GALL-GAIDHIL AND GALLOWAY
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During the latter years of Kenneth's reign (AD 844-60) a people appear in close association with the Norwegian pirates joining their plundering and expeditions, who are termed Gallgaidhel. This name was formed by the combination of the word gall, a stranger, a foreigner, and Gaidhel, the national name of the Celtic race. It was certainly first applied to Galloway and the proper name of the province, Galwethia, is formed from Galwyddel, the Welsh equivalent of Gallgaidhel.

W. F. Skene *Celtic Scotland*

The hypothesis that the Gall-Gaidhil settled and ruled Galloway and gave its name has dominated the historical thinking about the region for nearly a century. A generation after Skene wrote the passage just quoted it received added authority from W. J. Watson and has been accepted ever since.[1] Yet the acceptance has become increasingly uneasy. Not only is the logic of the Gall-Gaidhil story as argued from the Irish annals difficult in places to follow, but any critical study of the Scottish and English medieval documentation suggests inferences which are scarcely compatible with the Gall-Gaidhil thesis at all. A fresh look at both bodies of evidence is needed and the Conference of the Scottish Society for Northern Studies, at which this paper was presented, provided an admirable opportunity to initiate that reappraisal.

Skene's first interpretation of the Irish annals was that Gall-Gaidhil originally signified the inhabitants of Galloway, the Gael under foreign (Northumbrian) rule. His second thoughts were that the term first applied to the men of the Isles and afterwards to Galloway. Watson seems to have regarded it as meaning Gael of mixed (Scandinavian) blood, which applied to the Islesmen and men of Kintyre, and subsequently 'settled down to mean Galloway.' Professor MacQueen explains the term as applying to the Galwegians: 'Some of these Gall-Gaidhel may have been descendants of early Irish settlers in Galloway who, in the ninth and tenth centuries were won or forced over to the Norse way of life. Others were certainly incomers from Ireland or the Hebrides. The Gall-Gaidhel, it is clear, are the people who created the great majority of the Gaelic place-names in Galloway.'[2] D. P. Kirby puts the proposition a little differently by saying that Galloway takes its name from 'a particular kind of Gaelic-speaking incomer from Ireland — the Gallgaidhel — who were apparently renegade Irish associates of the pagan Norse and Danes.'[3] We return to the interpretation of the term Gall-Gaidhil later. It commonly seems to be seen as implying Gaelic-speakers of Hiberno-Scandinavian stock.

The inferences to be drawn from the Scottish and English medieval charters are at odds with the Gall-Gaidhil story, whether it is told in terms of a small ruling elite or an influx of population. The twelfth- and thirteenth- century documents reveal a mixed society in which Gaelic had

only recently become a dominant language. They imply for the preceding undocumented centuries an alternation of power by Cumbric and Anglian aristocracies over what may have been a Gaelic-speaking peasantry. This shows itself in the place-names and settlement pattern discernible from the charters, as well as the survival of an older administrative structure. Despite the probability of some Gaelic-speakers being established in Galloway by the ninth century, the majority of the Gaelic place-names are, as Watson commented, of a common and late type.[4] The names of the more important places such as the parishes and great estates were rarely Gaelic, and point to a long history of occupation by the Cymry and Angle.

Professor Geoffrey Barrow describes the essentially Cumbric sub-structure:

> Galloway continued throughout our period (1000-1306) to show traces of its earlier history as Cumbria or Strathclyde, a Celtic land using the Cumbric variant of Brittonic speech, organised on the basis of the kindred (Welsh *pencenedl*), and divided into districts which in size and physical character resembled the cantreds or historical divisions of Wales. As late as the second half of the thirteenth century the senior member of the Kennedys (the chief family in Carrick) was formally recognised as the 'head of the kindred' in a document using the Gaelic form *ceann cineil* of the Welsh *pencenedl*. In 1296 a conquering Edward I took the fealty of the chief men of the lineage of Clan Afren in Galloway, just as he would have done their counter-part in Wales.[5]

The inconsistency which this analysis suggests, put alongside the Gall-Gaidhil thesis, is reflected in the findings of other disciplines. Place-name scholars have attempted to find a class of place-name that could be recognised as evidence of Gall-Gaidhil settlement and power, notably the *Kirk*-compounds.[6] MacQueen remarked in this context that these place-names appeared to be the only evidence of the Gall-Gaidhil to be found. I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere the difficulties in the way of associating these place-names with the Gall-Gaidhil. The historical development of these names, the names mainly of parishes, is well documented. It suggests that the *Kirk*-compounds, often replacing older names, were the product of the emergent territorial parish system of the Anglo-Norman church.[7] A subsequent study of the place-names relating to the pennylands and quarterlands, units of taxation in an old naval levy, have similarly been shown not to derive from the Gall-Gaidhil. The levy existed in Scottish Dalriada in the seventh century.[8]

The Christian sculptures of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and in particular the Whithorn school of crosses, testify both to the continuation of a settled church in Galloway and the persistence of an unmistakably Northumbrian style. Professor Bailey has recently posited a close relationship between some Wigtownshire crosses and some in southern Cumbria. He has also plotted the distribution in northern England of a form of sculpture associated with the Hiberno-Scandinavian settlements

there — the hog-back.[9] T. F. Lang has done similar work in Scotland, and reveals that the hog-back is totally absent in Galloway. This would have been the kind of evidence to be expected from a region settled by the Gall-Gaidhil.

The history of the Gall-Gaidhil derives exclusively from the Irish sources, the annals and some martyrologies. Extracts from the most relevant of these are given in Appendix A. They divide into three phases. First, certain late texts of the martyrologies. Extracts from the most relevant of these are given in Appendix A. They divide into three phases. First, certain late texts of the martyrologies record the deaths of St Donnan and St Blaan in the seventh century as taking place in the islands of Eigg and Bute respectively 'among the Gall-Gaidhil'. There is no other mention of the Gall-Gaidhil before the ninth century, and the apparent anachronism represents late interpolation. Both Skene and Watson regarded the earliest authentic references to the Gall-Gaidhil as the ninth-century entries in the Annals of Ulster.

In the middle of the ninth century the Gall-Gaidhil are recorded as a war band or band fighting both at sea and on land in Ireland for Aed of Ailech, and for a force of Scandinavians in Munster. Aed was then engaged in a three-cornered contest for supremacy in Ireland against another native prince, Maelsechlaind on the one hand, and the Scandinavians on the other. Thus, in Meath in 856 the Gall-Gaidhil were fighting against the Scandinavians, and in Munster alongside them. Watson described the Gall-Gaidhil as mercenaries. In ninth-century terms this would mean that they were freelance fighters at the disposal of any chief whose activities offered adequate plunder.

Of the sources of this part of the story the Annals of Ulster form the oldest and most reliable, and Duald MacFirbis among the latest and least trustworthy. The Annals of Ulster excepted, none of the accounts predates the twelfth century, and MacFirbis was one of the hereditary historians of Ireland who died in the seventeenth century. It is significant that the much-quoted description of the Gall-Gaidhil (Appendix A, para. 9) should be his. As evidence it is valueless; and all that can be concluded so far is that in the ninth century there was a fighting force or forces in Ireland called the Gall-Gaidhil. Why and where they came from remain matters for speculation.

The obit of Suibne 'King of the Gall-Gaidhil' (or a king of the Gall-Gaidhil) recorded in the Annals of Ulster in 1034 has every appearance of authenticity. Watson associated Suibne withe Castle Sween and Loch Sween in Knapdale. He figures in the traditional genealogies of the MacSween family, who were among the most distinguished of the families of Kintyre ruined by the Wars of Independence. Dubhgall MacSween was lord of Kintyre in 1262.[10] The chronology of the genealogies is somewhat at odds with other written evidence but the family claimed descent from

the kings of Ailech for whom the Gall-Gaidhil were fighting in the ninth century. Either as kin or clients the connection with Ailech seems well established.[11]

The Annals of the Four Masters has an account against the year 1154 how the Cenel Eoghain (again the tribe of the kings of Ailech) hired the Gall-Gaidhil to fight at sea for them. The fleet was commanded by MacScelling. The Four Masters is a late compilation and the story would be of little account for our purposes if it were not that Robert I's charter confirming the properites of Whithorn Priory records that the church of Columcille in Kintyre had been given to the priory by Patrick MacScilling and his wife, Finlach. Together, these two references establish another connection between the Gall-Gaidhil and Kintyre.

The Irish sources are consistent in pointing to the coast and islands of southern Argyll as 'among the Gall-Gaidhil', though how far the term became territorialised is doubtful. It nevertheless comes as a shock after reading the Annals so far to find suddenly Roland of Galloway (who died 1199-1200) and later Alan (d. 1234) accorded the title 'King of the Gall-Gaidhil.' Records of Alan of Galloway's fleet of ships, his dubious activities at sea, and the 'Viking' behaviour of his natural son, Thomas, suggest that Alan, and probably his father Roland, were quite literally Gall-Gaidhil chiefs, so long as the term is taken to mean 'sea-raider, pirate' rather than implying territory. Alan's mercenaries were employed by King John of England in the conquest of Ireland. Two other explanations have been given. One is that Argyll and Galloway were both known as Gall-Gaidhil territory; the other is that the Gall-Gaidhil shifted ground between 1034 and 1136 when Fergus, Roland's grandfather, appears first in records as 'Fergus de Galweia.' The first explanation may be considered by reviewing the historical background of the two regions. Geographically close, and no doubt in constant contact, Knapdale-Kintyre and Galloway belonged, between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, to two totally different cultural and political groupings.

Dr John Bannerman has traced how Kintyre, originally at the centre of primary settlement, was relegated in the ninth century to a peripheral position in the kingdom of Dalriada. In 849 the relics of St Columba were translated from Iona to Dunkeld, a shift of the religious centre which reflected the movement of the political hub with the uniting of the kingdom of Dalriada and the kingdom of the Picts.[12] The coastlands were already being penetrated by Scandinavian settlers; sometime before 853 Kenneth macAlpin had created a lordship of the Isles and had conferred it upon the Irish king of Airgialla, Godfrey, son of Fergus.

Scandinavian settlement of these coasts had begun, according to Sellar, around AD 800. He pictures a rapid and easy absorption of the newcomers, and their conversion to Christianity.[13] Already, then, by the mid-ninth century the term Gall-Gaidhil, with the meaning Scandinavian-Scot, would

have been applicable, and since the life of the coasts was essentially sea-going, very likely 'Viking-Scot' as well. By the early eleventh century, the time of Suibne, Kintyre and Knapdale were part of this culture, based on mixed Scandinavian-Scottish settlement and maritime adventure. By the last quarter of the century Godfrey Crovan of Man had established power over Kintyre and the Isles. Later, the Norse lords of the Isles, owing allegiance to Norway, established Scandinavian power and cultural influence. To this extent, the inhabitants became, in Skene's phrase, 'Gael under foreign rule.'

Meantime Galloway had seen the end of the Northumbrian supremacy and the resurgence of the kingdom of Cumbria (Strathclyde). The Cymry extended their territory southwards into the Eden valley as far as the Stanemore Pass. Professor Jackson has demonstrated that for a time this represented a political and cultural ascendancy of some power.[14] By the early eleventh century, under the combined pressure of the kings of Scots and of Wessex, that power was broken. A fragmented and demoralised Cumbria passed into the hands of the kings of Scots, a process well on its way to completion by the time of Owen the Bald's death in 1018, with no heirs surviving. Barrow has described the final disintegration of Cumbria into what became a dozen or so Anglo-Norman fiefs: Annandale, Liddesdale, Nithsdale, Carrick, Kyle, Clydesdale, Eskdale etc.[15] In so far as the whole retained an identity, it was known to contemporaries as Galloway.

The charters of the period refer, as Barrow points out, both to a greater and a lesser Galloway.

> In its widest sense Galloway denoted the whole of Scotland south and west of Clydesdale and Teviotdale . . . At various dates between 1138 and 1249, the Irvine valley . . . lands in mid-Kyle, in the valley of the Doon and even in Annandale could be described as 'in Galloway.' But neither the lordship nor the bishopric of Galloway covered so wide an area. There is no evidence that Fergus of Galloway had any control over Carrick in the west, while on the east Dunegal, lord of Strathnith or Nithsdale, and his sons Ralph and Donald, ruled independently of Fergus and his dynasty. Moreover, Nithsdale and Carrick formed rural deaneries of the diocese of Glasgow.[16]

On the one hand, then, Galloway consisted of the Stewartry and the Shire, and on the other, of almost all the erstwhile kingdom of Cumbria shorn only of the territory which shortly after the accession of Henry II became finally and irretrieveably English. Extensive as this greater Galloway was, it could not by any stretch of the imagination be held to have included Kintyre. Could two such disparate territories qualify for the same descriptive term 'among the Gall-Gaidhil'?

Perhaps when all is said, this is a land-lubber's question, which fails to take into account the unity to the seafarer of the islands and peninsulas of the west. Perhaps the rapid change of political alignments was bound

to lead to a certain casualness in making such identifications among onlookers such as the Irish. Generations of scholars, faced with these difficulties, have taken the logical alternative and concluded that the people, that is the Gall-Gaidhil, moved from A to B. Suppressing our legitimate doubts, we have all tried to picture the Gall-Gaidhil taking ship and making land-fall in Galloway like a second division Norman Conquest, to seize land and political power. Kirby envisages this happening in the ninth century, MacQueen in the tenth. They do not necessarily agree upon the point of embarkation but they are in accord in positing their arrival. Did it really happen? Significantly, the MacSweens and the MacScillings remained in Kintyre and the Isles.

This is as far as we need take the Irish evidence. The medieval documentation from Scottish, English and Galwegian sources has now to be considered. I propose first to review the etymology of the place-name Galloway as revealed by the charters. The conclusions will raise the questions whether it is possible to dispense altogether with the Gall-Gaidhil hypothesis and still take account of the rapid change in eleventh-century Galloway from Cumbric to Gaelic speech, and questions concerning the origins of Fergus of Galloway. The evidence of the strongholds and demesne land of the lords of Galloway will be explained, and finally a possible alternative derivation of Galloway as a place-name be offered for consideration.

Appendix B contains thirty-three of the earliest records of the name of Galloway, drawn mainly from Scottish and English charter and literary sources. The latest date, 1234, is the date of the death of Alan, last of the hereditary lords of Galloway. In Appendix C nine forms of the name given to the people of Galloway start somewhat earlier, and include Fergus's own description of his people — Galwitenses or Galwits.[17] With only a very few exceptions, all forty-two forms come from Latin documents and the names have been Latinised by the addition of the first declension feminine ending -*ia* as applied to the place-names, and the third declension masculine plural -*enses* as applied to the people.

One more item should be added to Appendix B. South of Lancaster is a village called Galgate. Ekwall described it as named from 'the ancient road running past Kendal called Galwaithgate (1190), Galwathegate (*c.*1210)'.[18] He comments: 'the name means the Galway road and is said to refer to the road having been used by cattle drovers from Galway.' Ekwall's informants were mistaken. Galway is in the far west of Ireland and its place-name forms are different. Galwaithgate clearly refers to Galloway.

A striking feature of these forty-four forms is the consistency with which the first element appears as Gal- and not Gall-; and how *w* or its equivalents begin the second element. Watson explained the *w* by saying: 'it has been thought to indicate the influence of the Welsh form Galwyddel, and this

may be so, but the supposition is hardly necessary; and the *o* in Galloway represents an indeterminate vowel developed in Gaelic between the two parts of the compound (Galla-Gaidhil) and after this the vowel *gh* would readily become *w*'. We shall come back to the indeterminate vowel later. Watson goes on: 'other forms are Galwegia, where the *g* represents *dh*; Galwithia, Galweia, where the *dh* has disappeared. All these are practically the same'.[19] Watson's command of the laws of Gaelic mutation is beyond question; and it has already been established that Gall-Gaidhil meant Galloway in Ireland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. What can and should be questioned is the assumption made by Watson and others that Gall-Gaidhil was a Gaelic adaptation of an already existing name.

At least thirty-six out of the forty-four names before us divide into two distinct groups, each with the first element Gal- except where the l is dropped, but displaying differentiated second elements. Ten belong to the group containing the second element *-wit*, *-with*, *-wyth*, or *-weth*. Twenty-six take the second element *-weg*, *-wei*, *-wey*, or *-way*. The first group Watson ascribed to Cumbric influence, positing the derivation from Galwyddel, the Cumbric equivalent of Gall-Gaidhil. It is not necessary at this point to assume that a translation of the Gaelic Gall-Gaidhil is the root of the Cumbric form. It is enough to note that a Cumbric form is recognised. The second group (*-weg*, *-wei*, *-wey*) looks like another adaptation — the Anglian version of the Celtic name. The progression *-weg*, *-wei*, *-way* is commonly found in the development of English place-names deriving from the OE *weg* (road), and marks the change from Old English through Middle English to the modern language. Ekwall lists Broadway (three times, Holloway, Radway, Stantway, Stanway, and Stowey.[20]

The element *weg* in English place-names often signified a Roman road. The importance of the Roman road in opening up Ayrshire to early Anglian settlement may explain why *weg* replaced the Cumbric *wid* in the mouths of English-speakers. It is conspicuous that six out of seven appearances of the indeterminate vowel occur in the early forms followed by *-weg*, *-wei*, *-way*. It may be argued that this measure of anglicisation was the work of Anglo-Norman scribes; but is this really tenable? Anglicised forms, including the OE *weg*, occur ten times before 1150.

A third group with the second element *-wad*, *-wath*, *-wal*, and *-wall* come nearer to the Irish Gall-Gaidhil. Let us look at a few authentic Irish examples:

Gall Gaidhil	9th century	Annals of Ulster
Gallgaedelaib	9th century	Martyrology of Tallacht
Gallgedelu (accusative)	*c.*1150	Book of Leinster
Gallaedelaib	*c.*1150	Book of Leinster
Galgaidhel	1234	Annals of Ulster
Gallgaidelaib	14th century	Martyrology of Oengus (Franciscan)

Probably derivative from the Irish forms is Gaddgedlar of the thirteenth-century composition known as Orkneyinga Saga.

The most important discovery emerging is that the existence in the twelfth century of more than one adaptation of the name Galloway points to it already having been an ancient name. It is the mark of a name that has survived the ascendancy of more than one people. The classic example of such a name is the English city of York as described by Professor Reaney:

> The ancient city of York bears a name which conceals centuries of its history. The name is first mentioned in 150AD by the Greek geographer Ptolomey in the form 'Eborakon.' In AD79 Agricola made it the headquarters of a Roman legion and it became the military centre from which the north was controlled. The name was latinised Eburacum and Eboracum. It had long been recognised as Celtic, and is found in the ninth century Welsh sources as Cair Ebrauc, from the Old British Eboracon either from a British personal name Eburos or from *eburos* (yew) from which the name was derived. By the end of the Romano-British period *b* had come to be pronounced very much like *v*. The Angles who controlled the city in the seventh and eighth centuries adopted the name and spelled it Eforwic (*c.*897) and Evorwic (*c.*1150), replacing the meaningless *ac* by the common OE *wic* (village, town). The first element, too, was assimilated to their own speech habits and associated with the common *eofor* (boar), Eoforwic (1053-66), which made sense of a sort, 'Boar Village.' In 865 York was captured by the Scandinavians and in 875 became a Danish kingdom under Halfdan, and in the tenth century an Irish-Viking kingdom under Raegnald. Like their predecessors, these Scandinavians adopted the name, pronouncing it in their own fashion, and spelling it Iovik (962) which later became Iork, Zeork, Zork, and finally York in the thirteenth century.[21]

York, a strategic and economic centre confined within walls, was the subject of successive military conquests, and the place-name followed a unilateral development, each people stamping their own adaptation of the name over that of their predecessors. In Galloway a different course of history produced a different result. For Galloway was a rural society dispersed over a heavily wooded countryside. The overlords to whom tribute and sometimes military service was due, had alternated over the centuries between the native Cumbric chiefs and Northumbrian thanes, and finally power had passed by the reign of Malcolm III at the latest, to the king of Scots. The multi-lingual society, assimilating its newcomers with ample space between the settlements, continued its traditional life. From time to time that life may have been lawless, violent and fraught with feuding. In the long term it maintained something, which allowing for an imperfect world, looks like toleration between people of different language and stock. Hence the name of Galloway developed more than one adaptation in parallel.

By the twelfth century, as Appendices B and C demonstrate, the current

forms of the place-name reflected the mixed society which produced them. This process had taken time. The chronological order which I would suggest puts the Cumbric form as antedating the Anglian and the Irish adaptation — Gall-Gaidhil — if it was current in Galloway at all, as last-comer. In my submission, 'Gall-Gaidhil' as applied to Galloway originally had no more meaning that the English 'Boar Village' had as a description of the sub-Roman city of York. If, as the evidence suggests, the term Gall-Gaidhil came into existence in Ireland in the eighth or ninth century as an attempt to transpose into Gaelic phonetics the sounds 'Galwit-Galweg', it had no specific meaning of its own. As we have seen in relation to York, the phonetic adaptation comes first, and secondly acquires a meaning in the adapter's tongue. Once the Irish version became invested with Gaelic meaning as Gall-Gaidhil (Foreign Gael), the name became applicable to the settlers of southern Argyll, part-Scot and part-Scandinavian.

Between the ninth and eleventh centuries the term appears to have been very loosely applied. It has been suggested that in Ireland the element 'Gall-' had come to mean 'mercenary' as well as 'foreigner', and might have been applied to any people on the eastern littoral of the Irish Sea whose warbands would fight in Ireland.[22] By the twelfth century the situation had changed. The Islesmen had come to be known as the Innsegall, and Galloway had become largely Gaelic-speaking. The irony and wit of Gall-Gaidhil as applied to it is very much in the Irish fashion.

Insofar as Gall-Gaidhil was understood to mean 'stranger-Gael' it was a term which no one would apply to himself. So it remained the Irish name for the people of Galloway and thence of Galloway itself. Apart from a handful of forms in Appendix B there is not a scrap of evidence that the Gaelic-speakers of Galloway used this version of the name, or that it was used in Scotland at large. The Gall-Gaidhil of the ninth century may have been Galwegians, but the Galwegians of succeeding centuries were not Gall-Gaidhil insofar as the term implied newcomers. Those pantomime pirates were the first and last inhabitants of cloud-cuckooland.

This claim raises the following questions: without invasion by the Gall-Gaidhil, how did it happen that a society, admittedly of mixed peoples, yet traditionally Cumbric in institutions, abandoned Cumbric speech and turned so quickly and comprehensively Gaelic? How can the dynasty of Fergus, so long represented as their descendants, be called as witnesses against the Gall-Gaidhil? And finally, if Gall-Gaidhil was not the derivation of the name Galloway, in what direction are we to look for an authentic derivation?

The main evidence usually advanced for the change from Cumbric to Gaelic speech in the eleventh century is the proliferation of Gaelic place-names on the modern map. Some of these were already current in the charters of the Middle Ages. It may be helpful to look at a random sample of the place-names recorded before 1500. A collection of roughly 700 names

from the Shire and Stewartry constitutes all but a complete list of the place-names of Galloway of which documentation has been preserved.[23]

Centres of strategic, administrative and economic importance, such as the parishes and great estates, preserved either Cumbric or Anglian names with remarkable consistency. This is demonstrated later in relation to the strongholds and demesne lands of the lords of Galloway. Further, between the Cumbric and Gaelic settlement names there is a marked distinction. The Cumbric names were either for the most part habitation names containing elements signifying a homestead (tref) or court (llys), or else an assembly-place marked by a standing-stone (men).

In contrast, the Gaelic settlement names are mainly compounded from the names of natural features, and contained such elements as: *ard* (height), *barr* (round hill), *blar* (plain), *carn* (heap of stones, tumulus), *cnoc* (hill), *creag* (back of a hillside), *loch* (lake). The total number of place-names containing these elements amounts to 35% of the Gaelic place-names collected. Names implying landholding such as *earann* (portion, acre), *ceathramh* (quarterland), *peighinn* (pennyland), *achadh* (ploughland), and the habitation name *baile*, total roughly another 9%. Of the *baile* names several are demonstrably of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century coinage. Exceptions are Barncrosh (Balencros), and Balmaghie (Balemakethe), recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries respectively.

Who makes a place-name: the indweller or the stranger, the heir or the incomer, the lord or the peasant? The answers must be many and various; but the character and meaning of the Gaelic names reviewed argue, surely, that they were the product of the peasantry.

The Gaelic personal names of the twelfth-century Galwegians were discussed at the conference. The charter witness-lists represent the cultural mix as it then was and give a glimpse of the process of change from one Celtic language to the other, as well as the assertion of Anglo-Norman supremacy then taking place. Among the patronymics prefixed by the Gaelic *Mac* and the Cumbric *Ap* or *A'* which appear in the same document, are names forwarded from the Gaelic *Gille-* (disciple, servant) plus a saint's name. Gillecuthbert and Gilloswald represent the Anglian tradition, and there are Cumbric forms like Gillecatfarch and Gillegunnin.

These *Gille*-names were popular throughout Scotland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries but a list of sixty drawn from Black's *Surnames of Scotland* show a marked distribution pattern.[24] The major concentration, more than half, were associated with the greater Galloway, with another significant cluster in Lennox and smaller groups in Fife and Moray — all districts in which Brythonic speech had given way, or was in the process of giving way to Gaelic. This, and the occasional appearance of names prefixed by *Cos-* or *Gos-*, suggests that at least some of these names were replacing the parallel Cumbric form *Gwas-* followed by a saint's name, most familiar in the name Gospatric.

It has been demonstrated that some Gaelic-speakers had settled in Galloway before the ninth century, leaving their mark in the place-names given to moors and hills.[25] Jackson infers that in the tenth century there were Gaelic-speakers among the men of Strathclyde who penetrated the lands of Cumbria south of the Solway. The presence of their counterparts in Galloway at this time therefore needs no arguing. Indeed, so near to Ireland, Galloway must have attracted an inconspicuous but steady infiltration of Irish settlers throughout the ages at any period of scarcity in Ireland. Our problem, therefore, is to account not so much for Gaelic-speaking in Galloway as the ascent of Gaelic speech on the social scale, and the aristocracy's conversion from Cumbric to Gaelic speech. The explanation seems to lie in the collapse of the power of the ancient kingdom of Cumbria (Strathclyde) at the beginning of the eleventh century and in the confidence and vitality of the kingdom of Scots.

In the eleventh century the kingdom of Cumbria, with traditions dating back to the Roman period, was engulfed by the Scots, much as the Pictish kingdom had been earlier. Cumbria is now more familiar by the name the Scots gave it — Strathclyde. The all-conquering capacity of the Gaelic language at that period reflected the Scottish mood. With Pictland assimilated, and Strathclyde open to them, Northumbria ruined and cut off from the rest of England by Scandinavian settlements, Scotia seemed at last to be able to cast covetous eyes to the rich lands of Lothian and greater Galloway. This coincided with the succession of able and relatively long-lived kings from Macbeth to the Margaretsons.

Over the next two hundred years the kingdom of Scots was to be troubled by discord in the north, and the presence of Scandinavian power in Caithness and the Hebrides. In relations with the south it experienced repeated military failures. Yet this period was one of rare and subtle achievement. For the disparate elements — Scot, Pict, Cymry, Angle, Viking, and later, Anglo-Norman — were gradually gathered into a community with an exceptionally well-developed sense of common identity. Some of the buoyancy and self-assurance that went into the making of the thirteenth-century community of the realm can be seen two hundred years earlier in the exuberance of the Gaelic language in relation to Cumbric in the west, and even Anglian-speaking Lothian in the east. This strength took political form in Malcolm III's ability to muster detachments of Galwegians in his war host invading Northumbria in 1079.[26]

The king of Scots' ascendancy over Galloway may well have been precarious and intermittent, but it provided the motivation for the swing from Cumbric to Gaelic-speaking. In its last phase, Cumbric may have been largely an aristocratic language. Once it was politically advantageous to speak Gaelic, this not only gave opportunities to Gaelic-speakers, hitherto of minor significance in Galloway, but also a new generation of Cymry can be pictured as learning Gaelic as a social accomplishment, in place

of picking it up from their inferiors as their fathers had done.

The revolution may not have been entirely cultural, nor wholly bloodless. That the old kingdom of Cumbria was left entirely leaderless tells its own story; the king of Scots, or their heirs the princes of Cumbria, manoeuvered into positions of power in the south-west men they felt able to control. This brings us to the question: who was Fergus of Galloway? His origin and identity are obscure. In his one surviving charter he proclaimed himself king of the Galwits using the Cumbric form of the name. Henry II acknowledged kinship with his sons, Uhtred and Gilbert.[27] We know very little more.

The descent from Fergus of his heirs and successors was regularly rehearsed in charters, but all genealogy stopped with Fergus. He was a man without pedigree.[28] One source of information about the line of Fergus remains available to us, and that consists of the disposition of their strongholds and personal estates. When the power of the ninth earl of Douglas was finally broken in 1455, the estates he held as lord of Galloway were confiscated and annexed to the Crown. By the harvest of 1456 the Exchequer had taken possession of the lands and were collecting rents and leasing the holdings to local proprietors. Although this large and scattered estate must have lost and gained individual lands over the centuries, the detailed survey recorded in 1456 left a general profile of the demesne estate which can be taken as representing an ancient inheritance.[29] For the present purpose, however, a review of the principal castles and supporting estates will suffice.

In Wigtownshire the traditional stronghold was Cruggleton Castle. Recent excavations have traced the existence of a timber hall of eleventh-century date. This will have been the predecessor of the thirteenth-century stone castle topping the high cliffs overlooking Wigtown Bay. Behind the narrow coastal strip and headland, which constitutes the medieval parishes of Cruggleton and Eggerness, lay the larger and agriculturally rich lands of Carnmoel (Kirkinner) which were concentrated in the lord of Galloway's hands. In Glasserton to the south lay outlying estates which after 1456 became royal manors. To the north of Cruggleton the parish of Kirkcowan stretched to the Carrick border. Much of it was demesne.[30] Cruggleton seems to have been the lord of Galloway's main holding in Wigtownshire, but the castle of Lochnaw may have been another.[31]

In the Stewartry the lord of Galloway held two castles, both surrounded by very large estates. One lay in the coastal belt commanding the estuaries of the river Urr, and later the Dee. The other, or possibly more than one, was in the Glenkens, controlling the valley of the upper Dee and Ken, where the route to Ayr lies through an easy pass.

Buittle was first recorded in c..1251.[32] The OE place-name *botl* (homestead, hall) has been established as an early Anglian settlement name, dating probably from the Northumbrian overlordship.[33] Its unqualified

form suggests that the rulers of Galloway occupied the site from the seventh or eighth century. The medieval stone castle was dismantled after the wars of Edward Balliol, and once the Douglases became lords of Galloway (1369) they appear to have established themselves on an apparently ancient site at Threave on an island in the Dee. Margaret of Touraine's charters are the earliest to survive dated there, beginning c.1424.

About four miles higher up the Dee from Threave lay the second stronghold in the district of the Glenkens. The castle is commonly believed to have been Kenmure. How old Kenmure was, and whether the lord of Galloway ever held it is not clear. It is not documented before the reign of David II, when it was held by Gilbert of Carrick, and afterwards passed to the Gordons. Earlston,[34] strategically placed some miles to the north in a narrow part of the Glen, did belong to the lords of Galloway; but whether its name implied its foundation by the earls of Douglas, or by a Northumbrian earl is unknown. The most certainly ancient stronghold in the Glenkens was *mea castra de insula arsa*, to quote Edward Balliol's charter of 1352[35] — Burned Island in the Ken itself. By 1456 the castle was gone, but the lands were still demesne lands and their name was then revealed as having the same claim to antiquity as the castle of Buittle, for it was Erysbutil or Arsbutil.[36].

All the strongholds held by the lords of Galloway, with the exception of the two doubtfuls, Lochnaw and Kenmure, had either Cumbric or Anglian names. Cruggleton, appearing as Crugeldum in 1448-52,[37] appears to be a hybrid tautology similar to Cricklewood and Crichel Down in England, where the Cumbric *cruc* (hill) is followed by the OE *hyll* and *dun* (both meaning hill). Both Buittle and Burned Island preserve the OE *botl*. Earlston is clearly Anglian, though of uncertain date. Threave, recorded as Trefe in 1430,[38] is the unqualified Cumbric *tref*, its modern spelling and pronunciation indicating the use of the definite article with consequent mutation — *y Dref* (the Homestead). The strongholds of the lords of Galloway preserved traditional names from the Northumbrian supremacy, and the reassertion of Cumbric power that followed.

The main concentrations of demesne land repeat this pattern. With the possible exception of Eggerness, the most important estates attaching to Cruggleton were Carnmoel,[39] later Kirkinner; Athelgalwyn or Awengalteway,[40] later Kirkcowan; and Manhincon, later Craighlaw.[41] Leswalt and Menybrig, both Cumbric names, surrounded Lochnaw. In the Stewartry, Buittle lies near the centre of a chain of Anglian parish names. In the Glenkens the fifteenth-century parish name of Balmaclellan conceals the older Cumbric name, Trevercarcou.

An influx of Gall-Gaidhil colonists might have been expected to stamp their identity upon newly-won demesne and castles, just as the conquerors of the city of York had done. We might expect that at least some of the Old English and Cumbric names would have been changed or translated

into Gaelic. In some places a change of site might be anticipated. Nothing of the kind appears. Fergus, whoever he was, seems to have taken control of the lands and residences of his predecessors without either shifting ground or occasioning any change in local toponymy. This evidence does not provide a conclusive argument; but the case against the Gall-Gaidhil is cumulative. Whatever test is applied, whatever evidence is assembled and analysed, the result is the same. The Gall-Gaidhil leave no footprints. Their credibility has depended for a generation or more on the supposed derivation of the name Galloway. The evidence presented here suggests that the name is much older that the tenth- or eleventh-century coinage that this would imply; and surely, casts considerable doubt on a Gaelic derivation.

Bede, writing in 731, had no name for the region in which Whithorn lies. He referred to is as part of Bernicia; but then he was making a political statement. In total, the apparent age of the name, Bede's silence, the existence in the twelfth century of the greater and the lesser Galloway, add up to the conclusion that the name Galloway was neither an ethnic nor a political name but a topographical one. Considering the terrain of the greater Galloway, the name is not likely to have been derived from a river or a mountain range; but it could have been a forest. Great tracts of the terrain were heavily wooded in the Middle Ages, as the charters and place-names both testify. For these reasons, in looking for an alternative derivation of the name Galloway, I would plead that the place-name scholars should consider again the controversial matter of *Coid Celidon*.

Over the past fifty years this has been the occasion of two sharp differences of opinion between scholars of reputation. Dispute has turned on where *Coid Celidon* was, and whether the middle vowel in the word *Celidon* and its derivation Caledonia or Caledones was a short *i* or a long *e*. The forest has been located according to whether the evidence of Ptolomey's map or Welsh medieval tradition was given greater weight. O. G. S. Crawford was apparently the first to locate the *Coid Celidon* of Nennius in south-western Scotland,[42] and in this he has been followed by most modern scholars concerned with the Welsh tradition. The linguists take a different view. Both Jackson and Professor Rivet identify the site with *drumos Kalidonios* of Ptolomey in the Great Glen. There is general agreement, nevertheless, that the term Caledonia was often used in classical times in a very vague and general sense.

A voluminous literature has collected around the question whether the medial vowel of the name and its adjectival form was long or short. Jackson and Watson before him insist that the short *i* was the correct form. Rivet agrees, but says:

> The e/i variation in recorded Latin forms is probably of little account: this applies not only to the present name of the region but also the personal and ethnic names and the adjectival forms. It is

noteworthy that Pliny has -i- 'correctly' . . . the other first mentions in the 1st century are all in verse; it is likely that *Caledius* has the -e- in order to fit the hexameter . . . and that such was the authority of verse that the name tended to settle down in Latin — but not exclusively — in this form. The same e/i variation is in any case recorded on coins and in personal names.

He concludes that Caledonia has the better authority.[43]

This seems to establish that, although not wholly correct, the long *e* was current at the same time as the short *i*. We are concerned with a place-name here, which is what people say, rather than with linguistic purity. The critical nature here of the long *e* or short *i* is put succinctly by Watson:

> The old Welsh form of Caledones is seen in *coit Celidon*, the 'wood of the Caledonians', later *coed Celyddon* . . . this cannot represent an early Caledon- for e (ei) yield, wy in Welsh, i.e. Caledon- would become Calwyddon. Further the change of Cal- to Cel- indicates that the vowel of the next syllable must have been i.[44]

If one accepts the guidance of the medieval Latin that the Cumbric name Galwit-, Galwydd- was feminine, then prefaced by the definite article Calwyddon would become y Galwyddon. This coincidence is too striking to be ignored.

The currency of the Welsh Celyddon is not an insurmountable objection. It argues only the preservation of the more correct medial i form in northern literature preserved in Wales, and does not rule out parallel use of the medial e form in the vernacular of Strathclyde. In the same way the Gaelic form of the term Caledonian which emerged for instance with Dun Caillen[45] would not affect what was still a largely Brittonic-speaking region until the eleventh century.[46] Where the Caledonian forest was, and the correct etymology of the name leave room for honest difference of opinion.[47]

It is not necessary to press the suggestion further. Right or wrong, it does not affect the general conclusions reached in this study of the Gall-Gaidhil. These can now be summarised. The general hypothesis that the Gall-Gaidhil settled and ruled Galloway represents an interpretation of the Irish evidence to which there is a viable alternative. The Gaelic place-names of Galloway are demonstrably the product of the peasantry and not of its political masters. The Gaelic personal names of the twelfth-century charter witnesses illustrate a general change to Gaelic speech after the collapse of the kingdom of Strathclyde, which can be satisfactorily explained without positing an influx of new settlers. What is known of Fergus and his dynasty is too slight to clinch the argument either way, except insofar as their strongholds and demesne estates can be identified as of ancient standing, and of Northumbrian and Cumbrian foundation. Analysis of the medieval forms of the place-name Galloway prompts the question whether the term Gall-Gaidhil was the derivation of Galloway at all or a Gaelic adaptation current mainly in Ireland, of a very old topographical name.

The more advances are made in Galloway studies the plainer it becomes that the Gall-Gaidhil hypothesis fits neither the documentary evidence nor that supplied by place-name study and archaeology. The question before the conference, therefore, is whether the settlement and rule of Galloway by incomers known as the Gall-Gaidhil in the ninth, tenth or eleventh century, is any longer tenable as a working hypothesis?

Appendix A

Main references to the Gall-Gaidhil in Irish Annals and martyrologies, as translated by A. O. Anderson *Early Sources of Scottish History*.

1. 618 the burning of Donnan of Eigg. *Annals of Ulster*
2. Donnan of chilly Eigg with his followers. *Martyrology of Oengus*
   Whitley Stokes, editor of the Martyrology, added a note in his 1905 edition taken from the *Lebar Brecc* 'this Donnan is he who went to Columcille to take him for his confessor . . . Donnan went after that among the Gall-Gaidhil and took up his abode there . . ' Only the sentence that says Donnan died in Eigg is in Latin. 'The rest,' reports Anderson, 'in Irish, is from a different account and fabulous.'
3. The *Book of Leinster* refers to the death of Donnan, and a note inserted between the lines by the compiler located Eigg a 'rock between Gellgedelu and Cendtiri.'
4. 659 died fair Blaan of Kingarth (Cendgaradh) *Martyrology of Oengus*
   In the Franciscan MS is a note reproduced in the 1905 edition by Whitley Stokes 'a bishop of Kingarth . . . and he was from Kingarth in n Gallgaidhelaib.' The *Martyrology of Tallacht* and the *Book of Leinster* have 'Kingarth in Gallgaedelaib' and (Kelly's text) 'in Gallghaelaigh Udnochtan.'
5. 856 . . . a great war between the gentiles and Maelsechlaind with the Gall-Gaidhil . . . a great victory by Aed, Niall's son over the Gall-Gaidhil in Glenelly. *Annals of Ulster*
   Four Masters
6. 857 a victory gained by Ivar and Olaf over Ketil the White with the Gall-Gaidhil in the lands of Munster. *Annals of Ulster*
7. 858 Cerbaill, King of Ossory defeated the Gall-Gaidhil in Tyrone.
8. 858 a rout of the (Cenel) Giachach and the Gall-Gaidhil of Cond's half . . . *Chronicon Scottorum*
9. 858 Maelsechlaind went into Munster . . . he ought to have come to kill those whom he killed there of the Gall-Gaidhil; because these were men who had forsaken their baptism; and they were called Northmen because they had the Northmen's manners and had been fostered by them; and though the original Northmen did evil to the churches these did far worse i.e. this people (the Gall-Gaidhil) wherever they were in Ireland. *Duald MacFirbis*

10. A similar vote by MacFirbis for 859 in which he refers to the 'fleet of the Gall-Gaidhil.'
11. 1034 Suibne, Kenneth's son, King of the Gall-Gaidhil died. *Annals of Ulster*
12. 1200 Roland, son of Uhtred, a King of the Gall-Gaidhil, reposed in peace. *Annals of Ulster*
13. 1234 Alan . . . King of the Gall-Gaidhil died. *Annals of Ulster*

Appendix B

Forms of the name Galloway recorded in miscellaneous Scottish and English documentary sources before 1234:

Galweia	1109-35	*Melrose Liber.*
Walweithia	*c.*1125	*William of Malmesbury.*
Galwegia	*c.*1130	*CDS*, i.
Galewegia	*c.*1138	*John of Hexham.*
Galweia	1139-41	*Glasgow Registrum.*
Galweia	*c.*1159	*RRS*, i.
Galwathea	1161-64	Edgar, *Dumfries.*
Galwidia	1161-74	*St Bees Register.*
Galweia	1161-64	*Holyrood Liber.*
Galuweth	1161-64	*Holyrood Liber.*
Galwadia	*c.*1170	Walter Daniel, *Life of Ailred.*
Galeweia	1185	*CDS*, i.
Galeweia	1192	SRO GD 90/i/ii.
Galweia	1196-1200	*Melrose Liber.*
Galweithia	12th cent.	*Jocelin of Furness.*
Galewei	1200	*Owl and the Nightingale.*
Galuuethia	1200	*Reginald of Durham.*
Galweia	1200	*Symeon of Durham.*
Galweth	1200-6	*Holyrood Liber.*
Galweya	1207	*CDS*, i.
Galwaithe	1208	*CDS*, i.
Gaweia	1212	*CDS*, i.
Galwidia	*ante* 1214	*Melrose Liber.*
Galweia	*ante* 1214	*Holyrood Liber.*
Galeweya	1214-15	*CDS*, i.
Galweia	1223	*Melrose Liber.*
Galweye	1225-6	*CDS*, i.
Galweth	1200-34	*St Bees Register.*
Galwithia	1200-34	*Dryburgh Register.*
Galeweia	1200-34	*Melrose Liber.*
Galwythia	1200-34	*Glasgow Registrum.*
Galwaith	1200-34	*Holm Cultram Register.*
Galuuath	*ante* 1234	*CDS*, i.

Appendix C

Forms of the name given to the people of Galloway in Scottish and English documents before 1200 (nominative forms in brackets).

Galweiensium (Galweienses)	1130	*CDS*, i.
Galwensibus (Galwenses)	1138	*CDS*, i.
Gawensibus (Gawenses)	1139-41	Anderson, *Early Sources.*
Galwensibus (Galwenses)	1143-4	*Melrose Liber.*
Galweensibus (Galweenses)	1147-53	*Anderson, Early Sources.*
Gawenses	1150	*Dryburgh Liber.*
Gallowidenses	1151-2	*Dryburgh Liber.*
Galwitensium (Galwitenses)	*c.*1160	Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum.*
Gawensibus (Gawenses)	*a.*1165	*RRS*, i.
Galuensibus (Galuenses)		
Galguensibus (Galguenses)	*c.*1170	*TDGAS,* Wragge.
Galwalenses	*c.*1188	*Med Latin Word List.*

Notes

1. Watson, W. J., *A History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926).
2. MacQueen, J., 'Gaelic speakers of Galloway and Carrick', *Scottish Studies*, 17 (1973) 172-3.
3. Kirby, D. P., 'Galloway prior to *c.*1100', in MacNeill, P., and Nicholson, R., (edd.), *Historical Atlas of Scotland* (St. Andrews, 1975), 22.
4. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names.*
5. Barrow, G. W. S., *Kingship and Unity. Scotland c.1100 to 1306* (London, 1981), 11-12.
6. MacQueen, J., 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', *Archivum Linguisticum*, 8 (1956), 135-49; Nicolaisen, W. F. H., 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', *Scottish Studies*, 4 (1960), 49-70.
7. Brooke, D., 'Kirk- compound place-names in Galloway and Carrick. The historical evidence', *TDGAS*, (1983), 56-71.
8. MacQueen, J., 'Pennyland and Davoch in South-West Scotland', *Scottish Studies*, 23 (1979), 69-74; Megaw, B., 'A note on pennyland and davoch in south-west Scotland', *Scottish Studies*, 23 (1979), 77-9.
9. Bailey, R., *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London, 1980); Lang, J. T., 'Hogback monuments in Scotland', *PSAS*, 105 (1973-4), 206-35.
10. *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1832), 120-21.
11. Sellar, W. D. H., 'Family origins in Cowal and Knapdale', *Scottish Studies*, 15 (1971), 21-37.
12. Bannerman, J., 'The Scots of Dalriada', in *Historical Atlas of Scotland*, 13-15.
13. Sellar, W. D. H., 'The Western Isles *c.*800-1095', in *Historical Atlas of Scotland*, 23-4.
14. Jackson, K. H., 'Sources for the Life of St. Kentigern', in Chadwick, N. K. (ed.), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), 277-9; Jackson, K. H., *Language and History in Early Britain* (1955), 9-10, 219.
15. *Regesta Regum Scotorum*, Barrow, G. W. S. (ed.), (Edinburgh, 1960), i, 38-9.

16. *RRS,* i.
17. The 'Galwit' of the Fergus charter is echoed recognisably in 'Galuvet', a term of abuse in Dumfries in 1259, *CDS,* i, No. 2176.
18. Ekwall, E., *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1960). A stretch of road between Dumfries and Kirkpatrick Durham used to be called the Galgate (MacFarlane MS appended to MacKenzie, W., *History of Galloway from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Kirkcudbright, 1841)).
19. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names,* 174.
20. Ekwall, *English Place-Names.*
21. Reaney, P. H., *The Origins of English Place-Names* (1980), 24-6.
22. Megaw, B., 'Norseman and native in the kingdom of the Isles', *Scottish Studies,* 20 (1976).
23. Brooke, D., *The Place-Names of Galloway* (Forthcoming).
24. Black, G., *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946).
25. Nicolaisen, W. F. H., 'Slew- and Sliabh', *Scottish Studies,* 9 (1965), 91-106.
26. 'Ailred of Rievaulx's Saints of Hexham', in *The Priory of Hexham* (Surtees Society, 44, 1863), 79-80. The Galwegian presence was recorded by Ailred decades after the event; but he was a Hexham man, and the tradition of the Galwegians' descent on the town may have been alive in his youth. What Wallace did there is remembered today.
27. Henry II called them 'cousins', an imprecise term. The story that Fergus married an illegitimate daughter of Henry I may be wrong, deriving in error from Chalmers' *Caledonia.* His authority, Sandford, quotes Ordericus Vitalis as saying that Elizabeth, youngest natural daughter of Henry I, married the king of Scots. We know her as Sybilla, who married Alexander I.
28. cf. Oram, 'Fergus, Galloway and the Scots', this volume.
29. *Exchequer Rolls,* 6, 191-210.
30. See Brooke, 'Kirk- compound place-names'.
31. The Sibbald MS appended to MacKenzie's *History of Galloway* speaks of the loch of Lochnaw '. . . wherein the kings of old had ane house'. Margaret of Touraine, lady of Galloway, appointed a constable, which implies that the castle was hers.
32. Salter, H. E., *The Oxford Deeds of Balliol College* (Oxford, 1913).
33. Nicolaisen, W. F. H., 'Celts and Anglo-Saxons in the Scottish Border Counties', *Scottish Studies,* 8 (1964), 141-71.
34. *Exchequer Rolls,* 6, 192.
35. SRO, RH/1/1.
36. *Exchequer Rolls,* 6, 200; Wyntoun says of this castle:

> Bot in Karryk John Kennedy
> Warrayid Gallwey sturdaly
> He and Alane Stewart tha twa
> Oft dyd Galways mekill wa
> Yhit the Balioll all that quhill
> In Gallwa wes at the Brynt-yle.

37. *St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy of Armagh,* Lawlor, H. C. (ed.), (London, 1920), 76-9.
38. SRO, GD 72.

39. 'Bagimond's Roll: Statement of the Tenths of the Kingdom of Scotland', Dunlop, A. I. (ed.), *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, 6 (1939), 74-5.
40. 'Bagimond's Roll', 74-5.
41. See Brooke, 'Kirk- compound place-names'.
42. Crawford, O. G. S., 'Arthur and his battles', *Antiquity*, 10 (1935), 177-91.
43. Jackson, K. H., 'Calidon and the Caledonian Forest', *BBCS*, 23 (1969), 199-200; Rivet, A. L. F., and Smith, C., *Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979), 289-91.
44. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*.
45. *Annals of Ulster*, Hennessy, W. M. (ed.), (4 vols, Rolls Series, 1887-1901), 1, 481.
46. Jackson, K. H., 'Two early Scottish names', *SHS*, 33 (1954), 14-15.
47. Merthyn, according to the Welsh tradition, wandered and lived rough in *Coed Celyddon* after the battle of Arthuret. One can scarcely imagine him travelling to the north of Scotland after the battle before going mad and taking to the woods. (See Dillon, M., and Chadwick, N. K., *The Celtic Realms* (1967)). The disappearance of *Coed Celyddon* reinforces my thesis. The forest has not gone away — it assumed camouflage colouring!