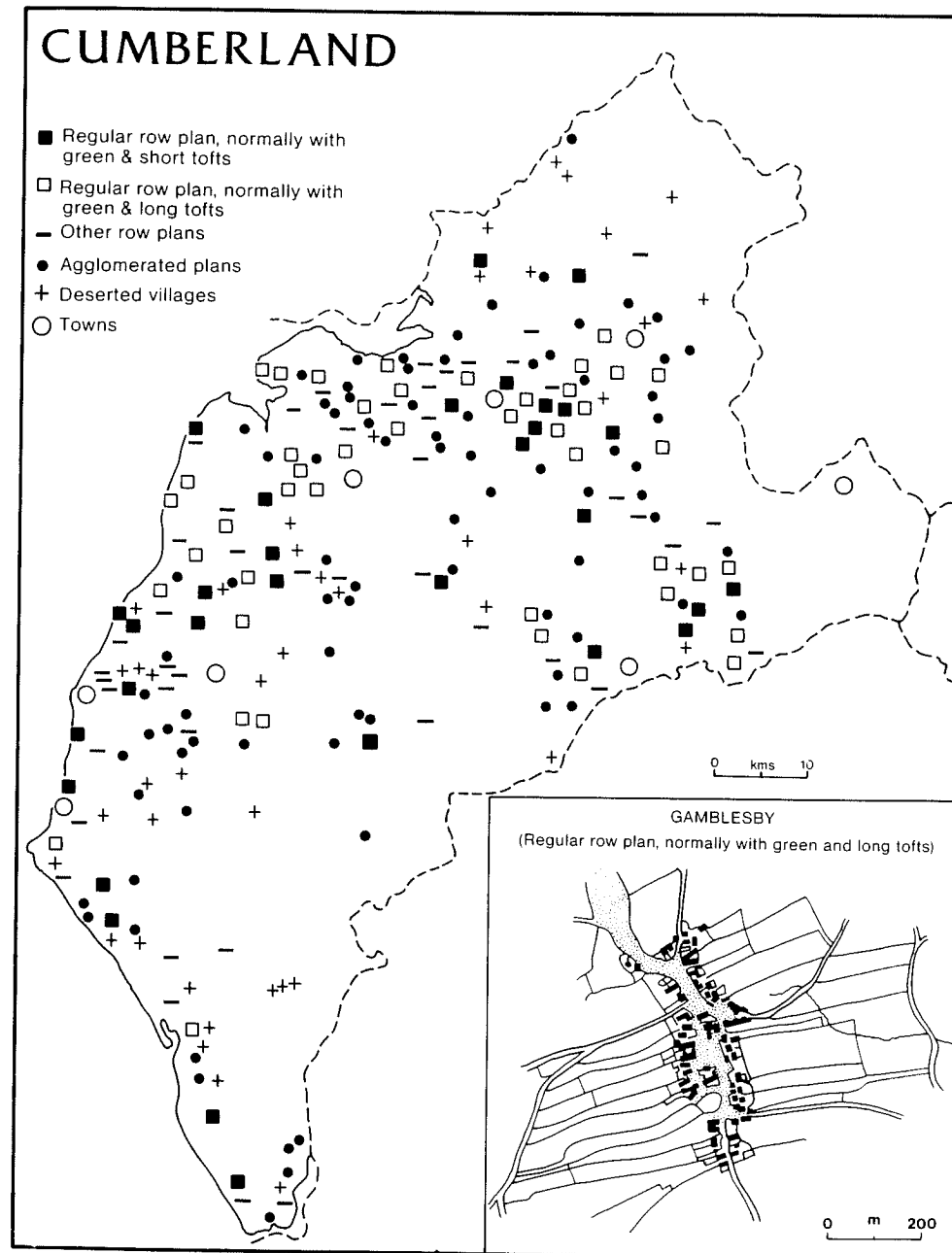


## Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?

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IN her recent book on *Scandinavian Scotland* Barbara Crawford has attempted to give a graphic presentation of the settlement situation in Scotland in the Viking period by demarcating four major regions where Scandinavian place-names occur (Map 1).<sup>1</sup> Region 1, with place-names of almost exclusively Norse origin, embraces Shetland, Orkney and north-east Caithness. Region 2, with place-names of mixed Gaelic and Norse character, embraces northern and western mainland Scotland and the Hebrides. Region 3, with place-names of Gaelic, Norse and Danish origin, embraces south-west Scotland (Galloway and Dumfriesshire) and Man. Region 4, south-east Scotland, is marked by scattered place-names of Scandinavian character. While I would quibble with details of the shading on this map and certainly do not feel that north-east Caithness is in the same class as Shetland and Orkney with respect to the density of Scandinavian place-names, I would accept that the division into four regions makes a reasonable starting-point for discussion. The region to which I want to pay particular attention in the present paper is Crawford's Region 4, which she refers to as south-east Scotland, although I shall extend its boundaries westwards all the way to the Firth of Clyde and refer to it for convenience as the Central Lowlands.

Unfortunately, it is difficult for an outside observer to discuss Scottish place-names because of the lack of accessible scholarly treatments of the material from most regions.<sup>2</sup> Reliance on the forms appearing on the Ordnance Survey maps can all too often lead the unwary astray: a cautionary example is provided by the name *Crombie* in Fife, which is listed in the Ordnance Survey map of *Britain before the Norman Conquest*<sup>3</sup> as a Scottish place-name in *-bý* but some of whose recorded forms show it to be a Gaelic name *\*Crombaidh*, a derivative of the adjective *crom* 'bent'.<sup>4</sup> Some names have been included on the strength of forms recorded in the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland<sup>5</sup> or of their inclusion by W.F.H. Nicolaisen in his discussions of the element *-bý* in Scottish place-names.<sup>6</sup> My attention has been drawn to other relevant names by Barbara Crawford and by Geoffrey Barrow, and I am grateful to them both for generously supplying me with information and to the School of Scottish Studies of the University of Edinburgh for allowing me access to the files of the Scottish Place-Name Survey.

Many of the Scandinavian names found in the Central Lowlands have been discussed perceptively by Nicolaisen, and I have little to add to what he has written by way of documentation or interpretation. My intention at present is merely to take a new look at these names against the background of the Scandinavian place-names which occur elsewhere in Scotland and in northern England. The relevant names in the Central Lowlands fall mainly into two categories: names in Scandinavian *-bý*, most of whose specifics are also Scandinavian, and names in Old English *-tūn* whose specifics are of Scandinavian origin, mainly but not exclusively personal names. Compound place-names in *-bý* and hybrid *tūns* are of course characteristic of the Danelaw and not of *Scotia Norvegica*, and it therefore seems reasonable to start with a working hypothesis that the names were coined either by Danes or by Anglo-Danes from the Danelaw.

When the *-bý* names in the Central Lowlands are examined in the light of the *-bý* names in the whole of Britain, there are two features which would appear to be of particular significance. These are the nature of the specifics of the names and their geographical distribution. As far as the specifics are concerned, marked regional variations are revealed in the percentages of *-bý* names with personal names as their specifics. To the west of the Pennines, from Cheshire in the south to Westmorland in the north, the only possible instance of a personal name + *-bý* formation is *Frankby* in Wirral, while in Cumberland no less than 52% of the *-bý* names contain personal names, and in the East Riding of Yorkshire and in Norfolk the percentages are even higher, and in the North Riding of Yorkshire and in Lincolnshire only slightly lower. In Dumfriesshire over 50% of the *býs* contain personal names.<sup>7</sup>

I have earlier attempted to explain these variations as a reflection of the progress of Danish settlement in England. I have argued that the place-names in *-bý* whose specifics are not personal names were coined fairly early in the tenth century and bestowed upon pre-existing English settlements that had been taken over by Viking settlers. Such names are not confined to the Danelaw proper. The name-type spread from Yorkshire across the Pennines and down the Eden valley to the Carlisle plain and from there southwards along the coastal plain of Cumberland and northwards into Dumfriesshire, from where a straggle of names penetrated westwards into the lowlands of Galloway. Ten of the twenty-three *-bý* names in Dumfriesshire and six of the seven in Galloway have specifics other than personal names and ten of these sixteen names have exact parallels in England. *Applebie* WIG, containing

OE *æppel* 'apple', has parallels in *Applebys* in Westmorland, Lincolnshire and Leicestershire and in *Eppleby* in the North Riding of Yorkshire. *Bombie* KCB, *Bombay* and *Bombie* DMF, containing Scand *bóndi* 'peasant farmer', can be compared with *Bomby* in Westmorland and *Bonby* in Lincolnshire. *Corsby* WIG, containing the Gaelic loan-word in Scand *kross*, has parallels in three *Crosbys* in Cumberland, two in Westmorland and one in Lancashire. *Denbie* DMF, containing Scand *Danir* 'Danes', can be compared with three *Danbys* in the North Riding of Yorkshire. *Esbie* DMF, containing the Scandinavian collective noun *eski* 'ash-trees', has a parallel in *Hesby* in Cheshire. *Newbie* DMF, containing OE *nīwe* 'new', and the two *Sorbies* in WIG and DMF, containing Scand *saurr* 'sour ground', have numerous parallels in England; another *Sorbie* is found just across the border in Roxburghshire. The seven *-býs* with specifics other than personal names which do not find exact parallels in the Danelaw are not different in kind from the Danelaw names. Three names contain as specifics Scandinavian or Old English common nouns: Scand *meyja* or *mær* or OE *mæge* 'maiden' in *Mabie* KCB, Scand *mylna* or OE *mylen* 'mill' in *Milnby* DMF, and Scand or OE *lind* 'linden-tree' in a lost *Lindbi* DMF. The specific of *Middelbie* DMF is OE *middel* rather than Scand *meðal*. No really satisfactory explanation can be offered for the specific of *Dunnabie* DMF. Two of the *-bý* names are shown by their semantic content to be relatively late formations. *Bysbie* WIG would seem to contain a Scandinavianized form of OE *bisceop* 'bishop', and Daphne Brook has suggested that local people with Scandinavian habits of speech may have begun to refer to the manor by this name after the third bishopric of Whithorn had been established in 1128 and the bishop had been endowed with Bysbie.<sup>8</sup> It should be noted, however, that the earliest surviving written record of the name is as *Buskeby* 1296, and this suggests that the original specific may have been Scand *buski* 'shrubbery', as in *Busby* in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and that the later forms may merely reflect association with the bishop of Whithorn. The name *Canonbie* DMF can hardly antedate the foundation of the priory there in 1175.

The remaining *-bý* names in south-west Scotland, one in Galloway and twelve in Dumfriesshire, all have personal names as their specifics. In the Danelaw the name-type personal name + *-bý* would seem to reflect the detaching of small units of settlement from estate centres. Minor landowners bearing Scandinavian personal names began to assert their independence in this way after the English victories of the early tenth century had weakened the authority of the Danish leaders. *Bagby* KCB and *Ousby* DMF

contain the Scandinavian personal names *Baggi* and *Ulfr* respectively and they have exact parallels in *Bagby* in the North Riding of Yorkshire and in *Ousby* in Cumberland and *Ouseby* and two *Ulcebys* in Lincolnshire. Two of the Dumfriesshire *-bý* names contain Gaelic names, *Gill'Eoin* (*Gillenbie*) and *Gillae* (*Gillesbie*), while the remaining nine contain ones which must have been introduced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by settlers bearing Norman, Breton or Flemish names: for example, *Lochard* in *Lockerbie* and *Lambert* in *Lamonbie*. Personal names introduced by post-Conquest settlers are also of frequent occurrence as specifics of *-býs* in Cumberland, whereas they account for only 6% of the anthroponymical specifics of Yorkshire *-býs* and less than 1% of those of *-býs* in the East Midlands.<sup>9</sup> The occurrence of personal names of post-Conquest types as specifics of names in *-bý* has long been taken as confirmation of the view that the generic *-bý* remained current as a place-name-forming element well into the twelfth century,<sup>10</sup> but I have argued that it is more likely to reflect the taking-over by Normans and Flemings in the later eleventh century and in the twelfth of settlements which at the time of the take-over already had Scandinavian names in *-bý*.<sup>11</sup> The new tenants would then have substituted their own personal names—for example, *Lochard* and *Lambert*—for the original specifics. Most of the names of this type in Dumfriesshire are found in the Annan valley. As the post-Conquest settlers penetrated further up the valley, they must have gone beyond the northern limit of the *-bý* names and come upon a settlement with an English name in *-tūn*, for after its take-over by a man bearing the name *John*, virtually absent from England until after the Conquest, it was henceforward referred to as *Johnstone* and not as *\*Johnbie*.<sup>12</sup> Elsewhere in southern Scotland and particularly frequently in the Central Lowlands, there are many settlement names which did not assume their present form until the twelfth century and which consist of a personal name of post-Conquest type and OE *-tūn*. Geoffrey Barrow has argued that these names cannot all imply wholly new units of settlement but that they must be the result of partial or total renaming. Even though, as John Insley has pointed out in criticism of my explanation of these names, there is no firm evidence for the changing of place-names in southern Scotland,<sup>13</sup> I stand by my opinion that there is no reason to believe that the generic *-bý* was much used to coin completely new place-names in England or in southern Scotland after the Norman Conquest. The vast majority of the *-bý* names had been coined as such by the middle of the tenth century and what took place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was simply a partial

reshaping of the place-names to incorporate the personal name—for example, *Lochard*—or designation—for example, *bisceop* or *canoun*—of the new manorial lord.

If the distribution patterns of the *-býs* containing post-Conquest personal names in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire is compared with that of all the *-býs* in these counties, it will be seen that the first pattern can best be explained as the result of a movement away from Carlisle of settlers with personal names of post-Conquest types.<sup>14</sup> At a greater distance from this city, to the east and the south, the settlements with names in *-bý* seem to have been able to retain their original Anglo-Scandinavian or Scandinavian names and the same applies to the seven outlying *-býs* in Galloway. It should also be noted that most of the *-býs* in Dumfriesshire are in the lowlands and that they do not penetrate very far up the valleys. There is nothing to suggest that the names in *-bý* in the central Lowlands were coined by Scandinavian settlers who had pushed their way across the Southern Uplands from south-western Scotland.

This lack of context is further emphasized by the distribution map of place-names in *-þveit* in Scotland. This topographical generic, which originally denoted a 'clearing in woodland' but seems to have developed a quasi-habitative significance, occurs frequently in place-names in the Danelaw and in Normandy and there are a few isolated occurrences in the Northern Isles.<sup>15</sup> In mainland Scotland, however, this generic is practically confined to Dumfriesshire, where there are several instances on the higher land and a cluster along the lower reaches of the river Annan. It seems likely that the *-þveits* in Dumfriesshire reflect movements from the Lake District and from Northern Yorkshire, in both of which regions *-þveits* are of common occurrence and have been taken to mark exploitation by Viking settlers of hitherto unoccupied land. I have only come across one *-þveit* in Galloway: *Galtway* KCB. The rarity of this element here probably reflects the fact that Scandinavian settlement was not long-lasting enough or dense enough to lead to the establishment of new settlements on cleared land. The only other certain instance of a *-þveit* name in mainland Scotland outside Dumfriesshire is the isolated *Moorfoot* in Midlothian; this name may perhaps be the result of influence from the other side of the Southern Uplands, since it has parallels in *Moorthwaite* in Cumberland and in two *Murthwaites* in Cumberland and in Westmorland.

One name is certainly not enough upon which to build a theory as to the route by which Scandinavian place-names spread to the Central Lowlands. The only other possible land-route from the south, however, along the coastal plains of Durham and Northum-

berland can be firmly ruled out after a look at the distribution map of the *-býs*. This reveals Northumberland as a country devoid of *-býs*. There are a number of *-býs* in Durham, and there is documentary evidence for the ownership of land in this county by Vikings in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, but neither the lands purchased from the Danish king Guthred in the ninth century nor those granted by the Viking leader Ragnald to his followers Onlafbal and Scula after the battle of Corbridge in 914, show much trace of Scandinavian influence on their names.<sup>16</sup> For information about the route by which Scandinavian influence made its way to the Central Lowlands it will be necessary to turn to the names themselves. The largest group of names reflecting Scandinavian influence there is that consisting of names made up of a Scandinavian personal name and the English generic *-tūn*. The study of this type of name in the areas of Danish settlement in England has revealed that it was normally borne by a well-established village that had been granted to a new Scandinavian lord at the time of the Viking settlements. This means that the name-type will normally be found only in areas where Old English place-names in *-tūn* occur. This is probably the reason why there are only two instances in south-western Scotland. *Arkleton* DMF contains the compound name *Arnketill* in its contracted form *Arkil*, while *Gelston* KCB contains the byname *Gjofull*. *Arkleton* has a seemingly exact parallel in *Arkle Town* (*Arkilton* 1476) in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which lies in a tributary valley to Swaledale in the Pennines, close to one of the main routes from the Vale of York to the Eden valley;<sup>17</sup> this latter name has, however, been explained by Hugh Smith as a back-formation from *Arkengarthdale* (*Arkillesgarth* 1199). *Gelston* KCB has an exact parallel in *Gelston* in Lincolnshire.

Hybrid names in *-tūn* containing Scandinavian personal names occur much more frequently in the Central Lowlands, particularly in Lothian, where English names are found in much greater numbers than in the south-west of Scotland.<sup>18</sup> Of twenty-eight names in the Central Lowlands, nine have compound personal names as their specifics: *Arnkell*, *Eileifr* or *Eiláfr* (2x), *Hrafnkell*, *Ingjaldr*, *Ligulfr*, *Þórir* and *Ulfkell* (2x). Eighteen contain personal bynames: *Dolgfinnr* (4x), *Galti*, *Gilli* (a Scandinavian adaptation of Gaelic *Gillae*), *Ketill*, *Kolbeinn* (2x), *Mylsan* (a Scandinavian adaptation of a Gaelic name in *Mael-*), *Oddr*, *Ormr* (4x), *Sveinn* (2x), *Ulfr*. One name contains the hypocoristic *Uggi*. The name *Maccus*, which occurs in *Maxton* ROX, has sometimes been treated as Scandinavian when it occurs in Scottish sources, for it has been thought to be a Gaelic adaptation of the Scandinavian name *Magnús*. This name did

not become widespread in Scandinavia, however, until after the reign of King Magnus the Good of Norway, who died in 1047, while a man by the name of *Maccus* fought on the English side against the Danes at the battle of Maldon as early as in 991, a moneyer on the coinage of Edgar (959-75) bore the name *Macus*, and *Macus* forms the specific of the Northamptonshire place-name *Maxey*, which is recorded in pre-Conquest sources. The name is probably of Celtic origin. The Irish king Olaf with the Celtic byname *Cuaran* had a son named in Irish annals as *Maccus filius Onlafi*, and a man called *Maccos* is named in a Bodmin grant of manumission which has been dated on palaeographical grounds to about the middle of the second half of the eleventh century. Men called *Macus* or *Machus* are recorded in Domesday Book as holding land *TRE* in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Cornwall.<sup>19</sup>

Most of the Scandinavian personal names compounded with *-tūn* are numbered among the comparatively limited range of Scandinavian personal names that occur in the earliest Scottish charters: *Arkil*, *Eilaf*, *Ligulf*, *Thor*, *Ulkil*, *Dolfin*, *Gille*, *Colban*, *Orm*, *Swain*, *Ulf*, and *Ogga* (probably representing *Uggi*). That *Galti* and *Ketill* were also current in lowland Scotland is suggested by the occurrence there of the surnames *Galt* and *Kettle*.<sup>20</sup> Some of the bearers of Scandinavian names would seem to have become thoroughly Gaelicized: a frequent witness to early Scottish charters, for example, appears now as *Alwyn filius Archil*, now as *Alwyn Mac Arkil* with a Gaelic patronymic.<sup>21</sup> All of the Scandinavian personal names contained in Scottish place-names in *-tūn*, with the exception of *Galti*, occur also in sources from Yorkshire, where the names *Arnkell*, *Ulfkell*, *Dolgfinnr*, *Ketill*, *Ormr*, *Sveinn* and *Ulfr* are very frequent.<sup>22</sup> Of the less common names, a Scandinavianized form *Melsan* from *Maelsuithan* would seem to occur as the specific of *Melton* in the Vale of York, and *Uggi* is the specific of *Ugthorpe* near Whitby.

There are a few Scandinavian personal names which are unlikely to have been introduced into Scotland earlier than the year 1000, at least in the forms in which they appear in the *-tūn* names. The three compound names in *-ketill* all appear with the contracted form of the second element, *-kil*. This contracted form would seem not to have developed until about the year 1000, and I have argued elsewhere that in England it is characteristic of names introduced to the Danelaw by the followers of Knut the Great and his sons and not by the Danes who took part in the ninth-century partitions of land.<sup>23</sup> It is possible, of course, that the reduction of the second element might have taken place after the original coining of the

name, but it should be noted that when the names in *-ketill* occur independently in sources from the Scottish lowlands, they are always in the contracted form, except where the name might represent an independent introduction of the Normanno-Scandinavian equivalent, as with *Asketillo preposito de Norham*, a witness to a charter of King Edgar to Durham in 1095.<sup>24</sup>

Some of the Scandinavian personal names may well have arisen in the British Isles, for they are recorded in British sources much earlier than in ones from the Scandinavian homelands. These are *Dolgfinnr*, *Hrafnkell*, *Ligulfr* and *Ulfkell*.<sup>25</sup> There are no Scandinavian names in the Central Lowlands which do not appear also in English sources and it does not seem as though the Scandinavian nomenclature was sufficiently well established in southern Scotland for new personal names formed from Scandinavian linguistic material to develop there.

It is impossible to look at the *-tūns* containing Scandinavian personal names in the Central Lowlands in isolation from those containing personal names of other linguistic origin. There are twenty-one place-names containing Old English personal names. While some of these personal names were still in use in Northumbria in the post-Conquest period—for example, *Edmund* and *Aldwine*—others are of a more archaic character—for example, *\*Dirl*, *Pæcc* and *Wine*—and the place-names containing these latter may well date back to the original Anglian settlement of Lothian, Berwickshire and Roxburghshire in the seventh century. A much larger group of names, however, is that consisting of *-tūns* whose specifics are personal names of Continental origin. These names must reflect the immigration of settlers in the Norman period, but it should be remembered that these settlers did not all come to Scotland directly from the Continent nor were they necessarily all 'Normans'. Many of them had been resident or owned property in England for some time. David I, for example, introduced Norman barons to southern Scotland from his Honour of Huntingdon and it was from Cleveland in Yorkshire that the Brus lords of Annandale brought many of their feudal dependents to Scotland.<sup>26</sup> If men bearing names of Continental-Germanic origin were brought to Scotland from Huntingdonshire and Yorkshire, then there is no reason why men bearing Scandinavian personal names might not also have been brought there from England.

It has been noted that the post-Conquest settlers in the eastern part of the Central Lowlands were of varied geographical origin, whereas in the west there was a concentration of men from Brittany, Western Normandy and Flanders, and this fact has been explained as

a reflection of the superiority of the east as a wheat-producing region and the willingness of the less well-endowed nobles from Brittany and the adjacent areas of Normandy as well as of the Flemings to live on oat-bread.<sup>27</sup> The distribution of the *tūns* containing Scandinavian personal names—only three in Lanarkshire, one in Peeblesshire, one in Renfrewshire, but three in Berwickshire, eight in Roxburghshire and thirteen in Lothian—suggests that the men with the Scandinavian names were not particularly enthusiastic about a diet of oats. Since the Vikings can hardly have been accustomed to eating wheaten-bread in Scandinavia, this may point to an immediate origin in the Danelaw for these settlers in Scotland.

Hybrid place-names in *-tūn* whose specifics are not personal names are of comparatively infrequent occurrence in south-western Scotland and the Central Lowlands. In the south-west there are five names in *-tūn* whose specifics are Scandinavian topographical terms: *bekkr* 'beck' in *Beckton* DMF, *kelda* 'spring' or *kæl* 'wedge-shaped piece of land' in two *Keltons* KCB, DMF, and *mýrr* 'wet, swampy ground' in *Merton* and *Myrton* WIG. There are also three *Carltons* WIG (2x) and KCB; these names, like many parallel formations throughout the Danelaw, are Scandinavianized forms of an Old English name: *\*ceorlatūn* 'settlement of free peasants', used to denote a subordinate unit of settlement on a large estate.<sup>28</sup> The free peasants in question owed dues and services to their lord which were essential for the running of the estate. I have only found one *Carlton* in the Central Lowlands, namely *Carleton* AYR; but I would suggest that the nine *Bonningtons*, AYR, BWK, ELO, MLO (2x), FIF, LAN, PEB, PER and two *Bonnytouns* FIF, WLO have a similar kind of significance.<sup>29</sup> The specific of these eleven names could theoretically be the Scandinavian personal name *Bóndi*: *Edmund son of Bonde* was an unfree man who was included in a grant of Herdmanston ELO,<sup>30</sup> and the name *Bóndi* occurs quite frequently in England, particularly in East Anglia. But it is more likely that the *Bonningtons* contain the common noun *bóndi* which lies behind not only the personal name but also the Scots term *bonder*, which was used for a yeoman farmer in a component unit of a shire who owed renders and services to its lord.<sup>31</sup> The Scandinavian term *bóndi* had been adopted into Old English as *bonda*, and it would seem to be this loan-word, in its genitive plural form *bondena*, that lies behind the Scottish place-names. The names have acquired their present form *Bonnington* as a result of mistaken analogy with names in *-ington*: such an analogical development often took place in Scotland with specifics containing an *-n-* in their second syllable; and, among the hybrid names discussed above, it may be noted that

*Dolphington*, *Covington* and *Milsington* have also been remodelled on analogy with the *-ington* names that are not uncommon in southern Scotland. The common noun *bóndi* does not enter into any place-names in *-tūn* in the Danelaw, but the names *Bombie*, *Bomby*, *Bombay* and *Bonby*, which occur in south-western Scotland, Westmorland and Lincolnshire, may well have the same meaning as central Scottish *Bonnington*. The *Bonnington* names certainly suggest that the shires of southern Scotland were run on much the same lines as the multiple estates of northern England.

Apart from the *Bonningtons*, the only hybrids in *-tūn* with non-anthroponymical specifics in the Central Lowlands are (a) *Mordington* BWK, which has been tentatively explained as the result of the addition of *-tūn* to an Old English place-name *\*mōrþing* 'moorland assembly', also found as the district-name *Morthen* in the West Riding of Yorkshire,<sup>32</sup> and (b) six names containing Scandinavian common nouns: *Sprouston* ROX (*\*sprogh* 'brushwood'), *Mertoun* BWK (*mýrr* 'swamp'), *Stenton* ELO (*steinn* 'stone'), *Crosston* WLO (*kross* 'cross') and *Layston* PER and *Leaston* ELO (both containing *leysingi* 'freed man'). The first four all have exact parallels in other regions: *\*sprogh* is the specific of two *Sproxtons* in Yorkshire and in Leicestershire; *mýrr* occurs in *Merton* and *Myrton* in south-west Scotland; *steinn* is found in numerous *Staintons* in the North Riding of Yorkshire and elsewhere, and *kross* occurs in *Croston* in Lancashire. The specific of *Layston* and *Leaston* could be the Scandinavian personal name derived from the common noun *leysingi*, but I would prefer to treat the place-names as descriptive of the status of the inhabitants.

Whereas the *Bonnington* names, and perhaps *Layston* and *Leaston*, would seem to have developed spontaneously in Scotland as designations for settlements with a particular function, perhaps as variants on the English name *\*ceorlatūn* and the Scandinavian *\*bóndabý*, the remaining *-tūn* names with non-anthroponymical specifics may all have been formed on analogy with place-names in the Danelaw.

Of greater significance for the identification of settlements of Vikings in the Central Lowlands would seem to be the twenty-five names containing the Scandinavian generic *-bý*, since there is no evidence to suggest the adoption of this word into the local Scots dialects. The most striking feature about these names is that at least twenty of them (80%) have non-anthroponymical specifics, so that the group differs markedly in this respect from the *-býs* of Dumfriesshire. There are two *Busbys* RNF, PER and two *Busbies* in AYR; most of the recorded forms of these four names have spellings

such as *Busby* or *Busbie*, but the form *Buskbie*<sup>33</sup> for one *Busbie* in Ayrshire suggests that all four names are exact parallels of *Busby* in the North Riding of Yorkshire, whose specific is probably Scand *buski* 'shrubbery'.<sup>34</sup> The repeated occurrence of this name suggests it may have some technical significance. *Corsby* BWK and two *Crosbies* AYR and FIF are exact parallels to *Corsby* WIG and to six names in England. *Newby* PEB is an exact parallel to *Newbie* DMF and to many names in England. Two *Sorbies*, AYR and FIF, are exact parallels to the two *Sorbies* in WIG and DMF and to numerous names in England. The five *Humbies*, ELO, MLO, WLO, RNF and FIF, have an exact parallel in *Hanby* in Lincolnshire; the specific is probably the genitive plural of the Scandinavian common noun *hundr* 'dog', and the fact that the name occurs five times probably reflects the significance attached in a region rich in great hunting-forests to the keeping of hunting-dogs as an obligation to a feudal lord. Another Scottish *-bý* name containing a term for an animal is *Weddersbie* FIF, whose specific is probably the common noun *veðr* 'wether-sheep', although the singular genitival inflexion of the specific suggests that it could alternatively be this word used as a personal nickname. Assuming that it is the animal designation used in a collective sense, however, the place-name has a parallel in *Wetherby* in the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>35</sup> The specific of *Blegbie* ELO is probably the Scandinavian adjective *bleikr* 'pale': this may describe the local vegetation or perhaps refer to the activity of bleaching; there is no exact parallel to this name elsewhere in Scotland or in England. The specific of *Magbie* AYR cannot be identified with certainty on the basis of the recorded forms but it may be the Scandinavian common noun *maki* 'customer, partner, mate'. *Smeaton* MLO and *Leaston* ELO may not in fact really be names in *-bý*, since they have early forms containing the Old English generic *-tūn* and it is the English generic that is seen in the surviving forms of both names. There are, however, recorded forms from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in which the generic of both names is clearly *-bý*, and the specific of *Leaston* is certainly Scandinavian, and that of *Smeaton* possibly so; *Smeaton* in its *-tūn* form (*\*smiðatūn* 'farm of the smiths') has an exact parallel in *Smeaton* in the North Riding of Yorkshire, while *Leaston* in its *-bý* form (*Laysynbi* < *\*leysingjabý* 'farm of the freed men') has exact parallels in two *Lazenbys* in the same Riding and *Lazonby* in Cumberland.<sup>36</sup>

Five of the *-býs* in the Central Lowlands probably have personal names as their specifics. *Begbie* ELO contains Scand *Baggi* and is thus identical in origin with *Bagby* KCB and *Bagby* in the North

Riding of Yorkshire. If Geoffrey Barrow is correct in interpreting the form *Cortiby* recorded in the fourteenth-century Balmerino cartulary as a miscopying of an early-thirteenth-century *Corceby*, then *Corbie* FIF would seem to be an exact parallel of *Corby* in Cumberland and the specific the Celtic name *Corcc*<sup>37</sup> but, if the Balmerino spelling is erratic, then the name may rather be an exact parallel to two *Corbys* in Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire whose specific has been tentatively explained to me as an Old English common noun \**corf* 'cutting, pass',<sup>38</sup> the gap might be the valley in which a stream now flows down to the sea. *Ravensby* ANG would seem to be identical with a lost *Ravenesby* in Leicestershire, which has been assumed to contain the Scandinavian personal name *Hrafn* rather than the bird-name 'raven'.<sup>39</sup> The specific of *Pogbie* ELO has been explained as an Old English personal name \**Poca* or the personal byname *Pohha* 'bag, pouch' which is also found as the specific of a name in *-þorp* in the East Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>40</sup> The lost *Schatteby* BWK probably contains the rare Scandinavian personal byname *Skati* or perhaps the fish-name 'skate' that lies behind the byname.<sup>41</sup> It is significant that not one of the *-býs* in the Central Lowlands has a Norman or Flemish personal name as its specific in spite of the fact that many men from Normandy and from Flanders were granted land here in the twelfth century and, as mentioned earlier, the personal names of at least forty-four of them were included in place-names in *-tūn*.

Of the twenty-five names in *-bý*, then, twenty-two have specifics which are certainly or potentially Scandinavian. There are only two or three names whose specifics seem likely to be English: *Newby*, *Pogbie*, and perhaps *Corbie*. It is perhaps worth noting that, unlike the Scandinavian personal names which are combined with *-tūn* in place-names in southern Scotland, those which are combined with *-bý* —*Baggi*, *Hrafn*, *Skati* and possibly *Veðr*—are not among those which occur in the earliest Scottish charters, and thus that they are unlikely to have been current in Lowland Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Judging from the context of the *-bý* names, there is no reason why all of them except *Newby* should not have been coined by Scandinavian-speaking settlers in the Viking period. If they were, in fact, coined by Scandinavians, some other evidence for the presence of Scandinavians in the Central Lowlands would be expected to be found. There is no surviving written record of a Scandinavian settlement in southern Scotland, but there is a fair amount of evidence for Viking activity there. Irish sources, for example, reveal that *Dumbarton* was besieged and taken in 870 and it may well have functioned for a time as a Viking headquarters.<sup>42</sup>

An entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 875 records that, while wintering on the Tyne, the Danish leader Halfdan would seem to have sailed from the Tyne to the Forth, crossed overland to *Dumbarton* and sailed from there to *Dublin*.<sup>43</sup> In about 877, Constantine I, King of Scots, fell in battle against the Norwegians at *Inverdufatha*, which has been identified with *Inverdovot* in north-east Fife. Early in the tenth century, the Danes raided *Dunkeld* and lowland Scotland, and the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* records that a Viking fleet under Ragnald was based on *Tynemouth* in 914.<sup>44</sup> Alfred P. Smyth has argued that Ragnald and his men returned across the Scottish lowlands to the Clyde after their victory at *Corbridge* that year, and he looks upon the fact that the men of *Ulster* had built their own fleet by 913 as a response to the concentration of Viking forces in the northern half of the Irish Sea. In 918 the Vikings sacked a place referred to as *Dunbline*, which has been identified with *Dunblane* in *Perthshire*. By 927, when King *Athelstan* made a covenant of peace with the King of Scots and the King of *Strathclyde* at *Eamont Bridge* in *Westmorland*, it would seem that the *Strathclyde* Britons had been able to reoccupy the areas of south-west Scotland and northern *Cumberland* that had been seized by the Vikings. To the east, on the other hand, the King of Scots would seem already to have taken over *Lothian*, perhaps even as far south as the *Tweed*, before the end of the ninth century, by which time *St Cuthbert's* possessions north of the *Tweed* had been lost.<sup>45</sup> There would, in fact, have been little time for Scandinavian place-names to have established themselves in use in the Central Lowlands in this period of raids and counter-attacks, although the Scandinavians would seem to have held out longer in the west than in the east.

The archaeological evidence for a Viking presence in the Central Lowlands is sparse. Only two Viking graves are known;<sup>46</sup> but, in the light of the rare occurrence of Viking graves in areas where Scandinavian place-names lie thick on the ground, the absence of Viking graves may merely reflect the fact that the Vikings in Britain were very quickly converted to Christianity and consequently buried without grave-goods.

Of greater significance is the distribution pattern of the hogback tombstones. This type of monument, which is a distinctive form of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, has been studied in great detail by J.T. Lang.<sup>47</sup> He has shown that it originated in northern Yorkshire, probably in the neighbourhood of *Brompton*, around the second quarter of the tenth century, that its popularity spread along the *Tees* valley *viâ* the *Stainmoor* pass to the *Eden* valley and from

there to the Carlisle plain, and that the fashion for such tombstones would seem to have died out by the end of that century. There are very few hogbacks further south in the Danelaw or in English Northumbria. The hogbacks in Scotland can be shown to be later than, and derivative from, the English ones. The earliest ones are probably to be dated to the late tenth century, the rest to the eleventh. The distribution pattern in Scotland shows that they are found in the Central Lowlands, in roughly the areas where the place-names in *-bý* also occur. A stylistic and iconographic analysis of the corpus of hogbacks has revealed very clear affinities between the Cumbrian monuments and those in Scotland. Alfred Smyth has argued that this points to contacts between Cumbria and the Central Lowlands by sea and suggested that the Forth and Clyde may also have formed an important communication route between York and Dublin, since it would have offered the safest possible journey for goods being shipped on a large scale between the two Viking cities.<sup>48</sup>

It may not be without relevance for the history of the Scandinavian place-names in the Central Lowlands of Scotland that many of the parallel formations to the Scottish *-býs* are found in the areas of northern Yorkshire where hogbacks abound. In the Vale of York and Craven stand settlements bearing the names *Bagby*, *Busby*, *Lazenby*, *Sowerby* and *Smeaton*, as well as *Danby* and *Eppleby*, names which have parallels in south-western Scotland.

There are, then, certain indications that there may be a connection between the Scandinavian names in *-bý* in the Central Lowlands of Scotland and those in northern Yorkshire—perhaps in part *viâ* Cumbria, where parallel name-formations have also been noted, namely, *Corby*, *Crosby*, *Lazonby* and *Sowerby*. It must be admitted that twenty-five names in *-bý* are a very shaky base on which to construct a theory about the presence of Scandinavians in the Central Lowlands. Very tentatively, however, I would suggest that many of the names in *-bý* may date from the late ninth and early tenth centuries and reflect the presence in the Central Lowlands of Vikings from the Danelaw. It is inherently likely that they had settled there as a result of the exploitation of the Forth-Clyde route for transport between York and Dublin. There are concentrations in Lothian, in north Ayrshire and in Renfrewshire, and around the Tay estuary (Map 2). Geoffrey Barrow has drawn my attention to the fact that what these concentrations have in common is their proximity to major estuaries. He suggests that their inhabitants may have played a defensive rôle as coast-watchers and been rewarded by land or revenues. This seems very likely to be

the true explanation of the names, but one problem that remains to be solved is whether these coast-watchers were planted by Vikings in the period of lively communication between York and Dublin or by the King of Scots in the twelfth century. It seems to me that there is a significant difference between the *-bý* names in the Central Lowlands, which have very few personal names as specifics, and those in Dumfriesshire, where personal names account for 50% of the specifics and 75% of these personal names are of post-Conquest types. The *-bý* names in the Central Lowlands are similar to those of the Danelaw and I should like to believe that they were coined in the late ninth or early tenth centuries. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the numerous parallels with Danelaw names and the repetitive occurrence of names such as *Busby* and *Sorbie* might suggest that the names in Scotland were formed by analogy with ones in England by settlers who had come there from the Danelaw, perhaps at the end of the tenth century, bringing with them the fashion for hogback tombstones. A third possibility is that the *-bý* names in the Central Lowlands were coined by men who were brought to Scotland from the Danelaw by the Scottish kings and other great landowners in the twelfth century. It is mainly because there is little certain evidence for such analogical naming that I am inclined to look upon the *-bý* names in the Central Lowlands as indication of settlement in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was personal names compounded with habitative generics that were in fashion among those who had cause to create new names for the settlements with which they had been enfeoffed. It would perhaps, however, be most reasonable to suggest that the *-bý* names in the Central Lowlands were not all coined at the same period. Detailed study of the topographical situation and administrative status of the individual localities bearing the names might make it possible to determine the date of their coining more closely.

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#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND NOTES

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Abbreviations of county names are those employed by W.F.H. Nicolaisen in his *Scottish Place-Names*, 2nd edn (London, 1978) [hereafter *SPN*].

- <sup>1</sup> Barbara E. Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland* (Leicester, 1987), fig.25.
- <sup>2</sup> Ian A. Fraser, 'The Scottish Border—an onomastic assessment', *ante* VI (1982), 23-30.
- <sup>3</sup> Ordnance Survey, *Britain before the Norman Conquest* (Southampton, 1973), 61.
- <sup>4</sup> W.J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), 462.
- <sup>5</sup> J.M. Thomson *et alii*, eds, *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1882-1914) [*RMS*].
- <sup>6</sup> W.F.H. Nicolaisen, 'Scandinavian personal names in the place-names of South-East Scotland', *Scottish Studies* XI (1967), 223-36, and *idem*, *Scottish Place-Names*, 101-20.
- <sup>7</sup> Cf. G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Anglo-Saxons and Vikings in the British Isles: the place-name evidence'. *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* XXXII (Spoleto, 1986), 617-39, at 636.
- <sup>8</sup> Personal communication 3 May 1986.
- <sup>9</sup> As n.7.
- <sup>10</sup> E.g., by E. Ekwall, 'The Scandinavian element', in A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, eds, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, EPNS I,i (Cambridge, 1924), 91, and most recently by B.K. Roberts, 'Late -by names in the Eden Valley, Cumberland', in the present volume, xx-xx.
- <sup>11</sup> G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* [hereafter *SSNNW*], *Navnestudier* XXV (Copenhagen, 1985), 22-4.
- <sup>12</sup> Cf. G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), 40, 47.
- <sup>13</sup> J. Insley, 'Toponymy and settlement in the North-West', *ante* X (1986), 169-76.
- <sup>14</sup> *SSNNW*, Maps 9b, 16.
- <sup>15</sup> W.F.H. Nicolaisen, 'Old Norse þveit, etc.', *Scottish Studies* VIII (1964), 96-103.
- <sup>16</sup> C.D. Morris, 'Viking and native in northern England: a case-study', *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress* (Odense, 1981), 223-5; T. Arnold, ed., *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, I, *Rolls Series* LXXV (London, 1982), 208-9.
- <sup>17</sup> *PN Yorks.NR*, 295.
- <sup>18</sup> Fraser, 'Border', 28.
- <sup>19</sup> G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* [hereafter *SPLY*], *Navnestudier* VII (Copenhagen, 1968), 192-3. For *Maccus*, see also A.H. Smith, 'Some aspects of Irish influence on Yorkshire', *Revue celtique* XLIV (1927), 34-58, esp. 44-5, O. von Feilitzen and C. Blunt, 'Personal names on the coinage of Edgar', in P. Clemoes and K.W. Hughes, eds, *England before the*

- Conquest* (Cambridge, 1971), 183-214, at 200, and M. Förster, 'Die Freilassungs-urkunden des Bodmin-Evangeliars', in N. Bøgholm *et alii*, eds, *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen on his Seventieth Birthday* (Copenhagen, 1930), 77-99, at 91 (for the dating of the Bodmin document, see N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* [Oxford, 1957], 159). For *Macus* and *Machus* in Domesday Book, see O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), 323. For *Maxey*, see *PN Nthants*, 237.
- <sup>20</sup> A.C. Lawrie, ed., *Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153* (Glasgow, 1905) [*ESC*], *passim*; Fraser, 'Border'; G.F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946), 287, 396.
  - <sup>21</sup> *ESC*, 327.
  - <sup>22</sup> G. Fellows Jensen, *SPLY*, *passim*.
  - <sup>23</sup> G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Of Danes—and thanes—and Domesday Book', in I. Wood and N. Lund, eds, *People and Places in Northern Europe 500-1600* (Woodbridge, 1991), 107-21.
  - <sup>24</sup> *ESC*, no.XV; cf. A.A.M. Duncan, 'The earliest Scottish charters', *SHR* XXXVII (1958), 103-35, at 118.
  - <sup>25</sup> Cf. G. Fellows Jensen, *SPLY*, 72, and 'Danes'.
  - <sup>26</sup> Cf. G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973), 321, and *Anglo-Norman Era*, 48.
  - <sup>27</sup> W. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 228-30.
  - <sup>28</sup> H.P.R. Finberg, 'Charltons and Carltons', *Lucerna* (London, 1964), 144-60.
  - <sup>29</sup> Nicolaisen, 'Scandinavian personal names', 226-7.
  - <sup>30</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (London, 1981), 10.
  - <sup>31</sup> Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, 53-4.
  - <sup>32</sup> *SPN*, *addenda*; *PN Yorks.WR*, I, 168-9.
  - <sup>33</sup> *RMS* IX, no.937.
  - <sup>34</sup> G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, *Navnestudier* XI (Copenhagen, 1972), 23.
  - <sup>35</sup> *PN Yorks.WR*, V, 38.
  - <sup>36</sup> *PN Yorks.NR*, 160, 210-11, and 281, and Nicolaisen, 'Scandinavian personal names', 235 n.11. *Leaston* appears as *Laysynbi* in J. Stevenson, ed., *Chronicon de Lanercost 1201-1346* (Edinburgh, 1839), 155; a reference for which I am indebted to Geoffrey Barrow.
  - <sup>37</sup> *PN Cumb.*, 161.
  - <sup>38</sup> G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement in the East Midlands* [hereafter *SSEM*], *Navnestudier* XVI (Copenhagen, 1978), 42.
  - <sup>39</sup> *SSEM*, 82.
  - <sup>40</sup> Nicolaisen, 'Scandinavian personal names', 226.
  - <sup>41</sup> *SPN*, 114.
  - <sup>42</sup> A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of a Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 90.

43 A.P. Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80-1000* (London, 1984), 194-5; M.O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh and London, 1980), 283; see also J.M. Bately, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS A* (Woodbridge, 1986), 49, s.a [875].

44 A.P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1975-79), I, 63.

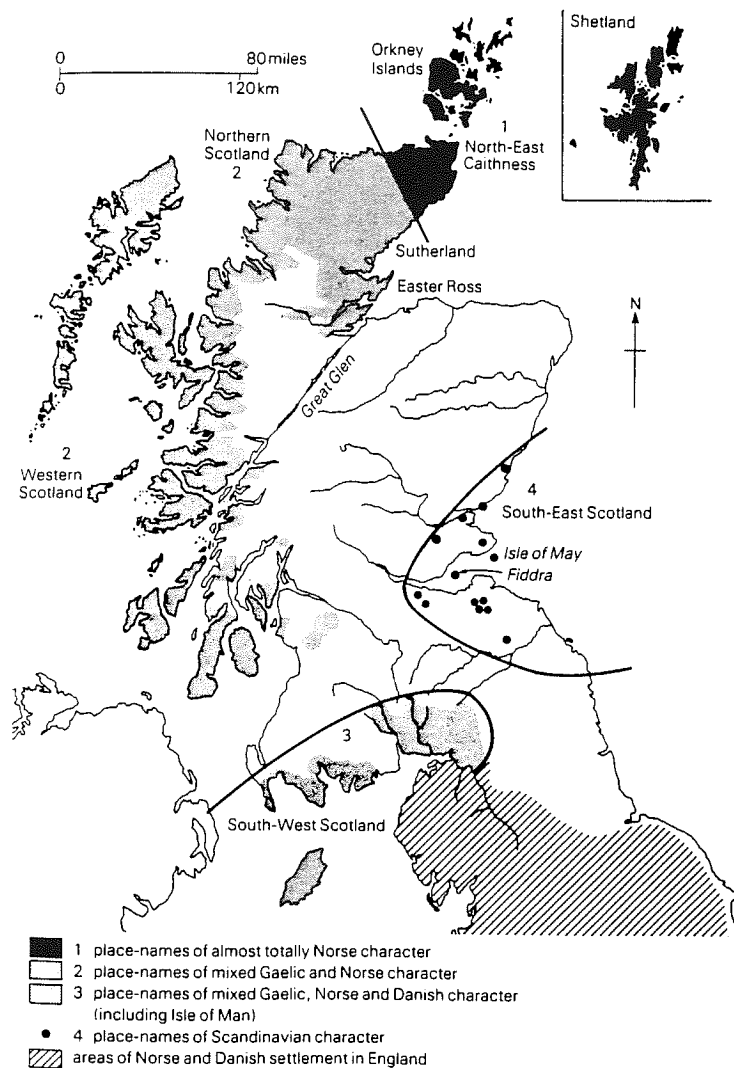
45 Duncan, *Scotland*, 94.

46 P. McNeill and R. Nicholson, *An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600* (St Andrews, 1965), 16 and Map 13.

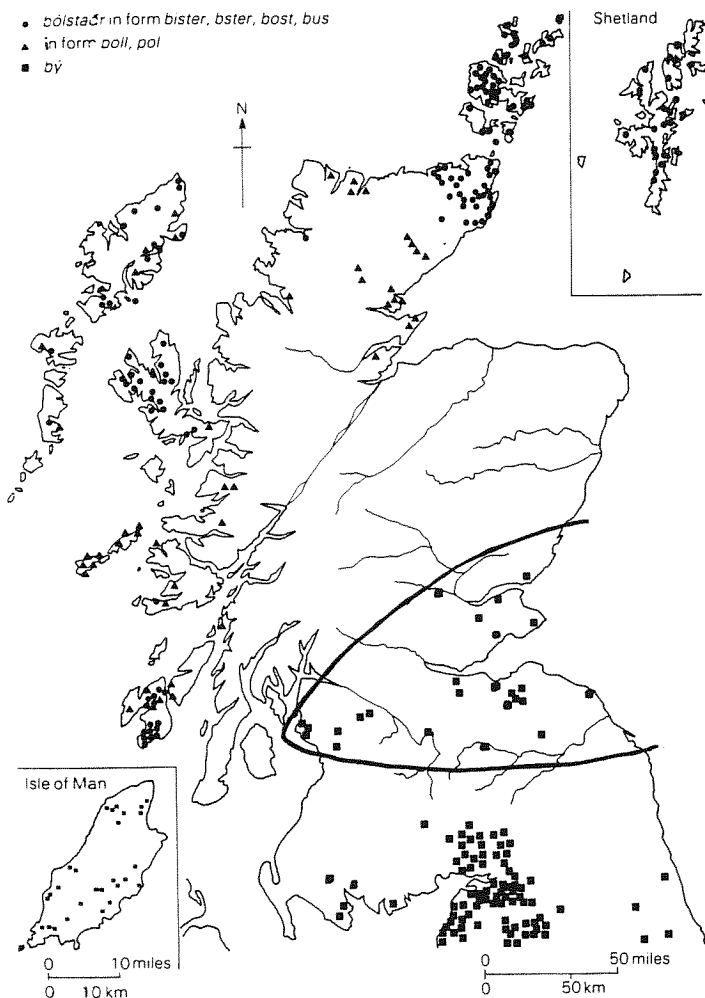
47 J.T. Lang, 'Hogback monuments in Scotland', *PSAS CV* (1972-74), 206-35 and *idem*, 'The hogback: a Viking colonial movement', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History III* (1984), 85-176.

48 Smyth, *York and Dublin*, II, 278-82.

**Map 1.** Scandinavian place-names in Scotland; reproduced from Barbara E. Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland* (Leicester, 1987), 93, with the permission of the author and the publishers.



**Map 2.** The distribution of place-names in *-bólstaðr* and *-bý* in Scotland, northern England, and the Isle of Man; adapted from Barbara E. Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland* (Leicester, 1987), 99, with the permission of the author and of the publishers.



## Shetland Place-Names

Doreen J. Waugh

THE place-names of Shetland are of particular interest to me because I spent my childhood in the islands and I return at regular intervals as a visitor and an interested observer of the profound Scandinavian influence on the Shetland way of life. In fact, people in Shetland now regard themselves as neither Scandinavians nor Scots, but as Shetlanders. The echoes of Scandinavian forebears are all around, however, particularly in dialect and in place-names, and there is a strong feeling of cultural affinity with Norway—an affinity which certainly exists but is occasionally fuelled by feelings of alienation from government in London which seems remote both in terms of physical distance and of sympathy towards the needs of an outlying island community.

Sullom Voe and its oil installation have changed governmental perception of the islands, which are, once again, at the centre of vitally significant North Sea activities, as they were in Viking times. It seems appropriate that the name *Sullom* should be at the forefront of the oil bonanza, just as it must have been at the forefront of the Norse settlement of the Shetland Islands. ON *heimr* is a general term for 'dwelling place'; and, although names containing the element are frequent in Norway, they are mainly pre-Viking and only a few examples crop up in Shetland. Jakob Jakobsen cites ten, some more convincing than others.<sup>1</sup> Among those which have parallels in Norway are *Sullom* < *sólheimr* 'sunny' and *Sodom* < *suðheimr* 'south'. Sodom is where the eminent Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid lived while in semi-exile on the island of Whalsay; the Biblical connotations of the name would surely not have been lost upon him.

The Whalsay connection, in fact, leads me on to the man whose life's work forms the basis of this paper. John Stewart, whose book *Shetland Place-Names* was published posthumously in 1987,<sup>2</sup> was born in Whalsay on 18 July 1903. He worked as a teacher in Aberdeen, but had a variety of linguistic and historical interests which he pursued throughout his life. He had a deep interest in the Shetland dialect and its Scandinavian origins, but his major enthusiasm, commemorated in this book, was his study of the local place-names. As is pointed out in the introduction to the book:

<sup>1</sup>He had studied with relish the remarkable work of Jakobsen and Olsen and the 18 volumes of *Norske Gaardnavne* and in 1950 he conceived a massive