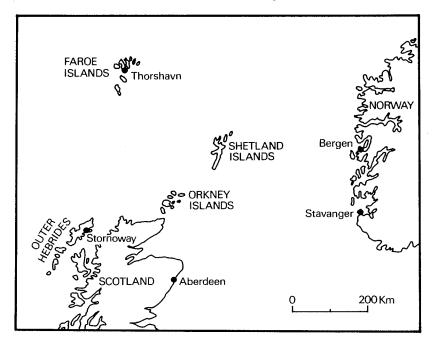
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The Scandinavian Element Staðir in Caithness, Orkney and Shetland

Doreen Waugh

The Scandinavian element *staðir* is generally translated as 'farm', but it is plural in form and may well refer to a farm-group.¹ An additional surmise could be that in many cases the farm-group could have been under the overall supervision of one person, a theory which the preponderance of personal-name specifics occurring with *staðir* would tend to support.

The presence of *stadir* as a generic in the place-names of Orkney and Shetland is well-attested, but it is apparently absent from the place-names of Caithness. This apparent absence has been used to suggest that the settlement of Caithness might have occurred at a slightly later date than the settlement of neighbouring Orkney.² I should like, in this paper, to propose that there are, in fact, reasonable grounds for assuming a minimal presence of the generic *stadir* in Caithness place-names.



Reluctance to accept the absence of *staðir* from Caithness place-names stems from the fact that Orkney and Caithness are such close neighbours and so similar topographically, and that Orkney does have several *staðir* names. Orkney is separated from mainland Caithness by approximately five miles of open sea, effectively bridged by the island of Stroma (Fig. 1). Orkney and Caithness are geologically similar, in that they share the Middle Old Red Sandstone rock which led to worldwide fame for Caithness and its flagstones in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both areas are flat and would invite settlement, although Orkney has perhaps a slight advantage, being an island.

I should have been more willing to accept that Caithness and Shetland might fail to share the same place-name generics, because the distance between the two areas is much greater and the structure of the land dissimilar. As J. R. Nicolson points out, 'The central block, the "backbone" of Shetland, consists of schist, gneiss and blue-grey limestone . . . which appear as parallel bands of varying hardness, giving a pronounced north-south grain to the hills, valleys and voes of the larger islands'. Shetland is very beautiful, but its scenic attractions would have been of secondary importance to the Scandinavians who were struggling to wrest a living from its grudging soil. One can understand why some of them were tempted south across the extensive and stormy gap which separates Shetland from Orkney, taking their staðir names with them. If they made the effort to cross this large gap, there is all the more reason to suppose that they would also have crossed the much less extensive gap between Orkney and Caithness before any significant amount of time had passed. It is paradoxically true to say that the perceived distance of Shetland from the mainland of Scotland is probably greater today than it would have been in the days of the ocean-going Scandinavians.

It therefore seems appropriate to regard Caithness, Orkney and Shetland as a unit in terms of the incidence of Scandinavian settlement, and to expect to find the same generics which suggest colonising and the establishment of farms and farming communities throughout—generics such as staðir, setr and bólstaðr. This expectation is, for the most part, clearly realised in that the generics setr and bólstaðr are obviously present in all three areas, although in different proportions.

Staðir did, however, remain elusive in Caithness until recently, when I made an observation which led me to suspect that place-names containing staðir do occur in Caithness in very small numbers, just as, for example, setr and garðr are very minimally represented in Caithness. Perhaps Caithness was less heavily

populated at certain points during the Scandinavian occupation of the north of Scotland and the northern isles; or, more probably, perhaps the subsequent influx of Gaelic names into Caithness superseded some of the earlier Scandinavian names.

One of the principal difficulties encountered in the study of Caithness place-names is that early documentary references are scanty and, in general, names are not recorded prior to 1500. In most cases, the initial record of a name is much later than 1500, more probably seventeenth century. The only exceptions to this regrettable state of affairs are those names which, fortuitously and fortunately, were recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the sagas, in particular Orkneyinga Saga and Njal's Saga; but this is a very small and unrepresentative selection of names, and staðir does not feature as a generic in the few Caithness place-names recorded. Neither, for instance, does setr, and there are certainly names containing setr in Caithness; so the absence of names containing staðir from the sagas is not significant.

Having failed to trace the element through early references in the sagas or elsewhere, I therefore decided to examine Orkney and Shetland *staðir* names, with the emphasis on Orkney names for reasons of contiguity as explained above, hoping to find some clue which would point to any similar names which might exist in Caithness.

The Orkney examples which I shall examine are those identified by Hugh Marwick in his impressive study of Orkney farm-names. Magnus Olsen reviewed the book enthusiastically when it was published, but he does disagree with Marwick on points of interpretation and would question his contention that the specific is invariably a personal name. However, I shall refer to Marwick's original list, because my interest is not so much in the suggested etymology as in the form taken by the generic in early documentary sources. Orkney is more fortunate in its early records than Caithness and, in particular, it is fortunate in having *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney*, edited by Alexander Peterkin. Marwick's early references are derived principally from this source, which records material from 1492 onwards.

Knarston: Knarstane, Knerstane 1500; Knarstane, 1595. This example of the name is on the island of Rousay, and there are two further mainland examples.

Costa: Costa, Costay 1492; Costa, Costaith, Costeth 1500; Costa, Costay 1595. No longer a farm name.

Hourston: Thurstath 1492; Thurstacht 1500; Hurstane 1595; Hourstaine 1642; Hourston 1739.

Tronston: Cronstath 1492; Tronstaith 1500; Tronstane, Tronstaye 1565; Tronstane 1595; Tronston 1614, 1739.

Tenston; Tenstath 1492; Tenstaith, Tenstayth 1500; Tenstay 1564; Tensta 1595; Tensten 1614; Tenstane 1642; Tenston 1739.

Knarston: Narstain 1492; Nerstaith 1500; Knarstane 1595; Knarston 1727.

Corston; Corstath 1492, 1500; Corsta 1595.

Grimeston: Grymestath 1492, 1500; Grymestoun 1595; Graemiston 1727.

Germiston: Grimistith 1492; Garmistane 1500; Garmistoun, Garmiston 1595.

Colston: Cottistaith 1492; Culstane 1565 (Registrum Magni Sigilli).8 No longer a farm name.

Tormiston: Tormystaith 1492; Turmiston 1627.

Clouston: Clowstath 1492; Clonstaith, Cloustane 1500; Clustay 1522; Clouchstay 1527; Cloustane 1595; Cloustoun 1607.

Unston: Onsta 1546, 1576; Onestone, Onsta 1576; Unstane 1595; Unstoun 1627.

Cairston: fyrir Kiarreksstauðum (Orkneyinga Saga);⁹ Kerstane 1492; Cairston, Karstane 1500; Kairstane 1595; Cairstane, Cairsten 1614.

Hatston: Haitstach 1492; Hatstoun 1536; Hatstane 1595.

Knarrston: Knarrarstaudum, a Knarrarstadi (Orkneyinga Saga); Knarstane 1492; Knarstane 1595.

Berstane: Birstane 1595.

Jadvarstodum: (sixteenth-century Danish translation of Orkneyinga Saga). 10

Yinstay: Zenstaith 1492; Yinstaith 1500; Yensta, Yinsta, Yinstay 1595.

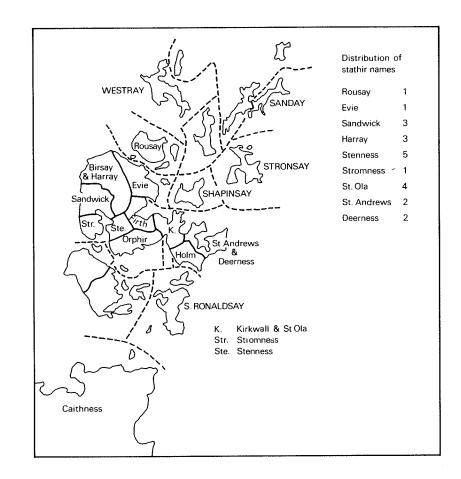
Campston: Camstaith 1492; Campstane 1500, 1595; Campsta 1546.

Flenstaith alias Sands: Flenstaith 1500; Flenstaith alias Sands 1595.

af Skeggbiarnarstauðum: (Orkneyinga Saga).9

Herston: Harthstath, Harstath 1492; Herstath 1500; Harstane, Herstane 1595.

Knarston, the first name on Marwick's list, is situated on the island of Rousay, and Herston, the last name, is situated on the island of South Ronaldsay. All the other names are on the mainland of Orkney, predominantly west mainland (Fig. 2), which is a surprisingly concentrated distribution and one not exactly mirrored in Shetland, where the *stadir* names are spread from north to south. No one could argue that the north isles of Orkney



would not attract settlement, because the reverse is true. The islands of Sanday, Stronsay, Westray and Shapansay are all very fertile. Another Orkney historian, Storer Clouston, put forward the theory that these bunched *staðir* names, being situated between the two earls' seats at Birsay and Orphir, represent the holdings of the earls' followers, 11 an attractive theory which receives the support of the Swedish place-name scholar Lars Hellberg; he discounts Marwick's scepticism about the theory, and draws attention to parallels between Orkney *staðir* names and those on the island of Man. 12

Returning to Marwick's list of names, one can note that the modern ending in these suggested staðir names is -ston, with only a few exceptions: Costa, Berstane, Yinstay and Flenstaith. Costa and Flenstaith are no longer used as farm names and may, therefore, have become petrified at a certain stage in their development as names, the -ston ending being seen as appropriate for farm names only. Yinstay is one of the few staðir names on the east mainland, which might explain why it escaped the general tendency to standardise to -ston. It is difficult to suggest a reason why Berstane should not have conformed to pattern if it is a staðir name, but there are no earlier forms in -stath to give absolute authenticity to the name.

Among the modern -ston forms there are three examples of Knarston. In the first of these examples there is no early -stath form, and Marwick rests his interpretation on the references available for the other two names, the first of which appears as Nerstaith 1500, and the second very conclusively as Knarrarstaðir in Orkneyinga Saga.

Most of the other names listed have early forms in -stath. Glancing down the list one encounters Hourston, which appears as Thurstath 1492 and Thurstacht 1500. The initial |h| of the modern name is a common substitution for an early $|\delta|$, as, for example, in Horraldsay for an earlier Thorwaldishow 1500. In the form Thurstacht there is substitution of c for t which is very common in Scots orthography and which can also be seen in the next example, where an earlier form of Tronston is Cronstath 1492, and an earlier form of Hatston is Haitstach 1492.

In Tenston one observes how the -stay ending may have come into existence through dropping final -th after the orthographic representation of /a:/ as ay, a common alternative to ai. Omitting Knarston, the next three names have 1492 -stath forms, with the minor qualification that in the case of Germiston the scribe has written Grimistith, obviously having been influenced by the two preceding vowels.

Unston first appears as Onsta 1546; Cairston appears as Kerstane 1492, but fortunately it is recorded as Kiarreksstaðir in Orkneyinga Saga, otherwise it would be difficult to recognise as a staðir name. Jadvarstodum and Skeggbiarnarstaðir are only recorded in Orkneyinga Saga and cannot be reliably traced to the present day.

Finally, Campston and Herston follow the majority pattern and have 1492 forms in -stath which later become -stane or -sta or variants thereof. In the case of Campston, Marwick draws attention to the similar Norwegian farm-name Kampestad.¹³

The obvious conclusion to be reached after pondering on these names is that I should have been examining Caithness names ending in -ston, -sta and -stay. Indeed, I did examine those names, but initially rejected them on the grounds that there were no early -stath endings on record from the mid-sixteenth century when the names were first recorded. I therefore assumed that the endings represented some other generic, and temporarily abandoned the search. However, a niggling feeling that I had missed something made me look again at the Orkney names, and this time I noticed that none of the Orkney examples which now end in -ston is recorded post-1500 with either -stath or -staith as the form of the generic. Up to the end of the sixteenth century, and in a few cases to the present day, there are examples of -sta or -stay endings, but there appears to be an absolute cut-off point at 1500 for the recording of the final -th of -stath in written records.

It seems reasonable, therefore, although certainly speculative, to suggest that those Caithness names which now end -ston, -staor -stay should be given further consideration, looking at the specifics combined with them compared with the specifics used in the Orkney names, and also examining any common features of location which might help to identify the generic used in the name as stadir. There are, in fact, only two examples that I feel sure of, but there are also various debatable candidates, most of which I shall omit from the present paper. This is a very small number of names, but, as I stated earlier, other Scandinavian generics such as setr and garðr also occur in very limited quantities in Caithness by comparison with the same generics in neighbouring Orkney, and it would be very surprising to find a plethora of staðir names in Caithness. The only Scandinavian generic which is present in relatively large numbers in Caithness is bólstaðr, of which there are approximately thirty examples. Bólstaðr seems to occupy the same onomastic slot as the ubiquitous Gaelic achadh, which applied originally to a cultivated field and then to a farm established in a cultivated area.

The two Caithness examples of the generic staðir are Hollistan and Gerston. Hollistan is situated in Reay Parish, on the west side of the county, and it now only appears as part of the Gaelic/Norse compounds Drumhollistan and Loch Hollistan. Those early forms which are available are worse than useless in helping to identify the components of the Scandinavian name. The only feature which they do record is a much greater than average degree of scribal uncertainty regarding the precise nature of the form being recorded. The forms are:

Drumhellesten 1662 Blaeu¹⁴
Drim-Hollistill 1726 Macfarlane ¹⁵
Drumhellesten 1745 Revised Mercator¹⁶
Drum-Hellister 1807 Arrowsmith¹⁷
Drumalestane 1855 Origines Parochiales Scotiae¹⁸

If my theory is correct, and the generic in *Drumhollistan* is *staðir*, the specific is very possibly a personal name, the precise form of which is debatable — perhaps *Holfr*, *Hólmr* or *Holi*. I do not believe, as Marwick appears to have done, that the specific in *staðir* names must be a personal name. It is a general tendency, not an absolute rule.

Gerston is in Halkirk parish, also on the west side of the county, and it is recorded as follows:

Greynstane 1538 Registrum Magni Sigilli⁸ Greistane 1552–1553 ibid. Griestane, Gerstaine 1587 ibid. Gersten 1606 ibid. Griston 1644 Retours¹⁹

The specific in this name is very probably the personal name Geirr.

I should like, but with much less conviction, to add to these two names the two examples of Borrowston, a name which also occurs in Orkney and which Marwick explains as Old Norse borgar-tun 'tunship adjacent to the site of an old broch', which is unsatisfactory in that one then has to suppose that 'those names can date only from a time after the Old Norse genitive -ar had been superseded by the Scots or English -s'.²⁰ However, this supposed intrusion of the English genitival ending did not occur regularly in Orkney and Caithness place-names; in this case, one has to admit, it might have happened through influence from the Middle Scots noun borrowistoun 'a burgh', but the presence of the genitival -s in a 1492 version of the Orkney name is rather earlier than one would expect to find influence from this particular Middle Scots noun.

Certainly, the early forms of the Caithness Borrowston invariably end -stoun or -stoune, for example:

Borrostoun 1549 Registrum Secreti Sigilli²¹ Borrowstoune 1644 Retours¹⁹

There is no hint of an earlier -stath or a sixteenth-century -stane, but stadir names on Marwick's list can have -stoun endings as in Grymestoun 1595 and Cloustoun 1607. The specific could be the personal name Borgarr.

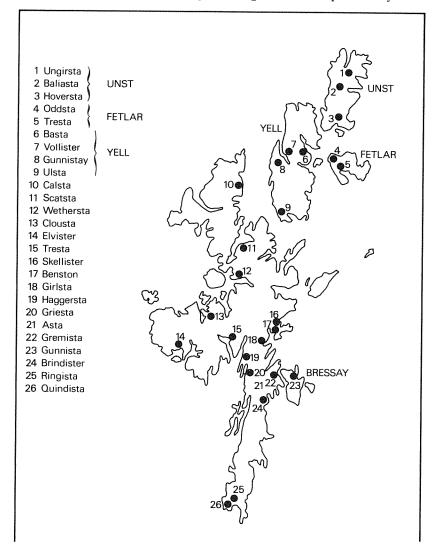
There are other possible examples of *staðir* in Caithness place-names, but I shall omit these due to their highly conjectural nature, and I shall, likewise, omit Borrowston from my further comments.

As regards the situation of the names, it would appear that those Caithness place-names which I have suggested do fit into the pattern of distribution which is outlined by Marwick for the Orkney names; but the pattern of distribution which is typical of Orkney is not entirely typical of Shetland, and I feel that Marwick may have been too rigid in his definition. It seems to me that the names could be differently situated, depending on the nature of the land available for farming, and once more there is greater affinity between the topographically-similar Caithness and Orkney than between those two areas and their northern neighbour, Shetland.

In Orkney, as I pointed out earlier, with the two exceptions of Knarston in Rousay and Herston in South Ronaldsay, the names are largely confined to the west mainland, between the two earls' seats at Birsay and Orphir. They have, therefore, the appearance of being situated close to important early Scandinavian settlements, but 'from their situation it is improbable that any one of them indicates the original "focus" or parent house of such a settlement'.²² Furthermore, places which bear *staðir* names are largely situated inland, and they appear to bear some relation to inland lochs.²² Hollistan and Gerston in Caithness are very precisely described by the application of these criteria to their situations.

In the case of Hollistan, the focal point of the early settlement was the place which now appears as Reay, and which first occurs in written records in the thirteenth century as Ra or Raa, from Old Norse $r\acute{a}$ 'a corner, nook; a pole, used metaphorically in the sense of a long, stretched-out elevation'.²³ Hollistan is not situated directly on the coast, and there is a neighbouring loch which bears the name of Loch Hollistan. Gerston is also inland, and there are a few contenders for the focal point of the Scandinavian community of which it formed a part. Most likely is the place which is now called Calder, which appeared in Orkneyinga Saga as Kálfadalr; the neighbouring loch is known as Loch Calder. I should like to re-stress, however, that I do not imagine that being inland or being close to a loch are essential characteristics of staðir names. The flatness of the Caithness and Orkney landscapes would have given the settlers some degree of latitude in their choice of farming land, and they might well have seen locations inland and close to a loch as plus factors, being more sheltered and close to a source of dietary variation.

In Shetland, where the land is less amenable, recurrent geographical factors are not quite so clearly in evidence, and one has the impression of a search for flat land suitable for farming wherever that might occur, be it on the coast or inland. I do, however, think it is still true to say that where flat land occurs in conjunction with the plus factors noted above, one is likely to find *staðir* farms. Those *staðir* farms which do occur on the coast, such as Wethersta at Brae, are often not situated where there is good anchorage, which suggests that even when situated in a coastal position, these farms are oriented towards the land and farming rather than the sea and fishing, although their occupants may well



have used the fish of the coastal shallows as a substitute for fresh-water fish from lochs. Another feature of these coastal sites is that obvious care had been taken to ensure shelter from the sea; Wethersta, the example cited above, is very well sheltered by the island of Muckle Roe.

As was the case in Orkney and Caithness, the general impression is that in Shetland (Fig. 3) staðir-farms were situated close to an early Scandinavian settlement, but were not the focal point of that settlement. For example, Ungirsta, Baliasta and Hoversta in Unst can be seen in relation to Haroldswick, Baltasound and Uyeasound respectively. Basta, Vollister and Gunnistay are clustered around Mid Yell, a centre of Scandinavian settlement although not a Scandinavian name. Ulsta, at the south end of Yell, can be seen in relation to Hamnavoe; Oddsta and Tresta in Fetlar in relation to Houbie; Calsta in North Mavine to North Roe; Scatsta and Wethersta in Delting to Brae 'broad isthmus', a favoured crossing point from the north isles to the west mainland. There is a concentration of stadir names in the fertile central part of the mainland around Tingwall, Scalloway and Lerwick. This could perhaps be seen as a parallel to the concentration on the west mainland of Orkney, but it could also be said that there is a concentration of such names in the islands of Unst, Yell and Fetlar, reinforcing the point that in Shetland the quality of the land available is the main consideration in the siting of stadir-farms. There are some staðir-farms on the west mainland of Shetland, such as Elvister close to the important settlement of Walls, and Clousta, perhaps to be seen in relation to Aith. The focal point of Ringista and Quindista in the south mainland would probably be Sumburgh, situated at the southernmost extremity of the island.

In saying that the *staðir*-farms are not the focal point of the community, there is no imputation of inferiority as farming land, and, in fact, in many cases the reverse is true. The farm of Asta situated in the Tingwall valley is an excellent example of the obvious high quality of the *staðir*-farms. It is still regarded as being one of the best farms in the whole of Shetland and, interestingly, it has the advantages of being situated inland from the coastal port of Scalloway and beside a loch which bears the name, Asta Loch. As regards situation beside a loch, I think it must be considered statistically significant that thirteen of the twenty-six *staðir*-names listed beside the map of Shetland (Fig. 3) have neighbouring lochs named after them, and another five are situated beside lochs of another name.

I should like to conclude this rapid glance at some of the Shetland *staðir*-names by referring briefly to the forms taken by

the names at the present day. In the majority of cases the form is -sta, but there are a few exceptions.²⁴ There is one example of the -ston ending which is so typical of Orkney names, Benston in Nesting. In early rentals the form of the generic in this name is invariably -sta, and one suspects that -ston has crept in as a result of influence from the nasal consonant in the initial syllable of the name. Certainly there is no general transference from -sta to -ston as in Orkney; that is what one would expect, because it seems likely that the switch from -sta to -ston happened as a result of influence from Scots at a certain stage in the development of a place-name containing the generic stadir. In Shetland the influence from Scots words such as toun 'an area of arable land on an estate, with associated common grazing rights, farmed in whole or in part on a run-rig system' would have occurred at a later stage in the development of the name, because Norn was much more tenacious in Shetland than in Orkney and Caithness, and one would, therefore, expect the -sta ending to have a greater chance of survival in Shetland.

There are also some names containing stadir which has at some point been confused with setr; in Shetland this is not surprising, because there are so many setr names to give rise to confusion. I am referring to Vollister in Yell, Elvister in Sandness, Skellister in Nesting and Brindister in Gulberwick. This confusion between setr and stadir names may also occur in Orkney and Caithness, and there may eventually be some more names to add to the stadir list, having subtracted them from the setr list; but given the lack of documentary evidence for Caithness, it is unlikely that it will be possible to make such nice distinctions.

In conclusion, I should like to return to defining a typical staðir-farm. My image is of a small group of dwellings, forming a unit with a purely farming function within a larger community. The occupants of the dwellings might have been members of the same family, with one person in overall charge to ensure the smooth running of the unit. The occupants would have shared the various tasks of the farm such as tilling the flat and fertile soil, pasturing animals and fishing from the neighbouring fresh-water loch, or, failing that, from the coastal shallows. Farm-produce would probably have been exchanged for the more exotic goods occasionally landed at deep-water anchorages nearby. The terrain in Caithness is ideally suited to this type of farming activity, and, in spite of the slightness of the evidence, it makes sense to propose that staðir names do occur in Caithness.

EDINBURGH

NOTES

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24. I have this information from Dr L. MacGregor, a graduate of St Andrew's University, who is currently engaged in research into Scandinavian settlement in Shetland and Faroe.

Imitation and Innovation in the Scandinavian Place-Names of the Northern Isles of Scotland

W. F. H. Nicolaisen

The topic which I have chosen for this presentation has interested me for some considerable time. In fact, ever since I first developed an interest in the place-nomenclature of Scotia Scandinavica, a little over thirty years ago, and began to look into its Norse or Norwegian ancestry, the question of onomastic innovativeness or creativity has been for me one of the more intriguing and fundamental aspects of research into naming, namers and names. The desire to learn more about the processes and attitudes involved has been fuelled by several visits to Norway and one to Iceland, uncanny occasions on which it was peculiarly instructive to see names closely connected etymologically with Scandinavian names in Scotland or, as in the case of Iceland, their very etymologies, on signposts, on post offices and shops, in personal advertisements in newspapers, and so on. Cumulatively, these exciting experiences amounted, however, to little more than general impressions based on accidental rather than systematic evidence. In fact, it has been one of my dreams for quite some time to compile a complete inventory of equivalences on both sides of the North Sea, but I have, recently and reluctantly, come to the conclusion that this is a task more appropriate for a young Ph.D. candidate with some computer expertise, and not for someone tottering on the brink of senility who still writes his letters by hand. In order to be a true gauge, an inventory of that kind would have to be exhaustive as well as professional, and there should be no room for speculation or the o-so-tempting but dismaying qualifications of 'probably', 'possibly' and 'perhaps'. Otherwise we would never know.

In presenting a smaller sample, both in its geographical limitation and in its generic application, I am stopping far short of such an ideal, and I can only hope that its unavoidable restrictions and shortcomings will not affect the validity of my findings. Practical considerations have simply had to replace preferable perfectionist tendencies. Before we look at the actual, albeit limited, material and at several ways of interrogating it, let me make a few more points which have some bearing on the matter and which should help to eliminate some possible misconceptions