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The Journal of Scottish Name Studies
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It has become established that Carsphairn KCB can be identified with a place called *Keresban*, mentioned in three de Coleville charters of the first quarter of the 13th century (*Melr. Lib.* nos. 192, 193, 194), in which the quarter of *Almelidun* called *Keresban* is granted to the Abbey of Vaudey in Lincolnshire.¹ Using this identification as a base, a picture of Cistercian monks attracted by lead-mining to the upper Glenkens area of Galloway has been put forward (Brooke 1984, 52). This paper attempts to show that *Keresban* should in fact be located some twenty kilometres north, over the watershed in the Doon valley AYR.

From the charters, it would seem clear that *Keresban* is located beside the River Doon and between the burns described therein as *Polleneshan* and *Pollenescunt/Polnescunt*. The former must be the present-day Polnessan Burn, which joins the Doon just north of Patna AYR (NS417116) – Gaelic *poll an easain* ‘the burn of the small waterfall’ – while the latter is now lost but may be the present-day Dunaskin Burn, mentioned in 1505 as *Dalnesking* (*RMS* ii no. 2848), its confluence with the River Doon being at NS444079. Charters frequently use burns to delimit properties (see, for example, Márkus 2007) and the Polnessan still forms the northern boundary of Dalmellington parish AYR. The specific element *-askin*, earlier *-esking*, bears a similarity to the *-escunt* of *Pollenescunt*. This may represent Gaelic (G) *poll nan easgan* ‘the burn of the ditches’, or, less plausibly, G *poll nan easgann*, ‘the burn of the eels’. The Dunaskin Burn in fact flows through the deep and sinuous Dunaskin Glen, a natural defile fitting with the meaning of G *easg* (‘ditch formed by nature’, Dwelly s.v.). The use of *easg* both as a specific and generic element in Galloway place-names may be supported by the list of examples given in Appendix 1.

The Abbey of Vaudey soon made over the lands of *Keresban* to Melrose Abbey, as they felt their possession was useless and even dangerous to them (*Melr. Lib.* no. 195, dated 1223). Ten years later, Melrose exchanged *Keresban* with Alan of Galloway, constable of the Scots, son of Rolland, for all Alan’s ‘waste of the Lammermuirs’ (totum vastum nostrum de *Lambremor*), a hill-range in East Lothian and Berwickshire (c.1233 *Melr. Lib.* nos. 227, 228).²

¹ For the text and translation of the relevant section of these charters, see Appendix 3. *Keresban* is also the subject of *Melr. Lib.* nos. 195, 227, 228.
² Alexander II’s confirmation of this excambion or exchange (*Melr. Lib.* no. 228) is witnessed by William, chancellor and bishop elect of Glasgow, and so can probably be dated to 1233.
Proposed *Almelidun* and *Keresban* Locations Map

Legend
- Waterbody forming part of parish or other boundary
- Dalmellington Parish Boundary
- *Keresban* Conjectural Boundary Link

Carsphain 16km south of Dalmellington Motte

Distance Scale

0 1 2 4km
On 15 February 1220/21 King Henry III of England commanded the Justiciar of Ireland to allow the monks of the order of Vaudey dwelling at Kar in Galloway to buy in Ireland corn and meal and other victuals for their sustenance (CDS i no. 795, 141; see also Barrow 1980, 32, note 8). The editor of CDS, Joseph Bain, in a footnote to this entry, wrote ‘Keresban (Carsphairn?)’. The identification of Kar, Keresban and Carsphairn seems to originate from this cautious note of Bain’s. Barrow (1980, 32) solidified this tentative suggestion into an identification and was followed in this by Brooke (1984, 52), Oram (2000, xiii), Broun (2007, 5) and Hammond (2007, 53). In fact Bain did not make any clear connection and indicated his doubt by placing the question mark after his footnote. From my reading of Melr. Lib. nos. 192–94 I am convinced that Keresban cannot be Carsphairn.

If not Carsphairn, where was Keresban? The rubric of Melr. Lib. no. 192 refers simply to Keres (an abbreviated form of Keresban), and the name most likely survives in Keirs Castle (NS429081) in Straiton parish, on the west bank of the River Doon AYR – for other early forms, see Appendix 2. The remains of a 12th or 13th-century tower were demolished here in the 1960s, although fragments are built into the present Keirs farmhouse and the mound on which the tower stood is still visible (Love 2003, 280). The etymology of Keres is uncertain but it probably represents G *cars (see below). The importance of this site may be indicated by the presence of the place-name, Knockanott, a hill of 250m, close to Keirs (NS424086) and noted by MacDonald in his review of annaid place-names (1973, 135). It represents G cnoc na h-annaid, the element annaid, from Old Irish andóit, appearing to mean the mother church of a local community, the patron of which would be the local ruling kindred (Clancy 1995, 91–115). This compound name denoting a hill pertaining to one of these mother churches may indicate such an establishment in the vicinity of Keirs. Clancy estimated the period of use of the term annaid as falling between 800–1100.

Melr. Lib. nos. 192–94 state that Keresban was one quarter of the land called Almelidun and that it was on the River Doon, bounded by the burns mentioned above. Both of these flow from the north-east towards the south-west into the Doon. It may be that the quarter of Keresban was bounded on the west by the river Doon, on the north by the Polnessan burn and on the south by the Dunaskin burn. The eastern boundary possibly connected the headwaters of the two burns along the lower slopes of Benquhat. If this is the extent of Keresban, it would have comprised an area of approximately 939 ha. Although this area as measured is less than a quarter of Dalmellington parish (c.7,186 ha), Keresban could easily have represented a quarterland, since such

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3 See www.scran.ac.uk, under ‘Kiers Castle’.
divisions were not based upon precise land extent but upon land assessment for the purposes of taxation. Such differences in extent between quarters of a larger unit are frequently found amongst davochs (dabhaichean) in northern Scotland (Alasdair Ross, pers. comm.). Located just across the river from Keirs Castle is Drumrangi in Dalmellington parish (NS428096), on the lands I take to be Keresban. This is consistently recorded as Drumrangi from its earliest appearance in the record in 1505 (RMS ii no. 2848; see Appendix 2) and represents G druim grainnsich 'the ridge of [the] grange or monastic farm', G grainnseach (Irish (Ir.) gráinseach) being a loan-word from French grange. Flanagan and Flanagan (1994, 95–97) record 218 examples of Irish gráinseach in place-names in Ireland. Toner and Ó Mainnín demonstrate ‘Gransha’, Co. Down (which they derive from Ir. An Ghráinseach ‘the grange/granary’), to have been invariably recorded as Grange or Graunge (14 times) in 16th and 17th-century sources (1992, 27). This, along with Gaelic word order of the form ‘Drumrangi’, suggests its coinage in that language. The present-day farm of this name is situated almost exactly in the centre of the suggested Keresban quarter granted by Thomas de Coleville to the Abbey of Vaudey. The location is on some of the best arable ground in the area, with rig-and-furrow field remains to be seen surrounding the present-day farm-house, a fact which strengthens the case for Keresban being located here. For the places mentioned here, see Map.

Having proposed a location for Keresban, I will now consider what the name might mean. Since this is not a place-name in current use, we cannot be sure how it was pronounced or where the stress lay. However, as I have argued above, the first element is closely connected with nearby Keirs. Early forms of Keirs (for which see below, Appendix 2) strongly suggest that the -(i)s- ending is an integral part of the name, rather than a Scots plural ending. In fact, the only form which does not have this ending is Kar (1220), in an English source unfamiliar with the locality. It seems likely, then, that both Keirs and the first element of Keresban derive from Early Gaelic (EG) *cars ‘carse, haugh, low land by water’. The etymology of this word is uncertain, it being first attested in a Gaelic form in 1143 as Carsach near Stirling (see www.dsl.ac.uk, under carse) and was clearly a part of the Gaelic spoken in Galloway. Here, at least 23 Gaelic compound names exist on current OS maps, of the type Carseminnoch (Carsmannoch vulgo lie Myd-Carse 1591 RMS v no. 2013) from G meadhanach ‘middle’; Carsfad (Carsfad 1531 RMS iii no. 1094) from G fada ‘long’ and the like. If the first element of Keresban is *cars, then the second element is most likely G bán ‘white’, distinguishing it from Keirs itself and nearby Carskeoch, Straiton (NS417096) (Carskeoch 1629 RMS viii no. 1478, Karskirch, Kaerskioch, Blaeu Maps 17 ‘Mid Ayrshire’
and 18 ‘Kyle’, respectively) from G *sgitbeach ‘hawthorn’. Apart from ‘white’, under bàn, Dwelly gives ‘vacant’ or ‘waste’ as secondary meanings, which might partly explain de Coleville’s selection of that part of Almelidun to grant to Vaudey.

It would also be useful to consider the charter place-name Almelidun. Given the vagaries of early medieval land measures and values referred to above, it seems reasonable to take the view that Almelidun was broadly co-extensive with present-day Dalmellington parish. This suggests that Almelidun and Dalmellington are one and the same name in origin. The earliest form of the latter is Dalmelyntona (1373 RMS i no. 465). A selection of early forms is given in Appendix 2; none of them easily support the proposition that Dalmellington derives from Almelidun, unless this form is aberrant, the result of a scribal error which included the omission of the initial D. Professor Barrow proposes a direct link between the two forms, explaining the transition from Almelidun to Dalmelyntona as being due to ‘assimilation of “de” before the name’ (1980, 32). Be that as it may, there do not appear to be any references to Almelidun other than those found in the Melr. Lib. All we can say at this stage is that in the 13th century Almelidun was the name of a large land holding in the same area in which Dalmelyntona appeared around 100 years later. Barrow’s conclusion that they are the same place seems reasonable considering other charter information regarding the relationship between Keresban, Almelidun and the subsequent Dalmellington parish. As well as a barony and parish, Dalmelyntona also became localised as a settlement name around the motte (NS483058) on the south bank of the Muck Water at the north end of Glen Muck and the site of present day town of Dalmellington. Establishing a plausible etymology for Almelidun itself requires further research informed by an examination of the manuscript of Melr. Lib. itself and the identification of more early forms. Dalmellington looks like an Old English (OE) name *Mellin(g)ton, ending in -tūn ‘farm’, which has later become incorporated as a name into a new Gaelic name formed with the common generic dail ‘haugh, water-meadow’, in the same way that Dalswinton, Kirkmahoe DMF (Dalswynton 1306 x 1329 RMS i, App. 2, no. 306) has been formed from an earlier OE *Swinton (OE swīn ‘swine, pig’ and OE tūn ‘farm’). Almelidun, on the other hand, could be either OE (containing OE dūn ‘hill’) or Celtic (conceivably ending in -dūnon ‘enclosure’, Koch 2007, 152).

The final name I would like to discuss is Carsphairn itself. Amongst the earliest forms are those found in the act of Parliament of 1645 which established a new parish, with a new kirk at Carsphairn, out of the northern parts of the parishes of Kells and Dalry KCB (Carsefairne, Corsefairne) (Records of the Parliament of Scotland, www.rps.ac.uk, accessed March 1645). Other forms
are Scarsfernholme (1635 RMS ix no. 374),

Carsparne (1663 RMS xi no. 499) and Carferne (1664 RMS xi no. 572). It probably contains the same element as Keirs and Keresban, EG *cars, with the specific G feàrna ‘alder’, so ‘alder haugh’. This is certainly how it appears in the Gaelic poem ‘Òran Bagraidh’ (Fergusson 1978, 90–91), in which it is written as Carrsa Feàrín, along with other Glenkens/Dalmellington place-names such as Loch a’ Bharr (Lochinvar NX598853), Gleann na Seamraig (Glenshimmeroch NX650866), Dail Righ (Dalry NX619812) and Beinn Beithich (Benbeoch NS495843).

Òran Bagraidh was collected in North Uist, but Fergusson believed it was composed in Galloway and transmitted to Uist by the MacLellan family via Arran. The item may concern the murder of Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, in 1527, but this is far from certain.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Dr Simon Taylor, for his patient assistance with this paper. Peter McNiven, Dr Alasdair Ross, Professor Richard Oram and Peadar Morgan for their comments on early drafts, and the anonymous referee for helpful suggestions.

Appendix 1

Four possible further examples of G. easgan, used as both a specific and generic element, occur in Galloway and Carrick place-names. While these are at present lost names, the documentary evidence makes it clear that they were located in Carrick.

Ayescandonnel 1540 RMS iii no. 2269
Ayescandonnell 1542 RMS iii no. 2773
Aiscendonouil 1616 Retours no. 153
Ayescan-creg 1540 RMS iii no. 2269
Ayescancrag 1542 RMS iii no. 2773
Camesken 1552 RMS iv no. 730
Cameskane 1553 RMS iv no. 875
Drummuskan 1536 RMS iii no. 1604
Drummuskan 1540 RMS iii no. 2268
Pollinyask 1587 RMS v no. 1453
Poleskine 1610 RMS vii no. 218

4 Probably for Carsfernholme.
APPENDIX 2

Examples of early forms of place-names mentioned above:

DALMELLINGTON Parish and Barony AYR NS48 05
Almelidun 1215 x 1216 Melr. Lib. no. 192\(^3\)
Almelidon c.1220 Melr. Lib. no. 193
Almelidon c.1220 Melr. Lib. no. 194
baronia de Dalmelyntona 1374 RMS i no. 465
Dalmelyntoun 1427 RMS ii no. 90
Dalmellintoun 1511 RMS ii no. 3679
Dalmellington 1539 RMS iii no. 2113
Dalmellingtoun 1594 RMS iv no. 112
Dalmellington 1605 RMS vi no. 1872
Dalmellington 1647 RMS ix no. 1857
Dalmellingtonoune 1655 RMS x no. 460
Dalmellingtonoune 1671 RPC Ser. 3 vol. 3 1699–72 no. 188
Damallintoun 1747 × 1755 Roy (Plate 15)

DRUMGRANGE Dalmellington AYR S NS42 09
Drumgrange 1526 Pitcairn, Trials i, 236
Johne Ross of Drumgrange 1526 RSS i no. 3386 col. 3
Drumgrange 1544 RMS ii no. 3025
Drumgrange 1600 Pitcairn, Trials iii, 130

KEIRS Straiton AYR NS43 08
Kers 1483 Acta Auditorium xxi Feb., 133
Keiris 1574 RPC, 438
Keiris 1608 Retours (Ayr) no. 101
Keiris 1610 RMS vii no. 351
Kers 1612 RMS vii no. 670
Keiris 1619 RPC, 569
Kyers 1654 Blaeu Carricta Borealis
Maynes de Keires 1672 Retours (Ayr) no. 580
Keirshouse 1747 × 1755 Roy (Plate 15)

KERESBAN Dalmellington AYR Location as proposed above
Keres 1215 x 1216 Melr. Lib. no. 192 [rubric: ‘charter of Thomas de Colville anent Keres’ (carta Thome de Coleuill’ de Keres)]
Keresban 1215 x 1216 Melr. Lib. no. 192
Kar 1220 CDS i no. 795, 141

\(^3\) It may be earlier — 1202 × 1208 — depending on the identification of the first witness, Abbot William of Melrose. See also Hammond 2007, 53, note 51.
Appendix 3

Punctuation and capitalisation have been normalised in the following text and translation of the part of Melr. Lib. nos. 192–94 most relevant to the above discussion – no. 192 – with some variants noted; for a facsimile, see Fraser, Buccleuch i, between xl–xli.

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Thomas de Colevilla cognomen Scotiae dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum Deo et Beate Marie et Abbatie de Valle Dei ... quartam partem Almelidon qua vocatur Keresban scilicet quicquid habui inter Polleneshan et Pollenescunt usque ad aquam de Don ...

May all present and future know that I, Thomas de Coleville, Scot by name, have given and granted and have confirmed by this present charter, for the salvation of my soul and of all my predecessors, to God and to the Blessed Mary and to the abbey of Vaudey ... a quarter of Almelidon which is called Keresban, that is whatever I have had between Polleneshan and Pollenescunt as far as the water of Doon ...

\[6\] et pro animabus Daudi, Maucomli, Willelmi Regum Scocie (‘and for the souls of kings of Scotland David, Malcolm and William’), added Melr. Lib. no. 193.

\[7\] de, omitted Melr. Lib. nos. 193–94.

\[8\] Almelidon, Melr. Lib. nos. 193–94.

\[9\] As this seems to refer to quartam partem, a feminine noun, the expected relative pronoun would be que, not quod, which is the neuter nominative singular. All three charters have quod.

\[10\] Polnescunt, Melr. Lib. no. 193.

\[11\] Melr. Lib. no. 194 is a re-statement and confirmation of this grant issued by Thomas’ son William de Coleville for the salvation of his soul and of his father Thomas’ and of his (William’s) wife Ada and of all my men (et omnium meorum) (or ‘of all my predecessors’, with antecessorum omitted by mistake).

\[12\] For a full discussion of the meaning and implications of this designation, see Hammond 2007, 52–54; Melr. Lib. nos. 193–95, all of which mention him, omit it.
References


CDS: Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, eds J. Bain and others, 5 vols (Edinburgh 1881–1986).


Fraser, Buccleuch: W. Fraser, The Scots of Buccleuch (Edinburgh 1878).


Melr. Lib.: Liber Sancte Marie de Melros (Bannatyne Club 1837).
Pitcairn, *Trials: Criminal Trials in Scotland from 1488 to 1624*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Edinburgh 1833; also Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs).


*RSS Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, eds M. Livingstone and others (Edinburgh 1908–).

The Scottish Place-Name Society and others like it around the world would hardly exist if place-names were often lost. What we depend on, and indeed celebrate, is the tenacity and longevity of place-names – we have only to think of London, York and Dunkeld to appreciate the sheer sticking-power of place-names. Elgin in Moray has obviously lasted a long time, but if it actually means ‘wee Ireland’ and Banff simply means ‘Ireland’ (Watson 1926, 230–32), then we would presumably have a terminus a quo for their coining.

Place-names inevitably fall by the wayside – fermtouns lose their inhabitants, elaborately fortified sites lose their garrisons, places which were sacred for some pagan religion may be baptized with a specifically Christian name. Who could have guessed when Christianity was coming to the Solway Firth area that the heathen god, Maponus (Apollo Maponos), would survive for a millennium and a half as the Clochmaben Stane in Gretna? One of the Scottish Place-name Society’s raisons d’être lies in place-names which are half lost. We explain, or try to explain, the part of a name which has been lost or at least heavily disguised. In Glen Livet we have Nevie, once Neuechin Crist, the pagan sanctuary (nemeton) dedicated to Christ. This is not exactly a lost name, rather a name which has become appreciably disguised (Barrow 1989, 16; Barrow 1998; also Barrow 1998a, 56, 58–59).

In Scotland we are extraordinarily lucky to have had the Rev. Timothy Pont, minister of Dunnet in Caithness, and equally lucky to have had so much of his work survive – preserved by the Gordons and by Blaeu in Amsterdam and published in his Atlas (1654), and also preserved in the geographical collections of Walter Macfarlane of Macfarlane. The extensive tours carried out by Pont, resulting in the preservation and location of many thousands of names in his text, and also on his maps, have given us a window on to medieval and early modern Scotland which has almost no parallel in Europe. To complete our good fortune we now have a publisher, Birlinn, who has produced a beautiful edition of Blaeu’s Atlas preserving so much of Pont’s work (2006) – and topped this off with a magnificent edition of William Roy’s Great Map, ancestor of the Ordnance Survey, which represents physical features in unprecedented detail (2007).

1 In this paper ‘Moray’ refers to the province or earldom, not to the modern county. This paper is based on one delivered to the Scottish Place-Name Society conference held in Elgin, May 2008.

2 My first job in London took me to lodgings in Notting Hill, close to a busy road invariably called by bus-conductors Eljin Crescent; in Greater London, there are no fewer than twenty roads or streets named (or misnamed) Elgin.
In Macfarlane’s collections, there is a passage on Badenoch headed, ‘This is wryten out of Mr Timothies Papers and in it thur manie things false’ (Geog. Coll. ii, 572). Blaeu’s map of the central highlands must have drawn on this passage. Pont deals with the lower part of Glenfeshie as follows: ‘Tua myl aboue Inner Ishie up the said river of Fishie upon the west syd there of is Contelait’ (ibid. 577). Blaeu duly shows Contalait on the left bank of the Fishie, above Inner Ishie and below the confluence of Feshie and Allt Fhearnasdail. In the early 17th-century Rental of the earldom of Huntly, we find Countelawe along with the mysterious Dauache Breis, duly entered in the section on Badenoch (Spalding Club iv, 307). The name occurs (as Cuntelait) in a Retour of 1691 (Retours, Inverness-shire, no. 113).

On William Roy’s mid 18th-century map Coundilaid is shown on the left bank of the Feshie, well to the south of Milltown, presumably Blackmill (Roy Map, plate 123). Many years ago, Isobel Grant published Everyday life on an old Highland farm – i.e. Dunachton near Kincraig – and luckily this rare work was republished before Miss Grant’s death (Grant, 1981). In it we find reference to a tenant of Contalavit in 1764 (ibid. 113 note 2).

Countlate appears on William Johnson’s excellent map of Inverness-shire (Johnson 1830). The place is not shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1872 and today there is no trace of the name locally or on maps. A few years ago, I walked up the left bank of the Feshie to where I thought Contalait ought to have been, but could find no trace of any settlement. It is truly a lost place-name. I have never tried to gain access to the estate papers of the family of Macpherson-Grant of Invereshie and Ballindalloch. If these records survive they would surely tell us the fate of Contalait and might even throw light on the mysterious Davoch Breis of the Huntly Rental. Incidentally, Roy’s mid 18th-century map has appreciably more farm and croft names for Glen Feshie than are shown on the Ordnance Survey of the 1870s. The lost place-names of Moray might be multiplied many times over using this evidence.

Place-names may be partly lost. On the left bank of the Muckle Burn, a few miles east of Cawdor, are shown on the OS Landranger (1:50,000, 1988, Sheet 27, NH93 51) Lethen House and Mains, with Mill of Lethen shown on the burn but not given any name. On Timothy Pont’s manuscript map of Moray, we find Letthinn where Lethen House is today, while across the burn is a settlement called Lethin Barr (Stone 1989, Map 8b). Blaeu has these names, but has misread them as Lethim and Lethim Barr, an understandable mistake in view of Pont’s minims. A hill to the south, of 258 metres, is

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3 I owe my knowledge of this informative map to Dr Virginia Glenn.
shown on OS 6 inch 1st edition (1871) and OS Landranger (1:50,000, 1988, Sheet 27, NH95 49) as Lethen Bar. However this happened – I have not consulted the OS Name Book – it must surely be a mistake. In Pont, not repeated by Blaeu but in William Roy’s map, this hill is shown as Knock Barr. The settlement name Lethen Barr must be a name of the same character as Dolays Mykel (now Dallas MOR), Logynkenny (now Laggan INV) and Daskinmichel (now Deskie BNF), i.e. Lethin dedicated to Saint Barr, alias Findbarr or Finn(i)an of Moville, the patron of Dornoch (Clancy 2001, 12–16; Mackinlay 1914, 141–42; OPS II, ii, 597). Lethen Bar is thus not a completely lost place-name, only a slightly misplaced one.

Another Moray place-name of this class, Dolach Crist, is lost for the most dramatic of reasons – it was overwhelmed in the great sandstorms which destroyed the barony of Culbin in the late 17th century (NAS GD 49, Section 1–3, transumpt, 1481).

The Pont map which shows Lethin Barr also shows, a few miles south, a place on the north bank of the River Findhorn, called Stronnachoultyrr. Blaeu renders this more simply as Stronachoutir. Forty years ago, I was able to show that this must have been the ‘wood of Stronkalter’, where the historian Andrew Wyntoun says that the Guardian Sir Andrew Murray defied an advance party of Edward III’s force, which rescued the countess of Atholl from Lochindorb (Barrow 1967). I believe that Stronkalter must be a completely lost name. Fortunately, Pont carried out a very thorough survey of Strathdearn, providing an effective bridge between our medieval documentation and present-day toponymy.

One interesting name which Pont preserved, rather oddly mangled by Blaeu,4 is Suy Chummenn – Saint Cumméin’s Seat – attached to the prominent seat-shaped hill just south of Dulsie Bridge, as I pointed out 33 years ago (Barrow 1975, 122, note 1). This lost name shows that the cult of Cumméin of Iona, well known at Abertarff on Loch Ness and found also in Argyll, was observed in Strathdearn (Watson 1926, 303 and Taylor 1999, 56–57).

The disappearance of a relatively obscure place-name such as Stronkalter is not surprising. It is rather a different matter to find a whole barony vanishing. In RMS and Cawdor Bk. there are several documents of 14th and 15th-century date referring to the barony of Kerdale (RMS ii nos. 156, 194, 966, 1261, 1262; Cawdor Bk., 5, 6, 7, 10, 30). Late in the reign of Robert I, his nephew Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, made a grant to Sir James of Kerdale, knight, of Daltullich near Darnaway, forfeited for treason

4 As Suy assummern on the Moravia map.
by Gilbert of Glencharnie, on the terms of the original grant by King William
the Lion (thus before 1215) (Brodie of Brodie muniments box 5, drawer 5). The
spelling of Kerdale changed to Cardale in the 15th century, and a series of
charters of 15th and 16th-century date show that the barony took in a great
part of Strathnairn from Dunmaglass down to Holmerose and Kilravock (RMS
ii no. 466; iii nos. 1448, 3292). A conspicuous spelling change is unusual, a
total disappearance must be practically unheard of. Documents preserved in
the Kilravock charter chest provide evidence of the barony of Kerdale or Cardell
in 1423, 1531 and 1540 (Rose of Kilravock, for references, see index). What
relationship, if any, there was between this barony and the estate of Kirdells
(NJ17 39) and Kirdellbeg (NJ17 41), in the parish of Knockando in Strathspey
MOR – not by any means a lost place-name – I must leave it to those more
expert than I to determine. In 1670, this estate is called the barony of
Kirdellis (Retours, Elgin and Forres, no. 148).

To lose a barony may be regarded as a misfortune; to lose a lordship looks
like carelessness. Yet there seems no doubt that we have lost the lordship of
Glencharnie. First occurring in record of the later years of William the Lion’s
reign, c.1206 (as Glantarnin’, for Glancarnin, RRS ii no. 474), Glencharnie
figures prominently in record of the earlier 14th century, chiefly because its lords
were strongly pro-Balliol. The caput of this lost lordship was at Boat of Garten
(Barrow 1988). Its territory reached north-westward to include Kinveachy and
probably part of Strath Dulnain, but exactly where its boundaries ran I have
never discovered – nor have I followed its history beyond Lachlan Shaw’s book
on Moray (1775, 39 note, 89) and the article on the parish of Duthil by the
Rev. Patrick Grant (OSA xvi, 16). Shaw gives the name as Glenchernich, Grant
merely equates Duthil with Glenchearnich; neither refers to any lordship. Dr
Alasdair Ross has published a detailed account of Glencharnie in its heyday as
a lordship in the 13th and 14th centuries (Ross 2003).

Towards the end of his life, King David I founded an abbey for Cistercian
monks (drawn from Melrose) at Kinloss, now close to the mouth of the River
Findhorn but some miles away before the Culbin Sands disaster (OSA xvi, 511,
571–73; Groome ii, 316). The wood of Inchedamin, which David I also granted
to Kinloss, lasted till the 17th century as Inchdemmie – how much longer I have
not discovered.  David also granted ‘the land of Eth which Tuathal had held’
(terram Eth quam Tvethel tenuit). This last lost name is hard to interpret and

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5 This charter was brought to my attention by Professor A. A. M. Duncan, date unrecorded.
In the text of the charter, Glenkerni has been altered to Glenberui.
6 Inchdemmy is shown on Pont’s map of Moray (Stone 1989, Map 8b).
7 All three places are mentioned first in a charter of Richard bishop of Moray (1187–1203),
printed as Moray Reg. Cart. Orig. no. 3, 454–56), then as Kinloss Recs. no. 4.
its locality impossible to identify. The construction ‘terram Eth’ (as opposed to ‘terram de Eth’) suggests that Eth may be the personal name Aed (later Aodh), with the meaning ‘Aed’s land’. Later grants to Kinloss by Alexander II give us the early forms of Burgie (Burgyn) and Blervie (Ulern), which still survive (Kinloss Recs. no. 5).

Old names occurring only once in surviving record pose a particular problem – they are not so much lost as scarcely discovered. They can be exceptionally interesting. Sankathel by the Lossie near Elgin (Moray Reg. no. 27, 20) may represent G. sean chathair ‘old fort’, indicating an old fortified site which might still be located with the help of aerial photography. It should be compared with the some time barony of Sanquhar,8 south of Forres (Shaw 1775; OS 1:50,000 Sheet 27, NJ043567).9

In 1238, Alexander II made a substantial grant to Andrew bishop of Moray in exchange for teinds which the crown had been paying to the church of Moray from places as far apart as Inverness in the west and Fochabers in the east (Moray Reg. no. 40). Among the places from which teind was paid was Rathenec, located in the Elgin/Fochabers area. The disappearance of this name is hard to explain, for the place itself was important. It was a thanage, with its resident dynasty of hereditary thanes, and there is record of it in the surviving 13th-century inquests (APS i, p. 101 (red), p. 179).10 A night’s lodging was found there for Edward I of England during his invasion of the north in the summer of 1296. It is worth giving an excerpt from the remarkably accurate journal which was kept by someone in the king’s entourage:

‘Sunday [i.e. 22 July] at Banff castle, Monday at the manor of Invercullen, Tuesday under canvas in the Enzie,11 crossed the Spey on the Wednesday and lodged on the other side of that river at the manor of Rathenache12 in

8 Sanquhare 1342 RMS i, App. 1, no. 115; containing Gaelic (G.) sean ‘old’ and G. cathair or *cair ‘fort’.

9 Another important lost place-name in Moray is Aberbrandely, which is first mentioned c.1200 (Abberbrandolshin Brenin) as one of the lands in Strathavon (Strathouen) belonging to the bishop of Moray and set at tack to the earl of Fife (Moray Reg. no. 16). It has been identified with the parish of Knockando MOR, but there are some problems with this, as discussed in Barrow 1989, 4, 13 note 35.

10 This has the record of an inquest of 1262 under the bishop of Ross and Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan showing that Meft near Elgin was held by a succession of thanes of Rathenech from Yothre mac Gilhys under William the Lion to Ewen, thane in 1262.

11 This is another name that is very nearly lost!

12 The printed text has Rapenache. Clearly the p is a mistaken rendering of the letter thorn, for th. The record of homages to Edward I in 1296 includes William de Rothenayke at Rothenays in Moray, 30 July, and Angus de Ratheneke of the county of Elgin, notionally at Berwick upon Tweed, 28 August (CDS ii, 195, 211).
Rathenec(h), which does not appear on Blaeu’s map of Moray, ought to mean ‘bracken(y) place’ (G. raineach ‘bracken’), which is not very helpful if we try to locate it. My own belief is that it must have lain between Dipple on the north and Orton to the south. The Ordnance Survey (1874) tempts us with St Mary’s Well in Gothic lettering at a place close to the River Spey. Perhaps local historians have located Rathenec(h). Like all the place-names which I have categorized as ‘lost’, it deserves to be rediscovered.

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The use of the term Gall-Ghàidheil (in Early Gaelic/Old Irish orthography, Gall-Goídel) has become politically incorrect in certain scholarly circles in recent years, at least when used in connection with Galloway. During the 1980s and 1990s, an earlier consensus, which had viewed the Gall-Ghàidheil unproblematically as the settlers of Galloway and as those who had given the region its name, broke down and sapped confidence on several issues pertaining to the nature of Galloway in the earlier part of the middle ages. However, this lack of confidence itself sprung from problems of perception regarding the ethnic and linguistic nature of the Gall-Ghàidheil. I hope to address these problems here. I should note that, to a certain extent, I am revisiting and building on some of the earlier, pre-1986, views of scholars such as William J. Watson (1926, 172–74), John MacQueen (1973), Alfred P. Smyth (1984, 156–63) and, more specifically, the work done in the as-yet unpublished 1994 PhD thesis of Andrew Jennings, completed in the University of Edinburgh, some aspects of which have also appeared in recent years (Jennings 2001, Jennings 2004, Jennings and Kruse forthcoming). During the course of the evolution of the article, important new contributions have been made by, for instance, Downham (2007) and Woolf (2007) on this topic and on the overall political and cultural context. That said, on certain important points of detail and perspective I differ from all these scholars, and I hope that this paper may move the argument on a stage and refine some of our understanding of the Gall-Ghàidheil, early medieval Galloway and the south-western seaboard of Scotland generally. In particular, I will argue that a proper understanding of the term demands

1 Throughout this article, I have chosen to use a modernised spelling of the term except when quoting sources, whether primary or secondary. My intention is to abstract the term for the purposes of the article from its use or spelling in any one source, so as to examine it over the lifetime of its use.

2 This article is a revised version of a paper originally given to a conference entitled ‘Gall-Ghàidheil: The Western Isles in the Viking World’, held in Stornoway, 3–7 April, 2000. I am grateful to Dr Mary MacLeod, the organiser of that conference, for the invitation to give the paper, and to the participants in that conference for much stimulating discussion. I have reluctantly decided the paper needed to be published outwith the forthcoming conference proceedings, and I am grateful to Dr Colleen Batey, their editor, for allowing me to do so. The title of that conference, in a sense, represented one result of the scholarly uncertainty described above, regarding the nature and whereabouts of the people called Gall-Ghàidheil. If not belonging to Galloway, they must have belonged somewhere (goes the unstated argument), and hence could be appropriated – wrongly, as I will show – for the Western Isles as much as for anywhere.
a quite rigorous approach to the chronology by which political, ethnic and geographical terms were introduced and applied. In approaching the evidence in this way, I believe we can gain a certain degree of clarity on the subject.

The main attack on the connection between the Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway came from the 1986 Northern Studies conference in Gatehouse-of-Fleet, later published in 1991 as *Galloway: Land and Lordship* (Oram and Stell 1991). Here, two papers sought to sever the connection in two distinctly different ways: Ted Cowan dismantled romantic myths about the Gall-Ghàidheil as Vikings, and the late Daphne Brooke attacked both the evidence for their settlement, mainly toponymic, and also the linguistic basis for believing that the name Galloway derives from the Gaelic term Gall-Ghàidheil, substituting instead a British etymology for the name (Cowan 1991; Brooke 1991). This latter claim never had any linguistic possibility, and I will not treat it in what follows. Brooke went on to take these views as established in her 1994 book on Galloway (1, 57–76). The general tone of the 1986 conference had attendant effects and has made people extremely cautious of speaking of Gall-Ghàidheil in connection with Galloway, to the extent that various scholars, such as Peter Hill and the late Bill Cormack, in their discussions respectively of Whithorn and Barhobble, adopted the depressing and meaningless terms, Celto-Norse or Celtic-Norse, for the residents of Galloway in the period c. 900–1100 and some of their artefacts (Hill 1997, 51–52; Cormack 1995, 44–58).

The absence among some scholars working on early medieval Galloway of a proper appreciation of the emerging historical framework for the Irish Sea during this period also gave rise to some fairly odd statements, such as Peter Hill’s perplexing comment concerning 11th-century Whithorn that ‘Gaelic influence is thus a predictable feature of this period, although it is somewhat surprising that the archaeological evidence should be so markedly Irish’ (Hill 1997, 56; see, for example, Duffy 1992, Etchingham 2001 for why this should not be surprising). The situation has been partially alleviated in the most recent and thorough discussion of medieval Galloway, by Richard Oram (2000). There, he accepted the connection between the Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway (though not without some attendant difficulties) and showed a detailed understanding of Galloway’s Irish Sea context. Oram’s sea-change on this issue was a welcome result of much friendly persuasion, especially by Alex Woolf, to whom the present paper also owes a great debt (for his work on these topics, see, for example, Woolf 2002, 2007; see Etchingham 2001 for similar, but contrasting, views). Most recently, Fiona Edmonds’ doctoral thesis (2005) has given considerable refinement to our understanding of (inter alia) Galloway’s place in the Irish Sea world and, when published, it will mark a significant advance on our current knowledge.
Although there is much work to be done on the medieval south-west of Scotland generally, the current article seeks in particular to clarify thoughts about names and terminology. Many of the problems appear to stem from a confusion which has arisen – it is not clear where or when – as to the linguistic background of the Gall-Ghàidheil, and this confusion is not sufficiently clarified in Oram’s recent work (see, for example, his discussion of toponyms on pp. 8–9). One argument, followed by several commentators (for example, in a previous paradigm, Oram 1995), was that since the linguistic records of Scandinavian settlement – largely Norse place-names – are sparse in Galloway (though not unrepresented), the Gall-Ghàidheil cannot have been as heavily involved in the process of creating Galloway as hitherto thought. This assumes that the Gall-Ghàidheil were Norse speakers. This flies in the face, however, of the logic of the name. As Ted Cowan put it in his 1986 talk, ‘a Gall-Gaidhil [sic], a foreign Gael was clearly a foreigner who spoke Gaelic; no other explanation makes sense’, and the thrust of his paper was indeed to try to point out that the Gall-Ghàidheil were not vikings, rather than that they did not exist (Cowan 1991, 72). Likewise, Gillian Fellows-Jensen in her talk to the same conference noted that ‘the sparseness of the place-name evidence for a Scandinavian presence in Galloway does not suggest a high degree of scandinavianisation in the Gall-Ghaidhil who settled in Galloway’ (1991, 80). To stress the basic logic of the case before proceeding, then: the term Gall-Ghàidheal is one which should mean a ‘foreign-seeming Gael; a scandinavianised Gaelic speaker, or a foreigner who speaks Gaelic’. To that extent, the search for linguistically Scandinavian toponymic evidence to bolster or refute the case for Gall-Ghàidheil settlement of Galloway has always been always an illogical one: as Gaelic speakers by definition, the Gall-Ghàidheil should have been sought in Gaelic toponymy. For Jennings (2001, 258), that is where they are to be found: ‘For the Gall Gaidheil settlement in Galloway we need look no further than the thousands of Gaelic place-names.’ That said, Brooke’s seeming acknowledgement that Gaelic ought to have been

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3 I would not, however, agree with his further analysis of the name that it could mean any Gaelic speaker who was not Irish, viz.: ‘The first such persons probably appeared as a result of the Irish migrations to Galloway in the fifth century at the same time as Fergus Mor led his kindreds into Argyll. Thus, in the pre-Viking period the term would have embraced Brittonic-Gaels and Anglo-Gaels.’ This is an intriguing idea, but seems not to be supported by the evidence to hand. The term was not used at all in the ‘pre-Viking’ period, nor is there any evidence that the term Gall was ever applied in this period to people from Britain (originally it meant someone from Gaul); during the ‘Viking’ period, Gall always means ‘Scandinavian’. Cowan would appear here to be drawing on the implicit view of Watson (1926, 172–73) with regard to the term, and also on the hypothesis of very early Gaelic settlement in Galloway advanced by MacQueen and Nicolaisen (for a rejection of which see below).
the language of the Gall-Ghàidheil (1991) led her, ironically, to reject them as Galloway’s settlers. For her, the Gaelic toponymy of Galloway was that of the peasant, and so could not have been brought by Gall-Ghàidheil rulers (see Brooke 1994, 60–74, for a summary of her views), though she allowed for the settlement of some Norse rulers, and for the presence of ‘Hiberno-Norse’ churchmen and others by the 11th century.

On the other hand, there are dangers, as we shall see, in applying the base definition of the term too widely. In his important 1996 Whithorn Lecture, David Dumville notes, anent the definition of Gall-Ghàidheil, ‘Gallgoídil were therefore in principle either people of mixed race or Gaels who behaved like foreigners (and that was not a compliment)’, going on to observe that ‘Wherever Scandinavians settled in the Gaelic world, Gallgoídil were likely to be the result … No doubt, however, there were more Gallgoídil in northwestern Scotland, given the circumstances of settlement’ (Dumville 1997, 26–28; similar views are advanced in Dumville 2002 = 2007, 94). Others have likewise been tempted to conflate the definition (people of mixed Gaelic and Norse culture; Gaelic-speaking Scandinavians etc.) with the actual use of the term. Although the Irish Sea region was during the period 850–1200 and beyond awash with people potentially fitting the definition of Gall-Ghàidheil, we endanger clarity if we apply the term to all those people, if there is no evidence that anyone else did. As we shall see, it looks as if the term was used in a much more limited and politically constrained way, and we need to account for this.

In order to provide a more coherent argument, it is necessary to examine when the term Gall-Ghàidheil was first used and what it came to mean in more detail. What I would stress in anticipation is that, with the exception of one important text, it is only in the 12th century that the evidence gives definite geographical co-ordinates, and only gradually during that century do those co-ordinates seem to include what we now consider to be Galloway. The one pre-12th-century text situates the Gall-Ghàidheil on the Firth of Clyde, with potentially radical implications for our understanding. Above everything, however, I would stress that there is no certainty that there is continuity of meaning among the scattered pieces of evidence from the first use of the term in ninth-century references through to the more fulsome 11th and 12th-century material. Equally, we should resist the temptation to allow Gall-Ghàidheil to have been used for all regions ruled or occupied by those showing a mixed Gaelic and Norse culture. That we might find this name appropriate for such peoples is no sure guide to whether the term was at the time applied to them. If we wish to achieve clarity, we must look not at who might or ought to have been termed Gall-Ghàidheil, but who or where was.
**Earliest usage**

It has been amply shown by the likes of Alfred Smyth (1984, 156–63) and Andrew Jennings (1994), and, for Ireland, Donnchadh Ó Corráin (1998, 2001), that by the middle of the ninth century there had already begun a process of inter-marriage and cultural assimilation between Gaels and Norse, and that the most likely early venue for this process was the Hebrides, probably the southern Hebrides rather than the Western Isles, judging from linguistic and toponymic evidence. Icelandic tradition linking early settlers with the Hebrides, as well as Gaelic names and by-names among Norsemen of this period, demonstrate this well (see Jennings and Kruse (forthcoming); but see Ó Corráin’s views on a Scottish location for Lochlainn, 1998a). It is also around the middle of the ninth century that the main Irish annalistic usage referring to the Norse shifts from *Geinti* ‘heathens’ to *Gaill* meaning ‘foreigners’ generally, but from this period until the late 12th century, meaning almost exclusively ‘Scandinavians’ (see, however, Etchingham 2001, 176 note 95; Dumville 1997, 37 note 111 on lingering use of *geinti* and its Latin equivalents). Equally, during this period we have the first appearance of the term Gall-Ghàidheil, here representing a group who are found fighting in support of Mael Sechnaill mac Maíle Ruanaid, the first king who, in the annals and in inscriptions, was termed with some seriousness *rí Éirenn* ‘king of Ireland’ (see Downham 2007, 17–23 for overall context). In the contemporary annals, the Gall-Ghàidheil are carefully set off from the other Scandinavians in Ireland. The Annals of Ulster [AU] 856.3 makes the distinction between the *geinti*, Mael Sechnaill’s enemies, and the Gall-Ghàidheil who are his allies, while AU 857.1 describes the Dublin kings, Ímar and Amlaíb (Ívarr and Ólafr), defeating *Caittil Find cona Gallgaedhelaibh*. This putatively Norse-named character with his Gaelic epithet has been identified, plausibly but uncertainly, with Ketill Flatnefr, ancestor of Hebridean settlers in Iceland (Jennings 1994, 83–84; Smyth 1984, 116–26; but for critical scepticism, Downham 2007, 18 note 44; for critical rejection see, most recently, Woolf 2007, 295–97).

Be that as it may, this testifies to the emergence of a new group in Irish politics, who would appear to be Gaelic speakers with some characteristics that distinguished them as also Norse; they were perhaps partly assimilated Scandinavians. The Gaelic-speaking element here is extremely important. As I have already noted, it has been further argued that this group must have come from the Hebrides – an origin in Ireland has been thought unlikely at

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4 This view may need to be refined, however, if the conclusions of Alan Macniven’s recent thesis (2006) should be accepted. He argues that, despite appearances, Islay was subject to a nearly wholesale Norse settlement, and that nearly no Gaelic names on Islay are pre-Norse. See also Woolf’s critical discussion of this issue (2007, 295–98).
this stage of Norse involvement in Ireland, only brief years after the first semi-permanent bases on the island had been established. Andrew Jennings (1994) divided Norse settlement areas on the western seaboard of Scotland into three distinct zones on the basis of Norse vs Gaelic toponymy and the survival of institutions and major centres, seeing Zones ii and iii as being, essentially, those which gave birth to the Gall-Ghàidheil, since these zones see Norse settlement at a certain level, but show much greater continuity of Gaelic into the middle ages. Jennings and Kruse (forthcoming) simplify this system to two zones, A and B, but the point remains the same.

I would stress at this point, however, that a Hebridean origin for these ninth-century Gall-Ghàidheil is based on a logical deduction, and not on firm evidence deriving from the relevant texts (see Woolf 2007, 295–97, for further comment in this vein). We should, moreover, not dismiss the possibility of these ninth-century Gall-Ghàidheil having originated in Ireland. Clare Downham (2007, 17 note 40) notes that ‘Vikings who settled in Ireland by 841 could have fathered a new generation of warriors by the 850s’, a point put more colourfully by Dumville (1997, 27–28): ‘Dublin and Annagassan were established in 841 and in 856 Gallgoídil were militarily active: the timing is absolutely perfect for the emergence of testosterone-filled fourteen-year-olds!’ Most of them, we might suggest, would have been born to Irish women, and would almost certainly be bilingual. The main point is that these Gall-Ghàidheil, who have a very short ‘lifespan’ in the annals (856–57), seem to be a discrete and coherent political/ethnic group, and are situated entirely in Ireland (see also MacQueen 2002, 56). The political precision of the annals does not suggest that the chronicler is here thinking in general terms. The importance of this will emerge below.

Most discussions of these Gall-Ghàidheil have taken into account also the testimony of the later Fragmentary Annals of Ireland [FA], a set of annals preserved in a 17th-century form, but largely representing a 12th-century, or more probably 11th-century chronicle. Two entries there associate the Gall-Ghàidheil with apostasy and brigandry. Importantly, they purport to define the Gall-Ghàidheil, and these definitions have therefore been exported by scholars and applied to the term at later periods. FA says, for 856 [§247]: ‘they are Gaels [Scuit] and foster-children of the Norse [Normainnigh], and sometimes they are even called Norsemen’, while for 858 [§260], it notes, ‘they were men who had forsaken their baptism, and they used to be called Norsemen, for they had the customs of the Norse, and had been fostered by them, and though the original Norsemen were evil to the churches, these were much worse, these people, wherever in Ireland they were’ (Radner 1978, 98–99, 104–05). It should be stressed both that these entries are not contemporary and that the chronicle
they derive from is one with a clear literary agenda, one devoted to building up a picture of Christian kingship. Part of its methodology is to contrast Irish kings with their heathen opponents, or opponents who by virtue of their evil behaviour might as well be heathen. Andrew Jennings has also suggested, very plausibly, that in the second of these definitions the 11th-century chronicler has confused or conflated the Gall-Ghàidhel in question with other groups of people around the same period in the Annals of Ulster who are noted (as the Gall-Ghàidhel are not) for destroying churches and the like (see Jennings 1994, 82–83; Jennings and Kruse forthcoming; for the relevant entry see AU 847.3). These are not reliable definitions, and there is much good evidence to suggest that Norse settlers in the Hebrides and elsewhere, were, by the late ninth century and early 10th, already becoming Christian (on these issues, see most recently Abrams 2007). Here, the ability of the contemporary Annals of Ulster to distinguish between geinti (‘pagans’) and Gall-Ghàidhel seems important. Certainly by the second half of the 10th century, the king of the Gaill (the foreigners, the Scandinavians), Amlaíb Cuarán, was a Christian and a patron and putative founder of several churches, as well as penitent at his death on Iona. He was also Gaelic-speaking, as witness one and maybe two Gaelic poems in his praise, and the Gaelic names of some of his children as well as his own by-name (see Woolf 2002; Doherty 1998 295–305; Downham 2007, 48–53).

It is worth dwelling on past interpretations of the Gall-Ghàidhel as Gaelic-speaking Norsemen, hostile to the church, because this view has severely affected the debate regarding their presence in Galloway. John MacQueen’s view is representative: ‘It is also important that the hostility of the Gall-Ghaidhil to the Christian church was a byword. The commemorations [of Irish saints in Galloway and Carrick], in other words, might have survived the settlement of the Gall-Ghaidhil, but the times must surely have been unfavourable for the foundation of religious establishments on a scale such as the names imply (MacQueen 1973, 26).’ Thus the syllogism has proceeded: the Gall-Ghàidhel were violent pagans in the mid-ninth century (according to an 11th-century chronicler); therefore they were always hostile to Christianity; therefore they can never have been the founders of churches. At most points, this argument is unsustainable.

**Gall-Ghàidhel, Gaill and Innse Gall**

Moreover, it has not been sufficiently stressed in the scholarship to date that, after 857, we do not meet the term Gall-Ghàidhel again in contemporary annals until AU 1034.10, when Suibne mac Cinaeda, rí Gallgaidhel, died. It is difficult, therefore, to assess precisely the meaning of the term in 1034, or to be certain that it was in use in the intervening two centuries, but certainly
we should not presume that its signification in 856–57 and that in 1034 was
the same. This is especially so given the temporally and geographically limited
appearance of Gall-Ghàidheil in AU 856–57, confined to a few entries, over
a few years, all pertaining to Ireland. It may be that the term re-emerges in
1034 to serve a different function. Alex Woolf’s recent view on terminology is
perceptive: ‘By the middle of the 11th century, Gaelic chroniclers had begun to
experiment with new or resurrected terms such as Lochlann (and its derivatives)
and Gall-Gaidel (vel sim.) in order to distinguish the more fully Scandinavian
peoples from the more Gaelicized’ (2002, 34–35). Moreover, there is a clear
difference between the ninth-century references to a perhaps relatively small
group of warriors operating within Ireland and the later references to territories
and peoples outwith Ireland. To properly understand Gall-Ghàidheil as a term,
then, we will need to turn to the later, fuller, 11th and 12th-century evidence.

But, first, it is worthwhile setting the re-emergence of the term Gall-Ghàidheil
in the annals in 1034 in the context of the emergence of another new term,
Innsi Gall ‘the islands of the Norsemen’. Here again, late, non-contemporary
annals, have muddied the picture, specifically the description by the Annals of
the Four Masters for 859 of a character called Gofraidh mac Fergusa as toiseach
Innse Gall. Long thought to be anachronistic in terminology (Dumville 1997,
17 note 40), this entry itself has been shown by Alex Woolf to be a much later
interpolation (Woolf 2005, see also the summary in 2007, 299). Leaving aside
this very early and anachronistic appearance, then, it is the very end of the 10th
century that sees the first use of Innsi Gall in contemporary Irish annals. Here,
the growing need to distinguish amongst the Gaill and the growing complexity
and, indeed, the ‘building block’ nature of the kingships of the Gaill in the
Irish Sea zone may have begun to make such distinctions necessary (on these
‘building blocks’, see, for example, Etchingham 2001). Although the 17th-
century English translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise refers to a ‘king of
the Islands’ dying in the battle of Brunanburh in 937 (see Etchingham 2001,
167), the first certain use of na hInnsi ‘the isles’ as part of the Norse hegemony
may be seen in AU 980.1, in the description of the Battle of Tara, ‘won by Mael
Sechnaill son of Domnall against the Foreigners of Dublin and of the Isles’ (for
Gallaibh Atho Cliath & na nIndsedh). It is shortly after this that we have the first
appearance of the term Innsi Gall, and here it is apparent that different parts of
the hegemony of the Gaill were being ruled by different individuals:

AU 989.3: Glún Iarn [son of Amlaíb Cuarán], king of the Foreigners (rí
Gall) was killed when drunk by his own slave.
AU 989.4: Gothfrith son of Aralt, king of Innse Gall (rí Innsi Gall) was
killed in Dál Riata.
This Gofraid mac Arailt is a member of a dynasty which would appear to have dominated ‘the Isles’ (probably including the Isle of Man and the Western Isles) as rulers during the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries, and whose rise has been explored in detail by Etchingham (2001, 171–83; see also Downham 2007, 190–07).

It is worth noting that in the mid-10th century, the Hebrides would appear to have been termed either just ‘the Isles’, or *Innse Alban* ‘the islands of Britain/Alba’, in the Irish annals, thus strengthening the idea of Innse Gall as a late 10th-century innovation. In 963, ARC describes Fothud mac Brain as *episcopus Innsi Alban*, and *Chronicum Scotorum* in 941 has a raid by Muirchertach mac Néill where he takes plunder *a hínnsib Alban* ‘from the islands of Scotland’ – notable here is that the Four Masters supply instead the later term, *a hInsibh Gall* (see Etchingham 1999, 185–86, who also treats a potential linguistic ambiguity in the term; Dumville 1997, 22n61 on the other hand, worries that the use of *Insi Alban* may indicate that the annals are not contemporary).

Against all this is the use of *Innsi Gall* in a literary text, *Cath Maige Tuired*, putatively dated on linguistic grounds to the ninth century (Gray 1983; Carey 1989/90, 59; see Ó Corráin 1998a, 310 note 66 for a review of opinions – he discusses the passage in question pp. 312–13). Here *Innsi Gall* is mentioned twice in a fictional, prehistoric, setting as a place whence the Fomoiri (mythical overseas enemies) brought troops to battle against the Túatha Dé Danann. Carey found no reason to think the passage in which these references occur to be intrusive, or to change notions of the date of the text. I am less convinced, but for the present, it should suffice to note that, even if earlier, the appearance of *Innsi Gall* in this literary text does not negate the evidence for a change in *annalistic* perceptions of the ‘Insular Viking Zone’ in the late 10th century.

Two possibilities exist to explain the rise of all this new terminology. One is that it arises out of the uncertainty attendant on the death of Amlaíb Cuarín, king of the Gaill, who as ruler of Dublin may be seen to participate very fully in Irish affairs, but whose death in Iona in 981 as a pilgrim testifies to what is probably a much longer-term, Hebridean, involvement (on Amlaíb generally, see Woolf 2002, Downham 2007, for example, 43–54). Amlaíb, it is likely, ruled over much of the Isles, but internal war for the hegemony of the Gaill between rival branches of his descendants and relatives may have led to fragmentation of what had been, for a time, a more unified kingdom. A second possibility is that it was during Amlaíb’s reign itself that his dominion underwent a structural subdivision. It is of interest in this context that the Annals of Roscrea for the year 980, just before Amlaíb’s death, noting the death of Mugróin, abbot of Iona and *comarba* (successor) of Colum Cille, describe him as:
Colmán Etchingham (1999, 185–86) has suggested that the three parts here are ‘Ireland, Scotland and Man’, but that seems to me unlikely and anachronistic in its geographical perspective. More likely, I would suggest, is that *na Tri Raind* are three distinct parts of Amlaíb Cuarán’s dominion: these would probably be *Fine Gall* (Dublin and its extensive hinterland, which extended as far as the Boyne valley during Amlaíb’s reign); *na hInnsi* ‘the isles’, including Man; and a third region which we have not yet discussed, *na Renna*, ‘the Rhinns’, corresponding to modern Wigtownshire. All these correspond to terms and regions which make their appearances or reappearances in sources in the 10th and 11th centuries.

That Galloway – here speaking of the modern region itself (essentially the former counties of Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire; for discussion see Oram 2000, xxi–xxiv) – was part of the hegemony of the Gaill may be seen most clearly in the 11th century, in the career of one Gall overlord, Echmarcach mac Ragnaill, whose career has been much explored in recent years, by Ben Hudson (1992), Seán Duffy (1992, 96–102), Richard Oram (2000, 16–17), Colmán Etchingham (2001, especially 181–83), and Alex Woolf (2007, 244–48). Echmarcach, whose tautological Gaelic name means ‘horse cavalier’, has been thought by some to have been the great-grandson of Amlaíb Cuarán, and a member of one rival branch of descendants who vied for power over the Gaill, with the backing of Brian Bóruma’s son Donnchad (who Duffy (1992, 97) argues married into this family in 1032). Echmarcach replaced Sitriuc son of Amlaib (Silhtric Silkybeard) in Dublin as king of the Gaill in 1036, was then himself briefly displaced in 1038 and then returned to the kingship of Dublin again in 1046. In 1052, he was expelled by Diarmait mac Mael na mBó, king of Leinster, and fled *tar muir* ‘overseas’. Etchingham argues that he contributed to the expedition to Britain of Magnús Haraldsson in 1058 (Etchingham 2001, 154). In 1061, he was defeated in a battle after which tribute was taken in the Isle of Man – it has usually been proposed that he was ousted from Man at this point, but the evidence is not so clear.

When Echmarcach died on pilgrimage to Rome in 1065, however, whither he went in the company of his probable brother-in-law, Donnchad mac Briain, Marianus Scottus the chronicler described him as *rex inna renn* ‘king of the Rhinns’, fairly certainly meaning the Rhinns of Galloway (Duffy 1992, 99; Gaelic *renna*, anglicised in toponymy as ‘rhinns’, means ‘points’, hence ‘peninsulas’). Two 12th-century texts build ‘the Rhinns’ into the hegemony of
the Gaill in this way, both describing the situation in the 11th century. The Welsh text of the *Historia Gruffudd ap Cynan* (Evans 1990, 24) describes one of the hero’s Scandinavian ancestors as having ruled over *Renneu* ‘the Rhinns’ as well as *Galweia*, amongst many other Irish Sea territories. It should be cautioned that this appears in the recently identified Latin original as ‘*rex … Gallovidiae, Arennae, Monae …*’ (Russell 2005, 54). Russell’s solution to this variant was to translate ‘*Arennae*’ as ‘*Arran*’ (ibid., 55), but I do not find this convincing. Although I cannot offer a good explanation, it seems to me that the Welsh must better represent the original in this instance, and that the Latin form as we have it is a result of some confusion as to what was being described. We may parallel the list with ones from elsewhere, for example a 12th-century account of the Battle of Clontarf found in the Annals of Loch Cé sees Sigurd’s army as having comprised, amongst others, *slóigh dimhóra a h-Insibh Gall 7 a Manuinn, 7 as na Renna* ‘great hosts from Innse Gall, and from Man, and from the Rhinns’ (ALC 1014). That *na Renna* also included the region now known as the Machars – in other words, comprised all of modern Wigtownshire – is demonstrated by an 11th or 12th-century note locating Whithorn in *na Renna* (*Futerna isna Rannaib*, Stokes 1905, 212).

Ben Hudson has argued persuasively that Echmarcach’s career began in the Rhinns, where it ultimately ended (Hudson 1992, 355–56). He notes that in 1031 when Cnut, the Danish king of England, journeyed north to Scotland to take the submission of various kings there, one of them was *Iehmarh*, undoubtedly our Echmarcach. This suggests that in 1031 he already ruled over territory in northern Britain – either the Rhinns, the Isles or both. Hudson furthermore argued (1992, 355; also 1994, 118–19) that Echmarcach was not the son of Ragnall, descendant of Amlaíb – Seán Duffy’s suggestion – but rather that he was the son of that Ragnall who died as *rí na nInnsi* in 1005, himself the son of that Gofraid mac Arailt we have already met, who died as king of *Innse Gall* in 989. Colmán Etchingham has given vigorous support to this (2001, 181–82). At any rate, Echmarcach’s career suggests that the Rhinns and Man went together, at least during part of his career, and that during the 11th century there was for a time a Rhinns-Man-Dublin axis. If Echmarcach was son and grandson of kings of the Isles, this makes a more certain linkage between the Isles as a whole and the Rhinns.

**Gall-Ghàidheil in the Martyrology of Tallaght**

The previous section has situated the term Gall-Ghàidheil amongst a series of terms emerging in the 10th and 11th centuries for distinct parts of the Norse hegemony in the Irish Sea, and reflects chiefly the witness of the annals and other chronicle texts. There is, however, one Irish text, dating from sometime between the earliest usage of the term and the 1034 entry in AU, that gives the Gall-
Ghàidheil a firm geographical location. This is the reference to St Bláán (St Blane) of Kingarth, Bute, in the main text of the Martyrology of Tallaght. In that text, on the 10 August, Bláán is entered as *Blaani episcopi Cind Garad i nGallgaedelaib* ‘(feast of) Bláán, bishop of Kingarth in Gall-Ghàidheil’ (LL, l.49852; MT, 62; Dumville 1997, 28 noted this entry in his discussion of Gall-Ghàidheil). The Martyrology of Tallaght is found in manuscripts of the 12th century and later and, like other martyrology texts, has a considerable amount of accreted notes and marginalia. Bláán’s is, however, the head reference in the list for 10 August in the Book of Leinster. It precedes that of Mael Ruain of Tallaght, arguably the monastery of the martyrology’s origin. The core text of MT has been contentiously dated to the late 820s or early 830s (see Ó Riain 1990, 2000–01), against which Dumville (2002 = 2007, item IV, see especially 91–94) has argued that certain entries make it impossible to be certain of a date before c. 900 (for a judicious review of the arguments, see Follett 2006, 128–32, also 117–21). Although it is clear that there are occasionally additions as late as the early 10th century, there is no likelihood that the entry on Bláán is any later than that.\(^5\)

There is quite profound significance to this entry then. At the most conservative interpretation, taking its appearance in a 12th-century manuscript as indicative of a 12th-century standpoint, it confirms some of the outline that will emerge below, i.e. that Bute in the 12th century could be described as being in Gall-Ghàidheil. This is too extreme an approach to the evidence, however, and we should rather take the reference as belonging to at the latest the early 10th century. This would place the reference in an intermediate place between the mid-ninth-century references to mercenary warbands called Gall-Ghàidheil fighting for Irish kings, and the 1034 death of Suibne mac Cinaeda as king of Gall-Ghàidheil. At the very least, then, this text assures us that Bute was considered as Gall-Ghàidheil territory by not much later than 900.\(^6\)

\(^5\) Distractingly, one text of the Martyrology of Tallaght describes Bláán’s location as *in Gallghaelaigh Udnochtan* (Anderson 1922, i.177), but work by Gilbert MáRKUS (pers. comm.) has shown that Udnochtán is another saint’s name, one who appears elsewhere in other martyrologies.

\(^6\) From a textual point of view, we may observe, there is no reason at all why this reference could not belong to the core of the text. If we follow Ó Riain in dating that to the 820s or 830s, this would be a few decades before the first annalistic reference to the Gall-Ghàidheil, and place them in the Firth of Clyde region in the early ninth century. Whilst this would more or less square with Jennings’ argument of a genesis of the Gall-Ghàidheil in Kintyre and the inner Hebrides (we might wish instead to transpose them to Kintyre and Cowal – for which see further below), it is harder to square with some of the annalistic references to internecine warfare amongst Gæl and Pict in Kintyre in the first half of the ninth century (see Dumville 2007, 94 for discussion of this issue, and rejection – on different grounds – of an early date for this entry).
If Gall-Ghàidheil established their presence in the Firth of Clyde area, sufficient to give their name to the region as a territorial term, Jennings may well be right (in the context of discussing Norse presence in Kintyre) in seeing this as a process belonging to the late ninth century (2004, 119). He places this in the context of the rise of Cinaed mac Ailpín. We may wish as well or instead to point to the destruction of Dumbarton in 870 as opening up the Firth of Clyde littoral to conquest; Dumbarton has not sufficiently been understood in its relation to the lower Clyde in the historiography to date, but one visit to the site will make this relationship obvious (see Fraser 2005 for relationships between Dumbarton and Kingarth in the earlier period).

For this reason, it would seem safest to take the MT reference as one belonging to the early 10th century, and therefore relevant to that period – this is how Dumville (1997, 28) took the reference, but his discussion of the term (26–29), its meaning and usage was uncharacteristically incautious in some of its generalisations; his discussion in Dumville 2002, now 2007, 94, is more precise. This gives us an early and important fixed point in which chronology and geography coincide: at sometime around 900, let us say then, Bute and the Firth of Clyde area were in Gall-Ghàidheil hands, or could be described as ‘in Gall-Ghàidheil’.

Bute is perhaps not where people have generally sought the Gall-Ghàidheil, but it has a lot to commend it. It makes some sense of the Firth of Clyde’s distinct sculptural series (Fisher 2001, 70–84) and, in particular, helps to contextualise the recently excavated material from Inchmarnock (Lowe 2008; see also Fisher 2001, 77–79). In political terms, it fits well into a picture of the eastward and southward shift of the power and attention of the kingdom of Strathclyde following the sacking of Dumbarton in 870 (on which see Clancy 2006). We may well wish to see the Gall-Ghàidheil inhabiting the internal fringes of the borderlands of the Britons and the Gaels in this period. A district well worth examining in this context would be Cowal, which must certainly have been Gaelic-speaking in the ninth century, and could provide the context of Norse hegemony over Gaelic speakers necessary for the creation of the Gall-Ghàidheil. Jennings’ recent work on Kintyre shows, against the run of previous scholarship, the extent to which the Norse settlement there involved permanent central sites, and not just a fleeting encounter. In Ormidale (NS003817), at the mouth of Glendaruel and the head of Loch Riddon, which faces the north end of Bute, Cowal provides a nice toponymic parallel with the -dalr names.

7 The presence on Inchmarnock of a Christian inscription in Norse runes for a man with a Norse name (see Fisher 2001, 79) seems to lay to rest Dumville’s misapprehensions in respect of the Gall-Ghàidheil c.900 in his 1997 pamphlet (29), that ‘They may or may not have been christians, but such little evidence as we have does not encourage us to think that they were.’
discussed by Jennings for Kintyre. Further parallels may be found on Arran, as catalogued by Fraser (2002), though the paradigm of ‘onomastic graffiti’ as an explanation for Norse place-names found there has been explicitly rejected in terms of Kintyre and more generally (Jennings 2004).  

**GALLOWAY AND THE GALL-GHÀIDHEIL**

So far, this article has demonstrated that part of what is now Galloway (i.e. Wigtownshire) was, by the mid-11th century at the latest, a detachable building block within the hegemony of various Gall overlords. These rulers of the Gaill were, from the very late 10th century, increasingly joined by Irish ones, as Duffy and Etchingham have demonstrated. That said, Wigtownshire was not at this stage termed Gall-Ghàidheil. Rather, the evidence of MT suggests that Gall-Ghàidheil was geographically situated in the Firth of Clyde around 900. One could perhaps argue that the region intended by MT was much wider than the Firth of Clyde, and might encompass modern Galloway. Against this we may set the evidence for Wigtownshire being known (in Gaelic) as *na Renna*. As noted, Echmarcach was arguably king of *na Renna* (Wigtownshire) between 1031–1065 and, if this is the case then the territory of the Gall-Ghàidheil ruled by Suibne before his death in 1034 must not have included Wigtownshire, the core of what is traditionally thought of as Galloway: Suibne and Echmarcach must have been ruling different territories. A Firth of Clyde location for Suibne’s kingdom would partly resolve this problem. This idea is supported by the evidence of *Historia Gruffudd ap Cynan*, mentioned above. There *Renneu* and *Galwei* are listed as separate territories within the overlordship of Gruffudd’s ancestor ‘Avloed’ (= Oláfr). Duffy (1995) has argued for the historicity of the *Historia*’s witness to 11th-century affairs, and Etchingham (2001, 158–60) has recently championed the historicity of this passage in particular. If this is the case, its message is striking: for a period in the early 11th century, *Renneu*/*na Renna*, Wigtownshire, the heart of modern Galloway, was a separate region from *Galwei*/*Gall-Ghàidheil* ‘Galloway’. Thus, it is important to try to understand just what Gall-Ghàidheil meant at the latter end of our period, from 1050–1200, and how it came to be applied to the region now termed Galloway.

For that, we need to turn to 12th-century evidence of varied types: a mixture of Irish annals and other sources in Gaelic, and Scottish charters in Latin and

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8 In light of the arguments I have been presenting here, it would be worthwhile to pursue an integrated study of the toponymic, archaeological and art-historical evidence for Norse presence in the Firth of Clyde littoral (i.e. Kintyre, Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, Cowal) and its islands (Arran, the Cumbraes, Bute). Grant (2005) makes some useful preliminary comments on Ayrshire in this context; Fraser’s discussion of the Norse place-names of Arran (2002) is, despite the paradigm of interpretation, immensely illuminating.
the Latin Manx Chronicle. During this period, the term Gall-Ghàidheil is employed more frequently than before and with somewhat greater geographical specification. During this same period, two Latin terms come into use which are arguably etymologically connected and which certainly seem to apply to the same people and region: these are *Galwedienses* (with variants) for the people, and *Galvedial/Galweia* (with variants) for their territory (see Brooke 1991, 113–14, for a full listing of the variants, though she argues that the Gaelic and Latin terms are not connected). The evidence of these different sources shows that, for most of the 12th century, the term Gall-Ghàidheil and its Latin equivalents, while occasionally capable of interpretation as applying to parts of what is now Galloway (i.e. Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire), more usually applied to a much broader area of the south-western seaboard, potentially ranging from the Firth of Clyde to Annandale.

In light of Jennings’ (and Kruse’s) contention that the origin of the Gall-Ghàidheil is to be sought in the Hebrides in the ninth century, it is as well to test the northern limits of these references. As noted above, the case for a Hebridean origin for the people known as Gall-Ghàidheil is one based on the logic of the name, the linguistic admixture of the Hebrides as represented in place-name evidence and some less certain connections derived from Norse sagas. There is, however, only one text which explicitly uses the term Gall-Ghàidheil for a location in the Hebrides. A concoction of 11th or 12th-century notes to the ninth-century Martyrology of Oengus includes an anecdote describing the martyrdom of Donnán of Eigg (Stokes 1905, 114–17). There, he is described as going with his community into his dwelling – presumably that of Eigg – *in Gallgaedelu*. This note has been highlighted by Jennings (1994, 86; Jennings and Kruse, forthcoming) and Dumville (1997, 28), and forms a lynch-pin in any argument localising the Gall-Ghàidheil to the Hebrides. But the uncertainty of these notes fails to inspire confidence in the knowledge of these glossators concerning the actual whereabouts of Eigg. In the notes, Eigg is variously identified as a well, a river and an island; located, in marginalia, *bi Cattaib i tuaiscurt Alban* ‘in Sutherland in the north of Scotland’, or in *All Saxainib* (perhaps for *All* or *Allt Shaxain*, otherwise *Aldasain*, ‘Ailsa Craig’ – see below – perhaps with a mistaken dat. pl. ending). There is nothing in these notes to suggest that the glossators were thinking here of the Hebrides. Another confused 12th-century entry concerning Eigg identifies it with a fountain on *Aldasain*, which appears to be Ailsa Craig, described first as being in Sutherland, and then in a gloss as *carrac etir Gallgaedelu ocus Cend Tiri ina camair amach ‘a rock between Gall-Ghàidheil and Kintyre, facing them out to sea*’ (Ó Riain 1985, §717; Watson 1926, 173; see also Dumville 1997, 28 note 80). Here again, we should note that Ailsa Craig lies opposite Carrick (and Kyle), rather
than Wigtownshire, and thus, at the very best, Gall-Ghàidheil here includes the southern reaches of modern Ayrshire. It should be noted that the same notes to the Martyrology of Oengus repeat the information from MT that Bláán was ‘bishop of Kingarth *hi nGallgaidelaib*’ (Stokes 1905, 184).

It may be, then, that the reference to Gall-Ghàidheil in these entries on Donnán derives from some conflation of Eigg with Ailsa Craig, rather than a real sense that the Hebridean island of Eigg was in the territory of the Gall-Ghàidheil. In support of this, perhaps, we may note the number of dedications to Donnán that flank the greater Firth of Clyde (on Kintyre, in Arran, Carrick, Wigtownshire – including a Chapel Donnan on the Carrick shore opposite Ailsa Craig). The result of this is that we should hesitate before placing the Gall-Ghàidheil too firmly in the Inner Hebrides. The textual evidence, such as it is, does not support this conclusion.

An ambiguous entry in AFM 1154 adds detail, but leaves the boundaries of Gall-Ghàidheil unclear:

People were sent from Cenél Eoghain and from Muirchertach son of Niall, across the sea and they purchased, i.e. bought the fleet of ‘Gall-Ghàidheil’, of Arran, of Kintyre, of Man and of the territory of Alba moreover (*longas Gallghaoidhel, Arann, Cinntíre, Manann, ocus Centair Alba archena*), and Mac Scelling was in command over them. (The translation, following Anderson 1922 ii, 227, is my own.)

The passage has usually been understood as above, and several linguistic arguments have been put forward for taking it this way (see, for example, Jennings 1994, 145, following Anderson 1922 ii, 227). Dumville (1997, 29), however, noted the fundamental ambiguity in the wording and, arguably, we should read:

*longas Gallghaoidhel Arann, Cinntíre, Manann ocus Centair Alba archena*
‘the fleet of the Gall-Ghaidheil of Arran, Kintyre, Man and of the (nearer?) territory of Alba moreover’

However, even if we read with the first interpretation, *pace* Jennings and Dumville, it does not narrow the extent of Gall-Ghaidheil to ‘Galloway’, as the region in question could still, arguably, include Kyle, Carrick and/or Bute.

Finally, in this discussion of general descriptions of Gall-Ghaidheil in Gaelic texts, we may note one of a series of literary texts from the 12th century, which set their prehistoric narratives within a political geography which must be based on the contemporary Irish Sea world (Herbert 1999, 95–97). In the
round up of the Fianna in the late 12th-century text *Acallam na Senórach* (Stokes 1900, ll. 4544–62), several of the champions are listed as:

Máine and Art and Aralt, three sons of the king of Alba (*rí Alban*) yonder, Eobhran and Aed and Eogan, three sons of the king of Britons (*rí Bretan*), Uai king of Islay (*rí Ile*) and his two sons, Cerda and Cernabrocc, two kings of Innsi Gall in the north, Diure and Barrae and Idae, three sons of the king of northern Lochlann, … Samaisc and Artúr and Iubhei, three sons of the king of the Gall-Ghàidheil (*rí Gallghaeidhel*) yonder.

The text is set in a fictional pre-history, yet its geography arguably corresponds here to its contemporary setting. This is once again somewhat ambiguous: while unlikely to include the southern Hebrides in this author’s conception, given that he lists Islay separately, the Gall-Ghàidheil here may still include much of the south-western seaboard, those areas which are suggested as being in Gall-Ghàidheil by some of the entries already mentioned.⁹

When we turn to 12th-century Latin sources and the terms *Galwedienses* and *Galwedia*, the geographical range of reference becomes considerably extended. We have more information for the inland extent of Galwedia than Gall-Ghàidheil. Geoffrey Barrow (1960, 38) summarised the situation well in an often quoted, but not I think fully appreciated, statement:

>In its widest sense, Galloway denoted the whole of Scotland south and west of Clydesdale and Teviotdale. Accordingly, at various dates between 1138 and 1249, the Irvine valley …, lands in mid-Kyle and in the valley of the Doon, and even Annandale, could all be described as ‘in Galloway’.

Most intriguing in this regard is the reference in a charter of Malcolm IV to Kelso abbey, confirming his grandfather’s gift of a tenth of the yearly tribute (cain) of cattle, swine and cheeses from the four *kadrez* of that Galloway (*de illa Galweia*, i.e. of that part of Galloway) which David possessed in the lifetime of Alexander.

⁹ As an aside, it is worth noting another of these texts, probably one of the first to give Lewis a solid place in this sort of re-creation of the 12th-century geopolitical world in the fictional prehistory of the Gaels. In the text, *Cath Ruis na Rí*, the Ulster hero Conall Cernach is described as having power to levy tribute from the Hebrides, Scandinavia, and far off into Europe as well. In one sequence in the later version of the tale in the Book of Leinster, he gathers a huge fleet in Lewis; elsewhere he is described as gathering taxes and tribute in Lewis, Shetland and Orkney (LL, ll. 22738–40; 22757–58ff; see Mac Gearailt 1991 for discussion). This text is, if anything, notable in not including the term Gall-Ghàidheil.
There has been much speculation about the meaning of the term *kadrez* here, and attempts have been made to link the term with the Welsh *cantref*, but this seems unnecessary; two possible Gaelic words suggest themselves: Gaelic *ceathramh* ‘quarter’ supplies the meaning very well, especially as there are four of them; but *cathraig* ‘centres’, used elsewhere for districts, is another option. The four *kadrez* in question would appear to be Strathgryfe, Cunningham, Kyle and Carrick, though Richard Oram has expressed caution on this point (Barrow 1960, 38; Oram 2000, xxiii). The main point, surely, is that David at no point possessed what we would currently view as Galloway. The charter’s conception of ‘Galloway’, therefore, is quite distinct from the modern one.

What all this means is that we are certainly not at liberty to translate Gall-Ghàidheil in the 1034.10 AU entry as ‘Galloway’, as some have done (for example, Jennings 2001, 258; MacQueen 2002, 57). Rather, throughout the 12th century, Gall-Ghàidheil in both Gaelic and Latin usage could apply to places in the south-west from Annandale to Bute, but cannot be shown to have applied to Wigtownshire in the sources we have considered. Given this, Suibne may have ruled over much of the south-west of Scotland, but not what we now see as Galloway.

There are instances in Latin where Galwedienses and Galwedia/Galweia could be made to apply to what we would now recognise as Galloway. The Manx Chronicle refers to Galwedienses on several occasions, once in terms of Magnus Barelegs’ dominance over them (CRMI, 34v), and later in 1152 in reference to an attempt by three sons of a Norse Dublin overlord to make conquest of *Galwedia*, and their being expelled by a united force of the *Galwedienses* (CRMI, 36v). The significance of the fact that these Dubliners ruled in Man for a time, and indeed put to death or expelled all the *Galwedienses* within Man, has been remarked on by Seán Duffy (1992, 99). Neither of these references, however, delimit the territory, and it is easy to imagine Magnus dominating the Firth of Clyde zone, or Carrick and Kyle, say, as well as, or instead of Wigtownshire. In any case, by the mid-12th century, political developments meant that these terms had a new focus in the person of Fergus of Galloway, *rex Galwitensium*, two of whose descendants would be commemorated in Irish annals as *rí Gall-Ghaidheal*.

**Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway: Kingdom and Lordship**

Against the backdrop of these terms, we can thus see, albeit fragmentarily, the emergence of a political and territorial entity called ‘Gall-Ghàidheil’, the first representation of which is the 1034 entry in AU noting the death of Suibne mac Cinaeda, *rí Gall Gaidel*. As we have seen, this might be localised in the Firth of Clyde, but equally the 11th and 12th-century evidence considered to date shows either that the MT mention of Bute as ‘in Gall-Ghàidheil’ cloaks a term which
could include a much wider area of the south-western seaboard, or that at some point the territory considered Gall-Ghàidheil had considerably expanded. Given the evidence of the strong presence of the kingdom of Strathclyde as a political force in the south-west up to the early 11th century and, as we have seen, the implicit exclusion of Wigtownshire from Gall-Ghàidheil in 11th-century sources, I would argue that the best reading of the evidence is to see the 11th century as the period of a major expansion of Gall-Ghàidheil power in the south-west. This has already been proposed for the 1030s by Dauvit Broun (2004, 136–38), following a suggestion of Alex Woolf (which he has since become more muted about – Woolf 2007, 254). This expansion should be related to various other developments of the period, such as the apparent collapse of the kingdom of Strathclyde (see Broun 2004, 136–38) and the destabilisation of the Irish Sea kingdom ruled by Echmarcach owing to its ‘gradual conquest’ by the king of Leinster (Woolf 2007, 248). Whether we should see the expansion of Gall-Ghàidheil territory as cause or effect is less clear. It is also very unclear to what extent the kingdom of Strathclyde ever ruled over western territories such as Cunningham, Kyle and Carrick, or whether these had been part of Gall-Ghàidheil territory since Strathclyde’s inception in the wake of 870.

Regarding Suibne mac Cinaeda, there are some slight possibilities of establishing identity. It is worth at least noting here Hudson’s observation concerning Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda, king of Alba 1005–1034. He is described in the prophetic verses attributed to Berchán as loingsech Íle ocus Arann, translated by Hudson as ‘exile of Islay and Arran’, who interpreted this as meaning that Mael Coluim was made to flee Alba by his rival and cousin Cinaed mac Duib (Hudson 1994, 106). Loingsech can, however, mean ‘seabandit, pirate, maritime adventurer’ as well as ‘exile’ (pace Woolf 2007, 253, it does not readily mean ‘skipper’). More probable in the context of the poem – Máel Coluim has just been praised for his aggression against neighbours such as the Britons and Norse – is Anderson’s translation as ‘voyager of Islay and Arran’ and his interpretation that ‘this seems to imply that he extracted tribute from the Inner Hebrides’ (Anderson 1922 i, 574 – though Arran is surely not in the Inner Hebrides!). The possibility which Hudson notes (1994, 158), that Suibne mac Cinaeda might have been a brother of Mael Coluim is nonetheless worth resurrecting, even for the purposes of examining and rejecting it (see Woolf 2007, 253–54 for a tentative discussion). In connection with Mael Coluim’s adventuring against ‘Islay and Arran’, it is possible to imagine him placing his brother over the territory called Gall-Ghàidheal. But there were many people called Cinaed in this period and the historical value of the Berchán material is generally not capable of being tested.
Ultimately, what appears to have constricted the meaning of Gall-Ghàidheil and Latin Galwedienses/Galwedia to modern Galloway was the kingship of Fergus and his descendants as kings and lords of Galloway (on this, see Oram 2000, especially 51–86 and xxiii–xxiv). Fergus is usually described as de Galweia and other variants, though in his earliest act of which we have record he is described as rex Galwitensium (c. 1140 × 1160, Stringer 2000, 212). This title is found again in Gaelic in the Annals of Ulster for 1200, at the death of Rolant (Lachlann) mac Uchtraig, ri Gall-Ghàidheil, and then later of his son Alan in 1234. Alan is, however, described in his charters both as ‘de Galweia’ and also ‘dominus Galuuath’ (Stringer 2000, 222–34; Stringer 1993, 104). Although Fergus may have begun with ambitions to be ruler of the whole of what had been known as Gall-Ghàidheil, the control of David before and after his assumption of kingship kept portions of it in the hands of the Scottish kings and their close retainers. Clearly, then, during the course of the 12th century, it was the core region of their own personal power which came to be associated with the rulers employing the term ‘de Galweia’ and others like it. This personal and dynastic usage, by a family of increasing political importance, thus came gradually to narrow the definition of Galweia and Gall-Ghàidheil largely to modern Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire. This narrower meaning only became consistent during the 13th century.

Some indication of the processes involved is given by the known division in the 1190s of those lands ruled by Fergus and his son Uchtred between their heirs in the third generation: Lachlann mac Uchtraig taking Wigtownshire and points east, and his cousin, Donnchad mac Gille-Brigte, retaining the lordship of Carrick, later to become an earldom. This late segmenting off of Carrick from Galloway reflects, but does not replicate, the earlier, albeit temporary, division of territory between Uchtred (who got Kirkcudbrightshire and points east) and his brother Gille-Brigte (who got Wigtownshire and Carrick). It may be thought that all this territory had itself been acquired by the dynasty in building-block fashion and, thus, was capable of being segmented in a variety of ways. All these fragmentations, in turn, may be a reflection of similar processes elsewhere in ‘greater Galloway’ which saw, from David’s time onwards, regions like Cunningham and Kyle coming into the control of the king and his magnates. A political geography of this sort, based on building blocks of lordships, may provide a clearer context for the emergence of the otherwise mysterious Fergus (see, generally, Oram 2000, especially 87–111).

The evidence presented here may lead us to question Oram’s reconstruction of the territorial roots of the Lordship of Galloway. For Oram, its core was Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, and some rather fragmentary evidence suggested to him that Fergus’ own roots may have been in Kirkcudbrightshire,
and that this territory was therefore Fergus and his sons’ ‘patrimony’ (Oram 2000, 56–57). He envisages Fergus’ rise, therefore, as involving a western expansion of power and domain. This may still be the case with Fergus’ own personal power-base, but it may be less informative in understanding the roots of the kingdom and lordship he ruled. The evidence so far has suggested that Gall-Ghàidheil was earliest applied to the Firth of Clyde area and, given that Carrick was a major component of Fergus and his descendants’ domain, it may be that it was through their involvement in Carrick that their claim to rule ‘Gall-Ghàidheil’ initially came. After all, in the original division of Fergus’ kingdom, the elder brother took Carrick and Wigtownshire, with the younger (but the preferred heir) taking Kirkcudbrightshire and other eastern territories. Oram (2000, 57–58) engages in some convoluted arguments to explain this discrepancy; if Carrick were in fact the original ‘core territory’ for the kingdom Fergus claimed, this discrepancy would no longer exist. Moreover, the division between Fergus’ sons might represent the moment at which the term Gall-Ghàidheil and its Latin derivatives became more firmly assigned to the southern part of the region, as the title ‘Lord of Galloway’ seems to have been retained by Uchtred, even though he was in possession of Kirkcudbrightshire. Certainly it was his son and grandson who emerged later with the titles ri Gall-Ghàidheal and Lord of Galloway.

In any case, the main result of the foregoing discussion is that we can recognise that Gall-Ghàidheil and thus Galloway were, in a sense, transferred names in the 12th century. During the massive political upheavals following on from David’s rule in the south-west and the rise of Fergus and his descendants, the term, whilst still capable of being applied across a wide swathe, became associated most closely with the south-westernmost portion, what had become the core component of Fergus and his descendants’ power-base. ‘Galloway’, then, derives certainly from the term Gall-Ghàidheil, but its application to where it now lies was late (12th-century) and oblique.

**Gaelic, Norse and Gall-Ghàidheil settlement in Galloway?**

So far, this article has been concerned to trace cautiously and accurately the trajectory of the term ‘Gall-Ghàidheil’ up to the end of the 12th century. But there are two attendant trajectories that I was initially concerned with as well. One was the evolution of political institutions employing the name ‘Gall-Ghàidheil’. As we have seen, the relationship among groups called Gall-Ghàidheil, the kingship of Gall-Ghàidheil and the region later called Galloway was by no means a straightforward or even continuous one. But a third concern, which I have left to one side until now, was linguistic and cultural. To what extent did the Gall-Ghàidheil leave their linguistic and cultural imprint on the south-west of Scotland and on what we would now term Galloway in particular?
Debates about the term Gall-Ghàidheil have, to date, fundamentally been about the linguistic and cultural components of Galloway prior to the 12th century. It remains for us to treat this issue. Despite the preceding discussion pointing to the Firth of Clyde region as of central importance to the term Gall-Ghàidheil, in what follows I will mainly be focusing on the region of modern Galloway (with some attention paid also to Carrick and Dumfriesshire), since that is where the core of previous discussion has lain.

The findings of this article so far would suggest that we should cautiously separate out a number of factors in the linguistic and cultural evolution of the south-west and not use the term Gall-Ghàidheil too generally as having explanatory power. As we have seen, the way in which modern Galloway attained a name derived from the term Gall-Ghàidheil in the 12th century may not allow us to interrogate its language and culture in the 10th and 11th centuries merely by a consideration of the meaning of the term. For Wigtownshire, especially, we can trace, instead, a political evolution by which it was incorporated, as na Renna ‘the Rhinns’, into a Norse-dominated Irish Sea kingdom centring on Dublin and Man. All the evidence suggests however, that, despite the term Gall-Ghàidheil not being used to describe it, this was nonetheless a politically Norse kingdom, with Gaelic a major linguistic component, if not the dominant one. Equally, the Firth of Clyde area, which was termed Gall-Ghàidheil in our sources, whilst showing clear signs of Scandinavian settlement, looks to have been predominantly Gaelic in speech (and parts of it such as Kintyre and Cowal had certainly been Gaelic-speaking since at least the sixth century). The extension of the term Gall-Ghàidheil across most of the south-west, and the later domination of some of that area by rulers whose power-base lay in Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, may be seen as providing two overlapping contexts into which we need to place the expansion of Gaelic into the south-west of Scotland.

As we have seen, there has been considerable uncertainty among scholars, distracted by the name Gall-Ghàidheil, about what evidence we should be looking for in order to confirm their presence, particularly when it comes to toponymic evidence: should we be in pursuit of Scandinavian or Gaelic place-names, or of names which show a combination of the two? This has produced some largely circular arguments. Scholars have long stressed that the evidence for Scandinavian place-names per se is thin or problematic in Galloway and the south-western seaboard generally and limited to a handful in coastal zones in Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, with a few outliers in Cunningham as well (on which see Taylor 2004; Grant 2005).\(^ {10} \) It is of interest that Gillian Fellows-

\(^ {10} \) Of course, if we add places like Arran, Bute and Cowal into the equation, the picture may alter somewhat.
Jensen confirms John MacQueen's suspicions when she notes that Scandinavian place-names in Galloway can be seen to be associated with principal centres of lordship or secular control (Fellows-Jensen 1991, 92–93). This indicates that at least in some areas, Scandinavian speakers were at some point in positions of power. The main areas of Scandinavian incursion or intrusion into secular lordships would seem to be based around the coastal zones. Daphne Brooke has demonstrated that some of these centres have their origins in the period of Northumbrian rule (Brooke 1991a).

But, of course, as various scholars have stressed, we should not be looking for the Gall-Ghàidheil to have brought exclusively Norse speech and place-names with them (whatever we might imagine by such a process), but rather Gaelic speech and place-names, albeit arguably Gaelic which had perhaps been at some level influenced by Norse (see, for instance, Grant 2002). Daphne Brooke seemed to acknowledge this in 1991, but drew some odd conclusions from the nature of the Gaelic place-name record in Galloway, views which she continued to support in modified form in subsequent work. Essentially, her views on this had two prongs: one, importantly, was that Gaelic was a relatively late arrival on the linguistic map of Galloway. In this, she was almost certainly correct, and I will return to this issue shortly, though she seems to have pegged Gaelic’s period of strength perhaps later than the evidence would warrant. The second prong in her argument was that, because the bulk of Gaelic place-names refer to landscape features, rather than to ecclesiastical or secular centres, Gaelic was initially and generally a language low on the social scale: ‘the character and meaning of the Gaelic names … argue, surely, that they were the product of the peasantry’ (Brooke 1991, 106).

The Gaelic place-names of Galloway demand a much more intensive review than they have so far received, and more extensive than the present article warrants. For the moment, I would make three observations. First, the earliest charters of the lords of Galloway in the 12th century reveal an extensive and, on occasion, almost exclusive Gaelic nomenclature (see, for example, Stringer 2000, 217–18). Certainly, this indicates Gaelic’s ascendancy by the 12th century, but also implies a pervasiveness in parts of the south-west which may suggest a naming-process of more than just a century. Second, we need not presume that the linguistic change brought by the expansion of Gall-Ghàidheil over the south-west must be of only one variety. For instance, as Alex Woolf has suggested to me, it is entirely possible for the rulers of the ‘Insular Viking Zone’ to have been more proficient in Norse than many of the peoples they ruled over. Here, we may imagine a restricted Norse nomenclature, perhaps applied particularly to main centres of lordship of various types – one thinks here of the curiously stranded place-name Tynwald in Dumfriesshire. The bulk
of linguistic change may have occurred one step further down the social scale, at the level of higher nobles and land-holders, who may have exerted gradually greater influence on the naming of the landscape during the centuries between 900–1100. This is the level at which Gaelic may initially have made itself most strongly felt in Galloway.

This leads to my final point: the fact that Gaelic did not displace already existing place-names for units of secular or ecclesiastical lordship does not imply that Gaelic was only the language of the peasantry. Throughout early medieval Scotland, just this sort of continuity of nomenclature for major sites may be observed – as witness the preservation of the names of key secular and ecclesiastical centres like Perth, Abernethy, Glasgow and Whithorn – despite successive linguistic changes in their surrounding environments. What it does imply is a fair amount of continuity, especially between Northumbrian Galloway and what succeeded it in the period after c.900. What Brooke’s evidence points to most strongly, indeed, is the durability of the Northumbrian infrastructure (itself built on earlier British foundations), which provided the basis for incoming rulers (arguably employing a Scandinavian toponymy) and their nobility and landholders (arguably employing a Gaelic toponymy).

Muddying the waters for many scholars, however, has been the belief that Gaelic was present already in Galloway at an early date. This belief was based, first of all on Nicolaisen’s analysis of sliabh names, building on an earlier argument of John MacQueen’s, which saw them as evidence of very early Gaelic colonisation and, second, on the analysis of south-western cill names, which in Carrick and Galloway exist alongside names of similar construction but which include, at least in their earliest recorded forms, the element kirk, of Norse, or possibly Northern English, origin (Nicolaisen 1976, 39–46). Both of these are red herrings. The massive presence of sliabh names in the Rhinns of Galloway may be accounted for in several other ways, and the extant names are probably not early. Simon Taylor (2007), in the first volume of this journal, has dismantled the sliabh argument for early Gaelic settlement and, without the argument derived from the sliabh names, there is really no reason to believe in an early settlement – recent counter-arguments by Nicolaisen (2007) have not substantially altered the situation. There is no supplementary evidence for it, and no archaeological or inscriptive evidence to back up the idea of an early Gaelic colony here.

As far as cill names go, it has been thought that these pre-date c.800 on two counts: firstly, Nicolaisen gave a terminus ante quem for cill names in eastern Scotland of c.800; secondly, this was applied to other parts of Scotland for which the original rationale does not hold good. There is no
reason to assume that *cill* names cannot have been coined after 800 in a region of Scotland which either continued to speak Gaelic or had recently acquired Gaelic. Indeed, we can point to several *cill* place-names in the south-west which must have been coined later (Watson 1926, 170). Secondly, it has been held that *cill* names must precede Norse influence on the area, because of a view that *kirk* names arise from the (supposed) Norse speech of the Gall-Ghàidheil, and that the largely Gaelic saints’ names which form the specifics of the *kirk* compounds must (for some reason never specified) have preceded the introduction of the putatively Norse element *kirk*. None of this stands up to prolonged scrutiny. The *kirk* names are a problematic area and one which I shall explore elsewhere in the near future. Suffice it to say that there are several other equally plausible explanations for this phenomenon (see, for instance, Grant 2004 for a recent discussion), and that the previous explanation depends on a view of the Gall-Ghàidheil as Norse, rather than Gaelic speakers – an erroneous view, as we have seen.

There is really no substantial evidence of Gaelic settlement in Galloway prior to 800, and there is, indeed, no historical or archaeological framework which would make such settlement necessary. Galloway, and other parts of the south-west generally, seem to move from British to Northumbrian lordship directly in the seventh or eighth century, and the Northumbrian impact on Galloway, as Brooke (especially 1991a) has shown, is much more than surface level. It is relevant here to note what Gaelic speakers called Galloway in the ninth century. Several Irish texts of this date refer to Port Patrick, then Port Ríg, and one or two of these texts make clear that it was in the territory of the Saxons. The ninth or 10th-century *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin*, in a poem surveying the kingships of Ireland and Britain, speaks of the Saxons im Inber in Ríg (Binchy 1975, ll. 482–83). Another ninth or early 10th-century Irish text, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, refers to a fleet gathering at Port Ríg, comprised of ‘what there was there of ships and boats and barques in the coastland of the Saxons and of the Britons (*i n-airuir Saxan *7 Bretan*)’ (O’Daly 1975, ll. 157–58). Galloway was still, in the ninth century, *airer Saxan* ‘the coastland of the Saxon’, a term equivalent to *airer Gaidheal*, Argyll, and perhaps contemporary with it in coinage. Finally in this vein, the odd name which occurs for Ailsa Craig in the source already mentioned, *Aldasan*, may well be derived from *allt Shasann* ‘the cliff of the Saxons’.

This analysis of eighth and ninth-century Galloway as *airer Saxan* means we probably have, in fact, a first reference to the presence of Scandinavian forces in Galloway. In AU 913.5, the defeat of a ‘new fleet’ of the Ulaid is recorded as happening *i nairur Saxan*: they were defeated by *geinti*. *Aier Saxan* has usually been translated as ‘England’ here. However the context,
involving the son of the ruler of a kingdom in southern Co. Down dying in
the battle, seems best to imply Galloway (a point made, via a different line
of argument, by Alex Woolf, 2007, 140). The very next year (AU 914.4)
sees the earliest clear annalistic evidence that the Isle of Man had become
a contested piece of the hegemony of the Gaill. All this is part of a series
of developments which sees a reflux of Viking activity in the Irish Sea area
leading up to the recapture of Dublin in 917 (AU 917.3, 4; cf. Ó Corráin
2001, 22). Regardless of what we think about the Gall-Ghàidheil, then, the
Norse presence on Galloway’s coasts, still perceptible in the toponymy, may
have begun in this early 10th-century context.

Andrew Jennings (1994, 2001), developing the work of earlier scholars
such as MacQueen (1973), has argued forcefully that the Gaelic of Galloway
arrived from the southern Hebrides and Argyll and came to Galloway in
the 10th century. As we have seen, a focused investigation of the term Gall-
Ghàidheil suggests we should hesitate to invoke the southern Hebrides as
an area of origin, but that southern Argyll has much to commend it in this
context. This fits well with what we know of political developments inland,
with the late ninth/ early 10th-century collapse of Bernicia and the rise of
the inland kingdom of Cumbria or Strathclyde, which comprised portions
of western Bernicia (see Clancy 2006). The time was ripe for movement
into what looks like a political, and perhaps also a demographic vacuum
on the western seaboard. We might further note MacQueen’s analysis of
the dedications of Gaelic churches in Galloway and Carrick, which shows
many of the dedications to be closely related to those in Kintyre, Knapdale
and Cowal, a point which has also been made in passing by Watson (1926,
173; cf. MacQueen 1973). In Carrick, this seems particularly to be the case,
with several churches in both Kintyre and Carrick providing a mirror image
of saints’ dedications: for instance in Kintyre, Kilcolmanell, Kildonnan,
Kirkmichael, Kilchenzie and Kilkerran abut each other, as do Colmonell,
Kirkmichael, Kilkerran, Kildonnan and Kilchenzie in Carrick. It is also
worth noting the coincidence of Kilcolmanell and Kilchosland – the saint
of which is Constantine – in Kintyre, and Colmanell and Kirkconstintin
in Urr parish in Kirkcudbrightshire. These seem further to confirm Kintyre
and southern Argyll as the place of origin for at least some of the saints’ cults
of the Gaelic settlers of the south-west, and probably there is more that lies
behind this.

On the other hand, Fiona Edmonds’ recent thesis has demonstrated the
degree to which saints’ cults, at least in what is now Galloway, reflect those
of Dublin and its Leinster hinterland. This can be understood in terms of,
for instance, the Viking diaspora from Dublin after 902, or the Irish Sea
kingdom of individuals like Echmarcach, incorporating as it did Dublin, Man and the Rhinns. This provides an important corrective on several levels. The Gall-Ghàidheil were not the only Norse-dominated Gaelic-speaking group to have been colonising the south-west. The expansion of Gaelic into the region may thus have occurred from a variety of different points of origin, and we may expect to see Irish, as well as Kintyre/Argyll, influence on the region and its toponymy.

Conclusions

Overall, then, this re-examination of the term Gall-Ghàidheil has shown that it was a flexible and evolving term over the period 850–1200, and that only by the very end of that period had it come specifically to mean Galloway, those territories ruled by Fergus of Galloway and his descendants. Initially, it was used for an unlocalisable group or series of groups, presumably Gaelic-speaking, but of Norse or mixed Norse and Gaelic descent, who briefly participated in dynastic struggles in Ireland. By c. 900, Bute could be described as within a territory called ‘Gall-Ghàidheil’, a territory which by the 12th century seems to have meant the south-western seaboard of Scotland, particularly the lower Firth of Clyde and its coastlines. It is partly, though perhaps not exclusively, through the take-over of the south-western seaboard of Scotland by Gall-Gàidheil, arguably in the 10th century, certainly by the 11th, that Gaelic entered the south-west and became its dominant language. Because throughout the 11th century, parts of the south-west were part of the Gaill hegemony, with its main caput in Dublin, we should not be surprised that in material terms Galloway partakes of this ‘Norse’ world while being, like the rulers of the Gaill such as Amlaib Cuarán, Glúin Iairn, his son, or Echmarcach mac Ragnaill, Gaelic-speaking, rather than, or in addition to, Norse-speaking. It is this very Gaelic-speaking, but materially Norse, world to which the 11th-century remains at Whithorn and Barhobble belong (see above, p. 20).

Unexpectedly, though, what this study of the term Gall-Ghàidheil shows with some certainty is that the term is unlikely ever to have been applied at the time to the Western Isles, and the same may hold good for the southern Hebrides too. There is no evidence to suggest the concept of Gall-Ghàidheil stretched this far. Furthermore, it seems likely that the term Innse Gall was the one applied to the Western Isles increasingly from the late 10th century on, and probably to the other Hebrides as well. The implications of this, which may be combined with the toponymic evidence presented by Jennings and Kruse (forthcoming), are that the Western Isles were exclusively or predominantly Scandinavian in speech from first Scandinavian settlement
up to the 12th century. As is the case with Galloway, conviction that they had been Gaelic-speaking prior to the Scandinavian settlement is receding: Gaelic speech may have been as new an element in the Western Isles after 1100 as it was in Galloway after 900. Given this, we should be the more vigilant in resisting applying the term Gall-Ghàidheil to them.\footnote{I would like to express my gratitude to a number of colleagues who encouraged and fostered this article at various points, in particular Lesley Abrams, Dauvit Broun, Fiona Edmonds and Simon Taylor. Rachel Butter drew my attention more closely to the Martyrology of Tallaght entry on Bláain, thereby precipitating major rethinking and rewriting. My chief debt is to Alex Woolf, in whose company, over many conversations, the argument of the original article was formed. None of these people are responsible for what I have chosen to write.}

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TAMHNRAGH - TAMNABHAGH:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF OLD NORSE -fn(-) IN (SCOTTISH) GAELIC

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It has been noted that Old Norse (ON) hófn f. (gen. hafnar) ‘haven, harbour’ has yielded two distinct forms in Scottish Gaelic (ScG) in the Isle of Lewis: ScG Tamhnaraigh [tʰʌ̃nəraɪ̯] on the east of the island (Lochs, NB4023) and ScG Tamnabhagh [tʰʌ̃nəb̥əh̥ag̥] on the west (Uig, NB0320).¹

§1 ScG TAMHN(-)

ScG Tamhnaraigh derives from ON Hafnarøy ‘[the] island of the harbour’ and no doubt refers to the same island to which the Norse name was originally applied. The development of the specific element in ON Hafnarøy is mirrored in several other Scottish Gaelic names in the west of Scotland: Tamhnara [tʰ[ʌ]nərɔɾa] in the Summer Isles (Wester Ross, NB9807)³ and Tamhnaraigh in Skye,⁴ both also from ON Hafnarøy. Similar development is seen in the loan-names, Na Hamhn [nə ˈhàːn] in Eriskay (NF7912)⁵ and Na Hamhn [nə ˈhàːn] in Eriskay (NF7912)⁵ and Na Hamhn [nə ˈhàːn] in Eriskay (NF7912).


² Wentworth 2003, 776, s.n. Tanera: with nasal [tʰʌ̃nəraɪ̯] diphthong before intervocalic [n]’, i.e. [ʊu̯].

³ Watson 1976, 259–60: ‘Tanera—G. Tannara (Tawnnara); N. hafnar-ey, with usual prefixed t, Harbour-isle ... There is another Tanera on the east of Lewis, near the Birken Isles.’ The two main islands here are named individually, Tamhnara Mòr and Tamhnara Beag.

⁴ Forbes 1923, 419: ‘Tanera, Tannerray, Tannray, etc. The island haven or harbour; An t-hafnar-ey, havn; Old Norse hafn, etc., a harbour. There are two islets of this name, great and little; for long explained as tain-rath, cattle house, etc. Cf. “Tanera” in Loch Broom. Also one east of the Lewis.’ Location not established. From Forbes’ comments, it appears that the Old Norse loan-name here, ScG Tamhnaraigh, has been used in the creation of two new Gaelic names, Tamhnaraigh M(h)òr and Tamhnaraigh B(h)èag, or similar, to denote the two islets mentioned.

⁵ McDonald 1972, 149: ‘HANN a bay ... In singular [with] plural article, na hann ... O.N. hafn ... Tha e shìos as na Hann. Tha e shìos am bàgh na Hann ...’ = Na Hamhn. In spite of McDonald’s translation of Hann as ‘bay’, there is no evidence that ON hófn was borrowed into Gaelic here. Cf. also nearby Àird na Hamhn ‘the headland of Na Hamhn’.

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in Mull (NM3447), both from ON Hofn ‘[the] harbour’, and Na Hamhnan *[nɔ 'hāũnɔn] – of similar derivation, but with the addition of a Gaelic plural morpheme – also in Mull (NM3517). In all three names, ON initial h- has been treated on a morpho-phonemic level as mutation after the article, cf. Na Hearadh (Eng. Harris), formerly often spelt Na h-Ear(r)a(dh) (e.g. Henderson 1910, 185) < ON Herað ‘[the] district’. Equally, these forms might be spelt *Na h-Amhn and *Na h-Amhnan, respectively, or, without reference to their etymology, *Na Hann and *Na Hannan.8

§2 ScG TAMN(-)

ScG Tamnabhagh derives from ON Hamnarvág acc. (see below) ‘[the] bay of the harbour’, with vágr m. The bay in question is in Gaelic now Loch Thamnabhaigh ([lɔ x ʰàmâñɔ vaj], MMacDh; with the specific in genitive case), while the form Tamnabhagh is now the name of a (deserted) settlement and of the area in general.9 The Old Norse form, Hamnarvágr, also occurs as specific element in two Norse loan-names in the vicinity: ScG Tamnasdal (NB0323; OS 1854 Gleann Thamanastail, OS 1987 Glen Tamanisdale) < ON Hamnarvágsdal acc. ‘[the] valley of Hamnarvágr’, with acc. of dalr m., and Támnaiseal ([lʰàmâñ jat], MMacDh; NB0423) < ON Hamnarvágsfjall ‘[the] mountain of Hamnarvágr’, with fjall nt.10

The specific element in Tamnabhagh (< ON Hamnarvág) is mirrored in the forms, Támnageadh and Támnaisgeir ([lʰàmâñ keðɪ], IAM; OS 1854

6 [dɔnɔ ʰaũnɔ], IM; 1654 Na Hauen 1801, 1824, 1852 Haunn (all cited in Maclean 1997, 28); MacQuarrie 1982, 20: Hauunn; Mac an Táilleir, s.n. [English] Haunn: [Gaelic] Na Hann [which spelling indicates final -[n]]. This is now a settlement name. Port na Hambn [pʰɔst nɔ ʰaũn] ‘the harbour of Na Hamhn’ (IM; NM3347; OS 1887 Port Haunn; MacQuarrie, ibid., 28: Port Haunn) lies on the coast. MacQuarrie, without justification, takes ‘Hauunn’ to be a Norse personal name.

7 Recorded as [nɔ ʰaũnɔn], OC; OS 1880 Na h-Aibhnean. Maclean 1997, 66: “There [are] no rivers here but the place is known locally as “na Haunnean” or “The Harbours”, i.e. this is now the Gaelic [sic] spelling of a Norse word.” It seems probable that an earlier *Na Hambn has acquired a plural ending – hence *Na Hamhn – under the influence of the plural article na[^b]- (for which see below), and subsequently been replaced by a Gaelic form, Na h-Aibhnean ‘the rivers’, presumably by virtue of folk etymology. (For the reference to rivers, compare Port na h-Abhann in Islay §3.)

8 The forms *Na Hann and *Na Hannan assume -[ʰaũn](-) also.

9 Derived Gaelic names here, using Tamnabhagh as specific, are Abhainn Thamnabhaigh (OS 1854 Amhuinn Thamanabhaidh), Allt Garbh Thamnabhaigh (OS 1854 Allt Garbh Thamanabhaidh) and Mullach Thamnabhaigh (OS 1854 Mullach Thamanabhaidh).

10 MacIver 1934, 87: ‘Támnaseal or Hamsaile: a hill above Hammadnu’; OS 1854 Tamanaisbhal, OS 1987 Tamanaisval. For the question of the loss of medial syllables in Old Norse loan-names in Gaelic, see Oftedal 1972.
Tamhnaraigh - Tamnabhagh: Old Norse -fn(-) in (Scottish) Gaelic 53

Thama Sgeir) on the Flannan Isles (NA7246), and Thamnaisgeir on Sùlaisgeir (HW6230). Tamnaisgeadh derives from ON Hamnargjá ‘[the] ravine of the harbour’, with ON gjá f.,\(^{11}\) while Tamnaisgeir and Thamnaisgeir\(^{12}\) both derive from ON Hamnarsker ‘the skerry of the harbour’, with ON sker nt.

The element occurs as a loan-word in ScG An Tamn\(\alpha\) ‘[\(\alpha\)\(n\beta\)\(h\)m\(\alpha\)\(n\)]’,\(^{13}\) of a sheltered harbourage on the Flannan Isles, and in the identical form, An Tamn\(\alpha\) (NB1241; OS 1854 Tamna), of a narrow passage of water between Flodaigh (Bernerà, Lewis) and a small islet off its south coast.

The form tamn\(\alpha\) also occurs as a loan-word in the names, An Tamna Siar and An Tamna Sear (Uig, NB0120) ‘western and eastern *Tamn’,\(^{14}\) at the mouth of Loch Thamnabhagh (above); compare also the OS 1854 forms of derived Gaelic names in the vicinity: Aonaig Mhor an Tamana’s Iar ‘the great cliff of An Tamna Siar’, Aonaig Ruadh an Tamana’s Ear ‘the red cliff of An Tamna Sear’, Rudh’ an Tamana’s Ear ‘the promontory of An Tamna Sear’, Creag Ruadh an Tamana’s Ear ‘the red rock of An Tamna Sear’ – no article, however, occurs in OS 1854 Aird Mhor Mill Thamana ‘the large headland of Mill Thamna (‘the hills of *Tamna’) and Gearraidh Mill Tamana ‘the enclosure or site of Mill T[h]amna’, and, here, *Tamna may be an Old Norse loan-name.\(^{15}\)

The form tamn (gen.) also occurs as a loan-word in Geodh’ an Tamna, Sgeir an Tamna and Rubh’ an Tamna in Uig ([\(\alpha\)\(v\) \(\alpha\)\(n\beta\)\(h\)m\(\alpha\)\(n\)]), MMacDh; NB0033) ‘the ravine, skerry and promontory of *An Tamn’.\(^{16}\)

\(^{11}\) Recorded as [\(\alpha\)\(n\beta\)\(h\)m\(\alpha\)\(n\) \(\alpha\)\(v\)] (IAM, who initially did not have a clear recollection of the name and was prompted), which may be influenced by map forms (OS 1854 Tamna Geodha), because [\(\alpha\)\(n\beta\)\(h\)m\(\alpha\)\(n\) \(\alpha\)\(v\)] would normally be expected, cf. Tàraigea [\(\alpha\)\(v\)\(\alpha\)\(y\)] < ON Þaragjá [the] ravine of the kelp’ (Cox 2002, 379, sn). Tamnaisgeadh lies on the north-west side of An t-Eilean Mòr.

\(^{12}\) OS 1854 Thamnha Sgeir. Pállsson (1996, 318) comments that the ‘name Thamnha Sgeir in Sulaskerry suggests that Hebridean sailors must have regarded the harbour on the particular *Haftnarsker as the best available *Skerjáhhöfn skerry harbour’ (such a compound is known from early Norway ...) in those distant and often hostile waters.

\(^{13}\) IAM, who stated that ScG tamn was understood locally to mean ‘haven, harbour’ – alias Acarsaid Eilean an Tàighe ‘the anchorage of Eilean an Taighe (‘the island of the house’), and lying between Eilean an Taighe and Tamnaisgeir.

\(^{14}\) [\(\alpha\)\(u\)\(\alpha\)\(n\beta\)\(h\)m\(\alpha\)\(n\) \(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)]\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)], MMacDh; OS 1854 Tamana’s Iar, Tamana’s Ear. Each refers to a natural harbour.

\(^{15}\) However, there is the possibility that -Mill T(h)amna in these names shows older genitive syntax. Schwa in *Tamna may have arisen epenthetically between -n and - in these forms, or, in the case of a loan-name, may have derived from a form with suffixed article; in Norway, cf. Korshavn, Grønvik (Romsdal; Rygh 1969, 60 and 331) and Hovlandshavn (Nordre Bergenhus; Rygh 1980, 361), all called [hu’mn] ‘the harbour’, locally. See also Sandnes and Stemshaug 1980, 141, s.n. Hamna.

\(^{16}\) OS 1854 Geodh’ an Tamana, Sgeir an Tamana and Rudh’ an Tamana.
The difference between the Gaelic reflexes, *tamhn(-)* and *tamn(-)*, is explained by the development in Old Norse of -fn > -mn (§7).

In both Scottish Gaelic reflexes, except in the case of Thamnasgeir (Sùlaisgeir) and the simplex *Na Hamhn* and *Na Hamhnan* (Eriskay and Mull), above, Old Norse initial *h-* has been treated as the lenited form of Gaelic initial *t-* and subsequently delenited, cf. *tòb* ‘creek’ (besides *òb*) < ON hóp acc. (Oftedal 1956, 71; Cox 2002, 204, Gaz. no. 817), and *túl* < ON *hugl* (cf. German Hügel; Cox ibid., 247, Gaz. no. 1541).

The development of ScG *tamn(-)* is relatively straightforward: a svarabhakti vowel develops between *m* and *n*, cf. *imnidh*, *lomnochd* (although *lurmochd* with dissimilation and metathesis also occurs), hence [tʰɛm̪n̪]-.

The development of ScG *tamhn(-)* is not quite so straightforward. ON *f* disappears by assimilation to the following sibilant in ScG *Cliosgro* [kʰli̯ ʃkr̪o] < ON *Klifsgróf* ‘the stream of the cliff(-path)’, with gen. sg. of *klif* nt. ‘steep, rocky ascent (especially with a path)’. The Old Norse cluster -*rf* survives in the Lewis village name, *Barbhas* [baɾa̯ ʃas], with expected svarabhakti, < ON *Hvarf-ós* ‘[the] outlet of the bend’ or *Hvarfá-ós*, with a stream name as specific (Cox 1992, 141), and intervocalic -*f* – albeit devoiced – in the Skye village name, *Stafinn* [staɾi̯n̪] < ON *Stafinn* ‘the pillar’, with acc. of *stafr* masc. + acc. suffixed article. 18

In the case of *tamhn(-)*, ON *f* has been interpreted as ScG non-palatal lenited *mh* ([b]) before a nasal consonant, with the resulting *[tʰæ̯n̪]* developing along expected lines: > [tʰæ̯n̪], with diphthongisation of the stressed vowel before a fricative + consonant, cf. *gambáinn* fem. ‘stirk’, gen. *gambna* [ɡʊn̪a] (EG gamuin masc. i-stem, gen. gamna, with lenited m [b]).

In the southern Inner Hebrides, however, the fricative in such forms is generally retained, forestalling diphthongisation, e.g. *samhradh* [sə̯ɾɾaq] gen. [sə̯ɾri̯] ‘summer’ (Arran; Holmer 1957, 25, 36, 44), besides *[sə̯ɾʊɾy] gen. *[sə̯ʊɾi̯] elsewhere; *amhsan* [aɾsə̯n] ‘gannet’ (Arran; ibid., 36), besides *[ʔaːɾɾən̪] elsewhere; *geamhradh* [ɡəɾɾəɾq] ‘winter’ (Arran; ibid., 44), besides *[ɡəəɾɾəɾ] elsewhere. 19

17 ON *f* initially, and in contact with voiceless consonants, [f], elsewhere [b] (Iverson 1973, 12).
18 *[S]ometimes in Gaelic *[ˈstʔɜ̯n̪]’ (Gordon 1963, 101), though see Cox 2007b, 65, note 36, on the question of the authenticity of this form. Cf. also *cabhall* (Lewis) [kʰafəɾ] ‘seine or purse-net’ (Cox 2002, 250, Gaz. no. 1586), *cabbull* cav-*ul* (MacLennan 1925, 63), < ON *kafa* oblique case masc. ‘float on seine or trawl-net’.
19 These forms go back to OG *samrad*, *amsin* and *gaimred*/*genred*, respectively, all with lenited m [b] (later > [v]). The Eng. loan-word [Davsaq] ‘dancing’ (Arran; ibid. 44), besides *[ʔaːɾɾən̪] elsewhere, has followed the same pattern. For the 1834 Arran forms, *en tamaridh* (i.e. gen. *an t-samhradh*) and *en gheameradh* (i.e. radical *an geamhradh*), see Black 1993, 72–73, 82, note 7, and 83, note 32.
and \textit{dannsadh} in Islay, Colonsay, Jura, Gigha and Kintyre, e.g. (Islay) /\textit{se\textordmasculine o\textordmasculine/}, /\textit{de\textordmasculine o\textordmasculine/}.

From this, a southern Inner Hebridean reflex of ON \textit{hafn} might, on the face of it, have been *[\textipa{tʌv/\textorsim{\textordmasculine}v\textordmasculine}]* *[\textipa{hav/\textorsim{\textordmasculine}v\textordmasculine}}]*, and this, apart from the folk-etymological link with the Gaelic word for river, is what we find in the Islay place-name, \textit{Port na h-Abhann} (NR1652; Gillies 1906, 153: \textit{Port na h-abhann}), now generally \textit{Port na h-Abhaimn(e)} (e.g. Mac an Tàilleir, s.n. Portnahaven), with ON initial \textit{h-} treated on a morpho-phonemic level as mutation after the article (cf. \textit{Na Thamhn} §1, which might have been written \textit{Na h-Amhnn}).

\section*{§4 \textbf{Current analysis of the ScG \textit{tamhn(-) \~ tamn(-) variation}}}

\textit{ScG tamhn(-)} (including \textit{-[\textorsim{\textordmasculine}vn]}(-) and \textit{-[av/\textorsim{\textordmasculine}v(o)n]} forms), on the one hand, and \textit{tamn(-)}, on the other, are understood to be reflexes of ON \textit{hafn} and \textit{hamn(-)}, respectively. Oftedal (1954, 389) comments of \textit{Tamnabhagh} that 'the modern pronunciation shows that the actual cluster in Hebridean Norse was
-mn-, as in many Modern Norwegian dialects and the oldest Norwegian written documents (also found occasionally in early Icelandic). -mn- thus appears to be an intermediate stage between -fn- and the present -bn-, prevalent in Icelandic and many dialects of southwestern Norway.’ (See §7.)

Armed with the variant form, Tamharnaigh, however, Oftedal (1962, 49) remarks that the difference between Tamharnaigh and Tamnabhagh ‘reflects a dialectal difference in Norway: the cluster fn (pronounced [-βn]) was assimilated to -mn in the northern part of Western Norway [i.e. Trøndelag] but not in the south.’

Arne Kruse (2005, 145–46) also stresses the fact that these forms may, rather than provide evidence for chronological differentiation, indicate the provenance of Norse settlers in the Hebrides.

§5 Further evidence for the development of ON -fn

Further evidence for the development of ON -fn > -mn occurs: in Lewis, Ramnaioge (Bernera; MacAulay 1972, 333); with dissimilation of n following m, Raimriveadh ['rœmði,ŋa] and, with metathesis, ['rœðœim,ŋaŋ] (Eoropie, NB5166; SSS PN1966/13; OS 1853 Ramraga); Bodha Ramraigeadh (gen.) ['rœmåri,ŋa(ŋ)] (Tolsta a’ Chaolais, NB1838; Cox 2002, 185, Gaz. no. 563); Ramraigeadh (Bréidhins, NA9825; OS 1854 Ramara Geodha); Ramraigeadh (Mangarsta, NB0132; OS 1854 Mol Ramara Geodha); Ramraigeadh (Skigersta, NB5462; OS 1853 Ramraga OS 1987 Ramrago); possibly, with alternative dissimilation of n, ?Raimraceadh (Flodaigh, NB1241; OS 1854 Ramala Geodha); and in Scalpay, Ramraigeadh (NG2495; OS 1987 Ramrigera) – all from ON Hramn(a)gjá ‘raven-cove, or [the] cove of the ravens’, with stem form or gen. pl. of hramn m. (< brafni). ON hramn- is also found in Shetland: Rannabar (Jakobsen 1936, 24, 147), Rannabjorgs (ibid., 25), Rannagjo (ibid., 46, 147), Rannastakks (ibid., 102, 123, 134), Rannibroggs (ibid., 30); and in Orkney: Rannageo (Unst, HP6200) < ON Hramnagjá. Compare also Shetland Hamnavo (Jakobsen 1936, 63) < ON Hamnarvág acc. §2.

A reduced form of the reflex, with loss of -n, is found sporadically: in Shetland, Ramsnes (Jakobsen 1936, 153: ‘probably: Rafns-nes’); in Orkney, Ramsay, derived from ON Hramnsauagr ‘[the] hill of the raven’ by Marwick (1952, 36), who regards the specific element as the personal name, Hramn, rather than the appellative, hramn ‘raven’ – as he does in the case of Ramsquoy (ibid., 113) < ON Hramnskví ‘[the] fold of the raven’, with kví f. ‘animal fold’; and in Caithness, Rammigeo (Thorson 1959, 33) < ON Hramnagjá ‘[the] ravine of the ravens’. Compare also Shetland Ham and Hamister, < ON Hann and Hann-setr,

\[24 \text{Final } [\gamma] \text{ is a Scottish Gaelic development (Cox 1994, 46).}\]
respectively (Jakobsen 1936, 63), and Orkney Hamiger < ON Hamna(r)garðr (Marwick 1952, 163). 25

Orkney’s Ramsay appears to have several parallels in the west: Ramsey in the Isle of Man – Manx [rum 'se:] [rum 'ze:] (Marstrander 1934, 316), 26 [rum 'ze:] [rɔm 'se:] (Broderick 1986 II, 509; 2005 IV, 167) – has been derived from ON Hramnsá or Hramnsøy ‘[the] river or island of Hramn’ (Moore 1890, 294–95; 27 Mac Bain 2003, 171), although it has also been derived from ON Hrams-á ‘ramsons-river’ (Marstrander, 1932, 198). 28 Nominally similar forms are found to the south, in Pembrokeshire (SM6923; Richards 1962, 55: ‘Ramsey < Hrafn (persn. name) + ey’, i.e. Hramnsøy ‘Hramn's island’), and to the north, at Whithorn (Wigtownshire, NX4736; OS 1850 Ramsey; Johnston 1903, 251) and in Lismore (ScG Port Ramsaigh and Eilean Ramsaigh (gen.) [rámā 'saj], DMacGDh; NM8745; OS 1875 Eilean Ramsay, Port Ramsay, with specifics from ON Hramnsøy ‘[the] island of the raven’). 30 In Norway, compare Ramsøya

25 In the Isle of Man, Kneen (1979, 581) has suggested that Ballamegagh (1515 Balyhamyg 1643 Ballamigge) may derive from ON Hamnarvik ‘[the] creek of the harbour’. Marstrander (1932, 261–62) points out that the pronunciation bəld miˈgə and the 1515 Balyhamyg form are incompatible and suggests that we may be dealing with two separate names, one ultimately from ON Mið-vík ‘[the] middle bay’, the other ultimately from ON Hamnarvik ‘[the] bay of the harbour’. Broderick (2005 III, 50–51 and 70–71, s.n. Ballameigagh and Balylanyg), however, differentiates between the quarterland name, Ballameigagh – Kneen’s Ballamegagh – on the one hand, and the treen name, Balylanyg, for which he says that [t]he readings are quite clear, i.e. Balylanyg, w[i]th -n-, not Balyhamyg(r), pace Talbot ... and Kneen ...’, on the other.


27 Moore (ibid., 283–84) also gives the sense ‘raven’.

28 So also Broderick (2005 IV, 167), ‘as supported by the Mx. name of the adjacent stream Strooany Crawe ... “crawe stream”, G. creamh “garlic, wild garlic”. Alternatively, Ramsey (here < ON Hramnsøy, with -øy ‘island, peninsula’, may have originally applied to the coastal peninsula at the mouth of Sulby River.

29 Johnston gives ‘O.E. rammes ige, “ram’s isle” ... Cf. Portramsay, Lismore’. Given our knowledge of place-names in southern Scotland (e.g. Nicolaisen 1976, Chapp 5 and 6) and the linguistic strata they reveal, it seems unnecessary to resort to Old English for a derivation.

30 MacIlleDhuibh (2006: 194) translates Eilean Ramasaídib and Port Ramasaídib (sic) as ‘Ram’s Island’ and ‘Port of the Ram’s Island’, respectively. These names have a similar onomastic structure, viz ‘the island/port of Ramsaigh’, with the Old Norse loan-name used as a specific in Gaelic creations. The derivation here is based on a misconception that a word *ram- ‘ram’ occurred in Old Norse. ON hrútr m. ‘ram’ was borrowed into ScG, viz rúd rúda m. < ON hrúta acc.; on the other hand, Henderson (1910, 130) gives rúta (Dwelly 1988 gives both, s.vv.) while, for Wester Ross, Wentworth (2003, 614) gives ‘rút [rɔt] or [ɾɔːt], also rúd [ɾʊd]’, with short vowels and ± pre-aspiration of the final dental. It is possible that the Wester Ross variants are Gaelicised forms of Scots rout, rout ‘loud noise’ etc. (DSL), cf. Eng. rut, or have at least been influenced by it; ScG rúta may show similar, though weaker, influence. Alternatively, Henderson’s and Wentworth’s forms may conceivably be based upon a Scots borrowing of ON hrútr; although there is apparently no evidence for one, such a form might account for the variation in vowel quantity and consonant quality here, cf. ScG útraid, údrathad, údrathad < Scots outroad, ootroad (Cox 2007b, 71).
(Sandnes and Stemshaug 1980, 250), Ramsøen and Ramsøien (Rygh 1969, 334, 404) – the meanings usually given are the plant name, rams m. ‘ramson, wild garlic’, or the man’s name, Hramn m., occasionally the bird name, hramn m., e.g. Ramsøien ‘[the] meadow of the ramsons, or of the raven’ (Søndre Trøndelag; Rygh 1979, 108–09).

For Lismore’s Ramsaigh, compare Skye’s Ramaig, both in Diùranais ([kāmə skə]), AD; NG1644; OS 1989 Ramasaig31) and Slèite (NG6607), < ON Hramnsvik ‘[the] bay of the raven’, with ON vik f.32

The Harris mountain name, Tomnabhal('/')[tʰʌmɔnə, vəl.] (DM, DIM; NB1607; OS 1976 Tomnaival), derives from ON Hamm(af)jall ‘[the] mountain of the grazing’, with stem form or gen. sg. of hamn (< hɔfn) f. ‘grazing land, pasture’, a word identical to hamn (< hɔfn) in the sense ‘harbour’, but with a different origin – Torp (1992, s.v. 2hamn) sees a possible identification with Middle Low German heven ‘marshy pasture’). Here, the vocalism is an advanced, open-back, unrounded variety of /ɔ/, as in ScG fosgladh Taiwan ([kʰɪʃə, bɔɾə] (Loch Snizort, Skye; NG3955), Tòb Chumraborgh /[tʰɔ̃ bʰɛ̃ mə bɔɾə] (Park, Lewis; NB3211) and Rocabarra /[ɾɔʰkɔ ɾəɾə] (the Gaelic name for Rockall; Cox 2002b: 429–431), all from forms in final ON -borg f., and which show the preservation of svarabhakti in weakly-stressed syllables to different degrees (Cox 2007b, 63–64, §9 and note 37).

31 Beside Ramasaig Cliff and Ramasaig Bay; Forbes 1923, 299: Ramasaig; MacBain 2003, 37 and 171; idem; Henderson 1910, 189; idem.
32 ‘Sgeir Ramasaig (Ramasaig – ravens’ bay: Forbes [1923, 299]) the stones of a pier are still to be seen here 666079’ (http://www.sleatlocalhistorysociety.org.uk/index.php/placename/60 – accessed 08/01/08).
33 Forbes (ibid.) also cites Ramasgar (which may be near Peighinn a’ Chorrain, NG5233). This is conceivably for *Ramasgar *[kʌmə skɔɾ], perhaps from ON Hrann(s)karð acc. ‘raven-pass, or [the] pass of the raven’, with stem or gen. sg. of skarð nt; cf. (Lewis) Rothasgair < ON Rauðaskarð ‘[the] red pass’ (Cox 2007b, 64 and note 28). Note also Romasaig (Morar, NM8291; 1876 An Ramasg 1989 An Romasaig).

34 The phonological differentiation of these two senses of hamn (hɔfn) may conceivably have taken place in Norse, locally (cf. Sogn homn for hamm ‘fetus’ – technically, the same word as 2hamn ‘pasture’, cf. ON hafandi ‘pregnant’ (Torp, s.v. 3hamn), and hāmn for modern hamn ‘pasture’ in a few locations on either side of the Møre og Romsdal and Sør-Trøndelag border (Norsk Ordbok IV, 1407)), before the loan-name was borrowed into Gaelic, although there is no evidence to suggest that it did. Certainly, the element is not hamn ‘harbour’ here: the summit of Tomnabhal lies 3.5–4km from the coast.
§6 Loss of -n
Loss of -n in place-names in Norway, the Northern Isles and Caithness (e.g. 
Ramsøien; Hamister, Ramsquoy; and Rammigeo §5) occurs only sporadically. 
Although it is not clear exactly when the development took place, it seems 
likely to be a relatively late phenomenon.35

This would imply that loss of -n in the west may have taken place in Gaelic 
(Lismore, Skye, Whithorn, Man) and Welsh (Pembrokeshire). Certainly, the 
cluster -mns- is alien to these languages and some form of reduction can be 
expected. In the case of Lismore, for example, we may expect the development to 
have been along the lines of ON Hramnsøy > ScG *[rámàn, saj] > *[rámà, saj]; 
similarly, Skye Ramsaig *[rámà, sek], < ON Hramsvík, is likely to have evolved 
from an earlier *[rámän, sek]. Internal Gaelic evidence, however, would not 
seem to rule out the possibility of -n having been lost before the name forms 
concerned were borrowed into Gaelic, as a late Norse *Hramsoy or *Hramsvik36 
would also be expected to yield ScG *[rámàn, saj] and *[rámà, sek], respectively; 
cf. ScG aimsir ‘weather’ (SGDS, item 14, points 68, 105–14).

In the case of the Isle of Man’s Ramsey, the second syllable stress pattern 
reflects the vowel quantity of the original Norse name. However – assuming a 
derivation from ON Hramnsøy – we are still not able to say whether -n was lost 
before or after the loan-name was borrowed into Manx, as svarabhakti appears 
ot to have developed in -mn in Manx.37

§7 Distribution, origin and chronology
Iversen (1973, 36) notes that in Old Norse dialects, particularly Trøndelag (the 
Trondheim area), /fn/ > /mn/ by assimilation around 1200, perhaps earlier (see 
also Seip 1955, 77–78). In modern Norwegian dialects, there are four principal 
reflexes of ON -fn: East Norwegian -mn (which includes Trøndelag) and, in West

35 Outwith place-names, cf. nam ‘name’, which occurs in the Shetland and Orkney versions of the 
Lord’s Prayer. For the former, Jakobsen (1985 I, 593) compares the place-name evidence 
(Ham and Hamister §5); for the latter, Barnes (1998, 48–49) sees interference from Scots in the 
spelling of nam ‘for Scandinavian namn or navn (though this ... may well be the responsibility 
of the collector)’; Rendboe (1990, 64–65) appears to accept the form in both versions as Norn.

36 Initial hr > r- in Norway during the 11th century; in Iceland, however, hr- was preserved 
(Haugen 1976, 208; Indrebo 1951, 85). There is no evidence to suggest that hr- and r- would 
have been treated differently in words or names borrowed into Scottish Gaelic, and hr- is used 
here throughout.

37 E.g. Mx chlymney (tymney) ‘testament’ (ScG. tiomnadh), imneagh ‘diligent, anxious, chaste’ 
(ScG innidh), geamnee (geanymnee) ‘chaste’ (ScG geamnaidh) (Y Kelly 1977, s.vv), except via 
dissimilation, e.g. fammyragh ‘seaweed’ [fèmərəx], cf. Irish feamnach (Jackson 1955, 61; Y 
Kelly, ibid.: fammeragh); cf. also (Kintyre) [fëmənə] (LASID IV, 201, item 269).
Norwegian, -vn (over the greater part West Norway), -bn and -bmn (in enclaves within the -vn area) (Chapman 1962, 70–71, 188; Indrebø 1951, 132–33). The development of ON -fn > -mn, therefore, is significant both chronologically and provenentially in Norway.

In the west of Scotland, we can discern two principal reflexes of ON -fn in Gaelic.

Firstly, East Norwegian development is paralleled in ScG -amn ([âmân]) and is found in the Outer Hebrides, over an area stretching from Sùlaisgeir and the Butt of Lewis southward to Scalpay, and in the Inner Hebrides, in Skye and Lismore (although, in the latter, -n has been lost before s §5). Indeed, the distribution of this reflex appears to extend to the southwest of Scotland, the Isle of Man and Wales.

Secondly, ScG -amhn ([âûn], including [av/v(ə)n]), appears on both sides of the Minch. At first glance, this reflex might be linked to the -fn > -vn development of central Western Norway and be seen to support the hypothesis that the Tâmbnaraigh ~ Tamnabhagh differentiation reflects the provenance of Norse settlers in the west of Scotland, albeit that particular dialectal areas could not easily be inferred from their distribution. However, this position is not reflected in the Northern Isles, nor does it seem to be supported by other linguistic criteria from the area.\(^{38}\) It is, therefore, anomalous to find -amhn forms within the northern and north-western Hebrides: with so much Norse settlement in the area, one would expect pre-1200 Old Norse forms in -fn to have developed over time into -mn forms, in line with post-1200 creations. However, the nature of those places with names in -amhn – harbours on important sea-routes\(^{39}\) – may suggest a reason for the longevity of -fn forms here: that contact between Norse and Gael was not only established before 1200, but that it was maintained in a sufficiently consistent way that the early forms of the loans concerned persisted in Gaelic, in spite of subsequent sound changes within the Old Norse language – just as the English pronunciation of Paris represents a pre-loss-of-final-s-in-French form of the name. In the southern Hebrides, on the other hand, while the occurrence of -amhn forms indicates the comparatively early dating of the names involved, the absence of -amn forms may also suggest that, by this time, there had been a reduction in the use of the Norse language within the area.

§8 Conclusions

Evidence to date for the development of ON -fn(-) in Scottish Gaelic appears to suggest the following broad conclusions:

\(^{38}\) For the question of ON steinn in this regard, see Cox 2007, 140–41.

\(^{39}\) Including Borghaston, which lies within the sheltered Loch Chàrlabhaigh on the west of Lewis.
(1) The situation in the Hebrides reflects that of the Northern Isles and Caithness, in which ON -\textit{fn} yielded -\textit{mn}, which in turn was sporadically reduced to -\textit{m}, although in the Hebrides reduction, where it occurs, may have taken place in Gaelic.

(2) Names which subsequently developed into ScG [\textipa{\textae\textipa{m\textae}n}] [\textipa{\textae\textipa{m\textae}}] were borrowed into Gaelic after c.1200, although some of them may have been borrowed before that date and re borrowed after it.

(3) However, several names related to or associated with harbours show a chronologically earlier reflex of ON -\textit{fn}, viz ScG [\textipa{\textae\textipa{n}] or [av/\textipa{\textae\textipa{n}}]. They imply relatively early Norse-Gaelic contact – which we may assume included fishing and trade contacts – and may also reflect something of the linguistic shift from Norse to Gaelic that we can expect to have been taking place in the more southerly part of the area during the 12th century.

This accords with the chronology established by the personal name form, \textit{Raibne} < ON \textit{Hrafns} dat. (Marstrander 1915, 153), which occurs in an 11th or early 12th-century poem in an MS from the end of the 12th century (Book of Leinster 204 b 9 – cited ibid., 53), and the form of the place-name, \textit{Ramso} (i.e. \textit{Ramsey}, Isle of Man, < ON \textit{Hramns\textae}y), which occurs as \textit{Ramsa} and \textit{Ramso} in an MS datable to c.1260 (ibid., 130).

Our knowledge of the fortunes of Old Norse and Gaelic, vis à vis their respective strengths in the Hebrides at any one time is limited. We do not know exactly when Gaelic began to be the dominant language in any one area, although we may guess. Names such as \textit{Borghaston}, \textit{Tamhnaraigh} and \textit{Tamhnara} in Lewis, Wester Ross and Skye may indicate that there was significant, although perhaps limited, contact – presumably through trade, including fishing – between Norse and Gael there from before c.1200, and that this contact was sufficiently maintained so that Gaels retained the older reflex of ON -\textit{fn} in the forms of names they had borrowed through contact prior to 1200. On the other hand, to the south, although names such as \textit{Na Hamhn} and \textit{Port na h-Abhann} indicate that Old Norse was once spoken there – a fact corroborated by many other Old Norse loan-names – they may also be indicative of what was happening on the ground in the Southern Hebrides before 1200, suggesting that the Norse language had waned and that Gaelic had become the dominant language there by that time.

\textcite{Chronicle of Man: 1056 (1079) ... qui vocatur Ramsa; ... nam reuma maris Ramso amnis alveum impleverat (p. 61, §22) 1142 (1152) ... qui vocatur Ramsa (p. 65, §38) 1158 ... que vocatur Ramso (p. 67, §43).}
The Chronology of the Development of ON -fn(-) in Scottish Gaelic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I North-west Hebridean Area</th>
<th>II Southern and Eastern Hebridean Area, Wigtownshire, Man &amp; Wales</th>
<th>III Northern Isles, Caithness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Pre-c.1200

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ON -fn &gt; ScG -[ävn] &gt; -[äün]</th>
<th>ON -fn &gt; ScG -[ävn], ScG -[äün]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1 Borghaston</td>
<td>Lewis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamhnaraigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamhnara</td>
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<td>Na Hamhn</td>
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<td>Na Hamhnan</td>
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<td>Port na h-Abhann</td>
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Post c.1200

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ON -mn &gt; ScG -mn</th>
<th>ON -mn &gt; ScG -mn</th>
<th>ON -mn &gt; ScG -mn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>① Thamnaisgeir</td>
<td>Sùlaisgeir</td>
<td>Ramnaberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>② Tamnaigeadh</td>
<td>Flannan Isles</td>
<td>Ramnabjorgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>③ Tamnaisgeir</td>
<td>Flannan Isles</td>
<td>Ramnagjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>④ An Tamn^</td>
<td>Flodaigh</td>
<td>Ramnastakks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⑤ An Tamn^</td>
<td>Mangerstadh</td>
<td>Ramnibroggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⑥ Geòrdh' an Tamn^</td>
<td>Uig</td>
<td>Hamnavo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⑦ Geàrraidh Mill Tamna</td>
<td>Uig</td>
<td>Rannageo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⑧ Tamna/-bhagh</td>
<td>Uig</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⑨ An Tamna Sear/Siar^</td>
<td>Uig</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1 Raimrigeadh</td>
<td>Eoropie</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2 Ramraigeadh</td>
<td>Skigersta</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3 ?Ramaigeadh</td>
<td>Flodaigh</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R4 Ramnaiaga</td>
<td>Bernera</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R5 Bodha Ramraigeadh</td>
<td>Tolsta</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R6 Ramraigeadh</td>
<td>Mangarstadh</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R7 Ramraigeadh</td>
<td>Brèidhinnis</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R8 Ramraigea</td>
<td>Scalpay</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1 Tomnabhal</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

> ScG -m > ScG -m

| R9 Ramsaig | Skye | Ramsnes |
| R10 Ramsaig | Skye | Ramsay |
| R11 ?Ramsgar | Skye | Ramsquoy |
| R12 Ramsaigh | Lismore | Rannigeo |
| Ramsey     | Whithorn | Ham     |
| Ramsey     | Man    | Hamister |
| Ramsey     | Wales  | Hamiger  |

^ Containing loan-words

JSNS 2, 2008, 51–68
Tamhnaraigh - Tamnabhagh: Old Norse -fn(-) in (Scottish) Gaelic

The Development of Old Norse -fn(-) in (Scottish) Gaelic

Map

JSNS 2, 2008, 51–68
Acknowledgements

In addition to my informants listed in the References, I am grateful to the following: for helping me identify and locate some of the names used in this article, Caoimhín Ó Donnaíle, John Gibson, Iain MacIlleChiar, Magaidh Nic a’ Ghobhainn, Murchadh Dòmhnallach, Ruairidh MacIlleathain; for references and pronunciations of Norwegian hamn ‘pasture’, Professor Tom Schmidt and Gabhan Mac a’ Phearsain; and for helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper, Professor William Gillies.

Phonetic Note

Palatisation is shown by a superscript ‹, e.g. [t’]

[L’] and [N’] are palatals.

[L] is a velarised dental and [r] a velarised alveolar trill.

Svarabhakti vowels, with stress reflecting that of the preceding vowel, are shown by a grave accent, e.g. [t’h'amâno (vay)].

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Tamhnaraigh  ~ Tamnabhagh: *Old Norse*-fn(-) in (Scottish) Gaelic  65


DIM: Dòmhnall Iain Moireasdan, Màraig (Harris).

DM: Dòmhnall Moireasdan, Màraig (Harris).

DMacGDh: Dòmhnall MacGilleDhuibh, Achadh na Croise (Lismore). [= MacIlleDhuibh]


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OS 1876, 1887, 1889: Ordnance Survey 1:50,500.


SSS PN1966/13: School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, compact disk reference.


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Y Kelly (1977), Juan, *Fockleyr Gailckagh as Baarlagh* (Douglas: The Manx Society; 1st pub. 1866).
On the east side of Loch Lomond, towards the south end of the loch, is the village of Balmaha, centred at about OS grid reference NS421907. It is in the parish of Buchanan, a large parish which stretches up almost the entire eastern side of the loch. Professor W. J. Watson discussed the place-name briefly and grouped it with other Scottish place-names which he believed contained a saint’s name, Mo-Thatha, which he held to be a hypocorism of the Irish name Tua ‘the silent one’. Among the places that he supposed were dedicated to St Mo-Thatha were Kilmaha (Cill Mo-Thatha) on Loch Awe, Balmaha with St Maha’s Well in Buchanan parish, Loch Mahaick (Loch Mo-Thathaig) east of Callander, and Cill Mo-Thatha, the old name of Glengairn church in Aberdeenshire.\(^1\) The dedication of some of these Scottish places to an obscure Irish Saint Tua or Mo-Thatha was called into question by Colm Ó Baoill in 1993, who showed that the cult in Cill Mo-Thatha/Glengairn at least was that of St Mungo or Kentigern. The name Kentigern was transformed by medieval devotion into two different hypocorisms, one Cumbrian, Munghu, and one Gaelic, Mo Choë (with written variants like Mo Cha). Ó Baoill also suggested that Watson, ever attentive to the pronunciations of Gaelic speakers in the landscapes whose names he was studying, had been misled by his informants’ pronunciation of the name Mo Cha, their \(ch\) being pronounced \([h]\) rather than \([x]\).\(^2\) This was one of those instances where local pronunciation is a less reliable guide than local cult. A similar case could be made for the early medieval church site on the north side of Loch Awe, Kilmaha, for which we have early forms Kilmacha (1685),\(^3\) Kilmachaw (1720)\(^4\) and Killmacha (c.1753),\(^5\) all of which suggest a medial \([x]\) in the saint’s name, suggesting Mo Cha rather than

\(^{1}\) Watson 1926, 297–98.

\(^{2}\) Ó Baoill 1993, 7–10. Note that Watson’s advancing deafness in the 1920s (see Nicolaisen 2002, 20) may have made distinguishing such sounds as \([h]\) and \([x]\) problematic. Watson’s emphasis on the authority of modern Gaelic pronunciations was perhaps slightly over-confident, especially vis-à-vis the value of earlier charter evidence. He writes, ‘The value of charter forms ... is best tested by confronting them with the modern Gaelic. Occasionally, especially in the case of Norse names, they are really important; as a rule, wherever the genuine Gaelic can be found, they are merely ancillary’ (Watson 1904–05, 50). The case of Mo Cha/Mo Tha in various places suggests that charter evidence should sometimes be used to test local pronunciation rather than vice-versa.

\(^{3}\) Comm. Arg. 10; I am grateful to Dr Rachel Butter for this reference.

\(^{4}\) NAS SC54/20/3/11/13, p. 5.

\(^{5}\) Roy map of Scotland. The early dating of the church at this site is indicated by the presence of early medieval sculpture (NMRS NM90NW 1).
Watson’s Mo Thatha. Similarly, Loch Mahaick – Watson states that it is Loch Mo-Thathaig – appears as Lochmaquhayak (1532), Lochmahek (1650) and Loch Machoig (c.1753), which point towards an earlier pronunciation of the name with medial [x].

The Saint of Balmaha

It appears that Watson was similarly led astray in regard to Balmaha. The personal name contained in this place-name was pronounced in Watson’s time, as it is now, with a medial consonant [h] rather than [x], as confirmed by the appearance of the name on OS maps (Balmaha and Saintmaha Well on OS 6 inch, 1st edn, 1865). But had he, in this instance, looked at earlier forms of the name – a principle that Watson insisted was of great importance – he would have found that 17th and 18th-century forms suggested a medial [x], as we shall see. Again, it appears the saint here is Mo Cha, not Mo Tha, but in this instance the Mo Cha in question is seen to be not Kentigern the bishop, but Kentigerna the nun, as established by the late John Durkan in his publication of an interesting note found on the first folio of the Blackadder Book of Devotions in the National Library of Scotland (MS 10271). It is worth reproducing the text of this note in full:

Sancta Kentigerna vocata Scotice Machquha, patrona ecclesie de Ynchcalzoch in Lenax, a nonnullis reputata soror beati Kentigerni, cuius festum celibratur crastino epiphanie Domini.

Another place whose modern spelling has lost the medial [x] of its saintly eponym is Kilmaho in Kintyre (at about NR678243), for which Rachel Butter has collected 17th-century forms: Kilmacho (1623 RMS viii no. 545), Kilmocho (1623 Argyll Sasines ii no. 174), Kilmacho (1692 Comm. Arg. 48) (Butter 2007, 237). In this case, because the modern Gaelic pronunciation was Cill Mo-Chatha (in spite of the OS representation of the name with medial [h] in ‘Kilmaho’), Watson did not suggest St Mo-Thatha as the eponym, but rather a ‘St Mo-Choe (two syllables)’, i.e. two syllables in the Choe element, as represented by Jackson’s and Ó Baoill’s Mo Choë (Watson 1926, 162). Strangely he was still reluctant to apply this name to Kentigern, who is the most obvious dedicatee of places of this name in Scotland. In spite of the fact that Watson goes on to note that a man called ‘Gillemachoi of Conglud’ was granted, with his children and his whole following, to the church of St Kentigern in Glasgow, and that his name meant ‘Mo Choe’s lad’, he does not connect the name Mo-Choe with that of the saintly bishop to whom he actually legally belonged (ibid.; see RRS ii no. 217).

Respectively, RMS iii no. 1154, Retours (Perth) no. 602, c.1750 Roy 16/2a. I am grateful to Peter McNiven, Glasgow University, for these references.

I make the distinction between Kentigern and Kentigerna here in regard to the two distinct cults which appear in the High Middle Ages. The early medieval origins of these two cults and their relationship to each other and to Glasgow and Lennox is one which I hope will be dealt with in print in the near future by Alex Woolf of St Andrews University, who has already expressed some radical and convincing thoughts about these cults in public lectures.

Durkan 1999, 88.
Saint Kentigerna, called in Gaelic *Machquha*, patron of the church of Inchcailloch in Lennox, is reputed by some to be the sister of the blessed Kentigern, whose feast (hers) is celebrated the day after the Epiphany of the Lord.

Inchcailloch (*Ynchcalzoch*), where this note states that Kentigerna was culted, is the name of an island in Loch Lomond, in the same parish as Balmaha (Buchanan) and lying only 400 metres off-shore from the village of Balmaha itself. Indeed, the church on Inchcailloch was the medieval kirk of the parish that later became Buchanan, the island kirk being abandoned in the 17th century and a new place of worship established on the mainland (NS454889, west of Buchanan Old House) for the convenience of the parishioners. The island name, Inchcailloch, is derived from Gaelic *innis caileach* ‘the island of nuns’, suggesting that Kentigerna’s cult was associated with actual or legendary vowed women on the island. Durkan was surely right in observing that the *Machquha* culted on the island and the saint of Balmaha, a stone’s throw away, were one and the same, and that they represented Kentigerna. In respect of pronunciation, the spelling of *Machquha* clearly indicates an original pronunciation with medial [x], not [h].

**The ‘Bal-’ of Balmaha**

This article is not meant to establish the identity of the saint whose name is contained in Balmaha: that has already been done quite convincingly and explicitly by Durkan, and implicitly by Ó Baoill, as the above discussion shows. My present concern is not with the specific element (the saint’s name), but with the generic element, which now appears as Bal-. I can only suppose that Watson believed it to represent Gaelic *baile* ‘township, farm, village, town’, one of the commonest Gaelic place-name elements and almost invariably reduced in Scots or English spellings to Bal-. Generally, names starting with Bal- are transparently *baile* names, and it is likely that Watson believed this to be the case here. Had he thought otherwise, it is hard to imagine he would not have said so. But there

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10 This kirk was, in its turn, abandoned when a new church was built in 1764 (NMRS NS48NE 5). Nothing now remains of the 17th-century building, though some stones may survive from the graveyard.

11 It is perhaps worth noting that the *Aberdeen Breviary*, in the early 16th century, also connected Kentigerna with the island of Inchcailloch. The ninth reading on the feast of Kentigerna says she went ‘to the island of Inchcailloch in Loch Lomond in Lennox’ (ad insulam *Inchcailloch* in *Lochoumont* in *Leuenax*) and that the parish church on the said island was still dedicated in her memory (in cuius veneracione in supradicta insula parrochialis ecclesia vsque hodie dedicata extitit) (Pars Hyemalis, Proprium Sanctorum fo. 25v).

12 This is certainly how it is read by the toponymist responsible for the Scottish Parliament web page on Gaelic place-names (www.scottish.parliament.uk/vli/language/gaelic/pdfs/placenamesA-B.pdf), which says that it is *Baile Mo Thatha* ‘Mo Thatha’s Farm’.
are problems with interpreting this name as a *baile*. The first objection is a more general and theoretical one: *baile* occurs only rarely in Scotland in combination with a saint’s name.\(^{13}\) Ireland also abounds in *baile* names, which when Englished mostly result in names beginning Ball(y)-, but once again it is rare to find *baile* compounded with a saint’s name.\(^{14}\) Some *baile*-names which look as if they might contain a saint’s name turn out, when early forms are investigated, to be quite different. Ballymartin in Co. Down for example, which might be thought to be a reference to St Martin, appears in 1552 as *Ballymicgyll Mertyn*, making it clear that the specific element is not Martin, saint or otherwise, but the family name Mac Giolla Mhàrtainn.\(^{15}\) Likewise Balmungeo by St Andrews in Fife looks as if it might contain the personal name Mungo, which is also a saint’s name of course, but early forms suggest that it probably contains Old or Middle Gaelic *mongach* (later *muingeach*) ‘long-haired, covered with thick vegetation, muirland’.\(^{16}\) And, of course, even *baile* names which do contain personal names may very well simply commemorate some local landowner at the time of the name’s coining rather than any saint.

If the combination of *baile* with a saint’s name is rare, it is not unknown, so from this point of view Balmaha could in theory be *Baile Mo Cha*. A more decisive objection to Balmaha being a *baile* arises from the spelling which the name takes in the earliest forms I can find. Most of these are unpublished. Indeed, it is striking how absent Balmaha is from the usual places that a toponymist might

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\(^{13}\) I was first alerted to this problem by Dr John Bannerman, who was not only an inspiring teacher at Edinburgh University in the 1990s, but also a generous host when I visited him unannounced at his home in Balmaha in 2007 to discuss another local toponymic puzzle with him (Inchtavannach), and when we first discussed Balmaha. It was with great sadness that his colleagues and friends learned of his death earlier this year. It was he who pointed me towards the reference to *Bualomacha* (1759) in Smith 1926, which first raised for me the question to which this article seeks an answer. Some *baile*-names do have a saint’s name as the specific element, however. Tain is known in Gaelic as *Baile Dhubthaich*, (named for St Dubhthach). It may date back to at least the early 17th century: the reference to the ‘villa de Sanct-Duthus de Tayne’ in 1609 (*RMS* vii no. 84) may be a Latinisation of *Baile Dhubthaich*. There is also Balkissock in Ballantrae parish, South Ayrshire, whose early forms include *Balmokessaig* (1540 *RMS* iii no. 2400), which looks like a dedication to Mo-Kessog or Kessog of Luss. Watson (1926, 262) notes a place called *Baile Bhaodáin* (*Balliebodane* 1603, *Ballebadan* 1631, *Ballibodan* 1697) near Ardchattan, which was at the site of *Cill Bhaodáin*, apparently named after a saint called Béatan, perhaps the second abbot of Iona. I am grateful to Kay Muhr, Alex Woolf, Peadar Morgan, Bill Paterson and Henry Gough-Cooper, members of the Scotplace online discussion group, for enlightening remarks made during a short discussion of *baile*-saint compounds earlier this year.

\(^{14}\) My thanks to Dr Kay Muhr, Queen’s University Belfast, for confirmation of this impression.

\(^{15}\) McKay 2007, 15.

\(^{16}\) For early forms and further discussion, see Taylor with Márkus Vol. 3, forthcoming, s.n.: *Balleminigi* c.1220, *Balmongy* 1420, *Balmungy* 1476, *Balmouny* 1587.
go to find early forms of a place-name, such as RMS, RRS, Exchequer Rolls and Retours. Nevertheless, earlier forms are traceable at least as far back as the 17th century. I list them here in chronological order.

BALMAHA BUC, LUS S NS421907 1 20m WEF

*Bolomohaw* 1682 NAS GD220/1/E/6/3/2 [part of the £40 land of Buchanan]
*Ballamahow vel Lochsyd* 1684 NAS GD220/1/E/4/3/6 [sasine in favour of the Marquis of Montrose of the lands and barony of Buchanan and others: the lands of Auchingyle (Auchingyle) and Gartfairn (Gartinfairne) called Balmaha or *Lochside and Gartskey (Gartsey)*]

*Ballomachaw* 1686 NAS GD220/1/K/2/3/1 [part of the £40 land of Buchanan]
*Bollomachau* 1686 NAS GD220/1/K/2/3/1 [part of the £40 land of Buchanan]
*Ballomachaw* 1686 NAS GD220/1/K/2/3/3 [part of the £40 land of Buchanan]
*Ballamachae* 1686 NAS GD220/1/K/2/3/4 [part of the £40 land of Buchanan]
*Bollomacha* 1686 NAS GD220/1/K/2/3/5 [part of the £40 land of Buchanan]
*Bollmachau* 1688 NAS CH2/606/9/55 [money collected there]
*Bollimahae* 1688 NAS CH2/606/9/57 [money collected there]
*Bualamachae* 1706 NAS GD220/1/K/2/3/9 ['part and pertinent of the ffourty pound land of Buchanan and lyes within the parochin of Inchcailloch']

*Ballamachae* 1714 NAS CH2/606/10/1
*Bollimachae* 1721 NAS CH2/606/10/63
*Bolomaha* 1738 NAS GD220/1/K/2/3/11 [part of the £40 land of Buchanan]
*Balmacha* 1745 Moll/Lennox-Dumbarton
*Ballamaha* c.1753 Roy map
*Loch of Ballamaha* c. 1753 Roy map [the water between Balmaha and Inchcailloch]
*Bualomocha* 1759 Smith 1896, 123 [3 families listed in the Kirk Session records in 1759]
*Pass of Bualomocha* 1759 Smith 1896, 123 ['there are besouth the Pass of

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17 This may be because, if I am right, it is not a baile name; nor was it a settlement name of any sort until perhaps the late 17th century, when it first appears as the name of a land-holding. It was therefore less likely to be recorded in charters, which were for the most part, after all, records of transactions relating to land, usually economically productive land.

18 This line of data follows the convention of the Scottish Place-Names Data-Base: name, parish abbreviation (BUC, LUS = now Buchanan, which used to be called Inchcailloch, and formerly a detached part of Luss), type of feature (S = settlement), Ordnance Pathfinder grid reference, degree of certainty as to location (1 = 'certain'), height above sea level to the nearest five metres orientation, if any (WEF = west-facing).
Bualomocha, in the parish of Buchanan of Person 503’

Ballomaha 1770 NAS RHP42670 [also shows Cottarys of Ballomoha, Pass of Ballomoha, ‘Common Muir of Bollomoha & Achingyle’ and ‘road from Ballomoha to Milntown’]

Pass of Ballomaha 1777 Ross/Dumbarton [one house marked on plan, and ‘Manse’]

Bwalamacha 1786 NAS GD220/1/K/2/3/10 [‘all and haill the lands of Bwalamacha, Gartskeo, Gartf[...]rrn, the wester maines of Buchanan, Stuckintagart, Croitichail and Gartbane with houses, biggings ... lying within the parochin of Inshcalioch ...’]

Balmaha 1817 Grassam/Stirling [five buildings shown; also the road up the pass and past the ‘Old Manse’]

Balmaha 1820 Thomson/Stirlingshire

Balmaha Pass 1847 A. & C. Black, Dumbarton County Map

Balmaha 1865 OS 6 inch 1st edn.

On the basis of these early forms, Balmaha is unlikely to contain baile as its first element. Two possible alternatives to baile present themselves. The first is bualie ‘sheep-fold or cattle-fold’, a word that might be suggested by such early forms of the name as Buallamacha (1706), Buallomocha (1759) and Bwalamacha (1786), and is perhaps consistent with the others, too. The [uə] sound of Buaile in a compound context such as in Balmaha would lose its stress, and could become [a] or [ɔ] – or for that matter the [ɛ] or perhaps [æ] represented by the first vowel of Belivet in Nairnshire, which Watson found was Buaile-fhiodhaid ‘thicket fold’.19

One problem with bualie is that though it does appear as a place-name element, like baile, it is very rarely found in combination with a saint’s name. I have been able to find only one instance: it is a place in Ireland called *Buaile Phádraic, a name which appears in the Tripartite Life of Patrick, the earliest version of which was produced around 800 AD, but which went through several subsequent revisions. In this text, *Buaile Phádraic seems to be the name of a small church or ecclesiastical settlement: ‘There is by the water a church (or place), ‘Patrick’s Fold’ is its name, i.e. there is a small cemetery with a cross there’.20 We should reflect that the conception of a church-site as a bualie or ‘fold’ is not a far-fetched one. After all, the priest responsible for the church is a ‘pastor’ or ‘shepherd’ of souls, and the congregation are a ‘flock’ in traditional terminology. The word bualie may

19 Watson 1926, 444.

20 ‘Atá forsind usciu locc, Buale Patraic nomen eius i. fert mbecc co crois and’ (Stokes 1887, 138). The use of locc for ‘church’ or some kind of church settlement derives from late Latin locus and, though it can mean simply ‘place’, it is most often used to refer to ecclesiastical places, as the context of the word in this case suggests it is used here.
also have had connotations of protected space or sanctuary, which again might be appropriate for a church site, and the idea that Inchcail Loch might have had a sanctuary on the eastern shore of Loch Lomond is not improbable.21 Leaving aside these more symbolic considerations, we should bear in mind that a name in buaille with a saint’s name may be, much more mundanely, the name of a piece of pastoral property – an actual fold or stockyard that happened to belong to a church dedicated to that saint. The church of Inchcail Loch might have owned such a property on the shore of Loch Lomond.

An alternative (and in my view more convincing) explanation of the first element of Balmaha lies in the Gaelic word bealach ‘defile, passage, mountain or hill pass, way, gap’ and so on. Old Gaelic belach yields Gaelic bealach, frequently pronounced [ˈbjə̆tʃax] in Gaelic, yielding Scots Balloch at the south end of Loch Lomond and Tayvallich22 (G. Taigh a’ Bhealaich) in Argyll. In Ireland, the element is found spelt in place-names in a wide variety of forms: Ballagh, Balloch, Bealach, Ballagh, Belach, Beluch, Bealach and Belagh.23 In Scotland, the final -ch of bealach may also be lost: note for example Ballo in Falkland parish in Fife, which is so called because it lies on an important pass or bealach through the Lomond Hills. Its early forms are Bellachis (where a Scots plural ending is added to the name) 1306 × 1329, Belach 1365, Bellow 1459, Bawola 1490, the Ballo 1517, Bellow 1531, Ballow 1550.24 This process of transformation of a name obviously containing bealach into the name Ballo is important for my argument, because it establishes a good precedent for the reduction of bealach to forms in Balla- and Ballo- which we saw in the early forms of Balmaha listed above. I would suggest that Balmaha is Bealach Mo Cha ‘the pass of St Mo Cha’. The pass in question, shown as the ‘Pass of Balmaha’ on modern OS maps, mentioned in 1759 as the Pass of Bualomocha25 and shown on Ross/Dumbarton (1777) as Pass of Ballmaha, is the narrow and steep road going north out of the village of Balmaha and past the Old Manse, between the hill of Craigie Fort26 and the south-western shoulder of Conic Hill.

21 See discussion of the kirk of Luss and its right of sanctuary, below.
22 Although some local Scots pronunciations of Tayvallich retain initial [vjā]- from Gaelic.
23 Hogan 1910, 98.
24 See Taylor with Márkus Vol. 2, forthcoming, s.n. A similar process has taken place with the bealach of Abernethy Glen, the pass through which the road ran south from Perth, through the parish of Abernethy, into Fife. In the late 12th century, we find the land of Belach in this pass (RRS ii no. 339), and this has given its name to the burn which now flows down the glen, the Ballo Burn.
25 Smith 1896, 123.
26 Note, incidentally, that Craigie Fort is a misleading anglicisation of the name, Creag a’ Phuirt ‘rock of the harbour’, referring to the little haven of Balmaha (now a marina) above which it looms. There is no sign of a fort on the site. My thanks to Chrissie Bannerman for this information.
The road then continues up the eastern shore of Loch Lomond. At the site of the pass the road crosses a significant division in the parish of Buchanan, a boundary in people’s mental maps of the area. In 1759, for example, it was noted that ‘there are besouth the Pass of Bualomocha of Person 503’, as if the pass marked an important division within the parish, south of which it was important to keep count of the inhabitants.\(^{27}\) Note that the 1770 map, RHP42670, is entitled ‘Barony of Buchanan Below the Pass’, the pass in question being the Pass of Balmaha, clearly a defining feature.\(^{28}\) There may be problems in accommodating some of the early forms of Balmaha to the \textit{bealach} origin of the name – forms such as \textit{Bualamocha} (1759) and \textit{Bwalamacha} (1786) – but these have to be seen in the context of the rest of the forms which are overwhelmingly of the \textit{Ballo} type, and also in the context of the local topography in which the settlement is at the end of an historically important pass or \textit{bealach}.

I suspect that this pass became such a defining feature partly because, until 1621, it was a parish boundary: to the north of the pass lay the parish of Inchcailloch, to the south of it lay a detached part of the parish of St Kessog’s of Luss on the west side of Loch Lomond. In 1621, this detached part of Luss was united and annexed by Act of Parliament to the parish of Inchcailloch, later called Buchanan. The Act of Parliament does not actually state which lands of Buchanan constituted the detached part of Luss parish,\(^{29}\) but a charter dated three years earlier is more specific. In the printed edition of the Register of the Great Seal, a charter is recorded in 1618 in which the king grants to John Buchanan of that ilk various lands in the parish of Buchanan, including ‘the forty-pound lands’, and other lands furth of Buchanan. Following this grant is appended a record of an agreement by the laird and the minister of Luss that certain lands in Buchanan should be separated from the parish of Luss and attached to the parish of Inchcailloch.\(^{30}\) The printed version of the charter does not make it entirely clear what lands were to undergo this change (it offers only a highly abbreviated account), but the original manuscript of the charter is much clearer about what lands are being transferred. As it has not to the best of my knowledge appeared in print, I will offer the most relevant part here:

\begin{verbatim}
Insuper nos intelligentes quod Joannes Colquhoune de Lus indubitatus patronus ecclesie parochialis de Lus, et magister Joannes Campbell, rector
\end{verbatim}

\(^{27}\) Smith 1896, 123.

\(^{28}\) It was also a defining feature when John Buchanan of that ilk found himself in severe financial difficulties in the 17th century. He sold the land ‘above the pass’ to the Marquis of Montrose in the first instance, but the payment was not enough to cover his debts and, a year or so later, he had to sell the remainder of his property (informant: the Duke of Montrose).

\(^{29}\) APS iv, 677.

\(^{30}\) RMS vii no. 1834.
et minister ejusdem pro tempore, comperientes dictas quadraginta libratas terrarum de Buchannane cum suis pertinen. ab ecclesia parochiali de Lus distare pro cotto\textsuperscript{31} millia passum in transitu per aquam et tria millia passum, lie thrie mylis, in transitu per terram, et quod possessores et incole dictarum quadraginta librarum terrarum non habent ordinarium transitum per pontem vel cymbam ad dictam ecclesiam parochialam unde dicti possessores et occupatores dict. quadraginta librarum terrarum predicacione verbi et administratione sacramentorum penitus fere sunt destituti, prefati Joannes Colquhoune et magister Joannes Campbell cum consensu et assensu dissoluerunt dictas quadraginta libratas cum suis pertinen., omnes decimas garbales, personatus et vicariatus earundem, tenentes et possessores earundem a dicta ecclesia parochiali, necnon prefatus Joannes Colquhoune indubitatus antedict. suum jus illius partis patronatus dicte ecclesie parochialis de Lus inquantum dictas quadraginta libratas de Buchanane cum suis pertinere. ... univit et annexauit dictas quadraginta libratas terrarum prefate ecclesie de Inschecalleoche eadem tanquam parte dicte parochie in perpetuum remanen. ...\textsuperscript{32}

In addition we, understanding that John Colquhoun of Luss, undoubted patron of the parish kirk of Luss, and Master John Campbell, rector and minister of the same kirk for the time being, ascertaining that the said forty-pound lands of Buchanan with their pertinents are eight miles distant from the parish kirk by water and three miles distant, ‘lie thrie mylis’, by land,\textsuperscript{33} and that the owners and inhabitants of the said forty-pound lands do not have an ordinary crossing by bridge or ferry-boat to the said parish church, and therefore the said owners and inhabitants of the said forty-pound lands are thoroughly and completely deprived of the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments, the foresaid John Colquhoun and Master John Campbell, with consent and assent, separated the said forty-pound land with their pertinents, all their garbal teinds, their parsonage and vicarage, tenants and possessors of the same from the said parish kirk (of Luss), and the aforesaid John Colquhoun, undoubted patron, having resigned his right to that part of the patronage of the said parish kirk of Luss relating to the said forty-pound lands of Buchanan with their pertinents ... united and annexed the said forty-pound lands to the aforesaid church of Inchcailloch to remain a part of that parish forever ...

\textsuperscript{31} Sic, for ‘octo’.

\textsuperscript{32} NAS C2/48 no. 398.

\textsuperscript{33} The distances given here are, of course, confused. It should read eight miles by land and three miles by water.
Note that the distance from Luss to the forty-pound lands of Buchanan by water (wrongly stated in the charter as ‘by land’) is said to be three miles, and that the charter even emphasises this distance by giving it in Latin and in Scots: ‘lie thrie mylis’. The ‘three miles by water’ may be important here, for it echoes the right granted to God and St Kessog in 1315 by King Robert I of a sanctuary or ‘gyrth’ extending ‘for the space of three miles on every side, both by land and by water, around the kirk of Luss’ (circa ecclesiam de Lusse per spatium trium miliarum ex omni parte tam per terram quam per aquam). The three-mile reach of Luss’s sanctuary is surely related to the fact that the detached part of the parish of St Kessog of Luss in the forty-pound land of Buchanan is stated in 1621 to be three-miles-distant lands of Buchanan.

I have been unable to find any clearly comprehensive list of the lands comprising the forty-pound lands of Buchanan, but the NAS documents (GD220) cited above in the table of early forms of Buchanan are more or less unanimous in locating at least the following places in the forty-pound lands: Balmaha, Gartskey, Gartfairn, Wester Mains of Buchanan, Stuc an t-Sagairt, Creityhall and Garadh Ban. The locations of these places are shown on the map below. The forty-pound land may have included other lands to the east of these, such as Ballinjou (see discussion below), but we must include at least these named lands in the territory held by Luss parish. The fact that this cluster of named lands belonging to Luss parish lies immediately south of the pass means that the bealach of Mo Cha is the pass by which someone travelling north by road moved from the territory of Kessog, patron saint of Luss, into the territory of Mo Cha/Kentigerna, patroness of Inchcailloch/Buchanan. The ‘pass of Mo Cha’ is a toponymic marker of the beginning of Mo Cha’s territory (Map).

Interestingly, OS Explorer shows St Maha’s Well (NS457918), which is also clearly a dedication to Mo Cha which has undergone the same shift of medial [x] to [h]. The relationship of this well to the boundary between the lands of St Kessog and St Mo Cha will be discussed below.

The map shows the locations of the Pass of Balmaha and St Maha’s Well in relation

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34 *RRS* v no. 55.

35 ‘The forty-pound land of Buchanan lies 3.8 English statute miles from the kirk of Luss. But the statement of distance here is more or less certain to be referring to the older Scots ‘common mile’, which was equal to 1.42 English miles, or 2.29km, and was in common use throughout Scotland until the latter part of the 18th century (Connor and Simpson 2004, 95–96). The forty-pound land of Buchanan therefore lay, at its nearest point, only 2.67 miles from Luss kirk.

36 I have not been able to confirm this shift by earlier forms, however, the earliest I have found so far being *Saintmaha Well* in 1865 (OS 6 inch 1st edn).
to the forty-pound land of Buchanan, the last of these being an approximate description based on the lands which are repeatedly stated to be parts of the forty-pound land in 17th-century documents, recalling that this is a minimum extent based on the lands that we know were in the forty-pound land, but not including other lands which may have been. The forty-pound land may indeed have extended as far east as the parish boundary.

(As an aside, it is worth remarking that the Pass of Balmaha crosses a boundary significant not only for the parish but for the whole of Scotland: as the road crosses the south-western shoulder of Conic Hill, it also crosses the Highland Boundary Fault which divides the whole country from coast to coast and separates two quite different geological zones. The view of this fault from the top of Conic Hill is spectacular.)

More on St Kessog

Finally, another place-name in the area of Balmaha is of interest in the context of saints’ cults. OS Explorer Ballinjou Wood has early forms that include:

BALLINJOUR BUC S NS45 90 2
Ballindorane 1635 RMS ix no. 274
Ballindorane 1635 RMS ix no. 492
Ballindeor 1721 NAS CH2/606/10/49 [examination roll for the parish of Inchcailoch]
Ballandonin Muir Inclosure 1770 NAS RHP42670 [centred at circa NS458910]
Ballandonin arable 1770 NAS RHP42670 [centred at circa NS454904]
Ballinjou Wood 1861 OS 6 inch 1st edn

This name seems to represent Gaelic baile an deòraidh ‘farm of the dewar or keeper of a saint’s relic’. I have not found Ballinjou named as one of the parts of the forty-pound land of Buchanan, though Creityhall immediately to its west is. As we do not know how far east the forty-pound land extended, it is possible that Ballinjou was part of it but was for some reason not listed in the GD220 documents among other parts of the forty-pound land. The reason I suggest that Ballinjou might have been part of St Kessog’s lands is that the only relic we know of connected with the lands around Buchanan (and therefore the only known candidate for the relic of the eponymous dewar of Ballinjou) is the bell of St Kessog. In 1567,

37 For a brief discussion of the dewar and his custody of relics, and the element deòraidh in place-names, see Watson 1926, 264–67. The early forms of Ballinjou ending in –ane and –in may call my analysis into question, as I can think of no good reason for an original baile an deòraidh to produce a name with a final -n sound. It is possible that a diminutive form of the noun was the original specific element – Old Gaelic deoradin is twice attested in DIL – but the early form Ballindeor and the modern form Ballinjou give no indication of the presence of a diminutive suffix. Is it possible that a diminutive form of the name was sometimes used and sometimes not? Note, however, that there are at least two analogous modern place-names which may contain an original specific element deòraidh and which have subsequently acquired a final -n sound. One is Auchterderran in Fife, which has early forms including Hurkyndorath and Hurkendorath (1053 × 1093), Urechehem (1152 × 1159), Hurbynderich (1243 × 1254), Hurwharderech (1240 × 1250), Vtyrderet (1240 × 1250), Hurkedr’ (1240 × 1250), Hurwarderech (1279 × 1297), Ochtinderay (1476). It first appears with a final -n sound represented in 1623. For these and other early forms, and for discussion of the name, see Taylor with Márkus Vol. 1, under Auchterderran. The other place-name which seems to contain the specific element deòraidh with a final -n in its modern form is Bandirran, also in Fife. Its earliest form is Ballendureth (c.1204 × 1228), which is fairly convincing for Baile an deòraidh, but the next earliest form, three centuries later, is Balderane (1509). For discussion of this name see Taylor with Márkus Vol. 2, under Bandirran CER. Though I am unable to give a satisfactory reason for this transformation of the final sound of deòraidh to -n, it does seem to be attested elsewhere. In any case, though in the Fife occurrences the final -n has remained in the modern standard forms, this has not happened in Ballinjou, where the modern standard form of the name has retained a reasonable approximation to the Gaelic deòraidh, and to the Scots name Dewar, which comes from that word. I am grateful to Thomas Owen Clancy and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh for their comments on this question.

38 The easternmost field of Creityhall farm is called Ballinjou Field today. I am grateful to the owner, the Duke of Montrose, for this information.
for example, the king granted to George Buchanan of that ilk the lands of Buchanan et al., ‘with the bell and alms of St Kessog’ (cum campana et elimosina S. Cassogi).

Given the association of this relic of St Kessog with the lands of Buchanan, it is most likely that the farm in the lands Buchanan which got its name from a relic-keeper, Ballinjour, was associated with St Kessog. Given these circumstances, and the fact that Ballinjour lies on the eastern edge of the known forty-pound lands which we know belonged to St Kessog until 1621, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the farm of the keeper of St Kessog’s relic was also a detached part of the parish of St Kessog of Luss. If Ballinjour was part of the forty-pound land, of course, then the shaded area on the above map would have to be extended eastwards some 200 or 300 metres.

Whether Ballinjour belonged to St Kessog or not, the lands of Gàradh Bàn are certainly part of the forty-pound land of Buchanan which did belong to that saint, and their northern edge lies very close to St Mo Cha’s Well (OS Explorer ‘St Matha’s Well’), west of the outfield lands of Ballinjour, now Ballinjour Wood (shown as Ballindorin Muir Inclosure in 1770 on RHP42670). The dedication and location of St Mo Cha’s Well, therefore, looks like another saintly boundary marker, defining (and protecting?) the place where St Mo Cha’s territory meets St Kessog’s.

If Ballinjour was the land of the dewar of St Kessog’s relic, then this name can also be seen as a saintly territorial marker, the two saints ‘facing off’ against each other, St Kessog on the southern side, perhaps even marking the eastern limit of the

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39 RMS iv no. 1757. The bell and alms of St Kessog are similarly associated with the lands of Buchanan in Retours (Stirling) no. 8 (1561) and no. 37 (1602), both to Buchanan of that ilk. An earlier reference appears to ‘campana <et> elemosina Sancti Kessogii’ in 1526, in a sasine given to George Buchanan of that ilk (ER xv, 641).

40 This looks as it was in origin another gart-name: Garthain 1682 (NAS GD220/1/E/6/3/2), Garthaine 1686 (GD220/1/K/2/3/1), Garthane 1738 (GD220/1/K/2/3/11); but note also Garbane 1686 (GD220/1/K/2/3/3 and 5).

41 The present forested area of Gàradh Bàn Wood, close to St Macha’s Well, is bounded on its northern limit by a dry-stone dyke (apparently of 18th or 19th-century construction), with a burn or drainage ditch on the outer side. This may be the old northern march of the forty-pound-land of Buchanan, and note that St Macha’s Well lies about 140 metres north of the dyke. The well itself is still clearly visible in its little hollow, lined with stones. It has clearly been visited in recent times, as a few modern offerings lie at the bottom of it (coins and pieces of white quartz). Some seven paces to the north-east, on a small mound, stands an erect stone, set in a base made of several other stones laid into the ground, which looks as if it may be the remains of a cross. This upright stone is not recorded in the NMRS on-line record of the site (NS49SE 2), which interprets the mound as ‘possibly the remains of an earlier well-head’. This does not seem likely to me, given the lie of the land immediately round about, which does not suggest that water would have emerged at this raised point of the muir.
sanctuary offered by the medieval church of Luss, and St Mo Cha on the northern side.

Finally, note that the early forms of the name Balmaha (like those of other places dedicated to Mo Cha /Kentigern /Kentigerna) may help us to understand something of the original pronunciation of this hypocoristic name. Ó Baoill represented the name as *Mo Choë*, in which he followed Kenneth Jackson, and noted that this Gaelic form may have involved a disyllable, which was also reflected in variant forms such as *Mo Chua*. Whatever the earlier pronunciation and spelling of the name, such 17th and 18th-century forms cited above as *Kilmachaw* for Kilmaha, and *Bolomohaw, Ballomachaw, Bollomachau’ and Bollmachau* for Balmaha, suggest rather a pronunciation ending in [əː], nor a disyllable, nor the modern [æː] which is normally heard these days. It was therefore very pleasing to be informed by Mr Walter McAllister at Creityhall, Mrs Chrissie Bannerman at the Old Manse and the Duke of Montrose at Achmar that the proper pronunciation of the name locally is [ˈbalməhaː].

Acknowledgements

In addition to those thanked by name in various footnotes for offering local information and expert help, I would like to thank Dr Simon Taylor of the Department of Celtic at Glasgow University and the Duke of Montrose for their comments on earlier drafts of this article, the latter also for valuable local information; also Peter McNiven of the same Department of Celtic for help in locating Gartskey. Any errors remaining are of course my own responsibility. I am also grateful to Dr Carolyn Coxon and Anne Devine for their help in making possible, and very enjoyable, a visit to Balmaha and its environs in the summer of 2008.

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*Argyll Sasines Abstracts of the Particular and General Registers of Sasines for Argyll, Bute and Dunbarton, otherwise known as Argyll Sasines*, ed. H. Campbell (Edinburgh 1933–34).

42 Against this, Balinjour is about four old Scots ‘common miles’ from Luss kirk, but medieval measurements of distance, particularly across water, were not necessarily accurate, and there may have been local circumstances which made an extension of the three mile sanctuary appropriate.


Grassom/Stirling: John Grassom, ‘To the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the County of Stirling’, 1817 (NLS EMS.s.623).


Moll/Lennox-Dumbarton: ‘The Shire of Lenox or Dunbarton’ (London 1745) (NLS EMS.b.2.1(18)).

NAS: National Archives of Scotland.


NMRS: National Monuments Record Scotland (managed by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland), online at www.rcahms.gov.uk.


OS: Ordnance Survey.


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Taylor, Simon (with Gilbert Márkus), forthcoming, The Place-Names of Fife Volume 3: St Andrews and the East Neuk (Donington).
Thomson/Stirlingshire: Thomson, John, ‘Stirlingshire’, in John Thomson’s Atlas of Scotland (NLS EMS.s.712 (14)).
This paper explores some of the recent developments in research on Scots words and Scottish place-names, in the context of modern Scottish culture. I would like to begin with a brief discussion of the historical evolution of street names in St Andrews, a matter that has often proven controversial in discussions relating to the Scots language. Many commentators seek to present such changes as part of a deliberate campaign of cultural erosion. For example, David Purves notes that “Baxters Wynd” has been disgracefully transmogrified into “Bakers Lane” (1997). While it is clear that many Scots street names have been replaced by (Scottish) English names, it may be more accurate to regard this process simply as a component of an organic process of change rather than a hostile act against the Scots language.

Putting the medieval alteration of the specific example above in context, Smart and Fraser (1995) give the following account:

BAKER LANE – The oldest, 15th century, form is Baxter Wynd. In the 16th and 17th century this form alternated with Bakehouse Wynd. In the eighteenth century the name became Bakers Wynd and in 1843 this was altered to Baker Lane. (1995, 13)

In August 2005, St Andrews Community Council deliberated over several historically-altered street names and decided that several street signs should display the old name alongside the current name. The discussion was minuted as follows:

A paper giving some old St Andrews street names was circulated. These had been taken from information given in the book on St Andrews street names by Bob Smart and Ken Fraser. She [Jane Ann Liston] noted that while it

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1 A version of this paper was presented at a conference of the Forum for Research on the Languages of Scotland and Ulster on 8 December 2007. I am grateful to many of the delegates present for their comments and suggestions, and would particularly like to thank Dr Carole Hough and Dr Simon Taylor for their input. I am also grateful to the anonymous referee for some very helpful constructive criticism.

2 Such changes are often referred to as ‘anglicisation’, but this term can be misleading if it is intended to imply some sort of culturally hostile, ‘foreign’ interference from England – what we really need is an alternative term meaning ‘to make Scottish-English in character’. Perhaps if we referred to it as ‘Scottish anglicisation’ it would be clearer that such alterations were implemented by Scottish people (albeit often in reaction to local symptoms of the more general process of change that ultimately prevented Scots from becoming the standard language).
was Fife Council policy, ... to include information on the former street names whenever a name plate needed to be replaced, this had not been happening. The reason seemed to be that there was no agreed list of old names. She has therefore prepared this list of mainly C15th names to see if it was agreeable to community council. The intention was not to revert to the old name, merely to include information on it (as at Bakers Lane / “formerly Baxter Wynd”). She asked for community council’s comments. Pete Lindsay ... understood this to be existing, if neglected, community council policy and thought it would add interest to the town centre street names. ... [The] [m]eeting agreed to support the [following] list:3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current name</th>
<th>Former name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbey Street</td>
<td>Priors Wynd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge Street</td>
<td>Maggie Murray’s Wynd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Road/ Alfred Place/ Alexandra Place</td>
<td>Cow Wyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Street</td>
<td>Mercat Wynd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Scores</td>
<td>Castlegait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregorys Lane</td>
<td>Dickiemans Wynd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lade Braes Lane</td>
<td>Common Close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logies Lane</td>
<td>Logies Wynd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Street</td>
<td>Mercatgait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttoes Lane</td>
<td>Bakehouse Close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Castle Street</td>
<td>Fishergait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Street</td>
<td>Northgait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scores</td>
<td>Swallowgait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Castle Street</td>
<td>Huxter Wynd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Street</td>
<td>Southgait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Street</td>
<td>Foul Waste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Burn Lane</td>
<td>Butler’s Wynd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the list clearly shows that in some cases a recognisably Scots element has been replaced by a (Scottish) English one – such as the alterations of Priors Wynd to Abbey Street, Mercatgait to Market Street and Southgait to South Street – it is also clear that there were many other changes. It would be an oversimplification to regard such changes as unambiguous evidence for a focused campaign of (Scottish) anglicisation. Nevertheless, the erosion of Scots elements in these names is striking.

3 St Andrews Community Council draft minutes (August, 2005).
This paper presupposes that the cultural identity of an individual is strongly tied to their experiences of language, and that many further factors, particularly a knowledge of history and literature, may bind each person to his or her cultural identity. Some components of these aspects of cultural identity—such as knowledge of folk traditions, poems and songs—can be viewed as universal human experiences, essentially taking place outwith formal education or legislation. Nevertheless, I would argue that the national institutions responsible for formal education have a duty of care towards the celebration and understanding of the full range of modern, diverse cultural identities that exist within their nation.

Unfortunately, Scotland is in a rather peculiar position regarding the teaching of its own heritage and culture. Although Scots has achieved legal recognition of its status as a language, the UK Government having signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 2000, it is still struggling for respect and recognition in many schools. Furthermore, the teaching of Scottish history often fails to tell our nation’s story in full. One of the comments that outreach officers for Scottish Language Dictionaries often hear from Scots speakers is that they appreciate the recognition and legitimisation of their language. Confidence in one’s own identity is central to the development and empowerment of the individual. Educators, councils and other authorities seem, in principle, to be aware of this idea, but it needs to be applied. For example, good teachers understand that a correct answer, spoken in Scots, is still a correct answer and will regard such an event as a learning opportunity. This applies not only to vocabulary but also to grammar. If a child says ‘I had went’ for ‘I had gone’, a good teacher will recognise both that this is not Standard English and that it is natural to that child’s variety of language. If any teacher unthinkingly dismisses such differences from the standard as ‘wrong’, with no further explanation, they should be fully aware of the damage they may be inflicting on the child’s confidence and sense of identity. Gaelic and Scots speakers have often been shamed or punished for using their own varieties of language, but with an educated teaching force, confident in its knowledge of Scotland’s diverse mix of linguistic influences, comparisons between different modes of expression should be welcomed and encouraged.

Until very recently, recognition of Scots in schools was almost entirely

4 The treaty was formally ratified on 1 July 2001. See discussion in Macafee 2002.
5 As recently as May 2008, at Word 08, a writers’ festival held at the University of Aberdeen, Professor Tom Devine criticised the current arrangements for teaching Scottish history in schools. He was quoted in an article in The Scotsman (9 May 2008) as saying that since the SNP Government came to power in 2007, there have been ‘precious few actions or practical progress a year later’.
dependent on the ethos of individual schools and teachers. This situation seemed unlikely to change, given that the draft documents for *A Curriculum for Excellence* initially made no reference to Scots whatsoever. However, after considerable campaigning, most notably and diligently by Matthew Fitt, National Schools and Communities Scots Language Development Officer for Itchy Coo, the omission of Scots was redressed. At a meeting of the Scots Language Cross-Party Group on the 4 December 2007, Maureen Watt MSP, Minister for Schools and Skills, announced that Scots would be included in the relevant documentation that forms part of ‘Building the Curriculum 1’. This may sound like a small victory, but it is very significant that Scots is now openly acknowledged as an important part of Scotland’s ‘rich diversity of language’ in the documentation that will guide our future teachers.

This modern example of living culture is of particular significance to the future of language learning and perceptions of language in Scotland. While such matters as the interaction of place-names and lexis may more frequently be discussed in rather dispassionate, abstract contexts, they are also linked to the lifeblood of local and national culture. A dictionary is a cultural storehouse as well as an academic tool. Furthermore, the policies devised by dictionary makers inevitably impose certain judgements on the data, and the definitions themselves tell a story about their authors. In the current climate of descriptive linguistics, there is a need for lexicographers to objectively assess the usage of every word and create definitions that are true to the living language. This might sound straightforward enough, but it can result in controversy. Several dictionaries, including the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), found themselves at the centre of a heated row over the definition of *McJob*, a term which arose on analogy with the name of that famous restaurant, McDonald’s (worryingly, if impishly, known to some North Americans as ‘the Scottish restaurant’). The *OED* defined *McJob* as ‘An unstimulating, low-paid job with few prospects, esp. one created by the expansion of the service sector’. McDonald’s ran a campaign to change the dictionary definition and *OED* staff found protestors at the gates. Fortunately, their lexicographical principles held and the definition remains true to the quotation evidence, which plainly shows how the word is used:

**McJob**, *n.*
colloq. and depreciative (orig. U.S.).

[< *Mc-* (in the name of the *McDonald’s* chain of fast-food restaurants

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6 Itchy Coo is an imprint of Black & White Publishing and ‘specialises in Scots Language books for children and young people’; see, further, at <www.itchy-coo.com>.
8 I am grateful to Joshua Pendragon for this information.
(see MCDONALD’S n.), popularly regarded as a source of such employment) + JOB n.²

Used with allusion to the McDonald’s Corporation’s practice of using Mc- as an initial element in a range of proprietary product names, rather than a direct allusion to the programme mentioned in the following quotation:

1985 Los Angeles Times (Nexis) 29 July II. 6/1 For instance, the McDonald’s fast-food chain recently began a training program for the handicapped in the San Fernando Valley called McJobs. McDonald’s has hired a dozen people after the two 10-week training programs held so far.

An unstimulating, low-paid job with few prospects, esp. one created by the expansion of the service sector.


I. i. 5 Dag..was bored and cranky after eight hours of working his McJob (‘Low pay, low prestige, low benefits, low future’). 1993 Albuquerque (New Mexico) Jrnl. 4 Apr. C3/2 So many bright and ambitious young people are wasting what should be their apprentice years in low-wage, low-skilled jobs, what are called ‘McJobs’. 1995 Face Jan. 91/2 Up to the beginning of this year he was painting houses for a living. Name a McJob and Beck has probably done it.

(OED3 s.v. McJob n. <www.oed.com>)

Lexicographers of living languages very much appreciate the value of material contributed to dictionary projects by members of the public. Information about new words, or words which are rarely found in print, can be particularly useful when updating and revising dictionary text. This is especially true for Scots, given that much of its lexis is primarily spoken rather than written. That said, the data always has to be examined critically. During the production of the 2005 Supplement to the Scottish National Dictionary, one of the comments received by Scottish Language Dictionaries from a member of the public was a ‘definition’ of the word schemie as ‘someone who looks or dresses as though they come from a housing scheme’. While it is interesting to see how such terms are perceived, modern dictionaries require a little more objectivity. This information was used in the quotation paragraph, but made little contribution to the definition text:⁹

SCHAME, n., v. Add: 2. (1) scheme A local-authority housing estate.

*wm.Sc. 1991 Liz Lochhead Bagpipe Muzak 16: When me, him and the weans got a hoose o’ wur ain In a four-in-a-block in this scheme.

⁹ The Irvine Welsh quotation is differently judgemental, but provides something of an antidote.
... Add: 2. (2) Derogatory term for a person from a housing scheme, and by extension for a person who evidences anti-social characteristics commonly associated with poverty and deprivation (Ags., Edb., Gsw., Ayr. 2000s)

... Add Deriv.: schemie ... = 2. (2). Also schema (Ags., Edb., Gsw., Ayr. 2000s). *Edb. 1991: schemie a person who behaves, dresses etc as if coming from a housing scheme (e.g. wearing wide-legged, light-blue jeans, shell suits, heavy make-up, jewellery etc).*Edb. 1993 Irvine Welsh Trainspotting (1994) 64: They’d rather gie a merchant school old boy with severe brain damage a job in nuclear engineering than gie a schemie wi a Ph.D. a post as a cleaner in an abattoir.

(DSL s.v. schame n. <www.dsl.ac.uk>)

Lexicography needs to keep pace (as best it can) with the changing language, but it also needs to reassess the past in the light of new perspectives. When researching the history of Scots, we often need to look not only at lexis but also at the onomastic record. So little written Scots survives from the period from 1100–1375 that it is referred to as ‘pre-literary Scots’ and for this period in particular, the evidence provided by place and personal names can be of special relevance. There is a growing recognition of the usefulness of place-name evidence in the field of historical linguistics and onomastics has a great deal to contribute to our understanding of the Scots language.

There are a number of specific ways in which onomastic and lexical research can advance together. Lexical research on Scots was transformed by two major projects which began in the 1920s. The 10-volume Scottish National Dictionary (SND) was completed in 1976 and the 12-volume Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (DOST) in 2002. In 2004, both works became available, free over the internet, as the Dictionary of the Scots Language, which also includes the 2005 Supplement and Caroline Macafee’s excellent account of the History of Scots to 1700. Several important studies of Scottish place-names were written before these dictionaries were fully available and, inevitably, these name studies suffered from the absence of these resources. Had, for example, Angus Macdonald and Norman Dixon, working in the 1930s and 1940s, had access to the Dictionary of the Scots Language, they would no doubt have arrived at very different interpretations for several names.

For example, SND has an entry for the word peel ‘a palisade or fence of stakes, a stockade; the ground enclosed by such’. The dictionary also recognises the derived compound pilmuir, which it defines as ‘a piece of common land enclosed by a fence and cultivated as arable ground’, found in Morayshire, Fife, Lothian, Berwick and Roxburgh (SND s.v. peel n.4 I.1. (2)). Lexical examples...
of the term include a comparatively recent quotation from *The Scotsman* in 1934, where an article describes a ‘desirable self-contained dwelling-house ... with access to garden together with pilmuir’ (*SND* s.v. peel *n.*4 I.1.). The lost name *Pilmuir*, in Torphichen West Lothian, was thought to contain Old English *pyll* ‘a pool’ by Macdonald (1941, 97), and Dixon accepted the same interpretation for the Pilmuir in Currie, Midlothian (1947, 177–78), but comparison with *SND*’s evidence demonstrates that this is a further onomastic use of the compound. The related *peel-rig* is defined in *SND* as ‘a ridge or strip of land on a *pilmuir*’ (*SND* s.v. peel *n.*4 I.1. (3)), which would no doubt have given Dixon pause before he interpreted the place-name Pilrig in Midlothian as ‘probably “ridge by a stream”’ (1947, 133). Clearly, the lack of such lexical data put these early onomastic researchers at a considerable disadvantage.

That said, there are many situations in which the onomastic evidence diverges from the lexical evidence, so such comparisons should always be made with care. In instances where a place-name element is rare or unusual, the interpretation of the onomastic evidence becomes particularly tricky. A case in point is the use of *barmekin* in Scottish place-names. There is not a great deal of early evidence for these names, but for the most part, they can be grouped together on the grounds of their related topography. The word *barmkin* meaning ‘battlement, battlemented wall; a wall of defence’ has been recorded in Scots texts since the 15th century (*DOST* s.v. barmkin *n.*).

Barmekin Hill, in the parish of Echt in Aberdeenshire, is mentioned in Lewis Grassic Gibbon’s novel *Sunset Song* and is a dominant feature in the landscape. It is also know as Barmekin of Echt, the addition of the term *hill* being a recent development. In *Sunset Song*, rain is described ‘wheeling over the Barmekin’ (1933, 33) and the sun falls on ‘the sides of Barmekin’ (1933, 34), suggesting that the term denoted the topographical feature, rather than just the ramparts at its summit. The hill has an altitude of 274 metres, and is described in the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland’s CANMORE database\(^\text{10}\) as the site of a hill-fort ‘distinguished in having an unusual number of ramparts and entrances’ (*s.v. Barmekin of Echt*). This archaeological feature confirms the logical source of the name, considering that a *barmkin* is a ‘battlemented wall; a wall of defence’. The remains of the fort are extensive; there are five ramparts arranged concentrically, enclosing an area 112 metres across, with the ramparts visible as ‘heather-covered rubble banks’, 2.8 metres in height at their highest point (CANMORE s.v. *Barmekin of Echt*).

The CANMORE database also includes an entry for Barmkyn of North

\(^{10}\) <www.rcahms.gov.uk/search.html#canmore>.
Keig, a stone fort, again in Aberdeenshire, which ‘crowns the broad flat summit of an isolated hill’. As in the case of the Barmekin of Echt, the remains of various ramparts are still visible, and the site is also known by the alternative name of The Barmkyn (CANMORE s.v. Barmkyn of North Keig). Also on CANMORE is Fourmerklанд Tower and Barmkin in Dumfriesshire, where it is still possible to see ‘the position and extent of the barmkin wall’ around the tower under certain conditions of light (s.v. Fourmerklанд Tower and Barmkin). A number of other sites with prominently situated hills and towers include Barmkin Tower in the parish of Inverness and Bona, Inverness-shire, Barmkin in Carluke parish, South Lanarkshire (site of the Tower of Hallbar), and Smailholm Tower and Barmkin, in Smailholm parish, Roxburgh. As noted by May Williamson, another example is Barnkin of Craigs in Dumfriesshire (1942, 188).

Other names that could be included in this group include Barmickhill in Ayrshire and Bairnkine in Southdean, Roxburgh. The only significant historical spelling for the Roxburgh name is the 17th-century form, Barmkyn (Williamson 1942, 188). Without this evidence, the shift from Barmkyn to Bairnkine would remain obscure and the spelling should perhaps be considered with caution, as there is some possibility that orthographic confusion of -rm- and -irn- could have taken place. However, the spelling Barmkyn provides us with a plausible explanation for the modern place-name, which is difficult to interpret otherwise. If we consider the historical form to be a genuine record of the place-name, the change from Barm- to Bairn- is likely to have arisen as a result of folk etymology, with the semantically obscure Barm- being reinterpreted as Bairn- on analogy with Scots (and northern English) bairn ‘child’. Similar morphological confusion can be seen in the northern English dialectal compounds barm-team and bairn-team ‘brood of children, offspring, family; posterity’, also recorded in Scotland as ‘a brood of children; offspring (of persons or animals)’ from the 15th century (OED2 s.v. bairn-team n., DOST s.v. barneteme n.). According to the second edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, the original form of the word was bairn-team, which was later corrupted, perhaps as a result of confusion with barm ‘bosom’ (OED2 s.v. barm-team n.).

Barmekin has not been identified in English place-names, although the word makes occasional appearances in English texts dating back to the 14th century. While the core lexical meaning of the word barmkin is clearly demonstrated by the dictionaries as ‘wall of defence; fortification of a castle or similar structure’, the evidence of the Scottish names shows that in toponymic use it has taken on the extended sense ‘hill with a fortification’. The quotations from Gibbon remind us that the context of name evidence can be just as crucial for interpretative purposes as the
evidence of early spellings – a point I will return to again later.

While words can (with caution) help us to interpret names, the process can also work in reverse, and name evidence is playing an increasingly important role in lexicography. Looking at Scotland in particular, much onomastic research has been conducted since the early volumes of *DOST* were completed in the 1930s. Significant early material not covered by *DOST* includes place-name evidence for *howlet* ‘owl’ in the 14th-century forms of Howliston in Midlothian (*Howelotestone* 1336–37). The name antedates the lexical use in Scots by over a 100 years. Less dramatically, but still significantly, evidence for the term *moch* ‘a moth’ is found in the early spellings of the lost name *Mochbollie* (1627) in Midlothian, which antedates literary evidence for the word by 10 years.

Similarly, *sanctuary* is found in the lost name *Sanctuary Crofts* in Linlithgow, West Lothian, first recorded in 1451 as *les Sanctuary-crofis* (Macdonald 1941, 121). This name pre-dates known use of the word in Scottish sources by around 60 years. The interpretation of this name usefully illustrates some of the challenges posed by comparative lexical and onomastic evidence within the British Isles. *Sanctuary* is not listed as a place-name element in A. H. Smith’s *English Place-Name Elements* (1956), but a small number of examples can be found in later volumes of the English Place-Name Survey and also in English field names: *Sanctuary* in Rutland, *Seyntuary Close* in Oxfordshire and *The Sentury Land* in Berkshire. Names such as *The Quire* and *Chauncell Close* in Oxfordshire refer to lands endowed for the upkeep of parts of the chancel (Hough 2001, 47). Analysis of this comparative data from England led Carole Hough to suggest that *sanctuary*, in the West Lothian name *Sanctuary Crofts*, may signify ‘a section of the chancel (the most sacred area of the church and containing the altar)’, with the place-name therefore denoting ‘lands endowed for the upkeep of this part of the church’ (2001, 47). While this is both a plausible and a possible solution, some aspects of the conclusion must remain speculative – for instance, the use of *croft* as a generic in names of the type ‘lands endowed for the maintenance of something (usually a part of a church)’ appears to be unparalleled in the British toponymicon.

Comparative Scottish place-name evidence provides some support for Hough’s thesis. The lost names *Lampacre* and *Lampland* in Midlothian denote...
'land set aside for the maintenance of a lamp or light in the Church of the parish' (Dixon 1941, 172). In these examples, lamp combines with terms that unambiguously denote areas of land, namely Middle Scots aiker ‘an acre’ and land ‘land’. Nevertheless, the Scottish element croft is not synonymous with these and often denotes ‘a small-holding’, although in Older Scots it could also denote ‘a piece of enclosed land, or small field, used for tillage or pasture’ (DOST s.v. croft n.). The 1451 document in which Sanctuary Crofts is first recorded also mentions ‘le Orchardcroft et de Fethelcroft’ (RMS II no. 462), the latter now being known as Fiddler’s Croft. For both of these names, Macdonald takes the element croft to indicate ‘enclosed land’, i.e. ‘enclosed land used as an orchard’ and ‘enclosed land shaped like a fiddle’ or ‘land belonging to the fiddler’ (1941, 120, 116). Lost minor Linlithgow names also include Coopers’ Croft and Spittal Croft (Macdonald 1941, 112–22). Looking at these croft-names as a group, none of them can be said to provide clear supporting evidence for the use of croft as a generic indicating ‘land set aside for the maintenance of (a part of something)’, but neither do they render such an interpretation impossible. From the known uses of the word croft in Scotland, Crofts, in Sanctuary Crofts, could therefore denote either ‘small-holdings’ or ‘land used for tillage or pasture’, but as it would be unusual to have ‘small-holdings set aside for the upkeep of part of a church’, the definition ‘land used for tillage or pasture’ is more appropriate.

A further complication is the precise meaning of sanctuary in place-names. While the word is attested in English sources with the definition ‘the part of a church round the altar, the sacrarium; also used by some for the chancel’ (OED 2 s.v. sanctuary n.1), this sense is not attested in Scottish literary sources (DOST s.v. sanctuary n.). A possible alternative explanation is that the name may be connected with the granting of sanctuary to criminals, a practice that pertained in England and Scotland during the Middle Ages. The word sanctuary is attested in English from the early 15th century (MED s.v. seintuārī (e n. 3. (a)), and in Scots from the early 16th century, in the sense ‘a sacred place in which fugitives were by law or custom immune from arrest’ (DOST s.v. sanctuary n. 2.). English Law made illegal the granting of sanctuary for treason in 1486 and for other criminal activities in 1623, and this was extended to cover civil offences by acts passed in 1697 and

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15 One literary example may be an exception. The term sanctuar is recorded with the sense ‘An inner, especially holy part of a temple or church; the area round the altar in a Christian church’, in one quotation in DOST, the form is given as sanctuare (DOST s.v. sanctuar (e n.). It may also be worth noting that contemporary medieval evidence for this usage in England is relatively scarce; only two quotations are suggested for the sense ‘the area around the altar, sanctuary’ in MED (s.v. seintuārī (e n. 2b. (c)).
1723 (Room 1999, 997). The abbey of Holyrood House was still in use as a sanctuary for debtors until the late 19th century, although this function was rendered redundant when people could no longer be imprisoned for debt (OED2 s.v. sanctuary n.1 II. 5. a.). It is therefore possible that Sanctuary Crofts could denote ‘a place where fugitives were immune from arrest’. The proximity of Sanctuary Crofts to Linlithgow Palace may also be of significance – certainly that was the view expressed by James Mackinlay (1904):

In medieval times every church and churchyard formed a sanctuary, and sometimes the girth extended beyond the limits of the latter. In this case, however, the sanctuary was probably connected not with any religious foundation, but with Linlithgow Palace as a royal residence, and corresponded with what is known as the peel or park.\(^{16}\)

More recently, the role of the sanctuary or girth in medieval Scotland was discussed by Hector MacQueen (2001). He makes several points that may be relevant to the interpretation of Sanctuary Crofts. First of all, he agrees with Mackinlay that ‘the “girth” was literally a wider concept in which the territory from immunity extended over a much larger area’ than the decreed land delineated by ‘every parish church’ and ‘its cemetery for thirty paces round’ (MacQueen 2001, 334). The (unknown) location of Sanctuary Crofts would therefore not necessarily fall within the designated 30-pace radius of the church. Secondly, MacQueen draws particular attention to the historically significant girth located at Torphichen in West Lothian: ‘From the 12th century, this place ... between Bathgate and Linlithgow was the central base in Scotland of the Hospitallers, the Knights of St John of Jerusalem’ (MacQueen 2001, 338). There may therefore be some cultural or territorial connection between the Torphichen sanctuary and the Linlithgow name Sanctuary Crofts. Thirdly, he notes that in Scotland, ‘The length of time for which people might continue in girth was apparently not subject to limitation’ (MacQueen 2001, 343). This aspect of the law of sanctuary might invite some speculation as to how provision was made for the girth’s inhabitants and whether they were allowed to work the land (on a ‘sanctuary croft’) in exchange for continued protection.

Such speculations aside, the different categories of evidence are difficult to weigh against each other satisfactorily. Comparative onomastic evidence from England argues in favour of Hough’s definition, but the Scottish evidence does not fall neatly into line with it and can, as I have suggested above, arguably imply that Sanctuary Crofts is ‘a place where fugitives were immune from arrest’.

\(^{16}\) Mackinlay 1904, 331; quoted in Macdonald 1941, 121.
Given that toponymic and lexical usage of the same term may differ as a matter of course, it is particularly difficult to arrive at a definitive answer. While it is tempting to give greater emphasis to the comparative Scottish evidence in order to elucidate the meaning of this Scottish name, this approach may be too partisan (even if consciously undertaken). That said, in order to agree with the alternative conclusion, one must give greater weight to the comparative evidence from England, so it may not be possible to choose one option over the other without engaging in an assessment that is in some way culturally or lexically biased.

Onomasticians certainly cannot assume that name evidence will follow the same rules as lexical evidence. Gaps in the historical record can often militate against firm conclusions, and cultural awareness should not become cultural bias. To come full circle, this caveat also applies to our perceptions of cultural dominance and (Scottish) anglicisation, whether we are concerned about the erosion of Scots in the onomastic record, or the role of Scots in schools.

Regarding the practical lessons that onomastics can learn from lexicography, one idea does suggest itself. Place-name dictionaries typically record early spellings of each name, so much so that this has become standard practice, with historical forms paving the way for subsequent reinterpretation. Perhaps, in the interests of presenting the evidence more comprehensively, there might be an argument for showing the context of early name forms in more detail. When looking at the interpretation of a specific place-name element, researchers typically want to know not only what the early spellings were, but what function the names were performing in the source text. In order to provide a full assessment, it is therefore often necessary to go back to all the original sources in order to build up a picture of usage – this process might be facilitated if place-name dictionaries provided historical forms in context. Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus have clearly taken this on board for their *Place-Names of Fife* (2006).

The first historical dictionary to systematically quote from extant sources was John Jamieson’s *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808). His methodology set the standard for the major historical dictionaries of English and Scots, which all provide supporting quotations illustrating contextual usage. This format invites users to look at the data critically and often fosters new semantic and lexical research. If a place-name dictionary were to take a similar approach, providing detailed extracts from early documents and contextualising literary usages, it would perhaps become a more dynamic tool which could provoke further onomastic and cultural research.
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A NOTE ON THE NAME Pulprestwic

A number of discussions of the presence of Old English (OE) names in south-western Scotland have noted Prestwick as one of these (Nicolaisen 1976, 88–108: 103; Barrow 1998: 68; Scott 2006). As also in Taylor’s discussion of OE names in Fife (1994), an important part of the argument for the earliness of names, and for their deriving from an OE rather than an Older Scots (OSc) layer of linguistic input into the landscape, has been the linguistic sequencing apparent in a number of examples. So, for instance, Maybole is found in Gaelic (G.) form in Meibothelbeg, Meibothelmor (1185 x 94: Nicolaisen 1976, 100), Dalswinton DMF is Dalswynton (1306 x 1329 RMS i, App. 2, no. 306), from G. dail ‘haugh’ + OE existing name Swinton (< OE swin ‘swine, pig’ + tun ‘farm, settlement’) (see Nicolaisen 1976, 37, 172), and Babbet in east Fife is from Balebotlia < G. baile + OE bodl (see Barrow 1998, 68; Taylor 1994, and now see Taylor 2008 for a more cautious position). To these may be added the lost or nearly-lost name Leckprivick LAN, discussed recently by Margaret Scott (2006), and plausibly explained as G. leac ‘slab, stone’ + en OE *Perwic. Unnoticed in these discussions is the boundary burn name present in early records of the granting of Monkton in Ayrshire: Pulprestwic (Paisley Reg. 6, 12, 409). The earliest of the entries – repeated simply in the later documents – derives from a charter of Walter fitz Alan the steward, of 1165 x 73. The first element here is G. *pol which in the southwest seems the standard word for ‘burn’; the word itself seems to be of British derivation ultimately though, and it also came into northern English and Scots (Barrow 1998, 59–61). The burn in question is undoubtedly what is now the Pow Burn, still forming the march between Prestwick and Monkton. This name supplies one more instance of Gaelic nomenclature incorporating earlier OE names. Whilst the question of linguistic sequences and relationships in Ayrshire remains a thorny and contested problem, it is useful to have this further cementing of the early date of Prestwick: it was there as a name when Gaelic speakers coined the name of the Pow Burn, as preserved in 12th-century record.

A NOTE ON THE NAME Trearne

Trearne, a mile or so to the south-east of Beith, in the district of Cunninghame in Ayrshire (now North Ayrshire), in which parish it lies, has been commented on by toponymists in a number of guises (not always knowingly). In particular,
it made an appearance in W. J. Watson’s discussion of names containing the
British element *trev ‘farmstead, dwelling’ (1926, 358–63). It has been the sole
representative of such names in Cunninghame and, indeed, is a lonely outpost,
one being represented either in Renfrewshire or Lanarkshire (Nicolaisen 2001,
214–16, does not discuss the name, but includes it on his distribution map,
see also Atlas 50–51). Watson (p. 362) discusses the significant cluster of these
names in northern Carrick (and see further Nicolaisen 2001, 214–16; Hicks
2005; and now James 2008, 195–203), but this cluster is very distinct and at
some remove from northern Cunninghame. The name is also problematic, in
that it appears to have spawned a ghost: a supposed Tryorne in Roxburghshire
or Berwickshire posited by J. T. T. Brown (1901). Both Lawrie and Watson had
their doubts about this name, associated by Brown with the name Treuieronum
found in David’s Inquest into the church of Glasgow’s properties (c. 1120)
(ESC 5, 303; see also David I Chrs 61).

This note seeks to clarify the documented early history of Trearne, to exorcise
the record of the ghostly Roxburghshire Tryorne, and finally to comment on the
etymology of the name. In the final of these tasks, I suggest that unfortunately it
must be rejected as a name containing British *trev. This may have far-reaching
implications for our understanding of *trev in southern Scotland.

In the middle ages and later, Trearne was a relatively prosperous estate. It is
shown on maps, both Blaeu and later Armstrong, with an estate house symbol,
and in 1820 the lands were described thus: ‘consisting of very productive land,
incumbent … on limestone. The old mansion is situated on a considerable
eminence, from whence a very extensive prospect might be had, were it not
for its own woods with which it is so closely shut up, as to see nothing from
it, nor is itself seen from any place’ (Robertson 1820, 286). On its lands since
at least the end of the 12th century lay a chapel and well of St Brigit, which
were still clearly shown on the OS 6 inch map of 1858 (see image, p. 111).
Nonetheless, this is an unrecoverable landscape, the land having been given
over to a major limestone quarry, which has been given permission to be turned
into a landfill. The house, which was replaced by a Victorian mansion in the
1870s, was destroyed in 1954 (DSA) and the gate pillars of the house now flank
the entrance to the parish church of Beith. The NGR I give for the site is that
of the quarry itself. The Trearne Quarry has been modestly famous in its own
right as a constant source of a diverse range of fossils, and also of important
minerals (Todd 1986). The fossil quarry itself is now set to disappear, under a
landfill that was controversially given planning permission, though one section
of the quarry is apparently to remain accessible as a site for viewing the fossils
(English 2004; Williams 2007).

Trearne enters the record c. 1200, in a grant of part of the estate (territorium,
villa, feudum) of Giffen, by the then lord of Giffen, Alexander de Néhou, to the Premonstratensian monastery of Dryburgh in Roxburghshire. The charter, preserved in the Cartulary of Dryburgh Abbey, makes it clear that this was not the first of his family’s donations to the monastery: the land in Trearne (Triern') replaces and consolidates two separate grants of two bovates by Alexander’s father and brother respectively. In exchange for these, a half carucate of Trearne is given, including the chapel of St Brigit. The boundaries, which have not been published in subsequent discussions of this grant (for example, Stringer 1

1 Although it is not a part of this paper’s remit to examine the place-name Giffen, a note on it may be relevant. Johnston took it, with Giffnock, to be British, and compared Welsh (W.) cefn ‘back, ridge of land’, which as he noted suited well the situations of both sites (Johnston 1934, 190). My own (unpublished) thinking followed this line and I am grateful to my postgraduate student Guto Rhys for pointing out the main objection to it, the initial /g/; his research (for his unpublished MLitt. dissertation: Rhys 2006) has shown the voicing of a historically voiceless initial consonant in a British name to be unparalleled in the Scottish record (the reverse process is well known). One might have been able to invoke a lost definite article as having caused lenition which was then fossilised in the name form on record. However, cefn is masculine in Welsh (as is its Cornish cognate), and this lenition would not have happened after the article modifying a masculine noun. It would perhaps be extreme to suggest that cefn was feminine in Northern British. Other similar options, such as positing preserved lenition through frequent use with a leniting preposition, are employed to explain names in Owen and Morgan 2007, e.g. Goginan, p. 171, Gyffin, p. 185, but I am not thoroughly persuaded of this approach. Guto Rhys has suggested instead the common noun cyffin ‘border, borderland’, which might suit the situation of the entire estate of Giffen near the northern edge of Cunninghame (though it is not precisely on the border). Gyffin is feminine, and so we could propose *Yr Gyffin (cf. W. y gyffin) as the underlying form, with the article subsequently lost and the lenited form preserved. This is precisely what happens in the above-mentioned name Gyffin, North Wales (SH7776) (see Owen and Morgan 2007, 185, though they propose preservation of lenition through the agency of pronouns.) Another possibility, given the presence of a fortified site here, might be to posit an original *Caer Gyffin (ibid.), with subsequent part translation to Giffin Castle, with Giffin on its own being used for its lands and estate: caer is feminine in Welsh and is regularly followed by lenition in place-name (cf., for example, Caergybi, Caerfyrddin). But then, of course, this explanation would also allow us to accept cefn ‘back, ridge’ back into the fold, and this does much better suit the topography of the site. Ultimately, then, I am prepared to accept a derivation from cyffin, but the topography inclines me more strongly towards derivation from cefn, despite the difficulties. There are no very plausible Gaelic (G.) derivations. Only two suggest themselves (tentatively): one from gędend ‘fetter’ (but if so its Welsh cognate gefyn is better suited, as the /e:/ in the G. example would hardly have come through as /i/), the other more plausibly from an unattested diminutive of gin ‘splinter, sliver’ (see DIL, snn). On the whole a British derivation seems more satisfactory. This may have implications for how we wish to treat the subsidiary name of Trearne.

2 On this family, see Barrow 1980, 189 (de Néhou), 187 (de Mulcaster)

3 There is some confusion concerning the number of chapels involved. Some have taken the chapel of Trearne that appears in the records to be distinct from the chapel of St Brigit, partly because the latter appears to have been in Kilwinning’s purview. The record I think allows for only one chapel.
contain further interesting local details, such as a well (or spring) called Starwele and a well of Saint Brigit. I reproduce the relevant boundary clauses in an appendix. Although one can no longer trace these boundaries (see above), for George Robertson, writing in 1820, ‘The lands conveyed in it are so accurately described and pointed out by natural boundaries, that any person may recognise them at the present day’ (1820, 283).

The grant has a number of confirmations in the Dryburgh Cartulary by Alexander’s successors in Giffen (Dryb. Lib. nos. 227, 228). It also includes a secondary grant of the Trearne lands by a later abbot of Dryburgh to Richard, the chaplain of Alan, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland (Dryb. Lib. no. 229). In the latter context, it has been briefly commented on in recent work by Keith Stringer (2000, 226). It is clear, however, that Dryburgh’s links to its portion of Trearne were preserved throughout the Middle Ages, at least to some extent. Trearne features in some post-reformation rentals edited along with the cartulary by the Bannatyne Club (Dryb. Lib.). As we shall see, this later feature is important in sorting out the supposed Roxburghshire Tryrone. The ‘Rentall of the Lordship of Dryburgh’ (c. 1620, Dryburgh Liber 367–74), lists amongst its other lands the lands of Tiarane (at 368), assessed at 6s 8d. Unlike the late medieval rentals published by the Bannatyne Club in Dryburgh Liber, this document includes some scattered properties previously granted to Dryburgh, such as those in Fife. It seems likely that this register is based partly upon a reading of an earlier Dryburgh Cartulary – this may account for the form Tiarane, probably a misreading of, for example, Triarne. A similar process would certainly seem to lie behind a later rental in 1634, encompassing properties that were now within the Lordship of Cardross (beside Dumbarton DNB): ‘The Landis off Trearne pertaining to ... [sic] in Gallowaye’ (Dryb. Lib. 388–91: 390). It is presumably the presence in the earlier documents of Alan, lord of Galloway, in a confirmation of the original grant, that has confused the compiler of the rental into thinking the lands were in Galloway. The Lordship of Cardross encompassed a great deal of scattered lands, but included the whole of the lands of Dryburgh, and it is in this context that we also meet Trearne, listed (without notice of its whereabouts) ecumenically amongst lands in Lothian and in Fife, for example, in 1610: ‘Sanct-Leonard, Snadoun, Triehorne, lie Channones-croft, Pitcorthie et Innergellie’ (RMS vii no. 301). The same list

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4 That this is not just a rhetorical gesture is suggested by Robertson’s ‘Preliminary Remarks’: ‘A previous knowledge of the District of Cunninghame, during a residence of nine years, has enabled me to state its Topographical circumstances with a considerable degree of confidence. This knowledge has been rendered still more complete, from having gone over the whole territory in the course of summer 1819 for the special purpose of collecting information on all the points under discussion.’
is repeated in 1664, and the 1634 rental mentioned above includes the same lands, though in different order.

This may have been relatively unenforced lordship, given the uncertainty seen in these texts concerning the whereabouts of Trearne. Locally in Cunninghame, however, the Dryburgh connection was known into the reformation period. A transaction of 1595 is recorded in the Register of the Great Seal, when Margaret Blair, the widow of Robert Ker of Trearne assigns to her son, also Robert Ker, 'terras de Trearn, cum manerie loco et fortalicio (que olim fuerunt pars patrimonii monasterii de Dryburgh), capellam lie chapel de Trearne cum duabus acris australi ejus lateri adjacentibus (que olim fuerunt pars patrimonii monasterii de Kiluinning), in balliatu de Cunynghame …' (RMS vi no. 207).5 The same lands are assigned by Robert Ker to Elizabeth Ker – presumably his daughter – and her husband Gilbert Eccles, a merchant in Carrickfergus, Ireland, in 1664: ‘the lands of Trearne, with manor-place and buildings, in the bailliary of Cunninghame and shirefdom of Air; also of the Chappell of Trearne, with two acres of land on the south side thereof, with pertinents’ (RMS xi no. 571). Incidentally, in this notice, we are told the duties of Trearne (Trierne) to the crown were 6s and 8d ‘and two chickens in augmentation, extending in all to 26 chickens; together with the services used and wont, according to the rental of the commendatory of Kilwinning’: a useful reference to a rental that has not survived.

The lands to the south seem to be associated from early on with the Chapel of St Brigit, and the connection is maintained in some records which do not mention Trearne, including lists of the lands of the Earls of Eglinton, who look to have inherited a considerable portion of the Kilwinning Abbey estate. In 1603, these list ‘capellam de Sanct-Bryde cum lie aiker de Southsyde, lie Willisyairdis …’ (RMS vi no. 1387), while uniquely in 1661 the chapel is referred to by a Gaelic name as ‘terr[a] capellani[a] de Kilbryd’ (Retours I, Ayr no. 510). That this refers to the chapel of St Brigit seems confirmed by its place in the list, followed, as also in the 1603 list, by Williewaird (modern Willowyards/’the Willieyard’6). The Chapel of St Brigit was still known, as ruins, at the time of the 1858 OS 6 inch maps.

As suggested at the outset, this following of the paper-trail for Trearne allows us to exorcise a phantom name, that of Tryorne in Roxburghshire. J. T. T.

5 ‘The lands of Trearne, with the manor-place and fortification (which once was part of the patrimony of the monastery of Dryburgh), a chapel lie chapel of Trearne, with two acres next to it on its south side (which were once part of the patrimony of the monastery of Kilwinning), in the bailliary of Cunynghame …’

6 The latter the form as given by James S.H. Goldie, East Lugtonridge. It is now an industrial estate.
Brown appears to have tried to connect the name Tryorne, which is included in some lists of properties in RMS, with one of the eastern border names in David I’s Inquest of the lands belonging to the diocese of Glasgow (for the most recent edition of the Inquest, see David I Chrs 60–61). Lawrie, commenting on Brown’s identifications in the Inquest, quoted him as follows: ‘Here the name [Treueronum] follows Ancrum without any stop between, looking as if it were a compounded name. In the Registrum, however, it is plain that the names are separate. The place is Tryorne in Roxburgh.’ And continued, ‘I am by no means sure that it is Tryorne. I think that the land has not been identified.’ (ESC 303).

W. J. Watson was equally confused by the record, though he seems to have seen through it. Although his own comments on Trearne are conflicting, I suspect this owes more to the process by which he wrote and augmented (but perhaps did not fully rewrite) this section of his book than to actual uncertainty in the end. Here is his first note on the Inquest’s Treueronum:

It has been identified with ‘Tryorne in Roxburghshire’, which appears often on record in the connection ‘the lands of St. Leonards, Snawdone, Tryorne, Cannomunt croft’ 1637 (Ret.). All the rest of these places are in the parish of Lauder [in Berwickshire], and I can find no place in Roxburgh called Tryorne. In the indexes to the Register of the Great Seal Tryorne is identified with Trearn in Cunningham, and this place is Triorn and Triarn in Blaeu, also Triorne (?) (sic) in 1655 (RMS). The Ayrshire place, however, – when one can be sure that it is meant – does not occur in connection with Snawdone, etc. (1926, 361).

It must surely be that Watson wrote his comment on p. 362 (‘Cunningham. Trearne, east of Beith. I have not met this name on record.’) at some date before he made the further investigations represented on p. 361. On p. 363, to complete the record, he assigns Tryorne ‘probably’ to Berwickshire, which seems to represent the unstated and logical outcome of the discussion on p. 361.

In fact the documentary record makes it plain that the Tryorne wrongly placed in Roxburghshire by Brown was not in Berwickshire either. Rather it was, as Watson seems to have sensed but not quite been able to pinpoint, the Cunninghame Trearne. In the lists of lands, as we have seen, it appears explicitly along with other lands formerly belonging to the abbey of Dryburgh, and now subsumed in the Lordship of Cardross. That the two estates are the same seems cemented, if there were any doubt, by their equivalent valuation at 6s 8d in the 1634 Rental compiled for the Lordship of Cardross, as also in contemporary local legal proceedings in Beith. As for the identity of the Inquest’s Treueronum, Barrow’s judgement seems the best currently on record: ‘Treueronum (later
Trarouny, represented by Troneyhill in Ancrum: compare its Welsh equivalent Tre’ronnen, alias Trefonnen, Englished as Nash, in Gwent, meaning “homestead where ash trees grow”). (David I Chrs 61; see also Durkan 1986, 279 for a brief comment).

The final issue I wish to tackle is the etymology of the name. So far it has been assigned to those British names containing the element *trev. If so, we would need to segment the name as Watson: ‘Tre + arne’. It seems highly problematic to posit a name in *trev followed by a specific beginning with a vowel here. The records of *trev names in southern Scotland show that the final consonant was preserved into the 12th century and later, and we would thus expect to find *Trevarne, Treverarne or the like. More to the point, the early forms of Trearne, followed fitfully by later forms, represent the first vowel as an -i-, and this is unparalleled in the records of *trev names in southern Scotland. The Cornish record simply supports these points (see detailed discussion by Padel 1985, 223–32). A further, and perhaps fatal, point is that the (otherwise somewhat variable) pronunciation of Trearne stresses the first syllable ([tɾərn] [tɾərn] [tɾərn]), and forms such as Treehorn suggest that this was the stress pattern in the early modern period at least.

A number of other possible etymologies should be considered, then. First is that the first element is instead either British tri or Gaelic trí ‘three’. The second element would remain uncertain, though one could perhaps refer it to G. earrann as found in, for example, Arnprior, Arngibbon (see Watson 1926, 185, 256; see also DIL s.v. airrann). A unit of land named ‘three portions’ would not be out of place and has some parallels (see for Cornish examples Padel 1985, 232–34, and note *try2, ‘triple, very’); the nearby farm named Thirdpart (NS376512) may be interesting in this respect (names meaning ‘a third’ are reasonably common in both G. (as trian) and OE/Scots – see, for example, Watson 1926, 236). One could equally propose that there has been metathesis of the first element in Trearne, and posit either British tir or Gaelic tír ‘land’. I am not sure what the second element would be in such a case (G. tír was originally neuter, and later either masculine or feminine, so, if feminine, the second element could be

7 Hicks 2005, 297–98, discusses this name under three headings (Triorn, Trearne and Tryorne), evidently on the basis of an overly faithful following of Watson, and also the duplication of the name on Blaeu (he notes however that ‘the similarity and proximity of the two names suggests some duplication or relationship’. He gives different potential etymologies for each of the two main names. The only one that should detain us is his suggestion of < tref + bæarn, as such a form might account for the absence of -v in the early record. However, we would expect in this case to see some trace of medial -h-., cf. perhaps Trahenna Hill, PEB. This would also not account for the modern stress pattern of the name.

8 As taken from Mr James S. H. Goldie, East Lugtonridge, Beith Parish, 2 March, 2008.
a lenited form of G. *fearn* ‘alder’, e.g. *tir fhearn*), although this would still not account for the stress pattern.

A Celtic origin for the name is thus by no means clear, and the stress pattern, falling as it does on the first element, suggests in any case that we may be dealing with a Germanic name. It may be that we should focus instead on the second element. This could contain OE *ærn* ‘house, dwelling’, as found most famously in the name Whithorn. (On this element see Smith 1956, 4; *VEPN, A-Box*, 31–32; both point out the frequency of close compounds with *ærn*, e.g. Stonrene < *stān*; Postern < *post*.) Supporting this derivation is the presence in Cunninghame and northern Lanarkshire of two toponyms in *ærn*, Dreghorn⁹ and Cleghorn (the latter appears, incidentally, in the next run of documents in the Dryburgh Cartulary, as *Glegerne*; *Dryb. Liber* nos. 230–33). A possible first element, *tréow* ‘tree’, suggests itself, especially as this word is found compounded with other elements to mean ‘made of logs’, see Smith 1956 ii, 186–87, e.g. Trowbridge. On this analysis, Trearne (OE *tréow + ærn*) would mean ‘tree-house, wooden-house’, though ‘house’ perhaps overstates the usual meaning of *ærn*, which is a much humbler and more utilitarian dwelling. The difficulty here would again be the vowel of the first element, which if the first element were *tréow* we would perhaps not expect to appear as -i- in so early a source as a charter of c. 1200, if at all.¹¹ If this is not a fatal objection, however, I would suggest that this is the most likely etymology. Even if we cannot relate the first element to OE *tréow*, I would suggest that parallels with Dreghorn and Cleghorn make OE *ærn* the most likely second element. As such we could class Trearne (as well as Dreghorn and Cleghorn, which have not attracted

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⁹ *Dregarne* 1275 *Glasgow Reg.* lxix, lxxvi; *Dregarne* 1315 x 1321, *RMS* i no. 41; Pont *Langdreggorne* c. 1600. There is a further Dreghorn in Colinton Parish, Midlothian; see Dixon 1947, 148. Early forms in Dixon include *Dregarne* c. 1240, 1336–37; *Dregarne* 1373–74; *Dreggarne* 1438; *Dreghorne* 1529; *Drygarne* 1492. Dixon takes this as < OE *dræg + hyrne* ‘corner-spit’, noting ‘Dreghorn lies on a spit of land in a corner formed by the Howden Burn; OE *drag (dreg)* has various meanings from ‘portage where boats are dragged over a narrow piece of land’ to ‘a narrow spit of land’, but the Howden Burn is too small to permit of the first meaning.’

The early forms of the Midlothian Dreghorn, like the Cunninghame one, suggest *ærn* rather than *hyrne*. Given the usual semantics of names in *ærn*, the first element here is probably OE *drag* ‘a sledge, a portage across a hill by means of dragging’, though as with the Midlothian Dreghorn, the Cunningham one too is situated on a spit of land between two watercourses, and may admit of the other meaning.

¹⁰ *Glegerne* c. 1220 *Dryb. Lib.* 230; *Cleggerne* 1476 *RMS* ii no. 1283; *Cleghorn* 1484 *RMS* ii no. 1576. The first element is probably OE *cleg* ‘clay, clayey soil’, though one cannot rule out Scots *cleg* ‘gad-fly, horse-fly’ or its OE cognate. For both these names, a clear issue is whether northern OE (‘Old Northumbrian’ or whatever we may call it) preserved final /g/ without spirantisation. Old Norse is often invoked, not necessarily appropriately, in this context.

¹¹ One might suggest that the first vowel had been raised by its proximity to the initial of *ærn*.
attention in this context) as yet another example of an Old English (as opposed to Older Scots) toponym in this part of south-western Scotland.  

A number of final observations suggest themselves. First, the estate of Giffen is an intriguing one, from a place-name point of view. Probably a British name itself, amongst its constituent lands are predominantly properties with Scots names (Hessilhead, Broadstone, Roughwood), but also perhaps one with an OE derivation (Trearne) as well as some with probable G. derivation (Drumbuie, Gree). In this, it perhaps forms a microcosm of the linguistic situation in Cunninghame generally. Second, if it is accepted, as I have argued, that we discount Trearne as a name containing British *trev, then we are confronted by the peculiar situation of a place-name element of British derivation absent from the ‘core’ British territories ostensibly belonging to the kingdom of Strathclyde and its predecessor, e.g., Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Cunninghame, Kyle. What then do the various clusters of *trev names represent? Some attempts to answer this question have in recent years been broached by Hicks (2005, with some useful observations and suggestions, albeit needing some qualification, 310–15), Fox (2007) and most recently James (2008). If the argument presented here is correct, the settlement pattern of the trev names shows through even more starkly as not being represented in some of what has traditionally been considered the core areas of British Strathclyde.

APPENDIX 1: Forms

TREARNE Beith parish AYR (NS371533)

Triern’ (terra de) 15.3.1196 x 19.12.1200 Dryburgh Liber 164
Triern’ (terra de) 15.3.1196 x 1221 Dryburgh Liber 165, 166

Trearne (Stephen Ker, dom. de) 20 Nov 1413 Patterson, Cuninghame, 121
Trearne (Robert Ker de) 20 July 1452 Patterson, Cuninghame, 121
Trearn, Trearn (Ro[ber]t Kar de) 30 June 1548 (will) Patterson, Cuninghame, 121;
Fullarton, 178

12 For fuller discussion of this issue, employing other names, see Nicolaisen 1976, Barrow 1998; Scott 2006; also see the note on Pulprestwic above.
13 Note that for some of these names an OE derivation cannot be excluded, for instance Hessilhead and Nettleheir. My current judgement that they are Scots is based on the probability of these being secondary settlements of rougher ground, but this is a fairly subjective argument.
14 This is the NGR for the Trearne Limestone Quarry, now landfill.
15 J. Patterson, History of the Couties of Ayr and Wigton. Vol. III – Cuninghame (Edinburgh, 1866), 121. This, and subsequent entries from Patterson, rest on unverified accounts of existing charters. Although I have not yet sourced some of these, there seems little reason to doubt Patterson’s name forms, as he, or his sources, usually take care to record the form in the original document (or published edition of the document).
Trearne, Trearn (terrae de; lie chapel de) 22 Jan 1595 RMS vi no. 207
Trieborne (Robert Kar in) 1607 (testament of ‘Margaret Wat, spous to Johne Wilsone in Overtoun of Trieborne’) Patterson, Cuninghame, 121–22
Trieborne (terrae de) 10 Jun 1610 (Charter confirming John, Earl of Mar in the lands formerly belonging to Dryburgh: Sanct-Leonard, Snadoun, Trieborne, lie Channones-croft, Pitcorthie et Innergellie) RMS vii no. 301
Triorne c. 1600 Pont, Cuningham 31.
Tiarne (Robert Ker of) 1613 Patterson, Cuninghame 122
Triorne (Robert Ker of) 1614 Patterson, Cuninghame 122
Tiorne (Robert Ker, Laird of) 1614 (account of Euphame Wilsoune, spous to Johne Smyth, in Overtoun of Triorne) Patterson, Cuninghame 122
Tiarane (lands of) c. 1620 Rental, Dryburgh Liber 368
Tryorne (landis of) 1637 Retours I no. 221 Berwick (Lordship of Cardross)
Trearne (lands of, in Galloway) 1638 Rental of Lordship of Cardross
Dryburgh Liber 390
Triorn 1654 Blaeu (Pont)
Tiarne 1654 Blaeu (Pont) [both names are represented near each other: the second of these seems to be marked by a house symbol; perhaps the first is for Overtoun of Trearne?]
Tiorne (chapel of) 22 Jun 1655 RMS x no. 421
Trearne (lands of, Chappell of) 9 March 1664 RMS xi no. 571
Trierne (lands of, Chappell of) 9 March 1664 RMS xi no. 571
Tryorne (lands of ...) 10 Feb 1664 RMS xi no. 548 (Charter confirming David, Lord of Cardross in the lands formerly belonging to Dryburgh Abbey, see list above)
Treehorn 1775 Armstrong
Treeborn (sic) 1821 Ainslie (evidently a mistaken reading of Armstrong)
Trearne 1820 Robertson, Cunninghame
Trearne 1832 Thomson

Triernburn 15.3.1196x 19.12.1200 Dryburgh Liber 164
Triernburn (terra de) [mistakenly for ‘Triern’] 15.3.1196x1221 Dryburgh Liber 166

Appendix 2: Dryburgh Liber no. 226, 164–65
Date: 15.3.1196x 19.12.1200 (Dryb. Syllabus, p. 20)

Super dimidia carucata terre in territorio de Giffyn et super rectis divisis ejusdem terre
Universis sancte matris etc. Alexander Neu’\textsuperscript{16} salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me divine pietatis intuitu et pro animabus dominorum meorum Ricardi de Morevilla Willelmi de Morevilla Rollandi de Galweia Elene de Morevilla et eorum heredum et successorum et pro animabus parentum meorum et antecessorum Willelmi de Neu’ patris mei et Ricardi de Neu’ fratris mei et Syrit matris mee et pro salute anime mee et sponsae mee et heredum meorum et successorum concessisse dedisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Driburgh et canoniciis ibidem Deo servientibus unam dimidiam carucatam terre in territorio de Giffyn illam scilicet super quam capella sancte Brigide sedet in Triern’ scilicet per has divisas que incipiunt in capite unius acre que est in terra ejusdem wille de Giffyn que jacet versus austrum a capella predicta ex transverso versus occidentem usque in propinquiores magnum sicum qui extenditur per medium propinquiores mussum versus occidentem et sic inde descendendo versus aquilonem per eundem sicum usque ad Starwele et sic inde per rivulum qui descendit de Starwele usque in Triernburn et sic inde ascendentis per Triernburn versus orientem usque ad quendam sicum ubi quedam crux posita est et sic ascendendo per illum sicum usque ad quendam mussum et sic inde ex transverso illius mussum versus orientem usque in quendam rivulum qui descendit de sub fonte beate Brigide et sic ascendendo per illum rivulum usque ad fontem beate Brigide et sic a fonte illo ex transverso sub quadam rupe usque ad predictam acram que est terra ecclesie de Giffyn.

\textsuperscript{16} On this family and their name, see Barrow, \textit{Anglo-Norman Era}, 189 (de Néhou), 187 (de Mulcaster); 79. Regarding Alexander, \textit{Dryburgh Liber} no. 227 is a confirmation of the same grant by Alexander’s successor in Giffen, Walter of Mulcaster. The current version of the Syllabus dates it to 15.3.1196 x 1221 (\textit{Dryb. Syllabus}). But note that an Alexander de Neuh’ was alive to witness two out of a series of closely related charters in respect of lands in Cunninghame which Stringer dates to c. 1225. (The proposal that they come from much the same moment in time is on the basis of witness lists (Stringer 1993, 108: Alexander witnesses nos 4 and 6 in that collection; = 58 and 60 in Stringer 2000). If Stringer’s dates are right, then this confirmation by Walter may be later than \textit{Dryburgh Liber} no. 229, currently dated to 1210 x 1221. If Stringer’s dates are right, then this confirmation by Walter may be later than \textit{Dryburgh Liber} no. 229, currently dated to 1210 x 1221.

Another witness, to Stringer 1993, no. 5 (= 2000, no. 59) is William de Mauecestria, who must be a member of the Mulcaster family discussed by Barrow, \textit{Anglo-Norman Era}, 186–87. It may be that this William is the missing link posited by Barrow there: ‘It is not known how the family [of Mulcaster] acquired possession of the feu of Giffen (Gifffen), alias Triern, in Cunninghame, Ayrshire, but it was probably through a marriage between a male member of the Muncaster/Pennington family and an heiress of the west-Norman family of de Néhou which held Giffen in the twelfth century’. If the presence of this William de Mauecestria and the absence of Alexander de Néhou from Stringer no. 5 (= 59) is significant, it may allow us to place this charter after nos 4 (= 58) and 6 (= 60) in the sequence.
Concerning a half-carucate of land in the territory of Giffen and concerning the proper bounds of that land.

To all [sons] of the holy mother [Church] Alexander (de) Néhou [gives] greetings. May you all know that I, moved by the instinct of divine piety and for the souls of my lords Richard de Moreville, William de Moreville, Roland of Galloway, Helen de Morville and their heirs and successors, and for the souls of my parents and predecessors, of William de Néhou my father, and of Richard de Néhou my brother and of Syrit my mother and for the salvation of my soul and the soul of my wife and of my heirs and successors, have granted, given and by this present charter confirmed to God and to the church of St Mary of Dryburgh and to the canons serving God there, one half carucate of land in the territory of Giffen, that half carucate upon which the chapel of St Brigit sits in Trearne, i.e., by these bounds, which begin at the head of the single acre which is in that land of the vill of Giffen which lies to the south of the aforesaid chapel, across towards the west as far as the nearer big syke which extends through the middle of the nearer bog towards the west, and so from that point descending towards the north along that same syke as far as Starwele and so from that point along the burn which flows down from Starwele as far as into Trearne Burn and so from that point ascending by the Trearne Burn towards the east as far as a certain syke where a certain cross has been placed, and then ascending by that syke as far as a certain bog and so from that point across that bog as far as the nearer syke which lies between that bog and the arable land, and so then from that point along that syke towards the east as far as a certain burn which runs down from under St Brigit’s Well, and so ascending by that burn as far as St Brigit’s Well, and so from that well across under a certain rock as far as the aforementioned acre which is the church-land of Giffen. It is to be...
had and held in complete freedom and perpetual alms, as freely, peacefully and honourably as any other alms are given or held in the whole of the kingdom of Scotia, with all pasturage and with all the common easements of the whole of my land of Trearne. And let it be known that it will be lawful for the men of the said canons dwelling in that land to go to the shielings along with my men of Trearne if they should wish. Indeed I have granted and given this aforesaid half carucate of land to the aforesaid canons in excambion for two bovates of land which William my father gave to them within the feu of Giffen, and for another two bovates of land which Richard my brother gave to them. In order that this my gift may have perpetual stability, I have strengthened it by this present writing and the fixing on of my seal.’

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Reviews


It is difficult to credit that Gillian Fellows-Jensen has turned 70. Her vigour and lively-minded productivity seem inexhaustible, and we have all learned much from her work, and from her personal warmth and generosity of spirit. In tribute to her, 18 scholars have contributed to this presentation volume. Bill Nicolaisen restricts himself to a warm personal tribute. David Wilson and Else Roesdahl discuss the rune-stones found in Århus: this intriguing paper exemplifies the importance of seeing a related group of inscriptions in terms of each other and of their unusual urban context; it raises the question of how many other runic inscriptions should better be seen in comparable terms, instead of the isolation in which they are usually studied. Tom Schmidt shows the penetration of Scots nomenclature into the personal names found in a Shetland deposition of 1577. Judith Jesch discusses some of the naming practices exemplified in Norse accounts of North America. All the other papers deal with place-names or place-name elements in the lands surrounding the North Sea. Ray Page gives a characteristically witty and subtle rebuke to those who would invent unattested personal names to explain obscure place-name elements; he too gives runic parallels to support his point. John Insley gives a less elegant but no less effective discussion of the name *Ousden* and a possibly fictional personal name that has been suggested as its first element. Of continental place-names, Thorsten Andersson gives an entertaining but possibly unconvincing account of the ‘tribal rivalries’ which he thinks underlie the medieval and modern name of Sweden. Lennart Elmevik, Rob Rentenaar and Inge Særheim discuss the etymologies and distribution of various river toponyms: all three present well-argued and well-supported explanations. Svanar Sigmundsson gives an important reassessment of the precise sense and use of *túnn* in Icelandic, and incidentally presents an unexpected and interesting problem with the compound *Hátúnn*. Coming to the British Isles, David Parsons presents a subtle analysis of very local Norse names in parts of Norfolk to demonstrate local similarity and dissimilarity. Although he is careful not to speculate upon the causes of the distribution-patterns he finds, his paper exemplifies an approach which, if carried out in similar detail over larger areas, might give some access to the use of Norse by ordinary people during the centuries immediately following
Scandinavian settlement. Margaret Gelling gives an important discussion of the place-names of the Yorkshire Wolds, emphasising a historical discontinuity in nomenclature, and a probable Anglo-Norse re-settlement of a landscape that had been at least partly depopulated. Peder Gammeltoft deals with language-contact, mostly between Norse and Gaelic, in Hebridean island-names. James Graham-Campbell and Berit Sandnes discuss Norse place-names relative to settlement history in north-west Scotland and the Northern Isles, respectively. Graham-Campbell tackles the difficult relationship between topographic names and settlement. Both pieces are careful and interesting contributions, but both, perhaps necessarily, are inconclusive. Doreen Waugh and Barbara Crawford also deal with the Northern Isles. Doreen Waugh, building on her dedicatee’s work, shows how the -by suffix remained productive in Shetland until the modern period and was often used for late, secondary settlement. Barbara Crawford, in an important and ambitious paper on the names Houseby, Harray and Knarston reconstructs an administrative and trading system, probably 12th-century and royal, or constructed on royal models, in the West Mainland of Orkney, as well as an inland waterway effectively linking Scapa Flow with Birsay.

The standard of these papers is remarkably high and most of them represent substantial contributions to their fields. The volume itself rather disappoints: there are too many slips of sub-editing and typography, and overall presentation is unattractive. This, however, is redeemed by the quality of its content. Gillian Fellows-Jensen may not have gone through the looking-glass, but I trust that she enjoys the toponymy of Wonderland.

PAUL BIBIRE


Simon Taylor is not alone in having come to place-name studies comparatively late, motivated no doubt by a feeling for language and history, and not least by a love of the landscapes and cultures of Scotland. But his achievements have out-stripped those of many of the rest of us. He has given frequent talks and lectures on place-names, in Scotland and abroad, and in contexts ranging from village halls to international conferences. He has been involved in numerous studies and projects ranging geographically from the Northern Isles to the Borders and has produced a truly enviable body of contributions to scholarly books and journals, while at the same time doing more than most to introduce place-name studies to an audience beyond academia. This
is all the more noteworthy in that the earlier part of this work was achieved without the support of a paid academic post. For all these reasons and more it is a great pleasure to greet the appearance of the first instalment of this study of Taylor’s native county of Fife.

As the successive volumes appear, other reviews will no doubt comment in detail on the matter of the publication. The present reviewer proposes principally to reflect on the methodological approach taken in this volume, on what kind of model it offers for subsequent work. The quality is such that comparison with W. J. Watson’s *History of the Celtic Placenames of Scotland*\(^1\) (CPNS) is not inappropriate, and reference will be made to that work from time to time.

The fine book under review is the first of four volumes\(^2\) analysing the place-names of the entire County of Fife, which are to appear progressively. Volume 1 treats of the parishes between the Firth of Forth and the River Leven. Volume 2 will treat of the parishes between the Rivers Leven and Eden, and Volume 3 of those between the River Eden and the Firth of Tay. This works out at approximately twenty parishes per volume. Volume 4 will contain an account of the history of Fife, in particular between c.600–c.1200, and an analysis of the contribution of the toponymy of the area to our knowledge of language history, settlement, environment, flora and fauna, social and judicial structures, belief and culture, and agriculture and industry. Thus one achievement of the publication may well be to demonstrate further, for the benefit of those so far unconvinced, the potential of toponymics as a tool for an understanding of our history in its various manifestations. Last but not least will come a glossary of the place-name elements, from Pictish, Gaelic, Scots, French, Norse and Scottish Standard English (p. 7) that have formed the toponymy of Fife. For some time now, Dr Taylor has been urging his students and others to append to their work a glossary of this kind, and there is no doubt that the existence of a significant number of such glossaries would advance our knowledge by, for example, facilitating the study of territorial and temporal variations in the usage of given place-name elements.

In his Preface, Taylor writes: ‘Any large-scale toponymic undertaking relies on support and advice from a wide range of disciplines, and part of the skill of a toponymist is to know who (*sic*) to turn to for help in solving any given

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2 [Given the large amount of material, Volume 2 has now had to be split into two volumes, one covering central Fife, the other St Andrews and the East Neuk, thus increasing the number of volumes in the series to five. Ed.]
problem’ (p. ix), and he expresses his thanks to, and warmly acknowledges support and assistance from, a very wide range of organisations, and a long list of individuals described as friends and colleagues. This co-operative and reciprocal aspect, the seeking and giving of good will, support and help over a wide range of academic contexts, the creation of working relationships within which people get on well with each other, is, it seems to this reviewer, very much at the heart of the whole project. The involvement of members of the Scottish Place-Name Society (p. ix) – of which Dr Taylor was one of the principal founders – is also symptomatic of the fundamentally co-operative nature of the entire venture.

The same can be said of the joint authorship of the study. The ‘unofficially titled “Fife Place-Names Project”’ (p. viii) had its beginnings in Dr Taylor’s 1995 Edinburgh PhD thesis, *Settlement names in Fife*, supplemented by the further work on Fife that he has done over the intervening years. But in the elaboration of each volume of *The Place-Names of Fife*, this corpus is being subjected to a rigorous appraisal, passing backwards and forwards between Taylor and Márkus until both feel that they can take it no further. In the preface to Volume 2 of *The Place-Names of Fife* (forthcoming), Taylor pays tribute to Márkus’s ‘expertise in a variety of relevant subjects ranging from Old Irish and Medieval Latin to the medieval Church and the cult of saints.’ The reader of this review should therefore give Mr Márkus credit for a degree of input which has clearly been very significant, but in the nature of things is not usually identifiable in the weft and warp of the finished product.

Within *CPNS* references to historical and literary sources are legion. References to co-operation with contemporary scholars and other living informants are certainly present, though without being particularly frequent. We can imagine W. J. Watson lacing up a pair of stout boots to visit the ‘fine old men’ who were his informants in the early 1900s (*CPNS* xi), and we can no doubt assume that his conversations with them were far more numerous than that single allusion need imply. Just over 30 other references to living informants, some of them academics and some not, can be found in footnotes and in the text of *CPNS*. On the evidence of the respective texts alone, Dr Taylor has been able to go somewhat further than Watson did in developing a co-operative and cross-disciplinary approach to place-name research.

The range of knowledge and quality of scholarship that this Fife volume consistently exhibits are impressive. One of the very first entries is arguably one of the most difficult and contentious: a review of the known names associated with

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3 References and comments throughout the book regularly draw attention to the interfaces between toponymics and a range of other academic disciplines, which can do nothing but good for the standing of place-name studies.
the River Forth (pp. 39–45). The references quoted date from c.80 AD to 1783 and relate to the names Bodotria, Mur nGuidan, Forth, Scotwad, Myrkvafirði, Werid, Scottewatre, mare Frisicum and mare Scotie, with their respective variants. The entry outlines the current state of play in the interpretation of this group of names, setting out the main views currently in contention and, where appropriate, briefly giving the author’s own assessment of probabilities. Text and footnotes also help the reader to follow the development of the debate through time. The most recent publication cited appeared in Spring 2006, only months before the book went to press. It is difficult to see what better exposition of this involved topic could have been achieved in the space of six pages.

In the course of his discussion of the names associated with the River Forth just referred to, Dr Taylor points out that W. J. Watson’s discussion of the place-names in question (CPNS 51–54) is still the most extensive one we have. In the first volume of The Journal of Scottish Name Studies he writes: ‘W. J. Watson’s The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland is without doubt the single most important work published on Scottish toponymics and, while Watson is not infallible, everything he says on the subject of place-names has to be given careful consideration.’ Many a passage from CPNS in fact reads like a glossary of place-name elements backed up by copious examples, but its arrangement in thematic chapters (early names, names from Adamnan, territorial divisions etc.), and in particular its lack of an alphabetical index of the elements discussed, inhibits its easy exploitation as such. In the elaboration of CPNS, Watson had, obviously, to carry out a prior analysis of every place-name he deals with. But it is arguably his subsequent re-organisation of his material into the comprehensive synthesis we now have that makes CPNS such a uniquely important work in the history of Scottish toponymics. Watson’s presentation in this form made Celtic-derived toponymy more accessible to subsequent readers and researchers, and prepared the way for works such as The Place-Names of Fife. With hindsight it seems that, if CPNS had not existed, someone would have had to invent it.

Within the text of the volume under review, of some 73 references to CPNS and one to Watson’s Place-names of Ross and Cromarty (Inverness, 1904), approximately 40% range from modifying, or expressing doubts on, suggestions made by Watson, to showing him to be quite wrong. The remaining references

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4 JSNS 1 (2007), 148. In his Introduction to Watson (Birlinn) Taylor similarly gives Watson the high praise that is his due.
5 E.g. CPNS 351–88.
6 This inspired the present reviewer to a solo attempt at such an index c.1990, subsequently subsumed into the much fuller index available, thanks substantially to Dr Alan James, on the Scottish Place-Name Society website <www.spns.org.uk/WatsIndex2.htm>.
 imply or express agreement. In his Introduction to the latest edition of CPNS,\(^7\) Taylor gives 91 emendations of varying degrees of gravity, while acknowledging that this list is not exhaustive. It is nonetheless tiny for a pioneering work that is 80 years old, and whose pages are unusually densely packed with etymologies. In the 80 years separating CPNS and The Place-Names of Fife, it is hardly surprising that some of Watson’s suggestions have been found to be less than perfect.\(^8\)

From cover to cover, The Place-Names of Fife Vol 1 is a demonstration of good toponymic methodology. Indeed, the author envisages ‘the Fife volumes as ... stimulating similar [Scottish] studies ... as well as presenting a model or template for them’ (p. x).

One of the precepts the book demonstrates is that toponymics is no ivory tower discipline. Taylor and Mármus ‘chapped on many doors’ (p. ix) to benefit from the knowledge of the local population, following the excellent practice of W. J. Watson visiting his ‘fine old men’, as already referred to. This reviewer has accompanied Simon Taylor on more than one place-name foray and can say that he is able to approach housewife, herd or laird with the same polite but relaxed affability that puts potential informants at their ease and, almost incidentally, creates a good atmosphere for eliciting local knowledge.

Nor did Taylor and Mármus neglect to ‘do a Gelling’, as Dr Taylor sometimes puts it, with reference to the insistence of the eminent English place-name scholar, Dr Margaret Gelling, along with her colleague Ann Cole, on getting out into the landscape and taking full account of the topography in question before retiring to the study and the archives and the keyboard.

It also goes without saying that a scholar of Dr Taylor’s experience respects the precept of the Reverend John Duncan, minister of Alva parish in the 1790s, who, in the Old Statistical Account for that parish, delivers himself of the opinion that, ‘Fanciful etymologies can never yield satisfaction to the judicious antiquary, and therefore when nothing rational can be offered, it seems better to acknowledge ignorance, than to offer what can neither amuse nor inform.’ For example, s.n. Camilla, Auchterderran parish (p. 124), Taylor has no qualms about saying, ‘Given the confusion in the relatively late forms [of this name] it is unclear to me what language this name derives from, let alone what it might mean.’

Simon Taylor is fortunate in having four fat volumes at his disposal and he uses this space pertinently and interestingly, writing in a clear, readable, business-like style that is scholarly yet relaxed. As we have seen, The Place-
Names of Fife has been a long time in the making. This was no doubt a source of frustration, but one clear advantage of its long gestation is perceptible in the thoroughness and attention to detail that the first volume exhibits. To take the Introduction as an example, great care is taken to give both the specialist and the non-specialist the information needed to make good use of the ensuing material. The study area is defined in terms of sheriffdoms, parishes, deaneries and dioceses and we see summarised the considerable changes occasioned successively by the ‘dramatic’ expansion of the sheriffdom of Kinross in 1685 and the establishment of County Councils in 1891. The effects of these changes are illustrated by maps on pages 3 and 5 showing the Fife and Kinross parishes as they were c. 1300, then as they were between 1891–1975 – by that time, of course, as civil parishes. To supplement these maps, the introduction to each parish gazetteer adds considerable detail, ecclesiastical, secular, tenurial, as appropriate, on the evolution of the parish concerned throughout its existence.

The Introduction also contains a section on the languages that have contributed to the toponymy of Fife, a guide to pronunciation and a glossary of toponymic terms. The lay-out of the entries is then explained in detail, as are the abbreviations to be employed. There are notes on the pre-OS maps relevant to the study area: Pont, Gordon, Roy, Ainslie, Stobie and ‘the last great map of Fife before the Ordnance Survey’ (p. 20), that of Sharp, Greenwood and Fowler. Sixteen pages detailing bibliographical and cartographical sources relevant to Volume 1 complete the Introduction. A composite bibliography is to appear in Volume 4.

Maps play an important role throughout the volume, as one would expect. Linear features, such as watercourses, ranges of hills and extensive bodies of water, are shown on the drawn map of each of the parishes into which they extend, but to avoid repetition in the parish chapters they are discussed globally in the first chapter of the gazetteer proper. Subsequent chapters of the volume treat of one parish each, and each of them is duly prefaced by two or more maps of that parish. These consist, firstly, of reproductions of a map of the parish concerned as it was in the later 18th century – thus comfortably before the changes of 1891 – and secondly, of specially drawn outline maps\(^9\) essentially of the modern parishes, showing some of the settlements and other features subsequently to be discussed. The main source for the 18th-century maps is Ainslie’s map of Fife of 1775, while Stobie’s 1783 map of Perthshire serves for parishes formerly in that county, Culross and Tulliallan. These 18th-century maps add extra interest, both aesthetic and toponymic. They have the advantage of being fuller and more accurate than the maps of Pont or Gordon, while allowing the location and identification of features that were to disappear,\(^9\) Referred to in this review as the ‘drawn maps’.
but that were still extant in the later 18th century. This system works well enough, although in the case of Dunfermline parish, the size of the parish means that the outline map is in two parts, north and south, which cannot be viewed simultaneously, while the representations from Ainslie of the north-west, north-east, south-west and south-east areas of the same parish span four pages and have to provide overlaps. In an ideal world, respective pull-out maps might have been provided, showing the whole parish, but this was presumably rejected for practical reasons.

Thus we have the synchronic maps of Ainslie and Stobie, while the drawn maps are to some extent diachronic. For the purposes of his study, the author has chosen to define Fife as it has been since 1891 (p. 4), and so the drawn maps for each parish emphasise the post-1891 boundaries for that parish. However, parish amalgamations and re-organisations are illustrated there, and pre-1891 boundaries are also shown, by dotted lines. Where an area has in the past been transferred from one parish to another, the abbreviation of the former parish name is marked after the name of each settlement affected by this change. For example, in the case of Carnock parish (p. 205), nine settlement names now in Carnock bear the suffix ‘pre-1650 DFL’, to show their former Dunfermline parish allegiance. This diachronic solution saves space and starts from the known, i.e. the modern situation, while still allowing the reader to visualise something of the ‘before and after’ situations simultaneously, on the same map. As a further example, in the case of the map of Carnock parish already referred to, we see Craigluscar in Dunfermline parish and East Luscar and Luscar House in Carnock. But the system adopted shows that they were all earlier in the same parish, and, incidentally, it usefully illustrates the principle that the specific element of a place-name is not found on different sides of an important boundary without good reason. Other examples of this principle, it might be added, are the Raith names of Auchterderran and Kirkcaldy and Dysart parishes (pp. 93, 108–09, 495–96) and the Blair names of Cleish, Beath and Ballingry parishes (pp. 141–42). In the case of these two groups of names severally, Taylor shows that it is feasible to assume an earlier territorial unit which did not survive into the period of parish formation, or was perhaps disrupted by it. In the case of the Blair names, he goes so far as to posit a possible ‘underlying Blair Fife or Blair Fothrif, on a par with Blair Gowrie and Blair Atholl PER’ (p. 141).

Some 60% of the place-names treated in this volume are shown on the drawn maps provided. In thanking all those who helped in the preparation of the drawn maps, Dr Taylor remarks that this ‘turned into a much bigger production than any of us had envisaged’ (p. x). Perhaps, then, it is asking the impossible, but this reader would have liked to see more names figure.
As is normal practice, throughout the gazetteer the grid reference given for each head-name is categorised (from 1 to 3 in this volume) according to known accuracy.\(^\text{10}\) The drawn maps show around two thirds of the obsolete names discussed in the gazetteer for which there is an NGR in category 1 or 2. These NGRs are mainly inferred from the 1856 OS 6 inch first edition, or from 18th or 19th-century estate plans. Of 11 obsolete names whose estimated NGR is in category 3 (i.e. known to lie within a 1km radius of the grid square of the reference), two are shown on the drawn maps in italics to show that their location is approximate.

In the general introduction (p. 7), we are told that the parish drawn maps show ‘key features’ that are mentioned in the introduction to the parish concerned and/or in the following discussion, but ‘key’ in what sense? For example, in the context of a place-name study in particular, a name such as *Scleofgarmunth#* (ADN R NT21 93 3), which is not mapped, could surely be said to be ‘key’, as it is one of only two certain *sliabh* names in Fife (p. 93), and especially since the whole question of *sliabh* names has been clarified and given a renewed topicality by Dr Taylor himself.\(^\text{11}\)

The reader will ideally have the appropriate OS sheets to hand while consulting these volumes, and the Ainslie and Stobie maps show many place-names now obsolete that were still extant at the time of mapping. Nevertheless, those sources would be usefully supplemented if more obsolete place-names were shown on the drawn maps, even if, as a last resort, by numerals and footnotes, as is in fact done for eight names on the drawn map of Kirkcaldy and Dysart parish (p. 465).

Typos and other minor errors spotted were: p. 1, ‘Defining Fife’, line 3 ‘Salineis’ should read ‘Saline is’; p. 8, end of Note 2, a duplicated ‘where the’; p. 44, para. 2, nine lines from the end, ‘rests’ for ‘rest’; p. 55, ‘pilgim’/‘pilgimage’, twice, and once in the index, p. 618; p. 127, end of *Lochhead* entry, ‘above’ should be ‘below’; p. 224, mid-page, of omitted after ‘Dargart, a member’; pp. 411–12, entries out of alphabetical order; p. 545, s.n. *Cockletree*, ‘is’ for ‘its’.

Occasionally, cross-referencing is not quite perfect: Gateside TUL is mapped and indexed but is not discussed as a head-name in the TUL gazetteer; conversely, West Mills KDT is discussed as head-name on p. 506 but is indexed only under Kirkcaldy. On p. 560, s.n. *Waukmill*, the reader is referred to ‘Foody Mill #’ but the form given as the head-name for this site (p. 549) is *Foothies Mill* (TOB).

\(^{10}\) A rare exception is *Inwerkunglas*, which cannot be located any more precisely than ‘probably somewhere in West Fife, though possibly north of the Tay’ (p. 46).

The possibly quibbling nature of some of the few adverse comments offered in this review shows how difficult it is to find significant fault with this volume. Simon Taylor has written, ‘The next great advance in Scottish toponymics must be in the production of in-depth local place-names surveys’, and ‘The next great book on Scottish place-names, to rank with Watson and Nicolaisen,\textsuperscript{12} must await the completion of at least one county survey, ideally one from each of the nine linguistic zones of Scotland’ (Watson (Birlinn), pp. vii–viii). The volume under review indicates that Taylor and Márkus are in the process of supplying the \textit{desiderata} he was referring to, and to an admirably high standard.

The publishers, Shaun Tyas, Donington, and the printers, Woolnoughs of Irthlingborough, fully deserve a mention here for their part in producing a physically handsome volume.

\textit{In fine}, it should be added that, in addition to all its other qualities, this first volume of \textit{The Place-Names of Fife} shares with \textit{CPNS} the virtue of being a rattling good toponymic read!

\textsc{Angus Watson}

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Dr Margaret Scott is a Lecturer in English Language at the University of Salford. She completed a thesis on the Scots, Old English and Old Norse place-names of southern Scotland at the University of Glasgow in 2004 and is currently Assistant Editor for Professor W. F. H. Nicolaisen’s forthcoming Dictionary of Scottish Place-Names. She is a committee member of the Scottish Place-Name Society and of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, and took over editorship of the journal, Nomina, in 2008.
Dr Simon Taylor has been working in various aspects of Scottish place-name studies for about 15 years. He is at present the lead researcher on the AHRC-funded Project ‘The Expansion and Contraction of Gaelic in Medieval Scotland: the onomastic evidence’ at the Department of Celtic, University of Glasgow. Part of this Project’s remit is to complete the 4-volume series *The Place-Names of Fife*, volume 1 of which (covering west Fife) was published by Shaun Tyas in 2006. He is also Convener of the Scottish Place-Name Society, which he helped found in 1995.

Angus Watson first studied Romance languages before an interest in Gaelic and place-names came to the fore in the later 1970s. After a decade crofting in Skye, he studied Gaelic at Aberdeen, in the Golden Age of Donald MacAulay, Colm O’Boyle and Seumas Grant. He is responsible for a book on Ochils place-names, some thirty published poems and short stories – of variable quality – in Gaelic, Scots and English, the ‘Essential’ Gaelic-English and English-Gaelic dictionaries (Birlinn 2001 etc) and a St Andrews PhD on place-names and lordship in western Strathearn (2002). He is currently working on a study of the place-names of the area of central France, where he now lives.
### Scottish county abbreviations (pre-1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scottish county abbreviation</th>
<th>English county name</th>
<th>Scottish county abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABD</td>
<td>Aberdeenshire</td>
<td>ELO</td>
<td>East Lothian</td>
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<td>ANG</td>
<td>Angus</td>
<td>FIF</td>
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<td>ARG</td>
<td>Argyll</td>
<td>INV</td>
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<td>AYR</td>
<td>Ayrshire</td>
<td>KCB</td>
<td>Kirkcudbrightshire</td>
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<td>BNF</td>
<td>Banffshire</td>
<td>KCD</td>
<td>Kincardineshire</td>
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<td>Bute</td>
<td>KNR</td>
<td>Kinross-shire</td>
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<td>Caithness</td>
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<td>Midlothian</td>
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<td>Clackmannanshire</td>
<td>MOR</td>
<td>Moray</td>
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<td>DMF</td>
<td>Dumfriesshire</td>
<td>NAI</td>
<td>Nairnshire</td>
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Scottish Place-Name Society
Comann Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba

If you are interested in Scottish place-names, wherever you live, this is the society for you. Founded in 1996, we have grown in numbers to over 350 members, comprising everyone involved or interested in Scottish place-name study, from academics to amateurs to those who are simply fascinated by place-names.

We publish two copies of the Newsletter a year, each illustrated in full colour and now 16 pages long, with articles summarising talks at our conferences and other material, including book reviews. We hold day conferences twice a year – one in spring, one in autumn – at venues all round Scotland, usually with a local theme to its four or five talks. We run a website with lots of pages about the Society, its past and future conferences, notes on place-names arranged by county, a bookshelf, and links to other websites; you can find it at http://www.spns.org.uk/.

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You can contact us via the web site, or by writing to the Society, c/o Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, EH8 9LD, or by contacting the Treasurer, Pete Drummond, at peter.drummond@btinternet.com, or 8 Academy Place, Coatbridge ML5 3AX.

We look forward to welcoming you.
AINM

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All articles submitted for publication are peer-reviewed and the membership of the editorial board reflects expertise in Irish, Manx and Scottish place and personal names in both the medieval and modern periods, and in related areas of language, literature and historical studies.

Articles for publication and books for review should be sent to the The Editor, AINM, Irish & Celtic Studies, School of Languages, Literatures & Performing Arts, Queen’s University, Belfast BT7 1NN.

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