Notes on Collection and Research

Scottish Place-Names: 29 Scandinavian Personal Names in the Place-Names of South-East Scotland

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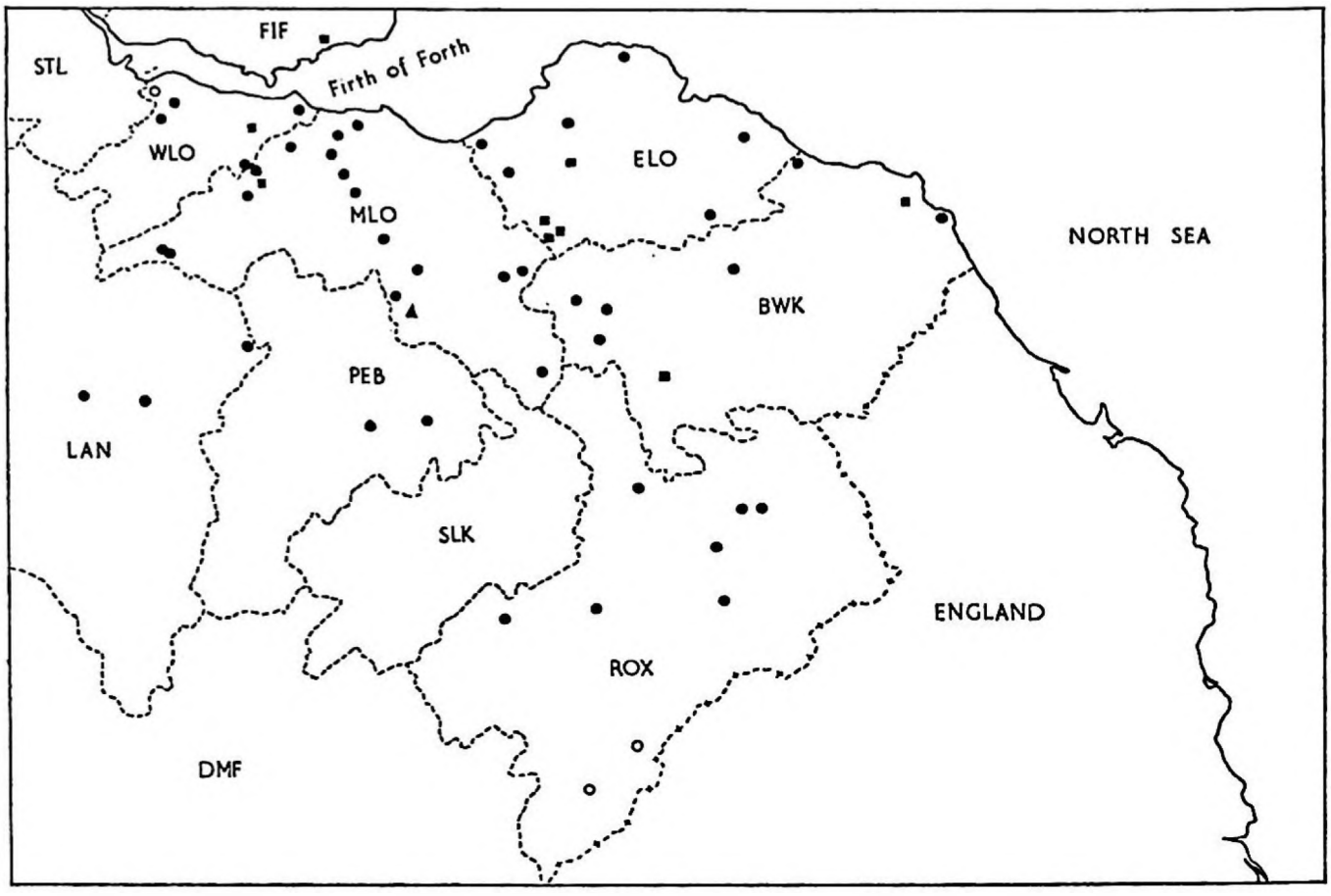
When the B.B.C. produced a series of eight programmes on 'Anglo-Saxon England' in the autumn of 1957, they also published a booklet with the same title, to accompany these broadcasts (B.B.C. 1957). Amongst the illustrations in this booklet was to be found a coloured full-page map showing the 'Distribution of place names in England' (*op. cit.*: 22). Although not expressly stated, it derived from a similar line-block map in R. H. Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxon* (Hodgkin 1952: 1, 168) which in turn was based on the frontispiece in Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places* (Taylor [1907]).[1] The B.B.C. map of 1957 therefore reflects the scholarship of fifty years before its publication, or perhaps even a hundred years because Taylor's first edition appeared in 1864. This fact is, however, nowhere indicated in the caption or text and—whatever the relevance of the map to the broadcast series of talks may have been—listeners who bought the booklet are therefore left with the impression that the rather strikingly coloured map makes visual the knowledge of the fifties of the twentieth, and not the nineteenth, century.

Despite its caption, the map in question extends northwards slightly beyond the Firth of Forth and therefore covers the whole of the south of Scotland, and in this way the evidence becomes relevant from the point of view of Scottish toponymy as well. Without wanting to comment on the Scottish section of the map in general, and without attempting a detailed comparison of the three main cartographic stages involved (Taylor—Hodgkin—B.B.C.), it is only fair to say that much of what Taylor depicts is correct and that not everything that is wrong on the B.B.C. map can be attributed to Taylor but is rather the result of frequent and faulty copying. Other errors, however, have obviously been perpetuated for a hundred years, and it is one of these which this note is intended to pinpoint and, if possible, to rectify by examining the evidence behind Taylor's thinking.

The particular question to be investigated is that of five small areas of *Danish* settlement shown in the Border Counties of Scotland and in East Lothian (the last area is absent on the B.B.C. map). The map at all stages of development preserves Taylor's

terminology which distinguishes between Celtic, Saxon,[2] Danish, and Norwegian names. It is therefore quite clear from the colouring of the relevant patches on the map that no general Scandinavian influence or Norse element is intended but the existence of smallish areas[3] in which people speaking the Danish language and ultimately originating from Denmark settled. How far is this claim correct? What is the place-name evidence behind it, and how far does it bear critical scrutiny? If the names are indeed Danish, where did the Danes in question come from? If they are not Danish, what are they?



Distribution of place-names containing Scandinavian elements, in South-East Scotland.

■ Names in *-bie, -by.*
● Names containing Scandinavian personal names.
○ Doubtful examples of last category.

First of all, it must be stressed that we do not know, of course, which particular names Taylor had in mind. As far as can be ascertained, there is no direct reference to the map in *Words and Places.* The situation is obscured even more by the fact that in his discussion of the settlement areas of the 'Northmen' Taylor refers to southern Scotland as follows (Taylor [1907]:118):

> As we leave Yorkshire and approach Durham and Northumberland the Norse [Danish] names rapidly diminish in frequency, and north of the Tweed they almost entirely disappear.

> The few that we find are usually only stations on the coast, as Alnwick and Berwick. The names of a few bays and headlands prove that the Northmen were familiar with the navigation of the coast, while the absence of any Norse names of villages or farms proves that the soil, for some reason, was left in the undisturbed possession of the Saxons[4] or the Celts. . . . The map proves conclusively that the district between the Tees and the Forth is one of the most purely Saxon portions of the island, thus remarkably corroborating the historical fact that in the eleventh century even the Lothians were reckoned as a part of England.[5]

Both Alnwick and Berwick are wrongly assigned to the Scandinavian stratum, of course, as they do not contain Old Norse (ON)) *vík* 'bay' as their second element but rather Old English (OE) *wīc* 'village, farm' (see Nicolaisen 1967:75–76). Also the 'few bays and headlands' which remain anonymous in Taylor's narrative[6] are not identifiable from the modern map as bearing Scandinavian names. We therefore have to find our own evidence in order to understand the nature of the Scandinavian contribution to the place-nomenclature of south-east Scotland and to the history of settlement in that region.

The most likely names to be spotted and used by Taylor are those containing Scandinavian place-name elements. Of these only ON *býr* 'a farmstead, village' is of any significance. Examples to be found in our region are:

Begbie ELO (Haddington par.):*Bagby* 1458 Johnstone 1934:104, *Baigbie* 1594, *Bakbie* 1603, *Begbie* (*vel Baikbie*) 1649 Retours, probably identical with Bagby in the North Riding of Yorkshire (*Bag(h)ebi* 1086, *Baggaby c.* 1160). 'Baggi's farm'. *Baggi* is found as a personal name in Old Norse, Old Danish and Old Swedish (see Ekwall 1960:22; also Björkman 1912:21–22).

Blegbie ELO (Humbie par.):*Blackbie* 1659, 1687 Retours; *Wester Blaikbie* 1659, *Wester Blackbie* 1639, 1687 Retours. This may contain OE *blæc* 'black' or *blāc* 'pale, bleak', or perhaps rather the Old Norse cognate of the latter, *bleikr* 'pale, livid'; or the personal name *Bleici* which derives from it (Smith 1956:1 37 and 38).

Corsbie BWK (Gordon par.):*Crossebie* 1309 Robertson, Index, *Corsby* (p) 1396 ER, 1441 (16th) APS; *Crosby* 1506–7 RMS; *Corsbie* 1556 HMC (Marchmont). In England there are several places names Crosby in Cumberland, Lancashire and Westmorland, all derived from Old Scandinavian *Krossa-býr* 'farm with crosses'. ON *kross* is a loan from Irish (Ekwall 1960:132).

Humbie (1) ELO (Humbie par.) *Hundeby c.* 1250 Kel. Lib.
(2) MLO (Kirknewton par.) *Humby* 1546, *Humbie* 1614 RMS.
(3) WLO (Kirkliston par.) *Hundeby* 1290 (16th) RMS, *Hundby* 1481 RMS, *Humby* 1502/3, *Humbie* 1534 Pitfirrane Writs.
(4) FIF (Aberdour par.):Not recorded before the sixteenth century (Macdonald 1941:42).

In England, the name occurs in Lincolnshire as *Hanby* (*Hundebi*, *Hunbia*, and *Humbi* 1086) and *Humby* (Humbi 1086), from Old Scandinavian *Hunda-býr* 'Hundi's farm'

(Ekwall 1960:216 and 257). There is also a Humbie in the Renfrewshire parish of Mearns but no details are known to the present writer.

Pogbie ELO (Humbie par.):*Pokby* 1238–70 Midl. Chrs., *Poikbie* 1659, *Pockbie* 1659, 1687 Retours. We may compare Pockley in the North Riding of Yorkshire (*Pochelac* 1086, *Pokelai c.* 1190, *Pockele* 1232) and Pockthorpe in the East Riding of the same county (*Pochetorp* 1086, *Poketorp* 1195, *Pokethorp* 1227) which seem to be 'Poca's (Pohha's)*lēah* and *thorp*,' respectively (Ekwall 1960:369).

Schatteby BWK ('lost', near Coldingham Priory):*c.* 1300 Cold. Corr.; *Ska(i)tbieburn* 1578, *Sketbieburne* 1638 Laing Chrs. The first element may be an ON personal name *Skati* or the noun *skata* 'skate' (Williamson 1942:287).

In the cases of Begbie, Corsbie, the four Humbies, and Schatteby—and there is no reason why the not so well documented Pogbie should not also be included in this list—the first elements, whether personal name or appellative, are undoubtedly also of Scandinavian derivation and therefore point clearly to Scandinavian origin for the whole name. Consequently we must expect small pockets of Scandinavian settlers in the areas concerned and presumably a Scandinavian, rather than an English, dialect must have been spoken there for a while. There is however, no evidence that these small groups of people were of Danish, or Eastern Scandinavian, rather than Norse, or Western Scandinavian, extraction. The elements involved are either neutral in that respect or indicate Norse rather than Danish influence.[7]

The only other Scandinavian word directly involved in the formation of place-names in our region is the isolated example of *þveit* 'a clearing, a meadow, a paddock' in the name of the Moorfoot Hills (*Morthwait, -thwayt, -thweit* 1142 ESC) in which the first part could be either ON *mór* or OE *mōr* 'moor'.[8] As in the case of *býr*, the main *þveit-* area of Scotland is otherwise Dumfriesshire, and one might perhaps look for linguistic and ethnic affinities in that county and the Solway Firth region.

This gives us a total of nine, or maybe ten, names in which both elements are, or could be, of Scandinavian origin. These occur either singly or in small clusters. Of the latter, the Humbie group would be a good example. The main impact of the Norse language on the place-nomenclature of SE. Scotland is, however, to be found in a different type of name formation, *i.e.* in names which cannot be ascribed to Scandinavian speakers but contain Scandinavian personal names as their defining elements. In the following, a list will be provided which in no way claims to be comprehensive but nevertheless illustrates the name-type in question quite adequately:

Bonnington MLO (Ratho par.):*Bondingtona c.* 1315 RMS; *Bondyngton* 1335–6, *Bondyngtone* 1336–7 CDS; *Bondingtoun* 1329–71, *Bendingtoun, Boundingtoun* 1306–29, *Bonyngtona* 1372 RMS.

Bonnington MLO (City parishes): *Bonyngtoun* 1465, 1477, *Bonyntoun* 1501 RMS; *Bonington* 1557 Laing Chrs.

Bonnington ELO (North Berwick par.): *Bondingtoun. Bondingtoune* David II, *Bondyngtoun* 1452, *Bonyntoun* 1479 RMS, *Bonyntoune* 1690 Retours.

Bonnington LAN (Lanark par.): *Bondingtoune* David II, *Bondyngtone, -tona* 1381–2, *Bonytoun* 1511 RMS; *Bonyntoune* 1668, *Boningtoun* 1692 Retours; *Boniton* 1776 Johnston 1934:111.

Bonnington PEB (Peebles par.): *Bonnestoun c.* 1380 Johnston 1934:111; *Bondingtoun* David II, *Bonyngtoun* 1439 RMS; *Bonyngtoun* 1637, 1649 Retours.

Bonnytoun WLO (Linlithgow par.): *Bondington* 1315 Royal Charters Reg. House, *Bondingtoun* 1315 Calendar of Charters Reg. House, *Bondingston c.* 1335 Mort. Reg., *Bondyngston* 1335–6, *Bondyngtone* 1337–7 CDS, etc.; *Bonytoune* first in 1454 ER.

There are also Bonningtons in Fife (Saline par., *Bonyngtoune* 1480 RMS, *Bonningtoune* 1681 Retours) and Perthshire (Rattray par.), and there is recorded evidence for places of this name in Angus, Ayrshire, Berwickshire and Renfrewshire. Most of the names in question are probably derived from the Scandinavian personal name *Bóndi*, as in Bonby (Lincolnshire; *Bundebi* 1086, *Bondebi c.* 1115) and *Bombie* DMF (*Bundeby* 1296 *Bomby* 1329–71); see Ekwall (1960:52), and Williamson (1942:282). This is a common name although it was known in Norway rather as a by-name than as a Christian name (Björkman 1912:28–29). There is, however, also the appellative noun *bond* 'a peasant or serf; a bondman' which goes back to ME *bond, bonde, bounde*, OE *bonda*, ON *bónde* 'householder, etc.' (DOST I 300a). In most cases it is impossible to say whether a personal name or an appellative applies; if the former is preferable the meaning is 'farm of Bóndi or of Bóndi's people' (Macdonald 1941:56–57; Dixon 1947: 122, 275).

Brotherstone MLO (Fala and Soutra par.): *Brothirstanys* 1153–65, *Brothirstane* n.d., *Browderstanis* 1462, *Brodirstanys* 1515, *Brodirstanis* 1531, etc. Midl. Chrs.
Could simply be 'twin stones', from OE *brōðor*, or might contain the ON personal name *Bróðir* as in Brothertoft (Lincolnshire), Brotherton (Suffolk; *Brodertuna* 1086), Brotherton (West Riding of Yorkshire; *Broðertun c.* 1030) Brotherwick (Northumberland; *Brotherwyc* 1242). For the English place-names see Ekwall (1960:69), for the personal name Björkman (1910:30) and Feilitzen (1937:208). The second element in our name is, of course, OE *stān* 'stone'.

Cockburnspath BWK (par.): *Colbrandespade c.* 1130 ESC, *Colbrandespeth* 1335–6 CDS.
The personal name ON *Kolbrandr*, Old Swedish *Kolbrand* is discussed by Björkman (1910:83–84; 1912:56) and Feilitzen (1937:306). There is a village name *Kolbrandstorp* in Sweden. Both Cockburnspath and the element *path* in Scottish place-names have been examined by the present writer (Nicolaisen 1963:83–85).

Colinton MLO (par.): *Colbanestoun* 1319, *Colbanystone* 1406 RMS; *Colbantoun* 1479 ADA, *Colbyntone* 1506 RMS, *Colintoun* 1488 ADC.

Covington LAN (par.): *Uilla Colbani* 1189–96 Spalding Misc. II, 305. *Colbaynistun* 1212 Dryb. Lib., *Colebaynestoun* 1321 Glas. Reg., *Calbanestoun* 1324 APS; *Colbwantoun* 1429, *Colbanton* 1430 Glas. Reg.; *Covingtoune* 1275–6 Baiamund.

Cobbinshaw MLO (West Calder par.): *Colbinshaw* 1512 RMS, *Kobinshaw* 1654 Blaeu. The ON personal name involved in these three names is *Kolbeinn*, an adaptation of the Irish name *Columbán*. In the first two instances it is combined with OE *tūn* 'farm', in the case of Cobbinshaw with OE *sceaga* 'wood'. For the personal name see Feilitzen (1937:306), and Björkman (1910:83).

Corstorphine MLO (par.): *Crostorfin c.* 1128, 1142, *Crorstorfin c.* 1140 Holy. Lib.; *Corstorphyn* 1400 St Giles Reg. 'Torfin's crossing', *i.e.* an 'inversion compound' with Gaelic *crois* 'cross'. The personal name is ultimately ON *Þorfinnr* (Björkman 1910:156; Feilitzen 1937:392;Watson 1926:144; Dixon 1947:151).

Dolphington WLO (Dalmeny par.): *Dolfingtoun* 1490–1 ADC, *Doffyntoun* 1540 Prot. Bk. Johnsoun, *Dolphingstoun* 1653 Retours, *Dauphingtoun, Daufingtoun* 1692 Kirk Session Records (Dalmeny par.)

Dolphinston ROX (Oxnam par.): *Dolfinestone* 1296 CDS, *Dolfynston* (p) 1354 Kel. Lib., *Dolphington* 1454, *Dolphingston* HMC (Roxburghe).

Dolphinton LAN (par.): *Dolfinston* 1253 Pais. Reg., 1296 CDS; *Dolphintoune* 1275–6 Baiamund, *Dolphingtowne, -toune, -toun* 1655 Retours; *Dolphintoun ibid.*

Dolphingston ELO (Prestonpans par.): *Dolphinstoune* 1680, *Dolphingstoune* 1683 Retours.

These four names contain the ON personal name *Dólgfinnr* which we also find in Dolphenby (Cumberland; *Dolphinerby* 1203, *Dolfanbi* 1282) and Dolphinholme (Lancashire; *Dolphineholm* 1591) for which see Ekwall (1961:147). Björkman (1912:28–29) thinks that derivation from this personal name is possible but prefers as a basis Old French *delfin, dalfin*<Latin *delphinus*. However, as Feilitzen points out (1937:225–6), 'the Old French and ME variant *do(l)bin*<*delphinus* does not appear until the 14th c. as the result of a late sound-change'. We agree with him and accept Dólgfinnr as the first element (see also Macdonald 1941:6; Williamson 1942:20).

Elliston ROX (St Boswells par.): *Ylistoun c.* 1220 Dryb. Lib., *Iliuestun* 1214–49 Melr. Lib., *Ilefestone* 1315 RMS, *Iliffeston* 1329–71 Melr. Lib., *Eleistoun* 1599 Dryb. Lib.

Illieston WLO (Kirkliston par.): *Ileuestune c.* 1200, *Yliuistoun* 1255, *Ilneston* 1255 HMC; *Illefston* 1335–6, *Ilefstone* 1336–7 CDS; *Yileistoun c.* 1388 HMC.

Björkman (1912:50) also mentions *Isleuestuna* as a Domesday Book entry for Suffolk. Our names contain the ON personal name *Ísleifr*. In the case of Elliston ROX it is clear that we are dealing with a ME derivative of this name, for in 1220 *Johannes filius Yliff de Ylistoun* grants land to Dryburgh (Williamson 1942:20). This places the creation of

the Roxburghshire name approximately in the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Gamelshiel ELO (Stenton par.): *Gamelshields* 1505, *Eister Gammilscheillis* 1549, *Eister Gammelscheillis* 1605, *Gamelscheill and Wester G.* 1643, *Gamelsheills and Wester G.* 1679 Retours.

Auchtiegamel MLO (West Calder par.): thus 1773 Armstrong's Map; now 'lost'.

The first element is most likely the ON personal name *Gamall* (Old Danish, Old Swedish *Gamal*) which appears as *Gamel* in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:257), although the corresponding adjective Old West Scandinavian *gamall* 'old' is also possible (Dixon 1947:304). The personal name also occurs in English place-names, such as Gamblesby (Cumberland; (1) near Melmerby, *Gamelesbi* 1177; (2) near Aikton, *Gamelesby by Ayketon* 1305), and Gamston (Nottinghamshire; (1) near East Retford, *Gamelestune* 1086; (2) near Nottingham, *Gamelestune* 1086), for which see Ekwall (1961:191–2). Interestingly enough, the first Cumberland name is referred to as *terram que fuit Gamel filii Bern* (Armstrong 1950:192) which gives us another fix-point. Björkman stresses (1910:45–47) that the name *Gamal* is not found until the tenth century, although it is frequent from then onwards especially in areas of strong Norse colonisation.—The first element in *Auchtiegamel* is the land-measurement Gaelic *ochtamh* 'an eighth part'.

Gilston MLO (Fala and Soutra par.): *Gillystoun* 1228, 1399–1400, *Gilston, Gilstoun* 1462 Midl. Chrs.; *Gilestoun* 1488, *Gileston* 1489 ADA. The personal name in question is probably the same as that in Gilby (Lincolnshire; *Gillebi* 1139) and Gilsland (Cumberland; *Gilleslandia c.* 1185), *i.e. Gille*<ON *Gilli*<Old Irish *gilla* 'servant'. The English names have been interpreted in this way by Ekwall (1960:195 and 196). For further information about the provenance of the personal name see Björkman (1910:48) and Feilitzen (1937:261)—'Gille's farm'.

Graham's Law ROX (Eckford par.): *Grymeslawe* 1296 CDS; *Grymyslaw* 1440 RMS, 1456 HMC (Roxburghe); *Grymslo* 1654 Blaeu.

As the earlier spellings show, modern Graham is a re-interpretation of ON *Grímr* (Björkman 1910:50–51, 1912:38–39; Feilitzen 1937:276). In England it is found frequently in records of the tenth century but it also occurs often in place-names (Ekwall 1960:205), such as Grimesthorpe (West Riding of Yorkshire), Grimsargh (Lancashire), Grimsbury (Oxfordshire), Grimsby (Lincolnshire), and Grimscote (Northamptonshire). It is also well known in the place-names of the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland. —Theoretically, OE *grīma* 'ghost, spectre' is also a possibility, as in the two Worcestershire names Grimly and Greenhill (*Grymeshyll* 816), but a personal name seems to be preferable.—Modern Scots *law* derives from OE *hlāw* 'a rounded hill'.

Gunsgreen BWK (Ayton par.): *Gownisgrein, Ginsgrein* 1580 RMS; *Gunsgrene* 1585 HMC, *Gunnisgrene* 1590 RPC. 'Gunni's green'. *Gunni* is described as a Danish tenant in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:23). England offers such parallels as Gunby St Nicholas and Gunby St Peter (Lincolnshire), Gunness (Lincolnshire), Gunthorpe (Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Rutlandshire), Gunton (Norfolk and Suffolk). For these see Ekwall (1960:208).

Hailisepeth BWK (Lauder): thus *c.* 1222 (16th) Dryb. Lib.; *Ailinispeth c.* 1230 *ibid.*; now 'lost'. Williamson (1942:155–6) suggests that ON *Eilífr* may be the personal name contained in this compound, with *Ailin-* standing for *Ailiv-*. Comparable is Allithwaite (Lancashire; *Hailiuethait c.* 1170), for which see Ekwall (1960:7). If *Ailinispeth* is genuine, the Lancashire name Elliscales (*Aylinescal, Alinscalis c.* 1230) might be compared (Ekwall 1960:164). For the complex background and development of *Eilífr* in English see *Björkman* (1910:32–33; 1912:30) and Feilitzen (1937: 246).

Ingliston MLO (Kirkliston par.): *Ingalstoun* 1406 Midl. Chrs., *Ingalston* 1478 ADA, ADC, *Inglaldston* 1479 ADC, *Inglistoun* 1484 ADC.
On the basis of the early spellings, Dixon (1947:215) quite rightly suggests that this is 'Ingialdr's farm'. The personal name in question (for which see Feilitzen 1937:287–8) also occurs in Ingoldisthorpe (Norfolk; *Torp* 1086, *Ingaldestorp* 1203) and the two Lincolnshire names Ingoldmells (*in Guldesmere* 1086, *Ingoluesmera* 1095–1100, *Ingoldesmeles* 1180) and Ingoldsby (*Ingoldesbi* 1086), and possibly in Ingleton (Durham; *Ingeltun c.* 1050) and Ingleton (West Riding of Yorkshire; *Inglestune* 1086).

Kettlestoun WLO (Linlithgow par.): *Ketlistoun* 1147–53 ESC; *Ketilstoun 1164, Ketilstoune* 1195 Camb. Reg.; *Ketilston* 1335–6 CDS.

Kettleshiel BWK (Longformacus par.): *Ketelschel c.* 1269 HMC (Home), *Ketilscheles* 1367–8 CDS, *Kettilschele* 1492 RMS, *Kettlesheill* 1668 Retours.

Kirkettle MLO (Lasswade par.): *Karynketil* 1317, *Karketyl* n.d. Newb. Reg., *Karketile, -ketle* 1474 TA, *Karkettill* 1547–8 RSS. In other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century spellings the first element appears as *Ker-* and *Car-* (see Dixon 1947:225–6) and finally 1773 as *Kir-*. In 1655 we have *Carketteltoun* RMS. 'Ketill's cairn', in composition similar to Corstorphine and Auchtiegamel. The first element is Gaelic *càrn*, and modern Caerketton in the Pentlands may be a reflex of this name (Watson 1926: 369). The personal name occurs in a great number of English place-names, such as Kettleby (Leicestershire, Lincolnshire), Kettleburgh (Suffolk), Kettleshulme (Cheshire), Kettlesing (West Riding of Yorkshire), Kettlestone (Norfolk), Kettlethorpe (Lincolnshire, East Riding of Yorkshire), and also Kedleston (Derbyshire). For these see Ekwall (1960:274 and 269), for the personal name Björkman (1910: 79; and 1912:6–11, 54) and Feilitzen (1937:304–5).

Lyleston BWK (Lauder par.): *Liolfstoun c.* 1222, *Lyalstoun c.* 1230 Dryb. Lib. Our earliest recorded form points to a personal name *Li(g)ulf* as a first element. This name is by no means uncommon but its origin and exact etymology are still in doubt. For a full discussion see Feilitzen (1937:319–20) who comes to the conclusion that this is 'clearly a Scandinavian name and to judge from its local distribution probably of ON provenance'. He also quotes place-names from the North Riding of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

Milsington ROX (Roberton par.): *Milsintoun* 1654 Blaeu. Recorded evidence for this name is scanty and late. Miss Williamson (1942:24) suggests the ON personal name *Mylsan* as a likely first element, which in turn would be a shortened form of Old Irish *Maelsuithan*. The same name probably appears in Melsonby (North Riding of Yorkshire; *Malsenebi* 1086, *Melsanebi* 1202), according to Ekwall (1960: 321).

Ormiston ROX ([1] Cavers par.; [2] Eckford par.)[10]: *Hormiston* (p) 1214–49 Melr. Lib.; *Ormistoun* 1452, *Ormestoun* 1567–8 RMS, *Ormrstoun* (Cavers), *Ormistoun* (Crailing ROX) 1654 Blaeu.

Ormiston MLO (Kirknewton, par.): *Ormystoun* 1211–26 *Ormistoun* 1462 Midl. Chrs., 1488 ADA, ADC; *Ormestoune* 1612 Midl. Chrs.

Ormiston ELO (par.): *Ormestoun* 1628, *Ormistoun* 1629, *Ormestoune, Ormistoune* 1657 Retours.

Ormistoun PEB = (?)Glenormiston [House] (Innerleithen par.): *Ormstoun* 1603, *Ormestoun* 1633, *Ormistoune* 1675, *Ormistoun* 1681 *Ormestoune* 1683 Retours; *Little Ormistoun* 1573, *Littill Ormstoun, Little Ormstoun* 1633, *Little Ormistoun* 1678 Retours.

Ormscleugh Syke MLO (Stow par.): Unrecorded.

ON *Ormr* is a very common personal name in England and also occurs in many English place-names. Ekwall (1960:351 and 488) lists Ormesby (Norfolk, North Riding of Yorkshire), North and South Ormsby (Lincolnshire), Ormside (Westmoreland), Ormskirk (Lancashire), and Urmston (Lancashire; *Urmeston* 1212, *Ormeston* 1284). The personal name is discussed by Björkman (1910:105–6; 1912:65) and Feilitzen (1937:337).

Oxton BWK (Channelkirk par.): *Ullfkeliston, Hulfkeliston* 1206 (*c.* 1320) Kel. Lib.; *Ulkilstoun c.* 1220 (16th), *Ulkestoun* 1273 Dryb. Lib.; *Ugistoun* 1463–4 RMS, *Uxtoun* 1654 Blaeu. This is a good example of a name which has become unrecognisable within four centuries, with Blaeu's *Ux-*, and modern *Ox-* being reductions of the ON personal name *Úlfkell* (Björkman 1910:168; 1912:91; Feilitzen 1937:399–400), itself a slightly shortened form of *Úlfketill*. The name is well recorded, but according to Feilitzen (1937:399 *n.* 2) it is uncertain whether it is native in Old Norse.

Ravelston MLO (Corstorphine par.): *Railstoun* 1363 St Giles Reg., 1489 ADA; *Raylistona* 1364 RMS; *Raylistoun* 1368 St Giles Reg., 1329–71 RMS; *Relstoun* 1329–71 RMS, *Ralstoun* 1369 St Giles Reg., *Ravilstoune* 1494 ADC, *Ravilstoun* St Giles Reg., *Ravelston* 1630 Holy. Lib. In contrast to the last name, the later spellings seem to be closer to the original first element than the earlier ones, and it is more than likely that *Ravil-*, *Ravel-* goes back to an earlier *Hrafnkell*, or possibly *Hrafnulfr*. The former is discussed by Björkman (1910:110; 1912:68) and Feilitzen (1937:293) who has many examples of it from Domesday Book. *Hrafnkell* is, of course, a development of earlier *Hrafnketell*.

(?) Rousland WLO (Bo'ness and Carriden par.): *Rusland* 1540–1 Prot. Bk. Johnsoun, *Rousland* 1582 Inventory of Hamilton Papers, *Rowsland* 1669 Bo'ness Register. If the development of the name is the same as that of Rusland (Lancashire) which is *Rulesland* in 1336 (Ekwall 1960:397), it is possible that the first element is the ON personal name *Hrólfr*, or perhaps *Hróaldr*. Feilitzen (1937:294) has many more recorded instances of the former than of the latter. However, the forms are very late (Macdonald 1941:33).

(?) Snaberlee Rig ROX (Castleton par.): *Snebirly* 1654 Blaeu. Again a name for which early records are lacking. Williamson (1942:74–75) thinks it possible that it derives from an ON personal name *Snæbiǫrn*. However, as this is only found in Yorkshire as far as Domesday Book is concerned (Feilitzen 1937:368), we are on very uncertain ground here.

Swanston MLO (Colinton): *Swaynystoun* 1214–40, *Sweynystoun* 1221–38 Midl. Chrs.; *Swaynestone* 1336–7 CDS, *Suanston* 1462 Laing Chrs. This is 'Sveinn's farm' although in the seventeenth century it was re-interpreted as *Cygnea domus vulgo Swanston* (SHS. I, 52). An identical name is *Swainston* in the Isle of Wight (*Sweyneston* 1255). Other English names containing the same personal name are Swainsthorpe (Norfolk), Swainswick (Somerset), and the two Swainbys in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The development *Swain-* > *Swan-* is shown by Swanland (East Riding of Yorkshire; *Suenelund* 1189) and Swannington (Leicestershire and Norfolk). ON *Sveinn*, Old Danish and Old Swedish *Sven*, is common both in Scandinavia and in Britain (see Björkman 1910:139–40; 1912:82–83; and Feilitzen 1937:380–1).

(?) Thorlieshope Tower ROX (Castleton par.): *Thorlishoip*, *Thirlishoip* 1569 RPC. It is just possible that, as Miss Williamson suggests (1942:222), the first element may be a ME form* *Thorli* of the ON personal name *þóraldr*, although we cannot rely on the late spellings available. *þóraldr* occurs in the English place-names Thoralby (North Riding of Yorkshire; *Turoldesbi*, *Toroldesbi* 1086) and Thorlby (West Riding of Yorkshire; *Torederebi*, *Toreilderebi* 1086); the name appears four times in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:390).

Thurston ELO (Innerwick par.): *Thureston* 1292 Johnston 1934:310. This name is identical with Thurston in Suffolk (*Thurstuna, Torstuna* 1086) which Ekwall (1960: 472) interprets as 'Þori's (Þuri's) tūn'. The personal name in question also occurs in such names as Thoresby (Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, North Riding of Yorkshire), Thoresthorpe, Thoresway (both Lincolnshire), etc. In Old Norse it would have be *Þórir* which Björkman (1910:158) describes as an old and extremely frequent name. It is well documented in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:393–4).

Toxside MLO (Temple par.): *Thoccheshеved* 1142 ESC, 1140–53 Newb. Reg.; *Tockesheved* 1184, *Tockeshewyd* early thirteenth century, *Tokside nether* 1563 Newb. Reg. As in Tockholes (Lancashire), the personal name involved may be either OE *Tocca* or ON *Tóki* (see Ekwall 1960:476, and Dixon 1947:297). The latter is assumed by Ekwall (1960:479) to be the first part of Toxteth (Lancashire) because the second element is ON *stǫð* 'landing-place'. As the second element in our name is clearly OE *hēafod* 'height', that argument would not apply to Toxside. For further details about *Tóki* see Björkman (1910:142–3; 1912:83–84) and Feilitzen (1937:385–6). The name is common in Domesday Book.

Ugston ELO (Haddington par.): *Vgston* 1478 ADC, *Vgstoun* 1483 ADA, *Ugstoun* 1576, *Wgstoune* 1649, *Ugstoune* 1692, *Ugstone* 1696 Retours. Possibly the same first element as in Ugthorpe (North Riding of Yorkshire); for this Ekwall (1960:485) considers two alternatives, *Ugga* or *Uggi*, but appears to prefer the latter which is a known ON name but not with certainty evidenced in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:21).

Ulston ROX (Jedburgh par.): *Ulvestoun* 1147–52 ESC, *Uluestona* 1165–1214 Nat. MSS. Scot. The first element, ON *Úlfr*, is a very common personal name which also occurs in many English place-names, such as Ulceby (two in Lincolnshire), Ulleskelf (West Riding of Yorkshire), Ullesthorpe (Leicestershire), Ullswater (Cumberland, Westmorland), and Ulverscroft (Leicestershire); see Ekwall (1960: 485 and 486). For the many examples in Domesday Book consult Feilitzen (1937: 400–1).

Yorkston MLO (Temple par.): Yorkistoun 1354, Yorkeston 1374—Reg. Ho. Chrs., Yorkstoun 1634 RMS. Dixon (1947:297) suggests a personal name *Jórek* from ON *Jórekr* as the first element. Although this name is not evidenced in Domesday Book, it appears to occur in Yorfalls (North Riding of Yorkshire; *Yorcfal* 1335).

So far the evidence—incomplete and patchy of necessity, but nevertheless sufficient to answer the question which we posed at the beginning. What does it all add up to? First of all, it is quite obvious that none of the names in this category were given by

Scandinavians. Elements like *-tūn*, *-stān*, *-pacð*, *-hlāiv*, *-sceaga*, *-grēne*, *-land*, *-lēah*, and *-hēafod* point to speakers of English as originators of the names in question; whereas Corstorphine, *Auchtiegamel*, and Kirkettle clearly show Gaelic influence both in word-formation and derivation. We are, therefore, not called upon to consider the Scandinavian origin of these names as names: they are non-Scandinavian in origin. However, the whole group is of course characterised by the fact that the explanatory element in each name is a Scandinavian personal name. Does this mean that, in addition to the *by-* names discussed above, we have to reckon with a further influx of Scandinavians into south-east Scotland?

A short scrutiny of the personal names involved will be necessary. In order to settle the question Danish versus Norse, it is useful to consult Feilitzen's lists as to the dialectal provenance and local distribution of Scandinavian names in England (1937:21–26). Of our names, *Bóndi*, *Tóki*, and *þór-* are of West Scandinavian origin because of their phonetic shape; in addition *þórfinnr* is only found in West Scandinavian sources. The only name for which East Scandinavian origin might be claimed, *Ulfkell*, belongs to those that are found all over England, like *Grímr*, *Ketill*, *Sveinn*, *Tóki*, and *Ulfr*, and can therefore be said to have lost its peculiar Eastern qualities. Names like *Dólgfinnr*, *Hrafnkell*, *Kolbeinn* and *Ligulf* only occur in north-west England and are consequently more likely to be of Western than Eastern Scandinavian provenance. *Kolbeinn*, like *Mylsan* and *Gilli*, has strong Irish connections, probably reaching England with Norsemen from Ireland. *Sveinn*, *Gamall* and *þórfinnr* are also found in Ireland (Björkman 1912:82–83, 86). On the negative side, none of the names only found in (*a*) Lincolnshire, (*b*) Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, (*c*) East Anglia, are amongst our names. Admittedly, *Gunni* is expressly called a Danish tenant in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:23) and the first part of Thureston may be Old Danish *þurir* rather than ON *þórir*, but the bulk of the evidence points to names which are either of West Scandinavian origin or are neutral as far as the dialectal provenance is concerned. It would therefore be totally incorrect to speak of a Danish linguistic element in the place-names of our region.

However, whatever the ultimate origin may be, it is more than likely that most of the personal names on our list had, by the time they reached Scotland, become so Anglicised that it is questionable whether the people bearing these names were in fact Scandinavians. *Dólgfinnr*, for instance, is in all respects a West Scandinavian name but we know that its English derivative *Dolfin* was the name of at least two members of the Northumbrian family of Dundas in the thirteenth century (Macdonald 1941:6). *Johannes filius Yliff de Yliston* we mentioned under Elliston as being recorded for 1220. *Ligulf* witnessed a Durham charter about 1100 (ESC), *Lyulf* was the son of Uhctred (1119–24 Kel. Lib.), and in 1174 we have *Liulfo filio Macus* (*ibid.*). In 1147–50 Crailing in Roxburghshire is called *villa Orme* (ESC), and a little earlier (1127) we have *Orm presbitero de Edenham* in the same source. *Gille*, **Thorli*, *Ulf*, and a number of others are probably to be looked upon as ME rather than ON names by the time they appear as elements in our place-nomenclature.

Our conclusion would therefore have to be that the group of names just discussed is in a completely different category from the *by*-names[11] mentioned earlier on. In the majority of cases we have, in spite of the ultimate Scandinavian origin of the personal names involved, simply English place-names coined by English speakers using what were at that time English elements. In those instances, in which the bearer of the name may still have been a person of Scandinavian descent, speaking a Scandinavian language, it is to a Norse rather than a Danish background that we would look. Any future map attempting to show the distribution of place-names of various linguistic origins in our region would therefore have to abandon any symbols for 'Danish' and be extremely sparing with those for Norse.

NOTES

1 It is difficult to know which edition of Taylor was used by Hodgkin, as far as his map was concerned. The maps of earlier editions of *Words and Places* are far superior to that produced on a reduced scale in A. Smythe Palmer's revision.

2 The Saxons, of course, never reached Scotland during the period in question when the southern part of the country Celtic rule was displaced by Anglian overlordship.

3 In his original map, Taylor indicated by dots the actual number of place-names involved which appears to have been about seven. Both Hodgkin and the B.B.C. map ignore such detailed representation and, by substituting the area-principle for Taylor's pinpointing of every name in question, somewhat enlarge the regions in question so that what was originally one single name in Taylor is now depicted as an area of perhaps 30–50 square miles.

4 So in A. Smythe Palmer's revision. Earlier editions have more correctly 'Anglians' instead.

5 In earlier editions—for instance, Taylor 1896 (=1873): 112—this last sentence reads: 'The map proves conclusively that the district between the Tees and the Forth is, ethnologically, one of the most purely English portions of the island, thus remarkably illustrating the assertion of historians, who affirm that down to the eleventh century the Lothians were accounted as English soil.' This is a good example of the original being better than the 'improved' version.

6 In a footnote, A. Smythe Palmer gives them as 'Alnwick, Berwick, the Firths of Forth, Tay, and Moray, Blackness, Borrowstowness [*sic*!], Fifeness, Buttonness, and Burleness'. There is obvious confusion here between Norse and English elements: *-wick* is not ON *vík* but OE *wīc* (see above); *firth*, although ultimately a Scandinavian loanword in English, goes back to Middle English *firth* 'estuary' and not directly to Old Norse *fjörðr*; and -ness derives from OE *næss*, *ness* 'promontory, headland', and not from the cognate ON *nes*. In addition, most of these names are not within the area under discussion; Buttonness being presumably Buddon Ness and Burleness, perhaps Girdleness.

7 For the distribution of *by*- names in southern Scotland see Nicolaisen 1964*b*:209.

8 See Nicolaisen 1964*a*:98, and the distribution map on p. 101 of that publication.

9 *The Register of the Great Seal* for instance has *Bondingtoun* Robert I, David II, Robert II, *Bondyngtona* 1370, 1375–6, *Bonytoun* 1494, 1499, *Bonyntoun* 1509 for Angus (possibly two different names); *Bondingtone* 1315–21, *Bondingtoun* Robert I and III for Ayrshire (Cunningham); *Bondingtone*, *Bondyngtone* 1315–21, *Bondingtoun* Robert I, *Bondyngtona* 1375–6, *Bondyngtoune* 1488 for Berwickshire; and *Bonyntoun* 1460 for Renfrewshire. There are additional references for each name, of course.

10 It is difficult to separate the early spellings for these two names.

11 The only interesting hybrid is *Smeaton* MLO (Inveresk par.) which is *Smithetun* 1124–53, *Smithetune* 1234, *Smetheton* n.d., but *Smithebi* 1153–65 and Smetheby 1232. This substitution of *-by* for *-tūn* is, however, unique in our region. For further details see Dixon (1947:208).

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The Lone Highlander

HAMISH HENDERSON

International anecdotes which cross political and language frontiers are sometimes hard to place in categories of type and motif, but they frequently illustrate, as nothing else can, the mental attitudes of the communities in which they take root. The following version of an anecdote found all over Scotland, and variously set in the days of the Roman invasion, the Wars of Independence and the Jacobite rebellions, gives naive chauvinistic expression to the 'guid conceit o' himself' not seldom exhibited by the Scottish soldier. It was recorded from Mr Donald MacLean, an Edinburgh University student from Tobermory, on 15 March 1965.

Text

Well, this refers to an incident which took place after the '45 Rebellion, in Scotland, when the English were sending troops of Redcoats through the Highlands, partly to police the Highlands, but mainly to put on a great show of strength—subdue the natives. And they were going through this glorious glen in Perthshire—beautiful summer morning, great show of strength, the sun glistening on their bayonets; musket, fife and drum playing. Everything was grand until they got to the far end of the glen, and standing up on one of the hills was this lone Highlander, who was breaking every rule in the book by brandishing a claymore, wearing a kilt, drinking out of a bottle of whisky. This was bad enough in itself until he started shouting insults at the regiment below, and started calling them Sasunnach so and so's, and told them all to get home, that they were no use anyway. So the colonel in charge of the regiment rather took offence at this, and delegated a corporal and a private, you see. He said to them, 'Corporal, take a man with you, get up there, I want that man'. So the corporal and the private disappeared over the hill, and the lone Highlander had of course disappeared over the sky-line beyond. And great sounds of battle were heard over the sky-line. Half an hour elapsed and the battle still raging. A few minutes later the Highlander himself appeared—no signs of the corporal or the private. He was still brandishing his claymore and saying that was great fun, send some more.

So the colonel thought, 'Well this has just gone too far altogether. Sergeant: Take a platoon with you—thirty men. Get up there, I want that man dead or alive.' Too much altogether, sort of. The sergeant and a platoon of thirty men charged up the hillside. The little Highlander disappeared over the sky-line as before. Tremendous battle altogether this time which lasted for about an hour. And at the end of the hour the little Highlander appeared again completely unscathed, but his sword dripping blood, you see. By this time he was in grand form altogether and he challenged the whole regiment shouting 'Come on, come on, the lot of you—I'm just in trim'.

So the colonel: 'This is it. It's gone beyond a joke now. Bugler: sound the general advance.' So the bugler sounded the advance and the whole regiment, five thousand, charged up the hill-side. The Highlander disappeared over the sky-line as before. Just as the regiment arrived at the top of the hill, they were confronted with the original corporal, or at least what was left of him, and he was dying obviously, and making a dying attempt to save the regiment. He was shouting, 'Get back, get back, it's a trap, it's a trap, there are two of them'.

This story is not exclusively Scottish, however. On 26 June 1967, the Hamburg Weekly, *Der Spiegel*, printed (on p. 66) the following version in an article describing the Israeli Blitzkrieg:

> Hinter einer Düne entdeckten die Ägypter einen israelischen Scharfschützen. Zwei Nassersoldaten sollten ihn erledigen, aber keiner kam zurück. Daraufhin schickte der Kompaniechef zwölf Männer vor und—als auch die nicht wieder kamen—die ganze Kompanie.
> Zwei Stunden später kroch ein zerfledderter Ägypter in den Gefechstand. 'Wir sind in eine jüdische Falle geraten,' stammelte er. 'Das war nicht ein Scharfschütze. Es waren zwei.'
>
> (*Translation:* The Egyptians discovered an Israeli sniper behind the sand-dune. Two Nasser soldiers were told off to silence him, but neither of them came back. The company commander then sent twelve to do the job, and finally—when these didn't come back either—he sent the entire company.
> Two hours later a torn and tattered Egyptian crept back to Company H.Q. 'We fell into a Jewish trap,' he stammered. 'It wasn't just one sniper. There were two of them.')

Der Speigel's comment was: 'This Jewish front-line joke is the latest variant of the old story of tiny David who put paid to the giant Goliath.'

The variant quoted by the German weekly is clearly brand-new, at any rate as far as the modern state of Israel is concerned, but it has emerged from a community of culture and tradition with ancestral memories of a fight against the big battalions. One of the leading military figures of the war which led to the creation of the Israeli state has been conducting the excavations at Masada, where a Jewish garrison defied the Romans, and was massacred to the last man. The Israeli public has apparently taken very great interest in this archaeological reminder of the nation's military prowess in ancient times. Also, that the story has in fact earlier roots among the Jews than might at first seem likely is suggested by the fact that—as Professor D. K. Wilgus of the University of California, Los Angeles, informed me on 1 September 1967—the same anecdote was circulating among students of his university immediately after the end of the four-day Israel-Arab war in June.

The story continues to be popular in Scotland. In 1966 the Glasgow folk-singer Matt McGinn wrote a popular song on the same theme; it is entitled 'The Hielanman',

and the period of the exploit is in this case the Roman invasion of Pictland; the moral of the story is stated to be 'Hadrian's Wall'. The text of Matt's song was published in *Chapbook* Vol. 3 No. 3, and his performance of his own song is recorded on a Transatlantic LP (Xtra 1045) issued in December 1966.

Each a' Mhinisteir

DONALD A. MACDONALD

I recorded the following anecdote (SA 1962/47.B.3) in October 1962 from Mr Donald MacKay, Aird a' Mhachaire, South Uist.[1]

The story has an 'International' look about it and would fit quite readily into the Aarne-Thompson Classification under the sub-heading of Section III *Jokes about Parsons and Religious Orders*, but nothing similar to it is listed there. In fact, apart from this one version, the story is quite unknown to me.[2] This is perhaps a little surprising—a pithy anecdote of this sort with a simple plot might well be expected to travel readily, or indeed, considering the fairly obvious nature of the joke, to have originated independently in various places by the process usually known as polygenesis.

However, for obvious reasons, many stories of the joke type may often enjoy a wide enough circulation without ever breaking into print. There is certainly a good deal of material to be got, in the Gaelic speaking areas of Scotland as elsewhere, the existence of which one could never have suspected from earlier collections either in print or manuscript. Of course some of the material itself might be regarded as unprintable—in other cases a collector might regard such stories as being beneath his notice. Another point is that a good many collectors in the past have been clergymen or men in some sort of 'official' position such as Alexander Carmichael from whom some storytellers would keep parts of their repertoire well hidden.[3]

One rather unusual point about the story is that, coming as it does from a mixed Catholic and Protestant area, the minister and priest are lumped together as butts of the joke. One might have expected it rather to be told of two ministers in a Catholic area or two priests in a Protestant one, though of course, the teller might deliberately adjust it for a mixed audience.

Text

Bha ministeir ann a shiod trup agus cheannaich e each o cheard agus bha 'ministeir a' foighneachd dhe'n cheard:
'Dé seòrsa beothach a th'ann?'
'Leòr' ' ors an ceard, 'beothach làidir. Sin agad beothach math.'
'Tha thu cinndeach', ors a' ministeir, ors esan, 'gu bheil e làidir?'

'Leòr',' ors an ceard, ors esan, 'tha e cho làidir,' ors esan, ' 's gu slaodadh e,' ors esan, 'an Diabhal.'
Agus cheannaich a' ministeir an t-each, agus, an ceann latha na dha as deaghaidh sin dh'fhalbh a' ministeir 's bheairtich e 'n t-each a . . . ann an gige beag a bh'aige, agus thadhail e air an t-sagart.
'Tha mi air beothach eich a cheannach a seo,' ors a' ministeir, agus thuirt e ris an t-sagart:
'Thugainn,' ors esan, 'an gabh sinn,' ors esan, 'cuairt.'
Dh'fhalbh a' sagart còmhla ris 's am beothach aca, dìreach, 's bha iad a seo a' dìreadh bruthach mór mór agus thòisich an t-each air toir fairis. Thug an t-each fairis, agus có thachair orr' ach an ceard agus:
'Tha,' ors a' ministeir, 'am beothach tha seo,' ors esan, 'air toirt fairis,' ors esan, 'agus chan eil,' ors esan, 'lùth idir ann. Nach tuirt thu rium,' ors a' ministeir, 'gu robh e cho làidir,' ors esan, 'gu slaodadh e 'n Diabhal?'
'O thubhairt,' ors an ceard, 'ach tha e slaodadh dà dhiabhal an drasda.'

The Minister's Horse (*Translation*)

There was once a minister and he bought a horse from a tinker and the minister was asking the tinker:
'What sort of beast is it?'
'Indeed,' said the tinker, 'a strong beast. That's a good horse for you.'
'You're sure,' said the minister, said he, 'that it's strong?'
'Indeed,' said the tinker, said he, 'it's so strong,' said he, 'that it could pull,' said he, 'the devil.'
And the minister bought the horse, and a day or two after that, the minister went and harnessed the horse in a little trap he had, and he called on the priest.
'I've bought a horse here,' said the minister, and he said to the priest:
'Come on,' said he, 'let's go for a run.'
The priest went with him, and they had the horse there, and here they were climbing a very steep hill, and the horse began to give up. The horse gave up, and who should meet them but the tinker and:
Said the minister, said he, 'This beast has given up,' said he, 'and' said he, 'it has no strength at all. Did you not tell me,' said the minister, 'that it was so strong' said he, 'that it could pull the Devil?'
'O, so I did,' said the tinker, 'but it's pulling two devils just now.'

NOTES

1 Donald MacKay (Domhnall Thormaid Bhain) a crofter, now in his 70s, first attracted my attention as a good singer with a repertoire that includes some of John MacCodrum's songs. He has also recorded a number of well-told stories and anecdotes.

2 A one devil/two devils idea occurs in a 14th-15th Century Irish anti-clerical anecdote *The Burial of the Priest's Concubine*, but the story differs considerably from the present text. A priest's concubine dies and a large number of people fail to lift the body. A cunning professor asks that two priests' concubines should be brought. The two carry the body away very easily to the Church for burial. The Professor explains that it is not to be wondered at that two devils should carry off one devil. (Jackson 1951:179.)

3 An informant in S. Uist said to the late Dr Calum MacLean in 1960 (translated): 'Long ago, you know, people used not to tell. People used not to tell it to the likes of you at all, you know—the ones who went around looking for stories and songs and charms of all kinds, they used not to give them anything, you know, that had to do with religion.' SA 1960/21.A.1.
This is probably too sweeping a statement when one considers the success of Carmichael for instance, in collecting religious material, but the point is a valid one nevertheless.

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Analytical Aspects of 'The Conundrum'

JAMES PORTER

Peter R. MacLeod, the composer of 'The Conundrum', was born at Uig, Isle of Lewis, on 13 December 1878, and died at the Erskine Old Soldiers' Hospital, Glasgow, on 16 June 1965. He joined the Territorial Army in the early 1900s, enlisting in the 7th Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), and achieved the rank of Pipe-Major during World War I; he saw active campaign at that time in Egypt and at Gallipoli.[1]

Apart from Army service, he was employed as a shipwright on the Clyde in Connell's Yard, Whiteinch and at Fairfield's from 1900 till 1927, when he was involved in an accident which necessitated the amputation of his right leg. He did not work again until 1941; he then returned to the shipyards, and was re-employed there until his retiral in 1955 at the age of 77.

Peter MacLeod composed over 200 tunes for the bagpipe (notable among these being 'Lady Lever Park', 'Pipe-Major Donald MacLean',[2] 'Dr MacKinnon's March',[3] 'Hugh MacPhee',[4] 'Major Manson' and 'John Morrison of Assynt House'). A comprehensive edition of his work is to be published in the near future by the Bagpipe Music Index Co., Glen Ridge, New Jersey, in conjunction with a series of recordings made by the composer's son, Peter R. MacLeod junior, who lives at present in London.

According to Mr MacLeod, his father was an unknown quantity as a composer before 1928, '. . . when he produced me before the best pipers in the world and I was acclaimed a child prodigy. [Mr MacLeod would then have been about 12 years old, and had been taught solely by his father.]. . . . From that day on his status as a

knowledgeable man of piping never dimmed and he established himself as one of the truly prolific and good . . . composers of this century'.

'The Conundrum' itself was written 'round about 1930', and was first played by the son of the composer for the Scottish Pipers' Association at its weekly meeting in Glasgow. In Mr MacLeod's words—'. . . some of the "experts" claimed it was off beat and that my father could not put it down in music and maintain the normal number of beats to the measure'. A rhythmic trick of this kind is unusual in pipe-marches, though one can see from an examination of other marches by the same composer that displacement of rhythm is a distinctive fingerprint of his style (*cf.* 'Dr MacKinnon's March' and 'Hugh MacPhee').

The title 'The Conundrum' was applied to the tune spontaneously by Mr MacLeod's eldest sister on first hearing it; it refers, of course, to the change of rhythmic accent in bars 1 and 3. In many ways it is a remarkable tune since, apart from the irregularity of rhythm already mentioned—which appears throughout in various forms—there exists a stringent and economic use of melodic motif that is more usually the property of *piobaireachd*.

I have approached the analysis from four main points of view:

(I) form
(II) cadential/tension relationships
(III) rhythmic stress-pattern
(IV) motif (structural/rhythmic)

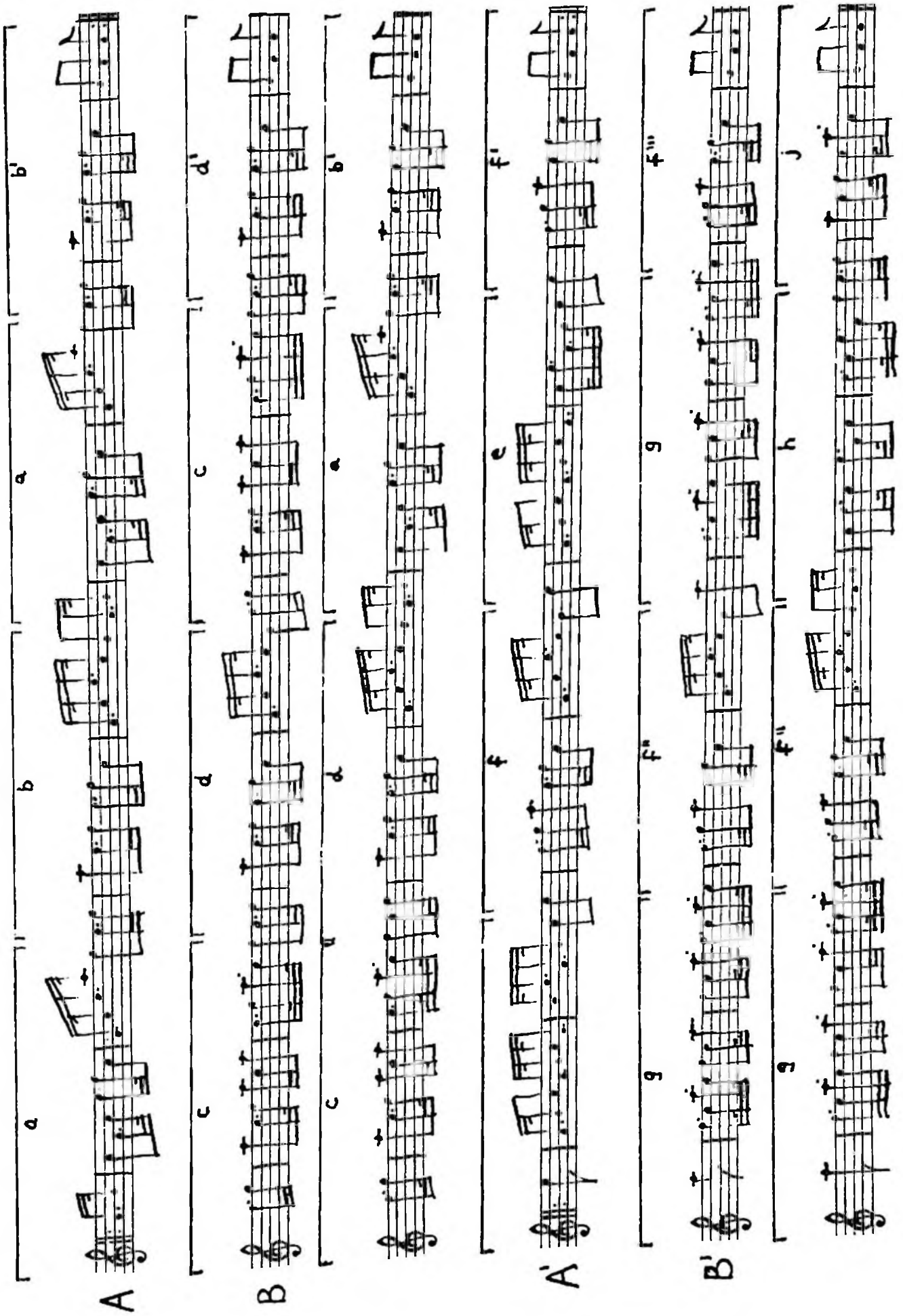
The formal outline is shown with the tune itself (p. 243). It will be evident that the function of section B is to provide first of all the formal contrast as antithesis to A, with an appropriate recapitulatory cadence in its repeat which lowers the tension for the rhythmic alterations that appear in A′. B′ again raises the tension in the manner of B, but incorporating a final section h-j that refers only indirectly to a-b′, *viz.* rhythmically and through the introduction of new figuration derived from α, β, γ', δ and ϵ.

The cadential relationships are laid out as shown (p. 244). These are essentially connected to the tension variation, *e.g.* the connection between c-d and g-f″, f‴, where the rhythmic alteration of position of the high A on the chanter creates a significant variation of tension before the cadences at the fourth and eighth bars.

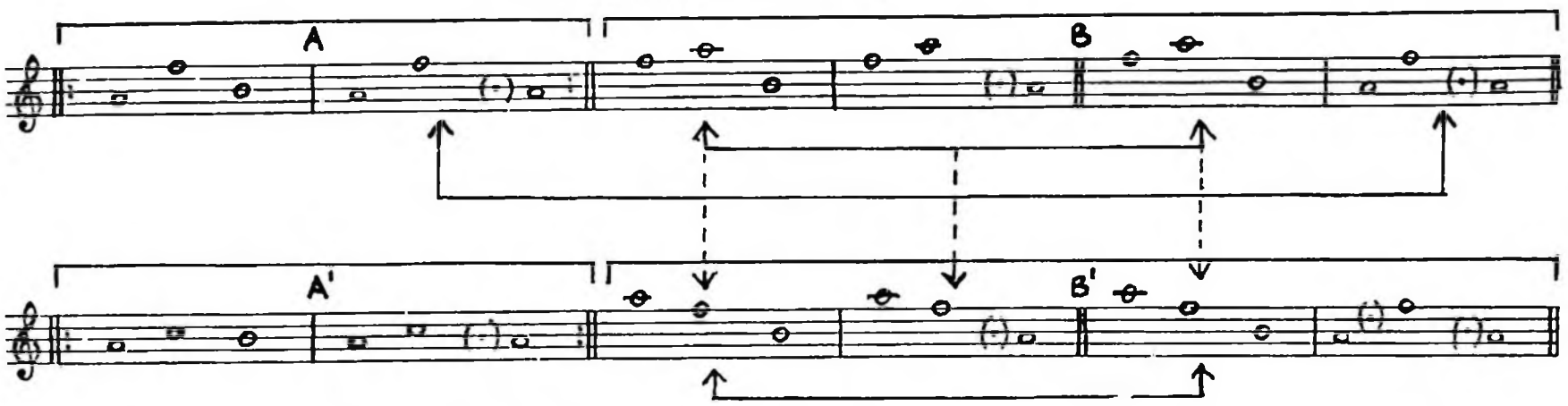
The structural motivic plan (p. 245) is based on groupings of motifs; these are basically three in number, and are enunciated at the outset of the tune (α, β, γ). δ is related structurally to α', while ϵ is an integral part of α (but has been extracted here at h to indicate its relationship to the new motif ϵ'', and also to show that these motifs are fluid and inventively dovetailed).

The rhythmic pattern is laid out in tabular form (p. 244). A and B exhibit the same rhythmic structure, though the displacement of accent in A′ is not reflected in B′; h and j revert in a recapitulatory way to a and b′.

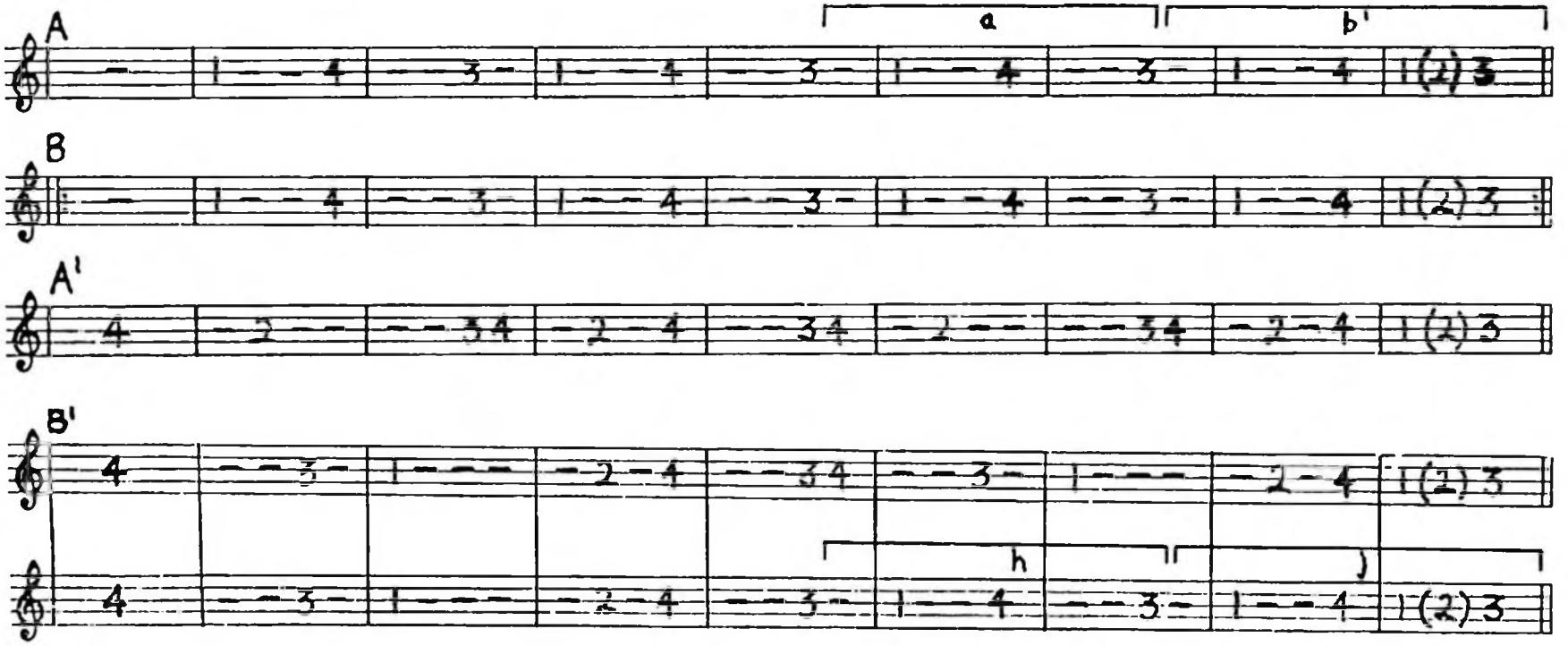
THE CONUNDRUM



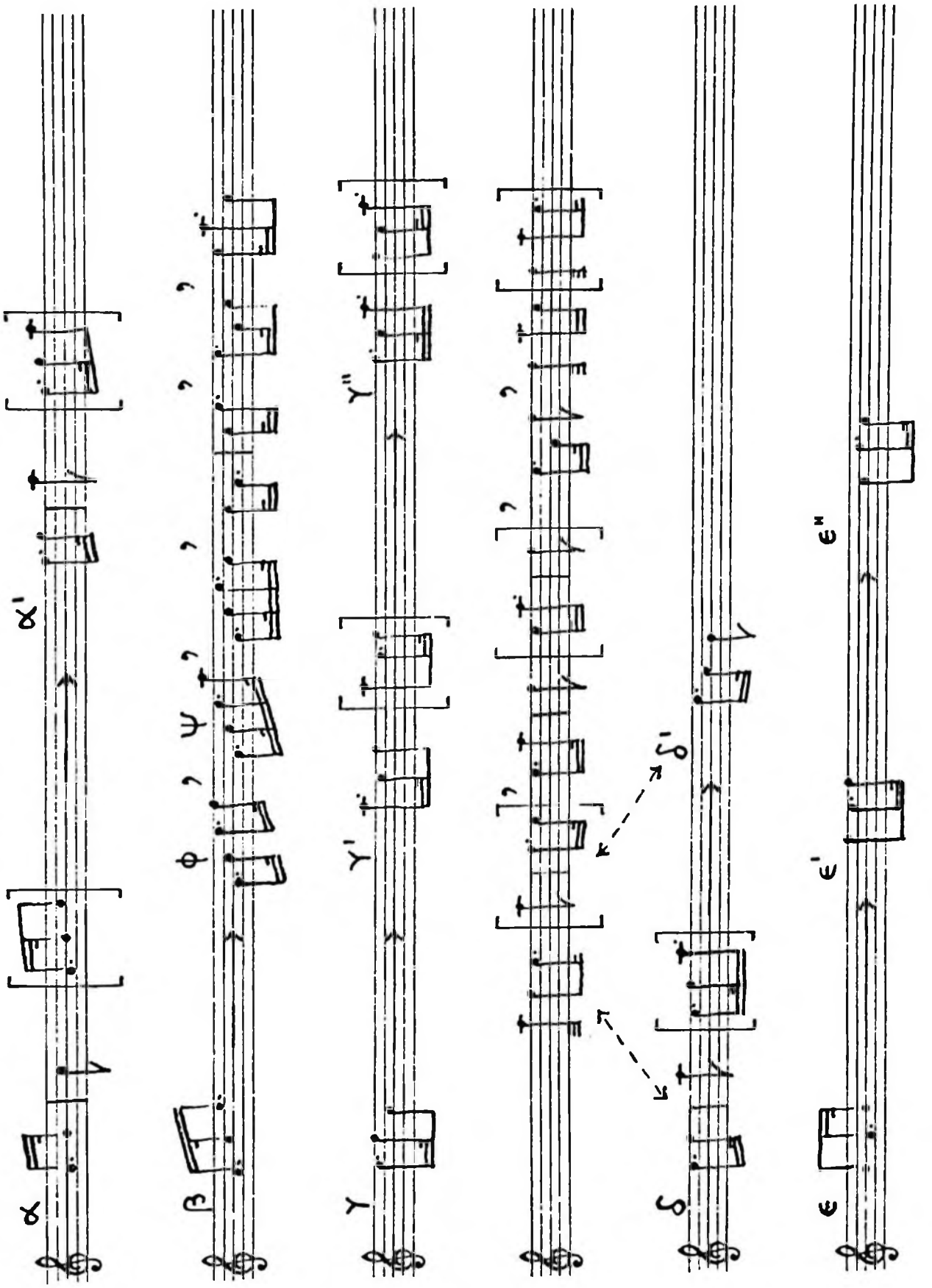
CADENTIAL/TENSION RELATIONSHIPS



RHYTHMIC STRESS-PATTERN



STRUCTURAL/RHYTHMIC MOTIF



The rhythmic figure ϕ and its correlative ψ contribute the assymetrical effect that puzzled the 'experts'. Nevertheless, it has been said that pipers frequently find difficulty in marching to the tune because of this displacement of rhythm.

A further, though minor, rhythmic peculiarity can be observed at c in the change to even semiquavers instead of preserving the dotted figuration.

The rhythmic and structural aspects in the use of motif are often inseparable; *cf.* the part played by γ as a structural motif as opposed to a purely rhythmic one.

The motif α'—the anacrusis at the beginning of B—is related structurally to α and δ: to the former as a tonal and rhythmic anacrusis, to the latter as a variant of the structural idea of the three-note motif incorporating the high A on the chanter. It is further an important link with the tension relationships in the contrasting 8-bar sections.

The motif γ manifests itself in rearrangements noted in γ' and γ'' and their subsequent link with δ (p. 245). An examination of these motifs reveals another important aspect, *viz.* γ' is the retrograde inversion, and γ'' the inversion (both transposed) of γ itself. Again, the cadential motif δ' is a retrograde version of δ, and the link between ϵ and ϵ' is patent. (*N.B.* It is debatable whether in fact the composer intended these inversions and retrogrades in a fully conscious way. On the other hand, three-note motifs of this kind are common in all pipe-music because of the limitations of the instrument, and the economical exploitation of them here can hardly be totally fortuitous.)

β is a structural link between α and γ, appearing in altered positions of its arpeggio character in the various sections with notable variants in h-j, where the motivic and rhythmic structure is subtly altered under the influence of the first appearance of the tonally important chanter D.

NOTES

1 The biographical information in this introduction to the analysis has been drawn from correspondence with P. R. MacLeod (Jun.), and from 'Ceòl na Pìoba (7): Pàdruig MacLeòid' le Fionnlagh MacNèill, *Gairm* Aireamh 29, Am Foghar 1959.
2 Both published in Pipe-Major Donald MacLeod's *Collection of Music for the Bagpipe* Book I, Glasgow (Mozart Allan) [n.d.].
3 Published in *Gairm* Aireamh 29, Am Foghar 1959.
4 Published in *The Seumas MacNeill Collection of Bagpipe Music* Book I, Glasgow (The College of Piping) 1960.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Acknowledgements are due to Mr P. R. MacLeod for valuable biographical information about his father and the circumstances surrounding the composition of 'The Conundrum'; also to my colleague John MacInnes for a translation of the article on the composer by Fionnlagh MacNèill in *Gairm*.