I.

THE INSCRIPTIONS AND LANGUAGE OF THE NORTHERN PICTS. By JOHN RHYS, M.A., Professor OF CELTIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

The first thing to notice in regard to the Pictish inscriptions is their distribution, and they may be conveniently enumerated from the south northwards, as follows :—We begin on the other side of the Forth, to wit, at Scoonie, in East Fife, and from there we proceed to Abernethy. Thence we come to St. Vigeans Church, near Arbroath, and our next stop is at Aquhollie, in the neighbourhood of Stonehaven. We now visit Aboyne, on the Dee side ; then we proceed across country to the neighbourhood of Inverurie, and stop at Logie Elphinstone and Newton. Our next stop is at Brodie, between Forres and Nairn. Then there is nothing to demand our attention till we come to the Sutherland town of Golspie. We have now to quit the mainland, and visit the Orkneys, namely, Papa Stronsa and North Ronaldsha. Finally, we make for the Shetlands, the mainland of which supplies several specimens, while the isles of Bressay and St. Ninian have one specimen each to show. This brings the total up to sixteen stones, and all except two are inscribed in the Ogam character, either wholly or partly. Unfortunately several of the inscriptions are the merest fragments, but they must be scrupulously taken into account in considering the area of distribution.

The foregoing enumeration of the stones shows that the whole length of the Pictish domain is fairly covered by the inscriptions, from the Forth to the Shetlands ; but it is remarkable that none are known to occur in the Highlands, and on the western coast, or in the neighbouring islands. Even the case of the Ogam supposed by some to exist in the Island of Gigha, between Kintyre and Islay, is, as I am told, extremely doubtful. What can be the reason for the comparative absence of inscriptions in those parts of Alban to which the *Scotti* or Goidels of Ireland used to find a ready access ? I have no answer that seems to me quite satisfactory ; but it is not wholly irrelevant to point out that the northern half

of Ireland itself has extremely few ancient Ogams to show.   Neverthe-
less, I have very little doubt in my mind that it was from Ireland
Ogmic writing was introduced into Pictland.

To make this intelligible, it will be necessary to go briefly into the
history of Ogmic writing elsewhere.   The oldest specimens belong to
Wales and Devon, and the south of Ireland.   It is characteristic of
them that the scoring and notching forming the Ogams follow the angle
of the stone employed.   I say stone for the reason that Ogams on stone
are the only ancient ones known still to exist, though I am inclined to
think that slips of wood were also used for this kind of writing—more
commonly, perhaps, than stone.   I append the Ogam alphabet, with the
values ascertained, so far as possible; from bilingual monuments.   It is to
be borne in mind that the connecting line here represents the natural
angle of the stone used :—

B, l,   v   s,   n;   H, d,   t,   c,   qu;   M, g,   ng,   f,   r;   A, o,   u,   e,   i;
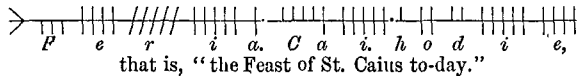
e, p, p, p, p.
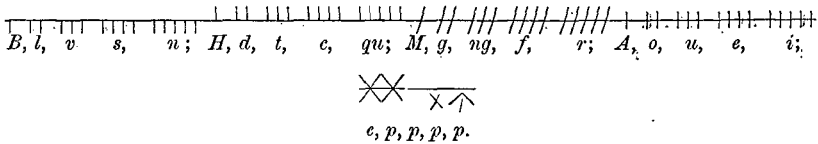
After this ancient monumental Ogam alphabet, we find a somewhat
altered system, betraying the influence of manuscript writing, especially
in the fact that it has an artificial stem-line to represent, in manuscript,
the angle of the stone.   So this later Ogam is not cut on the angle,
though it may run closely parallel to it, but on the face of the stone.
Another characteristic is that the vowels, from being notches in the
angle, become lines perpendicularly crossing the stem-groove, as will be
seen from the following alphabet :—

B l,   v,   s,   n;   H, d,   t,   c,   q;   M, g,   ng,   f,   r;   A, o,   u,   e,   i;
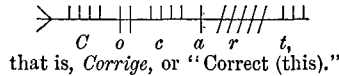
e,   e,   p.
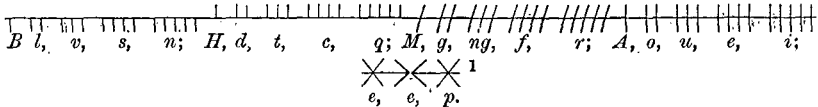
Now, it happens that the Pictish Ogams, with only one entire excep-
tion, belong to the later kind, and not to the earlier ; but before pro-

[1] The first and third of these Ogams are of the same form, namely, X, while the.
second consists of separate halves, ><, with an intervening space varying in width.
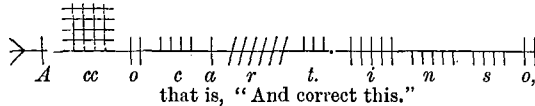
ceeding to discuss details, I should add, that whereas the ancient Ogam is very uniform, the later one shows a free development in the matter of introducing stops, of varying the inclination of the scores, and even of transforming them into curves. I have chiefly Irish instances in view, and one may consult the Book of Ballymote,[1] a manuscript compiled about the beginning of the fifteenth century, for a large assortment of Ogam alphabets, accompanied with much curious information intermingled with pedantic trivialities. But for the present I shall confine myself to three or four authentic instances of the use of Ogmic writing, and I would begin with the Irish manuscript of St. Gall, written in the ninth century. This contains eight entries in Ogam, punctuated where there is occasion for it, above the stem-line, which is feathered like an arrow. Take the following instance :—

P   e   r   i   a.   C   a   i.   h   o   d   i   e,

that is, "the Feast of St. Caius to-day."

And this :

C   o   c   a   r   t,

that is, *Corrige*, or "Correct (this)."

Also this,[2] the last of a series of four successive corrections :—

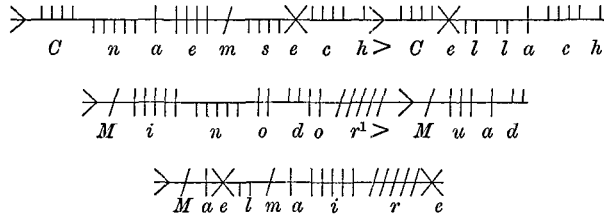A   cc   o   c   a   r   t.   i   n   s   o,

that is, "And correct this."

The next instance I should like to cite consists of a string of proper names engraved in four lines on a silver fibula discovered in 1806 at

---

[1] The tract on Ogams occupies folios 308b–315a: I refer, of course, to the Royal Irish Academy's photograph reproduction of this massive manuscript. The most valuable things in the tract have been extracted and published in fac-simile by Mr. G. M. Atkinson in the *Kilkenny Archæological Journal* for 1874, pp. 202–236 ; and in Mr. Brash's *Ogam Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil* (pl. i., ii.), the editing of which, owing to the author's death, was undertaken by Mr. Atkinson.

[2] All three instances are taken from Nigra's *Reliquie Celtiche* (Turin, 1872), pp. 15, 17. In the third instance here given, that learned Celtist has possibly gone wrong in taking the compound symbol for *cc* to have been an erasure. For the rendering "And correct this," I am indebted to Dr. Whitley Stokes. Nigra here calls attention to the six scores carelessly written for five scores = *r*.

Ballyspellan, in the barony of Galmoy, county Kilkenny. The work-manship has been surmised to be of the twelfth century. The order in which the four lines should be taken is not certain, but that is of no consequence here. They run thus—
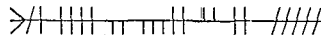
C   n   a   e   m   s   e   c   h>   C   e   l   l   a   c   h

M   i   n   o   d   o   r¹>   M   u   a   d

M   a   e   l   m   a   i   r   e

On another part of the ornament comes one more line, thus—

M   a   e   l   u   a   d   a   i   g   Ma   e   l   ma   i   r   e
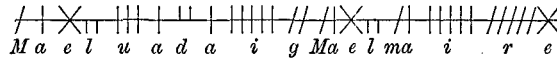
It is needless, perhaps, to add another instance of the later Ogam writing. One of the general conclusions which I draw from those just given, and others of the same kind, is that, though nothing of any length has ever been discovered in Ogam, Irish scribes were at one time com-monly acquainted with it. The practice of writing it on parchment inevitably led to a freer hand, so to say, and to an incipient tendency to neatness and precision. This, transferred to stone, forms our principal difficulty with the Pictish inscriptions, for, combined with a certain amount of such individuality of treatment, we have a great lack of specimens to set us right as to the formulæ to be expected; not to mention a further difficulty, that of the language, which one has also to face, as will appear later.

---

[1] The whole is copied from plate xli. in Mr. Brash's *Ogam Inscribed Monuments*, for, owing to inexcusable negligence, I have never asked to see the fibula itself in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; but I suspect that the name here given as *Minodor* should be read

that is, *Maelfodor*, the *Maelodhar* of the Four Masters.

i.

I now propose to take the Pictish inscriptions very briefly in detail, which I am enabled to do by the ample accounts of the stones, and the engravings of them already published by your Society. My study of the subject has been especially helped by the careful readings published in your pages by the Earl of Southesk, and the photographs taken by him ; also by the copies recently made of the stones by Mr. J. R. Allen, who has kindly placed them at my disposal.

1. The Scoonie Stone (now in the National Museum, Edinburgh) represents a stag-hunt, and near the right edge of the stone runs an Ogam inscription, interrupted in part by the stag's head and one of his forelegs. The top of the stone is gone, but I know not what search has been made for it. My reading, which I give with great diffidence, is—

Speaking from my notes of the inscription, I cannot read the beginning of it *eddarr*, ||||| ⊥⊥ ⊥⊥ | //// ////, but now, on comparing the whole with others, it seems to me that I ought to have read *Ehtarrmnonn* or *Ehtarrnonn*, in which the *ht* stands probably for *t* or perhaps its aspirate, *t'*. One could not, accordingly, help seeing in this word the equivalent of the *eddarnonn* beginning one line on the Brodie Stone. So I should conclude that the Scoonie Ogam was continued to and on the top of the stone, like the Golspie one. I do not suppose, on the other hand, that there is anything wanting at the commencement.

The identity of the art[1] displayed on this stone with that on the Golspie Stone, and the similarity in the dress of the men, must, I think, show any one who will take the trouble to compare them, how closely allied in origin the most southern of the Pictish inscriptions is to the most northern on the mainland : nothing could more strikingly prove

---

1 Judging from the drawing in Brash's book (pl. xlviii.), the headgear of two of the hunters comes down between the shoulders and in front to the nose-tip ; so it reminds me of the three Picts from Pictland, as described in the story of the *Destruction of Bruden Daderga*, in the Book of the Dun Cow, fol. 88a, where the headgear is said to be equally long behind and on the forehead.

that they belong not only to the same race, but to the same series of monuments.

2. The Abernethy Fragment, which I am delighted to learn has been to-day presented to the National Museum by Alexander Laing, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot. But for my information about it I am indebted to my friend Mr. Allen, from whom I learn that the piece of stone shows, beside the Ogam scores, certain portions of the legs of a horse; so it was probably, like the previous stone, ornamented with a hunting scene; but I must confess that I do not quite understand the relative position of the sculpture and the Ogam. The writing consists of the three letters
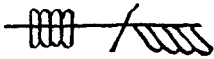
 which would be either *i m n* or *q m i*, according

to the direction of the reading, which is hard to tell. The Ogams are, however, instructive, as the two longer ones consist of tied scores or bind[1] Ogams, such as we shall find presently in the Islands, a circumstance which establishes the practical oneness of the entire series from Fife to the Shetlands.

3. The Drosten Stone, now most awkwardly placed in the wall of the porch of St. Vigeans Church, near Arbroath. This is not an Ogam-inscribed stone, but a small panel reading as follows :—

drosten-
ipe uoret
ett for-
cus.

Here every letter is certain, with the exception of the O, as to which there is room for doubt whether it means *o* or *e*. There is a difficulty,

[1] I may state here that specimens of bind Ogams occur in the above-mentioned tract in the Book of Ballymote (see folios 312, line 5, and 313, line 17):

however, as to the points at the end of the third line : I think they were originally three, ∶ ˙ , but the last of them is doubtful. Possibly it never was there ; but supposing it was, we have then somewhat the same arrangement of three points as at the end of the first line. Now, the object of the points after FOR was to show that the word was finished in the line following, the name being, in fact, *Forcus* or *Fercus*, better known as *Fergus*. The same is my inference with regard to *Drosten*, namely, that the entire word was regarded as being *Drostenipe*. The whole would read accordingly as suggested above. Formerly I regarded the inscription as meaning "Drosten, Ipeuoret ett Forcus," that is, as consisting of three proper names joined together in Latin by means of the conjunction *ett*, for *et* "and." This received the approval of no less an authority than Dr. Hübner, as will be seen in his *Inscriptiones Britanniæ Christianæ*, No. 212, p. 77. I have, however, never succeeded in finding any trace of such a name as *Ipeuoret*, and I do not regard the *ett* as decisive of the language of the inscription, any more than I should treat *et*, or 7, or & in an old Irish manuscript as a word to be read otherwise than *occus* or *ocus*, "and." Nay, I am now somewhat inclined to regard *ett* as the native Pictish word for "and," to be equated with the *edd* on the Golspie Stone.

The force of any arguments derived from the date and locality of the habit of writing *ett* for *et* would be likely to be seriously diminished by the undeniable Pictish habit of doubling almost every consonant, as will be seen from some of the inscriptions to be noticed. On the other hand, the fact that the *t* is the only consonant doubled in this instance proves, to my mind, that the Drosten inscriber was acquainted with some language besides Pictish, probably Latin or Goidelic, or both ; and I should be glad to believe that under some such extraneous influence the spelling of *ipe* is a simplification of *ipœ* = *ipoi*, *ipua*, which I hope to show to have been a Pictish word for "offspring or progeny." Be that as it may, I venture to assume that *ipe* and *ipua* are at any rate related and of a kindred meaning. So I would provisionally translate thus: "Drust's offspring, Uoret and Fergus." The name *Forcus* is Goidelic, and this form of it is used in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba when he speaks of MacErce's sons (see Reeves'

edition, i. 7, p. 33); and *Forcos* occurs on a stone, from Clonmacnois, in Miss Stokes' *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language,* part i. p. 16, and pl. ii. 5. The other name, *Uoret,* is probably native, and identical with that of the Pictish king Wrad, who was reigning when Kenneth MacAlpin was making himself master of the Pictish power in the years from 839 to 844 : we have other forms of the name probably in *Ferath* and *Feret,*[1] which occur in the *Chronicle of the Scots and Picts ;* and more exactly in *Forat,* in *the Tripartite Life of Patrick,*[2] in spite of its being given only as a genitive there.

The initial *f* is due in such forms probably to Goidelic influence ; so the distinction sharply drawn in this inscription between the *u* or *v* of *Uoret* and the *f* of the borrowed *Forcus* is instructive.

4. The Aquhollie Stone, about 5 miles north-west of Stonehaven. I visited this stone last summer for the first time, as I had never heard of it till the Earl of Southesk's account of it was published by your Society. I am unable to agree entirely with his reading, though I am not by any means certain of my own ; but I am confirmed by Mr. Allen's reading and his exact measurements of the spaces. We agree very nearly with regard to the consonant scores, as follows :—

As to further details, I may remark that the *d* which I regard as doubtful Mr. Allen gives in faint outline, whereas Lord Southesk gives no *d*, ⊥⊥, but suggests an *n*, ⊤⊤⊤⊤; that would, I take it, cover my ::⊤⊤⊤. The vowels are all to a great extent guesswork, but Mr. Allen and I agree in our conclusions about them all except the one occurring in the space between *n* and *t*. There I could not decide whether to count four considerable depressions, or exactly twice the number by including less perceptible ones. He, however, has taken the precaution of measuring the space, and finds it to be the same as that for the *i*. In that case one might perhaps conclude that we have here to do with a genitive

[1] See Skene's *Picts and Scots,* p. 150.
[2] See Stokes' edition; pp. 210, 351.

Vinoni, a name which might now be *Finan* in the nominative; but this would leave the rest unexplained. I ought to add that, when looking at the stone, I was half inclined to see a notch before the first *v*, ⊤⊤⊤ : this would lead one to expect the legend to begin with *avi*. *Avi* in ancient Ogams is the Goidelic genitive, now *ui*, corresponding to the nominative *úa* or *ó*, " a descendant, or grandson." Lastly, I could be certain of nothing after the last *v* here given, but Mr. Allen suggests a gap followed by four notches : if this could mean an original group of five notches, we should have a common ending of a Celtic genitive, and the whole would be Vinoni Tedovi, or else Avi Nonitedovi, meaning " the grave of *Vinon Tedov*, or of *O'Nonitedov* " ; but this is sheer guesswork.[1]

Lastly, I wish to mention that this Ogam is all on the natural edge of the stone, and that the vowels must have been notches in the edge, and not lines cut across it at length : it is the only inscription of the kind north of the Forth, and I should be inclined to consider it, for that reason, as being probably the oldest Ogam in Scotland.

5. The Aboyne Cross, now at Aboyne Castle. This, though only a fragment of the cross, seems to bear the whole inscription; possibly the stone had been broken as it is now before it was used for the Ogam. The latter consists of two lines, the first of which seems to break off in the middle of a word ; and this I take to be indicated by a deep barb-like mark at the end. In fact, I should be disposed to regard it as answering the purpose of our hyphen at the end of a line : compare *Forcus* on the St. Vigeans panel. One might prefer, however, to find that it meant *h*, and one may urge that it is not more deeply cut than the *a* of *Maqqo*. I examined the stone in 1883, and I verified my reading last summer. In addition I have before me Lord Southesk's excellent photograph, together with Mr. Allen's rubbing. This is what I make of it—

---

[1] I think that the stone might be read with certainty if it could be cleared of the lichen, and that could be done with safety by having it covered for some time with turf or soil so as to make the lichen wither, which could then be brushed clean away, as I was able to do in the case of the Yarrow Stone : see the *Academy* for 1891, ii. 181. Might I suggest to the Society of Antiquaries that they should have this done ?

Ma   q   q   o   t   a   l   l   u   o   r   r   -

n   e h   h   t   v   r   o   b b   a   c   c   e   n   n   e   v   v

Scarcely one of the characters is damaged or doubtful, except in point of
value.   The first to call for notice in this last respect is the *o*.   This I
would identify with ⬦ in the tract in the Book of Ballymote, where it
has the value of *o* given it in one place and that of *oi* in another (fol.
312).   I am inclined to regard it as called into existence by the influence
of Roman *o* on the bind Ogam for *o* as on the Burrian Stone, and to asso-
ciate with it that value.   This will be found confirmed when the Bressay
and Burrian Ogams come to be reviewed.   The next character to be
noticed is ⪥, which I should be disposed to regard as a modification
of ⤬ = *e*, that modification having been first made in order to avoid
confusion with ⤬ = *p*.   This, however, is a question concerning its
history which it is not essentially necessary to deal with here, since the
character ⪥ seems to have come into use in Ireland before it was
introduced to Scotland.   We have it in the former country in a some-
what late Irish Ogam reading—

—that is to say, *Maile-Inbiri*.[1]   It occurs also in an older Ogam, but
one hardly belonging to the oldest class of Irish Ogams, as I gather from
the trick of inverting the side scores.   The inscription in question is
found on a low cromlech near the foot of the mountain called Caher-
Conree, between Tralee and Dingle, and the name of interest here
reads

—that is to say, *Conu-Nett*.   In Scotland we shall meet with ⪥ again on
the Golspie Stone, and on stones in Orkney and Shetland.

[1] *Maile-Inbiri* would be the genitive of a name *Mail-Inbiri*, which I have tried to
explain as meaning "Calvus Virginis," or the Slave of the Virgin: compare *Mail-
Maire*, and for a short account of this inscription, which belongs to Kilmalkedar in
Kerry, see the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* for 1892,
p. 267.

One should next notice the angle made by $\gg$, for the vowel *o*, instead of being $\| \|$. Whether this was meant to indicate a modification of the sound of that vowel I cannot say, but I am disposed to think not. The same character occurs at least once on the Brodie Stone, and the Golspie Stone has, perhaps, an *a* of the like formation $\gt$; and so has one line on the Bressay Stone. In all the instances it will be noticed that the angle is contained on the left: in other words, when the vowels are not drawn straight they look towards the left, so to say, and this agrees with the interpretation of certain bind Ogam scores in the tract in the Book of Ballymote (fol. 313, line 17), whereas if they looked the other way about, $\lt$, $\lt\lt$, &c., they would probably be interpreted to mean *m*, *g*, &c. Lastly, one should notice the *a* in the second line : its lower extremity ends in a short horizontal score, giving the whole letter the appearance of a hammer, and the like *a* will be found on the Golspie Stone, on the Lunasting Stone, and more than once on the stone from the Broch of Burrian. On the Aboyne Stone, however, the horizontal score is damaged by a little breakage, so that it is wider and rougher than the rest. Supposing the breakage to account for the whole of this horizontal score, which I do not think, one then would read simply an ordinary $\vdash$, *a*, for there is hardly any question as to the value of the character.

As to the legend, it seems to begin with *Maqq*, "son," or, as I think more probable, with *Maqqo* for *Macco*, the word which occurs so frequently in the most ancient Irish Ogams in the genitive *muco-i* or *mucco-i*. Even if the other view be preferred, it does not prove the inscription to be of necessity a very early one; for we find that in Ireland the spelling of *mac* or *macc* with a *q* or two was continued to comparatively late times. A curious instance of this is given in Brash's book, pl. xli., where a small lead vessel found at Kilmallock, in county Limerick, is represented as reading—in relief—as follows :—

N   i   g   l   a   s   M   e   i   .   q

C   i   l   l   m   o   c   h   o   l   m   o   g   .

Who Nicholas M'Gillmocholmog [1] may have been I do not know, but I should not suppose him to have lived in very remote times ; and it is clear that he was not very familiar with the way in which literary Irish was spelled.   Still less can he have been aware when he wrote *meiq* as the genitive of *mac*, that the ancient form was *maqui* in the early Ogam inscriptions on both sides of St. George's Channel.   Nevertheless, his writing his name with a *q* was probably not the result of accident or whim, but the teaching of an ancient family tradition.   To return to the Aboyne Stone, I regard the inscription as belonging to a time when *q* was regarded as merely another way of writing *c* ; so I am at liberty to suppose that the Ogam begins with *maqqo* = *macco*, which may be loosely rendered "descendant," and one would naturally expect a genitive after it; but what is that genitive ?   Is it *Talluorrnehht* or *Talluorrn* ?   It must be one of the two, for a happy thought has enabled me to identify *Vrobbaccennevv* as a distinct name.   If we take *Talluorrnehht* as the genitive—a Goidelic genitive—it would have to be regarded as implying a nominative *Talluorrnahht* : in any case, the *hh* before *t* probably means *ch*, as is proved in the case of the Lunasting Stone, where *Nehhtonn* must be a form of the historic name *Nechtan*. But *Talluorrnahht* reminds one of such Irish names as *Connacht*, "Connaught," and *Eoganacht*, usually explained as the race of Conn and Eogan respectively, and the prefixing of *mac* or *macco* to a name of that kind would, I fancy, be without parallel.   So it seems preferable to suppose the genitive to be Talluorrn, and the name of the first man mentioned on the stone to be Maqqo-Talluorrn.   If we could venture to read the tag at the end of the first line as *h*, we should have *Talluorrhn*, which would bring us nearer possibly to the great Pictish name of *Talorgan*, and there seems no intrinsic improbability in the hypothesis of a clan-name like *Macco-Talorgan* or *Talorgen* : still better fits the genitive of *Talore*.[2]   In

---

[1] The Kilmallock vessel is said by Mr. Atkinson, editor of Mr. Brash's book, to be in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, but unfortunately I have not seen it. I ought, therefore, not to take liberties, perhaps, with his reading; but my excuse must be that I think mine is an improvement on his, which is "Nig Lasmeich" and "Cill Mocholmog": see Brash, p. 327.

[2] See Skene's *Picts and Scots*, pp. 6, 7, and the fac-simile accompanying it.

fact, of the three typical Picts from Cruithentuath, that is to say, from the Pictish people of North Britain, mentioned in the Daderga story, in the Book of the Dun Cow (fol. 88a), two have *macco*[1] in the genitive form of *mac úi* following their names. The three are *Dubloinges m'c Trebúait, Trebúáit m'c úi Lonsce,* and *Curnach m'c úi Fáich.*[2] The construction of the name *Maqqotalluorrn* would thus be Celtic, as we know from the Drosten inscription that the genitive should precede in Pictish, just as in English. But the inscriber seems to me to have treated the whole compound as a simple Pictish name in the genitive, and provisionally I would construe exactly in the same way as the Drosten inscription—*Maqqotalluorrn* (for *Maqqotalluorren*) *ehht Vrobbaccennevv,* which I should translate—M.'s offspring Vrobbaccenn. This occurred to me as the analysis of the legend before I had any explanation to give of *ehht;* but since then I remembered that I had somewhere seen a word like this, meaning progeny or clan, and on turning to Stokes' edition of O'Donovan's translation of Cormac's Glossary, I find it given there three times, namely, to explain *Connacht* as though it were *Conn-ichta,* "descendants of Conn," to explain *Eoganacht* as if it were the *icht,* race or progeny descending from Eogan, and to explain *meracht* as if it were *mer-icht,* "mad issue"—the word meant is that which is in Scotch Gaelic *mearachd,* "mistake, error, wrong." I gather from these instances that whatever *icht* was, it was not the invention of an Irish glossarist; for in that case he would have invented a better fitting vocable, as the words to be explained all three end in *acht,* and not in *icht.* The most intelligible hypothesis is, in fact, that Cormac's derivation of such names as *Connacht, Eoganacht,* and others like them, which have nothing corresponding to them in the Brythonic dialects, is to be roughly taken as correct. In other

[1] The oldest nominative form occurring of this word is *moco* or *muco,* genitive *mucoi* or *mocoi,* which became associated and confused with *mac* in medieval Irish, so that the genitive came to be regarded as *mac úi*—a treatment which shows *moco* to have been an oxytone, *mŏcó*—as if it were *filius nepotis.* In point of fact, however, the words are distinct, and probably in no way etymologically related. Nay, it is quite possible that the word *moco* is not Celtic at all. In a few Goidelic inscriptions written in Latin *moco* is rendered by *nepos,* or *nepus.* Let me at the last moment add such instances, from Skene's *Picts and Scots,* pp. 7, 8, as *filius Wthoil* and *filius Wdrost,* probably for an earlier *maccu Thoil,* and *maccu Drosten.*

[2] The name *Fóich,* in the Book of the Dun Cow, 57b, 58a, is probably the same.

words, such names were Pictish formations which had undergone
phonetic modification, that is to say, *Conn-echt* or *Conn-icht* had, with
its vowels harmonised, become *Connacht*, a change not calculated
to recall the etymology very clearly; but a tradition, we may suppose,
existed that the latter part of the word stood for *icht*, "progeny,"
and this could be ascertained as long as Pictish remained a living
language.

I now come to the name Vrobbaccennevv, in which I detect the same
ending as in *Berrisef* on one of the Bressay Stones, in a name on the
St. Ninian Stone, in *hccvvevv* on the Lunasting Stone, and in the word
pevv on the Burrian Stone. I hope later to be able to show that this
was a Pictish nominative ending, at any rate not a genitive termination,
which is the point here. Excepting this termination, the name here
in question is a form of that which appears in Irish literature
as Srobcinn or Srobcind, the genitive of Srobcenn. In the Book of
the Dun Cow, fol. 54*a*, we read of a *Nemed m'c Srobcind* [1] falling in a
battle called *Cath Grutine*; and the Four Masters call this Nemed son
of *Sroibcend*, king of the Erna of Munster; the name also occurs
without being associated with Nemed, in the pedigrees of the Erna in
the Book of Leinster, fol. 324[5]. According to the Four Masters,
Nemed, son of Sroibcend or Srobcenn, lived in the second century
of our era.

But how, it may be asked, can the *s* of *Srobcenn* and the *v* of
Vrobbaccenn- be harmonised? This question raises several others,
including among them that of the value or values of the Ogam ⊤⊤⊤ in
Pictish inscriptions. The equivalence already pointed out of final
⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤, *vv*, with ⫻, *f*, is of capital importance. I have argued in the
article on Ogam in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, for instance, that the
value of the symbol ⫻, which does not happen for certain to be found
in any ancient Ogam inscription in Ireland, Wales, or Dumnonia, must
have been that of *f*. The reasons need not be repeated here, but these
Pictish inscriptions complete the proof, at the same time that they teach
us that final *vv* in Pictish made *f*. The sound of *v* and *vv* elsewhere

[1] See the years 165, 186. It is remarkable that the spelling is *Srobcind* and not
Srobchind. I cannot suppose this to be an accident.

than at the end is not so easily ascertained, but those who make it a practice of always transliterating ₸₸ as *f* create inevitable difficulties for themselves. The value of simple ₸₸ as *f* comes, I imagine, from the ordinary Irish alphabets, as given by O'Donovan in his Irish Grammar; but that will not do for the most ancient class of Ogam inscriptions, in which ₸₸ is never *f* by any chance. It may be questioned whether it was *w* or *v*, or even *ð*, but not *f*. The consonant written *f* in Irish manuscripts, from the eighth century down, is mostly derived from *v* or *w*; and, either traditionally or as a matter of phonetic identity, it could be transliterated *v* in Latin as late as the beginning of the eighth century, when the oldest manuscript of Adamnan's Life of Columba was written : witness *Vinnianus* in that manuscript for *Finnian*, and *Virgnous* or *Virgno* for *Fergna*. Supposing the Pictish pronunciation of ₸₸ to have followed the Goidelic change of value of initial *v* into *f*, the Pictish value of ₸₸ would become also *f*. It is, however, not clear to me that it did so, or even that there was any reason why it should; and the Drosten inscription carefully distinguishes between the *u* or *v* of *Uoret* and the *f* of the borrowed Goidelic name *Forcus*. Then there is the fact, that we shall presently find ₸₸ used for the vowel *u*, which decides me to transliterate ₸₸ in all the Pictish inscriptions by *v* as the most ambiguous letter available for our purpose. The more precise value would accordingly have to be determined in each individual case as it occurred.

This brings me back to the initial of *Vrobbaccenn*—and the history of the *s* of *Srobcenn*. Now initial *s* in Irish does not always represent an original *s* but sometimes *spᶜ* : thus it cannot do so in words like Irish *sonn*, Welsh *ffon*, "a staff," and *srón*, "a nose," Welsh *ffroen*, "a nostril." We know that *s* has taken the place of *f* in words borrowed from Latin, such as Gaelic *sorn*, "a kiln," Welsh *ffwrn*, "a furnace," from the Latin *furnus*, and *srian*, Welsh *ffrwyn*, "a bridle," from the Latin *frenum*. Apply this analogy to the case of *Vrobbaccenn-* as against *Srobcenn*, and the conclusion is natural, that the Aboyne form of the name belongs to an older stage than is represented by the attested Irish form with *s* : that is, it was then *Frobbcenn* or *Frobbaccenn,* and had not undergone the change usual in the case of early Irish *f*, for earlier *spᶜ* or *sp'h*. What the name

means I do not exactly know, but *srubh* is said to mean "a snout" in Irish. In case the first syllable proved of that origin, it might be regarded as related to *srón*,[1] which, as already hinted, is an old *f* word. *Srobcenn* does not, however, stand quite alone, for *Srúbgail* occurs in the Book of the Dun Cow, fol. 73*a*, as the name of one of Cúchulainn's antagonists from the west. The other element *cenn* occurs in names like *Conchenn*, genitive *Conchind*, in Ogam *Cunacena* and *Cunacenni*; so it is not to be identified with the Goidelic word *cenn*, "head," as is proved also by the Welsh forms *Concenn*, *Cyngen*, and not *Conpenn* or *Cynben*. All this would seem at first sight to favour the conclusion that the Pictish *v* as well as *vv* in *Vrobbaccennevv* were sounded *f*. That, however, does not follow, and I am not sure that Pictish had any initial *f*'s. This may be illustrated from the Slavonic languages, which are well known to have no initial *f* in native words, though they make a final *ov* regularly into *off*. So, in the case of a Goidelic *Frobbaccenn*, it is quite possible that the nearest Pictish approach to the sound was *Vrobbaccenn*, sounded with *v* as in the English word *vat* or *vine*. And if the inscriber is to be credited with any consistency, it must have been so in this case; otherwise why did he not double the *v* at the beginning just as at the

---

[1] *Srón*, "nose," and the Welsh equivalent *ffroen*, "a nostril," point to a stem *sp'rogn-*; and *srubh* may, so far as regards the phonetics, be derived, possibly, from a stem *sp'rogu-*; but it is far more likely that the name *Srobcenn* is wholly non-Celtic, and that its history, briefly put, is as follows :—(1) a non-Celtic *Sp'robbaccenn-* of unknown meaning; (2) the same modified in Goidelic into *Frobbaccenn-*; and (3) the latter modified by the Picts of Alban into *Vrobbaccenn-*, that is, unless we are to transliterate its initial ⊤⊤⊤ as *f*. Though, as explained in the text, the evidence for a Pictish initial *f* is not convincing, the same can hardly be said of *sp* or *sp'*: witness the names of the rivers *Spe* (written in English *Spey*) and *Spean*, also that of *Spynie* Castle, near Elgin. Similarly, Irish shows a few *sp* words, all probably of a non-Goidelic origin, such as *spré* "cattle, a dowry," and *spréd* "a spark;" also such names of men as *Spelán* (*Four Masters*, A.D. 822, 921), and of women as *Sproc* (*Martyrology of Donegal*, June 30, p. 182). More thoroughly naturalised these and the like should have had as their initial *f* and afterwards *s*, as in the case of *Meicc Srappan*, "of Srapp's son," on a stone from Clonard, in Meath (Miss Stokes' *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, ii. 63, plate xxxvi.). At last, it dawns on me that a genitive corresponding to *Srappan* or, let me say, *Sroppan*, is exactly what is wanted to explain *Vrobbaccenn-*. In other words, the latter represents an original *Sp'robban-cenn-* or *Sp'roppan-cenn-*, the *anc* of which would accurately account for the *acc* of *Vrobbaccenn-*.

end, that is, in case the old Ogam ⫫ for *f* was out of the question? It is not wholly irrelevant to observe that the inscriber's work in this instance meant cutting letters on a hard stone already sculptured with a very elaborate cross, and not merely scratching a scribble on a small stone of a slaty kind.

6. The Logie Stone, at Logie Elphinstone, in the Garioch. This stone is well known for the curious devices carved on it, and the supposed Ogam inscription is on the circumference of a small circle near the top. I tried to make a drawing of it in 1883, but I find that it differs from Lord Southesk's and Mr Allen's, so I do not think it worth reproducing. Lord Southesk begins his reading some distance to the right of the highest point of the circle, and arrives at

$$\longleftarrow \text{lll l l lll l ll lll} \longrightarrow\!\!\!\longrightarrow$$
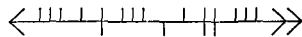
—that is to say, *Athat Bhoto.* Mr. Allen begins nearer the top, and his Ogams run thus—

$$\longrightarrow\!\!\!\text{T}\longleftarrow\text{lll llll}\longrightarrow\text{l ll l lll}$$
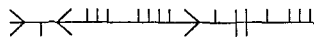
—which seems to make *Abat Cahoht.* Here *ht* is more like Pictish spelling than *th*, but it seems to me rather a difficulty that the vowels seem to incline in opposite directions. In Mr. Allen's drawing, however, the top of the $\longleftarrow$ is only indicated by dots; and if one might venture to omit that portion, we should have them all looking the right way. We could then read

$$\longrightarrow\!\!\text{TT lll llll}\longrightarrow\text{l}\longrightarrow\!\!\!\longrightarrow\text{l lll}$$
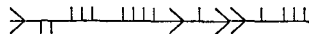
or *Altcahoht.* The two widest gaps, according to Mr. Allen's drawing from the rubbing, are between *lt* and *ca* and between *o* and *ht*: it is at one of these points I should accordingly begin the reading. I see nothing to recommend the latter gap, so I should take the other, and read as follows—

$$\text{llll}\longrightarrow\text{l}\longrightarrow\!\!\!\longrightarrow\text{l lll}\longrightarrow\!\!\text{TT lll}$$
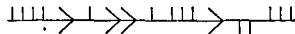
—that is, *Cahohtalt.* But if one prefers the reading intended by Mr. Allen's drawing, it would be *Cahoht Abat,* which comes probably to the
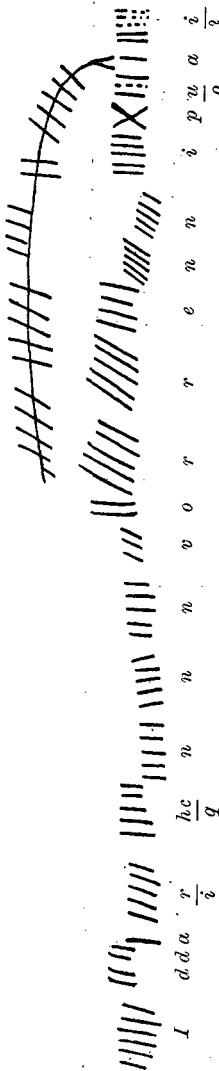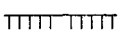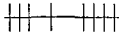
same thing as *Abat Cahoht*.   But I do not think it
worth while to make a search for an abbot of that name
until a good photograph of the circle is procured by the
Society to check one's conjectures.

7. The Newton Stone.   So much has already been
written about this stone, and the difficulties connected
with it are so great, that I hardly know what to say or
what to take for granted in connection with it.   But the
excellent photographs given me by Lord Southesk, and Mr.
Allen's rubbings, make it unnecessary for me to dwell on
its general appearance.   Suffice it to say that it has two
inscriptions—one in Ogam, and one in a script which is
still harder to interpret.

(1) The Ogam, which is partly on the natural edge of
the stone and partly arranged in connection with a groove
cut on the face of the stone, reads as in the fac-simile, so
far as I can judge :—

One of the great difficulties here is that of distinguishing
between consonants and vowels ; but, to take the various
points in detail, I may say that I cannot read anything
with certainty before the first *i*.   The first score of the *q*
is somewhat prolonged below the edge.   I mechanically
call it *q*, as I have been used to regard it so, but on closer
examination I have come to the conclusion that the feature
mentioned was possibly designed to distinguish *hc* from *q*.
Similarly I have been used to regard the fifth Ogam as *r*,
but I am now strongly inclined to think that Lord Southesk
is right in reading it *i*, in spite of the inclination of the
scores ; but in this I am influenced chiefly by Prof. Ramsay's
reading of the beginning of the script, to be mentioned
presently.   The three *n*'s following a consonant occur
also in the Lunasting inscription, and they most likely
make a nasal syllable.   In fact, the word *iddarhcnnn* or
iddaiqnnn is probably to be compared with *eddarrnonn*
on the Brodie Stone, on which that vocable begins a

line of the legend. The ⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤ of *Vorrenn* leave the angle as if the inscriber had a difficulty in reaching that part of the stone, as in the case of the *n* and the final *s* of *Turanias* on the Bally-crovane Stone, in Kerry; but he must have found means of bettering his position before he began the next word, for with that he decidedly comes back to the angle. The symbol ⤬ does not occur elsewhere in the Pictish inscriptions except on the Burrian Stone. After this the inscriber seems to have cut ⫴⼂⼂⫼⼂, and possibly a few more scores; but finding that he had reached a very rough part of the stone, he resolved to finish on the face of the stone, and he marks his new departure by a sort of tag to indicate the continuation of the Ogam. I once thought that we have here an ⟂, *h*, but in that case I could not account for the inclination. The stem-line begins opposite the first vowel-score following *u* or *o*; but it is to be carefully noticed that it does not join it. The vowel-score just mentioned either represents an *a* or forms part of the Ogam for some other vowel such as *i*: probably Lord Southesk is quite right in treating it as *a*. Lastly, whatever the inscriber cut on the angle after *a* was rejected by him, I think, and repeated on the stem-line, so I would read *ipua iosif*: for as to the last consonant on the stem-line, I should by preference regard it as being *f*. I am not, however, quite sure that it has not five scores rather than four, in which case it would have to be read *r*. It is pretty certain, both from the length of the scores and their inclina-tion, that they do not represent a vowel. The five standing just before it are irregular, both as to inclination and spacing, but they come nearer the perpendicular than the Ogam ending the inscription. So I have read them *i*, possibly *r*. Whether the legend ends or not with a form of the biblical name Joseph, I cannot say; but in case it does not, I should compare the ending with that of *Berrisef* on the Bressay Stone, and of *evv* in *Vrobbaccennevv* on the Aboyne Cross, and this would hold whether one reads *Iosif* or *Hiosif*.

It is not essential to have these points settled in order to review the guesses made thus far; for one sees at a glance that they make the Ogam end parallel in point of construction to *Drosten-ipe Uoret*, &c. So I should provisionally construe *Vorrenn ipua Iosif* as meaning "Vorr's

offspring Iosif." Had we to do with an Aryan language, it would be a natural suggestion to make that *ipe* in the Drosten inscription was the dual of the *ipua* or *ipoa* of the Newton Ogam. But finding no reason to regard Pictish as Aryan, I hesitate to speculate on its manner of making a distinction of number, and I prefer to regard *ipe* as the same word which we have here, but subjected perhaps, as already suggested, to some manipulation of its proper spelling, or as is more probable to a Pictish law of vowel harmony. Lastly, the grammatical case of *ipua* and *Iosif* probably depends on the word or words at the beginning *iddarhcnnn*, which I should consider equivalent to the *eddarnonn* beginning, one of the Brodie Ogams, but as representing a form involving another element between the *r* and the *n*; that is, if one does not prefer reading *iddaiqnnn*. In either case, we have here an explanation of the mysterious *nnn*, namely, that it was otherwise *nonn*, pronounced probably with a highly nasalised vowel something like that of the Gaelic word *ann*, "in it, within, there, on the spot." The same combination will come before us again, to wit, on the Lunasting Stone, in the word *ahehhttmnnn*; but a more complete parallel perhaps to *iddarhcnnn* and *eddarnonn* is offered by the commencement of the Scoonie Ogam, where we have *ehtarnonn* or *ehtarmnonn*. In all these nasal affixes I see an adverb meaning "here," "there," or "below," as I shall try to show later. So I propose to translate *Iddarhcnnn Vorrenn-ipua · Iosif*, "Lies here Vorr's offspring Iosif;" but I need hardly say that the verb is purely a guess, and I should not have the slightest objection if another verb is preferred, such as "rests" or "sleeps;" but I fear that we can never discover much information concerning the Pictish verb.

Before leaving this Ogam, the word *ipua* or *ipoa* deserves further notice. That it means "offspring," perhaps "son or boy," is not only to be inferred from its suitability in the place where it comes in this inscription, which also applies in the case of *ipe* in the Drosten one, but the existence of some such a word is demonstrated by an ancient Irish Ogam, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy :[1] it comes from Monataggart, in county Cork, and reads as follows :—

[1] At any rate, that is where I saw it some years ago ; but it may be now in the

$\overset{|}{B}$ $\overset{/\!/\!/\!/\!/}{r}$ $\overset{|\!|}{o}$ $\overset{|\!|\!|\!|\!|}{i}$ $\overset{|\!|\!|\!|}{n}$ $\overset{|\!|\!|\!|\!|}{i}$ $\overset{|\!|\!|\!|}{e}$ $\overset{|\!|\!|}{n}$ $\overset{|}{a}$ $\overset{X\!|\!|}{s}$ $\overset{|\!|\!|\!|\!|}{p}$ $\overset{}{o}$ $\overset{}{i}$
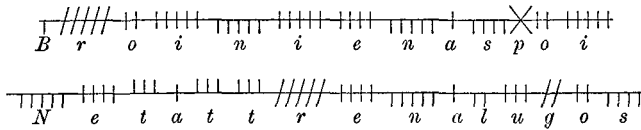
Here *poi* cannot be a Goidelic word, as it begins with *p*, and in all probability it means offspring or son, and the whole may be rendered " (The grave or the stone) of B. son of N." The inscription is an important one, to which I shall have to return later ; but what I wish now to point out is that *po-i* may be identified with *ipua*, on the supposition that the latter was accented on the final. As we proceed we shall find this kind of accentuation a characteristic of Pictish, and it survives to this day in the pronunciation of the Irish spoken in Munster : in fact, you may hear it even in the pronunciation of English in that part of Ireland. A vocabulary may be exchanged for another, but habits of pronunciation go on indefinitely. Assuming the oxytone pronunciation, the discarding of the short initial is easily imagined, so we have *po-i* on the Monataggart Stone ; but, short of dropping it altogether, one may suppose it to become obscured, admitting of being represented by almost any short vowel. The one, however, I should expect before all others in reading an Irish Ogam would be *a*, so I should be prepared to find the word, when written in full, take the form, not of *ipui* in the south of Ireland, but *ăpŭi* or *ăpói*, and this we have, very possibly, in the following imperfect inscription at Ballintaggart, near Dingle, in Kerry :—
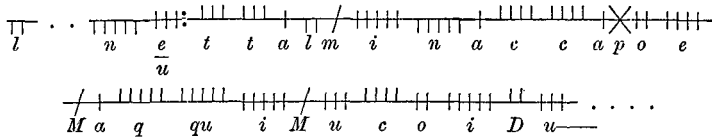
There is great uncertainty as to the first name, but the whole seems to admit of being translated, "... 1 ... nettalminacc son (*apoe*) of Mac Mucoi-Du ...." However, we are not confined to this evidence. But before mentioning the next to be brought forward, I wish to remark

National Museum in Kildare Street, to which *some* of the Ogam stones from the Academy have, I know, been removed : which or how many I cannot tell.

that Munster probably took a longer time to be Celticised than the rest of Ireland, with the possible exception of the country occupied by the Ulidians or True Ultonians in the north-east corner of the island. Further, that as the men of Munster began, from the early part of the second century, to invade Wales and the lands south of the Severn Sea, any linguistic peculiarities existing in Munster might be expected to be repeated on the eastern side of St. George's Channel. This is borne out by inscriptions in South Wales, and in Devonshire and Cornwall. Moreover, as regards South Wales, the evidence is brought down to a later date by the *Book of Llan Dâv*, or the *Liber Landavensis* as it is commonly called. The interest of that manuscript centres, so far as I am concerned, chiefly in the proper names with which it abounds ; and in helping to edit the edition on the point of being published, several of these names have attracted my attention anew. The following personal ones are in point here :—(1) *Gurpoi*, which is apparently a short form of *Guorapui*, otherwise given as *Guorabui*, *Guorhaboe*, *Gurabui*, and *Guraboi*. (2) *Guernapui*, *Guernabui*, now *Gwernabwy*, as in Bod-Werna-bwy, the name of a farm near the extreme west of Carnarvonshire ; not to mention Gwernabwy's Eagle, in the legend of the Ancient Animals in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen.[1] (3) *Guinabui*, which occurs once, as does also (4) *Hunapui*, namely, in the name of a church, *Lann Hunapui*, which appears to be distinct from (5) that of *Iunapui*, called Lann *Iunabui* ; this name is Latinised *Iunapeius* and *Iunapius*. Now, in these five names *apui* or *abui* is probably to be equated with the form *apoe* ; and it is a curious coincidence, if it be merely a coincidence, that *Guorabui* is (minus the *enn* of the genitive) nearly the Welsh equivalent of *Vorrenn ipua* in the Newton Ogam, when that is studied in the light of the Irish inscriptions. I hope later on to show that traces of *Vorrenn* are not confined in Buchan to the Newton Stone.

Before leaving this Ogam, I may be allowed to mention a form of the word *ipua* or *apoi*, for which I have no older authority than Keating's History of Ireland ; but Keating had access probably to

---

[1] See the *Red Book Mabinogion*, pp. 130, 131, and Guest, ii. p. 299. The references to the *Book of Llan Dâv* need not be given here, as the Editor is preparing an excellent index to it.

manuscripts now lost or still awaiting to be studied. I alluded in my third Rhind Lecture to the story of the ancestress Scotta, represented as daughter of Pharaoh; and I suggested that underneath the Vulgate name *Pharao, Pharaonis,* lay probably a genuine native name, which had been identified with the scriptural one—some such a name, in fact, as *Feron* or *Fearon.* Now, Keating,[1] in his allusion to the father of Scotta,[2] not only calls him Pharao, but "Pharao Nectonibus." Where did he find such a name? He can scarcely have invented it; he may have blundered, but it is unnecessary to assume that he did so, until the source of his information can be identified, or other evidence adduced. As it stands, it would seem to involve the word *ipu-* in the form *ibu-s,* and to have meant "Pharaoh son of Necht, Nechta, or Nechtan," for there is a variety of these forms, all belonging to the early and mythical portion of Irish history. Compare the name *Natanleod* given in the Saxon Chronicle to the king slain in battle by Cerdic and Cynric in 508, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Southampton. The name probably means "Leod (son) of Necht," *Leod* being in the form of *Leot,* a name which figures in the *Pictish Chronicle:* see Skene's *Picts and Scots,* p. 10. Lastly, a friend of mine would emendate *Nectarides,* the name of the Count of the Saxon Shore slain by the Saxons in the year 364, into *Nectanides* or even *Nectan-ipes.*

(2) Now we come to the other inscription on the stone, which may be conveniently studied in the excellent photographs taken by Lord Southesk, and privately circulated with the reprint of his paper on the stone, read December 11, 1882. However, I went to see the stone again last summer, and the hospitality of Mr. Gordon of Newton made it easy for me to study the letters at leisure; but I cannot claim to have had any success. My reading is as follows, as nearly as I can produce a fac-simile. On the whole, I think Lord Southesk's last reading and mine agree, excepting in one or two minor details towards the end of the second line. As to the interpretation of these characters, I think it safe to

[1] See Joyce's Keating's *History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1880), p. 8.

[2] Scotta is at home also in Alban : witness "the Hoof-prints of Scota's Steed at Ardifour Point," between Loch Crinan and Loch Craignish, as described from local sources given in *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition : I. Argyllshire Stories* (London, Nutt, 1889), pp. 12, 13.

say very little ; and I abstain with all the less regret as I have been
fortunate enough to persuade my friend Professor Ramsay, of Aberdeen,
to go and study the stone carefully, with Lord Southesk's readings and
photographs in his hand.   It is to be hoped that Professor Ramsay will

publish the results of his examination, but in the meantime, I may men-
tion that his reading of the second line, which offers some difficulties,
agrees with my first impression of it, and that he now transliterates the
two first lines thus :—

<div align="center">

EDDE

ECNUNVAUR [1]

</div>

[1] This is also the reading approved by Dr. Whitley Stokes, who has studied the
stone in a photograph.   Dr Stokes' interpretation, which I am sorry to be unable
to accept, has, in the meantime, been published in the *Academy* for June 4.   The
same periodical for June 11 contains a letter on the same subject from Lord Southesk.
Since the above was printed, Professor Ramsay has published in the *Academy* for
September 1892, pp. 240, 241, an account of his examination of the stone in the
presence of Lord Southesk and Mr. W. R. Paton.   His letter in the *Academy*, together

8. The Brodie Stone, now in the Park of Brodie, near Forres.   The Ogams on this stone were only known to me from Lord Southesk's published details of them, and from further information with which his Lordship had favoured me by letter; but last summer I was able to examine them for myself, and to confirm his readings, at least in respect of the only portions as to which it is possible to feel tolerably certain.

(1) Beginning with the symbol-covered face of the stone, a stem-line on the moulding to the right reads upwards as follows :—

$$e \quad d \ da \quad r \quad r \quad n \quad o \quad n \quad \underset{?}{n} \quad \underset{e}{?} \quad \underset{?}{hh} \quad t \quad u \ m \ \underset{?}{o} \ldots \ldots$$
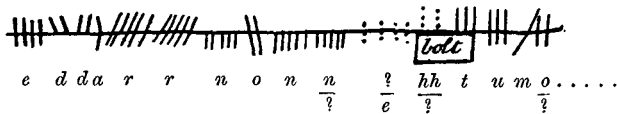
The first Ogam is imperfect, and may have been an i; the first d, ⊔, inclines decidedly to the left, and so does the ─╫─, o, while the ╁, a, is slightly angulated.   After on, I seemed to find two or three more scores, probably part of another n; then there would be space enough left for four or five scores before one comes to the iron fastening which serves to hold the stone.   This fastening or cramp extends under several scores, including a t, preceded possibly by hh, but these last are very doubtful. However, hht would agree in number of scores with Lord Southesk's reading, which is q; I could not, however, quite follow him in reading q.

with a squeeze of the Ogam kindly sent me by Mr. Paton, have modified my view on two or three points.   For instance, I see that it is impossible to read f at the end, and that iq is more probable than rhc.   The reading which recommends itself to me now may be represented as follows:—$IDDA\frac{iq}{rhc}NNN \ VORRENN \ IP^u_o A \left(\frac{io}{i}\right) IOSIR.$

On comparing the two inscriptions, one observes that the two beginnings are practically identical, as has long since been foreseen; this, be it observed, carries with it the equation of c with the Ogam for q, and that of the v of $Vaur$ with the Ogam ₸₸₸ of $Vorrenn$.   Nevertheless, I should like to read tt instead of dd in the first word. Lord Southesk does not approve of the reading which Professor Ramsay transliterates $VAUR$, and the latter has in his letter to the $Academy$ discussed the difference.   My last copy of the characters in question agrees with Lord Southesk's view; but I consider that my hesitation is swamped by the substantial identity between Professor Ramsay's $Vaur$ and the $Vorr$- of the Ogam.   .

It is needless to say that traces of Ogams are to be seen further up the stem, but I could make nothing of them. I have already compared *eddarnon* with the beginning of the Newton Ogam, and I am disposed to regard it as a part of the formula of the epitaph, and not as a personal name : the latter may have been one beginning with *Ehht* or *Nehht*, but that is a mere guess on which I wish to lay no stress.

(2) The next inscription follows a stem-line on a moulding on the left margin of the stone, and it is still more hopeless [1] : —
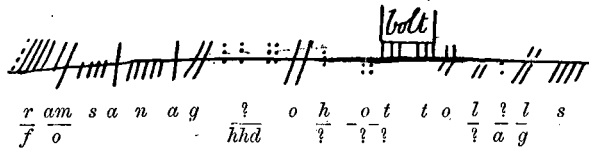
It is useless to speculate on this any further, but the second *o* deserves attention as being angulated into ≫, which Lord Southesk has also noticed ; but I could not find his ⊔⊔⊔, *q* ; or rather, I would make the latter scores of it into a *t*, though I am doubtful as to those immediately preceding. There are traces of writing further up the stem-line.

(3) The face of the stone which is adorned with a cross has traces of a short inscription following a stem-line on the right :—
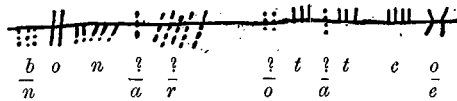
It is useless to try to make anything out of this, which is imperfect at the beginning and the end, as it is also in the middle ; but it must have always been a short legend, as it appears to have never reached beyond the point where the iron cramp is now fixed.

9. The Golspie Stone, in the Duke of Sutherland's Museum at Dunrobin. The inscription is somewhat peculiar in more than one respect, for it reads up a moulding on the right-hand margin of the stone and continues along the top towards the left. The moulding has no stem-line ; so one has to

---

[1] The beginning of the stem-line has here gone wrong, and it should be corrected according to the transliteration.

refer the scores to an imaginary line along the centre of the moulding, a circumstance which adds greatly to the uncertainty of the reading.

Lord Southesk reads nearly the same number of strokes, and *iann* at the end is his suggestion. The difficulty here is, that the stone has been damaged by the iron cramp holding it in its present position in the museum.[1] I read close to the breakage four vowel scores, and the breakage would supply room for about four scores more, possibly five

$$A\ l\ \ l\ \ h\ h\ a\ l\ \ l \quad o\ r \quad \underset{?}{r} \quad e\ d\ dMa \quad \underset{q}{hc} \quad \underset{q}{hc} \quad n \quad \underset{u}{o}\ u\ v \quad \underset{?}{v} \quad \underset{a}{h}$$

somewhat closely packed, but *eirf* makes eighteen digits, while *iann* would make sixteen, leaving a little extra space before *ann*. In any case the termination *ann* recommends itself as occurring in two other instances, but I have failed to satisfy myself that it is a possible reading here. I made a note when I saw the stone last summer, that it was possible, perhaps, to read *rang* or *nang*, not that such a combination has anything to recommend it to me; but one of the difficulties is that there is no determining space anywhere after you get past the breakage, the whole being cut as if it formed one character. Another difficulty which I have is, that the *e* seems to be complete, and that there is no trace of a consonant score before the first score of the *r* here given in *eirf*. Lord Southesk also reads ╫╫ *uu* where I suggest *ou*. The second ⊤⊤⊤ has a sort of upward continuation of its first score towards the right. The gap between the *m* and the *hchc* I should fill with an angulated ≫, which owing to a wearing away of the back of the moulding is not to be seen

---

[1] The gap shown in the woodcut near the bend in the boundary-line is of very doubtful existence.

there now. I am in doubt as to *hh*. I formerly thought it *d*, but the last time it struck me as being *hh*; and, lastly, I do not feel quite certain that what I have read as *h* at the corner is a part of the legend at all. It remains for me to call attention to one or two further peculiarities of this inscription. Its initial *a* is of the hammer form, ⊥, like two examples to be noticed presently on the Burrian Stone; and this inscription supplies an instance of ⊁ which I have interpreted to mean *e* on the Aboyne Stone. As to the language I have next to nothing to say owing to the uncertainties of the legend, except that I presume it to be Pictish.[1]

---

[1] Since the above was written, my friend Mr. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, happened to be staying in Sutherland, and at my request he and Dr. Joass, to whom I am indebted for access to the Dunrobin Museum and much kindly assistance, compared my reading carefully with the stone. The result is a number of suggestions as to points which had escaped me. As far as the turn at the corner of the stone, Mr. Nicholson would read Ogams making: *Allhhallor:::eddmqqnu.uvv*. After the first *r* he finds traces of only four scores, and the last of them is doubtful, so that the group could not be *r*; but I still venture to believe that it is. He thinks the mark between *m* and *q* accidental, and would thus remove what seems a much-needed vowel. The bottom of the first score of the *q* he thinks prolonged at an angle somewhat like that of an ⟩, *a*. I find that I noticed it in 1883, but discarded it as possibly no part of the writing. The two *u*'s he finds separated by a small mark or notch, which was noticed also by Lord Southesk. It occurs more than once in the Burrian Ogam: its function seems to have been to separate the scores of identical or homogeneous groups, thus ||||+|||. The second *v*, which I thought ⊤⊤⊤ is ⫘ , according to Mr. Nicholson, who regards the three digits as formed in one and the same manner, though the peculiarity is less conspicuous in the second and third than in the first. This makes it possible that the inscriber, having spaced somewhat recklessly at first, began to be afraid of lack of room to finish his writing. So to save a comparatively wide space between the two *v*'s, he distinguished the second from the first by a slight variation of form. It also inclines me to read *qq* rather than *hchc*. As to my reading *rreirf* along the top of the stone, Mr. Nicholson regards the upper edge of the moulding as all gone in consequence of damage to the stone; so he does not find any of the four last Ogams crossing to that edge. Lastly, he regards the first score of my reading of the final consonant as a mere mark or notch. This nearly agrees with my impression of it as a very imperfect score. It may now be compared probably with the mark between the two *u*'s already mentioned. Thus one would be at liberty to suppose the top Ogams to have made *rreirng* or *rreirf;* and, having regard to the inclination of the preceding score, I should prefer *a* to *h*. So I should suggest reading *Allhhallorr edd Maqq Nuuvvarreirng*, and explain *Nuuvvarreirng* as representing *Nuuvvan-reirng*. In that case I should translate provisionally "Beast and Mac N.'s conflict." The picture on the stone represents an armed man fighting with a wild animal.

10. The Papa Stronsa Stone, said in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 14, to be preserved by Mr. Heddle of Milsetter. I only know it from Stuart's description and his plate xlii., copied by Hübner as his No. 214 (p. 79), but without the cross accompanying it in Stuart's book. Hübner briefly remarks—*Legere litteras nemini adhuc cessit;* but they seem to me as if they might be read. I copy them roughly as follows from Stuart:—

The original should be photographed and examined again carefully by Mr. Allen or somebody else well versed in this kind of epigraphy. I would read *dne ieſu*, for *Domine Jesu*, " O Lord Jesus." I have no doubt that the first letter in Stuart's copy is a *d*, and it is interesting as being a *d* like the one on the Drosten Stone, excepting that the Stronsa one has its ends formed into short branches, as is also the case with its long *ſ*. The *n* is likewise of the same type, except that the one on the Drosten Stone is more ornate. I cannot account for the sprawling form of what I have just given as an *i*; and the letter following is somewhat unusual, but I take it to be an *e* with a tag underneath indicating its derivation from *Æ*. The last letter appears to be imperfect, but I take it to be a *u* or *v*. The appropriateness of the words *Domine Jesu* just over the cross needs no comment: see Miss Stokes' plate iv. in the second part of her book, where she gives a cross with *dne* on one side of the ornamentation. It is not safe to expatiate freely on a stone which one has not seen, but I hazard these remarks in order to show the interest attaching to the Stronsa instance as forming one of a group from which it seems to me inseparable. Specimens of the writing of what I may perhaps term the Pictish school are far too few and too precious for any existing fragment to be allowed to be forgotten. Could the Antiquaries not procure a good photograph of the Stronsa Stone?
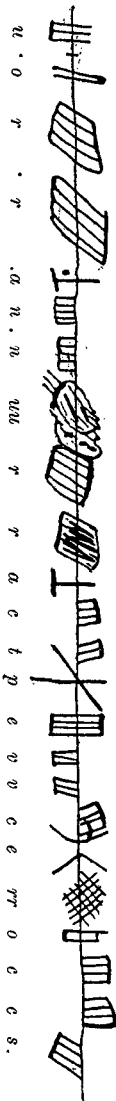
11. The Broch of Burrian Stone, from North Ronaldsha, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. The inscription is scratched on the face of a stone by the side of a cross outlined on it. Unfortunately the surface has decayed here and there, so that the reading presents very great diffi-culties. This is particularly the case with the beginning of the Ogam, which I regard as hopeless. The following represents some of my guesses :—Before *uorr* I find *cab* and *ma* as a conjecture in my notes; but *cab* together with *ma* is of no value, and Lord Southesk reads *Naalluorr*. The first a, ⊥, is preceded by a small stop, and other small marks occur between the two *n*'s and the first two *r*'s; possibly also between *u* and *o* : compare those on the Golspie Stone. After the *nn* there is a damaged spot, out of which one sees the ends below of scores like ⫻ or ⟩⟩⟩; but what Ogam or Ogams stood there originally it is now very hard to say. They have been regarded as two ⫼ laid across one another for *uu*; but that would hardly fill the space left. Lord Southesk suggests ⟩⟩⟩⟨⟨⟨, which fits better, and is in keeping with the use of ⤫ on this stone : he also would read *uu*. The first *r* following looks as if it had six scores; and the scores in the next bundle are very indistinct, only four being easily traced : I suppose, however, that they were five. Then comes a second hammer-like *a*, which begins the Golspie Ogam, as already mentioned. The symbol ⤫= *e* we have already had more than once, and the cross *r*'s occur also on the Bressay Stone, and have a parallel in the cross *c*'s in the St. Gall instance cited at the beginning.

As to the interpretation very little is to be said, owing to the illegible state of several portions of the scribble; but I may say that I see no reason for supposing *cerroccs* to be a form of the Latin word *crux*. I should rather treat it as a man's name and construe *pevv Cerroccs* as meaning " prince Cerroccs," "priest Cerroccs," or the like, parallel to the

hccvvevv Nehhtonn of the next inscription to be mentioned. The name *Cerroccs,* if accented on the ultima, may have become *Croccs,* and yielded in Pictish Gaelic the form *Crus,* borne by a Pict called Crus Mac Cirigh [1] in some forms of the Pictish legend. The suggestion that the word preceding *pevv* is a form of the English verb *wrought* is, I think, wholly inadmissible.[2]

12. The Lunasting Stone, from the mainland of Shetland, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. Here, at last, we have a carefully punctuated Ogam, the writing of which is pretty plain throughout, as follows :—

t   t   o   c   u   h   e   t   t   s   :   a   h   e   h   h   t   t   m   n   n   n   :

h   c   c   v   v   e   v   v   :   n   e   h   h   t   o   n   n.
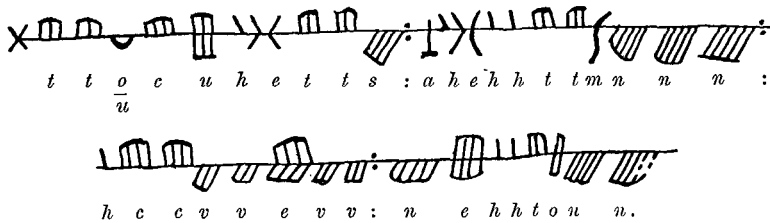
I regard the **X** at the beginning as an equivalent of the feathering at the commencement of the stem-line in Irish manuscript Ogams, and it occurs frequently in the runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man, but mostly at the end rather than the beginning.[3] The punctuation with : is also common in runes, especially in Man. There is one character the

---

[1] See Skene's *Picts and Scots,* pp. 31, 41, and compare p. 329.

[2] Since the above was put into type, I have discovered a former reading of mine, which was submitted to Dr. Anderson in 1883. Transliterated it makes :—

. . . . . *etaluorrann uurratht pevv cerroccs.* Putting this and the other

guesses together, I am tempted to suggest that the first name was *Talluorrann* or *Macco-Talluorrann,* nearly identical with the first name on the Aboyne Cross. Further, I am inclined to analyse the word following it into *uurr-act* with *uurr* like the *ur* in the list of Pictish *Brudes,* and *act* for *ahht=ehht* (on the Aboyne Cross) modified for the sake of vowel harmony. We should thus have a sort of parallel to the Aboyne inscription—*Maqqo-Talluorrn ehht Vrobbaccennevv*; and provisionally one might construe in the same way, "Talluorr's (or Maqqo-Talluorr's) offspring, *pevv Ceroccs."*

[3] See, however, Mr. Kermode's *Catalogue of Manks Crosses,* 2nd ed., London, 1892, pp. 38, 47.

transliteration of which is doubtful : it is that following the first *tt*.   It has usually been treated as two concentric semicircles, which I would not venture to question, as I am not sure about them.   Here, again, a good photograph would perhaps be of help.   The character in question is probably a form of ⬦ or a part of it, if not rather both parts rounded and placed on the same side of the stem-line.   In any case I should be inclined to read it *o*, at least provisionally.   Lastly, the final Ogam is imperfect, but it was almost certainly an *n*.

Now, as to the triple *n*, I have already suggested that it probably represents a nasal syllable *non*.   The word *hccvvevv* I should treat as pronounced *k͑yevv*, *k͑wevv* or *qṳef*; and as to the last word of the Ogam, namely, *Nehhtonn*, in this I see a form of one of the most genuinely Pictish names known to history, that of *Nechtan*, which survives in the patronymic MacNaughton.

As to the interpretation of this inscription, some surmises will be offered later : suffice it at this point merely to recall the conjecture that *pevv Cerroccs* and *hccvvevv Nehhtonn* should be considered as parallel ; so that the latter may provisionally be construed " prince Nechtan," " priest Nechtan," or the like, according to the special meaning of *hccvvevv*.   It is possible, however, that we have here something more than a mere parallel, that in fact *hccvvevv* is only an older form of the same vocable as *pevv* ; and it is worth noticing that the change would be parallel to that which has prevailed in the Broad Scotch of a considerable portion of the Pictish territory : witness the habit of making *quh* (English *wh*) into *f*, as in *far*, " where," and *fite*, " white," in Aberdeenshire and the neighbouring counties.

13. A fragment of a Stone found near an ancient church in Connings-burgh, Shetland, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh, reads, according to a note which I made in a hurry, as follows :—

but Mr. Allen treats it as ⟨figure⟩. In any case it is difficult to decide whether ≫ is meant to be read as a vowel or part of one or else as a consonant *g*, *ng*, *f*, or *r*), according as it is more or less

incomplete; but I should not expect a consonant with its angle to the left, whereas we have other instances of straight and angulated vowels in the same inscriptions, such as those of Bressay, Golspie, and Brodie. The fragment is otherwise interesting, as showing the same kind of bind Ogams as at Burrian and Lunasting; also, be it noticed, at Abernethy.

14. Another fragment found at Conningsburgh, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh, shows portions of two distinct lines of Ogam, one of which is remarkable for having been cut on the natural angle of the stone, while the other follows an artificial groove made to serve as its stem-line. The stone is in this respect to be compared with the Newton Stone. The traces of writing on the angle are very imperfect: I have guessed the following scores, but they are nearly all very doubtful, except the *ddr* :—

(1)
      d   e   v o d d r   e

The writing on the stem-line is similarly incomplete at the beginning and the end, but it is otherwise more legible :—

(2)
    e   h t   e   c   o   n m o r

The last group is imperfect, but it was originally, I think, ////, *r* : it stands on a part of the stem-line where it bends towards the left, a circumstance in which this inscription resembles the one on the Golspie Stone. Owing to having lost some of my notes, I am unable to say whether any of the scores are tied. I have an impression that I thought the *t* had its scores joined together, and that both *o*'s had their top-ends connected. One of the questions which arise in connection with this stone is, whether the writing on the angle and that on the face of the stone are to be regarded as contemporaneous. In either case I should be disposed to look at this as the oldest inscribed stone in the northern isles.

The *ht* of *ehtecon* was probably sounded *t'* or *t'h*, and may be approximately equated with the *dd* of EDDE ECNUN : that is if one should

not read rather ETTE ECNUN, which would come still nearer, though in any case the Ogam *dd* represented probably the sound of *t*.

15. A Stone from a site near that of an ancient chapel in St. Ninian's Isle (south-west of Shetland Mainland), now in the National Museum, has an Ogam following a stem-line along the middle of the edge. The fragment reads as follows:—

| *b* | *e* | *s* | *m* | *e* | *q* | *q* | *n* | *a* | *n* | *a m m* | *o* | *v* | *v* | *e* | *f* |

n   *g*
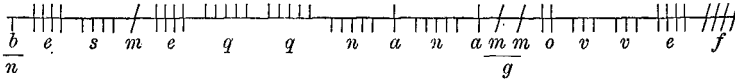
The first Ogam may have been *b*, *l*, *v*, *s* or *n*, according to the number of scores that may be wanting, if any. The *f* at the end had not, I think, another score, for though the group comes very near the point at which the stone is fitted into its pedestal in the Museum, a part of another score would be visible; but groups of scores may be missing here, as also at the beginning. I think the reading *mm* is more probable, having regard to the spacing, than *g*. As the uncertainties stand, I cannot venture any interpretation, but some such a name as the Irish one of *Mobiu* would seem to fit the latter part of the fragment; but that may be an accident, and the Pictish ending in *ef* is not to be overlooked.

16. A Stone from the island of Bressay (east of Shetland Mainland), now in the National Museum, has on its edges two inscriptions following artificial stem-lines. The two faces of the stone are elaborately carved with crosses and figures of human and other beings.

(1.) The one inscription reads as shown on next page. The fourth Ogam is peculiar: perhaps one might say that the inscriber had by mistake cut ⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤ instead of ╫⊤⊤⊤⊤, and that he tried to correct it by extending two scores of the first *s* over the stem towards the left; but this would not account for the letters being somewhat crowded at this point. So it seems rather as if he had cut first ╫⊤⊤⊤⊤ and afterwards thought necessary to flank the ╫ with two short scores, which Lord Southesk has observed to be "lighter and very subordinate, but clearly cut." He makes the suggestion that the inscriber wished the character to be read, not as *o*, but a modification such

as *oe*. This would be admissible in a Goidelic word forming an accusative feminine appearing in Irish as *croisc*, pronounced *croshc*. I cannot, however, discover any occasion here for the accusative of the word for *cross*, which I take *croscc* to be; for the Irish is *cros*, and the Scotch Gaelic is *crasg*, which yields the derivatives *crasgaoil*, " to spread hands and feet, as a person feeling torturing pain," and *crosgach*, " traverse, across, diagonal, put cross-ways " (M'Alpine's Dictionary). From these I gather that another modification of the sound of *o* may have been meant, namely, that of the *o* in such English words as *nought*, *naughty*, *all* and the like : this I have indicated by transliterating the Ogam as *ǫ*, but I should prefer the nature of the modification to be considered an open question.

The next point to call for attention is the use made of ⊤⊤⊤, *v*, in this inscription, in which I read ⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤⊤, *vv*, and pronounce *wu*, possibly *vu*, admitting, as is unavoidable, that we have here traces of the influence of a language in which the same character did duty for both vowel and semi-vowel. Such a language Latin would be ; but I think there was a nearer one still, namely, Norse, which had *u* and *w* represented by one and the same symbol in the later runic alphabets. Norse influence cannot possibly be denied in the case of this inscription ; for not only is *dattrr* the Norse word *dóttir*, " a daughter," but *Nahhtvvddadds* is a Norse genitive, though the name *Nahhtvvddadd* is undoubtedly Pictish, consisting of the Pictish sounding prefix *nahht*, pronounced *nacht* or *naχt*, and the Pictish name *Vvddadd*, which is possibly identical with *Fothad*.[1] The distinction made in the Ogams between the *d*'s is valuable, as showing that Shetland Pictish had the sound *đ* or that of *th* in the English word *this* ; for there is little doubt, I take it, that this is the sound for which the curled Ogams stand. The name

---
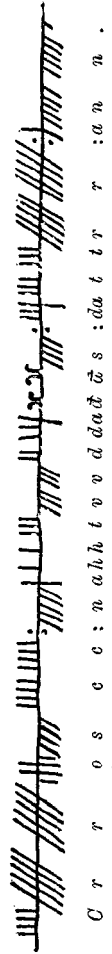
[1] Mentioned by Stokes in his paper on *The Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals* (read before the Philological Society, June 6, 1890), p. 40.

Nahhtvvddadd was curtailed in the Norse language into Natdad or
Natdod, and as such it deserves a place in the list of the world's great
explorers, borne as it was by the wicking who discovered Iceland in the
year 861.   The *Landnáma Bók* associates him with the Faroe Isles as
his head-quarters.   From the evidence of his name he is not likely to
have been a Norseman, at any rate, if we are to understand the lady
to have been his daughter and not merely a descendant of his, for she
must have been a Christian.

The next thing to be noticed is that *dattrr*: *ann* is probably a Pictish
genitive, and that the tag following the *nn* at the end is only about half
the length of the scores of the *n*'s preceding it.   So I suppose it to be a
mark at the end of the line indicating that the legend is continued on the
other edge of the stone ; but the punctuation is otherwise like that of the
Lunasting inscription, and both are like the punctuation prevalent in the
runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man, which of all runic monuments
are the ones to claim the first consideration in discussing Pictish
Ogams, as I shall try to show presently.   So far as we have got, I should
translate the legend as meaning *The Cross of N.'s Daughter.*

(2.) The other line of Ogam on the Bressay Stone reads as follows :—

B   e   r   r   i   s   e   f :me   q   q   d d   rr   o a   n   n
        n
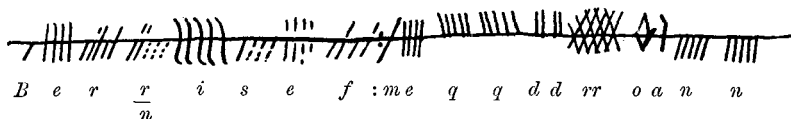
In 1883 I regarded the first part of this Ogam as reading *Bennr* . . . *es* :,
which was an advance on Brash's reading ; but since then Lord Southesk
has found traces of scores crossing the stem-line in the case of the third
and the eighth Ogam, and my last examination confirms his reading.
In one instance, however, I am disposed to go further, as I think that I
detect some of the scores of the fourth Ogam also crossing the line ;
hence my present reading.   Although several of the groups are far gone,
I think the room left for doubt has been much reduced, and I regard
this reading as approximately certain.   It will be noticed that the scores
of the *i* consist of compound curves looking like the *a*, which also bends
towards the left.   The compound group for *r* has already come under

notice. As to the *o*, it is of the same kind as that of *maqqo* on the Aboyne Cross, only that this one is angulated with the right-hand corner badly jointed. This line is only punctuated once, namely, before *meqq*, whereas one might have expected the : to be repeated before and after *ddrro*, that is to say, judging from *Nahhtvvddadds* : *dattrr* : *ann*. But the absence of the : in the one case is not evidence of· such weight as to neutralise that of its presence in the other; and *dattrr* : *ann* proves, among other things, that the *ann* had an accent of its own. Most probably, but not necessarily, the same was the case with *ddrroann*. This last was probably a Pictish genitive based on the Goidelic genitive *druadh*, for which we have *droadh* in an early form *droata* in an ancient Ogam in the Isle of Man. It appears in Old Irish as *druad*, answering to the nominative *drui*, now *draoi*, "a druid or magician." So *Meqqddrroann* means "of the Magician's Son," for *Meqqddrroann* is the genitive of what in the nominative should be *Maqqddrroann*.

As regards the meaning of this line, it is clear that it runs parallel to the other one, and that if one is right in construing the other to mean "The Cross of N.'s Daughter," this should be treated as meaning the "*Berrisef* of the Magician's Son." The question then is, what does *Berrisef* mean? From a study of as many of these words in *ef* and *evv* as I have been able to find, one can only conclude that they were applied to persons rather than to things. One might accordingly suppose *Berrisef* to be a personal name, but in that case some word meaning son or daughter or the like would have to be supplied, and the rendering then would be : Berrisef (son or daughter) of Maqqddrroann. As that would be a departure from the parallel of the other line, I would treat *Berrisef* as a word applied to a relation of Maqqddrroann's and regard it as referring to Nahhtvvddadd's daughter. In other words, I should regard Berrisef as meaning "wife," and the whole would run continuously, thus—the "Cross of Natdod's Daughter, Wife of Macddrroann." There is one little flaw : *Berrisef* ought strictly to be in the genitive, whereas it is not; but that is to some extent met by the circumstance that, beginning a new line of the Ogam, the inscriber may have forgotten to keep up the grammatical continuity. This hypothesis is, however, preferable to the other, and I have no better to offer at present. Lastly,

it is to be observed that, according to the interpretation here offered, neither the woman nor her husband is given any simple name, *Nahhtvvddadd's dattrr* and *Maqqddrroann* being treated as their proper designations respectively. This would leave one at liberty to guess some word other than "wife," such as "child or infant," and to construe accordingly, "the Cross of N.'s Daughter, Child of Maqqddrroann."

If you ask what language the inscriber may be supposed to have considered he was writing, I have to answer that I cannot make out with any great certainty, and you will perhaps think that I have been deluding you with purposeless conjectures. But just consider for a moment the jumble of tongues we have in so few words! In the first line we have a Goidelic word, *crroscc*; then we have a Norse genitive in *s* and a Norse word, *dattrr*, while to Pictish we have to ascribe the genitive ending *ann*. We may perhaps eliminate Goidelic by supposing *crroscc* to have been naturalised in Pictish: then there remain Pictish and Norse. When we come to the next line we have *Berrisef*, a Pictish noun, but we have Gaelic in the name *Maqqddrroann*, with a Pictish termination; and though *Maqqddrroann* was a proper name or surname, the correct use of *meqq* as the genitive of *maqq* suggests that the inscriber had some acquaintance with Gaelic. There is no Norse in this line. So far, then, as regards these details, the contest goes in favour of Pictish, leaving the claims of Gaelic and Norse about equal; but there remains a very serious consideration against Pictish—in neither line of the Ogam is the construction Pictish; for we know from *Drosten-ipe* and *Vorrenn-ipua* what that is, in so far as concerns the place of the genitive; so we should here expect the words *Crroscc* and *Berrisef* to have been at the end of their respective lines instead of the beginning. On the other hand, there are two items which must weigh in favour of Pictish more heavily than has yet been indicated: there are two common nouns in the inscription, but of these *crroscc* does not count, as being possibly both Gaelic and Pictish, while the other, *Berrisef*, if it really be a common noun, as conjectured, weighs heavily in favour of Pictish. The other thing is that the inscriber has had to use only once a relational particle or inflection which was not already a part of the names he had to deal with, *Nahhtvvddadds dattrr* and *Meqqddrroann*,

but in that one case it was Pictish that he had recourse to, namely, in the *ann* which he appended to the compound Norse name. On the whole, then, I should say that the inscriber intended to write Pictish, but that he allowed himself to be influenced by Celtic models and even more by Norse ones. For while the inscription shows no clear evidence of the influence of Goidelic orthography, it does probably of Norse, namely in its use of ⊤⊤⊤ for both *u* and *w*, and in the matter of the punctuation. An instance or two of a runic inscription from the Isle of Man will make this clearer. Take the following from Kirkbride—

TRUIAN : SURTUFKALS : RAISTI : KRSþINA : AF[K]AþMIU[L] : KUNU : SINA.

—that is, " Druian son of Dubgall raised this cross to the memory of Cath-·maoil his wife." Here we have the name or surname *Maqqddrroann*, with the *maqq* omitted, made into *Truian*, that is probably, *Druian*, *d* being a letter not used in Manx runes. Or take this from Kirkmichael :—

MAL : LUMKUN : RAISTI : KRUS : þENA : EFTER : MAL·MURU : FUSTRA : SINE : TOTIR : TUFKALS KONA : [A]S : AþISL : ATI.

It was rendered thus by the late Dr Vigfusson :—Mael-Lomchon raised this cross to the memory of Mael-Muire his foster-mother, daughter of Dubgall, the woman whom Athisl had to wife ;[1] and in this inscrip- tion one notices what can hardly be altogether a mere coincidence, namely, that just as *Berrisef* comes in the nominative instead of being in the genitive in apposition to *Nahtvvddaðūs : dattrr : ann*, we find it so here ; for though *Malmuru* is in the accusative, *Fustra* and *Totir* con- tinue the apposition in the nominative case. To say the least of it, I find here an indication that it is more natural for a person who is not much given to writing to put his appositions to oblique cases into the nominative than to maintain the grammatical continuity, which is after all perhaps mainly a result of training in prose. It is not im- probable that instances of the same sort of inconsequence could be cited from other sources and other languages, a consideration which must

---

[1] For an account of these and the other runes in the Isle of Man, see the late Dr. Vigfusson's paper on them in the *Manx Note Book* for 1887, pp. 5–22 ; also Mr Kermode's *Catalogue*, which contains revised versions of them.

minimise the objection to my conjectured interpretation of the Bressay Ogams as parts of a single inscription.

After these remarks, it is needless for me to expatiate on the con-fusion of tongues which seems to have prevailed in the Shetlands after the coming of the Norse rovers.

17. The Pictish inscriptions of Scotland and its Islands have been enumerated, but the list would not be complete without a mention of two instances in the Isle of Man. I allude to the Mael-Lomchon Cross at Kirkmichael; for besides its well-known runic writing, it has an Ogam scratched on either face of the stone. These Ogams remind one of the stone from the Broch of Burrian.

(1.) Of the one first noticed I was told by Dr. Vigfusson: it has since been described by Lord Southesk in the *Academy* for Nov. 26, 1887 (pp. 359–361), where he gives his reading and an interpretation of the legend. Without, however, concealing the fact that I have no opinion to offer, I should be disposed *prima facie* to try to read the Ogam upwards and not in the contrary direction. But the scratches of which it consists are so superficial that it is hard to disentangle them from accidental ones—harder than in the case of the Burrian Stone. The probability, however, of a certain number of them being Ogmic writing is well worth bearing in mind.

(2.) On the face of the same monument is the other Ogam to which Mr. Phillip Kermode called my attention. Mr. Kermode, who has for years taken a deep interest in the monuments of his native Island, has had a good photograph taken of this Ogam, and he feels confident in reading it as an Ogam alphabet. I can only follow him in certain parts, but I can fully confirm his view so far as my sight serves me. The vowels seem to consist of long perpendicular scores, and in some instances the ends seem to be bound together. If I could feel quite sure that my eyes and the photograph do not deceive me, or rather that my imagination does not play tricks[1] with both, I should say that this was

---

[1] Since the above was written I received a letter and a rubbing from Mr. Kermode, confirming my surmise as to the bind Ogams. Later still I re-visited the Isle of Man, and I scrutinized the Ogam alphabet on two favourable mornings in August 1892, when the sun happened to be shining on the face of the cross.

a very strong proof that these Ogams belonged to the same school as those of Scotland and the northern islands, especially the instances from Burrian and Lunasting, also Abernethy.

There is, however, no lack of other evidence of the mixing of Goidels, Picts, and Norsemen in the Isle of Man. On the 20 runic monuments in the Island one reads 40 personal names, and of these Dr. Vigfusson regarded 23 as Norse; as to the remaining 17, about one half appear to be either non-Gaelic and, therefore presumably, Pictish, or else to be associated with Pictland. Such are Crinaas (genitive), Eabs or Eabrs (gen.), Froca (acc.), Neaci (nickname), Onon, Ucifat, probably for Maccu-Cifat, or some such a form. Then there is *Truian* for *Druian*, which I regard as *Maqqddrroann* curtailed, and *Ufaac* or *Ufaic*, a name which comes in two of the inscriptions and may be identified without much hesitation with that of *Mac Ui Fháich* in the designation of one of the three typical Picts from the Pictland of Britain: he is called in the passage already cited from the Book of the Dun Cow, 88*a*, *Curnach m͏ͨc*

I have no longer any doubt as to the alphabet consisting of bind Ogams. Some of the groups are imperfect now, but there is scarcely one of which the scores cannot be counted. The following represents what I thought I could read:—
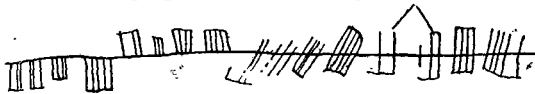
b,l,v, s,   n; h,d,t, c,   q; m,g,ng,f, r;   a,o,   u,   e,   i .

The groups have purposely been made of different lengths: some are neat, and some spread out like a besom, while some look rather like a bundle of faggots. Among other things noticeable is the fact that the bind line of the second Ogam in each of the four series is extended backwards to cap the single score preceding it. Lastly, the whole is written on the inner of two grooves drawn (about two inches apart) parallel to the right-hand edge of the cross. These two grooves, produced probably on the buried portion of the stem, are exactly like the grooves serving as the containing lines of the runes on the back of the stone. They correspond likewise to the lines defining the mouldings on which the Pictish Ogams are written on the Brodie and the Golspie Stones, and partly too on the Aboyne Cross. So here, also, one traces a certain unity of design. I ought to have mentioned that the Rev. Canon Browne published an account of this Ogam as the alphabet in the *Academy* for October 1890, p. 343; but he does not mention the binding lines. The apex over the Ogams *o* and *u* is on the stone, but I should explain that the above cut is inaccurate: more of the score for *m* should be shown, and the *o* should have another perfect score.

úi Fáich. As to the undoubted Celtic names in the Manx runic inscrip-
tions, probably few, if any, of them were borne in this case by conquered
natives of the island ; and I gather from the foregoing indications that
the Norsemen were in the habit of largely recruiting their fleets in
Shetland and Orkney, and that not with mere thralls but with men of a
higher position in life. At any rate as regards Man, this may be inferred
from the fact, that they or their descendants figure among the important
families of the island in the twelfth century, and that they were able and
willing to afford the not inconsiderable luxury of elaborate crosses in-
tended " for the benefit of their own souls," or to perpetuate the memory
of their friends and kinsmen.

<div align="center">ii.</div>

The Pictish inscriptions have been hurriedly passed in review : they
occupy 17 stones, yielding in all about 22 inscriptions or fragments of
inscriptions, of which 19 are in Ogam and only 3 in other letters. Of
the 19 only one can be reckoned as belonging to the same class as the
ancient Ogam monuments of Ireland and Wales : that is, the Aquhollie
Stone, which may be wholly Celtic. Two more of the 19 are partly
written on the natural angle of the stones, but not in the oldest kind of
Ogam, as judged by the form of the vowels : I allude to the Newton
Ogam and one of the Conningsburgh fragments. The following are the
inscriptions which appear to be for certain more or less Pictish in point
of language :—

1. ehtarrmnonn ...., .	. .	Scoonie.
3. *Drosten-ipe Uoret ett Forcus,* .	. .	St. Vigeans.
5. Maqqo Talluorrn-ehht Vrobbaccennevv,	. .	Aboyne.
7 (1). Iddaiqnnn Vorrenn ipua Iosir, .	. .	Newton.
(2). *Edde ecnun Vaur,* &c..............,	. .	„
8 (1). Eddarnonn......tumo........., .	. .	Brodie.
9. Allhhallorr edd Maqq Nuuvva rreirng,	. .	Golspie.
11. ......alluorrann uurract pevv Cerroccs,	. .	Burrian.
12. ✕ Ttocuhetts :ahehhttmnnn : hccvvevv : Nehhtonn,		Lunasting.
14 (2). EhteconMor............, .	. . .	Conningsburgh.
15. besmeqqnanammovvef, .	. . .	Ninian's Isle.
16 (1). Crrqscc : Nahhtvvddadds : dattrr : ann- .	.	Bressay.
(2). Berrisef : Meqqddrroann, .	. .	„

I now propose to make some further remarks on the questions of language to which these inscriptions give rise, and it is needless to say that by this time no novelty attaches to the conjectures of those ethnologists and archæologists who teach that the British Isles were inhabited by a non-Aryan race before the Celtic Aryans arrived here, and that the aborigines were of a kindred origin with the Basque-speaking peoples of France and Spain. As to my own views on this question, they have been set forth in the Rhind Lectures which I had the honour of delivering before your Society of Antiquaries in 1889 on the subject of the early Ethnology of Scotland. I then tried to show reasons for being inclined to regard the Northern Picts as the last and least Aryanised representatives of the aborigines; but owing to the intricacy of the subject, I abstained from making any use in my lectures of the Pictish inscriptions, as I thought that it could be done better in a paper devoted to that subject alone. It is needless to say that there are other theories in the field, but the only ones deserving of mention are those which make the Picts to be Celts in the sense of being Aryan Celts. These theories are on the whole mutually destructive; for, according to some, the Pictish language was a kind of Gaelic, and according to others it was more akin to Welsh, but according to both it was Celtic and Aryan. It would be extremely easy to attack and rout these theories in detail, but it would take up too much space. I shall be content for the present for matters to stand as follows : here we have a certain number of inscriptions which appear to be more or less Pictish, so let the advocates of the Celtic theories come forward and explain these inscriptions as Celtic. Let those who cherish the Welsh or Brythonic theory—for they seem to be just now foremost—take the carefully written and punctuated Ogam from Lunasting :—X *Ttocuhetts : ahehhttmnnn : hccvvevv : Nehhtonn*, and let them explain it as Welsh, and I shall have to confess that I have never rightly understood a single word of my mother tongue. If they cannot explain it so, let them explain it as any kind of Aryan. Till then I shall treat it as unintelligible to me as a Celt, and as being, so far as I can judge, not Aryan. This will suffice to explain my position when proceeding to cast about for help outside the Aryan

family of languages to interpret any of the inscriptions which may seem to yield in any degree to the experiment.

Now the nearest non-Aryan languages which can be treated as known and not—like Ligurian—dead and unknown, are the dialects of the Ugro-Finnish family spoken by Laps, Fins, and Esthonians in the one direction, and the Basque spoken by the Iberians of the Pyrenees in another. As to the former, I have never seen any sufficient reason to believe that peoples of the Ugro-Finnish family ever possessed these islands; and I have also failed to find in their language much help to solve the Pictish question. On the other hand, ethnology leaves us at liberty, to say the least of it, to entertain the idea, that an Iberian race once occupied the west of Europe, including the British Isles. This would take us back to very early times, but it does not necessarily imply that the west of Europe so late as at the dawn of history was occupied by an Iberian or Ibero-Pictish race, extending with no geographical break in their sway from Gibraltar to Caithness; for it may have been cut in two across France by the advance of another race from the direction of the Alpine region of central Europe, let us say by an Arvernian people, for example, or by Ligurians, not to mention the conquests by the Celts as representatives of the advancing Aryan. Some such a limitation as I have indicated seems to be suggested by the comparative absence of names of a decidedly Iberian physiognomy in France north of the mouth of the Garonne; but be that as it may, it cannot essentially change my position or relieve me from being logically bound to inquire what Basque can do to help us to an understanding of the Pictish inscriptions. That is in the strictest sense the business of this part of my paper; but it has also another, to show that some time or other Goidelic has been influenced in its vocabulary and its grammar by some non-Aryan language like Basque. The two things cannot conveniently be kept wholly apart; so the following remarks are devoted sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other, just as convenience may dictate.

In the course of the foregoing details the most distinctive genitives which we found in the Pictish inscriptions end in *n*: more correctly speaking one may probably say in *nn*, as *Drosten* seems to be parallel to *Vorrenn*: I need hardly say that I leave the Teutonic genitive Nahht-

vvddadds out of the reckoning, as I do also the Goidelic *meqq*. We should have genitives in the inscriptions as follows :—In *Drosten* in No. 3 ; after *maqqo* in No. 5 ; in *Vorrenn* in No. 7 ; in *alluorrann*, probably, in No. 11 ; possibly also in *meqqn* or *meqqnan* in No. 15 ; in *dattrr* : *ann* and *ddrroann* in No. 16. All these 7 possible instances end in *n*, but this would be very much to understate the case for the Pictish genitives. In fact, it is not too much to say that the inscriptions afford no decided evidence of any Pictish genitive except that characterised by the nasal consonant, while, on the other hand, they contain irrefragable evidence that this kind of genitive formed a part of the living language, as we have before us such new instances as *dattrrann* and *ddroann*. This indicates a language utterly unlike Goidelic, Brythonic, or any form of Celtic of which we have any specimens ; but it is exceedingly Iberian in the sense of being Basque. For the latter language knows no other way of making its genitives than by appending *en* or *n*. Take, for example, gizón " a man," genitive gizonén " a man's," or bat " one," genitive batén " one's," and so with all other nouns and adjectives in the language. The acute accent here, and in any other Basque instances which I may cite, indicates the tone syllable ; and it is of special importance in connection with the attempt to discuss Pictish to notice the Basque accent. My instances are taken chiefly from the Guipuzcoan dialect as the most accessible to me.[1]

Old Irish has genitives in *n* and some in *nn*, both of the consonantal declension, but they end in the nasal only since the old case ending has been discarded after the era of the ancient Ogam monuments. Now, it is remarkable that the formation of the Goidelic genitives in *nn* has never been satisfactorily explained, and this for no lack of attempting the task or of knowledge of the laws of Celtic phonology ; but because, as I am inclined to think, the genitives in question involve an extraneous influence, that of Pictish, which has not been taken into account. Pictish being, as I take it, a non-Aryan language, it could not modify Goidelic

---

[1] No accent is usually marked in Basque, and my authority for the cases which I mark in this paper is Larramendi's grammar entitled *El impossible Vencido* (Salamanca, 1729). For other purposes I have used chiefly Van Eys's *Essai de Grammaire de la Langue Basque* (Amsterdam, 1867) ; also his *Outlines of Basque Grammar* (London, 1883).

in a definite manner at all points, but only here and there where a certain amount of accidental similarity or coincidence made an easy path for its influence. We have something of the kind in the case of the genitives involving nasal consonants, to which I must now devote a few words. Old Irish had verbal nouns which had *iu* in the nominative and *en* in the genitive, like *toimtiu*, " meaning," genitive *toimten*. This implies an early form *du-mentio*, genitive *du-menten-as*, just as if the Latin equivalent of the body of the word, namely, *mentio*, made in the genitive *mentin-is*, instead of *mentionis*, the actual form taken by it. When the termination of the Celtic genitive was thrown off and the word began to assume its later form *toimten*, its ending became similar to that of the Pictish genitive in *enn*, except for the accent which in Pictish I suppose to have been on the last syllable, while Goidelic shifted it to the first. So far then one cannot lay one's finger on anything in this declension which could prove to be Pictish, and naturally so, since this class of words are purely Celtic formations, consisting of verbal or abstract nouns of the feminine gender. They are, however, followed by a few proper names, such as *Tailtiu*, genitive *Tailten*, the name of a place in Meath, now called Teltown ; and *Colgu*, genitive *Colgen*, *Colcen*, a personal name which has also another declension, making *Colgion* in the genitive, as given in Adamnan's Life of St Columba.[1]

We come next to a well-defined group of proper names of men and women, such as *Bricriu*, *Derdriu*, *Ebliu*, *Ériu*, *Laisriu*, and *Urgriu*, all of which make their genitives in *enn*, such as *Ériu* " Ireland," genitive *Érenn* or *Érend* ; for the name has its place here as that of the queen or goddess eponymous of the island. Now *Érenn* stands for an older *Iverienn*, which, however, was not the Celtic stem, as we know that to have been *Iverion* ; witness the *Hiberion-e* and *Hyberion-acum* of Patrick's *Confession* and the *Iverion-e* of the Antonine Itinerary. The *nn* (or its equivalent *nd*) of *Érenn*, *Érend*, proves the word to have borne the accent on the final syllable at one time, which is what I should expect on the supposition of the name being Pictish, and I know of no reason to regard it as Celtic. In fact most of the names of this group are most likely non-Celtic. But it may be asked how the Celts came

[1] See Stokes' *Celtic Declension*, pp. 30, 31, and Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 65.

to give them genitives other than in *enn* plus the case termination of their own consonantal declension, which would yield *enn-as* or *enn-os*. The answer is that they must have associated them in point of declension with a certain class of nouns of their own : the kind of nouns I mean were the Gaulish *Abellio,* the name of a deity, *Brigantio* (Briançon), *Cabellio* (Cavaillon), and *Divio* (Dijon).[1] The same sort of nouns existed in Brythonic, and it was such a favourite declension at one time in Welsh that it made the Latin word *latro* into *latrio,* whence the modern Welsh form *lleidr* "a thief ;" so with *draco,* which treated as *dracio* yields *draig*[2] "a dragon ;" and this *io* seems to have had also an optional form *iu,* so the stem *dacru,* treated as *dacriu,* has in Welsh yielded *deigr* "a tear." Lastly, we have just had in Irish the genitive *Colgion,* which implies a nominative *Colgiu,* by the side of the attested one *Colgu.* With these nominatives the Celts, I take it, identified Pictish nominatives in *iv,* later *evv* and *ef*: so the scheme of equivalents was something of the following kind :—

<div style="text-align:center">

Celtic nom. io, iu   Pictish iṇ, iv.

  ,,   gen. ionos (Brythonic) ⎫

  ,,   ,,   ionas (Goidelic)   ⎬   ,,   ienn.

</div>

That this holds not only for Goidelic but also for Brythonic, may be seen from such an instance as the genitive *Fortrenn* in *Mag Fortrenn,* the country of the *Verturion-es,* a name which probably only reached Ammianus Marcellinus through a South British medium which was more likely to be Brythonic than Goidelic.   Be that as it may, we have a more certain but less simple instance in *Iwerdon* "Ireland," which should be *Iṷerion* to correspond to the Irish genitive *Érenn.*   It appears, however, to have

---

[1] See Stokes' *Celtic Declension,* p. 93.

[2] A few more words have to be accounted for in a similar fashion, such as *gwraig* "a woman," *neidr* "a snake," and *Selyf,* O. Welsh, *Selim* and *Selemiaun* from *Salomon, Salomonis,* as if *Salomio, Salomionis* : see the *Cymmrodor,* ix. 179–181. Also, Welsh *erbyn,* "juxtaposition, meeting," a noun formed from a phrase *are penno* treated as *are-pennio* = Irish *ar chiund* "over against, face to face with."   I fail to follow Dr. Stokes in deriving *lleidr* from *latrī* = *latrō* in his paper on the *Neo-Celtic Verb Substantive* (Proceedings of the Phil. Soc. for 1885–6), p. 26, as I do not quite see why one should set out with *latrō,* or why that should become *latrī,* or why *latrī* should yield *lleidr* in Welsh.   His result seems to be the multiple of three separate propositions of a doubtful nature.

been modified into *Iwerdon*, under the influence of *Iweryd*, derived from
the nominative treated as *Iŭeríío* or *Iŭeríŭ*. *Iweryd* is a feminine to
be equated with *Ériu*, as the name of the goddess or queen so called in
the mythic periods of Irish history: in Welsh literature she appears as
the mother of Brân son of Llyr, and the romances seem to have made
it current as a woman's name in the Middle Ages.[1] The form of the
name *Iweryd* is very suggestive, as it appears to show that the Pictish
name was probably accented on its final syllable *Iŭeríŭ* or *Iweriv*. If
that be so, it may be presumed that the same formative in other Pictish
names bore the accent. Lastly, Pictish *enn* is to be found in some
instances where the Celtic stem is usually made to end not in *ion*, but
in *on*: take, for instance, the *Caldenn* or *Caillenn* in the Gaelic name of
Duncalden or *Dúnchailden* "Dunkeld." Here the Celtic form of the
stem was not *Caledion* but *Caledon*, as proved by *Caledonius, Di-calidonœ*,
and Δουη-καληδόνιος; and the Welsh form corresponds, being *Celydon*
in *Coed Celydon*,[2] "the Caledonian Forest."

Now, the forms pitted against one another are Goidelic *ionas* and
Pictish *ienn*, and the ancient inscriptions of the south of Ireland enable
us, as it were, to watch the struggle between them for ascendency. In
the extreme south-west an early inscription on the island of Valencia
has the Pictish genitive undisguised, for it reads *Logitti maqŭi Erpenn*
"(the grave) of Logitt son of Erp." But the inscription with the *poi*
already cited from the County of Cork reads *Broinienas poi Netattrena-
lugos*, where *Broinien* stands for a Pictish *Broinienn* with a Celtic
genitive ending *as* appended. A little more Celticity would have given
it the form *Broinionas*, which in fact occurs, namely, on a stone at
Burnham House, near Dingle, in Kerry. Another stone in the same
neighbourhood has inscribed on it *Inissionas*, a name which appears

---

[1] See my *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 130, 131.

[2] As yet I have never seen any successful attempt to show that this name is of
Celtic origin; the last I have read would connect it with the Irish word *caill*
"wood," but it will not stand, as the cognate form in Welsh would be *cell*. This
we have in *celli* "a grove or bower," which enters into *y gelli*, one of the most
common names of farm-houses in Wales. Accordingly, instead of *Celydon*, we should
expect to have some such form as *Cellon*; at any rate, one with *ll*, which I need
not say is a very different sound in Welsh from that of *l* or *d*.

later as *Inisian* in the Bodmin Manumissions.[1] We trace the same
conflict of forms back across the sea to the Demetian land of Pembroke-
shire, which was at an early date subject to invasions from the south of
Ireland ; and there we have the advantage of bilingual versions of some
of the inscriptions.   There are two such which deserve special notice.
One is at a place called Trevgarn, a few miles north of Haverfordwest, in
Pembrokeshire, and it reads in Roman letters *Hogtivis fili Demeti*
accompanied by an Ogam legend *Ogtene.*   We may probably discard
both the *h* and the *s* of the first name as the idle adornments of the
inscriber's Latinity.   Be that, however, as it may, it is fairly certain
that *Hogtivis* was fashioned on a nominative *Ogtiv,* but whether in the
sense of a Celtic *Ogtįu* or of a Pictish *Ogtiv* or *Ogtiụ* I am unable to
say, though I am inclined to think from the Ogam that the inscriber
knew more Pictish and Latin than Celtic.   Thus the Ogam contains the
Pictish genitive *Ogtenn,* but with a single *n,* as the accent was probably
thrown on the final syllable *e.*   This last I take to stand for an *a*
assimilated to the last vowel of *Ogtenn.*   I should interpret it to mean
Ogten-e, " the of Ogtiụ," that is to say, probably " the grave, stone, or
cross of O."   This analysis is based, I ought to have said, on the con-
jecture that the construction of the word is parallel to that of Basque
vocables like *Martinena = Martinen-a,* " the or that of Martin."   The
other stone to which I have alluded is in the heart of South Wales,
namely at Trallong, in the neighbourhood of Brecon.   It reads in
Roman letters *Cunocenni filius Cunoceni hic iacit,* and in Ogam
Cunacennivi Ilvveto.   Even if we admit the Latinity of this to be
passable as *Cunocennis,* genitive *Cunocennis,* one cannot say as much of
the Goidelic in Ogam, for here again a genitive—in *i* this time—has been
based on a Pictish nominative *Cunacenniv,* which ought to have given
Cunacennienas like *Broinienas,* or better and more Celtic *Cunacennionas* like
Broinionas.   When the name occurs in Ireland, as it does in the neighbour-
hood of Killarney, it is simply *Cunacena,* which may be explained as
standing for Cunacenn-as, and rivalling the Latin genitive *Cunacen-i*
" Conchinn " in simplicity.   One is struck in these last instances by two
things very forcibly, to wit, the uncertainty of the forms, a feature

[1] See the *Revue Celtique,* i. 337, 342.

hardly to be explained without postulating the existence of a language besides Goidelic and Latin, and by the fact that the inscriber of *Cunacennivi* comes off rather worse in Goidelic than in Latin. All this points to Pictish, the relative importance of which as against Goidelic was doubtless enhanced by the paling of the latter before Latin in Britain. The language of the conquered Pict and of the conquering Goidel appeared more on a level when they came face to face with that of imperial Rome. For the Pict who had before to learn Goidelic found it expedient to pay his attention, at least in part, to Latin, and by so doing he would be able to meet Goidel and Brython on common ground.

There is a peculiarity of some of the Ogmic inscriptions of Ireland and Wales which is of capital importance, and it is in point here. They consist mostly of epitaphs with the word for "grave," "stone," or "body" omitted, so that they run in the genitive as in the case of *Sagramni maqui Cunatami*, which is rendered in the Latin version accompanying it *Sagrani fili Cunotami*; but in a certain number—too large and systematic to be mere blunders—the earlier noun in the apposition has no case ending, but is given in what was considered its uninflected form. Thus we have *Erc maqui Maqui Ercias* instead of *Erci maqui Maqui Ercias*, "of Erc son of Mac Erce." Compare this with the Basque rule, according to which we have, for instance, for *Marthæ sororis ejus*, in Basque *Marta bere aizparen* (John xi. 1), as though one should write in Latin *Martha sororis ejus*, that is to say, as if one appended the genitive ending to the agglutination *Marthasoror* once for all. I infer that our instance *Erc maqui* is due to non-Aryan influence: at any rate *Erc maqui* is not to be regarded as a compound in any sense of the word as applicable to Celtic, as may be seen more clearly from the following instances :—
Togittacc maqui Sagaret[tos], "(The grave) of Toictheach son of S." (Cahernagat, Kerry); *Loguqyrit maqyi Qyritt[i]*, "(The grave) of Luicridh son of Q." (Ballyneanig, Kerry); *Cattuvvirr maqyi Rittavvecas mucoi Allati*, "(The grave) of Cathaoir son of Rittavvec the descendant of Allat" (Corkaboy, Kerry);[1] *Rittuvvecc maqyi Vellonos . . .*

[1] The references to Brash are the following :—pp. 179 (pl. xvii.), 219 (pl. xxv.), 180, 227 (pl. xxviii.), 231, 233 ; but the readings are the result of my inspection of the stones themselves, some in 1883 and some in 1891.

"(The grave) of R. son of V." (Kilcolaght, Kerry). But one of the most remarkable is—*Maqui Ttal maqui Vorgos maqui Mucoi Toicac*[*i*], "(The grave) of Mac Táil son of Fergus son of M. T." (Dunloe, Kerry); for here we have for *Ttali* and *Vorgosos* or *Vorgoso* the stems *Ttal* and *Vorgos.* This agglutinative treatment of the names has hitherto baffled all those—including the present writer—who have tried to construe them on purely Aryan lines; and as to the distribution of such inscriptions, they may be said to increase in number as you proceed, say from Kilkenny towards the western ends of Kerry. In other words, the tendency to agglutination shows itself strongest where Goidelic may be supposed to have made its influence felt least and latest. We trace in Wales the same state of things linguistic, namely in a bilingual epitaph which I have quite recently examined at Eglwys Cymmun in the south-west corner of the county of Carmarthen. The stone seems to be one brought from the seashore, and the writing is legible in all its details. Like some others, the Latin is in the nominative and the Goidelic in the genitive. The former reads *Avitoria filia Cunigni,* and the latter *Inigena Cunigni Avittoriges,* "(The grave) of the daughter of Cynin, Avitoria." [1] Here *inigena,* the nominative singular of the early Goidelic word for daughter (Mod. Irish *inghean*), is used as the stem, while the genitive ending *-es* is added once for all to the full designation *Inigena-Cunigni-Avittori-.* This Ogam is a compromise between two languages; to have been consistent Goidelic it should be *Inigenes Cunigni Avittoriges,* or, better, *Avittoriges inigenes Cunigni,* and one would expect the Pictish collocation (as in *Drosten ipe Uoret,* &c.) to have been *Cunigni Inigena Avittoriges;* but against this may be placed an inscription at Llanfaglan, near Carnarvon, reading

FILILOVERNII / ANATEMORI.

But the collocation of the words in both appears to be by no means Celtic. In any case, the fact remains that here we have in Avitoria's Monument in Wales an Ogam inscription, which requires for the interpretation of its syntax the assistance of a non-Aryan language like

[1] See my account of the stone in the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1889, pp. 225–32: since writing it I have seen the stone myself, and I find that *inigina* is to be corrected into *inigena.* All the letters are certain, both Roman and Ogmic.

Basque, nor is it to be forgotten that the Latin on this stone is distinctly more correct than the Goidelic.   Let me add an instance from Cornwall, namely *Cnegumi fili Genaius* (Hübner, No. 5).   That means "Cnegumus's Son Genaius," for *filius* being in apposition to *Genaius* forms with it an agglutination which takes only one case ending, as if it were *filigenai-us.*   An instance, apparently older and certainly deliberate, offers itself in a bilingual inscription in Clydai Churchyard, in North Pembrokeshire.   It has for years been my despair, and it reads in Latin—

ETTERNI FILI VICTOR,

that is, *Etterni fili-Victor*, or "Victor son of Eternus."   The Ogam is imperfect owing to the top of the stone having been trimmed away to receive a sun-dial, but enough remains to show that the syntax of the Goidelic was the same as that of the Latin :—Ettern . . . . . V . . . tor.[1]   The vandalism deprives us of the written form of what was regarded as the crude form corresponding to the genitive *maqyi*, "son's."

In the Welsh stories known as the Mabinogion, some of the chief personages are called Sons and Daughters of Dôn, whose approximate identity I have attempted to prove with the Tuatha Dé Danann, or Tribes of the Goddess Dana or Donu of Irish story.   Professor Zimmer seems inclined to go further and regard the Dôn group in Welsh literature as introduced from an Irish source, and I should not be surprised if his view proved correct.   One of them was Govannon, son of Dôn, brother of the Culture Hero Gwydion, son of Dôn : Govannon was the great smith of his people, and his name seems to be derived from *gov* or *gof*, "a smith," Old Irish *goba*—a word for which no probable Aryan etymon has been found.   Further, the name Govannon appears in an older form *Govynion*, which corresponds exactly to the Irish *Goibniu*, genitive *Goibnenn*, presumably from a Pictish *Gobeniv*, genitive *Gobenienn.* Besides the heroes of the Dôn group, the Mabinogion speak of others called Sons and Daughters of Llyr already mentioned.   To these last belonged Brân son of Llyr, and Brân's sister Branwen, who was married to an Irish king named Matholwch.   Now, the *Mabinogi of Branwen, daughter of Llyr*, contains what appears to be a sentence in Pictish.   It occurs as follows : the story relates how Branwen was insulted at the

[1] See Rhys' *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, pp. 275, 393, and Hübner, No. 110, p. 39.

Irish court, and how Brân with the men of Britain crossed to Ireland to avenge her wrongs. Peace was made, we are told, on the condition that Matholwch resigned his throne to Gwern, his son by Branwen; but when the hosts of the two islands met in the Mealbag Hall to celebrate their peace, Evnyssien, a half-brother of Brân's, murdered the infant Gwern in the presence of all. Then a tumult arose as in the Nibelung Story, and a ghastly scene of carnage followed; but in the excitement, just before the slaughter began, one of the leaders cries out: *Gwern gwngwch uiwch uordwyt tyllyon*.[1] These words are probably corrupt as we have them, but hardly so far corrupt as to account for their being wholly unintelligible as Welsh or Irish. They may, however, be con-jectured to have been a word of command meaning something like *Good comrades follow Mordwyt Tyllyon*. For, besides the proper name, the import of the word *gwern* is fairly certain, as it equates exactly with *fern*[2] in Cormac's Glossary, which explains that word as meaning in the *Iarn-belre*, or language of the Ivernians, anything *good* : in fact it seems to be the positive from which *ferr*, the ordinary Goidelic word for "better", is derived. "Good" is often synonymous with "brave," and this may have been the meaning of *Gwern* as the name of Matholwch's son; and it is perhaps not wholly an accident that the two first syllables of the sentence in question recall the name of the Pictish people of the *Vernicones*,[3] who dwelt north of the Forth, and had as their chief stronghold the place called Orrea, somewhere near the junction of the Orr Water with the Leven, in Fifeshire. Be that, however, as it may, the fact to be chiefly noticed is that the Mabinogi of Branwen repre-sents some of the assembled hosts of Wales and Ireland as addressed in Pictish. Nay, if it be right, as I think it is, to regard Mordwyt Tyllyon as one of Brân's men, it follows that a portion at least of Brân's followers from Wales spoke Pictish as their native language. Indeed,

[1] *Red Book Mabinogion*, p. 39 : the words occur in Lady Charlotte Guest's edition at iii. 97, and her Ladyship translates them straight off, p. 123, "The gad-flies of Morddwydtyllyon's Cow!"

[2] Compare *verniam* "letitiam" in the *Hisperica Famina* in the Luxembourg Fragment (*Revue Celtique*, i. 348–51), where other strange words occur such as *conis* "occulis," *gibras* "homines," *gugras* "capita," and *toles* "membra."

[3] As given in the MSS. of Ptolemy's Geography it is variously written Οὐενίκωνες, Οὐεννίκωνες, Οὐερνίκωμες, and other combinations.

had that not been the case, it is hardly likely that any Pictish at all would have been given a place in the story.

Before proceeding further, one or two notes may be made on the inflection of the names which have here been occupying us. First, as to my connecting the genitive in *ienn* with the nominative in *iv*, I may explain that I am inclined to regard *ienn* as a shortening of *iv-enn*, and the change as of a purely phonological character, but dating early. But, interesting as it would be to trace the rise of the genitive in *ienn*, it is more important for our purpose to discover what becomes of it later. Here and there it is just possible that in Pictish it was reduced to *inn* or *in*, namely in such instances as *Circin*, to which the nominative corresponding is sometimes treated as *Cirig*.[1] This last was probably also the name of the Pictish king variously called *Ciricius*, Giric, Girg (as in Eglis-girg, "Girg's Church," in the Mearns), and *Grig*.[2] The original forms may have accordingly been *Ciriciu* or *Ciriciv*, genitive *Ciricienn* or *Ciricien*, which would explain the association with the name of St. Ciricus. Irish, on the other hand, has made *ienn* into *-enn* (modern *-eann*), as illustrated by the genitive *Érenn* "Hiberniæ." Hence in the case of *Moinena* (for *Moinen-as*), for instance, in an Ogam in the neighbourhood of Dingle, it is difficult to decide whether the Pictish nominative should be regarded as *Moin* or *Moiniv*. Lastly, the form of the early stem chosen for Latin and Goidelic genitives seems to have been to a considerable extent a matter of accident. Thus, in the Latin genitive *Hogtivis*, the Pictish nominative *Ogtiv* is taken as the stem, and so in the case of the Goidelic genitive *Cunacenniv-i*, while the *Moinen-a* just mentioned, *Broinien-as*, and the like, show a preference for the Pictish genitive as the base of the Goidelic one. A remarkable Latin parallel has come to light on a bronze tablet of the early part of the third century recently discovered at Colchester. The donor Lossio Veda describes himself as a *Caledo* or Caledonian by race, and more narrowly as *Nepos Vepogeni*. This last-mentioned name looks at first sight very Celtic ; but one has only to remove the *i* of the Latin genitive and one has *Vepogen*, the Pictish genitive of *Vepog*, which appears in the list of the Pictish kings under the slightly modified spelling of *Vipoig*.[3]

---

[1] See Skene's *Picts and Scots*, p. 25. [2] See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 329–34.

[3] See Skene's *Picts and Scots*, p. 6, where the epithet *Veda*, of Lossio, is also to

To return to our later inscriptions found in the North, it will have been seen that they give two groups of genitives in *nn*, some in *enn* and some in *ann*. The nature of the distinction is not very evident, and on the whole I am inclined to suppose that the forms in *ann* may contain the Pictish definite article, granted that it was nearly the same as the Basque article. The latter is in point of origin a demonstrative pronoun, and in fact it partly remains so still, as will be seen from the following instances :—

Nominative á, ák, "the"	Plural ak, "the"
Genitive arén, "of the"	aen, "of the"
Dative arí, "to the"	ai, "to the"

Compare now the pronoun, as to which it is to be borne in mind that there is no distinction of gender in Basque :—

Nominative ark, "he, she, it, that"	Plural ayek, "they, those"
Genitive aren, "his, her, its"	ayen, "their"
Dative ari, "to him, her, it, that"	ayei, "to them, those"

Here it will be noticed that *arén, arí* should have as the nominative corresponding to them *árk*, which is, however, used as a pronoun, while one of the dialects treats *á, ák* as a pronoun. Further, *aren* and *ayen*, for instance, used as singular and plural respectively, either consist of different pronominal elements or of the same elements phonologically treated in different ways. Add to this that Basque nouns and adjectives have as a rule no distinction of number : thus, *gizon* "man" cannot be made plural, but the definite article distinguishes the singular and plural, thus :—

Nominative *gizoná, gizonák,* "the man"	*gizónak,* "the men"
Genitive *gizonarén,* "the man's"	*gizónaen,* "the men's"
Dative *gizonarí,* "to the man"	*gizónai,* "to the men"

Thus the Basque plural is distinguished mostly by secondary means such as a difference of accentuation and the use of different pronominal elements, or else by the same elements subjected to different phonological

be detected probably in *uccla.* For an account of the Colchester bronze see a paper read by Mr Haverfield before the Society of Antiquaries (London, March 31, 1892), and a paper containing a letter of mine, which was read June 2.

treatments, for Basque grammarians will, rightly or wrongly, have it that
the *r*, for instance, in *gizonaren* is merely inserted to avoid a hiatus,
somewhat as with the modern *r* in the southern English "Victoriar our
Queen." Thus we seem to have no evidence here of an original Basque
distinction between singular and plural except in the nominative, where
gizona cannot be plural; but in the other two cases we may assume an
early genitive *a-en* and dative *a-i* without distinction of number, that
being left to be expressed by other means. Now it is a Pictish genitive
corresponding to *a-en* that we seem to have in *ddrroann* and *dattrr : ann*.
In any case, the general Basque rule of accenting nouns on the ultima
would help one to understand the punctuation of *dattrr : ann*, and this
would be still more intelligible if *ann* had the force of an appended
definite article. It is remarkable that in the most non-Celtic portion of
Ireland, namely Munster, there is a tendency to this day to accentuate
Irish words on the last syllable, as already hinted. So here we trace
the influence of the extinct Pictish in the *nn* of genitives like *gobann*,
nominative *goba*, Welsh *gof*, " a smith," and in *Dalann*, as contrasted
with Adamnan's *Dalon*.[1] The ending *ann* is given not unfrequently to
genitives occurring on Irish Ogam-inscribed stones; and some of them,
such as *Tapagann* from the parish of Killorglin, in Kerry, have a
decidedly non-Goidelic sound. In one Irish name we seem to have the
same vocable appearing with and without the article, namely *Érenn* and
Érann. The former, as already suggested, has as its nominative *Ériu*,
"Ireland," a personification in the first instance perhaps of the island;
the other does duty in Medieval Irish as the genitive of *Érainn*, more
usually *Érna*, meaning the Ivernian aborigines of Munster: their chief
stronghold was Temair *Érann*, situated near the present town of Castle
Island, in Kerry, and one of their chief ancestors was known as Ailill
Érann, which may be rendered Tara of *the* Ivernians and Ailill of *the*
Ivernians respectively. In a pedigree in the Book of Leinster[2] the
Ailill just mentioned is said to have been the inventor of a weapon
called the *foga* or *faga*, which seems to have been a small spear or
dart, and probably the same as the *faga fogablaige* or dart with barbs
to it, such as the Welsh called *gaflacheu*. The Welsh term Gwydyl

[1] For these and other instances of the same kind see Stokes' *Celtic Declension*,
p. 32.   [2] See the Fac-simile, fol. 3244.

Gaflachawg seems to have meant Irishmen armed with these weapons; and as a part of Peredur's rusticity we find him leaving his mother's home in quest of Arthur's court armed only with a handful of *gaflacheu*.[1] The Irish *foga*, then, whatever it exactly was, seems to have possessed a significance in respect of race.

The existence in Pictish of an article *a*, genitive *ann*, may be inferred from other indications. Take, for instance, the native names of the towns assigned by Ptolemy to the Picts beyond the Forth: they are Banatia, Tamia, Tuessis, Orrea, and Devana, with four out of the five ending in *a*, Tuessis being possibly in the first instance a river-name. If we take the town names for the whole of North Britain above the Brigantes, we include the Pictish country on the Solway, but we also take in the extensive tribe of the Dumnonii, whose ruling race was probably Brythonic. Even thus, however, the proportion of town names in *a* in the North will be found, if we take Ptolemy's Geography as the basis of the calculation, to be nearly twice as numerous in proportion to the others as in the rest of Britain. This prevalence of town names in *a* in the North I should partly account for by supposing some or most of them to be common nouns with a Pictish article appended to them. Thus Banatia might possibly be a word meaning *the* Meeting-place, *the* Market, or *the* Fair. This is, I need hardly say, a mere suggestion, that the first part of the word may possibly prove to be of the same origin as *Bont* or *Pant* applied to the first of the Thirty Brudes at the opening of the Pictish Chronicle, where Brude *Bont* or *Pant* may have meant "Brude number 1," with *bont* of the same origin as Basque *bat* "one." In that case *Banatia* might be explained as the place of union or meeting, like the Irish *Nenagh*, from Med. Irish *an Oenach* "the Fair or Market," from *oen* "one."

Take also the name Boia in the story of the expulsion of the Déisi, as related in the Irish manuscript of the Dun Cow, fol. 54*a*. The scribe hesitates between *Boia* and *Bói*, but makes up his mind in favour of *Bói* or *Búi*. The name is borne by the wife of the druid of Cairpre Musc. They all belonged to Munster, and Cairpre is said to have been king of Ireland about the beginning of the third century. His story represents Cairpre as one of those Irish leaders who exercised power in south-western

---

[1] See the Red Book *Mabinogion*, pp. 195, 199.

Britain as far as Glastonbury and the English Channel. The name
Boia appears later in Cornwall, namely as that of a deacon, and later
still it figures in Domesday as that of a clerk of St. Petroc in the same
district. Dr. Whitley Stokes says that "it is perhaps unceltic." [1] On
the northern side of the Severn Sea the name is well known as borne by
a Pict or Scot who molested St. David, and near St. David's are to be
seen the remains of his stronghold on a rock called Clegyr Voia, "Boia's
Rock." [2] The name is unlike any Celtic name, and the retention of the
final *a* goes to show that it was accented Boiá. In the Welsh version
of the Life, Boia's wife is called Satrapa, which is perhaps based on a
notion that *Boia* meant a ruler or chief; or, as I think we have the
article in the *á*, I should say *the* ruler or *the* chief. It is remarkable
that Boia had a daughter called in the Welsh version *Dunawd*,[3] a name
which is the Latin *Donata* borrowed. The occurrence of such a name
bears witness to the influence of Latin speech and Latin culture, an
influence dating probably from the time of Roman rule in Britain.
So its adoption in the family of the Pictish pagan Boia helps one
to appreciate the evidence of the Trevgarn and Trallong bilingual
inscriptions, to which attention has already been directed; and in
this connection it is worth bearing in mind that St. David is said
to have been born in the time of "Triphun and his Sons," who
formed a dynasty of conquerors from the south of Ireland; also, that
one of those sons of Triphun, his successor in fact, bore the name of
Aircol, which is nothing but the old Welsh form of the Roman name of
Agricola.[4]

. With regard to the definite article, I am tempted to go so far as to
say not only that it was *a* in Pictish, but that it has, to a certain extent,
been borrowed into Goidelic in all its dialects. In so doing it had, of

---

[1] See the Bodmin Manumissions, *Rev. Celtique*, i. 334, 336, 339; and compare
'*Llia* the Irishman' in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, p. 33.

[2] See Rhys' *Arthurian Legend*, p. 283, for some further details, and a mention of
a place called Llwyn *Diarwya*, into which *Boia* possibly enters. Compare also the
Boi of Aber Cwm Boy (the *Aber* of *Cwm-Boy* or Boi's Dingle), which drains into the
Cynon, an affluent of the Taff, opposite Dyffryn Aberdare.

[3] See *Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi* in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, p. 110.

[4] See the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1892, pp. 64, 66; and the *Journal of the
Irish Antiquaries*, for 1891, pp. 649-50.

course, to become a prefix instead of an affix ; and I allude, in the first place, to the *a* preceding numerals used absolutely, as in the Scotch Gaelic, *a h-aon* "one," *a dha* "two," *a tri* "three," *a ceithir* "four," *a coig* "five," *a h-ochd* "eight," &c. Traces of this *a* occur in Manx Gaelic, and it is common enough in Irish, even Old Irish, as in *a hoen-dec* "eleven," literally "one-ten," unless one should rather render it "*the* one-ten," for the *a* is not used when it is one *man* or one *thing*, but one referred to no category at all, just as when we say "the number 1," or "the number 10." But I give this interpretation of the *a* as originally meaning *the* with great diffidence, as I have failed to find any notice taken of the word in any grammar or dictionary, however often it may appear in the course of instances cited.[1] Combinations like *a h-aon* "one," *a h-ochd* "eight," remove the only doubt that attached to the Rev. Edmond Barry's theory of the origin of the Ogam alphabet. He suggested years ago that the *h* group was the beginning of the Ogam alphabet, and that the five Ogams of that group represent the initials of the five first numerals which have just been cited in modern Scotch Gaelic. In Old Goidelic they would have been a-hoina-, a-duŏu, a-ttrís, a-ccetuór,[2] a-qquĕqque. As to the Goidelic article recognised by the grammars as such, the moment you examine it you find it falling into two pieces, so to say. The greater portion of the declension, including the Old Irish nominative *in, in t-*, feminine *ind, in*, postulates a word which would have originally been nominative *ņdas* or *ņdos*, feminine *ņdã*; but the form for the nominative and the accusative of the neuter singular is *a n-*, which would be explained by supposing our Pictish article *a* to have the Celtic neuter ending usual in the nominative-accusative of the singular appended to it. This would make a-on

---

[1] Stokes, in his *Celtic Declension*, p. 106, gives *a hoendec* "11," *a ocht* "8," and *a dó* "2." Ebel's edition of the *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 301-6, gives several instances from Old Irish, such as *aóen, a dó* (Cormac's *Glossary, a dhó*), *a cethar, acoic, aocht, annoi frisinna tri* (*novem ad tria*).

[2] On this see my article on "Ogam" in *Chambers' Encyclopædia*. As regards the phonetics of the word *a*, suffice it here to say that it behaves like certain other particles in Irish and Welsh, such as *de* "of, from," as in *dit nirt* (Windisch's Ir. *Texte*, p. 51) "from thy strength," (*dit=de-tto*), Welsh *o'th nerth* (*o'th=ŏ-tto*). In the case, however, of *a dha, a dhó* "two," Manx *ghaa*, the mutation usual in the dual has prevailed, but not universally : Mr Standish O'Grady recognises only *a dó* in Mod. Irish.

or a-an, whence the Old Irish *a* with a nasal carried on according to the usual rules, could be derived. In the modern dialects, the article does not distinguish a neuter gender.

Before dismissing the question of the Pictish article, I must revert to the Pembrokeshire stone reading *Ogtene*, which.I analysed by way of anticipation into *Ogten-é*, on the supposition that it is a compromise between a genitive *Ogténn* and the article *a*. In other words, I have supposed the *a* modified into *e* in order to harmonise with the *e* of *Ogténn*, and the latter to have given up the accent and become *Ogten*, whence *Ogten-é*. Such a formula can only mean, as it were, τὸ ᾽Οχτου, 'the of Ogt.' But, according to the usual rule followed in the bilingual inscriptions, it did not presumably mean anything else than " the *stone* or the *grave* of Ogt," that is to say of the man called *Hogtiv-is* in the Latin version.

. It is a long way from Dyved to Buchan, but the same Pictish key proves useful, and enables one to show that the name Vorrenn or Forrenn on the Newton Stone was no stranger in that country. Turn to the Gaelic entries in the Book of Deer, and the second of them begins thus :— *Cómgeall mac éda dórat úaorti[go]nice fúrené docolumcille* 7 *dodrostán,* which Dr. Stokes, from whose Goidelica, p. 109, I copy the text, renders thus :—" Comgeall, son of Aed, gave from *Orte* to *Furene* to Columcille and to Drostán." He leaves the place-names in italics and untranslated ; but the latter of them, *Furene*, or rather *Fúrené*, since the accent marks are of interest as being probably not without meaning, readily analyses itself into *Fúren-é*, meaning "the of Fúr," while *Fúren* is doubtless another form of our Newton *Vorrenn* or *Forrenn*, the *f* for *v* being due to Goidelic influence. The only question is what noun is to be supplied ; but, as it concerns a landmark or boundary, nothing is more natural than to suppose it to have meant the *stone* of For (or Fúr) or his grave. I am speaking in complete ignorance as to the land indicated. Has it ever been identified ? and is it certain that " the (monument) of Fúr " is not the famous Newton Stone discussed in the earlier portion of this paper ? This is not to be rashly set aside, if the reading *Edde ecnun Vaur* of the beginning of the script be approximately correct, and approximately mean " Here lies Vaur," as I am inclined to think probable.

In South Wales there is, besides *Ogtene,* one other Ogam which may be Pictish, and it reads *Trenaccatlo,* on the Llanvaughan Stone near Llanybyther, below Lampeter, on the Cardiganshire side of the Teivi. The Latin version reads *Trenacatus ic iacit filius Maglagni.* *Trenacatus,* which makes *Tringad* in Welsh, was the name of the man com-memorated, and we ought to find his name in *Trenaccatlo;* but I have hitherto failed to account for that as purely Celtic of the period, whereas I find it can be done as Pictish. We cannot know the quantity or quality of the Pictish article *a* except as a matter of inference, but as the bearer of the accent it should probably be regarded as long, so that *Ogtene* was probably *Ogten-é.* Similarly, after a broad syllable it should be *ǽ,* but in Celtic a long *ā* seems to have had a tendency to be pro-nounced wide like English *aw* or *a* in *draw* or *tall;* and if this was common to Celtic with Pictish, or inherited by Celtic from Pictish, we might expect it to be written either *a* or *o.* But we should know how to analyse *Trenaccatlŏ* after the analogy of certain non-Celtic genitives in Irish such as *Uislenn,* genitive of *Uisnech,* and *Ethlenn,* genitive of *Ethne.* Thus we should suppose *Trenaccatlo* to stand for *Trenaccatnā* from *Trenaccatŭn-á,* and it would mean "the (stone or grave) of *the* Trenacatus or Tringad," where the article comes as naturally as when an Irishman speaks of "*the* O'Donoghue" or a Scotchman of "*the* Chisholm." What a great personage "the Tringad" of his time may have been we do not know, but a man named Gwynn son of Tringad is one of Arthur's companions in the hunting of Twrch Trwyth.

I have construed *Ogtene* and *Trenaccatlo* to mean the stone of Ogtiu and of "the Tringad" respectively, but the noun to be supplied may have varied according to the circumstances of each case. Thus, if I met with a name like these in an old Irish pedigree, I should be inclined to say that the noun wanted was one meaning son or daughter, or else slave or servant (*mael* or *gille*). Now, such names in *ne* do occur very commonly in old Irish pedigrees and elsewhere in Irish literature, such as Bardene, Cuircne, Ernene, Oisene, Taidcne, and the like. The usual explanation of the final *e* is that it represents *ịa* for an older *ịas* = Aryan *ịos,* and that explanation is entitled to the first consideration in a Celtic language; but it may be worth while to bear in mind that another is possible and even preferable sometimes, especially when the name in question is not

of indubitably Celtic origin. Thus *Taidcne* may well be an abbreviation
of *Taidcene*, originally meaning "the son of *Taidg*," and so may *Cuircne*
be of *Corcene*, meaning "the (son, *gille* or devotee) of *Corc*." For
neither *Taidg* nor *Corc*, though common enough as personal names in
Irish, has the ring of a decidedly Celtic name. A similar treatment
might also be applicable in the case of some place-names in *ne*, such as
Breibne or Breifne, the ancient name of a kingdom consisting approxi-
mately of the counties of Cavan and Leitrim. For it is conceivable
that it meant at first "the (land) of Bribon." The form Bribon, how-
ever, is Welsh, given in the Gododin to a man who had performed
deeds of valour north of the Firth of Forth; if the name be Pictish in
point of origin, it would probably be *Brib*, genitive *Bribenn*, which, with
the article appended, would make *Bribené, Bribné*. That comes pretty
near *Breibne*; but it is a mere conjecture to illustrate the treatment
from the Pictish point of view; and, as already suggested, it is not to be
applied indiscriminately. Thus, I should hesitate to explain the name
Cruithne of the eponymous hero of the Cruithni or Picts, unless it could
be made probable that the word is not Celtic, as may very possibly
be the case. But to call the Pictish country *Cruithen-tuath* [1] is decidedly
Pictish, at least in part, though *tuath*, "a people or community," is good
Gaelic. To be Celtic, one would expect it to be a compound *Cruithne-*
thuath, or the like: the fact is that *Cruithen* seems to stand for the
genitive *Cruithenn*, and that *tuath* has been introduced instead of some
Pictish word for "people or country." The *tuath* made it sound more
like Celtic, but the construction with the genitive in the first place, just
as it would be in the English translation "Pict's country," is decidedly
not Celtic but quite Pictish, as we find it in *Drosten-ipe* and *Vorrenn-*
ipua. Similarly the *n* in the *pent* of the *Pentland* Firth implies a form
which came nearer the original, presumably, than the oldest recorded
Norse *Pettaland*. The native name serving here as the basis of the
Norse name was doubtless *Pehhten* or *Pehhtan*, "Pict's" or "the Pict's,"

---

[1] With Cruithen-tuath compare such names as *Culenross*, now Culross, near Dun-
fermline, and *Culrenrigi* or *Culenrigi*, cited from the *Annals of Ulster* (under the
year 733), by Reeves in his *Adamnan*, p. 384, where he suggests that the place
meant was Inch, off Inishowen, in Donegal. Hennessy, in his edition of the same
Annals, prints *Cuilen rigi* and *Culenrigi* under the years 732 and 802 respectively :
see his notes thereon at the foot of the page.

followed by the native word for "a people" or "a country," probably the same word which is rendered *tuath* in *Cruithen-tuath ;* and that word the Norsemen translated by their *land*. The termination of the Pictish genitive held its ground long enough, I take it, to influence the syllable preceding it, and hence the present form of the name of the Pentland Firth. As to the no connection between *Pentland* Firth and *Pentland* Hills, see a letter of mine in the *Academy* for August last, p. 132.

Several allusions have already been made to the names in *evv* and *ef* : those in the inscriptions are *Vrobbaccennevv,* the latter part of *meqqnanammovvef,* and *Berrisef.* Now the Pictish country supplies a number of names of the same class, such as *Kenneff,* which I see given as the name of a church in the Mearns ; *Fib* or *Fif,* "Fife "; *Fothreve* or *Fothrif,* the ancient name of a district embracing Kinross and a part of Fife ; *Hilef,* the ancient name of a river, which, if not the Isla, must be the Liff, a stream falling into the Firth of Tay where the counties of Perth and Forfar meet ; *Morref, Muref,* or *Moreb,* the ancient province of Moray.[1] Here, as a sort of parallel to *Vrobbaccennevv,* one may mention the name of the Pictish king Galam *Cennaleph.* But an older parallel to the former name is *Cunacenniv-i* on the Trallong Stone already mentioned, where the syllable *evv* or *ef* is represented by *iv.* This we may therefore regard as the ancient spelling, and it comes down into the Latin manuscript of the twelfth century known as the *Liber Landavensis,* where we have several names in what I take to be a Pictish form. Of these the one that occurs most frequently is *Gurcinnif* or *Gurceniu,* also *Guorceniu,*[2] a name borne by clerics and by laymen in the

---

[1] Most of these names come in the *Chronicle of the Scots* given in Skene's *Picts and Scots,* pp. 135–7. There must be many more such names on the east of Scotland, and I should for instance have added Turriff did I not find that the old form given in the Book of Deer is *Turbrud.* The connection between the two is phonologically obscure : it is possible that *Turbrúad* became *Turvrid,* whence *Turriff,* but I should be inclined to think that the modern name represents *Turbrudévv.* Can *Fothrif* be derived from *Forthrif* and be the Pictish nominative corresponding to the genitive in Mag *Fortrenn,* "the Plain of Fortriu" ? Lastly, I may mention for comparison with *Morref,* the name *Moerheb* or *Moreb* given to a wood in a Mercian charter of the eighth century (Sweet's *Oldest English Texts,* p. 429) : can it be English ?

[2] For these and other names in the Liber Landavensis see the index to the Oxford edition, which is on the point of being issued to subscribers.

diocese of Llandaff. Another name of the same category is *Enim* (with *m* sounded *v* according to the orthography of the Old Welsh Glosses), also written once *Henip* (to be read probably *Heniph*), but more commonly written *Heinif*[1] in this manuscript: I take these to be forms of the Pictish nominative, of which the genitive would have been *Enienn*, the Celtic form of which we have in *Einion*, a very common Welsh name. We have the same name possibly also in that of the powerful Wessex king *Ine*, who built Taunton: the West Saxons must have largely mixed with Picts and Scots in the south-west, as names like Glastonbury "of the Goidels" would seem to testify. Another in point is *Issiu*, in the same manuscript, in the church-name Merthyr *Isiu* "(the Relics of the) Martyr Issiu." This would harmonize with the other names here in question, for we seem to have the Pictish genitive, *Isienn*, represented in the modern spelling of the name of the Monmouthshire church of Llan-Ishen. The Liber Landavensis supplies a similar name in the *Nissien* of *Sancti Nissien*.[2] Now, if we take these names together with *Innission-as* (p. 310) and with the *Berrisef* of the Bressay Stone, and reduce them to a parity of spelling and declension, we obtain the nominatives Berrissiv, Issiv, Inissiv, Nissiv, all with the termination *iv* preceded by *s* or *ss*, and one is tempted to regard Τούεσις or the name given by Ptolemy to a Pictish river, probably the Spey, as belonging to the same class of nouns. The presence of the sibilant in them, however, is not a constant phenomenon, as we have seen in *Vrobbaccennev* and other instances. Here also Ptolemy supplies one or two instances in point, showing traces of the termination *iv*, written ιβ, in such names as Λουκοπιβία in Galloway and in Ουόλιβα in Cornwall.

---

[1] *Heinif* might be the Welsh word meaning "agile," but the *h* is probably inorganic here as the same man's name is given both as *Enim* and *Heinif*, and as another Heinif is "*filius Conscuit*," that is to say, Son of *Cú Scuit* or of the Hound of the Scot. I do not think him likely to have borne a Welsh name. Among other non-Welsh names of the same kind as *Conscuit* in the *Liber Landavensis* may be mentioned *Conhorget*, p. 199, which in the Book of St Chad is *Cohorget*, elsewhere *Kyhoret* and *Kynhoret*, meaning "The Hound of *Orget*," as in *Orgeto-rix*.

[2] This with the honorific prefix appears to become *Sancti Tinissien*—the manuscript reads *Tussien*, which I would explain as a miscopying of Tiissien with the mark indicating the first *n* omitted; but other forms, such as *Tanasan* and *Tinysan*, occur with a change of termination: see pp. 31, 43, 90, 241–2.

Add to this that the two principal variants of the name which he applies to the sea south of Ireland may be said to be about equally possible : thus Οὐεργιού-ιος would be an adjective made from a Pictish nominative *Vergiv* or *Vergiu*, the genitive of which would be *Vergienn*, which the Celts would make into a stem Vergion of a genitive *Vergion-os*, or *-as*, and from this last Ptolemy's Οὐεργιόν-ιος derives itself easily. The Welsh name for the Atlantic Ocean is *Mor y Weryd*, "Sea of the *Gweryd*," which points back to a form Vergiu or Vergio, but whether these words are related to the Goidelic *fairge*, "sea," I do not know : the latter word does not exist in the Brythonic dialects. The meaning of the affix *iv* eludes one altogether, but it was possibly used to form nouns applicable only to persons : this could not be said to be disproved by the place-names which have been cited, as we do not know how far personification was the rule, or how many of them were in the first instances names of men or women ; but it is not unlikely that the Brythons first heard the name of the sea washing the shores of the south of Ireland from Picts or Scots who came from the country. I would offer a conjecture as to the formation of one only of the words in question, namely *Berrisef*, which I have provisionally rendered "wife" or "child." It recalls the Basque *berri* "new"; and provided the same word existed also in Pictish, *Berrisef* might be regarded as derived from it. The key to the sense would have to be sought in the fact of the wife being a *new* comer or a *new* member of the family ; and if we take the other sense of "infant, child, or young person," the same idea fits there too : compare words like the Greek νεανίας, "a young man," from νέος "new."

Before closing these remarks on the noun and the article, I must mention a peculiar feature of Basque nominatives, which may possibly prove the means of throwing light on the formation of certain names likely to be of Pictish origin. Every Basque noun has two forms in the nominative singular : one form for the nominative of a transitive verb and another for any other nominative or for the accusative. For example, the nominative-accusative is *gizon* "a man," and the transitive nominative is *gizonek* "a man": so with *gizona*, *gizonak* "the man." Similarly with the pronouns, as in the case of *ni*, *nik* "I, me": thus

one says *ni etorri naiz* " I have come," but *nik badakit* " I know it."
If I were asked to guess the origin of such a formation as *nik*, I should
say it was an agglutination of *ni* " I," with an obsolete pronoun of the
third person—without distinction of gender in Basque as usual—and that
nik badakit meant literally " I-it [1] know it," where the first *it* is redun-
dant just as the other *it* would also be retained redundantly if a
noun object were expressed.   So also in the case of *gizonek* " a man "
and *gizonak* " the man," but the *ek* or *k* must be the same element as in
the plural *gizonak* " the men," which is nominative or accusative, as the
case may be, without the distinction made in the singular.   Thus it
would appear that the termination—let us treat it as *ek*—represents
a second person or thing, and that Basque has found it practicable
to treat this *ek* in two different ways : in the singular the second
person or thing (*ek*) is treated as grammatically standing in the position
of object to the action of the agent concerned.   In the plural, on the
other hand, the second person or thing (*ek*) is merely associated by way
of addition with the leading person or thing.   In other words, the *ek* here
becomes a mere label of plurality: the language is not wont to distin-
guish a dual number.   Setting aside, however, this question of theory,
there remains for us the fact that if Pictish resembled Basque in having
two nominatives like *gizon* and *gizonek*, we may expect to find traces of
the double form in some of the names occurring in Goidelic literature.
As I have only recently thought of it, I can at present only mention one
or two instances in point, such as *Sin* and *Sinech*, which occur as
women's names in the *Martyrology of Donegal* ; or take *Ferad* and
Feradach, otherwise *Wrad* and *Wradech*, the names of two kings in the
Pictish Chronicle, where we have next to one another " Ciniod filius
Wredech " and " Elpin filius *Wroid*." [2]   Similarly the two genitives

---

[1] This tendency to agglutination is a characteristic of Basque, and we seem to
have another kind of instance in the Basque word for " and," namely *eta*, accented
etá and often shortened to *ta*.   Here the *a* is very possibly of the same demonstrative
origin as the definite article *a*, while the force of the conjunction remains in the *et*.
If so, we should be under no necessity to suppose the *ett* of the Drosten inscription
(p. 268) to have had anything whatsoever to do with Latin *et*: compare the *eta*
inserted in certain plurals in Basque.

[2] See Skene's *Picts and Scots*, p. 7.

Uisnig and *Uislenn* or *Uislinn* point to two nominatives *Uisnech* and another not known to me, but of the form presumably of *Uisniu*. Now the name *Uisnech* is well known in Irish both in connection with the Hill of Uisnech, the supposed centre of ancient Erinn, and with the tragic story of the Children of Uisnech. One may therefore gather that this story, like the name, is of Pictish origin, especially as *Uisnech* is not the only proper name in it which appears to be Pictish, that of the heroine, Deirdre, being probably Pictish too, as will be mentioned later.

This leads me to make a brief digression on ground which, however, lies well within the scope of this paper. The name Uisnech may be conjectured to be of the same origin as that of the famous Oisín, better known in this country in its Scotch form of Ossian : this is also approximately its form in the Bodmin Manumissions, where it occurs written mostly *Osian*, and once *Oysian*, as the name of a priest. The name may be equated bodily with *Uisniv*, with its Pictish termination *iv* or *iụ* removed ; but even then we have not exhausted the forms, as certain tracts [1] concerning the Picts supply another, variously written Uaisnemh, Huaisneamh, and Uasnem, which imply *ūs* or *ōs* rather than *ŭs* or *ŏs* in the first syllable, while the termination with *mh*, pronounced *v* or *w*, agrees with that of *Uisniv*. At all events the person meant was an Ossian, nay probably the original Ossian ; so a few words must be said as to his surroundings. Now a tract in the Book of Ballymote, after alluding, folio 43, to the Pictish ancestor Cruithne and his Seven Sons, eponymous of the seven provinces of Alban, begins the Pictish story anew with the landing in Leinster of the first Picts : they are described as six brothers named Solen, Ulpa, Nechtain, Trosdan, Aengus, and Leideand, of whom, however, only five reach Ireland, as Leideand, whose name is invented to account for that of Llydaw, ' Brittany,' dies on the way. The other brothers, or at any rate some of them, are honourably received by the king of Leinster, whose name was Creamthonn Sciathbel. They are engaged to assist him in a war which he was waging with a tribe of people from Britain called *Tuath Fidhbha*, who used poisoned weapons. With the aid of the Picts, and especially of Trosdan their druid, they defeat the enemy at a place thenceforth called

[1] They will be found given in Skene's *Picts and Scots* at pp. 31–44 and 322–29.

Ardleamnachta or Sweet-Milk Hill, in commemoration of the sweet milk used by the druid as an antidote to the poison of the Fidhbha folk. Nothing is afterwards related of the Picts till the time of Erimon, when they had at their head a king called Gub and Cathluan his son. Erimon, however, whose name marks him as the typical Aryan farmer, succeeded in banishing them except a few left in possession of Breagmagh or the country probably between Dublin and Drogheda, and it is from those left in the land that all magic and divination descends in Ireland. Now as over-king of all the Picts comes Cathluan[1] son of Gub, and Cathluan was the first of the Picts to take possession of Scotland : from him are reckoned 70 kings of Alban, down to Constantine. Cathluan's two sons were Catanolodar and Catanalachan, his two champions Imm son of Pern[2] and Cing father of Cruithne, his two seniors Crus and Cirig, his two soldiers Huaisneamh his poet, and Cruithne his artificer. That will suffice to show that this version of the legend contains elements differing from the others, such as that which mentions Cruithne son of Cing together with his Seven eponymous Sons, and the Welsh version which makes Prydein (or Cruithne) the son of Aed the Great. If one turn back to the names of the six brothers in the version here in question, it will be found that it connects itself more especially with the islands of Scotland.[3] Thus *Ulpa,* otherwise *Ulfa,* is clearly meant to be the eponymus of *Ulva's* Isle, and *Solen* is another insular eponymus, to be detected in the

[1] *Cathluan* seems to have been also one of the forms given to the name of the Welsh king Cadwallon, who fled to Ireland when beaten by Edwin and his Angles : so it happens in some of these tracts about the Picts that Cathluan son of Gub becomes Cathluan *mac Caitmind* or Son of *Catamanus,* in Old Welsh *Catman,* later *Cadvan.* Thus Cadvan king of Venedotia, his son Cadwallon and his grandson Cadwaladr, all living in the seventh century, are sometimes made into early Picts !

[2] This thoroughly un-Goidelic name recalls Cormac's word *parn* or *parnn,* "a whale" : can some of the insular Picts have had the whale as their totem ?

[3] It is significant that the sub-heading in the Book of Ballymote (fol. 43a) is *Do rigaib cruithneach indsi,* which I should make into *Do rigaib cruithneach nanindsi,* "Concerning the kings of the Picts of the Islands" ; but as given by Skene (in his *Picts and Scots,* p. 325) from the Book of Lecain, it reads *Do rigaibh Cruithneach andsin,* which he renders "Of the kings of the Cruithneach [*i.e.,* Picts] there." The scribe, had he not been blundering, might be expected rather to have written *andso* "here."

mention of a battle said to have been fought between the Scots and the Danes *in Insib Solian*,[1] that is to say " in the Islands of *Solian* ": this *Solian* of the Pictish Chronicle is probably but another way of writing the name given as *Solen* in the Book of Ballymote. Here, then, in a legend involving the traditions of the Picts of the Islands, we find *Huaisnemh* as the seer or poet of his people, a pre-classic edition, so to say, of the famous Ossian of the Gael.

So far your attention has been called chiefly to nouns, but I now wish to make some observations concerning the formulæ *iddaiqnnn* = EDDE ECNUN, and *eddarnonn*, which I would now regard as parallel and of probably the same meaning. It has already been suggested that they involve an adverbial demonstrative meaning "here," or the like. In comparing *eddarnonn* with *iddaiqnnn* it is possible that the *q* of the latter has been elided in the pronunciation of the former; and the *nnn* is explained by the *nonn* of *eddarnonn*. Further the reading *ehtarrmsonn* of the Scoonie Stone is probably to be treated either as *ehtarrmnonn* or *ehtarrnonn* with *ehtarr* equivalent to the *eddar* of the Brodie Stone. Then there remains the *n-onn*, if we take that reading, to equate with the *n-onn* of *eddarnonn* and the *nnn* of *iddaiqnnn*. Or, taking the other reading, we have *mn-onn*, containing an element differing from that in *idda-iqn-nn* and identical with one involved in *ahehhtmnnn* (for *ahehht-mn-nn*) : let us write them respectively *idda-iqn-ṇn* and *ahehht-mn-ṇn*. In the combinations *iqn* and *mn* I should suppose we have particles qualifying or limiting the meaning of *onn* or *ṇn*, and the formula *ahehhtmnṇn* may have meant " here below " or " here close at hand," or even " hic in tumulo," " hoc in tumulo," or some such a phrase. If we turn to Basque we find that it has an adverb *an* or *han* meaning " there," and that is probably our *ṇn*, *onn*, while the *mn* of *ehtarmnonn* and *ahehhtmnṇn* might be explained by the Basque *emen* " here," which alternates in use with the *on* of *ona* " *voici*," as in *onera* " towards here, hither." Short, however, of presuming that

---

[1] This has been variously read by Skene *Innisibsolian* in his *Picts and Scots*, p. 9 ; *Uilibcollan, Ib.* cxxxix. ; *Innisbolsia*, p. 468 (index) ; while in his *Celtic Scotland*, i. 338, he gives *Visibsolian* or *Visibcolian*. But *ininsibsolian* is probably right : at any rate it takes account of all the strokes as represented in the fac-simile prefixed to Skene's texts of his *Picts and Scots*.

this tentative analysis is correct, I think it is not too much to say that these conjectures make it possible to regard the ending of the formulæ *iddaiqnyn, eddarnonn,* and *ahehhtmnyn* as containing an adverbial demonstrative meaning " here " or " hard by " and referring to the resting-place of a person buried beneath.   As to the Basque *an* " there," it is a sort of locative of *a* " he, she, it, that, the," formed in the ordinary way, as in *Bilbaon* " at Bilbao," from the name *Bilbao* and *etortzen* " in coming, a-coming." [1].   Then *an* is appended to words like *eché* " house," *cerú* " heaven," *eskú* " hand," making them into *echeán* " in the house," *ceruán* " in the heaven," *eskuan* " in the hand." [2] Further, if it prove well founded to regard the article *a n-* in Irish as borrowed from Pictish, one may go so far as to say with some confidence that this form of it, *an,* has given Goidelic its *ann* meaning " there."   In all three Goidelic dialects of the present day this word *ann,* also written *and,* has ejected the prepositional word *indid* " in him " and fixed itself in its place ; in Scotch Gaelic and Manx it has encroached on other forms of the same group as *indid.*   Perhaps the best possible illustration, then, of the pronunciation of the final *nn* of *iddaiqnyn* and the *onn* of *eddarnonn* would be the actual pronunciation of the Highland word *ann* " there, in it," with its markedly nasal vowel, which prevails also in the Manx equivalent written *ayn.*   Here I may add that if I am right in equating the *ehtarr* of the Scoonie Stone with the *eddar* of the Brodie one, it must be also right to equate *ehte* of the Conningsburgh fragment with the *edde* (possibly *ette*) of the Newton script and *idda* of the Ogam accompanying it.   In that case *ehtecon* on the fragment may be supposed an agglutination of *ehte econ* with an adverbial *econ* lacking one of the nasal elements in EC-N-UN and *iq-n-yn,* but without perhaps expressing a difference of sense.   I should accordingly guess *ehteconmor* to have been the beginning of an inscription meaning " Lies here Mor . . . . . s' offspring *x.*"   Lastly, the way in which the particles in question are heaped together as in *iq-n-yn* or *ec-n-un, ec-on, mn-onn* or *m-n-onn* and *ahehht-mn-yn* show very conclusively that one has here to do with no noun or adjective, but with vocables of an adverbial or pronominal nature.

[1] See Van Eys, p. 49.   [2] See Larramendi's *Impossible Vencido,* p. 324.

Let us now return to the Newton Ogam *Idda-iqnṇn Vorrenn ipua Iosir.* This I provisionally rendered—" Lies here V.'s offspring I.," and a similar suggestion is offered as to the Lunasting Ogam, *Ttocuhetts*: *ahehhtmnṇn*:*hccvvevv*:*Nehhtonn*, namely that it means, "Rests here below priest Nechtonn." If there is a verb involved, it must, I think, be sought for in *idda* and *ttocuhetts*, which begin their respective Ogams, while the subject comes at the end. This might be thought rather a strange collocation of the words, but it happens to coincide exactly with the construction too of a simple sentence in Celtic, whether Goidelic or Brythonic, while the most remarkable thing remains still to be told : such was not the construction of a sentence in the language of the Celts of the Continent in the time of the Roman domination over Gaul : fortunately we have ample evidence for this purpose in the few Gaulish inscriptions extant. I quote the following instances, both text and translation, from Stokes' *Celtic Declension*, abstaining from citing those which are in too precarious a state of preservation :—

1. Σεγομαρος Ουιλλονεος τοουτιους Ναμαυσατις εικρου Βηλησαμι σοσιν νεμητον, " Segomaros, son of Villonos, a magistrate of Namausus (Nîmes), made for Belesama this temple."

2. Iccavos . Oppianicnos . ievrv . Brigindoni cantalon, "Iccavos, son of Oppianos, made for Brigindu a *cantalon*."

3. Licnos . Contextos . ievrv . Anvalonnacv . canecosedlon, "Licnos Contechtos made for Anvalonnacos a golden chair." [1]

4. Κασσιταλος Ουερσικνος δεδε βρατουδε καντενα Λα . . . . . , " Cassitalos, son of Versos, placed by decree *cantena* to La . . . . ."

4. Γαρταβ :: Ιλλανουιακος δεδε Ματρεβο Ναμαυσικαβο βρατουδε, "Gartabos, (son) of Illanoviax, placed (this) for the Nemausian Mothers by decree."

5. Doiros . Segomari/ievrv . Alisanv, "Doiros, (son) of Segomaros, made (this) for Alisanos."

---

[1] I do not believe in the "golden chair," but that does not matter here at all ; and I may add that *cantalon* in the previous inscription means probably no kind of building but a song or some kind of poetic composition, and so with *cantena* in the following one.

6. Martialis . Dannotali . ievrv . Vcvete . sosin/celicnon, "Martialis, son of Dannotalos, made this tower for Ucuetis."

7. Sacer Peroco ievrv dvorico . v . s . l . m ., "Sacer Peroco made (these) porticoes, *votum*" &c.

8. Andecamulos Tovtissicnos ievrv, "Andecamulos son of Toutissos, made (this)."

9. Ratin Brivatiom Frontu . Tarbeisonios ievrv, "*Propugnaculum pontilium Fronto, Tarbeisoni filius, fecit.*"

This last sentence begins apparently with an accusative, but all the rest with a nominative ; and generally speaking the syntax is highly Aryan, and such a thing as a Gaulish sentence beginning with the verb followed by its subject is not extant. How, then, came it to be the rule of the Celtic languages of the present day, that they should place the verb before its nominative ? It is a profound change for which I can see no other account than that it is the result of extraneous influence. I wish the fact of the change, however, and its probably non-Aryan origin to be well weighed and kept distinct from any surmises which I am about to offer as to how it came about.

I may be told that the construction which places the verb before its subject is not a natural but an artificial one, and, tested by the methods of gesture language, that is undoubtedly so : the first attention is claimed by the person or thing to be mentioned, then what you wish to say about that person or thing. This is undeniably the natural sequence ; and how, it may be asked, can a language so uncultivated as Pictish have had the more artificial construction ? In answer to this it may be said, that it would suffice if that language *seemed* to place the verbs before their nominatives, and a look at the Basque verb will serve to show that such seeming was quite possible in Pictish if its verb was in any way like that of Basque. Take the verb corresponding to the verbal adjective and verbal noun *etorri, etortze* "to come, the act of coming" : in the present indicative it runs thus :—

nator,	"I come"	gatoz,	"we come"
(h)ator, zatoz,	"thou comest"	zatozte,	"you come"
dator,	"he, she, it comes"	datoz,	"they come"

Or take the verb substantive, which runs parallel, excepting that there is a greater difficulty in discovering the stem or stems used for forming it :—

naiz,	" I am "	gera,	" we are "
(h)aiz,	" thou art "	zerate,	" you are "
da,	" he, she, it is "	dira,	" they are "

Transitive verbs also begin the third person with *d*, which is then supposed by grammarians to mean "him, her, or it," representing the object of the verb and not its subject; but both the one and the other, though always retained in the present indicative, become redundant in point of meaning as soon as you use a noun. Thus *gizona d-ator* may have literally meant "the man he-comes," but the actual and only attested meaning is simply "the man comes," and so *gizona d-a* is not ' the man he-is " but " the man is." Similarly *det* " I have it " is analysed by grammarians into *d-e-t* " it have I," but as soon as you add a noun object the *d* ceases to have any meaning, as in *zergatic ez det billatzen nere borondatea*, " because I seek not mine own will " (John v. 30), literally " because not *it*-have-I in-seeking mine will-the." Here, be it noticed, the pronominal element representing the nominative is appended to the verb and not prefixed, the pronoun prefixed being the representative of the object, not of the subject. Now supposing the Pictish verb resembled the Basque one, and that the prefixed Pictish pronoun was something like the *d* of *d-ator* " he, she, it comes," and of *d-a* " he, she, it is," then one may venture the further supposition that Pictish when it had a noun subject placed it after the verb and in apposition to the formal and pronominal nominative,—and this is even the more natural in the case of the transitive verbs with pronominal nominatives appended, not prefixed. Thus when the meaning of the pronominal nominative became obscured, as in Basque, the language would have an array of analogy which to the speakers of it would mean that the verb preceded its nominative ; and this I conjecture them to have transferred into Celtic when they gave up their own language as such. The Basque of the present day, it is true, does not show any such a rule, but it may be questioned how far it has not been modified in this

respect by the neighbouring languages from which texts have been
translated into it from time to time ; for the influence of translations in
modifying the prose syntax of a language cannot easily be overrated.
Plenty of illustrations of this could be produced from Welsh, but I will
only mention one. Thus when an English newspaper prefaces a report
with such words as " Lord Salisbury said," this is commonly rendered
in Welsh periodicals after the order of the English : *Arglwyđ Salisbury
a đywedođ*, which, however, in good Welsh could only mean " It is
Lord S. who said," the full formula being *ys A. S. a đywedođ = Est
A. S. qui dixit*. But the violation of Welsh syntax here indicated did
not begin with Welsh newspapers, as one meets with it in all transla-
tions of the Bible from the time of William Salesbury down ; and other
instances of earlier and firmer footing in the language might be adduced.
In fact this perverse influence of the translator exerts itself more and
more every day, and if Welsh survives long enough its syntax may be
expected to become entirely English, expressed in a vocabulary partly
native and partly English too. This is doubtless the sort of treatment
to which Basque has been subjected most of the time from the Roman
domination over Gaul and Spain down to our day, though it is impos-
sible to trace it step by step on account of the absence of any Basque
literature extending back beyond the sixteenth century. The vast
extent, however, to which the actual vocabulary of Basque is derived
from Latin and her daughter-dialects may be taken as a gauge of their
influence on the syntax likewise of the language.

Let us for a moment revert to the Basque verb "to be," especially
the words *da* " he is " and *dira* " they are." These forms probably con-
tain two different stems, the one being *a* or *ā* and the other some such
a form as *era*, or perhaps *ir*, *er*, or *ar* : *dira* would seem to stand for some
such form as *dara*, which is what the analogy of other verbs indicate.
Discarding the final *a* of *dira* as common to it with the plurals *gera*
" we are " and *zera-te* " you are," we arrive at *dar* for *d-ar*, and suppos-
ing the *d* to stand for an earlier *id* or *ed* we get a hypothetical form *ed-ar*
which I would employ to explain *eddar* and *ehtarr* in the Pictish inscrip-
tions, while *ttocuhetts*, if one should not rather read *ettocuhetts*, might
be supposed to stand for *ed-tocuhetts* or *ed-docuhetts*, involving another

verb of a similar signification. Accordingly *eddarmnonn* should, as it would seem at first sight, mean "here is" not "here lies"; but it is to be remembered that what is worn down to a mere copula in one language may retain a more specific meaning in another: I need go no further for an illustration than the English word *was*, plural *were*, which belongs to a verb that means in Gothic, among other things, "to remain, to pass the time in a certain place or in a certain manner," and in Sanskrit "to remain, to dwell, to pass the night at a place." So it is not impossible that our *eddar, ehtarr* contains two of the same elements as the verb "to be" in the Basque plural *dira*, and that our provisional rendering "lies, remains, or rests" need not be seriously revised. Then as regards *Edde ecnun Vaur* of the Newton script, I should interpret that to mean: "Lies (rests *or* is) here Vaur"; and Vaur is in that case to be identified with the name *Vor* or *Vorr*, which makes *Vorrenn* in the genitive in the Ogam. With this *edde* one is doubtless to equate the *idda* of the Ogam on the same stone, and also probably the *ehte* of the Conningsburgh fragment; and I should be inclined to regard *edde* as a harmonized form of *edda* which we have in the *idda* of the Newton Ogam, to be equated with the Basque *da*, "he, she, *or* it is." Here in fact we seem to have the epitaph of the father of the man commemorated in the Ogam, or else of a man of the same name as his father: doubtless a member, in any case, of the same family. The Ogam was possibly the work of a different inscriber from him who wrote the script, as would seem to be indicated by the difference of spelling, for example, between *Vaur* and *Vorr*-enn. It is worth noticing that the longer spelling *Vaur* turns out in that case to belong to the older legend as compared with *Vorr*-enn. The earlier inscriber may also be said to distinguish himself by doubling his mutes very sparingly; so he might in this respect be compared with the author of the Drosten inscription at St. Vigeans. This is, however, by no means convincing, as it is not certain, for example, that the shortening of *Vaur* in *Vorrenn* is not the regular result of accenting it *Vorrénn*.

That there must have been a Pictish verb such as the *edde* which I have supposed (after the analogy of *Ogtene* for *Ogtena* and the like) to stand for *edda* or *idda* corresponding to the Basque da "he, she, *or* it is,"

can be inferred, I think, on other grounds. Among them I may mention
the Irish verb substantive, which has the appearance of a most motley
collection of odds and ends, so to say, in the matter of forms. One of
them is *attá*, now *tā* " is," which serves as a theme for the other persons
singular and plural : it also enters into a most non-Aryan agglutination
in Irish as follows : [1]—

<table>
<tr><td>tāthum, " est mihi "</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>tāthut, " est tibi "</td><td>*tāithiunn, " we have "</td></tr>
<tr><td>tāthai, " he has "</td><td>tāithib, " you have "</td></tr>
<tr><td>tāthus, " she has "</td><td>tāthat, " they have "</td></tr>
</table>

In the teeth of Celtic phonetics Celtic scholars have sometimes been in
the habit of supposing this verb derived from the Aryan root *sta* or *stā*
" to stand," from which we have in Irish *sessam* " to stand " (for *si-sta-m-*)
and Welsh *sa-f* " stand," whereas the Welsh equivalent of the Irish *tā*
is *taw* " that it is."

The borrowing of a word in the way just indicated is evidence to
contact on the part of the Celts with the early inhabitants, but it cannot
be compared in importance with the fact of the syntax of the Neoceltic
languages being profoundly modified by the influence of the aborigines.
The same subtler influence is also to be detected, as I am inclined to
believe, in the conjugation of the Goidelic verb, especially where it differs
from the Brythonic verb. Take the following instances :—

(1.) Irish has certain future *b*-forms corresponding more or less
closely to Latin ones like *amabo, amabis, amabit*, &c., which were in
Old Irish *carfa, carfe, carfid*, &c. But in the first person singular *carfa*
shows in time an optional form *carfat*, the representative of which in
Modern Irish has completely ousted that of the older form *carfa*.
Where did *carfa-t* come from ? That is a question I have never seen
answered, and I am not aware that *t* in the first person singular has any
explanation in Aryan grammar. In Basque, however, it has an ancient
footing there, as we have seen in the instance already given of d-e-t " I
have it," literally " it-have-I," where the *t* represents an ancient pro-
noun of the first person singular; that is, according to Basque philolo-

---

[1] See Stokes' paper on *The Neo-Celtic Verb Substantive*, p. 52.

gists, for the pronoun in question has no individual existence in the actual language. Now this exactly accounts for the peculiarity of Irish forms like *carfat*, and not only that but it betrays itself in Irish, as I think, in quite another category of words, namely, in—

(2.) Certain proper names of Irish saints, which begin with the dental. Such is *Conna* when it becomes *Da-chonna* or *Do-chonna*, by the side of which occurs also *Mo-chonna*, meaning literally "My Conna." Similarly we have *Da-bheog* and *Mo-bheog* "My Beog," and *Do-chumma* and *Mo-chumma* "My Cumma."[1] Many more of the same kind might be added if necessary, but the older form of the dental prefix was *to* as in *Tochannu*, an older form of *Dochonna*, and *To-cummi*[2] of *Dochumma*. Neither *to* nor *mo*, however, retains its vowel when it precedes another vowel, so both must have been proclitics : witness *Tassach*[3] for *To-assach* and *Mernoc* for Mo-Ernin. In Irish the word *mo* is supposed to be prefixed as a mark of respect and honour, and there can hardly be any doubt that it is the ordinary Irish pronoun *mo* "my, mine." The formula is probably not of Christian origin, but rather appropriated by Christianity from paganism.[4] In fact I should go further and suggest that *mo* is the translation into Goidelic of the *to* here in question, which I should regard as also meaning *my*, but not in a Celtic language : my hypothesis is, that it was a Pictish word for "my" and of the same origin as the *t* in the first person singular of the Irish verb in the future tense, and as the *t* of the Basque verb already indicated. The only attempted explanation of the dental prefix in the proper names mentioned is that *to* is to be identified with the Irish pronoun *do* "thy, thine," Welsh *dy*,[5] but to this there are several insuperable objections. In the first place, what can be supposed the psychological state of one who

[1] For these names see the entries under them in the *Martyrology of Donegal* (Dublin, 1864).

[2] For *Tochannu* and *Tocummi* see Reeves' *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, pp. 246–7.

[3] See the Index to Stokes' *Patrick*, p. 616.

[4] See Rhys' *Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 524–6, where among other instances a name *Mo-haulum* is cited, which seems to be an exception to the rule as to omitting the *o* of *mo* before a vowel. To the probably pagan instances add *Béra* and *Mo-méra* from O'Curry's *Battle of Magh Leana* (Dublin, 1855), pp. 31, 38, 167.

[5] See a letter by Dr. Whitley Stokes in *The Academy* for Feb. 27. 1886, pp. 151–2.

should use words meaning "Thy Conna" with the same honorific inten-
tion as if he said "My Conna"? It would be like attempting to use
"Your Lord" in the sense of "My Lord," and it seems to me that it
could not help conveying something more nearly the reverse of respect,
for it could not be equated with "Your Lordship," which introduces
another element. In the next place, the prefix does not behave,
phonetically speaking, like the Celtic pronoun for "thy," Irish. *do*, ·
Welsh *dy* : thus in Welsh we have *Tegai* (with the stress accent on the
a) from *Cai*, and *Teliau*, "St. Teilo," from *Eliau* which is an independent
name : *Teliau* occurs with a number more in the Liber Landavensis, such
as *Tidiuc, Tilull, Timoi, Tipallai, Tissoi,* and others. A few names of
this kind occur also in Brittany ; but it does not appear that they
were native there.[1] In fact, Ireland was probably their home, and it is
thence that they first found their way to the lands on both sides of the
Severn Sea, with the invaders from the south of Ireland.

(3.) Medieval and Modern Irish shows instances of a verbal form
ending in *nn* or *nd*, such as *gabhann* in *ni ghabhann dia*[2] "God does
not take." It is mostly employed in the third person singular, and when
used for the second person it undergoes no change of termination. It is
usually called a "consuetudinal present," but I am not sure that it has
always been confined to the present : take for instance the following
sentence from the Book of the Dun Cow, fol. 109*b*, *Marbais in Líath-
macha immorro ech Ercoil ocus noscengland Cúchulainn Ercoil fessin
indídid a charpait*,[3] which seems to mean literally "the Líath-macha
killed the horse of Ercol and Cúchulainn was binding Ercol himself
behind his chariot." Verbal forms like *gabhann, cengland* I am inclined
to regard as suggested by Pictish formulæ resembling the Basque ones

---

[1] They will be found noticed in Loth's *Chrestomathie Bretonne* (Paris, 1890), pp.
100, 168. See also the *Rev. Celtique*, xi. 145, and especially a passage in the
Latin Life of *S. Paul de Léon en Bretagne* (published by M. Cuissard in the *Rev.
Celt.*, v. 417–59) where one reads, p. 437, the words : *Quorum numerum, adjunctis*
Quonoco, *quem alii sub additamento more gentis transmarinæ* Toquonocum *vocant,*
&c. The life was written in 884 by a Breton monk named Wrmonoc of the Abbey
of Landevenec.

[2] See Atkinson's Irish MS. Series II. i. p. 7, and the notes on this and similar
forms in the Appendix, p. xvii.

[3] See *Fled Bricrend*, in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 290.

with verbal nouns ending in *n* accompanied by a finite verb, as for example *etortzen naiz*[1] "I am wont to come," as contrasted with *n-ator* "I come." Similarly in the imperfect *galtzen nuen* "I was losing it," literally "I was having it in-losing." In the case of the Irish verb we should have to regard the auxiliary as omitted throughout. It is right, however, to say that a somewhat similar explanation might be derived from native Celtic gerunds (corresponding to the Latin *amandum, habendum, ferrendum*) somewhat after the fashion, for instance, of such Spanish idioms as *estoy hablando* "I am speaking," *está comiendo* "he is eating," and the like. Here, however, we have perhaps a Spanish construction which is not wholly unconnected with the Basque one : at any rate it is not certain that ancient Basque was not one of the influences which made such formulæ as *estoy hablando* favourite ones in Spanish alone of all the Romance dialects.

(4.) One of the most remarkable peculiarities of the Goidelic dialects is their possessing relative forms of the verb, one for the singular and one for the plural, in the present tense and the future. The former ends in *es* or *as* and the latter in *te*, as in *beres* "who or which bears," plural *berte, gébas* "qui accipiet." The Brythonic dialects have no such forms, and neither they nor the Goidelic ones have retained any participles in use as such and corresponding to such Latin ones as *amans, amantes, habens, habentes*, or *ferrens, ferrentes*. When one, however, comes to analyse the relative forms they turn out to be the non-neuter nominative singular and plural with a particle appended. Now, for berens-, berentes- to become respectively *beres* and *berte*, the appended particle must have begun with a vowel. Moreover these forms mutate a following consonant after the manner of vowels, as in *as-chotarsne* "quod contrarium est," *as-chentarchu* "quæ [Gallia] est citerior," and so in the plural as in *foilsigdde phersin* "quæ demonstrant personam" :[2] otherwise we should have had *cotarsne, centarchu, persin*. The particle therefore must have not only begun with a broad vowel but also ended in

---

[1] For this and the other instances see Van Eys' *Essai de Gram. Basque* (London, 1867), pp. 69, 126.

[2] See Ebel's Zeuss' *Gram. Celtica*, pp. 182, 437 ; also Stokes' *Neo-Celtic Verb*, pp. 13, 43.

a vowel, and the simplest vocable that would satisfy these conditions would be *a* ; for *berents-a*, for instance, and *berentes-a* would just exactly yield *beres* and *berte*. This *a* I should identify with the Basque article, so that *beres* (= *berents-a*) and *berte* (= *berentes-a*) would mean ὁ φέρων, and οἱ φέροντες, excepting that ὁ, οἱ must be regarded as here compris-ing all three genders, there being no distinction of gender in Basque, and so none presumably in Pictish, from which I conjecture this article to have come. The construing of *beres, berte* as relative forms meaning " (he) who bears," " (they) who bear," scarcely requires any remark, but the relative involved is not always treated as a nominative, for it may have the force of an accusative or of an oblique case, as in *oldate* " quam sunt." Here one seems to detect a certain amount of confusion with another construction, which must now be mentioned as giving evidence to further Pictish influence.

(5.) The relative form of one of the substantive verbs has two inflections and two distinct meanings : (a) *as* (for *ents-a*) " who, which is," as in *as-choimtig*, " quod est usitatum," and *as-chentarchu*, " quæ est citerior," plural *ata*; and (b) *as-n*, " that (it) is," as in the following instances :—*asberat* asn-*dia cloine macc*, " they say that the Son is a God of injustice," *huare* as n-*aquas ní aqua*, " because (that it) is *aquas*, not *aqua*," plural *ata-n* as in *confitetar són* ata n-*doini*, " that these know that they are men." [1] By way of explanation of relative forms like *as* one is told that a pronoun *to*, equivalent to Greek τό, is affixed, so that *caras* " qui amat," for example, stands for *čarast = čarayat-to*, while the plural *carate* would be explained as involving in its *e* the reflex of the Vedic *yā* (for *yāni*), nom. plural neuter of the relative pronoun *yás* = ὅς ; and still another kind of relative is said to be required to account for forms like *as-n*. Thus no less than three different relatives are alleged to be suffixed in these forms ;[2] but this suffixing of relatives, apart from the question of their several etymologies, strikes one as a highly non-Aryan procedure. In the two first cases I have tried to show how I should regard the suffix as non-Aryan, namely, as being in my opinion

[1] Stokes' *Neo-Celtic Verb*, p. 43 ; also, Ascoli's *Codice Irlandese dell' Ambrosiana*, i ˙ 42, 369.

Stokes' *Neo-Celtic Verb*, pp. 13, 19, 43.

the Pictish article appended, and I now come to the *n* of forms like *as-n*. But I should mention at once that *as-n* is an exception, due probably to the analogy of *ata*,[1] and that as a rule the *n* is appended to forms of the finite verb, as in *ata* in *ata ngnimai* "that they are works," *bed* as in *aepert dosom* bed n-*ecen donaib hulib anglanad* [2] "his saying that all must be cleansed," and *at* as in *anat* n-*acailsi* [3] which occurs as a gloss on *interpellati* in the Milan Codex, and means "when or in case that they are interrupted." Now, I have already suggested a possible connection between the Basque relative and the Irish neuter relative *a n-*, and here I wish to add that Basque appends its relative (reduced mostly to an *n*) to its verbs in a way somewhat similar to that instanced in the Irish forms just given : thus *Uste du hean* dathorren "Do you believe that he comes ;" *Aitak agitzen du egin* dezan "the father ordains that he do it ;" and *Ez dakigu joan ote* dan "we do not know whether he is come," literally "we do not know that he is perhaps come."[4]

(6.) The so-called subjunctive in Basque ends in all its forms with the relative represented by *n* as in *izan dezadan*, "que je l'aie," *izan dezagun* "que nous l'aions ;" and this nasal will serve to explain certain irregular forms occurring in the first person plural of the verb substan-

---

[1] What has happened seems best explained with the aid of Modern Irish, which no longer distinguishes singular and plural in these forms. The singular *as* is gone out of use, and the plural *ata* (=*ắta*) has been confounded with *attá* or *atá* "is" (mostly curtailed now into *tá*): that is, *atá* takes the place of both *ata* and *as*, as well as functions in principal clauses. This probably began earlier to be the case in the spoken language than Irish manuscripts would lead one to suspect.

[2] Ascoli's *Codice Irlandese*, i. 145, 189.

[3] Ascoli, i. 174. The *an* of this kind of formula is in Welsh *in*, *yn*, and the O. Welsh Glosses give *in-it-oid* as a gloss on Latin participles, as in the case of *maculata, extincta, pressus* mentioned by Stokes in his edition of the Juvencus Glosses in Kuhn's *Beitræge*, iv. 410. He has, however, entirely erred in suggesting *initium erat* as the meaning. The gloss-writer meant Welshmen to construe 'in-it-oid *pressus*' 'in that or when he was *pressus*,' the reader being supposed to supply the Welsh form in -*etic*, which came nearest to the participle : it would in this instance be *in-it-oid guascetic* or the like. It was merely a hint how the reader should turn a construction to which nothing corresponded in Welsh. The O. Welsh *in it* is *yn yd* in Medieval Welsh, and now it is one of the two distinct words written *onid*.

[4] Van Eys, *Grammaire Comparée des Dialectes Basques*, p. 519.

tive in Irish, namely *co mbán, con-dán* " ut simus," as in *ban chossmaili*
" simus similes."[1]　But as these forms *ban* and *dan* mutate a following
consonant, the *n* must have had a (broad) vowel appended to it as in
certain Basque forms such as *dodazana* in the following sentence, *Zeuek
dakizue eze era gichi galdu dodazana* " Vous savez que j'ai laissé passer
peu d'occasions."　The more usual form would have been *dodazala* ;
but it is not certain that *na* in such cases is not as old as *la* or indeed
older ; that is to say, it is possible that *la* is here only a phonetic varia-
tion of *na*,[2] though it is the usual form in most of the dialects.

Individual loan-words cannot compare in importance with such
traces of influence on Goidelic grammar as I have just been attempt-
ing to prove, but it may be worth the while to mention a few bor-
rowed words before closing this paper.　I must, however, premise that
the following are given rather at random, as I cannot say that I have
made any systematic or exhaustive search :—

(1.) The first to be mentioned is *Brude* or *Brute*, the name of some
thirty early kings of the Picts of Alban.　This word was doubtless at
first rather a title than a name, though it became later a name, or at
any rate appears as such in the case of Brude mac Maelchon of St.
Columba's time.　Bede calls him *Bridius*, which shows, I think, that
the Pictish form was *Brudiv* or *Brudiu*, and that the *u* had a narrow
pronunciation resembling that of German *ü* or Welsh *u*.　So Bede's
treatment of the name is paralleled by his writing as *Dinoot* the name
which in the Welsh of that time was *Dunaut* or *Dunōt* (the Abbot of
Bangor's name), which was adopted by the Welsh from the Latin
Donatus.　For the change of vowel sound from Pictish *u* or *ō* towards
i, one may perhaps compare the patronymic " mac úi *Lonsce*" already
mentioned, which one seems to detect in *Lisci*[3] the name of Boia's foe at
St. David's ; the modern Galloway representative of *Mac úi Lonsce* is, how-
ever, *Mac Closky* or *Mac Closkie*.　The change to a narrow vowel is one

---

[1] Ebel's Zeuss, p. 182.

[2] For what Van Eys thinks of this question, see his *Gram. Basque*, p. 128, and
his *Gram. Comparée*, pp. 520, 521 ; see also p. 403, where he gives *yausi ez
zaitekezala*, " afin que vous ne tombiez pas."

[3] See Rhygyvarch's " Life of St. David," published in the *Cambro-British Saints*,
p. 126.

of the most striking characteristics of the Aberdeenshire dialect of Scotch, which it would be in this case a misnomer to call *Broad* Scotch. To return to the word *Brude,* I should regard it as signifying "head or chief," and refer it to the same origin as the Basque word *buru,* "head," which, as an oxytone *burú,* comes near enough to the *bru* of *Brude.*

(2.) *Derdriu, derdrethar, derdrestar.*[1] The story of the Banishment of the Sons of Uisnech begins with an account of the heroine, who bore the name *Derdriu* (genitive *Derdrenn*). One evening, we are told, as her father Feidlimid was entertaining king Conchobar mac Nessa and the nobles of Ulster, Derdriu frightened the assembled guests by screaming loudly before she had as yet been born. The wise man of the king's party asked the mother the meaning of that alarming cry, and the verb he uses is a deponent present *derdrethar* "screams, makes a noise." A little later the same mysterious cry is referred to in the aorist in the words *ro-derdrestar in lelap* "the child made a noise, cried or screamed." And it is therefore, we are told, it was afterwards named Derdriu. The verb just mentioned is not otherwise known, and its being on record at all is perhaps due only to its association with the name of the heroine of this famous story. That name is probably Pictish, though the foregoing etymology is not convincing; but the verb used for its explanation, *derdrethar, derdrestar,* is possibly to be regarded as derived from the same origin as the Basque words *durdurika* " bruit sourd," and *durdusi* " menace."

(3.) *Pell,* " a horse." This word is not only given as such in Cormac's Glossary, namely in the account there given of the word *capall* " a horse," but it occurs in the Liber Hymnorum version of *Amra Choluimb Chille.*[2] One of the antecedents of Irish *ll* is *ld,* so that we are at liberty to regard *pell* as standing for *peld,* and in some relation to the word *celdones,* given by Pliny in the following passage, viii. (42, 67),

---

[1] See Windisch's *Irische Texte,* pp. 68, 69. The name *Derdriu* is still familiar in the Western Islands of Scotland, as I am informed by Professor Mackinnon, who says that it is there pronounced *Diridiri,* which is very far from MacPherson's form, *Darthula*: this last is probably based on a different pronunciation in some other part of Alban.

[2] See Windisch's *Ir. Texte,* p. 728; Stokes' *Three Irish Glossaries,* p. 10; and his *Goidelica* (London, 1872), p. 158.

166 :—" Constat in Lusitania circa Olisiponem oppidum et Tagum
amnem equas favonio flante obversas animalem concipere spiritum, idque
partum fieri et gigni pernicissimum ita, sed triennium vitæ non excedere.
In eadem Hispania Gallaica gens et Asturica equini generis,—hi sunt
quos celdones vocamus, minore forma appellatos asturcones,—gignunt
quibus non vulgaris in cursu gradus sed mollis alterno crurum explicatu
glomeratio, unde equis tolutim capere incursum traditur arte." The
readings given by Detlefsen are the three, *celdones, tiheldones* and *tiel-
dones.* The Irish *pell* may possibly represent a Pictish *peld* for *qṵeld*
or *tṵeld ;* but the Iberian form may have been rather *ḳịeld* or *tịeld* as
it is undoubtedly represented by the Basque word *zald-i* "a horse."
Strange to say, a related form was picked up—but where ?—by the
Norsemen, *tialdari*, preserved in a collection of words for "horse"
forming one of the Norse *thulor* or rhymed glossaries.[1]   As to the
change mentioned of *qṵ* into *p*, something similar has already been
alluded to as having taken place in *pevv* regarded as derived from
hccvvevv ; but we have a still better parallel in the *pit* of Pictish
topography as in Pittenweem in Fife, and Pitlochrie on the Tummel in
Perthshire.   Accordingly I take this opportunity of examining a recent
theory concerning the history of this word, and all the more willingly
as its importance in respect to the Pictish question appears to me to
have been lately exaggerated.   What appears as actually *pit* in place-
names is found written *pet* or *pett*, genitive *pette*, in the Pictish Gaelic
of certain entries in the Book of Deer :[2] the difference of vowel is of
hardly any consequence, as the pronunciation of *ĭ* and *ĕ* run very close
as a rule in Scotland.   The word meant " a division or portion," and
was commonly applied to a parcel of land ; and as such it has been
sometimes regarded as identical with the Welsh word *peth*, which means

---

[1] See Vigfusson and Powell's *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, ii. 436.

[2] See Stokes' *Goidelica*, pp. 108–121 ; also Thurneysen's *Keltoromanisches*, under
the word *pezza*, pp. 70–72 ; and for "a prehistoric Pictish *petti*," see Stokes' paper
On the Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals (read before the Philological Society,
June 6th, 1890), p. 48, where he says that from this *petti* " the Icelanders borrowed
their *petti*, a small piece of a field." But Vigfusson, who gives the word a different
etymology, appears to have regarded it as introduced into Norse only in the 15th or
16th century : see the Cleasby-Vigfusson Dictionary of Icelandic *s. v.*

" a thing, also a small quantity (however infinitesimal) of anything, the antithesis of *nothing*." On historical grounds, one could in nowise venture to say that the Pictish word could not be *peth* borrowed, seeing that even within the history of Fortrenn, that district was ruled for a considerable time by Brythons; and no one knows how long previously that state of things began. In any case the Pictish language can have had no lack of opportunities for borrowing Brythonic words besides the well known one of *Peanfahel*, ascribed to the Picts by Bede,[1] and supposed by some to be alone almost enough to decide the Pictish question. But let us see how the above-mentioned etymology satisfies the case of *pit* or *pet*: now the Welsh word, as already said, means " a thing," or " a small quantity of anything," as in *peth llaeth* " some milk," *peth gwynt* " some wind," and so in other cases; but it is also assumed that it means " a portion or share," which is based doubtless on the use of the word in such sentences as the following: *Dyma mwyd i, lle ma'u peth 'nhw* ? " This is my food, where is theirs ?" You may, however, almost as well say that *theirs* conveys the specific idea of " share or portion," because you might substitute for " theirs " in the foregoing sentence the words " their share," " their portion," or the like. The fact is that *peth*, left with a minimum of sense of its own, may be used for another noun which does not require to be repeated; but you cannot apply it to land except as you would to air, water, or the like, as when one says *peth tir* " some land." Nay, the plural *pethau* " things," also " goods," usually excludes the idea of landed property. The corner-stone of the theory in question is that the Welsh word means or meant a division or portion, especially of land, and now that it is gone, the theory itself is left in a precarious state. We have, however, not far to go to find a word that will do exactly instead of the Welsh *peth*, and that is its Goidelic equivalent, Old Irish *cuit*, Mod. Irish and Scotch Gaelic *cuid*, Manx *cooid*, which signifies among other things " a part or share." That is not all, for so closely does it fit in meaning as an equivalent for *pit* or *pet*, that it is found used instead of the Pictish word in the same documents in the Book of Deer, as Dr Thurneysen[2]

---

[1] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, bk. i. 12.
[2] See his *Keltoromanisches*, p. 71, *s.v. pezza.*

has pointed out. The conclusion, then, which I draw is that the Pictish *pit, pet* is the Goidelic word *cuit* borrowed and subjected to a labialising of its initial in the way suggested in connection with *pell* "a horse."[1]

(4.) *Lelap, lelup*, given in Cormac's Glossary as meaning a child, which one of the editors, the late Dr. O'Donovan, identifies with a word which he states to be "now *lenab*." This last I have never heard, but it is a form doubtless of the word which is written *leanbh* "a child," in older Irish *lenb*, and from it comes a derivative *leainbhín* "a little child." Last summer I had repeated opportunities of hearing this pronounced *lianəvín*, in the most purely Irish village that I have ever seen, to wit, near Dunmore Head, in Kerry. Thus we have traces of the following four pronunciations of the word in question : *lelap, lelup, leanab, leanbh* : probably there have been more in use. I do not know of any Aryan explanation of this word ; so I regard it as non-Celtic and of the same origin as the Basque *nerhabe*, " a child." Basque phonetics are such that there is no serious difficulty in the way of supposing *nerhabe* to have once been *nelhabe* or *lenhabe*.

(5.) *Leniud clairend*, a term which one of the manuscripts of Cormac's Glossary explains to mean the act of "hindering or forbidding division and distribution." Now *clairend* I take to be the genitive, otherwise written *clairenn*, of the word *clar* in the *Cruithean-chládr* of the *Irish Nennius*, p. 274. The translator treats this word as the Irish *cládr* "a table, a board or plank" (Welsh *clawr* "a board, a lid ") ; so he renders *Cruithean-chládr* "the Cruithnian plain." But it seems to me more probable that in *Cruithean-chládr* we have approximately the original of which *Cruithen-tuath* is a partial translation. This last means the people or community of the Cruithni or Picts of Alban : in other words

---

[1] In order to direct attention to the word *tialdari*, I may here suggest another conjecture, which however has its difficulties :—Drop the view that *pell* is in any way connected with *tieldon-es* and suppose the Norsemen not to have got *tialdari* from the Basque country but to have found it used by the Picts as a word for ' horse,' one might then perhaps entertain the notion that a kindred word survives in the name *Shetland*, or better still in the Scotch *sheltie* ' a Shetland pony.' In that case, however, one would be likely to have to regard the Norse name of Shetland, namely *Hjalt*-land, later *Het*-land, as being of a different origin ; but on this question Vigfusson's account of the name should be consulted in the *English Historical Review* for 1886, pp. 509–13.

clar or *clár* meant a people or community, and the term *leniud clairend* should be interpreted the act of anticipating or preventing the tribe, the act of an individual preventing the distribution of the common land or other property by taking possession of it himself beforehand. The word *leniud*, supposing that it meant anticipating or preventing, I should derive from a Pictish word cognate with the Basque *lenendu* "precéder," *lehenzen* "devancer," from *len* or *lehen* "avant."

(6.) *Irt*, a word which according to Cormac's Glossary meant "death," is there used in the fanciful etymologies of such words as *adart* "a pillow," *anart* "a linen cloth," and *laithirt* "drunkenness." This I would identify with the Basque word *ilte*, which with the definite article makes *iltia* "le mourir, tuer," also "la mort." The *r* of *irt* is probably the more original liquid, and Basque is frequently known to change *r* into *l*, which may be the case with *ilte*.

(7.) *Ondemone*, the name of a place in Ulster, mentioned in Adamnan's Life of Columba, and identified by the late Bishop Reeves with *Monamoire*, now Anglicised *Moneymore*.[1] In this we seem to have a sort of translation in which the name is treated as meaning the "Great Hill or Mountain." If that should prove tenable, we may fix on *onde* as meaning "great" and refer it to the same origin probably as the Basque word *andi* "great, big, large."

(8.) *Osraige*, a name Anglicised *Ossory* : it is now borne by a diocese containing approximately the county of Kilkenny and Queen's ;[2] but the ancient people of the Ossorians laid claims to other districts such as the barony of Iffa and Offa East on the Suir, in the county of Tipperary. The name Osraige involves, like a great many other Irish tribal names, the syllables *rige* or *raige*, now written *raighe* or *raidhe*, as in *Beanntraighe* "Bantry," *Calraighe* "Calry," and others. Thus the distinctive portion of the name Ossory is the first syllable *oss* or *os*, which according to the laws of Irish phonology may be the representative of *ods*, *ots*, *osd*, or *ost*, as a dental with *s* becomes assimilated to that sibilant. So there is no difficulty in the way of our identifying the

---

[1] See Reeves' edition, p. 32 ; also the Four Masters, A.D. 557.

[2] See O'Donovan's notes in his edition of the *Book of Rights*, pp. 18, 40.

name in question with that of Ptolemy's Ο*ὐσδίαι* "Usdiæ," which according to Müller is the best reading of the manuscripts.[1]   Ptolemy divides the whole of the South of Ireland between three peoples, whom he calls Ἰουέρνιοι, Οὐσδίαι, and Βρίγαντες.   The first mentioned were the Ivernii or Erna of Munster, who appear at that time to have had most of that province, while the Brigantes occupied the south-east as far as Carnsore Point.   Thus the Usdiæ must have been posted between them, occupying the territory of the Osraige.   Now the Irish version of Nennius speaks of the race of the Leinster *faelchú*[2] or Wolf, in Ossory, as the fourteenth wonder of Ireland.[3]   For the men of that race were believed to assume the form and nature of wolves whenever they pleased.   This seems to mean among other things that the Men of Ossory regarded the wolf as their totem, and it is some such a state of things probably that suggested one of the Irish words for a wolf, namely *mac tire* "the son of the land," as though that wild beast was treated as the real autochthon of the country.   In any case one cannot be surprised to find among the chiefs of Ossory in the seventh and eighth centuries men called *Faelan* and *Faelchar*[4] from *fael* "a wolf."   Should the view here suggested prove tenable, I should regard the *oss* of *Ossory* and Ptolemy's Οὐσδίαι as derived from a Pictish word related to the Basque *otso* "a wolf," whence *otso-gizon* "loup-garou," or wolf-man.

It is needless to say that not all words of a common origin in Basque and Celtic could claim to be considered in the foregoing list; for one has carefully to exclude all instances where the similarity seems to be due to Basque having borrowed from the vocabulary of ancient Gaulish: such, for example, are Basque *maite* "cher, aimé" (Med. Welsh *mat*, Ir. *maith* "good"), Basque *sentoñ* "vieillard" (Ir. *sentuinne* "an old woman :"

---

[1] See Müller's edition (Paris, 1883), i. 78.

[2] This word exists in Welsh only as a poetic name for the sea, namely with the article *Y Weilgi* "the Wolf" : it has the mutation of the feminine.

[3] See the *Irish Nennius*, pp. 204–5, and Giraldus' *Topographia Hibernica*, dist. ii. 19 (pp. 101–4) ; also my *Rhind Lectures*, pp. 36–7.

[4] See the Four Masters under the years 658, 690, 781 [786] ; also the *Book of Leinster*, fac-simile folios 40[5], 337[8].   The name *Faelchar* reminds one of *Oscar, Oscur*, in which we possibly have the Pictish *os* untranslated.   In any case we seem to have it in names like *Ossín* or *Oisin*, and *Ossene*.

may one also compare the Gaulish name of the Santones,[1] whose land the Helvetii intended to subjugate?) and *tegi* "lieu, demeure," as in *argin-degi* "atelier du lapidaire" (Old Welsh *tig*, now *ty*, Ir. *tech* "a house"). That is a branch of the inquiry which, though highly interesting, could not be entered upon here, especially as this paper has more than doubled the length which I had intended it to have. For this I must apologize to the Antiquaries, as also for the very hypothetical nature of a great deal of the argument. That, however, I cannot expect them to judge otherwise than according to the number and importance of the facts for which it may be found to account.[2]