

The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick

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Gaelic is no more indigenous to Galloway or Carrick than to other parts of Scotland. It became established, however, at an unusually early date, and continued to be the language of the bulk of the population, at least until the Reformation. During the seventeenth century it suffered a rapid eclipse, for which no very satisfactory explanation has ever been advanced. It is virtually certain that by 1700 no Gaelic speaker native to the area was to be found in Galloway or Carrick (Lorimer 1949). Place-names are practically the only available written source, and this paper is a modest attempt to decipher some part of the writings on the landscape which have been transcribed on to Ordnance Survey maps. The writings, unfortunately, contain no verbs.

If we ignore the occasional references to be found in the classical historians and geographers, the earliest accounts to provide detailed information are those which deal with St Ninian, who established *Candida Casa* at Whithorn in Wigtonshire somewhere between A.D. 400 and 450, and who is often called the Apostle of the Southern Picts. About this saint, three points seem fairly well established (MacQueen 1961):

- 1 Ninian was a Briton, who had Roman connections, and he lived and worked among his fellow-Britons on the periphery of the Roman Empire. The language of Galloway, c. A.D. 400, in other words, was not Gaelic but British, and closely akin to modern Welsh.
- 2 The Picts, probably converted by Ninian, inhabited the north-eastern midlands of Scotland rather than the area now called Galloway. Their language was not Gaelic but Pictish, which like British and Welsh was a P-Celtic language.
- 3 Ninian himself had contacts of some kind with Ireland, and, although doubts have been cast on some of the evidence (see also Boyle 1968), in the period between 450 and 650, *Candida Casa* would seem to have been in close touch with developments in the Irish church. Partly as a consequence, some Gaelic speakers settled in Galloway during this period.

Place-names provide the evidence for this last statement, but in two different ways, and with reference to two rather different groups. The general Scottish distribution of place-names in which the first element is *Carrick-* or *Slew-* (Gaelic *carraig* and *sliabh*) suggests that at a time more or less contemporary with the Gaelic settlement in Argyll, traditionally associated with Fergus son of Erc (in the later fifth and earlier sixth centuries, that is to say), fishermen and small farmers from northern Ireland were crossing

the Channel and settling in the Rhinns, the westernmost peninsula, and to a lesser extent in other parts of Galloway and Carrick (MacQueen 1961:45-7. Nicolaisen 1965:91-106). Examples are Carrickadoyn, Carrickaffliou, Carrickahawkie, Carrick Kibbertie, Slewcairn, Slewscreen, Slewdonan, Slewdown and Slewhabble. In the remainder of Scotland such names are virtually confined to the areas of primary Gaelic settlement, and they also occur in the Isle of Man. It seems reasonable to assume that in all three regions the names were given at much the same time and by much the same kind of people. *Carrick-* names belong to rocks and cliff-slopes at the sea edge, and are probably to be associated with fishing communities. *Slew-* names are more appropriate to farmers, herdsman and hunters. But there is no need to assume the existence of two entirely separate groups.

Dr Nicolaisen has made the most extended survey of Galloway hill-names in *Slew-* (Nicolaisen 1965). For the Rhinns I have only one addition to his list—Slaewhullie, the name now given to a cot-house on Logan Head in Kirkmaiden parish. The cottage stands on the summit of a hill which rises from sea level to a height of 179 feet. There is a magnificent view in every direction. The name has presumably been transferred from hill to house.

In one other aspect, Dr Nicolaisen's article is slightly misleading. With one doubtful exception, he confines *Slew-* names to the Rhinns. The names extend however across the Moors and Machars into Kirkcudbright. Slewcairn (Colvend parish, Kirkcudbright), which Dr Nicolaisen (p. 99) was unable to identify, is a hill, some 950 feet high, which forms part of the Criffell *massif* on the western side of the Nith estuary, about eight miles south of Dumfries. Slogarie (Balmaghie parish, Kirkcudbright) is 838 feet high. Fifteenth and sixteenth century forms agree in spelling the first element *Sleu-*. Slickconerie (New Luce parish, Wigtownshire) is a hill 698 feet in height. Slochabbert (Kirkiner parish, Wigtownshire) is on record in 1457 (Reid 1960:168) as Slewheubert; the hill is 186 feet high. The overall distribution of *Slew-* names, all this is to say, is much like that of *Carrick-* names: the great majority occur in the Rhinns, but they are to be found in small numbers throughout Galloway.

Evidence of the second kind is provided by place- and personal names given in commemoration of saints, the majority Celtic, although a few are English or biblical. Most of the place-names are compounds, formed on the usual neo-Celtic pattern, with the generalizing element (*cill* or the like), in initial semi-stressed position, followed by the particularising element, usually the saint's name in full or hypocoristic form, the first syllable of which takes the stress. An unstressed honorific possessive personal pronoun ('my' or 'thy') sometimes separates the two main elements. I shall begin by listing with brief comment place-names of this type in alphabetic order and in terms of the four main divisions with which we are concerned—Wigtownshire, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Carrick in south Ayrshire, and Dumfriesshire. Where a commemoration has given rise to a local personal name, the fact will be noted. Personal names offer good confirmatory evidence of the importance of individual cult-centres. It is probably

safe to assume that a surname which includes the name of a saint originally belonged to a family in some way connected with the service of that saint's church. Names compounded with *gille*, 'servant', offer particularly good evidence of this relationship. The status of men with such surnames was frequently far above the servile: one instance is pointed out by W. J. Watson (Watson 1926:164), 'Gilbert McGillelan or McGillolane (*Mac Gille Fhaolain*) is on record as chief of Clan Connan in Galloway in the reign of David II. (1329-1370)'. The modern form of this surname is McLellan. Watson, on the other hand, also quotes (Watson 1926:162) 'Gillemachoi of Conglud with his children and his whole following' who in 1164 were granted to the church of St Kentigern in Glasgow. The name means 'Mo-Choe's Lad' and Mo-Choe was a by-name of St Kentigern.

Wigtownshire

Clashmahew (Inch parish): ? *clais mo-Choe*? 'Mo-Choe's ditch'. Compare *Kilmahew* in Cardross parish, Dumbarton.

Clashmurray (Kirkcolm): *clais m(h)oire*, 'Mary's ditch'. This is an alternative name (Maxwell 1930) for *Kilmorie*, 'Mary's church'. The reference here and in *Clashmahew* is perhaps to a well or spring. Alternatively, the meaning may be 'graveyard'. *Clashwhannon* (Kirkmaiden parish) may also contain a commemoration.

Clachaneasy (Penninghame parish): *clachan Iosa*, 'Jesus' Kirk' (Watson 1926:170).

Kildonan (Kirkmaiden and Stoneykirk parishes): 'Donnan's church'. Donnan is almost certainly the saint who in 618 was martyred on the island of Eigg. If this is accepted, the hill-name *Slewdonan* (*Sliabh Donnain*) above *Kildonan* in Kirkmaiden parish is almost certainly later, and cannot possibly be much earlier, than 618. Another dedication, *Chapel Donnan*, is in Kirkcolm parish. See also under Carrick. Donnan occurs as a local surname.

Kilfeddar (New Luce parish): 'Peter's church'.

Kilfillan (Old Luce and Sorbie parishes): 'Faolan's church'. The two Airyollands in Old Luce and Mochrum parishes are probably to be connected with those two commemorations. Early forms *Arehullen* (1561) and *Arewlene* (1498) (Reid 1960:81, 182) represent *àirigh Fhaolain*. 'Faolan's shieling', and indicate lands which formerly belonged to the church. McLellan is a common local name: compare *Balmaclellan* in the Stewartry and *Maclellan's Castle* in the town of *Kirkcudbright*. Compare also the reference to *Gilbert McGillelan* above.

Killantringan (Port Patrick parish): 'church of St Ringan (Ninian)'. The prefixed 'saint' indicates that the name cannot be earlier than the twelfth century. See also under Carrick.

Killasser (Stoneykirk parish): 'Lassair's church'. Lassair is a woman's name. Chapter 12 of the *Vita Sancti Colmani de Land Elo* (Heist 1965:213), the saint commemorated in the name *Colmonnel* in Carrick, tells how he visited the cell of St Lassar. *Clachanmore* is a farm and hamlet name in the immediate vicinity of *Killasser*.

- Killimacuddican* (Kirkcolm parish): 'my little Cutu's church'. St Muchutu of Rathen and Lismore is said to have died in 637. The parish church of Wigtown (*ecclesia S. Macuti*) is probably dedicated to the same saint.
- Killingeane* (Kirkmaiden parish): 'Finnian's church'. Behind the church is Knocktaggart, 'the priest's hill'. With this commemoration is to be associated *Chapel Finnian* and *Chipperfinian* ('Finnian's well') in Mochrum parish, Wigtownshire, *Chipperdingan* ('thy Finnian's well') and *Ballochagunnion* ('Finnian's pass'), also in Kirkmaiden parish. In Kirkcudbright are Kirkgunzeon and Killimingan. The fact that the saint's name appears in Cumbric (-*gunnion* and -*gunzeon*) as well as Gaelic form suggests that the cult was established in Galloway before the end of the 7th century, by which time it is plausible to assume that Cumbric had ceased to be spoken in Galloway (MacQueen 1961:25, 53). Finnian is definitely associated with Whithorn in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (MacQueen 1961:36-9).
- Killumpha* (Kirkmaiden parish): 'Iomchadh's church'—a commemoration of a very obscure saint. McClumpha is a local surname.
- Kilmorie* (Kirkcolm parish): 'Mary's church'. 'St Mary's croft' and 'St Mary's well' are in the immediate neighbourhood.
- Kilmacfadyean* (New Luce parish): ? 'my little Patrick's church'. McFadyean sometimes appears as a local name.
- Kilquhockadale* (Kirkcowan parish): 'valley of Cuaca's church'. Cuaca is a woman's name. If the suffixed -*dale* is directly derived from Norse *dalr*, the commemoration may antedate the Viking period.
- Kirkbride* (Kirkcolm and Kirkmaiden parishes): 'Brigid's church'. A field on Kirkbride farm in Kirkmaiden, called 'Kirkbride kirkyaird' contains what seems to be the ruins of a small medieval chapel. 'St Bride's Well' is in the immediate neighbourhood of Kirkbride in Kirkcolm. McBride and McIlbryd are local surnames of some frequency. See also under Kirkcudbright, Carrick and Dumfries.
- Kirkchrist* (Old Luce and Penningham parishes): 'Christ's church'.
- Kirkcolm* (Kirkcolm parish): 'Columba's church'. 'Clachan' and 'Clachan Heughs' are in the immediate neighbourhood. 'St Columba's Well' is three miles distant. McColm is a surname of some frequency in the area.
- Kirkcowan* (Kirkcowan parish): 'Eoghan's church'. The reference is probably to Eoghan of Ardstraw in Co. Tyrone. According to the *Vita S. Eogani Episcopi Ardsratensis* (Heist 1965:400-4), Eoghan received a religious education in Britain from a holy and learned man, Nennyo, who is called Maucennus, of the monastery at Rosnat. Nennyo is in some sense Ninian, and Rosnat is usually identified with Whithorn, from which Kirkcowan is distant by some thirteen miles. McCowan is a common local surname.
- Kirkinner* (Kirkinner parish): 'Cainer's church'. She has an Office, historically worthless, in the Aberdeen Breviary (29 October). According to this, she was one of Ursula's 11,000 virgins. The name is certainly Celtic.

Kirkleish (Kirkmaiden parish): ? *kirk ghille Iosa*, 'church of Jesus' lad'? The last remains of a small stone building are still visible. McLeish is found as a local surname.

Kirkmabreck (Stoneykirk parish): 'church of Mo-Bhric', or just possibly, 'church of Aedh mac Bric'. A *Vita Aidi Episcopi Killariensis* has survived (Heist 1965:1967-181). A church and parish with the same commemoration is to be found in the Stewartry.

Kirkmadrine (Sorbie and Stoneykirk parishes): 'church of my Draighne'. Fifth and sixth century inscriptions and a series of crosses from the fifth to the twelfth century have been found in the neighbourhood of the church in Stoneykirk parish. The Sorbie site is some five miles from Whithorn.

Kirkmaiden (Kirkmaiden and Glasserton parishes): 'church of my Étaín'. The remains of medieval churches are to be found at both sites. St Medan's Cave, a Dark Age and medieval site, is half-a-mile from Kirkmaiden in the Rhinns, and the bay there is Portankill, *port na cille* 'harbour of the church'. An Office in the Aberdeen Breviary (November 19) links the two Kirkmaidens, and brings the saint into contact with St Ninian at Whithorn. This last is a secondary accretion.

Port Patrick (Port Patrick parish): 'Patrick's port'.

Of the Wigtownshire commemorations, 29 are Celtic, 10 Biblical, none English, and one uncertain—a total of 40.

Stewartry of Kirkcudbright

Killimingan (Kirkgunzeon parish): 'my Finian's church'. See Kirkgunzeon below and Killingeane, Wigtownshire.

Kilquahanidy (Kirkpatrick-Durham parish): 'Connait's church'. McQuantity is a local name.

Kirkanders (Borgue parish): 'Andrew's church'. Compare the three Kirkanders in Cumberland. Andrew was a favourite saint of the Northumbrian church.

Kirkbean (Kirkbean parish): 'Bean's church'. The Aberdeen Breviary contains a brief office for Bean under October 26th.

Kirkbride (Kirkcudbright and Kirkgunzeon parishes): 'Brigid's church'. See under Wigtownshire.

Kirkcarsel (Berwick parish): 'Oswald's church'. The commemoration is of the Northumbrian king Oswald, who was killed in 642. He introduced Irish Christianity to Northumbria as a result of his exile spent on Iona and elsewhere in the Celtic west. See also under Carrick. There is a Kirkoswald in Cumberland.

Kirkchrist (Kirkcudbright parish): 'Christ's church'.

Kirkconnel (Tungland parish): 'Conall's church'. See also Carrick and Dumfries, *Conall* is taken by Watson (1926:169) to be the Gaelic form of Cumbric *Congual*. Latinised as *Convallus*. In fact, it is more likely that it derives directly from Old Irish *Conall*. According to the rather dubious authority of Fordun (III. xxix) and

Boece (ix. xvi), Conall 'Wes the discipull of Sanct Mongo, and is beryitt in Enchennane, nocht far fra Glasguw' (Chambers and Batho 1938:392. Compare Skene 1871:115). McConnel, McIlconnel and Whannel are surnames of some frequency in the area.

Kirkcormack (Kelton parish): 'Cormac's church'. The commemoration is probably of Cormac Ua Liatháin, abbot of Durrow, a contemporary and friend of Columba. He is mentioned at some length in Adomnan's *Life of Columba* I. 6, II. 42 and III. 7 (Anderson 1961:222-5, 440-7, 478-9). The story of his northern voyages receives particular emphasis. McCormack is a common name locally.

Kirkcudbright (Kirkcudbright parish): 'Cuthbert's church'. The commemoration is of the Northumbrian St Cuthbert, who joined the community at Old Melrose in 651 and died as Bishop of Lindisfarne in 687. See also Carrick and Dumfries.

Kirkenan (Buittle and Minnigaff parishes): ? 'Enan's church' or 'Finian's church'?

Kirkeoch (Twynholm parish): ? 'Eochaidh's church'?

Kirkgunzeon (Kirkgunzeon parish): 'Finnian's church'. See under Killingeane, Wigtownshire, and Killimingan, Kirkcudbright above.

Kirkinna (Parton parish): ? 'Cainnech's church'? McKinna is a local name. See under Kilkenzie in Carrick.

Kirklebride (Kirkpatrick-Durham parish): 'Kirk' + 'Kilbride', 'Brigid's church'. See the remarks on Kilquhockadale, Wigtownshire.

Kirkmabreck (Kirkmabreck parish): 'church of Mo-Bhric' or 'church of Aedh mac Bric'. See under Wigtownshire.

Kirkmirran (Kelton parish): 'church of Mirren'. Mirren is the saint of Paisley, and this commemoration may reflect a connection with Paisley Abbey, or its daughter house of Crosraguel in Carrick. Mirren is a fairly common woman's Christian name in Galloway.

Kirkpatrick-Durham and *Kirkpatrick-Irongray* (both parishes. Kirkpatrick-Durham is also a village in the parish of that name): 'Patrick's church'.

Of the Kirkcudbright commemorations, 13 are Celtic, 2 Biblical, 2 English and four uncertain—a total of 21, roughly half that for Wigtownshire.

Carrick

Chirmorie (Ballantrae parish): *tìr Moire*, 'Mary's land'.

Colmonell (Colmonell parish): 'church of Colman Elo'. He was abbot of Lann Elo in Co. Offaly, and is said to have died in 611. A *Vita S. Colmani Abbatis de Land Elo* has been preserved (Heist 1965:209-24). His connection with St Lassar has already been mentioned. The *Vita* also associates him with St Columba. Adomnan refers to him in the *Life of St. Columba* I. v, II. xv (Anderson 1961:222-3, 356-9).

Kildonan and *Chapeldonnan* (Colmonell and Kirkoswald parishes): 'Donnan's church'

- or 'chapel'. See under Wigtownshire. Above Kildonan is Pindonnan (1,037 feet), a hill with a name which probably means 'Donnan's pennyland'. The nearby Garleffin 'rough halfpenny land' may represent an old subdivision of Pindonnan.
- Kilkenzie* (Kirkmichael parish): 'Cainnech's church'. The dedication is probably to the saint of Achadh Bó in Co. Leix. A *Vita S. Cainnechi Abbatis de Achad Bó Chainnich* has been preserved (Heist 1965:182-98). This lays considerable emphasis on the saint's sojourn in Britain, apparently with St Columba. Adomnan refers to him in the *Life of Columba* I. iv, II. xiii-xiv, and III. xvii (Anderson 1961:220-21, 352-7, 500-1). McKenzie is a common local surname.
- Kilkerran* (Dailly parish): 'Ciaran's church'. The village of Dailly, from which the parish takes its name, first appears as Dalmulkerane (Hunter Blair 1886: Index s.v.), *dail m(h)aoil Ciarain*, 'St Ciaran's servant's dale'. Dalquharran in the immediate vicinity may also contain the name Ciaran. The saint is probably Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, who is said to have died in 549. A *Vita S. Ciarani Abbatis Cluanensis* has been preserved (Plummer 1910). Adomnan refers to Ciaran and his monastery in the *Life of Columba* I. iii (Anderson 1961:214-19).
- Killantringan* (Ballantrae and Colmonell parishes): 'St Ninian's church'. See under Wigtownshire.
- Killochan* (Dailly parish): 'Onchu's church'. From Mac Gille-Onchon is derived the local surnames McLanachan and Clanachan.
- Kilpatrick* (Girvan parish): 'Patrick's church'.
- Kilphin* (Ballantrae parish): ? 'Finnen's church'.
- Kilwhannel* (Ballantrae parish): ? 'Conall's church'. Craigmawhannel, 'rock of my Conall' is in Barr parish. See under Kirkconnel in Kirkcudbright.
- Kirkbride* (Maybole and Straiton parishes): 'Brigid's church'.
- Kirkconstantine* (Colmonell parish): 'Constantine's church'. 'The conversion of Constantine to the Lord' is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster, sub anno 587* (Anderson 1922:91-4). He is an elusive saint, who is given connections with Cornwall and Ireland, as well as Strathclyde and Galloway. The parish church of Govan, near Glasgow, was dedicated to him, and he is associated with St Kentigern. His office appears in the *Aberdeen Breviary* under March 11th.
- Kirkcudbright* (Ballantrae parish): 'Cuthbert's church'. The pre-Reformation name of Ballantrae. See under Kirkcudbright in the Stewartry.
- Kirkdamdie* or *Kirkdomine* (Girvan parish): ? 'the Lord's church'?
- Kirkmichael* (Kirkmichael parish): 'Michael's church'. The reference is to the archangel. See also under Dumfries.
- Kirkoswald* (Kirkoswald parish): 'Oswald's church'. See under Kirkcarse, Kirkcudbright.

Of the Carrick commemorations, 13 are Celtic, 3 Biblical, 2 English and 3 uncertain—a total of 21, exactly the same as that for Kirkcudbright.

Dumfries

Brydekirk (Annan parish): 'Brigid's church'.

Closeburn (Closeburn, Closeburn parish): 'Osbern's' or 'Osbran's church'. Osbern was an English, Osbran an Irish saint (Watson 1926:167).

Dercongall (Holywood parish): 'Congal's oakwood'. Despite Watson, it seems unlikely that this is a commemoration of Conall, but the name may well commemorate a churchman.

Ecclefechan (Hoddom parish): ? 'Fechin's church'.

Kirkblain (Caerlaverock and Kirkmahoe parishes): 'Bláán's Church'. According to the notes to the *Martyrology of Oengus*, Bláán was bishop of Kingarth in Bute which is described as being in the territory of the Gall-ghàidhil. Dunblane in Perthshire is described as his principal seat. The *Aberdeen Breviary* includes an office for Bláán under August 10th (Anderson 1922:176-7). This appears to originate from Dunblane. Bláán was apparently a Briton, and so presumably his native language was Cumbric.

Kirkbride (Holywood parish): 'Brigid's church'.

Kirkconnel (Kirkconnel and Tynron parishes): 'Conall's church'. See under Kirkconnel, Kirkcudbright.

Kirkcudbright (Glencairn parish): 'Cuthbert's church'. See under Kirkcudbright. This apparent commemoration may be derivative and have no ecclesiastical connections.

Kirkmahoe (Kirkmahoe parish): 'my Cotha's church'. Watson (Watson 1926:162) identifies the saint with Mochoe of Nendrum in Co. Down. As Professor Jackson has pointed out (Jackson 1958:302), the commemoration is much more likely to be of Kentigern under the by-name Mochohe, preserved in chapter IV of Jocelin's *Vita Kentegerni* (Forbes 1874:169). Kentigern is also the patron of Abermilk in St Mungo parish.

Kirkmichael (Kirkmichael parish): 'Michael's church'. See under Carrick.

Kirkpatrick (Closeburn, Kirkpatrick-Juxta and Kirkpatrick-Fleming parishes): 'Patrick's church'.

Of the Dumfries commemorations, 12 are Celtic, 1 Biblical, none certainly English, and 2 uncertain—a total of 15.

In all four areas, there are 67 Celtic commemorations, 16 biblical, 4 English, and 10 uncertain. Of those last, 9 are probably and one possibly, Celtic. More than 75 of the 97 commemorations, in other words are likely to be Celtic.

Those names should be linked with the much smaller series in Cumberland, where 2 commemorations are Celtic, one English and 3 biblical. Another series occurs in the Isle of Man, but here it is more difficult to give precise figures. Fifteen of the 17 modern Manx parishes have names which follow *Kirk-* pattern. Eleven are Celtic commemorations, 4 biblical. Thirty-nine *keiill* names begin with that word, of which 27 certainly

contain commemorations. Of those, 8 are Celtic, 15 biblical, one English (Cuthbert) and 3 commemorate saints of the universal church—Catherine twice, and Martin (Kermode and Bruce 1968: Index).

The commemorations are predominantly Dark Age and Irish. The distribution ignores the national and local boundaries of the Middle Ages and later. One cannot claim that all the commemorations are early—the three Killantringans demonstrably belong to the twelfth century or later. Nothing much is to be made of the Kirkpatrick and Kirkbrides—commemorations of the two most famous Irish saints on routes used by pilgrims from Scotland and England to Ireland, and in territory much of which was long subject to the Douglasses, whose patron saint was Bride, might date from any period of the Middle Ages.

Among the Scottish commemorations, a fourfold pattern seems to emerge—a Whithorn group, a Columban group, a Strathclyde group, and a small English (Northumbrian) group. The first is for the most part confined to Wigtownshire, indeed to the Machars and the southern Rhinns. Here I include Kirkcowan and the various commemorations of Finian. The possibility of an actual connection of those Irish saints with Whithorn is at least strongly suggested by surviving Irish documents. Finian is also found in Kirkcudbright and Man, and an early date for the commemorations is perhaps indicated by the fact that his name occurs in both Gaelic and Cumbric forms. I regard the two Kirkmadrines and the two Kirkmaidens, with their archaeological interest and dedications to more obscure saints, as belonging to this group, and it is possible that the two Kirkmabrecks should be added.

The second group may be regarded as centring on Columba, and includes Kirkcolm, the five commemorations of Donnan, Kirkcormack, Kilkenzie, Kilkerran and Colmonnel. The orientation is to the northwest, with a marked concentration on Carrick. Kirkcormack is the only one of the group to be found in the Stewartry.

The third group centres on Kentigern and the Cumbrian church, and has an eastern orientation. It includes Kirkmahoe, Abermilk and the three Kirkconnels. Kirkblane probably belongs here, as may Kirkmirren and Kirkconstantine in Carrick. Much less certain are Clashmahew in Wigtownshire and Kilwhannel in Carrick. The medieval diocese of Glasgow, which included both Dumfriesshire and Carrick, may to some extent explain the spread of this group, but the general concentration on Dumfries and the Stewartry is striking.

The fourth group, the Northumbrian, touches Carrick and Kirkcudbright, and extends into Cumberland and the Isle of Man. It includes the commemorations of Oswald, Cuthbert and the apostle Andrew, a favourite saint of the Northumbrian church.

The pattern is essentially that of northern Christianity in the seventh and eighth centuries. Almost certainly the Celtic commemorations do not result from, and probably antedate, the Northumbrian political and ecclesiastical supremacy during most of the eighth and ninth centuries. The 'inversion compounds' (MacQueen 1956: 135–6) in

which Northumbrian saints are commemorated is a Celtic rather than a Germanic speech habit, something which suggests that the alien names have been fitted into a pre-existent linguistic pattern. This is supported by commemorations which preserve names in a Cumbric as well as a Gaelic form, and which therefore probably antedate the year 700. If the names belonged to the post-Anglian period of Norse influence, associated with the settlement of the *Gall-ghàidhil* (c. 875–c. 950), such formations as Kilquhockdale and Kirklebride would be more difficult to explain. Indeed, it seems likely that even the common *Kirk-* in inversion compounds often represents a replacement of an earlier *Kil-*, in districts where Scandinavian linguistic influence had become locally powerful (MacQueen 1956:142). It is also important that the hostility of the *Gall-ghàidhil* to the Christian church was a byword. The commemorations, in other words, might have survived the settlement of the *Gall-ghàidhil*, but the times must surely have been unfavourable for the foundation of religious establishments on a scale such as the names imply. I have shown that some names demonstrably do, and others inferentially may, belong to the full Middle Ages, and I should be prepared to admit the possibility of adding to the number. But it is hard to believe that the majority of the names are any later than the period of *Gall-ghàidhil* settlement; the balance of the evidence, I believe, is that they are earlier.

This being granted, the commemorations, and the fact of their survival, must indicate a substantial Gaelic-speaking settlement in Galloway in the period between the sixth and the ninth centuries—a settlement which to an unusual extent was church-directed. The existence of Ninian's foundation at Candida Casa provides at least a partial explanation. Irish churchmen, attended sometimes at least by followers in substantial numbers, would in the ordinary course of events frequently visit Whithorn. If Irish-speaking farmers and fishermen were already established in Galloway, they would have a double motive for making the journey. Some would remain for months or years rather than days: a few would probably settle permanently. It is to visiting churchmen and their followers that I attribute the earliest Celtic commemorations in Galloway.

Fairly clearly, the modern Wigtownshire formed the centre of distribution on the mainland. If we exclude late and uncertain names, Wigtownshire has 31 commemorations, all but 6 of Irish saints. None are of English saints. Kirkcudbright has 14, with 10 Irish and 2 English: Carrick 15, with 9 Irish and 2 English: Dumfries 9, with 6 Irish and none necessarily English. This again would seem to emphasise the importance of Whithorn. Wigtownshire, too, is the only area in which something like a monastic *paruchia* seems to be visible in the case of the two Kirkmadrines and the two Kirkmaidens, one on each side of Luce Bay, and each closely connected with Whithorn.

The fact that in so many of the names quoted Norse *Kirk-* has been substituted for Gaelic *Kill-* is one pointer to the second main Gaelic settlement in Galloway, that of the *Gall-ghàidhil*, 'foreign, Norse, Gael'. (MacQueen 1956; Nicolaisen 1960:61–70). 'These were men who had forsaken their baptism; and they were called Northmen, because

they had Northmen's manners, and had been fostered by them; and though the original Northmen did evil to the churches, these did far worse; this people, wherever they were in Ireland' (Anderson 1922:1. 287). That was written about events in the year 858 in Ireland: by 1138 the *Gall-ghàidhil* had not greatly changed, if we may trust the partisan words put by St Ailred into the mouth of the Norman, Walter Espec, before the battle of the Standard (MacQueen 1962:139). The emphasis is mainly on mere savagery. The Gallovidians, Walter claims, have amused themselves by throwing children in the air and catching them on their spear-points, and by ripping unborn infants from their mothers' womb and dashing them on the rocks. They have eaten their meat with the knives which had killed children; they have drunk water mixed with human blood, saying how fortunate they were to be able to drink the blood of Gauls. A Gallovidian who found a house full of children swung them by the heels against the doorpost, boasting afterwards to a companion, 'Look how many Gauls I have killed by myself today'. In addition, however, Walter still emphasises the hostility of the Gallovidians to Christianity. They have violated churches and the sacrament. It is not men but beasts that the Normans are fighting; the earth has not swallowed them up so that the Normans with their own hands might slaughter them.

This is good ascendancy talk, not fully accepted even by Ailred, but even so, the ancestors of these Gallovidians are not likely to have founded some fifty churches to commemorate the saints of the Golden Age of the Celtic church. Ailred indicates that their language was certainly Gaelic. Whenever they refer to the English or Normans, the term used by them is 'Gauls' (*Galli*). Ailred may, or may not have understood it, but I do not think that any reference to France or Normandy is primarily intended. *Galli* is a Latin rendering of Gaelic *Gall*, 'foreigner', applied successively to Gauls, Franks, Scandinavians, Normans, English and lastly Protestants (in Ireland), and in Scotland to speakers of Lowland Scots. It is the first element of the very word Galloway, derived, as it is, from *Gall-ghàidhil*. But if this is the origin of the name, and Ailred is basing his work on authentic report, it is clear that the Gallovidians did not think of themselves as *Goill*—the term was reserved for the Normans and English.

Some of those *Gall-ghàidhil* may have been descendents of the earlier Irish settlers in Galloway who in the ninth and tenth centuries had been won or forced over to the Norse way of life. Others certainly were incomers from Ireland or the Hebrides. The *Gall-ghàidhil*, it is clear, are the people who created the great majority of the Gaelic place-names in Galloway. It must be emphasised that despite their association with Norsemen, they were primarily speakers of Gaelic rather than a Scandinavian language. There is no trace in Galloway of the extensive Norse settlement which introduced in the Hebrides such names as Carbost and Sheshader.

In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the *Gall-ghàidhil* existed as a virtually independent state with their own laws and customs administered by rulers whom the Irish annalists habitually describe as kings—Fergus, who died in 1161: his sons Uhtred, who died in 1174, and Gilbert, who died in 1185: Uhtred's son, Roland, who died in

1200: Roland's son, Alan, who died in 1234, and Thomas, Alan's bastard son, who on the death of his father attempted to succeed, but was rapidly and forcibly deposed in favour of his three legitimate sisters, each of whom married a Norman: Helen becoming the wife of Roger de Quincy: Derbforgaill, the wife of John de Balliol, and Christiana, the wife of William de Fortibus, earl of Aumerle. Helen died young and childless, and in effect Derbforgaill inherited the modern Kirkcudbright, Christiana Wigtownshire. The boundary at the significantly named River Cree (Gaelic *abhainn na crìche* from *crìoch*, 'boundary') may date from this time. Derbforgaill, it will be remembered, founded Sweetheart Abbey and endowed Balliol College, Oxford, in memory of her husband.

With most Gaelic place-names in Galloway, it is virtually impossible to decide whether they belong to the earlier era or to the period of the *Gall-ghàidhil*. Under such circumstances the balance is always in favour of the later period. Many names are simply descriptive—Freugh (*Fraoch*), 'heather'; with which is associated Loddanree (*lod an fhraoich*), 'pool among the heather'; Losset (*losaid*), 'a kneading trough', *i.e.* 'a small fertile patch of land'; Drummore (*druim mór*) 'big ridge'; Challoch (*teallach*), 'a smith's forge' (this usually appears as the name of a hill of no great height); Grennan (*grianan*), 'sunny place', often 'place where peats were dried'; Derry (*doire*), 'oak thicket'; Benyellary (*beann na h-iolaire*) 'peak of the eagle' (it is 2,360 feet in height); Myroch and Morroch (*murbhach*), 'plain near the sea'; Chippertie (*tiobartaich*), 'at well-place' (a field-name); Eldrig (*eileirg*), 'a defile, natural or artificial, wider at one end than at the other, into which the deer were driven, often in hundreds, and slain as they passed through' (Watson 1926:489); Balkelly (*beul [na] coille*), 'mouth of the wood'; Balloch (*bealach*), 'gap, pass'; Clash (*clais*), 'gutter', 'ditch'; Glaik (*glac*), 'hollow, valley'; Tonderghie (*tòn ri gaoith*), 'arse to wind'; Crammag Head (*cromag*), 'a crook' (the reference is to the shape of the headland as seen from above on the landward side); the Gounies (*na gamhna*), 'the stirks' with English plural—a name given to rocks under the headland to the south of Clanyard Bay in the Rhinns. Eclipsis sometimes occurs, as is no longer usual in modern Scots Gaelic, after the genitive plural of the definite article, but this feature is of little use for purposes of dating the names which illustrate it. Most of those names are also descriptive: Cairnywellan (*càrn na bhfaoileann*), 'cairn of the gulls'—a headland; Craigenveoch (*creag na bhfitheach*), 'rock of the ravens'; Damnaglaur (*dam na gclàr*), 'dam made out of planks'; Dunman (*dun na mbeann*), 'fort of the peaks' or 'fort of the gables'—an iron age fort on a steep cliff above the sea; Bennaveoch (*beann na bhfitheach*), 'peak of the ravens'; Dunveoch (*dùn na bhfitheach*), 'fort of the ravens'; Auchengairn (*achadh na gcarn*), 'field of the cairns'; and Pulnagashel (*poll na gcaiseal*), 'burn, stream of the bulwarks', or perhaps 'stream of the salmon cruives'.

All these names probably belong to the later period; others certainly do. I have already mentioned Killantringan, where the actual words used to form the compound indicate a twelfth- or thirteenth-century date. With the three Killantringans another point may be introduced. Before the Reformation, St Ninian's shrine at Whithorn was a major object

of pilgrimage from many places both inside and outside Scotland. The fourteenth-century author of a verse *Life of Ninian* (Metcalf 1896:325-6), for instance, says:

ilke yere
 men cumis of landis sere,
 of France, of Ingland and of Spanye
 of the pardon for bewanye,
 and of al landis this halfe Proyse,
 men cumis thare, of commone oyse,
 of Walys and Irland eke.
 Thar hyddir men wil seke,
 in sic nowmir, I tak one hande,
 that sic day ten thousande
 thar men wil se, for-out mare
 oftyme that cummis thare.

(751-62)

The name Killantringan illustrates how the presence of those pilgrims affected the toponymy of Galloway. It is attached, first, in Wigtownshire to a farm above a pleasant sandy bay on the west coast, north of Portpatrick; secondly, in Carrick, to a loch beside the main road from Girvan to Stranraer near the head of Glenapp, and in the immediate vicinity of a farm called Auchencrosh (*achadh na croise*), 'field of the cross'; thirdly, again in Carrick, to a small farm on the main road from Girvan to Newton Stewart. All three, in other words, are strategically placed on major routes into Wigtownshire, two from the north and one overseas from Ireland to the west. All three, I suggest, mark the site of chapels erected for the use of pilgrims on their way to Whithorn. Almost equidistant (two to three miles) from Killantringan Bay, Portpatrick and Port of Spittal, three of the best landing places on the west coast, stands the modern Spittal (*spiteal*) 'a place of hospitality'. There are two other Spittals, one at a bridge over the River Bladnoch, five miles from the burgh of Wigtown, and one in Kirkcudbright, just above the estuary of the Water of Cree. All three, I suspect, have been places of accommodation for pilgrims to Whithorn in the period from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

In a rather similar way one may suspect that place-names which contain the final element *-drochat* (*drochaid*) 'bridge' belong to the Middle rather than to the Dark Ages, and may also be connected with the pilgrim traffic. I am aware of two, Kildrochat, a farm beside Culmick Bridge on the Piltanton Burn in Wigtownshire, and Bardrochat above the bridge over the River Stinchar at Colmonell in Carrick. It is on record that before 1441 the River Bladnoch was crossed by a number of wooden bridges, primarily intended for the use of pilgrims, but that during 1441 floods had swept them all away. As a consequence, Margaret, countess of Galloway, obtained a papal indulgence for those who assisted her to build a stone bridge (Reid 1960:119).

Names may sometimes be dated because they refer to persons, offices or occurrences of

historical record. The name Knockefferick, for instance, which is found near Kirkinner in Wigtownshire, and which appears in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century documents as Knokeffric, Knokaffric, Knokafrik, may contain the name of Affrica, Fergus of Galloway's daughter, who sometime between 1124 and 1142 married the Manx king, Olaf. Knockefferick is not much more than 5 miles from Fergus's castle at Cruggleton. Portree, 'king's port', once probably an alternative name for Portpatrick, *may* refer to the Lords or Kings of Galloway who belonged to Fergus's line. The name Balnab (*baile an aba*) means 'abbot's steading', and in Wigtownshire there are two places of this name, one 4 miles from the Abbey of Glenluce, the other a mile from the Priory of Whithorn. The first is on record in 1450 as the property of the Abbot of Glenluce. The second, despite its proximity to Whithorn, belonged to the Abbot of Sauseat, not far from the modern Stranraer some 25 miles distant from Whithorn (Reid 1960:29, 100, 111). Both place-names must be later than the foundation of the abbeys on which they depended—Glenluce in 1192 and Sauseat in the third quarter of the twelfth century.

One may indeed suspect that all names which contain the word *baile* are relatively late. (In Ireland, they are twelfth century, or later). Balmaclellan, Balmaghie, Balmurrie and possibly Balsmith self-evidently belong to the period when fixed surnames had become the normal practice. The modern name Ballantrae (*baile na tràighe*), 'steading on the shore', has replaced the older Kirkcudbright Innertigh, and indeed is first recorded as late as 1617. The older name for Sandhead on Luce Bay was Balgreggan; here the second element is probably *gràgan*, 'manor, big house'. The modern village street is clearly aligned on an impressive Norman motte or castle hill, still called the Motte of Balgreggan, and the *gràgan* which gave the village its name was, I suggest, either the wooden castle which once crowned the motte hill, or the tower house which probably succeeded it, and stood on the site of the modern Balgreggan House. The name Balgreggan, that is to say, cannot have come into existence much before the end of the twelfth century, and may even be considerably later.

Balgreggan is one of several Gaelic-speaking villages which grew up in the shadow of a Norman motte: others are Drummore, where the motte stands on what was probably the big ridge; Balmaclellan, where Maclellans may at some time have occupied the motte, and Dalry, which may mean 'king's meadow' (*dail an rìgh*); if so, the reference is again probably to the kings or Lords of Fergus's line, who in turn may have built the motte. The most successful among such developments was probably Innermessan beside the motte of the same name on Loch Ryan, a settlement which eventually achieved burgh status, and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had obviously become a place of some importance. Nowadays it has disappeared, except for a farm steading: during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was killed by the rise of the new burgh of Stranraer. Very recently however a rather ghostly seasonal reappearance has become evident: the site has been turned into a caravan park which in summer is fairly populous.

Besides those larger villages and smaller burghs, there were also the more sub-

stantial burghs of Wigtown, Whithorn, Glenluce and Kirkcudbright, the first an administrative, the others, at least to begin with, ecclesiastical centres. But it is clear that for most people in Galloway life continued to be a matter primarily of agriculture and stock-rearing, with attendance on Sundays and feast-days at the local church, which was probably administered by a vicar appointed from one of the monasteries which had gained control over most of the parishes. In the immediate neighbourhood of Balyieland, for instance, the home of the long-established family of McDouall of Logan, one finds a church, Killingeane, immediately under a hill, Knocktaggart (*cnoc an t-sagairt*), 'the priest's hill'. Logan Mill is nearby, as are Balgown (*baile a' ghobhainn*) 'steading of the smith', Auchness (*each-innis*), 'horse-meadow', Falnaha (*Fàl na h-àtha*), 'dyke of the kiln' (now a field-name), and Elrick, a name already discussed. This cluster of names represents the centre of activity and administration of the barony of Logan, a barony which extended as far south as Garrochtric, which probably, I suggest, contains the word *gàradh* 'wall, dyke' in the sense of 'boundary dyke'. The name sometimes appears simply as Garroch. The farm of Creechan (*criochan*), 'boundaries' probably represents the southern limit of a more southerly barony, that of the Edgars, which centred on Drummore, and was succeeded by that of the Gordons which extended to the Mill of Galloway. (Alternatively, and perhaps in view of the site more probably, the word is Gaelic *creachann* 'stony declivity of a hill'.) The Edgars' church was probably Kildonan, and that of the Gordons Kirkmaiden. Kirkleish was probably the church for the barony of Barncorkrie. All four baronies were included in the parish of Kirkmaiden, so Kildonan, Kirkleish and probably Kirkbride (near which is a field Kirkbride Kirkyaird with remains of buildings) and Killingeane may have functioned as chapels-of-ease, providing for the needs of a parish which, as one Vicar of Kirkmaiden in the middle fifteenth century ruefully observed, was 'eight Italian miles around and very populous' (Reid 1960:93).

The barony of Kirkcolm will serve to introduce another important feature of rural life in medieval Galloway. In the Rhinns generally, the land to the east is lower, more sheltered from the prevailing winds, and more fertile than the land to the west. In Kirkcolm the transition from east to west is marked by the name Ervie (*eirbhe*), 'a dividing wall or boundary'. The boundary separated cultivated land from summer pasture, for, directly to the west and above Ervie, one finds a group of names, Airies, Mains of Airies and Little Airies, all of which represent Gaelic *àirigh*, 'shieling', with English plural. It is clear that in Galloway, as in the Highlands and Islands, cattle in summer were driven to higher uncultivated ground, thus leaving the crops free to ripen in the lower cultivated land, undisturbed by farm animals. The word *àirigh* is common in Galloway and Carrick place-names especially in Wigtownshire, where we find, for instance, Airyolland (on which see Kilfillan above), Airyhemming, Airieglasson, Airylygg, Craigairie, Airiequhillart, Airies Knowes and Airyhassan.

Carrick provides the best evidence for the way in which agricultural land was subdivided for tenant farmers. There the basic unit was the pennyland (*peighinn*), a division

ultimately of Norse origin. From this were derived such names as Dupin, Pinbain, Pinwherry, Pinmore, Pinclanty, Letterpin, Pinmacher and Pinminnoch. A smaller unit was the halfpennyland or Leffin (*leth-pheighinn*), as in Leffin Donald, Garleffin and Leffinwyne. Smaller still was the farthingland, as in Farden, Fardenreoch, Fardendew and Fardenwilliam. The quarterland (*ceathramh*) is common throughout Galloway, as in Kirminnoch, Kirranrae, Kirriedaroch, Kirriemore and Kirriereoch. The term ounceland (*tir-unga*, Manx *treen*) does not appear, but in the west generally the quarterland represents a quarter ounceland, and a pennyland one-twentieth of an ounceland or one-fifth of a quarterland. It does therefore look very much as if the general Galloway and Carrick system of land measurement was more or less identical with that which came to prevail in the Hebrides, Argyll and the Isle of Man, and which in all probability was yet another contribution by the *Gall-ghàidhil* to the Galloway economy. (An examination of such names will form the basis of a second article.)

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