞ Angus Stewart, Balgowan, Shiskine: PN Corriecravie, Whitefarland and over mountains to Glen Sannox, Goatfell 237, 238, 253.
PN1975/5/1	4/3/1975	1⅞	Angus Stewart, cont'd: own poetry (a) local, (b) Immortal Memory. 1⅞ John (Jock) Henderson (89), Schoolhouse, Machrie, PN Whitefarland and Aarea 237.
PN1975/5/2	4/3/1975	1⅞	Mrs Bessie Guy, Shedog, Shiskine: PN Shiskine and Area 253. 1⅞ George Macalpine (75), Glen Rosa: PN 244.
PN1975/6/1	7/3/1975	1⅞	Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN Whitefarland and Area 237; Seònaidh 'Leasbuigh stories.
PN1975/6/2	8/3/1975	1⅞	George Macalpine, Glen Rosa: PN 244. 3¾ George Macalpine, Glen Rosa: PN 244, Seònaidh 'Leasbuigh story.
PN1975/7/1	9/3/1975	3¾	George Macalpine (cont'd): PN 244, 238.
PN1975/7/2	9/3/1975	3¾	Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN 237, 238.
PN1975/8/1	11/3/1975	15/16	Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN 238.

- 13/3/1975 3^{3/4} Ms Marion Murchie (c.70), Lochranza: PN 225, 226.
 PN1975/8/2 13/3/1975 3^{3/4} Ms Marion Murchie, Lochranza: PN 225, 226.
 14/3/1975 3^{3/4} Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN 238, 244.
 PN1975/9/1 14/3/1975 3^{3/4} Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN 238, 244; stories in Eng.
 15/3/1975 3^{3/4} George Macalpine, Glen Rosa: PN 238, 225, 226.
 PN1975/9/2 15/3/1975 3^{3/4} George Macalpine cont'd: PN 238, 225, 226.
 PN1975/10/1 15/3/1975 3^{3/4} Alastair Kelso, 'Benvarren', Corrie, with daughter: PN 238.
 PN1975/10/2 15/3/1975 3^{3/4} Netta Currie, Drumadoon Cottage, Blackwaterfoot: PN BWF and Area 253, 248.
 16/3/1975 3^{3/4} John Brown, Benlister: PN Benlister and Area 249.
 PN1975/11/1 16/5/1975 3^{3/4} John Brown, Benlister: PN Benlister and Area 2/249. (Cont'd from Tape 10.)
 17/5/1975 3^{3/4} Jessie Mackinnon, Brodick (ex Kilmory): PN 2/259, 2/254.
 PN1975/11/2 17/5/1975 3^{3/4} Jessie Mackinnon, Brodick (ex Kilmory): PN 2/254, 2/259.
 Jock Henderson, 'Schoolhouse', Machrie: PN Dougrie and Area 2/243; 2. Stories in Gaelic: 'Duine cruiteach agus na sìtheachan' agus 'Seònaidh 'Leasbuigh agus am Bòcan'; 3. Conundrums in Gaelic.
 19/5/1975 3^{3/4} Gilbert Mackinnon (c.70), Sannox: PN 2/225, 2/226, 2/237, 2/238.
 PN1975/12/1 19/5/1975 3^{3/4} Gilbert Mackinnon, Sannox (cont'd): PN 2/225, 2/226, 2/237, 2/238.
 19/5/1975 3^{3/4} Stewart Lambie (c.50), West Glen Sherraig: PN 2/244, 2/248.
 19/5/1975 3^{3/4} Mrs Lambie (c.75) (mother of above), Glen Sherraig (ex Cloinid): PN 2/254.
 20/5/1975 3^{3/4} Florrie Stewart (c.70), Kilmory (ex Achagallan): PN Achagallan and Area 2/248.
 PN1975/13/1 20/5/1975 3^{3/4} Florrie Stewart, Kilmory (ex Achagallan): PN Achagallan and Area 2/248. (Cont'd from Tape 12.)
 20/5/1975 3^{3/4} Donald Crawford (c.75), Kilmory: PN Kilmory and Area 2/259 NW.
 20/5/1975 3^{3/4} Alan Cook (c.75), Kingscross (by Lamlash): PN Kingscross 2/255; general conversation.
 PN1975/13/2 20/5/1975 3^{3/4} Alan Cook, Kingscross (cont'd): PN Kingscross 2/255; conversation.
 21/5/1975 3^{3/4} Neil Clark, Lochranza: PN Lochranza and Area 2/225.
 PN1975/14/1 21/5/1975 3^{3/4} Donald Craig, Pirnmill: PN Pirnmill and Achagallan 2/237.

- 21/5/1975 3^{3/4} Donald Craig and Baldi (brother, c.75), Glaick, Machrie: PN Glaick; general conversation.
 22/5/1975 3^{3/4} Donald Craig, Pirnmill: stories in Gaelic about Seònaidh 'Leasbuigh.
 PN1975/14/2 22/5/1975 3^{3/4} James Maccoll, Glenree: PN around Glenree and Achareoch 2/253, 2/254.
 PN1975/15/1 22/5/1975 7^{1/2} Jimmy Kelso, Shiskine: Arran Gaelic songs: 'Mo Dhachaidh', 'Faidhir an Seasgainn' (3 st.); one place-name near Shiskine.
 [PN1975/16/1 22/5/1975 3^{3/4} Kate Currie (c.70), Brodick.]†
 PN1975/16/2 22/5/1975 3^{3/4} (after 10 minutes) Kate Currie, Brodick: PN 2/259, 2/254.
 22/5/1975 3^{3/4} John Stewart (c.70), Craigend, Kildonan: PN 2/259, 2/260.
 22/5/1975 3^{3/4} Willie Stewart (c.70), Creag Dhubh, Kildonan: PN Kildonan and Area 2/259, 2/260.

† Side 1 and the first ten minutes of Side 2 were inadvertently overplayed with Manx folklore material, August 1975.

2. MAP REGISTER

PN collections were made 19–20 March 1974 (Set 1); 16–21 February (Set 1), 1–16 March (Set 1) and 16–22 May 1975 (Set 2).²⁸

OS 6-inch

Map no.	Date	Informant
1/225	19/3/1974	George Macalpine (74), Glen Rosa (< Cock of Arran): PN Cock of Arran and area.
1/225	19/3/1974	John Kerr (82), South Newton (by Lochranza).
1/225	20/2/1975	Neil Clark (78), Lochranza: PN Lochranza and area.
1/225	1/3/1975	Neil Clark (78), Lochranza: PN Lochranza and area.
1/225	11/3/1975	Marion Murchie (c.70), Lochranza: PN Lochranza and area.
1/225	15/3/1975	George Macalpine (74), Glen Rosa: PN Cock of Arran and area.
2/225	19/5/1975	Gilbert Mackinnon (c.70) Sannox: PN Sannox and area.
2/225	21/5/1975	Neil Clark, Lochranza: PN Lochranza and area.
1/226	19/3/1974	John Kerr (82), South Newton (by Lochranza).
1/226	1/3/1975	Neil Clark (78), Lochranza: PN Lochranza and area.
1/226	13/3/1975	Marion Murchie (c.70), Lochranza: PN Lochranza and area.
1/226	15/3/1975	George Macalpine, Glen Rosa: PN.

²⁸ OS 6-inch: Set 1 to George Broderick, Set 2 to Peter Mackenzie, Arran.

- 2/226 19/5/1975 Gilbert Mackinnon (c.70) Sannox: PN Sannox and area.
 1/237 17/2/1975 Donald Craig, Pirmill: PN Pirmill and Auchencar.
 1/237 1/3/1975 Neil Clark (78), Lochranza: PN Lochranza and area.
 1/237 3/3/1975 Angus Stewart, Balgowan, Shiskine: PN Whitefarland.
 1/237 4/3/1975 Jock Henderson (89), Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN Whitefarland and area.
 1/237 7/3/1975 Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN Whitefarland and area.
 1/237 9/3/1975 Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN Whitefarland and area.
 2/237 19/5/1975 Gilbert Mackinnon (c.70) Sannox: PN Sannox and area.
 2/237 21/5/1975 Donald Craig, Pirmill: PN Pirmill and Achagallan.
 1/238 1/3/1975 Neil Clark (78), Lochranza: PN Lochranza and area.
 1/238 3/3/1975 Angus Stewart, Balgowan, Shiskine: PN over mountains to Sannox.
 1/238 9/3/1975 George Macalpine, Glen Rosa: PN
 1/238 9/3/1975 Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN Whitefarland and area.
 1/238 11/3/1975 Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN Whitefarland and area.
 1/238 14/3/1975 Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN Whitefarland and area.
 1/238 15/3/1975 George Macalpine, Glen Rosa: PN.
 1/238 15/3/1975 Alasdair Kelso, Benvarren, Corrie, with daughter: PN Corrie and area.
 2/238 19/5/1975 Gilbert Mackinnon (c.70) Sannox: PN Sannox and area.
 1/243 17/2/1975 Donald Craig, Pirmill: PN Pirmill and Auchencar.
 2/243 19/5/1975 Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN Dougrie and area.
 1/244 21/2/1975 Jimmy Kelso, Shiskine: PN Shiskine.
 1/244 4/3/1975 George Macalpine (75), Glen Rosa: PN Glen Rosa.
 1/244 8/3/1975 George Macalpine, Glen Rosa: PN Glen Rosa.
 1/244 9/3/1975 George Macalpine, Glen Rosa: PN Glen Rosa.
 1/244 14/3/1975 Jock Henderson, Schoolhouse, Machrie: PN.
 2/244 19/5/1975 Stewart Lambie (c.50), West Glen Sherraig: PN WGS and area.
 1/248 18/2/1975 Charlie Currie and Jock Campbell, Drumadoon BWF: PN Drumadoon.
 1/248 15/3/1975 Netta Currie, Drumadoon BWF: PN BWF and area.
 2/248 19/5/1975 Stewart Lambie (c.50), West Glen Sherraig: PN WGS and area.
 2/248 20/5/1975 Florrie Stewart (c.70), Kilmory (ex Achagallan): PN Kilmory and area.
 1/249 16/3/1975 John Brown, Benlister: PN Benlister and area.
 2/249 16/5/1975 John Brown, Benlister: PN Benlister and area.
 1/253 18/2/1975 Ian Robertson (c.70), Dunrigh, BWF: PN Bellevue and area.
 1/253 18/2/1975 Angus Macelvie, Kilpatrick BWF: PN Kilpatrick and area.
 1/253 18/2/1975 Charlie Currie and Jock Campbell, Drumadoon BWF: PN Machrie.

- 1/253 19/2/1975 James Craig, Carmahome, Kilpatrick BWF: PN Kilpatrick and area.
 1/253 19/2/1975 John Henderson, 'Midrimar', BWF: PN Torryvocklin.
 1/253 3/3/1975 William Todd, Glenree: PN Glenree and area.
 1/253 3/3/1975 Angus Stewart, Balgowan, Shiskine: PN Corriecravie.
 1/253 4/3/1975 Mrs Bessie Guy, Shedog, Shiskine: PN Shiskine and area.
 1/253 15/3/1975 Netta Currie, Drumadoon BWF: PN BWF and area.
 2/253 22/5/1975 James Maccoll, Glenree: PN Glenree and Achareoch area.
 2/253 22/5/1975 Jimmy Kelso, Shiskine: PN Shiskine and area.
 1/254 3/3/1975 William Todd, Glenree: PN Glenree and area.
 2/254 17/5/1975 Jessie Mackinnon, Brodick (ex Kilmory): PN Kilmory and area.
 2/254 19/5/1975 Mrs Lambie (c.75), Glen Sherraig (ex Clioned): PN Clioned and area.
 2/254 22/5/1975 James Maccoll, Glenree: PN Glenree and Achareoch area.
 2/254 22/5/1975 Kate Currie, Brodick: PN Kildonan and area.
 2/255 20/5/1975 Alan Cook (c.75), Kingscross (by Whiting Bay): PN.
 2/259 17/5/1975 Jessie Mackinnon, Brodick (ex Kilmory): PN Kilmory and area.
 2/259 20/5/1975 Donald Crawford (c.75), Kilmory: PN Kilmory and area.
 2/259 22/5/1975 Kate Currie, Brodick: PN Kildonan and area.
 2/259 22/5/1975 John Stewart (c.70), Craigend, Kildonan: PN Kildonan and area.
 2/259 22/5/1975 Willie Stewart (c.70), Creag Dhubh, Kildonan: PN Kildonan and area.
 2/260 22/5/1975 John Stewart (c.70), Craigend, Kildonan: PN Kildonan and area.
 2/260 22/5/1975 Willie Stewart (c.70), Creag Dhubh, Kildonan: PN Kildonan and area.

BWF = Blackwaterfoot; WGS = West Glen Sherrig

3. THE ARRAN INFORMANTS

Included here are details of the informants interviewed during the three known surveys made of Arran place-names: by Wilhelm Nicolaisen (1961–64), by George Broderick (1974–75) and by Ian A. Fraser (1981).

Informants common to all three investigators are supplied in **bold type**; those common to Nicolaisen and Broderick are in *italic* script; those common to Nicolaisen and Fraser are underlined; those common to Broderick and Fraser are given in *italic script and underlined*.

3.1 Index of informants (Nicolaisen, 1961–64), 20.

1. **CLARK**, Neil (65), Lochranza.
2. **CRAIG**, Donald (64), Auchencar, Machrie.

3. HAMILTON, Guy (72), Shedog, Shiskine.
4. HAMILTON, Mrs Guy, Shedog, Shiskine.
5. HENDERSON, John (Jock) (75), Schoolhouse, Machrie.
6. HENDRY, Mrs (76), Alltgothlach.
7. KERR, Alastair (73), Catacol.
8. KERR, Finlay, Whitefarland.
9. KERR, John (69), Auchencairn, Whiting Bay.
10. KERR, John (69), South Newton, Lochranza.
11. MACALPINE, George (65), Glen Rosa (< Cock of Arran).
12. MACBRIDE, Charles (84), Whiting Bay (< Shannochie).
13. MACDONALD, Mr, Bennan.
14. MACNEIL, Thomas, Lamlash (< Slidery).
15. ROBERTSON, John (90), Hayocks, Blackwaterfoot.
16. STEWART, Dan (91), Whiting Bay.
17. STEWART, Donald, Whiting Bay (< Corriecravie).
18. STEWART, George (80), Craigend, Kildonan.
19. STEWART, Miss (79), Alltgothlach.
20. WATSON, Alastair (67), South Newton, Lochranza.

3.2 Index of informants (Broderick, 1974–75), 31.

Only those informants older than c.70 years have their ages entered here, unless otherwise known. Informants bearing no age were felt at the time to be between 35 and 65 years old.

1. BROWN, John, Benlester.
2. CAMPBELL, Jock, Drumadoon, Blackwaterfoot.
3. CLARK, Neil (78), Lochranza.
4. COOK, Alan (c.75), Kingscross (by Lamlash).
5. CRAIG, Baldi (c.75) (brother to Donald), Glaick, Machrie.
6. CRAIG, Donald (75), Pirmill.
7. CRAIG, James, Carmahome, Kilpatrick, Blackwaterfoot.
8. CRAWFORD, Donald (c.75), Kilmory.
9. CURRIE, Charlie, Drumadoon, Blackwaterfoot.
10. CURRIE, Kate (c.70), Brodick.
11. CURRIE, Netta, Drumadoon, Blackwaterfoot.
12. GUY, Mrs Bessie, Shedog, Shiskine.
13. HENDERSON, John (Jock) (89), Schoolhouse, Machrie.
14. HENDERSON, John, 'Midrimar', Blackwaterfoot.
15. KELSO, Alastair, 'Benvarren', Corrie.
16. KELSO, Jimmy (84), Shiskine.
17. KERR, John (82), South Newton, Lochranza.
18. LAMBIE, Mrs (c.75) (mother), Glen Sherrraig.

19. LAMBIE, Stewart (c.50), West Glen Sherrraig.
20. MACALPINE, George (75), Glen Rosa (< Cock of Arran).
21. MACCOLL, James, Glenree.
22. MACELVIE, Angus, Kilpatrick, Blackwaterfoot.
23. MACKINNON, Gilbert (c.70), Sannox.
24. MACKINNON, Jessie, Brodick (< Kilmory).
25. MURCHIE, Ms Marion (c.70), Lochranza.
26. ROBERTSON, Ian (c.70), Dunrigh, Blackwater-foot.
27. STEWART, Angus, Balgowan, Shiskine.
28. STEWART, Florrie (c.70), Kilmory (< Achagallan).
29. STEWART, John (c.70), Craigend, Kildonan.
30. STEWART, Willie (c.70), Creag Dhubh, Kildonan.
31. TODD, William, Glenree.

3.3 Index of informants (Fraser, 1981), 18.

1. CLARK, Neil, Lochranza.
2. CURRIE, Donald (Dan), Thundergay.
3. HAMILTON, George, Shedog.
4. HENDERSON, John, Blackwaterfoot.
5. HENDERSON, John (Jock), Machrie.
6. KELSO, Ebenezer, Sannox.
7. KERR, Alastair, Catacol.
8. KERR, Finlay, Whitefarland.
9. KERR, John Auchencairn, Whiting Bay.
10. KERR, John, South Newton.
11. MACBRIDE, Charles, Shannochie.
12. MACDONALD, A., Bennen.
13. MACALPINE, George, Glenrosa (< Cock of Arran).
14. MCNEILL, A. J., Lamlash.
15. ROBERTSON, John, Blackwaterfoot.
16. ROBERTSON, William, Ballymichael.
17. STEWART, Donald (Dan), Corriecravie.
18. WATSON, Alastair, South Newton.

3.4 Provenance of the informants

For the purposes of the Arran Place-Name Survey, the following areas were designated:

1. Northside (Catacol, Lochranza, North/South Newton and area).
2. Westside (Thundergay to Kilpatrick)
3. Southside (Corriecravie to Whiting Bay)
4. Eastside (Corrie to Sannox)

A number of informants were interviewed by more than one investigator, often

two, sometimes all three (see below).

1. Nicolaisen's Informants: 20 (1961–64)
2. Broderick's Informants: 31 (1974–75)
3. Fraser's Informants: 18 (1981)

Total no. of informants interviewed: 69. This number includes informants interviewed by more than one investigator. Total no. of informants counted individually: 51.

3.4.1 Northside: Lochranza, Catacol, Cock of Arran, incl. North/South Newton.

3.4.1.1 Nicolaisen's informants (4/20) 20.00%

CLARK, Neil (65), Lochranza.
KERR, Alastair (73), Catacol.
KERR, John (69), South Newton, Lochranza.
WATSON, Alastair (67), South Newton, Lochranza.

3.4.1.2 Broderick's informants (3/31) 9.68%

CLARK, Neil (78), Lochranza.
KERR, John (82), South Newton.
MURCHIE, Ms Marion (c.70), Lochranza.

3.4.1.3 Fraser's informants (4/18) 22.22%

CLARK, Neil, Lochranza.
KERR, Alastair, Catacol.
KERR, John, South Newton.
WATSON, Alastair, South Newton.

3.4.1.4 Total no. of informants counted individually (Northside): (5/51) 9.80%

CLARK, Neil, Lochranza.
KERR, Alastair, Catacol.
KERR, John, South Newton.
MURCHIE, Marion, Lochranza.
WATSON, Alastair, South Newton.

3.4.1.5 Place of origin of informants, 3.

Catacol 1
 Lochranza 2
 South Newton 2

3.4.2 Westside: Thundergay, Machrie, Shiskine, Blackwaterfoot, Kilpatrick.

3.4.2.1 Nicolaisen's informants (9/20) 45.00%

CRAIG, Donald (64), Auchencar, Machrie.
HAMILTON, Guy (72), Shedog, Shiskine.
HAMILTON, Mrs Guy, Shedog, Shiskine.
HENDERSON, John (Jock) (75), Schoolhouse, Machrie.
HENDRY, Mrs (76), Alltgobhlach.
KERR, Finlay, Whitefarland.
MACALPINE, George (65), Glen Rosa (< Cock of Arran).
ROBERTSON, John (90), Hayocks, Blackwaterfoot.
STEWART, Miss (79), Alltgobhlach.

3.4.2.2 Broderick's informants (16/31) 51.61%

CAMPBELL, John, Drumadoon, Blackwaterfoot.
CRAIG, Baldi (c.75) (brother to Donald), Glaick, Machrie.
CRAIG, Donald (75), Pirmill.
CRAIG, James, Carmahome, Kilpatrick, Blackwaterfoot.
CURRIE, Charlie, Drumadoon, Blackwaterfoot.
CURRIE, Netta, Drumadoon, Blackwaterfoot.
GUY, Mrs Bessie, Shedog, Shiskine.
HENDERSON, John ('Jock') (89), Schoolhouse, Machrie.
HENDERSON, John, 'Midrimar', Blackwaterfoot.
KELSO, Jimmy (84), Shiskine.
LAMBIE, Mrs (c.75) (mother), Glen Sherraig.
LAMBIE, Stewart (c.50), West Glen Sherraig.
MACALPINE, George (75), Glen Rosa (< Cock of Arran).
MACELVIE, Angus, Kilpatrick, Blackwaterfoot.
ROBERTSON, Ian (c.70), Dunrigh, Blackwaterfoot.
STEWART, Angus, Balgowan, Shiskine.

3.4.2.3 Fraser's informants (9/18) 61.11%

CURRIE, Donald (Dan), Thundergay.
HAMILTON, George, Shedog.
HENDERSON, John (Jock), Machrie.
HENDERSON, John, Blackwaterfoot.
KERR, Finlay, Whitefarland.
MACALPINE, George, Glenrosa (< Cock of Arran).
ROBERTSON, John, Blackwaterfoot.
ROBERTSON, William, Ballymichael.

3.4.2.4 Total no. of informants counted individually (Westside): (25/51) 49.02%

CAMPBELL, John, Drumadoon.
CRAIG, Baldi (brother to Donald), Glaick.
CRAIG, Donald, Auchencar/Pirmill.
CRAIG, James, Carmahome, Kilpatrick.

CURRIE, Charlie, Drumadoon.
 CURRIE, Netta, Drumadoon.
 CURRIE, Donald (Dan), Thundergay.
 GUY, Mrs Bessie, Shedog.
 HAMILTON, George, Shedog.
 HAMILTON, Guy, Shedog.
 HAMILTON, Mrs Guy, Shedog.
 HENDERSON, John (Jock), Machrie.
 HENDERSON, John, 'Midrimar', Blackwaterfoot.
 HENDRY, Mrs, Alltgobhlach.
 KELSO, Jimmy, Shiskine.
 KERR, Finlay, Whitefarland.
 LAMBIE, Mrs, Glen Sherraig.
 LAMBIE, Stewart, West Glen Sherraig.
 MACALPINE, George, Glen Rosa (< Cock of Arran).
 MACELVIE, Angus, Kilpatrick.
 ROBERTSON, John, 'Dunrigh', Blackwaterfoot.
 ROBERTSON, John, Hayocks, Blackwaterfoot.
 ROBERTSON, William, Ballymichael.
 STEWART, Angus, Balgowan, Shiskine.
 STEWART, Miss, Alltgobhlach.

3.4.2.5 Places of origin of informants (Westside), 14.

Alltgobhlach 2
 Auchencar 1
 Ballymichael 1
 Blackwaterfoot 3
 Drumadoon 3
 Glaick 1
 Glen Rosa 1
 Glen Sherraig 2
 Kilpatrick 2
 Machrie 1
 Shedog 4
 Shiskine 2
 Thundergay 1
 Whitefarland 1

3.4.3 Southside: Kilmory (Corriecravie - Whiting Bay)

3.4.3.1 Nicolaisen's informants (7/20) 35.00%

KERR, John (69), Auchencairn, Whiting Bay.
 MACBRIDE, Charles (84), Whiting Bay (< Shannochie).
 MACDONALD, Mr, Bennan.

MACNEIL, Thomas, Lamlash (< Slidderly).
 STEWART, Dan (91), Whiting Bay.
 STEWART, Donald, Whiting Bay (< Corriecravie).
 STEWART, George (80), Craigend, Kildonan.

3.4.3.2 Broderick's informants (10/31) 32.26%

BROWN, John, Benlister.
 COOK, Alan (c.75), Kingscross (by Whiting Bay).
 CRAWFORD, Donald (c.75), Kilmory.
 CURRIE, Kate (c.70), Brodick (< Kildonan).
 MACCOLL, James, Glenree.
 MACKINNON, Jessie, Brodick (< Kilmory).
 STEWART, Florrie (c.70), Kilmory (< Achagallan).
 STEWART, John (c.70), Craigend, Kildonan.
 STEWART, Willie (c.70), Creag Dhubh, Kildonan.
 TODD, William, Glenree.

3.4.3.3 Fraser's informants (5/18) 27.78%

KERR, John, Auchencairn, Whiting Bay.
 MACBRIDE, Charles, Shannochie.
 MACDONALD, A., Bennen.
 MCNEILL, A. J., Lamlash.
 STEWART, Donald (Dan), Corriecravie.

3.4.3.4 Total no. of informants counted individually (Southside): (18/51) 35.29%

BROWN, John, Benlister.
 COOK, Alan, Kingscross, Whiting Bay.
 CRAWFORD, Donald, Kilmory.
 CURRIE, Kate, Brodick (< Kildonan).
 KERR, John, Auchencairn, Whiting Bay.
 MACBRIDE, Charles, Whiting Bay (< Shannochie).
 MACCOLL, James, Glenree.
 MACDONALD, A, Bennan.
 MACKINNON, Jessie, Brodick (< Kilmory).
 MACNEILL, Thomas, Lamlash (< Slidderly).
 MCNEILL, A. J., Lamlash.
 STEWART, Dan, Whiting Bay.
 STEWART, Donald, Whiting Bay (< Corriecravie).
 STEWART, Florrie, Kilmory (< Achagallan).
 STEWART, George, Craigend, Kildonan.
 STEWART, John, Craigend, Kildonan.
 STEWART, Willie, Creag Dhubh, Kildonan.
 TODD, William, Glenree.

3.4.3.5 Places of origin of informants, 13.

Achgallan 1
 Auchencairn (by Whiting Bay) 1
 Benlister 1
 Bennan 1
 Corriecravie 1
 Glenree 2
 Kildonan 4
 Kilmory 2
 Kingscross (by Whiting Bay) 1
 Lamlash 1
 Shannochie 1
 Slidery 1
 Whiting Bay 1

3.4.4 Eastside: Corrie, Sannox.

3.4.4.1 Nicolaisen's informants: None.

3.4.4.2 Broderick's informants

MACKINNON, Gilbert (c.70), Sannox.
 KELSO, Alastair, 'Benvarren', Corrie.

3.4.4.3 Fraser's informants

KELSO, Ebenezer, Sannox.

3.4.4.4 Total no. of informants counted individually (Eastside) (3/51) 5.88%.

KELSO, Alastair, 'Benvarren', Corrie.
 KELSO, Ebenezer, Sannox.
 MACKINNON, Gilbert (c.70), Sannox.

3.4.4.5 Place of origin of informants, 2.

Corrie 1
 Sannox 2

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This article was prompted initially by a story in the Latin *Vita Sancti Cainnechi* ‘The Life of St Cainnech’, putatively dated to the 8th century (Márkus 2018; Sharpe 1991, esp. 279–339; Herbert 2000; though note Ó Riain 2011, 138–39, who would date it to the 12th century).¹ In this anecdote, Cainnech is visiting *in Ibdone insula*. In Gilbert Márkus’s recent translation

One Sunday Saint Cainnech was a guest [*in*] *Ibdone insula*. Now the mice of that place shredded his shoes, tore them up. When the holy man saw this offence, he cursed the mice and drove them out of the island for ever. Thus when all the mice had been gathered together, at the word of the saint they threw themselves into the depth of the sea, and in that island no mice have lived until today. (Márkus 2018, §29; cf. Heist 1965, 189, §29)

The place-name here has usually been aligned with one found elsewhere in Irish hagiography, for instance in the Life of St Ailbe of Emly, where he spends a night *iuxta insulam Ybdan* (Ó Riain 2017, 80, §40; Heist 1965, 127 §40). Appearing also as *inis Sibthond* with further variants (see Hogan 1910, 453 (*ibdan*) 466 (*inis ibdan*), 469 (*inis sibthond*); Plummer 1910, Vol. I, 59 n., vol. II, 330; Mac Néill 1911, 102, n. 1), this has been identified as King’s Island on the Shannon, the island on which the Viking settlement of Limerick was built. This site and its name have been the subject of a thorough discussion by Gearóid Mac Eoin (2001); the *Vita S. Cainnechi* mention of *in Ibdone insula* features in this discussion.

Superficially, this would appear a sound identification, but there are some good reasons to question it. First, in *Vita S. Cainnechi* the mice throw themselves ‘into the depth of the sea’ (*in maris profundum*), something impossible to do from the likely site of *insula Ybdan*, King’s Island, formed in a loop of the Shannon before it widens, some 70km from the sea (see MacEoin 2001, 165). It is, I suspect, not the sort of island which could ever have been thought free of mice. Equally, in *Vita S. Cainnechi*, the anecdote is situated immediately after a sequence of stories set either loosely in Britain or more specifically in parts of Scotland, particularly in Iona. Gilbert Márkus has observed (pers. comm.) that the sequence is as follows: §19: Britain; §20: Columba and Cainnech ‘in

1. This research was prompted by work undertaken for Ceòlas Uibhist and funded by Bòrd na Gàidhlig, and otherwise largely published on the website ‘Eòlas nan Naomh: Early Christianity in Uist’. I am grateful to the funders and particularly to the postdoctoral researcher on the project, Dr Sofia Evemalm, for support and discussion.

one place' (probably Iona); §21: Mountain in Britain; §22–23: unidentified; §24: Drumalban; §25–28: Iona; §29: in Ibdone insula. §30 is set on an unidentified 'Island of the Birds', which may of course also be in the Hebrides.² Although stories set in Ireland are prominent in Cainnech's Life, there are only a few in the south-west, and these are generally sign-posted in more detail than is the case in this anecdote, which does not indicate where the island is, even whether in Britain or Ireland. Furthermore, as discussed below, the form of the name in the phrase *in Ibdone insula* may mean we should not readily identify it with *insula Ybtan* and the like, despite surface similarities.

The following series of notes are based on exploring the possibility that *in Ibdone insula* refers instead to somewhere in western Scotland, more specifically in the Hebrides. I explore a series of equivalences and should like to underline from the outset that these are not interdependent, despite their interconnections. Each of them could be individually correct without the others having to be so. I am of the view, however, that taken together the case for each of them is strengthened. As will be seen in the conclusion, the identifications suggested here, if correct, have some important and game-changing consequences for a number of aspects of early medieval Scottish history.

IN IBDONE INSULA, IBDAIG, EBOUDAI

The initial cluster <ibd-> is sufficiently unusual in a Gaelic context that it immediately recalls the name *Ibdaig*, *Ibdig*, which occurs in the latter form in AU 672.2 *Deleti sunt Ibdig* 'The Ibdaig were destroyed'.³ Scholars have long associated this name with the presumed Gaelic form of the island cluster named by Ptolemy and others as *Ἐβουδαί* (*Eboudai*); in Pliny, *Hebudes*, which became in later and modern English usage, via scribal error, the Hebrides (see Rivet and Smith 1979, 354–55; Isaac 2005, 192; Broderick 2013, 4–5). This association was explored in most detail by T. F. O'Rahilly (1946, 537–38), who noted the existence in the genealogies of an Irish kindred under the name of the Uí Ibdaig, descendants of one Oengus *Ibdach*, a name which could be translated 'Oengus the Hebridean' (see Dobbs 1922, 336). A further genealogical note tells us he was so called because 'his mother was from the Ibdaig' *máthair eius d'Íbtachaib fuit* (CGH LL 330b60).⁴ The descendants of Oengus *Ibdach* were

2. I am grateful to Gilbert Márkus for this and other helpful observations on the Life.

3. *Ibdig* here is often taken as a population-name, hence Charles-Edwards (2006, Vol. 1, 159) translates 'The Ibdaig were slaughtered'. However, *deletus* is a curious participle to use for people, and the only other instance in AU in this period refers to islands (AU 682.4 *Orcades delete sunt la Bruide*; on this see Evans 2018, 28); see below for discussion of other possibilities.

4. It is worth noting that this is the sole source which gives the first vowel as a long <i>.

located in Ulster, indeed, were a side-lined branch of the Dál Fiatach kings of Ulster: note in AU 557.1 *Mors Fergna ... nepotis Ibdaig regis Uloth*.⁵ It looks as if the epithet *Ibdach* has taken over from the name Oengus in this and other genealogical texts. This connection was first noticed by Eoin Mac Néill (1911, 102), who asserted, in connection with one genealogical text, 'Tuatha Iboth are doubtless the old traditional inhabitants of the Hebrides, Ebudae Insulae. Ibdaig = *Ebudaci.' It should be noted in this context that there was a Munster family, the Uí Ibdan (with variants), one of the families making up the Araid Cliach, a kindred occupying the area around Limerick. Mac Eoin notes that they were seen as related to the Ibdaig: 'A connection between the Scottish Tuath Iboth and the Irish Araid is established in the genealogies when the mother of Forc and Iboth is said to be Fainnche Trechíchech of the Araid Cliach' (Mac Eoin 2001, 173–74). Mac Eoin's argument that this Munster family lies behind the similar place-name, *inis Ibdan*, for King's island, seems a sound one.

The term *ibdach* is also met as a common noun, referring to a form of grain, more specifically barley.⁶ Kelly (1997, 223–24), following Sexton, suggests two-row barley (*Hordeum Vulgare* subspecies *distichum*), since *eórna*, the main name for barley, is listed elsewhere in the text, and this seems more likely to be associated with the more common six-row barley (*Hordeum Vulgare* s. *hexastichum*). In a gloss explaining *ibdach* in the legal text in which it appears, it is explained as the 'soft barley of the Isles', which term usually represents the Hebrides in Irish texts:

grainne ibdaig (.i. *eorna na nen* (?), *ebar deog dia sugh* .i. *mátheorna na ninnsi*, 'a grain of [*ibdach*], i.e. the barley of birds [?];⁷ a drink is drunk of

5. The genealogies perhaps suggest the circumstances leading to this line's decline, when they describe the battle of Druim Cleithi *i torchratar secht meic [Fergnai] huí Ibdiag ríog Ulad* 'in which fell the seven sons of Fernae ua Ibdaig, king of Ulster' (CGH LL330c35). CGH edits the Book of Leinster here as the main text, which calls him Fergal, but two MSS (The Book of Lecan and the Book of Ballymote) have Fergnae, the name attested by the annals.

6. I am very grateful to Dr Katherine Forsyth for directing me towards the material on *ibdach* as a type of barley.

7. Kelly (1997, 223 n. 28) notes that this could be read as *eorna na n-én* with *én* being taken as a gen. pl. of *ian* 'vessel', in other words, barley that is good for brewing (or perhaps for making barley water). This seems to me the more plausible reading in any case, and perhaps should be adopted. If *ibdach* be taken as two-row barley, note the following from The Homebrewers Association (Payne 2013): 'You can make more beer from two-row than from six-row malt; its lower enzyme content, lower protein, greater starch content, and thinner husk make it better suited to higher extract., and align this with the OG gloss on this as *máeth-eórna* 'soft barley', and reference to it making *sug* 'juice'.

its juice, i.e. the soft barley of the Hebrides.' (*DIL*, s.n.; Binchy 1966, 22–23; Kelly 1997, 219, 223–24)

Kelly (1997, 223) further notes in respect of assigning this term to the Hebrides: 'the coastal plains or *machairs* can be brought to a fair level of fertility; indeed, the island of Tiree in the Inner Hebrides was famed for its cereal production in the nineteenth century, being known as *Eilean ìosal an eòrna* "low island of barley". Excavations at a range of sites in the Hebrides confirm the prevalence of barley in the Iron Age and early middle ages, though six-row barley is most common (Parker Pearson et al. 2018, 528). At any rate, what this makes clear is that in Ireland the term *Ibdach* could be used to represent individuals or products from the Hebrides.

Following on from this, it should be noted that *Ibdach* is an adjectival form, derived from a proper noun we might reconstruct as nom. sg. **Ibud* or **Ibod*, nom. pl. **Ibuid*, with an attested genitive plural in *Ibod*; the latter form is found in further genealogical collections as *Tuath Iboth* and *Fir Iboth* (O'Rahilly 1946, 538), interestingly alongside references to *Tuath Forc*, which seems to be a derivative, with prosthetic <f>, of *Orc*, the Orkneys (see Mac Neill 1911, 100–01; Dobbs 1923, 52). Some of the references further specify the location of these *Fir Iboth* as Scotland, e.g., *do fearaib hIboth de Albain* (Dobbs 1923, 52). Scholars have been content to see these references to **Ibuid*, *Ibdach* and *Ibdaig* as referring loosely to whatever was meant by 'the Hebrides' in this period. O'Rahilly (1946, 538) notes the absence of any reference to an expected **Insi Ibod* corresponding to attested *Insi Orc*; it may however be that the term used for the islands was adjectival, thus *Insi Ibdaig*, and thence simply *Ibdaig*. It is thus quite probable that the AU 672.2 reference to *Ibdig* is to the destruction of the Hebridean islands, rather than the people of them. This may be supported by the annal-entry at AU 682.4: *Orcades delete sunt la Bruide*.⁸ At any rate, linguistically there is no objection to relating these forms to *Eboudai*, the island group mentioned in Ptolemy, and this has long-standing support from linguists and toponymists.

On this basis, and given the Iona location of the anecdotes immediately preceding it in the *Vita S Cainnechi*, it seems worth considering if the phrase in *Ibdone insula* should be related to these names. It is not clear to me what we should take the nominative form of the island name here to be.⁹ Previous scholarship has related it to *Ibdan*, as we have seen, but in fact the form of the name here does not readily lend itself to this. In *Ibdan*, the final ending looks like

8. Although note gender of *delete* in 682 is feminine, presumably in agreement with an implied *insulae*, while 672 has *deleti* which presumes a masculine plural. I am grateful to Simon Taylor for this point.

9. I am very grateful to Gilbert Márkus for discussion of the points in this paragraph.

a diminutive; *Ibdone* does not.¹⁰ Mac Eoin analyses *Ibdan* as being from a genitive form of **ebudonos*, though he does not tackle the problem of the case endings (or lack thereof) in the name-forms in Latin language texts (Mac Eoin 2001, 171), and treats the *Vita S. Cainnechi* form as a straightforward representation of an **Inis Ibdon*.¹¹ It would be hard to account for the form we have if that were so.

It is possible that *Ibdone* is in the genitive, and that we should take it as gen. sg. of a fem. name *Ibdona*, i.e. 'in the island of Ibdona'. More likely, however, is that we are dealing with a noun in the ablative in agreement with *in ... insula*. This would follow the sort of practice we can see in Adomnán's treatment of names, for instance, *ad Iouam ... insulam*, *in Maleam ... insulam* (both VC i.22). In this case, we could probably reconstruct a fem. name **Ibdo*, *Ibdonis*, with an ablative in *Ibdone*. **Ibdo* would be a plausible if perhaps unusual latinisation of the singular form **Ibud/Ibod* which, judging from Ptolemy's *Ebouda* should be feminine. As a final alternative, it may be fashioned with some sort of latinate adjectival ending 'the Ibud island', cf. some of Adomnán's collocations: *ad Hinbinam insulam* (VC i.21, for the island elsewhere named *Hinba*), *Ethica insula* (for Tiree, the form here based on an original *Éth*).¹²

On balance, I would favour positing the form *Ibdone* as the ablative of **Ibdo*, a latinisation of an original **Ibud*; but in any event, there is a strong argument for aligning this name with *Ibdaig*, and for relating it to the names in Ptolemy,

10. It could, however, be the genitive singular of an *-n* stem noun. I owe this point to the anonymous reviewer of this article.

11. The analysis here does not contradict Mac Eoin's argument that the name of King's Island, Limerick, *Inis Ibdan*, should be aligned with the local kindred the *Uí Ibdan*; or further that the *Uí Ibdan* owe their name to a form like **ebudonos*, ultimately to be related in some way to *Ibdaig* (< **ebudaci*). Both would be developments of names based on *Eboudai*, with different suffixes (see esp. Mac Eoin 2001, 171). This would explain the very close similarity of the names.

12. The various authorities who have previously made the equivalence between *Ibdaig* and the Hebrides (e.g. Mac Neill 1911, 102; and cf. O'Rahilly, Watson, Isaac) have mostly noticed the name of an otherworld king of the dwarfs in the later version of the story of the Death of Fergus mac Léti, *Iubdán* (see O'Grady 1892, Vol. I, 238–52; Vol. II, 269–85; cf. Gillies 2007), and related it to these forms. This name has the same rough form as our island name; the tale may partake of the personalisation of Hebridean island names that can be seen in other Middle Gaelic tales, cf. the discussion by Patrick Wadden of the 12th-century tale *Cath Ruis na Rígh* (Wadden 2014, 7–8). There, among warriors drawn from the Hebrides are characters with names such as 'Íle' and 'Muile'. This is not unique: we find similar in a passage from *Acallam na Senórach*, where warriors of the Fianna drawn from the Hebrides include 'Cernabrocc' (cf. Cairn na Burgh in the Treshnish Isles) one of the sons of the king of Insi Gall; and 'Diure' (cf. Jura, *G Diura*), 'Barrae' (cf. Barra) and 'Idae', three sons of a king of Lochlann. See references and discussion in Clancy 2008, 35; and for overall context, see Herbert 1999, esp. 96–97.

Eboudai, or more precisely here, *Ebouda*, the name he says was held by two individual islands which formed one of the five *Eboudai*. The episode in *Ibdone insula* is thus likely to be set on one of the Hebridean islands.

UIST, IBDAIG, EBOUDAI

Recognising **Ibuid*, and *Ibdaig* as key forms relating to the Hebrides may also help to unlock the origins of the name of the island chain of the Uists. The current form, in Gaelic (*Uibhist*) as in English, as is well recognised, derives from the Old Norse name *Ívist*. On the face of it this seems to mean ‘inner abode’ (Coates 1988 citing Field 1980). This, as has been explored by others, seems most likely to be an Old Norse adaptation of an earlier, unattested, name. It has a clear parallel in the Norse name for Tíree, *Týr-vist*, again employing ON *vist* ‘dwelling’ (on Tíree, see in most detail now Holliday 2016, 439–43). In this case, however, we have a variety of earlier forms for Tíree and we can see the ON calque more clearly as riffing on the first element of an original *Tír-iath* (in Latin *Ethica terra*, also *terra Heth*, cf. Watson 1926, 85–86; Holliday 2016, 439).

If *Ívist*, *Uist*, was a Norse calque on an earlier name, what was it calquing? There is attraction in seeing it as based on a name beginning with [iβ-] or [iv-],¹³ and that is precisely what we find, with Hebridean connections, in the range of forms in **Ibuid* and *Ibdaig*. *Ívist* is thus plausibly an ON calque on either **Ibuid* or *Ibdaig*, with the former perhaps more likely.¹⁴

Such an argument, however, would imply that we should associate Ptolemy’s *Eboudai* with the Outer Hebrides, and not the Inner Hebrides as has so often

13. Note that an origin like this has previously been explored by Richard Coates in his consideration of the equation ‘Uist = Ibiza’ (Coates 1988; also Coates 2012, 63). This considers a possible origin for both names in a form [iβis-]. I am uncertain what the consequences of the current argument would be for Coates’s proposal, though presumably it would mean that in fact we are chasing only the etymology of *Eboudai*/*Ebouda*, if this is what underlies the various developments resulting in Uist. I should note that my proposal does not explore the ‘deep etymology’ for either Uist or the Hebrides, the ultimate roots of which remain obscure, despite a variety of proposals (see further Coates 2012).

14. At a late stage in the publication of this article, I became aware that a similar argument had previously been made (though briefly and without detail): by Andrew Jennings and Arne Kruse (2009, 81). There they propose: ‘Ívist may be a resemanticised form of the ancient name for the archipelago itself (*Ibdaig* in Old Irish and *Hebudes* in Pliny NH IV, 103).’ They include this label against the Outer Hebrides on their map on p. 80. Like me, and in contrast to most scholars, they align *Ibdaig* and *Hebudes* with the Outer Hebrides, though in their case this is based on the absence of the name from the text they discuss as *Senchus Fer nAlban* (see their p. 78), and their reasoning that thus it must be outside of Dál Riata. I am grateful to Dr Alan Macniven for drawing my attention to this discussion.

been argued (e.g. Broderick 2013, 4; Rivet and Smith 1979, 355). In this context, it is worth revisiting the description of the *Eboudai* in Ptolemy, to see if the identification can be firmed up. Discussion of these islands has been curiously stranded in scholarship between discussions of his Scottish and Irish sections. The discussion in Ptolemy actually occurs in his account of Ireland. In Rivet and Smith’s translation:

Above *Ivernia* lie islands which are called *Aebudae* (var. *Ebudae*), five in number, of which the most westerly is called *Aebuda*, the next towards the east is likewise *Aebuda*, then *Ricina*, then *Maleus*, then *Epidium*. (Rivet and Smith 1979, 131)

There is much uncertainty here. For some reason (perhaps because this account in Ptolemy is assigned to Ireland), much of the work to date has been content to identify *Ricina* with Rathlin (OG *Rechru*), but this scarcely fits well with the certainly identified *Malaios*/*Maleus* which must be Mull (*Malea insula* in VC i.22). The possibility that the *Ricina* mentioned here is in the Hebrides has been noted (Mac an Bhaird 1991, 16). Discussions to date have not worked outward from the two most secure identifications in this list: *Malaios*, and also the island of *Epidium*, which should be located close to the tribal and peninsular equivalent name, located on Kintyre: hence, *Epidium* most naturally should be identified as a name for Islay.¹⁵

If one takes a scan of the islands to the north of Ireland and proceeds west from Islay and Mull and considers these descriptions as being of large islands or clusters of islands (rather than every available island), we could plausibly make the identifications: *Epidium* = Islay (and Jura?);¹⁶ *Maleus* = Mull; *Ricina* = Tíree (and Coll?); and then the two named *Ebouda* might be some configuration of the islands in the chain from Barra to North Uist, perhaps the first *Ebouda* being South Uist (with Barra), and the second *Ebouda* being North Uist (with Benbecula); or the first *Ebouda* being Barra, and the second being the island chain of South Uist, Benbecula and North Uist. I note George Broderick’s

15. Not the only name, since *Íle* is clearly an ancient name (cf. Watson 1926, 86–87; Broderick 2013, 15). This need not worry us, as *Epidion*/*Epidium* is evidently a name taken from the population group controlling the island and is not itself an island name. Note, I have not directly discussed Patrizia de Bernardo-Stempel’s suggestion (2007, 155; noted in Broderick 2013, 4) that *Epidion* is somehow to be equated with *Eboudai*, as I think it fundamentally implausible (on which see Coates, 2012, 71; James 2009, 149, n. 42).

16. Most commentators seem to take this as Kintyre on the basis of alignment with the peninsula called the same in the British section. However, this is manifestly intended to be an island, and so the main island closest to Kintyre would seem a sensible identification.

translation of Ptolemy here as reading ‘the most westerly island is called *Ebuda*, that east of it and adjoining to it is also called *Ebuda*’ (Broderick 2013, 4, n. 9, emphasis mine), which may lean us towards the first explanation.

This is, of course, imperfect, but we should not expect perfect alignment for the descriptions in Ptolemy, and notoriously the *Eboudai* are at a place where there are problems with the coordinates. At any rate, it does seem plausible that the description of the *Eboudai* as a whole starts with Barra/Uist and moves in an arc to the east and south.¹⁷

It might well be objected that *Ricina* cannot be the same as Tíree, since we know Adomnán called it *terra Ethica*; early Gaelic vernacular sources name it as *Tír Iath*, with variants. Most scholarship has found the underlying name represented here, argued by Watson to be *Éth*, and later, with breaking, *Iath*, to be inexplicable and pre- or non-Celtic: ‘The second element *-ēt(h)* does not seem to represent any known Gaelic or Celtic root’ (Broderick 2013, 12). My sense is that this analysis derives from two assumptions: first, that we need to square the totality of forms of Tíree (many of which, including the later forms, are affected in various ways by the Norse calque *Tír-vist*); second, that Adomnán’s form is an ancient one.

However, there seems to me nothing formally preventing this name from being a Gaelic one of comparatively recent vintage in Adomnán’s day, with the second element being OG *íath* ‘land, country; territory, estate’ (*DIL*, 1 *íath*; this word was already connected with the name by Watson 1926, 85). The island name in Adomnán’s time is likely to have been *Éth*, later, with breaking, *Íath*, and *tír* was added at a later date (though one can already see it in the Latin forms such as *Ethica terra, regio Heth*). If *Tír-Íath* seems a tautologous name, it is worth considering the many formulations in poetry employing *íath* with other words meaning ‘land’ or the like: *íath-bla*, *íath-mag*, *íath-sliab*, in all of which, as in *Tír-Íath* with different construction, *íath* acts as the specific. The island would thus have a Gaelic name meaning ‘the land, the estate’, and later ‘the land of the estate’, perhaps an emblem of its singular importance to Gaels, and especially churchmen, remembering the presence of multiple church foundations there attested in the early sources. by this analysis, its earlier (pre-Gaelic?) name in Ptolemy’s time may have been what he represents as *Ricina*.

An implication of all this would be that the name Uist, G *Uibhist*, in its current form deriving from ON *Ívist*, reflects the name that is, in turn, found in Ptolemy’s *Eboudai* and the Gaelic forms **Ibuid* and *Ibdaig*; in other words, to put it perhaps too strongly, Uist is the original Hebridean island.

17. It is worth looking at early modern maps in which the Hebrides, including the Western Isles, are shown in closer proximity to Ireland. The map by J. N. Bellin, ‘Carte reduite des Isle Britanniques’, published in 1757, is a good example, illustrating nicely the perspective I am advocating here: see <<https://maps.nls.uk/joins/2780.html>>.

UIST, IN IBDONE INSULA

It may perhaps strengthen this identification to consider whether the island described in the *Vita S. Cainnechi* could plausibly be Uist. It is worth noting that Uist is host to two Gaelic hagiotoponyms commemorating the saint, one in the north of South Uist (a lost *Cill Chainnich*, now found only as Ard Choinnich NF759461; see discussion by Evemalm at Eòlas, s.n.), and one in the south of that island, above Lochboisdale (again the church name *Cill Chainnich* is lost but was present on Blaeu’s map; it is now found as Beinn Ruigh Choinnich NF806196; see discussion by Evemalm at Eòlas, s.n.). Of course, it is not the only Hebridean island where commemorations of Cainnech may be found – these are present on Tíree, Coll, Iona itself and Mull (DoSH, Cainnech; Mackinlay 1914, 61–63; Watson 1926, 188, 276). However, taking the collective possibilities outlined here, of *in Ibdone insula* as related to the names **Ibuid*, *Ibdaig*; and of Uist as also derived from some form of these names, there is every possibility that the island referred to in *Vita S. Cainnechi* is Uist; given the associations with Cainnech, this would be more precisely South Uist. Alas, we cannot prove this definitively by pointing to a lack of mice.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

This article has argued, then, that an island named in the Life of St Cainnech should be identified with the Gaelic forms of the names of the *Eboudai* in Ptolemy; it has argued that the island name of Uist also derives from the Gaelic form of the *Eboudai*, and further, that the island in the Life of St Cainnech can be identified with Uist, and more specifically South Uist. If these alignments are correct, they have a number of important implications for our approach to early medieval Scottish history. Here, it is worth bearing in mind that our evidence for early medieval Scotland, whether textual or material, is such that one new identification or re-identification can radically alter our interpretation of that past.

Uist in the annals

First, and perhaps most importantly, if we can now take the annal entry AU 672.2 *Deleti sunt Ibdig* ‘The *Ibdaig* were destroyed’ as referring to the Uists, we are able for the first time to build them into our understanding of the early medieval history of the western seaboard of Scotland. Indeed, doing so results in some strengthening of the probability that the Uists are being referred to. AU 672.2 would take its place in a series of annal entries referring to activities in the Hebrides and the Scottish mainland north of Ardnamurchan in the late 660s and 670s.

AU 668.3 ... *nauigatio filiorum Gartnaidh ad Hiberniam cum plebe Sceth* ('... the voyage of the sons of Gartnait to Ireland with the people of Skye')

AU 670.4 *Uenit genus Gartnait de Hibernia* ('The kindred of Gartnait come from Ireland')

AU 671.5 *Mail Rubai in Britanniam nauigat* ('Mael Rubai voyages to Britain')

AU 672.2 *Deleti sunt Ibdig* ('The *Ibdaig* are destroyed')

AU 673.5 *Mail Rubai fundauit ecclesiam Apor Croosan*. ('Mael Rubai founds the church of Applecross')

AU 677.6 *Beccan Ruimm quieuit* ('Beccán of Rum dies')

Seen in this context, the reference to the Uists occurs at a precise moment during which we have a brief ray of light on activities north of Ardnamurchan: the flight of Cenél Gartnait from Skye and their return some years later; the arrival of Mael Rubai of Bangor and his founding of a new monastery at Applecross (the most northerly we know about from this period on the western mainland). It may be no accident that we also hear during this period about the death of a cleric on Rum (on Beccán, cf. Clancy and Márkus 1995, 129–34). So the annal entry can readily be explained as belonging to a strand of reporting, presumably from the 'Iona Chronicle', which takes in this area (on the general issues raised by the annals of this period and area, see Evans 2018).

Equally, however, these annals provide a potential context for understanding the destruction of the Uists in 672 – as part of a series of secular convulsions in northern Argyll and the Hebrides which saw one powerful family flee and then return – almost certainly a continuation of the *cocad* 'war' between Gartnait and the descendants of Aedán mac Gabráin recorded in AU649.4; that return being perhaps marked by expressions of power: an invitation to the abbot of Bangor to establish a new foundation in Applecross; and, potentially, the destruction of islands in the Outer Hebrides (note that the other place where *delete sunt* is used, AU682.4 it is clearly political warfare). Into this mix we might also, perhaps, place the burning of Mag Luinge on Tiree in AU 673.1. This is only one potential, speculative, piecing together of these events; nonetheless, it is an illustration of the importance that this new reading of AU 672.2 can have. (For some detailed readings of these events, see Fraser 2004; 2007, 251–53.)

Cainnech as Hebridean saint

A further line of enquiry is prompted by the potential identification of the island in the *Vita S. Cainnechi* as Uist. Cainnech has long been recognised as a saint with a Hebridean cult, though this has not been much studied, and has been much less remarked on than other Hebridean cults (see MacKinlay 1914, 61–63; Watson 1926, 188, 276; Holliday 2016, 60; Eòlas, s.n.). The mention of

an Outer Hebridean island in what may well be an 8th-century Life, however, deepens the connections which we were already aware of from Adomnán's *Vita S. Columbae*, in which he is depicted as one of several important monastic founder saints more or less co-equal with Columba (VC i.4, ii.13–14, iii.17), and in his own Life, where he spends time in 'Britain', Pictland and also Tiree, as well as with Columba (Márkus 2018, §20, §21, §24, §26, §53; cf. Heist 1965). The centre of gravity of Cainnech's Life is Ireland and in particular his main foundation there of Aghaboe; equally, the Life is in certain respects consciously modelled on *Vita S. Columbae*, as Máire Herbert has shown (Herbert 2001). This has, perhaps, meant that scholars have been more ready to treat Cainnech as an Irish saint with a Scottish cult (comparable to, for instance, Patrick or Brigit), rather than perhaps seeing that cult reflecting early activity, similar to Columba's (see for instance Ó Riain 2011, 138–40, where reference to Scottish dedications is virtually an afterthought). But Cainnech in fact could be read as a historical figure with a very similar profile to Columba, who also seems to have founded monasteries in Ireland (Durrow, most notably), and who clearly maintained a cross-channel monastic management career. It would be hard to push this much beyond a simple scholarly openness to Cainnech as a historical Hebridean monastic figure: undoubtedly both his probable 8th-century Life and the churches commemorating him in the Hebrides (and beyond, as at Laggan in Inverness-shire, cf. Clancy 2016, 60–61) reflect the deepening and expansion of his cult after his lifetime, and that cult may partly have been spread by Iona, to judge from, for instance, Adomnán's depiction of him and the presence of a Cill Chainnich on the doorstep of the monastic precinct in Iona. Certainly, just as the presence of two churches called Cill Chainnich on South Uist helps to strengthen the case for it as the location of the episode in *Ibdone insula*, so conversely accepting the location suggested here changes how we think about those dedications, their dating and what they might reflect.

Rethinking Eboudai and Ibdaig

Finally, this article has proposed a rethinking of the *Eboudai* of Ptolemy, taking his description as one which locates these in an arc north of Ireland, proceeding from west to east; and as relating to the Hebrides more widely and not just the Inner Hebrides. This proceeds from the securest identifications (Mull, Islay), but also hinges on the proposed origin of the name *Uist*. If this is accepted, it does mean we should reconsider how the *Eboudai* are thought of. We should pay more attention to the fact that they are surveyed by Ptolemy as part of Ireland. This is frequently obscured by scholars discussing certain items from among them in the context of Britain, Mull for instance, while not discussing others, *Ricina* mainly, since it is assumed to refer to Rathlin. More attention should be paid

also to the Ulster genealogies and to the presence of a line in the sixth century descended from a man with the epithet *Ibdach* 'Hebridean', or perhaps we should translate more specifically, as a result of this investigation, 'Uibhisteach'. This is a dimension to secular interaction between the north of Ireland and the Isles which is distinct from the well-known narrative of Dál Riata and may provide new perspectives from which to view the Gaelic background and development of this region.

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A BLINK ON BLINKBONNY

LIZ CURTIS

Scottish Place-Name Society

Blinkbonny is an attractive place-name, found from Northumberland to Orkney. Also spelt Blinkbonnie, Blink Bonny and Blink Bonnie, it raises a number of questions. What does the name mean? Where exactly is it found, when does it date from, and what kind of sites does it refer to? Does the topography confirm that it describes places with fine views, as is generally thought? What new acts of naming have the original Blinkbonnies inspired?

First recorded in 1752–55 on Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland: Lowlands*, the Blinkbonny name has been discussed by Simon Taylor (2008), John Baldwin and Peter Drummond (2011), and John Garth Wilkinson (forthcoming). All agree that it refers to places with fine views, the equivalent of French *Bellevue* and Italian *Belvedere*, but differ on its grammatical structure and precise meaning. The name is also mentioned by Johnston (1940, 21), who notes that Blinkbonny is a common Scots name for 'a pretty spot' and cites Belle Vue.

Baldwin and Drummond (2011, 30), discussing Blinkbonny in the Pentland Hills, suggest it is 'probably an inversion of Scots *bonnie blink*, "a fine outlook or view"'. This type of structure is unusual in Scots because the noun precedes the adjective. Simon Taylor, however, has suggested that it is likely to be a verbal place-name, combining 'the Scots verb *blink* "look, take a (quick) look", with *bonny* being used adverbially.'¹ Discussing Blinkbonny in West Lothian, Wilkinson likewise considers it a verbal place-name, combining *blink* 'look fondly' with *bonny* 'pretty', and meaning 'gaze with admiration'.²

This type of structure, where the adjective is used as an adverb, is commonplace in Scots. It is found in words of advice such as 'ca' canny' and 'gan canny', both meaning 'be careful', and indeed the instruction to a dog, 'sit nice'. Place-names offering advice are not uncommon. Examples cited by Taylor (2008, 281–82) include Lookaboutthim or Lookaboutthee, the name of 'a field with good, open views', and Mounthooly, 'mount or climb carefully', 'a humorous name for a steep brae' from Scots *huilie* 'slowly, gently, cautiously'.

So how might we translate the instruction to 'blink bonny'? The verb *blink*, from Northern Middle English *blenk*, was used in both England and Scotland from the 16th century to mean, *inter alia*, 'to glance' (*OED* and *DSL*). In Scots

1. 2008, 278; *PNF* 5, 300, 560–61.

2. Wilkinson, forthcoming.

from around 1700 it meant to ‘glance kindly, to ogle, look fondly at’ as well as several more negative actions, including ‘to glance at with the evil eye’ (*DSL*).

The adjective *bonny* or *bonnie*, possibly related to French *bon*, was likewise used in England and Scotland but became uncommon in the south of England (*OED*). It has a bundle of positive meanings, including ‘pleasing to the sight, comely, beautiful, expressing homely beauty’ (*OED*; also see *DSL bonny* adj.). Charles Mackay in his *Dictionary of Lowland Scotch* (1888, 15) defined *bonnie* when applied to a woman as ‘beautiful, good-natured and cheerful’, while ‘applied to natural objects, it simply signifies beautiful’. *Bonny* could also be used as an adverb, defined by the *OED* as ‘finely, beautifully’. It also generated a second adverb, *bonnilie*. Spellings of *bonny*, both as a word and as a place-name element, are various. In their maps of Berwickshire and Lothian of 1771 and 1773, the Armstrongs use four: *Blinkbonnie*, *Blinkbony*, *Blinkbonie* and *Blinkbonny*.

To translate *blink bonny* as ‘glance (or look) finely’ does not make sense. A quotation from the Scottish poet Allan Ramsay in 1729, however, provides a possible clue to a more meaningful interpretation. Ramsay wrote, ‘On him she did na gloom, But blinkit bonnilie.’ (*OED* blink v. II a). Here contrasted with ‘to gloom’ (‘to scowl’, *DSL*), ‘to blink bonnilie’ suggests a cheerful demeanour and an attractive facial expression, and could be interpreted as ‘to look favourably on’. Perhaps, then, we might interpret ‘blink bonny’ as advice to ‘glance with pleasure’ on the view from a particular place. This interpretation is close to Wilkinson’s ‘gaze with admiration’, but ‘gaze’ implies a protracted look, while *blink* is used in Scots for ‘a glimpse, a hurried view’ (Johnston 1940, 21).

Taylor offers another possibility: that *blink bonny* is not an instruction but a description. He suggests it could be an imitation (or calque, in linguistic terms) of *Beauvoir* and *Belvedere*. Both mean ‘beautiful to see’, and the latter was adopted into English as a term for a structure specially built ‘in order to afford fine views of the surrounding scenery’ (*OED*). Thus ‘blink bonny’ would mean ‘bonny to see’. Taylor notes (pers. comm.): ‘In Scots, because *blink* is both a noun and a verb, the order was reversed to stress the verbal aspect of the name.’

The one attempt in the Ordnance Survey (OS) Name Books to interpret the name uses *blink* in a different sense: ‘to cast a sudden or momentary gleam of light’ (*OED*). The entry for Blink Bonnie in Dunfermline parish, Fife, tells us that this was ‘a Row of Cottage houses occupied by the Farm servants of Mr Deas, London’, which ‘derives its name from the Sun blinking on this place over The Dean Plantation’ (OS1/13/127/56).

Compiled in the mid-19th century, the OS Name Books record 38

Blinkbonny names in Scotland, as follows: Berwickshire 5, Clackmannanshire 1, Dumfriesshire 1, East Lothian 4, Fife and Kinross-shire 7, Forfarshire (Angus) 1, Kincardineshire 1, Lanarkshire 1, Midlothian 4, Morayshire 3, Orkney 5,³ Peeblesshire 1, Perthshire 1, Roxburghshire 2, Stirlingshire 1.⁴

Norman Dixon (2011, 397) states that Blinkbonny is a farm-name, but this needs to be qualified. Seventeen of the Blinkbonny names in the OS Name Books referred to farmhouses, most described as having a farm attached. Some were described as ‘small’, while some were clearly larger, such as those whose occupiers appeared in tax rolls between 1787 and 1802.⁵ There were also three crofts. A further seventeen were dwelling-houses or rows of dwellings, several occupied by farm labourers but one by a shepherd and some by other workers. In the latter group, a row of houses on a farm in West Calder parish, Midlothian, was occupied by ‘miners and people of the labouring classes’ and a grocer’s and spirit shop,⁶ while a joiner called Robert Crawford and his family lived in a small dwelling-house called Blinkbonnie in Tranent parish, East Lothian, owned by the Earl of Wemyss.⁷ Also in East Lothian, there was a ruined shepherd’s cottage on Longyester Farm.⁸

There was also one street with this name, in the town of Duns, Berwickshire. According to the OS Name Book, it had a sign declaring ‘Blinkbonnie’. The OS Name Book approved this spelling, but the OS 6 inch map has *Blinkbonie*.⁹ The name was evidently heavily ironical, as the street was described as, ‘A narrow, crooked and dirty lane, or occupation road – a thoroughfare only for foot passengers’ (OS1/5/15/83). The lane survives today, cleaned up and asphalted, winding between high walls. Set into one wall and barely visible, is a stone carved with the name ‘Blinkbonnie’, possibly the very sign mentioned in the OS Name Book. Running parallel to the west is a modern residential street, Blinkbonnie Gardens, named after the allotments that formerly stood here.¹⁰

3. Marwick (1952) does not discuss any Blinkbonny names.

4. Derived names are not included.

5. They paid tax on one of these: a saddle-horse, farm-horses, a female servant, a cart or planted or prepared ground.

6. OS1/11/22/28, NS971600.

7. *Census* 1841, 722/4/1; 1851, 722/10/6. OS Name Book OS1/15/38/10.

8. Thanks to Val Wilson for locating the ruins of this cottage, which stand at NT534637, just over a mile southwest of Longyester. Recorded by Armstrong in 1773 (South East Section) as Blinkbonie, and by Forrest in 1799 as Blink Bonny, it was in ruins by the time the OS Name Book’s surveyors arrived in 1853–54. Canmore ID 181341.

9. OS 6 inch Berwickshire Sheet XIV, surveyed 1857, published 1862.

10. Thanks are due to local residents for the above information and for directions to

Also in the mid-19th century, there were three Blinkbonny names in north Northumberland. One Blinkbonny was a hill 990ft high, described by the OS Name Book as an 'eminence', while the second was a small tenanted farm near Flodden owned by the Marchioness of Waterford. The farm is 300ft up and Godfrey Watson wrote that it 'derives its name from the splendid view that it affords of the Till valley.'¹¹ The third was the Blinkbonny Hotel: this was sited next to Christon Bank station (spelt Christonbank on OS maps) which opened in 1847. Today the hotel is a pub and part of a village, but in the past it was surrounded by open fields.¹² These Northumberland Blinkbonny names demonstrate a shared vocabulary across the Anglo-Scottish border, doubtless encouraged by the movement of farm workers back and forth.¹³

Dixon notes that Blinkbonny is 'a common 18th-century Scots name' (2011 [1947], 168), and the records show that it was indeed common at least towards the end of that century. Of the Blinkbonny names in the Scottish OS Name Books, ten appear in these earlier records: Roy's *Military Survey: Lowlands* of 1752–55; the Armstrongs' *Map of the County of Berwick* of 1771 and their *Map of the Three Lothians* of 1773; tax rolls of 1790 to 1802; and Forrest's *Map of Haddingtonshire* of 1799. The sites were in Berwickshire, East Lothian, Fife and Kinross-shire, Midlothian, Morayshire and Peeblesshire. Four more were recorded in the 18th century but do not appear in the OS Name Books: one in Berwickshire (Bunkle), in the Horse Tax Rolls for 1787; one in East Lothian (Whittingehame) on Forrest's map of 1799; one in Midlothian (Fala and Soutra), on the Armstrongs' map of 1773; and another 'near Danderhall' in Court of Session papers in 1799.¹⁴ The last was probably also in Midlothian, where the OS Name Books record two Danderhalls, one in West Calder parish and the other in Newton parish.¹⁵

There are also 19th-century instances not in the OS Name Books. One such is Blinkbonny muir in Falkirk parish, Stirlingshire, noted by John Reid (2009, 372). Another is in Dunbar, listed as a single house occupied by a male servant and

the lane and the sign.

11. Watson 1970, 172. The hill (NY827876) is on OS 6 inch Northumberland Sheet LX, surveyed 1862, published 1866. The farm (NT908360) is on OS 6 inch Northumberland Sheet XIV, surveyed 1860, published 1866.

12. *Disused Stations*. The station closed in 1965. OS 6 inch Northumberland Sheet XXVII, surveyed 1861, published 1867; NU213227.

13. Fenton 1999, 229, mentions the movement of farm workers between Northumberland and the Borders, 'from the hiring markets at Duns and Berwick'.

14. NRS CS228/B/11/27.

15. The OS Name Book records that Danderhall near West Calder was named by Lord Hermand: 'the word "Dander" being the Scotch term for forge clinkers', alluding to the smithy (OS1/11/26/19).

his family in the census for 1841, but appearing as a group of properties in the Valuation Rolls for 1855–56, most of which belonged to the Earl of Lauderdale.¹⁶ Neither of the Dunbar Blinkbonnies appears on maps of the period. Val Wilson (pers. comm.) points out that as the census was done in house order, the house called Blinkbonny was probably at one end of Dawell Brae (now Victoria Street) or was part of it.

When the name Blinkbonny first came into use is unclear. It is conceivable that it was first applied to hills and later to farms and buildings, but the known hill-names were not recorded early enough to prove this. There is the 990ft 'eminence' called Blinkbonny in Northumberland, surveyed in 1862. There is Blinkbonny muir in Falkirk, recorded in 1898; Reid (2009, 372) notes that this was 'part of the south muir of Falkirk retained by the feuars after the division of the muir in 1807. It was only after that event that the farm called Blinkbonny came into being.' Then there is Blinkbonny Hill in Earlston, Berwickshire, described by the OS Name Book (OS1/5/16/19) as a 'hill of considerable elevation' and shown on the accompanying map as being some 700ft high. Below this at about 450ft was a 'dwelling house with suitable offices and a garden attached' called Blinkbonny (OS1/5/16/42), also recorded by Armstrong in 1771. This was probably a farmhouse, as it featured in the farm horse tax rolls for 1797 as having two horses. Clearly the two names are related (and they are counted as one example in the Berwickshire tally of five Blinkbonnies, above), but which came first? Given its size, the hill seems a possible candidate. Similarly in Newcastleton, Roxburghshire, a 'small house' called Blinkbonny, at 700ft and occupied by a shepherd, is near Blinkbonny Height, which is 864ft high.¹⁷

The two earliest settlement-names were both recorded on Roy's map of the lowlands in 1752–55. These were in Newlands parish, Peeblesshire, recorded as *Blink Bonny*, and in Nenthorn parish, Berwickshire, recorded as *Bleak Bonny*. This latter spelling was almost certainly a misunderstanding; though it was high up, the farm was unlikely to have been seen as bleak. Roy himself shows cultivated land and the tax rolls of the 1780s and 1790s reveal a prosperous farm.¹⁸ Further, the view is magnificent, fully justifying the name Blinkbonny

16. 1841, 706/3/13; 1851, 706/2/1. They consisted of a stables, a lime yard, seven houses, two coach houses with cellars and a cellar; the tenants were a flesher, a mason, two fisherman, a candlemaker, a clerk, two grocers, a cooper, a fish agent and a pauper widow. Valuation Rolls fo. 15, ll. 16 to 23; fo. 31, ll. 9, 10, 12, 13. Thanks to Val Wilson for researching the censuses and Valuation Rolls.

17. OS1/29/7/121; OS1/29/7/124; OS 6 inch Roxburghshire Sheet XLV, surveyed 1858, published 1863.

18. E.g. *Horse Tax Rolls* Vol. 09/64, 1788, and *Farm Horse Tax Rolls* Vol. 02/30, 1797, for Blinkbonnie, Nenthorn Parish, Berwickshire.



Fig. 1 Blinkbonny Farm, Nenthorn, Berwickshire: looking south towards The Cheviots

(Fig. 1). In East Lothian, however, Blinkbonny names which appeared on maps of 1773 and 1799 did not appear on Roy's map. This was the era of agricultural improvement, with new buildings being constructed from the third quarter of the 18th century (Fenton 1999, 190) and the expansion of sheep-farming. It seems likely that the Blinkbonny name was given to newly built dwellings.

Most of the farms and cottages in question were owned by people other than the occupiers.¹⁹ Owners included three earls, two dukes, a marquis, a 'Lady' and a baronet, as well as people styled 'Esquire' or plain 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.', and in one instance the City of Edinburgh. In most cases, who bestowed the name is unknown, but two make it clear that the proprietor had the final word. In East Lothian's Whittingehame parish, the OS Name Book noted 'two small dwelling houses, on the farm of Ruchlaw' which were occupied by farm labourers, adding, 'These houses are better know [*sic*] by the inhabitants under

19. Thirty-two of the farmhouses, cottages and rows of cottages listed by the OS Name Books were occupied by tenants; one farm in Nenthorn, Berwickshire, was 'cultivated by the proprietor', while the remaining owners are unspecified.

the Name of Spitemuir, but Mr Sydserf, the proprietor, is about erecting a stone in front of them with the word Blinkbonnie inscribed on it.'²⁰ Mr Sydserf was evidently determined to overwrite a negative name, and saw Blinkbonnie as an improvement.

In Benholm parish, Kincardineshire, however, a proprietor took a different view. Here a large farmhouse held by a tenant was known as Mains of Muirton and North Muirton, but also as Blinkbonny. It was 400ft up and, from the map, it probably had a splendid view southwards to the coast (NO776691). The OS Name Book (OS1/19/4/21) recorded that the proprietor, Hercules Scott Esquire, 'wishes it in future to be called "North Muirton"'. It duly appeared on the 1st edition OS 6 inch map as North Muirton, but by the 2nd edition, surveyed in 1901, it had reverted to Blinkbonnie. It has now gone.²¹

Another name change took place in Abdie parish, Fife, but the agent is not revealed. Here the farm recorded as *Bogtown* on Ainslie's map in 1775 had its name changed to Blinkbonny by 1797 (at which time tax was levied on its four farm-horses).²²

How were the Blinkbonny farmhouses and cottages positioned? Dixon describes them as farms with 'a southerly exposure' or 'a sunny aspect', and 'comparable with Sunnyside'.²³ But examples make it clear that it is the view, rather than the direction faced, that is the key to the name.

The two earliest Blinkbonny farms, in Newlands, Peeblesshire, and Nenthorn, Berwickshire, did indeed face south, both with breathtaking views. In a windblown spot between the Pentland Hills and the Moorfoots, Blinkbonny in Newlands scans the horizon from Hundleshope Heights south of Peebles to the Lammermuirs in the east, while Blinkbonny in Nenthorn looks across a sweep of fields and woods to the distant Cheviots.²⁴

A farmhouse called Blinkbonny near Kirkwall in Orkney also faced south: now the site of self-catering holiday homes, it advertises 'spectacular views over Scapa Flow, and towards the South Isles'.²⁵ In Newbattle parish, Midlothian, Blinkbonny farmhouse has a beautiful view to the southeast. But Wilkinson

20. OS1/15/47/70; NT611735.

21. OS 6 inch Kincardineshire Sheet XXIV, surveyed 1864, published 1868; OS 6 inch Kincardineshire Sheet XXVII. NE, surveyed 1901, published 1904; ESRI World Imagery via <maps.nls.uk>.

22. *PNF* 4, 72–72; *PNF* 5, 300; Farm Horse Tax Rolls, E326/10/2/250.

23. Dixon 2011, 57, 168, 206, 323, 397.

24. Thanks to local people for explaining the view from Blinkbonny, Newlands.

25. <<http://www.blinkbonny.com>>, accessed 18/2/2018. HY424086; OS 6 inch Orkney Sheet CVIII, surveyed 1880, published 1882.



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Fig. 2 The shepherd's cottage, Blinkbonny, in Yester parish, East Lothian, with the hills of Fife on the horizon

(pers. comm.) points out that the row of workers' houses called Blinkbonny in West Calder parish, Midlothian,²⁶ had a 'long and superb view to the north', to Breadalbane, the Trossachs, the Ochils and possibly the Lomond hills, whereas its view to the south 'would have been rough moorland with a few birch'. John Reid (2009, 372) writes that 'the Falkirk example has a fine view north over the strath of the Forth'. Peter Drummond (pers. comm.) explains that Blinkbonny, Lesmahagow parish, Lanarkshire, is 'on a slight north-east facing slope', though with a view to Tinto, a prominent hill to the southwest.

The lack of regularity in positioning is also clear from the example of East Lothian, where four of the five Blinkbonny sites had views to the north.²⁷ The shepherd's cottage in Yester parish was high up and had a spectacular view northwards to the hills of Fife (though its door faced southwest, so would get the sun, Fig. 2), while the two small cottages called Blinkbonnie on Ruchlaw farm had a superb view north to the Forth, taking in North Berwick Law, the Bass Rock and the Isle of May, and Fife on the far side. The dwelling near Seton (NT410745) in Tranent parish also looked north across fields to the Forth a

26. West Calder was moved into West Lothian in 1975, after council boundary re-organisation.

27. The site near Yarrow cannot be precisely located.

mile away, while to the south it faced rising 'impassable marshy ground'.²⁸ The dwelling located by Forrest near Yarrow in Whittingehame parish was part way down a north-facing hill in an attractive rolling landscape, with Traprain Law in the distance.

The only south-facing Blinkbonny in East Lothian was west of Haddington, looking across the Tyne Valley to the Lammermuir Hills.²⁹ Recorded by Forrest in 1799, it was described by the Name Book as a 'small farm house' with 'a farm of land attached', owned by Sir R. Houston of the nearby Clerkington estate. Sir Robert Houston was an officer in the East India Company's army and owned a sugar plantation in Grenada.³⁰ The 1851 census recorded that Blinkbonny was occupied by farmer Alexander Kerr and his family and that the farm was 48 acres.³¹ It was the largest by far of the original Blinkbonny sites in East Lothian and is the only one that has survived. Today, doubtless considerably extended, it is called Blinkbonny House.

Many Blinkbonny buildings no longer exist. Several have disappeared without trace, such as 'cothouses' recorded in the OS Name Book as 'small in bad repair' in Lesmahagow parish, Lanarkshire,³² along with the above-mentioned large farmhouse in Kincardineshire and two sites in East Lothian. One of these was joiner Robert Crawford's home in Tranent parish: today this is the site of Coastline Autos, a carwash on the A198.³³ Also gone are the two labourers' houses renamed Blinkbonny by Mr Sydserf, which are now empty ground. In Peebles-shire, the Blinkbonny farmstead was abandoned in the 20th century; it is still on the OS maps, but only a dilapidated cowshed remains.³⁴

Others have vanished but have left an echo in new names, such as Blinkbonny Gardens in Duns, and three in East Lothian: Blinkbonnie Plantation (NT607726), near the site of a dwelling near Yarrow recorded by Forrest, and Blinkbonny Wood and Blinkbonny Burn, both near the site of the shepherd's cottage already mentioned. The workers' cottages in West Calder parish had vanished by the mid-20th century along with the pit and quarry

28. Described thus on the map, OS 6 inch Haddingtonshire Sheet 9, surveyed 1853, published 1854.

29. OS1/15/40/65. This house appears on Forrest's map of 1799, and is at NT471722.

30. *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10480/#imperial-summary>>.

31. 1851 Census 709/18/11.

32. OS1/21/45/34; NS88396.

33. OS/1/15/38/10; NT410745; Census for 1841 and 1851.

34. E.g. OS Landranger no. 73, 2012, NT 212512. The farm has been incorporated into Wester Deans since 1989.

they had serviced, by which time a new village had been built a kilometre away on the main road. The new village was called Breich but is nicknamed Blinky, and includes a street named Blinkbonny Terrace.³⁵

A farmhouse and farm between Murrayfield and Craigmyle in Edinburgh has had a particularly productive after-life (NT224742). It was recorded as *Blinkbonny* on the Armstrongs' map in 1773 and was listed in the Name Book of 1852–53, but was later divided by the Caledonian Railway and then swallowed up by Edinburgh. Today the farmhouse has been replaced by a Holiday Inn, but a whole estate of Blinkbonnies has sprouted around it: Blinkbonny Crescent, Terrace, Grove, Gardens, Avenue and plain Road.

That Edinburgh Blinkbonny had another legacy. In the 19th century there was a turnpike gate nearby on the Queensferry Road, where tolls were collected (Forrester 1850). A young Yorkshire man, William I'Anson (*sic*), trained racehorses for a wealthy owner at Barnton nearby. He used to pass through the Blinkbonny turnpike regularly en route for England and, later, now a successful breeder himself, he named a thoroughbred filly after it.³⁶ The horse, Blink Bonny (1854–62), became famous, winning the Derby and Oaks in 1857.³⁷ Two of her hooves are displayed in the Blink Bonny pub at Christon Bank in Northumberland. The horse has in turn given her name to an LNER steam engine, an equestrian centre in Australia and a Yorkshire lager.³⁸

Less fortunate was the schooner *Blink Bonny*, perhaps also named after the racehorse. Built in 1874, she was 'bound from Irvine to Londonderry' carrying fire clay and coals when she ran aground on 14 November 1880 off the Kintyre coast. The crew of four were saved but not the ship. The Lightkeeper of the Sanda Lighthouse reported: 'Previous to the vessel being wrecked the Captain got one of his legs very sore hurt & was not able to be on deck, and (vessel) was in charge of the mate. Total wreck.' (*Canmore* ID 115257)

To sum up, Blinkbonny is a Scots and Northumbrian place-name which was applied to places with fine views. Its precise meaning and grammatical

35. Wilkinson (forthcoming). NS971600. See OS 1 inch Airdrie (31), revised 1895, published 1897; OS 1 inch 7th series, Falkirk and Lanark, surveyed 1954 to 1961, published 1961; both via <maps.nls.uk>, geo-referenced maps.

36. *I'Anson international*; The Irish Metropolitan Magazine Vol. 1, April to September 1857, 602.

37. *I'Anson international*. Two other thoroughbred fillies of unconnected stock born earlier were named Blink Bonny, one in New Zealand in 1850 (Porus × Dudu) and one in Australia in 1852 (Egremont × Mrs Burt). Another was born in Australia in 1866 (Conrad × Medora) (Alan Dixon, pers. comm.).

38. <<https://www.scienceandsociety.co.uk/results.asp?image=10306947>>; <<http://www.blinkbonnie.com.au/about>>; <www.horsetownbeers.com>. All accessed 14/2/2018.

structure are open to question. It could be an inversion compound combining noun and adjective, meaning 'fine view'; it could be a verbal place-name, an instruction to 'glance with pleasure'; it could be a calque on Beauvoir and Belvedere, meaning 'bonny to see'. If we are looking for a loose translation, 'place with a beautiful or bonny view' is probably the best.

The name seems to have started life in the first half of the 18th century. First recorded in Berwickshire and Peeblesshire, by the mid-19th century it was found in north Northumberland and had spread through southern and eastern Scotland up to Orkney. There were three hills and a muir called Blinkbonny, but in most cases the name was applied to small farms and rural workers' dwellings, almost all of which were occupied by tenants. Exceptions were a hotel in Northumberland, a group of properties in Dunbar and a 'dirty lane' in Duns, the last clearly named ironically. The farmhouses and cottages were probably built as part of the rural 'improvements', both agricultural and industrial, of the period. Where the views can be confirmed, they look in various directions and are indeed fine, often superb. Many of the Blinkbonny buildings have not survived, but some have lived on through modern street names and a legendary racehorse, still celebrated by *aficionados*.

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APPENDIX 1

Blinkbonny Names in the Scottish OS Name Books

(A) All the known Blinkbonny names in Scotland (various spellings) in the Scottish OS Name Books, giving parish and brief description of each site, plus earlier records of the name, set out alphabetically by pre-1975 county and parish. A site may be mentioned more than once in the OS Name Books, but only one reference for each is given here. To search the OS Name Books online, it is necessary to type the name with the exact spelling into the search engine.

Angus (Forfarshire) 1857–61

St Vigeans: Blinkbonnie – 'A one storied farm steading of rather an inferior description with a few acres of arable land attached'. OS1/14/80/42

Berwickshire 1856–58

Duns: Blinkbonnie – 'A narrow, crooked and dirty lane, or occupation road'. OS1/5/15/83

- Earlston: Blinkbonny – dwelling house. OS1/5/16/42. *Blinkbonnie* 1771 Armstrong. *Blinkbonnie* 1797 Farm horse tax rolls, two horses. E326/10/2/29 This is close to Blinkbonny Hill, OS1/5/16/19
- Eccles: Blinkbonny – small farmhouse + a few acres of land. OS1/5/17/98
- Foulden: Blinkbonny – two tenements and a smithy. OS1/5/21/14
- Nenthorn: Blinkbonny – large farm steading. OS1/5/35/23. *Bleak Bonny* 1752–55 Roy. *Blinkbony* 1771 Armstrong. *Blinkbonnie* 1788 Horse tax rolls, one saddle–horse. E326/10/2/30 *Blinkbonny* 1797 Farm horse tax rolls, four horses. E326/9/17/49
- Clackmannanshire 1861–62
- Dollar: Blinkbonny – cottage. OS1/8/5/17
- Dumfriesshire 1848–58
- Canonbie: Blinkbonny – small house occupied by farm labourers. OS1/10/4/152
- East Lothian 1853–54 (Haddingtonshire)
- Haddington: Blinkbonny – small farmhouse and a farm of land. OS1/15/40/65. *Blink bonny* 1799 Forrest. This is now Blinkbonny House.
- Tranent: Blinkbonny – small dwelling house. OS1/15/38/48
- Whittingehame (Whittingham): Blinkbonnie – ‘two dwelling houses on the farm Ruchlaw, occupied by agricultural labourers’, previously known as Spitemuir. OS1/15/47/70.
- Yester: Blinkbonny – shepherd’s cottage, in ruins. OS1/15/20/41. *Blinkbonie* 1773 Armstrong. *Blink Bonny* 1799 Forrest.
- Fife & Kinross–shire 1853–55
- Abdie: Blinkbonny – farmhouse + farm. OS1/13/41/3. *Blinkbonny* 1797 Farm horse tax, four farmhorses. E326/10/2/250
- Carnbee: Blinkbonny – small farmhouse + small farm. OS1/13/24/29
- Dunfermline: Blink Bonnie – ‘a row of cottage houses’. OS1/13/127/56.
- Kemback: Blinkbonny – small farm steading + 40 acre farm. OS1/13/57/51
- Markinch: Blinkbonnie – ‘a cottage with a garden attached’. OS1/13/92/10
- Newburn: Blinkbonny – three small dwelling houses. OS1/13/97/51
- Saline: Blink Bonny – ‘a cottage with garden attached’. OS1/13/126/16
- Kincardineshire 1863
- Benholm: Blinkbonny – large farmhouse. OS1/19/4/21
- Lanarkshire 1858–61
- Lesmahagow: Blinkbonny – ‘cothouses small in bad repair’. OS1/21/45/34

- Midlothian (Edinburghshire) 1852–53
- Currie: Blinkbonny – ‘a comfortable farmhouse’ + farm. OS1/11/13/14
- St Cuthberts/West Kirk: Blinkbonny – farmhouse + farm. OS1/11/6/26. *Blinkbony* 1773 Armstrong. *Blinkbonny* 1790 Female servant tax rolls, one servant. E326/6/22/48
- Newbattle: Blinkbonny – a farmhouse + offices + a large farm of land. OS1/11/38/7 *Blinkbonny* 1773 Armstrong. *Blinkbonny* 1789 Horse tax roll, one saddle–horse. E326/9/13/80
- West Calder: Blinkbonny – ‘a row of houses occupied by working people on the farm of Wood Muir’. OS1/11/22/28
- Morayshire 1868–71
- Dyke and Moy: Blinkbonny – ‘a fine dwelling house two storeys high’ + offices. OS1/12/10/57. *Blinkbonny* 1797 Farm horse tax rolls, four farmhorses. E326/10/4/203
- Elgin: Blinkbonnie – ‘A croft house with out offices’. OS1/12/11/58
- Urquhart: Blinkbonnie – ‘Two crofts... 1 storey high’. OS1/12/22/73
- Orkney 1879–80
- Birsay: Blinkbonnie – ‘a small dwelling house’. OS1/23/1/204
- Kirkwall and St Ola: Blinkbonny – ‘a farmhouse with out offices attached’. OS1/23/12/124
- South Ronaldsay: Blinkbonny – ‘a substantial, crofter’s, dwelling, with outoffices attached’. OS1/23/12/124
- South Ronaldsay: Blinkbonny – ‘a small cottage’. OS1/23/20/235
- Stronsay: Blinkbonnie – ‘a small farm’. OS1/23/24/119
- Peeblesshire 1856–58
- Newlands: Blinkbonny – ‘a farm steading with a dwelling house and garden’. OS1/24/30/35. 1752–55 *Blink Bonny* Roy. *Blinkbonny* 1790 Cart tax rolls, one two–wheel cart. E326/7/10/207
- Perthshire 1859–62
- Caputh: Blinkbonnie – ‘a dwelling house, one storey in height’. OS1/25/13/6
- Roxburghshire 1858–60
- Eckford: Blinkbonny – dwelling house two storeys high occupied by labourers. OS1/29/10/24
- Newcastleton: Blinkbonny – ‘a small house one storey high’ occupied by a shepherd, also ‘the farm of Blinkbonny’. OS1/29/7/121. The house was near Blinkbonny Height. OS1/29/7/123

Stirlingshire 1858–61

Slamannan: Blinkbonny – ‘a few cothouses, one story in height’.
OS1/32/23/26

APPENDIX 2

Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Blinkbonny Names not in the Scottish OS Name Books

Berwickshire

Bunkle & Preston: *Blinkbonnie* 1787 Horse tax rolls, one saddle-horse.
E326/9/6/47

East Lothian (Haddingtonshire)

Dunbar: a house occupied by a male servant and his family, probably in
Dawell Brae. *Blinkbonny* 1841 census, 706/3/13.

Dunbar: a group of properties. *Blinkbonny* 1855-56 valuation rolls.

Whittingehame: a small building near Yarrow. *Blink Bonny* 1799 Forrest.
Probably gave its name to Blinkbonnie Plantation: OS1/15/47/65.

Midlothian (Edinburghshire)

Fala and Soutra: a settlement. *Blinkbonny* 1773 Armstrong. This part of the
parish was in East Lothian at that date.

Probably West Calder or Newton: *Blinkbonny* ‘near Danderhall’ 1799 NRS
CS228/B/11/27. There were two Danderhalls in Midlothian.

APPENDIX 3

Blinkbonny Names in the Northumberland OS Name Books†

Bellingham: Blinkbonny - ‘an eminence’ 1862. OS 6 inch Northumberland
Sheet LX, surveyed 1862, published 1866.

Embleton: *Blinkbonny Hotel* 1861. OS 6 inch Northumberland Sheet XXVII,
surveyed 1861, published 1867.

Ford: Blinkbonny – ‘a small farm house and steading’ 1860. OS 6 inch
Northumberland Sheet XIV, surveyed 1860, published 1866.

†The Northumberland OS Name Books are being transcribed and prepared for online
publication at the time of writing.

THE POLDRATE PUZZLE: GAELIC OR SCOTS?

LIZ CURTIS

Scottish Place-Name Society

This article began in response to a quick question: ‘Is there any truth in the name Poldrate in Haddington coming from *épaule droite* or “right shoulder”?’

The simple answer is ‘no’, but trying to find out where the name actually did come from was not so easy. The search for a solution lasted for months, extending to five other Poldrates – in Angus (Barry), Glasgow, Lanarkshire (New Monkland), Berwickshire (Lauder) and West Lothian (Linlithgow) – as well as Puldrite in Orkney. Information and ideas came in from an ever-widening network of generous people, who are listed at the end.

Poldrate in Haddington is today the name of a road on the south side of the town, about 0.2km long, linking Sidegate to the Waterloo Bridge on the River Tyne (Fig. 1: Detail of OS 6 inch Haddingtonshire Sheet 10, surveyed 1853, published 1855). The road and immediate area are also referred to locally as ‘the Poldrate’. Approaching the river, the road crosses the mill-lade¹ beside Poldrate Mill, and then the Haugh or river-meadow. Before the Waterloo Bridge was built, there was a ford at this point, which led to the Bolton Road. This was the main route into the town from the southwest.

Poldrate Mill, earlier called East Mill, takes its name from the road.² It is now part of a large community complex at Poldrate, hence the local interest in the name.

After the suppression of the Episcopalian church in 1688, the Rev. John Gray, well known as the founder of Haddington’s library, preached in a meeting-house in Poldrate. According to the local historian James Miller (1844, 468), Gray’s etymology for Poldrate was ‘*Peau-droit*, (i.e. Malt Street).’ This is baffling: *peau-droit* means ‘right skin’ or ‘straight skin’ – and *peau* is feminine, so the adjective should be *droite* – and there seems to be no other record of a Malt Street in Haddington.

It was another 19th-century historian, John Martine (1883, 51), who put the *épaule droite* etymology on the record. He wrote that ‘formerly the name of it [Poldrate] was Poudret, or in French, *l’épaule droite*, part of a fortification, which no doubt existed in the time of the French occupation of Haddington.’ Unfortunately for that theory, the name Poldrate was recorded in the

1. *Mill-lade* is the ‘chiefly Scots’ term for ‘a channel constructed for leading water to a mill-wheel; a mill-race’ (*OED lade*²; also see *DOST lade*³).

2. See Armstrong and Armstrong 1773 and OS Town Plan 1893, X.6.14, for the name East Mill.

Haddington Burgh Records in 1425, more than a century before French troops were present in Haddington in 1548–49.

The place-name scholar W. J. Watson (*CPNS*, 139) interpreted the name thus:

Poldrait was the name of a croft at Lauder ‘between the Kirkmyre and the land called Gibsonisland,’ 1501 (*RMS*); compare ‘the land in Hadingtoun called Sanct Androisland in Poildraught’ (*Retours*); the first part is *poll*, a pool or hollow; the second part is probably *drochaid*, a bridge, causeway, as in Frenndraught, Ferendracht in *Reg. Arbr.*, ‘bridge land,’ Aberdeenshire.

Looking at Poldrate, Haddington, does the topographical and other evidence bear out Watson’s theory, or could this be a Scots, rather than a Gaelic, place-name?

Certainly both languages are possible in East Lothian. Although Gaelic was never dominant, it was part of the mix from at least the 10th century on, as the Scots asserted control over the area, creating a scattering of Gaelic place-names.³

The first question is where and what was Poldrate, as it appears in early documents?

The first two mentions of Poldrate are earlier than those that cited by Watson. A court case in Haddington in 1425 included references to ‘ane uthyr land lyand in the strete callyt *poldrate* betwix the land of john gothreson on the south half and the strete callit wyrlingstrete on the tother half on the north half’.⁴ A street in Older Scots could mean ‘a road, path or track’, as well as ‘a street in a town or village’ (*DOST stret(e)*^{2,3}). In the same document, this land is also referred to as ‘lyand in *poldrate*’. **Wyrling Street*, here named as a northern boundary, is today’s Mill Wynd.⁵

Then in 1454, Gylbert of Redpeth, brother of a burgess, made an annual grant of 20s to the altar of St John in the parish church, and to a chaplain there to do ‘Goddis service’ for his soul and others, from his tenement of land ‘with the pertinence liand in the burgh of Haddington in the upper end of the Sydgate on the west syd of the pule of *poldrate*’.⁶ The lands surrounding Gylbert’s land are named, indicating that it lay part way down Poldrate.⁷

3. Barrow 1973, 153–54. Watson (loc. cit., 140–42) gives examples of Gaelic place-names in ELO.

4. *HBR*, 20 Feb 1425; Thomson 1855–56, 386.

5. Martine (20th century) notes this information from a Protocol Book of 1612.

6. *HBR* 7 Sept 1454; Miller 1844, 387.

7. ‘On the westsyd of the pule of *poldrate* betwixt a land of Robert Achy / son on the

In 1478, ‘a tenement of land lyand ... on the south part of the *Puledrate*’, plus four merks annual rent from it, was part of a grant made by Sir John Haliburton to the Haddington Grey Friars to run a three-bed almshouse on the land on *Puledrate*.⁸ This land was doubtless the land still known as ‘the Friars’ Croft’ in the 18th century: it adjoined the churchyard and thus was on the east side of Poldrate.⁹ According to John Martine (1883, 57), it occupied what became ‘the prettily situated mansion and grounds of Tyne Park ... with the field adjoining.’ The likelihood is that the lands previously named were on the west side of Poldrate.

Another landholding appears in the 16th century. Four hundred years earlier, David I had granted St Mary’s Haddington and everything belonging to it to St Andrews Cathedral (*David I Chrs.* no. 85). In the 1560s during the Reformation the crown commissioned a comprehensive survey of church income in Scotland. This includes a list of annual rents received by St Andrews Priory from Haddington: five properties are listed, including ‘the land of St Andrews in *Poldroch*’, which yielded 12d. This was the smallest sum of the five: three others yielded 2s, while one yielded 20d (*Books of Assumption*, 11).

In 1611, the same landholding, now ‘called St Andrews Lands in Poldrate’ (nuncupata Sanctandrois-landis in *Poldraith*) and still yielding 12d per year, was a tiny part of an enormous grant made by James VI to Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, which included the lands of St Andrews.¹⁰ Then, in 1616, James gave the same 12d worth of land ‘in *Poldraucht*’ to Thomas, Lord Bynning, and it stayed in the family, continuing to yield 12d, until at least 1645.¹¹

Thus Poldrate was the name of a street or road at the end of Sidegate, as it is today. The immediate area contained several landholdings and a pool (*pule*). These were probably bounded by today’s Mill Wynd to the north, the parish church on the northeast, and the River Tyne to the south.

south pt [part] on the ea [east part] & a land of Jonet Festamaw on the north pt [part] on / the wy put [possibly westerly part?] To be haldyn & to be had the said annual rent of twenty schillynge; transcribed by Frances Woodrow. Gylbert’s grant to the altar of St John may have influenced the naming of St John’s Port, an alternative name for the South Port, which separates Sidegate from Poldrate (OS Town Plan 1893, Sheet X.6.9).

8. *Grey Friars*, no. 5.

9. Miller, 1844, 385. The name ‘Friars’ Croft’ so close to the parish church led to the erroneous view that the church had once belonged to the Friars: a view enshrined on OS 6 inch Haddingtonshire, Sheet 10, 1855, which labels the church ‘St Mary’s Church or Church of the Franciscan Monastery’. The OS Name Book contains correspondence on the subject between the Ordnance Survey Office and the Rev. J. Cook (OS1/15/22/72, 72A, 72B).

10. *RMS* vii no. 464.

11. *RMS* vii nos. 1537, 1671; *Retours* Vol. 1, nos. 170, 181, 203.

PROBLEMS WITH *POL*

The word *pol* occurs in all Scotland's historical languages and is a complex topic.¹² It is **pol* in Brittonic, *pōl* in Old English, *poll* in Gaelic, *pollr* in Old Norse, and *poll* or *pow* in Scots. Alan James writes (BLITON under **pol*): 'The etymology and historical inter-relationships among the various forms in the several languages remain uncertain.' He outlines a range of meanings for *pol*. Firstly, 'the basic meaning in all the languages' seems to be 'a hollow, usually holding standing water, bog or mud'; this extends, *inter alia*, to a puddle and a pond. Secondly, it can mean 'an underwater hollow in a stream-bed, a fish-pool in a river'. Thirdly, it can mean 'an upland stream', becoming 'the standard word for a small or medium-sized stream' in central southern Scotland and northern England.¹³ Fourthly, it can mean 'a lowland stream', specifically 'a slow-moving ditch-like stream, flowing through carse-land' (*DOST poll, pow* n.) – carse-land being low-lying, fertile land beside a river (*SND carse* n.). This definition of *pol* 'seems characteristic of northern English and Scots usage' (BLITON, loc. cit.). Fifthly, *pol* can mean 'a cove, creek, sheltered inlet', a usage characteristic of south-western Scots (BLITON loc. cit.).

So which *pol* do we have in Poldrate? Other place-names in East Lothian throw little light on the matter. The Ordnance Survey's 6 inch maps of the 1850s show only one *pol* name: – Poldrate itself.¹⁴ They also show Powshiel (or *Powel-shiel* on Forrest's map), a name now lost, which according to the Name Book was a small shepherd's house.¹⁵ Clearly named for a shieling, the house was situated on a hill near Oldhamstocks between two burns; these perhaps provided the element *pow*.

Powshiel combines two nouns, *pow* + *shiel*, and thus could mean either 'shieling (by a) stream' or 'stream (by a) shieling'. The context, with the name clearly applying to the house, tells us that the former is correct. Thus its structure is specific + generic, characteristic of Scots and English. At least one Scots *pol* name in Midlothian cited by Dixon has the same structure: Polton 'farm by a pool' (2011 [1947], 281). *Poldrate*, if Scots, is likely to have the same structure, but could be generic + specific, in which case it would be termed an 'inversion compound', coined on a Gaelic or French pattern. An example of such a compound is *Croftangry*, possibly 'grassland croft'.¹⁶

12. For discussions of *pol*, see Barrow 1998, 59; BLITON under **pol*; Gelling and Cole 2014, 28–29; *PNF* 5, 472; Smith 1970, 68–69.

13. Barrow 1998, 59. While Barrow writes that this definition applies 'in south-west Scotland', James points out that maps 2.3 and 2.4 on the following pages of Barrow's article 'also show considerable numbers [of *pol*-names] in central southern Scotland and northern England' (pers. comm.).

14. OS 6 inch Haddingtonshire, Sheet 10, surveyed 1853, published 1855.

15. OS 6 inch Haddingtonshire, Sheet 17, surveyed 1853, published 1854. Name Book OS1/15/15/26. Forrest 1799.

16. *PNF* 5, 343–44.

Can we find a stream or a pool in the landscape at Haddington? The River Tyne runs west to east at the bottom of Poldrate. Though not at its widest here, it is definitely not a stream, and therefore does not match the usual Scots definition of *poll*, later often *pow* 'a slow-moving, ditch-like stream' (*DOST poll, pow*). It could, however, supply an Old English or Gaelic pool, in the form of a pool in the river where fish lie. Local fishery expert Tom Robertson comments (pers. comm.) that the stretch of water at the bottom of Poldrate is 'on the whole very shallow': 'There is a slightly deeper trench on the far side of the river and, on occasion, some migratory fish (sea trout and salmon) will use this deeper part of the river to make their way upstream to spawn.' We need to bear in mind, however, that conditions on this stretch of the river have changed over the centuries, and in particular have been affected by 'two very severe weirs' either side of it. These 'mean that the river is slow in terms of current, particularly in low water conditions.'

Documentary evidence raises another possibility. The 1454 council record referring to 'the pule of *poldrate*' as a boundary marker indicates that there was indeed a pool at that date, but away from the river, probably to the west of the road. The pool was perhaps associated with the mill.¹⁷

This pool could have been the origin of the *pol* in Poldrate, but by 1454 the meaning of the name had been forgotten, so it was necessary to add *pule* for clarification. If this is so, it suggests that the *pol* in Poldrate could have been Gaelic. In that case, the spelling *Puledrate* in 1478 represents an assimilation of the first element to Scots. Alternatively there could have been a stream (Scots *poll*) called Poldrate, with the pool appearing later and named after it.

The linguistic evidence in relation to the second element is equivocal. The early forms begin as *-drate*, then become *-droch*, *-draucht* and *-draught*. Watson clearly did not know about the earliest forms, which are from local records. The later forms are obviously closer to *drochaid*. There is no equivalent of any of these in Brittonic, so we are looking at either a Gaelic or a Scots origin.¹⁸

Does the topographical evidence support 'bridge or causeway'? Was there either along this stretch of the river prior to the 15th century, when the name first appears?

Haddington's oldest bridges are the Nungate Bridge, close to the parish church, and the Abbey Bridge 2km downstream. Both names relate to the famous priory for Cistercian nuns founded beside Haddington by Ada de Warenne, daughter-in-law of David I.¹⁹ One of these bridges (probably the Nungate Bridge) was mentioned in

17. The Burgh Records show that two corn mills were operating in the 16th century (Urwin 2002, 16, 46).

18. BLITON; Alan James, pers. comm.

19. Chandler 1981, 130.

a royal charter of 1202 × 1207.²⁰ The Nungate Bridge is also mentioned in a charter of 1350, though the present structure is thought to be 16th-century.²¹ There was also a ford close to the Nungate Bridge, connecting with today's Ford Road.

The Waterloo Bridge was built at the bottom of Poldrate in 1817, its foundation stone laid on the anniversary of the battle (Martine 1883, 58). Before this, according to John Martine, 'there was no stone bridge across the Tyne at this point'. Instead (loc. cit., 57), 'There was a ford, and stepping-stones, and a wooden bridge for foot-passengers a little way above it'. The first such wooden bridge was known as the 'Chinese bridge'; it was built in the 1730s but suffered various vicissitudes before being swept away in a flood in 1775.²² Both the ford and the Chinese Bridge are shown on the Armstrongs' map of 1773 and the track to the ford from Poldrate was still evident on the 1853 Haddington Town Plan (Fig. 2: Detail of Armstrong and Armstrong, Plan of Haddington (inset), Map of the Three Lothians, 1773) (Fig. 3: Detail of OS Town Plan of Haddington 1853 Sheet 2).

What appears to be a fine stone bridge over the Tyne at this stretch is depicted in John Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, published in 1693 (Fig. 4: John Slezer, 'The Prospect of the Town of Haddington', 1693).²³ Slezer was a military engineer and his book was a collection of splendid engravings of 'prospects' or views of important Scottish towns and buildings. His 'Prospect of the Town of Haddington' shows three bridges. On the right is the Nungate Bridge with its three arches; on the far left is a little bridge across the mill-lade at the bottom of Poldrate; between them is a broad bridge with a dog bounding across it and pedestrians and a horseman progressing to and from it.

The bridge with the dog on it appears to be crossing the Tyne, but this is deceptive. As local historian David Anderson realised (pers. comm.), Slezer actually shows a bridge over the mill-lade, greatly exaggerating its size. On the left of this bridge, he shows the mill-lade, but on its right he shows the River Tyne, flowing under the Nungate Bridge. The two waterways are made to look like one. As Chris Fleet, Maps Curator of the National Library of Scotland, observed (pers. comm.), 'This tallies with Slezer's deliberate reassembling of reality to suit his aesthetics in other scenes too.'²⁴

The bridge over the mill-lade no longer exists, but appears on 18th- and 19th-

20. *RRS* Vol. ii, no. 459; *Yester Writs*, no. 8.

21. *Yester Writs*, no. 26. See Canmore ID 56563 for dating estimates.

22. Martine, C., 1982, 37–38; Miller 1844, 476.

23. See <<http://digital.nls.uk/slezer/index.html>>; Cavers 1993.

24. This analysis of Slezer's *Haddington prospect*, also appears in *Cairt*, Issue 32, January 2018, 5, along with a discussion of his prospect of the Bass Rock from the south, which dramatically rearranges the landscape (p. 6).

century maps.²⁵ It linked a road from the town to the ford near the bottom of Poldrate. The road, of which only the northern part still exists, branched off south-eastwards from Poldrate at the bottom of Sidegate and continued to the bridge at the mill-lade; here it joined a track across the Haugh leading to the ford (Fig. 5: Detail of William Forrest, Map of Haddingtonshire, 1799). By the end of the 19th century, the footbridge had gone and the road had been absorbed into the grounds of the mansion called Tyne Park.²⁶

There is an intriguing entry in the Burgh Records for 3 April 1682 (*HBR* Robb *Extracts*): 'The counsall ordaines intimaciouns to be maid throw the whole toun, that none wasche at the little common bridge at the eister hauche, or to set to fyres thereto, in tyme coming.'

Was this 'little common bridge' over the Tyne? This seems unlikely, both because of the adjective 'little' and because no known bridges upstream of the Nungate Bridge have started from the Easter (or Lower) Haugh, doubtless because the south bank is high here. All have started from the bottom of Poldrate westwards. The 'little common bridge' is much more likely to have been the bridge over mill-lade described above.

It seems we have no bridge at near the bottom of Poldrate which could justify the element *drochaid*, but, as Watson pointed out, there is another possibility: a causeway (*CPNS* 139, op. cit.). A bridge and a causeway have essentially the same function: to provide a means of crossing somewhere wet. While in modern English and modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic the concepts are distinct, in the past they were expressed by a single word: *brycg* in Old English and *drochet* in medieval Gaelic.²⁷

The river is notoriously flood-prone. James Miller wrote (1844, 475): 'To detail the pranks of the Tyne, and her moving accidents by flood and field, would occupy a small volume.' As recently as 7 July 2012, the Haugh was one of the areas in Haddington saturated by the overflowing river – an event documented modern-style on YouTube.²⁸ It seems possible that the road called Poldrate, or at least the lower part across the Haugh to the ford, which is shown on the Armstrongs' map of 1773 as a track, could have been reinforced and described as a 'causeway'.

Thus, the linguistic, documentary and topographical evidence, while not conclusive, might point to a Gaelic origin for Poldrate, as *poll* + *drochaid* meaning 'pool by the causeway'. This is in line with Watson's suggestion, but by-passing 'bridge'.

25. Armstrong & Armstrong 1773; Forrest 1799; OS Haddington Town Plan 1853, Sheet 2.

26. OS Haddington Town Plan 1893, Sheet X.6.15.

27. *VEPN*, *brycg*, f.; <dil.ie/18757>, accessed 10.11.2017.

28. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GWe8Z_HSnoE>, accessed 10.11.2017.

We need also to consider the possibility that Poldrate is a Scots name, combining *poll* (usually ‘stream’ but sometimes ‘pool’) with another element. As mentioned above, it might be an inversion compound. The second element might be derived from Scots *drit* or *dryt* ‘dirt’, or the verb *dryt(e)* or *drit(e)*, past tense *drait*, ‘to void (as) excrement’ (*DOST drite* v.). Both noun and verb are related to modern English *dirt*, which probably started life as Old Norse *drit* ‘excrement’.²⁹ While in modern Norwegian *dritt* retains this meaning, as does Icelandic *dritr*, in Middle English *drit* had a broader range of meanings, including not only ‘excrement’ but also ‘unclean matter that soils’, along with ‘mud’ and, figuratively, ‘something worthless or degrading’ (*MED dirt* noun). By metathesis it becomes *dirt* in modern English and the emphasis on excrement recedes. In today’s dictionaries aimed at a popular market, ‘excrement’ disappears. Thus in the *Compact Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus*, first published in 2002, *dirt* is defined as ‘a substance that makes something dirty’ (2009, ‘noun). Scots *dryt* is in the intermediate phase, so if this is the second element of Poldrate the meaning might be ‘dirty stream or pool’ or more specifically ‘shitty stream or pool’. However we have a problem backing this up in the Haddington case: such a description is most unlikely to have applied to the River Tyne or to the mill-lade (discussed below), while the 15th-century ‘pule’ is an unknown quantity.

While we have no evidence of dirt or excrement here, it should be said that the concept of a ‘dirty pool’ is a common one. *DOST* under *pule* lists several quotations which link stagnant pools with unpleasantness, such as the proverb ‘A still pule wil stink and [if] ye steir it’.³⁰

Further, Gaels, Scots and Norse-speakers have not been shy in coining names on this theme. John Garth Wilkinson cites several: Dirtholes, Kirknewton; Lingore Linn, West Calder, where *gore* is Scots ‘dirt, stagnant water, slime’; and Balcalk, Tealing, Angus, which was *Polcak* in 1472 (*RMS* ii, no. 1062), thus probably Gaelic *poll* ‘pool’ with Gaelic *cac* ‘dung or filth’.³¹ Likewise there was *Polkak* in Carse of Gowrie, Perthshire, in 1565.³² We also have the famous example of Clarty Hole farm near Melrose, from Scots ‘dirty hollow’, which Sir Walter Scott bought in 1811 and renamed Abbotsford,³³ while in 1587 North Berwick boasted the *Clairtie Burne* (*DOST: clarty* adj.). Wilkinson also cites the Orkney name Puldrite, which Hugh Marwick states (1952, 123)

29. See *OED dirt* n.; Cleasby-Vigfusson has *drit* ‘dirt, esp. of birds’, and *drita*, pret. *drite*, ‘to dirty, cacare’.

30. Carmichael, *Prov.* no. 201, cited in *DOST, pule* n. 1 a., b. (a).

31. Wilkinson, forthcoming (1).

32. *Books of Assumption*, 285, 289.

33. Gleig 1871, 78; *PNF* 5, 404, *hole*.

is Old Norse, from *pollr* ‘a pool’; *drit* ‘dirt’ or filth’. On the OS 6 inch map of 1882, Puldrite appears as a settlement next to Puldrite Bay, with Wester Puldrite to the southwest.³⁴ Marwick spells it Puldrit and describes it as, ‘A farm in Gorsness at a beach from which the sea does not ebb out properly and seaweed lies rotting there emitting an offensive smell.’ This name appears to be an inversion compound.

Another possible second element in *Poldrate* is Scots *draucht*, to which *DOST* assigns twelve meanings, including a channel made for the purpose ‘of drawing off water from a stream or land’ (*draucht* ⁵n.). Significantly, *DOST* illustrates this definition with three quotations from between 1577 and 1650 where *draucht* is specifically associated with mills. These include ‘The dames and watter drauchtis pertaining to the saidis mylnis’ (ibid.). Clearly here *draucht* is synonymous with *mill-lade*.

Thus *Poldrate* might mean ‘stream channel’. If specific + generic, on the Scots pattern, this might be interpreted as ‘a channel with stream-like qualities’; if an inversion compound (generic + specific), it might be ‘a stream with channel-like qualities’. The former would well describe a mill-lade, whereas the latter would be better suited to the canalised streams widely found in lowland agricultural areas. Wilkinson suggests ‘channelled burn’ as a possible translation, which would fit well with the latter category (forthcoming (2)).

In the Haddington case, *draucht* is echoed in some of the early forms – *Poldroch* 1586/87, *Poldraucht* 1616 and *Poildraucht* 1637 – though not the earliest ones. There is also an obvious candidate for a ‘stream channel’: the mill-lade. A lengthy structure about 1km long, the lade comes off the Tyne at a large weir to the southwest of the town.³⁵ It supplies first of all the former West Mill, then runs parallel to the river before supplying the former East Mill (also known as Kirk Mill or Poldrate Mill) at the junction with the road called Poldrate. It then runs under the road, before continuing past the Haugh to rejoin the Tyne close to St Mary’s Church.

The question is, then, was the lade constructed early enough for it to inspire a road name recorded in 1425? The answer is ‘yes’. In a charter of 26 March 1319, confirmed in a privy seal letter of the same date, Robert I grants Alexander Seton the lands of Barns and the east mill of Haddington (terrarium de Barns et orientali molendino de Haddingtoun) (*RRS* v, nos. 148, 149). As mentioned, this mill was powered by the lade.

Another meaning for *draucht* listed by *DOST* is ‘the act or right of drawing a net to catch fish; the place where a net is drawn.’ (*draucht* n.⁶) Netting is

34. OS 6 inch Orkney, Sheets XCVI and CII, surveyed 1879–80, published 1882. HY420186.

35. NT511733; *Canmore* ID 279595, also 279594.

unlikely, however, to have occurred at this stretch of the River Tyne. Tom Robertson explains (pers. comm.): 'Netting was used in the more tidal stretches of river as people were attracted by the salmon and sea trout that come into the river.'

Do other Poldrate place-names throw light on the question?

BARRY, ANGUS

Poldrait c. 1562 *Books of Assumption*, 58, xxi ['set to Thomas Flemyng paying 41 merks' recorded in a Balmerino Abbey rental.]

Powdraith 1600 *RMS* vi, no. 1049.

Poudraythis 1603 *RMS* vi, no. 1411.

In 1598, the lands of Balmerino Abbey were erected into a lordship for Sir James Elphinstone, who became Lord Balmerinoch.³⁶ The lordship included lands on the opposite side of the Tay in Angus, which were part of the barony of Barry (Fig. 6: Detail of OS 1 inch Sheet 49 Arbroath, published 1888, showing the parish of Barry, Grange of Barry, and the Buddon and Pitairlie burns).³⁷ A charter of 1600 includes a list of salmon fisheries (salmonum piscarias) in the barony, one of which is called *Powdraith*. This reappears in a charter of 1603 as *Poudraythis*.

The exact location of this *Poldrait* is unknown, but as it was a salmon fishery, it seems likely that *Poldrait* in this case was a Scots stream name. The second element could be *draucht*, meaning either 'water channel' or 'the place where a net is drawn'.

GLASGOW

Poldrait (burn) 1549 *Glasg. Prot.* no. 17.

Powdrait (burn) 1552–53 *Glasg. Prot.* no. 147.

Powdrait (area) 1550–1 (twice that year, and also in 1555) *Glasg. Prot.* nos. 70, 71, 55.

In 16th-century Glasgow, according to Robert Renwick, there was a 'piece of ground called Powdrait or Poldrait' which 'was possessed in barns and rigs by various persons.'³⁸ It was on the north side of Gallowgate next to a well dedicated to St Kentigern, which in 1558 was 'commonly called *Sanct Mongowis Spoutis*', hence today's street-name Spoutmouth (Fig. 7: Detail of OS Glasgow Town Plan 1892–94, Sheet VII.II.17, showing Spoutmouth on right).³⁹ There

36. *Balm. Lib.*, vi.

37. *RMS* vi, no. 1049.

38. Renwick 1908, 33.

39. *Glasg. Prot.* no. 431. Spoutmouth is at NS598648.

were two burns in Powdrait: the burns of Malyndinor (now Molendinar) and Poldrait or Powdrait.

This area today is largely covered in buildings and tarmac; it is cut through by a railway and the burns are no longer visible. Thus, the topography cannot help us to explain the name, but the fact that the name applies to a burn (called *Poldrait* and *Powdrait*) as well as an area, and that the area name appears repeatedly with the first element *pow* (Scots 'stream'), suggests that in this case we have a Scots 'stream' not a Gaelic 'pool'.

We have no evidence to tell us whether the second element was Scots *dryte* or *draucht*, leaving open the possibility that this was a 'dirty burn' or a 'stream channel', or something else altogether.

NEW MONKLAND, LANARKSHIRE

Powdrait Bridge, southwest of Cumbernauld, appears on an estate plan of 1775 (Fig. 8).⁴⁰

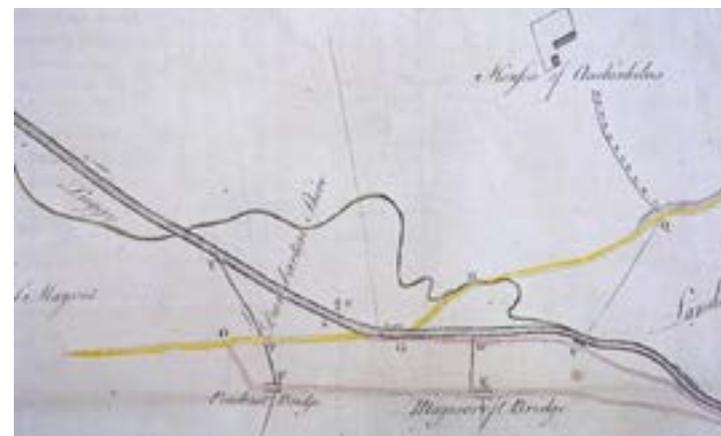


Fig. 8 Detail of NRS, RHP643/1 (1775)

'Plan of the Water of Luggie from Chapleton Bridge downwards to Condorrat Ford, Dunbartonshire', showing Poudrait Bridge, bottom left.

It crosses the Gain Burn, a tributary of the Luggie Water. The Luggie's tributaries are described by Peter Drummond (2014, 30) as 'often more like ditches or sikes than streams.' He notes (pers. comm.) that the Gain Burn is

40. RHP643/1, 'Plan of the Water of Luggie from Chapleton Bridge downwards to Condorrat Ford, Dunbartonshire'; Drummond 2014, 31. Most of the area covered by the plan is in Dunbartonshire, hence the title, but *Powdrait Bridge* was in New Monkland parish, Lanarkshire.

a small stream, 'definitely running, not particularly slowly'. From the photograph (Fig. 9), it looks as though it has been straightened, a process that might have begun a long time ago. It thus seems possible that *Poudrait* was an earlier name for the Gain Burn, meaning 'stream channel' or 'channelled stream', from Scots *poll* or *pow* + *draucht*.



Fig. 9 The Gain Burn near Poudrait Bridge

LAUDER, BERWICKSHIRE

Poldrat, Lauder, appears in a charter of 1501 as a landholding adjoining the town of Lauder, Berwickshire (RMS ii, no. 2595). The charter refers to 'the landholding and croft called *Poldrat*, on the south side of the royal highway/high street, extending to the parish church, between the Kirkmyre and the land called Gibson's Land' (tenementum terre et croftam nuncupatam *Poldrat*, ex parte australi vici regii, extendentem ad ecclesiam parochialem, inter le Kirkmyre et terram nuncupatam Gibsonisland).

This gives us one firm point of reference: the parish church. Built in the 12th century, this stood outside the town to the east, some 60 yards west of the fort. By the 17th century the fort was known as Thirlestane Castle, taking its name from another castle 3km to the east. The church and both castles are shown on Blaeu's map of 1654 titled *Mercia* (Fig. 10: Detail of Blaeu 1654 *Mercia*).⁴¹ The church was moved into the town in 1673.⁴²

41. On Blaeu 1654, *Laudelia*, the castle is simply named 'The Fort' and the church is shown close to the town.

42. The church was at NT532479: see *Canmore* ID 55889.

Another charter tells us that the Kirkmyre, one of the boundaries of *Poldrat*, was a pendicle of Castlehill, west of the church.⁴³

Our first charter says that *Poldrat* is 'on the south side of the royal street'. This is puzzling, as the main street of the burgh runs from northwest to southeast, and so does not have a 'south side'. It is, however possible that the street in question is the one now known as The Row (previously Rotton Row).⁴⁴ This runs across the top of the old town, inside the town wall. It now stops at the Thirlestane estate wall, but previously ran on eastwards through Lord Lauderdale's policy to the Easter Road at Norton.⁴⁵ At a crossroads, it branched right to the church site and castle (Fig. 11: Detail of OS 6 inch Berwickshire Sheets XIX NE and XX NW, surveyed 1906, published 1908).

If The Row is the *vicus regius* of the charter, it would provide a northern boundary for *Poldrat* along with the former church and the Kirkmyre.

It seems likely that *Poldrat* occupied a swathe of land that ran southwards between the town wall and Castle Hill. But where did it end? According to the charter, we have the Kirkmyre at one end and Gibson's Land at the other. But the position of Gibson's Land is unknown.

Today, the land is parkland, with sheep grazing between well-spaced trees.⁴⁶ It slopes from north to south, with a spring called Nathan's Well near the town at the southern end. To the southeast is a track leading to a bridge – formerly a ford – over the Leader Water. The track crosses a meadow which must have been flood-prone, as it is protected from the river by an artificial bank.

Watson (*CPNS*, 139) identifies this Lauder example, like the Haddington one, as Gaelic, but if so, it is very unusual, as it is hard to find a single other Gaelic name in the parish. In the Borders region, Gaelic appears to have been much more significant in Peeblesshire than in Berwickshire, Roxburghshire or Selkirkshire.⁴⁷

There is no evidence on the ground of a pool or a stream, or indeed a bridge. It might have been possible to describe the track to the ford as a causeway (one meaning of Gaelic *drochaid*), and there could have been a pool on the wet land beside it. But as in the Haddington case, this is highly speculative.

43. 'with the lands and green of the Kirkmyre on the west side of the church of Lauder (pendicle of Castlehill)' (cum terris et viridario lie Kirkmyre ex parte occidentali ecclesie de Lauder (pendicula de Castlehill)), RMS vi, no. 73.

44. OS 6 inch Berwickshire, Sheet XIX NE, surveyed 1906, published 1908.

45. <<http://www.lauder.bordernet.co.uk/history/towntrail/10.html>>, accessed 15/11/2017. Most of this route is still evident on OS maps.

46. Field trips to Lauder were made on 6/8/2017, 7/10/2017 and 29/10/2017.

47. Watson, *CPNS*, 139–40; Fraser 1995, 183; Williamson 1942, ii.

LINLITHGOW, WEST LoTHIAN

Poldrait 1495, *Poldrait* 1527, *Podraid* 1546, *Poldrate* 1607, *Poldrait* 1611, *Poldrett* 1632.⁴⁸

The name *Poldrait* survives today in Linlithgow attached to a late 19th-century villa south of the Union Canal.⁴⁹ No settlement on the site is shown on the OS 6 inch map of 1856, and the name does not appear there until the 1897 map, which means that the surviving house-name cannot be taken as a guide to the location of the lands of *Poldrait* (Fig. 12: OS 6 inch Linlithgowshire Sheet V NE, surveyed 1895, published 1897; the house named *Poldrait* is bottom left).

A sasine of 1495 refers to 'the lands of *Poldrait*, extending to 25 acres near Linlithgow',⁵⁰ while a 1527 charter includes a grant of '6 acres of the lands of *Poldrait*, at the east end of the burgh of Linlithgow' (6 acras terrarum de *Poldrait*, ad finem orientalem burgi de *Linlithqw*).⁵¹ This suggests that the lands were not near the site of the present house, which is to the southwest of the burgh and west of the lands of the Carmelite Friars. The Carmelite lands were included in a charter of 1632 separately from the lands of *Poldrett*.⁵² The site of the monastery, south of the town, is shown on the OS 6 inch map of 1897 (Sheet V NE).

The area where the *Poldrait* lands were probably sited is now cut through by the Union Canal and the railway line and is partly built-up. A clue provided by the topography is that Bell's Burn, which feeds Linlithgow Loch from the southeast, passed through this area. According to the *Gazetteer for Scotland*:

Bell's Burn rises from a spring at Porterside and flows west northwest alongside the B9080 road, under the Union Canal and railway to Low Port. Here it passes beneath Bell's Bridge and curves round to the north-east to fall into Linlithgow Loch, a quarter-mile (0.4km) northeast of the town centre, having completed a course of 1¼ miles (2km).⁵³

Given that in c.1500 the lands of *Poldrait* comprised 25 acres at the east end of the burgh, it seems likely that the *pol* in question, if a stream rather than a pool, was Bell's Burn. The OS 25 inch map shows that this burn had been

48. See Appendix for more details of early forms; yet more are listed in Macdonald 1941, 69, and Wilkinson, forthcoming (2).

49. NS999763. See OS 6 inch Linlithgowshire, Sheet V NE, revised 1895, published 1897.

50. NRS GD3/1/1/50/1.

51. *RMS* iii, no. 449.

52. 1632 *RMS* viii, no. 1990.

53. <<http://www.scottish-places.info/features/featurefirst90918.html>>, accessed 20/3/2018. Porterside is at NT018767 and Bell's Bridge at NT005771.

heavily engineered by the mid-19th century, a process that probably began much earlier.⁵⁴ Thus it may well have been a 'channelled burn', conforming with Scots *poll* + *draucht*.

Wilkinson, however, suggests that this *Poldrait* might have been 'dirty stream' or 'foul pool'. He points to another local place-name, Fouldubs 'filthy pool', from Scots *fule* 'foul' and *dub* 'pool', suggesting that this could be 'a virtual translation of *Poldrait*, or perhaps a similar name applied to similar features of the same area.' The cottages named Fouldubs were sited east of the burgh in a place where Bell's Burn used to overflow, creating a large pond known as the 'Bellsburn Dub' or 'Foul Dubs'⁵⁵ (Fig. 13: OS 25 inch Linlithgowshire Sheet V.3 (Linlithgow), surveyed 1856, published 1856; Fouldubs (two small workmen's cottages, OS Name Book) is at the top right, next to Low Port).

CONCLUSION

All the *Poldrate* names, except *Poudrait* Bridge, first appear in charters dating from 1425 to 1600. One (Haddington) is a road; one (Angus) was a salmon fishery; one (Glasgow) was an area containing lands; one (Lauder) was a landholding and croft; one (Lanarkshire) was a bridge; and one (Linlithgow) was lands. All took their names from landscape features that we have attempted to identify. Two of the names (at Haddington and Linlithgow) have survived into the present.

If we assume all the names share the same etymology and put the Lauder example aside because it provides too little evidence of any kind, we can discount Watson's Gaelic *poll* + *drochaid*, because we only have evidence of 'pools' in two cases (Haddington and Linlithgow) and there is a general lack of bridges (unless one counts *Poudrait* Bridge in Lanarkshire, where the bridge is probably named after the stream) and very tenuous evidence for a causeway (at Haddington).

It seems much more likely that the first element is Scots *pol* or *pow*, as every name is certainly or possibly connected with a stream. The second element is unlikely to be related to Scots *dryt* 'dirt' because we only have evidence of a 'dirty pool' in one case (Linlithgow) and that has a competing interpretation. Orkney's *Puldrite* is clearly a 'dirty pool', but its etymology may differ from that of *Poldrate*.

On balance, the topographic evidence suggests that the *Poldrate* name might be Scots *pol* + *draucht* 'stream channel'. This would fit with Haddington's

54. OS 25 inch Linlithgowshire, Sheet V³ (Linlithgow), surveyed 1854, published 1856.

55. Wilkinson, pers. comm., and forthcoming (2); West Lothian OS Name Books, 1855–1859, Vol. 39, OS1/34/39/7, Fouldubs; Jamieson 2007, 10, Bellsburn Avenue.

mill-lade: here the case is strengthened by the linguistic evidence that *draucht* might refer to a mill-lade. 'Stream channel' would also fit with Linlithgow's Bell's Burn and with the Gain Burn in Lanarkshire and might have fitted with the salmon fishery in Angus and the burn in Glasgow. This is a mundane, practical solution, less exotic than *épaule droite*, but all the more credible for that.

APPENDIX

A collection of early forms of Poldrate (Haddington) and Poldrait (Linlithgow)

POLDRATE, Haddington

poldrate 20 Feb 1425 *Court and Council Records of the Burgh of Haddington* A court case contains references to 'ane uthyr land lyand in the strete callyt *poldrate*' and 'the tother land lyand in *poldrate*'.

poldrate 7 Sept 1454 *Court and Council Records of the Burgh of Haddington* A grant to the parish church of rent from land 'in the upper end of the Sydgate on the west syd of the pule of *poldrate*'.

Puledrate 11 June 1478 *Grey Friars* no. 5 Indenture between the Grey Friars of Haddington and Sir John Haliburton, Vicar of Greenlaw, who endows the friars with land and rents, including 'a tenement of land lyand ... on the south part of the *Puledrate*', to maintain a three-bed almshouse on that land.

Poldroch 1586/87 *Books of Assumption*, p. 11 'Out of the land of St Andrews in Poldroch, 12d.' [spelling modernised except for the place-names] This refers to annual rent paid by Haddington to St Andrews Priory.

Poldraith 1611 *RMS* vii, no. 464 (p. 173, col. 1) '12 pence of land in Haddington known as Saint Andrew's Lands in *Poldraith*' (12 den. de terra in Hadingtoun nuncupata Sanctandros-landis in *Poldraith*). Note: This grant is contained in a lengthy charter from James VI to Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, the son of James's favourite, which includes 'the lands and other belongings of St Andrews' (terras et alia que ad prioratum de Sanctandros pertinuerunt).

Poldraucht 1616 *RMS* vii, no. 1537 '12 pence of land in Haddington known as Saint Andrew's Lands in *Poldraucht*' granted to Thomas Lord Bynning (12 den. de terra in Hadingtoun nuncupata Sanct-Andros-landis in *Poldraucht*).

Poldraught June 30 1637 *Retours* vol. i, no. 170 'annual rent of 12 pence of land in Haddington called Saint Andrew's Land in *Poldraught*' (annuum redditum 12d. de terra in Hadingtoun nuncupata Sanct Andros land in *Poldraught*).

Poldraught Oct 23 1640 *Retours* vol. i, no. 181 annuum redditum 12d. de tenemento in Hadingtoun nuncupato [sic] Andros land in *Poldraught*.

Poldraucht Apr 10 1645 *Retours* vol. i, no. 203 annuum redditum 12d. de terra in Hadingtoun nuncupata Sanct Andros land in *Poldraucht*.

POLDRAIT, Linlithgow

Poldrait 1495 GD3/1/1/50/1 Instrument of sasine following in precept of clare constat in favour of Robert Montgomery of Gyffyne in the lands of Poldrait, extending to 25 acres near Linlithgow.

Poldrait 1527 *RMS* iii, no. 449 'six acres of the lands of Poldrait, at the east end of the burgh of Linlithgow' (6 acras de terrarum de *Poldrait*, ad finem orientalem burgi de *Linlithqw*).

Podraid 1546 *RSS* iii, no. 1886 'the gift of the warde of all and hail the landis of *Podraid* with the pertinentis, lyend within the schirefdome of Linlithqw'

terras de *Poldrate* 1607 *RMS* vi, no. 1838 vic. Linlythgow.

terras de *Poldrait* 1611 *RMS* vii, no. 591 vic. Lynlythgow.

lie Poldrett 1632 *RMS* viii, no. 1990 'garbal and other teinds (both rectory and vicarage) of the lands and acres below-written ...' (decimas garbales aliasque decimas tam rectorias quam vicarias terrarum et acrarum infrascriptarum ...). There follows a list of lands, one of which is the Poldrait.

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BALGRAY AND BALGREEN

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The place-names Balgray and Balgreen recur frequently in the lowlands of Scotland, from Morayshire to Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire. In their present incarnations, instances of both might appear to be Gaelic in origin, with *G baile* ‘farm, settlement’ as the first element; but the majority of instances, if not all, are most probably Scots formations. In this article, I consider the evidence based on their original forms. I hope to explore their original meanings or significance and how they came to have a seemingly Gaelic first element.

BALGRAY

This is a common place-name in Scotland, found mainly but not exclusively south of the Highland Boundary Fault.¹ There are particular concentrations in Angus, Ayrshire² and Lanarkshire: in the mid-19th century, there were 14 instances listed in the OSNB and over a dozen are still extant. Listed below are well over two dozen locations where the name existed at some time, along with available early forms.³

A modern formation Balgray might appear to represent *G baile* + *G greigh* ‘(horse) herd farm’, the same specific found in names such as Auchengray NMO and Auchengree CAD (Drummond 2014, 145). The meaning would be appropriate to animal husbandry, perhaps contrasting with the equally ubiquitous name Balfour, which Taylor (*PNF* 2, following Watson 1926) interprets as *baile (a') phùir* ‘the farm of (the) crop-land’. Watson (1926) indexes Balgray as being on p. 399, but the name printed there is Meall Greagh PER, from *G greagh* ‘horse studs’, suggesting that Watson interpreted Balgray as *G baile greigh*. Nicolaisen (2001, 180) states that ‘the three Balgrays in Perthshire⁴ may have had horse studs (Gaelic *greagh*).’

However, Simon Taylor (*PNF* 5, 289) has argued that Balgray may well represent *Sc bag* + *Sc raw*, literally a bag-shaped or crescent-shaped row of cottages. Taylor also suggests that there may have been an unrecorded *Sc *bagge* or **baggere* ‘beggar’ in use, with similar implications for housing quality. Scots

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1. Although there is one each in Aberdeenshire, Banffshire and Morayshire.
 2. There are six within a 15km radius of Stewarton.
 3. I have omitted one possible instance, the lost *Bawgar* NS5288 (1553, *RMS* iv no. 747); and placed question marks (?) before a couple of instances where there may be some doubt as to membership of this type of name.
 4. The list below has only one PER instance: Nicolaisen probably counted two of the ANG ones as in PER.

dictionaries and thesauri suggest, however, that the terms used for 'beggar,' first attested in the 15th century, were Sc *thigger* or *sorner*. Indeed, several Balgray instances lie on good agricultural terrain, two giving their names to a mill (nos. 7 and 22, below), another (no. 9) covering an area extensive enough for the name to be mapped thrice by Roy. The *OSNB* descriptions of the surviving instances indicate properties – even then – in generally good condition; and the fact that all but three instances survived to be recorded by the OS in the mid-19th century adds to the suggestion of robust properties: four-fifths are still extant on maps or in hodonyms.

Whaley (2006, 13) discusses Baggra Yeat in Cumbria (NY2636), which has the old forms *Bagrawe*, *Bagray*, *Baggeraw*. She suggests three possibilities: *bagge* 'low-lying wet place'; a 'dead-end or bag-shaped' landscape feature (from OE **bagga*); or the disparaging 'beggar's row' (from ME *bagge* 'beggar's bag'). *EPNE* (1956) lists a term **baggere* 'badger, hawker', which it suggests is the root of Baggrow Cumberland and Bagraw Northumberland, adding that the settlements were perhaps considered fit only for beggars.⁵ Although northern England and southern Scotland are divided by a political border, many linguistic terms are found on both sides; none of the instances in northern England, however, developed an initial *bal*-form.

In Scotland, the evidence of early forms points securely to a Scottish development, with four fifths having an earliest record beginning with *bag*-, *bawg*- or *bog*-: all seven forms recorded in the 14th and 15th century – as well as the first two recorded in the 16th century – consist of *Bagraw* (or *Bograw* or *Bougre*). The first recorded instances commencing *bal*- only occur in the 16th century, mainly after c. 1550. Lanarkshire contains the two earliest *Balgray* forms (nos. 22 and 23: 1521 and 1550), while no. 21 in the same county, first recorded as *Bawgray* in 1513, was recorded as *Balgray* just six years later, perhaps influenced by the nearby Govan instance (no. 22). The fact that three of the five whose earliest record contained *l* were later recorded without it suggests an insecurity about the *bal*- forms. Indeed, not a single instance of the name has been consistently recorded with an *l*. Finally, if they were G formations, the stress would tend to be on the second element, whereas the three farmers⁶ I spoke to all pronounced it /bal gre/ without emphasis on either syllable. It is safe to say, then, that we must reject a Gaelic etymology for the Balgrays.

What might explain the shift, at least in most instances, from a *bag*-, *bawg*-

5. The early date of some of the Scottish forms – 14th/15th century in AYR, 16th century for the four LAN examples – rules out the possibility of ironically humorous names for a beggar (such ironic names were coined in the late 18th and early 19th century – for which see Taylor, in Padel 2008, 274).

6. Balgray CRJ, West Balgray Irvine, and Balgray Mill Beith.

or *bog*- initial element to a later *bal*-form? It might feasibly be the result of generic element substitution, whereby they were influenced by G *baile* (anglicised to *bal*-) forms nearby. However, many of the instances (especially those in Ayrshire) do not have any nearby *bal*-names. The Angus instances (nos. 2–4, 22 and 26) do have authentic G *bal*-names within 2km, so generic element substitution is a possibility there. For the others, it is more likely that the letter *l* was introduced in the written name on the assumption that, as with Falkirk (previously *Fawkirk*), the name was considered to be of the *ba'*, *wa'*, *fa'* family, i.e. containing the Scots pronunciation of words that in SSE are *ball*, *wall* and *fall*;⁷ indeed, the frequent early forms beginning *bog*- or *baw*- suggest that the vowel in the first element was pronounced /a:/, as in *ba'* etc. It is interesting that the three most northerly instances (in ABD, BNF and MOR, e.g. Bagramill) and many of the most southerly instances (in DMF, KCB and ROX, e.g. Bogrie Wood) either never recorded a *bal*-form or had reverted to a non-*bal* form by the time of the OS. This might suggest a Scots dialectal difference, or that the tendency to insert the *l* was confined to the central belt, influenced by the cities and the pressure from the educated to have the 'correct' English spelling, as in *ball* for *ba'*. Of course, neither this anglicising pressure nor the influence of Gaelic existed in northern England, hence the absence of *bal*-forms there.

Accepting that *balgray* is an originally Scots formation **bagraw*, what does it mean? Starting with the second (generic) element, Taylor (*PNF* 2, 218) suggests that it is most likely Scots *raw* 'row [i.e. of houses]'; similarly, Whaley (2006) considers the second element in Baggra, Cumbria, may be from OE *rāw*⁸. Scots *raw* is attested from the 13th century,⁹ almost exclusively in the form *raw*, occasionally *ra/raa* or *rae* (the latter are late 16th and 17th century). In that context, it is noteworthy that five¹⁰ of the first seven recorded instances (14th and 15th century) all end in *-raw*, as do two of the instances first recorded in the early 16th century. That the first three instances first recorded as *-ray* (16th century) are all in Lanarkshire may suggest a dialectal pronunciation there. It is perhaps relevant to note that the earliest attestations of *raw* in *DOST* are to

7. Nicolaisen (2001, 18–20) discusses this in relation to Falkirk. The form *Falkirk* first appeared in 1458 and then in increasing frequency in the 16th century.

8. She defines it as a 'row of houses or trees' (my emphasis): *EPNE* observes that in early charters (12th, 13th century), OE *rāw* implies a 'row of trees, a hedgerow', although in these cases the type of tree (e.g. hazel) is the first element.

9. The earliest reference in *DOST* to Mukraw in Lennox is, however, probably a reinterpretation of Muckcroft CPS, from G *mucrach* 'place of pigs' (Drummond 2014); thus the first secure attestation is probably late 14th century, in Dunfermline Abbey records.

10. Nos. 7, 8, 16, 24 and 26; nos. 2 and 25 are early 16th century.

place-names referencing their location (*Kirkraw* 1364, *Northt raw* 1408, *Schipraw* 1417, *South Raw* 1423, *Northast raw* 1475, *La Watryraw* 1405, *Bakraw* 1492) or – especially from the 16th century – the people who lived there (*Hukstarraw* 1468, *Burges raw* 1568, *Potter raw* 1568, *Thiefraw* 1575). In either set, the generic appears to pair with a noun or with an adjectival compass point; since *bag* cannot be a compass point, it suggests it may be a noun.

The first (specific) element is more problematic. Taylor (loc. cit.) suggests ‘bag- or crescent-shaped’, while Whaley suggests ‘dead-end or bag-shaped’ for Cumbria. Support for this concept might be found in the name of the Lincolnshire village Bag Enderby: ‘a small U-shaped village enclosing the church and off a lane to the north, and this is no doubt the significance of Bag here from ME *bagge*, “a bag”, used in the transferred topographical sense with reference to the shape of the village’ (Cameron 1998, 41). The name of the area or parish Enderby dates back to 1086 and the Domesday Book, the affix *bag* first appearing in the mid-13th century (*Bag Henderby* 1261), distinguishing it from Wood Enderby and Mavis Enderby (after a family name). While this is plausible, it appears to be unique as an affix. While there are several English places beginning *bag-* (e.g. Bagshot, Bagley), the first elements are usually interpreted as a personal name – *Bacga*, *Baggi*, *Badeca* or similar – although, according to Ekwall’s and Watts’ dictionaries, the common Bagley may represent an OE generic *lēah* ‘meadow’, preceded by an old term (OE from ON) for a bag-shaped animal, like a pig or badger.

Could the ‘bag’ refer to the terrain on which a row stood, either a gentle swell or a dip in the ground? There is a problem of definition here, however, in that very few places in Scotland are not on hilltops or in hollows or on the slopes between them: of the 29 instances recorded whose locations are known, barely a quarter are in or beside stream valleys or hollows, and the remainder are split equally between positions on long slopes or astride ridges or small hillocks. None appear to fit Whaley’s suggestion for Cumbria of a ‘low-lying wet place’ – bar the locationally-imprecise no. 28 (close to the border with England) of a ford near a presumed eponymous settlement. The prevalence of slopes, ridges and hilltops for the sites would also rule out a possibility of the first element being *Sc bog*, cf. OG *bogach* ‘soft’ and G *bog* ‘marsh, bog’.

Could it mean ‘back row’, cf. the 1543 GLW form *Bakraw*, from *Sc back row*, i.e. a ‘row of cottages lying at or to the back’?¹¹ The form *Bakraw*, however, occurs only in GLW and the letter *k* might be the scribe’s interpretation of the pronunciation of the *g* in *Bagraw*. Yet, if this were true, one might expect to find a similar formation in other Balgray records, but none occurs. The adjectival

11. The term ‘back row’ as a lexical item, not a place-name, occurs several times in DOST’s earliest attestations of the word *raw*.

back in place-names is relational, i.e. ‘back’ is used in relation to another place, yet most of the instances are in rural locations, far from anywhere else, even today, and certainly before the modern era: only half a dozen (nos. 3, 8, 20, 21, 22 and 23) lay within 1km of a hamlet or village, and there are no ‘pairing’ affixes, as in Front or Middle Row.

Another fainter possibility for an etymology might be *Sc balk* or *bauk* ‘ridge or unploughed strip lying between two portions of ploughed land’, the word first attested in 1320, with *raw* then referring either to the habitation(s) built at the juncture, or to the ridge itself. The element is noted in *EPNE* under OE *balca*, the root of several meanings, including ‘the strip of ground left unploughed to mark the boundary between adjacent strips of the common field’. This noun, usually appearing in modern English as *baulk*, may be pronounced (even today) with or without the *l*,¹² and the alternative Scots spelling *bauk* indicates this may have been true in late medieval times also; this might account, then, for the appearance of *l* in later forms. The *bauks* or *balks* were important regarding the legalities of land in the 15th and 16th century, as a glance at *DOST*’s attestations will confirm. Many of the Balgray instances lie above 100m, with five above 200m, so in some cases the *bauk* might denote the head-dyke or the limit of arable cultivation. It must be noted, however, that none of the recorded forms has any trace of a medial *k*, apart from the one instance of Balgray (Glasgow), mentioned above.

One final important point about the Balgrays, and indeed regarding some of the Balgreens, is that because they appeared to be instances of G *baile*, they were used in Nicolaisen’s distribution map of *baile* for his *Scottish Place Names* (p. 177, 2001 ed.). If removed, as they should be, not only Cunninghame in Ayrshire, but also southern Lanarkshire (the Clyde headwaters) become *baile*-free zones.¹³

BALGRAY FORMS (arranged in order of county, then parish¹⁴)

1. BAGRAMILL # ABD, Forgue S NJ589402 1 90m

Bagramylne 1666 RMS ix no. 665

Bagramill 1864 OS 1st edn

Site now occupied by Monellie Cottage.

There may be another, lost, instance in ABD: RMS ix no. 734 dated 1637 refers to ‘*Bograxes*, near *Mylnetoun of Auqhorties*’, which lay in Midmar parish.

12. *Collins English Dictionary*.

13. The only viable south-LAN one is Balwaistie near Biggar, which may well be a Scots formation; the three mapped for the upper Clyde reaches are Balgreen, Balgray and one above Daerhead, which I cannot find.

14. For county abbreviations, see this Journal’s Appendix.

2. BALGRAY ANG, Kingoldrum S NO354589 1 200m SEF
Bagraw 1530 RMS iii no. 897 ['Middle Pearsie commonly called Balgray'
 (*Myddil Perse vulgariter dict. Bagraw*)]
Bagro 1541 RMS iii no. 2402
Balgray 1654 RMS x no. 288
Balgray, Nr. 1794 Ainslie
Nether Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farm house with offices]
Upper Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farm house with offices]
3. BALGRAY ANG, Mains & Strathmartine S NO401326 1 80m
Balgra 1590s Pont 26
East Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farmhouse 2 storeys]
West Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farm house with offices]
4. BALGRAY ANG, Tealing S NO407384 1 150m SEF
Bagro 1511 RMS ii no. 3586
Bagro 1541 RMS iii no. 2402
Bagraw 1542 RMS iii no. 2621 {Also *Balgray*}
Balgray 1542 RMS iii no. 2621
Bagro 1557 RMS iv no. 1195
Balgrew 1561 RMS iv no. 1391
Balgray 1583 RMS v no. 574
Bagra 1590s Pont 26
Balgray 1611 RMS vii no. 525
Balgray 1630 RMS viii no. 1596
Beigry 1755 Roy
Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: scattered hamlet, gardens attached,
 occupied by labourers]
5. ? BOGRA # AYR, Barr S NX3290 4
Bogare 1450 RMS ii no. 381 [*dimedietatem baronie de Glenschinschar vocatum
 le Delquharne* (Dalquhairn NX322963), *necnon terras de Dalchangare* (?
 Changue NX288938), *Cragfin et Bogare, in comitatu de Carric*]
 (one merkland of) *Bogre* 1481 RMS ii no. 1486 [listed among following lands:
Girvan (*Garvane*), *Forlung*, *Bogre*, (?) *Glengap BAR* (*Glenkep*) (surviving
 in Glengap Hill NX337927), *Knockeen BAR* (*Knokine*) (NX308957),
Carnefoar, *Clashgulloch BAR* (*Claswolach*) (NX317956), *Lochmovane*,
Makbirnystoune, all in the earldom of Carrick]
Bogire 1512 RMS ii no. 3696 [listed with other places in Barr parish]
Bogra 1541 RMS iii no. 2268
Bogra 1623 RMS viii no. 753

6. BALGRAY AYR, Beith S NS372523 1 110m SOF
Bawgray 1505 RMS ii no. 2849 [*viz. Giffin... Heichedis, Hesyhedis et Bawgray*]
Bawgra 1607 RMS vi no. 1835
Bagree 1755 Roy
Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farmhouse with extensive outbuildings]
Balgraymuir 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farmhouse with outbuildings]
7. BALGRAY AYR, Beith S NS458455 1 170m SEF
Bagraw 1392
le Bagraw 1440 RMS ii no. 253
Balgray 1512 RMS ii no. 3713
Balgroy 1630 RMS viii no. 1545
Balgray, mill 1667 RMS xi no. 1034
Bagra 1755 Roy
Balgray Mill 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: corn mill & farmhouse, prop. Earl of
 Glasgow]
8. BALGRAY AYR, Irvine S NS358427 1 50m SOF
Bograw, le 1452 RMS ii no. 583 [... *le Bograw, Achintybir* (Auchentibber
 NS440491), *le Foulewode* (Fullwood NS444502), *Gabrachhil* (Gabroc
 Hill NS452510), *le Bridylandis, le Bordlandis* (? Braidland NS443473,
Broadland 1864), *le Struthir, le Pacokbank, le Spetale* (Spittal NS443484),
et ... terrarum de Quithley (Whitelees, West NS454490) *in dominio de
 Stewartoun*]
Balgra 1489 RMS ii no. 1876
Bawgra 1509 RMS ii no. 3371
Bagray 1541 RMS iii no. 2270
Bagra 1590 x 1654 Pont (Blaeu)
Balgray 1601 RMS, vi no. 1225
Balgrey 1601 x 1602 *Irvine Muniments*, ii, 242
Balgray 1614 RMS vii no. 1130
Bagree 1755 Roy
East Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: fine farmhouse & steading; W – superior
 farmhouse]
West Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: superior farmhouse]
 The earlier 15th- and 16th-century records appear to lie in the adjacent
 parish of Stewarton, the land probably later transferred to Irvine parish
 after the Reformation.
9. BALGRAY AYR, Kilbirnie S NS294539 1 150m SOF
Bagra 1755 Roy [Also, another *Bagra*, and a *Bagraw* nearby]

Balgry 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB also gives spelling *Balgray* from Voters' List]

10. BALGRAY AYR, Riccarton S NS444343 1 50m SEF

Balcragy, Wester (sive Balcray) ... Eistir Balgray 1552 RMS iv no. 703

Balgrayes 1649 RMS ix no. 2003

Bagree 1755 Roy

Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [Also, *Midton of Balgray*] [OSNB: Farmhouse, prop. Duke of Portland]

11. BAGRAE BNF, Alvah S NJ682576 1 70m NOF

Balgray 1625 RMS viii no. 898

Balgray 1634 RMS ix no. 31

Balgray 1648 Land transfer deed, referenced in NSA vol. xiii p. 157

Bagra 1654 Blaeu

Bagrae 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: middle-sized farm steading]

12. BALGRAY DMF, Applegarth S NY146866 1 100m

Bagray 1510 RMS ii no. 3522 [... *5 merc. de terrarum de Bagray*]

Balgra 1581 Annandale Papers, referenced by Johnson-Ferguson 1935

Balgray 1638 RMS ix no. 846

Balgraes 1638 RMS ix no. 859

Balgray 1662 RMS xi no. 230 [Also, *Balgraywood*]

Bagry 1755 Roy

Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: good farmhouse] [Also, *Balgrayhill*, *Balgray House*, *Balgray Cottage*]

The NGR is that of the farm now named Balgray Home Farm.

13. BOGRIE DMF, Canonbie NY329761 1 90m SOF

Bowgra 1621 RMS viii no. 228

Bogry 1755 Roy [Also, *Over & Mid Bogry*]

Nether Bogrie 1864 OS 1st edn

Over Bogrie 1864 OS 1st edn

14. BOGRIE DMF, Dunscore NX812849 1 180m

? *Wogryn* 1335 Referenced Johnson-Ferguson 1935 p. 2615

Bougre 1463 referenced Johnson-Ferguson 1935 p. 26

Balgra 1581 Annandale Papers, referenced Johnson-Ferguson 1935 p. 4

Wogrie 1584 Sheriff Court Book, referenced Johnson-Ferguson 1935 p. 26

Boggry 1654 Blaeu, map 11 (Nithsdale)

15. T. G. Reid (TDGNHAS 3 VII) has cast doubt on this, suggesting it may be Vogrie MLO.

Bagry 1755 Roy

Bogrie, the Kirks [family] of 1845 NSA vol. iv p. 339

Bogrie-hill 1845 NSA vol. iv p. 337

Bogrie 1864 OS 1st edn [Also, *Bogrie Moor & Bogrie Hill*]

15. BOGRA DMF, Half-Morton S NY329758 1 90m

Bewgray 1610 RMS vii no. 262

Bowgra 1621 RMS viii no. 228

Bowgray 1633 RMS viii no. 2168

Bogra 1864 OS 1st edn

This lies just across the River Sark from Bogrie, Canonbie.

16. BOGRIE WOOD DMF, Penpont V NX850986 1 110m

le Bagraw 1451 RMS ii no. 452 [... *et le Bagraw in baronia de Tybris* (now Tibbers Wood)]

Balgrayis 1609 RMS vii no. 53 [Also, *Balgrayhillis*]

Baugray Hill, Upper & Nether 1758 (Fig. 1) 'Plan of the Farms of Tibbers and Newhouse in Penpont parish' RHP 37652 (extract below, courtesy of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry)



Fig. 1 Plan of the Farms of Tibbers and Newhouse in Penpont parish, 1758

Balgray Hill 1820 RHP 37542 [Also, *Balgray Hill Wood*] 16
Bogrie Wood 1864 OS 1st edn

17. BALGRAY # DMF, Westerkirk S NY3587 3
Balgray 1532 RMS iii no. 1199 [... *Eynze* (Enzieholm NY288914), *Lymholm* (Limeholm NY278916), *Erschewod*, *Harparquhat* (Harperwhat NY279910) *et Appilquhat*, *Balgray*, *Hoggislandis*, *le Cruvmentonis* (? Crurie NY251949), *Stabilgortoun* (Stablegordon NY358880), *Megot* (Megget Water?) *et Pegot* ...]
Balgray 1610 RMS vii no. 214
Bagra 1615 RMS vii no. 1284
Balgray 1643 RMS ix no. 1341
Balgray 1621 RMS viii no. 228

18. BALGRIEBANK FIF, Kennoway S NO353044 1 373 175m SOF
Begrabank 1753 Roy sheet 18, 1
Bagriebank 1781 Sasines no. 198
lands of *Bagrie* 1802 Sasines no. 6262
Bagra Bank 1809 [James Forbes farmer of *Bagra Bank*; original document seen in Mr W. Beveridge's Antique Shop, Falkland c.2000]
Bagriebank 1827 Ainslie/East Fife
Bagrie 1828 SGF
Balgriebank 1856 OS 6 inch 1st edn. [OSNB: farmhouse and offices]
See PNF2, s.n.

19. ? BOGGRIE MOSS KCB, Girthon NX582656 1 80m
Boggrie Moss 1856 OS 6 inch 1st edn.

20. BALGRAY LAN, Crawfordjohn S NS886241 1 280m SOF
Bagra 1590s Pont 34
Bagra 1664 Commissariat Records of Lanarkshire
Bagra 1755 Roy
Balgray 1772 Land Tax Rolls Lanarkshire vol. 3
Balgray 1816 Forrest [Also, *Upper Balgray*]
Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farmsteading, slated, good repair]
[Over *Balgray* at NS880246 was *Gateside* 1816 Forrest]

16. I am indebted to David Munro for locating and sending me copies of this and the 1758 plans.

21. BALGRAY LAN, Glasgow S NS610677 1 70m SWF
Bawgray 1513 *Glas. Rent.* p. 48
the Balgray 1521 *Glas. Rent.* p. 81
Bagray 1527 *Glas. Rent.* p. 88
the Bagray 1529 *Glas. Rent.* p. 92
the Bakraw 1543 *Glas. Rent.* p. 122
the Balgray 1546 *Glas. Rent.* p. 135
the Balgray 1553 *Glas. Rent.* p. 153
Balgray 1564 *Glas. Rent.* p. 181 *Balgray* 1562 x 1592 RMS v no. 2209
Balgra 1590s Pont 34
Balgray 1592 RMS v no. 2209
Balgra 1624 RMS viii no. 670
Bagra 1664 RMS xi no. 665
Bagra 1755 Roy
Balgray 1795 Richardson
Balgray 1816 Forrest [Also, *Balgraybank*]
Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farmsteading] [Also, *Balgraybank* NS610679]
Balgrayhill modern OS

22. BALGRAY # LAN, Govan S NS558684 1 50m SWF
Balgray 1521 *Glas. Rent.* p. 81 [*land off Gartnawyll*]
Balgray 1572 *Glas. Charters* no. 78
Balgray 1587 RMS v no. 1406
Balgray 1592 *Glas. Protocols* no. 3330 [*in parish of Govane*]
Balgray 1598 RMS vi no. 718
Bagrey 1755 Roy [Also, *Little Bagrey & Bagry Mill*. Possibly, *Bogrey*]
Bagray 1785 – 1798 Horse Tax Rolls, vol. 30, for Govan [*John Duncan, Bagray*]
Balgie, H. 1795 Richardson
Balgray 1816 Forrest
Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [Also, *Balgray Mill* NS5568] [OSNB: farmhouse & steading]

23. BALGRAY # LAN, Lesmahagow S NS8240 2 230m WF
Balgray 1550 Ham. M. (bundle 62) [Charter of liferent]
The Bonegraye 1567 *Kel. Lib.* ii, 492 [Probably for *Bouegraye* or even *Bollegraye*]
The Bawgre c.1575 *Assumption*, 231
Balgray c.1592 Charge of the Temporalitie of Kirk Landis, in. 110 [See Campbell R., JSNS 3, 12]

Balgray 1636 RMS ix no. 530

Bagraw 1755 Roy

Balgray, West & East 1816 Forrest

24. BAGRAW # MLO, Borthwick S NT3069 3 c.200m
'per croftos gresmannorum de *Bagraw*' 14th c. *Dunf. Reg.* no. 384 –
somewhere near Woolmet MLO. Referenced in *PNF* 5, p. 289

25. BEGROW MOR, Duffus S NJ164684 1 20m

Bagraw 1541 RMS iii no. 2323

Balgra 1579 RMS iv no. 2932

Balgray 1581 RMS v no. 307

Bagra 1590s Pont 08

Beggery 1830 Thomson (*Map of Nairn and Elgin*)

Begrow 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: small farmhouse, part thatched, part slated]

26. BALGRAY PER, St Martins S NO173301 110m SWF

Bagraw 1406 x 1407 RMS i no. 880 [12 merks annual rent from his lands of
Melgynche, Bagraw et de molendini baronie de *M.* granted by David
Lindsay earl of Crawford to God, BVM and a chaplain to say mass 'in
parish kirk of the same St Mary's of Dundee' (in ecclesia parochiali
ejusdem BVM de *Dunde*)]

Bagr [incomplete] 1590s Pont 26

Balgray 1619 RMS vii no. 2051

Balgrgy 1631 RMS viii no. 1756

Beigry 1755 Roy

Balgray Mill 1864 OS 1st edn. [Also, *Balgray Burn*] [OSNB: corn mill with
dwelling house & byre attached]

27. BALGRAY HOUSE RNF, Mearns S NS509565 1 140m

Bagre 1755 Roy

Balgray 1864 OS 1st edn [Also, *Mains of Balgray*] [OSNB: farmhouse]

28. BAGRAW FORD # ROX, Castleton WNY602991 1 250m

Bagraw Ford 1864 OS 1st edn [A ford across the Peel Burn, tributary of
the Liddel Water, and on the route of the drove road known as Wheel
Causey.]

BALGREEN

This is a common name, spelled with a single or double *l*, found throughout southern Scotland and as far north as Banffshire. Over two dozen instances are listed below. There are three possible explanations: firstly, *G baile* 'farm, steading', with *griain* gen. 'gravel';¹⁷ secondly, *G baile* with *grèine* gen. 'sun'; thirdly, Scots *ball-green*, a green where ball-games like football were played.

The first of these explanations, *G baile* + *griain* gen., was suggested as the etymology of the Mid Calder and Ecclesmachan instances (nos. 16, 25) by W. J. Watson (1926, 143); he indicated that the alternative Gaelic derivation from *grèine* was less likely. It was also the choice of Harris (2002, 74) for the Midlothian instance, as, he says, the farm lay on a 10-acre patch of glacial gravel. The early forms of some instances (nos. 3, 21 and 23 – all *Balgreine*) could support a Gaelic derivation, although *greine* is also an attested spelling of Scots *green*. While only Watson's second choice as an explanation for the Mid Calder and Ecclesmachan instances, *G baile* + *grèine* gen. is Wilkinson's (1992) first, as, he says, the sites are well exposed to the south. Wilkinson also suggests a possible derivation from *G crion* 'withered, small, mean', but that would be an unlikely adjective for a farm; it would also be problematic in terms of explaining the consistent use of *g* rather than *c*. There is certainly a Gaelic place-name Balgrennie ABD (Logie-Coldstone parish NJ410058), with old forms *Balgranny* 1600 RMS vi no. 1050, *Balgreine* 1630 RMS viii no. 1554, *Belgrannie* 1822 Thomson, *Balgrennie* 1864 OS 1st edn; and there was another *Balgrennie* in Scoonie parish in Fife, recorded in the Horse Tax Rolls Vol. 26 (1785–98) with James Balingal as farmer, now Balgrummo in that parish.

The third explanation, that it is a Scots name denoting the 'ball-green' or playing fields, contains a construction first attested in 1611 as *ball-grene* (*DOST*), and then in 1632 as 'the Balgrene of Mousbrigdyke' as part of a boundary outline of Lanark parish.¹⁸ Such an interpretation might be supported by a number of points. The spelling with double *ll* occurs in ten instances – although the OS also recorded a single *l* spelling in three of these – which suggests the first element was *ball*, the round object. The relative lateness of the first records, with over half the instances from the first OS map – and the remainder no earlier than the late 16th century – would tend to cast doubt on a Gaelic origin. The earliest spelling of the second element in nos. 1, 4, 22 and 24 might

17. Early Gaelic *griain* yields Irish Gaelic *grian* and the derivatives Irish Gaelic *grinneall*, *G grinneal*.

18. Extract from Burgh Records of Lanark; the original is actually spelled as in 'passand southeast be ane rod throw the Balgreene of Mousbrigdyke'. A map drawn in 1893 to accompany the text, places Balgreine [*sic*] at c.NS903452, a spot close to the bridge over the ravine of the Mouse Water.

appear to be Gaelic, however *greine* and *grene* are well-attested forms of SSE *green*: *Sc greine* is first attested in the late 16th and early 17th century, precisely when *Balgreine* is first recorded for nos. 3, 21 and 23, suggesting it was the fashionable spelling of the time. The forms of three of the earliest recorded instances (*Bawgreen*, *Bagreen* and *Bogreen* – nos. 4, 11, 15, and also 16 in 1755) may indicate the Scots pronunciation of *ball* ('football' etc.) with /ɑ:/ as *ba*'. The OSNB comments on nos. 7, 8 and 24 support the 'ball green' idea, although of course the surveyor may simply be recording a local folk etymology, as in no. 24, perhaps. Several instances (nos. 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 22 and 24) are close to, certainly within 500m of, population clusters large enough to provide the teams needed for playing football etc. The use of the definite article in nos. 1 and 13 is also suggestive of a feature as a lexical item, on its way to becoming a place-name. And finally, Orkney's example is very unlikely to be Gaelic, unless it was a transferred name.

On the other hand, several instances were in rural, often very remote locations, where assembling teams of players would be problematic, certainly on a basis regular enough to establish a place-name: nos. 3, 4, 5, 11, 16, 17 and 18, in particular, are all 2km or more from their nearest hamlet or village. With the exception of nos. 8 and 24, there is no mention in the OSNB of any other instances having at any time been a games' field, and the vast majority are noted as farm steadings or cottages. Scottish rural life, certainly before the mid-19th century, was relentlessly hard, and opportunities for adults (though not schoolboys) to indulge in ball games was limited. Conceivably though, the term may have referred to a piece of land that looked fit for ball games, even though teams did not regularly assemble there.

Consideration should perhaps be given to the possibility that both etymologies are at work, producing an identical outcome, i.e. that some of the instances are from *G baile griain* (or *grèine*), others from *Sc ball green*. Instances of such a confluence are not unknown in England: Churchill may derive from Celtic **crūg* 'hill', with an epexegetic *hill* added, or from OE *cirice* 'church' + *hill*;¹⁹ while the common name Eaton may derive from OE *ēa* + *tūn* 'farm by the river', or from OE *ēg* + *tūn* 'farm on a spur of (dry) land'.²⁰ It is surely possible that the Balgreens might also represent two linguistic traditions, with two meanings, one from Gaelic, one from Scots.

19. Mills, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*.

20. Watts 2004, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*

BALGREEN FORMS (arranged in order of county, then parish)

1. BALGREEN ABD, Kintore S NJ8011 3
Balgrene, lie 1581 RMS iv no. 175 [... 'with the castle of Kintore, its houses, yards and the Balgreen, in the parishes of Kintore, Kineller and Skene' (... cum castro de *Kyntore*, domibus, hortis et *lie Balgrene* ejusdem, in parochiis de *Kyntor*, *Kyneller*, et *Skene*)]
2. BALLGREEN COTTAGE ABD, Old Machar S NJ915069 1
Ballgreen Cottage 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: V. pretty cottage, rented by shipmaster as summer residence]
3. BALGREEN AYR, Dalrymple S NS385146 1
Balgreine 1615 RMS vii no. 1288
Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farmsteading, outhouses, all thatched, middling repair] [The OS 1st edn NGR was NS387146]
4. BALGREEN BNF, Gamrie S NJ742587 1
Bawgreen 1755 Roy
Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [Also, *Law of Balgreen*, mapped as historic site. OSNB: large farmsteading]
5. BALLGREEN BNF, Keith S NJ400499 1
Ballgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [Also, *Bridge of Ballgreen*. OSNB: small farm steading]
Ballgreen, Bridge of Modern OS map, at NJ400501
6. BALLGREEN DMF, Middlebie S NY218756 1
Ballgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB also recorded form *Balgreen*. OSNB: small cottages with gardens attached]
7. BALLGREEN KCD, Glenbervie S NO782808 1
Ballgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB noted: 'Several houses about here with a green common to them all which gave rise to the name'] [OSNB: ordinary dwelling house with outhouses etc]
The OS mapped this immediately adjacent to a piece of ground called Michael Fair, which the OSNB noted: 'small enclosure where an Annual Fair is held in October which is called Michael Fair. This fair is of very remote origin and is held for Cattle, grain.'

8. BALL GREEN KNR, Fossoway R NS981976 1

Ball Green 1866 OS 1st edn

The OSNB noted: 'The name applies to a portion of a large field, situated between Cowden Knowe and Palace Brae. The game of Foot Ball used to much practiced [*sic*] here, which gave rise to the name.' Referenced in *Place-names of Kinross-shire*, p. 212.

9. BALLGREEN LAN, Avondale S NS701449 1

Balgreen 1590s Pont 34

Balgreen 1816 Forrest

Balgreen, High & Laigh (roadways) 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: name of street in north Strathaven]

Ball Green 1890 OS 25" map

Ballgreen Hall 2018 Google maps

10. BALGREEN LAN, Biggar S NT0437 3

Balgreen 1773 Land Tax Rolls vol. 4 [Valuation £15, 5/3d; near Boghall. Mr Johnston Minister]

11. BALGREEN LAN, Crawfordjohn S NS867219 1 (Fig. 2)

Bagreen 1755 Roy



Fig. 2 The site where Balgreen (Crawfordjohn) stood (Photograph: the author)

Balgreen 1816 Forrest

Balgreen (ruin) 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: ruins of cothouse, 1 storey, thatched.]

12. BALLGREEN LAN, Hamilton S NS728552 1

Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: fine dwelling house & offices, garden attached]

13. BALGREEN LAN, Lanark O NS9045 2

the Balgreene of Mousbrigdyke 1632 Burgh records of Lanark, p. 324

14. BALLGREEN LAN, Symington S NS989357 1

Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: Cottage, thatched, 1 storey, good repair]

15. BALLGREEN MLO, Edinburgh S NT221723 1

Bogreen 1755 Roy

Backgreen Laurie (*A plan of Edinburgh and Places adjacent*)

Balgreen 1785 – 1798 Carriage Tax Rolls, West Kirk parish, Edinburgh

Balgreen 1795 Johnston, Plan of Saughtonhall Estate RHP 3705/1 & 2 [Cited Harris]

Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn

The OSNB described Balgreen as: 'A well-constructed house three stories high of the Modern Style of Architecture having Suitable offices. garden and Ornamental ground attached the residence of Doctor Lowe.' The map shows a sizeable set of grounds with drives. Dr Lowe was the superintendent of the lunatic asylum at nearby Saughton Hall.]

16. BALGREEN MLO, Mid Calder S NT055632 1

Balgreen 1669 Kirk Session Records, referenced Dixon (1947, 311)

Bawgreen 1755 Roy

Balgreen 1773 Armstrong (*Map of the Three Lothians*)

Balgreen or Lindron 1801 Sasines (8793), referenced Dixon (1947, 311)

Bog Green 1843 OSNB

Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: farm house, 2 storeys, offices & small arable farm attached. The OSNB also recorded local forms Balgreen, Ballgreen, and Ball Green, and another surveyor recorded *Bog Green*.] John Wilkinson, who lives locally, informs me that he has heard it pronounced both [ba(l) 'grin] and [ba(l) 'grin].

17. BALGREEN MOR, Drainie S NJ 202707 1
Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: small farmsteading with outstanding offices, the latter partly in ruins]
18. BALLGREEN ORK, South Ronaldsay S ND453843 1
Ballgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: small farm steading with garden attached]
19. BALGREEN PER, Kinclaven S NO136385 1
Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: small farm house & offices]
20. BALGREEN RNF, Lochwinnoch S NS351607 1
Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: good farm house & outbuildings]
21. MOUNTGREEN STL, Larbert S NS881842 1
Balgreine 1627 RS58/4f.88
Balgreen 1670 CRS (Commisariat Records of Stirlingshire)
Boggreen 1817 Grassom (*Map of Stirlingshire*)
Boag' Green 1855 SC4/3/2/5333
Mountgreen 1865 OS 1st edn [OSNB: small cothouse, slated, good repair]
22. BALGREEN WIG, Inch S NX070610 1
Balgreen 1782 Ainslie (*A map of the county of Wigton*)
East Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: small farmhouse, slated, outhouses]
West Balgreen 1864 OS 1st edn [OSNB: neat & commodious dwelling house & offices, slated and good repair. 3 good parks of land]
23. BALGREEN WIG, Anwoth S NX5756 2
Balgreine 1622 RMS viii no. 330 ['a piece of land called the Hill of Lagneill and Balgreen, with woods ... with the lands of High Ardwell' (NX578556) (*peciam terre the Hill of Lagneill et Balgreine nuncupatam, cum silvis ... terris de Over Ardwell* (High Ardwell NX578556))]
24. BALLGREEN WIG, Kirkcowan S NX328604 1
Ball Green 1865 OS 1st edn [The OSNB also recorded the form *Balgreen*]
 The OSNB stated: 'A thatched & indifferent Cottage situated upon a piece of ground which was formerly allotted for Schoolboys (playground).'
25. BALGREEN WLO, Ecclesmachan S NT034719 1
Balgrein 1683 *Ret.* [cited MacDonald]
Balgreen 1773 Armstrong *Map of the Three Lothians*
Balgreen 1832 Thomson (*Linlithgowshire*)

Balgreen 1865 OS 1st edn [OSNB: row of cottages 1 storey high, occupied by farm labourers]

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCOTTISH NAME STUDIES FOR 2017

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The aim of this bibliography is to present, in a continuous list arranged alphabetically by author, all relevant articles, chapters in edited books, monographs, CDs, e-books and PhDs (most of which are now available on-line) which appeared in 2017. It is then followed by a Reviews section, and finally by a section on new digital resources.

This bibliography does not cover the shorter articles, often illustrated, on a wide range of Scottish toponymic themes which appear in *Scottish Place-Name News* (SPNNews), the excellent twice-yearly newsletter of the Scottish Place-Name Society. This publication also includes summaries of the papers given at the SPNS spring and autumn conferences.

For more extensive bibliographies of name studies in Britain and Ireland and, less comprehensively, other parts of northern Europe, see the bibliographic sections in the relevant issues of *Nomina*, the journal of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland. The material in these *Nomina* bibliographies is set out thematically and includes relevant reviews which have appeared in the given year.

I would be very pleased to hear from anyone who spots any omissions or errors in the following bibliography. I can be contacted via the JSNS website and on simon.taylor@glasgow.ac.uk. Also, I would be glad to receive notice of anything published in 2018 for inclusion in JSNS 13.

In order to make it easier for the reader to find their way around, I have put in **bold** not only authors' surnames but also some of the key places, persons or elements discussed in the individual entries.

I would like to thank Alan James, Carole Hough and others who have helped me in compiling this bibliography.

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- Alasdair Whyte's pages on Gaelic place-names in **Glasgow** on <<https://glaschu.net/placenames-project-university-of-glasgow>>.

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Dr George Broderick is currently Professor of Celtic Studies at the University of Mannheim, Germany. His main area of research over the years has been Manx Gaelic language and literature and he has published widely on that subject, notably *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx* 3 vols. (Tübingen: Niemeyer 1984–86), *Language Death in the Isle of Man* (Tübingen: Niemeyer 1999) and *Place-Names of the Isle of Man* 7 vols. (Tübingen: Niemeyer 1994–2005). In recent years he has branched out into other aspects of place-names, publishing his ‘Names for Britain and Ireland Revisited’ (*Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 44.2, 2009) as well as his article on ‘Some island names in the former “Kingdom of the Isles”: a reappraisal’, *JSNS* 7 (2013), 1–28, and in other realms of Celtic and Classical Studies.

Professor Thomas Owen Clancy holds the Chair of Celtic at the University of Glasgow, where he has taught since 1995. He has been Principal Investigator for a number of recent place-name projects, including most recently the AHRC-funded ‘Scottish Toponymy in Transition’ (2011–2014) and the Leverhulme-funded ‘Commemorations of Saints in Scottish Place-Names’ (2010–2013). He is a former editor of *The Innes Review* and is joint series editor of *The International Companions to Scottish Literature*. He is Director of the Survey of Scottish Place-Names.

Liz Curtis is a member of the Scottish Place-Name Society and lives in Dunbar. She began her interest in place-names while living in Belfast and learning Irish Gaelic. In 2006/7 she took an MSc course in Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, where she wrote a dissertation on place-names on the Tarbat peninsula, supervised by the late Dr Doreen Waugh. This was later published as ‘Tarbat or not Tarbat? Was there a portage on the Tarbat peninsula?’, *JSNS* 5, 2011, 1–34. Since then she has concentrated mainly on place-names in East Lothian and enjoys responding to local enquiries about the subject. She is particularly interested in how place-names illuminate history and archaeology, and vice versa.

Dr Peter Drummond has a degree in sociology, which goes to prove that one can come to onomastics from any direction. He became interested in place-names while working on a history of the Coatbridge area, where he worked in the early 1980s, and this led to *Place-Names of the Monklands* a few years later. He then turned his toponymic focus to his main hobby, hill-walking, and in the early 1990s the Scottish Mountaineering Trust published his *Scottish Hill and Mountain Names*, which met with considerable success. In spring 2007, it was

re-published as *Scottish Hill Names*, a title change reflecting a large amount of restructuring and the addition of new material. He undertook an MSc by Research at the University of Edinburgh in 2006 on 'The Hill Names of Southern Scotland'. He gained a PhD from Glasgow University in 2014, for his thesis 'An analysis of toponyms and toponymic patterns in eight parishes of the upper Kelvin basin'. He has served as Treasurer for the Scottish Place-Name Society for many years, and as its Convenor for three years.

Dr Simon Taylor has been working in various aspects of Scottish place-name studies since the early 1990s, including the production of detailed surveys of Fife (5 volumes, 2006–2012), Kinross-shire (1 volume, 2017) and Clackmannanshire (1 volume, forthcoming). He is employed half-time as a reader in Scottish Name Studies at the University of Glasgow. Editor of *JSNS* since its inception in 2007, he is now co-editor with Richard Cox.

COUNTY ABBREVIATIONS FOR SCOTLAND, ENGLAND AND WALES (PRE-1975)

ABD Aberdeenshire	KNT Kent
AGL Anglesey	LAN Lanarkshire
ANG Angus	LEI Leicestershire
ARG Argyllshire	LIN Lincolnshire
AYR Ayrshire	LNC Lancashire
BDF Bedfordshire	MDX Middlesex
BNF Banffshire	MER Merionethshire
BRE Brecknockshire	MLO Midlothian
BRK Berkshire	MON Monmouthshire
BTE Bute	MOR Morayshire
BUC Buckinghamshire	MTG Montgomeryshire
BWK Berwickshire	NAI Nairnshire
CAI Caithness	NFK Norfolk
CAM Cambridgeshire	NTB Northumberland
CHE Cheshire	NTP Northamptonshire
CLA Clackmannanshire	NTT Nottinghamshire
CMB Cumberland	ORK Orkney
CNW Cornwall	OXF Oxfordshire
CRD Cardiganshire	PEB Peebleshire
CRM Carmarthenshire	PEM Pembrokeshire
CRN Caernarvonshire	PER Perthshire
DEN Denbighshire	RAD Radnorshire
DEV Devon	RNF Renfrewshire
DMF Dumfriesshire	ROS Ross and Cromarty
DNB Dunbartonshire	ROX Roxburghshire
DOR Dorsetshire	RUT Rutland
DRB Derbyshire	SFK Suffolk
DRH Durham	SHE Shetland
ELO East Lothian	SHR Shropshire
ESX Essex	SLK Selkirkshire
FIF Fife	SOM Somerset
FLI Flintshire	SSX Sussex
GLA Glamorgan	STF Staffordshire
GLO Gloucestershire	STL Stirlingshire
GTL Greater London	SUR Surrey
HMP Hampshire	SUT Sutherland
HNT Huntingdonshire	WAR Warwickshire
HRE Herefordshire	WIG Wigtownshire
HRT Hertfordshire	WLO West Lothian
INV Inverness-shire	WLT Wiltshire
IOM Isle of Man	WML Westmoreland
IOW Isle of Wight	WOR Worcestershire
KCB Kirkcudbrightshire	YOE Yorkshire (East Riding)
KCD Kincardineshire	YON Yorkshire (North Riding)
KNR Kinross-shire	YOW Yorkshire (West Riding)