The Journal of Scottish Name Studies 9 (2015)
edited by Richard A.V. Cox and Simon Taylor

First published in Scotland in 2015 by
Clann Tuirc, Tigh a’ Mhaide, Ceann Drochaid, Perthshire FK17 8HT

ISSN 2054-9385
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<www.clanntuirc.co.uk/JSNS.html>

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

Editors
Professor Richard A.V. Cox and Dr Simon Taylor

Reviews Editor
Dr Maggie Scott, m.r.scott@salford.ac.uk
School of Arts and Media
Room A106, Adelphi Building, Peru Street
University of Salford, Salford M3 6EQ

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## Contents

*Doreen Waugh 1944–2015*

Brian Smith 1

*Doreen J. Waugh: a bibliography*

William Waugh, Eileen Brooke-Freeman, Brian Smith, Simon Taylor 5

*Pixti/*Pexti, Picti? The Name ‘Picti’ Revisited*

George Broderick 9

Jocelin of Furness’s Interpretation of the Name Waltheof

Fiona Edmonds 43

‘StronPatnaHachalas or the Oxterhill’: place-names and language-contact in the Beauly area, Inverness-shire

Simon Taylor 63

‘hence the name’: Berwickshire parishes along the Anglo-Scottish Border as described in the Ordnance Survey Name Books

Eila Williamson 83

Bibliography for 2014

Simon Taylor 97

Notes on Contributors 101

County Abbreviations 103

_The Journal of Scottish Name Studies 9, 2015, i–vi_
Dr Doreen Jennifer Waugh died on 23 September 2015 after a long illness. As a tribute to all she did for Scottish place-name studies, and to the fact that she was a valued member of the Editorial Advisory Board of The Journal of Scottish Name Studies, we include in this issue of the Journal an obituary by Brian Smith, Shetland Archives, which appeared in The Shetland Times, Friday 1 October 2015. It is reproduced here with his kind permission, as well as that of The Shetland Times. It is followed by a bibliography of her published work, which well shows both the focus and the breadth of her scholarship. It was compiled by William (Willie) Waugh, Doreen’s husband, Eileen Brooke-Freeman, Brian Smith and Simon Taylor.

Doreen Waugh
1944–2015

Doreen Waugh, Shetland’s foremost scholar of place-names, died last week. She had been seriously ill since 2008, but fought back, continued to work, and greeted her first grandchildren during her final years. She was 70.

She was the adopted daughter of Williamina Laurenson, who was eventually head teacher at Sand primary school, and her husband George. Doreen went to school at Sand, and then in the mid-fifties to the Anderson Institute in Lerwick. There, like others, she came under the influence of John and Lollie Graham, who taught her to love literature and language, not least her Shetland tongue.

At Edinburgh University she studied English language. She met a young geographer, Willie Waugh, whom she married in 1970. After graduating she worked for the British Council for a year, in Borås in Sweden, teaching English to businessmen. Back in Scotland she taught at Bathgate Academy, travelling by car daily on the notorious A8, and later at James Gillespie’s High School in Edinburgh.

It was during 10 years at home, having children and looking after them, that she became interested in names. Willie saw that she was finding an exclusively domestic life rather tedious, and at Christmas 1976 bought her a copy of Bill Nicolaisen’s Place-names of Scotland, just published. She was enthralled.

For the rest of her life place-names were, as she put it, ‘an endless source of fun, inspiration, enthusiasm and intellectual excitement.’ Soon afterwards she signed up for evening classes with Ian Fraser from the Scottish Place-name Survey. In 1980 she got a Faculty of Arts scholarship at Edinburgh University to do a PhD with him, studying names in Caithness.

At the same time she joined the Scottish Society for Northern Studies, whose activities were also based in George Square. It was a lifetime association. She enjoyed the informal and interdisciplinary atmosphere of the Society and made fast friends there. From 1985–89 she was editor of its journal Northern Studies, from 1987–89...
its secretary, became president for three years in the early nineties, and sat on its
commitee until 2000.

And she was making friends further afield. In October 1980 she met Gunnel
Melchers, a philologist from Sweden, when Gunnel gave an informal lecture in the
university. They became lifelong friends.

A year later she was introduced to the names-scholar Gillian Fellows-Jensen at
the bicentenary conference of the National Museum of Antiquities. It was another
firm and long-lasting friendship. Gillian spent a week with Doreen and Willie
last month and reports that she was as hospitable and kind as always, despite the
medical treatment she was by then receiving.

Doreen successfully submitted her thesis at Easter 1985. (Gillian was her
external examiner.) By that time she was teaching again, this time at the Mary
Erskine School in Edinburgh, where she became a member of senior management.
She continued to work there until she retired and was by all accounts a good
administrator and efficient handler of her pupils.

But her deepest interest was always in name studies. During the 1980s she
published several papers based on her Caithness material. Later she extended her
interests further afield: to Strathnaver, to Dumfries and Galloway, to Orkney,
and eventually to her beloved Shetland. But she continued to have a soft spot for
Caithness, and on the eve of her illness she was planning a major dictionary of
names there, inspired by work that Diana Whaley had done in the Lake District,
and by Simon Taylor’s encyclopedic studies of Fife.

Doreen never wrote at book-length. She preferred the close focus of a journal
article. Readers of this or that paper may not spot it, but she was gradually working
out an original approach to name studies.

As a student, nervously giving a paper to a conference of the then Council for
Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland, a remark by Margaret Gelling made
her realise that she hadn’t been using insights provided by her oral informants in a
subtle enough way.

She reminisced later that she had been using those insights ‘rather mechanically’,
and that she was ‘squirrelling away [the] information … without stopping to think
more deeply about the nature of [the informants’] contribution to place-name
studies …’ She began to realise, at that early date, that the informants often knew
more about the landscape and its nomenclature than the scholars.

Onomasticians sometimes concentrate on settlement-names, because they
are ‘hierarchical’, and because some of them exhibit higher ‘status’ than others.
Doreen wrote about settlements, as we shall see in a moment, but she had a more
complex view of them. As she remarked at a conference in 2011, ‘All place-names
are “important”!’

She was very interested in topographical names. In the first decade of the new
century she began to write about places called ‘ness’ and ‘aith’. She didn't see them as mere geographical features, as ‘solely topographical’. She thought that the ‘aiths’—isthmuses—had ‘much to tell us about patterns of movement of goods and people’—what she called the ‘economic landscape’.

She worked through these ideas in papers about Shetland, some of her best. In 1993, the final year of her presidency of the Society for Northern Studies, she convened a conference in Lerwick. It celebrated the Society’s 25th anniversary and the centenary of Jakob Jakobsen’s arrival in Shetland to study the defunct Norn language.

Her own lecture there was about Sand, the place where she had spent her childhood. Using material collected from local people and documents, she created a nuanced and humane account. ‘I think what I … find so fascinating about many of the place-names,’ she told her audience, ‘… is the fact that they are so obviously living entities and should not merely be revered as icons of the dead Norn language.’

Ten years later, at another Lerwick conference, she spoke about Twatt in Aithsting, her mother’s birthplace. She painted a striking ‘toponymic picture’ of the district, using material and anecdotes provided by my old schoolmate Jim Johnston, and others.


Her energy was boundless. She became an active member of the Scottish Place-name Society, from its inception in 1996 until March 2012. At various times she was its vice-convener, secretary and convener.

And [in 1998] it was she who came forward with the idea of a Shetland Place Names Project [which started] in 2001. She convinced Shetland Amenity Trust that it was a feasible project, assisted with the project plan, helped Eileen Brooke-Freeman, the project officer, from the outset, and made the Scottish Place-Name Database, a powerful tool, available to it.

She attended and spoke at more conferences, from Flottemanville-Hague to Kárásjohka. After her retirement, in 2004, she planned to be even more active. She took on the treasurership of the Society for Northern Studies. Along with her old teacher Ian Fraser she organised the 17th annual Study Conference of Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland. She and Willie had moved from Edinburgh to Howgate, near Penicuik, and built a house at Sand.

Then, as I have said, illness struck. But amidst her treatment, sometimes punishing, she refused to give up her activities and interests. She and some colleagues organised the publication of a fat book of essays by her old mentor Bill Nicolaisen,
In the Beginning was the Name (2011). She received an honorary research fellowship at the University of the Highlands and Islands’s Centre for Nordic Studies. With Val Turner and Olwyn Owen she became editor of the 2013 Viking Congress proceedings (due out next year).

She joined the committee of Shetland ForWirds, and one of her last projects was to lead the group that created the popular little book *Mirds o Wirds: a Shetland Dialect Word Book*, which came out last June. I and others have pleasant memories of the speech she made, in her strong Shetland voice, at the launch of it. ‘What a privilege and strength it is to be bi-dialectal,’ Doreen once said, ‘which is what we dialect speakers in Shetland are.’

She was a scholar – not a desiccated one. I have been looking through old emails and relishing once again our discussions about books. Doreen was quite capable of introducing T. S. Eliot or Philip Larkin into a lecture about Shetland names. I remember, too, her irrepressible laugh and her hospitality. Doreen Waugh was a fine teacher. Many friends, far and wide, will mourn her passing.

Brian Smith

Doreen Waugh (right) and her friend Gunnel Melchers at the launch of *Mirds o Wirds* in Islesburgh House, on 9 June 2014.
Doreen Waugh: A Bibliography


1 Doreen published both as Doreen Waugh and Doreen J. Waugh, the J. being for Jennifer. In this bibliography her name has been standardised to Doreen Waugh in all items.


Waugh, Doreen, 2007, ‘From the ‘banks-gaet’ to the ‘hill-grind’: Norn and Scots in the place-names of Shetland’, in *Language Contact in the Place-Names of Britain and Ireland*, ed. Paul Cavill and George Broderick, EPNS Extra Series 3 (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society), 165–83 [papers from the International Conference on Language Contact in the Place-Names of Britain and Ireland, organised by the Institute for Name Studies, University of Nottingham, in conjunction with the Centre for Manx Studies (University of Liverpool), Douglas, Isle of Man, held in Douglas, Isle of Man, 17–18 September 2004].


Waugh, Doreen, 2009, ‘Caithness: Another Dip in the Sweerag Well’, in *Scandinavian Scotland – Twenty Years After*, ed. Alex Woolf (St Andrews), 31–48 [the proceedings of a day conference held in St Andrews on 19 February 2007].


Edited volumes


The Name ‘Picti’ Revisited

George Broderick
Universität Mannheim

1. Introduction

According to Gaelic tradition, Pictland once comprised seven kingdoms. This is to be found in a Gaelic quatrain, attached to Lebor Bretnach sometime between 862 and 876 (Broun 2007, 78), concerning Cruithne’s² seven sons, given here after Watson (1926, 107):

*Pixti /*Pexti, Picti?

The Journal of Scottish Name Studies 9, 2015, 9–42
The literary device of giving lands to eponymous ancient founders was common in Antiquity and in Medieval times. However, the common idea that there were seven Pictish kingdoms or provinces from early times, as noted in the poem, may just be imaginary, or an exercise in poetic licence, or as Fraser (2009, 46) would have it, ‘stands on shaky ground’.6

The name Picti has traditionally been taken as Latin picti ‘the painted people(s)’ from their perceived practice of adorning themselves with warpaint or of indulging in various forms of body-art, e.g. tattooing etc. (cf. Jackson, §3.5, below), which still finds supporters even today (cf. Fraser 2009), or that the Latin form may ultimately derive from an unknown native original (cf. Watson, §3.3, and O’Rahilly, §3.4). Then there developed the view that the basis for the origin of the name lay in the form Pecht, as believed by Rhŷs (§3.2), followed by Watson (§3.3), O’Rahilly (§3.4) and Nicolaisen (§3.6). In this article we will take a look at the situation of the Picts, but particularly with regard to the name ‘Picti’ and offer a suggestion within a Celtic framework.

2. The name PICTI in the historical record

2.1. In Antiquity

2.1.1. So far as is known, the name Picti first appears in the historical record in a Latin panegyric by Eumenius to the Emperor Constantius dated AD 297 who associates the Picti with the Hiberni as enemies of the Britanni:

Ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis et solis [Britanni] Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus, adhuc semi-nudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt, prope ut hoc uno Caesar gloriari in illa expeditione debuerit quod navigasset Oceanum (Incerti panegyricus Constantio Caesari VIII (V), d. 11, 4 [an. 297]; also Holder II, 993–94).

(‘In addition to that, a nation which was then primitive and accustomed to fight, still half-naked, only with Picts and Hiberni, easily succumbed to Roman arms and standards, almost to the point that Caesar should have boasted about this one thing only on that expedition, that he had sailed across the ocean’) (Rodgers).

5 For details of the various Pictish king-lists and comparative material, see M. O. Anderson (1980, 1–202).

6 As does, in Fraser’s (ibid.) view, the twelfth-century tract De situ Albanie ‘on the situation of Alba’. This also notes the sevenfold division of Pictland (cf. Broun 2000). For a discussion of the Poppleton manuscript and on the use of Alba see Broun (2005). For full details of this period of Scottish history see Woolf (2008), Broun (2007), Fraser (2009).
2.1.2. In a slightly later panegyric, this time to the Emperor Constantine (AD 310), reference is made to ‘the woods and marshes of the Caledones and other Picts’, indicating that Caledones were seen as Picts:

"Neque enim ille tot tantisque rebus gestis non dico Caledonum, Pictorum aliorumque silvas et paludes, sed nec Hiberniam proximam nec Thylen ultimam nec ipsas si quae sunt [...]. (Incerti panegyricus Constantino Augusto VI (VII), d. 7, 2 [an. 310]; also Holder II, 994).

(‘For it was not that he who had accomplished so many great feats thought it worthwhile to acquire – I won’t mention the forests and swamps of the Caledonians and the other Picts – either nearby Hibernia or Farthest Thule, or the Isles of the Blest themselves, if they exist (...’)) (Nixon).

2.1.3. From AD 360 onwards the references become more numerous and the Picts are usually associated with the Scotti and Saxones as forces attacking Roman Britain. The Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (c.330–c.395) tells us that the Scots and the Picts ravaged the areas near the Roman frontier:

"Consulatu vero Constantii deciens terque Iuliani in Brittanniis cum Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus rupta quiete condita loca limitibus vicina vastarent et implicaret formido provincias praeteritarum cladium congerie fessas (Ammianus Marcellinus XX, 1, 1 [an. 360]; also Holder II, 994).

(‘But in Britain in the tenth consulship of Constantius and the third of Julian raids of the savage tribes of the Scots and the Picts, who had broken the peace that had been agreed upon, were laying waste the regions near the frontiers, so that fear seized the provincials, wearied as they were by a mass of past calamities’) (Rolfe).

2.1.4. A little later Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of the Pecti, the Saxones, the Scotti and the Attacotti incessantly harassing the Britons:

"Pecti Saxonesque et Scotti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis (Ammianus Marcellinus XXVI, 4, 5 [an. 365]; also Holder II, 994).

(‘the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti were harassing the Britons with constant disasters’) (Rolfe).

Note the spelling here with <e> (cf. also Watson, §3.3, below).
2.1.5. Ammianus Marcellinus also informs us that the Picts were seemingly divided into two groups, viz Dicalydones\(^8\) and Verturiones:

*Illud tamen sufficiet dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones, itidem-que Attacotti, bellica hominum natio, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur [...]* (Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII, 8, 5 [an. 368]; also Holder II, 994).

(‘It will, however, be in place to say, that at that time the Picts, divided into two tribes, called Dicalydones and Verturiones, as well as the Attacotti, a warlike race of men, and the Scots, were ranging widely and causing great devastation (...)’) (Rolfe).

2.1.6. Other references to the Picts from Latin sources, many of which postdate Roman Britain, can be found in Holder (II, 994–99). The Picts depart from the historical record c.900 (Dumville 1996, 36, fn. 106). As noted by Woolf (2008, 320, fn. 18), the term *Alba* to signify the kingdom of the Scots first appears in the *Annals of Ulster* for AD 900: *Domnall m. Caustantin, ri Alban, moritur.*\(^9\)

2.2. Gildas (497–570)

Gildas wrote his work *De excidio Britanniae* ‘on the ruin of Britain’ c. AD 540 (Winterbottom 2002, 1). It concerns the fall of Britain into Anglo-Saxon hands. In this work Gildas mentions the Picts three times:

2.2.1. In the first piece Gildas XIV talks of Britain, robbed of all her rulers, soldiers and youth, suffering under the depredations of the Scots and Picts:

*Exin Britannia omni armato milite, militaribus copiis, rectoribus licet immanibus, ingenti iuventute spoliata [...], duabus primum gentibus transmarinis\(^{10}\) vehementer saevis Scotorum a circione, Pictorum ab aquilone calcabilis, multos stupet gemitque annos* (Gildas XIV).

(‘After this, Britain is robbed of all her armed soldiery of her military supplies, of her rulers, cruel though they were, and of her vigorous...’)

---

\(^8\) Alan Bruford (2000, 45, note 5) suggests that the first syllable of *Dicalydones* may be a scribal ditography from the previous word, *diuisi*.

\(^9\) For details of the history of the transition from Pictland to Alba, see Woolf (2008, 87–121 and 312–350).

\(^{10}\) *transmarinis* ‘from across the sea’. O’Rahilly (1946, 530–532) refutes Gildas’s contention that the Picts came into Britain from outside.
youth (...), she is, for the first time, open to be trampled upon by two foreign tribes of extreme cruelty, the Scots from the north-west, the Picts from the north; and for many years continues stunned and groaning’) (Williams).

2.2.2. In the second, Gildas XIX,1, tells of the attack by Scots and Picts, after the withdrawal of the Romans, on the Britons as far as the frontier (Hadrian’s Wall). Here Gildas seems to be quoting in part from Ammianus Marcellinus (cf. §2.3.1., above):

*Itaque illis ad sua remeantibus emergunt certamin de curucis, quibus sunt trans tithicam vallem evecti, quasi in alto Titane incalescentque caumate de artissimis foraminum caverniculis fusci vermiculorum cunei, tetri Scottorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte dissidentes, sed una eademque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordes furciferisque magnis vultus pilis quam corporum pudenda pudendisque proxima vestibus tegentes cognitaque condebitorum reversione et reditus denegatione solito confidentiores omnem aquilonalem extremamque terrae partem pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt* (Gildas XIX, 1).

(‘As they (the Romans) were returning home, the terrible hordes of Scots and Picts eagerly come forth out of the tiny craft (coracles) in which they sailed across the sea-valley, as on Ocean’s deep, just as, when the sun is high and the heat increasing, dark swarms of worms emerge from the narrow crevices of their holes. Differing partly in their habits, yet alike in one and the same thirst for bloodshed – in preference also for covering their villainous faces with hair rather than their nakedness of body with decent clothing – these nations, on learning the departure of our helpers and their refusal to return, became more audacious than ever, and seized the whole northern part of the land as far as the wall, to the exclusion of the inhabitants’) (Williams).

2.2.3. In the third and final mention, Gildas (XXI,1) tells of the Irish returning home after an attack on the Britons and of Pictish settlement in the area of Hadrian’s Wall for the first time:

*Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hiberni domos, post non longum temporis reversuri. Picti in extrema parte insulae tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt, praedas et contritiones nonnullumquam facientes* (Gildas XXI,1).

(‘The shameless Irish assassins, therefore, went back to their homes, to
return again before long. It was then, for the first time, in the furthest part of the island,\textsuperscript{11} that the Picts commenced their successive settlements, with frequent pillaging and devastation’ (Williams).

2.3. Adomnán (628–704)\textsuperscript{12}

Adomnán wrote his \textit{Life of Columba} c.697 in which Columba sought to preach Christianity among the inhabitants of the northern Pictish territories of Britain.\textsuperscript{13}

2.3.1. In the first quote, Adomnán (II, 32) tells us that Saint Columba, while in Pictish territory, preached the word of life to a local family through an interpreter, indicating that the Pictish family he was preaching to at any rate, but implying the (northern) Picts in general, did not understand Irish.

\textit{Illo in tempore quo sanctus Columba in Pictorum prouincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota plebeius familia uerbum uitae per interpretatorem sancto predicante uiro audiens credidit, credensque habitatus est maritus cum marita liberisque et familiaribus} (Adomnán II, 32).

(‘At the time when Saint Columba passed some days in the province of the Picts, a certain layman with his whole household heard and believed the word of life, through an interpreter, at the preaching of the holy man; and believing, was baptized, the husband, with his wife and children, and his servants’) (Anderson).

2.3.2. In the second quote, Adomnán (II, 27) refers to the River Ness (which flows between Loch Ness and Inverness, i.e. the Pictish kingdom of Fortriu\textsuperscript{14} in northern Pictish territory):

\textit{Alio quoque in tempore, cum uir beatus in Pictorum prouincia per aliquot moraretur dies, necesse habuit fluium transire Nesam} (Adomnán II, 27).

(‘Also at another time, when the blessed man was for a number of days in the province of the Picts, he had to cross the river Nes [Ness]’) (Anderson).

\textsuperscript{11} I.e. by Hadrian’s Wall.
\textsuperscript{12} For details of Adomnán and his life and times, see Anderson (1991, xxxix–xliii).
\textsuperscript{13} For details of Christianity in the northern Pictish area see Carver (2008).
\textsuperscript{14} Or \textit{Waerteras}, an OE form of the polity-name \textit{Uerturiones} (cf. Fraser 2009, 50).
2.3.3. In the next quote, Adomnán (II, 34) refers to the ‘long lake of the river Nes [Ness]’, i.e. Loch Ness (in Forthriu):

*Sanctus die eadam sicut corde proposuit ad lacum Nisae fluminis longum multa prosequente caterua uenit* (Adomnán II, 34).

(‘On the appointed day as he had intended the saint came to the long lake of the river Nes [Ness], followed by a large crowd’) (Anderson).

2.3.4. In the final quote, Adomnán (II, 46), in the context of a plague that ravaged large parts of Europe, including Britain and Ireland (686–688),\(^{15}\) refers to the boundary between the Irish inhabitants in Scotland and the territory of the Picts:

*[...] oceani insulae per totum, uidelicet Scotia et Britanniæ, binis uicibus uastatae sunt dîra pestilentia, exceptis duobus populis, hoc est Pictorum plebe et Scotorum Britanniæ inter quos utrosque dorsi montes Britannici disterminant* (Adomnán II, 46).

(‘the islands of the Ocean, namely Ireland and Britain, were twice ravaged throughout by a terrible pestilence, excepting two peoples only, that is the population of Picts, and of Irish in Britain, between which peoples the mountains of the spine of Britain\(^{16}\) are the boundary’) (Anderson).

2.4. The Venerable Bede (672/673–735)\(^{17}\)

2.4.1. The Venerable Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (731) clearly states that, in addition to Latin, four peoples and languages existed in Britain in his time:

*Haec in praesentia iuxta numerum librorum, quibus lex diuina scripta est, quinque gentium linguæ [...], Anglorum uidelicet, Brettoum, Scottorum,*

---

\(^{15}\) See also Fraser (2009, 241–42). An earlier plague of 644 is mentioned in connection with a solar eclipse by Bede (HE III, 27) and in the *Annals of Ulster* s.a. 663–64.

\(^{16}\) *dorsum Britanniae – druimm nAlpan* (Drumalban), the high region of central Scotland separating east from west, Picts from Scots. The route through the Great Glen was largely navigable by boat (cf. Anderson 1991, 62, note 73).

\(^{17}\) For details of Bede and his life and times, see Spitzbart (1997, 1–8).
The Journal of Scottish Name Studies
9, 2015, 9–42

George Broderick

Pictorum et Latinorum, que doctrina scriptuarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis (HE I, 1).18

(‘At the present time, there are five languages in Britain, just as the divine law is written in five books [...] , namely, English, British, Irish, Pictish, as well as the Latin languages; through the study of the scriptures, Latin is in general use among them all’) (Colgrave and Mynors).

2.4.2. Bede (HE III, 6) later returns to this theme when he tells of those who came under the suzerainty of the Bernician English king Oswald (604–642)19:

[...] denique omnes nationes et provincias Britanniae, quae in quatuor linguas, id est Brettonum, Pictorum, Scotorum et Anglorum, diuise sunt, in dicione accept (HE III, 6).

(‘In fact he (Oswald) held under his sway all the peoples and kingdoms of Britain, divided among the speakers of four different languages, British, Pictish, Irish, and English’) (Colgrave and Mynors).

2.4.3. With regard to the Picts, Bede (HE III, 4) states that the territories of the northern Picts were separated from those of the southern Picts by ‘steep and rugged mountain ridges’ (arduis atque horrendibus montium iugis).20 In addition, Bede was seemingly given to understand in the context of this contrast that the southern and northern Picts had divergent ecclesiastical histories. So Bede (HE III, 4):

[...] uenit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas habitu et uita monarchi insignis, nomine Columba, Britanniam, praedicaturus uerbum Dei provincias septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est, quae arduis atque horrendibus montium iugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratae. Namque

18 Henry of Huntingdon (c.1088–c.1156/64) in his Historia Anglorum (c.1125–1155) (I, 8) includes this passage from Bede, but then adds re the Picts: Quamuis Picti iam uideantur deleti, et lingua eorum omnino destructa, ita ut iam fabula uideatur, quod in ueterum scriptis eorum mentio inuenitur (HA I, 8) (‘The Picts, however, appear to have been annihilated and their language utterly destroyed, so that the record of it in the writings of the ancients seems like fiction’) (Greenway). Henry’s information about the Picts may be due to the fact that Huntingdon formed one of the seemingly many possessions of the crown of Scotland in England (1114–1165) (cf. Greenway 1996, fn. 110).

19 In 634 (Fraser 2009, 166).

20 According to Fraser (2009, 46), the ‘steep and rugged mountain ridges’ probably refer to the Mounth (Grampian Highlands), called mons Bannauc ‘peaky mountain’ by the Welsh hagiographer Lifris in his Vita sancti Cadoci ‘Life of St Cadog’ (c.1200), said by him to be in medio Albanie ‘in central Alba’, i.e. Scotland north of the Forth.
ipsi australes Picti, qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes, multo ante tempore, ut perhibent, relictio errore idolatriae fidem ueritatis acceperant, praedicante eis Verbum Nynia episcopo reuerentissimo et sanctissimo uiro de natione Bret-tonum, qui erat Romae regulariter fidem et mysteria ueritatis edoctus; [...] (HE III, 4).

’(...) there came from Ireland to Britain a priest and abbot named Columba, a true monk in life and no less than habit; he came to Britain to preach the word of God to the kingdoms of the northern Picts which are separated from the southern part of their land by steep and rugged mountains. The southern Picts who live on this side of the mountains had, so it is said, long ago given up the errors of idolatry and received the true faith through the preaching of the Word by that reverend and holy man Bishop Ninian, a Briton who had received orthodox instruction at Rome in the faith and the mysteries of the truth’) (Colgrave and Mynors).

2.4.4. In addition, Bede (HE IV, 26) was quite clear in his statement that the southern limit of Pictish territory c.730 lay at the Firth of Forth, the creation of which Fraser (2009, 44) dates to the years after 698.

‘Many of the English were either slain by the sword or enslaved or escaped by flight from Pictish territory; among these latter was Trumwine, a reverend man of God who had been made bishop over them and who retired with his companions from the monastery of Abercorn, which was in English territory but close to the firth which divides the lands of the English from that of the Picts (...)’) (Colgrave and Mynors).

2.4.5. In this context, Bede (HE I, 1) states quite clearly where the boundary between the territory of the southern Picts and that of the Britons stood:

Est autem sinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus gentem Brettonum a Pictis secernebat, qui ab occidente in terras longo spatio erumpit, ubi est ciuitas Brettonum munitissima usque hodie, quae vocatur Alcuith; ad cuius uidelicet sinus partem septentrionalem Scotti [...] aduenientes sibi locum patriae fecerunt (HE I, 1).
'There is a very wide arm of the sea which originally divided the Britons from the Picts. It runs far into the land from the west. Here there is to this day a very strongly fortified British town called Alcuith. The Irish whom we have mentioned settled to the north of this arm of the sea and made their home there') (Colgrave and Mynors).

2.4.6. Northern Pictish territory, on the other hand, according to Fraser (2009, 47), was understood by Bede to constitute a number of sovereign kingdoms, in contrast to a perceived unified south. Fraser (2009, 47) adds:

Thus, although Bede and his contemporaries regarded the gens Pictorum as a single nation, one ought not to push too far any suggestion of homogenity or antiquity within this notion. Whatever we make of the appearance of Picti in our sources in late Antiquity, then, we may feel assured that the term does not refer to a single political community or ethnic solidarity. There is no convincing evidence that it did so much before 700. The earliest surviving use of the term was regarded as self-explanatory. As far as Tacitus, Dio and Herodian were concerned, the peoples of northern Britain had been, collectively, Britanni. How did some of them become Picti in the century after the death of Severus? Gildas’s notion of a great migration from over-seas cannot be supported from other evidence. Disagreement persists among scholars about whether the term represents a latinisation of some native name, or whether it is entirely Roman, but the latter notion has always seemed most convincing (Fraser 2009, 47).

We shall return to this notion later.

3. POST-ANTIQUARIAN HYPOTHESES REGARDING PICTISH AND THE NAME PICTI
A number of scholars have sought to unlock the mysteries of the Pictish language and the meaning of the name Picti, in recent times, particularly from the latter part of the nineteenth century down to the present day. The main protagonists include the following:

3.1. Stokes’s Hypothesis (1888–90)
Whitley Stokes (1830–1909), in Stokes (1888–90, 390–418), under the section entitled ‘Pictish names and other words’, presents the four known hypotheses regarding the Picts then current during his time (my paragraphing – GB):

As to the linguistic and ethnological affinities of the Picts, four irreconcilable hypotheses have been formed, three of which are still upheld.
The first, due to Pinkerton [...], is that the Picts were Teutons and spoke a Gothic dialect:

(2) the second, started by Prof. Rhŷs, is that the Picts were Non-Aryan, whose language was overlaid by loans from Welsh and Irish:

(3) the third, the property of Mr. Skene, is that they were Celts, but Gaelic Celts rather than Cymric:

(4) the fourth, and, in my judgment, the true hypothesis, favoured by Prof. Windisch and Mr. A. Macbain, is that they were Celts, but more nearly allied to the Cymry than to the Gael (Stokes 1888–90, 392).

Here Stokes decidedly supports the notion that the Picts were P-Celtic.

3.2. Rhŷs's hypotheses (1890–91, 1897–98)

3.2a. John Rhŷs (1840–1915) in his Rhind Lectures in Archaeology of 1889 (Rhŷs 1890–91, 103–10) meanders quite a fair bit in his argument, but begins by suggesting that the basic form is Pecht, a thesis later taken up by Watson and Nicolaisen (below):

The word [Pict] is familiar here in Scotland in its various forms, one of which I understand to be Pecht, and it is hard to believe that it is merely a term borrowed from Latin literature. We may go further and state that on the historical side, so to say, there is very good evidence that Pecht cannot have been derived from the Romans [...] (Rhŷs 1890–91, 103).21

3.2b. Rhŷs (1897–98) withdrew his conjecture that Pictish was related to Basque, made in Rhŷs 1891–92, but restated his view that he still regarded Pictish as non-Indo-European:

As regards those, however, who believe the Picts to have spoken as their native language a Celtic dialect, either like Goidelic or Brythonic, my position is unchanged: I still regard the Pictish language as not Celtic, not Aryan (Rhŷs 1897–98, 324–25).

21 Eoin MacNeill (1939, 3–45), in studying the names in the Pictish king-list, identifies what he thought was a strong non-Indo-European component in Pictish, though he recognised the presence of British as far as the Moray Firth. Macalister (1940, 184–226) (p. 223) concluded that Pictish was non-Celtic from his study of the inscriptions: 'But for me one thing is absolutely certain. The language of which a few disconnected scraps are recorded in the inscriptions studied in these pages, whatever it may be, is altogether independent of Celtic; if that language was Pictish, then the Picts were no Celtic speakers.'
Here Rhŷs regards the language of the Picts as ‘not Aryan’, i.e. non-Indo-European.

3.3. Watson’s hypothesis (1926)

W. J. Watson (1865–1948) in Watson (1926, 67–68) has this to say:

As to the name *Picti*, the forms in which it has been transmitted have to be kept in view. In Old Norse it is *Petr*, in Old English *Peohta*, in Old Scots it is *Pecht*. These all suggest an original *Pect-*, and in Ammianus [Marcellinus] the term occurs once as Pecti [cf. §2.1, above]. There are further the Welsh *Peithwyrr*, meaning ‘Pict-men,’ and the personal name *Peithan*. ‘Peith’ comes from ‘Pect,’ like ‘Gueith’ from ‘Vectis’ (Wight), and *peithyn*, a slab or slate, from Latin *pecten*, a comb. An original ‘Pictos’ would yield ‘Pith’ in Welsh, like *brith*, speckled, from *briktoi*. It would thus seem that, while the form ‘Picti’ is certainly Latin, it is based on a genuine native form, and we may compare the Welsh place-name *Peithnant*, of unknown meaning. There is also the Gaulish Pictones, the name of a tribe on the Bay of Biscay, south of the Loire, near the Veneti, whose name appears also as Pectones (Watson 1926, 67–68).

Here Watson takes *Pect-* as a base form for the name and discusses possibilities.

3.4. O’Rahilly’s hypothesis (1946)

T. F. O’Rahilly (1883–1953), in O’Rahilly 1946, 532–33, restates the opinions held by Stokes and Macbain and views the situation as follows:

The question of the origin of the name *Picti* is still *sub judice*. Some have seen in it a purely Latin name; others with less probability, have taken it to be Celtic. On the ground of late borrowings like the Welsh *Peithwyrr*, ‘Picts’ (where *Peith-* comes from *Pect-*), Watson has argued that the original form must have been *Pektī*, so that the name could not have been Latin. In that case, however, the name lost its Celtic character when the Romans took it over, for they turned it into *Picti*.

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22 O’Rahilly (1946, 532, note 4): ‘But the idea of Zimmer and others that it is a Latin translation of Pritani or Pruteni is not to be taken seriously.’

23 O’Rahilly (1946, 532, note 6): ‘[...]. Watson is here following Rhys, who has argued to the same effect in his Rhind lectures on Archaeology (1889), 103ff.’.

24 O’Rahilly (1946, 533, note 1): ‘But may not Pecti for Picti reflect the change of short i to close e in vulgar Latin? There appear to be traces of this in some Latin-borrowed words in Irish, e.g. *trebunn* < Lat. *tribūnus* (unless Ir. *treb* has influenced). So *Pictavi* became in late Latin *Pectavi* (whence ‘Poitiers’ ‘Poitou’); see numerous examples in Holder, II, 987ff.’
which by speakers of Latin would inevitably be understood to mean ‘the painted men’. In Caesar’s day the painting or tattooing of the body was practised by all the inhabitants of Britain (omnes Britanni, De Bello Gallico v, 14); but by the time the Picts are first heard of (AD 297) this practice had doubtless been long abandoned in Roman Britain. From this time onwards Picti, whatever its ultimate origin may have been, must have seemed to the Romans a very convenient collective nickname for their enemies beyond the northern border; and one may suggest that it is to this circumstance, and not to any conquests made in northern Scotland by the Picts of the Isles, that we are to attribute the extension\textsuperscript{25} of the name among Latin writers to all the tribes of non-Roman Britain (O’Rahilly 1946, 532–33).

Elsewhere in EIHM, O’Rahilly (1946, 353–84, 529–38) refutes other theories in detail.

3.5. Jackson’s hypotheses (1955)

3.5.1a. Kenneth H. Jackson (1909–1991). Up until Jackson’s time, discussions on the Picts and their language etc. seem to have been somewhat piece-meal in their deliberation. Jackson was seemingly the first to take a serious look at all the evidence. In discussing the various hypotheses concerning the provenance and designation of the Pictish language Kenneth Jackson (1955, 132) notes that the communis opinio held by scholars since Stokes was ‘that Pictish was a P-Celtic language.’ In a well-argued thesis Watson (1926, esp. 70–72, 126–27) has it, as Jackson (ibid.) puts it, ‘that Pictish was simply a northern Brittonic offshoot of British.’ In another expression of the same thesis by Watson, Jackson adds (ibid.) ‘that Pictish was a separate speech of Gallo-Brittonic origin, allied both to Gaulish and to British but distinct from both. This was also the view, according to Jackson (ibid. and fn. 5), promoted by Stokes (1890 and Macbain (1892, 287–88, 1897, 211, 1902, 389–401).\textsuperscript{26} In his own examination of the matter Jackson (1955, 152) took the view, on the basis of the Celtic words and names found, that the P-Celtic language of Northern Scotland

\textsuperscript{25} O’Rahilly (1946, 533, note 2): ‘The word “extension”, however, begs the question. Actually there is no evidence that the name Picti was ever confined to a single tribe. It is true that the author of a papygic on Constantius, AD310, appears, according to one text, to distinguish the Picti from the Caledones: Caledonum Pictorum aliorumque silvas (Holder, II, 994), but the alternative reading Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum silvas is undoubtedly to be preferred.’

\textsuperscript{26} For a detailed assessment of Pictish and the likelihood of its being totally a P-Celtic language, see Forsyth (1997a). However, in a recent re-assessment of the Dunadd ogam inscription Forsyth (forthcoming) regards the language as Q-Celtic, i.e of the Goidelic language of Argyll, no longer Pictish territory. For details of literacy in Pictland see Forsyth (1997b).
had certain affinities with Gaulish which were lacking in Brittonic, though in most matters it cannot be said to be distinguishable from Brittonic. If so, it would have to be recognised as a third dialect of the P-Celtic family parallel to the other two, neither Gaulish nor Brittonic, though Gallo-Brittonic in descent and closely related to both (Jackson 1955, 152).

3.5.1b. However, in 1980 Jackson (1980, 175–76) modified his view slightly regarding Pictish and its affinities to other P-Celtic languages thus:

[...] and the question whether the Prtenic (see p. 158 above) of Pictland was merely a northern dialect of the Pritanic/Brittonic [i.e. other P-Celtic dialects] spoken further south, or a less closely-related Gallo-Brittonic one, had best be left open at present (Jackson 1980, 175–176).

3.5.1c. In 1993 Jackson (1993, 250) supplied further modified details:

It [Pictish] is likely an offshoot from the Continental Celts settled in northern Scotland some centuries BC. Whether these were a simple extension of the British occupiers of Britain up to the Forth and Clyde [...] or whether a rather more separate Celtic nation, is uncertain, but perhaps the second. Bede treats their language as different from that of the Britons, and there is some linguistic evidence which supports this, though whether it was more than a matter of dialect is not really clear (Jackson 1993, 250).

3.5.2a. On the other hand, on the basis of apparent non-Celtic elements on a number of the Pictish inscriptions, Jackson (1955, 152–54) took the following view:

There were at least two languages current in northern Scotland before the coming of the Irish Gaels in the fifth century. One of them was a Gallo-Brittonic dialect not identical with the British spoken south of the Antonine Wall, though related to it. The other was not Celtic at all, nor apparently even Indo-European, but was presumably the speech of some very early set of inhabitants of Scotland [...]. Various other explanations might be found, all equally speculative, but the existence in some form of a pre-Celtic language in historical Pictland seems reasonably clear (Jackson 1955, 152–54; also Jackson 1983, 224–25).


There were apparently two Pictish languages. One was P-Celtic, brought from Europe in the first millennium BC by Gallo-Brittonic settlers, ancestors of the historical aristocracy of Pictland. It is known from place-names and names of historical kings, etc. The other was not even Indo-European, being the language of the predecessors of the Celts of Scotland [...]. It is preserved in the early inscriptions of Pictland [...]. Its survival in inscriptions could be due to the Celts regarding it as a prestigious language of magic and using it for learned purposes [...]. Examples of non-Celtic Pictish personal names are Bliesblituth, Canutulachama and, in the St. Ninian’s treasure, Spusscio [...] (Jackson 1983, 224–25).

3.5.2c. And again in 1993:

Mingled among them [P-Celtic Picts] there seem to have been descendants of a more ancient race, not Celtic at all. We know this not only from non-Celtic personal names in early sources, and from a few apparently non-Celtic place-names, but more strikingly from over 30 inscriptions carved on stone in the Ogam alphabet learned from the Gaels of Dál Riada. These are in an unintelligible language, not Celtic and not even Indo-European (with [...] names like Nanammovvez) [...]. Thus the ‘Picts’ would represent a mixed people, of both Celtic and pre-Celtic antecedents (Jackson 1993, 250).

3.5.3a. With regard to the meaning of the name ‘Pict’, Jackson (1955, 159–60) proffers that the Romans from the late third century onwards, if not before, came to use a single term for all the peoples north of the Antonine Wall, namely Picti. He goes on the say:

Whether this was ever really some native word or not, the Romans who used it obviously understood it to mean ‘the Painted People’, a reference to the custom of painting and tattooing, which had survived among these remote northern tribes long after it had died out farther south. The probability is that it was always simply the Latin verbal adjective picti, and it is not impossible that it was first used as a translation of Priteni. Since there is good reason to think that the Gallo-Brittonic element among the proto-Picts were Priteni, and since it is desirable to find a convenient name for them to distinguish them from the composite Picts of history, one may suggest that they might in future be called Priteni.
(not *Pritani*) and their language and culture *Pritenic*. We do not know what they called themselves, nor do we know what name the historical Picts used of themselves either (Jackson 1955, 159–60).

3.5.3b. Jackson (1983, 224) reiterates his tattooing thesis in 1983:

[...] who [the non-Indo-European-speaking Picts] introduced the non-Celtic customs of matrilinear succession and tattooing [Jackson 1983, 224].

3.5.3c. And again in 1993, but developing the name ‘Priteni’ from a convenient label for present-day Celticists to a speculative suggestion that this is what the proto-Picts perhaps called themselves:

[...]. They [the Picts] perhaps called themselves Priteni, ‘The People of the Designs’, referring to their having tattooed themselves, possibly with the famous ‘Pictish symbols’; certainly the Romans called them Picti, ‘The Painted People’ (Jackson 1993, 250).

3.5.4. As we have seen, the traditional meaning of ‘Pict’, given expression in Jackson (1954, 1955, 1983, 1993) and harking back to Latin *pictus* ‘painted’, pl. *Picti* ‘the painteds’, still finds support today, most recently in Fraser (2009, 47) who cautiously sees it as

a Roman nickname arising from an actual tendency among northern peoples to apply pigment to their skin [...]. This conclusion seems broadly satisfactory, but may fail fully to appreciate the social context of the origins of *Picti*, and what it meant to Romans at a more fundamental level (Fraser 2009, 47).

3.5.5. In the context of painting and tattooing, Helmut Birkhan (2007a, 32) demonstrates that body art was not purely a British preserve. Quoting first century AD Classical authors, he makes clear that the practice was fairly widespread. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* XXII, 2) notes that the Dacians (*Daci*) and Sarmatians (*Sarmatae*) also indulged in body paint (*inscribunt*) and Tacitus

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28 Alan Bruford (2001, 45, note 4) echoes Jackson in suggesting that *Picti* may be a rough translation of *Priteni* and asks why Nicolaisen (below) did not consider this possibility?

29 For a different view, see Guto Rhys (2015, 343–44).

30 *Inlinunt certe alis aliae faciem in populis barbarorum feminae, maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt* (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* XXII, 2, quoted after Birkhan 2007a, 32, fn. 27).
*Pixti/*Pexti, Picti? The Name ‘Picti’ Revisited

(\textit{Germania} 43) tells us that the German polity the Harii, in demonstrating their fierceness, ‘blacken their shields and dye their bodies (\textit{tincta corpora})’. Nevertheless, the implication of ‘figured, tattooed people’ as a practice among the Picts when they were first noticed in history (c. AD 300) would need to be treated with caution.\textsuperscript{31}


In 1976 (pp.150–151) and again in 2001 (pp. 193–195), but more succinctly in 1996 (pp. 4–6), Wilhelm Nicolaisen challenged Jackson’s thesis regarding the meaning of the name ‘Pict’. In his challenge Nicolaisen also harks back to Watson’s suggestion of \textit{Pect-} as a base form:

The ‘Picts’ [...] are not mentioned by name until the end of the third century AD, and the first reference to the meaning of their name is recorded at the end of the fourth century when the classical writer Claudian [c.370–c.410] refers to them as \textit{nec falso nomine Pictos} ‘the well-named Picts’\textsuperscript{32} thus perpetuating what is likely to have been a Roman soldiers’ folk-etymology, deriving the name from, or at least equating it with, the Latin adjective \textit{pictus} ‘painted, tattooed’. Whether this derivation also led to the belief that the Picts painted or tattooed themselves or whether they actually did so and therefore reinforced the Romans’ linguistic perception, is another interesting question which does, however, not concern us here, as the link with Latin \textit{pictus} is at best a secondary reinterpretation in the medium of another language. We have no evidence what the Picts called themselves but the exonyms which their neighbours had for them confirm that the name underlying Latin \textit{Picti} was certainly the name by which other people knew and referred to them. In Old Norse they are called \textit{Pettar} or \textit{Pettir} (\textit{Historia

\textsuperscript{31} For an in-depth discussion of Insular Celtic tattooing see MacQuarrie (1997). It might be added here that Fraser (2009, 335) notes that in the latter part of the eighth century the Northumbrians apparently indulged in tattooing, a habit long associated with the Picts and which they may have obtained from them. If so, then this would suggest that the Picts continued a tradition of tattooing well into the early medieval period. Either that, or the Northumbrians indulged in body-art of their own accord?

\textsuperscript{32} Claudian. \textit{paneg. de III. cons. Honorii} 54–58: \textit{ille leves Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos / edomuit Scottumque vago mucrone secutus / fragit Hyperborea remis audacibus undas / et geminis fulgens utroque sub axe tropaeis / Tethys alternae refutas calcavit harenas} (\textit{Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti} 54–58; also Holder II, 994) (he conquered the fleet Moors and the well-named Picts; his roaming sword pursued the flying Scot; his adventurous oars broke the surface of the northern seas. Crowned with the spoils of triumphs won beneath the northern and the southern sky he trod the wave-swept strand of either Ocean) (Platnauer).
Norwegica: Peti), and in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle they appear as Pehtas, Pihtas, Pyhtas, Peohtas and Piohtas, and there are related Anglian personal names on record such as Peothhelm, Peothred, Peothwealt, Peothwine, and Peohtwine. In Old Scots they are known as Pecht, and the Welsh called them Peith-wyr. The name is also contained in the name Pentland Firth (Old Norse Petlandsfjordr, Latin Petlandicum Mare) and possibly in that of the Pentland Hills, potentially, and very roughly, the northern and southern boundaries of ‘Pictland’, i.e. the Picts were understood to live to the south of the one and [to] the north of the other [...].

If the Roman etymology were correct, Pict-, or rather Pect-, would go back to PIE *peik- ‘painted’ [cf. IEW 794] but if that were so, the Celtic derivative would have lost its initial p-, thus leaving us with something like *-ekt-. A p-Celtic Pict (< *Pekt-) would, however, have started out as something like *Quekt-, whatever that may have meant, and a meaning like ‘painted’ is unacceptable. The most closely related names are Poitiers and Poitou in France, which started out as Pictones and Pictavi respectively [...]. The earliest classical writers who otherwise tend to have the most reliable information about Scotland in Roman Times – Tacitus, Lucan, Martial, Ptolemy, and Cassius Dio, for instance – use the term Caledonii [or Caledones – GB] for the tribe and Caledonia for their territory although it is, of course, difficult to say whether Caledonia is really congruent with ‘Pictland’, and not just one part of it (Nicolaisen 1996, 4–6).

3.7. Isaac’s hypothesis (2005)
In his discussion of river-names in Scotland, Graham Isaac (2005, 211–12) supports the thesis of a non-Indo-European language once spoken in North-East Scotland. He notes that

within the limitations of the survey based on Ptolemy’s data, the non-Indo-European RNN of Britain are concentrated in North-East Scotland. In the terminology introduced [...], as compared with the rest of Britain, with overwhelming dominance of linguistic Celticity, North-East Scotland, on the other hand, is a region in which the historical proximity to us of a non-Indo-European speech community, or speech communities, is given.

33 Despite Nicolaisen’s claim, the Pentland Hills are unlikely to attest a form of Pict (cf. BLITON: <http://www.spns.org.uk/bliton/BLITON2014ii elements.pdf> (s.nn. pant, pen/n)).
34 Nicolaisen’s (Nicolaisen 1996, 5) *-ekt may be problematic here in that the full-grade would have given /e:/ (< /ej/) and that the zero-grade would have given /i/. Also /kt/ > /xt/.
There is no direct step from this conclusion to the belief in the existence of non-Indo-European speakers in the region at the time, since the RNN could be archaisms preserved in a Celticised society. Nevertheless, there is an unmistakeable ‘enclave’ of non-Indo-European names in the region as recorded in a source of the second century AD, and, continuing the assumption of the representativeness of Ptolemy’s data, that requires that two issues be addressed; not only their presence in North-East Scotland, but also their absence in the rest of Britain.

I propose the following argument towards a working hypothesis. Given that the speech communities in Britain in the second century AD were such as to use non-Indo-European names for major rivers with sea estuaries in North-East Scotland, as opposed to the rest of Britain, where such names are uniformly Celtic (or at least, analysable as Celtic), then I conclude that the speech community/ies of North-East Scotland was/were different from those of the rest of Britain, which was/were not Celtic or Indo-European (Isaac 20015, 211–12).

Isaac (2005, 212) issues the caveat that, because the names of the rivers with major sea-estuaries in North-East Scotland bear non-Indo-European names, it does not follow that the communities there spoke a non-Indo-European language. Nevertheless, he adds (ibid.):

Granted that this is not quite a reductio ad absurdum, I do not think it leads to a contradictio in adiectis, in so far as the major RNN in the region are of a different character from those of the rest of Britain, and that does constitute a difference in language, if not a difference of language (Isaac 2005, 212).

In a footnote to his contribution Isaac (2005, 213, fn. 12) notes that ‘The relationship of this data with “The Problem of the Picts” will have to await treatment in a study with the appropriate scope.’

3.8a. Katherine Forsyth queries Jackson’s thesis of a non-Indo-European language among the Picts. In 1997 she has this to say:

Towards the end of his 1955 article, Prof. Jackson made an attempt to link his linguistic conclusions with the archaeological evidence for Scottish prehistory, admitting that his thoughts on the archaeology of the linguistic situation were ‘purely speculations’, and ‘put forward with the greatest
reserve’ (p. 155). A comparison with the archaeological framework outlined by Stuart Piggott in his contributions to The Problem of the Picts shows the extent to which Jackson was influenced by Piggott [...]. It is clear enough from Jackson’s text that he was heavily indebted to Piggott for his understanding of Iron Age archaeology [...]. Jackson held the then prevalent view that they [the brochs] were the architectural manifestations of a recent migration of ‘broch-builders’ from southern Britain; it is now abundantly clear that they are an indigenous development [...].

Of course, it would be unfair to criticize Jackson for his adherence to a now superceded model [...]. Nor would it matter particularly if Jackson’s linking of archaeology and philology were merely a tail-piece to his main argument, but it is not, it is the very basis of it. Only after working back through Jackson’s argument in detail does it become apparent to which extent his cumulative linguistic argument in favour of non-Indo-European is dependant on an archaeological framework which has long since been abandoned. With this underpinning removed the argument starts to unravel (Forsyth 1997a, 11–12).

3.8b. Forsyth (1997a, 13–36) then proceeds to unravel the various arguments. In taking stock she contends that (my paragraphing – GB)

    Jackson’s argument was based on a now abandoned archaeological framework and that his model of a Celtic superstratum holding down a large pre-Celtic population was unacceptable. I went on to identify three main problems with Jackson’s handling of the data:

    (1) his misinterpretation of the significance of pre-Celtic survivals;
    (2) his confidence in dismissing doubtful forms as ‘not Celtic’;
    (3) his failure to take into account the widespread geographical distribution of Celtic names.

    Re-examining the evidence in the light of these, I am led to conclude that, contrary to Jackson’s argument, there was only one language spoken in northern Britain during the Roman period, the [British] language Pritenic. While there is indeed evidence of place-names surviving from earlier linguistic strata, it has yet to be demonstrated that these survivals are more significant north of the Forth-Clyde line than south of it, and in any case, for present purposes they are of minor importance in a total picture which is overwhelmingly Celtic (Forsyth 1997a, 26–27).
3.8c. In conclusion, Forsyth (1997a, 37) claims:

For forty years the existence of non-Indo-European Pictish has been taken for granted, with [...] serious and unfortunate consequences. In this study I have attempted to refute Prof. Jackson’s argument point by point, and to show that on current evidence the only acceptable conclusion is that, from the time of our earliest historical sources, there was only one language spoken in Pictland, the most northerly reflex of Brittonic [...]. The Picts have languished in the non-Indo-European ghetto long enough, it is high time they were acknowledged as being as fully Celtic as their Irish and British neighbours, and studied accordingly (For-syth 1997a, 37).

3.8d. Again in 2006, Forsyth (2006 IV, 1444) was equally forthright:

In the absence of any corroborative evidence a few unintelligible inscriptions are insufficient grounds for positing the survival of a non-Indo-European language into the early medieval period. On the other hand, several Pictish inscriptions may be understood as containing Brythonic forms [...] (Forsyth 2006 IV, 1444).

As can be seen from the foregoing, two theses come to the fore: (1) that the name ‘Picti’, as promoted by Rhŷs, Watson, O’Rahilly and Nicolaisen (qv), seems to derive from an original ‘Pecht-’, and (2) that the overriding contention that comes across from the various protagonists is whether the main P-Celtic feature of Pictish is accompanied by a non-Indo-European component or not. In this regard two camps are discerned: those in favour of such a component and those against. At the present time those against are in the ascendant.

4. The Gaulish inscription from Rezé

Matters took a decisive turn in 2012 when Pierre-Yves Lambert and David Stifter (2012) published a recently discovered two-sided Gaulish inscription from Rezé on a lead tablet found during excavations in Saint Lupien (Loire Atlantique) in 2008 and dating between the last quarter of the first and the first half of the second century AD (Lambert 2012, 139). The text is in the form of an account, receipt or related type of document found in the sphere of trade and business, with format similar to that of a Roman payroll, as found in the Chartae Latinae Antiquiores (Stifter 2012, 155).
4.1. The matter of surprise here is the form of the Gaulish ordinal for ‘fifth’, viz pixte,\(^{35}\) hitherto pinpetos (DLG 247, Hamp 2012, 131). Stifter’s contribution to the Lambert-Stifter joint article (pp. 155–62) provides a linguistic commentary on the text. In his discussion of pixte Stifter (2012, 157–58) has the following to say:

A derivation of pixte from zero-grade *p\(nk\)^\(wto\)- (as Avest. p\(w\)\(d\)a, Ved. PN Paktha) is excluded by the standard rules of Celtic historical phonology. *P\(nk\)^\(wto\)- would have resulted in *pan\(\chi\)tos, which should have surfaced as Gaul. <pan(c)tos>\(^{36}\) or – at best – < pen(c)tos>, if there was raising of a before nC.\(^{37}\) It is much more economical to derive pixte from a reshaped full-grade PIE *penk\(^w\)t\(o\)-, which is the pre-form underlying the ordinal ‘5th’ in most Indo-European languages: Lat. quintus, Gr. π\(\epsilon\)μπ\(τ\)ος, Toch. B pin\(k\)te, Proto-Germanic *\(f\)\(m\)\(f\)\(\text{\textit{f}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)<, Slav. \(p\)\(\text{\textit{e}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{o}}\), OPr. pi\(\text{\textit{e}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\)\(\text{\textit{c}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{s}}\), Lith. pe\(\text{\textit{n}}\)\(\text{\textit{k}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\). The *e was then regularly raised to [i] = <i> before the tautosyllabic nasal, and the nasal was effaced in a further step (Stifter 2012, 158).

4.2. Stifter (2012, 158) then discusses this form in the context of the Pictones, later Pictavi, a Gallic polity that in Antiquity once lived in the area where the Rezé text was discovered:

As for the possible etymology of Pictones from *pi\((n)\)\(\chi\)to- ‘5th = middle’, cp. semantically Toch. B ep\(n\)k\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{e}}\) ‘middle’ < *\(n\)-pen\(k\)^\(w\)\(t\)\(o\)- ‘in the fifth place’ (Pinault 2008, p. 559; Winter 1992, p. 137).\(^{38}\) A phonological difficulty resides in the fact that from the development of post-PIE *penk\(^w\)t\(o\)- > post-Proto-Celtic *\(k\)^\(w\)\(\text{\textit{e}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{c}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{o}}\) > Gaul. *\(p\)\(\text{\textit{i}}\)\(\text{\textit{c}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{o}}\) > *\(p\)\(\text{\textit{i}}\)\(\text{\textit{c}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\) > […] , the i of pixte should be expected to be long. The medieval development of Pict\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{u}}\)\(\text{\textit{i}}\) > Pect\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{u}}\) > Pext\(\text{\textit{a}}\) > OFr. Peitou > ModFr. Poitou, however, shows that the vowel was short in this name. On the other hand, in CIL 13,

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35 Lambert (2012, 152) notes that this element appears in the Gaulish personal-names PIXTILOS, PICTACVS, and PIXTICENVS for P\(\text{\textit{x}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)-genos. For comment on Rezé in the context of Palaeohispanic evidence, see Koch (2015).

36 Cp. Gaul. names with p\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\)- < *\(k\)^\(w\)\(\text{\textit{h}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{o}}\)- ‘suffering’ (DLG 245).

37 Stifter (2012, 158, note 18) is not at all happy with ‘this notion of raising’, but acknowledges the instance of iouinco- ‘young’ which would be the only good piece of evidence for *\(n\) > *\(an\) > *\(e\)n > ‘in.’ He adds: ‘I am considering to derive it from a full-grade formation *\(j\)\(u\)\(\text{\textit{e}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\)\(\text{\textit{ko}}\)- that replaced inherited *\(j\)\(u\)\(\text{\textit{y}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\)\(\text{\textit{k}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)- (as in OIr. \(o\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{c}}\), MW ieuanc) under influence from forms with full grade of the suffix, like hysterokinetic *\(h\)\(\text{\textit{u}}\)-\(\text{\textit{H}}\)\(\text{\textit{e}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\)- (Ved. ywan-).’

38 Stifter (2012, 158, note 19): ‘See now Mac Cana 2011 for comparativist considerations about the centre in a quinquepartite worldview.’
1129, an inscription that dates to the beginning of the 2nd century and that marks length consistently, \( i \) longa is used for Plctonum, as well as in CIL 13 1697 Plctauo (2nd century). If these spellings reflect the original length of the vowel, the obvious solution is that the short \( i \) underlying Poiton was acquired secondarily after that period, and both pixte in Rezé and the ancient Pictones could have had a long \( i \). If the development \( *penk\textsuperscript{w}tô- \rightarrow \) Gaul. pixto- is accepted, it is more troubling to find at the same time names with the element \( *pento- \) (interpreted as ‘5th’ in Delamarre 2007, 148, 229), which presumably should derive from the very same protoform. This divergence may indicate dialectal differences in Gaulish [...] (Stifter 2012, 158).

In considering the above I asked myself whether this scenario could also apply to the Scottish Picts.

5. Present proposals

The matter seems to me to be as follows:

5.1. As Stifter (2012, 158) has already noted, the Gaulish ordinal numeral pixte ‘fifth’ derives from PIE \( *penk\textsuperscript{w}tô- \), and the Gaulish cardinal numeral pempe (pimpe) ‘five’ (DLG 247) would derive from PIE \( *penk\textsuperscript{w}e- \), giving also OInd. páńca, Avest. panča, Gr. πέντε, Aeol. πείπε, Lat. quīnque etc. (IEW 808). However, as Ronald Emmerick (1992, 168) points out, ‘[b]esides páńca, Old Indian has paikti- fem. ‘group of five’ → ‘group’ [...]’, with which Old Church Slavonic pętī (Russian pjat, etc.) ‘five’ is usually compared, both from PIE \( *penk\textsuperscript{w}ti-\).’

5.2. Bearing all this in mind, if we opt for Emmerick and take PIE \( *penk\textsuperscript{w}ti- \) (PIE \( *penk\textsuperscript{w}ro- \), PCelt. \( *kwenk\textsuperscript{w}ro- \)) as our base form and apply the expected Celtic developments (cf. Stifter, §4.1, above), we would have the following:

(1) Regular (but not exclusive) raising of \( e \) to \( i \) before the nasal /n/, viz \( *kwenk\textsuperscript{w}ti- \rightarrow *kwink\textsuperscript{w}ti- \) (without raising \( *kwenk\textsuperscript{w}ti- \)) (LHEB 278–79, GPN 392).

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40 Stifter (2012, 158, note 21): ‘Alternatively, the long \( i \) of these spellings could have been transferred by folk etymology (or folk orthography!) from Lat. pictus which owes its long \( i \) to the effects of Lachmann’s Law; cp. CIL 5, 5279 Plcti (Como, 1st century; [http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=SCIL_05_05279.jpg]).’
In this regard Luján (2000, 63), in his discussion of the LN *Pintia* (Πιντία Ptol. II, 6, 23), a town in NW *Hispania Tarraconensis* in the region of the Callaeci and categorised by Luján as ‘Celtic’, notes the following: ‘The name belongs to the series of personal- and place-names in *Pint-* (Pintus, Pintamus, Pentouius, etc.) which, according to [...] Villar (1994), cannot be Celtic. These names are best related to the Indo-European ‘five’, *penkʷe*, suffixed in -tos so as to derive an ordinal. In the names *Pintius* and *Pintia* we have yet another suffix -yos/ya. As Villar showed, these formations involve developments which are not expected in a Celtic language: lack of assimilation of the labial to the labio-velar, lack of suffix -eto- in the ordinal ‘fifth’, etc. [...]’. In this context see also García Alonso (2003), Wodtko (2006), de Bernardo-Stempel (2009) and now Koch (2015).

(2) Loss of the labial aspect of the voiceless velar, viz *kwinkʷti-* → *kwinkti-* (*kwenkti-*) (RCC 44).

(3) Loss of the nasal /n/ before the voiceless velar, viz *kwinkti-* → *kwiki-*(*kweki-*) (GPN 408).

(4) Neutralisation of velars /kl/ and /gl/ as /xl/ before /sl/, /tl/, viz *kwikti-*(*kwekti-*) → *kwixti-*(*kwexti-*) (GPN 406).


That is to say, that in this way *pixti-*(*pexti-*) could be taken to mean ‘five, group of five; group’.41 In commenting on this thesis Peter Schrijver (pers. comm. 03/08/2015) notes the following:

Now that we have Rezé Gaulish *pixte* ‘fifth’, your etymology of the name *Pict* makes sense (but as in almost all cases of names, it is hard to fully commit to the idea that it is correct). But to have a form *kwinxto- *for ‘fifth’ at all raises all sorts of questions about the place of Rezé Gaulish (and if you’re right, also of the Celtic language that produced the name *Pict*) on the Celtic family tree.

The Celtic dialect that underlies Irish, British and Gaulish-minus-Rezé must have had a Proto-Celtic form of ‘fifth’ that was *kwenkweto-*, which is basically *kwenkwe* ‘five’ plus ordinal *-to-. By analogy, *kwenkwe-to- was reanalysed as *kwenkweto-*, and the new ‘ordinal’ suffix -eto- then spread to *swexs-eto- ‘sixth’, *dekam-eto- ‘tenth’, *sextam-eto- ‘seventh’ etc. Subsequently, -(a)meto- became productive, whence Gaul. oxtumeto-, Ir. ochtmad, W wythfed ‘eighth’. In other words, the existence of a suffix *-(a)meto- *is unthinkable without underlying *kwenkweto-. Rezé pixte, however, looks like it continues *kwenkw-to-, which is of respectable pedigree, given Greek *pemptos*, Lat. *quintus*, Avestan *puxda-_ < PIE *p(e) nkw-to-*. “

41 In this regard Luján (2000, 63), in his discussion of the LN *Pintia* ([Πιντία Ptol. II, 6, 23), a town in NW *Hispania Tarraconensis* in the region of the Callaeci and categorised by Luján as ‘Celtic’, notes the following: ‘The name belongs to the series of personal- and place-names in *Pint-* (Pintus, Pintamus, Pentouius, etc.) which, according to [...] Villar (1994), cannot be Celtic. These names are best related to the Indo-European ‘five’, *penkʷe*, suffixed in -tos so as to derive an ordinal. In the names *Pintius* and *Pintia* we have yet another suffix -yos/ya. As Villar showed, these formations involve developments which are not expected in a Celtic language: lack of assimilation of the labial to the labio-velar, lack of suffix -eto- in the ordinal ‘fifth’, etc. [...]’. In this context see also García Alonso (2003), Wodtko (2006), de Bernardo-Stempel (2009) and now Koch (2015).
So before Rezé, we would have reconstructed the Proto-Celtic word for ‘fifth’ as *kwenkweto-. After Rezé, we know the PIE form survived into Celtic as *kwenkweto-, a dialectal Celtic innovation occurred which turned this into *kwenkweto-, and that innovation underlies Irish, British and non-Rezé-Gaulish. While only Rezé-Gaulish (?) held on to the original ordinal *kwenkweto- and perforce missed out on the productivity of ordinal *(a)meto-.

The question is what all of this means for the affiliation of Pictish and whichever dialect underlies names like Pictavi, Pictones.

5.3. Bearing in mind the apparent archaic form of Rezé pixte, and now possibly of Scottish Picti, as featured in Schrijver's foregoing comments, the appearance of *pixti- (*pexti-) as a possible dialect form of some antiquity, similar to Gaulish pixte-, in Pictish, but with the meaning ‘five, group of five’, would therefore not be out of place.

In the context of the Scottish Picti, Pictish, according to Jackson (1955, 152), as we have already seen (§3.5, above) ‘had certain affinities with Gaulish ...

Nevertheless, our main problem here is that we know very little about the Pictish language, and any attempt to postulate sound changes on the basis of Gaulish could be a hazardous undertaking, and therefore our attempts here can only be regarded as tentative at best. But if so, then what would this ‘five, group of five’ refer to?

5.4. It is suggested here that Picti means ‘five, group of five’ in the context of a conglomerate of five polities having come together to form a bulwark

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42 Nevertheless, both Jackson (1955, 156–57) and Koch (1983, 214–17) contend that, though only within dialectal confines at this point, Pritenic, or pre-Pictish, had begun to separate itself from British already by the first century AD or slightly earlier. By the eighth century AD, Bede (HE I, 1) regarded Pictish and British as separate languages, though Guto Rhys (2015, 347–48) regards Pictish as ‘the most northerly dialect of Brittonic [British]’ in its later developments (p. 347). He adds (p. 184): ‘The later, but admittedly restricted, evidence for early medieval Pictish demonstrates that it shared much with Brittonic at least on the lexical level and in many issues of phonetic and grammatical evolution, e.g. lenition, syncope and apocope.’

43 Alexander Falileyev (pers. comm. 28/04/2015).

44 In the later stages of Pictish Nicolaisen (1976, 149–72, but particularly 171–72; 2001, 192–221; 220–21) has shown that there is little to distinguish Pictish from Cumbric, and that perhaps Pictish should be regarded as a dialect of Northern Brittonic. See also Rhys (2015, 346–49).

45 If this is the case, then the Caledones would very likely have been one of the five, as being a serious opponent of the Romans in battle. In the second century AD the Caledones were situated in present-day Angus, near the Maaiatai who were seemingly occupying the area of present Clackmannan and East Fife, both south-east of the Highland line (cf. Fraser 2009, 16 (map)).
against the Romans. That is to say, that earlier attempts by individual polities to be successful in battle against the Romans had largely proved elusive. But should a number of polities come together to form a large conglomerate (as had Germanic polities to form the larger groupings of the Franci and the Alemanni etc.), then perhaps they might be more successful in withstanding the Romans. As the various British polities, either in the Roman province of Britannia or in the grey zone of Outer Brigantia (i.e. between Hadrian’s Wall and the Antonine Wall, viz southern Scotland), were either under direct Roman control (Britannia) or in the pay of the Romans to keep the peace (Outer Brigantia), any formation of a conglomerate to oppose Roman power would, therefore, need to come from polities north of the Antonine Wall. Given that the earliest-known record of the Picts in history occurs AD 297, as we have seen, the forming of the conglomerate of ‘five’ would seemingly have taken place sometime during the years after the Severan frontier settlement of 209–211\(^{46}\) (cf. Fraser 2009, 22–42), but before the year 297.

5.5a. The use of numerals in polity-names is not uncommon. De Bernardo-Stempel (2008, 109) draws our attention to such names as Coriondi, Coritani ‘those who lead/constitute an army’, Vocorii ‘those who lead/constitute two armies’, Tricorii ‘those who lead/constitute three armies’, Petrucorii ‘those who lead/constitute four armies’, Suessions, Suessiani ‘the six tribes’, Novantai ‘the nine tribes’, Dekantai ‘the ten tribes’\(^{47}\), Vocontii ‘the twenty tribes’ etc., though it is to be noted that many of the above names here are compound forms.

5.5b. But when a numeral is used on its own, it is perhaps tempting to look for another semantic motivation, and especially with the numeral ‘five’, given its other meaning as ‘middle’, as Stifter (above) has already shown. In addition, we know that ‘middle’ is found in ethnonym formations, such as in Mediomatrici ‘ceux qui habitent au milieu des fleuves’ or ‘ceux des Mères-Médianes’; ‘ceux-du-Milieu-des-Eaux-Maternelles’ (DLG 221), and a possible meaning for Picti as ‘those living in / occupying the middle’, in this case central Scotland, would also make sense.\(^{48}\)

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\(^{46}\) For details of the campaigns of Septimius Severus in Caledonia AD 209–211, see Birley (2010, 170–200).

\(^{47}\) For an alternative interpretation of Dekantai see Isaac (2005, 192).

\(^{48}\) I am grateful to Alexander Falileyev for this suggestion. Lambert (2012, 151) also takes up this theme for pixto- as an explanation for Pictones / Pictavi.
5.6. In this context we would need also to consider the notion of Irish cóiced ‘fifth, province’. This is taken up as follows by Proinsias Mac Cana (2011, 252) in the context of the ‘sacred centre’:

The structure comprising the central province \textit{Mide} \textless \textit{*Medion} ‘Middle, Centre’ and peripheral provinces, Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Connacht – cóiced \textit{nUlad} ‘the fifth of the Ulaid’, cóiced \textit{Laigen} ‘the fifth of the Laigin’, cóiced \textit{Muman} ‘the fifth of the Mumu’, and cóiced \textit{Connacht} ‘the fifth of the Connachta’ – has a much longer history than [...] originally supposed and has left an echo in the Modern Irish expression \textit{cúig cúigidh na hÉireann} ‘the five fifths / provinces of Ireland’ which is still a familiar synonym for ‘the whole of Ireland’. As the fraction presupposes the whole, so throughout history the five provinces, however politically discrete, were conceived as mere fractions of a single all-embracing totality coterminous with the land of Ireland. The pattern of a central province enclosed by four others representing the cardinal points cannot be explained otherwise than as a historical reflex of an ancient cosmographic schema, one which has striking analogues in several of the ‘Great Traditions’ of the world.\textsuperscript{49} And as in those other traditions it is found to be intimately connected with the concept of the sacred centre (Mac Cana 2011, 252).

In this regard, the term ‘Pict’ may represent the concept of the ‘sacred centre’, in order to legitimise their purpose in ‘Inner Caledonia’\textsuperscript{50} (i.e. that part of Scotland north of the Antonine Wall outside Roman control), in the exercise of power in that region, as possibly in the case of the Mediromatrici in east central Gaul, or the Pictones or Pictavi in western Gaul (cf. Stifter, above). But in terms of Realpolitik the Picts would need to be seen as a conglomerate specifically created to oppose Roman power.

5.7. In the context of conglomerates Fraser (2009, 66–67) discusses the notion of ‘farmer republics’, i.e. small communities, such as single polities, which with other such ‘republics’ come together in times of danger to seek to withstand much greater and highly disciplined and organised forces, such as the Romans possessed, to form conglomerates. Such conglomerates may develop into

\textsuperscript{49} For details of this and comparative traditions in African and Asian societies, see Mac Cana (2011, 65–90).

\textsuperscript{50} For this phrase see Fraser (2009, passim).
kingships, rather than break up and return to small ‘farmer republics’ once more, and seek to hold sway over other smaller units than themselves and over a wider area. Others form conglomerates for quite different reasons, as Fraser (2009, 67) notes:

The same sort [of] social shift occurred (for very different reasons) among the Romano-Britons when Britannia re-militarised and native dynasties and kings asserted themselves upon the dismantling of Roman Britain. It also occurred among the Anglo-Saxons who settled and expanded in fifth-century southern Britain. The processes involved in all cases are mysterious. It is likely that certain districts never threw up kings of their own before they became subjugated by growing kingdoms nearby, or incorporated within them [...] (Fraser 2009, 67).

5.8. With regard to the Picts, we have also seen that they were not regarded as a homogeneous group. As Fraser (2009, 47) puts it:

Whatever we make of the appearance of Picti in our sources in late Antiquity, then, we may feel assured that the term does not refer to a single political community or ethnic solidarity. There is no convincing evidence that it did so much before 700. The earliest surviving use of the term was regarded as self-explanatory (Fraser 2009, 47).

Fraser (2009, 51) then notes:

It is striking that in both fourth- and eighth-century sources Pictishness is envisioned as a product of a sense of common purpose among the peoples of [I]inner Caledonia as far north as Moray. In the fourth century, in Roman eyes the link seems to be reflected in a shared lack of romanitas. Pictish attacks on Britannia may have been an important stage in the development of a sense of common purpose among leaders to either side of the Mounth, largely exclusive of other neighbouring peoples (Fraser 2009, 51).

In other words, the Picts were not a polity that developed over time into a single political entity or with an ethnic cohesion and a world-view, but as a construct that met the needs of a given situation, a reaction to a set of circumstances that required attention and action. When the danger was past the conglomerate remained and, as noted above, developed into a kingdom with a power-wielding elite. That kingdom, i.e. the (southern part of the) Pictish kingdom, itself in time succumbed to a greater power, that of the Gaelic kingdom of Dál Riata, and in so doing the Pictish kingdom, relabelled Alba, seemingly vanished (as
noted earlier (§2.1)) from the historical record c.900, though the Pictish people and their language likely continued on until the complete integration of the Pictish people within the kingdom of Alba and the obsolescence of the Pictish language had taken place by the twelfth century or thereabouts at the latest.\footnote{51}

5.9. The tradition of the ‘seven kingdoms’ of Pictland, as demonstrated in the Gaelic quatrain we saw at the beginning, may not merely be an excursus into pseudo-history, but may very well reflect a memory of Pictland in its early stages (c.300 or so), when it comprised only five or so ‘kingdoms’, and that this tradition has been handed down over the generations to be enshrined in a Gaelic quatrain of mid-to-late ninth century date.

5.10. Otherwise the etymology is to date unknown.

ABBREVIATIONS

Claudian. paneg. – see Platnauer 1922 (1963).
CMCS – Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies (Aberystwyth).
DLG – Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise (Delamarre 2003).
EIHM – Early Irish History and Mythology (O’Rahilly 1946).
Gaul. – Gaulish.
GB – George Broderick.
Gk – Greek.
GPN – Gaulish Personal Names (Evans 1967).
HE – Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum (Bede AD 731) (Spitzbart 1997).
IE – Indo-European.
IEW – Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (Pokorny 1959 (2005)).
Ir. – Irish.
Lat. – Latin.
LHEB – Language and History in Early Britain (Jackson 1953).
LN – Location Name.
ModFr. – Modern French.
OFr. – Old French.
OInd. – Old Indian.
OIr. – Old Irish.
OPr. – Old Prussian.
OW – Old Welsh.
PCelt. – Proto-Celtic.
PIE – Proto-Indo-European.

\footnote{51}{For an example of a now extinct older Celtic language in obsolescence, see Broderick 2014.}
RCC – Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change (McCone 1996).
RN(N) – River Name(s).
Toch. – Tocharian.
Ved. – Vedic.
W – Welsh.

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Norse Influence in North-West England: Jocelin of Furness’s Interpretation of the Name Waltheof

Fiona Edmonds
University of Cambridge

Jocelin of Furness was a prolific hagiographer who lived during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. He was the author of Lives of SS Kentigern, Patrick, Helena and Waltheof of Melrose, and as such he made an important contribution to the hagiography of the Insular world. His career has only recently attracted its due scholarly attention, but a book-length study of the saints’ Lives is now available (Birkett 2010). An AHRC-funded project has recently deepened knowledge of the context in which Jocelin worked and promises a new edition and translation of the Life of St Patrick.

Jocelin was based at the Cistercian abbey of Furness, which was located on the Furness peninsula LNC (modern-day Cumbria). This area is now part of England, but the peninsula juts out into the Irish Sea and its inhabitants enjoyed a wide range of maritime contacts. A notable aspect of Jocelin’s career is the variety of cultural influences that can be detected in his oeuvre. These include an interest in Celtic saints, an awareness of English history and an appreciation of Cistercian values (Freeman 2002; Birkett 2010). Yet Jocelin’s work reveals surprisingly little interest in Scandinavia, the Scandinavian settlement of his locality or the Norse language. This bias is striking because Norse flourished in Furness, as witnessed by the numerous Norse place-names on the peninsula, and it survived until the twelfth century (see below, p. 55). Furthermore, the Furness community had up-to-date knowledge of Norway because they were engaged in a dispute with the archbishops of Nidaros over the right to elect the bishops of Sodor and Man (Woolf 2003, 173–78). Jocelin spoke English and there has been an occasional debate about whether he knew Gaelic (either Irish or Scottish) (Jackson 1958, 276; Bieler 1975, 164; Bieler 1978, 411–12;

1 I am indebted to Dr Richard Dance for very useful discussion of the name-elements, providing references and reading a draft of this article. I am also grateful to Dr Clare Downham and Professor Margaret Clunies Ross for commenting on the draft, and for the anonymous reviewer’s insightful points. Dr Helen Birkett kindly supplied her notes on the relevant passage in the Madrid MS of the Vita.

2 ‘Hagiography at the Frontiers: Jocelin of Furness and Insular Politics’, see <http://www.liv.ac.uk/irish-studies/research/hagiography/>. I was a participant and I gratefully acknowledge funding from the AHRC towards the research underlying the present article. My collaborators were Dr Clare Downham (Principal Investigator) and Dr Ingrid Sperber. Publications include Downham 2013 and Sperber, Bieler and Downham forthcoming.
First, I set the onomastic comments in their hagiographical context since Jocelin, or his monastic predecessors, emphasised the religious connotations of the name. St Waltheof was an abbot of Melrose Abbey ROX, who died in 1159 following a distinguished ecclesiastical career in northern England and southern Scotland. Jocelin produced his Vita S. Waldevi/Life of Waltheof under the patronage of Patrick, abbot of Melrose 1206–07. Patrick’s abbacy was very short, and so it is possible to date the start of Jocelin’s work quite precisely (Vita Waldevi §121: AASS Augusti I, 274 D–F; McFadden 1952, 187–88, 341–2; cf. Birkett 2010, 201). The text is not yet available in an edition that meets modern critical standards and takes account of the full manuscript history. The text provided by Acta Sanctorum derived from material that is no longer extant but was once kept in the Augustinian house of Böddeken (diocese of Paderborn) (AASS Augusti I, 249–78; BHL no. 8783). George McFadden revised and translated this version in his 1952 doctoral dissertation, as well as providing a commentary (McFadden 1952; cf. McFadden 1955). Since then a late-15th-century manuscript has come to light that contains a version of the Vita, and I am very grateful to Helen Birkett for supplying information about the variant readings.

The prologue to the Vita Waldevi begins with a dedication to William, king of Scots, Alexander his son, and Earl David (a brother of King William and earl of Huntingdon). These men descended from the marriage of David I, king of Scots, to Matilda of Huntingdon via their son Prince Henry; Matilda had already been married once and Waltheof was a child of that first marriage (see Table) (Vita Waldevi §§1–5: AASS Augusti I, 248D–49B; McFadden 1952, 92–95, 201–06; prologue ed. and tr. from the Madrid MS: Howlett 2000, 124–29).

3 The discovery of the incorrupt body is recorded s.a. 1171 in Chron. Melrose, 39.
4 Böddeken is mentioned at pp. 245E–F, 246A, 248C.
5 Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS II 2097 (cf. Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, 283; Bartlett 1995, 41 n. 17; Birkett 2010, 17).
Table: Descent of St Waltheof and the dedicatees (italicised) in *Vita Waldevi*
Jocelin elucidates the descent of the dedicatees, reports that Waltheof’s body had been found incorrupt,⁶ and states that Abbot Patrick commissioned him to write the text. Next in the Vita there follows a description of the descent of St Waltheof himself, starting with William of Normandy’s conquest of England (see Table). Some space is devoted to the resistance of Waltheof’s grandfather and namesake, Earl Waltheof (d. 1076), who ended his career as earl of Northumbria. Earl Waltheof married Judith, niece of William the Conqueror, and she bore a daughter, Matilda (Vita Waldevi §7: AASS Augusti I, 250; McFadden 1952, 96–97, 208). Jocelin then describes the degradation of the English nobility by the Normans, the execution of Earl Waltheof and his apparent innocence. Earl Waltheof’s daughter, Matilda, married Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton/Huntingdon and St Waltheof of Melrose was their second son.

Next Jocelin discusses Waltheof’s name: ‘secundus vocabatur Walthenus antiqui nominis & sanctitatis renovator & possessor’ (‘the second son was called Walthenus (Waltheof), the restorer and owner of an old name and its holiness’) (Vita Waldevi §9: AASS Augusti I, 250F; McFadden 1952, 99–100, 212–13).⁷ It was an appropriate choice:

Nomen vero istud Anglice dissyllabum est, cujus syllaba secunda si cor-
repto accentu proferatur ‘electus sapor’; si producto, ‘electus latro’ inter-
pretatur.⁸

‘That name is certainly disyllabic in English, whose second syllable, if it were pronounced with a short tone, would mean “chosen fragrance”, or if with a long tone “chosen thief”.’

According to Jocelin, the name suited Waltheof because he was vas electionis ‘a chosen vessel’ (Acts 9:15), he emitted the scent of spiritual sweetness and he seemed to steal the kingdom of God pio furto ‘by pious theft’, humbly concealing his virtues and miracles (Vita Waldevi §10: AASS Augusti I, 251A; McFadden 1952, 99, 212–13).

Jocelin’s interpretation of the name Waltheof is partly dictated by the demands of the hagiographical genre. The name highlights Waltheof’s holiness and complements other aspects of Waltheof’s childhood, such as his preference for

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⁶ The incorrupt body had been exhumed several years decades before and is recorded s.a. 1171 in Chron. Melrose, 39.

⁷ The Madrid MS has Wallevus for Walthenus; avici for antiqui; and revator for renovator (presumably a scribal error). The only significant variant here is avici which implies Waltheof was named after his grandfather (Birkett 2010, 217; Birkett pers. comm).

⁸ The Madrid MS is identical.
toy churches (Vita Waldevi §11: AASS Augusti I, 251B; McFadden 1952, 110, 214). This was an appropriate start in life for a man who renounced the world at the Augustinian house of Nostell YOW, was elected prior of Kirkham YOE, became a Cistercian and was eventually elected abbot of Melrose ROX (Bulloch 1955; Baker 2004). Jocelin’s etymology cannot be expected to be philologically accurate given that it promotes Waltheof’s saintliness. Nevertheless, Jocelin arrived at his interpretation by analysing the two elements of the name, and his discussion raises linguistically interesting points. Next I shall discuss the origin of the name-elements, before arguing that Jocelin’s understanding of them betrays significant Norse influence.

The name Waltheof is generally agreed to be ON Valþjófr in origin, although the precise etymology of the Norse name is debatable, as discussed below. Valþjófr was fairly common in Norway and was also exported to Iceland (Bugge 1890, 225–27; Lind 1905–15, 1071–73). The name arrived in northern England at the time of Scandinavian settlement and is particularly well attested in Yorkshire (Fellows-Jensen 1968, 330–31; PASE, persons listed under Waltheof 5 and 7). The spread of the name in the tenth and eleventh centuries probably reflects the intermarriage of Scandinavian and native Northumbrian dignitaries (Townend 2007, 6–11). The name continued to be used in northern England and southern Scotland until the time when Jocelin was writing, as witnessed by the Durham Liber vitae, in which the name was inscribed several times during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (Insley with Rollason 2007, 242; Piper with Rollason 2007, 148, 160). Waltheof thus became part of an Insular naming stock that persisted amongst the higher ranks of free society into the 12th century, and for even longer at lower social levels (Searle 1897, 477; Postles 2007, 116–62). The name developed prestigious associations with the houses of Bamburgh and Dunbar, and its Norse origins may not have remained significant or even perceptible to name-givers by Jocelin’s lifetime (Insley 1987, 185–88).

The popularity of the name ensured that numerous forms appear in documents from the 10th to the 13th centuries. It is not possible to give an exhaustive survey here and so I have chosen a selection of forms from across the chronological range. The earliest recorded form is Wælðeof dux in the witness


10 Seventy Scottish instances can be seen by searching ‘People of Medieval Scotland database’, <http://db.poms.ac.uk/search/> – accessed 24/05/15.

11 The name was already associated with the House of Bamburgh by the tenth century; see PASE (Waltheof 1, 4 & 6) – accessed 24/05/15.
list of a charter of Æthelred II that grants 10 hides to Wilton St Mary’s WLT. The charter has been dated to 994 and most commentators consider it to be authentic (Kemble 1839–48 iii, 278–80, no. 687). This man can be identified with Waltheof, earl of Bamburgh, who was reported to be an old man by the time of Máel Coluim II’s siege of Durham in 1006 (De obsessione Dunelmi, 215). The form *Wælþeof dux* also marks the appearance of Earl Waltheof (d. 1076) in the witness-list of King Edward the Confessor’s charter granting Ottery St Mary (DEV) to St Mary’s Rouen (Kemble iv, 1839–48, 148–50, no. 810). The D manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle provides the forms *Wælþeof* (1066, 1071), *Waldþeof* (1068) and *Walþeof* (1076, 1077) (Cubbin 1996, 81, 84, 87–88). This manuscript was first produced in Worcester or York in the 1040s and then reworked to an extent between the 1050s and 1070s (ASC D, lxv–lxvi; Keynes 2012, 547). All of this evidence comes from an Old English milieu and is broadly compatible with the normalised late OE form *Wælþeof* (von Feilitzen 1937, 403; cf. Fellows-Jensen 1968, 331). The interchange of *a* and *æ* is discussed below, and *Waldþeof* seems to be a rare and probably aberrant form.

There is plentiful evidence in documents of the Anglo-Norman period. In Great Domesday (1086) the most popular form was *Wallef*, with 73 occurrences; other forms include *Waltef* and *Walteif*. Some of these forms are likely to have been drawn from the returns to the Domesday commissioners; for example, a cluster of *Walteu* spellings occur in the entries for Acklam hundred YER (DB Yorks, 5E64–6; Yorkshire Domesday, fo 307r). The name is never spelt *wæl-* in Great Domesday, but the prevalent spelling *wal-* could be consistent with OE *wel*. The rare name *Walhræfn* provides a point of comparison since it is always spelt *wal-* in Domesday, but there are several pre-conquest instances of *wel* (von Feilitzen 1937, 409–10; PASE s.n. Wælræfn). The assimilation of *lð* to *ll* in the Domesday form *Wallef* is otherwise attested and has been ascribed to Romance influence (von Feilitzen 1937, 102; Fellows-Jensen 1968, xcii). Moving on to the 12th century, records of 12th-century charters include forms such as *Gospatrico f. Walthef’* and *Waldef f. Gamelli* and *Waltef*. Thus the name’s original *þ* was rendered *t*, *th*, and *d* in the 12th century, changes that have been ascribed to Anglo-Norman influence (von Feilitzen 1937,100–02; Fellows-Jensen 1968, xcii–xciii, 330–31). Finally turning to Jocelin’s *Vita*, the Bollandists rendered the saint’s name *Walthenus* in their text, where -*n-* is a

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12 This is the earliest form listed in PASE (Waltheof 1). For authenticity, see ‘The Electronic Sawyer’ S881, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/881.html> – accessed 26/11/15.

13 Recent commentators consider this charter authentic; see ‘The Electronic Sawyer’ as above, S1033.
common error for -u-. The Madrid manuscript has Walthevus and Wallevus, but modern scholars tend to prefer Waldevus.

The earlier forms are in general compatible with the suggested anglicised version of the name, Walþēof. If a speaker of Old English sought to interpret the etymology of the name, the first element might be understood as wæl ‘the slain’. This word seems to have become less well known by Jocelin’s day since there are only a handful of attestations in the Middle English period, several of which come from Laȝamon’s Brut (Kurath et al. 1952–2001, s.v. wal n.2). In any case, Jocelin’s etymology differs from wæl ‘the slain’ and will be discussed shortly. The second element in its late Old English form resembles þēof ‘thief’; the loss of the macron in the attested forms is a product of normalisation. This interpretation influenced Jocelin’s etymology of the name when pronounced with a long vowel: electus latro (‘chosen thief’). Some of the twelfth-century forms indicate pronunciation of the long vowel of ME þēf (< OE þēof) in spelling of the Anglo-Norman period; an example is Wallief de Stotleia (Fellows-Jensen 1968, 330; Scragg 1974, 49). Other forms (such as those ending in -ef) may reflect reduced vocalism in the second element, a pronunciation that Jocelin relates to his etymology electus sapor. This pronunciation is difficult to explain by reference to vocabulary in Old or Middle English, and so I now turn to the original Norse etymology of the name in order to assess whether Jocelin’s etymologies reveal Norse influence.

The etymology of ON Valþjófr has sparked considerable debate. The first element is of uncertain origin, but it may be related to Primitive Germanic *walha ‘foreign’, cf. OE wealh. This element famously appears in the name of Queen Wealþēow in Beowulf, although it is uncertain whether the ‘foreign’ connotation should be taken literally in this case (Gordon 1935, 169–75; de Vries 1961, s.v. val 4; Fulk et al. 2008, liv, 472, and further references cited therein). Another option is Primitive Germanic *wala ‘the dead; slain in battle’, ON valr, cf. OE wæl (Bugge 1890, 230; Fellows-Jensen 1968, 347). Jocelin’s interpretation does not reflect this understanding of the word, as discussed above in relation to the anglicised form of the name. An alternative derivation for the first element of Valþjófr is ON val- ‘choice’ (Bugge 1890, 230; Gordon 1935, 170–71; Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, s.v. val- (3)). This tallies with Jocelin’s etymologies electus sapor ‘chosen fragrance’ and electus latro ‘chosen thief’. It is worth asking how Jocelin became acquainted with the word val in the sense ‘choice’.

ON val is attested as a loan in northern Middle English, in the form wāle ‘a choice, an option’ (Björkman 1900, 256–57; Kurath et al. 1952–2001, s.v.

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14 The Bollandists erroneously equated the name with Waltherus at p. 241B.
Examples include *And of a thousand men o wal, He made him ledder and mariscal* from the version of *Cursor Mundi* in British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A.iii. This manuscript contains a 14th-century West Yorkshire version of the poem, which was originally written somewhere in northern England (Morris 1874–93 ii, 440 (ll. 7629–30)); cf. Horobin and Smith 2002, 157). The word also featured in Older Scots and has continued to be used until relatively modern times in contexts as diverse as choosing marriage partners and picking out stones from coal (*DOST*, s.v. *wale* n.; *SND*, s.v. *wale* n.1; cf. Wright 1905, s.v. *wale* sb. 2). It is interesting that Jocelin used this loan-word to interpret the first element of Waltheof’s name. His dialect of English – or the dialect represented in his source material – must have belonged to the Norse-influenced parlance of northern England and southern Scotland. The etymology of the name provides a rare instance of vernacular dialect intruding into the highly Latinate medium of Angevin hagiography.

The second element of Norse name *Valþjófr* has sparked considerable debate. It appears to be ON *þjófr* ‘thief’ and scholars, both medieval and modern, have often interpreted it as such. For example, the longer version of *Friðþjófs saga ins frekna* contains a verse in which Friðþjófr (who is in disguise at this point) calls himself various names ending in *-þjófr*, and alludes to their meanings. Thus Friðþjófr says he was called ‘Valþjófr, þá ek var æðri mōnnum’ (‘*Valþjófr* “slain men-thief” when I was higher than [other] men’). The antiquity of the verse is uncertain since it appears in the B recension of the saga, which stems from the 15th century, whereas it does not feature in the shorter, older A version. Even so, the poet’s interpretation of the element *-þjófr* is clear: it always means ‘thief’, while the first elements of the names mostly relate to violent activities. The surrounding prose in the B version of the saga also indicates that *þjófr* was interpreted as ‘thief’ (Rafn 1829–30 ii, 92; the interchange between Friðþjófr and King Hringr is presented more briefly in the A version: Rafn 1829–30 ii, 499).

This sense may, however, differ from the original etymology of the name-element. Sophus Bugge contended that names containing ‘thief’ would have

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15 I am grateful to Richard Dance for drawing this to my attention.
17 I have used a draft edition by Margaret Clunies Ross, which will appear in due course, with the siglum *Frið* 36, in *Poetry in the fornaldarsögur*, Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages 8, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Turnhout, forthcoming) and in the database <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/skaldic/db.php>. I am most grateful to Professor Clunies Ross for enabling me to view this work prior to publication.
18 *Friðþjófs saga* has a complicated textual history, which Professor Clunies Ross discusses in her introduction to the edition of the verses on ‘The Skaldic Project’ website. I have viewed this in draft.
Jocelin of Furness’s Interpretation of the Name Waltheof

been unsuitable for ‘hæderlige, fribaarne mænd’ ‘honourable, freeborn men’. He suggested that the element in question was borrowed from OE *þēow ‘slave’ but was later reanalysed as *þjófr ‘thief’. In his view the ‘slave’ names originated amongst Scandinavian fighters who were taken into captivity while raiding in Britain, or amongst British slaves who were taken back to Scandinavia and eventually freed (Bugge 1890, 229–35, quotation at 229).

Other commentators have agreed that there is a relationship between the name-elements *þēow and *þjófr but have disagreed on the direction of influence. One possibility is that OE *þēow had a cognate term in Old Norse, namely þér (from Primitive Scandinavian *þewar) which was later reanalysed as þjófr ‘thief’ (e.g. Gordon 1935, 170–73; cf. other scholarship discussed in Janzén et al. 1947, 117–18). Another group of scholars have construed the name-element þjófr straightforwardly as ‘thief’, however unflattering it may have seemed (Björkman 1910, 174–75 n.1; for other scholars of this opinion cf. Janzén et al. 1947, 117; Björkman changed his view in Björkman 1912, 93). Whatever the ultimate origins of the element, early forms of Waltheof indicate that OE *þēof ‘thief’ influenced the English rendering of the name. OE *þēof and ON þjófr are cognate terms; the latter reflects the development of rising diphthongs in Norse during the Viking Age, but English speakers could have made the equation with þēof (Fellows-Jensen 1968, lxxxi; Townend 2002, 63). Thus Jocelin’s reference to latro ‘a thief’ makes sense in the context of the English language.

It is more difficult to understand Jocelin’s explanation for the second element when pronounced with a short vowel: electus sapor ‘chosen fragrance’. Indeed, the Bollandist editor of Vita Waldevi confessed his puzzlement: ‘At frustra inquisivi, quomodo per idem nomen aliter pronuntiatum electus sapor significari possit’ (‘But I have investigated in vain how ‘chosen fragrance’ could be meant by the same name pronounced differently’) (AASS Augusti I, 254A n. v). Jocelin (or his source) would have been acquainted with a late-medieval form of the name with reduced vocalism in the second element, as discussed above. Jocelin attempted to devise a separate explanation for this pronunciation, and came up with sapor ‘fragrance’. This interpretation confused the Bollandist editor because there is no obvious candidate in the English language for a word meaning ‘fragrance’ that resembles the sound that Jocelin described.

On the other hand, ON þefr ‘a smell’ provides a suitable basis for Jocelin’s interpretation, as noted also by McFadden (1952, 212–13; cf. Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, s.v.). This word is only very rarely attested as a loan in Middle English: the noun occurs in Genesis & Exodus and the verb (< ON þefja) in

19 Sophus Bugge was developing a suggestion by Frederik Schiern that Old English *þēow corresponded to Old Norse -þjófr (Schiern 1858, 7; cf. Björkman 1912, 93). Again, Queen Wealhþēow provides an example of the name-element; see p. 49, above.
the Göttingen manuscript of *Cursor Mundi*, which has some northern features (Arngart 1968, 137 (l. 3340); Morris 1874–93 iii, 1341 (l. 23456); Kurath et al. 1952–2001, s.vv. *thef* n., *thefen* v.). The only near-cognate in English is the very rare Old English verb *þefian* ‘to pant, to be agitated’.\(^{20}\) In its earliest appearance the Norse word relates to the foul odour of carrion,\(^{21}\) but it could also denote pleasant scents. The word often appears in ecclesiastical contexts, where fragrant scents signify virtue and sanctity, whereas the unpleasant smells reflect sin.\(^{22}\) Jocelin’s application of *electus sapor* ‘chosen fragrance’ to St Waltheof fits remarkably well into this context. It is unlikely that English speakers in general, or even most speakers of northern Middle English, could have formulated the interpretation that Jocelin puts forward. There are two possible explanations: either the Norse word was loaned into a local dialect of English, but was never widely used; or the name had been interpreted by a person who knew some Norse. Either way, Jocelin’s interpretation of the name *Waltheof* attests strong Norse influence, but it is not immediately clear that it reflects his own dialect.

I now consider Jocelin’s sources, which included oral testimony and written accounts. There are several milieus in which the interpretation of the name could have arisen, but I argue that the author was influenced by the Norse-influenced English parlance of the Furness peninsula.

Jocelin’s written sources probably comprised a dossier of Waltheof’s miracles from Melrose, and more doubtfully an earlier *Vita* by Abbot Everard of Holmcultram Abbey CMB. Jocelin presented most of his information as orally transmitted ‘a viris veridicis senioribus domus Melrosensis’ (‘from the trustworthy elders of the house of Melrose’) (*Vita Waldevii* §5: *AASS Augusti I*, 249B; ed. and tr. McFadden 1952, 95, 206).\(^{23}\) Waltheof’s cult was very much in the minds of the Melrose community at the time when Jocelin was writing since the saint’s body had been demonstrated to be incorrupt for a second time in 1206 (*Vita Waldevii* §§133–4: *AASS Augusti I*, 276C–D; ed. and tr. McFadden 1952, 197–98, 352–54).\(^{24}\) This incident seems to have prompted Abbot Patrick

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\(^{20}\) I am grateful to Richard Dance for this information. Bosworth and Toller 1898, s.v., suggested comparison with Icelandic *þefja* (‘to smell’) (cf. Toller 1921, s.v.; Holthausen 1934, s.v. *ðefian*; Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, s.vv. *þefía*, *þefja*, *þefur*).


\(^{22}\) I am grateful to Professor Margaret Clunies Ross for pointing out these resonances. Some instances with ecclesiastical associations are listed in ‘Dictionary of Old Norse Prose’, [http://dataonp.ad.sc.ku.dk/wordlist_e.html](http://dataonp.ad.sc.ku.dk/wordlist_e.html) – accessed 15/12/14, s.v. One example appears in the description of Paradise in Overgaard 1968, 4 (text A).

\(^{23}\) For possible written sources, see Baker 1975, 71–72; Birkett 2010, 127–37.

\(^{24}\) The date of the second exhumation was determined in Baker 1975, 62 n. 9.
to commission a new Life of the saint as part of a broader endeavour to achieve papal canonisation (Birkett 2010, 201–25). Thus the Melrose community were eager to convey traditions about Waltheof to Jocelin, and they no doubt had their own theories about the meaning of Waltheof’s name.

A second possible source of Jocelin’s etymology is the traditions surrounding St Waltheof’s grandfather, Earl Waltheof. The earl had been executed in 1076 for his part in a high-level conspiracy against William I, but some believed that he was innocent of his alleged crimes (e.g. Chron. John Worcester III, 26–29; cf. Lewis 2004). The pious resonances of the name (as proposed by Jocelin) would have suited the earl since a cult had grown up around the resting place of his body at Crowland Abbey LIN. Another striking parallel between the two Waltheofs was the incorruption of their bodies; Earl Waltheof’s corpse had been discovered intact during its translation by Ingulf (abbot 1085/6–1109), as noted by Orderic Vitalis (Historia Ecclesiastica ii, 346–47; cf. Gesta pontificum, §182.6 (I, 488–89); Watkins 1996, 96). Jocelin was aware of the miracles performed at Earl Waltheof’s tomb and he noted: ‘extat libellus in eodem coenobio conscriptus de miraculis ejus’ (‘there is in existence in the same house (Crowland) a small book composed of his miracles’) (Vita Waldevi §9: AASS Augusti I, 250F; ed. and tr. McFadden 1952, 99, 211). This libellus was probably composed to promote the case for Earl Waltheof’s canonisation in the later 12th century (Mason 2012, 191–92). Even so, it seems unlikely that Jocelin derived his information about the name Waltheof from Crowland sources. There is no analysis of the earl’s name in the extant version of the miracula, which probably derive from early 12th-century Crowland (Chroniques anglo-normandes II, 131–42; dated by Watkins 1996, 98). Neither is the name discussed in the fully developed Vita et passio Waldevi Comitis which was written after the translation of Earl Waltheof’s relics in 1219 (Chroniques anglo-normandes II, 99–142; for the date, see Watkins 1996, 97).

Earl Waltheof was also celebrated in Norse literature, which is worth examining given the Norse influence on Jocelin’s interpretation of the name. The earl is mentioned in the anonymous Haraldsstikki in connection with the battle of Fulford; this association is probably erroneous, but shows the earl’s fame in Scandinavia. Indeed, Earl Waltheof was a patron of the skald Þorkell

25 Compare William of Malmesbury’s accounts in Gesta regum §253 (I, 468–71), where he reports the differing views on the matter of the Normans and the English, with Gesta pontificum, §182.4 (I, 486–87), where he reports the English view and notes that it is supported by miracles at the tomb.

Skallason, which shows that an English dignitary could participate in the Scandinavian cultural world during the 11th century (Townend 2002, 154; Townend 2007, 18–19; Gazzoli 2011, 97–98). Þorkell may have had access to an Old English poem on Waltheof, which adds to the impression of interaction between the English and Norse cultural spheres (Scott 1952, 179; van Houts 1996, 172). The two surviving stanzas of Valþjófsflokkr portray the earl as a great warrior (sóknar Yggr ‘Óðinn of battle’) who was betrayed by King William.27 Yet there are no echoes of Jocelin’s emphasis on the holiness of the name Waltheof or indications that Waltheof was considered to be a particularly pious man. Valþjófsflokkr was composed shortly after Waltheof’s death, probably while Þorkell was still in England, but the stanzas are preserved in later-medieval Icelandic-Norwegian texts (Jesch 2001, 317, 322; Gazzoli 2011, 99). These accounts conjure up semi-imaginary scenarios for the poetry and there is no point of contact with the traditions available to Jocelin, apart from allusions to Earl Waltheof’s unjust killing and saintly reputation.28

A final and more promising possibility is that the etymology was Jocelin’s own, or at least reflected traditions circulating in the vicinity of Furness Abbey. Indeed, Jocelin was capable of formulating place-name etymologies that were independent of his written sources, as in his discussion of Leac Phádraig in the Life of St Patrick (Sperber, Bieler and Downham forthcoming, ch. 73; Edmonds 2013, 41–42, n. 127). The name Waltheof continued to be used in the Furness peninsula and the abbey’s wider estates in the late medieval period. For example, Waltheof son of Edmund was a notable donor, whose lands helped to found Furness Abbey’s grange at Newby in the Yorkshire Dales (Coucher Book I, 129, 190, 201; Coucher Book II, 296–97, 301–04, 308–12). Men called Waltheof also appeared in lower social strata, such as Waltheof son of Adam, who gained his freedom from Alexander son of Roger of Kirkby Ireleth (Furness peninsula) in the early 13th century (TNA, DL 36/2 no. 145; deed printed in Coucher Book II, 705). The name survived for long enough to give rise to the Lancashire surname Walthew, which had become a hereditary family name by the 14th century (McKinley 1981, 314). Jocelin’s etymology may therefore reflect his own hagiographical take on traditions circulating in Furness and its environs.

Finally, then, it is worth considering why Jocelin’s put forward an interpretation of the name Waltheof that he defined as English, even though it reveals Norse

28 For summaries of the traditions, see Scott 1952, 164–70; Scott 1953–57, 83–89. The confused contexts are discussed in Mason 2012, 194. An example of a reference to Waltheof’s sainthood is Fagrskinna, ch. 76 (pp. 294–95); trans. Finlay 2004, 235–36.
The Norse language has made a strong imprint on the place-names of the Furness peninsula, as has often been acknowledged (Edmonds 2013, 32–34, 39–40 and references cited therein). The name Furness is itself Norse, containing nes ‘headland’ and a second element whose meaning has been debated (Ekwall 1922, 200–01; Whaley 2006, 122–23). There is some evidence that Norse speech persisted in Furness until a relatively late date. One indication is the name of Lake Windermere (Winendermer 1154–89), which lies on the edge of Furness Fells. John Insley has proposed that this name features the Continental Germanic personal name Winand inflected with ON genitive singular -ar. If so, the name must have been coined in the 12th century since continental names are unlikely to have arrived in the area much earlier (Insley 2005). There are two runic inscriptions on the Furness peninsula, one on a stone at Conishead Priory and the other on the tympanum of the old church at Pennington. The latter can be dated contextually since it names a certain Gamall, who is thought to have lived in the mid-12th century (Holman 1996, 73–78; Barnes and Page 2006, 307–12, 316–20). Some scholars have detected English influence on this inscription, but Matthew Townend describes it as ‘perfectly acceptable Old Norse, albeit with weakened inflections’ (Townend 2002, 194).

The Pennington inscription is of particular interest because Jocelin of Furness has sometimes been identified with a certain Jocelin de Pennington, who was abbot of Furness in the 1180s. There is, however, no certainty about this identification because it rests on records that were copied into the front of the Furness Coucher Book in the early 15th century (TNA, DL 42/3, fol. 1r; Coucher Book I, 9; cf. Birkett 2010, 14).

Nonetheless the evidence presented above suggests that there was strong and persistent Scandinavian influence in the Furness peninsula. These cultural circumstances help to explain the presence of two Norse loan-words, one found generally in Northern Middle English and Older Scots but the other extremely rare, in the English dialect of Jocelin or his informants. It is necessary, however, to be wary of assuming a straightforward equation between the intensity of Scandinavian influence and the number of Norse loan-words in a given Middle English dialect. As Richard Dance has shown, Norse loan-words were diffused into areas where there had been little Scandinavian settlement, and some of them became characteristic of specific literary styles (Dance 2012, 1732–34). In Jocelin’s case, the Vita provides an insight into the linguistic situation very shortly after the decline of Norse as a living language in his locality, and Norse loan-words may have entered the local English dialect when the Norse speakers

29 Townend has also highlighted the nearby ‘Ellabarrow’, whose name reflects Scandinavian tradition (Townend 1997, 34–35). For the debate about endurance of Norse and inscriptions, see Page 1971; Parsons 2001, 302–03, 306.
of the preceding generation shifted to English.

One model for this process is a small elite shifting to the language of their more numerous subjects, such as the Norman-French aristocracy of England becoming English speakers (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 21, 41, 58, 68). Norse might have retained prestigious associations in Furness on account of the peninsula’s links to the Isle of Man, which was ruled by kings of Scandinavian origin (Stringer 2003, 31–33, 37; Edmonds 2013, 37–38). Yet it is difficult to envisage English as a low-status language given that Tostig – a Northumbrian earl and member of the English Godwinson family – controlled lands in the vicinity of Furness in 1065 (DB Yorks, 1L1–3, 6; Lancashire Domesday, fo 301v). Matthew Townend has presented an alternative view of Norse language death, in which Norse loan-words were ‘imposed’ by Norse speakers who were shifting to English. The Norse speakers had previously been able to understand English because the two languages were mutually intelligible, and the languages had similar status during the Viking Age. Townend has observed that this shift to English occurred relatively late in Furness and parts of the Lake District (Townend 2002, 201–10). Thus Jocelin’s local informants may have spoken an English dialect replete with Norse loan-words, and older members of society may have retained some acquaintance with the Norse language.

In conclusion, Jocelin of Furness’s interpretation of the name Waltheof raises interesting questions about two themes: the interaction of the Norse and English languages, and the sources available to hagiographers. It is impossible to prove that Jocelin formulated his own interpretation of the name, but he certainly tailored the analysis to suit the hagiographical genre. Traditions about the name may have circulated throughout northern England and southern Scotland, including the vicinity of Furness Abbey where Norse had recently been a living language. This would help to explain the presence of two Norse loan-words in Jocelin’s ‘English’ interpretation of the name. Jocelin’s oeuvre has been relatively neglected, and it may yet yield further information about the multilingual societies in which he lived and worked. There is reason to challenge Kenneth Jackson’s opinion that ‘the names and nature of places and people ... seem to have meant comparatively little to him, and he mostly passes them over in a very cavalier fashion …’ (Jackson 1958, 281).

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Abbreviations

OE Old English
ON Old Norse

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‘StronPatnaHachalas or the Oxterhill’: place-names and language-contact in the Beauly area, Inverness-shire

Simon Taylor
University of Glasgow

Summary
In this article I will explore how place-names behave when languages come into contact, especially in long-term bilingual (or even trilingual) situations. I will take concrete examples of the interaction between place-names in Gaelic, Scots, Scottish Standard English, Norse and French in the area around Beauly in north-east Inverness-shire, using evidence from the thirteenth century onwards. At the same time I will attempt to construct a typology of the various relationships that can exist between names referring to the same place in different languages, a ‘typology of toponymic contact’.

The data used was collected as part of an Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB) Project carried out between 2000 and 2001. This data is available online both as a series of Word documents: <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/beauly/> and as a searchable database: <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/beauly/search.php>.

‘The systematic investigation of the onomastic aspects of bi-lingualism are [sic] a requirement which can no longer be denied’

A more descriptive, if less colourful, title for this paper might be ‘towards a typology of bilingual place-names’, since it attempts to classify different types of relationship that exist between names referring to the same place or feature within different language-communities. It will, I hope, become clear that such relationships are not purely linguistic, but also involve different political and social perceptions of a shared environment. Place-names can thus be an expression of these different perceptions, and it is this aspect which I would see as being relevant to the overarching theme of this conference.

1 This data will form the core of a forthcoming publication Place-Names of the Parishes of Kilmorack, Kiltarlity & Convinth and Kirkhill, Inverness-shire by Simon Taylor, Jacob King and Ronald MacLean (forthcoming).
2 Nicolaisen 1975, 174. For more on the article from which this quote was taken, see Appendix, below.
3 This article began life as a paper given to the conference ‘Us and Them: perceptions, depictions and descriptions of Celts’, held in Melbourne, Australia, August 2006. I am very grateful to the organisers of the conference for their invitation to speak at it. The article is only now seeing the light of day because the original intention had been for it to be published in a volume of conference proceedings. Unfortunately, through no fault of the organisers or editors, this volume will not now appear, and permission has been given to publish it elsewhere.
The area of study from which the material for this paper was taken is in the north-eastern part of pre-1975 Inverness-shire, at the western end of the Beauly Firth, named after the main town of the area, Beauly, about 14 kilometres due west of Inverness itself.

It comprises the three modern parishes of Kilmarack, mainly north of the Beauly and Glass rivers, the united parish of Kiltarlity & Convint, mainly to the south, and Kirkhill to the east, along the southern shore of the Beauly Firth (see Map 1).

In the medieval period this area comprised five parishes: Kilmarack or Altyre, Kiltarlity and Convint, as separate but intermixed parishes, now united, and Wardlaw and Farnway, now united as Kirkhill. These are shown on Map 2, which also shows the sites of the medieval parish churches.

An important subdivision of this area is The Aird, a very old district name, deriving from Gaelic àird(e) ‘height’ (< àrd ‘high’), probably referring to the upland area between the Beauly River and Firth on the north side and Loch Ness, part of the Great Glen, on the south.

The other important early division was Strathglass, a broad strip of low land reaching deep into the hills, drained by the River Glass.

An extensive place-name survey was undertaken of this large area as part of an AHCBR project I worked on between 2000 and 2001. It was initiated by Dr Barbara Crawford of St Andrews University, Scotland, with a view to investigating names along the southernmost frontier of Norse settlement in eastern Scotland as evidenced by place-names. While names of Norse origin formed the ultimate focus of the project, much wider place-name collection and analysis had to be undertaken, since it is impossible to study one stratum of place-nomenclature without studying the totality. Approximately 500 names were collected and analysed, along with early forms, often from unpublished documents. These are available both in Word documents and in a searchable database with maps and photographs on line on the St Andrews University website (see Summary above for details). The photographs were taken by local researcher, Mrs Mary MacDonald of Evanton, who contributed much to the project. The main findings were written up in an article jointly authored by Barbara Crawford and myself which appeared in Northern Studies in 2003 (Crawford and Taylor 2003).

This Survey makes no claims to being comprehensive, but it is hoped that it will serve as the basis for a more complete place-name survey of an area which has hitherto received little serious attention from place-name scholars. In 1904 the great Celticist and toponymist William J. Watson published his in-depth place-name study of his home county, Ross and Cromarty, which lies immediately to the north of Beauly and its parish of Kilmorack. But, as is the case for most of Scotland, there has never been anything similar done for Inverness-shire.

The topography of the study area is remarkable for its variety. It includes,
in the west, the highest hills in Scotland north of the Great Glen, around Loch Affric, such as Sgùrr na Lápaich and Càrn Eige, which rises to over 1,100 metres. Moving eastwards it takes in Strathglass, a remarkable strath or wide valley running south-west to north-east, directly parallel with the Great Glen to the south. This constitutes a strip of rich, alluvial land reaching deep into the hills. And in the east the study area includes large, relatively rich estates such as Belladrum with good lowland arable and pasture land.

**Type 1**

We know that in the lowland parts of the study area the Scots language was present from a relatively early period, stimulated in the first place by the foundation of the burgh of Inverness, probably in the second quarter of the twelfth century.\(^4\) Already by 1221, amongst the earliest charters which exist for this area, a bilingual situation is indicated by the text found in two charters from 1221, which can be translated as follows:

> John Bisset ... has conferred and granted in pure alms to the church of Dunballoch seven acres of land in a suitable place and near to the parish church of Dunballoch once it has been translated to Fingask (Fingasc etc.) to the place which is called Wardlaw, in Gaelic Balabrach/Balcabrac.\(^5\)

It concerns the re-siting of the parish church from Dunballoch (Dulbatelach) to Wardlaw beside Fingask (see Map 2). As part of a deal between the local lord, John Bisset, and the bishop of Moray, the parish church was moved from beside the flood plain (Pictish *dul* or *dol*) of the River Beauly, practically at sea-level, to a site two kilometres to the north-east to the top of a low hill which rises to 62 metres above sea-level, and with a wide, clear view to the north.\(^6\)

Already by the early thirteenth century we can see that the highest part of this hill has a Scots name, Wardlaw, that is ‘guard hill, watch hill’, watching out, no doubt, for an enemy from the north and west. It is probable but not provable that the ward and watch after which Wardlaw was named was in connection with the series of so-called MacWilliam uprisings which by 1221 had threatened the Scottish realm from the north for several decades, and would continue to do so

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\(^4\) Pryde 1965, 11 (no. 20).

\(^5\) ‘Johannes Byseth ... contulit et concessit in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ecclesie de Dulbatelach septem acras terre in loco competenti et propinquo ecclesie parochianae de Dulbatelach cum fuerit translatata ad Fingasc ad locum qui dicitur Wardela(u) etc. scotice Balabrach/ Balcabrac’ Moray Reg. nos. 21, 51. Forms confirmed by the ms from which the printed version was taken, NLS Adv. MS 34.4.10 fos 19r (Balabrach), 28v (Balcabrac).

\(^6\) The whole ridge, of which Wardlaw is the highest point, seems to have been called in Gaelic *Fionngasg* ‘white ridge or tail-like spur of land’. It survives in the modern farm name Mains of Fingask at the north-east end of the ridge.
Map 1 Study area showing modern parish boundaries and present-day road system

Crawford and Taylor 2003
for some years to come. The most recent of these uprisings had been just a few years beforehand in 1211 or 1212, and had been crushed somewhere in the Inverness area.\footnote{See Duncan 1975, 196. For wider context, see McDonald 2003.}

In terms of the theme of this paper the most interesting feature in this charter are the two names which are given to this place, one in Scots, Ward Law, the other in Gaelic, *Balcabrach. The Latin \textit{scottice} I have rendered ‘in Gaelic’, which is what it means throughout the kingdom of Scotland until the later medieval period, when it, or its Scots equivalent, \textit{scottis}, started to be used to refer to lowland Scots. Up until then this latter language was referred to in Latin as \textit{lingua anglica} (adverbially \textit{anglice}), in Scots \textit{inglis}. Lowland Scots, known as Older Scots from about 1100 to 1700,\footnote{CSD p. xiii.} developed from northern Old and Middle English (which had been heavily influenced by Scandinavian) and the language of Lothian, where a northern form of Old English (also known as Old Northumbrian) had been wide-spread since as early as the seventh century. In this charter of 1221 the place-name Wardlaw does not have a language assigned to it, from which it can probably be assumed that the ‘base language’ of those who framed the charter, and for whom it was intended, was not \textit{lingua scottica} but rather the language to which Wardlaw belonged, that is \textit{lingua anglica} or Older Scots.

The first element of Wardlaw's alternative name is the common Gaelic settlement or habitative word \textit{baile} ‘farm’, while the second element is probably \textit{cabrach}, deriving ultimately from Gaelic \textit{cabar} ‘tree-trunk, pole’. The element is still represented in a local place-name, namely Cabrich (Kirkhill, formerly Wardlaw),\footnote{Although Cabrich appears to straddle the parish boundary (between Kirkhill and Kiltarlity and Convinth) on both the OS 6 inch 1st edition and the 1 inch 7th series, it can safely be assigned to Kirkhill. This is confirmed by the association of the adjacent Milifiach (Kirkhill), and Cabrich in the 1743 Rental.} NGR NH536433 (\textit{Caberach} 1743 NRS E.769/1/4, fo 6r), about 2.5 kilometres south-west of Wardlaw. It is probably to be interpreted ‘place of tree-trunks or poles’, containing G \textit{cabar} + G adjectival ending -\textit{ach} with the meaning ‘place of, place abounding with’. But note Dwelly also has the noun \textit{cabrach} (m.) ‘copse, thicket’, which can be compared with Irish usage.\footnote{In Ireland \textit{cabrach} means ‘copse’, a meaning also found in Scottish Gaelic (see above). However, the townland of Cabragh (Irish \textit{An Chabrach}), Clonduff parish, Co. Down, is locally interpreted as ‘rough land’, presumably because it was covered in clumps of trees or bushes. In its earliest forms (early 17th century) it is combined with \textit{baile} ‘townland, farm’, e.g. \textit{Ballecabragh} 1609 (Ó Mainnín 1993, 83), remarkably similar to *Balcabrach. Amongst the various meanings given by Dwelly for \textit{cabar}, one is ‘eminence’, as in \textit{cabar beinne} ‘mountain top’. Although obviously a secondary meaning – the primary meaning seems to be ‘rafter’, for
The non-linguistic relationship between these two names, Cabrich and *Balcabrach, if indeed there was one, is not known and is probably unknowable. One possibility is that Cabrich was once the name of the whole area of what is now the western part of Kirkhill parish, including Wardlaw, and *Balcabrach is therefore to be interpreted ‘the farm of or in (the territory of) Cabrich’, with the name Cabrich later becoming restricted to a small area on the boundary of that territory. There is however no other evidence to suggest that this was the case, and it is just as likely that these two names, although containing the same word, are independent of each other.

The two names, *Balcabrach and Wardlaw, while clearly referring to the same place in the context of this charter, would thus seem to have nothing to do with each other either phonologically or semantically. They provide my first type of bilingual place-name category, in which there is no relationship between elements across languages. Another example of this type would be Dingwall, the next town north of Beauly, a name deriving from the Norse þingvellir ‘the field(s) of the assembly’. In Gaelic this is Inbhir Pheofharain ‘the mouth of the Peffer Burn’. A third example is Cill Chumein ‘the church of St Cumméne’. This is a settlement and parish at the south end of Loch Ness. The Gaelic name commemorates a seventh-century abbot of Iona.11 In English the settlement is called Fort Augustus, emphasising the eighteenth-century military aspect of the place and named after a very different character, William Augustus the Duke of Cumberland, commander-in-chief of the government troops at Culloden in 1746, better known in Scotland as the Butcher Cumberland. However, the parish has retained the Gaelic name, anglicised as Kilchumin.

Such a relationship, or rather absence of relationship, between different names in different languages referring to the same place could be said to arise where there are pronounced cultural and political as well as linguistic differences between the groups involved. It is perhaps no coincidence that two of the above mentioned examples, Dingwall and Fort Augustus, refer to political structures which have their roots clearly outwith the Gaelic-speaking community of the time when the names were coined. It might be said that this type consists of place-names which deliberately turn their back on each other. It is also possible to see Wardlaw as belonging to this category: ‘watch hill’ or ‘guard hill’ plays its

which see DIL under capar ‘rafter, joist, roof’ – it is possible that in at least some place-names containing this element, such as this one and The Cabrach in Aberdeenshire, it might simply refer to its relatively high position. However, in the light of the Irish evidence, it is more likely to refer to some kind of tree cover, however patchy.

11 See Watson 1926, 303 and Taylor 1999, 56.
part in a wider network of political and military organisation to which the Gaelic name makes no reference.\textsuperscript{12}

**Type 2**

The next Scots place-name on record in this area is Donaldston, now obsolete, beside Lovat and near Wardlaw kirk, and this provides my second type of bilingual place-name category, in which there is semantic equivalence of one element across languages, usually the generic, while the other element is unrelated. Donaldston was probably coined c.1250 × 1275, and well illustrates the complex ethnic and linguistic mix at this period. The eponymous Donald, the bearer of a Gaelic personal name, and no doubt a Gaelic speaker, is probably the Dofnaldus del Ard (Donald of the Aird) whose son witnesses charters of Beauly Priory around 1300 (\textit{Beauly Chrs.} nos. 8, 9).\textsuperscript{13} Whoever the eponymous Donald was, his name appears about 700 hundred years ago qualifying the Scots place-name element \textit{toun} ‘farm, agricultural settlement’. Incidentally, Donald of the Aird’s son is called Harald, a name which looks northwards to the Scandinavian cultural area of Sutherland and the Northern Isles. This one place-name, and the family of its eponym, thus seems to look culturally, if not linguistically, in three directions. But there is a further point to make regarding Donaldston. It would appear from the \textit{Fraser Chronicles}, the detailed account of the history of the parish of Kirkhill, as well as of the Lovat Frasers, written by the admirable Rev. James Fraser, minister of Kirkhill between 1661 and 1709, that Donaldston was also known as Ballbra\textsuperscript{<n>} (\textit{Wardlaw MS}, 112).\textsuperscript{14} The implication here is that Donaldston was known as such only in a Scots- and Scottish Standard English-speaking context – I mention Scottish Standard English here because that is the language of the \textit{Fraser Chronicles}, although the author was also a Gaelic speaker. In a Gaelic-speaking context, therefore, Donaldston seems to have had a different name, but shares the equivalent generic element (Sc \textit{toun}, G \textit{baile}).

\textsuperscript{12} However, if ‘Balcabrach refers to an eminence (with \textit{cabar} used in its secondary meaning of ‘hill-top’, for which see the discussion above, footnote 7), it could be argued that a semantic link exists with the generic \textit{law} of the Scots name. This would then place Wardlaw/Balcabrach in Type 2.

\textsuperscript{13} Some early forms are: \textit{Dofnaldistun} 1297 × 1325 NLS Adv.MS.35.2.4, ii fo. 197v no. 3 (= \textit{Beauly Chrs.} no. 9).

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Donaldstoun} 1478 × 1666 \textit{Wardlaw MS}, 112 [‘Glashen Gow Smith, in Donaldstoun or Ballbra\textsuperscript{<n>}’; recounting an incident reputed to have taken place in 1478; \textit{<n>} represents the expansion of a suspension mark over the second \textit{a}].
Another example of this category is Kirkhill, which as a place and a parish is known in Gaelic as Cnoc Mhuire ‘Mary’s hill’. Both of these are ecclesiastical names, but whereas the Scots name Kirkhill refers to the physical presence of a kirk – i.e. the parish kirk firstly of Wardlaw, later of Kirkhill – the Gaelic name preserves the memory of the saint, Mary, under whose patronage the place, and by implication the church, lay. The development of this name may well reflect different attitudes amongst the post-Reformation Gaelic- and Scots-speaking language groups to saints’ cults in general.

Type 3

The name Beauly provides a third category of bilingual name, in which the name in one language refers in a generic way to an exotically imported and/or named feature. Of French origin, from beau lieu ‘beautiful place’, the name Beauly was introduced by the French-speaking Valliscaulian monks brought into the area by the Bissets, with the support of King Alexander II, about 1230. All the early references to this place occur in Latin texts, where the name is fully latinised as Bellus Locus ‘beautiful place’ (see Beauly Chrs., passim). There is no reason why the local tourist board should not make as much of this name as possible, although I would argue that it was not spontaneously generated by the interaction of the monks and the local scenery and amenities. Rather it was a kind of ready-made name with ideological, even propagandistic, overtones used by the French-speaking monks themselves to refer to monastic foundations wherever they settled. There are at least four monasteries in France called Beaulieu, and one in England, Beauly in Hampshire. The official modern Gaelic name for the place is much more neutral, being simply A’ Mhanachainn ‘the monastery’, sometimes also referred to in early modern sources by the equally prosaic Baile nam Manach ‘the town of the monks’.

Near Beauly is Beaufort Castle, until recent years the chief seat of the Frasers of Lovat. Also French, it means ‘beautiful strong one or place’. It was coined by the French-speaking Bisset lords of this area, and it can be seen as deliberately contrastive or complementary to their nearby foundation of the priory of Beauly (‘beautiful place’). It was the Bissets’ chief stronghold, and already in 1242 the priory, *Beau Lieu, is described as being beside (juxta) Beaufort (Beauly Chrs. no. 3 and p. 40). We thus have the two halves of the incoming French-speaking aristocratic world, the ecclesiastical and the secular, presented in two neat, positive-sounding, high-register place-names, related to each other both semantically and ideologically.

Gaelic speakers, on the other hand, refer to Beaufort Castle simply as
Dounie, that is the place of the *dùn* or stronghold, the original stronghold almost certainly pre-dating the Bisset stronghold of Beaufort.\(^{15}\)

Perhaps the best known Highland example of this third type of bilingual name is Fort William, in Gaelic simply *An Gearasdan* ‘the garrison’. Such place-names, coined in the language spoken by those responsible for the feature, contain more, or at least quite different, information. In the case of Fort William, the personal name commemorates King William I of Great Britain (II of Scotland and III of England), in whose reign it was built, while the Gaelic name gives no such chronological or political information. The name-pairs in this category are especially closely linked, with the indigenous name secondary to the exotic one, since the indigenous name describes the exotic feature.

Type 4

A fourth type of bilingual name is provided by Bridgend, just south of Beauly, known in Gaelic as Ceann na Drochaid (literally ‘the head or end of the bridge’). This type is one in which there is complete equivalence across languages. Bridgend (Sc *Briggend*)/Ceann na Drochaid is a common name throughout Scotland for a settlement beside a bridge. The early forms of Bridgend by Beauly are as follows: *Bridgend* 1743 NRS E.769/1/4, fo. 5v; *Bridgend* 1757 Lovat/1757, *Kinnin drochet* 1795 RHP11605, Sheet 5. Given its situation in this lowland part of the parish, exposed to Scots influence at a relatively early date, it is justifiable to assume that Scottish Standard English Bridgend itself is a translation of Sc *Briggend*. There is in fact good corroborative evidence that this was the case, since, only a few kilometres to the north, the place beside Dingwall, which appears as Bridgend on modern maps, is *Brigend* in a charter dated 1526 (*RMS* iii no. 380).

I have described this fourth type of relationship between bilingual place-names as that of complete equivalence across languages. It is tempting to use the term ‘translation’ here, but in fact it is safer to use the word ‘equivalence’, since translation assumes that one of the names is primary, the other derivative. It is just as likely that *Briggend* and Ceann na Drochaid arose at the same time, and were linguistically independent of each other, as both are perfectly usual terms in their respective languages for describing a settlement beside a bridge.

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\(^{15}\) See, for example, the name of the tune ‘Neo-aighearach thall an Dùnaidh’, translated by Angus Fraser as ‘The decay of festivity in Beaufort Castle’ (*Angus Fraser Collection*, 30). The name first occurs in the thirteenth century applied to one of the eleven davochs of Convinth (*Dunyn* 1220 × 1221 *Money Reg.*, nos. 21, 51). The Scots and Scottish Standard English form of the name, Dounie, is now the name of the farm near the castle, formerly the castle’s demesne or home farm.
Another fully equivalent Gaelic and Scots place-name is Lettoch/Half Davoch, a farm just north of Beauly. The Scots name, which has not survived, contains what was ultimately a loan-word from Gaelic into Scots, that is *dabhach*, literally ‘vat’, but used in Scotland to refer to a sizeable unit of land of both arable and pasture.\(^\text{16}\) Despite this Gaelic provenance, the name Lettoch/ Half Davoch appears much earlier in the record in its Scots form than its Gaelic one: almost 200 years earlier, in fact.\(^\text{17}\) As with Bridgend/Ceann na Drochaid, neither of these forms can be said to be primary, with one a translation of the other. Rather they should be seen as having a parallel existence within the two groups of language-users.

If there is any evidence for name-translation in the Beauly area, then it seems to have been from Scots into Gaelic. The name *Greenfauld* appears several times in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century as one of the pendicles of Teachnuick by Beauly.\(^\text{18}\) The name *Boulaglass* appears as one of the fieldnames on the farm of Teachnuick on Peter May’s wonderfully detailed plan of the Lovat estate dated 1757 (Lovat/1757).\(^\text{19}\) This clearly represents Gaelic *buailte ghlais* ‘green fold or fauld (for cattle or sheep)’. Since Greenfauld appears relatively early in the record along with Gaelic-derived names such as Teachnuick (G *taigh a’ chnuic* ‘the house of the hill, hill-house’), and since it is not a commonly occurring compound (unlike Bridgend or Half-Davoch), it is more likely that this name was originally coined in Scots, and became translated into Gaelic as *Buualte Ghlas*, rather than that it was coined in both languages independently.

A final twist to this story is that modern Grayfield\(^\text{20}\) is roughly on the site of Boulaglass, and may in fact be a somewhat loose translation of this name into Scottish Standard English, with Gaelic *glas* being translated as grey. This is, of course, from a purely lexical point of view, perfectly feasible. So we may have a Scots name translated into Gaelic, from which it is translated back into Scots, by which time Scots has become Scottish Standard English: a complex and intricate dance of language in the landscape!

\(^{16}\) For more on the davoch, especially in northern Scotland, see Ross 2006.

\(^{17}\) G *leth-dabhach* ‘half davoch’. Early forms are: The *half davouucht* 1571 NLS Dep. 327/50/1; lie *Half-Dawwacht* 1592 RMS v no. 2165; the *half Duagh of Lettock* 1755 NAS E.769/69, fo. 8v; farm of Lettoch 1757 Lovat/1757.

\(^{18}\) A pendicle is a piece of land regarded as subsidiary to a main estate. The earliest form is: *Thayknok* [Teachnuick], cum pendiculis viz *Uvir-Croaresis*, [Croyard?], the *Relict et Grenefauld* cum brasina ejusdem (‘with its brewery’) 1572 RMS iv no. 2020.

\(^{19}\) All the names on this plan, which include the names of around 300 fields and other minor features, have been transcribed by Mary MacDonald and appear in a word document on the Beauly place-names website.

\(^{20}\) From Ordnance Survey Pathfinder Map (1:25000).
Thus this fourth type of complete equivalence can be broken down further into two parts. The first of these is where there is no obvious primary name (e.g. Bridgend/Ceann na Drochaid, Half-Davoch/Lettoch); and the second is where there is translation from one language to another (probably *Greenfauld/Boulaglass).

Type 5
The fifth, and by far the most common way in which place-names co-exist in different languages, is by phonological adaptation: that is a name coined in one language is borrowed into another language and adapted to the latter’s phonology. Examples are legion from all over Scotland, such as (from Gaelic to Scots or Scottish Standard English) *Ceann Mhona(i)dh to Kinmont or Inbhir Nis to Inverness. Such adaptation requires no knowledge by the borrower of the lender language, unlike in Type 2, and in at least some examples of Type 4. Such adaptation can also lead to reinterpretation or assimilation of one or more elements to a phonetically similar word in the borrower language. An example might be Main in Strathglass, which derives from G mèinn ‘mine, ore’. A frequently found example throughout Scotland is the assimilation of Gaelic mòr ‘big’ to Sc muir ‘rough grazing’, e.g. Balmuir by Dundee (G baile mòr). Another common one is G dùn ‘hill-fort’, adapted to Sc den ‘gorge’: both these are probably found in the Fife place-name Denmuir, originally Dùn Mòr, or similar. This is what might be called ‘secondary adaptation’, since it does not necessarily arise from a direct language-contact situation. In fact it is more likely to develop after the lending language has ceased to be spoken in a given area.

Another form of secondary adaptation is what onomastic theorists call ‘epexegetical’ or ‘explanatory’. This refers to any word added to a place-name to describe the type of feature involved, when the place-name alone could convey this adequately, or would do if understood by the place-name user. An example would be Inchcolm Island, an island in the Firth of Forth which itself contains G innis ‘island’. This gives rise to the phenomenon traditionally but less accurately termed ‘tautology’, when a word in one language is added to a name which already contains a word with the same semantic range, but in another language. Another example, this time from Strathglass, would be the

21 For more discussion of this process, see Nicolaisen 1975.
22 See Taylor with Márkus 2010, s.n.
23 Sandnes 2003, 86–88. She bases this on the theory of Hans Walther, who, however, writing in German, uses the problematic term Hybridisierung (‘hybridisation’). It is Sandnes who, quite rightly I think, uses the term ‘adaptation’ (Norwegian tilpasning). For a good critique of the concept of hybridisation in place-names, see Cox 1989.
River Glass itself, since Glass derives from G *glais* 'burn, river'. As with other forms of secondary adaptation, it is more likely to flourish in a context where the lending language is no longer spoken or understood.

Walther’s Model (after Walther 1980, and Sandnes 2003, 87) Fig. 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Adaptation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phonetic adaptation</td>
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<tr>
<td>morphemic adaptation</td>
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<tr>
<td>semantic adaptation</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary Adaptation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>semantic clarification or epexegesis</td>
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<tr>
<td>lexical adaptation</td>
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</table>

Of course, such a model assumes a lender-borrower situation. I would contend that it can be even more complex than this, since, as we have seen with Bridgend/Ceann na Drochaid, closely related names can be generated independently in different language user groups, and can run parallel with each other for as long as the two languages co-exist. Yet another layer of complexity is provided by the different registers within one language, with nick-names or by-names for a place used in informal situations or for comic effect, e.g. G *Inbhir Pheofharain* versus *Baile Càil* (‘cabbage town’); and Sc Embro and SSE Edinburgh versus Auld Reekie (‘old smoky’).

Another factor in the understanding and systematising of cross-language place-names is that of survival. For example, we have no idea how many -*toun*-names in east central Scotland had a name in *baile* when Gaelic was the dominant language there from the tenth to the twelfth century. In other words, there are certain parts of the primary adaptation process which are now unknowable or can only be guessed at. What makes the Beauly area so valuable in understanding language-contact through place-names is the fact that a bilingual situation has existed from the late twelfth century practically to the present day, and documentary evidence goes back to the very start of this period.

24 The Gaelic names of two -*toun*-names in Fife, Mastertown by Dunfermline and Friarton (Forgan), north-east Fife, both of which were coined around 1200, are known, and neither of them contain G *baile*. See Taylor with Márkus 2006, 331, 337–38 (under *Lethmacdungal* and Mastertown DFL); and Taylor with Márkus 2010, 414–15, 424–25 (under Melcrether # and Friarton FGN).
Oxter Hill or a place-name in the making?

An exciting set of sources for the Beauly area are the Government-commissioned surveys of the forfeited Lovat estates after 1746. The chief surveyor was the lowland Scot Peter May, arguably the greatest of all the early modern Scottish surveyors (see Adams 1979). We have already seen an example of his work when looking at the name *Greenfauld near Beauly. While Peter May’s native tongue would have been Scots, like most educated Scotsmen of his day, especially one working for the British Government, he wrote in Scottish Standard English. One of his many fine maps is that of Glen Strathfarrar, which he made in 1758 (May/1758). It is from this map that the phrase used in the title of this paper is taken, that is ‘A Top called StronPatnaHachalas Or the Oxterhill’. It is shown just east of Creag nan Deanntag (Ordnance Survey Pathfinder), at the approximate NGR NH194383. In modern Gaelic orthography May’s name would be Sròn Bad na h-Achlaise, and can be translated ‘the nose-shaped hill of or beside a place called Bad na h-Achlaise’, which itself means ‘the clump of the oxter’, oxter being the Scots and Scottish Standard English word for ‘armpit’. G achlais is relatively common in place-names, referring to a shallow, oxter-shaped hollow, and on the modern map there are several places called Bad na h-Achlais(e), although the Glen Strathfarrar one is not among them.

So we see here a striking reduction and distortion of the Gaelic name: on the one hand there is a complex name containing an existing name, a name within a name, that is *Bad na h-Achlaise, referring to a clump of trees in a small hollow, in a name referring to a relief feature, sròn. On the other hand we have simply the Oxterhill.

Rather than recording a genuine local usage, however, the Oxterhill seems to be a somewhat sloppy or ill-informed attempt by the Surveyor to convey something of the meaning of the Gaelic place-name. Other bilingual names on this map suggest that this explanation is the correct one, since about 15% of the Gaelic place-names on the plan are given a Scots or Scottish Standard English equivalent, most of them being literal translations. An example would be ‘Corra buiepeak, or the little yellow quarry’. In modern Gaelic orthography this would be Coire buidhe beag ‘little yellow corrie’. Other examples are: ‘Top of Meaul an Tarraugh or the Bull Hill’, in modern Gaelic orthography Meall an

25 As with Lovat/1758, all the place-names and descriptions on this map are to be found on the Beauly place-names website.
26 I have preserved the upper and lower case letters of the original throughout.
27 Sc and SSE corrie ‘hollow on the side of a hill’ is a loan-word from G coire ‘kettle; cauldron or cauldron-shaped feature’. This is represented in the translation on May/1758 as quarry, which has nothing to do with modern English ‘quarry’.

The Journal of Scottish Name Studies 9, 2015, 63–82
This is Sgurr na Muice on the modern Ordnance Survey Pathfinder map (more correctly Sgùrr na Muice).

Furthermore these Scottish Standard English forms are always provided with an article, which also suggests interpretation or translation rather than the recording of a living place-name. And the final point to be made here is that, from what we know about the political and social structures in this part of the Scottish Highlands from external sources, it is very unlikely that a genuine Scottish Standard English toponymy had developed in Glen Strathfarrar by the mid-eighteenth century. I would therefore describe such names as The Oxterhill and the little yellow quarry as nonce translations or interpretations, such as those carried out by eager toponymists the world over, myself included, rather than as fully-fledged place-names, i.e. place-names used by a linguistic community inhabiting or exploiting the land, which are then capable of being communicated to and used by a wider community. The fact that none of these Scottish Standard English names makes it onto the 1st edition Ordnance Survey Map of 1876 is further proof, if such be needed, of their ephemeral nature.

I would argue, however, that under different socio-linguistic circumstances these nonce names could have become fully-fledged place-names. May’s 1758 plan of Glen Strathfarrar in fact provides us with a rare glimpse of what might be termed the very first phase of place-name formation in a linguistic contact situation, and the mess made of the hill name *Sròn Bad na h-Achlaise might be seen as representing a whole layer of confusion and misapprehension in the adoption and adaptation of place-names in such a contact situation, a layer which usually remains invisible because of the centuries-long time periods involved and the lack of relevant documentation.

Concluding Remarks
This discussion of names on the May/1758 plan does not provide another type of bilingual place-name category as such, since I argue that the Scottish Standard English translations of the Gaelic names are not in themselves place-names. Rather it illustrates a process by which some names belonging to Type 4b may have come into existence.
The categories discussed above can be summarised as follows:

Type 1: no relationship between elements across languages. Examples are Wardlaw/*Balcabrach, Dingwall/Inbhir Pheofharain, Fort Augustus/Cill Chumein.

Type 2: semantic equivalence of one element across languages, usually the generic, while the other element is unrelated. Examples are Donaldston/Balbra<n>, Kirkhill/Cnoc Mhuire.

Type 3: the name in one language refers in a generic way to an exotically imported and/or named feature. Examples Beauly/A’ Mhanachainn, Beaufort/Dùnaidh, Fort William/An Gearsdan.

Type 4a: complete equivalence across languages. Examples are Bridgend/Ceann na Drochaid, Half Davoch/Lettoch.

Type 4b: translation from one language to another. Probable example is Greenfauld/*Buaile Ghlas. See also the discussion of ‘StronPatnaHachalas or the Oxterhill’, above.

Type 5a: phonological adaptation. Examples are: *Ceann M(h)ona(i)dh > Kinmont, Inbhir Nis > Inverness.

Type 5b: phonological adaptation resulting in re-interpretation. Examples are *Baile Mòr > Balmuir; *Dùn Mòr > Denmuir.

Type 5c: phonological adaptation with epexegesis. Examples are the River Glass, Inchcolm Island.

These categories are not set in stone and can be augmented and refined. They represent an attempt to clarify the complexity of interaction between languages and communities, especially in north-eastern Inverness-shire, viewed through the prism of place-names.

Appendix

A closely related study to the one attempted above is W. F. H. Nicolaisen’s article ‘Place-Names in Bilingual Communities’ (1975), which takes the interface between Scots and Gaelic as an illustrative example of ‘the basic relationships between the place-nomenclature of one language and that of another in a bilingual context’ (1975, 169). His categorisation can be roughly mapped onto mine, with some differences in perspective and emphasis. These differences arise from the fact that, while my chief concern is with the interaction (or absence of interaction) between coexistent language communities, Nicolaisen’s is more concerned with the transference (or absence of transference) from a donor
language (in this case Gaelic) to a receiving language (in this case ‘English’), and the various processes involved. He categorises these relationships as follows: (a) two names for the same place are completely unrelated to each other (ibid., 169) (my Type 1). (b) The name in one language is a translation or part-translation of the name in the other language (ibid., 169–70) (my Types 2 and 4b); (c) the name in one language is a phonological adaptation of the name in the other language (ibid., 170) (my Type 5a). (d) The name in one language is phonologically adapted by the other, as under (c), but a morphological ‘translation’ adds a plural marker in the receiving language (English) because the name had been in the plural in the donor language (Gaelic) (ibid., 170–71). (e) ‘As a consequence of (c), i.e. phonological adaptation and resulting lexical meaninglessness, the receiving language adds a generic of its own which tautologically repeats a generic already contained in the adopted name’ (ibid., 171) (my Type 5c). (f) The name in the outgoing language is not in any way adapted, translated or replaced by the incoming language (ibid., 172). He concludes his study with two case studies: the first of which involves several of the above processes which produce ‘a totally new name-type in the incoming language, a type which might never have been created spontaneously without this linguistic interaction’. His example is that of names such as Burn of X, Mill of X, Mains of X, which he sees as atypical of Germanic constructions, which would rather yield X Burn, X Mill, X Mains, which he would see as ‘a strong indication of morphological interference by Gaelic on English (especially Lowland Scots)’ (ibid., 172–73). The second is ‘the process by which linguistic transfer combined with phonological adaptation not only results in semantic opacity but also in loss of morphological transparency, which permits names to be reinterpreted in the new linguistic medium’ (ibid., 173). His example here is provided by the many Auchen- and Auchin-names on the Scottish map. While some of these derived from G achadh ‘field’ followed by a reflex of the genitive definite article an, which in Older Gaelic always contained n, e.g. Auchentend (G Achadh an teine ‘the field of the fire’) or Achintoul Achadh an t-sabhail (‘the field of the barn’), others, such as Auchenreoch (Achadh riabhach ‘brindled or variegated field’) or Auchenfedrick (Achadh Phàdraig ‘Patrick or Peter’s field’), cannot have contained a definite article, and probably derived the medial unstressed syllable -en- from ‘the Anglicised form Auchen-’ being ‘regarded

29 Nicolaisen uses English to refer to both Scots and Scottish Standard English.
30 This is not as frequent as Nicolaisen supposes, as the examples he uses such as Fetters and Leuchars FIF do not derive their final s from a Scots plural. See Taylor with Mármus 2010, 514–15, 526; for a variety of suffixes ending in -s in Irish (and Scottish Gaelic) place-names, see Ó Máille 1990.
31 For a critique of aspects of this problematic theory, see Cox 2007.
by non-Gaelic speakers as a fixed morphological element, having become
an indivisible unit which served as a kind of pseudo-generic in English,
with no definable lexical meaning apart from a vague feeling of onomastic
appropriateness’ (ibid., 174).

ABBREVIATIONS (non-bibliographical)

G Gaelic
FIF Fife
INV Inverness-shire
NGR National Grid Reference
ROS Ross and Cromarty
Sc Scots
SSE Scottish Standard English

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(Scottish Historical Society, 4th series, vol. 15).

*Angus Fraser Collection: The Angus Fraser Collection of Scottish Gaelic Airs*
(Taigh na Teud, Skye 1996; printed from a manuscript of Angus Fraser,
died c.1874, whose father's family came from Knockie).

*Beauly Chrs.: The Charters of the Priory of Beauly* (Grampian Club, 1877).

Cox, Richard, 1989, ‘Questioning the value and validity of the term ‘hybrid’
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Scotland* 23, 1–76.


*DIL*: *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (based mainly on Old and Middle Irish


Dwelly: *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*, E. Dwelly 1901–11 (9th

Lovat/1757: ‘A plan of that part of the annexed estate of Lovat lying in the
parish of Kilmorack.’ by Peter May. Every farm and field named, from
Aigas in the west to Lettoch (north of Beauly) in the east. Original in the
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May/Glen Strathfarrar: Peter May’s Plan of Glen Strathfarrar, 1758. The original is in the Lovat Estate Office, Beauly. Photostats of most of this map are lodged in the Highland Council Archives, Inverness (courtesy of Prof. Alexander Mather, Department of Geography, University of Aberdeen). This plan is analysed in his article ‘Pre-1745 Land Use and Conservation in a Highland Glen: An Example from Glen Strathfarrar, North Inverness-shire’, *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 86 (1970), 159–69.

*Noray Reg.*: *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1837).


NRS: National Records of Scotland, formerly National Archives of Scotland (NAS), formerly Scottish Record Office (SRO).


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‘hence the name’: Berwickshire parishes along the Anglo-Scottish Border as described in the Ordnance Survey Name Books

Eila Williamson
University of Glasgow

More than 1,800 of the Ordnance Survey’s Original Object Name Books exist for the whole of Scotland, albeit with some gaps.¹ These books date from 1845 to 1878 and detail notes made by surveyors – both personnel of the Royal Engineers and civilian assistants – as they recorded the orthography and descriptions of the place-names that were to feature on the Ordnance Survey Six Inch First Edition maps. The Name Books provide a rich source of information about nineteenth-century society and its perception and understanding of place-names. In recent years the value of this source has been increasingly recognised and has resulted in a large-scale crowdsourcing transcription project to mount transcriptions of all of the entries contained within the Name Books, along with images of the original pages, on the ScotlandsPlaces website.²

The system of Name Books was not unique to Scotland but had developed from previous Ordnance Survey work in England and Ireland.³ Evidence of embryonic forms of what would later become the method used in the Name Books has been cited for Lincolnshire and Hull, while the earliest surviving example of printed sheets (each with four columns), which were bound together to form a book, can be dated to c.1839 in Doncaster.⁴ This paper presents a study of the Ordnance Survey’s work in five Berwickshire parishes

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¹ The Ordnance Survey has deposited the original manuscript volumes in the National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh (shelfmark OS1). References to the individual volumes quoted below are the reference numbers for these original volumes, which are also replicated on the digital volumes on the ScotlandsPlaces website (see note 2, below). In the quotations from the Ordnance Survey Name Books in this paper, pointed brackets are used to indicate presumed letters that cannot be seen owing to the book being bound too tightly. Square brackets are used for expansions. Underlining in the original is reproduced.

² <http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books> (accessed 30/11/2015). The images on ScotlandsPlaces require payment of a subscription (at the time of writing) but are free to view in the National Records of Scotland’s historical search room. The crowdsourced transcriptions are free to view on the ScotlandsPlaces website. For a brief summary of the Ordnance Survey’s work in Scotland in the nineteenth century, see Fleet, Wilkes and Withers 2011, 144–45.

³ For general histories and the work of the Ordnance Survey, see Owen and Pilbeam 1992; Seymour 1980; Hewitt 2010. For the Ordnance Survey in Ireland, see Andrews 2006; Ó Cadhla 2007; Doherty 2004. For a discussion of Name Books in the Hebrides and methods used in their compilation, see Withers 2000.

along the Anglo-Scottish Border: Coldstream, Eccles, Hutton, Ladykirk and Mordington. It aims not only to give some indication of the range of content to be found within the source for these five parishes, but also to explore how the source has been compiled, and how the records compare and contrast with those of other counties, such as Fife and Kinross-shire and Clackmannanshire.\(^5\)

In working with the Name Books, the first thing to highlight is that the source is not a uniform one. There is variation between different counties and even within counties with regard to the structure of the forms that were being completed and the information recorded by the staff of the Ordnance Survey in their work to establish the orthography of the place-names for the First Edition maps. For example, in the Fife and Kinross-shire Name Books, compiled in 1853–55, there are six columns – the first two being ‘List of names to be corrected if necessary’ and ‘Orthography, as recommended to be used in the new Plans’. These are followed by columns for ‘Other modes of Spelling the same Name’, ‘Authority for those other modes of Spelling where known’ (which records the various people the surveyors asked and the written sources that were used), ‘Situation’ (in the case of Fife a measurement in chains with a direction from a given point) and finally ‘Descriptive Remarks, or other General Observations which may be considered of interest’.\(^6\) Each Name Book for these counties usually consists of entries of place-names from more than one parish. By the time of the compilation of the Clackmannanshire Name Books in 1861–62 the format is simpler consisting of only five columns with the Situation column containing the number of the surveyor’s plan on which the name appears. Parishes or detached parts of parishes are allocated to separate volumes.

For the five Berwickshire parishes examined in this study, the situation is different again – date-wise they fall in between the counties mentioned above, being surveyed in 1857–58 – but although they have five columns, unlike the other two counties the labels on the front cover of each of their volumes bear the title ‘Name Sheets’ rather than ‘Name Book’;\(^7\) as do all those of Berwickshire with the exception of the volume for the parish of Cockburnspath and the three volumes for Coldingham parish.\(^8\) However, for the purposes of this paper the term ‘Name Book’ will be used. In comparison to the Name Books of both Fife and Kinross-shire, and Clackmannanshire, the Berwickshire Name Books

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\(^5\) The counties of Kinross-shire and Clackmannanshire have been surveyed as part of the AHRC-funded *Scottish Toponymy in Transition* project at the University of Glasgow.

\(^6\) OSNB Fife and Kinross-shire, OS1/13/1–135.

\(^7\) OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/12 (Coldstream), OS1/5/17 (Eccles), OS1/5/25 (Hutton), OS1/5/26 (Ladykirk), OS1/5/34 (Mordington).

\(^8\) OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/8 (Cockburnspath), OS1/5/9–11 (Coldingham).
contain more information about the individual surveyors, whose names often appear in the top right-hand corners of the sheets, at times with details of their rank within the Royal Engineers or their status as civilian assistants.

Where the same place-name occurs in more than one county or more than one parish, there can be striking differences. One example from the Name Books of Clackmannanshire and Fife is that of Foulbutts Bridge, also known as Lilly’s Bridge. In the Name Book for Clackmannan parish the bridge is described as ‘A stone bridge of one arch spanning Lambhill Burn, on the T. P. road between Dollar and Saline; property of the Road Trustees. it is in good repair.” In contrast, in the Name Book for Saline parish in Fife (compiled almost a decade earlier), the description is more enlightening: ‘A stone Bridge of one arch over Foulbutts Burn, repaired by the County. It is well known by both names. it obtained the latter from the circumstances of a woman named Lilly Ramsay having hanged herself near it.” Conversely the entries for Wallace’s Crook in Eccles and Coldstream parishes are virtually identical with the same three authorities being listed: Mr William Paterson, Mr Stevenson and John Hislop, described as ‘Gardener’. This bend of a small crook on the boundary of these parishes seemingly derived its name from William Wallace spending a night in hiding beside the stream.

As indicated earlier, the Name Books for the five Border parishes provide useful information about the individual surveyors. Their numbers differ in the five parishes: nine were at work in Eccles; seven in Coldstream; three in Ladykirk; seven in Hutton; and six in Mordington, with overlap in personnel between parishes.

John McDiarmid, a civilian assistant, was responsible for much of the work on the coastal areas of Berwickshire. In Mordington parish he explains that Tod Holes is the name ‘applied by the fishermen of Burnmouth, to rocky knoll on the sea coast immediately south of Ross Point’. He is one of the surveyors who fairly frequently uses the term ‘hence the name’, quoted in the title of this paper; for instance he records that Tods Loup is a ‘precipitous cliff on the sea coast, over which a fox, being hard pressed by the hounds, leaped, and was killed, as well as some of the hounds which followed him; hence the name’. McDiarmid appears to have made an effort to try to find out the meanings of names but was not always able to provide an explanation; in the case of the rocky creek known as Meg’s Dub, he states that the ‘origin [sic] or meaning

9 OSNB Clackmannanshire, OS1/8/3/8.
10 OSNB Fife and Kinross-shire, OS1/13/3/18.
11 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/12/41 (Coldstream), OS1/5/17/84 (Eccles).
12 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/34/9.
13 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/34/27.
of this name I could not ascertain’.\textsuperscript{14} McDiarmid recorded coastal features in Coldingham parish too and seems to have known some Gaelic noting in the case of Foul Carr — ‘A large precipitous rock on the sea coast surrounded by the sea at high tides’ that ‘\textit{Carr, Carra & Carraig} signifies in Gaelic a rock or pillar’.\textsuperscript{15}

Another surveyor, John Callanan, a lance corporal in the Royal Engineers, was responsible for recording all the names of the salmon pools along the Tweed. In Eccles parish there are twenty-two names of salmon casts recorded by Callanan, a figure which represents approximately 14\% of all of the names in the Name Book for Eccles. Only two have derivations of their names: Ship End is described as ‘A portion of the south side of the Tweed used as a Salmon Cast. The Name is derived from a breakwater faced with wood, and said to resemble the stern of a ship. Proprietors Lord Home, and John Hodgson Esqr.’,\textsuperscript{16} while Kirk End is described as ‘A considerable portion of the S. East side of the Tweed used as a Salmon Cast. The Name is derived from a church being adjacent on the English side of the River,’ with the same named proprietors.\textsuperscript{17}

In the case of Coldstream parish there are twenty-five salmon casts named, a figure representing about 16\% of the names in the Name Book. Similarly there are few derivations for the names of these salmon casts in Coldstream parish. Examples include \textit{Rough Stones} ‘A Salmon Cast on the south side of Tweed, deriving the Name from a few boulders that are visible \textit{sic} when the water is low’; \textit{Colour Heugh} described as ‘adjacent to a Rocky Precipice (on the English side) called Colour Heugh, from which it derives the Name’; and \textit{Dreeping Heugh} ‘A rocky precipice, and Salmon Cast, situated on the west side of Tweed. The rocks are perpendicular from which water is oozing, hence the Name’.\textsuperscript{18}

Against the entry for \textit{Grot Heugh} is the annotation “\textit{Heugh}” is to be adopted in Berwickshire. “\textit{Heuch}” in Selkirkshire – O. M. O Remarks’.\textsuperscript{19} The three authorities for the name ‘Grot Heugh’ are listed in the original entry as ‘D[avid] Milnehome Esqr’, James Scott and John Moore. The authority for the spelling ‘Heuch’ is given as ‘Jamiesons Scottish Dictionary’ in the hand of the annotator. As Victor Watts has noted in his work on Northumbrian fishery names: ‘The Scots word \textit{heuch} “a crag or precipice, a cliff or steep bank,

\textsuperscript{14} OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/34/23.
\textsuperscript{15} OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/9/57.
\textsuperscript{16} OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/17/110.
\textsuperscript{17} OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/17/111.
\textsuperscript{18} OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/12/54 (Rough Stones), OS1/5/12/35 (Colour Heugh), OS1/5/12/35 (Dreeping Heugh, with ‘oozing’ corrected in different ink and hand from ‘ouseing’).
\textsuperscript{19} OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/12/20.
especially one overhanging a river or sea” from OE *hōh* “a heel of land, a hillspur” occurs in a number of fishery names ...\(^{20}\)

Names of features associated with salmon fishing – whether they be fisheries, salmon casts, pools, shiels (buildings to house fishermen) – are worth examining much further. A number of the names do still exist on modern fishing maps but they also indicate that there have been changes of varying degree over time. Comparisons between the names on the English and Scottish banks of the Tweed deserve detailed study. Furthermore, names associated with fishing elsewhere in Scotland can be compared, for example in Kinross parish an 1840 plan ‘a Sketch of Loch Leven Fishings’ records eighteen named setts, a sett being a local term for a netting station.\(^{21}\)

It is not surprising that the Name Books for the parishes along the Border include references to the battle of Flodden and other conflicts. The examples include *Bloody Headrig* in Ladykirk parish described as ‘The slopes & a small portion of flat land on each side of Bow Burn, whi<ch> formed a headrig when the adj[acen]t land <was:> ploughed. Tradition says that the <Battle:> of Flodden Field ended here, and so ter<ible> was the conflict that the Burn ra<n> with blood for two days’.\(^{22}\)

A couple of interesting entries for Eccles parish relate to the name Laprig. On page 50 there is an entry for which no name has been inserted in the first column. The surveyor is Thomas Wighton. The authorities – James Purvis, Alexander Purvis and Robert Robison – all give the spelling as ‘Lapric’ and the description is:\(^{23}\)

> A small stream which takes its rise near Hume and falls into Lambden Burn near Mersington. Its name originated thus:– The day on which the battle of Hardacres Hill was fought it rained heavily, causing some of the blood on the battle field to be washed into this stream, which runs close to the scene of the battle. For two days after this event particles of clotted blood were observed floating down the stream, and from that date it has been generally known as Lapric Syke, from the Scotch word ‘lapper’ to congeal.

Beneath the entry, though, are the later annotations: ‘This description and name may probably be alterd [sic] at a subsequent time NB’ (in pencil) and ‘See Page 61 for the correct orthography’ (in ink).\(^{24}\)

\(^{20}\) Watts 1997, 97.
\(^{21}\) For discussion of this plan, see Munro 1994, 160–61.
\(^{22}\) OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/26/36.
\(^{23}\) OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/17/50.
\(^{24}\) Ibid.
On page 61 is an entry for Laprig Burn, the name written in the first column and also in the second column with the alternative Lipprick Burn. The surveyor in this case is H. Sharban and the authorities are M. D. Hunter Esqr Antonshill, James Dickson Esqr Bughtrig, and Mr Stevenson, Schoolmaster Eccles for the first name Laprig, and John Hood Esqr Stoneridge for the alternative name Lipprick. A derivation is provided for each of the two versions of the name.  

It is said that the slaughter at the battle of Hardacres, was so great that this stream ran for twenty four hours hours with blood, and from its being in a congealed or lapped state it was afterwards called Lapperd Burn which has in course of time become changed to Laprig Burn. Another version for the origin of this name is, that a man with the name of Lipprick had been drowned in the stream and in consequence of this it has received its name.

Beneath this is the annotation in pencil, ‘Will you be good enough to alter the traces already forwarded to correspond with this orthography NB’. This provides some indication of the way that the process was being conducted and how decisions about naming practices were made.

In contrast to a situation such as this where there were a number of authorities and different versions, often a surveyor was left with little explanation. For example, in the case of Bite-about in Eccles, the surveyor, John McCabe, could get information from only one authority, Mr John Hood of Kames. Hood told him that ‘this is one of the old “Border Peels,” and he [i.e. Hood] was told that the name originated from the following circumstance viz. It was attacked by a small party of the English, the besieged ran short of provisions, and to divide what little they had equally they took bite about: there are only a small portion of the walls standing, they appear to have been substantial and well built, but it appears to be too oblong for one of the “Peels” as they were Generally square buildings – besides there is no mention made of it in any of the Statistical Accounts, nor in any of the Border Histories that I have seen.’

Of course, less of a problem to define were names for more modern structures such as Union Chain Bridge stretching over the Border from Hutton parish, built in 1819–20 by Captain Samuel Brown of the Royal Navy.

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25 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/17/61.
26 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/17/19.
Berwickshire parishes along the Anglo-Scottish Border in the OS Name Books

Aside from the New Statistical Account, the written sources that are cited as evidence in the five Border parishes include county and estate maps; reference works such as Fullarton’s *Gazetteer*; Chalmers’ *Caledonia*, Ridpath’s *Border History* and Jamieson’s *Scottish Dictionary*; valuation and cess rolls; title deeds; dedicatory names; inn sign boards (e.g. Plough Inn, Black Horse Inn, Black Bull Inn); and general usage. Probably the most unusual is one of the sources cited for Spital House whose proprietor was Reverend W. Compton Lundie: ‘Painted on Mr Lundie’s carts’.

While it is obviously useful and interesting to know what sources have been used, it is equally worth looking at what other contemporary sources do not feature. In the Name Book for Eccles, Kennetsideheads is described as ‘An extensive farm, situated on an elevation in the S.W. part of the parish and near the County boundary the attached dwellinghouse and offices are in very good repair. It has been tenant<ed> for a number of years by Mr Johnston and is the property of Sir Hugh Campbel<l> Bart. Marchmont.’ Nothing is said then about derivation of the name or even pronunciation.

Two years before the survey of Eccles parish in 1858, a book entitled *The Popular Rhymes, Sayings and Proverbs of the County of Berwick* was published in Newcastle. Its compiler was George Henderson a doctor from Chirnside


29 This could be either *The Topographical, Statistical, and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland*, published in 1842 by A. Fullarton & Co, with later reissues in 1844 and 1848, or Wilson [1854–57]), also published by Fullarton.


31 Chalmers 1808. A two-volume supplement was published in 1825. See also Rennie 2012.

32 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/17/31 (Plough Inn, Black Horse Inn); OS1/5/12/87 (Black Bull Inn).

33 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/25/31. Interestingly this entry is a duplicate entry by the civilian assistant W. Goodacre, with a cross-reference to an entry four pages later at OS1/5/25/35, written by John McDiarmid, civilian assistant. While Goodacre describes the house as ‘A large rectangular mansion situated about two miles to the east of the village of Hutton attached to it are suitable outbuildings with thrashing mill in good repair, with a small arable farm’, according to McDiarmid the name refers to ‘A handsome villa of modern construction pleasantly situated and surrounded by park well stocked with trees. There are offices, a garden, and a large arable farm attached.’ In both cases the proprietor is named as the Reverend W. Compton Lundie.

35 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/17/66.

36 Henderson 1856.
whose work later appeared throughout another collection of proverbs – *Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions, and Popular Rhymes of Scotland* – compiled by Andrew Cheviot and published forty years later in 1896.\(^{37}\) By Cheviot’s time, Henderson’s book was described as being ‘long out of print’,\(^{38}\) but it was current at the time of the Ordnance Survey work and does contain rhymes concerning place-names and local legends/tradition. For example, in the case of Kennetsideheads, there is the following rhyme:\(^{39}\)

\[\text{Ye’re like the folk o’ KENNETSIDE-HEAD,} \]
\[\text{Ye hae it a’ afore ye, in ae screed. [‘screed’ in this context is a strip of ground]}\]

This rhyme is described by Henderson as a saying ‘frequently used by the labourers in the time of harvest, in a sort of ironical way, to indicate that they need not work too hard because *they have it all before them*. Or it is applied as a warning to those who are too confident in their own powers, and who are rather lax in their exertions ...’.\(^{40}\)

While it is true that no sense of the meaning of the name is gained from a source like this, it is also the case that there is potential information about pronunciation and orthography. It is clear from the above rhyme, for example, that ‘head’ should be pronounced ‘heid’. In the following rhyme, also included in Henderson’s collection, but of which he ‘never heard any explanation’, the Ordnance Survey form *Eccles Tofts* is rendered as *Eccles-tafts*:\(^{41}\)

\[\text{Wylie Cleugh and Castle Law,} \]
\[\text{Haud the devil by the paw!} \]
\[\text{Eccles-tafts and Harpertoun,} \]
\[\text{Haud the devil weel doun!} \]

There is variety among the informants who range from prominent landowners, ministers and schoolteachers to tenants, fishermen, gamekeepers and even a stud groom, Mr Belton in Ladykirk.\(^{42}\) What is quite striking is how many separate individuals there are compared to the Name Books for parishes in Clackmannanshire where the same informants can appear in combination

\(^{37}\) Cheviot 1896.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., x.

\(^{39}\) Henderson 1856, 41. See also Cheviot 1896, 422, where the place-name is not hyphenated and there is no comma in the second line.

\(^{40}\) Henderson 1856, 41.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., 123. See also Cheviot 1896, 313, where there are commas after the place-names in lines 1 and 3 and ‘tafts’ is capitalised; i.e. ‘Eccles-Tafts’.

\(^{42}\) OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/26/40 (under entry for ‘Stables – Riding House’).
several times. Similarly for Barvas parish in the Hebridean island of Lewis, Withers notes that three informants ‘together provided 58 per cent of the parish’s names with a further 11 men each providing only a small proportion of names’.\footnote{Withers 2000, 543.}

An examination of the entry for the place-name the Kaims in Eccles parish provides a good indication of the ways in which the Ordnance Survey was working in Scotland and the types of people who were being consulted. The name appears twice on the Ordnance Survey Six Inch First Edition map – at NT7340 beside Hassington Mains and at NT7442 beside Hardacres to the north-east. The description in the Name Book reads:\footnote{OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/17/65.}

This name, the Scottish term for “the Combs” applies to a long ridge consisting chiefly of waterworn stones, raised several feet above the surface, and passing through the S W part of the parish in a NNW direction. It is evidently of no artificial construction for it varies continually in its elevation and breadth and sometimes disappears underground for several hundred yards. It is supposed that an aqueous current, setting in from the north has at one time connected the German Ocean with the Irish sea, and deposited in its course, the coarse gravel consisting of Graywacke and sometimes a very fine sand forming excellent sandpits as is found in the field south of Hardacres.

Similar and very distinct ridges have also been observed towards the north in the parish of Greenlaw and others, and a continuation of it is also traceable towards the South in the adjoining County of Roxburgh. The whole feature offers a very interesting investigation for a Geologist.

Beneath the four individual named authorities in the hand of the surveyor, H. Sharban, are three further authorities written in a different colour of ink and hand: Chalmers’ \textit{Caledonia}, David Milne Home and the New Statistical Account. The entries in the first and third columns (i.e. for the columns headed ‘List of Names as written on the Plan’ and ‘Situation’) are also written in this hand, as well as an annotation written at the end of the entry in the fifth column (for ‘Descriptive Remarks’): ‘See the Name Sheets of Greenlaw Parish for some interesting correspondence relating to the [derivation of this?]’.\footnote{Ibid.}

When the Greenlaw Name Book is examined, an understanding emerges as to why these additional three sources have been added to the entry in the Eccles Name Book. Several pages in the Greenlaw Name Book are taken up with a
description of the Kaims using quotations from the New Statistical Account and Chalmers’ *Caledonia*. Furthermore, the correspondence referred to in the annotation in the Eccles Name Book is attached to the Greenlaw Name Book. It is a copy by W. Beatty of a letter from David Milne Home of Milne Graden to Captain Burnaby who is the officer who signs off the Name Books for the five Berwickshire parishes examined for this case study. Beatty prefaces his transcription of the letter with this heading: ‘The following is an answer from David Milne Home, Milne Graden, Esq[uire] to a letter addressed him by Captain Burnaby R. E. respecting the “Kaims”.’ The main body of the letter, dated 27 November 1857, reads as follows:

Absence in East Lothian has prevented me replying to your note of the 21st Inst[ant] asking my opinion of the nature and construction of the Kaims in Greenlaw Parish.

Being much puzzled how to account for them, I took the late Dr Buckland and the present Professor Sedgwick to see them, the one Professor of Geology at Oxford, the other from Cambridge.

The former expressed to me his belief that they are the terminal moraines of a Glacier which descended from the hills to the North, – the latter, after spending several hours with me on the spot, confessed that he could form no opinion.

Professor Forbes of Edinburgh, who has studied Glacier Phenomena in Switzerland & Norway, and who is an excellent physical observor [sic], also confesses himself unable to solve the problem.

It may seem therefore presumptuous in me to offer any explanation, I may however, in compliance with your request, mention that two theories have occurred to me.

1st These Kaims are composed of diluvial debris, viz. rounded stones, gravel, clay and sand; which deposits also cover the adjoining districts. In most part of the Kaims, there are small rivulets, on each side of them, which may have scooped and washed away the debris, so as to leave the ridge between these rivulets.

47 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/23/31a–d.
48 W. Beatty is described as ‘CA’, i.e. ‘civilian assistant’ in the OSNB for Bowden parish in Roxburghshire, surveyed in 1858–60. See, for example, OS1/29/4/1.
49 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/23/31a.
50 OSNB Berwickshire, OS1/5/23/31a–d.
This was my earliest impression – though I have little reliance on it now.

2nd There are off the East and South coasts of England, sub-marine ridges or banks of sand & gravel very much resembling the Kaims in length and height. off Garmouth & off Portland, there are many such – being formed by a peculiar action of the tides & currents & breakers.

To a similar cause, when the greater part of our Island was under the sea, the formation of the Kaims may be owing.

This is the theory which appears to me most probable, and which I believe is more fully explained by me in my Geological account of Roxburghshire.

It would be desirable to perforate the Kaims at different places, so as to ascertain their structure more exactly, and which I presume your people could easily accomplish.

David Milne Home (1805–1890) was an advocate, landowner, geologist and meteorologist. He succeeded to the estate of Milne Graden in 1845. In his career as an advocate he was involved in the notorious Burke and Hare case in 1828, as junior counsel for Burke. His geological survey of Berwickshire was published in 1837 by the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, a society of which he became a prominent member, in particular encouraging its support for the advancement of the Ordnance Survey’s mapping of Scotland. He later held prominent positions in other learned societies; for example, he was chairman of the Council of the Scottish Meteorological Society from 1858 until 1883, becoming vice-president from 1884, and from 1874 until 1889 he was president of the Edinburgh Geological Society. He was a proponent of the diluvial theory whereby glacial deposits were attributed to Noah’s Flood and his letter alludes to the debates of the day in this respect. He had a long acquaintance with Adam Sedgwick and William Buckland, exchanging correspondence with them as well as with members of the Geological Society of London, to the membership of which Milne Home had himself been invited in 1834.

51 For a biographical sketch of Milne Home, see Roy and Land 2000. See also Roy 2004.
52 Roy and Land 2000, 3.
53 Milne 1837.
56 Boud 1992, 4, 8.
Adam Sedgwick (1785–1873) was Woodwardian professor of Geology at Cambridge University from 1818 until his death in 1873, and was responsible for proposing the Devonian and Cambrian periods of geology.57 In 1831 he was a founding member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and ‘reported to the statistical section of the association about the work of the Ordnance Survey’58. William Buckland (1784–1856) was appointed reader in Mineralogy at Oxford University in 1813 and then reader in Geology in 1818. He died the year before Milne Home wrote his letter to Burnaby. Buckland had been a supporter of the diluvial theory but like Sedgwick had abandoned it in favour of the glacial theory, following discussions in Switzerland with the Swiss geologist, Louis Agassiz (1807–1873), in 1838.59 Also referred to in Milne Home’s letter was Professor Forbes of Edinburgh. This was James David Forbes (1809–1868), who held the chair of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University from 1832 until 1860.60 Milne Home in the course of his investigations on earthquakes, which were published in the early 1840s, had collaborated with Forbes.61 In 1831 Forbes had met Sedgwick during a visit to Cambridge and in 1840 he met Agassiz, who that year visited Scotland to attend and address the British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting held in Glasgow.62 Forbes visited Aar glacier with Agassiz and later published numerous works on glaciers, including Norway and its Glaciers in 1853. From 1859 until 1868 Forbes was principal of the United College of St Salvator and St Leonard at St Andrews University.63

Thus in the 1850s a prominent Berwickshire landowner, David Milne Home, was engaging in current geological debates and was personally known to many of the influential geologists of the time. The Ordnance Survey in Scotland was able to draw on his knowledge in the course of its work and the Berwickshire Name Books provide evidence of this. Analysis of annotations to entries and examination of the surviving correspondence reveal that far more can be gained from the Name Books than solely nineteenth-century definitions and understanding of the names themselves, important though these may be. Much can also be learned about the authorities, surveyors and indeed the wider context of the Survey. This study has focused on a mere five Berwickshire parishes and has revealed that there is not only variety between parishes but also between counties. With the greater availability of

57 Secord 2004.
58 Doherty 2004, 23 and note 47.
60 Smart 2004.
61 Boud 1992, 8.
62 Smart 2004. Agassiz also published his Études sur les glaciers in 1840. Agassiz Rock at Blackford Glen (NT2570), a Site of Special Scientific Interest owing to its evidence of glacial abrasion, is named for him.
63 Smart 2004.
images of the Name Books via the ScotlandsPlaces website, as well as in the National Records of Scotland’s historical search room, along with transcriptions, it is to be hoped that more comparative work will now be possible.

Acknowledgements
A version of this paper was presented to the autumn conference of the Scottish Place-Name Society at Stirling in November 2013 and summarised in Scottish Place-Name News 36 (Spring 2014), 5–7. I am grateful for comments received on that occasion and also from my colleagues on the AHRC-funded Scottish Toponymy in Transition project at the University of Glasgow.

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OSNB: Ordnance Survey Name Books. The original manuscript volumes are held in Edinburgh, Register House, The National Records of Scotland, shelfmark OS1. Digital images can be viewed in the historical search room there or online at <http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books>.


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Bibliography of Scottish Name Studies for 2014

Simon Taylor
University of Glasgow

This is the sixth such bibliography in *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies (JSNS)*, the first appearing in JSNS 4 (2010) covering the years 2006–2009, the second in JSNS 5 (2011) covering the year 2010, and so on. It aims to present, in a continuous list arranged alphabetically by author, all relevant articles, chapters in edited books, monographs, CDs, e-books and PhDs (most of which are now available online) which appeared in 2014. Those items with a 2013 date were either omitted in error from the relevant bibliography, or have appeared in journals dated earlier than actual publication. This bibliography draws heavily on those which I compile for *Scottish Place-Name News (SPNNews)*, the excellent twice-yearly newsletter of the Scottish Place-Name Society, which should also be consulted for shorter, often illustrated, articles on a wide range of Scottish toponymic themes. The last such bibliography appeared in SPNNews 37 (Autumn 2014); the next will be in SPNNews 40 (Spring 2016).

For more extensive bibliographies of name studies in Britain and Ireland and, less comprehensively, other parts of northern Europe, see the bibliographic sections compiled by Carole Hough in the relevant issues of *Nomina*, the journal of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland. The latest available is her ‘Bibliography for 2012’ (*Nomina* 36 (2013), 141–50), published 2015. The material in these *Nomina* bibliographies is set out thematically and includes relevant reviews which have appeared in the given year.

An extensive, though by no means exhaustive, bibliography of Scottish toponymics, set out thematically and regionally, can be found online at <http://www.spns.org.uk/bibliography09.html#advanced>.

I would be very pleased to hear from anyone who spots any omissions or errors in the following bibliography. I can be contacted via the *JSNS* website or by post c/o Clann Tuirc. Also, I would be glad to receive notice of anything published in 2015 for inclusion in *JSNS* 10.

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

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1 Thanks to Thomas Clancy, Carole Hough and Alan James for help in compiling this bibliography.

Carmichael, Elizabeth; Wotherspoon, Irene; King, Libby and Bray, Ann, 2014, Gaelic Place Names of Arrochar Parish: a guide to the meanings behind the names (Arrochar) [can be downloaded on <http://www.hiddenheritage.org.uk/docs/060_308__gaelicplacenamesofarrocharparish_1401205272.pdf>].


Dunlop, Leonie, and Hough, Carole, 2014, ‘Colour terms in the names of coastal and inland features: A study of four Berwickshire parishes’, in Colour Studies: A broad spectrum, ed. Wendy Anderson, Carole P. Biggam, Carole Hough and Christian Kay (Glasgow), 307–22. [Out of 1,895 marked features on the first-edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1856, sixty-nine (3.64%) have names containing colour terms. These fall into two groups: base names, where the feature was named directly from the colour, and derived names, where the base name has been used to name another feature. Comparison of inland and coastal names reveals different profiles, with derived names more commonly generated inland, but colour terms more salient in coastal names].


Bibliography of Scottish Name Studies for 2014


Kirby, Jim, 2014, *Garbh Chriochan a Deas Lost Place-Names Survey* (Sunart Community Council).


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Notes on Contributors

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

Dr Fiona Edmonds is Senior Lecturer in Celtic History at the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge. She has a particular interest in the personal names and place-names of northern England and southern Scotland. She was recently the Co-Investigator on the AHRC-funded project ‘Hagiography at the Frontiers: Jocelin of Furness and Insular Politics’. The project involved collaboration with Dr Clare Downham (University of Liverpool) and Dr Ingrid Sperber.

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

Dr Eila Williamson is a research associate in the School of Critical Studies (English Language) at the University of Glasgow. She was a researcher on the AHRC-funded *Scottish Toponymy in Transition* project (2011‒2014) and is a member of the Scottish Place-Name Society. A former editor of the *Innes Review*, she is currently a trustee of the Society for Scottish Medieval and Renaissance Studies.
### County abbreviations for Scotland, England and Wales (pre-1975)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scottish County</th>
<th>English County</th>
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<td>ABD Aberdeenshire</td>
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<td>BTE Bute</td>
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<tr>
<td>BUC Buckinghamshire</td>
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<tr>
<td>BWK Berwickshire</td>
<td>NAI Nairnshire</td>
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<td>CAI Caithness</td>
<td>NFK Norfolk</td>
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<td>ROS Ross and Cromarty</td>
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<td>ROX Roxburghshire</td>
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<td>SLK Selkirkshire</td>
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<td>KNR Kinross-shire</td>
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