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Contributors to this Volume

G. W. S. BARROW MA, DLITT, BLITT
Professor of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh

DEREK BREWER MA, PHD
Professor of English, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge

RAB HOUSTON MA, PHD
Research Fellow, Clare College, Cambridge

DOUGLAS MAC LEAN BA, MA
Research Student, Department of Fine Art, University of Edinburgh

CHARLES W J. WITHERS, BSC, PHD
Senior Lecturer in Geography, College of St Paul and St Mary, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire

The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: a Note on Some Place-Name Evidence

G. W. S. BARROW

This brief note has been inspired by reading and re-reading the remarkable study by Professor Charles Thomas of *Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 1500* (Thomas 1981), in which the author ranges comprehensively across the literary and archaeological evidence to demonstrate the extent and depth of penetration achieved by the Christian religion in the greater part of Britain during the Roman occupation and its aftermath. The position in northern Britain engages Professor Thomas's attention in several parts of his work, but is dealt with more particularly in chapters 10 and 11 and in the two chapters (13, 14) devoted to Patrick and his church.

It remains sadly true that, despite the work of Professor Thomas himself (*e.g.* at Ardwall Island: Thomas 1966, 1971) and others, our knowledge of what we may call the infancy of Scottish Christianity is comparatively slight, for the evidence is patchy and hard to interpret with confidence. This is certainly true of the period before Saint Columba's coming to Iona in 563. Archaeology has already supplemented the written sources very profitably and will undoubtedly have more to contribute as further sites and objects are discovered and recognised. Place-names constitute a source which shares characteristics of both documentary evidence and the artefacts which form the archaeologists' stock-in-trade. They cannot help us much as far as the infancy of the Christian religion is concerned, for new converts, unless very rich and powerful, are unlikely to spend time and energy bestowing specifically Christian names on places (whether already named or as yet anonymous) in such a fashion that they will survive as permanent features of the landscape.

As time passed, however, possession of Christian beliefs and observance of communal Christian worship by a settled population normally gave rise to true and lasting place-names. There would, for example, be a desire—scarcely distinguishable from the practice of pagan times—to put some much-frequented spot, some commonly used well or spring, under the invocation and blessing of a revered saint, scriptural or at least of historical or local repute. There would be a natural tendency to give permanent names to wayside crosses and shrines, hermitages, burial grounds and localities at which, whether or not in the shelter of a simple structure, congregations of the faithful could assemble for baptism, for hearing the gospel and for the celebration of mass. Other places which were likely to attract explicitly Christian names would include those given by the pious for the support of the church and its

clergy, those favoured for dwelling or sojourn by saints and other holy persons, and those to which some religious quality or blessedness was agreed to belong.

Scotland can provide numerous examples of all these kinds of distinctively Christian place-names. The main difficulty they pose, if we try to use them to fill in our picture of the childhood of Christianity, lies in establishing their date. It would be generally agreed that the handful of Scandinavian Christian place-names (*e.g.* Kirkwall, 'church bay') cannot be put much before *c.*1000, the rather larger number of Old English names (*e.g.* Preston, Prestwick, 'priest's farm', Kirkton, 'church settlement') cannot be dated before the mid-seventh century—and are likely to be a good deal younger—while names which are unambiguously Old Irish (Q-Celtic) would not have been given (save in Argyll, or if elsewhere then in quite exceptional circumstances) before the merging of the Scottish (*i.e.* Dalriadic) and Pictish kingdoms in the mid-ninth century.

But the infancy and childhood of Christianity in Scotland belonged largely to the P-Celtic speaking Britons ('Cumbrians') of the country between the Border and the Loch Lomond-Forth isthmus and to the equally P-Celtic speaking Picts inhabiting the rest of Scotland from the Loch Lomond-Forth line to Shetland. Once Christian beliefs had been firmly established among the Britons in the post-Roman or 'sub-Roman' period the next step would surely be to carry the gospel and its message of salvation to neighbouring peoples. Bitter hostility between the Britons and the incoming Anglo-Saxons ensured that British missionary activity would not lie in that direction. In the fifth century Patrick and other Britons had enjoyed striking success converting influential sections of the population of Ireland. It is not in any way surprising to learn from Bede, writing in Northumbria *c.*731, that tradition attributed to their fellow-Briton, Nynia of Whithorn, the conversion of those Pictish people who lived south of the Grampian mountains (Plummer 1896: I. 133). Just as we do not need to believe that Patrick converted the entire Irish nation single-handed to recognise his decisive influence so equally we do not need to believe that Nynia was the sole apostle of the southern Picts before we acknowledge the possibility, even the probability, that Nynia preached with success to a part of the Pictish population. Since Nynia was based on Whithorn (Candida Casa) in Galloway, it is reasonable to locate his Pictish mission in the south of their territory, and Professor Thomas has suggested that Nynia's work was carried out in the lands just south of the upper Firth of Forth (modern East Stirlingshire, West and Mid Lothian) which he believes the Picts overran and conquered in the wake of retreating Roman forces (Thomas 1981: 285-8; also MacQueen 1961).

Archaeology may in time be able to throw more light on the earliest Christian presence among the native population of this region. Completely fresh documentary or literary evidence is hardly to be looked for. There is, however, the possibility that place-name evidence can offer some help. It has long been recognised (Cameron 1968: 90-1; Jackson 1953: 227) that during the initial spread of Christianity among

the P-Celtic speaking tribes of the southern half of Britain the Latin (ultimately Greek) word *ecclesia*, 'congregation', 'church', was borrowed into the Brittonic vernacular—the ancestor of later Welsh, Cornish and Breton—through an intermediate *eclesia,* to become some such form as *eglēs*. Although the Greek word did not originally carry any Christian connotation, we can take it as certain that its use in Roman and sub-Roman Britain was specifically Christian. In those parts of the country, *e.g.* Wales and its borderland and Cornwall, where P-Celtic speech has enjoyed a continuous existence down to the present, or until comparatively recent times, this word, in the Welsh form *eglwys* or Cornish *eglos,* has certainly found a place in the making of Christian place-names, rather rarely in Wales, more commonly in Cornwall. Instances would include Eglwysbach south of Colwyn Bay, Denbighshire, Eglwysfach on the Dovey estuary in Cardiganshire and Egloshayle in Cornwall. It has also left very interesting traces over a wide area of Southern Britain which became English, from which Celtic speech would have died out at various periods between the late fifth and the late eighth century. There are, for instance, Eccles in Aylesford, Kent and Eccles (twice) in Norfolk, there is Eccles in South Lancashire famous for its cakes, and besides these are a good many names, chiefly in the north-west midlands of England and in Lancashire and Yorkshire, which have 'eccles' as their key component, often combined with '-field' or '-ton' (Cameron 1968: 90–1; Thomas 1981: 269). All these names point to a period in the Germanic migration into Britain where the pagan settlers identified a place of native Christian worship and heard, and then transmitted in their own tongue, the technical term *eglēs* by which it was known to the local Christian community. On an identical footing with these English place-names would be the Scottish parish name Eccles in Berwickshire, an area which has probably been English-speaking since the seventh century.

The Anglo-Saxon people do not seem to have adopted *ecclesia* or *eglēs* into their ordinary vocabulary as a word for 'church'. They preferred *cirice,* also of Greek origin and ancestor of our 'church', for that word had already been introduced to Germanic speakers on the continent and came naturally to Saxons and Jutes when they first received, somewhat grudgingly or hesitantly, the Christian message. *Ecclesia,* however, did pass into Q-Celtic, in the form *eclais* (modern Gaelic *eaglais*), either directly from Latin or *via* the loanword *eglēs* familiar to the British missionaries of the Patrician age.

Neither in Wales nor in Ireland did these vernacular forms derived from *ecclesia* become the normal word used to fix the name of a place of Christian worship. It is very well known that in Wales by far the commonest place-name indicating 'church' has been *llan* (formerly *lann*), literally 'enclosure', but particularly an enclosed sanctuary in which a church would be built. In Ireland on the other hand, and throughout those areas of Scotland where the presence and linguistic influence of Q-Celtic speakers were most pervasive and dominant (*i.e.* Argyll, the south-west, the Western Isles and the West Highlands generally), the normal word for 'church' in

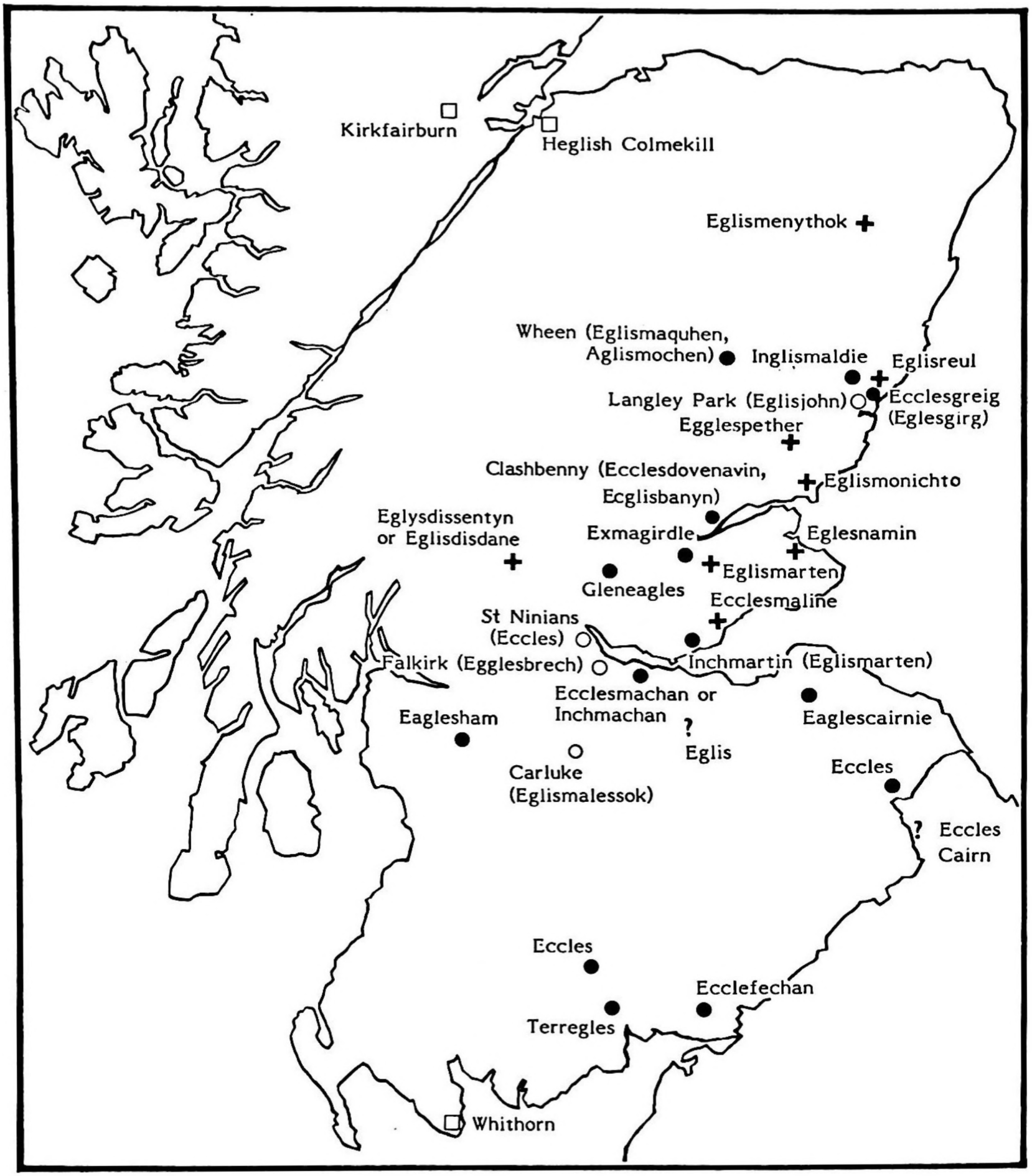

Fig. 1 Christian place-names involving *eglēs*

Surviving: ● Eccles
Obsolete: ○ St Ninians (Eccles)
Lost: ✚ Egglespether
Doubtful: ? Eccles Cairn

Other names: □ Whithorn

place-name formation was *cill,* the dative case of *cell,* borrowed from Latin *cella*, a stone chamber or cell or the part of a temple in which stood the image of a deity. Just as in Wales Brittonic *lann* has given rise to hundreds of names of the type Llanfair, 'St Mary's church', Llandrindod, 'church of the Trinity', so in Ireland and all over western Scotland the use of *cill* has produced many hundreds—in fact thousands—of names such as Kilmory, 'St Mary's church', Kilphedder, 'St Peter's church', Kilchrist, 'Christ's church' and Kilmacolm, 'church of my (*i.e.* saint) Columba'. It seems doubtful whether these Christian place-names would have been formed anywhere in Scotland much after the tenth century, and most of them probably belong to the period from *c.*550 to *c.*900. As the use of Q-Celtic, *i.e.* Gaelic, spread eastward during the late eighth and ninth centuries a few *cill-* names were formed on the eastern side of Scotland, *e.g.* Kilmaron, Kilrenny and Kilmany in Fife, 'Kylmichel' (now Kirkmichael) in north-east Perthshire, Kelalcmund, Kyllalchmond (now Kennéthmont) in Aberdeenshire, and the now obsolete Kyndelaneman or Kilmalemnock near Elgin in Moray, if indeed this last example does truly embody the word *cill.*

Since *lann* (*llan*) was hardly used at all in Scotland and *cirice,* 'church' or 'kirk', only came in very gradually with English-speakers during the later seventh and eighth centuries, and did not penetrate north of the Forth till much later, it is extremely valuable to have preserved, either still in use or at least documented, a small but widely distributed class of Christian place-names associated with the regions of P-Celtic Brittonic speech and of Pictish speech. Eccles in Berwickshire has already been mentioned. There seems no reason not to see the same element in the Dumfries-shire and Kirkcudbrightshire names Ecclefechan, Eccles (in Penpont) and Terregles (*tref yr eglwys*, 'settlement with a church'), although in these cases adoption into English speech came much later than would have been the case in Berwickshire. Still in the extreme south of Scotland, actually on the Border in fact, is the problematical name Eccles Cairn in Kilham parish, Northumberland and Yetholm parish in Roxburghshire at a point 355 metres above sea-level and remote from any permanent habitation.

The remaining names incorporating an element derived from *ecclesia* belong with only two exceptions to the country from East Lothian, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire northward to Aberdeenshire. The exceptions (both now obsolete) are at Fairburn in Easter Ross and Petty east of Inverness. They will be discussed later. Excluding them, the puzzling Eccles Cairn, and also 'Eglis' in Penicuik because of the dubiety of its early spellings (Watson 1926: 153; *Retours* 1811: *Edinburgh*, no. 1040), we have to do with a group of twenty-six place-names, of which eleven are now obsolete. What they appear to show is the existence in the common vocabulary of the P-Celtic speaking Cumbrians and Picts of a word for 'church' deriving from Latin *ecclesia.* Since we know that Picts and Cumbrians shared a common basic vocabulary which included many ordinary words such as *aber,* 'confluence', *pert(h),* 'copse', *carden,* 'small wood' and *pol,* 'stream', it would not be at all surprising to find the Picts adopting the Brittonic word for a Christian church.

Had the early Scottish immigrants coming from Ulster, settling first in the southern Hebrides and Argyll and then spreading eastward across Scotland especially after *c.*800, been in the habit of making Christian place-names with their borrowed word *eclais*, this alone would have been remarkable, for their fellow-countrymen who stayed at home in Ireland conspicuously did not do so. The Eglish in County Offaly seems to be one of the few exceptions belonging to the earlier period, in contrast with some 2700 names in *cill-* (Joyce 1871: 303; Hogan 1910: 394 and also *s.vv. ecclas, eclas*). But to suppose not only that this was their practice but that it did not become their practice until they had started to settle in the eastern valleys of the Scottish mainland is altogether incredible. It seems much more reasonable to take the use of *eg(g)les, ec(c)les* in southern and eastern Scotland as a homogeneous phenomenon closely paralleling the usage to be found in England, Wales, and Cornwall. But if that is so, the implications are far-reaching. *Eglēs* takes us back into the sub-Roman period, the fourth and fifth centuries. It is not necessary to suppose that all our twenty-six place-names were formed before AD 500, for that would be extremely improbable. The important point is that the word could have become embedded in the place-name vocabulary of Pictland only *after* conversion to Christianity but *before* P-Celtic or Brittonic usages had given way to those of Q-Celtic and Germanic speakers, in the west and south-east respectively. That would give us a probable time-span of *c.*400 (for southern Scotland) or *c.*450 (for southern Pictland) through to *c.*650 (for south-eastern Scotland) or nearer 800 for at least the rest of Pictland south of the Grampians.

Again, if that is so, we should expect to find that this small group of Christian place-names shows archaic, fugitive or obsolescent features. This is precisely what we do find. We have already seen that almost half the recorded names are now 'lost'—that is, either they are no longer used as the names of the places they once referred to or the localities concerned can no longer be identified. Secondly, it seems that the origin and meaning of the word were forgotten or became incomprehensible at a fairly early date. Only thus can we explain how in so many instances an original *eglēs* has become converted into a different, more readily intelligible, word, such as 'inch', *i.e.* island or riverside meadow (Ecclesmachan = Inchmachan, W. Lothian; Eglesmarten = Inchmartin in Aberdour, Fife) or 'inglis' (Eglismaldiis = Inglismaldie, Mearns) or 'eagles' (Eglescarno = Eaglescairnie, East Lothian), or 'clash', *i.e.* hollow (Eglesdovenavin, Ecglisbanyn = Clashbennie in Errol, Perthshire). In some cases the word has just become a meaningless sound (for example before Gleneglis became the modern Gleneagles it was for long Glenagis; Eglismartin in Aberdour was Agismarte; and Eglesmagril has become Exmagirdle). In one instance the *eglēs* element has vanished, leaving only the qualifier (Eglismaquhen = Wheen, a sheepfarm in Glen Clova). Nevertheless, there was a realisation (perhaps chiefly among educated clerics) that the *eglēs* element meant church, for Ecclesmaline, now lost, in Kinghorn was called *ecclesia Sancti Melini*—'the church of St Melinus'—in the twelfth century, and

a map of the seventeenth century shows Wheen in Glen Clova as Heglish-Mackwhyin, where the first element was obviously understood as Gaelic *eaglais*, 'church'.

Finally, we must take note of the fact that in eighteen or nineteen out of our twenty-six names the *eglēs* element is combined with the name of a saint. It has been regarded as evidence for the essentially Gaelic or Q-Celtic character of our class of names that these saints were Irish or Scottish, their names often preserved in the familiar Irish way with the affectionate possessive pronouns *mo* ('my') or *do* ('thy'), *e.g.* Eglismalessok (Carluke), Ecclesdovenavin, Eglismaquhen *etc.* As to this, it must first be said that an early Christian place of worship could attract the appellation *eglēs* before it acquired a particular dedication—indeed, was very likely to do so. A further point is that when the saints involved are examined closely they seem to be in the main early in date and not strikingly Irish in origin. For example Marten (presumably St Martin of Tours) occurs twice, Peter and John are biblical, Neitan (twice) and Girig were probably Pictish, Loesuc may have been Breton and Carnac Welsh. Machan, Màillidh (twice), Riagal, Benignus, Grillan, Náemhán and Cunna (Mo Chunna) are early in date and, taken together, look very different from any typical group of seven Irish saints' names collected from west highland or Irish church sites. Moreover, the known dedications of other *eglēs* names (Cuthbert at Eccles, Berwickshire, Ninian at St Ninians, formerly Eccles, Iast or Iestyn at 'Eglisdissentyn' in Kilmadock, Mungo or Kentigern at Gleneagles) tell against any Irish orientation, and point rather to a Brittonic or Northumbrian connexion. It might be objected that some of these dedications could be as late as the twelfth century. That might possibly be true of Nynia at St Ninians, Mungo at Gleneagles or even Cuthbert at Eccles, but it can hardly be true of all the names, and surely not of such names as Egglespether, Eglesmarten, Ecclesdovenavin (otherwise Ecglisbanyn, *i.e.* 'church of Saint Benén or Benignus') or Eglismenythok, Ecclesmonichtie ('church of Saint Neitan').

It is a notable feature of several *eglēs* names that the earliest documentary evidence seems to refer to *land* or *property* rather than explicitly to a church. Since it cannot be seriously doubted that the *eglēs* element does mean '(Christian) church', this apparent secularisation or 'deconsecration' provides further evidence of the antiquity of the site and its name. The lands, but not the church, of 'Eglysdissentyn' are mentioned as early as 1267 in Kilmadock parish, west of Doune in Perthshire. The name survived in numerous varieties of spelling (including 'Eglisdisdane') as late as 1750, and at the spot corresponding to its position on General Roy's map of that date there are the traces of an old structure, possibly post-medieval, possibly earlier and certainly worth investigating. Similarly the land, not the church, of Eglismarten at Strathmiglo, Fife, is mentioned in a thirteenth-century document. A mile or two west of St Andrews, at Hallowhill (formerly All Hallows' Hill) an early cemetery has recently been excavated. Mrs Edwina Proudfoot's report of this excavation speaks of a large number of long cist burials appropriate to an early Christian graveyard, associated with some burials of a still earlier period (Proudfoot 1983: 14–20). One of

the properties forming the basic endowment of St Andrews Cathedral Priory in the twelfth century was the unidentified 'Eglesnamin', which could stand for 'church of Saint Náemhán' or perhaps simply for 'church of the saint(s)'—which, of course, would be closely equivalent to the name All Hallows. We might perhaps compare this name 'Eglesnamin' attached to an unlocated property belonging to the very holy shrine of St Andrews with the name Cill Mo-Naoi'in or Cill Mo-Naoimhín attached to the very holy island-shrine of Iona (Watson 1926: 307).

The Pictish king Nechtan son of Derile, already a devout Christian and king of a Christian country, sought Northumbrian aid about 710 to convert his church to 'Roman' usages in place of 'Columban' or Iona usages, notably in calculating the date of Easter and in the form of clerical tonsure. He also asked for masons to be sent who would build a stone church which he promised to dedicate to the prince of the apostles, *i.e.* Saint Peter (Plummer 1896: I. 332–3). It seems likely that the area around Forfar formed one of the chief bases of Pictish royal power. There was certainly an ancient church here at Restenneth, dedicated to Saint Peter, and when in the reign of King Malcolm IV (1153–65) this church was given to the Augustinian monastery of Jedburgh and largely rebuilt, it was recorded that one of the basic endowments of the old church was a property called Egglespether—'church of Saint Peter' (Barrow 1960: 231). Egglespether cannot refer to the actual church of Saint Peter as it stood in Malcolm IV's reign, for in the king's charter it is clearly distinguished from 'Rostinoth (Restenneth) where the church is built'. Nevertheless, though now lost, it is likely to have been in close proximity to Restenneth. It seems reasonable to suggest that Egglespether, obviously once an actual ecclesiastical site but no longer so in the mid-twelfth century, represented the church built (perhaps on an even older Christian site) for King Nechtan in the early eighth century.

The Christian place-names embodying the element *eglēs* seem to have extended northward as far as the lost 'Eglismenythok' (or, as it once became, 'Abersnithock'!) on the banks of the River Don in Aberdeenshire (Alexander 1952: 136), a site closely associated with the old monastery of Monymusk. The name Eglas (Egleis) applied to Kirkfairburn in Easter Ross is almost certainly no exception to this statement, for in 1527 the place appears as 'Fairburneglis' (Watson 1904: 105), and in this case we are no doubt dealing with a relatively late name containing the Gaelic word *eaglais* by way of a qualifier. The only place-name which might seem to break the rule is Heglish-Colmekill ('church of Saint Columba') in the parish of Petty east of Inverness. But although this name, recorded in the seventeenth century (Mitchell 1907: II. 558) has some of the characteristics of the *eglēs*-names under review, it seems rather more likely to be a truly Gaelic (Q-Celtic) name for the parish kirk of Petty, understandably so when there was no actual village or habitation site of Petty. Unless wholly fresh evidence comes to light, we can accept it as reasonably certain that *eglēs*-names are confined to southern and south-eastern Scotland and to eastern valleys and the coastal plain from just north of Stirling to mid-Aberdeenshire—an

area corresponding closely enough to what Bede apparently had in mind when he wrote of the conversion to Christianity of 'these southern Picts who have their settlements this side of the mountains (*i.e.* the Grampians)'.

As the map makes clear, the names embodying the *eglēs* element have a continuous spread across southern and eastern Scotland. To restrict our recognition of the term to merely three or four examples in the far south from Eccles in Dumfriesshire across to its namesake in Berwickshire because of some preconceptions regarding the process whereby the Picts were converted to Christianity would surely be artificial and unscholarly. The difficulty of interpretation has arisen because whereas in England and southern Scotland the word *eglēs* has been taken over into a language, English, which has no cognate or equivalent, in northern Scotland it was taken over into a language, Gaelic, which did have a closely similar cognate, *eclais*, now *eaglais*. But in reading the evidence the absence of any ancient Christian place-names in *eglēs* in the wide regions of the west where Gaelic was prevalent during a very lengthy period is surely eloquent testimony that the chapter of Christian history we are dealing with was an early one, set in a joint Brittonic and Pictish context. Our names may not tell us much about the spiritual quality of the childhood of Christianity in Scotland, but they do shed light on its geographical extent and social permanence.

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APPENDIX

Alphabetical List of Scottish Place-Names Certainly or Probably Embodying the Brittonic Element *eglēs*, 'Christian church'.

In each case the earliest-recorded form is given with its reference; in some cases selected later forms are also given. To save repetition the following three works, which are generally helpful in the majority of cases, are listed here only: J. M. Mackinlay, *The Influence of the Pre-Reformation Church on Scottish Place-Names* (Edinburgh and London 1904); J. M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland* (2 vols., Scriptural Dedications, Edinburgh 1910; Non-Scriptural Dedications, Edinburgh 1914); and W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland,* (Edinburgh 1926). References conform to the style published in *Scottish Historical Review* (1963): a list will be found at the end of this appendix.

Name	*County and Parish*	*NG Ref.*	*Earliest recorded form (with select later forms)*	*Reference*
Carluke	Lanark, Carluke	NS8450	Eglismalesoch (1321)	*Glasgow Registrum:* 228 (*cf. RMS* I: 431)
Clashbenny	Perth, Errol	NO2121	Ecclesdouenauin (1202 × 1214)	*Spalding Misc.* II: 306
			Egclisbanyn (1258)	*op. cit:* 308
Eaglescairnie	East Lothian, Bolton	NT5169	Eglischcarno (1607)	*RMS* VI, no. 1976
			Egliscarno (1649)	*Retours, Haddington,* no. 217
Eaglesham	Renfrew, Eaglesham	NS5751	Egglesham (1161)	*RRS* I, no. 184

Ecclefechan	Dumfries, Hoddom	NY1974	Eglefechan (1202)	*Dumfriesshire Trans.* XXXIII: 85
			Egilfechan (1249)	*Cal. Docs. Scot.* I, no. 1763
Eccles	Berwick, Eccles	NT7641	Eccles (1156)	*Chron. Melrose*: 35
Eccles	Dumfries, Penpont,	NS8496	Ecclis (1488) [as surname]	*Wigtownshire Chrs.*: 176
			Eclis (1523)	*RMS* III, no. 236
Eccles	Stirling. *See* St Ninians			
Eccles Cairn	Northumberland, Kilham and Roxburgh, Yetholm	NT8527	(No early form discovered)	
Ecclesgreig	Kincardine, St Cyrus	NO7365	Eglesgirg, Eglisgirg (1189 × 95)	*St. Andrews Liber*: 229, 238
Ecclesiamagirdle.	*See* Exmagirdle			
Ecclesmachan	W. Lothian, Ecclesmachan	NT0573	Egglesmanekin [read, Egglesmauekin] (1207)	*Cal. Papal Letters* I: 30 (*cf. op. cit.* 61)
			(Also Inchmachan	*Cf.* A. MacDonald, *The Place-Names of West Lothian* (1941): 47–8)
Ecclesmaline [lost]	Fife, Kinghorn	(?)NT2789	Ecclesmaline (1162 × 69)	*Inchcolm Chrs.* 1
			ecclesia Sancti Melini (1179) (said to be on lands of Tyrie)	*op. cit.* 2: 103–4
Egglesbrech	*See* Falkirk			
Egglespether [lost]	Angus, Restenneth	(?)NO4851	Egglespether (1161 × 62)	*RRS* I: 231
			Eglispeder (1322)	*RMS* I: 443
Eglesnamin [lost]	Fife, St Andrews	(?)NO4915	Eglesnamin (1144) (represented by Hallow Hill? Formerly, this was known as All Hallows Hill; *ex inf.* Mrs Angela Parker)	*St. Andrews Liber*: 122

Eglis [lost]	Penicuik, Midlothian	(?)NT2159	Eglis (1653) Possibly Reglis; *cf.* Watson, 1926, 153	*Retours, Edinburgh*, nos. 1040, 1220
Eglisdisdane	*See* Eglysdissentyn			
Eglisjohn	*See* Langley Park			
Eglismaquhen	*See* Wheen			
Eglismarten [lost]	Fife, Strathmiglo	(?)NO2110	Eglismarten (1240 × 48)	*St. Andrews Liber*: 310
Eglismarten	*See* Inchmartin			
Eglismenythok [lost]	Aberdeen, Monymusk	(?)NJ6817	Eglismenythok (1210)	*St. Andrews Liber*: 371
			Eglismeneyttok (1245) (later Abersnithock; *cf.* Alexander 1952: 136)	*op. cit.*: 373
Eglismonichto [lost]	Angus, Monifeith	(?)NO4732	Eglismonichto (1482)	*RMS* II, no. 1538
			Eglismonth (1613)	*Brechin Registrum* II: 434
			Eglismonichto (1619) (identified as Barnhill)	*Retours, Forfar*, no. 115
Eglysdissentyn [lost]	Perth, Kilmadock	(?)NN6706	Eglysdissentyn (1267)	Fraser 1880: II. 217
			Eglisdikin (14th cent.)	Fraser 1888: II. 6
			Eglisdischintane (1456)	*Exch. R.* VI: 279
			Eglisdisdane (1491)	*RMS* II, no. 2035
			Agglistechynauch (1528)	*RMS* III, no. 607
			Agglischechynnauche (1535)	*op. cit.*, no. 1498
			Eglistenson (1550)	*RMS* IV, no. 536
			Heglis-Stinchenach (17th cent.)	Macfarlane, *Geog. Coll.* II: 612
			Aiglesteinston (1750)	William Roy's Map of Scotland
Eglisreul [lost]	Kincardine, St Cyrus	(?)NO7164	Egglesrilue (1246)	*St. Andrews Liber*: 92
			Eglisreul (1471) (said to be at Morphie; Mackinlay, *Non-Scriptural Dedications*, 475)	*RMS* II, no. 1039
Exmagirdle (*alias* Ecclesiamagirdle)	Perth, Dron	NO1016	Eglesmagril (1211 × 1214)	*Lindores Chartulary*: 44

Falkirk	Stirling, Falkirk	NS8880	Egglesbreth (1080 *c.*1165) (Read, no doubt, Egglesbrech)	*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Ser., 1885) II: 211
			Egglesbrec (1165 × 78)	BL, Harley Chrs. III, B.14; *cf.* Nicolaisen 1976: 7–16
Gleneagles	Perth, Blackford	NN9307	Glenegas (1574)	*Retours, Perth*, no. 35
			Glenegles (1685)	*op. cit.*, no. 940
			Glenagies (1725)	H. Moll, *Map of the South Part of Perthshire* (1725)
Inchmachan.	*See* Ecclesmachan			
Inchmartin	Fife, Aberdour	NT1885	Eglismarten (1347 × 55)	*Inchcolm Chrs.*: 32
			Agismarte (14th cent.)	*Morton Reg.* I: lxv
			Eglesmarte (1441) (represented by Inchmartin; *cf. Inchcolm Chrs.*, 150)	*Inchcolm Chrs.*: 58
Inglismaldie	Kincardine, Marykirk	NO6466	Eglismaldiis (1503)	*RMS* II, no. 2777
Langley Park	Angus, Dun	NO6860	Eglisjhone (1409)	*Brechin Reg.* I: 33
			Eglisione (1410)	*op. cit.*: 32
St Ninians	Stirling, St Ninians	NS7991	Eccles (1147 × 50)	Lawrie 1905: 146 (= *Dunfermline Reg.*: 8)
			Eggles, (1203)	*op. cit.*: 129
			Egles (1207)	*Cal. Papal Letters* I: 28
Terregles	Kirkcudbright, Terregles	NX9377	Travereglys (1365)	*RMS* I, no. 192
Wheen	Angus, Cortachy and Clova	NO3670	Aglismochen (1322 × 30)	*Inchaffray Liber*: xliii
			Eglismaquhen (1491)	*Laing Chrs.*: 99
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The Im Thurn Lecture* 1983

The Concept of Literary Culture

DEREK BREWER

There is a long history of literary men who have been concerned with the general problems of culture and society—two terms which admit of wide definitions indeed. To take only famous British names we may recall Burke, Scott, Coleridge, Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, Morris, T. S. Eliot, while in recent years there have been notable and influential studies by contemporary critics such as F. R. Leavis, Professor Raymond Williams, Professor Richard Hoggart. There has been outstanding work done in Europe and America.

Although such men have produced primarily literary studies, they have been connected with and much influenced by the remarkable growth of anthropological studies in conjunction with other powerfully accelerating concepts, of scientific study of contemporary society, of the consciousness of the primitive, of the relativity of social custom, eventually of the relativity of values.

The history of anthropological thought begins perhaps with Montesquieu and in the nineteenth century was of European dimensions, but it is gratifying to be able to note, when experiencing the honour of delivering the Im Thurn Lecture for 1983, what an important part was played by Scottish thought. Evans-Pritchard (1983: 17) refers to that 'eighteenth century Edinburgh circle which was profoundly interested in the development of social institutions and whose members certainly had great influence on the development of social anthropological thought'. Lord Kames (1696-1782) was one of the most important of these but they included also Ferguson (1723-1816), Millar (1735-1801, though he was mainly a Glasgow man), McLennan (1827-1881), Robertson-Smith (1846-1894, though he was mainly an Aberdonian), and most notably here Sir Everard Im Thurn himself (1852-1932). Sir James Frazer (1854-1941), who came to Cambridge, should also be mentioned. Some other names of those not primarily or not only scholars should be added. Sir Walter Scott I have already mentioned, Andrew Lang is another. Out of the work of these and others

* Annual lecture given in memory of Sir Everard im Thurn (1852-1932) KCMG, KBE, CB, MA, LL.D, anthropologist, explorer and mountaineer, past president of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and a founder and past President of the Scottish Anthropological and Folk Lore Society. When the Scottish Society ceased, the endowment for the annual lecture succeeded to the School of Scottish Studies.

came also the developing interest in folklore which is carried on fortunately with such vigour and success in Edinburgh today by the School of Scottish Studies. Although folklore studies will often be focussed on oral culture, their attitudes and methods offer a valuable model for understanding many aspects of literary culture, and they have been unduly neglected in England. It is a standing reproach to English intellectual life that, although the Folklore Society in London was the first in the world, there is still no Professor of Folklore or folklife or similar studies in any British university, although we have some distinguished scholars and institutions, especially in Leeds and Sheffield.

We may see in European culture generally throughout the last three centuries developing interests in the nature of society as an organism. Not surprisingly these interests have led in a bewildering variety of directions. A powerful leading interest has been that in the 'primitive', arising from the recognition of the difference which European society has progressively established between itself and what came to be known as 'primitive society'. This led further to the recognition in the nineteenth century that such 'primitive society' persisted in Europe and in Britain itself in the form of peasant social groupings. Study and understanding of these have more recently extended to the recognition that such primitive societies, though their technology may be weak, have rich structures of feeling and attitude. This in turn has led to the further recognition that our own society, or societies, are susceptible of the same kind of study as primitive societies, even though modern European societies, because of their technological power, have different structures and complications. Whatever the society and its complexities, however, there is always a distinguishable verbal element which, though obviously inevitable in constituting human society, and therefore intrinsic to all society, can also be in part isolated as having special functions and its own internal history, conventions and structures.

What exactly may be the components of the verbal 'para-culture' which is so intimately linked with the general culture (in the anthropological sense) of society as a whole gives rise to a whole set of problems ranging from the purely or remotely critical to the most immediate moral and legal. It will be enough here to assume that such a partially isolatable verbal culture has sufficient identity to be able to be studied in itself and in its relations with the general culture and with all our concepts of truth, imagination, knowledge, *etc.*

At any given time much of the verbal culture will be oral, but equally at any time there is a desire to commit some matters of special value to the greater permanence of writing or print, while it is obvious that for most of our intimate sense of the past we depend on such verbal documentation. The closest example in our own culture, and of the kinds of study it calls for, is the medieval period, when a significant 'literary culture' began to develop, built upon the ruins of classical civilisation.

I am a literary historian. My primary data, and primary interest, are in the corpus of literary texts in English. But my present argument involves anthropological interests

since I have been primarily, though not solely, concerned with English literary culture in the medieval stage. The medieval period in certain respects may be said to resemble primitive societies, though in others it is the crucible in which modern European societies have been formed. In the study of medieval literature and society we connect with that great nineteenth-century discovery of the 'pastness of the past'—the sense that our ancestors of the same flesh and blood as ourselves nevertheless felt extraordinarily different from us over many matters close to our own business and bosoms. Much of my own study has been spent in elucidating the nature of these attitudes, so different from ours, which earlier English people had to sexual love, religion, war, class and so forth, in so far as they have been reflected in major and minor works of literature. To study and evaluate such differences one is inevitably concerned with the history of sentiments. Sentiments interact with social structures and are evidenced in many different ways throughout the whole of a society's activities in art, religion, manners, even crime. There are classic studies in this field, as the great works of Burckhardt, Huizinga and more recently Elias. All this leads to the concept of 'cultural history' recently discussed in a valuable essay by my colleague Peter Burke (*The Cambridge Review* CIV, 18 November 1983, pp. 206-8).

From the point of view of the historian of English literature and sentiments, and of the implicit and explicit attitudes which are now perhaps more fashionably called 'mentality' in the French sense of that word, it would be reasonable in a more extended discussion of 'culture and society' to start with earlier twentieth-century opinions which, as it happens, have frequently emanated from the University of Cambridge. A concern with the wider culture of the country has always been a marked concern of English literary studies as illustrated by the work of I. A. Richards and F. R. Leavis, though they themselves obviously reflect many influences from outside Cambridge, most notably T. S. Eliot and D. H. Lawrence, who can hardly be adopted as Cambridge men. Perhaps I should hasten to add here that I am not myself a Cambridge man, either by origin or nowadays as representative, and I escaped all these influences. Cambridge is a village where after twenty years one may still feel a stranger.

I can best focus the beginnings of a discussion of culture and society in order to lead to the idea of literary culture by some brief remarks on the book by Professor Raymond Williams entitled *Culture and Society* (1958) which in a peculiarly Cambridge way has both focussed much of the previous social interest from the point of view of literary studies in the matter of culture and has been influential over much other work. I read *Culture and Society* with admiration when it first appeared. It has aspects and underlying implications with which I cannot agree but re-reading it twenty-five years later for the purposes of this lecture my admiration for its penetration and generosity of judgement has increased. Williams's work is a valuable partial history of the concept of culture in the nineteenth century in which he develops the notion, which T. S. Eliot had also propounded, both of them influenced

by anthropological thought, of 'culture' as the 'sense of the common life' of a whole society. Though now common this idea was less so a quarter of a century ago. It is still not always well understood. This is partly because Williams, like Eliot, but much less like the anthropologists, insists that culture must be 'qualitatively assessed' (p. 295). There are a number of complexities or ambiguities, perhaps sometimes self-contradictions in this developing notion of the common life which must be accepted yet also valued and judged. If culture is a description of the common life, then no group can be without it, though Eliot himself inadvertently suggests that some groups may. And it must contain both good and bad, often inter-related. Clearly the problem here originates in accepting culture as an intrinsic element and also, and inconsistently, assessing 'culture' as something particularly valuable, as chiefly what we now often call 'high culture': art, religion, intellectual concepts and so forth. But everybody now agrees that culture must consist in more than these higher elements. There is another point. Both Eliot and Williams also insist that there is an element of culture which is both unconscious on the part of those who share it and incapable of being planned. Williams insists on the importance of freedom: 'the word culture cannot automatically be pressed into service as any kind of social or personal directive' (p. 295). Culture draws from the whole of our experience and is therefore never fully self-conscious (p. 334).

On the other hand, Eliot, to some extent by implication, and Williams quite explicitly, both reiterate the older concept of culture as 'cultivation', 'the tending of natural growth' (Williams, p. 335). Williams uses this sense of the word as a justification for guiding and controlling cultural growth, meaning the encouragement of some aspects of culture and the discouragement of others (pp. 337–8). Where then is freedom?

There is a fundamental dichotomy therefore in this concept of culture. It is both general and therefore a phenomenon we have to accept: yet it has to be judged, evaluated, controlled and directed. Are the values by which it is judged and directed themselves part of the culture, or have they some external absolute quality? This dichotomy and uncertainty are inevitable from the point of view of one's own culture. It is a valuable example of the real possibility of having one's cake and eating it. That is to say, of being outside the culture in terms of scientific analysis and yet of being inside it. To put it in terms of the metaphor, of having the culture inside oneself organically and in part unselfconsciously, yet feeding on it and changing it.

A further element in the analyses by Eliot and Williams, and, more by implication, Richard Hoggart in his classic work *The Uses of Literacy* (1957), is the concept of what Eliot calls levels of culture, or, as anthropologists now might call them, of sub-cultures. That is to say, there are sections within the total culture which have a certain autonomy of their own. There is nothing difficult in this concept. Every larger totality contains smaller units within it which, when looked at so to speak from above, are components but which, when looked at so to speak from below, are units themselves

with a certain autonomy, possessing further, sub-units within themselves. Social life is full of such structures. Schools and universities within the educational system, or colleges within a university, or year-classes, or sets, or streams, within schools, all have this characteristic. We see it everywhere in all institutions: in business, in the Armed Forces, in the churches, the Civil Service. The essentially pyramidal structure of institutions is normally beneficial but it can lead to difficulties. Williams considers that those elements which develop high culture are unduly dominant. Some of the studies inspired by Williams see the sub-set of 'working-class culture' as not merely more valuable than it has sometimes been thought to be in the past, but as a model which should dominate the rest of society. It is in this direction, which seems implicit in the work of Williams and Hoggart, that the concept of culture becomes most obviously political. Leavis's notion of 'minority culture', usually to be identified with a rather idiosyncratic notion of 'high culture', easily leads to political implications of various kinds. The relationship which education has to culture at all levels, and which has so much concerned literary men from Arnold onwards, is clearly another example. Against this background, I wish to make two main points.

First, any study of our own culture must be, so to speak, two-faced; that is, both scientific in the sense of detached, and on the other hand, participatory in the sense of operative or functional. If we are studying a culture as foreign anthropologists, whatever degree of empathy we may attain, we are always outside that culture. We are not among its generals nor privates, its chiefs nor Indians, nor are we voting citizens. As anthropologists we bear no responsibility for that society. We ought to be similarly detached when studying our own culture. We need to look at it in as impartial a way as possible. Nevertheless, we cannot in the nature of things achieve full detachment. We cannot opt out. We cannot avoid some degree of responsibility because we are inevitably a part of our own culture and moreover participating to some degree unconsciously. Many of the axioms which we work with must in the nature of the case be unconscious axioms. In studying our own culture we are committed to value judgements and we cannot avoid approving of some things and disapproving of others. We are therefore both inside and out.

This leads to my second point, that in the end our preferences, evaluations and prejudices cannot avoid having in the largest sense political implications. I do not mean that they must carry party labels. As it happens, party political attitudes to culture, especially as they relate to education, have had serious disadvantages for education. The politicisation, in this sense, of education in the last thirty years is most unfortunate. Education is itself in large part a product not a creator of the general culture, and is thus a weak instrument for social engineering. It is a tool which may turn or break in the hands of those who wish to use it for that purpose, producing results unforeseen and not always desirable. Culture controls education rather more strongly than education controls culture. Nevertheless the sub-culture of education by that principle of duality that I have already mentioned, forcing us to participate, to

approve or disapprove, act or not act, does affect the total culture, as we all know from our personal experience. An interesting example is offered by the careers of distinguished men like Williams and Hoggart and many others. Twentieth-century Cambridge offers many instances in many subjects. (Some classic examples are offered by E. E. Phare (1982: 144-9); Sir Fred Hoyle (1984: 65-72). They came from that grey area of the upper working-class/lower middle-class, inter-war scholarship boys and girls proceeding by their wits from elementary school by scholarship to grammar school by scholarship to university. The mixture of diversity and similarity in the views of such people is a fascinating example of the variety of possible attitudes and opinions allowable within a society like ours depending on basic political principles of freedom and justice. The general political implications of views about culture, if not culture itself, therefore, cannot be disputed, though they certainly differ greatly.

The general concept of culture, in order to be manageable, must now be broken down into smaller sections to be discussed. This leads us straight to the 'para-culture' of language which has already been presupposed. It is nowadays well accepted by anthropologists that fieldwork must be done in a strange culture within the language of that culture. We can intensify this concept nowadays because the understanding of language itself has been greatly enriched. In particular we can attack many problems through the very nature of language itself, either in its general structures or in its specific semantic content. It is notable, for example, that Raymond Williams in a number of his books takes as his starting point the varying uses of particular key words such as 'culture' itself. Norbert Elias (1978) begins with an analysis of the differing interpretations placed by the German, French and English languages on the native versions of the words 'culture' and 'civilisation'. We know that language itself is an index of the culture we are studying, whether our own or others, although it will be equally clear that if we were to be making a study of gesture or ritual or cooking or burial or wedding or agricultural practices there would be other matters beside language to consider. As far as language is concerned, it is self-evident to all but a few that language has major reference to the world outside itself and that the relationship of language to the world of non-language is extraordinarily variable and complex in itself. Yet the current interest in language as a self-enclosed entity is valuable for many insights. It establishes language as in itself a sub-culture, with its own internal rules and requirements, and not merely a mechanism to serve other interests. There have been a number of famous studies, mostly American, which have used the nature of a language to illustrate the nature of the culture of which it is part. To take a very general example, it seems highly likely that the characteristic of most European languages of clearly differentiating between the subject, the verb and the object indicates a general view of man's relation to the world which sets man clearly apart from the natural world. Europeans see themselves from very early on as distinguished from and operating upon the world. Subject acts on object, and the two are very different. Something of this derives from the early narrative in Genesis where Adam

names the objects in the world, especially the animals. His capacity to name them expresses a natural sense of superiority over and distinction from the natural world which it seems highly unlikely that those cultures can experience which do not make the same distinction between subject and object, between the doer, the doing and the object of what is done. More specific studies of structure and lexis are likely to be extremely illuminating of the fundamental assumptions and attitudes which are built into any given language and which may be studied in their own right. They will then of course cast much light on the general culture of which the language may then be seen as a constitutive part.

The history of culture can be particularly well served by such studies of the language, and it is to be regretted that English literary historians have not followed more assiduously this line of study.

The essential point is that language is a system of symbols. It might be argued that for the anthropologist almost everything in a culture is a system of symbols. The nature of social anthropology has been to look below the surface activity to discover deeper symbolic meanings and perhaps laws, or at least patterns. In this respect not only ritual and gesture but many purely utilitarian acts such as lighting a fire or eating, drinking and so forth, in the way that they are done, may be regarded as languages, as symbolic illustrations of how the culture works, and what it means. Everything is what it is; but everything also has a further meaning or significance as part of a larger system of meanings. Language naturally lends itself peculiarly well to this kind of interpretation because language is *primarily* symbolic. It has its own reality but it is always pointing to something deeper within the mind or pointing to actions and responses, social relationships and so forth in the world of non-language.

Language being itself a system of systems it is possible to isolate particular sub-systems within language and one of those is of a particularly general and interesting kind. That is the system comprised of those sections of discourse which are deliberately cut off from immediate correspondence with the external world, and are self-confessed systems, whether sacred or secular. In other words, we come at last to literature, and thus to the concept of literary culture.

Here we have to be careful because the nature of language is such that its close relationship to the world of non-language is always fluid and doubtful; language itself is always, that is to say, to some extent fictional. One may say that the passage of time renders all language fictional. A laundry list is not a fiction while you are checking your shirts, or at least you hope it is not, but as soon as the washing is over the laundry list remains as a fictional symbolic document. The anthropologist will be able to look at it and detect within it a certain structure, a certain pattern; Mary Douglas will be able to make profound remarks about purity, impurity and danger reflected from the laundry list (not an example to be found in her remarkable book, *Purity and Danger* [1966]). It is a document, once the laundry is done, pregnant with cultural meanings and not simply a list of the clothes you have or have not sent away

or received. For the literary historian, that fictional aspect of historical language is extremely important because it brings into his purvey all the documents that once were purely practical, utilitarian, instructional and so forth, and allows him legitimately to treat them as fictions. That however is not a point I need to emphasise here. All I want to do is to establish that there is a large section of language in any culture, whether it was designed to be fictional or not, which is in fact fictional. That is to say it is not now important for its direct relationship to what it may have referred to outside itself, as a description of what actually happened, nor a logical argument, a command, a persuasion, a cry of pain or an expectation of the satisfaction of desire in any immediate sense requiring action, belief or refutation, though it may pretend to be any of these things. It is now, and may always have been, part of the play of mind. The fictions in the language comprise the literary culture.

In most cultures a good many designedly fictional passages of language are easily recognised for what they are and set in a special category whereby they are removed from the sphere of direct action. They are those words with which you do *not* do things. They are fictions, there for imaginative contemplation. This is not to deny them ultimate effect, but it is to deny them practicality of use. The nature of language is such that we will have many impure examples of fiction; examples where imaginative contemplation is mingled with some desire to improve, alter, change, command, persuade and so forth. But we can all recognise the intrinsic interest and the deep attraction of purely imaginative fictional language in many poems, stories, riddles, *etc.*, as well as powerful elements of fiction in those less pure forms such as prayers, proverbs, love-songs and so forth. The essence of my argument about literary culture is that one can put together at least an historical core of unquestioned fictions and see that they hang together in a large sub-system determined historically and in other ways. Very simple examples of such sub-systems would be the series of poems, plays and novels which are most people's notion of what English literature consists. Poems, plays, novels are each of them symbolic verbal constructs, each also a system in itself. It is very clear that these symbolic verbal constructs are quite susceptible of analysis and explanation in much the same way as any other aspect of culture. Having regard to the vast quantity of literary comment it may be thought that I am stating the obvious, but in fact what I am saying is not quite consonant with the practice of literary study and criticism as found in most universities or indeed in most people's minds. What is much more important to most people, and indeed to most critics, is whether they like or approve of these various symbolic verbal constructs. The expression of liking or approval, or their opposite, is what is called literary criticism and it has been closely associated with the English Faculty at Cambridge. It is an outstanding example of participation within the culture. It has immense advantages. Yet it has great disadvantages in the way of intellectual discipline or even of special understanding and for that very reason on the extent to which the verbal artefact merely pleases or attracts the reader. Do not think that I am objecting to people being

interested in and pleased by the novel or a poem or a play, and saying so, or even being displeased and saying so. Such personal response is the very heart of the matter. But it is not a philosophical or intellectual response. It depends upon quirks of taste, accidents of mood, of temperament and personal history. Its strength, effectiveness and the number of people who share it at any time depend hardly at all on whether you really understand the piece of work correctly or not. The work has given pleasure or interest or pleasurable pain or whatever you are seeking, and that is good enough. Many best-sellers are built upon this principle. And on this principle most people do not read literature written long ago and they rightly throw away books that they find boring, even if other people find them intensely interesting. But that is not a properly intellectual way to approach the study of literature as a sub-system of the total culture. An anthropologist does not ask himself whether he likes the way a particular tribe lights its fires, conducts its marriages, buries its dead or whatever. The anthropologist sets himself impartially to understand both what is actually done and its underlying pattern and significance.

If we are concerned with serious, intellectually responsible study, we might well set up an anthropological model for the understanding of literature. This would be, at any rate in the beginning, independent of personal likes or dislikes. We would then investigate major works of literature within their context in order to see how they work and in order to find the implications of their presence.

We would therefore begin with either a particular work or a series of works; for example, we might begin with the series of lyrics that appeared in a given period on a given subject. Or we might take other systems, such as all the novels by one man. With certain major writers we should rapidly find that even a single work was itself a major system with a configuration of sub-systems, as it were of sub-cultures, within itself. Although it is part of the general culture, a major work of literature is one of those sub-systems which is a complex unity containing many other sub-systems within itself. We would begin by regarding the individual verbal work of art, or some series of such works, as a set of symbols, first of all to be understood in themselves. This has already been done with major success by Lévi-Strauss in his discussion of myth and it is possible to extend that further in the discussion of stories. One may consider stories as systems which contain sub-systems. One such sub-system is the favourite world-wide story of the individual growing up, coming into conflict with his parents and resolving these conflicts in various ways, which I have called 'the family drama' and have described in *Symbolic Stories* (1980). In a study of these works we should then proceed as the anthropologist proceeds by investigating their premises, particularly the premises of sentiment and attitude. This is often not done. An outstanding example recently has been the very successful and interesting book by Terry Jones, *Chaucer's Knight* (1982), in which he claims to show that Chaucer's Knight is a mercenary brutal thug. He does this by disregarding the face-value of what Chaucer actually writes and all the premises which are built into Chaucer's poetry describing

the Knight and other aspects of knighthood. He also disregards the very large amount of corroborative evidence provided from many sources about the natural premises, suppositions and attitudes of Christian knights in the fourteenth century in Europe. He argues that what Chaucer writes is to be taken ironically, and by thus licensing himself to apply anachronistic modern liberal pacifist humanist premises to a particular ancient symbolic text he totally changes it. When we do this, instead of learning, as an anthropologist would, what the premises are, what are the correct meanings of the words and the systems, semantic and otherwise, which the original words express, so that we may learn what the intelligent native informant, the ancient poet himself, says to us, we substitute our own value judgements. They may well be superior to those of Chaucer, but they are unquestionably different. I take Mr Jones's book as an obvious example, but the history of literary criticism is littered with these examples, not only from the medieval period but right up to the beginning or indeed the middle of the twentieth century.

Besides the premises of sentiment, of manners and attitudes which need to be explored, we must also follow out the actual structures of the work, which operate both on the immediate verbal level, and at a deeper implicit level of pattern, such as the patterns of relationship of children to parent, or indeed parent to child, the relationships between social groups and so forth which the work itself reveals. Such structures will undoubtedly have relation to what actually took place in the non-verbal world but we should beware of taking them as strict transcripts. That is not a stage which we have yet reached in our investigation.

As we follow through structures so we shall naturally begin to discover what the anthropologists describe as the rules of a society. I quote the remarks by Mr Peter Burke in the article already mentioned of the value to cultural historians of the work of certain anthropologists, but they apply equally to the examination of literature. He finds that the value of the anthropologists has been 'their articulation of a language or conceptual apparatus for interpreting the norms, categories and assumptions of men and women in different cultures as revealed in typical forms of behaviour. They discuss how to eat, dress, ask for a drink, be silent, walk, form rituals or even fall ill' amongst various tribes. 'Thanks to their work it is easier for historians to describe how to die in fifteenth century France . . . or how to be a seventeenth century Venetian patrician, or a Counter-Reformation Saint.' This 'involves an understanding of the rules explicit or implicit governing behaviour of a particular social group' (1983: 207). In that last phrase the historian speaks of his own legitimate interests. The literary historian goes either further or not quite so far. He must first say this is the rule for this particular work. He can then compare it with other works. Mr Burke notes that earlier historians suggested psychological explanations and moralised about earlier behaviour but remarks that if we want to understand these types of behaviour it seems more useful to follow the example of the anthropologists and to ask about the rules, and the rhetoric. The rhetoric is too important to be left to the literary critics. Who

tells who wept, and how, in what circumstances? Who could fall in love with whom, and how? How do people die? What are the emotions, if any, attributed to people? What are the characteristic sequences of events? If we ask what the rules are, we can begin to understand what the work of art is saying both about itself and to us. Along with rules we will naturally in literature classify verbal categories, so that we will know what word, or class of word is used in what circumstances. At the very lowest level this is a matter of ordinary vocabulary and grammar, but it very soon becomes a matter of style which demands choice and yet choice within limited opportunities. Style itself is one of the subtlest and most potent of literary phenomena. We need to know potential and actual registers of style. Only at the end will we, as literary historians, come to the examination of verbal correspondences with the external non-verbal world, though we shall have been implicitly playing with the possibilities of them all the way along. The consequence of these series of investigations, which are by no means necessarily so systematic or in such regular sequence as I have suggested, is that we shall come to a sense of the work of art's intrinsic original meaning in its original context. Then we proceed to what may be called in the widest sense, translation. We apply the meaning of the work as understood in its own nature, to our own selves, our own lives, in such a way that we can understand how what at first may well seem strange or absurd, corresponds to a deep human need in ourselves. Here literature takes on its own special quality as art. It will only be at this stage that the concept of criticism is really useful. We shall then be able to say to what extent such symbolic verbal constructs as the work or works of art which we have been examining have significant meaning. The more readily and completely the full meaning, in context, of a work of art, can be seized and absorbed, the greater it will be. Herein lies some responsibility with the reader. An uninformed or unintelligent reader will be the less able to find the meaning. Here we benefit from those critics and literary historians who by their learning and insight reveal what might otherwise have been undiscovered meanings in the work of art, while in so far as a work leads a whole series of readers or hearers to find further riches within it, it will be the greater work of art.

I have now come to the final element, which is the aesthetic quality of the work of art itself. Here we enter the other side of the duality of cultural study which I mentioned earlier. We have to participate in, to lend ourselves uncritically to the work of art, to use all our sympathy. No knowledge is purely objective, and in knowing works of art the sympathetic participation of the reader or hearer is of peculiar importance. A work of art, of whatever kind, even if so solid and external as a statue, lives in the minds of those who contemplate it as much as in the mind of the originator. It is for this reason that works of art are peculiarly human and humane. Works of art have a profound though indirect relationship to our lives through the exercise of our own imaginations, in conjunction with that of the artist. They express and create visions of life that combine the personal and the general; the individual, and society as a whole. Those visions may not correspond with present everyday

actuality. On the contrary, many of the most profound works are, on the surface, wildly implausible fantasies. So much the greater is our need to understand them, because they help to create the colours and significances that give meaning to our human lives. It will be in this way that literary culture interlocks with general culture, just as the individual must himself interlock with the general culture.

Here we begin to find that general political implication of the culture that we study by participating in it ourselves. We must first try to understand the work of art, independent of our own values and preferences. We must allow the historical actuality to speak to us before we can interpret and evaluate. But evaluation in the end cannot be avoided, though it comes at the end. Especially, however, we judge what is happening now, and especially we need to judge what we want to happen in the future. It is in creating the future that we become fully political.

Judgement is important even with works of art created many centuries ago, but it is perhaps especially important, as it is especially difficult, with works produced in the present, because that also influences what works will be attempted to be produced in the future. Our participation, or refusal to participate, in contemporary work, affects what is actually produced, and our judgement thus takes on a special responsibility and what is in the fullest sense a political dimension.

We will see the political dimension at all levels. At the very lowest (not in value, but as a basis), we may be concerned with the simple inheritance of the traditional language on our own tribe; in other words with imparting to the young all the skills, verbal and otherwise, which society needs in order to survive and to flourish. How to impart those skills and to whom and in what degree cannot but be political judgements, though one would hope that all people of good will can come to a reasonable consensus upon them. There are larger issues as well. One must recognise that literature both reflects and reacts against many aspects of contemporary general culture and this raises great problems of an interest far beyond the scope of my lecture here. It raises problems of censorship for example. There are various kinds of censorship at work in the country at present; for example, the Race Relations Act and the Sexual Discrimination Act. Yet we also have the strange notion embodied in the Obscene Publications Act that no work of literature can of itself be depraving. We define literature as by definition not depraving. That is highly questionable and opens a wide arena of argument. More generally still, the literary culture nowadays, as supported by many professional literary people, is deliberately hostile to the received standards and norms of the rest of society. This again is a very wide topic which can only be touched on here. It is by no means necessarily an undesirable situation since it preserves the flexibility of the human spirit which we all need for self-realisation. Nevertheless, it is a situation which poses some problems for a well-ordered society. At what stage does the order which every society presupposes become a tyranny? Literature can be dangerous. Dictatorships recognise this and take literature much more seriously than we do in the free Western democracies, though this is

paradoxically bad both for literature and society. In this sense literature can be taken too seriously. Most generally we may say that the kind of things that a society wants and does not want will be reflected in the sub-culture of works of art, and freedom of expression is vital to the human spirit. Here one can broaden the concept of literary sub-culture to include other modes of communication, including today the television sub-culture. To what extent, we may ask ourselves, are video 'nasties' a particular sub-culture? They themselves call for analysis in an impartial and scientific way, I have no doubt, though many of us will feel that a purely impartial attitude is both impossible and undesirable. But we shall need to act upon knowledge of what really happens and how it really works in order appropriately to invoke our value judgements. The Williams report on obscenity made exactly this attempt, and recognised the importance of the anthropological approach to these matters. Yet in the end what we do about such matters depends upon what we want to be, both as individuals and as individuals in groups, which are not quite the same thing.

It is clear that there is much work to be done in all these questions of literary study, from the most modest examination of historical sequences, of reiterated commonplaces of attitudes and ideas, to the largest and most difficult questions of human life and purpose. Very little of this work has been attempted in the literary departments in our universities. We have relied far too long on those personal responses which are indeed at the beginning and end of our acquaintance with literature and art but of which the middle has to be filled with a major intellectual effort. As I look around the general tone of studies in literature in the universities, or more widely in those few general publications which are interested in literature, I see far too much choosiness, far too little of the kind of impartial intellectual energy and deep devotion to the subject which is so apparent in the Sciences, and which has made scientific study so successful. Literature is of course entertainment, and much of it is trivial, but as a whole it matters a great deal, and entertainment is at heart contemplative, not active. Contemplation in the end moulds the mind, and the mind moulds what we think and feel and eventually do. It changes us and of course we change it. Finally even the nature of contemplation is in the most general sense a political issue. So I conclude by reiterating my two apparently incompatible requirements: first, that we should study literature and works of art systematically, with all due detachment. This is the essence of the concept of literary culture; second, that true understanding requires a sympathetic participation from within that culture. Only by maintaining this duality shall we both understand and benefit from the great inheritance and the continuing power of literary culture, which is so important a part of our general culture, and therefore of the quality of our lives as a whole.

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'Frequent Flitting': Geographical Mobility and Social Structure in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Greenlaw

RAB HOUSTON

From the late eighteenth century onwards writers on British agriculture frequently remarked on the habitual, apparently senseless mobility of farm labour. Concerned commentators were keen to point out that it was 'an evil of great magnitude that your agricultural people should be a moving population' (Gilly 1842: 7; Duncan 1919). Frequent moving, or 'flitting' as it was called in northern England and Scotland, was seen as inconvenient to the employer and was also felt to deprive labour of 'the benefits of those patriarchal attachments which unite landlord and tenant, employer and servant, neighbour' (Gilly 1842: 8). The religious and moral education of children would be interrupted. Contemporaries had their own ideas about the reasons for this movement, but this paper offers some suggestions about the possible motivations of mobile agricultural workers. While the basic characteristics of geographical mobility in pre-industrial Britain are well established, there have been few attempts to assess the complexity of local and regional variations related to differing social and economic structures which existed even within a predominantly agricultural framework (Clark 1979; Devine 1979a; Schofield 1970; Tranter 1974). Finally this article sets out to add to the work of Gray (1973) and Carter (1976) by assessing the social *meaning* of mobility in specific socio-economic contexts.

These issues are considered here in a study of the parish of Greenlaw in Berwickshire made possible by the survival of a unique listing from the mid-nineteenth century (SRO CH2/183/5; Flinn 1977: 467, 470-2). Among the Church of Scotland records for the parish there survives a set of nominal lists of all those who came into or removed from the parish at the two terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas for the three years from Whitsunday 1839 to Whitsunday 1842. There are 680 names: 385 incomers, 295 outgoers. Marital status, occupation, age (for those entering the parish), number of children, birthplace and/or the parish whence the people came or to which they were going, former landlord or master, destination and sometimes length of residence in previous parish are noted. Information is fairly consistently recorded, though details are better for those entering the parish than for those leaving it. Where it can be checked with the 1841 census, the information in the listing is generally accurate. It is also clear from comparison of the lists with those kept by the

United Associate Congregation[1] (SRO CH3/503/1) that the compiler of the former tried to include *all* movers and not simply Church of Scotland members.

The economy of Greenlaw in the mid-nineteenth century was based on highly developed and efficient agriculture. Improved arable agriculture was supplemented by the increasing production of cattle on enclosed farms from the late eighteenth century onwards, rents being high on the basis of strong regional and national demand for grain and livestock (*SA* XIV: 501-14; *NSA* II: 40-9; Gray 1973: 123). The population of the parish rose steadily from the 1750s and of the 302 families there in 1831, 84 were employed mainly in agriculture and 87 chiefly in 'trade, manufactures or handicraft', though this was not an area with any great centres of industrial employment of the type which existed notably in the western Lowlands (*NSA* II: 44; Gray, 1973: 151). The total population in 1841 was 1355. Employment chances were very good overall, with high wages for both servants and artisans—indeed among the best in Scotland in the 1840s (Levitt and Smout 1979: 162, 165-7; *NSA* II: 45; Devine 1979b: 56-7; Gray 1973: 102-3). Southern Berwickshire as a whole was a prosperous area, its social stability explained at least in part by an unusually high standard of living (Levitt and Smout 1979: 78, 264-5). The *Statistical Account* speaks of 'the increasing comforts of the people' while the presence in Greenlaw of 1000 acres of common pasture open to all would have further raised real living standards by allowing stock to be kept to supplement income (*NSA* II: 44).

Nevertheless social and economic changes had taken place during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The trend towards fewer and larger farms worked by hired labour which had been taking place from at least the eighteenth century meant that the traditional opportunities for servants and cottars ultimately to attain the status of tenant farmers were very much circumscribed (Dodgshon 1983). This change is clearly illustrated when we compare the social and occupational structure in the late seventeenth century with that of the mid-nineteenth century.[2] The 1695 poll tax schedule for the parish shows that there were some fifty-eight tenant farmers, sixty cottars or sub-tenants, twenty-four hinds, seventeen herds and 161 servants (SRO GD86/770). At the time of the 1851 census there were twenty-two farmers, six farm stewards, four shepherds, 121 male agricultural labourers and forty-five male farm servants. Social and economic polarisation among the agricultural strata of society was more developed here than elsewhere in Scotland (Gray 1976: 86).

Low levels of emigration and high wages, both characteristic of the area, were associated in part with opportunities for employment in rural domestic industry (Gray 1983: 113; Dodgshon 1983: 55-7). Some of the people displaced by agricultural changes which involved an increase in size and a decrease in the number of farms could be absorbed by the wide range of textile-making which David Loch remarked upon in his late eighteenth-century tour of the trading towns and villages of Scotland—nearby Kelso, Duns, Melrose and Selkirk for example (Dodgshon 1983: 55). Especially at the Whitsunday and Martinmas fairs of Roxburghshire in the early

1830s 'linen cloth and shoes are exposed for sale in quantity and numbers. The cloth is woven by what are called household weavers, who inhabit the small villages or single cottages on farms' (*Anon.* 1834-5: 385-6). In the early nineteenth century there were sixty weavers, most of whom lived in the town of Greenlaw (Gibson 1905: 215). Indeed the Southern Uplands and the south-east of Scotland were seen by contemporaries as having solved the problems of social change rather well. The wealth of the area along with low unemployment meant for example that poor relief in Greenlaw was generous and well-organised (Levitt and Smout 1979: 180). Low emigration may have been due less to the distance from expanding industrial towns as Gray suggests (Gray 1983: 113) than to local employment opportunities. Devine believes that the social stability of Lowland Scotland in the early nineteenth century was due to the constant employment opportunities for those who stayed in agriculture and the many chances for those who left.

Those suffering from the effects of improvements in agriculture were not forced to leave the region as happened in the south-west of Scotland. Instead they were generally assimilated into the expanding ranks of landless labour. The type of agricultural labour required in south-east Scotland differed from that in other important farming regions such as the north-east Lowlands, though it did resemble that of Northumberland very closely. Improved agriculture and the continuation of the custom of long hiring was associated with the use of married servants living in tied accommodation and of servants living in the farmer's household (Gray 1973: 158-60; Devine 1978: 334-5; Anon. 1834-5: 380-5). Hiring markets for servants were established in Berwickshire in 1834 at a time when the institution of living-in servants in husbandry was becoming extinct in southern and eastern England (Kussmaul 1981: 120-34; *NSA* II: 46). The nature of agricultural techniques and a shortage of labour, thanks to the availability of industrial employments, meant that long-hiring persisted into the late nineteenth century (Gray 1983: 109). By 1800 married servants in husbandry (hinds) living and eating in their own houses had largely superseded live-in single servants.[3] (Littlejohn 1963: 51-5). Hinds were hired by the year in March or at Whitsunday, paid in cash and kind, accommodation and pasture or a garden, in return for their labour and that of their families (Goldie 1970: 1-10; *Anon.* 1834-5: 384). Married servants were firmly tied to the farm during their hiring by the need of accommodation, food and wages. Single servants worked on a half or whole year basis for food, lodging and a small cash wage. They were usually hired at Martinmas, but also at Whitsunday (Table I). Of all movements recorded in the listing of population turnover in Greenlaw at Whitsunday, 38 per cent were by married people, 62 per cent single; at Martinmas the figures are 4 per cent and 96 per cent.

Landless day-labourers were relatively uncommon in south-east Scotland in comparison with the southern and eastern counties of England, and their wages and continuity of employment were appreciably better (Devine 1978: 337; Levitt and Smout 1979: 78). They might also be used for short-term investment projects such as

TABLE I

Movement at Whitsunday and Martinmas: number of married and single workers.

	Whitsunday		*Martinmas*	
Date	*Mar.*	*Single*	*Mar.*	*Single*
1839	37	71	3	73
1840	48	69	—	65
1841	36	59	5	58
1842	55	84	—	—
	176	283	8	196

drainage or ditching (*Farmers' Magazine* XX: 103; Somerville 1848: 78). The replies to enquiries included in the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law* show that more than 60 per cent of parishes in south-east Scotland expressed a preference for married servants or cottagers—a high proportion, which contrasts strongly with that of the Forth basin (Levitt and Smout 1979: 83, 91, 96; Goldie 1970: 7–10). Hinds, servants and day labourers were recruited overwhelmingly from the same region whereas in the Lothians more immigrant Highland and Irish workers were used in agriculture (Goldie 1970: 10; *Farmers' Magazine* XVIII: 476).

In the 1841 census those working in agriculture are classed only as farmers or as agricultural workers, but in the other listings more specific occupational terms are used: hinds, herds, married labourers and servants, single labourers and servants. It would appear that distinctions in occupational designations are meaningful and consistent. If we compare the designations of forty-one fathers involved in agricultural labouring who registered baptisms in the period 1839–42 with those who appear in the movement listing we find a complex picture. Of five herds in the baptismal registers, two can be identified in the movement listing and are both given the same designation in the different sources. Eleven of the nineteen hinds who had children baptised appear in the listing, but only five are described in the same way: the other six are called servants or labourers. All three stewards who registered baptisms appear in the list, but only one is described as such. Eight labourers of the fourteen who registered baptisms under that appellation appear in the lists, all with the same title. Incidentally, all these men are called agricultural labourers in the 1841 census.[4] These are the main occupations we encounter in the listings. What patterns of geographical mobility were characteristic of such people?

The most obvious point we can make is that most movement was short distance. Of moves into Greenlaw, 60 per cent involved journeys of less than ten miles compared with 69 per cent of outward moves. Most movement was back and forth between Greenlaw and the prosperous area of the Merse to the south and east of the parish. Greenlaw was located on the mail road from Coldstream to Edinburgh and had contacts with the capital and the Lothians, especially through the great grain market of Dalkeith. One Penicuik brewer was able to find customers for his products in early

nineteenth-century Greenlaw (Donnachie 1979: 122). There was however little recorded movement to and from the Lothians, nor is there any evidence of a drift of population overseas or to the towns, apart from the growing textile centres in the Borders. There was presumably some leakage to the towns of the Central Lowlands from the area, but all we can say is that people did not move directly from Greenlaw to, say, Edinburgh. Table II confirms the conventional picture of fairly frequent turnover of single servants. Among those whose length of stay in the parish of previous residence is known, 37 per cent of single males had stayed only six months, 70 per cent less than five years. These figures understate the frequency of turnover of employment since workers might move around within a parish before moving over its boundary. The picture for single women is much the same, though more stayed for longer than five years: 34 per cent instead of 24 per cent. Hinds, shepherds and married male labourers are appreciably less mobile.

TABLE II

Length of stay in parish of last residence

Length of Stay	*Hinds/ Herds*	*Married Male Labourers.*	*Single Men*	*Single Women*
½ year	—	—	31	32
1 year	3	14	16	7
2 years	3	6	10	12
3 years	4	5	5	3
4 years	3	8	2	5
5 years and over	8	22	20	30
Unknown	1	3	2	3
	22	58	86	92

The ages of 198 male movers are known, and 174 female. Comparison of the ages of movers in the listings with the age-structure of the population of Berwickshire as a whole in 1841 confirms another well-known feature of agricultural mobility patterns: movement was specific to certain stages in the life cycle. Women in particular were disproportionately drawn from the 15-24 age-group: 80 per cent of all movers compared to 35 per cent of the total female population (Table III). For men the same propensity to move in certain age-groups is clear, but persisting into the 25-34 cohort. This is probably a product of the preponderance of married labourers in this age-group since we know that mobility is often correlated with hired labour (Table IV). In the older age-groups the proportions of movers is closer to the age-distribution of the population at large. Mobility was then more common among certain age-groups.

TABLE III

Age-structure of movers compared with that of the Berwickshire population as a whole (1841 Census)[5]

Age Group	*% Total Movers*		*% Total Population*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
10—17	24	24	38	35
18—19	15	23	12	10
20—24	15	36	9	11
25—34	20	8	13	14
35—44	8	6	10	11
45—54	11	—	8	8
55 +	8	3	10	11

TABLE IV

Age-structure of 198 male movers in occupational groups

Age Group	*Hinds & Herds*	*Married Labourers*	*Single Servants*	*Others*
10—14	—	—	13	—
15—17	—	—	33	1
18—19	1	—	27	1
20—24	3	5	18	3
25—34	8	22	4	6
35—44	10	4	—	2
45—54	9	10	1	2
55 +	3	11	—	1

The results derived from the listing can be compared with those from testimonials recorded at Greenlaw between 1834 and 1843 (SRO CH2 183/2). Testimonials, certificates of good behaviour, were issued by the minister and kirk session of a parish to those wishing to move elsewhere, and were designed to show that the individual or family mentioned was free from church censure and had lived peaceably with their neighbours. These certificates were not a mere formality and could be essential to those wishing to stay in a parish for any length of time (Houston 1981: 276-92; Gibson 1905: 103-7). As recorded in Kirk Session registers, testimonials give usable information on the sex and marital status of the mover(s), the parish issuing the certificate and date of departure. Unfortunately the blank columns on the first page of the Greenlaw record show that the intention to record when parishioners left was not fulfilled. Testimonials and movement-listing are not directly comparable since the former covers only those in the established church and usually only refers to one move. They do not record mobility as frequently nor, it seems, as accurately as do the listings. Over the three years ninety-three testimonials were received from other parishes on behalf of entrants to Greenlaw. Of these people fifty can be identified in

the movement-listing, though there are some discrepancies in the time of moving or in the parish from which the person moved. In sixteen cases the parish is different, though usually an adjacent parish is named. With such frequent movement it is possible that testimonials did not keep up with actual residence. Testimonials also appear to understate the numbers married: twenty-six men are listed as married, but additional sources show eight others to have been married. Despite these shortcomings in the testimonials, some simple analyses can be carried out which show that both sets of documents provide evidence of a fundamentally similar phenomenon.

Movement recorded in testimonials was essentially of short distance. Of all movers, 74 per cent travelled less than 10 miles, 95 per cent less than twenty miles. Table V shows that the average distances moved are much the same for both single people and families, though the latter did move slightly shorter distances.

TABLE V

Average distances (in miles) moved by those presenting testimonials at Greenlaw, Berwickshire, 1834-43

Type of mover	*Number*	*Average Mileage*	*% from Contiguous Parishes*
Single male	71	8.4	32
Single female	81	8.2	30
Families	66	7.0	38
	218		

In all cases the average distance, judged from the main nucleated settlement in the south of the parish, relates to geographically contiguous parishes. Table V also shows the proportions of mobile people who came into Greenlaw from contiguous parishes. Most movers from contiguous parishes came from Fogo, Eccles, Duns, Gordon or Westruther. This profile is close to that shown in the mobility-listing where 30 per cent of moves into Greenlaw came from contiguous parishes and 36 per cent of movements out. Finally we can look at whether more men than women entered Greenlaw with a testimonial, and at whether movement took place more among individuals than among groups. Roughly one third of movers were single males while a similar proportion were unmarried women; the remainder are groups of varying kinds, almost exclusively husbands and wives without recorded children. Families were more likely to move in either May or June—near Whitsunday—than were single people, and indeed 88 per cent of all recorded departure dates were in May, June or July. Only 5 per cent occurred in November, during which month the other main holiday of the year, Martinmas, fell. Testimonial evidence confirms the picture of short-distance mobility.

Further comparisons are possible, and by integrating sources a fuller picture of mobility can be gained. This part of Scotland saw growing religious diversity from 1782 onwards and by the period we are studying there were several religious denominations (Gibson 1905: 180-98). From 1825 to 1853 a roll was kept of all members of the United Associate Congregation who took communion (SRO CH3/503/1). The date of joining the congregation is recorded, and there is a note of departures by death, mobility or change of religious allegiance. As this congregation was drawn from a wider area than the parish itself many of these church members did not actually live in Greenlaw. Of the 215 members of the congregation who joined in the years 1839-42, eighty-one can be identified as living outside the parish, of whom fifty-six are recorded in the listing of mobility. As in the listing and the testimonials, the main movement occurs after the Whitsunday term, with a smaller peak in November.

By linking information from the listings with details provided in the 1841 census and with other sources, information can be recovered about the movements of 520 single and married labourers, servants and hinds or herds. These men and women made a total of 801 moves over the three year period. Single persons account for 72 per cent of moves, married men for 28 per cent, though accompanying families would swell the actual volume of movement. The movement-listing does not provide direct information on mobility within the parish, and the small number of moves which can be worked out by comparing census and listing probably amount to only a small proportion of all those which took place inside Greenlaw's boundaries. There is however some evidence of retracing of steps over well-worn paths. Four single women for example can be traced returning to the same parish after working for a short period in another parish.

Mobility structures shown in the listings fit in well not only with testimonial and other evidence, but with comments by contemporary observers in both south-east Scotland and north-east England. Gilly (1842: 6-7) believed that 'among the hinds there are not many to be found who were born in the parish where they are at present employed', while at Norham in Northumberland only seventeen of 174 hinds' cottages had the same occupants for more than ten years; eighty-three had changed occupants in the previous two years, 145 in the last seven. Despite institutional differences, including the fact that movement was easier in Scotland because the Poor Law there did not insist on formal settlement, a combination of agricultural methods, employment practice and geographical mobility made for a considerable identity of experience between labourers in north-east England and south-east Scotland (Devine 1978: 344). This suggests the existence of a sort of cultural zone which transcended national boundaries and which to some extent marked out these areas from the rest of Britain (Levitt and Smout 1979: 71). Work habits and wages were quite different in the Berwickshire Merse compared with the Lothians. Alexander Somerville commented that 'the Scotch system of working and hiring on the one side [of the

Tweed] and the English system on the other are almost identical', while 'the style of working, and many of the domestic customs and social habits are as different as if the Merse and Lothian were separated by mountains measuring hundreds of miles' (1848: 105). Both husbandry and labour organisation were 'nearly alike', on the other hand, in Berwickshire, Roxburgh and northern Northumberland (Anon. 1834-5: 379).

Those who commented despairingly on the mobility of farm labour seemed at a loss to find a satisfactory explanation for the movement. The minister of Hutton in Berwickshire claimed in the 1790s that

> There is no other kind of emigration but that which takes place at Whitsunday, when there is a removal of many hinds, herds and cottagers into neighbouring parishes; those places are, at the same time, filled up with others of the same description, who are activated by an unaccountable desire to change their habitation, though they seldom ameliorate their situation (*SA* IV: 199).

Walter White believed that Northumberland farm labourers were 'migratory and obstinate to maintain their rights; and will spend twenty shillings in moving miles away to a new place for a difference of ten shillings in the year's wages' (Macdonald 1974: 499). Nevertheless, observers were not slow to proffer solutions to this undesirable, apparently irrational movement: most had the moral improvement of the lower orders in mind. Gilly argued strongly that improving the standard of housing of the hinds would make them less mobile, since this seemed to be the only respect in which their standard of living was unsatisfactory (Gilly 1842: 10, 15-16, 42). The reality of motivation was however a good deal more complex, encompassing a range of differences between employers and places of employment perceived by mobile labour (Kussmaul 1981: 55-67).

For unmarried servants, more experience and thus enhanced status and wages could be hoped for from a move.[6] Alexander Somerville, an early nineteenth-century working-class autobiographer from the region, was 'elevated to hold the plough' at fourteen (1848: 42-50). For older single servants the search for a marriage partner could be one incentive. Another might be to seek a more congenial employer, since at the time of hiring both farmer and servant could assess each other both on the basis of their reputation and on-the-spot judgement (Devine 1978: 344; Carter 1976: 111-12). Bargaining over hours, holidays or payments could sway individual decisions about whether to employ or be employed (Littlejohn 1963: 53). While personal assessment of employment conditions was probably the most important factor, desire to be close to kin or friends may also have exerted an influence. There seem to have been few emotional attachments to any particular parish however, and kinship ties were of much less importance than they were in contemporary Welsh or Irish rural communities (Littlejohn 1963: 5-11). Because of the relative labour shortage in south-east Scotland and the prevalence of mixed agriculture there, farmers preferred the long hiring system and this favoured the bargaining position of servants with regard to security of employment, wages and conditions. Some commentators believed

that recent social and economic changes had increased unhappiness and mobility among farm workers (Ettrick Shepherd 1831-2). For these, 'district after district being thrown into large farms, which has placed such a distance between servants and masters, that in fact they have no communication whatever, and very little interest in common . . . it is a state of absolute slavery, with only one amelioration, namely the liberty, at each term, of selling themselves to the highest bidder' (Ettrick Shepherd 1831-2: 263). The end result was 'a moping, sullen, melancholy man, flitting from one master to another in hopes to find heart's ease and contentment,—but he finds it not' (Ettrick Shepherd 1831-2: 259). Movement did not mean that people escaped the jurisdiction of the Kirk Session since testimonials were designed to keep the mobile elements of the population under the control of the church's moral discipline.

For married servants motivations were similar, but there were more factors to be taken into account. A Legerwood farmer of the second half of the nineteenth century described the position of shepherds:

> Shepherds' wages were usually on the 'share' principle. He had so many sheep of the same kind as his master, i.e., ewes and hoggets, and for them he received their 'keep', the lambs, wool, etc. being sold along with the masters, though there were exceptions to this. In the earlier days this 'sheep wage' was almost universal. . . . In practice it meant that the shepherd was himself a stock holder and a man of some means . . . as all farms and farmers are not alike, it was more difficult for the shepherd to leave, and at the same time secure another place equally suitable (Gibb 1927: 56).

Higher wages were not necessarily associated with movement, and when, as in 1817 for example, product prices were high, farmers may have been inclined to replace hinds with single servants (*Farmers' Magazine* XVIII: 228; but contrast XXIII: 105). In this situation hinds who stayed with the same master remained on the same wages while those who moved actually got less. Variations in the standards of living offered and in conditions of employment seems to have encouraged the mobility of farm labour. In addition the chances of employment for children which would help augment the family budget could prompt a move since despite the fact that women's agricultural wages in this region were well up on the national mean in 1843, demand for child labour was lower than average (Levitt and Smout 1979: 98-9; Gray 1973: 159-60). Employment was secure for the household head and his wife; but for the rest of the family it was not so certain, and movement could open up possibilities. It also appears that the proximity of the hinds' dwellings to amenities such as transport routes, church or school may have been important incentives in a situation where major considerations like employment were catered for almost by default. In his *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland*, Sir John Sinclair produced many examples which suggest a strong desire among the common people of the Borders to educate their children (1826: Appendix pp. 19-22). At Yetholm for instance 'Parents will submit to considerable privations rather than not send their children to school' (*op. cit.*: Appendix p. 21). Since the location of the parish school in relation to

geographical obstacles could significantly influence access to education, hinds may have moved at least partly with this fact in mind. Changes in the settlement pattern or in the availability of teachers could mean that a school might be set up in one hamlet and disappear from another (Gibson 1905: 224). Eighty-four per cent of children aged four to fourteen years were at school at the time of the 1851 census in the main settlement of Greenlaw, but only 63 per cent in the rest of the parish.

When seeking the reasons for mobility, it is interesting to note that, despite the small number of moves recorded, some farms had greater rates of labour turnover than others. Table VI shows the range of experience on farms which show more than ten moves during the period. At the time of the 1841 census there were 187 workers on the farms in the parish, the 609 movements into and out of these farms which can be detected from the listings representing an average of 3.3 moves per farm over the three and a half years. Table VI shows that there is no obvious difference between turnover rates on different farms which can be related to their valuation, nor to the

TABLE VI

Rates of movement into and out of Greenlaw Farms 1839-42

Farm	*Valuation (£ Sterling)* 1817	1855	*Workers in 1841*	*Moves In and Out*	*Moves per Worker*
Bedsheil	355	330	7	39	5.6
Eastfield	268	426	13	68	5.2
East Howlaws	591	432	7	35	5.0
Lowrig	119	301	10	50	5.0
Haliburton	469	600	11	41	3.7
Crumrig	165	230	8	29	3.6
West Howlaws	394	420	6	21	3.5
Greenlawdean	195	315	8	27	3.4
Lambden	591	830	20	67	3.4
Rowieston	393	360	6	19	3.2
Elwartlaw	125	330	10	28	2.8
Old Greenlaw	285	406	8	22	2.8
Gordonbank	153	238	10	26	2.6
Slegden	146	331	7	17	2.4
Whitside	89	272	8	17	2.1
Castlemilk	—	220	9	18	2.0
Angelraw	212	275	7	12	1.7

number of workers they employed as recorded in the 1841 census (SRO E106/6/6; VR92/1; GRO Census 1841). Nor were the farms with above average turnover rates located in any particular part of the parish, being found in the north and west as well as in the more heavily settled southern area. Seven of the eight which have a greater than average rate are located on the border of the parish, suggesting that since we know much less about internal movement within Greenlaw the apparent differences may simply be an artefact of the documents since they record only movements into and out of the parish. Yet one could also speculate that some farmers were better employers than others and might have been able to retain workers for longer periods.

Mobility was not therefore senseless, but was probably part of a logical attempt by farm workers to improve the quality of life in this region. They may actually have enjoyed moving around as a way of meeting new people and expanding their range of work experience. Yet there is no escaping the fact that the net effect on the social and economic status of the movers was negligible. Movement had its rewards but the ultimate hope of acquiring land was not likely to be one of them. Upward social mobility from hired servant to small tenant farmer or into the growing towns was not a common feature of the life-cycle of servants and labourers in the south-east of Scotland as it was in the north-east Lowlands at this time (Gray 1976: 86, 101; Carter 1976: 119). In the north-east, few families were headed by landless labourers and most people had at least some land. The bulk of the rural populations were farmers of some sort. Usually an individual born into a landholding family would work as a servant in husbandry, then as an outdoor labourer before taking on a small-holding of his own. The area was characterised by 'a nearly universal holding of land' (Gray 1976: 101). 'The prevailing ideology would be that of the smallholder rather than of the landless employee.' If we glance back to Table IV we can see indications that workers moved from being single servants and labourers to being married versions of both, and to being hinds and shepherds. Although this is not a systematic analysis of social mobility it does fit in with other evidence about limited opportunities for betterment.

Agricultural labour was overwhelmingly hired labour in Berwickshire. Patterns of mobility reflect this and are symptomatic of 'frustration movement, voluntary geographic movement without social mobility' in an area with plenty of opportunities for employment but few for social advancement (Eriksson and Rogers 1973: 79). Gilly believed that if labourers stayed longer in the same place 'they might have made friends and patrons, and have attained to a degree above their present condition,' yet the only meaningful option was to become foreman of a farm (1842: 9). There were few opportunities for the ultimate experience of landholding as could be expected in the north-east Lowlands of Scotland (Munro 1977: 188-9, 192).

We can conclude with some speculative comparisons which may nevertheless help to broaden the debate on geographical mobility. Firstly, there are some potentially fascinating points of comparison with the social structures found in east central

Sweden during the nineteenth century by Eriksson and Rogers (1978): in Sweden (also in Prussia) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, higher product prices in agriculture stimulated trends towards the proletarianisation of labour, as it did in south-east Scotland; and for the Swedish rural proletariat or *statare*, who like Scottish hinds were paid yearly in cash and kind, mobility became an integral part of an existence which offered few opportunities for social advancement. Unlike Sweden, or Prussia, however, where the tenant farmers and small owners were displaced by great estates, in south-east Scotland it was a case of the smaller tenants and sub-tenants being displaced by larger leasehold farms. There were some owner-occupiers but the bulk of the land was owned by the Baronet of Marchmont and had been for many years: the Baronet owned two thirds of the land in Greenlaw, and this estate was worked by tenants; there were also around eighty small landowners or 'feuers' although some of these were shopkeepers and tradesmen (who owned their buildings and a small plot of land) rather than owner-occupier farmers. In spite of the differences, there is enough similarity between the situation in estate-dominated parts of central Sweden and that in south-east Scotland to repay further analysis of the implications of comparison. Scotland is often loosely compared with Scandinavia, but not much systematic comparison of specific aspects of society has actually been done: it would be helpful to compare mobility structures in Scotland with those in the rest of Europe as well as those in other areas of Britain (Gaunt 1977: 192-207).

Secondly, this pattern of movement—short range, frequent, and specific to certain young adult age groups—appears to have a pedigree dating from the early seventeenth century at the latest (Houston 1981: 293-346). Indeed geographical mobility was an integral part of Scottish demographic development, among servants and apprentices for example, at least from the end of the medieval period. Particular developments in agriculture in south-east Scotland and north-east England shaped the precise form of movement, but clearly did not initiate it. There are also similarities between different areas of Britain as well as continuity over time. A similar pattern of movement certainly existed elsewhere in the country during the nineteenth century—but this does not mean that there were not significant, if apparently minor, differences, in view of the substantial diversity of social and economic structures (Levitt and Smout 1979). Alexander Somerville, who was experienced in working both in the south-east and in the Lothians, believed that in the early nineteenth century hinds in Berwickshire were much more frequently mobile than their Lothian counterparts (1848: 54). Berwickshire men stayed only a year or two before moving, while Lothian hinds might last through the whole of their employer's nineteen-year lease. How exactly was this connected with the social and economic status of hired labour in the two regions? In the present state of research we cannot tell whether there was less movement of the sort we have outlined above in contemporary north-east Scotland, or indeed in Berwickshire in earlier periods as some observers believed (Ettrick Shepherd 1831-2). Conceivably, short-term shifts in overall employment

opportunities, related to agricultural product prices, might encourage longer or shorter moves within a broadly similar framework. Now that the structures of geographical mobility are known to be fairly uniform over much of north-western Europe, there is a much greater need to examine variations in the social and economic context of movement. We can however suggest that the experience of movement and the attitudes towards it were different in south-east Scotland from that in the north-east Lowlands in the mid-nineteenth century. The concluding paragraph offers some suggestions about the importance of attitudes towards mobility.

How can we assess the importance of mobility for individual and society? The economic development of the south-east of Scotland may have been aided by dissemination of useful information on improved agricultural methods spread by mobile specialist labour, though this is by no means certain (Macdonald 1979: 33-7; Kussmaul 1981: 68-9; Eriksson and Rogers 1978: 177-8). Movement certainly took place in an agricultural context, and the sort of mobility discussed in this paper is essentially 'circular', comprising compensatory streams of migration the net effect of which was slight. Servants and hinds could move if they were unhappy with conditions (Carter 1976: 111). Geographical mobility represented an assertion of individual freedom, though those who stayed in agricultural employments were still dependent on farmers as a social group: as Gray remarks of this area, 'The structure of land rights coupled with the forms of employment offered to agricultural labourers welded a strong instrument for excluding unwanted members from any share in local society' (Gray 1983: 108). Landlords had a firm grip on employment opportunities and on ultimate access to the land. This made the movements of hired labour in the south east qualitatively different from mobility in the north-east Lowlands, or even the south west, of Scotland, where there was considerable opportunity for acquiring land. In the south east the chance of landholding was much rarer for most of the population: when people here moved they knew that they would remain as hired labour. Occupational and status continuity over the life-cycle and between generations was therefore greater. Despite the implication in the comments on the detrimental effects of movement on the reciprocal benefits of paternalistic relationships on the farms, workers remained fundamentally under the control of their employers as a group, whereas in the north-east Lowlands of Scotland they had more freedom of action[7] (Devine 1978; Snell 1981; Eriksson and Rogers 1978: 31; Carter 1976; Gray 1976).

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NOTES

1 In 1839 the congregation of the Greenlaw Synod of the Original Burgher Church joined the Church of Scotland, leaving the UAC as the only seceding church in the parish until the Disruption in 1843.
2 In 1836, when a list of the heads of households in the parish was compiled in connection with the communion, there were one landowner, fourteen farmers, no subtenants, four herds, seventeen hinds and twenty-two labourers (SRO CH2/183/1). While this communion listing illustrates developments in the social structure of Greenlaw, it does not of course cover the whole population.
3 Seasonal employment patterns and trends in labour demand and wages associated with agricultural product prices are dealt with in the detailed quarterly reports of the *Farmers' Magazine* of 1808-25. For example XXVI (1825): 237, 361; XVIII (1817): 101, 228, 358, 476; XX (1819): 103, 231, 358, 491.
4 The baptism registers for Greenlaw are well kept at this time, and give the full names of both parents, the father's occupation and usual residence (GRO OPR 743).
5 This excludes Ayton, Coldingham, Duns, Eccles and Lauder. There were 9,499 males in the remaining parishes and 10,246 females.
6 See Johnston (1920: 59) for a list of servant tasks and maximum wages prescribed by Dumfries Justices of the Peace in 1750.
7 Gaunt (1979: 88-90) discusses differences in social psychology in different ecological and institutional contexts within eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Sweden. In south-east Scotland for example there is no evidence of forms of protest such as the Bothy Ballads through which farm servants in the north-east could express their discontent with an unpopular employer (Munro 1977).

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Knapdale Dedications to a Leinster Saint: Sculpture, Hagiography and Oral Tradition

DOUGLAS MAC LEAN

An oral tradition in Knapdale, lost between the 1830s and *c.* 1875, maintained the correct form of the name of a Leinster saint, to whom were dedicated the church at Keills in Knapdale and the island of Eilean Mór in the Sound of Jura perhaps as early as the seventh century. In the *Statistical Account of Scotland,* the Keills church is called *Killvick Ocharmaig* by the Rev. Archibald Campbell, minister in the parish of North Knapdale, and *Kilvicoharmaig* by 'some Gentlemen in the Parish' of South Knapdale, who also name the island *Ellanmorekilvicoharmaig* (*SA* VI: 255; XIX:315). W. F. Skene recorded the forms *Cill Mhic Ó Charmaig* and *Eilean Mór Mhic Ó Charmaig* in use among the elderly in the district in the 1830s, but Captain T. P. White found no one in the parish in the mid-1870s who still knew of the dedication.[1]

Sculptural and structural remains provide evidence of Early Christian ecclesiastical establishments at Keills and Eilean Mór and the dedications may date from that period. Foundations of possible early monastic buildings have been identified at both sites,[2] although they await archaeological investigation. An incised cross slab from Eilean Mór and another, now at Inverneill House, which may also have come from the island, are both of a seventh-century type, as are two carvings on one wall of the Priest's Cave at the south end of Eilean Mór, a hexafoil and a cross of arcs.[3]

Surviving sculpture at Keills and Eilean Mór provides a remarkable record of sculptural continuity, unmatched west of Druimalban outside Iona. It begins with the seventh-century slabs and cave carvings on Eilean Mór and continues with the late eighth-century Iona School cross at Keills (*ECMS* III, fig. 408), the ninth-century cross-shaft on Eilean Mór (*op. cit.*, figs. 396A-B), and a cross fragment and two cross slabs (unpublished) of the Gall-Ghaidheal period at Keills.[4] One of the earliest slabs carved in the late medieval West Highland style, dating from the thirteenth century, is at Keills (Steer and Bannerman 1977:14, fig. 2.1.) and a late medieval priest's effigy is inside the church on Eilean Mór (White 1875: pl. 33). The late medieval Loch Sween school of sculpture may have been based at Keills and inscriptions on several late medieval slabs at Keills reveal that it was particularly associated with the families of hereditary craftsmen (Steer and Bannerman 1977:7, 144-8). There appears to have been a sculptural hiatus in the twelfth century, although the Keills church was probably erected in the second half of the century (Dunbar 1981:40), suggesting that the original foundation, if indeed it were monastic, may have

degenerated into a hereditary, largely secular abbacy partaking more of fond memory than the contemplative life when West Highland ecclesiastical organisation took a new turn under Somerled and his sons.

The early medieval Iona School cross at Keills (see Plate I), the only one on the Argyll mainland, was probably carved at the end of the eighth century and is the most important surviving sculptural monument at Keills or Eilean Mór (Mac Lean [forthcoming]). The former base of the Keills cross, which is now set in a modern base in the re-roofed Keills church, was uncharacteristically crude and it has recently been suggested that the cross may have been moved to Keills since 1830, the year of publication of Archibald Currie's *Description of the Antiquities and Scenery of the Parish of North Knapdale,* which fails to mention the cross (Cowie 1980:106–110; Currie 1830). Speaking to Captain White *c.* 1875, however, 'a very old resident in the neighbourhood . . . remembered, when a boy, a stranger coming this way to cross to Jura, and offering the boatman two pounds to pull down the old cross', but 'neither the hatred of graven images nor the bribe were sufficient to induce the Knapdale men to accomplish the stranger's purpose' (White 1875:91). A man described as 'very old' *c.* 1875 would presumably have been a boy before 1830. The implication of the old man's story, that the Keills cross was at Keills before 1830, is confirmed by a cross slab from Keill recorded, but since lost, dating probably from the late ninth or tenth century, which showed an eagle in profile above a long-necked beast to the right of its cross-shaft (*ECMS* III, fig. 513). The Eagle symbol of St John the Evangelist is shown frontally in the top arm of the Keills cross, and a pair of long-necked affronted 'cats' are carved above its Celtic spirals panel. Long-necked 'cats' are not found on any other surviving early medieval sculptures in the West Highlands and Islands, although they became a common motif in the late medieval Loch Awe school of sculpture (Steer and Bannerman 1977:53). The eagle and the long-necked animal on the lost Keills slab are quotations from the early medieval Keills cross, which would suggest that the cross was at Keills when the lost slab was carved. The church or monastery at Keills would seem to have commanded enough wealth and influence to be able to commission a cross carved by a master of the Iona School at the end of the eighth century.

The dedication of Keills and Eilean Mór to a saint *Mac Ó Charmaig* now provides the only evidence for the early ecclesiastical foundations at both sites. The earliest surviving documentary evidence for the Keills dedication is a grant made by Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith (1258 × 1294) to the Tironensian monastery at Kilwinning in Ayrshire of the church of *Kylmachornat* in Knapdale with its attendant chapels and lands (Fraser 1880:II. 220–1; Cowan 1967:102). The Menteith charter presumably dates after 1262, when Walter wrested control of Knapdale from the MacSweens (Barrow 1981:116). *Kylmachornat* appears to be a somewhat garbled rendering of *Kylmachormac.*

An even more garbled and problematic version of the name of the Keills church

Plate I Keills Cross, Knapdale. [Photograph by Cameron Mac Lean, 1983.]

occurs in the 1507 royal confirmation of a lost early thirteenth-century charter which Professors Duncan and Brown would date 'probably before 1222' (Duncan and Brown 1957:200, 219). The lost original was granted by Roderick or Ruairi, lord of Kintyre and son of Reginald, son of Somerled, and witnessed by *Mauricio persona de Chillmacdachormes*.[5] Professor William Gillies has suggested to the writer several possible ways of accounting for the form of the name of the Keills church in the 1507 document.[6] The *-mes* ending may be a simple mis-transcription of *-mec*. Another possibility is implied by a suspension stroke above the last three letters of *Chillmacdachormes*. If relevant, it could indicate a contraction of *mac* in the name Cormac, suggesting that the scribe of the lost original was familiar with Gaelic orthography and rendered the name *-chormcc*, which became *-chormes* in 1507. The *da* between *mac* and *chormes* might stand for the rare but not unknown *do* ('thy') in place of the more familiar *mo* ('my') prefixed to a saint's name. Alternatively, *da* may represent a misreading of *ua* ('grandson, descendant'). Given that the Old Irish form of the saint's name was Abbán moccu Corbmaic (see below), the archaic tribal name *moccu* had fallen out of use by the eleventh century (MacNéill 1907:42) and had been replaced by *mac* (*h*)*uí* or *mac* (*h*)*ua*, apparently taken to mean 'son of the descendant(s) of'. Although the development of the syntax and semantics is not wholly clear, and the use of an original *moccu* name to denote an un-named individual may raise further questions, **Cill mac ua Chormaic* would appear to be a linguistically plausible form for the original of the 1507 document. With the further development of *ua* to *ó*, a similar explanation could be invoked for the later Scottish forms, including the vernacular ones from Knapdale. We shall see, at any rate, that both *mac huí* and *mac ua* are found in Irish written sources from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Additional transcriptional mistakes appear elsewhere in the 1507 document, which also notes the royal confirmation of a lost charter of 1240, granted by *Eugenius miles filius Duncani de Erregeithill* and witnessed by *Therthelnac Makdouenald* and *Dunedall Makgilascop*.[7] *Therthelnac* seems to represent *Tertheluach* for *Toirdhealbhach* and *Dunedall* is more likely to have been *Dunegall* for *Dúngal* in the original.[8]

Subsequent written versions of the names of Keills and Eilean Mór usually give the saint's name as *Mac Charmaig*, although forms related to the *Mac O Charmaig* of the Knapdale oral tradition are also on record in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Fordun called Eilean Mór *Helant Macarmyck* in the fourteenth century and described it as a *refugium* (Fordun 1871:I. 43). Keills is called *Kilmakcorme* in 1551 (*RSS* IV, no. 1184) and Eilean Mór is *insula de Sanct-Makchormik* in 1597 (*RMS* VI, no. 635). In the *Acts of Parliament*, Keills appears as *Kilmachormuk* in 1621 and *Kilmakcharnik* (*sic*) in 1662 (*APS* IV:652; VII:390). The churches at Keills and Eilean Mór are both called *Kilmacharmick* on the map of Jura in Blaeu's 1654 atlas (Blaeu 1970: map 102). Martin Martin did not discuss Eilean Mór, although it is labelled *Makarmig I.* on the map in his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, first

published in 1703, but he did record that when he gave 'an Alms' to a poor woman in Islay, she made 'three ordinary Turns' sunwise around him and gave him the blessing of '*Mac-Charmig*, the Patron Saint of the Island', suggesting a lingering cult of the saint in Islay, if Martin had the right island in mind (Martin 1981:118). The Knapdale tradition of a saint *Mac O Charmaig* is supported by the forms *Kilmococharmik* found in 1581 (*RSS* 8, no. 121) and *Kilmichocharmik*, on record in 1628 (*RPC*:601).

Local tradition also linked the Keills parish with a local kindred. A couplet published in the *Statistical Account* connects four west coast parishes, ranging from Kilmartin in Mid-Argyll to Kilcolmanell in Kintyre, with four different kindreds:

> Colmonell, Clan A gorry, Barry, Clan Murachie,
> MacCharmaig, Clan Neill, Martin, Clan Donachie (*SA* XIX:318.)

Watson derived the Kilcolmanell dedication from Colmán Elo, an abbot of Lann Elo, now Lynally in County Offaly, a contemporary of Columba's who figures in Adomnán's *Life of Columba*.[9] The Berach of Kilberry in Knapdale is probably the sixth-century Berach of Kilbarry in County Roscommon.[10] Kilmartin is presumably dedicated to St Martin of Tours (Watson 1926:291). The couplet associates the *MacCharmaig* of Keills and Eilean Mór with the MacNeills of Taynish, who appear to be descended from the eleventh-century Aodh Álainn of Ailech, although they probably did not come into local prominence much before the fourteenth century at the earliest (Sellar 1971:32-3). The 'Gentlemen in the Parish' who prepared the South Knapdale entry for the *Statistical Account* surely had the right of it when they remarked that the saints mentioned in the couplet 'flourished at a period much anterior to our earliest accounts of these clans: and that instead of being of the same race, they had been adopted as their tutilaries' (*SA* XIX:318). The dedications of Keills and Eilean Mór to saint *Mac Ó Charmaig* are older than the association of the MacNeills of Taynish with the parish.

Bishop Forbes was the first to consider that Keills and Eilean Mór were probably dedicated to Abbán moccu Corbmaic, the so-called apostle of Leinster (Kenney 1979:318), and thought that the principal church of the parish was at Keills, with a chapel or hermitage on Eilean Mór (Forbes 1872:299-300). Indeed, the Keills church served as the parish church for Knapdale into the seventeenth century, although it had apparently fallen into ruin by 1734, when the parish was divided into North and South Knapdale (*RPC*:601; *NSA*:631). The inscription on a sculptured cross from Eilean Mór shows that it was erected *c.* 1400 by Mariota de Ros, wife of Donald, Lord of the Isles, and *Iohannes prespiter ac heremita iste insule* (Steer and Bannerman 1977:148), demonstrating that Eilean Mór was certainly a hermitage under the Lordship of the Isles, whatever its ecclesiastical function may have been in an earlier period. W. J. Watson called the Keills church *Cill Mo-Charmaig*, a form possibly attested by the Menteith charter, the 1621 Act of Parliament and Blaeu's map, but he

accepted Forbes's contention that the original form of the Keills and Eilean Mór dedications gave the saint's surname (Watson 1926:282–3). Church dedications which give the saint's patronymic or surname form, rather than the more customary Christian name, are not unknown in Scotland. There is a Kirkmabreck in the Rhinns of Galloway and another in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Both may refer to a *Mo-Bhric* (MacQueen 1973:21–2) but they are variously labelled Kirkmakbrick, Kirkmackbrek and Kirkmakbreck in Blaeu's maps of Galloway (Blaeu 1970:maps 73, 75, 77), 'doubtless the better form' according to Watson, who attributed the dedications to the sixth-century Āed mac Bric and listed examples of the dropping of final *c* in internal *mac* elements in place names, noting that 'strictly the name should be Kirkmikbrik (*maic, mic,* gen. of *mac*), but "mak" would easily arise in the unstressed position'.[11] Watson also suggested that the Knapdale dedications might have been either to Abbán moccu Corbmaic or Baetán moccu Corbmaic, an abbot of Clonmacnoise who died in 664 (Watson 1926:283).

There are two Argyll dedications to a saint named Baetán. There was a *Cill Bhaodāin* in Ardgour, and the parish church at Ardchattan was known as *Kilbedan* until it fell into ruin in the seventeenth century when the site became known as *Baile Bhaodāin* (*op. cit.* 300–1). 1 March is given as the date of Baetán of Clonmacnoise in the late eighth-century *Martyrology of Tallaght,* which also gives the dates 14 January, 24 January and 23 March for three other saints named Baetán (*MT* 8, 11, 20, 26). All four of these Baetáns appear in the twelfth-century *Martyrology of Gorman,* which lists two additional Baetáns on 5 February and 29 November (*MG* 16, 22, 30, 46, 60, 228). The *Martyrology of Donegal* lists all six Baetáns found in other martyrologies (*MD* 14, 26, 38, 60, 84, 322). The *Martyrology of Oengus* of *c.* 800 lists none. The *Martyrology of Tallaght* includes yet another Baetán in its list of the 52 monks martyred with Donnán of Eigg on 17 April 617 (*MT* 33). Baetán of Eigg may, perhaps, account for the Ardgour and Ardchattan dedications. Little is known of the other Baetáns, with the exception of Baetán moccu Corbmaic of Clonmacnoise, who was one of a group of Irish abbots who received a papal letter written in 640, urging them to conform to Roman usage,[12] but he does not appear to have had other churches dedicated to him in Ireland or Scotland. The Knapdale dedications are more likely to have been to Abbán, who had an extensive *paruchia* in Leinster that extended into Munster and Connaught as well.[13]

Abbán is commemorated on two dates in the Martyrologies of Tallaght, Oengus and Gorman, 16 March and 27 October,[14] and on 16 March alone in Mícheál Ó Cléirigh's seventeenth-century *Martyrology of Donegal* (*MD* 76–77). He founded two principal monasteries in Leinster according to Oengus, Gorman and Ó Cléirigh, *Cell-Abbáin* or Killabban in County Laois in north Leinster and *Mag-Arnaide* or Moyarney, near Adamstown in County Wexford in south Leinster.[15] The two dates and the two monasteries led Bishop Forbes and the Bollandists to conclude that there had been two Abbáns,[16] but Plummer argued that 'it is an historical and a

mythological Abban that have been combined, rather than two distinct historical personages', and the *Lives* show that 27 October was the death date of the single saint: he died *post longissimam etatem* and ascended into heaven *sexto kalendas nouembris inter choros angelorum* (Plummer 1910:1. xxiiin., xxv, 33).

Confusion over the proper form of the saint's surname arose at an early date. Surviving *Lives* of Abbán, two in Latin and an incomplete version in Irish, make him the son of a Leinster king named Cormac[17] in which case he would have borne the patronymic *mac Cormaic*, not the early surname form *moccu Corbmaic*. Eóin MacNeill discovered that the last evidence for *moccu* surnames is an early eighth-century poem and concluded that 'quasi-surnames in *moccu* become obsolete in the eighth century' (MacNeill 1911:14). Kenney noted that the authors of the *Lives* were unable to distinguish between *mac* and *moccu*, indicating a 'date of composition not earlier than the second half of the eighth century', by which time *moccu* had become obsolete, but the common exemplar for the surviving *Lives* might have been a later 'edition prepared in the twelfth or thirteenth century', possibly by an abbot of Moyarney (Kenney 1979:318n., 319). Plummer found confusion in the *Lives* over Abbán's 'family name Mac Ui Cormaic, under which name he appears in the churches dedicated to him in Scotland' (Plummer 1910:1. xxiii-xxivn). Abbán's 'quasi-surname' is abbreviated *m.h. Chormaic* in the text of the *Martyrology of Tallaght* contained in the twelfth century Book of Leinster (*MT* 24, 84), which also gives the form *Abban mac hUi Chormaic* in the text of a Litany of Irish Pilgrim Saints originally compiled *c.* 800 (Plummer 1925:60-61). Additional notes on the *Martyrology of Oengus* in the early fifteenth-century Rawlinson B.505 render the saint's name *Abbán mac hui Chormaicc.* His name appears as *Aban mac ua Cormaic* in the late fifteenth-century Rawlinson B.512 text of the same martyrology (*MO* 98, 228). Glosses on Abbán's two dates in Mícheál Ó Cléirigh's seventeenth-century copy of the twelfth-century *Martyrology of Gorman*, the only surviving manuscript, give both forms: *mac úa Corbmaic* and *mac uí Corbmaic* (*MG* 66, 204). Ó Cléirigh named him *Abbán mac Ua Corbmaic* in his own Martyrology of Donegal (*MD* 67). The Knapdale tradition preserved the name as *Mac Ó Charmaig*. According to the *Statistical Account*, *Carmaig* was the 'ancient proprietor' of Eilean Mór, where he lived with his grand-daughter, who miraculously conceived the saint while living on the island (*SA* XIX: 315). The Knapdale story has no counterpart in the surviving *Lives* of Abbán, but at least it provides the requisite number of generations from Corbmac implied by *mac ua* or *mac hUí*, the forms *moccu* was understood to mean by the Early Modern period.

Moccu Corbmaic was the surname form used by members of the Dál Chormaic, one of the four *prímshluinte* ('chief stocks') of the Leinstermen, all of whom claimed descent from Cú Chorb son of Find File (O'Rahilly 1946:19-20; Byrne 1973:288). The Dál Chormaic and the Uí Bairrche, who also claimed descent from Cú Chorb but were not one of the four *prímshluinte*, were the dominant kindreds in south Leinster

in the fifth century, but probably began to be displaced by the Uí Dúnlainge and the Uí Cheinnselaig, invaders from Ossory, by the end of the century (Smyth 1982:15, 20, 66).

It is not at all clear when Abbán lived. His death is not recorded in any of the Irish annals but annal entries for Leinster do not become fully developed until the eighth century (Byrne 1973:134). Notes in the Rawlinson B.512 version of the *Martyrology of Oengus,* which may ultimately derive from an early *trāchtad* ('commentary') kept at Armagh (*MO* xlviii; Kenney 1979:481), give contradictory genealogies for Abbán and Damán, who is presented as Abbán's brother, and neither of them agrees with the genealogy of the Dál Chormaic in Rawlinson B.502 (*MO* 74, 228; O'Brien 1962:28, 34-5). The genealogies of Abbán, Damán and Dubán, another brother mentioned in Rawlinson B.512, do agree in Ó Cléirigh's seventeenth-century genealogical collections, but Ó Cléirigh inserts an extra generation between Corbmac and Cú Chorb and two extra generations between Cú Chorb and Find File, not found in other genealogies (Walsh 1918:85, 88).

The *Lives* of Abbán make him the son of a Leinster king named Cormac, presumably the Cormac son of Ailill who died in 535, and a contemporary of the fifth-century saints Patrick and Ibar, the sixth-century saints Finnian of Clonard, Brendan of Clonfert and Columba, as well as Pope Gregory the Great and the seventh-century saints Munnu and Moling, who died in 697.[18] The fourteenth-century *Codex Salmanticensis* Latin *Life* credits him with a life of 317 years, as does Rawlinson B.512 (Heist 1965:262; *MO* 228-9). Colgan's version of the Latin *Life,* taken from the fifteenth-century *Codex Kilkenniensis,* gives him a life of 310 years.[19] Colgan thought it unlikely that Abbán lived much later than the mid-seventh century, otherwise the *Lives* would have made him the contemporary of still later saints, and credulously suggested that he may have lived only 210 years (Colgan 1948:627). Abbán is said to have baptized Finnian of Clonard, in the *Lives* of both Finnian and Abbán (Heist 1965:96; Plummer 1910:I. 23), but Kathleen Hughes thought that 'the original Life of Finnian probably merely intended to establish more firmly Finnian's connection with Leinster through his baptism by Abbán, who, according to one tradition was of a Leinster family, and was accepted as the apostle of Leinster' (Hughes 1954:360). In his *Lives*, Abbán is said to have been the nephew of bishop Ibar, the most virulently anti-Patrician member of a group of southern Irish saints that included Ailbe of Emly, Ciarán of Saigir and Declán of Ardmore, whose own *Lives* make them Patrick's older contemporaries.[20] Plummer accepted Ciarán of Saigir and Declán as fifth-century saints but noted that various annals record Ailbe's death in 527, 534 and 542 (Plummer 1910: I. xxx, liv, lxi). The tradition of Leinster's conversion by Abbán may have been due to the influence of later abbots of Killabban and Moyarney, as well as persistent Leinster separatism. Tírechán and *Bethu Phátraic* credit Patrick's contemporary Iserninus with a foundation at Old Kilcullen in County Kildare.[21] Fer-domnach, the scribe who compiled the *Additions of Tírechán* in the

early ninth century, had access to early Leinster documents and recorded that Iserninus evangelised the Cuthraige, a branch of the Dál Chormaic, in the fifth century (Stokes 1887:II. 342–3; Kenney 1979:335). Abbán was neither the first apostle of Leinster nor even of his own kindred. Plummer's conclusion that Abbán probably 'belongs to the sixth and seventh centuries, and that his life has been prolonged backwards by local patriotism, the process being helped by silently dropping three or four links in his pedigree' (Plummer 1910:I. xxv), is supported to some extent by an event in the *Lives* accepted as historical by Dr Alfred Smyth: Abbán's monastery at Camaross in Wexford, which was apparently a daughter cell of Moyarney, was attacked during his lifetime by Cormac mac Diarmata, king of Uí Bairrche, who was active in the second half of the sixth century.[22] Colgan assigned Abbán a death date of *c.* 640, an approximation based on the likely deduction that Abbán died towards the end of the first half of the seventh century, an elderly man even if not quite so advanced in age as to have reached 317 or even 210 years (Colgan 1948:627).

The seventh century also provides the most likely historical context for a Leinster foundation in Argyll. Dr Bannerman has shown that there is no factual basis to the Irish stories which would make Aedán mac Gabrain, who died *c.* 608, a son of Eochaid mac Muredaig, king of Leinster, but 'the early relationship between Iona and the Leinster monastery of Tech-Munnu' may explain the origin of the later Irish stories (Bannerman 1974:80, 89–90). Both Adomnán and the Latin *Life* of St Fintan, or Munnu of Tech-Munnu, report that Fintan, intent upon becoming an Iona monk, arrived in Iona shortly after Columba's death, only to be persuaded by Columba's successor Báithíne to return to Ireland and to found a monastery of his own in Leinster, where Columba had foretold that Fintan was destined to become an abbot in his own right (*Adomnán* 206–12; Plummer 1910:II. 228–9). Adomnán's informant was the elderly Oissíne son of Ernán, who had heard the story from Fintan 'whose monk he was' (*Adomnán* 101–2; 212–5). In Fintan's *Life*, Columba predicted that the infant Fintan would be *inter maiores sanctos Hibernie* and later instructed the young Fintan in a school at *Cell-mór Dithrib*, or Kilmore, in the neighbourhood of Lough Key and the river Boyle in north Roscommon, a district frequented by Columba on three occasions recorded by Adomnán.[23] Columba may not in fact have served as a monastic schoolteacher at *Cell-mór Dithrib*, but he had some knowledge of the activities of the young Fintan: when he foretold Fintan's future, Columba informed Báithíne that Fintan was spending his youth properly in the study of sacred literature (*Adomnán* 210–12). In later years Fintan proved loyal to the Iona tradition in opposing the Roman dating of Easter at the Synod of Mag-Ailbe of *c.* 630 and died *c.* 635.[24] Fintan, or Munnu, is commemorated in Argyll at Kilmun in Cowal, Kilmun on Loch Avich, Kilmun near Inveraray, and at Eilean Munde in Loch Leven (Watson 1926:307). Adomnán's source for the story of Fintan's visit to Iona, Oissíne son of Ernán, may be the Ossene, bishop of the monastery of Fintan, whose death is recorded in 687 (*Adomnán*: 101–2). Fintan's monastery of Tech-Munnu, now

Taghmon in Wexford, is no more than five miles from Abbán's foundation at Camaross, itself in the neighbourhood of *Mag-Arnaide* (Plummer 1910:I. 21, 23), Abbán's principal monastery in south Leinster. Adomnán would have heard the story from Oissíne in the second half of the seventh century.

Secular and ecclesiastical relations between Leinster and Dál Riata were apparently favourable in the second half of the seventh century. Bran Mut mac Conaill, the Uí Dúnlainge king of Leinster who died *c.* 693, was married to Álmaith, a lady of the Dál Riata whose genealogy is given in the Book of Leinster.[25] Bran's successor to the Leinster kingship, Cellach Cualann of the Uí Máil, was one of the guarantors of the Law of Adomnán promulgated at the Synod of Birr in 697 (Ní Dhonnchadha 1982:202; Kenney 1979:245-6). Other Leinster guarantors included Moling of Tech-Moling, now St Mullins in County Carlow, and bishop Áed of Slebte (Ní Dhonnchadha 1982:189-90, 192) or Sletty in County Laois, which is about five miles from Abbán's principal north Leinster monastery at *Cell-Abbáin*. The list of the guarantors of the Law of Adomnán survives in two manuscripts, the fifteenth century Rawlinson B.512 and the seventeenth-century Ó Cléirigh Brussels manuscript (Kenney 1979:245). Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha has now established that the lists are contemporary with the original promulgation, despite the late dates of the manuscript sources (Ní Dhonnchadha 1982:181-5, 214-15). The list demonstrates that the abbot of Iona could enlist the support of political and religious leaders in Leinster in the late seventh century.

One of the more problematic names of the guarantors of the Law of Adomnán is given in Rawlinson B.512 as *Mobecoc Aird*, and in the Brussels manuscript as *Mobeooc Ard* (*op. cit.*:189; Meyer 1905:16). Kuno Meyer identified him as the *Mophiócc* 'of *Ard Camrois* on the shore of Loch Garman' in Wexford Harbour and of *Ros Caoin* in Galway, who is commemorated on 16 December in the Martyrologies of Gorman, Donegal and Oengus, which give his name as *Beóóc*.[26] *Ard Camrois* is apparently Camaross Hill, which is about a mile from Abbán's foundation at Camaross and about ten miles from Loch Garman. Hogan suggested that *Ros Caoin* had got mixed up with Roscam in Galway and noted that both sites pertain to another saint, Béo-Áed of Ardcarne in County Roscommon, a bishop who is commemorated on 8 March and died in 523.[27] The confusion is understandable. Camaross was thought to be Roscam when *Mobecóc* became *Mobeóóc* and was mistaken for Béo-Áed. Of the two sites associated with the *Mophiócc* of 16 December, *Ros Caoin* should be rejected. *Ard Camrois* is Abbán's foundation at Camaross. *Mophiócc* would have been one of its abbots but *Mophiócc* and *Mobeóóc* are hypocorisms for Béo. The name of the guarantor of the Law of Adomnán in Rawlinson B.512 is *Mobecoc Aird* and *Mobecóc* is a hypocorism for Beccán (Plummer 1910:II. 347). According to his *Lives*, Abbán moccu Corbmaic built a monastery at *Cluain Aird Mobecoc* in the territory of the Múscraige in northeast Munster, where the hermit Beccán, from whom the place took its name, kept vigils (*op. cit.*: I. 17-18; Plummer

1922:I. 8). *Cluain Aird Mobecoc* is now Kilpeacan or Toureen Peakaun in County Tipperary (Plummer 1910:II. 320; Moloney 1964:99). Beccán or *Mobecóc* is commemorated on 26 May in the Martyrologies of Tallaght, Oengus, Gorman and Donegal (*MT* 46; *MO* 126; *MG* 104; *MD* 138). He may have been one of the recipients of the letter of *c.* 632 on the Easter controversy Cummian sent to abbot Ségéne of Iona and to Beccán *solitario*.[28] He died in 689, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, where he is called *Dobecóc Cluana Airdd*.[29] In the *Annals of Tigernach* he is *Da Beoóc Cluana hIraird* (*AT* 211). In the *Annals of Inisfallen* he is *Mo-Beoch Cluana hAird* (*AI* 100). His death is recorded twice by the Four Masters, as *Beccan Cluana hIoraird* in 687 and as *Dabecog Cluana hAird* in 689 (*FM* I. 294). *The Annals of Tigernach* and the Four Masters confuse *Cluana Iráird* or Clonard with *Cluain Aird Mobecoc*. The *Lives* of Abbán make it clear that *Cluain Aird Mobecoc* took its name from Beccán but he died too soon to have been a guarantor of the Law of Adomnán. The *Mobecoc Aird* of the Law of Adomnan may be a corrupt form of the style of his successor. In either case, *Mophiócc* of *Ard Camrois* and the abbot of *Cluain Aird Mobecoc* were both members of Abbán's *paruchia*, which was apparently in contact with the abbot of Iona at the end of the seventh century. The confusion in the annals and martyrologies over the similarities between the names of different places and the names of saints, their hypocorisms and corruptions, was probably compounded by the venerable if minor role the *paruchia* of Abbán seems to have played.

There is no evidence that Abbán's travels took him to Scotland, but Plummer noted a number of mythological elements underlying the 'ecclesiastical whitewash' in the *Lives*, particularly those associated with 'power over the waters', an attribute most likely to be assigned to a saint remembered for his voyages, although Plummer thought it might merely reflect 'some vague idea that his name was connected with *abann*, the Irish word for river' (Plummer 1910:I. xxiv-xxv, cxlvii-cxlviii). Abbán belongs to a small group of Irish saints known for their sea voyages but 'for whom no formal voyage literature exists' and Kathleen Hughes remarked that 'it was probably the special protection he could afford to sea-farers which gave him his prominent place at the beginning of the Litany of Irish Pilgrim Saints' compiled *c.* 800 (Hughes 1959:316, 320). A Knapdale story attributes 'power over the waters' to the saint of Eilean Mór. According to the *Statistical Account*, 'the master of a vessel, conceiving a liking' for the late medieval inscribed cross on the low hill at the south end of the island, 'carried it along with him, but, being overtaken by a storm at the Mull of Cantire, was obliged to throw it overboard', whereupon it floated back to Eilean Mór (*SA* XIX: 316). Despite allusions to Abbán's voyages in other sources, however, he is not one of the Irish saints whose journeys to see Columba are recorded by Adomnán. There is no evidence that Abbán himself founded any ecclesiastical establishments in Argyll, but the Keills and Eilean Mór dedications must have originated before *moccu* surnames went out of use in the eighth century and may reflect the wanderings of one of Abbán's disciples.

There is, however, an alternative possibility for the origins of the Knapdale dedications: in a recent paper, Dr Pádraig Ó Riain has shown that Colmán, the patron saint of Dromore in County Down, was also known as Mocholmóc and that both versions of his name may be nothing more than hypocoristic forms of Colum (Cille) (Ó Riain 1983:21-4). Hypocorisms frequently arose in the sixth century, a period of great linguistic change, and many reflect Welsh influence. The hypocoristic suffix *-óc*, for example, is Brittonic in origin (*op. cit*: 26, 31). The *Mo-Charmaig* of Keills and Eilean Mór suggested by the *Kylmachornat* of the Menteith charter, the *Kilmachormuk* of the 1621 Act of Parliament and the *Kilmacharmick* of Blaeu's atlas might conceivably represent a local hypocoristic form of Colum, if the *l* of Colum had been replaced by *r*, a possible substitution in view of the liquidity of both consonants in Gaelic. The *Mo-Charmaig* of Knapdale would then be Columba of Iona, or Mocholmóc, which might explain the origins of the blessings of *Mac-Charmig* bestowed upon Martin Martin in Islay, but such an explanation cannot account for the forms *Kilmakcorme* and *insula de Sanct-Makchormik* found in the sixteenth century, or the *Kilmakcharnik* of 1662. The Keills church is on record as *Kilmococharmik* in 1581 and *Kilmichocharmik* in 1628. Some similar form may lie behind the garbled *Chillmacdachormes* of the 1507 royal confirmation of the lost early thirteenth century charter of Ruairi of Kintyre. Processes of linguistic change and hypocoristic forms of Colum cannot negate the early *moccu* 'quasi-surname' that led to the Knapdale tradition of a saint *Mac O Charmaig*, nor do they explain the purpose of the local tale that interposed three generations between the saint of the Eilean Mór and his great-grandfather *Carmaig*, the 'ancient proprietor' of the island.

Keills and Eilean Mór are the only ecclesiastical sites in Scotland dedicated to Abbán, who seems not to have been a popular saint for the new stone churches to be dedicated to in the West Highlands and Islands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Bishop Forbes thought Kirkcormac in Kirkcudbrightshire might also have been dedicated to him but Professors Watson and MacQueen are surely correct in attributing the Kirkcormac dedication to Columba's contemporary Cormac Ua Liatháin.[30] Knight thought the *Cill Mo-Charmaig* at Ardeonaig on Loch Tay meant that the saint of Eilean Mór 'found his way along Glen Dochart to this quiet spot' (Knight 1933:II. 138), but Watson translated *Ard-Eodhnáig* or *Ard Eodhnáin* as 'Adamnan's cape' and suggested that the *Cill Mo-Charmaig* there might have been an Iona foundation during the abbacy of Adomnán, with Cormac the 'first cleric in charge' (Watson 1926:149). The affectionate prefix *Mo-* was customarily applied to saints' Christian names in any event, not to 'quasi-surnames'. The name of the *Mo-Charmaig* of Ardeonaig might, however, be a local version of *Mocholmóc*, a hypocorism for Columba, the saint to whom Adomnán is most likely to have dedicated a church. The twelfth-century Keills church and the thirteenth-century church on Eilean Mór (Dunbar 1981:40-42) may have been dedicated to Abbán independently of each other at the time of their construction, but the traditional

association of Eilean Mór with Keills suggests instead that the Abbán dedications dated from an earlier period and were so well-remembered that it would have been either undesirable or impracticable to have dedicated the medieval churches to other saints.

The shared dedication of Keills and Eilean Mór to Abbán implies that the church on the mainland and the island hermitage had some sort of connection dating from a common origin. Following Forbes, Campbell and Sandeman suggest that Eilean Mór was a *dísert* associated with Keills 'in early times' (Campbell and Sandeman 1962:66) The Latin *Lives* record that Abbán occasionally retired to a *silua deserta* to fast and celebrate mass at a place near *Mag-Arnaide* called *Diserth Cendubhain* in the *Codex Kilkenniensis* and *Cheducani Desertum* in the *Codex Salmanticensis* (Plummer 1910:I. 24; Heist 1965:269). Hogan treated the two spellings as two different places in his *Onomasticon*, although they must be one and the same, but Smyth has followed Hogan's identification of *Diserth Cendubhain* as Templeludican in County Wexford (Hogan 1910:346; Smyth 1982: pl. XVI). The *Lives* suggest that the *dísert* took its name from one of Abbán's disciples. If *Cendubhain* is the closer of the two to the original form of the name of the *dísert*, it may somehow be connected with Abbán's brother Dubán, commemorated on 11 November in the Martyrologies of Gorman and Donegal (*MG* 216; *MD* 305). If Keills belonged to the *paruchia* of Abbán in the seventh or eighth century, it may have followed the practice of the parent monastery by having a *dísert* of its own on Eilean Mór. Local tradition and the sculptural evidence, however, present a different interpretation.

The earliest surviving sculpture at Keills is the late eighth-century cross but the earliest Christian sculpture on Eilean Mór belongs typologically to the seventh century, suggesting the possibility that the island was dedicated to Abbán in the seventh century, when he was still a figure of living memory, and that the dedication was extended to Keills when the necessarily small community or hermitage on Eilean Mór expanded to the nearby mainland site in the following years. Later, as Keills grew in local importance, Eilean Mór might have been relegated to the role of a *refugium*, thought once to have been a *dísert* dependent upon Keills. According to the *Statistical Account*, *Mac O Charmaig* 'was an Irish saint, who took up his residence upon a small island, in the vicinity of the parish: he occasionally made excursions upon shore, and founded different chapels in the neighbourhood' (*SA* VI:255). Stories told locally about the saint connect him with the island. The dedication alone connects him with Keills. We have seen that the Keills dedication is on record by the thirteenth century, the Eilean Mór dedication by the fourteenth. Surviving sculpture and the early form of the saint's surname indicate a seventh-century foundation by a member of the *paruchia* of Abbán moccu Corbmaic of Leinster and an early connection between *Eilean Mor Mhic Ó Charmaig* and *Cill Mhic Ó Charmaig* that was remembered in the Knapdale oral tradition that survived into the nineteenth century. The Christian name of the saint to whom, possibly, a wandering Leinster hermit dedicated Eilean Mór in the seventh century might well have been forgotten because it was thought to be an affectionate title, Abbán or 'little abbot'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Professor William Gillies read two earlier drafts of this paper, and the current version has benefited greatly from his advice and criticism. I would also like to thank my PhD thesis Supervisor, Mr John Higgitt of Edinburgh University Fine Art Department, for his forbearance and support. Some of my ideas for this paper were prompted by a discussion on ecclesiastical continuity at Keills with Dr John Bannerman. Any mistakes are my own.

The photograph of the Keills cross was taken by my brother, Cameron Mac Lean, in June 1983.

NOTES

1 White 1875, 75n and 95, quotes a letter from Skene. Forbes 1872:300 also cites Skene as his source for the dedication.
2 White 1875:71–2; Campbell and Sandeman 1962:66, 68.
3 *Op. cit.*: 66–7; *ECMS* III: fig. 419; White 1875:pl. 43.1–2.
4 White 1875:pl. 43.5; *RCAHMS* (forthcoming).
5 *Ibid.* Duncan's and Brown's reading, *Rocherichus Reginaldi filius,* is preferable to the *Rotherici, Reginaldi filii* in *RMS* II:no. 3136.
6 I am most grateful to Professor Gillies for his conscientious advice on this point and for permission to include his suggestions here, although I alone am responsible for their use.
7 *RMS* II:no. 3136. There is a better reading in Duncan and Brown 1957:219.
8 Duncan's and Brown's reading of *Dunedall* is preferable to the *Dimedall* in *RMS*.
9 Watson 1926:187; *Adomnán:*188, 222, 356–8; Kenney 1979, 399–400.
10 Watson 1926:301; Anderson 1965:31; Kenney 1979:402.
11 Watson 1926:166. Professor John MacQueen kindly drew my attention to this reference.
12 HE II:19; Kenney 1979:221–2; Hughes 1966:105.
13 A list of Abban's foundations is given in Colgan 1948:627.
14 *MT* 24, 84; *MO* 98–9, 228–9; *MG* 56–7, 204–5.
15 *MO* 98–9, 228–9; *MG* 56–7, 204–5; *MD* 76–7.
16 Forbes 1872:282; *AA.SS.Boll. Octobris XII,* 270–2.
17 *Op. cit.*: I. 4; Plummer 1922:I. 3; Heist 1965:256.
18 Discussed in Plummer 1910:xxv; Kenney 1979:461.
19 Plummer 1910:I. 14; for the two *codices* see Kenney 1979:304–6.
20 Plummer 1910:I. 55, 220:II. 40, 45; Kenney 1979:310–12.
21 Stokes 1887:I. 187; II. 331; Smyth 1982:9, 18, 20.
22 Plummer 1910:II. 23–4; Smyth 1982:65. Smyth confuses the *Life* of Fintan of Clonenagh, which also mentions Cormac mac Diarmata, with the *Life* of Fintan or Munnu of Tech-Munnu, but the historicity of the event remains unchallenged, as does the date. Fintan of Clonenagh died in AU 603.
23 Plummer 1910:II. 228; *Adomnán* 70, 296, 322, 366.
24 Plummer 1910:I. xxxv; II. 236–7; Kenney 1979:221n, 450; Hughes 1966:108.
25 Smyth 1982:82; Smyth 1984:82; O'Brien 1962:340; Ālmaith ingen Blaithmeic meic Eogain m. Colmain m. Báetain Cobraind de Dál Riata. If Ālmaith's great-grandfather was the Colmán mac Baetain of the *Genelaig Albanensium*, she may have belonged to the Cenél Loairn, who probably controlled North Knapdale in the late seventh century. See Bannerman 1974:66, 112–13.
26 Meyer 1905:16, 39; *MG* 240; *MD* 336; *MO* 252.
27 Hogan 1910:585; *MO* 81; *MG* 50; *MD* 70; *FM* I. 178.
28 *PL* 87, cols. 969–78; Kenney 1979:220–1; Hughes 1966:105n; Moloney 1964:99–106.
29 *AU* I. 140. The new edition of the *Annals of Ulster* was unavailable at the time of writing.
30 Forbes 1982:300; Watson 1926:167–8; MacQueen 1973:22.

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Notes and Comments

Popular Courts in Early Medieval Scotland: Some Suggested Place-Name Evidence—Additional Note

G. W. S. BARROW

Since publication of the article under the above title in 1981 (*ante*, vol. 25, 1-24) some further evidence has come to light which it may be useful to communicate. First, there are four place-names which can be added to the gazetteer in Appendix I, as follows:

1.2(A)	COTHALL Forres	NJ019549	Perhaps cot + hall	O.S. 7th ser., sheet 29.
1.17(A)	CUTHILE HARBOUR Inverkeilor	NO701469		O.S. 7th ser., sheet 50.
2.29(A)	Kincardine in Menteith		Cuthil Brae, Cuthel(1) Brae (inhabited residence) NS725991. N.W. of tumulus and ¼m. S by E. of Standing Stone. See O.S. 1:25,000, Sheet NS69/79.	J. Stobie, Map of Perthshire (1783); also information obtained from occupier.
Ayr				
2.30	Probably Galston		Cothill (supposedly 13th century). Associated with Loudounhill (in Loudoun), Pokelly (in Fenwick) and Allantoun *alias* Allerton, doubtless Allanton in Galston. Presumably this is the place named Coathill shown on A. and M. Armstrong's *A New Map of Ayrshire* (1775), south of Allanton (square FD). I have used the edition produced to accompany *Ayrshire at the Time of Burns* (Ayrshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., 1959); the approximate NG Ref. would be NS605369. Most probably cot + hill.	J. S. Dobie (ed.), *Cunninghame Topographized* (1876), quoting 'The Lineal Descent of Muir of Rowallan'.

Secondly, we should note what is apparently a second documentary instance of the word *comhdhail* dating, like the agreement of 1329 dealt with in the 1981 article (p. 3), from the early fourteenth century. A charter by which Robert, janitor or porter of Kincardine in Mearns, granted to Duncan Kymbdy, burgess of Aberdeen, the lands of 'Achichdonachy', dating to *c.*1317, included in its clause of warrandice the phrase *cum curia et conthal*, 'with court and conthal'. The charter is printed (from the Arbuthnott Charter Chest) in *The Frasers of Philorth* (ed. Alexander Fraser, Lord Saltoun, 1879), vol. II, p. 197, no. 2. It has survived in the form of a notarial transumpt of 21 April 1453, made by Laurence Dunecani, priest of Aberdeen diocese, and is now preserved with the other muniments of the Viscount of Arbuthnott in Aberdeen University Archives (2764/53/1/8). The notary has copied the lost original apparently with care. He has written the word *conthal* (line 12) with the Tironian abbreviation sign for con- or com- followed by thal, the final letter having a horizontal stroke through the ascender to indicate a vernacular term lacking a declensional ending or whose ending was uncertain. The care taken over this transcription suggests that the notary was not altogether familiar with the word and had copied it exactly as it stood in the original. This raises the strong presumption that the word written as *couthal* in the Arbroath cartularies (in both extant MSS) should really be *conthal*, and this spelling could be seen as preserving the nasal in the first element of the compound *comhdhail*.

The charter printed by Lord Saltoun has, unfortunately, nothing by way of a gloss on the significance of the word, unlike the Arbroath agreement of 1329. Nevertheless, it does clearly associate *conthal* with the ordinary term for a court, and it may be safely inferred in this instance that whatever the precise meaning of the phrase it had to do with the ordinary indwellers on an estate of very modest size. The place-name given as 'Achichdonachy' in Lord Saltoun's text should perhaps be read as 'Athithdouachy' or 'Achithdouachy'. Endorsements in hands of the earlier and later sixteenth century render the name respectively as 'Ardwthouy' and 'Ardufthequhy'. Later, as is shown by more modern endorsements, this became Arduthie, and according to J. C. Watt (*The Mearns of Old*, 1914, p. 296) the lands were taken for the building of Stonehaven railway station.

A Correction

In Appendix II delete 3.3 ERROCHT. Information kindly supplied by the Reverend William Matheson makes it certain that this unexplained place-name is not an instance of *eireachd*, 'assembly'.

Eric R. Cregeen, 5th December 1921-13th June 1983

It is with very great regret that we record the death of our colleague Eric Cregeen, Reader in Social History and Organisation in the School of Scottish Studies. An appreciation of his work will follow at a later date. It has been suggested also that a volume might be published in memory of him.

Edd.

Eric Cregeen interviewing Lachlan MacLeod, a crofter from Grimsay, North Uist, in the early 1970s.

Book Reviews

'Scotland As It Was and Is*'

The Historical Geography of Scotland Since 1707 by David Turnock. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1982. xi + 352 pp. £25; and *An Historical Geography of Scotland*, edited by G. Whittington and I. D. Whyte. Academic Press, London and New York 1983. xiii + 282 pp. £9.80 and $17.50

Attempts at the examination of Scotland's past geographies must always be exercises in caution and compromise; the first because more is known about certain topics and places than others, and the second because individual works cannot easily do justice to the complexity of Scotland's past. In one way or another, the Scottish landscape has been in an almost constant state of becoming something different, although important regional distinctions, differences between social groups, and variations in the nature and rate of the processes making for change in the past, must all be borne in mind. Understanding these processes and patterns in the past is rather like walking in the Scottish countryside itself: where you stop or start and what you look at determines the view you get.

Turnock's principal concern is with the making of modern Scotland: he takes 1707 and the Act of Union as his starting point and pays scant attention to earlier events as a result. The opening chapters in the edited work by Whittington and Whyte, however, deal with prehistoric and dark-age Scotland. Four other chapters follow—on medieval rural Scotland; urban development from 1100 to 1700; population patterns and processes from *c.* 1600; and on early modern Scotland—before our attention is drawn to the modern period. Scotland since the eighteenth century is dealt with thematically: agriculture and lowland society since 1750; industrial development 1750–1870; a chapter on the regional development of the Highlands; rural land use from 1870; and urbanisation since 1750. The attention given in the edited volume to pre-industrial Scotland allows a better understanding of the elements of divergence and continuity in the geography of Scotland before 1700. Turnock, however, examines in greater detail several of the more important elements behind the transformation of Scotland's geography since the early eighteenth century. The book is divided into three chronological sections: 1707 to 1821; 1821 to 1914; and since 1914. Each of these sections begins with a review intended to highlight significant trends, or point to regional differences, in the period. Then in each section this is

* This title comes from *Scotland As It Was and Is* by George Douglas Campbell, Seventh Duke of Argyll. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1887.

followed by three thematic studies. The review of Scotland from 1707 to 1821 is followed by chapters on agricultural improvement, planned villages, and the whisky industry; that from 1821 to 1914 by chapters on Glasgow and the Clyde, iron and steel, and crofting; and Scotland since 1914, by chapters on planning for the Central Belt, on forestry, and on island perspectives. A concluding chapter draws together the several reviews and themes.

Both works have, understandably, compromised in places. What is surprising is the degree of caution exercised. The Whittington and Whyte volume in particular presents a number of what may perhaps be called 'standard accounts': the mechanisms, results and importance of agricultural change from the late eighteenth century, for example, or industrial development from the late 1700s and its concentration in the Central Lowlands. Much is already known of these topics, and has been written upon by social and economic historians as well as geographers—most of which work is referenced at the end of each chapter. Given this familiarity, one might have hoped for new insights into such topics, or even, the consideration of different ones. This view is, of course, open to debate: it is perfectly reasonable to claim, for example, that agricultural improvement and related changes in the rural way of life from the mid-eighteenth century were particularly crucial elements in the evolution of a different Scotland, both on the land and in society, and that, as such, our attention should be drawn to them. From one point of view, this is undeniable; but from another, it is curious that little attempt has been made to go beyond established approaches and themes: to consider the inclusion in greater detail of the geography of rural protest as part of 'the social fabric', for example, or the Highlanders' reaction through poetry and land-war to agricultural change and tenurial oppression. The relative emphasis given to the countryside is perhaps surprising given the view expressed by Whittington and Whyte in their preface that there is still in Scottish historical geography 'too unbalanced an involvement with agrarian and rural settlement features to the exclusion of most other topics'. The shortcomings apparent in regard to the feelings and attitudes of Scotland's population are equally surprising given the same author's feeling that 'There has also been scant concern to explain the role of the general populace in the creation of Scotland's past geographies'. All this is not to deny that what is covered is, to one degree or another, a good overview of the topic, but rather to express a certain disappointment that a book intended as 'a springboard' to 'a more adventurous exploration of Scotland's past geographies' should not itself have been more venturesome in content and structure.

Turnock's volume has a more evident central focus. His work deals with 'the *modernisation* of Scotland, involving the change from a traditional, largely subsistence economy to one that is highly integrated with a wider trading system'. The model that is chosen to explore the geography of Scotland's modernisation is taken from W. W. Rostow's *The Stages of Economic Growth: a non-communist*

manifesto (Cambridge 1971). Rostow identified five elements in the modernisation process: *traditional society; precondition* to change (involving changes in attitudes as much as in economy); a *take-off* stage where growth is the normal state of affairs; the *maturity* stage where the original industries which 'powered the take-off' are replaced by an increasing technological capacity for growth; and a final stage of *high mass-consumption* in which these resources are more and more directed to social welfare. Using this framework as a starting point, Turnock considers also the ideas of regional development theory and the threefold distinction between a *pre-industrial* phase (embracing the traditional and pre-conditional phases mentioned above), an *industrial* phase (covering the take-off and maturity stages of Rostow's model) and a *post-industrial* stage of high mass-consumption. Turnock considers these three stages more useful as an heuristic device since they allow 'a framework for the analysis of change in a particular area and a useful vehicle for the integration of specific evolutionary themes'.

Several points may be worth making in regard to the adoption of this model. It is, at one level—the chronologically descriptive—an attractive model. Certain periods in the past can be fitted into the pre-industrial stage—the emergence and consolidation of Scotland's market economy in the central Lowlands in the sixteenth century, for example, or the contours of Scotland's historical demography before the onset of industrialisation and large-scale urbanisation. Events could likewise be found to fit into the second and third stages. And this hints at the first danger in interpreting the emergence of Scotland's geographies through a sequence of stages: that chronological breaks are somehow held to be indicative of important geographical and social changes. Of course particular dates and events may have lent a certain impetus, but on the whole growth in the industrial base was slow and change in the countryside evolutionary rather than revolutionary. A second danger is in underplaying what might be called the 'processes of becoming', to be content with description and not analysis. Turnock is aware of this danger and has sought to counter it through his structure of general review followed by thematic study: the first sets the scene for the period (or stage) under discussion and outlines the mechanisms making for change in Scotland's geography at that time, and the second, the thematic studies, are used to illustrate how general changes in the past affected particular elements of that geography more than others. To a great degree he is successful and the topics chosen are suited to his general theme. A chapter on the whisky industry was included, although as Turnock himself admits, 'the whisky industry is probably not the greatest of Scotland's eighteenth-century industries', because it was felt to reflect what he terms the 'adjustment to new values and opportunities' then operating to one degree or another throughout Scotland. A chapter on demographic adjustment to these new values and opportunities might have served better in this first section, but this is a relatively minor point since much information on population is interspersed throughout the text. What the thematic chapters indirectly do, however, is draw

attention away from our understanding of regional differences in the adoption of change and in the making of Scotland's past geographies. Turnock's work succeeds better in the 'integration of specific evolutionary themes' than it does in 'the analysis of change in a particular area'.

Scotland is more than one country. It is a rich tapestry of particular landscapes, perhaps sharing general features, but each also exhibiting local responses to soil, the impress of certain cultural groups and ways of life, and is characterised by often very localised regional identities. Major themes of importance in the past such as the geography of heavy industry, agricultural enclosure, and the growth of towns were, of course, not sudden in their coming. But at least as important to examine as the impact and rate of change of certain elements is their varied geographical expression. At one level, there is the distinction to be made between Highlands and Lowlands. At a time when, in the Lowlands, population was recovering from periods of crisis, when industry was becoming increasingly centralised, mechanised and capitalised and when towns were growing as a result of these and related agrarian changes, the Highlands were largely tribal in society and Gaelic in language and thought, with their economy one of subsistence. And when change in the Highland way of life did come, it is through a regional perspective that we may best understand it. The question of scale is perhaps all-important. Highland counties have areas and parishes of high agricultural productivity, just as parts of the Lowlands have barren lands. The question of scale can be taken too far of course—knowing, for example, that one family of a certain social and occupational background lived in one part of a town in the 1800s and another family of different status lived in another part of the same town will not tell us much about the general experience of nineteenth-century urban life. But an understanding of what makes a place as it is or what agencies have modified a landscape in one *locale* and not in another is important to an appreciation of so varied a countryside as Scotland. The balance between theme or region is not easily achieved, especially as the question of *why* is one place different from another is usually more difficult to answer than *when* did it change.

Historical geography has a longer tradition in England than Scotland. W. R. Kermack's *Historical Geography of Scotland*, written in 1913, is the only work to carry such a title before the present two volumes, although other works have given some direction. O'Dell's *Historical Geography of the Shetland Islands* (1939), O'Dell and Walton's *Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (1962), Millman's *The Making of the Scottish Landscape* (1975), Adams' *The Making of Urban Scotland* (1978), and Parry and Slater's edited work *The Making of the Scottish Countryside* (1980), are all important in this regard. Given, as Whittington and Whyte note, however, that Scottish historical geography lacks 'comparable milestones to those erected by H. C. Darby in England', it is strange to note the subject north of the border taking the same road in regard to the treatment of the Scottish people as Darby did for the bulk of the English population: to treat them (if at all) largely as passive respondents. In

fairness, Whittington and Whyte and their various contributors, and, to a lesser extent Turnock, are not alone amongst Scottish or British historical geographers in this weakness with regard to the treatment of contemporary attitudes towards social and geographical change. It is not that such work has not or cannot be done. Consideration of such things as oral tradition, bothy ballads, popular protest, the relationships between literature and social change might all have been used to cast light on the people's past. The image of the land presented in the works of artists like Alexander Nasmyth, or John Knox, and even the Highland settings of Edwin Landseer's paintings, have a certain value in understanding how Scots in the past viewed their countryside. Culture is a difficult word to interpret. Turnock does illustrate the importance of the Scottish Enlightenment to the re-ordering of attitudes in late-eighteenth-century society and hints at the important links between cultivation in society and new methods of cultivation on the land. But some consideration of the place of contemporary moral sentiment, the role played by festival and feeing fair in the lives of ordinary folk, or the extent of literacy, might have lent a roundedness to several of the sections in both works.

Whittington and Whyte began their volume in the hope that it would provide a basis to the shedding of parochial perspectives and to the placing of things Scottish in a wider context. Almost without exception, the various contributors end their chapters with a list of topics still to be researched and themes to be considered. Turnock's work is more a synthesis, with thematic emphasis, of what is known than a pointer to future research areas. It is too much to expect either work to meet its intended aims fully. Both are well-written and superbly illustrated. Both will be used in undergraduate teaching and provide ideas for further discussion and research on a number of topics. Their emphasis, good as it is, however, is on Scottish historical geography as it was and is rather than what it might become. They will be thought of as milestones when it might have been better to be remembered as signposts.

CHARLES W. J. WITHERS

Books Received

Some of these books may be reviewed later in *Scottish Studies*

Scottish Rural Society in the 16th Century by Margaret H. B. Sanderson. John Donald, Edinburgh 1982. 286 pp. £15.

The Decline of the Celtic Languages. A Study of Linguistic and Cultural Conflict in Scotland, Wales and Ireland from the Reformation to the Twentieth Century by Victor Edward Durkacz. John Donald, Edinburgh 1983. 258 pp. £18.

Gaelic in Scotland 1698–1981. The Geographical History of a Language by Charles W. J. Withers. Foreword by Derick S. Thomson. John Donald, Edinburgh 1984. 352 pp. Maps and Tables throughout. £18.

All the Queen's Men. Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland by Gordon Donaldson. Batsford, London 1983. 193 pp. £14.95.

The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland. Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson, edited by Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1983. 261 pp. [No price stated].

The Companion to Gaelic Scotland, edited by Derick S. Thomson. Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1983. 363 pp. Illustrated throughout. £25.

The Scottish Reformation. Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland by Ian B. Cowan. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1982. 244 pp. £11.95.

St Kilda. A Photographic Album by Margaret Buchanan. William Blackwood, Edinburgh 1983. 80 pp. £4.95. 76 plates [with informative captions and a thorough, concise essay on the geography of the island, the social history and the lives of the St Kildans].

Jeffrey's Criticism, edited, with an introduction, by Peter Morgan. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1983. 182 pp. £8.25. [Selections of the contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* of the critic Francis Jeffrey, 1773–1850].

Literary Critics and Reviewers in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain by Peter Morgan. Croom Helm, Beckenham 1983. 182 pp. £14.95.

British Literary Magazines (*Historical Guides to the Worlds Periodical Magazines and Newspapers*), edited by Alvin Sullivan. Greenwood Press, Westport (Connecticut) and London 1983:

(1) *The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698–1788.* 428 pp. £50.95.

(2) *The Romantic Age, 1789–1836.* 492 pp. £53.95.

Scottish Urban History, edited by George Gordon and Brian Dicks. Aberdeen University Press, 1983. 282 pp. £11.

Scottish Gaelic Studies XIV pt. I, edited by Donald MacAulay. University of Aberdeen, 1983. 142 pp. £7.

Ideology, Art and Commerce. Aspects of Literary Sociology in the Late Victorian Scottish Kailyard by Thomas D. Knowles. Gothenburg Studies in English 54. Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis. Goteborg, Sweden, 1983. 278 pp. SEK 100.

Editorial Note

ROSC

The Review of Scottish Culture (*ROSC*) is a new Journal published by John Donald Publishers Ltd and The National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

The first issue, for 1984, covers:

T Henderson, The Wreck of the Lastdrager
A Fenton and C Hendry, Wooden Tumbler Locks in Scotland and Beyond
D Macdonald, Lewis Shielings
A Sharp, The Clay Tobacco Pipe Collection in the National Museum
Rosalind K Marshall, Wet-Nursing in Scotland: 1500-1800
P Robinson, Tenements: A Pre-Industrial Urban Tradition
R H Buchanan, Box-Beds and Bannocks. The Living Past
R C Boud, Scottish Agricultural Improvement Societies, 1723-1835
D J Breeze, The Romans in Scotland
R G Cant, A Scottish Historical Atlas

The second issue will include articles on the Wearing of Wedding Rings in Scotland; The Book Designs of Talwin Morris; the Plague in the Grass (grass-sickness in horses); Destruction, Damage and Decay: the Collapse of Medieval Buildings; Tenements, the Industrial Legacy; an Early French Architectural Source for the Palace of Falkland; Food on Sunday; and a Bibliography of the writings of the late Dr I F Grant, founder of the Highland Folk Museum.

The Journal appears annually, and concentrates on the material aspects of the country's social and economic history, whether rural or urban, maritime or land-based. It is well illustrated. The price is £5 per issue. The address for subscriptions is John Donald Publishers Ltd, 138 St Stephen Street, Edinburgh EH3 5AA. The address for correspondence is: Editors, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh EH2 1JD.

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(Titles of contributions appear in bold type, and names of contributors in small capitals)