CELTS AND ANGLO-SAXONS IN THE SCOTTISH BORDER COUNTIES

THE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE *

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In his book on *Archaeology, Place-Names and History*, the late F. T. Wainwright quite rightly demanded "that if one wishes to co-ordinate three different kinds of evidence one must become a specialist in each of three separate fields. It is not enough to rely on exchanges of question and answer, it is not enough to rely on opinions extracted from other specialists, it is not enough to rely on general familiarity with the technical problems involved. It is necessary to practise in each field, as a historian tackling historical problems in the field of history, as an archaeologist tackling archaeological problems in the field of archaeology and as a philologist tackling linguistic problems in the field of place-names. It is necessary to become a specialist in the separate fields, accepting the standards and measuring up to the criticism of other specialists in each" (Wainwright 1962:126). Being much more one-sided in my academic activities, I lack the training—although by no means the interest—which would enable me to claim that I could investigate the relationship of the "Celts and Anglo-Saxons in the Scottish Border Counties" in this ideal fashion, as Wainwright might have done. I have therefore chosen to restrict myself to that aspect of the study of this relationship which has formed the basic theme of, and supplied the essential material for, my own researches for a number of years now: the place-name evidence. I do so all the more gladly since somebody with an impressive list of authoritative publications on the history of Northern England and Southern Scotland in the Dark Ages fairly recently bemoaned the fact that "no ordinary mortal can expect to be properly qualified to interpret late Roman, old Welsh, old English and medieval Latin

records, to say nothing of the archaeological evidence" (Blair 1947:50). Being an ordinary mortal and an ordinary linguist into the bargain, I gratefully take the hint and stick to my last.

However, restriction, as I see it, does not mean exclusion but rather emphasis. Modern toponymists are only too well aware of the fact that it is hardly ever possible to establish an absolute chronology in the sequence of place-name types and elements in any country—not when studying and relying on place-name evidence alone, anyhow. Although they are basically linguistic evidence, and the results of research into them therefore primarily linguistic too—place-names are, after all, first and foremost words, lexical items—they do have unintended and normally unbiased extra-linguistic qualities which make them suitable for non-linguistic investigation. Primarily they are valuable raw material for the *linguistic* history of a given country or region: Where place-names—and I am using the term in its widest sense as referring to both natural and man-made geographical features . . . where place-names belonging to a certain language are found in great number the language to which they belong must have been spoken in that area, or rather more positively, people speaking that language must have lived there. If that were not so, they would be useless in our enquiry. And another important point: We must assume place-names to have been meaningful when first created. We are so accustomed nowadays to using place-names which are absolutely meaningless to us, unless we are experts, because they admirably serve their purpose as *names*, as distinctive marks distinguishing one part of a city from another, one town from another, one hill from another, one river from another, and so on. An Edinburgh person will be able to direct a motorist from, let us say, Colinton via Currie to Balerno without knowing the meaning of any of these three; and it is not necessary that we should know because, as I have said already, Colinton, as well as Currie and Balerno, unambiguously fulfil their function as *names* without being understood as words. This is also the reason why they have survived although the language of which they are part has, in the case of Colinton, developed further and so obscured their meaning, or in the cases of Currie and Balerno, has not been spoken in the Edinburgh area for many centuries.

What applies to the region around the Scottish capital,

is equally true of other parts of Scotland, or any country, and consequently applicable to the counties which we are going to examine. We are, in fact, going to deal with place-names, both Germanic and Celtic, which were once meaningful words and structurally part of the relevant language spoken at the time but which over the centuries have to a large extent lost their meaning as words or are morphologically obsolete. In one way or another they all bear the linguistic hallmark of the Dark Ages. But place-names will only be a pre-occupation because in spite of their great possibilities, the scope of what they can tell us is limited. Hardly ever do they tell us the name of the king who ruled when they were coined and used, very seldom do they give an account of battles fought, of dynastic troubles during the time of their creation, only incidentally do they provide a glimpse of the technological processes and artistic achievements of that era. For this reason, the attempt must be made, however tentatively, to link them with both historical, that is documentary, and archaeological evidence.

This, then, is our theme: The examination and interpretation of the place-names of the Dark Ages in the Scottish Border Counties or more precisely during the first few centuries following the arrival of the Angles in that area. The evidence I want to present will be mainly of a distributional nature, that is I shall choose certain elements, both lexical and morphological items, Anglian as well as Celtic, and put them into their geographical settings. I do not expect these distribution maps as such to convince alone but intend them rather to be illustrative of the points I want to make. In this respect it would be nonsensical to show the names for the counties concerned—Berwickshire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, Roxburghshire and Dumfriesshire—in isolation. Both the Lothians and what are now the English counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorkshire must be taken into consideration, and by way of contrast or comparison, other Scottish areas as well. It has always been slightly disappointing to me that the otherwise so valuable and illuminating maps published by the English Place Name Society end abruptly at the present-day Scottish-English border, leaving one guessing as to whether the blank area to the north indicates that there is no evidence of the particular feature illustrated or, if there are instances of it, whether they are to be found all over the country or only in certain parts. For this reason, quite a number of the items I want to discuss, and

therefore of the distribution maps to be shown, are in fact continuing as it were distributional patterns north of the border which have already been worked out in detail in the south. For the first time, the picture regarding these individual features will be as complete as our present knowledge allows it to be. The discussion itself will, of course, centre round the Scottish material but English names will be considered for comparative purposes. The term "Scottish Border Counties" should therefore not be taken too seriously.

With the geographical area in question consequently wider than the title might suggest, I propose to narrow the context of the first part of the title by concentrating on the Anglo-Saxon, or better Anglian, advance rather than on the survival of the Celtic element although this will always be borne in mind. For this decision, I have two reasons, one factual, one sentimental. Firstly, place-name evidence has figured quite prominently in quite a number of publications on the problem of the Celts in Southern Scotland, a complex subject of which especially Professor Jackson has made an intensive and detailed study over the years (Jackson 1939; 1955; 1958; 1959; 1963a; 1963b; and others). Secondly, I am in the peculiar position of being able to claim direct and personal connections with the part of the Continent from which the Angles must have originated, the peninsula still called *Angeln*, on the western shores of the Baltic, between the Flensburger Förde in the north and the River Schlei in the south. But then, the advance of one language and one people is intimately connected with the survival or disappearance of another, and so we are still operating within the frame-work of our theme.

But to our tale: Even a casual glance at the modern map shows that before any person of Germanic origin ever set foot in Scotland, the area which is at the centre of our dicusssion must have been inhabited by Celtic, or to some extent pre-Celtic people, for practically all the river-names in our region are non-Germanic, like Tweed, Teviot, Yarrow, Lauder, Kale, Ale, Ettrick, Tyne, Almond, etc., and I would even include the rivers Eye and Adder, although the former has been said to be a "back-formation" from the place-name Ayton (Williamson 1942:164) and although the two Adders have been identified with both OE *aedre* "vein" (Watson 1926:467) and OE *aēdre* "swift" (Ekwall 1928:156). I am convinced that the colour adjectives *black* and *white* in *Blackadder* and *Whiteadder* here serve exactly the same purpose as in, let us say *Black Esk* and

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White Esk, or *Black Cart* and *White Cart*, or, in the Gaelic speaking region *Deveron* and *Findhorn*: they distinguish two already existing identical names of water-courses flowing near or into each other, without necessarily implying the marked difference in colour suggested by these epithets. River-names have at all times and in all places shown the greatest power of survival, and it is therefore not surprising to find them alive even now, but they could, of course, not have survived without oral, and later also written, transmission in linguistic contact, and the mere fact of their survival necessarily points to such contact between the Celts already settled in the region and the incoming Angles.

That such contact existed becomes even clearer when we look at some of the settlement names which still bear Celtic—and here again I mean non-Gaelic Celtic—names. *Melrose* ROX (in Bede *Mailros*) represents *Moelros* "the Bare Moor" (Jackson 1963*b*:78), *Peebles* PEB (*Pobles c.* 1124 Glas. Reg.,[1] *Pebles c.* 1126 ESC; *Pebbles* and *Pebles c.* 1141 St. A. Lib.) must be based on the plural of W. *pebyll* "tent, pavilion" as it shows an English plural in its Anglicised form (Watson 1926: 383); the MLO *Penicuik* which appears as *Penycok* in the Dunfermline Registrum is most likely *Penn y Gog* "Cuckoohead" (Watson 1926:355), with the same first element as *Pencaitland* ELO which is compounded with British *cēd* "wood" and *llan* "enclosure", meaning as a whole "end of the enclosed wood" (Jackson 1963*b*:77); *cēd* is also seen in *Dalkeith* MLO (*Dolchet* 1144 ESC, *Dalkied* 1142 *ib*; and *-ke(i)th(e)*, *-ket*, *-ketht*, *-keyth* as later medieval variants) whose first part appears to be O.W. *dol* "meadow, valley"; and *Ancrum* situated on a bend of the river Ale perfectly describes its situation as its early forms testify (Lat. *Alnecrumba c.* 1124 Glas. Reg., *Alncromb c.* 1150 ESC, *Alnecrum* 1296 and *Allnycrom* 1304 CDS) which point to W. *crwm* "bent adj.; bend n." as the second part—"Alne bend" (Watson 1926:467-8). To this we could add names like Lanark, Bathgate, Linlithgow and many others, but this selection must suffice and is, I think, impressive enough. They amply prove the existence of a Brittonic speaking population in these parts when the Angles moved in, and speak of linguistic contact with each other. What I want to emphasise is that their meaning does not primarily imply human settlement. All of them refer to natural features and it is possible that they were adopted by the Angles in that capacity, becoming settlement names only during the Anglian occupation. Some of them may

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have applied to human habitation before but there is no reason why Melrose should have had any such connotation before it became an Anglian ecclesiastical centre.

One such element which almost certainly retained its original meaning and usage until passing into the Anglian place-nomenclature of the region is Welsh *pren* "a tree" which presumably originally referred to conspicuous individual trees which could be seen from afar or were of significance in the locality in which they stood. Now the word appears in place-names either uncompounded or with a qualifying element which can be an adjective or the genitive of a noun: In its uncompounded form we find it as *Pirn* PEB (near Inner-leithen) and *Pirn* MLO (Stow parish) which is *Pryn* in 1463 RMS and *Pyrn(e)* in 1489 ADA and 1490 ADC, indicating the late fifteenth century as the time in which metathesis from *pryn* to *pyrn* took place. *Pren* plus an unknown suffix seems to be the basis of *Pirnie* ROX (near Maxton), *Pirny Braes* ELO (Pencaitland par.), *Pirniehall* DNB (Kilmaronock par.), as well as the Perthshire *Pairney* and *Kinpurnie* in Angus. In the examples from north of the Forth-Clyde line Gaelic *-ach* in the meaning "place of" may be the ending. Colour adjectives qualify it in *Prinlaws* FIF which stands for *pren las* "green tree" and *Primside* ROX which, as we learn from the *Prenwensete* of the Melrose Liber is *pren wen* "white tree" with the late OE *sete* "seat" added to it. Surely we can infer from this that Primside only came to refer to human habitation after having passed into Anglian mouths. We may also have a glimpse here of a slight difference between Northern British (or what Professor Jackson calls Cumbric) and Welsh, two dialects which are normally very close to each other, for in Welsh the word *pren* "tree" is masculine and one would therefore expect unmutated forms like *pren glas* and *pren gwyn* for our two names which are not justified by the evidence before us. Nouns in the genitive seem to have been added to our word, in cases like the beautifully sounding modern name *Primrose* (three examples) which is to be interpreted as *pren ros* "tree of the moor", *Barnbougle* WLO which in RMS I is *Prenbowgall*, *Pronbogalle*, and *Pronbugele*, spellings which stand for *pren bugail* "herdman's tree", and *Printonan* BWK which according to earlier name forms (*Printanno* 1652 Blaeu and *Prentonen* Retours) appears to contain W. *tonnen* "sward, bog". In *Traprain* ELO (*Trepren* 1335 CDS), *pren* forms the second element after *tref* "a homestead". None of these places is terribly

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important and none of the evidence is very early. One has the feeling that these British names were adopted by the Angles only after a considerable period of co-existence, and if one wanted to point to an area in which the Brittonic language may have survived longest in the Border Counties and the
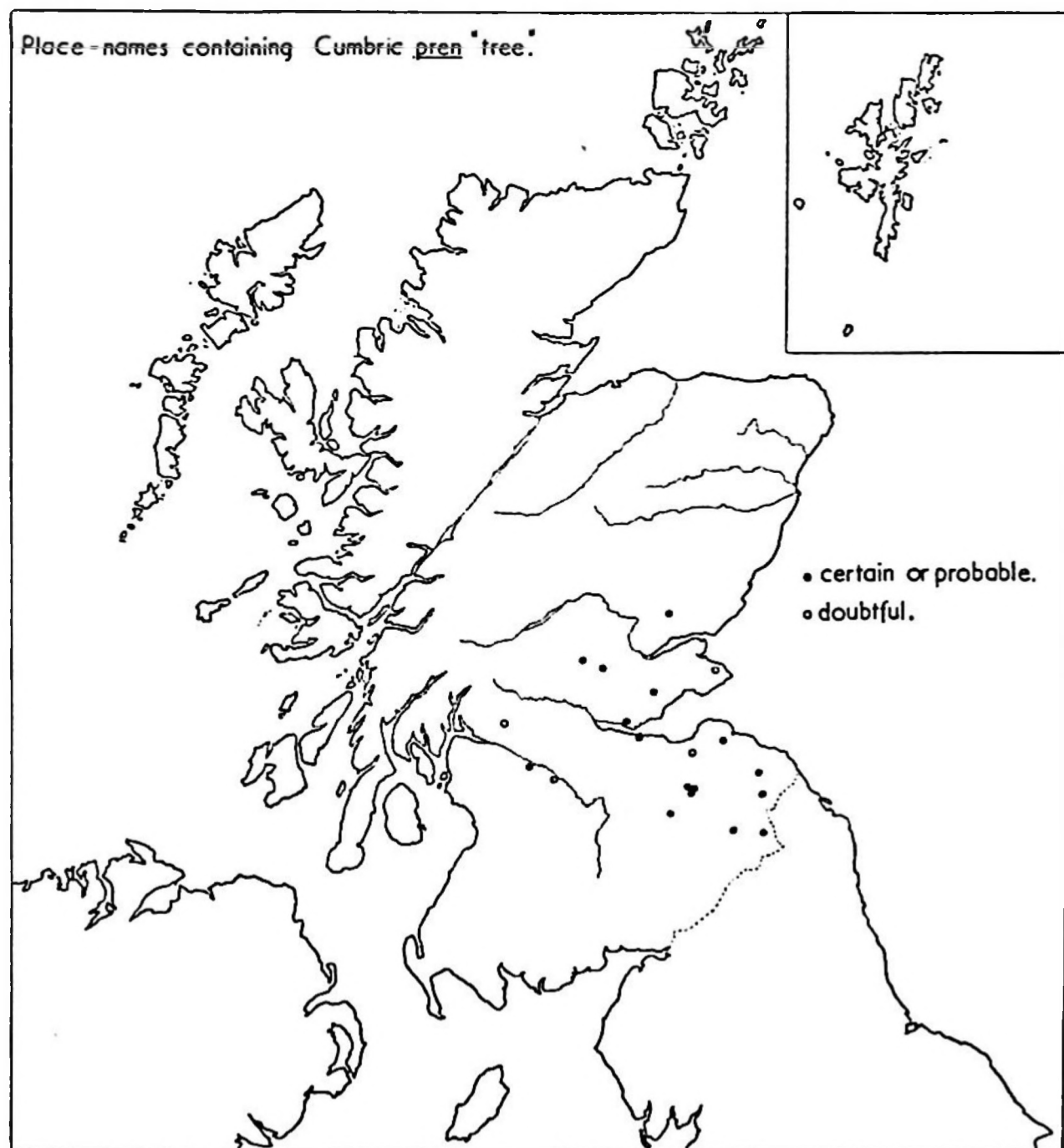

FIG. 1.

Lothians, one might like to single out the not very accessible, hilly district in upper Midlothian which we now know as the parish of Stow where, apart from the *Pirn* already mentioned, we have *Pirntaton* and a now obsolete *Pirncader* forming a very noticeable little cluster of three on our map. It is also of interest to note that the *Pirny Braes* are in *Pencaitland* parish, where *pren-* and *cēd* might refer to the same wooded area. The distributional pattern of place-names containing *pren* (Fig. 1) is,

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of course, singularly interesting in so far as it is mainly located in that part of Scotland in which ancient writers placed the Romano-British tribe of the *Votadini*, whose capital was probably on Edinburgh Castle Rock (Jackson 1963:67), the *Gododdin* or "Men of the North" of Welsh poetry. It is absent or almost absent not only from the regions covered by the other two important kingdoms of the northern British, i.e. Strathclyde and Rheged, but also from English place-nomenclature where it does not seem to have been noted. However, I would be a bold man indeed if I were to call a feminine *pren* "tree", as evidenced by our place-names, *Votadinic*, when the ever present imp called "chance survival" may have blurred the true picture (see additional note on p. 171).

So far the impression may have been given that the Angles only adopted Brittonic place-names referring to natural features. This was, of course, by no means so as the next two examples and maps will show. For these I have chosen two Cumbric place-name elements which must, in the language of the Northern British, have been settlement names from the start: *tref* and *caer*. The first of these, *tref*, normally with loss of the final consonant, is still current in Modern Welsh in the meaning of "town, home", and the map reveals it as a prolific place-name element not only in Wales but also in Cornwall. A map of Scottish names containing *tref* (Fig. 2) will therefore similarly provide a picture of the location and survival of Cumbric village names during and since the Anglian occupation, for it is "homestead" or "village" rather than "town" which we have to assume as the connotation of our word at that time.

It can be seen at a glance that the distribution of *tref* names differs essentially from that of those containing *pren*. Names with *tref* as a first element are exclusive to the South of the Forth-Clyde line, with those followed by the definite article *yr*+noun apparently of a more easterly distribution than those in which neither the present nor the historical forms do imply such usage. I must point out, however, that this first impression is deceptive, for it has been impossible to plot a number of "lost" names in Carrick and Kyle unquestionably containing the definite article which, incidentally, is always *yr*, or rather [*ər*]. Some of the better known examples of names belonging to this category here illustrated are *Tranent* ELO (Trauernent *c.* 1127 Holy. Lib., *Treuernent* 1144, 1150 *ib*) = *tref yr neint* "village of the streams". *Traquair* PEB (*Treverquyrd c.* 1124

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ESC; *Treuequor a* 1153 Melr. Lib.) "village on the (river) Quair"; *Trabrown* BWK (*Treuerbrun c.* 1170 Dryb. Lib.) and *Trabroun* ELO, both from *tref yr bryn* "hill village", and *Terregles* KCB (*Travereglys* 1365 RMS) which is obviously *tref yr eglwys* "village with the church". The two names across
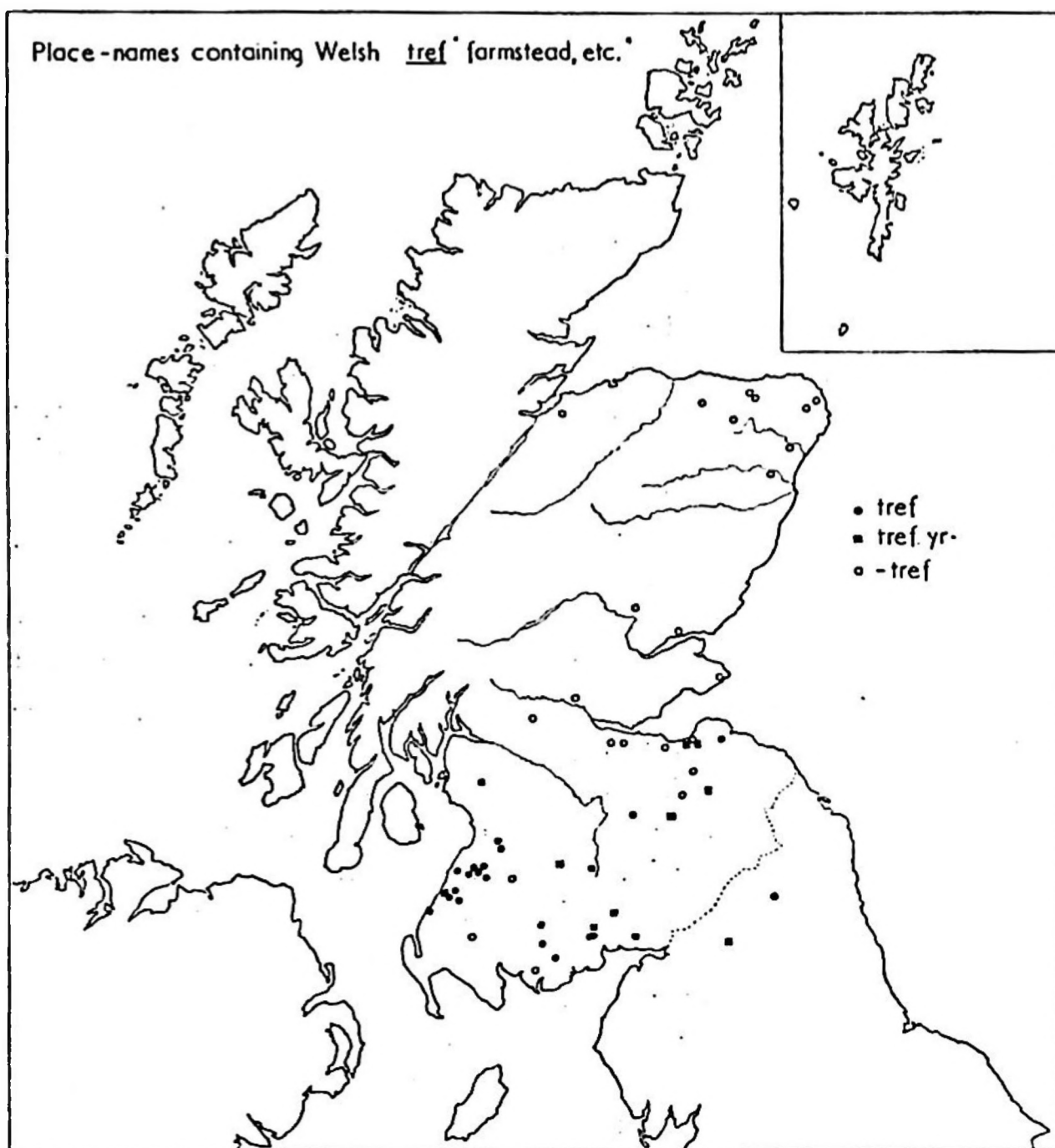
FIG. 2.

the border are *Triermain* in Cumberland, on record as *Treverman* from 1169 onwards and therefore *tref yr maen* "homestead of the rock" and *Troughend* in Northumberland the old forms of which—*Troquen* 1242, *Trequenne* 1279, *Trehquen, Troghwen* 1293 (Ekwall 1960:481; Mawer 1920:201)—appear to make it identical in origin with *Torquhan* MLO (*Torquhene* 1593 RMS), in Stow parish. *Troquhain* KCB (*Trechanis* 1467 RMS, *Troquhane* 1590 RPS) and *Troquhain* AYR (*Treu(e)chane*

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1371 RMS, *Troquhan* 1511 RMS, *Torquhane* 1506 TA), showing the same rounding and velarisation of the vowel in the first element which we also find in names like *Tralorg, Traboyack, Tranew, Tradunnock, Troax* (all in Carrick) apart from the ones already mentioned. This is, I think, due to labialisation and subsequent vocalisation of the final voiced [v] in *Tref-*, although this has not operated in all cases (cf. *Triermain* Cu, *Trailtrow* and *Trailflat* DMF, *Terregles* KCB, etc.).

From a distributional point of view the picture is valid for both Scotland and England, for the only other isolated instance of this formation between Cumberland and Wales is *Treales* in Lancashire (Ekwall 1960:479), emphasising the close relationship between Cumbria and Wales, in this case particularly between Strathclyde and Wales, for it appears from our map as if this type of name must have flourished in the Cumbric kingdom of Strathclyde for many a century after the Border Counties and the Lothians had become thoroughly Anglicised, although we must reckon with a good deal of Gaelic influence on the western seaboard of the kingdom, especially in Galloway and Carrick.

As far as *tref* as a second element is concerned, the almost "Pictish" distribution in the north-east is very striking and surprising and the question arises whether we are not perhaps dealing with the Goidelic cognate *treabh* evidenced in a couple of Irish place-names (Watson 1926:357) rather than Cumbric *tref*, especially as none of the first elements in that area are necessarily Brittonic, with some of them being indeed definitely Gaelic, like *fionn* "white" in *Fintry* STL and *Fintray* (1) ABD. Further south there is, on the other hand, no doubt about the Brittonic linguistic affinities of these names, as is demonstrated by the three names *Ochiltree* in WLO, AYR and WIG which all stand for *Ucheldre(f)* "high village", as well as *Niddry* WLO (*Nudreff* 1370 RMS), *Niddrie* MLO (*Nudref* 1290, Vet. Mon.) and *Longniddry* ELO (*Nodref c.* 1315 RMS), all compounded with Cumbric *newydd* "new". Another interesting name is *Trostrie* KCB (*Trostaree* 1456 ER, *Trostre* 1527 Ms.) from *traws tref* "thwart village"; this has a parallel in the Fife *Troustrie*, and in connection with our remarks about the parish of Stow in MLO (see pp. 147 above), it is of interest to note that *traws* also occurs in the now "lost" *Trously*, W. *trawsle* "thwart-place".

If we compare this distribution of *tref* with that of *caer* on our third map (Fig. 3) two features stand out: (a) the absence

of names containing this element, in both the north-east and the south-west of Scotland, and (*b*) the very definite participation of the area straddling the upper reaches of the Solway Firth, i.e. the Cumbric kingdom of Rheged possibly commemorated in *Dunragit* WIG and having its capital at
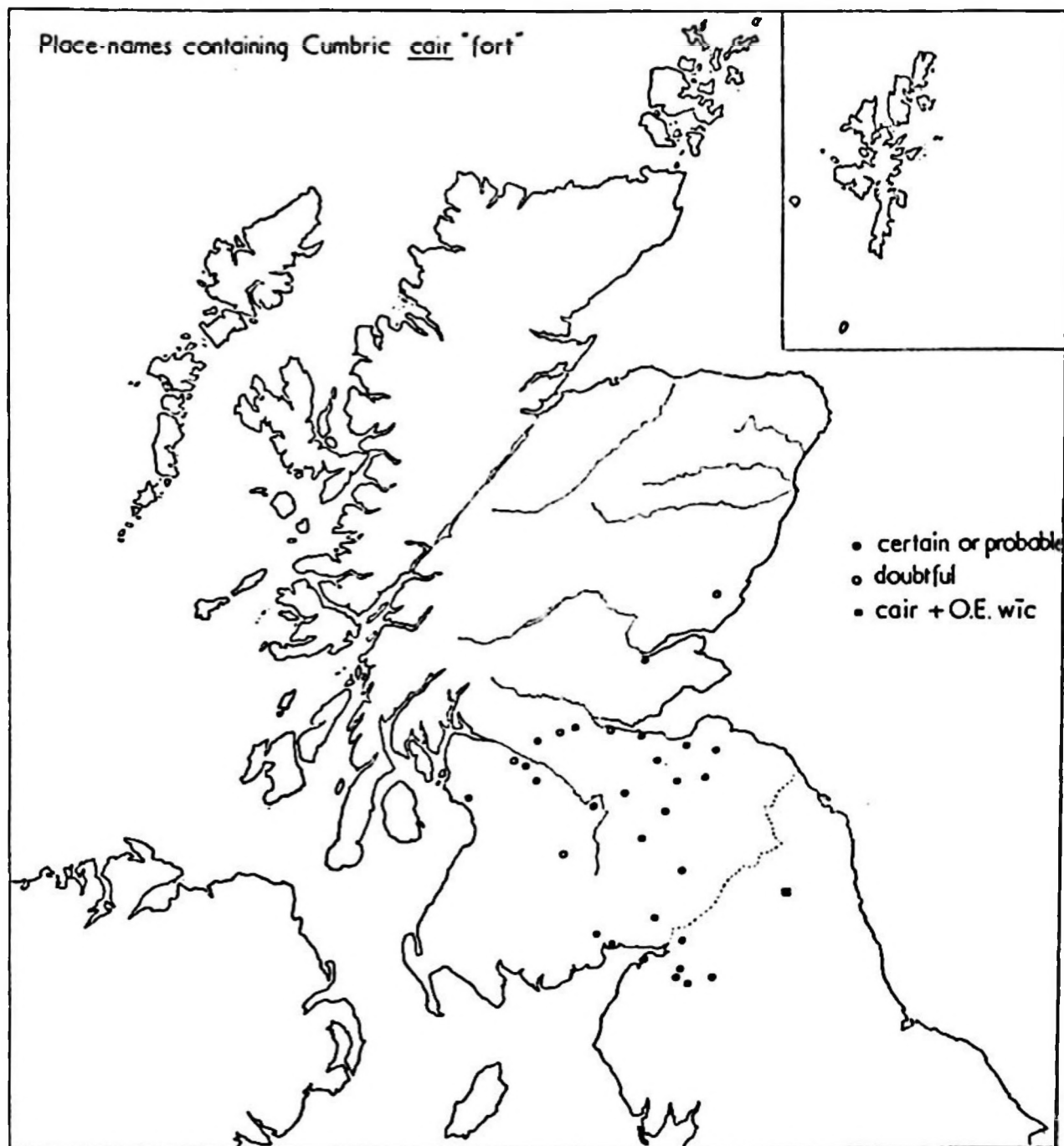
FIG. 3.

Carlisle, one of the names here depicted. The first feature, the more restricted distribution in southern Scotland, may be due to the fact that our word is very difficult to distinguish from some other elements when the name occurs in an area in which Gaelic was spoken at a later date (see Watson 1926: 366 for such words), and I have in fact refrained from including such doubtful names on our map, assigning the many *Keirs* and *Kiers* of Central and North-East Scotland, as well as the first

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part of *Kirkcaldy* FIF (*Kirkaladunt* 1070-93 ESC) to Gaelic *cathair* rather than Cumbric *caer*. As Professor Jackson has pointed out (1963b:80) "*Car-* names in Cumberland mostly refer to places that were never of any importance". He therefore suggests a secondary meaning in Cumbric of "small hamlet, manor-house, farm, originally protected by some kind of defensive stockade", rather than the Welsh meaning of "fortress" or "city", and undoubtedly this also applies to the majority of *Car-* names in Southern Scotland. Whether these protective stockades were still an essential feature of the places so named when the names were given, or whether they still existed when the names passed from Celtic to English mouths, our place-names do not say, but then this lack of detailed knowledge of the material circumstances should not worry us too much as our chief interest in this toponymic category lies in their evidence as *names* of human settlements in the Cumbric period.

On the Scottish side we have names like *Cramond* MLO (*Karramunt* 1166-1214 Holy Lib.; *Caramonde* 1178-9 Inchcolm Chrs.) which is "fort on the (River) Almond", here actually referring to a Roman station; then *Caerlanrig* ROX (*Carlanerik* 1610 RMS) = *caer lanerch* "hamlet in the glade", *Carfrae* in BWK and ELO, "hill farm" from Welsh *bre* "hill", and also *Cathcart* RNF, for which the spelling *Kerkert* of 1158 APS, indicates a derivation *Caer Gart* "hamlet or fort on the (River) Cart". The English material includes such Cumberland names as *Carlisle* in which *caer* is prefixed to an older *Luguvalium* "place of Luguvalos", *Cardew* containing Cumbric *du* "black", and *Cardurnock* "pebbly farm". These three and the other examples from Cumberland appear to be late for various reasons and were, according to the latest opinion (Jackson 1963b:81), probably "given by British immigrants from Strathclyde who reoccupied Northern Cumberland in the tenth century". In *Carrick* Nb, on the other hand, OE *wic* "dwelling" was apparently added to Cumbric *caer*, making the linguistic and ethnic sequence, Cumbrians→Angles, quite clear (Mawer 1920:40). Again, as is the case with the *Tref-* names, we do not find any *Car-* names till we get to Wales, apart from some Welsh names for places in England, of course.

This is as far as we can take the story of the Celtic background in this context. We have found that the names of the important rivers, individual names of natural features secondarily utilised as settlement names, either by the Cumbrians

themselves or by the incoming Angles, and the distributional patterns of names with elements like *pren* "tree", *tref* "village", *caer* "fort, (fortified) hamlet"—with three different and individual pictures as to the extent of the distribution—bear witness of and prove, if proof were necessary, the existence of a Celtic speaking population which has its closest counterparts in Wales, a population to whom we have referred as Cumbric. The evidence here provided is incomplete and patchy, and could be reinforced by the study and mapping of other place-name elements and individual names belonging to the same language and period, but it has nevertheless given us an impression of the settlement area of the Celtic Cumbrians at the time of and during the first few centuries after the beginning of the Anglian occupation of the Border Counties and the Lothians.

We can therefore now turn from the Celtic inhabitants of our region to the Germanic incomers, and again, as we had to do in the case of the Cumbric names, we must take the historical events (set out for us by such scholars as Stenton, Myres, the two Chadwicks, Hunter Blair, Jackson, Kirby and others) which produced the early Anglian nomenclature of Southern Scotland, for granted, and shall only refer to individual aspects of them when they have some bearing on, or connection with, whatever evidence we can adduce. There is no internal reference in our names to these events, and all we can hope to do is to link certain distributional patterns with certain phases of the Anglian settlement, basing our conclusions on such evidence as established sequences and the relative chronology of early Anglo-Saxon place-name material in England on the one hand, and the few known historical data on the other. In fact practically our only linguistic guidance in this respect can come from the extensive research already carried out in England by the authors of the English Place-Name Society volumes and a number of Scandinavian scholars who have investigated the English material, sometimes dealing with detailed individual problems (Ekwall 1962; Karlström 1927, and others), sometimes presenting the evidence as a whole (Ekwall 1960).

Our hope to find Anglian place-names of a comparatively early nature in Southern Scotland stems, of course, from our knowledge derived from the meagre historical, literary and genealogical sources for the period, of a gradual northward movement of Anglian raiders and settlers, beginning—at

least so Bede alleges—with the founding of the kingdom of Bernicia by King Ida in 547, probably consisting of no more than a small band of Anglian pirates on Bamburgh Rock. This small colony expanded rapidly and considerably during the reign of King Æthelfrith (*c.* 593-616), victor of Degsastan in 603 against the Scots of Dalriada, and creator of the Kingdom of Northumbria by gaining control over Deira to the south. Christianity came to the Northumbrian Angles under his successor Edwin of Deira (616-32), the date normally given for this decisive event being the year 627. During the rule of the next king, Oswald of Bernicia (633-41), the fortress of Edinburgh or Cumbric *Eidyn* was besieged and captured, allowing occupation and subsequent settling of the Lothians. Oswy who reigned after his brother Oswald from 642-71 had acquired the Cumbric kingdom of Rheged by marriage about 635, and under him the westward and north-westward movement along the shores of the Solway Firth to the west coast of Cumberland and to Galloway must have taken place, leaving Strathclyde the sole survivor of the three Brittonic kingdoms in existence at the beginning of the Anglian occupation. By the middle of the seventh century, then, the Firth of Forth was the northern boundary of the Northumbrian kingdom and about 680, in Ecgfrith's reign (670-85) Trumwin was installed as "Bishop of the Picts" at Abercorn. In 685 Ecgfrith was killed in the battle of Nechtansmere or Dunnichen in Angus in an unsuccessful attempt to subdue the southern Picts; as a result of this event, in Douglas Simpson's words, Bishop Trumwin "gathered up his skirts and bolted from Abercorn to the safer distance of Whitby" (Simpson 1963:269). The Anglian northward movement was halted, and even in Bede's time about 730, shortly after Whithorn (or *Candida Casa*) had become an English bishopric, the Forth was still the frontier between the Picts and the Angles. In 750 Eadbert appears to have added the Ayrshire district of Kyle to the Northumbrian possessions, and in the last decade of the same century the Vikings attack the monasteries at Lindisfarne and Yarrow, as well as Iona.

The events just depicted in this very rapid survey cannot, as I have said already, be expected to be mirrored in their personal and dynastic details in our place-nomenclature, but how far does this nomenclature in fact reflect the Anglian advance and what does it tell us about the area and the extent of early Anglian settlement?

From the results of place-name research in England we know that the element OE *-ing* as a name-forming suffix is of the greatest significance in this respect, as it is known to belong in some formations to the earliest strata of Anglo-Saxon settlement. In order to understand its meaning and chronology fully, we have to distinguish four main categories (Smith 1956*b*:74): 1. Final singular *-ing*; 2. Final nominative plural *-ingas*; 3. Medial *-inga-*, which is the genitive plural of *-ingas*, in compound place-names; and 4. Medial *-ing-* meaning "associated with". The composite distribution map published by the English Place-Name Society shows place-names in *-ingas* and *-ingaham* but not in singular *-ing*, and it must suffice here to say that the 49 OE names ending in this suffix are most prevalent in Kent, Hampshire, Essex and Berkshire although they are also found further up the Thames valley and in East Anglia and the East Midlands (Smith 1956*a*: I, 288). They do in fact belong to such an early phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement that they are of no interest to us in Southern Scotland. Names in *-ingas*, on the other hand, and those in *-ingaham* do occur in Northumbrian territory, and as they have also been claimed for Scotland, we must examine the justification of such claims.

First, the names in final *-ingas*. These were originally folk-names with the generalised meaning of "an association of people dependent in some way or another upon the leader whose name forms the first theme" (Smith 1956*b*:76). They therefore first applied to communities of people, later also referring to districts or some place within the district. In their original meaning and function they quite clearly belong to the age of migration, but in the OE period we have to distinguish between two main groups, those expressing a personal and those expressing a geographical association. How far does this type which in England has a more easterly and south-easterly distribution particularly in areas of early Anglo-Saxon settlement, occur in Scotland? It has been suggested that five place-names contain this element: *Binning* in WLO and *Binning Wood* in ELO, *Crailing* in ROX, *Simprim* in BWK, and *Cunningham* in AYR. The first, *Binning*, now *Binny*, has been shown by Macdonald (1941:49) to be an analogical development, with *Bennyn*, *Benyn*, *Bynin*, *Binin*, etc. representing the original ending; and as *Binning Wood* ELO is probably a transferred name based on this WLO *Binning*, these two will have to be rejected as candidates. Next,

Crailing in ROX of which these are the medieval recorded forms:

Craling   1147-50 (17th) Lawrie, Charters;
            1301 Index Brit. Mus.
Cralingis (pl.) 1147-50 (17th) Lawrie, Charters;
Creling   1147-52 (Morton) *ib.*
            1295 Instrumenta Publica
Craaling 1165-1214 Nat. MSS. Scot.
Treiling (p) 1180 Acts Parl. Scot.
Creglinge 1256 Cal. Docs. Scot.
Crelenge 1296 *ib.*
Cralyng   1456 Hist. MSS. Comm. (Roxburgh)

At first sight this looks like a *ling*-formation from a Celtic river-name identical with the rivers *Crai* in Wales and *Cray* in Kent. The OE form of this would have been something like **Cræg*, the water-course in question being the Oxnam Water on which Crailing is situated. However, a compound of OE **Crā̆*, cognate with ON *Krá*, "nook, corner", and OE *hlync* "ridge, slope" must be taken into consideration and is indeed more probable, as the geographical position suits this analysis. There is no trace of a plural *-s* anyhow, so that this name can at the very most be classed as doubtful.

Simprim in the Swinton parish of Berwickshire is the fourth name supposed to be a possible *-ingas-* formation. On record it appears thus:

Simprinc 1153-65 (*c.* 1320) Kelso Liber
Simprig   1159 *ib.*
            1246 Pont. Off. St. Andrews
Semprinc 1251 (*c.* 1320) Kelso Liber
Sympring *c.* 1280 *ib.*
            1370 Cal. Docs. Scot.
Sempring *c.* 1300 Coldingham Corresp.
Sympryng *c.* 1415 Kelso Liber

Ekwall thinks of a personal theme as its first element which he also finds evidenced in *Sempringham* Li, but as the oldest recorded spelling of the English name is *Sempingaham* in 852 (Ekwall 1960:412) the *r* appears to be intrusive. Our Berwickshire name could, of course, still quite independently be based on the personal name in question, a nickname belonging to the stem of the English verb to *simper*, for which Ekwall adduces Scandinavian parallels in Norw. *semper*, Swed. *simper, semper*

"affected, prudish" (1962:79). Although this might not be a particularly suitable name for a hero or leader it is not impossible, and bearing in mind that again there is no indication of plurality, we can still class it as a possible *-ingas* name, as final *-s* rarely appears in the ME sources of the Midlands and Northern Counties of England.

The last candidate is *Cunningham*:

> *Incuneningum* (regio)   *c.* 730 Bede Hist. Eccl.
> *In (On) Cununingum (Cunigum)*   *c.* 890 Old Eng. Bede.
> *Cunegan*   1153 Glasgow Registrum
> *Cuninham*   1180 *ib.*

Here there is no doubt about it that Bede's reference presents us with a genuine dative plural of an *-ingas-* name after the preposition *in* which is supported by the fact that it is a regional name. There are therefore no linguistic difficulties. The doubt that arises stems from the geographical position of this district name, in fact the question is whether the identification is right and whether Bede is indeed referring to Cunningham in North Ayrshire. The full quotation from his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Lib. V, Cap. XII) is: "Erat ergo pater familias in regione Nordan hymbrorum, quae uocatur Incuneningum", and we also hear that his name was *Drycthelm*. Now, even some one as single-minded as Bede would not have claimed that Cunningham was a district of Northumbria at about 700 when Drycthelm was apparently there, nor even at the time of the writing of the Historia. As we know, Kyle which lies to the south of Cunningham, and therefore nearer to Bernician territory in Galloway and Carrick, was not annexed until 750, and it is difficult to understand what a man with the good patriotic Anglian name of *Dryhthelm* "helmet (or protector) of the people" (Ström 1939: 12, 21 and 164) was doing in North Ayrshire half a century earlier, even if one is willing to stretch a point as far as the *regio Nordanhymbrorum* is concerned. Personally, I am not convinced that Cunningham is in fact meant, and I find the temptation great to revive the theory which identified Bede's *in Cuneningum* with the area around *Chester-le-Street* in Durham which is first on record as *Cunca-* or *Cunceceastre* about 1050 (Mawer 1920:43-4; Ekwall 1960:101). Chester-le-Street lies in the heart of Northumbria, but even if this identification is "difficult" (Mawer *ib.*) this does not strengthen the case for Cunningham in which both the *-ing-* and the *hām* appear

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to be late adaptations (the former indeed later than the latter).

All we can say then with respect to the presence of folk- or settlement-names in -*ingas* in Scotland (Fig. 4) is that we have three doubtful candidates, two for linguistic, one for extra-linguistic reasons. Of these, *Simprim* is perhaps the strongest

Place-names ending in Old English - *ingas*

■ certain or probable.
□ doubtful.
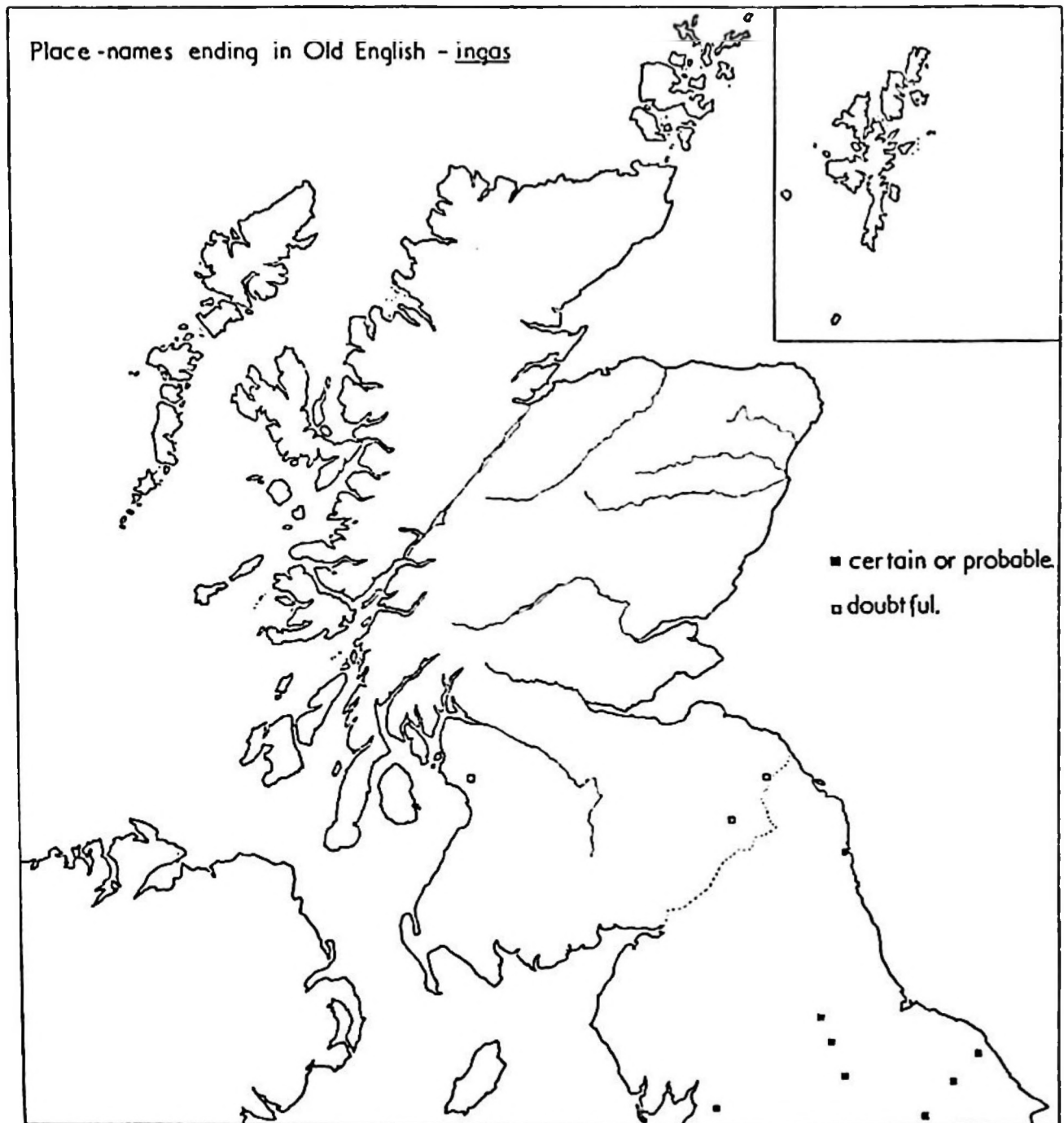
FIG. 4.

claimant, but it would be fairer to state that we have no certain examples of this kind of name, just as singular -*ing* is totally lacking. In this connection one might also add that there is no trace whatever in Scottish place-names of words such as *alh*, *hearg*, *wīg* all denoting "temples", or *bēl* "funeral pyre" with its compounds *bēl-stede* "place of the funeral pyre" and *bēl-haga* "funeral pyre enclosure", or names of divinities

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such as *Woden*, *Thunor* or *Tiw*, in fact the whole vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon heathen worship. The absence of both this terminology and of names in singular *-ing* and plural *-ingas* taken together surely implies that the Angles cannot have occupied much ground in the Border Counties before their official conversion to Christianity in 627, and if one dares to come to non-linguistic conclusions from this place-name evidence, I would hazard a guess and say that the chances of finding an extensive pagan Anglian cemetery in Scotland are probably very slender—but then this is just the kind of conclusion a linguist should not come to.

What then are the earliest Anglo-Saxon *ing-* formations we find in our area? These belong to the *-ingahām* type, i.e. names ending in OE *hām* "village, homestead" (itself an early word) in which the first part is the genitive plural of a folk-name in *-ingas*. Of these we have three definite examples and one doubtful one: The definite ones are *Whittinghame* and *Tynninghame* in ELO, and *Coldingham* in BWK, the doubtful one is *Edingham* in KCB. Names like *Penninghame* WIG (*Penygham* 1644 Synod of Galloway, *Pennygham* 1652 Blaeu, *Pennegem* 1756 Barnbarroch Ms.) and *Fotheringham* ANG (*ffodryngay* 1261 Panm. Reg., *Fodringeye* 1291 CDS, after the English *Fotheringhay*) are non-genuine examples similar to *Cunningham*, and therefore practically irrelevant, in the same way in which *Stirling* and *Bowling* DNB and names containing words like *bigging* or *shieling* had to be excluded from the discussion of the first two groups of *-ing-* names because they are not early material. Of the three genuine *-ingāham* names, *Whittinghame* ['hwitindʒəm] (Whitingham 1254 CDS, Whityngham 1336 *ib*) is identical with *Whittingham* Nb (*Hwitincham c.* 1050), *Whittingham* La (*Witingheham* 1086) and *Whicham* Cu (*Witingham* 1086), all of which presuppose as their basis an OE pers. n. *Hwīta*. We are therefore dealing with an OE *Hwītingahām* "settlement of Hwīta's people" or perhaps rather *Hwītingiahām* as every single one of these names shows palatalisation of the velar g in *-ing-*; this is most clearly seen in *Whicham* but is, of course, also implicit in the modern pronunciation of our ELO name, ['hwitindʒəm]. For *Tynninghame* the genitive plural form *-inga-* is beautifully preserved in the early spellings:

In Tininghami	756 Ann. Lindisf. (first hand)
Tinningaham	*c.* 1050 (*c.* 1180) Hist. St. Cuthb.
Tiningaham	1104—8 Sym. Durh. (s.a. 757)

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The meaning is evidently "village of those dwelling by the River Tyne" in which *Tiningas* is a similar formation to that of *Avening* Gl. "dwellers on the Avon".

Coldingham also contains an earlier geographical name, but the old forms pertaining to it must be divided into two streams:

(a) *Coludesburh*   679 (c. 1120) Angl. Sax. Chron. (E)
                c. 890 (c. 1000) Old Engl. Bede
    Colodesbyrig   699-709 (late 9th-early 10th) Anon. Cuthb.
    Colodaesburg   c. 710 (11th) Eddi
    Coludi urbem   c. 730 Bede Hist. Eccl.
    Coludanae urbs ib.

(b) *Collingaham*   1095-1100 Lawrie, Charters
    Coldingham   1097-1107 Nat. MSS. Scot.
                1100 Lawrie, Charters
                c. 1255 Cal. Docs. Scot.
    Coldingeham   c. 1100 Lawrie, Charters
    Goldingeham   1126 *ib.*
                early 13th Scalacronica
    Coldingham   1176 Chron. Melrose

Of these, the series in *-burh* or *byrig* "a fortified place" is probably the older, perhaps part-translating a Brittonic *Caer Golud* or the like with reference to a fortress on St. Abb's Head. Coldingham might then be interpreted either as **Coludingaham* "village of the people at Colud", or as an elliptical form based on the name *Coludesburh* and so meaning "village of the people of Coludesburh" (cf. *Happisburgh* Nf which may be present in *Happing Hundred* as "the folk belonging to Happisburgh", rather than "the folk of a man called *Haepp*" [Smith 1956b:78]).

Edingham north of Dalbeattie in the Stewartry is recorded too late (*Edinghame* 1554 RMS) to provide a sound basis for such a thorny problem as the earliest Anglian names in Scotland, unless it can be equated with the *Edyngaheym* of c. 1124 ESC (Kermack 1941:85); but this seems to apply rather to a "lost" name *Ednemland* near Annan in DMF (ESC p. 303).

From the map of the English Place-Name Society it becomes clear that the distribution of *-ingahām* is rather more northerly and easterly than that of *-ing* and *-ingas*. Without wanting to revive the old theory which saw tribal associations in German place-names ending in *-ingen*, *-ingheim* or *-heim*, the *-ingahām* names are certainly more characteristic of Anglian territory than, for instance, of Saxon (see also Smith 1963b:84), and our

three Scottish names near the coast (Fig. 5) are probably the northernmost appendix of this Anglian *-ingahām* area; their formation must have been just possible and no more, in the early phases of the Anglian settlement of Votadinic territory.
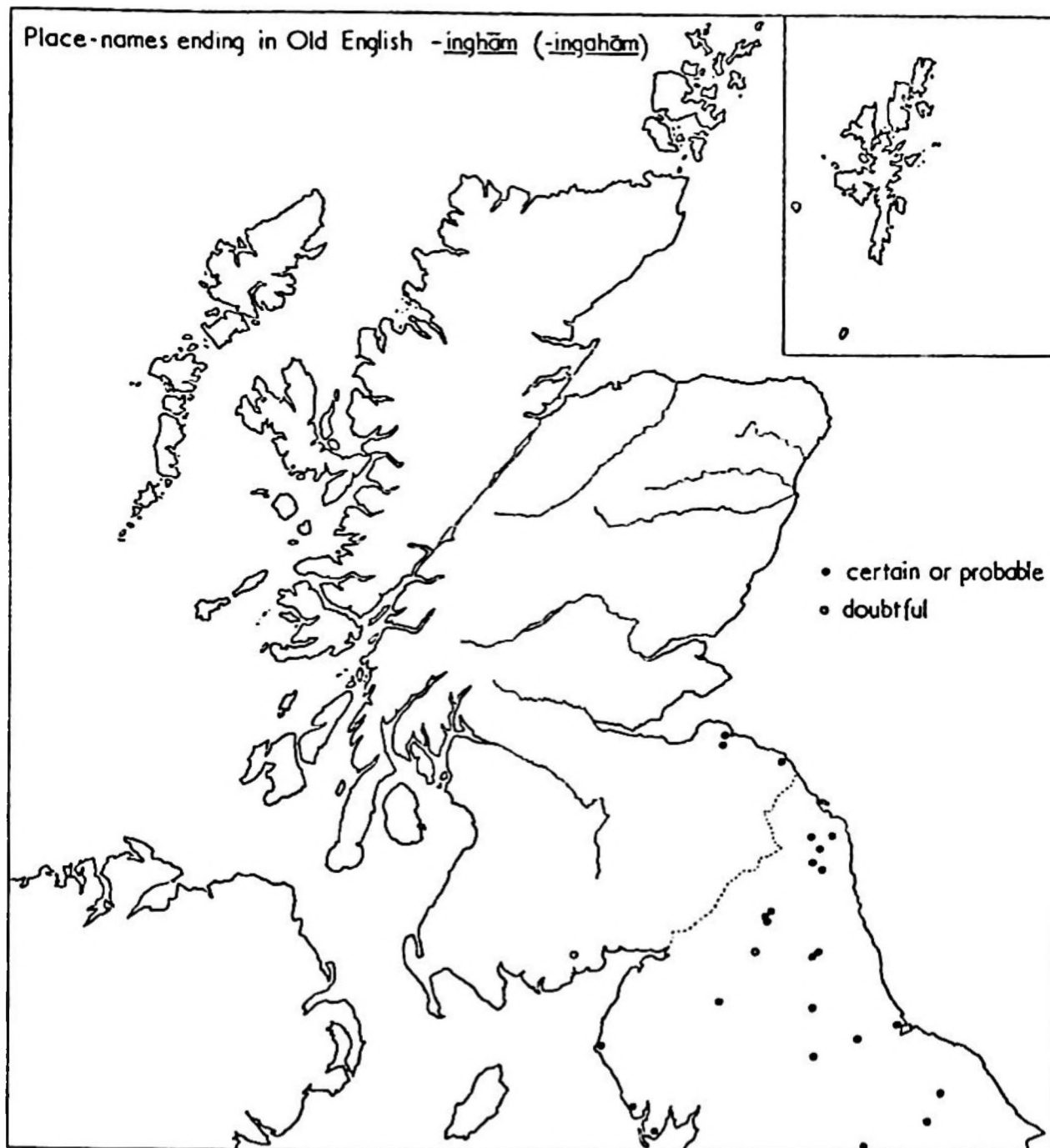

Place-names ending in Old English -inghām (-ingahām)

• certain or probable
◦ doubtful

FIG. 5.

In the same way in which *-inga-* appears to be only attached to *-hām* in Scottish place-names and not to other words like *burna, feld, ford, halh,* etc., as in England (Smith 1956*a*:I, 301), the connective particle *-ing-* appears only with *tūn* so that we can class the next group together as names in *-ingtūn.* Just as *tūn* is slightly later in Scotland than *hām,* so names ending in *-ingtūn* belong to a later period than those in *-ingas* and *-ingahām.* When we have performed the difficult task of eliminating the numerous non-genuine late adaptations like *Abington* LAN

(Albintoune 1459 Johnston 78), *Newington* (Edinburgh), *Symington* (several) from pers. n. *Symon*, and others, we are left with a genuine residue of early material in such Berwickshire names as *Edington* (*Hadynton* 1095 (15th), *Hoedentum* 1095-1100 (15th), *Edingtonam* 1095 (15th), all ESC) "farm associated with *Ead(d)a*"; *Edrington* (*Hadryngton* 1095 (15th) ESC) "farm associated with the R. Adder"; *Mersington* (so 1291 Inst. Pub.) "farm associated with *Mērsa* or *Mērsige*; *Renton* (*Regninton* 1095 (15th) ESC, *Reningtona* 1235 Cold. Corr.) "farm associated with Regna or Regenwald"; *Thirlington*, perhaps from an OE pers. n. *þyrla*, although OE *þyrel* "hollow" is a possibility as in *Thirlmere* Cu (EPNS. XX:35-6; Ekwall 1960:466), and *Upsettlington* (*Upsetintun* 1095-1100 (15th) ESC, *Hupsetligtun* (p) 1153-65 (c. 1320) Kelso Lib.; *Upsedilington c.* 1240 *ib*), from OE *Setling-tūn* "farm by the shelf, ledge", and probably also *Carrington* MLO, *Haddington* ELO, *Hassington* BWK, and *Shearington* DMF, the old forms of which leave some doubt as to whether we are dealing with genuine *-ingtūn-* names or not. The distribution of those which can be identified as such (Fig. 6), links nicely with the rest of the Northumbrian evidence and appears to point to a slightly more advanced stage of Anglian occupation, probably in Oswy's time. The absence of names of this type along the northern shores of the Solway Firth (apart from one possible exception) should be noted.

Another place-name element which must have a definite bearing on our decision as to where the Angles first began to carve their kingdom out of the Cumbric territory in the south of Scotland, is *hām*. In contrast to *tūn* which originally meant "enclosure", *hām* always meant the "homestead" or "group of homesteads" itself. The English distribution suggests that it was "becoming obsolete as a p.n. term as the settlement advanced towards the west" (Smith 1956a:I, 227). Its Scottish distribution is therefore of the greatest importance to our investigation (Fig. 7). From this distribution we must again exclude the obviously later type of name like the several *Cauldhame*, and also the very curious *Letham* with its strange distribution. Here we are dealing with names of various etymologies and perhaps even belonging to different languages, a name type which demands a separate investigation. These names which can be used as sound evidence are all situated in ROX, BWK and ELO, with one exception in DMF, *Smallholm* (*Smalham* 1304 CDS) which has an identical equivalent in *Smailholm* ROX (*Smalham c.* 1160 (16th) Dryb. Lib.),

both deriving from OE *Smael hām* "small village"; the tendency to substitute -*holm* for -*hām* is also evidenced in *Leitholm* BWK (*Letham* 1165-1214 Melr. Lib.) "village on the Leet Water", and *Yetholm* in *Town* and *Kirk Yetholm* ROX (*Gatha'n c.* 1050 (12th) SD; *Yetham* (p) 1165-1214 Melr. Lib.) from OE *gæt*
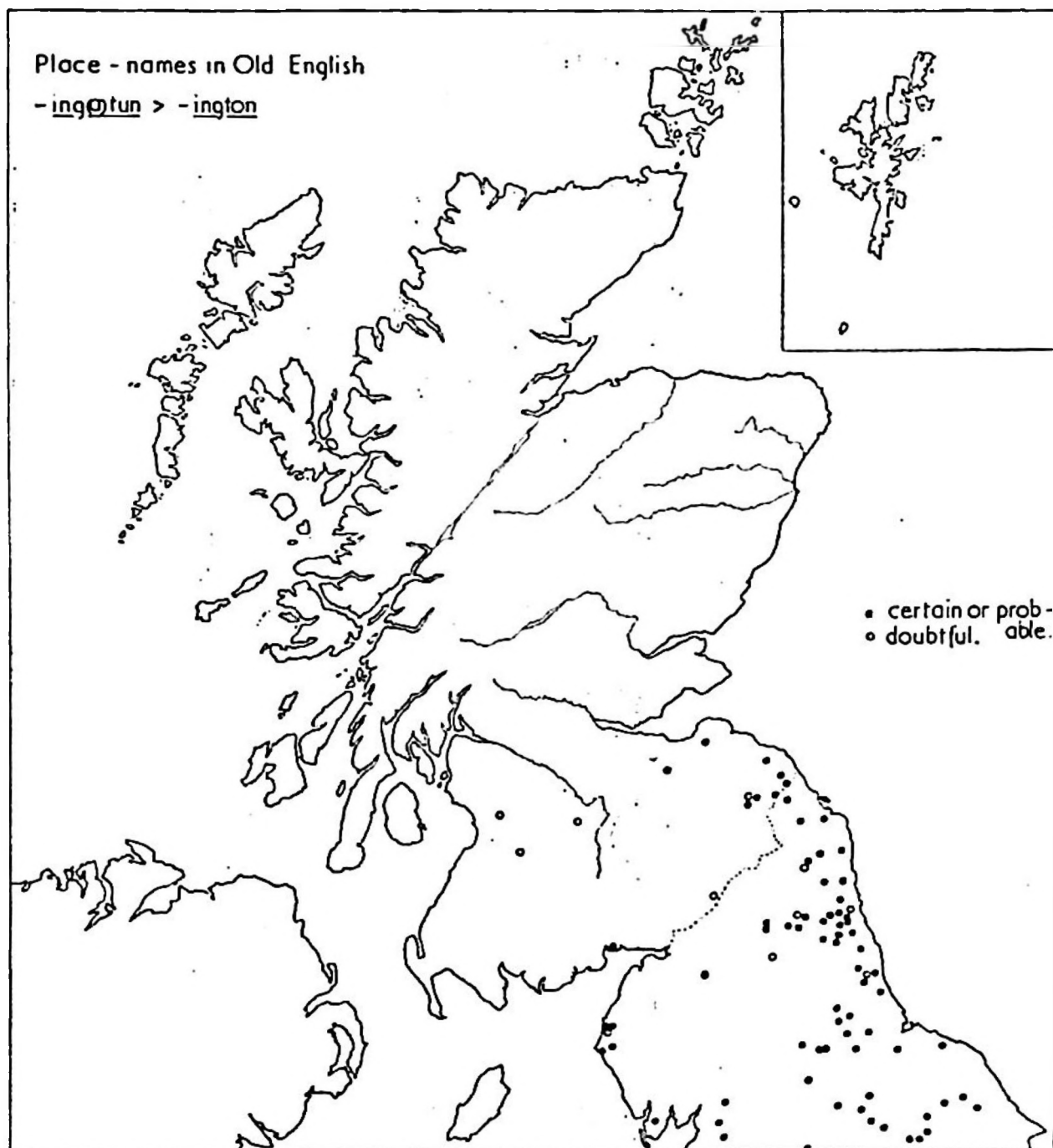

Place - names in Old English

-ing⊗tun > -ington

• certain or prob-
○ doubtful.   able.

FIG. 6.

hām "village near the gate or pass". Others are *Ednam* (*Ædnaham c.* 1105, *Ednaham* 1107-17 ESC) "village on the R. Eden", *Oxnam* (*Oxenham* 1165-1244 Nat. MSS. Scot.), from OE *Oxenahām* "village of the oxen", *Midlem* (*Middleham c.* 1120 (*c.* 1320) Kelso Lib.) "the middle village", all in ROX; *Birgham* ['bɛ:rdʒəm] (*Brygham* 1095 (15th) ESC) from OE *brycg* "bridge", *Edrom* (*Edrem* 1095 (15th), *Ederham* 1095 ESC) "village on the R. Adder", and *Kimmerghame* ['kimərdʒəm]

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(*Chynbrygham* 1095 (15th) ESC) possibly based on an OE pers. n. *Cyneberht*, all in BWK; and in ELO we finally have *Morham* which in the thirteenth century is also called *Morton* "*hām* or *tūn* by the moor", **Aldhām* "old village" in *Oldham-stocks* (*Aldehamstoc* 1127 Johnston 265), and one of the *Lethams*
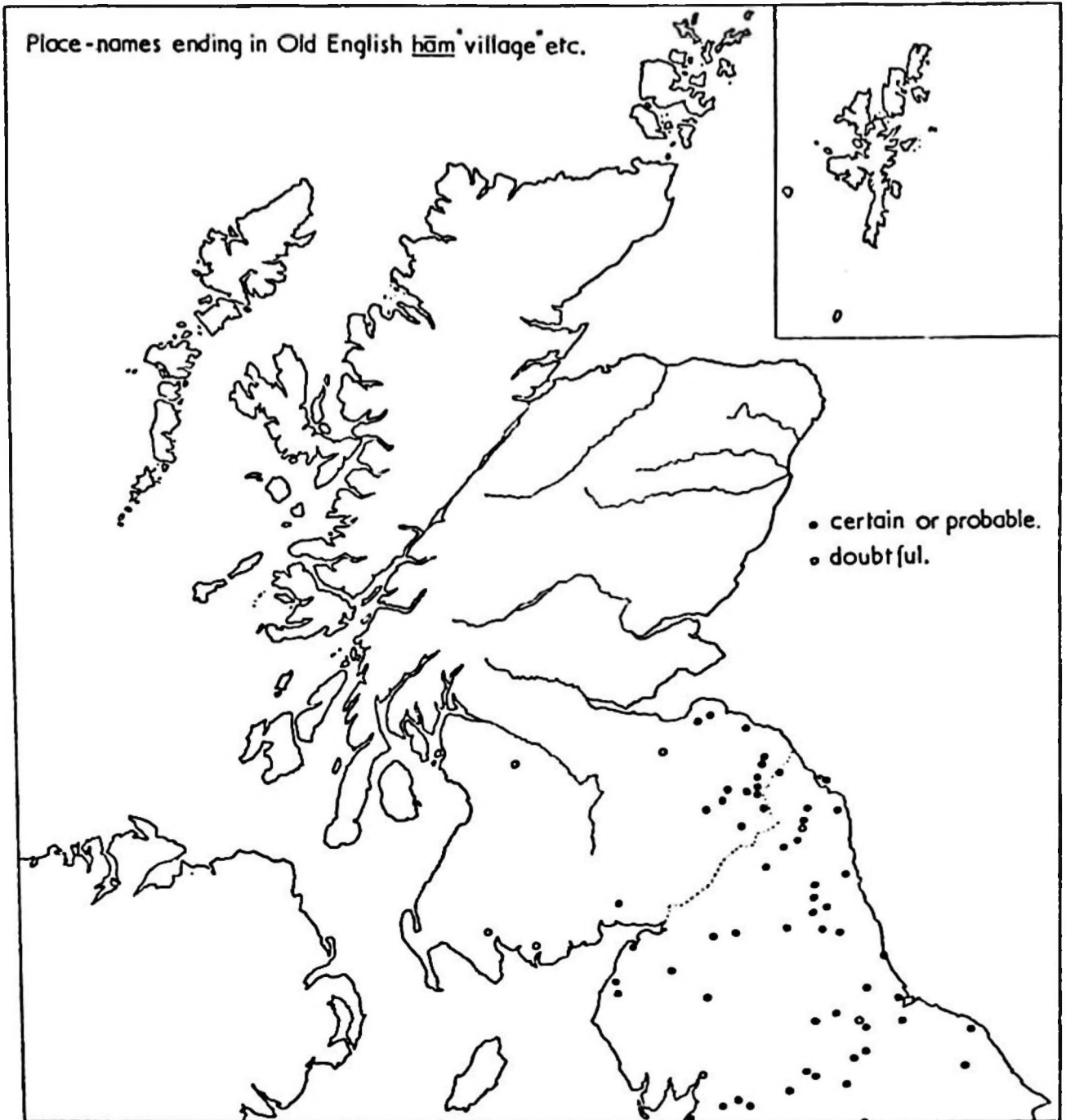

Place-names ending in Old English hām 'village' etc.

● certain or probable.
○ doubtful.

FIG. 7.

which should perhaps rather be marked as doubtful. *Twyn-holm* in KCB may or may not contain our element (*Twyneme* 1605 Retours), and the same applies to *Penninghame* WIG (*Penygham* 1644 Synod of Galloway, *Pennygham* Blaeu, *Pennegem* 1756 Barnbarroch MS). Puzzling is *Eaglesham* RNF which appears to contain W. *eglwys* or Gaelic *eaglais* "church". If the second part is indeed *hām*, the name may stem from a possible period of temporary Anglian overlordship over Strathclyde

in Ecgfrith's reign. Otherwise our material is again well in keeping with what we have seen already. In a way, names in _hām_ cover the same area as those in _-inghām_ and _-ingtūn_ combined, that is the coastal strip to East Lothian and the main river valleys of Roxburghshire and Berwickshire, linking up without a break with Northumberland. The Tweed appears to be rather a magnet than a divide.

Having established a basic area of Anglian settlement, I should like to add just a little additional material which completes the English evidence already gathered and mapped for Northumbria. There is an OE _worð_ meaning, like _tūn_, "an enclosure"; it is known from documents as early as the seventh century and it can further be proved to be early because it forms compounds with _hām_ and folk-names in _-ingas_ (Smith 1956a:II, 273-5). Although it is obsolescent or obsolete in the literary period it continued to be used in place-names, and the reason why it is of such importance to us is that it—like some other elements—appears to have been very productive in Northumbria and especially Bernicia, as the names in Nb and Du testify. In Scotland three names contain or contained this element, all of them in the most "Northumbrian" counties of BWK and ROX, two of them in fact south of the Tweed (Fig. 8). There is _Polwarth_ in BWK (_Paulewrhe_ (p) 1182-1214 Melr. Lib., _Paulewurth_ (p) 13th Melr. Lib.) probably compounded with a pers. n. _Paul_. This is the only one which has preserved its original ending, for in _Cessford_ ROX (_Cesseworth_ 1296 CDS) "Cessa's enclosure", _worð_ has been replaced by _ford_, and in _Jedburgh_ ROX (_Gedwearde c._ 1050 (12th) SD, _Gedwirth_ 1177 (16th) Dryb. Lib.) "enclosed village on the R. Jed", _burh_ has taken its place. This shows that our word must have gone out of use at an early date when a better-known element was substituted. This process of substitution is closely paralleled in the neighbouring county of Nb where in at least five cases _wood_ has replaced _worð_. Another early word.

The other element appears to belong to a slightly later period. It means "a dwelling, or dwelling-place, house" and in OE takes the form _bōðl_, _bōtl_, and _bold_. Of these only the first two interest us here, the first in the compound _bōðl-tūn_ (= Bolton) which is clearly Northumbrian, the second, also chiefly northern, in its later form _bottle_ or, unrounded about the seventeenth century, _battle_. _Bōðl_ alone, of which there are four instances in the rest of Northumbria does not occur in Scotland. To the English _Boltons_ we can add one example

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from ELO (*Bothel-*, *Bowel-*, *Boeltun c.* 1200 Johnston 110); and for *bōtl* we have the simplex *Buittle* KCB (Botel 1296 Maxwell 51; *Butil* 1456 ER, 1471 RMS) which practically coincides in its earlier forms with the *Bootles* of Lancashire and Cumberland, as well as the compound names *Morebattle*
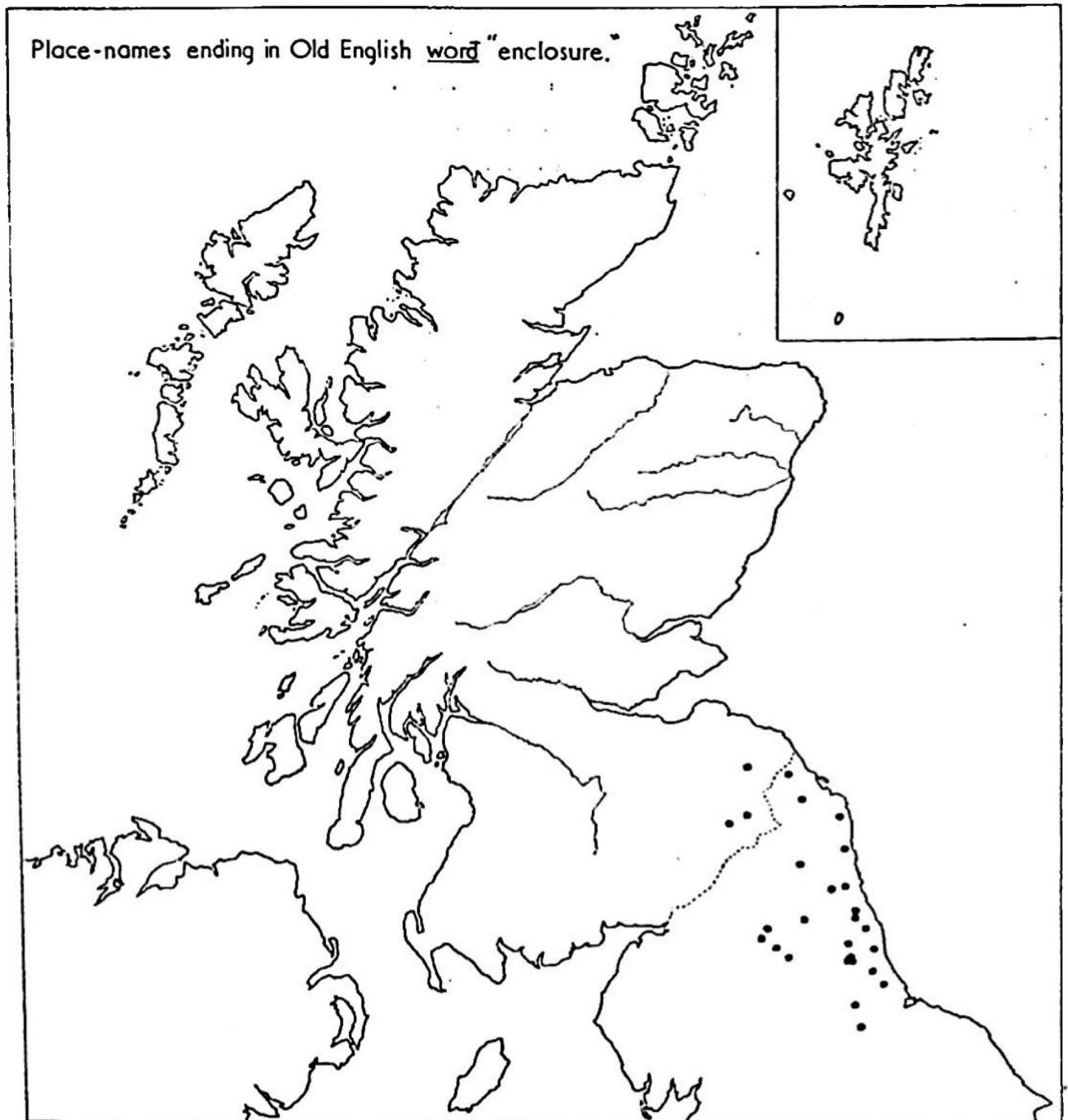

Place-names ending in Old English <u>word</u> "enclosure."

FIG. 8.

ROX (*Mereboda c.* 1124 (12th) ESC, *Merbotil* 1174-99 (1500) Melr. Lib.) from OE *mere-bōtl* "dwelling by the lake", *Eldbotle* ELO (*Elbotle* 1128 ES; *Ellebotle* 1160-2 RRS) and *Newbattle* MLO (*Neubotle* 1140 ESC) which when founded as a Cistercian monastery by David I in 1140 is supposed to have been called this to distinguish it from *Eldbotle*, the "old building" (Mackinlay 1904:268). In the distribution of this element (Fig. 9) the example from the Stewartry is certainly noteworthy but

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even this isolated instance only confirms our impression of a thin ruling class of Anglians after Oswy's marriage, rather than of a thorough settlement (see also additional note on p. 171).

This more or less completes the place-name evidence which I have been asked to put before you in this lecture. An account
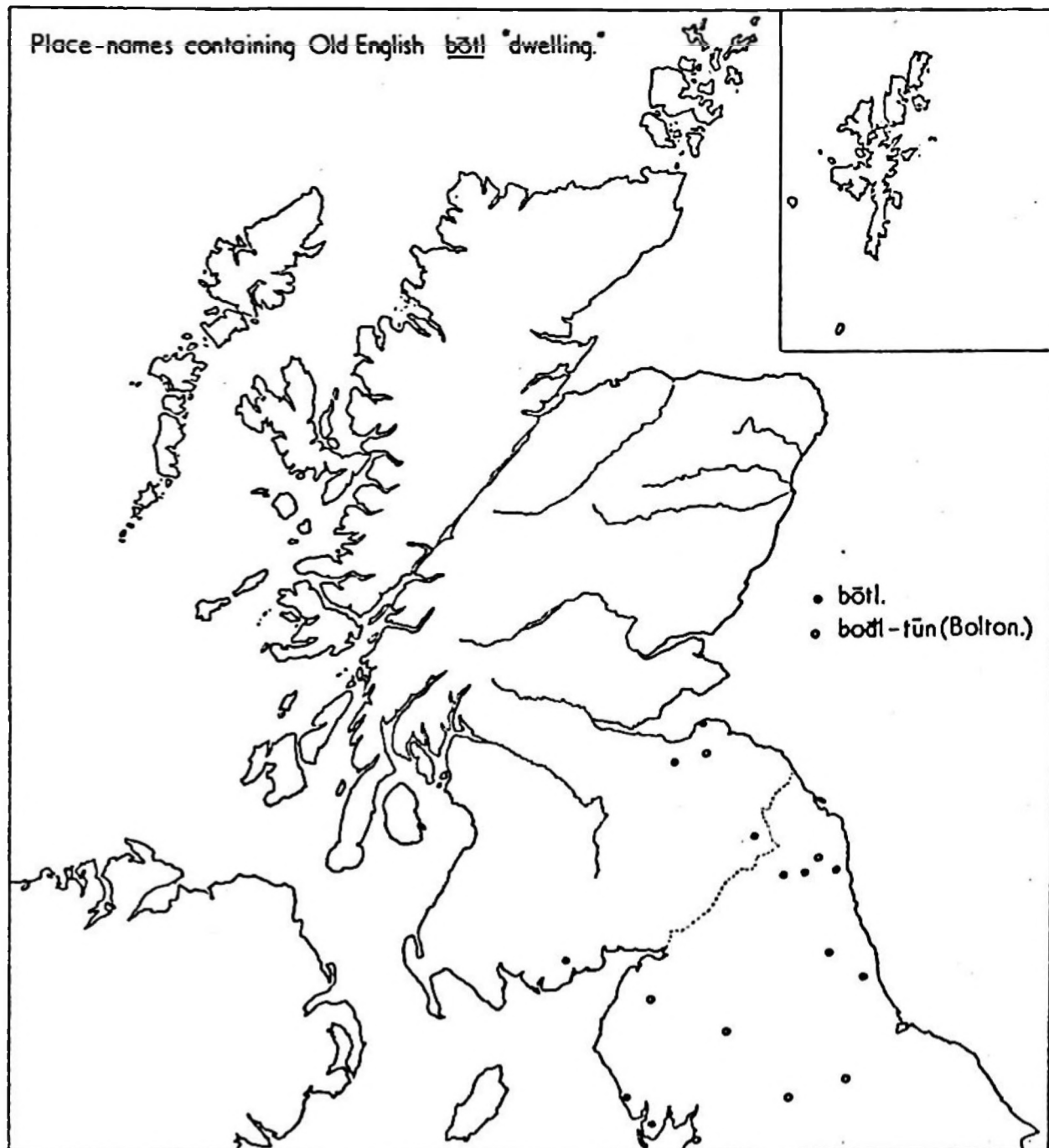

FIG. 9.

of later Scandinavian and particularly Gaelic influence in our area must, I am afraid, be given in a different context. This also applies to such fascinating problems as the later spreading of English names throughout Southern Scotland and the phonological investigation of the chronology of borrowings from Cumbric into Anglian. The temptation is great but time is short, too short. I should therefore like to ask just one further question. If the linking of our place-name evidence with

historical events in the process of the Anglian occupation of the Border Counties and the Lothians is difficult and of a comparatively vague nature, how do we fare with regard to the findings of archaeology? Our "principal archaeological check on the expansion of Northumbrian power" (Radford 1962:128) are the fine Anglian sculptured crosses of Ruthwell, Hoddom, Closeburn, Aberlady, Abercorn, Morham and so on, which are generally assigned to the 200 years between *c.* 650 and *c.* 850 A.D., and for our purposes we shall leave it at that. About two years ago a map showing their Scottish distribution was published (Radford *ib.*:129, Fig. 14), and this coincides remarkably well with the distribution of our relevant place-name elements. Maybe it does not have the amazing congruency which emerged for the settlement area of the historical Picts when names beginning with *Pit-* and the location of symbol stones were plotted side by side; when comparing evidence provided by two completely different lines of investigation continuously hampered by chance survival and late records, one cannot ask for too much delicacy. I feel that on the whole we are more than justified in stating that the archaeological and place-name evidence tally in a most satisfactory manner and certainly do not contradict each other.

Let us finally remind ourselves then of what the place-name evidence for the Angles and Celts in the Scottish Border Counties and beyond is: A host of Brittonic or pre-Celtic river-names and names of other natural features passed on to the incoming Angles in linguistic contact, various elements productive in Cumbric habitation names with different distributions pointing to a much larger survival of Cumbric speech in Strathclyde than to the east of that kingdom, although it is not impossible that a small colony of Cumbric speakers survived in the hilly country around Stow for some considerable time. Then the Anglian advance: Not to be dated before the official acceptance of Christianity in 627, then settlements near the coast and in the valleys of the important rivers evidenced by *-ingahām*, *-ingtūn* and *-hām*, this picture consolidated by the analysis of other early place-name elements, with some settlements higher up the river-valleys, obviously as part of a secondary occupation but still in the fertile valleys and not on the hills. East Lothian and Berwickshire, and that is the whole coast line from near Edinburgh to the present Scottish-English border, combining with Roxburghshire in forming the main early settlement area of the Angles, and this

again to be seen as the northern part of the whole of the Kingdom of Northumbria, or at least Bernicia, with the Tweed not a dividing line but a central life line. Not a consecutive narrative but glimpses only: nevertheless, I hope, Anglian Scotland in the seventh, eighth and perhaps ninth centuries come to life!

NOTE

[1] The source abbreviations here used are those recommended in the "List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560" (*Scottish Historical Review* 42, 1963). This list is also available as a separate reprint.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE

After this article had gone to press and after the blocks for the distribution maps had been made, Prof. G. W. S. Barrow very kindly drew my attention to the following additional material:

(a) *Maybole* in Ayrshire appears as *Maybothel* (*Maybothil*) in North Berwick Carte 1189-1250, and as *Maibothel* 1204-30 in the same cartulary. Other references to Maybole are *Meibothelbeg* and *Meibothelmor* 1185-96 Melrose Liber. This is obviously an additional example of Old English *bōtl* "dwelling" and should therefore be added to the Carrick part of Ayrshire in Fig. 9 on p. 167. It does not alter our chronological assessment of the position of this word in the history of the Anglian settlement of southern Scotland. Interesting are the later (!) additions of Gaelic *beag* "small" and *mór* "big" to this Anglian name. The first element is most likely the same as in Mawbray (Cumberland) which is *Mayburg'* in 1175, *Mayburch* in 1262, etc.; see A. M. Armstrong *et alia, The Place-Names of Cumberland* (Cambridge 1950) 296, and Smith 1956: II, 32. If so, it would be from OE *mǣge* "a kinswoman, a maiden", with the whole name meaning "the kinswomen's (or the maidens') dwelling", but other explanations are, of course, also possible.

(b) Further examples of Cumbric *pren* "tree" to be considered are: (1) *Barnweill* in Craigie AYR (*Berenbouell* 1177-1204 Fraser, Lennox; Brenwyfle 1306 Palgrave, Docs. Hist. Scot.). (2) *Brenego* and (3) *Roderbren* (both 1177-1204 Fraser, Lennox) associated with Enterkine (*Nenterkan* 1177-1204 *ibid.*) in Tarbolton AYR. (4) *Prenteineth* (*David I* RRS), unidentified like the last two but associated with Loudoun AYR. If all or most of these additional names are in fact instances of *pren*, the more westerly distribution would certainly rule out the epithet "Votadinic" which I very tentatively applied (p. 148).