

I.

THE OGHAMS ON THE BRODIE AND AQUHOLLIE STONES, WITH NOTES ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GOLSPIE AND NEWTON STONES, AND A LIST OF THE OGHAMS IN SCOTLAND. BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SOUTHESK, K.T., F.S.A. SCOT.

The Brodie Stone, as described by Dr Stuart in the Spalding Club folio, was "found in digging out the foundations of the present church of Dyke and Moy, and was claimed by some of the parishioners as a gravestone. It was put up in the village in commemoration of Rodney's victory. . . A few years ago [*i.e.*, before 1856] it was removed to the Park of Brodie" (*Sc. St. Sc.*, vol. i. p. 9, pl. xxii. xxiii.). Long as this monument has been known to the public, no one had till recently supposed that it bore inscriptions, the first intimation to that effect arriving some months ago in a letter addressed to Dr Anderson by one of his more distant correspondents. Having been favoured by the former with early notice of this report, and having consequently visited and examined the stone on two separate occasions, I am now enabled to state that Ogham inscriptions plainly exist there, damaged, but to some extent legible, a fact which I hope to establish in course of the present paper.

Description.—The Brodie Stone stands in the grounds of the Castle of Brodie (about midway between Nairn and Forres), at the side of the approach, within a few yards of the eastmost of the entrance gates. It is a hewn and dressed slab, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, as seen above the foundation, by a little over 3 feet wide. Iron stays, bolted into the edges, support it on either hand; the base is socketed in sunken masonry, which touches the under curves of a double disc symbol, and conceals the whole lower portion of its Z sceptre-bar. On the eastern face of the slab two erect dolphin-headed serpents, or serpentine fishes, front one another near the top;¹ in the space within their upper curves

¹ The serpent fishes might perhaps be termed python-headed or dog-headed. They cannot be common Hippocampi (as some have supposed), those animals differing in all essentials from the monsters before us, which belong to the general symbolism of the sculptured stones. Except in their coiled tails, these at Brodie somewhat resemble the dolphins of heraldry, often grouped in opposed pairs. The Mortlach stone exhibits an almost heraldic couple, dog-eared, but fish-tailed (*Sc.*

appears a circular symbol, formed of tendrils, which enclose seven rounded bosses ; above this is seen a nearly circular looped figure ; to the right there is a curved tendril circularly looped in the centre, and subtending two bosses ; and to the left is a smaller circle containing a *Triquetra* with branched ends ; a still smaller circle, charged with a similar but unbranched device, rests between the serpents where their bodies approach at the offset of the outward curvings of their tails. Beneath this is the "elephant" symbol, and under it a sceptre-barred double disc occupies the base of the tablet ; both of these, as well as the serpents and the other objects, are sculptured in relief, and all the larger devices are covered with interlaced tracery.¹

The western face of the slab is entirely traversed by a large embossed cross, with circular recesses at its junction-angles ; this likewise is decorated with tracery, and resembles the crosses on the Aboyne and Golspie stones and others that may be assigned to the same period. Various half-effaced decorative monsters occupy the sunken panels, and towards the foot of the slab spaces have been cleared on which are deeply cut two pairs of initials (AC and KB) in modern Roman capitals, upside down as regards the cross, as if the monument had been recumbent or reversed when recently used as a tombstone. Both faces of the slab are enclosed by frame-like borders, flat near the top on either side,

St. Sc., i. pl. xiv.). The Ulbster and Monifieth examples are dog-headed, with long ears (*ib.*, i. pl. xl.; ii. pl. cxxiii.). Owing to injuries the ear-forms are uncertain in the present case; the Anwoth mystic fish has no ears (*ib.*, i. pl. xxvii.). At Largo, Halkirk, &c., we have objects more or less similar. It is likely that some of these monsters represent whales, or large marine animals of that type, as imagined by the early designers (*cf.* representations of Jonah, in the Catacombs). Such forms were intensely symbolical, but the subject cannot be now pursued. At Kiloran, in Colonsay, there is a remarkable cross, man-headed above, fish-tailed below, and very suggestive in some of its details (Anderson, *Scotland in Early Times*, ii. 121). On the stone recovered from the fabric of the Drumkilbo vault at Meigle, there are two opposed fish-tailed monsters, with horse-forelegs and dog (?) -heads, extremely like those on the newly-found Murthly stone ; and on both stones an ape-like figure with reverted head retreats from a lion-bodied animal—human-headed in the former case (*Proceedings*, vol. xii. p. 426, pls. xxv. and xxvi.).

¹ Except in omitting the Oghams, the Spalding Club plates of this stone are nearly accurate, their chief error consisting in the faulty drawing of the branched *Triquetra*, which is distinct though injured.

but otherwise raised into rounded mouldings. Down the centres of these last run bisecting lines, which constitute stems for the Ogham inscriptions,—two of these (A and B) being visible on the symbolled face, and one (C) on the face that bears the cross.

On fronting the symbols, inscription A, the best preserved of the number, appears on the margin of the slab towards the spectator's right. Originally of much greater length than the others—73 inches as now existent—its stem-lined moulding extends from the ground to a point near the top of the stone, where it drops so abruptly to the level of the flattened border as to suggest the loss of an inch or two through breakage. The Oghams begin at the ground, and with a short interval continue to about half-way up the moulding, beyond which they are illegible, though scores are here and there apparent. This inscription, as well as the other inscriptions, seems to read upward, and as viewed by a spectator from his right hand towards his left.

On the other margin of the symbolled face inscription B reveals itself towards the spectator's left. Its stem-lined moulding reaches from the ground to within 15 inches from the slab's head, where it finishes off in a neatly cut acute angle. The scores begin at the ground, and when perfect probably ran some 58 inches upward to the top of the raised moulding, but all save a few groups at the foot and middle are hopelessly ruined.

On fronting the cross, inscription C is seen on the lower part of the moulding to the spectator's right. Like the rest it begins near the ground, whence it seems to have extended for some 42 inches up the slab; the legible part is entirely low down, the upper groups having been destroyed. The moulding on the left side of this face shows no traces of Oghams. Whether designedly or through wear, its outer edge has been removed, so narrowing it as to leave no room for scores like those on the other borders.

Analysis of the Oghams.—Inscription A.—For about twenty-two inches the scores are well preserved, and may be assigned with confidence.¹

¹ On visiting the stone, my young companion—skilled in drawing but ignorant of Oghams—made an independent sketch of the first ten groups, which exactly agreed with mine, till then concealed. It should be understood that the diagrams are not facsimiles of the inscriptions, but mere attempts to give the general effect.

No. 1. E. The first score is cut by a fracture running from the stone's present base, but it almost certainly passed below the line and grouped with the scores that follow. Another score might have preceded it, constituting the letter I. The last score is faint above the stem-line, though otherwise as strong as the rest. Nos. 2, 3. D,D. Certain. No. 4. A. Another instance of partial faintness, here the strength is above. No. 5. R. Certain. No. 6. R. This also is certain, but the group is fainter than those on either hand. No. 7. N. Certain. No. 8. O. Certain; faint above. No. 9. N. Certain. No. 10 (?). Fragmentary, L as it stands. These groups, as stated, occupy about 22 inches. After them comes a 6 inch blank, followed by 5½ inches of legible scores. No. 11. Q. The bolt of the iron stay hides all beneath

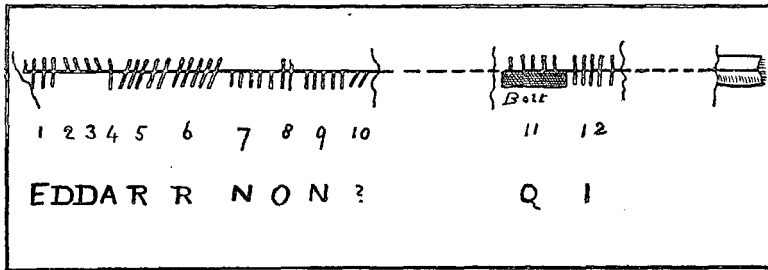


Fig. 1. Diagram of Ogham Inscription—Brodie (A).

the stem-line, but the latter's lower edge is visible, and its notchless state proves that the group is not continued into an I. No. 12. I. The lower half is in faint scoring. Thence, for about 3 feet, to the end of the raised moulding, illegible traces of Oghams are more or less perceptible.

This is the least imperfect of the inscriptions, though in a sadly ruinous state. The first portion seems to indicate the proper name Eddamon, evidently identical with Ethernan—a name apparently of old connection with the district, for it, or its probable equivalent, is found associated with a consecrated well near Burgh-head in Morayshire, a village some 10 miles distant from Dyke and Brodie. At Burgh-head,

writes Dr Stuart, "an enclosed place within the fortified area was called the Chapel-yard, and is still used as a burying ground; and about a quarter of a mile to the east of the village a spring is called 'St Ethan's Well,' from which we may conjecture that an early religious establishment here had been dedicated to St Ethernan or perhaps St Aidan Burgh-head affords an example of an early religious foundation within a fortified site, in which respect it resembles the numerous instances on record of early Irish monastic settlements within raths" (*Sc. St. Sc.*, vol. ii. p. 62).

Regarding this, Bishop Forbes suggests that the name of the Burgh-head Well may be derived from St Etaoin, otherwise Monynne, Modwenna, Monenna, Memme, &c. (*i.e.*, Etaoin, with the devotional prefix Mo, *my*), to whom many churches in Scotland were dedicated, among others Scoonie, where the most southern of our Ogham-bearing stones has been discovered (*Kal. of Sc. Sts.*, pp. 333, 406). There is, however, a saint, also recorded in Bishop Forbes's Kalendar, St Ethernanus, who might well be the Eddarnon of the present inscription. According to the legend, this saint belonged to a noble family among the Scots, received his education in Ireland, and on returning to his native country became Bishop of Rathine, in Buchan. "In the Annals of Ulster, at A.D. 669, we have 'Obitus Cummeni Albi Abbatis Jae. *Iarnan* et Corindu apud Pictones defuncti sunt.'" Among other variations in spelling, this saint's name appears as Eddran, Iphernan, Tuetheren, and Tarain (*ib.*, p. 333).

In the inscription under notice the word Eddarnon is immediately followed by two low scores, abutting on a fracture, and thus uncertain, but necessarily either L, F, S, or N,—the last of which seems here most probable. Adopting N, completing it, and supplying some seven more scores for which there is room, we are tempted, on finding the letters QI at the end of the blank, to assume the letters MAQ, and join them to those mentioned, thus obtaining the familiar key-word Maqqi, Son,—in itself a most probable result. Accepting this the whole would read:—*EDDARNON(N MAQ)QI*; Edarnon, Son of

It might be remarked, that instead of an apparently nominative form, a possessive should accompany the form Maqqi or Maqi. This could

easily be obtained, through letters filling the same space, by supplying IMA instead of MAQ, and reading EDDARRNON(NI MA)QI . . . , but there is little certainty in such matters, and amidst the variations in Ogham spellings and terminals, I can only invite better qualified scholars to formulate the rules (if any) that control these diversities. For examples of variations see Mr Brash's work, throughout, and among inscription-names in N preceding Maqi, compare :—Ottinn Maqi Fecm (p. 197); Camini Maqqi Cattini (p. 212); Cunnetan Maqi Guc (p. 254); Annacanni Maqi Ailluattan (p. 152); Cona Maqqi Corbbi (p. 212); Laddig(a)ni Maqqi Muccoi (p. 236).

The designations Eddar and Eddarnon seem to be connected with a name found at Clydai, in Pembrokeshire, on a stone inscribed with both Latin and Ogham characters; the former reading Eterni (Fili) Victor; and the latter, Ettern(i Maqi Fic)tor—the first name distinct in both cases. On this Mr Brash remarks: "Ettern or Edern, from the commutability of the letters, is of the same family as Edair or Etair, Etain, Ethain, Ethur, and Eterscel, &c. We find the identical name in the *Mart. Don.*, p. 139, 'Ethern, Bishop of Domnhach-Mor-Mic-Laithbhe in Mughdorna'" (*Brash*, p. 337).

According to O'Flaherty, Ederscel or Eidersceol became king of Ireland in A.M. 3944 (*Brash*, p. 182). He belonged to that great seafaring race of Munster, the Clan Degaid, Degadi, or Ernai, whose memorial pillars are so numerous both in Britain and Ireland.¹

A similar name occurs in ancient Cymric literature, Edeyrn son of Nudd being famous among the knights of King Arthur's court. In Wace's *Brut* he is called Yder le fils Nut, or Nu. The Chapel of Bodeyrn, near Holyhead, was dedicated to Edeyrn ab Nudd, who appears in the catalogue of Welch Saints, where he is noticed as a Bard who had embraced the religious life (Lady C. Guest, *Mabinogion*, 2nd ed., pp. 151, 195).

Analysis of the Oghams—Inscription B.—The first portion extends for about 9½ inches from the present ground level. No. 1. R. This

¹ For this subject see my former and present papers on the Golspie inscription (*Proc. S. A. Scot.*, 1883-4, p. 193; and 1885-6, p. 27).

group is doubtful, but no other letter seems likely. No. 2. O. Faint but fairly clear. No. 3. The scores are faint above the line, but strong below. On the whole, the group is I, but it may be R. From this point there are some 10 inches of damaged scores, followed by 6 inches of absolute blank. Then come six inches presenting three well-defined groups. No. 4. O. Certain. No. 5. Q. Certain. The scores have a backward slant. No. 6. O. This angled form, so common in Scotland, seems to be non-existent in Welsh and English Oghams. One Irish example appears on the Kilbonane monument—probably, however, the work of a restorer (*Brash*, p. 235, pl. xxxiii.). My own letter to the *Athenæum* (July 29, 1882), on the circular Ogham at Logie Elphinstone, offers perhaps the earliest full recognition

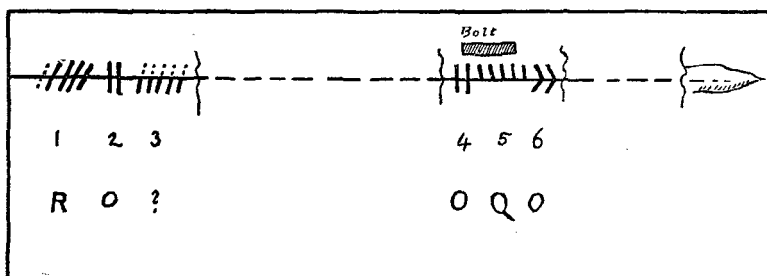


Fig. 2. Diagram of Ogham Inscription—Brodie (B).

of the nature of these angled characters, on which so greatly depends the legibility of the Scottish inscriptions. Besides the single Irish example, these variants are found in the following Ogham legends:—Aboyne (five letters), Logie Elphinstone (two), Brodie A and C (two), Golspie (six), Bressay A and B (two), Burrian (six ?), Lunnasting (six), Conningsburgh fragment-B (one), in all cases undoubtedly indicating vowels. No such forms appear in the Newton, Aquhollie, Scoonie, St Ninian's, and Conningsburgh (A) inscriptions; but the first two of these seem to belong to an earlier period, and the others are more or less incomplete.

Following group No. 6, there are indications of scores for about 11

inches, then an utter obliteration of some 16 inches, extending to the end of the elevated moulding. Nothing can be made of this part. The length of the moulding as now above ground is $58\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but possibly the Oghams did not run the whole way, as a small round mark appears just where all trace is lost of either scores or stem-line.

Analysis of the Oghams—Inscription C.—No. 1. (?) Three scores below the line, probably preceded by lost scores. No. 2. O. Certain. No. 3. N. The interior is broken out, but space and position seem to dictate N. These groups occupy 6 inches, after which a seven inch interval of damaged scores. No. 4. T. Certain. Nos. 5, 6, 7. DAH? The third score has a faintly marked portion below the line, otherwise the group would read C. No. 8. O. Certain. The second

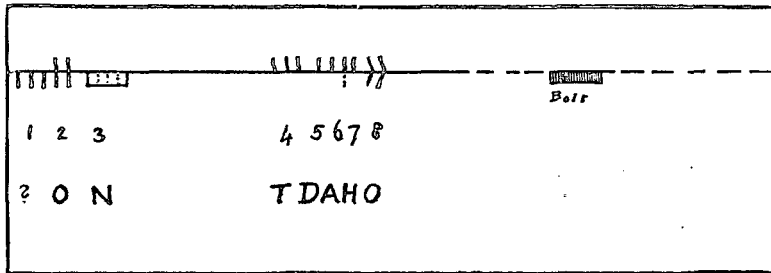


Fig. 3. Diagram of Ogham Inscription—Brodie (C).

example on the stone of an angled vowel. From here the raised moulding extends for about 2 feet, indicating the utmost former limit of the inscription, but most of its surface shows an absolute blank. The whole length of the moulding is 42 inches from the present level of the ground. Nothing can be made of this fragment.

General Remarks.—The incompleteness of the Brodie inscriptions robs them of value as a record, yet their suggestion of relations between the person buried at Dyke, and the saint of the Burgh-head Monastery, is not without interest of its own. The bare fact, indeed, of their existence in such a locality, under such conditions, and on a monument of so marked a type, is one of considerable importance. This discovery

adds a twelfth to the list of Scottish Ogham monuments; ¹ it fills up a long blank in their local distribution, supplying a missing link in the chain that nearly follows the coast-line from Fife to the Shetland Islands, and it furnishes one of the best specimens of the combination of evidently contemporaneous Oghams with the Christian cross and the mysterious symbols, all of them of a most pronounced character, being only equalled in that respect by the Golspie monument, its nearest neighbour to the north.

Moreover, it may be noted that the Triquetra—one of the most ancient and widely-diffused of Moon-symbols, so familiar as presented in the three-leg cognisance of the Isle of Man—appears conspicuously on this stone in company with Ogham letters, as does the cognate Sun-symbol, the Fylfot, Swastika, or Tetragrammaton, on the Ogham-bearing stone at Newton. It may also be noted that the circular looped device, the uppermost object between the necks of the dolphin-headed serpents, much resembles the similar device, which in a reversed position seems to proceed from the similar serpent on the early rock carving at Anwoth, in Galloway, where the sceptred double-disc is likewise apparent (*Sc. St. Sc.*, vol. i. p. 31, pl. xcvii.).

The fact that these large and evident inscriptions have so long remained unnoticed on a well-known monument, described and depicted in the Spalding Club folio some thirty years ago, should encourage antiquaries to renewed investigation of the designs on the Sculptured Stones, especially in those portions where borders or mouldings occur; for there, as in the present case, Oghams may conceal themselves under the aspect of mere mutilated traces of some conventional braided ornament.

THE GOLSPIE STONE.

Having lately been enabled to examine this stone, a conspicuous object in the Duke of Sutherland's museum at Dunrobin, I find it necessary to amend my former version of the Oghams, which (as stated at the time) was entirely taken from a photograph (*Proc. S. A. Scot.*,

¹ The Aquhollie inscription (*v. post*, p. 37) adds a thirteenth.

1884-5, p. 193). The scores in the present case are not generally indistinct, but owing to the absence of stem-line on the unevenly formed moulding that bears them, as well as to some probably accidental markings, there are uncertainties of position and detail not easily resolvable by means of drawings or photographs, or even casts. The subjoined diagram is offered as the result of two examinations of the stone, followed by careful study of the photographs and of an excellent paper-cast kindly prepared for me by the Rev. Dr Joass of Golspie.

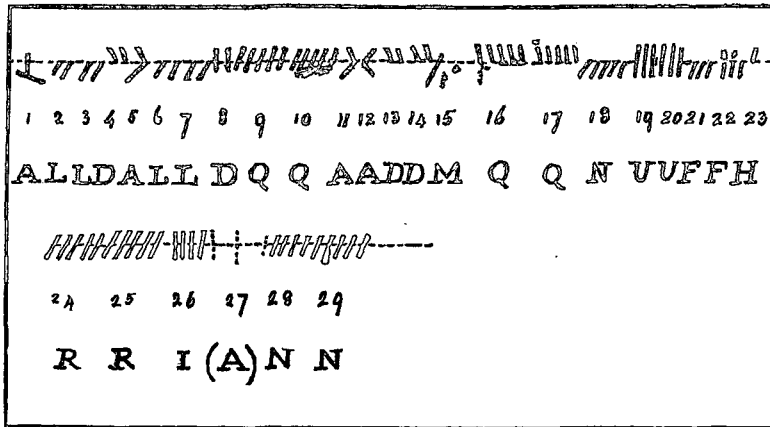


Fig. 4. Diagram of Ogham Inscription—Golspie Stone.¹

Translation.—ALLDALL D(e)QQAADD M(a)QQ NUUFFHRI ANN. All-dall Degad, son of Nur, or Nuri, (rests) here.

Analysis of the Oghams—No. 1. A. As viewed on the stone, this is undoubtedly an under-barred A, like those in the Aboyne, Burrian, and Lunnasting inscriptions; not H, as the photographs seem to indicate. No. 8. D. This might be an O, the scores passing slightly below the centre of the moulding, but I agree with Mr Brash in reading it as D.

¹ In the above I have tried to copy the forms and positions of the Oghams. But, besides minor faults, the small marks—below at Nos. 15, 16, and above at No. 22—are rather too strongly shown, and the first score of No. 18 should nearly touch the last of No. 17. It should be remembered that the stem-line is imaginary.

Nos. 9, 10. Q,Q. These groups also overpass the centre, and might possibly be R,R, but I decidedly prefer the other version. Although Nos. 8, 9, 10, cut the imaginary stem-line they very slightly overpass it, and their heads reach to the border-line above them, while their feet are removed from the lower border-line by a third of the breadth of the moulding. Throughout the inscription the position of the groups seems in great measure to be indicated by their relative distances from the border-lines, as will appear in other examples. Mr Brash here reads Q,T, but the second group has five digits. Two of these not being clearly seen in the photograph, I formerly read T instead of Q. No. 15. M. There is space for an A after this letter, but no signs of it exist; two small marks below the line may have been meant to represent the vowel, but they rather seem to be accidental. No. 16. Q. The small stroke below the initial score may represent a vowel sound, but I incline to think it a mere fracture. There are, in fact, two small ragged strokes, forming a rough angle pointed towards the score above. No. 18. N. Contrary to indications in the photograph, which led me to read I, the scores are not continued above the line. The first score of this group crosses, and almost touches the last score of the preceding Q, suggesting in combination with it an angled A. But the lower score really passes the foot of the upper, and taken together they form a fork rather than an angle. Nos. 14 and 15 hold the same relative positions, but there the reading D,M, is evident. Nos. 19, 20. U,U. There is a very small score on the line between these groups. If not accidental, it may be a divisional point; it is too insignificant to stand for a vowel. No. 22. F. A small fracture above the first digit might suggest A,L, but for every reason F seems preferable. No. 24. R. This letter occupies the turn at the stone's top. It only slightly overpasses the imaginary stem-line, but can hardly be either N or I, its lower length and slant agreeing with those of the next group, which is unmistakably R, Nos. 26, 27, 28. I,A,N. The last score of I, the first of N, and the whole of A (or O?) are obliterated, but under the conditions it seems safe to supply them. Nos. 28, 29. N,N. These groups stand so high on the moulding as almost to suggest Q,Q, or letters of that system; but on considering all of the groups at the stone's top, it will be seen that they

come forward towards that surface of the slab which faces their reader, and consequently towards their own upper border-line. Thus the heads of Nos. 25, 26 almost touch that line, while their feet are remote from the lower border, though both groups strongly cross the centre, where the stem-line ought to be. Compared with these, Nos. 28, 29 are lower placed, and they are nearer to the bottom than the top of their own part of the moulding. For reasons formerly given, the word ANN (or ONN)¹ is so probable an ending that I cannot hesitate to read these finals as N,N, supplying the lost initial score of No. 28. Mr Brash reads N,N.

Analysis of the Words.—ALLDALL. Alldall. A proper name. Assuming it to be here significant, we find that the first syllable, All or Oll, denotes Great (*O'Brien; H. Soc. Dict.*). The second, Dall, demands more inquiry, its common renderings (Blind, Obscure) seeming irrelevant. It here perhaps embodied an occult meaning, signifying one who deals in blind or obscure subjects—a Mystery-man, not one bereft of sight. Thus in Greek the word *Μυστήης*, one initiated, derives through *Μυέω* from *Μυω*,—to be shut or closed, to shut the eyes, keep the eyes shut.

In the Welsh Triads we learn that Coll ab Collfrewi, one of the Three Powerful Swineherds of Britain, and a chief among the enchanters styled Men of Illusion, kept the swine of Dall-weir Dall-ben in the valley of Dall-wyr in Cornwall. One of these swine, a sow named Hen-wen (Old Lady, undoubtedly Ceridwen)² being pregnant, King Arthur, alarmed by a prophecy, seeks to kill her; but under Coll's guidance she escapes by burrowing to Penrhyn Austen (Land's End), plunging into the sea, and swimming to Aberdarogi in Wales. Thence she goes with Coll to many places in the same country, producing and leaving at each of them one of her offspring, at first in beneficent forms,

¹ Where the Norse element is strong among the Gaelic-speaking people in the north, O is commonly used for A, *e.g.*, Ord for Ard. In Oghams A, O, U, interchange, as likewise do E, I; and other interchanges sometimes take place.

² Cerid-wen, said to signify Grain-lady, represents Ceres, viewed as the twofold goddess of the Mysteries, beneficent Mother Nature and terrible Hecate, Queen of the Under-World. The Irish form is Ceara. Another British name for her is Ked, a highly symbolical term, originally denoting the maternal principle in nature. The Irish Aine or Ana seems to have been the same, or a closely allied deity—Ana-itis, the Oriental Aphrodite or Artemis.

such as a wheat-grain or a bee, but latterly as savage and destructive animals. Of these, the two last were a kitten, which, as the Paluc Cat, became one of the Three Chief Molesters in the Isle of Man, and an eaglet, hatched on Snowdon, and finally carried to Scotland—a myth, no doubt, of deep and valuable significance.¹

Thus associated, Dall was evidently a mystical syllable; though used perhaps in the present case without reference to its occulter meanings. The words Dalbh, a lie, and Dalbhdha, sorcery (*O'B., H.S.D.*), may be connected with Dall, as representing ideas of darkness and illusion.

Other meanings, however, may be assigned to the word Alldall. (1) Memorial-stone. All is the nearly obsolete Ail, a stone (*H.S.D., O'B.*); Dallan-cloiche signifies a gravestone; Clach-dall (*Local*), a memorial-stone. Substituting the older word, we get All-dall for Clach-dall, and the legend would read, The Memorial-stone of Degad. This version I owe to Dr Joass. In hesitating to accept so probable a reading, one doubt arises from the nominative form of Degad, which, if governed by Alldall, ought to be Degadi, under usual rule, and in apparent analogy with Nuuffhri.

(2) Great Axe. All signifies great. Dall is Tal or Tail, an adze, or cooper's axe (*H.S.D., O'B.*). "The term Tailcend . . . the Book of Armagh renders *Asciciput* . . . undoubtedly a compound of *Ascia*, an adze, and *Caput*" (Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 351). Tuadh is a more common word for axe, but weapons like that in the Golspie warrior's hand may have been distinguished by a special name. The material of the blade is undoubtedly iron; its origin seems to be Norman, Frankish, or Danish, rather than Celtic; it is not only "great" in size, but very remarkable in form (*v. post*, p. 30).

D(e)qQAADD. Degad. My former misreading of one of the letters being

¹ The tale is to be found in the "three series of Triads printed in the Myvyrian Archaiology" (Lady C. Guest, *Mabinogion*, 2nd ed., p. 268). There seem to be variations in the nomenclature and renderings. Davies (citing Faber) makes it Dallwyr Dallben (Mystagogue, Chief of the Mystics) in the vale of Dallwyr (the Blind Men or Mystics)—*Myth. Brit. Druids*, pp. 426, 432. Herbert writes Dallwran Dallben (Blind Authority, or Blind Ruler, with a Blind Head); adding that this character reminds us of Morda the blind, to whom the heating of Ceridwen's furnace was entrusted (*Neodruidic Heresy*, pp. 120, 122).

corrected, this now more clearly appears as the name so familiar in Oghams, that of the great Munster clan, the Degadi or Ernai. In such forms as Ddecced, Decqedd, Dechet (not to mention related forms like Deco, Dego, &c.), it occurs at least five times in South Irish inscriptions, once in Devon, once in Pembroke (if I rightly read the Carew legend as "Map Gweut Decetty"),¹ and once in Anglesea (in Roman letters in these two last); perhaps also the same word is indicated in Ttuicuhatt (Duiqhad) on the Lunnasting Stone.

MAQQ. SON. NUFFHRR. Of Nur, or Nuri. The dropping of consonants does not here exceed that which happens in the Bressay (B) inscription, where Nahhtffddadd admittedly represents the recorded name Nadod. The terminal I is genitive, suffixed if the name be Nur, included if it be Nuri (*cf.* Norie: as in Norie's chapel, near Callendar,—Forbes, *Kal. of Sc. Sts.*, p. 425; or in Norie's Law, in Fife, &c.). As Noar, a similar name occurs in Oghams, at Gortamaccaree in Kerry:—Noar Maqi Farudran (= Foran). The reading there, however, may be Nur rather than Noar,—“either alternative would not make much change in the name, which is of an archaic type. We find Nar in the Annals of Innisfallen” (*Brash*, p. 199, pl. xxix.). Naomh (pronounced Nuv), a Saint, or Sacred, perhaps in combination with Fear, a Man, seems a possible root for Nur.

In reference to this I have been favoured with the following communication from Dr Joass:—“As to *Nuuffhrrri* signifying, as suggested, Nuv-fhear or Saint-man, in the genitive case, the rule is that the adjective follows the noun; but there are exceptions, and one of these is when a quality is meant to be ascribed in a special degree; *e.g.*, Allt garbh, a rough burn; Garbh-allt, *The* rough burn. Fear Mor, a great man, Morfhear, a Lord, the great man of his district, as Morfhear Chatt, Earl of Sutherland. A sacred dignity might thus be called Naomh-fhear locally, instead of Fear naomh, and the genitive would be pronounced Nuvir. If a Latinised form were adopted, it would be Nuviri, and might come to be Nufri, or in Ogham Nuuffhrrri.”²

¹ Gweut seems equivalent to Wid, the Pictish form of the Gaelic name Foith (Reeves, *Adaman*, p. 374).

² I is one of the commonest genitive forms in Welsh and Irish Oghams.

“If N (No. 18) be regarded as 'N for AN, the gen. sing. mas. def. art., then perhaps the Gaelic word might come in which is derived from Uidhe, a journey, and Fear. Uidh'Fhear is now written Uidhear, and means a Traveller or Pilgrim. If in earlier times it was written Uidhfear, its genitive would be pronounced Uifir, Latinised Uifiri, and Mac 'n Uifri might mean the Son of the Traveller or Pilgrim, and might assume Ogham form as above.”

In aid of this reading may be cited a very ancient inscription in Irish-Roman letters, incised on a stone found in St Breacan's tomb, in Ireland. It bears the following legend:—† OR AR BRÁN NAILITHER, a prayer for Breacan the Pilgrim (Petrie, *Anc. Arch. of Ireland*, p. 140). According to Dr Petrie, the word Ailithre (from Ail, a great stone, and Itriallam, to go round) is still used in Ireland to denote a pilgrimage (*ib.*, p. 118).

I have thought it possible that NAALLUORR, the commemorated name in the Burrian legend, might be 'N Aluor='N Ali(th)er, the Pilgrim, as in the above; but though these northern Oghams have marked peculiarities, it seems preferable, on the whole, to read Naalluor and Nuffhrr(i) as proper names, generalised designations being rare (perhaps non-existent) in the Oghams of Ireland and Wales.

Other Versions.—In my former paper I referred to Mr Brash's version. Though confessedly imperfect, it helps to confirm my own independent reading of two important debatable groups, viz., DQQAADD rather than ORRAADD, and NN for the final letters of the inscription. As regards the former question, Orraadd, in itself, seems as probable as the alternative, and it has the advantage of furnishing a vowel, but for the reasons already given I do not adopt it (see p. 24). The word might represent Urradh, a chieftain, similarly to that in the Burrian inscription, “Naalluorr Ann, Uurraddt, Mheffe Aarroc.” In that legend I formerly read Uurraddt as Uurraet (= Aireach, a Noble), offering, however, the alternative, which now seems to me preferable, as the digits rather indicate DD than C (*Proc. S. A. Scot.*, 1883-4, p. 200).

Some authorities have proposed to combine the later groups of the inscription, and read Nuuffhriann or Uuffhriann, with a presumed reference to “Oifrion, vulgarly Aifrion, the Mass; literally the sacrifice

offered at the Mass" (*O'B.*). Such a reading I venture to think improbable, as well as contrary to Ogham analogies elsewhere. It has, I believe, been conjectured that the personage on this stone, who advances, armed with axe and knife, is combating the maneless lion (or panther), which stands facing him on a salmon's back, and that he thus represents a defender of the "Oifrion" against savage pagans. Admitting the likelihood of any symbolic quaintness in those early times, I cannot but view the scene differently, thinking it pretty clear that the lion rests in the background among the other symbols, and is no more hostile than the salmon beneath it, whose head, through want of perspective, seems ready to run itself against the man's knife. The mouth of the lion, in fact, is shut, though the axe seems to touch it; and its forepaw is but slightly raised, less so in the photograph than in the folio plate, where the foot has an erroneous upward slant, as if in act to strike.

A similar, but more plainly leonine animal, standing by itself, is seen on the Bressay Stone, another on that at Ulbster, and another in Jonathan's Cave in Fife. Grouped animals, clearly maneless lions, occur on several of the stones; the single animal, near the mirror and comb, in the Newbigging example, seems to be a wolf. It is canine in tail, paws, and head (*Sc. St. Sc.*, ii. pl. cxxiii.). This feline animal, when single, may have been the badge of a northern tribe.¹ It may, however, represent mythological ideas, dependent on the animal's species. Compare, for example, the legend of the Sow Hen-wen's offspring, the Paluc or Spotted Cat, one of the Three Chief Molesters (*ante*, p. 26). The Golspie animal bears conventional marks, similar to those frequently shown on animals of the Sculptured Stones, such as the reindeer, bull, horse, and boar, as well as on the symbolic "elephant" (*cf.* Sacrifice of cow, St Vigeans, *Sc. St. Sc.*, i. pl. lxx.). The strangely shaped axe in the man's hand has been already spoken of. Weapons of

¹ The Catti? The Earls of Sutherland bore the Gaelic title *Morfhear Chatt*, Lord of Catt, a principality comprising Sutherland and Caithness (*Catt-nez, Norse*). The natives call Sutherland *Cattaobh* (*pron. Cattu*), the side of the Catti, and Caithness they call *Gallu*, the stranger's side (*Information from Dr Joass*). The Sutherland crest (probably derived from a badge far older than the feudal *mulletts* on the shield) is a Cat-a-mountain or Wild Cat (*Gaelic, Cat*), an animal also borne armorially by the great Clan Chattan tribe of Inverness-shire.

the same form appear in the hands of a Centaur (Meigle, *ib.*, i. pl. lxxiv. *Verified*, 1886), and perhaps in those of a dog-headed man (Rossie, *ib.*, ii. xcix.). A similar iron axe, in the British Museum, was found in the Thames. Another, in the Museum at Rouen, is there described as Merovingian. One of the first recorded specimens of the class was taken from a Merovingian cemetery at Envermeu in Normandy, by M. L'Abbé Cochet, who characterises its form as "peu usitée," and states that most of the cognate examples belong to the Isle of France. Similar iron hatchets from Denmark were shown in the Paris Exhibition of 1855 (Cochet, *Sépultures Gauloises*, &c., 1857; pp. 159-208). On a Gnostic gem, in my own collection, a female warrior (one of the seven Planetary Genii) wields a similarly formed, double-bladed axe, but under the circumstances an Amazonian "bi-pennis" was most probably intended.

THE NEWTON STONE.

Since the date of my former remarks on these difficult inscriptions certain amendments have suggested themselves. These I now ask leave to offer, embodying the newer versions in the general summary subjoined.

Revised Versions.

Ogham Inscription.—AIDDAI QNNN FORRERR IPH UA IOSIL.

Main Inscription (1).—AITTAI FURUR-INGIN SUOL O UOSE.

Translation.—Eté, Forar's daughter, of the race of the sons of Uos.

Main Inscription (2).—URCHN ELISI MAQQI LOGOU-PATR.

Translation.—Disciple of—or Children (?) of—Eliseus, son of the Priest of Hu (?), or of the Logh-fire Priest (?)—or, son of Lugupatar (?)

Notes on the Oghams, and on Main Inscription (1).—For these I am inclined to keep very closely to my earliest version (*Proc. S. A. Scot.*, 1882-3, p. 44), only substituting QNNN in the Oghams for QNEAN, and reading the former (Cuninin = *Coinnenean*) as Daughter, a sense it might naturally have borne, though now apparently restricted to Daughter-in-law or Daughter by adoption (*ib.*, supplementary, p. 45). On reflection, I feel bound to read FURUR, as at first, not FURUN (nor KUNUN, as once suggested); and this leads me to read the corresponding Ogham

FORRERR, rather than FORRENN, as there seems to be a clear accordance between the inscriptions. Under usual rule, NN better suits the position than RR; but in this case the groups are not merely below the stem-line, they are entirely off it and turned downwards, as if so placed for want of room, or in correction of an error discovered in process of inscribing; their slant also is greater than in other instances of sloped N. As formerly pointed out, the position of INGIN, following instead of preceding FURUR, may result from its being an after-thought. Furur, Suol, and Logou, might be read as Furyr, Syol, and Logoy, the U in those cases being formed like Y.

To conform to rule, I now, as at first, read IOSII in the Oghams, rather than $\overline{\text{U}}\text{OSII}$. In both of the inscriptions I suspect an intentional confusion between Uos (Hu or Huas) and IOSSA (Jesus)—see *post*, p. 35. The concluding word, LOGOU-PATER, may also be designedly ambiguous—Christian or Pagan, or a mixture of both.

Notes on Main Inscription (2).—The first word in this section, URCHN, read by me as Lord of Light (Ur, Light; Chan, Lord), does not to my knowledge occur in Celtic mythology, though, for reasons formerly stated, the Oriental derivation seemed allowable. I am now inclined to think that Urch(a)n refers to the entombed lady, Eté, and designates her (or perhaps her father) as a Neophyte in the mysteries of a semi-pagan creed. The subject cannot now be dealt with. To justify the proposed translation, compare "Oian a parchellan, &c." (Skene, 4 *Books of Wales*, ii. 21, i. 482). Substituting Uircean (=Urch(a)n) for the equivalent Porchellan, we find the meaning I venture to suggest. See also the story of Henwen (*ante*, p. 25). Otherwise, might Urch(a)n be explained through Ur, Urachan, child, children? (Armstrong, *Gael. Dict.*)

ELISI, the next word, may, as I had supposed, represent the name of the dual god El-Isi or Eli-Esaye (Sun-Moon; Osiris-Isis, &c., see *Proc. S. A. Sc.*, 1882-3, p. 41). But though these names occur separately, and mythological analogies would countenance their union, I have met with no Celtic instance of that exact combination, and for various reasons I now incline to view Elisi as the name of an individual, Elis or Eliseus, a Master in the mysteries referred to. The Swastika or Tetragrammaton

form of the letter *Chi* in the Pupil's name denotes connection with some religious idea;¹—is it over-fanciful to find similar suggestions in the Master's name, where the three central letters are so grouped as to combine into a W-shaped omega? Thus viewed, the whole word contracts itself into $\epsilon\omega\iota$, which is suggestive of several sacred tri-literals, such as the all-pervasive Gnostic $\iota\alpha\omega$ (varied into $\alpha\iota\omega$, &c.), or the Bardic "orw [$\omega\iota\omega$?] which formed the unutterable name of God" (Herbert, *Neodruidic Heresy*, p. 124). The letter L may have been here graven in Irish-Roman form expressly to secure the outlines for this sacred combination. The prominence of the letter E seems also to mark *Elisi* as a word of special import. Its Judaic nature is entirely consonant with the doctrines of the system to which the inscription seems to belong. I venture on such rather strange and hazardous conjectures, believing that mystery and secrecy (as with the better known Gnostic superstitions) formed the essence of that system, which mainly expressed itself, in its writings and its art, through an elaborate, quaint, and half-childish symbolism. To show that such ideas influenced the designers of the Sculptured Stones does not nullify the work of those who have vindicated the Christian ownership of so much in that symbolism of many peoples and times; it is not doubted that Christianity was there, especially where crosses are prominently displayed; the questions are, as to whether at all, or how far and for how long, Paganism and Judaism intruded themselves into some northern branch or branches of Christianity during a certain obscure period in the history of Scotland.

The next word comprises five letters; it begins with MA and ends with I, and the two intermediates, though not identical, are alike in their general character. Under these circumstances, it is hard to make it anything but the nearly inevitable MAQQI, though there may be no example of a Q formed like the letters in question, unless one of the forms of the numeral Koppa 𐌆 may be accepted. These letters, however, resemble G, as constantly found in ancient English and

¹ On the fragment of a large cross at Dunrobin, a well cut Swastika appears by itself on the base. On the Drumkilbo stone at Meigle what seems to be meant for an interlaced Swastika is grotesquely formed by four naked men.

Irish MSS. and inscriptions, and as "G is very often commuted with C" (*O'Donovan*), we may here have the form MAGGI as an equivalent for MACCI. The inscriber plainly worked with the Irish alphabet in his mind (*cf.* Greek *Pater-Noster* in Book of Armagh), and its influences could not but appear in his rudely formed Greek cursives, as naturally so on stone as on parchment. There is nothing abnormal in the mixture of Greek and Roman characters in one legend, as might be shown by examples from the later Byzantine coinage. On inscribed gems, "the mixture of Greek and Roman characters, as in the epitaphs of the Catacombs, betokens the date of the 4th or 5th century" (Rev. C. W. King, *Hand Book*, ix., *Met. Mus. N.Y.*, p. 40). If the first word be omitted, two Qs, an F, and an L remain as the most doubtfully Greek letters in the Newton legend; and of these the Q and F forms were familiar as numerals, while the L is merely a minuscule *Lambda*, without its small lower fork-line. In the difficult first word, Aittai or Eté, two letters are uncertain, but pretty clearly Greco-Irish AI (*F*-shaped A, with horizontal top for the I); and of the remaining letters in the legend, several are only Greek, as seen in CH, and in some of the forms of G, L, M, and U.

LOGOU-PATR, the last word, I formerly translated Logos-Father, Father of the Word; but I am now disposed to assign to it a different, though related, meaning.¹ The Greek Logos signifies, no doubt, The Word, in a sacred Christian sense; but it primarily denoted the Universal Reason, the Soul of the World, in which sense references to it formed part of the theology of all the Mysteries. The Celtic Lug or Logh, denoting the spiritual and intellectual Essence, is connected with ideas of fire, and the temple-fires seem to have been regarded as its special abode. The Sun-god of the Celts, "worshipped from Mid-Spain to the north of Erin," was in Wales Llew or Llew, and in Ireland Lug, a word signifying Light (Prof. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886). Lug, Hu, and Mithras seem to be identical. PATR, the second part of the compound, may perhaps signify, not Pater, Father, but Patēr or Patēr, a Mithraic priestly title. "The Mithriacs of Rome had no less

¹ It has also occurred to me that Logoupatr may be a compound proper name akin to Lugucurrit, Lugnaedon, &c., formed perhaps from Patrick or Peter, with

than eight different titles, under one or other of which they received initiation. One of these (perhaps the highest) was that of Pater From them one course of Mithriac solemnities was called the Patrica" (Herbert, *Neodruidic Heresy*, p. 32). As I have elsewhere indicated, a form of Gnosticism, more or less Mithraic, seems to have existed in Britain, as well as at Rome and in her other provinces; granting this, Pater might have the meaning now assigned, the whole word signifying Priest of Lug (Hu, or Mithras), or of the Logh, or Logh-fire. With this last compare an expression in Gorchan Cynvelyn, where the bard says:—

"And me from shedding my blood they compassionated,

Son of the Omen-fire; my ransom they appointed."¹

(Herbert, *Britannia after Romans*, i. 205.)

Continued attention to these subjects confirms my belief that a system compounded from Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity—in other words, of Gnosticism or late Mithraicism—did exist in Britain, and probably in Ireland, during some of the centuries succeeding the departure of the Romans.² (See *Proc. S. A. Sc.*, 1882–3, pp. 27, 42.)

the prefix Lug or Lugu—*cf.*, the names Gilli-petir, Mal-petair (*B. of Deer*, pp. 93, 95). Should we read Logou-natn instead of Logou-patr, as the forms would conceivably permit, we obtain Lugnaedon itself, the commemorated name in a very ancient Irish epitaph:—Lie Lugnaedon Macc Lmenueh, The stone of Lugnaedon, son of Limenueh. This Lugnat, or Lugnadan, a fifth century saint, was St Patrick's nephew, being a son of his sister Limania (*Petrie*, p. 165).

¹ The text and translation, as given by Mr Skene, run thus:—

"A minheu oni creu dychiorant.

Mab coel kerth vygwerth y a wnaethant."

(*4 B. of W.*, ii. 96.)

"And me, on account of my blood, they deplored,

Son of the omen-pile, my ransom they contributed."

(*ib.*, i. 414.)

In Pughe's *Dictionary* we find:—"Coel Certh, The omen or signal of alarm, the firing of a beacon. Bardic fires of rejoicing on the eves of the 1st of May, and 1st of November."

² "The revived Druidism, as it appears in its final brief struggle with Christianity (during the short-lived independence of the Britons after the withdrawal of the Roman legions in A.D. 440), as it is set forth in the mystical poems of Taliesin, composed in the seventh century, is a religion offering in many points a wonderful analogy to the ancient Persian tenets" (Rev. C. W. King, *The Gnostics*, p. 190).

Apart from Mr Herbert's theories on other subjects, it is difficult to read his works without coming to that conclusion, which a study of Gnosticism, in its widest sense, and of the symbolism of the Sculptured Stones, greatly tends to strengthen, and thus to justify the surmise of the late Mr Chalmers of Aldbar, as cited by Dr Stuart in his preface to the earlier of the Spalding Club folios (*Preface*, i. xiv.).

In Taliesin's *Wand of Moses* there are lines in which Christ and Hu or Huas (Mithras, Dionysos, &c.) are clearly identified. With his usual power, Mr Skene upholds the authenticity of that Bard's poems (4 *Books of Wales*, i. 190), and the lines now spoken of are given in his text, but in the translation (made by a "distinguished Welsh scholar—" *ib.*, p. 17) they and various lines of similar tendency have been omitted, sometimes without marks of elision.

In proof of this, and as an example for general purposes, I ask leave to quote a passage of some length from the poem referred to.

"O pop aduer y torof uroder dychyfaerawt.
 Bud adefic. y grist gwledie dogyn volawt.
 Dy bwyth duw kein. yn arfett meir y heissorawt.
 Hynt gwiryoned kyflawn rihed kynnwlw o honawt.
 Gweil iesse dy pobyl iude. dychyfaerawt.
Hu getwir lleu o luch aleho yr eu pecharwt.
 Deheu reen mynyd adien mwyn kyfundawt.
 Yn ran eluyd yn temhyl selyf seil o gyffrawt.
Gofunet gwas colofyn dias ffest flemychawt.
 Paradwys drws. bugeil dews duun gwledychawt.
 Neu rygigleu gan proffwydeu lleenawc.
 Geni iessu a rydarfu. hyt y uuched."

(Skene, *ib.*, ii. 173, 174.)

"From every return his host of brothers he rencountered,
 Advantage acknowledged to Christ the Ruler, portion of praise.
 The glorious God sits on the lap of Mary his counterpart.
 The course of truth, perfect nobility, a pattern of thee.
 Rods of Jesse, thy people Judah rencountered.

 Dexterous Lord, courteous, faultless, of gentle concord.
 In respect of the earth, in the temple of Solomon, foundation of
 impulse,
 . . . [Line omitted without elision marks.]"

The door of Paradise ; shepherd of God ; profoundly he reigned.
Was it not heard from learned prophets
That the birth of Jesus had taken place ;—”

(Skene, *ib.*, i. 561.)

“ At every returning, the crowd of brethren he did meet with ;
A confessed gain to Christ the Sovereign and a sufficing praise.
Bright God did place in Mary’s lap one like herself,
The way of truth, perfect in governance. Marked with the indisput-
able
Mark of Jesse, thy people, Judah ! he came to meet.
*He is called Hu, the lion of radiance imperfectly given by reason of their
sins,*
Lord of the south, mountain without fault, mild bond of concord
In the partition of the country, in Solomon’s temple the foundation
of activity,
*Consecrated minister, pillar of tumult fiercely flaming*¹
At the door of Paradise, the chosen shepherd with the gift of
sovereignty.
Surely may be heard of from the learned prophets
The nativity of Jesus ;—”

(Herbert, *ND.H.*, pp. 129, 130.)

As the poem proceeds, further omissions occur in the translation, chiefly, it would seem, where there are references or allusions to the Bardic mysteries. Whether this results from difficulties in the text, I have no means of judging ; but such omissions are unfortunate, as tending to darken a subject already deplorably obscure.

¹ Here is Hu Gadarn, the Bardic Christ, the Mithras of the Britons . . . not merely wielding the fiery Cherubic sword, but being himself that sword (Herbert, *ib.*, p. 130). Mona was termed, by one of the Bards (Taliesin ?), “ the isle of the praise of Hu ” (Skene, *ib.*, i. 299).

THE AQUHOLLIE STONE.

Description.—Unhewn whinstone (?), 8 feet above ground. In Kincardineshire, about 5 miles N.W. from Stonehaven, near Riccarton and the Raedykes. Known as the “Lang Steen”; said to have formed part of a circle recently removed. Oghams, on a south angle; much worn and doubtful; vowels, as in the Irish system, seem to be points not scores, on which view the present version is founded. Groups read from below upwards.

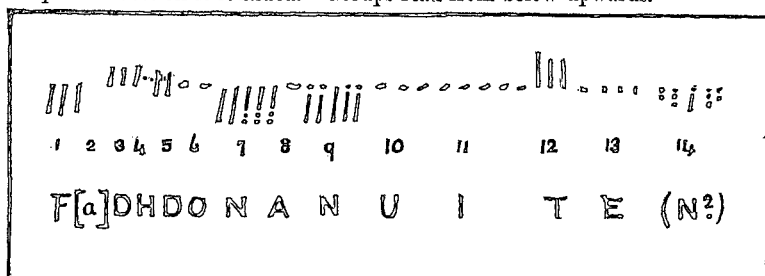


Fig. 5. Diagram of Ogham Inscription—Aquhollie Stone.

Translation.—F[A]DH DONAN UI TE(N?) [Here] rests [the body] of Donan, of the race of

Analysis of the Oghams.—No. 1. F. Nothing seems to have preceded. No. 2. (A?). Room for this, but no trace, surface worn. Nos. 3, 4. D, H. Perhaps T, but last score rather apart. No. 7. N. Perhaps, but not probably, L, F. No. 11. I. Possibly E, A, the last dot being apart. No. 14. Most likely N. Illegible beyond.

Analysis of the Words.—F[A]DH. Perhaps (1) Faoidh, rests (here), like ANM, ANN, in other inscriptions, from “Faoidh, *v.n.*, to . . . sleep or rest—‘*Ro faoidh for leic,*’ he rested on a flag-stone” (*H.S.D.*), Irish form, Faoidhim, to rest (*O.B.*); or (2) Fad, Fod, “a turf, clod, soil, land,” used here for grave, more or less metaphorically, either as implying a turf mound, or as in “*Gus au càrur mi fon fhòd,* till I am placed under the clammy earth” (*M’Alpine, Dict.*); or (3) Fadh, a field (also “glebe-land, *Ager Ecclesiasticus*”), which with its cognates seems to have a wide range of forms and meanings, perhaps (as with the Logie Elphinstone *Athar*, in “*Athar Bhoto*”) being used like the Latin *Locus* to denote a burial-place. DONAN. Three Scottish saints of that name are on record, the nearest in locality associated with Auchterless, Aberdeenshire. UI. Genitive of Ua, a grandson, or descendant. TE(N?) . . . The rest illegible.

Remarks.—Having been kindly informed of the existence of Oghams on this stone by their recent discoverer, the Rev. John G. Michie, of Dinnet, I examined and noted down the inscription on May-day 1886. There are numerous remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood.

LIST OF THE OGHAMS IN SCOTLAND.

1. *Scoonie*.—EDDARR BALMONN[EN] . . . Eddar, of Balmonnen . . .
2. *Aboyne*.—MAQQI TALLUORRH FFENNAACC ABBORFTHHAAN. (Stone?) of the Son of Talore, Fineach of Aber-fthan (Aboyne ?); or, (Body) of the son of Talore, Fineach of Aber-ftha (?) (rests) here.
3. *Logie Elphinstone*.—ATHAT BHOTO. The Grave of Bodo.
4. *Newton*.—AIDDAI QNNN FORRERR IPH UA IOSII. Eté, daughter of Forar, of the race of the sons of Ios, or Uos. *Irish-Greek Inscription*.—AITTAI FURURINGIN SUOL O UOSE. URCHN ELISI MAQQI LOGUPATR. Eté, Forar's daughter, of the race of the sons of Uos. Disciple of— or Children (?) of—Eliseus, son of the Priest of Hu (?), or of the Logh-fire Priest (?);—or son of Lugupatar (?).
5. *Brodie* (A).—EDDARNON[N MAQ]QI . . . , Eddarnon, Son of . . . ; *Brodie* (B).— . . . RO . . . OQO . . . ; *Brodie* (C).— . . . ON TDAHO . . .
6. *Golspie*.—ALLDALL DQQAADD MQ NUUFFHRRRI [A]NN. Alldall Degad, Son of Nur (or Nuri), (rests) here.
7. *Bressay* (A).—BERNISEST : MEQQ DDRROI ANN. (Body) of Bernis, Son of Dru, (rests) here. *Bressay* (B).—CROESCC : NAHHTFFDDADDS : DATRR : ANN B[EAN?] . . . ; (Body) of Crusa, Natdod's daughter, (rests) here : (the Wife of Bernis ?).
8. *Burrian*.—NAALLUORR ANN UURRADDT MHEFFC AARROCCS. Naluor (rests) here ; a Chieftain, Son of Orroc.
9. *Lunnasting*.—XITUICUHAATTS : AHAAHHTTMNNN : HCCFFEFF : NEDT ONN. (Body) of Duichad, of Manan-land, Son of Fife (?), is lodged (?) here.
10. *St Ninian's*.— . . . ES MEQQ NANAGOFFEST. (Stone?) of . . . , Son of Nanagus.
11. *Conningsburgh* (A).— . . . RO MQO SEFBE . . . (Stone?) of . . . , Son of Safi (?).
12. *Conningsburgh* (B).— . . . IR (?)
13. *Aquhollie*.—F[A]DH DONAN UI TE[N ?] . . . (Here) rests (the body) of Donan, of the race of . . .
14. *Gigha*.—Fragmentary inscription, believed to exist (*Brash*, p. 364).

This list is meant to furnish an accurate transliteration of the Ogham inscriptions in Scotland, as well as to correct certain small errors in my former papers and diagrams. The value of some of the groups must remain for ever doubtful; the alternatives having been already stated under the proper headings, they will not here be referred to, except in a few special cases.

1. *Scoonie*.—Reading the Oghams downwards, I formerly made this inscription “[Ma]qqi Dahiialle, (Stone) of the Son of Dali,” but (through a suggestion from Professor Rhys) I am now inclined to read them in the more usual way, from below upwards, and as viewed from the spectator’s right. There is difficulty in the grouping where the stag’s leg crosses and confuses the Oghams, but the slanting score just below may represent M, and this is followed by O, (or by E, in the less likely case that the sides of the leg represent two scores). Should the present version be accepted we gain interesting results. Eddar is a name closely akin to Eddarnon, recently identified on the Brodie Stone (*ante*, p. 18), both quite of the type associated with Ogham legends. The appropriateness of the other word, Bal-monn(en), almost casts doubts on the reading, but I found it before remembering its connection with the locality. The Church of Scoonie, according to Dr Stuart, was dedicated to St Monena, who died A.D. 517 (*Sc. St. Sc.*, ii. p. 6). Bishop Forbes notices this female saint under the headings Etaoin, Modwena, and Memme—in which last form the Scoonie dedication seems to have been made (*Kal. of Sc. Sts.*, p. 396). In the same work we find another saint, whose name would be equally appropriate for the present purpose, St Monan or Moenen, martyred (A.D. 571), whose relics rest at “Inverry” in this part of Fife, to whom the neighbouring church of St Monans was dedicated (*ib.*, p. 412). “Bal” is the well-known prefix, specially prevalent in Fife and Angus place-names. In slightly varied forms the whole name occurs throughout Scotland, as Balmanno, Balmeanach, Ballminnoch, &c. There is a Kilminning farm in the parish of Crail, a few miles distant from St Monans. Accepting “Balmonnen,” we seem to have another example of the local designations, or semi-surnames, found only in Scottish Oghams (*cf. Aboyne, Golspie, Lunnasting, Burrian*). There are difficulties in most of these cases, but the subject invites attention.

2. *Aboyne*.—Abbor-fthhaan seems more likely than Abor-fthha, An(n) The river-name should probably be found by supplying a vowel and reading Fothan or Fithan. I incline to view the whole word as an early form of the modern Aboyne. Teach-Baeithin, a church founded in Ireland by St Baithen, is now locally known as Tö-boyne (Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 372), and Innes-boyne similarly takes name from a St Baothern. B and V (the Ogham F is also V) being interchangeable, Aber-Vothan would as easily pass through Aber-Voyne into Ab-Boyne, as Aber-Brothock passes into Ar-Broath.

3. *Logie Elphinstone*.—“The Grave of Bodo” seems far more probable than the other reading.

4. *Newton*.—See *ante*, pp. 30–36.

5. *Brodie*.—See *ante*, pp. 14-22.

6. *Golspie*.—See *ante*, pp. 22-30.

7. *Bressay* (B).—On the stone, a colon point stands between "Datrrr" and "Ann"; the diagram (*Proc.*, 1884-5, p. 198) is there imperfectly printed. The value of the small, low strokes on either side of O in what otherwise reads "Crosse" is unknown, but they may be supposed to modify the vowel sound, perhaps into OE.

8. *Burrian*.—Naalluorr, not Naalluorar; the nearly invisible stroke between R and R (like that in *Golspie*, between U and U), cannot be read as a vowel, though it may have some unexplained force. "Uurraddt," Chieftain, seems preferable to "Uurraet," Noble, the four high scores being divided into pairs by the greater length and slope of the third score. If, in *Golspie*, "Orraadd" should be read for "Dqqaadd," we obtain the same word, but for reasons given I prefer the latter. In the diagram (*Proc.*, 1884-5, p. 200), supply a single point beneath the stem-line, after Naalluorr. No. 17, A, not No. 11, A, should be cross-barred below.

9. *Lunnasting*.—The diagram (*Proc.*, 1884-5, p. 202), omits the colon points that should follow "Ahaahhttmnn," and erroneously places them between "Nedt" and "Onn." These probably signify division, but their absence does not necessarily imply union. The intent of such pointing is sometimes hard to discover, the St Vigeans inscription (*Sc. St. Sc.*, ii. pl. cxxviii.), for example, having single points in seemingly useless positions. In Mr Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, the transcriptions from the MSS. constantly show full-stops where comma points, or none, are required. The word "Hccfeff" is full of difficulty. In favour of my surmise that "Hcc" (Hecc or Hicc) stands for Mhicc, may be cited the use of Ic for the genitive of Mac in the Ulster Annals, and in old Scots MSS. (*Sc. St. Sc.*, ii. p. 71, *footnote*). It is also hard to say whether "Nedt Onn" (lodged here?) is approximately right, or if we should join the syllables and read the proper name, Nedtonn (Nedon? Nectan?). There was a St Nethan (A.D. 408), to whom the Church of Cambus-nethan was dedicated (Forbes, *Kal. of Sc. Sts.*, p. 419). On the latter view, the inscription might commemorate four separate persons. Or perhaps Nedton might furnish a local surname for Fef, as Ahatmanan does for Tuicuhat. The name Ttuicuhaatt or Duiqhad may (as surmised) be another example of Degad (*Golspie, ante*), represented by the Aberdeenshire name Duguid, often pronounced Deecat.

10. *St Ninian's*.—Note the northern FF in "Nanagoffest," as in "Nuuffhri," "Naahhtffiddadd," "Hccfeff," in other inscriptions.

11. *Conningsburgh* (A).—I now incline to read "Maqo Sefbe" (*Brash*, p. 414), rather than "Maq O'Sefbe." Sefbe is probably Safi, either alone or as beginning a longer word now partly effaced.

12. *Conningsburgh* (B).—A mere fragment.

13. *Aquhollie*.—See *ante*, p. 37.