

I.

ON ISLAY PLACE-NAMES. By CAPT. F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., F.S.A. Scot.

When the examination of the Lewis Place-Names—with the view of ascertaining to what extent the Scandinavian influence had been impressed there—was finished, it seemed very desirable that the name-system of the Southern Hebrides, particularly Islay, should be inquired into, for comparison with that of Lewis; but having no local acquaintance with the island, and only very bad maps, the attempt had to be postponed. But having lately the offer of assistance from Mr. Hector Maclean of Ballygrant, Islay, who, besides having a critical knowledge of Gaelic, is thoroughly acquainted with the topography of Islay, it was considered safe to proceed, but without his co-operation this account of Islay Place-Names could not have been written.

This paper must be considered complementary to that on Lewis Place-Names, to which the reader is referred for many remarks bearing on the present subject, but which, to avoid repetition, are omitted here.

In the former paper the method is detailed by which the names themselves were determined and their analysis performed,—and the same system has been followed in this. To prevent any unconscious selection, and as affording a fair example of the name-system in Islay, the list of farms in the Valuation Roll of Argyllshire was taken as a basis. These names

were compared with such of them as are written on Johnston's (Thomson's) county maps, and with Stephen M'Dougall's map of Islay, made in 1749-50-51. From these three authorities the modern form was obtained, while the charters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries contained in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, and Blaeu's *Atlas*, with a few other sources, supplied a phonetic spelling of the names, which, although often eccentric, retained sufficient of their original sound to indicate their etymology. Probably these names were copied (or mis-copied) from older documents, for it is not to be supposed that the low-country clerks could by any combination of letters known to them represent the sound of words when uttered by a Gael.¹ There is usually much abbreviation of the generic terms in the last two centuries, particularly such as have ceased to have meaning in common speech, and in a few cases they are altogether suppressed. Thus *stavr*, in the sixteenth century becomes "sta" and "say," but it is now vaguely represented by "s"; *fell*, after sundry mutations, such as "field," "vall," now figures as "ville"; *dabr*, though sometimes transformed to "till," &c., is not largely altered in sound, but the Gael, knowing no meaning for "dal" in the sense of "dale," have almost always prefixed their own word *Gleann*; and *Aird* is quite tautologically prefixed to *nes*. Many Norse topographical terms have become Gaelic, in so far that they have meaning and are in common use; such as *sker*, Gael. *sgeir*, English "skerry;" *nes*, Gael. *nis*, Eng. "ness;" *kletr*, Gael. *cleit*; *bodi*, a breaker; Gael. *bogha*, Eng. "bow," "baa." This adoption of Norse terms into Gaelic has led some writers to assume that there are hardly any Norse names in Ireland. Some Norse terms undergo a curious change; thus *holmr* becomes, as a Gaelic nominative, *tulm*; and as a termination, "am," "um." But this word is subjected to metathesis, and in the Northern

¹ "The spelling of the names in *Origines Parochiales* does not seem to me to have been done by persons who did not know Gaelic, for it is similar to the spelling of those who did know some Gaelic in those times as found in numerous documents. The spelling resembles that in Dean M'Gregor's (of Lismore) Collection of Gaelic Poems, completed in 1512,"—*H. M.*

Hebrides is changed to "mol;" for *Kartel-holmr*, in Barra, is now "Kisa-mol."

The Norse *vík*,¹ Gael. *bhìc*, is frequent round the whole of Islay; as is also *gja*, Gael. *geodha* = a creek, rift, chasm; and *stakkr*, Gael. *stachd*, a stack-like rock. In Oa, *klettr*, Gael. *cleit*, a cliff, rock, is of frequent occurrence. There is a Gaelic *cleit* = (a quill), a rock with a hole through it. There are perhaps two or three of these in Islay; and it was at one time believed that persons afflicted with some diseases were healed by putting them through those rocks.—*H. M.*

Having collected all the forms of the Islay names that could be got, maps and lists were looked over for cognate names in the Hebrides and West of Scotland; and such names as were considered to be of Norse origin were sought for in Orkney, Shetland, and Iceland. Some of the Islay names are identical with names in the Scandinavian Islands; e.g., Ellister in Islay and Shetland; Toradale in Islay, Orkney, Shetland, and Iceland; Grobolls in Islay and Orkney; Scarrabus in Islay and Caithness; Cattadale in Islay and Iceland. The original form of the name was assumed from a comparison with all these sources, and its etymology thereby determined. There was little difficulty with the majority of Gaelic names; they appear to be in modern Gaelic, and most of them are to be found in Joyce's admirable work on *Irish Names of Places*. The meaning of not a few is due to the sagacity of Mr. H. Maclean. It is not so easy with the Norse names, the attributive of many being grossly corrupt; e.g., Nosebridge for *Hnauis-borg*; however, as most of them are found repeated in the northern islands, and as the genus of the Teutonic languages places the generic term at the end of the word, it is not usually so much disguised as not to be recognisable,—so that the word can be relegated to its proper class, although the adjective term may be hopelessly obscure. Where the etymology is stated as "probable," it must only be considered as provisional until more light can be got upon the subject.

The greatest peculiarity in the Norse names of Islay is the prevalence

¹ "*Vík* has passed into *aig*, which has evidently been derived from *uig*, the form which *vík* would first take in the mouth of the Gael."—*H. M.*

of *bólstaðr* = dwelling-place, homestead ; it usually indicates good land. In Islay, "bolstad" includes about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole Norse names,—in Lewis, only about $\frac{1}{12}$. This recurrence of "bolstad," and the absence of *vollr* or *vold*, usually Englished "wall," points to some dialectic peculiarity in the Norse "nam-men" or settlers. In the fertile island of Tyree, "bolstad," disguised as "poll," is frequent ; but in the contiguous Mull, "bolstad" (in Val. Roll) is only represented by Eorabus and Assapol. The reason for this is not evident, but the comparatively barren soil may partly account for it. The difference of Place-Names in Mull and Islay is so marked as to have given rise to a proverb :—

"Ceithir busacha fichead 'an Ile,
'S ceithir ardacha fichead 'am Muile."

i.e.,

"Twenty-four 'busses' in Islay,
And twenty four 'ards' in Mull."¹

But Mr. H. Maclean has only heard it repeated thus :—

"Ceithir 'busa' fichead an Ile ;
Ceithir 'tire' fichead am Muile ;
'S ceithir 'bailte' fichead an Cinn-tire."

i.e.,

"Twenty-four 'busses' in Islay ;
Twenty-four 'lands' in Mull ;
And twenty four 'ballys' in Kintyre."²

After *bólstaðr*, *dalr*—dale³ is the most common ($\frac{1}{7}$) of the Norse generic terms in Islay, and the two together make up one-half of the Norse names there. *Staðr* and *setr* (and it is not easy to distinguish

¹ Nicolson's *Gaelic Proverbs*, p. 79.

² The former proverb is the most appropriate.

³ "*Dal*, the Gaelic form of *dalr*, is never found at the beginning of a name, and has never been borrowed as a separate word. The same is the case with *aig*, from *vik*."
—H. M.

them when the form of the name is corrupt) are $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Islay Norse names. The absence of *klettr*¹ may be accounted for by the comparative smoothness of the surface; but that of *vollr*, *vold*,² Eng. "wall" (noticed above), which, although common in Orkney and Shetland, is of rare occurrence, if at all, in the Hebrides, was to have been expected in this fertile island.³

The attributives of the Norse names are often so corrupt as to render their etymology uncertain; nevertheless, a large number—such as Avenlussay, Lurabus, Risabus, Cornabus, Torrabolls, Toradale, Frackerdale, Trotterness, &c.—admit of no doubt.

A large number of the Gaelic names of farms in Islay are derived

NORSE GENERIC TERMS IN ISLAY FARM-NAMES.		
GENERIC TERMS.	NOS.	VERBAL FORMS.
á	1	a, y.
bólstaðr	19	bus, bolls, bolsay, bolis, bolse, bols, bus, bol, bolsa, bolshay, bollis, poll, pool, peli, pell, bolss.
borg	1	bridge, brig, brigg, burgh.
beer	2	by, py.
dalr	8	dale, dull, dle, dall, dill, tle, till, tell.
dal	1	dail, dol.
ey	1	ay, a, y.
fell	1	ville, voll, uel, foill, field.
fjörðr	2	art, ard, ord.
garðr	1	ker, kere, geir.
gil	1	giol.
haugr	1	hoe, how, howe.
land	3	land, lint? ling?
nes	1	nish.
setr	5	{ sha, say, s, se.
staðr	2	{ ster, ste, ston, sty, say, sa, said, sitt, set, stuid, stadh, sta.
vík	3	aig, oeh, ag, ig.

¹ "*Klettr*, taking the form *cleit*, is frequent in the south of Oa, and has usually a Gaelic attributive; but it does not give name to any farm or hamlet."—*H. M.*

² "Not far from Gruinart is Greineal (pro. Grainyal). This name perhaps contains the Norse *voldr*."—*H. M.*

³ *Or. Pr.*, ii. 276.

from ecclesiastical establishments; for *cille* (13) and *tigh* (2) are about $\frac{1}{7}$ th of the total. These by no means exhaust the record of the monu-

GAELIC GENERIC TERMS IN ISLAY FARM-NAMES.		
GENERIC TERMS.	Nos.	VERBAL TERMS.
aird	1	
airidh	3	ari, are, arre.
ard	3	
baile	14	bally, balle, bal, ballie, bale, ball, balla, ballar.
bealach	1	balloch, balic, beloch.
braighe	1	braigh.
brudhach	1	brui.
bun	1	
càrn	2	
ceann	3	kin, kean, kan, keand, cionn.
cille, cil	13	kill, kil.
cnoc	3	knock.
creag	2	craig.
faich	1	ach, ich, ie.
garadh	1	garry, gary, garie, gairdh.
gleann	2	glen.
gort	9	gart.
lag	2	
lòn	1	
loch	1	
mullach	1	mull, moul, mul.
ochdamh	4	ochtown, ochta, octo, ochton
poll	1	bow, bo.
port	3	
rudha	1	ru, rhu, row.
tigh	2	ty, tay.
tir	1	tier, teir.
tòrr	2	tor.
uisg	1	

Note.—It will be proper here to correct an error which occurs on p. 483, vol. xi. of the *Proceedings*. It is there stated, "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 *Eyvars-ey*; the *Eyrr* being the connecting reef or bank." This is a mistake; and the latter sentence should read: "The real name is *Örfiris-ey*; from *ör-fjara*, Ice., an outgoing, ebbing. *Örfiris-ey* is the proper name for islands which, at low water, are joined to the mainland by a reef which is covered at high water."

ments of former piety, for without including the conterminous islets, twenty-four are enumerated in the *Guide to Islay*, and one, Kilbranan is not therein named.

Of the secular Gaelic generic terms, *baile* (14) and *gort* (9) together make up more than $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the whole. There is one generic term, *ochdamh*, which as far as I know is peculiar to Islay and Jura; it certainly does not occur in Lewis.

Besides the usual adjectives, the attributives are largely made up of personal names, two of which may be noticed; one, because it has a Gaelic proper name, *Scanlan*, for the attributive of a Norse term, *dabr*; the other as having a Gaelic term prefixed to a Norse personal name, *Ulf*.

Throughout this paper "Icelandic," "Norse" are used in the sense of the long word "Scandinavian."

The lists or tables of Islay Place-Names would be dry reading except to the topographer, but most of the results have been put into a readable form in the present paper. The materials, and the list of authorities from which it has been composed, will be placed in the Library of the Society for the use of those who are interested in this class of studies.

ISLAY.

- 19th century, Islay, Isla. Gaelic, Ile.
 18th " Ilay, Penn. Ila, Martin. Islay, O.S.A.
 17th " Ylay, *Or. Pr.* Yla, *ib.* Il and Ila, Blaeu.
 16th " Illa, *Or. Pr.* Ilaa, *ib.* Ilay, *ib.* Ila, *ib.* Ile, *ib.* Iley, *ib.* Ylay, *ib.* Islay, *ib.* Yley, *ib.* Yla, *ib.*
 15th " Yle. *Or. Pr.* Ila, *ib.* Isla, *ib.* Ile, Fordun.
 14th " Ile. *Or. Pr.* Ysle, *ib.* Yle, *ib.* Yla, *ib.*
 13th " Yle. *Chron Man.* Il¹ and *Ilar-sund*,² Norse *Sagas*.

In the Gaelic tract of the 15th century, on the Scots of Dalriada, we

¹ Unger's *Heimskringla*, p. 647; *Hakonar Saga*, ch. 320, Rolls' ed.

² *Ib.*, ch. 167, 326; *Magnuss Saga*, ch. 4, Rolls' ed.

find *inhile*, *inili*, *inile*, *i.e.*, in Islay;¹ and *Ila*, under 740, in the *Annals of Ulster*.²

The additions to the Irish Nennus, written in the 11th century, have *Ila* and *Ile*.³

Adamnan, in his life of St. Columba, has *Ilea insula*;⁴ and the Ravenna Geographer (7th century) has "Elaviana" and "Birila,"⁵ either of which may be a corruption of *Ila*.

Immediately after "Maleos" = Mull, "Epidium" = Islay is placed by Ptolemy; this is not the name of the island, but is borrowed from "Epidium promontorium," now Kintyre.⁶

The ancient Pictish or Gaelic names of the Hebrides are descriptive, and there can be little doubt that "Islay" would be in Welsh *Y-lodd*, and *I-leithe* in Gaelic, *i.e.*, the Parted or Divided Island, in allusion to it being nearly cut in two by the opposite estuaries of Lochindaal and Loch Gruinard. Cf. Dudalay, *i.e.* *Dubh-da-leithe*, the man of two sides or parties.⁷

The mythical Firbolg are said to have taken possession of "Ila," along with Man, Rachlin, and Arran;⁸ and the next notice is that the Picts passed from Ireland, by "Ile," to Scotland.

"They (the Picts) passed away from us,
With the splendour of swiftness,
To dwell by valour
In the land of the country beyond Ile."⁹

Of the six sons of Erc who founded (498) the kingdom of Scottish Dalriada, three settled in Islay. Angus beag was the first who settled

¹ *Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 210, 311.

² *Ib.*, p. 357.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 23, 43.

⁴ *L. c.*, ii. chap. 24, Edin. ed.

⁵ *L. c.*, p. 441, ed. Pinder and Parthey.

⁶ Ptol. Geo. Scotland, *Pro. S. A. Scot.*, vol. xi. p. 201.

⁷ Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 1st series, p. 240.

⁸ *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 23.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 43.

there, apparently at Caillnae; "but small were the lands of the houses of the Cinel Angus [beag], viz., one man and thirty."¹

In Islay also was the Cinel Coneridhe, the race of Conériath, the great grandson of Fergus beag, son of Erc.

But the most numerous clan were the descendants of Angus mór, son of Erc, and their lands were—

Odeich,	.	.	.	.	xx tech (houses)
Freag,	.	.	.	.	c „
Cladrois,	.	.	.	.	lx „
Ros deorand,	.	.	.	.	xxx „
Ardbes,	.	.	.	.	xxx „
Loichrois,	.	.	.	.	xxx „
Aitha cassil,	.	.	.	.	xxx „

Thus, the Cinel Angus mór had 300 houses (or farms) in Islay, and the Cinel Coneridhe and Cinel Angus beag had 130 houses between them, —together 430 houses. The armed muster of the Cinel Angus, that is apparently of the three clans, was 500 men. For naval operations they raised fourteen benches from each twenty houses.²

In the last quarter of the 6th century there lived in the Ilean island (Islay), a certain rich man, named Feredach, who was cut off by sudden death. St. Columba had sent Tarain, a noble Pict, for refuge to him; but Feredach treacherously ordered him to be put to death. Columba foretold—it being then summer—that before Feredach should eat of swine's flesh that had been fattened on the fruit of trees he should be seized by sudden death, and carried off to the infernal regions. Feredach laughed at this, and when autumn came he had a sow killed that had been fattened on the kernels of nuts, and directed that a part of the entrails should be cooked immediately, so that by eating it he might falsify the saint's prediction. He was about to put a piece into his mouth when he fell down and expired.³

¹ *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 311.

² *Ib.*, pp. 312, 314.

³ *Vit. Col.*; ii., ch. 24, Edin. ed.

We know not if the place of this event was at *Eilean na Mhuice duibhe* = Island of the Black Pig, near Duich; nor if the pig was fattened on *Eilean Calltuinn* = Hazel Island, by Ardmòr.

In 560 the kings of the Irish and of the Scotch Dalriads invaded Islay and carried away much booty,—according to the *Four Masters*; but the *Annals of Ulster* merely name *iardoman*, the West Country. In 740 the Ulster Annals record an earthquake in *Ili*.¹

It does not seem difficult to identify some of the ancient districts in Islay named above. It may be supposed that, with Caillnae, they include the whole of Islay.

Adamnan, in his *Life of St. Columba*, relates that St. Kenneth having left his staff in Iona, he remembered as he was approaching the Oideachan island, *ad Oidecham insulam*, having left it behind him, and was sorely troubled. But on landing from his vessel, to his great surprise, he found it lying upon the turf of the little land [island] of Aithech (gen. of Aiteach).

This is Texa; the Northmen having dropt the first syllable *Ai*, *Oi* = *district*, and added their own genitive form and generic term *ey* = island, which then became Teks-ey, Texa. The island may have taken its name from, or have given its name to, the district, which was of smaller size than the rest, containing only twenty houses or farms. Odeich may be identified with the district around the church of Columcille, in the now parish of Kildalton.

The southeast end of Islay forms somewhat of a peninsula, and is called the Oa, in Gaelic spelling *An O*, a feminine substantive, the genitive being *na h'Oatha*, pronounced Aw, Na Hawa. This pronunciation exactly corresponds with the Irish pronunciation of such a word as *Aitha* the Irish pronounce "a" as "aw," and "ai" as "awi," (*H. M.*), so there is no reason to doubt that the modern Oa is a verbal form of *Aitha*, *Atha*.

On the coast, at its southern extremity, is the ruin of an ancient castle,

¹ *Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 344, 357.

² *Vit. Col.*, ii. ch. 13.

Dunad, Dun Add, Dunaid, Dunayut,—the Aitha cassil of the Irish tract, and we have here the curious circumstance of the same word being pronounced after the Irish mode when applied to the district, but with the *t* not aspirated (Aita, Ata), when applied to the dùn. The hill on which the fort stands is a promontory, very steep on every side, and approached by a very narrow neck of land.—(*H. M.*). There is another Dunad in Argyll, which is described in *Pro. S. A. Scot.*, vol. xiii. p. 28, but the etymology of the name there stated must be given up. There is also another in Caithness, now Dunnet, but which in the 13th century was written Dunotf, which is very near the English spelling of *Adb a*; and, besides the examples given in *Origines Parochiales*, the name is written Dounet, Dunnatt, in the 17th century.¹ It must have been a place of importance, for it has retained its Gaelic name, although surrounded by Norse-named farms; but there seems to be no notice of the position of the dùn.

The ancient district of “Aitha cassil” was probably coincident with the modern Oa, the former parish of Kilnachton.

Oa, Add, Aithe appear to be contracted forms of *Adhbha*, *Adb a*, Gael. a palace, house, fortress (O'Reilly); and the word has ancient authority, for “*Adhbha othna* = a house built of clay and stones,” occurs in Cormac's *Glossary*. It is also found in the so-called prophecy of St. Berchan:—

“Os Loch Adhbha bhias a leacht;”

i.e.,

“On Loch Adhbha shall be his grave.”²

The corruptions of the word are strangely devious, for Mr. Skene identifies Loch Adbha with Loch-eye, near Scone,³ and it is possible that Loch Awe, Argyll, has the same derivation.

The western portion of Islay is a large peninsula, now called the Rinns of Islay, in Gaelic *An Roinn*; genitive, *Ranna*; *rinn*, being the

¹ Peterkin's *Orkney Rentals*, pp. 86, 27.

² *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 85.

³ “Coronation Stone,” *Pro. S. A. Scot.*, vol. viii. p. 93.

equivalent of *ros* = a promontory. Two of the ancient districts in Islay are Lochrois and Cladrois. There is a large lake, called *Loch Guirm* = Blue Lake, containing a fortress on an island, which would be very appropriately called *Lochrois*, the Lake of the Ros or Rinn; and further south is Cladach, with which Cladrois, *Cladach-rois*, the Shore of the Ros, may be identified,—corresponding to the former parish of Kilkerran; while *Lochrois* was contained within the ancient limit of the parish of Kilchoman.

“Ros deorand” is no doubt the *ros* or south end of Jura, which is written Dure, Dewre, in the 14th century, and may be the corrupt “Susura” of the Ravenna Geographer.

“Freag” is a district of two or three times more importance than any of the others, for it contained one hundred (or 120) houses; it therefore cannot be identified with Proaig, although the names are almost identical; for Proaig is a barren place of no importance; nor with Laphroaig, for that must be included in “Odech.”

Among the lands in Islay, granted by Queen Mary in 1562, for seven years, to “James Makconnel of Dunnovaig and Glennis,” at an annual rent of 13s. 4d. for every markland, is the 16s. 8d. land¹ of “Ochton-affraiche,” which transliterated into Gaelic orthography, is *Ochdamh na Fraiche*, the octave of Frach. No place of this name is now known, but the position of Ochton-affraiche is indicated by Kynagaery, and Bar being named immediately before it, while it is followed by Killewrenan (Kilbranan), Arregoware and Ardechay.

On the farm of Dail, which adjoins Kilbrannan, there is a round limestone hill, on which there is a hill-fort, of which the remains of the wall are visible; it was built of rough stones, without mortar, and appeared in some places to be about 3 feet thick. The fort is of an oval shape, and by roughly pacing seemed to be 60 feet long and 50 wide. There are the remains of outworks on the side of the hill, which is surrounded by a native wood of mountain ash, sloe, hazel, and some dwarf

¹ The 16s. 8d., land; *i.e.*, the eighth part of a ten markland.—Innes' *Legal Antqs.*, p. 279.

oaks. To the east is a fine undulating glade named Buaille a'Chath, the "Cow-pen of the Battle;" and there it is reported that the old tenants sometimes saw at night an army whose swords and armour glittered in the moonshine.

The fort is named Dun Bruchlain in the *Guide to Islay*, but Mr. H. Maclean—from whom I have received the foregoing description—on a recent visit to the fort, met at Tirvagain a woman who was about 80 years old, and who said that when she was a young girl the old people used to call the fort Dun Pruchrais. She also said there was a cavern in the hill, to which there was an entrance by a hole above, and that she remembered walls going round the base of the hill, but which are now destroyed. The fort had been converted into a burying ground for unchristened children, and the old woman remembers children having been buried there.

Mr. Maclean considers *Dun Pruchrais* to be a corruption of *Dun Pruchlais*, the Castle of the Den or Hole; for *Pruchlais* signifies a den; and in the Irish Bible it occurs in Naham ii. 12: *Do lion se a uamha le creich agus a phruchlais le fuadach*—"He has filled his caves with prey and his dens with ravin." The word *pruchlais* seems to be compounded of *pruch*, a cavern (in Welsh, *proc*, a penetration or piercing through), and *lios*, an enclosure, fortified or domestic. *Pruch* has probably come from *fruch*, for there are many instances of *f* provecded into *p*. As stated above, the fort is called Dun Bhruchlain in the *Guide to Islay*, of which the nominative is no doubt Fruchlan, which may be resolved into *fròg*, a hole, and *lann*, an enclosure. We may therefore assume that the dun of *Fruch-lios*, the Caverned Lis in the Ochdamh of Frach, has given name, Freag (pronounced Fraug), to the Middleward of Islay in the 7th century.

There remain the districts of Caillnae and Ardbes, which can only be identified by pure guess. Caillnae, the Wood of Nae, will be most suitably applied to the land about Kildalton proper; and Ardbes, by exhaustion must be placed in the north end of Islay, corresponding roughly with the parish of Kilmeny. The foregoing results are shown in the following table:—

ANCIENT TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF ISLAY.						
Valuation Roll, 1872-3.	<i>Macfarlane's Collections</i> , vol. iii. p. 218.	Dean Monro, 1842.	Men of Alba, <i>Chron. Picts and Scots</i> .	Houses	Position.	
...	...	...	Caillnae.	30	About Kildalton proper; the Lantean.	
Kildalton.	Larki.	Kildalton.	Odeich.	20	District around Kilcolmkill, Kildalton.	
Oa.	Kilnathan.	...	Aitha cussil.	30	The Oa.	
Killarow.	...	Kilmoruin.	Freag.	100	roughly Killarow.	
Kilmeny.	...	Kilmhony.	Arbes.	30	roughly Kilmeny.	
Kilchoman.	Kilchoman.	Kilchoman.	Lochrois.	30	North Rinn of Islay.	
...	Kilcherran.	...	Cladrois.	60	South Rinn of Islay.	

SCANDINAVIAN NAMES OF FARMS OR TOWNLANDS IN ISLAY.

Á, Cl.¹—a river. A farm, Avenlussa, is named from the river of that name. Lussa, written Lassy in the sixteenth century, is a softening of the Norse, *Laxá* = Salmon River. Á, having lost its meaning with the Gael, *amhwinn* has been prefixed, so that Avenlussa, when translated, is Salmon-river River. *Laxá* takes the form of Lussa, in Jura; Lussay, in Knapdale; Lissa, in Mull; but the Norse form is preserved in Lachsay, Skye; Lacastle, Harris; Laxay and Laxdale, Lewis.

Kelsay may be named from a river.²

Bólstaðr, Cl.—a homestead. This generic term is so peculiarly attached to the Norse farm-names in Islay as to have given rise to a proverb quoted *anté*. The term is rare in Iceland, but is common in Shetland, and still more so in Orkney.

Lurabus, in Kildalton, was Learabolsay in the sixteenth century, which well preserves the Norse form *Leirubólstaðr* = Clayey or Muddy Farm or Homestead; from *leir*, Ice. mud, clay; and *bólstaðr*. There is another Lyrabus in Killarow. It occurs as Leurbost in Lewis.

Kinnabus in Kildalton, and Kinnabolls, named by M'Dougall, in Killarow, are for *Kinnarbólstaðr* = Cheek Homestead; from *kinn*, Ice.—a cheek.³ "Both places abound in smooth cliff sides or smooth perpendicular rocky faces."—*H. M.*

Coilabus in Kildalton, and Coulabus in Kilchoman, appear to stand for *Kollabólstaðr* = Kollis Homestead; from *Kolli*, a proper name.

¹ The book cited goes under the name of *Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary*, but it is the work of Dr. G. Vigfuson.

² "Kelsay, in Gaelic *Ceallsa* (pro. K-yalsa), *a* has the sound of *a* in far, as it has in all the place-names of Islay of Norse origin, which are named from streams or streamlets. There is a stream at Kelsay."—*H. M.*

³ "Kinnabus, Kilarow. This place-name is now nearly obsolete. In the south of this townland, at the head of Lochindaal, is a craggy hill called Carnaan; in Gaelic *Carn-àine*, 'Craggy hill of light.' *Ain, Solas* (light).—*O'Davoren's Glossary*. This word is wrongly translated 'heat' in the Highland Society's *Dictionary*. This hill was evidently so named on account of fires being lighted there to serve the purpose of a lighthouse in olden times."—*H. M.*

Risabus, for *Hrísbolstaðr* = Brushwood Homestead ; from *hrís*, Ice.—copsewood. There are many islands of this name, Hrísey, in the Hebrides ; the term also occurs on the mainland as Risgarry, *i.e.*, Hrísgarðr, in Ardnarmurchan ; and in Kilcolmonel as Glenrysadell, *i.e.*, Hrísdalr.

Cornabus, in a charter of 1562, Cornbolsay, for Kornabolstaðr = Corn Homestead ; from *korn*, Ice.—corn. There is Cornaig, *Kornvík*, in Tyree ; also Cornquoy, Orkney ; Cornhill, Shetland ; *Kornhaugr* and Kornsá in Iceland.

Torrabus, Kildalton, for *Þorísbólstaðr* = Thorir's Homestead ; from *þorir*, Ice.—a proper name. Cf. Toradale, Kildalton.¹

Ealabus, formerly Ellabolls, Alabolls, for *Alabólstaðr* = Áli's, Oli's Homestead. There is Alladale, Kintyre ; Allasdale, Barra ; Alibustar, Orkney ; Oligart, Shetland.

Robolls, Robolse, for *Rauðabólstaðr* = Red Homestead. Roudle, Harris, is cognate ; and the adjective, as Rothe, Ru, Roe, is common in the northern islands.

Carrabus, Karabol, for *Kjarrabólstaðr* = Copsewood Homestead. "There was much copsewood here formerly, and there is some yet."—*H. M.* Carboost, Skye, is another form of the same name. Carnish, in Lewis and Uist ; Carness, Orkney ; Karanes and Kjarradalr, Iceland, are all from *kjarr*, Ice.—copsewood—in the northern isles of birch and willow.

Scarrabus, Scarrabolsa, for *Skárabólstaðr* = Skauri's Homestead ; from *Skári*, which, besides being the name for a young gull (*cf.* Scarinish, Tyree), is also a proper name. It occurs as Scarista in Lewis and Harris, and as Skárastaðr in Iceland. Scarrabus has become Scrabster in Caithness, which represents *Skárabólstaðr*.

Eorabus, Eurobolshay, for *Eyrbólstaðr* = Beach Homestead ; from *eyrr*, Ice.—a gravelly bank of a river or seashore. The only "bus" in Mull is Eorabus. *Eyrr* takes a variety of forms in the Hebrides ; Eori, Eora, Ear, Ire, Jure, Hyr ; in Orkney and Shetland it is frequently "Air ;" in Iceland, *Eyri*.

Craigabus, Crocobus, for *Krakabólstaðr* ; from *Kraki*, Ice.—a pale,

¹ "There is Torrabus, also in the parish of Kilmeny, south of Ardnahoe."—*H. M.*

stake. "On this farm, upon a knoll, there is a pillar-stone, with some smaller stones around it, and a kistvaen at the foot of the pillar-stone. It is called *Carn Chonnachain*, and the adjoining field is *Achadh Chonnachain*, Connachan's Field. Connachan was the strongest of the Fenians. The others were envious of him, and learned from his mother that nothing would weaken him but women and strong drink. They brought a lot of handsome women from Ireland, and had dances every night. He was plied with strong drink, and invited to make up to as many of the women as he liked. In a month's time he became so weak that he was easily mastered and killed, and they buried him in the cairn. Perhaps the old cairn, with its *Carragh* (pillar-stone), may throw some light on the etymon of Cragabus."—*H. M.*

Grobolls, Grobolsay, for *Groubólstaðr* = Groa's Homestead; from *Groa*, Ice.—a feminine proper name. The same name occurs in Orkney as Grobustar, and a cognate form in Iceland, *Groustaðr*.

Persebus, Persebollis, a metathesis of Presabus, for *Prestabólstaðr* = Priest's Homestead. There is Presgarth in Shetland, and (three) *Presthus* in Iceland.

Torrabolls, Killarow; same as Torabus, *supra*.

Corsopoll, for *Krossbólstaðr* = Cross Homestead. There is Crossipoll, Coll; Corsapoll, Tiree; Crossapeill, Kintyre; Crasopollie, Mull. The *p* disappears where the Scandinavian element becomes stronger, and the name is Crossbost, Lewis; Crosebister, Shetland. The cognate name in Iceland is *Krossbær*, *Krossastaðr*.

Nerabolls, Narrabols, for *Knarrabólstaðr* = Ship Homestead; from *knörr*, Ice.—a kind of merchant ship; in Iceland, *Knarrahöfn*. *Knörr* is also a proper name.

Borg, Cl.—castle, fortress. This term in the Hebrides often indicates the location of a Pictish tower.¹ In Gaelic it becomes Borgh, gen. Bhuirgh;

¹ "Dunvorrerick, a hill fort on Lassit farm; in Gaelic, *Dùn Bhoraraig*. About a mile south-east at the shore is a creek named *Port Bhoraraig*. The unaspirated form of the last part of the word is *Boraraig*, which is seemingly derived from *Borg-uik*. The Gaels metamorphosed *Boraraig* into a Northman's name. *Boraraig*, according

but in the Hebrides the meaning of *borg* is forgotten, and *dùn* = castle, &c., is put before it: thus, Dun Bhuirgh = Castle—castle.

The etymology of "Nosebridge" would have been a puzzling affair had there not been other forms of the name; when speaking Gaelic the name is *Nomhasbrugh*, pro. Nawasbrug (*H. M.*); and in a charter of 1545 it is written Navisburgh, where *v = u*. The "brugh" in Gaelic, like the Scotch word "brough," is formed by metathesis from *borg*. Nosebridge is a quite recent corruption, as it is written Nosbrig, Nosbrigg in recent maps. "The dùn is a fine ruin, 'all earth-work,' situated on a round craggy hill."—*H. M.* Nosebridge is for *Hnausborg* = Turfburgh; from *hnavs*, Ice.—sod, turf, *cespes*. It would appear that even at the time of the Norse domination the walls of the dùn were dilapidated. This fort is called *Dun Chlamhain* = Clement's Castle, in the *Guide to Islay*.

Beer, byr, Cl.—a village; a farm, landed estate. This term "by" is not common in the Isles; there are few villages even now, and they are not likely to have been more numerous under the Norse domination.

Nerby, Nereby, perhaps for *Knörrbær* = Knörr's-by; from *Knörr*, Ice.—a proper name. In the *Orcadian Rental* for 1503 we find "Nerstaith," which in 1595 had become "Kuarstane."

Conispy, Quennesby, for *Konningsbær* = King's Village. This is the same word as Cannesbay, Caithness, and cognate with Cunningsburgh, Shetland.

Dalr, Cl.—valley, glen. This term is widely spread not only over the western and northern groups of islands, but also on the mainland of Scotland in the northern shores and upon the western coasts, and its presence serves to indicate the extent of the Norse domination and settlement. Where Gaelic is spoken the meaning of *dalr* is unknown, and the superfluous term, *gleann*, is prefixed both to valley and farm. The Gaelic term *dal* = a part, division, is quite another word, and is almost always prefixed

to their tradition, built the castle, and from him both castle and creek are named! North of Port *Bhoraraig* is *Grianaig*, jutting in between two high rocks, and washing the shore of a beautiful green plot of ground. This would seem to be the same name as Greenwich, and perhaps Greenock."—*H. M.*

to its attributive,¹ while the Norse term *dalr* is always suffixed. But when *Dalr*, Ice., or *Dælir*, Ice.; *Dal*, Gael. or *Dail*, Gael., are used simply, there is nothing but the feature of the land by which to know from which language the name is derived.

Toradale, for *þorisdalr* = Thorir's-dale. This same name occurs in Kintyre, Orkney, Shetland, and Iceland.

Frackadale, Wreggoe? for *Frakkadalr* = Frakkis-dale; from *Frakki*, Ice.—a proper name. There is another Frackadale in Mull, and Fracker-saig in Lismore. It can be proved that the Northmen sometimes altered the Gaelic names of places, which of course conveyed no ideas to them, into other words which had meaning in their own language; but this must always be most difficult to demonstrate where the Gaelic original has not been preserved. Frackadale looks like one of them.²

Glenegeidle, Glenagadill, may be for (Glen) *Eikardalr* = (Glen) Oak-dale; or (Glen) *Aikardalr* = Fielddale; where *akr*, Ice.—a cornfield.

Koidale may be for *Kvidalr* = Quoydale; from *Kvi*, Ice.—an enclosure, field, pen. Quayhouse and Queeness, Orkney; Kuchouse otherwise Quoyhouse, Shetland, seem to have the same attributive.³

Scanlastle, for *Scanlannsdalr* = Scanlannsdale; where "Scanlann" is a Gaelic proper name. Three ecclesiastics of that name were connected with Downpatrick;⁴ and Scanlann, son of Cathal, king of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein (Killarney), was killed at the battle of Clontarf.⁵

Cattadale, for *Kattardalr* = Catsdale; from *Köttr*, Ice.—a cat. There

¹ "*Dál*, gen. *dála*, a division, as in *Loch na Dála*. *Dail* (pro. *dâl*) gen. *dalach*, a field. An old lady, a native of Killin, Glendochart, tells me that in her country *dail* always signifies a flat, smooth field. *Croit*, *leothaid*, and other names are given to ground not absolutely level. The word seems to be entirely absent from Irish topography; for in Dalriada and Dalaradia (Dal-riada, Dal-Araidhe) we have *dal* and not *dail*."—*H. M.*

² Cf. Bolfracks, near Taymouth, &c.

³ "In North Kintyre *dal* is the equivalent of 'field.' Almost every ploughed field is called *dal*—such as Dal-ruadh, Dalantobair, Dalchrom, &c."—*Rev. D. Graham.*

⁴ Reeve's *Ecc. Antqs.*, pp. 144, 145, 146. There was also a Scanlann, king of Dalaradia, c. 612, *ib.*, p. 245.

⁵ Todd's *War of the Goedhil with the Gaill*, p. 209.

is Cattadill, Kintyre; and Catagil, Arran; both relating to cats; but Catfirth, Shetland; Catasand, Orkney; refer to *kati*, Ice.—a small ship.

Tormisdale, Ormsa, for *Ormsdalr* = Ormsdale; from *Ormr*, Ice.—a proper name. *T* is placed before “Orm” to make a Gaelic noun in the nom. case.¹ There is Ormysdill, Arran; Ormsaig (*Ormsvik*), Morvern and Sunart; Ormiclet, Uist; Ormissary (*Ormsgarðr*), Kintyre. It is translated into Wörmadale, Shetland; and the original form, *Ormsdalr*, occurs in Iceland.

Ardenistle, Ardinisdail, for *dalr*. The attributive is obscure.

Dæl, Cl.—a little dale.

Dail, for *Dæl* = Dell. There is Daal, Ardnamurchan, and four “Dales” in Lewis,—all the latter are sharp little valleys.

Ey, Cl.—an island. When Norse names are written in Gaelic, *ey* is represented by “aibh.”

Ardimersay, should be Aird Imersay,—the point taking its name from the island Imersay, lying off it. The attributive is obscure; but it may be noted that the Ember-geese or Northern diver is, in Shetland, called the Immer-geese; in Iceland, *Himbrin* or *Himbrimi*.

Texa, the Ylen Teghsa of Blaeu, Ellan Teggsay or Tigsay of Dean Monro, and Helantexa of Fordun. See *ante*, p. 250. It is said to be a part of Ireland, because no reptiles are found in it.

Fell, Cl.—fell, hill.

The only “fell” having place in the Valuation Roll appears as Claudville; and the history of the name is instructive. In 1749 M'Dougall writes “Gladivoll,” but it is “Klaiuel” (meaning Kladivel) in Blaeu's Atlas. In the charter of 1562 it is Gladilfoill or Cladefield, which shows that the real name is Cladachfell = Hill of Cladach,—Cladach being the

¹ “Tormisdale; in Gaelic the name is now *Tormasdadh*. It is not necessary in Gaelic to put *t* in here to make a nominative; but *h* is frequently required for a fulcrum before vowels; so in the case of such a phrase as Tuath *Armasdail*, it would be pronounced *Tuath h-Armasdail* (the tenantry of Ormsdale). Through time the *h* would be considered part of the word, and as it is the same in sound with *th*, the aspirate of *t*, as a matter of course, Tormasdal would become a new nominative. In a similar way, the Gaelic *togsaid*, a hogshead, is derived from hogshead.”—*H. M.*

name of the adjacent townland. Claudville, *i.e.*, Cladachfell, is noticeable from having a Gaelic attributive prefixed to a Norse term.

Fjörðr, Cl.—firth, estuary. Many are the mutations which this word undergoes in the Western Isles, but perhaps the most singular is that of *Knút-fjörðr*, written in English Knoidert, but pronounced in Gaelic Crodurst. In almost all cases the *rðr* of *fjörðr* may be traced as “rt,” “rd.”

Gruinart, which helps on the north to make this island *I-leithe*, the Divided Island, is not greatly different from *Grunn-fjörðr* = Shallow-firth, which describes it.

Leckgruinart, for *Lækjar-Grunnfjörðr* = Shallowfirth-brook; from *lækr*, Ice.—brook, rivulet. Cf. Lacklee, for *Lækjar-Hlið*, Harris.

Garðr, Cl.—a courtyard, court and premises, &c. This term, when local names are written in English, is frequently spelled “garry,” and when the attributive is a proper name it is difficult to tell to what language it belongs.

Duisker, in 1562 Dowasgir, is probably *Dýsgarðr* = Cairn-farm; from *dýs*, Ice.—“a cairn, a heap of stones less than a *haugr*.” “There is a cairn on the top of Duisker Hill.”—*H. M.* Other forms are Dessabreck, Orkney; and *Dýsjar*, Iceland.

Gil, Cl.—a deep narrow glen, ravine. The topography of Islay does not supply many “gills,” and as a farm-name it only occurs in the simple form, Giol, Gill = *Gil*. “There is a deep ravine from the houses to the shore.”—*H. M.*

Haugr, Cl.—a how, mound, cairn. It is interesting to find this term so far south as Islay, though somewhat disguised as Ardnahoe,¹ which by a false etymology has been written *Aird na h'Uamha*. In 1542 the place is called “Owo;” and we find “How,” “Howe” (which is the usual form of *haugr* in the northern islands) in the 17th century; but as it is mentioned with Salligo, the place appears to be in Kilchoman. “A haug or how, a sepulchral mound, is certainly there. I know nothing of any Ardnahoe in Kilchoman parish. The place to which I refer is

¹ “Ardnahoe, in Gaelic *Aird na hùghadh* (pro. Ardj-na hoo-ugh), height of the haugr.”—*H. M.*

Ardnahoe in the north of Islay, about a couple of miles from Portaskaig. The other name is obsolete.”—*H. M.*

Land, Cl.—land; country; estate.

Tallant, Tallanta, Tallaland; apparently *Talamh-land*. *Talamh*, Gael.—earth, soil; *talamhanta*, Gael.—earthy. *Talamh-land* = Land of good soil.

Sunderland, written Schynnerll (for Schynnerland?) in old charters, and written *Sionnarlainn* in Gaelic, is the “Shinard” of Blaeu. “It is engraved ‘Sinderland’ on tombstones at Kilchoman of the time of Charles II.”—*H. M.* Sunderland, perhaps for *Sjundalaud*, from *Sjundi*, Ice.—a proper name.

Foreland, Forling, for *For-lendi* = Foreland; from *For-lendi*, Ice.—the land between the sea and the hills. This name occurs in a greatly disguised form in Arran and the West of Scotland; but as “Knockvorland” in Benbecula, and “Foreland” in Orkney and Shetland.

Gruilenbeg, Grulint. There is no ancient authority for this name, which has no doubt suffered from abbreviation, but the generic term appears to be *land*.

Nes, Cl.—a ness. The only *nes* as a farm-name in Islay is Trudernish, the Ardtrutnish of Blaeu, and Truddirnes of a charter of 1545. It is the same name as Trotternish, Skye; and both are for *Tryllder-nes* = Enchanted Ness; from *trylla*, Ice.—to enchant, bewitch, charm. Trudernish is mostly trap, and the Gaelic name for basaltic trap is *Suothair an Dawai* = The Labour of the Evil One. There is a vitrified fort on the shore of the ness.—*H. M.*

Setr, Cl.—seat, residence.

Ardelister in Kildalton, and Ellister in Kilchoman, belong to this genus, and are the same as Ellishadder, Skye; Ellister, Shetland. The attributive may be a proper name, but Ellerholm, Orkney; and *Hellis-dalr*, *Hellisfjörðr*, Iceland, are all from *hellir*, Ice.—a cave.

Staoshines, a corruption of Steinsha, and which is written Staynsay in the charters, is for *Steinsetr* = Stoneseat. “Here is to be seen in a rivulet a large white pillar-stone, which clearly explains the name. A stream flows from Loch Staisha into Loch Finlagan and Lochindaal; and

another from Loch Staisha into the Sound of Islay ; hence it is a common saying that ‘the trouts divide the island.’”—*H. M.*

Cultorsay, perhaps for *Kuldasetr* = Coldseat, Coldfarm ; from *kuldi*, Ice.—cold.

Keppols, Keapolsay, for *Kapalsetr* = Horseseat ; from *kapall*, Ice.—a nag, hack.

Skerrols, Skerolsay of Blaeu, for *Skurhólasetr* = Scoredhill-seat, from *skura*, Ice.—a score, trench ; *hóll*, a hill. Scarale, Skarrell, Rothesay, is probably the same name : as “Scarth” it is common in Orkney.

Stadr, Cl.—a stead, place, abode.

Eresaid, Areset, in the charter of 1562 : Herrestuid belongs to this genus, and seems to be cognate with Arebustar, Arisdale, Orkney ; Arisdale, Shetland.

Olistadh, Olista, for *Olafstadr* = Olafs-stead. There is Olisdale, Skye ; Aucholadill, Aresaig ; Oligart and Ollagarth, Shetland ; *Olafs dalr*, *Olafsvík*, Iceland

Vík, Cl.—wick, a small creek, inlet, bay.

Portaskaig, Port Escock, probably for (Port) *Askavík* = Askwick, from *askr*, Ice.—a small ship (built of ash). There is Ascock, Lorn ; Askak, Kilinan ; Ascog, Bute.¹

Sanaigmore, Sannag, for *Sandvík* = Sandwick. This disguised form occurs as Sannaig, Sannak, Jura ; Senok, Sennoc, Arran ; Sandaig, Glenelg ; Sandig, Sandwick, Lewis. It may be remarked that the Norse form becomes more apparent as we proceed north.

Smaull, Smallaig, for *Smalvík* = Sheepwick, Cattlewick ; from *smali*, Ice.—sheep or cattle. *Cf.* The Smalls, Pembrokeshire ; and Smailholm, Roxburghshire.

¹ “I believe ‘Askaig’ is connected with the Celtic *asaig* = ferry. Askomul, Mull, and Askomil, Campbelton, appear to mean ‘Ferry-point.’”—*Rev. D. Graham.* “Aisig, to restore or recover, signifies now to ferry ; but this extended meaning of the word is not old.”—*H. M.*

GAELIC NAMES OF FARMS OR TOWNLANDS IN ISLAY.

Aird, H. S.¹—a height or promontory.

Ardmore, for *Aird mhòr* = Great Headland.

Ard Grasing, for *Aird*:—

Ardruadh, for *Aird-ruadh* = Red or Russet Promontory.² This place appears as “Ochtownruche, *i.e.*, *Ochdamh-ruadh* = the Red Octave in the charter of 1494.

Ardnave, for *Aird na Naomh* = Promontory of the Saints. This place is named from *Eilean na Naomh* = Island of the Saints; the saints being the holy men who dwelt there in a Columban monastery.

Ardbeag, for *Aird bheag* = Lesser Headland.

Airidh, H. S.—a shealing, a hill-grazing, or summer residence for herdsmen or cattle.

Arivulchallum, for *Airidh Mhaolchalum* = Malcolm's Shieling or Arry; from *Maolchalum* = Servant or Disciple of Columba.

Arighuary, for *Airidh Ghutharaidh* = Godred's Shieling; near which is *Dùn Ghutharaidh* = Godred's Fort or Castle.—*H. M.*

Corrary, for *Còrr-airidh* = Shieling of the Round Hill; as in *Cnocan-còrr* = Round Knoll; *Corra-bheinn* = Round Mountain; Loch Còrr = Round Lake,—all in Islay.—*H. M.*

Ard, H. S.—high, lofty.

Ardtalla, Ardhallowan, for *Ard Thalmhuinn* = Height of (good or true) Soil. *Vide* Tallant, p. 262.

Ardlaroch, for *Ard Larach* = High Site or Ruin; from *Larach*, Gael.—the site of a building or ruin.

Baile, H. S.—1. a town; 2. a village. There are hardly any towns or villages in the Isles, and *baile* there means a townland or farm, which commonly was let to several families as tenants.

Ballynaughton, Baileneachtan; these two words are sounded alike; for *Baile Neachtain* = Neachtan's Townland.

¹ H. S., *i.e.*, Highland Society's *Gaelic Dictionary*.

² “*Aird-ruadh* is not a promontory; it is flat elevated ground, at least 1½ mile from the sea.”—*H. M.*

Ballyvicar, Bailebeorra, for *Baile a' Bhiocair* = Townland of the Vicar ; or *Baile Beara* = Townland of the Judge.

Bailechatrican, for *Baile Chatrighan* = Catrighan's Townland. The *Cathraighe* gave name to *Cathregia*, a territory in the diocese of Connor.¹

Baletarsin, for *Baile-tarsuinn* = Transverse Townland ; from *tarsuinn*, Gael.—across, aslant, athwart.

Balole, for *Baile Ola* = Olaf's Townland ; from *Olafr*, Ice.—a proper name.

Ballimartin, for *Baile Mhartain* = Martin's Townland.

Ballichlavin, for *Baile Chleamhain* = Clement's Townland.

Balulbe, for *Baile Uilbh* = Ulf's Townland ; from *Ulf*, Ice.—a proper name.

Baligillan, for *Baile Ghilleian* = Gillean's Townland ; from *Gille-Iain*, Gael.—Servant (Disciple) of (St.) John. This is the origin of Maclean.

Ballygrant, in Gaelic *Baile a' Ghrànna* = Townland of (kiln-dried ?) Corn.²

Baliachdrach, for *Baile iochdarach* = Nether Townland ; from *iochdarach*, Gael.—nether, lower.

Ballinaby, for *Baile an Abba* = Townland or Farm of the Abbot.

Ballimoney, Balevannich, for *Baile Mhanaich* = Townland of the Monks.

Achnanelach, Ballyclach, for *Baile-clachach* = Stony Townland. The name appears to be a recent translation of Staynbolshay ; for *Steinból-stuðr*.

Bealach, H. S.—a pass, &c.

Ballachroy, for *Bealach-ruadh* = Russet Pass.

Brudhach, H. S.—an ascent, acclivity.

Bruieladich, for *Brudhach a Chladaich* = Brae of the Shore ; from *cladach*, Gael.—a (stony) beach.

Bráighe, H. S.—the upper part.

¹ Reeve's *Ecc. Antqs.*, p. 281.

² “*Baile a Ghranna*. *Gràn* in the modern Gaelic of Islay signifies kiln-dried corn ; but in Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, *Gràn* is defined *corn*.”—*H. M.*

Braighunassry, Ardinassary, for *Braighe an fhàs-airidh* = Upland of the Vacant Shieling (*H. M.*); or *Braighe na Sheisreach* = Upland of the Plowland.¹

Bun, *H. S.*—foot, bottom, &c.

Bunansuisg, misprint of *Bun an Uisge* = Foot (Mouth) of the Stream or River.

Càrn, *H. S.*—a heap or pile of stones.

Carnbeg, for *Càrn beag* = Little (Townland of) Carn.

Cairndonachy, for *Càrn Donnachaidh* = Duncan's Carn.

Ceann, *H. S.*—1. head; 2. an end, extremity.

Kintour, for *Ceann-tìrra* = Tor-head; "so called from a tor or knowe of loose gravelly stuff intermixed with round stones. Near Ballygrant is *Torr garbh* = Rugged Heap; and about a mile from the village is *Torr an Tuirc* = the Boar's Heap."—*H. M.*

Kintra, for *Ceann tràgha* = Head of the Strand.²

Kindrochit, for *Ceann drochaid* = Head of the Bridge.

Cille, *Cill*, *H. S.*—a cell, church.

Columkill, for *Cille Chalumchille* = Church of St. Columba. There are (or were) three churches dedicated to St. Columba in Islay.

Kilbride, for *Cille Bhrighde* = Church of St. Bridget.

Kilean, for *Cill Aodhan* (*H. M.*). Joyce has Kilean. There are more than seventy of that name in Ireland; for *Cillin* = a little church.³

Kildalton, probably for *Cille Daltan* = Church of the *Dalta* (of our Lord), *i.e.*, St. John, to whom the church was dedicated.⁴

Killarow, for *Cille Maolrubha* = Church of St. Maolrubha.⁵

¹ Joyce, 1st series pts., 232.

² "Near Kintra is Knock-Angle; in Gaelic, *Cnoc-Angail*, a corruption of *Cnoc-aing-il*, Hill of Light. Aingeal, *sunshine*, light."—Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica*. "This hill, if we may judge from the name, served the purpose of a lighthouse in former times."—*H. M.*

³ *L. c.*, 1st ser., p. 304.

⁴ "The church of St. John the Evangelist, called Kildaltane in Islay."—*Or. Pr.*, ii. p. 269.

⁵ Reeve's "St. Maolrubha," *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, iii. 258-296.

Killinallin, for *Cille n'Fhaelan* = St. Faelan's Church; or *Cillean Fhaelain* = Little Church of St. Faelan.

Kilmeny, Kilvennie, for *Cille Manaich* = Church of the Monks. "Manach" is an Irish proper name, but no saint of that name can be found in the Calendar.

Keils, an English plural of Kill, Gael. *Cille*, pl. *Cealla* = Churches. Keils was formerly called Killcolumkill.

Kilinan, Kileenane, for *Cill Enain* = Church of St. Enan.

Kilclevan, misprint of Kilslevan; for *Cille Sleubhain* = Church of St. Slebhine.

Kilnave, for *Cille na Naoimh* = Church of the Saints.

Kilchoman, Killeem Eomman,—“a form of the name which appears to connect the dedication of the parish with Lugne *Mocumin*.”¹

Kilchiaran, for *Cille Ciarain* = Church of St. Kieran.

Cnoc, H. S.—a hill, knoll, hillock.

Knockdon, for *Cnoc donn* = Brown Hill.

Knocklearock, for *Cnoc Cleircach* = Hill of the Clerics. “There is a tradition that two clerics were hanged, and that the day on which they were hanged was remarkably stormy. So it has been a byword in Islay ever since I remember, when a cold, stormy day came on;—*Is measa an la'ndingh na'n latha a chrochadh na cleirich*—‘This day is worse than the day on which the clerics were hanged.’ At Knocklearach are two monoliths called *Na Cleirich*, ‘The Clerics,’ and under these tradition relates the two clerics were buried.”—*H. M.*

Mulreesh, *i.e.*, Knock Mulreesh, for *Cnoc Mhaol-rise* = Maol-rise's Hill; where *Maol-rise* is in Gael.—a proper name. Close to the place there is the ruin of a house called *Tigh an t-Sagairt* = House of the Priest; and near it is a burying-ground, wherein there is the ruin of a circular old place of worship built without lime, called *Cill Fhéileagan*.—*H. M. Cf.* “Falinghan,” Blaeu. This is of course St. Findluga,² who appears to have had the synonym of “Maol-rise.”

¹ *Vit. Col.*, p. 325, Edin. ed.

² *Vit. Col.*, ii. ch. xxv. Edin. ed.

Creag, H. S.—a rock.

Craigfin, for *Creagfhionn* = White Rock or Cliff.

Craigfad, for *Creagfhada* = Long Rock or Cliff.

Eilean, H. S.—an island.

Island, Ellennamukduff, for *Eilean na Mhuice duibhe* = Island of the Black Pig.

Faich, H. S.—a field, green.

Gearach, for *Gearr-fhaich* = Short Field (*H. M.*); but in the south of Ireland "Gearagh" means a copse or shrubbery.¹

Garadh, H. S.—1. a garden; 2. a wall, dike, or mound.

Kyngarry, Coinigarry, Kinnigarry, probably from *Caoingaradh*; from *caoin*, O'Reilly; dry, smooth. "There is a curious legend connected with Kyngarry. It is said the Norwegians (*Lochlannaich*) here built a mocking-house, *Tigh-magaidh*. In this house seats were arranged having tubs and barrels concealed under them; and when men or women, who came in, sat down, they fell into the places below, in such manner that, besides exposing their persons, on account of the dress which they wore, they got heartily ducked. It seems, however, the house was never roofed,—why, I do not remember having been told; but there is a byword respecting the affair repeated to those who are given to scoffing: *Cha deachaidh ceann riamh air tigh a mhagaidh*—'The mocking house was never roofed.'"—*H. M.*

Gleann, H. S.—valley, glen.

Glenastle, Glenawstill, Glenapstol, for *Gleann Apstol* = Glen of the Apostles: so written in a Gaelic charter of 1408, but it is probably a pun upon the original Norse name, which terminated in *dalr*.²

Glenmachry, for *Gleann a' Mhachaire*, Gael.—Glen of the Machar.

Gort, H. S.—field, garden.

¹ *Joyce*, 1st ser., p. 480.

² "A considerable stream flows west through Glenastle to the sea, and the second part of the word *apstol* or -awstill is seemingly a corruption of a Norse name, from *a* and *dalr*, denoting river-dale, to which the Gaelic *gleann* is prefixed as a gloss."—*H. M.*

Gartbreck, for *Gort breac* = Spotted Field.

Gartmain, for *Gort meadhoim* = Middle Field.

Gartloisk, for *Gortloisgeach* = Scorched Field; "said to be so named from its liability to be burnt up in summer."—*H. M.*

Gartachrossan, corruption of Gortachossan, for *Gort a'Chosnamh* = Field of the Battle. "Above this place, and forming part of the farm, is *Sliabh a'Chath* = Field of the Battle."—*H. M.*

Gortanilvorie, for *Goirtean Ghillemhuiire* = Morrison's Small Field; from *goirtean*, dim. of *gort*, and *Gillemhuiire* = Servant of Mary; in English, Gilmore and Morrison.

Gartness, for *Gort nan Eas* = Field of the Waterfalls.

Gartnagaul, Gartnahalla, perhaps for *Gort nan Gall* = Field of the Foreigners or Englishmen.

Gartachara, for *Gort a'Charragh* = Field of the Pillar-stone.

Gorten, Gortentoid, Teid, for *Goirtean-tada*; the name is no doubt *Tada*; Ice.—infield, homefield, to which *Goirtean*, Gael.—a small field, has been added by the Gael.

Lag, H. S.—a hollow, or cavity.

Laphroaig, for *Lag-Phroaig* = Hollow Phroaig or Proaig Hollow; see Proaig.

Lagavullin, for *Lag a'Mhulinn* = Mill Hollow.

Loch, H. S.—a lake; an arm of the sea.

Lochindaal, for *Loch na Dàla* = Dividing Loch; from *dàl*, Gael.—a division, parting, separation. The Norse name would be *Deildar Fjörðr*. This loch and Loch Grunord, which together almost cut through the land, has caused this large island to be called *I-leithe* = the Divided Island.

(There is no farm called Lochindaal, but the name is included here as it occurs in the Valuation Roll.)

There is another "Loch an Daal," in Skye, having the same topographical characteristics.

Lòn, H. S.—a marsh, morass, pond; a meadow.

Loanban, for *Lon-bàn* = White Morass.

Mullach, H. S.—top, summit.

Mullindry, for *Mullach an t'Sratha* = Top of the Strath. "The house of MacDonald of Islay stood here at the time of the feud with MacLean."

—*H. M.*

Ochdamh, Gael.—an Eighth. The term "Octa," as a valuation of land, is peculiar, in the Hebrides, to Islay and Jura. It is a 16s. 8d. land, which is the eighth of ten marks.¹

Octamore, for *Ochdamh-mòr* = Great Octave.

Octavullin, for *Ochdamh a'Mhuillin* = Mill Octave.

Ochtownruche, for *Ochdamh ruadh* = Red Octave; Ardruadh in Valuation Roll.

Octofad, for *Ochdamh fada* = Long Octave.

("Ochtonafrache") appears in the charters: see p. 252.

Poll, H. S.—pool, &c.

Bowmore, corruption of *Poll mor* = Great Pool. "When the church and first houses of the village (Bowmore) were built, Lowland Scotch artisans were brought to the island, and it would be quite natural for Lowlanders speaking Scotch to corrupt *Pollmòr* into Bowmore."—*H. M.*

Port, H. S.—a port or harbour [often a landing-place].

Portinatruan, for *Port an t-Struthain* = Port of the Brook.

Portnahaven, for *Port na-h-Aibhne* = Port of the River.

Portanellan, for *Port an Eilean* = Port of the Island; the landing-place from Eilean Finlagan.

Rudha, H. S.—a point, promontory.

Rhuvaal, for *Rudha a Mhàil* = Point of the *Màl*. "The hill from which Rhuvaal takes its name is called *Am Màl*; it resembles in shape the bag of a bagpipe, with its large end towards the sea. *Màl* or *Màla* is Gaelic for the bag of a bagpipe."—*H. M.*

Tigh, H. S.—a house.

Tyndrum, for *Tigh an Droma* = House of the Ridge.

Tayanock, for *Tigh nan Cnoc* = Hillhouse.

Tìr, H. S.—land, country.

Tìr-ragain, for *Tìr Mhathagain* = Mathagan's Land. "Mathagan is a

¹ *Or. Pr.*, ii. p. 278.

diminutive of *Matha*, Mathew. *MacMhath*, is anglicised Matheson."—*H. M.*

Tòrr, H. S.—a hill or mountain of an abrupt or conical form.

Torrnich, for *Tòrr-rainich* = Fernyhill.

Torra, *i.e.*, Torlissay, for *Torr Laxá* = Laxay-tor. *Vide Laxá.*

Uisg, H. S.—water.

Uiskentine, a misprint for Uiskentuie; for *Uisge-an-t-suidhe* = Water of the Seat or Resting-place. "Here by the side of a stream, people attending a funeral from Kilarrow or Kilmeny to Kilchoman churchyard sat down to take refreshment of bread, cheese, and whisky. I myself attended several funerals from this neighbourhood (Ballygrant), and on every one of these occasions those attending the procession sat down there to refresh themselves; the distance is about nine miles."—*H. M.*

The following Gaelic names of farms are in the simple or emphatic form, and have no attributive or limiting term.

Proaig, from *frog*, O'Reilly; a pen, march; a pitfall, hole, cleft; *frogach*, O'Reilly, fenny; full of holes. "Proaig is surrounded by moorland and mountain, and is a very barren region."—*H. M. Vide Freag*, p. 252. Cognate names appear to be "Strounefreg," Kilmadon; and perhaps Glen Affrich, Inverness-shire. There is also *Lleprog Fawr* and *Lleprog Fechan*, in North Wales, named in *Pennant's Tour*,¹ but I find no further mention of them.

Laorim; there is no ancient authority for this name, which looks as if it were *Lareen*, dim. of *Lathair*, Gael.—a site, stead; but Mr. Maclean thinks the name is Norse; if so, it might be *Leirin*, Ice.—The Loam-field.

Machry, for *Machaire*, Gael.—a sandy plain, links, downs. "*Machaire Leargour-riabhach* = Machar of the tawny Hillside, which is of a heathery and brownish-grey colour, and is so called to distinguish it from the *learga* or slope extending on the south-east from Oa to Lanndaigh. The name *Learga riabhach* is now obsolete."—*H. M.*

Duich, from *Dumhach*, Gael.—a sandbank.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 409.

Laggan; the Gaelic for a "small hollow;" there are two in Islay.

Oa, for *Adhbha*: vide p 251.

Cruach, Gael.—a stack-like hill.

Courilach, for "Curalach, contracted from *Currach-lach*, Gael.—a place abounding in fens and marches; from *currach*, Gael.—a bog, fen; and *lach*, Gael.—a postfix denoting abounding in."—*H. M.*

Barr, Gael.—top.

Losset—there are two—for *Los-aid*, Gael.—a kneading-trough; so called on account of its fertility.

Rhinns, Renis, for *Rinn*, pl. *Rinnean*, H. S. (Roinn, *H. M.*)—a promontory. A rare word in Scottish topography; it occurs in Arran and Lochbroom, as well as in Galloway. *Rathad na Maoile, Ruaidhe chun na Ranna* = "The road of the Russet Mull (Mull of Kintyre) to the Rhinns" (of Islay); said in Islay when a person goes in a wrong direction.—*H. M.*

Coul, Cowle, for *cùl*, Gael.—the back, H. S. But the topographical application of this word = recess.

Cladich, for *Cladach*, Gael.—a stony beach or shore. This name has probably a long history, for it appears to commemorate one of the ancient divisions of Islay, Cladrois, for *Cladach-Rois* = Shore of Ross or Rhinn.

Claggain, for *Claigionn*, Gael.—the best arable land of a district.—*M'Alpine*.

Clagganeverich, for *Claigionn-eàrarach* = Eastern Tilled-land.

Staoine. *Staoin*, Gael.—juniper, H. S. In Islay, juniper is *iubhar beanne* = Mountain Yew.

Rannochmore, for *Raineach mhòr*, Gael.—Great Ferny-place.

Laogin, Laygane, in Gaelic *Laoginn*. "There is a large marsh in this townland, and the name may be perhaps a corruption of *Leoiginn*, Gael.—a marshy place."—*H. M.*

Eskinish, Eskillis, "probably derived from *easg*, Gael.—a narrow, natural, marshy ditch."—*H. M.* Cf. *easgaigh*, O'R., a quagmire.

Strongaig, error for Storgaig, Storachdaig. "*Storrachd* or *Sturrachd* Gael.—is a lumpish, stony hillock or ridge; the plural is *Sturraichdean*

Such hillocks are at the place, or rather such a ridge passes through it.”
—*H. M.* Cf. *Sturrach*, O’R., uneven.

Coalisla, for *Caol-Ile* = Islay Strait, “formerly called Freeport by a mining company; but its Gaelic name is *Ruadh-phort mòr*, Gael.—the larger Red Port or landing place.”—*H. M.*

Lergbaw, for *Lorg-bà* = Cow’s foot-print. “Said to take its name from a hollow in a flat rock near the houses resembling the print of a cow’s foot.”—*H. M.*

Cultoan, for *Cùl-tuinidhe* = Back of the Den; from *cùl*, Gael.—back, recess; and *tuineadh*, Gael.—a den. There is a deep and narrow glen, in which there is a cavern.—*H. M.*

The result of the foregoing examination is, that in the Valuation Roll of Islay there are—excluding English Names—162 entries, *i.e.*—

	Entries.	Norse.	Gaelic.
Kildalton, . . .	46	15	31
Killarow, . . .	73	23	50
Kilchoman, . . .	43	17	26
Totals,	162	55	107

Hence the Norse names, those which have been given by those who spoke the Norse speech, are almost exactly one-third of the whole; in other words, the Gaelic names are almost exactly twice as many as the Norse,¹

This is a different result from that obtained in Lewis, where, when the English names are rejected, the Norse are three-fourths of the remainder, and the proportion of Norse to Gaelic is as four to one.

It follows that the Scandinavian element, when compared with the Gaelic, is eight times stronger in Lewis than in Islay.

Many causes have contributed to this result. In a former paper I have sketched the main points in the early history of the Isles. Till the close of the eighth century they were inhabited by a Celtic population,

¹ Mr. Dougall’s Map of Islay contains 40 Place-Names which are not in the Valuation Roll, of these 25 are Gaelic and 15 are Norse.

who were apparently Scotch (*i.e.*, Irish) in the southern, and Pictish in the northern divisions of the Isles. In 794 the Northmen began their devastation, ravaging like wolves among sheep. There was no central power to afford the Islesmen protection, and the political situation was such as would now be if the naval supremacy of Britain were effaced, and the Isles were attacked by a fleet of Turkish gunboats manned by Bashibazouks. Their method of war was the same as was not long ago practised in the Greek war of independence. The Celtic islanders, taken in detail and unable to make effectual resistance, fled, leaving those, who were too old or weak to escape, to slaughter, their homes and cattle to pillage, and their houses and crops to be destroyed by fire. One man is honourably mentioned as the "Child's-man,"¹ because he would not join in the sport of throwing an infant into the air and catching it on the points of spears. The lesser islands were immediately desolated and abandoned, and the cry of *Loingeas cogaidh aunns a chaolas*—"Pirates in the Sound,"² must have often brought dismay to the wretched people. Before 872 the Northmen had settled in the Isles, and Grim (several), Björn (several), Ulf, Gudmund, Eric, Hermund, Kellack, Somerlid, Groa, Gellir, had taken possession of the smaller islands which still bear their names. In the larger islands the inhabitants had every means of escape into the forest and scrub, which then grew along the water-courses, into natural strongholds, or into doons of uncemented masonry. But these papers will show how completely the original inhabitants were displaced. One of the discoverers (or rather re-discoverers) of Iceland, *Garðarr*,³ had property in the Isles; and the son of another Swede, Helgi, was fostered in the Isles, but did not get fat upon it. About 870 a band of pirates dwelt

¹ "Olver Barnakarl ; hann var vikingr mikill ; hann lét eigi henda börn a' spjóta oddum, sem þá var vikingum títt [þvi var hann barnakarl kalladr] ;" *i.e.*, "Olver Barnakarl ; he was a great wicking ; he did not catch children on the points of spears, as then was customary with the wickings [from that he was called *Barnakarl*], (Childs-man)."—*Landnáma-bók*, pt. v. ch. 11.

² *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. x. p. 704.

³ *Hann fór til Suðreyja at heimta föðurarf konu sinnar ; i.e.*, "He went to the Hebrides to fetch the inheritance, from her father, of his wife."—*Landnáma-bók*, pt. i. ch. 1.

in the Barra isles, and it was there that a noble lady, Alfdis the Barra-girl, was born, who was afterwards married in Iceland to Olafr feilan, grandson of a king of Dublin. Iceland was largely stocked by Islesmen of Northern race, and it is a plain inference that almost every Gaelic name of a farm in the Isles has been bestowed within the last six centuries.

By the middle of the ninth century the Christian faith had been adopted by many of the Northmen, and their first teachers must of necessity have been Gaelic. About this time the original churches would have been rebuilt and established, and as a consequence the traditions of the early Church would take root among the Northmen. In this way the fact may be explained that so many of the names of the pre-Norse foundations are known to us. Quite lately the zeal and sagacious industry of Mr. A. Carmichael, North Uist, has been rewarded by bringing to light a most interesting record of the Norse inhabitants of Barra. When searching in his usual manner about Kilbar, "a kirk deserted o' its rigging," he had the good fortune to discover a flat stone, having engraved on one side a curiously ornamented cross, and on the obverse an inscription in the Runic alphabet, to the effect that *Ur* and *Thur* set up the stone in memory of Raskur, and that Christ might save his soul. The date is fixed by Dr. G. Stephens to the eleventh century.¹ In 1576 there was an Alexander Ur in Orkney.²

From a most interesting collection of Skaldic poetry, edited by Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson, we learn that at a banquet at Reekholer, in Iceland, in 1120, the poems of a Barra man formed part of the entertainment, for the priest Ingirmund repeated the tale of Orm, the Barra poet, with many verses. Unfortunately the saga is lost, and but a few scraps of the poetry of Orm, the Barra skald, remain. He seems to have been a good Christian; for he says, "I know that the king of the Wain-path (Christ) is mighty;" and when he figuratively tells that "the blood of Yrni (the Sea) is surging upon the *eyrr*," we feel sure that he is thinking of the roar of the breakers upon the Otter-vore.³

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xv. p. 33.

² *Reg. Pr. Council*, vol. ii. p. 737.

³ *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 53.

With settlement would come cultivation, but only on a small scale, for the population was scanty and animal food abundant, besides, those who stole both their bread and their meat had no need to place much dependence on agriculture. The crews of their galleys would be supplemented by Gaelic serfs, but not to such an extent as to overbear the Northmen in numbers or language. The pirate colony in Barra of course spoke Norse, and so must Earl Gilli, (*malgré*, his Gaelic name) in Coll, who was present in Orkney at the Yule feast, and married a sister of Earl Siguard.¹ Harald Gille, a future King of Norway, who was most probably nurtured in the Isles, spoke Norse, but with a provincial accent and manner.² The enumeration of the Place-Names in two of the principal islands proves that the Norse language was dominant, although that in Islay the subsequent inhabitation has somewhat blurred the record. In 1156 the Isles south of Ardnamurchan, excepting Man, were ceded to Argyll, and from that time Islay has had Gaelic lords. The land, too, was well fitted for cultivation, and the new farms got Gaelic names; its proximity and connection with Ireland would give strength to the Gaelic element. In Lewis all the good land, which is of small extent, was enclosed under (or before) the Norse domination, and the subsequent farms or townlands, bearing Gaelic designations, are upon a peat soil, and of small value. In Lewis there is every reason to believe that the Liotulfsons or Macleod, Olafsons or Macaulay, Marysons or Gillemhuire—who till lately (1600) were in possession—are descendants of the original Norse stock. In Islay, on the accession of the Mac Somerlids, the Norse speech would quickly die out, but the remote situation of Lewis and its possession by the old Norse families would cause a lingering existence of the northern speech for a long time after its cession to Scotland in 1266, and the remains of which, though greatly obscured by Gaelic grammar and orthography, may still be traced.

¹ *Ork. Saga*, p. 324, Roll's ed.

² *Stírt var honum norrænt mál, ok kylfði mjök til orðanna, ok höfdu margir menn þat mjök at spotti; i.e., "Stiff was the Norse speech to him, and hesitated much in speaking, and many men had much sport at that."*—*Unger's Heimskringla*, p. 663.