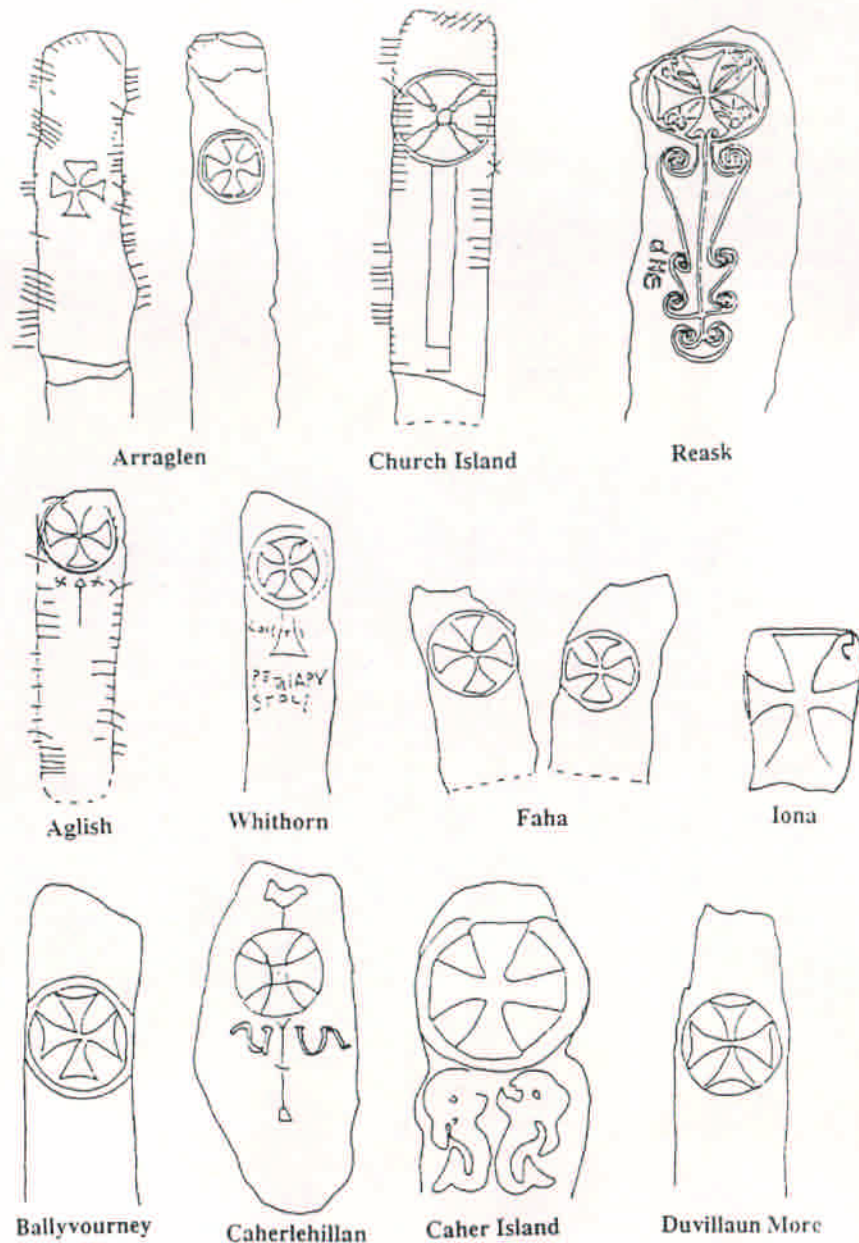


At Doydon in Cornwall, a Maltese cross with a *chi-rho* similar to Arraglen is to be found on a pillar-stone commemorating one **BROGAGNUS** (*CII* 478). This name has a Latin ending but the central -GN- suggests that it is earlier than names such as *CIIH* 256: **DEGLANN** or *CIIH* 145: **RONANN** where original -AGNI is replaced by -AN(N) (McManus 1991, 89, 95). This change occurs some time prior to the loss of endings on all words which would be middle of the sixth century on orthodox absolute chronology (McManus, 95-7). Another two Maltese crosses with *chi-rho*, also very similar to Arraglen have been identified by Herity on the island of Raasay, north of Skye (Herity 1995, 308); one of these occurs on a Class I Pictish symbol stone, dated to between the fifth and the eighth centuries.⁴⁵

Finally, a pillar stone with a Maltese cross and a *chi-rho* "hook" at Whithorn is inscribed in Roman letters with the words **LOC STI PETRI APVSTOLI** "The place of St Peter, the apostle" (Allen & Anderson 1903, iv 496-7). This may, perhaps, be connected with the establishment of the first Anglian bishopric before A.D.732, for the community of believers at Whithorn is praised by Bede, whose records are biased towards those whose allegiance was to Rome (Colgrave & Mynors 1969, 558-561). This last is an instance where the Maltese cross appears on a monument with a dedicatory function, as in the **FINTEN** stone at Kiltfountain, Co. Kerry, rather than recording the specific burial of an individual (see above, page 41).

In addition, there are also pillar stones and boulders with Maltese crosses which have no dating evidence but where the cross is similar in shape and is inscribed in roughly the same position as in the preceding examples: eg. Knockane/Coumduff, Co.Kerry, with *chi-rho* "hook" (Henry 1937, pl.XXVII, Cuppage 1986, 280), St Gobnet's stone, Ballyvourney, Co. Cork (Henry 1937, pl.XXX), Caherlehillan Co. Kerry (with what appear to be corrupt Alpha and Omega symbols, O'Sullivan and Sheehan 1996, 265); Caher Island, Dooghmakeon, Inishkea North and Duvillaun More, Co. Mayo (Henry 1947, 29-32; 1937, pl.XXIX, XXXI, Macalister 1945, 11), Cloghan and Dunlewy Far, Co. Donegal (Lacy 1983, 253, 265), Faha, Co. Kerry (Cuppage 1986, 283-4) and possibly Drumnacur, Co. Antrim (Hamlin 1982, pl.17.2c). If one included Maltese

⁴⁵ Scholarly opinion is now moving towards visualising these stones as some form of grave-marker for a number have been found linked to burial ritual in early Pictland (Thomas 1963, 41-2; Ashmore 1978-80; Close-Brooks 1984; Alcock 1992, 128).



PILLARS ORNAMENTED WITH MALTESE
CROSSES

MAP 1: MALTESE CROSSES MENTIONED IN
TEXT



crosses with stem elements attached, one could add still further examples, including the Reask pillar stone A, which was found, as already mentioned in what appeared to be its original position on the boundary of a cemetery. (Fanning 1981, 86, 139-141; Cuppage 1986, 336-345 see above, pages 40-41).

In short, we appear to have a group of monuments dispersed at the very least through Kerry, Cork, Donegal, Mayo, Galloway, Cornwall and the Hebrides. There may be many more: stones such as these have been studied far more extensively in the western parts of these islands. The monuments discussed here are characteristically pillar shaped, with a Maltese cross being found on one of the wider faces, either centrally-placed or at the upper end of the shaft. A number are inscribed with ogam inscriptions of the normal memorial type. Two Scottish examples - Iona and Whithorn - have inscriptions in the Roman alphabet, the one being a grave-marker in a manner which parallels ogam monuments while the other is an estate marker as at Kilfountan, Reask and Kilnasaggart. A third Scottish pillar with Maltese cross is associated with a Class I Pictish symbol stone. In date these monuments with Maltese crosses appear to belong, on historical, linguistic and archaeological grounds to the later sixth, seventh or even early eighth centuries. At this initial stage, they would appear to provide good evidence for the relatively widespread existence of Christianity at this period in the western parts of these islands. I should say, however, that examination of a number of these monuments in the Dingle peninsula did reveal that there are at least two different methods used to produce this cross-form even in this relatively confined region: the majority of stones had sunken crosses and up-standing petals but occasionally, as at Faha, there are sunken petals and up-standing crosses. The grouping put forward here is clearly, therefore, a preliminary one and a great deal more work remains to be done on these monuments.

4.2: Ogam stones beginning with ANM

Names in the genitive case are one of the hall-marks of Irish ogam stone inscriptions, a trait which also occurs on a number of both ogam and Latin-letter inscriptions in Britain. The normal Irish inscription is a possessive form of a personal name, occasionally with a patronymic and/or an expression of community affiliation. It is possible that the unexpressed governing word which produced these genitives was something like 'stone' as in the Inchagoill Latin alphabet inscription: **LIE LUGAEDON**

MACCI MENUEH "the stone of *L son of *M". An alternative governing word is indicated by the sub-group of Irish ogams begin with the word ANM or 'name, inscription' in the nominative (McManus 1991, 51). There are twenty stones with this type of inscription including one from Coomleagh East which is extremely dubious. They are all found within the present counties of Cork and Kerry.

Leaving Coomleagh East out of consideration, twelve of the remaining nineteen stones show names with patronymics; three have the name alone while a fourth has the single name with the added title TIGERN meaning lord. One has the word CELI, the genitive form of Primitive Irish *celias meaning companion or client (McManus 1991, 119) and one uses the community affiliation marker MUCOI. The nineteenth, at Maumanorig disintegrates into meaningless letter combinations after the initial letters ANM COL.... (Cuppige 1986, 333-334; McManus 1991, 67; supported by author's observation).

McManus points out that these ANM inscriptions are characterised by late linguistic, palaeographic or orthographic features (McManus 1991, 80). Seven examples, all in Kerry, have lost their final syllables and belong to a post-apocope phase (*CIIC* 187, 204, 219, 229, 235, 255, 256). On current dating this means that the stones probably belong to a period after the beginning of the sixth century. Four stones (76, 137, 187, 235) use the later form MACI as opposed to the single monument (204) using the earlier MAQ(Q)I. Most importantly of all, ANM is itself a post-apocope form of Primitive Irish *anmen, Old Irish ainm (McManus 1991, 80, 118). No monuments are known with the pre-apocope Primitive Irish form and all of the above inscriptions, therefore, must belong, on orthodox dating, to the sixth century or later. The fact that monuments at Keenrath (*CIIC* 75), Ballyknock (*CIIC* 95), Templebryan (*CIIC* 76) include personal names in pre-apocope forms must be put down to conservative spelling of these particular words given the existence of post-apocope ANM on the same stones. Similarly, the pre-apocope name on the Ballyknock inscription, MEDDUGENI, is also found as an epithet on a spoon from a fourth-century treasure hoard from Thetford in Norfolk (Johns & Potter 1983), inscribed DEI FAU(ni) MEDVGENI or in two instances on other spoons from the hoard as MEDIGENI (Jackson in Johns & Potter 1983, 47). As a name, therefore, MEDDUGENI is witnessed as early as the fourth century although its association with a post-apocope form such as ANM means that the inscription at Ballyknock must post-date the loss of final

Site	CIIC No.	Inscription
Coomleagh East	55	? ANM SAINA MAQ OGALA MUCOI TEMOCA (Restored)
Keenrath	75	ANM CASONI (MAQI RODAGNI)
Templebryan	76	ANM TENAS MACI V...
Ballyknock	95	ANM MEDDUGENI*
Coolineagh	104	ANM CORRE MAQVI UDD(GLO)METT
Coolineagh	105	?ANM NETACUNAS CELI VIDETTAS**
Fortwilliam	137	ANM VEDLLOIGGOI MACI SEDDOINI
Kilmalkedar	187	ANM MAILE-INBIR MACI BROCANN***
Maumanorig	193	ANM COL....(No evidence for more, <i>pace CIIC</i>)
CurraghmoreW	204	ANM MAGANN MAQI NUADAT****
Kilcoolaght	206	ANM VIRR....ANNI TIGIRN (Doubtful)
Derrygarrane S.	219	ANM CRUNAN MAQ LUQIN
Derrynane*****	220	ANM LLATIGNI MAQ M(I)N(E)RC M(UCOI) Q(...)CI (Doubtful)
Parknasilla	223	ANM VINNAGITLET
Canburrin	229	ANM CALUMANN MAQ(.....)
Killogrone	235	ANM MOLEGOMRID MACI VECUMEN
Letter West	239	ANM GATTEGLAN
Tinnahally	255	ANM VURUDDRANN MAQ(I) DOLIGENN
Tinnahally	256	ANM TEGANN MAC DEGLANN
Ratass*****	vi	(A)NM SILLANN MAQ FATTILLOGG()

* Read as MEDDOGENI by Macalister but as here by McManus 1991, 66

** Described by McManus as a rash reconstruction, 1991, 95

*** Read by McManus as Anm MAiLE iNbIR MACI BROCANN (lower case letters denoting some uncertainty) 1991, 66

**** McManus doubts diphthong and reads N?DAd/t (1991, 67)

***** Misspelt by Macalister: the townland name is Darrynane Beg.

***** A find which post-dated *CIIC* as listed by McManus 1991, 71.

Table 1: Ogam stones with ANM inscriptions

MAP 2: OGAM STONES WITH ANM
INSCRIPTIONS



syllables. Derrynane (*CIIC* 220) and Fortwilliam (*CIIC* 137) also have pre-apocope names but both include later forms of the formulaic word MAQQI namely MACI and MAQ while Coolineagh (*CIIC* 105) is a reconstruction.⁴⁶ The latest ANM stones appear to be one from Tinnahally (*CIIC* 256) and Kilmalkedar (*CIIC* 187) where post-syncope name forms occur - McManus has dated these to the seventh century (McManus 1991, 100). The group as a whole, therefore appears to stretch from the sixth century (possibly from the first half) into the early seventh.

Another five ANM inscriptions use a supplementary letter <> to represent the vowel *e* (*CIIC* 104, 187, 223, 235, 239, 256), a development which appears to post-date the normal use of four short notches which is the classical ogam method of indicating *e* (McManus 1991, 2, 79; Sims-Williams 1992, 51-56). In an inscription from Tinnahally, Co. Kerry (*CIIC* 256) the supplementary <> apparently means short *e* where it occurs in the personal name TEGANN (Old Irish *Tecán*) while the classical method indicates a long *e* as in DEGLANN (Old Irish *Déclán*) (McManus 1991, 107, 179 fn. 36, 38). On the stone in Curraghmore West (*CIIC* 204), Macalister saw another supplementary letter or *forfid*, this time written <, used to indicate the diphthong *ua* but this has been queried by McManus both on linguistic probability and personal observation (McManus 1991, 100, 176 fn.48). Macalister also saw a third supplementary character, <◇> on Killogrone used to represent the vowel *o* in an inscription reading: ANM M◇LEG◇MRID MACI V<>CUM<>N. This is corroborated by the recent drawing of the stone in the Iveragh survey (O'Sullivan and Sheehan 1996, 300-301). Both McManus & Sims-Williams understand the first name to be an earlier form of the Old Irish *Maile-Gaimrid*; McManus believed the <◇> graph represented either *a* or *o* (McManus 1991, 180, fn. 52) while Sims-Williams opts for a vowel sound represented phonetically as /æ(:)/ (Sims-Williams 1992, 56).

The use of supplementary letters is more prominent in the manuscript tradition of ogam than on the stone monuments and McManus has explained their development as being due to outside influences on Irish writers, most notably a need to generate an alphabet capable of catering for words borrowed from Greek or Latin (*ibid.*, 143-5). This is also the

⁴⁶ The conjunction of pre-apocope name forms with post-apocope formulaic words such as ANM and MAQ at Ballyknock, Derrynane and Fortwilliam goes against the general trend for conservative spellings of formulaic words and innovative spellings for personal names (McManus 1991, 96).

interpretation of the medieval authors of *Auraicept na nÉces* or "The Scholar's Primar" (Calder 1917, 189; Sims-Williams 1992, 31). As we have seen, however, (above, page 64) the development of the concept of supplementary letters appears to belong to the very earliest phase of our surviving ogam inscriptions even though the use of supplementary characters for vowel sounds would appear to be a late one.

Five of these stones with ANM inscriptions are also ornamented with a sign of the cross: Templebryan (*CIIC* 76), Coolineagh (*CIIC* 104), Curraghmore West (*CIIC* 204), Killogrone (*CIIC* 235) and Ratass (McManus 1991, 71). That at Templebryan is an extremely shallow and mishapen version of a recessed Maltese cross which occurs close to ground level on a tall narrow pillar of some 3 metres in height (author's observation). At Coolineagh, Curraghmore West, Killogrone and Ratass, the cross is of simple Latin shape, in the centre of one of the wider faces and at one extremity of pillar stones between 1 and 2 metres in height; that at Killogrone was interpreted by Macalister as secondary because of its position on the base (*CIIC* 204, O'Sullivan and Sheehan 1996, 300, Fanning & Ó Corráin 1977, 15).

As we have seen, the majority of Maltese crosses accompanying ogam inscriptions are also centrally placed on a wide face either in the middle of the monument or at one end. This is the normal position for crosses on Christian Continental grave-slabs where ornamental motifs tend to be placed on the broad face of a monument either above or below horizontal inscriptions. Macalister's belief that such crosses were normally secondary features stemmed from his conviction that ogam itself was pre-Christian (1945, vi-xi). There is no archaeological evidence to support this notion - the battering of certain ogam stones to which he refers is now taken to be merely the normal wear which loose stones of such antiquity might be expected to undergo (McManus 1991, 54-6). It is assumed here that these crosses are contemporaneous with the inscriptions, just as the Maltese crosses on the Church Island and Arraglen ogam stones are probably contemporary (see above, pages 70-76).⁴⁷

In 1955, J. Vendryes compared the Irish ANM inscriptions with Christian tombs, particularly from North Africa where the word *nomen* precedes the name of the deceased. Judging by the examples that he gives, this usually occurs in the context of a prayer to the Almighty or to the

saints (Vendryes 1955, 140-41, Diehl 1925, Nos. 2093 - 2099). A closer parallel might be the stone from Llandanwg in central Wales which reads **EQUESTRI NOMINE** in Roman capitals with half-uncial *s*, reading vertically downwards (*ECMW* 279). Nash-Williams sees parallels for this wording in Italy and Gaul where a formula **HIC IACET NOMINE** ... was noted by Le Blant (Nash-Williams 1950, 169; Le Blant 1856, 462-3). Another from St Davids in Pembrokeshire, with an inscription **RINACI NOMENA** (*ECMW* 370), also in Roman capitals arranged vertically, he would see as deriving from North Africa but he notes Macalister's suggestion that this may represent a translation of the Irish ANM style (*CIIC* 448). No ANM inscriptions have been found among the British ogams but in favour of Macalister's position is the vertical arrangement of the Llandanwg and St Davids inscriptions which is typical of Irish-influenced stones and not paralleled on the Continent.

An influence which would appear to be moving in the opposite direction, from a Latin-speaking environment to Ireland, is indicated by the inscription at Coolineagh (*CIIC* 104) where a Latinised form MAQVI is used in place of the more normal MAQI. This use of QV in conjunction is rare in Ireland where there is only one other certain example (*CIIC* 275), but is rather more common in Latin-letter inscriptions with Irish names in Britain where it occurs four times (*CIIC* 364, *ECMW* 144; *CIIC* 462, 489; McManus 1991, (No.xxi) 76-7). (The spelling *-qv-* corresponds to normal Latin spelling conventions in the same manner as *-qu-* is the norm in modern English.)

On the whole, the twenty ANM inscriptions appear to form a relatively coherent grouping. They are all located in either Cork or Kerry and all use the post-apocope form ANM. Up to six stones have pre-apocope personal names while two, possibly three, have post-syncope personal names. The use of supplementary characters to represent the vowel *e* is relatively widespread; there is a single example of a supplementary *o* and a very dubious *ua*. Five are ornamented with crosses, four of simple Latin type centrally placed at one end of the monument, on one of the wider faces. Parallels for these inscriptions have been seen in the Christian epithets of North Africa, Italy and Gaul and there are two relatively close parallels in the Latin alphabet inscriptions of Wales. One stone also has what appears to be a latinised form of the Irish MAQ(Q)I. Taking all of these facts into consideration, therefore, there seem to be reasonable grounds for seeing all of these Cork and Kerry ANM stones as

⁴⁷ Since the cross at Church Island was cut by the ogam, the carving of the cross must have occurred first but the gap in time need not have been a long one.

indicating influence from the Latin-speaking world on the extreme south-west of Ireland in the sixth and early seventh century. Given that a quarter of the examples are ornamented with crosses, it seems probable that this influence was Christian in derivation.

4.3 Ogam stones with Latin names

Another sub-grouping of Irish ogam stones are those which include Latin names in the inscription. There are six stones involved: from Rathglass, Co. Carlow (*CIIC* 16), Colbinstown, Co. Kildare (*CIIC* 20), Burnfort, Co. Cork (*CIIC* 56), Ballinvoher (*CIIC* 166) and Kinard East (*CIIC* 188), both in Co. Kerry and Ardmore, Co. Waterford (*CIIC* 265).

The norm for these inscriptions is to have the name in the genitive; a possible exception is the stone inscribed *AMADU* at Ardmore in Co. Waterford which may be a nominative form of *Amatus* (McManus, 1991 117). In Vulgar or British Latin pronunciation, a *-t-* between two vowels would normally be pronounced /d/ and this affected the development in the spelling of Irish names in manuscripts where the sound /d/ between two vowels tended to be transcribed as *-t-*. Thus, on analogy with the pronunciation of Vulgar Latin words such as *Amatus*, Irish names such as *Báetán* were spelt in the manuscript tradition with a *-t-* but the middle consonant was in fact, pronounced /d/. In the ogam spelling tradition this did not occur with the result that the ogam equivalent of *Báetán* is (*CIIC* 241) *BAIDAGNI* with a D (McManus 1986, 11; 1991, 123). At Ardmore, therefore, the inscription is following ogam rather than manuscript orthographical tradition in spelling the loan word *Amatus* with a medial D.

The indication that this Latin name is being rendered according to Irish rather than Vulgar Latin norms is strengthened by the fact that the inscription lacks a final S. An examination of the stone makes it clear that this was not simply an omission on the part of the carver. In ogam spelling, final *-s* became weakened to /h/ and eventually ceased to be spelt at all, surviving only as a modification of vowels and certain consonants in the following word. As a consequence of this, one finds the element *-CUNAS* is spelt on some ogam stones as *-CONA*; i.e. *CIIC* 159: *GLASICONAS* and *CIIC* 134: *ASSICONA* (McManus 1991, 85, 102; see above, page 51). The weakening of final *-s* in this way is prior to the general loss of final syllables in Irish known as apocope which is thought to have begun c. AD 500 (McCone 1986, 88-89). If the lack of a final *-S* in the Ardmore

inscription *AMADU* is due to this development in Irish, this would imply both that the Ardmore stone is fifth century in date and that the Latin name had undergone modification in line with native Irish words.

This last possibility is strengthened by the fact that the Latin names on both the Ballinvoher and the Colbinstown stones also lost their normal Latin case endings. This is presumably because they have been borrowed into Irish and given Irish endings which they subsequently lost through apocope. In both cases, it is only the Latin words which show apocope on these inscriptions; both *MAQI DDECCEDA* on the Colbinstown stone and *COIMAGNI* on Ballinvoher show pre-apocope endings. This may provide us with yet more evidence for conservative spelling in the ogam period; one can suggest that because the Irish names were familiar, they were spelt in the traditional fashion while the relatively unfamiliar names of Latin derivation are spelt according to the way they were currently being pronounced.

Sites	CIIC No.	Inscriptions
Rathglass	16	DUNAI DONAS MAQI <u>MARIANI</u>
Colbinstown	20	MAQI DDECCEDA MAQI <u>MARIN</u>
Burnfort	56	<u>SAGITTARI</u>
Ballinvoher	166	COIMAGNI MAQI <u>VITALIN</u>
Kinard East	188	<u>MARIANI</u>
Ardmore	265	<u>AMADU</u>

- Given *MAQI*, 305f
refers to *Sagittari*?
this name for
Creg of Tara.

Table 2: Ogam stones with Latin names (underlined)

The word *MAQI* used on both is not diagnostic despite its pre-apocope form for as a formula word, it continued to be written in this way by conservative-minded carvers long after other words have lost their final syllable and when one might expect *MAQ/MAC* rather than *MAQI* to be used (Jackson 1950, 200-201; McManus 1991, 81-83). Of the other three stones in this class, that from Rathglass appears to be entirely pre-apocope in date and may be provisionally dated to the fifth century while those from Burnfort and Kinard East appear to be simple Latin names with Latin genitive endings which would be impossible to date. The alternative would be that they are names which have been borrowed into Irish and given the *-I* ending of a Primitive Irish *o*-stem in the genitive (McManus 1991, 115). If this was the case, these names from Burnfort and Kinard East would be

MAP 3: OGAM STONES WITH LATIN NAMES



pre-apocope and, therefore, fifth-century on the orthodox absolute chronology. In any event, one can be clear that none of these six inscriptions show signs of syncope and one's working presumption would be that this is a group belonging to the earlier half of the dating range for ogam inscriptions.

In an examination largely based on stones from Italy and France at the beginning of this century, Horace Marruchi argued that the simpler the formula, the more likely the stone was to be early (Marruchi 1899, 158). This would agree with the inscriptions listed by Ernst Diehl where single names were almost entirely limited to memorials found within the catacombs and other early Roman cemeteries (Diehl 1927, Nos. 3958-3969). A number of these are given as genitives (*id.*, Nos. 3963-3965a) which links these monuments both to the pagan Roman past (Marruchi 1899, 143), and perhaps also to the insular ogam stones where, as we have seen, the use of the genitive is the norm.

In Wales there are seven stones with names in the genitive and without patronymics one of which, at Towyn (*ECMW* 286), has the Latin name **PASCENTI**.⁴⁸ Of the others, two show pre-apocope forms of British names: **VENDESETLI** (< *Gwynhoedl*) and **CUNEGNI** (< *Cynin*) Another, **MELI**, may represent either a Briton or an Irishman for a bishop *Melus* is listed in Tirechán's *Collectanea* (Bieler 1979, 128, 136). Yet a fourth has the British name **PAANI** in which the carver appears to be using the convention seen in seventh-century sources, of doubling the vowel to indicate that it is long (Thurneysen 1946, 20). There is also the bilingual stone from Nevern where the ogam inscription has the Latin name **VITALIANI** while the Latin inscription in Roman capitals arranged horizontally reads **VITALIANI EMERETO** (*ECMW* 354, *CIIC* 445). All others in this Welsh group are in Roman capitals, arranged vertically and two (*ECMW* 172, 400) have plain Latin crosses. (The monument at Steynton, *ECMW* 404, has a later cross, of ringed type.) The vertical arrangement of the writing, mirroring as it does the layout of ogam inscriptions, would seem to imply that the Welsh stones were also influenced by Irish customs. Single names on these Welsh stones, therefore, are largely though not exclusively of insular rather than Latin derivation; they appear to range widely in date and only two of the eight have crosses carved upon them. If the custom of simply inscribing one's

⁴⁸ See also *ECMW* 10; *ECMW* 96, *CIIC* 390, *ECMW* 172, *CIIC* 374; *ECMW* 399, *CIIC* 453; *ECMW* 400, *CIIC* 452; *ECMW* 404, *CIIC* 456.

name originated in early Rome (and the catacombs fell out of general use at the beginning of the fifth century), it would seem that it had a long lease of life in Wales.

A similar assessment could be made of the single name inscriptions in Ireland. It is difficult to make an accurate assessment of the numbers which survive without an up-to-date catalogue since a number of Macalister's transcriptions are taken from fragmentary stones which may have lost the remainder of their inscriptions. On the other hand there are monuments, such as the GOSSUCTTIAS stone at Lugnagappul, Co. Kerry where the scores are clear and the boulder rounded and clearly undamaged (CIIC 190; Cuppage 1986, 255-6). My own estimate is that there are approximately twenty-nine of these stones in Macalister's corpus, including stones from the modern counties of Galway, Roscommon, Louth, Wexford, Wicklow, Cork, Kerry and Waterford.⁴⁹ Interestingly, their dating is apparently confined to the period prior to the appearance of syncope on ogam stones, which belongs to the second half of the sixth century in the traditional chronology. Among the earliest are those with pre-apocope names such as GOSSUCTTIAS (CIIC 190), INISSIONAS (CIIC 161), IRCCITOS (CIIC 168) or GAMICUNAS (CIIC 191) and at the other end of the dating spectrum, inscriptions such as VORTIGURN (CIIC 297) or BRRUANANN (CIIC 242) which are post-apocope.⁵⁰ It follows that the Irish names used in this type of inscription can be used to suggest dates for the popularity of this particular style vis-à-vis the monuments with Latin names and, in consequence, that the two stones at Burnfort and Kinard East can probably be ascribed to an early period in the history of ogam development, from the fifth to the mid sixth centuries. This would remain the case whether one argued that the grammatical forms of the names on these stones represent simple Latin genitives or Irish genitives of *o*-stems with pre-apocope endings.

It is worth noting that where a Latin name occurs on Irish stones, it is found either in isolation or as a patronymic; there is no example of an Irish father with a Latin-named son. It is possible that this is historically

⁴⁹ CIIC 11, 39, 44, 50, 51, 60, 62, 64, 69, 91, 93, 96, 100 (on which see McManus 1991, 66), 133, 134, 151, 155, 161, 168, 182, 186, 190, 191, 199, 226, 242, 253, 284, 297.

⁵⁰ Examination of this stone in May of 1996 revealed that it had been broken in the relatively recent past; the fragments have been stuck together with cement. In its current state, there seems to be a problem with the reading in that there was a very large gap between the B and the following R.

significant - are we seeing here the existence of Latin-speaking emigrés into Ireland? Names like *Vitalinus*, *Marianus* or *Marinus* are known from both Roman Britain and the inscriptions of Wales (Collingwood & Wright 1965, Nos. 993, 858, 67, 111; ECMW 315, 354). The name Sagittar(i)us is unknown as a personal name in Britain; it occurs only in relation to an auxiliary force of archers from Syria, whose altar to *Fortuna Balneari* (the goddess Fortuna of the bathhouse) was found at Kirby Thore, near Carlisle (Collingwood & Wright 1965, 764). Diehl lists a single abbreviated reference to an Italian, *Sagitt-* (Diehl 1931, 2266C). It may be, therefore, that one should interpret the *SAGITTARUS stone at Burnfort as a monument to one who had spent time as a professional *sagitterius* or archer in a Latin-speaking environment. Similarly *Marinus* may be a name coined from the adjective *marinus* 'of the sea' and could be interpreted as indicating someone who had earned his living working as a sailor or fisherman.

An alternative explanation is possible for the name AMADU which apparently derives from a Latin form *Amatus*. This name is known in a genitive form from a Romano-British pewter bowl in the form AMATI (Frere & Tomlin 1991, 2417.2), from sixth-century Gaul and from Rome (Diehl 1925 Nos. 1075, 1076, 2224a, 2909). One of the Gaulish individuals is identified as *presbyter* which could signify either priest or bishop. The name may thus also be an adopted Christian name, paralleling the names *Auxilius*, *Aeternus* and *Benignus* who are found in a list of early Patrician bishops in Tirechán's seventh-century *Collectanea* (Bieler 1979, 128). Tirechán makes it clear that the adoption of a Latin name by Irish converts was considered plausible in the seventh century (*ibid.*, 126, 150). The suggestion that this may be the case here is strengthened by the presence on the AMADU stone of a small plain cross. On the other hand, the name has apparently undergone insular modification in that it has lost its final -S and it seems unlikely that this would have happened if it was deliberately adopted by an adherent of a Latin-speaking Christian cult.

Interestingly, this stone is associated with the site of Ardmore, Co. Waterford, whose patron saint, Déclan, was said in his *vita* to be one of the missionaries in Ireland who preceded Patrick in introducing Christianity to Ireland. Richard Sharpe has argued that this tradition may be a late one, possibly of the same twelfth-century date as the extant *vita* (Sharpe 1989). A similar position is taken by McCone, who argues that the tradition only arose in the context of opposition to Armagh's claims to

?
sacerdos

primacy. He sees Déclan's life as twelfth-century in its present form but whose hero is depicted "in a political code geared roughly to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D." (McCone 1984, 50-53). Charles Thomas, in contrast, believes the tradition provides us with some indication of the probable location for Romano-British colonies of fifth-century date (Thomas 1981, 302-3). The AMADU stone could be interpreted as providing some slight support for an early foundation of Ardmore under influence from abroad for, as we have seen, the stone itself is likely to be fifth century in date and the spelling of the Latin name indicates Vulgar Latin modification of *-t-* to */d/*.

One other stone in this group of Irish ogams with Latin names is inscribed with a cross design, that at Kinard East, Co. Kerry. As a form, the design is relatively unusual being a square frame enclosing a central cross and a cross in each of the upper quadrants. Crosses with angular frames are, however, known at Clonmacnoise (Lionard 1960/1, 106) while pillar stones with central cross and four subsidiary crosses, one in each quadrant, are also known from stones at Cloonlaur, Co. Mayo⁵¹ and Inishmurray, Co. Sligo (*ibid.*, 104, 106). There are no good parallels in Nash-William's corpus of Welsh stones.

A third of the Irish ogams with Latin names thus have crosses and two of the three examples with single Latin name inscriptions. This proportion is very high when one considers that of the twenty-nine single name inscriptions with Irish names, there are also only two examples with associated crosses (CIIC 161, 186). The suggestion, therefore, is that if you had a Latin name in Ireland you were far more likely to have an ogam memorial consisting of a single name in the genitive and decorated with an inscribed cross. The conclusion would appear to be that Christianity was closely associated with some, if not necessarily all Latin-speaking incomers. This concurs with suggestions made in the first chapter that Patrick's mission is tied to centres of Romano-British influence in Ireland (see above, pages 22-24). The probable fifth-century stone from Rathglass, Co. Carlow and the possibly fifth-century stones from Kinard East, Co. Kerry and Burnfort, Co. Cork may perhaps be added to the sites of Knowth and Newgrange as locations for some of the earliest Irish Christians.

⁵¹ The existence of a *chi-rho* on this stone, seen by Henry (1947, 37-8) and reproduced by Lionard (1960/1, 104) has been disputed by Herity (1995, 154).

4.4 Ogam stones with ><OI inscriptions

A fourth sub-grouping within the Irish ogam-stone corpus consists of those inscriptions which incorporate the element ><OI. This is invariably spelt with the supplementary character >< followed by the vowel strokes for *o* and *i*. As Macalister pointed out, the value *k* for the supplementary

Site	CIIC No.	Inscription
Colbinstown	22	...EGNI ><OI MAQI MUC(OI) A(L)I...
Donaghmore	26	NETTAVRECC* (><OI?) MAQ MUCCOI TRENALLUGO
Legan	34	LOBBI ><OI MAQI MUCCOI RINI**
Ballyboodan	38	CORBI ><OI MAQI LABRID
Donard	48	IAQINI ><OI MAQI MUC...
Ballyhank	98	CORBAGNI ><OI MAQI MUCCOI COROTANI***
Monataggart	120	BROINIENAS ><OI NETA TTRENALUGOS****
Ballintaggart	156	MAQQI IARI ><OI MAQQI MUCCOI DOVVIAS
Ballintaggart	163	NETTA LAMINACCA ><OI MAQI MUCCOI DOVINIAS*****

* McManus only read two notches for the second E but felt there was room for six or seven notches, which would give the more plausible reading VROECC or VROICC (1991, 66).

** McManus read this as (..)LL(..) (....)MAQQ(..)m(..)C(..) (1991, 67). From personal observation I would argue for a vowel notch preceding the LL and confirm that only half the ^{second} 'm' stroke is clear (making it look like a single stroke to the right or B rather than a transverse stroke or M). I also thought I could see traces of Macalister's ><.

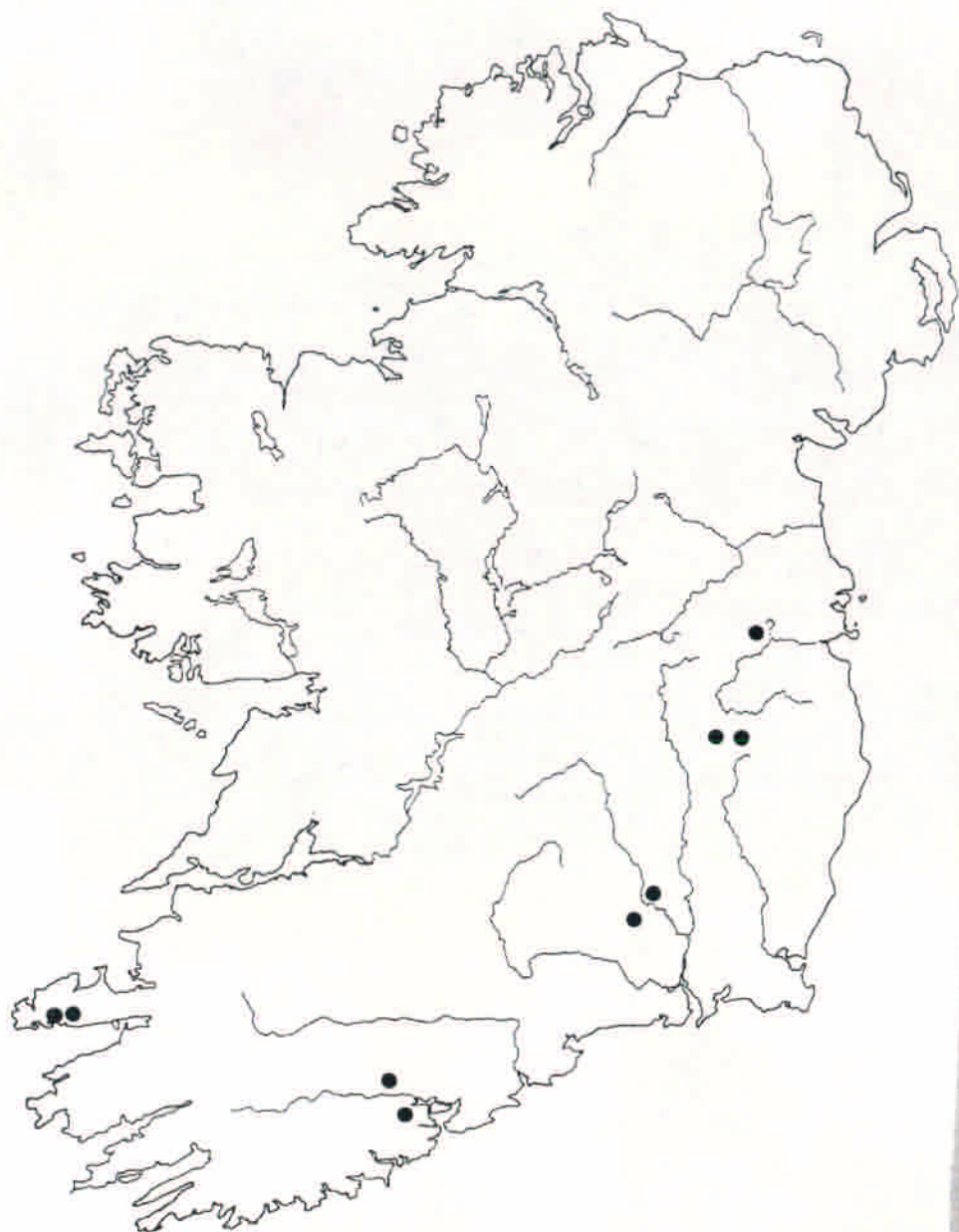
*** Read by McManus as CoRBAGNi ><... COI cOROtANI (1991, 66)

**** McManus read the last word as TTRENALuGos (1991, 66)

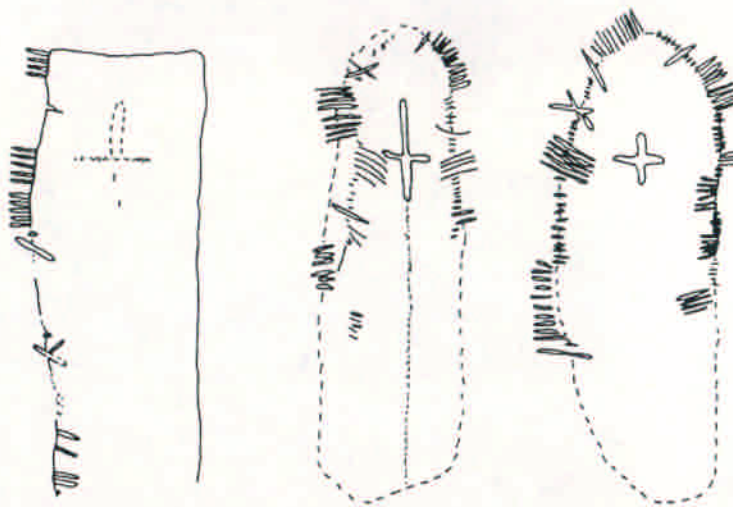
***** McManus read the last word as DO....; corroborated by personal observation.

TABLE 3: Ogam stones with ><OI inscriptions

MAP 4: OGAM STONES WITH ><OI
INSCRIPTIONS



OGAM STONES WITH ><OI INSCRIPTIONS
AND INSCRIBED CROSSES

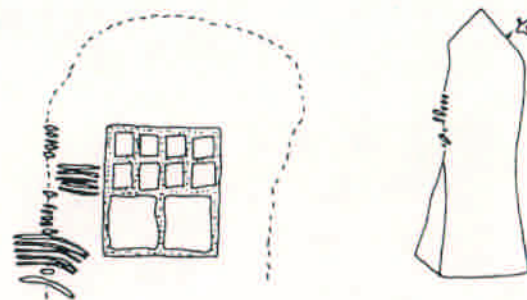


Legan

Ballintaggart 2

Ballintaggart 1

OGAM STONES WITH LATIN NAMES AND
INSCRIBED CROSSES



Kinard East

Ardmore

>< is indicated by three stones from Coolmagort, Co. Kerry where the same community affiliation is spelt: TOICA><I, TOICACI and TOICAC (*CIIC* 197, 198, 200; McManus 1991, 79). Where the supplementary >< is used in this fashion in words other than ><OI, it is found in names such as VEQI><AMI (*CIIC* 113) or A><ERAS (*CIIC* 124) which are pre-apocope in form, indicating that this usage develops at an early stage in the ogam corpus.⁵² McManus has interpreted the creation of supplementary characters or *forfeda* as secondary (1991, 2, 79, 141-46), due to the need to represent letters in Latin or Greek words which were not accommodated by the original ogam format. This has recently been called into question by Sims-Williams who points out that though this is the view of medieval authorities such as the author of *Auracept na nÉces*, one is not obliged to believe them (Sims-Williams 1992, 38). Sims-Williams does accept the explanation with regard to the use of the symbol >< to represent /p/ in two stones from Wales and one possible example from Valentia Island, Co. Kerry (*CIIC* 231, 327, 409; Sims-Williams 1992, 39-42) but he suggests that >< with the value of /x/, as in TOICA><I, represents an attempt to enhance the ogam alphabet with a more complete inventory of Irish sounds (*ibid.*, 45-49). Since >< with the value /x/ does not appear in Latin loan-words on the ogam stones but only in the vernacular, there seems some merit to this position. In other words, the earliest surviving phase of ogam usage shows that an additional symbol had already been added to the original set of twenty characters (McManus 1991, 1-2) for the same purpose as motivated the original creators of the cipher - the desire to represent the sounds of Primitive Irish (*ibid.*, 30-1). This in turn implies that from a very early stage men felt free to experiment with this new alphabet and it represents important evidence for the chronological distinction which one must draw between the invention of the ogam symbols and their use on memorial stones (see above, 63-68).

Following Carl Marstrander (1911, 401) and J. Pokorny (1915, 403), McManus suggests ><OI may be a word defining locality, related to the later Old Irish word *cé* meaning "here" (McManus 1991, 51, 119). McManus made the further suggestion that Irish ><OI is analogous to the use of HIC IACET on Latin alphabet memorial stones in Britain though never used in British inscriptions (McManus 1991, 51, 119). The suggestion is strongly corroborated if one looks at the British stones with

presumably
instructions
is to
be drawn
between

'Roman alphabet inscriptions in Latin' & 'ogam inscriptions in the vernacular' ?

⁵² *CIIC* 113, 124, 141, 155, 197, 216, 301.

Latin alphabet inscriptions. The syntax of ><OI memorials in Ireland - with one exception, *CIIC* 120 - can be broken down into name in genitive, ><OI, son of *X* or alternatively son of MOC(C)OI *X*. In Britain, there are a number of stones with a similar construction in Latin where HIC IACIT is used in place of ><OI. So for example, the inscription in Latin letters on a bilingual stone at Crickhowell in Brecknockshire can be broken down

Site	CIIC No. (ECMW)	Inscription
Crickhowell	327 (43)	TURPILLI HIC IACIT PVVERI TRILUNI DUNOCATI
Llangwryfon	352A(122)	DOMNICI IACIT FILIVS BRAVECCI
Llanwenog	353(127)	TRENACATUS IC IACIT FILIVS MAGLAGNI
Margam	408 (146)	BODVOCI HIC IACIT FILIVS CATOTIGERNI PRONEPVS ETERNALI
Llan y Mawddwy	419 (284)	FILIAE SALVIANI HIC IACIT VERIMATE VXSOR TIGIRNICI ET FILIE EIVS ONERATI HIC IACIT RIGOHENE
Llandeilo Llwydiarth Llancarffe	433 (313) 457	ANDAGELLI IACIT FILI CAVETI DVNOCATI HIC IACIT FILI MERCAGNI
Blue Bridge Worthyvale Doydon	462 470 478	QVENATAVCI IC DINVI FILIVS LATINI IC IACIT FILIVS MAGARI BROCAGNI IHC IACIT NADOTTI FILIVS
Castledor	487	CIRVSINIUS HIC IACIT CVNOMORI FILIVS
Chesterholm	498	BRIGOMAGLOS HIC IACIT ...ECVS

TABLE 4: British parallels to Irish ><OI inscriptions

as name in genitive, **HIC IACIT**⁵³, son of *X* of *Y*. At Margam in Glamorgan, one finds name in genitive, **HIC IACIT**, son of *X*, grandson of *Y, Z*. There are others but these appear to be the most diagnostic. Clearly the **HIC IACIT** here is not in a position in the sentence which corresponds to normal Latin usage; in Diehl's *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, the only **HIC IACET/IACIT** inscriptions where the formula is found in this position are Nos. 3071-3072, 3074-3075 and 3077. All of these are located in south-west Britain. In the vast majority of the other instances listed by Diehl, **HIC IACET/IACIT** is the opening phrase apart from two instances where it follows the initial name in the nominative but where no patronymic is included (Diehl 1927, Nos. 3064-3065).

The obvious explanation for this unusual position of **HIC IACIT** is that this is a translation of Irish ><OI into Latin. This discovery, which I do not think has been made before, would seem to corroborate the hypothesis that the word is a translation of an original Latin **HIC IACIT**. In this regard the fact that there is no known instance of ><OI on the ogam stones in Britain (McManus 1991, 63) might be explained by postulating that sculptors were happier with the Latin form in the more Romanised island. It has to be admitted, however, that its absence in ogams in Britain poses something of a problem in terms of the hypothesis proposed here.

One should note, of course, that the syntactical parallels between the stones of tables 3 and 4 are not exact. The majority of Irish ><OI inscriptions have an accompanying **MUCOI** (McManus 1991, fn. 4.18) and there is no parallel for this on the British stones unless, perhaps, Latin **PRONEPVS** (great-grandson) is in fact a translation of Irish *moccu*. **MAQI** or "son" in the Irish inscriptions represents a genitive form whereas only three of the British inscriptions have the word for son in the genitive: Crickhowell (**PVVERI**), Llandeilo Llwydiarth and Llancarffe (both **FILI**). All of the Irish stones and the majority of the British stones have the first name in the genitive but at Llanwenog, the apparently Irish name **TRENACATUS** and at Castledor in Cornwall, the name **CIRVSINIVS** are both in the nominative. Moreover, both the Castledor stone and two other Cornish stones, at Doydon and Blue Bridge, apparently finish with

⁵³ In common with a development which is seen occasionally but more rarely on the Continent, the original Latin *iacet* is often spelt *iacit* on British stones (Nash-Williams 1950, 8; Vives 1969, 215; Krämer 1974, 10). Henceforth **IACIT** will be used without comment for the Welsh stones and **IACET** for Continental inscriptions.

the word **FILIUS** in the nominative and this too is a usage which is unknown in Ireland. At Chesterholm, Northumberland, the initial name is in the genitive while the last name appears to have been in the nominative - an almost unique formulation (see below, pages 113-115). Without being able to interpret every instance of this grammatical and syntactical confusion, the best approach is surely to seek vernacular constructs behind the Latin vocabulary. Seeing the displaced **HIC IACIT** as a reflex of Irish ><OI provides a case in point.

The **HIC IACET** formula was developed by fourth-century Christians in the Roman empire in substitution for the earlier pagan formulae such as **DIS MANIBUS** (roughly translated as "to the spirits of the departed") (Nash-Williams 1950, 8). It is thought to have begun in fourth-century Rome where stones, dated through reference to the consuls of the day, range from between AD 335 and 404 (Diehl 1927, 3057; 1925, 755). The style had a restricted vogue in Gaul in the first half of the fifth century, centred on Provence, the Rhône valley and the Narbonne/Toulouse area. The evidence for the date of these Gaulish stones comes almost exclusively from Lyon where a sequence of six dated stones runs from AD 422 to AD 449, after which there is a twenty year gap before a new style, using the longer formula **HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE** appears (Knight 1981, 58). In a more recent work, Jeremy Knight has also pointed to scattered examples of **HIC IACET** stones in Bordeaux, the Gironde, the Vendée and Haute Garonne (1989, 48). A single example from Spain can be dated to AD 459 (Vives 1969, 192). In Africa they have been identified as belonging to the first two decades of the fifth century but a small collection at Trier, which shows parallels with the African examples, has been dated to within the second half of the fifth century (Krämer 1974, 13). In short, the **HIC IACET** formula on the Continent is largely a fifth-century fashion, tending towards the earlier half of that century.

In Wales, in addition to the stones already mentioned which have **HIC IACIT** in the middle of inscriptions, there are others with the phrase at the beginning as is the Continental norm and at the end. On Nash-Williams' figures, there are 21 **HIC IACIT** stones with the initial individual's name in the nominative as opposed to 28 with the name in the genitive as is the Irish norm (Nash-Williams 1950, 8-9). Among those with names in the nominative, there is a higher percentage of stones with

inscriptions running horizontally⁵⁴ which again is the Continental convention.

On the other hand, if one looks at the stones with displaced **HIC IACIT** in isolation, where the formula occurs after the initial name for the most part, there are a number of pointers to Irish influence. Strengthening the case for Irish origins, for example, is the fact that ten of the twelve show parallels with Irish syntax on ogam stones in that the initial name is in the genitive. Four of the British stones with displaced **HIC IACIT** are bilingual, with inscriptions in both ogam and Latin letter scripts. All, with the possible exception of the stone from Chesterholm, use patronymics. At least five include the names of Irishmen as part of the inscription: two examples of **DONOCATI** (in the genitive) and one each of **TRENACATUS**, **CATOTIGERNI** (in the genitive) and **BROCAGNI** (also in the genitive). To this group one might add **CAVETI** which Jackson identified as the genitive of an Irish name (1950, 181) though without giving his reasons. The stone from Blue Bridge (*CIIC* 462), Cornwall shows the Latinised spelling "QV" (McManus 1991, 126) at the beginning of what appears to be a Primitive Irish name in the genitive, **QVENATAVCI**, since the initial element began with a /k^w/ sound (Jackson 1953, 296). Another name in the genitive, **MAGLAGNI** (*CIIC* 353) in Carmathenshire, is ambiguous in that it could be either Irish or British but it may perhaps be linked to **MAGLANI** (*CIIC* 317) from Aghascrebagh, Co. Tyrone, for the development -AGNI > ANN is known from other stones (McManus 1991, 107). **BROCAGNI** on the stone at Doydon is paralleled by the genitive **BROCAGNI** at Dunalis, Co. Londonderry (*CIIC* 316) and in the later form **BROCANN** at Kilmalkedar, Co. Kerry (*CIIC* 187) as well as at Llangeler in Wales (*CIIC* 372). The elements in **TRENACATUS** (*CIIC* 353) and the genitive forms **CATOTIGERNI** (*CIIC* 408) and **DVNOCATI** (*CIIC* 327, 457) are all found in Irish ogams (McManus 1991, 102-03, 107) but the names themselves are unknown in the ogam corpus. (There are, of course, many examples in the manuscript tradition of the later development of ***DUNOCATUS**, the Old Irish name *Dúnchad*.)

⁵⁴ Horizontal inscriptions on stones with initial nominative forms and **HIC IACIT** are *ECMW* 32, 33, 77, 78, 139, a possible horizontal inscription with initial nominative, **HIC IACIT** and a patronymic is *ECMW* 34(?). Horizontal inscriptions with names in genitive and **HIC IACIT** are unknown; there is a single example with name in genitive, **HIC IACIT** and patronymic on *ECMW* 26.

In contrast, four names in this group of inscriptions incorporating displaced **HIC IACIT** formulae may be Latin in origin; these are (in the genitive) **TURPILLI**, **DOMNICI** (in a post-syncope form?), **SALVIANI** and possibly the nominative **CIRVSINIUS**. I have found only one name identified as British, **BRIGOMAGLOS**, which later became the Old Welsh nominative *Briamail* or Middle Welsh *Briafael* (Jackson 1953, 448). It would be fair to say, therefore, that the strongest influence visible on these stones is an Irish one, quite apart from the fact that the most plausible available explanation for the displaced **HIC IACIT** is that it is a translation of Irish ><OI.

I would interpret these various facts as indicating at least two strands of Continental influence and one strand of Irish influence on the memorial stones of these islands. One is represented by **HIC IACIT** stones, written in Roman capitals on both pillars and slabs, a percentage of which are inscribed horizontally and a number of which commemorate men and occasionally women with Latin names. These appear to belong to a Continental style and there are no examples of this type in Ireland. A second type, written in ogam script and using the Irish formula word ><OI is represented by eight pillar stones from the southern half of Ireland. Since there are no ><OI stones in Britain, I interpret the Irish ><OI inscriptions as being a native adoption of a Continental type. Finally, a third strand consists of stones which appear to bear translations of the ><OI formula into Latin and these are found exclusively in Britain on pillar stones, written in Roman letters and inscribed vertically down the shaft. I would argue that these represent the influence (though not necessarily the actual memorials) of Irish settlers in Britain and indeed, the majority accord perfectly with the picture of such colonists that has been deduced from documentary sources, being within the confines of the Irish kingdom of Dyfed or in the area of the Uí Liatháin colony of Cornwall (Richards 1960). The one possible exception to this pattern will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

There remains the question of the date of these insular stones; is there any way in which we can pin down these various strands to a specific chronological time-frame? It has been noted above that Continental **HIC IACIT** stones are fifth century in date with a majority belonging to the earlier half of that century. Their closest reflexes in Wales are those nine stones which use the nominative form of the personal name without

adaptation?

R/

patronymic.⁵⁵ Of these, four commemorate deceased persons with Latin names while a fifth remembers a *civis venedoto* or citizen of Gwynedd and cousin of a *magistratus*, an important town official in Roman times (Jones 1964, II 725-8). Without going into further detail here, it seems likely that these can also be safely ascribed to the fifth century. Interestingly, this group has only a limited geographical spread, being concentrated in the old counties of Caernarvonshire and Anglesey in north-west Wales.

With regard to the Irish ><OI stones one can make some reasonable guesses as to their date, using the linguistic changes outlined in McManus' *Guide*. Two of the nine stones involved (*CIIC* 120, 156) have been ascribed by McManus to the earliest phase detectable in the ogam stone corpus (McManus 1991, 94, 97). This is because they show neither vowel affection, nor apocope of their final syllables. Of these two, that at Monatagart (*CIIC* 120) is one of the relatively rare instances which McManus has identified as showing an unusual method of indicating the father, similar to that found in Gaulish Celtic (McManus 1991, 51, 110)⁵⁶. Instead of the Irish formula X son of Y, Celtic-speaking Gauls were accustomed to say, Y's X, just as we might say in colloquial English, "Pat's Mike" meaning "Pat's son Mike". As we have seen the starting point for the relative chronology of Primitive Irish is difficult to ascertain but in this case one can be tolerably certain that ><OI stones did not pre-date the HIC IACIT formula. Not only is this Monatagart stone almost certainly fifth-century in date, therefore; it uses a formula which is more widely attested in Gaulish than in Irish. Traces of this naming formula do, however, occur in Classical Old Irish (Meyer 1912) and it is not at all certain that the presence of this formula on the Monatagart stone represents a direct link between Cork and Gaul at the period in which it was inscribed.⁵⁷

Of the other stones, three (*CIIC* 26, 98, 163) belong to the period prior to syncope or in other words, prior to the second half of the sixth century on the orthodox chronology. One of these three at Ballintaggart

⁵⁵ These are *ECMW* Nos. 32, 33, 77, 78, 87, 102, 103, 128 and 139.

⁵⁶ Other examples of this Gaulish style on Irish ogam stones are *CIIC* 47, 154, 169 and possibly 262 (McManus 1991, 51) from sites in Wicklow, Kerry and Waterford.

⁵⁷ With regard to this suggestion, I should stress that John Carey, Kim McCone, Damian McManus and Jürgen Uhlich were all unanimously of the view that this evidence is too fragile to support the notion of direct contact between Ireland and Gaul. Since their reservations depend, as I understand them, as much on historical probability as on linguistic criteria I have retained the idea as a possibility while acknowledging the lack of strong evidence in its favour.

(*CIIC* 163) has not lost its final ending and is therefore apparently pre-apocope. This would give dates of fifth or very early sixth-century for these stones. In contrast, two stones from Kilkenny (*CIIC* 34, 38) are both post-apocope while seven of the eight stones which have the formula for "son", use the word MAQI. This word, although pre-apocope in form, continued to be written with final -I by conservative-minded carvers long after final syllables had generally been lost and thus, cannot be used to provide a criterion for dating purposes. In the absence of a clear example of a post-syncope form, however, the dates attributed to the Irish ><OI stones appear to span the fifth and sixth centuries, possibly finishing around the mid sixth.

The evidence for the dating of the British stones with displaced HIC IACIT comes mainly from the forms of the individuals' names which, although most of the inscriptions are Latinized, still show many of the various diagnostic language changes. Most of the names involved have not lost their central vowel (DOMNICI and BRAVECCI on *CIIC* 352 & BODVOCI on *CIIC* 408 seem exceptional) but it is difficult to be certain whether they have lost their final syllable since most appear to have had Latin endings attached. All these names ending in I, therefore, could simply indicate a normal Latin genitive. Two of the stones are ornamented with crosses and one of these, at Doydon in Cornwall, has a Maltese cross and *chi-rho* attached. In southern Ireland, as noted in section 4.1, these appear to be late sixth or early seventh century in date when found on grave-slabs and this accords with the memorials which use these styles in Spain, Gaul and even Egypt. Over all, then, a date of the sixth century seems to be the most plausible for all but one of these stones with displaced HIC IACIT. The one exception is that at Chesterholm which is discussed in greater detail in the next section (see below, page 113).

Since the HIC IACET formula is a Christian one, this implies that the Irish ><OI stones represent the memorials of some of the earliest Irish Christians known. For those who might argue that pagans could have adopted such a formula without knowing of its Christian significance, one can point to the two ><OI stones which have small linear crosses inscribed upon them (*CIIC* 156, 163; Cuppage 1986, 264-6).⁵⁸ This is the same type

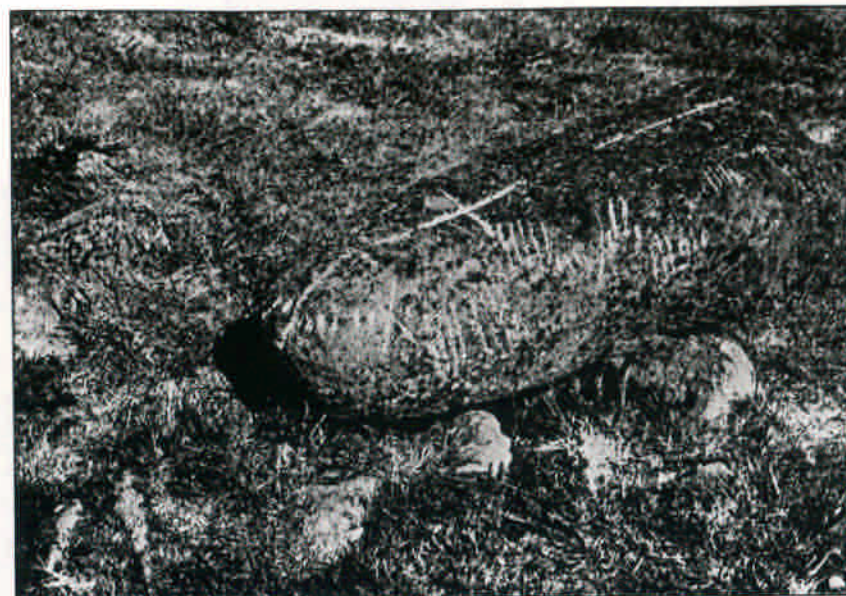
⁵⁸ The drawing of *CIIC* 163 is misleading in that it implies a clearly inverted cross and fails to depict the natural fissure which continues the line of the shaft downwards (see Cuppage 1986, fig. 147c). Macalister also states that a cross is visible on the ><OI stone from Legan, Co. Kilkenny (*CIIC* 34), examination of the stone reveals some

of cross as predates the ogam scores on Emlagh East, Co. Kerry (*CIH* 180) which has a pre-apocope inscription: BRUSCCOS MAQQI CALLIACI. (One of the two strokes of the L graph stops short to avoid hitting the left arm of the cross). Indeed my personal opinion, although this was not picked up by either Macalister or the Dingle surveyors, is that one of the ><OI stones from Ballintaggart also has a cross which may predate the ogam scores, for here the final score of the letter C appears to bend rather more than the others to accommodate the cross arm. I would, therefore, argue that the ><OI stones do indeed mark Christian burials and that there is some likelihood, therefore, that we now know of at least seven probable burial areas of Irish Christians from before the mid sixth century. To these ><OI stone sites, one might also add the AMADU and possibly the MARIANI inscription (both with accompanying cross) which were discussed in the previous section (see above, pages 90-91).

The sites of the ><OI stones may include a *domnach*-church in Co. Kildare and, paradoxically, the site at Colbinstown in the same county. Paradoxically, because this site, otherwise known as Killeen Cormac, is traditionally associated with *Cell Fine*, which the ninth or tenth-century *Vita Tripartita* links to the mission by Palladius (Mulchrone 1939, 19; Hogan 1910, 192). In recent years Kenneth Nicholls has argued convincingly that such an etymology is extremely unlikely and that a more plausible origin for the English name is *Cell ingen Cormaic* or "the church of the daughters of Cormac". In consequence, no association between Palladius and this Kildare site can be made (Nicholls 1984, 547-8). His arguments are strong ones but despite that, it now appears from the ><OI stone on the site that the burial ground was probably in use in the sixth century if not before. It clearly had some important connections abroad at some point for as well as the ><OI stone, one of the Irish ogam memorials with a Latin name also came from the same site as did the DRVIDES stone inscribed with Roman capitals.

An interesting insight into the international connections represented by these Irish ><OI stones is what appears to be a reference to the MOCCU COROTANI in Co. Cork. Given that there are no obvious candidates for such a group in Irish political geography, one would like to speculate whether the man identified as *CORBAGNAS of the MOCCU COROTANI on the Ballyhank stone (*CIH* 98) could have been a member

evidence for a pocked shaft running north/south but the transverse appears to be a natural fissure.



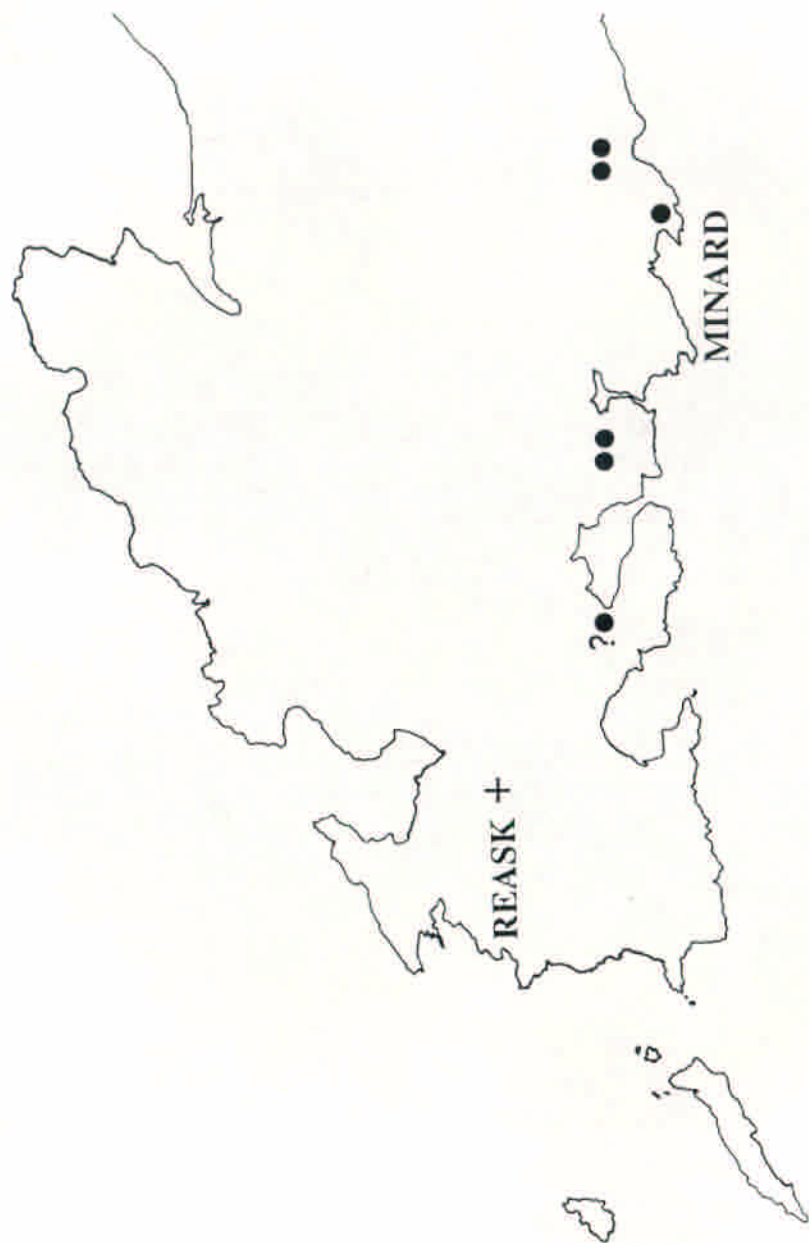
Ogam stone, Ballintaggart, Co. Kerry with a pre-apocope inscription - NETTA LAMINACCA ><OI MAQQI MUCOI DOVIN(IA)S - probably of fifth-century date (*CIH* 163)



Ogam stone, Rathglass Co. Carlow with a pre-apocope inscription - DUN Aidonas Maqi MARIANI - probably of fifth-century date (*CIIC* 16)

of the Coritani of Leicestershire in eastern England. If this guess is correct, the derivation of ><OI from a Continental background need not exclude the use of this formula to commemorate British Christians who might die in Ireland.

At the same time, however, there is also clearly a strong local element amongst these ><OI-using communities. Only Ballintaggart, just outside Dingle, Co. Kerry, has produced two ><OI stones though there are examples of other sites, such as Colbinstown, which have produced more than one ogam stone. At Ballintaggart, which has a total of 9 known ogams, both ><OI and non-><OI monuments are inscribed on a very specific type of local stone, described by Macalister as pulvinar sandstone (1945, 151). The source for this stone is the next big bay east of Ballintaggart, at Minard, where the beach is still covered with similar stones. Other ogam stones, also carved on this specific rock-type, occur in a circle around Dingle Bay and they include the MARIANI stone at Kinard East, with a Latin name and cross described earlier (see above, pages 91, 96). They also include two others from the townland of Lugnagappul which lies immediately to the north of Minard Bay. These have the very early name forms GOSSUCTTIAS and GAMICUNAS (*CIH* 190-191). A displaced stone of the same type is now kept in the grounds of Colaiste Íde at Burnham, on the other side of Dingle town - it too has an early name form, MAQQI-ERCCIA (*CIH* 175). Thus in this small area of the Dingle peninsula there appears to have been something of an ogam factory, in place probably by the fifth century, utilising local stones to produce memorials for local people. The potential international contacts represented by the ><OI-inscriptions and the MARIANI stone is only one half of the story and we should not divorce these ><OI stones from the history of the local communities in which they are found. In addition to the evidence for strong Romano-British influences amongst those who initially accepted Christianity, we have what appears to be the limited adoption of the Christian ><OI formula by a fifth-century, ogam-producing community on the Dingle peninsula. The fourth to fifth century C_{14} date from the excavation of the Christian site at Reask (see above, page 38), in the same general area as Ballintaggart, no longer looks quite as startling as it once did.



MAP 5: OGAM STONES OF 'PULVINAR SANDSTONE' FROM MINARD BEACH, CO. KERRY

4.5 The BRIGOMAGLOS stone

One of the two British stones with inscriptions beginning with names in the nominative followed by **HIC IACIT**, is the stone from Chesterholm. This reads: **BRIGOMAGLOS HIC IACIT ...ECVS** (*CIIC* 498). This is very much an outlier of the group for the others are concentrated in south Wales and Cornwall (Map 7) while this stone was found lying in a heap of stones in front of a cottage at Chesterholm, apparently taken from just beyond the north-east corner of the Roman site of Vindolanda on Hadrian's Wall (Bidwell 1985, 76). It is also one of the earliest in the series with displaced **HIC IACIT** as identified in Table 4. The element **-MAGLOS** becomes Old Irish *mál* which is an *o*-stem noun (DIL M 47:86-48:35) but the element is also found in British and the ending **-OS** here appears to be a British *o*-stem in the nominative (McManus, *pers. comm.*) Since it has not lost its **-OS** ending, the version of the name on this stone is pre-apocope and probably fifth century.

Jackson has identified it as a predecessor of the Old Welsh name *Briamail* or the Middle Welsh *Briafael* (Jackson 1953, 448; 1982, 62). A hypocoristic form of the same name is Brioc but Jackson does not think that one should associate the Vindolanda stone with Saint Brioc, whose cult is overwhelmingly Breton judging by modern church dedications (Jackson 1982, 62-3; Bowen 1969, 71). The etymology of the name, for what its worth, may be either something like "prince of the upland(s)" or simply "mighty prince" (McManus 1991, 103; Rivet & Smith 1979, 277-9) but one must bear in mind that the name-forms can have a currency quite regardless of their meaning. In favour of the former meaning or something akin to it, is the fact that letters from the first and second century AD written at Vindolanda mention a place, apparently in the vicinity, known as *Briga* (the heights/hills) (Bowman & Thomas 1983, 89, 92-3; *id.*, 1987, 129).

The final word in the inscription would seem to end in a Latinised nominative **-us**. In terms of its syntax Jackson links it to a stone at Llanaelhaiarn in north Wales which reads **ALIORTVS ELMETIACO HIC IACET** (*CIIC* 381, *ECMW* 87) and to another at Penbryn which reads **CORBALENGI IACIT ORDOVS** (*CIIC* 354; *ECMW* 126; Jackson 1982, 65). Nash-Williams suggests that the name **ORDOVS** indicates a connection with the Ordovices, a people who held control in north-central Wales in the Roman period (Nash-Williams 1950, 102). The personal name **CORBALENGI** is pre-syncope with a Latinized ending.

MAP 6: LATIN MEMORIAL STONES WITH
DISPLACED *HIC IACIT* INSCRIPTIONS



The syntactical parallels would thus link the **BRIGOMAGLOS** stone with north Wales and would point towards a relatively early date for this style. It remains possible, however, that both the **BRIGOMAGLOS** and the **CORBALENGI** inscriptions are modified examples of the misplaced **HIC IACIT** group, and therefore, influenced to some degree by Irish practice. ^{slaw}

The forts at Vindolanda (for there are two) were excavated a number of times and the publication report for the 1980 investigations places the material discovered then within the context of the earlier discoveries (Bidwell 1985). The first fort was founded *c.* AD 122-4 and the second *c.* 223-5. There was evidence for major alterations and repairs to barracks *c.* 370 or shortly after in this second fort, possibly to be connected with the activities of Count Theodosius who was responsible for a general refurbishment of Roman defences at roughly this period.⁵⁹ A 367 coin of Valens which showed some sign of wear was perhaps the most significant chronological indicator of this particular phase (Bidwell 1985, 72). Following this, barracks were demolished and replaced by another building, probably no earlier than *c.* 400. Beyond the building there was evidence of flagging and possibly contemporaneous with this, an east-west wall with trench-built foundations was found over the remains of the north rampart (*ibid.*, 74-5). No closely datable finds were found from this phase but it seems reasonable to assume that the demolition of the barracks refurbished *c.* 370, did not take place until *c.* 400 if not a good deal later. A pennanular brooch of possibly sixth to seventh-century date and of Anglo-Saxon type was also found "above the door-sill" of the south gate of Fort No. 2 (*ibid.*, 37-8).

Along the line of the north and east defensive walls of Fort No.2, earlier workers found evidence of repairs consisting of propping large ashlar blocks and rubble against the lower courses, perhaps to support the wall when it had begun to buckle outwards. The Roman wall may then have become the core of a steep-sided bank, possibly crowned by a palisade or dry-stone wall. P.J. Casey has recently pointed out that similar traces of post-Roman occupation have been noted on a number of forts along Hadrian's Wall, in particular those which are recorded as having been manned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Casey 1994). This is a list of Roman army units, the portion of which dealing with the western empire

⁵⁹ This refurbishment followed Theodosius' victories against the "barbarian conspiracy" of Picts and Scots alluded to in chapter 1 (see above, pages 2-3).

appears to have been drawn up c. AD 408 but with corrections being inserted until AD 423 (Jones 1964, III 347-380). Casey links this phenomenon to the fact that investigation of palaeobotanical samples from the area of the wall suggests that the area did not revert to a basically woodland landscape until sometime in the sixth century. This he interprets as evidence that the food supplies in the local area did not diminish following the withdrawal of Roman administration. Watchtowers on the east Yorkshire coast he sees as the focus for Pictish attacks in the immediate post-Roman period and he suggests that the Picts sailed around the area of the wall and attacked further south because of a strong British *cum* Roman force which continued to defend the wall itself. Ken Dark has also argued for a sub-Roman fortification of the wall though he seems to believe that the British authorities in question may have controlled the entire frontier zone, as far south as the erstwhile legionary base at York (Dark 1992b). Both scholars suggest that the limited evidence for early Saxon activity in this area, notably at the forts of Corbridge and Binchester, can be understood in the context of British authorities hiring Saxon soldiers as mercenaries.

This is rather different from the older model first proposed by Ian Richmond (1940) and later expanded by Peter Hunter Blair (1947, 27-31). Against an academic consensus which saw the Romans withdrawing from the Wall as early as c. AD 383, they argued that the Romans had created two federate kingdoms in the vicinity of the Wall, ruled by *praefecti gentium* or client-kings. The basis for this argument was the existence of Latin names in the ninth and tenth-century genealogies of the kings of Strathclyde and Gwynedd. The name of one king, *Patern* - a British form of the Latin *Paternus*, was followed by the adjective *pesrut*, or red-cloak. This they saw as a reference to the imperial purple. Purple cloth is, however, a commonplace in post-Roman periods as a symbol of power: Cormac mac Airt, for example, in the Old Irish text *Scéla Éogain inso ocus Cormaic*, is said to have been covered with a purple cloth as a boy who is heir to the kingship of Tara (O'Daly 1975, 64-72). The early material in these genealogies is highly questionable (see Miller 1974-5 and Kirby 1976-78 for discussion) and it seems difficult to accept the epithet *pesrut* as sufficient in itself for their sub-Roman bonafides. The Richmond/Hunter Blair model was also queried on other grounds by J.C. Mann; namely, that no late fourth-century pottery, commonplace in the forts and associated settlements on the wall, was found in the areas to the

north. This is incomprehensible in his view if the area around the wall was ruled by client-kings of the Romans (Mann 1974, 35).

However we understand the transfer of power from Roman to post-Roman authorities in the area of Hadrian's Wall, it is clear that the **BRIGOMAGLOS** stone provides data which should be incorporated into any explanation. At some point in the fifth century, a man with a British name was commemorated in a style which bespeaks north Welsh and possibly Christian Irish influence. This seems, on the face of it, to indicate that either the deceased or the man who carved the stone was an emigrant from Wales or further afield. What incentives did the community around Hadrian's Wall offer to encourage such a man to move north?

If one accepts that the traces of early Saxon material found in forts along the wall represents the activity of mercenaries, one could speculate that Brigomaglos was also a soldier for hire. This would agree with the location of the stone close to what appears to have been a defensive structure in the fifth century. Scholars working on the barbarian migrations of fifth-century Europe are quick to point out that, despite the ethnic labels used by the contemporary chroniclers, each war-band did not necessarily represent a single people. The Saxons who settled in south-eastern England apparently included Franks within their ranks (Evison 1965, 126-44; Welch 1994, 270), the Franks included Alemanni, Herules and Frisians (James 1988, 35-8) and the smaller groups, such as the Alans, apparently took service with whoever was prepared to employ them (Bachrach 1973, 26-73). Fifth-century armies consisted of men who owed loyalty solely to the commander who could afford to pay them (Liebeschuetz 1986) - ethnic identity was of minimal importance. In the political vortex that was the result of the fall of the western Roman empire, there is nothing inherently implausible about Saxons, Welshmen and possibly even Irishmen working side by side to defend Hadrian's Wall for a Romanised Briton.

The other element to consider here is the probability that Brigomaglos was a Christian. A **HIC IACIT** stone exists immediately to the north-west of Vindolanda, at Liddel Water in Liddesdale (Thomas 1991-2, 3). This reads **HIC IACIT CARANTI FILI CVPITIANI** or "Here lies (the body?) of Carantus, the son of Cupitianus"; in other words, this is an inscription with **HIC IACIT** in initial position, followed by the name in the genitive as in the Irish ogam tradition. Another, rather longer inscription, from Kirkmadrine in the Rhinns of Galloway is inscribed **HIC IACENT SCI. ET PRAECIPVI SACERDOTES, ID EST**

VIVENTIUS ET MAVORIVS - "Here lie the holy and distinguished *sacerdotes*⁶⁰, that is Viventius and Mavorius" (*ibid.*, 2). In both of these the **HIC IACIT** formula is in the position it would normally hold on Continental inscriptions which, as we have seen, are fifth-century in date and generally belong to the first half of that century. Like the Irish stones, however, the Liddel Water stone gives the personal name in the genitive rather than in the nominative or occasionally dative as was the norm on the Continent. Other monuments, such as "The Yarrow stone" at Whitefield or "The Cat-stane" in Midlothian use other Continental formulae such as **IN HOC TUMULO IACIT** (in this grave lies) and **MEMORIA PERPETUA** (an everlasting memorial) (*ibid.*, 3-4), the dates of which have yet to be studied in detail in a British context. Allied to these Christian memorial stones, perhaps, is the late fourth-century hoard from Corbridge. This was discovered in the eighteenth century and included a bowl, now lost, ornamented with *chi-rho* symbols along the rim and possibly a beaker, with the Christian message *Desidere vivas* (Thomas 1981, 113). Other *chi-rho* symbols on stone are known from Catterick and Maryport (Wall 1965, 212-4). Finally there is the great fourth or fifth-century hoard at Traprain Law, a hill-fort some twenty miles east of Edinburgh which held coins of Constantine III (AD 407-11) and the Emperor Honorius (AD 395-423). It also contained some hundred and ten pieces of metalwork, mainly of Gaulish origin, amongst which were at least six pieces with Christian ornamentation. These included a flagon ornamented with biblical scenes, a small flask with the *chi-rho* symbol, silver spoons with fish and *chi-rho* symbols and a wine-strainer with a *chi-rho* and the inscription **IESVS CHRISTVS** (Wall 1966, 147-50).

This evidence, from between Hadrian's Wall and the Forth, and stretching as far west as Kirkmadrine, bespeaks a Continentally-influenced Christianity quite different from that of the insular Christian memorials of Brigomaglos and Carantus. Nor is this surprising. The emperor Constantine had given the Christian church favoured status in the Roman empire at the beginning of the fourth century and three bishops, a priest and a deacon from Britain attended the council convened at Arles in AD 314, to condemn the African Donatists (Gaudemet 1977, 60-1). British bishops accepted grants to attend the council of Arminium (modern Rimini in Italy) in 359/60. The bishop Vitricius of Rouen paid a visit to Britain in the 390s (Myres 1960, 23). The late fourth-century Briton, Pelagius, had a

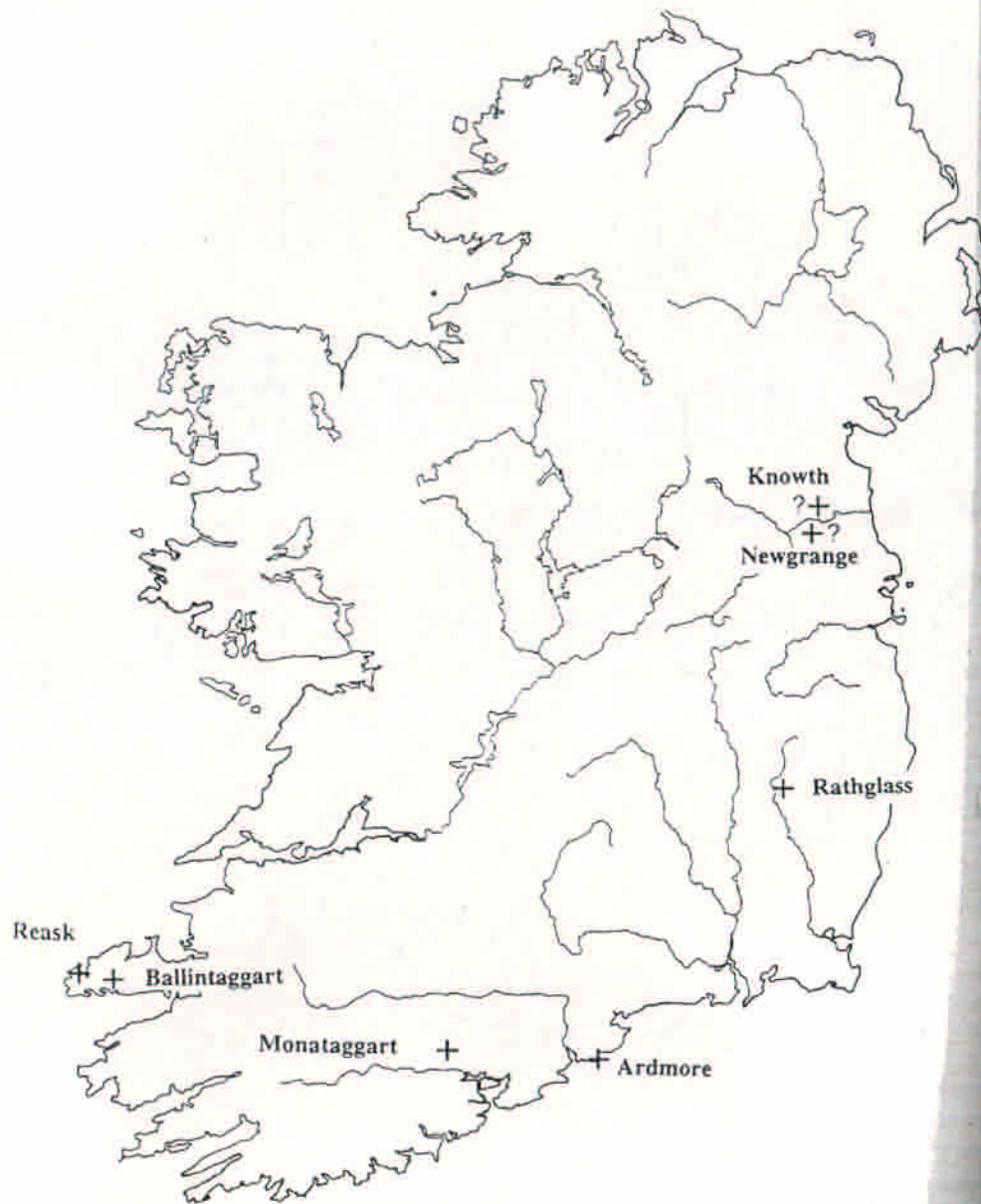
⁶⁰ *Sacerdotes* could mean either priests or bishops at this period

career in Rome where he developed a heresy which was hotly contested by Augustine in Africa and Jerome in Palestine and condemned by a council of two hundred and fourteen bishops meeting in Carthage. In what the chronicler Prosper of Aquitaine describes as a papal initiative, the bishop Germanus of Auxerre is sent on a mission to eject the Pelagian doctrine from Britain c. AD 429. Germanus' biographer, Constantius of Lyons, describes a second visit to Britain c. 448. The late fifth-century cleric Faustus of Riez who spent much of his career in the south of France is described as a Briton who remained in contact with his countrymen throughout his life. The early church in Britain was closely tied to developments on the Continent and was, in particular, influenced by its nearest neighbour Gaul. In what may, numerically, have still been a relatively small community of Christian believers in north-west Europe, contacts between British churchmen and their Continental counterparts was constant, even after Britain had become independent of the Roman empire (Thomas 1981, 42-60; Esmonde Cleary 1989, 121-8).

In listing these references to British clerics abroad one is saying nothing that has not been said many times before. The new element in this discussion is the proposal that Irish christianity - introduced to Ireland from the Continent - also contributed to the development of this nascent British church. The suggestion that stones with displaced **HIC IACIT** represent an attempt to render Irish ><OI implies that Irish Christians were active in Britain in the fifth century. As noted above, links between Christians on both islands are also suggested by the reference to what appears to be the Coritani of Leicestershire on a Christian ogam stone at Ballyhank, Co. Cork (see above, pages 108-111).

Since the ><OI formula does not appear on British ogams, it seems plausible that the original translation of **HIC IACIT** took place within Ireland itself. If the Irish were merely translating forms they had learnt in Britain one might expect to find ><OI-monuments in Britain. If a Continental origin is accepted, ><OI stones would be only one of a number of different indications of sub-Roman Gaulish influences reaching Ireland in the fifth century and later. Palladius, sent as the first bishop of the Irish, is normally identified with the deacon of Auxerre, who encouraged the Pope to send the missions of Germanus of Auxerre to combat Pelagianism in Britain (Mommsen 1891, 473). In his *Confessio*, Patrick refers to his wish to visit brethren in Gaul while in the *Letter to Coroticus*, he shows a knowledge of Gallic Christians who ransom

MAP 7: AREAS OF CHRISTIAN ACTIVITY IN
FIFTH-CENTURY IRELAND



captives (Conneely 1993, 44, 72, 54, 79). The seventh-century writer Muirchú gives a garbled account of Patrick's conversion at the hands of a bishop, *Amathorege nomine*, and this has been understood to be an early Celticised version of "Amator", which was the name of Germanus' predecessor in the see of Auxerre and to whom the fifth-century basilica of Auxerre was dedicated (Bieler 1979, 74; Binchy 1962, 86, O'Rahilly 1957, 16-17). The Gaulish church was closely tied to the western papacy in the early fifth century and Thomas Charles-Edwards has recently shown that the papal mission to the Irish remained a matter of concern at the highest political level within the church at Rome for ten years or more (Charles-Edwards 1993a). To these inferences drawn from documentary evidence, one might also add the Christian memorial stone from fifth-century Trier, which is dedicated by his wife to the memory of SCOTTUS (Diehl 1925, 2253; Göse 1958, 18; Krämer 1974, 34) and the references to various individuals also known as *Scottus* on various pots and amphorae from the southern Rhône valley (evidence cited in Krämer 1974, 37). The ><OI-stones represent but one of the pieces of evidence that part of the christianising influence on fifth-century Ireland stemmed from Gaul.

conversion
to the
episcopacy

A striking feature of these contacts abroad is the fact that the list of British contacts with Gaul, as recorded in our meagre documentary sources, is not that much longer than the Irish one. The tradition of secular Roman dominance, did not, so it appears, have any major effect on the relations of the fifth-century British church with the Continent. If the Palladius appointed to Ireland is the same man who proposed Germanus' mission of reform in Britain, this puts the level of official fifth-century Gallic interest in both islands on a par and there seems no reason to assume that many Continental church authorities felt the need to oversee developments in either Britain or Ireland in any great detail. The chronicler who is our witness for both the Irish appointment and the British mission is one who was particularly interested in Pelagianism and it is in this context that his entries on both events should be interpreted (Muhlberger 1990, 48-135; James 1993). Jerome's jibes that British heretics had breath heavy with Scottic porridge and that Pelagius' offspring could be found among the Scots who lived in the neighbourhood of Britain (Fremantle 1954, 491) may not have been the rhetorical flourishes that have traditionally been assumed.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In 1994, Charles Thomas published a book in which he discussed the ogam stones of south Wales and Cornwall and their value as historical documents in an otherwise undocumented age. He summarises his views as follows:

"As field monuments, their archaeology resides in patterns of siting and in their connections with ecclesiastical or secular locations. As inscribed records the epigraphy, controlled by the typological model set up earlier and the linguistic nature of individual names allow restrained inferences about Demetian society through time during two centuries or more. This last aspect is concerned with distinctions between identifiably Irish or British names and the use of continuing-Roman ones" (1994, 91).

Thomas thus dates the ogam stones of Wales primarily through the use of epigraphy and secondly through typology. The first is largely dependent on the work of Nash-Williams (1950) as modified by Dark (1992a); the second is a categorisation of his own:

"Type (a) memorials are those exhibiting nothing but the ogam script; anything else on these stones, like incised crosses, represents later additions unconnected with the epitaphs. Type (b) comprises memorials usually known as 'bilinguals', those where a message in ogam and in Irish is accompanied by one of the same content (and, usually, length) in Roman lettering, capitals and occasional book-hand letters, and in Latin. ... There is a recognisable sub-set of type (b) when the bilingual is very short, confined to a single name, and when often the name in one of the versions has an added qualifier. Type (c) memorials have the Roman-lettered, Latin inscription in full - in the shape Of-A, *FILI* of-B for instance - but only the first name, the deceased as 'A' or 'Of-A' is repeated in ogam. In the type (d) memorials the new element is the presence of any Latin wording - and *HIC IACIT* 'here he (or she) lies' with

variations is the commonest of these - that indicates a Christian memorial. This is not to say that types (b) and (c) stones may not also commemorate baptised Christians but we have no *direct* evidence that they do so. On a few type (d) memorials, the name of the dead person in ogam may still be given. Finally there are a good few stones with Roman lettering only, the inscriptions generally short and in the style Of-A, of-the-son-of-B which are described here as untyped" (1994, 69-70).

On the next page, Thomas states that Professor Jackson on the grounds of linguistic developments foremost and epigraphic ones secondly, did arrive at a stepped typology matching the proposed (b) to (d) without realising it or presenting conclusions in that way. Jackson did not discuss type (a) stones which, on Thomas' premise, are a monument type introduced to south-west Britain by Irish settlers at the beginning of the fifth century and the first in his typological sequence of overlapping steps.

"This is no more susceptible to proof than are current ideas about when the ogam script arose and when ogam first appeared on stones in Ireland but it might be thought to be typologically indicated and it might be thought to accord with views as to what certain type (a) memorials really represent" (1994, 71).

Having grouped the south-western British stones according to this typology and examined their distribution in relation to prominent features in the surrounding landscape, Thomas concludes:

"The inscribed memorial stones of south-west Wales, with their vertical modality, owe their inception to Ireland. The style was brought with them by raiders who turned into settlers, who may have known what Rome stood for but who became Christians (and Latinate) *after* their arrival, through coming into contact with sub-Roman Christian Wales" (1994, 324).

The sub-division of ogam stones into discrete categories, the examination of those categories in relation to the location and typology of the monuments concerned and the ordering of the stones into an approximate chronological sequence marks an important advance in our study of ogam stones to date. In this investigation Thomas has built on the work of Bullock (1956) and has drawn the attention of this generation of scholars to the importance of ogam stones and the associated memorials inscribed with Latin letters as evidence for the history of these islands and most particularly, the interaction of Irish, Britons and Romans in the fifth and sixth centuries. Similarly, the gradual spread of Christianity to parts of these islands where it had hitherto been unknown or had been forgotten, can be charted through the formulae and the iconography used on these stones.

In this short monograph, I have chosen not to follow the categorisation used by Thomas because, in its dependence on epigraphy and typology, it contravenes the dating evidence for the linguistic development of Primitive and Archaic Irish as recently outlined by McManus. Examining Nash-Williams' catalogue for type (a) stones, which are dated by Thomas to the early fifth century, for example, I have found four stones which only have ogam inscriptions. These are (i) *ECMW* 319 which reads EF(E)SS(A)NG(I) ASEG(NI) and has a linear Latin ringed cross deemed by Nash-Williams to be a later addition; (ii) *ECMW* 296 which reads M(A)Q(I) QAGTE and which Nash-Williams saw as damaged and possibly incomplete; (iii) *ECMW* 300 which reads NETTASAGRU MAQI MUCOI BRECI and also has a cross, this time with roughly square limbs and rounded armpits and (iv) MAGL(IA?) DUBR(ACUNAS? MAQI...)INB with crosses and a Latin inscription in half-uncial letters which Nash-Williams thought to be early ninth century. To this list of four, Thomas adds *ECMW* 150 (*CIIC* 368) which has both ogam and Latin inscriptions dedicated to different people. The ogam reads DUMELEDONAS MAQI M(UCOI...) and the Latin reads **BARRIVENDI FILIVS VENDVBARI HIC IACIT** (Thomas 1994, 98). Elsewhere, in his discussion of Scottish stones (1991-2), he identifies another five stones as being of type (a): *CIIC* 500; with ogam (E)B(I)CATOS M(A)QI ROC(A)T(O)S and Latin **ANMECATI FILIUS ROCATI HIC IACIT**; *CIIC* 501 which reads CUNAMQLI MAQ...; *CIIC* 502: (...)MAQ LEOG(...) and *CIIC* 506: VICULA MAQ CUGINI.

There is a high proportion of damaged stones in this list which makes the evidence difficult to evaluate but interestingly, amongst the nine stones, there are three instances of crosses and four with Latin inscriptions. These could all, of course, have been added later as Thomas indicates but it does mean that there are very few examples of his type (a) in what may be called a "pure" form. Linguistically, these stones include pre-apocope forms like DUMELEDONAS and (E)B(I)CATOS which are dated to the fifth century on the orthodox absolute chronology but they also include forms like MAQ which are post-apocope. Given the evidence for conservative tendencies with regard to ogam spelling, the principle must be that a linguistic date for an inscription derives from its latest form which, in turn means that the existence of a post-apocope form means the stone must belong to the sixth century on the orthodox chronology.

The attribution of all Christian formulae to the last category in the typological sequence - type (d) - also poses problems. On Thomas' dating these belong to the later sixth and possibly early seventh centuries. As noted above (see pages 103, 105), **HIC IACET** memorials on the Continent are normally of fifth-century date and there are reasonable grounds for assuming that British **HIC IACIT** stones, where they parallel the Continental examples in style, belong to a similar period. The **BRIGOMAGLOS** stone incorporates a **HIC IACIT** formula, with a name which is pre-apocope in form and probably fifth-century in date. An Irish derivative of the **HIC IACIT** formula, namely the use of ><OI on ogam stones of Ireland has been shown in this book to belong, on linguistic dating, to the fifth and first half of the sixth century (see above, 105-6). The associated British stones with displaced **HIC IACIT** are apparently of sixth-century date (see pages 106-7).

If one cannot accept the typology used by Thomas, it follows that the mapping of the distribution of types (a) to (d) tell us little about historical developments, although, as already mentioned, the idea of mapping sub-groups of memorial stones against the background of their contemporary landscape is a useful one. In this volume I have proposed alternative sub-groups for the Irish material, based primarily on the use of specific formulae or iconography. These are (i) ogam stones associated with Maltese crosses; (ii) ogam stones which begin with the nominative form ANM; (iii) ogam stones which incorporate Latin names and (iv) ogam stones incorporating the element ><OI.

These distinctive styles have been dated according to the linguistic criteria outlined first by Jackson⁶¹ and most recently by McManus. Their absolute dating depends heavily on certain stones which, from an archaeological and historical perspective, are undated. Although the sequence of pre-apocope, post-apocope and syncope which they outline appears valid and their dating of the earliest stones to the fifth century seems corroborated by the radiocarbon dates for the inhumation burials at Kiltullagh, the fact remains that this method can only logically be used in creating a relative chronology. The specific date at which the sequence begins is still unknown although a final date, by which the sequence must come to an end, is provided by the Early Old Irish forms in seventh-century documents. Thus, when I use fifth century in subsequent paragraphs, this should be understood as meaning fifth century or earlier.

Using the linguistic method of dating, the ogam stones with Maltese crosses appear to be later sixth and early seventh century in date, with the Maltese design continuing to be used for Latin-letter inscriptions until the early eighth century. (This accords with the evidence for similar cross-forms on dated memorial stones from Spain and Gaul.) Ogam stones whose inscriptions begin with ANM can all be identified as post-apocope in date since ANM itself is an apocoped form. One also occasionally finds forms on ANM inscriptions which are post-syncope in date. This would suggest that the bulk of the stones in this category belong to the later sixth or even early seventh century.

The Irish ogams with Latin names, in contrast, are all pre-syncope. One of the six is definitely pre-apocope, another (AMADU) is potentially so and two have either orthodox Latin genitive forms or pre-apocope Irish *o*-stem endings. These stones with Latin names, therefore, would seem to belong to the earlier half of the dating range for ogam, possibly fifth to approximately the first half of the sixth century. This is also the period to which the stones incorporating the ><OI formula should be assigned. The British stones which have displaced **HIC IACIT**, suggesting a translation of the Irish ><OI, may continue till a slightly later date, for at least one personal name is post-syncope and another is ornamented with a Maltese cross.

It is in these two earlier sub-groups of Irish ogams, those commemorating men with Latin names and those incorporating the ><OI-

⁶¹ I would not agree with Thomas' assessment that Jackson's linguistic chronology corroborates Thomas' typology for the reasons explained above.

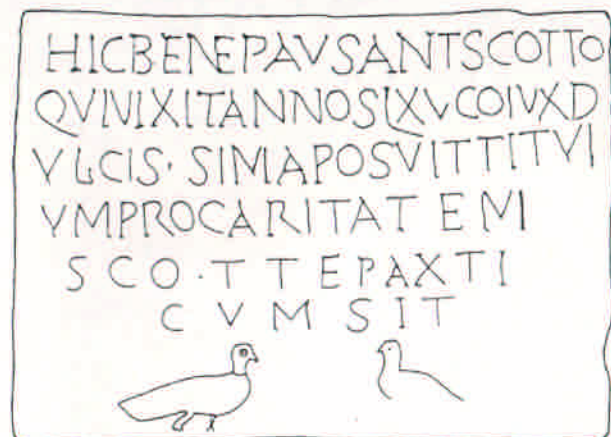
formulae, that the parallels with Roman practice, both on the Continent and in Britain, seem clearest. The stones are inscribed with the Irish form of writing, on monuments which show clear parallels with the pillars used to mark inhumation burials at Kiltullagh but the commemorations inscribed on the stones are to Irishmen adopting Roman burial formulae, to Irishmen whose fathers have Latin names or to men with Latin names whose ethnic origins remain unknown. One is reminded of Barry Raftery's dictum in relation to the Irish Iron Age: "the island has always imposed its personality on incoming cultural traditions, rapidly metamorphosing the innovating elements so that they acquire, or appear in, a distinctively Irish form" (1994, 224). Rather than limiting our search for Roman parallels to those artefacts which have been clearly imported from Rome, as in the traditional interpretation summarized by Ó Corráin at the beginning of this book, we should be looking more closely at modifications in Irish practice, which may bespeak the arrival of influences from abroad.

In all four of these sub-groups, there are also strong indications of the presence of Christianity. The ANM formula is thought to derive from Christian burial formulae using the word *nomen* and five of the twenty examples are ornamented with crosses; the word ><OI derives from another Christian formula using the phrase **HIC IACET** and at least two have crosses; two of the six stones with Latin names have associated crosses and the Christian element in the Maltese cross group is self-explanatory. Damian McManus has argued, on linguistic grounds, that the cult of ogam begins in the Christian period (1991, 60), and this view is strengthened by the more detailed archaeological analysis proposed here.

In view of the strong Christian presence detected in even the earliest of our ogam stones, one can look again at the vexed question of St Patrick and the dates of his mission. It is a central tenet of this book that the cultures of Ireland and Britain, by virtue of their geographical proximity, have been continuously in contact and have each had a nuancing affect upon the other. This obviously varies depending on the specific regions involved; contact is most visible along the east coast of Ireland and the west coast of Britain, and more specifically in the vicinity of ports such as Dublin Bay, or Holyhead; rivermouths such as the Boyne or peninsulas such as Dyfed, Cornwall or the Rhinns of Galloway. Contacts with other parts of Europe, such as may possibly be indicated by the patronymic on the stone from Monataggart, Co. Cork (which shows similarities with the

Gaulish system), or the more convincing parallels for the Maltese crosses in Spain, tend to be most visible in the southern parts of Ireland.

Though Ireland is one of the most westerly and, therefore, one of the more remote parts of Europe, it was never cut off from its neighbours. The extra expanse of water may have kept it relatively safe from large-scale invasions but the people of the island took part in most of the widespread cultural developments which have occurred in western Europe. One of those major changes was the adoption of Christianity following the conversion of the Roman emperor Constantine at the beginning of the fourth century. At that date, as represented by the attendance at the council of Arles in 314, the Christian religion was largely limited to the Mediterranean lands with eight bishops attending the council from northern France and only three from Britain. The cult spread more widely in the north-west and Britain in the course of the later fourth and fifth centuries. It has always been recognised that Patrick's undated mission to Ireland, together with that of Palladius in the 430s, represented an element in that growth. What this study proposes is that the documented missions of Patrick and Palladius should not be seen in isolation but as part of the wider establishment of Christian practice, witnessed through archaeological and linguistic analysis of ogam stones, in a light but widespread scattering of fifth-century communities throughout the southern half of Ireland. Members of such Irish communities or their sixth-century descendants also played a part in ensuring the survival of the Christian religion within sub-Roman Britain.



THE SCOTTUS STONE FROM FIFTH-CENTURY
TRIER

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(E)B(I)CATOS, 123; 124

*CORBAGNAS, 107

*QRIMITER, 70; 78

*SAGITTARUS, 95

><OI, 57; 64; 67; 68; 97; 99; 100; 101; 104; 105; 106; 107; 110; 118; 124; 125; 126

A><ERAS, 99

abbaith, 66

Adomnán, 58; 77

Africa, 88; 89; 102; 118

Aghascrebagh, 103

Aglis, 79

Agricola, 5; 6

Ahlqvist A., 63

Aitcheson N.B., 28

Alcock E., 80

ALIORTVS, 112

Allen J.R., 80

Almagest, 10

Alpha, 80

AMADU, 90; 91; 95; 96; 107; 125

Ammianus Marcellinus, 2; 3

ANDAGELLI, 100

Anderson M., 58; 77; 80

Anglesey, 105

Anglo-Saxons, 2; 4; 114; 116

ANM, 79; 83; 84; 85; 87; 88; 89; 124; 125; 126

ANMAIN, 78

ANMECATI, 123

Annals of the Four Masters, 38

Annals of Ulster, 22

INDEX

Antonine Wall, 7

apocope, 50; 53; 57; 64; 65; 66; 69; 70; 76; 84; 87; 89; 90; 91; 93; 94; 99; 105; 106; 107; 112; 124; 125

Apollo, 14; 16

APVSTOLI, 80

Archer S., 4

Archaic Irish, 50; 123

Ardmoneel, 73

Ardmore, 90; 91; 95

Armagh, 21; 38; 39

Armstrong, 58; 60

army, 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 13; 24; 25; 55; 114; 115

Arraglen, 70; 71; 72; 74; 76; 78; 79; 88

ASEG(NI), 123

Ashmore, 80

Atecotti, 7

Auraicept na nÉces, 87; 99

Auxerre, 118

AV(I), 74

AVI, 57

axal, 67

bachall, 67

Bachrach B.S., 116

BADAGNI, 90

baithes, 66

Balline, 5; 6; 24; 69

Ballinrannig, 42

Ballinrees, 4; 5; 69

Ballintaggart, 97; 105; 107; 110

Ballintermon, 47

Ballinvoher, 90; 91

Ballyboodan, 97

Ballycroghan, 29

Ballyhank, 97; 107; 118

Ballyknock, 84; 85; 87

Ballynoe, 29

Ballyvourney, 80

barbarian conspiracy, 2; 3; 7; 114

BARRIVENDI, 123

Bateson J.D., 4; 17; 18; 19; 20; 37

Baynes N.H., 15

beads, 17; 18; 38

Beaker period, 9; 28

BECCDINN, 76

Bede, 80

Bhreathnach E., 39

Bible, 42

Bidwell P.T., 112; 114

Bieler L., 16; 21; 33; 38; 45; 57; 58; 72; 76; 79; 93; 95; 120

Binchester, 115

Binchy, 1; 43; 120

Bischoff B., 57; 58; 60; 72; 78

Blaise A., 13

Bland R., 4; 20

Blocc, 32

Blue Bridge, 100; 101; 103

Bluigne, 32

BODVOCI, 100; 106

Boheh, 30

bone, 18; 20; 28; 29; 33; 42

Book of Armagh, 21; 39; 58

Book of Durrow, 73

boundaries, 36; 37; 41; 42; 43; 44; 47; 49; 79; 83

Bowen E., 112

Bowman A.K., 6; 112

Bracken G.G., 30

BRAVECCI, 100; 106

Bray, 37

Breatnach L., 67

BRECI, 123

Brecknockshire, 100

Breeze D.J., 5; 19

Bridell, 47

Briga, 112
BRIGOMAGLOS, 100; 104; 112; 114; 116; 117; 124
 Britain, 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 17; 19; 20; 24; 25; 31; 35; 36; 39; 45; 52; 55; 56; 71; 72; 83; 89; 95; 99; 100; 101; 104; 117; 118; 120; 122; 126; 127
 British, 1; 3; 4; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10; 12; 13; 14; 17; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 25; 28; 36; 47; 49; 55; 56; 61; 62; 69; 72; 89; 90; 93; 95; 96; 99; 100; 101; 103; 104; 106; 110; 112; 115; 116; 117; 118; 120; 121; 122; 123; 124; 125
 Brittany, 11; 35; 36; 112
BROCAGNI, 100; 103
BROCANN, 85; 103
BROGAGNUS, 80
BROHOMAGLI, 76
BROINIENAS, 97
 Bronze Age, 17; 27; 28; 29; 30; 31; 33; 34; 39; 44; 46; 47
 Brown T.J., 57; 58
BRRUANANN, 94
BRUSCCOS, 107
 Buckley V., 44
 Bul'lock J.D., 123
 Burenhult G., 17
 Burgundy, 6
 burial markers, 34; 37; 39; 47; 49
 burials, 11; 17; 18; 19; 25; 28; 29; 30; 31; 34; 35; 36; 37; 38; 39; 40; 42; 47; 49; 70; 107; 125; 126
 Burl A., 29; 30; 31

Burnett A., 4
 Burnfort, 90; 91; 94; 95; 96
 Burnham, 110
 Bury J.B., 12
 Byrne F.J., 21; 22
 Cabrol F., 73
 Cadfan, 57
 Caernarvonshire, 105
 Caher Island, 71; 80
 Caherlehillan, 80
 cairns, 9; 27; 28; 30; 31; 44
 Calder G., 87
CALLIACI, 107
 Calry, 78
CALUMANN, 85
 Canburrin, 85
capall, 8
 Cape Clear, 35
CARANTI, 116
 Carantus, 116; 117
 Carbury Hill, 24
 Carey J., 105
 Carlow, 90; 96
 Carmathenshire, 103
 Carnbane West, 28
 Carney J., 8; 45
 Carrowbeg North, 18
 Carrowkeel, 27
 Carrownacaw, 29
 Carson R.A.G., 17; 28
cásc, 67
 Casey P.J., 114
 Cashelkeely, 30
CASONI, 85
 Castledor, 100; 101
 Castlestrange, 31
Cathach, 71
CATOTIGERNI, 100; 103
 Catterick, 117
 Caulfield S., 18
 Cavan, 13; 31
CAVETI, 100; 103
CAVNE, 76
CELI, 84; 85
Cell Fine, 107

Cell ingen Cormaic, 107
 Celts, 7; 8; 10; 11; 12; 16; 24; 35; 47; 50; 105
 cemeteries, 17; 18; 28; 35; 38; 39; 40; 41; 42; 44; 47; 49; 78; 83; 93
 ceremonial centres, 28; 33; 34; 39; 44; 46
 Chadwick N.K., 10; 12
 Charles-Edwards T., 43; 44; 55; 120
 Chesterholm, 100; 102; 103; 106; 112
chi-rhos, 24; 70; 72; 73; 77; 78; 79; 80; 96; 106; 117
 Christianity, 12; 15; 16; 20; 22; 23; 24; 37; 38; 40; 44; 47; 49; 67; 69; 73; 83; 95; 96; 102; 106; 110; 117; 118; 122; 123; 126; 127
CHRISTVS, 117
 Church Island, 76; 78; 88
Ciic, 14; 51; 57; 60; 76; 78; 80; 84; 85; 87; 88; 89; 90; 91; 93; 94; 96; 97; 99; 100; 103; 105; 106; 112; 123
CIRVSINIVS, 100; 101; 104
 clerics, 1; 46; 70; 76; 118
 Cloghan, 71; 80
 Clogher, 33
 Clonmacnoise, 18; 71; 72; 96
 Clonoura, 7; 9
 Close-Brooks J., 80
Codex Usserianus Primus, 58; 60; 72; 78
COIMAGNI, 91

coins, 3; 4; 5; 17; 18; 19; 20; 28; 49; 64; 73; 114; 117
 Colbinstown, 57; 90; 91; 97; 107; 110; *see also* Killeen Cormac
 Coles B., 13
 Colgrave B., 80
Collectanea, 72; 93; 95
 Collessie, 9
 Collingwood R.G., 36; 95
 colonies, 2; 96; 104
 Columbanus, 23
COMOGANN, 70; 77
Confessio, 1; 13; 15; 21; 23; 24; 118
 Connachta, 33
 Conneely D., 3; 13; 15; 16; 21; 23; 24; 120
 Constantine III, 4; 117
 Continent, 4; 7; 10; 23; 35; 47; 64; 72; 88; 89; 101; 102; 104; 110; 117; 118; 120; 124; 126
 Coolineagh, 85; 87; 88; 89
 Coolmagort, 42; 51; 97
 Coomleagh East, 84; 85
 Cooney G., 11; 19; 27; 28; 34; 39; 45
CORBAGNI, 97
CORBALENGI, 112
CORBI, 97
 Corbridge, 15; 115; 117
 Corcoran J.X., 10; 12
 Coritani, 110; 118
 Cork, 29; 30; 35; 42; 80; 83; 84; 89; 90; 94; 96; 105; 107; 118; 126
 Corlett C., 11; 37
 Cormac mac Airt, 115
 Cornwall, 76; 79; 83; 101; 103; 104; 106; 112; 121; 126

COROTANI, 97; 107
Corpus Iuris Hibernici, 43
CORRE, 85
Coth(a)irche, 53
Cothrige, 52; 65; 67
 Coumduff/Knockane, 74; 80
 Crawford, 7
 cremation, 31; 35; 39; 47
 Crawford O.G.S., 7
 Cribbin G., 38; 44
 Crickhowell, 60; 61; 100; 101
 Croagh Patrick, 30
croch, 67
 cross-bow brooches, 7
 crosses, 7; 33; 35; 38; 40; 41; 48; 49; 56; 70; 71; 72; 73; 74; 76; 77; 78; 79; 80; 83; 88; 89; 93; 95; 96; 106; 107; 110; 121; 123; 124; 125; 126; 127
 Cruachu, 32; 33
crumther, 67; 70
CRUNAN, 85
CUGINI, 123
 Cuilbane, 29
 cult, 1; 13; 15; 16; 21; 24; 25; 30; 31; 32; 35; 39; 40; 46; 48; 72; 79; 95; 112; 126; 127
CUNEGNI, 93
 Cunliffe B., 5; 10
 Cunomaglos, 14; 16; 25
CUNORIX, 54
 Cuppage J., 27; 42; 44; 47; 57; 70; 77; 79; 80; 84; 94; 106
 Curle J., 7
 Curraghmore West, 85; 87; 88
CVNOMORI, 100
CVPITIANI, 116
Cynn, 93

D(O)V(A)TUCEAS, 76
 Dark K., 56; 62; 64; 115; 121
 Darrynane Beg, 85
 Davies O., 31
DDECCEDA, 91
 De Paor L., 1
dechon, 67
 dedications, 16; 35; 37; 41; 47; 80; 112
DEGLANN, 80; 85; 87
DEGO, 51
DEGOS, 51
DEI, 84
 deities, 25; 31; 37; 41; 44
 dendrochronology, 10
 Derry, 4; 31
 Derrygarrane South, 85
 Derrykeighan, 31
 Derrynane, 84; 85; 87
 Diehl E., 88; 93; 95; 101; 102; 120
 Dingle, 44; 83; 107; 110
DINVI, 100
DIS MANIBUS, 102
 Dobson B., 5; 6; 19
DOBTVCI, 76
 documentary sources, 11; 18; 22; 25; 39; 42; 50; 104; 120
DOLIGENN, 85
 Dolley M., 4
DOMNICI, 100; 104; 106
 Donaghmore, 97
 Donaghpatrick, 32
 Donard, 97
 Donegal, 38; 71; 80; 83
DOCATI, 103
 Dooley, 38
 Dooghmakeon, 80
DOVATTAC, 74; 76
DOVATUCI, 76
DOVINIAS, 97
DOVVINIAS, 97

Down, 19; 29
 Doydon, 79; 100; 101;
 103; 106
 Dromatouk, 30
 Dromlusk, 47
 Drumlohan, 42
 Drummond S.K., 8
 Drumnacur, 80
 Drumnahare, 29
 Drumqueran, 73
 Drung Hill, 79
DRVVIDES, 57; 107
 Dublin, 4; 19; 37; 64;
 126
 Duignan M., 31; 32
DUMLEDONAS,
 123; 124
 Dumfriesshire, 7
Dumha na nGiall, 32
 Dumville D., 1; 53
DUN Aidonas, 91
 Dunalis, 103
 Dunlewy Far, 80
DUNOCATI, 100
 Duvillaun More, 71; 80
DVOCATI, 100; 103
 dynasties, 2; 5; 15; 49;
 54; 69
ECMW, 14; 60; 61; 76;
 78; 89; 93; 95; 100;
 103; 105; 112; 123
 Edinburgh, 117
EF(E)SS(A)NG(I), 123
EIVS, 76; 100
 Eliade, 34
ELMETIACO, 112
 Emain Macha, 34
EMERETO, 93
 Emlagh, 107
 Eogan G., 17; 22; 27;
 29; 38
 Eogan J., 11
 epigraphy, 55; 56; 62;
 121; 123
EQUESTRI, 88
 Esmonde Cleary A.S.,
 4; 20; 118
 Esposito M., 1

EST, 116
ET, 76; 100; 116
ETERNALI, 100
 Europe, 3; 9; 35; 64
 116; 118; 126; 127
 Evison V. 116
exploratores, 6
 Faha, 80; 83
 Fanning T., 38; 40; 41;
 71; 83; 88
FATTILLOGG(.), 85
FAU(ni), 84
 Feerwore, 34
 Fermanagh, 17; 71
DUMLEDONAS,
fertae, 18; 39
 Fife, 9
FILI, 76; 100; 101;
 116; 121
FILIA, 76
FILIAE, 100
FILIE, 100
FILIUS, 100; 101; 123
FILIVS, 100; 123
 Findermore, 33
FINTEN, 41; 58; 60;
 80
flagellum, 8
 Foley C., 11
forfeda, 87; 99
 Fortwilliam, 84; 85; 87
 France, 35; 93; 118;
 127
 Fremantle W.H., 120
frenum, 8
 Frere S., 7; 95
 Furness, 28
Gaesati, 8
 Galloway, 72; 83; 116;
 126
 Galway, 18; 31; 34; 77;
 94
GAMICUNAS, 94; 110
GATTEGLAN, 85
 Gaudemet J., 117
 Gaul, 4; 7; 9; 11; 35;
 36; 37; 61; 72; 73;
 74; 89; 95; 102; 105;

106; 117; 118; 120;
 125; 127
 Genesis, 40; 41; 47
 genitives, 36; 53; 54;
 76; 77; 83; 84; 90;
 91; 93; 95; 96; 100;
 101; 102; 103; 104;
 106; 116; 125
 Germanus, 118; 120
 Germany, 6
 Giant's Ring, 4; 18; 25
 Gildas, 14; 53; 54; 6
 Glamorgan, 101
 Gleensk, 44
 Gloucestershire, 4; 19
 gods, 13; 14; 15; 16;
 17; 20; 21; 24; 25;
 35; 36
 Göse E., 120
GOSSUCTTIAS, 94;
 110
 graves, 17; 18; 22; 28;
 32; 35; 36; 38; 39;
 40; 41; 42; 43; 47;
 49; 64; 68; 73; 78;
 80; 83; 88; 106; 117
 Great Connell, 38
 Greek, 10; 35; 63; 87;
 99
 Green M., 13; 15; 16;
 19
 Greene D., 50
 Grogan E., 11; 19; 34;
 38; 39
Gūbretha Caratmiad,
 43
 Guortepir, 53; 54; 68
 Gwynedd, 105; 115
 Gwynn L., 14
Gwynhoedl, 93
 Hadrian's wall, 6; 7; 8;
 15; 19; 112; 114;
 115; 116; 117
 half-uncial, 56; 57; 58;
 60; 61; 72; 78; 88;
 123
 Hallstatt, 10; 11; 35

Hamlin A., 33; 38; 40;
 70; 71; 72; 80
 Hanson R.P.C., 1; 15;
 16
 Harbison P., 29; 71; 79
 Harvey A., 52; 54; 63;
 64; 67; 69
 Helias, 14; 15; 16; 25
 Henig M., 12; 15; 36
 Henry F., 71; 74; 80;
 96
 Herity M., 18; 27; 28;
 29; 71; 73; 74; 80; 96
 Herren M., 53
 Herrin J., 7
HIC IACET, 64; 89;
 99; 101; 102; 104;
 106; 112; 124; 126
HIC IACIT, 100; 101;
 102; 103; 104; 105;
 106; 112; 114; 116;
 118; 121; 123; 124;
 125
 Higgins J., 57; 78
 hoards, 4; 6; 20; 24; 69;
 84; 117
HOC, 117
 Hoffmann D., 7
 Hogan E., 33; 107
 Hughes K., 23
 Hunter-Blair P., 115
 Hutton M., 5; 6; 10
 IAQINI, 97
IATTI, 76
IC IACIT, 76; 100
ID, 116
IESVS, 117
IHC, 100
IN, 27; 41; 49; 102;
 117
 Inchagoill, 57; 58; 60;
 74; 77; 78; 79; 83
 ingots, 3; 4; 5; 24
 inhumations, 17; 22;
 35; 38; 39; 40; 42;
 47; 49; 64; 70; 125;
 126
 Inishkea North, 80

Inishmurray, 96
INISSIONAS, 94
immunda, 13; 25
 Iona, 77; 78; 83
IRCCITOS, 94
 Ireland, 1; 2; 3; 7; 9;
 10; 11; 12; 14; 16;
 17; 18; 20; 21; 22;
 24; 25; 27; 29; 31;
 32; 35; 37; 38; 39;
 40; 43; 45; 46; 47;
 49; 53; 55; 56; 57;
 61; 62; 64; 67; 69;
 71; 72; 73; 77; 89;
 94; 95; 96; 100; 102;
 104; 105; 106; 110;
 118; 120; 122; 124;
 126; 127
 Irish Sea, 9; 13; 14; 16
 Irishmen, 2; 3; 6; 7; 8;
 13; 21; 24; 103; 116;
 126
 Iron Age, 7; 9; 10; 11;
 13; 16; 17; 18; 19;
 22; 25; 27; 28; 29;
 31; 32; 33; 34; 35;
 38; 39; 44; 46; 49;
 126
 islands, 1; 2; 3; 4; 9; 10;
 13; 16; 25; 45; 72;
 73; 83; 104; 118;
 120; 123
 Italy, 7; 24; 89; 93; 117
IVACATTOS, 57
 Jackson K., 11; 50; 52;
 53; 54; 55; 56; 57;
 61; 62; 63; 68; 69;
 72; 77; 84; 91; 103;
 104; 112; 122; 125
 James E., 116;
 James N.W., 120
 Jerome, 7; 118; 120
 jewellery, 3; 17; 18; 20;
 21; 25; 28; 49
 Johns C., 4; 20; 24; 84
 Johnston S., 45
 Jones A.H.M., 5; 24;
 105; 115

Jones B., 15
 Kavanagh S., 76; 78
 Keeley V., 38
 Keenrath, 84; 85
 Kelly E., 32;
 Kelly F., 8; 58; 72
 Kemia, 35
 Kenney J.F., 11
 Keppie L., 36; 37
 Kerry, 4; 29; 30; 33;
 38; 41; 42; 44; 47;
 49; 51; 57; 70; 73;
 74; 76; 77; 79; 80;
 83; 84; 87; 89; 90;
 94; 96; 97; 99; 103;
 105; 107; 110
 Kilcoolaght, 85
 Kildare, 24; 29; 31; 38;
 57; 90; 107
 Kilfountan, 41; 57; 58;
 60; 80; 83
 Kilgowan, 38
 Kilkenny, 4; 37; 76;
 106
 Killadeas, 71
 Killanin M.M., 32
 Killeen Cormac, 57;
 107; *see also*
 Colbinstown
 Killeenleagh, 74; 76; 78
 Killogrone, 85; 87; 88
 Kilmalkedar, 57; 58;
 85; 87; 103
 Kilnasaggart, 38; 40;
 41; 42; 83
 Kiltierney, 17
 Kiltullagh, 37; 39; 41;
 42; 44; 49; 64; 125;
 126
 Kinard East, 90; 91; 94;
 96; 110
 kingdoms, 2; 21; 33;
 104; 115
 kings, 5; 14; 23; 33;
 115
 Kirby D., 95; 115
 Kirkmadrine, 72; 116;
 117

Knight J., 102
 Knockshanawee, 42
 Knowth, 17; 22; 26; 27;
 28; 96
 Koch J.T., 1; 12; 53; 67
 Kramer K., 101; 102;
 120
 La Tène, 9; 10; 11; 32;
 35
 LABRID, 97
 Lacy B., 80
 Lambay Island, 37
 LAMINACCA, 97
 Lamoge, 76
 Lane Fox R., 24
 Lapidge M., 53
LAPIS ECHODI, 77;
 78; 79
 Latin, 7; 8; 14; 22; 35;
 40; 47; 52; 53; 54;
 55; 56; 57; 58; 60;
 62; 64; 65; 66; 67;
 68; 74; 76; 77; 78;
 80; 83; 87; 88; 89;
 90; 91; 93; 94; 95;
 96; 99; 100; 101;
 103; 104; 105; 106;
 107; 110; 115; 121;
 123; 124; 125; 126
LATINI, 100
 Le Blant E., 72; 73; 89
 le Bohec Y., 6
 Leach, 19
 Leclercq H., 73
 Legan, 97; 106
legión, 8
 legions, 4; 20; 55
 Leicestershire, 110; 118
 Lejeune M., 35; 37
 lenition, 8; 53; 66; 67
 LEOG(...), 123
Letter to Coroticus,
 118
 Letter West, 85
 Lewis C.T., 13
lia, 42
Lia Fáil, 32
 Liddel Water, 116

LIE, 77; 83
 Liebeschuetz J.H.G.,
 116
 Limerick, 5; 16
 Lionard P., 78; 96
 Llan y Mawddwy, 100
 Llanaelhaiarn, 112
 Llandarffe, 100; 101
 Llandanwg, 88
 Llandeilo Llwydiarth,
 100; 101
 Llandysilio West, 60;
 61
 Llangadwaladr, 60; 61
 Llangeler, 103
 Llangwryfyon, 100
 Llanllwyni, 60
 Llanwenog, 100; 101
 LLATIGNI, 85
 loan-words, 8; 66; 67;
 68; 99
LOC, 41; 80
loca, 7
 Lohar, 74
 Londonderry, 29; 103
 Lough Crew, 18; 20;
 27; 28
 Lough Gur, 38; 40
 Louth, 94
 Lugnagappul, 94; 110
LUGUAEDON, 77
 LUQIN, 85
 Lynch A., 30
 Lyon, 102
 M(A)QI, 123
 M(I)N(E)RC, 85
 M(UCOI), 85
 M<LEG>MRID, 87
 MAC, 41; 42; 43; 54;
 79; 85; 91
 Macalister R.A.S., 14;
 28; 31; 41; 42; 47;
 57; 58; 60; 77; 79;
 80; 85; 87; 88; 89;
 94; 97; 106; 107; 110
 Mac Cana P., 11
MACCI, 77; 83

MACCODECHETI,
 76
 MACI, 54; 76; 84; 85;
 87
 MacNeill E., 21; 29;
 47; 52
MACVS, 54
MAEL MAIRE, 78
 MAGANN, 85
MAGARI, 100
 MAGL(IA?), 123
MAGLAGNI, 100;
 103
 MAGLANI, 103
 MAGLICUNAS, 14
MAGLOCVN(I), 42
 -MAGLOS, 112
 MAILE-INBIR, 85
 Mallory J.P., 29
 Man, 14
manach, 67
LOC, 41; 80
 Mann J.C., 6; 115
 manuscripts, 21; 39;
 46; 48; 50; 56; 57;
 58; 62; 63; 65; 68;
 71; 72; 76; 77; 87;
 90; 103
 MAQ, 70; 77; 85; 87;
 91; 97; 123; 124
 MAQ(Q)I, 84; 89
 MAQI, 51; 79; 85; 89;
 91; 97; 101; 106; 123
 MAQQI, 54; 87; 97;
 107; 110
 MAQVI, 54; 85; 89
MAQVI COLINE, 54
 Margam, 100; 101
 MARIANI, 91; 107;
 110
Marianus, 95
 MARIN, 91
Marinus, 95
 Marruchi H., 93
 Marstrand C., 99
 Maryport, 7; 117
 Mattingly D., 15
 Maughnasilly, 30
 Maumanorig, 78; 79;
 84; 85

MAVORIVS, 117
 Mayo, 21; 30; 37; 44;
 49; 71; 80; 83; 96
 McCone K., 1; 7; 8; 11;
 45; 50; 51; 52; 53;
 66; 72; 90; 95; 105
 McManus D., 8; 14;
 27; 42; 43; 47; 50;
 51; 52; 53; 54; 55;
 57; 62; 63; 64; 65;
 66; 67; 70; 74; 76;
 77; 79; 80; 83; 84;
 85; 87; 88; 89; 90;
 91; 94; 97; 99; 101;
 103; 105; 112; 123;
 125; 126
 McNeill T.E., 29
 Meath, 4; 18; 21; 29;
 32; 33
MEDDOGENI, 85
MEDDUGENI, 84; 8
MEDIGENI, 84
 Medlycott M., 29; 33;
 34; 38; 44
MEDVGENI, 84
 Megaw J.V.S., 9
MELI, 93
Melus, 93
MEMORIA, 53; 117
MENUEH, 58; 60; 74;
 77; 83
MERCAGNI, 100
 mercenaries, 17; 24;
 115; 116
 metalwork, 10; 12; 32;
 64; 117
 Metlake G., 23
 Meyer K., 105
 Middle Irish, 8; 11; 28;
 32
 Middle Welsh, 11; 104;
 112
 Miller M., 3; 7; 115
 Minard, 110
 missions, 1; 21; 22; 23;
 25; 46; 95; 96; 107;
 118; 120; 126; 127
MOCCU, 107
MOCOI, 51

MOLEGOMRID, 85
 Mommsen T., 118
 Monatagart, 97; 105;
 126
 Moore F., 42; 44; 64
 Morris J., 45
 motifs, 11; 36; 56; 63;
 70; 73; 88
 mounds, 16; 17; 18; 19;
 27; 28; 29; 32; 33;
 34; 35; 38; 43
 Mount Brandon, 70; 78
MUCCOI, 97
MUCOI, 84; 85; 97;
 101; 123
 Muhlberger S., 120
 Muirchú, 39; 72; 120
MUIRETHACH, 72
 Mulchrone K., 107
 Mullaghmast, 31; 33;
 34
 Mynors R.A.B., 80
 Myres J., 117
 Mytum H., 5
NADOTTI, 100
 Nash-Williams V.E.,
 47; 55; 56; 60; 61;
 62; 68; 89; 101; 102;
 112; 121; 123
nationes, 6
 nativism, 45
 Nelson J.H., 8
 Neolithic, 9; 17; 19; 27;
 28; 29; 30; 32; 33;
 38; 39; 46; 49
NETA, 97
NETACUNAS, 85
NETTA, 97
NETTASAGRU, 123
NETTAVRECC, 97
 Nettleton, 14
 Nevern, 14; 93
 Newgrange, 4; 17; 18;
 20; 22; 24; 25; 27;
 28; 29; 49; 69; 96
 Newman C., 11; 32; 33
 Nicholls K., 107
NOMENA, 89

nominatives, 8; 36; 54;
 70; 83; 90; 101; 102;
 103; 104; 112; 117;
 124
NOMINE, 88
 Norfolk, 24; 84
 Northumberland, 102
Notitia Dignitatum, 7;
 114
Notulae, 58
NUADAT, 85
numeri, 5; 6; 8
 O'Brien E., 11; 17; 22;
 37
 Ó Broin T., 32
 Ó Cathasaigh T., 46
 Ó Corráin D., 1; 3; 23;
 46; 88; 126
 Ó Croínín D., 47
 O'Daly M., 115
 OGALA, 85
 Ogilvie, 5; 6; 10
 O'Kelly C., 17; 28;
 O'Kelly M.J., 29; 76;
 78
 Old Irish, 7; 8; 11; 14;
 28; 32; 48; 50; 52;
 53; 54; 58; 63; 66;
 68; 69; 70; 72; 76;
 78; 84; 87; 99; 103;
 105; 112; 115; 125
 Old Welsh, 104; 112
 O'Leary P., 35
 Omega, 80
 Omey Island, 78
ONERATI, 100
ORAIT, 78
 O'Neill T., 57
 Ó Nualláin S., 29; 30;
 31; 33; 35
ORDOVS, 112
 O'Rahilly C., 42;
 O'Rahilly T.F., 7; 16;
 120
ortha, 66
 Ó Riordáin A.B., 38
 Ó Riordáin S., 29; 38

O'Sullivan A., 27, 30, 44; 47; 74; 76; 78; 79; 80; 87; 88
 O'Sullivan W., 58; 60
 OVANOS, 57
 Oxfordshire, 19

PAANI, 93
PACE, 102
 pagans, 11; 15; 16; 24; 25; 37; 43; 46; 47; 93; 102; 106
 Painter K.S., 5; 20
pairche, 67
 palaeography, 57; 60; 62; 84
 Palladius, 22; 107; 118; 120; 127
 Parknasilla, 85
PASCENTI, 93
 passage tombs, 9; 17; 18; 27; 28; 32; 33; 39; 46; 49
Patricius, 52; 53; 55; 65; 67
 Patrick, 1; 2; 3; 13; 14; 15; 16; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25; 38; 53; 54; 67; 68; 72; 73; 76; 79; 95; 96; 118; 120; 126; 127
 patronymics, 35; 83; 84; 93; 94; 101; 103; 105; 126
peccath, 67
 Pelagianism, 117; 118; 120
 Pembrokeshire, 14; 47; 76; 89
 Penbryn, 112
 Penrhos-Lligwy, 60; 61
peregrini, 6
PERPETUA, 117
pesrut, 115
 Peter, 38; 41; 80
PETRI, 80
 Picts, 2; 3; 9; 80; 83; 114; 115
 Piggott S., 19

Piper E., 29; 30; 31
 Platnauer M., 3
 Pokorny J., 99
pölire, 67
 Pollacorragune, 18
 Potter T., 24; 84
 pottery, 3; 12; 22; 27; 38; 64; 72; 115
 Powell T.G.E., 10; 15; 16
 Power D., 44
PRAECIPVI, 116
praefecti, 115
pridchid, 67
 Primitive Irish, 7; 50; 65; 84; 91; 99; 103; 105
PRONEPVS, 100; 101
 Prosper of Aquitaine, 22; 49; 118
PROTICTORIS, 53
 Ptolemy, 13
 Punchestown, 29
PVVERI, 100; 101

Q(...)CI, 85
 QRIMITIR, 70; 77
QVENATAVCI, 100; 103

Raasay, 80
 radiocarbon, 10; 13; 17; 28; 30; 33; 37; 38; 40; 125
 Raetia, 8
 Raffin, 33
 Raftery B., 5; 7; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 17; 18; 19; 20; 24; 28; 31; 32; 39; 126
 Raftery J., 34
 raiders, 1; 2; 3; 4; 17; 25; 49; 55; 122
 Ralaghan, 13
 Ratass, 85; 88
 Rathgall, 34
 Rathglass, 90; 91; 96
 Rathlin O'Birne, 73

Reask, 38; 40; 41; 42; 49; 71; 80; 83; 110
 Reece R., 5
 Reim H., 35
 Renfrew C., 10
REQUIESCIT, 102
 Richards M., 104
 Richmond I.A., 7; 115
RIGOHENE, 100
RINACI, 89
 RINI, 97
 Ritchie A., 7
 RITTAUVVECAS, 76
 RITTECC, 76
 rivers, 4; 7; 17; 19; 20; 21; 26
 Rivet A.L.F., 7; 10; 112
ROC(A)T(O)S, 123
ROCATI, 123
 Roche J., 7
RODAGNI, 85
 Romano-British, 7; 12; 13; 16; 17; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 25; 28; 47; 49; 56; 69; 72; 95; 96; 110
 Rome, 49; 61; 64; 72; 80; 93; 95; 102; 118; 120; 122; 126
RONANN, 70; 77; 78; 80
 Roscommon, 31; 37; 44; 49; 94
 Ross A., 11; 13; 20
 Rouen, 11
 Ruggles C., 29; 30
 Rynne E., 32; 38

SABINI, 76
SACERDOTES, 116
 Saddington D.B., 6
 sagas, 11; 42; 48; 64
SAGITTARI, 91
SAINA, 85
SALVIANI, 100; 104
 Salway P., 3; 7; 37; 55
SCANDLAIN, 78

Scéla Éogain inso ocus Cormaic, 115
SCI, 116
 Scotland, 9; 18
SCOTTUS, 120
screptra, 66
SEDDOINI, 85
 settlements, 2; 27; 34; 38; 55
 Sharpe R., 95
 Sheehan J., 27; 30; 44; 47; 73; 74; 76; 78; 80; 87; 88
 Shee-Twohig E., 35
 Short C., 13
side, 16; 28
siliquae, 4
SILLANN, 85
silva Focluti, 21
 Simpson D.D.A., 9
 Sims-Williams P., 52; 54; 65; 76; 87; 99
 Sligo, 17; 72; 96
 Smith C., 7; 10; 112
Sol Invictus, 15
 Somerset, 4; 18; 19; 76
 Sotgiu G., 36
 Souter A., 13
 Southern P., 6; 8
 Spain, 72; 73; 74; 102; 106; 125; 127
 Speidel M., 6
 spelling, 50; 51; 52; 63; 67; 76; 84; 89; 90; 91; 96; 103; 124
 spoons, 24; 84; 117
 Springmount tablets, 58; 60; 61; 72; 78
srian, 8
sroigell, 8
 St Davids, 89
 Stacey R., 43
 Steer K.A., 77; 78
 Stevenson J., 64
 Steynton, 93
STI, 80
 Stokes W., 39
 stone circles, 29; 30

stone rows, 29; 30; 31; 39; 44
 Stoneyford, 37
 Strathclyde, 115
 sub-Roman, 4; 9; 115; 118; 122; 127
 Sutherland, 7
 Swan L., 32
 Sweetman P.D., 29
 Swift C., 17; 18; 20; 22; 28; 33; 34; 39
 syncope, 8; 50; 58; 60; 66; 69; 70; 76; 77; 87; 89; 93; 94; 104; 105; 112; 125

Tacitus, 5; 9; 13
Tain Bó Cúailgne, 12; 42
 Tara, 14; 18; 32; 33; 39; 115
TEGANN, 85
tellach, 43
TEMOCA, 85
 Temple Breccan, 78
 Templebryan, 84; 85; 88
 Templeogue, 19; 20
TENAS, 85
 Thetford, 24; 84
 Thomas C., 3; 17; 22; 24; 27; 34; 36; 37; 64; 72; 80; 96; 116; 117; 118; 121; 122; 123; 124; 125
 Thomas J.D., 6; 112
 Thompson E.A., 1; 12; 21; 24
 Thurneysen R., 8; 50; 53; 93
TIGERN, 84
TIGIRNICI, 100
 Tinnahally, 85; 87
 Tintagel, 71
 Tipperary, 7
 Tirechán, 21; 38; 39; 67; 72; 76; 79; 93; 95
 Todd J.H., 39
 Todd M., 5

TOICA><I, 51; 99
TOICAC, 99
TOICACI, 99
 Towyn, 61; 93
 Toynbee J., 20; 37
 Traprain Law, 117
treblait, 66
trebun, 8
 Treflys, 78
TRENACATUS, 100; 101; 103
TRENALLUGO, 97
 Trier, 4; 102; 120
TRILUNI, 100
TTRENALUGOS, 97
TUMULO, 117
 Turoe, 31; 34; 35
 Turner V., 9
TURPILLI, 100; 104
 Tyrone, 33; 103

Úath, 74
UDD(GLO)METT, 85
 Uhlich J., 77; 105
 Ui Chremthainn, 33
 Ui Dúnlainge, 33
 Uíey, 19
UXOR, 76

V><CUM><N, 87
VAILATHI, 76
 Valentia Island, 99
VECUMEN, 85
VEDLLOIGGOI, 85
VELVOR, 76
VENDESETLI, 93
 Vendryes J., 8; 88
VENDVBARI, 123
VEQI><AMI, 99
VERIMATE, 100
 Vichy, 74
VICULA, 123
VIDETTAS, 85
 Vindolanda, 6; 112; 114; 116
VINNAGITLET, 85
VIRR...ANNI, 85
Vita Columbae, 58; 77
Vita Patricii, 39

Vita Tripartita, 107
 VITALIANI, 93
 VITALIANI, 93
 VITALIN, 91
Vitalinus, 95
 Vitricius, 117
 VIVENTIUS, 117
 Vives D.J., 73; 101;
 102
 von Falck M., 74
 VORTIGURN, 94
 VOTECORIGAS, 53;
 54
 VOTEPORIGIS, 53
 vowel affection, 8; 66;
 67; 105
 VROCHANI, 76
 Vulgar Latin, 8; 67; 90;
 96
 VURUDDRANN, 85
 VXSOR, 100

Waddell J., 9; 33; 35
 Wales, 12; 57; 60; 78;
 88; 89; 93; 95; 99;
 102; 103; 104; 112;
 116; 121; 122
 Wall J., 117
 Warner R., 11; 17; 18;
 33
 Water Newton, 20
 Waterford, 42; 90; 94;
 95; 105
 Watts D., 20; 24
 Wayman P.A., 30
 weapons, 5; 7; 8
 Webster G., 55
 Webster J., 16
 Wedlake W.L., 14
 Welch M., 116
 Westmeath, 78
 Wexford, 94
 Whitefield, 117
 Whithorn, 80; 83
 Wicklow, 33; 34; 37;
 94; 105
 Wiltshire, 14; 25
 Winterbottom M., 14
 Woodman P., 17; 28

Woodward A., 19
 Wormald P., 46
 Worthyvale, 100
 Wright R.P., 36; 54; 95
 Wroxeter, 54; 68

Yarrow, 117

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