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29. As in the expression [ta fa:s Nə k´əL´ə fi:] (tá fás na cille faoi), 'he's ripening for the grave', 'he'a growing too fast' (Lucas, L. W., Grammar of Ros Goill Irish Co. Donegal, 48, 84).
30. Gwynn, A. and Hadcock, R. N., Medieval Religious Houses Ireland, 122, 130.
31 ibid., 70.
32. Cf. Power, P., The Place-Names of Decies, 209-10. Power snggests that both churches may have been built on the site of older foundations. Whether or not this was the case, the names, as they survive, are medieval coinages.
33. Cf. Gwynn, A. and Hadcock, R. N., op. cit., 311, 321-2.
34. ibid., 203, 205.
35. Cf. Price, L., The Place-Names of Co. Wicklow, VII, 386.
36. Gwynn, A. and Hadcock, R. N., op. cit., 353.
37. The form given in Ainmneacha Gaeilge na mBailte Poist, corresponding to the local pronunciation of today [k´əl´i'k´r´e:nan´]. The common medieval spelling is Cill Mic Néndin (cf. Onom. Goed., 197-8). Hogan (loc. cit.) suggests that the original form was Cell mac nÉnáin, 'church of the sons of Énán'.
38. Gwynn, A. and Hadcock, R. N., op. cit., 372-3.
39. ibid., 321.
40. In The Triads of Ireland the three clúana of Ireland are ecclesiastical clnain-names: Clúain Maic Nóis, Clúain Eois, Clúain Iraird (R.I.A. Todd Lecture Series, XIII, 6-7).
41. This, of course, might be presupposed of many of the ecclesiastical site-names which in their element-composition do not derive from or allude to the ecclesiastical foundation; it is even more likely to be the case where the initial element is indicative of secular settlement either of a primary nature (e.g. dún or ráth) or of a secondary nature, cluain being the outstanding instance, achadh of less frequent occurrence.
42. p. 110.
43. Reeves, W., op. cit., 114-5.
44. p. 149. Cf. also Reeves, W., op. cit., 304 f.
45. p. 215. For description of remains of round tower at Drumbo cf. An Archaeological Survey of Co. Down, 129.
46. p. 97.
47. pp. 7-8. Colgan spells the place-name Druim Thoma, Druim Thuoma.
48. Cf. Gwynn, A. and Hadcock, R. N., op. cit., 28.
49. ibid., 29.
50. ibid., 37.
51. ibid., 38.
52. ibid., 372.
53. ibid., 372.
54. Translated thus by Reeves. 'Cúil Echtrann' in the Rawlinson B 512 text (ed. Stokes) and in Colgan's Triadis Thaum. The reading from Egerton 93, B.M. (ed. Mulchrone) is 'hi Cúil Echtraind', 'nook of the stranger(?)'.
55. pp. 99, 97.

GAELIC CILL (KIL(L)-) IN SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

Aidan MacDonald

Cill is the usual place-name generic in Gaelic-speaking Scotland denoting, broadly, "church". There are a priori grounds for regarding it as the classic place-name element of early Irish monasticism, within (and outwith?) the early Irish settlements in Scotland: these grounds will be looked at. Its toponymic meaning seems always to be "church"; but in modern colloqnial usage it means (almost invariably) "graveyard" (see Watson 1904, lxiv-lxv; Mackinnon 1887, 5). Watson records a Fenian tale in which the name Killin (Cill Fhinn) on Loch Tay is etymologized as "grave of Fionn"; but this usage is unique, so far as the writer is aware, and probably need not be taken into acconnt here (Watson 1927-8, 276-9). Under modern conditions, cill sometimes alternates with, or has been replaced by, other elements of related meaning: for example, the church of Kintail, Wester Ross, is Cill Dubhthaich, or Clachán (clachán: "Kirkton") Dubhthaich (Watson 1926, 284); Cladh Pheadair (cladh: "graveyard"), probably the site of the medieval parish church of Kilpheder, S. Uist (OS records and Innes 1850-5, 2.1, 365-6), lies a mile NW of the modern settlement of Kilpheder. One may compare Cladh Cill Iain, Nereabolls, Islay (not on OS 6 in.: recorded by Islay Archaeological Survey Group); Cill Lasrach, or Cill Tobar Lasrach, near Port Ellen in Islay (Watson 1926, 307); and the oddly named Cladh Chille, in Blair Atholl, Perthshire (OS records) - where, perhaps, a qualifying element has dropped after chille.

Derivatives from cill seem to be very rare. Irish cillín, which, with the stress on the first syllable as normal in Scots Gaelic (Mackinnon 1887, 5), would become something like cillean, seems to be entirely absent: Macbain's "Kirkie" (Ceallan) for Kallin, Grimsay, N. Uist (Macbain 1922, 162), is impossible, as ceall is feminine and must therefore form a diminutive in - ag; the name is in fact Na Ceallan, "the churches", there being two churches here (W. Matheson, Department of Celtic, Edinburgh University, personal communication). Mackinnon regards cealtrach, in Lochan na Cealtrach, Oransay, as a derivative of cill (Mackinnon 1887, 5); but the word seems more likely connected with Old Irish celtair, the primary meaning of which is apparently "concealment, covering," then "garment, mantle, cloak" (Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language, C. Fasciculus 1. General editor E. G. Quin. Royal Irish Academy. Dublin 1968). A site in Islay, a mile SW of Port Charlotte, seems to have been recorded variously as Ceallachan Mhicheil, Cilleach Mhicheil and Cill Michael in recent compilations: it is uot shown on the OS 6 in. and the writer has not heard the local spoken Gaelic form, if it survives. Simple cill is overwhelmingly the rule in the writer's experience.

Cille as qualifying element (Beinn, Baile, Eilean, Loch, Port na Cille, etc.) requires further detailed study. In all or most cases, probably, it refers, or referred, to an actual site that is, or was, called by a name with generic element cill, or related term. But two further possibilities exist that cannot, at present, be satisfactorily accepted or rejected. The first is that cille here can have the restricted modern meaning "graveyard"; i.e. that cille as qualifying element can be younger than generic cill and have a different distribution. The second is that it may sometimes denote ownership of land by the Church, rather than refer to a specific site. Such usage might be borne out by the extended lexical application of early Irish cell seen in the phrase etir chill 7 tuaith: the clergy as opposed to the laity (Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language, C. Fasciculus 1. General editor E. G. Quin. Royal Irish Academy. Dublin 1968), but does not seem very likely. Eaglais is more probably the term employed in this context: Amat, for example, at the junction of Eunag and Oykel, used to be called Àmad na gCuilean, "Amat of the Whelps", to distinguish it from Àmad na hEaglaise and Àmad na' Tuath "Amat of the Laity",

in Strathcarron (Watson 1926, 241-2). Lexically again, "'the Christian Church' as an institution, whether regarded as a visible organisation or a spiritual community of believers" is the primary meaning assigned to early Irish eclais, eclas (Dictionary of the Irish Language. E. Ed. Maud Joynt and Eleanor Knott. Royal Irish Academy. Dublin 1967).

"Inversion compounds" occur especially in SW Scotland. In these names, Germanic Kirk- has replaced cill- as generic element, but the Gaelic word-order has been retained. The result is names like Kirkanders, Kirkbride, Kirkcolm, Kirkcudbright, as compared with the normal Germanic formation seen in, for example, Brydekirk, Laurencekirk. A curiosity is Kirklebride, Dumfriesshire, for Kirk-Kil-bride, (Watson 1926, 161). The earliest of these names probably arose during the late 9th or early 10th century, with the settlement in the area of Norse and Norse-Irish from Ireland and (possibly a little earlier) from the NW, who either spoke or knew enough Irish to recognise the force of cill- among an existing Irish-speaking population. The oldest instances, therefore, were presumably direct replacements of cill- in well-established Gaelic names. Subsequently, other names were probably coined on the same pattern in a Norse or bilingual Norse-Gaelic milieu; and still later, when the local English dialects had accepted the practice. There is evidence that such formations were possibly still creative, or at least not yet established, in later medieval times: Kirkbride in Nithsdale, for example, is known also in this period as Kilbride (Cowan 1967, 118); Kirkdominie, Ayrshire, is Kildomine in 1404 (Nicolaisen 1976, 109). Indeed, one of the Kirkbrides in the Rinns of Galloway is still known locally as Kilbride (Nicolaisen 1976, 109), so the situation has never stabilised completely. The phenomenon occurs sporadically elsewhere in the country: the parish church of Strath, Skye, is apparently Kilchrist or Christiskirk in 1505, but Kirkchrist in 1574; Kilmorie in Arran is Kilmory in 1483, but Kyrkmorich in 1595 (Nicolaisen 1976, 110). In the SW, inversion compounds form parish names to the exclusion of Kil(l)- names and are almost always in coastal districts or easily accessible river valleys (Nicolaisen 1976, 132-3, 109). For a recent summary discussion, see Nicolaisen 1976, 108-12 and map 10, 106; map 13, 128. Such names are to be viewed within the general context of generic cill: Kil(l)- may also have replaced Kirk- (Nicolaisen 1976, 112).

The elements qualifying generic cill are normally the names of personages regarded, with greater or lesa historical justification, as "saints". These are either of one or other of the native traditions - Irish-Scottish, Pictish, British, English - or of the universal church, biblical or otherwise. The writer sees little evidence, at present, to support the view that any significant number of such names are those of secular donors of land to the church, whether individual or collective. But the matter needs further detailed investigation: one or two qualifying names may denote ownership by, or dependence on, a secular kindred. Occasionally, the qualifying element is topographically or otherwise descriptive.

Within the Irish-Scottish tradition, some names have wide currency: Cill Chaluim Chille and Kilbride (Kirk-) are legion, though it is uncertain whether names like Kilmalcolm, Kirkcolm, should be attributed to Calum Chille or some other Colum (Watson 1926, 193, 165); or whether all the Brides are Brigit of Kildare (Watson 1926, 161, 274-5; cf. Forbes 1872, 287-91). Kilpatrick (Kirk-), Cill Chiaráin (Kilkerran, (?)), Cill Chomhghain (Kilchoan), Cill Fhìonáin, Cill Ma-Ruibhe, Cill-á-Rubha (Maelrubha of Applecross), Kilchattan, Cill Mo-Luáig, Cill Bhrianainn (Kilbirnie, Kilbrenan), Cill Bhlathain (Kilblane, -blain), Cill Choinnich (Kilchenich, -chenzie), Cill Donnáin etc., are all fairly common. So also are Kilallan, -illan, -ellan, -phillan (one or other of the saints called Faolán: Watson 1926, 193, 284-5, 164); Killearnan, -ernie (?), -earn (?), -ern (?), Kinnernie (?), Kilmarnock (one or other of the saints called Ernán, Ernín, Mo-Ernóc etc.: Watson 1926, 321, 187-8, 291-2; cf. Cill Earnadail, Killernandale, Jura: ibid., 83. For Kinnernie, see Alexander 1952, 310). Less common are such as Kilmun, Cill Da-Bhí, Cill Mo-Liubha. Adamnán (Eódhnán) is noticeably rare: Killeonan, near Campbeltown in Kintyre, is the only instance given

by Watson (1926, 270-1); and Forbes (1872, 264-6) supplies no additional examples. Kilewnan, in Fintry parish, Stirlingshire, is the only other probable occurrence known to the writer. The Aidans are equally poorly represented: Kilmodan, in Glendaruel, Cowal (M'Aodhán, earlier M'Aedán), is all Watson has (1926, 289-90). So are the Colmáns, considering their very large number: Cill Mo-Chalmáig (Kilmachalmaig) is on the Kyle of Sutherland; Kilmachalmaig in Bute; Kilchalman in N. Uist (Watson 1926, 278-9); Cill Cholman Eala (Kilcalmonell: Colmán Eala) is in Knapdale (Watson 1926, 302) and Colmonell in Carrick was also known as Kilcolmonell (Cowan 1967, 34; cf. Watson 1926, 187). Cumméin seems only to appear in Cill Chuimein, Fort Augustus (Watson 1926, 303) and Kilchuimin, Glenelg (Cowan 1967, 75). Some persons seem only to occur once: Kilconquhar, in Fife, is "Conchobar's church" (Watson 1926, 314); Kilduncan, also in Fife, is possibly Cill Donnchon, "Donnchú's Church" (Watson 1926, 318); while Cill Fhearchair, in Glenshiel, Wester Ross, may commemorate a saint Ferchar (Watson 1926, 304). There is apparently nothing known, traditional or historical, about these personages.

Kiltarlity (Cill Taraghláin), near Beauly, Inverness-shire, and Cill Taraghláin, near Portree, Skye, incorporate the name Talorcán, common among the Picts (Watson 1926, 298). The saint(s) may, therefore, have been Pictish. Nechtán was also a common Pictish name; but Cill Neachdáin (Kilnaughton) in Islay and Cill Mo-Neachdáin in Iona (Watson 1926, 308), from their occurrence within an area of early Irish settlement, suggest an Irish or Scottish commemoration. In the east of the country there are commemorations to a saint Nathalan, Nachlan, etc., who was either identical, or has been conflated with, Nechtán (Watson 1926, 329-31): the church of Tullich in Aberdeenshire was sometimes known as Cill Nachlan (Alexander 1952, 404). It looks as though these names may have survived in both Gaelic and P-Celtic forms, but the matter needs further investigation. Kilmadock, near Callander, Perthshire (Watson 1926, 195-6, 327, 520) may commemorate a Pictish or north British Cadoc, rather than Cadoc of Llancarvan (cf. Thomas 1971, 219).

Convallus (Connel), said to have been a disciple of St. Kentigern of Glasgow, has a British name, O. W. Conguall (Watson 1926, 169): Kilwhannel, in Ballantrae parish, Ayrshire, may contain this name (Watson 1926, 189), as do probably the Kirkconnels of Dumfries (4) and Kirkcudbright (2). Constantine, traditionally associated with Govan on the Clyde, may also have been British: Kilchousland, in Kintyre, possibly contains the name; and the church of Urr, Kirkcudbright, was at one time known as Kircostintyn (Cowan 1967, 34 205-6; Watson (1926) is not satisfactory here). In Kirkgunzeon, Kirkcudbright, the saint's name is probably Irish (Finnén), but in British form; nearby is Kylliemingan, probably for Cill M'Fhinnéin (Watson 1926, 165). Kilwinning, in Ayrshire, similarly, was called in the Gaelic of Arran Cill Guinnean (David Clement, Department of Celtic, Edinburgh University, personal communication).

Kirkcarswell, in Kerrick parish, Kirkcudbright, and Kirkoswald (parish), Ayrshire, commemorate the Northumbrian King and saint Oswald (Watson 1926, 167, 188). Kirkcudbright is "St. Cuthbert's church" (Nicolaisen 1976, 13, 110). Kennethmont (pariah), Aberdeenshire, may, on medieval record forms, have been originally *Kilalcmund, Alcmund also being a Northumbrian saint (Alexander 1952, 307).

Among commemorations of biblical saints and saints of the universal church, those to Mary are probably by far the commonest. They appear in various forms: Cill(e) Mhaire, Mhuire, Mairi Mhoire, Mhairi; Kilmore (?), -moray, -morie, -mory, -moir, Kilmuir (Kirk-). Michael is also common: Kilmichael (Kirk-). Peter appears in Cill Pheadair, Kil(l)fedder, -phedder, -pheder, -phedir; Andrew in Kirkandrews (-anders), Killandrist: of four instances known to the writer, two are in Kirkcudbright and one now in Cumberland: this distribution suggests Northumbrian influence in the dissemination of his cultus. John is commemorated in Cill Eathain, Kilian, Killean. Cill nam Bràithrean, at Lochgoilhead, Argyll, and Cill nam Bràthair, Strathbrora,

Sutherland, "church of the brothers", may refer either to Peter and Andrew or to James and John (Watson 1926, 273). Christ is also invoked: Kiltearn, Easter Ross (Nicolaisen 1976, 144), Cill Chriosd, Kilchrist (Kirk-), probably Kirkdominae, Barr parish, Ayrshire (see above: *Cill Domhnaich ?). Martin of Tours is in Kilmartin; Catherine in Cill Chatrìona, Colonsay (Watson 1926, 269); Gregory, possibly, in Killegruar, Killean and Kilchenzie parish, Argyll, if it is Kilgregir in 1545 (Innes 1850-5, 2.1., 6, 26). But it seems that, generally speaking, such post-apostolic saints of the universal church are not common with generic cill. Most of the examples quoted here are taken from the OS lin. sheets.

Kinglassie, in Fife, is for Cill Glaise, "church of the stream" (Watson 1926, 320). Cill a' Chuingleum, Killiechoilum, in Stratherrick, Inverness-shire, is "church of Cuingleum": Cuingleum, literally "gorge-leap", is applied to a number of places where a stream running between rocky banks narrows sufficiently, or almost so, to be leapt across (Watson 1926, 487). Two medieval parishes are conjoined in that of Kilninver - Kilmelfort, in Argyll: Kilninver appears superficially to be Cill an Inbhir, "church of the confluence", or "river-mouth"; while Kilmelfort probably takes its name from Loch Melfort, near the head of which it stands - Melfort being presumably the Norse name of the loch. These names would have to be checked against their older record forms, however. Cill Fhinn, Killin, of which there are several instances, could mean "(at) white church", though Watson argues for Fionn being a saint's name here (1926, 323). On the other hand, he takes Cill Duinn, Kildnn, near Dingwall, Easter Ross, to be dative-locative of cell donn "brown church" (1926, 323). More work needs to be done to try to determine whether such names, especially the topographically descriptive ones, are simply random, or reflect other influences. Cill Bhaodáin, in Ardgour ("Kilboyden in Morvern" 1613) and in Ardchattan may conceivably point to ownership by, or some kind of dependence on, a secular kindred: Baodán, earlier Báetán, was the eponym of one of the Lorne kindreds; Morvern itself was at one time called Kinelvadon (Cineal Bhaodáin), and both churches must have been in the territory of Lorne from an early date (see Watson 1926, 122-3, 300-1; Bannerman 1974, 111-15).

The overall distribution of generic cill may be seen in Nicolaisen's map (1976, 142). The names occur most densely in mainland Argyll and the adjacent islands, spreading thence to the regions around the lower Clyde; and in western Galloway and Garrick. They occur along the W coast N of Argyll; and in Skye, the Small Isles, Uist and Barra. Reaching up the Great Glen, there is a noticeable concentration around the Moray Firth, which is balanced, to some extent, to the S in Fife, by way of the E-W routes through Perthshire. From Carrick and the lower Clyde, they occur all along the coast of the Firth of Clyde (with a few in Clydesdale itself); and from western Galloway, along the N shore of the Solway Firth. They are largely or wholly absent from Wester Ross and Wester Sutherland, Lewis and Harris, the N mainland and the Northern Isles. They are also markedly rare throughout the region between the Moray Firth and the Tay valley; and in the SE of the country, S of the Firth of Forth. Nicolaisen's map may be infilled somewhat as to detail, but the overall pattern is unlikely to be altered significantly.

N of Forth and Clyde, this distribution accords well with what is known historically of the development of Irish settlement between the 6th and the 9th centuries. Argyll and its islands formed the original nucleus of the Kingdom of Dalriata from c. 500 or shortly before. During the later 7th or early 8th century, the W coast northwards to Applecross and perhaps beyond, and the rest of the Western Isles, were incorporated into the Scots Kingdom; and the area effectively controlled by the Picts pushed back beyond Druimalban. The occurrence of cill names along the Great Glen and around the Moray Firth, and through the Perthshire straths into Fife ("unofficial settlement" ?), serves to reinforce the view that cill had largely ceased to be a creative name-forming element before the Scots were in a position to move into the central regions of Pictland on a large scale - i.e. before the second half of the 9th century. In the far NE (lowland

Caithness) and in the Northern Isles, the Norse settlement of the 9th century has almost completely erased the earlier toponymy; but it is unlikely that Gaelic speakers had reached the N mainland in any numbers before the arrival of the Norse. In the NW, Watson (1926, 337) may be right in suggesting a very sparse population in early-, at least in pre-, Norse times. The situation in Lewis and Harris will be returned to.

S of Forth and Clyde, another area of intensive Irish settlement, probably contemporary with that which led to the founding of Dalriata, has been recognized, mainly from place-name evidence and notably from the distribution of sliabh, in the Rinns of Galloway (Nicolaisen 1976, 39-46 and Map 1, 43). The matter of Gaelic settlement in southern Scotland generally has recently been discussed by Nicolaisen (1976, 123-36), in terms of the three elements baile, achadh and cill. In the present context, the overall distribution of cill here is to be seen against a background of secular Irish settlement spreading northwards and eastwards from a primary area in the Rinns of Galloway, very likely reinforced from time to time by immigration, on W and possibly N, from Ireland or Dalriata, but not making any significant inroads into Strathclyde or beyond Galloway eastwards until after the 10th century. Nothing in the southern evidence for cill seems to invalidate the broad chronological framework, already suggested by the northern material, within which it was a creative generic element. Indeed, the almost complete absence of cill in the SE of the country might again point to the virtnal disappearance of the element in the formation of place-names before the second half of the 9th century: the union of the Scottish and Pictish kingdoms c. 843 and the disintegration of Northumbria in the 860's and 870's might well have opened the way for large-scale Gaelic immigration S of the Forth into Bernicia. However, this argument should be treated with caution, as there seems to be little or no toponymic evidence (at least) for such intensive settlement in this region. (Other evidence for the process outlined here is extremely scanty or non-existent).

The present writer agrees, therefore, with the main conclusions put forward by Nicolaisen in his recent general discussion of cill (1976, ch. 7), with the following qualifications.

To a greater or less extent, teampull (from Latin templum) replaces generic cill in Lewis, Harris, N. Uist, Benbecula and parts of Skye. It occurs sporadically also on the mainland and in the Argyll Hebrides. The detailed distribution is, however, uncertain. That outlined here is based on the instances given by Watson (1926) and on additional occurrences taken from the OS lin. maps: it is possible that, if all the teampull names appearing on the first edition OS 6 in. sheets were plotted, the pattern would be significantly altered. There are two further complications. The first is that, if any number of these names appears in anglicized form on the OS maps, particularly in mainland areas, confusion could arise with land owned, or said to have been owned, by the Knights Templars, or their successors, the Knights of St. John (MacDonald 1941, 14-15) and names like Temp(le)land (10), Temple (14), Templehall (8), Templeton (8), Templehill (2) (all from the OS lin. maps). This danger seems fairly remote, however. In view of what is snggested below, it seems unlikely that the Gaelic generic teampull spread widely southwards and south-eastwards on the mainland, from the NW. And the kinds of Temple-names instanced above are confined mainly to the lowlands of the NE (including Easter Ross), Ayrshire, Fife and Midlothian; and marginally to E. Lothian, Roxburghshire, Berwickshire, lowland Perthshire, Stirlingshire, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbright. The second is that some names have arisen from antiquarian speculation, or from the building of aristrocratic follies, in the 18th and 19th centuries. That antiquarian speculation could affect Gaelic, as well as Scots, local tradition, seems to be well illnstrated by the name Cnoc an Teampuill in Kiltearn parish, Easter Ross: there is apparently no church site in the vicinity, but nearby is a presumably prehistoric setting of standing stones called Clachan Biorach ("pointed" or "standing stones") (Watson 1904, 88). Here, then, the teampull is probably "druidical" and of 18th or 19th century application. Clearly, much more

detailed work has to be done here, but it is tentatively suggested that teampull, at least in the areas of apparently commonest occurrence and very likely elsewhere also, is a dialectal replacement of cill; and that this development arose, or was still active, in comparatively recent times.

There are reasons for making this suggestion that can only be sketched roughly at present. Kilmuir, in N. Uist, was a medieval parish church; and the site of the medieval parish church of Harris was "till recently named Kilbride" (Innes 1850-5, 2.1., 372-3, 376-7). It looks, therefore, as though locally important medieval churches have sometimes retained generic cill: i.e. the older generic has been preserved by the (former) status of the site. Similarly, Pont's map (c. 1590 - c. 1600: published 1654) has Kil Trinidad (sic) for the church now called Teampull na Trianáid, at Carinish in N. Uist. (Watson (1926, 294) gives both Cill an Truinnein and Teampull an Truinnein in Glen Urquhart, presumably alternative names for the site at Temple Pier, St. Ninians (OS 1in. map)). Furthermore, where teampull is now the generic, cille can still appear as qualifying element in associated names: Teampull Mhòire and Teampull Beag, in Pabbay, Harris, are situated at Bailenacille. One may compare St. Peter's Church, in Pabay More, Uig parish, Lewis, situated on Cnoc na Cille: associated names are Traigh na Cille, Sgeir na Cille - and also Loch an Teampuill (Original Name Books, OS). The elements qualifying teampull are usually much the same as those qualifying cill: saints' names etc., as Teampull Chaluim Chille, T. Chriosd, T. Mhnir, T. Orain, T. Pheadair, T. Tharáin, T. Chomhghain, T. Mo-Luigh, T. Rónaig; and descriptive elements, as Teampull a' Ghlinne. It occurs itself as qualifying element: Baile an Teampuill, Clach an T., Eileanan an T., Rudh' an T. All these instances are taken from Watson (1926) and the 1in. OS maps.

The problem presents difficulties. In the first place, it raises the vexed question of the status, or fate, of Gaelic in Lewis at the height of the Norse occupation: if cill survived aa a generic here throughout the medieval period (or most of it), then did Gaelic also survive alongside Norse and not have to be reintroduced as Norse influence declined (cf. Nicolaisen 1976, 138)? In the second, if the replacement of cill by teampnll is late medieval, or even post-medieval, no explanation for it, historical or otherwise, occurs readily to mind: it may be, indeed, that the reason(s) will eventually be found in a post-Reformation context. In the third, closely related to the last point, the distribution of Scottish teampull (as known to the writer at present) suggests that no appeal can be made here to Irish evidence.

In the Cnmbric British south, the generic element in place-names for "church" generally seems to have been the cognate of Welsh eglwys, not of Welsh-Cornish l(l)an; and this element seems to have spread into southern and central Pictland. In fact, names with generic eccles-, eglis-, etc. (modern and documentary forms) occur (or occurred) commonly here in parts of that region where cill is markedly rare: between the Tay Valley and Aberdeenshire. They also occur significantly in Fife, Stirlingshire and the adjacent parts of Perthshire. The possibility must be admitted that some (or all) of these names have Gaelic eaglais (post-cill formations?) as their generic: the matter will be returned to below. But Barrow (1973, 60-4 and map 14, 62) has argued a strong case for regarding them as P-Celtic generally, not Gaelic; and, in Pictland, as perhaps reflecting a Ghristian tradition in the south having its origins elsewhere than in the Irish-derived monastic church that probably dominated the north. (It may be observed, in passing, that many eccles- names occur in the SE of the country, S of the Firth of Forth, where cill is again very rare). The eccles- names of Pictland would, in this view, reflect the presence, in the S of the Kingdom, of a native church sufficiently well-established to resist large-acale penetration by the Irish church into the heart of its area of control before the mid 9th century. The writer agrees broadly with Barrow, while making the additional observations outlined below.

It is doubtful whether, at the present time, it is posaible to infill in any detail the broad chronological framework suggested above. Obviously, commemorations of a particular saint

could not arise before his or her death; and perhaps not for some time after. But that fact is of limited use. Nicolaisen has pointed out (1976, 130, 143-4) that most of the native saints commemorated belong traditionally to the 6th and 7th centuries, suggesting that most place-names having generic cill should not be dated much before the second half of the 7th century; and that, in any case, the qualifying elements must be as restricted as the generic. In general, he is probably right. In many cases, however, the historicity of these personages, particularly for the 5th and much of the 6th centuries, is extremely dubious, even (perhaps especially) where they are assigned definite dates in the documentary sources. And there is the additional problem that, where a name is fairly common, it is often not possible to assign a site or sites to a given individual bearing the name in question, however well attested he or she may be historically. Qualifying elements could, indeed, have changed, while the generic remained constant. But such a process could probably only occur as long as the generic was productive in the formation of place-names. By the period of the earliest documentary record, usually the 12th century or later, most cill names have apparently been long stabilised; and, where there is known to have been, or seems to have been, a change in the dedication of the church in later medieval times, the cill name has survived because it was regarded, clearly, as the name of the place. Thus Kilchrenan, on Loch Awe, was dedicated to St. Peter the Deacon in the 14th century (Watson 1926, 303); Kennethmont (see above) is known to have been dedicated to St. Rule in the later 16th century; and Kinnernie (see above) was apparently dedicated to Sr. Mary (Alexander 1952, 307, 310). In no case is it certainly known when, or in what circumstances, a particular dedication or group of dedications arose. Those to biblical saints or saints of the universal church may conceivably have been more formally applied; those to native saints, of whatever tradition, in more informal and ad hoc fashion. But even in the latter case the "popular" element could have been exaggerated in the past and the possibility (at least) of more "official" processes being at work underestimated. For instance, Adamnán seems to imply that Iona in his day observed the festival of St. Brendan of Birr, instituted there by St. Columba (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 486-9). It is possible, therefore, that church dedications to this saint arose within the paruchia of Iona (cf. Watson 1926, 274). Some, at any rate, of the fairly numerous sites called Cill Chiaráin etc., (Watson 1926, 278), could have similar origins: Clonmacnoise is not known to have had territorial or other interests in Scotland; but did enjoy friendly relations at an early stage with Iona (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 214-9). It is very likely also that the fair popularity in Scotland of the cultus of Cainnech of Aghaboe may be attributed originally to Iona (cf. Anderson and Anderson 1961, 220-1, 352-7, 500-1; Watson 1926, 188, 276-7); as also the cultus of Munnu of Taghmon (Finten, son of Tailchan, mocu-Moie: cf. Anderson and Anderson 1961, 206-15; Watson 1926, 257, 264-5, 307). Such "official" processes are as likely to have been through a literary as through an oral medium (or a combination of both). Nevertheless, close study of the geographical distributions of the cultuses of individual saints, or groups of saints, together with their traditional genealogies (where recorded), may yet yield significant information about the spatial activities and political affiliations (ecclesiastical and secular) of some early Scottish churches. Here, of course, it will be necessary to collect all apparent instances of a name or names, not just those qualifying generic cill. Broadly speaking, though, the traditional horizons of at least the more reliably attested figures may be taken as some sort of chronological indicator.

Adamnán's Cella Diuni shows both that cill names were already being formed before the time at which he wrote (the end of the 7th century); and, apparently, that the "popular" process of creation already existed. One of Columba's monks was called Cailtan, "who was at that time prior in the monastery that even today is called by the name of his brother, Diún, beside the lake of the river Aub (Awe)" (praepositus erat in cella quae hodieque ejus fratris Diuni vocabulo vocitatur, stagno adherens Abae fluminis): the phrase ad cellam Diuni occurs a few lines further

down. Clearly the name had been in use as a place-name for at least some years when Adamnán wrote. Unfortunately, the name is lost and the site not known: the monastery may have become defunct subseqnently and its name obsolete; or the qnalifying element may have changed (if it lies behind an existing cill name near Loch Awe); or the whole name may have changed (if it survives still as some kind of church or graveyard site). No indication is given as to why the brother Diún should have been thus commemorated, rather than, say, Cailtan himself (who is also the subject of the prophesy being described); bnt Adamnán's words suggest that the name had arisen through informal usage, rather than formal application (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 268-71; Watson 1926, 93).

That generic cill was still productive in the mid 8th century is shown by the fairly numerons commemorations of Maolrubha of Applecross (died 722: Anderson 1922, I, 219-20): eleven are known to the writer, in the forms Cill-á-Rubha, Cill Ma-Ruibhe, Killarow, Kilvarie, Kilmaruy (probably); and (obsolete) Kilmolrow or Kilmarow, Kilmolroy, Kilmalrus (sic: Cowan 1967, 92, 104; cf. Watson 1926, 288-9, 382: presnmably for *Kilmalruf - Keith in Banffshire). On the other hand, the paucity (see above) of commemorations of Adamnán (died c. 704: Anderson 1922, I, 208-10) in this context may reflect the varying fortunes of Iona during the 8th century (cf. Anderson and Anderson 1961, 105, 107-8).

At the other end of the timescale, if Watson's analysis of Killantringan, Cill an Truinnein is correct (1926, 293-4) - namely, that the saint's name is based on the phrase "Sanct Ringan (Ninian)", borrowed into Gaelic from Scots - then these forms surely cannot be older than the 12th century at the earliest. Cill Chatrìona (see above) may also be a late formation, as it stands. And if Kilaulay, in S. Uist, really commemorates the Norwegian King and saint Olaf (Machain 1922, 161), then it cannot have arisen before his death in 1030 (Hollander 1964, 521). But probably a few such late formations are to be expected, even from several centuries after cill had ceased to be productive generally.

Of hypocoristic cult-forms of names with mo ("my") and do ("thy"), it is really not possible to say much more at this stage than that they could presumably have been formed at any time within the suggested main chronological limits of generic cill. Adamnán mentions a monk of Columba's in Iona called Mo-lua (Molua nepos Briuni), a hypocoristic cult-form of Lugaid (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 107, 390-3). Lists of Columba's monks and relatives attached at the end of Adamnán's Life in one group of texts give To-channu mocu fir-Chetea (Thocamnu mocu fir-Cetea) among the saint's twelve companions on the first voyage to Britain; a nephew of his, Mernoc (Mernoóc); and To-chumme mocu-Céin (Tocummi mocucein) among the descendants of his kindred, who died a priest at Iona: the Andersons suggest that the lists may not have beeu drawn up in Adamnán's lifetime (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 545-9). (Thurneysen (1946, 111) proposes that archaic to-, tu-, changed to do-, du-, da-, about the end of the 7th century). In the present context, names with mo- are much commoner than those with do-. Mo- and do- may, however, alternate in the same name: Kildavanan, in Bute, is Kyldavanan 1429, Kilmavanane 1476, Kildovannaue 1588 (in Kilvannan, in S. Uist, possibly the same saint appears with neither mo nor do) (Watson 1926, 301). It is worth noting, in this connection, that Cill Da-Bhì, in Mull, Kintyre, Skye and at Taymouth, Perthshire, seems to represent Mo-Bhì or Mo-Bhiu of the documentary record (Watson 1926, 273). Mo and do may have dropped from the modern form: Kilchrenan, on Loch Awe, is Kildachmanan 1361, Kildachymanan, Kildachrenan later, Kildeknanane, Kildechrannane 1594, Kildechranane 1614, Kildachranane, Kildochranane 1629 - where -da-, -de-, -do- is for do (the modern -cr- is for an older -cn-) (Watson 1926, 303); Kilsyth, in Stirlingshire, is Kelvesyth 1210, Kelnasydhe (read Kelua-) 1217 - where -ve-, -ua- are for mhe, mha, representing aspirated mo in unstressed position (Watson 1926, 333); iu Kirkmadrine (2) and Kirkdrine (all in Wigtownshire), the name of probably one and the same individual occurs with and without mo (Watson 1926, 162-3); possibly a similar case is

presented by Cill Rónáin in Islay and Kilmaronock near Dumbarton; compare Teampull Rónaig in Iona and in Lewis (Watson 1926, 309). Much more detailed work will have to he done on all the native Celtic names qualifying cill, before it can be seen whether or not the hypocoristic forms with mo and do can be more closely dated. At present, generic cill itself provides the chronological range for these name forms: they do not give more precise dates for cill names in which they occur.

Nicolaisen (1976, 143) is wisely cautious about the canses, historical, archaeòlogical, or linguistic, which might have led, individually or severally, to the disappearance during the 9th century of generic cill as a productive element in the formation of place-names - pointing out that here (as so often with the phenomenon under discnssion) much more detailed work remains to be done before any conclusions can be drawn. The present writer fully endorses his attitude, while suggesting one possible contributory factor for consideration: the prior existence, in the southern part of the Pictish Kingdom that the Scots took over in mid-century, of the toponymic element cognate with Gaelic eaglais (see above). It is proposed, in other words, that a linguistic development now occurred in what soon became the heartland of the Scottish Kingdom, analogous to the incorporation of Pictish pett (pit-) into the successor language, both as a toponymic generic and, it seems (for a time at least), as a term in colloquial usage (Nicolaisen 1976, 151-8). There are indications of hybridization in some of the name-forms appearing on Barrow's map (1973, 62). For instance, Eglismenythok, Ecclesmonichtie contain Gaelic mo as they stand, though the saint in question may be Pictish (Watson 1926, 329-31); Exmagirdle contains mo with the name, probably, of an Irish saint, possibly Grillán, one of Columba's twelve companions (Watson 1926, 519); and Eglis caynauch seems to contain the name of Cainnech of Aghaboe. Any, or all, of these apparently hybrid forms could, of course, have arisen in Pictish times, under the influence of the Dalriadic church. But the fact remains that, if Gaelic cill was lost to the formation of place-names as a generic during the 9th century, another element was surely needed to replace it - whether purely Gaelic eaglais, or its cognate from another source, or (perhaps more likely) the former suggested by the latter - even in a period admittedly not remarkable for the foundation of churches. It seems reasonable to suggest, therefore, that, while many of the eccles-, eglis- names may indeed be of purely Pictish origin, some (perhaps only a few) arose in the mixed Picto-Scottish milieu of the later 9th, 10th and 11th centuries.

Anglicized Kil(l)- (though not, of course, Gaelic cill-) may represent several elements. It can stand for coille, "wood": Killichronan, in Mull, is in Gaelic Coille Chrònain, "wood of the murmuring noise" (Watson 1926, 303; cf. Kinkell, Urquhart, Ross, Gaelic Ceann na Coille, "wood-head": Watson 1904, 115); cionn, dative-locative of ceann, "head": Kildrummy, formerly Kindrummie, is for Cionn Droma, "at ridge end" (Watson 1926, 439); cùil, "nook": Kyltirie, on Loch Tay, in Gaelic Cùil-tiridh, means apparently "nook of Kiln-drying" (Watson 1926, 517; but cùil itself may sometimes have ecclesiastical significauce: e.g. Cùil Bhrianainn, "St. Brendan's Retreat", in the Garvellachs: Watson 1926, 81-2). In Sutherland, the old name of Golspie parish is Kilmaly, Culmaliun, Culmalyn, 1275 (Theiner), Culmalin 1471, Kilmaly 1536 (Orig. Paroch.). This may represent cùil Mhàillidh, 'Maillie's retreat' (secessus); compare Gùil Bhrianainn": Watson 1926, 290); caol, "narrow", "a strait": Kilbrennan Sound was given to Watson in Arran as an Caol Srandanach, probably a corruption of an Caolas Brandanach; so here Kil- if for caol, whatever the latter part means (Watson 1926, 274); Kildary, in Kilmuir Easter, Ross, Gaelic Caol-daraidh, "narrow place" (Watson 1904, 63); cùil or cùl, "back", may be represented in Kilcoy, in Killearnan, Ross, Gaelic Cul-challaidh (with which older record forms agree), "nook (or back) of the hazel wood" (Watson 1904, 143). In Killantrae, Mochrum, Wigtownshire, Maxwell (1930, 165) is very likely right in postulating ceathramh, "quarter(land)" na traighe, "of the strand" (it is on the coast), ou the basis of the record forms that he quotes: Kerintra 1557, Kerantra 1582, Kerintraye 1600 (but Killentrae on Pont's map, c. 1590 - c. 1600). There is nothiug in the OS documentation to suggest that there

has ever been a church site here - despite the etymology of the name (cill-) offered in the Ordnance Name Book. Kill- has presumably developed here by dissimilation. Conversely, modern Kin- may stand for cill: Kinglassie, in Fife, is for Cill Glaise, "church of the stream"; here Kin- forms are already appearing in the 13th century (Watson 1926, 320). And in such modern forms as Gilchrist, in Urray, Ross (Watson 1904, 108), an eclipsed form of cill (for i gcill, "in the church") has become fossilized: one may compare Gylltalargyn, 1203/24, Kiltarlity near Beauly; Gillepedre 1362, Cill Pheadair, Kilpeter in Strathbrora; Gillecallumkille 1566, Cill Chaluim Chille, also in Strathbrora; Gilzacrest 1496, Cill Chriosd in Mull (Watson 1926, 239-40). It is essential that, wherever possible, all older forms of a given name, especially the oldest, be collected and examined; and that any conclusions drawn from, or observations made upon, a name or names lacking such documentary pedigree, be appropriately qualified.

If the suggested broad chronological range of generic cill in place-names is accepted, then the element falls very largely within the period of the developed Irish monastic church. Thomas suggests (1971, 87-8) that Latin cella may have been borrowed originally into Irish from the continental phrase cella memoriae, to denote specially-marked graves in an undeveloped cemetery; and that it then came to denote an enclosed developed cemetery, later a church with its burial ground, or even "church" by itself - comparing the parallel semantic evolution of Welsh-Cornish l(l)an. He further suggests that cell > cill may not have been in use before the late 6th century, and not common before the 7th. The present writer agrees that such an origin and development is distinctly possible. It may be, indeed, that Latin cella > Old Irish cell > cill is a development falling entirely within the context of early Irish monasticism. The belief that Adamnán's Cella Diuni (see above) is "church of Díun" (rather than, say, shrine) is reinforced by the two other (Irish) instances of cell(a) in the Life: ad cellam magnam Deathrib (translated "great church of Deathrib": Kilmore, Co. Roscommon: Anderson and Anderson 1961, 322-3, 70); the monasterium, Cell-rois(s) (apparently "monastery of the forest", in the province of the Maugdorni, Co. Monaghan: Anderson and Anderson 1961, 298-301); and by his use of cellula: of one Baitan, multis ibidem annis cujuadam cellulae dominus permansit quae scotice Lathreginden dicitur (cellula translated here "small church" - the site is apparently not identified: Anderson and Anderson 1961, 248-9). In fact, in each case it is pretty clear that the monastic settlement as a whole is referred to, not just the church itself: this extended application of meaning is found also in Irish (Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language, general ed. E. G. Quin, C Fasc. 1, cell (a). Royal Irish Academy. Dublin 1968). In theory, generic cill could probably have been applied to all sorts of site, from the largest monastic civitates to the smallest developed cemeteries. In practice, however, the major documented monastic sites are usually known by names of non-ecclesiastical origin, presumably the pre-existing name of the place in each case: / Iona (Watson 1926, 87-90), Applecross (Watson 1904, 201-3), Dunkeld (Watson 1926, 19-22), for example. Kilrymont (St. Andrews) is Cind-righ-monaigh (read-monaidh) in the Annals of Tigernach; Cinrighmonai in the Annals of Ulster, at A.D. 747, hi Cind ri(g)monaidh in Chronicon Scotorum, at A.D. 965 (Anderson 1922, I, 238, 472). It is on record later as Kilrimund, Kilrimuned, etc. (Barrow 1973, 217): the earliest Kil- form known to M. O. Anderson being Chilrimunt in a charter of King David I, 1128 x 1136, assuming that the original spelling has been preserved in the St. Andrews chartulary (Anderson 1973, 101). In modern Gaelic it is Cill Rìbhinn, for Cill Rìghmhuin "church of the royal mount" (Watson 1926, 397). But a Gaelic form having cill has existed for at least some centuries: there is a note in Lebar Brecc (probably 15th cent.) on Félire Oengusso to the effect that Cainnech of Aghaboe had a recles in cill rigmonaig in Scotland; similarly in the Martyrology of Donegal (1630), at October 11 - i cCill Righmanadh (Anderson 1922, I, 55). The existence of a major church here, apparently from before the mid 8th century, must have given rise eventually to a cill form of the name, alongside the earlier cinn form, though perhaps not much before the 12th century. If this is

the case, Kilrymont may be an example of a late formation with generic cill, doubtless influenced by the prior existence of cinn- (and encouraged by the alternation (see above) of anglicized Kil(l)- and Kin- ?). Most of the sites denoted by generic cill names, now or in the past, were probably the lesser and least churches of monastic paruchiae: minor monasteries that became, very often, medieval parish churches - whose commonly curvilinear enclosures may still be preserved in the circuits of later graveyard walls, or may still be discernible despite later rationalizations of layout; and small developed cemeteries serving local lay communities, or housing a handful of religious at most (or both together), again usually having curvilinear enclosures - the more or less derelict remains of which are still to be found in some numbers, especially in the north and west of the country. The possible range of generic cill, archaeologically speaking, has been adequately and succinctly discussed by Thomas (1971, 10-90).

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CEALL, CILL IN MANX PLACE-NAMES

George Broderick

Ceall, more commonly Cill, in Manx keeill (pr. kˊi:lˊ, kɪlˊ, kˊi.ᵈl, kˊi.l) pl. kialteenyn[1], is the ordinary word in Manx Gaelic for 'church', whether it be an early christian cella or a modern church-like structure, whether large or small.[2] Of the former, which are known as 'keeills' and date from between the 5th/6th and 11th/12th centuries A.D., Marstrander noted that there are about 174 ancient keeills or keeill-sites (all of which have burial grounds attached to them or have been built at a later date on burial grounds) known in Man.[3] These include some fifteen parish churches which grew out of original primitive keeills possibly during or before the 'Norse' period (9th - 13th centuries), though there is good reason to believe that the parish, along with the sheading, treen, and kerroo (quarterland), antedate the arrival of the Norsemen.[4] Marstrander also considered that the keeill-sitings were closely associated with the treen[5] which ranged in area from less than 200 to more than 600 acres, thus confirming the tradition in the Manannan Ballad that St. Cerman built a small church or chapel in every treen-balley for the people to come there to pray.[6]

Cill appears anglicised as kyl-, kil-, keel, etc. In the first two instances it is at first sight indistinguishable from coill (Mx. keyll) 'a wood', though here most of the kyl- or kil-names are qualified with dedications, thus reducing the possibilities of confusion. The earliest examples of keeill-names occur in comparatively late documentary sources of 16th-18th century provenance, such as the Manorial Roll (MR) of 1511-1515, the Lord's Composite Book of Charles, 8th Earl of Derby, of 1703 (LCB), the Diocesan Register (DR) and Liber Episcoporum (LE) (v. infra).[7] However, references to churches in Man occur in Latin documents of earlier date where the term used is ecclesia. Thus in the Chronicles of Man (primary scribe writing c. 1255/7) we have for example: ecclesiam sancti Machuti (f.38r), apud ecclesiam sancti Michaelis archangeli (f.46v), in ecclesia cathedrali sancti Germani in Mannia in Holmo* (f.51v);[8] and in the Appyn document of 1376/7 we find ecclesie Sancte Brigide in Layr (i.e. Lezayre).[9] Here ecclesia may translate keeill, but it could also translate the Old Norse kirkja 'church', for this term appears also in Latin documents of this period. In the Abbeyland Survey (written c. 1280) attached to the Chronicles of Man we find kẏrkemẏchel, also called Villa Thorkel in the same document, and kẏrkecrist. In the Register of the Priory of St. Bees sa. 1302[10] we have Kirkemaghald, and Kirkby in the Monasticon Anglicorum (1305). The names kẏrkecrist and Kirkemaghald represent the modern parish names of Kirk Christ (Lezayre) and Kirk Maughold. Kirkby, now Kirby, is a manor adjacent to Braddan parish church, i.e. Kirk Braddan, and kẏrkemẏchel is a lost treen-name in Malew parish. All seventeen[11] parishes in Man have kirk prefixed to the dedication when referred to in English, e.g. Kirk Bride, Kirk Andreas, Kirk Michael, Kirk Maughold, etc., though now these names are customarily used minus the prefix. But when Manx was spoken an element embodying the word keeill was used with the dedication, viz. Skylley Vreeshey/Breeshey (skilˊə 'vri:ᵈʒə/bri:ᵈʒə)[12], Skyll Andreays (skilˊan'ðreəs)[12], Skylley Mayl (skilə 'me.l)[13], Skylley Maghal (skilə 'ma:l/'ma:xəl)[14]. But when specifically the church itself was referred to rather than the parish, keeill was affixed to the dedication, e.g. Keeill Vaghal (kilˊ'va:xəl)[15], 'Maughold Church'. The elements kil- and kirk- are also a feature of the place nomenclature of south-west Scotland and northern Cumbria, which has been the subject of discussion by MacQueen and Nicolaisen.[16] In this area the element kirk- is almost exclusively found in 'inversion compounds' showing Gaelic word-order, e.g. Kirkoswald (Ayrshire), Kirkbride (Wigtownshire and

* St. Patrick's Isle

Kirkcudbrightshire)[17], and is likely a later replacement of original cill. In Man kirk is virtually restricted to the parish dedications, all of which contain the name of a (local) Gaelic saint, e.g. Kirk Bride (< Brigid), Kirk Lonan (< Lonán), Kirk Malew (< Mo Luag), and to the following five treen-names, viz. Kyrksansan (? Santan) and Kyrk Patryk in Rushen,[18] kẏrkemẏchel in Malew,[19] Kyrkebride in Bride and Kyrke Asston (? Eascann) in Andreas;[20] even here the second elements appear to be dedications.[21] Only in two cases that are recorded[22] do we find kirk-names showing Germanic elements and word-order, e.g. Kirkill in Rushen (< ON kirkjuhǫl or kirkjufjall 'church hill/mount') and Kirby in Braddan (< ON kirkjubǿr 'church farm'). Apart from the latter two examples the element kirk in Manx place-names seems restricted to 'inversion compounds' containing a dedication. As in south-west Scotland and northern Cumbria the background to the 'inversion compounds' in kirk- is Gaelic, and Nicolaisen considers that many of the examples there may be post-Norse, kirk having become a loan-word in Anglian mouths.[23] This too appears to be the position in Man, since in spoken Manx this term was not used.

Many of the examples we have of keeill-names are from 16th-18th century documents (supra), e.g. Ballakilvartin or Kilvartin in Conchan (MR. 1643) 'St. Martin's church (farm)'; Keelcallaine in Lonan (LCB. 1703) 'Callan's church'; Keel Croaw in Patrick (LCB. 1703) 'Cruimther's church (Cill Chruimtherach; cf. Book of Leinster 44b 18: noi fichet crumthirech); Kylfarick e dromma in Cerman (MR. 1643) 'Patrick's church of the ridge'; Killabricky in Lezayre (LCB. 1703) (pr. kilˊə 'bre:yə JTK) 'Breaga's church'. In a genitival position the form is keeilley, or more often killey, e.g. Ballnakilley in Rushen (MR. 1643) 'church farm' or Ballakilley in Marown (LE. 1580); Glen y killey in Lezayre (DR. 1757) 'church glen'; Lag ny killey in Rushen (oral tradition) 'church hollow'. But sometimes an older genitival form in killagh is found, e.g. Crot ny killagh in Cerman (v. Kneen p. 391) 'church croft' cf. the proverb (considered also a curse) Clagh ny Killagh ayns kione dty hie wooar 'the church-stone in the end of your kitchen'.

Representations of the form ceall are considered by Kneen[24] to be reflected in the names Kell y Cowle (Comgall) and Kelle y mitchell (? Michael) in the treen of Hegnes (Agneash) in Lonan, both of which have disappeared. The form Kell Abban (i.e. Keeill Abban) also occurs in the Court Document of 1735 quoted by Kneen (p. 188). But as the form Killabane also occurs (see note 7) in a manuscript possibly of the same date, if not earlier, the likelihood of Kell Abben representing Cell Abbán seems uncertain. Considering the lateness of the source for Kell y Cowle and Kelle y mitchell the probability is that these forms represent keeill.

NOTES

1. A triple plural; kaltin and kaltiin are attested in Bishop John Phillips Book of Common Prayer (PB) - translated into Manx c. 1610, edited by A. W. Moore and John Rhŷs for the Manx Society (Mx. Soc. XXXII & XXXIII (Douglas 1893/4)).
2. Çhiamble (Ir. teampall, Sc. G. teampull) has the meaning of temple. Its earliest attestation occurs as chiampyl, chiampyll and chiambyl in PB. Agglish (Ir. and Sc. G. eaglais) in Manx usually means 'congregation' or 'body of church' e.g. Yn Agglish Chatoleeagh 'The Catholic Church'. But in PB (p. 156) agglish, written agluish, can also mean 'church'. Kaban egluish (usually cabbane agglish) Phillips uses (p. 148) to translate 'tabernacla'. In the two main versions of the Manannan Ballad (John Kelly's version Manx Museum (MM) MS.5072B, q. 13, and John Kewley's version MM.MS.519A q. 13 - the Ballad from internal evidence was composed c. 1500) Cabballyn is used to mean 'church' or 'chapel'. As these mss. date only from c. 1770 it is probable that cabbal (pr. kabal, tʃabal) 'chapel' is a later replacement; it is not attested in PB.
3. For an assessment of the age of the keeills v. J. R. Bruce, Manx Archaeological Survey, Sixth Report (Manx Museum, Douglas 1968), pp. 71-76.
4. v. Basil Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', Scottish Studies XX (1976), 1-44.
5. Carl J. S. Maratrander, 'Treen og Keeill', NTS VIII (1937), 287-442 with English summary. The ratio between keeill and treen in the Sheading of Rushen is less marked, as Bruce demonstrates (Bruce 1968: 74-76), as many of the treens have been swallowed up by abbeyland. In addition some of the treens have up to four keeill-sites, but it is not known whether they were simultaneously or successively in use.

6. Manannan Ballad (Kewley's version, qq. 13-14); similarly expressed in Kelly's version.

Vannee Parick Karmaan Noo
As daag eh E ny Aspick ain
Dy vishagh'n Credjeu ny smoo as ny smoo
As chrog E Cabballyn dagh ynrycan

Ayns dagh Treen Balley chrog E annane
Da'n Sleih shonone dy heet dy Ghuee
Myrgeddin chrog E Keel Charmaan
Ta ee ayns y Pheeley foast ny soie

(Patrick blessed holy German/And he left him as our bishop/To promote the Faith more and more/ And he built every single one of the churches.
In every treen-balley he built one/For the people to come there to pray:/Also he built St. German's church/Which still exists in the Peel*.)
* i.e. the fort on St. Patrick's Isle at Peel. A 'peel' or pele in Middle English is a small castle or tower.
The expression treen-balley is modelled on the expression kerroo balley 'quarterland farm' (i.e. quarter of a treen).
The antedating of the parishes before the 'Norse' period also finds confirmation in the Manannan Ballad (Kewley's version q. 17)

Chur Maughold shartan jeu ayns annane
As Shen myr ren E Skeeraghyn cooie
(Maughold amalgamated several of them (i.e. churches)
And thus he made proper parishes).

Maughold in Manx tradition was associated with the early Celtic church in Man. Whether it was he who organized the parishes is not certain, but the implication is that this was done in the Gaelic period, i.e. before the Norsemen came.

7. Although the name Killabane (i.e. Keeill Abban, now St. Luke's church, Baldwin) is attested in the Manx Statutes (ed. J. F. Gill, London 1883) sa. 1429 which relate to a number of laws passed at a Tynwald held there then, the date of the mss. from which the printed version was made has not as yet been ascertained.
8. Cronica Regum Mannie & Insularum (BL Cotton Julius Avii), diplomatic edition with translation by George Broderick (Douglas 1979).
9. From the Derby Papers. The Appyn Document was acquired by the Manx Museum in 1967; v. Journal of the Manx Museum, VII no. 84 (1968).
10. Harley MS.434 v. also John Wilson, 'The Register of St. Bees', The Surtees Society, 126 (Durham 1915). In the supposed papal bull of Pope Gregory IX, 1231, believed by Basil Megaw to have been composed c. 1377-80 possibly by Bishop John Duncan of Man (Megaw 1976: 30-34), though existing only in a ms. c. 1600 (v. A. W. Moore, 'Bull of Pope Gregory IX to the Bishop of Sodor, 30 July 1231', EHR XVII (1890): 101-7) we find the following kirk compounds: Kyrkbye, Kyrkemarona. The first is our Kirkby of the Monasticon Anglicorum, the second refers to Kirk Marown. In addition the Sheading Court Roll of 1417-18 (in the Manx Museum Library) contains the following: Kyrkesantan (Kirk Santan), Kyrkemaro(u)n (Kirk Marown), Kyrk(e)patr[ick] opon Drom (v. Kylfarick e dromma in German), Kyrk(e)mych[ell] (Kirk Michael), Kyrkmagh[ald] (Kirk Maughold), Kyrkcryst (Kirk Christ [Lezayre]), Kyrkebrand[an] and Kirkbradan (Kirk Braddan), Kyrkelonan (Kirk Lonan), and in the unpublished Garrison Inquest Roll of 1428 (also in the Manx Museum Library) we have Kirkmichell, Kirkmaghald, Kirkrist (Lezayre), Kirkbradan, Kirkbride, Kirkarbory, Kirkmalew.
11. Once sixteen. Marown and Santan are believed to have formed one parish (Marstrander 1937: 428), but probably were separated before 1291 (Megaw 1976: 22).
12. As pronounced by John Tom Kaighin (JTK), Ballagarrett, Bride. Skylley, sometimes Skeeylley, is probably a portmanteau word for skeerey keeilley (Sc. G. sgíre chille) 'parish of the church of ...'; skeerey (Sc. G. sgíre) < ON. skíri borrowed from OE. scír 'district, diocese, parish, shire'.
13. Harry Boyde (HB), Ballaugh.
14. Thomas Christian (TC), Ramsey. v. C. J. S. Marstrander, 'Remarks on the Place-Names of the Isle of Man', NTS VII (1934), 313.
15. ibid 313. Marstrander's phonetics have been transcribed here into modern usage.
16. John MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', Archivum Linguisticum 8: 135-49 Glasgow. W. F. H. Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', Scottish Studies IV (1960): 49-70; also W. F. H. Nicolaisen, Scottish Place-Names (London 1976) 108-112 and 128 ff.
17. The Manx for Kirkcudbright (town) was Ballecheeil choobrey (Manannan Ballad, Kewley's version, q. 33), Balla-Keel-Cooberagh (Kelly's version, q. 51). The term was Keeill Chooberagh in spoken Manx (Ned Maddrell, Glenchass).
18. Manorial Roll 1511, Lord's Composition Book 1703.
19. Abbeyland Boundary in Chronicles of Man (q.v.); MR. 1511 (Kyrkemychel), LCB. 1703 (Kirk Michell).
20. MR. 1515, LCB. 1703.
21. J. J. Kneen, Place-Names of the Isle of Man, (reprint Douglas 1970), 42, 112, 597; G. J. S. Marstrander, 'Det Norske Landnåm på Man', NTS, VI (1932), 108, 132, 263.

22. Unless there were names of similar type, but which are unrecorded and are now lost.
23. Nicolaisen 1976: 112.
24. Kneen 1970: 263-4.

TRANSFERRED POPULATION OR SEPT-NAMES: LATHAIRNE/LATHARNA (O.S. LARNE)

Deirdre Flanagan

Lathairne, more commonly attested in its later form Latharna, O.S. Larne (town, parish, O.S. Ant. shs. 35, 40) was in its primary application the name of a people; it belongs to a class of collective names ending in the suffix -ne which, in their formation, appear to predate our earliest documentation (cf. MacNeill, E., 'Early Irish Population Groups', PRIA, XXIX, C, 69 ff.). In its transferred application it denoted the territory occupied by the Lathairne/Latharna; a well-known parallel in current place-name usage is Conmaicne Mara ('Conmaicne of the sea'), which has survived as the territorial name Connemara. Both applications of Lathairne/Latharna are attested in allegedly prehistorical contexts and in acceptable historical sources. The initial element in this class of collective names is seen in some instances to be a personal name (e.g. Conmaicne < Conmac, Cuircne < Corc) and it is thus that Lathairne is represented in our pseudo-history: Lathar (v.l. Lath), one of the twenty-five sons of the legendary king Úgaine Mór, amongst whose sons Ireland was divided: 'Lathar i l-Latharnu' (Lebor Gabála Érenn, V, ITS XLIV, 273). According to this same source one of the first plains to be cleared in Ireland was Magh Latharna (op. cit., III, ITS XXXIV, 10) and one of the seven rígrátha ('royal forts') dug by a reputed ruler Íriel Fáid was Ráith Bachair (v.l. Bachail) in Latharna (op. cit., V, ITS XLIV, 188). Notwithstanding the dubious historicity of these claims, they do at least indicate that Latharna had acknowledged antiquity and a fair degree of recognition in the tradition of the native historians.

On much safer ground, there is the well attested claim that the distinguished St. Ciarán (sixth century) of Clonmacnoise was of the seventh genus of Latharna Molt ('Don tsechtmad aicmi do Latharnaib Molt dó', Bk of Leinster, fo. 349) or of Latharna Maigi Molt, according to the Bk of Lismore (fo. 77v), Latharna of the 'Plain of the wethers'. Latharna, in the Early Historical period, was a subkingdom within the Cruithin kingdom of Dál nAraidi. There is a genealogical reference (Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae, I, 155) to a Cruithin king 'Cellach mac Bleidīne rī Latharna' (late fifth or early sixth century); at the other end of the time-scale, in the eleventh-twelfth-century Lebor na Cert ('Book of Rights') Lathairne (sic) is attested still as a tuath (ITS XLVI, 92). That the kingdom embraced an area as far north roughly as Glenarm is indicated by a reference in Bethu Phátraic (p. 98) to Patrick's founding the church of 'Gluaire hi lLátharnu', O.S. Glore in Tickmacreven parish.

Latharna retained some measure of its original territorial application down to the seventeenth century. There are references to the 'Manor of Latherne' (Pipe Roll, VII Ed. II, 1314 A.D.), to the 'Barony of Larne' (Inq. Ant. 1605 A.D.) and, more commonly in the early seventeenth century, to 'tuogh-Larne' and 'tuogh of the Larne', which 'tuogh' comprised, according to the documentation of the time, the parishes of Carncastle, Killyglen, Kilwaughter and Larne (cf. Reeves, W., Eccles. Antiq., 333). The appearance of the definite article in some of the seventeenth-century notices, 'tuogh of the Larne' and 'the Larne' (Inq. Ant. 1605) may perhaps echo a traditional memory of Lathairne/Latharna as a people.