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Babbet and Bridin Pudding or Polyglot Fife in the Middle Ages.

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I hope it will not come as too great a disappointment that, despite the title, this paper will not include a few traditional Scottish recipes. My subject is rather the ways in which a polyglot society can affect the onomastic record, as well as how much the onomastic record can tell us about that same society. The society in question is that of Fife in east central Scotland, and the period is from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries. (See Map 1, p. 117, for many of the places mentioned in the text.)

Of all the countries in the British Isles Scotland in the past twelve hundred years has had by far the most complex linguistic history, and this is most clearly reflected in its place- and personal names. From a language-historical point of view Scotland can be divided up into at least six distinct areas, each with its own particular sequence of languages. These areas range from Orkney and Shetland in the far north, where the sequence is Pictish, Norse, Norn, and now Scots and Scots English, to Lothian and the eastern Borders with England, where the sequence is Cumbric (a Brittonic language), Northumbrian, some Gaelic, Older Scots, and now Scots and Scots English. Each of these sequences involves overlap at each linguistic change-over, with each overlap different, depending on a host of variable political and cultural factors. And because each change-over is different, so each has a different effect on the onomastic record. What makes the onomastic record so important is that in many cases it is our main, sometimes our sole, source of information about these linguistic interfaces.

Fife lies at the southern end of a large stretch of eastern Scotland which runs from the Firth of Forth northwards up the eastern Lowland zone as far as Nairn. The language pedigree of this whole area is Pictish, Middle Gaelic, Older Scots (a development from Northumbrian strongly influenced by Scandinavian), Scots, and now Scots and Scots English; while, for good measure, in the earlier

medieval period, Norman French and Norse were also prevalent enough to have left some onomastic trace.

The particular linguistic interaction I want to focus on in this article is that between Middle Gaelic and Older Scots, which began in Fife around 1150 with the introduction of Older Scots into a predominantly Gaelic-speaking milieu, and lasted till the disappearance of Gaelic from Fife probably in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Fife comprises an area of 1,330 square kilometres, and in the later middle ages consisted of 61 parishes. It is a peninsula, with the Firth of Forth on the south, the Firth of Tay on the north, and the North Sea on the east, while to the west a range of hills, the Ochils, rises steeply to about 500 metres. But Fife is anything but insular in its political and cultural significance. Its importance was a result of its central position in the relatively rich, fertile bread-basket of Scotland, which was the whole south east corner from Angus to Berwickshire. And although it is geographically remarkably varied, with a peculiar range of wild hills rearing up near its centre to over 500 metres, the Lomonds, and with a very boggy centre in the so-called Howe ('hollow') of Fife, it has always had more than its fair share of fertile, well-drained lands, as well as a coast-line rich in fish.

The chief royal residence at the time of King Malcolm III (Canmore) and Queen Margaret in the late eleventh century was Dunfermline, in west Fife. This was also the site of the first Scottish experiment with the Roman monastic orders of the south, when Queen Margaret founded a Benedictine monastery here with monks from Canterbury. This church succeeded Iona as the royal place of burial, and remained as such until the fourteenth century, even although Dunfermline's political significance was already waning in the twelfth.

Of far greater long-term importance for Fife was the development of St Andrews in east Fife as the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland, where from at least the eleventh century the chief bishop, and from the fifteenth century the archbishop, of Scotland had his seat.

By the 1230s there were in Fife seven important monasteries: Balmerino (Cistercian), Dunfermline (Benedictine), Inchcolm (Augustinian), Lindores (Tironensian), Isle of May, later at Pittenweem (Cluniac, Benedictine, then Augustinian) and St Andrews (Augustinian). Most of these monastic house have left behind a large

number of charters: the cartularies of Dunfermline and St Andrews, for example, run to about 400 printed pages each.¹ These cartularies are onomastic treasure troves of the highest value, and the lids have scarcely been lifted.²

The Political Situation

The Scottish kingdom of Alba was established in eastern Scotland in the ninth century, with Gaelic, a q-Celtic language, displacing Pictish, a p-Celtic language, as a Scottish ruling élite displaced a Pictish one. From this time onwards we have a relatively stable, expanding Scottish kingdom, whose heartland was centred in and around Fife. This growth and stability lasted for four centuries, ending in 1296 in the convulsions of the English invasion and the subsequent Wars of Independence, which inaugurated almost three centuries of intermittent hostilities between the two nations.

However, this long era of growth and stability saw far-reaching changes to the political structures of the kingdom, chief amongst them feudalisation. Unlike England, which was feudalised to a large degree at sword-point, the feudalisation of Scotland was by invitation only, with the Scottish kings of the Canmore dynasty in the twelfth century not only bringing in Normans, Anglo-Normans, Bretons and Flemings to reorganise land-holding structures along feudal lines, but also redefining their own relationship with their native aristocracy in feudal terms.

Change of language is usually associated with political crisis and upheaval, but during this period in Scottish history, major linguistic

¹ They have all been published, though not all have been edited. I have not included the Cistercian abbey of Culross, since Culross lay in a detached part of Perthshire until the late nineteenth century, when it was annexed to Fife. However, Culross held many lands in Fife. A summary of its charters has been published by William Douglas, 'Culross Abbey and its Charters, with Notes on a Fifteenth-Century Transcript', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 60, (1925-26), 67-94. I have also omitted the originally *Céli Dé* foundation on St Serf's Island in Loch Leven (although part of Fife in the Middle Ages), since it was taken over by St Andrews Priory in the twelfth century, and all its charters are included in *Liber Cartarum Prioratus S. Andree in Scotia*, Bannatyne Club (1841) [henceforth *St Andrews Liber*].

² The only extensive treatment of Fife place-names to date is my 'Settlement-Names in Fife', unpublished PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1995.

changes came about slowly and peaceably—in Fife and the south-east at least.

Fife at the end of the eleventh century lay at the heart of a Gaelic-speaking kingdom with a Gaelic-speaking king, a pre-feudal land-holding system and a Gaelic-speaking church dominated by the *Céli Dé*: a hundred years later, without coups or invasions, Fife was part of a kingdom whose king and many of his most powerful magnates spoke Norman French, whose church was fully integrated into the continental system underpinned by clerics speaking Norman French; while Fife's people, although still predominantly Gaelic-speaking, were having to learn at least the rudiments of a new language from Lothian and northern England. This language, known as Older Scots (as defined by the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (1985), p. xiii), was a mixture of the Northumbrian of Lothian and the heavily Scandinavianised English of northern England. It was to develop into the chief language of the Scottish Lowlands, to be known as Scots or Lallans, or, in the north-east, simply the Doric, a language still alive and moderately well today.

Nobody has ever fully explained just why Scots displaced Gaelic so effectively in the Scottish Lowlands in the medieval period. However, there were certain key factors at work which contributed to this complex change. These can be divided up into three distinct categories: trade, land-holding and the church.

To take trade first: during the twelfth century the Scottish kings founded several so-called royal burghs as trading centres with trading monopolies covering large areas. The chief ones in Fife were Crail, Inverkeithing and Kinghorn. The indigenous Gaelic-speaking population appears to have had few urban and commercial traditions, and the Scottish kings looked to merchants from the south, chiefly from northern England, to settle and run these new burghs. This is reflected in the vocabulary of the burgh, which is overwhelmingly Older Scots. There is the word *burgh* itself, found in Newburgh in north Fife, the 'new burgh' founded in favour of the nearby monastery of Lindores in the thirteenth century; and words like *toft* and *croft*, *gait* ('road'), *raw* ('row') and *wynd* ('alley'), many of which were appearing north of the Forth within a burgh-context by the mid-twelfth century.

This of course meant that Older Scots became the language of trade, which was an enormous boost to its power and status.

The second major factor in the change from Gaelic to Scots in Fife was land-holding, or more specifically feudalisation. This was brought about at the highest level by the king infesting Norman French-speaking knights in Scottish lands, usually by arranging marriages with native Celtic heiresses. These knights were often the younger sons of magnates with important holdings in England. From these English bases they brought with them retinues, including estate managers, and many of these lesser mortals spoke various forms of Middle English as their first language. These in turn were infested with estates by their masters. It is ironic that this lower feudal level has left its stamp on the place-name record far more than have the French-speaking overlords. The onomastic evidence in fact forces us to conclude that the language of feudalisation in Scotland 'on the ground' was Scots and not French, in contrast to the situation in England, where French is so much more evident in the onomastic record from this period.

The Older Scots word for a feudal holding or estate was *tūn*. We find this generic around the year 1200 attached not only to Anglo-Scandinavian and English personal names such as *Ottar*, *Winemar* and *Kol*, but also to Norman names such as *Thomas* and *Randolph*.

If we look at Map 2 (p. 118), which shows settlement names in *tūn* + Germanic and Norman personal and occupational names around 1200, we see how these names rarely stray far from the burghs or centres of feudal power: Thomastoun by Cupar is no exception, as Cupar was the centre of the newly created sheriffdom of Fife.³

We have striking confirmation of this uneven spread of Older Scots, seen in two boundary charters from the middle of the thirteenth century. One is from near Inverkeithing in west Fife, while the other is from the hilly and relatively remote parish of Kilmany in north-east Fife.

³ The eponymous Thomas is no doubt the Thomas de *Cupre* who in c. 1165 × 1172 witnessed *St Andrews Liber*, p. 243. His New Testament name shows him to be most likely of Norman or Anglo-Norman origin, and he is probably linked to the castle of Cupar, the administrative centre of the new sheriffdom of Fife. The name Thomastoun does not appear on later Ordnance Survey maps such as the 1" 7th Series or the O.S. Pathfinder. However, it has recently been revived in its older form 'Thomastoun' as the name of a new housing estate built on its lands (grid reference NO 383148).

Each charter contains seven names. Those underlined are Scots; the rest are Celtic.

Inchcolm Charters, no. xix (1240):⁴ *Hollefurd*, *Glasgely*, *lie Grenhill*, *Blakhill*, *Rereford*, *Hakenbeuid*, *Coleistoun* (situated in Aberdour and Dalgety parishes, south-west Fife).

Balmerino Liber, no. 13 (c. 1260):⁵ *Inchelyn*, *Wetflat*, *Langside*, *Cragnegren*, *Munbuche*, *Glac*, *Kethyn* (situated in Kilmany parish, north-east Fife).

As they refer mainly to minor features, these place-names reflect very well the grass-roots linguistic situation in their respective areas. The first list, from near the royal burgh of Inverkeithing, has only one Celtic name, *Glasgely*, representing Middle Gaelic **glais geallaidh* 'shining burn'. The second list, on the other hand, has only two names which are not Celtic: *Wetflat* and *Langside*.

Scots-speakers were receiving feudal holdings in other parts of Fife at this time. For example we find men called Derling of Airditt (in Leuchars parish), Gamell of Findatie (in Portmoak parish, formerly in Fife, now in Kinross-shire), and Ardulf of Nydie (in St Andrews and St Leonards parish), all men with thoroughly Germanic names holding places with thoroughly Celtic names. So, for the place-name to become Scots in this first period, it clearly needed not just a Scots-speaking laird, but also the proximity of a Scots-speaking community.

We have just such a community in Crail, a royal burgh, also the centre of a sheriffdom originally independent of Fife. In the late twelfth century we know that several Northumbrians held land there, such as Ralph of Morpeth and Ralph of Allerwash. Also in the parish of Crail there is a farm called Wormistone, which contains the Middle English name *Winemar*. This *Winemar* is on record as having been given the land around 1180.⁶

Crailshire was also settled by royal servants and minor officials in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One such has left behind the place-name Pinkerton, from the Norman French *pincerne*, 'butler'.

⁴ *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, edited by D. A. Easson and A. Macdonald, Scottish History Society (1938).

⁵ *Liber S. Marie de Balmorinach*, Abbotsford Club (1841).

⁶ *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, II, *The Acts of William I, King of Scots 1165-1214*, edited by G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1971), no. 196.

Babbet

However, on the edge of Crailshire to the north-west, where Scots influence was obviously weakening, we find one of the most intriguing names from this period of language change. This is Babbet in Kingsbarns parish, formerly part of Crail parish.

It first appears as *Ballebotl'* and *Ballebotlia* in 1205.⁷ It is a Middle-Gaelic-OScots hybrid, which contains Gaelic *baile*, meaning 'farm, (dependent) estate', and OScots **bothel*, from OEngl *bōðl*, *bōtl*, *bold*, which can be defined as a 'superior dwelling-place or mansion'.⁸

The generic *baile* is extremely common in place-names in eastern Scotland, with more than a hundred examples in Fife alone. When the feudal system was introduced it appears to have been used as the native word for the basic feudal unit of the vill.

Bothel on the other hand is very rare in place-names north of the Forth, and this is its only occurrence in Fife. However, it does occur in Lothian on the opposite side of the Forth. There is Bolton near Haddington (E. Lothian), Bowden by Melrose (Roxburghs.), formerly *Botheldene*, and Eildbottle by Dirleton (E. Lothian). In fact, if Babbet had been coined in a completely Scots-speaking environment, 'Bolton' is what it would have become.

Place-name hybrids such as Babbet are also very rare. There are various ways of accounting for it. It may have been formed at a moment of complete equilibrium between the old language and the new, possibly with Scots-speakers using local generics such as *baile* to form their very earliest settlement names, or translating into Scots part of an existing Gaelic name in a completely bilingual environment.

⁷ *Regesta*, II, no.469 (original charter); also *Balbot* 1413 (*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, edited by J. M. Thomson and others (Edinburgh, 1882-1914), I, no.944), *Balboit* 1464 (*ibid.*, II, no.779), *Banbot* or *Baubot* 1517, *Babot* 1517, *Bawbot* 1518, *Balbot* 1521 (*The Sheriff Court Book of Fife, 1515-22*, edited by W. C. Dickinson, Scottish History Society (1928), pp. 397, 67, 94 and 227).

⁸ See A. H. Smith, *The Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, English Place-Name Society, vols. 25-26 (Cambridge, 1956), I, 43-45. The Old English version of Bede translates *villa regia* or 'royal estate' as *kyninges bold*. In 1205 'every fifth rig (*quintam reiam*) of the whole half of *Ballebotlia*' was granted to John Waleram. These had formerly been held by William Carpenter, witness of several charters of Malcolm IV with no east Fife connections, and probably in the capacity of a royal sergeand (see *Regesta*, II, no.469, note p. 434).

Alternatively, we may be dealing with an Older Scots loan-word into Middle Gaelic. Any final pronouncement must await a full examination of all Scottish place-names containing this element.

Incidentally, on modern maps the name 'Babbet' is found only in 'Babbet Ness', a headland on the coast. The estate of Babbet has completely disappeared. However, aerial photography has recently picked up a large settlement near-by, which is almost certainly the remains of *Ballebotlia*.

The Church

So far the royal burghs and the feudal system have both been mentioned as important factors in the spread of Scots in Fife. This ascendancy over Gaelic was further strengthened by a third factor, the church.

The evidence from the church as the great keeper of records is particularly rich, and suggests a somewhat different pattern from the one observed around the burghs.

I have already alluded to the two most important church centres in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Fife: these were the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline, and the bishopric of St Andrews, with its Augustinian priory and its church of the *Céli Dé* (Culdees).

The first of the Anglo-Norman bishops of St Andrews was Bishop Robert, 1127-59. He originated from the Augustinian priory of Nostell in Yorkshire. Thoroughly Anglo-Norman in his outlook, he was probably French-speaking, but his household consisted of men with Anglo-Scandinavian names such as *Gamell* and *Thorald* and English ones such as *Athelwulf* (*Ajulf*), as well as Norman names like *Odo*, *Herbert*, and *Ralph*. There is significantly not a single Celtic name amongst them.

However, Bishop Robert's impact on the language of the St Andrews area was greatest through his foundation beside his cathedral of a burgh which soon developed into an international trading post. In a royal charter of 1164 mention is made of the Scots, the French, the Flemish and the English (*Anglici*) within the burgh.⁹ These groups are

⁹ In that order. The charter itself (*Regesta Regum Scottorum*, I, *The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots 1153-65*, edited by G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960), no. 239) is addressed to the French, the English, the Scots and the Gallovidians, in that order. The first provost of the new burgh of St Andrews

defined wholly by their language, with 'French' applying mainly to Norman-French speakers from both England and the Continent, while 'English' applies not only to those from the realm of England, speaking various forms of Middle English, but also to Scots-speakers from Lothian, part of Scotland since the tenth century.

In the early charters relating to the burgh of St Andrews, Anglo-Scandinavian, English and Flemish names predominate, and so we can assume that the *lingua franca* of the place was a Germanic language, probably Older Scots with a dash of Flemish: the difference between the two cannot have been great.

However, there was a counterbalance to all these new linguistic and cultural currents flowing through St Andrews at this time: this was the Culdee church of St Mary's right beside the new cathedral. The *Céli Dé*, 'clients of God', were the backbone of the older Scottish church, and were very much the representatives of older traditions, both ecclesiastical and cultural. A striking onomastic example of this from the early thirteenth century is furnished by an agreement made between some members of the *Céli Dé* and the Augustinian priory of St Andrews regarding an exchange of land. While the canons of the priory and the bishop's officials all have names like *Thomas*, *William*, *Simon*, *Hugh* and *Ranulf*, on the *Céli Dé* side we have names like *Gellin* son of *Gillecris Macussegerri*, *Gillemoire* and *Gillepatrick*.¹⁰

This *Céli Dé* foundation later became co-opted by the bishops as a counterweight to the Augustinian priory, but its influence as a consciously Gaelic establishment at the heart of the main Scottish cathedral in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries should not be underestimated.¹¹

The Gaelic response to feudalisation in Fife was not simply to do a disappearing act. As already mentioned above (p. 105), Gaelic seems to have taken the feudal term 'vill', Latin *villa*, and rendered it *baile*.¹²

was a Fleming, Mainard: see *Early Scottish Charters Prior to 1153*, edited by A. C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905), no. clxix.

¹⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 329.

¹¹ See G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Cathedral Chapter of St Andrews and the Culdees in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 3 (1952), 23-39.

¹² Friarton in Perth, formerly *Balglinen*, appears firstly as *Baleglin*, when it was gifted to Dunfermline Abbey by Malcolm IV in 1157 x 1160 (*Regesta*, I, no. 157). A few years later, however, in the confirmation charter of

Before this, the term *baile* may well have referred to a component part, possibly the chief homestead, of a Scoto-Pictish dependent estate or *pett*, which is now that most famous of Scottish place-name generics *Pit-*, and which became obsolete during this period of feudalisation.

In a British Museum manuscript (Harleian 4628, fols. 240ff.) there exists a poor eighteenth-century copy of a terrier or list of lands belonging to all three components of the church at St Andrews: the bishop, the priory and the *Céli Dé*. It dates from around 1220 and mentions about 80 different lands, every one of them bearing a Celtic name. Eighteen of these names begin with *Bal-*, nine begin with *Pit-*. It is thus affectionately known as the Pit-Bal Terrier. Of these eighteen *Bal*-names half of them occur only in this source. This strongly suggests that *baile* was being used almost as an appellative (common noun) to refer to the new feudal holdings which were being created on church land around this time.

There is one name that is particularly relevant here. There is a little village four kilometres (two and a half miles) west of St Andrews called Strathkinness, meaning 'broad valley of the Kinness Burn'. In the Terrier, part of it is referred to as 'Strathkinness Martin', that is that part of Strathkinness held by a man called Martin; while in a charter of 1183 this is referred to simply as *Balemartin*. We can be fairly certain from other sources that this Martin lived around the middle of the twelfth century. This is important not only because it is one of only two instances in Fife where we may be able to identify an

Dunfermline churches by Bishop Richard of St Andrews, it appears as 'ecclesiam de villa *Glinen*' (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club (1842) [henceforth *Dunfermline Registrum*], no. 94), and in 1202 × 1206 as 'ecclesiam de villa de *Glinen*' (*ibid.*, no.110). Meanwhile, in two papal confirmation charters (of Alexander III, 1163, and Lucius III, 1184) it appears as 'ecclesiam de *Balglinen*' and '[capella de] *Balmacglenin*' respectively (*ibid.*, nos. 152 and 156). We must assume that by this time *baile* had acquired as part of its lexical meaning amongst Gaelic-speakers all the administrative overtones of the 'vill' of feudal-speak. This is just what happened to it in Ireland, although at a slightly later date: see L. Price, 'A Note on the Use of the Word *Baile* in Place-names' [in Ireland], *Celtica*, 6 (1963), 119-26, at p. 123. It was with this meaning that *baile* was replaced by *tún* as a place-name generic, a process that began in Fife not many years after the scribe of Bishop Richard's charter, if not a native speaker, then with at least some knowledge of Gaelic, had coined *villa Glinen* for the native *Balglinen*.

eponym of a *Bal*-name; but also because it shows that, despite strong Germanic influence in the St Andrews area from the early twelfth century onwards, *baile* was still being used to coin new names around 1160. (For more details see Appendix I.) As we have seen above, Babbet, with its Scots specific element, and presumably coined about the same time, tells a similar story.

But our interest in Martin does not end there. In Appendix I, it is seen that Martin had a son called *Gilmur* or *Gillemoire*. This is a common Gaelic name, meaning 'lad, servant or devotee of Mary', and gives us the Scottish surname Gilmore.¹³

On the lands where Adam mac Gillemoire meic Martainn was tenant of the *Céli Dé* there is a farm called Gilmerton. It is not overbold to assume that this farm is called after this Gillemoire.¹⁴

So here within one generation is a major shift in the naming process towards the end of the twelfth century. A man called Martin, who bore a name which could be from either a Gaelic or an Anglo-Norman tradition, and who was born in the second quarter of the twelfth century, worked an estate and gave his name to a place with the Gaelic generic *baile*; while his son, with the unequivocally

¹³ *Gille* could be attached to any saint's name, giving personal names such as *Gillebrigte*, *Gillepatrick* and *Gillemichael*. Particularly relevant to this discussion of linguistic and cultural interface in Fife is the name *Gillequdberit*, for Gillecuthbert, dean of Fife, who witnesses a charter of Earl Duncan II of Fife regarding land in east Fife and Lothian in c. 1170 (*Carte Monialium de Northberwic*, Bannatyne Club, 1847, no. 4). Not only is the Gaelic *gille* attached to the name of that very Northumbrian saint Cuthbert; but also the form *-qudberit* appears to show thorough Gaelicisation, with *q* perhaps representing lenited *c*. The name *Gillegrewer* (for which see Appendix II, nos. 327, 329 and especially 330 note 1) may even be a very rare example of *Gille*-prefixed to a Gaelic occupational name, viz. *grùdair* 'brewer'. Alan Gillegrewer lived in west Fife around the mid-thirteenth century, and if this interpretation of '-grewer' is correct, then it shows the secularisation of the original concept behind *Gille* + noun-names. In Ireland *Gille*-names always contain either a saint's name or an adjective: see M. A. O'Brien 'Old Irish Personal Names', *Celtica*, 10 (1973), 211-36 (at pp. 229-30), and B. Ó Cuív 'Aspects of Irish Personal Names', *Celtica*, 18 (1986), 151-84 (at pp. 167-8).

¹⁴ *Gilmortoune* 1452 (*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, II, no. 1444). This Gillemoire may also have been the same person as *Gillemur*, the bearer of the *Morbrat* or *Morbrac*, the 'great banner' or 'great portable shrine' of St Andrews Cathedral, mentioned in *St Andrews Liber*, p. 329 (c. 1200).

Gaelic name *Gillemoire*, is the eponym of a place with the OScots generic *t̄un*.

This does not necessarily mean that Martin was Gaelic-speaking, whereas *Gillemoire* spoke Scots, or that the great linguistic divide opens up before our very eyes, within one generation, and within one family. On an individual level the change was certainly more gradual, and perhaps Martin, and more probably *Gillemoire*, were bilingual. We must remember that in the charter of c. 1250 *Gillemoire* is given the Gaelic patronymic *mak Martin*, 'son of Martin'.

Rather the linguistic change we see at work here was taking place at a community level, as well as on an official and scribal one. The critical mass of Scots-speakers in the St Andrews area must have been reached around 1200, which determined that the name for *Gillemoire*'s estate would survive as *Gilmerton*, rather than **Balgilmore*.

Bridin Pudding

Amongst the charters of Dunfermline Abbey is a set of genealogies of the men who belonged to that Abbey as *nativi*, *neyfs* or unfree tenants. You could call them 'pedigree serfs'. The Latin text, along with a translation, of some of them appears in Appendix II.

They are unique in the medieval Scottish record, and they appear to tell a very different linguistic story from the one we have been hearing up until now. From the evidence in no. 327 it appears that they were written down shortly after 1332. This means that rough dates can be calculated for each of the generations. In no. 329 is the name *Gilchristin Mantauch*. He must have been alive in the later part of the thirteenth century. From his Gaelic nick-name, meaning 'stuttering' or 'toothless' (*manntach*), it can safely be assumed that he was living in a Gaelic-speaking environment, although there is no evidence at all to suggest that Gaelic place-names were being coined in west Fife at this late date.

So Gaelic appears to be alive and well at this lower end of the social scale in the late thirteenth century in parts of west Fife remote from the burghs. The strength of Gaelic is quite dramatically shown in two of these genealogies in particular; firstly, in no. 326, in the family whose founder was William (the) Fleming. He was alive around the year 1200, and presumably spoke a Germanic language. He gave his son the OScots name *Alwin*, who seems to have acquired the Gaelic

nickname *camshron*, Cameron, 'crooked nose'. So here we see a Germanic-speaking family being absorbed into what must have been a predominantly Gaelic-speaking milieu. It is a great pity that we do not have the names of any of the mothers, who may well all have been Gaelic-speaking, and may have played a key role in the naming process.

Even more striking is Genealogy no. 331. Here we have a man with the OScots name of *Edwald*, who must have been born around 1250. His son, however, has the Gaelic name *Sítbech*. And now we come to *Sítbech*'s son, who must have been born around 1300. His name has been Latinised as *Bridinus*, but is obviously Celtic. It could be a shortened diminutive form of *Gillebrigte* or *Gillebride*, 'servant of St Bridget'. But there is another intriguing, though perhaps less likely, possibility. There is no phonological objection to this name being a Gaelic diminutive of the best known of all Pictish personal names, that of *Brude*, which develops in later Pictish to *Bredei* or *Bridei*.¹⁵ It was the name of two of the Picts' most famous kings. If *Bridinus* does indeed contain this Pictish name, then we see in this genealogy what at first sight is a remarkable onomastic reversal of everything history teaches us. Instead of the sequence Pictish, Gaelic, Germanic, we have the opposite: Germanic, Gaelic, Pictish!

This poses many questions, especially about the naming process, and the continuation of ancient naming traditions amongst the so-called lower orders. However, before we get too excited, we should look at the rubric to this genealogy. *Bridinus*, with his Gaelic or possibly even Pictish, name has the Scots nick-name *pudding*. So Scots gets the last word, after all, and the actual linguistic future of the eastern lowlands of Scotland is clearly signalled by a kind of haggis.

APPENDIX I

The evidence for the identification of *Balemartin* with part of Strathkinness, as well as for the identification and dating of the eponymous Martin, is complex. However, since it provides what is practically a unique opportunity for the dating of a *Bal*-name in eastern Scotland, it deserves to be set out in full.

¹⁵ K. H. Jackson, 'The Pictish Language', in *The Problem of the Picts*, edited by F. T. Wainwright (London, 1955), pp. 129-66 (at p.161). I am grateful to Katherine Forsyth for this suggestion.

Pope Alexander III's bull of confirmation to St Andrews Priory dated 1163 lists *Stradkines* (which the canons had possessed since Bishop Robert's foundation charter of 1144), followed by 'aliam *Stradkynes* pro commutatione [de] *Kinninnes* et de *Lethin* quas Keledei habent', which translates as 'the other Strathkinness in exchange for Kininnis (now Carngour, Cameron parish) and Letham (now Lambieytham, Cameron parish), which lands the *Céli Dé* [now] hold' (*St Andrews Liber*, p. 54). This exchange appears to have taken place between 1156 and 1160.

In the next papal confirmation, that of Alexander's successor Lucius III, dated 1183, we find the one and only occurrence of *Balemartin* (*ibid.*, p. 58). This immediately precedes *Stradkines*, with no mention of the 'other Strathkinness' of Pope Alexander III's charter. This, supported by further evidence adduced below, suggests that *Balemartin* was in fact this 'other Strathkinness'.

In the next papal confirmation, that of Gregory VIII, dated 1187, we find 'grangiam de *Stradkines* cum omnibus terris et ceteris ad ipsam pertinentibus', which translates as 'the grange of Strathkinness with all the lands and the rest which belong to it'. This is the one place in this long charter where the phrase 'et ceteris' occurs, and it most likely stands for the *commutatio* phrase of Pope Alexander's bull, or perhaps simply for *aliam Stradkynes*. It is also, incidentally, the first time the grange of Strathkinness is explicitly mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 64).

The confirmation charter of Clement III from the following year (*ibid.*, p. 68) appears to be simply a copy of Gregory's, with the same exceptional use of *et ceteris* at the same point. And as already noted, *Balemartin* does not occur in either of these bulls.

A further piece of evidence which points to the fact that *Balemartin* is the 'other Strathkinness' comes from the Terrier. Amongst the lands it lists as belonging to St Andrews Priory in the early thirteenth century are (consecutively) *Strathkynnes Martin* and *Strathkinnes Mels[n]og*, i.e. Malsneachta, who we know held land in the vicinity before 1165 × 1172 (*ibid.*, p. 179).

There is one final piece in this jigsaw puzzle which completes the picture very satisfactorily. In 1235 Alexander II confirmed a charter by which one Adam son of Adam de *Lethyn* (later Lambieytham, Cameron parish) quitclaimed the land of *Lethyn* to William son of Lambin in exchange for 25 merks and two tenements in St Andrews

(James Scoular, *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II* (Edinburgh, 1959), no. 208, which is a summary of Scottish Record Office, MS GD 103 2 11).

This change of tenancy is confirmed by a charter issued many years later by Master Adam de Malcarston, provost of the *Céli Dé* church of St Mary's in c. 1249 – c. 1285 (*Calendar of the Laing Charters*, edited by J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1899), no. 15). In this charter Malcarston confirms to John son of William son of Lambin all the land of Carngour and (Lambie)letham which Adam son of Gilmur had held from the *Céli Dé*, the selfsame lands which the *Céli Dé* had obtained from St Andrews Priory in exchange for 'the other Strathkinness' or *Balemartin*. The charter further informs us that Adam's grandfather, Gilmur's father, was none other than Martin.

It must be borne in mind that Malcarston's confirmation is of a transaction which had taken place at least fifteen years previously. A new generation holds Carngour and Lambieytham (John son of the William Lambin who made the deal with Adam). Adam de Letham's family are no longer directly involved, which is why they have not been brought up to date in the same way that the Lambins have been. In fact, Malcarston's charter does not even mention the man who actually made the transaction in c. 1235, Adam son of Adam de Letham, but starts in the previous generation with Adam de Letham himself, who is of course the same person as Adam son of Gilmur Makmartin.

If we assume about 25 years per generation, this means that Martin himself was flourishing around 1160, just at the time when the *Céli Dé* gave *Balemartin* by Strathkinness to St Andrews Priory and received in exchange the lands of Carngour and (Lambie)letham.

APPENDIX II

These genealogies form part of the cartulary of Dunfermline Abbey, a composite work containing charters written in a variety of hands ranging from the early thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 34.1.3a. The genealogies are found on one badly damaged folio (fol. 38r-v), the poor state of which was not helped by the application of creosote or gall by an enthusiastic scholar, probably when the Bannatyne Club edition was being prepared 150 years ago (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club,

1842). In the following text I have had to rely heavily on that edition, since even under ultra-violet light there are parts of the original no longer recoverable. This was the case even before the creosoting, since the Bannatyne editor was unable to read some very badly worn parts at the foot of fol. 38r.

The hand of this part of the cartulary is roughly contemporary with the latest names in the genealogy (i.e. early fourteenth century).

Abbreviations have been silently expanded, except for some which are indicated by square brackets; round brackets indicate the presence of letters erroneously inserted in the original; a word-final apostrophe indicates an unexpanded abbreviation; the letters u and v have been normalized in the Latin; modern capitalisation and punctuation have been used throughout. In the parts of the manuscript which are no longer legible, one dot represents approximately a character-wide space.

National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 34.1.3a, fol. 38r-v (a revised edition of the version printed in *Dunfermline Registrum*, pp. 220-22, which supplies the section numbers):

[no. 326] Genealogia Mauricii Sutherlin'

Willelmus Fleming primus apud Flemingb(r)eth mortuus est et iacet apud Dunf[ermelin]; Alwinus Cambrun' filius eius mortuus est apud Tolibreuch' et iacet in cimiterio de Markynchs; Eugenius filius eius mortuus est apud Kyngl' et iacet ibidem, et Et Maur' Suthern' est filius eius.

[no. 327] Genealogia Johannis Scoloc'

Patricius Scurfarauch' mortuus est apud Orock' et sepultus in cimiterio de Kyngorn'; Alanus Gilg[er]wer' filius eius mortuus est apud Kyngl' et sepultus ibidem; Johannes Scoloc' filius eius mortuus est apud Kyngl' et sepultus ibidem; Johannes Kyngl' et sepultus ibidem; qui quidem Johannes genuit tres filios scilicet Adam et Joh' Bel' et Adam vero manens apud Kyngl' et ibidem post adventum Ballioli in Scociam interfectus in cimiterio | [fol. 38v] est sepultus.

[no. 329] Genealogia Mauricii filii Ricardi et Eugenii fratris eius Gilcristinus mantauch' filius Gilgrewer predicti mortuus est apud Inchdrayn et sepultus apud Kyngl'; Ricardus filius eius mortuus est apud Inchdrayn et sepultus apud Kyngl'; Mauricius [filius] eius vivit et manet apud Petyukir.

[no. 330] Genealogia filii Johannis Malethny

Mallethny filius Gilgrewer predicti mortuus est in Gathmilk' et sepelitur apud Kyngl'; Johannes braciator filius eius mortuus est in Petyukyr et sepelitur apud Kyngl'; Mallehny filius eius mortuus est in Kaskybaran et sepelitur apud Kyngl'; Willelmus filius eius vivit et manet in Kaskynbariam.

[no. 331] Genealogia Bridini Pudding'

Sithauc' filius Edwald' mortuus est in Pethyockyr et sepelitur apud Kyngl'; Bridinus filius eius vivit et manet apud Gathmi[l]k'.

Translation:

[Note that all the places mentioned in the text are in west Fife (see Map 1). Superscript numbers refer to notes at the end of each genealogy.]

no. 326. Genealogy of Maurice Sutherlin'

William Fleming the first at Beath Fleming¹ died and lies buried at Dunfermline; Alwin Cameron² his son died at Tullybreck [Markinch parish] and lies buried in the cemetery of Markinch; Eugene his son died at Kinglassie and lies buried there, and; and Maurice Suthern' is his son.

1. William (the) Fleming (fl. c. 1200) held lands in Beath, a large territory, now a parish, east of Dunfermline. His lands were called *Beath-Fleming after him, and were known as such at least until the early fourteenth century (see also *Dunfermline Registrum*, nos. 177 and 178).

2. Mixture of OS Scots and Gaelic: *cambrun* is probably for Gaelic *camshròn* meaning 'crooked nose', which gives the modern Scottish surname Cameron.

no. 327. Genealogy of John Scoloc'¹

Patrick Scurfarauch died at Orrock² and is buried in the cemetery of Kinghorn; Alan Gillegrewer³ his son died at Kinglassie and is buried there; John Scoloc his son died at Kinglassie and is buried there; John

Soloc his son died at Kinglassie and is buried there; John
 Kinglassie and is buried there; this John had three sons,
 Adam and John Bel' and Adam was living at Kinglassie
 and having been killed there after Balliol landed in Scotland⁴ is
 buried in the cemetery

1. MGaelic *soloc* '(poor) tenant on church lands'.
2. Orrock, Wester Kinghorn parish (now known as Burntisland parish).
3. For this name see no. 330, below, and note 13, above.
4. Edward Balliol landed in Kinghorn in August 1332 in an attempt to seize the Scottish throne.

no. 329. Genealogy of Maurice son of Richard and of Eugene his brother

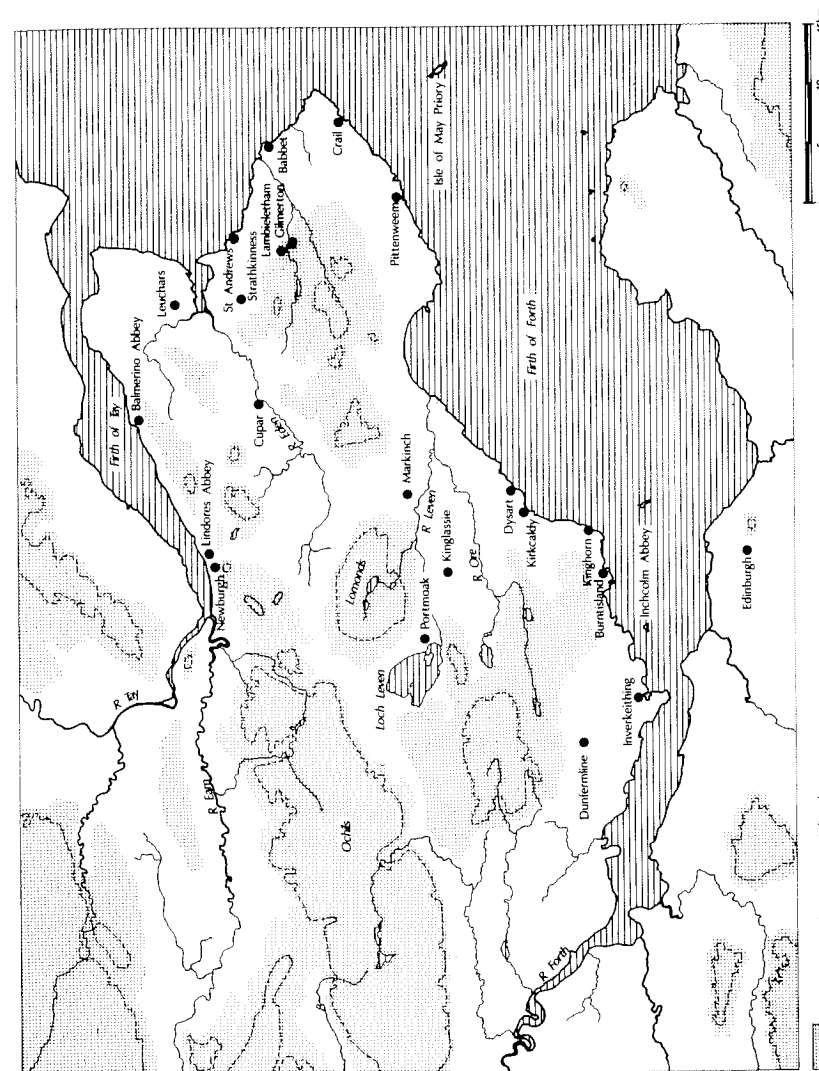
Gillecristin Mantauch¹ son of the said Gillegrewer died at Inchdairnie [Kinglassie parish] and is buried at Kinglassie. Richard his son died at Inchdairnie and is buried at Kinglassie; Maurice his son is alive and well and living at Pitteuchar [Kinglassie parish].

1. Gaelic *manntach* 'stammering, toothless'. This has been borrowed into Scots as the verb *tae mant* 'to have a speech impediment, stammer, stutter', as well as the noun *mant* 'speech impediment, etc.'.

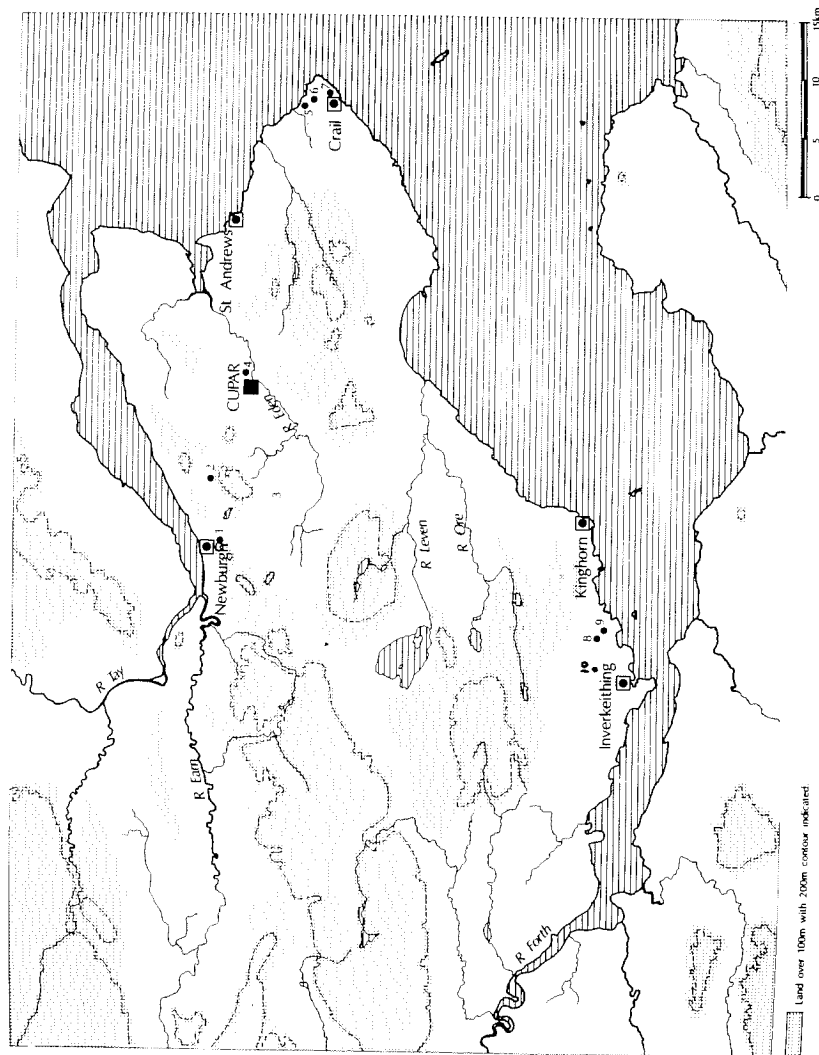
no. 330. Genealogy of Malethny son of John
 Malethny son of the said Gillegrewer died in Goatmilk [Kinglassie parish] and is buried at Kinglassie. John the brewer¹ his son died in Pitteuchar [Kinglassie parish] and is buried at Kinglassie. Malethny his son died in Caskyberran [Kinglassie parish] and is buried at Kinglassie. William his son is alive and well and living in Caskyberran.

1. The name of John the brewer's grandfather, (Alan) Gillegrewer, may contain Gaelic *grùdair* 'brewer'. See also note 13, above.

no. 331. Genealogy of Bridin Pudding
 Síthech son of Edwald died in Pitteuchar [Kinglassie parish] and is buried at Kinglassie. Bridin his son is alive and well and living at Goatmilk [Kinglassie parish].



Map 1: FIFE, showing most of the places mentioned in the text.



- Key:
1. Ormiston.
 2. Johnston.
 3. Thorestont.
 4. Thomastoun.
 5. Randerston
(*Randolph*).
 6. Wormistone
(*Winemar*).
 7. Pinkerton by Crail.
 8. Otterston.
 9. Couston (*Kol*).
 10. Pinkertont by
Inverkeithing
(exact site
unknown).
- centre of sheriffdom
of Fife.
□ burgh.

Map 2: FIFE. Distribution of settlement-names in *-tūn* + Anglo-Scandinavian, English or Norman personal or occupational names, c.1200.

The Place-Name Hexham: A Mainly Philological Approach

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When I was invited, in 1992, to talk to the Hexham Local History Society on the place-names of the area, I readily accepted, in the belief that at least the major place-name was well documented and well understood. In the event, however, looking at it afresh, I found a whole series of questions raised themselves, and a host of issues I had scarcely anticipated. The following paper is offered in celebration of the sheer fascination of place-name study and the great range of matters it can touch upon, some of them not a little recondite and much disputed.¹

The earliest occurrence of the name Hexham is c. 1120 in the Laud manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in the annal for the year 685:

Her hæc Ecgferð cining gehalgan Cuðbert to biscope. 7 Theodorus archiepisopus hine gehalgode on Eforwic þam forman Eostordæge to biscope to Hagustaldes ham.

In this year Ecgfrith had Cuthbert consecrated bishop, and archbishop Theodore consecrated him bishop of Hexham at York on the first day of Easter.²

Typical spellings from Richard of Hexham's History of the Church of Hexham and other twelfth-century writers are *Hestoldesham*,

¹This is a revised and expanded version of a paper originally given at the Annual Conference of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland at Alston Hall, Lancashire, in April 1993, and subsequently at the 28th International Congress of Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Western Michigan University, in May the same year.

²*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, edited by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892-99), I, 39; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, translated by G. N. Garmonsway (London, 1953), p. 39.