THE PICTS.

[BY PROVOST MACANDREW.]

WITHIN historic times there were three areas inhabited by people who were known by the name of Picts, or by its Gaelic equivalent Cruithne—if, indeed, that word is the Gaelic equivalent of Picti. These were (1), the whole of Scotland north of the Friths of Forth and Clyde; (2), the district of Galloway; and (3), a small part of the north-east of Ireland, forming the counties of Down and Antrim, and which was called Dalaradia.

If these were all divisions of the same race or people, the most important portion were those who dwelt north of the Friths, and whose country was known as Pictavia, Pictland, or Cruithen-tuath—and was the Pictish kingdom down to the time of Kenneth MacAlpin and his immediate successors. Now, there are certain matters connected with the civil and ecclesiastical history of this portion of the Picts about which historians talk in a very loose and inaccurate way—and in a way calculated to give rise to the impression that they were divided into two distinct races or even kingdoms of Northern and the Southern Picts, separated from each other by the Grampians—while it is constantly and directly stated that the Southern Picts, meaning those dwelling south of the Grampians, were converted to Christianity by St. Ninian in the beginning of the fifth century, and about 150 years before the Mission of Saint Columba. Thus Skene talks of Brude as King of the Northern Picts, and of Columba's Mission to the Northern Picts, while other writers say or suggest that the one division of the Picts consisted of a non-Aryan and the other of a Celtic tribe. I venture, however, to maintain that we have no ground for supposing that there was any civil, or political, or ecclesiastical, or racial distinction or division between the people living north and

south of the Grampians, and that within historic times they always formed one kingdom. Indeed, Skene must have been perfectly aware that there was only one monarchy, for although, as I have said, he calls Brude King of the Northern Picts, he says at another place that the King would appear to have been furnished by the Northern and Southern portions alternately. The inaccuracy has arisen from attaching too much importance to, or misunderstanding certain passages in, Bede. At one place Bede says:—" In the year of our Lord, 565, when Justin, the younger, the successor of Justinian, had the government of the Roman Empire, there came into Britain a famous priest and abbot, a monk by habit and life, whose name was Columba, to preach the Word of God to the provinces of the Northern Picts, who are separated from the Southern parts by steep and rugged mountains; for the Southern Picts who dwell on this side of these mountains had long before, as is reported, forsaken the errors of idolatry and embraced the truth by the preaching of St. Ninian, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth, whose Episcopal See, named after St. Martin the Bishop, and famous for a stately Church (wherein he and many other saints rest in the body) is still in existence among the English nation. The place belongs to the Province of the Bernicians, and is generally called the White House, because he there built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons." It appears to me that in this and other similar passages, when he talks of Southern or Cismontane Picts, Bede either meant the Picts of Galloway, or he himself was misled by a mistaken interpretation of his own authorities. So far as can be learned from Bede's history he knew of no Picts except those living north of the Friths, and in the passage I have quoted he talks of the district where St. Ninian's Church was—that is, the district of Galloway—as belonging to the Province of the Bernicians. But in his life of Saint Cuthbert he tells us that that Saint on one occasion went to the land of the Picts, who are called Niduarii, and Skene ingeniously argues that these could only mean the Picts of the Nid or Nith. I think, however, that this is a curious instance of a straining of an authority on Skene's part. The story

of Bede is that St. Cuthbert went from the monastery to Niduarii by sea--"Navigando"—that because the sea was calm they hoped soon to return; that a storm came on which detained them; that St. Cuthbert prophesied how long the storm was to last; and that at the time foretold the storm abated, and they returned with a fair wind. The whole story is of a journey by sea. Now, at that time St. Cuthbert was most probably residing in his parent monastery of Abercorn, at any rate he was residing somewhere on the East Coast of Northumberland, which then extended to the Forth, and the idea that he should attempt to go thence to Galloway by sea is not tenable. I incline to think, therefore, that Bede did not know of the Picts of Galloway; but it is quite possible that on some of his journeys St. Cuthbert may have been at a monastery on the southern shores of the Solway Frith, and may have crossed to Galloway by sea, and that, therefore, Skene may be right in supposing that the Picts called Niduarii were the Picts of Galloway. If this is so, then I think that the natural inference from the passage I have quoted and similar passages is that Bede meant these Picts when he spoke of the Southern Picts, and he might very well describe them as separated from the Northern Picts—that is, the Picts north of the Friths—by steep and rugged mountains. On the other hand, if he did not know of the Galloway Picts, it is easy to account for his falling into an error about them. Bede lived from 673 to 735, and his history ends in 731. Now, he tells us that in or about 655 Oswy, King of Northumbria, subdued the greater part of the Picts: that in or about 669 Wilfred filled the Bishoprick of York and of all the Northumbrians, and of "the Picts as far as the dominions of King Oswy extended;" that about 685 the Picts regained their liberty and that "Trumwine, who had been made bishop over them, withdrew with his people that were in the monastery of Abercurnaig (Abercorn), seated in the country of the English, but close to the arm of the sea which parts the country of the English and the Picts," We thus see that in Bede's own time there was a temporary political and ecclesiastical separation of the Picts dwelling south of the Grampians—for this must necessarily have been the portion conquered by Oswy—and those dwelling north of these

mountains, who remained independent. Bede heard or read of the Southern Picts having been converted by St. Ninian in collecting materials for his history ; and he may, if he knew of no other Picts—very naturally, but yet erroneously—have supposed that they were those whom he knew of as for a time separated from the rest of their countrymen by the political and ecclesiastical subjection to Northumbria—that is, those dwelling south of the Grampians. There are many grounds which show that, if this was his meaning, it was an error on his part.

St. Ninian lived about 410, and established himself at Whithern, in Galloway, where, we are told, he built a white or stone church in the Roman manner, and converted the Southern Picts. Now, if there was a race of Picts in Galloway then, and we know no reason to suppose that the Galloway Picts settled there at any later time, they would be the people with whom he came in contact, and Whithern would be the natural place to establish a mission to them ; whereas it would be a very unsuitable place to establish a mission to a people living beyond the Forth. It is very unlikely, therefore, that Saint Ninian's mission was to the people beyond the Forth, and, although the dedications of churches to him have been appealed to, they really establish nothing. There are in Scotland 21 churches dedicated to him north of the Grampians, 23 between the Grampians and the Friths, and 17 south of the Friths, while there are many in England.

Be this as it may, however—Bede himself talks in many places of the kingdom and of the king of the Picts, and nowhere of two kings at the same time—Adamnan, who lived from 624 to 704, always speaks of the province or kingdom of the Picts as one kingdom, and gives no hint of any division either racial or political. There are lists of the kings of the Picts, which, from the time of Columba at least, are historical, and these only give one king at a time, except in one or two instances. In fact it seems, notwithstanding the passages in Bede which I have mentioned to be as certain as anything at that distance of time can be, that, from the time of Columba and previously—as certainly was the case in later times—the Picts north of the Friths were the subjects of one monarchy, and formed one kingdom.

The question naturally arises were the Picts of Galloway and

of Ireland of the same race as what may be called the main body living north of the Friths. If we could answer this question satisfactorily, we could answer most of the other questions about the Picts which have so long been discussed without, as yet, any very certain or very satisfactory result—and it appears to me that this question, especially with reference to the Irish Picts, has not been sufficiently examined.

Of the early history of the Picts of Galloway, we know nothing. Unless they were the Niduarii, Bede does not mention them. Adamnan says nothing about them, and we have no mention of them until comparatively recent times. Chalmers states that they came from Ulster and settled in Galloway in the eighth century, but Skene has shown that this statement is founded on a misunderstanding of two passages in the Annals of Ulster. In historical times, and long after the name of Picts, as applied to the people north of the Friths, had disappeared, they were known as Picts, and a body of them is mentioned as forming part of the Scottish army at the battle of the Standard, when they claimed a right to lead the van of the army. All that can be said therefore is that they were called Picts, and that we have no record of their migration into that district. That they spoke Gaelic is undoubted. If therefore they were the same race as the Picts north of the Friths, we might, with some confidence, conclude that Gaelic was the Pictish language.

In the case of the Irish Picts, Skene asserts that they were undoubtedly the same as the Scottish Picts, and that they were in fact one people and under one rule till the time of Fiacha Mac Beadan, who was king of Ulster from 589 to 626; and he says further that the whole people of Ulster were Picts until the fall of the kingdom of Emania in or about the year 331. If this could be established, it would be of the utmost importance. The Ultonians were, during the existence of the kingdom of Emania, the most civilized and famous of all the inhabitants of Ireland, and to them belong all the glories of the Red Branch Knights, of Cuchulain, and other heroes, and if Finn was not of their race he was much associated with them. If Skene is right, the common possession of the legends of all these people by the inhabitants of the two countries is explained, and the question of the Pictish

language and race would be in a fair way of settlement. It can hardly be said, however, that Skene has established his point. The arguments in favour of his contention are not clearly or concisely stated in any of his writings, but they appear to be these. According to the Irish Annals, the Ultonians were driven out of Emania by the three Collas about A.D. 331; they were driven into the country now forming the counties of Down and Antrim, and O'Curry says that they remained there ever after, and received the name of Dal-Araidhe. Now, this is the district which was inhabited by the people called Cruithne in later times. According to the legendary history of Ireland, there was much intercourse between Ulster and Scotland in the earliest times—Cuchulain and other heroes are mentioned as having learned feats of arms in Skye; 'the children of Uisneach, when they fled from the King of Ulster, took refuge in Scotland; in one of the Pictish chronicles mention is made of thirty kings of the name of Brude, who reigned over Erin and Alban for 148 years. And the Irish Annals mention some kings of Ulster who were also kings of Alban. On the other hand, the Irish Annals claim the Ultonians as descendants of Ir, one of the sons of Milesius, and therefore Scots. The Irish Annals mention no kings of Ulster bearing the same name as the kings contained in the list of Pictish Kings of Alban. During the famous time of the Ulster kingdom they do not mention the Ultonians as Cruithne, and any mention I have seen of Cruithne, or Cruithentuath, in the Earlier Irish Annals points to the people and the country of Alban. It is remarkable, too, that in mentioning the Irish Picts, Adamnan always calls them Cruithne, while the inhabitants of Alban are called Picti or Pictones. It cannot be said, therefore, that it is established that the Irish and Scottish Picts were of one race; but, as I have said, the question has not received the amount of attention which it deserves. It will not be questioned, I presume, that the Irish Picts were a Celtic, Gaelic-speaking people.

The controversy as to who the Picts were, usually rages round their name, their language, their physical characteristics, and certain peculiar customs which were attributed to them, and on each of these points I will venture to make some remarks.

(To be continued.)

THE PICTS.

II.

[BY PROVOST MACANDREW.]

THE attempt to trace the Picts all over Europe and Asia by their name of Picts always appears to me to be childish. The people of the Northern part of Britain were first called by the name of Picts by Eumenius, who was a professor of rhetoric, and a writer of panygerics in or about the year 297. Previous to that time the inhabitants of Caledonia had been known to the Romans as Caledonians, Dicaledonæ and Vecturiones, Meatae, and other names; and Ptolemy, who lived in the second century, and gives a detailed geographical account of Britain, mentions various tribes as inhabiting Scotland, but none with names in the least resembling Picts or Picti, although on the west coast of northern Argyle and Inverness he places two tribes, named respectively Creones and Cerones—names bearing some resemblance to Cruithne as it is pronounced. There is no doubt that very soon after the time of Eumenius the name became the one always used by the Roman writers for the people of Northern Britain, and in the earliest books we have by native Scottish or Irish writers it is the name which they also use when writing in Latin. The fact remains, however, that Picti was a Latin name given to the people in the end of the third century, and not sooner; while it is certain that among themselves and their neighbours, who did not speak Latin, they were known as Cruithne. To connect this people, therefore, with Pictavia and the Pictones in France, known by these names in the time

of Julius Cæsar, or with places or peoples in Europe or Asia which bore a somewhat similar name, and which could not have been colonised by Scottish Picts after they became known by that name, seems absurd.

The usual assumption is that the Picts were so called by the Romans because they painted themselves, or tattooed themselves, and that the name signified the painted people. There is no end of authority for this; but it is remarkable that, with the exception of Julius Cæsar and Herodian, all the writers who talk of the Picts painting or tattooing themselves, write after the name was given, and that for 200 years the Romans were in contact with the people without giving them any such name. Innes accounts for this by saying that all the inhabitants of Britain had at one time painted themselves, that by the end of the third century the inhabitants of the Roman province had given up the practice, and that hence the name was given to the Northern people, who still practised it. This is ingenious; but by the end of the third century the Romans were well acquainted with the Saxons, who are also said to have painted themselves, and also with the Scots from Ireland, who were at least not more civilised than the Picts, and who would probably not differ from their neighbours in a practice of this kind, so that even at that time the peculiarity would not have been confined to the Caledonians. On the other hand, it is said that the name which the people gave themselves in their own language means the same or nearly the same as the Latin word, and if this is so we must assume either that the people had named themselves from a practice which was not peculiar to them in early times, if we are to accept the statements of historians on the point, or that they adopted a Roman nick-name, translated it into their own language, and invented an eponym bearing the name for themselves. Neither of these assumptions is probable; and for myself I cannot help entertaining a suspicion that the Romans translated the word Cruithne into Picti, and that all the stories about painting and tattooing mainly arose round that word. This is clear, that no trace of such a custom remained to historic times, or has left any trace of its existence in native legend or literature; that Tacitus, who had his information from Agricola, does not mention any such custom; and that the writers

who tell us about the tattooing also tell us many things which cannot be other than travellers' tales, such as that our mountains were waterless, that our ancestors went about naked, that they passed days in wading up to their waists in rivers and arms of the sea, or immersed in bogs; and even Tacitus tells us that the water of our seas was thick and sluggish, and difficult for the rower, and that it was never disturbed by storms.

Beyond establishing that the name of Picts can give us no assistance in tracing the history or migrations of the people, we must leave the question of the name in an unsatisfactory condition. If any information is to be derived from the name it must be from the name Cruithne which the people called themselves, and as yet philologists are not agreed on the meaning of this name—some deriving it from a root which means form, and others from a root which means wheat. It would be interesting if we could establish that our ancestors were the first who introduced the cultivation of wheat into Britain.

As to the language, the first question to be settled—and it is yet very far from settlement—is whether the Picts spoke a separate language or not. The case of those who assert that they did rests mainly on the authority of Bede and of Adamnan. The former says:—"This island at present, following the number of the Books in which the Divine law was written, contains five nations, the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins, each in its own peculiar dialect cultivating the sublime study of Divine truth. The Latin tongue is by the study of the Scriptures become common to all the rest." Now, Bede was a monk, and not free from the conceits and fancies of monkish writers. In this passage he wishes to make the nationalities and languages or dialects in which Divine truth was studied equal to the number of the books of Moses, and to do so he drags in a nationality which did not exist in Britain in his time—viz., the Latin. To make up five languages he required the Pictish, and looking to the object he had in making up the number five, I think it may very safely be held that the passage does not necessarily imply more than that the Picts spoke a dialect different from that of the Britons and the Scots. The authority of Adamnan is not so easily disposed of. He mentions two instances in which St. Columba

had to use an interpreter in explaining the word to inhabitants of Albyn. On one occasion the Saint was in Skye, and an old man, named Artbranan, the chief of the Geona Cohors, arrived in a boat, and, being carried to his feet, was instructed by him through an interpreter and was baptised. The river in which he was baptised was called after him "Dobur Artbranan." There is nothing in the passage to indicate where Artbranan came from, but it can only be assumed, as he was in a dying condition, that he came from some neighbouring part of Skye or the Mainland, and these at the time were undoubtedly inhabited by Picts. In the other instance Columba is said to have been tarrying for some days in the Province of the Picts, when a certain peasant, who, with his whole family, listened to and learned through an interpreter the word of life, was baptised. These passages seem to imply that talking to Picts Columba required an interpreter, but it is argued that, even if he did, a different language is not necessarily implied, and that a different dialect of the same language would equally account for the necessity. On the other hand there are numerous instances mentioned of conversations between Columba and Picts, and of discussions between him and the Pictish Druids without any mention of an interpreter. So far, therefore, as historic authority goes, it does not necessarily or even probably establish a distinct language. And certainly not a non-Celtic language.

The remains of what is said to be the Pictish language are sufficiently meagre. Bede mentions one word, "Peanfahel," the head or end of the wall. O'Curry says there is only one word of the language remaining, viz., "Cartit"—a pin, which is given in Cormac's Glossary. One of the monastic registers gives us "Scollofthes," given in Latin as "Scolasticus," but meaning some inferior monastic grade of persons who devoted themselves to the cultivation of land, and from other sources we have "Ur" and "Diuperr," the latter meaning a rich man. These, and the names of the Pictish kings and a few names of places, are all that remain. As to what these words prove, philologists are not agreed, and the question must be left with them, and I would merely remark that the manner in which some of them dibble Celtic Picts, non-Aryan Picts, Goidels, and Brythons all over the country, on the authority of a chance word or name, appears utterly rash and unscientific.

If anything is to be established on philological grounds, every word said on any ground to be Pictish, and every place name in the district inhabited by the people, should be distinctly and separately analysed, and when this is done we shall know whether philology can tell us anything on the subject or not.

To me it always appears that it is vain to contend that the Picts spoke a non-Gaelic language. They composed a separate and organised kingdom from the time of Columba (565) to the time of Kenneth Macalpin (850) at least, and, giving all possible effect to the fact that during that time they had a clergy mainly Scottish, who used the Scottish language as the language of culture and literature, it cannot be supposed that, if in Columba's time they spoke a language of a different family from the Gaelic, it would not have left broad and unmistakable marks in the topography of the country, and in the Gaelic language which they adopted.

The physical characteristics have given also much ground for controversy. The question of broad and long skulls may be dismissed on the ground that, even if this peculiarity indicated a distinction of race—and this is not now held to be entirely established—it proves nothing about the Picts. The authority of Tacitus has been much relied on as proving that the Caledonians who are assumed—and, I think, justly assumed—to be the same as the people afterwards called Picts—were Teutonic. In discussing the question of the origin of the inhabitants of Britain, he says that the temperament of body is various "whence deductions are formed of their different origin"; and thus he says the large limbs and red hair of the Caledonians point to a German origin. This is, however, a mere inference, and in a general survey he says that the probability is that Britain was peopled from Gaul—that the sacred rites and superstitions were similar, and that the language of the two peoples did not greatly differ. We know now that large limbs and red or fair hair were as much characteristics of Celts as of Germans, and we are as well able to draw inferences from the possession of them as Tacitus. In a poem, said to be very ancient, and describing events in the reign of Conaire Mor, who was king of Ireland, and died about the year 30 B.C., three exiles from Cruithentuath are described as great brown men, with round heads of hair of equal length at poll and forehead. These,

so far as I have seen, are the only descriptions of the physical characteristics of Picts, and they really prove nothing.

When we come to the customs of the Picts we get on a subject of great interest and difficulty. I dismiss the stories of Roman writers about cannibalism, community of women, children belonging to the tribe and not to the parents, and the pauper King, who was not allowed to have either wife or property, as mere travellers' tales. Tacitus says nothing of any such customs, and in the speech which he puts into the mouth of Galgacus he treats the family relations as thoroughly well established among the Caledonians. In Adamnan there is abundant evidence that marriage was thoroughly recognised among the Picts in Columba's time, and there are frequent mention of wife and family, and of wives as possessing an influential position in the family. And courtesans are frequently mentioned as a disgraceful class. So far there is nothing to show that the Picts were in a different stage of civilisation from the rest of the inhabitants of Britain. They had, however, one custom, the evidence of which is distinct, and which is very singular. Bede gives the legend about the Picts having arrived in Britain without wives, and applying to the Scots for them, who gave them on condition, "that when any difficulty should arise they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male, which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day." And here Bede is corroborated by the lists of Pictish kings in all the chronicles in which a list is given. In no case does a son succeed a father, and in no case does a father of any king himself appear in the list of kings; and yet there is no mention of a female sovereign. In later times we know that foreigners were the fathers of the Scottish kings. Bile, the King of Alclyde, was father of one of the Brudes. Maelchon, a Welsh leader, was father of another Brude. A brother of one of the kings of Northumberland was father of another Pictish king; and on one occasion two brothers were kings of the Picts and of Dalriada respectively at the same time. There can be little doubt that Kenneth MacAlpin or his father claimed the Pictish throne, in right of succession to a mother of the royal race. It will be seen that this custom is very peculiar. It is not a case of the right of women to succeed and

reign, but of men succeeding and reigning in virtue of their being sons of their mother and not of their father. It is supposed that this custom pointed to a state of society in which there was promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, and there was therefore no certain paternity, and our distinguished townsman, Mr. J. F. Maclennan, has shown in his book on primitive marriage that probably all races passed through such a stage. But it is well established that the Aryan races had passed through this stage and established the institution of marriage before they left their original home in Central Asia. And it is contended therefore that this custom indicated a non-Aryan origin of the Picts. It is to be observed, however, that among them the custom seems to have been confined to the Royal family and to succession to the throne, and that it did not, so far as the list of kings show, or so far as Bede indicates, show any uncertainty as to the paternity of the kings—the names of the fathers are always given and not the names of the mothers. Except on the supposition that it was a survival from a time when intercourse was promiscuous and paternity uncertain, it is difficult to account for such a custom, and there is no doubt that it constitutes a difficulty, and the main difficulty in the way of belief in the Picts as an Aryan people. No explanation has yet been given of it.

On the whole, then, and although the question is not free from doubt, it will be seen that the great weight of evidence goes to show the Picts were a Celtic Gaelic-speaking people, and it is probable that they were the earliest immigration of that people into Britain, and came, as their own legends tell, from Scythia, that is North-Germany, which undoubtedly was peopled by Celts before it was peopled by Germans.

THE PICTS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

I.

THE HISTORICAL AUTHORITIES AND THEIR VALUE.

IT has been truly remarked by Professor Thorold Rogers, in a review of the Duke of Argyll's late work on Scotland, that, "for some reason or the other, the beginnings of authentic Scottish history are later than those of any European nation, though the sense of Scottish nationality is as keen, as vigorous, and as healthy as that of any race in the world." Until the reign of Malcolm Canmore we are not on firm historical ground, and it is not until that time that the welding into one nationality of the Saxon and Celtic elements of the kingdom of Scotland, for previous to that it was only the kingdom of Alban or Scotland north of the Forth, properly began, a welding which was assured only on the field of Bannockburn. There is but one native document bearing on Scottish history that can claim to any antiquity beyond the 11th century, and even that document can be claimed only with hesitation. The "Pictish Chronicle," which contains, first as preface, extracts, more or less adapted, from Isidore of Seville bearing on Scyths and Scots; secondly, a bare list of kings and reigns from the mythical Cruidne to Bred, the last Pictish king, in the 9th century; and thirdly, a chronicle of the Scottish kings of Alban from Kenneth MacAlpin to Kenneth, son of Malcolm (reigned 977-995), where it closes with a blank space left for the number of years

that Kenneth reigned. The MS. (Colbertine, Paris), belongs to the 14th century, and was probably transcribed at York from some other earlier MS. or MSS. The earliest document may have been written at Brechin, which is mentioned in it as having been dedicated to the Lord by Kenneth, son of Malcolm, and, as the number of years he reigned is left blank, it is inferred that the document was written in Kenneth's reign. An anonymous document which "may" or "might" have been written in the 10th century in Scotland, but which is really found in a MS. written in England and preserved in Paris, is our earliest native chronicle for the history of Scotland! True, we might claim Adamnan, whose life of Columba was written in the beginning of the 8th century, and which contains important facts in Scottish history: though he was an Irishman, yet he was a Scotch ecclesiastic. The Book of Deer was doubtless written in the 12th century, when other documents are also forthcoming, but its references to historic facts for a generation or two previously make it a native document of especial value.

We have, however, to trust to outsiders for the most important facts in our meagre early history. Gildas, the Welshman, in the 6th century, makes scathing reference to the Picts and Scots who burst on the Romanised Britons, "the Scots from the north-west and the Picts from the north," landing from "their *curachs*, in which they crossed the Tithica valley, differing somewhat in manners, but inspired with the same avidity for blood, preferably shrouding their villainous faces with hair rather than clothing the parts of their bodies requiring it (furciferos magis vultus pilis quam corporum pudenda pudendisque proxima vestibus tegentes)." Bede, the priest of Jarrow, in the early part of the 8th century, has much to tell us about Iona and the conversion of the Picts, and his authority is unimpeachable in regard to the facts he records. Later, in the 9th century, we have Nennius and "the stuff that goes by the name of Nennius," as Professor Rhys, in a moment of well-justified irritation, calls the work; for it is a collection of fact and fable of a most tantalising description. Additions were made to it by Saxons, Welsh, and Irish, and these contain considerable information, though requiring careful handling. The Irish annalists are of extremely high value for the

intricacies of Pictish and Scottish history before the 11th century—Tigernach and Flann Mainstrech in the 11th century, the Annals of Innisfallen in the 13th century, and those of Ulster in the 15th; but, as Sheriff Mackay says in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "this source of information has to be used with caution." The Colbertine MS. contains a later chronicle besides the Pictish one, dealing with the Scots, and belonging to the 12th century, and also a description of Scotland of the same period. The *Albanic Duan* is ascribed to the 11th century, but the earliest form of it is late Middle Irish; it gives a brief chronicle of the Scottish Kings from the eponymic "Briutus" to Malcolm Canmore. All documents bearing on Scottish history up to the time of Malcolm Canmore will be found collected in Skene's "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," excluding of course the classical writers, along with Gildas, Bede, Adamnan, and other outsiders who have written treatises of a similar kind. Scotland has nothing to compare with the Irish *Annals* and the Welsh *Triads*, nor has it anything equivalent to the ancient laws of the *Senchus Mor* or to the Welsh code of Howell Dda. Indeed, Scotland requires all the light it can borrow from these to illumine the darkness of its history.

So far we have been considering the post-classical writers and documents on Scottish history up to the beginning of authentic history in the 11th century. At the hands of Roman and Greek historians we shall find that Scotland has again fared badly. The classical writers refer in the most meagre and unsatisfactory terms to events and people in Scotland; none of them ever was in the country; and, besides, a great part of Scotland was never under Roman power, nor are we much better informed in regard to the portion of the country—that between the walls—which happened now and then to be part of Roman Britain. Provost Macandrew, who in our two last numbers has so admirably and concisely marshalled the arguments in favour of the Gaelic origin of the Picts, deals with the classical authorities in a way that forces to the front the question as to how far we are to trust the Roman and Greek writers. He labels a good many statements with the title of "travellers' tales"—such are the cannibalism, community of women, and even the tattooing which the classical writers assert as existing in the island in their time. In the circumstances, every

writer must be judged on his merits as a general writer of history and on his particular knowledge of Britain. The first and best is Cæsar. He was in Britain and saw the inhabitants that dwelt south of the Thames. What Cæsar saw he records faithfully ; the facts which he records as matters of personal observation are to be accepted implicitly; his inferences need not be so accepted. A negro from Central Africa, though recording the sights of London as he saw them, could not describe them as they are, for he could only assimilate the information to what he already knew in his African home. The Gauls, Cæsar says, reckon time by nights and not by days, because they are descended from Dis Pater, the God of the Lower World. The inference here is quite wrong ; the fact is quite right. So he states that Druidism was probably invented in Britain, because people went there to learn it thoroughly ; but it will be seen how M. Gaidoz disposes of this argument on another page. Again, Cæsar describes the animals that were found in the Hercynian Forest ; he evidently describes from hearsay for the most part. There are three wonderful animals ; the unicorn *bos*, then the gigantic, goat-like, and branching-horned animal whose legs had no joints, and which hunters trapped by cutting the trees against which it reclined, for, when it fell, its jointless legs would not allow it to rise again, and, thirdly, the elephantine *urus*. We might dismiss this with a grin as a traveller's tale, but, yet, modern geology has shown that Cæsar had a considerable element of truth in all his descriptions. The first animal is now recognised as the *bos primogenius*, the second as the extinct Irish elk, and the third is the still extant auroch of Lithuania. We must deal with Cæsar—and so, too, in nearly like degree with Tacitus, Dio Cassius and Herodian—in a spirit of scientific patience, believing that there is some germ of truth in even the wildest statement made. It does seem absurd to assert that the people of Ireland ate human flesh, as Diodorus and Strabo say they were "reported" to do : St. Jerome repeats the same calumny about the Scottish tribe of the Atticoti, asserting next to personal observation, " I myself in my youth in Gaul saw the Atticoti, a British nation, that they feed on human flesh (Quid loquar de ceteribus nationibus quum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Atticotos, gentem

Britannican, humanis vesci carnibus)." He does not say that he saw them do it; it is the *fact* he saw. Now a quotation of Pliny, coupled with our modern knowledge of early sacrifices*—what they meant and what at times they were—should make us pause ere we reject altogether this "wild" statement. There may be a grain of truth in it. Pliny says, in dealing with Magic rites, Druidism and the Magi of Persia, "All that is due to the Romans cannot be estimated highly enough, for they have abolished atrocities, wherein it was a most religious action to kill a man, and a highly salutary one also that a man should be eaten (mandi vero etiam saluberrimum)." On certain solemn occasions, tribes who have totems assemble, and, though at all other times they strictly abstain from killing or eating the totem animal, yet then they kill and eat it, incorporating into themselves bodily and spiritually their deity. This is, doubtless, the very origin of cannibalism.

We may deal in the same way with the statement made by Cæsar and reiterated by several classical writers, that the Britons had community of wives. A little patience here may unravel the difficulty. Cæsar distinguishes between the Britons who crossed from Belgic Gaul, "who differed little from the customs of Gaul," and the Britons of the interior. We may take it for granted that the charge of community of wives does not apply to the Gaulish Britons, nor is it a custom that Cæsar, in his brief stay, could have actual cognisance of. He could see the men in their war-paint, for they all painted, he tells us, but such a detail of family arrangement as community of wives he could not easily meet with. Tacitus does not mention any such custom either in Roman or non-Roman Britain; indeed, he rather exaggerates the virtues of the Caledonians in his attempt to decry the vices of the Romans; it is a favourite trick of his. Dio Cassius repeats the accusation in Severus' time in a very circumstantial manner, but he attributes the custom to the Caledonians. Severus enacted laws against adultery, of which no advantage was taken. "Wherefore the wife of one Argentocoxus, a Caledonian, is reported, after the treaty, to have said very facetiously to Julia Augusta, quae ei earum licenter cum maribus commercium exprobrabat: 'Multo melius nos necessitatibus naturae satisfacimus quam Romanae.

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* See Prof. Robertson's Smith's article on "Sacrifice" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

Nos enim aperte commercium habemus cum optimis, vos autem adulterium cum infimis committitis.'" Everything therefore points to the fact that some such marriage system did exist in Britain, and, as it was not among the Gallo-Britons, we have to fall back on the "Britons of the interior." This practically restricts the custom to the more northern parts of the island. But we are not dependent on the classical authorities alone. We have the result of the system in the Pictish law of succession, than which no fact is better estatablished in Scottish history. The law that the succession should be in the female line indicates a low idea of marriage, one where maternity alone was certain and one in which the brother and sister's son succeeded rather than a man's own son. If the Pictish succession does not go to verify the fact recorded by classical writers in regard to community of wives or whatever it was, then the guiding light of authropological science is useless in Scottish history. Such marriage systems are common among savage and barbarian tribes.

We are therefore inclined to accept the statements of the best Classical authorities—even to thankfully accept them. These best authorities are Cæsar, Tacitus, Dio Cassius, Herodian, and Ammianus Marcellinus. And we must also vindicate Bede's character as against Provost Macandrew's strictures on his monkish conceits. The Provost makes Bede speak of five nations as existing in Britain, to suit the five books of Moses; he accuses him of dragging in the Latin as a fifth nation. If Bede had done such a thing, it certainly would be blameworthy, but it is only the absurd translation of Dr. Giles that makes Bede assert such a thing. Bede actually says, and says rightly: "This [Island] at present, according to the number of books in which the divine law is written, in the languages of five nations, studies and acknowledges one and the same knowledge of divine truth and sublimity; these are the languages of the Angli, Brittones, Scotti, Picti, and Latins." He does not say there are five nations, but he does say there are five languages. In another place he speaks of the "nations and provinces of Britain which are divided into four languages, viz.:—the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English." And he ends his work by saying that these four nations are at present at peace; "the Picts have a treaty with the

English, and the Scots who inhabit Britain, content with their own bounds, attempt neither ambush nor treachery against the English nation." It is quite clear that Bede considered the Pictish a language by itself, quite distinct from Scottic, English, British, and Latin. There is no use blinking that fact; it does not admit of any doubt. And Adamnan's Life of Columba gives two instances where Columba had to deal with Picts through an interpreter. The question first is, Was it a Celtic language? If so, Was it a Gaelic or was it a British (Welsh) dialect? Provost Macandrew maintains that it was Gaelic. We intend to maintain and, as far as we can, to prove that it was a Celtic dialect allied to the British.

THE PICTS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]
II.
THEIR HISTORY FROM CLASSICAL SOURCES.

MODERN writers, as well as the classical authors, agree that the east of England and of Scotland, as far as the Firth of Forth or thereabouts, was, at the time of the Roman invasion and conquest, in the possession of Gaulish tribes. The evidence for this lay in the fact of the practical identity of manners and customs, of language, and even of names, between the Belgic tribes and the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Britain. It is thus allowed that these tribes spoke an early form of the British variety of the Celtic language. This Celtic dialect Professor Rhys has called the Brythonic, as opposed to the other leading branch, the early Gaelic variety, which he calls Goidelic. At this time, too, it is generally conceded that Ireland was possessed by the Goidelic Celts. Beyond this, agreement among writers on the subject does not go. Who inhabited western England and western and northern Scotland? Professor Rhys is of opinion that these districts, all save the northernmost portion of Scotland, were inhabited by Goidelic tribes, who in England were receding before the immigrant Gauls. He believes that all England had been possessed by the Goidels, and that they were pushed westwards by the conquering Brythons, just as they in their turn yielded to the Saxons. We know that there were Goidels in Wales and Cornwall in the fourth

and fifth centuries, and perhaps later ; they have left their funeral monuments there with inscriptions in a language which is evidently an early form of Gaelic, inscriptions too which find their parallel only in the south of Ireland. The inference is that these Goidels were the remnants of the old Goidelic population of England ; but it is only an inference, for they were more likely the Goidels of the Picts and Scots' invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries. There is no proof that outside Wales and Cornwall the Goidels ever inhabited England, for the place names prove no such thing. So far as place names are Celtic, they are also Brythonic, or at times common to both branches. So far as evidence goes, England's Celtic inhabitants were Brythonic ; they were invaded by Scots from Ireland in the fourth and fifth centuries on the West.

At the time of the Roman Conquest, the portion of Scotland south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, with the exception of the so-called Picts of Galloway, is allowed to have been Brythonic. Ptolemy, the geographer, who wrote some forty years after Agricola's conquest, represents the Damnonii as stretching from Ayr to the river Tay, and this tribe was certainly Brythonic. Indeed, its northern portion, cut off from the rest by the wall of Lollius Urbicus, corresponds fairly well to the subsequent British kingdom of Fortrenn, which lay between the Tay and the Forth. To what race or races, Celtic or non-Celtic, the people of Scotland north of the Tay and the Firth of Clyde belonged is a point on which little agreement obtains among modern writers. They first appear in history in the campaigns of Agricola from 80 to 86 A.D. After extending and consolidating his power in England, Agricola, in the third year of campaigning, entered Scotland, and over-ran the country as far as the Tavaus or Tay, a campaign which, in Tacitus' words, "disclosed new nations." In the subsequent campaigns, he secured his conquests by a chain of forts built across the narrow neck of land between the estuaries of the Clyde and Forth, with the result, his biographer says, of shutting off the enemy into what was practically another island. Thereafter he penetrated into the country beyond his forts as far as Cupar Angus, without encountering any serious opposition. His progress, however, and the sight of his fleet, which accompanied the land army as much as possible, alarmed the natives,

and they determined to resist him in force. In the year 85, both armies met at a place called by the classical writer Mons Granpius, which is believed to be near the meeting of the Isla with Tay, and there the Caledonian army, under the command of Calgacus, was defeated. Agricola then led his forces into the territories of the Boresti, who lived somewhere between the Tay and the Forth, and from there returned to his winter quarters south of the Forth. Next year Agricola was recalled, and the Caledonians were not further molested nor any serious attempt made to subdue them for over a hundred and twenty years.

Caledonia is the name which Tacitus gives the country which Agricola thus invaded, and the only tribal names he gives are those of the Caledonians and the Boresti, and the only personal name he mentions is that of the Caledonian leader, Calgacus. He tells us that the Caledonians were tall, large-limbed, and red-haired (rutilae comae), facts which, he thought, pointed to a Germanic origin. They were provided with short targets and long pointless swords, which were useless in close fight, and they had chariots as well, which only helped to increase the confusion into which they were thrown. The speech which Tacitus puts in the mouth of Calgacus is, of course, unauthentic, and is intended as a lecture of rebuke to Roman vices, and there is in it no effort to give a true picture of Caledonian life and ideas. Speeches of this ideal and declamatory kind are common in the classical authors, and to take them as anything else than the writer's own conceptions of what ideally ought to have been said is to misunderstand the matter entirely. In such a case, to expect a reference to community of wives, and not rather an appeal to conjugal and filial affection is to misconceive Tacitus' position. Tacitus argued that the Caledonians were Germans from their physical appearance. In this he is wrong; but they may be claimed as next door neighbours to the Germans; they may have been Belgae originally. Dr. Beddoe says that "if only the Belgae had spoken Gaelic, as Dr. Guest believed, the difficulty" of Highland ethnological characteristics would not be so great, for "the attendants of Jovinus [Belgae] are not unlike modern Gaels." Now, if the Caledonians spoke a Brythonic language, perhaps the same as the Belgae, might this not suit Dr. Beddoe equally as well as the

theoretic necessity of the Belgae speaking Gaelic? The name Caledonia is common to both Celtic branches. The root is seen in Gaelic *coill* (wood), old Irish, *caill* (the stem being originally *caldit-*); in Welsh it is *celli* (grove), the stem of which would originally have been *cáldia*. The English equivalent root is seen in *holt*, and the Caledonii answer to the Germanic Holtsates. The name further appears in *Dunkeld*, Gaelic *Dùn Chaillinn*, old Gaelic *Dun Chailden*, and in the mountain Sith Chaillinn. It is evidently a Brythonic form of the word that remains to us in Dunkeld. Of Calgacus or Galgacus we can say nothing definitely as to root, and the Boresti are generally allowed to have been Brythonic; if, in regard to the name, the *Bor-* stands for the British *Vor-*, we may have a modern equivalent in Forres. The *p* in the name Granpius at once decides its non-Goidelic character; if it is Celtic, it is also Brythonic.

The next important authority on Scottish history is Ptolemy, the geographer, who wrote about the year 120 A.D. He gives us the names of fourteen tribes as inhabiting the Caledonia of Tacitus. In southern Scotland he places these tribes: between the southern Roman wall and the Forth, along the east coast, the Otadini and Gadeni; the Selgovae, whence modern Solway, to the west in Dumfries; and the Novantae in the modern counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown. North of these, stretching as far as the Almond and Tay, were the Damnonii, lying across the neck of Scotland, as it were; the Epidii were in Kintyre and Dumbarton northwards, and along the west coast lay the Cerones, Creones, Carnonacae, and Careni; along the north coast in Sutherland and Caithness were the Cornabii; the Lugi and Mertae were more southerly in Sutherlandshire and the Decantae were in Easter Ross. The Caledonians stretched across country from Loch Long to the Inverness Firth, over Drumalban and on the south of the Great Glen. To the east of the Caledonians were the Vacomagi in eastern Inverness, in Nairn, Elgin, and part of Perth; the Tæxali were in Aberdeenshire, and south of these lay the Vernicones in Mearns, Angus, and Fife.

The position here given to the Caledonians is not what we should expect, and Professor Rhys suggests that their territory lay indeed from sea to sea, as Ptolemy has it, but that it

stretched from Loch Long to the Tay and along its basin to the sea. The remains of their name in Dunkeld and Sith-Chaillinn point to Perthshire as their real position. Two or three of these tribes have names which recur in England. There were Damnonii in Devon and Cornwall, Cornavii in Caithness and in Shropshire, and Decantae in Ross-shire and in North Wales. Comparatively few of these names can be now identified. Selgovae gives modern Solway, the Novantae had their name from the river Novios, the modern Nith, the Otadini may have been the Welsh Guotodin, the west coast tribes, Cerones, Creones Carnonacae and Carini seem to be remembered in the lochs Crinan, Creran, Carron, Kearon, Keiarn, etc.; Cornavii is well known in Cornwall, but there is no Scotch representative, and its root is Gaelic and British *corn*, a horn. The Tæxali appear to have left their traces in the parish names of Tough and Towie of Aberdeenshire, for *x* may appear in modern Brythonic as *ch*, as we see in the Ochill hills from *Uxello-*, Ochiltree being from Uxello-treb-, and so forth. Among other Brythonic forms are Epidii (Goidelic *Equidii*, horsemen ?) and the Ver- of Vernicones. We may look briefly at Ptolemy's river, estuary, and town names in and around Pict land. The estuary of the Forth is Boderia, Tacitus' Bodotria. The next estuary is that of Tava, the mouth of the Tay, while the mouth of the Eden river between the Tay and the Forth is called Tina. North of the Tay is the Deva river, which is the philologic ideal form of the modern Dee (goddess), a Brythonic river name of common occurrence, and thereafter comes the promontory of the Tæxali, or Kinnaird's point. Along the Moray Firth we have the Celnius (Cullen) fitting the Devern, Tuessis for Spey, the Loxa for the Lossie, and the Varar estuary for the Inverness and Beauly Firth. North-ward we come to "High Bank," and further still is the Ila—the Ulie or Helmsdale river. Then come three promontories, Veruvium, Vervedrum, and the Orcas or Tarvedrum, which make the northern capes of Scotland. On the west we find, besides the Douēkalēdonian sea or Atlantic Ocean, the river Longus and the bay Lemannonius, which get mixed somehow for Loch Long and Loch Lomond. He places five Ebudae islands to the North of Ireland, of which Maleus is Mull, and the

others further south are Epidium, Engaricenna, and the two Ebudae, and there is further south still the island Monarina, which may answer to Arran. The estuary of Clota is opposite that of Boderia, and passing the Vindogara Bay at Ayr, we come into the Solway Firth—the Ituna (Eden) estuary, past the Novantae promontory, where the three rivers enter, Novios (Nith), Deva (Dee), and Jena. The names of the towns among the Selgovae and Novantae prove the Brythonic character of these "Pictish" localities : Uxellum and especially Leucopibia. The latter is evidently Whithorn, and the name half Greek, half Brythonic, means White-horn, -pibia being probably for -pipia (Eng. pipe), the earlier form of which would be somewhat like qviqvia. The towns of the Damnonii within Pictish ground were Alauna (at the junction of the Allan with the Forth), Lindum at Ardoch, and Victoria in western Fife. Orrea was the town of the Vernicones, perhaps at Abernethy. The town of the Tæxali was Devana, far inland in the Strath of Dee, near Loch Daven, but it is tempting to compare it to Aber-*deen* for *Devona*, the "fons addite divis" of Gaul. The Vacomagi had their southmost town called Tamea, further north was Banatia ; Tuessis was on the Spey at Boharm, and on the Moray Firth was the "Winged Camp," which is supposed to have been Burghead. There are no towns mentioned for the other northern tribes. On the whole, the place-names show on Pictish ground some traces of Brythonic origin either in form or in use : in form, we have, for instance, Granpius and Epidii, and the Ver- of Vernicones, and, in use, the river name of Dee, which does not appear to have been in use to designate rivers among the Goidels.

Lollius Urbicus was sent in 139 to subdue the tribes between the southern wall and the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and he it was that first drew a wall across the narrow neck of land that separates the two estuaries. Irruptions of the independent tribes into the Roman province took place intermittently for the rest of the second century, but little is known about them. Matters became so serious that in 208 A.D. the Emperor Severus himself came to Britain and equipped the most formidable army that ever invaded Caledonia. The tribal names had meanwhile altered, and we hear from the contemporary writers of only two nations—

the Mæatae, near the northern wall, and the Caledonii, farther away. Graphic descriptions are given by Dio Cassius and Herodian of the inhabitants and their way of life. They had no cities, and they neglected the cultivation of the ground, living by pasturage, the chase, and the natural products of the earth. They fought in chariots, and, besides the sword and shield ascribed to them by Tacitus, they had now a peculiar spear, with a brazen knob at the end of the shaft, calculated to terrify the enemy. They had also a dagger. They had wives in common, and the whole progeny was reared as the joint offspring of each community. They painted their bodies, puncturing thereupon pictures of all kinds. Herodian says:—"They puncture their bodies with pictured forms of every sort of animals; on which account they wear no clothing lest they should hide the figures on their body." A further reason for their little or no clothing is found in the marshes they had to wade through. Of course, as Mr. Skene points out, the Romans saw these people only in summer, when they were on the war-path; of their home life they could not speak with equal authority. Severus cut his way through the country along the East Coast to the Moray Firth, and he seems to have returned across the Grampians through Perthshire. No regular battle was fought, but Severus lost on this expedition no less than 50,000 men. On his return he reconstructed and improved the wall between the Forth and Clyde. Severus died at York in 211, just when the Barbarians once again broke the treaty and poured into the district between the walls. We know little of Scottish history for nigh another century after Severus. Constantius Chlorus about 306 invaded Caledonia, and the contemporary panegyrist Eumenius introduces us to yet another general name for these northern tribes: "Non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum silvas et paludes." Here we have the "Caledonians and other Picts;" he includes the Caledonians among this people whose name is here brought before us for the first time. A period of half-a-century elapses before we again find reference to Scottish history under date of 360, when the Picts and Scots ravage the Roman province; the Picts ravaged the districts between the walls and the Scots probably attacked from Ireland the whole western sea-board, and

especially Wales, "per diversa vagantes," as Ammianus Marcellinus puts it. Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots kept the province in one continuous state of confusion and trouble (" Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis.") The Attacots we know little more about than that they were a warlike nation of the Britons, and the Picti were now divided into two nations, the Dicalidonae and the Vecturiones or rather the Verturiones, as Professor Rhys has so excellently emended the reading of the text, for this name of Verturiones is the forerunner of the name of Fortrenn, the British kingdom that lay between the Tay and the Forth. Theodosius, the elder, arrived in 369, expelled the invaders from between the walls, restored the cities and stations, and once more manned and secured the northern wall. The confusion in the Roman world at the end of the fourth century was the opportunity of the Picts and Scots, and for a quarter of a century they harassed the province in a most pitiable manner. The drain of native recruits from Britain to help in the continental struggles for the imperial purple helped further to weaken the province. To the last, however, the Romans, when they could, sent help. In 410 the Romans had to let go their hold on Britain, and the provincials were forced to depend upon themselves. How they succeeded is little known, but when British history begins to emerge from the 150 years' darkness that shrouds it after the departure of the Romans we find this state of matters : Teutons possess eastern England and Scotland to the Forth; the Britons, the former inhabitants, have been pushed into Cornwall, Wales, the western counties of Lancashire and Cumberland, and into Strath Clyde. North of the Forth and Clyde, the Picts are the dominant power, while a colony of Scots, who came from Ireland early in the sixth century, possess Dalriada, the kingdom of Argyle. After the historical darkness, the scene opens in the last half of the sixth century upon the period of the four kingdoms, viz., that of the Angles of Northumbria, the Britons of Strath Clyde, the Picts north and south of the Grampians, and the Scots of Dalriada.

THE PICTS.

[By the Editor.]

III.

THEIR HISTORY FROM POST CLASSICAL SOURCES.

FOR the history of the Picts after Roman times, we have two classes of authorities: the writers who were contemporary with the Pictish kingdom, and the writers and chronicles that belong to a period when the Pictish kingdom no longer existed. To the first class belong Gildas (6th century), Adamnan (end of 7th), Bede (beginning of 8th), and Nennius (middle of 9th century?). To the second class belongs the mass of chronicles and annals, whether Scotch, Irish, or English, which date from the 10th to the 15th century, and which Mr. Skene has collected together under the title of "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots." The contemporary writers are, of course, incomparably the most valuable authorities; Adamnan, and especially Bede, are as unimpeachable as they are important. The "Chronicles" of the second class are very unsatisfactory, indeed; as a rule, where they are not mere lists of names they are legendary and fictitious. We may except from this condemnation the annals of Tigernach and also those of Ulster. The information which Gildas conveys has practically been given already. He calls the Scots and Picts "transmarine" nations, and it has been maintained that he considered Pictland or Caledonia to be an island, but Bede interprets this rightly when he says that the Picts and Scots might be called "transmarine" because they were separated from the Britons by

two straits of the sea (Forth and Clyde). Bede has much to say of the Picts. And, first, we must quote in full his important ethnological account of the British Isles :—

"At first this island had no other inhabitants but the Britons, from whom it derived its name, and who, coming over into Britain, as is reported, from Armorica, possessed themselves of the southern parts thereof. When they, beginning at the south, had made themselves masters of the greatest part of the island, it happened that the nation of the Picts, from Scythia, as is reported, putting to sea in a few long ships, were driven by the winds beyond the shores of Britain, and arrived on the northern coasts of Ireland, where, finding the nation of the Scots, they begged to be allowed to settle among them, but could not succeed in obtaining their request. . . . The Picts, as has been said, arriving in this island [Ireland] by sea, desired to have a place granted them in which they might settle. The Scots answered that the island could not contain them both; but, "We can give you good advice," said they, "what to do; we know there is another island, not far from ours, to the eastward, which we often see at a distance, when the days are clear. If you will go thither, you will obtain settlements; or, if they should oppose you, you shall have our assistance." The Picts, accordingly, sailing over into Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts thereof, for the Britons were possessed of the southern. Now, the Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots, who would not consent to grant them upon any other terms, than that when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male; which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day. In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader, Reuda, either by fair means, or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts, which they still possess. From the name of their commander, they are to this day called Dalreudini; for, in their language, Daal signifies a part."

The above account of the origin of the Picts is that which we find amplified in the later "Chronicles," and seems to have been the generally received opinion. The most interesting point in it is that which deals with the succession through the females among the Picts, a custom which Bede and his authorities explain in true legendary and euhemerist fashion.

Till the time of Brude Mac Mailcon, in the latter half of the 6th century, our earlier authorities speak only of raids made by the Picts on the Britons. The "Chronicles," of course, give a list of the Pictish kings that goes back to Noah. It was in the 9th year of the reign of Brude Mac Mailcon (A.D. 563) that St. Columba came to Scotland to convert the Northern Picts. For Bede tells us that the Southern Picts—those to the south of the Grampians—were converted by Nynias or Ninian at the close of the 4th century, and Nennius says that Palladius died among

the Picts. Brude Mac Mailcon had his seat near the Ness, somewhere at or near the present Inverness, and his sway extended from Iona, which he granted to Columba, to the Orkney Isles, whose "regulus" was, on one of Columba's visits, at Brude's Court with hostages. Whether Brude ruled the Southern Picts is not said, but as his successor Gartnait held Abernethy, their capital, it is most probable that Brude ruled the whole of Scotland north of the Firths, including the suzerainty of the Scotic Kingdom of Dalriada. He is called by Bede "a very powerful king." He died in 584, and was succeeded by Gartnait, son of Domelch, who, as the "Chronicles" state, "built the Church of Abernethy 225 years and 11 months before the Church of Dunkeld was built by King Constentin, king of the Picts." The Picts were subjugated by Oswald, King of Northumbria, and made tributary —at least the Southern Picts—by his brother Oswiu after 654. They remained under the Anglian yoke for thirty years, until Brude, son of Bile, raised the standard of revolt in the north, and on his way south defeated and slew Ecgfrid, King of Northumbria, at Dunnichen, in 586. This ended the Anglian rule over the Picts. This King Brude was a great friend of Adamnan, then Abbot of Iona. About 710, Nectan, son of Derile, was king, and he conformed to the Roman Church in regard to the holding of Easter, and he further invited Anglic architects to build him a stone church instead of the usual wooden ones. Tigernach tells us that he expelled the Columban monks "across the Dorsum Britannie," or Drumalban, a fact which shows how violently Roman were his proclivities. It became fashionable at this time for kings to turn monks and clerics, and the same authority informs us that Nectan turned cleric in 724. A fierce struggle then ensued for the throne, in which Nectan afterwards took part, but eventually Angus, son of Fergus, King of Fortrenn, crushed all his rivals, even subdued Dalriada, and reigned victoriously till 759, when he died, and was, according to custom, succeeded by his brother. With the year 731, we lose the guidance of Bede, and, as Tigernach also fails us after 763, we have to depend entirely on the "Chronicles," with the result that the historians are all at sixes and sevens as to what really happened in Pictland and Dalriada during the next hundred years, until Kenneth

MacAlpin succeeded in uniting the Picts and Scots about 844. It is almost useless to attempt to unravel the mystery of this period. Of late the views of Father Innes and Mr. Skene have prevailed, and the old idea of the Scottish conquest of Pictland has been abandoned. In fact Mr. Skene tries to show that it was the Picts who conquered and absorbed the Scots. We are inclined rather to the old belief. At the beginning of the 9th century the Picts were pressed on the east by the Danes, suffering grievous defeats, and on the west by the Scots. The Scots were literary and ecclesiastical, closely connected as they were with Ireland, and the Pictish language was evidently not a written tongue. Hence it was that the Scots, combining military energy with literary and ecclesiastical power, and favoured by the Norse invasions which cruelly harassed the Picts on the east and on the west pressed the Scots from the Islands on to the Picts, gradually imposed their rule and language on the Picts. We shall, further, find reason to believe, when we come to consider the topographical arguments as to the extent of the Pictish language, that the Picts had nothing more than a nominal authority over Western Scotland, from Argyle to Cape Wrath. They do not appear to have settled there at all, if we except, perhaps, the Applecross district ("A' Chomraich," *Cambria*). The Gaels were the first Celts that settled in north-western Scotland, as the topography proves, and these Gaels were doubtless an earlier colony than the Dalriads of the 5th and 6th centuries. If the Gaels possessed so extensive a portion of the Highlands as our theory demands, then their eclipsing of the Picts is not very difficult to understand. The "Chronicles" are decidedly in favour of the theory that the Scots somehow subdued the Picts. There is a story that Kenneth Mac Alpin treacherously murdered the Pictish chiefs at a feast to which he had invited them, but this is a story which often appears on Celtic ground to account for the sudden collapse of a national party. Hengist the Saxon leader got rid of 300 British nobles in a similar way, and, in the times of the clans, the Mackintoshes and the Cummings tried similarly to exterminate each other; while the story also appears in the mythic cycle of the tales about Fionn and his heroes. "The Picts," says Henry of Huntingdon (about 1150), "seem now de-

stroyed, and their language altogether wiped out, so that what old writers say about them seems now fabulous." In considering the disappearance of the Pictish language, it is the fashion to regard it as Gaelic, differing of course slightly from the Scotic or Irish Gaelic. Skene, in his "Four Ancient Books of Wales," was forced to admit that the Pictish was "a Gaelic dialect partaking largely of Welsh forms," but his later views restrict this Brythonic element. "There is," he says, "a British element in the proper names in the list of Pictish kings, and that element is not Welsh but Cornish." If the Pictish language was but a form of Gaelic, then there can be no difficulty as to its disappearance, for the Gaelic we have still with us. There are, however, insuperable difficulties in the way of adopting this theory, and its only recommendation is that it easily accounts for the collapse of the Pictish language.

The first argument against this theory—that the Pictish was Gaelic—is this : the best authorities, like Bede, distinctly state that the Pictish was a language by itself—distinct from the Saxon, British, and Gaelic. Bede mentions this fact more than once, as for instance in this expression, which he repeats under other forms: "The nation and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, viz., those of the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English." Nennius and the English Chronicles present the facts as Bede has them. Adamnan tells us that Columba had to use an interpreter at least twice in Northern Scotland. In one case, when Columba "was tarrying for some days in the province of the Picts, a certain peasant (plebeius) who with his whole family had listened to and learned through an interpreter the word of life preached by the holy man, believed and was baptised." The other case occurred in the Isle of Skye, whither Artbranan, the chief of the Geona cohort, came by boat, and here he was "instructed in the word of God by the saint through an interpreter." The river where he was baptised was in Adamnan's time still known as Dobur Artbranan. Cormac in the 9th century, a great Gaelic scholar, speaks of the *berla cruithnech* or Pictish language, and quotes a word from it (cartit). The historians that were more or less contemporary distinctly maintain that not merely were the Picts a separate nation, but they also spoke a language different

from the others. But we are not altogether dependent on the evidence of historians, strong and good as it is. Firstly, we have at least three significant words handed down to us from the Pictish language—peanfahel (Bede), cartit (Cormac), and diuperr ("Chronicles.") Secondly, there is the list of the names of the kings which tells decisively against the Gaelic character of the language, and there are other personal names, together with the national name of Cruithnech and some others, that have to be considered in cumulating proof. Thirdly, there are the modern place names in Pictland which lend valuable evidence. And, lastly, deductions may be drawn from the Pictish custom of succession through the females, and from the literary and archæological remains connected with Pictland. We shall find that in these points we have irresistible cumulative evidence that the Pictish language was not Gaelic, but British in its connections.

THE PICTS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

IV.

THEIR LANGUAGE.

WITH the view of considering the remains of the Pictish language, as preserved in the two or three words that have been handed down in the list of proper names and in the names of places in Pictland, we must first lay down the leading letter changes as between the two chief Celtic languages — Gaelic and Welsh. The vowels of Gaelic and Welsh represent the original Celtic or Aryan vowel sounds in the same way, except in the following instances: original short *i* is in Gaelic *i* or *ea*, and in Welsh *y;* short *u* is in G. *u*, or oftener *o*, and in W. *w;* Gaelic long *e* and *ia* become in Welsh *wy;* G. *ao* is the W. *u*, and long *u* appears in Welsh as *i; dún* is in Welsh *din*. Welsh sometimes changes an earlier *e* into *a*, as Lat. *centum* and Gaelic *ceud*, W. *cant;* so *ceum* is *cam*, and *beinn* is *ban*. It is due to the action of the liquids in combination with other consonants and with themselves. The Welsh and Gaelic treat the original nine mute consonants and the liquids (Welsh *ll* is for *l*) exactly in the same way if they begin words, but, between vowels, that is, when "aspirated," the Welsh mute tenues become medials; *d* becomes *dd*, *g* disappears, and *b* (and *m*) becomes *f*. Indo-European *p* has disappeared in Celtic, except in the combination *-pt*. Gaelic *p* initial appears only in borrowed words, excepting when it stands for original *sv* in one or two words, and native non-initial *p* stands for *-ms-*. It

must be well noted that Welsh *c* is always Gaelic *c*, but Gaelic *c*, for original *qv*, appears in Welsh as *p*. The following table shows all the letters and combination of letters that are differently dealt with in the two languages ; the hyphen before a letter means that it comes after a vowel, and in the examples Latin or Gaulish(*) stands for the "original" form, and forms in parenthesis belong to the old stage of the languages :—

ORIGINAL	GAELIC.	WELSH.	ORIGINAL.	GAELIC.	WELSH.
qv, cv	c, -ch	p, -b	quod, equus	co, each	pa, ebol
p -p	none	none	plenus, tepe-(st-)	lan, teas	llawn, tes
v, -v	f, -fh,-	gw, -w,-	verus, (g)vivus	flr, beo	gwir, byw
s, -s	s, -sh,-	h,-	senex, soror	sean, siur	hen, chwaer
sqv	sg (sc)	chw	old Celt. sqvetlon	sgeul	chedl
sv	s or p	chw	soror (*svesŏr)	siur, piuthar	chwaer-
-nt	-d (-t)	-nt	centum	cend	cant
-nc	-g (-c)	-ng (-nc)	*root* anc-	eug (éc)	angeu (ancou)
-cc	-c	-ch	*broccus	broc	broch
-ct	-chd (t)	-[i]th	rectum	reachd	rhaith
-tt	-t	-th	cattus	cat	cath
-pt	-chd (t)	-[i]th	septem	seachd	saith
-rt	-rt	-rth	*nerto-	neart	nerth
-rc	-rc	-rch	*marka-	marcach	marchog
-x	-s	-ch, -h	*uxello-, dexter	uasal, deas	uchel, deheu
-st	-s (ss)	-st	old Celt. closta	cluas	clust

It is of importance to compare the above list with that which Mr. Skene puts forward :

PHONETIC LAWS BETWEEN WELSH AND GAELIC.

p into c or b	g into d	w into o
c into t or g	gw into f	y into e
b nto g	h into s or f	e into ea

This table is both incorrect and misleading. Welsh *p* never becomes Gaelic *b; pen* (head) has nothing to do with Gaelic *beann* or *beinn* (hill) : *pen* answers to Gaelic *ceann* (head), and *beinn* is in Welsh *ban*, as already said. Welsh *c* never becomes *t* or *g* of Gaelic, nor W.*b* become G.*g*; W.*g* is never G.*d*, nor W.*h* ever G.*f*. Mr. Skene's examples of such are either wrong or illusory. His idea that Gaelic *d* and *s* interchange is also an illusion, for in his example, *duil* and *suil* meaning "hope," the latter is the word *suil* (eye) used metaphorically as in the English "have an eye to." In Mr. Skene's application of this law to the Pictish *diuperr* (rich), the Gaelic *saoibhir* means " rich " certainly, but equally certain is it that Gaelic *daibhir* means "poor"! He forgets here the use of the prefixes *so-* and *do-*, the former giving a positive

and the latter a negative quality. It is, therefore, no wonder that Mr. Skene's philological laws do not help him at all in unravelling the Pictish mystery; while they do not advance his position, they keep him from discovering the truth.

Let us apply our laws to the three Pictish words *peanfahel* (wall's end), *cartit* (a pin), and *diuperr* (rich). Bede speaks of the beginning of the Firth of Clyde wall thus: it began "in loco qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorun Penneltun appellatur." The same name is met with in a gloss upon Nennius, which runs, "*Penguaul*, quæ villa Scotice Cenail, Anglice vero Peneltun dicitur." This place was the town or *villa* at which the wall of Severus began. We see that the Gaelic for it was Cenail and the Pictish Peanfahel or better Penguaul. *Pean* or *pen* answers to the Gaelic *cen* for *ceann* (head): *penn* is the British form, and here the Pictish agrees with it. In regard to Bede's second part of the word, *-fahel*, which means "wall," the word is evidently borrowed from the Latin *vallum*, and answers to neither Gaelic nor Welsh in form. True, the *f* of *-fahel* is the Gaelic representative of Latin *v*, which becomes *gw* (*gu* of the old language) in Welsh. The gloss form, *-guaul*, is thoroughly British. Cormac's word *cartit* (a pin) is obscure. Mr. Stokes has suggested a connection with the Welsh *garthon* (a goad), old British *gerthi*. The word *diuperr*, translated by *dives* (rich), is proved to be non-Gaelic by its *p*. The Gaelic form ought to be *diucerr*. Prof. Rhys suggests that the original Celtic word whence it came was *doqvirr-*, and he finds names that are possibly parallel in some Lusitanian inscriptions in Spain. The evidence of these three words is decisive for the Brythonic connection of the Pictish language.

We shall now turn to the national, personal, and place names that we find in the "Chronicles" of the Picts. Does the name *Picti* mean the "painted men"? Prof. Rhys says it does, and the usual explanation is that the custom of tattooing, which was in Cæsar's time general, was in the 3rd and 4th centuries confined to northern Scotland, and hence these people came to be called Picti. That they did paint and puncture their bodies, we have already amply proved, and the name may have arisen as suggested. Or it may have been an attempt at translating the British

and Gaelic names of this people into Latin—the names Prydyn and Cruithnech, which are from a root *qvrut*—signifying in modern times, "form, picture." But we have, further, to remember the Gaulish inhabitants of what is now Poitiers; they were called Pictavi and Pictones. Prof. Windisch goes so far as to say that the Scotch Picti and the Pictavi are inseparable as to name, remarking that, if the Latin *pictus* be their basis, they must be hybrid formations. Cormac has a word *cicht* (a carver), which may be from a Celtic form *qvict-*, which would give a Gallo-British form *Pict* and modern *Pyth*. This suggests a native origin for Pict of like force as Cruithnech of the Gaelic and Prydyn of the Welsh—"carved or pictured people." In any case, Cruithnech (plural Cruithnig) was the native Gaelic name for them, and its Welsh counterpart Prydyn is remarkably like the Welsh name for Britain, which is Prydain. Now, curiously enough, good MSS. of Diodorus and Strabo spell the name of Britain with a *p*. Thus we meet with Prettania and its adjective Prettaniké. But we are not left to depend on MS. evidence which is comparatively late. Stephanus of Byzantium (circa A.D. 490) tells us that Ptolemy (120 A.D.) and Marcian (2nd century) spelt the name of Britain with a *p*. It is very probable that, originally, Britain was called Pritania, for old Celtic Qvritania, the root *Qvrit* of which is the same as Welsh *Prydy*n and Gaelic *Cruith*nech. The *u* of Cruithnech may come by metathesis from the *v* or *u* of Qvrit-an-.* It is probable that, when Pytheas and the Greeks visited these islands in the 4th century, B.C., the name of the island was Pritania and its inhabitants were the Pritani, the Welsh Prydyn and the Gaelic Cruithnig ; in short, the Picts may have had possession of the whole island, and actually given it their own name, by which, in a modified form, it still is known.

The list of personal and kings' names begins with the eponymous Cruithne, whose seven sons are thus commemorated in a verse ascribed to Columba :

> Seven children of Cruithne
> Divided Alban into seven divisions :
> Cait, Ce, Cirig, a warlike clan,
> Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrenn.

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* See M. D'Arbois de Jubainville in *Rev. Celtique*, VII. pp. 383-4.

Now these names may still be partly recognised in those of the Celtic mormaerships and the seven great earldoms of Scotland: five of them are easily settled. Fib or Fife and Fortrenn fill the district between the Tay and Forth; Fotla appears in Ath-fhotla or Athole; Circin appears in the records as Magh-Chircinn which answers to modern Mearns and the neighbouring districts; and Cait is Caithness. Ce is probably Moray and Ross, while Fidach may have been the district of Strathearn and Menteith. The mormaership districts were practically the same: Fife, Strathearn, Athole, Angus, Mar, and Moray, to which may be added Caithness, though oftener Norse than Celtic from the 9th century downwards. The form of these names is Gaelic; the initial *f* is not British. Cait and Ce, if they represent *Caith-* and *Keith*, are Brythonic; Cirig, Fib and Fidach are unexplained; Fotla is a well-known Irish name—a name for Ireland itself—and is Gaelic as well as Pictish. Fortrenn, from Verturiones, is Brythonic, and Professor Rhys connects therewith the Welsh *gwerthyr* (a fortification). The Gaelic has no similar word, for the word *fert* in Gaelic means a grave.

From the sons of Cruithne downwards a complete list of the kings' names is given, just as the names of the Irish Milesian kings, who were contemporaries of the Pictish kings, are gravely given in the annals from 1700 B.C. down to our era; nor are details and genealogies wanting in the Irish. But the same power of imagination was not brought to bear on the concocting of the Pictish list, for thirty Brudes are made to reign consecutively, a method of bridging gaps which saves the effort of imagining and inventing new names. Despite the fact that these lists have nearly all been handed down by Gaelic scribes, the names have yet their peculiar Pictish appearance about them. A few epithets are Gaelic in appearance, but most have a foreign look about them. After the sons of Cruithne there reigned Aenbecan Mac Cait, Finechta, Guidid gadbre, Gest gurcich, Wurgest, and then the thirty Brudes. Each Brude has an epithet and they go in pairs in regard to epithets, the second always having the epithet of the one before with the addition of the prefix ur-. Thus the first of the Brudes is Brude pont, the second Brude urpont; the third Brude leo, the fourth Brude u(r)leo: then B. gant, B. urgant. The other epithets

are gnith, fecir, cal, cint, fet, ru, gart, cinid, uip, grid, and mund. In regard to these obscure epithets, their form proves something: the terminal -nt in so many of them is distinctly Brythonic. The ur- is evidently the Gaulish prefix Ver- so common in personal names, the British Vor- (Vortigern, Vortiporios), and the early Welsh, Breton, and Cornwall Gur-, Uur-, Our-, Wur-, Ur-.* It means "excelling" and is likely of the same origin and meaning as our Graeco-English prefix *hyper-*. There is no Gaelic equivalent of like meaning and use. Its continual appearance in the Pictish names whether as ur- or wur- or wr- is the very strangest proof of the Brythonic connections of the Pictish. The rest of the list from the Brudes to Nectonius about A.D. 480 is thus given in the oldest MSS. After Gilgidi come—

T(h)arain	Usconbuts	Vipoig namet
Morleo	Carvorst	Canutulachama
Deo-cilunon	Deo ardivois	Wradech uecla
Cimoiod filius Arcuis	Vist	Gartnaich diuberr
Deoord	Ru	Talore f. Achivir
Bliesblituth	Gartnaith	Drust f. Erp
Deototric frater Diu	Breth f. Buthut	Talore f. Aniel

Then Necton Morbet, son of Erp, who gave Abernethy to "God and St. Bridget." Thereafter the list becomes trustworthy on the whole. Of the above names only one-half appear again; the rest are very barbarous. Deototric is evidently Teutonic, and reminds us of Deodric, son of Ida, king of Bernicia. Taran, Cimroiod for Cinoiod (Ciniod, Kenneth), Gartnait, Breth (Bred, Brude), Wradech, Talore or Talorc as some have it, and Drust appear again. Vipoig appears in the more Gaelic lists as Fiacha, which shows that this word is Brythonic, and representing a Celtic *Viqvoc-*. The epithet attached to his name is *namet* or *ignaviet*, which other lists translate by "albus" or "white." Wradech is the Brythonic for the well-known old Gaelic name of Feradach, and the epithet *vecla* or *vetla* is translated by Fyngal, the Gaelic for parricide. Gartnait duiperr appears as Gartnait dives. The following are the kings till Brude Mac Mailcon:

Drest gurthinmoch, Galanan erllich, the two Drests, son of Gyrom and son of Wdrost or Budros, Garthnach f. Girom, Cailtram f. Girom, Talorg f. Muircholaich,

* For examples of it see Loth's *Vocabulaire Vieux Breton* pp. 10-14; *Rev. Celtique* I., p. 341, 344-5; VII., p. 315; VIII., pp. 73.74 and *Grammatica Celtica* pp. 136-7 and passim.

Drest f. Munait, Galam (Talalad) cennaleph, and Brude or Bridei, son of Mailcon (A.D. 554-584).

From Brude the list continues thus to Bred, the last Pictish king:

Gartnait f. Domelch	Brude f. Bili	Drest f. Talorgen
Nectan nepos Uerd (Uerb)	Taran f. Entifidich (Am-	Talorgen f. Onnist
Cinioch (Cinaetha) f.	fredeth	Canaul f. Tarla (Tang)
Lutrin	Brude f. Derelei	Constantin f. Urguist
Gartnait f. Uuid	Nectan f. Derelei	Unuist (Angus) f. Wr-
Brude f. Uuid	Drest and Alpin	guist
Talorc frater eorum	Onnist f. Urguist	Drest f. Constantin
Tolorcen f. Enfret	Brude f. Wirguist	Uven (Unen) f. Unuist
Gartnait f. Donnel	Ciniod f. Wredech	Wrad f. Bargoit
Drest frater ejus	Elpin f. Wroid	Bred

These names are foreign to the Gaelic language, and the monastic scribes felt that such was the case, for they are ill-preserved and worse understood. Speaking generally, we are first struck with the non-Gaelic but good Welsh terminal sound -st. Even names that are possibly of Gaelic origin, as Fergus, appear in -st. The name Angus appears in Cornish and Pictish both as Ungust; the root is *gust*- (choice, taste), and the meaning "unique choice." Gartnait or Garnet is not Gaelic; it is Brythonic. Nectan or Bede's Naiton is not native to Irish Gaelic. Ciniod or Cinaeth is now Kenneth; it seems to be the British Cunedda. The Gaelic Coinneach, Book of Deer Cainnech, is to be kept separate. Brude is a common Pictish name, but it seems unknown elsewhere. The fathers of the Brudes are all British in form or origin. Brude Mac Mailcon's father has the name of the famous Maelgwn or Maglo-cunus of Welsh and Strathclyde renown; indeed, Maelgwn may have been Brude's father. The name is not the Irish Milchu as some think; the phonetics forbid the connection. Bili, the father of another Brude, was king of Strathclyde; Derile is not Gaelic; but Fergus, the father of another, is; while one of the last kings, Bred or Brude, is son of Ferat or Wrad, and another is son of Fetal. Talorc or Talore (*Talorj*)—both for *Talorg*—contains the well-known *tal*- (forehead) so common in Gaulish names terminally and initially in Taliesin, and *arg*- (silver.) The meaning is "silver-browed," and the Gaulish form is Argio-talus. Talorgen is a diminutive of the same. The name Drust or Drest, with its diminutive Drostan, is also Brythonic; it is Welsh Drystan and the Drustagni of the Cornish inscription at Fowey.*

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* Rhys' Lectures, p. 403.

We may compare the Greek *thrasus* (brave). Taran means thunder, and is exactly the present Welsh word for it; it has a further equivalent in the Gaulish god Taranis. Onnist, son of Urguist or Angus, son of Fergus, has a name that is both Gaelic and British. Alpin is not Gaelic; the *p* proves that. The Welsh Elphin is a very old name. Canaul is a doubtful name; most lists do not have it. Constantin is Latin; Uven or Unen is the Welsh Owen and Wrad or Ferat may be Gweryd or Guriad, Welsh names. Of the paternal names, Uuid is the Gwid of the ancient Welsh poems; Enfret, and perhaps Enfidech or Amfredech, is the Saxon Eanfred and Wradech is the well-known Feradach of early Irish and Gaelic names. We see that an analysis of the list of the Kings' names shows that more than three-fourths are Brythonic, and exclusively Brythonic, in their relations.

The names of places in Pictland also lend most valuable proof as to Brythonic connection. Nearly everybody is agreed that the kingdom of Fortrenn was possessed by the Britons. The Irish "Nennius" and other Irish accounts speak decisively of the "Britons of Fortrenn," so that leading authorities on different sides, like Mr. Skene and Prof. Rhys, allow that the territory between the Tay and the Forth, belonging to a wing of the old Damnonii, was British. Its topography is as Gaelic, as British, and as Pictish as that of any other portion of Eastern Pictland. Dealing first with the physical features, we find the Brythonic Ochil (Uxello-) Hills in Fortrenn, and the *p* of the Grampians proves a non-Gaelic origin for the name of our greatest range. The river names are more important, however, and the most important of them, with but one or two exceptions, are Brythonic. The general term for water and for river is much used in Brythonic topography for *individual* rivers; this is rare, in fact practically unknown, in Gaelic and Irish topography. Pictland, north and south, has its Avons, and there are two Esks, whose counterparts are known only in Wales and other British ground. Water-worship, of rivers and of wells, was common in Gaul, British ground, and in Pictland. The Dee, which means goddess, is common to Wales, Galloway, and Pictland; it is unknown to the Gaels. The Don, in old Gaelic and old Norse literature, was known as the Deon or Dion, and is now called in Gaelic

Dean. . . . It recalls the Gaulish Divona, "Celtarum lingua fons addite Divis," as Ausonius explains the name. The Dean, in Forfar, is to be placed with the Don; and if the two Devons of Fortrenn belong to this "goddess" group, what Prof. Rhys calls "perspective in language" is not well attended to. The Tay is paralleled by the Welsh Tawe; the Eden is known only on British and Pictish ground; the rivers bearing the name of Nethy recall the Nith, which, again, can be explained only on Welsh philological principles, and represents Potlemy's Novios. The Ythan, with its foreign-looking name, finds a parallel in the Ython or Ieithon of Radnorshire, which Dr. Stokes has connected with Gaulish Jactus.* The *p* of Spey settles its non-Gaelic character, and Spean may be its diminutive. Lesser rivers and tributaries, like the Levens (smooth), the Brans, the Calders, and the Urie and Ore (Gaulish Ebura), are also purely Brythonic in their connections. The Ness, and the two Islas, and the Ulie (Ila of Ptolemy), are enigmatic. The Doveran seems neutral, but the two Earns (Earn and Findhorn) are Irish in their connections; and the Lossie, for old Loxa, seems to show Gaelic influence. Loxa should in Welsh be Lochy.

The names of counties and districts point in the Brythonic direction. Leaving names like Mearns, Forfar, and Fife, which are somewhat doubtful, we find Perth at once by its *p* and its *th*, proving its Brythonic character. Perth, in modern Welsh, means a brake or hedge. What Kincardine, which appears several times in parish names, means, we cannot say, but it is interesting to compare the Welsh Aber-Cerdin, and, perhaps, Cardiganshire. Banff is Irish, and Angus and Elgin are likely so; Moray is neutral. Inverness and Aberdeen follow their river names. The Carse of Gowrie finds its counterpart, for both terms, in the Welsh language and in the Gower district. Coming to place names, we may claim those with Lan (Lin) as Brythonic—Lintrathen (Forfar), Lumphanan for Lan-finnan (Aberdeen), and Lhanbryde (Moray). The prefixes Fetter or Fother, or For (?) and Fin (old Fothen) are peculiar to Eastern Pictland; while the terminal -otter is confined, so far as we know, to the region of the Picts. Garth is a Welsh form; the

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* His "Breton Glosses," p. 34, in the proceedings of the Phil. Society.

Gaelic and Irish is Gort. The Welsh "Tre" may appear in Trinafour of Perthshire (this -four is peculiarly Pictish, and wide-spread in Pictland), as Dr. Maclauchlan suggests,* and he points to two "Tres" in Stratherrick. But our greatest burden of proof, both for the connections of the Pictish language and for the extent of the Pictish power, lies upon the two prefix words Aber and Pet. These words are not found in Ireland or Argyle, nor in the West Highlands save intrusively once or twice. The Gaelic knows them only by borrowing, and misunderstood them in the process. Aber means " the mouth of a river, a particular point at which the lesser water discharges itself into the greater." Zeuss derives it from the root *ber* (Eng. *bear*, Lat. *fers*), with the prefix *at-*, and Prof. Rhys agrees with Zeuss as to the root, but he suggests *od-* (Eng. *out*) as the prefix, and gives *oper* as the old Welsh form. Curiously the Gaelic form in modern pronounciation is *Obair-*. The Gaelic equivalent both in meaning and derivation is *Inver-*, and the Gaels in taking slow possession of Pictland generally accepted the Abers if towns or villages or even farms were so named, but likely called any confluences not so occupied by their native word Inver. At times they likely substituted the understood word Inver for the unintelligible Aber. The *p* of Pet or Pit is at once conclusive of its non-Gaelic character, but it is only within the last few years that the word has really been cleared up. It appears in the Book of Deer (circa 1132) as Pett, and signifies a portion of land or farm, as *Pett in mulenn*, "the land of the mill," *Pett malduib*, "Maldub's land or farm." The primary meaning is share or portion, and the word is the same as the Welsh *peth*, and allied to the Gaelic *cuit* or *cuid*, all from an old Celtic base *qvetti*.† The English *piece* and *petty* are hence derived. The word has nothing to do with the English and Gaelic *pit*, both borrowed words, but the sinister confusion has caused the rapid disappearance of the word Pit in more modern times, and the substitution of the native Gaelic Baile or Bal (township or farm). Pitlochry is in Gaelic Baile-Chloichridh, Pitchirn is Balchirn, and so forth. Of course

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* *Celtic Church*, p. 27, where he discusses the British character of the Picts. The "tres" are Trinloist and Trinloit.

† Thurneysen's *Keltoromanisches*, p. 71.

it is only in the western and more Gaelic districts of Pictland that this later substitution has taken place.

The east of Pictland contains more Abers and Pits than the west, but the intrusion of Invers and Bals and other Gaelic names shows that all Pictland was in the possession of the Gael at one time (about the 10th century). Mr. Skene gives the distribution of Abers and Invers thus: To the east of a line drawn from a little south of Inveraray to a point a little north of Aberdeen, Abers and Invers are in about equal proportions, about thirty-five, and to the west of this line there are only 12 Abers. There are 6 Abers in Inverness-shire against about five times as many Invers (not including the Invers of the Isles). We can find no Aber in Ross-shire save Applecross, though Mr. Skene finds Invers to Abers there as two to one. The following are the northernmost and westermost Abers:—First, the dubious Applecross or Apurcrossan and the Abercross or Aberscors of Rogart (Sutherlandshire); then far south of these—Abriachan (Inverness), Abertarff and Aberchalder (S.W. of Fort-Augustus), Aberarder (at Loch Laggan), and thence straight along Drum Alban to Aberfoyle, and Aber at the eastern corner of Loch Lomond, with Aberdalgie and Aberuchil considerably east of this line. The range of the Pets or Pits is much the same. We find Easter Ross southern Sutherland included: their northern and western boundaries run thus: Pitgrudy (Dornoch), Pittentrail and Pitfour (Rogart), Pitkerrie (Fearn), Pitculzean and Pitcalnie (Nigg), Pithoggarty and Pitnellies (Tain), Pitmaduthy (Logie), Pitglassie (Dingwall), Pettyvaich (Kiltarlity), Pitkerald (Glen-Urquhart), and Pitmain (Kingussie). The *Retours* and old maps give Pitchalman and Pitalmit (Glenelg), and Pittenglassie (Brae Lochaber). There are about 50 Pits in Perthshire (Pitlochrie, Pitnacree, etc.), but they are considerably east of Drum Alban, and run in a line from Pittagowan (Blair Athole), and Pitmackie (Kenmore), to Pitkellony (Muthill). From the distribution of these Abers and Pets we may conclude that the Picts held with their power and their language the district north of the Firth of Clyde, east of Drum Alban and the watershed of the Caledonian Glen, and from there north-eastward somewhat past the Dornoch Firth. They had intruded into Lochaber and the district opposite Skye, hav-

ing a flying station at Applecross, and they appear to have had at times the suzerainty of the whole north of Scotland, including the Orkney Isles. Of Aryan races only Gaels and Norse appear to have colonised what is west and north of the bounds we have given to ancient Pictavia.

Some facts of Archaeology point to a Brythonic connection. The Book of Deer, a MS. of the 9th century, belonged in the 12th century to the Monastery of Deer in Aberdeen. The clerics of that monastery entered, in the 11th and 12th centuries on some blank leaves and margins memorials of grants made to the monastery. These entries are in Gaelic, and contain many proper names. Almost the only other example of such charter entries on the margins of their sacred books among the Celts exists in the Book of St. Chad at Llanaff. The doubling of letters to mark aspiration is found in the Book of Deer, and it is a Welsh method, showing that in the Gaelicised monastery of Deer there were strong traces of Welsh or British influence. The Pictish names recur in the same book: Gartnait, Drostan, and Nectan, with the addition of the very Welsh name of Morgan, a clan surname still not uncommon in Aberdeenshire. The archaeological monuments of Pictland are of importance in this connection, but they are very obscure. Pictavia, Caithness, and Shetland can alone boast of "ogams" and monuments with symbols and ornamental work, whose parallel can be found only in Wales and Cornwall. Pictland, however, has its peculiarities, and the development of stone circles and chambered cairns, taken along with the still more remarkable custom of succession through the females, and the persistence of the tattooing till late Roman times, shows unmistakeable traces of non-Celtic and non-Aryan influences. However that may be, we maintain that we have proved the Pictish language to have been Brythonic in its connections. In the chain of proof, single links may have been weak, but in the aggregate we think the evidence is irresistible.

Two points in regard to the language remain: first, as it was different from the British of Bede's time, wherein and how was this difference? Secondly, how did the Gaelic so quickly, to all appearance, supersede the Pictish? To the first question we might give two answers: The Gallo-British languages under

the Roman sway borrowed an immense vocabulary from the Latin; and, indeed, that language was entirely transformed in grammar as well as dictionary. The Pictish, even if it were of the same exact stock, had not undergone any such changes or influences and remained, doubtless, in such state of pristine purity as was consistent with the advance of time. Or, and this is more likely, the Pictish belonged to a different development of the Old Gaulish from that of the Gallo-British or Brythonic branch. That what is known as the Old Gaulish was not one language, but, at least, two, that is, two dialects, perhaps mutually intelligible, might be inferred from what Caesar says of Celtica, Belgica, and Aquitania: "They differ in language, institutions, and customs." The form Seqvani seems to prove the existence of a more Goidelic dialect, as does the preservation of *b* after *r* and *l* in words like *carpentum* and *Alps*. The Picts, we think, belonged to an earlier Gaulish invasion than the Britons whom Caesar encountered, and they may have possessed the whole island to the Friths of Forth and Clyde when the Greeks heard of Britain and called it by their Gaulish name. The Gaels came to Scotland from Ireland in more than one immigration; they seem to have in the first century or two of our era spread over the whole of western Scotland north of the Clyde. They were continually reinforced from Ireland. The extent of their power and language was not confined to the limits of Dalriada; they hung on the flanks of the Picts in Ross-shire, and pressing from the west and north, they began to cross Dum Alban and the Caledonian watershed, finally, in the favouring circumstances of the 8th and 9th centuries, possessing themselves of the lordship of Pictland. A circumstance that must have been extremely favourable to the Scots existed in the fact that the succession among the Picts was through the females. As a consequence, sons of Pictish princesses that were married to the kings and chiefs of other states and were resident in their husband's territories, as in the case of the son of Eanfred, the Anglian, the son of Bili, the Welshman, and the sons of several Scots of Dalriada, succeeded to the throne and to the chief offices of the Pictish State by right of their mothers. Under such a one-sided exogamy, the assimilation and supersession of the Pictish kings and chiefs by the Scots must have been comparatively easy.