



¶ **V**icido hōm p̄actum omni potū
tūm. **E**nticōp̄m colūmā
U. hōm xpm p̄lūm hōm. **U**icū
dīa nūm. **I**n conēp̄tū 2 dīp̄tū
Matas femana hūgine p̄lūm
rūpōntio p̄lūo. **E**mēp̄tū
rūpōntū. **D**irēdīt ad m̄p̄tū.
Tūcū dī nūm p̄tē amōrū.
rūpōntē mēlūm. **P**ōtē addē
p̄m dī p̄m omni potū r̄.
Hōtē r̄tūm 2 hūcāp̄ amōr
mōrēp̄tū. **C**urō. **I**n p̄m p̄m r̄m q̄.
Cū r̄m cētholīcū. **P**ō r̄m
r̄m mōntū. **P**ō mōntū p̄cātō.
Cū r̄m r̄m r̄m r̄m r̄m r̄m
nam amū ...

¶ **P**hūkū cūchūm bīa amāch m̄lēb
p̄m colū. **A**nātū. **D**a bīdāchē p̄m
m̄m m̄m m̄m p̄m m̄m ...

August Flatheson. M. E. Macdonald.

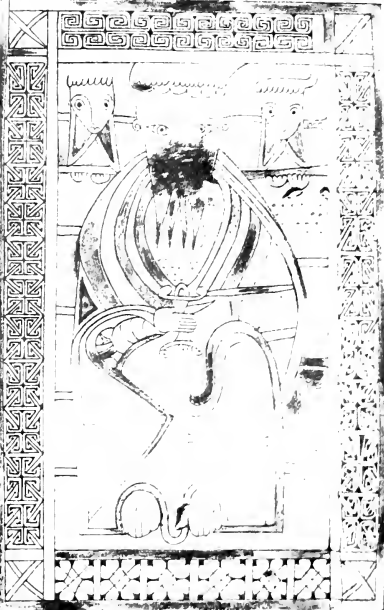
1910.



7 bñ aet tchōto anctem onyū 7 an
 etētopfeh chomallpar 7 amyl dāner

Donchao mē mee

bead mee hro
 dōnne accliao
 matelion doer
 agidodnortay
 doeholuny eille
 fōpe gobnō ma
 lech 7 amgell
 gilla ē mē pūm
 mālnay tēh
 mācolunm mē
 molim Cōymac
 mē chintōg dō
 nat tōnige pō
 li mīūke Com
 gell mē calina
 ig tēh fe clau
 de caran dō
 nat dōē 7
 dōnortan
 doeholun eille
 fōnige tōpō
 he moyn gēn



7 fūp mīūku dādōm alim dōubuei gōlunehay tōqupēh 7 ach
 māepōz hēnāch cūhātē cōyōm lō an cōnē chom
 apāp cōmōch mālōwē opācō cōpō pū;

THE NORSE INFLUENCE ON
CELTIC SCOTLAND

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MCMX.

THE
NORSE INFLUENCE
ON
CELTIC SCOTLAND

BY

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1910

Is buaine focal no toic an t-saoghail.
A word is more lasting than the world's wealth.
‘Gadhelic Proverb.’

Lochlannaich is àrmuinn iad.
Norsemen and heroes they.
‘Book of the Dean of Lismore.’

Lochlannaich threun
Toiseach bhur sgéil
Sliochd solta o freumh Mhānuis.
Of Norsemen bold
Of doughty mould
Your line of old from Magnus.
‘Mairi inghean Alasdair Ruaidh.’



PREFACE

SINCE ever dwellers on the Continent were first able to navigate the ocean, the isles of Great Britain and Ireland must have been objects which excited their supreme interest. To this we owe in part the coming of our own early ancestors to these isles. But while we have histories which inform us of the several historic invasions, they all seem to me to belittle far too much the influence of the Norse Invasions in particular. This error I would fain correct, so far as regards Celtic Scotland.

Even in the case of England,—and its language lacks not many competent investigators,—the Norse influence has often been slurred over, and this in spite of the many new words which came in with the Danes and the impetus given by that people, in especial towards the ridding of the old English case-endings. Mr. Bradley in his *Making of English* points out that it is only by the indirect evidence of place-names and of modern dialects, that we learn that in some districts of England the population must have been at one time far more largely Scandinavian than English.

Important Scandinavian settlements existed in almost every county north of the Thames: in 1017

Cnut of Denmark conquered the throne of England, and "his strong rule gave to the country a degree of political unity such as it never had before. Under succeeding kings,—even under the Englishman, Edward the Confessor,—the highest official posts in the kingdom continued to be held by men of Danish origin."

English, however, is a much investigated language. Skeat in his *Principles of English Etymology* devotes a special chapter to the exposition of the Scandian, or properly Scandinavian element; and there is also a recent treatment of the *Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English* by Erik Björkman. But there is no single accessible volume to render a parallel service to the student of Gadhelic,—to use an older form of the word Gaelic,—that branch of Celtic which has for so many centuries formed the proper speech of the Highlands of Scotland. The Norse influence here also has been alike overlooked too often and underestimated, although it imparted an impetus which has tended towards making case-endings in several districts at least uncertain, and certainly brought many new words. Not that there has not been investigation. On the contrary when an *Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* appeared, some were heard to murmur that its author, the late Dr. Alexander MacBain, derived too many words from the Norse. I would rather add to them.

There are some few reciprocal influences likewise between Gadhelic and Old Norse. In the Edda, for instance, Irish *geilt* 'mad, wild,' becomes *gialti*;¹

¹ *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, v. 400.

Gadhelic *lám* 'hand,' appears in the Fljóttsdaela Saga as *lámur* in describing the giant's paws: *m* standing for the later *mh* in Gadhelic shows the early date of the loan, and Mr. Collingwood points out that the only other use of the word in Icelandic seems to be in the Edda.¹ Gadhelic *crō* 'pen,' *āirigh* 'sheiling,' are borrowed as Norse *kró*, *aerg*. A list of about a score of Icelandic place-names formed on Gadhelic originals has been made by Dr. Stefánsson.² Some of these contain in part the Old Irish personal names, Brian, Dubhtach, Dubhghus, Colman, Cellach, Ciaran, Colcu, Coelan, Mael Curcaigh, Patric. Others, such as Cormac and Faelan, appear in Iceland as Kormakr, Feilan, while Níal is immortalized by the Saga of Burnt Njal. Legends too were taken over at times, if we may judge by a legend of Shetland in the Fljóttsdaela Saga, which appears to Mr. Collingwood³ to be a piece of Celtic folk-lore transplanted into Iceland. Irish Episodes in Icelandic Literature have been treated of by Miss E. Hull in an interesting paper, and Bugge has elaborately expounded the influence of the Westmen upon the Norse. If I cherish the conviction that in the Highlands we have more Norse elements in our making than we may have thought, I do so on a chain of evidence which confirms the fact that this influence has been well absorbed in the richness of Gadhelic speech. Gadhelic, ancient and modern, is exceedingly copious in word-forms, and as rich in its way as any of the speech-groups within the Indo-European family. But it is false to suppose that it shows no external influences: such are found in

¹ *Ib.* 273.² *Ib.* 293.³ *Ib.* 272.

every language that has been a medium of thought and life.

Highland place and personal names admittedly shew strong Norse influence; and there are many words in the spoken language that are not in any dictionary, as well as many words for which no derivation has been offered. While giving a resumé of achieved results, my purpose is to point out further Norse linguistic influence on the Gadhelic vocabulary (especially where words seem difficult of explanation from the native side or have escaped attention), and to unfold the continuation of Norse influence in belief, archaic ritual and literature; and, by giving an historic picture within brief compass, to introduce the student to a comprehensive survey of facts which persuade that the Norse element is of permanence in Celtic Scotland. For its own sake this influence is well worthy of study. It is a chapter in international history and deserves a connected record.

My obligations I record throughout the work. But I must specially acknowledge the great help I have received from the late Dr. MacBain's paper on the *Norse Element in the Topography of the Highlands and Isles*.¹ In painting a description of an important movement in the national life I could not avoid touching on scenery; and in that section I have very largely followed his masterly guidance; supplementing other examples relating to Skye, from his *Place-Names of Inverness-shire*,² with other instances of my own. His Dictionary I

¹ *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xix. pp. 217-245.

² *Ib.* vol. xxv.

have used throughout. I have not been forgetful of living sources, and make such additions as seem to me in place. I cite the best witnesses to enable the reader to form an historical judgment from reliable facts. Previous investigation was useful. Professor Mackinnon treated the subject in my student days in a manner to me interesting and fresh. My memory thereof, refreshed from papers quoted, is a pupil's obligation to a master's pains. I was fortunate in having Mr. W. J. Watson's treatment of Norse-Gadhelic phonetics, in his *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, which was of great service for the amplified synopsis I append—often quoting his work with some of his examples, so successfully explained, as results already attained. Even if some instances I give provisionally be queried, the total impression will but slightly alter. On the whole, the sound-changes work out with regularity and reveal the mechanism of lingual interchange with the self-evidencing certainty of law.

I thank Mr. J. Maclean, Glasgow, for the Tíree folk-tale, an after-echo, I fancy, of the 'Red Woman' (*An Inghean Ruadh*), whom Prof. Bugge believes to have been among the Viking invaders of Ireland; but perhaps in Innse-Gall a different one. For the use of illustrations, it is my pleasant duty to offer my sincere acknowledgments to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; to the Viking Club and to Mr. W. G. Collingwood for the Galley Inscribed Cross at Iona; to Mr. P. C. Kermode, with permission of Messrs. George Allen and Sons, for the Sigurd Slabs at Malew, Jurby and Andreas; and to the Rev. R. L. Ritchie for the offer of photographs,

which I regret I was unable to use. To Mr. James MacLehose I am grateful for his skilful oversight; and to the Carnegie Trustees I am obliged for a grant in aid of publication.

To distinguished predecessors I owe a noble example and more: Dr. Magnus Maclean, who well embodies the influences I portray, and who by his published *Kelly-MacCallum* lectures has contributed to a better understanding of Highland letters—a boon to many; and Dr. Kuno Meyer, from whose works I am ever learning: *wer immer strebend sich bemüht, den können wir erlösen*. My authorities and my obligations must be numerous as the people whose speech has been mine since boyhood.

THE UNIVERSITY, GLASGOW,
January, 1910.

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I.

THE HISTORIC BACK-GROUND.

“ Iochd is Gràdh is Fiùghantas
’Nar trìùir gur h-e ar n-ainm
Clann nan uaislean cùramach
A choisinn cliù ’s gach ball ;
’N uair phàigh an fhéile cis do’n Eug
’S a chaidh i-féin air chall
Na ’thiomnadh dh’ fhàg ar n-athair sinn
Aig mathaibh *Innse-Gall.*”

LACHLAN MACKINNON.

THE designation *Innse-Gall*¹ for the Hebrides has never died entirely out of popular memory. It means the isles of the stranger or, in this case, of the Norsemen. Such is its meaning in the poem by Lachlan Mackinnon, a Skye bard; such is its meaning everywhere in Celtic Scotland. I use the term Celtic here to connote the mixed race of Gaidheal and Cruithneach, Scot and Pict, who were in process of being amalgamated by many influences as the Norse were about to emerge upon the coasts of Alba. This latter name of old embraced the whole of Britain, but here I use Scotland as a name not only known to the Norse, but the name in their

¹The depraved spelling *Enchegal* also occurs. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 396.

sagas as the term for the Minch, viz. Skotlandsfjord, to distinguish it from Petland or Pentland Firth, the Pictish Firth. The country of the Scots of old was Ireland; the testimony of Bede would suffice to prove that: haec [Hibernia] autem propria patria Scotorum est.¹

Adamnan in the first preface to the *Life of Colum Cille* uses the adjective *Scotica* of his own native language, but this we know was Gadelic or Old Irish, for he was a native of Ériu. With the spread of the Scotie language and people the old kingdom of Albyn made way in history for the kingdom of Scotland, and though the name Alba has never died out it is convenient to use the later name Scotland, as covering the period when the men from Lochlann or Norway descended on our coasts. The influence was so mighty that had the Gaelic language not been one of the most vigorous forms of speech it must have died out; but the Gaelic people at the time were martial and powerful to an extent that afterwards made the perfervid genius of the Scots proverbial in Europe. But the result of this racial fusion is that the Celtic Scotland of to-day holds a mediating position in point of race and is much better equipped than it otherwise could have been for adapting itself to the requirements of the world. Carlyle once called the Highlanders a Norse breed, and he was in a rough way nearer the truth than many imagine, for, so far as the evidence of names go, there are many *Macs* that are not purely Gadelic, while there are very many other names with no trace of *Mac*, or *Maol*, or *Gille*, as

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* i. 1.

known in their English form, which yet are as Celtic or Gadelic as they can be. And others which show the *Mac* have a pre-Gadelic element which reveals the Celtic genius for absorption. What, however, are we to understand by influence? It may be taken in a wide and vague sense; then there is a danger of ascribing qualities which are universal—human to a single channel of influence; the ascription may be correct while the proof may be unclear or elusive. Bugge, for example, in his Norwegian work which won the Nansen prize in 1903, says that the nature-descriptions in the Old English poem of the *Sea-Farer* have their roots not in Germanic but in Celtic poetry. The elegiac-lyric descriptions of nature in Anglo-Saxon poetry are due to Irish poetry; he specifies vv. 48-55 of the Old English poem mentioned.

The *Sea-Farer* is the most beautiful of the Old English half-lyric poems, and its character is so unique that competent critics assign it to a poet otherwise unrepresented. Certainly melancholy notes and tender nature-descriptions are not characteristic of old Germanic poetry: the cry of the raven and the eagle hovering over the slain would usually be more in keeping with the spirit of their fighters than lines such as these:

Bearwas blōstmum nimað, byrig faegriað,
 wongas wlitigiað woruld ðnetteð:
 ealle þā gemoniað mōdes fūsne
 sefan tō sīðe, þam þe swā þenceð,
 on flōdwegas feorr gewītan.
 Swylce gēac monað gēomran reorde
 singeð sumeres weard, sorge bēodeð
 bittre in brēosthord.

I.e. Trees rebloom with blossoms; again the burgs are fair; winsome the wide plains, the world is gay: all doth but challenge the impassioned heart-courage for the voyage whoso thus bethinks o'er the ocean's surge to sail far off. Each cuckoo calls, warning with chant of sorrow: the summer's watchman sings and woe forebodes; bitter the breast within.

Bugge¹ also specifies *Beowulf* (lines 1133-1138): "Winter locked the waves in ice-bonds until another year came to the dwellings, as it yet doth, and the glory-bright weather which constantly observes fit seasons. Then was winter gone, fair was the bosom of earth, the exile hastened forth, the guest from the dwellings."

Such lines strongly remind one of the *Old Irish Songs of Summer and Winter* made accessible by Kuno Meyer. Again, in quite another sphere, take the folk-custom of washing the bride's feet ceremonially. I am familiar with the existence of such ceremony in parts of the Highlands, and the night was termed *Oidhche Ghlanadh nan cas*, 'Foot-washing Night.' Mr. Napier, who records it for South or West Scotland, says this "was in all probability a survival from old Scandinavian custom under which the Norse bride was conducted by her maiden friends to undergo a bath, called the bride's bath, a sort of religious purification."² Influences

¹*Vesterlandenes Indflydelse paa Nordboerenes og saerlig Nordmaendenes ydre kultur, levesaet og samfundsforhold i Vikingetiden.* Christiania 1905.

²*Folk-Lore*, by James Napier, p. 47. One recalls the Shetland rite of washing the feet in running water into which a quartz pebble shaped like an egg has been thrown in order to avoid sterility. Compare similar customs in France and in Spain: in the 17th century to one of the baths at Palicarro, by Viterbe, was ascribed the virtue of causing conception; at Seville a hundred years ago the

of this nature of one people on another require very delicate discussion. To prevent error the more complete the picture of inter-racial influences in any one case the better. I propose therefore to deal generally with the historic back-ground; then with the evidence of personal and place-names, next with the names which belong to the various departments of mental and bodily activity, alongside of manifest or easily proved influences in handiwork and in the literature of the people.

One of the immediate results of the coming of the Norse to Orkney, the northern outpost of the Celts, was the arrestment if not the extinction of Christianity as represented there by the Columban Mission. The settlements of the *Papae* 'popes' or Culdees are witnessed to by some Shetland place-names, most of which the Norse suppressed. The Celtic priests went further north, for the Icelandic Book of Settlement (*Landnáma-bok*) states: "But before Iceland was peopled by the Northmen there were in the country those men whom the Northmen called *Papar*. They were Christian men, and the people believed that they came from the West, because Irish books and bells and crosiers were found after them, and still more things by

waters of the Pozzo Santo were drunk for this purpose. A Gaulish chieftain of the third century, Viridomarus regarded himself as a descendant of the river Rhine, or properly the goddess symbolized by that river. Newly-born infants were dipped therein: if they survived they were regarded as protected by the common ancestor. And among the Gauls *Rheno-genos*, 'Rhine-born,' occurs as a proper name. I have witnessed an infant from a tinker's family being plunged into a Highland burn after birth. The rivers *Dee*, *Don*, *Ness*, *Affric*, and *Löchy* conceal the names of Celtic water-nymphs. And one may expect remnants of a Celtic water-cult.

which one might know that they were west-men (*i.e.* Irish) that were found in the island of Easter Papay and in Papyli." These *papas* or priests have their visits recorded in the Shetland *Papa Stoor*, 'the big island of the priests' (N. pap øy stór-r); in *Papa little*; *Papil*, a contraction for N. Papyli, Papabyli, the residence of the priests. "The same word *papa* occurs in the old name of the loch of Tresta in Fetlar, 'Papil-water,' beside which there is an old church-site."¹ Mr. Goudie suggests that Clumlie (for Columlie) a township in Dunrossness, may stand for *Coluimcille*, which is likely, as St. Ringan's isle, on the west of Dunrossness, commemorates St. Ninian. The island *Egilsay*, however, is named after its Norse possessor 'Egill's-isle,' and has nothing to do with the Gadelic *ecclais* 'church.' The Ulster Annals note an expedition against the Orkneys by Aedan of Dalriada in 580, and Adamnan's *Life of Columba* records the journey of Cormac and his clerics to Orkney, with some guarantee of safety from Brude mac Meilcon, King of the Northern Picts in Columba's lifetime.

St. Columba,² when staying beyond the Dorsal Ridge of Britain, commended the anchorite and voyager Cormac to King Brude, in the presence of the under-king of the Orcades (Orkneys), saying: "Some of our people have lately gone forth hoping to find a solitude in the pathless sea, and if

¹ Jakobsen, *Old Shetland Dialect*, p. 64.

² *Vita Columbae*, Bk. ii. c. 42; for references to the coracle of the Celts, *v.* Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 169; the old Celts had sails of hide, *v.* Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, iii. 13; Dion Cassius, xxxix. 41; Strabo, iv. 4. 1; Stokes in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge* 23. 62; and *Lives of Saints from Book of Lismore*, ll. 3575, 3583.

perchance after long wanderings they should come to the Orcades islands, do thou earnestly commend them to this under-king, whose hostages are in thy hand, that no misfortune befall them within his territories." This indeed the saint thus said, because he foreknew in spirit that after some months the same Cormac was destined to arrive at the Orcades. Which afterwards so happened, and on account of the holy man's above-mentioned recommendation, he was delivered from impending death in the Orcades. On his third journey in the ocean this Cormac went very far north, for the same chapter tells: "For when his ship in full sail during fourteen summer days and as many nights, held on a course straight from the land, before a southerly wind, towards the region of the north, his voyage seemed to go beyond the limit of human experience, and return impossible."

The Irish monk Dicuil wrote his work *De Mensura Orbis Terrarum*, a sort of geographical¹ treatise, about 825, and states that thirty years previously clerics had told him they lived on an island which they supposed to be Thule, where at the summer solstice the sun only hid himself behind a little hill for a short time during the night, which was quite light; and that a day's sail towards the north would bring them from thence into the frozen sea. Apparently this was Iceland. For he goes on to speak of other islands at a distance of two days and two nights from the northern islands of Britain.

¹ An astronomical treatise by the Irish monk Dicuil, written between 814-816, was discovered in 1879 by Dümmler, and first published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1907.

“One of these a certain honest monk told me he had visited one summer after sailing a day, a night, and another day, in a two-benched boat.” He means apparently ‘the Shetlands,’ for his further reference is to the Faroes (N. *faer-eyiar*) ‘sheep-isles,’ occupied by the Norse in 825: “there are also some other small islands, almost all divided from each other by narrow sounds, inhabited for about a century by hermits proceeding from our Scotia (*i.e.* Ireland at that time); but as they had been deserted since the beginning of the world, so are they now abandoned by these anchorites on account of the Northern robbers; but they are full of countless sheep, and swarm with sea-fowl of various kinds. We have not seen these islands mentioned in the works of any author.” This process of abandonment of the Christian missions is graphically described by what Ari Frodi tells of Iceland, first colonised in 875 by Leif and Ingulf, who had a number of Irish captives. The Christian priests or *papas* then found in Iceland speedily left: “Christian men were here then called by the Northmen *Papa*, but afterwards they went their way, for they would not remain in company with heathens; and they left behind them Irish books, and bells, and pastoral staves, so that it was clear that they were Irishmen.”

The necessity for such retrenchment is patent from an old Gaelic couplet written on the margin of a copy of Priscian's Latin grammar, now in St. Gall, Switzerland. This St. Gall Codex Dr. Traube has shown to be written by some friends of Sedulius, and he supposes it to have been copied in some

Irish monastery in the first half of the ninth century, and brought by wandering Irishmen to the Continent. From notes on the margin Güterbock concludes that the manuscript was written either in the year 845 or in 856. The lines referred to must have been penned by one who had known well of the coming of the Norse, and in all likelihood in Ireland itself, where on a certain wild night his feeling of relief found expression thus :

Is acher ingáith innocht fufuasna fairge findfolt
ni ágor réimm mora minn. dondláechraid lainn ua lothlind.

i.e.

Bitter is the wind to-night : it tosses the ocean's white hair :
I fear not the coursing of a clear sea by the fierce heroes from
Lothlend (*i.e.* Norway).¹

Churchmen had good reason to fear the men from Lothlend ere this, and took note of their coming. The Annals of Ulster record :

A.D. 793. Vastatio omnium insularum Britanniae a Gentibus = a devastation of all the British isles by pagans.

The Annals of Clonmacnois vary but little as to date :

A.D. 791. All the Islands of Brittain were wasted and much troubled by the Danes : this was their first footing in England.

A.D. 792. Rachryn was burnt by the Danes.

O'Donovan rightly states that "this is the first attack on record made by the Danes upon any part of Ireland," but adds that the true year was 794, which is in accord with the Annals of Ulster :

A.D. 794. Losgad Rachrainne o Gentib ocus a scrine do coscrad ocus do lomrad. The

¹ *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, by Stokes and Strachan, vol. ii. 290.

burning of Rechrainn by Gentiles, who spoiled and impoverished the shrines (Cod. Clarend. 49).

Rechrainn was the Gaelic of Rathlinn, off the north of Antrim, and according to O'Donovan, also of Lambay, near Dublin, which he thinks is here referred to, as also in the Annals of the Four Masters, where under 790 [*rectè* 795 A.D.] we read :

Loscadh Rechrainde ó dhibhearcaibh agus do sscríne do chosccradh agus do lomradh = The burning of Rechrainn by plunderers, and its shrines were broken and plundered.

The Annals of the Four Masters under 793 [*rectè* 798] record : "Inis-Padraig (Patrick's island, near Skerries, Dublin) was burned by foreigners (*la h-Allmuirechaibh*), and they bore away the shrine of Dochonna, and they also committed depredations between Ireland and Alba (Scotland)." This is the same event as is noted in the Annals of Ulster under 797 A.D. : "The burning of St. Patrick's Iland by the Gentiles. The taking of the countries' praies (*borime na crich*), and the breaking of Dochonna's shryne by them, and the spoyles of the sea between Ireland and Scotland."

In reference to the Norse the word foreigners or Gentiles is used in every instance above. This is not the case in the Annals of the Four Masters, which record under the year 612 "the devastation of Torach (Tory Island) by a marine fleet (*fasaghadh Torúighe la murchobhlach muiridhe*). Even were it added, as it is not, that this destruction was wrought by Gentiles (*i.e.* Pagans) it would not

follow that they were Norsemen, for the Picts in their piratical character still hovered about the Western Islands. The Life of St. Comgall tells that when he abode in Tiree about the year 565, many Gentile (pagan) robbers of the Picts¹ made an attack upon the place with the purpose of seizing everything, men and cattle alike.

And, again, Artbranan, who had kept his natural innocence throughout all his life, and received in Skye 'the word of God from the Saint through an interpreter, and was then baptized,' is spoken of in the Vita as a certain aged heathen (*quidam gentilis senex*).² Accordingly the massacre of Donnan and his disciples in Eigg in 617 cannot be necessarily interpreted as due to the Norse. Gorman's Martyrology says: "Fifty-two were his congregation. There came pirates of the sea to the island in which they were and slew them all." Dr. Zimmer, bearing the devastation in Tory Island in 612³ in memory, regards the Eigg massacre as due to the Norse.⁴ Certainly the Annals of Ulster connect the two events:

"Kal. Jan. (Sat., m. 18) A.D. 616. The burning of the martyrs of Egg. The burning of Donnan of Egg, on the 15th of the Kalends of May, with 150 martyrs; and the devastation of Torach, and the burning of Condere."

¹ Gentiles latrunculi multi de Pictonibus. Reeves's *Adamnan*, 304^a.

² Reeves, p. 62.

³ So the A.F.M., but rightly 618, making allowance for a different chronology.

⁴ "Ueber die frühesten Berührungen der Iren mit den Nordgermanen" in *Sitzungsberichte der Kön.-Preuss. Akad. d. Wissen.* Berlin, 1891, Bd. i. 279-317.

The Chronicon Scotorum records both events under 617; also the Annals of Tigernach. It is not the first instance for a burning, for the Ulster Annals record the burning of Bennchor in 615 without further remark. Professor Alexander Bugge¹ of Christiania regards the burning of the religious houses at Eigg,—an offshoot of Iona,—on 17th April, 617, as due to the Vikings, as also the attack on Tory Island. The Picts, he says, who were already Christians at this time could not have undertaken this raid; we must rather see in them the sea-robbers from Norway who had come to the Hebrides and then made for the north coast of Ireland,—in other words seventh-century vikings. Bugge points out that the word Viking was in use long before the real Viking Age, as it occurs in the Old English poem, the Exodus, where the Jews who went through the Red Sea are termed *sae wicingas* 'sea-vikings,' as also the Hadobardi in the Old English *Widsith* are styled *Wicinga cynn*, of the Viking-race.²

It is the word we have in Ireland as *Wicklow*, in mediaeval script, *Wikingelo*. Certainly there was nothing to prevent the Norsemen taking to sea early in the seventh century. Bugge holds that about 700 A.D., if not earlier, long before the colonisation of Iceland, Norsemen from Hordaland, Rfylke, and Jaederen, had sailed for Orkney and Shetland, and maintains that many of the Shetland place-names show word-formations which were out of use at the time Iceland was colonised. This has

¹ Bugge, *Die Vikinger*, 112.

² Bugge, *Die Vikinger*, 112.

been the result of Jakobsen's investigation.¹ On the evidence of the *Annals*, however, we cannot conclude that they were Norsemen who attacked Eigg and Tory Island in 617; and even if such piratic or scouting expeditions had set out from Norway for the Western Isles as early as these savants maintain, their incursions would be quite circumscribed and bear no more than a local influence. Though there is room for speculation, hypothesis of this sort may for historical purposes be discarded. We must follow the evidence of the Irish annalists, who knew but too well when the Norse really arrived and made their influence felt,—towards the close of the eighth century. Not but that the Scots themselves had long previously made slaughtering expeditions among the Picts, as *e.g.* the piratical expedition of Aedan, the son of Gabran, in 580 A.D. When the Norse came their warrior instincts were fortified by conflict of religious ideals and we have a succession of barbarities :

A.D. 794. The ravaging of Icolmkill.

A.D. 798. The burning of Inchpatrick by the Gentiles, and a plundering by sea made by them in Ireland and Alban. The Hebrides and Ulster laid waste by the Danes.

A.D. 802. Icolmkill burnt by the Gentiles.

A.D. 806. The community of Iona slain by the Gentiles to the number of sixty-eight. By another account, forty-eight of the monks of Icolmkill slain by the men of Lochlann.

¹ "Shetlandsøernes Stedsnavne," in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, Kopenhagen, 1902.

A.D. 825. The martyrdom of Blaithmac, son of Flann, by the Gentiles in Iona.¹

The ultimate consequence was that in 849 Innrechtach, Abbot of Iona, came to Ireland with the reliques of St. Columba. What remained of the precious library was scattered; the result is that the earliest document of Scottish history, Adamnan's *Life of Columcille* is now at Schaffhausen, and the art-treasure of the west, the *Book of Kells*, emanating ultimately from the chief centre of Columba's activity, lies now in Trinity College, Dublin. It was absolutely necessary to carry these to other lands, otherwise alike the glory they confer on their authors and on their country, as well as the unique light shed on the story of civilisation would have vanished into darkness for ever. Even the shrine wherein Columba's bones were resting were coveted; for refusing to disclose its hiding-place, Blathmac, as we also learn from Walafrid Strabo, was cruelly put to death in 825.

Ad sanctum venere patrem, pretiosa metalla
 Reddere cogentes, queis Sancti sancta Columbae
 Ossa jacent, quam quippe suis de sedibus arcam
 Tollentes tumulo terra posuere cavato,
 Cespite sub denso gnari jam pestis iniquae:
 Hanc praedam cupiere Dani.

Galloway, in the south, had been laid waste by the Norse in 823 A.D., and in the *Chronicles of Huntingdon* it is said that Danish pirates were greatly instrumental in the revolution which placed Kenneth MacAlpin on the Pictish throne.

A spirit of uncharitableness, inherent in the bulk

¹ *Coll. de Rebus Albanicis*, 251-5.

of undisciplined minds, in things religious, in addition to motives of gain and love of booty may readily account for the Norse cruelties which, it has been estimated, were all the deeper owing to a spirit of revenge for atrocities perpetrated by Charlemagne upon the subjects of King Siegfried. In 829 Diarmat, abbot of Iona, went to Alban with the reliques of St. Columba, and later in 831 he brought them to Ireland. Olave and Ivor, two kings of the Northmen, besieged Dunbarton Rock (Aile cluithè) in 870; the *Ulster Annals* record that they besieged that citadel and took it after four months. Olave the Young and Ivor then returned to Dublin from Alba in 871, and two hundred ships with them "and a great booty of men, Angles, Britons, and Picts are brought along with them to Ireland into captivity."¹ The perpetual unrest is evident, for in 875 we find recorded a conflict between the Picts and the Dub-galls (Danes), when a great slaughter of the Picts was made, and Oistin, son of Olave, king of the Norse, was slain by the men of Alba. A few years later, in 877 or 878, the shrine and relics of Columba were transferred to Ireland in refuge from the Galls. In 918 Norsemen from Ireland again invaded Alba, when many on both sides were slaughtered. From time to time things must have gone on in a lively fashion, for again in 986 Iona was ravaged by the Danes on Christmas Eve, and they slew the abbot and fifteen of the clergy of the church. At that time the islands were ravaged by them. But they did not go away scot-free, for in 987 we read of a great slaughter of the Danes who

¹ *Collec. de Rebus Alban.*, p. 259.

ravaged Iona, and three hundred and sixty of them were slain. In 989 Gofraig, son of Aralt, king of Innse-Gall, was slain by the Dalriads, or in other words by the Scots.

Reading between the lines one may perceive that in the latter quarter of the ninth century, somewhere between 870 and 888, the isles or Innse-Gall were under the crown of Norway. The *Story of the Ere Dwellers* tells us: "It was in the days when King Harald Hair-fair came to the rule of Norway. Because of that unpeace, many noblemen fled from their lands out of Norway, some east over the Keel, some West-over-the-sea. Some there were withal who in winter kept themselves in the South Isles or the Orkneys, but in summer harried in Norway and wrought much scath in the kingdom of Harald the king. . . . Then the king took such rede that he caused to be dight an army for West-over-the-Sea, and said that Ketil Flatneb should be captain of that host." Ketill in his youth had been West-over-Sea. To Iceland, "that fishing place I shall never come in my old age," he said to those who counselled going there from the thraldom of King Harald Hair-Fair. West-over-Sea offered him, says the *Laxdale Saga*, "a chance of getting a good livelihood. He knew lands there wide about, for there he had harried far and wide." Accordingly, about 890 A.D. Ketill Flatnose brought his ship to Scotland, and was well received by the great men there; for he was a renowned man and of high birth. They offered him there such station as he would like to take, and Ketill and his company of kinsfolk settled down there. His daughter Aud

(Audun, Unn) the deep-minded, married Olaf the White, who ere this, on the death of Kenneth Mac-Alpin, in 860, claimed possessions in Alba, possibly through his being son-in-law of Kenneth the King. In 865-866 Olaf, entering apparently by the Firth of Clyde, harried the territories over which his brothers-in-law, Donald and Constantine, reigned successively, and repelled his claim, with the result that the Norsemen carried off with them many hostages and pledges for tribute, and they were paid tribute for a long time after."¹

Thorstein, grandson of Ketill, and son of Olaf, harried Scotland far and wide, and was always victorious. Later on he made peace with the Scots, and got for his own one-half of Scotland, says the *Laxdale Saga*. The same source adds: the Scots did not keep the peace long, but treacherously murdered him. Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Moray, felt his power, and he seems to have been the first to establish Norse authority on the mainland—an authority to which Sigurd, who fell at Clontarf, succeeded. After Thorstein's fall the Danes from Dublin and from Limerick attained to power; descendants of Ivar, son of Ragnar, companion of Olaf the White, became Kings of Man and the Isles. Ivar's grandson was Arailt (Harald), and Magnus MacArailt is styled *rex plurimarum insularum*. Godred, another son of Harald, was King of Man and the Isles in 979. Other chieftain-kings meet us: Ragnall or Ranald, son of Godred; Svein († 1034), nephew of Ragnall, reigned for

¹ Cf. MacFirbis, *Fragments of Irish Annals*; and *Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, p. 405.

30 years as King of the Gall-Gaidheal. The power of Sigurd over the isles passed to his son Thorfinn and his successors. From the Isle of Man, Galloway was as accessible as Caithness was from Orkney. About this time was laid the beginnings of an influence which survives in Galloway personal names, such as M'Ketterick, M'Kittrick, from Norse Sigtrygg, Sitric; M'Eur, M'Cure, for the North Highland M'Iver, N. Ivarr, Ingvarr. M'Dowell in Wigtown corresponds to M'Dougall¹ of Argyll. The name Galloway itself, founded on Gall-Gaidheal, the Galgeððlar of the Sagas, testifies to the mixed breed of Norse and Gaidheal, and gives us the surname Galloway. A suggestion by Rhÿs that the Latin *Galweidia* points to the name Fiddach, Welsh Goddeu, one of the seven sons of Cruithne, the eponymus of the Picts, has not been accepted. To be added is M'Burney, from the Norse Björn, a bear; Björn, Bjarni are frequent in Norse personal names, and so far as the name-system is concerned, it corresponds to the Matheson, Gadhelic Mac Mathain, Mac Mathghamhuin, 'son of the bear,' of the Highlands. M'Killaig is from the Norse Kiallakr, which itself was a Norse loan from Irish Ceallach.

Where the Norse descent was strongest some sequestered retreats might have existed where Gadhelic was alone spoken, but in Lewis and Harris the names of rivers, sea-lochs, capes, lakes, banks and ridges, dales, homesteads, forts, beaches, waterfalls, landing-places, sheilings, creeks and islets, prove that the Norse re-cast the previous topo-

¹v. *sub* Personal names.

graphy, and that the Norse invasion was tantamount to a migration which practically issued in the removal, in various ways, of the Gadhelic stock. Putting aside names due to the re-assertion and return of the Gaidheal, four to one is not too high a reckoning as the proportion of Norse to Gadhelic names in Lewis. The rites of the Celtic Church in course of time brought the invaders a new knowledge and culture, and with it elements of beauty and tenderness. All minds of course were not open to receive it; some would be in the position of Ketill Flatneb's son Biörn "who came West-over-Sea, but would not abide there, for he saw they had another troth, and nowise manly it seemed to him that they had cast off the faith that their kin had held, and he had no heart to dwell therein, and would not take up his abode there." After two winters spent in the Isles "he dight him to fare to Iceland." For perhaps similar reasons many of the early settlers in Iceland came from the Hebrides. Dr. Stefánsson gives the following list of settlers: "Atli, Alfarinn, Auðun stoti, married to Mýrúna, daughter of King Maddað, Örlyg Hrappsson (with 4 freemen), Kjallak, Alfdís from Barra, Úlf Skjálgi, Steinólf the Short, Eyvind the Eastman, married to Rafarta, daughter of Kjarval, Snaebjörn, Asmund and Asgrim, sons of Öndult Kráka, Önund Wooden Leg, prand the Sailor, Balki Blaeingsson, Orm the Wealthy, Ófeig grettir, þormod skapti, Hallvard súgandi, Saemund of the Sodor Isles, Bárd of the Sodor Isles, Kampa-grím, Ketil fílski, þórunn of the Isles, þorstein Leg . . . both in quality and numbers the Hebridean settlers in Iceland surpassed those who came from

other parts of the West. These islands were not only a safe refuge to issue from for Vikings bent on gaining riches and renown in the neighbouring countries, but every hall of a Viking in them was a meeting-place where heathendom and Christianity, where Celtic and Norse ideas, jostled each other, and where their advantages and disadvantages were discussed. Out of this crucible came Icelandic culture. The power of selection which had stood them in good stead in England and France did not fail the Vikings here.”¹ Dr. Craigie, in a paper on “The Gaels in Iceland” in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for May, 1897, very temperately and judiciously discusses the actual extent to which a Gadhelic population was mixed with the Norse in Iceland. He finds that there is no evidence to show that the Celts had any greater influence there than settlers of other nationalities have upon the British colonies. A few generations would suffice to absorb them. He wisely concludes that it is dangerous to begin to trace analogies in legend or literature, and to attribute these to a common origin so intangible as that of racial genius. “The Celtic genius may be a very abiding thing, but when we find that in Iceland it left no obvious traces on religion, language, or personal names, we have not sufficient grounds for assuming its presence in other spheres of mental activity. It is clear that the old Norsemen were interested in legend, history, and genealogy before they could have been influenced in these matters by

¹“Western Influence on the Viking Settlers,” in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, vol. v. 292-3.

the Gaels, and there is no reason why the Icelanders should not have written their sagas even if their Scandinavian blood had suffered no admixture of Celtic" (p. 260 of *Proceedings*).

Celtic folk-lore also was transplanted into Iceland.¹ For this and other influences to penetrate it is not requisite to calculate the *number* of men of Celtic descent in Iceland according to the *Landnámabók* (the *Book of the Settlement*); these, says Mr. Craigie, do not number one per cent.—one must look to the quality of mind of those who came in contact with Western influences, as when we read: "Ketill from the Hebrides, a Christian, lived at Kirkjubæ. Papar² had been there before, and no heathen men could live there. . . . Hildir wished to shift his homestead to Kirkby after Ketill's death, thinking that a heathen could live there, but when he came near to the farm-yard enclosure, he fell down dead." The kindly temperament of King Brian of Munster,—heightened by his belief, probably,—was noticeable to the saga-writer, and I may adduce it as a parallel to the softening influences which contact with the West-men sooner or later produced in the fierce followers of Odin: "He (Brian) was the best-natured of all kings; thrice would he forgive all outlaws the same offence before he had them judged by the law, and from this it might be seen what a king he must have been." The custom of fosterage, too, in due time opened the way for reciprocity of influence. Contemporary with the attack upon Chester in 907 A.D. the men of Lochlan, then pagans, had many a

¹ *Ib.* 272.

² *I.e.* Christian priests.

Gadhelic foster-son. Feud and warfare were not the only things in existence even then, and we may postulate some bodies of Norsemen more peaceably disposed who had settled down quietly and were being half-amalgamated with the Gaidheal, about the middle of the ninth century.¹ The captives taken, for instance, after the four months' siege of Dunbarton Rock,² which was reduced by famine at the hands of Olaf and Ivar of Dublin in 869 (870), were the means of a better mutual understanding, and from small beginnings went forth the broadening streams of influence which are so visible in the language of the mixed breed of Innse-Gall.

It is even possible that Pictish would not have died, or at least not without a literature, were it not for the coming of Norsemen and of Danes. The defeat of the Picts of Fortrenn by the Danes, the Danish invasion of 875 coincident almost with the invasion of Pictland by the Scots under Kenneth Mac Alpin, could only lead to the weakening of the Pictish power, all the sooner as the Gaelic kings took advantage of every means to strengthen themselves with the view of weakening Pictland. Thus Olaf the White of Dublin married a daughter of Kenneth Mac Alpin, and soon we find in 866 that this same Olaf, the Amlaiph of the *Ulster Annals*, with Aiusle went to Fortrenn with the Galls of Erin and Alba and laid waste Pictavia.³ Thorstein, the son of Olaf, was slain in Pictavia (Alban) in 875, and in

¹ Cf. E. Hull in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, April, 1908, p. 15.

² The attack by the Norse on Dunbarton in 931 A.D. failed (*Chronicle of Picts and Scots*, p. 407).

³ Skene's *Celt. Scot.* i. 324.

877 the Danes penetrate to Fife.¹ The north-east was also liable to attack: thus under King Indulf (954-962) we find the fleet of the summer-sailors (sumarliðar) or vikings making an attack in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, where they were driven back. To judge by the place-names and by names in the *Book of Deer*, events led to the strengthening of Gaelic influence in Aberdeen and Moray until about the reign of David I., who founded the Priory of Urquhart in Moray, as a dependency of the Abbey of Dunfermline, after the rebellion of Angus the Mormaer. "This was in the year 1125, and the colony of Black Monks, Benedictines, who proceeded from the parent house of Dunfermline to distant and unsettled Moray, are the first speakers of the Lowland tongue that history or reasonable probability points to as obtaining a footing in our north-eastern districts. At the same time, or very soon thereafter, he gave the lands of Fochabers with their salmon fishings to augment the resources of the new Priory, and there doubtless was the Scots tongue (Northern English) first spoken to the east of Spey."²

Were it not for the fall of Pictavia, hastened no doubt by the coming of the Norse, the name Alba might have maintained itself to the exclusion of the designation Scotland. On 25th November, 1034, died King Malcolm, whom Marianus Scotus describes as King of Scotia,—Maelcoluim Rex Scotiae. Hitherto kings of Alban appear occasionally as

¹ *Ib.* p. 327.

² *On the Extinction of Gaelic in Buchan and Lower Banffshire*, by Dr. W. Bannerman, pp. 21-22.

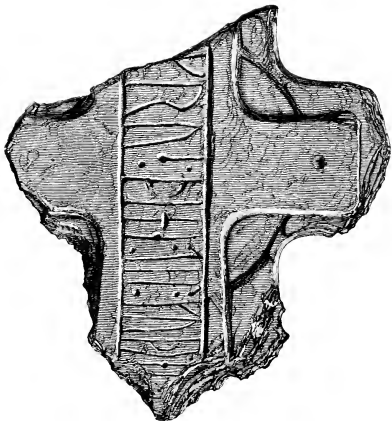
kings of the Scots, "but this is the first instance in which the name of Scotia is applied as a territorial designation of their kingdom. Used by a contemporary writer, who was himself a native of Ireland, it is evident that the name of Scotia had now been transferred from Ireland, the proper Scotia of the previous centuries, and become adopted for the kingdom of the Scots in Britain in the reign of Malcolm, son of Kenneth, which ushers in the eleventh century, superseding the previous name of Alban."¹

The descendants in the male line of Kenneth Mac Alpin, the founder of the Scottic dynasty, now became extinct by the death of Malcolm II. The policy, begun partly by the desire of the Gaelic kings to strengthen themselves against the Picts, and entered upon by the marriage of a daughter of Kenneth Mac Alpin to Olaf the White of Dublin, was pursued by Malcolm II. (1005-1034), who gave his daughter in marriage to Earl Sigurd of Orkney, who fell at Clontarf (1014), and by whom she became the mother of Earl Thorfinn. Maldred, grandson of Malcolm II., seems, according to Simeon of Durham, to have married a daughter of the Earl of Northumbria;² but Scottish history is concerned chiefly now with Duncan (1034-1040), grandson of Malcolm II. by a daughter who married Abbot Crinan of Dunkeld.³ In his fight against Thorfinn, his cousin, King Duncan was aided by an Irish contingent,—an evidence of racial

¹ Skene, *Celt. Scot.* i. 398.

² Skene, *ib.* 394.

³ The influence of the lay Abbot of Dunkeld was great: cf. *Ann Monach Mor*, The Big Monk, a title formerly of the Athole family.



RUNIC INSCRIBED CROSS, INCHMARNOCK.

See page 41.



feeling perhaps, which was not obliterated by the royal policy in marriages, seen also in the case of Constantine, King of Scots, who gave his daughter to Olaf Cuaran of Dublin (before 933), who is known also as Anlaf, the son of Sitriuc. This Olaf was a cousin of Olaf the White above mentioned. Malcolm II. made it his policy to overcome the Pictish elements thoroughly; in aid of this he bestowed Caithness and Sutherland on Earl Sigurd's son, Thorfinn, also his own grandson, whereas possibly a closer alliance with the house of Brian Borumha and the Gaels of Ireland would have been of more advantage to the Gaelic cause at the time. With Malcolm III. the Norse marriage policy continued, for Malcolm Canmore (1057-1093) married first of all Ingibiorg, daughter of Earl Thorfinn (1014-1064), the friend and contemporary of Mac-Beth (1040-1057). Politically viewed, this marriage was to conciliate or attach the Norwegian element within or bordering on the King of Scots' dominion. On Canmore's death his son Duncan by Ingibiorg, succeeded for a brief period in 1094. This Duncan, son by Ingibiorg, was a great-great-grandson of Malcolm II., Thorfinn's daughter, Ingibiorg, being a great-granddaughter of Malcolm II. The *Orkneyinga Saga*, even if we owe it to a Bishop of Orkney, blunders in certain details,—*e.g.* *Cennor* it makes out to be 'long-neck,' and there is certainly a blunder in making Ingibiorg, Earls' mother, after the death of Thorfinn, marry the Scots King, Malcolm Canmore, for either before or after Thorfinn's death she was married to Earl Orm, son of Earl Eilif, one of the landwarders of Russia in 1030,

and Ragna their daughter was mother of Krying-Orm, who in 1127 had full-grown sons, Erling the eldest being with Earl Rognwald in the Holy Land about 1150-1152,—both being great-grandsons of Ingibiorg. The late Dr. Alexander MacBain pointed out the true solution, viz.: that Malcolm must have married Ingibiorg's daughter of similar name, a lady more in accord with Malcolm's years. Thorfinn's sons, Earls Paul and Erlend, were seized and sent to Norway by Magnus Barefoot in 1098. Within a year they died, but after King Magnus's death in Ireland in 1103, the sons became earls, viz.: Earl Hakon, son of Paul, and Earl Magnus (afterwards St. Magnus), son of Erlend. Their first conjoint expedition was against a Scottish nobleman "whose name was Duffnjäl (Donald), and who was one step further off than the Earl's brother's son," *i.e.* their second cousin. The Short Magnus Saga states Donald's father's name, for it says: "They fought and slew a chief called Duffnjäl, who was the son of Earl Duncan, who was the Earl's first cousin once removed" (a step further out than first cousin). Earl Duncan was thus first cousin of Hakon and of Paul,—being a grandson of Thorfinn as they were, and Earl Duncan himself was the son of Malcolm Canmore and of Thorfinn's daughter Ingibiorg (not wife, nor widow). Duncan was Earl of Moray before he came to the throne. Dr. MacBain rightly says that this manifestly settles the question as to what relation of Thorfinn Malcolm's first wife was: "his daughter, and evidently named Ingibiorg." History should be rectified on this point as well as the doubt cast on King Duncan's legitimacy by For-

dun, possibly because, as both were descendants of Malcolm II., they were held to be within the degrees of propinquity sanctioned by canon law. The *Orkneyinga Saga* states Ingibiorg (mistakenly termed Earls' mother) married the Scot King Malcolm, while in a Durham charter, with his seal thereon,—and it is the oldest impression of a royal Scottish seal,—Duncan is styled “son of King Malcolm, by hereditary right king of Scotia.” The date falls within his short reign, May-November, 1094.

Earl Thorfinn's (1014-1064) contemporary and friend was MacBeth (1040-1057), who, under circumstances imperfectly known, slew King Duncan at Bothgualan, near Elgin, in 1040. King Duncan is the Karl Hundason of the Norse Saga, a name which is “clearly a translation.” When two peoples come in contact it is human to dabble in translation whether it be well or ill done. As examples of Norse work we may instance Skipa-fjord, evidently a translation for Gaelic Loch Long, where Long is the Gaelic *long* ship; Myrkvifjörd, ‘murky-ford,’ a rendering of the Gaelic Loch Gleann Dubh, ‘Black (or dark) glen loch’ between Edrachilis and Assynt; Thurso, according to the Gaelic Inbhir-Thiōrsa, would be piōrsa-á, ‘bull-water,’ a river name which occurs in Iceland, and has been suggested to have some connection with Ptolemy's Tarvedrum; in this case, however, the Sagas distinctly have pōrsa, ‘Thor's-water or river,’ so that, if they be right, the Gaelic palatalised pronunciation Thiōrsa is a later development. In a case like Satiri¹ (Kintyre), the Norse simply takes over a

¹ Spelt *Saltiri* in the *Hakon Saga* (Appendix B, Rolls Series, i. 408).

Gaelic *Sál-tìre*, land's end or heel, which gave way for a later *Ceann-tìre*, 'land's head'; Ekkjalsbakki, 'Oykel Bank,' takes over the Pictish oichel, 'high,' cognate with Gaelic *uasal*, literally 'noble.' As to Karl Hundason, Karl in Norse "means 'man' or 'carle,' which latter is the same word. Duncan is in Norse *Dungaðr*, and the first syllable in Gaelic means 'man,' *i.e.* *duine*, older *dune*. "This fairly well explains Karl," says Dr. MacBain.¹ Crinan, on the other hand, cannot be translated Hound, but the fact seems to be that "the Saga writer has got so confused among the many *culens* or Hounds that appear at this date that he mistakes Crinan for either Culen or Conan (whelp or little dog?). Earl Hundi or Culen fought about 987 against Thorfinn's father, and King Culen died in 971. The episode in the Saga seems to be genuine enough, but the remarkable fact remains that no mention is made of MacBeth, who must have assisted or resisted Thorfinn."² A writer like that of the *Orkneyinga Saga*, especially of portions of it such as that which states in error that at the fight at Myrkvifjörd (Loch Glen Dubh) Somerled, regulus of Argyll, and fifty men with him were there slain, whereas the more trustworthy *Chronicle of Melrose*, and Fordun, say that he was killed at Renfrew, 1st January, 1164, having landed there with fifty galleys in the attempt to make the conquest of Scotland, — such a writer is easily liable to error.³

Some future resurrections were indirectly due to

¹ In a communication to the *Northern Chronicle* some years ago.

² *Ib.* MacBain.

³ For other mistakes cf. Anderson's edition, p. 56ⁿ.

this Norse marriage. The descendants of King Duncan's son, William,—the MacWilliams—claimed the throne for over a century. In 1181 there was a formidable insurrection in favour of Donald Bān MacWilliam,—who claimed the throne as lineal heir of Duncan, eldest son of Malcolm Canmore; this was a serious attempt to place the ancient kingdom of Alban with the northern districts under a separate monarch in the person of Donald Bān, whose descent from the marriage of Malcolm Ceanmor with the Norwegian Ingibiorg would commend his pretensions both to the native and the Norwegian leaders.¹ The men of Moray had for long had reasons of their own for making common cause with the Norse earls against the Scottish kings. When MacBeth made his pilgrimage to Rome in 1050 it is not improbable that he and Thorfinn, his close friend and ally, went together.² This makes it all the more likely that MacBeth favoured Thorfinn's refusal to acknowledge King Duncan as his superior in Sutherland and Caithness from the outset. On the death of Sigurd at Clontarf, King Malcolm II. took Thorfinn along with himself and conferred both Sutherland and Caithness on him. Thorfinn thus had cause for non-submission, and MacBeth, mormaer of Moray, and chief leader of the royal forces, was not likely to forget that Malcolm II.'s policy had been to strengthen himself and his successors against the mormaers of the north. The historic fact is that a certain Moddan, whom King Duncan foolishly attempted to place in Thorfinn's earldoms, was done to death. "Moddan was asleep in an

¹ Skene, i. 476.

² *Orkn. Saga*, ed. Anderson, 43n.

upper storey (at Thurso), and jumped out; but as he jumped down from the stair, Thorkel hewed at him with a sword, and it hit him on the neck, and took off his head.¹ Thorfinn, the Saga tells us, was "one of the largest men in point of stature, ugly of aspect, black-haired, sharp-featured, and somewhat tawny, and the most martial-looking man." After King Duncan's discomfiture, with his fleet scattered in the Pentland Firth, he barely escaped with his life, and fled to Scotland, landing on the southern shores of the Moray Firth. He meanwhile gathered an army. Thorkell Fosterer, the slayer of Earl Moddan, went south after him by land, "bringing with him all the men he had been able to collect in Caithness, Sutherland and Ross."² He met Earl Thorfinn, who came by sea, in Moray. The Saga tells the rest: "Now it is to be told of King Karl (*i.e.* Duncan) that he went to Scotland after the battle with Earl Thorfinn, and collected an army as well from the south as the west and east of Scotland, and all the way south from Satiri (Kintyre); the forces for which Earl Moddan had sent also came to him from Ireland. He sent far and near to the chieftains for men, and brought all this army against Earl Thorfinn. They met at Torfness on the south side of Baefjord. There was a fierce battle, and the Scots were by far the most numerous. Earl Thorfinn was among the foremost of his men; he had a gold-plated helmet on his head, a sword at his belt, and a spear in his hand, and he cut and thrust with both hands. It is even said that he was foremost of all his men. He

¹ *Orkn. Saga*, p. 20.

² *Ib.* 21.

first attacked the Irish division, and so fierce were he and his men, that the Irish were immediately routed, and never regained their position. Then King Karl (*i.e.* Duncan) had his standard brought forward against Earl Thorfinn, and there was the fiercest struggle for a while; but it ended in the flight of the king; and some say he was slain. . . . (He) drove the fugitives before him through Scotland, and subdued the country wherever he went, and all the way south to Fife. . . . The Earl's men went over hamlets and farms and burnt everything, so that scarcely a hut was left standing. Those of the men whom they found they killed, but the women and old people dragged themselves into woods and deserted places, with wailings and lamentations. Some of them they drove before them and many were taken captives. . . . Every season after this he went out on expeditions and plundered with all his men." ¹ Thus far the Saga: and as other Scottish sources tell that King Duncan was slain near Elgin, the probability is that he was attacked and slain by MacBeth in the confusion and discord following upon defeat at Torfness, which has been identified with Burghead.

His powerful influence on Scottish affairs may be gathered from the Saga's exaggerated summary: "Earl Thorfinn retained all his dominions to his dying day, and it is truly said that he was the most powerful of all the earls of the Orkneys. He obtained possession of eleven earldoms in Scotland, all the Sudreyar (Hebrides), and a large territory in Ireland. . . . Earl Thorfinn was five winters old

¹ *Orkn. Saga*, p. 22-23.

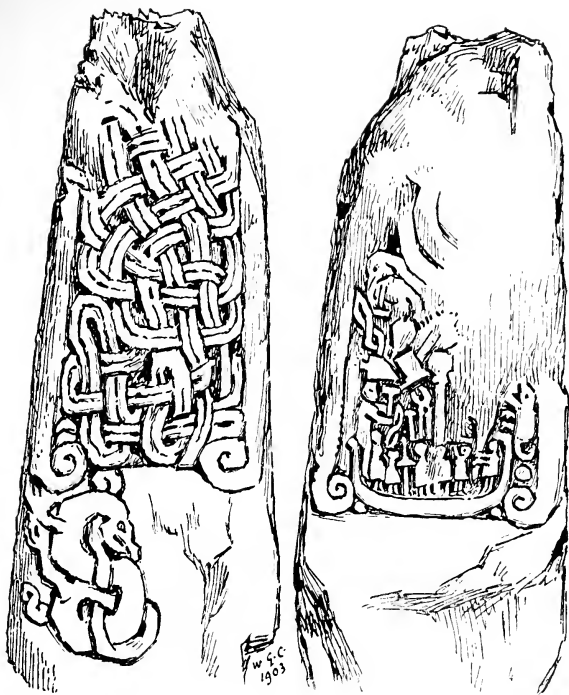
when Malcolm the King of Scots, his mother's father, gave him the title of Earl, and after that he was Earl for seventy winters. He died¹ towards the end of Harald Sigurdson's reign. He is buried at Christ's Kirk in Birgishérað (Birsay), which he had built. He was much lamented in his hereditary dominions; but in those parts which he had conquered by force of arms many considered it very hard to be under his rule, and [after his death] many provinces which he had subdued turned away and sought help for the chiefs who were odal-born to the government of them. Then it soon became apparent how great a loss Thorfinn's death was to his dominions."²

Earl Thorfinn also ruled in Galloway; he is mentioned in the *Flateyjarbók*, which contains the *Orkneyinga Saga*, and in Munch's *Historie & Chronicon Manniae*, where it is stated: "Earl Thorfinn resided long at Caithness, in the place called Gaddgedlar, where England and Scotland meet." This latter means Galloway in the south-west of Scotland, as is proved by the reading in a Danish translation made in 1615, from an ancient Icelandic MS. no longer in existence; it is to the effect: "Earl Thorfinn dwelt for the most part in Caithness but Rognwald in the Isles. One summer Earl Thorfinn made war in the Hebrides and the west of Scotland. He lay at the place called Gaddgedlar where Scotland and England meet. He had sent some men from himself to England for a coast foray."³

¹ In 1064 really.

² *Orkn. Saga*, p. 44.

³ v. M'Kerlie's *Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, vol. ii. 32, edition of 1877.



GALLEY INSCRIBED CROSS, IONA.

See page 42.

The Norse sway in Galloway would help to account for Fordun's statement that Malcolm Canmore did nothing worthy of note during the first eight or nine years of his reign, as well as explain what the Sagas say, that Thorfinn had nine earldoms in Scotland. Towards the end of the ninth century the Norse had taken Carlisle, and Northumbria was occupied,—which would pave the way for Thorfinn at a later date. Lulach was slain in 1058; Malcolm Canmore would have married Thorfinn's daughter Ingibiorg, some time between 1057, when he became king, and 1068, when he married Margaret, and thus he secured some terms with the Norsemen in part at least. After Thorfinn's death Godred exercised great power, and the way was prepared for Magnus, who in 1098 so bridled the Galwegians that he forced them to cut down timber and carry it to the shore for the construction of fortresses, possibly in the Isle of Man. A *Description of Britain in the Twelfth Century*, written about 1330, placed Galloway in the Danelage.¹

The isles fell once more under the kings of Man, represented by Godred Crovan (1079-1095), who was King of Man when Magnus of Norway, Magnus Barelegs, made his famous expedition to the Isles in 1093. The *Chronicle of Man* states that Godred Crovan in 1068 "humbled the Scots to such a degree that no shipbuilder dare insert more than three bolts in a ship or boat." Ingemund, an indiscreet governor appointed by King Magnus over the Isles, was killed in Lewis about 1097. To Godred Crovan succeeded Lagman, who after seven years

¹ M'Kerlie, *ib.* 37.

abdicated in remorse for his cruelty to his brother, and died on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1095. To prevent menace on his western border, Malcolm, King of Scots, then on the eve of starting against William Rufus to England, where he met his death in November, 1093, made a treaty whereby Magnus was acknowledged to have right to all the islands between which and the mainland he could pass in a vessel with its rudder shipped. He landed in Kintyre, and in Norse fashion had a boat drawn across the isthmus at Tarbert, his own hand holding the rudder, and thus secured Kintyre, "which is better than the best island of the Sudreyar, except Man."

During one of the expeditions of Magnus Barelegs to the Hebrides in 1098, he was accompanied by Magnus (afterwards sainted), grandson of Thorfinn, who even then showed his pious disposition. When King Magnus, says the Saga, came to the islands, he began hostilities first at Lióðus (Lewis), and gained a victory there. In this expedition he subdued the whole of the Sudreyar, and seized Lögman (Lamont), the son of Gudröd, King of the Western Islands. Thence he went to Bretland (Wales) and fought a great battle in Anglesea Sound with two British chiefs—Hugh the Stout (Earl of Chester) and Hugh the Bold (Earl of Salop). When the men took up their arms and buckled for the fight, Magnus, Erlend's son, sat down on the predeck, and did not take his arms. The King asked why he did not do so. He said he had nothing against any one there, and would not therefore fight.

The King said, "Go down below, and do not lie among other people's feet if you dare not fight, for

I do not believe that you do this from religious motives." Magnus took a Psalter and sang during the battle, and did not shelter himself.¹

It was this Magnus, Erlend's son, who impressed his memory so much on the Western Islesmen that he figures in their traditional religious poetry. The hymn—*A Mhànuis mo rùin*,² suffices to prove the veneration for this Norseman, all the greater for his being great-great-grandson of Malcolm II.

"O Magnus of my love
Thou it who would'st us guide
Thou fragrant body of grace
Remember us.

Succour thou us in our distress
Nor forsake us.

Surround cows and herds
Surround sheep and lambs
Keep from them the water vole

Sprinkle dew from the sky upon kine
Give growth to grass, and corn, sap to plants
Water-cress, deer's-grass, 'ceis,' burdock
And daisy.

O Magnus of fame
On the barque of the braves,
On the crest of the waves,
On the sea, on the land,
Aid and preserve us."

In early life St. Magnus had been "with a certain bishop in Bretland (Wales)."³ By his time friendly relations existed between certain of the Northmen

¹ *Orkn. Saga*, pp. 54-55.

² Dr. Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, i. 178.

³ *Orkney. Saga*, ch. xxx.

and some of the Cymry,—which was not the case in the ninth century when the Vikings harried Wales.¹

King Magnus Barelegs adopted the native dress, the *breacan féile* and the *léine*, in place of the *trews* then used elsewhere in West Europe, which won him the epithet Barelegs. His skald biörn Krep-hende sung the feats of Magnus :

“ In Lewis Isle, with fearful blaze,
The house-destroying fire plays ;
To hills and rocks the people fly,
Fearing all shelter but the sky.
In Uist the King deep crimson made
The lightning of his glancing blade ;
The peasant lost his land and life
Who dared to bide the Norseman’s strife.
The hungry battle-birds were filled
In Skye with blood of foeman killed,
And wolves on Tyree’s lonely shore
Dyed red their hairy jaws in gore.
The men of Mull were tired of flight
The Scottish foeman would not fight,
And many an island girl’s wail
Was heard as through the isles we sail.”

Magnus figures in Gaelic literature in the “ Lay of Manus,” one of the most popular of the Ossianic ‘ ballads,’ which Macpherson used as the framework of *Fingal*.

¹ To trace the Norse influence on Wales is beyond my purpose here. The place-names bear witness to it. The N. *slétta*, a flat piece of land, whence the name Sleat, Isle of Skye, gives Slade as a place-name in Gower ; N. *Sweyn*, whence Suaineart, Sweyn’s fjord, gives Swansea, Sweyn’s ei (1188), Sweine’s heie (1234), Sweyn’s island—the name of an islet in the estuary there being afterwards transferred to the mainland ; *Caswell*, *Carswell*, where the *-well* is from N. *völlr* field, cf. Moffat’s “ Norse Place-Names in Gower,” in *Saga Book of Viking Club*, January, 1898.

Thereafter Olave, son of Godred Crovan, reigned in Man; after his death, in 1153, his son Godred came from Norway; in 1156 he was defeated in a naval battle by Somerled of Argyll, who was married to his sister Ragnhild, daughter of Olave Bitling. By her mother Ragnhild was daughter of Elrifrica (wife of Olave), daughter of *Fergus*, lord of Galloway, and thus herself to some degree of mixed descent. The descendants of this marriage—the circumstances of which are told by the historian of Sleat¹—were in any case half Norse. The historians of Clan Donald acknowledge that it is unlikely that Somerled himself was purely the offspring of any one race. “Judging by his name we should pronounce him a Norseman, were it not for other circumstances that point to a different conclusion. He may have received that name through some ancestress, perhaps some fair-haired Norwegian mother who also bequeathed to him the enterprising spirit of the Vikings. That he was of Norse descent in the male line is an hypothesis for which there is not a shred of evidence.”² That a descendant of a Norseman, and of mixed descent in course of a few generations, should identify himself with the Gadhelic race is not impossible. Witness the late Mr. Parnell and his battle for Ireland. The pedigrees of Somerled given in the “Books of Ballimote and Lecan” trace him from his father, Gillebrigde, son of Gilleadamnan. Zimmer has emphasised that name-forms with *Gille* make their appearance after the Norse came to the Western Isles. Besides Somerled is eighth in descent from

¹ *History of Clan Donald*, vol. i. 42.

² *History of Clan Donald*, i. 23.

Gofraidh of the pedigree in the "Books of Ballimote and Lecan," or seventh from Gothfrugh of the "Book of Clan Ronald pedigree."¹ Gofraidh—Gothfrugh are non-Gadhelic, and from Norse Goðröðr, while the early Gadhelic forms are from a word closely allied to the Old English Godefried, German Gottfried. Somerled had thus far back clearly at least one Teutonic progenitor on the male side. From the year of Somerled's death in 1164, if we calculate for eight generations, allowing roughly twenty-five years for each, we can go back to about the middle of the tenth century, or if we take thirty years for a generation we could place Gofraidh in the first quarter of the tenth century. This would well accord with an era when the Norse had made a new home in the West.

Munch argued that the earlier Somerled, whose death is recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters* in 1083, and who is styled Somerled, son of Gilbrigid, King of Innse-Gall, was the father of Gill-Adomnan, and further, that he—and consequently Somerled the undoubted founder of the chiefs of Clan Donald in the century following—was descended from the Earl Gilli of Coll who had married a sister of Sigurd the Stout, Earl of Orkney, about the year 990-994. A reasonable chronology would allow of our tracing him back to Earl Gilli as being the father of Gillibrigid, King of the Sudreys or Innse-Gall. The name of Earl *Gilli* of Coll is apparently only a part name, being short for *Gille* and some saint's name. Highly suspicious is the name Solamh, Solomh, Solam, in Somerled's pedigree. It is non-Gadhelic.

¹ *Ib.* 526.

Possibly a mark of contraction was omitted by a scribe, and we may have to do with some form of the Norse Solmund. We know that Sigurd the Stout (980-1014) sent Kari, the son of Solmund, to Earl Gilli to gather scatts. Anyhow, the names of two of Somerled's sons—Reginald and Olave—are Norse, while Dugald, the name of a third, indicates the presence of a Norseman who was so named by a Gaidheal, and a grandson bears the Norse name Uspak. These are conclusive indications that Somerled the Younger had very close Norse ancestral connections.

The narrative of Western affairs in detail I need not pursue here. Suffice it to add that the condition of the isles was such as at length led to the coming of Haco with a mighty fleet, which, after having been worsted by stress of weather, was repulsed at Largs¹ in 1263. By the treaty of July, 1266, Man and the Sudreys, for a sum of 4000 marks down and 100 marks annually, were ceded to the Scottish Crown. We may recall that Alexander the Third's daughter Margaret married Eric, King of Norway. And doubtless in this respect, like king like people.

¹Some who escaped fled to Ormidale where legend tells of a skirmish with them. Old coins have been found there; one of them, kindly sent by Mrs. Burnley Campbell, was submitted to Dr. George Macdonald who clearly deciphered it as a bronze coin of the Roman Emperor Gallienus (253-268 A.D.). Late Roman coins travelled far.

II.

SCOTO-NORSE ART.

THE signature of a treaty could only affect certain outward circumstances. Other characteristics which had been forming for close on five centuries in Innse-Gall were largely maintained ; Norse customs and lore, and for a period bi-lingualism as well, must have saturated the mind of the people. For the time of Somerled (twelfth century) the Sleat historian says : " All the islands from Man to Orkney and all the bordering country from Dumbarton to Caithness in the north were in the possession of the Lochlannach (Norse), and such of the Gaedhel of these lands as remained were protecting themselves in the woods and mountains."¹ A change in the sovereignty caused the Norse influence to wane but slowly. Skene is right when he says, founding on the *Chronicle of Man*, that there was frequent inter-marriage between the two races who occupied the islands, " and this would not only lead to the introduction of personal names of Norwegian form into families of pure Gaelic descent in the male line, but

¹ Cf. Skene's *Celt. Scot.* i. 32 ; and the " Book of Clanranald " in *Reliq. Celticae*.



RUNIC INSCRIBED CROSS, FROM BARRA.



must to a great extent have altered the physical type of the Gaelic race in the islands."¹ Skene is incorrect, however, when he goes on to say: "but there is no reason to suppose that after the defeat of the Norwegians in the reign of Alexander the Third, and the cession of the Kingdom of the Isles to him, there remained in them many families of pure Norwegian descent, and from the population of Scotland, as we find it in his reign, the Norwegian element, never probably a very permanent and essential ingredient, must now have entirely disappeared."² That it did not disappear so readily the linguistic element of Norse origin in Gadhelic will show, while certain traces of Scoto-Norse or Norse handiwork found in Scotland may help in some measure to reveal its actual early existence.

In another direction than that of destruction the work of Norse hands testifies to their presence in Innse-Gall. A few objects may be specified as illustrating Norse handiwork. On Inchmarnock, Isle of Bute, the head of a stone-cross with Runic inscription has been found in 1889 in the old church-yard there. It is a fragment of a rune-inscribed slab,³ of schistose slate, forming that part where the arms of the cross unite with the shaft. The inscription has been read: ". . . KRUS . THINE . TIL GUTHLE... *i.e.* cross to Guthleif or Guthleik." The termination of Guthle... is wanting, but the name as extended, Guthleif or Guthleik, was common in the Sagas, and the whole forms a link between the Celtic Church and the later Norsemen

¹ *Ib.* 39.

² *Ib.* 39.

³ Figured in King-Hewison's *Bute*, i. 135; cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xii.

who succeeded the early spoilers of her fanes. To the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh a collection of rare brooches and other ornaments have been presented by Lord Strathcona, all from a Viking burial-place in Oronsay. At Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, in 1882, Mr. M'Neill found a ship-burial of the Viking age, with sword, axe, shield-boss, and cauldron, and a pair of scales and stycas of the Archbishop of York (831-854).¹ As to the scales, they have been found in other Hebridean interments; Martin long ago stated: "There was lately discovered a grave in the west end of the island of Ensay, in the Sound of Harris, in which were found a pair of scales made of brass, and a little hammer." It has been suggested that this was a Thor's hammer, which is now used as an amulet in Iceland. Thor was called in with his hammer to bless their marriage feasts. In the *Edda*, Thrym, lord of giants, says: Bring in the hammer the bride to hallow (Bray's *Edda*, p. 135). In the Sound of Barra, in the isle of Fūiday, there are what are called the graves of the Lochlanners (*i.e.* Norsemen), who in Eriska are said to have been the last of the Fiantaichean or Fingalians. Brooches of Norse origin have been found in many places, as in Islay, Tiree, Barra, and Sanday. Most interesting of all is a stone with Scandinavian art-work, found by Mr. Collingwood in the Chapel of St. Oran, and now deposited in the Cathedral of Iona, an isle which is the burial-place of eight Norse kings. This Iona cross-shaft of the Viking age has the usual Scandinavian dragon, with irregular interlacing, as also a

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*

galley with its crew, a smith with his hammer, anvil, and pincers—and so greatly resembles the Manx Crosses that it may have been the tombstone of one of the Norse Kings of Man. “The lower part of the picture is filled with a large ship, in which six little figures are apparently acting as crew, one seeming to manage the sail. To the spectator’s left is a much larger figure, that of a smith with hammer and tongs, forging a sword. The hammer and tongs are twice again repeated. Above him is a great dragon-monster, and on the spectator’s right is a little quadruped which, if this be another instance of the Sigurd [motif] . . . might be the Otter of the legend. The whole is rudely drawn, and executed in the ‘hacked’ work of the later Viking-Age Crosses, extremely unlike the native sculpture of Iona, though strikingly similar to the Manx carvings. The ship, as in later monuments of chiefs here buried, suggests the sea-king; and the Sigurd story, if it be rightly interpreted, would be the pre-heraldic hieroglyph for one of the Manx line descended from the hero. Godred, king of Man, was buried at Iona in the twelfth century, to which time this carving is possibly to be dated.”¹

The Norse galley figures on the arms of Clan Donald, and may be seen on the Iona tombstone of Angus Mór, father of John, for some time last Independent Lord of the Isles—and a descendant in the sixth generation from Somerled, regulus of Argyll.

¹ *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, iii. 305-306, where a good illustration is given by Mr. Collingwood, through whose courtesy it is here reproduced.

The galley or ship, among other emblems, is mentioned by Allan M'Dougall as pertaining to the arms of the Chief of Glengarry :

An uair a thogta do laoich,
 B'ann do d'shuaicheantas daor,
 Ri crann gallanach, caol,
 Air dheagh shnaidheadh bho'n t-saor,
 Long is leomhann is craobh,
 'S bradan tarragheal ri'n taobh,
 Lámh dhearg agus fraoch,
 'Nuair dh'éighte le d'mhaoir crois-tàraidh.¹

Likewise in an elegy on M'Dougal of Dunolly, who descended from Somerled, Allan Dall refers to the origin of the hand or mailed fist in the Clan Donald arms, which he describes thus :

Lámh-dhearg is leomhann is caisteal
 Long is bradan is crois-tàraidh,
 Dlùth bhad fraoich am barr a mhaide
 Dùbh-ghorm gaganach bho'n fhàsach
 'S gach culair a b'àillidh dathan
 'S craobh do'n abhull as a ghàradh.²

For a parallel compare the Viking ship on the oak door of Stillingfleet Church, Yorkshire.³

A spear-head and other objects of interest supposed to belong to Viking times have been found in the "Fairy House" in St. Kilda by Mr. Kearton, as he tells in his book *With Nature and a Camera*.

The Hunterston Brooch found at West Kilbride in Ayrshire, in 1826, belongs probably to the tenth century. The late Professor Stephens terms it

¹ P. 165 of Ailein Dughalach's *Orain*, ed. 1829.

² *Ib.* p. 109.

³ Figured in *Saga Book*, v. 247.

Scotland's richest fibula. It was found six miles from Largs at the foot of the Hawking Craig, 300 yards from the sea. It bears two inscriptions in Scandinavian runes, one of which has been interpreted: "Malbritta owns this brooch, Speaker (or Lawman) in Lar." Malbritta is a Gadhelic name, but it is not surprising that it should have been borne by a Scandinavian. "The Manx runic stones," says Stephens, "offer many instances, and so does all our older history. In ancient times many Icelanders had names originally Keltic. Such things always happen from intermarriages, friendship, and other causes." The other inscription is to the effect: "This brooch belongs to Olfriti."¹

At Kilbar, Barra, there was found by Dr. Carmichael a cross, the art of which is Celtic, but the inscription Runic. In 1880 it was deposited in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh. The stone measures 4 feet 5½ inches in length, its greatest width being 15½ inches above and 10 inches below. It is the first example of Runes in the Hebrides, and hence is doubly valuable. The inscription has been interpreted by the late Professor George Stephens: "Ur and Thur erected this stone after Raskur. Christ rest his soul." He read it: "Ur, pur, Kirþu stanir Riskurs (*or* Raskurs) sie (K)ristr (anti), *i.e.* Ur and Thur gared (set up) these the stones of Riskur (*or* Raskur). May Christ see (see to, bless, save, guard) (his -ond, his soul)!" He concludes that we may safely call this Kilbar monolith a Norse stone from about the eleventh century. The large

¹ George Stephens in *Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigtown*, i. 79.

cross on the back reminds us of several such on the rune-pillars in the Isle of Man, and the Celtic and Northern styles are curiously intermingled in its decoration.¹

Brooches, swords, and grave goods have been found from time to time in the West Highlands. Some of them are described and illustrated in Dr. J. Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times*: "The Iron Age," where there is a chapter devoted to Viking burials. A representation is there given of a brooch of bronze, silvered, from a grave mound in Eigg, where an iron sword, similar to one found in Islay, an iron axe head, a spear-head of iron, a penannular brooch of bronze plated with silver and ending in knobs, with other things, such as a small whetstone and several portions of dress. A sword-hilt of the Viking time found in Eigg is especially fine. In its form it resembles the hilt of the Islay sword, but Dr. J. Anderson considers it greatly superior to it in the beauty of its ornamentation and the skill of its workmanship. "I know no finer or more elaborate piece of art workmanship of the kind either in this country or in Norway."²

A Viking grave-mound was explored at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, in 1882, by Mr. W. Galloway. Grave goods, together with the skeleton of a horse and two cross-marked slabs were found, together with nails and rivets of iron, such as were used by the Norse-

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* New Series, vol. iii. p. 33; also in Stephens, *Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*, vol. iii.

² Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times*: "The Iron Age," pp. 48-49, where there is a fine illustration, here reproduced by permission.

men in constructing their ships and boats, as well as a pair of scales with their balance beam and weights. Further, an iron sword, 3 feet 8 inches in total length, with the characteristic pommel and cross-guard of the Viking time. Of the coins found one was of the reign of Eanred, 808-840 A.D., another of that of Vigmund, Archbishop of York, 831-854 A.D. Dr. H. Schetelig opines that the antiquities found in the grave are all of forms which also appear in Norway, and that they thus indicate as clearly as possible the nationality of the man buried there.¹

Very interesting is the image found in the peat-moss at Ballachulish in 1880 on the grounds of the late Bishop (then Dean) Chinnery Haldane. It seems to be the work of the Norsemen; in general design and execution it corresponds with ascertained specimens of their idols, and especially of what Sir Robert Christison calls that strange character of exaggeration of the organs of reproduction which was adopted by them for their deities as the emblem of Scandinavian fecundity. "Its chief peculiarities are the large size of the head, the absence of mammae, and the development of the pubal region." The eyes were provided with quartz pebbles for eye-balls. The late Rev. Dr. Stewart, of Nether-Lochaber, pointed out that there were native traditions which point to the Bay at Ballachulish as a favourite anchorage of the Vikings. He specified local names such as *Camus Thorsta*, *Camus Fridaig*, "probably from the Scandinavian goddess Frida or Frigga, a small bay at the turn where the Fort William road enters upon the raised beech"; *Goirtean* (mis-spelt

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1906-1907, p. 443.

Gorstain) *Fridaig*, Fridaig's Field; *Clach Ruric*, a boulder on the Appin shore near Ardshiel, so named because it was hurled down upon a band of Norsemen, and killed Ruric their chief and several of his men.¹ These names, in part, commemorate Norsemen, if not their deities.

¹ *Ib.* vol. for 1880-1881.



RUNIC INSCRIBED BROOCH (HUNTERSTON).



RUNIC INSCRIBED BROOCH (HUNTERSTON)—REVERSE.

III.

SCOTO-NORSE PERSONAL NAMES.

BETTER witnesses than fragments of early art-work are the names borne by the people. Many such are still with us.

Over a score of personal names testify to the Norse influence. Chief among these are *MacLeod*, *M'Cloyd* (1343), a clan which took its rise in *Lewis*—itself a place-name of Norse origin. *Ljót-ulf* was probably the form originally, meaning ugly-, bad-, hence 'fierce-wolf,' implying strength against foes. Distinctive names in this clan are *Torquil* and *Tor-mod*, sons of *Leod*, who is said to have lived in the thirteenth century, probably at the time of the cession of the Isles in 1266, when after his death his inheritance was divided among his two sons, *Torquil* the elder getting the cradle of the family, the Isle of *Lewis*, and from him came the chiefs of the *MacLeods* of *Lewis*, with their offshoots of *Raasay*, *Assynt*, and *Cadboll*. *Cleasby Vigfusson's Dictionary* states that *þorljotr* is found on many runic stones in Denmark, and that *Macleod* is probably from *Macljótr*, the *þor-* not having been inserted (*Dict.* p. 744).¹ "The *Macleods* of *Cadboll* and the

¹ This is impossible : it would give *MacThorleot*.

Macleods of Lewis, not only quarter the Manx *trie cassyn* (three legs) but use the same motto, *quocunque jeceris stabit*, which, I think, clearly points out that the chiefs of that name are descendants from the Norwegian sovereigns of Man and the Isles, or some other Manx connexion."¹ The name *Torcoll*, *Torquil* comes from the Norse *Thorkell*, *Thorketill*, 'sacrificial vessel or *kettle* of Thor.' The other brother, from whom sprang the MacLeods of Harris and Dunvegan, had likewise a purely Norse name, *Tormond*, which alternates with *Tormod*, from Norse *Thormundr*, 'Thor's protection, Thor's protector,' whence the dialectal form in Gaelic *Tormailt*; the other form, *Tormod*, is from the Norse *Thormóðhr*, 'Thor-minded,' 'wrath of Thor,' which appears in such Norse place-names as *Tormodsgaard*, *Tormods-vold*.² Both forms are Englished Norman. The Gaelic *Goraidh*, 'Godrey,' in Middle Gaelic *Gofraig* (1467), Early Irish *Gothfraid*, Early Welsh *Gothrit*, is from Norse *Goðroðr* or *Gudrod*, allied to Old English *Godefried*, German *Gottfried*, 'God's peace.' Godred, king of Man and the Isles, is mentioned in 979; another Godred, king of Man and the Hebrides, died in 1187, leaving *Olave* his son as heir. Norse *Ólafr*, *Anlaf*, signifies 'the Anses' relic' (-*laf* = E. -left), and appears in Early Irish as *Amláib*, *Álaib*, which gives the Gaelic *MacAmhlaidh*, *Amhlaibh*, 'MacAulay.' Perhaps the form *Alaib*, *Alap*, used as a pet name in some Highland districts, and now confused with *Ali* for *Alastair*, comes also from the Norse.

¹ Oswald in *Manx Soc.* vol. v. p. 7.

² Rygh, *Gamle Personnavne*, p. 262.

Godred Crovan, king of Man and the Isles (1079-1095), was succeeded by his son *Lögmänn* (acc.) 'Lawman,' whence the Gaelic Lamont, *M'Laomuinn*, *Lāman*; N. *lagamaðr*, 'lawman,' pl. *lögmenn*, 'lawmen,' Old Swedish *lagman*. The *lagman* was the first commoner, and he had to say from memory what was the law of the land to the assembled people on the Law-hill, *Lög-bergi*. From this comes the Gaelic *M'Clymont*, in the Dean of Lismore, *V'Clymont*, *Clyne lymyn*. *Reginald*, which occurs as the name of a son of Godred of Man, is from the Norse *Rognvaldr*, 'ruler from the gods' or 'ruler of counsel'; N. *rogn*, *regin*, the gods, Gothic *ragin*, 'opinion, rule': Middle Gaelic *Raghnall* in *M'Mhuirich*, modern Gaelic *Raonull*, also *Rā'ull*, and *Rao'ull* from *Raoghnull*. It is the name which appears in *Clan Ranald*. A cognate word is the female personal name *Raonuid*, *Raonuilt*, *Raghnuilt*, Englished Rachel, from the Norse *Ragnhildr*. The personal name *Mānus*, common among the MacLeans and the MacDonalds, meets us at an early date in the person of King *Magnus* of Norway, who made an expedition through the Isles in 1098, and was killed in Ulster in 1103. The name itself is Norse *Magnúss*, from the Latin *magnus*, 'great.' No Gaelic Ossianic lay was more current than *Mānus*, *Laoidh Mhānuis*. It is the framework of Macpherson's *Fingal*. He was surnamed Barelegs because he adopted the Highland dress both in Scotland and in Norway. The Norse court-poet describes his Hebridean invasion thus: "Fire played fiercely to the heavens over *Ljódhús* (Lewis); he went over *Ívist* (Uidhist,

Uist) with flame; the yeomen lost life and goods. He harried *Skidh* (Skye) and *Tyrvist*¹ (Tiree). The terror of the Scots was in his glory; the lord of Greenland made the maidens weep in the Southern isles (Sudreys); the *Mylsk* (people of Mull) ran in fear. There was smoke over *Il* (Islay); further south men in Cantire bowed beneath the sword edge; he made the Manxman to fall."

He took King Lawman prisoner. From the name *Mānus* comes, further, the form *MacMhanuis*, *M'Vanish*, *M'Venish*,² to be met with in the Highlands. The name Somerled, that of the ruler of the Isles who died in 1164, from the Norse *Sumarliði*, 'summer-sailor, viking,' from *sumar*, summer, and *liði*, 'a follower, sailor,' appears in Gaelic as *Somhairle*, whence also *Sorley*, *Mac Sorley*. The Nicolsons of Skye, Gaelic *Mac Neacail*, M'Nicol, derived doubtless from the Norse; a Norwegian baron, Andrew Nicolasson, was conspicuous for valour at the battle of Largs. The Norse name came itself from Latin *Nicolas*, from Greek *Νικόλαος*, 'conquering people.' The MacNicol of Glenorchy, however, are in local tradition said to have sprung from one Nicol M'Phee, who left Lochaber in the sixteenth century; they are properly, therefore, M'Phees. Of Danish origin is M'Iver,³ Gaelic *Mac Iamhair*, Early Irish

¹ Hence *Tirisdeach*, 'a Tiree Man,' whereas *Tiriodh*, Tiree, the *terra ethica* of Adamnan, is native, and means 'corn-land.'

² Different is MacBharrais, MacVarish, a name among the Moidart Macdonalds, and which comes from *Maurice*.

³ Of the MacIver-Campbells of Glassary, properly MacIvers, came the poet T. Campbell, author of the "Pleasures of Hope"; v. *Memoirs of E. MacIver*, ed. Henderson, for account of Clan Iver.

Imair, from Norse *Ívarr*, the full form being *Ingvar*. From this comes the form *Iverach*. Notable among Norse loans is Mac Crimmon, Mac Cruimein from *Rumun*, as on a Manx runic inscription, itself from Norse *Hrómundr*, ultimately *Hroðmundr*, 'famed protector.' MacBain rightly derived the name from the Norse and not from Old Gaelic Crimthann; *Rómundr*, with vowel as *o*, *u*, *φ*, is not uncommon in Norse.¹ The famous Uist poet *MacCodrum* has his name from Norse *Guttormr*, *Goðormr*, cognate with Old English *Guthrum*, 'good or god-serpent.' Legend associates the MacCodrums with seals under enchantment.

MacCorquodale, *M'Corcadail*, Middle Gaelic *Corgitill*, in the "Book of the Dean of Lismore"; Makcorquydill (1434) from Norse *Thorketill*, 'Thor's sacrificial vessel or kettle.' One of the early barons to whom lands were given on Loch Awe side bore this name, and was conspicuous for bravery at Dunstaffnage Castle, as I learned from a descendant. The same holy vessel appears in the name *M'Asgill*, *Mac-Askill*, from Norse *Ásketill*, 'the kettle of the Anses or gods.' The legend about the name was that the first Askill on the West Coast was a fugitive from Dublin owing to a feud which had arisen about the succession to the kingship. He came to Skye and was given lands by Macleod. Alluding to the clan a *t* is introduced, thus Clann t-Asguill. In Bernera Taskill Mac Askill, corrupted in spelling improperly to Mac-Caskill, was a proper name. This information I

¹ See Rygh, p. 209. The sounds of *i* and *ui* interchange in G., cf. bruidhinn, bridhinn; righ, ruigh.

owe to the kindness of Miss F. Tolmie, who has the MacAskill tradition directly on the maternal side. It was a William MacAskill who led Clan Macleod against the fleet of Clanranald at Eynot, west of Skye, in the sixteenth century.

Ella, a West Highland female name, may be the N. *Edla*.

The name *Gunn*, Gaelic *Guinne*, *Gunnach*, is from Norse *Gunni* (seventeenth century), from *Gunnr*, 'war,' the full form being either *Gúnn-björn*, 'war-bear,' or *Gunn-Ólfr*, 'war-wolf.' *MacRāild* has been taken from *Haraitt*, from Norse *Haraldr*, as in English *herald*; the Middle Irish *Aralt*. Dr. M'Bain has stamped this etymon with his authority, but when the name appears as in *Cladh an Easbuig Eraild*, the old name of Muckairn burying-ground, the long vowel form *Rāild* does not occur, so that *Raild* possibly may be from *Ragnall*, *Rā'uill*, with epithetic *t*,—in either case Norse. The middle Gadhelic *Huisduinn*, modern *Huisdean*, Englished *Hugh*, is from Norse *Eysteinn*, common in Norse place-names.¹ The older pronunciation is retained in Ness, *Dūn Éisteann*, near the Butt of Lewis. It is not from Hutcheon (whence Hutchison), which is in Gaelic *Haitsean*, with short *ǣ*. To be added is *Lachlan*, which in the *Annals of the Four Masters* appears under 1060 as *Lochlainn mac Lochlainn* from *Loch-lann*,² 'fjord-land,' Scandinavia. A difficulty is that the older spelling is *Lothlind*. The Gaelic *Dugald*, M'Dougall (Irish Doyle), while not from Norse, was a Gadhelic term applied

¹ Rygh, p. 288.

² Zimmer takes it from the Norse, surviving in Danish *Låland*.

originally to the Danes, and so far an indication of the presence of foreign influence; *Dufgal* (1261), genitive *Dubgail* (1467), Early Irish *Dubgall*, a Dane, literally 'black-stranger,' apparently from the dark shining coats of mail, as opposed to *Finn-gall*, 'fair-foreigner,' Norwegian; whose presence is indicated in the Gadhelic name for the Hebrides, *Innse-Gall*, 'the isles of the strangers, or Norwegians.'

To the foregoing names I would add the following:

MacAndy, Clann Ic Anndai, is a Hebridean family name, current about Harris, Bernera, and N. Uist. It comes from the N. *Andi*, which seems to occur in Norse place-names, *Andabú*, *Andestad*, *Andastader* (v. p. 7 of Rygh's *Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne*, Christiania, 1901). Where it occurs on the Highland border it may arise from Sandy, Lowland Scots for Alexander, made into Mac Shanndai. Different, I think, is *Maic Andaigh* of Tigernach's *Annals*, which Stokes renders Mac Annaig. The long-tailed ducks are held to be the enchanted section of the MacAndys (*Car. Gad.* ii. 295).

Eckil in Rob Donn's pedigree; I have it that one whose forebears lived next door to the house of the poet's birth always heard the bard spoken of as Calder. MacBain took the name in Rob Donn's family to be from Oikel, for he says: "Rob Donn was really a Calder from the Oikel district, his family having in the eighteenth century registers the aliases of Mackay or Calder or Eckel; but the poet is now claimed as a 'real' Mackay."¹

¹ *Celt. Rev.* ii. 64.

Even so it is the Norse form *Ekkjall*, as in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, for Pictish *Oichil*, now *Oykel*.

Olgharra, a personal name from N. *Holger*; *siol Olghir*, *Ollaghair*; Mary Macleod, the Harris poetess, uses it:

Thù shliochd Ollaghair
 Bha mór morgha,
 Nan seòl corra-bheann,
 'S nan còrn gorm-ghlas,
 Nan ceòl orghan
 'S nan seòd bu bhorb ri éiginn.

Mackenzie's *Sār Obair nam Bard*, p. 28.

MacSwan, Gaelic *MacSuain* in Skye, Norse *Sveinn*, N. English *Sweyn*; *Sweyn*, the name of a Norse king. Quite different is the Cintire *Mac-Sween* which comes from Dalriadic times, Old Irish *Suibne*, whence *Sweeny*.

Tolmach, *Talmach*, *Tolmie*, Andrew *Tolmi*, Inverness (1612); also *Tolme*: the *Tolmies* of the Hebrides are called *Clann Talvaich* (see Principal MacIver Campbell's *Account of Clan Iver*, p. 13). It may be founded on Norse *hólmr*, *hólmi*, a holm, islet in a bay, creek, or river; even meadows on the shore with ditches behind them are in Icelandic called holms. The *holm-going* was the duel or wager fought on an holm, and in old Iceland was a sort of final appeal or ordeal. Wherever a *Thing* or Parliament was held a holm was appointed for the wager. Some of the Highland *Tolmies* had a connection with Fortrose in the eighteenth century; there may have been such a holm there or near Dingwall, the seat of the *Thing* in Norse times. But they may have come there under the *Seaforth*



VIKING SWORD HILT, FROM EIGG.

influence, as I have heard it said that the Tolmies of Skye were connected with the Macleods of Raarsay, and were said to have come over with Torcull from whence came the *Siol Thorcuill* or elder branch of the Macleods. One having associations with such a holm would in Gadhelic acquire the epithet Tolmach. With *t* of Gadhelic article prefixed we meet the same word in *Duntuilm* (gen. case), Skye.

Torull; *Nic Thoruill*; 's mór iarguin Nic Thoruill ort (v. my *Leabhar nan Gleann*, p. 79): a Harris name, from N. Thorald.

One may include *Tumason*, 'Thomson,' Norse Tumason, from *Tumi*, Thomas. *Tumason* is met with as well as Mac Thōmais.

Mac Uis, a Skye surname; the Harris form I noted as *Mac Chuthais* (*Leabhar nan Gleann*, p. 85). Here I suspend judgment.

Mac Usbaig, a Harris name (Scalpa-Benera). It was extant on the male side in 1900, but is now represented in the family I know of only on the female side. N. *Uspakr*. In the MacLeod pedigree occurs Mic Arailt mic *Aspuig* (v. *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*).

Indubitably Norse is the Skye name *M'Siridh*, from the Norse female name Sig-riðr. In Mull a branch of the Mackinnons went by the name Mac Siridh (Gillies's *Argyll Place-Names*, p. 108). M'Bain derived this name, now not often met with, from Sigfrid or Sigurd, which is phonetically doubtful; persons bearing this sept name became either Macdonalds or Mackinnons. Different is the Norse Sigtrygg or Sitric, which "gives the

Galwegian name of *M'Kittrick* or M'Ketterick" (MacBain). This indicates the presence of Norse influence in Galloway, where the name M'Iver, from the O. Danish Ivarr, Ingvaar, appears as *M'Eur*, *M'Cure*. Iver Crom is said in tradition to have won lands in Cowal in the early thirteenth century: the Clan Iver lands were forfeited in the seventeenth century and were restored on condition that the heir should take the name Campbell.

???
...
It is a moot question how far the Mathesons may have a Norse strain, inasmuch as the name may but translate the Norse Bjarni 'Bear,' which yields Bjornssen in Norway, and appears in the Southern area of Celtic Scotland as *M'Burney*,¹ where also we meet with M'Killaig, from the N. Kiallakr, itself a loan from old Gadhelic Cellach, whence Kelly.

Zimmer, in his review of Moore's *Manx Surnames* (in *Gött. Gelehr. Anzeig.*, 1891, p. 107), considers the Manx surnames compounded with *Giolla* were in the first instance those of Northmen converted to Christianity, and derives *Gille* from N. *gild-R*, 'stout, brawny, of full worth'—an epithet applied to a man. In the Index to the *Annals of the Four Masters* there are 354 names formed with *maol* between the sixth and twelfth centuries, and in fairly equal proportions, whereas there are only 56 names with *Gille*, *Giolla*, and of these the earliest is in 982, while 49 of the 56 are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries! *Gille brighde* occurs as the name of the father of *Somerled* in the Clan Donald genealogies.

¹ v. MacBain's "Study of Highland Personal Names" in *The Celtic Review*, ii. 67.

So far as names show, on this view both father and son were of Norse origin. Gillies (Gill Iosa, whence *Lees, M'Leish*), Gilleasping (short form in Lorne, *Lasbuig*), Gilchrist (Gille Criosd), would thus be names indicating a Norse strain. In the *Annals of the Four Masters* we meet with Imhar mac Gilla-Ultain, slain in 1094; with Gillaphadruig, son of Imhair, killed in 982. In the tenth century names with *Gille* become current, *i.e.* roughly speaking, about the same time as Norse names like Godfrey, grandson of Imhar, 919 A.D.; Godfrey, son of Fearghus, chief of the Innsi-Gall, died 857 A.D. Names with *Maol*, *e.g.* Maelrubha, Maelfithrigh, Maeldoid, meet us in the seventh century. Hence Gillies from Gill-Iosa, servant of Jesus, seems to be more than a mere variant of the older Maol-Iosa, now Myles. Some cause must be assigned for this displacement which seems concomitant with such a formation as *Mac Gall-Gaidheal* of the *Annals*, a name arising among the mixed breed of Norse-Gaidheal. This applies to the names in *Gille* in Innse-Gall, but only the introduction of the fashion need after the first Viking period be ascribed to the Norse: the mode would soon spread, and it by no means follows that all who bear names compounded with *Gille* are Norse. When *Mac* is prefixed the result appears as *Macle*—*e.g.* Maclennan, Mac Gill Fhinnen, (son of the) servant of St. Finnan. Strangers to the Gadhelic people were called Gall, and this gave rise to surnames such as Gauld, Gall, and the Lowland Galt, where we cannot readily distinguish what foreign strain was primarily meant. Here falls *Gallach*, a Caithness man, where we may

regard it as applied to some Norseman. *Gallie*, a name borne by Rev. Mr. Gallie of Brae-Badenoch in Macpherson's day, may be some form from *Gall*; Ferguson wrongly suggested the Norse gallin, *gali*, 'waggish, crazy,' as the origin. The formation *Galbraith* is parallel with that of the surname *Galloway*, and points to a cross between the Norse and some of the Britons of Strathclyde or the district of the Lennox bordering on Gadhelic bounds. Modern *Mac Na Breatnuich*, 'son of the Briton,' is not sufficient to account for the form *Gal-braith*, *Gal-brait* (thirteenth century), 'stranger-Briton.' *Galbraith* Castle is now a ruin on one of the islands in Loch Lomond. From the extensive territory once owned by the Galbraiths, I take it that the progenitor was some way connected with one of the Britons whose seat was at Dumbarton Rock, 'the fort of the Britons.' The connection with Ail Cluaidh, the Rock of Clyde or Dumbarton Rock, is traceable in the lines :

Breatunnach o'n Talla Dheirg
Uaisle 'shliochd Albann do shloinne.

= Galbraith from the Red Tower, noblest of Albannic race, thy surname (or pedigree).

The Norse took Dumbarton in the ninth century, and we may infer that some Norseman intermarried with some member of a British family that survived the coming of the Gaidheal, and originated the clan name Galbraith.

The family name Rankine is a diminutive from the root that appears in Randolph. The Gadhelic form is Mac Raing, Mac Rainn. I suggest it also

appears in Cui(th)-Raing, the famous Quirang, 'Raing's Quoy,' in Skye. A current saying is:

A h-uile fiodh 'sa choill
 A dh'ionnsuidh tigh mhic Raingce'
 Ach eadh' mu chrainn is fiodhagach.

= Every (kind of) timber in the wood to Rankine's house save ivy and bird-cherry (or wild-fig).

Other forms of the name met with are M'Rankyne in Glen-girvane (1562); Neil M'Rankyne in Glen-govane, near Maybole (1608); Neil Ranking or M'Ranking (1610), under Kennedy of Balquhan. These are for Ayrshire. It appears in Glencoe: Duncan M'Donchie V'Crane (1617). Spelt with *f* it is met in Rannoch in 1618: John Oig M'Frankeine, servitor at Dunan in Rannoch. The form Raingce appears in the Maclean pedigree where Raingce, the father of a Lismore abbot, is the son of old Dougall of Scone.¹ The association with Dougall leads to suspicion of Norse origin. The Clann Mhic Raingce were pipers to the Macleans of Duart, and later to the Macleans of Coll; legend says that they got their gift from Faëry or Elfdom. Compare the German *Ranke*. The piper's family were known as Clann Duiligh or Cudúiligh, which means *canis avidus*, says O'Donovan. Oengus mac mic Rancáin, an Irish chief, is in 1100 A.D. surety to a charter in the *Book of Kells*. The date is not too early for a Teutonic origin. As the form Reynkin is a pet form of Reynald, the root there is ultimately the same as in Reginald, N. Rögnvaldr, 'ruler from the gods or ruler of counsel,' which yields Raonull, Rao'ull in Gadhelic. We cannot thus derive the

¹ *Skene*, iii. 481.

Highland *Rankine* from the Norse, but from a cognate Teutonic form through Middle English, from a diminutive of the root in Randolph; *cf.* *Reynald, Reynard*. The same root as in *Reginn, Ragn*, whence Reginald, G. Raognnull, 'ruler of counsel, or god-ruler,' appears as Rayn-, Rain-, Ran-, whence later Rennie. It is doubtful whether Una, now used for Winifred, may not be from the N. *Unnr*, a female name in the *Landnamabok*. A King of Lochlin's daughter, whom Keating makes the mother of Conn of the Hundred Battles in the second century, is so named!

Names of Norse origin such as Marwick, from a place-name signifying 'sea-mew bay,' are outside the Highland borders, and do not fall to be included here. Bremner may be excepted, as common in E. Ross in the sixteenth century; Finlay Bremner appears in Fodderty in 1649. An old spelling was Brabener, 'a native of Brabant,' but Brabner in Stemister, Caithness, in 1611, might possibly be of direct Norse origin. That properly is also outside Celtic Scotland.

As the Highland clan-names Chisholm, Fraser, Grant, Menzies are directly of Norman origin, they are not considered here, though ultimately the Normans were Northmen. This was not the case, however, with all who came in with the Normans, *e.g.* the Bissets, spelt Buset in 1294, and still pronounced in Gadhelic as *Buiseid*. The Irish tradition, given in Reeves's *Down and Connor*, states that they were a Greek family who came in with the Norman conquest, and take the name from Greek *βυσσητός*, ultimately from *βυσσος*, 'fine linen'!

The usual derivation is from French *bis*, 'the rock dove.'

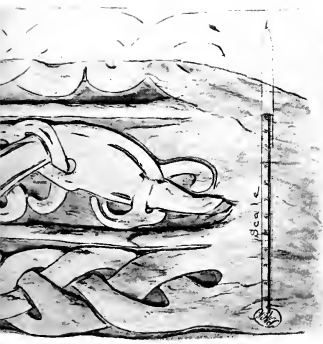
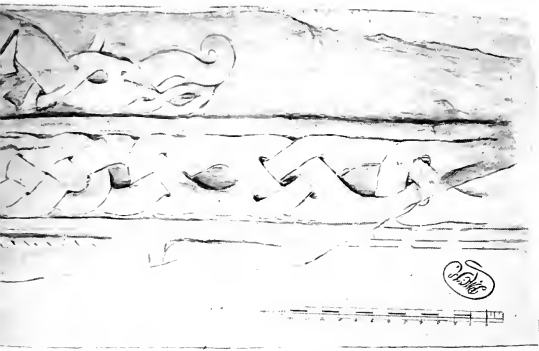
From beyond the Highland bounds we get Masson, Manson, for Magnus-son, son of Magnus, which name the Norse took over from the Latin in the age of Charles the Great. A peculiar female named *Gil*, used in Eriska, is met with also in Yorkshire, where we have Gill for Juliana, whence English Gillot; the *Gil* seems Norse, as may readily be the case, for *Eriska*, both in the Outer Isles and in Argyll, means Eric's isle, N. Eriks-ey; a Norse personal name is met with in *Groa*, Groa's ey or isle; Ulva, Ulf's isle. In Vālay, off Uist, we seem to have the Norse Valdi, a personal name which we have in the Norse place-names Valbi, Valstad (*v. Rygh's Gamle Personnavne*, pp. 274-5), or else N. Vali, an old personal name as in Valset, Valabudh. Gigha, Giodhai, is the name of an island of the Cintire coast and also of an island near Uist; it is Guð-ey in the *Orkneyinga Saga*; N. Gyð-ey: compare Godö, Goðey 'God-isle,' an island referred to in the *Heimskringla*: there is a Norse personal name Gyða, which now appears in Gjøby, Gjøsaetre (*v. Rygh*, p. 108). Norse personal names appear in several other island names (*v. under Scoto-Norse Place Names*). And we may thus best explain Rothesay, the older spelling of which is Rothersay (1321) 'Rother's isle,'—the name having been given originally to the Castle, which is an islet within a moat (*cf. sub Scenery*).

There is an interesting Lismore tradition of the Norsemen. When the natives saw the Vikings coming they made for the north end of the island,

but one courageous woman hid her cow at home. "The Vikings landed below her house. Three of their number, more courageous than discreet, ran up the narrow pass before the rest, and, discovering the woman's cow, secured it. The woman attacked the men, and, killing the three, threw their bodies over the rocks on their friends below. She then rolled a large stone over the rock, which, coming down the hill with terrific force, killed the leader of the Vikings on the spot. The man was hastily buried where he fell, and the stone by which he was killed was raised to his memory. He was called Urchaidh Mōr mac Rìgh Lochlainn, Great Urchy, son of the King of Scandinavia. From him the place takes its name of Port Urchay in Baile-ghrundail. The death of their leader threw the Viking pirates into confusion, and hurrying into their boats they returned to their galleys. And thus Lismore on this occasion was saved by the bravery of one woman."¹ Perhaps it is the N. Bothilldr, a female name that figures in the tradition of Beothail. A Lismore ruin known as Dun-nan-Gall, 'the Norsemen's fort,' is also called Caisteal Chaifein, the Castle of Caifean, who is regarded as having been a son of the King of Lochlin. His sister, Beothail, a daughter of a Scandinavian king, legend tells, cried in her grave, and found no peace till she was disinterred from her tomb and her remains brought to Scandinavia; a Gadhelic lament commemorates the affair.² The greater and lesser

¹ Campbell's *Records of Argyll*, p. 328.

² *Ib.* p. 331, where with an English translation it is given by Dr. Carmichael.



SIGURD SLAB, MALEW
(FROM KERMODE'S *Irish Crosses*).

Eirebal, which formerly may have formed two islands, flat and green on the top, close to Castle Caifein, derive from the N. *eyrr-ból*, 'beach-stead' (Mod. Icel. *eyri*), the Norse *ból* referring to reclaimed and cultivated land, and used in Iceland for a lair or lying place of beasts or cattle.

IV.

NORSE INFLUENCES IN BELIEF AND RITUAL AMONG THE GAIDHEAL.

THOSE who bore these names would have brought their beliefs with them. Some of their creeds and customs can be traced. Norse civilisation itself, though of a mixed character, was in an advanced state. They knew how to build seaworthy ships, were adepts in metal work, and possessed a body of proverbial sayings and customs which indicate a capacity for careful observation. The vikings on the warpath, in their search for a livelihood, exhibited too frequently the discreditable side of their nature, but among themselves there were many diamonds in the rough. They possessed an embossed coinage, and apart from inevitable quarrels and tribal feuds they had a genuine respect for law, and treaties, and fair-play. At the judgment-hill or Thing-mote their freemen met for legislative purposes yearly, and some of its spirit may survive in our love of popular assemblies, as well as in the proceedings at the enactment of laws proclaimed by the Manx House of Keys from Tynwald Hill. Their religion was dominated by

belief in Fate and the Gods, by belief in ancestral spirits, demons of Nature, and by sacrificial rites. They had priestly officials and temples where women sometimes delivered oracles, as may be instanced from the doings of the wife of Turgesius, who came to Ireland in 843, and is said to have issued her orders from the high altar of the church at Clonmacnois. The Norse temple "consisted of two parts, a nave and a shrine. . . . It was built round and arched. In it, in a half-circle, stood the images of the gods, and before them in the middle of the half-circle was the altar (*stalli*). On it lay the holy ring (*baugr*) on which all solemn oaths were sworn; and there too was the blood-bowl (*hlaut-bolli*) in which the blood of the slaughtered victims was caught, and the blood-twigg (*hlauttvein*) with which the worshippers were sprinkled to hallow them in the presence of the almighty gods. On the altar burned the holy fire, which was never suffered to be quenched. The worship of the gods consisted in offerings or sacrifices (*blot-form*) of all living things, sometimes even of men. These for the most part were criminals or slaves, and therefore, in the first case, these human sacrifices stood in the same position as our executions. Near every Thing-field, a spot closely connected with the Temples, stood the stone of sacrifice, on which the backs of those victims were crushed and broken, and the holy pool in which another kind of human sacrifices was solemnly sunk."¹

In the sphere of belief and rite certain traces of contact with this Norse civilisation may be traced

¹ Dasent in Preface to *Burnt Njal*, xxxvii.

among the Gaidheal. The idea of Hell as a place of cold is met with in Highland poetry, and may be due to Norse influence. David Mackellar, a poet in Glendaruel at the end of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, describes the hard case of the sufferers in hell, where "each day is lasting as a year, and the bodies (which are referred to as become hard as brass and iron) are lacerated by fire and by cold; that is their wage though long delayed."¹ Mackenzie was long ago struck with this, and in his *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry* he remarked that the ancient Caledonians entertained the idea that hell was a cold and inhospitable place, quoting an old poem :

'S mairg e roghnaicheas Ifrinn fhuar
S gur h-i uamh nan droighean geur,
Is beag orm ifrinn fhuar fhliuch
Aite bith-bhuan is searbh deoch

= Woe to the one who chooses cold Hell, for it is a cavern with sharp thorns: I abhor Hell, with its cold and wet, a place of bitterness everlasting, where bitter is the drink for aye.

This is an old idea in Gadhelic literature. In Adamnan's Vision, a text in the *Book of the Dun Cow*, we read of great multitudes in hell, standing in blackest mire up to their shoulders. Short cowls of ice are on them. Without rest or intermission,

¹Gach aon là mar bhliadhna bhuan
An lagan loisgneach, cruaidh an sàs,
'G an liodairt le teas is fuachd
Sud an duais ge fad an dàil.

Laoidh Mhic Ealair.

In 1900 in Morvern I heard most of this hymn sung to an old Ossianic chant by an aged man as he lay dying.

through all time, their girdles are perpetually scorching them with alternate cold and heat.¹

A belief in Hell was absent from the older stratum of Gadhelic belief; the idea of *ifrionn*, from the Latin *infernum*, came in with Christianity, and when we find that cold no less than heat entered into the idea of it, one is reminded of the Hell of the Northern nations. It is not clear where Milton's description—"in fierce heat and in ice"—had its origin, nor yet Shakespeare's in *Measure for Measure* (III. i.):

The delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.

The idea of the North as the place where cold winds and malignant beings proceed from is much too general for an explanation of the thought of Hell as cold; Gadhelic belief here seems to indicate a specific Norse influence: in the *Edda*, Hel is no longer the underworld, but a mythic land of mist and cold. In Snorri's *Edda* we read that downward and northward lies the way to Hel, and Hel figures as a goddess. On the other hand, in a typical modern Highland poet like Dugald Buchanan it is the fire of Hell, and its flames and brimstone smoke

¹ Translated in Boswell's *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, p. 40; cf. p. 200 for points of similarity in Dante's *Inferno*.

Donnchadh nam Pìos, a Kintail poet of the seventeenth century, has also the idea of Hell as a place of cold as well as heat. In a poem on the Day of Judgement the phrase occurs:

Dh' Ifrinn fhuair am bi fuachd is teas
Imichidh iad so gu truagh

= These will go in misery to cold Hell where will be cold and heat. v. my *Leabhar nan Gleann*, p. 254, stanza xviii.

that are pictured in his "Day of Judgement"; the curséd are described as told to move forward to the great fire where they are to be roasted for evermore.¹ The query is put whether the mouth that was meant to praise God unceasingly is to become a bellows to fan the green flame of Hell. There is no word of Hell as cold,—which is in all likelihood an idea due to contact with the Northmen.

The memory of Norse sacrifices to Thor are clearly reflected in a legend of Sutherland. Halmadary is the name of a place at the head of Strathnaver, deriving apparently from Norse *Hjalmund* and G. *airigh*, shieling. An event known in Sutherland as *Tuitcam Halmadairigh*, which may have occurred as late as the end of the seventeenth century, shows the tenacity of Norse heathen ideas. The Rev. N. Mackay, Croick, who relates it in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*,² thinks the story may take us back to the time when the Norse settlers were renouncing Paganism, or at least to a period when Thor was yet an object of popular dread. The Good Man of Halmadary (*Fear Halmadairigh*) "had begun to hold prayer-meetings at his house, and the inhabitants of the surrounding districts attended them. One day after the people had assembled, and the services were proceeded with, a large raven was seen in the dim light sitting on the *coilbh*. The worshippers all instinctively felt that it was an evil spirit, and they

¹ Gluaisibh-se chum an teine mhóir

'G ar ròstadh ann gu cian nan cian.

Buchanan's *Latha 'Bhreatheanais*.

² Vol. xx. 99; cf. Craigie's *Anc. Scand. Religion*, 58-60, re Norse human sacrifices.

became conscious of a dark and powerful fascination. Meanwhile the curiosity of the neighbours around was aroused by seeing that though it was getting late, the meeting was not being dismissed. One after another went in to see what might be the reason, but once in they were seized with the spirit that possessed the worshippers, and they did not return to tell the tale. The night passed, and so did the following day and night, and the meeting was not dismissed. At the end of that time the people who had assembled from the country around decided to take the roof off the house, and when this was done the spell that bound the worshippers was broken. It is said, however, that some of them never shook off the effects of the influence under which they were brought, and that they showed great reluctance in telling how they had been engaged during that time. It, however, transpired that they had decided to offer a human sacrifice to the spirit and that the victim fixed upon was the Good Man's son. A servant in the house had enough of reason left to protect the child, and thus a terrible crime was prevented."

Mr. Mackay adds that the people of the place, not wishing that so much dark superstition should ever be associated with Christian worship, discourage inquiring into it.

The Highland charms for curing bursting veins and sprains bear a surprising resemblance to the famous Merseburg charm, one of the very scanty pagan remains of Old High German literature. Like all old German and Anglo-Saxon remains, it is introduced by a short narrative giving, as it were,

an instance of its application. Such epical introduction is never found in genuine Celtic charms,¹ so that its occurrence in these Gadhelic specimens at once betrays their non-Celtic origin. In the German version the Gods Wuotan (Odin) and Phol (Balder) ride to the chase, when the leg of Phol's horse is sprained. Many goddesses, and finally Wuotan himself, sing charms over it, of which this is the burden :

Bone to bone, blood to blood,
Limb to limb, as tho' they were glued.

In the Gadhelic² version it is Christ riding on an ass or horse, or St. Brigit with a pair of horses, who heals the sprained or broken leg of the animal :

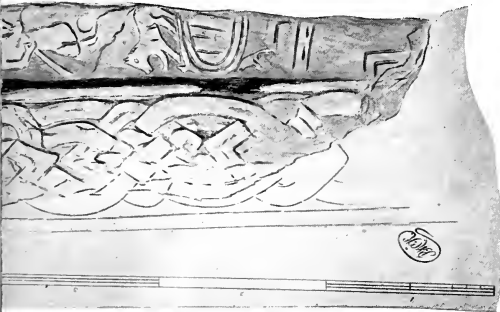
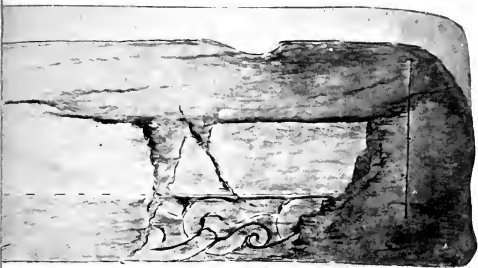
She put bone to bone, she put flesh to flesh,
She put sinew to sinew, she put vein to vein.

As no borrowing from Old High German is to be thought of, we can only suppose that this charm has come into Gadhelic either from an Anglo-Saxon or, more likely, a Norse source now lost to us.

The FRĪTH is defined as an incantation to discover if far-away persons live (MacBain); fate (Shaw, O'Reilly). Dr. MacBain, without further describing it, rightly derived it from the Norse *frétt*, enquiry of the gods about the future; Sc. *fret*, *freit*. It was a species of divination current in the Hebrides, "to ascertain the position and condition of the absent and the lost, and was applied to man and beast. The augury was made on the first Monday of the quarter, and immediately before sunrise. The augurer, fasting and with bare feet, bare head, and

¹ v. Kuno Meyer in *Quarterly Review*, July, 1903, p. 27.

² Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, ii. pp. 14, 19.



SIGURD CROSS-SLAB, JUREBY
(FROM KERMODE'S *Manx Crosses*.)

closed eyes, went to the doorstep and placed a hand in each jamb. Mentally beseeching the god of the unseen to show him his quest and to grant him his augury, the augurer opened his eyes and looked steadfastly straight in front of him. From the nature and position of the objects within his sight he drew his conclusions.”¹

On Norse ground it is mentioned in the *Njals saga* (273); in the *Orkneyinga Saga* (28), where Sigurd practises it; in *Forn-Sögur* (19); in *Heimskringla* (i. 24). In Norse, in a religious sense, it may be an enquiry of gods or men. This species of divination which we owe to the Norse is by no means extinct in the Hebrides, where it is equivalent to casting the horoscope. In making the *frith* the recitation of the following formula is enjoined in Benbecula :

Mise dol a mach orra shlighe-sa, Dhé,
 Dia romham, Dia am dheaghaidh,
 Dia am luirg ;
 An t-eòlas rinn Muire dha 'Mac
 Shéid Brighid thromh bás (glaic)
 Fios firinne, gun fhios bréige :
 Mar a fhuair ise gum faic mise
 Samhladh air an rud a tha mi fhéin ag iarraidh.

i.e. I go out (lit. a-going) in thy path, O God ; God be before me, God be behind me, God be in my track : the knowledge which Mary made for her Son, Brigit breathed through her palms, knowledge of truth, without knowledge of falsehood : as she obtained [her quest] so may I too see the semblance of that which I myself am in quest of.

There is a rite of blessing one's self when making the *frith* if a woman be seen—she being the omen

¹A. Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, ii. 158, where an example is given, viz. *Frith Mhoire*, 'The Augury of Mary,' to discover where Jesus was when he stayed behind in the Temple.

of some untoward event or other. It is by the *frīth*, it is held, that those who cure the evil eye tell whether it be the eye of a male or female that has done the harm.

The native and parallel rite with the Gaidheal was the *fáeth fiada*, the spell or incantation of invisibility, which is said to have rendered St. Patrick and his followers invisible, and this rite under the name *fáth fīth*, has existed in the Western Isles until our own day;¹ *fáeth* or *fáth* being a kind of poem or incantation, the Gaelic word being cognate with Cymric *gwawd*, panegyric, 'carmen'; hence 'magic,' e.g. *ferba fáth*, 'words of magic' (*Rev. Celt.* 20, 146); *fīth* (old *fiada*, which has nothing to do with *fīadh*, 'deer'), being probably connected with the old verb *indiad*, i.e. *ind-fiad*, 'let me say' (*cf.* Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 38, 467); further, *feith.i.focal*, 'word' (*H.* 3, 18). This whole phrase means 'word-spell,' and originates in the belief in the magic power of a word, as when we still say of a Highland witch: *thug i focal da*, 'she gave him a word,' i.e. bewitched him. The Norse *frīth* likewise testifies to belief in the magic word. The story of the deer metamorphosis so long connected with Patrick's *Canticum Scotticum* arose from a popular etymology connecting it with *fīadh*, 'deer,' with which it has nothing to do, but goes back to Druidic rites which were credited with creating magic mists, envelopes of vapour which rendered those who moved therein invisible.²

The ODA, OTTA, OTA, denotes a horse-race or cavalcade (*Iochdar* in Uist); it derives from N. *at* in *hesta-at*, 'a horse-fight'; the Norse verb being

¹ v. *Carmina Gadelica*, ii. 22-24.

² Cf. Bury's *Patrick*, 77, 246.

ultimately *etja*, *atti*, part. *att*, 'to make fight,' especially "*etja hestum*, of horse fights, a favourite sport of the ancients" (*v.* Cleasby's *Dict.* p. 134, for Norse references). I do not know of the word existing in Manx nor in Irish, but in the Highlands it is well known: the oldest reference to these Highland cavalcades I know of are in Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*, where he tells us of the riding on horseback in Barra on 27th September, the anniversary of St. Barr, "and the solemnity is concluded by three turns round St. Barr's Church"; also in S. Uist of a general cavalcade on All Saints' Day, "and then they bake St. Michael's cake at night"; further, in Harris, he tells that on St. Michael's Day "they rendezvous on horseback, and make their cavalcade on the sands at low water" (*v.* Martin, ed. 1716, pp. 52, 89, 99). In Norway the horse fight took place on Lovisae Day in August. There was an *oda* in North Uist as late as 1866 (*v.* Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. ii. 315); further (*ib.* vol. i. p. 207), where there is a unique description of the processional pilgrimage round the graves of the fathers, after which the people hasten to the *oda*—the scene of the athletics of the men and the racing of the horses. For this occasion it was permissible to appropriate a horse, wherever found and by whatever means. Theft of horse at St. Michael's Feast, theft that never was condemned (*ib.* 202). The priest led the way riding on a white horse (*ib.* 206). I recollect the late Father MacColl telling me of the revival of the *Oda* in South Uist not so many years ago, and in all likelihood it will exist for a long time to come, as a *survival*.

The old native Gaelic word for horse races was *grafand*, from *graiġ-svend*, Modern Gaelic, *greigh*, 'a stud of horses,' cognate with Latin *grex*, *gregis*, the root *svend* giving 'racing.' The borrowed word is *oda*, and came in with the Norse. Quite apart from this the horse figures largely in native Celtic belief; it has been known that a white or piebald horse was stopped by the mother or nurse of a child who had the whooping cough. The tales of the water-horse are endless. I mention the white water-horse of Spey; it appeared in fine caparison, and addressed a couple returning from market and invited them to mount. They did so, and he set off at a trot singing :

And ride weel, Davie,
And by this night at ten o'clock
Ye'll be in Pot Cravie.

This Morayshire verse I owe to the kindness of Professor Cooper, who quotes from *Macbeth* very appositely of horse fights :

Duncan's horses are broke loose,
'Tis said they ate each other.

The celebrated stone-circle in Lewis was bound to attract the interest of the Vikings. The place itself they named *Callarnis*, which I suggest is derived from *Kjallar*, a Norse name of Odin, and *nis*, from Norse *ness*, *naze*, or promontory. The cruciform circle of stones at this place in Lewis seems to have been in their minds ultimately associated with Odin. The late Dr. MacBain took the name from the Norse *Kjalarnes*, 'Keel-Ness,' the name also of a place in Iceland, but I do not

think this altogether established or suitable for the spot. What he says as to this and similar stone circles being the work of the Bronze Age men seems true: "Neither classical nor native record knows them in connection with any Celtic people. These circles are by origin grave enclosures, the cemetery in each case of some noted king or chief, to whom, it is more than likely, divine honours were paid. They were not the work of the Druids, for the Druids were Celts."¹ There is another view, that these ancient circles were astronomical observatories: "The Solar Physics Committee made an investigation as to the astronomical origin of the ancient stone monuments that are to be found in different parts of the country, more especially of those situated in Cornwall, Devon, South Wales, and Aberdeen, and their general conclusion, now published in a report of the Board of Education, is that these circles, cromlechs, and avenues were erected as observatories for the determination of the sun and stars. The results of the investigation indicate that the dates of erection are between 2000 B.C. and 800 B.C." The real origin is more complex.

Tursaichean or *Tussaichean Challanis* are the standing stones of Callernish, often called *Na fir bhréige*, 'the lying ones'; *na Tursaichean*, sometimes *Na Tussaichean*, from *N. pùrs*, a giant, in Shetland *tuss*, if not *G. tuirs-ach-an*, 'place of sadness'; we have in Lewis *Tursachan Ceann Thulebhig*, a stone circle near Garrynahine; *Tursachan Airigh nam Bidearan*, a circle of which there still remains three small stones three feet above the moss. Lewis

¹ M'Bain's *Early History of Lewis*, p. 2.

folk-lore now has it that the Féinn or Fingalians were turned to stone on the slopes of Callernish, where they now form the massive stone monuments, while the giant monolith, *Clach an Truiseal*, 'the Thrushel Stone,' standing sharply out of the level flats of North-west Lewis, was a water-carrier transformed into a pillar of stone by the incantations of the Irish wizards. Mr. K. Macleod gives the legend in the *Scottish Historical Review* for January, 1908. The Norse *pursasker* occurs in the *Heimskringla Saga* (trans. by Morris-Magnússon, vol. iv. p. 251) for "rocks supposed by some to be in Shetland, by others outside Thurso, or North of Caithness, in Scotland; but perhaps the Giant's Causeway in Ireland is meant." The term is Englished as Giant-isles. In the *Orkneyinga Saga* (ed. Anderson, 44") Thussasker, the Tuscar Rocks, is located S.E. of Ireland.

As to *Truiseil*, *Clach an Truiseil*, Martin says, "The *Thrushel* stone in the parish of Barvas is above 20 feet high, and almost as much in breadth" (p. 8, ed. 1716). N. *drasill*, *drösull*, m. 'a horse' suggests itself; it is in Norse largely a poetic word, as in Ygg-drasill; cf. also the verb *drösla*, 'to roam about'—all which would point to some old ceremonial of circuiting a stone sacred to some hero of old, and parallel to the circuiting of the burial on St. Michael's Eve as a preliminary to the *oda* already spoken of. The phonetics are doubtful.

The term *stall-phòsda* is used of marriage-ceremonial equivalent to 'at the altar,' from N. *stalli*, 'an heathen altar'; *stalla-hringr*, 'the altar-ring.' It occurs in St. Kilda, which name itself is of Norse origin. The Norse *horgr*, 'a heathen place of

*From the 'Scottish Historical Review' on Lewis
of the giant 'pursasker' v. p. 357.*

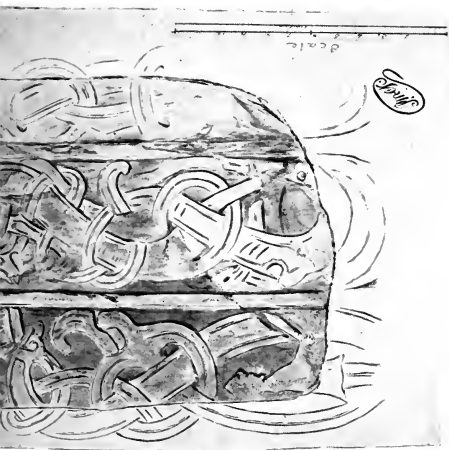
worship,' occurs in *Horogh* at Castle Bay, Barra, but it may be questioned if we have it also in the place-name Torgabost. The Norse *haugr*, 'burial mound,' is fairly common, as in Howmore, S. Uist, and there are the variants Hoe and Toe, all with close *o*.

Uruisg denotes 'a Brownie' (M'Bain's *Dictionary*, without etymon); hag—spectre. Mr. J. G. Campbell, Tiree, lets it appear in the script as *aoirisg*, i.e. *ao'risg*, which makes a native origin doubtful. In Lewis (Ness) it is applied to an uncouth huge female, which comes pretty near an original such as the Norse *ófreskja*, 'monster.' In Norse loans, *f* before *s* is dropped: Klifsgro, *Clisgro*; *f* before *r* would assimilate. In Ness the male spectre is called *cruchill*, which is also used of a ghost. It meant originally an apparition which can only be seen by people endowed with second sight: N. *ófreskr*, a mythological word meaning 'endowed with second sight, able to see ghosts and apparitions hidden from the common eye,' as defined in Cleasby-Vigfusson. Hence the objects so seen which are differently imagined in different localities. "In Tiree the only trace of it is in the name of a hollow, *Slochd an Aoirisg*" (Campbell's *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 199). Elsewhere it is more often of the feminine gender: *Clach na h-ùruisg*, 'the stone of the Urisk' in Glen Orchy, where at a waterfall¹ the Urisk dangled its feet over the fall and kept the waters from falling too fast. At Tyndrum is the Urisk's cascade (*Eas na h-Ùruisg*). The Rev.

¹ Waterfalls were worshipped (*Cor. Poet. Bor.* i. 421).

Gregorson Campbell defines it as a "large lubberly supernatural, of solitary habits and harmless character, that haunt lonely and mountainous places." He differentiates him from Brownie as dwelling not in the haunts of men but in solitudes. They were male and female, the offspring of unions between mortals and fairies (*ib.* 195).

Armstrong's *Dictionary*, in an interesting note, says the ùruisg is more sociable towards the end of harvest, and had a particular fondness for the products of the dairy. Further, and in this showing a wonderful closeness to a Norse original, Armstrong adds: "He could be seen only by *those who had the second sight*; yet I have heard of instances where he made himself visible to persons who were not so gifted. He is said to have been a jolly personable being, with a broad blue bonnet, flowing yellow hair, and a long walking-staff. Every manor had its ùruisg: and in the kitchen close by the fire, was a seat which was left unoccupied for him." Armstrong in the rest of his description identifies him with the Brownie. In Perthshire, kind treatment was all that he wished for; and it never failed to procure his favour. "In the northern parts of Scotland the ùruisg's disposition seems to have been more mercenary." Brand's description of the Brownie in Zetland is quoted. Armstrong makes the word "perhaps *urr-uisge*," and from this false etymon comes the emphasis in the folk mind in supposing its haunts to be "lonely dells, moorland *lakes*, and *waterfalls*." Two *urisks* are associated in legend with *Eas a' Phollchair*, a waterfall nearly two miles from Poolewe; the one was named *Crotachan*



SIGURD SLAB, ANDREAS
(FROM KERMODE'S *Manx Crosses*)

Liobastan, the other *Ciuthach Caogach*, from his being squint-eyed. Near the waterfall was a farmer's house. The kindness of the house-wife, *Caoimhneag*, led the *Ciuthach* at last to become troublesome. On one night he was anxious to ascertain her name. "My name," she replied, "is My-Self, My-Self,—and none else but myself." "Darling," said he, "what a nice name you do have; I rather think I will stay here to-night." Her good-man being from home the lady felt this to be unpleasant. On the fire there was a pot of porridge being prepared for the children, while the *Urisk*, half-clad, sat warming his feet at the fire. In a twinkling the good-wife spilt the boiling porridge over his bare knees, on which he sprang up roaring out :

Foit, foit! a bhoglaich theith,
Lite, luaisgte, luaidhte theith.

Tradition said that the marks of his feet were visible on the stones leading to the water-fall. The woman went to the highest knoll to listen as to what she might hear. The sparks from *Crotachan's* feet were plainly visible. All the time he kept crying aloud: "Who did that to thee?" "My-Self, My-Self,—and None-Else-but-Myself," the *Ciuthach* replied. "Were it anyone else it is I who would avenge it," cried his companion. The upshot was that the *Urisks* troubled *Caoimhneag* no more.¹

In a tale contributed by the late Rev. J. MacDougall to the first volume of the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, entitled: "The *Urisk* of the Corrie of the Howlings" (*ùruisg choire nan nuallan*)

¹ For the Gaelic see *Guth na Bliadhna*, iv. 391-393.

the *ùruisg* figures as a carline; though generally a surly man, the *ùruisg* is here a frightful hag, more resembling the Glastick than one of her own tribe.

"The worst of men," she tells the king's son, whom she dissuades from passing the corrie, "is he that will not take advice (*is diù nach gabh comhairle*). The hero encounters the loveliest maiden eye ever looked at; she had a willow wand in her right hand, and held her left behind her. His dog barked at her, and she became a howling venomous vindictive hag. The willow wand in her hand became an enchanting beetle, and a fiery scaly serpent lay coiled in her bosom. 'Her skin was like the hide of the grey buck of the cairns which stands between the smith and the sparks. She would crack a nut between her nose and chin.' As soon as she ascertained the dog's name she called him to her, and he would no longer give heed to his master. What he did was to attack the latter with the Urisk, for it was the Ùrisk-of-the-Corrie-of-the-Howlings, handsome though she appeared at the first sight which they got of her. She killed the king's son. She was a siren that had her heaps of slain."¹

In the older tales the *ùruisg* is credited with supernatural strength, knowledge, and ingenuity. In the tale of the King of Lochlann's three daughters the *ùruisg* knew beforehand the quest of the widow's son, and constructed a ship that would sail on sea and land, in order to recover the King of Lochlann's daughter.² The presence of the *ùruisg* in a tale in

¹ For the rest of the tale v. *Zeitschrift für Celt. Philologie*, Band i. 328-341.

² *West Highland Tales*, vol. i. pp. 244-245.

which the King of Lochlann figures is characteristic, and strengthens the Norse origin of the word *ùruisg*, which enters into Highland place-names, e.g. *Allt-nan-Ùruisgean*, *Eas-nan-Ùruisgean*, *Coire-nan-Ùruisgean*;¹ and *Gleann Uraisg* in Kilninver. His haunts were gloomy caves in the rocky sides of deep ravines, high waterfalls, or wild mountain corries; the association with water came the more readily through the folk etymology of *ùr-uisg*, which is wrong, but easily led to almost identifying the *ùruisg* with the water sprite *peallaidh*, surviving in Aberfeldy, *Obair-pheallaidh*, a word best explained as Pictish and cognate with German *quelle*.² Compare *Àrrusg*, 'awkwardness, indecency' (M'Leod and Dewar), 'ineptia, indecorum' (*High. Soc. Dict.*, which marks it provincial); a literary reference may be quoted from Allan Dall's *Poems* (1829 ed., p. 47), where, describing the effects of a spree, he says:

Cha robh air chomas dhomh ach *àrrusg*,

where the context implies he could not do aught else than 'see visions or spectres,' in short, the special second-sight of one suffering from the effects of a carouse: the word may thus be from the Norse *ófreskja*, applied first of all to the faculty of seeing spectres or ghosts; an Irish word *aireasc* is defined as 'the apple of the eye, sight.' Though a different dialectal development it seems to be of Norse origin; cf. *ū* and *ā* in *Usbaig*, *Asbaig*. For *ó*, *ù*, cf. N. *skjóli*, G. *sgùlan*; N. *spóla*, G. *spàl*, for *ó*, *à*; N. *Hrómundr*, G. *MacCruimein* (v. p. 53).

¹ *Waifs and Strays*, iii. 296.

² Watson's *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, p. 88.

Sòrag na h-oidhche, 'the sòrag of the night,' is an epithet of the ùruisg. The Rev. Mr. MacDougall, in his tale of the Uruisg, says he has never met this word before, and is uncertain of the meaning.¹ That a loan-word, in the sphere of myth, may obtain wide currency we see from the case of *dreag* further on.

Gaoitha, gúidha, always with the article before it, *A' Ghaoitha*, means 'by god,' and is used as an asseveration; (a 'ghaoi-a) is the pronunciation. It may have nothing to do with *gaoth*, 'wind,' but seems from the Norse *gyðja*, 'a goddess or priestess,' unless it contain the Icelandic *guð*, 'god'; *goð*, which in heathen times was neuter, and used almost exclusively in the plural for 'the heavenly powers.' The Gaelic phrase *a ghaoitha* I have often heard from an old man, and it may belong to the same order of words as *Shony, Kelda, Stall*.

The term *Nōgi* is used as a nickname, and occurs in a folk-song:

An cuala sibh 'n naigheachd thug buaidh air gach gnothuch
Bha eadar 'n t-each clomhach is Nōgi?

= Have ye heard of the news that surpasses wholly the affair
between the Shaggy Horse and Noki?

Nōgi was a personal nickname of a man.

It seems the N. *Nykr*, 'the nick,' a fabulous water-goblin in the shape of a grey water-horse emerging from lakes. Modern Norse *nykk* or *nökk*. Ivar Aasen and Dasent's translation of Asbjörn-sen and Moe clearly notes that the legend exists also in the Highlands of Scotland.

¹ *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.* i. 337ⁿ.

The imaginary *Rocabi*, the city which Gadhelic legend locates beneath the waves, may derive its name from N. rökr [rökr] 'twilight,' *rokkva*, to grow dark, and Norwegian *bö*, Danish *by*, N. *byr*, 'town': 'the twilight city.' Norse rökr should yield a short *ö* in Gadhelic, and as a matter of fact the word does not seem to be always long; Campbell of Tiree wrote it Roca Barra. Legend says that a ship's crew once called there and were hospitably entertained. When leaving the sailors were accompanied to the shore and made to heave their shoes. Whenever they left the shore the island disappeared. If they had kept their shoes or anything belonging to the island, if even a particle of its dust had adhered to them, Roca Barra would still be visible!

It is another name for the *Eilean Uaine*, or Green Isle of West Highland tradition, and corresponds to the buried city of Is in Brittany.

The Rocabarraidh of Barra legend is also called 'the fishing bank of the whales' = *Iola nam muca mara*, where *iola* is a Norse loan-word.

The term *teine-éiginn* denotes 'the need-fire' or *forced* fire, as Shaw, the historian of Moray, long ago translated it. Not finding the phrase in Irish lexicons, I wrote Dr. Hyde, who says: *Nil an focal teine éiginn againn-ne i n-Eirinn, chor ar bith, no ma ta ni chualaidh agus ní fhacaidh mise riamh e.* The phrase is unknown in Ireland. What takes its place is The Blessed Turf. "It is remarkable that, on the first approach of cholera here, in 1831, a sacred purifying fire—by some wise heads supposed to be of a political nature—went the round of the island, under the name of The Blessed Turf. It

was carried from house to house with such rapidity that it traversed the whole island in a single night. A remnant of the people still believe in the efficacy of fire as a preservative against pestilence, and sew up a piece of charmed turf in their dress for that purpose."¹ Another account is as follows:

"In Ireland runners hurried everywhere carrying smouldering peat, small portions of which were left at wayside cabins with the sacred obligation upon the inmates to carry the charm to seven other houses, and to make the exhortation, 'The cholera has broken out; take this, and while it burns offer up seven *paters*, three *aves*, and a *credo*, in the name of God and the holy St. John, that the plague may be stopped.' One man in the Bog of Allen had to run thirty miles before he could discharge his obligation."

Grimm long ago thought it strange that the Gaelic *éigin*, 'need, necessity,' should correspond so literally to the English *need*, and he pointed out that *need*, German *noth-feuer*, properly meant 'friction-fire'; it was a fire produced by friction from oak beams. I incline, especially as the term is unknown in Ireland, to regard the Norse *éikinn*, 'oaken,' as the real origin of the Gaelic *éiginn*, *eik* being of old the oak, though now in Icelandic it has come to mean tree of any kind. In Mull the need-fire was formed by turning an oaken wheel over nine oaken spindles. Ramsay of Ochtertyre's account tells us that in the eighteenth century the need-fire was produced by means of a well-seasoned plank of oak.²

¹ *Irish Popular Superstitions*, by W. R. Wilde, p. 44.

² Grimm's *Mythologie*,⁴ i. 506. Frazer's *Golden Bough* quotes Ramsay's account.

Grimm¹ refrains from explaining the difficult expression *eikin fur* (Saem. 83^b), and in a footnote (p. 609) he says the Gaelic *teine éiginn*, "seems to favour the old etymology of *nothfeuer*, unless it be simply a translation of the English *needfire*." Had he thought of it as a loan from the Norse he would have been able to explain the difficult expression, even if he maintain the derivation of *nothfeuer* from an older *hnofjur*, *hnodjur*, from the root *hniudan*, O.H.G. *hniotan*, ON. *hniōða* (quassare, terere, tundere), which would seem a fire elicited by thumping, rubbing, shaking. And in Sweden it is actually called both *vrideld* and *gnideld*, the one from *vrida* (torquere, circumagere), Ag.S. *wriðan*, O.G.H. *rīdan*, M.H.G. *rīden*; the other from *gnida*, 'fricare,' O.H.G. *knītan*, Ag.S. *cnīdan* (conterere, fricare, depserere).

It was produced in Sweden as with us by violently rubbing two pieces of wood together, in some districts even near the end of last (eighteenth) century; sometimes they used boughs of *nine sorts of wood*. The smoke rising from the *gnideld* was deemed salutary, fruit trees or nets fumigated with it became the more productive of fruit or fish. On this fumigation with *vriden eld*, and on driving the cattle out over such smoke, cf. *Supers. Swed.* 89, 108. Grimm thinks the superstitious practice of girls kindling nine sorts of wood on Christmas Eve may assure us of a wider meaning having once belonged to the need-fire. The word shows *eld*, 'fire,' and Norse *gniða* or *niða*, Danish *gnide*, to rub. An old reference to it is under the year 743 in the *Indiculus*

¹ *Mythology*, Eng. trans., p. 602 (vol. iii.).

Superstitionum (de igne fricato de ligno, id est nodfyr). The root **neu*, **nú*, in Gothic **bnauan*, from *bi-nauan*, Norse *nua*, Old Irish *nóine*, hunger-necessity, from **nevenjâ*,¹ in E. *need*, = 'press, force.'

The Hebridean old custom of carrying fire in the right hand round the cattle and land has been regarded by Dr. Stefannson as of Norse origin, and Professor Mackinnon remarks that the ring of fire round the beautiful island in the *Tale of the Knight of the Red Shield* seems a reminiscence from Iceland. To illustrate the Norse custom we may quote *Origines Islandicæ* (ii. 24): "Ord . . . rode round the house against the sun, with the glowing brand, and said: here I take land to myself in settlement, for there is no inhabited dwelling here. Let the witnesses that are here give ear." For the Hebrides Martin mentions the practice of carrying fire *dessil* or right-hand wise about women before they are churched and about children until they be christened, as an effectual means to preserve mother and infant from the power of evil spirits; sometimes these rounds were performed about the persons of benefactors three times, and he tells us he had this ceremony paid himself after he had given an alms. "There was an ancient custom in the Island of Lewis to make a fiery circle about the houses, corn, cattle, etc., belonging to each particular family: a man carried fire in his right hand, and went round, and it was call'd *Dessil* from the right hand. . . . An instance of this kind was once perform'd in the village Shadir in Lewis about sixteen years ago. . . . This superstition is quite abolish'd now, for

¹ Falk and Torp, *Ordbog Norske, sub Nød*.

there has not been above this one instance of it in forty years past.”¹

In Skye at least the serpent was associated with a ceremony of pounding a peat in a stocking at the doorstep on St. Bride's Day. One of the last traditional accounts tells of it having been done at Uignis, Skye.² The serpent was then supposed to come from its lair and the ceremony was thought to symbolise its destruction. An old rhyme associates the serpent with Clan Iver: “On St. Bride's Day the serpent will say from the knoll: I shall not hurt the daughter of Iver, neither will Iver's daughter hurt me.” By euphemism she was spoken of as ‘Queen.’ True members of Clan Iver were invulnerable by serpents, which seem to have been totems of that clan. The words which legend supposes to have been uttered by the adder are:

I have sworn to Clan Iver
And Clan Iver has sworn to me
That I will not injure Clan Iver
Nor Clan Iver injure me.

Principal Maciver-Campbell thought this rhyme commemorated an alliance between the Clan Iver and some other race symbolised by the serpent, and that there is every probability that the alliance referred to is that which is known to have anciently existed between the Macivers in Perthshire and the Clan Donnachaidh or Robertsons, one of whose cognisances was the serpent, which still appears as one of the supporters in the arms of their chief, Robertson of Strowan.³

¹ *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 117, ed. 1716.

² *Carm. Gadel.* i. 170.

³ v. *Memoirs of Evander MacIver*, ed. Henderson, p. 272.

With this one should compare the following interesting Northern legend, which is met with in the tale of the "King of the Vipers."

"A man in the district of Silkeborg once found a viper-king. It was a tremendously big serpent, with a mane like a horse. He killed it, and took it home with him and boiled the fat out of it. This he put into a bowl and set it aside in a cupboard, as he knew that the first person who tasted it would become so clear-sighted that they would be able to see much that was hid from other people; but just then he had to go out to the field, and thought that he could taste it another time. He had, however, a daughter, who found this bowl with the fat in it, while her father was out in the field. She thought it was ordinary fat, which she was very fond of, so she spread some of it on a piece of bread and ate it. When the man came home he also spread a piece of bread with it, and ate it, but he could not discover that he could see any more than he did before. In the evening, when the cows were being driven home, the girl came out and said, 'Look, father, there's a big red-speckled bull-calf in the black-faced cow.' He could see well enough then that she had tasted the fat of the viper-king before him, and had thus got all the wisdom, in place of himself."¹

Now this motif repeats itself in the Sutherland legend, which tells how Fearchar Lighich, the noted physician Beaton, acquired his powers of healing and of knowledge through having partaken of the

¹ W. A. Craigie's *Scandinavian Folk-Lore*, p. 264. This version is from the Danish. See Chambers' *Popular Rhymes*, p. 77, where the tale of Sir James Ramsay of Bamff shows the story was known in Scotland.

bree of a white serpent boiled over a fire of hazel twigs. The hazel tree in question was located at Glengolly. It is a variant of the legend which tells how Fionn acquired supernatural wisdom and foreknowledge, and in both cases the legend is influenced by the Sigurd-Siegfried belief, illustrated on the crosses of the Isle of Man, where Sigurd is actually depicted in the act of slaying the dragon Fafni, and is shown as sucking the thumb he had burnt in roasting the dragon's heart, while above him are represented one of the talking birds and Sigurd's steed, Grani. A Sutherland tradition associates Fionn with acquiring his wisdom on the banks of Loch Shin, where he partook of the flesh of a white serpent. As a physician had at least as much need of wisdom as a warrior there was clearly a folk-need met when legend transferred the old story to Fearchar Leiche. Sutherland legend has it that Fearchar was a shepherd who dwelt at Glengolly, at the south of Loch Eriboll. At that time it was customary for young men to go to the fairs in the Lowlands, whither Fearchar went like the rest. Once upon a time he was on the market stance, where he met a gentleman who greeted him well and warmly, and made inquiry as to where he had come by the hazel stock in his hand. "In Glengolly, in the Reay country," he replied. "Would you know the tree out of which it was cut?" "Yes, if I were near it," he said. "A rich reward I will give you if you go back to that tree in Glengolly and on arrival see whether there is a serpent's hole beneath it. If there be, wait a while and you will see six serpents coming out. Do not molest them,

but wait until they return, when you will perceive a white serpent come in last. Seize this white serpent, bring it to me and a rich reward is yours," said the man of birth. Fearchar did as he was told: he went to the tree, saw the hole, and perceived the serpents. He got the white one and brought it with him. His friend was exceeding glad to receive it. Without delay he placed a pot on the fire and he instructed Fearchar to keep his eye on it until he himself should return, giving commands to give all heed lest the water should boil over.

His host was not long gone when the water began to boil. In spite of what Fearchar could do the water boiled so that it seemed likely to force the lid off the pot. What should happen but that Fearchar burnt one of his fingers, and quite unthinkingly thrust it into his mouth. Lo and behold! the eyes of his understanding were opened, and he was made wise unto the healing of every ache and pain which ever befel mortal man. His host at last returned, and the first thing he did was to take off the pot lid, dip his finger in the bree and put it in his mouth. "Oh," he said, turning to Fearchar, "this is of no good now. You did not as I told you, and hence no reward will I give."

It could not be undone or altered now. Fearchar returned home; all the sick he met with on the way he healed. At length he arrived at the township where he was dwelling at the time. There happened to be there a local king or kinglet in dire straits suffering from a sore foot. He was unable to walk, and the king's own physicians did the best they

could, but in vain. Fearchar heard of this, went to the castle gate and cried aloud :

A' bhias-dubh air a chnàmh gheal!¹

The King asked who was there. "One who was passing by, and who gave himself out as a Leech." "Fetch him here," said the King. Fearchar was brought to the royal presence, and the King inquired as to his skill, and as to whether he was a Leech. "Please, Sire, I am," said Fearchar. "If you heal me," said his Majesty, "I will give you what you ask, even to the half of my kingdom." Fearchar was not long in curing his patient. Then the King inquired as to the fee. "The fee," said the Leech, "is every island in the sea between Stoer Head in Assynt and the Red Point in Orkney." "Granted," said the King, "along with much land elsewhere in thine own country besides."

His descendants were known as the progeny of Fearchar Leich, or as MacFhearchair, shortened to Corraichean. A list of the islands granted to Fearchar is preserved in a Gadelic poem in the papers of the late Dr. MacIntosh Mackay, which I have read, and agrees closely with Captain Morrison's version in the *Celtic Review*. This Fearchar had descendants, one of whom in 1511 resigned the lands of Melness, Hope and Mussell, with all the islands, to Mackay and his son.

He was an historical character round whom mythic lore was woven. Similarly, mythic incidents may have been attached to the historical Caittil Find (820-857), and thereby became incorporated with

¹ A sprain-charm was probably repeated here.

the older legend of Fionn. At any rate, what I may call the Sigurd motif became grafted on the Fionn Saga, where it is used to explain how Fionn acquired his wisdom (*Fios Fhinn*), which was one of the three things which kept up the Féinn. The Staffa version of the birth of Fionn tells how one day Fionn came to a waterfall by name Easroy (Assaroe), and he spoke with a man whom he saw fishing at the fall.

"I am sore ailing," said Fionn, "I pray you give me one of those little creatures you are fishing, that I may eat."

"I will not," the fisherman spake.

"Be so good as put out your rod," said Fionn, "in the direction I'll tell you."

The fisherman did so, and immediately he fished a big salmon.

"I won't give you this fellow, he is too big and good. This is a king's fish."

"Be so good as give me the rod."

"You shall have it," said the fisherman.

When Fionn had got the fishing-rod, he gave a cast with the line and brought in a salmon bigger than that of the fisherman.

"I must not give you this one," said the fisherman, "but I'll give you one not quite so big. Only you must roast it on the other side of the fall, though the firewood is on this side. If it have a raw or a burnt spot on it, you shall suffer the loss of your head on that account. I shall go to sleep, and it shall be roasted ere I awake."

Though this was a hard task it must needs be done. Fionn set about kindling the fire and roasting the fish while the fisherman betook himself to

rest. Fionn was sorely tried by keeping the fire briskly burning, and by attending to the roasting. On a sudden a burnt blotch rose on the salmon, and as quick as possible he set his finger thereon and had it burnt to the bone, on which he speedily dabbed his finger in his mouth, and got the knowledge of the two worlds as they say. That instant he knew it was the fisherman who had killed his father.¹

Other accounts speak of Fionn being forbidden to taste the salmon or the fish he was to see boiled. That we have Norse influence here is clear from a sculptured slab at Jurby, Isle of Man, which is nearest to the Sutherland legend. Alongside the shaft of the Jurby cross we see Sigurd in the act of slaying the Dragon; below he is shown sucking the thumb he had burnt in roasting the dragon's heart. One of the talking birds and Sigurd's steed Grani are also shown. At Malew there is another Manx cross which shows Sigurd from his pit piercing the dragon. Here Sigurd is shown piercing the wand upon which the dragon's heart is roasting over a fire represented by three triangular flames, and sucking his burnt thumb, which reveals to him the knowledge of what the birds around are saying.² On the Manx crosses there are at least six well-attested Sigurd illustrations, and at least two Edda pictures hardly to be doubted: such is the opinion of so competent a judge as Mr. Collingwood.³

¹ *v.* my translation of the whole in an account of the Fionn Saga in the *Celtic Review*, vol. i. 359-360.

² Kermodé and Herdman's *Illustrated Notes on Manx Antiquities*, Liverpool, 1904, pp. 81-82. Kermodé's *Manx Crosses*, plates xliii.-xliv. London (George Allen & Sons), here reproduced by permission.

³ *Saga Book of Viking Club*, v. 409.

In Uist the MacCodrums—and the name is of Norse origin—are associated in their descent with the seal: the common proverb speaks of *Clann 'ic Codrum nan rōn*, the clan MacCodrum of the seals, meaning that their descent is from the seal. The seals are regarded as kings' children under spells. Norse legend regards the seals as capable of divesting themselves of their skins and of assuming the appearance of women. The idea of transformation is of course very common in Gadhelic, but this special association of the MacCodrums with the seal I regard as Norse.

I proceed now to speak of the *crann-tàraidh*, 'the fiery-cross.' "It consisted of a piece of wood or pole half burnt, then dipped into the blood of a goat or lamb, and having at times a stained flag attached to it. Every chieftain had several of these significant beams of alarm in his possession to enable him to dispatch them in every direction. When required . . . the messenger set off with it at full speed, and delivered it to the first man he met with at the nearest hamlet. He in turn ran to the next. Should any one able . . . refuse . . . he would instantly be put to death" (Rev. A. Macgregor's description in *The Conflict of the Clans*, p. 40, who compares Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, canto v. ix.). Donnchadh Bān, the Gaelic poet, in his *Rainn Gearradh-Arm*, gives the form *crois-tàraidh*. So too Ailean Dall in his *Elegy on MacDougall of Dunolly*, and again in a poem to Glengarry (pp. 109, 165 of the 1829 ed.). For Harris the form *tein thara* occurs with the *ǎ* short (*v. my glossary to Iain Gobha's Poems*, ii. 345). M'Bain's *Dict.* gives the form with the *ǎ*

short, likewise with the *ā* long, and quotes Cameron: "As to *-tara*, cf. the Norse *tara* war." This shows Dr. M'Bain set aside the native etymon, which Armstrong may have thought of when he rendered it as 'beam of gathering.' Armstrong adds: "In 1745 the *crann-tàir*, or *crois-tàir*, traversed the wide district of Breadalbane, upwards of 30 miles, in three hours. The *crann-tàir* was also in use among the Scandinavian nations." I never came across any Irish reference to it, and Dr. Douglas Hyde confirms me in this. He states in a letter that they have neither the name nor the thing. (*Maidir leis an crann-tara níl an rud ná an t-ainm againn-ne cho fad agus is léir domh-sa e*). In the circumstances I take the word to be the Norse *her-ör*, 'a war arrow,' to be sent round as a token of war (*v.* Cleasby-Vigfusson, p. 259). In Iceland, at least in the west part, Vigfusson tells us, a small wooden axe is still sent from farm to farm to summon people to the *mantals-þing* in the spring; an arrow, axe, or the like was sent to call people to battle or council, as symbolical of the speed to be used or the punishment to be inflicted (*ib.* p. 71). The *t* of the Gaelic article is usually prefixed to loans from Norse which began with *h*, e.g. *tabh* = *an t-haf*. Hence *crann t-herör*, *-terör*. In a loan word I believe the vowel should not be an obstacle, as it may have been influenced by *tar*, *thar*, if not by the Norse *tara*,¹ war (*cf.* pronunciation of *maduinn*, which in Islay has an open *e*, i.e. *medinn*). In Christian times the Norse used a *cross* to summon people to a meeting, and this

¹ A foreign word, Vigfusson thought. Probably borrowed from the Gaelic formation, I would add.

mode corresponded to their *her-ör* or war-arrow in heathen times (*v.* Vigfusson-Cleasby's *Dictionary*, under "Kross").

The nearest equivalent in Irish Gaelic is *gairm scoile*, 'a summoning of an assembly,' an expression frequent in folk-tales according to Dinneen's *Dictionary* (*sub gairm*); *gairm scoile*, says Mr. Lloyd, "is undoubtedly the form in Munster folk-tales." But there is also the variant *goirm sgolb*, 'a summons of battles,' the original sense being inferred as probably 'a summoning of a warlike gathering by means of sending round lighted splinters,' and hence in later times when the use of the lighted splinter would have ceased, a proclamation of any kind. Mr. Lloyd adds: "Both are clearly from a common original, but what that was I do not venture to suggest."¹ On the hypothesis that *sgolb* is the older and more primitive form, since battle and torches have preceded schools, he concludes that "the lighted splinter or torch would probably have been the same as the fiery cross sent round to summon the Highland clans of Scotland to gather for warlike purposes." On the other hand, if the northern origin of the Highland *crois-tara* be correct, I would regard *sgolb*, *scoile* of the Irish phrase, as founded on the Norse *skora*, 'to challenge to fight, to call on, summon,' *skora* likewise meaning 'to score or mark out a field for battle, to challenge to single combat.' The change from *r* to *l* would have been easy.

The name 'need-fire' arose in Teutonic from the friction required to produce the fire; the wood

¹ *Ean an Cheoil Bhinn*, ed. S. Laoide, 1908, p. 65.

usually required for it was the oak, and when the Norse rite became known the Gaels may have seized rather on the name of the wood itself. The *eikinn furr* is the oaken fire (*Edda*, i. 430). The *eik* or oak in Iceland (where there are no trees) is used in the general sense of tree, but this does not hold of Norway. And even in Iceland it applies to oak in the oldest proverbs where there is reference to the old custom of building houses under the oak as a holy tree.¹

The adjective *eikinn*, 'oaken,' is used at least twice in the elder *Edda*; Norse *eik*, 'an oak' or tree,' occurs in a place-name in Gairloch, West Ross-shire, where we have *Coille-eagascaig*, wood of Eagascaig, which is Norse *eikir-skiki* or *eiki-skiki*, 'oak strip.'² Grimm gives an account from the Isle of Mull for the year 1767.

"In consequence of a disease among the black cattle the people agreed to perform an incantation, though they esteemed it a wicked thing. They carried to the top of Carnmoor a *wheel* and *nine spindles of oakwood*. They extinguished every fire in every house within sight of the hill; the wheel was then turned from east to west *over the nine spindles* long enough to produce fire by friction. If the fire were not produced before noon the incantation lost its effect. They failed for several days running. They attributed this failure to the obstinacy of one householder who would not let his fires be put out for what he considered so wrong a purpose. However, by bribing his servants they contrived to have

¹ Cleasby-Vigfusson, p. 119, *sub* "Eik."

² Watson's *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, p. 235.

them extinguished and on that morning raised their fire. They then *sacrificed a heifer*, cutting in pieces and burning, while yet alive, the diseased part. Then they lighted their own hearths from the pile and ended by feasting on the remains. Words of incantation were repeated by an old man from Morvern, who came over as master of the ceremonies, and who continued speaking all the time the fire was being raised. This man was living a beggar at Bellochroy. Asked to repeat the spell, he said the sin of repeating it once had brought him to beggary, and that he dared not say these words again. The whole country believed him accursed."

There is also *E-eg-ir*, *Aegir*, *Eigir*,¹ pronounced (.eh-ek-or), from the Norse mythology, where Aegir, the husband of Ran, is a giant's name in the *Edda*; cognate, according to Grimm, is Ag. Sax. *Eágor*, 'the sea,' which still survives in provincial English for the sea-wave or bore on rivers: "Have a care, there's the *Eagor* coming" (Carlyle's *Heroes*, p. 198). A photograph of the *Aegir* may be seen in Mr. F. M. Burton's book, *The Shaping of Lindsey by the Trent*.² As the Norse *haf*, 'ocean,' was introduced into Gadhelic as *tabh*, one would expect other words to be introduced and to survive among people of Norse lineage, "and especially the fishermen [who] believed themselves to be surrounded by sea-spirits, whom they could not see, and who watched what they were doing. In the Pagan

¹ Martin's *Description*; also Carmichael's *Carm. Gad.* ii. 270, where the names are given thus: *Lioc a Eigir*; *Laimrig Eigir*; *Eilean Eigir*, *Sgeir Eigeir*, *Iol Eigir*.

² London: A. Brown & Sons, pp. 48, 54.

time people believed in the sea-god Oegir [Aegir], whose kingdom was the mysterious ocean, and he had his attendant minor spirits who watched intruders upon his element. The feeling which came to prevail among the fishermen towards the sea-spirits was one of mysterious dread. They considered the sea a foreign element on which they were intruders, and the sea-spirits in consequence hostile to them."¹ In the Elder *Edda*, Aegir's children is a poetical expression for the waves.

It may in the Hebrides have been a personal name, for in S. Uist we have *Lamrig E-eg-ir*, 'the landing-place of Aegir'; also *iola E-eg-ir* = 'the fishing bank of Aegir.'

X *Shony* was 'a sea-god in Lewis,' where ale was sacrificed to him at Hallowtide. After coming to the church of St. Mulvay at night a man was sent to wade into the sea, saying: *Shony*, "I give you this cup of ale hoping that you will be so kind as to give us plenty of sea-ware for enriching our ground the ensuing year."² As *ö* from Norse would become *o*, an *fu* became *nn*, one thinks of *Sjöfn*, one of the goddesses in the *Edda*. In any case the word is Norse. Captain Thomas thought the word was *són*, a sacrifice; *sjóni*, a nickname in the *Landnámabók*, and akin, suggested *Vigfusson*, to *són*, atonement, sacrifice; German *sühne*, *ver-söhnung*. In the Hebrides they gave what they had, which would account for the departure from ancient usage. The ancient Norse sacrifice of atonement was thus performed: "The largest boar that could be found in the

¹ Jakobsen, *Old Shetland Dialect*, p. 23.

² Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*, ed. 1716, p. 28.

X? *sjó-andi*, sea-spirit.



kingdom was on Yule-eve laid before the king and his men assembled in hall; the king and his men then laid their hands on the boar's bristly mane and made a solemn vow. . . . The animal being sacrificed, divination took place, probably by chips shaken in the boar's blood. . . . The boar's head at Yule-tide, in Queen's College, Oxford, is probably a relic of this ancient heathen sacrificial rite. *Són* was the name of one of the vessels in which the blood of Kvásir, the mead of wisdom and poetry, was kept" (Cleasby-Vigfusson). But *cf.* N. *sjóli*, which occurs in an epithet of Thor: *himin-sjóli*, heaven-prop, heaven-defender (?), hence perhaps *king*.

A Scandinavian account of the origin of the elves is thus: "When the devil raised rebellion in heaven, he and all those who fought on his side were driven into outer darkness. Those who joined neither party were cast down to earth and doomed to live in knolls, fells, and stones, and they are called elves or *huldn-folk*." By the same account the elves have no material body.¹ A second Scandinavian account is that men are descended from those of Eve's children which she showed to God, while the elves spring from those children which Eve had not washed and was ashamed to let God see. God knew this and said: "That which has been hid from me shall also be hid from men." And those (unwashed) children became invisible to mortals, and lived in holts and heaths, in knolls and stones.² The first account is similar to that given in the Western Isles of the origin of the fairies (elves), and is, I think, rather general in Scotland. It may

¹ Craigie, *Scand. Folk-Lore*, 431.

² *Ib.* p. 142.

be named the-war-in-heaven version. An Uist account I have before me in a letter which I may translate: God wished to hide his face for a time, and since it was not seen the archangel Solius said to the Devil that he would take his (Lucifer's) place. Michael the archangel spake, saying: who is like unto God? Thereupon there was war; God then manifested his displeasure, and the wicked rebels were ordered out of Paradise to the Pit Bottomless in the heart of the earth. An innumerable number of followers were hurled forth with the arch-rebel. Those who did not yet reach the place of woe, on heaven's gates having been closed, abode in the hills and knolls, and they are the folk of the *Sìdhe*. As the good man said, they were summoned hence, but it is not known whither.

In this case both Norse and Gadhelic accounts have their presuppositions elsewhere, and probably they derive from a common parent source.

In Scandinavia an elf-charm was cured by melted lead. At Skalsby, in the parish of Mern, a girl was thus afflicted in her head; "so they got a woman brought who could melt lead over her, and in that way she was made well again." The process was: "There must be three kinds of lead: church-lead, cloth-lead (from cloth-stamps), and common lead. This is all melted together, and poured over a pair of shears, which are opened out in the form of a cross, and laid over a bowl of water. During this time not a word must be spoken. The lead runs together in the water, and forms some figure or other, generally that of a person. In that case, the sick man has met with something which was

laid out on purpose to injure him or some one else. But whatever the lead forms, it must be wrapped up in linen, and laid under the sick person's head, so that he may sleep on it overnight."¹ For Scotland the *Fraserburgh Kirk Session Records* give a parallel: "Agnes Duff tuik leid and meltit it, and pat on ane sieve on the bairnis heid, and ane coig with watter in the sieve, and ane scheir abein the coig, and the leid was put in through the boull of the scheir amang the watter."² In Inverness-shire I have seen heart-turning in lead (*crìdhe luadhainn*, *tionndadh crìdhe*) performed for curing some heart affections. Water was raised in a wooden ladle at a burn where the living and the dead pass; lead was melted and poured through the key of the *outer* door into a pailful of the water, during which an incantation was repeated, ending with the Trinity's name. From the fantastic shapes assumed by the lead in its molten state it was attempted to divine the patient's recovery. The virtue lay greatly in persevering with the rite, for the sick person often lived miles away from the operator. I find that this rite exists in Styria, and Grimm traced it back to Greece.

Geigean, *Rìgh Geigean* was the man who presided over the death revels. These were held in winter. The man elected by lot presided over the revels from midnight till cockcrow. "A tub of cold water was passed over his head . . . after which his face and neck were smeared with soot. When the man had been made as formidable and hideous as possible, a sword, scythe, or sickle was placed in his hand as

¹ Craigie, *Scand. Folk-Lore*, 433.

² Quoted by Mr. Craigie, *ib.* 433.

emblem of office." Dr. Carmichael (*Carm. Gad.* ii. 285) got the description from a Lewis minister who had seen the ceremony in his native parish of Creich, Sutherland; he adds: "I have failed to get any trace of the ceremony further south."

It seems the same word as *ceigein*, 'a tuft, a fat man,' from N. *kaggi* [Engl. *cag* or *keg*], sometimes used as a nickname in Iceland.

And further, the idea of a Valhalla is a prominent feature in the Aged Bard's Wish (*Miann A' Bhaird Aosda*), where the ancient Gadhelic idea of the Over-Sea Elysium, here *Eilean Fhlaitheis*, is mingled up with the non-Celtic idea of *talla Oisein is Dhaoil*, the hall of Ossian and of Daol. Even *talla* itself is from the N. *hall*, *höll*, the *t* being the usual *t* of the Gadhelic article prefixed in such cases. In the Norse mythology *hall* is used of the abode of the gods and giants.

NOTE.

"Before the death of a *duine uasal* or gentleman, a light or meteor called *Dreag*, or rather *Driug*, was seen in the sky proceeding from the house to the grave in the direction in which the funeral procession was to go. It was only for 'big men,' people of station and affluence, that these lights appeared, and an irreverent tailor once expressed a wish that the whole sky were full of them."¹ Armstrong gives the form *Dreug*, *dreige*, "a meteor; a falling star; a fire-ball," and adds that among the ancient Britons a meteor was supposed to be a vehicle for carrying to Paradise the soul of some departed Druid. He wrongly held, with Dr. Smith, the word to be a contraction of *Druidh-eug*, a Druid's death; indeed Smith went so far as to fancy that it had its origin in a tradition of Enoch's fiery chariot. M'Alpine's *Dictionary* defines it as

¹ Rev. J. G. Campbell's *Witchcraft and Second-Sight*, p. 111; cf. notes to *Fled Bricrend* (ed. Irish Texts Society).

'meteor,' and repeats Smith's fanciful and erroneous etymology. Macleod and Dewar does so likewise, but gives the variant *Driug*, of feminine gender, as "a meteor or death-flame superstitiously supposed." The word seems to be known in Ireland, although its old cognate is indubitable in Irish *aurdrach*, 'a ghost,' a native Gaelic word. Foley's *English-Irish Dictionary* gives it as one of the renderings of *meteor*: *dreag*, *teine speurach*, *réiltín*, *dreige*. M'Bain gives the variants *dreag*, *drèag*, *driug*, "from the Ag. S. *dréag*, apparition, Norse *draugr*, ghost,"—rightly.

The Highland word is from the Old English. Philologic law prevents taking it from N. *draugr*, which should yield **drôgh* in Gadelic. Besides, the Norse imagination widely varies from the Highland death-light which leaves a house ere a death occurs and takes its way to the burying-ground, irrespective of rank or class. Campbell's restriction to the 'big-men' does not hold for Inverness shire.

"The Draug is variously imagined in different districts of Norway. In the south it is generally regarded either as a white ghost or as a Fölgie foreboding death, which accompanies the dead man wherever he goes, and sometimes shows itself as an insect, which in the evening gives out a piping sound. In Herjusdale in Hvide-sö, at the spot where Herjus Kvalsot was murdered, his *draug* now walks; on Christmas Eve it came to his house and cried:

" 'Twas better walking on the floor
Down at Kvalsat as of old,
Than lying here in Herjus-dale
'Neath unconsecrated mould.'

"In the North, on the other hand, the Draug almost always haunts the sea or its neighbourhood, and to some extent replaces Necken. The northland fishers have much to do with him. They often hear a terrible shriek from the Draug, which sometimes sounds like 'H-a-u,' and sometimes 'So cold,' and then they hurry to land, for these cries forebode storm and mishaps at sea.

"The fishermen often see him and describe him as a man of middle height dressed in ordinary sailor's clothes. Most of the northlanders maintain that he has no head; but the men of North Möre allow him, in place of a head, a tin-plate on his neck, with

burning coals for eyes. Like Necken he can assume various shapes. He generally haunts the boat-sheds, in which, as well as in their boats, the fishermen find a kind of foam which they think to be the Draug's vomit, and believe that the sight of it is a death-warning."¹

¹ Craigie's *Scand. Folk-Lore*, 328. *Draugr* is the most general name for a ghost in Iceland, he notes.

V.

NORSE LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE.

THIS may be of two kinds. It may be traced in the speech-sounds or in the words. As to the former, at least one characteristic of North Highland pronunciation is due to the Norse for certain : this is the use of *str-* initially where Argyll prefers *sr*, for example, *strath*, for Argyll *srath*, 'strath' ; *struth* for Argyll *sruth*, 'stream.' Of the European group of Indo-Celtic or Indo-Germanic languages the *sr* combination exists only in Gadelic and in Lithuanian : Old Irish *sruth*, Lithuanian *sravju*, 'to flow,' whereas the Teutonic group shows *str*, e.g. English *stream*, Norse *straumur*, all cognate with Greek *ῥέοις*, a flowing, *ῥέμμα*, a stream, Cymric *ffrwd*. Neither the influence of the Gadelic article nor the force of analogy suffices to account for the North Highland fondness for *str-*.

The substitution of *l* for *r* almost entirely in St. Kilda and in a certain number of words all over the northern districts is at least noticeable ; but the approximately English sound given to *d* in Sutherland and Lewis in words like *bōrd*, 'table,' and the peculiar Lewis pronunciation of slender *r*, for

example *air*, 'on,' as *eð*, I would definitely ascribe to Norse, and perhaps also the lack of distinction between slender and broad *r* in words like *cuir*, *cur*, 'put, place,' all over the north. The practical abandonment of the older Gadhelic sound of aspirated *l* before and after broad vowels in most parts of the north I will not press, for the sound referred to is found in Lorne, and in Tiree, where there are numerous Norse place-names, as well as sporadically in Skye and South Uist, and even occasionally in Lewis. Neither will I press the northern love of the *a* vowel, nor the oxytonisation of verbal forms, e.g. *bualak* for *bualadh*, 'striking,' so characteristic of Kintail alike in the Fernaig manuscript and in the speech of to-day; for though widely spread in the north it is not a feature in the Reay country, where generally *-adh* becomes *-u*. A development within Gadhelic itself is the pronunciation of *cn* as *cr*,¹ e.g. *croc* (with nasal *o*) for *cnoc*, hill; *crèpaild*, 'garter,' for *cnèbaild*, from the Norse *kné-belti*, 'knee-belt.' More doubt may exist as to the pronunciation of *-rt* as *-rst*, *-st*, e.g. *mart*, 'cow,' as *marst* all over the north practically, while in Tiree and the Ross of Mull and elsewhere it is *mast*; it is a change within Norse itself as in *purs* also *buss*, 'a giant.' Another example is *an gestair*, common all over the north for *an ceart uair*, 'this moment, immediately, by-and-bye.' The more rapid discarding of inflections over the northern dialect, and for that matter in Cintire, may be set down to the presence

¹ Sir H. Maxwell found over 200 words with *Knock* in Galloway, and only one was spelt *Crock*. He concludes that the change was "beginning to take place at the time Gaelic was dying out in Galloway" (say in Queen Mary's time). (*Scottish Land-Names*, p. 40.)

of foreign speakers who attempted to render the newly acquired language more easy to themselves.

Above all, it is the difference in intonation, in modulation, in the use of the voice between speakers from Central Lochaber, say, where there are no Norse place-names, and between Sutherland or Lewis speakers, where Norse influence is strong, that makes one instinctively feel the presence of the foreigner. Though all languages develop characteristic localisms, there are on a great scale marked differences in intonation and modulation where one can distinguish, for example, an Italian speaking English from a German or Frenchman speaking it, even with one's eyes shut. These are more easily felt than described. One thing is certain: there are great similarities between Norse accentuation and that of the Highland area. This has been noted by Dr. Waltman, of Lund, in a contribution in the Swedish *Nordiska Studier* entitled "Nordiska aksentformer i Gäliska." He remarks that stressed syllables may have (1) acute accent, which more or less resembles English and general Continental accent; the tone in words with this accent on the stress syllable is slightly rising as a rule, and occurs in words with a short vowel, e.g. *leat*, 'with thee,' *bochd*, 'poor,' *damh*, 'stag': (2) grave accent, in words of more than one syllable, where it closely resembles the grave accent in Swedish. The difference, he remarks, between words with this accent and such as have the acute is most noticeable in their modulation: the tone *falls* on the stress syllable with grave accent and is again higher on the following unaccented ones. Then one of the

unaccented syllables is stronger in a word with the grave accent—thus *còmhráidheán*, ‘conversations,’ *i.e.* there is a secondary stress on a syllable after the one with the grave accent. This accent is found in words with a long vowel: *éiginn*, *díleas*, *eólas*, *ónrachd*, which are all dissyllabic, and to them may be reckoned words like *fáidh*, *fáisg*, *óigh*, *fhuair*, which Stewart the grammarian gives as monosyllables with a long diphthong: (3) circumflex or compound accent in monosyllabic words containing a long vowel. In this case there are two force-impulses. The tone falls and then rises again. The circumflex makes the impression of being a combination of the grave accent and a following secondary stress, e.g. *áth*, *dán*, *mná*, *cárn*, *bórd*, *glé*, *ciúin*; also *lámh*, *rámh*, *trom*, *fonn*, *mall*, *beann*. With this love of rising stress I would unite the phenomenon of diphthongisation so characteristic of the northern dialects of the Highlands. I have noted it as a feature in East Munster, which in the case of *a* and *o* before *ll*, *nn* resembles Inverness-shire, whereas Connaught is more in accord with Argyll. In my treatment of “The Gaelic Dialects”¹ I have summarised my observations, and I may quote the result which I arrived at without reference to the present inquiry:

Diphthongisation is not universal over the Highlands. It is usual in North Inverness (part of Old Pictland), save before *-rn*, *-rd*, *-rt*; it is infrequent in Argyll, which allows it before *-ll*, *nn* in the northern districts (for Argyll is here divided, as it is in the case of *āa* from long open *ē*, derived from

¹ *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, ed. Meyer and Stern, Band iv. 263.

'compensatory lengthening'—the part of Argyll north of the Firth of Lorn, including Iona and Mull, taking in the *ia* side). The upper part of Appin and Glencoe is somewhat mixed; before *-ll*, *-nn* it occurs in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*. It is rare in S. Argyll before *-ll*, *-nn*, hardly known in Islay, and rare in Cintire, Cowal, Arran, where the double consonant is reduced a half and the short vowel is made half-long. It is unknown at Strathtay and Blair according to Mr. Robertson (*i.e.* for part of Pictland); it is unknown in Strathspey, but exists in Badenoch to a greater degree than in North Inverness or Reay, and is the rule except before *-m* and *-rr* in the dialects of W. Perthshire, which tend, too, to diphthongise long open *ē* into *ia*. It is a question whether and to what extent, if any, it has racial significance.

On the other hand, difference in intonation is one of the main sources of difficulty in Irishmen and Highlanders comprehending one another readily in rapid utterance. We know that the coming of the Norse led to an estrangement between the Gaidheal of the Highlands and those of Scotia Major or Ireland. The repeated destruction of Iona led to the setting up of Dunkeld as chief ecclesiastical centre, with all the influences that thereon followed. For good or ill the Scottish dialect of Gaelic had thus the more freedom of adapting itself to all the influences of the time and place in which it found its home.

I proceed now to more solid ground.

As to words, the loans from Norse may for convenience be classified with reference to their

cultural relations. We may consider terms pertaining to

I. THE HOUSE, HOUSEHOLD, AND FAMILY-LIFE.

It has been recognised already that *uinneag*, 'window,' is from N. *windauga*, 'wind-eye,' whence window; *clobha*, 'tongs,' is from N. *klof*, 'cloven, cleft, fork of the legs,' *klova*, *kloven*, 'the fire tongs,' in Shetland (Jakobsen, 30); *cròcan*, 'a crook,' N. *krokr*; *sgol*, *sgoladh*, 'rinse, wash,' e.g. *a' sgoladh an t-soithich bhainne*, 'washing the milk-vessel'; *sgolaigeadh*, 'washing,' in the special sense of 'dressing one's self up,' from a root as in N. *skola*, 'washing water,' whence E. 'scullery'; *marag*, 'a pudding,' from N. *mörr*, dative *mörvi*, 'suet,' *bloð-mörr*, 'black-pudding'; *abhsporag*, 'tripe, cow's stomach' (*H.S. Dict.*), 'cow's throttle' (M'Alpine), from a N. compound with *háls*, 'neck'; *driog*, 'a drop,' from N. *dregg*, M. Eng. *dreg*, 'dregs' (M'Bain); *spàin*, 'a spoon,' from N. *spánn*, *spónn*, 'spoon, chip.'

aibhist, 'an old ruin' (Stewart's Collection), from N. *ávist*, 'abode.'

àirinn, in phrase *air àirinn an taighe*, 'in possession of the house, on the floor of the house,' lit. 'on the hearth of the house'; *air àirinn a ghlinne*, 'on the floor of the glen,' prepos. phrase *air àirinn* = 'by, in the neighbourhood of.' Seems from the Norse *arinn*, dat. *aarni* = *árni*, 'hearth'; cognate with German *Ähren* 'vordiele,' from **azena*, allied to Lith. *aslà*, and probably with L. *ava* (for **âsa*), 'altar'; it is different from *àruinn*, 'forest.'

buta, 'a wooden dish' in St. Kilda; from N. *bytta*, Danish *bötte*, 'a pail, small tub, the bucket for

bailing a ship with'; *büddi*, 'the fisherman's basket' (Shetland); Faroese *byði*, Icel. *byða*, 'tub, kit.' Different in origin is G. *bōtaidh*, as in *b. mine*, 'a small cask of meal.'

cìsean, 'hamper' (Islay); *cìosan*, 'a basket for wool,' may be founded on some Norse form, as *kesshie* in Shetland is the common basket made from straw and dried docken stems, and which Jakobsen derives from Norw. *kjessa*, from O.N. *kass(i)*, 'basket' (v. *Shet. Dial.* p. 31).

cnapach, 'a bit of a lad, a boy'; G. *cnapach gille*, founded on N. *knapi*, 'a boy,' cognate with German *knabe*, E. *knave*.

cus cus, a dairymaid's call to cows. N. *kus kus*, 'call to a cow,' North English *cush*.

fuine, 'baking'; *fuin*, 'bake'; primary meaning, "to fire, hence to bake before the fire"; Zimmer makes E. Irish *oc-fune* = N. *við funa*, 'a-roasting,' from N. *fuin*, 'flame, fire.' Seething was the Celtic custom, not roasting; and *bruith*, 'cook, boil,' was the native word; a root *voni*, 'dress,' from *ven, von*, in L. *venus, venerate*, is impossible, for it yields in G. *fine*, 'a tribe, kindred.' In the Celtic languages the word *fuine*, 'bake,' is quite isolated; a tenable native derivation is sought in vain. Were the Norse *funa* simply a cognate of the Gadhelic word one would expect it to have *v-* initial. Irish uses the word in the sense of roasting: *fuine an tuirc*, 'the roasting of the boar' (O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, i. 86, 2). In the Highlands it means 'to bake,' a secondary meaning from 'to fire.' It occurs in Broccan's Hymn, *for ten ic fune ind loig*, 'on the fire cooking the calf.'

Native terms for cooking are found in Irish: *báttur na Danair ag luchtaisecht*, 'the Danes were cooking' (MacFirbis's *Three Fragments of Annals*, anno 851); *imon teni oc urgnam na mucu*, 'about the fire cooking the pig' (O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, iii. 161); the cooking pit is *fulocht*; in *Orgain Brudne Da Dergae* cooks are called *fulachtore*, and cooking is *oc dénam fulochta*. The usual native method seems to have been boiling or seething, and the term *fuine*, *fuine*, may have come in first with the Norse. Further, *oc fuine eisc for indeoin . . . in cet lucht ro berbad don indeoin*, "the cooking (firing) a fish on a spit . . . the first *lucht* (potful) that was sodden on a spit" (Cormac's *Glossary*, sub 'Orc Treith'). But even this text dates after the first Viking period.

marag, 'a pudding,' from N. *mörr*, 'suet of an animal'; *blóð-mör*, 'a kind of black pudding.'

méis, 'a basket for wool'; N. *meiss*, 'a wooden box, a basket of wicker work'; Shetland *de maishie*, 'open basket,' cognate with E. *mesh* (Jakobsen, *Old Shet. Dial.* p. 31).

piocach, 'a little boy, a brat' (Sutherland); it is used by some tribes of Highland tinkers also. From Norse *þjakk*, *þjökk* (two forms of the same word), "which in Norwegian are applied the first to a young trout, the second to a young boy" (Jakobsen, *Old Shet. Dial.* p. 21). It has nothing to do with *Pict* as folk-mythologists imagine.

ròmag, 'a mixture of meal and whisky' (Sutherland); also and more widely, of meal and cream. From N. *rjómi*, 'cream'; from this are formed other Gaelic variants: *ceapaire ròmais* (*Don. Bān.* p. 181), 'piece

of richly buttered bread'; *romàsach* (Mac Mhr. Alasdair, p. 28), applied to rich fattening food.

stòp, 'a churn' in Ardnamurchan. It is a low vessel with broad bottom, and is rocked to and fro; *a' deanamh stòp*, 'churning.' N. *staup*, 'a knotty lump, stoup, beaker, cup,' E. *stub*, Dan. *støb*.

tobhta, 'roofless wall, knoll, tuft,' from N. *toft*, *toft*, 'a clearing, a place enclosed by roofless walls.'

udabac, 'out-house, back-house,' from N. *úti-bak*, 'out-back' (M'Bain), who notes *ùdabac* for Uist.

2. DRESS AND ARMOUR.

bròg, 'shoe,' E. Irish *bróc*, from N. *brókr*,¹ Old English *bróc*, pl. *bréc*, 'breech, breeks,' all ultimately from the Gaulish *braccae*, breeches; Gallia Braccata is used as the popular correlative of Gallia Togata to denote those parts of Gaul which had not yet adopted Roman civil costume; the N. *brókr* was of Celtic origin, but the *cuaran*, moccasin, brogue, sock, was the word used by the Gael technically for 'shoe'; *bróc* at first denoted, as in the Norse, a nether close-fitting garment in one piece from the hip to the toe; *meirghe*, a banner, Zimmer considers to be from the N. *merki*, a banner, ensign, mark, which in Early Irish became *mergge* (cf. *Irische Texte*, by Stokes and Windisch 3, p. 69, l. 23); *mantul*, mantle, used by Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, is from the English, but Early Irish *matal* is from N. *möttull*, ultimately through the Romance languages from L. *mantile*.

raob, *raobag*, 'stitch, bit of cloth'; *chan eil raob*

¹ Zimmer in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxx.

aodaich air, he hasn't a stitch of clothes on. The vowel sound is the short form of the high-back *ao*, which is usually long. Here *ao* goes back on N. *ei* if it come from N. *reip*, a rope (hence what is fastened on the person).

3. PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE.

The following are certain: *gearraidh*, the Hebridean term for pasture land between the shore-land and the moor-land, from N. *gerdi*, fenced field, garth; *risteal* (in Uist *rustall*), a surface plough with a sickle-like coulter used formerly in the Hebrides, from N. *ristill*, ploughshare, from N. *rīsta*, to cut; *sìoman*, *sìaman*, a rope of straw or hay, from N. *sīma*, genitive plural *sīmna*, rope, cord; Shetland *simmen*, the straw-rope (Jakobsen, 44), *simmonds*, heather ropes (Orkney); *tarp*, a clod, lump, from N. *torf*, sod, lump; *sgileag*, *sgilig*, shelled grain, from N. *skilja*, separate (in Lowland Scots *shillin*, unhusked grain); *siola*, a wooden collar for a plough-horse, haimes, from a Norse form *sili*, a harness strap; *seli*, harness, represented by Swedish *sela*, a wooden collar, in Lowland Scots *sele*, a wooden collar to tie cattle to the stalls; *sgrù'an*, a shock of corn, a scroo, so termed in the Aird and in Assynt, from N. *skrúf*, scroo or cornstack; *sgalag*, a farm servant, E. Irish *scoloca*, from N. *skalkr*, servant, slave; *ùdrathad*, *ùtraid*, a free way to the common pasture; N. *útreið*, an expedition, 'out-road' (M'Bain); *amall*, swingle-tree, used for yoking horses to a harrow, evidently founded on N. *hamla*, to pull backwards; *hamla*, an oar-loop "made of a strap or

withe fastened to the thole-pin, into which the oar was put, the oarsman pulling the oar against the thole, as is still done in the fjords of Norway" (Cleasby-Vigfusson); *buanaidh*, used by Rob Donn for a 'bully,' and of one given to ostentation; Irish *buanna*, a mercenary, a billeted soldier, with which compare *buana balaich*, a Lewis term at Ness for a 'fearless boy,' all from N. *bùandi*, *bóandi* (later *bóndi*), a tiller of the ground, husbandman, Danish *bønder*, a boor: in Norway and Denmark *bóndi* became a term of contempt for the common people.

4. PEAT.

The Norseman Torf Einar is recorded to have been the first to cut peat in Caithness. With this form of industry the Norse were well acquainted, for we find N. *bakki* in G. *bac-mòine*, a peat bank; *toirr'sg*, *toirr'sgian* (the sound indicates a letter has been dropped between *r* and *s*), or *toirpsgian* (M'Alpine for Islay), a peat-cutting spade or knife, N. *torf*, turf, peat, and G. *sgian*, hence a hybrid for N. *torf-skeri*, peat-cutter; the dialectal *tosg*, peat-cutter, is from a Norse word surviving in *tuskar* of Orkney and Shetland, and in the *tusk-spawd* of Banff; *rùthan*, *rùghan*, a peat heap, from N. *hrúgi* (cf. *rùcan*, a small cole of oats, from Sc. *ruck*, cognate with N. *hraukr*, heap); *lòpan* a peat-creel, from N. *laupr*, a basket timber-frame (of a building), also in *càrn-lòpain*, a light-framed cart for carrying peats; *staing*, a stick used in creels, ribs of a creel (*staing* = *eadhon bioran ann am bàrr nan cliath*—Isle of Lewis), from N. *stöng*, pole.

stōrag, 'five or six *rūghan* of peat, in all about 36, heaped together' (Assynt); founded on N. *stór*, 'big, great.'

5. CARPENTRY.

biota a churn, vessel; N. *bytta*, a pail, tub.

geinn, wedge, from N. *gand*, *gann*, a peg, stick, which Stokes and Liden connect with *fendo* in L. *offendo*.

glamair, a vice (whether that of carpenter or smith): N. *klömbr*, a smith's vice; cognate is German *klemmen*, to jam, pinch; Danish *klammer*; Norne *glamers*.

[*cùdainn*, tub, *Clach-na-cùdainn* in Inverness. The Shetland *kuddie*, and the Morayshire *queed*, Sc. *coodie*, are cognate with the N. *kútr*, a cask, which at least seems in the vowel-length to have influenced the Gadhelic, as the M. Irish is *cuidin*, *coithin*.]

Obs. *ballan*, a tub, Stokes regarded as from N. *bollí*, a bowl.

locair, plane, from N. *lokar*, O. English *locer* (whence *locair-sheimicidh*, shave-spoke; clinch, e.g. *chuir e l.-s. air* = he clinched it).

lonn, timber put under boat for launching it; from N. *hlunnr*, roller for launching ships.

lòpan, in *càrn-lòpan*, the old primitive peat-cart which was drawn like a sledge, down steep hill-sides; in some place simply 'peat-creel.' This is the Norse *laup-r*, Faroese *leypur*, "a long-shaped wooden box used for the same purpose as the 'kesshie' is used for in Shetland, namely, for carrying something (peats, manure) on the back"

(v. Jakobsen's *Old Shetland Dialect*, p. 32). MacBain is to the like effect in his *Further Gaelic Words and Etymologies*, where he defines it in the restricted sense 'peat-creel,' from N. *laupr*, basket, timber frame of a building, Shetland *loopie*, Ag.S. *léap*. It is the St. Kilda *loban*, 'a straw vessel like a large bottom bee-hive,' so defined by the late Rev. Mr. Mackenzie of St. Kilda (v. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. for 1904-5, pp. 397-402). Hence the surname *Lobban* of Morayshire; *Loban* (1400). The name was given to the progenitor, who is said to have been a Mac-lennan, from his having hidden under a peat-cart or sledge.

lunnan, coffin trestles (Skye, in phrase *air na lunnan*), from N. *hlunnr*, roller.

sgor, a notch, tally, from N. *skor*, a mark; from this seemingly *sgorrag*, the moveable small shaft of wood placed in a cart for carrying timber, a diminutive from N. *skor*, 'mark, notch, tally.'

sgūil (Ness, Lewis), pl. *sgūlan*, 'basket for fishing lines'; in Sutherland this is *sgulag* (Strathy Pt.); from N. *skjóla*, 'a bucket.' More generally over the Highland mainland the form is *sgūlan*, a large wicker basket of a size such as may be used at potato lifting. A potato-basket is called a *scull* in Morayshire.

spàl, shuttle, N. *spóla*, weaver's shuttle.

spàrr, joist, beam, roost, from N. *sparri*, a spar.

spéic, *spèc*, a spike, from N. *spík*, a spike.

stengall, an instrument with three prongs used for searching for dead bodies (Lewis); founded on N.

stanga, to spear fish, or else direct from *stöng*, genitive *stangar*, a pole.

6. FISH AND FISHING.

cìlean, or *cilig* (Sutherland), a large cod-fish, in Ness 'anything worthless,' Manx *keilleig* (Craigreen), from N. *keila*, long cod (*gadus longus*).

dorgha, *drogha*, hand fishing-line, from N. *dorg*, angler's tackle.

geadas, pipe, from N. *gedda*, Sc. *ged*, allied to *goad*.

saidh, *saidhean*, *saoidhean*, saith, from N. *seiðr*, *sei* (*gadus virens*).

sgait, skate, from the N. *skata* (the *Edda*).

trosg, cod-fish, from N. *þorskr*, Dan. *torsk*, Ger. *dorsch*.

stangaram, the stickleback fish is thus named in Harris; from N. *stanga*, sting; see Glossary to my edition of Dain Iain Ghobha; also the Eng.-Gaelic of MacLeod and Dewar's Dict.

tābh, *ābh*, hand net for taking fish into boat, from N. *háfr*, pock-net.

To be added is *bliong*, lythe (Scourie), possibly irregularly founded on N. *bleikja*, 'salmo levis.'

ucas, *ugsa*, coal-fish, stenlock; cf. N. *uggi*, 'a fin of a fish,' *uggiðr*, *uggaðr*, provided with fins, finned.

sìolag, 'a sand eel,' from Norse *silung* [svilung], 'a trout' (*Edda*); connected is *sillock*, which in Shetland applies to the first stage of the saith. [Another Gadhelic word, *sìolag*, means 'a sow,' the male of which is *cullach*, and dialectal *collach*; the root here is Gadhelic *sìol*, 'seed.']

NOTE.—PROBABLY OF NORSE ORIGIN.

gnìobunn, *gnìbunn*, 'the brim or rock-fish' (Scourie); the root is same as in *grìopa*, *gnìopa*, 'a high rocky shore, in Skye and Uist,' from N. *gnípa*, 'a peak.'

tòì(gh)eam "the 'lift' fish or splice" (Scourie).

7. BIRDS.

Of bird names from the Norse, among recognised loans are *alc*, *falc*, the common auk, from N. *álka*, E. *auk*; *ròcas*, *créw*, from N. *hrókr*, rook; *sgarbh*, cormorant, from N. *skarfr*, scarf (Shetland); *sgàireag*, young gull still in its grey plumage, young scart, from N. *skári*, young sea-mew: *skorey* (Shetland); cf. the *Highland Monthly*, iii. 353.

To these I would add the following :

arspag, 'large species of sea-gull, *larus major*' (McBain). It has hitherto defied etymologists. But the variants point to the word as a loan; for we have *farspach*, *farspag*, defined as 'sea-gull'; the Irish is *fáspróg*, 'a gull or mew; an osprey' (Dinneen's Dicty.). Forbes gives another variation for Argyll, viz. *fairspreig*, 'the great black-beaked or headed gull' (Forbes's *Gaelic Names*, etc. p. 28). Its proclivities are carefully described by a Lewis writer (Mòd Competition paper) thus: *na caoirich an iomaguin mus tig farspag, fitheach, no'n iolaire nuas le'n spuìrean cronail gus an cuid uan a thogail suas*. It is the *Larus marinus* of Linnaeus, i.e. the greater black-backed gull, and the Gaelic comes from

the Icelandic *svart-bakur*, 'black-back, swarthy-back'; *swartbak* (Shetland); *Swabie*, 'the great black-backed gull,' through some such forms as *sfarst-bak*, *sfars-pac*, *farspac*, *farspag*, *arspag*, Gaelic dropping the initial *s*, the more readily in combinations and in districts where *rt* is sounded as *rst*; cf. my edition of *Morrison's Poems*, vol. ii. p. 350, where *s* between *r* and *d* or *t*, e.g. *orsd* = *ord*; *càirs-dean* = *càirdean*, has been noted by me for Harris; cf. elsewhere, *bòr(s)d*, *tar(s)tan*. The adult bird is white with dark grey-brown mantle and wings; wing-quills nearly black. Young birds are dirty white, mottled with brown, and show no black on the back till the third year. "As a bold and greedy robber, this bird comes in (in Iceland) for a good deal of persecution in the breeding season. It preys on fish; eggs of any kind of bird; young, wounded, or weakly birds; young lambs, or any kind of carrion" (Slater's *Manual*, p. 113). Sporadically, thus N. *sv* becomes G. *f*, the more easily in this word, which has a labial in the second half of the compound.

Assilag or *Aisealag*: "The *Assilag* is as large as a lint white; it comes about the end of March, and goes away in November" (Buchan's *St. Kilda*); "*aisileag*, *asaileag*, *assilag*, storm petrel, storm finch, *alamonti*" (Forbes's *Names of Birds*). It has a "black bill, wide nostrils at the upper part, crooked at the point like a fulmar's bill" (Martin). The storm-petrel breeds abundantly in the Faroes. For origin of the Gaelic word compare Shetlandese *asel*, 'storm, cold and sharp blast'; hence applied to what is in constant motion and restless, as in

phrase *upo de asel* 'i urolig bevaegelse.' The word is different from Gaelic *tachlag*, *an t-achlag*, which at Scourie, W. Sutherland, means 'the water wagtail'; Latin *Motacilla* of Linnaeus (Martin speaks of the *tuliac*, of the size of a goose, but it is some kind of gull). The *Motacilla alba*, the White Wagtail, is recorded for St. Kilda (Wiglesworth's *St. Kilda and its Birds*, p. 40).

buigeir: The *bougir* of Hirta is by some called the coulterneb, by others the puffin (Macaulay). "budhaigir, bugaire, buigire, 'a puffin'" (Forbes); also buthaigear, buthraigear, a coulterneb, puffin (Barra, Harris, St. Kilda). The form *bugaire* confirms the derivation: "somehow from N. *bugr*, curve, bent-bill?" (MacBain). But *g* is irregular.

"The Bouger, so-called by those in St. Kilda; Coulterneb, by those in the Farn Islands; and in Cornwall, Pope; it is of the size of a pigeon: they breed in holes under ground" (Buchan's *St. Kilda*).

dīrid, 'puffin, also stormy petrel.' This is a Badcall-Scourie name for this bird, which is also 'nicknamed' *Tarmaid*. Forbes gives *dīrid* for "the peewit or lapwing." It is Norse, the nearest form of which is seen in the Shetland *dirridu* petrel, Mother Cary's chicken = *stormswale* (Jakobsen's *Ordbog*, p. 101).

fulmair, *falmair*, a species of petrel, fulmar. It has been derived from Sc., Eng. *fulmar*. It is Norse *fúlmár*. M'Alpine, who writes it down as English, defines it as 'the bird *fàsgadar*,' which is a gull that is a sort of sea-hawk, a dark-grey bird that pursues others and causes them to eject the

contents of the stomach, and on this it feeds. It never leaves the sea. Forbes defines *falmair* 'the grey petrel,' and *fàsgarar*, 'a species of gull = common skua,' Arctic gull (*Gaelic Names of Beasts, Birds, etc.* p. 28), and *fulmair* likewise as 'the grey petrel.' The Highland Society's Dicty. gives *falmair* as a Hebridean word for 'a kind of fish,' and gives no derivation. The word is defined in Armstrong simply as 'a St. Kilda bird,' and Martin's *Description of the Western Isles* is quoted, where it is said: "The *fulmar* is a grey fowl about the size of a moor-hen. It has a strong bill, with wide nostrils; as often as it goes to sea, it is a certain sign of a western wind. This fowl, the natives say, sucks its food out of live whales, and eats sorrel; for both these sorts of food are found in its nest. When anyone approaches the *fulmar* it spurts out of its bill a quart of pure oil; the natives surprise the fowl, and preserve the oil, and burn it in their lamps. It is good against rheumatic pains and aches in the bones. The inhabitants of the adjacent isles value it as a catholicon for diseases; some take it for a vomit, others for a purge. It has been used successfully against rheumatic pains in Edinburgh and London. In the latter it has been lately used to assuage the swelling of a sprained foot, a cheek swelled with the toothache, or for discussing a hard bile, and proved successful in all the three cases."

It is the *fulmarus glacialis* of Linnaeus, called in Icelandic *fúlmár* (see the *Hallfreðar Saga*), i.e. foul, stinking, or lazy mew or gull, commonly known now in Iceland as *fýll*. Its egg has a persistent musky

smell. "The bird is silvery white, with grey mantle and tail, and sooty flight feathers; bill yellow, with dark nostril tubes along its upper ridge. Length, 19 inches; wing, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Flight stiff, by which the bird may be distinguished from a gull a mile off, or more. Occasionally one of the dark form of Fulmar may be seen; it is of a dusky grey all over . . . immature Fulmars are duskier than adults" (*v. Slater's Manual of the Birds of Iceland*, p. 140, Edin., Douglas, 1901). "Nasty stinking beast! why, even its egg keeps its stench for years; his flesh no man can eat; and if you sleep on a bed on which even a handful of his feathers have been put by mistake, you will leave it long before morning" (Sysselmand of Faroe, quoted in Seton's *St. Kilda*, p. 188). Fulmar oil is "a thin, foul-smelling amber-coloured liquid, generally containing green particles floating in it" (*St. Kilda and its Birds*, by J. Wiglesworth, M.D., p. 60).

lamhaidh, *lamh*, guillemot (Gaelic Soc. Inverness, *Transac.* vol. xx. 93); in Lewis it exists as *lamh*, signifying broadly 'diver'; sometimes 'razor-bill.' It is from N. *lang-vé*, a bird, *columbus troile* in the *Edda* (Cleasby); the *Uria troile* of Linnaeus. In Iceland the *Lángnefja* or *Lángvia*. It is an expert diver, and feeds on small fish (*v. Slater's Birds of Iceland*, 127). Mentioned often in St. Kilda poetry. "The Lavy, so called by the inhabitants of St. Kilda, by the Welsh a Guillem; it is near the bigness of a duck; its egg is near the bulk of a goose egg; it is for ordinary food, preferred to all other eggs had there by the inhabitants; if it stays on land three days without

intermission it is a sign of a southerly wind, and fair weather ; but if it goes to sea ere the third expire it is then a sign of a storm" (Buchan's *St. Kilda*).

stearnal, *stearnag*, tern or sea-swallow. I have often seen it in the Sound of Mull. It occurs in Dr. John Macleod of Morvern's poem *Caol Muile* :

Mar dhealan nan speur
Chit' an Stearnal beag, gleusd
A' clisgeadh gu h-éibhinn a nuas.

The word is from the Norse ; Danish *terna* ; Icelandic *berna* ; sterna *Macrura* 'the Arctic tern.' *st* for *t* in initials of words occurs in Gaelic in *stairsneach*, 'threshold,' E. Ir. *tairsech* ; *stalc*, stiffen ; *stalcanta*, firm, strong, with which compare G. *tailce* ; *stàirn*, noise ; founded on **s-tairn*, root in *tàirneanach* ; *stairirich*, 'rumbling noise,' for *s-dairirich*, and side-form is *dairireach* ; *stair*, *starran*, stepping-stones over a bog, evidently for **s-tar*, root in *tar* across.

sùlaire, the solan goose ; it frequents the islets and stacks adjacent to St. Kilda. For the name cf. the small islet of Suleskeir, or North Barra, ten miles west of Rona ; the Stack of Suleskerry, about forty miles west of Stromness, Orkney. From N. *sùla*, *haf-sùla*, the gannet, solan-goose in the *Edda*.

Tabhs, 'the gannet' (Forbes's *Names*, quoting *Caraid Nan Gàidheal*). In Dr. John Macleod of Morvern's *Caol Muile* the form is *an t-amhus* :

Bhiodh an t-amhus leis féin
Ann an uighe nan speur,
A shùil gheur air an doimhne mhóir.

i.e. 'the gannet by itself in the depths of heaven, with its sharp eye on the deep.'

The form *amhus* is but a dodge of the script to render the diphthongal sound; and Norse *l* is rendered by a sort of *w*-sound: cf. *Caladair*, which is Gadhelic for Cawdor; *bh*, *mh* are attempts to reproduce Norse *l*. In Cintire the solan goose is *amhsun*, in Mull *amhas*. The better spelling is *abhsa*, hence *an t-abhsa*, from N. *hálsa*, 'to clew up sail,' as used in the Lewis phrase *abhsadh a chromain-luch* = shortening sail kite-fashion. The reference is to the bird's closing its wings when circling in the air, after which it hurls itself headlong and dashes up the water in its search for fish. Its action often locates a shoal of herring.

Trilleachan, *Drilleachan*, the sea-piet. Martin says 'it is cloven-footed and consequently swims not.' May it be founded on Norse *trítill*, a top, *trítla*, Danish *trilde*, 'to trot at a slow pace'? There is a bird *trýtill* in Icelandic, but it is not further defined in Cleasby-Vigfusson.

Other bird names of Norse origin doubtless are some mentioned by Martin: "The bird *Goylir* (recte, *Goillir*), about the bigness of a swallow, is observ'd never to land but in the month of January, at which time it is supposed to hatch. It dives with a violent swiftness. When any number of these fowls are seen together, it's concluded to be an undoubted sign of an approaching storm; and when the storm ceases they disappear under the water."¹ It is the stormy petrel. The name may be founded on the Norse *kolr*, 'coal-black,' for the bird is sooty-black all over, including the bill and feet, with a white patch over the tail, and

¹ Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 72, ed. 1716.

suggestions of white margins to the wing-coverts. Martin¹ also speaks of "The sea-fowl *Bunivochil*,² or as some seamen call it *Carara*, and others *Bishop*, is as big as a goose, of a brown colour, and the inside of the wings white; the bill is long and broad and it is footed like a goose; it dives quicker than any other fowl whatever, it's very fat." Seems founded on N. *buna*, 'a stream (of purling water),' but uncertain.³ Forbes gives "bun-bhuachail, the northern diver, also the bittern or heron"; further "buna-bhuachaille, the great auk (MacDonald) also cormorant." The cormorant is a stream-fowl, often straying some distance up rivers and doing great harm to young trout and salmon. The young cormorant is *sgarbh*, 'skart,' from the Norse *skarfur*, and *Carara* may be some Norse epithet of the bird. The *Gowlin* of Martin,⁴ "a fowl less than a duck," is reckoned a true prognosticator of fair weather, "for when it sings, fair and good weather always follows." It may be the bird in its young stage which in the Norse is *gulönd*, "a kind of duck" (Cleasby-

¹ *Ib.* p. 158.

² The extinct Garefowl (Great Auk), formerly in Iceland *geirfugl*, *geyrfugl*, the Gorfuglir of Faroe, is referred to as *buna bhuachaille* by the author of the *Agriculture of the Hebrides* (v. Seton's *St. Kilda*, 172-175). "He flyeth not at all" (Martin). Hence called *alca impennis*. Was seen in Harris in 1821; and known as the 'Ghost-Bird' killed between 1830-1835 on Stack An Armuinn (Wiglesworth's *St. Kilda*, p. 37; cf. Brown and Buckley's *Vertebrate Fauna of the Outer Hebrides*).

³ The second element cannot be N. *fugl*, 'fowl, bird,' for this would become *ful-*, *-bhul*, unless influenced in its turn by some word of Gadhelic origin, or else onomatopoeic.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 71.

Vigf.), but more detailed description would lead to certainty.

N.B.—Not Norse, though non-Gadhelic, is the Hebridean *guga*, pl. *gugaichean*, young solan geese.

Na gugaichean h-Iortach bha còrr agus bliadhn'
An crochadh 'san riasg bha sùghanta.

(The Pabbay Poet in my *Leabhar nan Gleann*, p. 92.)

guga, pl. *-achan*, solan goose (*MacEachann's Dict.*, ed. Whyte-MacBain); *gugairneach*, a fledgling bird; e.g. *gugairnich mhóra de dh'eoine agus clòimh-teach bhàn orra*. From Sc. *goog*, an unfledged bird; very young meat that has no firmness; N. *ungi*, the young of a bird.

8. ANIMALS.

gadhar, 'lurcher dog, mastiff'; Early Irish *gagarr*, which Kuno Meyer takes from N. *gagarr*, 'dog'; for the root cf. N. *gagg*, 'the fox's cry.'

rùta, 'ram,' from N. *hrútr*, 'ram.'

Places were often named by the Norsemen after the animals they found there, e.g. Jura, N. *Dyr-ey*, 'deer-isle.'

Raarsaidh, 'Raasay,' N. *rár-áss-ey*, 'roe-ridge-isle.'

Rosaidh, from N. *hross-ey*, 'horse-isle'; *Hross* meets us several times in Lewis place-names.

Hestaval (Lewis), N. *hesta-fjall*, 'horse- or stallion-hill';¹ *Soay*, N. *Sauða-ey*, 'sheep-isle'; *Ranish* (Lewis), N. *rú-ness*, 'roe-ness.'

Haversay, N. *hafrs-ey*, 'he-goat isle.'

Calva, N. *Kalfa-ey*, a small island close to a larger

¹ Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, p. 267.

one is called a *calf* (*eyjar-kálfur*), the larger island being regarded as the cow; cf. the *Calf* of Man, Calva Beag, and Calva Mor, in Edrachilis Bay.

The goat's name occurs in *Goat-fell*, Arran; G. *Gaotabeinn*, in which hybrid the G. *gaota* is taken directly from N. *geit*, 'goat.'

9. TIME AND MEASURE.

One general word for time, G. *tíð*, is "from Icelandic *tíð*," according to MacBain, and this is not irregular, if we take the analogy of *útraid* from N. *útreið*, 'an expedition, out-road,' so far as final -ð is concerned.

There were marked differences in the land-measures over Scotland. Thus the *davoch* is peculiar to Pictland, and exists as *Doch-* in *Dochafuir*, etc.; the *merkland* existed in Argyll; *ounce-*lands in Orkney and the Hebrides; the husbandland was a common land measure in the Lothians and the Merse. These differences may be taken as due to racial influences. The *ounce-*land, from which an ounce of silver in money or produce went as *scat* to the Norse earl, and valued at from eighteen to twenty pennies, was the Norse land measure introduced into the Hebrides; but the word *unga* used in place-names, *tìr-unga*, 'ounce-land,' *ung-an-ab'*, 'abbot's ounce,' was from the L. *uncia*. The penny-lands show the direct Norse influence: Penny-cross, Penny-Ghaedhil, Penninghame, Penny-town, Penny-hill in Galloway; Leffen (= G. *leth-pheighinn*) in Mull; *Leupenstrath*, 'half-penny strath,' and *Leffen-beg*, *Leffen-mor* in Cintire, where is also *Garwoling*, G. *garbh-fhedirling*, 'the rough farthing-land.'

Some years ago it was pointed out by Professor Mackinnon that our rural scenery in the Hebrides bears traces of the Norse occupation. He rightly stated: "Rather than relinquish his right in the soil under his ödal tenure, the Norseman first settled on our shores, and afterwards emigrated to Iceland. Very probably these ideas of land tenure held so strongly by his freedom-loving ancestor helped to perpetuate in the mind of the modern Hebridean the rooted belief of a right in the soil which he grazes and tills. The unit of land measure among the Scandinavians was the 'ounce,' which in a rough way corresponded with the Pictish *dabhach*, the Irish *baile*, the Dalriadic *teach*, and the Saxon 'hide.' Subdivisions of the ounce were penny lands and *feòirlings* or farthing lands. The topography bears evidence of this mode of valuation still. The *teirungs* or ounce lands were not uncommon among us. *Unganab* in Uist, and *Ungnacille* in Skye, exist still. The 'penny' lands are common in Western topography, and the *feòirlings* only less so. In Islay and neighbourhood, where the land was held in the Macdonald family from Norse days till 1609, a twopenny farm and a fourpenny farm were common terms of known extent and value forty years ago."¹

The Norse *penningr*, which becomes in Gaelic *peighinn*, survives in place-names like *Pennygown*, 'the smith's penny,' in Mull and Kintyre; *Pennyghael*, 'the Gael's penny,' in Mull; *Saorbheinn*, properly for *Saorpheighinn*, 'free penny,' in Mull; *Lephen-*

¹ Prof. Mackinnon: 'The Norseman in the Hebrides,' in *Caledonian Medical Journal*.

strath, 'half-penny strath,' in Kintyre; *Penninghame*, 'Pennyhill,' in Galloway. In his *Etymological Dictionary* MacBain derived both *peighinn* and *fedirling* directly from the Anglo-Saxon, but he elsewhere derived them from the Norse,¹ which is right. For the phonetics of *fedirling*, from N. *fjórðungr*, compare *birlinn*, from N. *byrðingr*.

In the Sagas we often hear of the N. *skattr*, scatt or tribute paid to the king; this survives in Highland place-names, as in *Scatwell*, N. *scat-vollr*, the field or common for which scatt was paid, Gaelic *Scatail*, parish of Contin. The N. *okr*, usury (cognate with German *wucher*), became in G. *ocar*² 'interest on money,' in Welsh *ocr*; N. *kaup*, 'stipulation, pay,' became in G. *calpa*, 'principal set to interest.'

A word often heard by me as current in Morvern, and used in Dr. Macleod's writings, is *cileadair*, 'trustee,' but not from N. *gildir*, 'a payer, a guild-brother.'

[Manx has *gioaleyder*, 'the pawner'; *gioalteyr*, 'the mortgagee, the one who takes a pledge.']

For defining marches of land the N. *mörk*, gen. *markar*, was used, e.g. Loch *Merkland*, 'Marchland,' while for weighing the ancient Norse wooden steelyard *bismari*, gave the Gaelic *biorsmaid*, spring-balance, the Shetland *bismer*. Here also falls *sgàlain*, scales for weighing, from N. *skál*, 'a balance,' rather than from the O. Eng. *scále*, of similar meaning, 'scale.'

Sùsdan, the Reay country word for 'thousand' (Rob Donn), owing to the long *ū*, seems to be from N. *þúsund*. It is treated somewhat irregularly, and

¹ *Trans. Gael. Soc. Inv.* xxv. 77, and cf. vol. xix.

The native Gaelic word is *riadh*, Ir. *rith*, 'running,' 'what runs on.'

the change from *t* to *s* may have been made after borrowing. For the treatment, Rob Donn's *sùsdal*, i.e. *iomart*, *drip*, 'much ado, confusion, trouble, fuss, bustling; affected shyness'; which has been derived by Mr. Gunn from N. *pústna*, 'to chafe, quarrel,' is to be considered.

10. GOVERNMENT.

The most important is G. *īarla*, from N. *jarl*, earl, a word which figures on the Runic inscriptions of the 5th-6th century as *erilaR*, in the 7th century *eirilaR*, and denotes a military leader, a chief-of-war or battle. These 'earls' took the position of the Gadelic *mormaer*. An official known as *gocaman*, a look-out man, a term used now for a 'fidget,' was formerly known in the Highlands. "They had a constant sentinel on the top of their houses call'd *Gockmin* or in the English tongue *cockman* who was obliged to watch day and night and at the approach of anybody ask 'Who comes there?' This officer is continued in Barray still and has the perquisites due to his place paid him duly at two terms in the year."¹ It is from the Scandinavian *gok-man*, look-out man (Mackinnon).

It applies also to a fop or giddy-head with uppish manners!

tràill, a slave, thrall, from N. *braell*, serf, slave, 'glebae ascriptus'; the native Gaelic was *mog*.

The N. *ārmāðr*, g. *ārmanns*,² steward, has yielded

¹ Martin's *Western Isles*, ed. 1716, p. 103.

² Itself derived from Old Norse *ārr*, 'a trusted messenger,' cognate possibly with O. Ir. *ara*, gen. *arad*, 'charioteer' (v. Davidsen's ed. of Falk and Torp's *Norw.-Dän. Etymologisches Wörterbuch*).

the Gaelic *ārmunn*, hero, Early Irish *armand*. The *ārmenn* were stewards on the earls' estates, and were a sort of royal policemen and tax-gatherers. For change of meaning compare *laoch*, hero, from *L. laicus*, laic, layman. The Sutherland Ben Armin, failing a personal name, seems to contain this word. The *N. borg*, a fort, occurs several times, as in the Harris hybrid Dun-bhuirgh; in the island Boreray, *N. borgar-ey*, fort-isle, and in the Lewis Borge, *N. Borgh*, and Boranish, fort-ness, *N. borgar-nes*. *N. setr*, stead, seat, residence, shieling, which figures in Thrumster, Bulbster, and other like endings in Caithness, and again in Ulster, Leinster, Munster in Ireland, becomes *-said* in Gadhelic, and in English *-side*, e.g. *Lìonasaid*, *N. lín-setr*, Linside, 'flaxstead'; Loch *Staonsaid*, *N. stein-setr*, 'stony-shieling'; *Fealasaid*, Fallside, *N. fjall-setr*, 'hill-stead.'¹

The *Thing* meeting or Norse parliament existed in Scotland as the names Dingwall and Tynwald prove. It still shows traces in some customs connected with the annual promulgation of the Manx Laws at the Tynwald Hill. *Mōd*, which appears in Highland place-names as *Cnoc a Mhōid*, west of Aigas, on the north bank of the Beaully river (Uisge Farrar), is used for 'court' in place of *G. eireachd*, Irish *oireachtas*; it is current in the saying: "'Tis not every day the Macintosh holds a *mōd* or court," and while it might have come in from the Norse it really was adopted in the pre-Norse period, as it was at the Moot Hill of Scone that King Naitan the Pict decided to follow Rome and

¹ Watson in *Celtic Review* on 'Some Sutherland Names of Places.'

not Iona in the matter of the tonsure and the date of observing Easter.

The *lögmaðr* or speaker of the law, corresponding to the Celtic Brehon, became by King Sverre's time in Norway, about 1202, simply a royal official, and in the Hebrides a term for a chieftain of an hereditary kind, whose followers, though they had none of the Norse blood, would, with the advent of surnames, soon style themselves Lamont. Godred Crovan's eldest son was styled Logman, but it does not follow that every Lamont is a Norseman.

11. TREES.

Tree-words from the Norse only occur in place-names: *Eisceadal*, Eskadale (Kiltarlity parish), N. *Eski-dalr*, 'ash-dale'; Loch *Raonasa*, Loch Ranza, N. *reynis-á*, 'rowan water'; *Inbhir-à'sdal*, Inverasdale, N. *aspi-dalr*, Aspen-dale estuary or 'inver'; *Teamradal*, N. *Timbr-dalr*, timber-dale (Lochcarron parish);¹ while the name of the yew, N. *y*, appears in Uadal, N. *y-dalr*, Udale, 'Yew-dale,' Cromarty;² *Coille-éagascaig*, N. *eiki-skiki*, 'oak-strip' wood in Gairloch;³ *Ard-heslaig*, N. *hesla-vík*, 'hazel-bay,' in Applecross.⁴

12. SEA AND SHIPS.

The sea-terms from the Norse are naturally numerous; indeed, so much so that it has been said that the contributions from the Norse mostly belong to the sea, that in fact most of the Gaelic shipping terms are Norse.

¹ Watson, p. 197.

² *Ib.* 125.

³ *Ib.* 235.

⁴ *Ib.* 207.

The Norse contributions embrace almost every field. They have given a word which in the Outer Isles is applied to the Atlantic itself, the Norse *haf*,—*a mach s na haf* is the Eriskay phrase for 'out in the Atlantic,' as opposed to *an cuan*, 'the Minch.' This word usually has the *t* of the Gaelic article prefixed; it then appears as *tabh*, in which form Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, a Harris poetess of great distinction, uses it :

Ri fuaim an taibh¹
 Is uaigneach mo ghean
 Bha mi uair s cha b'e sud m'abhaist

i.e. "Lonely my mood where the ocean rolls : I was once and 'twere not my way."

A rock over which the waves break is in the Hebrides *bodha*, from N. *bōði*, a breaker; a landing-place, G. *laimhrig*, *lamraig*, is from N. *hlað-hamarr-vík*, 'pier-bay,' loading-wick; N. *hlað-berg*, 'a projecting-pier, a rock where a ship is laden,' shows the first constituent which meets us in Scotland as *Laamar*. A ford, specially a sea-ford such as that at Benbecula, is *faodhail*, genitive *na faodhalach*, from N. *vaðill*, in Shetland *vaadle* (cognate with English *wade*), a shallow where straits can be crossed. It gives its name to Benbecula, in Gaelic *Beinn a bh-faodhla*, the 'Ben-of-the-Ford.' The word is properly written *fadhail*, the root vowel being short. Through the similarity of *dh* with *gh* in sound, some spelling that gave no indication of lenition of *g*, and in the genitive case, thus *Beinn a*

¹ Mackenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry* spells it *t-shaimh* erroneously, although previous collections, such as the Inverness Collection, Ranald MacDonald's, the Stewart's and Gillies's correctly gave *tabh*, gen. *taibh*.

b-fagla, could easily give rise to the learned form Benbecula.

Uidh, a ford, or that part of a stream which leaves a lake before breaking into a current, also an isthmus, sometimes written *aoi*; this is allowed to be from N. *eið*, an isthmus, neck of land, whence *Loch nan Uidh*; and *Eye*, *Ui* (spelt also *Ey*, *Huy*, *Eie*) near Stornoway; *mol* (also *mul*, *mal*) a shingly beach, is from N. *möl*, genitive *malar*, a bed of pebbles on the beach. The proper name for islands joined to the mainland or to a larger island by a reef which is covered at high-water is in Norse *örfiris-ey*, 'ebbing or ebb-island,' from N. *ör-firi*, *ör-fjara*, an outgoing, ebbing, whence Orphir in the Orkneys and *Orasa*, Oransay (where *n* is wrongly introduced in writing it).

Undoubted ship-names are *birlinn*, galley, from N. *byrðingr*, ship of burden; *bàta*, a boat, N. *bátr*, which itself may be from Old English *bāt*. Norse also is *carbh*, which is known in Islay, from N. *karfi*, a galley for the fjords; and *cnarra*, an obsolete word for ship, from N. *knörr*, genitive *knarrar*, O.E. *cnear*. The name of the ship's anchor, *acair*, comes from N. *akkeri*, as also the G. *acarsaid*, an anchorage, from N. *akkar-sacti*, 'anchor-seat.' The process of shortening the sail is known as *abhsadh*, whence the saying, *abhsadh a chromain-luch*, 'shortening sail kite-fashion,' from N. *hālsa*, to clew up the sail. The rowlock is *bac*, from N. *bakki*, 'bank'; *cnag*, rowlock, pin, knob, is from a Norse word represented in Swedish *knagg*, a peg, *knag*, while *cnap*, a knob, which occurs in Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, is from N. *knappr*, with same meaning. The bolt-rope is

calpa na tàrrne, where *calpa* is from N. *kálf*, 'the calf of the leg'; the boat-rib is *reang*, *rang*, *rangan*, from N. *röng*, genitive *rangar*, a ship rib; *rac*, the parrel or the 'traveller' or ring that keeps the yard to the mast, is from N. *rakki*. N. *stag*, cognate with E. *stay*, gives G. *stagh*, a stay in a ship's rigging. N. *súð*, 'suture for clinching a ship's board,' 'hull of a ship' (literally suture, L. *sutura*), overlapping verges of two strakes made secure by rivets, a collection of strakes forming the framework, hence the 'hull'; the name came from times when ships were sewn together, and yields the G. *sùdh*, the seam between the planks of a ship. N. *stýra*, cognate with O. Eng. *stéoran*, 'to steer,' gives G. *stiúir*, and in the older language *stiurusmann*, *sdiursamann*, helmsman, steersman, N. **stýrismaðr*, usually met with as *stýrimaðr*. The rower's bench, *tobhta*, is from N. *þopta*, row-bench, while such boat names as N. *skúta*, cutter or small craft, Danish *skude*, becomes G. *sgoth*, a skiff; and N. *jula*, Danish *jolle*, cognate with E. yawl, appears in Gaelic *geola*, *geòla*, a ship's boat or yawl.

[The native Gadhelic words for various sizes of vessels are *long*, a ship; *eithir g. eithreach*, a boat for inland rivers; *curach*, a coracle; *coit*, a small boat; cf. Gaulish *ponto*, whence E. punt, from **gontio* (Stokes); *culaidh*, a vessel generally. This latter has been mistakenly derived from Norse, but it is native: *culle* (Manx), a colour or banner; tackle, furniture, apparatus of mill, ship, or boat (Cregeen); *cullee* (Kelly's Manx Dict.), standard, ensign, the whole train or tackling of a ship or boat; *culaidh*, a boat (Rob Donn for Sutherland, where it may be

from Shetland *whilly*, a skiff); for Ireland O'Reilly and Dineen give it in sense of robe, dress, apparel, tool, implement, boat. Similarly in the Highlands: *culaidh-shiùil*, sail, *culaidh-eudaich*, raiment, *culaidh-bainnse*, wedding-garment; *culaidh-uamhais*, object of astonishment or terror. In the *Tàin* (ed. Windisch, p. 656) it is glossed *membrum*. For references to boats among the Celts see Reeves's *Adannan's Life of Columba*.]

To the Norse loans under this item I add the following: *aoireann*, *aorunn*, *aoileann*, *faoileann* (dat. *faoilinn*); *Feòlann*, 'beach.'

Professor Mackinnon writes: "The *aoireanns* of South Argyll are, or have been 'ferries.' Such are the *aoireann* of *Rudha-na-h-aoireann*, (the ferry to Gigha is adjacent), and the *aoireann* of Jura, which is also the ferry to Portaskaig. And such have been West Tarbert, otherwise *aoireann a' bhalla*, and North and South *Erins*, north of Tarbert on Loch Fyne. The word is a feminine noun and declined—nom. and gen. *aoireann*, dat. *aorainn*. There is not a form in Gaelic to justify the *aoirine* of the map." In the Argyllshire *Rudha na h-aoirinn* Dr. Gillies finds the Norse *eyrr*, 'a gravelly beach,' but this is impossible, for the Norse genitive is *eyrar*, and the vowels do not in this word yield the Gadhelic form; Norse *eyrr* yields *Eoropie*, G. *Eòrrabaidh*, *eyrar-boer*, beach-town; *Earshader*, beach-settlement; *Eàrrabhig*, *eyrar-vík*, beach-bay; *Eirera*, beach-river.¹ In Argyll the name of the sea-point was transferred to a land farm, and when the English Survey-man came he named the promontory upon

¹ Watson, *Place-Names*, p. 266.

the farm, and called it Rhunahairine Point, Dr. Gillies tells us.

In West Sutherland I know the word, as it is the older Gadhelic name for Loch Inver; and the white sands and beach at Scourie (G. Sgoghairigh) are called *an fhaileann*, and a burial in the cemetery, which is all sand there, is said to be *ann san fhaoilinn*. At the head of Loch Glen Coul, where there is a sandy beach, there is another *faoileann*. In West Ross the name occurs: an Fhaoilinn = the beach-field, opposite the manse of Applecross; behind it is Cadha na Faoilinn, 'the pass of the *faoileann*.' Lady D'Oyly's poem, *Tha mo chridhe trom, trom*, indicates the word as used in the Isle of Raarsay, itself a Norse name:

O! Ghàidhealtachd ghaolach
 Nan cladach 's nam faoileann,
 Nan innis 's nan aonach uain',
i.e. O the dear Highlands
 Of the fore-shores and beaches,
 Of the meads and moor-slopes green!

Another writer has:

Chunncas long dol seach an fhaoilinn
 = I saw a ship sail past the beach.

Further, there is a *tigh na Faoilinne*, 'house of the shore-field.'

In Cintire *aorunn* is the equivalent of the Uist *machaire*, or 'plain by the sea,' 'level land, and arable.' On Loch Long, the Skipafjörd of the Norse, there is *Feõilean*, where a little promontory runs into the loch. "The extremity is rocky, but between it and the wood there is a level strip of ground which terminates in a fine beach on the

south side of the point.”¹ This variant preserves a trace of the palatal *fj*-. The change between *l* and *r* is frequent: *cf.* the Lewis *caoile-pìanan*, ‘phosphorescent brightness at sea,’ where *caoile*=*caoir*, ‘blaze’ of the Southern dialect, and *pìanan*, from root as in Latin *pendeo*, hang, E. *pendulum*, Sanscrit *spand*, ‘move quickly,’ a side form of the root in Gadhelic *sionn*, *teine-sionnachain*, ‘phosphorescent fire,’ Gr. *σφενδόνη*, sling—all from a root signifying to swing, hang.

In the Hacon Saga the Norse *fjorunnar* is translated ‘beach,’² and this, which I take to be the origin of the West Highland words, comes from N. *fjara*, f., gen. *fjöru*, ‘ebb, ebb-tide, with suffixed article feminine, *fjaran*, the fore-shore, the sea-shore, beach, sea-board.’ Ferries might often exist at such beaches, but this is a secondary thing, as the Cintire use of *aorunn* proves.

The Flatey Codex (*Rolls Series*, iv. 358) has a different text, and uses the phrase *ā mölinni*, ‘on the shingle’; *at fara ofan a mölina* = to go down to the shingle. But the Codex Frisian has *bad pá Ogmund leita nid til fjörunnar*, he bade Ogmund draw off his men towards the beach; *í fjörunni*, ‘on the beach.’ Here we have *fjara*, with suffixed article feminine, and the genitive and dative singular cases respectively. For an example of the Norse article suffixed, compare *Staffin*, ‘the Staff,’ N. *stafr*; accusative with suffixed article *staff-inn*.

bàir-linn, a rolling wave, billow, *bàir* being from N. *bára*, wave, billow.

¹ *Ardkinglas*, by J. Orr, p. 33.

² Johnstone's *Haco's Expedition*, p. 95.

bodh, a rock over which waves break; from N. *boði*, a breaker; cf. Jakobsen's *Ordbog*, sub "bo," for examples, such as de Bod (Balta Isle), de Bods (N. Roe), de Bo (Foula).

Bruic, *Bruga*, sea-weed (S. Uist), *brùig*, rotten sea-weed = *staca feamainn* (Tiree); N. *Brúk*, dried heaps of sea-weed.

cārbhair, a boat with grooved planks (Lewis); it is built differently to other boats, for the planks do not overlap but fit closely. It is from N. *karfi*, 'a galley for the fjörds'; the word is also borrowed as *carbh*, 'a particular kind of ship or boat' in Islay.

ceòsanaich, 'hollows amid the billows,' hence 'drizzling surges,' Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, p. 181. = *cìosanaich* (Dialectal). Founded on N. *kjós*, a deep or hollow place(?) whence place-name Keose, in Lewis; also *Kjós*, a local name in S. Iceland. (Else G. *cias*, *ceus*, Gen. *ceòis*, 'fringe, border.')

dreollan (with close *o* in the Aird, more often with long *o* elsewhere), an epithet of a slow-going old man, a carle; a loiterer; an epithet of one who is slow on his legs; from N. *drjóli*, a loiterer, *drolla*, loiter, Old Eng. to *droil*. In Shetland, *dròlin*, a half-grown saithe, from *dròl*, applied to a slow and strengthless movement (v. Jakobsen's *Ordbog*, p. 125).

droinip, tackle, rigging; *gach d. tha'n crochadh ri 'r crannaibh* (Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's *Bèrlinn*), all the tackle that is tied to (hanging from) our masts. It seems as if *d* were not really a part of the word, but arose through the *t* of the article, pronounced *an d-* i.e. *d* after the nasal; cf. *driamlach* for *d-rīamlach*, Irish *rīamnach*. From the Norse

reið, tackle, rigging, and *reip*, rope; *d-reið*-*reip*, through *d-rei-reip*, with dissimilation of second *r* to *n*, which would give *dreinip*, which likewise represents some pronunciations. The N. *reipa reið* meant rigging, tackling; *drag-reip*, draw-rope, halyard (*oi* as in *oidhirp* and = G. *ao*).

fadhail, 'ford,' as between Uist and Benbecula, from N. *vaðill*, a shallow where straits are crossed.

farradh, 'litter in a boat' (M'Bain, without etymon); in Uist it is litter placed under cattle when ferried in a boat. I think it is from Norse *farar*, 'journey,' *för*, gen. *farar*, old plural *farar*, 'journey,' 'a fare,' journey.

flagais, *flaggais*, beach, sea-beach, as e.g. in phrase *inneir na flaggais* .i. *a' chladaich*, seems founded on N. *flak* (dialectal; also *flag*), a broad sandbank (Aasen); E. *flake*, pl. *flakes*, a patch of sand among rocks under water (*Eng Dial. Dict.*).

flathadh, sea, properly 'flood,' e.g.

nàmhaid gèidh is cathain thu
ròn mhaol ri taobh na flathadh thu.

Sinclair's *Oranaiche*, p. 121.

from N. *flō* (Shetland), flow (Orkney), as in Scapa Flow, Old Norse *flói*, a bay or large firth; deep water in a bay; the kelpie's flow (Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor*); N. *flaa-vand*, *flaa-bygd*; the ice-*floe* of Arctic navigators.

fòlaibh .i. *tonnan*, 'waves':

'S mì gun suigeart 's mì gun sòlas
'S mo leanabh uam feadh na fòlaibh.

St. Kilda Song in *Celt. Rev.* ii. 334, where it applies to the billows in front of the rocks. From

N. *for-vað*, 'shoal water between the cliffs and the flowing tide.' St. Kilda changes *r* into *l*, and Gadhelic seems an attempt to give *solvað* by dropping the ending *að* and developing an 'irrational' vowel between *l* and *v*.

fulpanta, falpanta, N. *hválfa, hvólfa*, to turn upside down, keel uppermost.

Professor Bugge, in alluding to Campbell's *West Highland Tales* (iii. 227), says that parts of the Tale of Conall Gulban may have been recited in the Norse language. He instances the phrase: 'The King of Erin and his two sons went on board of a ship, and they hoisted the speckled flapping sails up against the tall tough masts; and they sailed the ship *fulpande fiullande*.' "Even the old Irish Sagas, when describing the sailing of princes, use words and expressions borrowed from the Norse, and the tale of the sons of Turrenn relates that the Fomorians of Lochlann 'hoisted their many-coloured speckled sails, and sailed from the harbour into the great sea.' And the last two words, which Campbell is unable to translate, seem clearly to be of Norse origin, misinterpretations of Norse present participles.

"When I discovered this, my father, Professor Sophus Bugge, furnished me with the following notes:

"They sailed the ship *fulpande fiullande* presupposes a Norwegian expression, *sigldu skip hvölvande fyllande* (Old Norse *hvelfanda fyllanda*) i.e. 'they sailed the ship so that she was in the act of upsetting and being filled.' Old Norse *hvelfir skipinu*, means 'the ship upsets.' In Faroe the expression is still used, *báturin hvölvdist*. In *ful-*

pande the Old Norse *hv* is expressed by *f*; cf. Irish *faras* = Old Norse *hvar es* (*Cogadh Gaedhel*, p. 174), and *Fíuit* = *Hvíttr* (*Book of Leinster*).¹

Mr. Lloyd enumerates all the Highland and Irish variants, and thinks it a mere mannerism of story-telling introduced at first from the Norse by the bilingual Gall-ghaedhil of the Hebrides and Argyllshire, and thence spreading to Ireland. The best preserved forms *fiulpande fiullande* are in the West Highlands; the most corrupt are *bolcanta, balcanta* of Waterford; *Tulcanta, talcanta* of Kerry, though Scotland has also variants, such as *plucanaich, placanaich*. With *fiullande* from N. *fyllande* Mr. Lloyd compares *Sitriucc*, from N. *Sigtryggr*, and observes that the *iu* of this would have obtruded itself also into *fiulpande*, the original of which, perhaps *fulpande*, suffered assimilation of its *u* to the diphthong of *fiullande*; and that the *o, u* of the late Irish and Scottish folk-tale versions may come from the *ö* of the Norwegian rather than the *e* of the Icelandic *hvelfanda*. I would compare the Highland *Diùrinish*, 'Durinish,' from N. *dýra-nes*, 'deer's ness or naze.' The Norse present participles literally mean *whelming, filling*; N. *hvelfa*, to turn upside down, to capsize, to pour water out of a vessel; N. *fylla*, to fill, become filled.

iola, 'a fishing bank at sea' (a Hebridean word); Manx. *aahley* 'a place marked at sea to fish on' (Cregeen). N. *iðā*, 'a whirling eddy.' Cf. Manx *ailey*, a course, a drift; *ailey vie*, 'good ground for fishing.'

¹ Bugge's *Norse Elements in Gaelic Tradition of Modern Times*, Christiania, 1900, p. 18, quoted by Mr. Lloyd in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* for 1908, p. 222.

làgraid, the tidal-bore. It is a Lewis word which I have heard from Mr. J. Munro, forester at Ardchulinn, Reay Forest. He knows Lewis well and has always used the word for 'the tidal bore.' I take it to be the Norse *lá-garðr*; *lá*, 'shoal-water, surf,' and *garðr*, 'fence'; hence 'fence of *lá*,' the surf (v. Cleasby-Vigfusson, p. 376); *garðr* shows metathesis here.

laidul, langhadal, long stalks of tangle (Oldshore, W. Sutherland); in Lewis called *langhadal*. N. *langa*, 'long,' + N. *þöngull*, 'tangle, sea-weed'; latter word has been contracted and obscured in Gadhelic, the Gadhelic accent being on the first term of the compound.

luim, shift, contrivance; a 'dash for' a purpose. Nam bu tu-sa bhiodh tinn dhianainnsa l. = were it you who were ill I would essay, or 'make a dash to,' etc. (W. Ross). The word is also used in Lismore. From N. *hlymja*, pres. *hlymr*, 'to dash,' used of the sea dashing against the sides of a vessel.

rotach, 'a spell of stormy weather'; *rotach na Càisge* of stormy days at Eastertide; N. *rōta*, 'storm and sleet.'

siùrra, in phrase 'n an sùneadh an siùrra feamainn (Colonsay tale: *Ridire na Sgéithe Deirge*: MacKinnon's *Reading Book*, vol. ii. p. 77): this in Ness, Lewis, is *tiurr feamad* (for *feamuinn*), 'big heap of sea-weed'; *tiurr* (v. Sinclair's *Oranaiche*, p. 126): the form with *t*, an *t-iurr*, from N. *eyrr*, 'a gravel or bank' by a river or promontory, Swed. *ör*, Dan. *örr* (MacBain).

slōc, an Hebridean term for a sea-weed that grows on rocks in the sea. It is eaten boiled with butter.

Perhaps it is called from its trailing appearance. N. *slókr*, 'a slouching fellow,' may possibly contain the root.

sgòr, 'a sharp rock,' with its side-form *sgùr*; from N. *skor*, a rift in a rock, or precipice. The long *ō* may have been influenced by Sc. *scaur*, but as the North English words *scar*, *scaur*, are of Scandinavian origin, the G. may be directly from the Norse.

staplwich, loud noise, especially of the sea; the overwhelming sea; *staplinn* (A. MacDonald's *Poems*, 170); *staplinneach* (*ib.* 163), 'roaring' sea; N. *stöpla*, 'bespatter, besprinkle,' Dutch *overstelping* = *overwhelming*.

starrach, wily, sly (Scourie): connection has been suggested with *star* in N. *starblindr*, blind with a cataract, though G. **s-tar*, *tar*, 'across,' is the more likely.

tabh, 'sea or ocean,' sometimes long; *a mach's na hābh*, 'out in the ocean' (Barra, Eriska); *ri fuaim an taibh*, 'by ocean's roar' (M. Macleod, Harris); sometimes miswritten *sāmh*, 'surge,' from N. *haf*, Shetland *haaf*, 'open sea.'

thamhn, 'harbour.' *Anns na thamhn*, 'in the harbour.' I heard this in Eriskay, where it was used as opposed to the phrase in the preceding. From N. *hafn*, 'harbour,' 'haven'; also in Loch *Thamna-bhaigh*, N. (*t*)-*hafnar-vágr*, 'harbour-bay,' Lewis; cf. Hamnavoe, Shetland. Another Norse word for 'harbour' occurs in Camas Thairbairnish, N. *Herberginess*, 'harbour-ness bay,' on the north side of the Tarbert in Canna.

As to G. *t* before *h* in Norse loans, cf. *Ant-Hal'ach* = The Haugh (by the river Ness); also *an Tal'chan*;

Halc (1360); Old Scots *Halche*, level land along a stream: *l* before *ch* (cf. Drumsheugh, Edinburgh, older Drumselch) and other consonants, has become silent in E., cf. *Holm*, but G. *Tolm*.

urrachdaig, thole-pin: from N. *urga*, strap, rope's end (in provincial Norse *urve*). The Gadhelic form is a double diminutive *urr-ag-ag*, contracted to *urcag*, and plural occurs as in G. *na h-urrchdagan maide* = the thole-pins. N. *rg* becomes *rr*.

13. SCENERY (LANDSCAPE AND SEASCAPE).

There is one word, more or less dialectal, which may be used for 'scenery,' and it is from the Norse: *lanndaidh*, 'scenery, landscape,' e.g.

1. Chan e na thubhairt mi mo dhéighinn
Thug sìor iomradh da feadh na cruinne
Ach a lanndaidh fhiadhaich chiatach
Thug i barr air Gàidhealtachd uile;
Air gach tìobh dha suas ag éirigh
Tha beanntanan àrd nan sgorran
'S beag nach 'eil am barr a dol na chéile
'S firinneach an t-ainm th'air Gleann-a-Comhann.

(pp. 87-88, *Lwinneag nan Gleann*, by Iain MacColla, of West Laroeh, Ballachulish; Glasgow, A. Sinclair, 1885).

2. M'Alpine gives the form *lanntair*, a landscape, beautiful side of country, full of wood and arable land, facing the sea; *moladh na lanntair*, 'description of the landscape' (quoting D. Campbell). Dinneen's Irish Dictionary gives *lanndair* as 'the inner or best room in a farm-house, the parlour.' Dr. Gillies, in *Place-Names of Argyll*, takes *Lanndaidh* from *lann*, 'an enclosure'; but this is wrong, does not account for final *-aidh*, and does not suit the meaning.

3. The word is known in Islay; see the song *Moladh na Lanndaidh*, where it describes a beautiful district, surrounded by other Norse place-names; *an Lanndaidh*, 'a beautiful section of the island full of wood and arable land facing the sea' (MacNeill's *New Guide to Islay*, pp. 7, 40). It is from Norse *land*, a country, land, estate: *landar-eign*, 'the lands, fields, and pastures belonging to an estate.'

Even dealing with native words pertaining to scenic description great caution is needed, as folk-etymons are invariably misleading. Witness the name, 'the field of the shirts' (Blàr nan léine), always wrongly given to the scene of that battlefield in Lochaber where so many of the Clan Fraser fell, despite the fact that its true form is Blār Léana, 'meadow-field,'¹ 'the field of the swampy plain.' It occurs in Magh Léana, 'Moylena,' a celebrated battle field in Ireland; cognate is Manx *lheanee*, and the Highland diminutive *lianag*, 'a little meadow,' proto-Celtic **lencn-*. The *Book of Clan Ranald* naturally is against the distortion of the word, and writes: 'Do bhrisd se blār ar mac Símhagh ag cenn Locha Lóchaidh dan goirthear Blār Léine tuairim na bliadhna d'aois Chrìosd 1545.' = he (*i.e.* Iain Muidertach) gained a battle over Fraser of Lovat at Loch Lochy Head, which is called Blar Léine (properly Léana) about 1545 A.D.

This caution can never be too strict in reference to the words taken over from Norse speakers; in many instances distortions are most likely to have taken place. Dogmatic and erroneous assertions, such as: "St. Kilda must be a corruption of the

¹ Cameron's *Rel. Celt.* ii. 170, 171.

Gaelic : there never was a saint of that name, which probably represents *oilean celi Dé*, isle of the servants of God, or holy Culdees,"¹ must be abandoned ; likewise the accompanying assertion : " But though the Norsemen have left no trace on St. Kilda, there seems to be a distinct record of the pre-Celtic race in the name Dunfirbolg, the fort of the Firbolg or Ivernians." Equally erroneous is Sir Herbert's derivation of Balfour in Fife from G. *Baile fuar*, 'the cold farm.'² The name I have often heard pronounced with the accent on the latter part, as Bal-foor, Bal-fūre, 'grazing-ton,' which is to be regarded as similar to Doch-four for Dabhach-phūir, from a Pictish word signifying pasture, grazing. Also in Rhifour, Ruigh-fu'ir, 'grazing-stretch,' where the latter word is absolutely different in sound to G. *fuar*, and stands for a Pictish word with de-aspirated *p* : cf. Cymric *pawr*, *pori*, 'to graze,' hence, 'grazing-township,' etc. So much for caution as to the correct vowel sounds. Special caution is needed as to place and historical environment. In South Scotland not every name-ending in *-dale* is of Norse origin. For "many of our Norse names ending in *dale* originated after the Norse *dalr* had passed into the Saxon speech, and it was applied to places long after the Norsemen had been sent to the right about. Nithsdale, for instance, is written Stranid in 1350—*svath Nid*. Annandale has the Welsh form Estrahannent in the twelfth century, and also the Gaelic Stratanant, and it is not till 1295 that it appears as Anandresdale. So although *dale* is a Norse word, it is not safe to predicate of all names ending in *dale* that they are of

¹ Sir H. Maxwell's *Scottish Land Names*, p. 81. ² *Ib.* 16.

Norse origin" (Maxwell's *Scottish Land Names*, p. 100).

On the other hand, names that at first sight one might be led to assign to a Norse origin have come through a different source; e.g. *còrrs*, *còrs*, 'the sails closely reefed': *nuair bu chòir an corrs' chumail suas air dòigh* = when one should keep the sails closely reefed and orderly (*v.* my ed. of John Morison of Harris, in his *Sgiobaireachd*). Were it Norse it should be *cross* if it came from the idea of the 'cross-sail,' or we would have to postulate some Viking dialectal form, *cf.* Danish *kors*. But the word seems founded on some form such as M. Eng. *cōrs*, body, texture, *coors* of silk or thread, through O. French *cors*, from L. *corpus*. Compare G. *còrsair*, a cruiser, of old *corsaire*, a privateer.

But many of the chief features in the landscape of the Scottish mainland from Eskdale, Norse *Eskidalur*, 'Ash-dale,' by the Beaully River, of old Uisge Farrar, and northwards round the coasts of Ross and Sutherland and Caithness, and along the western border, southwards to Galloway and Liddesdale, the *Hlið-dalur* of the Viking settlers, are Norse. As soon as we cross from the Beaully valley into Urray we have Tarradale from Norse *tarfr-dalur*, 'bull-dale'; Alcaig in Urquhart from N. *Alka-vík*, 'auk's bay';¹ Culbo in Resolis from N. *Kúla*, a ball or knob, and *bol*, 'a farm-stead';² Udale in Cromarty, N. *y-dalur*, 'yew-dale.' Scatwell in Contin is from N. *scat-völlr*, the 'scat-field or land' which yielded tax, i.e. *scat* to

¹ Watson's *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, p. 115.

² *Ib.* p. 121 ("but perhaps for *Kulda-bol*, 'cold-town,'" says M'Bain).

the Northern earls whose seat of justice is commemorated prominently in Dingwall, N. *þing-völlr*, the field of the *þing* or Norse Court of Justice. N. *völlr*, meets us in Brae-langwell, N. *lang-völlr*, 'long-field,' in Resolis, repeated again in Lang-well, Caithness. Cadboll, Catboll (1561) is from N. *kattarból*, 'cat-stead.' When we cross to Sutherland Norse names abound with the Norse terminations in *-dale*; *-boll* ('homestead'); *-gil*; *-vollr*; *-bakki* ('bank'); *ery* (-ary, 'shieling'), *á* ('river'). A few prominent names may suffice for illustration, such as Swordale = Sward-dale; Helmsdale = Hjalmund's dale; Strath Halladale = *helga-dalr*, 'holy-dale'; Torrisdale = þorir's dale; Ceoldale = cold dale or 'keel'-dale; Skelbo for Skelbol = shell-town or stead; Skībo, older Scytheboll, where Scythe = N. *Skiði* may be a Norse personal name, 'Skiði's ton,' which may be repeated in Skiary, 'Skiði's shieling,' on Loch Hourn.

Embo is now in Gadhelic Eiribol, where the *r* is due to the common change of *n* into *r* in Sutherland, and proved by the older Eyndboll (1610), Ethenboll (c. 1230), the first constituent being a Norse word but obscure, although in both cases we might expect Norse personal names, judging by Unapool (in Assynt) = Uni's or Una's stead; Kirkibol = Kirkton, the old name for Tongue; Crosspool, Crosple = 'Cross-homestead,' near the old church of Durness. N. *gil* appears in Gìsgil, 'the gushing gil' in Ederachaolais; Eirigil, from N. *eyrr* + *gil*, 'gravel beach gil'; Tràligil = thrall's *gil* or gully; and the foreign-looking *Dornadilla's* Tower, G. Dun Dörnagil, "which may well be *Thorna-gil*, 'thorn-

gully.'"¹ Langwell is clearly N. *lang-völlr*, 'long-field,' Musal = mossy field, Moswell (1560); the Norse *Ekkjallsbakki*, 'Oykell bank,' shows their form for 'bank,' which directly meets us in Coulbackie, 'cold-bank,' and in *Backies*, near Golspie, where the *s* is from *s* of the English plural. N. *à*, gen. *ár*, 'river,' we have in Brora, N. Brúar-á, 'Bridge Water,' Arsaig, on the south bank of Loch Shin, N. *ár-skiki*, 'river-strip'; Calda, N. *kalda-a*, 'cold-stream,' by Loch Assynt; Amat at Oykell and Brora, N. *á-mót*, 'confluence,' literally 'river-meet' (Watson). Sutherland names ending in *-ary* come from the Norse *erg*, *ärg*, 'shieling,' and they may be disguised as *-rie* in Scourie, G. Sgoghairigh, from N. *skógr*, 'shaw, wood, shieling': for meaning cf. *Shaw*-field. Indeed, most of the prominent place-names in Caithness and Sutherland are Norse, or show Norse influence; the former simply adds the N. *-ness* as suffix to the *Cat*- we have in Cataobh, Cataibh, which is the Gadhelic for Sutherland,² N. *suðr-land*, 'southland,' while Caithness, pronounced Caitness by old men known to me, is G. *Gallaobh*, *Gallaibh*, the place or bounds of the Gall or Norsemen.

The village of Golspie, G. *Goi(II)sbi*, contains the N. *-by*, Icelandic *baer*, *byr*, but the meaning of the first part of this word is difficult to determine. Cyderhall, an absurd spelling, older form Sytheraw, or still older Sywardhoth (1230) is for N. *Sigurd + haugr*, Earl Sigurd's burial-mound. Wick is the N.

¹ *Celtic Review*, ii., p. 365, Mr. Watson's paper on 'Some Sutherland Names of Places'; *ib.* pp. 361-368, must be referred to for further examples.

² Duke of Sutherland is styled in Gadhelic *Diúc Chat* (not D. Shutherlan, as I have seen it put)!

vtk, 'bay'; Thurso, N. *þiörs-á*, 'bull-water,' also met with in Iceland, is primarily the name for Thurso Water, thereafter transferred to the town, which is in G. *Inbhir-Thiörsa*. All the names in *-ster*, N. *staðr*, 'stead, abode,' Stemster, Thrumster, Bilbster, show like endings with Scrabster, N. Skára-bòlstaðr, 'seamew-stead'; Brabuster(Orkney), Brebuster(Shetland), N. Breiðabólstaðr, 'Broad-farm.' *Ulb*, a personal name in the *Book of Settlement*, meets us in Ulbster, 'Ulb's seat or settlement.' In Sutherland, N. *setr*, 'seat, stead, shieling,' appears as *-said* in the endings of Gadhelic names, Englished *-side*, e.g. Lionasaid, N. *lín-setr*, 'flax-stead'; Sandset, Sandside. On the west of Sutherland, Sandwood is in G. Seanabhat, Sionabhat, where the terminal is N. *-vatn*, 'water,' which gives its name to Watten parish, where the Wick water issues from Loch Watten in Caithness. N. *melr*, 'bent-grass (by the seaside),' appears in *Melness*, *Melvich*, *Melvich Bay*, all on the north coast of Sutherland, and repeats itself in *Melfort*, '(sea)-bent or bent-grass firth,' in Argyll; in *Melbost*, 'bent-grass homestead,' in Lewis; *Mealachadh*, 'bent-grass field,' in Harris. The chief arms of the sea are likewise named from the Norse: Loch Erribol, N. *eyrr + bol*, 'gravel-beach stead' (cf. Ireland in Orkney, Ireland in Shetland, from N. *eyrr land*); Loch Hope, N. *hóp*, 'a small land-locked bay' which in Sutherland gives its names to Ben Hope, and is met again in *Obbe* in Harris, in Opinan, Obbenin, in Gairloch, and in Oban in Lorne, where, however, the Norse did not penetrate on the mainland far enough to obliterate the older nomenclature, as e.g. in *Dun tamhnachan*, 'fort of the little

meadow,' G. *dūn*, 'fort'+ *tamhnach*, 'a meadow,'¹ an old Gadhelic word met with in Tannoch Hill (New Abbey), in Tunnocks (written Tannock by Pont), in Kilbirnie, Ayr, and in Tannieroach Old Luce parish. The Glen Lōnan name, Duntamhnachan, has nothing to do with G. *samhnag*, but is entirely descriptive of the place to this day.

The N. *fjörðr* appears in Loch Laxford, G. *Lusard*, and in Loch Inchard, from N. *engis-fjörd*, 'mead-firth' (Dr. M'Bain's suggestion); this word repeats itself in prominent firth names, where it terminally is *-ard*, as in *Knoydart*, 'Cnut's fjörd'; *Suaineart*, Sweno's or Sweyn's fjörd; *Moidart*, where the first constituent is obscure and, failing a personal name, may be descriptive. The Sutherland parish-name Assynt, an old pronunciation of which I was given as As'synt, has been referred to the N. *áss-endi*, 'ridge or rock-end': here the quantity of the first part of the compound seemed short to the Highland ear, or else was shortened from some analogy. The great feature of Assynt landscape, *Sūlvein*, contains the N. *súlvr*, pillar, hence 'the pillared ben,' and Dr. M'Bain found the same word in Shulisheder of the Long Island and of Skye, the ending there being N. *setr*, seat or shieling. It is remarkable that the chief Sutherland mountains are named from the Norse. In addition to Ben Hope and Sulvein, there is Ben Stack in Eadarachaolais, from N. *stakkr*, well descriptive of a stack-shaped or conical mountain; Ben Armunn shows the N. *ármaðr*, gen. *ármanns*, 'steward,' whence the G. *ármunn*, 'a hero,' a change in connotation well in keeping with the stewards of

¹ Cf. O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly's Dict. for full definitions.

the Norse earls; Ben Loyal, G. Beinn Laghal, 'the ben of the law-field,' N. *laga*, 'law' + *völlr*, 'field,' which in Gadhelic terminals appears as *al-*, e.g. *scatail*, Scatwell, N. *scatt-völlr*: it was the Norse custom to hold their law meetings in retired places, and sometimes hillsides were selected; the *law-berg* is often spoken of in Iceland; in this case we have *Lèittirlyol* in 1601, 'the hillside or slope of the law-field,' and from the nature of the place, in every way the queen of the northern mountains, I take it that Loyal was called after the 'law-field' rather than from *fjall*, fell, directly. Dr. M'Bain suggested N. *leiðfjall*, 'levy or slogan hill,' and inclines to equate it with *Layaval*, *Laiaval* in Uist,—in either case Norse. Other Sutherland mountain names are Ben Clibreck, where we have N. *brekka*, a slope, hence 'cliff-slope'; Beinn *Smedrail*, from 'butter-fell or butter-field' (Watson); to which I will only add Ben Auskard in Eadarchaolais, as reminding of Gnup-askard of the Laxdale Saga, but one would expect a Norse word with *als*—to give the G. *au* sound. *Pùitic*, Whiten Head, G. An ceann Geal, N. *hvítr*, 'white,' which becomes G. *fút*, *fuít* (cf. *Futerne* for N. *hviterne*, Whithorn); the terminal may be N. *vík*, 'bay,' in which case the name was first of all given to a small bay. The legend tells of the witch's counsel to the Norse prince: *Seachainn Pùitic is Parbh* = 'avoid Whiten Head and Cape Wrath'! *Parbh* is from N. *hvarf*, 'turning-point': Faro Head (Pont's map); through de-aspirated *f* both these Norse loans yield *p*, which in the case of *Parbh* is changed to *An Carbh* in Lewis.

Of Norse or Scoto-Norse place-names on the

West Ross-shire mainland there are at least thirty-four of certain Norse origin in Gairloch, twenty in Lochbroom, thirteen in Applecross, six in Lochcarron, eleven in Lochalsh, while Glenshiel and Kintail seem free of Norse names. These have been examined by Mr. Watson in *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, under the several parishes. I need only specify a few as illustrations: Gruinard Bay, N. *grunna-fjörðr*, 'shallow-firth'; Mungasdale, N. *múnks-dalr*, 'monk's dale'; Sgoraig, N. *sgor-vík*, 'rift-bay,' from a narrow gully there; Ullapool, N. *Ulli-bólstaðr*, 'Ulli's stead'; Calascaig, N. *Kali-skiki*, 'Kali's strip,' at the foot of Loch Achall, and repeated in Eadarachaolais near Kyleström, itself repeated in Keili-straumr, now Kiel-strommen, of the Hakon Saga, at least so far as N. *straumr*, 'stream,' is concerned; Tanera, N. *hafnar-ey* (with usual prefixed *t*), 'harbour isle'; Dibaig, Diabaig, N. *djúp-vík*, 'deep bay'; Erradale, N. *eyrar-dalr*, 'gravel-beach dale'; Openham, G. *na h-òbainean*, N. *hóp*, 'bay'; Shildaig, N. *síld-vík*, 'herring-bay'; Smiùthaig,¹ N. *Smuga-vík*, 'Cave-bay,' also in Smoo cave, Durness. Ard-heslaig, N. *hesla-vík*, 'hazel-bay,' with G. *árd* prefixed. Going further south, N. *skriða*; *dalr*; *fjörðr*; *vík*; *sand*; *á*; *fors*; *baer*, *byr*; *örfiri*; *ár-ós*; *ness*; *hóp* testify to a persistent Norse influence.

Thus at Arnisdale, N. *árnis-dalr*, Glenelg, we have Ben Sgrithill, Sgriothall, Scrial, which comes from N. *skriða-fjall*, *skriða*, pl. *skriðna*, 'a landscape on a hillside,' whence G. *sgridhinn*, 'rocky side of a hill.' My recollection of the mountain is that it was a continuous run of stones, with torrent tracks

¹ Note insertion of *i* after *sm*.

everywhere. On the opposite coast is *Barrisdale*; also *Sandaig Bay*, N. *Sand-vík* Bay, both in (K)noydart, G. Crōideart, with nasal *o*, from N. Knut's *ffjörd*. *Ārisaig*, N. *ár-os-vík*, 'river-mouth bay,' *oyce-vík*, gives name to a large district. In *Loch Aylort*, *Moidart*, *Suinart*, the N. *ffjörd*, 'firch,' is again evident, while *Glen Borrodale*, *Laudle* (G. *Labhdal*), *Liddisdale* (N. *hlíðr*, 'slope'), as well as *Resipol* (N. *-bol*, 'stead'), speak with decisiveness of the presence of Viking settlers at *Suaineart*. Belonging to *Morvern* is *Eilean Orasa*, the *Oransay* of the maps, which is only an island at ebb-tide, and is the N. *Örfiris-ey*, a tidal island, "the proper name for islands which at low tides are joined to the mainland," says *Vigfusson*. On the south of *Morvern* are *Mungastle*, G. *Mungasdal*, N. *Múnksdalr*, *Monk's dale*, which repeats itself in *Lochbroom* parish; *Achaforsa*, a hybrid with G. *achadh*, 'field,' + N. *fors*, 'a waterfall,' met with also in the North in *Forsinard*, 'waterfall of the height,' *Forsinain*, 'waterfall of the slope or lower declivity'; *Ardtornish*, with which compare N. *þórsnes* at *Breiðafjörðar*, *Iceland*, if we cannot have a personal name; hence *Thor-*, or *Thori-ness* promontory, G. *ārd* being prefixed as the spoken Norse had receded. *Égnaig* in *Morvern* seems another of the names in N. *vík*, 'bay.'¹ Further east is *Inver-sannda*, N. *sand-á*, 'sand-water.' Crossing *Loch Linnhe* there is *Shūna*, 'scouting isle,' N. *sjón-a*; passing by *Appin* there is *Eriska*, 'Eric's isle.' *Oban*, from N. *hóp*, 'a landlocked bay,' has been already explained. Near it

¹ N. *éikinn*, in sense of 'boat'; 'boat-bay'? The suitable landing-place for a boat at that spot, as I recollect from an expedition thither.

is Soroba, N. *saur-baer*, mud- or swamp-ton, similar to Sowerby (Yorks), Sorbie in Galloway; Soroba is repeated in Craignish. Dunstaffnage, G. *Dunsta'nis*, repeats N. *stafr*, 'staff, pillar,' which gives its name to Staff-ey, Staffa, 'pillar isle.' Hence Dun-stafa-nes, 'Staffnesfort,' Ard-Stofniche (1322), Dunstaffynch (*circa* 1375); for -ness thus written compare Schyph-inche (1262), Skipness.

Seil Island, G. *Saoil*, is Norse, and shows the usual correspondence of N. *ei* to G. *ao*. Melfort, G. *Meil'ar(s)t*, is N. *melr-fjörðr*, 'bent grass firth.' Craignish shows the N. *nes*, 'naze'; Ormsary, N. 'Orm's-erg, or sheiling'; Loch Stornoway, N. *stjórnvagr*, 'steering bay,' repeated in Stornoway, Lewis.

Coming to Cintire, the *Sattiri* of the Sagas, and known also as the Dales (*Dalir*), one expects and finds a certain number of names from Viking times. Among these are Skipness, 'ship-ness'; Saddell, G. *Sà'adal*, Saghadal in MacMhuirich, Sagadull (fifteenth century), where the ending is N. *dalr*, 'dale,' and the first part perhaps N. *sag*, 'saw,' which suggests a place where wood was sawn down—the popular *Sand-dale* is nonsensical as a derivation of this word in any case. Carradale, near it, is Norse, the first part, failing a personal name,¹ being descriptive (copse-dale?). Torrisdale contains the personal name Thorir or Thori, hence 'Thori's dale.' Off Southend is Sanda, N. *Sand-ey*, 'sand-isle,' repeated in Handa, off West Sutherland, where *h* comes from the G. *Eilean Shannda*, where there is a beautiful beach of sand. On the west coast there is *Muasdale*.

¹ There is a Highland *Mac'Ille Charra*.

Gleann *Threasdail* has been compared with Loch Restill in Cowal, N. *Rtsdalr*, 'copsedale.' Add also Iffer-dale, Uga-dale, and others.

In Cowal there are Norse names, such as *Ardlamont* Point; Ormadale, N. 'Orm's dale,' where there still linger traditions of Norsemen coming there after the battle of Largs, where Haco's forces were worsted in 1263.

Crossing to the mainland I may note *Gourock*, G. *Gurraig*; I do not know of old forms of the word, but I suggest a Norse personal name, *Guðrek*, as in N. *Guðreks-staðir*, *Gudreks-steads* of the *Hakon Saga*; I would postulate *Guðrek's vik*, which would give *Gurek* and the other forms, and for the dropping of *vik* would compare West Sutherland *Āshir*, corrupted to *Oldshore*, but is short for the N. *Asleifarvik*, *Asleif's Bay*, visited by Haco in the year of his great disaster. For *Greenock*, older *Grenok*, compare perhaps *Grene-vik*, Iceland, where it is thought to mean 'pine-wick' (*Origines Island.* i. 163), unless it be simply N. *graen-vik*, 'green-bay,' cf. *Gréne dun*, 'Granton.' The *Gadhelic Grīanaig* may have been influenced by folk-etymology and by analogy with forms that give the inland *greenogues* of Ireland, and the vowel quantity readily changed in Highland pronunciation by the influence of G. *grīan*, gen. *grēine*, 'sun.' *Gadhelic* has no native *-aig* for 'bay.'

On the mainland opposite the *Cumraes* we should expect some traces of Norse names, more especially in the district around *Hunterston*, where the *runescribed brooch* was found. Here I find *Gil Water* on *Pont's map*, where we have the N. *gil*; the *Stack*, a hill near *Fairlie*, reminds one of *Ben Stack*

of Sutherland, where it clearly is N. *stakkr*. Fairlie itself has been explained by Mr. Bremner as *Faer-lei*, 'sheep-meadow,' from the same Norse word as gives us the Faroes, 'the sheep isles.' Further inland *Queenside* may contain the N. *setr*, 'sheiling,' if the origin be the same as in the *-sides*, G. *-said* of Sutherland: cf. *Linside*, G. *Lionasaid*, N. *lín-setr*, 'flax-stead'; *Sandside*, *Sandsetr*. *Alloway* near Ayr may derive its terminal from the N. *vagr*, 'bay,' which regularly yields G. *-bhaidh*, *-aidh*, E. *-way*, *-ay*, e.g. *Carloway* in Lewis. Some have thought that Ayr itself may derive from N. *eyrr*, 'gravelly beach,' which occurs in the point of Ayre in Raasay, and in *Kin-sal-eyre* in Snizort, as also the Point of Ayre in the north-east of the Isle of Man. The late Dr. M'Bain goes the length of saying: "We may perhaps conjoin the Heads of Ayr in the county of that name, and perhaps the county name."¹ It seems a more modern name than the old divisions of Carrick and Kyle, and the Norse origin is strengthened by the name being repeated at *Air* in the Orkneys, and again at the Wirral in Cheshire, while in the oblique case *á Eyre*, 'at Eyre, or Eyrr,' it is frequent in Iceland. *Bigholm*, near Beith, is N. *bygg holmr*, 'barley-land' (Sir H. Maxwell), the O.E. cognate being *béow*, 'corn'; *Biggar*, *Begart* (1524), *Biggart* near Beith, and *Biggarts* near Moffat, have been explained from N. *bygg garðr*, 'barley-field.'

Going further south it is plain that Galloway² was

¹ *Gael. Soc. Inverness*, vol. xxv. p. 80.

² It is interesting to note that Brunanburh, where in 937 King Athelstan defeated the allied host of Danes, Irish, Galwegians

as accessible to the Norsemen from their headquarters in the Isle of Man as Caithness was from Orkney. In Man we find the Bishop's title still is the Bishop of *Sodar* (*i.e.* of the Sudreys) and Man. The Galloway place-names often but reduplicate those on the Cumberland coast. Viking influence is patent in Wigton, N. *vik-tun*, 'bay-town'; Stennock, 'stone-wick'; Tonghill, N. *tunga*, 'tongue'; cf. *Tunga*, 'Tongue,' in Sutherland. Sorbie, N. *saurr-baer*, 'swamp-farm or by,' often met with in Iceland. *Gil* appears in Physgill, 'fish-gyll?'; seemingly too in Dalreagle, which in Timothy Pont's map is Dyreygill; the barony Clugston, appearing in the eighteenth century name Clougston, Mackerlie compares with Clouston of Shetland. Names in *-ness*, as in Eggerness, N. *Eggjar-nes*, 'ridge-ness';¹ the cite of the old castle is 150 yards from the cliffs, east of Penkil farmhouse near the old Church of Kirkmadrine (*cf.* Manx Agneash, the Lewis Aignish). *Ness* appears in Killiness in Wigtonshire; *by*, in Begbie, Bagbie, Lockerby, must be taken as Danish, were it not that we have endings in *-by* from the Norse in the isle of Islay. Norse *dalr* appears in Kirk-dale, Esk-dale, Annan-dale; N. *fjall*, *fell*, in Whinfell, Criffell; N. *holm* in Smallholm (where we have N. *smali*, 'small cattle, sheep,

Cumbrians, Scots and Picts, has been identified by Dr. George Neilson with Burnswark, which stands in and looks down upon the flat river-side parish of Hoddom, ancient called Hodelme, Holdelm, the original diocese of St. Kentigern. Dr. Neilson thinks Othlyn of the Irish Annalists near enough in form to Holdelm (*v.* 'Annals of Four Masters,' sub year 935).—*Scottish Hist. Rev.* for Oct. 1909.

¹ N. *Aegir-ness*, Eager-ness, the ness of the Solway tidal-bore, says Mr. Collinwood, but the short vowel is against this. A charter of 1490 has Egil-ness.

goats'), Lang-holm, Broom-holm; the Holms. N. *völlr*, field, occurs in Tinwald in Dumfriesshire, the field of the *þing*, or Norse Parliament, met with also in Tynewald, Tingwall, Isle of Man, and in Dingwall (Ross-shire), which yields further the Highland surname Dingwall, long associated prominently with that of the old family of Kildun. The river Fleet is N. Fljót. Arkland contains the Gadhelic *aerg*, now *airigh*¹ (mis-spelt *airidh*), 'sheiling,' borrowed

¹ A note contributed to the *Northern Chronicle*, Inverness, by the late Dr. M'Bain, may be given here to preserve it:

GAELIC AIRIGH, SHEILING, IN NORSE PLACE-NAMES.

"The new Saga Book of the Viking Club, noticed in another column, discusses the origin of *ark* and *erg* in the place-names of northern England, and tries to overturn the theory that they are from Norse *hōrgr* (*Horg*), and Anglo-Saxon *hearg*, a sacrificial 'grove' of heathen times. The new theory regards them as being from Norse or Danish *erg* or *ærg*, a sheiling or dairy farm, a word undoubtedly borrowed by the Norse, as the Orkney Saga fully proves, and as several place-names in the Highlands and Isles still prove. Dr. Colley-March was the originator of the new theory in a paper printed in 1890 in a Liverpool antiquarian society's transactions—and I have not seen it; but as Dr. Isaac Taylor in his excellent work on *Names and their Histories* (1896), holds by the *horg* theory, Dr. March's view is either unknown to or rejected by the English experts on place-names. The difficulties in both theories are great: *horg* can hardly be used with other than a god's name outside epithets; of course it is used alone in Harrow. It is difficult to equate Grims-argh in Preston with a deity. Again the borrowed *arg* of the Norse cannot without great difficulty be connected historically with northern England. In the Highlands the termination *ary* in place-names is common, less so is *sary*; the latter nearly always comes from the possessive *s* before *ary*, and in the Norse *ärg*; the former may belong to other endings, especially *-garry* (N. *gerdi*, G. *gearraidh*, outland beyond township ploughed land). The only literary reference in Norse to *arg* or *erg* is in the Orkney Saga, where we have the place called by them Asgrims-ærgin practically glossed by the expression, '*erg*, which we call *setr* (sheiling).' Asgrims-ærg is now called Askary or Assary, at the north end of Loch Calder in Caithness. When one compares the original form

by the Norse and used for their native *setr*. The name Galloway itself, founded on Gall-Gaidheal, the Galgeððlar of the Sagas, testifies to the mixed breed of Norse and Gaidheal, and gives us the surname Galloway.

The usage of *calpa*, 'principal set to interest,' Scots *calpa* = death-duty payable to the landlord, from Norse *kaup*, 'stipulation, pay,' was only prohibited in Galloway in the reign of James VI.

Asgrims-ærg with the present Askary or Assary, one is compelled to tremble (metaphorically) for the etymologist of Western Isles names of Norse origin. Dr. Anderson points out that many places in Caithness present this termination—Halsary (Hall, or, perhaps, Hallvard!) Dorrery, Shurrery, Blingery, &c. Sutherland presents, at least, three—Gearnsary, Modsary, and Gradsary, but with Asgrims-ærg before our eyes, we refuse at present to consider them, though Mr. Mackay of Hereford has made a decent attempt to etymologise them in Vols. XVII. and XVIII. of *Inverness Gaelic Society Transactions*. To regain confidence, we must go to the happy sheiling grounds of -sary and -ary in the Uists. In North Uist we have two distinct districts given over to Aulasary, which, of course, is Olafs-arge (*arge* must have been the oldest form, as we shall see), and which means 'Olave's Sheiling.' In the same island is Obisary, which stands for Hops-arge, 'Sheiling in the Bay.' There, too, we have Langary from *lang*, long; Risary, from *Hris*, copse; Horisary (*hörgs*, 'grove?'), Dusary, Vanisary, and Honary. In South Uist are Vaccasary and Trasary, in Barra is Ersary (Eric's-arge?). Ardnamurchan seems to contain some. Brunery (*brunnor*, spring), Smirisary ('smear or butter?'), Alisary and Assary; in Glenelg Skiary¹ [*ia* as in *iad*, 'they']. The *airigh*, mis-spelt *airidh*, is in early Irish *airge*, dairy or a place where cows are, which in old Irish would be *arge*, at which stage the Norse borrowed it from the Scots. Personally, I believe it was adopted only in the Highlands by them. By the bye, its initial use has been suggested for Arkle in Sutherland, that is Arg-fell, 'Sheiling's Fell'; if so, the difficult *ar* or *ark* of Arbol, in Easter Ross, might so be explained. The English forms from *arg* generally show *ark*, if the root is initial in the word. In future it is hoped that any Gaelic *writer* who reads the above will write *airigh* not *airidh* for 'sheiling.' A. M'B.

¹ Skiði's sheiling? The diphthong is like the Northern pronunciation of *geur*, *giar*, 'sour, sharp', and is quite unlike *sgiath*, 'wing, shield.'

The ford across the Cree, formerly called Granney Ford, has been conjectured by MacKerlie to have its name from N. *grynnā*, 'to become shallow or less deep,' in which case one would compare *Gruinnart*, 'shallow-firth,' in Islay. But it is doubtful at the very least. On the other hand, Crosswall, Croswell in Wigton, may come from N. *kross-völlr*, 'the field of the cross, cross-field'; in Kirkcolm parish, between the south-west side of the Scar and the shore is the Wig (Wick) where small craft can shelter; there is also Wigton, Wygeton, Wyggeton (1296), itself of like origin with the town Wygton in Cumberland where the Norse ruled. But it is doubtful if we have not O.E. *wic-tūn* here. The parish of Sorby, Soirbuy in Pont, is of the same origin as Sowerby in Cumberland, and in the North Riding of York, as well as in Soriby, Isle of Mull, and Soroba near Oban. Tonghill in Glasserton parish, and Rispin in Whithorn recall *Tongue* and *Ruspainn* in Sutherland. Steinhead, given with reference to stone in some shape, reminds of Steinnis, Orkney, as does also Stennock, an old farm name in Whithorn parish, from N. *steinn*. Appleby, in Glasserton, repeats itself in Cumberland at St. Lawrence Appleby, from N. *apaldr-by*, 'orchard (or apple) settlement.' The *Scar* Rocks, opposite Killiness in the bay of Luce, are named from N. *sker*, *skjaer*, an isolated rock in the sea. Borgue parish derives from N. *borg*, a fort; Galtway, from N. *gata-vagr* (?); the farm and bay of *Float* in Stoneykirk are named from N. *flött*, a plain, while N. *graenn*, 'green,' appears in the Stewartry in Grennan, also Grenan (Pont), Greinand (1668). *Sineiness*, Synnyness, in Old Luce parish, has been

held to be a corruption of Sunnoness, where once was a castle on the promontory.

str- for *sr-* meets us in many names in *stròn*, e.g. Stroan Hill (Dalry), Strònach Hill (Kirkmabreck), Strool Bay (Kirkcolm).

Solway Firth, older spelling *Sullway*, *Sullwa*, was in old Gadhelic *Tracht Romra*, and in Ptolemy's *Ἰρούνα εἰσχωρίς*. Its characteristics are well described in the Irish *Life of Adamnan*: "Adamnan put in at Tracht Romra. The strand is long and the flood rapid; so rapid that if the best steed in Saxonland ridden by the best horseman were to start from the edge of the tide when the tide begins to flow, he could only bring the rider ashore by swimming, so extensive is the strand, and so impetuous is the tide."¹ Considering another name, Sole Burn, Solburn, Swolburn (1756), in Kirkholm, one may consider whether Solway Firth does not mean 'swelling-bay firth,' N. *soll*, swill, *sullr*, a boil; *svölr*, the cold sea, sea-spray; *swellr*, 'swelling high,' cf. N. *Svöldr*, the local name of a current west of Rügen, the Swelchie, whirlpool (Cleasby, 778). The idea is further expressed in N. *solmr*, 'the swell of the sea,' but it is doubtful whether *m* would fall out before *-vagr*, which yields *-way*. On account of the vowel, too, it seems Norse, rather than connected with the Selgovae who inhabited Galloway in Roman times.

Due to⁷ Norse influence is *Thorter Fell*, New Abbey; 'Thwart Hill,' Middle English *þwertover*, i.e. 'transversely over,' N. *þwert*: "The word is of Scandinavian origin, as it is only thus that the final *t* can be explained," says Skeat. *Fell* appears in

¹ Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 171.

many other place-names : *Fellnaw* ; *Fell* of Crook ; *Fell* of Laghead ; *Fell* Savery ; Knock *Fell*, Old Luce, where it is a pleonastic addition to G. *cnoc*, hill ; Larg *Fell*, at Minigaff, where again *fell* is pleonastically added to G. *learg*, 'hillside.' At *Rerwick*, which shows the N. *vík*, we find *Hestan* Island, from N. *hestja*, horse. It may have been a Norseman after whom *Inchiguile*¹ in Sorbie was called : 'the Gall or Norseman's holm or *inch*.' *Marskaig* in Dalry may be N. *mór* (or *már*) 'peat moor' + *skiki*, 'strip,' i.e. moor-strip. *Gátégill* Burn, *Gaitgill* (1560) in Girthon, is Norse, meaning 'goat-gil.' As to *gil*, it appears again in *Gilhow* in Glasserton, N. *gil* + *haugr*, 'the ravine of the grave-mound,' at the head of *Physgill* Glen. *Gillarthur* is the *gil* or stream which runs out of Loch Arthur ; *Gillfoot*, 'the foot of the *gil* or ravine ; *Ass-of-the-Gill*, a ravine on the Cree, above Newton-Stewart. Here we have G. *eas*, 'waterfall,' and N. *gil* : "First came the Celt who spoke of it as *eas*, then the Norse invader who called it *gil*, finally English speech united the two by interposing preposition and article." The Norse land measure appears in *Pinminnoch* = G. *Peighinn Meadhonach*, 'mid pennyland' ; *Pinwhirn* = G. *peighinn a chuirn*, 'the pennyland of the cairn' ; *Pinwherry* = G. *peighinn a choire*, 'the pennyland of the corrie.' *Troudale* Glen at *Rerwick* is N. *trog-dalr*, 'trough-dale' ; *Todden* Hill in *Carsphairn* is N. (t)-*odd-in*, 'the point,' where *t* of the Gadhelic article is prefixed.

Southernness in *Kirkbean* is pronounced *Sàtterness* according to Sir H. Maxwell, who derives it

¹ Cf. *Sgeir nan Gall* (pronounced *S. na n-al*) near Oldaney, Assynt.

from N. *suðr nös*; Southwick, pronounced Sùthik, Sùddik at Colvend, the same writer takes from the N. *suðwík*. The *Mull* of Galloway shows the N. *múli*, a projecting or jutting crag, a high, bold headland, and occurs several times in Iceland, and in Unst, Shetland, as Blue Mull; also in the Mull of Deerness, the Mull of Papa Westray in the Orkneys, and in the *Mull* of Cintire, where it is not from the G. *maol*. As Mull, Moul, it "is in common use in the northern islands, and is not infrequent in Lewis; but it does not enter into the name of a farm except in Clashmeil, Harris, which may be Klas-múli, and cognate with Klas-barði, Iceland," according to Dr. M'Bain. The great island Mull has a pre-Norse name, being Malaeos in Ptolemy, and Malea in Adamnan.

Special difficulties confront us in treating of Galloway place-names, for we no longer have Gadhelic here spoken, and there is the further difficulty of distinguishing old Norse forms from old forms of English. But the Dumfries Eskdale I would assign to the Norse *dalr* added to the Celtic Esk, old British 'Ισκα. Early Irish *esc*, 'fen-water,' cognate with the *Exe* of the south, Greek *πίδαξ*, well, old Celtic **(p)idská*; modern Gadh. *easgann* 'eel' (*esc* + *ang, ung*, snake).

Not only Ireland, Bretland or Wales, and England came to know the Vikings; they had made "a great part of Scotland their own. To this day the name of almost every island on the west coast of Scotland," says Dasent, in his introduction to the *Njal Saga*,¹ "is either pure Norse or Norse distorted, so

¹ Cf. also *Hacon Saga*, Rolls Series, vol. iv. p. xxxii.

as to make it possible for Celtic lips to utter it. The groups of Orkney and Shetland are notoriously Norse, but Lewis and the Uists, and Skye and Mull¹ are no less Norse; and not only the names of the islands themselves, but those of reefs and rocks and lakes and headlands bear witness to the same relation, and show that, while the original inhabitants were not expelled, but held in bondage as thralls, the Northmen must have dwelt, and dwelt thickly, too, as conquerors and lords."

To indicate the Norse influence under this section I may begin by putting the least first. A green tongue or islet left uncovered at the high spring-tides is known to the West Highlanders as *fidean*, 'fits' or 'webs,' as it were, which unite the claws of the sea, and derived from N. *fit*, 'webbed foot of water-fowl; meadow land on the banks of firths or rivers.' The word gives name to a farm in Mull on the Sound of Iona, *Fidden*, a farm in Islay; and a field in Colonsay.² It occurs several times in Lewis: *fidi-gearraidh*, 'enclosed meadow-land,' *fidi-geodha*, 'meadow-land cove.' N. *holm*, 'islet,' became *tolm*, genitive seen in *Dun-tuilm*, but as terminal it dwindles to *-am*, *-mul*, *-lum*: Hestam, 'horse-holm,' N. *hestr-holm*; *C̄isamul*, the ruined castle on the islet as one enters Barra by the pier, N. = 'castle-holm,' *Airne-mul*, N. = 'eagle-holm'; *Lamalum*, N. = 'lamb-holm.' Several such formations occur in the islets around Mingulay, and elsewhere. N. *sker* yields *sgeir*, 'rock or skerry'; in terminals

¹ He does not mean the names Mull and Skye, which are pre-Norse.

² Prof. Mackinnon in *Scotsman*, 12th July, 1887. The ending *-en* is for the Norse definite article.

-sker; *Màsgeir*, 'sea-mew skerry,' the first part being from the same Norse word as yields the surname Marwick, called after a place signifying 'sea-mew bay' at Birsay; *Vatisker*, 'water-skerry.' *Eyrr*, gen. *eyrar*, 'a beach or gravelly bank,' yields *Eoropie*, 'beach-by or town,' *Eàrabhic*, 'beach-wick,' *Eàrshader*, 'beach settlement.' *Eið*, 'isthmus,' becomes Gadhelic *uidh*, and figures as *ey*, *ui*, *y*, *eye*, whence the old name of Stornoway parish and the *Eye* peninsula there, the *Eið* of the Saga.

The genitive *circe*, from N. *kirkja*, 'church,' occurs in *Rudha na Circe* (Lewis), 'Chicken Head!' the English renderings confounding the word with G. *cearc*, gen. *circe*, 'hen'; cf. *Kirkaig* (= Kirk + vik, 'church-bay'), *Inverkirkaig*, *Kirkibost*, 'kirk-stead.' In both places there was an old church when the Norse arrived. N. *ffjörða* in terminals appears as -ord, -ort, -ard: Seaforth, G. Sìthphort, for Sifort, from N. *saer*, *sjà-ffjörða*, 'sea-firth'; and Eilean *Iubhard*, Lewis, is seemingly for Eu-ord, N. *ey-ffjörðr*, 'isle-firth,' transferred from the firth to the island. The N. *gljúfr*, appears in *Poll a' Ghluip* in the island of Handa, where it is the same as the Gluip of Orkney and Shetland; it always describes some abrupt descent. Gress Farm in Lewis, G. *Gréis*, is from the Norse word signifying 'grass' and cognate with this same. *Cleit*, 'rock,' N. *klettr*; *mol*, 'beach,' N. *möl*; *geodha*, 'creek,' N. *gjá*, as in Geodha Crab in Harris; N. *bakki*, 'bank,' as in *Back* parish, Tābac for *t-hà-bakki*, 'high-bank,' are frequent, *Bacavat*, 'ridge-water.' N. *á*, 'river,' appears in Avik, N. *á-vik*, 'river-bay,' near Galson, Lewis; Laxa, Laxay, N. = 'salmon river'; Grìde, Creed, from N.

grjóttá, 'shingly or grit-channelled river.' Common is N. *bolstaðr*, 'homestead,' especially in Lewis: Shawbost, 'sea town,' N. *sjár + b.*; Håbost, N. *hár + b.*, 'high stead'; Caldbost, N. *kald + b.*, 'cold stead'; Melbost, N. *melr + b.*, 'bent-grass or links stead.' N. *fjall*, 'mountain or fall,' appears in terminals as *-bhal*, *-val*, *-al*: Rōinebhal, N. *hraun + f.*, 'rough-ground fell'—the first constituent giving name to the island Rōna; Soval, N. *sauðr + f.*, 'sheep fell'; Cràcabhal, 'crow fell'; Cleitshal, N. *klettr + f.*, 'rocky fell'; Melasbhal, N. *melr-stað-fell*, 'grass-stead fell' or 'links-stead fell.' N. *holt*, 'rough hill ground,' is apparent in Erisolt, 'Eric's holt'; Neidalt, N. *neyt-holt*, 'cattle holt.' N. *papi*, 'priest, pope, papa,' is seen in the many islets called Pabbay, and in Bayble, Pabaill, N. Papyli, 'priests' town.' Not alone in the Faroes, 'the sheep-isles,' did the Norse use animal names in describing places, for we have Grìosamul, 'grice or pig hill'; Ranish, 'roe-ness'; Roisnish, 'horse-ness'; Rosaidh, 'horse (N. *hross*) isle'; Neidelan, 'naut or cattle land'; Seilibhig, 'seal wick'; Scarabhat, 'young sea-mew water'; Lacsabhat, 'salmon water or stream'; Laimshader, 'lamb's stead'; Sildam, N. *sild-holm*, 'herring isle'; Sildinish, 'herring ness' in Lewis.

Some place-names derive directly from a single Norse word: Strond in Harris, G. Strannda, from Norse for 'strand,' with which compare Strönd in Vermland; Sleat (Slate 1389, 1401) in Skye, from N. *sléttr*, 'level'; *slétta*, a plain; Tong, from N. *tunga*, tongue; Keose, from N. *kjós*, a hollow; Kneep, from N. *gnípa*, 'peak'; Brue, from N. *brú*, bridge; Reef, G. Riofa, which occurs more than once, from

N. *ríf*; Lee and Ben Lee, whence Leidil in Mull, G. Liodail, N. *hlið-dalr*, 'slope-dale,' from N. *hlið*, 'slope.' Also Coll, a place-name in Lewis, where it is from N. *kollr*, summit, and to be differentiated from the island of that name, Coll, so named from hazel having abounded in that island, and also in the Colosus (now Colonsay corruptly) of Adamnan's *Life of Columba*; the word gives name to the several Badcalls of the west coast, genitive *Badchoill*; Early Irish *Coll*, Cornish *coll-widen*, 'hazel-wood,' cognate with English hazel, N. *hasl*. An *Cnap*, the G. for Knapdale, is from N. *knappr*, a knob, hence a protuberance of any sort; the Norse *fjall*, 'hill,' seems to be the origin of *Vaul*, Tiree, and of *Foill*, in Coll, where there is a ben and bay of that name, the bay being named after the ben; for a parallel one may compare Benbecula, *Binne bhaghla* of the *Book of Clanranald*,¹ where the full form would be bh-faghla, bh-fadhla, from *fadhail*, 'a ford,' a loan from N. *vaðill*, 'a ford, a shallow where straits can be crossed'; Shetlandese, *vaadle*, cognate with which is E. *wade*. Here perhaps Gott Bay, Tiree, where, as the neighbouring Kirkipol, N. *kirki-boll*, 'church town,' shows, we would expect a Norse name: from N. *gat*, hole, E. gate; cf. Gót nan Cat, 'hole or cavern of the cats'; Gót nan Calman, 'hole of the pigeons,' in Tarbert² parish; Got a choire, 'hole of the cauldron.'

In place-names one expects such a Norse word as *gil*, 'spring, fountain, rivulet trickling down a hill-side.' I think I heard this word used at Loch-Hourn-head, but in any case it is known in Harris:

¹ Cameron's *Rel. Celt.* ii. 174.

² Watson, *Place-Names*, 45, 48.

Ge geal le neòdain na raointean còmhnard
 Gu'm b'fhèarr bhi 'm mòinteach nam mòr bheann àrda
 Nan *gilean* lùghmhor nan geugan cùbh'raidh
 A bheireadh ùrachadh dha mo shlàinte
 Coire Bhlith-*bhal* is tric air m'inntinn
 Le *fhuarain* fhìor-ghlain bu chùbhraidh fàileadh.¹

The plural *gilean* is used of what a few lines further on is spoken of as the *fuairain* or fountains of Coire Bhlith-*bhal* (the ending *-bhal* being from Norse *fyall*), and the word is from the Norse *gil*, 'a deep narrow glen with a stream at bottom,' to be met with in place-names such as Gìsgil in Edrachylis, and as *ghyll* or *gill* in North English names; Suìsgil, G. Sìsgil, N. *seyðis-gil*, 'seethe-gil'; Tràligill, 'thrall's *gil*'; Eirigil, 'gravel-beach *gil*,' all in Sutherland. *Allt na Gile* in Jura, meaning 'Spring-Burn.' *Gillen*, *Gilen*, in Waternish, with suffixed article, means 'the waterfall,' which it is. Brooks and streams flowing through clefts in the hill-side to the main river at the bottom of a vale are in Iceland called *gil*. A Swedish dialectal form survives as *gilja* (f. 'hohlweg'), and the word has been borrowed in the Northern English *gill*. A Norse ablaut form is *geil f.*, 'a narrow glen, any narrow passage'; *hafs-geil* is used of 'the sea-lane through which Pharaoh's host passed.' The N. *ei*, regularly *ao* in Gadhelic, and with the Norse article feminine suffixed, *geil-in* becomes *Gaoilein*,² 'the narrow glen,' whence Castle Gylen, Kerrera. A

¹ My *Leabhar nan Gleann*, p. 53, where Nial Morrison, the Pabbay bard, uses it.

² *ao* is pronounced long as in *aobhar* (*adhbhar*, 'cause'; the *i* indicates the timber of the *l*; initial *g* is not palatal, but is sounded as in G. *gaoth*. Hence I might write the word *Gāoilein*.

number of springs surround the base of the ruined stronghold, but the Gadhelic Glen More distinguishes the place to which the Norse term was applied. Folk etymology has been busy explaining the word as *gilleán*, 'lads'; *geimhlean*, 'gyves,' and therefore 'Castle of Gyves': to make it more like a native word the corrupt form *Caisteal nan Geileán* was manufactured by means of the G. article in the genitive plural, and *geil* 'a spring, fountain,' explained as a form of G. *goil*, to boil; even *Goibhlean*, 'forks,' pl. of *Gobhal*, has been called in aid to explain this hitherto obscure name, which is usually never written correctly. For the suffixed Norse article compare *Staffin*, 'the Staff,' in Skye, from the basaltic rocks there.

Another side form of N. *gil* appears in G. *geil*, 'fount': *ge'íl ar sláinte*, 'fount or spring of our health.' *Gil* is a place-name in Iceland: *til Gilja* means 'to Gills'; *fra Giljan*, 'from Gills' in the *Book of Settlements*.

The various folk-etymologies proposed for the name Castle *Gylen* are but attempts which only add weight to the Norse origin, as indeed one would expect on an island the very name of which derives from *Kjarbarey*, the name of Kerrera in the Norse Sagas, which Dr. M'Bain suggested as containing in some way the N. *kjárr*, 'brushwood,' and *-ey*, 'island.' This is quite likely. I find in the Icelandic *Book of Settlements* a place called *Kiarradálr*, Cear- or Kerr-dale, where we are expressly told that it was named from the brushwood and small shaws between *Kiarr-ár*, Cear- or Kerr-Water, and another stream,¹

¹v. *Origines Islandicae*, i. 46.

and that Blund-Cetill, a wealthy man, had the wood cleared and took up his abode there. I would regard the *b* as a mistake in the Norse script, and derive Kerrera, N. *Kiarr-àr-ey*, 'Copse-water-island.' There are a number of small streams all round the island, the largest at Glen More, in the vicinity of Castle Gylen.

When we come to the island names we find the most speaking illustration of the abounding Norse influence. Norse *ey*, island, figures terminally as *-a*, *-ay*, and *-aidh* of the Gadhelic script, and appears in about ninety per cent. of the island names. First of all in G. *eilean*, 'island,' Early Irish *ailén*, from N. *ey-land*, E. island. It is found in names like Barra, G. Barraidh, 'Barr's *ey*, or island,' where we have mixed Norse and Gadhelic, this place being named after St. (Find)barr, a saint honoured on 25th September; Boreray, N. *borgar-ey*, 'fortress-isle'; Berneray, 'Bjorn's isle,' of which there are several. Berisay, N. *bergs-ey*, 'precipice-isle'; Cealasaidh, 'Keel-isle'; Calva, 'Calf-isle,' of which there are several; Diùra, now Jura of the map, N. *Dýr-ey*, 'deer's isle'; Eriska,¹ N. 'Erik's isle,' of which there are more than one, but the name does not survive as a personal name; Killegray, from N. *Kjallakr-ey*, itself a loan from Irish *cellach*, 'warrior,' whence Kelly—thus 'Cellach's isle'; Ensay, N. *engis-ey*, G. *éasaidh*, 'meadow-isle,' the first part being met with in Old English *ing*, North E. in local names as Ings, Broad Ing. Fladda, 'flat-isle,' also Flottay, Flodday, N. *fljót-ey*, 'float-isle,' with which compare the county

¹ The word might be written *Aoirisga*, according to a pronunciation which has reached me in writing; N. *Eirekr*.

Fljót in the north of Iceland. Fūiday, I heard the fishermen say, was the last refuge of the Norwegians, whose graves may still be pointed out there, and there are four islands named Wiay, or Buya, Bywa (1546), G. Fuidhaidh, to which the Icelandic *Vé-ey* has been compared; Foula, N. *fugl-ey*, 'fowl-isle.' On the Cintire coast there is Gigha, G. Giodhaidh, also Gighay in the Sound of Barra, both from N. Guḏey, 'God-isle,' with which compare Goḏey, now Godö, in Norway. There is an old Norse personal name Gyḏa, met with now in Norwegian place-names, where it becomes Gjøby, Gjøsetre, and would suit well for the Guḏey of the Saga.

As the islets round the coast from Hoy Head, G. Ceanna Thōithidh (poem on Fercher Leeche's islands), Suana and Stroma in the Pentland Firth, Rōna off the north Sutherland coast, all the way to Pladda and Ailsa, very often derive from Norse, a list of some of them may be given for reference, in addition to such as have already been mentioned.

Gilsay, 'Gil's isle'; Gil is a female personal name in Eriska; *Grimisay*, 'Grimm's isle'; *Groay*, 'Groa's isle,' *Gróa*, *Gro*, being a proper name in the *Landnamabok*; *Gometra*, 'Godmund's isle,' N. Goḏ-, Guḏ-mundr. Above *Gomestra* (for *Gomerta* of the script), to record the local sound, is *Eðlasairigh*, evidently Norse, the final part being the N. *erg*, itself a loan from O. Gadhelic. The channel between *Gometra* and *Ulva* is known as *Am Brū*: here one can walk across except for half an hour at high-water. It means 'bridge': cf. *Brú* in the upper part of *Iœkulsdalr*, Iceland. The tide had to be watched, and on one occasion a clergyman

was reminded of this in the following terms: *Ged is math do shearmoin, a Mhaighstir Sēoin, tha'm Brū a' līonadh*, 'though good be your sermon, Mr. John, the *Brū* is filling up.'

There is a folk-etymology for Gometra, and curiously enough it is in connection with the Vikings: 'Nuair thāinig na Lochlannaich chuir iad fear a dh'amhrac Ulva agus 'nuair a thill e thuir e ris a cheann-chinnidh¹ gun robh an t-eilean *ullamh dhā* gun duine dhianamh cōnsachadh ga chumail as agus chaidh e sin sìos do Ghomestra agus dh'fhoighneac iad dheth c'arson nach 'eil thu dol air t'aghaidh. Thachair an lān a bhith ann agus thuir e-san: Go muir-tràigh!

I.e. 'On the coming of the Vikings they sent a man to spy out Ulva, and on his return he told the chief that the island was ready for him (*ullamh dha*), there being no man thereon to contest it with him. Then he went to Gometra, and they asked him why he was not proceeding onwards. It happened to be full-tide and he made answer: Until ebb-tide (*Go muir-tràigh*).'

These folk-etymons are plausible, for in Gadhelic they are puns upon the pronunciation of Ulva and Gometra respectively. I learned of them from the Rev. R. L. Ritchie of Creich.

Handa, off the west Sutherland coast, from an oblique form in Gadhelic of N. Sand-ey, 'Sand-isle,' which appears again at Sanda, off the south end of Cintire.

Haversay, *hafrs-ey*, 'he-goat isle.'

Hellisay, from *hellir*, 'cave.'

¹ Local pronunciation, *chinnich*.

Hermetray, Hermundar-ey, 'Hermund's isle.'

Eilean *Heist*, 'Horse-isle'; N. *hestr*, horse.

Isay, 'Ice-isle.'

Islay, N. *Il*, is from the Gadhelic, but the ending -ay is N. -ey.

Lingay, 'Heath-isle'; N. *lyng*, heath.

Lunga, *Lungay*, "have certainly submitted to Norse influence" (M'Bain), the ending being N. *ey*; the base being Gadhelic *long*, ship.

Mingulay, from *mikinn*, accusative of *mikil*, 'great'; 'big island'; v. M'Bain on Minginish = Rudha-Mór of Gadhelic (*Trans. Gael. Soc. Inv.* xxv. 73). Here is a hill called Hechcla, Hecla, a duplicate of the Iceland Hecla, 'hooded shroud.' N. *holm* appears in *Soalum*, *Sodhulum*, 'sheep-holm'; *Lianamul*, 'flax-holm'; *Arnimul*, 'Eagle-holm'; *Gonnamul*, 'Gonna-holm'; N. *dalr*, in *Skipisdal*, *Cahasdal*, *Sheōwadal*; N. *klettr*, 'rock,' in *Clet Annsa*, *Cleit Iuglais*; *geō*, from N. *gjá*, 'chasm,' in several creeks in *Mingulay* (G. Miu'lai, with nasal diphthong), e.g. *Lamarigeo*; N. *hlað-hamarr*, 'pier-creek,' 'landing-rock creek,' and half a dozen others.¹ G. *cui*, inclosure, from N. *kví*, Orkney *quoy*, 'a pen'; in *Līanacui*, 'flax-inclosure'; N. *byli*, 'town,' seemingly as -*lip* in *Annalip*, *Brandalip*, *Soalip*; *isp* once, as in *Ho-isp*, but cf. *Can-isp* in *Sutherland*.

Orasay, *Oransay*, from N. *örfiris-ey*, "the proper name for islands which at low water are joined to the mainland by a reef which is covered at high water; one such island is near Reykjavík; another at Skard in western Iceland, now called Öffirs-ey;

¹ *Hīarigeo*, *Kīasigeo*, *Haisigeo*, *Shehigeo*, *Tremnisgeo*, *Laikigeo*, all in *Mingulay*!

so also Örfjara, the island Orfir in the Orkneys" (Cleasby-Vigfusson). There are several such in the Western Isles, from *örfiri*, 'ebb or shallow' + *ey*.

Pabbay, N. '*pap-ey*,' priests' isle. One such occurs in Skye, Harris, Lewis (great and little Pabay), S. Uist, Barra, and in various shapes the word occurs in Orkney and Shetland; also Papey in Iceland. This shows that the missions of the Celtic Church were established in the places thus named on the coming of the Northmen.

Raasay, Gaelic *Raarsaidh*, "seems to be *Rár-áss-ey*, 'Roe-ridge-isle,'" ¹ cf. Raer-nish, Rar-nish, S. Uist; Rairnish, Raernish, 'roe-ness,' near the Birken Isles, Lewis.

Risay, N. *hrís-ey*, 'brushwood-isle.'

Rōna, N. *hraun*, 'lava, rough ground,' + *ey*, hence 'rough-isle.'

Rosaidh, N. *hross-ey*, 'horse-isle.'

Sanda, *Sanndaidh*, 'Sand-isle,' at the south end of Cintire; in the oblique case it occurs as *Handa* on the west of Sutherland, called from its sandy-bay, and where there is the remarkable chasm *Poll-a-Ghluip*, *glup* being from N. *gljúfr*, an abrupt descent or chasm. *Sandray*, 'sand-isle.' In Cintire the people often say *dol do dh'Ábhuin*, 'going to Sanda.' It seems N. *haaven*, and there is a good haven for a boat there, as the Rev. R. L. Ritchie of Creich tells me.

Scalpa, N. *skalpr*, a kind of boat or ship: 'ship's isle,' 'shallop-isle.'

¹ This was M'Bain's latest conclusion, v. *Gael. Soc. Inv. Trans.* xxv. p. 75; in vol. xix. p. 228, he says: "Possibly *rars* is a double genitive from *rá*, roe."

Scarba, Scaravay, N. *skarf-ey*, 'cormorant-isle.'
Scarpay, Scarp, N. *skarp-ey*, 'scarped or cliffy-isle.'

Seil island, G. Saoil, N. *Seil*, An Clachan Saoileach = the Sound of Clachan in Kilbrandon parish; G. *aoi* = N. *ei*, cf. *Selaeseu* = Seal isle, Sussex (*v.* Adamnan, p. 78_n.)

Shiūna, Shōna, "seem to be formed from N. *sjón*, sight, a root which appears in Norse place-names connected with 'scouting' positions. *Shuna* has also been identified with Adamnan's *Sainea*; in that case it is pre-Norse" (M'Bain). Compare the Norse personal name *Sjaundi*, the modern *Sjønne* (*v.* Rygh, p. 218): 'Sjaundi's isle'?

Sōa, Sōay, of which there are more than one, from N. *sauðr*, sheep; *sauða-ey*, hence 'sheep-isle.'

Staffa, N. *stafr-ey*, 'basalt isle,' from *stafr*, a staff, applied to basaltic and other pillared rocks.

Tahay, for *Há-ey*, 'high-isle,' the same as the Hoy of the Orkneys.

Taransay, 'Taran's isle,' the ending being the N. *ey*; *Eilean Thorraidh*, 'Thori's isle'; *Tannray, t-hafnar-ey*, 'haven-isle,¹ harbour-isle.'

Trodday, 'Thronð's isle.'

Ulva, 'Ulf's isle'; *Ulfr*, 'wolf,' being a personal name widely spread, as in *Ulsby, Ulsnes, Ulsbak, Ulsbus* (*v.* Rygh, p. 270).

Vatersay, vatrs, gen. of *vatn*, water, + *ey*, island (M'Bain). Water-isle, lake-isle, stream-isle? The Norse form *vatr* is rare, the usual spelling being *vatz*; hence *vatns-ey*.

Vuya, Gaelic *Eilean Bhuidha*, in Lewis, N. *bú-ey*, 'house-isle' (Watson).

¹ Watson, *Place-Names*, p. 266, who compares *Tannera* in Lochbroom.

Valasay, ? *hvals-ey*, whale-isle (Watson).

Vállay, an islet off the Uist coast; it has been referred to N. *völlr*, 'field.' Norse *Vali*, an old personal name, as in Valset, Valabudh (*v.* Rygh, 274, 275) is to be considered: 'Vali's isle.'

The more prominent island names give equally emphatic testimony to Norse influence. I mention:

Kilda (St. Kilda). "Here the majority of the inhabitants exhibit the fair or Scandinavian aspect" (Seton's *St. Kilda*, p. 91). In Martin's description in 1698 it is stated: "This isle is by the inhabitants, as likewise by all the western islanders, called Hirt; Buchanan calls it Hirta; Sir John Narborough, and all sailors, St. Kilda; in the sea maps it is called St. Kilder, particularly in a Dutch sea map from Ireland to Zeland, published at Amsterdam by Peter Goas in the year 1663, wherein it is placed due west between fifty and sixty miles from the middle of the Lewis, . . . and from it lies Rockel, a small rock sixty leagues to the westward of St. Kilda; the inhabitants of this place call it Rokabarra. . . ." Martin also says: "There is a very large well¹ near the town called St. Kilder's Well—from which the island is supposed to derive its name. . . . There is another well within half a mile of this, named after one Conirdan, a hundred paces above the sea." In his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* Martin further adds that the name Kilda "is taken from one Kilder who lived there; and from him the large well *Toubir-Kilda* has also its name." The truth is that it is the same as the Icelandic local name *Keldur*, and meets us in the Danish and

¹ Between the present manse and the factor's house (Seton, p. 86).

Swedish local name *Roeskilde*, all from the Norse *kelda*, 'a well, spring,' cognate with German *quelle*, North English *keld*, 'a spring.' The Dutch map-makers put the name of the island down after the name of the chief well. The Rev. J. B. Mackenzie, Manse of Kenmore, whose father was minister of St. Kilda, states: "The derivation of the name St. Kilda is not of much importance. When my father was minister there some eighty years ago the tradition among the natives was that those who came collecting information for the Dutch map¹ could not speak Gaelic, and that they thought they wanted to know the name of the graveyard towards which they were pointing."² Those map-makers who could not speak Gaelic named the island on their maps St. Kilda, thinking that it was the name of a saint by which the well was called, whereas it was simply a Norse name for 'well, spring.' It occurs in Shetland as *smör-kelda*, 'butter-well.'

Other Norse names occur in St. Kilda: *Stack Liì*, the sloping stack, N. *stakka-hlið*; *hlið*, 'slope,' yields also N. *Lie*, and G. Ben *Lee*; the hill-name *Stack-an-Armuinn* shows the Norse *stakkr*, a stack (of hay), a stump, whence Shetlandese *stack*, a columnar isolated rock; *àrmunn*, 'hero,' is from N. *ármaðr*, gen. *ármanns*, harmost, steward. The hill "Oterveaul, directly upon the landing place," as Martin locates it, and the hill *Aoismheal*, both show the Norse *fjall*, 'hill.' The isle *Borera* near St.

¹ *St. Kilder* seems the oldest form of spelling: it appears on a map of 1610 in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, but in the letterpress it is referred to as *Hirta*, v. Seton's *St. Kilda*, p. 69. Old Gaelic *irt*, *hirt*, 'death,' is the origin of *Hirta*, *Hiort*.

² *Scotsman*, February, 1908.

Kilda is the Norse *borgar-ey*, 'fort-isle'; the isle *Soa, Soay* ("It has a grassy top which affords good pasturage for sheep"—Seton's *St. Kilda*, p. 75) shows the Norse *sauða-ey*, 'sheep-isle.' Of the *stallr*-house on Borera, says Martin, "the inhabitants have a tradition that it was built by one Stallir, a devout hermit of St. Kilda." It is from the Norse *stalli*, an (heathen) altar, equal to N. *stallr*, any block or shelf on which another thing is placed.

It is a moot point if the St. Kilda pronunciation of *r* as *l* be due to foreign influence: "The *r* they uniformly pronounce like *l* as in *ruith*, run, which they pronounce *luith*."¹ A former minister of St. Kilda, the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie, regarded it as probable that the more ancient inhabitants were exterminated by the Norwegians. A St. Kilda proverb: *O Hirt gu Peairt*, 'from Hirt to Perth,' indicates their idea of remoteness.

In the Irish *Saga of Cellachan of Cashel* (ed. Bugge, p. 128), we read of Morrann, who is described as "the long-haired, high-spirited Morann of the fierce people, *i.e.* the son of the fleet-king of Lewis." We might look for such a Viking chieftain from Lewis and Harris. The Norse *Ljóðhús*, *Ljoðus* is in Gadhelic *Leodús* (1150): its modern counterpart is in the Swedish *Lödöse*, a town name, and the *Ljoðusa* destroyed in 1268;² the meaning might be either 'people's house' or 'song-house,' and from being applied to one locality, either farm or building, it extended to a district and thereafter to the island.

¹ *v.* Rev. Mr. Mackenzie in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1904-05, pp. 397-402. He notes the peculiar sound given to *d* or *g*.

² Kuno Meyer.

For the ending compare Scōtus, the former seat of a branch of the MacDonells. As to the higher and southern part of Lewis :

“Harris was in 1546 ‘Hary,’ 1546 ‘Harige’; Dean Munro, 1549, calls it ‘the Harry.’ The Gaelic is ‘*Na h-Earra*,’ which gave the English form ‘the Herries’ and Harris or ‘the Harris.’ There is Harris in Rum and Islay, Herries in Dumfries, and Harray in Orkney. It is usual to explain ‘*Na h-Earra*’ as ‘the heights,’ and both in Harris and in Islay this admirably suits, but the Norse words, whence the name undoubtedly comes, cannot be easily fitted in. The Norse for ‘high’ is *hár*, pl. *havir*, the comparative *haerri*, ‘higher’ (‘The higher ground’ as compared to low-lying Lewis).”¹

Norse names in Lewis are excessively numerous : Back, N. *bakki*, ‘bank’; Uig, N. *vik*, ‘bay’; Ness, N. *nes*, point; Eye, Aoi, N. *Eið*, peninsula of Eye, the old name of the parish of Stornoway, N. *stjórnovagr*, steerage or steering bay; Carloway, Karl’s *vagr* or bay, and hundreds of others are Norse. They are too numerous to be entered on here, and, besides, they are admitted, since the days of Captain Thomas, at least to be of Northern origin. The invasion of the Vikings amounted to a clearing out of the previous possessors, and the names of the chief features of the country, mountains, rivers, lakes, sea-lochs and capes were all changed. The names of the land divisions and townships were re-cast, and the outstanding names indicate a preponderance of Norse to Gadhelic in the proportion of four to one.

¹ M'Bain in *Trans. Gael. Soc. Inverness*, xxv. p. 69.

Examples are : Grinnabhal, Green-fell ; Ròinebhal, rough-ground fell (N. *hraun* + *fjall*) ; Hestaval, horse-fell ; Laxay, 'salmon-river' ; Grìde or Creed, N. *Grjót-á*, 'grit channelled river' ; Eirera, beach-water (N. *eyrr* -*ar* + *á*) ; Loch Langabhat, *i.e.* long-water (N. *vatn*, *vatr*) ; Scarabhat (N. *skári*), 'young sea-mew water' ; L. Seaforth, N. *sjá-fjörðr* ; Aignish, 'ridge or edge ness' ; Arnish, 'eagle-ness' ; *cf.* Yearn Gill on the Borders ; Roisnish, horse-ness ; Steinnis, stone-ness. Eòropie, N. *Eyrar-baer*, 'beach-by or town' ; Seilibhig, seal-wick or bay ; Quishader, quoy, or pen-stead ; Laimshader, lamb's stead ; Rosaidh, horse-isle ; Bernera, Björn's isle ; Watersaidh, water-isle ; Shawbost, N. *sjár-bolstaðr*, sea-town.¹

What holds true of Lewis is true of Harris, where we have Obbe, N. *hóþ*, bay ; Rōdel, Rauði-dalr, red-dale ; Scarista, sea-mew stead ; Manish (Maenes), sea-mew ness ; Lacasdle, N. Laxar-dalr, salmon-river-dale. Loch Stockinish, N. *Stokkr*, a chasm (navigable at high tide) that separates the isle from the mainland ; the narrow bed of a river between two rocks. Near are Pabbay, priests' isle ; Bernera Bjorn's isle ; Scalpay, N. *skalpy-ey*, shallow isle.

Uist, as Munch saw long ago, is N. *īvist*, abode, indwelling. In Gadhelic the *ī* and *ui*, *aoi*, often interchange : *cf.* the Uist poet MacCodrum's

Connspunn na h-*aoidhealachd*
leòghann na *rioghalachd*

in his poem on Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, as

¹ The chief Lewis names are explained in Mr. Watson's *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, pp. 263-272, to which the reader may refer with confidence. A goodly number are explained by M'Bain in his *Early History of Lewis*, pp. 8-12.

also *bruidhinn*, *bridhinn*, 'speaking, talk,' elsewhere ; the change from *rīgh* to *ruigh*, *raoigh*, in the G. for 'king' is common. So in Ivist, Uivist, Ui'ist. The name Uist, says Munch, is simply the Norse *īvist*, habitation, etc. A transitional spelling is shown in *Wyest* of 1615. Even by dropping the N. initial *ī* the transition is easy to Gadhelic *Ui'st*. There is no pre-Celtic or non-Aryan inscrutableness in this word.

Skye is named in Norse *Skídh*; the Dean of Lismore refers to the island as *Clar Skeith*, 'the Board of Skith,' showing that the Norse name of the island was remembered and translated by *Clār*; Norse *Skídh* has among other meanings that of 'tablet.' Both Adamnan's form, *Scia* (circa 700 A.D.) and Tigernach's form in his *Annals* for the year 688, which is *Scith*, agree with the modern pronunciation, which have *ī* short, as in *Sgítheanach*, 'Skye-man.' "The earliest charter and record forms of the name Skye are Skey (1292), Sky (1336), and Ski in the Manx Chronicle. Adamnan's *Scia* shows no trace of *th*. The root is Celtic *sky*, 'cut, slice,' and the whole means the 'indented isle.' The root *ski* is still the basis of Gaelic *sgíath* and Norse *skídh*."¹ Although the name is pre-Norse, Skye abounds in Norse names. *Ūig*, N. *vík*, 'bay'; *Sleat*, G. *Sléit*, from N. *sléttr*, 'level'; *Minginish*, N. *mikinn-nes*, 'great or main ness'; *Trotternish*, G. *Tróntarnis* (*n* inserted to show the nasal *o* of the present pronunciation), N. *brondar-nes*, 'Thronð's nes,' Thronð being a frequent personal name in Icelandic; cf. *Trondhjem*, in Norway. *Brácadal*, N. *brekka-dalr*, 'brink or slope dale,' the *ā* being sporadically lengthened in Gadhelic here, if we

¹ MacBain, *ib.* p. 61.

do not postulate some dialectal variance in the Norse of the Viking period, as E. *brink*, together with Danish and Swedish, preserve an older form than N. *brekka*. Waternish is N. *Vatnsness*, 'Water-ness'; the first part in Snīzort is obscure, one expects a Norse personal name, Snī's firth, as the Norse vowel *ae* of Snaesford = Snow-firth, which MacBain has suggested. never seems to yield Gadhelic \bar{i} long. Or is it another irregular treatment of vowel quantity? Perhaps 'slice-firth,' N. *snīð* 'slice,' also to 'go zig-zag.'

Duirinish, N. *Dýr*, 'deer,' hence Deer's-ness, G. *Diūrinis*; Armadale, N. arm + *dalr*, 'bay-dale.'

Staffin, named from its basaltic rock, 'the Staff,' N. *stafr*, 'pillar,' with affixed article.

Kirkibost and Mugstad, 'Kirk-ton' and 'Monksstead' respectively, derive from Norse. N. *bost*, 'township,stead,' further appears in Hūsabost, 'Housestead'; Braebost, 'Broad-stead'; Carbost, 'Kari's stead or town'; Cealabost (= Colbost of the map), 'Keeltown'; Orrbost, 'Orri's-town.'

Words compounded with animal and bird- and fish-names are not uncommon here: N. *hestr*, 'horse,' gives Eilean *Heast*, G. *an d-Eisde*, where there is a rock called *an t-Aigeach*, 'the stallion,' in *Eist* at Duirinish; further, in Eisdeal, the island Easdale (where we have to do with either N. *völlr*, 'field,' or *fjall*, 'hill,' in the ending), 'horse-field or horse-fell,' with the name extended to the island,—*Eilean nan Caorach*, 'Sheep-isle' being to the north-west and *Eilean nan Beathach*, near it, being *Ylen na Cappel*, 'isle of horses,' on Blaeu's map (1640); cf. Heistamul, Heistam, 'horse-holm.' Further, in Skye

is Greshornish, G. *Gr̄isinnis*, from Norse for 'Grice-ness, Pig-Ness, or Point,' and for meaning compare *Shureval*, 'pig-fell or hill' in S. Uist; Sōay, N. *sauðr-ey*, 'sheep-isle'; Lampay, 'Lamb *ey* or isle'; Hūnish, N. *hūnn-ness*, 'bear's ness'; Árnish, 'erne or eagleness'; Manish (Mænes, 1630), 'sea-mew ness'; Marishader, 'mare-seat or *setr*'; Arnaval, Erne-fell, 'Eagle-Hill'; Ramasaig, N. *hrafns-vík*, 'Raven's Bay'; cf. N. *orri*, 'moor-fowl,' in Oreval 'moorfowl-fell or hill' (Harris, Uist); Fiskavaig, 'fish-bay,' N. *fiski-vík*; and perhaps Tarskavaig, N. *þorskr-vík*, 'cod-bay,' an older form being kept in the place-name than the usual G. *trosg*, 'cod.'

Personal names appear in Ullinish, 'Ulli's-point'; Torvaig, N. *Thorivík*, 'Thori's bay'; Bearnaraig, for Bearnaraig, Biorn's bay; Aulavaig, 'Olave's Bay.' Descriptive are Oisgill, 'oyce-burn'; Osdal, 'oyce-dale'; Ose, Glen-Ose, N. *óss*, 'river mouth,' also *ár-os*, whence Aros Bay. Crācaig, 'Crook-bay'; Liuravaig, 'Mud-bay,' from the same Norse form that yields Lerwick; Ostaig, Ost-vík, 'east-bay,' in Sleat. N. *Fjall*, 'fell,' appears in the mountain-names Scoval, *Skogr-fjall*, 'shaw-fell'; Horneval, 'Horn-fell'; Hellaval, 'flagstone-fell,' N. *hella-fjall*; Rōineval, N. *hraun + fjall*, 'rough-fell,' and from the same word comes Rōna, 'rough island.' Sometimes this ending is translated into Gadhelic, as in Blāvein, 'blue-ben,' for a N. *blá-fell*; cf. Sūilven, Gaotabeinn. The N. *skogr*, 'wood,' as seen in Scourie, G. Sgoghairigh, figures in the Skye Scoval, *Skogr-fjall*, 'shaw-fell,' and terminally it always becomes *-sco*, *Birki-sco*, 'Birk-shaw, Birch-wood'; also in Grasco and others. The *holm* off Duntuilm gives

the latter its name 'Fort of Holm,' with the Gadhelic in the genitive case. The Orasa off Bracadale and Sleat is N. *orfiris-ey*, 'ebb-tide isle,' and on the map it appears with an *n*, Oransa. MacBain thought Lochs Ainort and Eynort as possibly for Einar's fjord, Loch Harport as Hafra-fjord, 'He-goat' firth, and Loch Eishort, N. *eiths-fjord*, 'isthmus fjord.' Kensal-eyre is a hybrid, the first part signifying Kintail, or 'head of the salt-water,' the last being N. *eyrr*, 'pebbly beach.' The Norse for tumulus, *haugr*, is seen in *Cop-na-hoe*, where *cop* is from N. *koppr*, a cup-shaped hole, hence 'the cup-shaped hole of the burial mound.' N. *kvi*, 'quoy,' pen or enclosure, often met with in Shetland as *Whee* (Quhee, Quhey, Quie), *Quheyin*, 'the Whee,' *Okra-quee*, 'corn-quoy,' *Vatshwi*, 'loch-whee or water-quoy,' appears in the celebrated Skye Quiraing, G. Cuidh-Fhraing, which MacBain took to be from *quoyrand*, 'round-quoy'; the latter part seems irregular; N. *rönd*, pl. *randir*, means 'rim, border'; cf. *Qui*, *Quinish*, 'quoy-ness' in Tiree; Quishader, N. *kvia-setr*, 'pen (or fold), stead (or shieling)'; also *Koidale* (q.v.).

N. *setr*, 'stead, shieling,' figures as G. seadair, -shader; *Roishader*, 'horse-shieling, horse-ton'; MacBain explains Uigshader as Ox-ton, N. *uxi*, older *oxi*, but it may be N. *vigg*, 'horse-, steed-, shieling'; Sülishader, the shieling or 'ton' of the solan-geese, or else of the 'pillar.' N. *gerði*, 'fenced field, garth,' becomes G. gearraidh (-garry on the maps), 'the land between moor and machair'; Garrymore, 'the big garth,' etc., and terminally in Flöddigarry, Flötis (?) or else float (fleet) -garth;

cf. Trumsgarry, N. Thrums-garry. The ending *arry*, *-ary*, is from N. *erg*, which again was an early loan into Norse from G. *āirigh*, O. Ir. *airge*; *e.g.* Soarary, N. *Sauðar-erg*, sheep-shieling; *cf.* Obisary, 'bay or hóp shieling' in N. Uist, and many elsewhere in S. Uist, Ardnamurchan, and Glenelg. Dunvegan, with its historic keep, was doubtless a stronghold in the earliest days, and is possibly named after one Began, a name which in the *Landnama-bók*, or Icelandic Book of Settlements, figures in *Becan á Becans-staoðom*, Becan of Becan's-stead, and is a loan from Gadhelic, hence Dun Bheagain, 'Fort of Began.' The name Beccan appears in the Irish annals in the seventh century, and as Old Irish *becc*, 'little,' yields the modern *beag*, likewise Beccan results in Beagan. Talasgar, Talisker, seems 'the sloping rock' (*t*)-*hallr-sker*. N. *sléttr*, 'level, plain, even,' gives its name to the district of Sleat in Skye, where it is the only fairly level portion of the island; compare *Slétta* in Iceland; also *Slétta-hlið*, *Slétta-nes*.¹ Accordingly, we may set aside a statement in a Rhind lecture: "The plural *Sléibhte* gives its name to Sleat in Skye, where the word seems to bear its original meaning of 'hills,' for that parish is 'bisected' by a range rising to a height of 2400 feet."² There is no instance of the pl. of G. *slábh* being thus used in Scottish typography. Sometimes N. *ei* becomes G. *e*, *e.g.* Breaslet, N. *breið-ás-klettr*, broad-ridge-rock; Breaclet, N. *Breið-klettr*, broad-rock or *clet*.

¹ *v.* Index to *Origines Islandicae*, i. 722.

² Sir H. Maxwell's *Scottish Land-Names*, p. 141.

In Mull we have Beinn *Tealla*, with the usual Gadhelic *t*-ending of the article prefixed to N. *hjalli*, 'a ledge or shelf in a mountainside'; Leidil, Liodail, N. *hlið-dalr*, 'slope-dale'; Loch Friosa, Frissa, Norse for 'freezing-water loch'; Beinn Thuncairidh, N. *Tunga-gerði*, 'tongue(shaped)-garth,' N. *gerði*, 'enclosed land,' giving G. *gearraidh*, 'the pasture-land between the shore-land and the moorland'; there is also a *Tongue*, N. *tunga*, not far from Glen Áros, which is N. *ár-os*, 'river-oyce.' Caskadal, Scallasdal, Scarrisdal, show the N. ending from *dalr*, 'dale.' Rossal, near Loch Beg, is N. *hross-völlr*, 'horse-field.' Torr an *Sgridhinn*, near Loch Buidhe, as also Loch Sgrìodan is named from N. *skriða*, pl. *skriðna*, a landslip on a hill-side, a 'scree,' or a mass of sliding stones, *cf.* N. *Skriðin's-enne*, 'Skridin's Brow.' Glen Forsa is from the River Fors-á, 'force-water,' N. *fors*, waterfall. In Tobermory Bay is Calva, 'Calf Isle,' with its Cnap, from N. *knappr*. Burg, Dun Bhuirg, 'fort,' is on the West of Mull; elsewhere the G. *dūn* is often prefixed and we get Dun Borve, Dun Bhuirgh, on the reassertion of the Gadhelic element; *cf.* *Dūn Boraige Mór*, *Dūn Boraige Beag* (Coll and Tiree). There are several *penny* and farthing (*feōirlinn*) lands and place-names in N. *boll*, *-poll*, and endings from *vtk*, 'bay,' as *-aig* in *Corsaig*; in *-ey*, as *Ensay*, N. *engis-ey*, 'meadow isle.'

Like Mull, the *Malaeos* of Ptolemy, the *Malea* of Adamnan, Tiree, G. *Tír-iodh*, 'corn-land,' has kept its pre-Norse name, and is the *Terra Ethica* of Adamnan, but has received a large share of Norse influence. *Kirkapol*, 'Kirk-ton,' tells of a church

having been there before the advent of the Vikings, as does also Ruinn *Chircnts*, 'Kirk-ness,' where there are old ruins marked "Temple" on the Survey Map. Cornaig is N. *korn-vík*, 'corn of grain bay'; an *Cnap*, the N. *knapp*, 'a knob'; *Vaul* is either N. *ffjall*, which gives *Foill*, the name of a ben and bay in Coll, or possibly N. *hvall*, a hill, hence 'hill-bay,' referring to the *Cnap* there, as Dr. Gillies states. An *Fhaodhail*, 'the ford,' comes from N. *vaðill*, a place where shallows are crossed, and frequent elsewhere. It has been thought that Hylipol, Heylipol, is the Seliopolla of the Saga; in any case it is Norse, as is also Librig, N. *hlíð-brekk*, hill-side slope, *brekka* being often used in Iceland for 'brinks' or hill-slopes where public meetings were held. Cornabus is N. *korna-bolstaðir*, corn-ton or stead; Crossapol is 'cross-ton,' pointing to an ecclesiastic connection. Scarinish, 'young-sea-mew ness,' seems to contain the N. *skári*, as in Scarista in Harris, the *Skāra-stadir*, 'sea-mew steads,' of Iceland. Gott Bay is doubtless Norse, signifying 'entrance-bay,' N. *gat*, pl. *göt*, 'hole,' cognate with O.E. *geat*, E. *gate* = entrance. (It is impossible to derive it from the N. *göðzi*, a priest.) Compare *Gót nan Cat*, 'hole or cavern of the cats'; *Gót nan Calman*, 'hole of the pigeons,' in Tarbert parish; *Gót a Choire*, 'hole of the caldron,' in Ross-shire.¹

Colonsay, though pre-Norse, the Colossus of Adamnan, seemingly from the root in *Coll*, 'hazel,' shows Norse influence in the *-ay* ending, and as we should expect from the neighbouring Orosa, N.

¹ V. Watson, *Place-Names*, pp. 45, 48.

Orfris ey, 'ebb-tide isle,' also in the place-names, as Sgiobanish, 'ship-ness,' and Sgalasaig, which seems N. *skál-hús-vík*, 'shieling-house bay.' Staosnaig, Olm's Isle, Estol Port, Ernicle's Hill, are from the Norse. It has been authoritatively stated that the blood of the inhabitants of Colonsay is more deeply Norse than that even of Islay.¹

In Islay, which next to Man, according to Camden, was the favourite seat of the Norse lords, there are many Norse names. The word itself appears in the Sagas as *Il*, with long *ī*, and is pre-Norse; it is only the map spelling that shows Norse influence on the word-form, but in Gadhelic it is always *Ile*, with long *ī*. The usual *t* prefixed to Norse loans beginning with *h* is clear in T-heggs-ey, 'bird-cherry's isle,' says the *New Guide* to Islay; Tallant, *t-hall-lendi*, 'the slope or declivity'; Damsey, short for Adamnan's isle or *-ey*, an ending which appears in Loch Drolsey, N. Trollsey, troll's isle. N. *ness* occurs in Trudernish for Throndar-nes, 'Thron'd's nes,' also in Migirnes, which, it has been thought, represents N. Minur-nes, 'smaller ness.' Aros is N. *ár-oss*, 'river mouth or oyce'; the nominative case of *á*, 'river,' appears terminally in Steinsha, Steinsay, N. Steinns-á, 'stone river,' so called after a stone pillar in a stream near Staoshiness. N. *vík*, 'bay,' occurs in Proaig, N. *breiðr-vík*, 'broad bay'; cf. Brodick in Arran: the change from *b* to *p* is not singular here. Laphroaig seems to contain N. *hlað*, barn, pile, stack, or slope of Broadwick; cf. Northern English *lathe*: the word is not a hybrid with the Gadhelic

¹ V. Prof. Mackinnon in *Scotsman*, August 23, 1887.

lag, 'hollow,' as the *New Guide* suggests. Terminally *vík* appears in Uamh Bhearnasaig, Bjarn's-wick Cave, the big cave at Bolsa; Sanaigmore, Sand-wick mór, or big sand-bay; Smalaig, N. *smal-vík*, small (cattle) bay; Dun Bhoreraig, 'Castle-Bay Fort'; Portuig, Port-vik, port-bay.

The Norse for 'shieling,' *setr*, appears in Eresaid, N. Ari-setr, Ari's shieling. Ellister, G. Aoileas-tradh, seems to contain N. *hellis*, which meets us in the Hellis-fiörð, 'cave-firth' of the *Landnámabók*. In Islay there is a cave near by, hence 'cave-stead.'

In terminals *dale*, from N. *dalr*, appears in Toradale, 'Thori's dale'; Grastle, 'grass-dale,' failing a personal name; Glenastle, Gleann Astol, possibly Glen Ridge-dale, N. *ás-dalr*; Cattadale, Cat or ship-dale; Dùdil, N. *dý-dalr*, bog-dale; Gleneigedale, Glen Oak-dale; Loch Langadail, Loch Long-Dale, N. *lang-dalr*; (Loch) Uigedail in Kildalton has been interpreted 'dismal-dale'; Gleann Choiredail, Glen Caldron-dale.

Tautology appears in other words besides those with *glen*, as in the preceding; for instance, in Avenlussa. When Lussa had become obscure the G. Abhuinn, 'river,' was prefixed. The name is usually interpreted 'salmon-water,' yet the N. *lax* is preserved as in Lacasdail, N. *lax-ár-dalr*, salmon-river-dale (Lewis), Laxay, N. *lax-á*, 'salmon-water'; Lax-fjörd, Laxford (Sutherland), Gadhelic Lus-ard with accent on *Lus*. In place of the salmon or *lax* it has been thought that we may have here N. *lýr*, *lys*, the fish *gadus pollachius*, so named from its bright belly and sides. N. *lax* cannot regularly yield *Lus*—; for the dropping of *c* before *s* cf.

Lossie for the *Loxa* of Ptolemy's *Geography*, where the root is *luk-, lok*, bright. It is the rule that *cs* in combinations from the Norse is retained, e.g. Stacsavat, N. *stakk-á-vatn*, 'stack-river Loch.'

Airigh Ghuthairigh is a doublet, 'Godfrey's shieling'; Laogin, where there is a large marsh, is not G. Leòig Innis, as the *New Guide* gives it, but N. *laek-in, loek-in*, 'the brook,' with suffixed article; in modern Iceland *laekr* is used for the Danish *baek*. Dùn Chroisbrig, N. Cross-brekki, 'Cross-brink Fort.' Stremnish, in the Oa, in the stream of the Mull, points to N. *streyma*, 'to stream,' hence 'streaming-ness,' *streymr*, 'running' being applied to a strait or sound with a current; if taken from the N. *straumr* the Gaelic would be *strōm*. N. *holm* appears in Tòcamol, i.e. *t-hauka-holmr*, hawk-holm, i.e. hawk-inch or island, or from N. *mol*, beach; in Glen Osamail, near Kilchoman: N. *óss*, 'oyce, river-mouth' + holm; the glen being named after the 'oyce-holm' formed by the outlets; "a lovely river with a few outlets flows through this glen"; Loch Sholam, Beinn Sholam, in Kildalton parish, have been explained from N. *súla*, 'gannet' + *hólm*, hence 'holm of the gannets' (*New Guide to Islay*, p. 120, where Sullam, Lerwick, is compared). Leòdamus, 'Leod's moss,' shows N. *mosi*, 'moss,' current in Iceland as in Mos-fell; N. *gerdi* appears in Kynagarry; N. *erg* in Brahunisary.

The N. *fjord* appears in Gruinnart, 'shallow-forth,' N. *grunnr*, 'shallow' + fjord, which in compounds becomes *-art* finally in Gadhelic; *grunnr* is met with in local names in Iceland, e.g. Grunna-vík. Koidale in Kilchoman means 'fold-dale,' N. *kvía-dalr*, N.

kví, in Orkney and Shetland, *quey*, *quoy*, 'a fold, pen'; in Iceland as *Kví-á*, *Kvíá-bekkr*, and in Lewis as Cuidha-seadar, 'fold-stead.' In Islay N. *borg* appears in Nomhasburgh (Nauisburgh, 1545), N. *hnausborg*, 'turf fort' (*Guide*, p. 63), while Nereby, not far from Bridgend, taken from N. Knors-baer, 'Knor's farm,' and Conisby in the Rhinns, by Lochindaal, in the direction of the golf course, from N. Konis-baer, 'Lord's town, Kingstown' (where it has been thought that King Godred Crovan, who died in Islay in 1095, had a residence), both show endings frequent in Manx names from the Norse, e.g. Jurby, older Ivorby, 'Ivar's farm or toun'; Sulby, 'Solve's farm or toun,' Kirby for Kirkeby, Kirk-ton. Baile Uilbh, Balulve, Olaf's toun or farm according to Mr. MacNeill, but it rather shows the N. *Úlf-r*, frequent in personal names, North. E., Ulverston, Ulpha.

In Islay the N. *bolstaðr*, 'a homestead,' appears as *-bus*, of which, according to the proverb, there are twenty-four :

Céithir 'busana fíchead an Ile.

Among them are Torrabus, Thori's *bost* or stead; Lurabus, older Learabolsay (also Lyrabus in Kilarrow), from *Leir*, 'mud,' as in Shetland Lerwick, also N. *leira*, a loam field, the muddy shore at low-water mark; Laoirin, N. *Leir-inn*, 'the mud,' in Islay is applied to places formed by streams or glens. Asabus, N. Ass-bustaðr, 'Ridge-town'; Ealabus, N. *jalda*, 'mare,' 'mare-ton,' cf. *Jöldu-hlaup*, 'Mare's Leap,' an Iceland local name; Kinnabus, 'cheek-town,' the corresponding Gaelic might be *Leacainn*; Risabus, N. *hrís*, 'brushwood';

Cornabus, Cornabolsay (1562), 'corn homestead'; Coilabus, also Coulabus, 'Kolli's homestead' in Kilchoman; Tòsabus, N. *t-haust-bus*, 'headland town'; Cragabus, 'crook-town' rather than 'crow-town,' as in the *Guide*. Cnoc *Bhrèanabuis*, Brian's-bost Hill; Eorabus, N. *eyrrar*, 'beach,' 'beachstead'; Carrabus, N. *kjarr*, 'copse'; Scarrabus, N. *skári*, 'young gull or sea-mew.' Persabus, 'Priest's homestead'; Nerabus, N. *knörr*, 'ship,' hence 'ship-stead, shipton.'

N. *fjall* is met with in Beinn Tartamhill from N. t-Hjarta-fjall, Hart-Fell, Ben Hart-Ben (*Guide*, p. 116), with *t* of Gaelic article prefixed.

Harie, *Na h-earradh*, 'the higher parts,' corresponded roughly with the heights of Kilmeny parish; of same Norse origin as Harries (*q.v.*). The N. *haugr*, cairn, tumulus, sepulchral mound, is met with in Howe (Owo, 1542) at Balinaby; and at Oa, Mull of Oa (G. an Otha, gen. na h-Otha, Maol na h-Otha). N. *sker* occurs in Geidhesgìre,¹ name of a rock in the sea. N. *gil*, so often applied in Iceland to brooks and tributary streams, appears as *A. ghil* in The Oa of Islay, *Giol-ìochdrach*, 'Lower Gil.'

Portaskaig, once explained as N. *askr vík*, 'ship's creek,' reminds of Strathasgag in Lochalsh, which has rightly been referred to N. *á-skiki*, 'river-strip';² in Islay the name may also mean

¹The first element cannot be from N. *gjá*, creek, as in the *New Guide to Islay*.

²Watson's *Place-Names*, p. 189; N. *askr*, a small ship, a bark + *vík*, 'bay,' hence 'small-ship bay' might be meaning in Portaskaig, where there would have been a ferry manageable by small barks; for meaning *cf.* Skipá, 'ship-water or -river,' the old name of Port Charlotte.

'river-strip ferry,' known on the Jura side as Faolin Ferry, also of Norse origin. It is impossible to take "*Port-asaig, Ferryport*" (*New Guide to Islay*, p. 72) seriously as the meaning here. But compare Loch *Ascog*, Bàigh *Ascog*, Mill of *Ascog*, in Isle of Bute; *Askeoge* (17th century). The N. *gjá*, charm, rift, found in the north Highlands as *geō*, Gaelic *geodha*, appears in Islay in Braigo, broad-bay, broad cleft or rift; in Saligo Bay, near Balinaby, which does not mean 'seal-bay,' as has been suggested: the phonetics do not allow of it. A loud roar is emitted by the sea on the strand here, and there is a saying: "The roar of the wave on Fléisgein shore is heard on the Calf of Mull." Near to Kilmeny Church is Keppols, which has been etymologised as from N. *keppa-bolstadr*, contention-town (*Guide*, p. 71); elsewhere in Islay we have Bolsay, Bolsadh.

Not far from the head of Loch Gruinnart is Greineal, from N. *graen-vollr*, 'green-field'; cf. *Greinam*, 'green isle' (Lewis). Near Dun Bhore-raig on the Sound of Islay is Grianaig, the phonetics of which do not admit of derivation directly from N. *graen-vík*, 'green-bay,' a well-sheltered creek which washes the shore of a green plot of ground. "It is truly a green bay" (*Guide*, p. 71). Compare Grianaig, the Gadhelic form for Greenock (*q.v.* the Icelandic *Grene-vík* occurs in *Origines Islandicae*, ed. Vigfusson and Powell, i. 163. The Icelandic *Gor-vík*, in the Holmverja Saga, *Orig. Island*, ii. 73, in formation strongly suggests the G. *Gurraig*, Gourock), with *Grinda-vík* in the *Landnámabók*, south of Rosmhvalanes in Iceland; compare *Grinnavat*, 'green loch,' in Lewis.

In Bute, too, we meet with traces of the Norsemen. Besides the fragmentary stone cross with Runic inscription found on Inchmarnock, there are in Bute itself the place-names which end in *-dale*: Ardrosedale, of which an older spelling, however, is Ardrossigelle (1475); Dunburgidale, where the Gadhelic *Dūn* prefixed points to a time when Norse was receding and *burg* was no longer quite clearly understood in the Norse name, which means borgdale, *i.e.* 'fort-dale'; *cf.* Dun-bhuirg in Mull, and Dun Bhuirgh in the North Highlands. Kerrylamont, Ardlamont, point to the Norse name *lagmann*, 'lawman'; Langill has been interpreted lang-gill, 'long-glen' or *-gil*. In Ardnahoe we have N. *haugr*, 'burial mound'; *cf.* How-more in Uist, and perhaps in the Morvern Rahoy¹ (*Ra(th)-*hauga-eið*), where are the remains of a vitrified fort on a promontory or neck of land projecting into Loch Teacuis. Compare Icelandic *á haugom*, 'at Howe'; *Biarn at Hauge*, 'Bearn o' the Howe'; *við Hauga-vað*, 'over against How-wade or Cairn-ford.' The Norse 'burial mound isthmus' would, on the revival of Gadhelic influence, have had the G. *rath*, 'fortress, residence with an encircling rampart,' prefixed—a word cognate with Cymric *rawd*, *rod*, in *bedd-rawd*, *bedd-rod*, a grave-mound, *gaeaf-rawd*, a winter-abode, Breton *ret* in *bezret*, 'cemetery.' The Bute name Ascog, Askeoge (17th c.), Ascok (1503), Baigh Askock, derives from the river issuing from Loch

¹ Modern Gadhelic has also a diphthongal form *Rath-hūai*. It might be written *Rath-Shuai* as if it contained *Soay*, 'sheep-isle,' from the Norse. But I have not learned of such an island name near to the place, though a genitival form of *Sōay*, pronounced *Shuaidh*, is possible.

Ascog, which itself is Norse; *cf.* Ariscaig, N. A(r)-skiki, 'river-strip.' The attempt to find here the N. *haugr*, 'mound,' fails, as the *-gR* would disappear in Gadhelic. Scalpsie, pronounced Scaupsay, 'shallop or ship isthmus or promontory'; later the G. *ard*, 'height or promontory,' was prefixed, giving Ard-scalpsie. Rothesay itself once seemed so important as to have almost passed off as a name for the island, judging by a reference in an old document to the 'isle of Rothsay or Bothe.' It has been interpreted as 'rule-isle, or the isle of management,' by Dr. King Hewison, from N. *raedi*, which is impossible, as the older spelling has an *r*, Rothersay. This shows we have to do with the N. *ey*, 'island,' and a personal name *Rother*, hence 'Rother's isle,' the reference being in the first place to this man's castle, surrounded by a moat. Who he was we may infer, I believe, from the Hakon Saga, where we read: "They were gone to Bute to meet those who had been sent thither. But when they came thither the tidings were that they had made an onslaught on a certain castle, and won it on these terms that they who held it gave up the castle and took peace from the Northmen. There was also with the Northmen a ship captain whose name was Ruðri; he was thought to have a claim by birth to Bute. Yet because he did not get the island from the Scots he made great strife on them, and slew many a man, and for that he was an outlaw of the Scottish king. He came to King Hacon in the Southern isles, and swore oaths to him, and became his man, and his two brothers with him. But as soon as they who had given up the castle had parted from the

Northmen, then Ruðri fared after them, and slew of them some nine men, for he thought that he had promised them no peace. After that the island came under King Hacon.”¹

I have kept the spelling with N. *ð*, which has been preserved as *th*; the name has not come down through Gadhelic; for the vowel interchange of *u*, *o*, compare Carruthers, Carruderis, Carutheris, Carrothir, Carrothres (1334), Carrothyris (Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, 1335), ‘the fort of Rydderch,’ the King Roderic of Adamnan. Here we find a place-becoming a personal name, whereas in Rothersay we have a place named after a person. Although only the termination is strictly Norse, it abundantly testifies to Norse influence. So, too, Cumbrae, N. *Kumreyar*, which the Norse found occupied by the Cymry.

Further, the name of the Holy Isle, off Arran, is in Norse *Melansay*, G. *Eilean Molaissi*; and on the roof of St Molaisi's cave is or was, what was taken to be, a Runic inscription. *Eilean*, ‘island,’ is, of course, Norse, and the old island name is disguised in the modern *Lamlash*. From the Almeslache of Fordun, Professor Mackinnon suggests the intermediate steps to have been: *Eilean Moláisi*, *Elmoláisi*, *Lemolásh*, *Lamlásh*. The Norse form here arises from confusing the Gadhelic sound with that in some other word. Arran itself is in the Norse Sagas called *Hersey*, which seems some attempt at rendering the original. Here we again meet with Norse endings in *-dale*: Glen Ormidale, Glen Ashdale, Glenscorradale, Garvadale. According to a local tradition mentioned in M'Arthur's history of the

¹ Rolls Series, iv. 351; cf. *ib.* 389.

island, there once existed at Margareach a stone column erected in memory of a treaty between the men of Arran and the Norse. Clear Norse influence is apparent in *Struey*, 'place of streams,' in Kilmory parish, for G. *sruthaidh*, from root *sruth*, stream, with the *-aidh* suffix or extension; *cf.* the Strathglass *Struy*, and the Ross-shire *Struie* (G. *an t-srùidh*). *Pladda*, at the south end of Arran, is the Norse *flatr-ey*, which meets us in *Flat-ey*, 'flat island'; Dr. Cameron gives older form *Pladow*, *Plada*; *Pladda* is fairly common in the Western isles, where it is a variant of *Fladda*, with *f* de-aspirated to *p*. South Feorline, and North Feorline, in Shisken, Forling in Blaeu's Atlas, are from N. *fjorðing*, the fourth part of a land-measure, farthing-land. Loch Ranza¹ is nothing else than N. *Reynis-á*, 'Rowan-water,' and remains of the rowan tree have been found at the place. *Catacol*, says Cameron, is for *Catagil*, "the glen of the *kata* or small ship, pointing in all probability to the tide when ships anchored where are now cultivated fields." Dr. Currie makes it "the rift of the wild cat." In any case the *-gil* is Norse, and signifies 'a deep narrow glen with a stream at the bottom.' It occurs also in *Skaftigill*, 'shaft-glen'; Dr. Cameron compares *Shap-fell* in Westmoreland, and notes that *skaft* is Danish for shaft, haft, handle. *Cleite*, from N. *klettr*, rock, cliff, occurs in *Cleite nan Sgarbh*, 'the ridge-of-rocks of the scarts or cormorants'; also *Cleiteadh* at Sliddery, and elsewhere. Traces of the N. *penningsr*, which has become G. *peighinn*, 'penny,' are met with in place-names which derive from old land measures:

¹Gadh. *Raonasa*.

Peighinn, near Shisken; Penrioch, Pennerivach, which is G. Peighinn Riabhach, 'the brindled or speckled penny-lands'; Benlister, taken by Dr. Cameron as a corruption of Penalister, the Pennyland of Alister, "perhaps the same Alister whose name has been kept in remembrance in the name Gortan-Alister, the little field of Alister." Sannox is a plural formed by adding *-s* to Sannoc for *Sand-vtk*, the Sandy Bay, of which there are three, the South, Mid, and North, in Gadhelic *na Sannocan*, the Sannocs. Goatfell, G. Gaota-bheinn, where Norse *fjall* is translated¹ by *ben*, is from N. Geitar-fjall, where N. *geitar* becomes in G. *gaota*, the meaning being 'goat's fell or wild mountain.' "Until lately there was a hamlet at the head of the new street, now called Douglas Row, at Brodick, which the natives call *Breadhaig*. This was doubtless the original Brodick, and in olden times the head of the bay." It is spelt also Braithwik, Brethwik, Bradewik (1450). Norse *breiðr-vík*, 'broad-bay,' yields the Gadhelic *Breadhaig*; for vowels cf. N. *steinn*, G. Steinn, N. *breiðr*, G. *Breidh-vat*, broad-water or loch. Some of the spellings may have been influenced by the Scots *brade*. A variant is Brodhaig, the same as *Proaig*, 'broad bay,' in Islay.

14. MISCELLANEOUS.

aiteal, a small quantity of anything, such as food. This is the same word as the Shetland *atl*, *attel*, a little portion of meat (Jakobsen's *Ordbog*, p. 18). It is premature to say on which side the borrowing is.

¹ Cf. *Roshven* in Moidart, as against *Rossal* (*q.v.*) in Mull.

bailc, 'the welkin'; mu'n thiormnaich a bhailc (Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair) = ere the welkin cleared up. The Norse is *belker*, 'a dully rainy sky, a sudden shower,' which Jakobsen thinks is connected with O.N. *belgr*, 'skin,' what is 'swollen out'; Icelandic *belgingr*, 'a stiff blast.' The G. *bailc* is also used for spots where no seed has grown in the fields, and is thus empty of crops; cf. E. to *welk*; German *welk*, 'feucht, milde, lau,' is a side form of *wolke*, 'cloud,' and the Gadhelic is a borrow; cf. G. *balt*, 'welt, fringe of a grass-plot,' from E. *welt*.

ballan, tub, vessel; Stokes compares N. *bolli*, 'bowl,' and thought the G. probably borrowed. If so, it is an early loan, as in E. Irish *ballan* means a drinking vessel, 'a poor man's vessel,' in Cormac's *Glossary*. It is the word in E. *bowl*, and is met with in all the Teutonic languages, and meant originally something round, cf. O.H.G. *hirni-bolla*, 'hirschschale.'

barp, a cairn, barrow (Isle of Skye, etc.). It is the N. *hvarf*, which in the modern language means 'a hill on the horizon.' The only difficulty is that it appears as *Parph*, i.e. *Parf*, 'Cape Wrath,' but *p* for *b* is not unusual; cf. Proaig, 'Broad-bay'; also Pladda for Fladda.

beit, bait, from N. *beita*, bait for fish.

biogaran, a small wooden dish (Rob Donn); N. *bikarr*, a beaker, large drinking cup?

bliong, the fish 'lythe' (Scourie); N. *bleikja*, salmo levis? This would be irregular, however, and I would suggest that the intermediary is some expression used by the northern fishermen in place of the proper name which would be tabooed; the origin

may be the Norn *blink*, which, as a taboo-expression, is used in Shetland: 'I see a blink,' where the reference is to a fish (*v.* Jakobsen's *Ordbog*, p. 50).

blog, a clumsy fellow; *cf.* the Norn *blogg*, big and clumsy, from O.N. *blokk*, in *blokkstor*, enormously big.

bot (with a close *o*), 'a mound, river-bank'; 'a soft bog or morass,' seemingly Norse; *cf.* Shetland *bōti*, a strip of land, specially a peat-bank, also a strip of grass-land. Jakobsen (*Ordbog*, p. 87) considers **boeti* a derivative of O.N. *bót*, a patch, hence a little bit of field. If so, it seems we have a dialectal variant-loan in the *but* of the Isle of Bute, where we have *but an lòin*, the croft of the marsh; *but dubh*, the black croft, *but curaich*, the moor or marsh croft; *but na creige*, the crag croft; *but na madadh*, the croft of the wolves or dogs. Sir H. Maxwell in his *Scottish Place-Names* writes it *butt*, and thinks it intermediate between G. *both* and Pictish *pett*. This is impossible; if native it, in the latter sense, is a variant of Welsh *bod*, 'residence,' cognate with G. *both*, hut, bothie, E. booth, N. *būð*, Ger. *bude*, and seems Pictish.

bruga, brugan, brugannan, 'rough mossy ground' (Lewis), from N. *brok*, 'bad black grass.'

bunnsaidh, a short thick-set man, a nugget of a fellow. Norse *bunksi*, *bungsi*, a stout and clumsy person (Jakobsen's *Ordbog*, p. 83). The Gadhelic is used in the sixth movement of the *B̄irlinn* by Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair: *Bunnsaidh cudthromach garbh*, etc.

dais, a blockhead; MacBain says, "seemingly borrowed from the Sc. *dawsie*, stupid," but it is

uncertain, for we have Danish-Norwegian *daase*, a stupid person, the Swedish dialectal *dåse*, a lazy, stupid fellow; likewise the O.N. *dási* (not in Cleasby). Forms with short vowel are also found: Norw. *dase*, a lazy person, Danish *dase*, lazy, Swed. *dase* (*v.* Falk-Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, where the root *dās* is regarded as a probable extension of Indo-Europ. *dhe*, in O.Ir. *dedaim*).

callaidh, cold, benumbed (Rob Donn), founded on N. *kaldr*, cold, chilling.

cannach, cunning (Reay country), founded on N. *kanna*, to search, recognise?

claomach, boobish; *duine c.* = *duine nach eil gear gu leir*, 'one who is not sharp enough'; *cf.* G. *claomair* .i. *fear gun sguich* .i. *dh'fheumadh am facal chur 'na bhial mu'm bruidhneadh e air a shon féin* = a man without grit, who would require to have the word put into his mouth ere he would speak for himself.

claomaire, a fool, an absent-minded person. MacBain gives *glaomair*, a foolish person, which he suggests to mean 'noisy one,' from *glaodh*, 'to cry, call,' but the G. vowels are different. N. *ey* gives G. *ao*; N. *gleyma* (obsolete in sense of to make a merry noise), to forget (metaphorical), connected with *glam*, whence *Glamnaðr*, *Glömmuðr*, a nickname for Tinkler?

cnapach, a boy, a 'lump of a boy'; founded on N. *knapi*, a servant boy (or possibly on N. *knappr*, a knob, borrowed into G. as *cnap*, a block).

cnúta, a knuckle-joint; fr. N. *knúta*, knuckle bone, joint-bone. G. has also *cnuidhean*, 'the knuckle-joint,' pl. *cnuidheannan* (pronounced with *cr* for the most part).

dàm, black mud (Rob Donn, and Reay country). Hardly from E. *dam*; rather from N. *þám*, thickness, mugginess; it would be *tám*, but after *an*, the article, *an tám* would become *an dàm*.

crasta .i. fochann, 'braird, corn in the blade' (Assynt); cf. N. *grasto*, 'a strip of grass among rocks or in a wilderness'; or N. *gras-toppr*, 'grass-top.'

ducach, 'doughty, brave' (St. Kilda); also *dūganta*.

Tha do bhean air a ciùrradh
O beulaobh 's o cùlaobh
S i bhi caoidh a fir ducaich
Dh' fhalbh a cuid as gach uair.

Celt. Rev. ii. 338.

Founded possibly on or from N. *dyggr*, 'faithful, trusty,'—in which word the N. often has a *v*, *dyggvar*, *dyggvan*. The *ū* in Gadh. is long here, having assonance with that in the preceding lines.

dūiseal, *dūsál* cadail, slumber; from N. *dúsa*, doze; Norwegian *dusa*, to repose.

ealla, *iolla*: in phrase *gabh ealla ris* = leave it alone; or the variant *gabh iolla ris* = just look at it. There seems no such native word as *iolla*, view, glance; it is only a forced interpretation of this single phrase. Perhaps the variants are due to the two sounds of the N. diphthong *ei*, if we may infer such from Icel. *ei* appearing as *ai*, *ay* (hail, nay) in English, but also as *ea* (steak), or as *ei*, *ey* (their, they). While N. *ei* often becomes G. *ao*, it also remains as G. *ei*: are we to think of N. *heill* (hail!) used in greetings, in which case the Gadhelic phrase would mean "just greet and no more! say 'hail' to

it." Or else N. *heill*, omen, foreboding; in which case the G. would mean originally 'beware!' Zimmer thinks he has found this latter in the Mid. Irish *ēle*; O. Ir. *hēle*, good luck, favourable omen, and would take M. Ir. *ēlada* from N. *heillaðr*, participle perfect of N. *heilla*, to bewitch, enchant, spell-bound (*v.* Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxviii.); N. *ey*, with which *éi* at last concorded, remains as close *e* in G. *eilean*, 'island,' N. *ey-land*.

eileanachadh, disattaching in phrase *re* disattaching a stone with a crow-bar: '*g a heileanachadh*, *i.e.* 'islanding it'? founded on *eilean*, 'an island,' itself from N. *ey-land*. An unfulcrumed lift, *i.e.* a lift without using a lever, is known as *togail muilleir*, 'a miller's lift.'

fadhaid (mis-spelt *faghaid*, *faodhail*), hunting, the starting of game, from N. *vað-it vaðinn*, from *vaða*, 'to go through the thick of a thing, rush, storm.'

fartan, belt for woman's waist; what holds a thing together. N. *vartan*, the threads holding together the woof in a loom.

geoillaich, *geobhlaich*, to yowl or greet; N. *gjalla* to yell, shout, scream, shriek.

gingach, a term applied to 'the first to land and the last to quit a rock' (Seton's *St. Kilda*, quoting Macaulay, 200-201). Founded on N. *gengr*, 'able to walk'? N. *ng* medial stands, but finally becomes *nn*; or N. *gengi*, 'good luck.'

glamhadh, a hurried gulp or bite; a roughish reproof; Norn *glams*, to snap with the mouth at anything; he *glamst* at me (Shetland), *i.e.* snapped; Danish in *hunde-glam*, 'baying.'

glōmach, whitish, especially of a whitish cast of

eye; Norn has *glōm*, white or whitish stripe; O.N. *gláma*, whiteness; it is the name of an Icelandic glacier, and a poetic name for the moon, from its whiteness; *cf.* possibly *glōmach*, the Falls of Glōmach, in Kintail, named from the white waterfall in that gorge—cognate with the Norse.

gluip, a chasm, *Poll a' Ghluip* in Handa: N. *gljúfr*, an abrupt descent or chasm: *cf.* Norn *gläip* 'a glutton,' Danish, *glug*, 'gullet.'

gnob, *groban*, 'top or point of a rock, hillock'; N. *gnúpr*, 'a peak.'

gnìoba, *grìoba*, a peak: *e.g.* *cladach garbh le gnìobanna neo-chumanta àrd mōr-thimchioll* = a rough sea-shore with peaks uncommon high round thereof. From N. *gnípa*, 'a peak.'

gùcaireachd, fooling. All Fools' Day = *Là na g.* Founded on the following: *gog*, fool; Shetland, *gok*, 'a fool'; O.N. *gaukr*, bungler, simpleton, blockhead, according to Jakobsen's *Ordbog*; the long vowel *ō* in preceding seems the equivalent of N. *au*.

leòg, *leòig*, 'marsh' (Martin, who suggested it as the origin of *Leodhus*, Lewis). It seems from a Norse source, such as meets us in the Shetland *ljoag*, a patch of green through which a streamlet runs (O.N. *loek-r*, streamlet), for instance, *Stoora-ljoag*, the big *ljoag*; v. *The Old Shetland Dialect*, p. 87, by Dr. Jakobsen. *Drochaid na Ledige*, 'the bridge of the runnel'; v. Mr. MacNeill's *New Guide to Islay*, p. 55.

logaidh, lock of hair on forehead; especially on forehead of cattle; mane of a horse; from N. *lokkr*, a lock of hair. There is some irregularity, for if this be the right derivation the G. should be *loca*, gen.

locaidh. But the pronunciation given me requires to be written with *g* in accordance with the usual script.

nàbuidh, neighbour; N. *nábui*, 'nigh-dweller.'

piocach, a little brat; Norne *þjakk*, also *bjakk*, applied to a person with little physical force; also *pikke*, little, small (*v.* Jakobsen's *Ordbog*, sub '*bjakk*').

pùt, a large buoy, usually of inflated sheep-skin; "Seemingly of Scandinavian origin; Swed. dial. *puta*, be inflated" (MacBain's *Dict.*).

rei(dh)ne, a barren cow (Rob Donn); *cf.* N. *reini*, stallion. Doubtful.

roc, wrinkle; *roc aodannach*, of wrinkled face (MacCodrum's *Oran na h-Aoise*); from N. *hrukka*, wrinkle, fold.

rochal, rattle in the throat; N. *hrugl*, *hrygla*, a rattling in the throat or bronchial tubes.

rotaidh, impel; 'rotaidh mi ann thu' (I will impel you there). Perhaps founded on N. *róta*, to rout up.

rustall, the Uist form of *risteal*, from N. *ristill*, 'plough-share.' For vowel, *cf.* *Uist*, from Ivist.

sgàig, trembling fear; *dúisg suas*, a Ghàidhlig's tog do ghuth, na biodh ort geilt no sgàig. N. *skaka*, *skók*, shake? or *skakkr*, wry, askew.

sgall, baldness, from N. *skalli*, a bald head; hence *sgalltachan*, a young bird before it has got down or feathers.

sgàlan, a hut; Irish *scálan*, 'a shade, a hut, a stage, a scaffold'; from N. *skáli*, a hut, shed.

sgallais, effrontery, insult; backbiting; loud contemptible talk; from N. *sköll*, mockery, loud laughter. The Highland Society's *Dictionary* gives the meaning

as 'flattery,' which is also the Norse *skjall*, flattering. The root is the same as in G. *sgal*, 'a cry, shriek,' with which the Norse forms are cognate.

sguig, *sguich*, liveliness, grit, gumption; founded possibly on *kvikr*, quick, lively (?); **s-guig*?

seis, one's match, from N. *sessi*, 'a bench-mate,' as used in the *Edda*. The G. has it also long, *séise* (*v.* Prof. Mackinnon's *Reading Book*, i. 68).

sgionnas, curiosity. A Sutherland word, used, *e.g.* of Zaccheus's going up into the tree to spy and look about him; founded on N. *skynja*, to search into, enquire, look out; or on N. *skygna*, to spy after, pry, look out.

sgithiol, a shieling hut in the Hebrides; from N. *skjól*, a shelter; E. *sheal*.

sgiot, to scatter; from N. *skjóta*, to shoot. Irish *sciot*, 'dart, arrow,' is of same origin; 'something shot.' Lewis uses it in sense of 'cut': *gus an sgörnan a sgiteadh* = to cut the throat.

sglumach, a fledgling of some size; 'a lump of an infant'; evidently with introduced *l* (cf. *briosgaid*, biscuit; *breatàlion*, battalion), from N. *skumr*, the skua or brown gull, a word used as metaphor for 'a gossip, chatterer.'

sguan, gossip, garrulous talk; *n* final for *l*; N. *skval*, noisy talk.

sgùilear, a shrew. This is quite a different word from G. *sguidilear*, scullion. The *ù* is long.

sguirean, loud complaint with little real occasion; gossip, garrulous talk; founded on N. *skorin*, *skorin-orðr*, 'outspoken,' from N. *skora*, to call on, summon, urge.

slabhear, a slouching fellow; one given to taunting

(secondary meaning); from N. *slókr*; cf. similar meaning in the *Edda*.

sprangach, 'bold,' cf. Iain Sprangach (v. *Clan Donald History*): Manx *sprangagh*, 'out of rule, not regular'; *sprangan*, 'something that causes unevenness'; *sprangair*, .i. fear chuireas droch ìomhaigh air fhéin, 'one who distorts his countenance,' which seems a side form of Ga. *sgraing*, 'scowling countenance,' but in sense of 'bold' it may be influenced by N. *sprangja*, 'to walk uprightly.'

sprìod, spurt; is iomadh lùb as an do chuir iad s. = 'they have got over many a winding'; from N. *sprettr*, 'spurt'; spring, bound, run.

sprògail, sprawling: N. *sprökla*, *spraukla*, to sprawl.

starrach, wily, sly, properly 'cross-eyed': used at Scourie in sense of G. *carach*: cf. N. *star* in *star-blindr*, and *stara*, to gaze, have been suggested, but the origin in all likelihood is G. *tar*, across, with prosthetic *s*: *s-tar-ach*; for form cf. *starran*, a crossing-place.

stamhnaich, reduce to order, drub, subject; also *stannadh* in similar sense; to 'stem,' from N. *stafn*, stem (MacBain's *Further Etymologies*).

stràcaire, troublesome fellow, gossip, wanderer: from N. *strákr*, a vagabond.

stìc (*stìg*), a ghostly person: from N. *styggr*, shy, wary.

stéidh (mis-spelt *stéigh*), foundation: from N. *staeði*, establish; Orkney *steeth*, foundation; *steeth*, to found (MacBain's *Further Etymologies*).

stùc, jutting hill; N. *stúka*, wing of a building; cf. however, Ernault's *Notes*, p. 23.

tapag, a name given to a sudden exclamation (Lewis): N. *happ*, good luck.

tapadh, thanks: *tapadh leat*, 'thank you, luck be with thee,' from N. *happ*, as above.

toinn, twist: N. *twinna*, twine; twist thread.

tratan, wiles, disputes (Mull): N. *bráttan*, dispute, difference.

ùchda, harm, injury: *ma dh'iarras i ùchd'sam bith a dheanamh oirre fhēin* (S. Uist): N. *yki*, aggravation.

ulbh, uilbh, you brute! N. *ulfr*, wolf.

ùslaig, ùslainn, an old hag, a wretch: N. *ú-saellingr*, ill-favoured, wretched; Danish, *usling*, a wretch.

úisliginn, whims, properly *dùisliginn*, also *dùisealan*, freaks, from *dùiseal*, which is from N. *dúsa*, to doze.

ballart, boasting, clamour: "probably from N. *ballra*, strepere, *baldrast*, make a clatter (E. *balderdash*)" (MacBain).

blanndaidh, rotten, stale: from N. *blanda*, whey, 'blend.'

bleaghan, dibble; also *pleaghan*; "possibly from N. *blað*, E. *blade*" (MacBain).

brisgein, cartilage: from N. *brjósk*, cartilage.

carbhanach, carp: from N. *karfi*.

coinne, woman, hussey: from N. *kona*, *kvena*, woman.

creigeir, a grapple: "from same derivative of N. *kraekja*, to hook" (MacBain).

cròic, (1) bend in a river, (2) a winding, (3) cast sea-weed, (4) bead on liquor. All from N. *krókr*, crook, with secondary meanings developed.

dail, dale: from N. *dalr*, with like meaning.

dreòlan, v. p. 143, where it is misplaced.

drùb, mouthful of liquid, wink of sleep : from N. *drjúpa*, drip.

durga, surly, sour : from N. *durga*, sulky fellow ; *rg* seems to stand here.

eilean, island : from N. *ey-land*.

gàradh, garden, fence : from N. *garðr*, yard. The Irish *gardha*, formed on W. *gardd*, from O.E. *geard* (Stokes, in *Bezz. Beit.*, 1883).

isbean, sausage : from N. *ispen*, a sausage of lard and suet.

laom, a blaze : from N. *ljómi*, ray.

lobht, loft : from N. *loft*, loft.

meilearach, bent grass : from N. *melr*, with like meaning.

millteach, mountain grass : from N. *melr*, bent grass.

mol, *mul*, a beach of shingle : from N. *möl*, g. *malar*, pebbles on the beach.

òb, a creek, a land-locked bay : from N. *hóp*, land-locked bay ; Sc. *hope*.

òs, mouth of a river : from N. *óss*, river-mouth, pl. *òsan* (Sinclair's *Oranaiche*, p. 417 ; also *òis*, e.g. *ann an òis nan loch*).

pliad, plot of ground (dialectal) : founded on some Norse form, Swedish *plaetti*, a plot of ground (Cameron).

pràmh, *priam*, *prèamh*, (1) spiritual or mental pining, heart-languishing ; (2) the disturbance of sleep which arises therefrom. Not N. as I indicated in the *Celtic Review*, ii. p. 196. Side form of *sream*, Ir. *srám*, 'eye rheum' ; for initials *cf.* *siur*, *piuthar* : *plàm*, *slaman* ; *-pianan*, *-sionnachain*.

rannsaich, search narrowly : from N. *rannsaka*, ransack.

ròc, a hoarse voice : founded on N. *hrókr*, rook, croaker.

ròiseal, bold exploit, foaming surge, impetus of a boat : founded somehow on N. *röst*, a stream or current in the sea. *Luchd nan ròiseal 's nan long luatha 'S nam brataichean dearg is uaine*, they (the company) of bold exploits and of swift vessels and of banners green and red ; but *ro + seöl*, 'big-sails,' is possible.

rug, wrinkle : from N. *hrukka*, wrinkle.

sgailc, bald : from Scandinavian, Swedish *skallig*, bald.

sgalla, *scalla*, a low rock in the sea : from N. *skalli*, a bald head.

sgeigeach, having a prominent chin or beard of strong hair (Sutherland) : from N. *skegg*, a beard ; from *skaga*, jut out, E. shaggy (MacBain).

sgeir, skerry, rock in the sea : from N. *sker*, a rock in the sea.

sgioba, ship's crew : from N. *skip*, a ship.

sgiobair, a skipper : from N. *skipari*, a mariner.

sgòd, sheet of a sail, sheet-rope : from N. *skaut*, the sheet-rope, the sheet or corner of square cloth.

sgreag, dry, parch, shrink : from Norwegian *skrekka*, shrink.

sgridhinn, rocky side of a hill or shore. Of like origin with the following :

sgrìodan, stony ravine, torrent-track, continuous run of stones on a hill-side ; from N. *skriðna*, pl. *skriðna*, a landslip on a hill-side.

sgroill, peeling, paring : from Scandinavian, Dan. *skrael*, peelings or parings.

sgùm, scum : from N. *skúm*, foam.

slàpach, a peeling or paring : from Scandinavian, Dan. *skrael*, peelings (MacBain).

smòg, *smàg*, a paw : from N. *smjùga*, creep through a hole.

sod, steam from boiling water ; Ir. *sod*, boiled meat ; from N. *soð*, broth, or water in which meat has been boiled.

spadair, fop : from N. *spjatra*, behave as a fop.

spàirn, struggle : from N. *sporna*, struggle, kick with the feet (MacBain).

spàrr, beam, joist : from N. *sparri*, a spar. Hence, with G. diminutive *-ag* added, *sparrag*, 'a bridle bit.'

spealg, splinter : from N. *spjalk*, splint.

spéic, a spike : from N. *spík*, a spike.

spiris, hen-roost : from N. *sperra*, a spar, rafter, "with a leaning on G. *iris*, roost" (MacBain).

spitheag, chip, spelk, small bit of wood ; sprain, e.g. *sp̄iac e a chas* ; likely taken from N. *spík*, sprig, spike.

spor, spur, claw : from N. *spori*, a spur ; *spor*, foot trace.

sproig, liveliness : also used as a nickname ; adj.

sprogail, lively ; seemingly from Scandinavian, N.

spraekr, lively. Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair uses *spraic* (v. p. 151 of current edition).

sràid, *stràit*, street : from N. *straeti*, itself from L. *strātā* (via) (K. Meyer).

stac, steep hill ; N. *stakkr*, stack.

stàilinn, steel : from N. *stál*, steel, *stálin*, weapons.

staing, small pointed rock, peg : from N. *stöng*, g. *stangar*, a pole.

stalla, precipice, overhanging rock: from N. *stallr*, pedestal, block or shelf on which another thing is put; stall, v. *stall-phòsaidh*, marriage-altar.

staoig, steak, collop: from N. *steik*.

steòrn, guide: from N. *steòrn*, steering, rule.

strì, strife: from N. *stríð*.

talla, hall: from N. *hall*, with *t* of Gadhelic article prefixed.

tiùrr, beach beyond the tide-mark; *t. feamad*, big heap of sea-weed (Ness); *an t-iùrr*, gravelly bank by a river or promontory; Dan. *örr*.

top, the chief or choice one of a number (used of things or persons): from N. *toppr*, tuft or lock of hair, apex, etc.

ùig, a nook, cove: from N. *vík*. Hence *Ūig* and *Wick*.

VI.

CONTINUATION OF NORSE INFLUENCE.

THAT the Gadhelic language possesses the grandest sea-poem in the whole of the sea-poetry of Britain is due partly to Norse influence. It would tax the noblest language to describe the scenery of the western coast of Scotland, and copious as Gadhelic is in descriptive epithets, its force has been greatly heightened in the portraiture of sea-scape such as meets us in the *Bark of Clanranald*, the celebrated composition of Alexander MacDonald, an eighteenth century poet. The late Dr. Alex. Nicolson, who has given an English rendering in *The Gael*, for February, 1877, rightly says that "the first 181 lines are not only unexceptionable but quite unequalled in the whole poetry of the sea. For word-painting I know nothing to surpass it in any language." It has shortcomings, and yet, in its own order, it reminds one of Schiller's *Lay of the Bell*, inasmuch as "the conception is original, the plan artistic, and the execution to a certain extent, in the highest degree, masterly." As it is not so well known to the world as it deserves, I reproduce Dr. Nicolson's trans-

lation, and then append the words which in the original are loans from the Old Norse, adding those that are due to Latin, and to English and Lowland Scots, for the sake of comparative analysis. Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, as the Highlanders term the poet, was by no means a purist, and often uses words from outside sources when it was not necessary to do so.

Here follows Nicolson's translation; on the opposite page is the original with the Norse words in italics (in the headings these are in roman):

*I.—The Blessing of the Ship.*¹

May God bless the bark of Clan-Ranald,
 The first day she floats on the brine!
 Himself and his strong men to man her,
 The heroes whom none can outshine!
 May the Holy Trinity's blessing
 Rule the hurricane breath of the air,
 And swept be the rough wild waters,
 To draw us to haven fair.

Father, Creator of Ocean,
 Of each wind that blows on the deep,
 Bless our slim bark and our gallants,
 Herself and her crew safe keep.
 And Thou, O Son, bless our anchor,
 Our sails, shrouds, and helm do thou bless,
 Each tackle that hangs from our masts,
 And guide us to port in peace.

¹This noble invocation was probably suggested by the author's knowledge of Bishop Carsewell's Liturgy, which contains a form for the Blessing of a Ship when going to sea, in which each Person of the Trinity is successively invoked, the Steersman taking the place of Chaplain.

The more ancient Roman Ritual also contains a form of prayer for the blessing of a new ship, *Benedictio Novæ Navis*.

[Words from the Norse are in italics (in the headings these are in roman).]

1.—*Beannachadh Luinge, maille ri brosnachadh fairge, a rinneadh do sgioba 's do bhìrlinn tighearna Chlann-Ràghnuill.*

Gu'm beannaicheadh Dia long Chlann-Ràghnuill,

An ceud là do chaidh air sàil :

E féin 's a threun-fhir 'g a caitheadh,

Tréin a chaidh thar maitheas chàich.

Gu'm beannaich' an Co-dhia¹ naomh

Iunnrais anail nan speur,

Gu 'n sguabtadh garbhlach na mara,

Gu 'r tarruinn gu cala réidh.

Athair a chruthaich an fhairge,

'S gach gaoth shéideas as gach àird',

Beannaich ar caol-bhàrc 's ar gaisgich—

Cum i féin 's a gasraidh slàn.

A Mhic, beannaich féin ar n-*acair*,

Ar siùil, ar beairtean, 's ar *stiùir* ;

'S gach *droinip* tha crochta ri'r crannaibh,

'S thoir gu cala sinn le d' iùl.

¹ Coimhdhe, God, Providence.

Our mast-hoops and yards do thou bless,
Our masts and our ropes one and all,
Our stays and our haulyards preserve,
And let no mischance befall.
The Holy Ghost be at the helm,
And show the right track to go,
He knoweth each port 'neath the sun.
On His care ourselves we throw.

II.—The Blessing of the Arms.

God's blessing be upon our swords,
Our keen gray brands of Spain,
Our heavy coats of mail,¹ on which
The sword-sweep falls in vain.

Our gauntlets and our corselets,
Our deftly-figured shields,
Whate'er our belts do carry,
Whatever warrior wields.

Our polished bows of yew-tree,
That bend in battle's din,
Our birchen shafts that split not,
Cased in grim badger's skin.

Bless thou our dirks and pistols,
Our good kilts in their folds,
And every kind of warlike gear
M'Donell's bark now holds!

Be ye not soft nor mild of mood
To face the war of weather,
While four planks of our bark remain,
Or two sticks cling together.

While 'neath your feet she swims, while one
Thole-pin holds up its head,
Yield ye not to the ocean's frown,
Whate'er ye see of dread.

¹ This, of course, is a stretch of imagination, mail armour having gone out of use long before the poet's time.

Beannaich ar *rachdan* 's ar slat,
 Ar croinn 's ar taoda gu léir ;
 Ar *stagh* 's ar tarruinn cum fallain,
 'S na leig-sa 'n ar caraibh beud.
 An Spiorad Naomh bi'dh air an *stùir*,
 Seolaidh e 'n t-iùl a bhios ceart :
 'S eòl da gach long-phort fo'n ghréin—
 Tilgeamaid sinn féin fo 'bheachd.

II.—*Beannachadh nan arm.*

Gu 'm beannaicheadh Dia ar claidhean,
 'S ar lannan spàinnteach géur, glas ;
 Ar lùirichean troma màilich
 Nach gearrteadh le faobhar tais ;
 Ar lamhainnean cruadhach 's ar goirseid,
 'S ar sgiathan ion-dealbhach, dualach :
 Beannaich gach armachd gu h-iomlan,
 Th' air ar n-iomchar, 's ar crios guaille ;
 Ar boghachan foinealach, iubhair,
 Ghabhadh lugha ri uchd tuasaid ;
 'S na saighdean beithe nach spealgadh,
 Ann am balgan a' bhruic ghruamaich.
 Beannaich ar biodag 's ar daga,
 'S ar n-éile gasd' ann an cuaichein ;
 'S gach trealaich cath agus comhraig
 Tha 'm bàrc Mhic-Dhomhnuill 's an uair so.
 Na biodh simplidheachd oirbh no taise,
 Gu dol air ghaisge le cruadal,
 Fhad 's a mhaireas ceithir bùird dhi,
 No bhios càraid *shùdh* dhi fuaighte ;
 Fhad 's a shnamhas i fo 'r casan,
 No dh'fhuir'eas cnag dhi 'n uachdar ;
 Dh' aindeoin aon fhuathas ga'm faic sibh,
 Na meataicheadh gart a' chuain sibh.

If ye fight well, nor let the sea
Aught weakly in you find,
To your stout striving she will yield,
And bow her haughty mind.

Thus to thy foe upon the land
If thou give in no inch,
Look not to see his courage rise,
But rather that it flinch.

And even so with the great sea
When thou hast bravely striven,
She will submit to thee at length,
As wills the King of Heaven.

III.—Incitement for rowing to the Sailing-place.¹

To bring the galley, so black and shapely,
To the sailing-point,
Shove ye out from her the tough blades,
Level, bare and grey,
The smooth-handled oars, well-fashioned,
Light and easy,
That will do the rowing stout and sturdy,
Quick-palmed, blazing,
That will send the surge in sparkles,
Up to skyward,
All in flying spindrift flashing,
Like a fire-shower !
With the fierce and pithy pelting
Of the oar-bank,
That will wound the swelling billows,
With their bending.
With the knife-blades of the white thin oars
Smiting bodies,
On the crest of the blue hills and glens,
Rough and heaving.
O ! stretch ye, and pull, and bend ye,
In the rowlocks,

¹ This metre is, so far as I know, original, invented for "onomatopoeic" effect.

Ma nì sibh cothachadh ceart,
 'S nach mothaich an fhairge sibh diblidh,
 Gu 'n islich a h-ardan 's a beachd,
 'S d'ar cosnadh sgairteil gu 'n striochd i.
 Do chéile-còmhraig air tìr,
 Mur faic e thu cinntinn tais,
 'S doch' e bhogachadh 's an stri,
 Na cinntinn idir na's brais'.
 'S amhuil sin a ta mhuir mhòr :
 Coisinn i le colg 's le sùrd,
 'S umhlaichidh i dhuit fa-dheoidh,
 Mar a dh' orduich Rìgh nan dùl.

III.—Brosnachadh iomraidh gu ionad seolaidh.

Gu' n cuir' an iùbhrach dhubh-dhealbhach
 An àite-seòlaidh :
 Sathaibh a mach cleathan rìghne,
 Liagh-lóm, còmhnard ;
 Ramhan min-lunnacha, dealbhach,
 Socair, aotrom,
 A nì 'n t-iomradh toirteil, calma,
 Bas-luath, caoir-gheal ;
 Chuireas an fhairge 'n a sradaibh
 Suas 's na spéuraibh,—
 'N a teine-shionnachain a' lasadh
 Mar fhras éibhlean.
 Le buillean gailbheacha, tarbhach,
 Nan cléith troma,
 Bheir air na bòc-thonnan onfhach
 Lot le 'n cromadh,
 Le sgeanan nan ràmh geal, tana,
 Bualadh cholluinn
 Air mullach nan gorm-chnoc ghleannach
 Gharbhlach, thomach.
 O ! sinibh, is tàirnidh, is lùbaibh
 Anns na bacaibh

The broad-bladed pinewood saplings,
 With white palm force !
The heavy and the stalwart strong men,
 Leaning on to her,
With their sinewy arms so brawny,
 Knotted, hairy,
That will raise and drop together,
 With one motion,
Her gray glistening shafts all even,
 'Neath the wave-tops !
A stout champion at the fore-oar,
 Crying "Onward !"
A chant that wakens the spirit,
 In the shoulders,
That will thrust the galley hissing
 Through each cold glen,
Cleaving the roaring billows
 With the hard prow,
Driving the mountain monsters,
 On before her.
"Hùgan !" on sea, a shrill slogan,
 Whack on thole-pins !
Crash go the rolling wave-tops
 'Gainst the timbers.
Oars complaining, bloody blisters
 On each strong palm
Of the heroes stout whose rowing,
 White froth churning,
Sends a quiver through each oak plank,
 Wood and iron ;
Blades are tossed about, and clanking
 On her sides rap.
There's the manly crew to rock her,
 Stiff and stately,
And drive on the slender galley
 In face of ocean,
Fronting the bristling blue-black waves
 With strong arm pith !
That's the powerful and the lively crew,
 Behind an oar-bank,

Na gallain bhas-leathann, ghiuthsaich,
 Le lùs ghlac gheal ;
 Na fuirbidhean troma, treuna,
 Luighe suas orr',
 Le 'n gairdeinean dòideach, féitheach,
 Gaoisneach, cnuacach,
 Thogas 's a leagas le chéile,
 Fo aon ghluasad,
 A gaithean liagh-leabhar réidhe
 Fo bhàrr stuadhan ;
 Iorcallach garbh an tùs cléithe
 'G eubhach shuas oirr',
 Iorram dhuisgeas an speurad
 Anns na guaillean ;
 A sparras a' bhàrlinn le séitrich
 Roimh gach fuar-ghleann ;
 A' sgoltadh na bòc-thuinn a' beucaich,
 Le saidh chruaidh, chruim ;
 Dh' iomaineas beanntaichean béisteil
 Roimh dà ghualainn.
 Hùgan air cuan, nuallan gàirich,
 Heig air chnagaibh ;
 Farum le bras-ghaoir na bàirlinn,
 Ris na maidibh ;
 Raimh 'g am pianadh, 's bolgain fhol'
 Air bois gach fuirbibh ;
 Na suinn làidir, gharbha, thoirteil,
 'S cop gheal iomradh,
 Chreanaicheas gach bord dhe' darach—
 Bigh is iarunn ;
 'S lannan 'g an tilgeil le staplainn
 Chnap ri sliasaid ;
 Foirne fearail a bheir tulgadh
 Dugharra, dàicheil ;
 A sparras a' chaol-bhàrc le giùthsaich
 An aodann aibheis ;
 Nach pillear le friogh nan tonn dùbh-ghorm
 Le lùs ghairdean ;
 Sid an *sgìoba* neartmhor, surdail
 Air chùl àlaich ;

That will pound the gray backed eddies
With choice rowing,
Unwearied, unbroken, unbending,
Breasting danger!

IV.—Then when the men were seated at the oars, for rowing under the wind to the sailing point, stout Malcolm, son of Ranald of the Ocean, being on the fore oar, called on them for a boat-song, and this was it:—

Now since you're all chosen,
And ranked in good order,
With a bold stately plunge send her forward!
With a bold stately plunge, etc.

A plunge quick and handy,
Not reckless nor languid,
Keeping watch on the gray briny storm-hills.
Keeping watch, etc.

With a plunge of full vigour,
That will strain bone and sinew,
Let her track gleam behind her in glory!
Let her track, etc.

And to stir up your neighbour,
Raise a song light and cheery,
This good chant from the mouth of your fore-oar.
This good chant, etc.

While rowlocks are grinding,
Palms blistered and shining,
Oars twisting in curls of the billows.
Oars twisting, etc.

Let your cheeks be all glowing,
Hands peeled skin all showing,
Great drops from your brows quickly falling.
Great drops, etc.

Bend, stretch ye, and strain ye
Your fir-shafts of gray hue,
And watch well the salt currents swirling.
And watch well, etc.

A phronnas na cuartagan cùl-ghlas
 Le roinn ramhachd ;
 Gun sgìos, gun airsneal, gun lùbadh
 Ri uchd gàbhaidh.

IV.—An sin, an deigh do na sè-fir-dheug suidhe air na raimh chum a h-ìomradh fo'n ghaoith gu ionad-seolaidh, ghlaodh Calum Garbh, mac Ràghnuill nan Cuan, iorram oirre,¹ 's e air ramh-bràghad, agus 's i so i:—

'S a nis o'n rinneadh 'ur taghadh,
 'S gur coltach dhuibh bhi 'n 'ur roghainn,
 Thugaibh tulgadh neo-chladharra, dàicheil.

Thugaibh tulgadh neo-chearbach,
 Gun airsneal, gun dearmad,
 Gu freasdal na gailbhinne sàil-ghlais.

Tulgadh danarra treun-ghlac,
 Righeas cnàmhan is féithean,
 Dh'fhagas soilleir a ceumannan àlaich.

Sgobadh fonnmhor gun éislein,
 Ri garbh-bhrosnach' a chéile—
 Iorram ghleust' ann am beul fir a bràghad.

Cogull ramh air na bacaibh,
 Leòis is rùsgadh air bhasaibh,
 'S raimh 'g an sniomh ann an achlaisean àrd-thonn.

Biodh 'ur gruaidhean air lasadh,
 Biodh 'ur bois gun leòb chraicinn,
 Fallus mala bras-chnapadh gu làr dhibh.

Sinibh, tàirnibh, is luthaibh
 Na gallain liagh-leabhar ghiubhais,
 'S deanaibh uidhe thro' shruthaibh an t-sàile.

¹ Lit. 'on her'; the translation requires *orra*.

The oar-bank on each side
Churns with labour the brine,
Dashing swift in the face of the surges.
Dashing swift, etc.

Pull clean, as one man,
Cleaving waves at each span,
With hearty good will, and not tardy.
With hearty, etc.

Strike even and steady,
Looking oft to each other,
Wake the life in your sinews and arms.
Wake the life, etc.

Let her good sides of oak
Meet with resolute stroke
The wild bulging glens piled before her.
The wild, etc.

Let the sea gray and surging
Swell with rough angry murmur,
And the high rolling waters go moaning.
And the high, etc.

The wan waters washing
O'er the bows ever dashing,
While streams sigh and welter behind her.
While streams, etc.

Stretch, pull ye, and bend ye
The smooth shafts so slender,
With the pith in your strong arms abiding.
With the pith, etc.

Clear the point there before you,
With brow sweat fast pouring,
Then hoist sail from Uist of wild geese !
Then hoist sail, etc.

V.—They then rowed to the sailing point.

When they now had smartly brought her
To the sailing-point,

Cliath-ràmh air gach taobh dhi
 Masgadh fairge le saothair,
 Dol 'n a still ann an aodann na bàirlinn.

Iomradh comhla, glan, gléusta,
 Sgoltadh bòc-thuinn a' béucaich—
 Obair shunnach, gun éislein, gun fhàrdal.

Buailibh cothromach, treun i,
 Sealltainn tric air a chéile,
 Dùisgibh spiorad 'n 'ur féithean 's 'n 'ur gàird'nibh.

Biodh a darach a' colluinn
 Ris na fiadh-ghleannaibh bronnach,
 'S a dà shliasaid a' pronnadh gach bàirlinn.

Biodh an fhairge ghlas, thonnach,
 'G at 'n a garbh mhothar lonnach,
 'S na h-àrd-uisgeachan bronnach, 's a' gàirich.

A' ghlas-fhairge sìor-chopadh
 Steach mu dà ghualainn thoisich,—
 Sruth ag osnaich o shloistreadh a h-eàrrlinn.

Sinibh, tairnibh, is lùbaibh
 Na gaithean mhìn-lunnach, chùl-dearg,
 Le iomairceadh smùis 'ur garbh-ghairdean.

Cuiribh fothaibh an rubh' ud,
 Le fallus mhaidhean a' sruthadh,
 'S togaibh siùil rith' o *Uist* nan crà-ghiadh.

V.—Dh' iomair iad an sin i gu ionad-seolaidh.

An sin 'n uair thàr iad do'n àite-sheòlaidh,
 Gu fìor ghasda,

They set free the sixteen oars
From the rowlocks,
Laid them quickly at the sides,
Clear of rope pins.
Clanranald then ordered his vassals
That choice ocean hands be provided,
Men whom no terror could frighten,
Or any mischance that could happen.

VI.—It was ordered, after they had been chosen, that every man should go to his own special charge, and accordingly the helmsman was called to sit at the helm in these words:—

Let there sit to steer a weighty champion,
Powerful, free of limb ;
Neither rise nor fall of sea must ever
From his place move him ;
A good sturdy fellow, full of pith,
Thickset, broad-based,
Quick and nice of hand, and careful,
Watchful, wary,
Dexterous, patient, and unflurried
In face of danger.
When he hears the rough sea coming,
With a bellow,
He will keep her head up trimly
To the surges,
He will keep her going steady,
Without waver,
Guiding sheet and tack with looking,
Eye to windward.
A thumbnail's breadth from his right course
He won't diverge,
Spite of crested rollers coming,
That bounding surge,
He will sail to wind so close,
If need he see,
That every bolt, and plank, and timber,
Will creaking be ;

Shaor iad na sè raimh dheug
 A steach tro' bacaibh ;
 Sgathadh grad iad sìos r'a sliasaid,
 Sheachnadh bhac-bhreid ;
 Dh' orduich Clann-Ràghnuill d' a uaislean
 Sàr-sgiobairean cuain a bhi aca,
 Nach gabhadh eagal ro' fhuathas
 No gné thuairgnidh a thachradh.

VI.—Dh' orduicheadh an deigh an taghadh, a h-uile duine dhol an seilbh a ghrama araidh fein, 's 'n a cho-lorg sin, ghlaodhadh ris an stiùreamaiche suidhe air stiùir anns na briathraibh so :—

Suidheadh air *stiùir* trom-laoch leathann,
 Neartmhor, fuasgail',
 Nach tilg bun no bàrr na sumaid
 Fairge bhuaithe ;
 Claireanach taiceil làn spionnaidh,
 Plocach, màsach,
 Min-bheumannach, faicleach,
 Furachail, làn *nàistinn*,
Bunnsaidh cudthromach, garbh, socair,
 Solta, luthmhor ;
 Airmseach, foighidneach, gun ghriobhag
 Rì uchd tùilin ;
 'N uair a chluinn e 'n fhairge ghiobach
 Teachd le bùirein,
 Chumas a ceann-caol gu sgibidh
 Ris na sùghaibh.
 Chumas gu socrach a gabhail,
 Gun dad luasgain ;
 Sgòd is cluas 'g an rian le amharc,
 Sùil air fuaradh ;
 Nach caill aon oirleach na h-ordaig'
 D'a cheart chùrsa,
 Dh' aindeoin bhàrr sumaidean mara
 Teachd le sùrdaig.
 Theid air fuaradh leath' cho daingean,
 Ma's a h-éigin,

He will not flinch, nor yield to panic,
 Whate'er the terror,
Even were the hoary-headed sea
 To his ears upswelling ;
That will not make the hero shudder,
 Nor move his place in,
Where safe he sitteth in the stern,
 The helm embracing,
Keeping watch on the grey-headed sea,
 Old and hoary,
That rolls on in hill and valley,
 Fiercely roaring ;
The bolt-rope of the sail with luffing
 He will not shake,
But with full canvas, he will let her
 Run on and take,
Keeping her on her way so tightly
 O'er billows' crest,
Running on like smoking spindrift,
 Straight to her rest.

VII.—A man to have charge of the rigging was ordered out :—

Let this stout big-fisted man sit
 At the rigging,
He must be sedate and careful,
 Strong-grasped, grippy,
Who will lower down a yard arm
 When squalls frown,
And relieve the mast and rigging,
 Slackening down,
Knowing how the wind is coming,
 For sailing meet,
Answering watchfully his motions
 Who holds the sheet,
Ever helpful to the tackle,
 Lest a rope fail of the rigging,
Stout and hairy.

Nach bi lann no *reang* 'n a darach
 Nach toir eubh asd';
 Nach taisich 's nach teid 'n a bhreislich,
 Dh' aindeoin fuathais,
 Ged dh'atadh a' mhuir cheanna-ghlas
 Suas gu chluasaibh ;
 Nach b' urrainn am fuirbidh chreanachadh
 No ghluasad
 O ionad a shuidhe, 's e tearuint',
 'S *'ailm* 'n a asgail,
 Gu freasdal na seana-mhara cheanna-ghlais,
 'S gleann-gharbh ascaoin ;
 Nach criothnaich le fuaradh-cluaise
 An taod aoire ;
 Leigeas leatha ruith is gabhail,
 'S làn 'n a h-aodach ;
 Cheanglas a gabhail cho daingean
 Am bàrr gach tuinne,
 Falbh dìreach 'n a still gu cala
 'N àird' gach buinne.

VII.—Dh'orduicheadh a mach fear-beairte.

Suidheadh toirtealach garbh-dhòideach
 An glaic beairte,
 A bhios stàideil, làn de chùram,
 Graimpidh, glac-mhor ;
 Leigeas cudthrom air ceann slaite
 Ri àm cruadhaich ;
 Dh' fhaothaicheas air crann 's air acfhuinn—
 Bheir dhaibh fuasgladh ;
 Thuigeas a' ghaoth mar a thig i,
 A reir seòlaidh ;
 Fhreagras mion le fearas-bheairte,
 Beum an *sgòid*-fhir ;
 Sior-chuideachadh leis an acfhuinn
 Mu'm¹ failnich buill-bheairte
 Reamhar ghaoisid.

¹ Mar (in former editions).

VIII.—A man was set apart for the sheet:—

Let a sheet-man on the thwart sit,
Stout and bony,
Hairy, sinewy, and strong
In his fore-arm,
Broad and thick his hands and fingers,
Hard and horny,
To let out the sheet or haul it
With force of scrambling ;
Who will draw it to him in rough weather,
When the squall blows,
But let it out when the wind falls,
Slackening slowly.¹

IX.—A man was set apart for the fore-sheet:—

Let a lusty trim man take his seat,
Smart and handy,
That will work the fore-hoist deftly,
On the wind side ;
That will raise the sail or lower it
To belaying-pin,
According as the breeze may come,
Or crested billow ;
And if he see the tempest rising,
Hear it sighing,
Let him fix down with a tight strong grasp
To the bottom.²

X.—A look-out man was ordered to the bow:—

Let an ocean cloud-seer rise and stand
At the bow,
And let him sure knowledge give us
Of our harbour,

¹The idea is that of sailing before the wind apparently.—G. H.

²It is not very easy to understand the exact rig intended to be described by the poet. Two masts with lug-sails correspond best to the description.

VIII.—*Chuireadh air leth fear-sgòid.*

Suidheadh fear-sgòid air an *tobhtaidh* :
 Gairdean làidir
 Nan righinnean gaoisneach, feitheach,
 Reamhar, cnamhach ;
 Cràgan tiugha, leathann, cliathnach,
 Meoir garbh-chròcach ;
 Mach 's a steach an *sgòd* a leigeas,
 Le neart sgròbaidh ;
 An àm cruadhaich a bheir thuig' e,
 Gaoth ma shéideas ;
 'S 'n uair a ni 'n oiteag lagadh,
 Leigeas béum leis.

IX.—*Dh'orduicheadh air leth fear-cluaise.*

Suidheadh fear cnaparra, taiceil,
 Gasda, cuanda.
 Laimhsicheas a' chluas neo-lapach,
 Air a fuaradh ;
 Bheir imrich sìos 's a suas i
 Chum gach *urracaig*,
 A reir 's mar a thig an soirbheas,
 No bàrr urchaid ;
 'S ma chi e 'n iunnrais ag eirigh,
 Teachd le osnaich,
 Lomadh e gu gramail, treunmhor
 Sìos gu *stoc* i.

X.—*Dh'orduicheadh do 'n toiseach fear-eolais.*

Eireadh mairnealach¹ 'n a sheasamh
 Suas do 'n toiseach ;
 'S deanadh e dhuinn eòlas seasmhach,
 Cala choisneas ;

¹ Mar-nialach (in earlier editions). Irish, *mairn*, 'spy'; *mairnéalach*, 'pilot.'

Let him look to the four quarters
Of the heavens,
And then let him tell the steersman,
“ Right she goeth ; ”
Let him catch and note the landmarks
With keen vision,
Since they and the God of weather
Are our lode-star.

XI.—A man was set apart for the haulyards :—

At the main haulyards let there sit
A man of mettle,
A well-knit, free-limbed, able fellow,
Handsome, comely,
A man careful and not fussy,
Quick and stern,
Who will shorten sail as need is,
Skilful, restless,
Leaning on with heavy pull
To the haulyard,
Bending on his weighty fists
To the timber.
He won't fix the chafing rope
With a tight knot,
But belay it firm and cunning
With a slip-knot ;
Lest when the cry comes to slacken,
It should stop him,
And that it may glide with humming
Off the pin.

XII.—A teller of the waters was set apart, the sea having grown very rough, and the helmsman said to him :—

Let a teller of the waters
Sit beside me,
That will sharply on the wind's heart
Keep his eye.

Sealladh e 'n ceithir àirdean
 Cian an adhair ;
 'S innseadh e do fhear na *stiùrach*,
 'S math a gabhail.
 Glacadh e comharradh tìre
 Le sàr shùil-bheachd,
 O'n 's e sin is dia gach sìde,
 'S is reul-iùil duinn.

XI.—Chuireadh air leth fear air calpa na tairne.

Suidheadh air *calpa* na tairne,
 Fear gun soistinn :
 Snaomanach fuasgailteach, sgairteil,
 Foinnidh, solta ;
 Duine curamach, gun ghriobhag,
 Ealamh, gruamach,
 A bheir uaipe 's dhi mar dh' fheumas,
 Gleusta, luaineach.
 A laigheas le spadhannan troma,
 Treun air taruinn ;
 Air cudthrom a dhòid' a' cromadh
 Dh' ionnsaidh daraich ;
 Nach ceangail le *sparraig* mu 'n *urracaig*
 An taod frithir ;
 Ach gabhail uime daingean, seòlta,
 Le lùb-ruithe ;
 Air eagal, 'n uair sgairteadh an *t-abhsadh*,
 I chur stad air ;
 Los i ruith 'n a still le crònan
 Bhàrr na cnaige.

XII.—Chuireadh air leth fear innse nan uisgeachan, 's an fhairge air cinntinn tuille 's molach ; 's thuirt an stiùreamaiche ris :—

Suidheadh fear innse gach uisge,
 Làmh ri m' chluais-sa ;
 'S cumadh e 'shùil gu biorach
 An cridhe 'n fhuaraidh,—

Choose a man that's somewhat timid,
 Shrewd and cautious,
But I ask not a complete,
 Thorough coward.
Let him watch well to perceive
 Showers to windward,
Whether the squall come at first,
 Or come after,
That he may give warning duly,
 Up to rouse me,
And if he see any danger,
 Not be silent.
If he see a drowning sea
 Coming roaring,
He must shout out "Keep her fine edge"¹
 Swiftly to it."
He must be prudent and cry out
 Loudly, "Breaker!"
Must not from the helmsman hide
 Any danger.
Let there be no water-herald
 But him only,
Fear and babbling wordy tumult
 Cause a panic.

*XIII.—A baler was ordered out, as the sea was breaking over them fore and aft.*²

Set ye to bale out the brine
 An active hero,
Who will never faint nor fear
 For sea roaring,
Who will not get numb or weak
 For cold of brine or hail,
Dashing on his breast and neck
 In chill splashes ;

¹ *I.e.* the line of the keel,—prow or stern.

² Here the imagination of the bard goes ahead, the galley being not yet under sail.

Taghaibh an duine leth-eaglach,
 Fiamhach, sicir ;
 'S cha mhath leam e bhi air fad
 'N a ghealtair riochdail.
 Biodh e furachair, 'n uair chi e
 Fuaradh froise,
 Co-dhiùbh bhios soirbheas 'n a deireadh,
 No 'n a toiseach,
 Gu 'n cuireadh e mis' a'm fhaicill
 Suas 'g am mhosgladh,—
 Ma nì e gnè chunnairt fhaicinn,
 Nach bi tosdach ;
 'S ma chì e coltas muir-bhàite
 Teachd le nuallan,
 Sgairteas cruaidh ceann-caol a fiodha
 Chumail luath ris.
 Biodh e àrd-labhrach, céillidh
 'G eubhach, "*Bairlinn.*"
 'S na ceileadh e air fear na *stiùrach*,
 Ma chì gàbhadh.
 Na biodh fear-innse nan uisge'an
 Ann ach esan :
 Cuiridh griobhag, briot, is gusgul,
 Neach 'n a bhreislich.

*XIII.—Dh' orduicheadh a mach fear-taomaidh, 's an fhairge
 bàrcadh air am muin, rompa 's 'n an deigh.*

Freasdladh air leaba na taoime,
 Laoch bhios fuasgail',
 Nach fannaich gu bràth, 's nach tiomaich
 Le gàir chuantan ;
 Nach lapaich 's nach meataich fuachd, sàile,
 No clach-mheallain,
 Laomadh mu bhroilleach 's mu mhuineal
 'N a fuar-steallaibh,

With a great round wooden vessel
 In his brown fist,
Ever pouring out the water
 In that rushes.
Who won't straighten his strong back
 From firm stiffness,
Till he leave not on her floor
 One drop running,
And though all her boards were leaking
 Like a riddle,
Will keep every bit as dry
 As a cask-stave.

XIV.—Two were ordered for hauling the back-stays, in case the sails might be carried away by the exceeding roughness of the weather.

Set a pair of stout-boned strong men,
 Big-limbed, hairy,
To watch with vigour and keep safe
 The back sail ropes,
With the marrow and the might
 Of their strong arms ;
Who will heave them in or slacken,
 As the need is,
Keep them always straight and trim
 In the middle.
These be Duncan, son of Cormac,
 And John Mac Ian,
Thickset, skilful, and bold fellows,
 Both from Canna.

XV.—Six were chosen as a reserve, in case any of those named should fail or be carried overboard by a sea, so that one of these might take his place :—

Let six rise now, quick and ready,
 Handy, lively,
Who will go, and come, and leap
 Up and down her,

Le crumpa mòr, cruinn, tiugh, fiodha,
 'N a chiar dhòidibh,
 Sior-thilgeadh a mach na fairge,
 Steach a dhòirteas ;
 Nach dìrich a dhruim luthmhor
 Le rag earlaid,
 Gus nach fàg e sile 'n grunnnd,
 No 'n làr a h-earlainn ;
 'S ged chinneadh a buird cho tolltach
 Ris an ridil,
 Chumas cho tioram gach cnag dhi,
 Ri clàr buideil !

*XIV.—Dh' orduicheadh dithis gu draghadh nam ball chul-aoaich,
 's coltas orra gu 'n tugtadh na siuil uatha le ro-ghairbhead na side.*

Cuiribh càraid laidir, chnamh-reamhar,
 Ghairbneach, ghaoisneach,
 Gu 'm freasldadh iad teuruinte, treun, ceart,
 Buill chul-aoaich.
 Le smùis is le meud lùis
 An righean treuna,
 'N àm cruadhaich bheir oirre steach e
 No leigeas beum leis,
 Chumas gu sgiobalta stigh e
 'N a teis-meadhoin.—
 Dh' orduicheadh Donnachadh Mac-Carmaig
 Is Iain mac Iain,
 Dithis starbhanach theoma, ladarn'
 A dh'fhearaibh Chana.

*XV.—Thaghadh séisir gu fearas-ùrlair, an earalas gu'm
 failnicheadh aon fhear de na thubhairt mi, no gu 'n sponadh
 onfhadh na fairge mach thar bòrd e, 's gu 'n suidheadh fear dhiubh
 so 'n a àite.*

Eireadh séisir ealamh, ghleusta,
 Lamhach, bheòtha,
 Shiubhlas, 's a dh' fhalbhas, 's a léumas
 Feadh gach bòrd dhi,

Like a hare on mountain top,
 Dogs pursuing,
 Who can climb the tight hard shrouds
 Of slender hemp,
 Nimbly as the May-time squirrel
 Up a tree-trunk,
 Who'll be ready, agile, brave,
 Active, knowing,
 To take off her and take down,
 In good order,
 Working with good will and spirit
 M'Donell's galley.

XVI.—Everything appertaining to the voyage having now been set in order, each hero went smartly, without fear or reluctance, to the exact place appointed him; and they hoisted sail about sunrise on the day of the Feast of St. Bride,¹ bearing out from the mouth of Loch Eynort in South Uist:—

The sun bursting golden yellow
 From his cloud-husk ;
 Then the sky grew tawny, smoky,
 Full of gloom ;
 It waxed wave-blue, thick, buff-speckled,
 Dun and troubled ;
 Every colour of the tartan
 Marked the heavens.²
 A rainbow "dog"³ is seen to westward—
 Stormy presage ;
 Flying clouds by strong winds riven,
 Squally showers.
 They lifted up the speckled sails,
 Towering, tight,
 And they stretched the rigid shrouds up
 Tense and stiff,

¹ 1st February.

² This is intensely Celtic, and vividly true.

³ The lower part of a rainbow, seen in an angry sky, is so called by sailors.

Mar ghearr-fhiadh am mullach sléibhe
 'S coin 'g a còpadh.
 A streapas ri cruaidh bhallaibh réidhe
 De 'n chaol-chòrcaich,
 Cho grad ri feòragan céitein
 Ri crann rò-choill.
 Bhios ullamh, ealamh, treubhach,
 Falbhach, èlach,
 Gu toirt dhi, 's gu toirt an *abhsaidh*,
 'S clabhsail òrdail—
 Chaitheas gun airsneal, gun éislein,
 Long Mhic-Dhomhnuill.

*XVI.—Bha h-uile goireas a bhuineadh do 'n t-sèòladh a nis air
 a chur an deagh riaghailt, agus theann na h-uile laoch tapaidh,
 gun taise, gun fhiamh, gun sgàth, thun a' cheart ionaid an d'
 òrduicheadh dha dol: 's thog iad na siùil an eirigh na gréine,
 La-fheill-Brighde—a' togail a mach bho bhun Loch-Aoineart an
 Uist a' chinn-a-deas.*

Grian a' faoisgneadh gu h-òrbhuidh
 As a mogul ;
 Chinn an speur gu dubhaidh, dòite,
 Làn a dh'og'achd ;
 Dh' fhàs i tonn-ghorm, tiugh, tàrr-lachdunn
 Odhar, iargalt ;
 Chinn gach dath bhiodh ann am breacan,
 Air an iarmailt ;
 Fadadh-cruaidh 's an aird-an-iar oirr'—
 Stoirm 'n a coltas ;
 'S neoil shiubhlach aig gaoth 'g an riasladh—
 Fuaradh-frois' oirr'.—
 Thog iad na siùil bhreaca,
 Bhaidealacha, dhionach ;
 'S shìn iad na *calpannan* raga,
 Teanna, righne,

To the tall and stately masts,
 Red and resinous :
They were tied so taut and knotty,
 Without blunder,
Through the iron eyelet holes
 And the round blocks.
They fixed every rope of rigging
 Quick in order,
And each man at his place sat down,
 To watch smartly.
Opened then the windows of the sky,
 Spotted, gray-blue,
For blowing of the gurdy wind
 And the storm bands,
And the dark-gray ocean all around him
 Drew his mantle—
His rough woolly robe of dun-black,
 Horrid, flowing :
It swelled up in mountains and in glens,
 Rough and shaggy,
Till the tumbling sea was roaring
 All in hills up.
The blue deep opened up its jaws
 Wide and threatening,
Pouring up against each other
 In deadly struggle ;
A man's deed it was to look at
 The fiery mountains,
Flashes of wild fire sparkling
 On each summit.
In front the high hoary surges
 Came fiercely raving,
And the hind seas onward swelling,
 Hoarsely bellowed.
Every time we rose up grandly
 On the wave-tops,
Need was then to lower sail
 Quick and smartly ;
When we sank into the glens,
 With a gulp down,

Ri fiodhannan àrda, fada,
 Nan colg bìdhearg ;
 Cheangladh iad gu gramail, snaompach,
 Gu neo-chearbach,
 Thro' shùilean nan cromag iaruin,
 'S nan cruinn aillbheag.
 Cheartaich iad gach ball de 'n acfhuinn,
 Ealamh, dòigheil,
 'S shuidh gach fear gu freasdal tapaidh,
 Bhuill bu chòir dha.
 An sin dh'fhosgail *uinneagan* an adhair,
 Ballach, liath-ghorm,
 Gu séideadh na gaoithe greannaich,
 'S bannail, iargalt.
 Tharruinn an cuan a bhrat dùbh-ghlas
 Air gu h-uile,
 Mhantul garbh, caiteanach, ciar-dhubh,
 Sgreataidh buinne.
 Dh' at e 'n a bheannaibh 's 'n a ghleannaibh
 Molach, robach
 Gu 'n do bhòc an fhairge *cheigeach*.
 Suas 'n a cnocaibh.
 Dh' fhosgail a' mhuir ghorm 'n a craosaibh
 Farsuinn, cràcach ;
 An glaicibh a chéile ri taosgadh—
 'S caonnag bhàsmhor.
 Gu 'm b' fhear-ghniomh bhi 'g amharc an aodann
 Nam maom teinntidh—
 Lasraichean sradanach sionnachain
 Air gach beinn diubh.
 Na beulanaich àrda, liath-cheann,
 Ri searbh bheucail.
 Na cùlanaich 's an cladh dùdaidh
 Ri fuaim gheumnaich.
 'N uair dh' eireamaid gu h-allail
 Am bàrr nan tonn sin,
 B' éigin an *t-abhsadh* a bharradh
 Gu grad phongail.
 'N uair thuiteamaid le aon slugadh
 Sios 's na gleanntaibh,

Every stitch of sail she had
 Was hauled to mast top.¹
The high, broad-skirted, heaving waves
 Came on raging,
Before ever they were near us
 We heard them roaring,
Sweeping bare the smaller waves
 As with scourges,
Making one great deadly sea,
 Dire for steering.
When we fell down from the crest
 Of shaggy billows,
Almost did our keel then smite
 The shelly bottom,²
The sea churning and swishing,
 All through other.
Then were seals and great sea monsters
 Sorely troubled,
The swell and surges of the sea,
 And ship's going,
Spattered their white brains about
 Through the water,
While they howled aloud in terror,
 Bitter moaning,
Crying to us, "We are subjects,
 Drag us on board."
All the small fish of the sea
 Turned up, speckled,
Dead in myriads with the roll
 Of the ocean.
The stones and shell-fish from below
 Floated upward,

¹ This practice is followed in Shetland and elsewhere.

² At this point the bard's Pegasus runs away with him for a while into the depths of extravagance. Possibly the first suggestion came from the old rhyme about the "Iubhrach Bhallach," in the Story of the Knight of the Red Shield (Campbell, vol. ii. p. 436), "An fhaochag chrom chlar, A bha shios an grunnnd an aigein, Bheireadh i snag air a beul-mòr, Agus cnag air a h-ùrlar."

Bheirteadh gach seol a bhiodh aic'
Am bàrr nan crann di.
Na ceosanaich àrda, chroma,
Teachd 's a' bhàirich ;
Mu 'n tigeadh iad idir 'n ar caraibh,
Chluinnte' 'n gàirich ;
Iad a' sguabadh nan tonn beaga,
Lom 'g an sgiursadh,
Chinneadh i 'n a h-aon mhuir bhasmhoir,—
'S càs a *stiùradh*.
'N uair a thuiteamaid fo bhàrr
Nan àrd thonn giobach,
Gur beag nach dochainneadh a sàil
An t-aigeal sligheach.
An fhairge 'g a maistreadh 's 'g a sloistreadh
Throimh a chéile.
Gu 'n robh ròin is miala mòr'
Am barrachd éigin :
Onfhadh is tonnadh na mara,
'S falbh na luinge,
Sradadh an eanchainnean geala,
Feadh gach tuinne.
Iad ri nuallanaich àrd-uamhannaich,
Searbh-thursach,
Ag eubhach, gur iochdarain sinne,
Dragh chum bùird sinn.
Gach mion-iasg bha 's an fhairge
Tàrr-gheal tionndaidht',
Le gluasad confhach na gailbhinn,
Marbh gun chunntas.
Clachan is maorach an aigeil
Teachd an uachdar ;

Torn up by the rattling swell
Of the proud sea.
The whole deep, like mess of gruel,
Foul and turbid,
With blood and filth of helpless monsters,
Of bad red colour,
The great, horny, clawy creatures,
Broad-pawed, clumsy,
All strange head from mouth to gills,
Throats a-gaping,
The whole deep was full of spectres,
All a-crawling,
With the paws and tails of monsters,
All a-sprawling.
Horrid was the screeching, groaning,
To give ear to,
That would drive to sheer distraction
Fifty warriors.
The crew lost all sense of hearing,
With the listening
To the screeching chant of demons,
And beast uproar,
The under-noise of the sea dashing
'Gainst the galley,
The upper noise of the bow plashing
Among sea-pigs ;
While the wind renewed its blowing
From the westward.
With every kind of trying torment
We were troubled,
Blinded with the spray of surges,
Dashing o'er us,
All the night long, awful thunder
And fierce lightning,
Fire-balls burning in the rigging
And the tackle,
With a brimstone smoke and smell,
Fairly choking ;

Air am buain a nuas le slachdraich
A' chuain uaibhrich.
A fhairge uile 's i 'n a brochan,
Strioplach, ruaimleach ;
Le fuil 's le gaorr nam biast lorcach,
Droch dhath ruadh oirr'.
Na biastan adharcach iongach,
Pliutach, lorcach,
Làn cheann—sian¹ am beoil gu 'n gialaibh,
'S an craos fosgailt'.
An aibheis uile lan bhòcan,
Air cragradh ;
Le spogan 's le earbaill² mhòr-bhiast
Air magradh.
Bu sgreamhail an ròmhan sgriachach,
Bhi 'g a éisdeachd,
Thogadh iad air caogad mìlidh
Aotruim' ceille.
Chaill an *sgio*ba càil d'an claiستهachd,
Ri bhi 'g éisdeachd
Ceilearadh sgreadach nan deomhan,
'S mothar bhéistean.
Faghair na fairge, 's a slachdraich,
Gleachd r'a darach ;
Fosghair a toisich a' sloistreadh
Mhuca-mara ;
Ghaoth ag urachadh a fuairidh
As an iar-àird ;
Bha sinn leis gach seòrsa buairidh,
Air ar pianadh.
Sinn dallta le cathadh fairge
Sior dhol tharainn ;
Tairneanach aibheiseach ré oidhche,
'S teine-dealain.
Peileirean beithrich a' losgadh
Ar cuid acfhuinn,
Fàileadh is deathach na riofa
'G ar glan-thachdadh.

¹ *sian*, 'shout, scream.'

² Dialectal : *urball*.

The upper and the under powers
 Warring with us,
Earth and fire, and wind and water,
 Raised against us.
But when it defied the sea
 To subdue us,
She took pity with a smile,
 And made peace.
Yet was no mast left unbent,
 Sail untorn,
Yard unsplit, or hoop unhurt,
 Oar uninjured ;
Not a stay was left unsprung,
 Shroud unstrained,
Nail or coupling left unbroken,
 Fishy! Fishy!
Not a thwart or bit of gunwale
 But bore token,
Everything of gear or tackle
 In her weakened,
Not a knee or timber in her
 But was loosened ;
All her bends and timber couplings
 Were quite shaken,
Not a tiller was unsplit,
 Helm unbroken,
Every stick in her was creaking,
 And disordered,
Every treenail in her drawn,
 And plank⁴ damaged,
Every nail without a rivet
 Could be lifted :
Not a rope there was unloosened,
 Nor spike unbent,
Not a thing pertaining to her
 But was worsened !
The sea cried peace with us at length
 At Islay Sound Cross,¹

¹No part of the Sound of Islay, so far as I can ascertain, is now known by this name. There may have been a cross on the coast there in Macdonald's time.

Na dùilean uachdrach is iochdrach,
 Ruinn a' cogadh ;
 Talamh, teine, 's uisge, 's sian-ghaoth
 Ruinn air togail.
 Ach 'n uair dh' fhairtlich air an fhairge
 Toirt oirnn strìochdadh,
 Ghabh i truas le faite gàire,
 Rinn i sìth ruinn.
 Ged rinn, cha robh crann gun lubadh,
 Seol gun reubadh,
 Slat gun sgaradh, *rachd* gun fhailinn,
 Ràmh gun éislein ;
 Cha robh *stagh* gun stuadh-leumnadh,
 Beairt gun¹ ghaise,
 Tarrann no cupladh gun bhrìsteadh—
 Fise, faise !
 Cha robh *tobhta* no beul-mòr ann
 Nach d' thug aideach ;
 Bha h-uile crannaghail is goireas
 Air an lagadh.
 Cha robh achlais no aisinn dì
 Gun fhuasgladh ;
 A slat bheoil 's a *sguitichean* asgail
 Air an tuairgneadh.
 Cha robh *falmadair* gun sgoltadh,
Stiùir gun chreuchdadh,—
 Cnead is dìosgan aig gach maide,
 'S iad air dèasgadh.
 Cha robh crann-tarrann gun tarruinn,
 Bòrd gun obadh,—
 H-uile lann a bh' air am barradh,
 Ghabh iad togail.
 Cha robh tarrann ann gun traladh,
 Cha robh *calp'* ann gun lùbadh,—
 Cha robh aon bhall a bhuineadh dhi-se
 Nach robh na 's miosa na thùbhradh !
 Ghairm an fhairge sìochaint ruinne
 Air crois Chaol Ile ;

¹ Ghaisidh, a ghaisidh (in early editions).

And the harsh-voiced wind was bidden
 To give over.
She lifted from us to high regions
 Of the heavens,
And the sea, a smooth white table,
 Ceased from barking.
Thanks we gave to the High King
 Of the elements,
Good Clan-Ranald who preserved
 From death horrid ;
Then we took down the thin sails,
 Speckled canvas,
Let down the fine smooth red masts
 Along her floor,
Shoved out the slim, shining oars,
 Smooth and coloured,
Of the fir M'Barras cut
 In Finnan Island ;¹
And we rowed with steady swinging,
 Without failing,
To good harbour 'neath the heights
 Of Carrick Fergus.
We cast anchor at our leisure
 In the roads there,
And took meat and drink in plenty,
 And abode there.

¹The island in Loch Sheil, Moidart.

- 'S gu'n d' fhuair a' gharbh-ghaoth, shearbh-ghloir-
each,
Ordugh sinidh
Thog i uainn do ionadaibh uachdrach
An adhair ;
'S chinn i dhuinn 'n a clàr réidh, mìn-gheal,
An deigh a tabhann.
'S thug sinn buidheachas do 'n Ard-rìgh
Chum na dùilean,
Deagh Chlann *Ràghnuill* a bhi sàbhailt
Bho bhàs brùideil.
'S an sin bheum sinn na siùil thana,
Bhallach, de thùilinn ;
'S leag sinn a croinn mhìn-dhearg, ghasda,
Air fad a h-urlair.
'S chuir sinn a mach raimh chaola, bhasgant',
Dhaite, mhìne,
De 'n ghiuthas a bhuain Mac Bharais
An *Eilein*-Fhionain.
'S rinn sinn an t-iomradh réidh, tulganach,
Gun dearmad ;
'S ghabh sinn deagh long-phort aig barraibh
Charraig-Fhearghuis.
Thilg sinn *acraichean* gu socair
Anns an ròd sin ;
Ghabh sinn biadh is deoch gun airceas,
'S rinn sinn còmhnuidh.

The original possesses about 33 words from the Norse; one of the words, the island-name *Canaidh*, shows Norse influence in its ending, where *-aidh* reflects the N. *ey*, 'island,' while *cana*, as such, seems the old native word for porpoise.

<i>Gadhelic.</i>		<i>Norse.</i>
acair (<i>cf.</i> acarsaid),	anchor, - - -	akkeri
ailm, failm, - - -	helm, - - -	hjálm.
abhsadh, - - -	slackening the sail, -	hálsa.
bailc, - - -	rainy sky, - - -	belker (?).
birlinn, - - -	galley, - - -	byrðing-r.

<i>Gadhelic.</i>		<i>Norse.</i>
bàirlinn, - -	wave, breaker, - -	bāra, 'wave billow.'
bunnsaidh, - -	thick-set man, - -	bunksi, bungsi, 'a stout and clumsy person.'
calpa (na tàirne), -	lit. calf, - -	kálfi.
ceòsanaich, - -	drizzling surges ; founded on (?)	kjós, 'a hollow.'
cnap, - - -	knob, - - -	knappr.
droinip (see under V. 12), - -	tackle, rigging ; through * <i>d-reið-reip</i> ,	reiði-reip, 'rigging rope.'
eilean, - - -	island, - - -	eyland.
Eynort, also Aoineart, where the ending is from N. <i>fjorð</i> , and the first part N. <i>Eyvind</i> , a personal name.		
falmadair (<i>v. ailm</i>),	tiller, - - -	hjálm. [roller.]
lunnacha, adj. fr. <i>lunn</i> ,	- - -	hlunnr, 'launching
nàistinn, - - -	wariness, - - -	njós, 'spying, looking out.'
oglachd, - - -	ugliness, surliness, -	uggligr.
rachdan, - - -	ring that ties the yard to the mast,	rakki (with G. suffix -an).
Raonull, Raghnull,	Ronald, - - -	Rögnavd-r.
reang, - - -	boat-rib, - - -	röng, gen. rangar, 'a ship-rib.'
sgioba, - - -	crew, - - -	skip ('ship').
sgiobaire, - - -	skipper, - - -	N. skipari, 'a mariner.'
sglobalta, - - -	clever, neat, founded on N. skipa, 'put in order.'	
sgòd, - - -	sheet of a sail, sheet- rope,	skaut.
sparraig, - - -	tight knot ; joist, beam,	sparri (with G. suffix -ag).
stagh, - - -	a stay in the ship's rigging,	stag.
stoc, - - -	stock, trunk, - - -	stokkr, 'mast-step, gunwale.'
stiùir, - - -	steer, - - -	stýra.
stiùreamach,-	steersman (formed from preceding).	

<i>Gadhelic.</i>		<i>Norse.</i>
stapluinn (see under V. 12),	-	roar, or noise of the sea,
sūdh (misspelt <i>sūgh</i>),	- -	seam between a vessel's planks,
		suð, 'suture,' for clinchng a ship's boards.
tobhta,	- -	a thwart, a rower's bench,
Uidhist,	- -	— - - - - I-vist.
uinneagan,	- -	windows, - - - vind-auga.
urracag,	- -	ring near the thole-pin, founded on N. <i>urga</i> (with double Gadh. diminutive suffixes added).

To be added is *sguit*, 'the footboard in a boat,' for which no derivation has hitherto been proposed; in the *B̄irlinn* the plural occurs in the phrase: 'A slat-bheòil 's a sguitichean-asgail,' *i.e.* 'her bow-sprit and her foot-board cross-ribs (cross-yards).' I take it to be from N. *skutr*, pl. *skutir*, 'the stern,' and that this also is the origin of *sgud*, G. *sguid*, 'ship,' which is given in Armstrong's *Dictionary* and in Dinneen's *Irish Dictionary*, though possibly the latter may be from N. *skúta*, Danish *skude*, a small craft or cutter, such as used to accompany a fleet for use on rivers or on the coasts, while *byrdingr*, whence G. *b̄irlinn*, was used to carry the supplies. *Sguit* cannot be founded on E. switch, which becomes G. *sguits*; for E. *w* becoming *g* or *c* compare Whigs, which is the *Cuigse* of Donnchadh Ban Mac an t-Saoir's poems. Another phrase in the *B̄irlinn* is *an fhairge cheigeach*, 'the shaggy sea,' where we have the adjective from the noun *ceig*, 'a mass of shag, clot,' from a side-form of the root in Swedish *kagge*, 'a round mass, a thick

and short body'; *keg*, corpulent man or animal, whence E. *keg*; Eng. Dial. *cag*, 'a stump,' cognate with Lithuanian *žaginai*, palisades. A diminutive from this loan is G. *ceigein*, 'a fat man, a tuft.'

In the same poem we have the following (30) from the Latin :

<i>Gadhelic.</i>		<i>Latin.</i>
athair, 'air,'	- — - - -	aer.
aibheis,	- - O.Ir. abis, - -	abyssus.
aigeal, - -	- - dialectal for <i>aigeann</i> , -	oceanus.
achlasan,	- - fr. G. achlais, 'arm-pit,' from	axilla.
ascail, - -	- - 'arm-pit,' by meta-thesis from	axilla.
bàrc, - -	- - a bark, - - -	barca.
beannaich,	- - bless, - - -	benedico.
béisteil,	- - fr. béist, - - -	bestia.
ceilearadh,	- - E. Ir. celebrad, joyous observance,	celebratio.
clann, - -	- - children, clan, through Brythonic <i>plant</i> , fr.,	planta.
crois - -	- - — - - - -	crux.
deomhan	- - — - - - -	daemon.
iarmailt,	- - through *fiarmaint,	firmamentum.
Iorcullach,	- - from Iorcall, founded on	Hercules.
ladarn,	- - M.Ir. latrand, 'robber,'	latro, latronis.
laoch, - -	- - — - - - -	laicus.
longphort,	- - ship-port; encampment,	portus.
lùirichean,	- - 'coats of mail,' fr. lùireach,	lòrica.
maistreadh,	- - 'churning,' the verb is founded on	mistura.
mìlidh,	- - E.Ir. milid, - -	miles, militis.
obair, - -	- - — - - - -	opera.
òrdugh,	- - — - - - -	òrdo.
planadh,	- - — - - - -	poena.

<i>Gadhelic.</i>		<i>Latin.</i>
pongail,	- through <i>punc</i> , 'point, note,'	punctum.
sàbhailt,	- from sàbhail,	salvare.
saighdear,	- M.Ir. saigdeoir,	sagittarius.
simplidheachd,	- 'simple,' with Gadh. suffix,	simplex.
spadhannan,	- 'quick and strong pulls'; primarily 'the space' between the outstretched arms,	spatium.
spiorad,	- - - - -	spiritus.
still,	- fr.L. <i>stilus</i> , or if taken as pl. of <i>steall</i> ,	stillo.

From English or Lowland Scots we have :

bùird,	- pl. of bord, from	O.E. bōrd (or N.-borð)
brùideil,	- fr. brùid, from	E. brute.
boghachan,	- pl. of bogha, from	bow.
baidealach,	- 'bannered,' fr. <i>baideal</i> , 'tower,' fr.	E. battle-ment.
buideil,	- - - - -	E. bottle.
cop,	- 'foam,'	O.E. copp, 'top.'
còpadh,	- 'catching,'	E. cop, 'to catch,' etc.
cnag,	- 'peg,'	E. knag.
A Norse origin is here possible,		Sw. <i>knagg</i> , Dan. <i>knag</i> .
cupladh,	- - - - -	E. couple, coupling.
cùrsa,	- - - - -	E. course.
clabhsail,	- fr. <i>clabhsa</i> ,	E. close.
daga,	- - - - -	M.E. dag, 'pistol.'
deil,	- 'plank, deal,'	E. deal.
draghadh,	- - - - -	E. drag, 'draw.'
Norse <i>draga</i> is also possible.		
gialan,	- pl. of <i>giall</i> , jaw, cheek, jowl,	O.E. ceaff (very doubtful).
gòirseid, gòrsaid,	- 'cuirass,'	E. gorget.
grunnd,	- bottom,	Sc. grund, 'bottom or channel in water.'
màilich,	- - - - -	E. mail.
mantul,	- - - - -	E. mantle.

<i>Gadhelic.</i>	<i>English or Lowland Scots.</i>
masgadh, - - — - -	Sc. mask, 'mix.'
plocach, - - founded on - -	E. block.
rideal, - - - — - - -	E. riddle.
riof, - - - reef of a sail, - -	E. reef.
ròd, - - - — - - -	M.E. rode, 'road.'
sgiùrsadh, - - founded on - -	M.E. scourge.
sicir, - - - — - - -	Sc. sicker.
sùmaid, - - founded on - -	E. summit.
stà, - - - founded on - -	E. stay.
soistinn, - - 'effeminacy, dilly-dallying,' founded on	Sc. sosh, 'snug, social.'
stoirm, - - — - - - -	M.E. storm.
	Norse <i>stormr</i> is also likely.
seòrsa, - - -	E. sort.
thùilinn, - - na sìthil . . . thùilinn, 'sails of twilled canvas,'	Sc. tweeling, twedlin.

The Norse element even in this sea-piece is not in excessive disproportion to other influences which are at work in the language whose rich vocabulary absorbs them.

There is another poet, contemporary with Macdonald, and his very name, John MacCodrum (1710-1796), testifies to his Norse extraction, the surname being the Norse *Guttormr*, 'good or god-serpent.' He was personally known to his North Uist neighbours as *Iain Mac Fhearchair 'Ic Iamhair*, John, son of Farquhar son of Iver. The latest editor of his poems records that MacCodrum's native district bears distinct traces of Norse influence in its legendary lore, and that the name of the god Odin survives in *Caisteal Odair* (Odin's Castle), still pointed out on the farm of Grīminish (Grim's ness). There is there also *Leum Odair* (Odin's leap)—twelve miles long!—showing the gigantic marks

of the god's heels, while *Ceann Odair* (Odin's head) records the burial-place assigned him in folk-tradition. North Uist legend speaks of his clan as *Clann 'Ic Codrum nan rōn*, the Clan MacCodrum of the Seals. In past times the seal rock of Haskeir was a valuable asset: the seal oil was used for the various purposes for which oil serves, the seal skins were made into home-made harness, and the leanest of the flesh was cooked and eaten. The seals were here held to be the children of a Scandinavian king under spells, an idea which the Rev. Arch. MacDonald inclines to derive from the large full soft eye of the seal, with its appealing semi-human expression. "Hence on one occasion a hunter aiming at a seal with his gun or bow heard the creature begin to sing, in a voice of supernatural beauty, a song lamenting the loss of her dear ones, of which the following are the chorus and a verse:

Ho i ho-o hi-o-hao (thrice)
 Cha robh mise m'ònar an raoir.
 'S mise nighean Aoidh Mhic Eoghain
 Gur èdlach mi air na sgeirean ;
 Gur maig a dheanadh mo bhualadh
 Bean uasal mi a tir eile.

Upon hearing this the hunter retired, not a little astonished at what he had heard."¹

These verses signify :

Ho i ho-o hi-o-hao (thrice)
 I was not alone last night.
 I am the daughter of Aodh mac Eoghain,
 Well do I know the Skerries ;
 Woe betide him who would me strike,
 A noble dame am I from another land !

¹ *The Uist Collection: The Poems and Songs of John MacCodrum, etc.*, by the Rev. Archibald Macdonald, Glasgow, 1894, pp. v-vi.

The Rev. Mr. MacDonald is of opinion that the connection of the seal with the Norse mythology in Uist is seen in this fact, "that at the time of the annual visit to the seal-rock—*Bualadh na Sgeire*—a horse-racing was held in the district, and there are many still living who remember it, which was called *An Odaidh*. There can be little doubt that this function was the survival of a Pagan festival in honour of the Scandinavian god Odin, who was so much connected with the district, and that its observance was continued as a propitiation for the slaughter of the seals." This derivation is inconsistent, however, with the editor's further supposition that the *Clann Ic Odrum* (*recte* *Codruim*) "were originally *Clann Odain*, afterwards *Clann Mhic Odain*, which was easily transformed into *Mac Odrum*." This is folk etymology: yet the *oda*, *odaidh*, 'horse-racing,' goes back on the N. *hesta-at*, 'horse-fight,' a favourite sport of the ancient Scandinavians. I have an engraving before me as I write of a similar sport in the 'horse-biting' of Iceland, figured in Axel Olrik's *Nordisches Geistesleben* (p. 131). On the other hand the sept's name is properly *Clann Mhic Codruim*, and goes back on the N. *Guttorm-r*, which, being unknown to the people, would readily yield to the familiar Odin when folk-etymology sought for a plausible derivation.

Mr. MacDonald adds an interesting note to the effect: "It was said that a woman of the same surname, and probably lineage as the bard, used to be seized with violent pains at the time of the annual seal hunt, out of sympathy, it was supposed, with her suffering relatives."¹

¹ *Ib.* vii.ⁿ

The verses of the Skye bard, Maclure (Mac-a-Leoir), who came to satirise MacCodrum, commemorate the association with seals :

Iain 'Ic Fhearchair 'Ic Codruim nan ròn
 A thòisich air an droch ceàird,
 Ard-éisg nan droch fhilidh,
 Is mithich dhomhs' do thilleadh tràth.

i.e. "John, son of Farquhar, son of Guttorm of the Seals, who hast taken up with the wicked art, head-satirist of the evil poets, it is proper for me to repel thee early!"

The MacCodrums, says legend, were metamorphosed into seals. They retained, along with the amphibious shape, the human soul, and at times, human form. They were seals by day and human creatures by night. No MacCodrum, for all the world, would, if in his proper senses, fire a gun at a seal.¹ With reference to this idea of metamorphosis, the following plaintive verses may be cited :

1. Ann an Caolas Od Odrum far an caidleadh na ròn
 Far nach cluinnteadh guth duine ach fuaim tuinne s glag
 gheòidh
2. Sinn gun doille no soillse, sinn gun oidhche no lù
 Air ar fuadach feadh stuaghan is air ar fuaradh troimh cheò
3. Mar mhuime 'g altrum a pàisdean 's i 'g an tàladh gu ciùin
 Gu bheil tulgadh nan cuantan 'g ar sior luaineadh 'n ar suain
4. Gur a h-ùr-gheal ar n-uirigh an còir ionar a' chaoil
 'S gur a cùbhraidh an clò-cadail bhi an caidreamh mo ghaoil
5. An ròn uasal ag gusgal 's an eala 'guileag ri thaobh
 'S a' mhaighdean ghuanach a' bruadal ann an uaigneas m'a gaol
6. 'S ann an duthaich an eòrna cha sguir còmhrag no eug
 S gum bidh dèruinn chloinn-daoine a chaidh a sior dol a
 meud
7. Ach bidh mise 's mo leannan a chaidh air aineol fo'n tonn
 S cha ruig arsneul no aog² oirnn gu là dùsgadh nan sonn.

¹ *V. Dr. Nicolson's note in Gaelic Proverbs.*

² *Alternative (when the bar is re-sung): aois, 'age.'*

While it is not possible for me to translate the effect of the original in anything like its complete magic, the following may partly, but feebly if at all, convey the feeling of this Lullaby of the Seal-Maiden who carried off her loved one from among the abodes of men, here called the Land of the Barley, a term sometimes applied to Uist. It is *gessa* or taboo for her that the sun shine on him whom she has carried off. Her life is in the shadowy Other-World of the Waters :

In the Kyles of Od Odrum where the seals are a-sleeping,
 On the waves the geese greeting, but no mortal near me,
 Without day, without darkness, without night, without brightness,
 Far vexed on the billows we are tossed on the sea.
 As a dear mother soothing her children when weeping,
 The low lash of ocean is our fond lullaby.
 And fair white our pillow, and soft is our slumber,
 Oh, sweet be the meeting with my love by my knee.
 The Seal's cry ! I hear it, the swan's note resounding,
 And the maiden in dreams her fond lover sees.
 In the Land of the Barley men's sorrows may waken,
 The world's woes may ripen, the world's woes may stay.
 But me and my loved one ever roam 'neath the breakers,
 Deathless and ageless until the awakening day.

A name for an old female seal in the Outer Hebrides is *Brimmald*, which comes from the Viking period; *cf.* Shetland *brimmald*, an old female seal: the first part is O. Norse *brim* = O.E. *brim*, the sea; *cf.* the place-name *Bremen*; root as in Sanskrit *bhram*, to move to and fro, be in unsteady motion. The meaning is *sea-walker*.

Let me adduce a West Irish legend as to seal-metamorphosis :

“ In very ancient times some of the clan Coneely,

one of the early septs of the county, was changed by 'art magick' into seals; since then no Coneely can kill a seal without afterwards having bad luck. Seals are called Coneelys, and on this account many of the name changed it to Connolly" (Mr. Kinahan in *Folklore Journal*, ii. 259; *Folklore Record*, iv. 104). According to a note in Gomme's work, the islanders of Achill seem to consider that they were descended from seals; cf. Hardiman's notes to O'Flaherty's *Description of West or H-iar Con-naught*. There is a Seal Island off Donegal; there are some Shetland legends of the seal (*Soc. Antiq. Scot.* i. 86-89). Seals are eaten for food in Harris (Martin's *Western Isles*, 36), and one, called the Virgin Mary's Seal, is offered to the minister (Reeves's *Adamnan*, 78, note g). The attitude of the Irish to seals is shown :

"At Erris, in Ireland, seals are considered to be human beings under enchantment, and they consider it unlucky to have anything to do with seals, and to have one live near their dwelling is considered as productive of evil to life and property. A story current in 1841 describes how a young fisherman came in a fog upon an island whereon lived these enchanted men in their human form, but when they quitted it they turned to seals again" (Otway, *Sketches of Erris*, 398, 403). Off Downpatrick Head they used to take seals, but have given up the practice, because one or two young fellows had urged their currachs into a cave where the seals were known to breed, and they were killing them right and left when, in the farthest end of the cave, and sitting up on its bent tail in a corner, there sat

an old seal. One of the boys was just making ready to strike him, when the seal cried out, "Och, boys! och, ma bouchals, spare your old grandfather, Darby O'Dowd." He then proceeded to tell the boys his story. "It's thrue I was dead and dacently buried, but here I am for my sins turned into a sale as other sinners are and will be, and if you put an end to me and skin me maybe it's worsen I'll be and go into a shark or a porpoise. Lave your ould forefather where he is, to live out his time as a sale. Maybe for your own sakes you will ever hereafter leave off following and parsecuting, and murthuring sales who may be nearer to yourselves nor you think." The story is universally believed, and on the strength of it the people have given up seal-hunting (Otway, *Sketches of Erris*, 230).

There is something in heredity in forming the cast of the personal mind. Did not Lord Macaulay when but a boy of six years busy himself with an Epic on Olaus Magnus, King of Norway, from which tradition told him the family were descended? He easily broke into such strains as :

Long, said the prince, shall Olave's name
Live in the high records of fame!

And if in addition to the educative influence of the sea we consider the mixed blood of the islesmen, it may be possible to agree that it is to this that the long-headed west-coastmen owe a peculiar humour of their own, with a tendency to ready banter and chaff. MacCodrum would have here easily carried the palm. These mental traits, so characteristic of MacCodrum, by all accounts, are not so prominent

in inland Gaeldom. MacCodrum holds the first place among Gadhelic satirists. "His satires are not merely vituperative—they are always amusing, and at times they abound in most exquisite wit." Who but himself could have replied so fitly on the occasion of draining Loch Āsduinn? He had arrived too late, and only in time to partake of the refreshments handed round after the first ceremony. "Here, John," said the factor, "is a glass of the water of Loch Āsduinn"—it really being something more potent. The poet seized the glass and said :

May God bless Loch Āsduinn's water.
If its aroma be good, its taste is better ;
If it be entirely like this
'Twere a pity to drain it off !

His power and love of punning upon words is quite Norse in its precision. "Where did you come from?" said he to a man one day. "I came from Uachdar (this is a place-name, and also the Gadhelic for cream)," was the answer. To which the poet retorted: "Then the dogs will be more likely to lick you." This quick perception of analogies in sound and sense is a notable Norse characteristic, as is also a keen perception of reality with a self-command that avoids exaggeration,—a feature that enabled him to give so true and graphic a description in his beautiful poem on Old Age. This sense of humour was also a notable feature in Dr. Norman Macleod's *Dialogues*, which are so inimitable in the original. *Mairi nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*, the famous Harris poetess, even specifies the Macleod Norse pedigree from Olgar :

Thu 'shliochd Ollaghair
 Bha mor morgha
 Nan seòl corra-bheann
 'S nan corn gorm-ghlas
 Nan ceòl orghan
 S nan seòd bu bhorb ri éiginn.

i.e. "Thou art of the race of Olgar (Holger), great and lordly, of the peaked sails, the grey-blue drinking-horns, of the musical instruments, and of the heroes brave in danger."

But great and original as she was, her Gadhelic compositions being truly classic, she seemed not to have been solitary in her power of wit, for having indulged her poetic vein on Mairi Ghobha, saying as she met her :

Fàilt ort fhéin, a Nic a Ghobha
 'S tu air fàs cho odhar riabhach

Mairi Ghobha immediately retorted, and correctly completed the stanza :

S tu sa bha gu lachdunn odhar
 Ged bhiodh-te ga do thodhar bliadhna

—the satire being levelled at the Macleod complexion (Bian buidhe 'Ic Leòid). It would be possible to find a goodly number of Norse traits in Rob Donn, the Reay bard, in whom sentiment on the whole is subordinate to sagacity and self-command. He had much pawky humour, the gift of terse repartee, gnomic wisdom, and a closeness to 'realism' which, if it make him at times rude and unpolished, is yet more direct than an unmixed Celt would care to give expression to. But in his best pieces there is a fine sense of proportion. It has been remarked that the surviving literature of the Scottish Gaidheal is grave rather than gay, and

characterised by intensity and passion rather than by breadth and humanity, but lacking in sustained energy and in a sense of proportion. "Now, I venture to think," says Professor Mackinnon, "that on the whole the Gadhelic poets of the Hebrides are less chargeable with these shortcomings than their mainland brothers. There is one notable exception in the case of the Reay country bard, Rob Donn. Of all the Gadhelic poets of the first rank, this man seems to me to exhibit most of those features which one associates with the Teutonic mind and genius. He possesses moral courage and self-restraint, while he is sadly wanting in what Matthew Arnold would call dignity and distinction. But Rob Donn has sprung from a district where the Norse blood is of the very strongest."

It is unnecessary to enter into details here which would more concern a comparative study of literature. Nor is it safe to assert that any proverbial sayings have come into Gadhelic directly from the Norse. The realm of ideas is open to all peoples and close analogies may be expected all the world over. Yet occasionally the manner of expression may owe something to the mixed blood of the Highlander:

Chan fhiosraich mur feòraich
'*Nothing ask, nothing learn*'

comes very close in its terseness to the Icelandic

Fróðr er hverr fregniss
'*Who asks will become learned.*'

But it would be absurd to regard this as borrowed, and equally so the other saying: 'Is rìgh duine 'na thigh fhéin' (a man is king in his own house),

which is not at all borrowed from the Icelandic: 'Halr er heima hvern' (everyone is somebody at home). Sayings like these are universal human. It is the manner that counts, and so far as humour is concerned, it is the peculiar form that tells. We find a broad humour in the *Táin Bo Cuailgne*, the central episode of the Cuchulainn Epic, and it is characterised by a grave grimness, as, for example, where Cuchulainn brings Conchobar from the field of battle.

"Where is Conchobar?"

"I do not know," said I.

Then he went forth. The night was dark. He made for the battlefield. He saw a man before him, with half his head on, and half of another man on his back (conaccai ara chiunn in fer, ocus leth a chiun fair, ocus leth fir aili for a muin).

"Help me, O Cuchulainn," he said, "I have been wounded, and I have brought half of my brother on my back. Carry it for me a while" (Ro-m-bíth, ocus tuccus leth mo bráthar for mo muin. Ber síst lim).¹

Here again it is the manner that tells. And putting aside all references to the far past I would, for brevity's sake, instance the *British Ass*, one of the late Dr. Alexander Nicolson's happiest efforts in this vein, which it is safe to assign as springing, and only capable of springing, from such a mixed race as we have in Innse-Gall. It well carries forward the quality which meets us in men like MacCodrum and Rob Donn:

¹ V. Strachan's *Selections from the Táin*, pp. 5-6.

On England's fragrant clover
This beast delights to browse,
But sometimes he's a rover
To Scotland's bonnie knowes ;
For there the plant supplies his want,
That doth all herbs surpass,
The thistle rude—the sweetest food—
That feeds the British Ass !

We've read in ancient story
How a great Chaldean swell
Came down from all his glory
With horned beasts to dwell :
If you would know how it happened so,
That a king should feed on grass,
In 'Section D, Department B,'
Inquire of the British Ass !

To Grecian sages, charming,
Rang the music of the spheres,
But voices more alarming
Salute our longer ears :
By science bold we now are told
How life did come to pass—
From world to world the seeds were hurled,
Whence sprung the British Ass !

There is much of the Norse force in the anecdote told of the Lewis Brieve or Hereditary Judge who lived at Habost (*i.e.* High-stead), still remembered for his satirical repartees. His name was Morison, a clan of which there were two septs : those of Norse origin, Harris tradition asserts, had as crest a fortress with three heads on one neck, as if to signify that no enemy could attack them unawares. The Judge Morison, having had occasion to come to Seaforth to explain his refusal to pay a factor's overcharge, was annoyed by a cur of a dog let loose

at him by one of the factor's factotums. A whack from Morison's stick sent the creature a-whining, on which the factotum himself put in his appearance, and gave great cheek and impertinence. The Brieve made some suitable reply by giving him a sound whack on the jaw. The ensuing noise brought out Seaforth himself, to whom Morison explained the affair satisfactorily, and finished up summarily with a couplet, at once cutting, droll, and contemptuous :

Balach is balgaire Tighearna
 Dithis nach bu chòir leigeil leo
 Buail am balach air a charbad
 S buail am balgaire air an t-sròn

i.e. Churl and cur of the lairdie
 Twain one should not allow,
 Whack the cheek of the churlie
 And the snout of the curlie-wow!

The pristine vigour of many of this mixed race, the Norse-Gaidheal, occasionally evidences that they were sprung from what Tacitus called the womb of nations—*vagina gentium*. To prevent dilating on the matter let it suffice to quote an interesting inscription in the churchyard at Rodel, Harris :

“To the memory of Donald Macleod of Berneray, son of John, Tutor of Macleod, who in vigour of body and mind, and firm adherence to the principles of his ancestors, resembled the men of former times. His grandfather and granduncle were knighted by Charles II. for their loyalty and distinguished valour in the battle of Worcester. When the Standard of the House of Stuart, to which he was attached, was displayed, A.D. 1745, though past the prime of life,

he took up arms, had a share in the actions of that period, and in the Battle of Falkirk vanquished a dragoon hand to hand. From this time he lived at his house in Bernera, universally loved and respected. In his seventy-fifth year he married his third wife, by whom he had nine children, and died in his ninetieth year, the 16th December, 1783. This monument was erected by his son, Alexander Macleod of Herries, Esq."

On the other hand, there was an effective Highland element that opposed the rising of the '45, due to a greater strain of caution, arising possibly from a mixed ancestry. It was not through lack of martial valour that they did so. Time would fail to tell of the number of distinguished soldiers, which even the Isle of Skye alone sent forth into the world and made British prestige and civilisation renowned abroad and revered. I must be content to refer to the *Brave Sons of Skye*, by Colonel Macinnes. The mixed race which we name as Highlanders have been among the foremost soldiers of the world: in the ranks of Gustavus Adolphus they counted among the brave; the field of Waterloo saw their valour; the Cossacks turned before their thin red line; many a hard-won fight in India, Egypt, Africa, Canada, the utmost outposts of Empire, testified always to their valour. At Corunna their onset gladdened Moore in dying. And not in war only but in the warfare of the religious life there have been heroes of equal valour; while ecclesiastical triflings testify but too often to a dour, grim, austere and unlovely element, due to a great extent, perhaps, to the Norse strain,

it is but right to remember that from this race came forth David Livingstone, the great African explorer and missionary, who inherited from far-away Ulva the ancestral qualities which helped him in the makings of that noble fame whereby he rests in Westminster. Though the name is Old Gadhelic Donnshléibhe, 'Brown of the Hill,' it is little likely that he was of unmixed descent, which holds true also of William Livingstone, the Islay bard, one of whose best efforts is a long dramatic poem on the Norwegians in Islay. In addition to the evidence of Islay place-names, the fact that such a poet took this subject as theme shows the large influence which the former Norwegian invaders exercised and propagated. Mr. Pattison's translation from the Gadhelic of the wild and vigorous lyric which the poet puts in the mouth of the men from Lochlann as they drop anchor at Lochindaal may be quoted, as giving the poet's view of the Vikings :

Here we come but we thus will not leave you—
 The axe, axe ;
 To-morrow will startle and grieve you
 With the axe, axe.
 A red blazing torch in each dwelling—
 The axe, axe ;
 Your goods plundered, your captur'd wives yelling—
 The axe, axe.
 Fleeing and cursing and wailing—
 The knife, knife.
 The pith of your knees shall be failing
 For the knife, knife.
 They who meet us shall leave that place never—
 The knife, knife ;
 Morn nor eve shall they see then for ever—
 The knife, knife ;

None shall live to tell of the Reaver
 With the axe, axe.
But the raven above shall be croaking
 The axe, axe ;
And then feast on their limbs till he's choking—
 The axe, axe.

After two days the Norse land, a bloody battle is fought, and the poet depicts the Islaymen as victorious! Times are changed, and men with them.

What Livingstone the poet has done so recently enables us all the easier to follow the poets of former ages in their working up the lays which pertain to the Ossianic or Fionn cycle of Gadhelic Saga. Several of these traditional lays which have been transmitted orally for ages, and in several districts far apart, are witnesses. Let me cite *Erragon*. History fails to tell what particular historical fact was the occasion of the poem. Seemingly some chieftain of the Gall-Gaidheal, or one of his followers, may have inveigled the wife of one of the Lochlann princes. Story tells only that on one occasion the Féinn warriors resented Fionn's neglect to hold the drinking feast after a successful chase, whereupon two of his men transferred their services to the King of Lochlann. With one of them named Aillte the Queen of Lochlann fled to Fionn's camp. To avenge this, Erragon, King of Lochlann, fought with the Féinn.

The king over Lochlann in that very hour
Was one who won the victory in every field,
Erragon, son of Ainnir of the ships,
O king ! but his blade and his hand were good.

The Queen of Lochlann of brown shields
Gave deep, full deep love but not aright,
To joyous Aillte of deep-red locks,
And she went away with him in deceit.

Lochlann's king gathered his host,
A hard-set fleet that grew with readiness
In the one hour there arose with him
The nine kings and other peoples.

For the realm of the Fians
They departed over the sea,
They pitched their camps thickly
Near the port where Fionn abode.

Fionn would give them a great tribute
To the host that came to us,
To Lochlann's king with his time-honoured weapons,
Even that would he give and his own wife.

The counsel that Fionn approved,
As well as all the chiefs of the Féinn,
Was to give, if accepted from them, the king's daughter
To the king of Lochlann of the keen weapons.

The king's daughter pleads for friendship and fellowship with Fionn, but Erragon will not grant it. A conflict ensues. Erragon was invulnerable to every weapon but the spear of Goll, by which he ultimately falls. The soothsayer had foretold that the men of Lochlann would be victorious so long as Erragon avoided the spear of Goll. But

The head of the king of Lochlann of brown shields
Goll gained on the ninth day ;
There escaped not from the edge of weapons
In the conflict from the multitude of tribes—
There escaped not home a man
Either of king or people of Lochlann.¹

¹ The whole of "Erragon" is literally rendered by the Rev. A. Macdonald in *Saga-Book of Viking Club*, iii. 416 ff.

Another lay still popular is that of the *Muireartach*, variants of which are *Muiliartach*, *Builiartach*. Mr. Campbell of Tiree thought the name denoted a personification of the Osterling or Eastern Sea. Perhaps it may be the word *muir*, 'sea,' compounded with an adjective formed from the obsolete *irt*, *iort*, 'death,' and personifying the death-bringing sea. Campbell of Islay suspected that the poem was "composed in remembrance of some real invasion of Ireland by the sea-rovers of Lochlann, in which they got the worst of the fight."¹ The *Muireartach* is represented as the foster-mother of Mānus, king of Lochlann. The Norse superiority at sea is represented by this Old Hag taking away the magic cup of Fionn :

Beverage ne'er filled that horn
 But turned to beer and wines,
 Or some other strong pure drink
 Which the heroes quaffed betimes.

By drinking from this vessel it was believed that Fionn and his men were always assured of victory. Mānus having been worsted, returned home, and it was then his foster-mother offered to go and fight Fionn, and secure the precious cup or horn. Her husband, the Ocean Smith, alone accompanied her; she got the cup of Victory and returned to Lochlann. Mānus then resolved to fight Fionn once more, but the men of Lochlann were again defeated and the cup recovered. She returned again and met her death. And Mānus vowed :

"I will give words again, if the smooth *Muileartach* has been killed, that I will not leave in Fair

¹ *West Highland Tales*, iii. 144.

Erin hillock, place of shelter or island, that I will not leave in the cross-trees of my ships, Erin fairly-balanced, full-weight—if it does not take to kicking at sea when it is being lifted from its sea-walls, I shall put crooked hooks into the land to draw it from its fastenings!” And the reply was: “Numerous are the shipmen, O Mānus! that could lift the fifth part of Erin; there are not as many ships on salt water as would lift the fifth part of Erin”¹

Another curious folk-tale tells of a king of Lochlann's daughter. In a glass apparatus she was in the habit of coming to Scotland every year to set fire to it. The legend tells of a plan whereby eighteen pipers were got together—nine couples arrayed circularly so as always to be moving round. Attracted by the sound they made, she also began to go round till she fell in her glass gear amidst the pipers and was dashed to pieces. The woods of Scotland were safe ever after!

It has been surmised that the Norsemen burnt the woods wherever they could, thereby preventing the natives from smelting iron, and it may be but an after-glow of this destruction that is reflected in the legend of Donan or Dubh A' Ghiuthais, who is credited with having been sent by her father, the king of Lochlann, to burn the Highland woods, that he might thereby be able to find a market for his timber. She had the reputation, not only in Uist but also in Lochbroom, of being able to fly through the air in a chariot of dark clouds, carrying on her devastations. Once a woman at a shieling perceived her, and having blessed the Norse princess, she fell

¹ Rev. J. G. Campbell's *The Fians*, p. 144.

down in a shapeless mass! Another form of the legend has it, as in Strathglass, that the woods were burnt in the time of Queen Mary.

Another tradition tells how Sithean, son of the king of Beirbhe, was killed by Fionn. Beirbhe is thought by some to mean Copenhagen, but more probably *Baile mór na Beirbhe* means Bergen, older form Biorgvin. A variant *Buirmb* occurs in a legend which I wrote down in 1891 in S. Uist. As it reflects some encounter with the Norsemen of long ago I may be allowed to translate it here. In this version the form *An Fhinn* was used as a collective noun for the usual *An Fhéinn* (the Fayn, the Feen, or Fingalians).

FIONN'S HEAD-KEEPER.¹

Once upon a time the Finn (*i.e.* the Féinn band) were going about from place to place. Their wont was to pitch their camp where darkness came on and so to pass the night. They would always have one to keep on watching. This particular night the watch fell to Gille-nan-Con (*i.e.* the Lad of the Dogs). The brave fellow was arrayed in the Highland garb. By his side he carried a quiver and bayonet and sword. What time the Finn took to rest he was steadily and steadfastly on the beat. It was the winter season and the night turned out badly with snow and cold. How steadily soever he kept upon the beat Gille-Cinn-Chon-Fhinn was growing benumbed and pinched with the snow. He said to himself: I'll go into the camp to warm myself till the shower passes. In he went and lit the

¹ For original, see Appendix.

fire; as he was warming the calves of his legs thereat, he looked out and perceived that the snow-storm was about to pass off. He perceived a foot-print in the snow. "I am undone," he said to himself, "and it is death to me seeing I know not who has passed by; (yet) I shall die but once. I'll chase off after the man who has left his foot-print; there is no knowing but I shall overtake him and that in due time he will make known to me who he is."

Off he chased after the man who had left his foot-print. Far or nigh as he was from him, what with bounding and what with running, he perceived him. He saw he was out of proportion for his size, but though he is, says Gille Cinn Chon Fhinn to himself, I shall not return till I find out who he is or else I'm a dead man. Gille-Cinn-Chon-Fhinn was at running speed while the other man was only at a walking pace. As he was climbing a steep twixt two bens he overtook the Big Man and entered into conversation with him.

"You have passed by the camp and I am come to inquire as to who you are since no man is to go past it without our knowing who he is, whence he is, and whither he is going. We keep guard for that purpose, and his life will be taken away from whomsoever we do not get information. It is on this account I am come after you to find out who you are, and I should be much obliged to you if you would tell me."

"Get out of my way, you worthless fellow," said the Big Man; "you need to bring all the Finn to face me ere I should tell my lineage."

"Were I to bring *all* the Finn," he made answer,

“one whole bone there would not be in your body,—what they would not crush with their hands, they would burn red with their breath.”

Then when he cast at me the big spear he had in his fist he hurled it 17 feet into the ground. And when I threw at him the little javelin I had under my arm he exclaimed: thy dart in its cunning hath reached my heart and the physician can't heal me.

Then the little fellow said: that is worse for thee who didst not erstwhile declare thy lineage ere Gille-Cinn-Chon-Fhinn gave thee combat in the lonely glen. Said the Big Man, reclining with his elbow on the ground:

I am Seadhain, son of the King of Bergen,
 Son of the Big Man of roughest cudgel,
 And his name was *Tighinn-gu-teach*,¹
 Leader of five hundred dogs.

The foot of the bold hath passed the camp,
 A daring step and very keen,
 I swear by Fionn of the Fiann,
 'Twas not Fionn himself nor Ossian.

'Twas not Diarmad of pure mien,
 'Twas not Niall of Locha Lüim,
 'Twas not one of Fionn's men
 Who met last night in the lonely glen.

Smartly arrayed I took and chased
 Along the moss of roughest paths,
 My pace was bounds and leaps,
 The Big Man's pace was steady.

It was there I overtook him,
 In Ben Bheag between two rocks,
 And asked of him with due respect,
 Whence, Big Man, art thou?

¹ The giant would not tell his name till he was dying: he then said his real name was “Futurity”—the reciter's explanation.

“ My little fellow, my little man,
Thou did'st inquire, 'twas not discreet ;
You had need bring all the Finn
Ere were told to thee my kin.”

“ All the Finn were I to bring,
No whole bone were left in thy body ;
What they'd crush not with their swords,
With their breath they'd redly burn.”

It was then he hurled at me
The great spear from out his fist
And his cast did downward bring it,
Seventeen feet into the earth.

It was then I at him threw
The javelin small from 'neath my arm ;
I threw it slant-wise at his heart,
And he was wounded in man's blood.

“ Blessings on thee ; and go thy way
Youthful hero of wavy tresses
Thy cunning javelin smote my heart,
And mine eye physician heals not.”

“ 'Tis for thee that it is worse
Thou didst not thy lineage tell
Ere Gille-Cinn-Chon-Fhinn
Gave thee converse in the lonely glen.”

“ I am Seadhain, son of Bergen's king,
Son of the Rough Man of coarsest blow,
Whose name hight, on coming home,
Leader-of-five-hundred-dogs.”

Then I placed him on his side
And took his measure by his feet.
He was seven feet in breadth
And eighteen feet in length,
And vain mortal men ought not
To give combat to such braves.

A glance at the table of contents of Campbell's
Leabhar na Féinne suffices to indicate that the Norse

wars figure largely in the later developments of the Ossianic cycle. The *Lay of Manus*, of which Macpherson made some use in his *Fingal*, is a fifteenth century reminiscence of the wars of Magnus Barelegs, who fell in Ulster in 1103 A.D. It is still popular :

A day that we were hunting on a sea-side slope
 We did not fall in with the chase.
 There were seen very many ships
 Sailing high from the east.

To the herald the reply comes :

Manus is our leader,
 The honourable chief of the Red Shield.
 He will take the wife from Fionn
 And Bran over the waves in spite of him.

And the lay proceeds until we learn that

Bounteous Manus was overthrown
 In presence of the rest on the sward,
 And on him, though it was no kingly honour,
 Was put the tie of the three smalls.

Manus is then depicted as left to Fionn's mercy, who gives him the choice of friendship, fellowship, and love, or else to take what he can from the Fians. Then Manus says that as long as he lives he will not direct a blow against Fionn, and ends by adding : " I regret what I have done against thee " ('s aithreach leam na rinn mi ort). This was how the people liked to hear the Norse king portrayed. The lay closes by Fionn replying :

You did it not against me,
 'Twas to yourself you did the sore,
 And the men who came from your land
 They will return there never more.

The other pieces in which the Scandinavians figure in the Ossianic lays are numerous; among them are "The Lay of the Banners," "The Norse Herald," "The Norse King's Stratagem," "The Adventures of the Nine with the Norsemen," "Fionn's Expedition to Lochlann," "The Adventure in the House of the King of the Fair Strangers." The scene of "The Lay of the Great Fool" is laid partly in Lochlann; a folk-tale narrates a curious tale about Gilbhinn, daughter of the King of Lochlann; and Tíree folk-lore knows of an incident concerning a Norse princess, and styles the whole narrative *An Caoineadh Magaidh*, "The Mock-Weeping."¹

THE MOCK-WEEPING.²

During the sway of the Norsemen in Tíree, a Norse lady with her husband and two children dwelt on the island. Though noble, she was nevertheless an exceedingly cross-tempered dame, and the Tíree folks feared her greatly. Yet though of so fierce a nature that her own people were in awe of her, she had fondly loved her two children, a boy and a girl.

I do not now recollect how she happened to come to Tíree at first, whether it was of her own will or in company with her husband and his followers,

¹For original, see Appendix.

²This tale was very kindly given me by Mr. John Maclean, Glasgow, who heard his mother narrate it among the other stories of his childhood. I translate it here, as I feel it gives something that is reminiscent of intercourse with the Norse, and of the past in Tíree. Parallel illustrations may yet be heard occasionally among the old folk of Skye, Uist, Barra, and Lewis.

seeking shelter from stress of weather—for the latter reason, I believe. At any rate she conceived a deep love for the place, and made the island her home. Nor did she wish to quit it at any time, although her husband often used to leave her by herself when he and his followers went off a-viking, seeking plunder, and breathing slaughter and death. One day a pressing message reached her from Lochlann, an entreaty that she should return thither as quickly as possible. Whether the message came from her father or from her husband I do not remember now, but she had perforce to depart in such haste that she found no opportunity of bringing the children along with her. She left them in charge of the islanders, warning them to exercise every care, and threatening that if aught ill befel the children that she would wreak her vengeance upon all.

The Tíree people were very pleased to be free from the Norse lady for a season, inasmuch as they had suffered much hardship at her hands. Yet they were quite glad to take every care of the children; it seems they were nice, and the island-folk had great regard for them.

Whatever the reason was of the Norse lady's leaving Tíree, it delayed her beyond her expectation, and more than two years had gone by ere she came back again.

Shortly ere she returned her two children died, in spite of all the care bestowed on them by their guardians. The Tíree people were quite sorry for the death of both, but they had more anxiety as to what might befall themselves on their mother's return.

It seems that it was about the beginning of summer that the Norse lady came back. Ere she reached the island the Tíree men somehow got word that she was near hand, and they were in great fear, for they were sure that, unless her anger were in some way averted, on hearing of the death of both her children she would leave no dwelling without being pillaged and burnt, nor man nor beast without being slain or killed. Accordingly, when they heard of the Norse lady's approach, all the islanders gathered together to consider what means, if any, might be found to avoid her anger.

On having listened to many a counsel and having rejected it, one grey old man came forward who said that it was of no use for them to endeavour to defend themselves by force of arms, that the Norsemen were much better equipped and were better trained in warfare than the men of Tíree, that, despite all their bravery, the islanders would in the long run be despoiled and killed.

"Fellow-countrymen," he said, "though great is our fear as to what may befall us in consequence of the death of the two children of the daughter of the king of Lochlann, I am of opinion that there is none of us who does not lament the death of the two fine children who have died; nice children they were, and we all greatly loved them: sure and certain are all of us who are present here to-day, that we never refused them aught that might comfort them while they were with us, that we spared them nothing that might benefit them when ill, and that our hearts are filled with sorrow that they have died. Now, friends, I am thinking that could we let the Norse

lady perceive the sorrow we feel, and in such a manner as might impress her mind and touch her heart, that we might avert her wrath and get free from our present hard case. Therefore, my counsel to you is that we collect together to the port where she is to land every cow and calf, every sheep and lamb, in the place, that we separate them from one another, putting the cattle and the sheep on one hill, the calves and the lambs on another hill where they will see each other and yet be unable to get together. In that case I wager for what I'm worth (literally, by mine head) that such lamentation will be heard as will affect the Norse lady at heart, were her heart harder than the rock on which this island lies."

The Tíree men adopted the old man's advice. Long ere the Norwegian ship had come to port, the Norse lady was filled with wonder and great amazement at the sorrowful crying she was hearing from off the land. No sooner had the ship put into port than the Norse lady sent for the elder men of the island; she enquired of them what the meaning might be of this crying which she was hearing since ever she came in sight of land.

One of the elders made answer that a heavy loss had recently befallen them on the island, a loss so great and so mournful that the very beasts themselves were in sympathy with the inhabitants thereat. This reply caused the Norse lady the more astonishment. On gazing around her, and having beheld how sorrowful and sad was each face, she said quite friendly how sorry she was for the loss which had befallen them, and that she would do anything in her power to assuage their sorrow if she could.

The elders then took courage, and quietly and with seemliness told her what had occurred to the two children she had left behind her : how one after the other had taken ill, how every remedy that could be got was tried to restore them to health, and what great sorrow had fallen on the island by their death.

Long ere the elder had finished the Norse lady was a-weeping and lamenting, as if she would break her heart. Instead of slaying and destroying the islanders, as she threatened at her departure that she would do, she thanked them with her blessing for their kindness to her children.

According to another version which I heard from some one, I do not know from whom, the *Caillech Beur*, the Old Wife of Beare, said that

“ Little' *Miosachan*, son of Lochlann's king,
Was buried in a cairn at *Baile Phuill* :
And *Ulabhag*, daughter of Lochlann's king,
Was buried in a cairn¹ at Crossapoll.”

I took down in Uist a curious tale about the *Red-lipped Maiden* (or Queen), whom *Dìreach Ghleann Èitche Mhic Cailein* had fixed on as a fitting spouse for *Murchadh Mac Bhriain*. There had been war between the Lord of the Fountain (*Gruagach na Tibirt*) and the Lord of the Island (*Gruagach an Eilein*). *Dìreach* had come to arrange terms of peace, and the Lord of the Fountain wished to give him his daughter, the Red-lipped Maiden, in marriage. When *Dìreach* saw the maiden and the greatness of her beauty, he resolved to take her with him, but not to gaze

¹ Lit. under stones, hence 'cairned.'

upon her again until he should present her to Murchadh Mac Bhriain, his world-king, for whom he thought that she would make a fitting queen. Murchadh, who was son to King Brian Boirmhe, who fell after Clontarf in 1014, was one day hunting on the hills alone, and a mist came on. He had got no sport. He heard a great noise on the hill, and then observed a powerful man with a burden of faggots on his back.

Though he had never seen Dìreach before he knew that it must be he, and what Murchadh heard he now understood to have been the axe of Dìreach cutting wood. Suddenly Murchadh saw a Stag with Golden Antlers and a White-Hound with Red-Ears go past him, and as he had no sport hitherto he gave chase. The head of the dog was close to the thigh of the deer, and Murchadh's hand close to the thigh of the dog, yet Murchadh could not overtake the stag.

Nuair a b'àird air an fhiadh
'S ann a b'isle air a chù,
Nuair a b'àirde air a chù
'S ann b'isle air Murchadh.

At last the stag and the hound got out of his sight, and he was left to wander alone on the hill. When night came on he saw a light, went to it, and found a house there. On going in he found the dog and the deer tied, and there he met Dìreach. After mutual greetings he asked for a draught of water. Dìreach gave Murchadh a full *cuach*, and Murchadh drank half of it. Thereupon Dìreach took a small knife and cut the vessel round, removing the upper half of it so as to leave the remaining half full of

water. He was at the time under spells that he must always drink a full measure. He quaffed it off and took his harp. Four handmaidens danced, and all pleased Murchadh very much. Then the Red-lipped Maiden, who had been in deer-form, dressed and danced before Murchadh by herself, and the king's son was enchanted by her grace and beauty, and declared his love for her. Dìreach gazed after her as she danced, and told how this was the second time he had ever looked at her countenance since he had resolved to keep her for Murchadh, his world-king. On awakening in the morning they found that the Red-lipped Maiden had been stolen by a giant. Dìreach gave pursuit and won her back. On his return he found Murchadh awaiting him. That night, however, the Red-lipped Maiden was taken away by the three harpers of the Red Hall in Lochlann (tri chruiteirein an Tallaidh Ruaidh an Lochlann). Dìreach set out after them, but they had got into their boat. He had to go back for his water head-dress or diver's cap. Then he gave pursuit, but the harpers had got to Lochlann before him. On going to the Red Hall he heard there was to be a marriage between the Harper-in-Chief and the Red-lipped Queen. The Red-lipped suggested delay, that plenty of meat and game be got for the feast. The harpers went to fish, and left the Red-lipped in a chamber guarded by seven locks. Dìreach could not find out where she was imprisoned. He questioned Sorcha, the mother of the harpers, and again failed. He then gave her an intoxicating draught and found out. The first leap he took

he broke the seven locks; the next leap he broke the secret doors, and she sprang on the tip of his shoulder. He brought the Red-lipped to where the Harpers' long boat was beached, and putting her on board pushed out from shore. The Harpers then arrived, fixed their hooks in the boat and began to drag it back to shore. Dīreach always had with him the sword, *Lorg Chroiseach*, that never left the remnant of a blow. He smote the rods, but this time in vain. They were bespelled, defied him, and were on the point of dragging him ashore when the Red-lipped spake: "Though they have sorcerers' enchantments on their rods they have no power over the boat itself. Let them have the board." He cut off the board in which their hooks were fixed, and ere they could get their hooks free he was out on the main with the maiden. The Harpers speedily left off, and in anger returned to the Red Hall in Lochlann. They gave three screams so horrible that every woman with child lost her child and every mare her foal. On the return of the Red-lipped from Lochlann Murchadh and she went to Cathair nam Manach, Monkton, where they were married, and happy ever after. So much of Norse reminiscence in typical native romance.

MacBain pointed out that the mythology in Macpherson's *Ossian* "smacks of a Norse and not a Celtic origin, for Celtic or Gadhelic it is not."¹ He introduces Fingal as contesting with Odin, whom he calls Cruth Loduinn, the spectre of Loda. "The whole scene and the contest itself is a mixture of

¹ MacBain in the *Celtic Magazine* for 1887.

Milton, Job, and the Norse antiquarianism of Macpherson's time." That the episodes in the Fionn-Ossian Saga which show Norse influence are numerous is allowed, and indeed patent to all. The origins of the Saga itself, however, are complex, and have not as yet been unravelled satisfactorily.

Anterior to the Norse invasions, the language and literature of the Gaidhealtachd in Ireland and in Scotland were one. It is possible that indirectly at least these invasions hastened the growth of a separate Highland and Hebridean literature. And if they helped to break up the unity of linguistic form sooner than otherwise would have been the case, it seems likely that we owe them a greater unity of spirit in the domain of government and national feeling.¹ I might instance the letter sent to the King of France by the Scottish Parliament declaring that Bruce was King. No less than fourteen of the twenty-four names represent the ancient Celtic kingdom of Scotland. Mr. E. M. Barron

¹We ought not to leap too hastily to the conclusion that irreconcilable racial antagonisms have been permanently fostered by the clash of races to the exclusion of things of higher worth on both sides. Carsewell and Kirke in Scotland did much for Gadhelic literature and life, but it cannot be maintained that they were of unmixed Celtic stock; in Ireland the work of Bedell and of Keating still bears fruit also, and both of them were ultimately of non-Irish lineage. William Salesbury, the chief translator of the first edition of the Welsh New Testament, was of Norman descent on his father's side. Mr. Alfred Nutt has pointed out that the "amazing thing about the North-men, and the Normans their descendants, is the single-minded realism of their political aims and conceptions, unfettered and unclogged by any racial or linguistic prepossessions" (v. *Celtic Review*, April, 1909). This was a policy that paid them, on the whole, in Normandy, in Italy, in England, in Ireland. But the heritage of passion and emotion transferred from age to age is a factor likewise, unhappily sometimes for evil.

has reviewed the evidence recently, and finds that the people who won the War of Independence were "the inhabitants of the Celtic part of Scotland fighting under leaders, many of them Celtic, and under a king whose mother was a Celtic countess, and who claimed the crown by virtue of his descent from a Celtic king. And I do not think it can be disputed that, if Bruce had not secured the support of the north in 1308, the independence of Scotland would not have been won. From the north he obtained men and staunch support when he needed both most. From Celtic Scotland in the west his arms raided England. From Celtic Scotland in the north and west he captured one by one the strongholds of the Scottish Lowlands. For it cannot be denied that it was not until he had Celtic Scotland behind him that the strongholds of the south fell."¹

The Scottish love of freedom, in short, has been intensified by the advent of the Norseman, who within his lights was law-abiding at home if cruel as Viking abroad. "Perhaps to him," says Dr. Magnus Maclean,² "we owe our continuance as a race to this day. He has carried with him over the wave the breath of freedom and strenuous endeavour, and infused them into the life of this great nation, helping Britain to build up and maintain a world-wide empire and supremacy upon the seas."

In arresting the development of native literature, despite cruelties which could never be atoned for, the Norse influence has, nevertheless, wrought itself

¹ *Scottish Historical Review*, 1909, page 137.

² *The Literature of the Celts*, page 215.

securely into the tissues of the national life, which owes its pre-eminence to its power upon the waves. Its extent, varied as life itself, may be inferred from the bulk of the linguistic elements which derive from that womb of nations. I have recorded these. And more than these,—a love eloquently voiced in Dr. John Macleod of Morvern's "Farewell to the Sound of Mull":¹ the love of the sea remains.

Ged a shiubhail mi cian
 B'e Caol Muile mo mhiann
 Cha d'èirich a ghrian air na's bòidhch':
 B'e sud Caol mo ghràidh
 D'an tug mise bàigh
 O làithean mo leanabais is m'òig'.

i.e. Though far I have travelled, the Sound of Mull was my choice; the sun rose not on aught more beautiful: that was the sound I loved, fondly loved since the days of mine infancy and youth.

By way of commentary on the Gaidheal's assimilation of the Norsemen, let me in conclusion rehearse a folk-tale. It illustrates the Celtic belief in Magic and in Transformation, and is doubly striking as showing these old beliefs clustering around an historic personage, who here passes into myth-land. The folk-tale is that of

THE ADVENTURES OR LEGENDARY HISTORY OF
 KING MAGNUS,²

a king not yet forgotten in the folk-lore and fancy of Innsegall.

¹ Music and words in *The Killin Collection*, by C. Stewart, Edinburgh, 1884.

² It used to be a model tale of adventure, hence the phrase: *Gach eachdraidh gu eachdraidh Mhànais*. Eachdraidh is here used in the old sense of 'exploit, adventure': cf. *Echtra Chonnla*.

There was a king, hight Magnus, and he set out with a ship and crew. Soon a storm and tempest arose so that he could not steer the vessel. Having encountered a heavy sea, he was shipwrecked on a rock-bound coast, and lost both crew and ship. He alone was saved. His shoes he had to cast off into the sea, and barefooted he must climb up the rocky shore, and with his toes gripping between the grass-grown clefts he got up to the green sward above. There, in front of a wood, he saw what seemed to be a great big town. On seeing the little houses in rows, he was wondering what sort of folk there were there, and he arrived at the outskirts of the place. At a house that stood apart, he met a wee tiny man at his doorway, making shoes. He understood him to be a shoemaker. The little man started on beholding Magnus, who with his great body was standing facing him.

In a fearsome voice the shoemaker inquired what wild man this might be or whence he had come. He answered that he had come from the bounds of Lochlann far away, that he had lost crew and vessel, and would be very grateful to him for telling him whether there were any way of getting off from that kingdom, what kingdom it was, and what sort of people lived there. The shoemaker made reply that it was the Kingdom of Little Men. Magnus then asked if there were any way of getting out of it, or whether there were any means of making some money by work. The shoemaker said that there was a good way of earning money, that a quantity of wood was being cut and had to be carried on men's backs to town, that overseers were needed ;

there were ships too to carry the timber away, and he thought Magnus could earn a good wage quickly.

“Well,” said Magnus, “I greatly need it. I have no shoes for my feet, not a wrap, and if you are good enough to make me a pair I would lodge with you and you would be paid full well.”

“I have no means of making them for you,” said the shoemaker. And when he saw that he had no means of doing them for Magnus he laid hold of a mastiff’s head and weighed it. He wrapped a piece of its hide about Magnus’s feet and drew it together with thongs as if it were a bag.¹

“Be off now,” he said to Magnus, “to where the Keeper of the Wood is.”

“Get me rope and axe,” said Magnus.

When the shoemaker had done so, Magnus prepared to set off for the wood, and at his appearance the crowd of little men started at seeing such a brave.

From Magnus’s intense desire to quickly get big wages, he was cutting and drawing as much timber as thirty of them ; and because of his wish to do too much, he became intensely parched. He searched the wood for water with which to quench his thirst, but no pool did he find. In the middle of the wood he chanced upon a beautiful green mead, with a big flat stone laid over it. In the hope of finding water underneath he put his hand below the stone and lifted it on its edge. What did he perceive but a stair leading underground. He descended, and suffered neither the rope nor the axe out of his hand. On entering he found a chamber gleaming

¹An allusion to the old *cuaran* or ‘mocassin.’

with light and diamonds. On a chair within there sat a dame, the like of whom he had never seen. At the foot of the stair he let go the rope and the axe, and went up to where the lady was and besought her for a drink. She had a vessel with wine beside her, and another small vessel which she filled. Such was his thirst that he drank it right off, and so strong was the wine that he at once asked how it got there and what her own name was. She made answer that from her great beauty they called her Sun-of-Suns-and-Moon-of-Moons—a princess, daughter to the King of Isle Eubney. “There came a murderous robber, who bespelled me and left me in this underground dwelling. He has others of my kind elsewhere, whom he has under spells.”

“How long will he be absent from you?” said Magnus.

“Twenty days,” she said, “and were I sad or solitary there is a chess-board by me here, and it would suffice for me to strike it with my finger and he would come back at once.”

So strong was the wine, and so much did Magnus partake thereof, that his blood raged within him and up he got. “Neither robber nor villain have I seen but I would settle him,” he said, and with clenched fist he struck the chess-board, which broke into two halves. He felt the underground house a-shaking. And from his great terror he cooled down. Off he went, and through anxiety and care he left the rope and axe at the foot of the stair. He reached to the shoemaker’s house. He took to bed and feigned that he was sorely ill.

The robber then came to the underground dwelling where was the lady.

“What, my wicked dame, caused you summon me in such haste?”

“My sadness only, my dear,” she answered. “I partook of overmuch of the wine, and I fell over and struck my elbow on the chess-board, and it broke in two.”

This was on the point of having saved her were it not for the forgetful act of Magnus. The robber got up, and from suspicion he began rummaging the place. Unluckily he came across the rope and axe at the foot of the stair. He returned to where the lady was, holding them in his hand.

“See, you wicked woman,” he called out, “one of the woodmen has been with you since I left.”

The robber dressed himself up in rags and tatters, and he set off disguised as beggar, the rope and axe with him. Coming up to the woodmen, he asked who had lost those things.

“Oh,” said one of them, “it is the Big Man who was along with us who lost that.”

“Where is that fellow?” said he.

“He is in the shoemaker’s house,” was the answer.

To the shoemaker’s house he came, and asked if such a man were there.

“He is ill in bed,” was the reply.

“Go and fetch him,” said the robber.

The man went to Magnus’s bed and related what had taken place.

Magnus then grew more ill than ever.

The shoemaker reported that Magnus was unable to come.

"If so," said the robber, "I can go to him." And up to him he went, and heaved him on his shoulder-tip (lit. on the 'shower-top' of his shoulder). From which moment Magnus was unconscious alike of earth and of air until he stood on his two feet in front of the woman in the house underground. The robber took a sharp big piece of iron he had and held it out for the lady to hold.

"Provided you have never before seen the man facing you, strike him to the ground," he said.

"Well," said she, "I have never seen the man, and therefore I will not."

He withdrew the iron and gave it into Magnus's hands.

"Provided you have never before seen the woman facing you, strike her and cut her down."

Magnus bethought him of the favour the lady had shown him, and he said that he would not hit her, that he had not seen her, that he would upon no account touch her.

The robber then pulled the iron from out of Magnus's hand, and he struck the dame with the iron on the crown of her head and hewed her to the ground, until the blood was finding its way into Magnus's shoes. Then Magnus went on his knees in the blood, beseeching that his life be spared.

"Spare you I shall," said the robber, "but it is not in the form in which you are that I will leave you."

He heaved Magnus then upon his shoulder and brought him to the top of a mountain seven miles high from peak to base. Seizing a handful of earth from beneath his feet he struck Magnus on the forehead.

“Quit your present shape,” he said, “and become an ape, a four-footed creature, and so far like unto a dog.” But of his sense he could not deprive him although he changed his shape. And with reason retained he came down the mountain. He reached the base, where there was flowing down from the forests a great river carrying on its bosom much wood to the sea. He then perceived a vessel becalmed not very far from land, and noticing an old tree stump close to the waves he made for it and set it afloat with his paws. On having got out into the depths he began to cry aloud in such manner as he could. The day was fine and the captain of the vessel was walking on board. “I am bound by oath,” he declared, “to relieve any man I find in need.”

Then he sent out two of his men in a yawl, and when they came up to him he was coming to meet them as best he could.

“O,” said one of the lads, “this is no man at all, more likely it is the evil spirit in this guise.”

“Even so, and if it were, we will bring him to the captain since he has asked.”

They seized on poor Magnus and they placed him in the bottom of the yawl, for they dreaded his look. For a time he lost his senses, and when they drew up to the big vessel they thrust him on board with such a toss that he lost his senses once more. The captain came to see what they had. Magnus at once recognised the captain, and he began kissing the deck where the captain was standing, and to kiss the boots that the captain had on.

“O!” said the captain, “this is a trained pet

that belonged to some great one. Who knows but he is hungry; fetch him what remains of your meal."

Magnus then bethought him, for he had sense, were he to eat the sailors' leavings that this is what they would go on giving him, and, though an-hungry, he would wait to see what he would get. He began to sniffle and put his nose to it, and he would not eat a bit.

"Well," said the captain, "this is a trained pet. Bring him what is left over from my own dinner."

Then was brought him broth and meat in plenty, and heartily he partook. The captain brought him to the cabin. In the city for which the vessel was bound there was a powerful man called Sultan, and to him the vessel belonged—as one of his fleet. When they cast anchor, with many more besides them, in the harbour, there came a beautiful boat out from land, with a finely arrayed lad who had a paper authorising him to procure the signature (or hand-of-write) of every one on board, for Sultan was in need of a clerk, and the best at the pen he would have. The lad went over all the vessels and got the signatures of all the men. He came at last to the vessel where poor Magnus was. The captain and all on board signed, and the paper was put on the window sill in the cabin, where was the 'ape.' When the captain went up on deck the 'ape' laid hold of the pen with his paw and made several strokes. Such dislike had the sailors to him that they watched all his movements and told the captain that the dirty brute had spoiled the paper. The captain went below and looked at the paper.

“None in the fleet can use a pen like this creature and much I fear that I may lose him.”

The messenger lad brought the paper to land, met Sultan, and handed him the paper. He turned backwards and asked—

“Who did this?”

The messenger broke out into derisive laughter. “No man at all did that: it is due to a queer creature the captain has on board.”

“Whatso creature it be, here is the best penmanship of the lot: go and fetch me the writer.”

Off the lad went. On the skipper’s observing him return, he said “I knew this beforehand.”

The ape had to be put ashore.

This Sultan had but one daughter. She was in a locked chamber and kept by the robber already spoken of, and on oath that she was not to gaze on any man’s face save that of her father. Her father having become excited at possessing such an accomplished creature as this, brought the ape with him to the door of the chamber. The girl called out to him to beware lest it might be a man in that shape in disguise.

“No man was ever in that shape,” said the Sultan, and he brought in the ‘ape’ where his daughter was. As soon as ever the ‘ape’ entered the chamber the Castle began to shake. The robber sprang in.

“You wicked dame!” he said, “you have broken the oaths that were between us.”

They changed into two eagles and flew at one another in the room. Poor Magnus was under their feet, and with the fury with which they fought

they got above him so that he got one of his eyes put out. They flew out of the chamber: she became a black eagle and flew above him and was getting the better of him at every turn. By the side of the castle there was a mighty river, and the robber made for the water. He sprang into the current as a trout: she followed him as a black fox. As he was on the point of being caught by her he spread himself out (or transformed himself) into roe or spawn. She then transformed herself into a black cock and by the river's bank she began to devour the spawn. She then changed herself once more and went up as a beautiful maiden to where her father was.

"I have devoured the beast's roe," she said, "and am resuming my bodily form and show you that it is a man that is here."

She raised a handful of earth from beneath where Magnus was and struck him on the face with it.

"Quit the form in which you are," she said, and he was in his former shape as a man, save that he was one-eyed.

I conclude that like as Magnus of the legend, reminiscent of Magnus Barelegs, who fell in Ulster, and still sung of in heroic Gadhelic lays by fire-sides in the west, bore the mark of having been in the Kingdom of Little Men, so the Highlander of to-day to a large extent bears the mark of Norse influence. His legends and fairy-songs are witnesses. When Coinneach Odhar's mother saw the

spirits of the dead at Cnoc Eothail,¹ in Uig, Lewis, it was a daughter of the King of Lochlann that showed her where the stone of prophecy was to be found. No maid could be chosen to nurse the heir at Dunvegan if she were unable to sing the Banshee's Lullaby to guard him from every ill: a lullaby, however, wherein his mother tells that the child is neither of Clan Kenneth nor of Clan Donald, but of a clan to her more preferable, that of Leod of the swords and coats of mail, whose father's native land was Lochlann.² And in earlier times I infer that the Norsemen in Lewis preferred to bury apart: it is known that some clans, as that of the Clan Aulay at Uig, could with difficulty be reconciled to new lairs being laid out for the townships instead of being for the clans as in former days. And in literature the strophic ballads of the Fionn-Ossian Cycle, extending to from eighty to two hundred lines, greatly vary in technique and style from that of the older Cuchulain Cycle.

The endeavour to work up the Ossianic lays into an epic cycle of ballads is prominent from the Viking period. But from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the old Celtic style of prose narra-

¹ Bheothail? cf. Beothail, p. 64. For the legend see *Prophecies of the Brahan Seer*, ed. A. Mackenzie.

² Chan ann o Chlann Choinnich thu

Chan ann o Chlann Chuinn thu

Siol as docha linn thu!

Siol nan Leòdach nan lann s nan lùireach

B'e Lochlann dùthchas do shinnsear.

(Miss F. Tolmie's *Collection of Hebridean Songs in MS.* and cf. Campbell's *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, vol. v. 145, where there is also a tale about *An Dubh Ghiubhsach*, daughter of the King o Lochlann, and how she thinned the woods of Lochaber.)

tive asserts itself once more. The Celts have in this form revealed their genius: prose romance is the Celtic form for epic narrative. And the rise of the prose sagas in Iceland seems intimately connected with the contact of the founders of Icelandic prose literature with the Gaidheal in the Hebrides and in Ireland,—the land which ere the coming of the Vikings was known simply as Ériu.

These Icelandic Sagas, even in details, though with great differences, recall the old Irish epic narratives which they in so many ways resemble.¹ The influence in some respects was reciprocal, though that of the Norse on the Gaidheal was at once more powerful and more baneful. For Ireland in the days of Turgesius the account of Keating is woeful. He tells of the slavery (*moghsaine*) of the Gaedheal to the men of Lochlann and of the rent and tribute imposed on them: “a Lochlannach king over every cantred in Ireland, and a chief over every district and an abbot over every church, a steward over every townland, and a mercenary or hired soldier over every house, while the householder had not the disposal of as much as a hen of his own property; and were there but one stripper (*aon ghamhnach*) in the house neither the babe one night old nor the sick person would get her milk, but it was kept for the soldier, and if he were not satisfied he took the householder with him to the

¹Es ist die gemeinkeltische Form der epischen Dichtung, die uns in Island entgegentritt, und dass sie eine Errungenschaft der engen Berührung der Norweger mit den Iren auf Irlands Boden im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert ist, wird kaum mehr bestritten.—Dr. Zimmer in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*: Die Romanischen Literaturen und Sprachen mit einschluss des Keltischen, p. 64.

assembly in pledge for his maintenance. The Lochlonnaigh exacted an ounce of gold each year from every man in Ireland or else the nose from his head. And neither lord nor lady wore a mantle or dress but the cast-off clothes and mantles of the Lochlonnaigh; they were not permitted to give instruction or frequent church,—but the Lochlonnaigh were in their churches and in their duns,—with no professors or clergy, without books or jewels in the abbey-churches and monasteries through fear of them; without a filé, without a philosopher, without a musician according to the laws of the country; without the daughter of a king or lord or chief wearing silk or embroidery; without the son of a king or a chief learning feats of agility or casting: with no feast or banquet held among friends, but what remained after the foreigners had been sated therefrom.”¹ Making due allowance for the rhetoric, the reality was deplorable enough. We may to some extent infer, aided by the strength of the linguistic influence, what straits were in store for the folk of Innsegall. A change was wrought by time in the people themselves, who grew more and more Norse. During the nonage of Amhlaoihbh, son of Gothfruidh “who had an hereditary right to be king of the Isles,” the Hebrideans sent envoys to Muircheartach O Briain, king of Ireland, to send one of his kinsmen of the royal blood to rule over them. He sent his kinsman Domhnall, son of Tadhg O Briain, “and he held sovereignty over them for three years, when he began to tyrannise over them, and for this reason the people of the

¹ Keating's *History of Ireland*, ed. Dinneen, iii. 177

Isles sent him back to Ireland.”¹ In short, the Hebrides had become at that time strongly dominated by Norse sentiment, and not until several generations passed did the Gadhelic element absorb what it was not possible to obliterate. The quarrels of the Norse chiefs were not behindhand, as witness the feuds between the Macleods of Lewis and others. And meantime the power of the Gadhelic-speaking mothers, silently and lovingly exerted, aided by the ideals of Christianity, and the whole external complex of historic environment paved the way slowly but surely for tranquillity. Men were led to perceive the barbarity of the times; human slaughter could never have been other than criminal; higher ideals and other duties more noble were inviting men’s minds to higher issues which were constantly pressed by the Church on their attention as the voice of the unfolding Order of the World. Thor and Odin were dead; night fell on the gods. And some may thus feel how here likewise

All is best, though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of Highest Wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close.
Oft He seems to hide His face,
But unexpectedly returns,
And to His faithful champion hath in place
Bore witness gloriously ;

His servants He, with new acquit
Of true experience from this great event,
With peace and consolation hath dismiss’d,
And calm of mind, all passion spent.

¹ *Ib.* p. 309.



APPENDICES.

MILLS WITH HORIZONTAL WATER-WHEELS.¹

MY attention was first drawn to these by the Rev. R. L. Ritchie, of Creich, on his return from a visit to Norway, where they are numerous. He tells me that at the Sogne-fjörd in Norway there is a mill where the stone is placed directly over the axle and the wheel horizontal in the stream, quite identical with a mill at Clashnessie, Stoer Parish, Assynt, Sutherland. It points to a very old system of grinding corn by a simple contrivance, and it seems to me to be the next step in the transition from the quern to the modern mill. Mr. Ritchie fortunately met a photographer near the place on the day of his visit, and he took good photographs of the whole, as I can testify from a personal inspection on Tuesday, 13th July, 1909, along with Dr. Mackenzie, late of Normanton, Yorks, who on his yacht kindly brought me to the spot. An elderly and kindly man, named Munro, addressed us in Gadhelic and brought us over the mill, explaining that it was used as late as last year for grinding barley, that in fact it was the last in working order in these parts. There was another mill, with the water-wheel on the horizontal, at Allt na Braain, on the way from Stoer to Lochinver; another was formerly in use near Lön, by Ard Chuilinn, Reay Forest; another at Acharisgill, Kinlochbervie, and I gather that mills on the same principle are to be traced in Lewis. So far, Clashnessie Mill is the only one that I have personally seen where the outer wheel lies horizontally in the stream. The first photograph shows the mill from below the bridge; a burn

¹ See p. 48.

passes at the spot, and the water is readily diverted to the mill-wheel as required. The walls are thick, without any lime, and the building is thatched. The second scene shows the mill as one stands on the bridge looking across the Bay of Eadarachaolais, towards Badcall. The third scene shows the water-wheel, in its horizontal position, with water-shoot, somewhat confined and dark. This wheel is immediately under the grinding-stones. The spindle in the water-wheel revolves one of the grinding-stones, the upper one, if I recollect aright. This wheel turns with the sun. The current of water shoots through the opening, which figures as a white window in the photograph; it strikes strongly against the bevelled boards of the wheel and sets it in motion. In the bottom of the lade there is a plank in which the lower end of the revolving spindle is fixed. At the side there is a lever for lifting and lowering the wheel and the top grinding-stone. In the fourth scene this lever (1) is seen on the left; it serves to regulate the grinding, rough or fine; above is the hood (2) where the grain is put in; directly below is the hooper (G. *ōbair*), which lets the grain into the grinding-stones; underneath it is the top-stone of the mill, which is removable by two men, with the aid of planks, when it is necessary to sharpen the stones,—the process being termed *breacadh na claiche* (the *ch* is sounded as *dh* in the last word: 'clai-e'); also, *breacadh na braain*. The top-stone is whetted on the obverse side (*air an tuathbhel*: the phrase used by the guide: cf. *tuathbel*, 'withershins,' in *Ériu* 2, 161). Around the top-stone is a rim to keep the ground corn from being spilled; it has an opening to the front, a 'broch,' where the meal is sifted out. To the side is a small wooden 'coggie' used in connection with the feeding of the mill.

My own impression at present is that, owing to the prevalence of this design in Norway, and the absence of such mills in those parts of Scotland outside the Norse influence, that we ought seriously to consider whether the introduction of the horizontal mill-wheel to move the

'quern' is not due to external influence, and to be dated after the Norwegian invasions. The quern was, of course, used alongside of them. A few years ago a quern was in use at Unapool in Assynt.

Mr. W. G. Collingood kindly tells me that there is one place in Fljotshlíð in Iceland called Árkvern, meaning, of course, 'water-mill.' He did not enter it when passing, and he can only say that in Iceland handmills (querns) are common, and he has seen them at work there. Such mills, however, Mr. Ritchie has seen in Norway. In Mr. Goudie's book on *The Antiquities of Shetland* he seems to say that such mills are, or were, common to Sweden and Norway (not Denmark), the Færoes, Orkney and Shetland, Caithness and Sutherland, the Hebrides, Man and Ireland, but that very few are left in Britain. I would ask whether those that are found are not to be met with in those districts which show Norse influence? In any case, the archaic nature of the Clashnessie Mill justifies my referring to it in passing.

NON-NORSE ORIGIN OF DRUMRAFN.¹

(The old name for Dunrobin.)

“THE earliest recorded name of this Castle is Drumrafn, Drum being Celtic for back, ridge, sea-terrace or raised beach, and Rafn (pronounced Rabin), the name of the chiefs of several Prefects left to rule the country by Rognvald Gudrodsen in the reign of King William the Lion.² A continuation of the same terrace two miles westward, called Drummuidh (pronounced Drum Muy), the terrace of the plain or open ground, is the site of the Technical School.

“In 1401 the Castle was called Dunrobyn, after the Earl of that name, Drum being changed into Dun, a fort or castle, but the old name recurs in 1512, when a ‘seisin’ of the earldom and castle is witnessed by David Stewart, ‘Constable of Drumrabyne.’”³

The name Dunrobin is a later and different name, being the Celtic Dūn ‘fort,’ with Robyn, the name of the Earl, added: ‘Robin’s Fort.’

Robin is a pet form of Robert. There is no evidence to show that Rafn was ever pronounced Rabin. On the contrary N. *hrafn* appears in G. Ramasaig, ‘raven’s bay’ (v. above p. 189); Ramsey, from *Hrafns-ey*, Rafn’s or Raven-isle? Norse *fn* never yields a *b* or *p* in Gadhelic, cf. Tanera, ‘harbour-isle,’ from N. *hafnar-ey* (v. p. 158).⁴

¹ See p. 65.

² *Orkneyinga Saga*, pp. 407, 408.

³ Viking Club, *Old Lore Miscellany*, Oct. 1909, p. 199,—article by Dr. Joass, ed. by the Duchess of Sutherland.

⁴ Watson’s *Place-Names*, p. 259; also Thammabhaigh (*ib.* lix.).

From the fact that an indubitably Celtic name *Drum Muigh*,—the latter properly written with *g* as being cognate with Old Gaulish *magos*, plain, open ground,—there is no probability that Drumrafn is a Gadhelic-Norse hybrid. Nor are there instances of *drum* 'ridge' ever becoming *dun* 'fort.' *Rabhann*, sometimes pronounced *rafan*, is 'a species of grass' of which sheep are fond. Mr. Watson has spotted it already in *Bada-rabhainn* 'clump of *ravan*,' and thinks the root is connected probably with Welsh *rafu* 'to spread'; *rafon* 'berries growing in clusters';¹ the word being almost certainly a Pictish loan, and defined as a long grass growing in shallow muddy parts of lochs or pools, and formerly used for feeding cattle.² It occurs in Sutherland place-names, and in *Am Bad Rabhain*, 'the *ravan*-grass clump' in Lochbroom, in *Fèith Rabhain*, in Gairloch, and in *Allt Bad-a-rabhain* in Dunrobin Glen.³ This is certainly the word in *Drumrafn*, 'the *ravan*-grass ridge or terrace,' and the latter part is Pictish. A word *ràbhag* 'the portion of any soft food which one has left uneaten, the remains, e.g. of porridge and milk' is daily used by me, and though the vowel is long it may be connected in root ultimately. Names with *druim* are usually followed by a word descriptive of some feature in the landscape and not by a personal name.

¹ *Celtic Review*, ii. 242.

² Watson's *Place-Names*, lxxxvi. 244.

³ *Ib.* 237.

THE FEARCHAR LIGHICH TRADITION.¹

THE Reay country folk-tradition regarding Fearchar Lighich, which I have given as illustrating the influence of the Norse legends concerning Sigurd, may be appropriately cited in the original Gadhelic as contributed some years ago to the *People's Journal*. The idiom is true to the Reay country, and the whole story is all the more valuable in that the narrator keeps to the folk-tradition, all unconscious of external influences which confessedly arose in the far past. It merits preservation.

Duthaich Mhic Aoidh.

(Reay Country.)

Annas an earrann so de 'n rioghachd mar annas a' chuid eile de Ghaidheiltachd na h-Alba, bha e mar chleachdadh aig an t-sluagh, ma's d 'thainig paipeiran naidheachd gu bhi cumanta a bhi cur seachad na h-oidhiche gheamhraidh ag aithris nan seann sgeulachdan a bha air an gleidheadh air chuimhne bho linn gu linn leis na daoine a thainig roimhe. Am measg nan sgeul a bhitheadh tric air aithris bha sgeulachd no eachdraidh Fhearchair Léigh. A reir na sgeil 's e ciobair bh' annas Fearchar, agus bha e tamh ann an Gleann-Gollaidh aig ceann deas Loch Eribol. Ri linn Fhearchair bha e cumanta do dhaoine òg a bhi dol mach gu féilltean do thaobh deas na h-Alba le spréidh, agus bu tric a chaidh Fearchar ann am measg chaich. Air là àraidh, bha e mar so air féill; thachair duine uasal ris a chur fìor fhuran air, agus dh' fhiosraich deth ce as a thug e am bata a bha aig 'na laimh.

¹ See p. 90.

“Thug,” ars Fearchar “a Gleann-Gollaidh an Duthaich-Mhic-Aoidh.” “Faithnich’ tu a’ chraobh as do ghearr thu e, ris” ars an duine uasal. “’S mis a dh’ aithneadh na ’m bithinn faisg di” fhreagair Fearchar. “Làn duais bheir mi dhuit” ars an duine uasal, “ma theid thu air ais do Ghleann-Gollaidh gus a’ chraobh so. Agus ’nuair a ruigeas tu i, seall aig a bun agus gheibh thu toll natharach ann. Fan ri taobh na craoibhe air son beagan ùine agus chi thu sè nathairichean a’ tighinn mach as. Na bean doibh agus na falbh gus am pill iad. ’N uair philleas iad, ’s e nathair gheal a bhitheas air deireadh. Leig càch as ach glac ise, agus thoir thugam-s’ i ’s cha chaill thu air.”

Rinn Fearchar mar gheall ’n uair phill e dhachaidh. Chaidh e dh’ ionnsuidh na craoibhe, fhuair e an toll, chunnaic e na nathairichean, ghlac e an té gheal, agus thog e air leatha gus an duine uasal. ’N uair rainig e bha ’n duine uasal ro thoilicht’. Gun dàil chur e an nathair anns poit air an teine, agus dh’orduich e do Fhearchar a coimhead gus am pilleadh és, agus feart mhath thoirt nach leigeadh e leis an uisge goil thairis.

Cha robh an duine uasal fad sam bith air falbh ’n uair thòisich an t-uisge ri goil, agus a dh’ aindeoin na dheanadh Fearchar bha e brath am bord a chur as a’ phoit. Mu dheireadh loisg Fearchar bochd aon de mheuran, agus stob e, gun smuainteachadh ciod bha e deanamh, ’na bheul i. Ann an tiota bha sùilean a thuigse air am fosgladh, agus fhuair e eolais air dòigh leigheas air gach tinn is pian thainig riamh an car duine. An sin, phill an duine uasal, agus ’s e cheud ni rinn e, am bord a thoirt as a’ phoit agus a mheur a thumadh anns an uisge agus a cur ’na bheul. “O ho,” ars és, agus e teanndan ann am fearg ri Fearchar, “cha ’n ’eil feum sam bith an so a nis. Cha d’ rinn thu mar dh’ iarr mi ort, agus air an aobhar sin cha ’n fhaigh thu do dhuais.” Cha robh comas air; phill Fearchar air a rathad dhachaidh, agus ma phill cha robh neach tinn a thachair ris nach do leigheasadh leis bho ’n ghalar. Mu dheireadh, thainig e gus a’ bhaile anns an robh rìgh a’ comhnaidh aig an àm.

Thachair gu 'n robh an rìgh gun chomas imeachd le cois ghoirt, agus bha léighean an rìgh féin air an dochas gun leigheasadh iad e, a chall. Chual Fearchar so, agus gun dàil chaidh e gu geata 'chaisteil agus dh' eubh an àrd a ghuth, "A' bhiasd dhubh ris a' chnàmh gheal." Dh' foighnich an rìgh co bha an sud. Dh' inniseadh dà gu 'n robh fear siubhail a bha cumail am mach gu 'm fear leigheas no léigh e fein. "Thugadh an so e" ars an rìgh. Chaidh Fearchar a ghairm steach, agus nuair a sheas e air beulaibh na cathair, dh' foighnich an rìgh ris, am bu léigh e. "Seadh, le ar cead," ars Fearchar. "Ma ta," ars' an rìgh, "ma leigheiseas tu mis, bheir mi dhut ni sam bith a dh' iarras tu gu leth mo rioghachd." Ann an tiota, leigheis Fearchar an rìgh. "Ciod nis tha thu 'giarraidh," ars' an rìgh. "Tha," ars Fearchar h-uile eilean mara tha eadar Rudha Stòr an Asainnt gu Ceann Dearg Arcamh." "Tha t' iartas agad," ars an rìgh; "agus mar an ceudna mìr mòr eile de fhearann air an tìr-mhór a'd dhuthaich fein." 'S e "siol Fhearchar Léigh" theireadh muinntir an tòs ri sliochd Fhearchair. Mu dheireadh chaidh so ghearradh goirid gu "Mic Fhearchair" no na "Corrachaidhean."

Air son aobhair nach eil glé shoilleir aig an àm so, thug fear, mu dheireadh, de dh' oighreachan dligheach Fhearchair Leigh, seachad a chòir an oighreachd do Mhorair Mhic-Aoidh, bho chionn còir is dà cheud bliadhna air ais. An deigh sin, thainig ceann air Siol Fhearchair mar fhine a bha comharraicht' measg sluagh Duthaich-Ic-Aoidh; agus air an là diu mach bho theaghlach no dhà, cha 'n 'eil neach ann tha dol fo an ainm "Corrachaidh" no "Mhic Fhearchair."

D. MAC AOIDH.

CURE FOR EPILEPSY AS PRACTISED IN 1909 IN
LEWIS AND IN WEST SUTHERLAND.

ALTHOUGH I do not assign this procedure as such to Norse influence, I mention it here from its extreme interest as a survival, and as one or two elements in the rite—the giving of his own blood to the patient to drink, and the cutting of the knots—may possibly be met with by some student of archaic Norse rites in the remoter valleys of Norway and of Iceland. I quote my notes: On June 15, 1909, I saw J. M. in the township of B. He suffered from epilepsy, for which he had been treated two years previously at the Infirmary, Edinburgh. I asked what he had been trying since I saw him last. He then told me in broken sentences, interrupted by short recurrent fits, how some months previously he had gone to Lewis to see one N. M. at C. in the parish of B., by Stornoway. This man's father was held to have a gift of curing epilepsy, but had died eight years ago. The son was taught all his father knew. His procedure was to take blood from the patient's left foot, and he caused the patient to drink it. This is a chief point in the 'cure': the patient must drink his own blood. The 'doctor' then cut a piece of each nail and of each toe, also some hairs from the eyebrow and moustache: these he wrapped up in papers. He then made a *sìoman* or straw rope of the length of the patient: he made three such. Thereafter other three, each of the length of the patient's outstretched hands and body (—'gam thomhas air an aitheamh) in one span. These straw ropes were put crosswise on the body of the sufferer. The ends

were then folded and knotted. The knots were then cut and the cuttings put in papers, and the whole contents buried in a place where neither sun nor wind nor rain could get at them. The whole procedure was to expel the demon of epilepsy. It was held desirable in such cases to bury a black cock on the spot where the patient had the fit for the first time. The sufferer was also directed to drink out of a *copan-cinn*, or skull-pan, taken from an old cemetery on the island of H., which he did for some weeks. The peculiar taste was fresh in the mouth the next morning as it was on the previous night. The patient, a well-living man, and a Free Church man, confessed that during this treatment, if he was not better, he was not much worse. And with kindly thoughts towards this old-world rite, with simple heart, he once more set out for Edinburgh. He did not hear the words of the incantation, but he could see the lips of this survivor of a long line of medicine-men move as he repeated the charms to himself. I felt much moved as the sufferer told me this and in touch with ages almost as distant as when the glorious mountains were brought forth that I then gazed upon, and near by were children's young voices and the sea's mysterious murmur. An old shepherd was present and—inexpressible to myself—my thoughts were at the heart of things.



CHURCH DOOR AT HYLLESTAD, SAETERSDAAL.

See Appendix.



DOOR PILLARS OF HYLLESTAD OR SAETERSDAL.¹

THESE are now in the Christiania Museum. The figures are on the pillars of a church door supposed to date from 1150. If examined from the bottom of the right-hand panel upwards, the third panel shows Sigurd, armed with sword and shield piercing the dragon's body. The second pillar at the bottom shows Sigurd roasting Fafni's heart, which is here represented by three gobbets on a spit, as on the Isle of Man stone. Sigurd is also represented as inserting the thumb of his left hand into his mouth.²

The Norse myth is well known. It suffices here to recapitulate how, after Sigurd had pierced the dragon Fafni through the body, Regin cut out his heart, and told Sigurd to roast it for him while he took a sleep. Sigurd took the heart and roasted it on a spit, and when he thought it roasted enough, and as the blood frothed from it, he touched it with his finger to see if it were quite done. He burnt his finger and put it into his mouth, and when Fafni's heart's blood touched his tongue he understood the language of birds. He heard a bird telling its companions that Sigurd should himself eat the dragon's heart. A second bird said that Regin would deceive him; a third said that he ought to kill Regin; another one counsels that he should take the dragon's treasure. All these things Sigurd performs, and rides off with the treasure on Grana's back.

The Sigurd representations on the Manx Crosses con-

¹ See pp. 92, 95.

² *v. Proceed. Soc. Scott. Antiq.*, June 13, 1887.

clusively show that this story was known in the Isle of Man. The incidents in the Fionn Saga and in the story of Ferchar Lighich are given a Highland setting but they still are only variations on the Norse theme which meets us in the Elder Edda.

GILLE-CINN CHON FHINN.¹

THE original runs thus :

Bha'n Fhinn aon uair a' falbh dh'àite gu àite agus far an tigeadh an oidhche orra bu ghnàth leo camp chur suas ann airson gun leigeadh ead seachad an oidhche : an comhnuidh bhiodh fear-faire mach aca. An oidhche seo thachair gur h-e gille-nan-con air an d'thainig faire a' chammpa. Bha'n deise Ghaidhealach air a ghille tha-paidh bh'ann an seo. Bha balg-saighead air a chliathaich agus a bhiodag s an claidheamh. Bha e cruaidh spaidsearachd gu trang nuair a ghabh an Fhinn mu thamh. S e àm a gheamhnaidh a bh'ann agus thionndainn an oidhche gu h-olc le cur sneachda agus le fuachd. Bha Gille-Cinn Chon Fhinn 'ga làthadh cho trang s gan robh e spaidsearachd s ga mheileachadh leis an t-sneachd. Thubhairt e ris fhein theid mi stigh gan chammp ga m' ghaireadh gun teid an fhras ás. Chaidh e stigh s bheothaich e'n teine s bha e dianamh garadh chul-chas. Thug e suil a mach agus bha toiseach togail aig an fhrois shneachda s thug e toigh dha luirg ann san t-sneachd. Thubhairt e ris fhein: rinn mi mo mhiabadh (destroyed myself), tha'm bàs agam s gun fhios agam co cha seachad : cha'n fhaigh mi 'm bàs ach aon uair. Sinidh mi air an neach rinn a lorg gun fhios nach beirinn air s nach innseadh e dhomh co à² le socair. Thug e ás deigh an duine rinn a lorg agus fada goirid ga 'n robh e air falbh na dheannaibh agus na ruith mhuthaich e dha agus bha e á cumadh le miadachd ach gad a bha cha till mise

¹ P. 279.

² Dialectal for *e*.

gu faigh mi mach co à ar neo bidh mi marbh. Bha gille cinn chon Fhinn na ruith s cha robh duin' eile dianamh ach stràid-cheum. Dìreadh maolaidh eadar da bheinn rug e air an duine mhor s cha'ìdh e na sheanachas. Thaineadh sibhse seachad air a chammp againne agus thaineadh mise fìach cò sibh a chionn cha'n eil duine ri dhol seachad oirne nach fheum fios bhi againn co à no co às a thainig e na ca bheil e dol. Tha geaird againn a mach airson sin agus neach sa bith nach fhaigh sin a mach bidh bheath air a gearradh air falbh. Se sin chuir mise às ur deigh-sa air-son gu faighinn a mach co sibh s bhithinn fad as ur comain airson gu'n innseadh sibh dhomh e. Teich, a dhuine gun diù, ars a fear mor, às mu rathad: cha builear dhut an Fhinn uile tho'irt na m' choinnimh m'a sloinninn-sa mi fhìn. An Fhinn uile, os esan, nan tugainn-sa ann, an cnèamh¹ slàn cha bhiodh n ur collainn: chuid nach pronnadh ead le'n lamhan is dearg a loisgeadh ead le'n anail. Sin nur thilg e orm an t-sleagh mhor bha na dhorn gu'n chuir e i seachad sios seachd troidhean diag ann san talamh. Sin nur thilg mi air an crann beag a bha fodh m' shail: bhuin do chrann gleusda dha m' chridhe s cha dian a lighich mo leigheas. Thubhairt fear beag an uair sin: gur h-ann tusa² s miosa sin nach d' rinn do shloinneadh a chianamh mu'n tug gille-cinn chon Fhinn comhrag dhiot ann san troma ghleann. S mis, os a fear mor,

Seadhain Mac Rìgh Buirm
 Mac an fhir mhoir bu ghairg trosd
 S gur e b'ainm dha tighinn gu teach
 Comhrag nan coig ceudaibh con.

(S e na laighe air uilinn air an làr.)

Lorg an ògain seach³ an t-àth
 Ceum ròthach⁴ s e ro dhian
 Luigheam air Fionn nam Fiann
 Nach b'e Fionn fhein no Oisean.

¹ Dialectal for *cnàimh*.

² Dialectal for *dhut-sa*.

³ astigh an ròd.

⁴ lòdhar.

Nach b'e Diarmad a ruisg glan
 Nach b'e Niall a Locha Lùim
 Nach b'e h-aon a chuideachd Fhinn
 Choinnich a raoir s an troma ghleann.

Thrus mi m'éideadh, thair mi ás
 Feadh na mointich bu gharbh truis
 Bha mise 'na m' ruith s 'na m' leum
 Bha fear mor na chruaidh cheum.

S ann a sin a rug mi air
 S 'bheinn bhig eadar dha sgoir
 S gu'n dh'fhiosraich mi dheth gu fòil :
 Ach fhear mhóir cò 'd as ma sin ?

ÒLACH :

“ Ach fhir bhig sin s ach fhir bhig
 Gad a dh'fharraid cha bu ghlic
 Cha builear dhut an Fhinn uile
 Tho'irt gu sloinneadh an aon duine.”

GILLE-CINN :

“ An Fhinn uile nan tugainn ann
 An cnèambh slan cha bhiodh na d' cholluinn
 Chuid nach pronnadh ead le'n lann
 S dearg a loisgeadh ead le'n anail.”

S ann a sin a thilg e orm
 An t-sleagh mhor a bha na dhorn
 S gu'n chuir e i seachad sios
 Seachd troidhean diag annis¹ an talamh.

S ann a sin a thilg mi air
 An crann beag a tha fodh m' shail (*i.e.* achlais)
 Gu'n chuir mi e siar air a chridhe
 S lot mi fhìn e lan fuil fir.

“ Beannachd dhuts ! eirich gu teachd
 Oganaich oig a chuil chlannaich ;
 Bhean do chrann gleusd a'm chridh
 S mo shuil lighich nach léigh.

¹ S. Uist dialect = anns.

S gur ann dut-sa s miosa sin
 Nach d'rinn thu do shloinneadh a dhianamh
 M'an tug gille-cinn chon Fhinn
 Comhradh dhiot ann sa troma ghleann."

"Mise Seadhain ¹ Mac Rìgh Buirmb ²
 Mac an fhir ghairg ³ bu mhór trosd."
 S e bu ainm dha tighinn-gu-teachd
 Comhraig ⁴ nan coig ceudaibh con

Chuir mi an sin e air a thaobh
 Thomhais mi'n t-òg air a throighean
 Bha seachd traighean ann a liad
 'S a h-ochd diag air fad ann.

S cha bu chòir do mhacu ⁵ baoth
 Dol a chomhraig laoich mar sin.

Bho Mór nic Fhinghuine, an Dalibrog.

Alternatives: ¹ Sithean. ² Beilbh. ³ mhóir éitich ghairbh.
⁴ Ceannard nan seachd ciad con. ⁵ Mhacaomh.

AN CAOINEADH MAGAIDH.¹

[FHUAIR me an sgeul so o làimh Mhr. Iain Macill-sheathain, an Glascho, air réir aithris a mhathar nach mairionn.]

Nuair a bha Tiriodh fo chumhachd nan Lochlannach bha bean-uasail Lochlannach (their muinntir an eilein gur h-i nighean Rìgh Lochlainn a bh' innte) a fuireachd anns an eilean le a fear agus a dithisd chloinne. Ged a bha i uasail bha i air a shon sin fhein 'n a boirionnach fuathasach crosda, agus bha na Tirisdeich fo mhór eagal roimpe: ach ged a bha i de nàdur cho borb agus gu'n robh eagal aig na fir fhein roimpe bha gaol mór aice air a dithis chloinne, balach agus caileag.

Cha'n'eil cuimhne agam a nis cia mar a thachair dhi tighinn do Thiriodh an toiseach, co dhiubh a b'ann le a toil fein no ann an cuideachd a fir agus a dhaoine a ghabhail fasgaidh roimh ànradh sìde (tha mi'm beachd gur h-ann air son an aobhair mu dheireadh a thainig i ann), ach coma co dhiubh ghabh i gaol mór do'n àite agus rinn i a dachaidh ann. Cha do dh'iarr i an t-eilean fhàgail aig am sam bith ged a bha a fear 'ga fàgail gle thric leatha féin nuair a bhiodh e a falbh le a luchd-leanmhuinn fiach c'àite am faigheadh e creach ri thogail no daoine a mhort agus a mharbhadh, gus an do thuit aon latha air an d'thàinig fios cabhagach a Lochlainn ag iarraidh oirre tilleadh dhachaidh cho luath agus a b'urrainn i. Co dhiubh a b'ann o h-athair, an Rìgh, no o a fear a thainig am fios cha'n'eil cuimhne agam a nis, ach b'éiginn dhi falbh leis na h-urrad de chabhaig agus nach d'fhuir i cothrom air na pàisdean a thoirt leatha, agus dh'fhàg i iad air cùram muinntir an eilein, ag earalachadh orra a h-uile

¹ v. p. 284.

cùram a b'urrainnear a ghabhail dhiubh agus a maoidheadh orra na'n eireadh beud sam bith go'n chloinn gu'n diuladh a h-uile aon aca air a shon.

Bha na Tirisdeich gle thoilichte a bhi saor o'n Bhan-Lochlannach car ghreis, oir dh'fhuiling iad mórán cruadail bhuaipe, ach bha iad deònach gu leoir deogh chùram a thoirt air a cloinn oir tha coltach gur h-e pàisdean laghach a bh'unnta agus gu'n robh speis mhòr aig muinntir an eilein dhaibh.

C'ab'e'r gu dé an t-aobhar a thug a' Bhan-Lochlannach air falbh o Thiriodh ghleidh e i na's fhaide na bha dùil aice agus bha còrr is dá bhliadhna air dol seachad mu'n do thill i a rithist.

Beagan mu'n do thill i chaochail an dà phàisde a dh'aindeoin gach cùram a fhuair iad o'n fheadhainn a bha sealltainn as an deigh. Bha bròn gu leòir air na Tirisdeich air son bàs an dà phàisde, ach bha iomaguin ni's mò orra air son na dh'fhaodadh tachairt dhaibh-fhein nuair a thilleadh am màthair.

Tha e coltach gur h-ann toiseach am t-sàmhraidh a thill a' Bhan-Lochlannach. Mu'n do rainig i an t-eilean fhuair na Tirisdeich fios air dhoigh air chor-eiginn gu'n robh i aig làimh, agus thuit eagal mór orra, oir bha iad cinnteach mar an rachadh bacadh air chor-eiginn a chuir air a fearg nuair a chluinneadh i mu bhàs a dà leinibh nach fhàgadh i tigh no aitreabh gun a chreach is gun a losgadh, no duine no creutair gun a mhort no gun a mharbhadh. Uime sin nuair a chualas gu'n robh a' Bhan-Lochlannach a dluthachadh ris an eilean chruinnich a h-uile duine de mhuinntir an eilein an ceann a chéile fiach an rachadh aca air seol sam bith fhaotainn chum fearg a' Bhan-Lochlannaich a sheachnadh.

An deigh dhaibh ioma comhairle a chluinntinn agus a dhiultadh thàinig sean fhear liath air adhart agus thubhairt e nach robh e gu feum sam bith dhaibh fiachainn ri iad-fhein a dhion le fearas-airm, gu'n robh na Lochlannaich gu mór na b'fhearr air an armachadh agus gu'n robh iad na's ionnsaichte ann an cogadh na bha na Tirisdeich,

agus a dh-aindeoin gach euchd a dh'fhaodadh iad a dhianadh gu'n rachadh am mort agus am milleadh aig a'cheann mu dheireadh. "A luchd-duthcha," ars'esan, "tha mi smointinn ged a tha sinn fo mhór eagal air son na dhfhaodas tachairt dhuinn air tàilleibh bàs dà leinibh nighinn Rìgh-Lochlainn tha mi'n dùil nach'eil aon againn nach'eil a caoidh an dà leanabh bhòidheach a shiubhail, a chionn is e pàisdean laghach a bh'unnta, agus bha gaol mór againn uile orra, agus tha fhios is cinnte aig a h-uile neach a tha làthair ann seo an diu nach do dhiult sinn riamh dhaibh nì sam bith a bheireadh sòlas dhaibh fhad 's a bha iad leinn, agus nach do chaomhainn sinn nì sam bith a dhianadh feum dhaibh nuair a bha iad tinn, agus gu'm bheil ar cridheachan air an lionadh le bròn a chionn gu'n do shiubhail iad. Nis, a chàirdean, tha mise a smaointinn nam b'urrainn sinn am bròn a tha sinn a faireachduinn a leigeil ris d'on Bhan Lochlannach ann an dòigh a dhruidheadh air a h-inntinn agus air a cridhe gu'm faodamaid tilleadh a thoirt air a corruich agus gu'm faigheamaid saor as a' chàs anns am bheil sinn. Uime sin, is e a tha mise a' comhairleachadh dhuibh gu'n cruinnich sinn a dh-ionnsuidh a' phuirt aig an tig i air tìr gach mart agus laogh, gach caora agus uan, anns an dùthaich, agus gu'n sgair sinn bho cheile iad, na mairt agus na caoraich air aon chnoc agus na laoigh agus na h-uain air cnoc eile, far am faic iad a cheile ach far nach faigh iad a chòir a cheile, agus tha mise a cur mo cheann an geall gu'n cluinnear an sin tuireadh a dhruidheas air cridhe a' Bhan-Lochlannaich ged a bhiodh e na's cruaidhe na a' chreag air am bheil an t-eilean seo stéidhichte."

Ghabh na Tirisdeich ri comhairle an t-sean duine, agus fada mu'n d'rainig long a' Bhan-Lochlannaich port bha i air a lionadh le ioghnadh agus le iomaguin mhóir leis a' chaoineadh mhuladach a bha i a' cluinntinn air tìr. Cho luath agus rainig an long am port chuir a' Bhan-Lochlannach fios air seanairean an eilein agus dh'fharraid i dhiubh dé bu chiall do'n chaoineadh seo a bha i' cluinntinn o'n thainig i ann an sealladh air tìr?

Fhreagair fear de na seanairean i gu'n d' thàinig call mór air an eilean o chionn ghoirid, call cho mór agus cho muladach agus gu'n robh na creutairean fhein ann an co-fhaireachduinn ris na daoine air a shon. Chuir an fhreagairt seo am barrachd ioghnaidh air a' Bhan-Lochlannach agus nuair a dh'amhairc i mu'n cuairt oirre agus a chunnaic i cho tùrsach, brònach, a bha gach coltas, thubhairt i gu coibhneil gu'n robh i duilich air son a' chall a thainig orra agus na'n rachadh aice-se air ni' sam bith a dhianamh chum am bròn a thogail gu'm bitheadh i ro thoilichte a dhianamh.

Ghabh na seanairean a sin misneach agus ann am briathran ciuin agus stolda dh'innis iad dhi mar a thach-air do'n dà leanabh a dh'fhàg i as a déigh, mar a thuit iad aon as deigh a chéile ann an tinneas, mar a chaidh gach leigheas a b'urrainnear fhaotainn fhiachainn chum slàinte aisig air ais dhaibh, agus mu'n bhròn a thuit air muinntir an eilein nuair a chaochail iad.

Fada mu'n do sguir an seanair d'a iomradh bha a' Bhan-Lochlannach a caoidh is a tuireadh mur gu'm bristeadh i a cridhe, agus an àite mort agus milleadh a dhianamh air na Tirisdeich mar a mhaoidh i nuair a dh'fhàg i is ann a thug i taing agus beannachadh dhaibh air son an coibhneis d'a cloinn.

A reir seanachais eile a chuala mi o chuideiginn, cha'n-eil fhios agam có, thuir "A' Chailleach Bheur" gu'n robh :

“ Miosachan beag mac Rìgh Lochlainn
 Fo chlachan ann am Baile Phuill,
 Is Ulabhag nighean Rìgh Lochlainn
 Fo chlachan ann an Crosapoll ud thall !”

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE.

IN addition to *Na Horgh* at Castlebay, Barra, add *Loch Thorrinish*, above Bornish, S. Uist. *Horgar-nes*, the promontory of the sacrificial grove, 'grove or Harrowness.' When followed by a vowel *rg* may stand: cf. *Horgay*, *Torgay*, in the Sound of Harris. Pp. 79, 164.

gearraidh. The plural of this Norse loan is *geärrachan*; the district about Gerinish is called *Na geärrachan*. On the other hand, *gearraidhean* 'cuttings' is the pl. of *Gadh. gearradh*. This word seems to occur in *Gearra-heilgh*, 'holy-garth,' if we take the latter part of the compound from N. *heilagr* 'holy' or else N. *heill* 'good omen, good luck.' N. *heilagr* translates L. *sacer sanctus*, and in pagan times must have meant 'consecrated.' Adjoining is *Heilibost*, 'holy-stead.' At *Gearra-heilgh* there was a *leabaidh chràbhaidh* or 'bed of devotion,' as there was also at *Dalibrog* (S. Uist), quite close to the *brog* or *dùn* from which that township is named. Pp. 117, 190.

geadas 'pike' (not 'pipe'). P. 121.

With *Häbost* cf. *Hālan*, *Tālan* (S. Uist) 'high-land'? P. 172.

The Norsemen in *Fūiday* were said to have been the last who remained of them in the southern parts of the Long Island. The story of their extinction is that an illegitimate son of *MacNeill* of Barra fell in love with one of the Norse maidens, and that she acquainted him with the fact that though the Norsemen were invincible by daylight they were weak and powerless after sunset. The young *MacNeill* invaded their island during the night

and they all fell victims to his sword. This legend may contain the detritus of some actual interracial skirmish. There are peculiarly large graves in Fūiday and they may date from Viking times. P. 177.

Dūigearaidh (Outer Isles) from N. *dý-gerði* 'bog-garth,' 'bog pasture-land.' Cf. *Dūbhat*, from N. *dý-vatn* 'muddy-water.' P. 195.

G. *Gurraig*, 'Gourock' might possibly have been a bay named after Guðroð. Of a contemporary of Magnus Barefoot we read in saga: "Lawman hight the son of Guðroð, king of the South-Isles." *Ard-Lamont* may preserve the son's name, and Gourock, from N. *Guðroðr-vík*, that of the father. P. 199.

cil, a long inland creek as in *cillerivagh* (Long Island), 'mud-bay-creek' from N. *kíll* 'a small bay'; Norwegian *keila* 'a small sound' (dialectal); M.H.G. *kél* 'a bight'; *kil*, a deep place on a sea-bottom between two sand banks (Jutland). The *-lerivagh* is N. *leir* as in Lerwick (*q.v.*) and *vagr* 'bay.' There is no tradition of a church about the places called Killerivagh in the Long Island. P. 218.

cuile: Craig Chuilebrat (Eriskay): swelling-steep *craig* or rock? O. Norse *kála*, 'hall, sphere, tumour, boss'; Norw. dial. *kála* 'boss, round growth on trees.' N. *brattr* 'steep.' Hence 'hillock-steep'-rock. "In Benbecula at Nunton there is *A'Chulla*: possibly it is the Kula or Hillock above the beach so called that gives the name."—Rev. Allan Macdonald.

-mul, 'islet' (*v. p.* 170): Causamul, Cobhsamul, from N. *Kol's-holm* 'Col's islet': for Col, a man's name, see *Origines Islandicae*, i., 290; for phonetics cf. *abhsadh*.

plod, vb. n. *plodadh*, 'to float timber down a river'; a fleet; N. *floti*, 'float.'

rafan (*p.* 315) is used in Uist for a certain grass that grows in bogs. In a poem by Rob Donn it occurs in the place-name *Bard-Rabhan*, and defined as 'the remains of a *spate* or tide on the shore.' See *Celtic Monthly* for 1900, p. 64.

sgeòd, an upturning lip: N. *Skjod*, 'flap,' Dan. *skiød* 'skirt.'

sgòd, sense: chan eil sgòd aige 'he has no sense.' Cf. Dan. *skiøtte*, to care, mind, heed: *skiødesløfs*, careless.

scrèab, *sgrèab*, a sea-bird whose young disgorges fat oil; the shear-water. Skeat marks E. *scrape* as Scandinavian, Dan. *skrabe*, to scrape.

siofag, *siobhag*, 'a straw, candle-wick, rush-pith,' from Scandinavian; Icelandic *sef*, Swed. *säf*, Dan. *siv* 'a rush,' + Swed. *veke* 'a wick' (a twist of threads for a lamp), Norw. *vik*, 'a skein of thread.' Provincial English *seave* 'a rush.' *Siobhag* seems to be *seave-wick*, rush-wick, and a Norse loan.

-sta, from N. *staðr* 'stead'; *Scarista*, *Scarasta*, N. *skara-staðr* 'sea-mew stead'; *Tolsta* 'Toli's stead'; *Hosta*, N. *hauga-staðr* 'burial-mound stead'; and further examples for Lewis in Watson's *Place Names* (p. 271).

stacach, deaf, short in the hearing (Uist): cf. Dan. *stakket*, short, brief; *stakaandet*, short-breathed. The G. is founded on a Scandinavian root *stak*.

starcach, firm: N. *starkr* 'strong,'

treabha, a thrave; from N. *þrefi*, E. *thrave* (M'Bain).

treisgeir, spade for peats. It contains N. *-skeri* 'cutter' as final part: peat or turf-cutter: *v. toirrsgian*.

EACHDRAIDH MHĀNUIS.

ANNS an leigear a ris creidimh ann an Cruth-Athar-rachadh, comh-cheangailte ri cuimhneachan air Mānus, rīgh Lochlainn ata fhathast ainmeil an Innse-Gall. Mar chomharradh air so theirear: *Gach Eachdraidh gu Eachdruidh Mhānuis.*

Rīgh bh'ann d'am b'ainm Mānus. Dh'fhalbh e le sgioba 's le soitheach. Thainig stoirm is anradh air 's cha robh i ag gabhail stiūreadh dha. Thachair muir confhadhach ris; chaidh an long a bhristeadh air garbhach a bha fiadhaich 's chaill e'n long 's an sgioba. Cha do shābhail duine bh'innte ach e fhéin. B'fhéudar dha na bōtunnan a leigeil dhe mach air a mhuir: is b'fhéudar dìreadh le a chasan rūsge an aoduinn a gharbhlaich. Bha e a' cur òrdagan a chas ann an sguir a bha fiar a' tighinn throma mu'n d'fhuair e gu fiar a bha gu h-ārd. Chunnaic e sin coltas baile mhóir os a chionn ann am bial coilleadh. Bha e ag gabhail ioghnaidh,—'s e 'faicinn taighean beaga bīdeach 'nan streathan, dé'n seōrsa daoine a bh'ann. Rāinig e sin iomall a bhaile. Bha tigh beag iomallach ann a shin agus duine beag bīdeach dianamh bhrōg aig an dorus. Thuig e gur h-e grīasaich a bh'ann; agus 'nuair a thog an grīasaich a cheann chlisg an cridhe aige le mīad an duine a chunnaic e mu 'choinneamh 'na sheasamh.

Dh'fhoighneac an grīasaich dhe le guth iosal eagallach roimhe: gu dé'n duine fiadhaich a bha'n so no co as a thāinig e? Thuirt e-san gun tāinig a crīochan Lochlainn fad air falbh 's gun a chaill e a sgioba 's a shoitheach; gum biodh e fada na chomain nan innseadh e dha an robh saod aige air faighinn air falbh as an

rioghachd so no gu dē an rīoghachd a bh'ann no gu de an seōrsa dhaoine a bha ann.

Thuir an grīasaich ris gum b'e Rīoghachd nan Daoine Beaga a bha ri rād̄h rithe. Dh'fhoighneac an so Mānus dheth an robh saod aige air faighinn aisde no an robh cothrom airgiod a dhianamh ann le h-obair. Thuir an grīasaiche ris gun robh deagh chothrom aig' air airgiod a dhianamh, gur robh mōran do lūchd coille ga gearradh s ga tarring ann am buill air am muin, gur robh daoine a sealladh thairis orra is soithichean ga tarring air falbh agus nach creideadh e nach dianadh e-san tuarsdal mór ann an ūin' aithghearr.

An tā, osa Mānus ris, tha mise dona dheth. Chan eil gas bhrōg agam ach nam biodh tu fhéin cho math 's gun dianadh tu paidhear bhrōg dhomh bhithinn a fuireach agad agus bhiodh tu orra¹ phāigheadh.

Chan eil innleachd agamsa air brōgan a dhianamh dhut, os an grīasaich. Ach nuair a chunnaic e nach robh innleachd aige air brōgan a dhianamh do Mhānus rug e air cheann gaghair is chothromaich e e. Shuain e pīos do sheich mu thimchioll. Chruinnich e ri chéile am pīos leathrach mar gum biodh poca no balg aige.

Falbh a nis, osa Mānus, far a bheil fear-coimhid na coilleadh agus faigh dhomhsa tuagh agus ball.

Nuair a rinn an grīasaich, so, chuir Mānus air dōigh gu falbh dh'ionnsaidh na coille agus 'nuair a nochd e riutha chlisg an sgioba de dhaoine beaga a bha sud nuair a chunnaic 'ad an diunnlach. Leis an toil a bh'aig Mānus tuarsdal mór a dhianamh ann an ūine aithghearr bha e a tarring 's ag gearradh uiread ri deich ar fhichead dhiubh. Leis an dūrachd a bh'aige gus cūs a dhianamh bhuail pathadh mór e. Dh'fhalbh e feadh na coille fiach am faigheadh e lōn as am faigheadh e deoch. Cha robh lōn a tachairt ris. Thachair an so blianag bhriagh ghorm ris ann am miadhon na coille agus leac mhór air a leigeadh air miadhon na blianaige. Le dōchas gu faodadh uisge a bhith foidhe chuir e lamhan foidhe is

¹ =air do.

thog e air a h-oir i. Gu de mhūth air ach staidhir a dol slos fo'n talamh. Ghabh e sìos air an staidhreadh 's cha do leig e'm ball no'n tuagh as a laimh. Nuair a nochd e stigh bha rūm ann a sin a' dearrsadh le solus is le daoimein. Bha baintighearn' ōg nach fhac e riamh a leithid a' suidhe air cathair as an rum. Leig e as am ball 's an tuagh aig bonn na staidhreadh. Ghabh e suas far an robh am boirionnach is ghuidh e deoch oirre. Bha soitheach fīona ri a taobh agus soitheach beag agus līon i an soitheach. Mar a bha esan le iota a phathaidh dh'ōl e far a chinn e. Bha fīon cho lāidir is dh'fhoigneac e gu de a chuir an sud i no gu de bheirte rithe.

Thuirt i ris leis mar a bha i cho briagh gur e'n t-ainm a bh'aca oirre Grīan-nan-Grīan-agus-Gealach-nan-Gealach is Bana-Phrionnsa Nigh' Rìgh Eilein Eubnaidh. Thainig fear-reubainn, os ise. Thug e mise leis 's mi fo gheasaibh aige s fo bhōidean. Dh'fhāg e ann an so mi ann an tigh fo thalamh. Tha feadhainn eile aige dhe m' sheōrsa ann an àiteachan eile fo bhōidean.

Dē'n ūine bhios e ga d' dhīth, osa Mānus. Bithidh fichead lātha os ise, ach nam biodh mulad no brōn orm tha clār-tāilig rim thaobh ann a so is dh'fhōghnadh dhomh mo mhiar a bhualadh air 's bha e agam.

Mar a bha fīon cho lāidir 's a mhiad s a ghabh Mānus dheth bha 'fhuil air a togail. Ghabh e null. "Chan fhaca mi fuamhair no mac na te so nach dianainn sud sa so air," s e 'cur fairis a dhūirn. Bhuail e'n clār-tāilig. Rinn e dà leth dheth, ach dh'fhairich e'n tigh fo thalamh a dol air chrith. Leis an eagal a ghabh e chrath e dheth an deoch. Ghabh e air falbh, is le diachainn 's le cūram dh'fhāg e'm ball 's an tuagh aig bonn na staidhreadh. Rāinig e tigh a' ghrīasaiche. Gabhar dha'n leabaidh is gabhar air gun robh e fuathasach bochd. Thainig an so am fear-reubainn dha'n tigh fo thalamh far an robh ise.

Dē, a dhroch bhoirionnaich, a thug ort a leithid de chabhaig a chur orm? os esan.

Chan eil a ghaoil, os ise, ach mar a bha mi leis a mhulad. Ghabh mi tuilleadh sa chōir de'n fhīon. Thuit

mì null, os ise, agus bhuail mì m'uilinn as a chlār-tàilig is chaidh e na dhā leth.

Bha so an déis a sābhaladh mur a bhith an dīchuimhne a rinn Mānus.

Dh'ēirich am fear-reubainn agus leis an amharus thōisich e air siubhal an taighe. Ach gu cearbach fhuair e'm ball s an tuagh aig bonn na staidhreadh. Thainig e nuas s iad aige 'na lāimh far an robh ise.

S eadh a dhroch bhoirionnaich, seall far an robh' fear de ghillean na coille comhla riut bho dh'fhalbh mise.

Dh'ēid am fear-reubainn e fhēin suas ann an luideagan s ann am bārlagan. Dh'fhalbh e s am ball s an tuagh aige ann an riochd baigeir. Rainig e muinntir na coilleadh. Dh'fhoighneac e dhiubh co chaill sud?

O asa fear dhiubh, 's e'n duine mór a bha cōmhla ruinne chaill sin. C'āite a bheil e? os esan. Tha e ann an tigh a ghriasaich, os 'ādsan.

Rainig e tigh a ghrīasaich. Dh'fhoighneac e dhe'n ghrīasaich an robh leithid so a dhuine stigh aige.

Tha e tinn air an leabaidh, os an grīasaich. Falbh, os am fear-reubainn, is cuir a nuas e. Dh'fhalbh an grīasaiche suas. Nuair a dh'innis e mar a chunnaic e bha Mānus bochd cūs na bu bhochduinne no bha e rīamh.

O! as an grīasaich, chan urrainn dha tighinn a nuas.

Mar a h-urrainn, os am fear-reubainn, is urrainn mise dhol suas.

Chaidh e'n so suas is thog e air fras mhullaich a ghuaile e.

Chan fhaca Mānus bochd līas air talamh no air athar gus na bhuail e air a dha bhonn air bīalthaobh a bhoirionnaich anns an t-seōmar fo'n talamh e. Rug e air corran mór geur a bh'aige is shīn e an lamh a bhoirionnaich e.

“Mur a faca tu'n duine ud riamh mu d' choinneamh gearr gu lār e.”

An tā, os ise, chan fhaca mise an duine riamh 's bho nach fhaca cha teid mì ga bhualadh.

Thug e as a laimh-se e s thug e'n laimh Mhānuis e.

Mur a faca tu-sa am boirionnach ud riamh mu d' choinneamh, os esan, buail i is gearr gn lār i.

Smaointich Mānus am fābhar rinn ise ris-san. Thuirt e nach buaileadh, nach fhac e i, nach robh aobhar aige, nach buaileadh e idir i.

Spìon am fear-reubainn an so an t-iarrunn a làimh Mhānuis. Bhuail e'n t-iarrunn oirre-se ann am mullach a chinn is ghearr e gu lār i. Bha'n fhuil an so a dol a stigh air bial nam brög aig Mānus. Chaidh Mānus an so air a dhā ghlūin as an fhuil ag iarraidh maithheanais bhuatha.

Gheibh thu sin, os am fear-reubainn, ach chan ann sa chruitheachd sam bheil thu a dh'fhāgas mise thu.

Thug e leis air fras-mhullach a ghuaille an sin Mānus bochd. Thug e gu mullach beinne e anns an robh seachd mìle o a barr gu a bonn. Thog e lān a dhūirn dhe'n ūir a bha fo a chasan 's bhuail e air an clār an aoduinn e.

Fāg a chruthachd a bheil thu, os esan, 's bi 'na d' apa,—beathach ceithir chasach coltach ri cū.

Cha b' urrainn e a thūr a thoirt bhuaith gad a dh'atharruich e a chruthachd, agus le a thūr bhuail e air tearnudh leis a bheinn. Rainig e bonn na beinne. Bha abhuinn mhór a tighinn a nuas thromh na coilltichean. Bha i a spūtadh leithe móran dha'n choillidh.

Mach air an fhairge mhothaich esan ann an so soitheach ann am fiath goirid o thīr. Chunnaic e seann bhun' craoibhe ann am bun na stuaidhe. Chaidh e tarsuinn air a chraoibh. Bhuail e air a flodadh a mach le a spōgan. Nuair a fhuair e mach aig doimhneachd bhuail e air sgreadail leis an t-seorsa sgreadail a b'urrainn e dhianamh. Bha caiptein an t-soithich s an là cho briagh a spaidsearachd air bōrd.

Tha mise fo bhōidean duine sam bith a chluinneas mi ann an ēiginn gum bheil agam ri a thoirt as.

Chuir e dithis dhe na gillean air falbh le geōlaidh. Nuair a rainig iad is esan bha e a' tighinn 'nan coinneamh le dhīchioll fhéin.

O, osa fear dhe na gillean, cha duine tha'n so idir, is coltaiche gur h-e th'ann an t-an-sporad ann an riochd.

Osa fear eile, ge b'e sin fhéin e bheir sinn a dh'ionnsuidh a chaiptein e bho na dh'iarr e e.

Rug iad air Mānus bochd 's chuir iad fairis ann an ūrlar na geōlaidh e leis an diumba a bh'aca dha'choltas, 's bha e greis ann am paisean aca, 's nuair a rainig iad an soitheach thilg iad suas innte leis an ath throsd e 's bha e san ath phaisein a rithist. Thainig an caiptein a nuas a shealltainn de bh'ann. Dh'aithnich an so Mānus an caiptein 's a mhionaid. Bhuail e air pōgadh clār-uachdar na luinge far an robh an caiptein a' seasamh 's air pōgadh nam bōtunnan a bha mu a chasan.

O, os an Caiptein, 'se peat ionnsuichtē a bha aig urra mhōr a tha'n so. Chan eil fhios nach eil an t-acras air, os esan. Bheiribh a nuas fuighleach bhur bidhe ga ionnsuidh. Smaointich Mānus an so le a thuir fhéin nan itheadh e fuighleach nan seōladairean gur h-e so a leanadh iad air a thoirt dā ach ged a bha'n t-acras air gun dianadh 'e faighidinn fiach am faigheadh e na b'fheàrr. Bhuail e air smotraich ris: chuir e a shrōin ris, s' chan itheadh e gearradh dheth.

Tā, os an Caiptein, 'se peat ionnsaichte tha'n so. Bheiribh a nuas fuighleach mo dhinnearach fhéin chuige.

Thainig a sin turan¹ a nuas do bhrot s do dh'fheōil is neo-ar-thaing mur itheadh Mānus so. Thug e leis sios dha sheōmar e. Ciod a bh'ann ach an t-āite an robh 'n soitheach so dol bha duine cumhachdach anns a bhaile ris an canadh iad Sultan agus 's ann leis a bha'n soith-each. Bha cabhlach shoitheach aige. 'Nuair a dh'acraich iad 's gu leōir a bharrachd orra 's an acairseid thāinig bāta brīagh mach o thīr agus gille air a chur suas ann an deagh ēideadh is paipeir aige ag iarraidh lāmhsgrīobhaidh h-uile duine bha 'san acairseid is Sultan ag iarraidh clēireach-sgrīobhaidh, 's am fear a b'fhearr gum biodh e aige. Shiubhail an gille na soithichean uile 's

¹ Plenty.

chuir iad an lām̄h ris. Thainig e dh'an t-soitheach an robh Mānus bochd mu dheireadh. Chuir an caiptein a lām̄h ris a phaipeir 's a h-uile duin' air bōrd. Chuir e'm paipeir air oir ann an uinneig a sheōmar. Bha'n apa shīos s'nuair a chaidh an caiptein suas rug e air a pheann na chrū is thug e dhā no trī sgrōban air cūl a phaipeir leis a pheann. Leis a' ghrāin' a bh'aig na seōladairean air bha iad cho furachail air 's dh'ēigh iad ris a chaiptein gun robh an creutair grannda an d'ēis a phaipear a shalach. Thill an caiptein sìos is rug e air a phaipeir :

"Chan eil lām̄h-sgrìobhaidh a chreutair-sa aig mac duine sa chabhlach agus 's mór m'eagal gun caill mi e."

Dh'fhalbh an gille bha na theachdair leis a phaipeir gu tìr is choinnich Sultan e. Shīn e dha am paipeir. Sheall e air a chūl-thaobh.

"Có rinn so?" os e-san.

Rinn an teachdaire bha leis a phaipeir gāire-fanoid air.

"Cha duine a rinn sud idir ach creutair neōnach a th'aig a leithid so a chaiptein air bord."

"Créutair no créutair, is e a lām̄h-sgrìobhaidh as fhearr 'sa phaipeir agus falbh agus thoir a nuas chugam-sa e."

Dh'fhalbh e sìos leis a bhāta is nuair a chunnaic an sgiobair an gille a' tilleadh.

Dh'aithnich mi so roimhe, os esan, agus b'fheudar a chur air tìr leis a ghille.

Cha robh aig Sultan a bha'n so ach aon inghean 's bha i ann an seomar glaiste agus i fo bhōidean aig an fhear-reubainn chianda nach robh fìorannach aice r'a fhaicinn ach aghaidh a h-athar. Leis mar a bha a h-athair cho mór m'a déidhinn, an uair a fhuair e leithid so de chreutair a bha ro-ionnsaichte thug e leis an apa a steach gu dorus 'an t'seōmair.

Dh'ēigh ise mach e thoirt an aire, gum faodadh frionnach a bhì ann san riochd ud.

Cha robh duine riamh anns an riochd ud, os e-fhéin (Sultan).

Thug e steach an apa far an robh an inghean. Cho

luath 's a chaidh an apa a steach dha'n rŭm chaidh an caisteal air chrith. Leum am fear-reubainn a steach.

A dhroch bhoirionnaich, bhrìst thu na bōidean a bh'eadarruinn.

An sin leum iad 'nan dā iolaire a stigh 's an rŭm 's thōisich iad air a chéile. Bha Mānus bochd fo na casan agus leis an diol a bh'aca air a chéile chaidh 'ad air muin Mhānuis agus chuireadh an t-sūil as.

Mach as an t-seōmar gabhar, 's dhìrich ise an so 'na h-iolaire dhuibh os a chionn-sa, s bha i a' faighinn buaidh air a h-uile car. Bha abhuinn mhór an sin a dol seachad aig ceann a chaisteil. Sud sīos am fear-reubainn dh'an uisge 's leumar 'na bhreac dh'an t-sruth. Leum ise na balgaire dubh as a dheaghaidh. An uair bha e gu bhi 'n sās aice so, sgaoil esan 'na iuchar. Sin an uair a leum ise 'na coileach dubh air bruach na h-aibhne 's bhuaill i air itheadh na h-iuchrach. Chuir i an sin car dhith-fhéin 's chaidh i suas 'na maighdeann bhrīagh far an robh a h-athair.

“Dh'ith mise iuchar na béiste agus tha mi gu gabhail anns mo choluinn, agus gus a leigeil fhaicinn dut-sa gur h-e duine th'an so.”

Thog i lān a dūirn dhe'n ūir a bha fo spōgan Mhānuis 's bhuaill i ann an clār an aoduinn e.

“Fāg a chruthachd am bheil thu,” deir i.

S bha e 'na dhuine mar a bha e roimhe ach gun robh e air leth shūil (*v.* pp. 294-303).

GADHELIC SOUNDS IN LOAN-WORDS FROM NORSE.

IN the following examples a hyphen after a letter or combination of two letters denotes initial position; a hyphen both before and after denotes medial position; a hyphen before a letter or combination of letters denotes final position. The changes, though sometimes complex, preserve remarkable regularity. It is to be observed that Norse *final or intervocalic* *kk*, *pp*, *tt* become respectively *c* (i.e. *k*), *p*, *t*; Norse *k*, *p*, *t* become *g*, *b*, *d*; Norse *g*, *b*, *d* become 'aspirated' and practically disappear in Gadhelic speech. The results arrived at may be tabulated for reference. With the aid of the Index further examples may be multiplied. Some difficulty occurs with the 'medials' of Gadhelic script which are really voiceless, though lacking the preceding glide common before voiceless consonants in Gadhelic. For previous treatment see Watson's *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, pp. lvii-lx.

<i>Norse.</i>	<i>Gadhelic.</i>	
kk	c	N. bakki, <i>bac</i> , 'bank'; bakka-vatn, <i>Bacavat</i> , 'ridge-loch, bank-water'; <i>t-há-bakki</i> , <i>Tàbac</i> , 'High Bank'; cf. <i>stoc</i> , <i>stac</i> . pjakk, <i>piocach</i> : hrukka, <i>roc</i> . akkeri, <i>acair</i> , 'anchor'; Brekka-dalr, Brācadale.
pp	p	N. knappr, <i>cnaþ</i> 'knob; blow.' happ, <i>taþadh</i> ; <i>taþag</i> (q.v.). Two Lewis examples are given by Mr. Watson: kappa-dalr, <i>Capadal</i> , 'champion's dale'; <i>Cleibisgeir</i> , '? from kleppr, a plummet, lump,' + sker, <i>sgeir</i> 'skerry.'

Norse.	Gadhelic.	
tt	t	Sléttr, <i>Sléit</i> , parish of Sleat, Skye. skattr, <i>Scat tail</i> , N. skatt-völlr, Scatwell. klettr, <i>cléit</i> , 'a rocky eminence.' att-dalr, <i>Atadail</i> , Attadale, 'horse-fight-dale.' Mr. Watson finds an instance in Lewis <i>Brataig</i> , brattr-vík, 'steep-bay'; also in Cadboll, N. kattar-ból, 'cat-stead' (<i>Place-Names</i> , p. 40); drops out in <i>frī</i> , frith, N. frétt; <i>fritt</i> , <i>freit</i> ; vb. <i>fréti</i> ; <i>frøtt</i> (Shetland).
k-	c-(k)	kollr, 'summit,' <i>Coll</i> (Lewis): Kirki-nes, Rudha Chircnis (q.v.): <i>Kirkaig</i> ; <i>Kirkibol</i> .
k-	g-	N. klömbr, <i>glamair</i> , a smith's vice (my only example in initial position).
-k	-g	vík, <i>-aig</i> , <i>Arasaig</i> , ár-ós-vík, 'river-mouth-bay.'
-k-	-g-	eiki-skiki, <i>Coille-éagascaig</i> (q.v.) 'oak-stripe wood'; <i>Éignaig</i> (q.v.).
p-	p-	<i>piocach</i> ; <i>pùt</i> (q.v.).
-p	-b	hóp, Loch Høb (Hope); Obbe; öb; Öban; Obbenin; Djúp-vík, <i>Diabaig</i> , 'deep-dale.' gnípa, 'a peak,' <i>gníoba</i> , <i>gríoba</i> : gnúpr, <i>gnob</i> (q.v.).
	-p	laupr, <i>löpan</i> (q.v.). The <i>p</i> has an on-glide preceding it. v. <i>Lobban</i> (p. 120).
t-	t-	Tongue (<i>Tunga</i>); <i>Teamradal</i> ; <i>tarp</i> (q.v.).
-t-	-d-	Here perhaps <i>Oda</i> (q.v.).
-t	{ -t -d	gat, <i>Gót man cat</i> (Watson, 45); <i>Gott</i> Bay (Tiree) <i>Got</i> ; grjót, <i>Gríde</i> , <i>A'Ghríde</i> 'the Creed,' N. Grjót-a, 'stony or grit-channelled river' (Lewis); <i>fídean</i> , <i>fídi-gearraidh</i> .
-t -der -dar	-tr -der -dar	setr, 'a seat, stead, dairyland'; appearing ter- minally as <i>shader</i> . "Hence the township name <i>Shader</i> ; also Sheshader, sja-setr, 'sea- stead'; Errshader, from <i>eyrr</i> ; Kershader, from <i>kjör</i> , copse; Linshader, from <i>lín</i> , 'flax'; Shulishader, either stead of the pillar or of the solan geese; Laimshader, 'lamb- stead'; Quishader [<i>Cuidha-seadar</i> , kviasetr, 'fold-stead'], kví or quoy or pen-stead; and personal names in Ungshader, Caryshader,

Norse.	Gadhelic.	
		and Grimshader (Ung, Kari, Grimm)" (MacBain's <i>Early History of Lewis</i> , p. 11).
	-dd-	Flatr-ey, <i>Pladda</i> .
	-t	hrútr, <i>rùta</i> , 'ram.'
-lt	-lt	holt, 'rough ground': <i>Erisolt</i> , 'Erik's holt'; <i>Neidalt</i> , neyt or cattle holt; <i>Sgianailt</i> , skjóna- holt, the holt of the dappled horse (Watson, <i>Place-Names</i> , p. 268).
g-	g-	gil, <i>gìl</i> ; Geisagil, Gìsgil; gagarr, <i>gadhar</i> (<i>gäo'ar</i>); gunnr-, <i>Gunna</i> , Gunn; gedda, <i>geadas</i> ; gerði, <i>gearraidh</i> ; gjá, <i>geddh</i> .
-g-	-g	windauga, <i>uinneag</i> , 'window.' gagarr, <i>ga(dh)ar</i> ;
	-	hrúgi, <i>rùthan</i> , <i>rùghan</i> . Smuga-vik, <i>Smiùig</i> , <i>Smiùthaig</i> , 'cave-bay'; <i>Tao'udal</i> (Tweedle, Lochcarron), haga-dalr, 'pasture-field,' with the usual prefixed t (Watson, p. 195); Bugis-dalr, <i>Bao(gh)asdal</i> , Boisdale, 'slight-bay-dale,' Sigurð-haugr, Siwardhoch (1168), Cyderhall (Watson).
-g	-gh, -,	vagr, -bhaigh; skogr, -sco, -sgo; haugr, <i>Hoghmór</i> , Howmore; Hoe, Toe.
b-	b-	<i>bac</i> ; <i>bodha</i> ; <i>Borve</i> (q.v.).
	p-	<i>Proaig</i> (q.v.): cf. <i>Putharol</i> , N. búðar-hol, 'the hill of the booth' (Watson, 265, where there are several instances under Buð, 'a booth,' genitive búðar). Also eyrar-boer, <i>Eòropie</i> , <i>Eòrrabaidh</i> , 'beach-town.'
d-	d-	Dýr-ey, <i>Diùra</i> 'Jura,' deer-isle; dorg, <i>dorgha</i> , <i>drogha</i> ; dregg, <i>driog</i> ; <i>droinip</i> (q.v.); <i>Dùdil</i> (q.v.); terminal <i>dail</i> , N. dalr, 'dale,' Laxdale, <i>Lacasdail</i> , N. Lax-ár-dalr, 'salmon-river- dale'; eyrar-dalr, <i>Eòradal</i> , 'beach-dale'; Langa-dalr, long-dale, <i>Langadal</i> ; <i>Dìbidail</i> 'deep-dale.'
-gg	-g	dregg, <i>driog</i> ; egg, <i>eig</i> , 'ridge, edge'; egg-nes, Aignish, 'ridge-ness.'
-gg-	-g-	Skeggis-staðr, <i>Sgiogarsta</i> , Skeggi's stead (Watson, 271).

<i>Norse.</i>	<i>Gadhelic.</i>	
-dd-	-d- (-dd-)	<i>Todden</i> Hill, (t)-odd-in, 'the point,' with <i>t</i> of Gadhelic article prefixed, and Norse article suffixed: for the latter cf. <i>Ros na vat</i> , 'loch of the horses' (Lewis); <i>Gaoilein</i> ; and <i>Gillen</i> (q.v.); <i>Fors na val</i> , 'fell of the water-falls.'
-pt	-bht	þopta, <i>tobht</i> .
hn-	n-	Hnausborg, <i>Nomhasburgh</i> .
-rb-	-rr-	Kjarbarey, <i>Kerrera</i> , <i>Cerreraidh</i> .
-rg-	-rr-	Borgar-vík, <i>Borreraig</i> : Borgar-ey, <i>Borreray</i> .
-rg	-ary	erg, -ary: Asgrimsærg, <i>Askary</i> , <i>Assary</i> .
-rgr	-gh	horg, <i>Horogh</i> .
-rg + b	rg	<i>t</i> -horg(ar)-bolstaðr, <i>Torgabost</i> .
hr-	r-	hryggr, <i>Rigg</i> (Snizort): hrafns-vík, <i>Ramasaig</i> : hrútr, <i>rúta</i> : hrafns-ey, <i>Ramsey</i> . hryggjar-ból, Regebol (1530), <i>Ribigill</i> , 'ridge-farm or stead.'
ro-	-or?	Cross, <i>Cors</i> (Islay).
	ro-	Kross-bólstaðr, <i>Crossbost</i> , 'Cross-, rood-stead.'
-gl	-l	fugl, <i>Fulasgeir</i> .
-gm-	-m-	Lögmann, <i>Lāman</i> , <i>M'Laomuinn</i> .
-gr-	-r-	Sigríðr, <i>Siridh</i> .
-gn-	-n-, -,	Magnus, Mānus: Rögnvaldr, <i>Raonall</i> (<i>Rā'ull</i>).
-gt-	-t-	Sigtrygg, Sitrig, Sitric; M'Etterick.
-rð-	-rl-	byrðingr, <i>birlinn</i> : fjórðungr, <i>feðrling</i> .
-rð-	-rr-	gerði, <i>gearraidh</i> : Tumisgarðr, <i>Timsgarry</i> , 'Tom's Garth'; <i>Trumsgarry</i> , 'Thrum's Garth.'
-rðr	-f rt (rst rr	melr-fjörðr, <i>Meil'ar(s)t</i> , 'Melfort'; also <i>Suain-eart</i> , <i>Cnōideart</i> , <i>Mū'deart</i> , 'Moidart' (q.v.). garðr, <i>gàrradh</i> , 'garden, enclosure.'
-ð	-d	tið, <i>tíd</i> : útreið, <i>ùtraid</i> .
-ð-	-dh, -,	<i>Lamaraig</i> , <i>Lamraig</i> , N. hlað-hamarr-vík (q.v.); <i>Svay</i> , Sauða-ey, 'sheep-isle'; Breið-vatn, <i>Breibhat</i> , broad-water or loch (Lewis); also <i>Breadhaig</i> , <i>Brodhaig</i> (q.v.).
	-th-	taði, 'an in-field,' whence, with diminutive, <i>Tathag</i> (Gairloch), 'small home-field': <i>na Tathagan</i> , 'the small in-fields' (Watson, 231); <i>th</i> here represents <i>dh</i> .

Norse.	Gadhelic.	
	-l-	iða, 'a whirling eddy,' <i>iola</i> , 'a fishing bank at sea,' Manx, <i>aahley</i> , 'a place marked at sea to fish on': cf. N. ð becoming <i>l</i> in <i>birlinn</i> .
-ðr-	-rr-	Guðröd, <i>Gorraidh</i> ; staðr, - <i>sta</i> : melr-staðr,
-lr-	-l-	<i>Mealasta</i> , 'sea-links-stead'; <i>Mungarsta</i> ,
-nk-	-ng-	munkar-staðr, 'monks' stead.'
-rk-	-rc-	myrk, 'dark,' <i>Mircol</i> , 'dark hill': <i>Mircavat</i> , 'dark-water.'
-rk + b	-r-	orkn-bólstaðr, <i>Orbost</i> (Skye), 'seal-stead.'
-gar-	-gra-	lágardr, <i>làgraid</i> (q.v.).
-rf	-rp	torf, tarp.
	-r, -rr	torf, <i>toirsgian</i> ; tarf-dalr, <i>Tarradal</i> ; örfiris-ey, <i>Orrasa</i> .
-fn-	-m-	hrafns-vik, <i>Ramasaig</i> 'Raven's bay.'
-fn-	nn(mhn)	t-hafnar-ey, <i>Tannera</i> ; <i>thamhn</i> , 'harbour' (Eris-kay); N. hafn.
-fs-	-s-	klifs-gro, <i>Clisgro</i> , 'stream of the cliff' (Watson, p. 268).
-fr	-p	gljúfr, <i>Glup</i> (<i>Poll a' Ghluip</i>).
-lft	-lt	alft, 'swan,' <i>Altanis</i> , 'swan-ness' (Lewis) (Watson, p. 270).
-lfr	-lbh, -lv	kálfr, <i>calbh</i> : Ulfs-ey, <i>Ulba</i> .
	-lb	Ulfs-setr, <i>Ulbister</i> (1566), <i>Ulbster</i> ; <i>Ulbustle</i> (Kildonan).
-ls	s	hálsa, <i>abhsa</i> (a ^u sa) q.v.; but <i>háls</i> , 'neck' is <i>Gob Hàis</i> (Lewis) (Watson, 268).
kv-	cu-, co	Kvíá-setr, <i>Cuidha-seadar</i> , 'fold-stead' (Lewis); Koidale, 'fold-dale' (Islay); <i>kvi</i> , Orkney 'quoy,' <i>cui</i> 'enclosure': <i>Quiraing</i> (Skye); <i>Kvaran</i> , <i>Cuaran</i> .
-ókr	-abhcair	slókr, <i>slabhcair</i> (q.v.).
tv-	to-	tvinna, <i>toinn</i> .
þ-	st-	þerna, <i>stearnal</i> (q.v.).
þ-	t-	þorisdalr, <i>Torrisdal</i> , 'Thori's or Thorir's dale.' (A further change, under Gadhelic development, Dun-Horrisdale): þroskr, <i>trosgr</i> : þopta, <i>tobht</i> .
h-	t, t-h +	haf, <i>tabh</i> , 'ocean'; hólmr, <i>Tolm</i> , <i>Dun-tuilm</i> .

Norse.	Gadhelic.	
	h-	Hallaðr stein, Drum-Hallastein (Reay); Haugr, <i>Hoghmór</i> ; Hoe, Tøgh; hamla, <i>amall</i> .
hj-	he-	Hjalmunðsdalr, 'Helmsdale.'
	se-	Hjalt-land, <i>Sealtainn</i> (Shetland).
he-	ha-	Helgadalr, Strath <i>Halladale</i> .
hl-	l-	hlunnr, 'launching roller,' <i>lunn</i> , <i>lund</i> , 'staff, lever, coffin-trestle, oar-handle.'
v.p. 345 { hr-	r-	brukka, <i>roc</i> , 'wrinkle.'
-x(cs)	-cas-	Laxárdalr, <i>Lacasdail</i> , 'salmon water-dale.'
-kks-	-cs-	stakks-á-vatn, 'stack-river loch,' Stacsavat.
-ngv-	mh	lang-vé : <i>lamh</i> , <i>lamhaidh</i> .
ng + a	ng	Tunga-gerði, Beinn <i>Thungairidh</i> ; <i>Tungavat</i> , 'tongue water' (from shape of the loch); <i>Langavat</i> , 'long water or loch'; stangar-ey, 'pole-isle,' <i>Stangraidh</i> (Watson, p. 266).
-ngr	-nn	byrðingr, <i>birliinn</i> .
-ndr	-nd	sandr, <i>Handa</i> , <i>Sanda</i> ; Sanda-bhaig, 'sand-wick.'
-nd	{ d nt	mjó-sund, <i>Miasaid</i> , 'narrow-sound' (Watson, p. 269); þrondarnes, <i>Tróntarnis</i> (17th c.), Trotternish, 'Thronð's ness' (Skye); *Mundi-fjörð, Mudeworth (1373) v. <i>Gael. Soc. Inv. Trans.</i> xxv. 73, <i>Muideart</i> (with long nasal ū), Mundi's fjord.
-nd-	-nn-	windauga, <i>winneag</i> . (MacAndy, p. 55, is a doubtful case of <i>nd</i> remaining.)
	-nt	áss-Endi, <i>Asaint</i> , Assynt, 'ridge-end.'
v-	f-	vaðill, <i>fadhail</i> (faodhail).
	ù	vík, <i>Uig</i> , cf. Irish <i>uiging</i> , 'fleet,' from N. <i>vikingr</i> . ¹
-v-	-a-	Scat-völlr, <i>Scat'al</i> , 'Scatwell': <i>völlr</i> occurs as <i>wall</i> in Dingwall (q.v.); Kirk-vík, <i>Kirkaig</i> , <i>Inbhircircaig</i> ; Lamraig; Ardheslaig (q.v.).
-bh-, u; (w)		-vagr, <i>-bhagh</i> , <i>Stedrnobhagh</i> , Steðrnua. vík, <i>Ūig</i> ; cf. Ir. <i>uiging</i> : (Wicklow).
sv-	f-	svart-bakur, <i>farspag</i> (q.v.).

¹ Bugge points out that Irish *laideng*, 'a fleet,' is from N. *leiðangr*, an expedition at sea; service in sea warfare; all that is required for such service, ships, provisions, and men.

<i>Norse.</i>	<i>Gadhelic.</i>	
	su-	Sveyn-fjörð <i>Suaineart</i> , 'Sweyn's firth'; Svördr-dalr, <i>Suardal</i> , 'Sward-dale.'
-f	(-v-), -bh-	ofarr-skiki, <i>Över-scaig</i> .
f	f-	fidean; Fiskavaig; flathadh; fulmair; fjörusetr, <i>Feori-seadar</i> , 'ebb-tide shieling' (Lewis).
-f		drops in finals in compounds under weak stress; gróf, 'a pit,' hence stream; <i>Alla-gro</i> , 'eels' stream'; <i>Mola-gro</i> , 'pebbly-beach stream.'
-f	-f	rif, <i>riof</i> ; klif, <i>cliof</i> ; Fjár-vík, Fivig, <i>Fiabhaig</i> , 'sheep-bay' (Watson, p. 272).
	-bh- (v)	skarfr, <i>sgarbh</i> ; rof, Robhanis (<i>Rudha Robhanis</i>), the Butt of Lewis, from rof, an opening, Hole-ness—with reference to the 'Eye of the Butt'—(Watson, p. 270); Grafir, 'pits,' Graver.
-fr	-p(?), v (bh), f	gljúfr, <i>Poll a' Ghluip</i> ; stafr, 'a staff': <i>Staffin</i> , 'the staff'; <i>Staffa</i> , 'staff (basalt) isle'; final -r always drops but (?) Loch a' Ghlobhuir (Lewis); also Gleann <i>Ghleadh-airean</i> (Watson, p. 267).
-rf	-rp	torf, <i>tarf</i> .
-fj-	-bh-, -v-, -, -mh-	fjall 'mountain or fell': <i>Rðinebhal</i> , hraun-fjall, 'rough-fell'; <i>Grinnabhal</i> , 'green-fell'; <i>Söval</i> , sauðr-fjall, 'sheep-fell'; <i>Suaineval</i> , 'Sweyn's fell'; B. Laghal (Ben Loyal); <i>Aoismheall</i> (St. Kilda).
l-	l-	<i>Lacasdle</i> ; <i>Lanndaidh</i> ; Beinn <i>Laghal</i> (Loyal) Ljótr, ¹ <i>Mac-Leòid</i> .
-l-	-l-	<i>Skulamus</i> , <i>Sgulamus</i> , 'Skuli's moss'; keila, <i>cìlean</i> ; sili, <i>siola</i> .
-l	-l	melr, Melfort, Melness, Melvich.
-lg-	-ll-	Holger, <i>Ollaghar</i> ; also <i>Gearraidh Allagharai</i> .
-als-	-abhs-, au,	hálsa, <i>abhsadh</i> , v. <i>abhsporag</i> , <i>tabhs</i> . For the reverse cf. kaup, 'pay'; <i>calpa</i> , 'principal set to interest.'

¹ Ljótr, a companion of Arnfinn, the brother of Anakoll, a viking from the Hebrides: *Orkneyinga saga*, ch. 101. Is he the ancestor of the Macleods? queries Prof. A. Bugge (*On the Fomorians and the Norsemen*, p. 36).

Norse.	Gadhelic.	
m-	m-	merki, 'banner,' <i>meirghe</i> (Zimmer); mör, <i>marag</i> (q.v.); melr, <i>Melness</i> (q.v.); meiss, <i>méis</i> ; mjo-fjall, 'narrow hill,' <i>Mimheall</i> ; <i>Skula-mus</i> , 'Skuli's moss'; mjo-sund, <i>Miasid</i> , 'narrow sound.'
-m-	-m-	síma, <i>sioman</i> ; hamla, <i>amall</i> ; Lamraig (q.v.).
-m	-m	Orm, <i>Ormadail</i> , <i>Ormsary</i> (q.v.); Orms-skikki, <i>Ormscaig</i> .
n-	n-	ná-búi, <i>nábuidh</i> , 'neighbour.'
hv-	p-	<i>Hvarf</i> , met with several times in Icelandic cape names, meaning 'rounding, turning,' <i>Am Parph</i> , <i>Am Parf</i> , Cape Wrath; <i>Púitig</i> , Whiten Head (An Ceann Geal) = *Fúitic, hvít-vík.
c-, (ch?)		In Lewis <i>Am Parph</i> is called <i>An Carbh</i> ; for Norse <i>rf</i> becoming <i>rbh</i> cf. <i>sgarbh</i> , N. skarfr; as to the <i>c</i> sound cf. Camasort, G. Loch Chamasort, Loch Hamasord, Lewis, N. hvamms-fjörðr, 'firth of the grassy slope' (Watson, p. 267). This sound may have been <i>ch</i> at first due to the sound of Norse <i>h</i> .
v, bh		<i>hwalls-ey</i> , 'whale-isle,' <i>Valasey</i> (Watson, p. 266). <i>Vaul(?)</i> (q.v.).
f-		<i>Futerne</i> , an old Gadhelic form of Hvitern, Whithorn; <i>fluit</i> (Book of Leinster), N. hvítr, 'white.'
		<i>far-as</i> , N. hvar es, 'where is?' (Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh ed. Todd); from these old forms one may infer *Farf, *Fúitig, which with de-aspirated <i>f</i> (cf. G. siur, <i>fiur</i> , <i>piuthar</i>) yield Parph, Púitig.
hj	f	hjalm, 'helm,' <i>falm</i> ; <i>falm-adair</i> , 'the tiller.'
-j-	drops out in	<i>laom</i> from N. <i>ljómi</i> .
	„	<i>sgùlan</i> from N. <i>skjóli</i> .
	„	<i>ròmag</i> from N. <i>rjómi</i> .
	„	<i>Callanis</i> (Calarnis) from N. <i>Kjalarr-nes</i> .
	„	<i>gluip</i> , gen. <i>gluip</i> from N. <i>gljúfr</i> .
	„	<i>Fear Halmadairigh</i> from N. <i>Hjalmunds-erg</i> .

-j- drops out in Loch Thartabhat from N. *t*-hjarta-vatn, 'hart or stag loch' (Watson, p. 272).

(Possibly add the map form Thurso, G. Inbhir-*Theòrsa*, N. *þiórsa*, rather than *þórsá*.)

N.B.—(1) palatalization is introduced in Gadhelic where N. -j- is absent in

Smiùthaig, N. Smuga-vík.

Diùrinnis, N. Dýr-nes.

Giodhai (Gigha), N. Guð-ey.

Leódhus, cf. N. Lödöse. If from *ljóðahús*, 'song or lay-house,' it is a case where *j* has not dropped.

feodhail, *feadhail* (dialectal variants for *fadhail*), N. vaðill.

(2) Sometimes a letter is developed in the map form of the word after it has been taken over, e.g. G. *sìobarsgaig*, Skibbercross, which Mr. Watson thinks is possibly N. *siðu-búr-skiki*, 'side-bower-strip.' The *k* is due to the *sk* in -*skiki*: Syborskeg, Schiberskeg (1562).

Norse. *Gadhelic.*

ja-	ia-	jarl (older, eirilar), <i>iarl</i> 'earl.'
já	eò	gjá, <i>gèdha</i> .
jo-	io-	pjokk, piocach (q.v.).
-jò-	-ao-	ljómi, <i>laom</i> (q.v.), 'blaze.'
	-ì-	grjót-á, <i>Grìde</i> , Creed (q.v.).
	-ia-	mjó-vík, 'narrow-bay,' <i>Miavaig</i> ; mjó-grof, 'narrow stream or pit,' <i>Miagro</i> (Meathagro) (Watson, p. 269).
	-ù-	skjóla, sgùlan.
	-eò-	Ljótr, <i>Mac-Lèid</i> ; fljót, Strath- <i>Fleòid</i> 'Strath-Fleet.'
-jú-	-ia-	djúp-vík, 'deep-bay,' <i>Diabaig</i> .
	u, o(?)	gljúfr 'abrupt descent in the bed of a river'; <i>Globhur</i> : Loch a <i>Ghlobhuir</i> (O.S.M. Loch a' <i>Ghluair</i>) (Watson, p. 267).
-tr	-t, -d, ta	-setr, - <i>said</i> : Lín-setr, <i>Lionasaid</i> , Linside. hrútr, <i>rùta</i> , 'ram.'
-tn	-t	-vatn, - <i>bhat</i> , 'water or loch.'
-ts	-s	hrútsdalr, 'ram's dale,' <i>Rùsdal</i> .

Norse.	Gadhelic.	
-sp-	-s-	(through <i>ps</i> , <i>bs</i>): <i>aspi-dalr</i> , 'aspens-dale': Inner-absdill (Blaeu's map); <i>Inbhir-à' dail</i> , Inverasdale (Watson); cf. <i>abstol</i> , <i>ostal</i> , 'apostle' for <i>bs</i> , <i>s</i> .
sk-	sg-	<i>skogr</i> , <i>Sgoghairigh</i> , Scourie; <i>skip</i> , <i>sgioba</i> , 'crew'; <i>sker</i> , <i>sgeir</i> ; <i>skata</i> , <i>sgat</i> , <i>sgait</i> , 'skate.'
-sk	-sg	<i>þorskr</i> , <i>trosgr</i> : -skiki, - <i>scaig</i> , - <i>scaig</i> , <i>Arscaig</i> .
sl-	sl-	<i>slókr</i> , <i>slabhcar</i> .
w-	u-	<i>windauga</i> , <i>uinneag</i> (u'ñ ^e ag), 'window.'
au	ò	<i>rauð-dalr</i> , 'red-dale,' <i>Rödal</i> , Rodel (Harris); <i>staup</i> , <i>stòp</i> ; <i>laupr</i> , <i>lòban</i> , <i>lòpan</i> ; <i>sauða-ey</i> , 'sheep-isle,' <i>Sōay</i> ; <i>haugr</i> , 'burial-mound,' <i>Hogh</i> , <i>Howmore</i> ; <i>Tōgh</i> ; <i>straumr</i> , 'stream,' <i>Strōm</i> (<i>Strome</i> Ferry); <i>staurr</i> , 'a stake, point,' <i>Stōr</i> , <i>Stoer</i> (Assynt): <i>Staurr-inn</i> , 'the point' (Orkney Saga); <i>hraun-ey</i> , <i>Rōna</i> .
	ù (?)	<i>haugr</i> , <i>Ardnahoe</i> , G. <i>Aird na h-ùghadh</i> , 'height of the home or burial tumulus' (<i>New Guide to Islay</i> , p. 69); [rùcan, suggested to be from N. <i>hraukr</i> is from Sc. <i>ruck</i> , owing to final consonant, as well as to long ù: there is also the short, <i>ruc</i> , <i>rucan</i>].
	-a-	<i>windauga</i> , <i>uīneag</i> (u'inn ^e ag), 'window.'
-i-	-i-	<i>Sigríðr</i> , <i>M'Siridh</i> ; <i>Þing-völlr</i> , 'Dingwall'; <i>Grinna-bhat</i> , 'green water,' <i>Grinna-bhal</i> , 'green-fell'; <i>sili</i> , <i>siola</i> ; <i>skilja</i> , <i>sgileag</i> , <i>sgilig</i> ; <i>ristill</i> , <i>risteall</i> ; <i>skip</i> , <i>sgioba</i> .
	-e-	<i>timbr</i> , <i>Teamradal</i> ; cf. <i>Sigtrygg</i> , <i>M'Etterick</i> (at least as one spelling has it).
	-u-	<i>Rustall</i> (Uist form of <i>risteall</i>); cf. U'ist for <i>i-vist</i> .
-i	-	This drops entirely; -skiki, - <i>scaig</i> : <i>Kalis-skiki</i> , <i>Calasgaig</i> , 'Kali's strip'; <i>ofarr-skiki</i> , 'over or upper strip,' <i>Overscaig</i> .
í	ì (ee)	<i>hlið</i> , <i>Ben Lee</i> (Skye); <i>dík</i> , 'ditch,' <i>Dìg</i> , 'Digg' (Skye); <i>síld-vík</i> , <i>Síld eag</i> , <i>Shieldaig</i> , 'herring-bay'; <i>ís-hlíð-vík</i> , 'ice-slope-bay,' <i>Islivig</i> (Lewis, v. Watson, p. 272); <i>síma</i> , <i>sioman</i> ; <i>Gríosamul</i> , 'grice or pig múli or hill,' N. <i>grisamúli</i> .

Norse.	Gadhelic.	
	é	spík, G. <i>spéic</i> , 'a spike.'
y	i	hryggr, 'ridge,' <i>Rigg</i> (Snizort); hryggjar-ból, 'ridge-ton,' cf. Regeboll (for Rigiboll), now Ribigill; byrðingr, <i>birlinn</i> ; kyrri-vík, 'quiet bay,' Kiriwick; myrk, 'dark,' <i>Mircavat</i> , 'dark-water'; <i>Mirc-ol</i> , 'dark-hill' (Watson, p. 269).
	u	hryss-dalr, Ristol, 'mare-dale,' Allt <i>Ruisteil</i> (Watson, p. 260).
ý	iù	dýr-ey, 'deer-isle,' <i>Diūra</i> , Jura; dyra-ness, <i>Diürinis</i> , Duirinish; Durness.
	ù	Dy-dalr, <i>Dùdil</i> , 'bog-dale' (Islay).
	ua	ýr-dalr, 'yew-dale,' <i>Uadale</i> .
e	e	hestr, 'horse,' <i>Eist</i> (Duirinish); gerði, <i>gearraidh</i> ; eski-dalr, 'ash-dale,' <i>E^ssgidal</i> , Eskadale; gedda, <i>geadas</i> ; klettr, <i>cleit</i> : Melr, <i>Melness</i> , etc.
	ea	hellis-vagr, 'cave-bay,' Loch Thealasbhaigh (Lewis).
	i	dregg, <i>driog</i> .
	a, à (?)	brekka-dalr, <i>Brācadal</i> , Bracadale; herör, tara, tåraidh (<i>v.</i> crann tara). Is irregular; (<i>cf.</i> the Islay open e in a group of words for a: maduinn, in Islay <i>metuinn</i> , <i>metinn</i> : further Sc. <i>hake</i> becomes G. <i>tà^rc</i> , where à is sounded as long open e).
é	è	slétta, 'a plain,' sléttr, 'level,' <i>Sléit</i> , Sleat (Skye); gress, Gréis, Gress (Lewis), root as in E. <i>grass</i> ; cf. <i>Grosavat</i> , 'grassy loch' (Watson, p. 272).
	i	frétt, <i>frìth</i> (q.v.) (the quantity is long; <i>tt</i> becoming <i>th</i> is unusual).
æ	ei	græn-holm, <i>Greinam</i> , 'green-isle'; Gréineal, 'green-hill'; Gréinatot.
	i (?)	Snizort, Snesfurd (1501), N. Snaesfjord, 'snow-firth' (M'Bain, v. p. 188). If so, cf. grænvík, <i>Grianaig</i> (Islay), and Greenock.
	u (?)	slaemr-vagr, 'slim or small bay,' <i>Slumba</i> (Watson, p. 194).

<i>Norse.</i>	<i>Gadhelic.</i>	
æ, œ	ao	lack-in, loek-in, 'the brook,' <i>Laogin</i> .
-ögm-	-aom-	lögmen, lagamaðr, <i>lögmaðr</i> , M'Laomuinn.
að	-adh-, (ao)-	vaðill, <i>fadhail</i> (faodhail); variants of which are <i>feadhail</i> (Watson, p. 260; cf. <i>An Fheodhail</i> , ib. 237). <i>Beinn a bh-fadhla</i> (bhaoghla), Benbecula.
ö	a	mörg, <i>marag</i> ; örn, <i>Arnish</i> , 'eagle-ness'; stöð, 'harbour,' <i>Stathinnis</i> . Strönd, Strond, <i>Strannda</i> . Rögnvald, <i>Rä'ull</i> .
	o	möl, gen. malar, 'pebbles on the beach,' G. <i>mol</i> , also <i>mal</i> , <i>mul</i> , 'a shingly beach.' Örfiris-ey, <i>Orasa</i> , 'Oransay'; stöð, <i>Port a' Stoth</i> , 'port of the harbour.'
ey	e	ey-land, <i>e'lean</i> , 'island': <i>Eacleit</i> , ey-klettr, 'island cliff.'
		eyrar-staðr, 'beach-stead,' <i>Eirasta</i> .
		eyrar-á, 'beach river,' <i>Eirera</i> .
		eyrar-boer, 'beach town,' <i>Eörrabaidh</i> .
		streymr + nes, <i>Stremnis</i> , 'stream-ness' (Islay).
	é, è	eyrr-bol, G. <i>éiribol</i> , Erribol, 'gravel-beach stead'; éyri-skiki, 'gravel-beach strip,' Poll <i>éirisgeig</i> (also <i>aorisgaig</i> : Watson); cf. Kinsal-eyre (Skye).
		reyrr-vík, 'reed-bay,' <i>Rèraig</i> (Lochalsh).
eu [from <i>ev</i> + <i>ff</i>]		ey-fjörðr, <i>Euord</i> , 'isle-firth' (transferred from the firth to the island): ey-fjall, <i>Euval</i> ; ey-fjörðr, <i>Euport</i> (Watson).
	ù	Eysteinn (Oistin), <i>Húisduinn</i> , 'Hugh,' but Dún <i>Éisteann</i> (Lewis).
		reynis-staðr, 'rowan-town,' <i>Beinn Rùnastaidh</i> , 'Rowantonhill' (MacNeill's <i>New Guide to Islay</i> , p. 116).
ai		(in finals): Vé-ey, Fuidhai(dh), 'house-isle': other spellings, Bywa, Buya, Wiay.
ao		reyni-vatn, 'rowan-water' <i>Raoinavat</i> (Lewis).
		dreyr-vík, 'blood-bay,' <i>Draoraig</i> (Applecross: Watson, p. 280).
		reynis-á, 'rowan-water,' Loch <i>Raonasa</i> (Loch Ranza); reykr, 'reek,' <i>Raoiceadal</i> .

Norse. Gadhelic.

Reynir is common in Icelandic names: small rowan groves existed there at the time of the Settlement; the rowan was sacred to Thor. Eynort, *Ao'neart*, 'Eyvind's fjord.' eyrr-in, 'the beach' (with suffixed article feminine); dative, eyri-inni, G. *aorunn*, 'level land by the sea' (Cintire); *aoireann* (Tarbert).¹

ei ao Stein-brekka, 'stony slope,' *Staanibrig* (Englished Stony bridge!); *stein-setr*, 'stony shieling,' Loch *Staonsaid*.
seiðr, *saidhean*: Eiriks-ey, *Ao'risga*.

¹ In Iceland *eyrr* is a noun feminine with an *r* in the inflexion and a characteristic *i*, which has caused a vowel change and appears in the dative and accusative singular. The modern form is *eyri*; genitive *eyrar*, dat. and acc. *eyri*: *eyrar-sund*, the Sound; Helsingja-eyrr, Elsinore: Danish *öre*, Swedish *ör*. The change from *r* to *l* in the northern Gadhelic gives *aoileann*, with prosthetic *f*, *faoileann*; hence, e.g. 's an *Fhaoilinn*, 'in Lochinver.' That at the Argyllshire places with this name there were ferries is true, but it is a secondary meaning, the primary sense being 'the beach.' This is the right derivation, not that on page 142.

A meeting held on such gravelly beaches was called *eyrar-þing*, as at Drondheim (Niðgaros), on the gravelly bank of the river Nid. And since on the Dornoch Firth there are such Norse names as *gisnar-brygga*, 'leaky bridge,' 'the Gizzen Briggs'; *Meikle* ferry (N. *mikil*); *Whiteness* (*hvitr-ness*); *Balnagall*, 'Norsemen's toun'; *Plaids*, 'the flats,' N. *flatr* (the *s* being from the English plural form and later), I am disposed to conjecture that the name Tain, Tene (1227), represents a reminiscence of the N. *eyrar-þing*. Owing to the lighter stress in this position *þing* could result in *ten*, and not in *Tin* as in *Tinwald*, etc. This seems strengthened by the existence of another Tain near the head of Dunnet Bay. For the vowel *e* in the old spelling *cf.* N. *timbr*, G. *Teamradal*, 'timber-dale.' We have here to do with a case of retaining the most memorable part of the compound, which has not at all been preserved in Gadhelic, which loss leaves us short of scientific certainty. From ecclesiastical influence the place was named after St. Duthuc (*Baile Dhu'aich*) by the Gadhelic people to whom naturally, whether living near the spot or at a distance, the association with the saint was uppermost. I need scarcely add that *Morrish more*, the large 'sea-plain' to the east, has been utilised for meetings of the military in recent times. Certain flat coffin-stones in the Tain burying ground are reputed to resemble some similar ones in Norway. As they have no inscription no stress can be laid on these of which I possess good photographs through the kindness of the Rev. R. L. Ritchie, Creich. Were Tain of Pictish origin Gadhelic would have kept the word most probably, as it did Inbhir *Pheofharan*, 'Dingwall.'

<i>Norse.</i>	<i>Gadhelic.</i>
	eið (Ey), <i>aidh</i> (uidh), q.v.: Geit, 'goat': <i>Gaota-bheinn</i> , 'Goat Fell.'
	<i>räob</i> , <i>räobag</i> (q.v.), founded on N. reip (?); Leir-in, 'the mud'; <i>Laoirin</i> (Islay).
ei	steinns-a, <i>Steinsha</i> , <i>Steinsay</i> (q.v.). breið-vatn, <i>Breidhvat</i> , 'broad loch or water'; <i>Breaslet</i> , breið-áss-klettr, 'broad-ridge cliff'; <i>Breadlet</i> breið-klettr, 'broad cliff.'
	beit, 'pasture land,' <i>Beid-ic</i> , 'pasture bay' (Lewis) (Watson, 264).
é	eiki-skiki, 'oak-strip,' <i>Coille-éagascaig</i> (ib. 235). meiss; <i>méis</i> (i.e. <i>mé's</i>); Eiriks-ey, <i>É'risga</i> , Eriskay (also with <i>ao</i>).
e	leiri-bólstaðr, 'mud-stead,' Leirable (Kildonan); Leurbost, Lewis.
i, i	keila; <i>cìlean</i> , <i>cilig</i> (q.v.); Geisagil, Gìsgil.
io(?)	bleikja: <i>bliong</i> .
a	a staf(r)-in, 'the Staff,' <i>Staffin</i> (Skye); hamli, <i>amall</i> ; bastl, <i>basdal</i> , turmoil, gaiety. haf, <i>tabh</i> ; skalkr, <i>sgalag</i> . bakki, <i>bac</i> ; hlað-hamarr-vik, <i>Lamrig</i> . stanga, <i>stangaram</i> ; knapi, <i>cnapach</i> . hall, höll, t-halla, <i>talla</i> . skarfa, <i>sgarbh</i> ; skata, <i>sgait</i> .
o	at, hesta-at, -att, <i>oda</i> , <i>odaidh</i> (q.v.). <i>cf.</i> gat, <i>Gót</i> (Watson, 45); <i>Gott</i> Bay (?).
e(?)	kaggi, 'round mass,' <i>keg</i> , 'corpulent man or animal,' G. <i>ceig</i> , 'a mass of shag, clot,' <i>ceigein</i> , 'a tuft, a fat man' (MacBain).
u(?)	Bjarni, <i>M'Burney</i> .
á	à ármaðr, <i>àrmunn</i> ; skári, <i>sgàireag</i> ; blá, 'blue,' <i>Blà vein</i> , 'blue-fell.'
	háfr, <i>àbh</i> , <i>tàbh</i> ; rá-ness, <i>Rànish</i> . sparri, spàrr; gás, <i>Gàsacleit</i> , 'goose-cliff.'
a	Ásketill, Tasgill, MacAskill.
-aga-	agh-, (äo) laga-völlr, 'law-field,' Beinn <i>Laghal</i> , Ben (-aya-, -aia-), Loyal; Laiaval, Layaval (Uist), of like mean- ing. The short <i>ä</i> sound in the G. is against

<i>Norse.</i>	<i>Gadhelic.</i>	
		the suggestion of taking the word from N. leið-fjall, 'levy or slogan hill.'
		For treatment cf. <i>Baghasdal</i> , Boisdale, v. -ugi- under -g-.
o	o	þorketill, <i>Torcull</i> ; Mac <i>Corcadale</i> . þormoðr, <i>Tormod</i> . hross-ey, 'horse-isle,' <i>Rosaidh</i> . okar, okr, <i>ocar</i> , 'interest on capital.' Goðormr, Mac <i>Codrum</i> . klof, <i>clobha</i> .
	ò(?)	krokr, <i>cròcan</i> .
	u	brok, 'bad black grass,' <i>bruga</i> , <i>brugan</i> , 'rough mossy ground' (Lewis).
	a	torf, <i>tarp</i> ; bollí, <i>ballan</i> . (Here also the unclear <i>a</i> for <i>o</i> in unstressed syllables: <i>Eirabal</i> , as well as <i>Éiribol</i> , <i>Erribol</i> .) <i>Orkból</i> , <i>Arboll</i> ¹ (Watson, 47), 'seal-stead.'
ó	ò	brókr, <i>bròg</i> : hrókr, <i>ròcas</i> . hóp, òb: óss, òs (short in unstress, <i>Ar-òs</i>).
	à	spóla, spàl: (cf. <i>Ólafr</i> , E. Irish <i>Álaib</i> , whereas N. Anlaf becomes <i>Amláib</i>).
	ù	skjóli, <i>sgùlan</i> : Rómundr (of which there was a side form with <i>u</i> , however), Manx <i>Rumun</i> , Mac <i>Cruimein</i> ; ófreska, <i>ùruisg</i> (q.v.): <i>re</i> fr here cf. <i>Globhur</i> , <i>Glúair</i> referred to under <i>jú</i> -; cf. <i>clobha</i> , N. klof, where in G. the <i>bh</i> drops out, and yields (clo ^u).
u	u	Ulfs-ey, <i>Ulpha</i> , <i>Ulva</i> , 'Wolf's or Ulf's isle.' <i>Uspakr</i> , Mac <i>Usbaig</i> (<i>Scalpa</i>); - <i>Asbaig</i> (a side form). hund, 'hound,' <i>Hundagro</i> , 'dogs' stream' (Watson, 268). kuml, 'cairn, burial mound,'—itself a loan in Norse from L. <i>cumulus</i> ,—G. <i>Tràigh Chumil</i> , 'beach of the cairn' (ib. 269). urð, 'a heap of stones'; urð-vík, Loch <i>Urradhag</i> , (<i>Ourahag</i>), 'the bay of the heap of stones'

¹ N. *erg*, *aerg*, itself a Norse loan from O.G. *airge*, 'shieling,' has been suggested for the *Ar* in *Arboll*, hence 'shieling-stead.'

Norse.	Gadhelic.	
		near Arnol' (ib. 271); funa, <i>fuine</i> , 'bake' (Zimmer).
u ⁱ		bugr, G. <i>buigeir</i> (q.v.).
o		Sumarliði, <i>Somhairle</i> , Somerled, M'Sorley. Knut-fjörð, Cnóideart, Knoydart. Sturli-mos, Strolamus, 'Sturli's moss,' as MacBain suggested; hlunnr, <i>lonn</i> (as well as <i>lunn</i> , <i>lund</i>).
		hrukka, <i>roc</i> (MacCodrum's <i>Oran na h-Aoise</i>). <i>Truiseil</i> , N. þurs-völlr, 'giant-field,' or 'land of the giant(-stone)'—the right derivation; it accounts for G. <i>t</i> , and cancels that suggested on p. 78; for metathesis cf. <i>trosg</i> , þorskr.
ú	ù	hrútr, <i>rùta</i> ; hrúgi, <i>rùghan</i> ; skúm, <i>sgùm</i> , foam. útreið, <i>ùtraid</i> ; skruf, <i>sgrùan</i> . súla, <i>sùlaire</i> ; hús, <i>Hùsabost</i> , 'house-stead.'
	u	The vowel quantity is shortened in <i>fulmair</i> ; <i>udabac</i> (but also <i>ùdabac</i>); <i>Gunna</i> , Gúnn- (bjorn?).
	a	<i>falmair</i> , a side form of <i>fulmair</i> .
úa, ó	ua	búandi, bóandi, bóndi, <i>buanna</i> ; buanaidh, 'a bully' (Rob Donn); cf. MacCodrum, who uses it for a 'paid soldier, rough fellow': Nis o'n 's buanna ro dhaor thu Tha ri buaireadh nan daoine Dol mu'n cuairt air an t-saoghal Chum na dh'fhaodas tu 'ghoid. <i>Caraid is Nàmhaid an Uisge Bheatha.</i>

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¹ A pre-Norse word: *Dun Ollaig*, *v.* Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 180.

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¹ About 1202 Norse records speak of "the islands that are called Hirtir," *Orig. Island'*, i. 613.

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¹ The Clan Dougall regarded the Raven as their Clan Bird, as being in some sense their own. The Rev. James MacDougall, in writing of the Raven, the Clan Dougall Bird, says: "We must look for the origin of the Clan's strange attachment to this bird not to the tales of the Gadhelic race, but to the wild mythology of the ancient Scandinavians." (v. *The Lorn Galley*, pp. 18-20, published by MacDougall & Son, 21-23 North Street, Sheffield, 1909.)

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¹*Hvarf*, 'turning point,' occurs several times in Icelandic names of capes, and is used for Cape Farewell, Greenland.

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¹For the variants *stamhnaich*, *stannadh* see Glossary to my edition of *Dàin Iain Ghobha*: the Lewis form is *stamnadh*, from N. *stafn* 'stem,' *fyrir stafni* 'to aim at,' 'to be engaged in a work,' confirming MacBain's suggestion in *Further Gaelic Words and Etymologies*. *Fear gun stamnadh*=a man without self-control. Closely connected in meaning but of native origin is *stòineadh* (Lewis): *duine gun s.*= 'a restless man,' Ir. *stoinim*, I curb; for phonetics cf. *caoinim* 'I weep': dialectal *còin*, *a' còineadh*: Ir. *còinim*, *còinim* 'I weep,' cognate with E. 'whine.'

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pate maloyub do dnoportan; Donall me meie
dubhaem nobaich nahule ebarra godnor
tan apthabairt alnile do. nobaich cathal
apachom cerna acmado romis 7 domit
pnomi chie ceemillae 7 eic cape do dia
7 do dnoportan. Camnech me meie do baycom
7 cathal do nactat altin alla mthe
ne dale gomice 7 berth romou alt.
Donat donmall 7 cathal eto am
do dia do dnoportan 7 hite camne
7 donall 7 cathal nahile
dia 7 dnoportan ocoisic

Donat nar me canne
7 nactat peeme col
amraperm doptol 7
pionahuleb volodib cor
efcob vunicallam. In
Tegal qap neetan erob ab
mal. me meie comalgi
me com
p hile
ni me mal
Donat 7 camne 7 genillomeel ball dom iper ipan
7 eic dillecalime pucap 7 pepodac me mal bme mal
7 me meie mal

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Robertus collator
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 in isen super
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 cum hie dicitur a ma
 thi hie maria ioseph
 antequam ioseph
 natus? Inethio habet
 p dicitur pco ioseph autem
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 cur nolit eum tradidit
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 ecce angelus dñi in somniis
 apparuit ei dicitur ioseph
 fili dauid nolit timere acci
 pte mariam conjugem tuam
 quia hie pta natus est dicitur
 pco? paruit autem filium ioseph
 bñ ne sis illi ipse et pulchrum facit

Id est illa pte que in domo dicitur ioseph et maria
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