

VII.

A REVISED ACCOUNT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NORTHERN PICTS. BY JOHN RHYS, M.A., LL.D., HON. MEM. S.A. SCOT., PRINCIPAL OF JESUS COLLEGE, AND PROFESSOR OF CELTIC, OXFORD.

Some five years ago I attempted a comprehensive account of the ancient inscriptions north of the Forth, and ventured on speculations as to the language and race of the Picts (see these *Proceedings*, vol. xxvi. 263-351, also pp. 411, 412). It seems to me that it is now time to survey the materials again, partly because their number has since increased, and partly because I committed various blunders in my paper, some of fact and some of conjecture. I attempted then to prove the Pictish language related to Basque; but whether it is related or not, my attempt to prove that it is has been pronounced, and doubtless justly pronounced, a failure. As regards those, however, who believe the Picts to have spoken as their native language a Celtic dialect, either like Goidelic or Brythonic, my position is unchanged: I still regard

¹ *The Past in the Present: What is Civilisation?* (p. 8.)

the Pictish language as not Celtic, not Aryan. So my challenge still remains, that if Pictish resembled Gaelic or Welsh, or in fact any Aryan language, those who think so should make good their opinion by giving us a translation of such an inscription, for instance, as the following from Lunasting, in Shetland:—*× ttocuhetts : ahelhttmunn : hccvvevv : nehhtonn*. The weakness of their arguments has been evident to me for some years past; and on turning over the leaves of the *Revue Celtique*, I find in vol. vi. pp. 398, 399, the following passage, which I venture to quote, as it is still to the point:—“As to the question of the Pictish language, it is useless to try to decide what it was, by means of *Peanfahel*, the English spelling of the Pictish pronunciation of a Brythonic word; and the fact is generally overlooked that a language, in the position of that of the more southern Picts must have been full of Brythonic and Goidelic words. To try in the usual way to settle its affinities is accordingly like proving Welsh to be an Aryan language, by means of its Latin loan-words, which used some years ago to be done.” The same view has lately been better put by Professor Zimmer in the *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte (Rom. Abth.)*, xv. 217. After rejecting my argument for connecting Pictish with Basque, and penning some severe criticisms on Skene’s treatment of the Picts as Celts, he uses the following words:—“Bei seiner mangelhaften sprachwissenschaftlichen Durchbildung kommt der richtige Grundsatz gar nicht zur Geltung, dass bei den piktischen Namen aus christlicher Zeit nicht das ausschlaggebend ist, was an ihnen irisch oder kymrisch ist, sondern dasjenige, was weder irisch noch kymrisch, noch keltisch sein kann. Zudem lässt er die allerdings z. Th. erst später aufgefundenen Inschriften auf Piktenboden ganz ausser Betracht, worauf Rhys in der oben im Text genannten Abhandlung (*Pro. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1892, s. 305) mit recht Nachdruck legt. In ihnen tritt das nicht-keltische (nicht-irische) Substrat unter leichter irischer Decke noch klar zu Tage.” The burden of his paper is, that the distinct racial origin of the Picts is proved by their institutions, especially that of the Pictish succession. But there is, I should say, a third source of arguments making for the same conclusion, namely, the study of Pictish art, as I have been recently reminded by Professor Ramsay of Aberdeen. This

however, cannot conveniently be discussed till Dr. Anderson and Mr. Romilly Allen have issued their complete description of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. In the meantime, one may say that wherever the Picts found the subjects of their pictures, the treatment is so bold and characteristic that no one can readily mistake it.

Since I wrote before on the Pictish inscriptions, my friend Mr. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, has published a volume entitled *The Vernacular Inscriptions of the Ancient Kingdom of Alban, transcribed, translated, and explained*, and I have had valuable hints from him in the matter of readings; but when they come to be interpreted, we usually agree to differ. Lord Southesk's papers also, with the excellent



Fig. 1. Tablet found at Colchester.
(From a photograph supplied by the British Museum.)

photographs accompanying them, have always been of the utmost use to me. The former were read to the Society at the following dates:— Dec. 11, 1882; Feb. 11, 1884; and Dec. 14, 1885. Recently I have had the help of the descriptions of the stones from Fordoun and Keiss in the *Proceedings* of 1892 and 1897, and I have to thank the Society for permission to use some of their illustrations for the purposes of this paper. Lastly, I wish to add to these references a mention of the notices which have appeared in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* of the Colchester bronze tablet, which, though not found in the country of the Picts, still forms a most

appropriate introduction to their inscriptions: see a letter of Mr. Haverfield's in the second series of the Proceedings of the London Society, vol. xiv. p. 108.

The tablet appears to have been found in the course of excavations made on the ground formerly occupied by the cemetery belonging to, and situated within, the walls of the site of the ancient monastery of St. John, of the order of Benedictine monks, in Colchester; for the monastery is believed to have stood on the south side of the town, and outside of the Roman walls. The tablet, soon after it was found, was sent, in December 1891, to the London Society of Antiquaries, and it has since been acquired by the British Museum, where I have seen it. Mr. Haverfield goes on to say, that the tablet is "of an ordinary shape, oblong with *ansæ* at the ends, measuring 8 inches in length by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width, and inscribed with five lines of letters formed, as is often the case on metal tablets, of small points hammered in. The reading is

DEO · MARTI · MEDOCIO · CAMP
 ESIVM · ET VICTORIE ALEXAN
 DRI · PII FELICIS AVGVSTI · NOSI
 DONVM · LOSSIO · VEDA · DE · SVO
 POSVIT · NEPOS · VEPOGENI · CALEDO."

This is Englished thus by Mr. Haverfield:—"To Mars Medocius, god of the Campenses, and to the Victory of the Emperor Alexander, a gift from his own purse from Lossio Veda, grandson of Vepogenus, a Caledonian;" and he points out that the emperor meant was Alexander Severus, whose reign extended from 222 to 235, so that we have the date of the inscription within thirteen years in the earlier portion of the third century. A later communication (xiv. 183) contains a letter of mine, in which I suggested explaining *CAMPESIVM* by means of the name of Campsie and the Campsie Fells, in Stirlingshire. But having regard to the fact that we have to treat the inscriber's *NOSI* as standing for *NOSTRI*, I am now of opinion that we cannot safely make anything of his *CAMPESIVM* but *CAMP-ESTRIVM*, whatever that may here have meant. *Campestres* occurs

in Roman inscriptions in the north of England and the south of Scotland (see Hübner's Nos. 510, 1029, 1080, 1084, 1114, 1129), and it lends some countenance to the idea that Lossio Veda was a gladiator, or a man who took some part in the doings in the Campus Martius or the similar institutions which the Romans may have established in imitation of them wherever they were quartered.

The inscription has many points of peculiarity, on which I would refer the reader to Mr. Haverfield's account of the tablet, and I will only point out that the god is otherwise unknown, though there are names in Irish literature which would fit fairly well, as far as the phonology of the form *Medocius* is concerned. One of these is *Miodhach*, borne by a son of Dian Cecht, in the story of Nuada's silver hand; another is *Miadach*, in the patronymic *O'Miadaig*, anglicised O'Meyey (see the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1186); and in connection with these may be mentioned the fact that O'Davoren's Glossary records the two words, *mídhach*, "brave or valiant," and *miadhach*, "arrogant, proud," either of which might be regarded as akin to the name *Medocius*. The name *Lossio* may or may not be of Pictish origin, but it seems to bear a Celtic form suggestive of a Brythonic genitive *Lossion-os*, Goidelic *Lossen-as*, and to be continued in the Welsh personal name, *Lleision*. On the other hand, the epithet *Veda* can hardly be Celtic, and we have it in the list of Pictish kings, where it has been made into *uecla*, in consequence of the well-known difficulty, in certain manuscripts, of distinguishing between a tall *d* and *cl*. We now come to the name *Vepogeni*, the genitive of a regular Gallo-Brythonic name, which would, in the nominative in its most ancient form, have been *Vepogenos*. It claims relationship with the following from the Continent, as will be seen in the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*: *Vepo* (vol. iii. No. 5232), *Vepus* (xii. No. 2623), *Veponius* (iii. see index; and Glück's Celtic names in Cæsar, p. 73), *Vepotalus* (iii. 5350), and lastly VEP CORF, an abbreviation which occurs on coins from Yorkshire (see Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 411-13). There seems now to be no reason why this legend should not be completed, say, into VEPOGENI COROTICI FILIVS, and why we should not take it as an indication of the direction from which the name *Vepogenos*

reached the Picts. We next come to CALEDO, which is the only instance known of the nominative singular of the national name of the *Caledones* or Caledonians. The genitive survives in the name of Dunkeld, which occurs as Duncalden (Skene's *Chronicles*, pp. 8-9), that is, the dún or fortress of the Caledonian or Caledonians, and it is also supposed to survive in the name of the mountain of Schiehallion, written in Gaelic by Mr. Macbain as *Sith-Chaillinn*, which he regards as pointing to Perthshire as the real seat of the Caledones. The word is in Welsh *Celydon*, and Nennius gives *Coit Celidon* as the Welsh for *Silva Celidonis*. At one time I thought this word might be referred to the same root *cald*, as Gaelic *coille*, "wood," and English *holt*; but as the Welsh congener of these words is *cell-i*, "a grove or copse," it is impossible to refer *Celydon* to the same origin, although some Celtic scholars, ignoring this fact, go on repeating the old conjecture. But until they find an etymology which is at least phonologically admissible, one may assume that the name is not Celtic, and that its etymological meaning has not been ascertained. On the other hand, we can at all events say that our *Caledo* was a Pict, in the ordinary acceptation of that word; and we may probably go further and say that Caledones was another name for Picts, or else that it was the name of a particular branch of the Pictish nation: the latter is the view which I am, on the whole, inclined to take. The name Vepogen-i, in a shorter form, is to be detected in the list of Pictish kings, where it appears as *Vipoig*; this form was obtained by dropping the case termination *i* of Vepogeni, and the resulting *Vepogen* sounded as a Pictish genitive in *en*, and from a genitive *Vepogen* was inferred the simpler form *Vepog*, which in Goidelic spelling we have as *Vipoig* in the list. But this was not a treatment which could have been either Brythonic or Goidelic: in the former language *Vepogeni* would simply drop its thematic and case vowels and make *Vepgen*, *Vebghen*, while in Irish it would have been *Vequageni*, yielding later *Fiachghen*, or some such a form, while, as a fact, the Gaelicised form of *Vepog* appears to have been *Fiachach*. Thus, though *Vepog* was of Celtic origin, the form in which we have it shows a treatment which is not compatible with Celtic phonology as usually understood. Another point worth mentioning is the close vicinity in which

Veda and *Vipoig* occur in the Pictish Chronicle. Here are the entries in question in the order in which they are there placed:—

Vipoig namet xxx. annis regnavit.

Canutulachama iiij. annis regnavit.

Wradech *ueda* ij. annis regnavit.

Lastly, the fact that Lossio Veda makes no mention of his father is to be noticed; he describes himself as *Nepos Vepogeni*, which, having due regard to the nature of the Pictish succession, is to be translated probably *Nephew of Vepogen*, and that most likely in the restricted sense of *Vepogen's Sister's Son*. Compare *Nepus Barrovadi*,¹ from Galloway, and *Nepus Carataci* (*Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1891, p. 30, and the *Academy*, September 5, 1891), from Winsford Hill, in Somerset. In late Latin *nepos* may mean nephew.

I.

i. THE ROUNDEL STONE, Townhead, Greenloaning, near Ardoch, Perthshire, now in the Smith Institute, at Stirling.

The peculiar condition of this stone makes it necessary to gather together all the information that can be discovered concerning it from observers who noticed it years ago. For having had my attention called to the stone I have, first and foremost, to thank Mr. Craigie of Oriel College, and Mr. A. Hutcheson of Broughty Ferry, who introduced me to Mr. Cook of Stirling. Mr. Cook was, in his turn, good enough among other things to put me in communication with a gentleman who has long been observantly interested in the antiquities of the district, namely, Mr. A. F. Hutcheson of Birkhill, Stirling; but before I quote from his letters to me, I premise an extract copied by him for me from the *Stirling Journal* for October 9, 1823. The article, he informs me, was signed "A Lover of Antiquity," and dated Ardoch, September 30, 1823. The communication reads as follows:—

¹ See the *Academy* for September 5, 1891, p. 201; and with *Barrovadi* compare *Bairedha* in the name Cellach mac *Bairedha*, borne by one of the three Mormairs of Alban, whose death is given by Tigernach A.D. 975. As to those three see Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 395, and Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 77: to what provinces did they belong respectively?

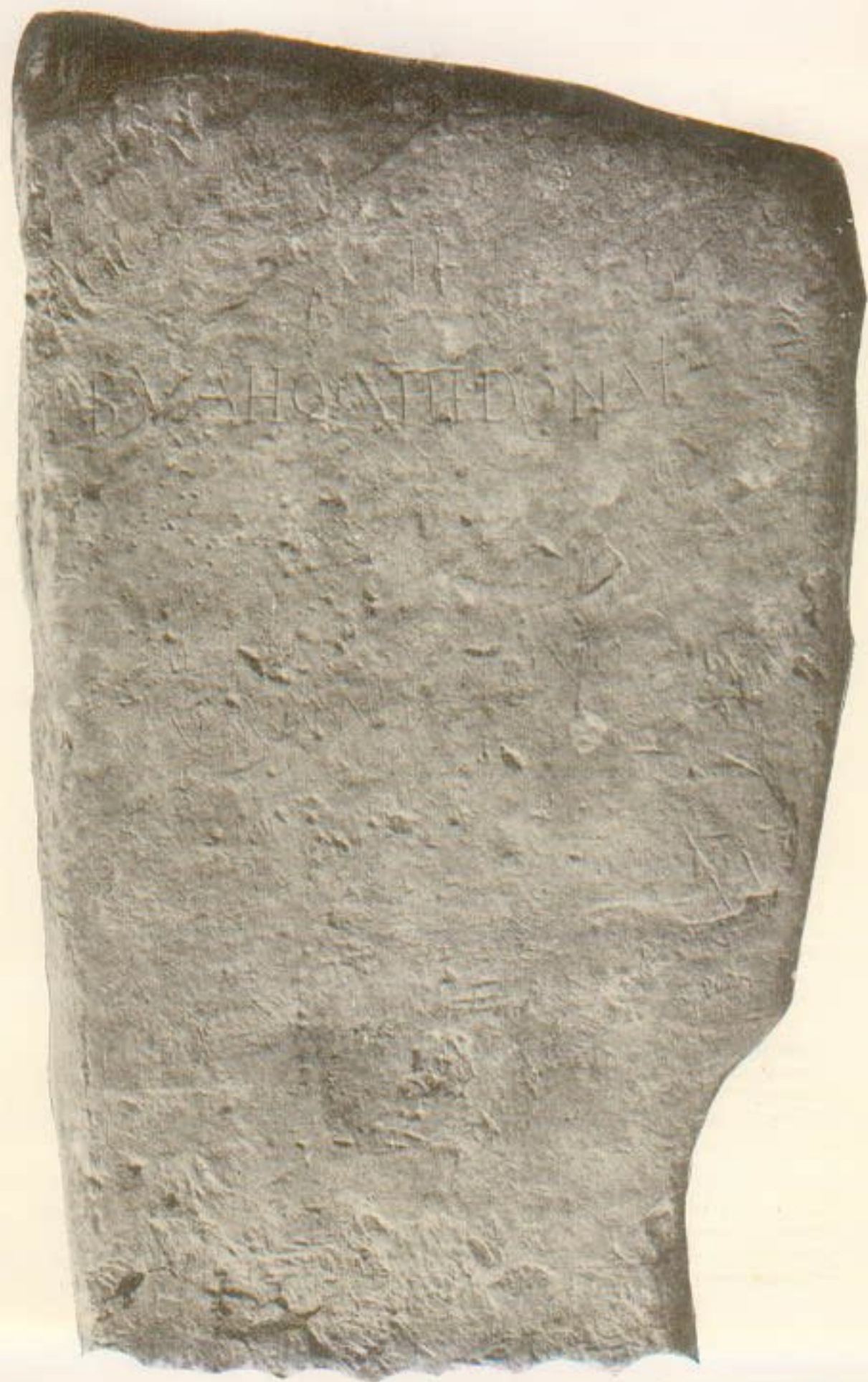


Fig. 2. The Greenloaning Stone. (From a photograph by Messrs Croice & Rodger, Stirling.)

"In the spring season of last year, whilst the servants of Mr. Finlayson were engaged in clearing the ground for the plough, they came in contact with a large stone about 18 inches below the surface. After trenching round it and removing the superincumbents, it was raised, though not without considerable difficulty, when, to their astonishment, they discovered burnt ashes underneath. This excited in their minds suspicions of no ordinary kind, which induced them to clear the inverted side of the stone, when they were not less gratified—that actually contained letters. All eyes were now intent to search for Q's and A's and M's in order to unriddle the mysterious *arcantum*. At length, however, not belonging to the class of *Virtuosi* themselves, and of course unable to unfold its ambiguity, recourse was had to others. And now every urchin in the Academic grove—every smatterer in the classics who had been wont to cry *Keddum rationem* (but I am now on college ground)—every *Domine* who could derive *pes* from *πούς* between *Dan* and *Beersheba* (if such places be betwixt *Doune* and *Dunning*) were all invariably called upon to explicate. In short, never did the *literary* world evince more importance (impatience?) to ascertain the *Persona propria* of the Great Unknown, than did the *plebeian* (if I may be allowed the term) to have its darkest secret explored. Observe, I speak thus to their commendation. But alas! man is given to change. The inscription being something of a *Belshazzar* kind, an interpretation was not readily given, which so much thwarted their expectations that, had not Mr. Finlayson interfered (forbid it common sense and feeling!), the same persons would have consigned it to an untimely grave—would have recommitted it to the bowels of its mother, there to repose on the downy couch of oblivion for, perhaps, another century. How *apropos* is the saying of Sallust, *vulgus est ingenio mobili*.

"I scarcely dare presume to enter into the wide field of conjecture respecting the probable intention of this stone. Indeed, it may be considered presumptuous for one who makes no pretensions to be a *Virtuoso* or a *literary*, where so many respectable *literati* have given it up as *unintelligible*. However, from an apprehension that an inquiry into the subject may lead to a discovery of some importance, the following is humbly submitted to the reader. But, in the first place, the dimensions of the stone are 6 feet 10 inches by feet 6 inches, and about 1 foot 2 inches thick. The characters seem to correspond with a manuscript of *Cicero de Republica*, lately discovered, a *fac-simile* of which is now lying on my table. In a line near the top are these:—

QAM DONAT

Qam was anciently used upon monuments as a contraction of *quemadmodum*. Now these two, joined together, make simply *as to what proportion he, she, or it gives*. But I think it must have some other meaning here. However, let us try the second line:—

VERSAMEBONOTVO

This might be *versa me bono tuo*, 'tumble me over for your own good.' Near the middle and at the left side of the stone are five letters, but being very much erased, it is difficult to distinguish their similitude. The majority of those who have seen them suppose them to be the date of the stone; but unless they

(the letters) express it in *Arabic* characters, I doubt much if such a solution be applicable. The letters have a strict resemblance to these IMLIV. Now, as there appears to be a point (.) after IM, it might, very justly, be rendered *Imperator Legionis IV.*, 'commander of the fourth legion.' And the only objection to this reading is that *imp.* is the usual abbreviation of *imperator*. The reader, no doubt, will observe there is a vast difference in point of signification between this and the preceding lines, for the first two would indicate that the stone had been the receptacle of something valuable, whilst the third or last records the spot to be the sepulchre of a man. Such a difference, however, we leave with antiquarians to reconcile. Meantime, it may be observed that the ashes found under the stone were undoubtedly those of burnt human bones; and as there is a *tumulus* or *cairn*, composed of stones, beside the relic, it had in all likelihood been used as a place of interment. It must also be remembered that some 80 or 90 years since, *coirns* (coin?) to a great extent was dug up on this farm, but at what particular spot I rather think it is uncertain. This may help to clear the second line.

"To conclude, Mr. Editor: As the stone is well worthy the minute investigation of the antiquarian and the visit of the tourist, I trust they will satisfy themselves by *ocular inspection*, and not fail to communicate their sentiments on the subject. It is a few yards¹ to the south of the direct road and a little to the east of the eleventh milestone from Stirling."

Thus far the *Stirling Journal* of three-quarters of a century ago; and now I cannot do better than append Mr. Hutchison's notes on it and on the stone. I refer to a letter of his dated February 2, 1897, as follows:—

"My acquaintance with the Greenloaning stone began about 20 years ago. Since that time, I have frequently visited it and made inquiry regarding it among the people of the neighbourhood. I could gather very little information. No tradition or legend of any kind had connected itself with the stone. No one could tell or guess how long it had stood where it was. Even the planting of the clump of trees called the 'roundel' was forgotten—although my observation led me to conjecture that they could not be more than 70 or 80 years old. The man whose memory goes furthest back is Mr. John Sharp, who occupies the farm of Townhead, on which the stone stands. He has a story to tell in connection with it, which it is of some importance to bear in mind in attempting to decipher the inscription. He says that when he was a 'loon,' herding on the field, he took a chisel and mallet and re-cut the lettering on the stone. I reckon this to have been about 50 years ago. Mr. Sharp affirms that he altered nothing, but was careful simply to deepen the lines of the letters as he found them. His honesty is beyond doubt. But there is room to question whether a 'herd loon' (a boy somewhere between 10 and 15 years of age, as Mr. Sharp further defined the term) was qualified to trace with undeviating accuracy the worn lines of an apparently very old inscription. This re-cutting was confined to the upper or main line of the inscription, and included the letters BVAH—letters which I suspected to have been comparatively late additions, and to re-

¹ This is singularly incorrect, unless I am much mistaken.

present nothing more serious than the initials of perhaps a pair of rustic lovers. That has been my impression all along regarding these letters. I shall not trouble you with my reasons for thinking so. That would take too much time, and in fact the earlier reading, which I send you herewith, renders it unnecessary. I may state also that I have been inclined to regard the stone as a *memorial* rather than a *boundary* stone, because the circular clump of trees, on the edge of which the stone is placed, appeared to me and others, on careful examination, to have been planted on what was a dilapidated cairn or the site of a ruined building.

"As to the lettering on the stone, I wish to speak with the greatest caution. Your experience in reading such inscriptions does not require aid from any observation I have been able to make. Nevertheless, as my reading was taken directly from the stone some years ago, I venture to submit it to you. On the upper part of the stone, in the space marked by the intersecting zig-zag lines, I found traces of letters. These I was disposed to regard—like the BV and AH—as initials. In fact, the AH is repeated above. What Mr. Nicholson believes to be 'pointers' I had resolved into IP. The main line I read C (or Q) ATH·DONAT: but of course that is Mr. Sharp's super-literation. *Cath* seems like Gaelic, while *donat* had the look of Latin. At the same time, I may add parenthetically that *Cath*. (Catherine) *Donat* is a good enough Scotch personal name. Next, and below this line, I found, on the left-hand side of the stone, traces of incised characters like letters, which seemed to form either a short line of inscription or the beginning of one of which the portion to the right had been entirely obliterated. If you have a very good photograph, you may be able to find some vestiges of these characters still remaining. The third line I read VE (or II) RSAMC (or U) BONOTVO. The fourth letter S might be C or Q.

"That is the transcription I made a good many years ago. I have since found an older one, made before the letters were tampered with, and when the stone had just been dug up from the ground in which it had lain buried beyond recollection. The stone was found in the spring of 1822, and next year there appeared in the *Stirling Journal* an account of the find, with a reading and an attempt at interpretation of the inscriptions. I copy this out for you in full and *verbatim*. There is a good deal of surplusage, but the style of the thing may amuse you. It is redolent of the fine manner of the rural correspondent of a country newspaper. It seems to convict itself of being the work of the village schoolmaster.

"Beneath the verbiage of his account—and whatever may be thought of the suggested interpretation—it is possible to discern acute and careful observation. As the stone had just been turned up at that time, freshened by its long rest in the ground, I should be disposed to allow considerable weight to the reading of the letters given by 'A Lover of Antiquity.' One or two remarks I should like to make on it. First, it confirms my rejection of the letters BVAH: the transcription, you will observe, begins with Q. Next, it would be worth while making a careful scrutiny of the stone, or a photograph of it, with a good glass, to ascertain whether, under Mr. Sharp's cutting of the TH, traces of the M still remain. Again, this observer gives the confirmation of his statement to my own observation of several years ago—that there appeared to be a third line or portion of a line of inscription. About the readings of the other lines he has no doubt. He boldly states that the letters *are* so-and-so. About this, how-

ever, he is not certain: he only ventures to say that the characters resemble IMLIV. If his reading is correct, is it not possible enough that, after all, they may represent the *date* 1054? And, lastly, he mentions the cairn as actually existing then, and notes the burned human bones beneath the stone."

In reply to a variety of subsequent queries of mine I had the following notes from Mr. Hutchison, some of which are of the greatest importance, as will be at once perceived:—

"The marks II at the top have been clearly much interfered with. The person who re-cut them has evidently taken them for II. The second of these letters I had formerly read P but I cannot now trace the *curve*.

"Rather below this and to the left is A, followed by what I once read H (of rather smaller size than the A), but of which I am now uncertain—although it bears more resemblance to an H than to any other letter. The next line is not in doubt:—

B×VA×H. QATH DONAT†

There is no doubt that Mr. Sharp intended TH as his reading. I have now looked carefully for traces of M under these letters, and I think I can still discern them. I should not, of course, have observed this had I not been specially looking for it—so that the necessary qualification can be made on that account."

At this stage one may say that the plot has developed considerably, and the reader must now see that a good deal depends on the letters BVAH,¹—that is, whether they originally belonged to the inscription or not. At first I felt less confident than Mr. Hutchison in the negative evidence of the Stirling journalist of 1823, especially as his words are: "In a line near the top are these:— QAM DONAT."

One naturally asks why he did not say "A line near the top reads"—or something to that effect, unless he was omitting a portion of the line as not reducible to what he wanted to make Latin? So I ventured on a sort of cross-examination of Mr. Hutchison, in order to elicit still more clearly the fact that he had independently arrived at the conclusion that the letters BVAH were not originally on the stone. In reply to my questionings, he called my attention to a paper of his on the "Standing Stones and Stone Circles in the Neighbourhood of Stirling," reprinted

¹ Since the above was written I had an opportunity of submitting Mr. Lindsay's photograph of the stone to Mr. Haverfield's practised eye, and he at once pronounced the H of BVAH as not likely to be ancient.

in the *Scottish Journal of Natural History* for March 1890 (pp. 45-50) from the *Proceedings of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society*. In that paper he states that he had detached the letters in question from the rest of the line ; but his words in a letter of March 16, 1897, give more detail, as follows :—

“In my last letter I was perhaps not sufficiently explicit. I did not mean to convey that the letters B.VAH. were added by Mr. Sharp. My supposition is that they had been cut sometime between the discovery of the stone in 1822 and the recutting of the letters by Mr. Sharp perhaps thirty years later.

“My reasons for thinking that the letters were not part of the original inscription were, first, that they were close to the left side of the stone, whereas the inscription terminated on the right side at some distance from the edge, so that, if these four letters were removed, the inscription would, as nearly as was to be expected, occupy the centre of the stone.¹ Next, the B and V were separated by a space, which seemed to have a mark thus, B × V, such as the imperfectly educated often put between the initial letters of their name. Less space was now left for the A and H, which are therefore crowded more closely together, and after the H occurs the mark . Moreover, there seemed to me also to be the mark × between the A and H.

“This impression I had formed, not only before seeing the article in the *Stirling Journal*, but also before I had seen Mr. Sharp, and got his account of the recutting of the letters. At my interview with Mr. Sharp I was accompanied by Mr. G. Lowson, M.A., B.Sc., Mathematical Master in the High School of Stirling, and a member of the Stirling Archaeological Society, who knew my opinion in regard to the four letters—we had just been carefully inspecting the stone—and who heard me specially ask Mr. Sharp whether he found the four letters on the stone and recut them with the others. His reply was, ‘Oh, just everything that is there.’ He could not be got to be more definite, but at any rate he declared that he added nothing, so I was driven to the inference that the letters had been added before his time. *Afterwards* I found the article in the *Stirling Journal*.”

So far, I have given Mr. Hutchison’s account of the stone ; but it has been described also in *The Academy* for May 23, 1896, by Mr. Nicholson, who, after giving details of the lettering, analyses the two lines into BVAH QATT IDON AIT and VURCAMU BONOIT NO ; and he adds that he doubts if any part of the inscription was cut before the tenth century. I am sorry to differ from Mr. Nicholson both as to the date of the inscription and as to the interpretation of it. In the first place, I find myself constrained to rely to a large extent on the

¹ I fail to see that Mr. Hutchison can make much out of that argument, as a look at the photograph will show.

Stirling Journal of 1823 and on Mr. Hutchison's notes. So I would eliminate the BVAH¹ as no part of the original, also the AH above the Q of QAT, and the IP still higher on the stone. Mr. Hutchison, it will be observed, could lately read the latter only as II, though he had formerly found them to have been IP, but it is worth noticing, to his credit, that IP is clearly to be made out in a photograph which Mr. Nicholson kindly gave me some time ago, and which lies before me now. Then there are certain lines "straight and diagonal," as Mr. Nicholson describes them, on the upper part of the stone. These, together with a curved line running through the letters ATTIDO, I regard as scratches never intended to convey any meaning. Lastly, I can make nothing of the *Stirling* journalist's guess of IMLIV; and whatever it was, I cannot see how it could belong to the reading forming the two lines still visible on the stone.

Briefly, I should say the original writing consisted of the letters which the *Stirling* journalist read QAM DONAT and VERSA ME BONO TVO. Taking the former first, we can partly check his reading, as his DONAT is unmistakably DONAT^T, with TI conjoined, after the fashion of Roman inscriptions; and this occurs again, namely, in the other line, for what he has read TVO is more accurately represented as T^TV^O, that is, TIVO. *Donati* I take to be the genitive of the Latin name *Donatus*, which occurs in Roman inscriptions found in Britain, and was adopted by Christians in the island. It is known, for instance, to have been that of the abbot of Bangor, who met Augustine, as the former is called in Welsh *Dunawd* or *Dunod*, the forms under which *Donatus* would regularly appear in Welsh. But what could the earlier part of the line be, seeing that the journalist read it QAM, that Mr. Sharp treated it as CATH or QATH, and that Mr. Nicholson regards it as QATTI? QATTI is also my own reading, though I am inclined to hesitate between it and QATFI, which would admit of one's construing the whole as QAT FI [lius] DONATI—"Cat, son of Donatus." The combination TFI would also explain why Mr. Sharp read TH, and almost

¹ It is very tempting, nevertheless, to regard the first line as beginning with a name *Buahqatti*, and to compare it with the Irish genitive *Buchet*, or with the *Bucket Water* in Aberdeenshire.

equally well why the journalist gives the reading as M, for what he thought he saw was probably not the capital M but an [M]. Whether he or the printer is to be held responsible for making it into a capital M one cannot say. If QAT FI [lius] DONATI is to be rejected, the next best reading, perhaps, is QATTI·DONATI, with the two names in the genitive. Both these readings imply that Mr. Hutchison is mistaken in thinking that he detects traces of an M; but, on further scrutinising Mr. Sharp's TH in the photograph, one notices that he had been busily engaged in deepening the top strokes, but the connecting line of his H runs obliquely upwards and begins lower than one should expect it, and lower than where the middle bar of the F should be. The exact position of that bar is covered by the line which I have already mentioned as sweeping through the letters ATTIDO. Although that line is shallow, had it been there at the time when Sharp was amusing himself, he would probably have followed it in making the bar of his H instead of scratching an oblique and irregular one lower down. But none of these lines coincide with any part of what I infer would be traces of Mr. Hutchison's M. As to Mr. Sharp's work, I am not sure that I can trace it beyond the corners of the D, both of which he has clumsily elaborated. He has possibly touched the corners also of the N, but he has left his mark most palpably on the V and H of BVAH. It is to be noticed that the A of DONATI has a cross bar, while the A in the lower line has no such a bar. This might suggest that the bar in the former is due to Mr. Sharp, but I hardly think so: it is much too neatly and lightly cut to have been his work.

To sum up my remarks on the first line, I am sorry, on the one hand, to have to reject Mr. Hutchison's M; and, on the other, my failure to find any trace of the lower bar of an F, supposing that letter once there, compels me to give the preference to the reading—

QATTI·DONATI.

The other line of writing is so far down the face of the stone that we are not forced to regard it as part of the same inscription, and the letters seem to be somewhat more carelessly formed. On the whole,

however, I am inclined to think that they were cut by the same hand, and that they are to be read together. The Stirling journalist gives the last line merely as VERSAMEBONOTVO, the value of which is diminished by the happy thought, that he had at last found something he could understand, *Versa me bono tuo*, "Tumble me over for your own good." Mr. Hutchison gives up the journalist's intervening traces of letters, and writes as follows:—

"The next line, mentioned in the *Journal* article, is now not to be read. There are certainly still marks to be traced, and ten years ago these were so distinct as to impress me with the belief that there was a line of inscription there.

"The lower line I read thus:—

V||RSAM||BON T̄VO.

"Following the V appears what looks like ||—I do not trace a curved connection at the bottom. The same may be said of the letter following M, although here the curved line is more distinct, but it looks to me like an after addition. Both letters are read E by the *Journal* correspondent. Some one has been quite recently (since I saw the stone last) rescratching this as well as the upper line. The O, which was quite distinct after the N, is now obliterated. If the || is to be read U, is it not unusual for this letter to appear in the same line of inscription in the two separate forms, with the rounded bottom (U) and with the angular bottom (V)? The last letter may be Q, with the tail now gone. There is no tail traceable now. But this letter differs in shape from the other unmistakable O's in the inscription, because while they are quite rounded at bottom (O), this one is pointed O, exactly as the Q is in the upper line."

Beginning at the end of Mr. Hutchison's notes, I may say that the question of the Q was raised by me, as I was in doubt—in fact, I am so still—whether to read O or Q, the latter of which I was prepared to regard as an abbreviation of -QVE "and." While admitting the correctness of Mr. Hutchison's description of the letter as it now looks, I am forced to say that I do not feel certain as to the original shape of the Q in the upper line, as it was operated upon by Mr. Sharp, who has managed to give the part near the tail the appearance of a small, separate triangle. I see, however, no reason to go so far as to suppose that he found a C and made it into Q, not to mention that Q for C is to be found even in Roman inscriptions.

When I visited the stone in March 1896, Mr. Craigie was with me,

and we soon found that no rubbing we could take with heelball or grass was of much use ; but he hit on the expedient of putting paper on the letters which looked hopeless and of rubbing the paper with the point of a lead pencil until it had been carefully blackened : this was found to bring out the forms of most of the shallow letters making up this line. We thus ascertained that the O between the N and the T was round, while that between the B and the N was not nearly so round : the R came out tall and narrow but not closed in the middle, and the letter following appeared to be G of the reaping-hook shape, not an S. In the case of the second and seventh letter, we could find no trace of the parallels || being joined at the bottom to make U. I ought perhaps to have mentioned the fact that the V of TIVO has its second arm nearly perpendicular, as if we had to do with the latter portion of an N ; but it is in no such close contiguity to the T as to suggest an N conjoint with the latter. Moreover, this kind of V is well known in Latin, as will be seen in Thompson's Handbook, *e.g.*, in the facsimile on p. 186, not to mention that it is implied by the form and history of U. So, taking into account the fact that we are here reminded of the form of the letters in Roman inscriptions both by the A without the cross bar and by the T for TI, I am inclined to think that we have in the || the Roman E of that shape, introduced here probably as an archaism. The reading may accordingly be represented as

VERGAMEBO NOTIVO.

Whether *Vergamebo* is one name or two, I am not sure, but we may perhaps treat the *o* as the ending of the dative case, as the language which the writer thought he was using seems to have been Latin. Then the *eb* of *Vergameb-o* recalls such Pictish names as "Thalarg filii Ythernbuthib" and "Duftalaich filii Bergib," which occur in "The Legend of St. Andrew" as given by Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* (p. 187), and the form *Frobbacennv* in the Ogam at Aboyne Castle, of which more presently. All this raises the question why I fix on the *o* of *Vergamebo* as ending a name, and the answer is—because I believe that I detect an attested name in the remainder of the

line; but, before discussing this, I may be allowed to explain that I should translate the whole as "(the Gift) of Qatt (and) Donat to Vergameb (and) Notiu." This will be found to fall into its place as a parallel to the most probable interpretation of the inscriptions on the St. Vigean and Kilmaly stones. It is, however, open to an objection, namely, that the names of the men commemorated would in that case occupy a less conspicuous place on the stone than the names of those who wished to commemorate them.

With regard to the names in the last line, I detect *Notiv* or *Notivo* in the *Nathí* or *Náthí* of Irish literature, which also now and then betrays an older form, such as the Nothi given in Stokes's *Patrick*, p. 301. Compare also such related forms as the feminine *Nothain* in the Rennes Dindshenchas (*Rev. Celtique*, xvi. 37), and the masculine *Nothán*, genitive *Notháin*, in the Book of Ballymote, fo. 191^a/₃. The *th* regularly takes the place of vowel-flanked *t*, and in Old Irish *b* had the sounds both of our *b* and of our *v*, while the sound represented by *v* in *Notiv* was probably our *w* or *u*, which flanked by vowels has, in Goidelic, disappeared in the oldest specimens in manuscript of the ninth or eighth century. So *Nothí* corresponds to NOTIV just as Irish *ú*, "colour," does to Welsh *lliw*, "colour, especially a dark colour such as blue," Latin *livor*, *lividus*. If it be borne in mind that *b* and *v* were a good deal confounded in Latin spelling from the fourth century down, one will at once recognise the name *Notiv*- in the *Nathabeus* of the Legend of St. Andrew (Skene's *Chronicles*, p. 187), which, with its *b* for *v* in this name, shows it to have been suggested by some early document. As far as the phonology of the case is concerned, it would be admissible to regard *Notiv*-, *Nothí*, *Nathí* as the Latin *Nātivus* or *Notivus* borrowed, provided reasons should be found for conjecturing this to be the origin of the name. Who our *Notiv* or *Nathí* was I have no idea, but it may be worth the while to mention here, that Reeves, in his *Adamnan's Vita Columbæ*, speaks (pp. 121, 220-1) of a Nathi, brother to St. Cainnech mocu Dalon, who was born in 517 and died in 600: among other churches he was regarded as the patron saint of that of Kennoway in Fife.

The other name, *Vergamebo*, is perhaps to be analysed into *Ver-*

gameb-, with a prefix *ver* as in the Gaulish names *Vercassivellaunos* and *Vercingetorix* as compared with *Cassivellaunos* and *Cingetorix*. With the rest of the name we may compare such names as *Gam* in the Rennes Dindshenchas (*Rev. Celtique*, xvi. 145), and a woman's name, *Gamlorga*, in the Book of Ballymote, fo. 152 $\frac{b}{2}$; but still nearer comes *Gamebach*, fo. 153 $\frac{a}{2}$, which seems to be a derivative from *Gameb-*, as in *Ver-gamebo*. The prefix is probably that which has in Irish become *for* as in *For-chellach* (Bk. of Leinster, fo. 340^a), and in Old Welsh *guar*, *guor*, *gur*, later mostly *gor*, of the same origin as Latin *s-uper*, English *over*, and Sanskrit *upari*, "above, over." What the exact meaning of it as *ver* in the two Gaulish names above mentioned may have been, I cannot say; but Welsh pedigrees show sometimes a remarkable use made of it. Thus in the British Museum MS., Harleian 3859, of the tenth century, we have the following:—*Tacit map Cein map Guorcein map Doli map Guordoli map Dumn map Gurdumn*, which might be rendered—T. son of Cein son of a previous Cein son of Doli son of a previous Doli son of Dumn son of a previous Dumn. In the list of the Pictish kings, the prefix in the form of *ur* is somewhat similarly used, except that the sequence would seem to require us to render it by *later*, not by *previous*. But I hesitate and render *Brude Uip*, *Brude Uruip*, *Brude Grid*, *Brude Urigrid*, thus: *Brude Uip*, an earlier *Brude Uip*, *Brude Grid*, an earlier *Brude Grid*, and so on till they make twenty-eight *Brudés* in all. The text, it is true, calls them thirty, but two are missing: see Skene's *Picts and Scots*, pp. 5, 26, 27, 324, 325; also the Book of Ballymote, fo. 43a. The form *ur* in the Pictish list, as contrasted with the Old Welsh *guor* and *gur*, is supported by the analogy of such names as *Fergus*, Old Welsh *Gurgust*, which appears in Pictish as *Urgust* and *Urguist*, a Goidelic genitive of *Urgust*: see Skene, *ib.*, pp. 8, 29, 400. This shows that these vocables were borrowed from a Brythonic source some time or other before they had developed the initial *g* of the Welsh *guor* and *Gurgust*. The prefix *ur*, however, does not seem to have been borrowed solely for the factitious use here indicated, as we appear to have an instance of it on the Burrian stone, namely, as *vurr* in the word *vurract*, which will be mentioned later; but an instance in the Legend of St. Andrew shows the same use of this vocable as in Welsh pedigrees,

to wit, *Drusti filii Wrthrosst*, which I should construe "of Drost son of *Uur-Drost* or *Drost senior*": see Skené's *Picts and Scots*, p. 187.

As to the probable date of the inscription, more than one feature has been pointed out as indicative of its antiquity, such as the Roman ligature of *T* and *I*, the *A* without a bar, the archaism of parallel lines for *E*, and the retention of the *v* of *Notiv-* as contrasted with *Nothi*. Taking everything into consideration, I cannot see that it could be later than the sixth century, and I should be disposed to regard it as belonging rather to the fifth, unless I am wholly misled by archaisms of lettering; but I am very anxious to know what others may think of it.

Lastly, I ought to say that I have derived much help in studying the inscription from the photograph given me by Mr. Nicholson, and especially by a set of photographs kindly taken for me by Professor T. M. Lindsay, D.D. But the value of them, one and all, is very seriously reduced by the lichen covering the stone. Last September I went for the third time to see the stone; but my journey was in vain, as the stone had been removed to his residence at Keir Mains, near Stirling, by the landowner, Mr. Archibald Stirling. However, I was glad this had been done, as the stone was subject to the persistent attacks of idlers with a mania for cutting their initials wherever their vandal hands have free play. Moreover, I learned from Mr. Stirling and his agent that the stone was now covered up, so as, in the course of a few weeks, it might be possible to free the surface of the lichen. It would then, it was hoped, be found practicable to get a far better photograph of it than any hitherto taken.

Since the foregoing notes were written the stone has been deposited in the Smith Institute at Stirling, where Dr. Anderson has seen it. He writes to me that it is now quite clean, but that he is not very favourably impressed by it, as the lettering is scratchy and badly formed in several cases. He calls attention, in particular, to the second and seventh letters of the second line. He reads them U with a rounded bottom, and the line accordingly would begin with the improbable combination VU, but the view entertained by Mr. Hutchison would rid us of the necessity of recognising U as belonging to the original.

Further, Dr. Anderson says of the queer letter following BVAH, that, though he formerly read it C, it now looks more like a Q. He adds, however, that it cannot have been originally Q, but possibly a G. So I should be inclined to represent the last state of my guesses of the reading of the two lines thus, $\overset{C}{G}$ ATTI · DONATI

V $\overset{E}{U}$ RGAM $\overset{E}{U}$ BO NOTIVO,

giving the preference in the doubtful cases to the letter above the line. Soon after receiving the last-mentioned communication from Dr. Anderson, he kindly sent me proof-sheets of his account of the stone as it now stands in the Society's *Proceedings* of 1897, pp. 303-4. Lastly, just before going to press, Dr. Anderson was able to get me the photograph printed herewith, representing the stone cleaned of lichen and as it now looks at Stirling. Among other things, the reader will have noticed that this photograph shows traces of one or two more lines of lettering. A little below VIIRGA one seems to detect some thin shallow characters, which, however, do not appear quite convincing; but one can hardly help being convinced of the existence of letters lower down towards the right-hand edge. They appear to end a line and to read I \overline{TV} , which, together with the other vanishing traces, force me to suspect this ancient monument of being a palimpsest.

ij. THE SCOONIE STONE, Fife, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh.

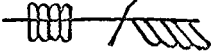
My former reading of the Ogam on this stone was $\overset{I}{E}$ htarmsonn, but on examining the lettering again I should now give it as

E	h	t	a	r	r	$\frac{n}{?}$	o	n	n			

Owing to the pedestal in which the stone now stands, I could not see more than three of the scores of the initial vowel; but I read it formerly four scores, and it would have made no serious difficulty if it had five, which would make the vowel into *i* instead of *e*. A difficulty,

however, does occur further on, as the inscriber had not been able to keep the connecting virgula or fleasg of the Ogam clear of the work on the face of the stone. One of the stag's forelegs had to be avoided: hence a gap in the fleasg; and another gap (of less consequence) occurs where the snout of the beast crosses the line just where the last scores of the last *n* but one should join the fleasg. Immediately before the stag's leg occur letters which at first sight would seem to make $\text{r} \text{TTTT}$, *bav*, or $\text{f} \text{TTTT}$, *ms*; but on scrutinising the scores I cannot there discover exactly either r , *a*, or f , *m*, but a blunder of the inscriber's, who seems to have begun by cutting a score like those of the *r* immediately preceding: what he intended to cut was, I believe, an *n*. We should thus have *Ehtarrnonn*, evidently the same name as *Eddarrnonn* on the Dyke Stone. In any case, I cannot help believing in the substantial identity of these names, and if the reading *Ehtarrnonn* is rejected, the next best reading would be *Ehtarranonn*, with a crooked f , *a*, and the missing score of the *n* supplied by the line forming the outside of the stag's leg, or else *Ehtarrmnonn*, with the *n* reckoned in the same manner. Phonologically *Ehtarranonn* might be regarded as having an irrational vowel not expressed in the spelling *Eddarrnonn*. If, however, *Ehtarrnonn* should be preferred, one would be inclined to consider this as etymologically the older spelling, namely, as showing an *m* which had been elided in *Eddarrnonn*; but this hardly need be considered, as the name is probably derived from the Latin *Æternus*, through some such a Goidelic form as *Ethern*, which is given (under May 27) in the Martyrology of Donegal as the name of a bishop of Domhnachmor. The objection to the reading *Ehtarranonn* has been pointed out, and I am unable to follow Lord Southesk in reading *Eddar Balmonn*[*en*], though the first time I saw the stone I thought I saw *bavm* where he has *balm*, but further scrutiny compelled me to give it up, and it has also convinced me that there is no trace of writing after *onn*. The whole inscription is therefore represented by this one name, which I venture to give as *Ehtarrnonn* and to equate with the *Eddarrnonn*, first deciphered by his Lordship on the Dyke Stone.

iii. THE ABERNETHY FRAGMENT, now in the National Museum at

Edinburgh, belongs to a stone representing a hunting scene and an Ogam of which the only remains are  = *imn* or *qmi*. This is chiefly interesting as a specimen occurring south of the Tay of the kind of bundle Ogam better known on stones from Orkney and Shetland.

iv. THE ST. VIGEANS STONE, near Arbroath, Forfarshire.

This stone, which is not inscribed in Ogam, I read still as I did before, and I divide the legend into *Drosten-ipe Uoret ett Forcus*, where *Drosten* is the genitive of a man's name, *Drost*, depending on *ipe*, which is placed after it, not before it, as one might expect had the legend been any kind of Celtic; and this vocable *ipe* may provisionally be taken to mean *boy* or *nephew*, but hardly *son*, as *Drost*, so far as we know, was only a man's name, and paternity is not supposed to have been recognised in Pictish descent, but birth alone. As to *Uoret* and *Forcus*, they are proper names; and the rest of the interpretation turns on the word *ett*, concerning which several views suggest themselves. (1) It may be the Latin *et* intended



to be read as the Pictish word for *and*, just as when one meets with *et* in Irish or Anglo-Saxon texts and reads it *ocus* or *and*; but (2) *ett* may have been a Pictish word, and in that case one should probably identify it with the *edd* on the Kilmaly Stone; and the pronunciation which the analogy of the other inscriptions would seem to indicate would be *eth* or *et*. This vocable may have meant (a) *and*, *et*, or else (b) let us say

for or for the benefit of. According to the former conjecture, the translation would be as follows:—

Drosten-ipe Uoret ett Forcus.
Drost's nephews Uoret and Fergus.

But I am now inclined to give the preference to the other view, and in so doing I am partly influenced by the fact that it is extremely rare to meet among our inscriptions with any intended to commemorate more than one person. So I should translate thus:—

Drosten-ipe Uoret ett Forcus.
Drost's nephew Uoret for Fergus.

In other words, the deceased bore the Goidelic name of Forcus or Fergus, and the cross commemorating him was put up by Uoret, whose *slonnuid* or surname was *Drosten-ipe*, that is to say, perhaps, *Nepos Drosti*, meaning *Drost's sister's son*. Lastly, I may remark that the placing of the important name at the end is just what one is led by other Pictish inscriptions to expect. Moreover, Forcus in that case must have been treated as a man so well known to his contemporaries that the inscriber thought it needless to describe him further.

v. THE FORDOUN STONE, Kincardineshire.

The lettering on this well-known stone is in the top corner to the left of the cross, and it consisted originally of at least two lines, but only just the lower ends of the letters in the upper line are visible, and that not to the extent of enabling one to make them out. The other line consists of mixed characters which are approximately P I C Q R N O I N. When I first saw this stone with Mr. Craigie in 1896, I was inclined to read the first letter as an imperfect uncial M; but on a more careful examination I find that the edge is intact. So I can only suppose that the letter is either *p* or *r*. The third letter is also hard to read: Mr. Romilly Allen (*Proceedings of the Society*, 1891-92, p. 253) has taken it to be a *d*, but it may possibly be a kind of G of the reaping-hook shape, which means that it might perhaps be an *s*. The *a* is thoroughly minuscule, and the last letter but one, which I have read I, would seem to

have a sort of continuation to the right which makes it look rather like an angular *s* or Greek Γ . This is followed by a less tall *N*, the last limb of which is lost in a groove forming part of the outline of the cross; otherwise it might be described as a small *V* upside down.

On the edge to the right of the figures with which the face of the stone is ornamented, we seemed to detect traces of Ogam writing. Their position would be similar to that of the Ogam on the Kilmaly Stone in Dunrobin Museum; but, as in the case of the latter, the Ogams here must have been very small, and they are so far gone that I can make nothing of them.

As to the name *Pidarnoin*, if one is right in regarding it as ending in *oin*, its form may be conjectured to be that of a Goidelic genitive of a name *Pidarnon* to be compared with *Ehtarrnonn* or *Eddarrnonn*.

vj. THE AQUHOLLIE STONE, near Stonehaven.

When I had a hurried look before at this stone, I read it $V \frac{i}{uo} n (o) n (\frac{i}{t}) t (e) \frac{d}{t} (o) v$. But I am inclined now to read it thus:—

The vowels are very indistinct, and the first of them has its second hollow somewhat irregularly prolonged, which may possibly indicate an *m*, so that, instead of *Vin*, one would have to read *Vamun*, possibly *Vabun*; and I once thought there was one vowel hollow more and one consonant score less; that is, instead of *Vin* we should have had *Vias* or *Vames* = (*Vabes*), but I could not satisfy myself as to the presence of an *s*. It is possible that before the *v* there was an *a*, but I cannot say; and whether we should give the *v* the value of *f* must depend on whether it was an initial here, and whether the inscription is an early one. On the whole, perhaps, we may regard the Ogam, cut in the ancient way on the angle of this rough monolith, devoid of all ornamentation or dressing, as early enough to date before *v* had been protected in Goidelic into *f*. Lastly, I could find no certain traces of writing after *ov*, and I think it was rash on my part to treat the whole as Goidelic

as another way of writing *st*. The old value of /// as *f* was nevertheless not wholly unknown to the Picts, as we have an instance of it to be mentioned presently; but in writing the last name on the Aboyne Stone, the inscriber preferred using TTT , which must have initially acquired by his time the value of *f*, while *vv* appears to be here used for the sound of our *v*. Besides the use of $\text{TTT} = f$, there is another thing which marks this inscription as a late one compared with Early Irish Ogams, to wit, the treatment of *q* as an equivalent of *c*; and this applies to other Pictish inscriptions. I regard *Talluorm* as a genitive of *Talluorr*, perhaps a contraction of *Talluorram* or *Talluorrenn*; but one may compare with the shorter form the *slomud* or surname of Manannán mac Lir, to wit, *maccu Lirín*, in the *Imram Bran* or Voyage of Bran, edited by Professor Meyer in Nutt's *Voyage of Bran*, i. 24, 25. There stanza 50 has *Moninnán mac Lir*, "Manannán, son of Ler," while the next one calls the same personage *Monann maccu Lirín*, rhyming with the feminine accusative *Cáintigirín*; and one cannot help regarding *Lirín* as a Pictish genitive here, used instead of the ordinary Goidelic *Lir*: it forms a parallel to *Talluorm*. Here may also be cited from the legend of St. Andrew the name *Ythernbuthib*, mentioned at page 340 above. For *Ythern* was probably either etymologically a genitive, or made to function as such, so that the whole agglutination may have had some such a signification as *Æterni Servus* or *Æterni Calvus*: compare *Calvus Patricii* = Mael Patraic, "Patrick's tonsured Man or Slave."

The word *ehht* was discussed in my previous paper, xxvi. 275, where I identified it with the *icht* given in Cormac's Glossary as meaning offspring, progeny, race, which reminds one of the Norse word *átt*, "family." But the resemblance is probably accidental: at any rate the word which we have as *ehht* is presumably a Pictish loan from Goidelic.¹ Proceeding with the interpretation of the inscription we may next consider the word *maggo*.

¹ The Irish *icht* has recently been equated with Welsh *iaith*, for an earlier *ieith* "language or speech," in a most ingenious paper contributed by Dr E. Zupitza to Meyer and Stern's *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*: see ii. 191. If Zupitza is right Irish *icht* cannot be related to Norse *átt*, from an earlier *act*-, which may be connected rather with Welsh *ach*, "a generation of men, lineage," and Irish *aiome*, "tribe or family."

This is the spelling of a vocable which occurs in Irish, as *maccu*, for instance in the name of *Dubthach Maccu-Lugir*, in the 9th century MS. of the Book of Armagh, in that of *Muirchu Maccu-Machtheni*, and the Latinised name of Lasrián, to wit, *Maccu-Lasrius*: see Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 86, 87, 62, and Stokes's *Patrick*, p. 269-71. But Codex H of Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbae*, dating from the beginning of the 8th century, shows this vocable repeatedly as *mocu*, which is supported by an ancient Irish Ogam from Ballyquin, Co. Waterford, reading *Catabor Moco ViriCorb[i]*. The genitive occurs as *moco-i*, but very rarely, the usual form being neither *mocoi* nor *macoi*, but *mucoi*, now and then written *muccoi*. The spelling in early Ogam should be *mocu*, with one *c*, as *moccu* would mean *mochu*, but in the Latin orthography it did not much matter whether the *c* was single or double. So in the *maqqo* of the Aboyne Cross, and in the *maccu* of such surnames as *Maccu-Lugir*, the old word *muco* or *moco* was modified under the persistent influence of the Goidelic *maqq*, *macc*, or *mac*, "son." In fact, Irish mediæval scribes went further, and tried, without rhyme or reason, to analyse the old word as *maccu* into *mac hua* and *mac hui*, usually written *mē hua* (and *mē hui* respectively), which they wished to regard as meaning "filius nepotis."¹

If we cast about for a parallel to the Aboyne inscription, two such are found to offer themselves:—(1) *MaqqoTalluorrrn-ehkt Frobbaccennevr* runs nearly parallel to ancient Irish inscriptions with the common formula *maqui mucoi*. Take, for instance, the following from Dunloe, in Kerry, *Dego maqui Mocoi Toicapi* "(the monument) of Deg, son of

¹ See Stokes's *Calendar of Oengus*, p. cclxxxviii., where he points out certain passages in which *maccu* has to be restored into the text. Some of the manuscripts, as they stand, violate the elementary rules of Irish phonology; thus Jan. 22, *mc huabeogna*, should be—were it any sense—*mc huambeogna*, "Maccu Beogna," and Feb. 7, *mc huachuind*, "maccu Cuinn," is still more wrong. These are from Laud 610, and the other two manuscripts published have undergone more careful editing,—that is to say, more tampering at the hands of their scribes, for the discrepancies, serving to point to the original reading, have been eliminated by writing *mc huibeona* and *mē huichuind*. This was, however, by no means confined to the scribes. Take, for instance, *Abban mac ua Charmaig*, that is to say, *A. Maccu Chormaic*, mentioned by Forbes in his *Kal. of Scottish Saints*, p. 299, as leaving his name to *Kell Vic o Charmaig*, "Cell of Maccu Chormaic," at Keills, in Argyll.

Moco-Toicap." If we translate the Pictish inscription into Early Irish, substituting the genitive for the nominative, which seldom occurs,—that is to say, making *Frobbaccennevv* into "(the grave or monument) of *Frobbaccennevv*," it would run as follows:—

Frobbaccennivvi maqui Mucoi-Talluorri.

The Pictish sequence being the same as that of the words on the St. Vigeans and Newton stones, the principal name comes last in Pictish but first in Goidelic, and in the former the genitive *MaggoTalluorrm* precedes the noun governing it, namely, *ehht*, while the noun must, in Goidelic, as in Celtic generally, come before its governed genitive. There is here, however, an apparent exception to the permutation of the genitive and its governing noun, and one might at first suppose that the analogy indicated would require *Talluorrm-Maggo* instead of *Maggo-Talluorrm*. But the exception is only apparent, for in the first place *MaggoTalluorr* is put in the genitive, making *Maggo-Talluorrm*, as a single term, governed by *ehht*, with which it is agglutinated; and, in the next place, when you analyse that term into *Maggo-Talluorr*, the relationship between the component words is not that of a genitive and the noun on which that genitive depends. In other words, the difference consists in Goidelic using a genitive where Pictish did not admit it. To explain this, it is necessary to study the use made of *moco* or *maccu*; and the facilities for that are chiefly afforded by Adamnan. One of the meanings of the word, as used in Goidelic, was that of *gens* or *genus*, clan or tribe, and it is treated sometimes as the equivalent of *dál*, "a division," and of *corco*, *corcu*, or *corca*, another word entering into tribal designations. Thus *Mocu Sailni* = *Dál Sailne* (Reeves' Adamnan, p. 29), *Mocu-Themne* = *Corcu-Temne* or *Corcu-Teimne* (Bk. of Armagh, 13, b, 2, 14, a, 1), *Mocu Dalon* = *Corca Dallann* (Adamnan, p. 220), *Mocu Runtir* = *Dál Ruintir* (Adam., p. 47) = *de genere Runtir* (*Patrick*, p. 306), and *Clocherum Filiorum Daimeni* (Adam., ii. 5) = *Clochar macu Doimni* (*Patrick*, p. 178, where it is printed *Clochar mace nDomini*, but corrected in the index, p. 622, s.v. *Clochar*): the place intended was Clogher, in Tyrone. But *mocu* was also applicable to a single man, so Stokes (*Celtic Declension*, p. 84) thinks that it

probably meant "descendant," and the late Bishop Reeves has a note concerning the names *Dál Sailne* or *mocu Sailni*, that "every man in the clan Dal-Sailne was a *mac Ui Sailne*," that is to say, *macu Sailne* (Adam., p. 29). In fact, however, the word cannot have meant precisely race, stock, or clan, or descendant either, but race or stock minus the abstraction which attaches to those terms: it was race in the strictly concrete form of some individual of it. The Pict had not got so far as to be able to speak of the *race of AB* or *AB's race*, for race or kin as an abstraction or something capable of being contemplated as separable from AB, DC, and the other related individuals, had no meaning for him: he did not think in that way. On the other hand, every individual of a clan was an incarnation of the kin or race: he was not of the *kin of AB*—he was *kin AB*; and when you had counted all the individuals, you had reckoned the whole kin, but there was no abstract and comprehensive way of speaking of the whole kin. This looks very subtle, but the difficulty arises from our habit of expressing our meaning in abstract terms, and from our helplessness when we try to do it without them. The difference between the Pictish and the Celtic way of thinking as regards this matter will be seen at once by looking how Adamnan deals with tribal names of the kind here in question; and this leads me to the other parallel to be mentioned.

(2) Sometimes he leaves the tribal name incompletely translated, as in *Laisranus mocu-Moie*, "Laisrán kin Min," and *Lugbeus mocu-Min*, "L. kin Min" (i. 18, 15). At other times he Latinises and becomes more abstract in his language, as when the latter is described as *Lugbeus, gente mocu-min*, "L., by race Moccu Min" (i. 24, 28), and so frequently. Similarly, in Tírechan's text, published by Stokes in his *Patrick* (p. 306), we find certain individuals mentioned as being *de genere Runtir*; but the Pictish way of thinking left no room for anything corresponding to the prepositions *de* or *by*, and *genus Runtir* would have been nearer to the original. Taking *Runtir*, however, to be genitive, and *Runter* nominative, the literal rendering would be *genus Runter*. For the relationship between the two words was one of apposition, *kin Runter*. So the Aboyne inscription put into Adamnan's language would be *Frobbaccennev gente Mocu-Talluorri*. As already

suggested there is nothing in the inscription to represent the force of the ablative; still this is a closer parallel than the other, as the meaning of *ehht* was probably that of *gens* and not of *filius*, especially if one may regard *ehht* as a Pictish word borrowed from the Goidelic *icht*, "race, tribe, offspring."

The distinction indicated above between Pictish and Celtic is important to bear in mind as the key to some of the apparent anomalies in the kind of surname here in question. In the first place, it is usual in the case of an agglutinative language for two nouns in apposition to have the case characteristic only used once, namely, at the end of the agglutination. In other terms, the vocable following *moco*, *moccu*, would alone have the case ending, while *moco* in that position could not have any such exponent. So Adamnan never declines his *moccu*, whereas in the Ogam of the south of England, of Wales, and of Ireland, it mostly occurs in the genitive, as *mucoi* after the word for *son*. That looks as it should be, since Adamnan was probably not so far removed in time or place from Pictish as the Ogam writers of the south of both islands. On the other hand, a Celt, as such, would be as much tempted to make the noun following *mocu* end in the genitive as a Roman would be to say *genus Adrasti*, or *gens Tarquinorum*. So Adamnan's tribal names beginning with *moccu* usually end in the genitive, regardless of the case of the leading name, as when he heads a chapter (i. 41) *De Erco fure MocuDruidi*.

In the case of Goidelic inscriptions in which the genitive of *moco* occurs, it is needless to say that the noun following is usually put in the genitive; but even in the single instance known for certain of the nominative, namely, *Catabor moco Viri-Corb*¹. . ., the noun *Viri* following is in the genitive. This construction with *moco* followed by a name dependent on it in the genitive case, I have already treated as Goidelic, and the Pictish as that of two nouns in apposition. This seems to be borne out by an inscription on a stone at Dunloe in Kerry,

¹ Unfortunately the inscription is imperfect, since it breaks off after the Ogam for *b*, so that one cannot say whether *Corb* had a case ending as in *Corbi*, which occurs elsewhere. In later Irish *Viri-Corb* becomes *Fir-Chorb*, nominative *Fer-Corb*, "Corb's Man," oftener than *Fir-Chuirb* and *Fer-Cuirb* respectively.

which reads in Ogam *Maqui-Ttal maqui Vorgos maqui Mucoi-Toiacac*, and means “(The Stone) of Mac-Tail, son of Vorgos, son of Muco-Toiacac.” Though it was meant to be Goidelic, the construction is that of an agglutinative language, as in a good many other instances. Thus the leading name is *MaquiTtal*, which should, in correct Goidelic, be *MaquiTtali* (later *Meic Thail*), but the *i* is only put on at the end of the agglutinate apposition group *MaquiTtal-maqu-i*: according to the same analogy, *Vorgos-maqu-i* probably stands for the Goidelic genitives *Vorgossos maqui* “*Fergusii filii*”; but when the inscriber came to the end, where he should have written *muco-Toiacac-i*, he did not feel at liberty to depart from the common formula *maqui mucoi*, so he wrote *mucoi Toiacac*, where he might have produced correct Goidelic by making it into *Mucoi Toiacaci*, as on another stone at Dunloe. He considered that *muco* and *Toiacac* were in apposition, and entitled to only one case termination: thus, although he felt bound to attach it to *muco*, he did not think it necessary to add it to *Toiacac* as well. His was still the syntax of an agglutinative language, though his phonetics may be supposed to have become Goidelic, if we may judge from the fact that his *Toiacac* is a modification of a non-Goidelic *Toiacap*: the genitive *Toiacapi* occurs on another of the Dunloe stones. The name is probably that which was sounded later as if written *Taoigheag* or *Taeghag*, though spelled for some unascertained reason *Tadcc*, *Tadc*, *Taidg*, *Tadhg*: see O’Donovan’s *Irish Grammar*, p. 9. Another instance of Irish changing *p* into *c* is *Dinisp*—in a fragmentary Ogam from Coolineagh, in Co. Cork, which occurs later in the name *Cú-Dinisc*; not to mention a whole group of Irish words like *caisc*, “Easter,” from *pascha*, and the like.

Maccu or *moco* mutates the name following it, as for instance in that of the blind magician of Ossory given in the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 290a, as *Díl mac hú Chreaga*, and in the *Book of the Dun Cow*, fo. 54b, as *m̄c hui Creca* for *mc húi Chreca*. The case is the same with *corcu*, *corco*, or *corca*, regarded as meaning offspring or progeny, as in *Corca Dhuibhne*, Anglicised *Corkaguiny*, in Kerry. The oldest form is *korku*, in Adamnan’s *Korkureti*, i. 47, which some would identify with a later *Corca Raidhe*, Anglicised *Corkaree*, the name of a barony in Westmeath. Possibly *moco* and *corco* may be regarded as involving the same final *o* or *u*. It

is likely, however, to have been rather *ō* or *ū*, with the stress accent on it. At any rate this would help to explain the later analysis into *mac húi* and *corca úi*, with the accent on *húi* and *úi* followed by the mutation consonant. Lastly, the analogy of *mocu* and *corcu* appears to have been strong enough to influence the syntax of *mac*, "son," and *ó*, grandson, as in *mac Dhomhnaill*, "Donnell's son," and *ó Fhearghail*, "Ferghail's grandson," where the general rule would require *mac Domhnaill* and *ó Fearghail*, which in fact would be obligatory in Irish in the case of the words when used as a *slonnud* or family surname: see O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*, p. 56, where he gives the latter as *Mac Domhnaill* and *O'Fearghail*. In Manx Gaelic the mutation is still more widespread, as in *mac Yee*, "son of God," and *mac Ghavid*, "David's son"; not to mention that most Manx surnames begin with *c* or *k*, as in *Corkish* for *Mac Fhorcais*, "Son of Fergus," and *Kermode* for *Mac Dhiarmota*, "Son of Dermot"; and somewhat similarly in Scotch Gaelic, as in the case of *Mac Dhughail* and *Mac Shimi* respectively. It is possible that in such surnames, *mac* has, by confusion, more or less extensively taken the place of *maccu*, as, for instance, in the case of the ancient monastery of Clonmacnois, which is known to have been originally *Cluain maccu Nois* (written *Cluain mcunois*), called later *Cluain mic Nois*: see the *Gram. Celtica*,¹¹ p. xxiii., and Stokes's *Calendar of Oengus*, Glossarial Index, s.v. *cluain*.

Thus *maccu* would seem to have disappeared partly by being confounded with *mac*, "son," and partly by being analysed wrongly into *mac húi*, the *mac* of which was then dropped, as in the case of the clan *mocu Dovinias*, which should have yielded in later Irish *maccu Duibne*, instead of which we have, however, *Uí Duibne*, in the singular *O'Duibne*, as in the name of Dermot O'Duibne, the principal hero of his race, as represented in Irish story. The late tale, however, called the *Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*, edited by Dr. O'Grady in 1884, oscillates throughout in its designation of that hero between *Diarmuid O'Duibhne* and *Mac Uí Dhuibhne*, that is to say, *Maccu Dhuibhne*. The same story also makes *Corcu Dhuibhne* into *Corca Uí Dhuibhne*; and as both *corca* and *corcu* sounded like plurals, a singular *Corc* seems to have been inferred in the case of Dubinn's son *Corc Duibne*. As it stands, it

makes an unusual combination, meaning *Dubinn's Corc*, but if we made it into *Corcu Duibne* it would seem probable that it might be a *stonnucl*, and that we might render it synonymously by *Maccu Duibne*, "Kin of Dubinn," the fore-name being, in that case, unrecorded. Similarly in the case of *Mac i Ifernáin*, A.D. 1150, for *Maccu Ithernáin*, more commonly known without the *macc* as *O'h-Iffernain*: see the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1047 and 1150.

viii. THE CARDEN STONE, now at Logie Elphinstone, in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire.

I have been again studying this stone, chiefly in rubbings and photographs submitted to me by Lord Southesk and Mr Nicholson. The supposed Ogam is drawn on a small circle made near the top of the stone, and the writing shows two empty spaces, the bigger of which occurs in the part of the circle which I may call the north-west, while the lesser space is situated diametrically opposite. These spaces seem to mark the reading off into two pieces, and if we begin from the north-west space and read towards the right round the top, we seem to have the following Ogam:—

 C a l t b a t	 H a d b h o
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I should have no strong objection to its being read *Hadbho Calt*; but if all the scores are read in the contrary direction, the result is *Obhlab Vdas* or *Vdas Obhlab*, neither of which seems to have anything to recommend it on the score of the sequence of the sounds concerned. In any case I have no notion what the whole means: it is conceivable that it was not intended to be read as letters at all, but merely regarded rather as a sort of magical figure. In this respect it reminds one of the amber bead described in Mr. Brash's book (p. 321, plate xli.) as having eight Ogam letters written on a line cut round its circumference. This curious object has since been traced by Lord Southesk, who succeeded, if I am not mistaken, in identifying it in the British Museum. I mention this as it is possible, that the circle was suggested by the shape of certain talismans like the amber bead: the inscriber would have

found it considerable labour to cut an Ogam all round the Logie stone, and to spare himself that trouble he may have thought a small circle on a smooth spot near the top of the stone would do equally well. But a line of writing round the stone can hardly have been the original idea : we have something more primitive than this suggested in the Irish story of *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, namely, a withy, a wooden ring or collar placed round the top or the narrow part of a pillar stone or menhir. In the *Táin*, Cúchulainn cuts down a branch of a tree and forms it into a ring of the desired dimensions at a single stroke, and writes an Ogam on it ; but what is said of his skill in accomplishing his object at one stroke is probably to be regarded as a partial inversion by the storyteller of some obligatory custom, that the collar should not be elaborated or in any way highly finished. The place where he did this was called Carn Cuilen, and there stood a *coirthé* or menhir on the spot : he knew that the foe from the west, Ailill and Maive, with their armies, would have to pass by on their way to surprise Ulster ; so, to delay them whilst he gave notice to the Ultonians, he wrote an Ogam on the ring, which he then set as a collar on the menhir. The purport of the Ogam was that the invaders should not venture to pass by until they had found a man to produce a ring in the same way as the Ultonian champion had done. It was explained to them, by an experienced leader and magician, that if they disregarded the ring, there would be death and bloodshed among them before the next morning, and that, though it were held in one's hand or locked up in a house, the ring would not fail to join him who wrote the Ogam on it.¹ The consequence was that Ailill took his army another and a longer way, which gave Cúchulainn the time he wanted to warn his friends of its coming. Carn Cuilen, with its menhir, was probably a spot made sacred by the burial there of somebody, possibly of the Cuilen from whom it was named ; and it reminds one of the burial mounds or cairns to which one was expected, as in the case of the cairn formerly existing at Pen Gorffwysfa, in the Pass of Llanberis,

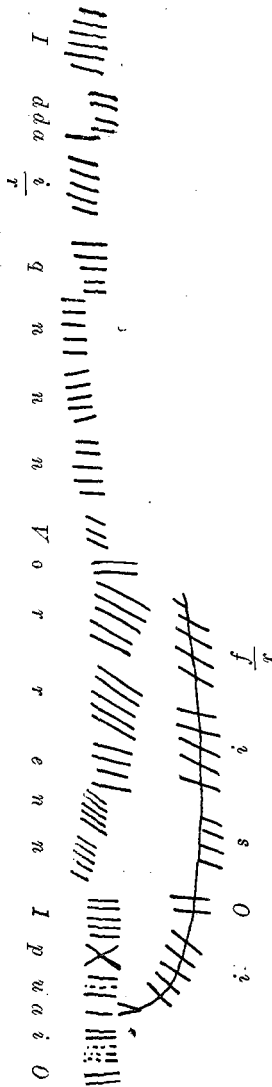
¹ Thus it would seem that misfortune resulted from meddling with the ring, and that the Ogam on the ring identified it with the writer of it, who wished to benefit by it. The incident will be found related in the fac-simile of the *Book of the Dun Cow* (p. 57), and in that of the *Book of Leinster* (p. 58b).

in the Snowdon district of North Wales, to add a stone in passing, if one wished to reach one's journey's end unmolested.

Among other places these *coirthi* or menhirs stood near the homes of important families: in fact, their presence in ancient Ireland is so taken for granted in the stories that no account is given of them or of the purpose which they answered. They are simply introduced by the definite article, and we are left to make what we can of them, as in the following incident, also given in the Táin:—Cúchulainn, on the day of his taking arms, wished to distinguish himself by slaying certain foes of his race, so he careers over the boundary and orders his charioteer to make for the fortress of the Three Sons of Nechta Scene,¹ for that was the name of their mother. Having arrived near it, he descends, takes the collar off the *coirth* or pillar-stone and casts it into the stream flowing past to carry away, and then he rests by the *coirth* and falls asleep while waiting for the Sons of Nechta Scene to come forth to fight with him. Thus he had designedly insulted them by removing the ring off the menhir, for that is described as *coll ngisse* to them, which might be Englished as a violation of tabu affecting them. In other words, it boded evil to them, which speedily came upon them at the hands of Cúchulainn, who carried their heads away to his friends at home.² Lastly, I may say that one is reminded of the Ogam-inscribed stone found a few years ago in the course of the excavations on the site of the Roman town of Calleva at Silchester, in Hampshire. It has a sort of neck or narrow part round which a wreath or torque may have been placed. Other asso-

¹ It is more exactly speaking in the genitive throughout the text of the *Book of the Dun*, but once in a marginal gloss the nominative is given as Nechtan Scene, while in the *Book of Leinster* it is throughout *Nechtáin Scene*, as the nominative does not seem to occur.

² The incident is related in the *Book of the Dun* (p. 62a), and in the *Book of Leinster* (p. 66). The latter version differs from the other in several important respects: (a) it explains that, on the green before the *dún*, there was a *coirth* with a ring of iron round it. (b) It makes Cúchulainn put his arms round the *coirth* and carry it, ring and all, as it was, and throw it into the river. (c) The ring had an Ogam on it, stating that it was tabu for any warrior to enter the green without openly offering to fight. All this sounds decidedly later than the briefer description in the *Book of the Dun*, and it comes nearer to certain passages with which one sometimes meets in the Romances: in the *Book of the Dun* no Ogam is mentioned in this connection.



ciations suggested by the menhir and collar, and the peculiar shape of the Silchester stone, need not be mentioned, and I have dwelt so long on this class of monuments only because the circle of Ogams on the Logie stone may perhaps be regarded as belonging to it.

I may, however, add that I am inclined to regard the pillar-stone, with its collar and Ogam, as continued in a modified form in the remarkable group of crosses in South Wales characterised by the formula that "A.B. prepared this cross *pro anima sua* or *pro anima C.D.*," or for both. It happens that most of them are wheel crosses or in some way circular, so that the collar or Ogam circle may be said to be duly represented: see Westwood's *Lapidarium Wallie*, plates 3-7, 10, 14, 16, 18, 22.

ix. THE SHEVACK STONE, at Newton, Aberdeenshire.

In passing through the Garioch I could not help breaking my journey at Inusch, in order to have another look at this well-known stone, though I hardly expected to get any fresh light on the lettering. I read the Ogam much as before.

Beginning at the end, I may say that I had been influenced by a squeeze of the Ogam to read the last consonant as an *r*; but on examining it again I should have rather said that it made it possible to read *r*. On looking carefully, however, on the stone for the 5th score, I have failed to find it; there may have been a little tag above the fleasg as

it were the beginning of a 5th score ; but I should rather regard that as a sort of stop, just as I take the oblique mark, which has sometimes been taken for an *h*, at the beginning of the fleasg to have been meant as an indication that the reading is then continued on a different line from that preceding. I am more convinced than ever that the inscriber meant to have ended the inscription on the natural angle of the stone, and that he actually wrote there *Iddaiqnnn Vorrenn Ipuai O*, but that, finding the last two letters *i, o*, in such a rough and irregular part of the edge, he resolved to turn back and continue the Ogam on an artificial line : so he re-wrote the *i* and the *o*. Another conjecture, which would come to the same thing, would be, that the stone was or was to be in the ground rather deeper than it is now, and that the inscriber, finding he could not finish on the edge, the *i* and the *o* were partly erased by him as too near the ground. The whole might accordingly be represented thus :

iddaiqnnnvorrennipuaieiosif.

Or thus :—

iddaiqnnnvorrennipua[i o]iosif.¹







One of the difficulties of this, as of some other Pictish inscriptions, is that of distinguishing between vowels and consonants : thus in reading *iq* rather than *rq* I must confess to being more or less influenced by the other letters on the stone, namely, the script on the face of it.

With regard to this more difficult kind of writing, I can hardly do more than pick from previous attempts by others and by myself what seems to me the most probable reading, and attempt more especially to represent by the same letters the characters which appear to me to be identical :—

Letters 1, 4, 5 are supposed to be derived from *Æ*, but the character looks almost like an *F*. Nos. 2, 3, 21 are probably rounded *T*'s and not *D*'s of any kind, while No. 44, in the last line, which affects capitals more, is a capital *T*. Nos. 6, 19, 23 have been supposed to be *C*, though the gap in the circumference is in the upper part ; but letter 19

¹ It is tempting, I must confess, to read it *iddaiqnnn vorrenn ipuai iosif* and to fancy we have here a form of the name *Joseph* ; but *ipuai Oiosif* is also possible.

has been read a B by Mr. Nicholson. I hardly think, however, that the difference between it and No. 6 is sufficient to warrant that distinction. Nos. 7, 9, 33 seem to be a rudimentary N with its angles rounded and the last limb merely indicated. Nos. 8, 10, 15, 41 are supposed to be a kind of *v* or *u* rather resembling a Y in appearance, and No. 12 probably is the same, though it rather resembles No. 32, which seems to be a U with its sides produced divergently downwards, giving it somewhat the appearance of an H, while No. 43 is a U with the top closed: in other words, the top lines of the U are joined into

1. 
5. 
14. 
23. 
32. 
37. 

one continuous line. Nos. 11, 24, 26 are A without the cross bar and with the angle at the top rounded; and I am inclined to think that Nos. 42, 45 are also A, but more elaborate, with the top wider and partly angular. It must, however, be admitted that 42 and 45 are among the most difficult of all to identify: they may possibly be both R, but other values have also been assigned to them. No. 13 resembles an Irish *p*, and is pretty certainly an *r*. No. 14 looks somewhat like a G of the reaping hook form, or a sort of broken *s*. Nos. 16, 18,

20, 22, 38, 40 appear to be all O, but in the case of 22 there is a natural line in the stone which makes the letter look somewhat like a Greek θ . Nos. 17 and 37 are the same, and somewhat like a Greek λ : they probably stand here as a variety of *h*. No. 25 is the swastika which is to be treated perhaps as a cross, perhaps as a double *s*. No. 27 looks an E, but as there is a natural groove running horizontally at its base one may possibly treat it as F. No. 28 is an L with its back curved backwards. Nos. 29, 31, 36 are I without any elaboration of the ends. No. 31 is nearly straight; 36 is less so and 29 is short and curved towards the L. No. 30 is a long, gently curved S. No. 34 looks like a Hebrew lamed, but it probably is a kind of ζ , and No. 35 looks like a sort of recumbent S, but it was probably intended for another S. No. 39 is not quite like Nos. 8, 10, 15, 41; it is more open, and rather resembles a P with the horizontal portion of its top wanting; but it was possibly meant for that consonant.

Beyond the two first lines, these guesses are of very little value, and I wish I could accept Mr. Nicholson's reading of the other four lines, which he considers to be Latin, meaning *cum bono voto dn + Melisi, Unggi novofactum*.¹ In any case, the arrangement of the lines on the stone would seem to indicate that the two first lines formed a separate inscription, or at any rate that the rest was due to an afterthought of some kind. We are helped by the parallel between the first two lines of the script and the Ogam, and beyond that I am still unable to go. Provisionally, one might guess *Ætæ æcnv Vavr* to mean—*Here lies Vaur*, while the Ogam *Iddaiqnm Vorrenn ipuai Osif* might be rendered—*Here lies Vaur's nephew (or sister's son) Osif*. But on duly considering that we can point to no certain instance of the formula *hic iacet* or any variant of it on any other Pictish stone, and that no trace of that formula occurs in any Ogam whatsoever in Ireland, Wales, or England, it seems safer to suppose that what we have at most, in Pictish inscriptions, consists of (a) the *ainm* or personal name of the deceased, and (b) the *ainm* of a parent or a remoter relative on the mother's side, together with (c) the *slonnuil* or family surname added

¹ The last word would look somewhat more possible as *novofacta* or *nofofacta* for *novofacta*. *Unggi* looks like Norse *ungi* following a name, as in *Hákon Ungi*.

to either *ainm* or both. Accordingly, we should translate, provisionally, as follows:—

Ættæ Æcnun Vavr.
Kin Ecnun Vaur.

Allowing for the order of the agglutinated words, this would be approximately in Adamnan's usual formula, *Vaur Moccu-Ecnun*, "Vaur kin of Ecnun," while the Ogam would be

Iddaiqnun Vorenn ipuai Osif.
Kin-Ecnun Vaur's nephew Osif.

That is, analogously treated, *Osif nephew of Vaur Moccu-Ecnun*.

Before leaving this Ogam, I wish to make some remarks on *ipuai*. It has already been pointed out that we have another form of the same word in the *ipe* in iv., and in my previous article I identified it with *poi* in an Ogam from Ballintaggart, Co. Cork, reading *Broinienas poi NetaTtrenalugos* " (The Stone) of Broiniu's Nephew, Champion of Trenlug "; but there is room for hesitation as to how much of the legend went to make up the first name, and how much the second. On the whole, however, as *neta* (more correctly *netta*) seems to be the crudestem form of a word which was in the genitive, *nettas*, with a nominative *nē* (for **netts*), later Irish *niath*, *nia* respectively, we have probably to construe thus:—

Broinienas poi Neta-Ttrenalugos,¹
Broiniu's nephew Netta-Ttrenalugos.

¹ As to the Ogam for *p*, one may say, in the first place, that the Ogmic alphabet, being Goidelic, had no occasion for *p*, and that when Latin, Brythonic, or Pictish words with *p* had to be written, there appears to have been some hesitation as to a symbol. In South Wales it is found to have been × and ^ (both written on the *B* side) in representing in Ogam names derived from *Turpilius* and *Pompeius*. The ×, so placed appears once in Ireland, in the Pictish genitive *Erpenn*, and I have found ^ in *Iacinipoi*, both being placed on the *B* side of the edge. The ordinary Irish rule, however, was to use × placed on the edge, as in the case of the Pictish *ipuai*: more correctly speaking, I should perhaps have said that this came in the long run to be the rule. At all events, I cannot follow those who try to distinguish between the values of these symbols by making some of them into *p* and the others into some kind of a *k* or *c*. I am indebted to Dr Whitley Stokes for a suggestion, that the *Ttr* of *NetaTtrenalugos*, pronounced *thr*, comes from *str*: compare the case of *cathir* 'a town or city.' The whole name would thus analyse itself into *Nettas-Ttrenalugos* beginning with the genitive *nettas*.

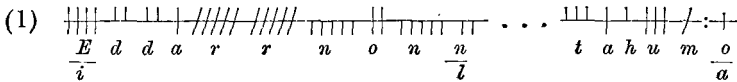
represent it as *ǎ* than as *ǝ* in the case of the Picts of South Britain and of Ireland, from whom one must suppose it to have survived into the Ogam inscriptions mentioned, though in Scotland it begins with *i* in *ipe* and *ipuai*. It is also worth noting that possibly we have it, or a nearly kindred word, occurring initially in such names as *Apevritti*¹ on another Ballintaggart stone, and *Apilogdo* or *Apiloggo* on a stone from Minard, in the same county. But in this view I am also influenced considerably by a group of what I cannot help regarding as purely Pictish names surviving in Welsh, with *apui*, later *abwy*, such as that of the clerical witness variously called in the Book of Llan Dāv *Guor-apui*, *Guor-abui*, *Guor-habui*, *Gur-abui*, *Gur-aboi*, and *Gur-poi* (pp. 199, 200, 202, 205, 207, 209, 210), besides a layman's name, *Gueraabne* (p. 210), which is doubtless to be corrected into *Gueraabue* or *Guernabe*. The latter would be a form of a name which occurs otherwise in the same manuscript as *Guern-apui* and *Guern-abui* (pp. 75, 77, 80, 164, 166), not to mention *Guen-opoui* (p. 163), a spelling of the same name, or a similarly formed one, such as *Guin-abui* (p. 122), and the later feminine *Gwen-abwy* (*Iolo. MSS.*, p. 117). To these may be added *Hun-apui*

¹ I am not certain whether this is to be analysed *Ape-Vritti* or *Apev-Ritti*, but the latter has the advantage of equating naturally with *Maqu-Ritti*, later *Macrith* or *Mac-rith*: see Stokes's Lismore Lives of Saints (p. 171) and his 3 M. Irish Homilies (p. 98). *Mac-rith* seems to imply some such a Pictish name as *Ritten-Apev*, which had first its syntax made Goidelic by changing the place of the genitive and then its declension also. Thus arose *Apev Ritti*, and the second change was to translate *Apev* into *Mac*, which, however, need not necessarily be considered to have meant *son*, as it meant *boy* just as much or more. The same may be assumed to have been the history of *Api-Logdo* . . . but the reading is so uncertain that I dare not suggest *Mac Lugada* or the like: *Mac-Lugdech* seems phonetically inadmissible. In the case of the *Corbi'poi* already instanced, we have the original Pictish, excepting that *Corbi* is Goidelic in its case ending, standing, as it does, for some such a Pictish genitive as *Corben* or *Corbin*. At any rate, the extent of the error which may lie beneath this guess cannot be considerable, as we have, it seems to me, the exact translation in a name met with more than once in Irish Ogams: to wit, *Macorbi*, which is probably to be analysed into *Maqua-Corbi* or *Maqu-Corbi*: later *MacCorb* occurs as a man's name (*Book of Leinster*, fo. 55a). In any case, one is tempted to conclude that names like *Corbi'poi*, in the first instance, and *Apevritti*, in the second, established the formula of fore-names with *mac*, such as *Mac Cecht* and *Mac Cairthin*, except an occasional one, which may have been originally a *slonnud* or family surname.

and *Iun-abui*, Latinised as *Jun-apeius*, *Jun-apius* (pp. 73, 164-5, 192, 275); and in later Welsh *Rhon-abwy*. All of these, except *Guor-apui* or *Gur-poi*, have the first part ending in *n*, so that we seem to have in *Guin* or *Gwen*, *Guern*, *Hun*, *Iun*, and *Rhon*, ancient Pictish genitives. But *Gurapui* is interesting as having the variant *Gurpoi* with the same shortening as in the Early Irish *Corbi-poi*, and what is more unexpected still, the same kind of form is to be found in Armorica, to wit, in the name of the well-known Breton king, of the ninth century, Érispoë. This analyses itself into *poe* = Goidelic *poi*, and *Eris* = the Goidelic *Airis*, genitive of a man's name *Aires*, which occurs in *Cill Airis* and *Domnach Airis* (*Book of Leinster*, fo. 326*d*, 353*d*, 356*a*, 363*c*); *Eres* occurs also in the Book of Llan Dâv (p. 188). Unless I am altogether mistaken, these instances of Pictish vocabulary, surviving, whether in ready-made Pictish names Brythonicised, or in an adapted Goidelic formula, place the question of the permanence of the Pictish people, whatever its origin may have been, in a very striking light.

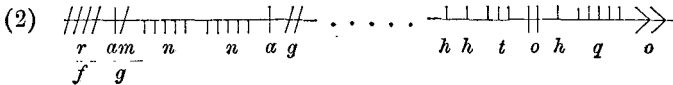
x. THE DYKE STONE, in Brodie Park, Morayshire.

One day in September 1897, I had an opportunity of re-examining the stone from Dyke, now in Brodie Park. My previous readings of this stone were largely guesswork, but my guesses this time differ to some extent from them, and may be represented approximately as follows:—

(1) 

$$\frac{E}{i} \quad d \quad d \quad a \quad r \quad r \quad n \quad o \quad n \quad n \quad \dots \quad t \quad a \quad h \quad u \quad m \quad \frac{o}{a}$$

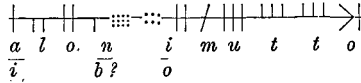
The first vowel is at the very base of the stone, as it now stands, and it may have had another score which has been broken off; and in the other direction I could guess no lettering any further, though there probably has been some.

(2) 

$$\frac{r}{f} \quad \frac{am}{g} \quad n \quad n \quad a \quad g \quad \dots \quad h \quad h \quad t \quad o \quad h \quad q \quad o$$

The first consonant is at the base, and probably has lost one score, and

there seems to have been more writing above the *qo*: I jotted down Ogams making *la m las*, but I place no reliance on them.

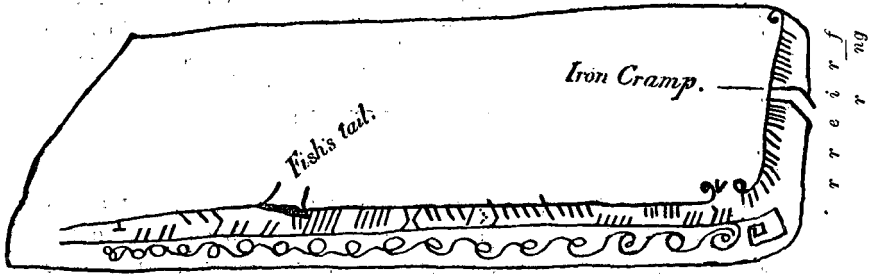
(3) 

The vowel score at the bottom is distinctly visible, though it escaped me the other time, but how many more there may have been I cannot tell.

The principal contribution of this monument is the name *Eddarrnonn* or *Eddarrnon*, which I regard as another spelling of the name which I have represented as *Ehtarrnonn* on the Scoonie Stone. Of the rest I can make nothing.

xj. THE KILMALY STONE, in the Duke of Sutherland's Museum at Dunrobin, Sutherlandshire.

I have not seen this monument since I wrote of it before, but I have before me a photograph of it and Mr. Nicholson's reading. The following are the guesses which I now prefer to *Allhhallorr edd Maqq Nuuvvarreimg*, the last reading suggested in my former paper:—



Allhhallorr eddMaqq Nuuvvva
 $\frac{a}{d} \quad \frac{r}{f} \quad \frac{e}{a} \quad d \quad M' \quad q \quad q \quad N \quad u \quad v \quad v \quad \frac{a}{h}$

The gap occurs where an iron cramp is fixed to hold the stone in its present position in the museum, and the edge has been damaged at that point, how or when I do not know. Mr. Nicholson reads *Uvvarrecc* as a spelling

of the Gaelic adjective *uaibhreach*, "proud"; but *ecch* will not fill the space, and there is no reason to suppose that the gap is original; not to mention that the inclination of the scores is not that of *c* or *h*, judging from all the others on the *h* side: they distinctly slope like the *r*'s. If the iron clamp were removed and the stone examined in a good light, possibly the spawl might be found to have left enough traces of the scores to show their direction and to enable one to decide between *r* and *i*. The abbreviation *mqq* for *maqq* was first pointed out by Mr. Nicholson, and, if it proves correct, we seem to have in it an indication of the comparatively late date of the inscription. The Irish manuscript of the Book of the Dun Cow, written not later than the year 1106, has *mc* for *mac* commonly enough; but at what time the abbreviation first appears, I am unable to say.

The legend divides itself into *M'qq* with one or two words before and after it, and the former I would analyse into *Allhhallorr edd*, a proper name followed by *edd*, to be identified with the *ett* on the St. Vigeans Stone. As to the name, it is to me obscure, though at first sight it looks as if it ought to turn out to be Norse; but I have found no clue to any tenable theory on the point. What follows the Goidelic *m'qq* should doubtless be in the genitive case, and be regarded as intended to be wholly or partly Goidelic itself. It is altogether so obscure, however, that one cannot feel certain whether to read *Nuuvarre Irf* or *Nuuvarr Eirf*, not to mention the alternative guesses as to doubtful letters. But with *Nuuvarre* one might compare an obscure vocable *Nufra* in *Firnufra*, genitive of *Fernufra*, in a pedigree in the Book of Ballymote, fo. 122^a, and conclude after the analogy of names like *Fer Tlachtga*, "Man of (the goddess or woman) Tlachtga," that *Nufra* was also a name. It is further possible that *Irf* is to be identified with the name *Hirp* which occurs in *Cathmol mc Hirp* in the Bodley MS., Laud 610, fo. 95^b/₂. Compare *Yrp* in the Welsh Triads, i. 40 = ii. 5,¹ where the man of that name appears to be a stranger who outwits

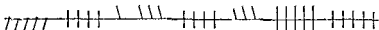
¹ This triad as given in the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, *Mabinozion*, p. 298) is deserving of notice also on account of the following names in it:—*A gæunwynwyn-a gwanar-veibon ttiar uab noyfre. Ac aryanrot verch veli eu mam. Ar goyr hymny o erch a heled pann anhoedynt* "And Gwynwyn and Gwanar, sons of

the Welsh. He must have been a Pict, a Gael, or a Norseman: Norse literature mentions men of the name *Erp* more than once: see the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, i. 51, 56, 58; ii. 2, 6.

The interpretation has difficulties of its own and of the same nature as those of the St. Vigean's inscription, turning on the particle *edd*. For among other things it may mean *and* or *for*. But the argument against the former may be put more strongly than in the St. Vigean's case: no Ogam inscription whatsoever in Ireland, Wales, or England is known to have been intended to commemorate more individuals than one. So I take the *edd* to have meant *for*, and so I translate *Allhhallorr for Mqq Nuwvarre inf*, that is, Allhhallorr put up the cross for McN.

xij. THE KEISS STONE, from Keiss, near Wick, in Caithness, now in the Edinburgh National Museum.

When staying at Aberlour in September 1897, Mr. J. R. Findlay told me of the stone discovered by Mr. Barry of Keiss Castle, and given by him to Dr. Anderson for the National Museum in Edinburgh: a little later I went to the Museum to see it. Now that Dr. Anderson's account of the stone and a figure of it have appeared in the Society's *Proceedings* for 1896-7, p. 296, and that I am kindly permitted to have the latter reproduced here, I confine myself to a remark or two on the Ogam so peculiarly placed on the face of the stone. The Ogam probably is incomplete, having been originally continued in another line above the fish: as it stands it reads



N e h t e t r i

The *n* slopes forward, and the *h* and *t* slope backwards, while the vowels are perpendicular. The *r* is nearly so, too; the only difference between it and the vowels being that the scores composing *r* are longer than those of the vowels, and especially of the *i* immediately following it. In fact, the scores of the *i* are somewhat irregular in their lengths;

Lliaw son of Nwyfre, and of Arianrhod, Beli's daughter, their mother. And those men it was of Orkney and Islay (?) they were native." Here *Nwyfre* reminds one of *Nuwvarre*, besides raising various other interesting questions which cannot be discussed here.

but they are probably imperfect, and immediately after them one seems to trace the beginning of a consonant on the same side as the *n*. I may say that I began by reading the *r* as *i*, and I do not think that the other Scottish Ogams have been examined by any one alive to the fact

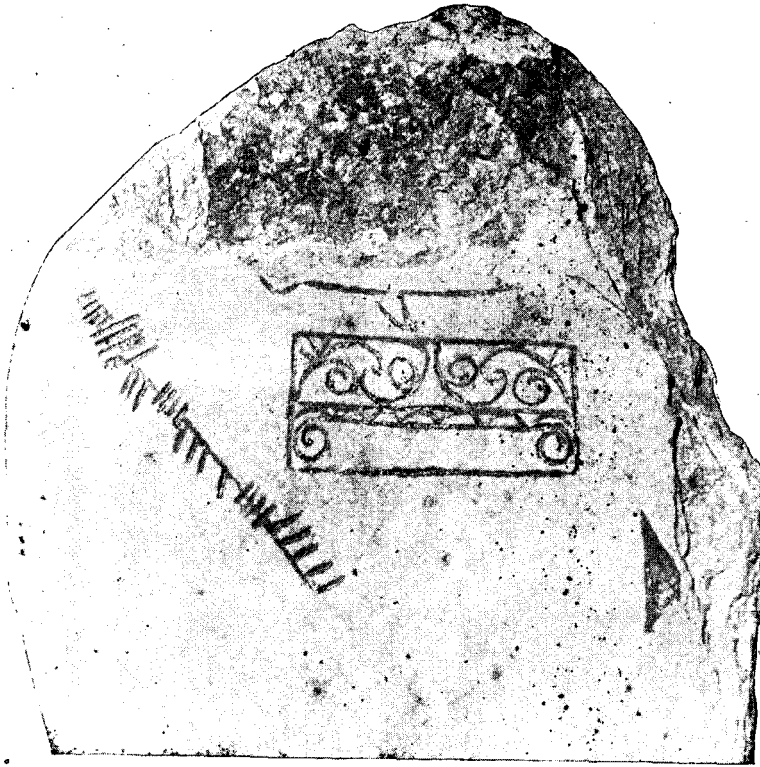


Fig. 3. Stone with symbols and Ogam inscription, from Links of Keiss Bay, Caithness. (†).

that the *r* might be expected to be longer than the *i*, for instance, in the case of the Newton Stone, where one has to guess which is *r* and which is *i*. As to the reading *Nehtetri*, I do not know what to make of it, but it may contain the name which O'Curry modernizes as *Neidhe*,

quoted by Cormac as *Néde* or *Nédi*. For I take *ht* to have been a Pictish way of writing *th*, and that it might stand for both the hard and the soft sound of English *th* ("thin," "then"). This seems to me proved by one of the Shetland fragments from Conningsburgh. On the whole, I am inclined to think that *Nehtet* made a complete name, and that *ri* formed the beginning of another word. In that case, we might compare the termination *et* of *Nehtet* with that of such names as *Uoret* on the St. Vigeans Stone, *Namet* in *Vipoig Namet* in the Pictish List of Kings already mentioned, and *Morbet* in *Necton Morbet* in the same: see Skene's *Picts and Scots*, p. 6.

xij. THE PAPA STRONSA STONE, Orkney.

On the strength of the representation of this stone in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, plate xlii., I have guessed it to read *dne iæfv = Domine Jesu*. But I only repeat it here in the hope that a successful search has been made for the stone: Stuart mentions it as preserved in his time by Mr. Heddle of Milsetter.

xiv. THE BURRIAN STONE, from North Ronaldsha, in Orkney, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh.

My guesses of the peculiar Ogam on this stone are very uncertain, but they have been much facilitated by the two excellent photographs of the stone in plate xlvi., in the fifth volume of the *Archæologia Scotica*. What I printed before came to this—*u'or.ran.n uurraet pevvcerroccs*; but I am now inclined to represent it as follows, omitting the points, which seem to have no meaning,

uorrann vurract pevvcerroccs.

e

I have made several attempts to read the previous scores, and at one time I thought I read them *Cabma*, but I am convinced that the long oblique stroke which I regarded as *m* is no part of the writing. Lord Southesk reads *Naall*, but I am inclined to *calo* or *call* making the first name into *Calouorran* or *Calluorran*; but even then we have probably not got at the beginning, for, at the point in question, the

surface of the stone is hopelessly gone. Such a guess as *Calluorrann* suggests *Talluorrann* or even *Maggo-Talluorrann*, approximating the *slonnud* of *Frobbaccennev* on the Aboyne Stone; but with the uncertainty prevailing here it is useless to insist on any such comparisons. The next word seems to begin with the Ogam for *v*; then the surface becomes so bad that it leaves a gap sufficient for *u* or *e*. The word *vurract* I should treat as another spelling of *vurracht* or rather *vurrahht*, and analyse it into *vurr-ahht* with *vurr*, a form of the *ver* in *Vergamebo* on the Roundel Stone, which becomes *w* in the list of Pictish kings bearing the name or title of Brude, see page 342 above. As to *act* or *ahht*, I should treat that as *ehht*, modified in obedience to some unascertained law of vowel harmony or accentuation. Compare *Connacht* and *Eoganacht*, partly derived by Cormac from *icht*, "descendants or progeny," and meaning the race of Conn and Eogan respectively (p. 350).

If the foregoing surmises should prove correct, we may assume that the remainder forms a personal name *Pevvcerrocs*; and the formula of the inscription would seem to fall in with that of the Aboyne one and others. So one may provisionally render it thus:—

. uorrann vurr-act Pevvcerrocs.
 uorr's descendant Pevvcerrocs.

But instead of descendant it may have been eldest son, youngest son, or the like: one has no means of deciding the exact meaning of the syllable *vurr*, even had one felt sure as to that of *act*; but the interpretation suggested of *Drusti filii Wrthrosst*, at page 343, would seem to countenance some such a rendering as I have suggested.

xv. THE LUNASTING STONE, from the Mainland of Shetland, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh.

I have again examined this stone, and I read as before:—

× ttocuhetts : ahehhttmnnn : hccvvevv : nehhton.
 ū

But there are a few remarks I should like to make concerning it, such as the following:—The x at the beginning has the fleasg or artificial line produced right through it, so that it is possible that it is to be read as

a letter, and in that case we should have to read it as *p*. We know too little about Pictish phonetics to say that *ptt* or *pth* was impossible. I mention *pth*, as *tt* seems to be here distinguished from a single *t*, as in *Nehhtonn*, and it may have represented *th* as in Irish Ogam. What is here transcribed *o* or *u* is on the stone a semicircle attached by the ends of its arc to the fleasg on the B side of it. The Ogam for *s* after *tt* is rather carelessly formed, and the outside tie joining the ends of the scores together is very indistinct. The last score but one of the final Ogam of *Nehhtonn* is imperfect, and the last one altogether gone. Lastly, the points (:) beside being known in Runic inscriptions, occur in some of the Ogam alphabets given in the Book of Ballymote, fo. 313.

Though *Nehhtonn* forms a complete name in itself, it is possible that *hccvvevv* is prefixed to it to form a new name, just as *dub*, "black," is frequently prefixed to ready-made names in Irish, such as *Dub-Daboireann*, *Dub-Indreachtach*, and that of a Pictish king *Dubh-Tolargg*. Or else one may suppose *hccvvevv* to have had some such a signification as that of king, prince, warrior, or priest. But in either case one may perhaps treat *Ttocuhetts-Ahehhtmnnn* as if it had been *Mocu* or *Corcu-Ahehhtmnnn*, and provisionally translate thus:—

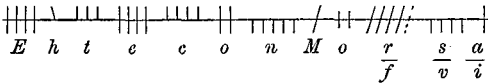
Ttocuhetts-Ahehhtmnnn : hccvvevv : Nehhtonn.
Kin- Ahehhtmnnn king Nechtán.

That is to say, King Nechtán of the kin of Ahehhtmnnn. The alternative to this is to treat *hccvvevv* as expressing relationship, such as that of son or nephew, and to construe *Ttocuhetts-Ahehhtmnnn* as a genitive depending on it. But that seems to me less probable, especially if *mnn* is to be treated, as I have done in the case of *Iddaiqnnn*, as having nothing to do with the genitive case.

xvj. CONNINGSBURGH STONE No. 1, from Shetland, now in the Museum at Edinburgh.

This has been read and published by me as *Ehteconmor* (with the *r* queried); but last year I looked at it again with Dr. Anderson, and found as pointed out by Mr. Nicholson, that the reading was continued with-

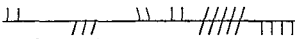
out interruption over the edge on the thin end of the stone. This is what I make of it now :—

(1) 

E h t e c o n M o r s $\frac{r}{f}$ $\frac{s}{v}$ $\frac{a}{i}$

The last two letters, or parts of letters, are on the second plane, and they come so close to the edge that the first score of the *s* may be called in doubt, but, in any case, it does not extend above the line serving as the fleasg. The final vowel is on the edge of the stone, whose thickness must once have been greater than it is now : so the letter may have been any vowel from *a* to *i*. What this second vocable, *Mors* or *Mofv*, may have been, I have no idea ; the spelling *Morv* would suggest the beginning of a word like *Morbet*, in the name of the Pictish king called *Necton Morbet* in the Pictish Chronicle. The previous part of the legend I recognise now as the name *Aithican*, the genitive of which occurs as *Aithicain* in the Annals of Tighernach : see Skene's *Picts and Scots*, p. 72, where he has *Tolair aithicain*, and p. 351, where he has, from the Annals of Ulster, *Talorgg mac Acithaen* ; also Stokes's edition of the fragments of Tighernach in the *Revue Celtique*, xvii. 209, where he prints *Tolar [g] [mac] Aithicain*. In the pedigrees in the Book of Leinster, the name is *Æducain*, 318^{a1}, genitive *Æducain*, 340^{a,b} ; and the Four Masters have it as *Aedhacan*, more commonly *Aedhagan*, which is reduced in English spelling to *Egan*. I take *Ehtecon* to be a nominative like *Nehhtonn* and *Ehtarronn* or *Eddarronn* on other stones.

(2) The same stone has on one of its edges a bit of an Ogam, which I formerly guessed to be *d e v o d d r e* ; but, owing to a mistake which I cannot account for, the last letter should have been *s*. It is in any case no vowel, nor, indeed, can I find a vowel there at all, as the angle is worn, and the vowels were probably only notches originally. This is what I have copied :—



 $\frac{d}{qu}$ $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} u \\ e \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ v $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} o \\ u \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ *d . r s*

The first consonant stands close to the present broken edge, and may

have been any Ogam from *d* to *qu*. The *v* slopes perceptibly, which seems to indicate that the letters are to be read in the direction here suggested, and not in the contrary one: the other way, the consonants would be *crll . . t . . l*, a sequence which seems less probable, especially if we may suppose the *s* of the other reading to begin a second word.

xvij. CONNINGSBURGH STONE No. 2, also in the Museum in Edinburgh.

This is a still smaller fragment, with Ogam letters reading *ir* or *ri*, with a portion of an angulated group of scores. The scores making *ir* or *ri* are interesting as being specimens of bundle Ogams.

xviii. ST. NINIANS ISLE STONE, now in the National Museum in Edinburgh.

This I have read as

$\frac{b}{n}$ e s m e q q n a n a m m o v v e f
g

Here the first score is at the very edge of the stone, and it may have been one of a group of scores, making any consonant from *b* to *n*. So one is at liberty to suppose that *meqq* was here preceded by the same word which, on the Bressay Stone, I have ventured to read *bennises*, and to interpret as meaning a married woman: thus we should have an inscription meaning the lawful wife of Maqq N. with the Goidelic collocation of the genitive *meqq*, corresponding to *maqq* in the nominative. But the Ogams following *meqq* contain probably more than *Maqq N.*'s name: to wit, that of the other person, here assumed to be his wife. How, then, are we to break up the legend? If one treats it as *Meqq-Nán Ammovef*, one may compare an Irish name, O'Náan, recorded by the Four Masters under the years 1306 and 1336, but we should not know what to make of a name *Ammovef*. If, on the other hand, we read *Meqq Nanam Movef*, we seem to have a *Movef* consisting of the affix *ef*, which may probably be identified with the *evv* of *Frobbaccennevv*, and of a stem *Movv*, which suggests kinship with the masculine genitive

personal name *Fothad*. We now come to the second line, where we are met by a double difficulty, of reading and of interpretation. If one take the reading *bennises*, one has probably to regard it as involving the Goidelic *ben*, "woman, wife," combined with some element to convey, perhaps, the idea of *married woman* or *matron*, or, better still, Goidelic *banais*, "a wedding," with an affix giving it the sense of one who had gone through some kind of wedding ceremony or marriage. At all events, there is no reason to suppose this inscription too early for the institution of marriage to have become familiar to the Picts of Shetland, who are proved by it to have come in contact more or less direct with Goidels and Norsemen. Next comes *meqq*, which is also Goidelic, being the genitive of *maqq*, "son," and, lastly, *ddrroann*, a mutation of *drroann*, which is regular after the genitive *meqq*: the word seems to be a Pictish genitive for what occurs in Old Irish as genitive *druad*, nominative *druí*, "a magician or druid." This, however, may be a proper name in the first instance, and of the same origin as *Truian* in a Runic inscription at Kirkbride in the Isle of Man. The Manx inscription is written in a spelling which employs *t* for both *t* and *d*, so that the name may be transcribed *Druian*, which is in the nominative, while the nominative corresponding to *Droann* would probably have been *Dro* or *Droa*. The other two names in this inscription are Celtic, and it is possible that the Norse *Druian* is but the Pictish genitive slightly modified and used as the leading form of the name. Lastly, the case of *Bennises* is more likely to be nominative than genitive, for beginning the second line, as it here does, it is hardly probable that the construction was continued in the genitive, whichever the language may be the inscriber considered he was using.

On this point one may venture to say that it was not Norse, though he borrowed a Norse word and a Norse inflection. The question is more difficult as between Pictish and Goidelic: the two most important genitives have a Pictish ending, while the Goidelic genitive *meqq* only occurs, like the Norse one, in the body of a proper name. On the other hand, the relative position of the two genitives in question and the nouns on which they depend is Goidelic and not Pictish. So here the claims of the two languages are, as in xvij, pretty evenly balanced,

and one may regard this cross as illustrating one of the last stages in the history of Pictish, and showing the manner in which it was Goideled out of existence. The foregoing guesses may be represented by the following attempt at a translation :—

Crosce : Nahht-Vvddaθθs : datrr : ann
Cross of Great-Vuddaθθ's Daughter,
 Bennises : Meqqddroann
Wife of Mac-Drroann.

II.

It will facilitate comparison if I submit at this point a list of the most probable readings of all the inscriptions, together with their provenance, as follows, with the Ogams transliterated in italics :—

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| i. 1. | $\frac{c}{g}$ ATTI-DONATI | The Roundel, Townhead Farm,
near Greenloaning, Perthshire. |
| | 2. $\frac{v}{u}$ RGAM $\frac{e}{u}$ BO NOTIVO | |
| | ij. <i>Ehtarrnonn</i> | Scoonie, East Fife. |
| | iiij. . . <i>inn</i> | Abernethy, Perthshire. |
| | iv. droften: | St. Vigean, near Arbroath, For- |
| | ipe Uoret | farsshire. |
| | ett For | |
| | euf | |
| | v. PIDARNNOIN | Fordoun, Kincardineshire. |
| | vj. <i>Vinon Iedov</i> | Easter Aquhollie, near Stonehaven. |
| | vij. <i>Maqgo Talluorrrn-ehht Frobbaccennevv</i> | Aboyne, Deeside, Aberdeenshire. |
| | viiij. <i>Calt Hadbho</i> | Carden, Garioch, Aberdeenshire. |
| | ix. 1. <i>Iddaiqnun Vorrenn ipuai Osif</i> | Shevack, near Newton, Garioch, |
| | 2. ÆTTE | Aberdeenshire. |
| | ÆCNVN VAVR | |
| | 3. SVOHOCOLO | |
| | CA ¶ AELISI | |
| | UN ¶ SI | |
| | HOPOVAUTA | |
| | x. 1. <i>eddarrnonn</i> <i>takumo</i> | Dyke, near Brodie, Morayshire. |
| | 2. <i>ramnnag</i> <i>hhtohgo</i> | |
| | 3. <i>alonimutto</i> | |

xj. <i>Allhallorr ädd M'qq Nuuvvarre inf</i>	. Kilmaly, Sutherlandshire.
xij. <i>Nehtet Ri</i> Keiss, near Wick, Caithness.
xiii. <i>dne iæfv</i> Papa Stronsa, Orkney.
xiv. . . . <i>uorrann vurract pevv-Cërroccs</i>	. Broch of Burrian, N. Ronaldsha, Orkney.
xv. × <i>ttocuhëtts : ahëhhtmnñn : hccvvevv :</i>	
<i>Nehhtonn,</i> Lunasting, Mainland of Shetland.
xvj. 1. <i>Ehtecon Mors</i> Conningsburgh, Shetland.
2. . . . <i>duveddr s . .</i>	
xvij. . . . <i>ir</i> Conningsburgh, Shetland.
xviii. . . . <i>ses Meqq Nanam Movvef</i>	. St Ninians Isle, "
xix. 1. <i>Crrocc : nahhtVëddaθs : datrr :</i>	
<i>ann</i> Bressay, "
2. <i>Bennises : MeqqDdrroann.</i>	

This list, besides indicating the distribution and showing a variety of language and lettering, is instructive in point of spelling, and it enables us to make certain orthographic equations which should be borne in mind. Let us first take the

VOWELS.—There is nothing peculiar to mention with regard to *A*, except that, in a few instances, it assumes in Ogam the form of ⱥ , namely, in *Frobbaçennevv* in vij., in *-ann* and *-act* in xiv., and in *ahëhhtmnñn* in xv. Possibly it may have meant a particular modification of *a*, but evidence to that effect is wanting.

E.—This is partly written *e* and partly *æ*, as in the *attæ æcuvn* in ix. 2, and in *Iæsv* in xiiij.; and we have it expressed by *ai* in *iddaiçnnn* in ix. 1, which seems to equate with *attæ æcuvn* in ix. 2, and also in *ipuai* in ix. 1 for *ipue*, to be equated probably with the *ipe* in iv. Similarly, as already indicated in the case of *chtecon* in xvj. 1, as compared with the Irish spelling *Aithican*; but here we should probably set out from some such a spelling as *Æducan*, which also occurs. Lastly, in Ogam we sometimes have besides ⱥⱥⱥ the form ⱥⱥ , which I have indicated as *ë*. It occurs in vij. twice, in xj. once, in xiv. once, and in xv. twice. It has been suggested that it represents a special modification of *e*, namely, one which is represented in modern Irish by *ea*; but in that case we ought to have had it in *Nehhtonn* in xv.: the modern form is *Neachtan*. So, on the whole, I am inclined to think that no more distinction of sound was intended than as between *e* and *æ*. Nevertheless, the Pictish

language may have distinguished in pronunciation between a close *e* and an open *e*. We may have an instance of the former passing into *i* in the *Osif* of ix. 1, as compared with the *-ef* of *Movvef* in xvij. and *iddaiqnn* of ix. 1 for the *attæ æcnun* of the script ix. 2. Similarly, one might regard the open *e* becoming *a* in *vurraet* in xiv., if that word is to be analysed into *vurr-act*, and if the latter syllable is of the same origin as the *ehht* in vij.

i.—The inscriptions suggest nothing special in the case of this vowel. In *iesv* in xij. the letter possibly represents the semi-vowel *ȷ*, that is, what is written *y* in the English word *yes*.

o.—The language may have given this vowel a close and an open sound, but no indication occurs beyond the fact that it was probably the latter where it seems to take the place of what is represented in Irish by *a*, as in *Nehhton* for *Nechtan*, *Ehtecon* for *Æducan*, *Ehtarmonn* and *Eddarmonn* for *Etharnan* or *Itharnan*.

u.—The data are too scanty to suggest any exact conclusion as to the quality of this vowel; but, besides *u*, we have *uu* in xj., but whether *uu* meant *ū* or *ü*, we have probably to attach the value of *uu* or *vu* to the *vv* of *Nahhtvddaθθ* in xix., while *hccvvevv* in xv. may have been *hccūevv* or *hccüevv*, or else *hccyuevv*. All this probably points to the influence of English *double u* or *v*. Lastly, we possibly have some sort of *u* in the *æcnun* of ix. 2, as compared with the *iddaiqnn* of ix. 1: we have the latter spelling also in *ahhhtmmnn* in xv., and perhaps the sound indicated by *nnn* and *nnn* was that of *n sonans*, or a sort of prolonged *n*. This is, on the whole, the more probable view.

DIPHTHONGS.—We have in *VAVR* in ix. 2 a diphthong *au*, which is reduced to *o* in the *Vorrenn* of the Ogam on the same stone, ix. 1, and possibly another in the last line of the script ix. 3 (d). A diphthong *æ* in a previous line of the same script stands alone, and so does *ei* in xj. if one read *eivf*. The *uo* of *Talluorn* in vij. and *uorrann* in xiv. may have been a diphthong *ūo* or *üo*, but it is more likely to have been *uo*; and the *ipuai* of ix. 1 was probably *ipue*, simplified into *ipe* in iv., and occurring in names like *Apevritti* (p. 366). As to the *uo* of the name *Uoret* in the last mentioned inscription, the syllable *uor* is there possibly to be associated with the *vorr* of *Vorrenn* in ix. 1.

SEMI-VOWELS.—These have already been noticed, as *ǣ* and *y*, in connection with the vowels. But I should like to add that in i. 2, *BO* and *VO* stand probably, as suggested above (p. 341), for *vo* and *yo* respectively, rather than for *bo* and *vo*, as the *V* represented a sound elided in the later Goidelic pronunciation of *Notiv* as *Nathí*.

THE ASPIRATE.—This appears in *ttocuhetts* and *ahchhtmann* in xv., and in less certain readings, but always in hiatus, with the possible exception of the doubtful *Hopovauta* in ix. 3 (d). The predominant use of the letter, however, is to form Ogmic digraphs, such as *hh* and *ht*, and we once have *hcc* in xv., not to mention that possibly one ought to read *hrr* instead of *arr* in xj.

CONSONANTS.—We may deal first with those which may be regarded as presenting the least difficulty, namely, the

NASALS.—Here we have *m* and *n*, also the guttural nasal, which seems to occur as *ng* in ix. 3 (e) and possibly in xj. *N* is freely doubled, but, so far as one can see, with no intention of conveying any distinction of sound.

LIQUIDS, ETC.—*L* and *r* occur both single and double, and the frequency with which the Ogam for *r* is doubled seems to indicate that Pictish *r* was felt to differ in some important respect from Goidelic *r*. No instance occurs of *ss*, and the most remarkable combinations into which *s* enters, without regarding the borrowed word *crrosec* and the Norse genitive *Nahhtvddathθs*, both in xix. 1, are *ccs* in xiv., *tts* in xv., and *st* in *Drosten* in iv. As to this last, one may remark that *st*, which is little known as a Goidelic combination at all, and never in *auslaut*, occurs in the following names in the Pictish Chronicle, *Drust*¹ and *Drest*, *Gest*, *Vist* or *Uist*, and *Carvorst*, which in part reminds one of the name of the *Boresti*, who seem, from Tacitus's allusion in the *Agricola*, to have lived somewhere between the Firths of Forth and Tay. With regard to the

¹ The spelling *Druxst* also occurs, namely, in Tigernach's entry A.D. 723: see the *Rev. Celtique*, xvii. 231. It forms one of the proofs of the antiquity of the documents which the Irish annalist had at his disposal. It is Latin spelling, dating from a time when *x* had come to be sounded *s*; and we have it in inscriptions of the fifth and sixth century in Wales, as, for instance, in *VXSOR* for *Uxor*, and *CÆLEXTI* for *Cælestis*. See Hübner's *Inscrip. Brit. Christianæ*, Nos. 101, 128.

ts of *ttocuhetts*, we seem to have it as *ts* in the Pictish king's name *Usconbuts*, which, however, has the variant *Usconbest*, also shortened into *Combust* and *Cumbust*. See Skene's *Chronicles*, pp. 6, 27, 172, 285, 398.

MUTES, ETC.—The following table of mutes and spirants will show what sounds we have under this heading, and how they are represented:—

Classification according to Organs of Speech.	Mutes.		Spirants.	
	Voiceless.	Voiced.	Voiceless.	Voiced.
Labials,	p, bb	b	f	v, vv
Dentals,	t, tt	d	ht, θθ, tt	d, dd
Gutturals,	c, cc	g	hh, hcc, cc ?, c	g ?
	q, qq = ? mixed or compound guttural.			

The consonant *p* does not occur doubled in our inscriptions, but it seems to be represented by *bb* in the name *Frobbaccennew* (p. 349), and the doubling for this purpose was probably accepted from Irish Ogmic spelling, where *bb* represents the sound of *p*, or at least of a labial mute so nearly approaching *p* as not to be liable to be mutated to *ph*. We have an instance in the spelling *Corbbi*, which occurs twice in the south of Ireland, for what is otherwise found written *Corbi*, "Corb's"; and so with *dd* = *t* or *t'*, as in *Maqqi Decceddas*, genitive of a name which appears later as *Mac Dechet*. That *bb* for *p* in *vij*. is not quite exceptional is proved by spellings such as *abb* for *ap* from *apas*, "abbot," *Abberdeon* and *Abbordoboir* for *Aperdeon* and *Aperdoboir* in the charters in the Book of Deer (see Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 108, 111), and also the more ancient spelling with *p* in *Apurnethige*, "Abernethy," and *Apurfeirt* in the Pictish Chronicle (Skene, p. 6). The oldest Welsh spelling of *aper*, *aber* is *oper* in *Opergelei*, now *Abergele* (Cymmrodor, ix. 165), as the word seems to be made up of *od-ber*, the out-bear, so to say, or output of a river.

We have the dental mute *t* for certain in *Drosten* in iv., in *Nehhtoun* in xv., *ehlht* in vij., and possibly in *Donati* and *Notivo* in i. In *dattrr* in xix. the *tt* probably represents the sound of *t*, after the example of the Norse *dóttir*, but most of the other instances of *tt* may be supposed to represent the spirant *th* or *ð*.

C represents the guttural mute *c* or *k* in *errosce* in xix. and in *Ehtecon* in xvj. 1, and the same sound is probably to be understood by the *cc* in *errosce*, in *Frobaccenmevv* in vij., and in *Pev-Cerrosces* in xiv.

As to *b*, *d*, *g* one can hardly assume that they represent the mutes so written in any of these inscriptions, except when they happen to be initial, as in *bennises* in xix. 2 and in *Drosten* in iv.; and we have an instance of *g* in *Unggi* in ix. 3 (*c*), if it is to be pronounced *Ung-gi*, with *ngg* pronounced like *ng* in the English word *finger*.

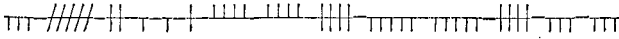
SPIRANTS.—These are, on the whole, more difficult to understand than the mutes, as we have here to do to a still greater extent with two kinds of spelling, a Latin and an Ogmic one. Thus, after the analogy of *ht* for voiceless *th*, one might have expected *hp* for *ph* or *f* and *hc* for *ch*, but even *hc* found little favour in the eyes of the Picts: it occurs now and then as in *Gruohc*, in the *Registrum Prioratus S. Andree* p. 114. *Ht* and *hc* were probably derived from the Latin use of *th*, *ch*: one finds both sometimes in old Welsh names for *th* and *ch* respectively. But the history of *tt* for *th* is quite different, as *tt* comes from Ogmic spelling, where it seems to have arisen somewhat as follows: in Brythonic speech the pronunciation of *pp*, *tt*, *cc* was, at an early date, modified into that of the spirants *ph*, *th*, *ch*, while the writing continued long afterwards to be *pp*, *tt*, *cc*: traces of it are to be detected in Old Welsh. Goidelic does not reduce *tt* or *cc*—it never had *pp*—into *th* or *ch*, but it had *th*, *ch* from another source and it borrowed from Brythonic the expedient of expressing the sounds of *th*, *ch* by *tt*, *cc* in Ogam writing. This applies to Early Goidelic of the sixth and fifth centuries; for, in the earliest manuscripts of Goidelic,—that is to say, Old Irish manuscripts containing glosses reaching back to the ninth century, in some instances also to the eighth, the Latin digraphs *th*, *ch* are alone found used, except where the scribe forgets to distinguish them from *t* and *c*. In Scotland, however, we have the *Book of Deer*, containing Gaelic entries of the time

of King David I., which show some peculiarities in respect of the spelling adopted, and bear on this question: the scribe does not always use the digraph *ch*, for he frequently writes *c* alone for the spirant, while in two instances he has *ce*, and in one *cch*, which reminds one of the *hcc* in the Pictish word *hccvvevv* in xv. See Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 108-111, and compare *Gattheli* (for *Gadheli*) in the Colbertine manuscript, printed by Skene in his *Picts and Scots*, p. 137. So *hccvvevv* looks like a survival of Ogam spelling modified by a touch of the Latin system.

As to the Labials in particular, the Irish had little occasion for *ph*, as Latin provided them with *f* and the Ogmic alphabet with an equivalent in the Ogam *///*; not to mention that when the sound of initial *///* had changed into that of *f* they had also *///* (the old Ogam for *v*) at their disposal: The Pictish inscriptions could, therefore, scarcely be expected to show *hp*, but they supply instances of the other three symbols, *f* in *Forcus* in iv., *///* for certain in *Movvef* in xvij., and *///* in *Frobbaccennevv* in vij.

One comes now to the voiced spirant, which it is convenient to discuss at this point; and, in the first place, one may observe that Latin *b* from the fourth century down had the two sounds of *b* and *v*, so that the Brythons borrowed it with the double sound, and used it so in the Old Welsh glosses, and, in fact, until Norman influence prevailed in the twelfth century. From Britain the Latin alphabet had reached Ireland, and the Irish employed *b* for both sounds down to comparatively modern times. Lastly, from Ireland, Irish missionaries brought their alphabet to Northumbria, and it became the alphabet for Anglo-Saxon from the time when runic writing was given up till the Normans came and conquered. Early specimens, therefore, of English show the letter *b* having the two sounds of *b* and *v*, though the English seem to have set themselves to confine *b* to what one may term its own sound; but this was not wholly achieved till the ninth century, as anyone will see who will take the trouble to read through Dr. Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*. To come back to our inscriptions, it is the sound of *v* that we are probably to ascribe to the letter *b* in *Vergamebo* in i., especially if we have in that vocable the same element as in the final syllable of *Frobbaccennevv* in vij. But with the *ef* of *Movvef* in xvij. compare such forms as *Moreb*

and *Muref*, both meaning the province of Moray : see Skene's *Picts and Scots*, pp. 10, 136, also 154, 170, 214, 368, 370, 371. The two spellings *Moreb* and *Muref* would seem to indicate that there were two pronunciations, one with *ev* and the other with *ef*; that is, the *v* was sometimes protracted to *f*, as in *Movvef*.¹ It may accordingly appear to be an inconsistency to transcribe the name



as *Frobbaccennev*, with the initial TTT made into *f*, while the double TTT at the end is represented by *vv*. But it is to be borne in mind that the doubling of a consonant in the Pictish inscriptions is a favourite expedient for indicating a modification of the sound represented by the single letter. To be consistent in the present case one should have TTTTTTT if it was intended to pronounce *ef*, and accordingly the final TTTTTTT actually on the stone would be perhaps more accurately transcribed *ev*, and not *evv*. The other most instructive instances occur in ix., namely, in *Vavr* and *Vorrenn*, where TTT equates with the *v* of the script, whereas in *Frobbaccennev* the TTT had become *f*, a distinct proof that inscription vij. is later than ix. A somewhat similar remark is applicable to inscription iv., in a script which has *u* in *Uoret*, possibly representing the sound of *v*, and standing in sharp contrast to the *f* of *Forcus*, a form of the name Fergus, genitive *Fergossa*, in Irish Ogam *Vergoso*: so iv. is also later than ix. I ought to have said that the Ogam alphabet not only supplied TTT for *v*, but that it also had TTTTTTT for the same or a similar sound, as, for instance, in *Dovvinias*, in later Irish *Duibne*, *Duibhne*, the genitive of *Dubinn*, *Duibhinn*.

Next come the dental spirants, as to which it is to be noticed that both occur in *Nahhtvddaθθs* in xix.: in fact, that inscription distinguishes between four dentals, *t* or *tt*, *d*, and *dd* of two kinds, in which one naturally recognises d and θ ; but which is which? In answer to this, one can only say that the *dd* combining with *s* ought to be the voiceless spirant þ or θ (the *th* of English *thorn*), which would leave the other *dd* to represent the voiced spirant d (the *th* of English *this*); and this fits *ddrroann* as a mutation of *drroann*, after the

¹ The converse is not out of the question, to wit, the sounding of final *f* as *v*.

Goidelic genitive *megg*. It is right, however, to say that in this inscription Norse influence is conspicuous, and that in the others no equally exact distinction between the dental spirants is to be found. From the equation of *edd* in xj. with *ett* in iv., and of *Eddarrnonn* in x. 1 with *Ehtarrnonn* in ij., I gather that *dd*, *tt*, and *ht*, all three represent the dental spirants, but without any greater concern to distinguish between the two than is the case in English, where both are written indifferently *th*. In Irish, *d* represented both *d* and (*dh* or) *ḁ*, and in the *Oldest English Texts* it is accordingly to be found doing this and even more, namely, standing for *d*, *ḁ*, and *p*. Some ancient Irish Ogams even show *dd* doing duty for the spirant, as, for instance, in *Maqui Ddumileas*, on a stone at Dunloe, in Kerry. If *tt* had to be pronounced *th*, it was but natural to employ *dd* for (*dh* or) *ḁ*, though there is no denying that *dd* was also sometimes used for *t* or *t'* in Irish Ogam (p. 384); and we know too little about the dates of the inscriptions to be able to say that these contradictory spellings were not in use at the same time.¹ As for Pictish, then, the use of *dd* for *ḁ* may have been imported with the rest of the Ogmic system. But in any case *dd* should, in the first instance, have represented the voiced spirant: so *Eddarrnonn* in x. 1 would, if I have guessed the history of the word rightly, be a less correct spelling than *Ehtarrnonn* in ij. On the other hand, the Goidelic *Æducan* would lead one to suppose that *Ehtecon* in xvj. 1 is less correct than *Eddecon* would have been. The *tt* of *ttocuhetts* in xv. seems to harmonise with the *θθs* of *Nahhtvddaθθs* in xix.; but in the case of *edd* in xj. and *ett* in iv., as also of *idd-* and *att* in ix. 1 and ix. 2, it is impossible to say which spelling is the more correct, that with *dd* or that with *tt*, as one is in the dark as to the origin and history of the vocables concerned. We have another instance of *tt=th* possibly in *Catti* in i., unless one prefer *Gatti*, and consider it connected with a genitive on an Irish stone reading either *Gatigni* or *Gattagni*, with which might be compared respectively *Gaithíni* (Stokes's *Patrick*, p. 194, *Four Masters*, A.D. 865) or *Gothán* (O'Grady's *Diarmuid and Gráinne*, i. 22). Instances of the use of the digraph *ht* have already been given in *Ehtarrnonn* and *Ehtecon*, also in *Nehlet* in xij., to which one may add that it

¹ The same name occurs written *Lugudi* and *Lugutti* in Irish inscriptions.

sporadically occurs in manuscripts. For instance, the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews (edited by Bruce, 1841) has *Kinnimmuneh*t and *Kilrimuneh*t (p. 189), and the Chronicle of Melrose, A.D. 1215, has *Mac Aht* for what is otherwise written *Mac Eth* (see Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 484). Similarly, Simeon of Durham calls a certain king of the Picts *Cynoth* and *Cynoht* (cited by Skene in his *Celtic Scotland*, i. 301); it was the same king, in fact, whose death is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 774, thus—*Mors Cinadhon regis Pictorum*, which, together with an entry A.D. 777, *Eithni ingen (filia) Cinadhon mortua est*, is valuable as giving us the Pictish genitive of the name now Anglicised *Kenneth* and pronounced in Scotch Gaelic *Coinneach*. The principal spellings of this name in Skene's *Picts and Scots* are: *Cinioch*, p. 7; *Kinadius*, pp. 8, 10; *Cinadei* (Latin genitive), p. 9; *Cinaet*, pp. 21, 22, 365; *Ciniath*, p. 28; *Ciniod*, pp. 7, 29; *Cinaed*, pp. 29, 365-6; (Goidelic genitive *Cinaeda*, pp. 29, 362-3; and *Cinaedo*, p. 361); *Cinaeth*, pp. 44, 361; *Cionaoth* (Goidelic genitive *Cionaoth*), pp. 62, 63; *Kineth*, p. 171; *Kinat*, pp. 173, 176; *Kinath*, pp. 174-5; *Kinet*, pp. 173-4. In the tenth century manuscript of the *Annales Cambriæ* the name is *Cenioith* or *Cenioyth* (see the *Cymmrodor*, ix. 162, 165), in the former of which one finds *Mors Cinadhon* recorded in the words *Cenioyd rex Pictorum obiit*. *Ciniath* seems a thoroughly Pictish name, and it is probably to be compared with *Gairtniath*, *Gartnait* or *Gartnaith*, and with the *Stariath* borne in the legendary history of Ireland by a man mentioned in Nennius (§ 14) as *Istorith Istorini filius*, as it were *Stariath mac Stairn* (Book of the Dun Cow, fo. 16b; Book of Leinster, fo. 5a, 6b, 7c), but it is right to say that Prof. Kuno Meyer is inclined to see in these two names Norse importations (see Meyer and Nutt's *Voyage of Bran*, ii. 295; but see also the *Four Masters*, A.M. 2850, where *Starn*, written *Sdarn*, is made the name of the husband of *Medu*). To me this sort of name looks far more ancient than any Norse importations could be, but the subject requires investigation.

In the case of the gutturals, the Picts having the Ogam ^l for the aspirate took to doubling it for the voiceless spirant *ch*, as in *Nehhtonn* in xv., which is written in the Pictish Chronicle *Necton* and *Nectonius*, in other Chronicles *Nectan* and *Nechtán*, Anglicised *Naghten* or *Naughton*

in the family name of MacNaughton. The instances of *hh* have been already mentioned, *ehht* in vij., *Allhhallorr* in xj., *ahhhmnnn* and *Nehhtonn* in xv., and *Nahhtvddaθθs* in xix. In *Vurract* in xiv. the guttural spirant is written *c*, as is always done in *cht* in the Gaelic entries in the Book of Deer, and had the inscriber of xiv. been asked to represent the sound with more precision, it is hard to say whether he would have used *hc* or *cc*. It is remarkable, however, that the combination with the dental is represented also as *ct* in Ogam in Ireland, while Ogam in Wales make it into *gt*: so it is possible that the history of the combination conceals some phonological fact which has not yet been detected. It is not certain that we have the guttural spirant occurring as *cc* in these inscriptions: it is hardly probable that we have it in *Pevv-cerroccs*, but it is pretty certain that we do in the *hcc* of *hccvvevv* in xv. It is, further, impossible to lay one's finger on a probable instance of the corresponding voiced spirant *gh* in them.

Lastly, *q* occurs in *Iddaiqunn* in Ogam = *Elte Aevvn* in the script in ix., and *qq* in *Maggo* in vij., in *M'qq* in xj., and in *Meqq* in xvij. and xix. I am not sure that I should be justified in disposing of these by treating them as merely equivalents for *c* and *cc*, though one might say that the word *mac*, genitive *mec* or *mic*, was etymologically entitled to *q*, and that it is to be found used in it long after the ancient Ogmic *maqui* had been forgotten and the value of the fifth Ogam as *qu*. But I cannot help suspecting that there was another reason for using it in the Pictish inscriptions, and that it is to be sought in the pronunciation of the word. In most of the Gaelic area of Scotland, *mac*, *mic* are pronounced at the present day *màche*, *mìkhhk* with *ch* and *kh* like *ch* in German *doch* and *ich* respectively. We have traces of some such a pronunciation in mediæval Ireland, as proved by the fact that *macc* sometimes rhymes with words like *tlacht*, *meicc* with *seire*, and so with some other monosyllables ending in *ce*. In the district around Dingle in Kerry the Ogam for *qu* is almost always doubled in *maqui*, and sometimes elsewhere. This doubling is contrary to what Welsh *map*, *mab*, "boy or son," would lead one to expect in Mod. Goidelic, namely, *mach*. It looks as though the word had its vowel nasalised by the *m*, and the nasal vowel resolved itself into *ang*, which was then partly assimilated to the *qu*:

compare what has happened later in Manx words like *cronk*, "a hill," for older *cnocc*, Irish *cnoc*, Welsh *cnecch*, for which a borrowed *cnuc* is sometimes used : see Rhys's *Manx Phonology*, p. 33.

Taking a comprehensive view of the slender materials at our disposal in the matter of the Pictish inscriptions, one is struck by the frequent use of digraphs, mostly doubled consonants, to indicate a modification of the sounds represented by those consonants when used without the doubling or the prefixing of an *h*. The more important examples are the following :—

ht	}	= th (or d).	bb = p or p'.
tt			vv = v.
dd		= d (or th).	
hh	}	= hcc = ch.	qq = { chc.
cc ?			khk.

It is not improbable that we should treat *ll*, *rr*, *nn* similarly, and regard them as representing sounds felt to be somewhat different from those of *l*, *r*, *n*, though the inscribers were by no means careful to bear the difference in mind. The recourse which they had to digraphs had in most cases been suggested to them by the spelling usual in Irish Ogmic writing, of which they preserved features which appear to have been forgotten in Ireland at a comparatively early date, such as the use of *fff* for *f*. This leaves *ht* and *hh*, but the former was probably suggested, as already hinted, by the *th* of what may be called Latin spelling. As to *hh* for the guttural spirant *ch* or *kh*, the origin of that digraph is more obscure. It is true that students of Old High German are familiar with *hh*, and that two or three Anglo-Saxon words were sometimes written with *hh*; but there is no evidence to prove that this had any influence on the spelling used by the authors of the Pictish inscriptions. It is natural, however, to look in the direction of the country south of the Forth, and one finds some encouragement in the Chartulary of the Cathedral of Glasgow. I refer more particularly to a document concerning the Marches of Stobo in Upper Tweeddale: it was written about the year 1200, and contains some two dozen witnesses' names, many of which are curious and some in point

here. Take for example those of *Gylmilhhel* fil. Bridoc, and of *Gille-milhhel* queschutbrit, *i.e.*, servant of St. Cuthbert; also that of *Mihhyn*, borne by no less than three witnesses.¹ So the digraph *hh* does not appear to have been wholly unknown in that country at the opening of the thirteenth century; and probably an archivist familiar with ancient Scottish documents might be able to show us how and when it was introduced among the Picts. As to the other digraphs it is seen that they likewise were not mere freaks of the inscribers, since most of the peculiarities of Pictish spelling appear in that of names in the chronicles, as has been pointed out from time to time in the course of this paper. It would probably have been much more evident had the carelessness of the scribes not allowed them to let *ht* or *tt* (= *th*) become *t*, or, *vice versa*, to let *t* become *tt* or *th* (= *t*); similarly, also, to a less extent in the case of the gutturals, and perhaps even of the labials. The impression which the whole group of inscriptions makes on my mind is, that there was a Pictish school of writing and spelling, and that it was striving after a regular and consistent system of orthography. It seems to have been not wholly without initiative, backed, perhaps, by a surviving sense of distinct nationality and independence.

We can now stay a moment to take stock of the identifications which have been suggested or else indirectly made probable; and the one which challenges the first place is the termination

ONN or *ON*. We have it in *Nehhtonn* in xv., which in Irish is *Nechtan*, the later spelling of which is *Neachtan*; also in *Ehtarrnonn* in ij. and *Eddarrnonn* in x. 1. This name, as already mentioned, appears in Irish documents as *Etharnan*, *Itharnan*, and *Ifernan*. We have the same termination also in *Ehtecon*, though it is there written with a single *n*: the Irish forms are *Æducán*, *Aedhacán*, and the like. In these instances, the names ending in *onn* or *on* are probably to be regarded as being in the nominative case, and the Scoonie Cross is deserving of notice, as it has no lettering on it but *Ehtarrnonn*. There

¹ See the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, published by the Bannatyne Club vol. i. p. 89. For directing my attention to remarkable spellings in that valuable compilation I have to thank the Rev. John Wilson, M.A.

appears also to have been a Pictish genitive ending in *on*, but that may have had a different sound, though in Irish it is usually met with written likewise *an*. Instances of it occur in such forms as the *Cinadhon*, already mentioned, p. 389, and *Culéon*, the genitive of a man's name in the Book of Deer; possibly it should be associated with a nominative *Culíi*, which occurs in the same charter: see Stokes's *Goidelica*, p. 109. In Goidelic the vowel *a* has been gaining ground at the expense of *o*, as, for example, in the designation of St. Cainnech, who had a cell near St. Andrews, and is said to have been brother to Nathí: he is called in Adamnan's *Columba*, iii. 17, *Cainnechus mocu Dalon*, which afterwards became *Cainnech maccu Dálann*, and his people are otherwise known as *Corca Dallann*: see Reeves' Adamnan's *Columba*, pp. 220, 221; the Irish *Nennius*, p. 264; Stokes's Calendar of Oengus, Oct. 11; and the Glossarial Index, p. cclxxxviiij. Other instances of *a* for an earlier *o* in Goidelic documents might be mentioned, and we have probably one of them in *Beccan Ruimean*, "Beccan of the Island of Rum," whose death is recorded, under the year 676, in the Annals of Tigernach (*Rev. Celt.*, xvii. 204): this suggests for *Rum* a Pictish genitive *Ruimeon* or *Rumeon*, which occurs in Gorman's Martyrology as *Rúiminn*, and in that of Donegal as *Ruim*. If this should prove well founded, we may have here the key also to Adamnan's *Geonæ primarius cohortis*, with *Geonæ* as a Latinising of a Pictish genitive *Geon*, which is possibly to be referred to *Ce*, fabled to have been one of the sons of Cruithne or the eponymous hero of the Picts. It is, however, to be noticed that in the inscriptions we have a genitive ending

ANN, which appears, so far as they are concerned, to have been kept distinct from *onn* or *on*. The instances are *datrrann* and *Ddrroann*, also *uorran*. In the case of *Ddrroann*, the *ann* seems simply substituted by the Picts for the *ad* or *adh* of *druadh*, the Goidelic genitive of *druí*, "a magician or druid." Adamnan mentions a family called *Mocu Druidi*, or "the Druid's Kin" (Reeves's Adamnan, i. 41): see also a *Mc Druad* in the Book of Ballymote, fo. 195^b/₃.

ENN or *EN*. Another genitive ending was *enn*, as in *Vorrenn*, genitive of *Vavr* in ix. And we probably have the same genitive in *Drosten* in iv. It may be here added that there seems to have been

likewise a genitive ending *inn* or *in*: take, for instance, *Malecht*, genitive *Malechtin* (Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 110, 111), and *Forthin*, 'Förth's' (Skene's *Picts and Scots*, p. 10). Pausanias's Γενουία also in ἡ Γενουία μοῖρα may have been based on a genitive *Genun* or *Genunn*: there was, at all events, a man's name *Gen*, genitive *Geno*, of the *u* declension, which would fit as the base of a Pictish genitive *Genun*: see Ann. of Ulster, where one reads, A.D. 578, *Occisio Aedha mac Geno*, and A.D. 587, *Mors Nepotum Geno*: the data for locating these events are wanting, but I should expect them to have been connected with Galloway. It would thus appear more correct perhaps to suppose that the Pictish genitive was indicated by the ending *nn* or *n* appended to the stem vowel, whichever it may have been, *a*, *o*, *u*, *e*, or *i*; and to *r* without a vowel as in the case of *Talluorr-n*.

ET. This termination we have in *Uoret* in *iv*., and we may have it also in *Nehtetri* in *xij*., that is, supposing the first vocable to have consisted of a name *Nehtet* followed by a word beginning with *ri*. Compare *Namet* and possibly *Morbet*, also *Mac Lochit*, "son of *Lochet*," who is called father of *Cruithneachan*: see Skene's *Picts and Scots*, pp. 6, 45. Here may also be mentioned the word *cartit*, given by Cormac as a Pictish word for a pin or brooch, which has been sometimes supposed borrowed from a Welsh source. This is, however, very doubtful, as the word *garthon*, given in Welsh dictionaries as meaning a goad, is not otherwise known, being probably somebody's careless copying of the Cornish *garthon*, "a goad": compare Old Cornish *gerthi*, "*virgæ*." The Welsh is *ierthi*, "the rod used in driving oxen," and it is derived from some form of the Anglo-Saxon word now represented in English by *yard*, "a rod."

IF, *EB*, *EVV*, *EF*. The instances of this termination are *Osif*, *VERGAMEB-O*, *Frobbaccennevv* and *Movvef*; *hccvvevv*, possibly also, and *pevv* in *Pevv-cerroccs*. Here the vowel oscillates between *i* and *e*: which is the original one? I am inclined to give the preference to the *i*, as we have it in two inscriptions in South Wales, one yielding in Ogam a Goidelic genitive *Cunacenniv-i* and in Latin *CVNOCENNI FILIVS CVNOCENI HIC IACIT*, and the other in Ogam *Ogtene* and in Latin *HOGTIVIS FILI DEMETI*. Nay, we might perhaps go

much further back and say that the forename of Lossio Veda would have in later times made LOSSIV and *Lossif*, which will serve to introduce an instance of probable coincidence between Pictish and Celtic. The termination *iv*, *if* (or *ev*, *ef*) seems to have belonged to the nominative case, as when the name *Frobbaccenn* (Irish *Srobcin*) is made into *Frobbaccennevv* in *vij.*, while the corresponding genitive probably had a nasal, making some such a syllable as *en* or *enn*. The declension that comes near it in Irish is that of such words as *toimtiu*, "opinion," genitive *toimten*, declined as if the related Latin word *mentio* made some such a genitive as *mentin-is* or *menten-is*: as a matter of fact, the nearest Latin declension would be that of *turbo*, *turbinis*, or *virgo*, *virginis*. Compare also such words as *Ériu*, "Ireland," genitive *Érenn*, for Early Irish *Íverio* or *Íveriu*, genitive *Íverenn-as*, while the Brythonic forms are *Iwerjūt* and *Iwerđon*, representing earlier forms like *Iveriuu* and *Iverjon-os*. And here I may say that if *Lossio* was a Pictish name, and not a borrowed one from Brythonic, I suspect that its form is due in part to Brythonic declension, and that it would otherwise have been LOSSIV for *Lossiu* or *Lossiv*; but it was natural that in Brythonic mouths it should sound *Lossio* or *Lossju*, genitive *Lossion-os*, and the stem of this latter survives in South Wales as the proper name *Lleision*. A few instances also occur of the survival of the Pictish termination *-iv*, *if* in Wales, in such names as *Gurcinniv* or *Gurcinnif* and *Enim* (pronounced *Eniv*) or *Heinif* and *Henip[h]*, in the Book of Llan Dâv. On the other hand, not only do the forms with *e* prevail in the Pictish inscriptions, but we have possibly the nominative of 'poi in *apev*, already noticed in *Apev-Ritti*, which is followed by *ipuai Osif* in ix. 1, excepting that the *if* is appended at the end of the agglutination *ipuai-Os*, according to what seems to have been the Pictish rule.¹ An interesting name which deserves mention here was derived from that of the ancient *Verturiones*, and was, in the dative and accusative, *Fortrinn*, and, in the genitive, *Fortrenn*, also *Forthrenn*: see St. Berchan's Prophecy in Skene's *Picts and Scots*, pp. 88, 95, 102. The nominative should be *Fortriu*, but it is not known to occur in that form. It is,

¹ But possibly one would be right on the contrary in treating *Drosten-ipe Uoret ett Forcus*, as meant to be read *Drosten-ipev Uoret ett Forcus*.

however, to be identified with the more Pictish form *Fothrif* (Latin ablative *Fothreve*), meaning the country between Fife and Stirling (*Ibid.*, p. 136), or perhaps the ancient deanery of Fothri in the St. Andrews *Register* (p. 32), unless the dropping of one of its *r*'s in the later pronunciation should be considered to make this equation impossible. I am not inclined to think that it does: compare *Tarbet* and *Tarbat* instead of *Tarbert*.

A word or two may now be said as to the chronology of the Pictish inscriptions; and subject entirely to correction by Dr. Anderson and others, who have studied the Pictish symbol stones, I would venture the following conjectures:—The Picts were more given to representing men and animals on their monuments, or to ornamenting them with drawings of a symbolic nature, than to writing as such; and as this kind of art shows itself more and more developed on the stones, the writing takes a secondary place: it becomes minute and relegated to a moulding on the edge. If that is so, perhaps one may to some extent reason conversely and say that, where the writing stands alone unaccompanied by any drawing, it may be supposed more ancient than where it plays the part of an accompaniment to attempts at art, and that it dates back nearer to the time when the Picts learnt from their Goidelic teachers how to use the Ogam alphabet. It has already been urged that the Roundel Inscription in Latin letters is probably the oldest, and, according to what I have just suggested, the oldest of the Ogam is probably the Aquhollie one, vj., near Stonehaven, and ix., at Newton. A phonological reason has been mentioned (p. 387) why the latter should be considered older than vij., and also than iv. on the St. Vigeans Stone, the script of which, containing the Goidelic name *Forcus*, may be said to date between the seventh and the ninth century. Probably the Island Inscriptions may, as a group, be regarded as later than those on the Mainland, and of the former the latest of all may be the Bressay Ogam, xix. Whilst considering the Scoonie Ogam, ij., I stumbled across the name *Ehtarrnonn* in the form *Itharnan* in the fragments of Tigernach recently published by Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*: see xvij. 201, where one reads A.D. 668—*Itharnan et Corindu apud Pictores defuncti sunt*. But I have great pleasure in acknow-

ledging that I find I have been anticipated by Lord Southesk, who suggested identifying the name with *Eddarrnonn* on the Dyke Stone as far back as 1886: see the *Proceedings*, Dec. 14, 1885. I must have read his Lordship's remarks then and forgotten them since, so that I had now the sensation of making a little discovery. But, to leave this personal explanation, I may mention that in the *Chronicum Scottorum* the entry occurs under 665, and reads: *Iturnan et Corinda apud Pictones defuncti sunt*. In the Annals of Ulster it is nearly the same—*Iturnan et Corindu apud Pictores defuncti sunt*. The name occurs also in Ireland in the family designation of *Ua Iferndin* or *O' h-Iffernain*, now *Heffernan* in the barony of Ownney, in County Limerick: traces of the old form also occur—*Maccu Iferndin*: see the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1047, 1150, and O'Donovan's note. Lord Southesk, with the help of Bishop Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, traces the name in the north: he finds it borne by a saint called *Ethernanus*, who is said to have belonged to a noble family in Scotland, to have been educated in Ireland, and to have become bishop of Rathin, in Buchan. But the Bishop also believed (p. 334) that *Ethernanus* had a religious house on the Isle of May, on the coast of Fife. That may, however, have been another *Ethernanus*, but I infer that one of them was the man whose obit has been cited as given by Tigernach under the year 668. Now crosses inscribed with the names of those to whom they belonged were, I take it, put up by or for persons of distinction and importance, and only one *Itharnan* occurs mentioned in the chronicles and annals where one would expect it. So the odds are, if I may say so, heavily in favour of the identity of *Itharnan* with the *Eddarrnonn* of the Dyke Cross, and of our assigning it to the latter half of the seventh century. The spelling *Ehtarrnonn* belongs probably to a later date. However, I wish to say that I offer these somewhat loose conjectures with the greatest diffidence, and in the hope that I may be able to revise them in the light of inferences drawn by others from the specimens of art accompanying the inscriptions on the two stones respectively and on the other Pictish monuments.

As regards the Northern Picts and their contact with the Celts, it would appear from the foregoing remarks, that the first Celts to exercise

influence on the Picts were Brythons, and several instances pointing in that direction have been mentioned. The foremost place among them is claimed by the name *Vepogenos*, which, in Pictish, yielded *Vipoig* (p. 329); for here the borrowing goes back at any rate to a time when the thematic *o* in *Vepo-gen-* was still retained in Brythonic in the early portion of the third century. Another instance of a somewhat earlier date occurs in the name of the Pict *Argentocoxos*, which seems to have meant "Him of the Silver Leg": it is given the husband of the lady whose remarkable conversation with Julia Domna, wife of the Emperor Severus, respecting Pictish morals, is summarised by Dion Cassius. Then there is the word *pett*, genitive *pette*, which occurs in the charters in the Book of Deer, meaning a parcel or plot of land (see Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 109, 120), and it still enters as *pit* or *pet* into such names as Pittenweem, Pitgaveny, and the like, in the Pictish country north of the Forth, though it seems to have been largely expelled by *bal*. However that may be, the word *pett* has been identified by some scholars with the Welsh word *peth*, "a portion or part of anything, a thing"; and in case they are right, the word would seem to have been borrowed some time or other before the Brythons had made their *tt* into the spirant *th*: that may be supposed to go back to the fifth century, perhaps still further. This paper is already too long to allow of my discussing later instances, and I will only say that I cannot think of any similarly early ones showing the Picts under Goidelic influence. With the victory of Kenneth mac Alpin in the ninth century, Goidelic speech probably became dominant, and previously it had doubtless been growing ever since Columba's mission to the Court of the Pictish king. But before Columba's time it would seem that the dominant Celtic influence among the Picts must have been Brythonic, that is to say, as tested by such precarious data of language as the inquirer has at his disposal.