

I.

DID THE NORTHMEN EXTIRPATE THE CELTIC INHABITANTS OF THE
HEBRIDES IN THE NINTH CENTURY? BY CAPT. F. W. L. THOMAS,
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My lamented friend, Professor Munch of Christiania, sent me a copy of his edition of the "Chronicle of Man" on its publication. This work contains a sure foundation for a history of the Hebrides during the Norse period. With his characteristic liberality, he states therein (p. xviii.) "That in the western islands the original population was never wholly absorbed by the Norwegian settlers, as in Orkney, and perhaps in Shetland."¹ In reply, I informed him that in that part of the Hebrides in which I was stationed, nearly every farm, island, and lake bore a Norse name; and that the topographical terminology was the same as in the

¹ So also Dasent—"The original inhabitants were not expelled, but held in bondage as thralls."—P. clxxxiv. vol. i. *Burnt Njal*. Again, Mr Murray has been informed that in St Kilda "All the topical names are Celtic, and the Northmen seem never to have reached the island."—*Dialect of South. Counties of Scotland*, p. 236. Now, on the east side of the island is a hill, of which the name is variously written 'Oiseval,' 'Ostrivail,' and by Martin 'Oterveaul,' which is a clerical error either for 'Osterveaul,' or 'Oserveaul,' and the original has been *Austr-fell* (Norse)=East-fell, East-hill. No Gael could have bestowed that name. Macaulay records another 'fell,' 'Ruai-mhail,' which he translates 'Red-hill.' 'Conagir,' 'Conager,' 'Conagra,' is not a Gaelic name; neither is 'Camper,' which, although Macaulay translates it from the Gaelic as 'crooked bay,' is the common Norse name 'Kambr'=crest, ridge. The names of the adjacent islands, Boreray and Soay, are Norse, the latter being *Sauð-ey*=Sheep-isle. Even their greatest *bonne bouche*, the Fulmar (*Procellaria glacialis*) is correctly described by *Fál-már* (Norse)=Stinking Maw or Gull; and it may be suspected that their 'universal sauce,' *Gibeau*, which is bird-grease preserved in the stomach of a Solan goose, has had its name formed from the Norse verb *gubba*=to vomit. But the place-names are sufficient proof that the St Kilda group has been inhabited by Scandinavians.

The following paragraph, written originally in Gaelic, at Tigheary, North Uist, on the 12th August 1800, states the opinion of the islanders themselves on the occupation of the islands by the Northmen:—"The Scandinavians (Lochlinnich) who invaded the Isles and the Highlands, long after the times of the *Feinne*, were not able to change the language, or destroy the monuments of our ancestors; for the descendants of these heroes maintained their independence on the main land, &c."—"Report H. S. on Ossian, p. 49."

Orkneys and Shetland. In a letter of the 30th May 1862, he says—“What you tell me of the Hebrides has astonished me very much. That our forefathers should have thoroughly populated the isles and made their language universal there was to be expected, but the apparently preponderating number of Gaelic names now found on the maps prevented me from giving way to that belief, and so I had no choice but to assume that the Northmen had only been the lords, not properly the inhabitants of these islands. Your remarks about the transmogrification of well-known Norse forms into uncouth Gaelic denominations, yet only for the eye, not for the ear, have certainly put matters to right, and they are the more welcome to me, as I am about to write a little geographical treatise on those very Hebrides during the Norwegian times.”

Indeed, it was no wonder that the Norwegian historiographer should have been dismayed by the changes which the necessities of Gaelic grammar and orthography caused to be made in the original nomenclature; every Norse name commencing with the aspirate (H), was supposed to be in the genitive case, and when used as a nominative had a T prefixed and the *h* abstracted; thus *Habost* was supposed to be a genitive, and written *Thaboist*, from which a nominative, *Tabost*, was made. Names beginning with S followed by a slender vowel (*e* or *i*) have the initial sound of Sh, or of the *s* in ‘sure;’ but if the same word becomes a Gaelic genitive the sound of Sh vanishes altogether; *Setr*, Norse = Setter, Seat, in English, is written *Siadair* in Gaelic, and pronounced Shader, of which the genitive is *Shiadeir*, pronounced Adir. The Norse *ey* (island) is written *aibh* in Gaelic, which, although it has exactly the same sound, has a puzzling appearance to a Teuton. The Norse *nes* becomes *nis* in Gaelic, and is pronounced *nish*; and the *f* in *ffjörðr* (firth), following a Gaelic law, becomes in a compounded word, *fh*, and is in pronunciation simply dropped: *Sneisfjörðr*, in Gaelic *Sneisfhord*, pronounced Snizort. Fortunately, the publication of Joyce’s admirable work on “Irish Names of Places” has put these Gaelic “accidents” within the compass of the ordinary Teutonic mind; yet, with every assistance, the change which Norse names undergo on being adopted by their Gaelic elder sister is still astonishing.

My youthful recollections are associated with the comfort of the manse of *Neap*, in Shetland, which in Icelandic is *Gnúp*, and means “a peak;”

under Gaelic influence it is written *Gníp*, and pronounced *Kreep*. *Höfn*, N., = a haven, had an early dialectic rival in *Hömm*, and is familiar in the northern islands as *Hammavoe*; in Lewis it appears as *Loch Thamabhaidh*. *Holmr*, N., becomes *Tolm*, G.; *Fell* becomes *Bhal*, G.; *Vátn*, N., becomes *Bhat*, G.; *Vík*, N., becomes *Bhig*, G.; *Eið*, N. (an isthmus), becomes *Uídh*, G.; *Kvísetr*, N., becomes *Cuidhseadair*, G.; *Helsvagr*, N., becomes *Loch Thealabhaidh*;—"a mother had not known her son among the skeletons of that gaunt crew."

And here it may be asked, Why write the names in Gaelic forms on the Government maps and charts? Or, Why not write the Gaelic names in Gaelic orthography, and the converse with the Norse? Well, up to this time, who could tell which were the Norse? and the effect of writing Gaelic names in vulgar English is to render them unintelligible. Gaelic words by aspiration, combination, and case are so changed from the nominative, that if expressed in *fonetic Inglesh* their meaning is quite lost. Nor do the Norse words suffer any real injury; if the rules of Gaelic orthography are strictly followed there is no difficulty in resolving them into their original forms. Sometimes the Gaelic writer seems to have wanted the "courage of his convictions," and thus we find on the Ordnance Map such anomalies as *Sheshadir*, *Sheabost*; but they are very few.

A mere selection of Norse names occurring in the Hebrides would have required but little application; but my object has been to prove, in one important island, the absolute and relative extent and value of the Norse name-system; for which purpose a printed copy of the "Lewis Rental," given me many years ago by Sir J. Matheson, was selected for the text; and for Harris, a printed "Proved Rental," taken apparently in 1830. The names were numbered, and formed a first column. In the second, the same names from every available authority. The third column contained identical names in other parts of the Hebrides. In the fourth column are identical and cognate names in the Orkneys, principally supplied from "Peterkin's Rentals," of which the first two contain about 1100 names. In the fifth column, the same for Shetland, on the authority of Balfour's "Oppressions" (with 484 names), and Duncan's "Shetland Directory," in which there are 1800 names of farms. In the sixth, the same for Iceland, from the *Landnámabók* which has about 2000 names;

and the *Ný Jarðarbók fyrir Ísland* (Valuation Roll), which has over 7000 entries. Altogether about 12,700 names were examined, besides as many maps and charts as could be obtained. The sixth column was followed by the etymology and remarks. The etymology was a simple affair; for either in Iceland, Shetland, or the Orkneys nearly every name of Norse origin in the Lewis, identical or cognate, is to be found. It is not proposed to print this comparative table, for the following pages contain most of the results; but a copy will be deposited in the library of the Society for the benefit of those who may follow up this branch of history, which if continued to Skye, Mull, and Islay, would be equally interesting and important.

As large claims will be herewith made for Norse influence and language, it will be well to dispose of some at once that are altogether wrong.

Lewis—of which the correct modern form would be Lewas—is written in the Sagas *i Liodhus, til Liodhusa, ím Ljoðhús*, of which the nominative is *Ljoðhúsir*; it has been supposed that Lewis is another form of this word, and that it might mean the “*Sounding-house*” (Loud-house). This strange notion has arisen from a wrong division of the syllables, for if written *Liodh-us* it very well represents its real Celtic name, *Leoghas*. The etymology will be noticed farther on.

Skye, the *Skid* of the Sagas, has nothing to do with “a piece of board,” a skid, but perfectly expresses its Celtic name, *Scith*, a name which may be traced to the second century, and means the “Wing.” It may be confidently inferred that the consonants *gh* in *Leoghas* and *th* in *Scith* were pronounced in the ninth and tenth centuries, by their presence in the Norse forms.

Uist is not the ‘West’ island, or the Northmen would have called it *Vestr-ey*, and it would now have been known as Westray. In seeking for the etymology of this, it was noticed that the names of the larger islands, such as Mull, Egg, Rum, Skye, Lewis, were descriptive of some peculiar topographical feature in each; and that which we now call three islands, viz., South Uist, Benbecula, and North Uist, were considered by Dean Munro to be but one—Uist. They are in fact three islands from half-flood till half-ebb, and for the next six hours are but one, being then connected by broad sands over which is the common road, in modern Gaelic, *faoghail* = ford, strand: it was assumed that the name

disguisedly described this circumstance. All the forms of the name were collected, but no hint could be got of its composition from them. Cognate forms were looked for; a Pictish prince turned up of the name of *Uist*; and an island in North Holland was found, named *Juist*; this was no progress. Words were then sought for having the termination *st*, and when so doing it was recognised that the *t* alone might represent the nom. plural of O'Donovan's fourth declension of Gaelic nouns. On this theory there was only *Uis* to account for, and it was taken for granted that the initial vowel-sound was *I*=island. I had got thus far, when on again going carefully over Joyce's "Irish Names of Places," I came upon "The word *fearsad* is applied to a sand-bank formed near the mouth of a river, by the opposing currents of tide and stream, which at low water often formed a firm, and comparatively safe passage across" (p. 348). This so completely describes the state of matters in Uist that the problem was considered solved. Then, as with every student of Irish Antiquities, Reeves¹ was referred to, and the result is that Uist stands for *I-fheirste*=Crossings-island, Fords-island (where the *fh* is silent); from *fearsat*=a crossing, ford. There might be some difficulty in accepting this solution, but fortunately there is an analogical case in 'Belfast,' from which the *r* has been dropt to form the modern name, for it was originally *Béulfeirste*=Mouth-crossing. It must be observed that I have aspirated the *f*, to arrive at *I-eiste*, for which, although I have not as yet found an example, O'Donovan's rule may be pleaded, that "In all compound words, whether the first part be an adjective or a substantive, the initial of the second is aspirated, if of the aspirable class" (p. 56, *Irish Gram.*); but that the rule is most capriciously followed or neglected, can be proved abundantly from Joyce.

Rum has nothing to do with the commodity from Jamaica, nor with the Gaelic word *rum*=roomines, but is simply the aspirated form of *Druim*,² and it must have been originally *I-dhruim*=Ridge-island, Ridgely-island. To any one who doubts this I can only say, Look at the island. In an atrocious map of the 16th century I find *Dricm* (*Drum*?) written against the Isle of Man.

¹ Reeve's *Ecc. Antqs.*, pp. 7, 183.

² *Druim*. As in *Lorum*, for *Leamh-dhruim*; *Aughrim*, for *Each-dhruim*; *Gardrim*, for *Gearrdhruim*; *Sheetrim*, for *Sith-dhruim*.—*Joyce*.

Mull has no connection with *Múli* = a jutting crag ; but *i Myl* of the Saga repeats exactly the Celtic *Maol*, in this place meaning "Bare,"—a name (Maleos) as old at least as the second century. *Moel*, in Wales, signifies a towering hill on which no wood grows.—*Richard's Dict.*

The names of these large islands have been explained from Gaelic, but it is by no means to be inferred that they are Gaelic names in the sense that they were attributed to the islands by the Scottic (= Hibernian) Gael. Two (Scetis, Maleos), perhaps three (Egga-rhicina, a name apparently compounded of Egg + Rachrin) are on record before any known invasion of the Hebrides by the Scotti. They were in fact names bestowed by the Northern Britons who are first known as independent tribes, but by the sixth century were consolidated, at least in degree, into the Pictish kingdom. As the Northmen, when adopting the names of the larger islands into their own language, expressed the sound of letters which are elided in Gaelic, but retained in Welsh, the names are allied to the latter; but the readiness with which the names can be Englished from the Gaelic, and the evidence of the Welsh themselves in calling the Northern Britons, "Painted Gael" (*Gwydyl Fichti*), supports Mr Skene's conclusion, that the language of the Picts, while having many forms peculiar to itself—as is proved by the topography of the east of Scotland—and some which were common to Britain as a whole, was yet very closely allied to Gaelic.

It may be repeated here that, in the Hebrides, the larger islands, such as the Northmen would call *lands*, or countries, retain their pre-Norse names; even the Orkneys is pre-Norse, and although Shetland is Norse, the names of Unst, Yell, and Fetlar cannot be satisfactorily explained by Icelandic, and therefore may be Pictish.

The names of places in old Norse or Icelandic are always significant and descriptive, and are usually compound nouns, composed of a local substantive term with an attributive prefixed. The attributive is either an adjective, or a common or proper noun in the genitive case. Rarely a substantive term is used emphatically and without any adjective, as *Nes*, *Fell*; in which case the definite article would be either expressed or understood in English; the Ness, the Fell.

(In only one case have I observed any exception to the above general rule; it is when Quoy = *Kví* = a small enclosure, is the stem; the attributive may then be suffixed instead of prefixed; thus, in the Orkneys

we find such names as Quoyschorsetter, Quoysmiddie, Quoymbanks, Quoy-Ronald, instead of Schorsetterquoy, Smiddiequoy, Banksquoy, Ronald's-quoy.)

In Gaelic local names, on the contrary, the general rule is that the substantive term is *followed* by its attribute, and this affords a ready means of discriminating Gaelic from Norse names; abundant examples will be given farther on.

There are a few exceptions to this rule; principally with the adjectives; such as *Dubhsgeir* = Black-skerry; *Mòrbheinn* = Great-hill; *Ardeilean* = High-island.

There are also a few topographical terms which are identical or closely related in Icelandic and Gaelic; such are *kró* and *cró*, *garðr* and *gàrradh*, *bagh* and *vagr*, *buð* and *both*, &c.; when these occur the form of the name must determine to which language it belongs.

We will now proceed to notice the Scandinavian names in Lewis with Harris: they might be called Icelandic, for the name-system has a nearer relation to that of Iceland than either that of the Orkneys or Shetland; but as it is quite possible that *Grimr*, *Skeggi*, *Björn*, *Örn*, &c., had given their names to farms and islands in Lewis before Iceland was colonised, old Norse or Scandinavian is more strictly correct.

SCANDINAVIAN NAMES OF FARMS OR TOWNLANDS IN LEWIS, WITH HARRIS.

A', Cl.¹—a river. *A'*, which forms the stem of so many place-names in Iceland, is rare in Lewis.

Laxá, Iceland, and *Laxa*, Shetland, are synonymous with *Laxay*, *Lochs*, Lewis; for *Lax-á* = Salmon-river; from *Laxi*, Cl.—a salmon. For other salmon rivers, see *Dalr*. Few of the small rivers in Lewis have distinctive names, but the Creed seems to be an exception, and tells of its odoriferous plants and flowers; for *krydd* = spice; *krydd-jurt*, spice-herbs.

A'ss, Cl.—a rocky ridge. A strange corruption has befallen this word in Shetland, where *Vind-áss* has become "Wind-house."

There are two places called *Valtos* in Lewis, and a third in Skye, where

¹ Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary.

there is no *óss*, *i.e.*, oyce, river-mouth ; there is also Garry Valtos in South Uist. In the Orkneys I take Waldbrek, Waldgarth, and South Wald to be cognate words. On this assumption the original form of Valtos would be *Völd-áss*, meaning Field-ridge, where *Völd* is an old form of *Völlr*. (See *Þreskjöldr*, Cleasby's Dict.) In support of this view, the Lawman in Shetland, in 1307, dates from *Tingvöld* = *Þingvöllr*. Perhaps *Valdarás* in Iceland is the same as our Valtos.

Bekkr, Cl.—a rivulet, brook. This rare word in Norse topography appears to occur only in Die-bek (of which the Gaelic form is *Ceann-dhibig*), in Harris ; Dubec, in Skye, is no doubt the same name. I do not know the meaning of the prefix, except that it certainly is not *Dubh*, Gael. = black.

Bakki, Cl.—a bank. It was hardly to have been expected that this word should have been retained so near its original form as in "Back," Stornoway ; Hábac = High-bank (Gaelic form, *Tabàc*), Bernera, Lewis ; Bakka Taransay (= Taransay Banks), Harris ; and Backd, Barra.

Baccaskail occurs in the Orkneys ; Backa and Bacca, in Shetland ; while *Bakki* is the name of thirty farms in Iceland.

Ból-staðr, Cl.—a homestead. This word is widely diffused over the northern and western islands. In *Landnámabók* it only occurs twice, and it forms no compounds except with *Breið* = broad, which is repeated eight times (*Breiðabólstaðr*).

In the Shetland Directory there are (2) Busta, (4) Bousta, but in combination it is written (27) —bister, and but once —buster. In the Scottish dialect *i* has frequently the sound of *u*.

The Orkney Rental of 1595 contains (44) —bustar and (3) —buster ; only a few of which are named after men.

In the Lewis Rental, "*Bólstaðr*" occurs as Bosta in Bernera, Uig ; and when used as a generic term it is shortened to —bost. Many of these names are easily interpreted ; thus, Melbost—there are two of them—is for *Mel-bólstaðr* = Links-farm ; Leurbost = *Leir-bólstaðr* = Mud or Clay farm ; Crossbost = *Kross-bólstaðr* = Cross-farm ; Calbost is shortened in the same way as in the Orkneys and Shetland (Caldale, Calback) from Caldbost = *Kald-bólstaðr* = Cold-farm. Garbost, as written by Martin, would be pronounced Garrabost by the Gael, and was originally *Geira-bólstaðr* = Geirr's-

farm, where *Geirr* is a proper name. The Orkneys have Garraquoy; Shetland, Garragarth or Gerragarth; and Iceland, *Geirabólstaðir*.

At Shawbost, on the west of Lewis—variously written Sheabost, Shabost—is a lake, into which the sea sometimes flows; this is the *Sjár*. Loch Seaforth gets its name from the pent-up salt lake, *Saer*, which forms its head; hence *Sæfjörðr* = Seafirth, Seaforth; and the oyce at Kirkwall is called the “Little Sea;” Shawbost, then, is *Sjá-bólstaðr* = Sea-lake-farm.

There are two Habosts in Lewis; neither of them are upon high ground; the adjective, therefore, is the same as in so many places called Holland = *Hallandi* = *Hall-lendi* in the Orkneys, and the still more common Houl-land, in Shetland. Habost has been *Hall-bólstaðr*; from *Hallr* = a slope, declivity.

Swanibost is the same as Swanbustar, in the Orkneys; and is cognate with Swynasetter in Shetland, and *Sveinseyri* and *Sveinavatn* in Iceland. Swanibost stands for *Sveina-bólstaðr* = Svein’s-farm; from *Sveinn*, a proper name.

Shelibost (the Gaelic form of which is Seilabost), in Harris, is identical with Skelbustar in the Orkneys, and cognate with *Skeljavik* in Iceland;—and its Icelandic form is *Skeljar-bólstaðr* = Shelly-farm; from *Skel* = a shell.

Besides Nis-abost in Harris, there is another in Skye; and Nesbustar, in the Orkneys; all of which represent *Nes-bólstaðr* = Ness-farm; from *Nes* = ness.

Horgibost, Harris, must be written in Gaelic *Torgabost*; in the Orkneys it appears as Howbister; and cognate names in Shetland are Houby, Huxter, Hogsetter. In this case, as in several others, the name has suffered less change among the Gael than in the northern islands. On this farm is a fine cromlech, figured in the “*Crania Britannica*,” hence its name *Hauga-bólstaðr* = How-farm; from *Haugr* = how, cairn, sepulchral mound.

Borg, Cl.—1, a small dome-shaped hall; 2, a wall, fortification, castle.

In Iceland ten different places are called *Borg*; but “it may be questioned whether those names are derived simply from the hill on which they stand (*berg*, *bjarg*), or whether such hills took their name from old fortifications built upon them; the latter is more likely, but no informa-

tion is on record, and at present 'borg' only conveys the notion of a hill."

In Shetland, *Borg* is still represented by "Burgh" in two places, but the influence of Scottish speech has changed it to 'Brough' in eleven others: in the Orkneys, also, "Brough" prevails. In the Hebrides, when written in English, it is "Borve;" in Harris (twice); in Barra, and in Skye.

Borve, in Barvas, Lewis, appears as Borg, Bora (error for Borva), Barove; and the Gaelic form is *Borgh* (in pronunciation the *r* is duplicated, Bor-gh); hence arises the English form, Borve. The name is, archæologically, of great importance; for in Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides it almost always indicates the location of a pre-Norse Pictish tower; but there are a few exceptions, at anyrate, in the Orkneys, viz., Burrow Head, Stronza; Burwick, Sandwick; and the Brough of Birsá.

So completely is the original meaning of the word forgotten in the Hebrides that it is usual to put *Dun* = castle before it; thus *Dun Borgh* (grammatically *Dun Bhuirgh*) = Castle-castle.

And here I must contest with my learned friend and mentor, Professor Munch. He states "that it [Shetland] has had no fixed settlers upon it before the arrival of the Northmen."—(P. 90, *Mem. Soc. Nor. Antqs.*, 1850-1860.) He has here for a moment forgotten the *Borgir* or Pictish towers which have never been claimed as Scandinavian, and are consequently pre-Norse. But my more immediate business is with a long paragraph on pp. 103, 104 of the same volume, to this effect:—Burra, in Shetland, following the analogy of the Orkneys, should be *Borgarey*, but it is almost certain that in ancient times it was called *Barrey*; this theory depending on the statement that a part of King Hacon's fleet, coming from Norway, passed south of Shetland, sailed *vest fyrir Barreyjarfjörðr*, and saw no land till they made Sule Skerry, west of the Orkneys. *Barreyjarfjörðr* was, therefore, the Bay of Scalloway, and the present Burra was *Barrey*. To all this it is answered, that a ship leaving Norway and seeing no land until she arrived at Sule Skerry must have passed between Shetland and Fair Isle, which part of the sea may very well have been called *Friðareyjarfjörðr* or *Friðareyjarfjörðr*, i.e., Fair Island Firth, and that *Barreyjarfjörðr* is certainly a miscopy of either of these names; so that the ship would not enter, or be near, the Bay of Scalloway. Besides,

I myself have been on the site of the Picts castle, of which the stones were carried away to build the pier of Scalloway. Barra, in Shetland, like Barra, in the Orkneys, is *Borgarey* = Castle-isle.

It follows that *Álfdis, Konálsdóttir, of Barrey (Barreysku)* did not come from Shetland; and we are at liberty to suppose that she was a native of Barra, Hebrides. We are told in *Grettis Saga* (Danish translation) that the father of Álfdis, the Barra girl, was Konáll; her grandfather, Steinmoðr; her great-grandfather, Ölver Barnakarl (*i.e.*, Ölver the child's-man); he obtained this honourable title because he objected to join in the viking sport of throwing the children of their victims up into the air and catching them on the points of their spears.

There is no farther mention of Konáll; it may be hoped he met an early death; Álfdis would then come into the family of Öfeigr Gretter, her uncle, who had fled, with all his family and servants, from Harold Fairhair, to the Barra isles. It may be gathered that these islands formed the stronghold of a clan of vikings, and a cousin of Álfdis, Aldis by name, was there married to a wooden-legged viking. Ultimately, we are told they all went to Iceland; but the topographical names prove that either some remained behind or that other vikings supplied their places—probably both. Álfdis, the Barra girl, was married in Iceland to a grandson of Olaf the White, king of Dublin.

Bragor, Barvas, Lewis.—This word does not occur in “Cleasby,” perhaps from the misfortune of neither author nor editor being nautical men. Braga is applied to reefs on which the sea breaks with extra violence, and Bragor is named from the shoal water lying seaward of it. Mackenzie's chart has ‘Bragd’ for a reef off Skegersta, Lewis; and if this is not—but I fear it is—a clerical error for Braga, it would show how well the Old Norse forms have been retained in Lewis. For the word is probably *Bragd-arr*, and formed from *Bragd*, the ‘fundamental notion of which is that of a sudden motion.’ In the Orkneys are two reefs called Braga, and Break-ness is *Bragir-nes*.

Brú, Cl.—a bridge. This word is represented by *Brú*, in Iceland; Brow, Brugarth, in Shetland; and Brogar, in the Orkneys. Brue, in Lewis, is at the outlet of Loch Barvas.

Bær, bærr, byr, Cl.—1, a town, village; 2, a farm, landed estate. The only certain ‘by’ in Lewis island is Eoropie, which has caused the

ridiculous appearance of "Europa Point" on some maps, and explained as meaning the extremity of Europe. Eoropie is simply *Eyrrar-bær*, *i e.*, Beach-village; from *Eyrr*=a beach. In Shetland we would say, "The boat is at the ayre;" that is, on the beach as distinguished from rocks. There are at least four islands in the Outer Hebrides and two in Skye bearing the name Oransay, Ornsay. In every case that I know of they are connected at low water by a reef to another island. The real name is *Eyrrars-ey*; the *Eyrr* being the connecting reef or bank.

Dalr, Cl.—a dale. *Dæl*, Cl.—a little dale. There are over 130 names compounded with *dalr* in the Landnámabók, and the 'dales' are proportionally numerous in the Orkneys and Shetland. They are scarcely so frequent as farm names in Lewis. Swordale occurs twice in Lewis, and the map of Skye has three dales of that name. The *Ný Jarðarbók* has *Svarðbæli*. Swordale is for *Svarðardalr*=Sward-dale; from *Svarðr*, Cl.—sward, green turf. Swordale, in Lochs, contains a coppice of willows and birches, which are the last living trees of the native forest, of which the name is commemorated in the adjacent 'Birken Isles.' Laxdale indicates the presence of a salmon river. There are no salmon caught in the Orkneys, nor is *Lax* contained in their name-system. Neither are there salmon in Shetland, yet there are Laxfirths and Laxa, so that either the salmon have deserted the country or the Northmen have given the name of *Lax* to the fine sea-trout. Laxdale, in Lewis, and Lacastle, in Harris, are synonymous with *Laxár-dalr*, in Iceland=Salmon-river-dale; from *Lax*, Cl.—a salmon. Eoradale is written for *Eyrrar-dalr*=Beach-dale; from *Eyrr*=a beach. Rodel, spelled also Rodle and Roudill in the same Rental, is cognate with Roeness, Shetland, and *Rauðanes*, Iceland, and must have been *Rauði-dalr*=Red-dale; from *rauðr*=red. Ranigadale, a wretched place on the shore of Loch Seaforth, is probably *Rannveigar-dalr*; from *Rannveig*, a proper name. On the west side of Lewis there are Dale-beg=Little Dale, and Dalemor=Great Dale; and also North and South Dale. All these are sharp, little valleys, and their original has been *Dæl*=a little dale.

Eið, Cl.—an isthmus, neck of land. In 1576, *Eið*, in Shetland, had become Ayth, now Aith; but a much greater change took place with *Eiðs-vik*, which in 1576 was Aythiswick, but now Eä-swic and E-swic. *Eið*, in the Orkneys, is often very corrupt; it remains almost intact in

Aith, Aithstown; less conspicuous in Ai-sdale; but *Haug-eið* has become Hoxa; *Eið-ey* = Eday; and *Skalp-eið*, Scapa.

Eið has many strange forms in the Hebrides; Ie, Ey, Y, Ay, Eie, Hny, Ui, Vye, Uiy, Uie, Eye; written in Gaelic it is *Uidh* (pron. Oo-ee.)

Uiy, Eiy, in Taransay, is simply *Eið* = isthmus. Brana-huie, Stornoway, is better written in the Gaelic form *Braigh' na h'Uidhe*; where *Uidhe* represents *Eið*, Aith, isthmus. *Braighe* is Gaelic for 'upper part, upper end;' and *Braigh' na h'Uidhe* means the farm at 'the upper (nearer) end of the isthmus.' Uie-head occurs again at Vattersay, Barra.

Endi, Cl.—the end. Mossend, Stornoway, as it stands is modern English, but it is likely to have been derived from *Mos-endi* = Mossend; from *Mosi*, Cl.—a moorland, moss.

Tobson: any Scandinavian name beginning with H must, when used as a Gaelic word, have an initial T, and the *h* deleted, to put it in the nominative case; thus Tobson is a Gaelic form of *Hóps-endi* = the end of the hope or tidal lake.

Ey, Cl.—an island. *Ey*, in some form (a, ay; in Gaelic, *aibh*), is the termination of the name of nearly every island in the Hebrides that is smaller than a *land* or larger than a *holm*. Those only will be noticed here that are named in the Rentals.

There are three islands in the Outer Hebrides, called Bernera, for *Bjarnar-ey* = Björn's-isle; from *Björn*, a proper name. It is to be noticed, the names of these islands are pronounced by the people, not as they are written in English, but in their Norse forms: e.g., Be-ornar-ay (*vide* 'Princess of Thule.') Besides Scalpa, in Harris, there is another in Skye, and both have snug little harbours; there is also Scapa = *Skalp-eið*, in the Orkneys. Scalpa is for *Skálp-ey* = Ship's-isle, from *Skálp* = a kind of boat or ship,—shallop. There are two Shellays, one belonging to Harris, the other to North Uist. Shellay is the Gaelic pronunciation of Sella, and this is for *Sel-ey* = Seal's-isle, from *Sel* = a seal. Engsay is a remarkably fertile island, and well deserves the name of *Engis-ey* = Meadow (Grassy)-isle; from *Engi* = a meadow. Scarp is again repeated in Barra as Scarpamutt. Scarp, more properly Scarpay, is for *Skarp-ey* = Scarped or Cliffy-isle; from *Scarpr* = scarped. Hermitray is indeterminate.

Taransay = St Taran's-island. The ruins of his church are still trace-

able, and a stone cross from it is in the Museum. A curious legend is related by Martin (*West. Isles*, p. 48); but I suspect he has inverted the names, and written 'Tarran' for 'Che' (in later copies, 'Keith'); and the contrary. There is a St Torannan, abbot of Bangor, commemorated on the 12th June.

There are four islands having the name of Pab-ay, in the Outer Hebrides; another in Skye; two (Papa) in the Orkneys; three (Papa) in Shetland; and one (Papey) in Iceland. The name is very interesting; for it indicates that Culdees = *Céli-dé* = *Servi-Dei*, were located there before the devastation by the Northmen. Pabay, Pabbay, for *Papey* = Priest's-isle; from *Papi* = a priest.

Fjörðr, Cl.—a firth, bay. This word, *fjörðr*, takes many forms in the Hebrides,—such as 'port, fort, forth, furt;' and by aspiration becomes, in Gaelic orthography, *fhurt*; hence written phonetically 'ort, ord, irt, urd,' &c. In the Orkneys and Shetland it is 'firth.'

Resort on the west, and Erisort on the east side, divide the mountainous from the lower (though anything but level) part of Lewis: I believe them to be the same word. On looking into the history of the word, it is found written 'Eriford, Erisport, Iffurt (error for Isfurt), Herrish,—arisford,' with the Gaelic *Loch* prefixed. These words plainly represent Herries-firth.

Harris, sometimes most improperly called the 'Isle of Harris,' is the southernmost parish of the island, not the district, of Lewis. The name again appears in Rum as Harris, and near Dumfries as Herries; it occurs as Harray, or Harra, in the Orkneys; and cognate names are *Harrastaðir* and *Harastaðir*, in Iceland; also *Tahey* (a pseudo-Gaelic form of *Há-ey*) in the Sound of Harris; which is identical with Hoy (*Há-ey* = High-island), in both the Orkneys and Shetland. The root of all these words is *Hár* = high, of which the comparative is *hæri*, *hæri* = higher. The derived noun is *hæð* = a height, of which the nom. plural is *hæðir* = heights. From *hæðir* the *ð* was dropped, and by metathesis the word became hæ-ri; in this way Haray, Harray, Herre, Here, Herrie was formed, and Rorie Mor, the "laird himsel" writing from "Marvak, the xxij. of September, anno 1596," signs himself "Rodoricus Macloid of the Herrie" (p. 336, vol. ii. *Spot. Mis.*) By the influence of modern speech an *s* has been added to form a plural (hæ-ri-s), represented by

Herrish, Hereis, Harries, Harris = Heights; of which the modern Gaelic form is *Na h'Earradh*, which, translated, is *Na h-Arduibh* = the Heights. In Irish Gaelic the name is written, '*Na h-Ara.*'

Harris, in Rum, is derived in the same way.

Fell, Cl.—a fell, a wild hill. *Fell*, influenced by Gaelic speech to *bhal*, *val*, is the most common name for a hill in the Outer Hebrides; but often the sense is duplicated by the addition of *Beinn*, Gaelic—hill. It seems at first unaccountable that the lakes and hills in the uninhabited parts of these islands should have retained their Scandinavian names to this day. But in fact the whole country was divided for pasture among the townlands of the coast; and about mid-summer nearly all the people removed, with their herds, to the moors; so that the most desolate spots were yearly inhabited and depastured; and it is from this cause that so many of the place-names have been remembered.

Copeval, in Harris, is for *Kúpu-fell* = Bowl-(shaped)-fell; from *Kúpaðr* = bowl-shaped, convex.

Garðr, Cl.—a yard, an enclosed space; a fence of any kind. *Gerði*, Cl.—a hedged or fenced field. In the "Complayntes" of Shetland, 1576, *garðr* becomes 'garth,' or 'gar,' seldom 'Goird, Gord,—gorde. In the 'Old Rental' of the Orkneys (1503), *garðr* is represented by 'garth,' which, in 1595, has generally become 'gair,' and is now commonly 'ger' or 'gar.'

In the Hebrides, *garðr* is complicated by the Gaelic *gárradh*, which has the same meaning; it is therefore not always easy to decide to which language names with this termination belong. When Garry is prefixed the name is Gaelic. Names of farms which appear to be Scandinavian, are—Croigarry, for *Kraer-garðr* = Kros'-girth; from *Kró*, Cl.—a pen; here the place which at first was only a sheep-fold, has become settled; Asmigarry, for *Ásmundar-garðr* = Osmund's girth, or farm: there is another Oshmigarry, in Skye. The mutations to which this proper name is subject is shown by the Orcadian '*Ásmundar-vágr*,' which passes, in 1503, to 'Osmundwall,' and at last appears as 'Osnawall.' Tims-garry may be *Tuma-garðr*; where *Tumi* = Thomas. Rusigarry, Rushigarry, in Bernera, Harris, has been *Hrís-garðr* = Bush-girth; from *Hrís*, Cl.—shrubs, brushwood.

The Gaelic names in 'Garry' will be noticed further on.

Gnípa, Cl.—a peak. This word occurs, in the Orkneys, in Gat-neap; Neep, in Shetland; *Népa*, in Iceland. In this case the Scandinavian form is better preserved in Lewis than in the northern islands, as it is written and pronounced Kneep; but its Gaelic form, *Críp*, is rather confounding.

Gísl, Cl.—1. a hostage; 2. a king's officer, bailiff; 3. a proper name. The name has not been found in the Orkneys nor Shetland; but there are at least five cognate appellatives (*Gíslakot*, *Gíslabeer*, *Gíslavötn*, &c.) in Iceland. *Gisla*, Uig, Lewis, is formed from *Gísl*, a proper name; and the generic term may be *á* = a river, or *hlé* = a shelter, or *hlíd* = a slope.

Gras, Cl.—grass; pl. *grös*. We find *Gresmark*, *Grashól*, in Iceland; Grassfield, Girsigarth, in Shetland; Grassholm, Girsra, in the Orkneys; and *Grasabhaig*, a Gaelic form of *Grasa-vik* = Grasswick, in Uig, Lewis. The name of Gress, Stornoway, stands for *Grös* = pastures; and a hint for the reason of the name may be found in Maculloch, who says, "A body of limestone occurs at Gres" (p. 194, vol. i. *Western Isles*).

Gröf, Cl.—a pit. There are *Gröf* and *Grafirgil*, in Iceland; Graven, Graveland, Kolgrave, in Shetland; and Grawine, in the Orkneys. In the Hebrides there is Grafnose, in South Uist; Grafirdale—erroneously spelt Cravodale—in Harris; and Gravir, in Lochs, Lewis; for *Grafir* = pits, ravines.

Heimr, Cl.—abode, a village. This word is rare in Lewis, but it appears to occur in Borsam, Harris; and the ancient form may have been *Börrs-heimr* or *Bás-heimr*.

Hóll, Cl.—a hill, hillock. This term, although not common, appears to occur in Arnol, Barvas; for *Arnar-hóll* = Örn's-hill, where *Örn*, gen. *Arnar*, is a proper name; and in Lionel, Barvas, for *Lón-hóll* = Flax-hill.

Kjós, Cl.—a deep, hollow place. There are several places named *Kjós*, in Iceland; and Keotha, in Shetland, may be the same word; but it is surprising to find, in Keose, Lochs, Lewis, the name so well preserved. It occurs again on the east side of Loch Seaforth.

Klettr, Cl.—a rock, cliff. In the Orkneys, a precipitous, detached holm is called a Clett; while, in Lewis, clet is applied to any rough, broken-faced hill. It is one of the most common names for a hill in Lewis. Inaclete is probably cognate with Ingybuster, Orkneys; Ingasten, Shetland; and *Einganes*, *Engamyrr*, Iceland; for *Engja-klettr* =

Clet of the meadow. Enaclete, also, for *Engja-klettr*. Hacklete is certainly *Hár-klettr* = High-clet. Braeclet is paralleled by Braebost, Skye; Breaquoy, Orkneys; *Breiðarhlið*, &c., Iceland; and stands for *Breiðar-klettr* = Broad-clet. Diraclet, Harris, is cognate with Jura; with Duirness, Skye; Deerness, Orkneys. There are no *Dýr* commemorated in Shetland; for *Dýra-klettr* = Deer's-clet; from *Dýr* = an animal, deer. Breas-clet may be *Breiðar-ás-klettr* = Broad-ridge-clet.

Kollr, Cl.—a top, summit. *Kollr*, in Iceland, is represented by Coal, in Shetland, and perhaps by Colsetter, Orkneys. Coll, in Lewis; otherwise Koll, Kolle, for *Kollr*.

Kross, Cl.—a cross. There are ten places with this name, *Kross*, in Iceland; and three (Corse, Cross, Crose) in the Orkneys; and in Shetland it appears in various forms in combination. Besides Cross, in Barvas, there is Crossbost, in Lochs, Lewis.

Múli, Cl.—a jutting crag. This word, as Mull, Moul, is in common use in the northern islands, and is not unfrequent 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 *Klasbarði*, Iceland. Joyce is wrong (p. 383) in deriving *Mull*, in the Mull of Galloway and Mull of Kentire, from *Mael*, Gael.—a bare promontory; it is from *Múli*, Cleasby,—a high, bold headland, not implying 'bareness.' Other Mulls are the Mull of Deerness and Mull of Papa Westray, in the Orkneys; Blue-mull, in Unst, Shetland; Múlin (thrice), Faeroes; Eyvindarmúli, Múli (seven times repeated), Iceland.

Nes, Cl.—a ness. Ness is a very comprehensive topographical term, including not only the high chalk cliffs of Cape Grinez, but also the low shingle beach of Dungeness. It is usually written *nis* in Gaelic, and pronounced 'nish.' Sometimes 'Ness' becomes the name, not only of the 'ness' proper, but of a large district. The Northmen invariably called the modern county of Caithness *Nes*, and the northern district of the Lewis is known by the same name, Ness. There are ten farms called *Nes*, in Iceland, and 'Ness' occurs both in the Orkneys and Shetland. In the Lewis Rental the entry is 'Fivepenny Ness; Johnston's Map gives 'Fivepenny' alone; and the Ordnance Map translates the latter into Gaelic, '*Cuig Pehinnean*' = Five pennies.

Aignish is called by the all-observant Martin, 'Egginess;' and he

remarks, "The shore of *Egginess* abounds with little, smooth stones, prettily variegated with all sorts of colours. They are of a round form, which is probably occasioned by the tossing of the sea, which in those parts is very violent" (p. 10, *West. Isles*). The ness is probably named from these egg-shaped pebbles: thus, Aignish for *Eggja-ness* = Egg's-ness; from *Egg*, Cl.—an egg.

Steinish is represented by *Stein-ness*, in Iceland; Stennis, Orkneys, and Stennes, in Shetland. The decay of the great conglomerate has, around Stornoway, left great quantities of smooth, water-worn boulders and pebbles; hence Steinish for *Stein-ness*; from *steinn* = a stone.

Arinish, better written Arnish, has its counterpart in Skye (Arnish); as also Arnisort (where —ort = *fjörðr*); and it occurs again in Iceland, as *Arnarnes*, *Arnanes*; from *Örn*, a proper name = Eagle, the feminine of which is *Arna*.

Raernish is repeated again in South Uist, as Rarnish, and again in Skye, where we have also Raasay. Although there is no record of the roe-deer in Lewis, this name tells us that they were once there. Raernish, otherwise Ranish, is close to the Birken Isles, and 'roe' are included in a contract for protecting the game, in 1628 (p. 190, *De Reb. Alb.*) For *Ráar-ness* = Roe-deers-ness; from *Rá* = a roe.

We find the meaning of Breinish by comparing it with the oft-repeated Brabuster, in the Orkneys; and Brebuster, in Shetland, which are contractions of *Breiðarbólstaðr* = Broad-farm, of which there are ten in Iceland. Breinish, then, is for *Breiðar-ness* = Broadness.

Carnish, Uig, appears again at Carnish, Carinish, North Uist; and as Carness, in the Orkneys. It seems to be cognate with *Kjar-á* and *Kjörs-eyri*, in Iceland; if so, Carnish stands for *Kjarr-ness* = Bushy-ness; from *Kjarr* = copeswood, brushwood. Haldorsen has *Kiörr* = *palus*; gen. *kiarrar*, *terra saltuosa, aquatica*; this describes both the Carnesses; but the word, in this sense, is not in 'Cleasby.'

Callernish is an interesting name and place; it may have been *Kjalar-ness*; from *Kjölr* = a keel, a keel-shaped ridge. But the fine Celtic megalithic cross-circle and avenue which stand upon the top of it suggest that the Northmen may have given to the point one of the names of Odin, *Kjalarr*; hence *Kjalar-ness*.

Quidinish seems to be cognate with Quidamuir and Quiderens, in Shet-

land; and is probably an abbreviation of *Kviganda-nes* = Quey's-ness; from *Kviganda* = a young cow or bullock.

Manish is repeated in Skye; and in the aspirated form of Vanish, Varnish (in Gaelic *Mhanis*), it occurs at Stornoway, Benbecula, and South Uist. In Iceland *Mán*, *Mána* is a common prefix (*Mána-vík*, *Mán-á*), where *Máni* is a proper name.

An intimate acquaintance with Stockinish enables me to give its etymology; it is *Stokki-nes* = Stokk-ness; from a chasm (*Stokkr*) navigable at high water, which separates the island from the main. *Stokkr*, Cl.—the narrow bed of a river between two rocks: compare *stök-land*, Cl.—an isolated rock.

Mollinginish is in fact two words, Mol Linginish; where *Mol* is the Gaelic for beach. Linginish = *Lyngar-nes* = Ling-ness, Heather-ness, from *Lyng* = heather.

Hushinish, in Harris, occurs as Ru Ushinish (an iteration), in Lewis, and again in South Uist; and cognate names are Housabost, in Skye; Housby, in the Orkneys; Housay, in Shetland. *Húsa-nes*, in Iceland, is identical, meaning 'House-ness;' from *Hús* = a house.

Oss, Cl.—the mouth or outlet of a river, oyce. In Barvas the termination is, no doubt, *óss*; i.e., Barv-óss. The prefix may be an obscure form of *Bára*, Cl.—a wave, billow; but I do not find any other name like it, and therefore do not receive the usual help from analogy.

Papi, Cl.—a pope, priest. The Scottish *clerici* = *Celi-dé* = *Servi Dei*, must have been bold and hardy seamen; for some of them sailed in the month of January, about the end of the eighth century (A.D. 795?) to Iceland, and stayed there till August;¹ and when the island was colonised by the Northmen, in A.D. 874, they found missals, bells, and crosiers at two places on the south-east coast, which, from that circumstance, they called *Papjli* and *Papey*.²

One of these clerical sailors informed Dicuil that he had sailed (from Shetland most probably) to the Faeroes, in thirty-six hours, in a four-oared boat. This, as the distance is about 180 miles, would give the moderate rate of five miles per hour. At that time hermits had lived there for nearly one hundred years. There is neither *Papjli* nor

¹ Parthey's "Dicuili Liber de Mensura Orbis Terrae," pp. 42, 44.

² "Islandíga Sögur," ed. 1843, i. pp. 23, 24.

Papey in the Faeroes, but they may be commemorated in *Vestman-hafn*, though the name as it stands only indicates the former presence of the Gael.

In Shetland, before the devastation by the Northmen, the *Celi-dé* were established at Papal, Unst; Papal, Yell; and at Papol, Burra; as well as on Papa Stour, Papa Little and Papa, in the Bay of Scaloway.

In the Orkneys they were located at Paplay, South Ronaldsha; Paplay, Holm; and Papdale, at Kirkwall; as also at Papa Stronsay and Papa Westray.

In the Hebrides the *Celi-dé* are commemorated at Payble, North Uist; Papadill (*Papa-dair*), Rum; Paible, Harris; and Pyble (= Byble, Bible!) Lewis. All these forms are variations of *Papgli*, which represents *Papabgli*, *Papbgli* = Priests-abode; one labial absorbing the other. Besides these, the *Servi Dei* must have been established on Pabbay, Skye; Pabay, Barra; Pabbay, Loch Boisdale, South Uist; Pabay, Harris; and on Great and Little Pabay, Lewis; the original form being *Pap-ey* = Priests-island.

Réf, Cl.—a reef in the sea. Reef, as the name of a farm, occurs in Lewis, South Uist, and the Orkneys; and as *Réf*, in Iceland; in every case from an adjoining 'reef.'

Setr, Cl.—1. a seat, residence; 2. Mountain pastures, dairy-lands. This noun, so common in the names of farms in the northern and western islands, I do not find at all among the seven thousand names in the Icelandic *Ný Jarðarbók*. In the Orkneys and Shetland the "setters," which originally were only summer 'seats,' have become fixed residences and cultivated lands. In Lewis, in mid-summer, the home-farms are almost deserted,—the men being at the herring-fishing and the women and cattle on the moors. (See Pro. S. A. S. vol. iii. p. 127).

There are thirteen 'shadirs' named in the Lewis Rental; when written in Gaelic, *Seadair*, pron. Shader. There are places of this name in Lewis; Bernera, Harris; and in Skye. In the Orkneys we have Seater; in Shetland, Setter; in Landnámabók, *Sætr*.

Some of the differentiated 'setters' of Lewis can be readily resolved. Grimshader is identical with Grymsetter, in the Orkneys; Greemsetter, in Shetland; and cognate with *Grimstaðir*, in Iceland. *Grimr* is a very common Scandinavian proper name, and the learned editor of the "Ice-

landic Dictionary" would fain persuade us that it by no means implies an unamiable person. Grimshader, for *Grim-setr* = Grinish-setter, seat or pasture. Kershader is met with as Cursetter, in the Orkneys; for *Kjör-setr* = Copse or Brushwood-setter. Besides Quishader, in Lewis, there is Quinish, Bernera, Harris; Vallaque, North Uist; and the far-famed *Cuidhrang*, in Skye,—a Gaelic spelling of Quoy-rand = *Kvi-rand* = Round-quoy. In the Orkneys 'quoy' is a subsidiary enclosure to the principal farm, and is the only exception I know of to the rule which governs Scandinavian names, by being used as a substantive prefix. Sometimes a quoy is only a few square yards of land enclosed by a rough stone wall, to rear and protect young cabbage plants; this in Shetland would be called a 'cro.' In Shetland we have 'Queys, Quiness,' &c., but the name is not common; in Iceland, *Kvi-ból*, *Kviar-nes*. Quishader for *Kvi-setr* = Fold or Pen-setter; from *Kvi* Cl.—a fold, pen. Earshader has cognate representatives in Air, Irland, in the Orkneys; Erebie, Sandsair, Ireland, in Shetland; and *Eyri*, *Eyrarhus*, in Iceland. Earshader for *Eyrar-setr* = Beach-setter; from *Eyrr* = a gravelly bank, beach. Linshader is the embarking place for crossing to Callernish; and may very well be *Hlein-setr*; from *Hlein*,—a rock projecting like a pier into the sea; but it is more probably *Lón-setr* = Creek-setter; from *Lón*, Cl.—an inlet, sea-loch.

The remaining setters,—Limeshader, Sheshader, Shulishader (there is another Shulishader at Portree, Skye), Gurshader, Carishader, Geshader, Ungshader,—I prefer leaving unexplained. There is nothing, that I know of, distinctive in their topography, and the prefixes admit of a great variety of interpretation.

Sker, Cl.—a skerry, an isolated rock in the sea. This word, in many forms, is common all round Britain, and is adopted into the Gaelic as *Sgeir*. The only instance met with of 'skerry' entering into the name of a farm is in Vatisker, Lewis, which is named from the adjoining *Váðasker* = Dangerous skerry; from *Váð*, Cl.—a danger, peril.

Staðr, Cl.—a 'stead,' place, abode: in English it occurs in 'home-stead,' 'steading;' and, in Iceland, '*staðr*,' '*staðir*,' forms the termination of sixty-one local names (*Landnámabók*). In local topography, in the northern isles, it means the place on which the dwelling stands.

In Shetland, by 1576, *staðr* had usually been shortened to 'sta,' and this is now frequently changed to 'ster.'

In Earl Sinclair's Rental of his share of the Orkneys (1502), and which in part seems to have been copied from an older document, *staðr* is represented by 'stath,' 'staith,' 'stayth.' By 1595, 'staith,' 'stayth,' had been reduced to 'sta;' but a real corruption was introduced by 'stane,' and this has now generally become 'ston,' 'ton,' 'toun.' We can trace the whole change in *Grimstaðir*, which, in 1503, appears as 'Grymestath,' in 1595, as 'Grymston' and 'Grymestoun,' and which is now written 'Gremiston.'

In Lewis, *staðr* is not an uncommon generic term. *Skegirsta*—the Gaelic form of which is *Sgiogarstagh*—is the same name as *Skeggjastaðr* in Iceland, and *Skeggestad* in Norway, and indicates that *Skeggi* was located there. *Mangarsta*—occurring as *Mogstat*, *Mugstot*, *Monkstadt*, in Skye, and as *Mangaster* in two places in Shetland—was *Múnku-staðr*, and tells that it was formerly the abode of monks. *Mealista* is *Melastaðr*; from *Melr*, *i.e.*, sandhills overgrown with bent grass; in Scottish, 'links.' We have *Melbest* twice in Lewis; *Melsetter*, in the Orkneys; and *Melby*, in Shetland. In Iceland there is *Melar*, and the same name as in Lewis, *Melstaðr*. All these places are sandy, and in summer luxuriantly green. The monks of *Mangaster* may have joined in spiritual joys with the *Cailleachean-dhubha*, *i.e.*, nuns, the site of whose house can still be seen at *Mealista*.

There are two "Tolsta" in Lewis, which may have been *Tolu-staðr* = *Toli's-stead*, of whom seventeen are named, under a great variety of spelling, as pilgrims, in the Reichenau Obituary (*Antiq. Tidsskrift*, 1843-45, p. 74); but it is strange that neither in Iceland, Shetland, nor the Orkneys is any name like *Tolsta* to be found. *Crolesta* may be *Króllið-staðr* = *Cro-lea-sted*; but I doubt it. *Borrowston* is *Borgar-staðr* = *Brough (Castle)-stead*; for it has been pointed out above how 'sta,' under Teutonic influences, becomes 'stane,' and then 'ton,' 'toun.' There is no *tún* in Lewis; and it is very rare, and only applied to insignificant places in Iceland. It is also rare in the Orkneys and Shetland, and has, I believe, been introduced by a false etymology. In Harris we have *Scarista*, and there is another *Scarista* in Uig, Lewis, not named in the Rental; these are synonymous with *Skára-staðr* in Iceland. *Skári*

(skorey; in Shetland), is a young gull still in its grey plumage; but it is also a nick-name, so that *Skára-staðr* is not the 'Stead of a skorey,' but the '*Stead of Skári.*'

When crossing the Sands of Uig a place was pointed out to me where a horse and gig had sunk, but they were, if I remember correctly, rescued. The adjoining farm is called Erista. As I find *Irjar*, *Yrjar*, in Iceland, and as *sand-yrja* means a quick-sand, it may be safely inferred that Erista was originally *Irjar-staðr* — Quicksand-stead.

Strönd, Cl.—strand, coast, shore, is represented by Strond, in Harris; Strand, in Shetland; and *Strönd*, in Iceland.

Troll, Cl.—a giant. *Trylla*, Cl.—to enchant. *Tryllskr*, Cl.—bewitched. Ballantrushal, more properly *Baile an Truiseil*, a townland in the west of Lewis, which takes its name from *Clach an Truiseil* = the Trusel-stone. This is a gigantic monolith or Standing Stone, which well deserves the title of *Tryllskar-steinn* = Stone of Enchantment, and which has become Tryskall, Tryshall, by metathesis. I suppose that in *Trysil Fiull*, in Norway, the same form is seen. The legend connected with the stone is best related in another place. The sagacity of the topographer is sometimes severely taxed; "L Vnsal Sago" is not to be directly recognised as 'Trusal Stone;' nor does 'B Trade' immediately suggest '*Bal an Trusel.*'

Tunga, Cl.—a tongue of land. *Tunga* is frequent in Iceland; Toung occurs both in the Orkneys and Shetland, and Teangue in Skye. In Lewis it is written 'Tong.'

Vágr, Cl.—a creek, bay. This is a troublesome word to the topographer, as will be seen directly. With Icelandic names there is, of course, no difficulty;—a *vágr* there cannot be confounded with anything else.

In Shetland *vágr* retains its right sound as 'voe,' with the single exception of Scalowa, Scaloway, and this has been brought about by adopting the southern sound of a mis-written form. This is a frequent error; witness Bible Head and Europa Point, in Lewis. At Skaloway the *voe* is there, and the name has been *Skalar-vágr* = Skail's-voe; where *Skabi*, in this case, is a 'hall.'

The Orkneys, from their rounded outline, have few voes; yet here there is the greatest confusion between *vágr* = a voe, and *völtr* = a field, for both

of which the modern termination—wall—is used indifferently; and what still more complicates the inquiry is that a *vágr* and a *völlr* are almost always adjacent. Great numbers of the farms in the Orkneys terminate in—wall; and one, Bigswall, is nowhere touched by the sea, which eliminates *vágr* in that case. Nor can there be any doubt concerning Greenwall being *Gren-völlr* = Greenfield; or Tingwall, meaning *þing-völlr*. But there is a parish, Walls, in Shetland, and another, Walls, in the Orkneys, both of which are historically *Vágarland*; Osmandwall is *Ásmundarvággr*; Widewall is *Viðvággr*; and Kirkwall, originally *Kirkjuvággr*, continues, as late as 1525, as *Kirkevaag*. It is evident, therefore, that in the Orkneys, wall may represent either *vágr* or *völlr*.

And yet it is with extreme reluctance that I yield to this conclusion: there is no difficulty with—wall from *völlr*, but how, I ask, could *vágr* come to be represented by wall? from whence came the *ll*? was it that Scottish immigrants, finding the sound of *vá*, represented it in writing by 'wall,' the *ll* at first being silent?¹ But the opinion I am inclined to adopt is that both forms were current; as noted above, where 'wall' represents *vágr*, a *völlr* is also present. Besides *Kirkju-vággr*, there was always, in fact, *Kirkju-völlr* (Kirk-field), Kirkwall; and so of the rest. And the parish names, Walls, appear to me to be used in contradistinction to the peculiarly mountainous districts of Sandness, in Shetland, and Hoy, in the Orkneys; if so, they would have been called *Vellir*, Englished by Walls (Vales). It is true, however, that both 'Walls' are largely intersected by 'voes.' The solution of the question depends upon whether most weight is given to induction from observation or to historical documents.

In the Hebrides this unfortunate word, *vágr*, is plagued by complications of another kind. The Rentals, indeed, record the names of farms with greater purity than in the northern islands. But they have been written by Northern Saxons; 'v' is turned to 'w,' and *vágr* becomes 'way;' no doubt, when first written, 'way' rhymed to 'far,' but now in common English speech—from the influence of the 'written' form—

¹ "The letter *l* becomes mute after the open vowels *a* and *o*, which it serves only to lengthen, and, having thus become a mere orthoepic sign, is inserted in words where it has no etymological force."—*Murray's Dialect of South Counties of Scotland*, p. 54.

rhyming to 'day.' But in the native (Gaelic) speech no word can have an initial *v* in the nominative case; also, if two nouns are combined to form a word, the suffix, if capable, suffers aspiration (see Joyce). These rules are sometimes strictly followed, and sometimes not observed. We will take the examples of Carloway, which undoubtedly was *Karla-vágr*, and Maraig, originally *Mýrrar-vágr*. In *Karla-vágr* I have been instructed that the final *r* merely emphasised the preceding consonant. When the Gael took possession of the word, *Karla-vág*, they would do, as the northern islanders have done, viz., drop the *g*, and next they would consider *vá* to be a noun in the genitive case, and would therefore soften the *á* to *ai*; thus sounding 'vai,' which in Gaelic orthography would be 'bhaigh, bhaidh;' and of which the nominative would be *bagh, badh*; this, again, translated into English, would be 'bay.' In this roundabout manner the *Vágar* of Harris have become the 'Bays.' *Karla-vágr*, reduced to *Karla-vai*, would be written *Carla-bhaidh*, and Teutonic influence, changing the *v* or *bh* to *w*, brings us to Carloway.

In *Mýrrar-vágr* the *r* being dropt, becomes *Mýrrar-vág*, which has been taken as if written *Mýrrar-mhag*; but *mh* is as commonly silent as sounded *v*; in this case the *mh* is silent, and the inflexion (as usual) dropt, and so we have *Myr-mhag*, Englished to Mar-ag.

Stornoway; this name is repeated (Loch Stornua), in Kentire. In Iceland there were formerly *Stjörnu-steinar* and *Stjörnu-staðr*, but these names are now obsolete. Stornoway—which I find spelled in thirteen different ways—has been *Stjörnu-vágr* = Star's-voe; where *Stjarna* = Star, is a proper name. The only person I find recorded bearing that name is *Oddi*, who was so learned in astronomy that he was called *Stjörnu-Oddi*. He had a remarkable dream, *Stjörnu-Odda Draumr*, but it appears to have had nothing to do with the stars (*Nordiske Oldskrifter*, xxvii.). It may be noted that no place on land in Kentire bears the name of Stornoway, which disposes of the foolish Gaelic etymology of *Sron-a-bhaigh* = Bay-nose.

Stimeravay is *Stemdi-vágr* = the Stopped-up-voe; from *Stemma*, Cl.—to dam up. The name describes it.

For Carloway Sir R. Gordon has 'Carleywagh' (where *w* = *v*). I do not find any cognate name in the Orkneys; nor in Shetland, unless Charleston (?) in Aithsting. But in Iceland there is *Karla-fjörðr*, *Karla-*

staðr, &c. Carloway is for *Karla-vágr* = Karli's-voe; from *Karli*, a proper name.

Meavig, is printed in the Lewis Rental, in error for Meavag; and there are two other 'Meavag' in Harris; in Iceland, *Mjoa-ness* and *Mjo-sund*. Meavag is for *Mjo-vágr* = Narrow-voe.

Flodeway is for *Fljóta-vágr* = Stream-voe; from *Fljót* = a stream. Cognate names in Iceland are *Fljót*, *Fljóts-dalr*, &c. Marag is for *Mýrar-vágr* = Mire-voe; from *Mýrr* = moor, bog, swamp.

Vatn, Cl.—a lake. *Vat*, written in Gaelic *hat*, is one of the most common terminations of the names of lakes in the Outer Hebrides. There is many a 'Langavat,' for *Langt-vatn* = Long-lake, Long-water.

Vík, Cl.—a small creek, inlet, bay; a wick. Of the wicks giving their names to farms in Lewis there are—Sandwick, repeated in the Orkneys and Shetland, and appearing in its original form, *Sand-vík*, in Iceland; from *Sandr* = sand. Marweg, otherwise Marvig, is repeated as Marwick in the Orkneys and Shetland. The Marwick in the Orkneys is certainly *Má-vík* = Maw-wick; from *Már* = Sea-mew, gull. In Kerriwick the *r* is duplicated by the Gael; otherwise Kirvig; and was *Kirkju-vík* = Kirk-wick; from *Kirkja* = a church. Islavik I leave unexplained; and Crolivick may be *Kró-hlíð-vík* = Cro-slope-wick; from *Kró*, Cl.—a small pen or fence, and *Hlíð*, Cl.—a slope. There is a Cruely in Shetland.

Ögr, Cl.—an inlet; a small bay or creek. This rare word, besides giving name—Uig—to a parish in Lewis and a townland in Skye, occurs compounded in the names of four other places in that island. I have not noticed it in either the Orkneys or Shetland, but there are at least two *Ögur* in Iceland.

All the names of farms which appear to be of Scandinavian origin have been now passed in review. It is not to be expected that the explanations of them are in every instance correct; in an original inquiry of this kind there are likely to be some errors. But there can be no mistake about most of the generic terms, such as 'bost,' 'wick,' 'way,' 'clet,' &c., and it would have been sufficient for my purpose to have collected these alone. The specimen here given may, however, help to the collection of the place-names in this—to the archaeologist—most interesting island, with the legends that belong to them. Such names as *uist*, *uig*, *barp*, *tursachean*, are philologically of great interest; the absence

of some generic terms, such as *tjórn* = tarn; the presence of others, such as *pollr*, are noteworthy; while the search for the history of the early missionaries to whom the piety of past times has dedicated the numerous churches of which the ruins still exist, would be found more profitable than the indolent could imagine.

GÆLIC NAMES OF FARMS IN LEWIS, WITH HARRIS.

Achiemore, written *Ath Mhòr* on the Ordnance (one inch) Map, for *Achadh Mòr*¹ = Great Field.

Avinsuidhe, Harris, for *Amhuinn Suidhe* = Seat River. Probably from being a 'resting place' when travelling from Tarbert to Scarp.

Upper Aird, for *Aird Uachdarach* = Upper Aird or Promontory.

Ardslave, for *Aird Sleamh* = Slippery Point; from *Sleamhuinn* = slippery, smooth.

Ardhasig, for *Aird-aisig* = Ferry-point; from *aiseag* = a ferry.

Aribruach, for *Airid-à-bhrudhaich* = Shieling on the Declivity; from *Brudach* = a descent, declivity.

Arinambaisde, for *Airidh-na-Bèiste* = Shieling of the Monster; from *Biaist*, a monster, of which there are many fabulous kinds in the lakes of Lewis.

Arinamile; this means 'The One-mile Shieling;' but the proper name is *Airidh an dà Mhìle* = The Two-mile Shieling, that being its distance from Stornoway.

Athline, for *Àth an Linne* = Pool-ford; from *Àth* = a ford, and *Linne* = a pool; also a cascade.

Balallan, for *Baile Ailein* = Allen's Farm or Village.

Ballygloom, for *Baile Ghluim*² = Glum's-Farm. Glum, in legendary lore, was a giant who dwelt in *Dun Ghluim*, in Benera, Lewis, and who had two brothers, like unto himself, *Cuthach* and *Tid*. *Cuthach* (= Fury) came to grief at the hands of the Fingalians, whereon *Glum* and *Tid* retired to Skye. But in fact *Tid* has been created out of *Tid-borg* =

¹ The authorities for the etymologies of the Gaelic names are the Highland Society's Dictionary, O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, and Joyce's "Irish Names of Places." I am also obliged by the Rev. M. Macphail for reading the MS. and correcting the Gaelic where necessary.

² "Baile Ghluim is the grammatical form, but the natives of Lewis never say Baile Ghluim, but *Baile Glum*."

Tide-brough ; and Dun Glum commemorates *Glumr*, a Northman, whose name if Anglicised would be Mr Bear.

Buainacreag, for *Buaille na Creige* = Cliff-fold ; from *Buaille* = a cattle fold.

Bonnievnatir, for *Bun-amhainn-eadar* = the Foot of the River which divides (two farms) ; from *Bun* = foot, &c. ; *Amhainn* = river ; and *Eadar* = between.

Cleascro. Joyce has *Clais-a'-chro* = the trench of the shed. I know not if 'Cleascro' be the same word. There are also Cliascro, Alt Chliascro, and Druim Chliascro, in Shawbost, Lewis.

Cromore, for *Crò-mòr* = Great-Fold ; from *Crò* = a sheep-fold. The present form of the name is, of course, Gaelic. But I suspect that the original name was *Kró*, Norse for 'a pen, a small fold,' and that there was another *Kró* not far away. In course of time these *hjalegia* = outliers, came to be inhabited by Gaelic-speaking folks, when to distinguish the farms the greater was called *Kró-mòr*, and the lesser *Kró-beag*.

Crobeg, for *Cròbeag* = Little Fold.

Coulnagreine, for *Cul-ri-Gréin* = Back to the Sun ; *i.e.*, having a northern aspect.

Knock (*bis*), for *Cnoc* = Knoll, hillock.

Knockmore, for *Cnoc-mòr* = Great Knoll.

Knockaird, for *Cnoc Aird* = Hillock Point.

Carragray ; there is also a Carragrich in Barra. I know not if this word should be *Cairidh-gharraidh* = Carra-garry, Cruive-garry ; from *Cairidh* = a mound thrown across the mouth of a stream—or enclosing a portion of the fore-shore—for the purpose of catching fish ; a weir.

Drumphuend, for *Druim a' Phuinnd* = Pound Ridge ; from *Druim* = ridge ; and *Pund* = pound for cattle.

Eideroil, also Idroil, for *Eadar dhà Fhogail* = Between two Fords from *Faoghail* = a ford. This word, pronounced Foo-ail, occurs in *Beinn dhà Fhoghail* strangely corrupted into Benbecula ; and probably in *Dun Fhogail* = Dun Othail = Dun Owle = Ford Castle.

Flannan Isles—by a strange oversight printed "Flannel" Isles on the Ordnance Map—should be *Eileanan Fhlananan* = Islands of (St) Flan : the termination *an* is a diminutive of endearment (*Joyce*). There are several saints of this name in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Donegal.

Island Anaby, for *Eilian Anabuich* = Not ripening Island ; from *Anabuich* = Unripe. The corn does not ripen, for the place is overshadowed by high hills on the south ; and, it is said, that on some days in winter the sun cannot shine upon it.

Island Ewart, when written in Gaelic, *Eilean Iubhaird*, appears to be formed from *Iubhar* = yew, or more probably from *Iubhar-creige* = juniper. Dean Munro names 'Ellan Hurte,' and remarks 'otters there.' I felt great reverence for a 'holly' that is growing in the cliffs of Loch Seaforth, the sole representative that was seen in Lewis of an ancient and expiring race.

Garynahine, for *Garraidh na h'Aimhne* = Garry (Farm) of the Rivers.

Garryvard, for *Gàrraidh a' Bhàird* = Bard's Farm.

Garryscore.

Garinin, for *Garraidhmean* = The Garrys ; which were, at first, plots additional to, and often far away from, the original settlements.

Glas, for *Eilean Glas* = Grey Island.

Imarsligoch, for *Imire sligeach* = Shelly Beach ; from *Iomair* = a ridge ; and *Sligeach* = shelly.

Kilbride, for *Cill Bhrighde* = St Brigid's or Bride's church.

Lewis.—"The Island of *Lewis* is so called from *Leog*, which in the *Irish* language signifies *water* lying on the surface of the ground."—(*Martin's West. Isles*, p. 1). O'Reilly has *Leog* = a marsh ; *Leogach* = marshy. In 1449 the Chief of *Sìol Torquil* calls himself 'Roderic M'Leod of *Leoghuis*.' In 1461 'Torquell M'Leod' signs himself 'of *Leoghos*.' In 1478 and 1494 another 'Roderick Makleod' of *Lewys*, and in 1498 another 'Torquell M'Cloid' of the *Lewis*, appear in record. (*Or. Pr.* p. 382, vol. ii. part 1). We have here the whole process of the change from the Gaelic to the English form, but the pronunciation remains the same throughout. In Gaelic, abstract nouns are formed by suffixing *as*, *cas*, *us* : thus *leog* = a marsh ; *leogus* = marshiness ; of which the genitive is *leoghuis* = 'of marshiness,' as is written in 1449. It follows that *Leoghuis* is an attributive, and that some generic term equivalent to island, land, country, must have been either expressed or understood. The meaning, then, of *Lewis* is 'marshy,' and it will be admitted that it is entirely appropriate. A *Lewis* man is *Leoghasach*, pron. *Lyosach*.

In 1335 the name appears of *Lewethy* (*Or. Pr.*), and, after a long absence, between 1676 and 1688 John Morisone informs us that "The remotest of all the Western Islands of Scotland is commonlie called the Lews, by strangers the Withy" (p. 337, vol. ii. *Spot. Mis.*) As he proceeds we find he is applying these names to the whole Long Island = Outer Hebrides, for further on he says "that which is properly called the Lews [belongs] to the Earls of Seaforth." It may be inferred that in '*Lewethy*,' 'the *Withy*,' we have a form of the Gaelic name of the Outer Hebrides, of which no trace exists elsewhere; but immediately after *Scetis* = Skye, the Ravenna geographer has *Linnonas*, *Linonsa*, which may refer to the Outer Hebrides.

The first time the island is named by the Northmen is in Magnus Barefoot's Saga, where it occurs as *um Ljoð-hús*, in a verse (A.D. 1098). It appears frequently in the *Flateyjar-bók* in connection with the Orkneys, or in the Saga of Hacon the Aged. The Norse name is an adoption from the Celtic, which it strictly represents if the syllables are rightly divided;—*Ljoðh-ús*, in the *Flateyjar-bók*,—*Liodh-us*. This, however, is only an accident, for I have no doubt the Norse chronicler had the idea of *hús* in his mind when he wrote the name. Munch has very neatly expressed how this happens (see *ante*). The Chronicle of Man follows the Norse form in having *d* as the middle consonant. The Norse forms are important, for they show that those from whom they learnt the name pronounced the middle consonant *g*, which they represented by *ð*, or *d*, but which in modern speech is 'darkened to obscurity.'

Lochs is the name of a parish in Lewis, so called from being deeply intersected by firths; the ancient name Loghur (*Locha*?) is quite obsolete.

Lochganvich, for *Loch a' Gainmheich* = Sandy-loch; from *gainmheach* = sandy.

Luskentire, probably for *Lios Cinn-tire* = either the Flowery (Luxuriant) Land's-end; or the Lis-headland; from *Lios* = a garden; also a fort; and *cinn-tire* = headland.

Nisashée, for *Innis-sith* = Fairy's haunt.

Portnaguran, for *Port nan Giuran*, said to be Barnacle Port; from *port* (pronounced 'porst') = a port, harbour; and *giuran* = a pustule, barnacle. The Rev. M. Macphail informs me that *giuran* means also the gills of a fish.

Portvoller; the Gaelic form is *Port Mholair*, but the meaning is unknown to me. The Rev. M. Macphail suggests that—voller may come from *mol*, Gael = a beach.

Rha, Taransary, for *Rath* = a fort. There is another 'Rha,' in Skye.

Rugha, probably for *Rudha* = a promontory. This word compressed to *Ru'* is added, often superfluously, to the names of points or nesses in the Hebrides.

Tarbert, for *Tairbeart* = a boat-portage.

This closes the list of the Gaelic names of farms (or townlands) in Lewis and Harris, with the exception of the three following, which are doubtful:—

Kenhusly—this may be Norse or Gaelic.

Leckley; as above; perhaps compounded from *leac*, Gael = a flat stone.

Cleur; perhaps for *Clogher* = a stony place; or *Cluthar* = a sheltered place (*Joyce*). *Glodhar*, in Kyntire = a ravine, gully (*Rev. M. Macphail*).

ENGLISH NAMES OF FARMS IN LEWIS WITH HARRIS.

There is little to remark about the English names; those like 'Doctor's Park,' 'Canal Meadow,' &c., require no explanation.

I have classed as English names all those in which the generic term is English, such as 'hill, field, farm;' thus Sandwick as Scandinavian, but Sandwick Farm as English; Inaclete, Scandinavian, but Inaclete Lots as English. By this arrangement the number of Scandinavian names is somewhat reduced; while, as no Gaelic word has served for an adjective to an English noun, not a single Gaelic item has been numbered as English or Scandinavian.

The only English name requiring notice is that of 'Park;' this is a large district in which there were formerly many townlands, but it is now a sheep-farm and deer-forest. Every one in Scotland understands 'park' in its original sense, *i.e.*, an enclosure; and one of the Earls of Seaforth having built a dike across the isthmus, having Loch Erisort on the north and Loch Seaforth on the south, to keep in the deer, which it did not, as they readily take to the water, the enclosed peninsula became the 'Park.'

In Adair's map of the "Navigation of James V., 1585," and again in

a map in Holland's "Camden," we find *Durna* written, which I suppose is intended for Deerness, and which is now called the Park.

The result of the foregoing examination is that in the Lewis and Harris Rentals there are 269 entries, viz.:—

Stornoway,	94
Lochs,	38
Barvas,	30
Uig,	45
Harris,	62

of which in

	Scandinavian.	Gaelic.	English.	Doubtful.
Stornoway,	30	11	53	0
Lochs,	25	11	2	0
Barvas,	27	1	2	0
Uig,	35	4	5	1
Harris,	43	15	2	2
Totals,	160	42	64	3

Rejecting the English names, which are of no importance in this inquiry, and which are mostly clustered about Stornoway, the Scandinavian names are nearly four times more numerous than the Gaelic. But this ratio by no means represents the relative importance of the places so named; for while on the Norse-named townlands there are 2429 tenants, there are but 387 tenants on those which bear Gaelic names. And, in fact, some of the Gaelic townlands—such as Aribruach and Balallan—have been greatly increased by the tenants who have been removed from Norse stations in the Park.

It could also be shown, from the Valuation Roll, how much more valuable (comparatively) are the lands bearing Norse names; but it is not considered necessary to make the calculation. The facts stated above lead to the conclusion that the Northmen extirpated the original inhabitants and settled upon the best lands, to which they gave descriptive names in their own language; and that the Gaelic names have been bestowed after the Gaelic language was introduced, or reintroduced. We know that the Northmen extirpated the Celtic inhabitants of the

Orkneys and Shetland, and that there is hardly a Celtic name left in either group of islands.

And in Lewis and Harris there is scarcely one important place bearing a Gaelic name; it is true that Gaelic names are plentifully written on the Ordnance Maps; but as a rule they belong to minor features; the names are entirely modern in form, and are such as would naturally arise in the six centuries which have passed since the islands formed part of the Norwegian kingdom.

This absence of Celtic names cannot be accounted for except on the theory of the entire removal, by slaughter or flight, of the Celtic people; had the Northmen simply enslaved them, the Northmen would have learned and adopted the former place-names, as the Normans did in England; but in the previous pages I have shown that nearly every name of importance is identical, or cognate, with some other in the Orkneys, Shetland, or Iceland.

If we turn from topography to history, the little that is known can be told in a few words. The Hebrides were known in the second century, and were then inhabited by a Celtic people, one of the numerous tribes which then divided North Britain between them, and which collectively were afterwards called Picts. In 501 commenced the invasion and settlement by the Scots, from Ireland, of the west coast and isles of Scotland; but it does not appear they had extended their conquests to the northern islands when, in 794, the Northmen began to devastate the British isles. From that time, for seventy-six years, the northern and western islands were occupied by independent vikings or pirates, and it is probable that the names of some of those miscreants are the attributives of place-names at the present day. In 870 the Norwegian king, Harold Fairhair, made his first expedition to the isles (*Munch*), and drove out many of the vikings; in 872¹ he gained the battle of Hafursfiord, which gave him the control of Norway; and, apparently, the fear of his power caused a large emigration to Iceland, not only from Norway, but also from Ireland and the Hebrides. From this time the Hebrides appear to have formed at first a part of the earldom of Orkney, and subsequently of the kingdom of Man. In 1156 the islands south of Ardnamurchan, except

¹ "Munch is certainly wrong in his chronology. It is clear from the Saga that the battle was fought in 883."—W. F. S.

Man, were ceded by Godred, king of Man, to Somerlid, of Argyle. In 1266 the Hebrides were finally ceded to Scotland; thus, for 472 years the Hebrides formed part of the Norwegian kingdom.

It is interesting to consider the probable date at which the Gaelic language became the vernacular; there is no direct evidence, and it would occupy much space to discuss all the inferences bearing on the subject. To judge from the local nomenclature of Lewis, it must have been comparatively recent. In the Orkneys and Shetland the Norse language only entirely died out in the last century; but, in the Hebrides, it is fair to conclude that the cession of the southern islands to Argyle (in 1156), would quickly cause the general introduction of Gaelic there, and a century later we may concede that it would be the polite language—that of the gentry—in the Northern Hebrides.

It is to be supposed that long before 1266 emigration from the mother country had ceased, but that many Scots were settled in the islands, either by force or choice. The names of the few chiefs mentioned in King Hakon's Saga are distinctly Norse. But from that time the tide of emigration is made evident by the patronymics of the inhabitants of Lewis, as determined at the census of 1861, when the total population of Lewis was 21,059. The Macleods were between one-fifth and one-sixth, and they, with Macdonalds, Mackenzies, Morrisons, and Macivors, were together about one-half (10,430) of the whole; another fourth are Maclean, Mackay, Smith, Macaulay, Murray, and Campbell (4598), each more than 400 strong; then come Graham, Matheson, Macleannan, Nicolson, Macrae, Martin, Montgomery, Macritchie, Macphail, Macaskill, Macarthur, and Macmillan (3225), each over 200, and together rather more than one-seventh; of those over 100 are Stewart, Munro, Mackinnon, Finlayson, Gillies, Macinnes, Ross, Macsween, and Macfarlane, together 1115; between 50 and 100 are Fergusson, Gunn, Kennedy, Thomson, Buchanan, and Macneill; and between 50 and 25 are Beaton, Young, Fraser, Macgregor, Macpherson, Reid, Chisholm, Bethune, Crichton, Macleay, Watt, Clark, Grant, and Mitchell; after whom there are still 179 surnames in Lewis; all together 232.

In the following table the population of North Uist and Harris, exclusive of Bernera and St Kilda, are arranged according to clans or surnames:—

Clans or Surnames.	North Uist.	Harris.	Clans or Surnames.	North Uist.	Harris.
Macdonald,	1064	607	Brought forward,	3133	3431
Macleod,	119	646	Macrury,	57	0
Morrison,	138	530	Macphail,	52	0
Macleon,	392	94	Kerr,	0	46
Mackinnon,	82	190	Gillies,	24	27
MacIennan,	16	239	Macquien,	46	0
Macaulay,	165	64	Cameron,	40	1
Mackay,	33	178	Lang,	40	1
Campbell,	40	141	Maccorquidale,	46	0
MacIellan,	138	20	Macqueen,	26	8
Macdougall,	142	9	Fraser,	15	17
Maccuish,	98	45	Macintyre,	31	0
Macaskill,	29	120	Mackeeagan,	31	0
Macinnes,	59	81	Macisaac,	29	0
Macrae,	42	68	Johnston,	29	0
Martin,	4	99	Macquarrie,	27	0
Ferguson,	69	42	Mackintosh,	27	0
Macvicar,	98	2	Nicolson,	26	1
Mackenzie,	33	60	Macmillan,	26	0
Stewart,	74	13	Monk,	21	0
Shaw,	16	63	Munro,	8	21
Robertson,	76	0	Ross,	7	18
Macdiarmid,	23	48	Cunningham,	0	21
Macsweyn,	0	67	Macphie,	0	16
Macpherson,	59	5	Maccormic,	15	0
Boyd,	62	0	Paterson,	1	13
Matheson,	62	0	Dingwall,	11	1
Carry forward,	3133	3431		3768	3622
Names of which there are not more than ten in each parish } chiefly, but not entirely, of recent arrival there, }				171	142
Total of North Uist and Harris, exclusive of Bernera and } St Kilda, }				3939	3764

These tables are very suggestive both as to the history and ethnology of the islands, but their use here is to show that a clan is by no means a homogeneous tribe.

Before closing, I have to notice the connection of the Macleods with this country—Lewis and Harris—of which that family has been the chiefs for many centuries. The common tradition is to trace their origin from Leod, a son of Olaf Svarti, king of Man (d. 1237), and the evi-

dence is said to be in the "Chronicle of Man." This excites the suspicion that this account has been guessed after the publication of Camden's "Britannia," and yet there is no mention of a Leod in that chronicle. But there is inferential evidence of the connection of the Macleods with Lewis at a very early period.

In 1230 Ottar Snækollson (Nicolson?), a Hebridean chieftain, and Balki, junior, Pál's son (Macphail), and grandson to Balki, sheriff of Skye, fell in with Thorkel Thormodson, in Vestrafiord, in Skye; they killed Thorkel and two of his sons, but a third, Thormod, leapt into a small boat that was alongside of the ship, escaped, and was driven ashore, northwards, at *Hakarskot* (Applecross, formerly *Aporerosan*, *Aburcrossan*, &c).

On the return of the Norwegian fleet, northwards, to *Ljóðhúlsir* (Lewis), in 1231, Thormod Thorkelson was there; they chased him from the island, killed many of his men, captured his wife and all his goods (*föng*).¹

Now Thorkel and Thormod are family names of the Macleods, the *Síol* (pron. Shiel = descendants of), Tarquil, holding Lewis for centuries, and the *Síol* Tormod, holding Harris and the western fiords of Skye, the latter to this day; and it is a fair inference that the Thorkel and Thormod named in the Saga were ancestors of the Macleods.

But if this theory holds good, it weakens any idea of their being connected with Olaf Svarti; for, in the first place, the war upon Thorkel and Thormod was made by Olaf's fleet; and in the next, Balki (sheriff), Pál, and Balki, junior, were fast friends of Olaf. It follows, then, that the Macleods were on the side of Godred Don.

Thormod Thorkelson was a married man in 1231; on the theory of thirty years to a generation, it may be assumed that he was born in 1201; his father, Thorkel Thormodson, in 1171; his father, Thormod, in 1141; and his father (whose name may have been Liot), in 1111. This brings us to the time of Svein of Gairsa, who had a friend, Liotulf,² evidently a chieftain, in Lewis.

¹ Munch's "Chron. of Man," pp. 96, 99; Flateyar-bók, iii. pp. 101, 103.

² Orkneyinga Saga-translation, pp. 106, 154; Flateyar-bók, ii. pp. 460, 491.