SCOTTISH PLACE-NAME NEWS

No. 21

Autumn 2006

The Newsletter of the

SCOTTISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY
COMANN AINMEAN-ÀITE NA H-ALBA

Glen Nevis and its river, upstream from the gorge; lower slopes of Ben Nevis (Beinn Nibheis) are on the right. If a scheme promoted half a century ago had been carried out, much of this scene would now be a hydro-electric reservoir. The name 'Nevis' is full of uncertainties. Is the river primary, or the mountain or the glen? The origins that have been suggested include the Old Irish nem, 'venom', Gaelic neamh, 'sky, heaven', and the widespread Indo-European root nebh, 'cloud, water'. For a hill-walker any of these can seem apt, according to the weather. This was one of the 'heaven' days. Next spring the Society meets in nearby Fort William.

EDITORIAL

On July 4, 2006, the University of Aberdeen conferred an honorary doctorate (Doctor h.c.) on Professor Bill Nicolaisen, Honorary Preses of the SPNS. The laureate address cited, among other achievements, his contribution to name studies. Members will be gratified at a richly deserved recognition of Professor Nicolaisen's huge contribution to the advancement of place-name studies in Scotland. Even he himself may never have imagined how deep and wide-ranging this involvement would become, when he first came to Scotland to study early river names. A copy of *Scottish Place-Names* must by now be an indispensable resource on many members' bookshelves.

Once again in compiling this newsletter and making the geography of place-names more intelligible for readers, the on-line map resource provided by the National Library of Scotland (NLS) has been hugely helpful. Much work and dedication has to go into the preparation of such comprehensive and efficient websites, and a word of appreciation is well merited. The NLS map library (for address see end of article on Fife Place-Names, below) is particularly friendly to the occasional visitor, as there is no need to set up special user names or passwords in order to enter it. Recent Newsletters have mentioned other excellent sites too. Please let us know of any further sites likely to interest our members.

FOUR CUMBRIC NAMES: BARNWEILL, BRENEGO, RODERBREN, AND HALTREE

Barnweill, Brenego, Roderbren, and Haltree* are all Cumbric forms, the first three from

near Ayr, the last from pre-1975 Midlothian. They have been slightly obscure. Yet comparison with other Celtic languages may help explain them.

Let us take the Ayrshire names first. **Barnweill** (NS 4130) is a farm in open country between Kilmarnock and Ayr. Nearby are the ruins of Barnweill Church, below a hilltop monument (with fine views) to Sir William Wallace, commemorating his burning in 1297 of the Barns of Ayr. Professor Nicolaisen in his book *Scottish Place-Names* gives the forms *Berenbouell* of between 1177 and 1204, and *Brenwyfle* of 1306. He explains the first element as Cumbric *pren* 'tree' but says nothing of the second. What could it mean?

Some help is offered by Barnbougle (NT 1578), on the coast between Cramond and the Forth Bridge. Nicolaisen follows W. J. Watson in talking this as also Cumbric and meaning 'tree of a herdsman' (it would be *pren bugail* in Welsh). As there is no sign of g at Barnweill, the forms cannot be the same.

However, Middle Welsh and Middle Breton *bual* 'wild ox', both from a borrowing of Latin *bubalus* 'ox', may offer a solution. Barnweill and its church are located about the 400-foot contour on terrain more suited to grazing than the plough. It might thus have supported wild cattle in Celtic times. Barnweill may hence mean 'wild ox's tree' or more probably (since the plural of Welsh *bual* is *buail*, and oxen are gregarious) 'tree of wild oxen'.

Welsh *bual* is a commoner word than one might think, as it meant not only 'wild ox' but also 'drinking horn'. These horns were highly valued. Welsh kings drank mead or ale from them, and medieval Welsh law declares that the judge of the court had a right to a wild ox's horn (as well as a gold ring and a cushion for his chair). So these oxen had a useful role in early Britain. To this day a herd of them exists just outside Scotland at Chillingham (NU0626), north-west of Alnwick. They are small and creamy-white, with crescent-shaped horns tipped in black.

They are also unexpectedly swift and shy. The herd, recorded from 1692 onwards, seems to have been at Chillingham since 1220, when the hunting park was built and the oxen were apparently trapped within its walls.

If the present etymology is correct, a herd of wild oxen like those at Chillingham would once have grazed and lowed at Barnweill 'tree of wild oxen'. They congregated or sheltered there long ago, at a time when Ayrshire was inhabited by British men and women who spoke a language akin to Welsh.

Five miles south of Barnweill were, formerly, Brenego and Roderbren. Though we do not know exactly where they were, they figure in records of between 1177 and 1204, and must have been close to Enterkine (NS4223) on the banks of the river Ayr. Professor Nicolaisen again sees Cumbric *pren* 'tree' in them but is silent on the other elements.[1]

Brenego certainly looks Celtic, and may mean 'tree of the smith', corresponding to Welsh *pren y gof*. Smiths and their smithies occur in toponyms all over the world. Nicolaisen notes that Smeaton (NT 3569) to the east of Edinburgh is an English form meaning 'smith's homestead'. Minnigaff (NX 4166) near Kirkcudbright seems to be Cumbric for 'bush of the smith'. In Wales, the twelfth century Book of Llandaff mentions *nant i gof* 'stream of the smith', probably close to Undy (ST 4386), near Chepstow; while modern Tonyrefail (ST 0188), south of the Rhondda in Glamorgan, is 'grassland of the smithy (*gefail*, a feminine)'.

If these forms suggest Brenego means 'tree of the smith', it will be evidence for a man whose horseshoes, hinges, keys, pans, cauldrons, axes, adzes, mattocks, sickles, scythes, hammers, ploughshares, coulters, spears, swords, and many other items were vital to society. The smith enjoyed high status amongst the Celts. Welsh laws mention him together with the poet and the doctor, and Irish law gives him high honour-price. Perhaps the smith of Brenego was also a man of substance.

Now for **Roderbren**. It is hard to be certain on the basis of one attestation. But the form may be equivalent to Welsh *rhyd y pren* 'ford of the tree', which has parallels at Rhyd-y-gwern (ST 2088) 'ford of the alder trees' near Caerphilly in Glamorgan, or Rhydyronnen (SH 6102) 'ford of the ash tree', a tiny place (passed by narrow-gauge stream trains) near Tywyn in south Gwynedd. It is true we should not expect *Rod-* with a back vowel from a Cumbric equivalent of *rhyd*, with a front vowel.

Yet it possible that what linguistics call dissimilation (the changing of similar sounds to unlike ones, as with Italian *pelegrino* 'pilgrim' from Latin *peregrinus*) took place after a Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *rhyd y pren* was borrowed by English. If Roderbren does refer to a ford, it may have been on the Ayr, where Stair (from Gaelic *stair* 'stepping-stones; clapper bridge') a mile upstream from Enterkine shows another form of crossing. Or (perhaps more probably, since the Ayr is a powerful river, with a name that Professor Ifor Williams of Bangor understood as 'war-goddess') it lay on the stream just north of Enterkine.

Finally, **Haltree**/Halltree* (NT 4152), a farm on the old Midlothian's south-east fringe (but now in the area of the Scottish Borders Council). It lies in a narrow glen by the Edinburgh-Galashiels railway (planned for re-opening), Gala Water, and the A7. The name looks English enough. Yet the forms *Haltre* in 1483 and *Haltrie* in 1587 point to older origins. The second element is Cumbric *tre* 'farm, homestead', as with Tranent 'homestead of the streams' in East Lothian. It is the first element that has been problematic. Nicolaisen in his *Scottish Place-Names* calls it

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[1] Dr Simon Taylor at proof stage suggested that the first element for Barnweill and Brenego probably corresponds, not to Welsh *pren* 'tree', but to Welsh *bryn* 'hill'. This is surely correct, and the present discussion should be modified in the light of his proposal, which the writer here gratefully acknowledges.

doubtful. He cites Norman Dixon's Edinburgh doctoral thesis of 1947 for the first part as from Old Norse *healdr* or Old English *heall*, producing a Germanic-Celtic hybrid. Yet he admits that, if correct, this would be a remarkable formation.

There seems a simpler solution. Dictionaries give the Welsh form *hâl* 'moor, moorland' and Cornish form *hal* 'marsh, moor'. The first is found in older place-names, as at Llwch-yr-hâl (SN 3342) 'marsh of the moorland', a valley side farm east of Newcastle Emlyn, Dyfed. The second is best known from Penhale Point, near Newquay on the Cornish coast, called after the farm of Penhale (SW 763583), now swallowed up in an army camp. Here the sense was 'head of a marsh', the farmhouse being at the end of a marshy valley, as Oliver Padel's dictionary of Cornish toponyms makes clear.

This helps us with Haltree in Lothian. It is situated by the 800-foot contour on the upper part of Gala Water. On all sides there is moorland rising to over a thousand feet. So 'moor farm, moorland homestead' would make good sense here, especially in contrast with settlements lower down the valley, on more favoured land. If this explanation is correct, it removes the need for Dixon's somewhat unconvincing hybrid, and reveals something of the Britons of Lothian before they lost their territory to the English, who occupied Edinburgh in 638.

Haltree by the Gala Water, seen from the A7 road. The small 'Haltree Rings' hill fort is to the west, on the hill mid-way across the photo. A larger 'fort' on OS maps is closer to the south, above the river bank.

The farm of Haltree would have a name perhaps going back thirteen centuries. Like the other place-names quoted here, it may perhaps be looked at with a degree of

historical emotion or response. It would be amongst the few memorials of the vanished Britons of southern Scotland, as also to Cumbric, their, long-extinct, language.[†]

* Haltree is the usual spelling, though it has occurred also as Halltree, e.g. on OS Pathfinder, 1989 edition, though not on 1965 1:63,360 or 1994 1:50,000. (Ed.)

[†] The author is happy to acknowledge that John G Wilkinson had independently arrived at the same etymology for Haltree.

Dr Andrew Breeze, University of Navarre, Pamplona

STANDARDIZING INTERNATIONAL PLACE NAMES

Have you ever wondered which is correct – Burma or Myanmar, Wien or Vienna, Greenland or Kalaallit Nunaat? Getting it right may not seem to be a big issue, but how would you like it if someone spelled your name wrongly? Place names really are important. They form an essential part of every day life and are key elements in the many and varied geographical information systems that lie at the heart of modern communications networks, from maps, gazetteers and travel guides to signposts, directories and electronic databases.

Geographical names can also be expressions of cultural identity and political power. Greece is quite possessive about the name Macedonia and will only recognise its neighbour to the north as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The South Africa Geographical Names Council would like to rewrite history by expunging names with a colonial context and Koreans are angered when they see the name Sea of Japan on maps and atlases.

Differences in names may result from changes, either accidental or deliberate, over time, multilingual situations, the use of different orthographic conventions, or varied transcription from one writing system to another. The proliferation of alternative name forms is only natural in an ever-changing world but what is the correct name to use if you are searching a database, compiling an atlas or writing to a foreign diplomat?

If geographical names are to be an effective means of communication there needs to be a degree of consistency in their application. To

avoid confusion in an ideal world no two places should have the same name and every geographical feature should have a single name. While this could never be achieved in reality, a degree of name consistency can be advanced by the national or international application of standards or norms.

The establishment of usable and consistent written forms of toponyms depends heavily on the official use of names within each country being agreed by a national names authority. There are about 50 countries in the world which have official names authorities backed by legislation. Their role is to approve new names or name changes, develop toponymic guidelines for the rendering of names in their country and develop national gazetteers that can be used by local and national government and by users throughout the world.

A strong argument in favour of a national names programme is the need to ensure that data bases are interoperable. In addition to this, money can be saved by avoiding duplication of effort by separate agencies determining the "correct" names to be applied to their maps, legal documents and other publications. Ultimately, the consistent use of names offers many benefits to local, national and international communities engaged in trade and commerce, map production, emergency relief, security strategy, administration, navigation, environmental management and the gathering of statistics.

The need to standardize names at a national level has been recognised for well over a century. In 1890 the world's first national names board was established in the United States of America at a time when the exploration and settlement of the west was gathering pace. The US Board on Geographic Names (BGN) was established to provide a single authority to which surveyors, geologists and geographers could address questions of nomenclature and orthography.

While the United Kingdom does not have a national authority responsible for the standardization of names in this country, it does have an independent non-departmental body that advises government departments on the appropriate use of place names throughout the world. Set up in 1919, the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use (PCGN) establishes and applies the principles by which foreign geographical names should be written in government documents. This involves the determination of the written form of a toponym as established by the official agencies of a foreign country and romanized to an agreed system where appropriate. A staff of three toponomists, operating from rooms in the Royal Geographical Society in London, is managed by a committee which includes a representative from the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

An important element of the work of the PCGN is the promotion of the international standardization of geographical names by representing the British government within the biennial Sessions of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) and at the United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names held every five years.

The question of names standardization was raised in connection with the cartographic services provided by the United Nations Economic and Social Council after its inception in the late 1940s. A six-member sub-group, formed eventually in 1960, led to the first conference in 1967 and the creation of the UNGEGN. The Group of Experts has held 23 sessions to date, its ongoing work being undertaken through 22 geographic/linguistic divisions of the world and 10 working groups dealing with individual issues such as romanization systems, toponymic terminology, toponymic data files and gazetteers and training courses. The UNGEGN has produced a number of publications, the most recent of which is a *Manual for the National Standardization of Geographical Names* (2006). The ultimate goal of the UNGEGN is to establish usable and consistent written forms of geographical names and encourage their application throughout the world. This is achieved, not by making decisions on place names, but by promoting the creation of national names authorities, by advancing the development of helpful principles and guidelines through international cooperation and by assisting in the dissemination of nationally approved name forms.

Political changes, such as the break-up of the former Soviet Union, coupled with expansion of global communication and an increased recognition of ethnic minorities and indigenous groups have all contributed to a heightened awareness of geographical names and the need for a greater degree of consistency. The United Kingdom faces its own issues of place name

consistency, particularly in relation to Welsh names in Wales and Gaelic names in Scotland which have been the subject of the Ordnance Survey's *Gaelic Names Policy* and *Welsh Language Scheme* approved in 2000 and 2001 respectively. Ask the average man or woman in the street what the name of this country is and see how many different answers you get.

The problem of place name consistency has been around since mankind started to use language to communicate, but it was not until the 6th century BC that the need to address the problem was suggested when Confucius said that "the first task of a true statesman is to rectify the names." Today, an increasing number of statesmen are, in fact, taking this issue seriously.

For useful information on geographical names issues and web links to a wide range of national and international gazetteers see the PCGN website: www.pcgn.org.uk

David Munro (based on his talk to the St Andrews conference) Dr Munro is Chairman of the UK Division of PCGN and as such is part of UNGEGN. He is also Director and Secretary of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society and an SPNS committee member.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF FIFE

It was just over ten years ago, in February 1996, following a conference called the 'The Uses of Place-Names' held in this very lecture theatre, that the initiative was taken to found the Scottish Place-Name Society. Since then the Society has gone from strength to strength, and, ten years on, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have devoted so much time and energy to making it the success it has become. A second reason to celebrate today, especially in relation to Fife place-names, is the success of the bid made by Professor Thomas Clancy of the Department of Celtic at Glasgow University to the Arts and Humanities Research Council. The Project for which the bid was made is entitled 'The expansion and contraction of Gaelic in medieval Scotland: the onomastic evidence', and is the biggest investment in Scottish place-names for a long time.

This Project, which started on 1 May this year, will run for 4 years, with the first two years committed to finishing the last three volumes of the *Place-Names of Fife*. You will find more details of the Project in the Spring issue of *Scottish Place-Name News* (no. 20), as well as on the SPNS

Website. To be added to that information is the fact that the Project has now appointed as its funded PhD student Peter McNiven, who will be working on aspects of the settlement-names of Menteith.

I had hoped that this May conference would be a threefold celebration, the third reason being the launch of Volume 1 of the *Place-Names of Fife*, but this has been delayed until later this year. I can, however, personally celebrate since it is now off my desk and outwith my control!

I want now to look at the theme of language replacement in a Fife context as seen through the prism of place-names. Wherever two or more languages co-exist, such as was the case in Fife with Gaelic (G) and Scots (Sc) during the late 12th and 13th centuries, each language has not only its own grammar and vocabulary or lexicon but also its own toponymy or place-nomenclature. These toponymies can relate to each other in different ways. They can share the same name, with the new-comer language borrowing from the older-established one, and adapting it to its own phonetic system. This is how the bulk of the Celtic names of lowland Scotland have come down to us. However, there can be full translations, part translations, and completely new coinings - this last means that each language refers to the same place in totally different ways. An example of this from further north would be Dingwall, the Older Sc form of a Norse name, which in G is known as Inbhir Pheofharain. If G had survived in Fife for a few centuries more, there would no doubt be many examples of these parallel toponymies, but it did not, so examples are few and far between. It says a lot about social and political continuity in this era that much of the place-nomenclature of the G-speaking period survived the demise of that language: for example every single medieval parish in Fife has a Celtic name. However, names of many minor natural features as well as of settlements, many smaller ones and a few larger ones, are Sc. Some of these settlements will have been created in the Sc-speaking period on marginal land, as for example the many places called Muirton or Morton. These generally derive from Sc *muir* 'rough grazing land' + *toun* 'farm', though some, such as Morton of Blebo near St Andrews, derive from Sc *myre* + *toun* 'farm by a mire', as we know from early forms.

However, Sc names do not just refer to minor topographic features or later, smaller settlement

on marginal land. There are several large, important estates which have Sc names, such as Friarton in Forgan parish, north-east Fife, or Mastertown, Dunfermline parish, west Fife. We could guess that both these places must have existed as units of agricultural exploitation in the G-speaking period, and must therefore have had G-names which have been superseded by Sc ones. In fact, the documentation with regard to these two names is so good that we don't have to guess, since we get a glimpse of the earlier names, just before they disappear in the late 12th and early 13th century. Presumably the older Celtic names of each place will have existed for as long as G was spoken locally, while Sc-speakers would have used the more recently coined Sc forms. When G died out, so did the older names. Both Friarton and Mastertown are recorded with both their old G names and their new Sc ones as part of their transfer to newly founded or re-founded reformed monasteries, St Andrews and Dunfermline respectively. Both of these monasteries we know were staffed initially by monks or canons from England, speaking not only French but also forms of early Middle English, which was soon to develop into Older Sc. Burghs are usually pointed to as the major engine of linguistic change in medieval lowland Scotland, but such names as Mastertown and Friarton remind us that the 12th-century reformed Church, as major land-holders and land-managers throughout Fife and beyond, also played an important role in the change from G to Sc in the general population.

In what follows I will concentrate on Friarton, since as far as I am aware, its earlier name has not hitherto been recognised. Friarton is a large estate which is now divided into three parts, Easter Friarton, Wester Friarton (formerly Meikle Friarton) and Knockhill, formerly South Friarton or Little Friarton. All told it consists of about 3 square kilometres, much of this good, arable land, with some bog and some upland.

Between 1159 and 1163 Malcolm IV gave a carucate (c.100 acres arable + pasture) of land in Naughton (i.e. in Forgan parish) by the name of Melcrether (unam carucatam terre in *Adnectan* nomine *Melchrethre*) to the priory of St Andrews (*RRS* i no. 228). This is last mentioned (as *Melcrether*) in 1228 *St A. Lib.* 233. The name also occurs in the early 13th century (*St A. Lib.* 275), when the canons' land of *Malcrether* is mentioned as one of the boundaries of land granted by Alan de Lascelles (probably the son of the laird of

Naughton) to St Andrews Priory. The text of this charter is as follows (translated from the Latin): Alan son of Walter de Lascelles grants to the church of St Andrew and to the canons who serve God there two acres of arable land out of my land in the parish of Naughton (*Adhenauthen*) viz those two acres which are nearer to (i.e. right beside) the estate (villa) of Cowbackie (*Culbakin*) and which stretch towards the north from the road (*via*) by which you go from the *villa* of the said Alan to Cowbackie, along with one acre of meadow measured from the land of Cowbackie towards the west between the said two acres and the land of the said canons, (i.e.) of Melcrether (et **terram predictorum canonicorum** de *Malcrether*) etc (*St A. Lib.* 274–5).

It is clear from this charter that Melcrether lay in the eastern part the parish of Forgan, near the boundary with the lands of Cowbackie in the adjacent parish of Leuchars. This description would well suit Friarton, first mentioned as such in the 1230s, in a charter of Richard de Lascelles, probably Alan's successor as laird of Naughton. This charter records that Richard gave to St Andrews Priory 'three acres on the east side of the land of Friarton (de *Frereton'*) and on the north side of the road which goes from *Frereton'* to the church of Forgan (*Forgrund*) bounded by the causeway (*calceti*)on one side and the burn on the other, and by the pile of stones beside the road (*uiam*) from Inverdovat (*Inuerdoueth*) to St Andrews on the third' (*St A. Lib.* 274). The 3 acres mentioned here might even be the same 3 acres mentioned in the earlier charter issued by Alan de Lascelles, but some field-work is needed.

My contention is that Melcrether is in fact Friarton: the co-ordinates fit, as far as they can be ascertained from the above-quoted charters; and the names are never mentioned together, with the former disappearing from the record just as the latter appears. There is one other piece of evidence, which I think clinches the matter. We know that Melcrether belonged to the canons of St Andrews; and in Alan de Lascelles's charter of the early 13th century we have seen it described as **terram predictorum canonicorum**, 'the land of the said canons' (*St A. Lib.* 274–5). This is in fact an approximate Latin translation of Friarton, bearing in mind that Old Sc *friar* can refer to any member of a male religious order. There is no record of the important lands of Friarton coming into the possession of the canons (friars) of St Andrews, nor is there any record of their ever losing the

equally important lands of Melcrether. I rest my case.

Presumably for as long as G was spoken in this part of north-east Fife the name Melcrether existed, but when the language died, so did the name. The Sc-speakers had chosen to use for this place a different name coined in their own language, a name which emphasised and encapsulated its ownership by the recently established priory of St Andrews - the name itself proclaimed its new owners, and this overrode the usually more conservative use of names by new proprietors, both lay and clerical, during this period. Why this name-change occurred is not entirely clear, but it may have had something to do with disputed ownership, or with a more thoroughgoing replacement of the agrarian population untypical for the wider locality. It is certainly a question worthy of further investigation.

Endnote: the meaning of Melcrether: perhaps G *maol* + G **crithir* or **creth* + suffix *-er* 'bare shaking place, bare shaking ground'? If so, then the second element is related to G *crath* 'shake, tremble', OIr *crith* (gen. sing. and nom. pl. *cretha*) m. 'act of shaking; a tremble'; also *crithir* 'shaking, trembling' (*DIL*); found in Scottish place-names such as Cray in Glen Shee PER, Craithies by Meigle PER, Crathie by Braemar ABD and Crathes KCD, and referring to boggy land cf Irish *crathaidhe*, *creathaidhe* 'quaking bog' (Watson *CPNS*, 477–8). The bog in question would be the elongated and extensive marsh, the referent also in the parish name Forgan (*Forgrund* 'above or by the bog') and in Myreside. It stretches eastwards along the burn from the lands of Friarton/Melcrether and past the old kirk (see map).

Map: Ordnance Survey One-inch "Popular" edition, Scotland, 1921-1930, from http://www.nls.uk/digitallibrary/map/early/counties.html; courtesy of the Trustees of the NLS.

The lands of Cowbackie, Leuchars, occupy the south-east corner. The medieval kirk of Forgan is shown as an antiquity, '𝕮𝖍𝖚𝖗𝖈𝖍'. **Myreside** is beside the mire or bog referred to in the names **Forgan** and **Melcrether**.

Simon Taylor (from his talk at the St Andrews conference, held in the Purdie Building, University of St Andrews)

BEDE'S URBS GIUDI: STIRLING AND ITS CONTEXT.

The discovery on the NE slope of the Gowan Hill in Stirling of unrecorded features, earth and stone banks, by Digney (1995) led him to suggest that these might be the remains of defences of an Iron Age fort, or *oppidum*. This discovery strengthened the case for an important Early Historic (Dark Age) settlement there and renewed interest in the discussion of whether Bede's *urbs Giudi* was Stirling (Page, 2003). It is strange that the earliest record we have of the place-name *Striuelin* or *Strivelin* is in the 1120s when it appears as a royal burgh (e.g. *David I Chrs.* No.19). We would expect the origin of the town to be much earlier, yet we have no documentary records, and the derivation of the place-name remains obscure.

In c.654 Oswiu, king of Northumbria, succeeding his brother Oswald who had been killed by Penda in 642, came to *urbs Iudeu* to continue the contest with Penda and his British allies from Strathclyde. (Anderson, 1990, 15-16, quoting *Historia Brittonum*). Here Oswiu at the *atbret Iudeu* (restoration of *Iudeu*) had to give back to Penda and the kings of the Britons who were with him all the treasures he had in the town. *Iudeu* and *Giudi* are evidently alternative forms of the same name. Jackson (1964, 37) explained that Bede's *Giudi* 'looks like an attempt to spell *Iudeu;* the G means the sound of Y in English Yes, as does I of *Iudeu*; the only real difference is in the -i in Bede's form, which could be scribal corruption, or misinformation.'[2] *Atbret Iudeu* then is 'the restitution of Stirling' (Duncan 1975, 61). Oswiu then retreated south, apparently pursued by Penda and 'thirty kings'. (Anderson 1990, 173, quoting *Annales of Tigernach*). Bede in his *History of the English Church and People* says 'In the middle of it [the eastern estuary, the Firth of Forth] stands the city of *Giudi*'. (Penguin Ed, 1968, 51).

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[2] Simon Taylor (personal communication) points out that 'It is not that the G represents the sound of Y in English Yes, but the combination Gi-. If Bede had written G with a following back vowel, o or u, then G would represent the sound of G in English Good'.

After this (Bede completed his *History* in 731) we hear no more of *Giudi* or *Iudeu.*

Skene in the 19th century identified *Giudi* with the island of Inchkeith, on the grounds that 'in the middle' of the Firth of Forth meant literally in the midst of the sea. This seems an unlikely situation for an important town of that time. Graham (1959, 64) called this conclusion 'absurd'.

Hunter Blair (1947, 27-8) suggested that rather than the identification of *urbs Giudi* with Inchkeith as proposed by Skene (which is still adopted in the Penguin revised edition of Bede's *History of the English Church and People,* 1968, 51), it could be either Cramond or Inveresk. Graham (1959, 64) argued that Bede himself was not familiar with the Firth of Forth, but had to depend on reports of others, especially sailors. He might well have visualised the Firth to be a more or less triangular opening, and *in medio sui* would mean 'at its apex'. 'Stirling, placed as it is at the highest point that a seaman would be likely to reach, would exactly fit this meaning'.

Professor Jackson (1964, 36-8) strongly supported Graham's view that *urbs Giudi* represents Stirling. The identification was accepted by the Ordnance Survey for their map *Britain in the Dark Ages*, 2nd Edition 1966, and by Professor Duncan (1975, 61) - '… *urbs Iudeu,* pretty certainly a fort on Stirling rock'. Jackson (1981, 1-7) returned to the question to refute the alternative suggestions of Hunter Blair, and after thoroughly discussing the problem concluded that beyond reasonable doubt Stirling was the location of Bede's *urbs Giudi.* Alcock (1981, 176) cautiously agreed - 'If *Giudi* was indeed located at Stirling, then clearly *urbs Giudi* must be Stirling Castle Rock'. Alcock reserved judgement because no traces of early fortifications have yet been found beneath the medieval and later castle. The discovery of traces of banks on the Gowan Hill, between the Castle Rock and the Mote Hill, suggests that a sizeable settlement, perhaps an *oppidum*, existed there. Several banks on the north-eastern slope would seem to indicate that this was not merely a cattle enclosure - that would require only a single bank and ditch, or a simple palisade. It is perhaps too much to hope that excavations on the summit of the hill would reveal traces of structures. The soil cover of the rock is very thin, and has been subject over the ages to a great deal of disturbance.

The traces of fortifications, probably iron age or dark age, perhaps both, at Stirling do not in themselves provide evidence for *urbs Giudi,* but they do strengthen the argument for an important settlement there beside the Mote Hill, itself a significant feature. In conjunction with consideration of the geographic situation outlined by Graham (1959, 63) the case for *urbs Giudi* being the precursor of Stirling is strengthened, though the evidence is by no means conclusive.

The discussion regarding *Giudi* and *Iudeu* will benefit from being placed within a wider context. It has not previously to my knowledge made a connection with *Niuduera regio,* in spite of the similarity of the name and the evidence of geographical proximity.

Saint Cuthbert went from Melrose '*ad terram Pictorum ubi dicitur Niuduera regio'* (to the land of the Picts, called *Niuduera*); (Colgrove 1940, 82-3, from the earlier *Anonymous Life* of St Cuthbert). This must obviously refer to his crossing the Firth of Forth, and the *Book of Lecan,* fo.43 bb, quoted by Anderson (1990, 127) refers to Saint Serf possessing Culross '*itir sliab n-Ochel acus muir n-Guidan'* - between the Ochil Hills and the Firth of Forth. *N-Guidan* seems very like *Niuduera,* bearing in mind that G was pronounced as Y in 'yes'.[3] The Early Welsh equivalent of Iudeu occurs in the Gododdin. Chadwick (1963, 159, note 1) points out that '*tra merin Iodo'* from *Gododdin,* 1209, means 'beyond the Firth of Forth'.

Hunter Blair (1954, 166-168) quotes Bede's version of the story (based on the *Anonymous Life*) of Cuthbert's journey '… *ad terram Pictorum qui Niduari uocantur, nauigando peruenit,'* and shows that the strong presumption must be that Cuthbert crossed the Firth of Forth to the **Niduera regio,* the land of the Picts. He refuted the suggestions placing the *Niduari* in Galloway, and connecting their name with the Galloway Nith.

Wainwright (1955, 42-43) came to the same conclusion, apparently independently, using

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[3] Simon Taylor informs me that 'The correct Irish form was *mur nGiuda*, the forms with *nGui-* resulting from minim confusion. The prefixed n is a grammatical marker in Old Irish indicating that the preceding noun *mur* 'sea' is neuter'. It [the n as grammatical marker] is not relevant in this discussion of 7th century place-names in eastern Scotland.' I can hardly agree with him on that. After all the Irish Book of Lecan was referring to this part of Scotland in the period under discussion.

similar evidence and a quotation from an eighth-century poem, *Miracula Nynie Episcopi,* corrected by Levison to read '*Pictorum nationes quae *Niduarae dicuntur*' (to the nations of the Picts called **Niduarae*) to show that the 'Picts of Galloway' were a twelfth-century myth based on confusing *Niduari* with 'of Nithsdale' merely because 'Nid' and 'Nith' look alike. *Niuduera* then would not be Nithsdale but would be a large area near the Firth of Forth occupied by Picts. It could include as one of its settlements *'urbs Giudi'* along with others such as 'Nithbren' (Newburn by Largo) in Fife referred to in this connection by Duncan (1975, 78 note). Wainwright made no reference, however, to *Giudi* and *Iudeu* and Stirling. We may consider then that '*urbs Giudi*' means 'a town of the *Niduera regio*', or perhaps 'the principal town of the Forth region'. This may well be Stirling, but other possibilities remain to be investigated; for example Clackmannan, undoubtedly an important Dark Age settlement, would also be within the territory of the Niduarae, and has not yet been considered, although the arguments adduced for Stirling being *urbs Giudi* would also apply here.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank Simon Taylor for his comments on the draft of this paper. He correctly points out:-

'Not too much weight can be put on the form **Niuduera* as it is the result of heavy editorial emendation, and must therefore be used with great care. It comes from the text of the late 7th-century Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert, which reads as follows: "Alio quoque tempore, de eodem monasterio quod dicitur *Mailros* cum duobus fratribus pergens et navigans ad terram Pictorum ubi *Mudpieralegis* prospere pervenit. Manserunt ibi aliquot dies". For *Mudpieralegis* read **Mudwieralegis*, where *p* is clearly the result of a mis-copying of OE *wynn*, the letter representing modern English *w* which in form closely resembles *p*; see also Watson 1926, 176. *Mudpieralegis* is what Hunter Blair renders **Niuduera regio*, although the first two syllables could equally well be read *Niuduier-*. Also, it should be asked why Bede should use two such different forms for the same place.'

Mudpieralegis is a reading of *Niudpæralegio* that may be found in two of the seven manuscripts of the *Anonymous Life* used by Colgrove. Nevertheless **Niuduera regio* was Colgrove's preferred reading (1940, 82) in spite of the fact that *Mudpieralegis* occurs in the St Omer 267 MS (late 9th or early 10th century) that was his preferred MS (1940, 45) for the *Anonymous Life*. *Niuduera regio* was accepted by Hunter Blair and by Stenton 1971 in his *Anglo-Saxon England*. Colgrove 1940, 51 explains why he rejected

Mudpieralegis. He calls it one of the 'extraordinary forms' of the place-names in that MS. Bede based his *Life of St Cuthbert* on the *Anonymous Life,* but we do not know what MS he used. Could *Mudpieralegis* not easily be explained as scribal mis-copying? This topic requires further investigation.
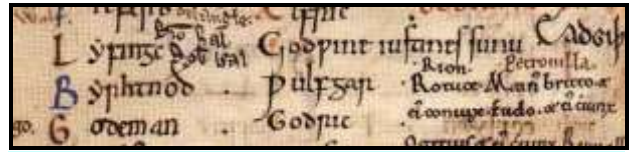
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Ron Page, 'Kingarth', Airthrey Road, Stirling FK9 5PH

[Editor's Note: Look out for a forthcoming article by Dr James Fraser, Department of Scottish History, Edinburgh University, entitled 'Bede, the Firth of Forth and the Location of *Urbs Iudeu*'. In it he argues

strongly against *Urbs Iudeu/Giudi* being Stirling, and proposes a situation considerably further east - but not one of the usual suspects. More details will be given as soon as the place of publication has been confirmed.]

JAKOB JAKOBSEN CONFERENCE

As announced in a previous Newsletter, an international conference was held in Shetland at the start of May to celebrate the life and work of the Faroese philologist, Jakob Jakobsen, whose impressive study of Shetland place-names will be known to many readers of this Newsletter. The conference attracted approximately 70 delegates from the Faroe Islands, Shetland and elsewhere. Several speakers, including Gillian Fellows-Jensen from Denmark, praised Jakobsen's skills as an onomastician but he was, of course, a multi-talented scholar who contributed at a very high level to various academic disciplines and, in particular, to dialectology and ethnology/folklore studies, and this breadth of scholarship was reflected in the various papers read at the conference.

It was very pleasing to hear Eileen Brooke-Freeman of the Shetland Amenity Trust describe the work of the Shetland Place-Name Project and to see the results of their database work being presented in such a convincing manner. The use of GIS software in conjunction with the database is particularly impressive and it is to be hoped that the Scottish Place-Name Database can benefit from the Shetland experience. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) is currently exploring possibilities for the future development of the Scottish Place-Name Database and will be kept informed of progress made and problems encountered during the pilot study in Shetland. The Shetland Amenity Trust

has plans to make the Shetland material available on its website.

I learned a great deal about Jakob Jakobsen and his work during the conference in Shetland and I enjoyed assembling some dialect and place-name material for my own paper. I left the conference with a very strong impression of the depth and extent of Jakobsen's impact, not just on the academic world but on the lives of Shetlanders and Faroese who have carried his knowledge of language and toponymy with them into the twenty-first century through reading his major publications. The conference organisers, Turið Sigurðardóttir and Brian Smith, deserve praise and thanks, as do the many Shetland people who contributed to making the conference such a memorable experience. Newsletter readers who were unable to be present at the conference itself can look forward to publication of the conference proceedings in due course.

Doreen Waugh

A FIENDISH PUZZLE

While doing research for my dissertation on hill-names in southern Scotland I came across a mention, in Pennecuik's early 18th century notes, of a list of what he called the 'chief' hills in Peeblesshire including one 'Fiendsfel'. There's no hill of that name today. I did wonder if it had any connection with one shown on Blaeu's Atlas map of 1654 (based on Pont's 1590s surveys) which he recorded as Filfell, and which from its position is the hill now known as Culter Fell, above the hamlet of that name.

Then, reading a description of a river north-east of the hill, in the *MacFarlane Geographical Collections*, the mystery of its location was solved:

"Holms Water . . . Upon the head of this fertile Water, above Glenkirk, is a mountain called Fiendsfell (before mentioned), [where] the eagle hath nestled past memory of man." (Vol. III, p.152).

A glance at the OS map shows it must indeed be the current Culter Fell. But why was the name changed? There is another hill, in England's northern Pennines, also formerly called Fiendsfell, but changed to Cross Fell (still its name) in the early 17th century. Clearly this was an attempt to exorcise or 'christianise' the hill's name, and the same process must have taken place in Scotland too, if a century later. Perhaps the specific 'fiend' was shortened to 'Fil' by Pont

(or by his local informants) as an attempt not to invoke the devil's name - or at least that of one of his henchmen - in common with the spirit of the age.

Culter Fell is a fine hill, and I climbed it this summer again, from yet another direction, in an ascent that was pleasant and certainly not fiendish. But its modern name is rather a poor substitute from its former one – even Cross Fell has a least the effect of a photographic negative's representation of the Fiend: how would the good people of contemporary Coulter feel about a fell with fiends?

Peter Drummond (text and photo)

THE NORSE IN ISLAY – THE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE

While the majority of Islay place-names are Gaelic in origin, a significant minority can be considered Norse. The introduction of names such as Olistadh (from ON *Óla(fs)staðir, 'Óli's/Óláf's farm), Campa (from ON *Kambr, 'comb, crest, ridge') and Stremnish (from ON *Straumnes 'headland of the current') can, of course, be traced to the Viking Age. What this represents in terms of settlement history, however, is not quite so certain.

With no detailed references to Islay or its peoples surviving from the years between *c.* AD 700 and *c.* 1200, most explanatory models have concentrated on the relative numbers of Norse and 'native' farm-names on the island. Since 1882, and Captain F.W.L. Thomas' seminal article 'On Islay Place-Names', the relationship has been taken as 1:2. As this is considerably lower than Orkney, where almost all farm-names are Norse, or Lewis, where the ratio is greater than 4:1, Islay's Norse nomenclature is usually attributed to 'seasonal exploitation' by transient 'Vikings' or their small-scale assimilation into an otherwise stable Gaelophone society. Where the possibility of independent Norse settlement has been entertained, this is usually assumed to have

been economically or spatially peripheral to that of the Gaelic-speaking majority.

By relying so heavily on unqualified statistics, however, these models have actually obscured important diagnostic nuance in the context, typology and inter-relationship of the place-name material.

When the location and relative agricultural potential of Islay farms are examined in detail, it is clear that Norse names are no more indicative of poor-quality land than their Gaelic counterparts. Neither are they restricted to coastal, regional or any other kind of enclave. In terms of Olsen's 'User Group' theory, the implantation and survival of so many Norse names *in situ* points to the previous existence of a stable, Norse language user group covering the whole island. An island-wide incidence of Gaelic place-names containing Norse *ex nomine* onomastic units – *eg.* Gleann Egedale (from G 'the valley of *Egedale' < ON *Eika(r)dalr* 'oak valley') and Eas Forsa (from G 'the waterfall of *Forsa' < ON *Forsá*, 'waterfall river') – suggests, moreover, that widespread Norse language use only later gave way to Gaelic (Figure 2). By way of contrast, the absence of Norse names containing Gaelic *ex nomine* onomastic units points to a rather more dramatic linguistic transition at the beginning of Islay's Norse period. Given the fundamental connection between land and status in early Gaelic society and the central place of ethnic delineation in Viking Age Europe generally, the most straightforward explanation would be a process of 'ethnic cleansing' by an incoming Norse-speaking population followed by their (eventual) adoption of Gaelic speech.

While this scenario is hardly supported by Thomas' place-name ratio, it should be noted that his studies were based on the then current County Valuation Rolls. Over the millennium or so which separates this material from the period of Norse name-giving, there have been numerous historical developments with the potential to impact on the local nomenclature. Indeed, when Islay's place-names are examined individually, there are indications that many Norse names have been translated or otherwise adapted by speakers of Gaelic (e.g. Bun Abhainne from ON *Áróss* 'River Mouth' and Beinn Tart a' Mhill < G *beinn* + ON *Hartafjall*,

'Stagfell' respectively).[4] Others still are likely to have been replaced outright. The over-representation of diagnostically 'late' (i.e. post-Norse) Gaelic *Baile-* names, for example, may reflect a period of administrative re-organisation and re-naming following the advent of the MacSorley Kings of the Isles in the late 1100s. Post-Norse neologisms such as these could, in theory, have replaced Norse or Gaelic material. But with the changes driven by speakers of Gaelic or (Scots) English – and not Norse – the overall effect will have been a steady dilution in the Norse component of Islay's nomenclature.

This kind of onomastic realignment will have been particularly marked in the case of nature names. While the corpus of Islay farm-names has remained relatively stable since the introduction of written fiscal practice, there was no corresponding stabilising effect on the names of topographic features until the production of the first detailed maps in the late 19th century.

While patently or partly Norse nature names now make up only a small percentage of the total, they are invariably amongst the most dominant in every part of the island that has significant topographic features. Relative to its Gaelic nature names, many more of these can be considered *Bygdens navn* ('names of the district') which have survived periods of demographic change by virtue of their widespread user groups, and further evidence, therefore, of the dominant position once held by the Norse language in Islay.

The names of less significant features, on the other hand, are more likely to have been restricted to smaller, more localised user groups and thus, as *Gårdens navn* ('names of the farm'), more susceptible to change. Episodes such as the Cawdor Campbell 'plantation' of Islay in the mid 1600s will have led to the displacement of many long-established communities, their nomen-clature and a radical alteration in the overall ratio of Norse to Gaelic names.

That is not to suggest that no pre-Norse place-names have survived to the present day. As yet, very few candidates have been identified with certainty. But as with the name Islay itself, we should probably regard these as having survived by virtue of adoption into the Norse nomenclature. While there is some evidence for

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[4] See Spring 2006 edition of the Newsletter on *Áróss.*

continuity in estate boundaries and even administrative districts from the 7th century into the post-Norse period, it must nevertheless be considered significant that this did not involve the unadulterated survival of their pre-Norse names or the fundamental unit in that system, the Dalriadan *tech* or 'house'. The Norse it seems were interested solely in the easy distribution of their newly acquired Islay land-holdings and not the preservation of local onomastic or administrative heritage.
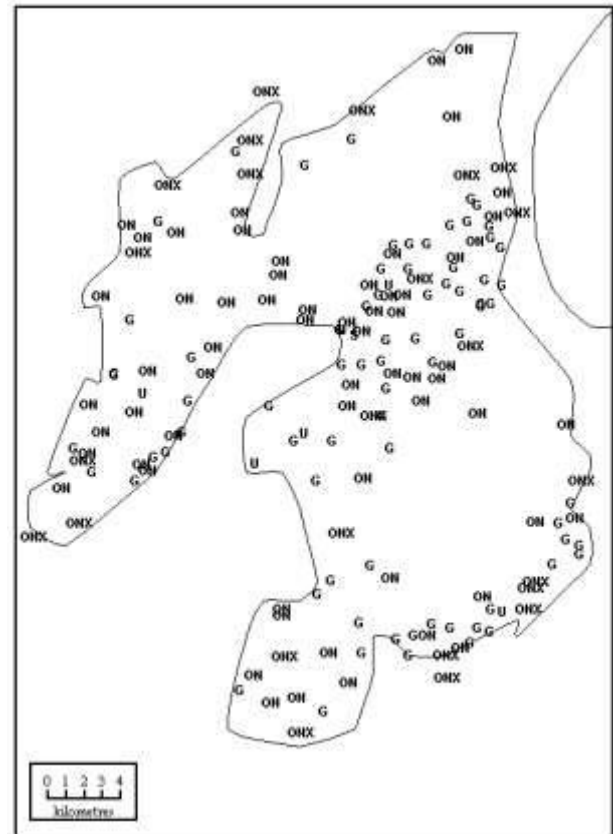
Distribution of farm-names on MacDougall's Map of 1749-51 by language background

KEY

G Names which are fundamentally Gaelic in origin – i.e. independent Gaelic coinages, dependent Gaelic coinages where the *ex nomine* onomastic unit is Gaelic and dependent coinages in Scots English where the *ex nomine* onomastic unit is Gaelic

ONX Dependent coinages in non-Norse languages where the *ex nomine* onomastic unit is Norse. While almost all of these are formally Gaelic, there are also a few Scots English examples

ON Independent Norse coinages, or dependent Norse coinages where the *ex nomine* onomastic unit is Norse

U Uncertain

To further understand the process of Norse settlement in Islay, we must look to the historical

and archaeological records. On the basis of the place-name material, it would seem more productive to approach this from the perspective of native annihilation.

Dr Alan Macniven (drawing on research for his recent PhD: see Bibliography below)

'PLACE-NAMES OF THE CAIRNGORMS NATIONAL PARK'

The Cairngorms National Park Authority (Ùghdarras Pàirc Nàiseanta a' Mhonaidh Ruaidh) has recently published an A2 sized folded leaflet with this title. This is no run-of-the-mill ephemeral leaflet for tourists, and its discussion of place-names will be of great interest to many readers of this Newsletter. A fuller notice will be included in the next issue.

(Publisher: Cairngorms National Park Authority, 14 The Square, Grantown-on-Spey PH26 3HG; website: <www.cairngorms.co.uk>; e-mail:<enquiries@cairngorms.co.uk>)

APPRECIATION: MARY C HIGHAM

Dr Mary Higham, whose death at the age of 70 in November 2005 was noted with sadness in the last issue of *SPNN*, was an exceptional historical geographer, toponymist and local historian. While the focus of her work was her native Lancashire, in her rigorous and multi-disciplinary approach to her subject, she had much to teach those working in these fields well beyond this geographical area. This is especially true for Lowland Scotland, which shares so much with north-west England, both topographically and linguistically. This was clear when she made one of her too rare visits north to give a lecture at the SPNS conference on names and boundaries, held at Perth in November 1998 (a summary of which appeared in *SPNN* 6 (Spring 1999), 2–3).

Mary's practical, common-sense approach, coupled with her considerable scholarship and her formidable knowledge of her Country, its archaeology, its history, its landscape, its place-names and its documentary sources, informed everything she produced with worth and weight. For Mary the landscape was a book which she had learnt to read with consummate skill. She wrote over 35 articles, all of which repay study by the Scottish toponymist and medieval landscape historian. They cover such subjects as linen-making, lead-mining, cattle- and horse-rearing, deer forest management, Norse settlement, roadways, bee-keeping and harpers, and all exhibit an admirable balance between desk-based and field-based study. But Mary was not only a scholar: she was also a passionate and dedicated teacher, and, ably supported by her husband Eric, she travelled the length and breadth of her Country giving talks and holding classes, especially under the auspices of the Centre for North-West Regional Studies based at Lancaster University.

Mary completed her Ph.D. as a mature student at the University of Lancaster in 1992. Entitled 'The effects of the Norman Conquest on North West England, with particular reference to the Honors of Hornby and Burton-in-Lonsdale', it analysed in minute, inspired, and inspiring detail a c.200 kilometres-long medieval boundary defining land belonging to the abbey of Barrow in Furness. She clearly demonstrated that these marches defined a 7th-century unit of land which Bishop Wilfred had given to the Church, the *regio Dunutinga*, itself based on an even earlier British territorial unit, a classic example of the longevity of political boundaries in the landscape.

Mary was treasurer and membership secretary of the Society of Name Studies in Britain and Ireland for ten years, and the huge investment of time and energy which she and Eric put into this task contributed in large part to that Society's now flourishing existence.

Simon Taylor

Information on a special conference to celebrate Dr Higham's work is included in 'Forthcoming Events', below.

GAELIC LESSON ON A SIGN

This sign is beside the farm of Lorg, the highest in the valley of the Water of Ken, Kirk-cudbrightshire. Public roads stop some 3 km short of a connection between this scenic but little visited valley and the equally fine and remote valley of the Scaur Water in Dumfries-shire. The '**Lorg Trail**' is sign-posted as a link over the watershed for walkers. The two words represent a dictionary translation, plainly reflecting use of the track centuries ago.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Details are included on a flier with this Newsletter, for the **SPNS autumn conference** at the Pearce Institute, Govan, Glasgow on Saturday 4 November. The location is close to Govan underground station.

The eleventh **SPNS Spring Conference** will take place for the first time in Fort William, on Saturday 5 May 2007. Details and notification of booking arrangements will be supplied with the next Newsletter and on the Scottish Place-Name Society website.

The **Gaelic Society of Inverness** has arranged two talks on place-names topics during January 2007. They are on Fridays at 19:30 at the Netley Centre, Bishop's Road, Inverness. Iain Mac-Illechiar speaks about '**The Place-Names of Rannoch**' on 12 January; Rebecca Mackay explores '**Raasay Place-Names**' on 26 January.

There will be a day conference in Lancaster on Saturday 3 February 2007 to celebrate the work of **Mary Higham**, entitled '**Landscapes and Place-Names in the North**'. Speakers will include Alan Crosby, Margaret Gelling, Simon Taylor, and Ian Whyte. More information can be obtained from Dr Jean Turnbull, Centre Coordinator, Centre for North-West Regional Studies, Fylde College, Lancaster University LA1 4YF, Tel: 01524 594841, <j.turnbull@lancaster.ac.uk>

The next **SNSBI** (Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland) Spring Conference is to be held at St Patrick's College, Drumcondra, near Dublin, from Saturday 31st March to Tuesday 3rd April 2007, by kind invitation of Dr Liam Mac Mathúna. Further details can be obtained from Jennifer Scherr, Hon Sec SNSBI, Medical Library, University of Bristol, University Walk, BS8 1TD; 0117 928 7946; j.scherr@bristol.ac.uk. Details should also be available nearer the time through the Scottish Place-Name Society website (address on page 2 of this Newsletter).

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(compiled by Simon Taylor with the help of Carole Hough and Maggie Scott)

John Wilkinson brings down to earth a high-flying folk etymology.

TURNIEMOON *(Turnamoon 1773, Tamethemoon 18c) G *tòrr na mòine 'hill of the peat-bog'. West Lothian Place-Names, John Garth Wilkinson (Torphin House 1992) p32. (Cauther for Calder, as in Scots* shouther/shoother, *'shoulder'.)*

*The **Routen** Burn, a tributary of the Ettrick Water in Selkirkshire, may be named from this 'routing' waterfall, like the better known Routing Linn just over the Border in north Northumberland. Old Norse* rauta, *'to roar' seems a more likely ultimate origin than Old English* hrūtan, *'to snore'!*

*This landscaped fishing pond in the Glen estate, south-west of Innerleithen in Peeblesshire, is named **Loch Eddy** on current OS maps. It is present but not named on the 1890s 1 inch OS map, and not shown in the detailed early 19th century maps by Thomson and Ainslie. So presumably the name like the loch is recent. The same would not be true of **Pirn** whose Craig rises sharply just to the north-east of Innerleithen. Pirn Craig appears in this photo as a steep bare slope near the right hand edge, beyond the hidden Tweed valley. It is generally agreed that Pirn is of Cumbric origin, and it has usually been taken (including by Watson and Nicolaisen) as representing* pren, *'tree'. An alternative suggestion recently put forward in the Scotplace internet site by Guto Rhys, one of the programmed speakers at the Glasgow conference, is that the original might have been* bryn, *'hill, slope, brae', with an instance of sporadic initial devoicing (as in Tinnis for* dinas *farther up the Tweed valley) besides typical Scots metathesis.*

*A closer view of Pirn Craig from the Tweed by Innerleithen. Its outlier to the left (south-west) is the site of a small **fort** marked on the 1:25,000 OS map. The town is largely hidden behind trees beyond the meadow to the left.*