A Note on the Ogham Inscription from Buckquoy, Orkney

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I tentatively propose a new Gaelic interpretation of an ogham inscription on a spindle-whorl from Buckquoy in Orkney. In this interpretation, the spindle-whorl would be a gift from a man to a female spinster.

This short note concerns a circular ogham inscription on a chalk spindle-whorl excavated in 1970 from Buckquoy, Birsay, Orkney, belonging, perhaps, to the eighth century, although dates in the seventh or early ninth century should not be ruled out (Forsyth 1995: 678–9; Forsyth 1996: lxvii, 37,162–3; cf. Padel 1972: 11, 27). Kenneth Jackson (1977) and Oliver Padel (1972: 73–5) read it as (e/ )TMIQAVSALL(c/q), and consequently added it to the undeciphered corpus of ‘Pictish’ inscriptions (cf. Morris 1995: 20). However, Katherine Forsyth has shown that it should be read in the opposite direction, giving the reading ENDDACTANIM(v/lb), with no real indication of where the inscription begins (Forsyth 1995: 684–5, 687; Forsyth 1996: 167–71, 175; cf. Jackson 1977: 221). This she interprets as BENDDACTANIML, i.e. Gaelic bendacht [for] anim L. ‘a blessing on L.’s soul’, using a formula which is ubiquitous in the medieval Roman-alphabet inscriptions of Ireland (Forsyth 1995: 688–9; Forsyth 1996: 160–86; Forsyth 1997: 36), and which occurs once in an eleventh-century bilingual ogham/runic inscription from Killaloe, Ireland (McManus 1991: 130; Forsyth 1995: 689). This looks basically plausible. However, some aspects of her analysis do not seem entirely satisfactory. The
lack of the preposition for is disturbing. Of course a variant of the formula with
an archaizing independent dative is not out of the question, although
unparalleled (Forsyth 1995: 689; Forsyth 1996: 178). Additionally, the
abbreviation of the subject’s name in this way is unique in early insular Celtic
inscriptions (Forsyth 1995: 690), although there are comparable runic examples
from England (Page 1973: 172). Thus, I feel that it is worth revisiting the
alternative reading ANIM VENDDACT, suggested to Forsyth by Paul Russell
(Forsyth 1996: 177).

Forsyth is cautious about explaining VENDDACT as a personal name
containing *windo- ‘white, bright’. The reasons she gives for this caution
(Forsyth 1996: 177) are based on a misunderstanding of the etymology and
subsequent development of this element, and thus are in fact illusory.3 There
is, nonetheless, an apparent problem: the Gaelic reflex of *windo-, represented
by Old Irish find < Primitive Irish *windah, does not show lowering of /i/ to
/e/, impeded, according to standard doctrine (e.g. Thurneysen 1946: 46;
Schrijver 1991: 21; Schrijver 1995: 29; Schrijver 1997: 44; McCone 1996:
55, 110; cf. Rhys 1879: 161–2), by /nd/. Note, however, that Sabine Ziegler
lowering did occur in this position in Primitive Irish, with the form find being
due to subsequent raising in auslaut. If this be the case, compound names in
Find- must have been reformed analogically due to the semantic transparency
of the first element. At any rate, whatever the explanation, the Irish ogham
inscriptions show plenty of examples of VEND- beside only one doubtful
example of VIND- (Sims-Williams 2003: 76–7; cf. Rhys 1879: 115). Brittonic
forms in VEND-, VENN- are also extant: these could contain the feminine
form gwen < *windā (which can occur even in men’s names, e.g. Old Welsh
Guengat (Lloyd 1888: 47; cf. Davies et al. 2000: 180; Sims-Williams 2003:
40–1, n. 111)), or they could be orthographical, either under the influence of
Vulgar Latin e for i, or due to ancient Celtic confusion of e and i before nasal
+ stop, perhaps visible in numerous examples of names in Vend- from Roman
Britain and from the Continent (Sims-Williams 2003: 40, 76–8, 96; cf. Dottin
1920: 297; Evans 1967: 392–3; Sims-Williams 2006: 257; Delamarre 2007:
194; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009: 25; Falileyev 2013: 147–8). Of
course, some of these names may not contain *windo- at all, but some other
element – perhaps *wendo- ‘a single hair’ (Middle Irish find, finna (Matasović
2009: 413; cf. DIL, s.v. finna))?4
What of the second element? The abstract-noun suffix *-ak-t- which gives Old Irish -acht: Welsh -aeth (Thurneysen 1946: 167–8; de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 334–5; Zimmer 2000: 553, 555, 576) is extremely rare in personal names, despite Forsyth (1996: 177), but Irish ogham GOSSUCTTIAS, GOSOCTEAS, GOSOCTAS, Old Irish Gósacht, Gúasacht (i.e. gúasacht ‘danger, peril, difficulty; fear, anxiety’) could be relevant here, despite the different vowel (MacNeill 1909: 358; Thurneysen 1946: 452; Ó Corráin and Maguire 1990: 115; McManus 1991: 108; Ziegler 1994: 185). However, neither Irish **findacht nor Welsh **gwynnaeth ‘whiteness’ is attested. Otherwise, could it be connected with *-ag-t- the past participle of *-ag- ‘to go’, cf. Gaulish Ambactus, ambactus ‘servus’, Middle Welsh Amaethon, Cynaethwy (?), Old Irish ACTO, Acht(án) etc. (Evans 1967: 90, 128; McManus 1991: 106; Ziegler 1994: 122; Delamarre 2001: 35; Delamarre 2007: 209; Irslinger 2002: 245; Sims-Williams 2003: 178, 192; Cane 2003: 162; Meid 2005: 163; Falileyev 2007: 17; Falileyev 2013: 6; Falileyev 2014: 121, 136; Salinas de Fria 2013: 29–33; Wodtko 2013: 222)? Another possibility is the ancestor of Welsh aeth ‘pain, pang, grief; fear’ < *anx-tu-, probably seen in Middle Welsh Elaeth (Sims-Williams 2003: 179, n. 1083; Cane 2003: 19, 162). At any rate, I think that VENDDACT could be an otherwise unattested Celtic name. However, the lack of a genitive form in the inscription is a stumbling block to reading this as Gaelic ANIM VENDDACT ‘soul of Findacht (vel sim.)’ (Forsyth 1996: 177).

However, another possibility suggests itself to me. There is plenty of evidence for modern use of anam ‘soul’ as a term of endearment in Ireland and Scotland (see Dinneen 1927: 43; Mac Airt 1956; Thomson 1961: 35), comparable to Middle Welsh eneit ‘soul’, by extension ‘friend’ (GPC s.v. enaid). The earliest Gaelic examples of which I am aware are from the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Acallam na Senórach (e.g. Dillon 1970: ll. 11, 71, 130 etc.), but note the diminutive form anamán in a tenth- or eleventh-century poem (Murphy 1956: 37.10d). Could we then understand the Buckquoy inscription as Gaelic ‘to/from Findacht, a friend’ or some such? Both nouns would be independent datives. A further possibility occurs to me. Anam, when used as a term of endearment, can be preceded by m’ < mo ‘my’ (e.g. Dillon 1970: l. 71). The occurrence of to, do ‘your’ (abbreviated to t’ before vowels) beside mo, m’ in hypocoristic names in the insular Celtic
languages is well documented (see, e.g., Vendryes 1936; Evans 1970–2: 426; Jenkins and Owen 1984: 107; Zimmer 2007: 455–6). Rolf Baumgarten analyses these forms as having the force ‘X that you are’, i.e. ‘(dear) X that you (truly/uniquely) are’ (Baumgarten 1989: 102–5). Cf. Hiberno-English ‘your man’ calquing Irish mo dhuine. Could we here have T’ANIM as a variant of attested m’anam? In that case, the personal name would be VENDDAC, i.e. the attested Findach (O’Brien 1962: 643).

How would this fit with comparable inscriptions? I am unaware of any other ogham inscriptions on spindle-whorls, although a spindle-whorl inscribed with ‘ogham-like’ marks was discovered at Burrian, North Ronaldsay, Orkney (MacGregor 1972–4: 92; Forsyth 1996: 509–10; cf. Padel 1972: 15). We do have some runic inscriptions on insular spindle-whorls, however. A Norse runic inscription on a spindle-whorl discovered somewhere in the Northern Isles of Scotland (exact provenance unknown) reads Gautr reist rúnar ‘Gautr wrote the runes’ (Liestøl 1984: 232; Forsyth 1995: 691; cf. Padel 1972: 15). An Old English example from Whitby reads Wer, probably a male personal name (Page 1973: 171–2). Spinning is an activity which is historically associated with women, so it is surprising to see these male names on spindle-whorls. Perhaps they were given as gifts by the named men to female spinsters. An alternative interpretation of the Whitby inscription, ultimately rejected by R. I. Page, might support this idea: it could be a common noun wer, a northern form of West Saxon waer ‘token of friendship’ (Page 1973: 171). Katherine Forsyth (1995: 692; 1996: 182; cf. Padel 1972: 15) discusses a Norse example of an inscribed spindle-whorl, now preserved in Reykjavik Museum, given as a gift to a woman from a man (Thora mig frá Hruna ‘Thora owns me from Hruni’). Note also the corpus of spindle-whorl inscriptions in a mixture of Gaulish and Latin from Roman Gaul (specifically from what is now eastern and east central France). Wolfgang Meid (1994: 53) describes them as follows: ‘These short texts are, either in a subtle or in a more direct way, erotically suggestive. They are, as a rule, addressed to young women; the implied speakers are, of course, young men.’ We have corroborative evidence from other languages, then, of the inscription of spindle-whorls by men as gifts for female spinsters. Therefore, my interpretation of the Buckquoy inscription would not be unprecedented.

The question of the linguistic affiliation of the ‘Pictish’ ogham inscriptions has yet to be settled. They have largely defied elucidation, and a number of
scholars have concluded that they are evidence for a non-Indo-European Pictish language (e.g. Rhys 1892; Rhys 1898; Macalister 1940; Jackson 1980; Padel 1972: 37–40; Padel 2015, 165–6; Isaac 2005: 78; Sims-Williams 2012: 431). This has been challenged by Katherine Forsyth, in the light of recent opinion that the only language spoken in Pictland in the ancient and early medieval eras was a Brittonic Celtic one, ultimately supplanted by Gaelic (e.g. Smyth 1984: 46–53; Foster 1997: 7; Koch 2003: 76; Fraser 2009: 52–3; Driscoll 2011: 252). Nonetheless, none of the inscriptions has proved amenable to a Brittonic analysis, despite some overoptimistic statements to the contrary (see Rodway forthcoming). However, Forsyth has analysed some of the other putatively Pictish inscriptions as Gaelic, most promisingly that at Dunadd (Forsyth 2000; cf. Forsyth 1996: 227–42). The latter, despite having been previously analysed as Pictish, is of course in the heart of Gaelic Dál Riata, so, if Gaelic, it can be straightforwardly excised from the Pictish corpus. The others, in Forsyth’s analysis, would reflect Gaelic influence in Pictland, and should be seen as outliers of the small corpus of Gaelic ogham inscriptions from Argyll. They should not be seen as evidence in favour of the long-discredited notion that the Pictish language was closely related to Gaelic. The Buckquoy inscription, being on a portable object, could have been carved any distance from the find site. However, it seems likely that the stone used was local (Collins 1977; Forsyth 1995: 680, 693; Forsyth 1996: 164, 184). Thus, if accepted as being a Gaelic inscription, it has nothing to tell us about Pictish, but it may be indicative of a Gaelic presence (perhaps ecclesiastical) in Orkney in the pre-Viking period (Forsyth 1995; Forsyth 1996: 183–5).

Notes

1 In this paper, I use **BOLD CAPITALS** for transliterations of ogham inscriptions, **CAPITALS** for inscriptions in the Roman alphabet, and _lower case italics_ for forms recorded in manuscripts. For ogham inscriptions, I follow Forsyth’s conventions, as described in Forsyth 1996: lxxxiii (cf. Forsyth 1995: 694, n. 6; Forsyth 2000: 267, n. 2): ‘Uppercase letters reasonably certain. Lowercase letters doubtful. If a reading is uncertain, alternatives are given in brackets in decreasing order of preference, separated by an oblique stroke, e.g. (t/u), most likely – T, alternative reading – U; ( /a/h), most likely – no letter, alternative...
reading – A, least likely – H. [...] Underline – two letters in one character compendium, e.g. EA, RR. [...] - portion of unknown length lost at beginning; [- portion of unknown length lost at end.’

2 The damaged Kilalloe inscription reads BENDACHT ... TOROQR ... McManus (1991: 130) restores ‘with reasonable certainty’ BENDACHT FOR TOROQRIM ‘a blessing on Thorgrim’.

3 Note also that her suggestion (Forsyth 1996: 177) that VENDDACT could be ‘an archaic form of Findach’ is impossible, as the latter name never contained /t/.


6 And cf. Sims-Williams 2003: 273 on BARRECTI, if this is to be segmented *barro-ekt- rather than *barro-rektu- with syncope (Sims-Williams 2003: 18, 130, 273). This would fit Nash-Williams’s fifth-century date for the relevant inscription better than a syncopated form (Sims-Williams 2003: 354), but perhaps, in view of the common occurrence of *rektu- in Celtic personal names (Evans 1967: 109, 241–2; Ziegler 1994: 225; Koch 1997: 221), ‘it is easier to suppose that there was an early haplography in *Barro-recti owing to the occurrence of two homorganic consonants’ (Sims-Williams, in Edwards 2013: 413). The following Old Irish female personal names may or may not contain the suffix under discussion: Ciannacht (Watkins 1963: 227; a back-formation from the population-group name Cían(n)acht(a)?), Indecht (O’Brien 1962: 666; cf. indecht ‘indiction’ < indictio (DIL s.v. indecht)?), Muirecht (Ó Corráin and Maguire 1990: 140). Indract, an Irish saint venerated at Glastonbury, seems to derive, perhaps via Old English *Indrac(h)te, from Irish Indreachtach (Lapidge 1982: 187). On the saint’s name Attracta ~ Adracht < *ad-drk-to- ‘the expected one’, see Lambert 2008: 144. For a possible example of Middle Welsh Gwryaeth ‘manliness’ (< *Wiro-akt-) as a personal name, see Jones and Parry Owen 1991: 127.

7 Note, however, Irish Finnecht, the name of a saint and the mother of another, [*d]erived from finn “fair” according to Ó Corráin and Maguire (1990: 102). The <e> is hard to account for, however – should we instead be thinking of a derivative of Latin vindicta? Or could it derive from finnech, an attested variant
of finnach ‘hairy, shaggy’ (DIL s.v. finnach)? For Welsh abstract nouns formed from gwyn (gwynder etc.), see Zimmer 2000: 312. The Gaelic abstract is finne.

8 The Welsh form shows the change /nxt/ > /xt/ > /iθ/ seen in Seithin < Sanctinus (Jackson 1953: 406; Sims-Williams 2003: 178, n. 1076, 179, n. 1083; Cane 2003: 162). The name would then have to be Brittonic, in which case the ND and possibly the E would be due to Gaelic influence (see Sims-Williams 2003: 78, 81). For écht as the first element in Gaelic personal names, see Ó Corráin and Maguire 1990: 83; Uhlich 1993: 238.

9 It is tantalizingly reminiscent of Olfinecta, Ollfinachta in the notoriously intractable Pictish regnal list (Skene 1867: 5; Van Hamel 1932: 82), although this is probably to be connected with the Gaelic name Finnechta, Finsnechta < fin ‘wine’ and snechta ‘snow’ (Ó Corráin and Maguire 1990: 102), with the prefix oll- ‘all’ (see de Bernardo Stempel 2003; cf. Evans 1967: 106, 237–8; Faileyev 2013: 106–7).

10 Cf. Meyer 1910: xxiv; Murphy 1956: 212–15; Carney 1969–70: 304–12 on the date. Cf. the usage of cride ‘heart’ as a term of endearment in Irish, extant in poems from the late Old Irish or early Middle Irish period (DIL (s.v. cride (c)); Baumgarten 1994: 124). The diminutive form cridecan occurs in an Old Irish poem, dated to c.800 by Gerard Murphy (Murphy 1956: 112).

11 Cf. Uindacius from Roman Britain (Delamarre 2007: 200); Middle Welsh Gwynnog (Bartrum 1966: 195); Breton Guenoc, Guene (Loth 1908: 295–6). Welsh Gwenog may be unrelated (Wmffre 2004: 265–6), and note that Findach could be a hypocoristic form of FINDBAIR (Russell 1990: 18; cf. Russell 2001: 239 on hypocoristic -ach).

12 Padel (1972: 15) also mentions ‘a whorl with radial decoration in the Perth museum’. Note also a decorated spindle-whorl discovered at a Viking Age site in Glenshee, Perthshire, in the summer of 2015; according to David Strachan of Perth and Kinross Heritage Trust ‘some of the symbols look like they could be writing, perhaps Viking runes or Ogham inscription’ (reported in The Courier, 26 June 2015, http://www.thecourier.co.uk/news/local/perth-kinross/cryptic-symbols-may-hold-key-to-glenshee-s-viking-agepast-1.886742 (accessed 6 April 2016).


14 Further discussion at Lambert 1994: 122–5; Clackson 2012: 44.

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Abbreviations


Bibliography


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