Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles

*A Re-assessment of the Manx Evidence**

BASIL MEGAW

A valuable study of place-names in documents of the twelfth to fourteenth century recently led Dr Margaret Gelling to conclude that, following Viking settlement in the ninth century, Gaelic had ceased to be spoken in Man until re-introduced from outside the island (? Galloway) after 1300. By re-dating a key document, and by taking wider evidence into consideration, the following study shows that, despite the general predominance of Norse place- and personal-names, Gaelic must have held its own in the time of the Manx kings of the Isles during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is suggested that the undocumented Viking settlement may have been accomplished by a Scandinavian mercenary force initially under native rule, thus allowing for substantial continuity. (A different possibility will be argued by Mrs Gelling in a further paper now in preparation.)

Two appendices investigate (A) the status and background of the papal bull of 1231 to the bishop of the Isles, with its interesting list of the islands in the diocese of 'Sodor', and (B), in a series of notes, the treen and quarterland system, and the related problem of the age of the 'keeills'.

I *The Problem*

The Western Isles, for us the last stronghold of Gaelic speech in Britain, were known paradoxically to the mediæval Gaels themselves as *Innse Gall*, 'the Isles of the Foreigners or Norsemen'. The evidence of place-names recently discussed by Professor Nicolaisen (1969), though unfortunately not closely datable, shows how widespread and long-lasting were the effects of actual Scandinavian settlement there. In the absence of contemporary evidence, however, we can only guess to what extent Gaelic may have survived generally, or in particular localities, during the 'Norse' centuries, or indeed how it came to supersede the language of the Foreigners. Oral tradition is in this matter largely irrelevant, since tales of the 'Lochlannaich' generally have a legendary or literary origin and are unhistorical.

To turn to the Isle of Man for help in this problem may at first sight seem a little

* The first part of this article (sections I to IV) is based on a paper read at the VIIIth conference of the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland, in Edinburgh, 2–5 April 1976.

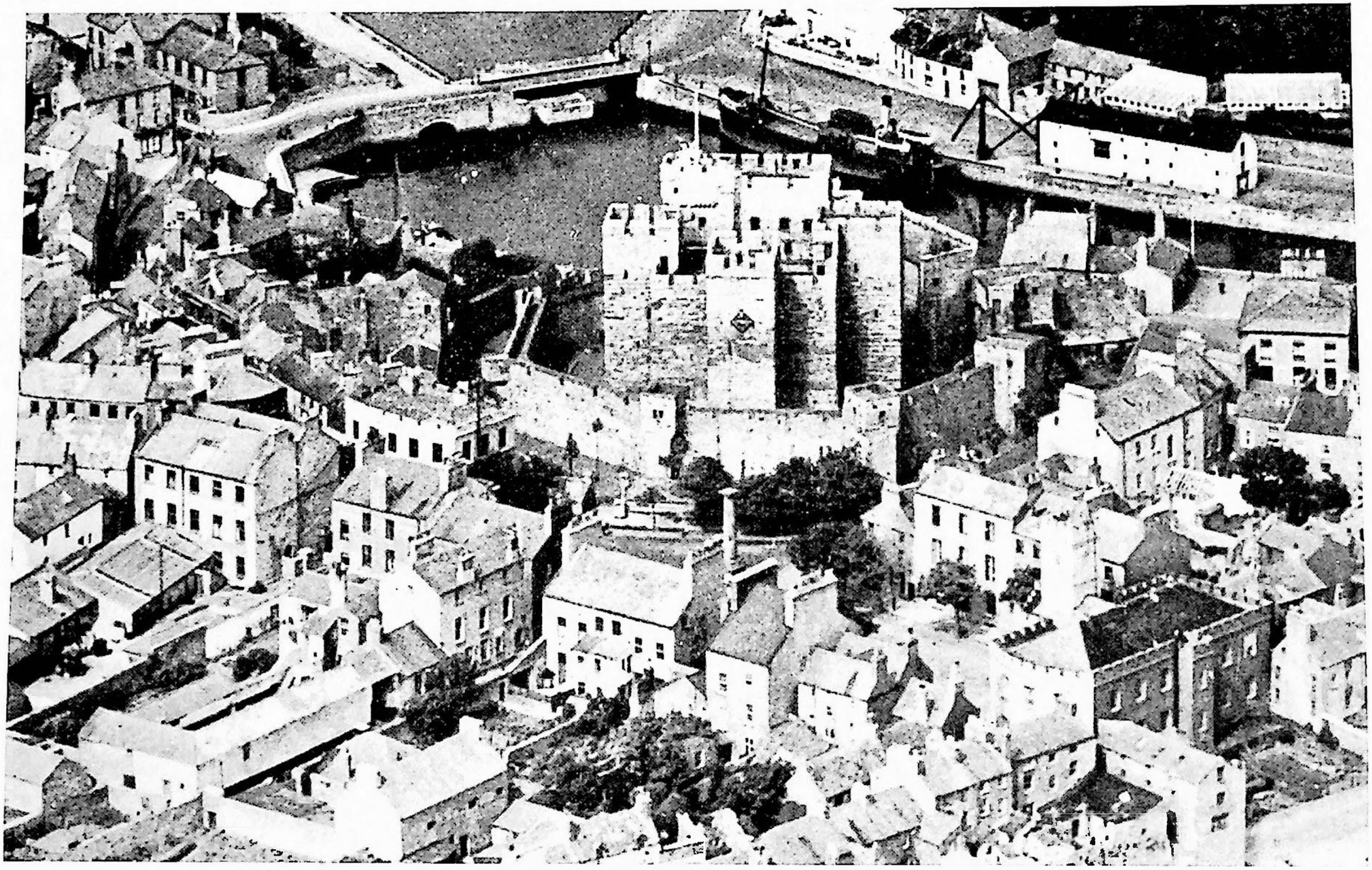


PLATE I Castle Rushen: the twelfth-century headquarters of the Manx Kings of the Isles, and seat of a Scottish administration under Alexander III and Robert I.

(*Photograph by courtesy of the Manx Museum*)

eccentric but is historically sound, since to the Scandinavians Man formed an essential part of the *Suðreyjar* ('Southern Isles', *i.e.* as opposed to the 'Northern Isles' of Orkney and Shetland), and indeed was a chief seat of the kingdom of the Isles (Fig. 1) probably from the tenth century. The cathedral of the Isles still stands, roofless, on St Patrick's Isle at Peel (Fig. 2); and even as late as 1422 a pronouncement in the Manx statute book could look back to the time when eight members of the court of Tynwald—a third of the 'Twenty-Four Keys'—had come from 'the Out Isles' of Scotland. Though not considered by Professor Nicolaisen, Man also has the advantage—as Dr Margaret Gelling has lately reminded us—of having a series of twelfth- and thirteenth-century documents, providing a key to contemporary name-forms, and thus at least partially to the languages spoken during the rule of the native-born kings under Norwegian suzerainty. This material has now been assembled and discussed by an unusual succession of experts: J. J. Kneen for Manx, Professor Carl Marstrander for Irish and Norse, and now Dr Gelling, a place-name scholar of wide experience; so the evidence is uniquely available, although the historical interpreter without their qualifications—such as the present writer—must needs tread warily and with humility. Although in what follows I occasionally make bold to disagree with one or other of these scholars, I count myself fortunate indeed in having had the opportunity of friendly discussion of these and related topics with all three over many years, and I offer my comments as a tribute to their invaluable and stimulating work: in the case of Kneen and Marstrander their

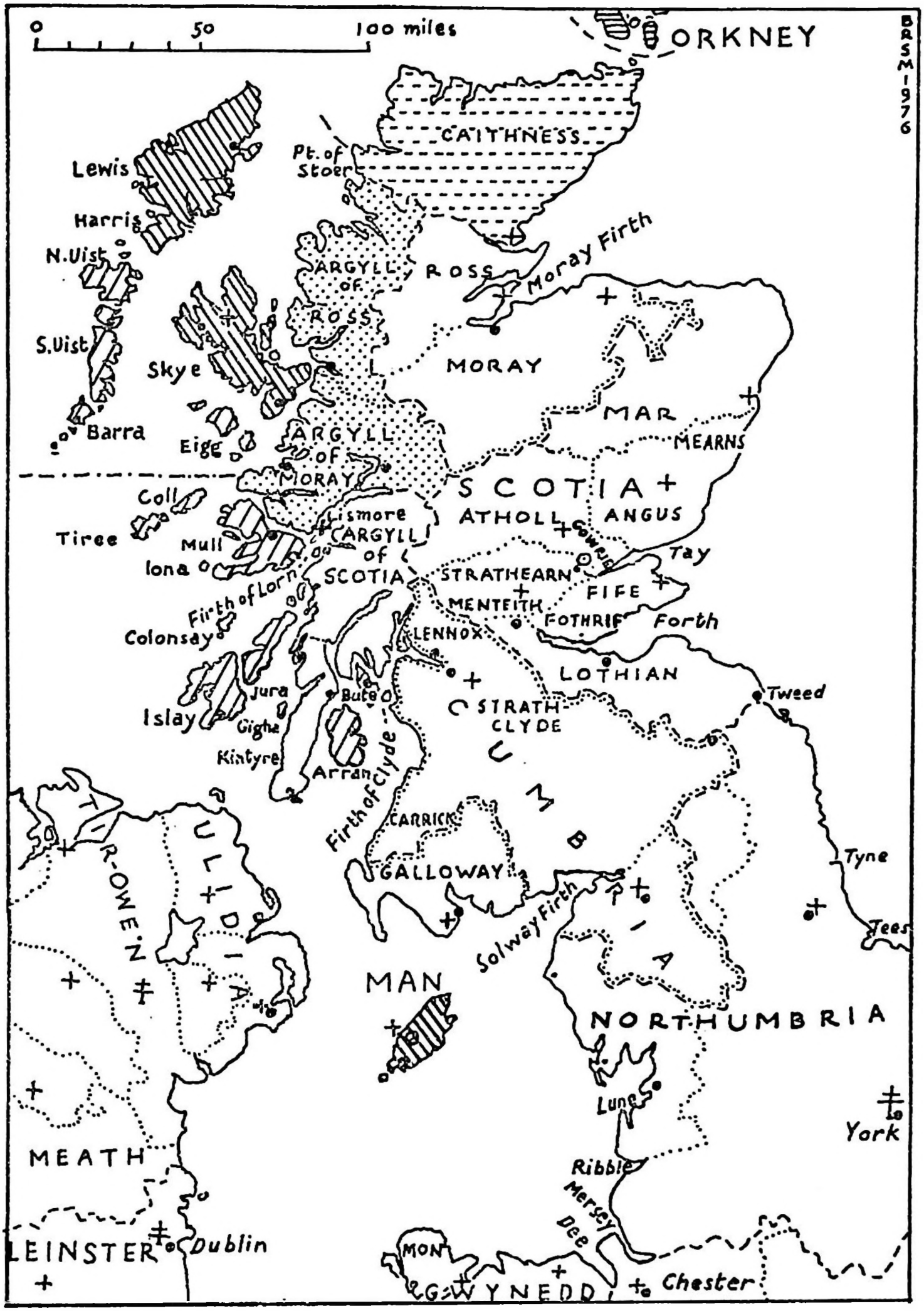
FIG. 1 (opposite) The Manx kingdom of the Isles

The diocese of the Isles (*shaded*) established *c.* 1135, corresponds to the greatest extent of the Manx kingdom, under the often nominal suzerainty of the king of Norway from *c.* 1098.

The partition of 1156 between Godred II of Man and Somerled of Argyll is perhaps reflected by the late tradition of a major division comprising those Isles northward of Ardnamurchan (the 'Skye and Lewis groups') and those southward (the 'Mull and Islay groups')—the Argyll islands. A corresponding division of the adjoining mainland into North and South Argyll, also marked by Ardnamurchan and the river Shiel—though this probably had an earlier existence (*cf.* the 'half *Skot-land*' of Orkneyinga Saga)—perhaps reflects the tradition of a boundary on the Shiel between Somerled's father and the 'Northmen' early in the twelfth century. The inclusion of 'Argyll of Moray' (with what became the lordship of Garmoran) in the new diocese of Argyll formed under Somerled's sons *c.* 1183, doubtless implies an enlargement of Somerled's mainland kingdom; the undocumented annexation by Somerled or his sons of the Uists, Barra and the Small Isles (subsequently associated with Garmoran)—in addition to the Argyll isles of the southern Hebrides—may be assigned to the same period (*broad shading*).

All the Isles, north and south, continued to be held under the often nominal suzerainty of Norway until 1266 when, with Man, they were bought by Alexander III. Mainland territories within which the Manx kings (Glenelg at least) and the Orkney earls held varying lordships (*stippled*), in North Argyll and Caithness respectively, were after the lost treaty of *c.* 1098 evidently subject to the overlordship of the king of Scots.

The chief stronghold of the Manx kingdom from the late twelfth century was Castle Rushen (Plate I). Though the cathedral at Peel in Man was the effective see of the Isles (*Sodorensis*), the church of Skeabost in Skye seems at times to have claimed that position, perhaps initially from the time of bishop Wymund in *c.* 1135.


0
50
100 miles
ORKNEY
BRSM-1976
CAITHNESS
Pt. of Stoer
Lewis
Harris
N.Uist
S.Uist
Barra
Skye
Eige
ARGYLL OF ROSS
ROSS
Moray Firth
MORAY
MAR
MEARNS
ARGYLL OF MORAY
SCOTIA
Coll
Tiree
Mull
Iona
Lismore
ARGYLL of SCOTIA
ATHOLL
ANGUS
Tay
STRATHEARN
FIFE
MENTEITH
FOTHRIF
Forth
Firth of Lorn
Colonsay
LENNOX
LOTHIAN
Tweed
Jura
Bute
Islay
Gigha
Kintyre
Arran
STRATH CLYDE
CUMBRIA
Firth of Clyde
CARRICK
GALLOWAY
Tyne
Tees
Solway Firth
TYR-OWEN
ULIDIA
MAN
NORTHUMBRIA
Lune
York
MEATH
Ribble
Mersey
Dee
LEINSTER
Dublin
MON
GWYNEDD
Chester

complementary monographs each extend to more than 600 printed pages; a particularly useful feature of Marstrander's work that is often overlooked being a careful phonetic rendering of many of the names that appear in Kneen's corpus noted down from native speakers of Manx in 1929 and 1930.[1]

Although ruled before the Viking Age by kings of British[2] descent (MacQueen 1961: 8–12), inscriptions show conclusively that bilingual Irish communities were already

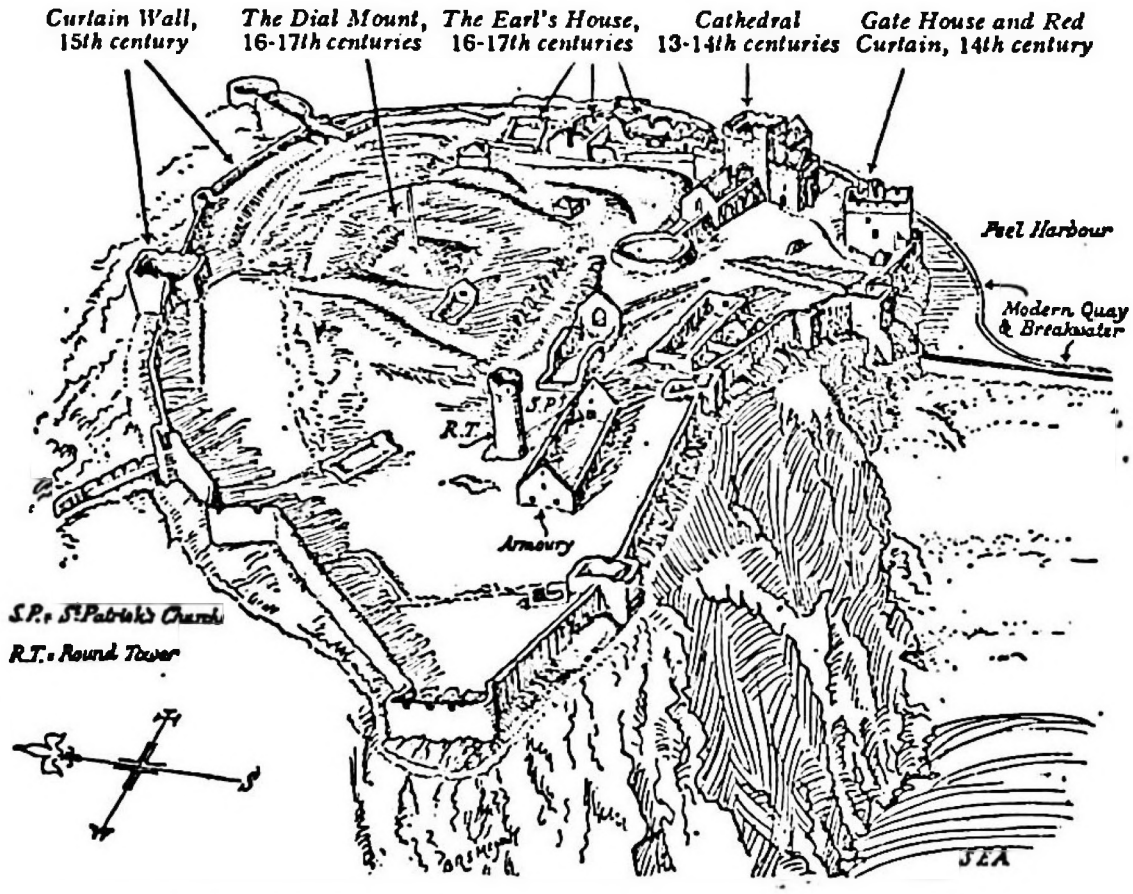


FIG. 2 St Patrick's Isle, Peel: the see of the mediæval diocese of the Isles

The once tidal islet now known as Peel Castle but formerly Holmepatrick or *Insula Patricii* (translating the vernacular), is said by Jocelin of Furness, *c.* 1190, to have been chosen by St Patrick (though that is unhistorical) as the seat of his disciple St German, whom he placed as bishop over the Manx. Possibly from *c.* 1135, when the regular diocese of the Isles (Sodorensis, *i.e.* 'of the Suðreyjar') was established under king Olaf of Man, the parish church of Kirk German here became the cathedral of the Isles: the present building was erected or rebuilt by bishop Simon 'of Argyll' (1226–48): Jocelin's reference evidently implies a twelfth-century predecessor on St Patrick's Isle. From 1153 until the fourteenth century, the Isles formed part of the vast Norwegian archdiocese of Nidaros (Trondheim).

The islet is named from the abandoned parish church of Kirkpatrick, or 'St Patrick of the Isle', of tenth- or eleventh-century Irish type, with associated round tower (both altered later), which crown the highest point: this may have been the first Manx cathedral in the days of bishop 'Roolwer' (ON. Rólfr), *c.* mid eleventh century. It may previously have served as the seat of an abbot of Irish type, since what seem to have been the original endowment lands in the adjoining sheading of Glenfaba are recorded as the 'manor of Appyn' (1377).

Within the same parish, at a central cross-roads three miles east of the cathedral, lies Tynwald Hill; and within the shelter of the islet itself lay the entrance to one of the principal Manx harbours.

(*Block by courtesy of the Manx Museum.*)

settled amongst the British in Man by the fifth or sixth century (Jackson 1953:173). The background may well have been similar to that of contemporary Galloway and Scottish Dalriada, though Bede—no lover of the Britons—still reports Man as British *c.* 730. How—or even how directly—a Norse dynasty came to succeed the earlier native kings is unknown, but from then on during three centuries prior to 1266 not one of the known kings bore a Celtic name.

The unrecorded settlement-phase is marked archæologically by many pagan 'Norse' graves, mainly of the ninth century (Bersu and Wilson 1966:xii; Wilson 1974:19, 44–5)—but, most significantly, none of them are women's graves. At least eleven Norse place-names in *-staðir* may also be assignable to this phase (Marstrander 1932:330, 355; *cf.* Nicolaisen 1969:9–11)—more than in any of the Hebrides except Lewis. *-Staðir* names are distributed equally in both the old 'Southside' and 'Northside' districts of the island (Marstrander thought more lay in the North), though there seem to be blank areas in west and south-west. Cross-slabs of essentially native type reappear from about 930 (Wilson 1971:1–18), but those inscribed were then invariably in Old Norse: no Gaelic (or even Latin) inscriptions are known from this time onwards. Indeed there are in Man more Norse inscriptions of the Viking period (*i.e.* before 1100) than even in the Northern Isles, or for that matter in any other region of Britain or Ireland. All this suggests that Norse speech may well have occupied as dominant a position in Man as in any of the Western Isles—though whether the evidence really reflects the situation in the ruling circle and among the chief landowners rather than the population at large is the crux of the matter.

II *The Place-Name Evidence*

In two most competent and useful articles, which should certainly be more widely known, Dr Gelling (1970–1) has lately reassessed all the place-name evidence preserved in contemporary Manx documents of the twelfth to the fourteenth century, wholly discarding in the process on account of its 'modernised' spelling the copy of the papal bull of 1231 to the bishop of the Isles (see further, Appendix A). Her bold, if provisional, conclusions may be summarised thus:

1 Elsewhere in areas of mixed speech place-names in contemporary documents accurately reflect the linguistic situation of the time, since they served a purely practical purpose. On that assumption the Manx evidence implies that Old Norse had virtually driven out Gaelic speech long before 1266.

2 Had the island's population continued to be bilingual after the Viking settlement, one would expect some instances of both Gaelic and Norse names for the same place to have survived.

3 The very few Celtic place-names recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (*e.g.* the river-name 'Dufglas') are best regarded as 'fossil' names—*i.e.* merely borrowed

from the earlier natives by the original Viking settlers in the ninth century—and therefore afford no clue to the linguistic situation in the thirteenth century.

4 Consequently it would seem that Manx Gaelic must have been introduced from some area outside the island after 1266, that is following the end of the period of Norwegian suzerainty. (Incidentally this was also the view of the native Manx scholar, J. J. Kneen (1925:xvi), although Marstrander reached a different conclusion, in part depending on the unreliable papal bull.)

5 The undated abbeyland bounds, attributed by Mrs Gelling and others to about 1370—and thus of the relevant period—appears to show a significant increase at that time in the proportion of Gaelic place-names, including for the first time several characteristics of Manx nomenclature, such as names in *Balla-*, and the so-called 'inversion compounds'. For Mrs Gelling this document is crucial, and in her view reflects the impact of the newly-reintroduced Gaelic, and the approaching demise of Norse speech in the island—an event which she therefore attributes to the fifteenth century, when the northern English Stanley régime became effective.

Invaluable though her survey is, and the discussion of the problems is masterly, the more I have thought about the historical conclusions the less am I fully convinced by them. The main defect in the argument (as it seems to me) stems from a chronological error for which Mrs Gelling is not responsible—the date of the key document—and for the rest, perhaps from relying too exclusively on a relatively small collection of place-names to resolve this type of problem. Whether or no my views are any more convincing, what follows should have an interest considerably wider than the particular subject.

On Mrs Gelling's main arguments I offer the following comments:

(a) Of the place-names recorded before 1266—mostly 'lost' settlement-names—more than half (17 out of 32) are either ambiguous (generally Latin translations) or obscure: of the rest 3 are Celtic,[3] 12 are Norse. At most 20 per cent of the usable names are Celtic, but a high proportion of this numerically poor sample evidently refers to the area of the island near the king's stronghold.

(b) After Mrs Gelling's papers had appeared, I remembered some notes I made long ago on the probable date of the abbeyland bounds, which everyone else had attributed to the late fourteenth century. My then tentative conclusion that the document was probably written by a particular continuator of the Manx chronicle whose brief additions were evidently made no later than 1275 (apparently before the events of 8 October in which his abbey was deeply concerned), has now been confirmed by the distinguished palæographer Dr Neil Ker. Having kindly inspected the original in the British Museum again for the purpose, Dr Ker informed me (letter of 6.1.73) that the writer was 'almost certainly' the same person: 'the Bounds look as if they might have been written rather later . . ., although by the same hand.'[4] The palæographic evidence for a thirteenth-century date is supported by internal evidence, as the property named

Tofthar Asmund in the document as then belonging to Rushen Abbey no longer did so after 1302.[5] (It is of some interest that the re-dating of the bounds to *c.* 1280 makes that document contemporary with an earlier, unsuccessful assertion of St Bees' claim to the property—in the time of Alexander III's governor Maurice Acarsan (Wilson 1915:489), whose rule may be assigned to the period between 1275 and 1286. Did this earlier court-action against the abbey perhaps contribute to the decision of the Rushen monks thus to record the bounds of their abbeylands at that time?)

As this important group of forty-six place-names may now be dated *c.* 1280, and certainly before *c.* 1300, it reveals the kind of names current about the close of the Norse régime (Table 1). Only eleven are Latinised or of uncertain origin. Of the rest, Gaelic forms comprise 40 per cent of the names assignable to one language or the other. In addition there are also four 'inversion compounds' which equally imply a Gaelic-speaking background, and, if included, would leave genuinely Norse names in an actual minority.

(c) More than two centuries later the much larger series of 'treen' names listed in the lord's-rent books of 1511–15, so assiduously studied by Professor Marstrander (1932 and 1937), shows little difference in the proportion: there, in my revised count, Gaelic forms comprise 43 per cent. I have excluded duplicated '*Alia*' names, which probably reflect internal colonisation; and others such as the inversion compounds which Marstrander classed as Norse, but of which the linguistic status is clearly ambiguous.

A comparable figure, 40 per cent Gaelic, is indicated by the fewer, but mostly identical or very similar forms which occur a century earlier in an important unpublished source, the sheading court roll of 1417–18. This (see Table 2) is especially significant as it shows for the first time that the treen and sheading names were already for the most part fully established in their final form at the beginning of the Stanley era. A number of treen-names—Gaelic as well as Norse—are already found, usually in a rather earlier spelling-form, as adjoining various abbey farms mentioned in the bounds of *c.* 1280, and only one of these was later apparently superseded as a treen-name. Where the evidence is sufficient, therefore, we find that the proportion of Gaelic to Norse place-names in the records tends to remain more or less constant from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. Consequently, it would seem, the post-1266 'Gaelic colonisation' disappears, and we can hardly doubt that most of the settlement names were already long-established, at least from the time when continuing land-records were first kept, probably no later than the twelfth century. Some may well have originated during the Norse settlement itself, and would thus reflect the speech-situation amongst the original land-takers, rather than in the period, centuries later, of the records in which they first appear.

(d) It is now worth looking at the abbeyland document (Table 1) more closely. This usually tends to define boundaries less by topographical features (as, for instance, in Anglo-Saxon charters) than by reference to adjoining farms or estates, *i.e.* by established 'record-names'—and those, as we have seen, often were Norse names. There is one

interesting exception, however, where the property at Myrescogh (Sulby), a grange of Rushen, had been acquired recently (*i.e.* before *c.* 1257) from a previous owner—the Yorkshire abbey of Rievaulx. Here the proportion of Gaelic names (66 per cent) is far higher than in the other properties, and Mrs Gelling accounts for this by suggesting that a colony of Gaelic speakers had recently settled here. For my part I think the difference is more convincingly explained by a noticeable difference in descriptive method, involving some attempt to define the boundaries by topographical features, and those might well involve local names used by the country-folk. Only two out of the fourteen relevant names in this section seem to be principal settlement-names, as against fifteen out of twenty-one in the remainder.

That the Myrescogh bounds had a different origin from the rest is I think confirmed by a further peculiarity. Though in the same hand, the section-heading indicates the purpose as defining the boundary with 'the land of *Kirk Christ*' not (as in the other sections) with 'the land of the king'. This phrase has hitherto been thought to refer to the adjoining (king's) lands of the parish of Kirk Christ, Lezayre, though that would not in itself explain the need for the different wording. Indeed the monks' boundary would here also concern the neighbouring parishes of Ballaugh, Jurby and Andreas, and if compiled at the same time and with the same purpose as the others, why should these bounds exceptionally refer to any parish? Surely this section, with its heading, derives from an older text whose purpose was first restricted to defining the eastern boundary of the monks' land with a single adjoining property, that known as *Kirkchrist juxta Ramsa*, around the parish church, and which soon after 1252 was granted to the bishop—together with 'half the fishery in Myrescogh' (Oliver 1861–2:3–15, 30). Whether the older text was written after 1252, to record the respective shares of the bishop and the Rushen monks mainly in the unenclosed eastern Curragh and the equally unfenced hill-grazings, or related to a similar demarcation between the previous owners, the subsequent addition (as I think) of the rest of the monks' boundaries evidently followed the descriptive method of the original text, without changing the heading. That the text in its earlier form may have been written before Rushen's acquisition of the property is indeed suggested by the reference in the heading to 'the land of the monks of Myrosco', for the place had originally been a small monastery of Rievaulx monks.

That there really were two linguistic levels co-existing in the place-names of the Sulby area—and presumably other areas—is supported by the fact that, in apparent contradiction of the Gaelic tendency in the names in that section of the abbey bounds, the treens of the sheading-district concerned show a slightly above-average proportion of Norse names. One of the reasons for the small proportion of Gaelic names in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century charters may, however, be related to the fact that all the places they refer to lay on the Southside, many of them in the neighbourhood of the royal stronghold: this is a feature also of the Southside sections of the abbeyland bounds as a whole, as only 26 per cent of all the usable names there are Gaelic.

Incidentally, the appearance of *Asmundertoft(es)*, a normal ON. compound, in our

TABLE I

Manx place-names of c. *1280 from the Abbeyland Bounds, showing the high proportion of Gaelic names in the Sulby section as compared to the others*

Source: B. L. Cotton MS Julius A vii, sec. 4

Gaelic	*Norse*	*Gaelicised (or modified Gaelic)*	*Latinised*	*Uncertain or ambiguous forms*	*Total*
(a) *Malew Abbeylands*					
Russyn (abbey, river, castle) [mod. Rushen]	Oxwath (ford)	Kyrkemychel; or villam Thorkel [1511 Kyrke-Mychell]	villam castelli [1511 Castelland, alias Scarclowte; mod. Scarlet]	Bylozen [mod. Billown]	
Aryeuzryn [1511 Arerman (?-*uran)]	Trollatofthar	Crosyuor	pratum monachorum [1867 Abbey Meadow]	Hentr(a)e (arable land)	
Balcsalach / Balcsalazc / Balsalzc [mod. Ballasalla]	Staynarhea		villam MacAkoen [mod. Ballakeigen]	Mouru / Mouro (stream) [mod. Awin Ruy]	
	Fanc (glen)		villam Thorkel; alias Kyrkemychel	Cornama(*n*) [mod. Cordeman]	
	Worzefel (mountain) [*c.* 1316 Warthfel, mod. Barrule]			Byulthan [mod. Balthane]	
	Rozefel [mod. Granite Mountain]				
	Oxrayzer [mod. Shenvalla]				
	Totmanby [1511 Totnamby, mod. Tosaby]				
	Corna (river) [mod. Santanburn]				
	Herynstazc [mod. Orrisdale]				
3	10	2	4	5	24

[*Continued over*]

TABLE I—*continued*

[*Gaelic*]	[*Norse*]	[*Gaelicised*]	[*Latinised*]	[*Uncertain*]	[*Total*]
(b) *Sulby, or Myrescogh, Abbeylands (Lezayre parish)*					
{Hescana[-]appayze {Hescanakeppage (lake) [1703 Cappagh] Kor (wood) Leabba* Aukonalḳay Glennadroman [mod. Glentramman] *Karraycl[-]eth (rock) Leathkostray Hath Arygegormane Dufloch [*cf.* 1703 Dolla(u)gh]	Myrosco (wood) [1505 Myrescogh] Bryseth (stream) Sulaby (river of) [mod. Sulby river]	Kyrkecrist [*c.* 1257/1505 villa de Kyrcrest juxta Ramsa]		Munenyrzana Rozelean Duppolla (on stream)	
8	3	1	—	3	15
(c) *Skinscoe Abbeylands (Lonan and Maughold parishes)*					
Rynkurlyn [mod. Rencullen]	Skynnescor [mod. Skinscoe] Laxa (harbour, river) [mod. Laxey] Gretastaz (*villam*) [1511 Grettest (treen) mod. Gretch (farms)]	{Tofthar Asmund (arable land) {Toftha Asmud [*c.* 1154 Asmundertoftes; mod. Ballellin]	capellam sancti Nicholai [1643 Crot kill Nicholas]		

		Orumsouz (arable land) [*c.* 1200 Ormeshau; mod. Barony Howe]				
	1	4	1	1	—	7
TOTALS	12	17	4	5	8	46

Notes: The letter *z* is apparently used to represent Gaelic *ch* and *gh*, and also Norse *ð*. It may occur once for *s*, possibly in error (*Oxrayzer*).

Section (a): *Fanc.* This name is placed in the Norse column, following Marstrander and Mrs Gelling, who favour ON. *fang* ('fishing, or hunting, place'), as perhaps more probable in a thirteenth-century place-name than Gaelic *fang* ('sheep-fold').

Section (b): *Leabba Aukonalkay.* The first part of the name is agreed to be Gael. *leaba* ('bed, grave'), but the defining part has not hitherto been successfully read. Irish parallels suggest that a mythological or saint's name could be involved.

Karraycl[-]*eth.* The first element is Karrayc- ('rock'), but the second is uncertain.

Hath Arygegormane. The first part of the name is agreed to be Gael. *áth* ('ford'). Mrs Gelling (1971:171) has transcribed the second part differently, but after re-examination of the MS, Kneen's reading seems virtually correct: the first element is *Aryge-*, initially written *Aryze-*, both forms representing Gael. *áir(i)ghe* ('shieling'). Mrs Gelling, who dismisses the idea of an *áirighe* in this location, has overlooked the point (made by my wife) that Manx names in Eary- probably refer to former shielings at relatively modest elevations, which soon became enclosed farmland, in contrast to the abandoned shieling-sites identified by field archaeology at higher altitudes, one of which was occupied in the twelfth century (P. S. Gelling 1962–3).

Uncertain or ambiguous forms. Discussed by Mrs Gelling (1970–71). *Heutre*(*-trae*) looks like Welsh *Hendre*, 'old farm' (equivalent to Manx *Shenvalley*), but if it were, one might expect the *-f* (or *-v*) of the second element to be preserved, unless (as is likely) it represents a spoken form.

Duppolla. If Gaelic, *Duſ-* might be expected (*cf. c.* 1200 *Duſpol* (Kirkcudbrightsh.); while *Dupwath*, 13th c., in Cumberland, might be urged in favour of a non-Gaelic source. The *-a* might (though it need not) indicate an ON. stream-name.

TABLE 2

Place-names in the Court Roll of 1417–18

Most settlement-name forms were evidently already established long before the lord's-rent book of 1511–15. Sources: unpublished court roll, Manx Museum Library; lord's-rent book, 1511–15 (Talbot 1924). The 1428 forms in col. C and Note 3 are from an unpublished garrison inquest roll, Manx Museum Library

(A) *1417–18 roll*	(B) *1511–15 equivalent (with parish, where relevant)*	(C) *Other forms (modern, unless dated)*
NORSE TREEN-NAMES		
Le Calfe	Le Calf (Rushen)	the Calf of Man the Calf (Isle)
Scard	Scard (Rushen)	Scard
Scarclout	Scarclowte (Malew)	Scarthlat (1595); Scarlett farm
Baldall	Baldall (Braddan)	Baldwin (valleys)
Raffe	Rauff (Lonan)	the Rhaa (farm)
Raby	Raby (Lonan)	Raby
Cornay [mill of]	Cornay (Maughold)	Cornay, or Cornaa
NORSE SHEADING-NAMES		
Ayre	le Ayre	*cf.* Kirk Christ Lezayre (1511–15); Ayre sheading
Midel(l) Medall	Medall	*cf.* Medall [treen] (Braddan) (1511–15): Middle farm; Middle sheading
Gaurf	Garff	*cf.* Grauff [treen] (Lonan) (1511–15): Grawe farms; Garff sheading
OTHER NORSE NAMES		
Tynwald [court]		Tynwald Hyll (1408)
Ramsay [town]		Ramsey (ON. **Hrams-á*)
GAELIC TREEN-NAMES		
Knokhauley [in Glenfaba]	Knokallowe (Patrick)	Knockaloe (farms)
Molynlowen	Molynlawne (Kirk Andreas)	Mullenlowne (farm)
Gilcagh	Gilcagh (Kirk Andreas)	Gilcagh (farm)
GAELIC SHEADING-NAMES		
Glenfaba	Glenfaba	Glanfaban (1377); Glenfaba sheading
Russhen	Rushen	Rushen; Rushen sheading *cf.* Knock Rushen (farm)
OTHER GAELIC NAMES		
Balysallagh Balisallagh [village]		Balesale (1428); Ballasalla
Douglas [priory]	Douglas (Conchan)	Dowglas [town] (1428); Douglas

TABLE 2—*continued*

{Balylagh / Balilagh}[parish]	Balylagh	Ballaugh
'KIRK-INVERSIONS'		
Kyrkesantān		(Kirk) Santan, Santon
Kyrkemaro(u)n'		(Kirk) Marown
Kyrke(e)patr*ick* opon Drom		*cf.* Keeill Pharick y Drommey (German)
Kyrk(e)mych*ell*	Kyrke Mighell (Michael)	Kirkmich*ell* (1428): Kirk Michael
Kyrkmagh*ald*		Kirkmaghald (1428): Kirk Maughold
Kyrkcryst [Lezayre]		Kirkrist (1428): (Kirk Christ) Lezayre
Kyrkebrand*an*, Kyrkebradan (etc.)		Kirkbradan' (1428): (Kirk) Braddan
Kyrkelonan'		(Kirk) Lonan
OTHER NAMES (ENGLISH OR HYBRID)		
le Holme [town?]	Halmtoun [mill] (Patrick) [for Holmtoun]	the holmeton (1428); Peel (town)
Pele [castle]		the Pele (1428); Peel Castle
Portu' mars [harbour]		{? Port Mooar (Maughold) [*cf.* Latin *maris* = Manx *moar*]

Note 1 Final syllables omitted in the MS are supplied *in italic.*

Note 2 *Knokhauley:* The identification with Knockaloe is tentative, but virtually certain, and would seem to confirm the derivation of Knockaloe from **Cnoc-Amhlaimh*, 'Olaf's hill or mound' (but see Marstrander (1932:214), who was unaware of this early form).

Note 3 The unpublished 1428 roll also includes the following in addition to the names indicated by that date in col. C: *Kirksayntronyan'* (St Trinian's chapel, Marown), and the parish churches of *Kirkbride*, *Kirkarbory* and *Kirkmalew*; with *Mirescogh* (the northern Curragh), *longnese* (Langness point) and *Raynold(es)way* (Ronaldsway harbour, now Derbyhaven).

fourteenth-century documents has been taken to imply currency of the Norse word-order and inflexion for this name until that time (Gelling 1971:172–3)—and thus the survival of Norse speech. This is surely unlikely, as the two instances referred to probably only represent copying of the obsolete name as found in the original twelfth-century grants and copied into the same transcript source. The re-dating of the Gaelicised form, *Tofthar Asmund* (Table 1, sec. (c)), to *c.* 1280 supports this conclusion: even that date does not establish the time at which the Gaelicised form *first* came into use in speech. It may, however, indicate the possibility that the Norse plural-inflexion survived in the spoken language until *c.* 1280 (*cf. Trollatofthar*, Table 1, section (a)).

(e) 'If', asked Mrs Gelling, 'Gaelic names existed for Barrule, Ramsey, and all the other names in this category, why did these hypothetical Gaelic equivalents not emerge into general use?'—*i.e.* following the demise of Norse speech.

The point is very important, but a list of possible equivalents can, in fact, be produced. Many of these were mostly well-known while Manx was still widely spoken. First, the

parish churches, normally referred to as 'Kirk Patrick', 'Kirk Maughold', *etc.* (though now often without the 'Kirk'), all had their vernacular Gaelic form: *Keeill Pharick, Keeill Maghal, etc.*, or more specifically *Skyll* or *Sk'eeil(ey) Pharick, Sk'eeil(ey) Maghal, etc.*, representing *skeerey-killey* . . ., 'parish-church of'. Actually, the 'official' forms themselves might theoretically represent anglicised Gaelic ones in which the Norse loanword *kirk-*, borrowed into Middle English, has replaced Gaelic *cill-* (*cf.* Nicolaisen 1960:61–7; the earliest evidence for the type in Manx sources is *Kyrkemychel, Kyrkecrist, c.* 1280.) Tynwald Hill was always *Cronk Keeill Eoin* ('the mount of [St] John's church') to Manx speakers—and who, after all, can say which of those alternative, unrelated in names is really the older? The church name has the older (Irish) form of John, not the Eastern Gaelic *Ean*, and is doubtless pre-thirteenth century at the least. The Norse name of Peel harbour, with its islet, is represented by 'Holm(e)', 'Holme patrik' (1377), 'Patrikysholm' (1392, Cal. Papal Letters), later 'Holmetown', but the vernacular was *Purt* (or *Balley*) *ny Hinchey*: here the former currency of **inis*,[6] a word unknown to the Manx dictionaries, is implied, with no doubt *-patraic* understood (*cf.* the Latin form in the chronicle), and this Gaelic island-name is also likely to be earlier than the thirteenth century. Indeed an origin in the eleventh century would seem to be the latest period likely for the establishment of the implied name **Inispatraic*, to judge by the Irish-type church of St Patrick of the Isle and its associated round tower. (The supposed reference to the islet in Irish annals, *c.* 797, relates to *Inispatraic*/Holmpatrick off the Dublin coast.) 'The Myres', the normal late-mediæval name of the northern marshes, is always 'The Curragh(s)' now; and the same Gaelic word occurs in a Manx place-name already recorded in 1315. The abbey farm called 'Oxrayzer' (ON. 'ox-cairns') *c.* 1280, has apparently survived under the alternative name Shenvalley (Manx, 'old farm'). Marstrander (1932:207–8) paired Elby Point (ON. *hale-bor*, 'tail farm') and The Niarbyl (Manx *yn arbyl*, 'the tail'), a tail-like series of partly-tidal rocks. Kneen and Marstrander also noted that in Lonan the obsolete treen-name of Rig (ON. *hryggr*, 'ridge') had embraced the two quarterland farms of Baldromma, Manx 'ridge farm' (Marstrander 1932:180). Among the hills Sartfell and Slieau Dhoo are nearby (though not adjacent), in Michael parish; as are Barrule (ON. *varðu-fjall*, 'watch or beacon hill')[7] and Cronk ny Arrey Lhaa (Manx, 'day-watch mount') in Rushen parish: the forgotten Norse name of the latter peak is found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources as 'Echewle', and 'Adjule' (ON. 'edge-hill'). And there are other, more tentative, pairs.

While, in the absence of early documentation, it is impossible to prove that any of these vernacular equivalents is as old as the Norse period, the possibility that some are cannot simply be disregarded—especially since we now have good evidence that many Gaelic place-names were current at the close of the Norse régime. There is also the point made by Marstrander (*e.g.* 1934:291) that the surviving Norse names of some of the hills and streams may after all represent translations of the lost pre-Norse names (*e.g.* Snaefell, ? < **sliabh sneachta*: *cf.* a hill so named in Donegal). An instance when the old native name may in part be represented is Struan y Craue, for a small stream near

the Sulby river-mouth, formerly 'Ramsa' (ON. 'wild-garlic river'; *cf.* Gaelic *creamh*). On the other hand names like Folieu ('below the mountain'), unknown in Irish to Marstrander (1934:315), probably originated in Man from the Norse, in which the type was common, but even so would equally imply bilingualism.

On the tendency of Scandinavian place-names to outlive vernacular Gaelic names, the late Éamonn de h-Óir observed that numerous Irish place-names, mainly unconnected alternatives to names of Scandinavian origin, often never appeared in writing at any period but survived in Irish language contexts: 'it was the Scandinavian name that was taken over by the incoming English, and that persisted in use by English speakers since' (de h-Óir 1972–3:197–200). There may be little firm evidence that English was much spoken in Man before the fourteenth century, yet long before that, and while Norse was dominant, English merchants, sailors and officials must have been familiar with Manx landmarks, rivers, headlands, hills and harbours. Moreover, some English monks and clergy (and no doubt others) evidently settled there and became administratively influential just as early as they did in Ireland. Both these considerations suggest how Norse names could have become 'established', as in Ireland, in preference to local Gaelic names long before the Stanley era. It should also be remembered that there was in Man an important tradition of writing in Norse up to the time when land-records (of English type) were first kept. On the other hand Manx Gaelic was, for reasons discussed by R. L. Thomson (1969:177, 179–80), very much less of a written language than Irish.

There is, moreover, one positive characteristic of Manx Gaelic names which should be early, though Mrs Gelling has reservations: the presence of names in Slieau- and Carrick. Professors MacQueen and Nicolaisen both regard Scottish names in *Sliabh-* (Slew-, *etc.* 'hill') and Carraig ('rock, cliff'), which have a restricted distribution, as pre-Viking—as indeed they do the names in Kil-('church or chapel') also common in Man. The problem is to know how long such names continued to be given in particular situations. The studies on which these conclusions are based (*cf.* McNeill and Nicholson 1975:4–5) were not available at the time when Marstrander wrote, but it should in any case be remembered that when Marstrander emphasised the 'recent' appearance of the Manx Gaelic place-names, he seems to have meant that few if any generic names of *prehistoric* type occur—*i.e.* none earlier than such as might be expected to have accompanied the coming of Christianity, or settlements of fifth to eighth centuries. Most, of course, will be later.

Before leaving the subject of the Manx place-names, one may ask a more general question. Do they in fact display characteristics which would support the suggestion that Gaelic speakers were introduced after 1266 in numbers sufficient to cause a language change? A complete answer would, to begin with, involve an exhaustive comparative study of the names of Man and Galloway: at the nearest the two areas are separated by only 18 miles of sea and, in theory, an historical basis could be found for a settlement—but of unknown size—from Galloway in or about 1275. This is not the place to attempt such a survey but, thanks to Kneen's work on the Manx names and to Professor

Nicolaisen's recent studies of particular south-west Scottish names, one significant point of difference is already apparent. Whatever resemblances there may be, the apparently complete absence in Man of names in *achadh-* ('enclosed field'), so common in south-west Scotland (and indeed in the rest of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland), presents a real obstacle to the theory of any new Gaelic settlement in Man in the thirteenth century. And there are other notable absentees such as *blàr* and the church-term *clachán*, to go no further in the alphabet. This, admittedly, is negative evidence, but the absence of *achadh-* names is particularly significant as this settlement term was in such common use in south-west Scotland in active name-formation during the very period we are considering (Nicolaisen 1975a:173–4; 1975b:4–5; 1970:19–23, 33). Even the word *achadh* finds no place in the Manx dictionaries. With the results we have already obtained, this negative place-name evidence seems to me fairly conclusive.

III *Epithets and Patronymics*

This subject, and the two following sections, lay outside the scope of Mrs Gelling's study of the place-names, but they are vital to the solution of her problem.

The determined way in which the Manx kings adhered exclusively to the personal names of their Scandinavian ancestors has already been mentioned. Though 25 per cent of the persons named in the local Norse inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries bore names of Gaelic origin, and Marstrander (1932:337) convincingly maintains that these must imply a free population of equals—not slaves or bondmen—no similar hint appears in the royal line at any stage during the next two centuries. Considerations of state may explain this; for, by contrast, their cousins of Argyll, who began effectively to encroach upon the Isles kingdom from Somerled's day (d. 1164), made no such effort to conceal their mixed, largely Gaelic origins. For the Manx kings, on the other hand, the 'Norwegian dimension' must have seemed an indispensable political shield against the increasingly powerful neighbours which threatened Man and the Isles during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

A surer guide to the everyday speech of the Manx court-circle exists in the chronicle—a work explicitly concerned with the kings themselves, and compiled under their sway. The only epithets applied there to particular kings are not Norse but Gaelic words. Thus Godred I (1079–95) is styled Godred 'Crovan', apparently Gaelic **crobh-bhán*, 'white-handed', a term discussed by Ó Cuiv (1957:284), who compares it with Cathal *Croibhdearg*. The interpretation is provisional, but no recent commentator has doubted that the epithet is Gaelic. Yet it is not one that can be dismissed as an Irish epithet, since Godred figures in Irish sources as *Gofraidh Méarach*, or *Méránach* (from *méar*, 'finger').

A later Godred (Reginald's son), who after brief rule in the Isles was killed in Lewis in 1231, is named as Godred '*Don*'—Gaelic *donn*, 'brown, brown-haired'; though a good, almost contemporary Norwegian source, perhaps momentarily confused with the

island kinglets, or just mistaking *donn* for *dubh*, calls him 'the Black' (Hákon's Saga, ch. 167).

This use of Gaelic epithets in the native dynasty of Man is decisively confirmed in the case of Olaf II (d. 1237), to whom the chronicle assigns no such distinction: yet he was posthumously referred to in the English Close Rolls of 1251—doubtless quoting a contemporary letter from Man—as '*Olavi Duf*' (C.R. 1927: p. 177; *cf.* Hákon's Saga, ch. 166 and 167: *Ólafr svarti*.). Long afterwards Olaf was still remembered in Highland tradition as '*Amhlamh Dubh*' (Skene 1876–80:3, 401); and his grandfather as '*Amhlamh Dearg*' (d. 1153). I know of no literary source available to the MacVurich seanachaidh from which these epithets could have been derived.

The companions and officials of the kings, as represented mainly by witness-lists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, provide evidence fully consistent with that of the royal epithets. Omitting royalty, and the occasional outsiders, eleven names of Gaelic origin appear there as against fifteen Norse names. Fashion in such matters is no sure guide to contemporary speech, but the occurrence of some patronymics in vernacular form (most are of course concealed in Latin) is decisive.

An early instance is 'MacMaras', a Manx leader slain in battle in 1098 (Chron. *c.* 1257: the opposing leader of the other part of Man is described as an earl, *comes*). The implied Gaelic form is supported by the recurrence of the name in an important witness-list of *c.* 1135, where the second of the secular witnesses is named as the son of 'MacMars', the father possibly being the same leader (Oliver 1861:3). 'Fogal McHaskall', seneschal of Magnus, last native king of Man, witnessed a charter between 1254 and 1265 (text of 1329; Oliver 1861:92), and he may have been a relative of Sir Gilbert MacAskyl, who held the same appointment under the then English lord of Man two generations later (1311). Between these dates, Duncan MacGoffry was justiciar of Man in 1290, a patronymic incorporating *Guðrøðr* in its Gaelic form that could well imply a link with the former native dynasty. Another name in the same category is known from the abbeyland bounds, *c.* 1280; and as it is there incorporated in an established place-name, this is doubtless also referable in origin to the recently-ended period of native rule: *villa Mac Akoen* is identifiable with the quarterland farm of Ballakeigan (earlier Ballacagen). Place-names of the 'Bale-Mac-' type are found amongst the earliest land-grants in Scotland, and the patronymic in such cases is thought to refer to a person of importance, founder of a branch of a family or clan.

Though limited, such evidence as survives for the period before 1266 thus reveals that the precursors of the characteristic Manx Gaelic surnames in Mac-, subsequently reduced to C-, K- and Qu-, were already in being during the 'Norse' régime. On the other hand there is not a single instance in the Manx documentary sources of the usual Norse type of name-formation, with the ending *-son* (or *-dotter*), to set against the positive evidence of patronymics and epithets in Gaelic form. It can hardly be doubted that these imply a background of spoken Gaelic from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. It has even been suggested that the occurrence in a rune-inscription of Norse

names in what appears to be Gaelic word-order (*A sunr B*) could represent a translation of a Gaelic patronymic in *Mac-* as far back as the tenth century (Olsen 1954:225–6; *cf.* Gelling 1970–1:138–9). In view of the other evidence now assembled, the suggestion seems far from improbable.

IV *The Literary Evidence*

One of the oldest bardic poems in Irish was composed in honour of Reginald, king of Man, not later than *c.* 1200 (Ó Cuív 1957). The existence of this panegyric, lauding the Gall king's supposed descent from native Irish monarchs of the past, and even hinting at his possible (if far-fetched) claims to the high-kingship of Ireland, surely implies a ready comprehension of Gaelic speech and thought in Manx court-circles at the close of the twelfth century. We know too that Reginald's father was buried at Iona (1188), as Godred Crovan (d. Islay 1095) probably had been also.

That Gaelic, and not Norse, was then positively characteristic of Man seems to be inferred by a phrase preserved by a later mediæval Welsh historian in allusion to the year 1193, when Reginald of Man temporarily overran Anglesey in support of his brother-in-law of Gwynedd: by the Welshmen this episode was referred to as 'the Gaelic summer'—*haf y gwydyl* (Lloyd 1911:2. 588). Though contained in a later composition, *O oes Gwyrthyrn*, the original source of the phrase is almost certainly earlier than 1284 (information from Dr B. G. Owens, per Mr M. D. Lloyd): the Manx reference being of no importance at a later period, it probably derives from a lost contemporary poem on the achievements of the successful brother who soon drove out Rhodri, Reginald's ally. Since the princes of North Wales were not only descended from the earlier Manx dynasty, but had on at least one other occasion (1094) invoked the aid of the Manx fleet to help them in their struggles in Anglesey, this Welsh evidence on the subject is unlikely to be misinformed. Moreover, as we now see, it is consistent with substantial evidence from Man itself.

It must have been either during Reginald's reign or that of his father that John the priest of Maughold, writing in Old Norse, invoked the aid of 'Christ, Malachy, Patrick and Adamnan', while another of his inscriptions ends with the old native Ogam alphabet—as neat a revelation of the thoroughly Gaelic milieu of this ostensibly 'Norse' priest as one could hope for (Olsen 1954:202–5). Though Malachy, the reforming native archbishop of Armagh, was not officially canonised until 1190, he was accepted as a saint soon after his death in the arms of St Bernard of Clairvaux in 1148. John's inscriptions are probably the latest evidence available for the use of Norse runes in Man—and possibly, apart from Orkney, in all Britain and Ireland. Why runes were so commonly used in Man has yet to be explained (Page 1971:167): perhaps elsewhere the Church resisted earlier and more strongly such echoes of old idolatry? Cross-slabs also ceased to be erected about the same time as Manx runes disappeared, perhaps owing to the influence of the reforming churchmen of the day.

As there are apparently no Norse inscriptions later than the twelfth century, when Gaelic was evidently already widely spoken, it is possible that Norse speech died out in Man within a generation or two of the end of the native dynasty—that is, soon after 1300. The suggestion that some doughty Norse-speakers may have stood their ground until forced to emigrate by the rigours of Stanley rule in the early fifteenth century (Gelling 1971:174) seems to me too late: such an exodus—though hardly a large one—did, it seems, occur in 1275, after the battle of Ronaldsway and the total collapse of the Manx rising against the Scots. By the close of the fifteenth century the Norse name of **Conisacre* treen [*Conisakir* 14th c.], 'the king's demesne', once surely one of the best-known places in the whole island as it included Ronaldsway with its spacious harbour, was evidently not only forgotten but also already meaningless to the lord's clerks: the mangled '*Conyssare*' of 1506 (for **Conysacre*) thus survived to our own day in the rentals as 'Comissary', an incomprehensible ghost-name.

v *Administrative Origins*

In the light shed by our reassessment of the onomastic and literary evidence, it is necessary to review some other aspects of the 'Norse heritage' in Man.

The 'treen', the farm-land unit (almost a diminutive proto-parish) upon which taxes were once based, has been equated by Marwick and Marstrander with the Hebridean 'ounce-land', Gaelic *tìr-unnge*.[8] The ounce-land has often been claimed as characteristically Norse (*e.g.* McKerral 1944:54 ff.); but, although certainly known in Orkney in a Norse version of the word, *eyrisland* (vernacular 'ursland'), this unit is found nowhere else in the Scandinavian world (*cf.* Marwick 1952:210). By contrast the *unge*, or ounce, as a value of silver or (less usually) of gold, was evidently in general use in Ireland, possibly even before the Viking period—sometimes quite specifically as the amount imposed as an annual land-tax due to a king or overlord. The most natural explanation might seem to be that the Gaelic *tìr-unnge* corresponded, at least in the Isles, to the *tír-mbó* ('cow-land') of the seventh-century Irish laws. In Ireland the *tír-mbó* was evidently regarded as the normal holding of a freeholder, for which he paid his lord an annual tribute of 'a cow with its accompaniment', elsewhere equated in value with an ounce of silver in the early eighth century (Binchy 1941:8, 68, 77). It is of interest that the *tír-mbó* has also been discussed recently as the Irish equivalent of the Saxon 'hide', or land of a single family (Charles-Edwards 1972:14).

Unfortunately for the simple solution, the treen and ounce-land as we know them do not seem to fit the freeman's holding. In Man, at least in later times, the quarterland (Manx, *kerroo*, *kerroo-balley*; Sc. Gaelic, *ceathramh*) was the characteristic holding, which passed 'from ancestor to heir'. The treen, on the contrary, was evidently a notional grouping for tax and other purposes of a number—normally four—quarterland farms. So far as I am aware, the origin of the Irish and Scottish quarterlands, usually regarded as subdivisions of a townland or *baile*, has not hitherto been explained, or even closely

dated.[9] The Manx documentary evidence is too late to elucidate the problem but, as an entirely tentative suggestion to stimulate discussion, the four-quarterland unit might be compared to the Carolingian system whereby four *manses* (later five) combined to provide and support one fighting man—one *manse* (the farming entity of which the homestead was the centre) providing the man, the other three his equipment and upkeep (Hollister 1962:42–3). That system was associated with the establishment of a professional military or naval force, and might thus be directly relevant to a time when Norse mercenaries were being introduced into the Gaelic social order.

If so, Marstrander's conclusion that treens represent a land-system that existed long before the Viking settlement would not meet the case, but his main argument was based on acceptance of the traditional antiquarian belief that each treen originally had an 'Early Christian' *keeill* (chapel) and *rhullick* (family burial-ground). The subject merits further investigation, and not only in Man: at present all that is certain is that the keeill burial-ground sites are pre-parochial, and a number—but by no means all—have produced evidence of use before the ninth century (Kermode and Bruce 1968:71–3). Others were certainly in use in the tenth and eleventh centuries, if not later, and (though this is not conclusive) lack signs of earlier origin. Dedications where they survive include a number of obscure saints, likely to be early, but many others, including Patrick and Bridget, are certainly later (Appendix B, sec. 2). The fully-developed treen and quarterland 'system' doubtless incorporated pre-existing native, or 'Early Christian' foundations, and extended these to serve the changed conditions of the Norse period. In the Jurby district a series of six prominently-sited pagan burial-mounds, two of them proved by excavation to be those of ninth-century Norse settlers, are distributed individually over as many quarterland farms: this might suggest that those quarterland farms may then have been the principal holdings in that area, as they remain today (Fig. 3). Whether they were already grouped into treens for administrative purposes in the ninth century is of course not known, but it does seem likely that the holdings that came to be known as quarterlands represent in general a very early land system (see Appendix B).

The hypothesis that the treen developed in a Gaelic *milieu*, whether under Carolingian influence or not, is supported by a previously-unexplained term in a Manx land-grant by Godred II (1153–87), which Professor Barrow has lately elucidated. Now for the first time we have the clear implication that the dues paid to the twelfth-century kings from Manx estates normally comprised—in addition to 'secular [military] service', what the grant calls *pecunia* (*i.e.* 'moveable wealth; cattle') and '*(a)conveth*'[10]: clearly these are the familiar *cáin* and *coinnmheadh*, that is tribute, and 'hospitality' or billeting (Barrow 1969:22). Thus under the rule of the native-born kings of the Isles, of the so-called 'Norse' dynasty, the provision of hospitality to the king or his men was known officially by the old Gaelic term invariably used in the same sense in Scotland and Ireland. It was later asserted in the Manx Chronicle that the *tributa regalia* were imposed by Godred Crovan after gaining power (*c.* 1079), when he claimed outright ownership

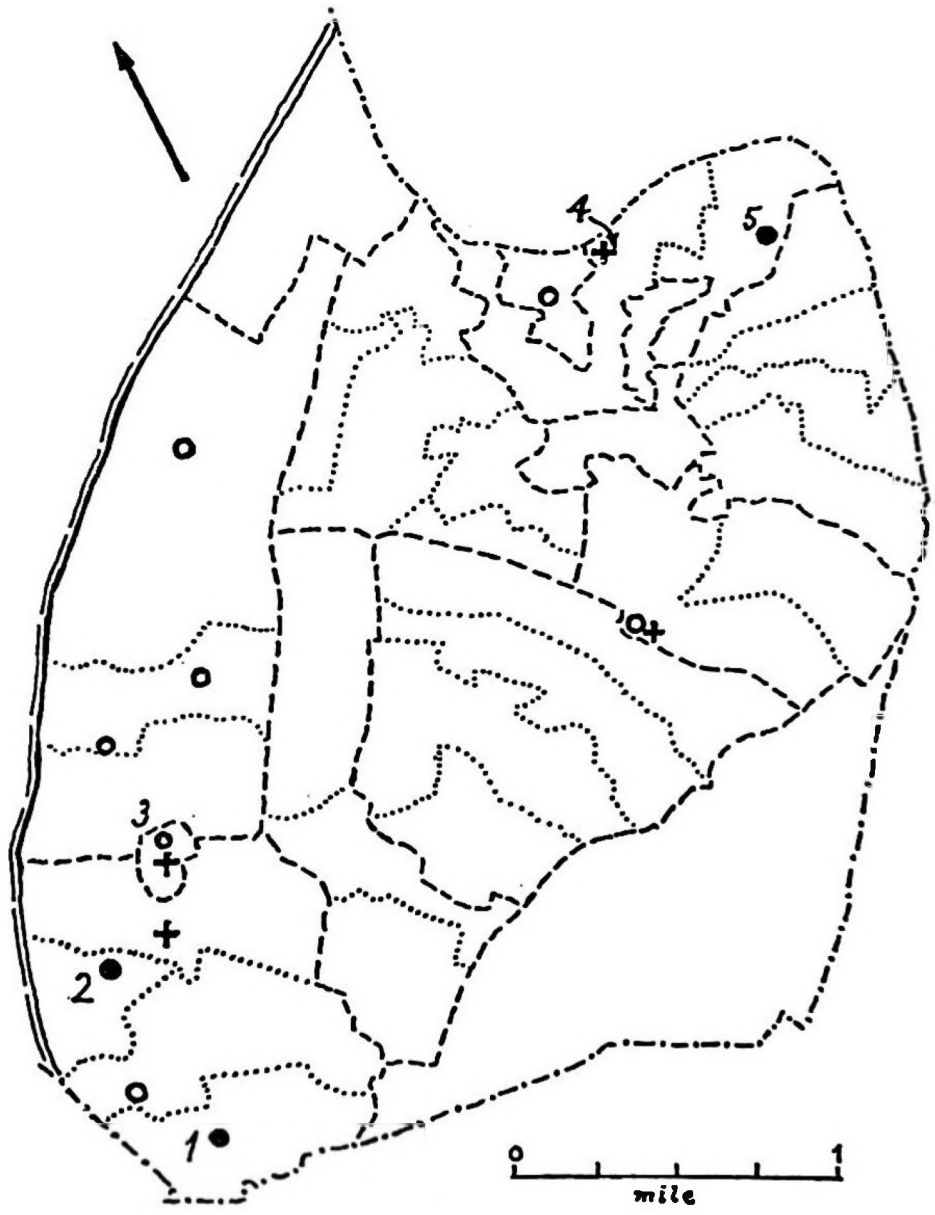


FIG. 3 Pagan grave-mounds on the Jurby coastal ridge

The small parish of Jurby, between sea (*left*) and marsh (*south*), showing boundaries of treens (*bold, pecked lines*) and quarterland farms (*dotted lines*). Though the coastal quarterlands have been reduced by erosion, the surviving glacial ridge flanking the shore was probably always the highest point. The eastern third of the parish comprised ecclesiastical properties (glebe, 'particles', and bishop's barony), apparently associated with (4), the early church-site of 'Kirk Ooslan' (? St Constantine), where stood a rune-inscribed cross-slab of the tenth century. Here according to local belief was the first parish church, and perhaps the unlocated estate of **Dýra-bor* (Jurby).

All burial-mounds so far examined in the parish have yielded Viking grave-goods of the ninth century (Bersu and Wilson 1966). Open circles denote unexcavated burial-mounds. Proved Viking graves:

1 Ballateare
2 Cronk Moar
3 Jurby churchyard (*not* from the mound there)
5 Ballachrink

Six out of eight quarterland farms on the coastal ridge each appear to have been distinguished by a prominently-sited grave-mound, perhaps the burial-places of the first generation of Norse settlers. This distribution would seem to support the identification of the farm-units of the ninth century with the traditional quarterland farms.

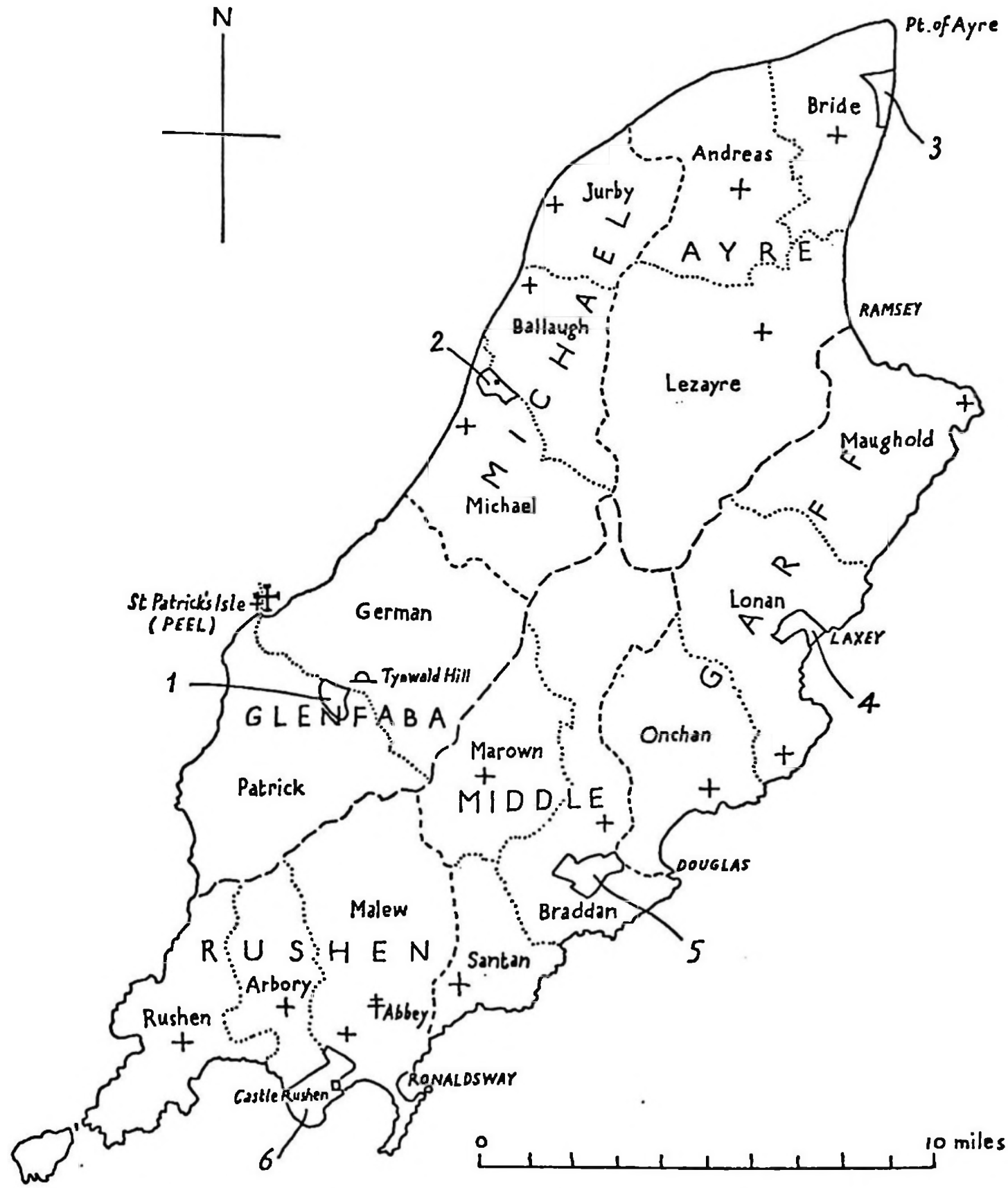


FIG. 4 The mediæval administrative divisions of the Isle of Man, showing the location of the treens from which the six sheadings (court-districts) were evidently named.
1 **Glenfaba(n)* (cf. Glenaspet); 2 *Kirk Michael of Ballachurry* (now Bishopscourt); 3 **Le Ayre* (now Third Cranstall, including 'Ballaragh'); 4 *Grauff* (*cf.* the Grawe quarterlands); 5 Midell (Middle); 6 *Rushen* (now Scarlett, including Knock Rushen quarterland and Castle Rushen).
Asterisk indicates 'lost' treen-name, location tentative.

Sheading names in capitals, parish names lower case. The S.W.–N.E. watershed divides the 'Northside' and 'Southside' districts, each with three sheadings, administered from Castle Rushen and Peel Castle respectively.

Parish churches are marked by a cross, two of these being situated on the islet of St Patrick, at Peel: that of St German served as the cathedral of the Isles (*Sodorensis*). It is believed that there were originally sixteen parishes, Marown and Santan having probably been separated before 1291.

of all the lands in the island; such renders are likely to have a much earlier origin, however, though the dispute as to the legal status of the occupiers of the treens and quarterlands was not finally resolved—in their favour—until 1703.

That the Manx official concerned with collecting the dues from the treens was known as the *moar*, a variant of the term borrowed into all the branches of insular Celtic, ultimately from Romano-British Latin *maior*, 'steward' (Jackson 1953:299), is in full agreement with the belief that it was an indigenous system, and not of Norse origin, upon which the kings of the Isles depended in the twelfth century and earlier for maintaining themselves, their households, and (not least) for fighting men and ships.

Even the widely-held view that the 'sheadings', six court-districts into which Man has been divided since the middle ages, are characteristically Norse may be questioned. The Scandinavian hypothesis, first seriously argued by Vigfusson (following E. W. Robertson's lead in 1872), had support from the redoubtable Horace Round (1895:76, *n.*). Yet Round seems to have depended on the assertion that in such matters thirds and sixths were Scandinavian, conveniently ignoring the six 'commotes' of nearby Anglesey, the heartland of the native British kingdom of Gwynedd, with which Man had significant early links. (Round also overlooked in this context the six 'lathes' of seventh-century Kent; and the probability (Thomas 1964) that Brythonic Cornwall also originally comprised six divisions (later increased to nine), subsequently called 'hundreds'.) Vigfusson (1887; 1888) depended on his derivation of sheading (*shedyng*, 15th c.; *sheetin*, Manx) from a supposed ON. **scegð-ping*, 'ship-division'. But the term is not found, and Marstrander therefore finally discarded it—and also the Oxford Dictionary's Middle English proposal—in favour of ON. *séttungr*, 'a sixth part' (Marstrander 1937:410, 431).

Whatever the origin of the word, however, the thing itself seems likely to be pre-feudal, and comparable to the Welsh commote (*cymmwd*, 'neighbourhood'), which was also a court-district (Lloyd 1939:1–300; Jones 1972:299–302). Like the commotes, the sheadings were also grouped together in larger primary divisions, two in Man, three in less hilly Anglesey. It has not been remarked previously that the names of all the individual sheadings imply that each had formerly been administered from a treen-estate (or perhaps from a particular quarterland within the treen) within the district that bore the same name: Glenfaba(n), Kirk Michael, (le) Ayre, Grauff (now Garff, but *cf.* the Grawe quarterlands), Midell (Middle), and Russin (Rushen). Four of these are identifiable with virtual certainty, the other two provisionally (Fig. 4). These former sheading-centres all seem to have been farms, not primarily defensive sites (with the possible exception of Rushen), and would thus be directly comparable to the *maerdref*, 'the (royal) steward's demesne-farm or township', of the Welsh commotes, where the pre-feudal renders and services were paid from the surrounding farms to the peripatetic king or prince. They would also correspond to the 'primitive shire' centres in parts of England and Scotland discussed by Professor Barrow (1973:7–68). In recent centuries the moar was a parish official, so that there were two or three in each sheading, 17 moars

in all; but it is significant that the earliest (fifteenth century) statutes refer to the six moars, one for each sheading, like the *maer* of a commote.

The coroner of the sheading (Manx, *toshiagh jiorrey*; *cf.* Scots *toshachdera* [Dickinson 1941]), was of superior status, as the fine for resisting him was £3 compared with 6s. 8d. in the case of the moar. It has been suggested that the early 'moar of the sheading', as distinct from the parish moar, was in fact the coroner (Craine 1955:57). The coroner's overall responsibility within the sheading for maintenance of the coastal watch and ward suggests that his precursor may once have had wider powers than those suggested by the feudal title. Was there some connection with the three coroners who administered the three 'wards' of Islay, each ward (it seems) once comprising two mediæval parishes (Lamont 1966:iv, 3, 76)? This term, derived from Anglo-Saxon *weard*, originally signified a defence-district, which was doubtless also an early aspect of the sheading. The native term in Islay seems to have been the Gaelic *rann*, 'division' (Watson 1926: 496), which is also the meaning of sheading according to the Oxford Dictionary. Other divisions of what had been Scottish Dalriada were administered by officials latterly called coroners (as Dr Bannerman has reminded me) and, if there is a real connection with the Manx official of the same name, this would strengthen the belief that the sheadings may ultimately be traced to the indigenous kingdoms of the Dark Age.

Even the Tynwald assembly need not be regarded as exclusively of Scandinavian origin. The name refers to the untilled field or plain on which the midsummer assembly gathered, and indeed still does so; but there is, after all, perhaps little else necessarily 'Norse' about the assembly itself, and the place-name might be a translation of an earlier native one. In recent times old people simply referred to the occasion as 'the Fair' (*cf.* Irish *óenach*, which also had both meanings), and the place itself as St Johns, after the chapel in which the court meets before and after the open-air proceedings. The core of the original ceremony seems to have concerned the acknowledgment of the king by his 'barons and all other', and the taking of oaths upon the 'Three Relics of Man'. It was at 'The Hill' (Manx *Cronk Keeill Eoin*) that the recognition of the heir-apparent took place (Megaw 1950:166, 169 *n*); and doubtless also the inauguration of the new king. The installation of the king's deputy (now lieutenant-governor), is still marked by the presentation of the staff of government, formerly a 'long white rod', by one of the two deemsters (Manx *briw*; Gael. *breitheamh*, 'judge'), though nowadays performed at Castle Rushen (Megaw, E. M. 1945–6); and this probably derives from the mediæval inauguration ceremony, having Irish and Hebridean parallels (O Corráin 1972:35–7; Dillon 1973). Even the pavilion erected on the Hill, documented from the seventeenth century, could perhaps be seen as the last representative of the type of temporary ritual house, woven of white peeled rods, where the Irish kings used to receive the acknowledgment of their vassals. Again like the Irish inauguration-mounds and places of annual assembly, the Manx '*Tingvalla*' is located at a prehistoric burial-place, and it seems quite possible that the artificial mound of the Hill itself may be older than the Age of the Vikings. Illuminating references to the concept of the royal heir formally seated upon

his forebear's grave-mound in order to establish his claim to his rightful inheritance can be found in Norse literary sources (*cf.* Ellis 1943:105–11), and these doubtless have a bearing on early insular custom: yet, without prolonging the discussion, I suggest that they are perhaps more likely to have a common origin in remoter practices rather than the result of direct cultural borrowing.

VI *Conclusion*

Despite the initial appearance of a 'monolithic' Norse state persisting between Britain and Ireland throughout four centuries, the real situation was clearly different. The settlers had become Christian within a century, at most, of their arrival: this alone reveals the effective influence of the native culture on the incomers. From the outset, *c.* 930, long before the eleventh-century Dublin kings secured temporary control, people with Gaelic names figure prominently in the earliest runic inscriptions. These in Professor Shetelig's view represent, not the kings and their circle, but the freehold farmers of the day: one of the earliest, for instance, carved by Gaut himself, is on a monument erected by a Máelbrigte, son of Aedhacán the smith.

However the Norse settlement of Man had come about in the first place (and the saga-writers, Norse or Irish, tell us nothing reliable about this), there is no historical evidence that the rulers of Norway ever attempted to control, or tax—let alone visit—Man until the Viking Age was past (Shetelig 1940:1. 24–5; Johnsen 1969). Even after the intrusion of king Magnus Barcleg and his death in Ireland five years later in 1103, the Sudreys—thereafter nominally under Norwegian suzerainty—were generally left to fend for themselves until the thirteenth century. The feudal render of 10 gold marks paid by the Manx king to a new king of Norway during the last century of the régime may initially have been an arrangement actively sought by the former to ensure protection from more immediate threats. Still in the thirteenth century the island's taxes were due only to the king of Man (Johnsen 1969:20–2).

A true estimate of conditions in Man, I suggest, has to balance substantial evidence of a powerful and persistent Scandinavian element in the ruling circle and the chief landowners against a background of native continuity, presumably with widespread bilingual ability in much of the population. On conditions in the ninth century the absence of Norse women's graves amongst those of the settlers argues for continuity on the distaff side at the critical settlement-stage. In the absence of historical sources for Man at that period, such evidence as we have would allow us to envisage the possibility that the first Scandinavian settlers may have been invited by the then rulers of the island to assist them as allies or mercenaries, and that they settled virtually as soldier-colonists—much like the first English in Britain. A closer parallel might be the first Anglo-Norman adventurers in Ireland, whose leader Strongbow obtained the kingdom of Leinster illegally by marrying his ally's daughter. Something very like this, though on a smaller scale, may well have occurred in Man three centuries earlier. Perhaps the settlement in

Argyll of Somerled's partly-Norse ancestor from Ulster, Godfrey son of Fergus (Sellar 1966), at the behest of the king of Scots in the ninth century, might also be seen in this kind of context: that Argyll settlement has the added interest for our present purpose of being a more or less contemporary movement, and also long lasting in its effects.

Certainly this kind of explanation would seem consistent with the considerable amount of later evidence for the image of the king of the Isles as leader, or provider, of war fleets—*e.g.* to Dublin in 1091, *c.* 1155, and 1171; to Anglesey in 1094 and 1193; to Ulster in 1154 and 1205; to Caithness in 1199, on behalf of the king of Scots. Thereafter King John and Henry III engaged successive kings of Man to 'guard the coasts' towards England and Ireland respectively, and in one case the size of the fleet normally to be provided is given as fifty galleys. (Earlier the Argyll fleet, a potential rival, had apparently been limited by Godred Crovan, according to the Manx chronicle—though under Somerled it eventually got the better of his grandson.) Such naval mercenaries were the forerunners, clearly, of the West Highland '*gallóglaich*' bands, usually thought to have originated only in the thirteenth century (MacNeill 1919; McKerral 1951), but surely a constant element in Sudreyan life from the early Viking period—and perhaps even earlier. That they might sometimes be recompensed in lands, besides portable wealth, may well have been as true of the ninth century in Man as of the fourteenth in Ireland. Indeed the Jurby evidence (Fig. 3) might represent a plantation of Norse settlers there to provide for coastal defence at a strategically sensitive point.

As Professor Ó Cuív (1975) has recently suggested, it seems as if the Irish—and he might have added, the Welsh also—generally expected foreigners settled in their land, be they 'Gauls', Norsemen, or (still later) Norman-English, to adopt the role of mercenaries, hired troops, so that 'Gall' came early to acquire this secondary meaning. Hence, perhaps, the unchivalrous reputation of the twelfth-century Gaelic-speaking Gallowegians (MacQueen 1973:27) whose name, *Gallghàidhil*, perhaps implies their earlier leaders' occupation and training in the manner of the hired warriors rather than substantial Norse descent—of which (unlike the Manx) their place- and personal-names show scant trace.

In this respect the contrast with the Gallowegians' close neighbours, the kings of Man, is indeed so striking that it could have justified an all-out claim by the latter to the qualities and lineage of the old warrior sea-kings of the North. This is precisely the image accorded to Reginald of Man, both in the Irish bardic poem and the Orkneyinga Saga; and it is equally reflected in William of Malmesbury's reference to Maccus, a tenth-century king of the Isles, as *archipirata*, literally 'chief sea-warrior'. This, too, was the image promoted in visual form by the twelfth- and thirteenth-century seals of the kings of the Isles themselves: on one side the lion of valour or a mounted warrior, on the other (Fig. 5) a sailing warship full of armed men (Megaw 1959–60). The warship, which is not here displayed as an heraldic charge on a shield, was evidently the emblem of the kings of the Isles: heraldically the Manx kings bore, at least from the thirteenth century, the famous 'three legs' clad in chain mail on a red field, and that possibly

derived from an old native emblem of the island since in Manx tradition the device is supposed to have associations with the eponymous deity Manannán mac Lír—to whom in the seventeenth century the mediæval sword of state (which displays the 'legs' in four places) was also attributed. (The earliest occurrence of the warship is on the broken eleventh-century cross-slab at Iona, carved in a Manx style from a slab of Manx slate—contemporary, or nearly so, with Godred Crovan who, dying in Islay, was doubtless buried in the churchyard on Iona.)

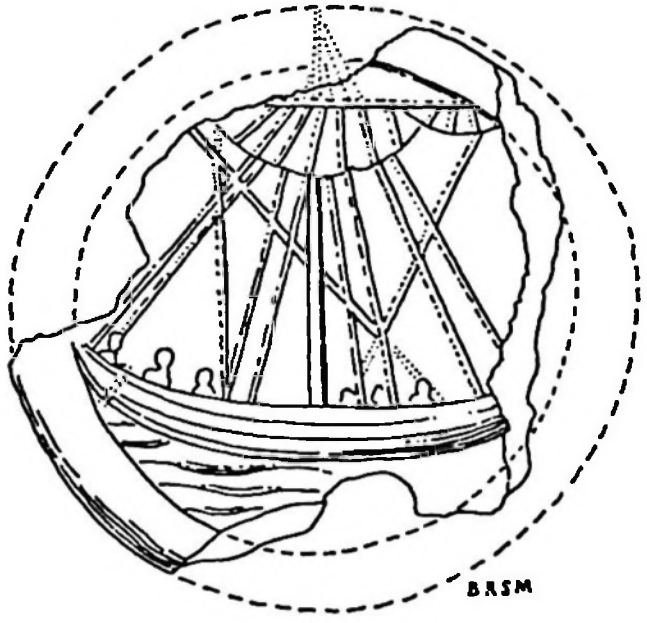


FIG. 5 Seal of Harald, king of Man and the Isles, 1246. After a facsimile drawn about 1641 for *Sir Christopher Hatton's* [MS] *Book of Seals*. The original was destroyed in the Cottonian Library fire of 1731. From the twelfth century the Manx kings and their rival cousins, the Argyll kings of *Innsigall*, both displayed on their seals a sailing warship 'full of armed men'. The inscription surrounding the emblem on this Manx seal is not recorded but was probably: *Sigillum Haraldi regis Mannie et Insularum*; prior to the thirteenth century their style was simply *rex Insularum*.

(*By courtesy of Northamptonshire Record Office.*)

Finally, the tenor of this reassessment seems to suit the archæological evidence for ordinary life recently obtained from excavations even in the Northern Isles. There surviving place-names are almost entirely Norse—yet at Buckquoy there were signs that 'there was a greater degree of overlap than hitherto suspected between the local inhabitants and the early Norse settlers which points to considerable integration, aided by basic similarities between the two peoples' (Ritchie 1974:34).

More light on the wider field will in due course be shed as a result of excavations such as those of Mr Crawford at Udal in North Uist, and of comparative study on lines of which I have attempted hardly more than a sketch. Meanwhile it can be seen already —for example, from Professor Duncan's splendid survey (1975)—that ideas about the nature of Dark Age and early mediæval communities, especially in Scotland where documentation is often so inadequate, have usually been far too simple. Even in Ireland

the wealth of apparently relevant but often, perhaps, unrepresentative material, both secular and religious—to say nothing of the propaganda and fictional material of the twelfth century masquerading as history (Hughes 1972:284–300)—has fostered the impression of a highly improbable 'national' homogeneity. We have imagined that the arrival of the Norse settlers must have had a cataclysmic effect on the smooth pattern of Christian native society whereas, if we but knew, they may have seemed (though we need not pursue this perennial controversy) hardly more than just another plaguey group much like the old unruly neighbours. The barrier between native groups of bond and free, for which Manx evidence is entirely defective, is likely to have been at least as, if not more, important.

In the Isles, where settled communities had deep roots in prehistory, Gaelic was still a comparative newcomer when the Norse settlers arrived, the time-interval between the Dalriadan and Viking settlements being comparable merely to that which separates us from, say, the Protestant plantation of Ulster. It is quite possible that in parts of Skye and the Outer Isles, for instance, Gaelic speakers had not fully assimilated Brythonic, Pictish, or indeed (conceivably) even some pre-Celtic speech-groups, when the Vikings arrived. Even in so small an area as Man we have conclusive evidence that no fewer than four languages—British, Irish, English, and the churchmen's Latin—were in use between the fifth and the eighth century. Before the days of other means of communication oral ability was of course general, and a new language, however different from one's own (*cf.* Jackson 1962:5–6), was—when necessary—simply coped with. No doubt this was happening all the time, and at various levels, not merely in the more cosmopolitan world of royal court and church. In these circumstances such patchy evidence as we possess cannot be understood (if at all) in isolated compartments, or in rigidly linguistic or racial terms. Such an anachronistic and unreal approach would obscure the essential nature and underlying resemblances that doubtless characterised our polyglot insular communities as they emerged together from what seem to us the mists of the Heroic Age and the old Indo-European world.

If in the latter and more speculative part of this paper I have overstressed the likelihood of substantial cultural continuity between the Manx population of the eighth century and their successors of the thirteenth, I hope that the idea of a total break now seems less certain than it did. At the least, Manx Gaelic must be considerably older than Mrs Gelling had thought. The questions raised are much wider than the geographical limits might suggest, and the discussion needs to be kept open and fed by further research in other areas—and in more than place-names—if only because the earlier part of this very long period when, clearly, Norseman and native both were changed, still remains historically so dark.

In a further paper (intended for a forthcoming volume of *Dinnseanchas*) Mrs Gelling, while accepting part of my argument, will indicate another way of interpreting the rest of the evidence, maintaining her belief in an entirely Norse-speaking population, whose *rulers* became bilingual in consequence of connections outside the island community.

I confess that I myself, many years ago, strongly urged a comparable view,[11] before the unhistoric character of most of the late literary sources was so fully realised. Even now, in the absence of decisive contemporary evidence for the ninth and tenth centuries, one must allow that it remains a possible, or at least a partial, explanation of our new paradox. For, if, we have learnt nothing else from this investigation, we now see that even our 'Scandinavian' kings were characteristically Gaelic speakers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the staff of the British Library, Public Record Office, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh University Library, and the Manx Museum Library, I offer my thanks for their courtesy and permission to study the manuscript sources listed below. I am grateful to Monsignor David McRoberts, STL, FSA, of the Scottish Catholic Archives, who made available to me in the National Library of Scotland the manuscript of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* in his charge.

I am also much indebted to Dr Neil Ker, FBA, for his great kindness in scrutinising the original manuscript of the Manx Chronicle in the British Library before giving me his advice on the date of the Abbeyland Bounds, and to Mr Myrddin Lloyd, lately Keeper of Printed Books in the National Library of Scotland, for his help and advice concerning the passage quoted from *O oes Gwrthyryn*. The late Mr Kenneth Povey, Librarian of Liverpool University, kindly helped me in the preliminary stages of my study of the bull of Gregory IX to bishop Simon, 1231. Professor Kenneth Jackson, FBA, generously helped me with several problems, and saved me from a number of errors, though he is not (of course) responsible for those that remain.

Finally I offer my warm thanks to Dr Margaret Gelling for the stimulus provided by her admirable articles on the mediæval place-names of the Isle of Man, with only one part of which I have come to disagree. I have benefited from her initial comments on a draft of this article, and look forward to her review of the debate between us.

Appendix A

The bull of 30 July 1231 to Simon, bishop of Man and the Isles

(A. W. Moore 1890; R. Lane Poole 1911)

Though twice published since its discovery in 1888 in the library of the Manx bishop, and the text scrutinised by many leading Scottish historians—not excluding the critical Lawrie—it is strange that, Mrs Gelling apart, no one has asked if this is a forgery. No less remarkable, despite all the effort devoted to identifying the various Western Isles listed in the bull (it is a partly-damaged paper copy of *c.* 1600), the clear signs of a connection with Fordun's list of the Isles (*c.* 1380) seem to have been entirely overlooked. In view of the current interest in Fordun's sources, if for no other reason, this merits investigation.

Skene was surprised that, having so little to say about the mainland districts of Scotland, Fordun should be able to give 'a detailed account of the islands with their ecclesiastical foundations' (more especially perhaps of the Argyll and Clyde Isles), and suggested that he had travelled there in search of material (Skene 1871–2:2. 386–8). While this is possible, it seems at least as likely that his list of islands is based on material such as might be sent him from Iona, in answer to a request for historical information. That the shorter list in the Manx bull was subsequently abstracted from a copy of Fordun's chronicle would appear to be a rational way to account for the resemblances between them; yet, surprisingly, there are some indications that the borrowing may have been in the reverse direction. Fordun, or perhaps an Iona correspondent acting on his behalf, may well have extended his enquiries to the experienced Manxman, bishop John Duncan, ruler at least until 1387 of the diocese that still embraced all the Western Isles other than Iona and Lismore. (He had previously been papal *nuncio* and collector of revenues in Ireland.) Even after being superseded in the Scottish Isles by the nominee of the rival pope, Duncan's Hebridean links continued, as negotiator with the Lords of the Isles on behalf of the English crown between 1388 and 1405 (for notes on his career see Cradock 1930; Watt 1969:202). Despite the probable loss of records during the recent wars, the Manx bishop would certainly have been able to supply a list of the islands from which he claimed revenue (those with parochial churches), and the list in the 'bull of 1231' might correspond with few variations to such a list contributed by him to Fordun's *Scotichronicon*. Both lists are equally 'diocesan' in form—that is, they begin with Man and the cathedral, and proceed northwards by way of the Clyde and Argyll islands, ending with Skye and the Outer Isles. While Fordun's list has some thirty names, with others not in the Isles diocese (and also some descriptive detail), compared to twenty names in the Manx one, what establishes the connection between the lists is the antiquarian opening phrase, 'the island called Eubonia, now Man', common to both of them. This early literary ghost-name had recently gained renewed currency through the widely-available *Polychronica* of Ranulf Higden, the Chester monk (d. 1363). From this source the 'rediscovery' of the ancient name for Man would soon become known to the bishop, the more readily because Chester was a principal port for the island. Fordun certainly used Higden, but this morsel would hardly have the same appeal for him as for a Manxman.

There are indeed other specific hints that the short Manx list may have provided the initial model for Fordun's list of islands—though we must always remember in making our comparisons (Table 3) that in neither case do we have the original text. In none of the manuscript versions of Fordun that I have seen[12] does Eigg appear, though it is very properly included in the Manx list. In place of Fordun's *Helant Leneow* the Manx list has the first part of this name in the superior form *Elath* (probably for original **Elach*), corresponding to Monro's *Ellach Nanaobh* (Munro 1961:51). That the Manx list is not based on Fordun is also suggested by its forms for Jura and Tiree, which could hardly be copied from those of Fordun. There is supporting evidence that Manx

forms in *Dur-* had already begun to change to *Jur-* in the course of the fourteenth century, and the Manx form *Iurye* is probably independent of Fordun's *Dura*. It is even less likely that Fordun's *Tyree* could have been copied as *Chorhye*; but initial *Ch-* for *T-* was a common Manx pronunciation-spelling and, if the word is regarded either as a simple misreading of **Cherhye*, or a metathetic shuffle for **Chyrhee*, this could also be accepted as an independent Manx rendering of the name subsequently corrected for the *Scotichronicon* (whether by Fordun himself or a Hebridean helper) to the more usual Scots form. Other comparisons, though less convincing, may point to the same conclusion. Whereas the Fordun list of the Scottish isles begins with Arran, the most southerly and one of the largest, the Manx one starts with Bute, which was politically and ecclesiastically the chief of those in the Firth of Clyde. Fordun's *Gya*, an odd form for the fourteenth century, could suggest an imperfect correction of the defective Manx *[G]*eya*; *Cole*, the Manx list's form for Coll, is for the period more regular than Fordun's *Coel*, which could derive from it by metathesis. (Further points are discussed in Table 3.)

One is therefore inclined to believe that Fordun's initial source was a Manx list of the Scottish isles in the Sodor diocese, either in a version of the 'bull of 1231' (if it was then available) or some corresponding 'diocesan' list, in either case enlarged by someone with more particular knowledge especially of the Argyll and Clyde isles.

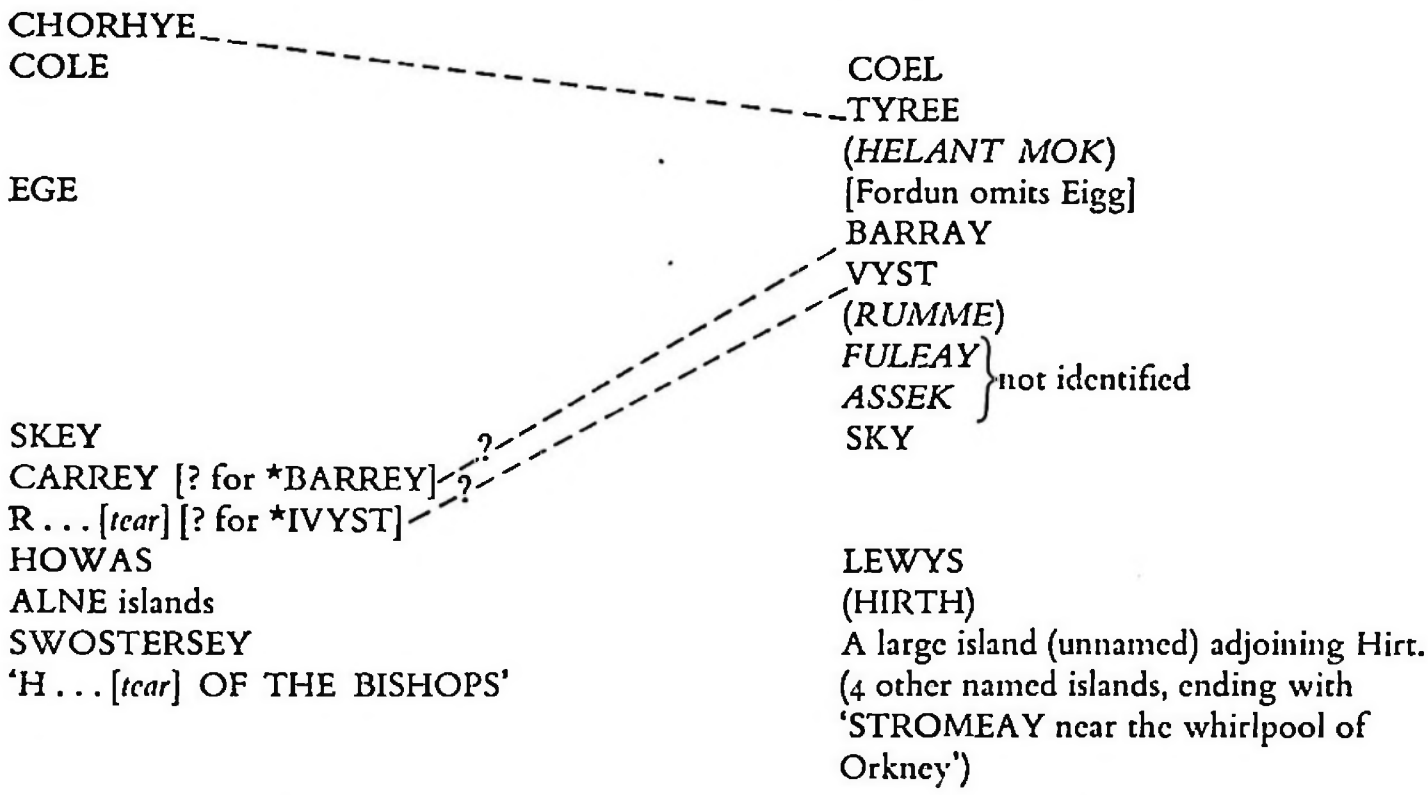
Internal evidence shows that the bull can hardly date from the period of bishop Simon (*c.* 1226–48), however, as two of the properties it purports to confirm to the bishop were not granted until after his death.[13] One is referred to in the bull as 'the place itself, called *Holme*, *Sodor* or *Pile*, where the said cathedral church is situated', with its liberties, appurtenances, etc. In the thirteenth century one would expect the full name Holmepatrick and, as Mrs Gelling has pointed out, the occurrence of the name Peel (*Pile*) also suggests a date not earlier than *c.* 1300. King Magnus's grant to Simon's successor, between 1252 and 1265, names the place simply as 'the island of St. Patrick entire with its appurtenances', *etc.* Another property ostensibly confirmed by the bull in 1231, described as the lands of 'Ramsey', is probably identical with the vill of '*kyrcrest iuxta Ramsay*' (evidently the land known as the Lezayre 'particles'), which was also not granted until after 1252. Moreover, two parish churches are wrongly described in the bull as (the lands of) 'St. Maughold and St. Michael adjoining', whereas these are on opposite sides of the island. They were named by bishop Mark in 1299 merely as 'the churches of SS Michael and Michald [read **Machald*] in Man', which he had granted to Furness abbey: perhaps in the source from which the bull's phrase derived a place-name had followed the word *adiacente*, as the earlier church of Kirk Michael evidently adjoined the bishop's mansion at Ballachurry. The mistake also appears in a confirmation of the bishop's rights dated 1505, to which Mrs Gelling has rightly drawn attention on account of the suspicious resemblance of the spelling of the place-names to those in the 'bull of 1231'. Those singularly close resemblances might suggest that both the copy of the bull 'of 1231' and, in part, the bishop's confirmation charter of 1505

TABLE 3

The Isles as listed in (A) the Manx 'bull of 1231', and (B) Fordun, c. 1380. The sequence of names is that in the respective documents: a broken line links corresponding names where the sequence differs. Names in italics occur only in list (B): those in round brackets lacked parish churches (or, in some cases, were not part of the Sodor diocese) and would therefore not be expected in list (A). In each case the original texts are in Latin

(A) *The Manx 'bull of 1231'* (*copy of c. 1600*)	(B) *Fordun (bk. II, chap. 10) c. 1380* (*text of fifteenth century*)
I[a] 'The cathedral church of St Garman of Sodor in the island called EUBONIA now MANNIA'	'The Isles of Scotia between Scotia and Hibernia . . . Beginning first from the south is the island formerly called EUBONIA, now MANNIA . . . in which is the episcopal see of Sodor.'
I[b] 'The place itself, called HOLME, SODOR, or PILE, where the cathedral church is situated: and the church of St Patrick of the Isle.'	
II 'One third of all tenths of all churches in the island of Eubonia or Mannia.'	
III One third of all tenths of all the churches of:	
BOTHE	ARANE
ARAN	(*HELANT INLAYSCHE*)
	ROTHYSAY or BOTHE
	(*COMBRAYE MAJOR*) } [Not in Sodor]
	(*COMBRAYE MINOR*) }
	(*BLADAY*)
	INCHEMERNOCK
	(*AWERYNE*)
	(*RACHRYNE*)[Not in Sodor]
EYA [? for GEYA]	GYA
	(*HELANT MACARMYK*)
ILE	ILE
	(*HELANT TEXA*)
	COLOUNSY
IURYE	DURA
SCARPEY	(SCARBAY)
	(*LYNGAY*)
	(*LUYNG*)
	(*SUNAY*)
	(*SELEC MAJOR*)
	(HELANT LENEOW)
ELATH	
COL . . . [The order, and later inclusion of Coll, implies Colonsay]	(*GARVELEANE*)
MULEY	MULE
	(*CARNEBORG*)
	HY COLUMBKILLE [Independent of Sodor]
	SANCTI KENETHY
	(*KERNERAY*) [Var. *Kenueray*]
	LISMORE [The see of Argyll bishopric: independent of Sodor]

TABLE 3—*continued*



Note on List (A): Scarba and Elachanave, though ecclesiastically noteworthy, not being known to have had parochial status, are unexpected in a list of islands from which the bishop of Sodor might claim revenue. The absence of Iona is on that ground correct, of Canna not so.

The obscurity of the last six names in the list contrasts with those from Bute to Skye, all of which are identifiable with little difficulty. By *c.* 1600 the last section of this part of the text may have become less easy to read, though two of the six names might be intelligible to us but for tears in the surviving copy; no doubt part of the obscurity is due to the copyist's unfamiliarity with the form of initials used in his original.

With his experience in the Scottish records, Maitland Thomson showed (in Poole 1911:261) that the last six names should refer to the Long Island, the principal mediæval divisions of which are normally given as Barra, Uist and Lewis: all three of these in fact occur in Fordun's list in that sequence if one excepts the four islands there misplaced between Uist and Lewis.

In his *Carrey* the Manx copyist presumably mistook a small initial *b-* for *C-*; and, with allowance for further misread initials, the next two names could be taken for **Iv*[*ist*] and **Lowes*, or comparable forms. Fordun's *Hirth* (St Kilda) and unnamed 'large' island adjoining might then correspond to the Manx list's '*Alne* islands'—possibly for **Hirt*, allowing for difficulty in reading the original. The last two items in the Manx list have resisted identification.

derive not from the original fabrication but from an intermediate copy of the bull in which the place-name spellings had already been 'modernised', perhaps about 1500.

Rather than believe that the 1505 confirmation was one source for the bull, I suggest that the fabrication occurred during the generation or so after *c.* 1360 (Higden)—a period, incidentally, when the Manx church must have been struggling desperately, first to replace the losses (no doubt including diocesan records) caused by incessant warfare, and second, to hold together the far-flung islands of the diocese then splitting politically between the competing spheres of England and Scotland. Furthermore, the cathedral

was in ruins, and St Patrick's Isle occupied as a fortress by the garrison of the English lord. The last chapter added to the chronicle at this time, possibly in the bishop's own hand,[14] testifies to the 'very many offerings' made to bishop Duncan at his installation in his own cathedral in 1377: and, if we may not charge him (or his officials) directly with fabricating the 'bull of 1231', he would at least have had a pressing incentive. So had other bishops, no doubt, but the Isles were no longer the concern of his successors: and, moreover, Duncan's episcopate coincided with the passing revival of interest in 'Eubonia'. However that may be, if Fordun did seek information from Man, as well he might, bishop Duncan would certainly be his likeliest correspondent, and some such list of the Isles might result. Had Fordun merely limited his enquiries to Iona, however, the abbot would still be likely to have received from bishop Duncan a copy of the list—or the 'bull', if it then existed—as a safeguard for the bishop's claim upon the Isles.

Appendix B

Treens and quarterlands, and the age of the keeills

1 The earliest comprehensive lists (none of which are complete for the whole island in a single year) show that by about the year 1500 the farmland of the Isle of Man comprised some 730 quarterlands, corresponding to holdings which in their modern, improved state vary widely but are commonly between 50 and 180 acres, the majority being around 90 acres (Davies 1956: 109), exclusive of the former common grazings. Although 'intacks', *i.e.* rented enclosures of common land (referred to technically as 'waste'), were authorised from the fifteenth century and doubtless earlier, their different status was carefully maintained, so that, in effect, the mediæval tenure-pattern is well recorded, and has been accurately mapped by Dr Elwyn Davies (1956).

There may once have been as many as about 220 treens: 179 treens of lord's-land are recorded *c.* 1500, comprising about 594 quarterlands, and there were in addition about 147 quarterlands of monks' and bishop's land where no treen organisation had survived. However, as some earlier intacks may have come to be reckoned as quarterlands (and even occasionally perhaps as treens), the twelfth or thirteenth century total is unknown, and about 200 treens seems a safer estimate. As already mentioned, a series of names of lord's-land treens are found *c.* 1280 for lands bordering the abbey properties, while on monastic lands others no longer known evidently occur earlier—*e.g.* those designated *Villa* in Latinised form, including no doubt several 'lost' names listed in the Rushen Abbey confirmation grant, 1153. Thus, whatever the social and economic effects of war, famine and plague in the fourteenth century, the names of the land-units of the preceding era seem to have survived substantially in the treen system under the Stanleys. The population has been estimated at about 12,000 at the beginning of the sixteenth century (A. W. Moore 1900: 1. 302).

It is often assumed that the treen represents the 'original' holding, equivalent to the

Saxon 'hide', and that it was subsequently sub-divided (normally, though by no means invariably) into four quarterlands. That is not my view, though the matter requires further consideration. Only the lord's-land treens are named in the early rent (or tax) lists, but these (I suggest) may in fact preserve the name of one of the constituent quarterlands in each case, much as the name of each sheading repeated that of a particular holding within its district. As the quarterland names were not normally otherwise noted before the seventeenth century, such designations as they may have borne would tend to be forgotten and replaced by the name of the family in occupation (*e.g.* Ballagawne, Ballaconley; or, on the abbey demesne, Christian's Ground, *etc.*). Hence the (mistaken?) idea that quarterlands are recent.

The valuable geographical description of the treens and quarterlands published by Davies (1956; *cf.* also Flatrès 1957: *passim*; 213–7), is based on a comprehensive mid-nineteenth-century survey (Woods [1867]), itself ultimately founded as regards the holdings on the early rent-books (*cf.* Talbot 1924). My own interpretation of the possible origins and relationship of treens and quarterlands differs in some respects from Davies's provisional suggestions—which it was not his purpose to pursue. The two monographs by Marstrander (1932; 1937) are complementary, and in some respects conflict with each other, following Marwick's reaction to the first. Despite occasional signs of haste, these contain a wealth of information and perceptive ideas. Though in Norwegian, generous English summaries and many tables and maps are provided.

A recent discovery (Crellin 1969) has confirmed the existence of earlier rent-books than those previously known, similarly arranged under treen-names. In the 1490s the individual amounts of lord's rent differed (being usually somewhat lower) from those established about 1505—which (except for doubling after the 'Act of Settlement', 1703) continued virtually unchanged until abolished by Tynwald in 1913. Marstrander's discussion of the rent-totals for the treens and parishes must therefore be scrutinised afresh. The name-forms in the 1506 (Southside) book from the Earl of Derby's muniments, and in the incomplete '1490s' (Northside) book in the Manx registry, occasionally show significant variation from the published '*Manorial Roll 1511–15*' (Talbot 1924), and reconsideration of some of the interpretations offered by Kneen and Marstrander is now desirable—not least because silent alterations have been noticed in Talbot's posthumous edition.

As regards Scottish parallels, the late Dr Hugh Marwick and the late Andrew McKerral both assured me that in their opinion maps of 'urslands' and 'tirungs' could not be produced for any of the Northern and Western Isles to compare with those of Man. In a literal sense this is probably correct, but much scattered evidence does exist which should be worth mapping, though unexpected 'breaks' in the continuity of land-units may be encountered as seems to be the case in Islay (Lamont 1957–8). Already during the period of Norwegian suzerainty in the Isles, pennylands appear to have existed in Argyll as individually-named holdings, so these also would merit cartographic study if reliable evidence can be found.

2 For recent thinking on the age of the keeills the *Manx Archaeological Survey* (Kermode and Bruce 1968), especially J. R. Bruce's conclusions in the sixth report, should be consulted. A convenient, if tentative, list of dedications of the keeills and of the parish churches—which probably occupied sites of former keeills—appears in Marstrander (1937:335–7), followed by this conclusion: 'no keeill can be shown to have been dedicated to any saint later than Adamnán who died three generations before the coming of the Norwegians'. Curiously Marstrander here omits *Kirk Maloney*, found in 1585 as the name of a keeill (since destroyed) on Ballelby (Patrick), apparently associated with a local family of 'MacLoney' and thought to commemorate Mael Domhnaigh, abbot of Tamhlacht, d. 937 (Marstrander 1934:327). Here the prefix Kirk- for a chapel, instead of the normal Kil- (*Keeill-*), might also be consistent with an origin in or after the tenth century. A cross-slab from the site has been supposed to be pre-Viking, but its simplicity is notably sophisticated and, as with many Scottish and Irish monuments, might well suit a late survival of an early tradition. On the assumption that it would not be 'a normal keeill', Marstrander also disregarded the lost church of St Olaf (d. 1030) on the unidentified *villula* of Euastad (possibly in Maughold) named in a twelfth century charter.

Some keeills overlie graves with different orientation, and are therefore not as old as the associated cemetery. In several other cases keeills are sited on what look remarkably like pagan burial-mounds, not only the notable 'Cronk yn Howe', Lezayre (Bruce and Cubbon 1930). After study of Mr Bruce's careful field-notes, plans and sections, and discussion with the excavator, the late Professor Bersu was convinced that at this site a keeill, with timber-lined and other graves, had here been superimposed on a Viking boat-grave, destroying in the process all but a few definite indications—chiefly groups of clench-nails (Bersu: unpublished lecture).

Surely another indication of the lateness of some keeills is the siting of several on farms bearing names in Eary-, and on some others similarly located on the upper margins of the old cultivated land between 500 and 750 feet O.D. Presumably several of these permanent enclosures from the moorland followed earlier use as shielings and, as the keeills are unlikely to be much later than the twelfth century, these instances may be related to an expansion of farmland after the Norse settlement.

Care should be exercised in regard to the supposed dating-evidence of carvings and other finds from the keeills. Marstrander naturally followed Kermode's pioneer reports in this, but the age of the cross-slabs and fragments encountered is often quite uncertain, and usually doubtless later than Kermode thought. Kermode also reported finding fragments of 'urns', but in at least two instances the fragments he preserved are certainly not pottery but lumps of burnt clay, possibly from earlier wooden structures. One site (Ballahimmin, German) did produce a sherd, but its relation to the keeill is unknown; a prehistoric cremation-burial was, however, found in an inverted urn beneath the floor of the very odd keeill on Corrody farm (Lezayre), which stands within a small circular kerb or enclosure: despite its interest, however, this juxtaposition has no bearing on the

age of the supposed keeill. Equally, where fragments of Viking Age carvings have been found reused as building-material in keeill walls, these may well represent only later repair-work. The altar-slabs, recognised by Professor Thomas (1971), *e.g.* those from destroyed keeills on the Calf of Man and Ballavarkish (Bride), are presumably good evidence that some at least of the chapels pre-date the conversion of the Norse settlers.

Clearly comparative research in other areas where similar chapels and cemeteries are found (*e.g.* Islay) should yield valuable results, particularly if supported by skilled excavation of carefully-selected sites.

NOTES

1 In 1951 Professor Marstrander's original notebooks containing much other unpublished material were presented to the Manx Museum by the Norwegian government, and are now available for study there.

2 This British dynasty is accepted generally or in part in most recent Irish studies (*e.g.* Byrne 1968: 398; MacNiocaill 1972: 112); but only Professor MacQueen's interpretation seems to fit the various strands of evidence satisfactorily. On the supposed but unlikely connection with Rheged, and its location, *cf.* Hughes (1973: 191).

3 I have given 'Ballacgniba' (*c.* 1220) the benefit of the doubt. Mrs Gelling's strictures on the forms in the transcript are largely justified, but now that we have other evidence for names in *Bale-*, *Bali-*, in the 13th century this one seems less improbable, allowing for modification of spelling at the time of the copy of 1504. [Mrs Gelling now comments that my willingness to accept 'Ballacgniba' is unscholarly; but in any case the sample is too small to base much upon.]

4 Dr Neil Ker had first observed that it is difficult to date the textura of the abbeyland bounds [fos. 53, 54]; but, having scrutinised the original, he agreed that this is 'probably—I think almost certainly—by the same hand as the entries for 1263 to 1274 on fo. 49 [*i.e.* the first continuation of the main chronicle], and the six lines *Post symonem . . . furnes* on fo. 51 [*i.e.* entries for *c.* 1253–74, the first continuation of the list of bishops]. And I would agree that the writing by this hand on fos. 49^{v}, 51, is contemporary with the 1274 entries or not much later. But the bounds look as if they might have been written rather later than this, although by the same hand. The addition in the lower margin of fo. 53^{v} [concerning Ballagilley, *etc.*] is after 1300'.

Internal evidence as to the date of the entries by the first continuator of both chronicle and list of bishops also suggests that he ceased these labours very soon after the burial of Richard, bishop of the Isles, which (as he notes), took place at Furness, and which the annals of Furness assign to 25 March 1275 (Anderson 1908: 381, *n.* 7). These entries (and completion of earlier gaps), perhaps the first additions for nearly eighteen years, may well reflect a short-lived wave of enthusiasm consequent upon the election of Gilbert, his own abbot, as next bishop of the Isles. Even if the writer was already aware of Alexander III's repudiation of Gilbert, however, his entries can hardly have been made after 8 October 1275, when the Manx rising under their self-appointed king was destroyed at the battle of Ronaldsway, and his own abbey of Rushen despoiled by the Scottish army. Of those dire events he gives no hint, presumably because (surely) they had not yet occurred when he laid down his pen.

Some while later, evidently, the same clerk (or, if caution be insisted upon, perhaps another writing an identical hand), without adding anything further to the sad history of his times, did what he might to secure his abbey's rights by boldly recording the bounds of the landed properties of Rushen on the pages left blank at the end of its chronicle. From another source we know (*see above*) that the abbey's title to at least one section of those lands was in fact assailed in a local court held

between 1275 and 1286, and probably around the year of 1280. While this in itself may be no more than a remarkable coincidence, there seems little doubt that the abbeyland bounds were indeed entered in the chronicle *c.* 1280.

5 The settlement-name *Tofthar Asmund* is 'lost', but the location of the property can be established with confidence. The bounds informs us that it marched with *Rynkurlyn*, now called Rencullen or Ballig, a farm of lord's land, that is, *not* church or monks' land. As the stream between them is named as the division between the lands of Rushen Abbey and that of the king (or lord), it is clear that Tofthar Asmund was abbeyland when the document was compiled.

Of the two, or at most three, farms with the topographical qualification, only Ballellin is known to have belonged to monks of any kind before the Reformation—those of St Bees priory (Woods [1867]: Maughold plan). Thus Ballellin quarterland was Tofthar Asmund, possessed by Rushen Abbey until surrendered to St Bees by quitclaim of 1302 (Wilson 1915: 75–7). As the bounds was compiled at a time when the property was still claimed by Rushen, the attribution of the bounds to the thirteenth century is confirmed.

6 The statement that *inis* was unknown to the compilers of the Manx dictionaries needs qualification. Neither Kelly nor Cregeen include this in their alphabetical list of Manx words, but Cregeen (1835) does mention '*inch*, or *innys*', in explaining the name *Purt ny Hinshey*. The context suggests that he had inferred the former existence of the word in Manx in the light of this place-name and his knowledge of Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

As an alternative to the usual word, *ellan*, 'an island', *innys* also appears in the English-Manx section of Kelly's dictionary (1876); but this section was compiled posthumously, and only in part from Kelly's MSS of 1795 and *c.* 1805, much material from later sources—including Cregeen—being incorporated by his editors. While not indicated as a 'borrowing' from Cregeen, I suggest this as its probable source.

7 Because 'no sign of the characteristic [Gaelic] transformations such as Barrule for *Worthefel*' appears in the abbeyland bounds, Mrs Gelling concluded that such changes had not occurred at the time of that record; and she argues further that the spelling *Gnebe* (1515), for modern Greeba mountain, 'makes it clear that the change of *-n-* to *-r-*, . . . a Gaelic phenomenon, had not occurred in Manx place-names in the early sixteenth century'. Both surely are unwarranted assumptions, however, because obsolete spellings tend to persist through the influence of older written forms (as we have noticed already in the case of *Asmundertoftes*, above). Spelling may be a very misleading guide to contemporary or, at least, vernacular pronunciation. It must be many centuries since most Manx names in Knock- were pronounced other than *kro(n)k-* by most country people; and, despite the usual sixteenth-century record-forms for such personal names as MacNyven (Kneen) and MacNele (Kneale), occasional variants such as McRele show that pronunciations used until our own day by speakers of Manx Gaelic, *e.g. creen* and *crail*, were already general.

8 Marstrander (1937: 389–90; English summary, 424) demonstrated phonologically the link first suggested by Marwick on other grounds.

The 'pennyland' subdivision of the *tìr-uinge* has not survived in Manx records, apparent instances in some names of late enclosures referring only to the rents then paid. Dr Bannerman (1974: 141) has argued the case for a pre-Viking, Gaelic origin for the pennyland also. McKerral's dictum is anything but sure: 'Wherever we encounter pennylands, half-penny lands and farthing lands we may be sure that we are in the footsteps of the Norse' (review in *Scottish Historical Review* 30 (1951: 174). The belief that the 20-pennyland *tìr-uinge* was a purely Norse imposition based on the adoption of 'the Anglo-Saxon ounce (*ora*) of 20 pennies' has suffered a further blow since Dr Sally Harvey (1967: 228) has established that 'there was only one *ora*, that of 16d'. There was, however, an Irish *unga mor* of 20 pennies, presumably related to the Hebridean pennyland system.

9 In considering this problem it should be remembered that in the English midlands the quarter-hide

(virgate) was the characteristic holding. The term might suggest a physical subdivision of the hide, yet there is no need to assume this had occurred any more than that the Manx treen had been a tenurial entity subsequently partitioned. As with davach in Scotland, hide and virgate were evidently terms which came to be applied in new areas to various pre-existing entities.

10 In the mediæval transcript of the lost grant, and subsequent confirmations, this word *ac(on)uez*, etc., has a superfluous *a-*, perhaps from anticipation of what followed it ('*et a(b)*'), or influenced by the common phrase, *e.g.* '*liberas . . . a can et* [*a*] *conueth*' (PSAS 90 (1959): 219). The Manx texts survive in the Register of St Bees (B. L. Harley MS 435).

11 'The strong Irish, or Scottish, features of Manx–Viking culture may best be explained by the mingling of the immigrants with the Celtic peoples, partly through trade and constant campaigning, but more especially through the fosterage system and intermarriage with powerful native families, as we read of in Irish annals and Norse sagas. In this process the survivors of the previous inhabitants of the Isle of Man may have played only a minor part' (Megaw 1950: 155–6).

12 Besides Skene's printed text (Skene 1871–2), I have consulted the manuscripts of Fordun set out in the References. All the surviving groups, Skene's I to IV, are covered in the discussion, as Skene's printed text represents his Group III.

13 Moreover the papal registers show that documents of June, July and August 1231 are dated at Rieti, not Rome; Roman documents are dated 'Laterani', not 'Romae' (Auvray 1890–).

14 This suggestion is not only based on the near-autobiographical character of the entry, the longest of any in the episcopal list, but also on the additions in the same hand to earlier entries, otherwise unique in this document. In three cases the number of years for which the office was held is added; while the additional note that bishop Thomas, a Scot (d. 1348), was 'the first to exact procurations of 20 shillings from the Manx churches, and first to exact from the island's rectors a tenth of their dues from strangers engaged in the herring fishery', is precisely the kind of information that bishop Duncan, with his previous experience in ecclesiastical finance and canon law, would be likely to record. That the bishop should visit Rushen is only to be expected (indeed, as a Manxman, it is probable that he was a former member of that house), and a likely occasion is suggested by his presence at a general chapter of the diocese held at the nearby parish church of Kirk Malew on 5 February 1376–7, just eleven days after his installation in his ruined cathedral.

REFERENCES

Manuscript Sources

British Library

Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum ('The Manx Chronicle'), Cotton MS Julius A vii, section 3.
Limites . . . terrarum monachorum de Russyn ('The Abbeyland Bounds'), *op. cit.* section 4 (see Printed Sources: CHRONICLE 1924).
Register of the Priory of St Bees. Harley MS 434 (Printed Sources: WILSON 1915).

National Library of Scotland

Advocates Library MS 35.1.7. Abridgement *c.* 1447–9 of Bower's edition of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* ('The Book of Cupar') [Skene's Group II].
Advocates Library MS 35.6.7. A further abridgement of Bower's Fordun dated by Skene 'before 1451'. ('The Book of Perth', otherwise 'the Carthusian MS'). [Skene's Group II.]

Edinburgh University Library

MS D.b.II.18. Bower's edition of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*. Used for Walter Goodall's printed edition, 1759. [Skene's Group I.]

Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh

John of Fordun, *Scotichronicon*. Ex Scots College, Paris. [Skene's Group IV, representing Fordun's uncompleted work, concluded *c.* 1384–1387.]

Manx Museum Library

Bull of Pope Gregory IX to Simon, bishop of Sodor, 30 July 1231. Paper copy, *c.* 1600. (Printed Sources: Poole 1911; also Moore 1890).
Sheading Court Roll, A.D. 1417–18.
Garrison Inquest Roll, A.D. 1428.
Notarial extracts from the lost Register of the Priory of Whithorn, 1505 (photostat of original in Ellesmere Papers, Huntington Library, U.S.A.)

Printed Sources

ANDERSON, ALAN O.
1908 *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, A.D. 500–1286*. London.
AUVRAY, LUCIEN (ed.)
1890–1955 *Les régistres de Grégoire IX*. 4 vols. Paris.
BANNERMAN, JOHN
1974 *Studies in the History of Dalriada*. Edinburgh and London.
BARROW, GEOFFREY W. S.
1969 'Northern English Society in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries'. *Northern History* 4 (1969): 1–28. Leeds.
1973 *The Kingdom of the Scots*. London.
BERSU, GERHARD, AND WILSON, DAVID M.
1966 *Three Viking Graves in the Isle of Man*. Society for Medieval Archaeology, Monograph Series No. 1. London.
BINCHY, DANIEL A.
1941 *Críth Gablach*. Dublin.
BRODERICK, GEORGE (ed.)
1973 *Chronicle of the Kings of Man and the Isles*, 1. Edinburgh. [Transcription and English translation by G.B. (Includes a modern Manx translation by Brian Stowell). Vol. 2, forthcoming, to include notes and discussion.]
BRUCE, J. R. AND CUBBON, W.
1930 'Cronk yn Howe: an Early Christian and Viking Site, at Lezayre'. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*: 267–308.
BYRNE, FRANCIS J.
1968 'Historical Note on Cnogba (Knowth)'. Appendix to Eogan (George), 'Excavations at Knowth', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 66 (1967–8): 383–400.
CHARLES-EDWARDS, T. M.
1972 'Kinship, status and the origins of the Hide'. *Past and Present* no. 56 (Aug.): 3–33.
CHRONICLE, THE MANX
1924 *The Chronicle of Man and the Isles: a facsimile of* [sections 3 and 4 of] *the Manuscript Codex Julius A vii*. Oxford U. P. for the Manx Museum. Douglas. [See also Broderick 1973; and Munch 1860.]
CRADOCK, H. C.
1931 'The Pre-Reformation Bishops of Sodor'. *Proceedings of the Isle of Man . . . Antiquarian Society*, new ser. 3: 321–46. Douglas. [Still useful, despite printer's errors. Now see Watt 1969.]

CRAINE, DAVID
1955 *Manannan's Isle*. Manx Museum, Douglas.
CRELLIN, MICHAEL
1969 'An early manorial roll'. *Journal of the Manx Museum* 7, no. 85:98–9; and plates 28-9. Douglas.
DAVIES, ELWYN
1956 'Treens and Quarterlands: a Study of the Land System of the Isle of Man'. *Institute of British Geographers Transactions*: 97–116.
DE H-ÓIR, ÉAMONN
1972–3 'The Anglicisation of Irish Place-Names.' *Onoma*, 17:192–204. Louvain.
DICKINSON, W. CROFT
1941 'The Toscherderach.' *Judicial Review* 53:85–109.
DILLON, MYLES
1973 'The Consecration of Irish kings.' *Celtica* 10:85–109.
DUNCAN, A. M. M. AND BROWN, A. L.
1959 'Argyllshire and the Isles in the Earlier Middle Ages.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 90:192–220. Edinburgh.
DUNCAN, A. M. M.
1975 *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh History of Scotland I). Edinburgh.
ELLIS, HILDA R. [Mrs Davidson]
1943 *The Road to Hel: a Study of the Conception of the Dead in Old Norse Literature*. Cambridge.
FLATRÈS, PIERRE
1957 *Géographie Rurale . . . Irlande, Galles, Cornwall et Man*. Rennes.
GELLING, MARGARET
1970–1 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man.' *Journal of the Manx Museum* 7, no. 86:130–9; and 7, no. 87:168–75. Douglas.
GELLING, PETER S.
1962–3 'Shielings in the Isle of Man.' *Medieval Archaeology* 6–7:156–72. London.
HARVEY, SALLY P. J.
1967 'Royal Revenue and Domesday Terminology.' *Economic History Review* (2nd ser.) 20:221–8.
HOLLISTER, C. WARREN
1962 *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions*. Oxford.
HUGHES, KATHLEEN
1972 *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources*. London.
1973 Review [of MacNiocaill (Gearóid), *Ireland before the Vikings*], *Studia Hibernica*: 190–3. Dublin.
JACKSON, KENNETH H.
1953 *Language and History in Early Britain*. Edinburgh.
1962 'The Celtic Languages During the Viking Period.' *Proceedings of the International Congress of Celtic Studies . . . 1959*, 3–11. Dublin.
JOHNSEN, ARNE ODD
1969 'The Payments from the Hebrides and the Isle of Man to the Crown of Norway, 1153–1263.' *Scottish Historical Review* 48:18–34.
JONES, GLANVILLE R. J.
1964 'The Distribution of Bond Settlements in North-West Wales.' *The Welsh History Review* 2:19–36.

1972 'Post-Roman Wales' in H. P. R. Finberg (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* I (2) (1972):283–382.

KERMODE, PHILIP M. C. AND BRUCE, J. RONALD

1968 *The Manx Archaeological Survey*, Reports 1–6. 2 vols. Douglas. [Re-issue 1968 of 1–5 by Kermode, first published 1909–36; with final report by Bruce, 1968].

KNEEN, J. J.

1925–9 *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*. 6 parts (or 2 vols.) Douglas. [Reprinted 1973. Menston.]

LAMONT, W. D.

1957–8 'Old Land Denominations and "Old Extent" in Islay', I and II. *Scottish Studies* 1:183–203; 2:86–106. Edinburgh.

1966 *The Early History of Islay*. Dundee.

LLOYD, SIR JOHN E.

1939 *History of Wales*, 3rd edn. (1st edn. 1911). 2 vols. London.

MCKERRAL, A.

1944 'Ancient Denominations of Agricultural Land in Scotland.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 78 (1944): 39–80. Edinburgh.

1951 'West Highland Mercenaries in Ireland.' *Scottish Historical Review* 30 (1951):1–14. Edinburgh.

MACNEILL, JOHN [EOIN]

1919 *Phases of Irish History*. Reprinted 1968. Dublin.

MCNEILL, PETER and NICHOLSON, RANALD (edd.)

1975 *An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c. 400–c. 1600*. St Andrews.

MACQUEEN, JOHN

1961 *St. Nynia: a Study of Literary and Linguistic Evidence*. Edinburgh.

1973 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick.' *Scottish Studies* 17:17–33. Edinburgh.

MARSTRANDER, CARL J. S.

1932 'Det Norsk Landnåm på Man.' *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 6:40–386, Oslo [with full English summary].

1934 'Remarks on the Place-Names of the Isle of Man.' *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 7: 287–334.

1937 'Treen og Keeill.' *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 8:287–500, Oslo [with full English summary].

MARWICK, HUGH

1952 *Orkney Farm-Names*. Kirkwall.

MEGAW, BASIL and ELEANOR

1950 'The Norse Heritage in the Isle of Man.' *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*. H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies, edited by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins: 143–70. Cambridge.

MEGAW, BASIL

1959–60 'The Ship Seals of the Kings of Man.' *Journal of the Manx Museum* 6, no. 76:78–80. Douglas.

MEGAW, ELEANOR M.

1945–6 'The Governor's Staff of Office.' *Journal of the Manx Museum* 5, nos. 72–3:172–3. Douglas.

MOORE, ARTHUR W.

1890 'Bull of Pope Gregory ix to the Bishop of Sodor, 30 July 1231.' *English Historical Review* 5:101–7. [Text provided by R. Lane Poole (*q.v.*) and W. H. Stevenson.]

1900 *A History of the Isle of Man.* 2 vols. London.

MUNCH, P[ETER] A[NDREAS] (ed.)
1860 *The Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys edited from the manuscript codex in the British Museum.* Christiania.
[Another edn., Manx Society 22–3 (ed. Goss). 1874. Douglas.

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H.
1960 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland.' *Scottish Studies* 4:49–70. Edinburgh.
1969 'Norse Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles.' *Scottish Historical Review* 48: 6–17. Aberdeen.
1970 'Gaelic Place-Names in Southern Scotland.' *Studia Celtica* 5:15–35. Cardiff.
1975(a) 'Place-Names in Bilingual Communities.' *Names: Journal of the American Name Society* 23:167–74. Potsdam, N.Y.
1975(b) 'Gaelic Place-Names'; 'Scandinavian Place-Names'; in McNeill and Nicholson 1975: 4–5; 6–7.

Ó CORRÁIN, DONNCHA
1972 *Ireland before the Normans.* (The Gill History of Ireland, ed. James Lydon and Margaret MacCurtain.) Dublin and London.

Ó CUÍV, BRIAN
1957 'A Poem in Praise of Raghnall, King of Man.' *Eigse* 8:283–301. Dublin.
1975 'Two notes . . . Diarmaid na nGall.' *Éigse,* 16:135–44. Dublin.

OLSEN, MAGNUS
1954 'Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain, Ireland and the Isle of Man', in Haakon Shetelig (ed.) *'Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland,* part 6:151–233. Oslo.

OLIVER, J. R.
1861–2 *Monumenta de Insula Manniae* . . . II. Manx Society, vol. 7 (1861); *op. cit.* III vol. 9 (1862 [1864]). Douglas.

PAGE, R. I.
1971 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? The epigraphical evidence.' *England before the Conquest,* ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes: 165–81. Cambridge.

POOLE, R. LANE
1911 'The Scottish Islands in the Diocese of Sodor.' *Scottish Historical Review* 8:258–63.

RITCHIE, ANNA
1974 'Pict and Norseman in Northern Scotland.' *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 6:23–36. Edinburgh.

ROUND, J. HORACE
1895 *Feudal England.* London.

SELLAR, DAVID
1966 'The origin and ancestry of Somerled.' *Scottish Historical Review* 45:123–42.

SHETELIG, HAAKON
1940 *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* 1. Oslo.

SKENE, WILLIAM F. (ed.)
1871–2 *Johannis de Fordun chronica gentis Scotorum. The Historians of Scotland* 1 (1871), text ed. W. F. Skene. 2 (1872), translation by F. J. H. Skene, notes by W. F. Skene. Edinburgh.
1876–80 *Celtic Scotland* [A second edn. appeared in 1886]. 3 vols. Edinburgh.

TALBOT, THEOPHILUS (ed.)
1924 *The Manorial Roll of the Isle of Man, 1511–15.* Oxford.

THOMAS, CHARLES
1964 'Settlement-History in Early Cornwall—I: the antiquity of the Hundreds.' *Cornish Archaeology* 3: 70–79. [Penzance?].
1971 *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain.* Hunter Marshall lectures 1968. London.
THOMSON, ROBERT L.
1969 *The Study of Manx Gaelic.* Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture. British Academy, London.
VIGFUSSON, GUDBRAND
1887 'Notes on Tinwald and sheading.' *Manx Note Book* 3:174–5. Douglas.
1888 'Northerners in the Isle of Man.' *English Historical Review* 3:498–501. London.
WATSON, WILLIAM J.
1926 *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland.* Edinburgh.
WATT, DONALD E. R.
1969 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi.* (Scottish Record Society). Second draft. Edinburgh.
WILSON, DAVID M.
1971 'Manx Memorial Stones of the Viking Period.' *Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research* 18 (1970–1):1–18. London.
1974 *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man—the Archaeological Evidence.* C. C. Rafn Lecture no. 3. Odense.
WILSON, JOHN
1915 *The Register of St Bees.* Surtees Society, 126. Durham.
WOODS, JAMES
[1867] *Atlas and Gazetteer of the Isle of Man.* London.