

THE DOLMENS OF IRELAND.



THE  
DOLMENS OF IRELAND,

THEIR DISTRIBUTION, STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS,  
AND AFFINITIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES;  
TOGETHER WITH THE FOLK-LORE ATTACHING  
TO THEM; SUPPLEMENTED BY CONSIDERATIONS ON THE  
ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND TRADITIONS  
OF THE IRISH PEOPLE.

WITH FOUR MAPS, AND EIGHT HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS,  
INCLUDING TWO COLOURED PLATES.

BY

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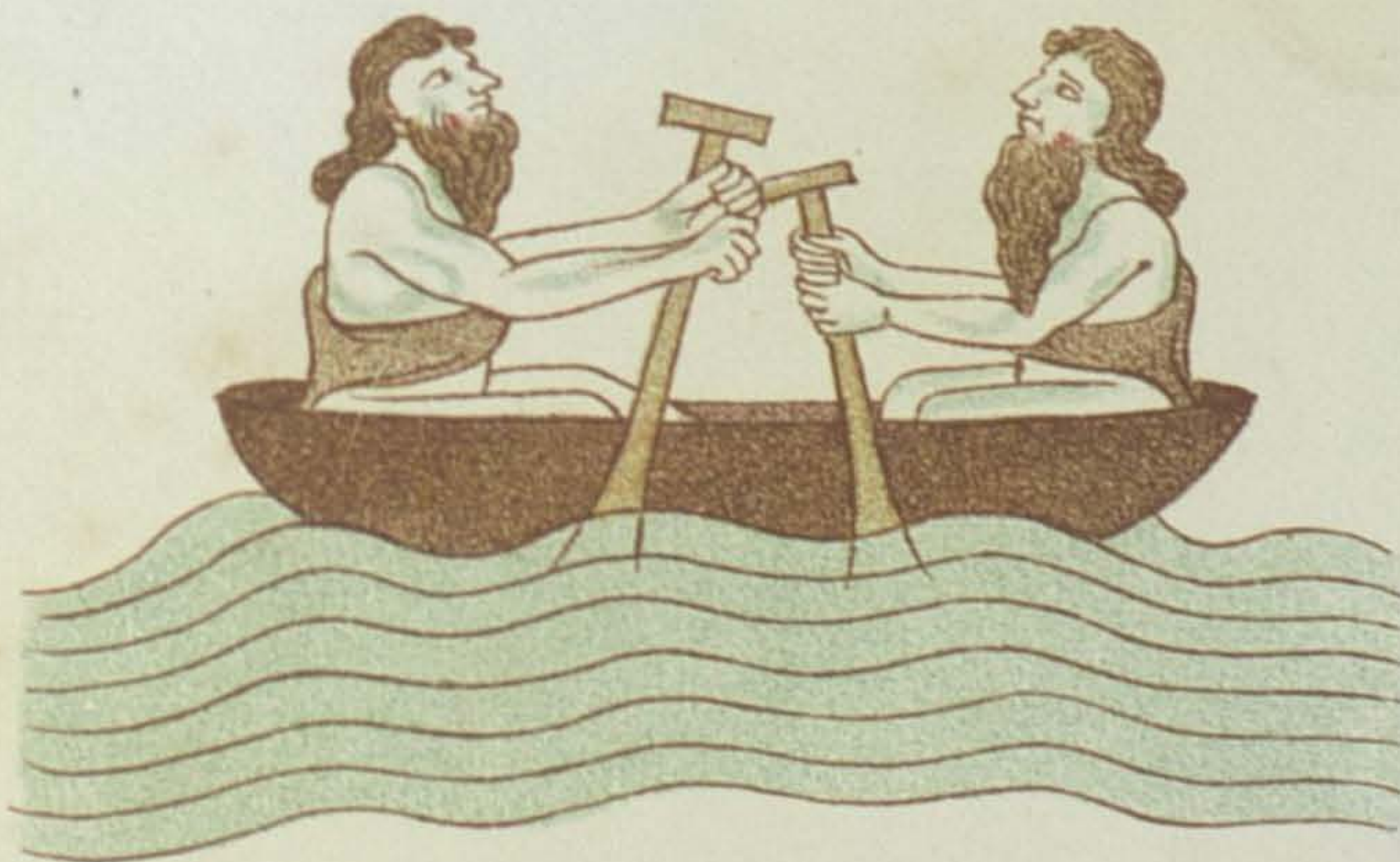
1897.

X





IRISH LADY ON HORSEBACK.



IRISH CORACH.





# THE DOLMENS OF IRELAND.

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## PART II.

### THE DOLMENS AND CHAMBERED TUMULI.

(Continued.)

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#### NORTH AFRICA.

THE dolmens of North Africa have next to be considered. In 1872, General Faidherbe† published his plans of the dolmen-fields—cemeteries, as he termed them—in Algeria. Each of these groups comprises a vast collection of dolmens. The first, that of Roknia, is estimated to contain no fewer than three thousand of these monuments; the second, that of Ain-Bou-Merzong, two thousand; the third, that of Oued Berda, two thousand; and the fourth, that of Tebessa, about five hundred. The writer of the communication speaks of having examined personally no less than five or six thousand examples in all.

The native Mahommedans know them by the name of the “Tombs of the Djouhala,” that is to say, in Arabic, of the “Ignorant,” or the “Idolaters.” The bodies found in them are not burnt. Vessels of very coarse pottery are found with them, and in rare cases bracelets or rings of bronze wire. M. Bourguignat discovered some small objects in silver. In those at Guiotville, near Algiers, M. Berbrugger discovered some worked flints. As a general rule, the number of vessels is found to correspond with that of the human bodies, whether of men, women, or children, which the dolmen contains.

One circumstance with respect to the interments in these structures, General Faidherbe finds it difficult to explain. It

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† “Comptes-rendus du Congrès préhistorique.”



is that so great are the numbers of bodies, the remains of which are found in one single vault, that, had those bodies been placed in it whole and entire, the space would have been too small to have contained them. The inference seems to be either that the bodies were cut to pieces and compressed into a small space, as was the custom of the Iberes in the Balearic Isles, and in South-Eastern Spain, where they were so treated and placed in jars, or that, at the time of interment, the flesh, either by process of time, or in accordance with some prevalent custom, had been separated from the bones. With regard to the skulls taken from these dolmens, it is stated that out of eighteen which were perfect enough to admit of being measured, the maximum cephalic index was 85 and the minimum 75. Ten out of the number were dolichocephalic, that is, below 75; four were sub-dolichocephalic, ranging from 75 to 77; two were mesaticephalic, from 77 to 79; two sub-brachycephalic, from 80 to 84; and not one extremely brachycephalic, exceeding, that is to say, 85. The mesaticephalic and sub-brachycephalic skulls were those of women.

From the facts before him, General Faidherbe came to the conclusion that the dolmens of Roknia belonged to a race "*très grande et franchement dolichocéphale*." He adds his impression that the practice of dolmen-building in Africa was an importation from the north, and not *vice versa*. It is to be remarked that the bodies were not burnt, and that large numbers of them were contained in a single structure, points in which they are comparable to examples in Portugal (as at Monte Abrahaõ), in Western France (as at Bougon), and in Scandinavia, as in Vestergötland.

The results of the explorations made by the eminent Frenchman who explored them tended to place the earliest erection of these dolmens at the close of the Neolithic Age, when bronze was only being introduced as a rarity for ornamental purposes, during a period and condition of culture very similar to that in which those people lived who erected the Swedish examples.

This would have been the period when the brachycephali were making their way westward towards the Atlantic through Central Europe, driving before them, as we may not unreasonably suggest, the earlier and dolichocephalic inhabitants who, from the southern and south-western coasts, would have taken refuge in Africa, and from the northern and north-western shores, would have made for the British Isles, Holland, Germany, and such



portions of the Baltic sea-board as were advantageous for settlement, and not previously occupied by allophylian foes.

We have previously noticed that sub-historic tradition may possibly carry us back to the later periods of the intermingling of races in Southern France and Spain, as evidenced by such names as "Ligures and Iberes mixed" (*μυγάδες*), "Celto-Ligures," and "Celtiberi." The presence of pronounced brachycephalic female skulls in the African dolmens may perhaps indicate also an earlier stage in this process of race-fusion. A passage in Diodorus Siculus relating to the Baleares, who were an Iberian people, proves to us that the introduction amongst them of foreign women, and the consequent commingling of races, was a prominent feature in their social system. "They love women," we are told, "exceedingly, and value them at so high a rate that when pirates bring any women they have captured thither, they will exchange three or four men for one woman." They used no money, but, when serving as mercenaries to the Carthaginians, preferred to receive their pay in women.

From this it would appear that a woman was actually among these savages the recognized standard of value. There is reason to believe that the same may have been the case in ancient Ireland, where the standard of value was the *cumal*, meaning a young girl, and where female slavery prevailed.†

Whether, as has been thought by some, a real linguistic affinity exists between the language of the Berbers of North Africa and that of the Basques, which would place the former, like the latter, in relation to the ancient Iberian speech, is a question upon which I can express no opinion. M. Gèze, after comparing a long list of words in the respective languages, came to the conclusion that the evidence pointed to a close connection having existed between the ancestors of the Berbers and the Basques; that the relations between them had been of long duration, but that they belonged to an epoch excessively remote.‡ The Berbers are classified, according to their cephalic index, with the Basques of the Spanish provinces and with the Corsicans.

† In process of time this word *cumal* acquired the sense of a certain number of cows, and there are probably those who would see in this, as in the Latin *pecunia*, the first meaning of a term afterwards transferred to a general standard of value. The radical sense of *cumal*, if it = *humal*, *jumal*, would be "young," and I think it very possible that, as among the Iberes, the young slave girl was first intended.

‡ For the arguments on this point see a communication, "De quelques rapports entre les langues berbères et basques," in *Mem. de la Société archeol. du midi de la France*, vol. xiii.



They are held to be related to the Atlantic or Iberian race of Western Europe and the Mediterranean, and to be the representatives of the Libyans who, according to Pausanias, inhabited Sardinia;—Sicily having been inhabited by Iberians, Corsica by Ligurians and Iberians, and the Baleares by the latter.

The six illustrations which General Faidherbe gives of the dolmens of North Africa show them to be such as might be found in almost any other district. On the whole, they appear to me to be more directly comparable with those found in the Eastern Pyrenees than with any others. In their present condition they are large cists, some built squarely and with care; others of more rugged design and material. In height they average only from 4 to 5 feet. General Faidherbe did not think that those he examined had been covered by tumuli, and he adduces reasons for concluding that in some cases they could not have been so.

In some examples in the province of Constantine which have been thought to resemble the so-called trilithons of Galicia,† the vault was partially filled with earth, the interment resting on the floor, and being covered over, while the upper portion of the structure was exposed, and presented the appearance of standing on a mound or on the level surface, surrounded (in many cases) by a circle, or concentric circles like those which either do stand, or appear to stand on the tops of encircled tumuli in Aveyron, and Denmark and Sweden.

Dolmens are found also in Kabylia in Morocco, and to the south of Tlemecen in Algiers, near Zebdon, and in Tunis, near Thala. It is said, indeed, that they occur throughout all the country between Mount Atlas and the Syrtes—"not near the sites of any great cities or known centres of population, but in valleys and remote corners." Many of these are of the type surrounded by concentric circles, and which stand on a tumulus, or on a stone base or platform, in which latter respect they resemble some of those in the Jaulân, described by M. Schumacher.‡

Fergusson,§ arguing in favour of the view that the African dolmens are of comparatively modern origin, quotes M. Féraud for the discovery of a Latin inscription on the roofing-stone of one

† See "Magazine Pittoresque," 1864, pp. 79, 80, with picture of the dolmen of l'Oued-Bou-Merzong. See also "Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Soc. archéol. de la Prov. de Constantine," 1863.

‡ See fig. 680, *infra*.

§ R.S.M., p. 405.



of them near Sidi Kacem. M. Alex. Bertrand, summing up the results of the discoveries of the latter explorer, says of the dolmens of the province of Constantine, that, to judge by the objects found

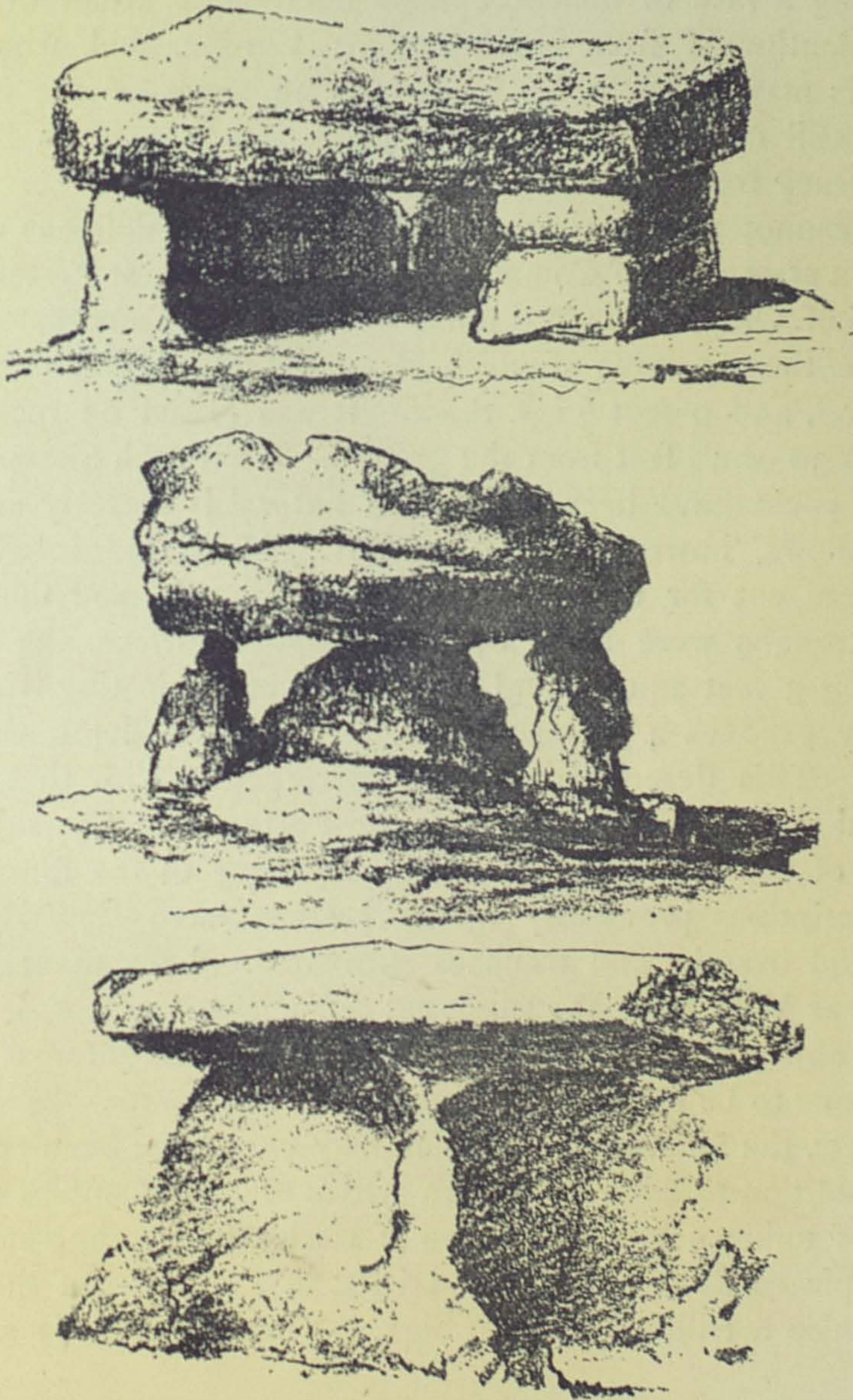


FIG. 671.—African dolmens from Gen. Faidherbe. *From rough plates in the Proceedings of the Intern. Congrès, Brussels, 1872.*

in them, they cannot, as a rule, be placed very much anterior to the Christian era, while some would be even posterior to it. It appears to me that, putting the whole of the evidence together, and remembering especially the vast number of dolmens which



occur in the several groups, it is most probable that the practice of dolmen-building continued uninterruptedly from the latter portion of the Neolithic Age down to the early centuries of the Christian era among a race of dolichocephalic inhabitants, either originally driven southward from south-western Europe, and whose descendants may possibly be looked for in some of the existing peoples still on the spot, or who made a long sojourn here on their journey from the east and south.

We cannot pass from the subject of African dolmens without noticing a statement of Commandant Bernard, that, at Fiaret, in the province of Oran, a hundred miles from the sea, there was one in existence, the cap-stone of which measured 65 feet [!!] long by 26 feet broad, and 9 feet 6 ins. thick. It was raised on rocks to a height of 30 or 40 feet from the ground. That such a stupendous erection could have been other than natural is scarcely credible. What follows, however, is of interest. M. Bernard says that steps were cut for the purpose of ascending it, and that three square troughs were hewn out of its upper surface, the largest measuring 3 feet square, and the three communicating with each other by grooves 4 inches broad, and of less depth than the troughs. This description closely corresponds with that of the sacrificial rock-altars of Pannoyas in Portugal, in the sides and surfaces of which, as we may see, by referring to the illustrations and descriptions previously quoted,† steps have similarly been hewn, and troughs and trenches excavated. Like these natural altars near Villa Real, the supposed dolmen at Fiaret was, doubtless, an object of veneration; and it is of no little interest to find what seems to be proof of a coincidence of ceremonial observances in districts, the inhabitants of which may once have been related.

In addition to dolmens, North Africa affords examples of rude pillars of unhewn stone, and also of circles of standing-stones, at various places, as at Oran, near Djelfa, in Zenzer. At the latter place is also a trilithon, 10 feet high. Near Tangiers is a stone-circle.

During the mission of Sir Charles Evan-Smith to the Court of Morocco, in 1892, a correspondent of the *Daily Graphic* ‡ sent to that journal a description, accompanied by a drawing, of some interesting prehistoric remains, a little south of the port of Azila,

† See p. 663, *supra*, and for other illustrations, see "Argote," Lisbon, 1732, book iv. cap. 7.

‡ May 21st, 1892.



and about twelve miles inland. "The site," he writes, "exhibits a partly artificial mound, encircled by a ring of stones some sixty yards in diameter. For the most part the stones are of small size, but to the west the uniformity of the ring is broken by a single monolith, of great size, carefully hewn, which forms a conspicuous landmark for some distance. The shaft is 18 feet in height, and tapers gracefully towards the top; its circumference, 2 feet from the ground, being 12 feet 6 ins. About a hundred yards west of this monolith lie prone other large stones, which are evidently of the same nature as that now standing," which latter, it is added, "is undoubtedly of phallic origin."

At Djidjeli, in Algeria, are some little stone-circles, said to be sepulchral. Upon a pillar-stone in one of them rests another stone, in form like an egg, and surrounded by bands or twists, which give it the appearance of a turban, whence it derives its name, "The Turban Stone."†

On the island of Iniskill, near Port Noo, in Donegal, I saw a very similar stone, placed with many others on the upper surface of a large square natural block, much revered by the pilgrims who periodically visit the place in the summer months. It was a boulder, about 18 inches long, which had been rolled into its present shape (that of a long egg, pointed at either end) by the action of the sea; the material being dark slate, traversed by four bands of white quartz. The pilgrims, lifting it off the rock, pass it round their bodies, repeating prayers or curses, just such a practice as Strabo mentions in the case of the stones at Cape Saint Vincent—the Sacred Promontory, in Portugal above mentioned.‡ Mounted, however, on the top of a pillar-stone, the Algerian Turban Stone may most fitly be compared to the so-called Mitre-Stones of Ireland. A rough, unhewn stone of this class was poised on the summit of a menhir (inscribed with an ogam), and called Olan's Stone, close to the Well and *Bilé* (or old sacred tree) of that saint in the county of Cork.§ It was used by the superstitious as a cure for headache, being lifted from its position and placed on the heads. Carved "Mitre-Stones," all regarded with superstitious reverence, were placed on some of the beautifully carved crosses of much later date. Representations of several will be found in Mr. O'Neill's exquisitely illustrated work.||

† See Fergusson, R.S.M., p. 404.

‡ p. 666.

§ In the MSS. of J. Windele are several illustrations of this.

|| See the "Crosses of Ireland," by Henry O'Neill, especially the examples at Kilkispeen and Clonmacnoise.



## ITALY AND GREECE.

The interest attaching to the prehistoric antiquities of Italy has of late years been wonderfully enhanced by the discovery that the northern nations of Europe owe their earliest bronze weapons to the artificers in that country, from whom they not only received the originals, but from whom they borrowed also the knowledge of casting them for themselves, on the model of those they had imported. The implements were the simple imitations of the stone axe, known as the bronze celt, either flat, or with slightly raised edge. The weapons consisted of daggers, provided with holes and rivets by which to attach their triangular blades to handles of horn or metal; and of those so-called halbert-heads, also provided with rivets, and having a slight scythe-like curve of which illustrations have been given (Figs. 630, 631). The ornaments comprised simple smooth rings for the neck, with graduated ends, or broad-fluted armlets, or spiral finger-rings. The decoration was confined to arrangements of straight lines.

The bodies of the dead, in conjunction with which in Italy these earliest evidences of the Bronze Age are found, were stone cists, which had survived from the Neolithic Period.

To the Bronze Age inhabitants of Northern Italy belong also groups of stone-circles surrounding tombs, together with parallel lines of stones terminating in circles, such as those at Golusecca, in the Province of Milan, and which recall similar stone-settings on Dartmoor in Devon, and in Achill in Mayo. This northern portion of the Italian Peninsula is even in modern times, as it certainly was in the ancient Ligurian period, "overwhelmingly brachycephalic," to use Canon Taylor's expression. Southern Italy, on the other hand, which probably shared with Sicily the type of the Atlantic and Mediterranean race, which historic tradition almost permits to call Iberian, is as distinctly dolichocephalic, though sepulchral caves there have produced extreme examples of both types.

Turning to the coast of Etruria, we find at a place called Saturnia a group of dolmens, which is stated by Mr. Dennis to be unique in that country.† "They are," he says, "very numerous, each consisting generally of a quadrangular chamber, sunk a few feet below the surface, lined with rough slabs of rock set upright,

† Dennis, "Etruria," edit. 1878, vol. ii., p. 282, *et seqq.*



one on each side, and roofed over with two large slabs resting against each other, so as to form a pent-house, or else spanned by a single block of enormous size, covering the whole, and laid with a slight slope, apparently for the purpose of carrying off the rain. Not a chisel has touched these rugged masses," which measure from about 16 feet square to half that size. Some of the structures "are divided into two chambers, 18 feet across. To most of them a passage leads, 10 to 12 feet long and 3 feet wide." They "all are sunk a little below the surface, because each had a tumulus of earth piled around it, so as to cover all but the cap-stone. One had a circle of small stones set round it."

The architectural feature of the pent-house roof, especially when found in this district, seems to be an improvement on the flat slab of the dolmens, and a step forward towards the formation of the splendidly constructed cyclopean tombs, the type of which is represented in that known as the Regulini Galeassi at Cœre, and that in the tumulus of Cocumella at Vulci.

The structures at Saturnia, in respect of their double chambers and pent-house roofs, may be compared to a form of

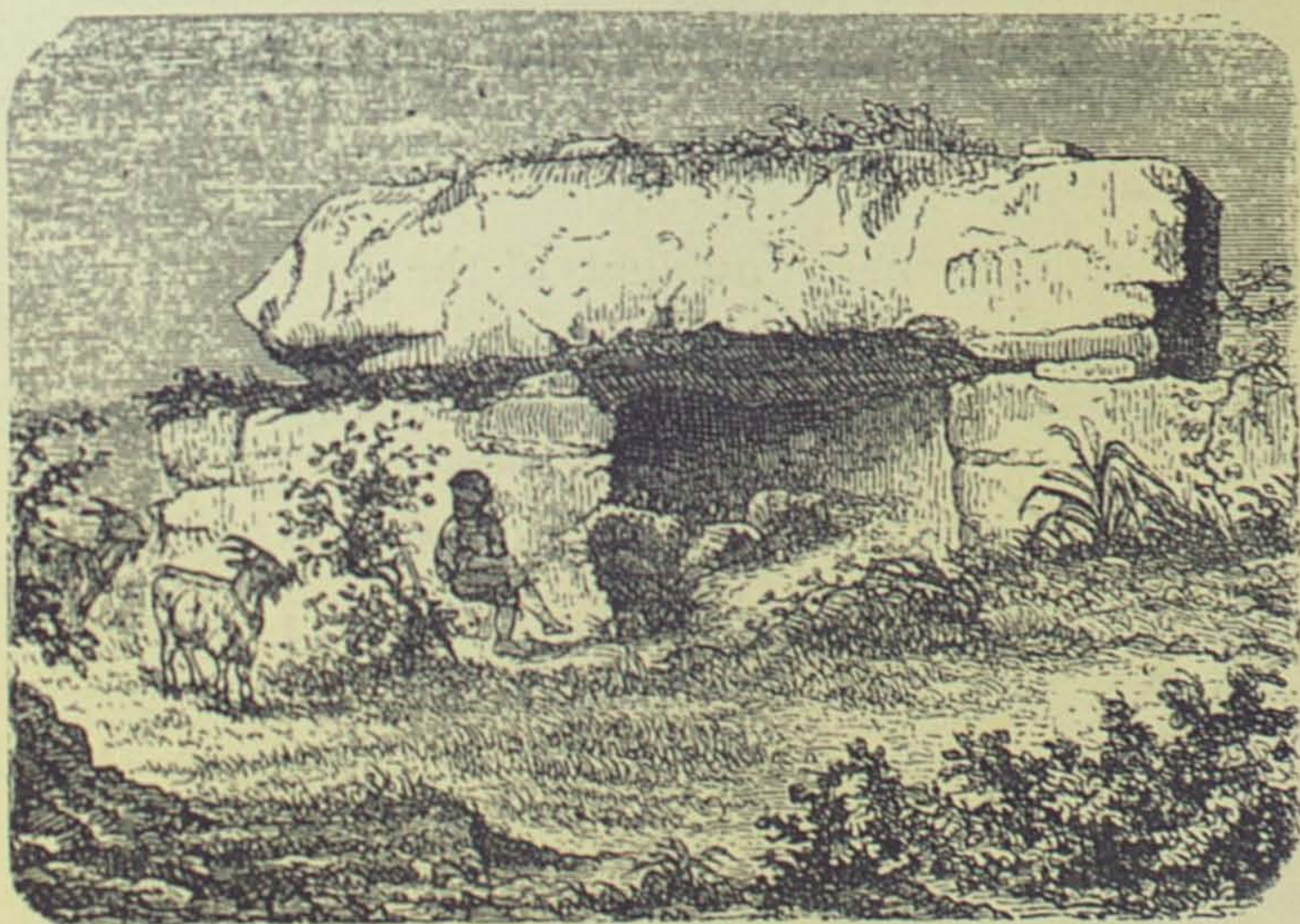


FIG. 672.—Megalithic monument at Karvathi (Mycene) in the Morea. *From Baer.*

*naveta* which I have not yet mentioned, but which occurs in Minorca. Describing one at San Merce de Baix,† Signor Sanpere y Miquel states that the chamber is divided into two aisles (*nefs*) by a row of three columns, each formed of five or six

† "Revista de Ciencias historicas," Barcelona, vol. ii. p. 452, *et seqq.*



blocks of unequal size set one on another. These support flags placed longitudinally upon them, upon the edges of which on either side rest lateral and transverse slabs, placed in a slanting position so that their outer and lower edges rest on the strong outer wall of the building. The length of the example given is 11 m., and the breadth between the pillars and the wall respectively 2.90 m., 3.70 m., and 4.8 m. The width at the entrance is 3.10 m., and there is an antechamber. These structures seem to occupy an intermediate place between the great dolmen of Antequera and the "pent-house" type of Etruria. With all these we may compare the construction of the dolmen of Abrahaõ in Portugal,<sup>†</sup> and that near Louisburgh in Mayo.<sup>‡</sup>

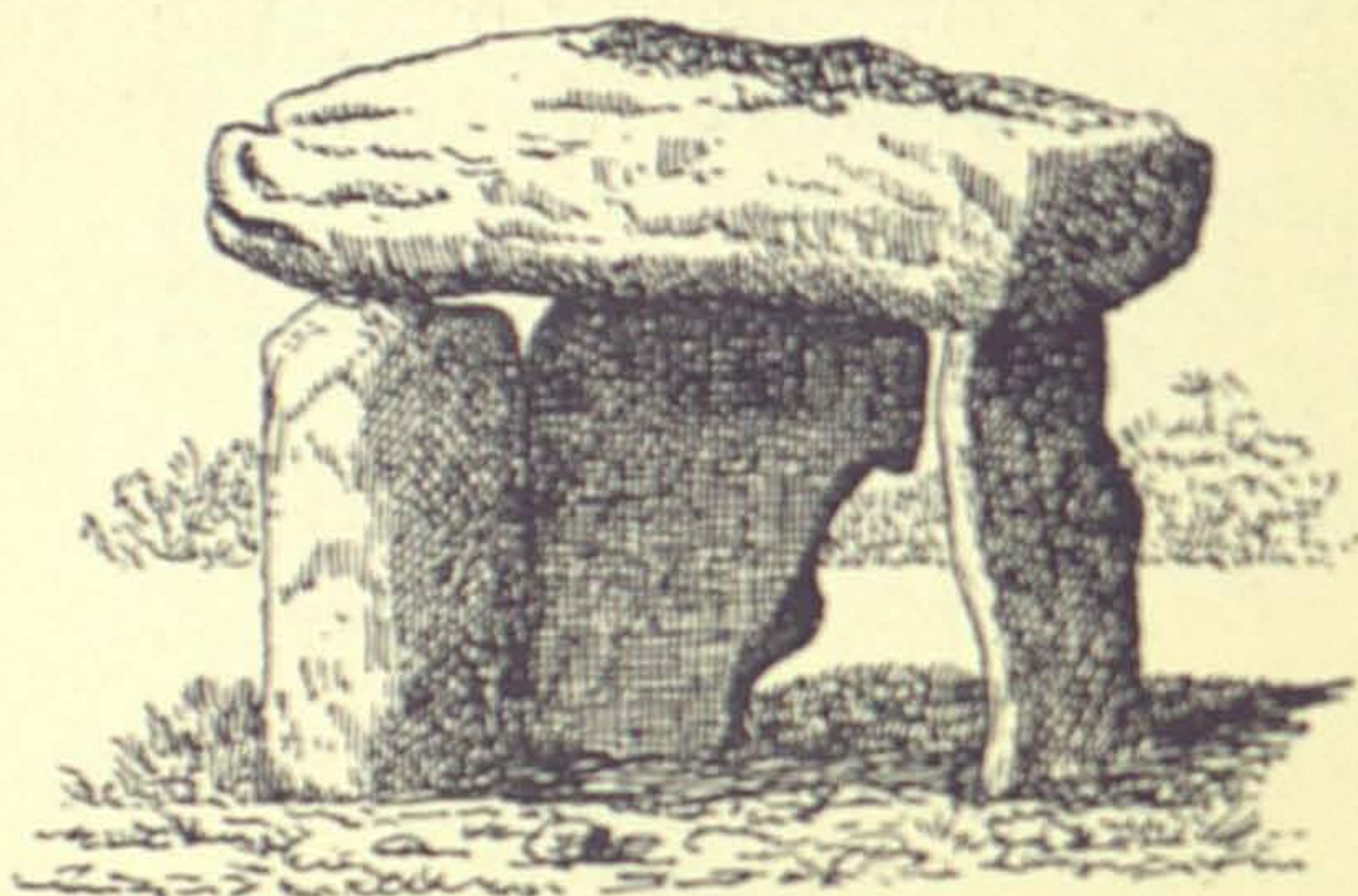


FIG. 673.—Dolmen in the Crimea. From Dubois de Montpéreux.

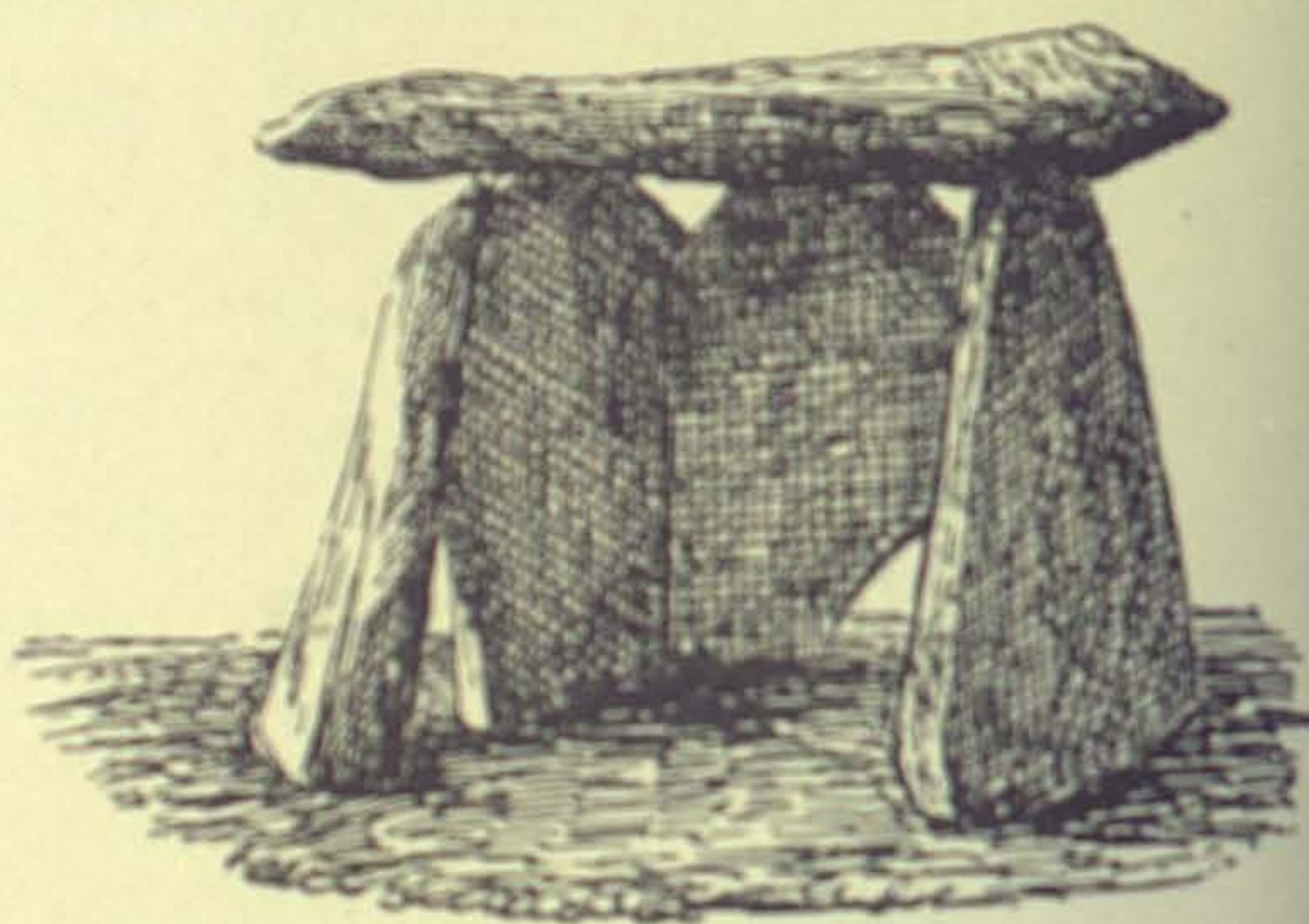


FIG. 674.—Anta do Crato, Portugal. From Signor Pereira De Costa.<sup>§</sup>

That in Greece stone monuments of the dolmen class exist has long been recognized. Such a megalithic tomb has been figured by Baer and others at Karvathi (Mycene) in the Morea (Fig. 672).

#### THE CRIMEA AND THE CAUCASUS.

The inhabitants of the northern and north-eastern coasts of the Black Sea were dolmen-builders. From the work of M. Dubois de Montpéreux,<sup>||</sup> I take the example from the Crimea. The cleft in the terminal stone of the vault seems to represent the usual means of ingress, while from the open side the approach to the structure has been removed. In its present condition it is as nearly as possible a facsimile of the Anta do Crato between Lisbon and Elvas, which I place beside it for comparison (Figs. 673, 674).

<sup>†</sup> p. 669. *supra*.

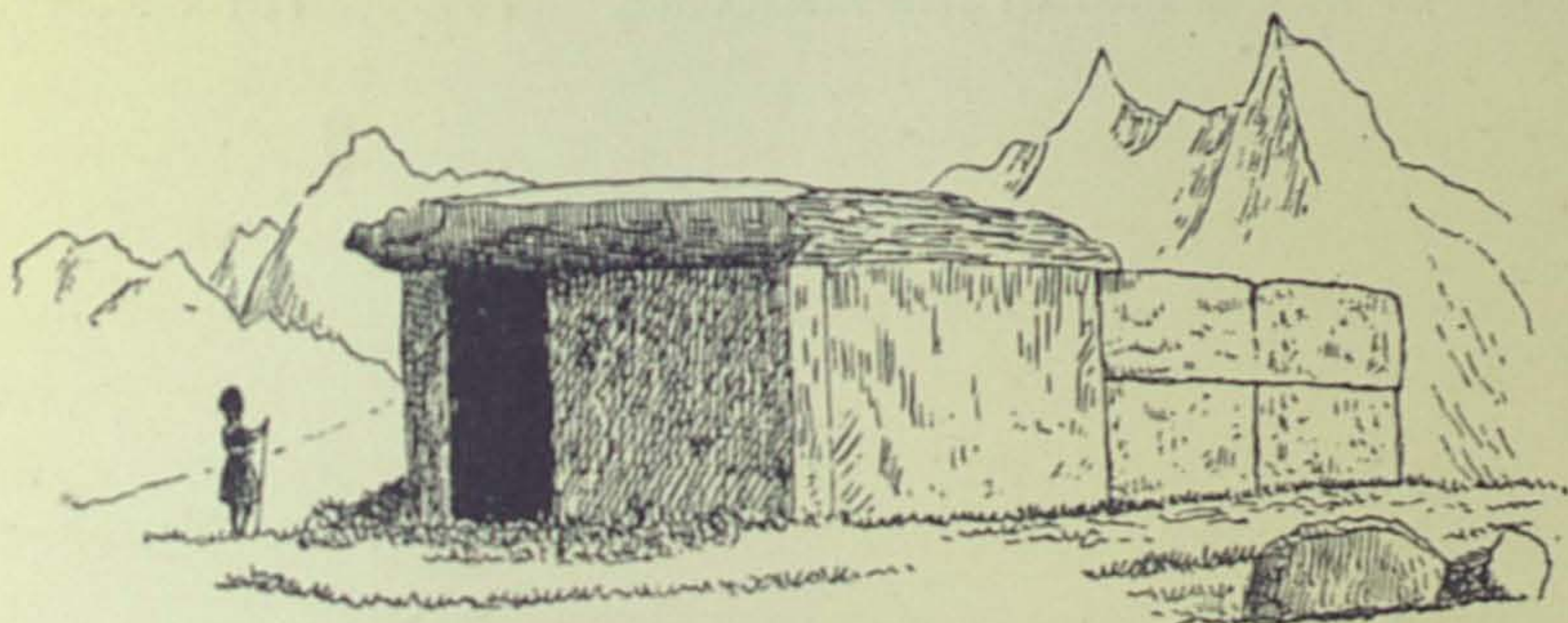
<sup>‡</sup> p. 124. *supra*.

<sup>§</sup> Signor Pereira da Costa, *op. cit.* pl. ii., fig. 2a., p. 79. The height is 1.90 m., so that it is of almost the same size as the Corsican example, see p. 711, which measures 1.65 m. under the cap-stone.

<sup>||</sup> "Voyage autour du Caucase," Paris, 1839-43.



For the Caucasian dolmens, our principal authority is M. Ernest Chantre, whose descriptions and illustrations of them will be found in *Materiaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*,† and in his great work, "Le Caucase." They are distributed, it appears, into



[ FIG. 675.—Dolmen in the Gorge de Djouba, Caucasus. From "*Mat. pour l'Hist. de l'Homme*."

two principal groups, the one to the S.E. and the other to the S.W. of the town of Ekaterinodar. The former of these groups is close to the Black Sea. Among the most typical and interest-

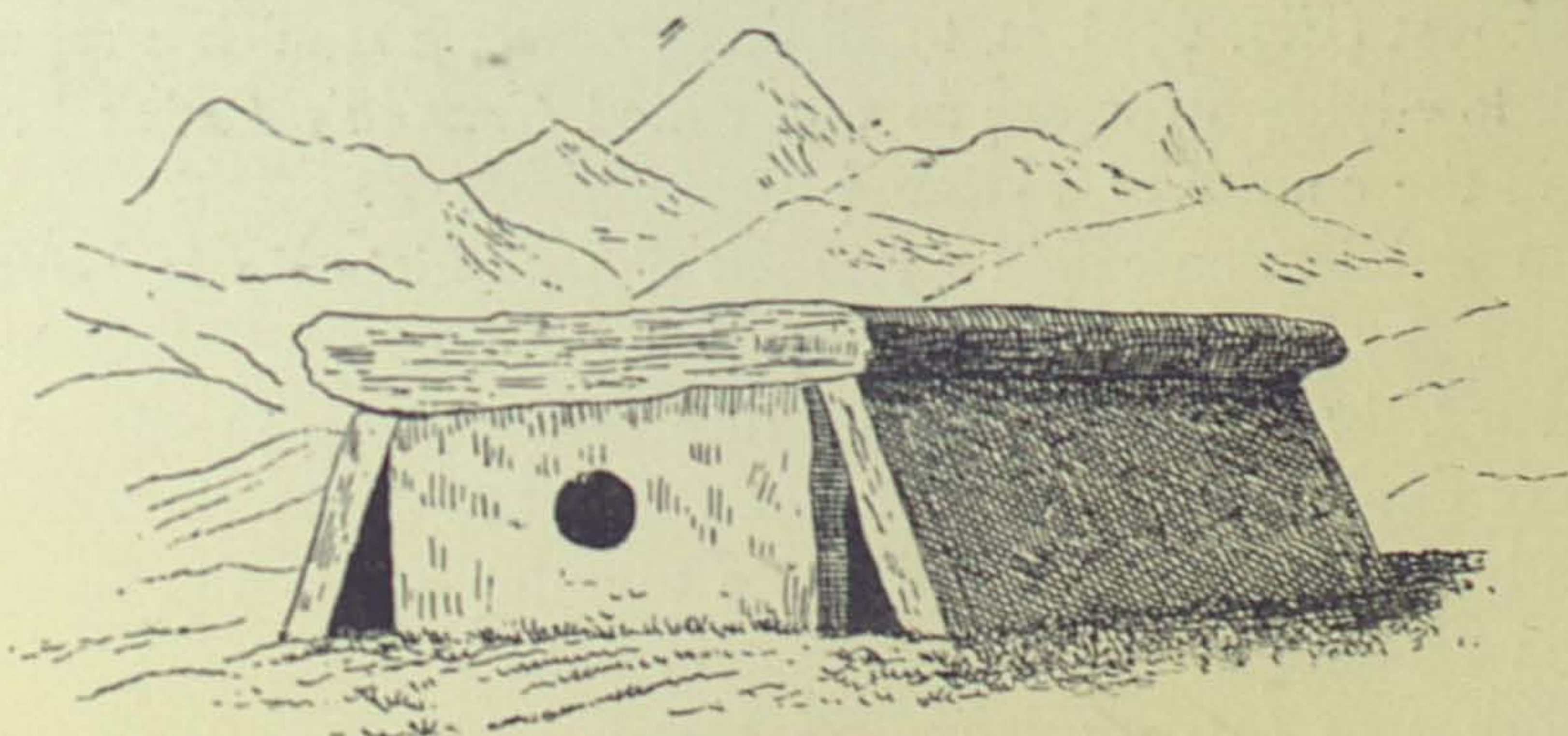


FIG. 676.—Valley of Pehada, Caucasus. From "*Mat. pour l'Hist. de l'Homme*."

ing are those of the Gorge of Djouba, the valley of Pehada, that at Tzarskaya, already given, and that at Dakhovsk. The first of these (Fig. 675) bears a remarkable likeness to some of those in the County of Clare, and also to Indian examples, among which it will be mentioned again. The second, that in the valley of Pehada (Fig. 676), with a round hole in the terminal stone, has its counterparts in both Syria and India, while the presence of this feature of an orifice recalls the same characteristic, though rarely met with, in every dolmen-bearing district in Europe. The third, that at Tzarskaya, has been already mentioned ‡ for comparison with the

† 1885, p. 545, *et seqq.*

‡ p. 708, *supra.*



various holed dolmens and terminal stones of tombs in which the hole or creep is placed in a similar position to this one, namely, in the centre of the lower end of the slab. The ends of the side-slabs seem also in this case to protrude so as to form a sort of antechamber at the end of the structure. The fourth variety, that

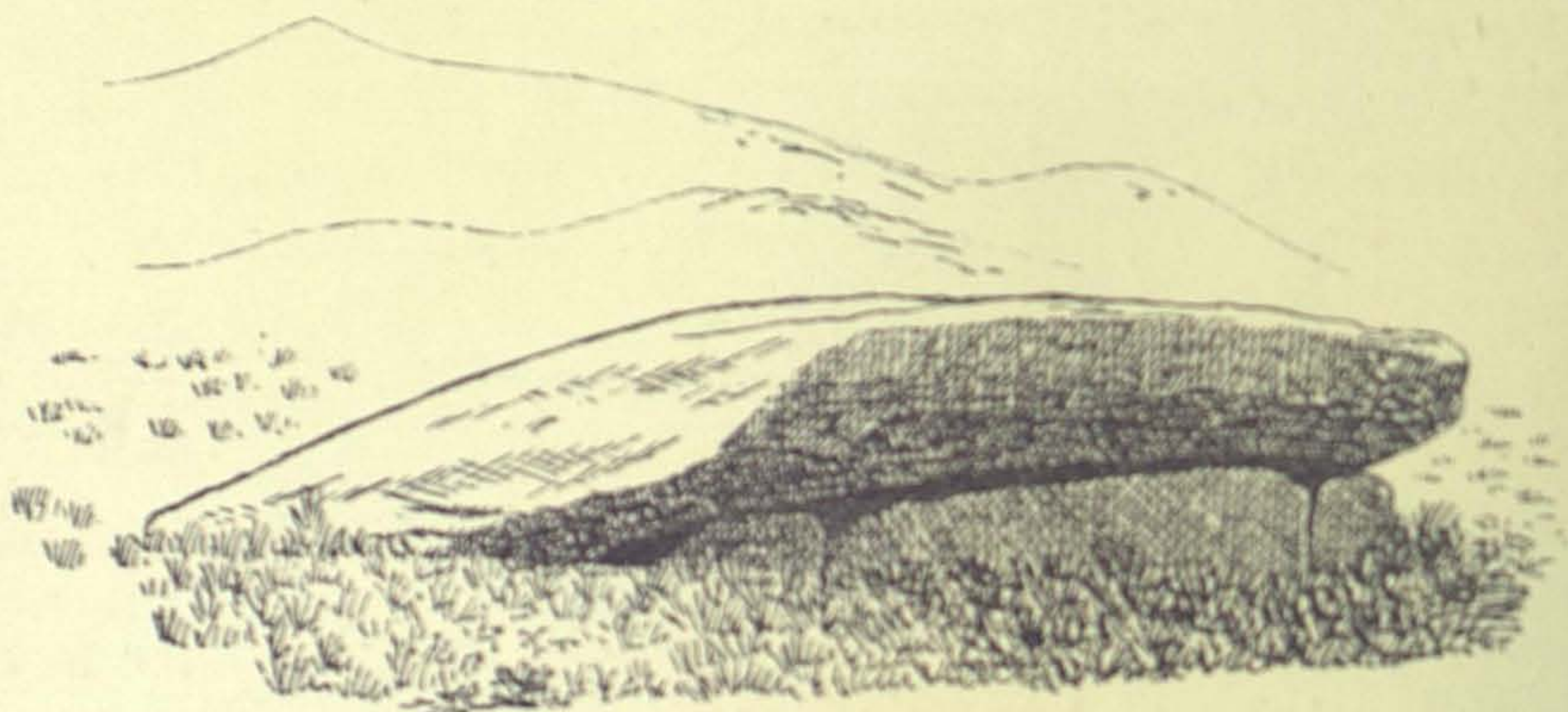


FIG. 677.—Dolmen of Dakhovsk (Caucasus). From "*Mat. pour l'Hist. de l'Homme.*"

at Dakhovst (Fig. 677), is, to all appearance, just such a regularly formed, low-lying structure as that called *Granna's Bed* at Brough Derg, in the county of Tyrone.†

In a publication called "*Recueil d'Antiquités de la Scythie*," published by the Imperial Archæological Commission, at St. Petersburg, in 1866, are some interesting descriptions of the results of explorations made in the district of Ekaterinoslaf, near Alexandropol. One of these was a tumulus called the Lougvaia Moguila "*Tomb of the Prairie*." Its base was surrounded by a fosse with two entrances, one on the E. side, the other on the W., and also by a circle of large stones, as at New Grange.

The writer of the article expresses his belief that it was the tomb of a Scythian king, in the fourth or third century B.C. A statue of a *baba* or old woman had at one time stood on its summit.

Five skulls were found in it, one being in a central chamber. Gold ornaments were also found of a type called Scythian by Russian antiquaries. Some of them were ornamented with concentric semicircles, with lozenge-shaped tassel patterns between, and chevron or dentated bands with dots. Spirals were also used. A glass bead figured in the communication‡ is exactly similar to some remarkable ones with knobs or excrescences found

† p. 212, *supra*.

‡ Part II. (pl. xxxvi.).



in Ireland.† Figure of golden boars were also discovered, one of which is strikingly similar to those on helmets represented on a plaque found in Öland (Figs. 699 and 700, pp. 856 and 872 *infra*). Two of the skulls were markedly dolichocephalic, the mean cephalic index being 71. The three others were brachycephalic, the average index being about 81, that of the broadest 84.

M. Baer thinks the large round skulls are those of the Scyths. All three are skulls of men, while one of the two long ones is masculine, the other feminine—that of a young woman, “perhaps the king’s wife.” “All we know of the history of the Scyths,” adds M. Baer, “at this period accords better with the habits of a short-headed than a long-headed people. Can these short skulls, one of which was that of an old man—the others young—be the skulls of the Scyths, while the long skulls are those of the Cimmerians? Tradition handed down by Posidonius and Plutarch identified these Cimmerii of the Palus, who were dispossessed by the Scyths, with the Cimbri of Denmark. The heads of the ancient inhabitants of Denmark are long—markedly so indeed.” Between these latter and the ones he describes M. Baer notices points of difference, but adds that the Academy at St. Petersburg possesses examples of very long skulls found in the provinces of Middle Russia, between which and the long skulls of Western Europe a great analogy exists. Strabo speaks of Scyths and Celto-Scyths, so that it was clearly believed that an intermingling of these peoples had taken place in these lands.

Scythia, in the sense in which the word is used by ancient writers, had no ethnological significance. Native Scyths, however, there must have been originally, and M. Baer proceeds to ask to what group of natives do the skulls he proposes to call Scythian belong. To judge by their breadth, it seems, at first sight, possible to take them for those of Mongolian tribes, but the conformation of the face does not favour this view. The nose of the Mongol is large and flat. Consequently, in the skull the opening is broad in contrast with a height which is proportionately insignificant. In some Bouriatic skulls this opening is broader than it is high. In these broad skulls from the tumulus, however, it is high and narrow.

He concludes by preferring to compare these “Scythian”

† Many of these have been figured at various times in the Journal of the R.H.A.A. of Ireland, now the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. See Part III., p. 872 *infra*, where the boar and bead are figured. The beads are comparable to Egyptian “knobbed” examples.



skulls with those of the Tschoudes, Bashkirs, and Kalmucks, which give the following averages :—

Tschoudes	...	...	...	...	...	814'0
Scyths (?) from tumulus	...	...	...	...	...	812'5
Bashkirs...	...	...	...	...	...	817'4
Kalmucks	...	...	...	...	...	816'0

Another tumulus in this district, called the Dolgaia Moguila, was higher at one end than the other, and covered a long stone tomb containing a skeleton, the remains of a wooden coffin, an arrow-head of pure copper, and an urn of globular form ornamented with a chevron pattern round the neck.

#### SYRIA.

In his work on Heth and Moab, Captain Conder has devoted considerable space to the three kindred subjects of the "Rude Stone Monuments" in general, the dolmens in particular,† and the ancient superstitions of Syria. One of the illustrations he gives—that of a dolmen near Heshbon—represents a structure wonderfully like the "Giant's Load" at Ballymascanlan, in Louth. Judæa possesses no dolmen. In Samaria there is only one, and that doubtful. In Lower Galilee, one; in Upper Galilee, four, of moderate dimensions. West of Tiberias there is a circle, and between Tyre and Sidon an enclosure of menhirs. At Tell el Kady, one of the sources of the Jordan, a centre of basalt dolmens exists, and another centre is Kefr Wâl, north of Sûf, in Gilead. At Ammân are several fine dolmens and menhirs, and east of the Danieh ford is a considerable group.

It is remarked, however, that it is doubtful whether, if all these examples were added together, the number of dolmens would equal those in the great fields of rude stone monuments to be found in Moab, for it has been calculated that seven hundred examples were noted by the surveyors in 1881, and, of these, two hundred were measured, sketched, and described.

M. Chantre, in illustrating the portion of his "*Recherches dans le Caucase*,‡ which deals with dolmens of that district, adduces a Syrian example, to which I have already referred, on account of the important points of comparison it affords with

† For other notices of these monuments see the works of Irby and Mangles, Tristram, Palgrave (for those of Arabia), and Lieut. Welstead for those near the Red Sea.

‡ Vol. i. p. 61.



structures everywhere found in the west of Europe. It consists of a square vault or cell, open on one side, but having on that side a double line of stones—five on one side and four on the other—forming an uncovered passage-way up to the covered portion, and diminishing in size and height as they recede from it. There can be little doubt that this passage was also once covered by

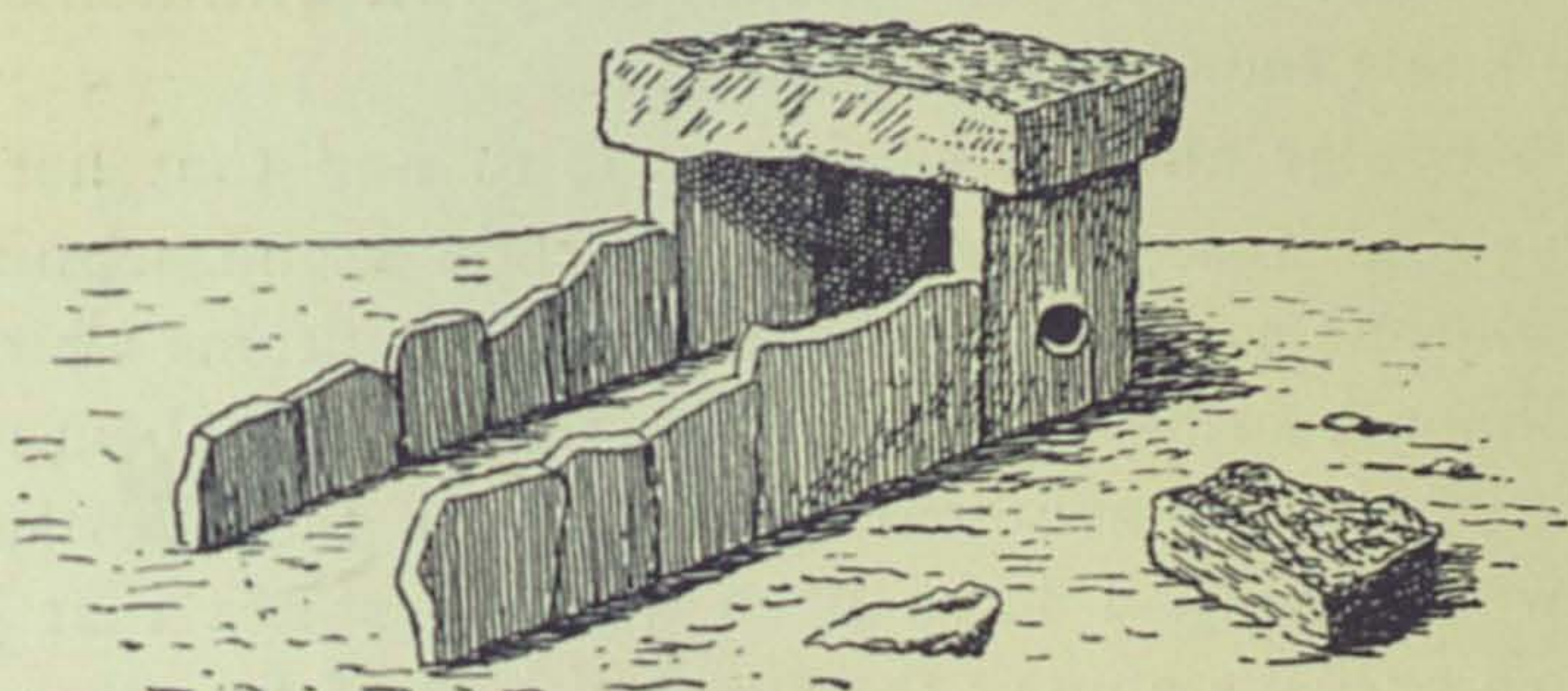


FIG. 678.—Dolmen in Syria. From Chantre's "*Recherches dans le Caucase*."

flags, so that this monument, and those like it elsewhere, are in reality identical with the passage-dolmens, and *galerías*, and *allées couvertes*, and *gång-grifter*, only that they have been deprived of the roofing-stones of the approach, and perhaps also stripped of the envelope of stones or earth which covered them to the height, at least, of the edges of the roofing-stone. In this Syrian example there is a hole, not, as is usual, in the terminal-stone, but in one of the side-stones of the vault, which, since it was probably made for the reception of offerings, shows that this part of the exterior was left uncovered. Two dolmens in the county of Clare† are provided each with a hole in one of the side-stones of its vault, which, although they may be natural orifices in the limestone, point to their intentional selection on account of their possessing this feature.

To the south-west of Rabbath Ammon is a dolmen, which Captain Conder assigns to the semi-dolmen class of French archæologists. The top-stone measures 13 feet long by 11 feet broad, and slopes slightly to the E. Its W. edge is supported by a stone 6 feet high and 5 feet wide, there being another side-stone on the N. In the centre of the tabular-stone is a hollow, about 2 feet in diameter, and a few inches deep, to which a regular network of channels leads from the higher and W. end

† pp. 68, 75.



of the table. There are two other large hollows and nine smaller ones in different parts of the stone, several having little channels leading to them. There are two similar hollows on a flat rock just E. of the stone.

Near Heshbon, too, are "cairns with circles round them," "rocks filled with small holes," and "a circle having a diameter of 200 feet," while "the slopes beneath are sown with dolmens, some being the finest found in all Moab."

Most singular and interesting is it to find that not only are these structural resemblances to the rude stone monuments of Western Europe so close, but that the superstitions which prevail in the dolmen-bearing districts of Syria and Moab are identical with those of the dolmen-bearing districts of the West. Captain Conder, whose work I have been quoting, states that in Moab the practice prevails among the superstitious of "passing between stones," and that veneration is paid to "sacred footprints" in rocks. Stones were heaped up around menhirs, to form memorial cairns. Heaps of stones are placed by Moslems at spots where shrines come in view. Just as the *Cille*, or *Leaba*, that is, the Christian saint's tomb, has succeeded the dolmen in Ireland, so the *Kubbeh*, that is, the Moslem saint's tomb, has succeeded the dolmen in Syria. Inside the *Kubbeh* representations are found of "the spiral, the palm-leaf, and badly drawn concentric circles," all which are found in connection with the later sepulchral vaults and chambers of the West, at New Grange, for example, only carved in stone.

Captain Conder does not hesitate to affirm his belief that the Syrian dolmens served the purpose of "sacrificial altars," and that some natural rocks were so used also. "I found," he says, "in 1882, that the Sacred Rock on Gerizim had a well-marked hollow near its centre, evidently artificial. This rock has a flat surface, dipping down westwards, on which side a cave, or trench, has been scooped beneath its surface."

Here we have coincidences, which can scarcely be accidental, with the great North-African rock-altar mentioned above, with the altar-rocks at Pannoyas in Portugal, with the covering-stones of dolmens in Corsica, France, the British Isles, etc., etc.

"In Moab," proceeds the explorer, "the hollows are sometimes found, not on the dolmen itself, but on a flat stone beside it," for parallels to which phenomenon we may turn to the instances (in



Cornwall) of the "Three Brothers of Grugith," † and in Clare at the dolmen at Newgrove, near Tulla.‡

At the shrines which succeeded the dolmens in Syria, as at the dolmen of Maul-na-holtora, in Kerry, and at hundreds of the little *cills* which succeeded those monuments in Ireland, the superstitious custom prevailed, and in many cases still prevails, of hanging up rags.

Captain Conder says "a little shrine, now ruined, appears to have existed below the dam, on the right bank of the Orontes. Here we found five shafts of basalt, 2 feet 6 ins. in diameter, and a stone cut out into an arch, 3 feet in diameter, now forming a Mihrab facing-stone. Close beside it is a modern-looking tomb of mud and stone, *hung with votive rags* on stakes stuck into the top. Around it are little piles of stones, which Moslem pilgrims erect." It is said to be the tomb of a slave of an early convert of the Prophet. All this is identical with Irish custom and tradition—the votive rags hung on stakes, the little piles of stones which pilgrims form, as on the summit of Slieve Liag, by the venerated rock and shrine of Aedh Breacain, even to the devotion rendered at the tombs of *servants of saints*.§

If once we are disposed to grant that such striking coincidences are not accidental, but point to primitive connection, involving the derivation of these superstitions from one original source, we may look to the deserts of these eastern lands for an explanation of other customs and beliefs, for the causes of which we may search in vain in the western districts in which we find them rooted. I take, for example, the veneration of wells, and the horror with which their pollution was regarded. No indignity should be offered them, nor any offence given to the spirit who dwelt in them, represented by a White Lady or a Sacred Trout. The early saints sat in conclave around them. They possessed marvellous healing powers, especially on Midsummer Eve night, when that at Strule was believed to pour forth a miraculous overflow of water, while some which were regarded as intermittent were special objects of veneration. Votive rags were hung around every sacred well. Lastly, it was by passing under the waters of a well that the *Sídhe*, that is, the abode of the spirits called *Sídhe*, in the tumulus or natural hill, as the case might be, was reached.

Now, in no country was such a devotion so likely to have

† p. 483, *supra*.

‡ p. 89, *supra*.

§ *Maul-Brigde*, etc., etc.



originated as in a parched and desert district where wells were few and far between, and where to have dug one was to cause the name of the chieftain or patriarch who conferred so great a blessing on the community to be sainted and held in perpetual veneration. It is hard to see how a saint in Ireland, a country alive with springs, could confer any particular blessing on a tribe by causing, as we are told in the legends he often did, a well to spring up miraculously; but it is not difficult to see what a benefactor he would have been had he caused one to be dug in the deserts of Syria.

It is rather curious to add that the idea of springs overflowing, and of intermittent springs, might well have been derived from natural phenomena observable in Syria. The source of the old Sabbatic river is a well rising in a cave, about 6 yards long and 2 yards wide. At intervals of from four to seven days a rumbling sound is heard in the mountain, and torrents of water flow from the cave and from the rocks around, and continue for five or six

hours to pour down the valley. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, in A.D. 333, stated that the Jerusalem spring ran for six days in the week, and that it rested on the seventh.

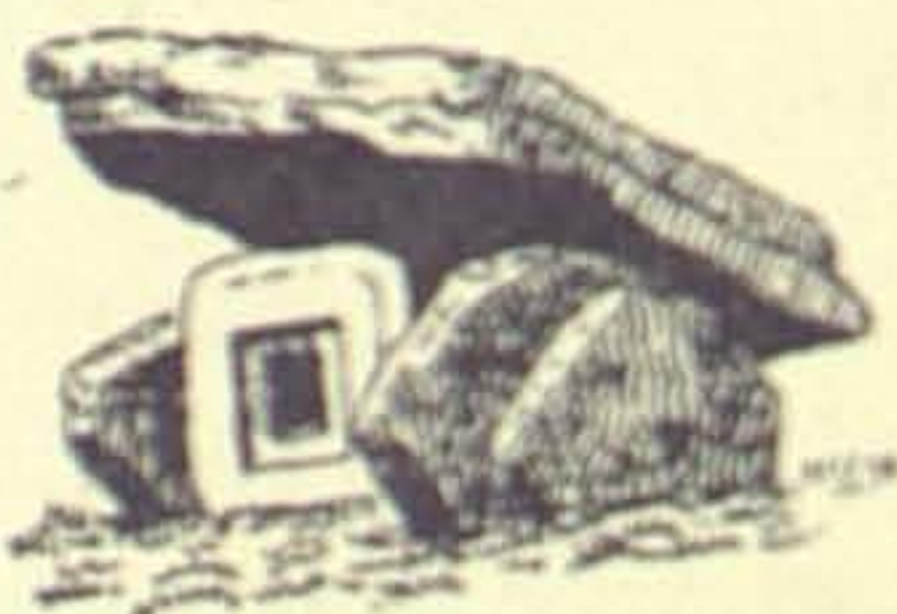


FIG. 679.—Dolmen of Ala-Safat (Palestine). After Lartet et De Luynes.

A remarkable dolmen at Ala-Safat, in Palestine, formed of rugged, unhewn side-stones and cover, with a terminal stone

having a square-panelled orifice sculptured in the centre, has been figured by MM. Louis Lartet and De Luynes.†

The dolmens of the Jaulân‡ have been described in detail by Herr Schumacher. We learn that in this stony district they are to be found in very large numbers, often covering thousands of square yards in a country in which basalt occurs in slabs. The section and elevation of an example which he gives from Jisr-er-Rukkâd shows that, like many of those in North Africa, some are built on two terraces of stone (Fig. 680). As a general rule, the roofing-stone of these dolmens measures about 9 feet long by 6 feet 6 ins. broad, and 14 ins. thick.

"The W. end of the chamber is broader than the E.—the former being 4 feet 6 ins. and the latter 3 feet 6 ins. wide. It narrows, therefore, from W. to E."—a circumstance which Herr

† M. Mortillet, "Musée Préhistorique," pl. lvii.  
‡ "The Jaulân," by G. Schumacher, 1888.



Schumacher would account for by the vaults having been each the receptacle of a body, the broader end, that is, the shoulders, of

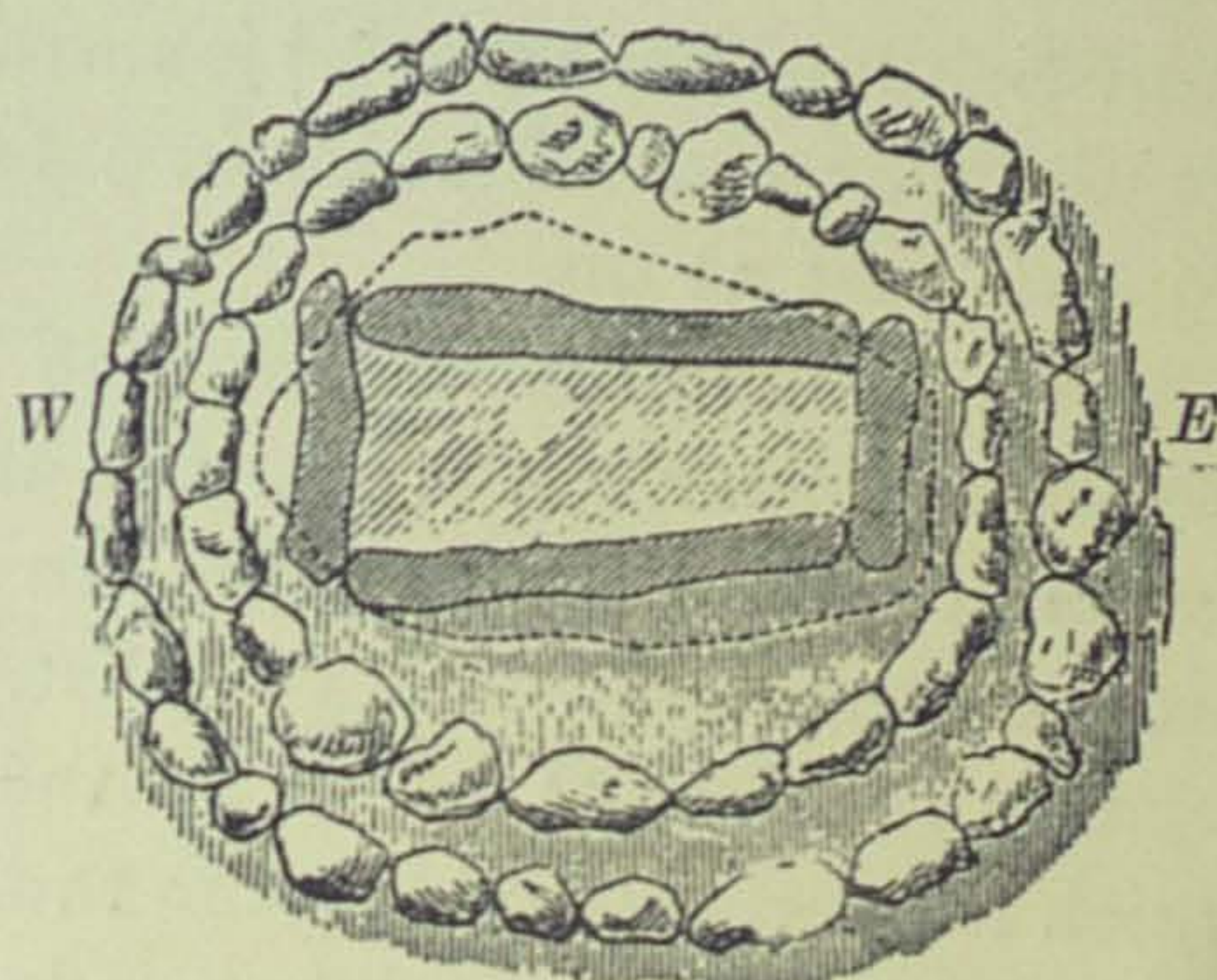
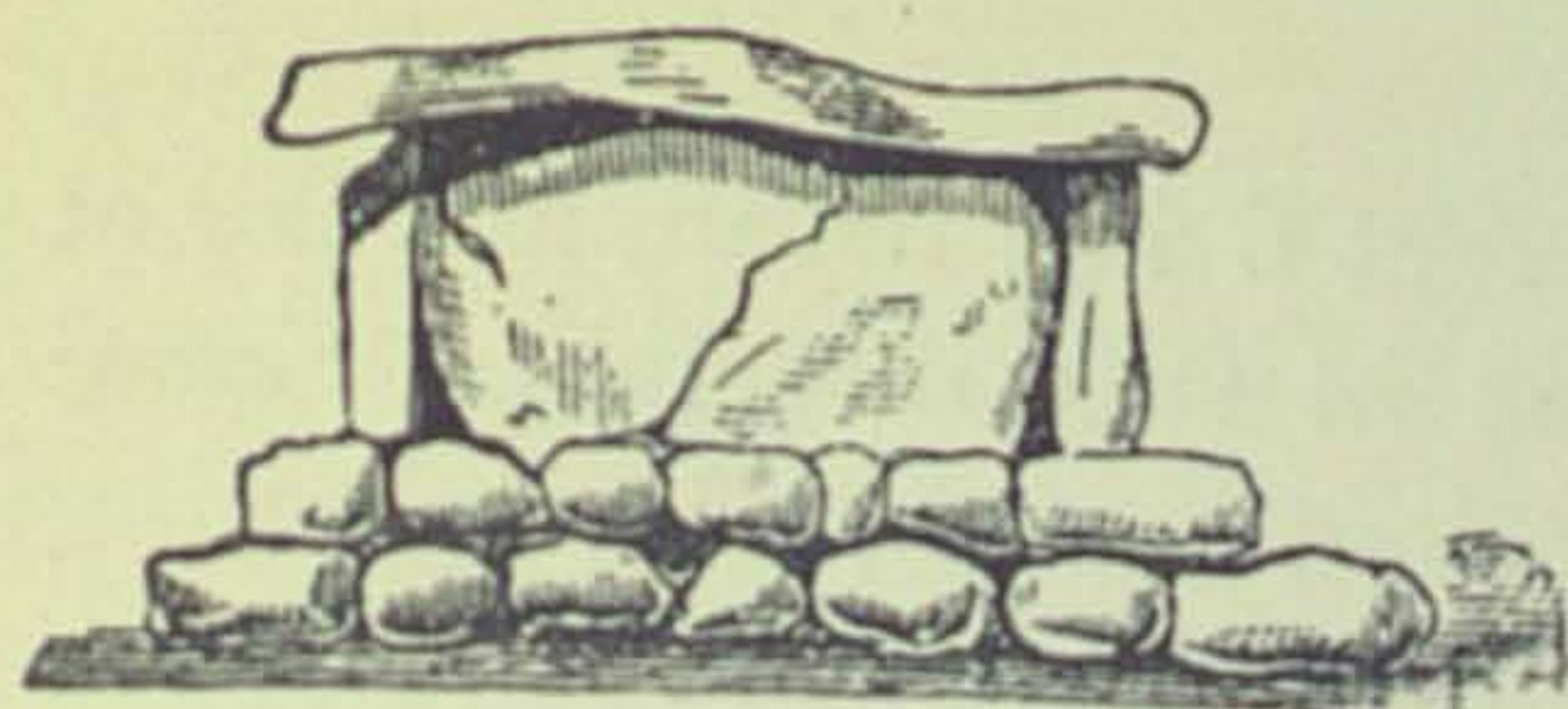


FIG. 680.—Elevation and plan of dolmen at Jisr-er-Rukkâd. *From Schumacher.*

which was so placed that the face should be turned, according to old custom, to the rising sun. This form is, I think, attributable to some other cause. We have seen that it is prevalent everywhere, and frequently in the case of very large structures, the length and width of which precludes the idea that they were made to receive single bodies.

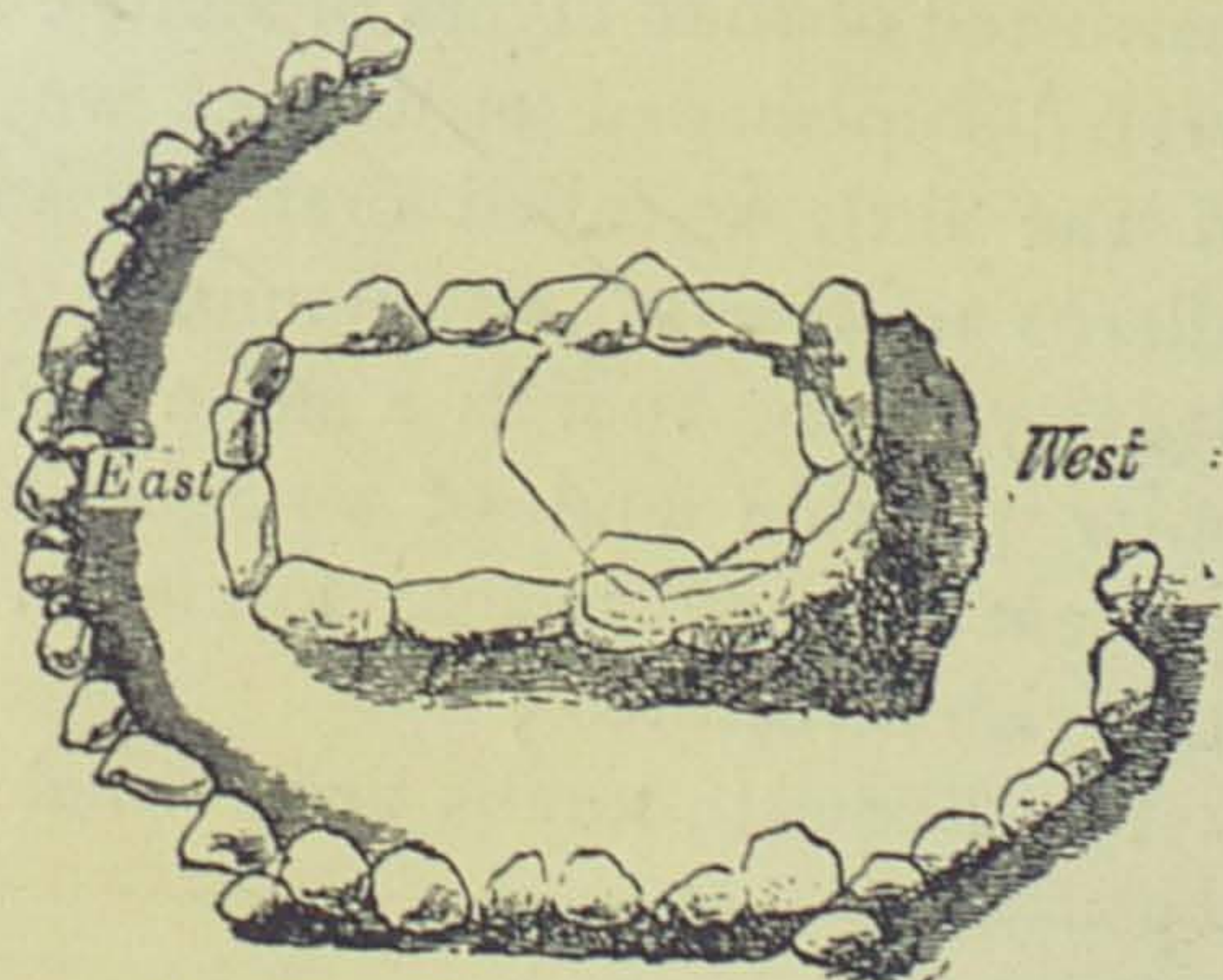
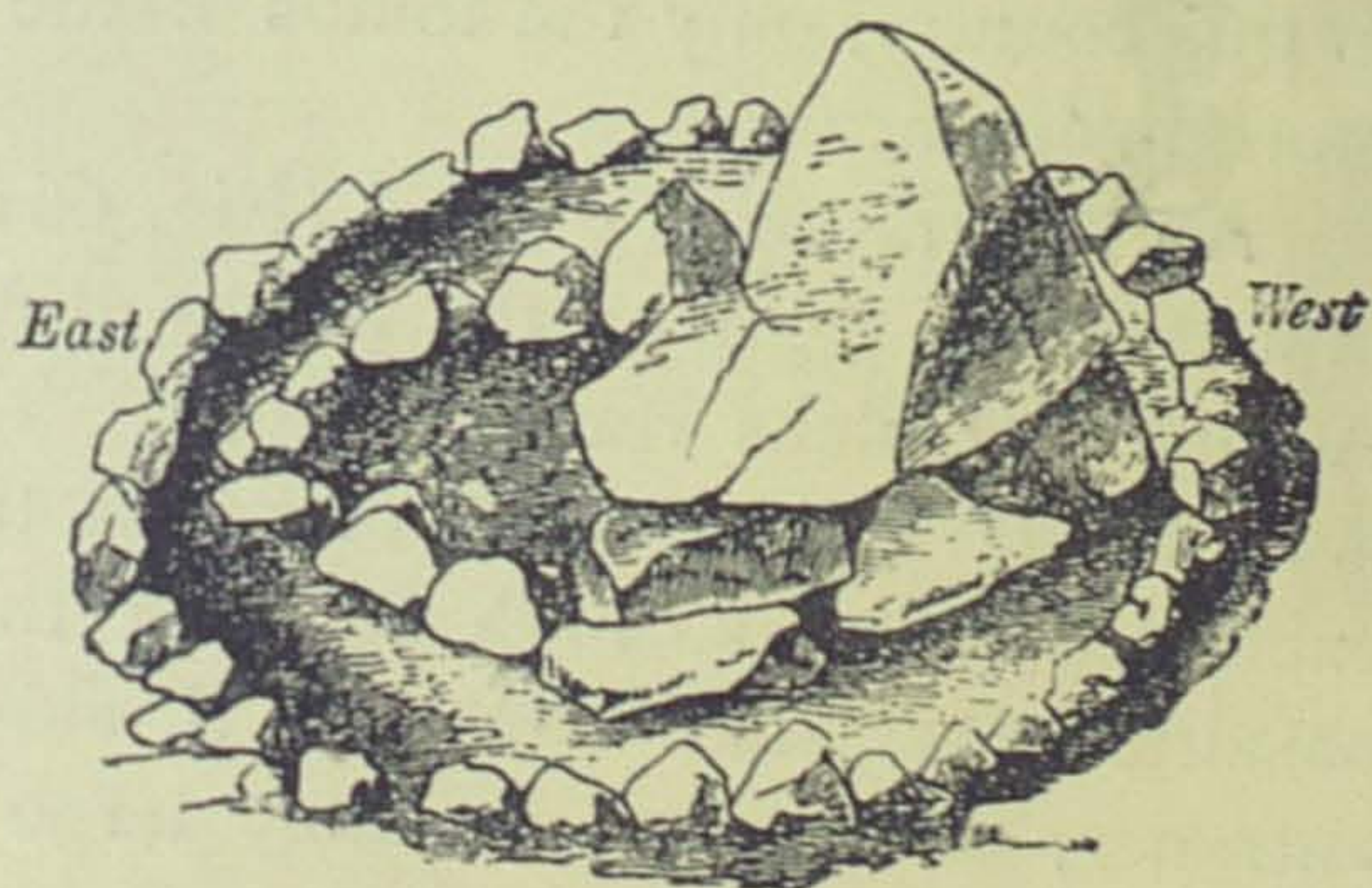


FIG. 681.—Dolmen at Tell-esh-Shebân. *From Schumacher.*

The floor of each dolmen is covered with earth, and under this is a slab, beneath which are "the remains of bones and small pieces of charcoal." In one single instance two copper rings,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter, were found. They were made of smooth wire, 0.09 of an inch thick, and had scarcely any perceptible ornamentation.

Dolmens vary somewhat in construction in different districts. At Tell-esh-Shebân and er-Rawîyeh they are numerous, but are of different shape to those at Jisr-er-Rukkâd—the difference being



attributable to the formation of the basaltic rock of the country. A huge block, 7 feet 6 ins. high, and 6 feet wide, raised upon small stones, forms the roof. One example, which is figured in Herr Schumacher's work,<sup>†</sup> is surrounded by a circle of blocks rudely set, the diameter of which is 9 feet 6 ins., and the height of the stones 2 feet 3½ ins.

The chamber is 12 feet long by 4 feet 6 ins. broad, and is not narrowed towards the E., but it faces in that direction. Some very interesting comparisons are made by the author I am quoting between the dolmens of this district and the Bedawin tombs. He regards the date of origin of the dolmens as the same as that at which the earliest buildings in the Haurân—subterranean structures roofed with basaltic slabs—were constructed, and his reason for doing so is *the striking resemblance which the present Bedawin tombs bear to the dolmens*. "They seem to be imitations of those burial-places erected by the predecessors of the modern Bedawin in this country, only the tombs of the latter are much smaller and more insignificant."

An illustration is given ‡ (Fig. 661) of a characteristic example of a Bedawin tomb on the Dhahr el-Ahmar of the Kûlât el-Husn. A circle of slabs runs round it. The entrance into this circle is on the N. side, and consists of a trilithon—two upright stones each 2 feet 1½ in. high forming the jambs, and supporting a basaltic lintel slab. On the S. side of the circle, opposite the entrance, stands a remarkably large stone. The tomb itself is constructed of rude layers of stones, and in shape is not unlike the inverted-ship-shaped structures we have described in Sardinia, and the little so-called oratories or cells of Kilmalkedar and Gallerus in Kerry. Surmounting the gable at either end of the ridgeway of the roof is a stone higher than the rest. Stones in similar position and of singular form, intended apparently to represent horned heads, formed a characteristic feature in the little Irish structures.§

The Bedawin tombs are turned towards the S., in accordance

† Fig. 681.

‡ *Op. cit.* fig. 37; "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palestina-Vereins," 1886, pp. 167-368; also *Revue Archéologique*, January to June, 1888, p. 95. See fig. 682.

§ See Journ. Kilk. Archæol. Soc., 1888, p. 252, paper by Mr. Atkinson on these terminal stones. Three examples are figured: (a) Tober-na-Dru; (b) Teampulgeal; (c) Kilmalkedar. See also one drawn by Mr. Windele among his MSS. in the R.L.A., from Loughadrine. It was a much-venerated stone, and was said to cure diseases. In front of the Round Tower at Clones is a tomb, the form of which presents in survival that of the earlier structures. It has a projecting stone at either end of the ridgeway of the roof. See Wakeman, in Journ. Kilk. Archæol. Soc., vol. iii., 1874-75, p. 336.



with the injunction in the Koran that the dead should face the Caaba in peace. Whilst, then, the general character of the dolmen has been preserved, this alteration in position is attributable to later religious notions. The Romans would seem to have treated the dolmens with care, and Roman buildings often lie near them.

In his work called "Across the Jordan," Herr Schumacher mentions many megalithic remains. So thickly are the dolmens of the Ain Dakkar district grouped together that, standing on one of them, he could count one hundred and sixty others. They are called by the Arabs Kubûr Beni Israel, that is, "Graves of the Children of Israel." "They are always built on circular terraces which elevate them about three feet above ground," in which respect they resemble some of the North-African examples. They are distant from each other about ten yards. "In most cases they are formed of six upright slabs and two

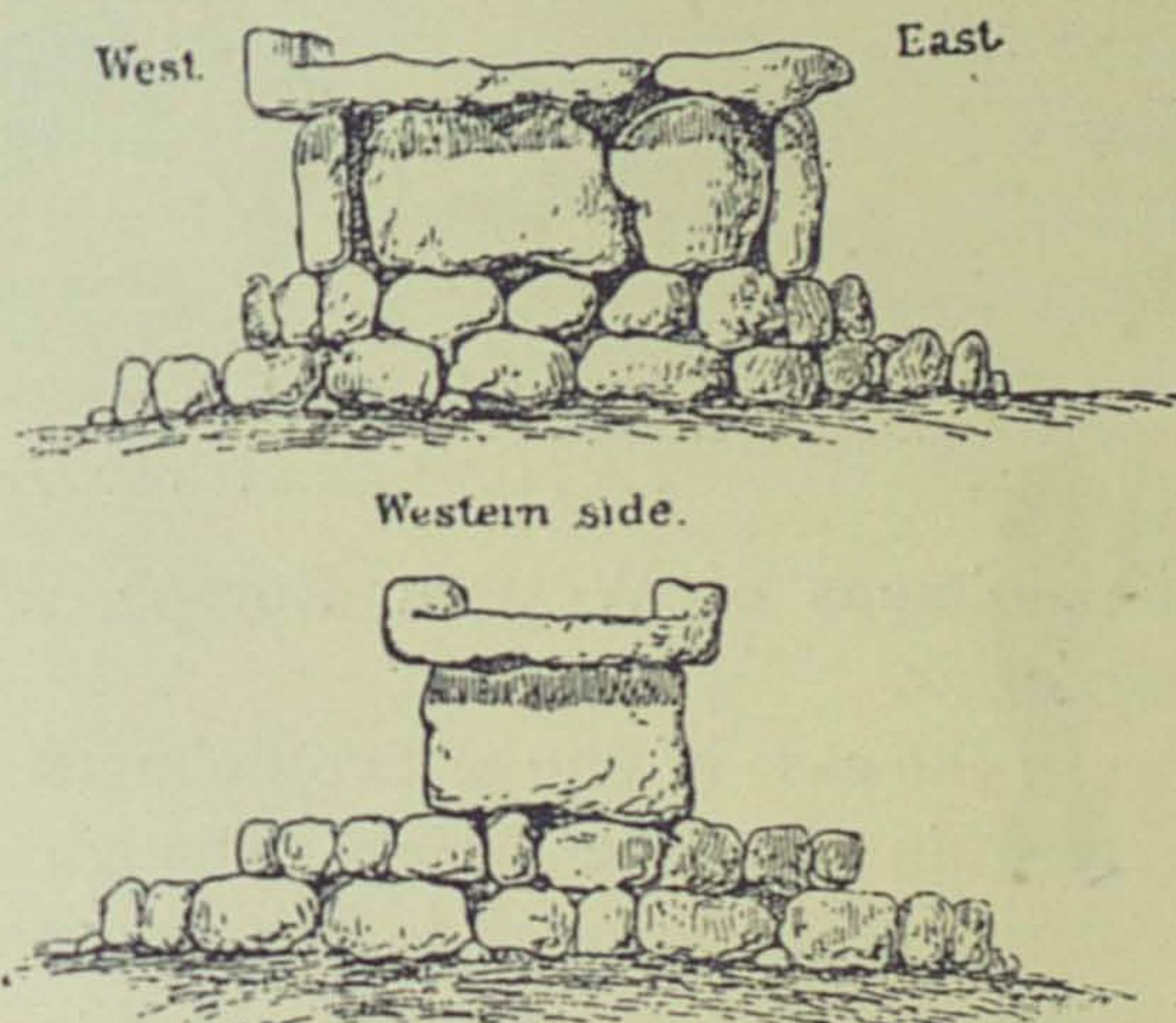


FIG. 682.—Dolmen near Ain Dakkar ("showing headings"). From Schumacher.

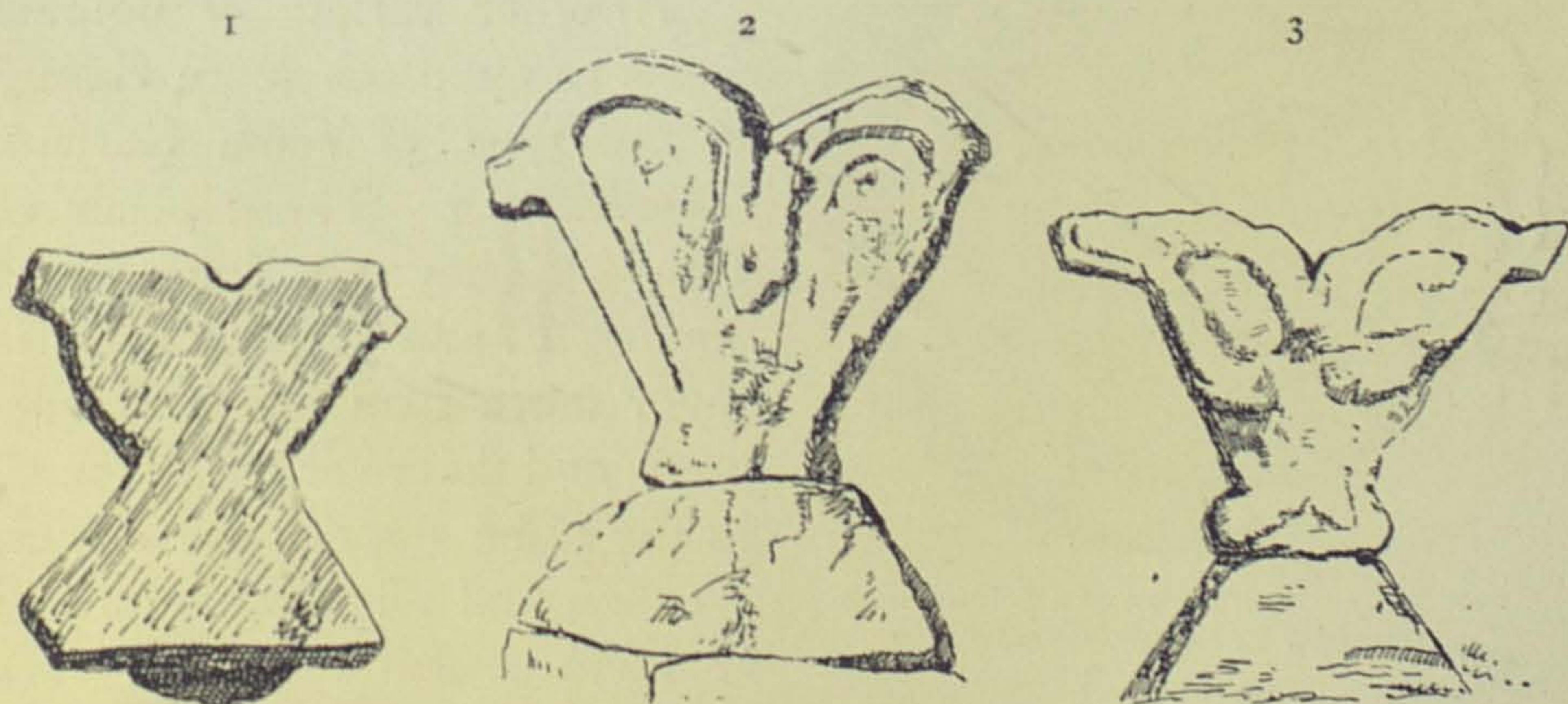
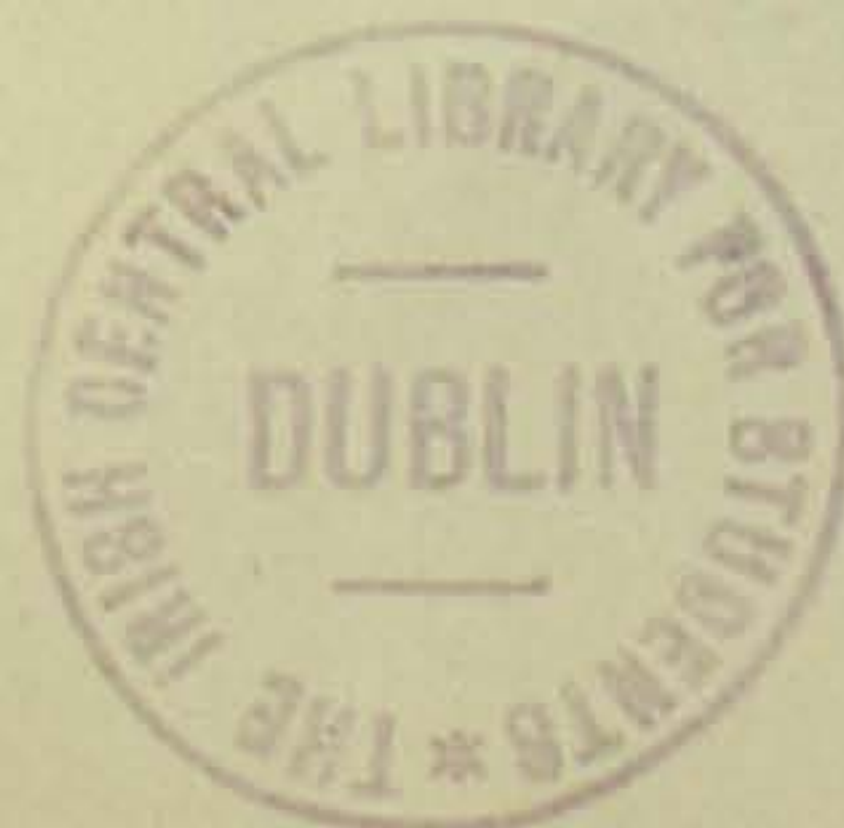


FIG. 683.—Terminal ornaments on gables of Irish cilles. After Atkinson. (1) Kilmalkedar. (2) Teampulgeal. (3) Tobar-na-Dru.

covering-slabs of irregular shape laid close together. Their greater axis is E. and W." The western end is broader than

13112





the eastern, and its cap-stone has high ends or headings which recall the high ends of Bedawin tombs, and the horned head on Irish oratories. These dolmens vary from 7 to 13 feet in length. So systematically are they constructed that Herr Schumacher is able to record the observation that in cases where the chamber exceeds eight feet in length a second covering-slab is employed. This remark would hold good, I think, in the case of most of



FIG. 684.—Dolmen of Tsil. *From Schumacher.*

the dolmens of Western Europe, and of those of Ireland in particular.

In the case of one or two dolmens there is an aperture "about 2 feet in diameter, large enough to crawl through, and of roundish shape, pierced in the eastern slab." The terrace is not always circular, but occasionally the dolmen is surrounded by a rectangular peristyle. There are also "sacred" rectangular enclosures. Bones of animals have been found in some, which are attributed to feasts of jackals.

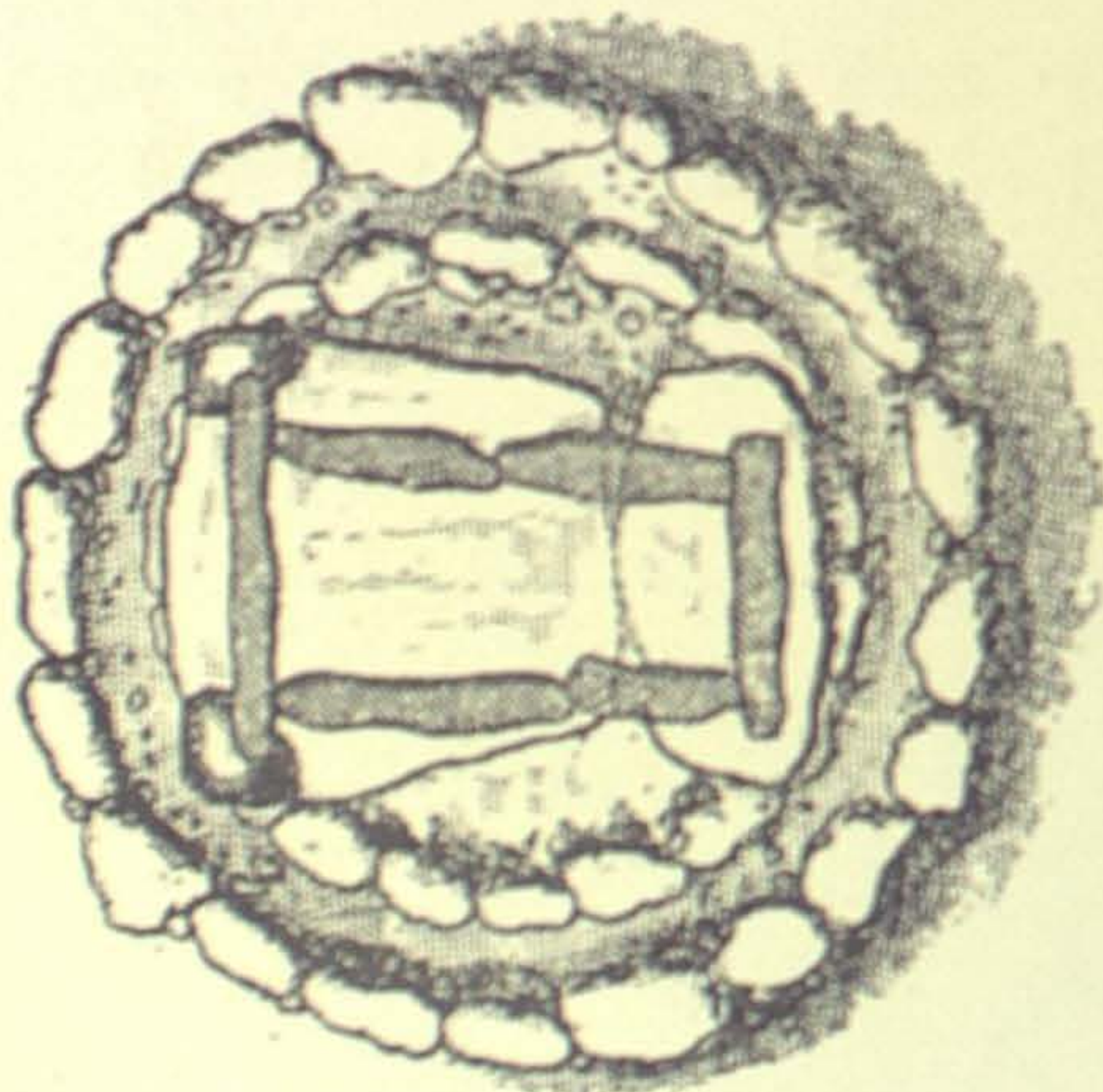


FIG. 685.—Ground-plan of a dolmen with headings. *From Schumacher.*

Another variety of dolmen seems to approach more closely to the type of some German *Hünebedden*.† These occur at Tsil. "They are long areas running E. and W., but there is never more than one covering-stone, and that over the W. end." In the same district are circles, avenues, and alignments formed of huge basaltic blocks. A

monolith of basalt, 7 feet high and 4 feet broad, but probably at one time larger, is called the "Rock of Job." It is split into two portions, and there is a small depression on its upper surface.

† See also fig. 678, *supra*.



Passing from dolmens to architectural structures, Herr Schumacher observes that *towers* are found here, and he describes a rectangular building called the *Wely en Neby Sâm*, at the S. end of which is a tomb, and at the same place, which is held sacred *both by Christians and Moslems*, is a terebinth tree and a well, the whole presenting an exact parallel to the *leaba* or *cille*—that is to say, the little building containing the grave, with its *bilé* or venerated tree, generally an ash, and its *tober-na-naomh*, or saints' well, so often found associated in Ireland.

In a third work,† Herr Schumacher describes several dolmen-fields. In that of Ard-el-Mahajjeh there are twelve dolmens. They lie due E. and W. In one example, the two side-stones measure respectively 11 feet 5 ins. and 11 feet 9 ins. long, and from 2 feet 7 ins. to 3 feet high. At the W. end there is a terminal stone, but the E.

end is open. The covering-slab, in typical examples, measures 11 feet 9 ins. long, from 5 feet 8 ins. to 9 feet 9 ins. broad, and about 1 foot 2 ins. thick. The interior of the vault is 3 feet 1 in. wide at the W. end, and narrows to 2 feet 6 ins. at the E. end. In the centre of the covering-slab is a circular depression or hole,

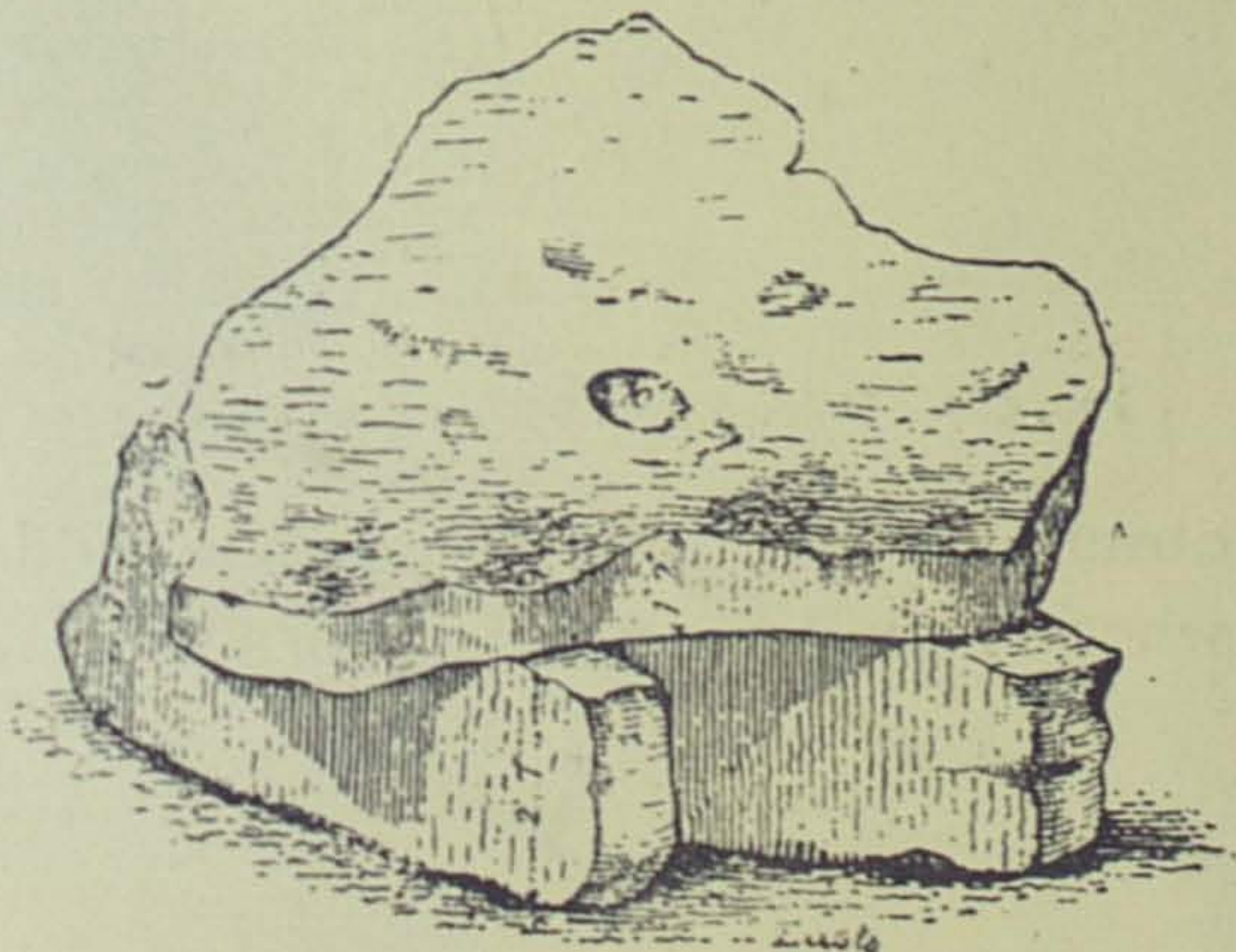


FIG. 686.—Dolmen at Ard-el-Mahajjeh (El Eklâ'a El Mutrakibat). From Schumacher.

measuring 10 inches in diameter, and 4 inches deep. I know no description of dolmens which recalls so precisely the more compact ones of Clare as does that of the ones in this group.

Near Kefr Yûba the dolmens stand on terraces, consisting either of a single platform of large stones, or of two or three layers built up like steps one above the other. The environment is circular, but, as a rule, the dolmen does not stand in the centre. The enclosed area surrounding it extends to the S. and W. of the dolmen, so that it includes an area about double that of the portion which encloses the structure itself. This is an arrangement commonly to be observed in the German *Hünebedden*.

† "Northern 'Ajlûn, within the Decapolis," pp. 131 and 165.



This eccentric position for the dolmen is characteristic of all this group. The covering-stones are described as of immense size. In the upper surfaces of some of them depressions are

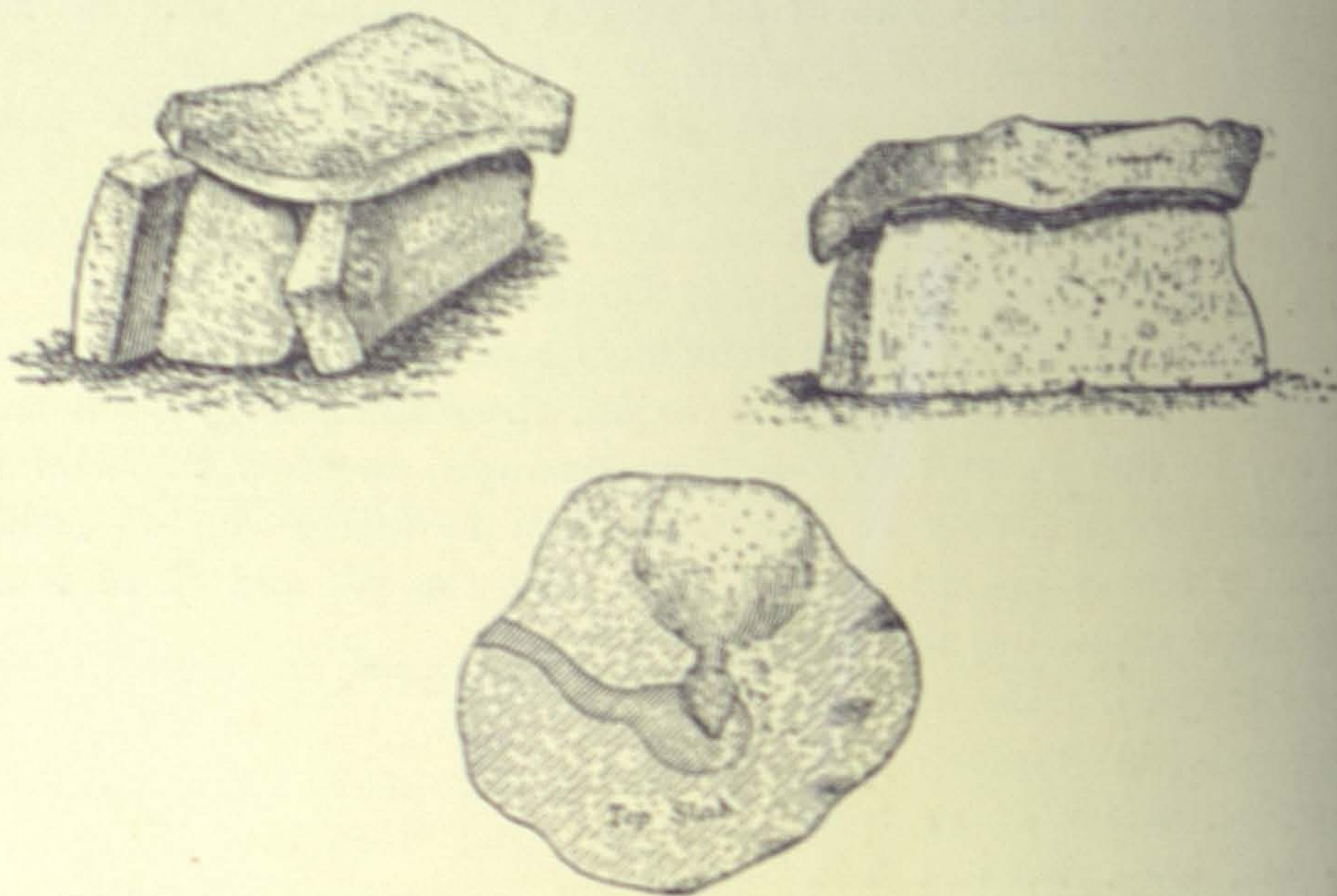


FIG. 687.—Dolmen from Schumacher, showing the basins and ducts in the covering-stone.

observed; but it is impossible, adds Herr Schumacher, to say whether they are naturally or artificially produced.

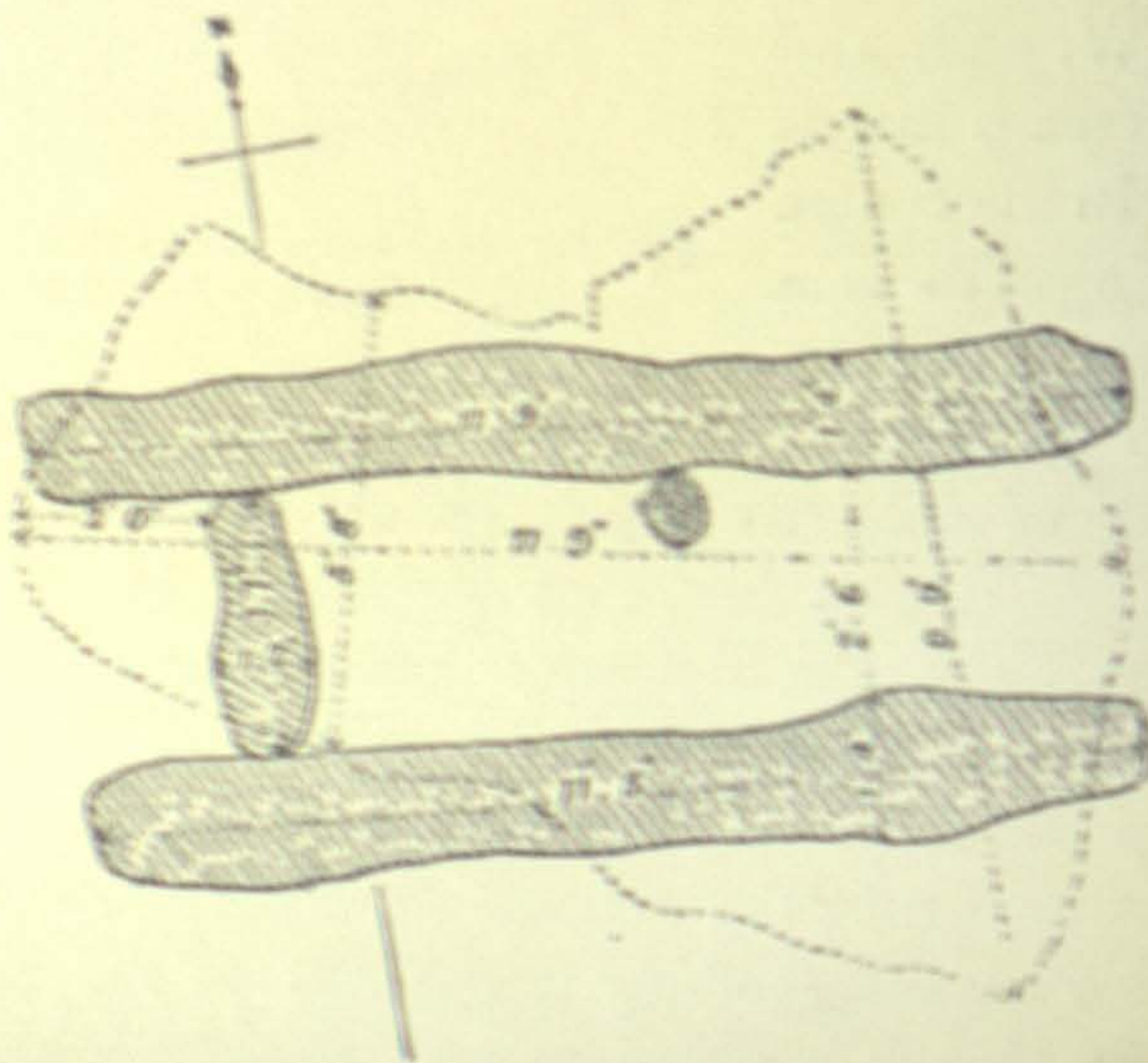


FIG. 688.—Plan of the dolmen El Ekh'a El Mutrakihat. From Schumacher.

As is the case with all the dolmens of these districts, the east end is narrower than the west. Some few of this group lie



N.W. and S.E. In some there is only one end-stone, and that is at the west, the east end being left open. These dolmens stand about 24 to 30 feet apart, and the intermediate spaces are occupied by lines of large blocks arranged in two parallel rows 3 feet 3 ins. apart.

In the interior of the dolmens, 14 inches under the earth, is found a mass consisting of ashes mixed with small fragments of charcoal, and remnants of decayed bone. Among the charred remains copper rings are found, measuring 3 inches in diameter. Upon these, round a portion of the outer side, a primitive form of decoration, consisting of a zigzag pattern, is engraved. A slab

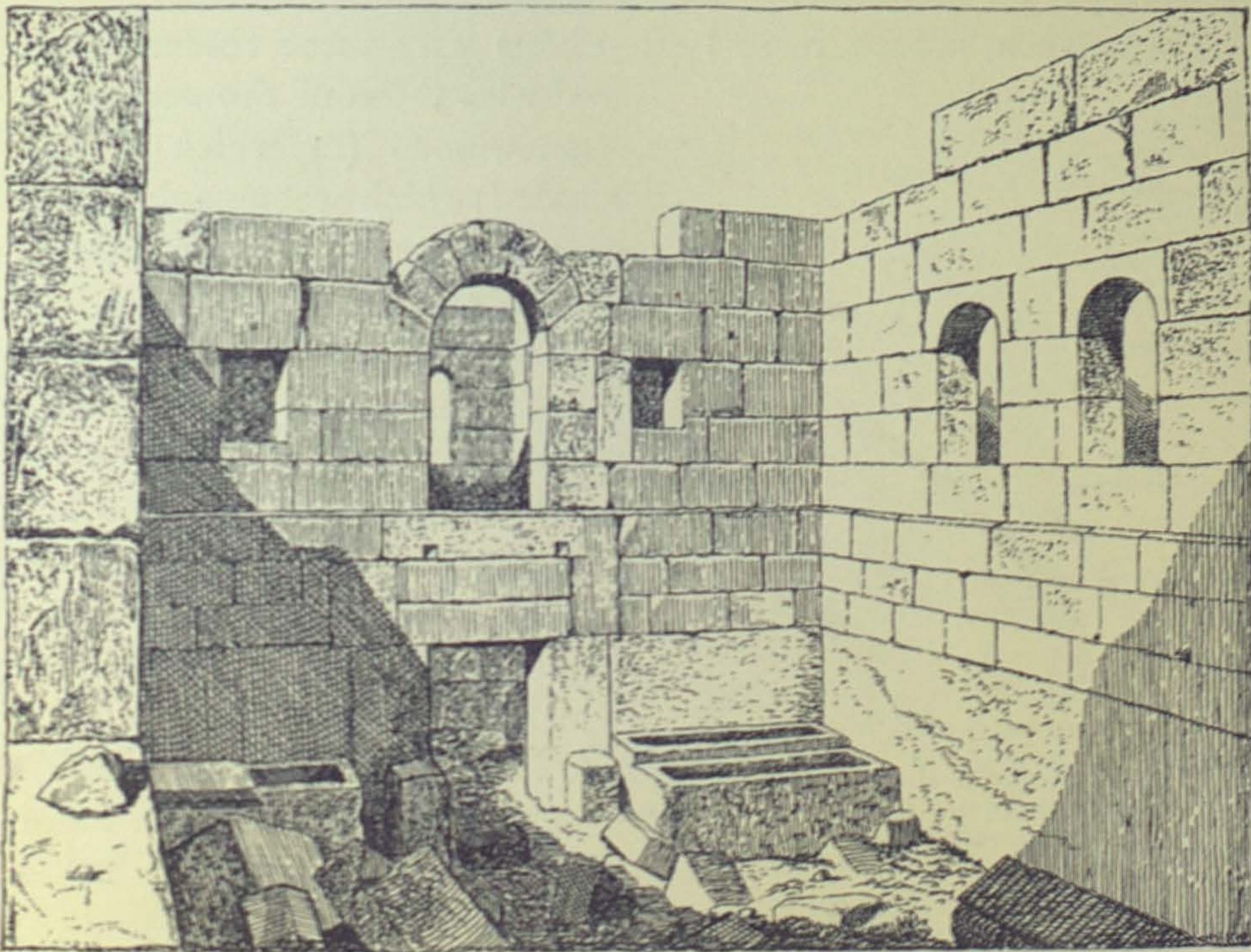


FIG. 689.—Specimen of architecture at Kherbet-Hâss, Syrie Centrale. *Etched by the author from an engraving in De Vogüé's work.*

of stone was always found under the charred mass. Such were the results of Herr Schumacher's exploration of more than one hundred out of the eight hundred to a thousand dolmens which compose this Kefr Yûba group.

The resemblances between Irish antiquities and those of Syria by no means stops short at the dolmen epoch.

With regard to the buildings of the Roman period in Central



Syria, I will merely say, in parenthesis, that their architecture stands in closer relation to that of the early ecclesiastical structures of Ireland than does any other style in existence. To convince ourselves of the truth of this statement, we have only to glance through the plates of M. de Vogüe's magnificent work, "Syrie Centrale," and then, taking up Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," turn to such examples as Kilmacduagh on the coast of Connemara, or the interior of Trinity Church, Glendalough. In Syria, too, may be found structures seemingly analogous to the much-debated "Round Tower" of Ireland on the one hand, and to the minaret of the Mosque (borrowed also from a pre-Christian prototype) on the other.

So struck, indeed, have I often been with these resemblances,

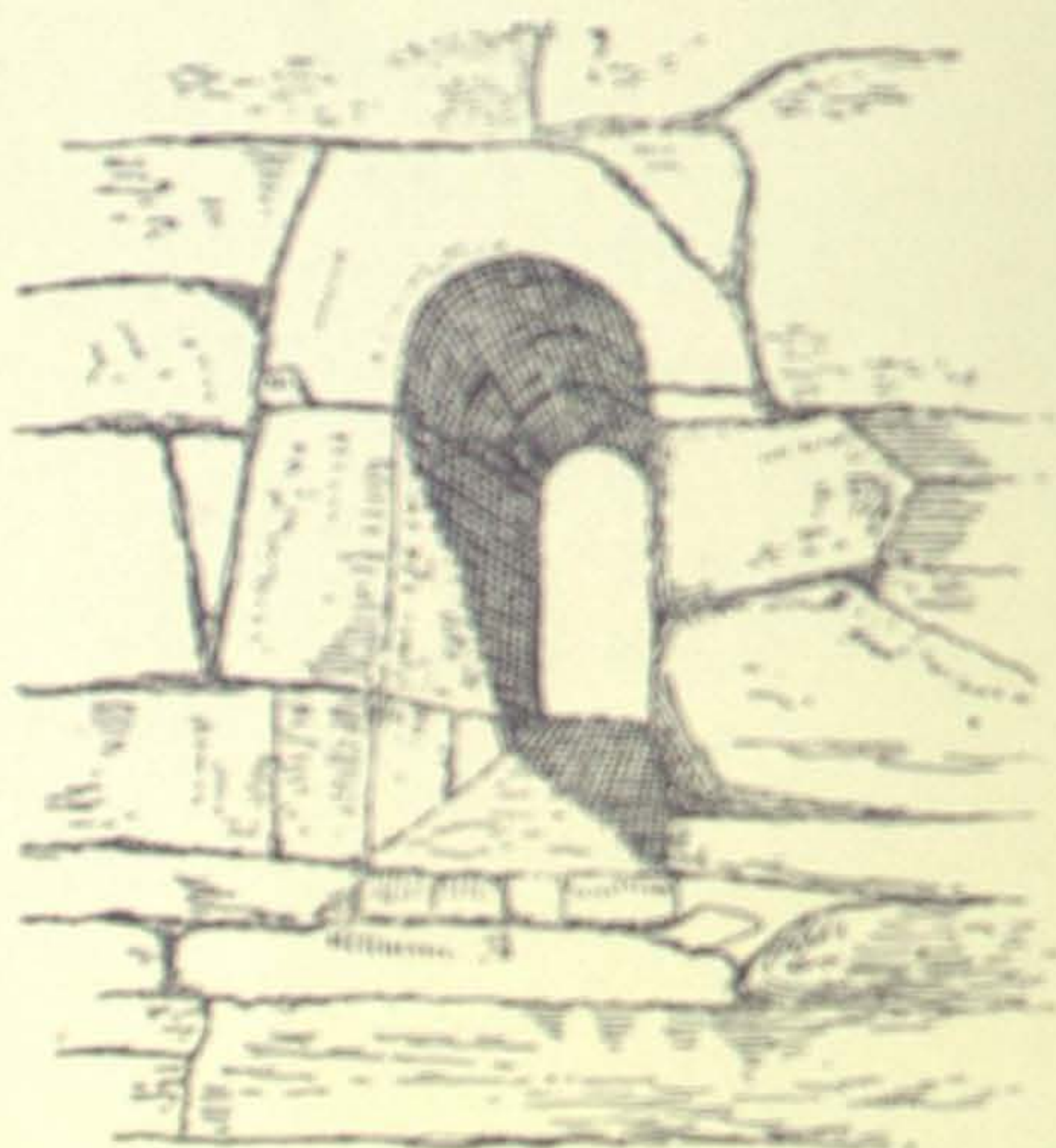


FIG. 690.—Window in the east end of St. Mac Dara's church on the island called Cruach Mic Dara (Connemara). After Petrie.

and with those of the concurrent superstitions (to which I have alluded) which accompanied them, that I have sometimes thought that a chapter must have been lost to history, and that a time there must have been — commencing none can say when, but not terminating before the fifth century, A.D.—when a mighty superstition — a vast and far-reaching system of Death-Cultus, which had made its way westward from Central Asia perhaps — settled down on these lands, and was thence diffused *north-*

*wards* through Scythia to the Baltic and the Elbe, first by pagans, then by Christians, each of whom absorbed and assimilated its fetichism and its ceremonial forms, and *southwards*, again, to Arabia and Africa, where the followers of Mahomet preserve the traces of it to-day in their tomb-worship and well-worship and rag-offerings, just as, in the furthest island of North-Western Europe, do the followers of Christ.

Granted the existence of such a centre in these parts, and we know not how much of our folk-lore, and how many of those superstitions, the origin of which is so obscure, may not be attributable to it. With the *dessil*, that is to say, the moving sun-



ways, or right-hand ways, round some venerated spot,† we might connect the dance of the dervishes who, eight in number, move round in an orbit, though in a contrary direction, perhaps in accordance with a Mahommedan precept. In these dervishes and their dance, Captain Conder thinks we may see a survival of the mystic Cabiri, "the Seven Great Ones, or planetary gods, revolving round the green centre of the terrestrial globe." With the Midsummer fires, again, why should we not connect the worship of Tammuz at the summer solstice by the Phœnicians in their holy city of Byblos?

That the merchant cruises of this latter people could have, as

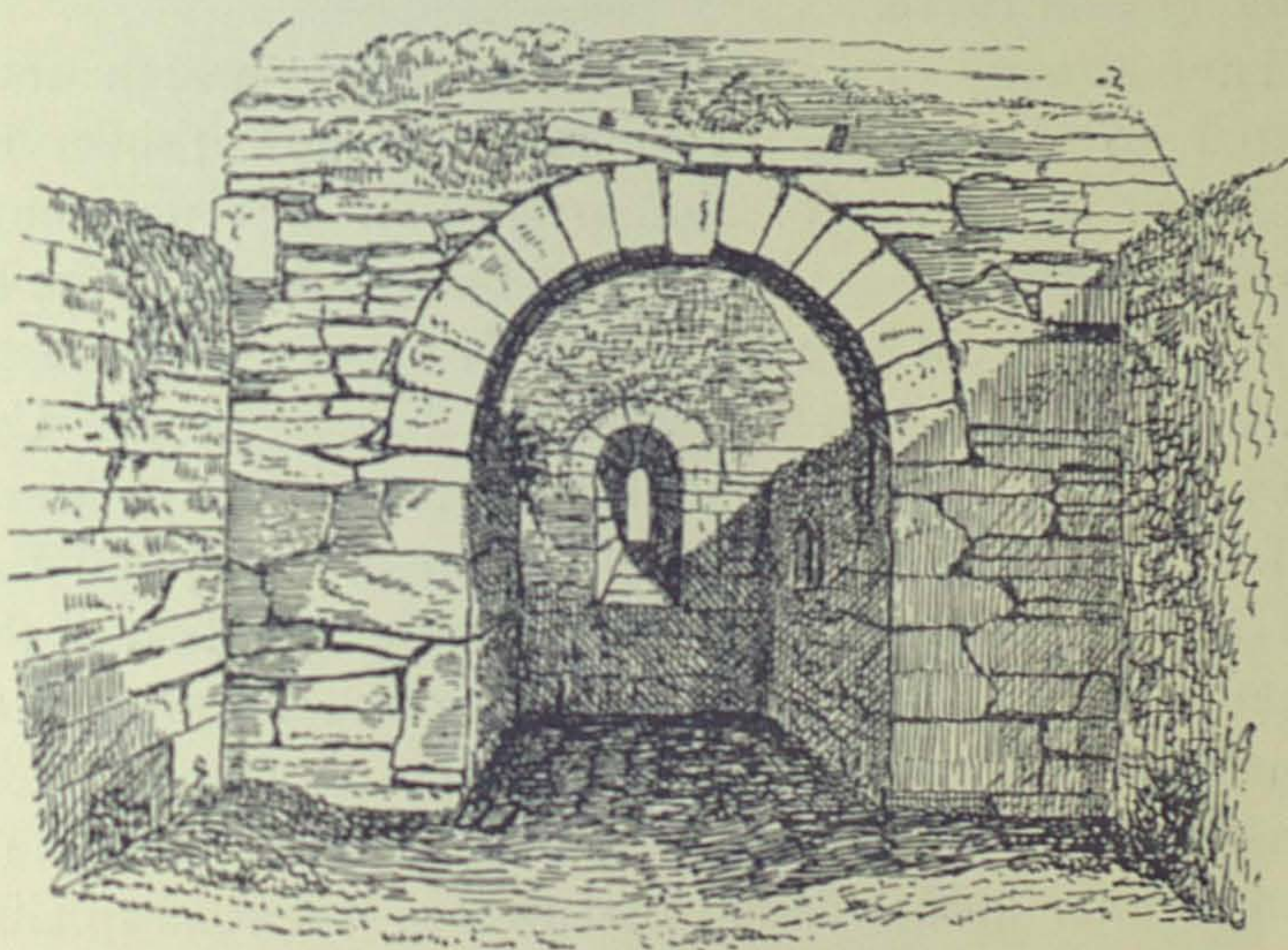


FIG. 691.—Trinity Church at Glendalough. *After Petrie.*

some have asserted, borne any appreciable part in the implanting in all the Western and North-western lands of so widespread and deeply rooted a system of mythos is inconceivable. It follows that, if it started from Syria, it went overland into the countries where it is found.

It is, however, rather to Persia than to Syria that we would look for the original centre whence fire-worship went westward. The name of the present desert of Mogon, where the surface is ablaze with flames naturally produced, recalls the Baron von

† This was the "paganus cursus" so especially prohibited in the Capitularies of Charlemagne. Irish bishops, as they called themselves, on their travels, were popularly supposed to be infected with this demonstrative form of heresy. Poor Saint Rudbert, although of royal Frankish stock, mixed with the blood of Irish chieftains, had to put up with derision from the vulgar crowds who, not content with laughing at his ignorance of their language, were accustomed to look upon all Scotie pilgrims as "deceptores, gyrovagi, et cursores" (see "Hist. S. Rudberti;" Cavisius, "Thes. Mon. III.," pt. ii. p. 319).



Haxthauson's † account of the Holy-Land of Mugon, the country of the Median Magi, the cradle-land of the worship of Ormuzd, in the midst of the land of heroes, Iran proper, where burned the eternal and sacred fires of Baku.

The course of *historic* immigrations, as pointed out by tradition, was, we feel sure, that of *prehistoric* immigrations as well. Thus when we find Eustathius ‡ and Theophylact speaking of the Unni (Huns) as a Scythian race on the Caspian, possessing vast treasures of gold, and tributaries, first of the Medes and then of the Babylonians, migrating into Europe by way of the Palus Mæotis, we may see reason to think that elder nations, too, had passed along that route.

We have already spoken of trade-routes by which amber was transmitted to the south. Professor Virchow thinks that the earliest route by which bronze arrived in Europe went northwards from the Black Sea, his opinion being based on the fact that the bronze implement so common in Northern Europe, namely, the celt, was not found in Greece, Asia Minor, or the Caucasus. He considered that the original inventors of bronze were to be sought for in Central Asia, in the Hindu Koosh, § and the Altai. Some archæologists have thought that the origination of this compound metal is to be looked for among the Semitic peoples of Western Asia, and others among the Turanian aborigines of the lower Euphrates. Worsaae considered that India was the cradle-land of the bronze industry, and that thence it spread to China and Siberia, and so over the Urals to the N.E. of Europe. Sophus Müller especially remarked the resemblance (implying relationship) of the forms of the old North and Middle European bronzes to the Siberian ones, and the difference between them and those of Greece, and from this concluded that the bronze culture came from Asia to Northern and Middle Europe northwards from the Black Sea, but that Greece received it by a southern route.

All these authorities were agreed that it originated in Asia, and most of them that it came into being among a Turanian people. ||

† "Tribes of the Caucasus," transl. Taylor, p. 22. When Pliny calls the Druids *Magi*, he and the Christians who followed him, may not have been far wrong.

‡ "Comment. Dion. Perieg." 730.

§ Speaking of the people on either side these mountains, Uifalvy says:—"Ce peuple irano-hindou était avant sa séparation une race mélangée de deux types bien distincts; un type châtain, petit (ou moyen) et brachycéphalique, et un type brun, grand, et dolichocéphalique." See his "Travels in Northern Persia."

|| The similarity observable between no less than four types of copper celts from Gungeria (India) and Irish examples is very noteworthy (Proc. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, May, 1870, pl. ii.). It is as striking a proof of community of origin as is the Aryan language itself.



Doubtless, many of the bronzes reached the North directly from the South, and several archæologists, including Lindensmidt, Hostmann, and Genthe, lay the weight of their opinion into the scale of an Etruscan origin. Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that more eastern routes were in existence, and the way for them had already been paved in the Neolithic Age, for we find the great stone cists, which Kohn and Mehlis call dolmens, as far south as Kociubinsce, E.S.E. of Lemborg, in Galicia. The contents of the tomb at this place were Neolithic, but among them was a roundish piece of amber.

Most remarkable among the evidences of actual connection in commerce between the Levant and the Baltic is the appearance in the stone cists on the left bank of the Vistula, and so northward even to Cornwall,† of the little shell, *Cypræa moneta*, called the money-cowrie, to which I have alluded, the home of which is the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. In the stone cists in Germany and on the Vistula these little shells are found in what are called "face urns," which, although they have not so high an antiquity as the "Owl-eyed Athene" vases from Hissarlik, reproduce the latter marvellously. The distribution of these "face urns," on which a rude face, and sometimes the breasts of a woman, are formed in clay, extends southward from Pomerania. The Vistula limits their range on the east, and the Rega on the west, but they extend S. to Gonsow (S. of Posen), and to several sites in Silesia near the Oder. They are found in Hungary, where, as in some examples at Hissarlik, the face is in general on the cover.

During the so-called Hallstadt period,‡ namely, the period of bronze which succeeded the Neolithic epoch in West Prussia, the practice of cremation was introduced among the inhabitants of the Vistula district.

Since the Syrian dolmens containing incinerated remains are seen to belong to the close of the Neolithic period in that district, we may take this opportunity of saying something as to the introduction of the practice of cremation into Western Europe. "During the Neolithic period," says Dr. Lissauer, "the *burial* of the corpse was the rule among the inhabitants of the district of the Vistula. Through contact with the southern people, among whom

† See p. 523, *supra*.

‡ See "Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt in Oberösterreich," by Baron E. von Sacken.



incineration was earlier in vogue, the new custom spread northwards, and the dwellers by the shores of the Baltic and the German Ocean were made acquainted with, and adopted it. In what is known as the Hallstadt epoch (so called from the type of bronze objects found in that district), the new practice prevailed exclusively in West Prussia, a fact which shows more than anything else the influence of trade connections with the south upon the ideas of the more primitive population of that country, and of those more northern peninsulas and islands, Denmark, Scandinavia, and the Britannic Isles, to which it spread."

Dr. Lissauer, and before him Jacob Grimm, have remarked upon the revolution in ideas which must have been brought about during this period of "the bringing of the bronze." With the passing away of the custom of inhumation, "a step forward was taken in spiritual development." The pride that comes with knowledge spurns decay. Man saw in himself an imperishable something, and, elated with the idea, pictured his future in the gilded throne-rooms of Paradise, in accordance with eastern taste in lands where the notion was born, or by the drinking board of Valhalla in those northern lands to which it spread. Fire consumed the earthly shell, in order to set free the soul purified by the divine heat, to ascend with the smoke of the pile to its home among eternal gods beyond the clouds. It is with this new epoch of culture that the idea of immortality, according to those writers, commenced. Some trace of a tradition that burning and a new religion came hand-in-hand to the Baltic shores has been thought by some to underlie the statement in the *Heimskringla*, that the "Age of Incineration first began with the law-giving of Odin."

The source to which we must look for this complete transformation was the South. The aboriginal inhabitants of the North and West were dolichocephalic savages. Those who were the heralds of culture were brachycephalic immigrants, among whom two divisions may be noticed, those who buried their dead contracted in cists, with a vase for food or drink, and those who burned the body and placed the ashes in a vault on the floor-slab, upon which the corpse may sometimes have been consumed, or in an urn. The former of these divisions of immigrants were, when they appeared, still in their Neolithic Age; the latter were the introducers of metal, and with or in the urn containing their ashes



have not infrequently been found those riveted dagger-blades which were actual importations from the South before the natives of the North commenced to cast imitations of them for themselves. It follows that the introduction of Southern culture and the metals was no mere question of trade and commerce passing to and fro between two allophylian races. It involved the passing of the people themselves,—a vast and long-continued movement of race from south-east to north-west, as over a wide heraldic bend, across the face of the several countries of Western Europe. It is curious to observe how constant this direction is;—from the Black Sea to the Baltic;—from the western passes of the Alps to Brittany;—from Malaga to Galicia, will be found the traces of the earliest brachycephali, and the subsequent bringers of the bronze, mingled with those of the dolmen-building aborigines (just emerging from their cavern-epoch), whose more megalithic structures the new-comers often utilized,† or sometimes joined them in erecting, or even erected for themselves.‡

Although fire has destroyed so many hundred thousand traces of these people, as far as anthropological evidence goes, there is much to show that to them, and to the sacrificial practices they introduced, belong the stone-circles, which, dating back to the Neolithic period, were still in use in Scandinavia for the slaughter of captives, in times which are not beyond reach of reliable historic tradition. To them, too, belong the menhirs and the cisted cairns.

As to their relation to the dolmens, the evidence goes to show, as I have said before, that the earliest forms of the latter, the structures in the Long Barrows of Britain, for example, were the work of the pure dolichocephalic aborigines of Atlantic, Iberian, or Mediterranean stock, call it which we will; and this fact leads up to a further point, namely, that independently of the influence of the brachycephalic peoples, the native stock who buried their dead unburnt (the bodies being either entire or cut in pieces) were not devoid of superstition in the form of a cultus of the dead, since on no other ground can the structural phenomena presented by the earliest dolmens be explained. The transformation, therefore, which would have taken place

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† As in cases where food-vessels and contracted burials have been found in dolmens.

‡ As in some southern provinces of France, where only brachycephalic skulls are found.



when incineration was introduced on the later wave of immigration from the south, would not have been from a condition of no religion to one of religious belief, but from a cult which was probably filthy and material in the *fetich* sense (instance the worship of clay from graveyards), to one which was purist and spiritual (instance the appearance of the spirit of a divine hero, once believed to have been a living man, to help his descendants when pressed in battle).

It will not be amiss here to trace the tradition and practice of incineration in Northern Europe in the later ages. According to the Norse sagas, it was Odin, the leader of the Asa-Men into Scandinavia, who, re-enacting in the latter country the laws of that from which he had come, that is to say of Asgard on the Palus Mœtis, commanded that the dead should be burned. Their property should be placed on the pyre and burned with them, in which case it would be theirs in Valhalla—that heaven of feasting and fighting, of fair women and debauch, the notion of which was evidently likewise of Southern and Eastern origin—a curious conception, indeed, in which were commingled the luxurious repose of the land of the Houris and the love of war and restless longing for change without which no life would have been worth living in the eyes of the ubiquitous clansmen who were scouring the Scythian plains.

The ashes of the dead were to be thrown into the sea or buried in the earth. Over great men mounds were to be raised, and over "manful men" *bauta-stones*, that is, in Irish *dalláns*. "The First Age," we read in the *Heimskringla*, "was that of Burning. Men were burned and *bauta-stones* raised."

The bodies of Sigurd, called "the Hunnish one," and Brynhild were burned, and their mound was reddened with the blood of those who perished with them on the pyre. The body of Baldr was carried out, for the burning voyage, on a ship. His wife Nanna, daughter of Nep, died of grief. She was laid on the pyre, and it was set on fire. Thor pushed a Dverg named Lit into the fire, and he was burned. A body was sometimes buried first and burned afterwards.†

To the Age of Burning succeeded that of raising cairns, but

† Du Chaillu, "Viking Age," pp. 320, 325, 332. "Special places were built for burning the dead." On the island of Fyen, not far from Broholm, was one. Near it were numerous sites of graves. The pavement was made of cobble-stones, the size of a man's foot, etc., id. p. 322. See also "The Heimskringla," by Sam. Laing, edit. R. B. Anderson, p. 264.



the burning of the body continued long after among the Swedes and Northmen.

In the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf the body of the chief is burned on a funeral pyre, into which precious things are thrown, and a mound is raised "high on Hrones-næsse" that his kindred rovers may behold it,

"When the Brentings,  
Over the dark sea-flood,  
Come floating from far." †

Among the Herulians the custom of burning the dead existed in the days of Procopius, who described the ceremony, which was accompanied by the Indian practice of *suttee*, the wife being bound in honour, under the penalty of being held in contempt ever after if she declined, to strangle herself on the funeral pile.‡

Othere § describes the custom of burning the dead among the Esthonians. When a person died, the body lay unburnt with his relations and friends for a month, sometimes two, and that of a king or other great man even a longer time, sometimes as long as half a year, according to the extent of his wealth, the corpse all the time lying above ground in the house. During all this time drinking and sports were carried on, until the day of the burning arrived. In this carouse a large portion of the property of the deceased was expended, and for the remainder, which was placed in piles at stated distances asunder, races were run on horseback. So particular were they that the body should be wholly consumed by fire, that if any one found a whole bone remaining the relatives were mulcted in a heavy fine.

In the Capitularies of Charlemagne || "de partibus Saxoniae," in the year 790, are two ordinances levelled respectively against burning the bodies of the dead according to the pagan rite, and so reducing the bones to ashes, and against sacrificing a human being to the devil, and making offerings to demons upon the victim.

Writing of the Prussians, the Archdeacon Jacobus Leodiensis ¶ tells us that they (the Prussi) promised him, for themselves and their heirs, that in future they would bury their dead in cemeteries after the manner of Christians, and would neither burn the

† Beowulf, ll. 5610-5612.

‡ "De Bell. Goth.," lib. ii. c. 14.

§ King Alfred's "Orosius;" edit. Bohn, p. 255.

|| Karoli Magni "Capitul." See Soc. Archéol. du Départ. d'Ille et Vilaine, Rennes, 1862, p. 71, paper by M. A. André.

¶ "Neues Lautsitzisches Mag.," Görlitz, vol. v. p. 202.



bodies nor bury them underground together with their horses, arms, clothes, and other valuables, as had been their custom, nor in any other particular continue to practise pagan rites.

Many other passages might be quoted to the same effect. It is sufficient that we have seen that at one time incineration was practised by every nation bordering on the Baltic Lake.

I am not aware that any reference to incineration exists in the ancient literature of Ireland. Several passages which at one time were supposed to have reference to it have been shown to bear a totally different meaning.†

In an Irish collection of Canons there is, however, a notice both of incineration and of cairn-burial as practised previous to the introduction of Christian customs into that island. After stating that kings only in early times used to be buried in *basilicas*, it adds the reason:—"For the bodies of the rest of the community were either consumed by fire or buried in a heap of stones."‡

Unfortunately, the practice of incineration leaves us absolutely in the dark with respect to what manner of men they were who raised the dolmens of Syria and those of the adjoining districts. Geographically, as well as in some of their structural details, they occupy a position intermediate between the Caucasian and the Indian groups, although it is perhaps the safer course to connect them rather with the North-African examples.

With respect, on the one hand, to the view entertained by the eminent ethnologist, Professor Virchow, that the first inventors of bronze were to be sought in the Hindu Koosh and in the Altai—the high lands of Central Asia—and on the other to that of archæologists in Western Europe who have found evidences of a brachycephalic people in connection with stone-circles, menhirs, and cairns, it is interesting to notice the description of a group of megalithic remains, and the legends and customs attached to them given us by M. Ferdinand De Lanoye, in 1865.§ It is situated in the gorge of Kora, in the country of the Kirghis, nine hundred miles due E. of the Sea of Aral, and about two

† Sullivan's Introd. to O'Curry's M. and C., cccxxii., n.

‡ "Die Irische Kanonensammlung," 2. Auflage, Leipzig, 1885, edit. Wasserchleben, lib. xlv. cap. 20, p. 206. The passage is as follows:—"Sinodus Hibernensis: Basilion Græce, rex Latine, hinc et basilica regalis, quia in primis temporibus reges tantum sepeliebantur in ea, nomen sortita est; nam ceteri homines sive igne, sive acervo lapidum conditi sunt."

§ "La Sibirie," Paris, pp. 376-382.



hundred miles W.N.W. of Kuldja. The monuments stand by the side of a stream which runs through a narrow gully shut in by towering cliffs. Five enormous monoliths, the highest of which the author compares to a church-steeple, stand erect, while other prostrate ones lie near by. "The tallest still standing" measured, according to M. Lauoye, 60 feet in height, 24 feet in breadth at the base, and 19 feet thick, inclining 8 feet out of its perpendicular in the direction of the river. The other four blocks vary from 45 to 50 feet high. One of them is 5 feet broad, the others less. Two are exactly perpendicular, and the remaining two are leaning, one of them to such an extent as to make it appear as if it had nearly lost its balance. West of these, at a distance of 200 m., are three other blocks of stone, under one of which is a cavity used as a cabin.

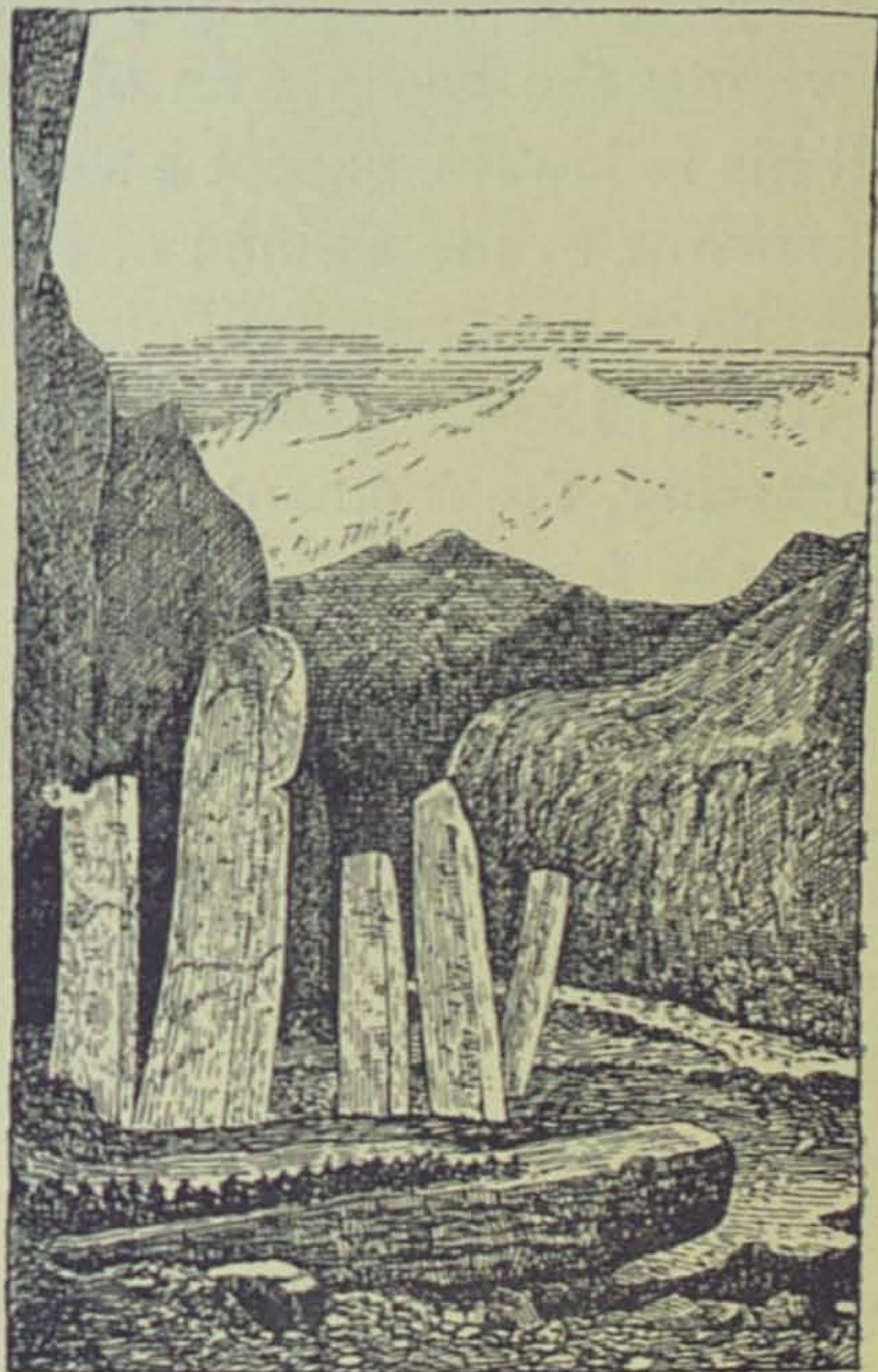


FIG. 692.—Menhirs in the Kora Valley (Siberia). After M. F. De Lanoye.

Not far from these is a cairn composed of quartz and other stone. It is circular and dome-shaped, measuring 42 feet in diameter, and 28 feet in height. Around its base, at a distance of 6 feet from it, blocks of quartz are placed in a circle.

Among the native Kirghis this tomb is regarded with veneration, and approached tremblingly. Each one who comes to it *ties up there, according to custom, a shred of cloth*, as an offering to "the Spirit of the Dead."

There is a legend with regard to this glen, that once upon a time it was the abode of powerful Genii, who were continually at war with others of kindred race, who had selected for their dwelling-place regions adjacent. To its occupants, after their raids and pillagings, the glen offered a safe retreat, and their sentinels were stationed on the tops of the cliffs which shut the valley in. At length the audacity of the robber genii of the glen became insufferable. Innumerable other Genii from the country round attacked them. The Devil himself came to the aid of the



assailants, and after a terrific conflict, in which the elements bore their part, the Genii of the glen were worsted.

On a subsequent occasion, a bold chieftain ventured into the valley, upon which a gigantic man of the Genii appeared, and severing the rocks with his flaming sword, slew the intruder and all his followers, except a very few who survived to carry the tale of sorrow to the women of the tribe. These, on hearing the news, set up a great lamentation, until at length a spirit, called the "White Lady," took pity on them, and, through her instrumentality, the remnant of the tribe were permitted at last to go into the fatal valley, and raise a tomb over their chieftain, since which no Kirghis shepherd has brought his flocks to pasture there.

The Evil Spirit himself had his dwelling not far off in a valley high up in the portion of the mountains of Alatan, in the Bolor range, called Bascan, where a natural cave is still pointed out as his abode.

Here, in the very heart of Asia, in the centre of a district where brachycephali still, as from time immemorial, hold their own, we have a version of the story of the Titans, side by side with that of a White Lady corresponding to the one who presides over the tombs of the heroes of the West; side by side, too, with the practice of hanging up rags at a venerated sepulchral site; and with an assemblage of venerated rocks, possibly menhirs, near by, and a ring-encircled cairn.†

In Pallas's "Travels in Siberia," ‡ he describes some tombs which he had met with near the Usuk, as well as on the mountainous *steppes* of the Yius and the Jenisei, and in the Altai range. They resemble, he says, almost exactly, the Giants' and Heroes' Beds of some parts of Germany, those especially in Brandenburg. They are elongated in shape, and consist of slender stones set up around an area which is sometimes flat and sometimes occupied by a mound. They are almost always situated on the bank of a stream, a lake, or a river, the most beautiful sites being selected for them, sometimes on an elevation, sometimes at the foot of a mountain, in a smooth and pleasant valley.

† All this may be mere coincidence, as also may be the circumstance that, according to Ptolemy, this very region was the abode of the tribe called Tectosaces, a mere coincidence also with the name of the European people Tectosages near Toulouse, and on the borders of the Hercynian forest. See Ptol. "Geog. VI.," 14, 9. The Tectosaces dwelt on this side Mount Imaus, *i.e.* the Bolor range, the chain which divided Northern Asia, according to the ancient writers, into *Scythia intra Imaum*, and *Scythia extra Imaum*.

‡ "Voyages en Sibérie, Extraits des Journeaux de divers savans voyageurs;" vol. i. pp. 176-7 ("Voyage de Tomsk à Krasnojarsk").



The Tartars do not account those who erected them as their own ancestors. There is an old tradition preserved among the natives that this country was once the abode of two brothers, representing allied races, Pallas thinks, one of whom, with the assistance of his people, had extracted much gold and silver from the heart of the mountains, while the other was rich in servants and cattle. The latter had so frequently plundered the former of the treasure he had acquired, and caused him such continual vexation, that he had recourse to the Emperor of China, who gave him and his people a country further east. In the tombs which are assigned to this people are found arms and implements of copper, and in the better ones, ornaments of gold and silver. The peasants brought to Pallas copper lance-heads, lumps of silver of light weight, daggers often of fine workmanship, knife-blades, little whetstones, arrow-heads of bone and copper of shapes still in use in Siberia, all sorts of figures cast in *bas-relief* of reindeer, stags, etc., quantities of trifling objects (*babioles*), and quantities of thin copper bands. It was also said that the remains of the wooden stretchers on which the corpses had been laid had been found in some tombs. Among other articles found were little white stones cut in the form of the shells called *Monnaie de Guinée* (*cypræa nodosa*), and which served for attachment to something, perhaps to the bridles of horses, a purpose to which the Hungarian Hussards still put these very shells. We may compare with interest these facts with the discovery of the money-cowries in prehistoric tombs in Germany and Cornwall, to which allusion has been made.

In another place Pallas speaks† of an immense group of similar tombs near the Abakansk. It seems that gold had been found in these.‡

Before passing from Siberia, I may mention the existence of a lake legend which has its exact parallel in those of Western Europe, as at Lough Neagh, namely, that a city lies submerged beneath the water, and that the sound of bells is heard. The passage which contains the account is in Gerard Mercator,§ to whom John Balak, who had taken up his residence at Duisburgh,

† *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

‡ For more on the subject of the Siberian tombs, see J. G. Gmelin, "Reise durch Sibirien, 1733-43" (Göttingen, 1751), vol. i. p. 367, *et seqq.*; also "Die alten Gräbern in Sibirien," a paper by Mueller in J. J. Haigold's "Beylagen zum Neuveränderten Russland," vol. ii. (Riga, 1770), pp. 195-208.

§ See Ulster, "Journ. of Archæol.," vol. iii. p. 348.



on the Osella, wrote a particular account of that river. He mentions another river, said to be a tributary of the Obi, but which, from other circumstances, seems to have been a tributary of the Yenisei, down which came "great vessels laden with rich and precious merchandize brought by a black and swart people." In ascending this river, men came to the great lake of Kittay, supposed to be Baikal, on whose banks were the Kara Kalmucks, who, he asserts, were the very people of Cathay. It is added that, "on the shores of this lake *had been heard sweet harmony of bells, and that stately and large buildings had been seen therein.*"

### INDIA.

We now turn to the dolmens of India. In the Transactions of the Roy. Irish Academy † will be found a paper by Col. Meadows-Taylor on those of the Dekkan. They are called by the people *Mori-Munni*, that is, "Mories' Houses," a people about

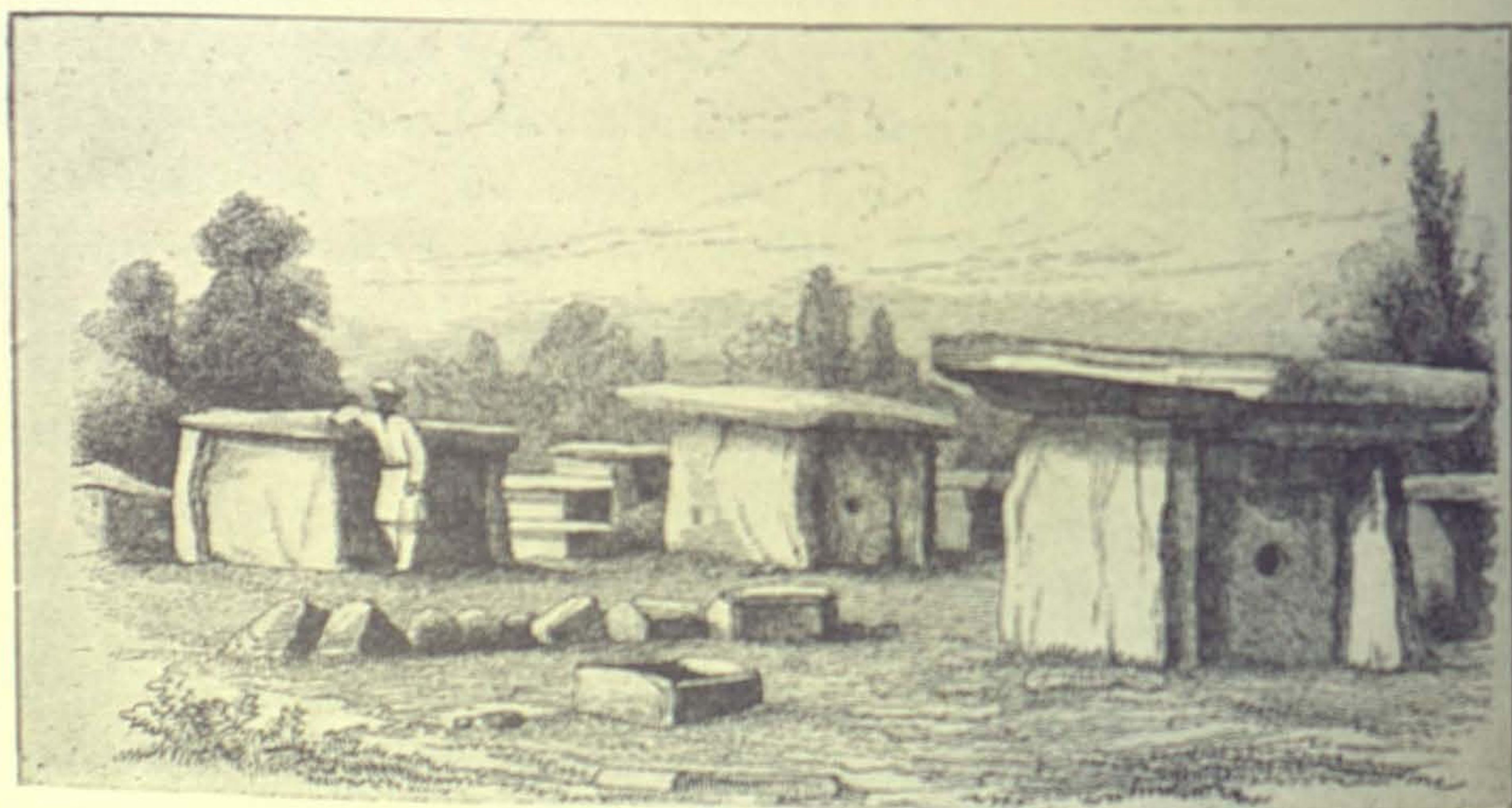


FIG. 693.—Dolmen-group in the Dekkan. *From Col. Meadows-Taylor.*

whom tradition relates that they were a dwarf race of great strength who lived here in remote ages.

The monuments occur in considerable groups, accompanied by cairns and barrows. Of two groups described, the larger contained a hundred cairns and dolmens covering about five acres.

† Vol. xxiv. pp. 329-367.



Some were open ; some closed. In the latter, when explored, it was usual to find a little black mould on the surface a few inches thick, and underneath this a layer of greyish-white earth having an antiseptic quality, brought from another locality. Intermingled with this earth, human ashes and portions of bone and charcoal were found, and also pieces of broken pottery, red and black—never an entire urn, or any other objects.

Many of the closed dolmens had round holes in the centre

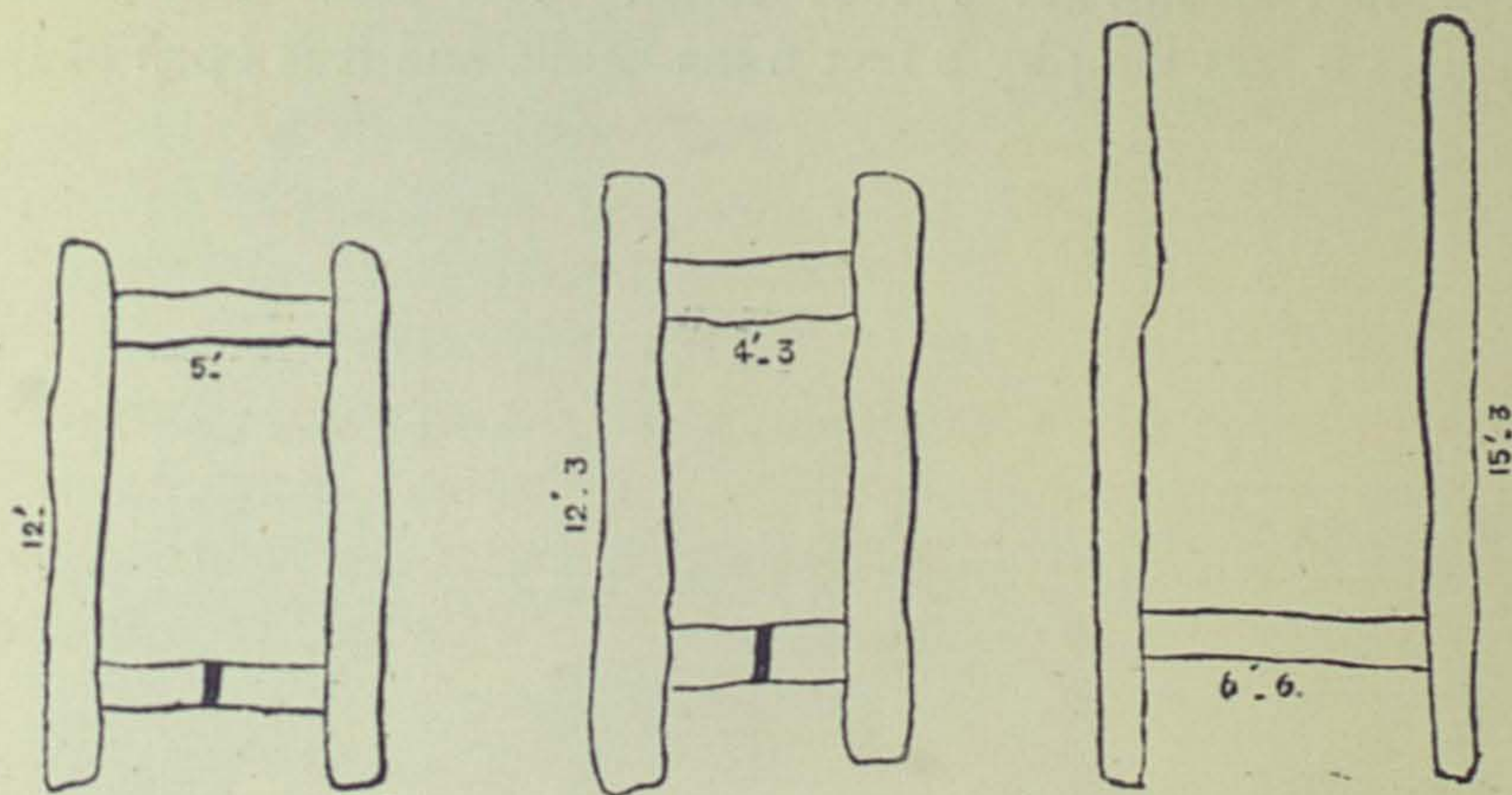


FIG. 694.—Examples of the ground-plans of dolmens. From Col. Meadows-Taylor.  
Two are closed, the third open.

of the slab on the S. side, never measuring more than 9 or less than 4 inches in diameter.

Col. Meadows-Taylor divides the structures into two classes, which he calls *kistvaens* and *cromlechs* ; the former are small and closed, the latter large and three-sided, being open at one end. The small ones or cists are only 2 feet long in the interior by 10 inches wide, so that they correspond to the closed cists of Europe. The larger ones have interiors measuring from 8 to 10 feet long, and from 6 to 8 feet broad, so that they correspond to the dolmens of the West.

Between the dolmens of Europe and those of Asia may be said to stand the Caucasian series, some examples of which, in the details of their construction, bear a very close resemblance to Dekkan examples on the one hand and North-Western European ones on the other. To illustrate my meaning, we may compare the fine dolmen in the gorge of Djouba in the Caucasus† (Fig. 675)

† "Mat. pour l'Histoire de l'Homme," 1884, p. 547.



with (1) Col. Meadows-Taylor's illustration of that at Rajunkolor † (Fig. 695), (2) with the French example, near Tours (Fig. 563), mentioned previously, and (3) with Irish examples from the County of Clare, as, for instance, that at Ballyganner. (Fig. 67).

The Dekkan example has a slab on either side measuring 15 feet 3 ins. long, 9 feet broad (*i.e.* high), and 1 foot 9 ins. to 1 foot thick. Its covering slab is 15 feet 9 ins. long, 10 feet 9 ins. broad, and 2 feet 9 ins. to 1 foot thick. The vault thus enclosed measures 8 feet long by 6 feet 6 ins. wide, and it is open at the S.

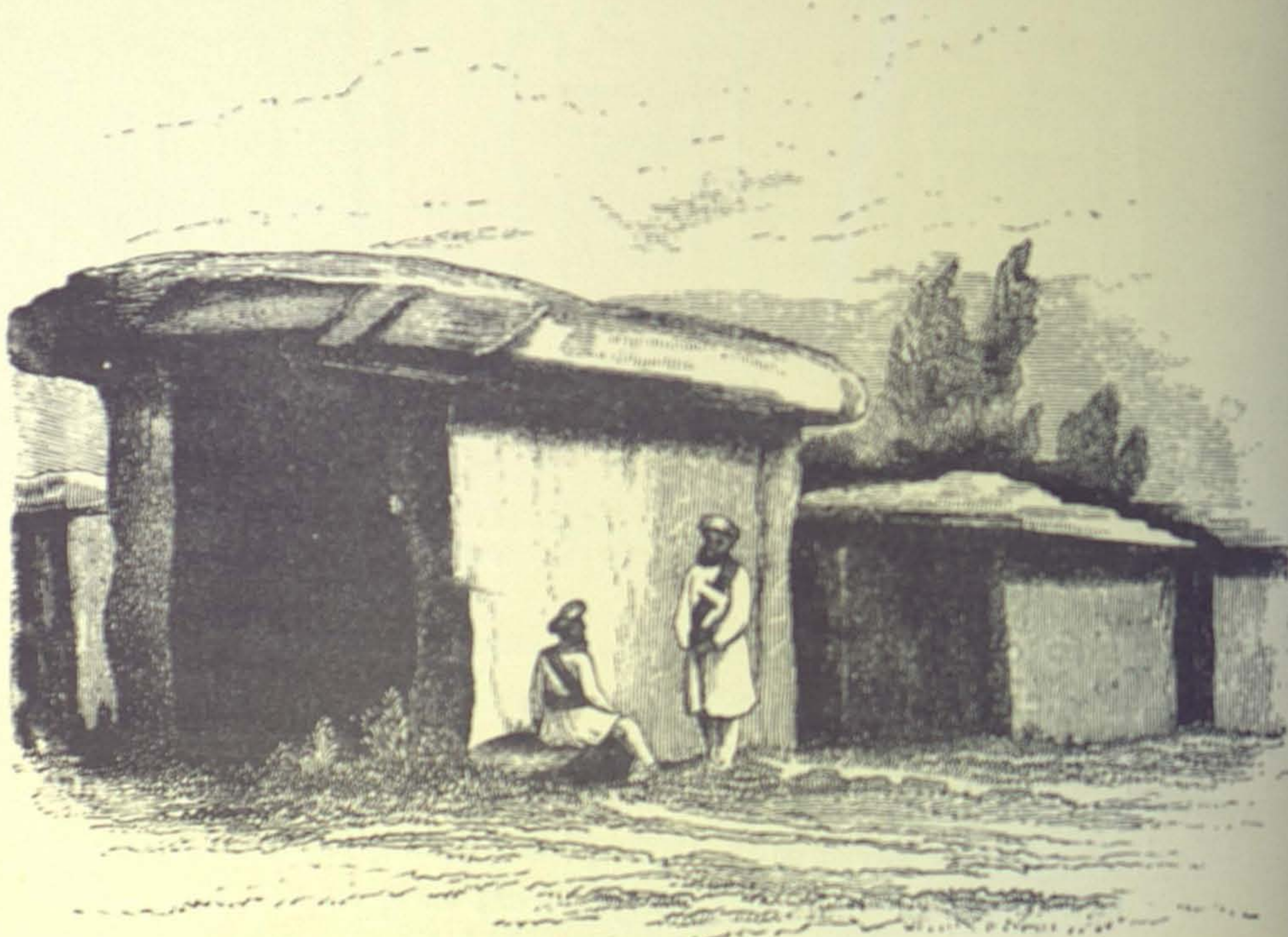


FIG. 695.—Dolmens at Rajunkolor. *From Col. Meadows-Taylor.*

end, there being no slab at all there; whereas in the Caucasian and West European structures there is a slab with an entrance space left open between one of its edges and the slab forming the side. The feature of a hole in one of the side-slabs, rare in European dolmens, is found in very numerous examples in the Caucasus, Syria, and India.

It seems to me to be probable that where the end was open the intention was to allow the entrance of the entire body of the devotee who came to worship and to make offerings to the

† Trans. R.I.A., vol. xxiv.; pp. 329, *et seqq.*



dead, while the purpose of the hole was for the hand alone to pass through and deposit within the tomb the votive gifts.

A dolmen at Coorg (Fig. 696), which is a double one, is provided with two cavities side by side, one for each cell, hollowed out of the tops of the terminal stones. It bears a singularly close resemblance to the cavities at the entrance of the structure in the tumulus at Plâs Newydd in Anglesey.†

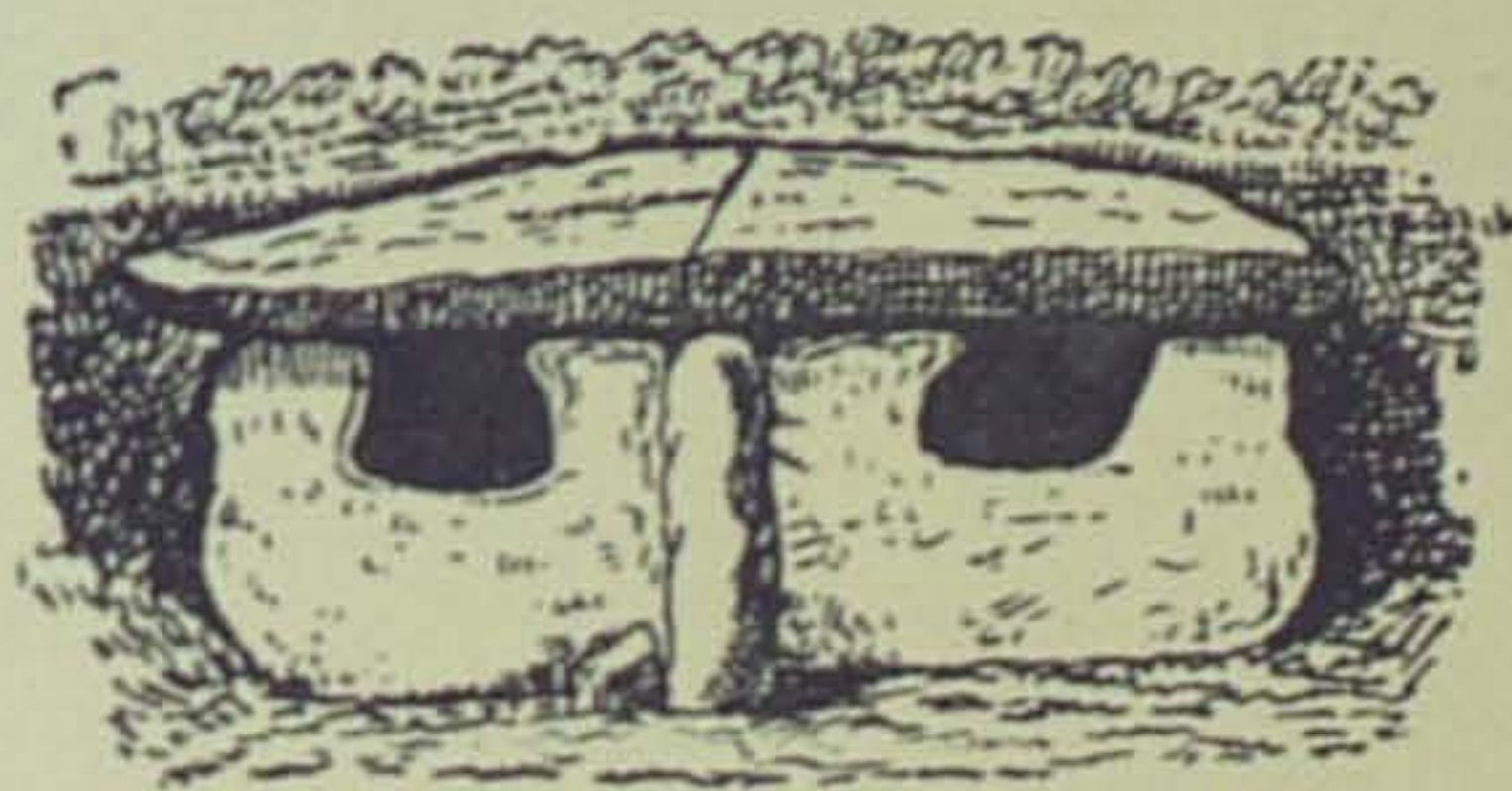


FIG. 696.—Double dolmen of Coorg, India. From a drawing by Lieut. Freeth.

Another Dekkan group is that at Huggeritgi. The dolmens here are constructed of limestone slabs resting upon solid granite rock as a foundation.

The limestone in this district lies naturally in *laminæ* so that no surface dressing is required, and it is easily quarried.

The largest example is a closed dolmen, the side-slabs measuring 15 feet 6 ins. long, and the end ones 6 feet each. The covering-stone is 11 feet 3 ins. long, by 7 feet 4 ins. broad, so that it slightly overlaps the side-stones. In the front slab is a round hole,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

In one of these vaults seven large urns were found, one of them 3 feet 9 ins. high, and 2 feet 3 ins. in diameter, but none perfect. They contained ashes, charcoal, and fragments of bones. One of the five ground-plans of these dolmens shows that there were two upright slabs forming the sides of an entrance or antechamber to the side in which was the hole. This feature occurs, as we have seen, in Swedish examples.‡

Another group comprised sixty-five dolmens. Four of the larger of these were surrounded by double concentric stone-circles. The largest dolmen measured 9 feet long by 6 feet 5 ins. broad. The covering-stone was 7 feet broad by 9 feet long, and from 1 to 2 feet thick.

In one of the cairns were two regular and complete cists. The eastern cist contained one perfect skeleton; the western one two skeletons, of which, however, the skull of only one was in the cist. In the case of the perfect skeleton the head was turned the wrong way to the body, showing that it had been beheaded. Both these skeletons were those of females. Amongst the earth

† Proc. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, 1868, p. 152, pl. 2.

‡ Figs. 463 and 466, *supra*.



above the cist the remains of several other bodies were found. They had been pitched down anyhow, and no skull lay near a skeleton. Col. Meadows-Taylor naturally concludes that human sacrifices took place here, and refers to the account in Herodotus of the funeral of a Scythian. †

At the N. end of one of the cists an iron lamp was discovered, and bones of an *iguana*. Skulls of dogs were also found.

In the ninth volume of the "Archæological Survey of India," ‡

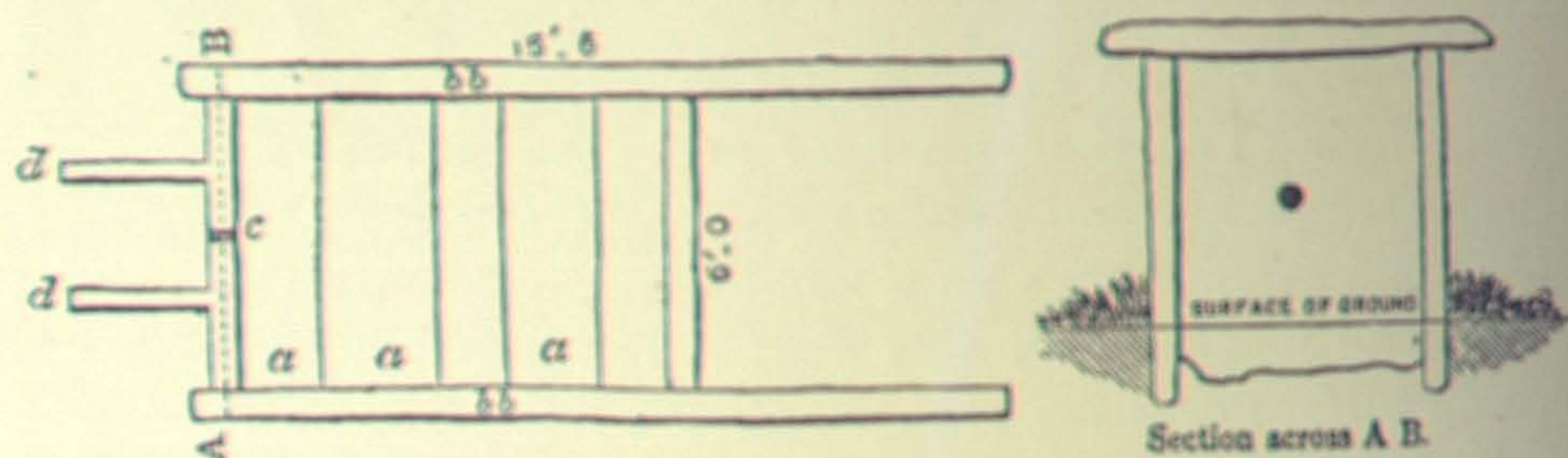


FIG. 697.—Ground-plan, section and details of a dolmen in the Dekkan. *a a a*, floor slabs; *b b*, side wall slabs; *c*, round hole in centre slab; *d d*, upright slabs for entrance: Contents, broken pottery, calcined bones, ashes (human), and charcoal mixed with grey earth.

an account will be found of dolmens in Keljhar. A tradition exists that these were raised by the Kurumbâr shepherds. A large one at Muhl was undoubtedly a place of worship, as a goat had been sacrificed in front of it only half an hour before the author of the account arrived on the spot. This *temple*, as he calls it, was 6 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 4 feet high. It was closed on three sides, but open towards the east. At the back there was a raised terrace of earth on which were set up a number of stones smeared with vermilion, each said to be a Kurmar Devi—the Gondi name for the deity of the Kurumbâr shepherds.

These "temples" are called *Mallâna* by the shepherds themselves, and they are generally built in pairs, one dedicated to Mallâna Deva, and the other to Mallâna Devi. There was a second small "cromlech" at Muhl close beside the larger one. The Kurumbârs sacrifice a goat to the Mallânas to save their flocks from tigers and murrain. The shrines are generally open to the east, but sometimes completely closed for the purpose of keeping the sacred stones which represent the Mallâna deities quite safe. Wooden figures are offered by sick people to avert

† "Hist.," lib. iv. c. 71. See note by Rawlinson, "Herod." vol. iii. pp. 58–62, and a section of a Scythian tomb, with the construction of the roof of which compare New Grange.  
‡ Cunningham, 1879, pl. xxv. p. 140.



death. Men killed by tigers and snakes are buried under similar dolmens raised on low mounds on which relatives place rude representations of horses.

Fifteen villages have two dolmens each. It is added that

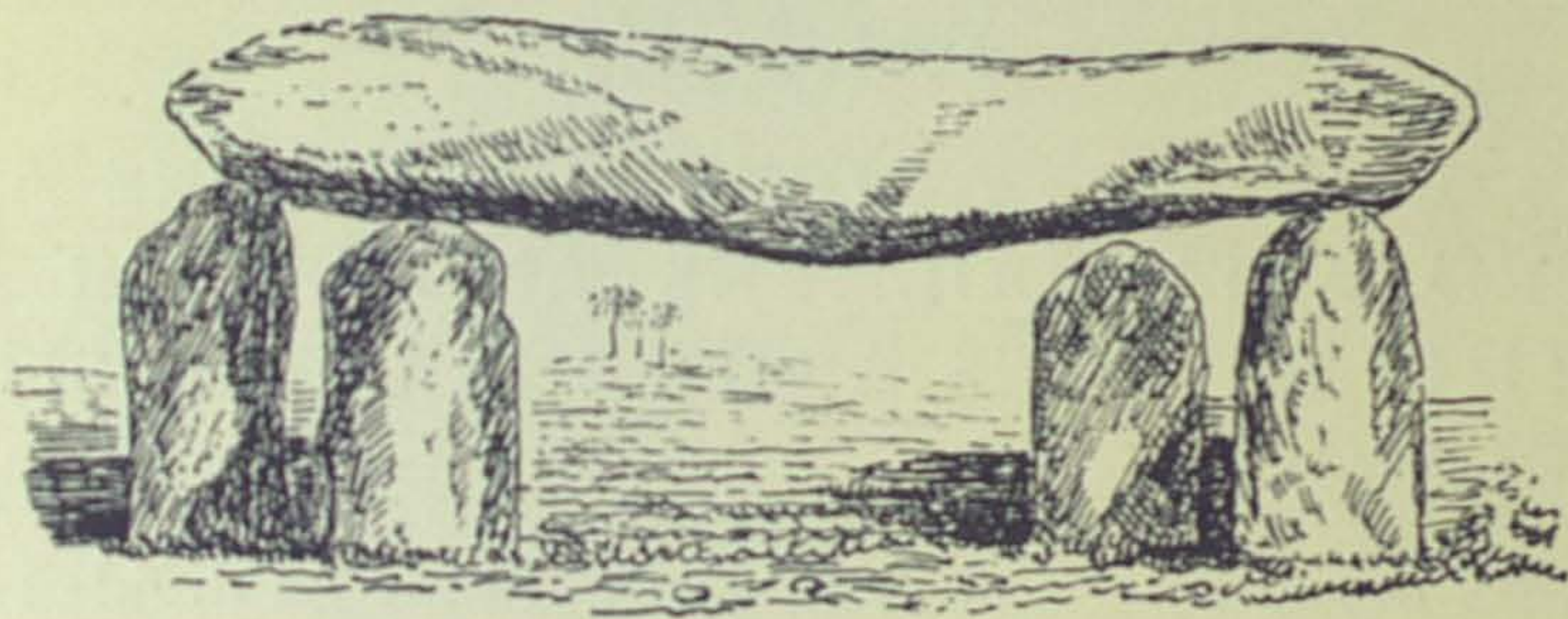


FIG. 698.—Dolmen in the Province of Madras. *From Mr. O'Hara's paper in Proc. R.I.A.*

Colonel Meadows-Taylor considered them as temples and not tombs, and that he found no human remains in them.

A dolmen of a different form to those we have been considering has been figured and described by Mr. O'Hara in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.† It is in the province of Madras (Fig. 698). In outline it bears a great resemblance to that at Knockatotaun in Sligo.‡

† Vol. ix., 1864-1866, p. 190.

‡ Fig. 169, *supra*.



## PART III.

## NAMES, LEGENDS, AND SUPERSTITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH DOLMENS AND OTHER MEGALITHIC REMAINS AND VENERATED SITES IN IRELAND.

THE names borne by dolmens in Ireland may be divided into two classes: (*a*) those which are simply descriptive; (*b*) those which are derived from some current opinion as to their origin and purpose, which may be referable, either (1) to imagination pure and simple, or (2) to false etymological conceits, or (3) to antiquarian speculations dating from the last century, or (4) to endeavours to connect them with events set down in the medieval MSS., or (5) to genuinely ancient oral tradition.

X With regard to the latter category, to imagine for a moment that any, even the faintest, echo of a tradition as to the *persons by whom* the earlier examples were erected, could have survived from the Neolithic or the Bronze Age, when they were built, until the present day, may be dismissed as an absurdity. On the other hand, a *cultus* dies a very lingering death, and Folk-lore, the sybil who keeps its record, was already an old woman when, race commingling with race, and language supplanting language, and a new religion assimilating the earlier forms, History was moulded from the rude materials of the prehistoric past. Traces, then, of the *purpose for which* these structures were erected may, although in cases few and far between, have reached our times, either in the form in which they were committed to writing by scribes in the eleventh and following centuries, or in some faint orally transmitted story still hanging round the once venerated and still awe-inspiring spot.

(*a*) As examples of names simply descriptive, we may take the word "Bórd" = a table, the equivalent of "Dol" (whence Dol-men = table-stone) in Brittany, found especially in Kerry and Cork; as *Boardeen*,† supposed by Mr. Windele to be *Board-Fionn*‡

† pp. 5, 18.

‡ I do not commit myself to this etymology, but I think it right to state the opinion of others where I find it.



("Finn's Table"), and which he compares with *Leaba-na-Feinne*, e.g. "the Bed of the Féne," found elsewhere; *Boardree*,† or *Bordaree*, from *Bord*, "a table," and *Rí*, "a king," "King's Table," and *Board-a-Thierna*, from *Bord* = a table, and *Tigerna* = "a lord," "Lord's Table," both also found in Cork.‡ Instances also occur where this name "Table" is applied to purely natural rocks, as the *Giant's Table*, near Macroom; *Finn Mac Cumhail's Table* (and *Chair*), on Caher-Conry, near Camp, in Kerry; and *Conry's Table*, on the same mountain, "reported to be notched with the *skeins* of his guests." There is a dolmen, called the *Giant's Table*, in Sligo, and instances might be multiplied.

Another descriptive name applied to dolmens in Munster is *Bealick*. In his "History of the Catholics," Philip O'Sullivan Beare § translates this into Latin by *Os Rupis*, "the Rock's Mouth." "In Kerry," says Windele, "they call rocks which form a kind of cave under them, 'beal-lic,' that is, as I understand them, 'a stone with a mouth.'" It is clearly derived from *béul* or *bél*, "a mouth," and *leac*, "a stone," and is applied not only to artificial structures, such as the *Bealick*, near Newbridge, Macroom, and the *Bealick* at Carrigdangan, also in Cork,|| but to natural caves hollowed out by the sea around the coast, and even to narrow fissures and caverns in mountain gorges.

Another name for the *Bealick* at Carrigdangan is *Bordree*, and yet another name, *Läckacruacha*,¶ which latter term is also simply descriptive, meaning the "Flagstone of the Heap," or cairn. To the same category belong the names, *Lack-park-na-licka*,†† i.e. "the Flagstone of the Flagstone Field;" *Peakeen Cnoc Dromin*,‡‡ i.e. "the little pointed elevation on Cnoc Dromin;" *Carrig-a-gullane*,§§ i.e. "Rock of the Pillar-Stone" (*gallán*, or *gollán*, is the equivalent in Munster of *dallán* in other parts of Ireland, e.g. "Gollán Crom,||| the leaning or slanting *gollán*, in Cork," etc.); and many more which it is unnecessary to quote.

An allusion to the feature of a hole, or passage—*foramen*—is by no means uncommon in connection with dolmens and some other monuments of the megalithic series.

In Cornish *tol* signifies a hole. The *Mên-an-tol* in the Parish

† pp. 25, 30.

‡ Windele thinks Board-a-Thierna may be the same monument as the Board-a-Ree. See his MSS. in Lib. R.I.A., "Jar Muman," p. 347.

§ "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium," by Phillipus Osullevanus Bearrus, Lisbon, 1621, p. 136: *Bellikia castellum*, *Beal liki*, i.e. *os rupis*.

|| *supra*, pp. 22, 30.

¶ p. 30.

†† p. 33.

‡‡ p. 43.

§§ p. 40.

||| At Knocknakilla, where there is also a circle.



of Madron † in that county consists of three stones placed in line, the centre one having an artificial aperture large enough for the passage of the human body through it. Superstition connected it with children who were passed through it to cure the rickets. A fine obelisk in the Parish of Constantine, also in Cornwall, ‡ possesses a similar perforation, and was used for like superstitious purposes, while a cist in a tumulus near it was called "The Cradle." Another rock in the same district of great size, and simply a natural block of granite *in situ*, bore the name Tolmen, from the circumstance that there was a creep, or hole, beneath it. It is figured by Dr. Borlase. §

The superstition regarding children may account for the name of a dolmen enclosed in a tumulus in the county of Cork, and called Cuthoge or Acuthoge (p. 12), which would seem to mean *foramen infantium*, the Children's Hole, from *cuthe*, "a pit" (Lat. *putens*), and *og*, "a child." We can scarcely derive it from *cut* or *gut*, or *gat* or *cat*, for that is not a Gaedhelic, but a Teutonic word, and yet it seems to be applied to dolmens and stones with holes or clefts in them in Ireland and Cornwall, just as it is in Holland, the Channel Isles, and Kent. The meaning to be attributed to it reaches us from Drenthe in Holland, where the Duyvel's Kut was traditionally regarded, as we have seen, as the *foramen* or passage-way under the covering-stones, through which victims were forced to creep previous to their being sacrificed. In Cornwall, instead of the "Duyvel's Kut," we have, as a general name for dolmens, the "Giant's Quoit," evidently the same word, although, the original meaning being lost, the idea of a game of quoits played by the giants took its place. In Kent we have Kit's Coity or Cotty House, and in the Channel Isles is a dolmen at Catiroque.

In Ireland, at Castlemary in Cork is a dolmen, called variously Cot's Rock, Carrig Cotta, and the Catta or Cotta Stones. || At Carriganaffrin ¶ in the same county is a dolmen called Carrignagat, usually interpreted Cat's Rock. A natural rock with a cleft or split in it at Carriganinane, also in Cork, bears the same name Carrignagat. The word clearly, therefore, possessed this meaning. The most striking instance of its occurrence is at Ushnagh in

† Borlase, W., "Antt. Corn.," edit. 1754, pl. xii. p. 168.

‡ "Prehist. Mon. of Cornwall," W. Lukis and W. C. Borlase.

§ *Op. cit.*, pl. xi. pp. 166, 167.

|| p. 15.

¶ p. 27.



Meath, where a perfectly natural rock, from which a piece having fallen, a creep or passage-way has been formed beneath it, is called Carrig-na-Chait, or Cat's Rock. Another name for this was *Ail-na-mireann*, that is, "stone of the portions or pieces," which exactly describes it, although the meaning has been twisted into a legend which makes it the centre of Ireland, and the meeting-place of the four "portions" or "provinces." It was evidently a venerated object, and, under still yet another name, that of "Coitrighe," it is mentioned in the book of Armagh, this word being interpreted Cotrigian, or Catrigian, Rock from the tribe of the Cothrige or Cothraighe, to whom the district around Ushnagh belonged.

Other allusions to the *foramen* of the dolmens are found in the use of the word *gág* (pronounced *gawg*), "a cleft," as, for example, in the case of a dolmen called *Carricknagawg*† in Kilkenny. In the same county is the hill of Cloghmanty, on the top of which was a cairn called *Suidhe Finn*, which the late Rev. James Graves‡ explored, and in which he found a vault and two skeletons. The name of the hill is derived from *cloch* = a stone, and *mantach*, "gapped." Whether the dolmen near Lough Arrow in Sligo, called *Carricknagrip*§ (or *Carricknagriop*), derives its name from the English "creep," I cannot say. It seems, however, to be the same word used in the expression the "Gripe of the Pig," meaning a furrow, trench, or creep.

A good illustration of the practice of creeping through *foramina* under rocks is afforded by the practices which, down to the middle of the present century, used to take place on the 23rd of December every year at the festival of St. Declan, at Ardmore in Waterford.

It was the custom for several thousands of persons of all ages, and both sexes, to assemble on the strand which forms the western portion of Ardmore Bay. The devotional exercises were commenced at an early hour by passing under the holy rock of St. Declan. This rock, which is on the seashore, is of the same quality as the neighbouring rocks, and weighs two or three tons. It is said to have been wafted from Rome upon the surface of the ocean, and to have borne on the top of it nine bells, which came opportunely, as Declan was in want of one to celebrate Mass. Since that time it has been highly venerated for its miraculous

† p. 408.

‡ See "Trans. Kilk. Archæol. Soc.," vol. i. pp. 27 and 289.

§ p. 190.



cures. Stretched at full length on the ground, on the face and stomach, each devotee moved forward, as if in the act of swimming, and thus they squeezed or dragged themselves through the hole beneath it.

It was only at low water that people could go under the stone, so that advantage had to be taken of the tide. On the saint's day it was always necessary to remove some of the sand which had accumulated under the stone to make a sufficient passage for a large man or woman, as the little rocks on which the stone rests form irregular pillars, so that it was necessary to have the surface under the stone lower than the front and rear. The men took off hats, coats, shoes, and stockings, . . . turned up their breeches above the knee, and then, lying flat on the ground, put in hands, arms, and head, one shoulder being thrown more forward than the other, in order to work their way through the more easily, and coming out from under the stone at the other end—the length of the passage is about four feet—they rose on their knees, and struck their backs three times against the stone, telling beads and repeating *aves* the while. They then proceeded on bare knees over a number of little rocks to the place where they again entered under the stone, and thus proceeded three times, which done, they washed their knees, dressed, and proceeded to the well, within the precincts of the ruined chapel of the saint.† It cannot, I think, be questioned that in such a practice as this we have a direct survival from pagan times, when not only natural rocks, but half-artificial structures, such as the "Three Brothers of Grugith" in Cornwall (see p. 482), and wholly artificial structures, such as the dolmens, with their *foramina* between the portico and the cella within, afforded, as tradition says the Duyvel's Kut at Drenthe did, means of access for the human body in connection with devotional, necromantic or sacrificial rites.

Among descriptive names of cairns and dolmens we might think ourselves justified in placing those of Cnoc-Buidhe ‡ (Knock-boy), "Yellow Low," in Cork; Cloch-Brack, § "Speckled Stone" (*breac*), in Tipperary; Cloich-Leithe || (*i.e.* *Cloch Liath*), "Grey Stone," in Kilkenny; Carnlea, ¶ in Antrim; and Corlealackagh, in Monaghan; †† Carriglass ‡‡ (*i.e.* Carrig Glas), *rupes glauca*, "Sea-green Rock," in Tyrone; Carn Dubh, "Black Cairn," in Antrim;

† See "The Holy Wells of Ireland," by Philip Dixon Hardy (1836), p. 33, *et seqq.*

‡ p. 14.

§ p. 53.

|| p. 410.

¶ p. 268, *lea* = *liath*, "grey."

†† p. 295.

‡‡ p. 214.



Lackafinna (*i.e.* Leacha Fionna), "White Flagstones," in Mayo; Knockanbaun (*i.e.* Cnocán Bán), "Little White Low," in Sligo; Carnanbane, in Derry; Dumrabaun, in Donegal; Knockanbaun (*i.e.* the Trunk-na-Callighe), in Mayo; † Carnbane, in Armagh; ‡ another Carnbane, in Tyrone; and the "White Stones," a circle in Monaghan, etc. We must be careful, however, how we proceed, for in the case of *all* the above-mentioned colours, reference may be intended to one or other of the enchanted beings which people the Folk-lore of the Irish. Thus, *buidhe*, yellow, was applied to giants, as in the case of Para *Buidhe* Mor MacScoidin, the Scottish giant, whose grave is the dolmen at Proleek, in Louth, and who came to challenge Finn Mac Cumhail. § In Antrim we have Yellow Jack's Cairn. We have an example, too, of an anomalous monument in Sligo, bearing the name Keelogeboy (*i.e.* Ceall Óge Buidhe), "Burying-place of Yellow Child," in a cist in which the bones of a child were actually found. || Brack, or Breac, usually translated "speckled," is a term which, in one form and another (*e.g.* the Bracked Stones in Sligo), is so frequently associated with megalithic remains and venerated rocks, that we cannot believe it has really this meaning, and must treat it separately in the sequel. The adjective *liath*, grey, is constantly connected with death, ghosts, and the *sídhe*, or "elf-mounds," as Dr. Whitley Stokes ¶ translates that word, and their inhabitants, also called *sídhe*, who, in the Book of Armagh, are *dei terreni*, and of whom O'Flaherty says that the Irish call them so (that is, *sídhe*), "because they are seen to come out of pleasant hills, where the common people imagine they reside, which fictitious habitations are called by us *sídhe* or *síodha*." "On Erin's folk lay darkness," we read in Fiacc's hymn, "the tribes worshipped elves" (*tuatha adortaís síde*). Among the ancient Scandinavians the belief existed that their relatives *died into* the hill near which they lived. Mider, the King of the *Sídhe*, lived in *Brí Léith*, that is, the "Gray-Hill," in Longford, and out of this name the author of the Dindshenchas concocted a story, in which Liath appears as a hero, in love with Brí, daughter of Mider, who dies by her father's mound. †† In the adjective *liath*, when applied to dolmens or tumuli, a mythical meaning may, therefore, underlie that of the simple adjective.

In the adjective *glas* or *glass*, sea-green, when applied to

† p. 111.

‡ p. 299.

§ p. 305.

|| p. 133.

¶ "Trip. Life of Patrick," p. 100.

†† Rev. Celt., vol. xvi. p. 78.



dolmens, we may feel sure we have no reference to the colour of the monument, but to that of the enchanted cow, the "Glas" of Gavida the Smith, about which, and her travels over Ireland, a volume of stories might be written. At Slieve-na-Glaise,† in Clare, is a dolmen, to which an old woman gave the name of Carrig-na-Glaise, that is, the Rock of the Sea-Green (Cow)—the word *bo*, "a cow," being understood, as it is in the name of the ancient MS., *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, that is, "Book of the Dun (Cow)." After she had told me the story of how the poor enchanted cow, from whose udders used to flow all the rivers on the mountain-side, had been tricked by an impious old hag, who, in place of a milk-pail, had milked her into a sieve, and how, in consequence, she had either died of grief or deserted that locality for ever, I ventured to ask her the question whether there were any cows of that colour to be seen nowadays—whether, that is to say, she applied the term *glas* to the colour of any of the cows we saw on the mountain. She replied by a decided negative, and added that the enchanted cow was the only one of that colour ever known, and that she travelled through Ireland from end to end in the space of a single day. The name of the Smith Gavida, the cow's owner, in the tale, as still related in Donegal, was not remembered by my informant, although the name of one of the hills near by, on which were several dolmens, *Glasgiúneach*, proved that it was once current there.

The tale of Diarmid and Grainnè had also been forgotten. All that was remembered was that Grainnè had carried the stones to build one of the dolmens in her apron, and thrown them down there to make a sleeping-place. Between the legend of Grainnè, who was making the tour of Ireland in a year and a day, and that of the Enchanted Sea-Green Cow, who was making it in a single day, there is evidently a connection. In both we have a personification of the Sun, who, as in Japan and among the Finns, is a Goddess, not a God, and in the Cow we have, in addition to this, the Ceres, or the Cornucopia of Ireland. To another of the dolmens in the same vicinity the old woman gave the name Lacka-na-lea‡ (*lath*—grey), meaning, apparently, the Flag-stones of the Grey—so that there may have been another cow of that colour in the current folk-lore of the mountain in years gone by.

Dolmens and cairns bearing the name *dubh*, black, may, or

† *i.e.* Slievenaglasha, p. 74.

‡ *i.e.* Lackaleagh, p. 72.



may not, belong to the descriptive category. In common with the trenches and some tumuli, they may derive their name from the legend of the Black Pig. Those which are termed "white" (*fionn*, or *bán*), sometimes most certainly derive their name from the legend which connects them, as in Holland, with "White Women." Sometimes the adjective seems to be understood, as, perhaps, in the name *Lachtnamna*<sup>1</sup> (? for *Lachtnamnafinna*) = "Monument of the (White) Woman." To the N.E. of Maolan, also in Cork, is a cairn called *Sighean-na-mna*<sup>2</sup>-*finne*,<sup>3</sup> or, more properly, *Sithaun-na-mna-finna*, meaning the "Little *Sídh* (elf-mound) of the White Woman." At Leap, by the way, in the same county, was the place where the *Mná Sídh*e, that is, the Women of the *Sídh*, had a famous cow, which took the monstrous *leap* from which the place is called, and the print of whose hoof is seen in the rock to-day.

The other word for white, *bán*, is found in the dolmen-name of Lackabaun<sup>4</sup> (*Leac-a-bán*<sup>5</sup>), "Flag-stone of the White," also in Cork. It is possible that this may refer to a legendary Horse, the "Gearran Bán," or White Horse, whose name is connected with a venerated rock near Dunmanwy.

Passing from the names derived from colours, which, as I have shown, are very uncertain, we may notice the following among other descriptive names. *Cloch-na-tri-posta*,<sup>6</sup> "Rock of the three pillars," is that of a dolmen in the Lough Arrow group; the *Griddle*<sup>7</sup> is a name found in Sligo and Down, and refers to the appearance of the roofing-stones lying like bars across the two supporting ranges. *Clochtogal*<sup>8</sup> in Fermanagh, *Clochthogbail*<sup>9</sup> in Down, and others of the same name in various forms (? *Clochoyle*,<sup>10</sup> in Londonderry), is a name derived from *Cloch*, a stone, and *tógbhaim*, to lift up, whence *tógbhail*, a thing lifted up. It is, therefore, the exact equivalent of *Pierre Levée*, a term commonly used for megaliths in France.

The *Crawtee Stone*, near Kilkeel, in Down,<sup>11</sup> is, perhaps, referable to *cruit*, a "hump on the back," conveying the same idea as the Giant's Load, not far off, in Louth. Names, such as *Clochmore*, "Great Stone;" *Clochfadha*, "Long-Stone;" "The Broadstone;" *Carnán*—"hillock," or "heap;" *Cloghan carneen*, "Stone-house of

<sup>1</sup> Ord. Surv. Map, Cork, sheet 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ben* = a woman; in composition *ban*; gen. sing. *mná*; nom. pl. *mná*; gen. pl. *ban*.

<sup>3</sup> p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> p. 39

<sup>5</sup> Bán = white.

<sup>6</sup> p. 186.

<sup>7</sup> pp. 177, 286.

<sup>8</sup> p. 225.

<sup>9</sup> p. 284.

<sup>10</sup> p. 254.

<sup>11</sup> p. 290.



the little carn," etc., etc., need no comment. *The Clash*-† (*i.e.* Trench) *Field* indicates the presence of monuments of the dolmen class in the Queen's County; *Lackathuoma*,‡ the Flag-stone of the Tomb, is the name of one in Cork; *Cruckeen-na-curragh*, "Hillock of the heath," is a tumulus in Sligo; *Cloch-na-tara*, Stone of the Prospect (?),—so Mr. Kinahan explains it,—is a dolmen in Donegal; § and *Clochan-na-stooca*, "Stone-house of the pointed-stones," is a monument of the dolmen class in Achill.||

We now pass on to the second category of dolmen-names, those which are derived from some current opinion as to their origin and purpose. From these we may dismiss, firstly, those which are attributable to the speculations of antiquaries of the Stukeley school, who from the middle of the last century to the middle of the present one, associated the name of the Druids with these and other megalithic remains, and caused their views to find such credence that the name "Druids' Altar" was adopted in many parts of the country by the Ordnance Surveyors as the distinguishing name for a dolmen. *Druí* and *Draoi* (sometimes *drúidh*) was the Irish name for an augur and a magician, and the practice of his divination was *druidecht*.¶ The name of Tullydruid, Englished into "Druids' Hill," in Tyrone, where a cist and skeleton were found in 1852, is probably derived from *drud*, "an enclosure," while the names, "Mount Druid," in Antrim, and also in Waterford, and "Glen Druid," in Dublin, are quite modern, and emanate from the same taste for the classics which caused the owner of the Mount Venus dolmen to confer upon his dwelling so ridiculous a name, and to surround the ancient monument itself with a wall and grove, on the gateway leading into which he caused the words "Druids' Hall" to be inscribed.

It is more difficult to dismiss off-hand the word *altar*, in Irish *altóir*,†† applied as it so often is to dolmens. The popular view, and, doubtless, in some cases it may be a true view, is that, during the Irish "Reign of Terror," that is to say, during the period when the Penal Code was in force, these ancient monuments were used by the hunted-down Catholic priests, being as places fitted both by their general remoteness from the beaten track, and by their tabular form, as altars for the celebration of the Mass.

The name Mass Hill, at Larachril, in Inish-Owen in Donegal,

† p. 374.  
|| p. 121.

¶ Windisch, "Wörterb.," *in voc.*

§ p. 234.  
†† Gen. *altora*, *altoire*, and *altorach*.



where there is a fine circle of stones, undoubtedly pointed to the site having been used in those days of persecution as a meeting-place. Not far from Cushendall I saw another, not a prehistoric monument, however, but a structure built for the purpose in a wood. When searching for dolmens in Clare, I was informed that near Broadford, far up in the moors,† there was one which was known to have been used as a Christian meeting-place at the same period. The name it bore meant the "Stone of the Mass,"‡ and yet, as I was assured, it was a genuine dolmen. With regard to the numerous "altars" so marked in the Ordnance Survey Map near Dunfanaghy, in Donegal, Mr. Doherty assured me that they also were dolmens. On the coast of Derrynane Bay, in Kerry, there is a hill called "Altar Hill," and close to it a monument marked *Cromlech*, in the Ord. Surv. Map, No. 45. On the same map is marked *Tobernahaltora*, the Well of the Altar, the *Altar* itself, *Penitential Stations*, *Cuchullin's House*, and not far off on the Map 44 (besides three cairns and numerous pillar-stones), a second *Cuchullin's House*, *Cuchullin's Bed*, *Cuchullin's Grave*, *Toberrendoney*, the Well of the King of Sunday, as it is interpreted, *Tobernacrusha* and *Lisnakilla*. Evidently here was a great centre of primitive cultus, the Christian succeeding the pagan; a condition of things nowhere so manifest as in Kerry. The stone-circle at Harbour-View, near Bearhaven in Cork, is locally called the "Altar."§

In the County of Kerry is Maulnaholtora, the "Knoll of the Altar," which is unquestionably a dolmen of the usual type, but which was treated to the very same ritual as that accorded to any of the Christian holy places, and that quite independently of its having been used (which, indeed, it is not said to have been) as an "altar" in the penal days. "Within this dolmen," says Mr. Windele, "was said to be a well out of which a woman took water and with it a fish. She endeavoured to boil the fish, but it would not boil. The well has been dry ever since; it stands on a small knoll. Stations are held," he adds, "at this monument every Saturday. The brambles within are tied with rags, and there is a deposit of pins as offerings. This," concludes the writer, "is the only monument of the kind which I have found associated with religious practices, a combination of the sepulchral altar, and the well with its sacred fish."|| Lady Chatterton mentions that

† Knockshanvo, p. 98.

‡ Carrig-an-Affrioinn. x

§ See p. 504.

|| p. 3.

x The word 'Afrin' usually translated 'Mass' as above really means 'sacrifice'. This is a good example of the 'Christianizing' of the Irish pre-historic remains.

Sils  
Co Kerry  
6" Sheet 45



"rounds were given," that is to say, the prescribed circuits performed, at a "pagan altar" on Mount Brendan,<sup>†</sup> in Kerry.

An undoubted dolmen is the "grave called Altoir Olltach, or the Ultonian altar," at Ballycroum, in Clare.<sup>‡</sup> O'Donovan states that it was said to derive its name from the fact that a priest from Ulster celebrated "Mountain Masses" there during the period of the Penal Code. He thinks, however, that "it had lost its original name long before that time."

The name *Patrick's Altar* is applied to a limestone rock in the Townland of Cloonmucduff, in Sligo. It was evidently an object of veneration, for it is surrounded, says Col. Wood-Martin,<sup>§</sup> by a circular fort-like elevation about 5 feet in height and 50 paces in diameter, the periphery of which appears to have been formed with flagstones. The block, which is quadrangular, measures 5 feet 8 ins. by 5 feet 4 ins. superficially, and 2 feet 4 ins. vertically. On the top is a circular aperture with a cleft passing outwards, which may be the result of natural weathering. The same name, *Altoir Pharraig*, is given to "a small fixture" on the southern of "two sacred heaps of stones called *Leachta Phadruig*, or Patrick's Monuments at Ballygaddy,<sup>||</sup> in Galway." It is said to have been higher and more perfect some years before the Survey. As in the case of several megalithic monuments, a spot was left untilled around the cairns, as it is considered unlucky to touch the "Theatre of the Pilgrims."<sup>¶</sup>

Square stone erections such as this are usually themselves called *leachts*. A much-venerated one is the Leacht Benain, the stones of which are covered with cup-marks and concentric circles, at the foot of Croagh Patrick, four and a half miles E.S.E. of the summit. The structure is also called *Togher Patrick*, Patrick's Chair.<sup>††</sup> The great altar-like stone called the Hag's Chair, on the side of one of the chambered cairns at Loughcrew, and which is also covered with cups and sculpturings, may be compared with the one at Ballygaddy. When placed on the side of a tumulus, these *leachts* resemble exactly the *hörgs* of the ancient Scandinavians. "The *hörg*," says Mr. Du Chaillu, "was a sacred altar,

<sup>†</sup> p. 4.    <sup>‡</sup> p. 95.    <sup>§</sup> R.S.M. Ir., p. 201.    <sup>||</sup> *Beul-atha-bo*, "Mouth of the Cow's Ford."

<sup>¶</sup> Ord. Surv. Letters, Co. Galway, <sup>14</sup>D. 1, pp. 15, 90.

<sup>††</sup> Ord. Surv. Letters, Co. Galway, <sup>14</sup>D. 1, p. 11. See an account of this, with drawings of the monument, and of the cup-markings on the stones composing it, by Mr. Kinahan (Proc. R.I.A., vol. ii., 1879-88, p. 17).



built of stones—often mentioned in the Eddas and Sagas, but never described. Perhaps it was an enclosed structure, or was built over a sacrificing mound, or upon some elevation. Freyja says: ‘Ottar made me a *hörg* reared of stones; now have these stones become *gler* (amber); he reddened it in fresh ox-blood.’”†

I cannot say that there are any traditions worthy of notice connecting dolmens in Ireland with human or other sacrifices. The discovery of the bones of oxen and other animals in them, mingled, in some cases, with those of human beings in disorder, is the best evidence that such may have been the case. There are, however, two dolmens in Cork: the one on the lands called after it Oltore, or Altoir, near Tourmore Strand, and the other the *Carrig Cotta* at Castlemary,‡ to which such stories have become attached. At the former it is popularly believed that “men were executed or sacrificed.” This idea may be due in the former case to the name of the monument, and to the fact that in the covering-stone which rests diagonally against the ruined structure there is a deep semicircular indentation, like the place for the thumb in a painter’s palette, which perhaps gave rise to the notion that in this rested the victim’s head previous to decapitation. At Castlemary, too, there are two stones beside the monument which are said to have formed the block at which the executions by decapitation took place. There is a tradition current in Cork that “nothing will grow under these altars.” I do not, as I said, attach much weight to such tales, but it is singular to find an identical story told of a dolmen called *Cot’s Rock*, in Cork, and of one where the tale is seemingly authentic, called Duyvel’s *Kut*, in Holland.

Instances might, I believe, be gathered from Irish folk-lore in confirmation of the view that the sacrifice of certain animals at particular times, and for particular purposes, is still recognized in the code of current superstition. A labourer having found an urn at Columbkil in Kilkenny, filled with ashes and small fragments of burnt bones, was overjoyed at the discovery, supposing it to be “a crock of gold,” which metal the fairies had changed into dust and ashes. “Without waiting to make the circumstance known to any one, he watched over the urn during the night, *sacrificing a black cat*, according to the ritual recommended by the most esteemed ‘fairy-doctors,’ to propitiate the spirit

† “The Viking Age,” p. 356. See also Vigfusson’s “Corp. Poet. Boreal,” vol. i. p. 407.

‡ pp. 15, 44.



supposed to guard the treasure. When the cock crew, without the expected transmutation of the ashes into gold having taken place, the finder, in his disappointment, broke the urn to pieces, and scattered its contents." †

My view, then, with regard to the word *altar* as applied to dolmens is that in some cases it may be genuinely ancient, as ancient, that is to say, as the days of those *semi-pagani*, as they might well be, and indeed were, called, who, while professedly introducing Christianity, used Latin terms such as *templum*, *sacerdos*, *altare*, etc., which appertained to the cultus of the Roman gods, showing thereby how closely they trod in the footprints of the paganism of the south on the one hand, while on the other, in their relations with the native pagans of the north, of whose kith and kin they were, they adopted the long-venerated sites, transferred the *veneratio lapidum* to their own account, and, not doubtless without some knowledge of a previous purpose to which the dolmens had been put, termed them, in some cases, *altars*. I see no other way in which we can account for the name *altar* being applied to a dolmen or circle, as it seems to have been in certain instances, prior to the date of the Penal Code.

The three names for dolmens most in vogue were (1) *leaba* or *leabadh*, found also in the forms *liabad*, *labby*, *labba*, meaning a bed; (2) *leacht*, properly "a pile of stones in memory of the dead," and applied to the dolmen rather in respect of the cairn around it than to the structure itself, found also in the forms *lacht*, *laght*, *slaght*, and (?) *tlaght*; (3) *tuaim*, a grave, a tomb, also *tomba*, with a similar meaning, and *tomban*. There are some reasons for thinking that, in addition to these terms, the word *cille* or *kil*, independently altogether of the Latin loan word *cella*, may have once been applied to dolmens and cists (see below, p. 787).

*Leaba* was used also to designate those little buildings so like in plan to the dolmens on the one hand and the Greek and Roman temples on the other, being, like the latter, possessed of the projecting *antæ* and interior *cella*, which contained, or were supposed to contain, the tomb of some saint, as, for example, the Labba Mologa in Cork.

This latter name, meaning Mologa's Bed, was applied both to some upright stones in a field called *Park-a-liagaun*, and also to a little building within the enclosure of a cemetery adjoining.

† Journ. "Kilk. Archæol. Soc." vol. v. (1864-66), p. 328; Ibid., vol. ii. p. 367.



Within the little structure was a flagstone said to cover the Bed of the Saint. Windele quotes an observation made by Mr. Hackett, a landed proprietor in the vicinity, and one well acquainted with the ancient superstitions of the county of Cork, to the effect that "he imagined that St. Mologa must have been the successor of some heathen personage, since *Leaba* sounded very unchristian to the ears of one accustomed to hear of *Leabana-bo-bán*, *Leaba Diarmuid*, *Leaba Cailli* (*i.e.* *Callighe*), *Leaba na Limma*, *Leaba na Feinne*, etc."

I would go a step further than Mr. Hackett, and express my doubts as to whether in the name *Mo-Loga* we have that of a Christian personage at all. *Mo* is a prefix implying veneration, and *Logha* is the genitive case of the name of the divinity *Lug*,† so that *Leaba Mologa* would mean 'Bed of the holy *Lug*,' the *Tuatha Dé Danann* hero, the slayer of his grandfather *Balor*, the equivalent of the Norse *Loké*, of the German *Lug*, whose pillar was in the *Wetterau*, and of the deity who gave name to the several places called *Lugdunum* on the Continent, and in Britain.

Certainly the word *Leaba* was most frequently, as it was also originally, applied to the *Beds* in which reposed the men and beasts of heathen mythology.

The following superstitions and legends are connected with the *Leaba Mologa*: (1) That to get under the covering-stone of the *Leaba* in the little building is a cure for rheumatism. Windele describes it as "a kind of cist consisting of a large flagstone resting on low side-stones, so as to leave an open space beneath, which is said to have constituted the Bed of the Saint. This space is merely wide enough to permit a person to stretch on the ground in immediate contact with the flagstone above." In this use made of the so-called Christian *Leaba* by the superstitious I venture to think we have a direct survival of the practice for which the Pagan *Leaba* was constructed: (2) That there was formerly a beautiful well of clear water here, but that one day an old woman profanely washed her clothes in it, and that on that night the well disappeared, and was seen never more: (3) That certain stones which rest on a flat brown-stone slab about the centre of the burial-ground were once a weaver's *kertleens*. The story of these petrified "spools" is that on a certain occasion a dishonest weaver was charged by a woman, who had employed

† A. 4 M., vol. i. p. 20.



him, with having cribbed some of the thread which she had given him to weave an article of cloth for her. He indignantly denied the accusation, and to prove his innocence, volunteered to attest it before St. Mologa, and kneeling upon this identical flag, was about to kiss the Gospels, when, lo! the "kertleens" which he had concealed under his arm, inside his garment, dropped down, and having been converted into stone, remain there to this day, as a monument of his guilt.

With regard to the story of the well, we have seen that a similar legend of a well having once existed beneath an ancient monument occurs in the case of the dolmen of Maulnaholtora in Kerry. The association of water with a grave is most common in Irish legend. When the heroes of the Partholan *saga* are buried, springs of water arise from their graves, and lakes are sometimes formed by the water flowing from them. The way into a *sídh* or palace of the dead within a tumulus or hill was by passing under the waters of a well. To illustrate this association of ideas I may here quote the account of the well at Findmag, called Slán, in which, as recorded in the "Tripartite Life of Patrick," a *magus* (that is, a *druí*) was buried. The following is the translation of the passage by Dr. Whitley Stokes †: "They told Patrick that the heathen honoured the well as if it were a god. Now, the well was four-cornered, and there was a four-cornered stone above it. Now, the foolish folk believed that a certain dead prophet had made a *bibliotheca* (sic) [*? ἀποθήκη*] for himself under the stone in the water, that it might wash his bones always, because he feared the fire. And Patrick was jealous for the living God, and said, 'Ye say untruly that this fountain was King of Waters' (Rex Aquarum), for he did not, as they did, hold it to be King of Waters. And Patrick bade them lift up the stone, and they were unable to do so. But Patrick . . . lifted it," etc. This prophet, it is observed (Colgan, "Tr. Th.," p. 139), was a "*magus qui aquam ut numen propitium colebat, et ignem habebat ut infestum*," so that "*curaverit moriens sua ossa sub illo saxo in fonte recondi*."

In another account, in the Book of Armagh, it is stated that the *magi*, that is, the wizards or druids, used to reverence this well *Slán*, or King of the Waters, and offer gifts to it, as if it were a god, and also that it was completely covered overhead with a

† "Trip. Life," pp. 122 and 323.



large square flag, excepting in one place, where there was a split (or slit), through which people were wont to drop into the well their offerings of gold and silver.

The crevice or slit here mentioned will recall at once the several examples in Ireland (see Ballyganner-South in Clare), and the numerous instances in foreign lands, where a small crevice, aperture, or hole occurs in the side, end, or top of a dolmen.

O'Donovan justly compares this well at Findmag, supposed to have been at Finvoy (*i.e.* Moy-Fin or Find-moy; moy=mag) near Lough Ree in Roscommon, with that called "Tober Ghrainé" at Ballycroum in Clare.† In this latter instance the well had been covered over by the erection of a four-square structure, which was, in fact, a dolmen of the large-cist type found in that county, and at the west end of the roofing-stone of which was a small hole or aperture.

The name "King of the Waters," which in Irish may likely enough have been *Tober Righ in Domuin (or in Domain)*,‡ that is, "Well of the King of the Deep," calls for special comment. In Ireland, and the West especially, are to be found scores of wells bearing the name Tobereendoney, explained to mean Tober Righ an Domnach, "Well of the King of Sunday," for the word Domnach, taken as a loan-word, stands for the Dies Dominica, or Sunday, as well as the *Ædes Dominica*, or Church. The name of wells so called is generally supposed to have originated with Patrick, and the special day in the year set apart for their veneration was "Garland Sunday." The ancient Irish, however, independently of any loan-word, had their own word *domuin*, "the deep," with which word, again, may be associated the name of a god Domnu, belonging in a special manner to the traditionary people called Fir Domnann. This name appears in that of Slieve Donnart (Doman-, or Domnan-gard) in Down, and may be traced around the Baltic in the ancient name of the Gulf of Bothnia, Dumn's Haaf, as well as in that of Dumns Næs in Finland, and of another, Domns Næs in the Gulf of Riga. The "Dumnonion Akron" in Cornwall, and the name of the Dumnonii in that peninsula, may mark an early settlement of the people who bore this sea-god's name on the coasts of Britain. To this question I shall return in the sequel.

It is plain that the well-worship practised on Garland Sunday

† p. 95.

‡ Windisch., "Wörterb.," *in voc.*



was attributed to a pagan origin, for it was associated with the ancient deity whom Patrick, having expelled from Croagh Patrick, was said to have converted. This was Crom Dubh, and from him this Sunday, when the wells were worshipped, was called also "Crom Dubh's Day."

It is not in Ireland alone that dolmens are associated with the notion of wells and water-springs. The Portuguese names, Anta do Fontão, Fonte Coberta, Anta do Fonte-de-Mouratão, and the French names, Fonte de Rourre and Fonte nay le Marmion, show this to be the case.

In the Diocese of Lyons, as we find in the "Anecdota" of Étienne de Bourbon, the "Holy Dog" Guinefort was buried in a well over which a cairn was raised.†

Superstitions about water issuing from the burial-mounds of ancient Danish and Scandinavian gods and heroes are to be found scattered through the *sagas*. The "sepulchral waters" which the tombs, if opened, were supposed to discharge, were believed to emanate from the Gioll, which was the Styx of Norse mythology.‡

To return to the Leaba, or "Bed." That of St. Molaisse was on Devenish Island, in Lough Erne. It was, says Mr. Wakeman, a small quadrangular work of earth enclosing a stone coffin, greatly broken. "In connection," he adds, "with a considerable number of the primitive churches of Ireland, may be seen a small detached enclosure called in the native language the *Aherla*, bed, or tomb of the founder." In many instances which have come under my notice it was the custom of the superstitious to lie in these "beds" at night, for the cure of ailments.

Sometimes, as at Lough Derg, the object of the pilgrimages to such places was penitential. The so-called Purgatory, or, rather, Passage to Purgatory there, was originally a cave in St. Aveog's Island, in which he was said to have been buried. The cultus was afterwards removed to Station Island, where it is still kept up. The penitential beds of seven "Saints" were shown there, consisting of circles enclosed by walls about 2 feet high, each one having a small gap by way of entrance. It is believed that the saints lay several nights upon these beds, by way of penance for

† The extremely interesting notice of the superstition practised at this place is contained in "Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon, dominicain du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle," par A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), p. 325.

‡ See T. Bartholinus, "De Contemptu Mortis apud Danos," Haf. 1689, p. 276, *et seqq.*



their sins and those of the people. Such enclosures are termed *Ullas*,—that is, *uladh*,—stone tombs.†

The most important part of the pilgrimage, however, is that which used to take place in a cave capable of holding six or eight persons, where it was believed the pains and torments which await the wicked in another world might be experienced by those who entered it. . . . In this cave the devotees had to remain all night, and sleep was denied them. In 1630 the practice was put a stop to owing to many persons losing their lives by it, but in the reign of James II. a new cave was hollowed out, and kept open till 1781, when the priests closed it as dangerous, and a darkened building, still called the “prison,” was substituted.

Such were the practices observed down to our own times in the Beds or Leabas of the Saints, which I believe to be only a survival of the cultus once performed in the cells of the original Leabas, that is, the dolmens.

The term was long retained by the Irish in the sense of a sepulchre. MacFirbis speaks of the *Leaba-an-Eich Bhuidhe*, the Bed of the Chesnut Horse, erected by Sen Brian O'Dowd, at Longford, early in the 14th century, and at about the close of the same century, or beginning of the next, the tomb of a king of the Hy-Maine is so designated in an inscription in the Abbey of Knockmoy in Galway.‡

#### FÉINNE AND HÜNEN.

Leaba Féine, or Féinne, was, according to many authorities, though now it is fallen greatly out of use, the name given by the Irish to the tombs of their chiefs, and its application to dolmens proves the existence of the belief that the purpose of their erection was sepulchral and commemorative.

Similar monuments in Scandinavia and Denmark were attributed to the Jætte, Iötuns or Iötnar. In North Germany and Holland they were ascribed to the Hünen, or Huns. Both the Jætte and the Hünen were held to have been giants, and so were the Féinne in Ireland, for synonyms for Leaba-na-Féinne were Leaba-na-bhfer mór, meaning Bed of the Big Men, or Giants, and Túaim-an-fhir mór, whence the common name, “The Giant's Grave.” Wherever found they are attributed to giants or dwarfs.

To discover, then, the true meaning of Féinne is of equal

† See “Sanas Chormaic,” *in voc.*

‡ Wood-Martin, R.S.M., p. 197.



interest and importance. The conclusion I have arrived at, for reasons which I will state, is that it reached Ireland from a very ancient germ-land on the shores of the Southern Baltic, that it is referable to the same root as the name Fenni in Tacitus, Phinni in Ptolemy, Finni and Finnaithæ in Jordanes, and that it means "Hounds." It would thus be equivalent in meaning to *cu* in Celtic, and to *hund* in German, terms which were regarded as honourable distinctions among the northern peoples of Europe, while among the southern they were held to be marks of contempt.

The connection of hounds with the legendary tales of Finn Mac Cumhail is a circumstance which runs parallel with the connection of that chieftain with his Fíans or Fíanna.† "Bran," for example, is a man, a hero, who speaks and acts as a human being. To the Celtic *cu* there is attached a precisely similar meaning, that of a hero as well as a hound—a dog-of-war, in short. To bear out this view, Leaba-na-Con, the Hounds' Bed, is a synonym for Leaba-na-Féinne. The idea of hunting is inseparable from the word Fían. "In composition," says Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady, "it means 'relating to the Fenians,' hence 'adapted for or belonging to hunting, which was their chief employment and pastime.'"‡ The Fíann,§ or Fíanna, were Finn Mac Cumhail's standing army; Fían means a hero, and Féne is one of the names for the ancient people of Ireland. The earliest example of the occurrence of the word Fían is in the Book of Armagh,|| the only really Old Irish ¶ MS. preserved in the island, and which dates from the beginning of the ninth century. The passage runs: "jugulavit me Fían maicc Maicc Con," Fían son of Maccon killed me; or, to render it *teutonice*, Finn Hundeson's son killed me.

We have the authority of Dr. Whitley Stokes for referring the words *fiann* and *féne* to one and the same root. I quote his words as follows: "The etymology of *fiann* (whence *fiannas*, *fénnid*) seems clear. As *sianu*, 'chain,' comes from the root *si*, 'to bind,' so *fiann* is derived (by the *nā*-suffix, as the masc-

† See much of interest on this point in Mr. J. F. Campbell's "Leabhar na Féinne," e.g. the mythical hound Bran, whom the sea-rovers demand (p. 33); "the whelp," i.e. son "of Conn," (xi. No. 22); "the cry of hounds the best music" (*id.*, No. 23); the death of Bran, and the great dog-fight (p. 148, *et seqq.*). See also his "Tales of the West Highlands," lxxxv.

‡ "Toruigheacht Dhiarmuda agus Ghrainne," Trans. Ossian. Soc., 1854, p. 110.

§ Fían is a collective noun meaning a body of men.

|| 14, a 2.

¶ I use this term technically, and to distinguish it from the "Middle Irish MS." which begins with the 12th century.



*fian*,† 'a hero,' by the *no*-suffix) from the root *vei* or *vi*, 'to drive,' 'to hunt.' This root is inferred from the Lithuanian *veju*, *vijau*, *vyti*, 'to hunt,' the Church-Slavonic *voj*, 'warrior,' the Old Norse *veiðr*, 'hunting,' and possibly the Latin *ve-nari*. From the same root comes the Old Irish *féne*, Irishman, an Old Celtic *veinio-s*, the genitive plural of which occurs in the so-called Fiacc's Hymn. This poem is certainly not later than the beginning of the ninth century, and there is no reason for regarding it as interpolated."‡

The hypothesis that *féne* meant a hound would in no wise detract from, but rather tend to support, the view that this etymology is the correct one. It is not found, however, used in this sense in Ireland, but when we turn to the shores of the Baltic we find that it was so, and apparently among Finns and Germans alike. If, in the case of the Esthonian Finns, it be objected that the root is Aryan, we would answer that in the case of their country least of all, hard on the borderland of the two great families of language, should it be attempted to set bounds and limits to this or that root word, especially since modern research, if it has not absolutely established the truth of the so-called "Finnic hypothesis," which would see "in the Finnic languages the survival of the primitive form of speech out of which the Aryan languages were developed," § has at all events

† Gen. féin?

‡ "The Academy," Feb. 28, 1891.

§ Isaac Taylor, "Origin of the Aryans," p. 295. Canon Taylor has been the popular exponent of this theory in England. In a paper read before the Anthropological Institute in 1888 (Journ. p. 248), he had expressed his belief "that the Finnic languages exhibit a survival of the primitive form of speech out of which the Aryan languages were developed," or to quote his view more fully, "I believe," he says in another place, "that in the Finns of Finland, and the Esthonians and Liefs of Courland and Livonia, we discover *in situ* a people who can be shown anthropologically and linguistically, to be the survivors of the race from which the Aryans were evolved." We seem to catch the echo of a sigh rather than of a deprecatory murmur in the words with which the indefatigable Schrader criticises the data on which this bold hypothesis is based, which, were it, indeed, at present capable of proof, would set at rest so much that many a life-work has failed to elucidate. "Unfortunately," he says, "the celebrated anthropologist conceives the comparison of two families of language as being much easier and simpler than it really is" ("Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte," transl. Jevons, p. 105).

This theory had been entertained by various scholars of eminence abroad, and studied from philological and other points of view. Tomaschek, in "Ethnologisch-linguistische Forschungen über den Osten Europas," 1883, aimed at establishing the fact of the existence in the Ural languages of elements handed down from prehistoric times incalculably remote, which were due to the result of intimate contact with the original Aryan people, and at showing that it was from a region closely touching those languages that the germ of the Aryan social organism was put forth. In 1888, Dr. Leopold von Schroeder of Dorpat followed up this with a comparison of the marriage customs of the Esthonian Finns with those of the peoples who spoke the Indo-Germanic languages, in a work entitled, "Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten und einiger anderer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften in Vergleichung mit denen indogermanischen Völker."

A comparison of the Folk-lore and customs of the Féinne in Ireland, of lake legends, for example, of Finn himself with Kallewe Poeg, of the custom of taking sweat-baths before hunting, with those of the Esthonians, ancient and modern, tends not a little to strengthen the theory. For vapour-baths among the Finns, see Pref. to Crawford's "Kalevala," vi.; for the same practice among the Scythians, see Herod. iv. c. 75; for the same among the Fianna, see O'Mahony's "Keating," p. 346; it is my opinion that the Fualacta-na-Fiann were formed for this purpose; there is a sweat-house at Inishmurray.



proved the existence of points of identity which cannot be explained, except on the ground of one common origin in one common primeval home, where the respective races dwelt side by side.

The word for dog among the Esthonian Finns was *peni*, and among the Finns of Finland *penikka*,† from whom, according to Ihre, the Lapps borrowed it. Other forms were *Penni*, *Pin*, and *Ping*, in the Esthonian of Dörpat, the Augernsche Liben, and Livonian near Salis, respectively, while in the Lettish, near Libau, a dog was *Funs*. In the latter language, *Pinnis* signified the Finns, and in Lithuanian *Pinnas*. "The Finns," says Schrader, "on reaching the Baltic, were acquainted with the dog (*peni*), among whom it was domesticated."‡ Now, it was from German sources that Tacitus must have received his account of the Fenni, and also the form of their name, which, with the change usual in German from "p" into "f," would be their own word *peni*, by which it is possible that they called themselves, while the more northern branch of their race, to whom the name Finn was also applied, though by others, and not themselves, called themselves *Suomi*, which, I think, signifies Bears, or Bear-men.§

That another division of the Finns bore the name of the dog is, I think, not improbable. These were the Cwen Finns, of whom Othere speaks,|| and whom Müllenhoff places north of the Malar lake. In Samoyedish, the language which retains the ancient Turanian elements in their purist form, *wueno* is a dog, with a diminutive *wueniko*, perhaps not unrelated to *peni* and *penikko*, and with this word I venture to think Cwen may be associated. This name may have given rise to a legend as old, at least, as the time of Tacitus, who speaks of the Sitones as tribes who were under the rule of a woman.¶ The position of these

† Schrader, trans. Jevons, p. 360; see also Ahlqvist, "Die Kulturwörter in den Westfinnischen Sprachen," cap. i.

‡ Müllenhoff, K. ("Deutsche Altertumskunde," ii. p. 53), while he holds that the customary derivation of Fenni, Finni from the Goth. *fani*, O.N. *fen*, etc., "a marsh," is quite inadmissible, derives it from a root which gives the Latin *pinna*, with the sense of a wing, and swiftness.

§ An analogous case of a change from "p" to "f" in primitive Finnic on the one hand, and German and Irish on the other, perhaps occurs in the word *palo*, the Finnic for "fire" (whence "bál," the Norse for a funeral pyre), and the German *Phol*, a fire, or sun-god, worshipped under the image of a burning wheel, and *Fal*, also a sun-god, connected with a wheel in Irish mythology. It is curious to notice that the Germans themselves anciently possessed the word *fenn* in the sense of a dog. Grimm explains it by *canis fæmina*, connecting it with the words *phan* and *phano* in the Lex Salica [compare the possible *Phannonæ*, or *Fanones* of Ptolemy], meaning "catulus," as well as with all the Indo-Germanic names for dog, as the Rig-Vedic *çvan*, Zend *spā*, Armenian *jun*, Greek *κύων* (*kyōn*), Latin *canis*, Gothic *hund*, Lithuanian *szu*, and Gaedhelic *cú* (*cun*, *con*). One old German lexicographer, Johannes Frisius, of Tiguer (edit. 1568), gives "Canis = ein hund oder hündtin; ein Fänn." Another, Joshua Maaler, of Zurich (edit. 1561), gives "Fänn oder hundsbraut = canis fæmina."

|| King Alfred's Orosius, trans. Bosworth, edit. 1859, pp. 20, 21.

¶ Germ. c. 45; see also H. Vegelius, "De antiqua gente Quenorum."



Sitones appears to be identical with that of the Cwens. Of this very country, Adam of Bremen† speaks as the *terra feminarum*, the "land of the women," that is, as he adds, "of the Amazons," or, as the Sagas have it, "the giant maids of Iötunheim," "the Valkyrias who come and destroy the happy time of the gods." The Sagas and Saxo speak of Keenugardhr, Conogardia, as situated near Gardhariki and Hólgardhr.‡ Next to these Amazons of the North, Adam of Bremen places another mythological people called the Cynecephali, or Dog-Heads, who are also referred to by Paulus Diaconus, as being falsely stated by the Lombard leaders to be in their camp, in order to strike terror into their enemies. Under the Gaedhelic form Conchend (*Con-ceann*), the name of a people called Dogs'-Heads, seemingly piratical hordes, occurs in ancient Irish tradition. They fight with the Curroid, and being defeated by the latter, are driven off the sea.§ Another reason for associating the name Cwen with "dog" is that, besides bearing the names Iötunheim, and Riesenland, the country of the Cwen Finns was called by the Teutonic people Hunaland, or Hundinginland, that is, Houndland, or Land of the Hundings, or Hound-men.

The legend of the women may indeed be attributable to a mistaken notion that Cwen meant a woman, as indeed it, or something very like it, does in so many Aryan languages, for example, the Greek *γυνή*, the Gothic *qino*, the Old High German *chiona*, the Irish *cuiniu*, the Anglo-Saxon *cvæn*, the English *queen*, the Scottish *quean*, the Old Norse *kvæan*, and the Swedish *quinna*, whence the district of the Cwens was called Quinnaland. The nearer we approach to the Old High German forms, *chiona*, *chona*, *chuëna*, *quëna*, the more close does the resemblance to *cwen* become. The consequence of this may well have been, that when the Aryan-speaking people heard that among the allophylian people to the north of them, there was a race of Cwens, they interpreted it "Women."

One is tempted to inquire whether there is not something more than a mere coincidence between these Scandinavian Amazons and the Scythian Amazons of the Caucasus. "The mythological literature of the North," says Mr. Du Chaillu, "bears evidence of a belief prevalent among the people that their ancestors

† "De situ Daniæ," cap. 222, 224, and 228.

‡ Fornald. sög. 2, 294; 3, 362 Form, sög. 5, 271, 297; and Saxo-Gramm.

§ O'Curry, M. and C., vol. ii. p. 311.



migrated at a remote period from the shores of the Black Sea, through South-west Russia, to the shores of the Baltic."†

Recent researches in comparative archæology have proved that "in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, near to the old Greek settlement, graves similar to those of the North" are found, "containing ornaments and relics remarkably like those found in the ancient graves of Scandinavia. . . . If we follow the river Dnieper upwards from its mouth in the Black Sea, we see in the museums of Kief and Smolensk many objects of types exactly similar to those found in the graves of the North."

The southern Iötunheim was the country between the Dnieper and the Volga and Don, south of which was Asgard, on the shores of the Palus Mæotis. The chief town of Iötunheim was Utgard (? Iöt-Iüt-gard). Now here, curiously enough, dwelt in the time of the invasion of the Huns a tribe called Utigures, who also seem to have borne the name Unugures, and to have been accounted as Hunni and Bulgars, of which latter people it was said that they were *toto orbe terribiles*.‡ Associated also with the Utigures,§ were the Cutrigures, or Cotragi, a tribe of whom it will be necessary to speak later on in connection with an Irish people of similar name. At present it will be sufficient to point out firstly the resemblance between *Utgard* and *Utigures*; and, secondly, the coincidence between the facts that the latter people were classed as Hunni, and so were the Iötr of the northern Iötunheim. Olaus Magnus,|| Bishop of Upsala, states that in the Province of Middelpæd (the southern portion of West Bothnia, the old Quinna- or Cwen-land), "the majority of the population are called by the name of Hunni." In old Gothic poetry, says Rudbeck,¶ the entire cavalry came under the designation Hunni, which reminds us that Procopius†† speaks of the splendid horsemanship of the Huns, who, in Scythian fashion, shot their arrows from the saddle. "Joutte" in Swedish means a bow, whence possibly Iöt, Jute, etc.

From the country about the Caucasus came the Amazons, who, following a custom similar to that said to have been introduced into the North by Odin, burned their dead, and raised over them immense tumuli.

It appears from Strabo that the precise district assigned by geographers for the abode of the Amazons lay in the mountains

† "The Viking Age," p. 25.

‡ See Procopius, Agathias, Menander, Leo Diaconus, and Jordanes for these peoples.

|| Lib. 2, cap. 18, pl. 61.

¶ Atlantis, ii. 533.

‡ Cassiodorus, Var., 8, 80.

†† Hist. Goth., i. 1.



to the north of Albania. According to Diodorus<sup>ru</sup> Siculus, the Amazons invaded Thrace, Asia Minor, the Ægean Islands, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Libya. They fought with the Phrygians and Trojans. The language they spoke is stated to have been Scythian. That they made their way into Thessaly appears from Plutarch's statement that their tumuli existed in his day near Scotussa † and the Cynocephalus, or Dog-Head Mountain.

With regard to the presence of actual Huns, in the sense of any Mongolian followers of Attila in Sweden, the old writer Torfæus expressly states that "at various times Hunni obtained settlements there." Ammianus Marcellinus says that the Huns extended from the Sea of Asov to the Icy Sea. Priscus was informed by the western ambassadors that Attila had penetrated even to the isles of the ocean. Mr. Hodgkin thinks that this statement may be more nearly true than one is disposed at first to think possible, and that the king of the Huns may really have annexed Norway and Sweden to his dominions.‡ It is a circumstance which must not be passed over that both in Germany and Scandinavia traditions of Attila not only existed but formed the staple of popular national epic, and saga. In the Niebelungen Lied he is Etzel; in the Sagas of the North he is Atli; he dwells on the Danube, in Hunland, and, as Mr. Hodgkin and others have pointed out, he is by no means the terrible person represented in the ecclesiastical legends—the horror of the Roman, and the abomination of the Christian, but rather a mild and insignificant person corresponding to Ailill, the husband of Medb, in the Irish romance of the Tain-bo-Cuailgne, in which *saga* I should not be surprised if future criticism recognized, as its far-away historic basis, the greatest *tain* or raid known to history, namely, that of the Hunnish Confederation on the Roman Empire, an event which on the dispersal of the tribes who took part in it,—many of whom, doubtless, took refuge in the North,—must have left an indelible impression on the mind of the barbarians, to be reproduced in prose saga, and in song.

The existence of a short, dark, fierce race of rovers in the Baltic countries, which might actually have been a Mongolian remnant, some centuries later, is proved by the appearance of the

† It has often struck me that this name may be remotely, but not impossibly, connected with that of Scuti (see Adam of Bremen) and Scoti.

‡ "Italy and her Invaders," vol. ii. (1892), p. 177.



Black Danes or Danars—the Dubh Gaill—on the coasts of Ireland, in the year 795, whose skulls present closer affinities to those of Tartar peoples than to the old Turanian or Lappish brachycephalic type. Independently, however, of this extreme type introduced into Ireland at this comparatively late date, we have to take into account the presence at an earlier date of tribes in Ireland, who, while they were not Mongolian, may yet have had Tscudish or Kalmuck affinities, and been engaged in the Hunnish wars as allies of Attila.

The tribal names Bolcraighe, Bolg Tuath of Baghna, etc., give us reason to believe that a people, called the Fir-Bolg or Bolg-men, which would be the exact equivalent of the Norse Bolgr, Greek Βούλγαρες, Latin Bulgari and Vulgares, and Arabian Bolgâr, had formed considerable settlements in the island. The manners and customs of these tribes, as I intend to show, were precisely similar to those of the Bulgars, whom Zeuss and others have recognized as the Hunnish tribes in retreat, not necessarily Mongolian—if, indeed, any of them were so—but Germanic, Slavonic, Slavo-Germanic, Celto-Scythic—all, indeed, who had allied themselves to the leader of the Hunnish Confederation, among whom we may specially note Heruli and Cotragi.

The sudden break-up of this loosely constituted alliance, including Rugians, Herulians, Pannonians, Vandals, Slavs, Alans, and Avars, and the disappearance of the more distinctly Mongolic or Tartar element, is one of the most singular facts of history. May not some of those who took part in it have found their way, under the name of the Huns and the Iötuns, the Bolg, and the Cotragi, into the islands and peninsulas of the remote North?

It has been said that the Hunnish invasion,—the pressure westward of tribes from the Volga and the Black Sea,—caused the wholesale migration of the Anglo-Saxons into Britain. The result would have been that the lands vacated would have been occupied by the new-comers, while Scotland and Ireland would have alone been open to the latter when they in turn set sail for the North.†

Two points which strike us in connection with the history of this period are, first, the astonishing ubiquity of the various tribes,

† The old German writers are unanimously of opinion that the Picts and Scots came from Scythia to Germany, and from Germany to the British Isles.



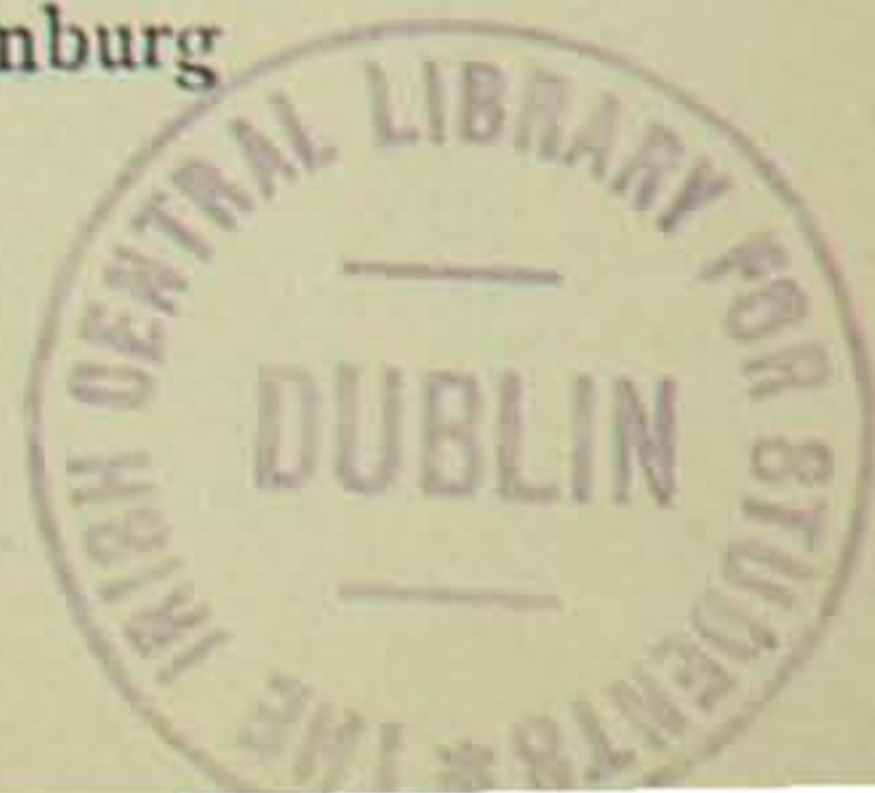
and, second, the speed with which they must have accomplished their journeys from place to place. The Heruli are an instance in point. Now on the Palus Mæotis; now on the Danube and in Pannonia; now on the southern shores of the Baltic, on the Pene River; now in Thule, and in the islands of the North where, to judge by their journey thither to procure a king from the ancient royal stock, their original home lay; at one time in Italy, at another in Spain, their history affords an illustration of what the condition of Europe was, when not the Scythian plains alone, but the whole of the North and West were liable at any time to be scoured by mixed races (as these Heruli probably were), who on land were as proficient in the saddle and with the bow, as at sea they were in their "beak-carved" galleys with the oar. The story of this people shows us, too, that it is not necessary to suppose that, although we find this or that tribe on the confines of Asia, they were otherwise than at home in the islands and peninsulas of the North.

It appears to me that in the name Hun we have to distinguish four meanings, all developed from one single root of Finno-Aryan origin, *pin*, *fin*, *hin*, *hûn*, bearing the sense of swiftness, whence "dog," "arrow," etc. The first meaning reaches back to prehistoric times, and designates, I venture to think, the Finnic stock in Europe. The Germanic people applied it in this sense to those of allophylian race. To them it became what the term "barbarian" was to the Latins; hence, possibly, the word *Hünschaft* for peasantry in the Freiburg dialect.

Later on, however, as the power and presence of the allophylian made itself increasingly felt, it became associated with warriors and honourable deeds. "Hûn," says Dederich, "is the mdh. *hiune*, a giant, a hero of old time sprung from a very ancient stock." It is plain that it does not mean the Huns of history. This Hûn was here in name long before the appearance of the Huns in Europe, and the rise of the dominion of Attila. In the Wanderers-liede, the name Hûn appears as that of the leader of the Hätvere,† a name supposed to be a survival of that of the Chattuarii, the reputed ancestors of the Franks. The Hûnaland of the Edda is, according to Dederich, none other than the country of the Hugones, or Franks, *hugon* being *hun* with the *g* dropped.‡ Again,

† Comp. Hetwars in Beowulf, supposed to be the Chatti, or Chattuarii.

‡ "Hist. und Geograph. Studien," Hermann Dederich, 1877, p. 180. In the "Quedlinburg





Hûnlâfing is the name of an Eoten warrior who kills Hengist. Grimm gives us the following additional proper names into which Hûn enters in composition: Hûnolt, Hûnrat, Althûn, and Folchûn. Finn, as a proper name, which, I think, is allied to it, similarly enters into the composition of many personal names in Ireland,† on the one hand, and Scandinavia ‡ on the other. Its appearance in Ireland in the form *Finn* would indicate that it had passed through a German medium.

Not less was the term Hûn held in honour in the North. Rudbeck, after identifying it with *huna*, a hound, and deriving it from the Gothic *hinna* = "assequi," "celeriter perficere," whence, he says, in relation to the chase, it means "feram consequi," adds that any person, therefore, who either by sea or land excelled in the chase was termed by the Goths a Hun. So far from the term "hound" being one of reproach, it was considered an honourable distinction, acquired in the hunting-field, or on the wave, by those who displayed swiftness in pursuing and dexterity in securing their prey.§ Sigurd himself is described as the "Hunnish one." This is precisely the sense of the Irish *flan*, and its Celtic equivalent in meaning *cu*, a warrior.

The second meaning was that of "giant." "Lower Germany," says Jacob Grimm—"Westphalia above all—uses *hiine* in the sense of 'giant.' The word prevails in all the popular traditions of the Weser region, and extends as far as the Gröningen country. A form of it, *hæne*, also meaning 'giant,' occurs in *Wolfdietrich*." We find it used in this sense in the case of the dolmens or *hiinenbedden*, in that of the tumuli or *hiinengräber*, and in that of any object of prehistoric antiquity not known to belong to any existing people. We have a recognition of this meaning in the "Glossary of Scherz," || who gives us: "Heune, Hunnus, Hungarus, item Gigas, hinc Hunenloecher, cavernæ antiquorum gigantum: *hewne*, *huine* gigas," and again, "Hunengraeber, sepulchra gigantum propriè Hunnorum."

Dr. Paul Wigand speaks of "Sorbold's Grab" as an immense

Chronicle" (Pertz v., 31) we read, "Olim omnes Franci Hugones vocabantur, a suo quodam duce *Hugone*." With this "Hugon" I am much tempted to identify the Hugaine Môr of Irish tradition, said to have possessed great power in the Western Isles of Europe, to have married Cæsarea, daughter of the King of Gaul, and to have been the ancestor of an Heremonian dynasty. See Kelly's remarks on this personage, in his notes on "Cambrensis Eversus," pp. 444, 504.

† See the index to the "Four Masters," edit. O'Donovan.

‡ See Rask, "Samlede tildels forhen utrikte Afhandlinger," 1834, i. p. 107.

§ The work of gathering together and mobilizing the army of the Huns was spoken of as "hunting."

|| Tom. i., 666 and 711.



dolmen in the Börgerwald, in the northern part of the Hummelinck, in the diocese of Munster, as a great *hiinenhaus*. About this a stanza of verse is current which runs as follows:—

“De Hunen Konig Sorwold  
Lig begraven in Borgerwold  
In een golden Husolt.”

As early as the thirteenth century, according to Lisch, the names *reisen-betten* and *hiinengräber* were in use in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. In a deed of the monastery of Colbaz in Dreger,† in 1234, occur the words, *via quæ ducit in tumulum gigantis*. In 1235 the limits of the same monastery are stated to run, *a tribus lapidibus super tres tumulos paganorum*, whence the “allophylian,” “pagan,” or “peasant” sense appears. In the country called Circipene, in the district of Demmin, in a deed of 1174, mention is made of certain *tumuli qui Slavice dicuntur “trigorke,” antiquorum sepulchra*. In a rent-book of Freiburg *hiinengräber* are mentioned in 1320 and 1344.

The notion that they were Giants’ Graves, and that *hiine* meant “giant” at all, reached Germany, perhaps, from the North, “where,” says Grimm, “the term appears to have been applied to a primitive mythic race supposed to inhabit some uncertain region, much the same as the Iötens.” Iötun and Finn are convertible terms in the *sagas*, and their country is Riesenland, the Giants’ Land. *Hûnar*, however, in Old Norse, cannot be said to be actually convertible with *Iötnar*, as in the Badder Saga‡ the *Heunen* are placed after the Giants as a younger race. The infiltration of Scandinavian mythology into Germany has been shown by Grimm and others to be an unquestionable fact, and to this, and not to any independent cause, I think we may not be wrong in assigning its meaning of “giant” when applied to the *hiinenbedden*, which are exact counterparts of the *jættestue* (literally *hiinenhausen*), “Giants’ Abodes” in the North.

A third meaning of Hun (Hünen) was Slaves. As the Germans applied the term in general to all allophylian races, so in especial they applied it to those peoples on the eastern coast of the southern Baltic, who, when the main strength of the German stock had gone south into the Danubian provinces, Pannonia and Italy, threw themselves into the vacant districts, and extended

† “Cod. Dipl. Pomm.,” p. 164.

‡ No. 387.



their settlements to the Elbe. Adam of Bremen calls Meshnoi, a Sclavic chief, "a dog." Helmhold says: "Saxonum voce Slavi canes vocantur,"—both which statements imply that they called them Huni, Hundi, *i.e.* Hunden, "dogs." The absence of the *d* is immaterial. In Norse mythology, Hunaland, the fabulous country which was equated with Iötunheim, the land of the Giants, was stated to have been so called from the howling of dogs, *i.e.* it was Hundaland. That Huni meant Slaves to the writers of Bede's time is clear, from a passage in which he enumerates the peoples converted by Egbert. To the German scribes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries above quoted, the *antiqui* of Pomerania would have signified the Slaves. All that was ancient would have been referred to them, and hence it is open to question whether the name *Sepulchra Hunnorum*, or *Hünengräber*, may not possibly have arisen.

With respect to the fourth meaning of Hun, namely, the historic Hunni, or Chuni, of Attila, I cannot agree with Dederic and those who think that no connection exists between this name and that of the Hun of Germany and the North. Ptolemy places Chuni below the Sarmates and above the Pontus, and Dionysius Periegetes locates Hunni on the Caspian. From these small beginnings it appears to me to have become the widely extended name for the race to which the Huns of Attila belonged, and that, therefore, the fact that they possessed it need be no coincidence, but a genuine survival of ancient terms. As time went on, it embraced all those who had accepted the Hunnish alliance, and come under their dominion. "Any descendant," says Mr. Hodgkin, "of Gepidæ, Ostrogoths, Rugians, or Herulians, whose fathers had accepted Hunnish rule, would be called Huns." Scotta and Onegesh,† whoever they were (? Scythian Picts, *i.e.* Iötuns), were Hunnish magnates. Even a Roman is spoken of as having turned Hun.

Inseparable from his *Fians* and from the *Féne*, Féinne, or Fenians, the people to whom Patrick is said to have preached, is their chieftain, mortal or immortal, human or superhuman, normal in size or abnormal, Finn or Find Mac Cumhail.‡

† Onegeshius or Hunugus. Compare Oengus, Oingus, Ungust, Aengus, gen. Aengusa—names common in Pictish and Irish tradition. Possibly the A.S. Hengist is the same name which assumed that form from being confused with the German *hengst* = a stallion. Unuguri was another name for the Utiguri, who were allies of Attila near the Palus Mæotis.

‡ To the question of the ethnic place of Finn and his Féinne, I return in the Ethnological portion of this work.



As a general rule, we find his name in connection with natural phenomena. Finn's Table, Finn's Chair, Finn's Finger, Finn's Thumb, are in nine cases out of ten found to be natural rocks, the names of which have often led me astray in searching for dolmens. Occasionally, however, his name is given to a dolmen, as in the case of Finn's Finger in Down,<sup>†</sup> and, if Mr. Windele be right, the "Boardeen," or Finn's Table, in Cork. Finn Mac Cumhail's Table in Tipperary is a natural rock.<sup>‡</sup> The stones of the Rathkenny dolmen in Meath were said to have been thrown together by Finn Mac Cumhail. Lackaneen, a circle in the latter county, is perhaps *Lacka na bh-Fian*, "Flagstones of the Fians," and Duneen, the name of another, may possibly be similarly derived. A hill is pointed out in Tipperary, where he first acquired his great knowledge by sucking his thumb. In the folk-lore relating to Finn, there are clear and evident traces that the Scandinavian practice of the old men sitting on mounds, each near his own habitation, and conversing, once prevailed among those from whom these stories have been handed down.<sup>§</sup> There is a Suidhe Finn, popularly said to mean Finn's Seat in Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, Clare, Galway, and Derry, and in Kilkenny there are two. That in Derry is a natural venerated rock, and sometimes they are lofty cairns. As a rule, however, they are insignificant little mounds of earth and stone. At Dundalk was a natural rock called Dealg Finn, said to mean Finn's brooch. In the cases of Leacht Finn, Foran Finn, and several other names, the word *finn*, *find*, *fionn*, white, is more probably intended, but, apart from these, the Ordnance Survey is said to contain no fewer than sixty references to persons connected with the legendary tales of Finn.

Of Ossian's Graves there are several. One of them is near Cushendall, and is a ruined dolmen-cairn. Labba-Iscur, which has been popularly called Oscar's Grave, but which really means Champion's Bed, from *Scor*, "a champion," is a dolmen near Charleville, in a glen on the borders of Cork and Limerick. With this may be compared the name *Achad an Scóir*,<sup>||</sup> the "Field of the Champion," the name of a dolmen in Leitrim, and Kiloscar, = *Cill-a-Scóir*, a name in Inishowen in Donegal. Several other dolmens are popularly held to be the resting-places of heroes who

<sup>†</sup> p. 284.  
<sup>§</sup> See Vigfusson, "Corp. Poet. Boreal.," vol. i. p. 416.

<sup>‡</sup> p. 55.

<sup>||</sup> p. 194.



are anonymous, as, for example, the *Leacht-an-Scáil* † (from *Scál*, "a hero") in Kerry, and another with a similar name in Kilkenny. ‡ At the dolmen at Ceimcorravooly, in Cork, a "gaiskeeach," properly *gascédach*, "a hero or warrior" (from *gascéd*, *gaisced*, "a weapon, or valour"), was thought to be buried, though, Windele adds, "the people would not call it a *leacht*." § At the dolmen of Derryvacorneen, || also in Cork, an old woman assured me that an "Oc" was buried. I made her repeat the word, thinking she might mean *athach*, a giant, or *óac*, *óc*, *óg*, "a young man, a warrior," but she repeated *occ* (as in Latin *hoc*) so distinctly that I am puzzled to know her meaning, unless it be *oc*, a poet, found in O'Donovan's O'Reilly. ¶ *Uaigh an Saigheadóira*, || the Soldier's Cave, or Tomb, is the name of a dolmen-like structure at Kilberehert in Cork. Bordaree (*Bórd-a-ríg*) King's Table is found, as we have seen, in the same county, as also are Bordathierna (*Bórd-a-Tigerna*), Lord's Table, and Carn-Thierna, Lord's Carn. Giants are represented by a *Tuaim-an-fhíor móir*, a dolmen at Cappanahannagh, †† in Limerick, and a cairn in the same county at Meentulla, said to have been thrown together over a highwayman who was killed there, bears the same name. Near Florencecourt the name Cloonatumpher probably marked the site of a dolmen. †† The same words are distorted into Tumper, or Thoomper, the *móir* being dropped, and the *tuaim-an-fhíor* transmogrified into a proper name in the case of the exceedingly curious name, Tumper's Grave, called also the "Giant's Grave," and "Thoomper's Cill," near Kilmihil, in Clare. "One Thoomper, a giant," we are told, "had been buried there," the oral tradition being that the Dalcassians were opposed to a people called the Danes, and that Thoomper was a chieftain of the latter, who was pursued and killed by the former, and buried in this monument which retains his name. The Dalcassians, according to the traditions handed on by the Mac Firbis family, and contained in the Book of Lecan, were a Firbolg colony, a tribe of whom came to Ireland at the time when "Oilioll and Meavé" §§ reigned in Connaught, and settled in Thomond. It may be noted that the opposition which oral tradition states to have existed between the Dalcassians and the Danes seems to correspond with that which

† p. 4.  
|| p. 25.

‡ p. 405.  
¶ p. 34.

§ p. 23, "Toir-Dh.," by S. H. O'Grady, p. 84.  
†† p. 46.  
§§ Ailill and Medb.  
‡‡ p. 226.



the written legends of the Middle Ages state to have existed between the Féinne and the Danes, and between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Firbolg. In the same Townland as Tumper's Cill, or Grave, is a well called Tober Righ-an-Domhnaigh, *i.e.* "Well of the King of Sunday," or, if the view I have before expressed be right, "Well of the King of the Deep." †

*Leacht-an-fhir-móir*, or Giant's Monument, is the name of a dolmen near Lough Arrow in Sligo. ‡ *Tomban-na-wor* § and *Labbynawark* || are corruptions of *tuaim bán na bfer mór*, and *leaba-na bfer mór*, meaning "white grave of the giants" and "bed of the giants" respectively, in the same county, in which, too, at Carrowmore, is the dolmen *Leaba na bhFíán*, and *Tober na bhFíán*, ¶ "bed and well of the Fíán, or heroes." The English "Giants' Grave" seems to be the term most commonly in use in Sligo at present.

I now propose to ask the question whether the word Cill, Cille, or Kil, ever in itself was used for a dolmen?

The fact that dolmens, without number, exist in localities the names of which contain the word *kil*, proves nothing. So common is the use of the word that Dr. Joyce †† has counted no fewer than 3400 place-names which commence with this word, to say nothing of others into which it enters either in the middle, as at Ballykilbeg, or as a termination, as in Caolkil, Ballynakil, etc.

That in the form *cille* it was a loan word from the Latin *cella* there can be no manner of doubt. How it was, however, that it came to mean a church, as it is equally undoubted that it did, it is difficult to explain with certainty. I remember the late Dr. Reeves, Bishop of Down and Connor, telling me that he regarded it as a striking illustration of the widespread monastic element essential to early Christianity in Ireland.

Cella, in the phraseology of Latin Christianity, was the equivalent of the Greek ἀποθήκη, a monk's cell, from which sense it expanded so as to mean a foundation of monks' cells, a monastery, as in the case of Cella, the Latin for Zelle, and many other monastic sites.

But the Irish *cille* was not the monastic site, nor was it the

† Compare the name of Righ an Domhain Mor, the remotest ancestor of Finn Mac Cumhail in Dr. Irvine's Scottish pedigree. His remotest ancestor in Shearman's pedigree, from various documents, is Nuada Necht, the Sea-God. See Campbell's *Leabhar-na-Féinne*.

‡ p. 189.

§ p. 127.

|| p. 140.

¶ p. 147.

†† "Irish Names of Places," 2nd Ser., p. 302.



dwelling of the founder, whose "house" is pointed out by tradition as an independent building. It was a little sacred edifice, and was in some cases, at all events, synonymous with the *leaba*, or bed, that is, the burial-place of the saint—not, however, of the saint alone, for, as O'Donovan continually hints in his letters, and as the writer of the introduction to the "Transactions of the Ossianic Society" points out in plain words, "there are numerous Cills, or places of burial, which were never dedicated to Christian purposes" at all.

One *cille* in the county of Sligo bears the name Killaracht, commonly supposed to mean the church of (Saint) Athracta. Oral tradition connects this saint with Lough Gara, across which she tried to build a causeway, carrying huge stones in her petticoat, but was prevented by modesty. Another story, however, was that she was a witch who lived at the bottom of the lake from which, once in seven years, she was allowed to emerge and visit her sister Ké. On her way she once cured a poor woman who was sick. She was called *Athract ni Manannain*, that is, daughter of Manannan Mac Lir, the Sea-God.† Colgan prints an anonymous Life of her,‡ in which a fabulous beast with the head of a dragon and the roar of a lion comes out of the sludge and is destroyed by the Holy Virgin. But all this is apocryphal. *Arracht* § is an image, an idol, of which the little *cille* was the abode. Several of these little Irish *cellæ* contained each its wooden image,|| as in the case of that of St. Molaise at Inishmurray, where a medieval wooden image is still extant, replacing, doubtless, one of more ancient date. Such images were said to be those of the persons by whose names the *cellæ* were respectively called.

In a letter from Pope Gregory the Great to the Abbot Millitus, reference is made to the religious practices for which this island on the Sligo coast was famous. On certain festivals the people flocked to the little shrines there, and must have remained some time engaged in their tribute of veneration, since they erected huts of boughs around them. Distinct directions are given in the same letter for converting the natives "from the worship of demons" to that of Christ. The small dimensions of the idol-

† O.S.L., Co. Sligo, <sup>14</sup>P. 14, pp. 233, 238, 419.

‡ AA.SS. Hib. p. 278.

§ Whitley Stokes, "Irish Life," pp. 34, 258.

|| Cf. "imagines lignei," Bk. of Armagh, fol. 13, a, 1.



temples, or shrines, among the Saxons in Britain is noticed by Godselinus, in the case of the one in which "Ethelbertus idolum suum coluit" at Canterbury. It was an "opus exiguum structum tamen de more veterum Britannorum." Both in Britain and Ireland the little oratories and churches, into which the devotees—to judge by customs surviving, as at Ardmore, into the present century—crept on hands and knees over sharp stones to worship the skull of the saint, and to carry away some of his sacred clay, were built over spots where interments had taken place in pagan time. Under the floor of the little church at Monasterboice in Louth, a cist was discovered containing fragments of pottery of the usual sepulchral type, together with a celt of polished stone.†

We may infer, I think, from what has been said, that the primitive idea of the Irish *cille* was inseparably connected with that of sepulture.\* The *cell* was a sepulchral *cell* before it was connected with the monks, who arrived from the East and South. The same may be said of the *cella* of the Roman pagan shrine, which, as we have seen, was the term known in architecture for the inner portion, just as *antæ* was for the portico, of the structure. Remarkable would it be, could it be shown that while, as we have seen, the dolmens of Portugal bore the name of the outer portion or portico, namely, *Antas*, those of Ireland bore the name of the *Cella* or inner shrine.

Among the Latins, the pagan practice of building *cellæ* was continued well within Christian times, by Christians themselves. These little edifices were sepulchral, or, rather, memorial, in character. The *cella memoriæ*, as it was called, was erected within a walled area, similar to the *cashel*, or enclosing wall, which surrounded the *cille* in Ireland. "At stated periods, especially at the anniversary of his decease, the friends and dependants of the departed assembled to celebrate an *agape*, and to partake of a banquet in his honour . . . Christianity," says Canon Venables, who writes the account of the *cellæ memoriæ* in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," "simply inherited existing customs," and "thus heathen and Christian monuments throw light on one another." A Christian inscription, recording the formation of such an *area* and the construction of a *cella* at Cæsarea in Mauretania, is given by De Rossi. A very curious will, also printed by De

† A sepulchral urn was found in the mound on which a little cell at St. Levan in Cornwall was built. On the great cairn at Chapel Carn Brea, also in Cornwall, stood a Christian cell, and in the centre of the tumulus I found a pagan sepulchral chamber.

\* This is just where he goes wrong. If he had known anything of the orientation theory he would have known that these 'cilles' were the observatories or perhaps abodes of a priest-hood, and were more powerful or numerous than even the Christian ones.



Rossi, provides for the erection of such a *cella*, in the case of a gentleman of Langres, who was not a Christian. It was to contain two statues of the testator, and in front of it an altar of marble was to be erected in which his ashes were to be deposited.

In the Musée de Lorraine at Nancy are a number of little sepulchral monuments of the Roman period—models, in fact, of larger *cellæ*—some of them exactly similar in shape to Irish examples, such as that at Kilmalkedar. Each is carved out of a single stone; their dimensions are from 2 to 2½ feet long, by 1 to 1½ foot broad, and 1 to 2½ feet high; and each is provided with a little arched cavity scooped out in the base at one end to represent the door, and for the reception of burnt deposits.

But entirely beside these meanings of *cella*, which would point to the Irish *cille* being a Latin loan-word either pagan or Christian in origin, there appears to have been a word *cille* or *kil* in use among the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, which meant in itself a burial-place or grave. O'Brien, in his Dictionary, gives *kil*, a "grave"; and Ledwich enlarges on the subject thus: "Kil at first was, in Irish, a grave; but when relics were introduced, then it expressed the tomb of a particular saint, and in this our missionaries adapted themselves to the Druidic practice, and this kil, or tomb, succeeded the *secretum illud*, that holy spot, the object of veneration." I am inclined to think that this writer, though at times in error, is, in this case, not far from the truth. The word, however, would be of Teutonic, not of Celtic origin; but for all that, it may have preceded in Ireland the Latin loan-word *cella*, for Teutonic influences were present, I feel sure, in the island in pre-Christian times, and, if it indicated sites and structures at which the religious rites of the native spirit-cultus were performed, the adoption of it by the missionaries may have afforded them the opportunity of giving to their own churches a name which, while it bore a sufficiently close resemblance to that of the monk's *cella*, or the Christian *cella memoriæ*, would be familiar to the native population whom they wished to convert. I have already expressed my views that the word Domnach, which appears on the face of it to be the Christian Latin loan-word Dominicus, was similarly made to do duty under the new religion for the name of *domuin*, or *Domnu*, in the older pagan system. A like policy of absorption or assimilation caused the dolmens and menhirs to be inscribed with crosses. The new



*régime* took the place of the old in Ireland without much friction, the consequence being that Ireland possesses no native Christian martyrs among the "Orders" of her Saints.

The word *kiel* or *kiul* in Teutonic is a term carrying with it the sense of hollowness. The Dutch *kiul* means a hole, a hollow place, a pit, a grave, a gap, cavity, cave, or den. The *Ballerkuile*, or *Ballerkoele*, in Drenthe seems to have been a circular earthwork, set apart, we are told, by Picardt for some strange solemnities, as well as for assemblies of the people, for whom earthen seats were provided around the central *kuyl*, or hollow. With this may be justly compared the earthworks in Ireland called by the very same name *keals*, or *killuraghs*, or *cealluras*, the two latter terms meaning earthen *keals*.

Cognate with this word seems to be *kiel*,† a ship, A.S. *ceól*, *ciól*; Middle Lat. *ceolæ*, *ciulæ*, *cyulæ*; M.H.D. *kiel*; M.N.D. *kel*; O.N. *kióll* (or *kjóll*); whence *Kiölen*, the keel-like range of mountains between Norway and Sweden; *Kjölr*, and *Kjalarr*, a name of Odin. In English it is *keel*, but the name refers to the hollowness within, not, as we use it, to the framework without.

Several words for "well" in Teutonic languages may have the same origin, in the sense of well-pit, from which the spring flows. In "Sarepta," by John Mathesius,‡ *kiele* signifies the source of a river, also a lake, or a drinking-trough.

In Ireland the terms *kyle*, *killeen*, *cealluragh*, *cealluna*, *ceal-drach*, and *caltragh*, are all applied to burial-places, mostly for unbaptized children, as if by this tradition to signify to us their pagan origin. In Cork I feel sure that the term *kyla*, *kila*, or *kill*, was applied to circles of standing-stone, and in support of my view I may instance the names *Kila* and *Caol-Kill*, at both of which are circles. *Cill-Tumper* in Clare may be an instance of its application to a Giant's Grave. That it was applied to cemeteries of stone cists, or to stone cists individually, might perhaps be inferred from its occurrence at the following places where they have been discovered: *Drumnakilly* (Fermanagh); *Ballykealy* and *Knocknakilla* (Cork); *Ballygheely* (Clare); and *Ballykale* in Wexford.

In the Townland of *Ballykeely* in Carlow is the famous *Ballon Hill*, upon which entrenchments formerly existed, "locally known

† See Adelung, *in voc.*

‡ Nürnberg, 1571, fol. lxviii. b., and vol. cxviii.



as the walls of Troy," enclosing a great sepulchral area from which a very large number of urns have been taken. Immediately over Ballykeely House was an immense block of granite on the hillside, 19 feet long by 12 feet broad, and 3 feet thick, resting at either end on granite blocks. Under this were three unburnt skeletons, and, deeper down, a bed of charcoal with three broken urns. The rock was called *Cloghán-na-Marabhan*,† that is, Great Rock, or Stone-House of the dead. *Kil-na-Marabhan* is the name of a site in Cork.

It is true that in some cases *kill* may stand for *coill*, a wood; but, where it is associated with ancient prehistoric burial-sites, we are inclined to refer it to its undoubted sense as a sepulchral site or monument, a cemetery enclosed by an earthen rampart, a stone-circle, or a dolmen.

Several instances can be cited where the descriptive name of this or that megalithic monument has, as the natives have gradually lost their language, come to be used as if it were the name of the warrior or giant supposed to be there interred. Thus, in Sligo, there is a place called *Fearsat reanna an Liagain*, the Pass of the Point of the Flagstone.‡ "Liagan," it is said, "was a famous warrior slain there by Lugh the Long-handed, as he was on the way to the battle of Moy-Turey." At Loughnascaul,§ in Fermanagh, near the little lake, and also near a dolmen, are two cairns. The popular tale about them is that they were gathered together by two contending giants. "One of these had a wife whose name is remembered as something like *Maurancin*," perhaps *Morrigan*, "and it was on her account that jealousy grew up between them, and that they collected ammunition for the contest." The lady, conscious of her innocence, prevailed on the giants to leave their case to the arbitration of the first traveller who might come that way. "It so happened that a man well-reputed as the possessor of unusual wisdom, who lived near Lough Eyes (some two miles to the S.S.E.), was seeking a *gearran* (horse) which had strayed, and was the first to appear. After listening to all the parties had to say, and swearing them to abide by his decision, he led the husband to the *claddagh*, or brink of the *loch*, and desired him to look into the water, and inform him what he

† *Marbaim* = I die; *marbhán* = a dead body.

‡ MS. Letters, Ord. Surv., Co. Sligo, <sup>14</sup>P. 14, p. 171.

§ Journ. R.H.A.A.I., 4th Ser., vol. iii. p. 529.



saw there. He replied, 'I see only my own shadow.' 'Grasp it, then,' cried the judge. 'I have done so,' said the other, 'and it has no substance.' 'As much substance as there is occasion for your jealousy. Go home and make friends, and be no longer an ass,' said the peacemaker. And so there was an end to the strife, and the lake was called Loughascaul, that is, Lake of the Shadow."† I should have thought it more probable that it was derived from the *scál* or the champions who collected each his cairn of stones. *Latnambard*, the name of a dolmen in Monaghan,‡ is, according to O'Donovan, the Monument of the Poets. *Carn-na-vanaghan*, or Vicar's Carn, in Armagh, is so called, so Dr. Leslie Riggs supposes, from the spot on which it stands having belonged to the old abbey of St. Peter and Paul at Armagh.§ "This cairn," says Mr. Young, "is held in great veneration by many of those who live near it, who account it impious to carry off any of the stones. If it ever was frequented on any particular day for the purposes of worship, the record of it is lost," but "the very zealous Roman Catholics never pass or repass without bringing a stone and throwing it on the cairn."

It is more difficult to say what can be the origin of the name *Tuoma-an-Vinistre*, the Minister's Grave, applied to the dolmen of Gortafloodig in Cork.|| Tighe mentioned that the dolmen of Garryduff, in Kilkenny, was called the "Priest's Grave."¶

Sometimes a dolmen bears the name of some notable person in quite modern times. Take, for example, Leacht Neil on Mossgrove Mountain in Cork.†† Tradition points to this monument as the last resting-place of an Ulster commander in the seventeenth century. This Neil, as he was returning from Bandon during the wars of the reign of James II., was slain by a shot fired by his pursuers from the hill of Gurtacloonlig further to the south. He was buried, so it is said, in this monument, whilst his horse, also killed, was buried beneath the huge "gullawn" (pillar) at its side. Windele, quoting O'Mahony's manuscript, says: "Daniel O'Neil's men, part of Lord Clancarty's regiment, were treacherously killed at Bandon on Monday, February 28th, 1689, and the piper played *Beir chughat do feallaidh*, and O'Neil himself was slain at Leacht Neil on Mossgrove Mountain by a party coming from Macroom."

† Scál = a shadow. O'Don. Gram., p. 15.

‡ MS. Letters, Ord. Surv., Cos. Armagh and Monaghan, B. 12, p. 132.

§ p. 297.

|| p. 25.

¶ p. 407, otherwise called Leaba-na-Con.

†† p. 29.



It is really not impossible that the dolmen was extemporized as a tomb for this officer, but the tradition that a warrior was buried there probably dated from prehistoric times.†

Another instance of an apparently modern name attached to a dolmen is that of *Leaba Thomais mac Caba* at Mathewstown in Waterford.‡

A grave in the Townland of Curraheen § (I have not been able to ascertain if it was a dolmen) and County of Tipperary bore the name of *Eamonn-a-Cnuic*, that is, "Edmund of the Knoll," of whom O'Donovan says: "He was a celebrated traditionary character of the mountains of Tipperary, who flourished a few half-centuries ago." || Near Dunfanaghy in Donegal, is a place called Raymonamoney, ¶ and a monument called *Raymonamoney's Grave*. Such instances of modern names replacing older ones occur in England and Scotland. Near the stone circles at Stanton Drew in Somersetshire I remember once seeing a rock called Sir John de Hauteville's Quoit, and said to have been thrown by that gallant old crusading knight whose effigy is in Chew Magna Church. Campbell, in his "Tales of the West Highlands," †† mentions a rock at Bunawe of many tons weight thrown by Rob Roy!

Traditions as to dolmens and other megaliths having been the sites where two giants, or two kings, fought, and upon one of them being slain, the monument having been the place of his interment, are not unusual. At Cloncorick in Leitrim, "a grave is shown in which a king is said to have been interred. He was slain in a combat with one of the same rank at Mullach-an-Da-Righ, that is, the Hill of the Two Kings, and the Townland Cluain Chomraic, or Cluan Cómhraic, that is, hillside of the combat, was so called from the circumstance." ‡‡

Of a dolmen between Enniskillen and Ballyshannon, §§ in Fermanagh, it was said that a giant was interred there, while the tomb of his armour-bearer was situated at the top of an eminence not far distant. It was also said that on one occasion, when stones were broken from one of the flags composing it, and were placed in a lime-kiln, "no power on earth could burn them,"

† In one place Windele calls this dolmen *Leacht Neit*, which would be a name of extreme interest in connection with an ogam inscription at Cahir Conree, in Kerry, which Prof. Rhys reads *Cú-Néit mac Con Ri*. Windele may, however, have inadvertently crossed the final *l*.

‡ p. 60.

§ p. 54.

|| Suppl. O'Reilly's Dict. *in voc*.

¶ p. 230.

†† p. 99.

‡‡ O.S.L., Co. Leitrim, <sup>14</sup>/<sub>B. 16</sub>, p. 207.

§§ p. 222.



a superstition akin to that according to which no water would ever boil the sacred fish taken from a holy well. Two men who had once tried to open this dolmen had their feet miraculously fastened to their spade-shafts.†

The fine dolmen near Dundonald in Down,‡ bears locally the interesting name of the *Kempe* Stones, pronounced Camp-Stones, apparently a Teutonic word,§ meaning a combat, or a soldier, or giant. The name of Green's Graves is that of the adjoining Townland, and, although this is probably a mere corruption of *Grainne*, a story is current that two giants fought here, one of them, called Green, was slain and buried under the dolmen. Upon my asking a peasant for local stories about this monument, he told me that, had it been in the western parts of Ireland, there would have been plenty, but as it was "in a civilized part" there were none.\* A less "up-to-date" but infinitely preferable native told me that he had heard a tale that two giants had fought here, one of whom was Finn Mac Cumhail, who was, of course, the victor.

At Caherard,§ in Kerry, a dolmen is named *Leabba au Irweeny*, *Labbanirweeny*, or, as Windele spells it in more recognizable form, *Leaba-an-fhir-Mhuimhnig* (Mumhain = Munster),|| Bed of the Munsterman, "believed to be the grave of a warrior killed at the Battle of Ventry." At Ballygheely, in Clare, is a cairn called *Carn Connachtach*, or the Carn of the Connaughtmen. The tradition in the neighbourhood is that a multitude of Connaughtmen on one occasion followed a large serpent from their own country to this place, where they succeeded in killing it, and each one having carried a stone in his hand in pursuit, heaped them up here on the death of their prey.¶

Occasionally tradition supplies us with the names of the giants who fought. In the district of Moycullen, in Galway, a pillar-stone stood on the spot where a battle was said to have been fought between two giants, the one being Orbsen (from whom Lough Corrib is said to derive its name), and whose alias was *Manannan mac Lir*, and the other called Uillin.††

† *Dublin Fenny Journal*, 1834-35, p. 237.

‡ p. 271.

§ *E.g. Kampf*, in German.

|| p. 1.

¶ O.S.L., Co. Clare,  $\frac{14}{B. 23}$ , p. 309.

†† MS. Ord. Surv. Letters, Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 3}$ , pp. 152, 157, 164. O'Flaherty calls Orbsen

"Mac Alloid one of the Danann nation."

\* It is a wonder that he did not say "and to hell with the Pipe!", in later days he would probably have said the dolmen was made by Carson!



The name Orbsen occurs in the pedigree of Mac Rannal, now Reynolds, chief of Muintir Eolais, in Leitrim. The first name in the same pedigree is that of Fergus Mac Roe, the exiled king of Ulster in the *Tain-Bo-Cuailgne*. The fourteenth name is "*Orbsen Mor*, who left his name on Lough Orbsen, now Lough Corrib. The site of his house," adds Mac Firbis,† "is to be seen on the west side of the lake; the lake came over it; it is now called *fuadh tighe diocair*."

The dolmen, of the same type as the *Leacht Neil*, on the mountain called Slieve Owen (*Sliabh Eógain*), in Cork is called the Liabig (= *Leabaidh*) Owen (= *Eógain*). A few fields to the N.W. of it stood a venerated rock—a large boulder with three hollows on its upper surface, 5 inches or 6 inches deep and the same in diameter, called the *Cloch na dttri pleur*, "Stone of the Three Shots."‡

Besides being called Carrig Cotta, Carrig-a-cotta, and Cot's Rock, the dolmen at Castle-Mary§ bears the name Carrig-Grioth, or Croith, which Mr. Crofton Croker interprets "Rock of the Sun." O'Reilly gives the word *grioth*, the sun, but *croit* would mean "a small eminence."

The dolmen-cairn in the Townland of Corran,|| also in Cork, was associated, according to one local legend, with a giant called Carbery, who, when seated upon it, was wont to lave his feet in the lake which lies far below. According to a second story, the cairn was the burial-place of a "big giant" called Maw Gun, in whom Mr. Windele would recognize the legendary king Mac Con. This Maw Gun had two gigantic brothers, one of whom was buried on the summit of Knockmeldown, in Waterford, the other in Scotland.

The following account of the discovery of an urn in this cairn illustrates the belief that it was in the power of malevolent fairies to change the contents of urns from gold to dust and ashes. "It was discovered by two brothers named Norris. Another man worked with them, but when they got a glimpse of the crock, they sent him off to some distance and then uncovered it. A fourth fellow came up at the moment, and, before they could do so, snatched up the crock, and ran off with it. They pursued him, however, so closely that he laid it down in a ditch, and thrusting in his hand, took out a handful of its contents, with which he ran

† Geneal. p. 537.

‡ p. 31.

§ p. 15.

|| p. 43.



away with the utmost speed, leaving the urn to his pursuers. When he thought himself at a sufficiently safe distance, he drew up, and, opening his hand, found to his dismay, instead of its being full of golden guineas, a quantity of ashes and fragments of bone—the effect, as he afterwards declared, of fairy malevolence, the gold having changed to dust in his hand. The Norrises were much inclined to fancy a similar metamorphosis, as to what they found in the crock, and it was probably to a fear of the invisible powers, who had effected it, that the urn was preserved entire.” †

Three sites at least bear the name of Conan; namely, “Conan’s Stone,” in Waterford,‡ “Leaba Conain” on Mount Callan in Clare, and Leaba Liabadoir, also called the “Grave of Conan,” in Mayo.§ Of these the second consists of two slabs now laid side by side, though formerly one upon the other, one of them inscribed with *ogam* lettering, the genuineness of which has been the subject of much controversy. A curious tradition prevailed in the vicinity regarding this latter monument. It was said that, should the grave which the stones were supposed to have formed or covered be opened, “the wild, inhospitable mountain would at once become a fertile plain; that a beautiful city, which lay enchanted in the little lake called Lochbooleynagreine close by, would be opened by a key which was buried with Conan in the tomb, and that a great mass of golden treasure would be then acquired.”

The second of the above-named sites connected with Conan’s name is near the ancient church and well at Kilmore in Mayo. It is called by tradition “Leaba Liabadoir,” the latter word seeming in part a repetition of the former, and meaning “Bed of Gold,” from *leabadh* and *óir*, genitive of *or*, gold. It is believed to be the grave of the giant Conan.

An attempt has been made to identify this monument, which is a mixed dolmen, with the tomb of Echtra mentioned in the Legend of Patrick.|| Colgan refers to it as being so, for he speaks of the Feart Echtra, which was to be seen in a field at a little distance to the east of the old church of Kilmore-Moy, and opposite a holy well called Tober Patrick. Echtra was, according

† Windele, J., MS. “Cork, West and North-East,” pp. 666, 667.

‡ Ord. Surv. Map, Co. Waterford, sheet 17.

§ O.S.L., Co. Mayo, <sup>14</sup>/<sub>E. 18</sub>, pp. 56, 70, *seqq.*

|| “Les Dolmens d’Irlande,” by Miss M. Stokes, in “Revue Archéol.,” July. 1882.



to the story, the wife of Eochaid Breac, the son of Dathi, or Nathi, the son of Fiachra. Having baptized Eochaid, Patrick performed the miraculous feat of raising Echtra his wife from the dead, "at Ath Echtra over the little stream which runs right by the doorway of Cill-Mor." "And Echtra's tomb ('grave-mound') is on the brink of the ford. The story of the miracle is for them (the people of the district) a token of their knowledge of their country's history." Patrick, it is added, sent Bishop Olcan to build the church there. This individual had himself, when an infant, been taken by Patrick out of the tomb in a cairn where his mother had been buried, and in which, having been born after her death, he had lived seven days. Other forms of Olcan's name are Bolgan and Volcan; but, like other personages in this romance, his existence must be regarded as wholly mythical. The connection of a woman Echtra with a dolmen (if, indeed, the term "feart" could ever have been applied to the monument in question, which I doubt), would be probably referable to the class of myth which associates witches with the vaults under tumuli, and with dolmens in general. A pagan miraculous episode would have furnished material for the Christian legend, which though extant in Colgan's time, has entirely died out.

In the Townland of Aghyglinna, in Clare,† is a cairn called Dobhach Bhraínín, the true name of which, according to the writer of the Ord. Survey Letters, was Dumbach Bhraínín, that is, the "Heap of the Little Bran."

On the venerated height called Knockmaa‡ Hill in Galway were three cairns, "two of which were said to have been erected by one MacHugh, who was servant to old John Kirwan, of Castle Hackett." "He" (Kirwan), says O'Donovan, "was a particular friend of Finnbheara, of Cnoc Meadha, a celebrated fairy-chief, and repaired his *cashels* for him." The same writer adds§ that the cairn is like *Mioscan Meidhbhe*, near Sligo, and that beside it were "two chimerical modern buildings, erected about the year 1828, to please the taste of old Mrs. Kirwan, who was also a great friend of Finnbheara the fairy."

† O.S.L., Co. Clare,  $\frac{14}{B. 23}$ , p. 205.

‡ "Cnoc Meádha Siuil," O.S.L., Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 1}$ , p. 127.

§ O.S.L., Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 1}$ , p. 10.



This great cairn on Knockmaa was called *Cnoc Meadha Siuil*. According to the popular tradition, it was celebrated as the principal residence of the fairies of this part of Connaught, and in particular of their chief Finnbheara. O'Flaherty† speaks of "Knockmea" as a hill in the Barony of Clare, thought to be Carn Ceasrach, near which, he adds, is Cuil-Ceasrach.‡ Carn Ceasrach, is the name of a cairn which Giraldus Cambrensis mentions as being in his time still pointed out in Connaught as that which had been raised over the body of Ceasair, a female who, just before the Deluge, led a colony consisting of fifty women and three men, one of whom was her husband Bith, or Bioth, into Ireland.

Why is it, then, that, in modern oral tradition, it is Finnbheara and not Ceasair who commands the fairies of this hill? This can only be explained, if we find reason to think that the names were interchangeable. In the *Chronicum Scotorum* we find a triplet of divine females, Eriu, Ceasair, and Berbha. If Beara, then, is the name here spelt Berbha, we have the required identity. It is true that Finnbheara, or Finvarra, is a male fairy, but gender in mythology makes little difference, as can be abundantly shown. Berbha's name was that of the river Barrow.

Beara had her well just as though she were a Christian saint, as instance the name Tobernacallybeara, the "Well of Beara the Witch." In Galway, too, is Killeenavarra, a name which O'Donovan says puzzled him much, but which he connects with that of Rinn Beara in the southern extremity of the Barony of Leitrim. It is worthy of remark that the cultus of the Christian saint Barra, Barry (Barricus), took its rise in the district of the Bolg-Tuath of Baghna (Slieve Baan, in Roscommon), the country of the darkest people in Ireland, over which the popular divinity Finvarra presided. A wild legend of Barry chasing a huge Serpent, Ollphiast, or Worm from Kilbarry into Lough Lagan, has so pagan a complexion that, taking also into consideration the identity of the names Varra and Barra, we may well see reason to suppose that, on the deposition of the native divinity, the Christian saint who happened to possess the name most nearly approaching his own, was set up in his stead. In Norse

† Ogygia, pt. iii. c. 1.

‡ *Cuil* = "a couch, a corner, a closet," O'Reilly.



mythology we similarly find snakes imprisoned at the bottoms of lakes.†

An oral tradition has been preserved with regard to the erection of two tumuli in Mayo, the one on the seashore at Beal Dorcha, the other, called *Leacht-air-Iorraís*, signifying "Monument of the Slaughter of Irrus," three quarters of a mile to the E.N.E.

The mound at Beal Dorcha was said to be the burial-place of a Munster prince, who contended here on the shore with O'Connor Sligo, and who was slain in the battle commemorated by the great cairn called *Leacht-air-Iorraís*. When Dr. Lyons found a skeleton in the tumulus, it was popularly supposed to be that of the Munster chieftain. It was also said traditionally that, being a Christian, he had been interred here apart from his enemies who were pagans, and who were buried in the larger cairn. When the "Sheannachies" of the district observed that the mound was triangular, and was composed of three different kinds of soil, they held that the tradition as to its being Christian was confirmed, since in these points it was emblematic of the Trinity. This modern instance of the tendency of the Irish to discover mystical interpretations, even for the most ordinary phenomena, is perfectly in keeping with what meets us in their medieval writings, especially in the manner in which their fancy runs riot in the domain of etymology, as in the Dindshenchas.

The body in this mound had been placed "in a sort of chair formed of stones," in a sitting posture. Mr. Du Chaillu mentions that in a large burial-chamber at Lower Aure in Norway, were found the remains of a chair, "confirming the accounts in the Sagas about men being placed on their chair in the grave. . . . Aran, a foster-brother of Asmund, sat on a chair in all his armour, with his accoutrements, his horse and his dog, and his hawk."

The great monument in the Deer Park near Sligo is called *Leacht Con-mic-Ruis*, "Monument of Cú,‡ son of Rus." §

A dolmen at Trianmore, one of the Lough Arrow Group in Sligo, is called *Lommineach*.|| Mr. O'Connor, in the Ord. Surv. Letters, supposed it to be the name of a Giant. Another, a

† See R. B. Anderson, Norse mythology, p. 99.

‡ Cf. "Cú meic Cais Clothmin," Whitley Stokes, *Rév. Celt.*, vol. xv. p. 301.

§ Cf. "Rus Mac Fiachach," Windisch, "Irische Texte," p. 258.

|| *Lom* = slim, spare. *Lommon* and *Loman* are personal names. The word also enters into composition as *Lommgliúineach*. *Lomna* was Finn Mac Cumhail's jester.



quarter of a mile off, in the Townland of Carricknagrip, is called Cliopach Mór, also, as he thinks, from a Giant's name, but which seems to belong to the category of animal names for these monuments, and to mean Great Wolf, or Fox (*cliabhach*).† A huge natural rock in the same vicinity, which stands on end, is called Eigleoin, "from a Giant of that name said to be buried under it. It is said to have been thrown by him from the Hill of Doon, near Boyle. It was his intention, however, to have thrown it as far as Carn Hill in Carrownadargny, but, failing to do this (for it was in rivalry that he threw it), he died of grief. The track of his fingers are still pointed out on the stone."‡ This and other stories of Giants throwing rocks in rivalry, and leaving their fingerprints in them, have their counterpart in the tales of the Esthonian Finns.§ For the meaning of Eigleoin, or Eglone, I can offer no explanation.||

A great cairn at Heapstown, also one of the Lough Arrow series, situated three quarters of a mile west of the dolmen at Carrickglass, is "generally believed," says Col. Wood-Martin, to have been erected "over Olioll, son of Eochy Moyvane, *ard-righ* (over-king) of Ireland." A circle of large blocks of stone encompasses it; the outer circumference measures 62 statute perches, and it resembles as closely as possible the Vicar's Cairn, near Armagh. The country-people say it was collected in one night. This Olioll, Ailill, whence (Ellil) Erril, was the eponymous of Tirrerrill, a district which includes the whole of the Lough-Arrow group of monuments. This cairn would be an appropriate site for legend to assign for the burial-place of the chieftain of those who dwelt there, who were called the children of Ailill, and their land Tir Ailella.¶ Olioll was the third son of Eochaidh Moghmedon,†† by his "married queen" Mongfinn, a princess of South Munster. He died without issue. His brothers were Brian, ancestor of the Hy-Briuin-Ai, the Hy-Briuin-Breifnè, and the Hy-Briuin-Seola, the three families who gave kings to Connaught; Fiachra, ancestor of the Hy-Fiachra, and Fergus. The famous Nial,

† O.S.L. Co. Sligo,  $\frac{14}{F. 14}$ , p. 171, *et seqq.*

‡ *id.* p. 241.

§ See the story of Kallewe Poeg and his two giant brothers, "Ur-Geschichte des Esthnischen Volkstammes," von F. Kruse, p. 175. See p. 513, *supra*.

|| O'Reilly gives *eaglán* = "a biting."

¶ Analogy with Tir-Amalgaidh (Tirawley) would lead us to look for a Teutonic origin for the name Ailill. Rhys, however, connects it with the Welsh *ellyl*, a dwarf, "Celtic Heathendom," p. 138.

†† Muighmheadhoin, pron. Moyvane.



ancestor of the Hy-Niall, was Olioll's half-brother, fifth son of Eochaidh Moghmedon, by a wife called Cairen or Carennia, called by Tighernach a "Saxon woman," by others a "daughter of the King of Saxony," and in a poem published in the Ordnance Survey account of the Parish of Templemore,<sup>†</sup> "a Pict." On the subject of marriages with foreign women, Kelly, in his notes on Lynch,<sup>‡</sup> observes that it is remarkable that "the greatest names in Pagan Ireland are connected with foreigners." Ugaine Mór,<sup>§</sup> whose name is translated into Latin as Hugo, or Hugonius, and which I think we may compare with that of Hugo or Hugon, the eponymous ancestor of the Franks, married Ceasair, daughter of the King of the Franks. Tuathal Teachtmair's wife was a "Fomorian Finnlander" || (to use the words of O'Flaherty), Bania, daughter of Scal Balb; his (Tuathal's) mother was Ethnea, daughter of Imgheal, King of the Picts; Conn Cétchathach was the son of a Danish woman (ex unâ Danicâ), says O'Flaherty.

Another cairn in the Lough-Arrow group, on the highest point of a hill called Farmaoil-na-bh-Fian, Round hill (?) of the Fíans, in the Townland of Moytirra West, and Moytirra Chonlainn, measuring about 100 paces in circumference, and in which bones have been found, is called Seelewey, supposed to be Suidhe Lughaidh, or Lug's Seat, just as Suidhe Finn means Finn's Seat. Local tradition regards it as a spot where "giants congregated of old."

Now, the occurrence of the name of the mythical hero, Lug, in connection with a sepulchral cairn at a place called Moytirra, is of no little interest since it bears upon the question whether local oral tradition still current, or which is known to have been until recently current, can be shown to coincide in any points of detail with the legendary lore committed to writing in the mediæval books, and which, since it mentions place-names, seems to have been intended to indicate certain localities, well known at the time, in this or that part of Ireland.

Magh-Tuirè, or -Tuired, was the name given in these written legends to a plain on which took place a mighty conflict, or,

<sup>†</sup> p. 229.

<sup>‡</sup> "Camb. Eversus," p. 493.

<sup>§</sup> Said to have been the ancestor of all the Eremonian families in Ulster, Leinster, and Connaught.

|| "Scalius Balbus rex Fomoire, i. Finnland," Ogygia, 1685, p. 303. We meet with the name Scal Balb (dumb champion), as that of the father of Lug, foster son of Tailte. See Whitley Stokes, "Dindshenchas," Rev. Celt. vol. xv. p. 318, vol. xvi. p. 51. With the Irish *scál*, a hero, compare the name of the Scalovitæ at the mouth of the Memel. "Zeuss," p. 674.

Moytirra



perhaps, two conflicts, between a people called the Tuatha Dé Danann on the one hand, and peoples called Fir Bolg and Fomoraigh, or Fomorè, on the other. The Tuatha Dé Danann were successful in both cases, and most instrumental in bringing about their victory was the evidently divine hero Lug, whose name this cairn appears to bear. The question, then, is: Was this the site which the medieval scribes had in mind when they wrote down the legend of the battle; was such a legend told and believed on the spot; and were the very numerous dolmens, cairns, and cashels which exist there pointed out as monuments of the battle, and sepulchres of the slain?

Recent and scholarly attempts to master the details of this battle-legend have tended rather to countenance a view that the two stories relate to one and the same event, the first part of the fight, namely, that between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fir Bolg, having for its sequel the second part, in which the former people engaged the Fomorian allies of the latter, the ground which legend assigned in either case being one and the same, Mag Tuired. Of this latter view M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville has been the exponent.

The elder school of Irish writers divided the battle, as, indeed, the old forms of the romance divide them, into two parts. They held that the first battle was fought at Nymphsfield, near Cong, in Mayo, where circles and a cathair existed, mainly on the ground that the name was written Mag Tuirè Cunga, and the latter word they took for Cong, although it is a term applicable to any isthmus, or narrow piece of land between two lakes. This view was held by O'Donovan, Petrie, O'Curry, and others. As to the site of the northern battle, Petrie held that it was Carrowmore where such an immense group of dolmen-circles exist.

During the progress of the Ordnance Survey, however, Mr. Thomas O'Connor pointed out the existence, on the northern shore of Lough Arrow, of a considerable extent of country bearing (which neither of the other localities, nor, indeed, any other Townlands in Ireland did) this very name Motuirè, Moytuirè, or Moytirra. The district so called, so the natives told him, once included a circuit of five or six miles. Upon his reporting this, O'Donovan at once and unhesitatingly accepted the fact as a genuine discovery. "The Magh Tuireadh," he writes,† "which

† O.S.L.,  $\frac{14}{F. 14}$ , p. 205.



you have discovered," in Kilmactranny, is "certainly the Northern Magh Tuireadh of the Irish writers. I never believed," he adds, "that it meant 'the plain of the towers.'"

The same view as to there having been only one battle intended by the earlier story-tellers, although later ones expanded it into two, evidently presented itself also to Col. Wood-Martin, for, after a careful inspection of the ground, he says: "Could both battles have been fought on the Moy or plain (*i.e.* Moytirra) in Sligo?" Bearing on this point, he quotes a passage from the writings of Gilla Isa More Mac Firbis, in 1416, which shows that that famous old Irish antiquary "considered the first battle of Moytirra to have been fought, not in the neighbourhood of Cong, but to the north of Lough Cé, for he represents Cé, a druid of King Nuada, as . . . fleeing from the field in a south-easterly direction to the plain near Boyle, subsequently covered by the waters of Lough Key, which burst forth and drowned him as he lay asleep on a cairn." This would point to the very district called Moytirra, only ten miles distant from that lake.

The following passage in the Dindshenchas ought to show us where the medieval writers placed Moytuirè, but although Lusmag is supposed to have been identified as in the King's County, Achad Abla has not. "'Tis thence," from Lusmag, "that Diancecht brought every herb of healing, and grated them on Slainge's well in Achad Abla, to the north-west of Magh Tuiredh, when the great battle was fought between the Tuatha Déa (Danann) and the Fomoiré." †

For the most part, the district of Moytirra is low ground covered over with a great number of large stones and detached rocks—just such a site as the old-world story-tellers were wont to select for the scene of a contest in which the contending parties were superhuman and their weapons the rugged rocks—just such another spot, indeed, as that rock-strewn tract at the mouth of the Rhone, where, as the legend handed down by Mela has it, Hercules contended with the giants Albion and Dercyon (or Bergion), each side using for their missiles the huge natural fragments which cover the plain in witness of the truth of the tale. Indeed, a very counterpart of this legend is still in existence at Moytirra, as may be seen in the case of the rock called Eigleoin, pitched by a giant into the position in which it still remains.

† Whitley Stokes, "Rév. Celt.," vol. xvi. p. 59.



Mr. Thomas O'Connor found that a battle-legend actually was extant among the natives. The very field in which it was fought was pointed out to him. The warriors on either side were Giants and Fíans; they would have been Iötuns or Eotens, and Finns in Teutonic romance. The grave of one of the former is still known as *Leacht-an-fhir-móir*, while the entire hill was called after the latter—*Farmaoil na bh-Fían*. All the megalithic remains, and cairns, and fantastic natural boulders in the district were assigned to these giants, and in some cases the names they bore were those of the combatants interred in them. Mr. O'Connor was informed that at one time there existed "a greater number of these 'Giants' Graves' than any one person there residing could tell the names of; they were to be found on every side of Moytirra Chonlainn village within the distance of five miles of it."

The battle-legend extended, according to Mr. O'Keefe, who was also connected with the Ordnance Survey, into the Townland of Moytirra Mac Donagh, where there was a hill called *Cruc-acatha*, or Battle-Knoll, and here it was, according to local report, that the great fight began.

In the written legend of the "second battle" it was the Fomoiré who contended with the Tuatha Dé Danann. As the scope of this work does not permit of my entering into the details of the romance, I will only mention that from the Fomoiré the site was said to have received the name Magh-Tuireadh na bh-Fomorach, or Magh Tuired of the Fomoraighe or Fomorians, and that Balor, king of the latter people, who were invaders, on the one side, and Lug on that of the Tuatha Dé Danann, on the other, were two of the principal combatants. We have seen that Lug's name is supposed to exist still in the name of the cairn Seelewey. Indeed, both his name and that of Balor were remembered still in connection with the place when Messrs. O'Connor and O'Keefe collected the traditions on the spot in 1837. "It is well remembered," says the former, "that Looee of the Long-Hands (*i.e.* Lugaidh Lamfhada of the written romance) was one of the heroes of this battle, and Balor is also mentioned."

The story, however, which is told of these personages is, with some local variations, common to the whole north and west of Ireland. I myself heard it repeated at length by a very aged man in the Gweedore district of Donegal, more than fifty years



after Mr. O'Connor had heard it at Moytirra. In other places where it is told no mention is made of Moytirra, but it is localized in each case on the spot. "Balor used to carry about with him a glass, through which, when he wished to destroy any person, he looked with his death-dealing eye. Whilst he remained about Moituirè," proceeds Mr. O'Connor, "he looked through his glass at the tops of the heath, and of the rushes, and of the sallows, which is the reason why they appear always withered. He began to boast of this act in the presence of some great hero whose name tradition keeps in silence. This hero [doubtless Lug] asked him "with what did he give so destructive a look?" "With that eye," said he, taking off the glass, and pointing to his eye. Meanwhile, as he did so, the hero took the opportunity to put out his eye, and the blood that gushed forth from it [or, as another version says, 'a tear' from it which Balor dropped] went into (*i.e.* formed) a little lake (called Suil Balra, or Balor's eye) which," as far as Mr. O'Connor could learn, "was in the Townland of Polnanailtog, not far from Moituirè to the north." Another name for the lake was Lochanna-Suil, the Lakelet of the Eye.

Balor, it was said by the people, "was perfectly skilled in the magic art, and always kept a cover on his eye, except when, in order to do an injury by his look, he intentionally removed it." Several other scattered fragments of legends about him were obtainable. "There was a 'caiseal' (cashel) at Mullaghmore in the parish of Ahamlish, near the seashore, which was almost covered with sand, but yet traceable, which was called Dún Balra, or Balor's dún, where it was said he had resided for some time."

In the much fuller story told in Donegal, where Lug is represented as using tricks and artifices in order to overcome his adversary Balor, whom he finally slays, we seem to recognize in him a great likeness to the Loké of the Scandinavian Sagas. If, as there is good reason to suppose, Lug and Loké are to be identified, Balor takes the place of Baldr, slain through the instrumentality of Loké, although in place of the beneficent deity which Baldr is, we have in Balor a hateful and piratical tyrant. It is, indeed, as if we had before us the same myth told from the point of view of the opponents of those whose divinities were the gods of the Norse Sagas. Have we the Iötun or Pictish version,



while the Norse version is that of their foes, the Asa people? If so, the gods of the former would be the demons of the latter, and *vice versâ*.

Mr. O'Keefe corroborates Mr. O'Connor in the statement that the battle was still remembered traditionally among the people. "Some say that Cath Muighe Tuirè was fought in Mweetüirë, Mweethüra, or Meetra (so they pronounce it) Mac Donough; others, and the greater portion, say they are not sure. The principal opponents remembered are Lugaidh Lamhfhada and Goll Mac Moirne, the latter of whom," they say, "was on this occasion blinded of one eye by the former, from which circumstance he was called *Goll Cíoch* † (? *Caoch*, blind, blasted, empty). It was Goll, however, who, so they say, gained the battle." Goll was brother of Cumal (? Humal), the father of Finn, and he had an alias Iodhlan, *i.e.* Iötland. One of the natives stated that he had heard the battle called "*Catha na bporonach*, 'because,' he said, 'it was fought in reaping-time.'" I find no such word for "harvest" as that which Mr. O'Keefe here gives, but I do find that if the peasant had used the word for harvest, or for the last month in the autumn, which is *foghmhar*—in its adjectival form *foghmharach*, autumnal—he would have used a word which is letter for letter identical with *Foghmharach*, O'Reilly's spelling of Fomorian. This renders it certain that this place was called *Magh Tuired-na-bh-Fomorach*, and that it is therefore the site so called in the written tale.

Col. Wood-Martin tells us ‡ that an incident concerning a well which antiquaries had associated with a spot near Cong in Mayo, "is still told by the peasantry in connection with Moytirra in Sligo." He mentions also that an old native of Moytirra recounted a legend according to which "one of the 'Giants' was, after the battle, killed at Magherow, a place north of Sligo." In the "Annals of the Four Masters," there is a reference to a famous Fomorian warrior slain by Lug, as he was on his way to the battle, at a ford on the Sligo river, where there must have been a *liagán*, or pillar-stone.

The Four Masters thus allude to the battle itself: "A.M. 3330. Nuadhad Airgeadlamh (silver-hand), after a reign of twenty

† "A woman's breast," O'R., which cannot be the meaning. Goll, according to O'Donovan (O'R., Suppl.) also means "blind." He quotes the pedigree of Mac Morough for the name *Eoghan caoch*, *i.e.* *goll*, so given by Dallan Forguill, said to have lived in the 6th century, and to have written the "Amhra Coluim Cille."

‡ R.S.M., p. 163.



years as monarch of Ireland, was slain at the battle of Magh Tuireadh-na-bh-Fomorach by Balor Bailc Bheimionach, one of the Fomorians."

In support of the view which M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has laboured to overthrow, namely, that the site indicated in the tale of what is called the first battle, was really at Cong in Mayo, and that two battles, and not one single one, were intended by the original tellers of the tales, I will here quote what O'Donovan says with regard to such traditions as existed near Cong sixty years ago. It was at Nymphsfield, in the parish of Cong, "where there are still remaining monuments of great interest to the antiquarian" (*i.e.* three circles of stones), that, so it was said, a battle had been fought. "It was commenced at *Cathair Mhic Toirc*," Castle of the son of Torc (= Boar), "a magnificent cyclopean *cahir*, which was destroyed about eighteen years since† by Mr. Crampton, who erected Nymphsfield House on its site, and it ended . . . at Turloch-a-tsallain in the Townland of Drumsheel, within a mile of Cong. The only names remembered in connection with the battle are Balra (Balor), Dergin (? Dergo), and Righ Mhada Conchin (Tall King Dog's Head), and there is no one now living who could describe the manner in which it was fought, nor name the monuments raised over the fallen chiefs, but it is asserted that the grandfathers of the present generation were accustomed to recite the story of the Battle of Magh Tuireadh at their firesides, and to astonish the rising generation by descriptions of the valor of Balor, and the dreadful property of his eye by which he metamorphosed a line of warriors drawn up in a circle into stones, where they remain to this day. . . . The whole amount of what is now remembered by tradition is that as Balor stood on the walls of *Cathair Mhic Toirc* he saw the battalions of the enemy committing great slaughter in the adjacent field lying to the east, and fearing for the fate of his party, he removed the cover from the eye which he had in the middle of his forehead (for Balor had three eyes), and, looking over fiercely at his enemies, he converted them into stones, and they are to be seen to this day in the field opposite Nymphsfield House. Righ Mhada Conchin was killed in this battle, and buried under the 'Long Stone' at the Neal. Other chieftains, whose names are now forgotten, were also slain in this battle, and

† *i.e.* before the date of the survey.



interred in the Neal, where their monuments were pointed out within the demesne by the old men who lived fifty years ago, but no one living could now name them, and they are nearly all effaced."

O'Donovan thinks that "a battle was really fought at this place at a remote period." The presence of the circles of standing-stones, in my opinion, confirms this view. This class of monument I do not regard as so ancient as the earliest dolmens, and so persistent is the tradition that battles were fought where they exist that I feel bound to admit it may have truth in it, more especially as we know that similar rings of stone in Scandinavia were the appointed places in which, after a battle, the backs of the captives were broken, and the victims thus sacrificed to the war-god. In Ireland I have collected five examples, in addition to this one, of battle traditions being connected with circles, namely, at Lough Gur in Limerick, at Parkagullane in Kerry, at Kippagh in Clare, at Creganaonaigh in Clare, and at Caah Hill in Derry. I may add one from Cornwall, that of Rosemoddress in the Parish of Buryan. The evidence derivable from the exploration of barrows and cairns adjoining circles of this class, and within the circles themselves, has been to show that they belong to an age when incineration and urn burial were in use, and when riveted bronze daggers had been certainly introduced. That a vague tradition of battle in connection with them may have survived I am bound to admit, but that any names of persons or details of the action could have been handed down from a period of such vast antiquity I cannot suppose to be conceivable.

What, then, are the conclusions at which we should arrive, firstly, as regards the identity of the places named in the written legends with the sites on Loughs Arrow and Corrib; secondly, as to any relation in which those legends stand to the megalithic monuments, the dolmens, circles, and cairns?

Firstly, I think it is proved that when the writers of the tale which recounts the second battle called its site Magh Tuireadh na bh-Fomorach, they distinctly had in their minds Moytirra on Lough Arrow.

Secondly, that, whether or not the separate tales of the two conflicts are referable to one and the same original version, the story of the Battle of Magh Tuireadh was known to the people of Cong in the Middle Ages, and, especially since they had an oral

Sites  
for  
investigation

Identification



battle-tradition of their own, was probably widely told of that place.

Thirdly, that since in the written legends the combatants are for the most part beings superhumanly divine or monstrous, the battles, in so far as the introduction of their names is concerned, never occurred, and are mythological.

Fourthly, that since the dolmens pointed out as the "Graves of the Giants" must be assigned to a period too remote for tradition to reach, no proper name attached to them can be regarded as that of an individual over whom the monument was set up.

Unlike "rolling stones which gather no moss," it is the property alike of oral traditions and legends, when retold or rewritten, to pick up new material among the events current as time goes on. The peasantry of Moytirra declared to Mr. O'Keefe that "Roger O'Neill, of Shane's Castle, was one of the combatants in the battle there." Similarly the genuine tradition of the wars of Norsemen and Danes caused the medieval writer of the tale to introduce a certain Aengaba, King of Norway, as fighting beside the gods Ogma, Midir, Bodb Dearg, and Diancecht on the side of the Tuatha Dé Danann.

And this brings me to my fifth and last conclusion, namely, that throughout Ireland a great orally transmitted epic, independent altogether of written medieval developments, existed, and that a fact underlay it which was no myth, but the genuine tradition of the contention of two races, the achievements of whose gods form the staple of the wild and weird tales commonly believed among the peasantry, as in the mountains of Donegal, to this very day, and which differ, both in point of rugged simplicity and vastness of conception, since mountains are riven and bridges formed across the sea, from those medieval tales, long, fullsome in detail, and literally bloated with epithets which were learnt by the educated *sheannachies*, or recited by travelling tale-tellers to set audiences at fairs and assemblies.

One of these races in contention was that of Giants, corresponding precisely to the Iötuns of Scandinavian legend; the other was that of Heroes, corresponding to the Asa people, or to the inhabitants of Mannheim. To the former of these races were attributed by general consent the "Giants' Graves;" to the latter, as I strongly suspect, in Irish as in Norse tradition, were attributed



those cairns which being opened are found to contain evidences of the "Age of Burning."

That the legends had their origin in actual conflicts of these races in Ireland itself is not likely. They were imported by immigrants—pirates first, mercenaries second, settlers last—from, most probably, the Baltic coasts and those of the German Ocean, notably the Batavian coasts, and the districts between the Elbe and Oder. It must not be supposed that either the Norseman or Dane of history brought them in the first place. Had this been so, we should have met with Odin and Frigg, Baldr and Nanna, Loki and the rest, under guise more directly recognizable than is the case. As it is, the resemblances which unquestionably do exist between Odinic and Irish Mythology, while they are too close, on the one hand, to be assignable merely to a general and remote Aryan stem, are wide enough apart to show, on the other hand, that the period of their separation was prior to that during which the Norse Sagas, in the guise in which we know them, were put into shape. Traces there are of several cognate mythological systems having been imported. At the head of one stood Ollam Fodhla, at the head of another "The Dagda." Each of these ancestral divinities had an *alias* which was the same—namely, Eochaid. Now, this word put back into an older Celtic form would read Iuchaid (*Ivocattos*, according to Rhys). In Teutonic it would have been Iuthaid. With the termination compare the *aithæ* in the name Finnaithæ in Jordanes, and we have in Eochaid an adjectival form of Iut, Iöt, Iucht, Icht, that is, Pictish, a Pict.

Evidence can be adduced from the "Book of Armagh," a MS. transcribed from one which, "even in the year 807, was becoming obscure," that the legend of Diarmaid and Grainnè was in existence before the first appearance of the Norsemen in 795.

With the coming of the Fin-Gaill and the Dubh-Gaill—the Norwegians and the Danes—history was, indeed, only repeating itself. Through the Straits of the Cattegat the fleets of the Sueones had, doubtless, long before the time when Tacitus speaks of them, discharged their piratical crews around the coasts of the British Isles. It is not improbable that the Veneti of Brittany, whose light cruisers, called *pictæ*, swept the English Channel in the days of Cæsar, came from the Southern Baltic, where Tacitus placed the Venedi, nor that in the name of the Galindæ on the same



coast we have that of the Galeoin (Galiuind) in Ireland, nor that in that of the Chauci of the Frisian coasts we have the Cauci of the Irish coasts. Later on came the Saxons and Franks from the countries about the Elbe, or Labe, as the Slaves called it, desolating the coasts of Belgium and Armorica, by which latter term we may understand all the sea-board between the Seine and Garonne; harassing Britain, and, as we feel quite sure, not leaving Ireland unvisited.

Of certain immigrations mentioned in the "Leabhar Gabhala" I mean to speak at the close of this work. Meanwhile I feel sure that in the case of the Fir Bolg—the race whom the legend of the Battle of Magh Tuireadh represents as in possession of Temair, when their foes, the Tuatha Dé Danann, arrived—we are dealing with no merely mythic conception, but with a veritable people, whose name, could we place ourselves in the position of those who lived, say, in the seventh or eighth century, would have conveyed to us a distinct and definite meaning, derivable at that time from a genuine historic tradition. To this most interesting question I will also subsequently recur. On the other hand, in the Tuatha Dé Danann we should, perhaps, as Colgan thought,<sup>†</sup> recognize the Picts of history, or rather their divinities. All attempts, however, to reconcile the native insular traditions of invaders, whether in Britain or Ireland, with the historic peoples of the Continent, are full of complications, and it is only by taking them one by one, and weighing the evidence with the utmost care, that we can hope to place ourselves in a position to make any comparison possible. I believe, however, that such a line of study, if undertaken with a thorough knowledge of the works of the later Roman and earlier Byzantine historians, would bear rich fruit, and that even in the strangest traditions of the ancient Irish, however much medieval romancers may have distorted them, as is the case in the Dindshenchas, some light might be forthcoming illustrative of the part taken by the barbarians of the North in the raids which were perpetually being made upon the Roman empire.

The name "Giant's Grave," as applied to megalithic monuments in Ireland, was of considerable antiquity. This is shown

<sup>†</sup> Vit. S. Cadroe, AA. SS. Hib. p. 502, note on the Pictanei of Cruachan Ele (Croagh Patrick): "Gens quam ibi reperierunt in patriis historiis vocatur *Tuatha Dé Danann* quæ, an vel quomodo potuerit dici gens Pictaneorum alibi conabimur explicare,"—a promise of which I cannot find the fulfilment.

Picts.



by the fact that the writer of the Legend of Patrick, called the "Tripartite Life," in the tenth century, believed it to have been in use in the fifth. This, I think, we may gather from the following passage: "Once, as Patrick was travelling in the plains of the son of Erc, namely, in Dichuil and Erchuil, he beheld therein a huge grave, to wit, 120 feet in length. The brethren asking *ut suscitaretur* (i.e. that its occupant might be raised from the dead), Patrick then brought to life the dead man who was biding in the grave, and asked tidings of him, namely, when and how [he got there], and of what race and of what name he was. He answered Patrick, saying, 'I am Cass, son of Glass, and I was swineherd to Lugar, King of Iruata [*regis Norwegiæ*, Col. Tr. Thaum., 139], and Macc Con's soldiery slew me in the reign of Coirpré Niafer. A hundred years have I been here to-day.' Patrick baptized him, and he went again into his grave." †

The name of Lug, besides being found in that of the cairn Seelewey, occurs in that of Dunlewey, under Errigal, in Donegal, where the Balor legend is still remembered. In the Townland of Carney, in Sligo, is a fort called Rath-Lugaidh, which tradition assigned to Lug.‡ The town of Louth was said to derive its name from this divine hero, and near it was a site known as that of the "grave of Lug Lampfhada, slain by Goll Mac Moirné." Whether this was a dolmen I do not know.

At Beltra, near Ballysadare, in Sligo, is an encircled cairn, to which Gabriel Berangar, evidently from local information, gave the name *Cuchullin's Tomb*. This, so Col. Wood-Martin states, was in existence until 1858. The site of it, he adds, is known "to this day" as that of the "monument of Traigh-Eothaile," that being a former name of the portion of the strand now generally called Beltra. It was in the district called Cuil Cnam (*Cuil* or *Coill Cnáim*), or the "Corner" or "Wood of Bones," a name retained at the time of the Survey in that of a little lake, *Lochan Cuil Cnám*.

No trace of a Cuchullain legend seems to have been preserved here; but Mr. O'Connor gives so singular a legend with respect to two cairns on the "Traigh Eothuile," that it will be well to repeat

† Trans. Whitley Stokes, "Triple Life," vol. i. p. 123.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Sligo,  $\frac{14}{F. 14}$ , p. 105.



it here. Hěľě was a woman of the Fíanna, who, having set out in search of her own people, who had gone on an expedition to some foreign country, came to this strand. As she advanced in crossing it, she was met by a man, of whom she asked where her people were. "There they are above," said he, "lying under the trees," pointing to Cuilte Luighne. She was astonished and said, "Alas, I'll follow thee no farther; I now lay all hopes aside of ever meeting them again. They cannot be my people, for if they were, each of them lying would reach from the trees to where I stand." Thus despairing, she dropped dead. There were two cairns raised over her, the larger of which rests over her head, and is called Carraigin Ohěľě; the other resting over her feet is called Carraigin Beag.

"Others say it was an engagement that took place between two heroes on this strand, of whom Goll was one, and that Hěľě, looking on, and seeing her dearest fall, herself fell dead through excess of grief. The two cairns are opposite Cuilte Luighne in the strand. The people say that the large one is covered at high water only every seven years,† and the small one at every spring tide." One of them was erected over Hěľě herself, and the other over her lover. As the cairns are 200 yards apart, it is clear that the first tradition represented Hěľě as a mythological being, the death-goddess, it may be assumed, of the defeated Fíanna.

Irish mythology affording no such name as Hěľě, we naturally turn to that of the Norse death-goddess Helle, Hella, Hel, Hille,‡ whose very name we seem to have here, and that in connection with the Féné or Fíanna.

The medieval written legend of the Battle of Moytirra relates that the vanquished party, together with their king Eochaid Mac Erc, were pursued to this strand, and there were overtaken by the three sons of Nemed. The latter were slain, and buried, according to the story, at the west end of the strand, where their grave-stones were set up, and in after times bore the name *Leca Mic Nemedh*. Eochaid was also slain, and interred on the spot where he fell, which is known, says Col. Wood-Martin, "as the site of the monument of Traigh-Eothaile," which he identifies with the encircled cairn seen by Beranger. A tradition of a battle exists among the natives at this place.

† Contrariwise, there is an island off the coast of the Isle of Man which has been submerged ever since the days of Finn Mac Cumhail, but which rises for half an hour every seven years. (Campbell's "Tales of the West Highlands," p. xl.)

‡ Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 44.



The oral traditions of Cuchullain are few and far between. In Kerry his "house" and his "bed" and "grave" are shown in the Ordnance Survey Map, and the rock upon which he leapt to escape the pursuit of his mistress, and then springing back again, left her to jump into the sea, is to be seen on the coast of Clare. It is in the County of Louth that he is best remembered, where the stories regarding him are, however, as we shall presently see, intermingled with those of Finn.

In the Townland of Cloonker in Longford is a dolmen called "The Giants' Grave." The giant, so O'Donovan was informed, was called Kerr, and he throws out a suggestion that he may be identified with Kiardha, the ancestor of O'Kiary, the ancient lord of Carbury O'Kiary.†

Of the two dolmens in one field at Ballymascanlan in Louth a legend exists that while two giants set up the taller one, called the Giants' Load, one of them lies buried in the other. "They say," says Mr. O'Connor, "that this is the grave of Para Buidhe Mór Mac Scoidin, a Scotch giant who came to challenge Finn Mac Cumhail, and of whom they tell a story similar to that of Ferdiad. Para Buidhe Mór (Para being a local diminutive of Patrick, the whole name means Big Yellow Paddy) asked Finn's wife what he (Finn) used to eat. Finn, she told him, when he was hungry, would kill one of those bullocks (pointing to them), and eat him. Para went and did the same, and the spot on which he killed, roasted, and ate it is pointed out yet. It is a hollow in a green field a little to the south of the grave. When he had eaten the bullock, he went to the river which runs near the spot to satisfy his thirst, but Finn threw poison into the water, and by that means despatched him. Finn and he together had set up the taller monument.

The story of Ferdiad, above referred to, is told of a ford and a tumulus near Ardee.‡ It is called in Irish *Baile Atha Fhirdhiadh*,§ and the name is accounted for by the people thus: "Finn Mac Cumhail kept his castle at Hacklim (Mullach Ailim). The Fear-Dhiadh, hearing of Finn's fame, came to challenge him to single combat. Finn was aware of this by chewing his thumb to the

† O.S.L., Co. Longford,  $\frac{14}{E. 14}$ , p. 312.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Louth,  $\frac{14}{E. 14}$ , p. 117, *et seqq.*, and p. 321.

§ I spell these names as they are set down in the Ordnance Survey Letters.



marrow, his usual way of knowing what was going on, and what was to happen.

At the Fear-Dhiadh's approach, therefore, having previously acquainted his wife with the whole matter, he got into the cradle, in order that the Fear-Dhiadh, supposing him to be only a child, might be deterred from encountering his father, to whom his imagination would give a size proportionate to the father of such an offspring. The day was very stormy, the wind blowing against the door of the house. The Fear-Dhiadh approached, and inquired whether any of the men were at home. "No," says Finn's wife, "for if they were, I would not suffer so much from the storm, as one of them would turn the house round, and prevent the wind from blowing in upon us. This made the *Fear-Dhiadh* cool upon his business. He asked for something to eat, and she made a cake with the griddle enclosed in it. He ate hard, as he was very hungry, after which he called for a drink. The woman told him that her men would not be content with any quantity of water that could be conveyed to the house, but went themselves to the *áth* there below and satisfied themselves. The *Fear-Dhiadh* accordingly went, but as he was drinking, Finn's wife, by preternatural means, sent an enchanted poisoned dart, *ga builg*,† after him, which despatched him on the spot. From this circumstance the *áth* ('ford') was ever after called *Áth Fhir-Dhiadh*, or the 'Ford of Ferdiad.'"

It will be seen that, according to this account, Finn's wife takes the place of Cuchullain, in the piece called the *Comrac Fhirdead*, or Fight of Ferdiad, in the Bk. of Leinster (fol. 57, *a*, *a*), and kills her foe with the identical weapon there mentioned.‡

"James Dolan, a native of Ardee," continue the writers of the Ord. Surv. Letters, "went with us to the ford, and pointed out where Feardhiadh was killed, and also his grave, which is about fourteen yards long, and about 9 or 10 feet broad. About two yards of the tumulus in the middle is cut away, so as to be level with the ground. It lies immediately to the W. of the river Dee at a distance of about eighty paces."

Dolan's account was much more in accordance with that in the Book of Leinster. Finn and his wife disappear, and Cuchullain

† *rect.* *gai*: *gai builg* = Bolg's spear (see O'Curry, M. and C., ii. p. 311); and Belly spear (see *id.* iii. 451).

‡ See Sullivan's transl. of this episode in the *Táin bó Chuaillgne*, O'C., M. and C., vol. iii., App. I., p. 413.



takes their place. It was as follows, and was doubtless derived from MS. authority dating back through copy after copy from the 19th century to the 11th at least.

"When the Feardhiadh flourished, Conchobhar† was King of Ulster. He lived near Armagh, his territory extending to near Drogheda. Conall Cearnach‡ was his 'Grand Master,' or defender of his territory, and Cuchullain his 'Lieutenant Grand-Master.' Cuchullain's residence was at Castletown near Dundalk (called in Irish Dun-Dealgain). He (Cuchullain) encroached upon, or did some injury to the territory of the Queen of Connaught, Meadhbha-an-Chruachain, who employed Feardiadh, though an intimate friend of Cuchullain's, to revenge the injury on him. They met at the place called *Áth Fir Dhiadh*,§ within 80 perches of Ardee to the West, where an engagement took place between them, in which the Feardhiadh was overcoming Cuchullain; but Cuchullain had with him a dart called *ga-builg*, with which he was accustomed to make an unerring aim, when standing *up to his middle* in water. His page, who was brother to Feardhiadh's page, was now busily employed in stopping the ford, so as to raise as much water in it as would cover Cuchullain to the waist, but not having done it speedily enough to avert the danger in which his master was, Cuchullain cut off his head, and with it dammed the water so as to suit his purpose. He then gave Feardhiadh a mortal wound with the *ga-builg* of which he immediately died; whence the ford is called *Áth-a-Fhir-Dhiadh*, and the townland *Baile-Ath-a-Fhir-Dhiadh*." With this we may compare the Esthonian saga of Kallewe Poeg, where that hero, standing *up to his middle* in the water of the Peipus, slays a wizard with his sword.|| There are many points in this saga singularly like those in the legends of Irish giants. The

† This name Conchobhar, Concubar (now Conor), is one of great interest, if my interpretation of it is correct. It was the name of the eponymous of a tribe called Conchuburnenses in the Book of Armagh, and Conchubairne by Mac Firbis. Now, between the Ubii and Batavi, among the peoples whom Pliny terms German dwelling on the Rhine, were the Guberni, called by Tacitus Gugerni, or Cugerni. In the case of another tribal name, that of the Suanetes in Rhætia, we have the compound form Con-Suanetes for one of the four divisions of the Vindelici. Similarly would be formed Con-Guberni, the *con* probably implying an association of tribes. For this name, see Zeuss, 1133; Glück, 66; Whitley Stokes, "Medieval Tract on Latin Declension," p. 78. For the Guberni, see Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 85; and for the Suanetes and Consuanetes, Glück, 28, 54.

‡ This name Cearnach, Cernech, is identified with Bernicia, the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Northumberland, in Nennius lxx. ;—indeed, the names may be the same, Bernicia = Pernicia; hence the foreign *p* becoming in Celtic *c*, Cernicia, Cernech. See Diefenbach, "Celtica," i. pp. 155, 180.

§ The townland yet retains the name. It is called in the 'name-book' *Area*.

|| See "Ur-Geschichte des Esthnischen Volkstammes" von F. Kruse, "The Saga of Kallewe's Son," p. 175, etc.



combatants hurl rocks at each other, and imprint their fingers in them.†

It is to be observed that a corresponding historical incident actually took place at this very same ford, the combatants being respectively a Dane, who was the victor, and a North-Irish chieftain was the vanquished. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," under date A.D. 941, the event is recorded as follows:—

"Muircheantach of the mantles of skins (or hides), the son of Niall Glundubh ('Black Knee') Lord of Oileach, the Hector (hero) of Western Europe in his time, was killed at Athfirdiadh by Blacaire, the son of Gofradha, Lord of the Danes, on the 26th day of May."

At a subsequent page in the volume of letters relating to the Co. Meath, the writers (Messrs. O'Connor and O'Keefe) insert the following translation of an "old Irish legend" relating to Cuchullain which relates to this part of the country, and had been seemingly preserved in it.

"On a day that the brave Cuchullain was on the lawn before his palace, the royal and populous Dun Dealgain, which was his dwelling, he looked towards the four quarters of the globe, the west, the east, the north, and the south, and he saw the beautiful country of Cuailgne, which of all countries in the world was best beloved by Cuchullain. It is thus situated, viz. the murmuring ocean on the one side, and the mountains abounding in sweet crystal streams, in beautiful green-sided valleys, fringed with smooth woods of equal height on the other side. And numerous were the long-horned wild cows, badgers, wild boars, and other herds which inhabited that country, and abundant was the salmon and every species of hunting and fishing.

"And as Cuchullain [spelt *Cuchullen* in this tale] was viewing the ocean, he perceived a small *curragh* with a lady alone in it approaching the shore, and when the lady landed he saw a large ship also approaching the shore in the same direction, and when he expected to see her filled with a numerous company, he saw only a black man of monstrous size rising on the deck, armed with a huge iron mace, to which were attached fifty massive balls of iron, each the size of the stoutest hero. And on coming close to the shore the ship struck on a rock, whereupon the monstrous man raised his club and dealt with it a terrible blow to the lofty rock

† Is it a mere coincidence that *Kukulin* is the name of a place on this same Esthonian coast? See Kruse's paper last quoted.



that obstructed him, by which he moved it from its place, and, opening a passage for his ship, formed the harbour which is now known by the name of the *Harbour of Carlingford*. [Here the thread of the tale is broken.] And while Cuchullain was observing the extraordinary scene before him, his charioteer Laoi McRoin Ghabhra was in search of him through Sliabh Fidhit, and Sliabh Feadih in Cuailgne.

“And Cuchullain having gone over sea was mortally † wounded in battle by a giant of great strength and deep knowledge in necromancy, and on this occasion he received friendship and assistance from a source quite unexpected at that time, namely, from the Sithchuire or Fairy-Bands of Ireland, for there was not a fairy, or a fairy congregation in Ireland, and particularly in Ulster, that was not his friend and his companion, because they all gave him their friendship on account of his knowledge of necromancy and arms, his fidelity, and liberality in bestowing gold and wealth, and, for that reason, they usually gave him their assistance in time of great need and trouble, and he advised and consulted with them, ‡ as is evident in that true history named *Seisreac Breisligh air Tháin-Bó-Chuailgne*, where Cuchullain was, from the Thursday before the feast of Samhain till the Wednesday before the festival of Saint Bridget (*i.e.* from November 1st to February 1st) fighting against the men of Ireland, without taking any sleep but what he got by placing his face on his hand, and resting his hand on his knee, until one of his fairy friends interposed, and stopped the hosts for three days and three nights, until he had slept enough during that time.

“And also Dolbh and Iondolbh, two of the fairies, were assisting him against Ferdiadh at the battle of the Ford, until Ferdiadh killed them by a cast of his javelin, over the shoulder of Cuchullain, and also the fairy that assisted Ferdiadh wound himself around Cuchullain's legs in the shape of an eel, in the ford, so that, while he was extricating himself from him, Ferdiadh gave him three dreadful wounds; so that, if they gave him their assistance then, when at home, they were more imperatively called upon now to assist him in his trouble in a foreign land.

“As for the following fairies, namely, Sithonball of Muidh,

† *i.e.*, the wound would have been mortal had it not been for what followed.

‡ It is to be observed that in the piece called “The Battle of Ventry Harbour,” where Finn Mac Cumhail fought the “Emperor of the World,” the Tuatha Dé Danann, or fairy-gods, came to his assistance.



Cartrann Casdubh of Cnoc Meadha in Laoghis, Gaire Greiné of Dun-an-Ainé between Emania and Abhan Mór, Iollan and Iollanach of Dun-Lir, Cuirin Cosluadh from Sliabh Fuaidh, Dimhall of Sliabh Truim, Saoileanach of Loch Saoilean, Sgalgh-ruaigh of Sliabh Mis, and Eibhlin Biorra of Sliabh Cuillion,†—when they learned, through necromantic knowledge, that Cuchullain was in this great danger, they gathered from all parts and met at Fionncharn-na-Forfhaire (*i.e.* White Cairn of the Watching) on Sliabh Fuaidh (Fews Mountain in the Co. of Armagh), where they were joined by Fingin Faidliagh, the wise physician, Cuchullain's old physician, and the most distinguished in his profession in the world; such, indeed, was his skill that he knew, on view of any wound, by what sort of weapon it was inflicted, and whether the person who inflicted it was young, or old, or brave." So ends this disjointed tale, or fragments of several tales.

The writer of a subsequent letter in the Ordnance Survey series infers from this legend that the composer of it understood that the ancient Cuailgne extended from Carlingford Bay to near Faughart. In the "Annals of the Four Masters" (A.M. 3500) Cuailgne appears as a personal name. "Cuailgne, one of the Milesian chiefs, was killed by the Tuatha Dé Danann on a mountain in Ulster, which was called Sliabh Cuailgne from him." His cairn is on the mountain.

The geographical Cuailgne has been Anglicized and disguised as Cooley, which is the name of the district immediately west of Carlingford Bay. In Irish this Cooley is Cuailghe, but, remarks the writer, "throughout this county the sound *ng* is changed to *gh*, as, for example, *seangan* to *seaghan*, 'a pismire;' *sreangan* to *sreaghan*, 'a string,' and thus *Cuailgne* to *Cuailge*, *i.e.* (in English) 'Cooley,' the name of a small district in the southern half of the parish of Carlingford." That the name once had a far wider application is proved by the fact that in Norden's map all the district from Dundalk to Newry is called "Cooley."‡

The writers of the Ord. Surv. Letters add that they have inserted these stories, both oral and written, about Cuchullain in order to show that he is well remembered "even in this part of

† This is Evlin or Bera. She is, as we read in a note, well remembered by the people. Her house [? if a dolmen] is pointed out at the foot of Sliabh Gullion. It is a heap of stones, rudely piled together without any appearance of a mansion.

‡ Mr. Kennedy stated that near Sliabh Guillin was a place called Táin-bó Chuailgne, which Mr. O'Keefe says he has yet to ascertain.



the country." "We always hear," they add, "that the entire story is to be had of some, but we have met none yet who could give it." This was in the year 1835.

It is curious to notice that while what is known of Conchobhar, Cuchullain, and the Knights of Emania, is either directly referable to MS. sources, copies of which were made as late as the last century, oral tradition (although often doubtless assisted by written Ossianic tales) has retained with far greater independence of written media the tradition of Finn Mac Cumhail. In several instances, indeed, such as the ownership of the royal residence at Dun Dealgain (now *Dundalk*), and in the fight with Ferdiad, Finn actually takes the place of Cuchullain, although in other traditions, such as that relating to the Droichet Àtha-na-bh-Fianaibh on the Fayne River, it is Cuchullain who contends against the Fíanna, that is to say, against Finn's own warriors, and, as in the Comrac Fhirdead, against "the men of Ireland," the Fir n-hErenn.

Mr. O'Keefe gives the following local legends about Cuchullain current in Louth.† "He (Cuchullain) lived at Donaghmore, where he kept a stable for his two horses, whence the place received the name *Dun na n-each mór*.

He was killed at Loch-a-tonnad by Lughaidh Mac Irca (Erca). This lake is below Dundalk, and received its name from Cuchullain's blood being mingled with its waters, after he, having received the mortal wound, had swam it over. He (Cuchullain) saw a dog licking the blood on the water, and inquired what the dog was drinking. It was answered him that it was his own blood, upon which he said that it was prophesied that he should gain his fame by a dog, and that a dog should be connected with his exit (that is, his death.)

On Sliabh Beatha in Tyrone is a cairn called Carn-Mór, of which O'Donovan writes as follows: "I have had the honour of being the first who, in modern times, has discovered the situation of the mountain of antediluvian celebrity, on the top of which Bioth is said to have been interred by the seraglio which attended him. I have been much disappointed at finding that, instead of Bioth, Dalach is the commander-in-chief of its fairies. Dalach now resides in Carn-Mór, the very cairn in which Bith or Bioth

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† O.S.L.,  $\frac{14}{E. 14}$ , pp. 162, 164.



was interred, and his (Dalach's) castle is sometimes seen in the lake beneath it."

Bith, according to the written legend, was the father of Ceasair, of whose supposed burial-place Giraldus† speaks, and which O'Donovan endeavoured to identify in Galway as we have seen. Upon the approach of Noah's flood, Bith applied for an apartment in the ark. This being denied him, Ceasair recommended that he, together with herself, Finntan her husband, and Ladru her brother, should consult an idol as to how they should save themselves. The oracle recommended that they should fit out a ship, which they did, and went on board, and, after seven years at sea, landed at *Dun na mbarc*, in the west of Ireland.

The Dindshenchas of Sliabh Beatha is as follows: "Bith Mac Nae, forty days before the deluge, came with his daughter Ceasair to Erin to avoid the flood, as is told in the "*Capturæ Hiberniæ*."‡ After the first division (of the fifty women who had come to Ireland with him and Ceasair, Ladru, and Finntan), Bith went (to Sliabh Betha) with his seventeen wives—or (if it was after Ladru's death, his twenty-five wives—and there an acute ague attacked him, whereof he perished. And the wives buried him in the great cairn of Sliabh Betha."§

Bith (gen. Baha, or Beatha) was a personal name in Ireland and Scotland. It appears in Mac Beth in the latter, and Mac Veagh, the Anglicized form of Beatha, in the former.

The name of the Mound of Ash in Louth is puzzling, and I cannot attempt to explain it.

The name of the mountain Sliabh Gallion, or Gullion, in Derry, on the north side of the summit of which, called Carnanbane, is a fine dolmen called "The Giants' Grave,"|| is said by tradition to have received its name from Callan Mór, a giant, whose sister lived in the county of Antrim. A friend of hers had a castle at a place called Lougharee, in the county of Tyrone, and she could have seen it had it not been for Sliabh Gallion intervening. She therefore employed men to remove the mountain, but they all 'took a sore' in the fingers, which made her discharge them," and "... she abandoned the project. A red

† Top. Hib. Dist. iii. cap. i.

‡ This lost work ("*Gabhála Hérenn*") corresponded in substance, says Whitley Stokes, with the "*Leabhar Gabhála*" of the O'Clerys.

§ Transl. Whitley Stokes, "*Rév. Celt.*," vol. xvi. p. 155.

|| p. 256.



bank is yet shown," adds O'Donovan, "where they commenced to cut away the mountain."

"Lough-na-Gun, *i.e.* the Lake of the Greyhounds (now Lough Fea, *i.e.* Loch Feadha, 'The Rushy Lake'), is said to derive its earlier name from Finn Mac Cumhail's dogs."

The following quatrain was still repeated there when the Ordnance Survey were engaged in their work in the district:—

"Callan, son of the King of Tir-Suthain,  
Is interred at the north side of the mountain,  
His head (pointing) down to Lough-na-Gun,  
And his feet up towards the mountain."

This is the situation of the Giant's Grave on Carnanbane, which is said to be the tomb of Callan Mór. One end of it points to the lake; the other to the mountain Sliabh Gallion. Tir-Suthain means the Eternal Land, or, rather, the Land of the Immortals, as in the Dindshenchas of Fuag Inber, where the words *Tir Ban thshuthain*, "Land of the Immortal Women," occur. The King of Tir-Suthain was probably Mider, or perhaps here Manannan Mac Lir.

In the Dindshenchas of Sliabh Callaun, Callaun, in place of being a giant is a *cú-buachail*, rendered "herd-hound" by Whitley Stokes. The legend connects him with the Táin bó Cuailgne tale, for he fought the Donn Cuailgni, that is, the "Brown (bull) of Cualgne," for the cows on the mountain, and was there killed.

In addition to this Sliabh Callaun, or Gallion, there is Sliabh Callan, or Collan in Clare, where there is also a dolmen and a venerated lake. Another Sliabh Gullion is in Meath, and yet another in Armagh.

In the county of Derry, also, is the dolmen at Drumaderg, in which name there seems no necessity for any other explanation than "Ridge of the Red ——" O'Donovan tells us, however, that it is explained "Ridge of Dergo," "a mighty warrior who came over from Loughlin to conquer all the Fingallians himself, alone and unassisted. The story," he adds, "is very faintly remembered in this locality, but it is preserved in many MSS. that I (O'Donovan) have seen; but Howth and Tara, not Glenconkeine, are made the scenes of his battles in these written accounts. Dergo was cut off by Gaul (Goll) Mac Morna, after they had fought for eight days and eight nights without resting."†

† O.S.L., Co. Londonderry,  $\frac{14}{E. 12}$ , p. 183.



O'Donovan here explains "Loughlin" as Finland, but Whitley Stokes has pronounced it to be Norway. Popular tradition associates it with Danes. Professor Zimmer considered Lochlann as the island of Lāland, but Whitley Stokes has pointed out that "Lothlind (or Laithlind) and Lochland cannot be borrowed from the name of the Danish island, because this would leave the *th* and *ch* unaccounted for. Lothlind," he adds, "seems cognate with the Welsh Lledlyn, which Pugh says means the Baltic, and Lochlann is certainly cognate with or borrowed from the Welsh Llychlyn, Norway." The oldest form seems to be Lothlind. We cannot equate it with the name of Liothida in Norway, found in Jordanes, because that is Lio-thiod (Goth. Liuthiuda); but in that of the Lotihali, an old name of the Letgalli on the coast of East Prussia,<sup>†</sup> we seem to approach it more closely.<sup>‡</sup>

*Leacht*.—The word *leacht*, a monument, becomes, as we have said, *slaght* in Derry. Four examples of its use are known to me, Slaghtmanus, Slaghtaverty, Slaghtfreeden, and Cloch-na-Slaghta. The two first of these, and probably the third, are dolmens. The fourth is a group of pillar-stones.

In the name Slachtmanus,<sup>§</sup> the reciters of the popular traditions had in view none other than Magnus, or "Manus," son of the King of Denmark, the subject of whose defeat was that of one of the most popular of the current "Tales." Since, however, this Manus had acquired his name from that of Carolus Magnus, or Charlemagne, the lateness of the application of it to this monument is obvious.

Possibly it may have borne in more ancient times some name resembling Manus, such as Mainé, or Maen, which—the older hero or divinity having been long forgotten, except in name—would have readily passed into that of the Danish prince. This may or may not have been. It was sufficient that the dolmen had been known as the grave of some hero. The tendency of the itinerant storyteller was ever to localise his events, so as to add plausibility to the narrative, and excite interest, as by an object-lesson, in the hearers. Hence the Giant's Grave would become the *Leacht* of Magnus.||

<sup>†</sup> Zeuss, p. 674.

<sup>‡</sup> For the eponymous of these people or peoples, Lot, Loth, Lothus, Lud, Llûd (Lôdens), see Rhys, "Celtic Heathendom," p. 125.

<sup>§</sup> p. 253.

|| O.S.L., Co. Londonderry,  $\frac{14}{E. 12}$ , p. 30.



Slaghtaverty,† like Slaghtmanus, is the name of a dolmen. Dr. Joyce, in his "Names of Places," tells us that he heard the legend which is current about it, told on the spot. Singularly enough, it is connected, not with a giant, as is usual, but with a dwarf, a fact which reminds us that Finn, in the oral Scandinavian stories, appears at one time as a giant, at another as a dwarf.

The monument, says Dr. Joyce, is called Laghtaverty, that is, the *laght* of the *abhartach*, or dwarf.‡ "It is said to derive this name from a magician of impish proportions, who tyrannized the district until slain by some heroic enemy, sometimes said to be Finn Mac Cumhail. He (the dwarf) was buried in this *leacht*, in an upright position, but would not remain in his grave until, being killed a third time, his body was placed head downwards."

O'Donovan gives the following account: "Averty was a remarkable enchanter, and a great enemy of Finn Mac Cool. He was vulnerable only in one spot of his body. Finn, by the prophecy derived from his thumb, discovered where this spot was situated, aimed at him there with his spear, and killed him. He then buried him with his head downwards, lest he might effect a resurrection, where the monument of Slaghtaverty is now seen."

With this Averty is connected the famous Manannan Mac Lir, who, says O'Donovan, "is another celebrated fairy of the north part of this parish of Dungiven. Manannan is represented as very anxious to support the character of the Irish, and one day, when an Englishman made a challenge that he would run a celebrated racehorse against any of the steeds of O'Neill, Manannan—who well knew that O'Neill had no horse that could at all be a match for the English racer—appeared in the shape of a beggar-man, and made a challenge that he himself would run against the horse from Shane's Castle (on Lough Neagh) to Dublin. He did so, and by his enchantments humbugged the Englishman, won his wager, and supported the character of O'Neill's horses."

With this story we may compare the more ancient and strange

† p. 252.

‡ I do not find this word for dwarf in any dictionary. *Abhach* = a dwarf, a pigmy, a sprite; perhaps, however, it is connected with the Latin *abortus*, *abortio*, a monster, hence a dwarf. I should the rather connect it with *abairt* = speech, education, politeness, in reference to the powers possessed by Abhartach as a musician. Abhartach was the son of Aithirne, the famous and tyrannical satirist, and this dolmen may have borne his name. See O'Curry, M. and C. iii. p. 373. Abhartach was killed by order of King Conchobhar.



one of Macha, wife of Crund,† son of Agnomon, and daughter of Mider of Brí Léith, called also Grían Banchure, "Sun of Woman-folk," who ran against the horses of Conchobar, and won—after her victory, however, pronouncing a curse on the Ulaid or Ulster men. With this strange, mythological story, we may bring into comparison the horse-races in honour of Neptune, which took place during the Saturnalia at Rome.

In the Book of Lecan, Abhorthach and Manannan are represented as two celebrated chiefs of the Tuatha Dé Danann, the former a great musician—the Orpheus of the Irish poets—the latter a great navigator, who, on account of his great nautical skill, was styled by the Irish and Welsh *Mac Lir*, explained in the glossary, which bears the name of Cormac, *Filius Maris*—Son of the Sea.

"It is strange," adds O'Donovan, "to find this celebrated merchant taking up his residence in a very wild parish in O'Kane's territory. I should rather have expected him to be taking delight in ships than in running races on dry land, and to find him living in some celebrated harbour in a magical ship than among rocks and heath." We might similarly express surprise to find horse-racing at Rome presided over by Neptune, the Sea-god.

With the name Slaghtaverty we may distinctly connect that of Dunaverty on the Scottish coast. From an extract from the "Chronicon Hyense"‡ I take the following: *Obsessio Aberte apud Selbachum*. Traces, says Dr. Reeves, of the old castle of Dunaverty, standing on a precipitous rock nearly surrounded by the sea, are to be seen on Dunaverty Bay, at the south-eastern extremity of Cantyre, opposite Sanda.

Ler, the sea, is one of those words which the Goidelic language and mythology share with the Norse.§ It is found in the form Hler in the Sagas. The same name stands second in a triplet of nature divinities, Loge, Hler, and Kare = Fire, Sea, Wind,—the three sons of Forniot, Old Giant (iötun, iötr).|| Hler, in his capacity of Sea-god, presided over and gave name to the island of Hloë, in the Cattegat. Such a fact as this brings Irish and

† See also Macha, wife of Nemed, son of Agnomon, W. Stokes, "Rév. Celt.," vol. xvi. p. 45. A third Macha was queen of Erin and wife of Cimbaoith, who may be another alias of Nemed, since a rath built by the latter was called Rath Cimbaoith. Of Crund I shall speak later on.

‡ See Reeves, Add. Notes to "Adamnan's Vita Columbæ," p. 380.

§ Vid, Fid, = Wood, Tree, is another.

|| With *Forn-Iot*, compare Allot or Alloïd (? *All-Iot*) = Great Giant, father of Manannan. See Keating, O'Mahony, p. 141.



Scandinavian mythology into close connection, and we do not wonder to find that Finn Mac Cumhail himself used to "go a-courting to Norway."

In Antrim are several curious names which have received no explanation, such as *Ceanorth's*, *Wa's*, and *Gig-ma-gog's Grave*, for dolmens, and *Yellow Jack's Carn*, *Carn Maccail*, and *Carn Lothran*, for cairns.

A cairn in Kilkenny, at Rathbay, is called *Leacht Dubhluing*, that is, "Dubhlinn's Monument." O'Curry, in the Ord. Survey Letters, says that nothing further is known of it, but another writer states it to be the burial-place of Dubhluing O'Brenan, third prince of Idough,† who died in A.D. 954, mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters," in A.D. 951.

At Glaskenny in Wicklow is a dolmen called *Donnchadh ‡ Dearg*, that is, says O'Curry, "The Red Donogh," but why so called no one knows.

*Names of Women.*—Perhaps the most curious and seemingly the most genuinely ancient names and legends attaching to megalithic remains in Ireland are those which connect them with women; ancient divinities, now witches and hags, who were regarded as robed in white.

Sometimes three of them hold joint possession of a venerated site, as in the case of an immense and most conspicuous cairn on the summit of Topped Mountain, one of the chief hills in Fermanagh. It commands a view over seven counties, and the cairn measures 200 yards in circumference, and about 18 feet in height. The local tradition is that three Danish Princesses, by which Mr. Wakeman would understand, "Three Dé Danann Princesses," are buried in this cairn.

Ireland does not possess a monopoly of "three-lady monuments," nor, indeed, of the stories so universal there that megalithic remains and cairns were built in a single night, that if any portion of them be removed it will return to its place by night, and that to injure them will bring death within the year. In proof of this, we may take the legend relating to the Grotte des Fées, the "Feenschloss," as Dr. Heinrich Schreiber calls it, near Tours, a dolmen 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and provided with an ante-chamber just as in many Irish examples. "The peasants," we

† Ui-Duach.

‡ A certain Donnchad Mac Fland was over-king of Ireland in A.D. 918.



read, "believe that three girls built this in a single night, that you would die in the year if you destroyed it, and that if you removed the stones they would be brought back in the night." †

As a rule, however, each dolmen or cairn had its own peculiar patroness, and the name by which she was known was the *caillech*, *callech*, or Witch. This word is derived from *caille*, a veil, and properly signifies simply *mulier velata pallio*, ‡ "a woman wearing a cloak over her head," hence "an old woman." Used in a Christian sense, *cailleach* came to signify a woman who had taken the veil, a nun. The sense of "hag" or "witch" was, however, preserved, although it had received it in respect of its connection with a pre-existing pagan cultus, according to the customs of which inspired women banded themselves together and veiled themselves, just as the *druí* or sorcerer had his own peculiar tonsure, called opprobriously the tonsure of Simon Magus, in the manner of the Christian priest or hermit. That there were *Magæ* as well as *Magi*, that is, female as well as male *druids*, we learn from the Life of Saint Berach, § and there are instances of women placing themselves under *druidect*, or training in sorcery.

Other names for a witch, noted by Whitley Stokes in the Dindshenchas, are *Ban-Tuath*, and *Tuathach*, a name seemingly derived from *túath*, meaning "left, sinister," and also "northern." It was three crones, || *túath chaecha*, "blind of the left eye," who met Cuchullain on the way to his last fight, and tempted him to eat the flesh of a hound.

We have already noticed the association of witches with dolmens and cairns in the Iberian peninsula and in Holland, and the figures of women called ancient mothers, which surmount the tombs on the Steppes. ¶ The association of women with the cultus of the dead seems, indeed, to have been almost universal. It was a priestess who conducted the rites of the Saturnalia at Rome.

The position held by certain venerated women in the social systems, as well as in the mythology of the northern nations, is a subject too wide to be entered upon here. Of the establishment of priestesses on the island in the Seine, of the venerated women,

† See *Johannean* on the "Grottes des Fées," *Mem. de l'Acad. Celt.* v. p. 396, *et seqq.* Also "Die Feen in Europa," by Dr. Heinrich Schreiber, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1842, containing illustration and plan of the dolmen.

‡ See note by Ebel, in Zeuss "Gramm. Celt.," p. 961.

§ See Colgan AA. SS., p. 431.

|| *Ammíti*, "inopportune ones" (?).

¶ Mr. Garnett connects the Slavonic *baba*, the name of these figures, with the Irish *badhbh* (Pritchard, "Celtic Nations"), edit. Latham, p. 368.



such as Veleda † Aurinia, Ganna, who exercised such immense influence over the German tribes, and of the druidesses who, from the hilltops of Wales, opposed the forces of Rome, accounts will be found in the classical writers. Meanwhile, it is of interest to compare the references to venerated women which are contained in Finnish, Langobardic and Irish legend. We shall find that ancestral heroes, progenitors of tribes, and giants were usually accompanied by their *mother*, who was, doubtless, the tutelary goddess of their race.

The three giants who attacked Kallewe Poeg at Ludendorf dwelt *with their mother* in the forest; Ibor and Aio, the ancestors of the Langobardi, had with them *their mother* Gambara, to whom they looked for advice and assistance in achieving their conquests; Cicul or Ciocall, who, according to one account, contended with Partholan, and according to another, with the sons of Mil or Miledh, and whose three hundred followers had only the use of one leg and one hand and one eye, had always *his mother* Lot Luamnach along with him; similarly, the three sons of Diban, namely, Dian, and Dubh, and Dothur, who came from Athens to Wexford, had *their mother* Carman with them, who, by "charms and spells and incantations, blighted every place." Many other instances might be added from the ancient tales.

The following sites of monuments bear the name of *Cailleac* used without reference to any particular witch, although her name may appear in a local tradition: *Leaba Caillighe* (dolmen) in Cork, ‡ *Ballynagallach* § (dolmens, etc.) in Limerick (although this is explained by the existence of a nunnery there, but ?), *Labba-na-Calle* || and *Cnoc-a-Ghallaigh* ¶ in Waterford (dolmens), *Trunk-na-Caillighe* (dolmen) in Mayo, †† *Carnecallie* ‡‡ (three cairns) in Longford, *Sliabh-na-Callighe* §§ (chambered cairns) in Meath, and many other names of places, where, although no dolmen or cairn may now exist, it is probable that one did exist in former times.

The names of witches or queens of the wee-people, attached to them, are those of Medb, Ainé, Dirra or Bera, or Eiblenn, and, above all (for she must be included among them), the widely celebrated Grainnè. These names oral tradition has preserved, but

† Whitley Stokes has compared this name with the Irish *Filidh*. "Tr. Tract on Lat. Declension," p. 147.

‡ p. 8.

§ p. 47.

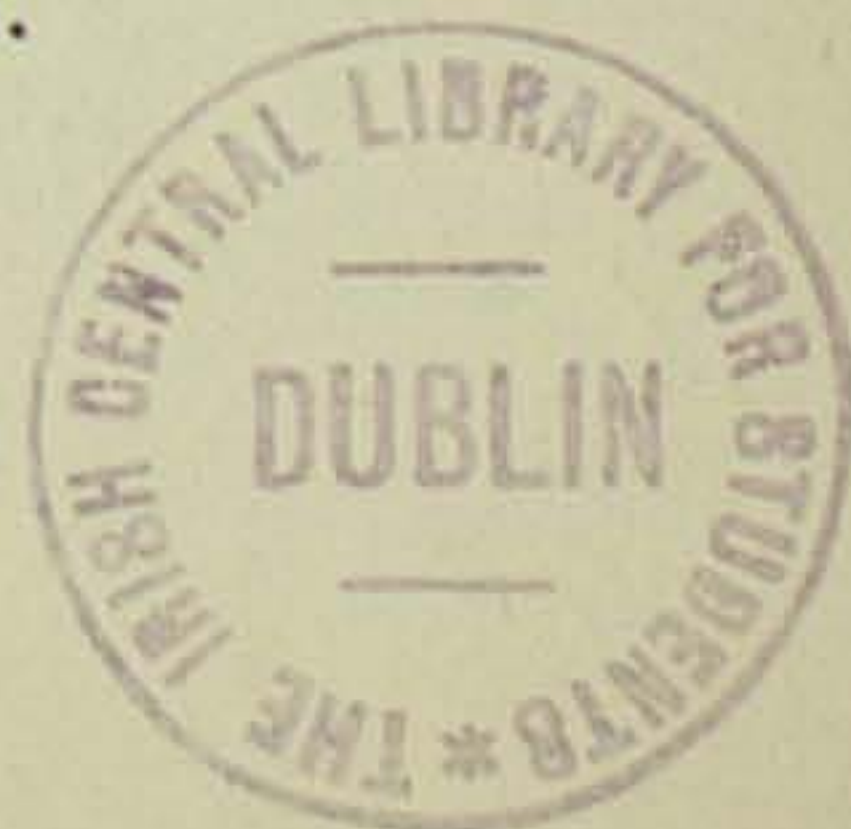
|| p. 57.

¶ p. 58.

†† p. 111.

‡‡ O.S.L., Co. Longford,  $\frac{14}{E. 13}$ , p. 31.

§§ p. 313.





in addition to them there are a considerable number to be found scattered throughout the written legends of the Middle Ages. Besides these, we meet with some more or less distinctive names of witches and venerated females which may be in some cases alternative designations of those just mentioned. For example, the *Cailleac na Sioghbhrúigheacht*† connected with a menhir in Tipperary, who, "having directed her unlucky eyes towards a party of saints who were beginning to build seven churches on the island of Illaanmore, caused them to relinquish their purpose." Her name appears to mean "Witch of the People of the Sidh," or "Sidh-colony." The saints having sought another site, namely, in Iniscealtra, an island in Lough Derg, "the craft of the same malignant old woman pursued them thither, and prevented them from raising the 'Round Tower' to its intended height. The architect was so irritated by her that he leaped off the top of the tower to the ground, and struck her on the head with his hammer, by which blow she underwent a metamorphosis. The people show her 'done in stone' lying close to the tower on the west side, and retaining still the track of the hammer." Legend connects a menhir called the *Cloch-an-Uabhair* in the parish of Cargins in Galway,‡ with a witch called *Cailleac Uabhair*, who is said to have cast it to the spot where it stands, from a distant hill. The Yew-Tree (*iubar*, or *ibar*) was looked upon as the special property and abode of witches, as we learn from the story of Scáthach, Cuchullain's tutress in arms, who lived in the branches of one.§ The venerated rock called the *Garrane Bán*, in the parish of Dunmanway|| in Cork, was reported to have been cast by Finn Mac Cumhail from the *Yew-Tree Hill*. *Cailleac Uabhair* impressed the marks of her finger and thumb upon the *Cloch-an-Uabhair*.

In the Townland of Dunally and parish of Kiltomas in Galway is the *Caislean-na-g-cailleachadh Dubha*,¶ but perhaps this refers to an establishment of Black Nuns. Real pagan witches are certainly, as a rule, *white*; *Dominae Albæ*, in fact. To this attribute of whiteness are attributable such names as *Labbynaman*†† (*Leaba*

† O.S.L., Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 2}$ , pp. 535, 539.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 1}$ , p. 187.

§ O'Curry's M. and C., vol. ii. p. 370.

|| Windele MS., "Cork W. and N.E.," p. 851; also "Cork Topog.," p. 607.

¶ O.S.L., Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 2}$ , p. 626.

†† A stone circle is given in the map (O.S. 54) in which this fort is.



na m-bán), a "fort" in Kerry, where probably there was, or is, a dolmen; Slievenaman† in Tipperary (Sliabh-na-mbán), where there is a cairn, a dolmen, and a venerated rock called "Finn Mac Cumhail's Table," and where a legend exists, that the spot was the burial-place of one of the sons of Ugaine Mór. Cruc-na-m-bán, where there is a curious altar-like rock covered with sculptured concentric circles, crosses, and other figures in the promontory of Ross-Guill in Mevagh, Donegal,‡ may be cited as another instance of the occurrence of the name. A direct connection with the Witches and the White Women is afforded by the dolmen-name Trunk-na-Callighe, which is in the Townland of *Knockanbán*, or *Knockbán*, in Mayo,—the genitive plural *ban*, "women," being in each case understood.§

The dolmen in the Townland of Ahaglaslin || in Cork is marked on the Ord. Surv. Map *Callaheencladdig*. Windele calls it *Collaheen a chladdig*, and quotes a refrain about it:—

"Collaheen a chlodig  
A screddig agus a bheacig," ¶

by which seems to be meant—

"A little maiden of the shore  
Lamenting loud and waiting sore."

Another interpretation of the name is that it means *Cailleichin an chladaig*, "Little hag of the seashore." †† This lady, it was said, used to lament here when any one died in the neighbourhood. We may, I think, identify her with tolerable certainty with Clíodhna, Cliona, or Clidna, whose "house" on the flat stony seashore, consisting of a great squarish natural rock, was pointed out to me at a turn in the road just beyond the dolmen. Stories were current of her inveigling young fellows to the rock whence they never returned. Another and similar legend of Cliona is told about a venerated site on the summit of a rising ground half a mile from Athadallan ‡‡ in the same neighbourhood. The place is formed in part by nature and in part artificially. It is described as "very

† O.S.L., Co. Tipperary, <sup>14</sup>F. 18, p. 154.

‡ Kinahan, Journ. R.H.A.A.I. (1888), p. 429; W. C. B., Note-Book, 1890.

§ See Windisch, Wörterbuch, *ban-m-bán*.

|| p. 36.

¶ Cailleheen, or collaheen, is a diminutive of *caille*, "a girl"; hence *cailín*, "a little girl"; *chlodig* = a flat stony shore; *screddig*, from v. *sgreadaim*, "I scream"; *bheacig*, from v. *béicim*, "I cry out."

†† Letter from the Rev. Mr. Lyons of Macroom to Mr. Denham Franklin, Hon. Sec. Cork Archæol. Soc., kindly communicated to me.

‡‡ MS. Windele, "Cork Topog.," p. 44.



remarkable," and consists of a large piece of rude ground covering from four to five acres. "A kind of area of nearly circular form is partly faced in with piles of rock generally rising over twenty feet above the level of the field, and forming perpendicular faces to the area, while they slope on the outside. The rocks form separate and distinct groups divided by considerable intervals of space. . . . The interval or gap at the S. side is called the 'door,' one of the portions of the rock having a square form and standing upright, so as to resemble a door. The area is nearly equally divided by a rude range or line of large stones standing on end, sometimes together, at others with considerable gaps between them, and some prostrate, varying from 3 to 5 feet in height. The range runs N. and S. At either extremity of the line is a gap in the rock. Near the rock at the N.W. end is a *lisheen*, a 'small round fort,' with a single rampart. In the centre is an opening leading into a cave. . . . There is another *lisheen*, or small round *lios* in a field adjoining on the N.W., from which the peasants say a passage leads into the enclosed space."

This site is known as Carrick Cliona, and a legend is attached to it. Cliona is represented as a female whose "moral character," says Windele, "appears to be doubtful." "A fair was sometimes held in the neighbourhood, and, on these occasions, she came out at her leisure, and carried off every well-looking young man at the fair who pleased her." About twenty years before Windele wrote, "some people made an attempt to cultivate the ground with potatoes, but Cliona was heard within *piteously wailing*, as if at the desecration, and the men desisted. It was also told how a man on the road in the evening had seen the whole space brilliantly lighted up, the door open and streaming with light, and a fair lady standing near."

This same female, who, as I was informed on the spot, was regarded in oral tradition as Queen of the Fairies of West Munster, is to be heard of in the Dindshenchas, under the heading *Tond Clidna*, or "Clidna's Wave." The cause why her spirit wails, and the reason perhaps, also, of her treatment of young men, is there set out. I borrow the translation from Whitley Stokes: "Clidna, daughter of Genann, son of Trén, went out of Tulach dá Roth ('Hill of two Wheels'), out of the Pleasant Plain [Mag Mell] of the Land of Promise, with Iuchna Curly-Locks [Ciabfaindech] to get to the Mac ind Óc [*i.e.* Oingus, son of the Dagda and



Bóann, that is, of the 'Two Young Ones,' so Prof. Rhys translates the dual Ind Óc]. Iuchna practised guile upon her. He played music to her in the boat of bronze wherein she lay, so that she slept thereat, and then he turned her course back, so that she rounded Ireland southwards till she came to Clidna.

"This is the time at which the illimitable seaburst arose and spread throughout the regions of the present world. Because there were at that season Erin's three great floods, namely, Clidna's flood, and Ladru's, and Baile's; but not in the same hour did they arise; Ladru's flood was the middle one. The flood pressed on aloft, and divided throughout the land of Erin till it caught yon boat and the damsel asleep in it on the beach. So there she was drowned, Clidna the Shapely, Genann's daughter, from whom *Tonn Clidna* is named," † which was a term used by poets to designate a loud surge in the Bay of Glandore. I suspect that, according to the right legend, the rock on the strand called Clidhna's House, should be Clidhna's Boat, like Declan's Boat in Waterford, Bodan's Boat in Donegal, the Vela de la Barca de la Virgin in Galicia, and other venerated rocks on the coast of Western Europe. Whitley Stokes quotes another instance of a bronze boat in the Dindshenchas of Ess Ruaid, and compares them both with a "copper boat created by magical singing" in the Esthonian Finnish poem called the Kalevala. The boats of the fairies who skim the lakes of Overt and Omer, fleeing from the waves raised, according to the legend cited by M. Alex. du Mège, ‡ by the gigantic witch Herodiade, for their destruction, are of gold.

With regard to the dolmen which bears this curious name, there is told the not uncommon story that the great covering-stone, having been carried off and thrown into the stream below, was mysteriously set back in its place during the next night. This vicinity is full of curiosities, as Windele has remarked. There is the venerated rock called Ceim-na-bricka, § which owed its peculiar appearance—being split in three pieces—to an encounter between giants; there are the marks of the footprints of the famous cow which the "Mna Sidhe," Women of the Sidh, used to have, in a rock on to which she leaped, at Leap; || there is the little lake called *Lochan-a-Muckadee*, a mile away, with its legend of the

† "Rév. Celt," vol. xv. pp. 437-8.

‡ "Archéologie pyrénéenne," vol. ii., xxvii.

§ Windele, MS., "Cork West and North-East," p. 768, with drawing.

|| Id.



mythic pig; there is, just across the valley, the well near the ruined church of St. Fiachtna, in the water of which I found, only last year, pieces of bread thrown in as offerings; not far off is a stone circle; and, lastly, there are ghost-stories and tales of haunted houses all the country round.

The name of Medb, the Mab of Spencer, Queen of Connaught, half sorceress, half Amazon, whose attributes cannot fail to remind us of those of Medea, is preserved in oral tradition in that of the great cairn on Knocknarea in Sligo,† overlooking the sea on one side, and the great cemetery of Carrowmore on the other. It is called Misgaun, or Miosgán Meave, Medb's Butter-Dish, a name which is repeated in the case of a cairn in Donegal, and in that of a large venerated block of stone near Rath Crogan in Roscommon.

In the county of Waterford is a dolmen at a place called Carrick-a-Dhirra,‡ which is probably the name of the dolmen itself. The fine dolmen at Monasterboice,§ called the Hag's House, is also called Calliagh Dirra's House. The witch in this latter case, Mr. Du Noyer thinks, is the same as Cailleac Bhearthra (Bera, or Vera), whose name is connected with the tumuli at Slieve-na-Callighe. The witch at Monasterboice, whoever she was, was said to have been buried in the parish of Diamor, in a field called Cúl-a-Mota, explained to mean "Back of the Moat," but, as I think, the "Corner," or "Enclosure of the Moat," alluding to some tumulus there. It is to be observed that tradition does not regard the dolmen as her sepulchre, although it bears her name.

The name of Ainé, called also Aynia, meets us in the following: Knockainy in Limerick,|| Knockninny¶ in Fermanagh, Aynia's Cove in Tyrone,†† and possibly in Legananny in Down.‡‡ On the top of the eastern part of the hill of Knockainy in Limerick §§ are two small moats, or tumuli, which the writer of the Ord. Surv. Letters considered to be of sepulchral origin, and thought the name Ainé,—“that of one of those mythological females so frequently connected with primitive places of sepulture,”—was probably that of the *cailleac* of the *Baile-na-g-cailliagh* dolmen near Lough Gur.

† O.S.L.,  $\frac{14}{F. 14}$ , p. 1; Wood-Martin, pp. 108-113.

‡ p. 63.

¶ p. 227.

§ p. 310.

†† p. 215.

‡‡ p. 282.

|| p. 47.

§§ O.S.L., Co. Limerick,  $\frac{14}{E. 9}$ , p. 229.



At Knockninny in Fermanagh are several dolmens, and the etymology *Cnocin Ainé*, the little knoll of Ainé, has been suggested. In the case of the Clochtogal dolmen in the same county, the same story is told which meets us in the case of the cairns of Slieve-na-Callighe, in that of a dolmen in Wales, and in that of the Pierre Levée at Vieux in France, namely, that the stones composing it fell out of the girdle of a giantess, who in this instance was in pursuit of a faithless lover, who may either have been Diarmaid, who, according to one version of his story, proved unfaithful to Grainnè, or Cuchullain pursued by his mistress Aifé.

Knockmany in Tyrone may be fairly supposed to bear the name of Ainé, since the dolmen on its summit bears the name of Aynia's Cove, Aynia being, so we are informed, "according to the folk-lore of the locality, a famous Witch and Queen of the Wee People."

Legananny, where there is a fine dolmen, in the county of Down, has been explained to mean *Legán Ainé*, Ainé's Dell, and, if so, like the Val Jorguina, the Witch's Valley in the Pyrenees, would apply to a physical feature of the country, and not to the dolmen itself, although the association of the name of the Witch with it probably pointed to her special connection with the monument. There is a Witch's Hollow near the Horseman's Stone, at Clonmacnoise, and others in various parts of Ireland.†

In the Dindshenchas of Benn Étair, Ainé is mentioned thus: "Étar son of Etgath . . . Manannan Mac Lir's son-in-law . . . died of love for Ainé, and his grave was dug on yonder peak" ‡ (*i.e.* Benn Étair, or Howth).

The name Ainé occurs also in the strange story of the "Yew Tree of Mac Aingis," of which O'Curry § gives a summary. She there appears as one of the Tuatha Dé Danann race who lived in the hill of Cnoc Ainé (Knockainy in Limerick), which took its name from her. Speaking of the name of the Parish of Knockainy in Limerick, O'Donovan || says it is not of ecclesiastical origin. It is derived from Cnoc Ainé, or Ainé's Hill, from the Lady Ainé, the daughter of Eógabhail, who is still believed to haunt the hill in the shape of a Banshee. She is the next most distinguished Banshee of Munster, next after Eevil of Craglea in Thomond,

† Mentioned by the Rev. Jas. Graves in his account of this stone in the "Journ. of the Kilk. Archæol. Soc."

‡ Transl. Whitley Stokes, Rev. Celt., July, 1894, p. 331.

§ M. and C., vol. iii. p. 259.

|| O.S.L., Co. Limerick,  $\frac{14}{E. 9}$ , p. 229.



and is very frequently alluded to in their elegies by the Munster bards of the last century. She is mentioned in Cormac's Glossary as the person from whom the highest ground in the territory of Cliach took its name of Cnoc Ainé. Other accounts relate that Ainé was abused, and finally, together with her brother, slain in a fit of passion by the King Oilioll† Olum, in revenge for which deed a little Tuatha Dé Danann musician, called *Fer-fi*, raised up a phantom yew-tree, which became the occasion of a contest between Oilioll and his seven sons on the one side and Mac Con on the other, and ended in the battle of *Magh Muc-ruimhe*, in which Mac Con, with a band of foreign adventurers, routed and slew Oilioll himself and all his sons.

There was another Ainé, who, according to the legends, was one of the three queens, wives of the lords of Ireland, who being with child at the time when their husbands were slain in the revolt of the Aitheach-Tuatha, preserved the royal line by giving birth to a son. She is described as being the daughter of *Caindi*, the great King of the South Saxons, and the wife of Breasal Mac Firb, King of Ulster, to whom her son, the posthumous Tiprait Tireach, succeeded in the government of that province.‡

The Ainé of the dolmens and tumuli is the unfortunate lady of Knockainy, and possibly also the beloved of Étar.

We have seen that the dolmen near Monasterboice was supposed by Mr. Du Noyer to have received its name of Hag's House, which in Irish would have been Tegh-na-Callighe, from the same *cailleac* who is still orally remembered at Slieve-na-Callighe in Meath, that is, Bhearthá, or Bera. There is at least one other locality with which we may connect her. This is the highest point of the Cairbrè Heights in the county of Longford.§ Sir William Petty calls this place in his map Carne-callie, that is, Carn-na-Callighe, or Hag's Carn. On this elevation there are three cairns with which a legend is connected, namely, that a certain hag took three jumps on the summit and dropped the three cairns upon it. The fact that the same story obtains at Slieve-na-Callighe near Oldcastle, where the particular hag who performs this exploit is Bhearra or Bérré, makes it probable that

† A form of Ailill, as Oingus is of Aengus, etc.

‡ O'Curry, M. and C., vol. i. xxiv.

§ O.S.L., Co. Longford,  $\frac{14}{E. 13}$ , p. 31.



it is the same lady who now anonymously presides at Carn (as the place is now called) in Longford.

To his translation of the *Aislinge Meic Conglinne* Mr. Kuno Meyer appends an interesting note on Caillech Bérré, "the nun of Beare," as he oddly terms her, although, as he adds, "she still figures in Irish legend as a hag or witch of fabulous age."

O'Donovan gives her name in full as *Eibhlín Bheurtha inghin Ghuilinn*, and cites a quatrain of her poetic composition "yet repeated," he says, "at Carnbane (in Meath) " :—

"Mise Cailleach Bhéurtha bhocht,  
Iomdha iongnadh amharcas riamh,  
Chonnarcas Cárn bán 'na loch,  
Cidh go bhfuil sé 'nois 'na shliabh."

Which he translates :—

"I am poor Cailleach Bera,†  
Many a wonder have I ever seen ;  
I have seen Carn-Bane a lake,  
'Though it is now a mountain."

The local legend about the cairns at Slieve-na-Callighe, as given by Mr. Conwell, in 1864, is "that an old hag (name and date not given) with her apron filled with stones, jumped from one peak to another, scattering a few on each peak, and leaving her chair on the middle one." O'Donovan,‡ writing from Kells (July 30th, 1836), gives a more lengthy version of the legend as follows : "There are three hills about a mile asunder in this parish,§ having three heaps of stones on their summits, with which the following legend is connected : A famous old hag of antiquity, called Cailleach Bhéartha (Calliagh Veră), came one time from the North to perform a magical feat in this neighbourhood, by which she was to obtain great power if she succeeded. She took an apronful of stones, and dropped a carn on *Carnbane*. From this she jumped to the summit of *Slieve-na-Cally*, a mile distant, and dropped a second carn there. From this hill she made a second jump, and dropped a carn on another hill about a mile distant. If she could have made another leap, and dropped the fourth carn, it appears that the magical feat would have been accomplished, but in giving the jump she slipped and fell in the Townland of

The hills  
summits  
in this  
district  
are worth  
investigat  
for Nov-Feb  
or May-Aug  
alignments

† Mr. Kuno Meyer translates this: "I am the poor old woman of Beare." He says that another quatrain ascribed to her is found in L. Br., p. 89, marg. *inf.*, and in the Stowe MS. 992, p. 47a, marg. *sup.*

‡ O.S.L., Co. Meath,  $\frac{14}{E. 23}$ , p. 96.

§ Longhcrew.



Patrickstown, in the parish of Diamor, where she broke her neck. Here she was buried, and her grave was to be seen, not many years ago, in the field called Cúl a' mhóta (*i.e.* back of the moat), about 200 perches to the east of the moat in that Townland; but it is now destroyed.

"This," continues O'Donovan, "is the very old lady whose shade still haunts the lake and carn of Slieve Guillion in the county of Armagh. Her name was Evlin, and it would appear, from some legends about her, that she was of Dé Danann origin. She is now a Banshee in some parts of Ireland, and is represented in some elegies as appearing before the deaths of some persons. I know nothing more about her but that on one occasion she turned the celebrated Finn Mac Cumhail into a grey old man; but his soldiers dug through the mountain of Slieve Guillion in Armagh until they drove her out of her cave, and forced her to restore Finn to his former beauty and symmetry." This, I may say in parenthesis, is as pure and beautiful a version of the Sun-myth as is known to me. Finn Mac Cumhail, the Sky, is turned grey by the departing Sun—call her Bera, or Grainné, as we will—who is driven out of her cave again, according to the usual myth current throughout the whole northern portion of the Europeo-Asiatic continent.

"There is an eminence in the Townland of Knocklough called Slieve Guillion, and a rude *stone chair* on the summit of Slieve Nacally called Cathaoir-na-Callighe-Beurtha, that is, *Calliagh Bera's Chair*. It is a large stone about two tons in weight, ornamented with a sunk cross (cut) into the seat of the chair in which three might sit together. This hollow seems to have been made in the stone with a hammer . . . The back of the chair was broken by some human enemy to old Evlin."

Mr. Conwell narrates that, on one occasion, Mr. Winslow, a gentleman of antiquarian tastes, living in the early part of the 18th century near Fore, invited Dean Swift to accompany him to Slieve-na-Caillighe in order to collect the fables related about the place, and the *monster woman Garvogue* [? Garbh Ogh = Uncouth Maiden: Compare the Giant Maids of Iötunheim], who formerly reigned there. Thomas Sheridan of Quilca, with whom Swift was staying, knew Irish, and acted as interpreter, and the Dean turned into verse the legends collected on the ground. The gardener at Quilca took a copy of these verses, from whose MS. Mr. Conwell quotes as much as was decipherable.



In this we read of Garvogue being drawn in a car by twelve giant elks from Bengore, where a war was raging. She leaves her heather bed in the morning, and makes an ample meal from fish caught in the neighbouring lakes together with twelve haunches of venison, and a like number of measures of milk and breasts of eagles.

This giantess held sway before "Finn and Gall had raised the spear," or "Caolta chased the mountain deer." Her pack, the fleetest ever known, numbered threescore and ten, among which the names are mentioned of "Red-Spidogue" [*Spideog-dearg*=red slender-one: *Spideog-Mhuire*=Robin Red Breast]; and Isogue [*Uiseog*=lark; so that they were called Robin and Lark respectively]. The following are a few of Swift's lines:—

"Determined now her tomb to build,  
Her ample skirt with stones she filled,  
And dropped a heap on Carn-more;†  
Then stepped one thousand yards to Loar,  
And dropped another goodly heap;  
And then with one prodigious leap  
Gained Carn-beg;‡ and on its height  
Displayed the wonders of her might.

\* \* \* \* \*

"And then approached death's awful doom,  
Her chair was placed within the womb  
Of hills whose tops with heather bloom."

Mr. Kuno Meyer obtained from Father O'Growney, who obtained them from a friend residing near Slyne Head, the following sayings and stories of Bhéara:

"Three great ages: the age of the Yew Tree; the age of the Eagle; the age of Cailleach Bhéara."

"The habits of Cailleach Bhéara; she did not carry the mud of one pool beyond the next pool; she did not eat when she was hungry; she did not go to sleep until she was sleepy; she did not throw away dirty water until she had clean water in the house."

"Her advice: One night she was on the sea with her children; the night was still and dark, and it was freezing; the cold went to their very marrow. She told them to make themselves warm. 'We cannot,' they said. 'Bale the sea out and in,' said she. 'Take the scoop, fill the boat, and bale it out again.' They

† Pronounced *Carron*.

‡ Id.



did so, and made themselves warm until the morning, when they found opportunity to go ashore."

"She had a bull called Tarbh Conraidh. There was no cow that heard him bellow, and had not a calf at the end of the year. Wherever the grass was best and sweetest, there she would drive her cows and the bull. One day the bull heard the lowing of a cow. He ran from the *cailleach* until he reached the cow, and the *cailleach* after him. She followed him until she came to Mainin. He swam across a small creek that lay in his way. When he reached the dry land, the *cailleach* had leaped across the creek, struck him with her druid's rod, and turned him into stone. The bull-shaped stone is to be seen to this very day."

The name Bera, which is common to Norse mythology, is found also in Irish legendary tales. Ingcel, the banished British Prince who leads a piratical expedition in a tale called the *Brudin Da Derga*, seems, says Dr. Sullivan, to have been the son of the Connaught Fir-Domhnann *Cuscrach*, by a British Princess, namely *Bera*, daughter of "the King of Britain of Manand." †

When looking for megalithic remains and legends at Castle-town Berehaven, I was informed by a boatman that the place derived its name from Bera, an ancient queen of Ireland who came from Spain, and was buried at Slieve Mis in Kerry, to which mountain he pointed. It was in the Glen Scoithin that the venerated rock called Fert Scota,‡ that is, Scota's Grave, was, at the time of the Ordnance Survey, pointed out as such by the natives. Scota was, according to the written legend, the mother of the Milesian brothers, and, with them, came from Spain to Ireland, where, having encountered, at the foot of Slieve Mis, the magical army devised as a delusion to the sons of Míl by the three Dé Danann queens, Fodla, Banba, and Ériu, she was killed in the battle which ensued. The fight took place in a neighbouring glen called Glen Fais, from Fas, another Milesian lady, who had been killed there. § It is just possible that,

† Introd. to O'Curry's M. and C., i., xx.

‡ O'Donovan (O.S.L., Co. Kerry, <sup>14</sup>D. II, p. 69) describes this as a long flag, to all appearance a natural object; length 35 feet, breadth at one end 11 feet, at the other 6 feet, inclining to the E. "It is mentioned," he adds, "in all the ancient Irish MSS. which treat of the Milesian colony. The mountain stream Fionnghlaise (so called by Keating in the story of Curoi) runs through the glen and close to this rock." (See O'Curry, "Materials," p. 448.)

§ There are two menhirs, one 11 feet high, the other prostrate, and bearing ogam characters, with a series of cists or flagstone-graves between them, in this glen. They lie two or three feet below the surface. Ten or twelve of them were exposed in the bank or fence of the road, the making of which led to their discovery. They were formed of the common clay-slate flags of the country,



mythologically, *Scota* and *Bera* are identical, each a queen hailing from Spain, and each buried in *Slieve Mis*.

As has been shown above, *Caillech Bhéara* had her well, and its attendant sanctity and cultus—a fact which may be held as some extenuation for O'Donovan's pun that the myths of these ancient ladies may certainly be regarded as a part of *Hagiology*! It was called *Tober na-cally-bheara*, *i.e.* *Tobar-na-Callighe-Bheartha*, and was in the Parish of Oranmore in Galway.† Of the possible identity of the name with that of *Finnbheara* in Galway, and, through that medium, with the worship of the Christian saint *Barry*, which extended to the Hebrides, whither the *Fir Bolg* tribes were said to have been driven, I have already spoken. Wherever found, *Bhéara* appears to belong to the dark tribes—to the *Fir-Bolg*,‡ that is to say, as opposed to the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, the light people.

The legendary lady whose name above all others has become attached to the dolmens of Ireland is *Grainnè*, the false *fiancée*, or, according to other stories, the wife of *Finn Mac Cumhail*. Her elopement with *Diarmait hua Duibni*, and the pursuit of the fugitive pair by *Finn*, was once probably the best known and most popular of all the written romances or oral traditions of the island. Their flight lasted a year and a day, and as each night they are reported to have set up a dolmen for their bedstead or shelter, there should be 366 of these monuments in all.

So general was the name *Leaba Diarmada agus Grainnè* for dolmens in some districts that, as in *Clare*, for example, the Ordnance Surveyors adopted it universally. When travelling in that county, I had only to mention the name *Labba Yermüddy*, or *Labba Yermüdda agus Grānya*, as it is pronounced, to make my meaning fully understood, and to find a guide ready to conduct me to those in the vicinity.

In *Kerry* and *Cork*, the name is very generally, but not so universally applied to them, some simply bearing the name *Hag's*

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and were placed in regular lines, each grave being some feet distant from the other, with an interval between each row. The adjacent fields above and below the road were said to be full of them. Those that were opened all contained human remains in more or less perfect condition. There was no ruined church near. (See O'Curry, "Materials," p. 448. For the ogam stone and the graves, see "Proc. R.I.A.," vol. viii. p. 102.)

† O.S.L., Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. I}$ , p. 310.

‡ Not all the *Fir-Bolg* were dark, however; some were fair-haired, but we never find in the traditions a dark-haired member of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*.



Bed—the Hag, however, turning out to be Grainné, as at Labba-callee. The same may be said of those in Limerick and Tipperary. In Waterford, however, it almost entirely disappears, which causes the writer of the Ordnance Letters for that county to remark that “it is curious to notice that these monuments which in Connaught and North Munster are invariably called by the name *Leaba Diarmada agus Ghrainé*, are here called ‘Giants’ Beds,’ or ‘Giants’ Graves.’”

In Galway the name was pretty universal; in Mayo and Sligo less so, but still often found. In Leitrim and Roscommon it is also found, and becomes pretty general again in some parts of Donegal. In Tyrone and Fermanagh are examples of its use, but in Derry it gives place to names of other origin, appearing again, however, in several instances in Antrim. In Down and Louth it dies out, and from the dolmen-bearing portions of the province of Leinster it is absent also. Roughly speaking, it has lingered the longest in those portions of the island where the old population, represented at the present by the greatest proportion of nigrescence, are found.

It is to be noticed that it is not to dolmens only that it was applied, but also sometimes to caves, natural or artificial, and to natural rocks. Each district, in which the travelling story-teller told his tale, was requisitioned to provide the sites incidental to it in order to its localization. In Scotland, too, the stories of the Finn series are localized, says Mr. Campbell, at the nearest place which answers the description.† As told in Donegal, the story of the “Pursuit” of Diarmait and Grainné by Finn required that two spots should be pointed out, the one in the mountains, the other by the seashore, for by day the pair were wont to carry sand to the mountains to strew for their resting-place, while by night they brought heather from the mountains down to the shore for the same purpose, an idea perhaps traceable to the custom of the people on that wild coast, who had two habitations, the one in the mountains in the summer-time where their herds were grazing; the other by the seashore, in the winter-time, when they lived by fishing, and housed their cattle. Thus, on the side of Mount Errigal, above Dunlewy, to the right of the road leading to Gweedore, is a natural cave called Dermot and Grany’s Bed, which was their summer or daytime place of retreat, while down

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† “*Leabhar na Féinne*,” iii. 29.



by the sea near Bunbeg a cavity formed by one huge natural rock resting against the side of a perpendicular cliff bears the same name, and was their winter or night-time abode. On Owey island, off the same coast, a natural hollow place bears the same name, and the Dermot and Grany's Bed on Tory island is a purely natural cave.

Near Black Head, in the north-west of the Burren of Clare, I was shown a hollow place beneath a rock which bore this name, and about which a story was told of a young runaway couple having lived there for a month in quite recent times. At Gleniff in Sligo is a natural cave called Dermot and Grany's Bed. The legend about this cave, however, differs from the generality, in that it was regarded as the permanent residence of Finn Mac Cumhail. Here, too, lived his beautiful wife (not merely his betrothed, as in some versions) Grainnè. "The latter," says Col. Wood-Martin, "possessed the gift of witchcraft, and at such times as she desired to enjoy the society of Dermot she could, by . . . crossing her thumbs, lay a spell upon her husband, compelling him at one time to gather sea-weed and burn kelp on the seashore, at another to cut rushes in the valley to make mats, and, again, to send him to distant mountains after supposititious strayed cattle." "Our peasant guide," adds Col. Wood-Martin, "expressed himself uncertain as to the final result of the intrigue. He only knew that it ended in there being 'a terrible row entirely' in this mountain cavern."

The written tale called the "Pursuit of Dermot and Grania," makes the pair take up their abode in a cave overlooking Dingle Bay.

In Banduff, a few miles east of the hill of Ceimabricka in Cork, is a *Leaba Diarmuid*. "It consists," says Windele, of a cave running some 20 yards in through the solid rock, evidently formed by art, its rather pointed arching roof having the marks of tooling. It is about 4 feet wide, and from 3 to 4 feet high, and terminates by narrowing to a small excavation nearly filled with earth. Near the entrance, about 5 feet in, there is a hole in the roof." On the coast of Clare, an island is named *Dermot and Grania's Bed*. At Moragh, on the Bandon River, in Cork, a tumulus of the Long-Barrow form is called the *Leaba Diarmuid*. The tradition about this latter mound is different to those about the dolmens and other places which are called Dermot and Grany's Beds, and where the



fugitives are supposed to have halted. This is the burial-place of Diarmaid, after his encounter with the boar, and subsequent death. The whole story is localized here in Cork just as it is in Sligo, with slight variations in the details of the story, according to which the enchanted boar was hunted from the Hill of Howth through the plains of Ulster and Munster, until he reached the southern shore of the Bandon River, in springing across which, and on to the bank, the hero Diarmaid received the wound from the bristle which caused his death.† Windele speaks of the tumulus as "of the Ship-Barrow class."

In Scotland, too, as far as the Ord of Caithness, and in the Isles as well, spots are pointed out, says Mr. Campbell,‡ which legend connects with the tale of this "Pursuit." "In short, the story of Diarmaid is traced in topography, genealogy, and Gaelic mythology throughout every region where Gaelic was spoken."

*Graidhne's Bed* is in the island of Tiree; the well and knoll where the tragedy ended are near Oban, near Loch Carron, in Skye, and somewhere in Sutherland. Beinn Gulban is in Skye, as well as in Sligo, and somewhere in the middle of Scotland, where also is Gleann Síth, where the mythical Boar abode, with his mythical owner Mala Lith. The Campbell tribe are said to descend from Diarmaid, and their crest to commemorate the slaying of the mythical Boar.

To judge by the names of some of the dolmens the pair had sometimes separate resting-places. In Irishowen§ in Donegal there is a "Darby's Bed" and a "Grania's Bed" not far off. The same is the case with the *Leaba Diarmuid* and the *Leaba Granu* between Gort and Feakle, in the Townland of Dromandora|| in Clare. Sometimes we have a *Diarmaid's Bed* by itself as at Knock-Hoena¶ in Cork, Skregg†† in Roscommon, Knockbrack in Sellerna Bay, and Marble Hill in Galway.‡‡ Quite as often Grania has a resting-place for herself, as, for example, *Granna's Bed* at Brough Derg§§ in Tyrone, where an adjacent one perhaps bore Dermot's name, *Carn Grainy* in Antrim,||| and an example near Broadford in Clare,¶¶ where, when I was planning the

† J. Windele, "Cork W. and N.E.," MS., pp. 527, 602. ‡ "Leabhar na Féinne," p. 152.

§ "T.L. of Tullynabratilly," p. 229.

|| p. 95.

¶ J. Windele, "Cork W. and N.E.," MS., p. 855. I cannot identify the site of this.

†† Journ R.H.A.A.I. (1883-4), 4th Ser., vol. vi. p. 19; p. 196, *supra*.

‡‡ pp. 103, 107.

§§ p. 211.

||| p. 269.

¶¶ "T.L. Ballykelly," p. 97.



dolmen, a farmer's wife came up, and, laughing heartily, said, "Well, I never thought to live to see *Old Grānya* measured!"

O'Donovan considered, I know not on what ground, that the legend connecting the dolmens with the flight of Dermot and Grainné was not older than that which attributed the raths and cahers to the Danes.

Whether this is so or not, there appears to be a tradition that some kind of aphrodisiac cultus was connected with dolmens. Marriage contracts, as we know, or rather arrangements for concubinage for the coming year, were entered upon at the annual fairs and assemblies. These were held at well-known sepulchral centres, such as Temair, Tailten, and others. I have little doubt that the Giants' Ring in the County Down,† though the tradition has been lost, was one of these centres of assembly. The tomb in that case consists of a dolmen placed within the ring. In Estorff's account of the Hünenbedden of Hanover, we have an example in that country of one of these monuments occurring at a place where assemblies are held. The Brut Camp, a dolmen in Ditmarsh, is said to derive its name "Bride Field" from the circumstance that in old times marriages were made there. In Ireland one dolmen at least retains the tradition of its having been a place of assembly. This is the "Broadstone" at Craigs in Antrim.‡ This monument was formerly resorted to as a place for games and picnics, a custom in which we may recognize the survival of the celebration of games and the holding of an *Óenach* or fair, at venerated places of sepulture. The dolmen in this case was said to be the grave of a giant, while three pillar-stones to the North were those of his three friends.

The introduction of Christian marriage would cause the pagan practice to be held in abomination, and it is quite conceivable that in order to discredit it and bring it into ridicule, the tale of Grainné's elopement was fostered in connection with those monuments at which it had been observed. Certain it is that at the present day the Dermot and Grania's Beds are associated with runaway couples, and illicit unions in general. This is well illustrated by the following account of Mr. Dutton's experiences when in search of the Ballycasheen dolmen in Clare.§ "On inquiring from some country girls near Ballygannor where this

† p. 275.

§ p. 78, *supra*; and Dutton's "Surv. of Clare," p. 78.

‡ p. 264.



celebrated cromlech was, I was heartily laughed at for asking one of them, about sixteen years of age, to show me the way to it. After a long consultation with one somewhat older than herself—sometimes with very serious countenances, often with smiling ones, and the elder using a good deal of persuasion—she agreed to go with me, if *she was certain I was a stranger*, and she knew my name. As the conversation between them was in Irish, which I did not understand, and the evening was growing late, I became impatient, and very ungallantly rode away. When I had ridden a mile farther, I made the same inquiry from a herd's wife, and at the same time told her how I had been laughed at by the girls. She said, No wonder for them, for it was the custom that if she went with a stranger to Darby and Grane's Bed, she was certainly to grant him everything he asked." From anecdotes I have myself heard, as well as from covert jokes which I have noticed passing in Irish between persons who have accompanied me to dolmens, I am sure that a like reputation attaches to these monuments still.

From pagan times comes, however, no doubt, the widely spread notion that dolmens are efficacious in cases of barrenness. "If a woman," says Mr. Dutton, "proves barren, a visit with her husband to Darby and Grane's Bed certainly cures her." A similar superstition prevails in the case of some Welsh dolmens, in which country they also are associated with illicit and clandestine meetings. In Brittany, in the Pyrenees, and in Spain, megalithic monuments, menhirs especially, are resorted to by lovers in order to plight their troth.

The story of Dermot and Grainnè, or Darby and Grace, or Darby and Joan, as they are now called, is so like that of Tammuz and Astarte, Adonis and Venus—Diarmaid, like Adonis, being actually killed by a boar—and other recognized Sun-Myths of antiquity, that we are tempted to ask whether, in the name of Grainnè herself, we have not an allusion to Grián (gen. gréne, greíne), a noun substantive feminine, meaning the Sun.

That the chief luminary was worshipped by the ancient Irish there can be no doubt, and Mr. Campbell says that there are many Highland customs which point to Solar worship.† The adoration of the sun is referred to by Patrick,‡ according to the

† "Tales of the West Highlands," xcvi.

‡ See Whitley Stokes, "Trip. Life," vol. ii. p. 374.



writer of the "Tripartite Life." In the *Sanas Chormaic* † the word *indelba* is explained to mean "the names of the altars of idols, because they were wont to carve on them the forms (*delba*) of the elements they adored there, *verbi gratiâ, figura solis*, i.e. *figuir na gréine*." It seems not improbable that these "figures of the Sun" are none other than those concentric circles which appear on the stones of Aynia's Cove, at Knocknabán in Donegal and elsewhere, but which are to be differentiated from the spiral carvings, as at New Grange, which are more probably referable to Bronze Age Art, borrowed from southern patterns, and are purely ornamental. Of the three fabulous kings of the Tuatha Dé Danann, in the written legends, the one whose wife was Eri, was called Ceathoir or Céthor, and also Mac Gréne, the reason of the latter name being that he chose *Grian* the Sun for his god.‡ The rather clever notion of O'Brien that New Grange itself bore the name "Cave of the Sun" (*An úamh Gréine*) is,§ I believe, unsupported by documentary evidence, but in the name Carngrainy || we have a distinct association, if Dr. Reeves is right, of the name of the sun with a dolmen. "The name of the Parish of Carngrany," he says, "is derived from this pagan monument, which is situated in a field about 30 perches N. of the Rough Fort, a rath or tumulus, giving name to a hamlet in Craigarogan, to the W. of which is the old graveyard of Carngrany containing a portion of what remains of the old church." Dubourdieu also understood Carngrany to mean "Heap of the Sun." At the same time Dr. Reeves also says that "the carn is commonly called Granny's Grave, from an idea that some giant lies buried beneath it." It also bears the names "Grany's Bed" and "Graine Beacht."

But it is supported by the actual evidence of solar alignment.

I now turn to other examples of the appearance of the word *gréine* (gen. of *grían*) in connection with megaliths and venerated sites. I find it applied to the centre stone of a circle, to a rocking-stone, to a well and circle, to a well over which a dolmen-like structure has been built, to more than one *Cille* or *Kil*, to a venerated lake, and to a mountain.

The name *Cloch Gréine*, "Sun-stone," is the special name given locally to a stone measuring 3 feet high in the centre of a circle at Foherish near Macroom in Cork. This circle is mentioned

† Edit. O'Donovan and W. Stokes, p. 94.

‡ Keating, "Trans. O'Mahony," p. 144.

§ He calls it *Grein-Uagh*. See transl. of Villaneuva's "Phœnician Ireland," p. 55, note.

|| p. 269, *supra*, and Reeves' "Antiqq. of Down and Connor," pp. 66, 383.



in Smith's "History of Cork." Windele says † it is eight paces in diameter, but his ground-plan shows it to be rather oval than circular. The ring is formed of five stones, and a space where probably there was another. The *cloch gréine* is not absolutely in the centre, but about 6 feet from one end of the oval. One stone of the ring has fallen. The heights of the others are respectively 1 foot, 6 feet, 1 foot 6 ins. and 2 feet. Windele rather destroys the view that *gréine* necessarily means the "sun" by remarking that "in Irish *cloch gréine* is the name of any quartz rock." He employs this word, however, to designate the central stone in every other circle in Cork ‡ in which this feature occurs, as in those at Knockcappanabowl, Templebrian, § etc.

At Byrrings in the same county || is a rocking-stone called *Carrig-a-ghraine*. It is a natural rock, 13 feet long, 7 feet 6 ins. broad, and 3 feet thick, resting upon another. A sectional sketch of it by Windele shows it to be very similar to the Cloch Morhit in Sligo, of which Gabriel Beranger made a drawing. Here the name seems to mean "Rock of the Sun."

At *Kilnagreina*, Cille of the Sun, also in Cork, is a well, a circle, and a legend, all of which are worthy of attention. The late Lady Wilde thus describes the place: "The land was a desolate marsh; no one built on it, and nothing grew on it or near it. But a large grey stone lay there, with a natural hollow in the centre that would hold about a gallon of water, and close by were the ruins of an old pagan fort. One day, the farmer who owned this land carried off the great stone for a drinking-trough for his cattle. The cattle grew sick, so he carried it back. Thinking there was something mysterious about the place, he drained the marsh, and found an ancient stone-circle, and in the midst was a well of beautiful fresh water." This discovery was made early in the present century, but the well appears to have been known previously.

A tradition existed that a woman called *Ban-na-Naomh*, "Woman of the Saints," had once lived there. Saint Patrick had cursed the place and turned it into a marsh. The ritual observed by the pilgrims was to drink three draughts of water—three drinks at a draught—and make three "rounds" on their

† MS., "Cork Topography," p. 375.

‡ Id., p. 987.

§ Windele, MS., "Cork W. and N.E.," pp. 608, 730, with drawings; C. Smith, "History of Cork," vol. ii., p. 418.

|| J. Windele, MS., "Cork Topography," p. 28.



knees. They thus made out that "the circuit of the well was made nine times," although how I do not see. After each circuit the pilgrim laid a stone on the rock in the circle (the one I suppose which the farmer removed), called "The Well of the Sun." Such stones placed by devotees are, so we are told, named in Irish "Stones of the Sun," † are generally pure white, and about the size of a pigeon's egg. At last, the revelry which accompanied this pilgrimage gave rise to scandal, and Patrick's curse being remembered, the *pattern* fell into disuse. The *Ban-na Naomh* used to manifest herself in the form of a trout.

At Ballycroum ‡ in the County of Clare is the *Tober Ghraíne*, before mentioned, 200 yards E. of the dolmen called *Altoir Olltach*. "Although," says O'Donovan, "not named after any saint, this well was much resorted to for the cure of sore eyes." "There can be little doubt," he adds, "that this was a pagan well, worshipped by the *hydrolaters* of ancient Ireland, and it is strange to find it so near Lough Gréine, which seems to have derived its name from *heliolatry*." Well-worship and sun-worship, however, were closely allied, as we might bring many an instance from northern folk-lore to show. A description of the dolmen-like structure of this *Tober Ghraíne*, or Sun-well, has been previously given.

At a place called Kilcreene (? Cille Gréine), near Kilkenny, a cist containing calcined bones was found. §

The name *Altoir-na-Gréine*, "Altar of the Sun," at Knockalassa, || on Mount Callan in Clare, cannot be received as genuinely ancient. That of the lake, however, near it, and a little higher up the mountain, namely, Loughbooley-na-Greine undoubtedly is so. A beautiful city lies "enchanted" in this lake. Mr. Comyn mentions that the natives assembled on Mount Callan on the first of May every year, and held a festival. I was informed that on *Midsummer Eve* parties resorted to the summit, and danced and lighted a bonfire. In either case the custom would be derived from a primitive solar cultus.

We must be careful not to confuse either the name of *Grainne* wife of Finn, or that of *Grían* the sun, with the word *grania* found in the place-names Ballygrania, Graniamore, Graniaroe,

† See *cloch gréine*, *supra*, meaning quartz. Quartz pebbles are often found with interments in Ireland. In the King's County they are invariably called "god-stones." ("Journ. R.H.A.A. Ir.," 4th Ser. vol. i. p. 27, *et seqq.*)

‡ p. 95.

§ "Proc. Kilk. Archæol. Soc.," vol. iii. p. 139.

|| p. 79.



etc., in Sligo and elsewhere.† A hill in Wexford called *Knock-Gréine* may perhaps only mean "Sunny Knoll."

Mr. Denham Franklin of Cork informs me that the witch who presides at the Leaba-na-Callighe at Glanworth, was the wife of a chief-druid and mother of Cliodhna, and also of Eevin (Evlin) her sister, whom, according to the legend of the "Carrig-Cleena" (the rock on the shore before mentioned), Cliodhna threw into a trance, in order that she might marry a young chieftain who preferred Eevin to her. Another legend of the Leaba-na-Callighe, however, connects it with Grainnè, and it bore the alias of Diarmaid and Grainnè's bed. The story differed from the common version. "The cave formed the bed of the pair. One night Grainnè awoke and missed Diarmaid. Filled with jealousy, she looked about, and raised her head off the flag to the west which was her pillow,"—it was the idea here, as at Drenthe, that the top of the dolmen was the bed and not the interior. "Imagining she saw Diarmaid slipping off, she took her sword which lay at her side, and aimed a blow at the imagined traitor, which, proving to be the upright stone to the west, left an incision in it, which still remains to testify to the nerve of her arm. She returned to her bed, but seeing Diarmaid running down the field, she took a large stone, and threw it after him, and it lies in the rivulet at the foot of the hill. The fourteen outer stones are supposed to be Diarmaid and Grainnè's children."‡

It is to be noticed that, in telling this story, the peasantry do not call Grainnè's lover Diarmaid, but Shearla (*i.e.* Charles), and it is further stated that a proverb arose from the words uttered by Grainnè, when she found that he had escaped the quoit she threw after him, namely, "Well, bad as Shearla is, I might be worse without him," a saying which, as I have been told, the Irish applied to Charles the First. In noticing the legends of animals, and among them those of the Black Pig, I shall have again to recur to the story of the Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainnè.

Before taking leave of witches, the belief in which and in their night-riding around the raths and over the hedges and housetops is still far from extinct in Ireland, I may mention the survival into the thirteenth century of customs connected with the ancient worship of rural female divinities in the neighbourhood of

† See Wood-Martin, "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 203.

‡ Windele, J., "Topog. of Desmond," p. 17.



Lyons, which will be found in the *Anecdotes of Étienne de Bourbon*, a dominican preacher, published by M. A. Lecoy de la Marche.† We there read that in one parish it was the custom for boys to celebrate the vigil of the parish feast-day, by mounting on the back of a wooden horse, and “*larvati et parati*,”—painted and equipped—to lead the dance, both in the church and through the burying-ground. Old hags (*vetulæ*) painted and ornamented their faces as if they were idols, in order that they might appear like the masqueraders.

The preacher found some difficulty in combating these ancient extravagances. In one place the mayoress (*majorissa*) of the town, not approving of the dances being done away with, led the girls of the place herself in a dance at the church door. We read that in the diocese of Bisumptina certain lewd fellows (*quidam ribaldi*) dressed themselves up as women, and entering at night the house of a peasant with torches and dances sang: “*Unum accipe, centum redde*.” They then cleared the house of everything removable, saying to the wife as they went out:—“*Tace, et claude oculos; divites erimus, quia bonæ res sunt, et centuplicabunt bona nostra*.” Stephen connects these customs directly with the “*error illarum mulierum quæ dicunt se nocturnis horis cum Diana et Herodiade et aliis personis, quas bonas res vocant, ambulare, et super quasdam bestias equitare, et multa terrarum spatia pertransire, et certis noctibus ad dearum servitium evocari*.” One woman much vexed a priest by telling him that she had entered his chamber at night with torches, “*et cum bonis rebus*.” This term *bonæ res* is merely the Latin for the French “*bonnes choses*,” a name which the people gave to witches of a certain class, and which is said to be a corruption of Benesoze, Bonesoze, or Bensozia, whose alias was Herodiade.

This superstition about women accompanying a goddess or hag through the night, and traversing immense spaces on animals, is found on the one hand in Germany and Scandinavia, and on the other hand in Portugal. It seems exactly to follow the dolmens. The name Diana (whatever it really was) takes the place of that of Trollkona, the protectress and companion of the aerial flights of the Scandinavian witches. To the weird females of the Portuguese, which are a counterpart of these, I have already alluded.

† “*Société de l'Histoire de France*,” “*Stephanus de Borbone*,” 1877, *op. cit. supra*.



M. A. du Mége mentions a fragment of a sepulchral urn found in the Pyrenees, on which is represented the figure of a woman borne on a horse at full gallop, the lower part of her body being bovine, and the extremity a fish's tail, and conjectures that it is a representation of one of these divinities.

The terrible instance of a similar superstition prevailing in Tipperary, and the evidence adduced of a belief in witches riding at night round a rath, which was brought to light only two years ago, I need scarcely cite, since it made a deep impression at the time, and is fresh in the memory of all students of folk-lore.

After witches we naturally turn to fairies. These are either *Sídhe* or *Leprahaun*; the former, the little divinities of mother earth, the *dei terreni*, of the natural caves in the hills, and the artificial tombs within the mounds, the spirits of the dead who were let loose on All-Hallow E'en or Samhain; the latter, little fellows inhabiting natural caves, not of a serious but a sportive turn, belonging rather to light comedy than to a bygone cultus of the dead. To them belonged the *Carrigna-Looheucaun*, the Fairy Rock near Loughnameenslaun† in Kerry, said by Smith, in his "History of Kerry," to be "marked with tiny footprints." Their name it is, too, which is associated with a small artificial cave at Ballinascarte in Cork.‡ Here they are called *Luheragauns*, and on a summer's evening a numerous train of them is said to be seen to enter the cave which they frequent, and which Smith thought was probably a sepulchre. Two fields above Shanonvale in the same county, and near the Templebrian circle,§ is another of their caves from which they have been seen to issue. Bottle Hill, also in Cork, is sacred to the fairies, too, and the May-Fire was first kindled on it, a signal to other hills.|| They may be compared with the fairies called Loupgarou,¶ who haunt the little circles in the Pyrenees.

They had their kings and queens, as Finvarra, Dalach, and Medb, and probably all the witches were royal personages. In Limerick, local legend associates a venerated hill, Knock-Firine,†† with Don Firine, "a benevolent fairy," whose palace is believed to be in the interior of it, and who is therefore rather to be

† Windele, J., MS., "Jar Muman," p. 328. Compare a rock in Brandenburg in Bekmann.

‡ Chas. Smith, "Hist. of Cork," vol. ii. p. 419; Windele, J., MS., "Cork W. and N.E.," p. 739.

§ Id., pp. 608, 730.

¶ p. 582.

|| Windele, J., MS., vol. marked "7, Horgan Papers," p. 449.

†† Brash, "Ogam Inscriptions," p. 23.



regarded as one of the Tuatha Dé Danann people than as a Luprahaun, or Lucorpan, or Luheragaun, although the two are very closely allied.

In Galway, at Cranna, is a stone with water-worn hollows, and also with crosses, daggers, and V-shaped marks cut into it, which the peasantry call *Cloch-a-sig-tóraidheach*, explained by Mr. James Graves, "Stone of the Fruitful Fairy."† In Sligo, the name *Sidhean* occurs twice at least, as in the case of a mound of sugar-loaf shape, near Ballymote, called *Sidhean-a-Ghaire*, which Colonel Wood-Martin translates, "Fairy Mound of Laughter," but which may mean also, "of the Fortune-teller," or "of the Reparation;" and again in that of the Sheeawn (*sidhean*) Hill, near Rathbarran, where a cist with two urns was found.‡ In Wicklow, the dolmen at Mongnacool§ is called *Labba-na-sigha* (*Leaba-na-sigha*), Bed of the Sídh, called in English, "Fairy's Bed," and the same name is repeated at Moylisha in the same county.||

What the Sídh, or Fairy Palace was, as distinct from the inhabitants, who also bore this name, we can gather from several of the ancient tales. The following will be sufficient. It is from the *Echtra Nerai*, which seems, says M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, to be an episode in a piece called the *Táin Bó Aingen*, the fifth prefatory tale to that of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

Ailell and Medb were celebrating the feast of Samain in their palace of Cruachan. Two culprits had been executed the day previous, and their bodies were left suspended upon a tree till the night of Samain should have passed off—for, on that night, all the *Sídhe* of Erin were left open for ingress and egress for all. It was held to be a wicked and dangerous act to meddle with the remains of the dead on the night of Samain, as the demons and the people of the Sídh were at large over the world, and were supposed to pay particular attention to the bodies of the dead, and to surround the places where they were deposited.

To test the courage of his household, Ailell offered his own gold-hilted sword to any young warrior who would go and tie a *gad* (coil of twisted twigs) upon the leg of one of the culprits hanging on the tree. Several tried, but were disheartened by the

† "Trans. Kilk. Archæol. Soc.," vol. v. (1864-5). Paper by the Rev. Jas. Graves.  
‡ "R.S.M.I.," pp. 207, 211. § p. 413. || p. 414.



legions of demons, and men of the *Sídh*. At length Nera performed the feat, and then his "*Echtra*," *i.e.* adventures, began.

He follows a strange host of men, and enters the cave of Cruachan, and goes into the "*Sídh of the Cave*,"—by which it would seem that an allusion to the chamber of a chambered tumulus is to be implied.

Nera was seized and taken before the king and the chief persons of the *Sídh*, in the palace of the Tuatha Dé Danann, which was supposed to exist within the cave. He is sentenced to serve the people of the *Sídh*, and marries one of them, who tells him about a well near the mansion, wherein was kept the *barr* or *mind*, *i.e.* diadem of gold, which the king wore on his head. Finally he escapes, and brings to Ailell and Medb such glowing accounts of the *Sídh* and its treasures, as induce them, in company with an Ulster champion, on the following November Eve, to plunder the cave, and possess themselves of all its treasures, including the three prime jewels of Erin, namely, the *Cétach Loegaire*, the *Emeach Dunlaing*, and the *Barr Briuin*.†

Other tales represent the bright lights, the decorations and the treasures which adorned the interiors of these fairy mansions—the abodes of either the spirits or the divinities of the dead.

The resemblance between the Feast of Samain when the dead returned to visit their friends, and were entertained by them, and the great festivals formerly held in the Sinto temples of Japan, as, for example, at Nikko, where thousands of lanterns were lighted, each one representing the spirit of an ancestor, and where masquerading and revelry took place for the diversion of the spirits then visiting the world, is very remarkable and significant of a primitive unity of cultus. An account of such festivals, and of the splendid ritual accompanying them, will be found in verse in the "*Ancient Book of China*" called the "*She King*."‡ It is in that country and in Japan that the worship of the dead, once practised throughout the entire northern and western portion of the Europeo-Asiatic continent, attained its highest developments, and has survived the longest.

I next pass to such legends as connect megalithic remains with animals, real and mythical, commencing with—

† For this tale see MS., T.C.D., H, 2, 6, col. 658, 662 (the Yellow Book of Lecain); see also O'Curry, M. and C., iii., 199; and M.M. App. 586 n.; also "*Proc. R.I.A.*," 1879 (Pol. Lit. and Antiqq.), p. 222.

‡ Legge's translation, "*She King*," *Prolegomena*, c. iv. (vol. i. p. 162), and the odes there referred to.



## THE PIG.

No legends are more widely diffused throughout Ireland, and none seem to have at their root a more definite far-away historic allusion, than those which relate to the race of enchanted pigs, with whom heroes and dogs were for ever contending. One of the most remarkable examples of such tales is that which was connected with "a large megalithic monument" at Kilamucky—the Cille of the Pig—near Castle Martyr in Cork. Col. Wood-Martin cites it as follows: "Long ages ago the race of pigs increased throughout Erin to such an extent that at length the people assembled and destroyed them all except a boar and two sows that lived at Imokily, a barony in Cork, stretching from Cork Harbour to Youghal Harbour. These, being magical pigs, escaped all snares laid for them, and kept the surrounding country in terror by their depredations. When the first of the Geraldines came to Ireland, he determined to kill the monster, and he succeeded in his attempt, but, unfortunately, left the animal uninterred, and the decay of the carcase occasioned a pestilence which swept away the people by thousands. The remains of the boar were then buried, and the large megalithic monument—destroyed in 1844—erected over it." †

At Kilfadamore, near Bantry, in the same county, is a remarkable natural fissure, or trench, called Clash-na-mucky (*Clais-na-muice*), "Furrow of the Pig," evidently deriving its name, says Windele, ‡ from the common legend of the Pursuit of the Black Pig.

Not far from the dolmen called *Collaheen-a-chladdig*, also in Cork, is a little lake only about 30 yards in diameter, called *Lochaun-a-Mucka-dee* (*lochán-na-muice-duibh*), "Lakelet of the Black Pig." §

Within about a mile from Macroom, not far from the Mill-street Road, is another *Clash-na-Mucka-Dhee*, with a legend relating to an animal of supernatural power. The tale, as given in this locality, is thus told by Windele: || "Whilst Diarmaid was sojourning with Grainnè, the fugitive wife of Finn, at a *Labba Diarmuid*, near Carriganimmy (which I heard was a natural cave),

† "Rude Stone Monuments," pp. 231, 232, quoting Mr. W. Hackett.

‡ MS., "Jar Muman," p. 347.

§ J. Windele, MS., "Cork W. and N.E.," p. 768.

|| MS., "Cork Topog.," p. 557. The trench here also is natural, running partly between rocks for some distance.



the potent Black Boar passed his retreat, and Diarmaid's hunting propensity being aroused, he sallied forth and gave chase. The *colloch* † gallantly led for some miles, but could see from time to time that Diarmaid, who was remarkably swift of foot, was pressing closer upon his track. Rage, however, urged the ferocious animal onward, and, as he went along, with his tusks he ploughed the ground, rocks and earth alike. At length Diarmaid overtook him near Gurteenard. The bristles of the animal were poisonous, and, as Diarmaid caught him, he was wounded in the hand, whereupon he sucked his thumb, which inspired him with knowledge, and he learned that, if he drank three cups



FIG. 699.—Bronze plaques, found in Öland; three-fourths real size. From Du Chaillu.  
See p. 725, *supra*, and Fig. 700, ‡ *infra*.

of water of a well which was near, he could be cured. He thereupon repaired to the well, and had taken two of the cups, when his long-pursuing enemy, Finn, came up, with his Fenians, and discovered him. Conan then said tauntingly to Finn, 'Give him the third cup; you owe him this kindness for many a kiss he has given your wife.' Finn was about complying, but his hand trembled so violently that the water fell from it, and Diarmaid died." We have already noticed the tumulus § at Moragh, where the hero was said to have been buried.||

The whole of the south-western portion of Ireland is indeed full of the legend of this pursuit. A place called Caislaneen Síthe Feen, a heap of stones on the top of Maulanimirish, ¶ is

† *Cullach* = "a boar," but also the male of other animals, as *ech-cullach*, "a stallion," and *cullach*, alone, with the same meaning as "*cullach*, i.e. *ech bretnach*," British horse. (See Cormac and O'Davoren.)

‡ Note the remarkable likeness between the pigs on the helmets in the first of these plaques and the lower one from the Scythian tomb, Fig. 700, *infra*; note also the likeness of the mask in the second plaque to one found in Banffshire, "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," vol. vii.

§ 87 feet long and 12 feet high.

|| Windele, J., MS., "Cork W. and N.E.," pp. 527, 602.

¶ Id., p. 854.



pointed out as a spot where Finn stopped. To an earlier part of the romance belongs the tale told to Windele about a ford in the Glounteen Assig, or Glen of the Waterfall, in Kerry, where Grainnè made her celebrated answer to the modest Diarmaid, who had remarked that the water had splashed her.† At a convenient distance one of their *leabas* is pointed out.

An artificial trench, called the *Clóidhe Ruadh*, "Red Ditch," seemingly an ancient boundary, runs from Cahir Carbree, near Kerry Head, towards the Cashin River.‡ Thence it passes across Knock-Kanure, and enters the County of Limerick. It apparently enclosed a piece of sea-coast, and passed a town called Ballyduff. It was probably connected, as trenches in other districts are, with the story of the Black Pig. It would be of some ethnological importance to carefully trace in the map these ancient boundaries wherever they occur. It would not be improbable that the result would be the discovery that they formed the boundaries of those tribes which legend represents by the race of the Black Pigs. There is another of these trenches called *Clóidhe Dubh* (Clee-Duff) in Waterford.§ Doubtless the pig story once obtained there, but, as it is told of a cow, I reserve it for the present.

A dolmen in the Townland of Carriganaffrin in Cork bore the name, according to one of Windele's informants, *Leaba na Muicce*, "Bed of the Pig." || The name of the place seems to be *Carrigan-Afrionn*, "Rock of the Mass," ¶ perhaps from a story that Mass was celebrated at the dolmen during the days of the Penal Code.

We have already noticed the name *Cathair Mhic Toirc*, the scene of a traditionary battle at Nymphsfield, near Cong—Torc, meaning a boar, and indicating, perhaps, rather a tribal divinity or *totem* than a personal name.

In Clare, although the name *Leaba Diarmada* agus Grainnè has been so generally retained, the legend is almost forgotten. The county of Sligo, on the other hand, is as full of stories of the Pursuit and the incident of the Black Pig as is Cork. The dolmen at Carrownagh was said to have been the grave of a man

*This dolmen  
is near L. Gar  
in Co. Limerick  
Carriganaffrin  
= Rock of the  
Sacrifice.  
Christian  
euhemerism  
has converted  
it to R. M. Man*

† Windele, J., MS., "Jar Muman," p. 106.

‡ "Chas. Smith, "Hist. of Kerry," p. 219.

§ Chas. Smith, "Hist. of Waterford," p. 355.

|| J. Windele, MS., "Topog. of Kerry," p. 523.

¶ See what has previously been said about dolmens and altars, p. 761, *supra*.



called Darby. Others said that two people lived here, namely, Dermot and Grainnè, but the lady was not Dermot's wife. Dermot was a very strong man—a giant, in fact,—for one day, when his horses went up the adjacent mountain-side, and got sunk in the bog, he pulled them out, and carried them home, one under each arm. The dolmen at Castlecarragh was said to have been the burial-place of the same pair, who had lived on the shores of Lough Talt.†

I have already noticed the curious enclosure called Patrick's Altar, at Cloonmucduff. The name of this place, according to Col. Wood-Martin, means "Holm of the Black Pig," "whose deeds and death," he adds, "form a fruitful subject for the *Shanachies* not only in this locality, but in several other places in Sligo." The pig was killed close to Collooney. In the west part of Muckduff townland is a mound called "The Grave of the Black Pig," which was raised over it after it had been killed.‡

O'Donovan thus gives the story of the chase as told by the people in Sligo: "On the day that Finn Mac Cumhail, the King of the Fians, was married to Grainnè, the wedding-dinner was prepared by the celebrated Diarmaid. This Diarmaid had on his breast a mold, which had the enchanted power of causing any woman who saw it to fall in love with him. Diarmaid, becoming heated at his work, threw off his clothes and exposed the mold, which Grainnè seeing, fell so desperately in love with him that she followed him whithersoever he went. He and Grainnè ran off no one knew where.

"Finn pursued them in vain for twelve months through mountains, etc. He at length discovered by his prophetic powers that the only means by which he could find out where they were, was by the *Seilg a' Tuirc*, or Chase of the Pig. This he knew would succeed, as Diarmaid always joined a hunt whenever he heard the noise of hounds.

"Finn Mac Cumhail went to a nephew of his in the County Clare, and got from him a wild-boar, which he put into a pit in the ground, placing over him a large flag (rock), and giving orders that he should not be let out until he himself (the boar) should by his rage break through all incumbrances. Finn left several

† Wood-Martin, R.S.M., pp. 202, 214.

‡ O.S.L.,  $\frac{14}{F. 14}$ , pp. 272 and 402. This tumulus measures 125 feet in circumference, 8 feet in height, 39 feet in diameter N. and S., and 35 feet E. and W.



hounds in different places, some at Killabo, others at Portumna in the county Galway, at Jamestown, and all along the Shannon, so that the pig might not escape. The boar removed the flag, and got out of the pit. Finn pursued him with his hounds until they came to the place where Diarmaid was. Diarmaid heard the hounds and joined the hunt, though warned by Grainnè to remain at home.

"This was at a place called *Beal Ath-Grainnè* ('entrance,' lit. 'mouth of the ford of Grainnè'), less than half a mile E. of Collooney. Diarmaid ran out. The pig ran under and between his legs, and brought him to a well called *Tober-na-Bostel*, near Ben Bulben, where he fell off the pig's back, and was severely hurt. Finn came up and asked him, 'Could anything give him relief?' Diarmaid told him there was a thing which could cure him, but which he could not get. He bade Finn go to a certain place and draw a bunch of rushes, saying, 'A spring-well will arise, three drinks of which will cure me.' While Finn was away, Diarmaid pulled the pig in two by the hind legs, and the pig ripped him up in the middle. Both died, and Finn, having brought the water of the well in his hand, and being, agreeably to himself, too late, let the water slip through his fingers, whence the name of the well, *Tobar-na-bostel*. He then cut off the head of Diarmaid from his trunk, and brought it to Grainnè, to *Beal-Ath-Grainnè*."

There is another version which represents Finn as according to his runaway spouse a "pretended forgiveness," and granting to her lover and herself a piece of land. The episode of the boar follows this.

There are also one or two traditional stories which bear on the romance of Diarmaid and Finn. "It is said that Diarmaid's son, by Grainnè, was at nurse with a pig-boy in an island in the lake at Templeavanny. Diarmaid went to visit his child, and perceiving that the pig-boy's child was as true a child as his own, squeezed his brains out. The pig-herd then took a little pig, and, throwing it outside the door, prayed that Diarmaid might not live longer than the pig, which came to pass in his being killed soon after by the pig in the Chase."

The special legend still current about the tumulus at Mucduff is given by Col. Wood-Martin as follows: "There was many years ago in the North of Ireland an enormous magical boar,



which committed great devastations throughout the country, so much so that all the hunters in the kingdom assembled with the determination to pursue the animal until they had succeeded in killing it. The chase was sustained until the boar, finding the province of Ulster to be uncomfortable quarters, made off from it, but was overtaken in the Valley of the Black Pig, a little vale in the County of Sligo, situated partly in the Townland of Mucduff, and partly in the neighbouring denomination. Here the boar turned at bay, and was slain on the spot, where he was subsequently buried. His pursuers stood around leaning on their spears, and viewing with amazement the vast proportions, and the length and strength of the bristles with which he was covered. One of the hunters incautiously stroked the skin the wrong way, thereby causing a venomous bristle to prick his hand, and he at once fell down writhing in agony, and beseeching his companions to bring him water from a neighbouring well to assuage his unbearable thirst. None, however, could succeed in conveying him the liquid, for, by some magical property attached to the spring, no human being could carry water from it in the hollow of his hands, as it always escaped through the fingers; and for this cause the well has ever since borne the name of *Tubbernawuston*.†

A cairn in the Townland of Knockadoo gives to it that name, namely, Knoll of the Black (Pig), in allusion to the same legend.‡

On the Hill of Kesh, in the barony of Corran, also in Sligo, is a great cairn, 1200 feet above the sea-level, measuring 280 feet around the base, and 24 feet across the top. It bears the name *Céis Coraind*, so O'Donovan heard, from Cael-Cheis [*i.e.* Caol-Céis = small sow], a famous pig who was chased and killed there. The tale was still told there at the time of the Survey, under the title of *Seilg-na-Chéise*, Pursuit of the Sow. In the *Dindshenchas* Cáol-Céis is the name of the fifth of Derbrenn's Swine who, when the herd were dispersed, got to Céis Coroinn, and there died.§ These swine of Derbrenn were six in number, and were foster-children, "when they were human beings," of Derbrenn, daughter of Eochaid Fedlech. Three of them were boars, and three were sows, and their names, both previous and

† R.S.M., p. 230.

‡ Id., p. 212.

§ Whitley Stokes, "Rév. Celt," vol. xv. p. 477.

*Site*



subsequent to their magical transformation, will be found in the Dindshenchas of Dumae Selga, "The Mound of Hunting." †

In the Valley of Glanturk near Oranmore, in Galway, is a well called *Tobar-na-m-bosdubh*, or *Tobar-na-m-bostabhan*, or *Tobar-na-murtabhán*.‡ "According to local tradition," says O'Connor, "this well is so designated (*well of the black palms or fingers*), from the following occurrence: There was formerly in Gleanntuirc (Boar's Valley) a wild boar, which threatened all the neighbouring people with destruction. This animal ferociously attacked every other one that came in his way, and, by tearing up the earth, excavated the valley, or rather hollow, now named after him. He was encountered by one of the giants who flourished formerly in Ireland, and, in the heat of the conflict, darting his tusk through the finger of the antagonist's hand, wounded him severely, in consequence of which the giant desisted from the conflict, and, being in great agony, sought to procure, as a remedy for the wound, some water from the well. Some persons who were about the place where he lay under his sufferings went to this well, and having no kind of vessel in which they could convey the water, they contrived to carry a little of it in the palms of their hands, from which circumstance the well received its name." §

It was at Doonard in the County of Galway,|| among other places, that Finn Mac Cumhail was traditionally said to have been buried. In Crossboyne Parish in Mayo, at the ruined church of Cloonmore, is the *Geata-na-Sgread*,—the "Gate of the Screams,"—said to be so called from a battle fought there between Danes and Irish. Near it was the entrance to a cave said to run underground to Doonard, the place of Finn's burial.

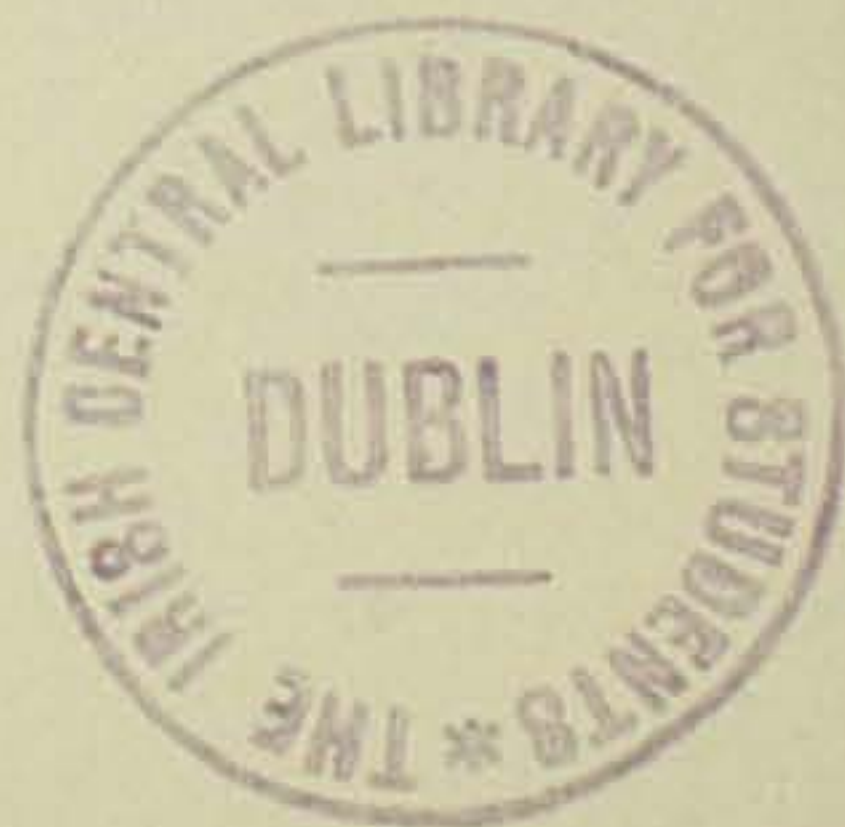
The legend of Diarmaid and Grainnè was remembered in connection with the dolmen at Mohar in Aran.¶ Diarmaid, they said, was the handsomest man in Ireland, and when he eloped with Grainnè, the daughter of Cormac Mac Art and Finn's wife, the pair were away for a year and a day before Finn could find them. During this period the couple never slept the second night under the same roof, but constantly moved about from

† Whitley Stokes, "Rév. Celt," vol. xv. p. 471. ‡ *bos* = the palm of the hand; *mêur* = a finger.

§ MS., O.S.L., Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 1}$ , p. 312.

|| O.S.L., Co. Mayo,  $\frac{14}{E. 19}$ , p. 454.

¶ p. 108.





territory to territory, and every night Diarmaid erected one of these beds of stone to shelter Grainnè from the inclemency of the weather.

At Athleague in Roscommon there was a legend that a large stone in the ford (whence the name *ath-liag*) had been flung thither by Finn from Slieve Murray.† In the same county, near Granard, is the Valley of the Black Pig, locally called the "Duncla,"—"Duncladh," says O'Donovan, meaning "a rampart of earth."‡

In the very centre of the town of Elphin was a great stone which, about four years before the date of the Survey, had been broken to pieces, O'Donovan tells us, "by a booby of a shop-keeper." According to Keogh, who wrote in 1683, it had been thrown thither by Finn Mac Cumhail. There was an old superstition regarding this rock that if it were removed from its place water would issue from the spot and inundate the town.§ An identical superstition with regard to Toulouse attached to a rock called the *Pierre Blanche* in the Pyrenees.|| It is very remarkable to observe that *Ail-Fionn* (Elphin) means *Pierre Blanche* in Irish. O'Flaherty states that the stone, which fell in his time, stood over the Well of Elphin.

The Pig legends of the eastern parts of Ireland differ somewhat from those of the west. Finn was supposed to have had his home in Glen Smoil in the County of Dublin,¶ and Diarmaid O'Duibhne was held to have been a native of Westmeath. O'Conor, in his notes on the latter county, states his opinion that it is probable that this is the locality which was mentioned in the original version of the legend about him, and that in other parts of Ireland the story-tellers have distorted names in order to make their neighbourhood in each case the theatre of his adventures.

On Sliabh-na-maoile, a remarkable hill and rocky precipice in Westmeath, is a "Dermot and Grainnè's Bed." In the Parish of Castlepollard †† is a pool called Pollgeir, over which is an

† MS. O.S.L., Co. Roscommon,  $\frac{14}{F. 8}$ , p. 28.

‡ Id., p. 215.

§ Id.,  $\frac{14}{F. 9}$ , p. 2.

|| See account from "Alex. du Mége," p. 587, *supra*.

¶ O.S.L., Co. Dublin,  $\frac{14}{C. 23}$ , p. 45.

†† O.S.L., Co. Westmeath,  $\frac{14}{G. 13}$ , pp. 192, 193, 285, 290.



excavation called also "Dermot and Grainnè's Bed." The country-people point out where Diarmaid's arms were deposited near his bed, and a cave at Raheen is said to terminate in it.

In the lawn opposite Mr. Pollard's hall-door was the "Well of Kinturk" mentioned in the written story, the legend here being that it was from *this* well that Finn carried the water between his hands to Diarmaid, which was the cause of Diarmaid's praying that henceforth no man should ever be able to carry water between his hands.

It is as well to note also that this is the country of a holy Diarmaid. There was in Westmeath in ancient days a saint as well as a sinner of the name. In the Parish of Faughallstown there is a well called Tobar-Naoimh-Diarmada, "St. Dermot's Well," and there are other wells in the same vicinity bearing the same name.†

In Louth we have, again, the story of a Black Pig in connection with a trench, here called *Mota-na-Muicce Duibh*.‡ It is told as follows: "Several centuries ago at least a schoolmaster in Drogheda, whose name is not remembered, having metamorphosed two of his pupils into dogs, set them to fight, in which engagement one of them was killed. The father of the boy who was killed, impatient because his son did not return from school at the usual hour, went to look for him, and having first questioned the schoolmaster concerning him, and meeting with no satisfactory account, except some pedantic reproaches and menaces of being treated as his son had been, he being enraged, changed the schoolmaster into a Black Pig.

"The Pig, pursued by the metamorphoser and his hounds, directed his course to Monalty near Kells in the County Meath, and thence to *Maighin-a-Bhradain* near Castle-Bellingham, where, having changed himself into a trout, he crossed the river Mayne, which empties itself into the sea at Anagasson. After crossing the river, he resumed his former shape, that of a Pig, and ran as far as Mayne Townland, where he was overtaken and killed, and a moat raised over him, hence the name *Maighin-na-Muicce* for the townland, and *Mota-na-Muicce* for the tumulus. The course taken by the Pig is called the Valley of the Black Pig,

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† O.S.L., Co. Westmeath,  $\frac{14}{G. 13}$ , p. 296.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Louth,  $\frac{14}{E. 14}$ , p. 88.



over which it is prophesied that a great slaughter will be perpetrated, but that it will end where the Pig was killed."

In Armagh and Monaghan, again, we fall in with the *Glenna-na-Muicce-Duibh*.† The story here is like that in Louth, namely, that a schoolmaster lived in Drogheda a long time ago who used to work the magic art and turn his scholars into pigs. One day, when they were playing in a field, O'Neill set his hounds on them. The swine ran in various directions through the country, and formed these ditches which are to be seen in various parts of the south of Ulster. One made its way towards Lough Neagh—another faced the West, and a third, that was very hotly pursued, swam across Lough Mucsnamha (Muckno) at Castle Blayney (whence the name), and then proceeded in the direction of Meath. In this we seem to have the oral version of the dispersing of the pigs of Derbrenn found in the Dindshenchas. Another legend of Lough Mucsnamha gives the Pig who swam across the lake a pious intention, for, proceeding thence to the hill of Armagh, it indicated to Patrick the place where he should build his cathedral.

In the Parish of Currin in Monaghan, the usual tradition that it was a "Huge Boar" that rooted up the Valley of the Black Pig is changed into a more rational one which may possibly afford us a clue as to who the "Pig People" really were. It is that it was a boundary between the Provincial Kings. At Scarva, in the County of Down, it is known as the "Danes' Cast," and near Cootehill in that of Cavan as the "Worm Track," or "Worm Ditch," in Irish *Cladh-na-Peiste*. O'Donovan does not think that it can be the boundary of the mensal lands of Tuathal, that is to say, Meath; but he considers it "highly probable that the 'Danes' Cast,' or 'Valley of the Black Pig,' will answer to the boundaries of Oriel (*i.e.* Oirgialla)." "First," he says, "the Danes' Cast keeps so close to Glennree that it was, in all probability, the 'Great Wall of Tartary' between the Oriels and their enemies the ancient Ulidians or Clanna Rughraidhe. We find it again running through the Parish of Creggan in the south of the County of Armagh, and we find a tradition there that it anciently extended in the direction of Carrickmacross (in the County of Monaghan). We next find

† O.S.L., Cos. Armagh and Monaghan, <sup>14</sup>/<sub>B. 12</sub>, pp. 84, 97, 120, 123.



it running through the Farney in the same county, not far from the frontiers of Meath ; and, lastly, we find it continued through the Parish of Currin in the south of the Dartree (in Monaghan) not far from Fermanagh. If all the fragments of this ancient rampart could be traced and connected, I (O'Donovan) think it would be found to enclose all the south and east sides of the country of the Oriels."

In the Townland of Dorsy† and Parish of Creggan is a very curious and very extensive rampart said to give name to the Townland, and to mean "the Gates" (*doruis* or *dorsiu*). "Some of the peasantry say that this was the work of the Danes." O'Donovan speaks of it as resembling the "Danes' Cast," except that instead of running directly across the country, it is a figure of spheroidal form, consisting of a lofty rampart and two deep ditches. It is levelled in many places, but the peasantry point out how the ring was connected. It was about a mile and a quarter in its greatest diameter, and about two miles and a half in circumference. In the low and boggy parts of the Townland the rampart was connected by means of causeways formed of pieces of timber mortised and connected by tenons. The ancient road to Armagh passed through it. In O'Donovan's opinion it was erected by the chieftains of the territory to hold cattle. It was used in later times by O'Neill, and leaden balls shot off the ramparts have been found by the farmer."

It was probably the work of the same people who raised the "Danes' Cast," "Worm Ditch," "Trench of the Black Pig," or by whatever name that rampart is known. All such divisional works are referable to the same custom possessed by those who raised the rampart which bears the significant name of "Picts-Wark" or "Cat-Rail," in Roxboroughshire, the "Opus Danorum,"‡ or "Danes'-Work," which stretches from sea-to-sea across the Cimbric Chersonese (on which there are enclosures precisely similar to that at Dorsa), the "Limes Saxonius," or "Saxon Boundary," and whatever other boundary trenches were raised by the northern tribes in imitation of the Roman *limites* by which it was usual to separate provincials from barbarians from the Danube on the one hand to the "Roman Wall" in North Britain on the other.

† O.S.L., Cos. Armagh and Monaghan,  $\frac{14}{B. 12}$ , p. 2.

‡ For this "Danneverke," see Blaeu's map of the district of Gottorp, "Le Grand Atlas," Amsterdam, 1667, vol. i. It is said to have been raised by Godefroy, King of the Danes, against Charlemagne, but is almost certainly of older date.



In the County of Longford the legend of the Black Pig occurs again. "Ballinamuck," says O'Donovan, "the mouth of the ford of the Pig." "What Pig?" he adds,—“The Black Pig who rooted up the ‘Danes’ Cast,’ in the County of Armagh. This trench begins at Lough Kineel, and extends N.W. through the Townlands of Springtown, Cartronbore, Toberfelim, Ballynulty, and on to the island of Saint Columbkille in Lough Gawna, which it crosses. It is said to extend further, but the people who informed me (O'Donovan) have no further acquaintance with it. It would be curious to show it on the map. The greatest height is 16 feet, but it is levelled in many places, and in other parts reduced to 7 feet or 8 feet. Ancient Meath comprised all this country, and it would be hard to deny that this was its boundary with Ulster. The belief here is that it was the boundary between Annaly and Breifny.”† The tradition has it that “she” (it is a sow, apparently, here, but where the word *mucc* is used it always must be so, since it is feminine) “cut the trench all along to this ford where she was knocked on the head with a stone by a blind man who was predestined to kill her.” Here in Longford, also, the Valley of the Black Pig is called *Duncladh*, that is, the Barrier.

Another centre of the Pig legend is the Curragh of Kildare.‡ It is there connected with the track of an ancient road leading across the Curragh in the direction of the great *rath* of Ailleann. It runs through a vale in the plain, called *Glenn-na-muicce-duibh*, or “the Black Pig’s Walk,” and extends from a small tumulus called *Rathin-an-aodhaire*§ to a moat called *Moitin-an-eabha*,|| and into the County of Wicklow. It would be difficult, says O'Donovan, to form an idea of its original breadth, as the rains have much altered the surface by washing down the banks and disfiguring it by their deposits. That writer regards it as one of the royal roads mentioned in the Dindshenchas leading to the great rath and palace of Ailleann. He quotes the words *Ailleand aenach diar n-6gaib*,¶ *Raith Airt co na righrodaibh*, rendered in Latin *Aillenda nundina juvenum, Arx Arturi cum viis regalibus*.

† M.S., O.S.L., Co. Longford,  $\frac{14}{E. 13}$ , pp. 23 and 28.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Kildare,  $\frac{14}{D. 16}$ , pp. 180, 184, *et seqq.*, No. 10.

§ The shepherd’s little rath.

|| *Eabha* is a woman’s name, “Eve;” *moitin* is a “little moat.”

¶ Whitley Stokes reads *n-6gaib*, and translates it “warriors.” He does not give the second line beginning *Raith*.



The true legend of the hunting of the Pig is supposed to be contained in the wild myth called the Dindshenchas of Dumae Selga, to which I have previously referred.†

Here six Pigs are mentioned, and called the Swine of Derbrenn, daughter of Eochaidh Fedlech. They were only foster-children of hers, however,—their mother being called Dalb Garb, “Uncouth (*garbh*) Visage” (*dealbh*), who changed them by a spell into Pigs. Three were males, Cond, Find, and Fland, and three were females, Mel, and Treggh, and Tréis. As boars, the three men were called Froechán, Banbán, and Brogarban, and as sows the three women were named Cráinchrín, Coelchéis, and Treilech. We find them hunted out of Leinster, but received kindly by Oengus Mac ind Óc, that is Oengus, son of the Dagda, the God of the Tuatha Dé Danann. After that they went to Glascarn, and remained in hiding with Derbrenn. Next they went to Inver Umail, probably in Owles in Mayo. They are then attacked by Medb, and Dubh Innis is taken from them. They all fell save one, and their five heads were brought to Dumae Selga, the Mound of Hunting.

In this story I do not think there can be a doubt that we may recognize another version of that of the Firbolg, who having first of all been favourably received by a king of Leinster, Cairbré Niafer, and granted lands by him, were subsequently driven out by the oppressive tribute levied upon them, and forced to flee before Cairbré, and take refuge with Medb in Connaught, who gave them lands for their support, though they were finally driven to the islands of the sea. The Firbolg are described as the sons of Umor (? *ua-mhóir*=descendant of the sea) who “made a flitting over the sea” from the borders (or district) of the Cruithné, into the plain of Meath.

The Black Pig, then, turns out to be the people of Umor, that is to say, the Fir-bolg, metamorphosed by popular legend.

Wherever pigs occur in the Irish legends, I suspect that this same race of people is intended, who must have been, at one time, the terror of the inhabitants, as, indeed, their namesakes, the Bolgar, or Bulgares—in whom, as the allies of the Huns in retreat, I believe we have the historical basis of the name Bolg,‡ were in Europe in the fifth century.§ Thus, a

† “*Rév. Celt.*,” vol. xv. pp. 470–2.

‡ To this question I shall return at the close of this work.

§ “*Bulgares toto orbe terribiles*,” Cassiod., Var. 8, 10.



herd of magical swine came out of the Cave of Cruachu, and used to blight corn and milk until they were hunted down by Ailill and Medb,<sup>†</sup> and numbered, which they never had been before. Again, had not Manannan Mac Lir's pack of hounds and the pack of Mod prevented it, a Pig would have laid waste the whole country as far as Alba. As it was, Mod was killed in the pursuit on an island in Loch Con (Hounds' Lake), called Muccinis. Here it is to be noticed that the Pigs, in common with the Fir-Bolg, are opposed to the Tuatha Dé Danann, of whom Manannan was one. From other sources it can be shown that the Fir-Bolg were also opposed to Cuchullain, just as the Pigs were to Finn Mac Cumhail. Niall, son of Enna Aignech, was one of those who hunted Derbrenn's swine, and was drowned with his hounds in Loch Neill. Glas, again, "when his brothers went a-reaving to Ingcél, proceeded with his hounds into the plain of Temair, and there met with a wild Pig, which went away before him southwards as far as Baltinglass, and there fell the Pig and the hounds, and Glas himself." From another version of the tale, it appears that this Pig was one of several "fashioned by magic, and that they were, in fact, the Red Swine of Derbrenn." <sup>‡</sup> Once more, in the Dindshenchas of Belach Gabrain, we read of "Gabrán, a hound of Failbe Flann's, which went on the track of Lurgan, a pig that haunted Druim Almaine, and it had no place (of rest) from the hound until it went underground in the Bog of Allen." <sup>§</sup> "This pig was grey, and blind of an eye." In the Dindshenchas of Mag Lena is an account of how Mac Dá-thó's Pig rooted up a trench over Lena while he was asleep, called, as it appears, the Dubclais, or Black Trench.||

Lastly, the Black Pig is mentioned in the prophecies of St. Columbkille. "It is curious," says O'Donovan,<sup>¶</sup> "to consider with what confidence the people refer to the book of Columbkille for a corroboration of wild stories of this description. Giraldus Cambrensis <sup>††</sup> states that the prophecies of Columbkille were preserved in books in his time, and that the Irish people believed in them with the most implicit faith. There is a perfect collection

<sup>†</sup> Dind. of Mag Mucraime, "Rév. Celt.," vol. xv. p. 470.

<sup>‡</sup> Whitley Stokes, "Rév. Celt.," vol. xv. p. 422, to whose translation of the Dindshenchas I am indebted for all references to it.

<sup>§</sup> Id., p. 426.

|| Id., vol. xvi., p. 64.

<sup>¶</sup> O.S.L., Co. Kildare, <sup>14</sup>D. 16, p. 195.

<sup>††</sup> Expug. Hib. lib. ii., cc. xvii., xxxiv. O'Curry regarded them as forgeries of the English, *Mat.*, p. 433.



of his prophetic poems, many of which are decidedly ancient, in the library at Trinity College, Dublin." Of the Black Pig it is foretold that "towards the end of the world it will run over its track (on the Curragh), and destroy all before it. It is to be the scene of dreadful slaughter."

It is not unlikely that the custom of killing a pig on the Eve of Martinmas was a survival of a pagan sacrificial custom. The story was that in requital for Martin's having conferred a monk's tonsure on Patrick, the latter gave a pig "for every monk and every nun to Martin, killing it in his honour, and giving it to his community should they come for it." †

The cultus of the Boar, including the sacrifice of that animal, belongs to the whole of the Baltic coasts. It is not unlikely that it is not so much of Aryan as of Finnish origin; that it is, in fact, the cultus of the Bear practised by all the northern peoples from Lapland to Yesso, which had travelled south into lands beyond the range of that sacred beast, and where his place as the fierce and powerful monarch of mountain and glen and forest was taken by the wild boar. The tribes of the *Æstii*, who dwelt on the right shore of the Suevic Sea, that is, on the south and south-east of the Baltic, and who were a Germanic people, with Finnish affinities, carried about with them the figures of wild boars, as symbols of their religion, which consisted of the worship of the "Mother of the Gods." Mallet ‡ would identify her with Freya, or Fricca, the wife of Odin, and Mother of the Gods of the Norse people, in whose honour a boar was sacrificed, and of whose cultus, in Sweden, many vestiges yet remain, as, for example, the practice by the peasants, in the month of February, the season sacred to Fricca, of making little images of boars in paste, which they applied to superstitious uses. She may also correspond with Ana, Dana, or Danu, "*mater deorum Hibernensium*," that is, of "Brian, Juchar, and Jucharba, the three chieftains of the Tuatha Dé Danann, accounted gods for their feats of necromancy," § although I do not find any special connection between her cultus and that of the Pig.

More closely allied to the *Æstian* divinity is the Cybele of the Romans, whom and whose boar Tacitus cannot but have remembered when he noticed the superstition on the Baltic. The

† "Trip. Life of Patrick," p. 559, edit. Whitley Stokes.

‡ "Northern Antiquities," edit. Percy, p. 93.

§ "Sanas Chormaic," trans. Whitley Stokes, in voc. *Ana*.



practice of offering a gold or silver boar to Ceres we find in Festus Pompeius.† A figure of this *mater dêum*, with her attendant boar, was found carved on a stone at the Roman station, at Netherby in Cumberland, and an illustration of it is given by Pennant in his "Tour in Scotland."‡ Her worship, it must be borne in mind, was not even claimed by the Romans as their own, but admittedly belonged to that older system which was ascribed to aborigines in Italy. That the Esthonians, or *Æstii*, or that the ancient people of Sweden could have obtained this form of worship from the Romans is out of the question, nor is there any evidence to show that it is essentially of Aryan origin.

As to the *mater deum*, there existed an ancient Siberian Saga, mentioned first by the old traveller Herberstein, and afterwards by other writers, that far to north, in the territory of Obdora, not far from the mouth of the Obi, on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, was the statue of the *Stara Baba*, that is the *Ancient Mother*, held sacred and worshipped by all the Siberian peoples. Her image was said to be of gold, representing an old woman seated; her son in her lap, and in his, again, a little child, her grandson; while from the interior of the figure issued a continual sound of trumpets and trombones. Her worship, covering the same regions as that of the Bear, may not improbably have been connected with it.

The Boars worn by the *Æstii* were regarded as charms or fetiches. They served them in place of armour and every other defence, rendering the votary of the goddess invulnerable.

In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy is the figure of a bronze Boar, about 3 ins. long. Cows' heads and pigs' heads in bronze have also been found on several occasions in Ireland. A pig's head, 8½ ins. long, was found in Banffshire,§ and Mr. Kemble|| has figured one on a bronze shield found in the river Witham. Cairns said to have been raised over Boars are still shown, says Mr. Campbell,¶ in many parts of Scotland. The *Féinne* are always represented in that country, as in Ireland, as hunting Boars. In the Highlands there exists a prejudice against eating Boars' flesh. Among the Gauls, Boars were held sacred, and fed on acorns in the sacred woods of the Druids. In the Norse *sagas* priests maintain sacred beasts, horses and boars.††

† See *Vossius de Theologiâ Gentili*, edit. 1668, vol. ii., p. 260; Festus in *Prædanea*.

‡ p. 268.

§ "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," vol. vii.

|| "Hore Ferales," p. 190.

¶ "Tales of the West Highlands," xcii.

†† Grimm, "Teut. Myth." transl., p. 1315.



It is to be observed that it was specially a symbol in use among Celtic-speaking peoples. Col. Wood-Martin, quoting M. de la Saussaye, states that it is found on coins in Gaul, Britain, Spain, Illyria, and Galatia. We have seen reason to conclude that Irish tradition connects Pigs with the people called Fir-Bolg, with regard to whom it is stated that they spoke not the German language as the Tuatha Dé Danann did, but the British language—that is, Celtic. Of the Æstii, Tacitus † tells us that while in dress and customs they resembled the Suevi, their language more resembled the British. Down to the time of Adam of Bremen, these people practised cremation, and held orgies, like Irish “wakes,” over the dead. Passing across the Baltic into Sweden and Norway, we find the figure of a pig on the helmets of figures of armed men, raised in relief on a bronze plaque found in Öland. (See Fig. 699.) This may be regarded as Frey’s Boar. It was customary for each warrior to wear on the front of his helmet a *herkumbl*, or war-crest. These were often made in the shape of animals. King Adil’s helmet was called Hildigöltr, “War-Boar.” In Irish, *cathbarr* is a helmet, that is, a battle-crest.

Frey’s Boar was named Gullinbusti, or Golden-Bristled, “who lighted up the night like day, and, running with the speed of a horse, drew the car of the deity.” It is in Frey’s worship, therefore, which, while it is part of the Odinic system, has been regarded as of Scythian origin, that the Atonement Boar is sacrificed. Mr. Phillimore has called my attention to the curious fact that a Golden-Bristled Boar occurs in the folk-lore of the Snowden Mountains in North Wales. Grimm mentions a “clean gold hog” as bearing a part in some popular customs of the Wetterau and Thuringia.

A custom corresponding exactly to the Æstian one of wearing boar-badges seems to have obtained in Germany in the Middle Ages. Grimm quotes a poem in which a knight says, “I hold you dearer than a boar-swine, all were it of fine gold y-wrought.” A little further on Grimm adds the pertinent remark, “Those Aestyans may prove a link of fellowship between the Germanic nations and the Finnish and Asiatic; it is well worth noticing that the Tcherkass—Circassians—worship a god of woods and hunting, Mesitch by name, who rides with a boar *with golden bristles*.” This makes the discovery of figures of golden Boars

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† Germ., c. 45.



in a sepulchral tumulus in Scythia, mentioned previously at p. 723, one of remarkable interest. As will be seen by reference to the



FIG. 700.—Gold figures of pigs and bead, from a Scythian tomb. From *Recueil d'Antiquités de la Scythie*, S. Petersburg, 1866.

accompanying illustration, the lower of the two figures is very closely similar to those on the helmets of the armed men on the plaque found in Öland. With the beads found in the same tumulus may be compared examples from Egypt and Ireland.†

In Slavonic legend a huge boar with white tusks rises out of a lake. We have noted also the connection of the Chase of the Pig in Ireland with lakes.

The numbers in which pigs' teeth perforated for suspension or otherwise have occurred in sepulchral chambers in Ireland, Germany, and elsewhere, is also to be noted.

### THE CAT.

Only one dolmen in Ireland bears the name of the Cat, and that as an alternate name with that of Leaba-na-Muicce—Bed of the Pig—at Carrignaffrin in Cork,‡ where one old woman informed Windele that the monument was called Carrig-na-Gat. As I have previously said, however, I believe that this word is applied to the gap or passage leading into the cell. At the same time, it is not impossible that originally it implied the name of a people conveyed in that of their eponymous, variously spelt Catt, Cat (as in Su-Cat = *deus belli*), Catta, Cet, Get, Keat, whence the name of the Catti or Chatti. In Scotland it enters into the name Cathenesia, or Caithness, and in Ireland into that of the Catraighe. O'Donovan notes the name Ros Cait, a promontory in Fermanagh,§ and says that "several places are named from wild cats." On the summit of Benbo in Leitrim

† See Messrs. Knowles, Nesbitt and Hassé on Irish beads, "Proc. H.A.A. Ir.," vol. v. pp. 579, 592; vol. viii. p. 384; and "Proc. R.S.A. Ir.," vol. i. p. 352.

‡ p. 27.

§ O.S.L., Co. Fermanagh, p. 45; Leitrim, p. 259; Donegal, p. 124.

*Gur-Golinnich*



was said to be a treasure guarded by a *Cat*. The old church at Letterkenny in Donegal was said to have been burned by a *Cat*. There was the Cat's Cave—*Umhaid-na-gcat*, "because wild cats used to hunt rabbits in it"—at Croghan, or Cruachan, the same cave, I suppose, as that out of which the "magical pigs" proceeded, as we have seen. In fact, Pig-legends—that is, Fir-Bolg legends—and Cat legends—that is, Catrigian legends—appear to go side by side, just as the Bolg-Tuatha and the Cathrigians do. In the case of a dyke in Roxboroughshire, called Picts Wark, or Cat-Rail, Cat seems equated with Pict in popular tradition. In the poem, or *saga*, called "Find and the Phantoms" we have the place-name Moin Cet. Again, Carraig-na-Chait is the name traditionally given to the great natural rock at Ushnagh in Westmeath, where the four provinces of Ireland were said to meet, and which is called in the Book of Armagh "Carraig Choitrigi" (= Cothrige = Cathraighe), that is to say, the Rock of Cathraighe, or "Men of Cat." †

In Roscommon, near Cruachan, is a tumulus called Carn Ceit, ‡ raised, it is said, over "Keat Mac Morna," or "Umoire, a Giant." With the name of this cairn we may compare that of one called the Cairn of Get near Bruan in Caithness. It is of the double-horned type, and was explored by Professor Anderson. § Doubtless this latter is the Get, Cet, Cait, or Got, one of the seven sons of Cruitné, according to the Pictish genealogies, || in whom Caithness, one of the seven provinces of Alban, recognizes her eponymous, and from whom the Duchess of Sutherland takes her name, "Banna-mhorar Chat."

In the *Senchas Mór* ¶ we find a strange notice of "the Black and White *Cat*—that is, the *bairc-nia*, that is, the great champion which was taken."

Patrick's name, Sucat, †† explained *deus belli*, seems on the face of it to show that by *Cat* the Irish word for "battle" was here intended. Dr. Whitley Stokes considers it as "the appellation of a Cymric war-god." He connects it with the modern Welsh *hygad* = warlike, and regards it as borrowed by the Irish. Miliuc, we may remember, looked on Patrick as Cotrighe—that is, a

† p. 372.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Roscommon,  $\frac{14}{F. 8}$ , p. 191, *et seqq.*, No. 12.

§ "Scotland in Pagan Times: Br. Age," p. 248.

|| "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," p. 4, *loc. cit.*

†† "Trip. Life," part i. p. 17.

¶ p. 153.



Catrigian. The name Sucat occurs again in the piece called the "Fair of Carman," † where Gunnat, son of *Succat*, is mentioned, and also in the Dindshenchas of Mag Léige, as cited by O'Donovan, ‡ where *Sucad*, son of Starn, figures as one of the ancestors of a heroine of Fomorian stock.

As a proper name we find *Ceat*, son of Scathach the Amazon, § to whom Cuchullain went to learn feats of arms. In the same mythical tale Cuchullain slays another *Ceat*, a champion of Aifé. On the Tuatha Dé Danann side at the battle of Moytura fought three sons of Telle, son of *Kat*. In the piece called the "Courtship of Emer" three brothers of that lady are named Scibor, Ibor, and *Catt*, sons of Forgall the Red. Cairbré-Cincait, or Caitceann, was a king of the Aitheach-Tuatha—that is, of certain tribes of the Fir-Bolg race—"descended from the Cathraighe in the countries of the Cruitné." Again, the ancestor of the Cathraighe was Aongus Catta, so called because he had been fostered by Catta-Cumhal, a name which (if Prof. Rhys is right in equating Cumhal with Camulos) would read into Old Gaulish as Cata-Camulos. A certain Catt Cototchenn was the ancestor of the man who built the great house called Midhchuardda in Temair. ||

Of the Cat's Cave at Croghan several stories were told, one being that it was the "Bank of Ireland in the time of Queen Medb;" ¶ another that a rebel had hidden in it, and by so doing had saved his life; a third that it was the "Hell-Mouth Door of Ireland"; and a fourth that a woman of the County of Roscommon, holding on by the tail of a refractory calf, was dragged through it, and arrived at the further end, Keshcorran Mountain in Sligo, the following morning. That the animal called the Cat ever entered into Irish mythology as the Pig, Dog, and Cow did, there is nothing to show.

### THE DOG.

In the Barony of Iverk and County of Kilkenny, near the top of the hill of Garryduff, is a dolmen called Leaba-na-Con, or Bed of the Hounds. Tighe says that this name "Leibe-

† O'C., M. and C., vol. iii., Appendix.

‡ O.S.L., Queen's County,  $\frac{14}{F. 5}$ , p. 163.

§ O'Curry, M. and C., vol. ii., p. 371, n. || Quoted by Petrie, in his "History of Tara."

¶ O.S.L., Co. Roscommon,  $\frac{14}{F. 8}$ , p. 191, *et seqq.*; "Proc. R.I.A.," vol. x. p. 103.



na-cuhn" was interpreted the Dog's Grave, but that it seems originally to have signified (he does not say why) the "Priest's Grave." †

O'Curry remarks, with regard to the dolmen at Ballybrack ‡ in Dublin, that he had met with an old man who, when a boy, had heard it called *Leaba-na-Saigh* (*Sagh*, O'R., *Saith*, Foley = *canis femina*), "Bed of the Greyhound." He adds that the name "must have originated in one of those popular fireside stories, about spirits appearing in the shape of greyhounds." The same name *Leaba-na-Sáighe* (*lectus canis venaticæ*) is applied to a "pagan grave," or dolmen, in the Parish of Moyacomb in Wicklow.§ It was there supposed to be the place where a famous huntsman of old interred a favourite greyhound.||

On Glencullen Mountain (Co. Dublin), ¶ is a large natural rock, called Clochnagon, "Stone of the Hounds," about which O'Curry observes that, if the legend regarding it were still alive, the name would be found to relate to Finn Mac Cumhail and his dogs.

It is stated in the *Archæologia* that Finn kept his dog in the dolmen called Lachtnascail in Kilkenny.††

It appears to me that, as a rule, these legends of hounds belong rather to the east and north of Ireland than to the west. There is a notable exception, however, in the case of a mound called the "Greyhound's Grave," at Legaun (*Liaghán Corcidh*) Corkee in Maree, on the coast near Stradbally in the County of Galway.‡‡ The tumulus to which the name is attached seems, indeed, of very uncertain age, but a description of it must not be omitted since, of whatever antiquity it may be, it illustrates the fact, "proved," as O'Donovan says, "by many passages in the 'Book of Lecan,' that the ancient Irish erected monuments over favourite dogs."

About the year 1815, John Kennedy wrote a description of this mound which, together with a ground-plan of it, is preserved in his original MS. in the Ordnance Survey Letters: "I could trace," he says, "the form of the grave perfectly, but it shows the form of the hind and fore leg only. The grave is only a little

† p. 407.

‡ p. 387.

§ p. 414.

|| O.S.L., Co. Wicklow,  $\frac{14}{G. 21}$ , p. 110.

¶ O.S.L., Co. Dublin,  $\frac{14}{C. 23}$ , p. 9.

†† vol. xvi., p. 405.

‡‡ O.S.L., Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 3}$ , p. 107.



elevated above the surface of the ground around it, a circumstance which renders it the more curious that the grass exhibits its perfect form. . . . The following are the dimensions of the greyhound. They are nearly as distinct as if the animal was exposed to view. From neck to tail 10 feet long; the hind leg 3 feet 9 ins.; the fore leg 3 feet 3 ins.; the length of the tail 5 feet 3 ins.; the breadth across the body 3 feet 6 ins.; the breadth across the flanks 2 feet."

The tradition is that the animal here interred belonged to one Aedh Mac Garraidh, a name which may, of course, be comparatively modern, although the coincidence is curious between it and that of Garraidh Dubh, which is the Townland on which, in Kilkenny, is the dolmen called *Leaba-na-Con*, near which stands a menhir called *Cloch Fhada Gharaidh Duibh*, the Long-stone of Garraidh Dubh, or Garryduff. *Garad*, we may add, was the name of one of the chieftains who commanded the *Fíanna* under Finn Mac Cumhail at the battle of Cnamhros. He came from Askeaton in Limerick.

"The tide ebbs and flows up to this grave," and "what renders it more curious is that, in spite of all the depredations committed by swine and treading of cows and horses, it renews its form every succeeding summer, which," adds Mr. Kennedy, "I have found to be manifest truth."

The position of this grave reminds me of the name of a peninsula in the Gweedore district of Donegal, called *Madradh-Gallom*, after a *madradh*, that is, a "dog," said to have come ashore upon a rock, still pointed out, from a Danish ship which was wrecked. The dog was white.

The name of the seaside place Dunfanaghy, in the same county, is in Irish *Dun-fionn-chon*, the "dun" of the white dog; so called, it is said, from a dog which was hanged there in old times.† The County of Londonderry possesses some curious dog legends. *Lough-na-Gun*, under Slieve Gullion, is said to derive its name from the Hounds of Finn. *Lough Bran*, the lake beneath the hill called Seefin, is so called, it is said, from Finn's "celebrated and invulnerable greyhound Bran, which tore up the ground where it stands in pursuit of an enchanted doe,‡ which was nearly

† O.S.L., Co. Donegal, <sup>14</sup>C. 19, p. 69.

‡ Compare the story of the magic doe who sinks into the earth after leading the Cotragi into Europe (Proc. de Bell. Goth. 4, 5).



overtaken by Bran when she suddenly sank into the earth by the power of magic. Bran was in such a rage that he tore up the ground with his paws, just as dogs do nowadays root up the ground for rats and rabbits. The lake immediately sprang up in the place thus made by Bran's gigantic paws, for at this time all sorts of wonders happened, 'a leaf of ivy was as large as a griddle, a blackbird's leg as large as that of an ox, and a deer as large as an elephant.' "†

O'Donovan, writing from Draperstown, recounts "a strange legend" of a youth called Cadhan O'Hineirghe, who finds a greyhound pup in the place of some nuts he had gathered and hidden. The pup grows to be a monster, and eats first oxen and sheep, then men and women. People fled from it across the Bann. The Carrach O'Neill, in whose territory this happened, offered a reward for its capture or death. Cadhan had taken notice of a weak spot in its belly, where it could be wounded.

The monster always slept at the "fort," in the Townland of Doon. There the youth found the huge monster sleeping, "with its enormous and bloated belly turned up before the sun. Cadhan observed the spot on its belly, now a large red fleshy excrescence, and, leaving his horse at some distance from the fort, he walked over, and plunged his spear into the vulnerable spot. He then sprang from the fort to where his horse stood, a distance of a mile, and mounting, rode away with the velocity of lightning. The space between the fort and where his horse stood is to this day called *Leim-an-fhir*, the Man's Leap. The monster howled, and made two springs after Cadhan. By the first it advanced from the fort to *Magh Chaorthaim*, where it tore a rowan-tree from the roots, and gave name to the place (Plain of the Rowan Tree). By the second, it landed itself at *Magh Chaoláin*, where its small guts fell out upon a stone, and the monster expired.

"And the stone upon which the small entrails of this enormous hound fell retains their form to this day, and the place where they fell out bears the name of *Magh Chaoláin*, that is, the 'Plain of the Small Guts,' and the capital of the district bore the same name until the Drapers honoured it with the civilized name of their company, and called it Draperstown."

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† O.S.L., Co. Londonderry,  $\frac{14}{E. 12}$ , p. 159.



Cadhan had been promised as much land as he could see around him, as a reward for killing the hound. O'Neill, who had promised this, played him, however, a wicked trick, for he conveyed him to a hollow not far from the foot of Slieve Gallon (Gullion), called Fallach (rect. *folach*) Eireann, that is, the "Hiding (or Covering) of Ireland," and ordered him to stand in the very bottom of it. *Glen Con Cadhain* (Glenconkeine), the name of this hollow, signifies the "Valley of Cadhan's Hound." Tintagh was so called from the fires which were lighted on the hills to commemorate the victory over the monstrous dog.†

In the Townland of Monneyneeny, said to mean the "Bog of Wonders," in this same Glenconkeine, among the *mirabilia*, is a well, the waters of which would curdle new milk, and to which, if pursued, all the mad dogs in the country make their way, their bite becoming doubly dangerous when they have drunk of it. It is called *Tobar an mhadaid léith*, "Well of the Grey Dog." It lies between two forts, curiously enough associated with a legend of King Arthur, who is said to have resided there. Another name for it was *Tobar an mhadaidh mhaoil*, "Well of the Cropped Dog," which Colgan latinizes *molossus sine auribus*. A legend respecting it exists to the effect that it received that name from a king's son, who was transformed into a dog by witchcraft, and chained to the well until King Arthur's nephew released him.‡

In the County of Fermanagh is a mountain called in Irish *Sliabh-da-chon*, "Mountain of the Two Hounds." "The wild tradition of the country connects them," says O'Donovan, "with Finn's two greyhounds, Sgeólan and Bran, who were metamorphosed into mountains by a witch, who appeared to them in the form of a doe." §

In the Townland of Drakestown in Louth is a hill called in Irish *Cnoc-Gartha-Con*, which O'Connor latinizes "*collis claman-tium canum*, a name it is said to retain from the time of the Fians." ||

On the Hill of Rathbran in Meath is a small artificial cave called "The Granary," and a great stone, about which latter there is a legend that under its shelter Finn Mac Cumhail and his dog Bran rested when in pursuit of a giant. ¶

† O.S.L., Co. Londonderry,  $\frac{14}{E. 12}$ , pp. 163, 193, 235.

‡ Id., pp. 181, 194, 204.

§ O.S.L., Co. Fermanagh,  $\frac{14}{C. 25}$ , p. 100.

|| O.S.L., Co. Louth,  $\frac{14}{E. 14}$ , p. 176.

¶ E. A. Conwell, "Discovery of the Tomb of Ollamh, Fodhla," p. 3, n.



In Carlow is a district anciently called *Magh-Da-Con*, "Plain of Two Hounds," for the same reason, we may suppose, as the lake in Derry, and the mountain in Fermanagh.†

In Mayo occurs a very curious name, that of Kilconduff (*cille chon duibh*), meaning, apparently, the Cill of the Black Dog, which causes O'Connor to express wonder if there was a saint called *Cú-Dubh*. Near Saroo in Cork, on the summit of the hill, is a cairn measuring 100 paces in circumference, the centre of which has been considerably opened in search of treasure. It is said that two boys of the Brians were exploring it for this purpose when they were stopped in their work by the appearance of a little dog, and so terrified that they were taken ill and died.‡ Lower down the hill there is a cavern called *Poll a Vandera*, that is, the "Dog's Hole," in which were said to be valuables concealed. The treasure is recounted in a poem, a snatch of which preserved in memory, and translated from the Irish, runs: "One hundred and twenty musical instruments, a vat of gold, a basket and dish of silver between the lake and mountain on its face to the North."

On the mountain of Black Stairs, on the borders of Carlow and Wexford, are three peaks, about which there is a legend that they were the three alighting places of Oisín's greyhounds, when they sprang from hilltop to hilltop.§

There is reason to suppose that in prehistoric times the roving tribes of Northern Europe bore, like the Red Indians of to-day, the names of animals, figures of which they wore or carried about them, as *fetiches* potent to protect from harm. To eat the flesh of their tutelary beast would have been in the highest degree an abomination, and to this idea may be ascribed the abstinence of certain peoples from the flesh of some particular animal, as, for example, the swine, the hare, and others. Among the Irish, a form of superstition called the *géis*, or, as we should say, the *taboo*, was very prevalent. Each man appears to have been trammelled in his liberty of action by certain *géisa* or restrictions, which he was bound to obey. Where we find that it was a *géis* to eat the flesh of a particular animal, we may not improbably conclude that that animal was the *totem* of the tribe.

† O.S.L., Co. Carlow,  $\frac{14}{B. 14}$ , p. 425.

‡ J. Windele, "Cork W. and N.E.," p. 636.

§ See Fraser's "Stat. Account of Wexford," 1807, p. 2.



It is very curious to observe that, both to Patrick and to Cuchullain, it was distinctly a *géis* to eat the flesh of a *hound*. In the case of the latter, it is distinctly so stated in the *saga* of his death, where on his way to his last battle he partakes of the fatal meat offered him by three crones or hags. That it was so also to Patrick we may gather from the following very remarkable story. May we infer that both the saint and the mythical and divine hero were regarded as of the same race or nation or tribe, distinguished as "Hounds," from others, who were, let us say, "Pigs," and that it was forbidden them to eat the flesh of their *totem*?

At Connawee in the Townland of Davidstown, and Parish of Kilcolumb in Kilkenny, is a monument consisting of a blind well and a heap of stones, on which is placed a larger stone, with two hollows in it. The whole is called Glún Phadruig (*Genu Patricii*), "Patrick's Knee," from the belief that the holes are impressions of the knees of the saint. The legend which is told to account for them I give in the words of O'Donovan: "When Saint Patrick was traversing Ossory for the purpose of building churches, *congbáil*, † and cities, he came to the beautiful elevation called *Conna Bhúidhe*, and intended to build a cathedral there, which he afterwards built at Waterford. He employed labourers to dig the foundations. At last a pagan woman out of Ballinchrea (whose name is fortunately forgotten, but it is supposed that she was the ancestress of Nicholas Bacach, the Garsun Balbh, and Sawney Ribby!!), came to him with an offering of a dish of roasted meat for his dinner, which Patrick received with many *grazagams*. ‡ When, however, he uncovered the dish, he did not like the aspect of the meat, but thought that he perceived the paw of an unclean animal. He was immediately struck with nausea, and kneeling upon the next stone to him, he laid his two hands over the roasted animal in the dish in the form of a cross, and prayed to God to restore whatever animal it was to its original life and shape.

"And lo! he had no sooner finished his prayer than a yellow hound (*Cú Bhúidhe*) started into life, and, leaping out of the dish, ran in the direction of Waterford.

"Patrick was struck with disgust and horror at the sight, and turning to the working men, he said, in a solemn voice, 'Pursue and kill that hound, for she will kill every man and beast which

† *e.g.* habitations.

‡ *e.g.* thanks.



she will meet in her course.' The men pursued her with their spades, shovels, and pickaxes, and, overtaking her on the lands of Treanaree, about a mile E. of the place whence she started, succeeded in killing her there. There they buried her, and over her grave a small, stunted whitethorn bush is now to be seen called *Sgeithín-na-Chon*, the 'Little Thorn-bush of the Hound.' The stones near this bush are impressed with the marks of a greyhound's feet, and one of them exhibits the figure of a greyhound in miniature.

"In consequence of this ominous occurrence, Saint Patrick abandoned his project, but erected this heap of stones as a memorial of his intentions, on the top of which he placed the stone on which he knelt while he prayed, which was stamped with the impressions of his two knees. He called the place *Connawee*,† in memorial of the resuscitation of the hound, and pronounced an awful malediction on the woman, who had thus profanely insulted him, and on her descendants, and place of abode. The curse was given in verse, and it is believed that it still rests on the country. The inhabitants of Ballinorea are remarkable for blasphemy, and it has not, since the memory of tradition, been without a lame, dumb, or wry-mouthed man."‡

In the case of Cuchullain, he unfortunately partook of the hound's flesh offered him by the three crones, and, having broken his *géis*, proceeded onward to his death, the story of which is one of the few really sublime episodes in Irish romance.

In Scottish romance mystical hounds often appear. The spectral dog, too, in the Isle of Man, is well known, as is the Welsh story to account for the name Bethgellert. A very singular parallel to this latter tale is to be found in the writings of Étienne de Bourbon, a dominican living in the thirteenth century, and which is located in the canton of Villars and diocese of Lyons, near Villeneuve. Étienne was engaged in preaching against witchcraft, when he found a practice existing among the people of this place in accordance with which mothers carried their male infants to a certain saint called *Guinefort*. On making inquiries as to who this saint might be, he was told it was no human being at all, but a greyhound (*canis quidam leporarius*), about which the following tale was told.

† *wee*, i.e. *bhuidhe*.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Kilkenny,  $\frac{14}{E. 1}$ , p. 180.



A child having been left in its cradle in its father's castle, an immense serpent entered, and was making for it, when the hound who was in charge attacked it, and after a fierce encounter, in which he was wounded, succeeded in killing it, but, in doing so, overturned the cradle, and threw the child some distance from it. When the nurse came in, and saw the cradle upset, and blood-stains around, thinking the dog had killed the child, she called in a soldier, who drew his sword and slew the dog. The truth becoming known, great sorrow was expressed for the death of the faithful animal. The dead body was put into a well near the castle gate, and a great pile of stones raised over the place, and trees planted in memory of the event.

As time went on, the castle was razed to the ground, but the peasantry continued to pay visits to the spot. The dog was honoured as a martyr, and prayers were offered to it in times of sickness and necessity. Women, in especial, carried thither weakly children, an old hag going with them to show the way, and instruct them in the ritual of the devotion. When they arrived there, they offered salt and other things, and hung up the child's swathing-bands (*panniculi*) on the thorns which grew around. They stuck a needle into the bark of the tree which grew over the place, and passed the naked body of the boy through a hole (*foramen*) which there was between the trunks of two of the trees, the mother standing on the one side and holding out the child to the hag (*vetula*) who stood on the other ready to receive it. They then adjured the *fauns* who dwelt in a wood called Rimis, with demoniacal invocations, that they would take to themselves that weak and sickly infant, which they said was none of theirs, but belonged to the *fauns*, and give them back their own child, which they (*the fauns*) were unjustly keeping from them, namely, a sleek and fat one, the picture of life and health.

This done, the "matricides" (as Étienne calls them) took the infant, and laid it naked at the foot of a tree on the straw of the cradle, and lighting two candles with fire brought for the purpose (each as long as a thumb), at both ends, fixed them to the trunk of the tree overhead, and went away during the time they were burning, to such a distance as would allow of their neither hearing nor seeing what happened to the squalling little victim. In this way many children were burned to death, so Étienne heard, and



one woman, had not her motherly feeling come to the rescue of her offspring, would have found it devoured by a wolf which came out of the wood.

If, on their return, they find the child alive, they take him to the river Chalaronne, a swiftly flowing stream near by, and plunge him nine times in its waters. The dominican adds that he called the people together, had the dog exhumed, and his bones burned. The grove was cut down, and an edict proclaimed for the imposition of penalties on those who should use the place for like purposes again.†

A similar cultus existed further south at Romans in Drôme.‡

The points of similarity between these practices and those we have noticed in Ireland and elsewhere are worthy of remark. We have *the burial in a well, the presence of a witch or hag, the cairn raised over the well, the foramen for passing the body through, and the panniculi, answering to the shreds hung on thorns.* Lastly, the name of the saint, namely, Guinefort, if we might write it *Cunefcart*, would literally signify in Irish, "Grave of the Dog." The example which the story affords of the factitious process of saint-making, common in the Middle Ages, is an excellent one.

### THE COW.

At Shallee § in the Barony of Inchiquin, and Parish of Kilnamona in Clare, was a monument, presumably a dolmen, at which human remains had been found, bearing the name of *Leaba-na-glaise*, or the Bed of the Cerulean Cow, the property of a certain smith, whose name, according to the varied tradition of the respective parts of the country in which the story is extant, was Mac Kineely, or Lon Mac Liomhtha.

Slieve-na-glaise, or Knock-na-glaise in the same county, takes its name traditionally from the same fabulous animal, and, according to a legend told me at Castletown, one of the dolmens on that elevated limestone plateau bears the name Carrick-na-glaise,|| or the Green Cow's Rock. O'Curry, however, in the Ord. Surv. Letters, attributes this name to a spot on the mountain-side, under the dolmen, and adds that the smith, Lon Mac Liomhtha,

† "Anecdotes historiques," par A. Lecoy de la Marche, p. 325; also Quetif and Echard, "Scriptores Ord. Prædic.," i. 193.

‡ "Topographie historique de l'Ain," par M. Guigne.

§ p. 81, *supra*.

|| Carrick-na-glasha, p. 73.



was reported to have lived on this mountain in a cave.† He was represented as a dwarf, and as the first who ever made edged weapons in Ireland.

O'Donovan ‡ thus writes of him : " He was of the Tuatha Dé Danann by nation, and lived in his cave in this mountain, unknown to all the Scoti except the few who lived in this immediate vicinity. He was a most extraordinary being, having three hands, and only one leg. Two of the hands were in the usual position, and the third, with which he turned the iron of the anvil, while he hammered with the other two, grew from the middle of his breast.

" He never walked after the usual manner of men, as is obvious from his construction, but bounded from his pedestal by the elastic power of his waist and ham ; and whenever he ventured abroad, which was very seldom, he was observed flying over the valleys, and bounding over the hills. He had lived a long time in Ireland before his art was in requisition, for before his time the Irish used no iron or steel implements of war, but fought with sticks having stone, flint, and bronze heads.

" Lon was for many years supported by his invaluable cow, called Glas Gaibhneach, which used to graze not far from his forge on the mountain of *Sliabh-na-Glaise*, which abounds in most beautiful rills and luxuriant pasturage. This cow he stole from Spain ; but after having settled with her in various parts, he came at length to the resolution of spending his life here, as being secure from enemies by the remoteness and natural fastness, and the then inaccessible situation of the place, and as he had found no other retired spot in Ireland sufficiently fertile to feed the *Glas* but this.

" This cow would fill with her milk any vessel, be it never so large, into which she was milked, and it became a saying in the neighbourhood that no vessel could be found which the *Glas* would not fill at one milking. At last, two women laid a wager on this point, one insisting that no vessel, be it never so large, could be found in Ireland which the smith's cow would not fill, and the other that there could. The 'beats' being placed in

† Compare Weyland Smith's Cave, and see the whole subject of the "Smiths of Mythology" in O. Schrader's "Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte." Like the tales of giants hurling rocks and leaving their finger-prints in them, and of lakes which migrate, it is a portion of the folklore which Ireland shares especially with the Finnish peoples.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Clare,  $\frac{14}{23}$ , p. 68.



secure hands, the latter lady went to her barn, and took out a sieve, which she took to Slieve-na-Glaise, and into which, by consent of Lon Mac Liomhtha, she milked the cow. And, behold, the milk passing through the bottom of the sieve, and even overflowing it, fell to the ground, and divided into seven rivulets (*seacht srotha na taescaighe*),† the seven streams of the overflowing. Taescach (Teeskagh), that is, the ‘overflowing,’ or ‘irrigation,’ is now the name of a Townland lying to the W. of Slieve-na-Glaise.

“Clear streams of water now run through the channels then formed by the copious floods of the milk of the *Glas*, and one of them forms in winter a beautiful waterfall. On the east side of Slieve-na-Glaise is a small valley, in which is shown a spot, called *Leaba-na-Glaise*, in which the cow is said to have slept every night, and near it another spot, called the ‘Bed of her Calf.’

“The hoofs of this cow were reversed, by which her pursuers—for many sought to take her away by force—were always deceived in the course which she took; and the impressions of her feet are shown to this day in the rocks in many parts of the country around Slieve-na-Glaise.

“In the same valley, in a field called Garraidh-na-Céartan, is shown a cave in a rock, called *Céarta ‡ Loinn Mhic Liomhtha*, the ‘Forge of Lon, son of Liomhtha,’ and within it the cinders and dust of the forge. This smith had seven sons—one for every day of the week—who took care of this cow, each for a day in his turn. They held her by the tail, and durst not turn her about, but let her go wherever she wished to graze during the day till sunset, when they turned her face towards her bed, and then she returned home directly. No blade of grass ever grew, or could be made to grow, on the spot called her ‘Bed.’

“Over *Leaba-na-Glaise*, on the summit of the mountain, there is a remarkable cromlech, under which many poor families have lived. It is, like all the monuments of similar construction, called by the peasantry, *Leaba Diarmada agus Ghrainè*.§

“To return to the smith, Lon Mac Liomhtha. He resided for a long time in Slieve-na-Glaise in obscurity, and totally unknown to the Scotie warriors, by means of whom only he could turn his art to any account, as his own Dedanite tribe were conquered and

† *taisighim* = I moisten.

‡ Usually *céarda*.

§ p. 74, *supra*.



compelled to live in the *shees* (sidhe), as wizards and witches, or in caves and fastnesses as robbers, tories, and ex-artisans. At length he was determined to offer his services to some Irish lord of warlike fame, and hearing of the fame of Finn Mac Cumhail, who was then stationed with his warriors at *Binn Edain Mic Ghannlaoigh*, now called the Hill of Howth, he set out one fine morning to confer with him.

"It did not take him long to perform the journey, for he bounded over every hill and sprang over every valley, until he reached the far-famed promontory of Bin Hedar, and when he arrived in the presence of the Fenian chief, he was, as usual, interrogated as to his name, country, profession, and business on the occasion, to which interrogatories he thus replied: 'I am Lon, the son of Leefha. I am acquainted with the intricacies of every art, but my particular art is that of the smith, in which capacity I am at present in the service of the King of Lochlin. I came to lay a *gésa†* (*i.e.* an injunction which every warrior was bound by the most solemn obligations of his order to perform) on you, to overtake me before I reach my forge.'

"He then took to his heel, *agus do thug sé cnoc do léim agus gleann do thusloig*, and passed a hill in every bound and a valley in every spring, and he delayed not until he arrived at Slieve-na-Glaise, confident that none of the Fenians would be able to pursue; but in this he was mistaken, for he was pursued by the swiftest of the Fenians, by name Caoilté, 'of the slender hard legs,' who, coming up with the smith at Leaba-na-Glaise, just as he was on the point of entering his forge, struck him slightly with the palm of his hand on the back of his head, saying, 'Fóil a ghabha na teirghe sa pholl ad t-amhain'—'Avast, smith, do not go into the cave alone.' 'Success, and welcome, oh, true soldier of the illustrious Fians,' said Lon, 'for my visit to you was not for the purpose of witchcraft or incantation, of which you are accustomed to accuse my people, the Dedanites, but to induce you to come to my forge, that I might make for you swords of valour and edged weapons, by which you may the more easily destroy your enemies and extend your fame.'

"Caoilté and the smith remained together working in the forge, and at the end of three days Finn and seven other of his warriors joined them, and the smith sold them eight iron swords

† *i.e.* a *géis*, see p. 879.



well tempered and steeled. On this occasion Goll and Conan the son of Moirné broke the smith's anvil;—they were so powerful in striking with the sledge, but not until they had had several swords made for themselves.

“After this Finn and his seven warriors proceeded to the summit of *Ceann Sleibne*, where a party of the Tuatha Dé Danann were stationed, having guards posted on the principal *corras*, or causeways on the pass leading to that conspicuous, green, and beautiful hill. These were the causeways of *Cora Mhic Buirrin*, near the Castle of Ballyportry; of *Corofin*, one mile to the west of it; of *Cora Mhic Eogain*, one mile to the west of Corofin; and of *Cora na maididhe*, further to the west.

“Finn and his seven warriors here attacked the party of the Dedanites who were there located, and cut them to pieces with the swords which the smith had made for them. There is a spot on the summit of the hill of Ceanntsleibhe (*sic*) still called *Suidhe Finn*, i.e. ‘Sessio Finni,’ and the bones of the Dedanites are daily dug out of the graves in which they were interred.

“It is not told what finally happened to Lon the smith and his cow, but it is believed that the cow was shortly afterwards stolen from him by a man from Ulster, and that he was obliged to depend on his trade only for support.” †

O'Donovan notices both here and elsewhere that it is strange that, famous as this cow is in Irish oral romance, he “never yet found any written notice of her in any document historical, fabulous, or mixed, although the smith to whom she belonged is frequently referred to.” She was evidently the Cornucopia of Irish mythology, and the fact that the people held in honor a lactiferous cow as their horn of abundance proves their pastoral origin. “A cow,” adds the same authority, “called Glas Teamhrach, is referred to by the writers on the ancient topography of Tara, and it would appear that a mound was erected in honor of her on that hill, but no legend about her has descended to our times, as far as I know.”

When I was at Slieve-na-Glaise, in 1895, I heard nothing about the dwarf Lon, but the story of the cow having been milked into a sieve was distinctly remembered. It was a spiteful old hag, however, who played this trick. The cow in disgust

† “The above story,” so O'Curry adds, “was very correctly taken down by Mr. O'Donovan, from the lips of the most illustrious Seanchaidhe of the Kenel Owen now living, namely, John Reagh O'Cahane, tailor, of Corofin.”



either died or quitted the vicinity, and, ever since, the rills which previously ran milk have ran water only.

The cow-story, as I heard it told by a man aged a hundred in 1888, near Bunbeg in Donegal, differed entirely from the Clare one, and seems to have related to the animal after she was stolen by the Ulster man. I here give it as I took it down:—

“Balor was a giant who lived in Tory. He had one eye, and over it nine covers. It was foretold to him that his own grandson would have his life. He had only one daughter, whom he kept in confinement in a gaol. He kept twelve waiting-maids to look after her. Every night he would sit up and shake flour over the sea between him and the mainland, so as to be able to track any boat which crossed.

“There was a man who lived on the mainland called Gavigan,† who had a cow called Glas Gavigain. It was the milk of ten cows she would give; and Balor was after the man to get the cow. In the morning her master would let her out, and she would feed on ‘The Rosses,’ and it was twenty-four hours that it would be before she would go back. One morning, after he had let her out, Balor was waiting for her with a halter and a boat. When the cow was passing, he pulled her down by the tail, so that the track would be up from the shore.

“Next day her master went out to look for her, and scoured all the country round. While searching, he saw Manannan, a fairy-man. Manannan told him that Balor had taken her to Tory. Manannan threw a stick on the sea, and there came a *corach*.‡ ‘Will you go with me to Tory?’ says Manannan. They went. When Gavigan got to Tory, says Manannan: ‘Go and ask the cow from Balor.’ He went, and asked it.

“Balor said he would never give it until Gavigan should go back to his own byre again on the mainland, and put the halter round the cow’s horns from thence. Balor supposed he could not do it, but the fairy-man brought it about. Then Manannan told Gavigan to go and ask the cow again. Balor said he would never give it until Gavigan should eat seven crocks full of butter, and seven cows’ hides that should have been hung up on the beam of the house, and covered with soot for seven years. Balor

† Gavigan, in O’Donovan’s version of the tale. “A smith” is *gabha*.

‡ Or *curach*, a boat made of hide stretched on a wooden frame, still used on that coast.



supposed he could not do it, but the fairy-man brought this about also.

"Then Balor said he would never give the cow. 'Go to him,' said Manannan to Gavigan, 'and tell him you will make trees to grow on Tory;' for trees had never grown there, and Balor much wished for them. Balor said he would give the cow for the trees. The trees grew, and he let the cow go then. The next morning there were no trees, but the cow was safe at home with her master."

The story-teller then proceeded to relate how, with Manannan's help, Gavigan introduced himself to Balor's daughter, and how Lug was born who finally killed his grandfather Balor.

O'Donovan's version of this tale differs, as we shall see, from the above.† The owner of the cow is not Gavigan, but Mac Kineely, who has two brothers, Gavida a smith, and Mac Samthainn. Balor covets the Glas Gaibneen of Mac Kineely, and "in order to obtain her, puts forth all his powers of strength and stratagem. One day Mac Kineely had repaired to his brother's forge to get some swords made, and took with him his famous cow by a halter which he constantly held in his hand by day, and by which she was secured at night.

"Arrived at the forge, he entrusted her to the care of Mac Samthainn, who was there also. Balor, assuming the form of a red-headed little boy, came to Mac Samthainn, and told him that he heard his brothers (Gavida and Mac Kineely) saying within at the furnace that they would use all his (Mac Samthainn's) steel in making Mac Kineely's swords, and would make his of iron. While Mac Samthainn hurries off to prevent this wrong, Balor holds the cow, and dragging her down the beach by the tail, put off from Port-na-Glaise, that is, the 'Harbour of the Glas,' or 'Green Cow.' Mac Kineely, after discovering what had happened, and after venting his rage on his brother, went to consult a druid in a lonely habitation, who told him that he would never recover the cow so long as Balor was alive, for he (Balor) would never close the basilisk eye, which was in the middle of his forehead, but would petrify with it all who came to Tory to take her back."

A familiar spirit, or fairy, called Biroge of the Mountain, however, puts Mac Kineely into the position of an agent to kill Balor by causing him to bring about the fulfilment of a prophecy that

† A. 4 M., vol. i. p. 18, n.



Balor should die by the hand of his own grandson. Ethnea was the name of Balor's daughter whom, in fear of her marrying, he kept in seclusion in Tory, but Mac Kineely, dressed as a woman, goes thither, and becomes the father of the boy Lug, by whom Balor is finally slain.

Glen Gavlen, in the County of Cavan, also derived its name from this enchanted cow. "I find it chronicled by tradition," says O'Donovan,<sup>†</sup> "that this immortal glen derived its name from the famous cow, Glas Gaibhlen, who belonged to a celebrated Tuatha Dé Danann smith, called Gaibhlen, who, according to the tradition that still lingers here, kept his furnace in the Townland of Doire-na-tuan, near the source of the Shannon, where he melted the ore of the mountain Sliabh-an-iarainn, and where there has been a forge ever since. The cow supplied all the glen with milk, and, when passing out of it, her udder, which was so vastly large, formed the gap between the two mountains called Béul-a-Bhealaigh, that is, the 'Mouth of the Pass.' What caused her to forsake the glen is no longer remembered by tradition."

At Ballynascreen in Derry, where Sampson notes the existence of encircled dolmens, O'Donovan states that the legend of this cow also exists.

In the Townland of Labby in Glenconkeine, in the same county, she was also vividly remembered. "The smith," in this case, "had his forge in this Townland. This place where she lay," says O'Donovan,<sup>‡</sup> "is called to this day, *Leabaidh-na-Glaise*." In the story, as told here, she is lost, and three youths go forth to find her, and here "begins that part of the story which is called *Tóireacht-na-Glaise*, that is, the 'Search of the Glas,' which would take up as many volumes as the 'History of a Pair of Tongs.'

"They (the youths) go from place to place, consulting a variety of seers and druids, until they find her at Bacán-na-bo,<sup>§</sup> a black road on the sea-coast not far from Downhill, and her halter was tied to the rock by means of a hole drilled through it, which is to be seen to this day. The O'Cantys (that is, the name of the three youths) seized on her, and, after various adventures, resembling those of the 'Seven Champions of Christendom,' brought her back to Gaibhlen.

<sup>†</sup> O.S.L., Co. Cavan,  $\frac{14}{B. 16}$ , p. 16.

<sup>‡</sup> O.S.L., Co. Londonderry,  $\frac{14}{E. 12}$ , p. 265.

<sup>§</sup> *Bacán* is a stake to tie cattle to.



"In this story it is a Tuatha Dé Danann boy, who beguiled one of the O'Cantys into running into the forge to see that his sword was being properly made, and so leaving the cow unminded."

It is noticeable that the name Knockalassa (? for Knock-na-glassa, or glaise) is that of the Townland in which is the dolmen on Mount Callan in Clare, and that the same name occurs elsewhere.†

The dolmen near Lough Arrow, called the Labby, is in the Townland of Carrickglass, in Sligo; and another near the Barr of Fintona, in Tyrone, is also on a Townland bearing a similar name.

In Clare there is a Townland called *Kil-bo-glaise*, so that this Enchanted Cow had her *cille*, which can scarcely here mean a "church." In Sligo there is, in the Townland of Magheralackagh, a *Tobar-na-Glaise*, so that she had also her well from which, according to local tradition, she used to drink.‡

The legend about her appears to me to run *pari passu* with that of Grainnè. The latter is stolen from her owner, that is, her betrothed husband, who pursues her all over Ireland. Grainnè takes a year about it; the Cow takes a day and a night. Grainnè's captor, Diarmaid, is killed by the point of a boar's bristle; the Cow's captor by a red-hot iron bar thrust into his eye by Lug.

Whether this be so or not, Scandinavian mythology affords us a close parallel for the Enchanted Cow in the cow called Audhumbla, formed by the giant Ymer out of the frozen vapour melting into drops, called by the frost-giants Aurgelmer. From her udders ran four rivers of milk, which fed Ymer. When she licked the salt rime, a man was produced called Bure, who begat a son called Bor, who married Bestla, daughter of the Iötun, or Giant, Bolthorn, and had three sons, Odin, Vile, and Ve.§ Another version of this myth gives the names of this triplet, namely, the sons of the Iötun Bor, as Odin, Hænir, and Lodur, or Lothur, who, in this case, are the three Æsir, or gods, who create the first man and woman, Ask and Embla, the Ash and the Elm.

It appears to me that a version of this myth is to be found among the Irish legends. It is as follows: Eochaidh Fedlech, son of Finn, son of Finnlocha, begat by Crofinna, daughter of Art

† See p. 79 *supra*.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Sligo, <sup>14</sup>F. 14, p. 243.

§ Anderson, R. B., "Norse Mythology," Chicago, 1875, p. 173.



Uchtlethan, three sons and six daughters, namely, Bres (also called Eochaid), Nar, and Lothar, the sons, and Muman, Hele, Medb, Derbrenn, Clothru, and Ethné, the daughters.

Bres, Nair, and Lothar correspond to Odin, Hænir, and Lodur, in the Scandinavian legend. In Ireland they were known as the Three Find-Emna, or Finns of Emain, or, according to another authority, the Three Fidhs, that is, Woods—of Emain. The first name in the Irish list, Bres, is merely an epithet, meaning “handsome,” or perhaps substantively, “a prince.” As an epithet it sometimes stands by itself, and indicates a personage called Eochaid, so that we have this latter name in the Irish version, in the place of Odin in the Scandinavian. The Tuatha Dé Danann king, or deity called “The Dagda,” was also named Eochaid, and so also was Ollamh Fodla,<sup>†</sup> descended from Ir, the celebrated founder of the Feast of Temair, and the ancestor of the clan Rudraighe, in each and all of whom we have probably the Gaedhelic equivalent of the great Scandinavian deity, Woden, or Odin, among whose ancestors, as among those of Bres, we discover the name Finn.<sup>‡</sup>

The second name in the Irish triplet is Nar, and in the Norse one Hænir, or Hæner. In the Norse Sagas, however, we have this identical name Nar occurring as that of the second of three sons of Loke.<sup>§</sup> The third name in the Irish triplet, namely, Lothur, is identical with the third name in the Norse one, namely, Lodur or Loðer. The latter personage is identified with Loke, who seems to bear a mythological affinity to the Lug of the Irish romances. Both are represented as tricky divinities. Loke

<sup>†</sup> Fodla and Vuoden (Wodan) appeared to Mone to be identical. “Fód” in Irish, “gwydd” in Welsh, means “art, skill, sense, knowledge.” A deity bearing this name would correspond with the Mercury of the Romans, whom the German tribes were said to worship.

<sup>‡</sup> In Gunn’s edition of “Nennius” we have:—

Finn  
|  
Fredulf  
|  
Freolaf  
|  
Vuoden.

The Irish pedigree runs:—

Finnlocha  
|  
Finn  
|  
Eochaidh Fedlech = Crofinna.  
|  
Bres      Nar      Lothar.  
(Eochaidh)

The Icelandic genealogy runs:—

Bure.  
|  
Bor = Bestla  
|  
Odin      Hænir      Lodur.  
(i.e. Woden,  
Vuoden.)

<sup>§</sup> Anderson, “Norse Mythology,” p. 400.



being the indirect cause of the death of Baldr by means of a statagem, and Lug also slaying his grandfather Balor in like fashion.

The field of comparison between Norse and Irish and German mythology is, however, far too wide to be entered upon here, where we are simply considering the resemblance between the enchanted cows Glas Gavlen and Audhumbla. The name of the latter is, according to Müllenhoff, obscure.† He is inclined, however, to connect it etymologically with that of Humbli, Humelus, or Humblus, from whose son, Lothar, brother of Dan or Danus, Saxo,‡ in his fabulous genealogy, derives the Danish royal line. Johannes Magnus,§ in like manner, speaks of Humelus as the father of Danus and Anglus, a most powerful monarch, and the ruler of many nations. Among the places worthy of mention in and near the old and sacred site of Lederun,|| or Lethra, in the island of Selande, Wormius alludes to the tomb of Humble, while his name is traditionally said to enter into those of several places ¶ in Denmark.

Jordanes†† places at the head of his Gothic genealogy Gapt (Norse "Gaut"), whose son, the ancestor of the Gothic royal line, is Humal. From these names we cannot dis sever that of Humber,

† "Germaniæ, Mon. Hist.," vol. v. Jordanes, "Getica," edit. Mommsen, note by Müllenhoff, p. 143, on "Hulmul, alias Humal."

‡ Saxo. Gramm., "Hist. Dan.," lib. i.; see Velschow's note in Müller's edit. "Havniæ," 1858, Part ii., p. 38, who connects Humble with Amalus, and hence with the Amali. The name Amali, he says, is easily changed by a Dane into Humble. For the interchange of *a* and *u* in the Celtic names Camulos and Camalodunum, see Glück, "Kelt. namen," p. 50, n., which would bring the Lusitanian Camalus, found by Sr. Sarmiento in inscriptions at Briteiros, also into the question (see Cartailhac, "Ages préhist. de l'Espagne" (fig. 416)). For Rhys's proposed identification of Cumal and Camulos, see "Celtic Heathendom," p. 29, where he owns that there is "a scarcity of Celtic words to explain it," and connects it with the O.S. *himil*, and German *himmel*. The name of the Cornish river Camal, famous in Arthurian romance, should also be noted. Ireland possesses the form *Amal* in the name Amhalgaid, the great eponymous of the Hua-n-Amalgaidh, to whom appertained the territory of Tirawley (= Tir-Amalgaidh). *Amal*, according to Müllenhoff, signifies "strong, industrious, indefatigable." The form and composition of the name corresponds with that of Vidhelgeát (= Vindélgaut), a proper name in Anglo-Saxon (Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 57, n.). According to his Irish pedigree, Amalgaidh's father was Algaidh, also a Teutonic name, but his mother bore a Celtic name (Ruadh), and so did her father, who was Art Uichtleathan (= Victo-litanus), with which compare the name of the Æduan chief, Con-Victolitanis in Cæsar (De B. G. vii. 37). Ruadh's sister was Crofinna, mother of the triplets Bres, Nar, and Lothar, which is comparable with that of Odin, Hænir, and Loðer, as we have seen. Amalgaidh, we are specially told, was of the *Gaedhelic* race, a name which is itself Teutonic in form and etymology, Gaed equalling Geát. The intermixture of Celtic names with Teutonic in Irish pedigrees, however fabulous, appears to me to point to a truth, namely, that the Gaedhels, or Goidels, or Gael were of Germano-Gallic origin, coming from the borderlands on the Rhine, and further east, where the two languages were once settled side by side.

§ "Hist. Goth.," lib. 2, 3. The Chronicle of King Eric says that Dan, son of Humble, came from Suecia, which induces the idea that Humble himself came from that country (see "Script. Rer. Suec.," i. p. 240).

|| Wormius, "Mon. Dan.," p. 114.

¶ e.g. Humbleöre, Humblebæk, Humblebye, Humblehavn, etc.

†† Jordanes, "Getica" (*ut supra*), note by Müllenhoff, p. 143, where Gapt is stated to be the first of the heroes called Anses, the same as the Norse Gaut, and the Anglo-Saxon Geát, according to Grimm, although Müllenhoff expresses a doubt.





called in the letter of King Edward to Pope Boniface, "rex Hynorum," † the traditional ancestor and leader of Picts, who came, it was said, from Scythia ‡ to Britain, and from whom, since he was drowned in it, the river Humber took its name. §

While, then, there is no need that we should give credence to the factitious genealogies—nor did their authors intend we should—in respect to the persons therein recorded having at any time been living men, they agree in disclosing to us the fact that, in this name "Humel," we have that of a Baltic deity, in whom the several peoples of Teutonic stock, who dwelt around that inland sea, recognized a mighty progenitor of their race who may, as in the case of the Chinese Tien, have been Himmel or Heaven itself. A southern extension of the name, applied to a tribe and a district, is found in that of the Hummelinck and the Humelings who occupied it—a tract of moor and morass on the right bank of the Ems, north of Osenbruck (Osnabruck). || This was a part of the country of the Chauci—(Hugas, as their name became)—who, as Virchow has shown, were closely connected with the Frisians. ¶

Now, over the Frisians there reigned, at a period which Leo equates with the early portion of the sixth century, Finn, son of Folcwalda. †† We have, therefore, a more or less direct connection between the name Finn and that of Hummeling. The name Humal may well be the same as Cumal, the name of the father of Finn Mac Cumhail; and this name, again, we may, if Rhys is right in his etymology, extend into Gaul and Britain, and discover in the name of the war-god Camulos, just as Lug, under various forms of his name, appears in Germany, ‡‡ Scan-

† Cnyghton, H., "De Event. Angliæ," iii.; see "Sher.," p. 129.

‡ According to Bede, the Picts came from Scythia.

§ This myth about rivers taking name from eponymous heroes, or heroines, having been drowned in them is the common property of the Germanic coasts and the British Isles. John Picardt, in his curious little work, previously quoted, on the antiquities of the Netherlands and Drenthe, tells us that the Vechta took its name from Vechtān, one of the Hilde-Gasten, or Heylige-Gasten, the ancient pagan high-priests of the Tubantes, men of old family and high in authority, to whom the people did reverence, who was drowned in that river. Vecta, or Wecta, is, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the son of Woden (Voden) or Odin. In the Elder Edda, Wecta, or Vecta, is equated with Odin himself.

|| Caspar Schneider, "Saxonia Vetus," Dresden, 1727, p. 361.

¶ "Abland. zu Berlin," 1876 (publ. 1877).

†† Folcwalda is simply a title, meaning "ruler," or "chief." It appears also as the name of the father of the Finn in Anglo-Saxon genealogies. The authority for Finn having been king of the Frisians is the poem of Beowulf, the historical basis of which Leo has shown to belong to the years 512-520, since Hygelac, King of the Geatae, who marches against the Frisians, is the same as Chochilaich mentioned by Gregory of Tours, and whose date is known.

‡‡ There was an idol, of the same class as the Irminsul apparently, in the Wetteran, which stood 60 cubits high, and was called Lug, or Heillug. It is mentioned by Ph. Dieffenbach, p. 291. Grimm ("Teut. Myth." transl. p. 1322) suggests *heiliger loh*, as the explanation of the word. In



dinavia,† Britain,‡ Ireland,§ France,|| Holland,¶ and Northern Spain.†† In the Irish pedigrees of Finn, his father Cumhal has a brother Iodhlan, a name which is clearly geographical, and points to Jutland, or Iöt-land, the country of the Iötuns, or Eotenas, a tradition which causes us to note the fact that in the poem of Beowulf, Finn of Finnsberg is the leader of the Eotens as well as of the Fresnas.

There can be no pretence whatever for regarding Finn Mac Cumhail as an historic personage, any more than there is for so regarding Odin; nor is there anything Celtic about him excepting the language of the *sagas*, in which his exploits are narrated. Many of these exploits, however, may be genuine traditions of those of chieftains who at various times served as mercenaries in Ireland, or fought for the national cause. If we take into consideration the folk-lore attaching to Finn's name, and his *saga* and genealogy together, the whole may be termed Finno-Teutonic. If we separate them, the folk-lore has its special affinities in Esthonian Finland, while the *saga* finds its place among those of the North and of Germany, and in the system of forming allegorical pedigrees to illustrate ethnic traditions which was current in the time of Tacitus, and continued in the Middle Ages. In the name of the Féinne we seem to have that of the Finns, who are almost equated with the Iötuns in the Norse *sagas*, while the latter, again, stand in an equally close relation to the Huns, that is, the Hünen and Hyni. It has sometimes occurred to me that the name of the Peene,‡‡ Pene, or Peine river, whence the name "Circipeni," for those who dwelt on its banks, was derived, may mark a settlement of these people. They were, it seems possible, a western extension of the Phinni of Ptolemy, and of the Fenni against whom the Emperor Volusian (A.D. 250) waged war, as, to judge also by his coins, he did perhaps against the Galindæ also. If Finns were not already there, it is not unlikely that an early

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old German, *log* signifies "fire." In the north of Scotland, *loge* has still that meaning, and *lowe*, meaning a "blaze of fire," is in general use. In Walter Scott's "Guy Mannering," a *light loe* is a "bright fire" (see "Heimskringla," edit. Laing, revised by Anderson, note, p. 289).

† Loke, Loðer, etc.

‡ Luguballium, Old Carlisle; Dinlleu, in Wales.

§ Lug and Lugaidh, personal names in romance and history; Lugnassed, the Lammas fair and festival at Tailten; Dunlewey in Donegal; Lugh's Grave in Louth, etc., etc.

|| Lugudunum, Lyons; Lugdunum Convenarum, in the Pyrenees.

¶ Lugdunum Batavorum, Leyden.

†† The Lugoves, to whom a temple was built and presented to a "college of cobblers," upon which Rhys remarks that in Welsh romance, "Gwydion and his son Lleu assume the guise of shoemakers" ("Celtic Heathendom," p. 424).

‡‡ Zedler, *in voc.*



migration of the Baltic peoples westward to the north of France and the British Isles took place when the Cimbri and Teutones went south in the second century B.C. If we may suppose so, history only repeated itself when, in the third century A.D., upon the Goths, Suevi and Vandals vacating their northern seas, the Slaves, called by the Germans "Hünen," entered upon their lands, and penetrated west of the Elbe.† Among these new-comers it is reasonable to suppose there were contingents from beyond the Vistula.‡

Near the mouth of the Peene on the coast, was Hinnesberg.§ an alternate name for Julin, and there too had stood Wineta, swallowed up by the sea. The district which adjoined the river was called Dimine, or Demmin, and an alias for Finn Mac Cumhail was Demni. The name of the Pinnou river in Holstein, upon which was the town of Pinneberg, not improbably the Finnsberg, or stronghold of Finn, in the episode attached to *Beowulf* called the "Fight of Finnsberg," || may mark an extension of the name of this people across the isthmus which separates the Baltic from the German Ocean. The whole district may be said to be full of Finn and Finni.¶

Between the Odinic genealogies and that of Finn there are certainly points of contact. Finn himself has often the attributes of Odin himself,†† but in his son Oisín they are seen in greater clearness. Odin, for example, never spoke but in verse.‡‡

† See Pritchard, "Phys. Hist.," vol. iii. p. 418.

‡ For the coin-legends of Volusian, see Müllenhoff, "Die Deutsche Alterthümer," vol. ii. p. 100, n.

§ See Thunmann, who quotes Svenio Aggonis. For a venerated column at Julin, see Vit. S. Otton., "Boll." Jul. i, 433, 439. It is interesting to observe that the south-western corner of the Baltic, which some have held to be the ancient *Lagnum sinus*, contains many topographical names which occur also in Ireland. The island of Fimbria, or Femeren, called by Blaeu "Pequeña Cimbria," from a supposed survival of the name of the Cimbri, contains the names Sarendorp (Saran is a Pictish proper name), Gamandorp (Gamanraidhe on the Suck), Momendorp (Muman), etc. On the coast of the mainland are the rivers Trawe and Warnou, corresponding to the Drawes (Draobhais) and Erne. This had been the country of the Heruli, between whose history, as recorded by Procopius, and that of the Fir-Bolg and Aitheach Tuatha of the Irish traditions, some striking parallels exist, to which I will revert at the close of this work. They were succeeded by the Slavonic Obotritæ, at what date we do not know, but the name of this latter people, with a transposition of syllables, by no means fatal to the comparison, appears in Irish pedigrees of the Fir-Bolg as Triobhuaith, a name connected perhaps with that of the river Draobhais.

|| See "Beowulf," transl. by Jas. M. Garnett, Boston, 1882.

¶ Micrælius, in his "Antiquitates Pomeraniæ," gives the name Wenoï as an alternative for that of Heruli, and that of Winus as the name of an ancient Vandal prince, who, in the first century, joined the Danes against the Livonians.

†† Like Finn, Odin possessed the power of endowing himself with second sight and the gift of prophecy. He knew where stolen property was hidden (Du Chaillu, "Viking Age," p. 61). Like Finn, he had a high seat from which he looked out upon the world (Anderson, "Norse Mythology," p. 185). Like Finn, who holds conversation with the enchanted head of Lomna, his decapitated fool, Odin talks to the decapitated head of Mimer (Du Chaillu, p. 41). Like *Fintan*, a mythical being whose name shows his origin, Odin could assume what form he pleased; and, like *Fenius Farsaidh*, an Irish eponymous, he was reputed to have introduced written language.

‡‡ Odin understood songs by which the earth, the hills, the stones, and mounds were opened to him (Anderson, p. 278).



In the pedigree of Hengist in Nennius,† Finn stands in the position of great-grandfather to Odin, but Grimm sees reason to dismiss the two intervening links, so that in point of fact Finn is Odin's father. In like manner, Finn is father of Oisín; and Odin or Othin and Oisín are names not phonetically irreconcilable. Again, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,‡ the genealogical tree is traced up to Geat, who answers to the Gapt (or Gaut) in the Gothic list of Jordanes.§ Geat's son is Godwulf (called in other pedigrees Folcwalda, as he is also called in Beowulf),|| and Godwulf's son is Finn. Gaut's son, in the Gothic tree, is Humal,¶ who therefore stands in the place of Godwulf, while the Irish Humal, if I am right in so calling Cumhal, has also Finn for his son.

Surely such identities as these can be due to no mere accident.

The geographical proximity of the Finnic to the Teutonic peoples necessarily resulted in the infiltration of words from one language into the other, and the mutual interchange of ideas especially in relation to the supernatural. The Teutonic races being *physically* superior, the terms they used were naturally to a great extent forced upon the weaker race. There is no proof, however, that they were *mentally* superior to their shorter neighbours, and in matters relating to mythology, the cultus of the dead, necromancy, and the like, there is reason to believe that Turanian, or Finno-Ugric influence impressed its stamp most deeply on the modes of thought and social customs of the tall strangers from the south, as did also their knowledge of mining and metallurgy †† upon their art.

Thomsen has given us a very valuable list of words infused from the German into the Finno-Lappish speech. We would wish, on the other hand, to see an equally careful treatise upon the infusion not of words alone, of which, however, there would be not a few, but of spiritual beliefs, and the cultus which accompanies them, as well as of customs, and of works of skill, from the Finno-Ugric peoples of the East and North, among the Aryan-speaking population of the West. It is surprising that while students of Aryan mythology may be numbered by thousands,

† "Hist. Brit.," cap. 32.

§ "Getica," cap. 13.

¶ Thomsen, W., "Einfluss der germ. Sprachen auf die Finnisch-Lappischen," Halle, 1870, in voc.

‡ Edit. Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 15.

|| Edit. Thorpe, l. 2183.

†† The smiths in Irish legend are small people renowned for their swiftness of foot, who practised their art in caves. It was considered, as was also the case in Finland where the smith occupied a most prominent position in mythology, that there was something mystic and divine about his craft. The Finnaithæ were the miners of Sweden.



the field of comparison between the fetich-worship and spirit-cultus of North and East Asia, and North and West Europe, remains practically unexplored.

Now, as the name of the great ancestor of the Baltic nations, Humal stands in this curious position :—On the one hand we may regard it as the German “Himmel,” that is, Heaven ; and on the other we cannot but compare it to a name which is as nearly as possible identical with it, that is to say, Jumala,† the sky-god of the Esthonians, after whom the oak-tree was called Pun Jumalan,‡ and worshipped, we may presume, as it was also among the Germans. Into the meaning of this word, which became, and still is, the name of the supreme God from Hungary to Lapland, I do not mean to go further than to express my opinion that if we looked into its etymology thoroughly, we should find that it does not mean the “thunder-home,” as has been suggested, but that it is referable to the name of some animal revered by the people of the north, probably the Bear.§

At all events, we have the sense of the sky-god ; so that if, as Müllenhoff suggests, the name Audhumbla was connected with Humal and Humbli, and derived from the same source, we have the curious fact before us that the Scandinavian cow was a sky-goddess, like the Glas Gavlen, the sky-coloured cow of the Irish, who performed her round of the island once in every four and twenty hours.

The legend of the Cow and the Thief, exemplified in the tale of Balor and Mac Kineely, in Donegal, evidently once obtained also in other parts of Ireland. At Gallerus, on the Kerry coast, near the so-called oratory of Gallerus, are two stones which respectively bear the names of the Cow’s Stone and the Thief’s Stone.||

Sometimes it is a bull, not a cow, which is purloined, which reminds us that it was on account of a bull that the Táin-Bo-Cúailnge, or Cattle Driving of Cúailnge—the subject of the most perfect of the ancient Irish epics, or sagas—was undertaken.

At Slogadoil, near “The Paps” in Kerry, there is a venerated

† Jubmel, or Jumbel, among the Lapps, was the author of life ; Parkel of death. Parkel has a son “made on a rock,” just as famous heroes and saints in the Irish legends were born each on a rock. Jumbel found him, and brought him up. His name was Tiermes, *i.e.* “Thunder.” Rhys finds a difficulty in explaining the name Diarmaid in Celtic. Can it be a Gaedhelic form of Tiermes (? Diermet)? The sense of “thunder” would accord with Diarmad’s rôle in the myth, and the boar’s bristle by which he was slain would be the lightning.

‡ Compare the passage in Maximus Tyrius (second century) : *Κελτοὶ σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴν θρῶν.*

§ See my “Nippon and its Antiquities,” Plymouth, 1876, p. 20, for the account of the spread of the cultus of the Bear in the islands of Japan.

|| Ord. Surv. Maps, Kerry, No. 42.



rock about which Windele tells the following legend:† “A thief was driving off a bull, but when the animal arrived at this rock he resolved to escape from the fellow, and was commencing to sink down through the rock, when the man caught him stoutly by the tail, and, being powerfully strong, prevented him from sinking. In the course of the struggle a supernatural voice was heard above them calling out, “Eeocher, eeocher,” that is, “he would not suffer the act.”

In the island of Inchidony in Cork, there is a curious legend that an old church is haunted by a bull. Some young men, “affecting incredulity as to its existence,” says Windele, “came there one fine moonlight night, and had to take to their heels with extraordinary precipitation by reason of the sudden appearance of the mysterious animal who made his presence known by certain supernatural bellowings, snorting fire, pawing the ground, and other unmistakable manifestations.”

A mythic bull dwells in Lough-a-Tarriv in the same county. “One of Mr. Hawke’s tenants saw him come out of the lake and meet a cow. This lake forms,” adds Windele, “a sort of companion to Lough-na-Bo-Finne, near Bantry, the latter being the abode of the White Cow.”

Among the lake-legends of Galicia, as we have seen, mentioned by Don José Villa-Amil y Castro, is one respecting a lake, “from the depths of which the lowing of cattle was heard.”‡

The Lough-Bo-Finna just mentioned is north of Ross, as is also Lough-a-Tarriv. According to the legend of the latter lake, “a Piast, or Worm,” was killed there. The description of this monster resembles that of a dragon. “One lake,” according to Windele, “is said to have the Piast in it still, which clearly must have been not a serpent but a bull, since he had been seen to come out and consort with cows on the bank.”§

“Near the Bandon Mountain is a little lake called Loch-Bo-booirha, that is, ‘Lake of the Lowing Cow.’ The Bandon Mountain itself is called Sliabh-Bo-booirha, from the same enchanted animal that once lived there.”||

Dunderrow, on the Bandon river, is an ancient fortification, once encompassed with five circumvallations, of which three remain. Within its area Mr. Sullivan found several caves.

† MS. “Jar Muman,” p. 347.

‡ “Antigüedades prehistóricas y célticas de Galicia,” Lugo, 1873, p. 71.

§ MS. “Cork W. and N.E.,” p. 529.

|| MS. “Cork W. and N.E.,” p. 792.



"The country-people tried to deter the explorer, as the *doon* was under the protection of the 'Good People.' At length it was announced to him that the supernatural bull who guarded the *doon* had been heard roaring over at Ballinadee. . . . The death of his mother was attributed to the anger of the *Sídhe* and of the Bull."† Such superstitions, it is to be noted, belong rather to earthen raths or duns, attributed to these "Good People," or *Tuatha Dé Danann*, than to the stone *cathairs* attributed to the *Fir Bolg*.

The narrow glen in which are the dolmens of Knockane in Cork retains, says Windele, "a faint vestige of a cow legend. There was a cow, a *bo-ruadh* (red cow) without a skin. It used to come every morning to be milked, and then go off into Cusduff Lios. Another cow had two fine calves accompanying her in a daily expedition from the Lee. These calves were entrapped from her by one of the neighbours, who turned them into his *bawn*, where they grew almost to maturity. One day the *bo-ruadh* found them at liberty in a field, and enticed them away, since which they have never made their appearance.

"A *bo-vaun* (white cow) fled to Gaorha, the island forest in the Lee, and with her went two calves. The owner, after a two years' search, found her, and catching her by the tail—the proper means of obtaining control over such animals—was led by her to a bog, where he found the calves, which he drove home."‡

Near Knockane was a venerated rock having a few insignificant hollows in its surface, to which the strong imagination of the people gave certain distinguishing characteristics. It was said to bear the marks of a cow's hoof, of a horse's hoof, of a man's knee, of the feet of a hare, and of the staff of the man who hunted her.§

Bekmann,|| in his account of the venerated rocks in Brandenburg, figures one rock, and describes others, in the surfaces of which hollows, supposed to be the prints of feet of animals, were pointed out.

One common form of cow-legend is that which is associated with a road along which the mythic animal is fabled to have passed. Windele states that the portion of the old road from Cork by Ballyhoura, and near Kilcolman, was pointed out as the actual *boherbuee*, that is, the "road of the (mythic) cow." It led

† MS. "Topography of Desmond," pp. 477 and 479.

‡ MS. "Cork Topography," pp. 351 and 359.

§ MS. "Cork Topography" (Windele), p. 359.

|| See p. 536, *supra*.



westward from Shanacloon, through Gurtnatubrid, a distance of over four miles. It was called in full *bohur-bo-ruadh*, "road of the red cow," who used to proceed to the west of Bardinoha to feed, and return to sleep at Shanacloon. The Townland of Lackaroe (flag-stone of the red [cow]), in which is the hill near Kilcolman Castle, was perhaps named after her.

Windele adds that there are "many such bohurs" in the Counties of Cork and Limerick, one near Kanturk, and another in Fermoy.

The peasantry near Garryadeen, sixteen miles from Cork, had a vivid knowledge of the existence of a *boher boruach* in their neighbourhood. Its course is described as passing through Bleinagoul and Dononghmore, and thence leading by Bohereen-an-affrin to Fournought Chapel. The legend about it was as follows: "A bull and cow herded together, making this their way. The cow drank at the Lee in the morning, and depastured on an 'inch' (island) in the Blackwater. The people used to milk her, and her milk was a great cure. One woman filled several *reelees* every day with her milk. She brought out a *dildarn*, that is, some kind of sieve, so that the milk passed through. When the cow saw that, she was fretted, and gave no more milk."

At Leap, a rock was shown upon which this mythic cow leaped, leaving the prints of her hoofs in it. She belonged to the *Mna Sidhe*, Women of the Sidh.†

At Ballyhooly there is a place called Glenna Bo, to which a cow-legend is attached.‡

In the County of Waterford the legend of the cow track is associated with Patrick. In the Barony of Coshmore and Coshbride is a large double trench called by the natives *Rian-bo-Padriuc*, or Trench of Patrick's Cow. It commences to the E. of Knockmeldown, runs in a direct line towards Ardmore, passing through the deer-park of Lismore, and crossing the Blackwater near Tourin. The southern part of its course is through the Barony of Decies-within-Drum. It is stated that it runs a course of sixteen to eighteen miles. Probably the place called Clashmore (=Great Trench), between Aglish and Ardmore, takes its name from it. Charles Smith regarded it as a roadway from Cashel to Ardmore. The country-people affirm that it could be traced from

† MSS. (Windele), "Cork W. and N.E.," pp. 169, 306, 352.

‡ MSS. (Windele), "Topog. of Desmond," p. 151.



its entrance into the County of Waterford, northwards into Tipperary as far as Cashel, but the lands having been cultivated in most parts of its course through that country, it is not to be traced at present.

The legend regarding it is that when Saint Patrick was at Cashel, a cow belonging to him had her calf stolen and carried off towards Ardmore. She pursued it, and with her horns made this double trench the whole way. Others say it was the cow which was stolen, and that she returned home of herself, and, in the same manner, ploughed up the ground with her horns.†

Many of the old legends of Munster are connected with cow-keeping, and prove the originally pastoral character and pursuits of the population amongst whom they were perpetuated. On the hillside opposite Tempuleen Fiachna, in one of the glens through which the "Priest's Leap" flows, in the County of Cork, stands a menhir, 6 feet high, and 5 feet broad. A legend attaches to this *dallán* that it is a woman turned into stone by Saint Fiachna. She lived here not respecting the commandment against thieving at night, milking the cows of her neighbours, and carrying the milk and butter to her dairy. At length the "Hue and Cry" was raised against her, and the saint, who led a holy life at his little church hard by, resolved to chastise her. He mounted his horse to visit her, but she fled. As he passed her dairy he turned it into stone, and then descended the hill towards the river in pursuit of her. In crossing the stream, his horse left his footmarks on a stone in the centre of it. He then rode up the opposite hill, where, about midway, he overtook the criminal, and instantly turned her into stone. There is an aged hawthorn inside the stone which grew out of the *kippin* of the spancel she carried, with which she used to tie the cows' legs at milking. The stone is said to resemble the form of the lady, who was at the time *enceinte*.

Outside the burial-ground of the little church (*tempuleen*) of Saint Fiachna, around which latter it was customary to make the circuits called *turases*, is the rock called "the petrified dairy." It is a natural rock of tabular form, with five basin-like hollows in the surface, each cavity measuring 4 or 5 ins. deep, and about 1 foot in diameter. In each of them is a stone of long oval form,

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† Charles Smith, "Survey of the County of Waterford," p. 355; Ryland's "Hist. of Waterford," p. 355.



fitting the space fully. The whole, adds Windele, is a perfect natural curiosity, and, according to the legend, the basins are the *keelers*, and the oval stones the rolls of butter. Windele sent a drawing of the *dallán*, and also of the rock-basins, to Mr. and Mrs. Hall, who published them in their work on "Ireland." †

North of Killachluig, also in Cork, Windele heard a legend of a woman persecuted by the "Good People." ‡ Whenever she milked her cow, stones were thrown by invisible hands into her pail. A watch was set *in a circle* at a distance round about the field, and still the stones were thrown. The persecution continued until the priest read mass over her and her cow. This happened as recently as the year 1842.§

Very numerous places in Ireland are named after cows, generally speaking, either red or white, as, for example, Lough-Bo-Derg, Lake of the Red Cow in Roscommon,|| Inish-Bo-Fin, on the coast of Donegal and elsewhere.

In the cliffs near Dunfanaghy in Donegal is a chasm about which a story of two bulls, probably mythic bulls, is told. It is called "The Bull's Hole," a name said to have been given to it from the circumstance that it swallowed up two bulls which fought on the Meenā above it. The one forced the other to the brink of the precipice, and finally succeeded in horning him in, but in the effort he lost his own equilibrium, and was forced to fall into the same bottomless pit. ¶

At Gleann Finne, through which the Finne River flows, and which, in common with the lake Lough Finne, is consecrated ground in the estimation of the Sheannachies, a legend existed of a contest between some of the Fians on the one side, and first a bull and then a pig on the other. It may be epitomized as follows: Once on a time Finn Mac Cumhail, chieftain of the Fians, was preparing a great feast in Glenn Finne. He despatched Goll Mac Morna to fetch him a furious bull which pastured in a deep valley to the south. Goll came face to face with the beast, and wrestled with him, but finding himself no match for the bull's strength, sprang away from him, and left him to wreak his vengeance by tearing up the earth and stones

† MSS. (Windele), "Jar Muman," p. 335.

‡ According to Müllenhoff, this is the meaning of the name of the Æstians—the Gothic "Aiste," *Just.* (Deutsche Altërhums, vol. ii. p. 30.

§ MSS. (Windele), "Cork Topography," p. 388.

|| O.S.L., Co. Roscommon,  $\frac{14}{F. 9}$ , p. 141.

¶ O.S.L., Co. Donegal,  $\frac{14}{C. 19}$ , p. 66.



around. None could vie with Goll in swiftness of foot, and he soon reached Finn's camp, where Ergoman (or Fergoman†) volunteered to return with him and assist in the struggle. Reaching the bull, the two heroes take the brute by the horns, and by main force rend him in twain from head to tail. They then set out to bear his carcase back. It had so happened, however, that on their way to the valley in which the bull pastured, they had fallen in with a litter of six snow-white pigs. The sow being absent, they were left unguarded, and the heroes, killing them, left their carcasses until their return.

Now, Finn Mac Cumhail, who had remained in the camp, had a presentiment that all was not right with the heroes, so he chewed his thumb, and by that means discovered what they had done, and the danger that awaited them from the mother of the pigs, who was savagely expecting their return in order to avenge her offspring. Standing on a hill, Finn accordingly shouted to Goll and Ergoman to return another way, and, as with every breath his voice filled a space of nine miles, they heard him distinctly. Goll obeyed the advice and took another route, but Ergoman continued his course fearlessly, resolved to bring home the litter he had slaughtered. Over the latter, when he reached the spot, stood the sow with bristles erect, and, as soon as she saw Ergoman, rushed at him, and ripped him open with her tusk. Ergoman cried out so loudly that the hills and valleys rang again, so that the echo conveyed the sound to his sister Finne, who was on the southern and opposite side of the lake. Recognizing her brother's cry of pain, the bright heroic damsel sprang into the lake in order to swim over to his assistance. Before she reached the middle, however, she sank exhausted, and was drowned. Her snow-white body was subsequently washed ashore, and buried on the spot; but none know where. The echo, it appears, had deceived her in the direction she should have taken, and thus allured her to her doom. Ever after Echo was called a deceiver, and the lake, which had been dark before, received the name of Finne, the fair lady who had met her death beneath its waters.

The names *Mín-an-Ail* (Field of the Litter) and *Loch Mucc* (Pig Lake) are explained by the peasantry in accordance with the story of Ergoman and the Sow.‡

† With Fergus, gen. Fergus (like Aengus, Aengusa), compare the name of the Slavonic deity Perkunos, one of the three divinities worshipped at Romow on the Memel.

‡ See O.S.L., Co. Donegal,  $\frac{14}{C. 19}$ , p. 173.



THE HORSE AND HORSEMAN.

Although I cannot refer to any existing dolmen which is connected with a legend of the horse, it is clear, from the fact that we find horse-legends attached to venerated rocks, that a mythical animal of equine stock belonged to the same mythological category which includes the dog, the pig, and the cow. At Dunmanway in the County of Cork, north of Ballyhalwick, and six miles from Coolmountain, Windele describes a huge mass of rock, seemingly detached and resting on the ground, to which the natives gave the name of the Garrane Bán, or White Mare. The rock was, he says, rather ship-like in its under part, and may, he thinks, have been once a rocking-stone.

It is to be noticed that in the same field with it was a cairn which, when it was opened in 1840, was found to contain two cists, one over the other, containing ashes and fragments of human bones.

Old women were in the habit of quieting children by saying that they would put a saddle on the "Garrane Bán," and give them a ride. Windele preserves the exact formula used to intimidate them: *Eist a laogh, agus cuiramag diotal air an Garran Ban dhuil*. According to the local legend, the rock had been cast by Finn Mac Cumhail from the Yew-Tree Hill in the neighbourhood.†

Such venerated rocks often, I think, formed sepulchral centres. The dolmen-circle at Parknagullane on the lands of Reenagoppal—that is, the "Field of the Standing-Stones" on the lands of the "Horse's Promontory"—is similarly in proximity to a venerated rock.

A menhir, described as a remarkable stone, 7 feet high, 4 feet broad, and 1 foot thick, in the Townland of Ballyea and County of Limerick, bears the same name—that is to say, the "Gearan Ban," or White (? Grey) Mare.‡ Whether this White Horse is the same as that more famous one whose figure, cut in the chalk, lies on the Berkshire Hills, I cannot say. The "Gearran Bán" appears once more as the name of a venerated rock in the Parish of Rathpatrick and County of Kilkenny.

In the County of Mayo is a mountain called Nephin, on the

† MSS. (Windele), "Cork W. and N.E.," p. 851; also "Cork Topography," p. 607.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Limerick.



summit of which is a cairn called Leacht Fhinn, popularly understood to mean the Monument of Finn. Immediately under it, on the inaccessible side of the mountain, is a hollow called Lag-an-Ghearrain-Bhain, that is, the "Hollow of the White Horse"—a name corresponding exactly to the English "Vale of White Horse."

That the cairn was a centre of sepulture and pilgrimage is indicated by the presence "in various places on the mountain, as one approaches the cairn, of little circles very contiguous to one another, generally not exceeding three feet in diameter, and formed with very small stones set in the surface of the ground. The centres are filled with small stones in little heaps, and these are very numerous near the cairn." †

I am inclined to regard circles, when so small as these, neither as sepulchral, like the circles on the south coast of the Baltic, nor as domestic, like the Lapp rings of Northern Scandinavia, which were the bases of huts, but as erections left behind by pilgrims in commemoration of their visits to a consecrated spot. At a place called Creg-an-aonaigh—that is, the "Knoll of the Fair," on the summit of a mountain over Aghawinnáán in Clare—are numerous little circles of like kind. Others may be found close to the base of the great cairn called Misgaun Meave on Knocknarea in Sligo. On the summit of Slieve Liag in Donegal, near the venerated rock of Aedh Breacan, I have myself seen numerous little piles of stones, many arranged in circular form, which are known to have been set up by pilgrims who had climbed the holy height to worship the spirit of the dead there supposed to dwell. By the side of the paths used by the pilgrims who ascend the sacred mountains in Japan, notably at Nikko, I have met with similar little commemorative piles of stones.

Horses and their foals, if of the mystic breed, left the marks of their hoofs in rocks, which were venerated accordingly. The name of Castleterra in Cavan is a corruption of Cois-an-t-siorraigh, that is, the Foal's Foot. The origin of it is attributed by tradition to the patron saint having found the impression of a foal's foot in some remarkable rock, near which he built his church, but this impression is not now visible.‡

† O.S.L., Co. Mayo. Mr. O'Connor, in these letters, expresses his opinion that this cairn, and not Mullach Chairn, was the cairn of Amalgaidh, where he was buried, and where a fair was held. If so, it was one of the two cairns on which the O'Dowd was inaugurated. From it is a clear view of the sea to the S.W. and N., and all Tirawley (Tír Amalgaidh) lies below.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Cavan,  $\frac{14}{16}$  p. 59.



Near the dolmen at Brough Derg in the County of Tyrone, called *Granna's Bed*, is a cairn called the "Grey Mare's Load." The story about it is that Patrick brought the stones from a distance for church-building purposes, but, owing to misconduct on the part of the conductors, they had to be dropped where they are now.†

It is not out of place, perhaps, to mention here that horse-races were formerly held in the space around the dolmen in the Giants' Ring, at Ballylessan, in the County Down, and between that monument and the surrounding vallum.

In the Dindshenchas of Carman will be found a notice of the horse-racing at the fair at that place. That of Ard-Macha contains the extraordinary episode of the racing of Macha, wife of Crund, against the horses of Cormac at the fair, afterwards called Oenach Macha.‡ With such races, it is possible we may be justified in comparing those held by the Romans in honour of Neptune.

The name of the Townland of Knockagh, in the County of Louth, is said to be derived from the Irish *Cnoc Each*, that is, "Horse's Knoll." It is said that "a man wearing a three-cocked hat was seen riding a white horse, which, when he came to this place, leaped on the hill and sank into the ground, leaving behind him the three-cocked hat, which is visible to this day on the surface of the hill. The object pointed out as the hat consists of three sods, resembling in form, to an imaginative mind, a hat so shaped."§

This silly story is a good example of the way in which any object, no matter how trivial in form or recent in origin, is adduced by the peasantry in evidence of the truth of some genuinely ancient local legend.

At Clonfinlough, in the Parish of Clonmacnoise and County of King's County, is a boulder measuring 9 feet 9 ins. long by 8 feet 3 ins. broad, into the surface of which many curious figures have been cut. It bears the name of the "Horseman's Stone," but is also known as the "Fairy's Stone," and is termed *Una More* by Mr. Cooke. Some of the figures bear a striking and unmistakable resemblance to those on a rock in Galicia in Spain, previously noticed.||

"No Christian tradition," says Mr. James Graves,¶ "exists

† Journ. R.H.A.A.I., 4th Ser., vol. v. p. 740.

‡ See Whitley Stokes, "The Rennes Dindshenchas," in "Rév. Celt." Nos. 18 and 24.

§ O.S.L., Co. Louth,  $\frac{14}{E. 14}$ , p. 308.

|| p. 696, *supra*.

¶ "Kilk. Archæol. Soc.," vol. v., New Series, 1864, 1866.



regarding it, but there is a legend that at certain times a horseman gallops round it."

A similar tradition, namely, that a horseman gallops around it and then vanishes into it, is told of a sepulchral cairn near Slieve Kialta in Wexford. Shortly before the year 1866, this cairn was opened, and a chamber containing two skeletons was found enclosed in it. The legend of the horseman, however, was told of the cairn long before it was known to contain the interment.

At Belanaskaddan, in the Parish of Kilmacrenan and County of Donegal, is a tumulus known as "The Marcach's Knowe and Stable." This *marcach*, literally "horseman," is a famous chief of the "wee-folk," or fairies, "who," says O'Donovan, "was begotten by one of the O'Donnells on the aerial body of a *banshee*. The story," he adds, "is a wonderful one, but too foolish to be preserved. It appears that O'Donnell was invited by Eveny O'Kane, of Bin Eveny, to a large fairy feast, and that during his stay at this debauch, he was introduced to a beautiful *banshee*, who, at the expiration of nine months, appeared at his bedside declaring that she had brought forth for him a son. 'Let me see him,' says O'Donnell, that I may recognize in him the countenance of a chief and the germs of a man of prowess.' 'Never shalt thou see his face,' said the lovely spirit, 'but he will at all times rescue thee from danger.'"†

Among the drawings of Gabriel Beranger there is one of an apparently natural rock set upon another in the manner of a rocking-stone, somewhere in the County of Sligo, and which bears the name "Cloch an Marcach," or the "Horseman's Stone."

#### THE ASS.

One or two examples may be cited of the connection of this animal with venerated stones and a dolmen. Near Crosspatrick in Mayo, to the left of the road leading through that place from Killala to Ballina, is a stone called *Leim an Asail*, that is, the Ass's Leap. It is at a well, and in its surface are shown marks said to be the impressions of the knees of the ass upon which Patrick rode. We may compare with this, as the writer of the Ordnance Survey Letters observes, the footprints of Mahomet's camel shown in the Moorish country in North Africa.‡

† O.S.L., Co. Donegal,  $\frac{14}{C. 19}$ , p. 121.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Mayo,  $\frac{14}{E. 19}$ , p. 229.



One of the two dolmens at Ballynasleigh, near Durrow, in the county of Kilkenny, is called *Mainsair Asal*,† that is, "The Ass's Manger," which Tighe, however, regards as either a modern or a corrupted name. A dolmen at Manger in the Queen's County bore the same name.‡

#### THE GOAT.

The dolmen at Ballylowra, in Kilkenny, bears the name of *Cloch na Gobhar*, explained by Mr. Graves as "The Goats' Stone." §

#### THE SERPENT.

In the Townland of Ballygheely, Parish of Kilshanny, and County of Clare, is a large cairn, measuring 100 paces in circumference, and about 25 feet high, tapering at the top. It is called Carn Connachtach, that is, "Carn of the Connaught Men." "The tradition in the neighbourhood is that a multitude of Connaughtmen on one occasion followed a large serpent from their own country to this place, where they succeeded in killing it, and each one having carried a stone in his hand in pursuit, heaped them up here on the death of their prey." ||

We have already seen that another name for "Danes' Cast," or "Furrow of the Black Pig," was the "Worm Track," or "Worm Ditch," in Irish *Cladh-na-Peiste*.

The connection of a Piast, that is, a "worm" or "serpent," with legends of lakes and wells, is of common occurrence, and belongs also to Scandinavian folk-lore.

#### THE DEER.

I am not aware that the deer is connected in Irish mythology with megalithic remains. It appears, however, in early Christian fables, and plays the part of a leader and guide. The name Croaghballaghdown in Donegal, is in Irish *CrucBealach Damhain*, that is, the Peak of the Stag's Path (*semita cervi*), the fable about which occurs in Manus O'Donnell's "Life of Columba."

Again, the name of the village of Monea in Fermanagh is

† p. 402, *supra*.  
§ "Trans. Kilk. and S.E. Ir. Archæol. Soc.," vol. i., 1850, p. 130; see p. 403, *supra*.

‡ p. 374, *supra*.  
|| O.S.L., Co. Clare, <sup>14</sup>B. 23, p. 309.



*Muine Fhiadh*, "Hill of the Deer." The virgin St. Feber first attempted to build her church at Kildrum, at a place where the holy-well, now called Tobar Feber, is to be seen; but (as was the case with so many churches, in Derry especially) what had been built in the course of the day was destroyed in the night by some invisible being. At last a deer was pleased to point out a site where Feber might erect her church without interruption. He carried Feber's books on his horns to Monea, and there she finished her work without hindrance.†

A similar myth relating to the guidance of a deer is told by Procopius and others, of the crossing of the *Palus Mæotis* by the Hunno-Scythic tribes, *Cotrigures* and *Utrigures*, otherwise *Cotragi* and *Utragi*. The doe (or stag, in other accounts) having led these "Cimmerians" across the water, vanished, upon which they proceeded to occupy the seats vacated by Vandals and Visigoths, and thence to devastate the Roman Empire. With these *Cotragi* were intimately associated the *Bulgari* or *Bolgar*.

#### THE PHOOCA OR POOKA.

"The Pooka's Grave," is the name popularly given to a dolmen in the Townland of Ballymartin in Kilkenny. It was considered to be a "favourite haunt of the 'Good People.'" In the Townland of Carrigaphoooca in Cork there were the remains of a dolmen surrounded by a circle, and near it a menhir. Smith, in his "History," states that the name "Carickafouky" means "Fairy Rock." The name was applied to the pillar-stone, and not the dolmen.

The presence of this mythical animal is also attested by the fact that its name is attached to venerated rocks in various parts of Ireland. A stone on Mount Eagle, in Kerry, near the old building called the *Clochán an Martinig*, is known as *Cloch rian cois an Phooca*, that is, "Stone with the mark of the Phoooca's foot."‡

In the Barony of Stradbally and Parish of Tullomoy, in the Queen's County, is the "Dun of Clopoke," and in the middle of a field about half a mile from it is a pillar-stone, a figure of which has been engraved in Gough's edition of Camden. It now bears the name simply of "The Liagán," but it was called formerly

† See also a legend at p. 876, *supra*.

‡ MSS. (Windele), "Jar Muman," p. 477.



*Cloch Leachdain*, and *Cloch-a-Phuca*, or the "Phooca's Stone," from which latter name the Townland of Clopook, as well as the "dun," derived their appellation.†

In the County of Kilkenny is the Parish of Fartagh, correctly Ferta, which is the short for *Ferta-na-cCairech*, meaning "Tombs of the Sheep." "The graveyard here is held in much esteem. A little to the north of it is a well called Tobar-a-Phuicin, that is, the 'Little Puka's (or Pooka's) Well.' At this well, so the story goes, Saint Kieran was in the habit of watering his cow. The site, also, is shown of an old road which they call *Bothar Chiarain*, and say it is known all the way to Callan."‡

In the same county is a modern castle called Cuirt-a-Phuca, meaning the Pooka's Court. "Probably a more ancient fortification stood on this site, and that from it the name was transmitted to the castle." It is amusing to observe that Tighe, in his "Survey" of the county, supposes the name to be that of an ancient Irish family who possessed the place.§

According to the best authorities, the Pooka was a goblin, whose "usual appearance was that of a sturdy pony," who, lying beside the road crouched like a cat, amused himself by playing tricks on belated travellers, running between their legs, lifting them on his back, and thus conveying them over mountain and dell until he precipitated them over some precipice, or into some thorn-brake or bog. In this he resembled the night-steed of Pyrenean, and the *bruxa* of Lusitanian folk-lore.

He was especially connected, however, with marshes and water, and is represented as shaking the dripping ooze from his hairy hide. In this he resembles the sea-horse of the islands of the Hebrides, and in his amphibious attributes a rash etymologist might be led to identify him with his namesake the Latin *Phoca*, a sea-calf. A water-bull belongs to Scottish folk-lore.||

In a review of Crofton Croker's "Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland," Jacob Grimm writes thus: "The Pouke (as Spencer calls him) or Phooka, as the word is pronounced, means, in plain terms, the Evil One. 'Playing the puck,' a common Anglo-Irish phrase, is equivalent to 'playing the devil.' Much

† Camden's "Britannia," edit. Gough; "Trans. Kilk. Archæol. Soc.," vol. i. (1849-50), p. 298.

‡ O.S.L., Co. Kilkenny,  $\frac{14}{D. 21}$ , p. 134.

§ O.S.L., Co. Kilkenny,  $\frac{14}{D. 21}$ , p. 149.

|| Campbell, "Tales of the Highlands," Introd. xcvi.



learning has been displayed in tracing the word through various languages.† The commentators on Shakespeare derive the beautiful and frolicsome 'Puck of the Midsummer Night's Dream,' from the mischievous Pouke.‡

"The Irish Phooka, in its nature perfectly resembles the German *Mahr*. The Germans have a legend also of a spirit, which sits among reeds and alder bushes ; and which, like the Phooka, leaps upon the back of those who pass by in the night, and does not leave them till they faint and fall to the earth." §

For myself, I have my doubts whether, in their origin, however much they may have been subsequently confounded together, Puck and Phooka are traceable to the same source. Puck is a dwarf, a mischievous little fellow,—diminutive proportions being his first and essential characteristic. In Cornwall he is called *bucca*, and is a mine-dwarf answering to the *hammerling* of the Germans. Another form of the same word in Cornwall is *pisky*, *pisgy*, and *picksy*, a tricky little fairy who plays havoc with the milk in those farmhouses on the ridgeway of the roofs of which an earthenware ball has not been placed, called a *pisgy-pow*, that is, *pisky's foot*, upon which he can dance by night. It is curious to notice that in one dialect of Basque, namely, Guipuscoan, *piska* means "little." In others, namely, Biscayan, Libourdin, and that of Bas Navarre, the same word takes the forms *puska*, and *puchka* ; thus *piska-pichka*, or *puchka-bat*, means a little man, a dwarf.||

There was nothing particularly small about the Irish Phooka, whose characteristics seem to be those of another class of fabulous beings.

#### FIR BREAGACH.

A term constantly connected with venerated rocks, cairns, and megalithic remains in Ireland, and which has long puzzled etymologists, is "Fir Breagach," written also "Firbrega," "Feara Breighe," and "Firbreighe." "A whole chapter," says Windele, "might be written on these Far Breagachs." The usual explanation, he adds, is "deceptive men," "pseudo-men," "phantoms."

Whatever *breag*, *breg*, or *breigh* may mean, it would seem at first sight that it is the same word which occurs in the forms *brick*, *brack*, *breac*, and *breagh*, in the following names:—*Ceim-na-bricka* (Cork), *Drumbrick* (Donegal), *Cloch-brack* (Tipperary),

† See *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii.

§ *Dublin Penny Journal*, Nos. 125 and 157.

‡ See Drayton's "Nymphidia."

|| See Van-Eys's Basque Dictionary.



*Knockbrack* (Sligo), *Lag-breac* (Tipperary), *Cloch breac* (Galway), *Fal na g-clocha breaca* (Mayo), *Clocha breacha* (Sligo), another *Clocha-breacha*, also called "*The Bracked Stones*" (ditto), *Cloch-breac*, also called *Cloch Lia* (ditto), *Cloch na Breacaib* (Cork), and *Breaghwy* (Sligo), at all which places (and many others might be added to the list) venerated rocks or megalithic remains occur. This word *breac* has usually been translated "*speckled*."

Beginning with Cork, the *Far Breagach*, near Kilcolman, is described as a vast pile of stone, apparently a cairn.†

The *Ceim-na-bricka*, which gives name to a hill, is a natural rock of very peculiar appearance. It is a large mass of sandstone, 7 feet high and 9 to 10 feet broad, separated into three upright portions, standing three feet apart, the whole appearing to be detached from the ground and merely resting on it. At about the height of 4 feet, a slight natural indentation runs round the whole mass, marking a layer or stratum in the stone. Legend says that two giants, one of whom was Oisín, were throwing rocks at each other when two masses met in mid air, and were shattered into three pieces, thus producing the phenomenon. The natural indentation is the mark of the hoop placed round the fragments to tie them together. According to another story, a profane old woman swore falsely upon this stone, whereupon it burst with indignation at the sacrilegious profanation. This latter tale, says Windele, attests the sacredness in which the "*Ceim-a-bricca*" was held.‡

Near Kilgrave Church, also in Cork, is a holed-stone, pierced through one of its angles. It is called *Cloch-na-breacaibh*, which Windele here explains "*The Sinners' Stone*." Women used to draw clothes through the hole.§

In Tipperary, in the Townland of Loughbrack, or Lagbreac, and Parish of Templebeg, there is a dolmen which, besides bearing the name Dermot and Grania's Bed, seems to have been called also *Cloch-brack*.||

A rough circle of six stones shown in the Ordnance Survey Map (Tipperary No. 32), near Slieve Kimalta, is called *Fir-brega*.¶

In Galway, in the Townland of "*Baile-an-bhothair*," says

† MSS. (Windele), "*Cork W. and N.E.*," p. 172.

‡ Id., p. 768.

§ MSS. (Windele), "*Topog. of Desmond*," p. 565.

|| Id., p. 53.

¶ Miss Stokes's MS. Notes on Dolmens.



O'Donovan, is a remarkable pillar-stone which bears the name of *Cloch-breac*.†

Some stones on Monument Hill, near Loughrea, in the same county, which Dutton describes as set in a circular mound of earth, must be the same as those mentioned in the "Name Book" of the Ordnance Survey, as being locally known as *Feara Breige*, or *Breighe*. The mound was in the Townland of Moenmore. It was similar to a fort, and seven large stones were sticking in the banks all round it. It appears to have been a work of the same kind as that at "Mullach Chairn" in Mayo, and the "Mound of Ash," in Down.

In the County of Mayo, on the Townland of Ballybeg, I find a site marked Cloghabracka, and according to the Ordnance Survey Letters, there was on the Townland of Creeves (which I cannot identify), a field called in Irish *Fal na g-clocha breaca*.‡ In the latter was "a so-called rath, the circle of which was composed of earth and stones, the stones being of the size usual in the megalithic series. The diameter inside the circle was ten yards, and there were one or two sepulchral monuments attached to the west side." From the description, this appears to have been a similar work to that at Moenmore in Galway.

In Sligo, in the Townland of Streedagh, and Parish of Ahamlish, a dismantled dolmen bears the name *Clocha-breaca*.§ Another dolmen at Belville, in the same county, is similarly designated, and the name Englished by "The Bracked Stones." ||

Among the Christian antiquities at the religious establishment of St. Molaise, on the island of Inishmurray, off the coast of Sligo, is a pile of stones arranged in the shape of a cube so as to form an altar, called *Cloch-Breac*. There is a superstition that no one can count the number of the stones placed on the top of it. These stones, in common with the altar on which they rest, appear to bear collectively the name *Clocha-Breaca*. Wherever found in like positions, as they are in Scotland as well as Ireland, such stones are believed to possess miraculous properties for healing sicknesses. They are also used for swearing on, and especially for purposes of malediction. They are common to the

† Ord. Surv. Letters, Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 1}$ , p. 157.

‡ Ord. Surv. Letters, Co. Mayo,  $\frac{14}{E. 18}$ , p. 276.

§ Wood-Martin, R.S.M.I., pp. 147-48.

|| Id., p. 206.



western islands of Scotland. Petrie states that there are "two of them in the Paris Museum, which bear inscriptions as well as crosses." Pennant, in his account of Iona, says that similar stones are there to be seen placed on the pedestal of a cross. It is the custom there to turn them thrice, according to the course of the sun, with which practice may be compared that mentioned by Strabo at Cape St. Vincent.†

The name they bear in Iona is *Clacha-Brath*, which is popularly connected with a word *Bráth*, meaning "Judgment Day," that is, the "end of the world."

Sacheverel, writing also of Iona, says that originally "there were three noble globes of thick marble placed on three stone basins, and these were turned round, but the Synod ordered them and sixty crosses to be thrown into the sea."‡

In Sligo there is a Parish named *Knockbrack*, after a hill so called. There is also a Townland called *Breaghwy*,§ where there are two sepulchral cairns.

In Donegal there is a dolmen at *Drumbrick*.

In Monaghan, in the Townland of Latnamard (Latnambard), in addition to a dolmen, are some "standing-stones," "called by the country-people *Fir Bhreige*," says O'Donovan, and explained by him "Pseudo-Men."||

In Tyrone, near the dolmen of Carriglass, is a spot marked *Cnoc-na-fear-Breagach*.

In Wicklow, in the Parish of Moyne, is the Townland of *Farbréaga*, said to derive its name from standing-stones, which look, at a distance, like men.

Looking at the various explanations which these names have received, I think that, while O'Donovan is right in translating those in which *fir* occurs as "pseudo-men" in allusion to the common story that groups of pillars, natural or artificial, were men or women turned into stone,¶ the other names in which *cloch* occurs may be explained in accordance with the meaning

† Geogr. edit. C. Müller, p. 114.

‡ Journ. Roy. A.A.I., 4th Ser., vol. vii., 1885-56, p. 175.

§ ? From *Breagh*, and *owey*, as it is locally pronounced, "a grave."

|| O.S.L., Cos. Armagh and Monaghan,  $\frac{14}{B. 12}$ , p. 132.

¶ Two other explanations are, however, possible. In Bohemia the name for a sepulchral tumulus is either *Homolka* or *Wulfshügel*, and in some parts of Germany the name of the *Wolf* is associated with cairns and megalithic remains, and *Breagh* in Irish means a *Wolf*. Again, *Breach* (= *Breath*) may possibly be the name of a race of people to whom such remains and natural curiosities might have been popularly ascribed. See Brych, Brictones, Brittones, Diefenbach, "Celtica," i. pp. 58-61, 109, 116.



preserved at Iona, not in the sense of the Judgment Day, however, but in that of the Irish word *bretha*, "judgments," in allusion to the superstitious purposes to which they were put in reference to swearing, augury, and divination. The Scotch Gaelic *clocha bràth*, in Iona, is evidently the same term as the Gaedhelic *clocha breaca*, in Inishmurray, the *th* and *ch* being readily interchangeable, even within the limits of Gaedhelic itself, as in *brath* = malt, which is also spelt *brach*.



## PART IV.

## ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.

THE evidence of the presence of Man in Ireland under the conditions of life attained by savages in other parts of Europe in what is known as their Palæolithic Age, when the influences of climate, the contour of the land, and the fauna and flora by which he was environed, were all other than they are to-day, rests upon such data as may be obtained from the bones and implements discovered in natural caverns and river-beds.

Such evidence, however, has to be checked by various considerations, prominent among which is that of the relative position occupied by such bones or relics with respect to remains of ancient fauna with which they may seem to be in association ; and, further, by the question whether the particular fauna, seemingly so associated, were in existence *solely* during the Palæolithic period, or whether there may not be reasons for supposing that they survived into the Neolithic, or even into the later ages which supervened.

In a cave, for example, at Ballynamintra,† on the estuary of the Blackwater, in Dungarvan Bay—a locality, by the way, which geologists have proved to have been a resort of the huge mammalia which existed in the post-Pliocene epoch—the bones and relics of Man have unquestionably been found in strata which contained, in close contact with them, the remains of the *Ursus Ferox* (race *spelæus*), a beast which Mr. Busk and others have identified with the grisly bear of the Rocky Mountains, and with those of the *Megaceros Hibernicus*, that magnificent elk, more than 10 feet in height, with antlers measuring 11 feet from tip to tip, which derived its name from the country in which its remains have been found most abundantly, but which ranged also over Britain, Sweden, Germany, France to the Pyrenees, and Italy.‡

† "Scientific Transactions of the Royal Dublin Society," April, 1881, vol. i. Ser. iii. : Paper by Prof. A. Leith-Adams, G. H. Kinahan, and R. J. Ussher, on "Explorations in the Bone-cave of Ballynamintra," with plates.

‡ "Prehistoric Times," by Sir John Lubbock ; 5th edit., 1890, p. 298.



Now, with respect to both these animals, Sir John Lubbock would deny that they survived even into Neolithic times. With regard to the Irish elk, he gives it a slightly longer span of existence in Europe than the hippopotamus, but immediately after stating this he adds, "No remains of this animal have yet been found in association with bronze, nor indeed am I aware of any which can be referred to the later Stone or Neolithic Age."†

According to this, then, if we grant that the remains in the cave in question were contemporaneously deposited, the human remains must be those of Palæolithic man.

But careful examination of the details of the exploration of the cavern, which have been given us with the greatest accuracy and precision by the three scientific experts engaged in the work, will lead us, I think, rather to traverse Sir John Lubbock's conclusion, than to relegate the remains to an antiquity so remote.

The contents of the rock cavity which had been formed by aqueous agency proved themselves divisible into five strata. Of these the lowest consisted of gravel, barren of animal remains,—the original deposit upon the limestone floor. The second in ascending order was formed of crystalline stalagmite deposited on the gravel floor. It occurred either in the form of a continuous floor, or in broken cuboidal masses, and in it were bones and teeth of bears and deer, pointing to its probable occupation by the former. The next stratum above this comprised pale sandy earth, with pebbles, bones, and some charcoal, and represented a period during which the stalagmite floor had been in part broken up and the earth introduced upon it. The stratum next above this was the most interesting. It was from 14 to 20 inches deep, and was composed of grey material consisting of earth and calcareous tufa. In this mass were bones in large quantities, clustered together often under the walls and in crevices. They were blackened and covered with pale dentritic marks. A large proportion of them belonged to the *Megaceros Hibernicus*. The ends of the marrow bones were always broken off, and the shafts generally split lengthways. Rude stone implements, which were of shapes convenient to the hand, were plentiful. These showed unmistakable marks of having been used for striking and cleaving. Indeed, they might well have been used for extracting the marrow from the bones of the great elks. Several bones of the bear were

† *loc. cit.*



found in this stratum, and numerous human bones, some blackened, others of a straw colour encrusted in calcareous tufa, with which latter were associated remains of the hare, ox, red-deer, pig, a vertebra of the *Megaceros*, shells of *Helix*, lumps of charcoal, a marine mussel shell, a limpet, and two chipped hammerstones. Bones of the rabbit, goat, fox, badger, and marten were also found in this stratum. The charcoal formed a seam in the grey earth,

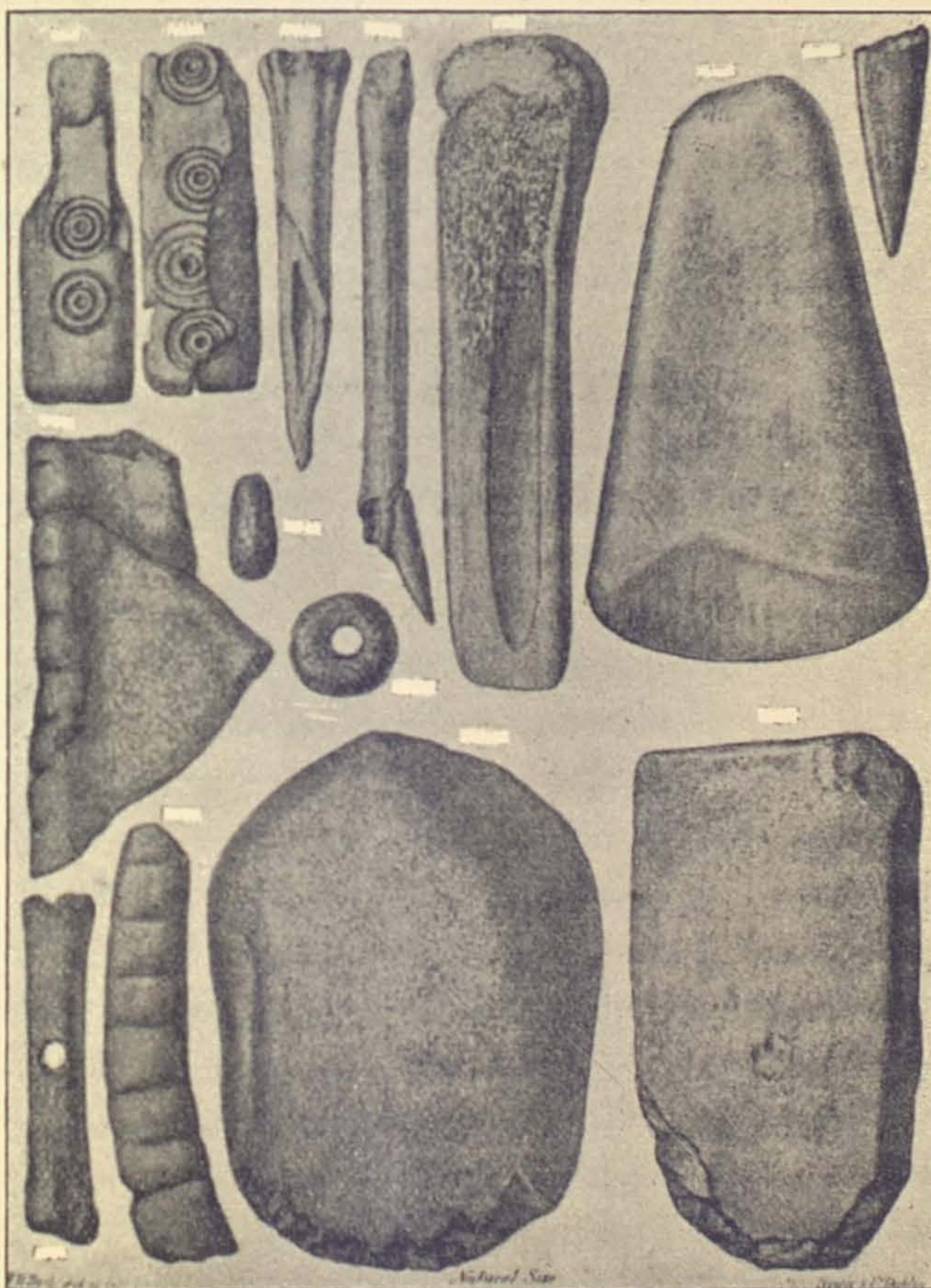


FIG. 701.—Objects Neolithic and Recent, found in the natural cavern at Ballynamintra.

like an old floor or hearth resting on a white calcareous seam. There was also found a pointed implement made from the bone of a goat. In the crevices were a bone-chisel, a knife-handle and a stone celt.

Here, in this stratum next to the top one, we have evidence of the deposition of calc tufa, and of the occupation of the cavern by men who were contemporaneous with the Irish elk and the bear. It would appear that domestic animals had already been introduced,



but the objects found in the crevices might have been washed down from above.

The last and topmost stratum was composed of brown earth, with rounded sandstones, limestone fragments, charcoal, bones, and implements. Here were found bones of the rabbit, hare, goat, ox, pig, fox, red deer, dog, marten, horse, hedgehog, and of several birds, one metatarsal of the bear, darker than the former bones, a number of broken bones of the *Megaceros*, and fragments of a human skull. Close outside the cave's mouth, in dark surface loam, with bones of the hare and goat, was a polished stone celt. Further outside the entrance was found a large flat amber bead. Within the cave were a long slender implement of carved bone, a carved and perforated bone, a small, pointed bone instrument, two fragments of a vessel of rude, hand-made pottery with indentations on the lip, and charred internally by fire, a bone chisel, a knife-handle ornamented with concentric circles (modern), several sandstones exhibiting marks of human use, and striking-stones of sandstone with chipped edges (see Fig. 701).

Before the time when this stratum had been deposited, calcareous deposits had ceased. The cave was occupied by Man, now using objects of unquestionably Neolithic and later (post-Neolithic) date. Domesticated animals were supplying his wants, and yet, at the commencement, at all events of the deposition of the stratum, the Irish elk had not disappeared.

On the whole, then, what are we to conclude? Surely not that the human bones are those of Palæolithic man because of their association with those of the Irish elk? Palæolithic man, so we are taught, had not domesticated animals, yet the remains of such are common to both strata in which human remains are here found. Had human remains or implements of the recognized Palæolithic types been found in the stratum composed of crystalline stalagmite, in company with those of the bear, at the bottom of the cave, the case would have been wholly different. As it is, the evidence appears to warrant the conclusions—(1) that the human remains in both these topmost strata are referable to the Neolithic Age—it may be to two separate epochs of it;—(2) that the *Megaceros Hibernicus* was still ranging the glens and mountains during the first occupation of the cave by Man, and that perhaps he was not quite extinct during the second;—(3) that the cave contains no evidence of the presence of Man in the Palæolithic Age.



Unfortunately, of the thirty-seven human bone-fragments which have been determined, those which can with certainty be ascribed to the lower of the two strata are few, and, taking the whole series together, none are sufficiently distinctive to allow of a conclusion being drawn as to the particular type of prehistoric man to which the individuals should be assigned. Some dozen or more portions of the skull are named, all of them supposed to be referable to the upper stratum, but nevertheless found with the broken bones of the *Megaceros*. Among these the most characteristic are the right and left supra-orbital portion of a frontal, possibly belonging to one person, and of which, according to the evidence, the supra-orbital ridges are prominent.

Prominence in these supraciliary ridges is so marked a feature in a type of Irish skull which, although doubtless prevalent in prehistoric times, is known to craniologists, as far as Ireland is concerned (with the possible exception of the so-called river-bed skull from the Nore, to be mentioned presently), only in survivals from the early Middle Ages onwards, that I am tempted, before proceeding further, to introduce a notice of it at once, more especially as, by many most eminent anthropologists, it has been classed with forms which once excited world-wide interest on account of their supposed Simian affinities, and referred by some of them with, as we shall see, no little show of reason, to a type which has been found to distinguish the most primitive crania of Europe. Whether the skull in the Ballynaminta cave, the vast age of which cannot be questioned, was flattened, that is to say in craniological language, whether it was *platycephalic*, as the type of which we are about to speak pre-eminently is; whether, again, it was elongated or round, that is to say, *dolichocephalic* or *brachycephalic* (the divisions under which Anders Retzius taught us to classify our skulls), we have not sufficient evidence to show. The prominence of the supraciliary ridges is the one point in common.† With regard to the other points, be that as it may, it will not be amiss to commence our inquiry into Irish crania by describing a form in survival, the prototype of which, if we rightly identify it, carries us back to the period of antiquity most remote in the history of the human race in Europe.

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† This feature, although marked in the case of Mansuy's skull (*vide infra*), is not so marked in it as it is in other examples to be noticed.



## I.—THE DOLICHO-PLATYCEPHALIC TYPE.†

The individual whose skull this is was an Irishman, who in the fourth or fifth century found his way to Toul. In the "legend"

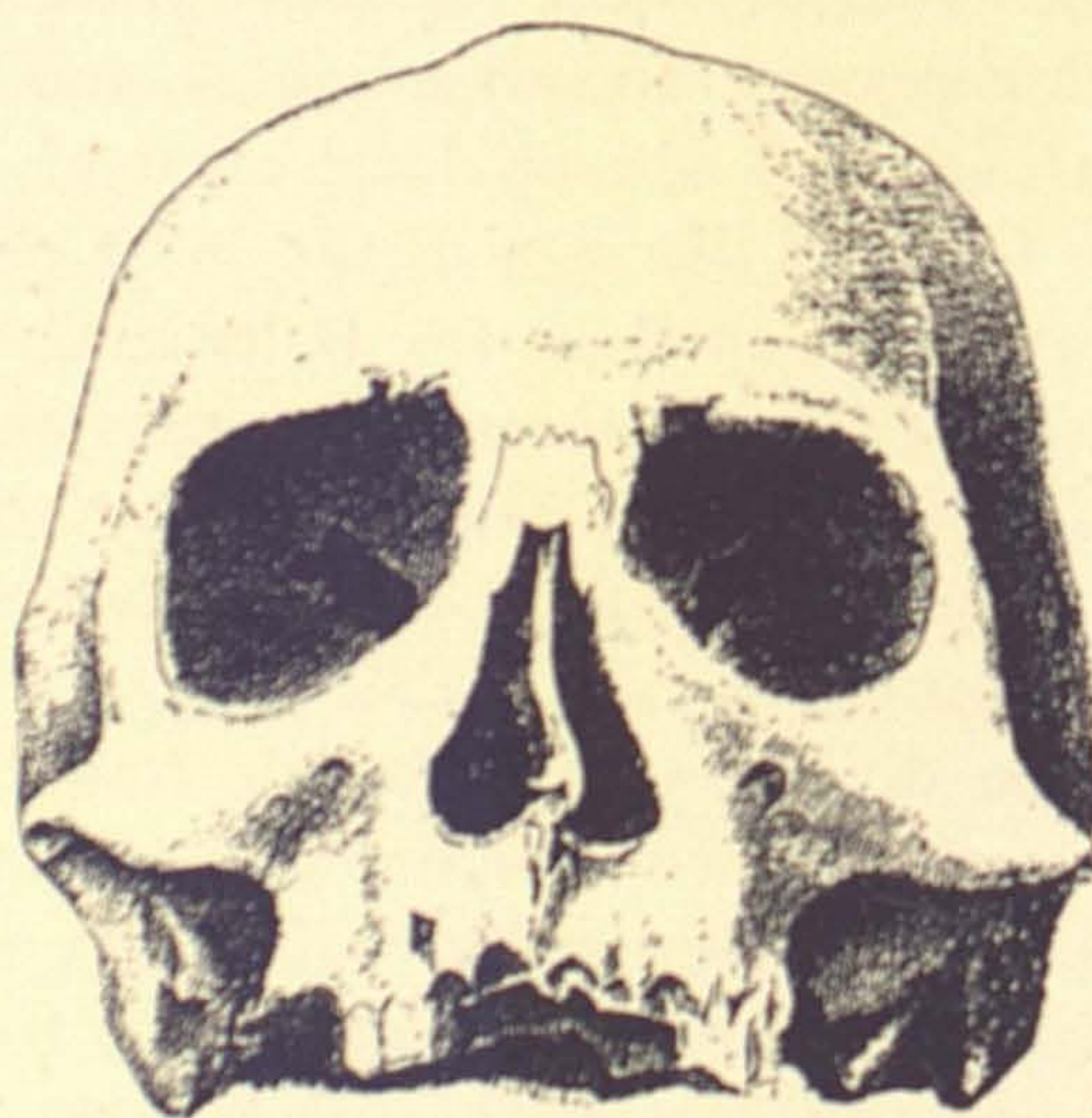


FIG. 702.—Skull said to be that of Saint Mansuy.

regarding him, written by one Adso in the tenth century, he is placed much earlier, and stated to have been a disciple of the Apostle Peter sent to convert the Leuci, that is, the people of

† The cephalic index, or *breiten-index*, is arrived at by taking the greatest breadth of the skull, and its greatest length, multiplying the former by 100, and dividing by the latter.  
The point of separation between dolichocephaly and brachycephaly was originally fixed by



Tullum Leucorum (Toul). In common with almost all the venerated missionaries of his age and type, he is described as of noble birth, "nobili Scottorum sanguine oriundus," "Scotorum clara progenie genitus," and, like most of them also, he was an exile from his native land. All this must be taken for what it is worth.

Certain it is that portions of a body said to be his had been objects of veneration time out of mind in the churches of Toul, and that his shrine was a centre of pilgrimage to innumerable devotees, when M. Godron † was requested by the bishop of the diocese to make an examination of the skull. He found the inscription, *Caput Sancti Mansueti cum quatuor dentibus, visit., anno Dñi 1614*, and was able to identify it with certainty. M. Godron was himself a practised anthropologist, and communicated a full account of the skull to the "Academie de Stanislas," at Nancy, in 1864. He describes it as extremely remarkable in its conformation, and considers that he detects analogies in it to the typical Swedish skulls of A. Retzius ‡ on the one hand, and on the other to the skull found by Smerling in the Engis cave near Liège.§

Retzius at 79, all skulls reaching that index (inclusive) being considered dolichocephalic, and all reaching 80 (inclusive) and above it counting as brachycephalic.

Other subdivisions followed. Welcker gives the following ("Archiv. für Anthropologie," 1866, pp. 135, 154)—

Dolichocephalic, 67-71.	(No modern European types, but many ancient examples from caves, river-beds, and megaliths.)
Subdolichocephalic, 72, 73.	(Among which he places the Irish, but no other Europeans.)
Orthocephalic, 74-78.	(Among these he gives the ancient Romans, the Spaniards, the ancient Greeks, the Swedes, the Esthonians, the Hollanders (including those of Urk and Marken), the English, the Danes, the Scotch, the Portuguese, the Netherlands, and the modern Greeks.)
Subbrachycephalic, 79, 80.	(Among these he includes the French, the Italians, the Serbs, the Poles, the Russians, the Finns, the High German people, and the Roumanians.)
Brachycephalic, 81-85.	(Among these are the Swiss, the Czechs, the Croats, the Lapps, etc.)

In a table which combines the "*breiten* index," with the "*höhen*" (or altitudinal) index, the same writer gives the Irish skull a proportional height of 70·6; to the Hollanders (Frisians) of Urk and Mark, 69·8; to other Hollanders, 71·1; to the Iclander, 71·1; to the Holsteiner, 71·2; to the Dane, 71·3; to the Swede, 71·5; to the Hanoverian, 71·7; to the Letts, 72·3; to the Scots, 72·5; to the people of Bonn and Köln, 72·6; and to the English, 73·1.

According to this author, therefore, the Irish have on the one hand the most dolichocephalic skull in Europe, and on the other the most platycephalic, with one exception. More recent and extensive measurements have tended to modify these views. One type in survival justifies the extreme platycephaly. Many of the prehistoric crania possess a very marked dolichocephaly, but no skulls of at all recent date justify the retention of an index of 72 and 73 which, as it has been based on skull measurements from river-beds and dolmens, must be regarded, as in Britain, as distinguishing the inhabitants of these islands only during the most primitive period.

† "Mémoires de l'Academie de Stanislas," Nancy (1864), pp. 50, 61: Paper by M. D. A. Godron, entitled, "Examen ethnologique des têtes de Saint Mansuy et de Saint Gérard."

‡ A. Retzius, "Om formen af Nordboernes Crania," Stockholm (1843), p. 3, and "Ethnologische Schriften von Anders Retzius," p. 4, and pl. I., fig. 1.

§ "Recherches sur les ossements fossiles découverts dans les cavernes de la Province de Liège," Liège (1843), vol. i. p. 60; Tab. I., figs. 1 and 2; see also "Crania Ethnica" ("De Quatrefages and Hamy," p. 73); Sir C. Lyell's "Antiquity of Man" (French edit.), p. 88, *et seqq.*; Hamy, "Précis de Paléontologie Humaine," vol. ii. p. 281, *et seqq.*; W. Turner, in the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, vol. i. (April, 1864), p. 250, *et seqq.*; etc.



The characteristics of the cranium are extreme platycephaly in unison with marked dolichocephaly. The forehead is retreating, the supraciliary arches are large and protuberant, and the nose prominent. The cephalic index is 69.41. The cranial vault

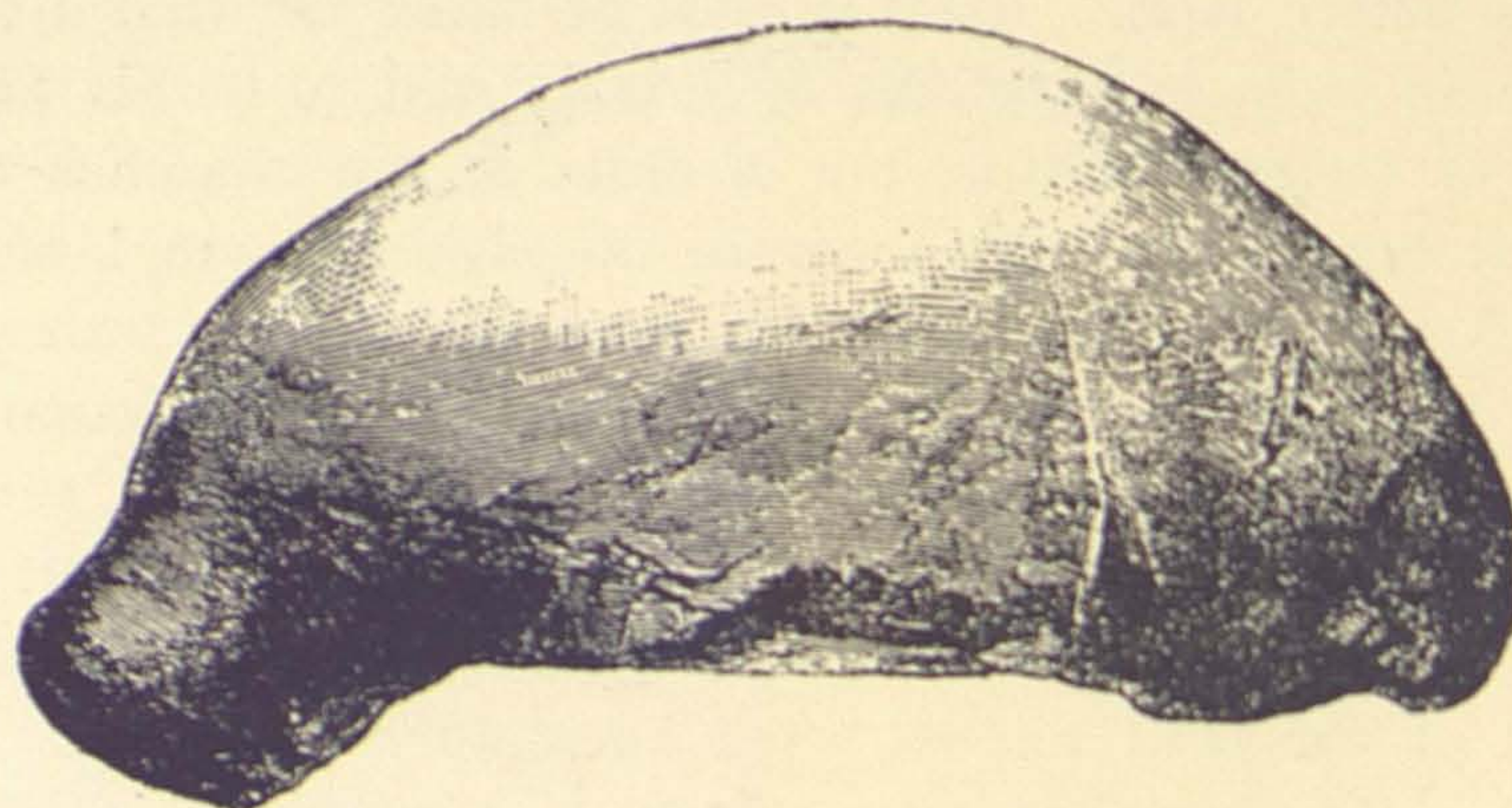


FIG. 703.—The Neanderthal Skull. From the "*Crania Ethnica*," p. 123.

of this skull is even more depressed than that of the famous Neanderthal† skull, which was looked upon by some to be so abnormal that it must have belonged to an idiot, or so little human that it must have belonged to an ape. As a matter of fact, the form is as essentially human as it is ancient in date, widely dispersed, and recurrent in survival. It is a typical cranium of the Canstadt group, so called from an example found in 1700, associated with bones of the mammoth at Canstadt,‡ near Stuttgart, and now in the Natural History Museum at the latter place. To the same type belongs a skull from Eguisheim, near Colmar,§ also found in connection with the remains of the mammoth. For the occurrence of the type, still in connection with a very remote epoch, in Sweden, we may turn to Nilsson.|| In 1843, he tells us, two human skulls were discovered lying about three feet below the surface of a shell-bed, the shells in which, including those above the skeletons, were found in horizontal layers, in a perfectly undisturbed state. The bed was 100 feet above the level of the sea at Stångenäs, in Bohuslän. The crania are at the Museum at Lund. The larger of the two, a drawing of which (but very inadequate) Nilsson appends, is described as unusually large. The great Swedish archæologist

† "*Cran. Ethn.*," Figs. 5-7; Hamy, "*Précis*" (*ut supr.*), p. 204.

‡ "*Cran. Ethn.*," pl. i. fig. 1; Hamy, "*Précis*," vol. i. p. 91.

§ "*Cran. Ethn.*," pl. i. fig. 2; Hamy, "*Précis*," p. 205.

|| "*Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia*" (Eng. transl. edit. Lubbock), p. 116, *et seqq.*; and pl. xv. figs. 253-255; see also "*Cran. Ethn.*," p. 16.



then proceeds to make a remark with regard to it which has a special interest in connection with our comparison of Saint Mansuy's skull with the Canstadt series, namely, that it appeared to him to resemble most nearly, though not perfectly, a plaster cast of a cranium sent by Sir R. W. Wilde to Retzius, and said to be that of O'Connor, who was called the last King of Ireland. The Stångenäs man was remarkable for his height, and also for the size and elongation of his cranium, the cephalic index of which, to judge by the drawings, must be 72 or 73. It is remarkable that this type of skull, though we can trace it back to a fossil state, is still sporadically represented in Scandinavia. The authors of "*Crania Ethnica*" state the fact that the Stångenäs form still impresses itself now and then on the characteristics of the skulls of the North,† and the skull of Stora-Aby (Æstergöthland), described and figured by Retzius,‡ which was taken from an ancient grave, and that also of Kai Lykke,§ an historical individual in Denmark, which is in the Copenhagen Museum, are examples in point.

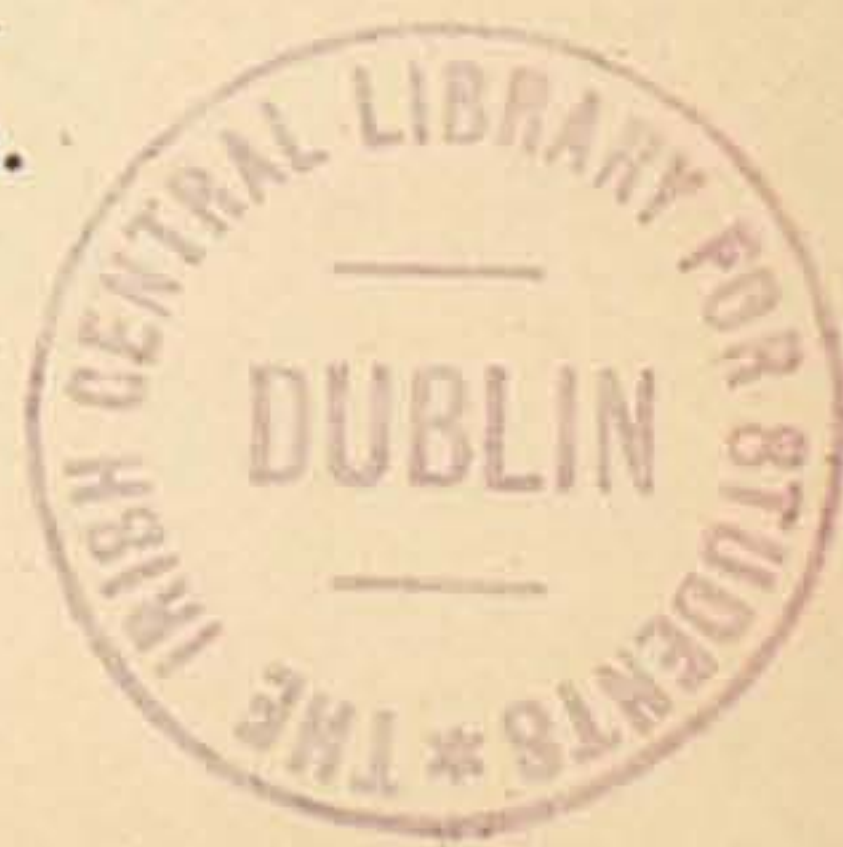
Before citing other Irish examples and further instances of survival of the type, we may pause to inquire what manner of man this ancestral savage of the Quaternary epoch was, and what the extent of his range.

He must have been, then, a man of rugged mould and massive frame, standing five feet ten or thereabouts in height—a giant, therefore, among the pigmies with whom in other regions he was contemporary. As to his head, the supraciliary ridges were, in any case, greatly developed,—in that of the Neanderthal skull to, probably, an abnormal degree. This gives rise to the circumstance that, in some cases, the forehead seems more depressed than is in reality the case. The cranial vault, however, was markedly depressed, and considerably elongated behind. The eye-orbits were enormous, and nearly circular; the nose prominent, and the nostrils extended. The traces of him which reach us from the most archaic, that is, from the Quaternary epoch, cause those who describe him to speak of his skull as "*un crâne bestial*." His implements were of flint or bone. Round his neck he wore a string of shells, or little fossil polypes, naturally or artificially perforated. He was the earliest human inhabitant of Europe

† p. 35.

‡ "*Ethnologische Schriften*," Stockholm (1864), p. 92, and pl. v. fig. 2.

§ "*Hommes Fossiles*," by M. Armand de Quatrefages de Bréau, Paris (1884), pp. 63, 64.





of whom we have cognizance; but his type, even in all its ruggedness, was not confined to geologic times. Explorers have met with his remains, sometimes in a form remarkably pure, sometimes in one more or less altered and modified, in the dolmens of the Neolithic Age, in Gallo-Roman cemeteries, and in the tombs of the Middle Ages; notably in districts such as the valleys of the Rhine and the Seine, where evidences of his existence in Palæolithic times are by no means wanting.

One only example can be pointed out of the appearance of this Canstadt or Neanderthaloid type in the West of France, and that not in connection with dolichocephaly, but with modified brachycephaly. The circumstance of its discovery is, however,

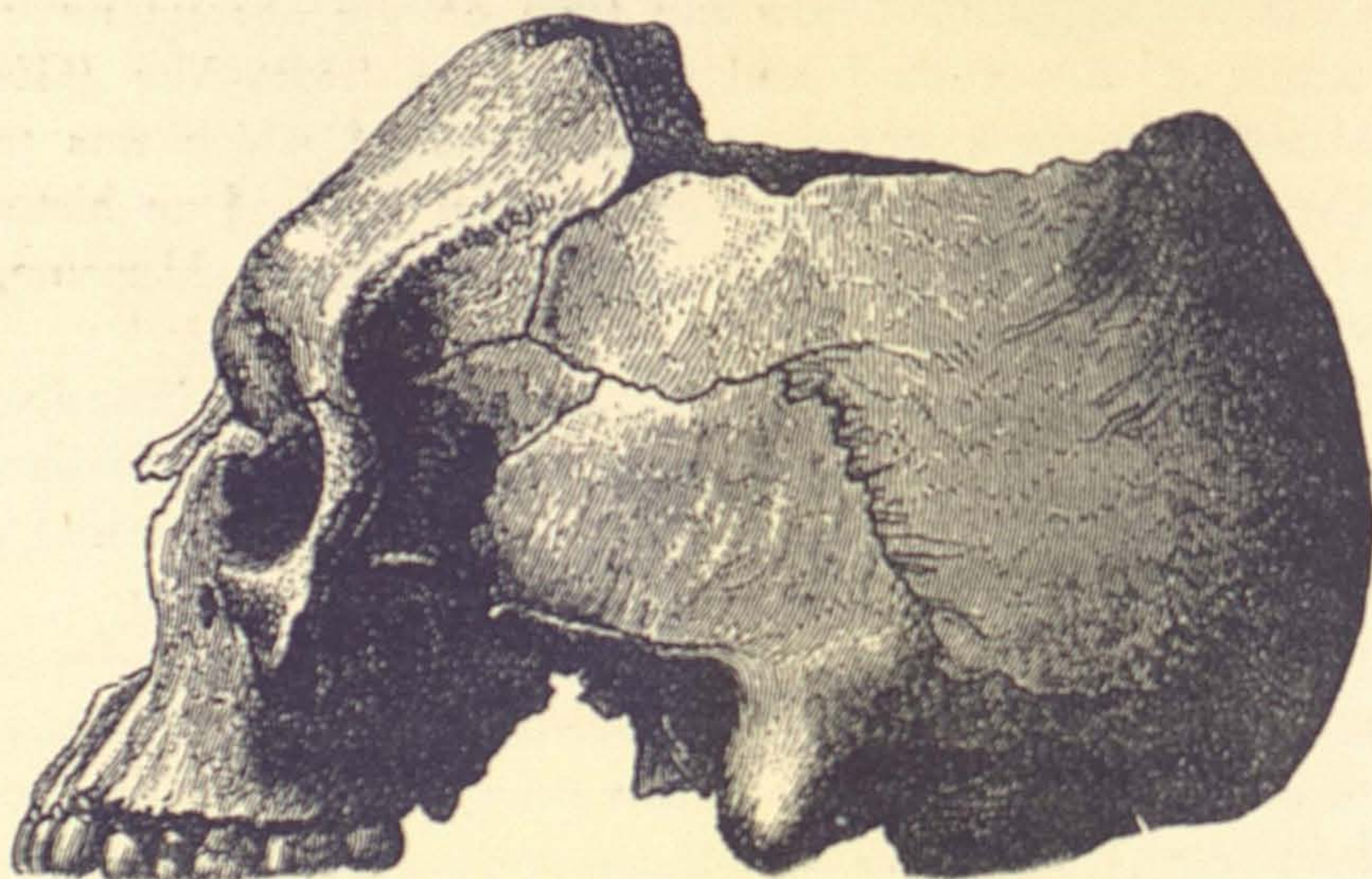


FIG. 704.—Skull from the dolmen of Bougon. From the "*Crania Ethnica*," p. 31.

so singular and suggestive that it must not be passed by. The cranium occurred, among a vast number of other skulls of totally different type, in the magnificent dolmen of Bougon, in the Department of Deux-Sèvres.†

This dolmen is described as an irregular parallelogram, the sides of which were formed of enormous blocks, bearing on their summits a gigantic roofing-slab nearly one *mètre* thick. Three slabs formed the S. side of the chamber, and a like number the N. side, while the E. and W. sides were composed of two

† For an account of the explorations made in the group of tumuli at this place, in one of which this megalithic chamber was found, see the "*Mémoires de la Société de Statistique du Départ. des Deux. Sèvres, Niort*," vols. v. p. 52, viii. p. 179, ix. p. 87, and M. Alex. Bertrand, "*Carte de la Gaule*" (1867), *in voc.* "Bougon," p. 180. A drawing of the interior of the chamber occurs in "*Seminario Pintoresco Español*" (1850), p. 393.



each. Two others were placed across the centre of the vault, dividing it into two compartments. Between these supports there was a counter-wall of dry masonry. A gallery, or passage, 1.50 m. broad, and 1 m. high, formed by four side-stones, with two on the top, entered the tomb at right angles to the S. side, thus rendering the plan of the structure comparable to the Drenthe and Scandinavian examples. The chamber itself measured 7.48 m. from E. to W. by 5.10 m. from N. to S., and the height of the interior was 2.25 m. It was estimated that the vault contained no less than sixty human bodies, in three layers, divided by pavements of flags. With

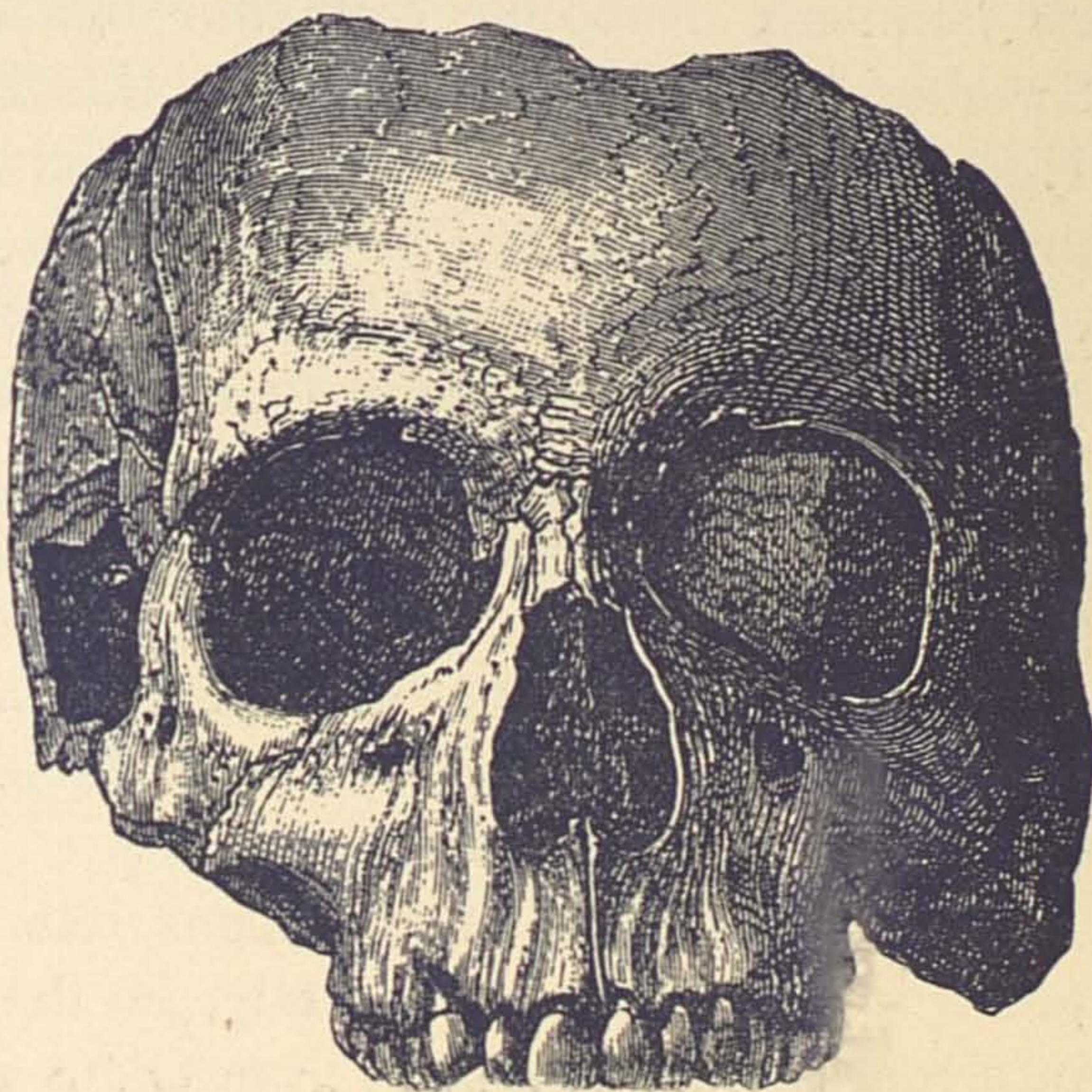


FIG. 705.—Skull from the dolmen of Bougon. *From the "Crania Ethnica," p. 31.*

these were found four urns entire, together with a large number of fragments of pottery, two flint axes, not polished, a stone hammer, pierced, and of excellent workmanship—several pointed bone implements (such as are found in caves), a bear's tooth perforated at the end, several boar's tusks, two beads of a mother-of-pearl necklace, a perforated bone, several knives, and a saw of flint, the remains of a necklace of shells, perforated by friction, and of another formed of rings of pottery (such as those generally called spindle whorls?), and, lastly, a fossil echinus.

Among the characteristics of the single skull of the Canstadt type which found its place, as that of an allophylian among those of so many men, women, and children of weaker physique, may be noticed the rapid falling back of the low and relatively narrow forehead, the marked prominence of the supraciliary ridges and the glabella, the height of the orbits in proportion to their length, and their tendency to roundness, the excessive prognathism of the face, and the strength of the teeth with which the greatly projecting upper jaw is furnished.

Great interest arises from the circumstance that a cranium



reproducing so markedly the platycephalic features of those of Stangenäs, Canstadt, Neanderthal, and others of, as is justly supposed, the Quaternary epoch, was found in a dolmen, which in turn reproduces—both in the plan of the structure and in its evidently Neolithic contents—the structures of this class in Sweden, the Cimbric peninsula, the Baltic islands, Drenthe in Holland, Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg. The fact that its cephalic index is 80,† which differentiates it from the other platycephalic examples, is indicative of the mixed descent of the individual, and of the presence of the brachycephalic race already in the Neolithic Age.

MM. Quatrefages and Hamy compare with it the rugged skull known as the Forbes Quarry skull, from Gibraltar,‡ and consider that the type, in modified and softened form, entered into the crania from the Cueva de la Mujer and the Cabeço d'Arruda in the Spanish peninsula.§

Extending their comparisons into the Mediterranean, they point to the presence in Italy, in the Quaternary epoch, of a race represented by a skull from Olmo, and which, while markedly platycephalic, had the exceedingly low cephalic index of 68.||

It has been stated that no other skull of the markedly platycephalic type but that in the dolmen of Bougon has occurred in the *west* of France. In the *north*, however, an exceedingly good example of it in survival was discovered in a Gallo-Roman cemetery at Boulogne.¶ In the *east*, also, examples have been found in Lorraine, especially in the district of the Moselle.†† Above all, in the basin of the Seine, the only part of central France which has furnished examples of this type from the most ancient river-beds,‡‡ it is said to have been found in no less than seven instances of atavistic survival in Christian burial-grounds in the vicinity of Paris.§§

As this type has been discovered in the valley-basins of the

† Prof. Boyd Dawkins ("Cave Hunting," p. 199) gives the measurement of one skull from "tumulus, Bougon," as 0·80, by which, I suppose, he refers to this one.

‡ "Cran. Ethn.," pp. 21, 31.

§ "Cran. Ethnica," p. 33; "La Cueva de la Mujer, G. MacPherson, Cadix (1870), pl. x.; "Comissão Geologica de Portugal, communication by Signor Pereira da Costa, Lisbonne (1865); "Ages Préhistoriques de l'Espagne," by M. E. Cartailhac, Paris (1886), pp. 322, 323.

|| "Cran. Ethnica," pp. 17-19; "L'uomo fossile nell'Italia centrale. Studi paleoetnologici," Milan, 1867.

¶ "Cran. Ethnica," p. 32.

†† Ibid.

‡‡ "Crâne et ossements trouvés dans une carrière de l'avenue de Clichy, Bull. Soc. Anthropol. de Paris, 2nd Ser., vol. iii., 1868, pp. 329-332. For comparison with the Olmo skull, see "Cran. Ethnica," p. 17; and for comparison with the Stangenäs one, see the same, p. 18.

§§ "Cran. Ethnica," p. 32.



Seine and Rhine, and in Wurtemberg,<sup>†</sup> it is interesting to note its occurrence in Quaternary gravels at Brux in Bohemia, just south of the Erz Gebirge, and close to the valley of the Upper Elbe.<sup>‡</sup> Indeed, this most prehistoric, as well as most forbidding of the savages of early Europe, whencesoever he had come, and whithersoever he was directing his course, appears to have been familiar with the coasts and rivers of the whole of the western portion of the continent.

Examples of his type are quoted also from the canton of Vaud,<sup>§</sup> from Bâle,<sup>||</sup> from Hohberg,<sup>¶</sup> and from the lake Bienné in Switzerland,<sup>††</sup> a curious theory of Prof. Vogt, with regard to which I will presently notice. Instances do not seem to be rare of its occurrence in the valley of the Danube,<sup>‡‡</sup> and Mr. Barnard Davis cites one from the Crimea.<sup>§§</sup>

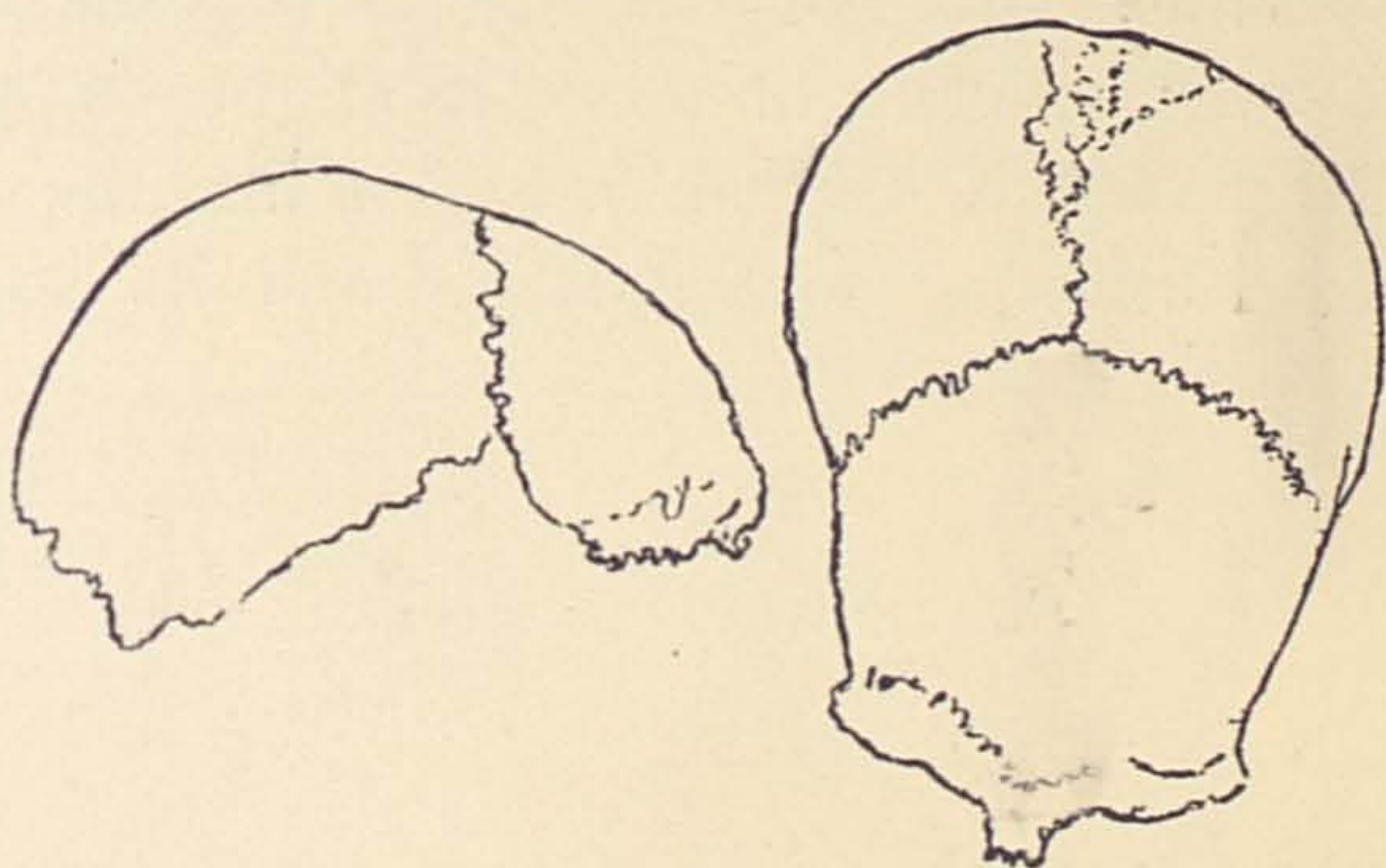


FIG. 706.—Skull from Minsk.

A cranium of like type has been cited from Minsk, the district in which are the marshes of the Pripet, the country of the blue-eyed and auburn-haired Budini of Herodotus,<sup>|||</sup> in whom, according to Schrader, we may recognize the ancestors of the Slaves. It has been described by Dr. Kutorga,<sup>¶¶</sup> and certainly seems to have “une

<sup>†</sup> “Beiträge zur Ethnographie von Württemberg,” by Hermann Holder, in the “Archiv. für Anthropologie,” 3 Heft, Brunswick, 1867, from the chapel of St. Vitalis, pp. 63, 64; classed under “German type.”

<sup>‡</sup> “Révue d'Anthropologie,” vol. i. 1872, pp. 667–682.

<sup>§</sup> “Leçons sur l'homme,” by C. Vogt, p. 497.

<sup>||</sup> Ibid.

<sup>¶</sup> Ibid.

<sup>††</sup> Ibid.

<sup>‡‡</sup> “Cran. Ethn.,” p. 38.

<sup>§§</sup> “Thesaurus Craniorum,” by J. Barnard Davis, London, 1867, p. 120: “A very large platycephalic skull, having a frontal suture.”

<sup>|||</sup> Book iv. chap. 108. “The Budini,” he says, “are a nation great and strong. They have all deep-blue eyes, and their hair is auburn (or perhaps rather bright red, *πυρρόν*). They had a city in the country called Gelônus surrounded with a high wall, thirty furlongs each way, built entirely of wood. All the houses in the place, and all the temples were of the same material. Here are temples built in honour of Grecian gods, and adorned after the Greek fashion with images, altars, and shrines, all in wood. They hold every third year a festival in honour of Bacchus, at which the natives give vent to Bacchic fury. . . . The Budini are the aboriginal people of the country, and are nomads, and eat vermin. . . . Their country is thickly planted with all manner of trees. In the very woodiest part is a broad deep lake, surrounded by marshy ground with reeds growing on it. Here otters are caught, and beavers,” etc. This topographical description accords exactly with the marshes of the Pripet. Rawlinson (Herod., vol. iii. p. 92 n.) regards the Budini as the ancestors of the Germans, while Schofarik, like Schrader, looks upon them as a Slavonic people (“Slavische Alterth I.,” vol. x. pp. 185–195). See Jevon's transl. of Schrader, “Prehist. Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples,” p. 426.

<sup>¶¶</sup> Dr. Kutorga's paper on this and another skull will be found in the “Verhandlungen der Russisch-Kaiserlichen Mineralogischen Gesellschaft zu St. Petersburg,” for the year 1842, pp. 35–39.



grande analogie avec le crâne du Neanderthal." Passing further east to the north of the Caspian, in the Government of Orembourg, MM. Quatrefages and Hamy think they detect, in the short description furnished by Vrolik of a Baskir skull, indications of the same type. The skulls of these people are, however, as a rule, brachycephalic, although some are mesocephalic, with an index of 79. They appear to occupy a middle position between those of the Tures and Mongols. Here, on account of paucity of evidence, the links of the chain, in its seeming process to the S.E., are broken, but the editors of the "*Crania Ethnica*" do not hesitate to suggest that, were it not for the infinite mixture of races, it might be again taken up in Persia, Afghanistan, Candahar, and so into the Indian peninsula.†

Returning to the Baltic and its southern coast, we find that

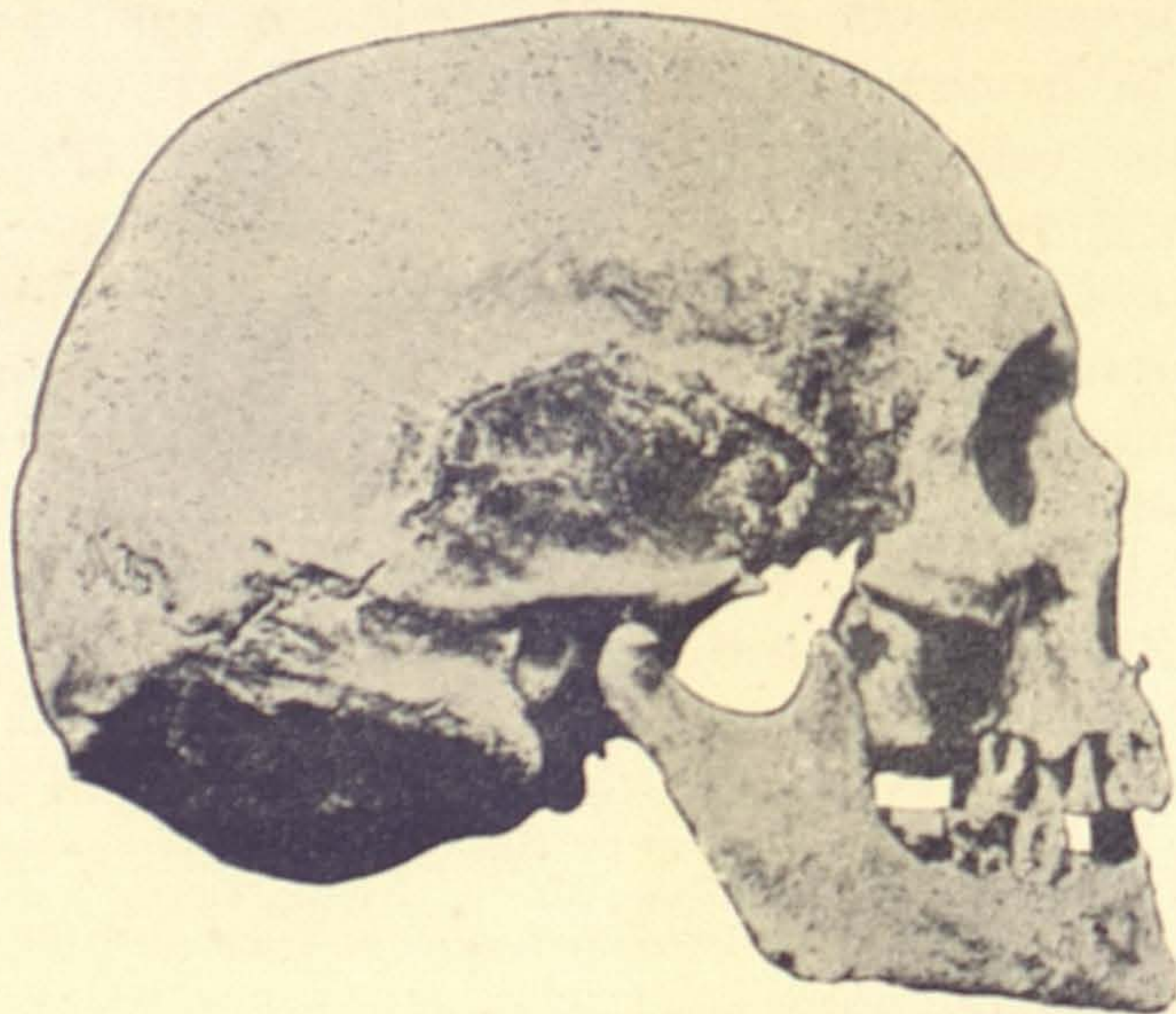


FIG. 707.—"Old Pomeranian" skull. *From Krissau, near Dantzic.*

Dr. Lissauer has described and given photographs of a skull found at Krissau, two miles and a half from Dantzic. He was led to discover it by observing that about twenty little stone-circles were cropping up through the sand, and that hillocks were crowned with oblong settings of stones about half a foot to a foot

At p. 37 he gives two outlines of the skull. It is also mentioned in a paper by Mr. Busk, in the *Natural History Review* for 1861, p. 168, and in the "*Verhandlungen des naturh. Vereins des preuss. Rheinl. u. Westphal.*" for 1857 (July 9th), and in the "*Crania Ethnica*," p. 38. It was found near Bobruysk, in the sandy bottom of a hollow, apparently an ancient river-bed, in a place where human bones had so often been met with that it was called "the old burying-ground," and tradition added that a town named *Raygrad* had formerly stood there, which had been destroyed by an inundation.

† "*Crania Ethnica*," p. 39.



above ground, and three feet below it. Urns and articles of bronze had been found in the vicinity. Human bones were found in all the circles at a depth of several feet, under layers of sand, charcoal, and broken stones. With this "Old Pomeranian skull," as he calls it, was an implement of iron. The skull itself was dolicho-platycephalic, with a cephalic index of 70.0, and an altitudinal index of 75.8, which he compares with the average indices of the Row-Grave skulls.† Another "Old Pomeranian cranium," also from a grave of the Iron Age, showed a cephalic index of 70.2. The conclusion Dr. Lissauer arrives at is that the Baltic-Prussian type is identical with the Frank-Alemannic type of Ecker. "Ecker's view that the Franks and Alemanni, whose skulls we find represented in the Row-Graves from the fifth century B.C. on-

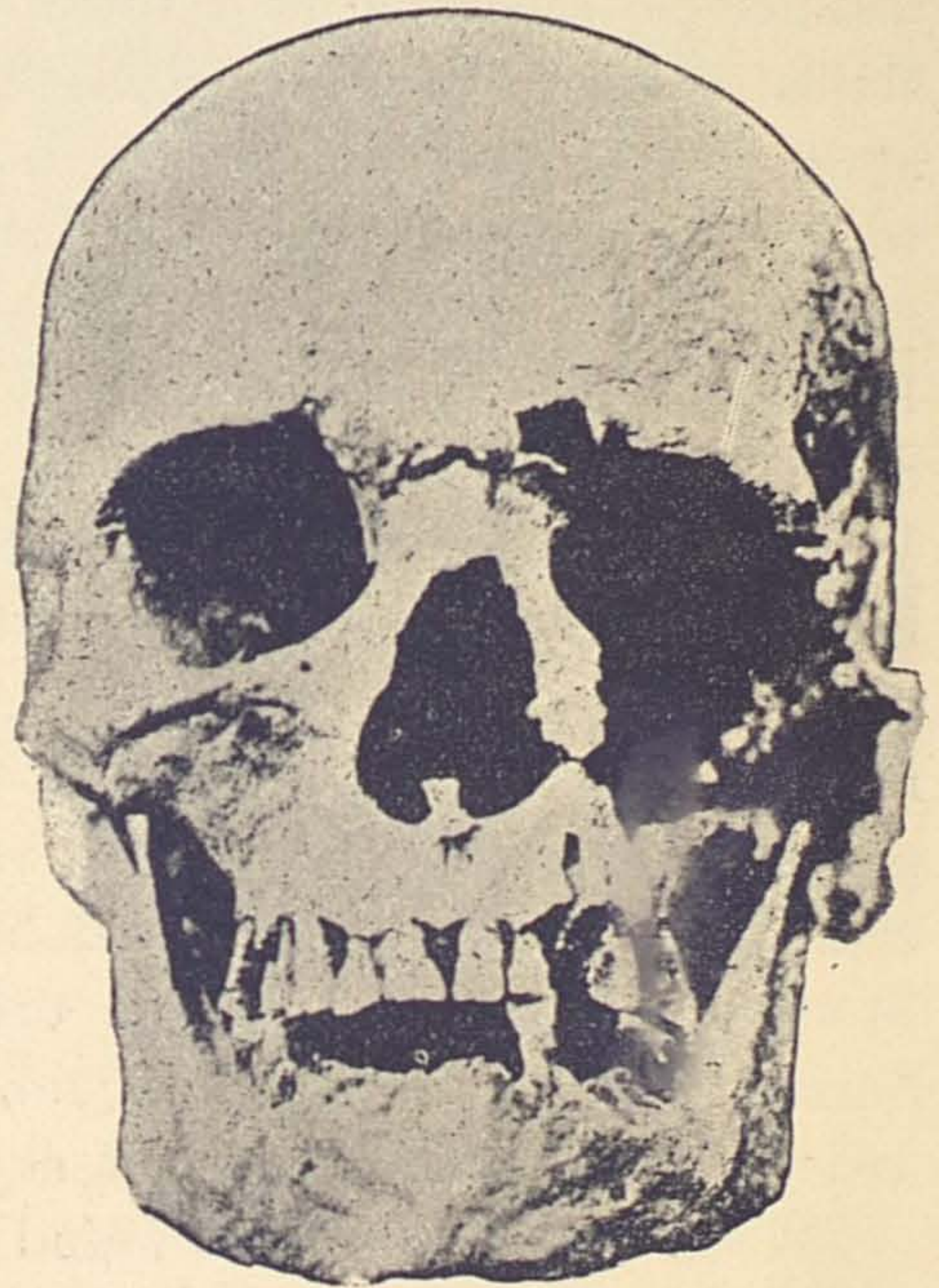


FIG. 708.—"Old Pomeranian" skull. From Krissau, near Dantzig.

wards, were originally settled on the shores of the Baltic, is confirmed by the discovery of the same skull-type in the heathen graves of the Prussian Baltic coast. We may now, in short, accept the conclusion that an original stock, of quite similar skull form, and therefore related to these Franks and Alemanni of the Row-Graves were living, before the historic period, on the Pomeranian amber coast."

Indications of this type are said to extend round the eastern coast of the Baltic as far as the Neva and the Lake Ladoga.‡ It is remarkable that the skull measurements of the Greenlander (cephalic index 71.8, altitudinal index 74.0) approach very closely those we have been considering.

† "Schriften der Natur. Forgeschende Gesellschaft." Neue Folge, Bd. 3, Danzig, 1875 (the paper is dated 1872), pp. 1-24. This paper also contains a brief account of skulls in the Königsburg Museum found in *hünengrabs*, tumuli, and stone-settings on the coast, and in the islands of Old Prussia, sometimes in conjunction with urns with burnt bones, as also with articles of bronze and iron and coins. Of these, ten were true dolichocephalic (see ante, n., pp. 922, 923), three orthocephalic, and two brachycephalic. In one instance all three forms were found together, and in one instance also a dolicephalic skull was found with a brachycephalic. This coast was clearly a meeting-ground of races during succeeding ages.

‡ "Origin of the Aryans," by Isaac Taylor, p. 104, and "Crania Ethnica," p. 496.



Virchow, in his description of the Old Norse skulls in the Copenhagen Museum, gives the average cephalic index for the Iron Age (Period I.), as 65.5, and (Period II.) as 69.1, that of the Bronze Age as 66.6, indices which it appears to me are distinctly comparable with those of the markedly dolichocephalic skulls which Professor Rolleston saw reason to differentiate altogether from those of the Long Barrow dolichocephali, and which he compares with the Hohberg type. Examples of these are, as we shall presently see,† found in "Round Barrows" of the Bronze Age in Britain, which, as a rule, contain a modified type of brachycephalic skull. The average cephalic index which Virchow gives for the Stone Age, obtained from forty-one skulls, is as high as 77.3. He adds that of the Finns at 80.3, and that of the Lapps as 83.2 to 85.1. Upon the subject as a whole, as regards Scandinavia and the North, he makes the following important remark:—"The Lapps and Finns are," he says, "brachycephalic; the Greenlanders dolichocephalic; the people of the Stone Age mesocephalic (*i.e.* orthocephalic) with a tendency to brachycephaly; the skulls, again, of the Bronze and Iron Ages are dolichocephalic, with tendency to hypsocephaly."‡

With regard to skulls found in "long built-up stone cists of North Britain and the islands," and of which Mr. Turner supplied Professor Huxley with measurements of ten examples, I consider that they may represent an intermixture of the dolicho-platycephalic type with that of the western dolichocephali of the "Long Barrows." It is to be observed that the cists which contain them are neither capable of classification with the dolmens proper, nor with the cists which usually contain brachycephalic skulls with skeletons in contracted positions. They are formed of stone slabs, those constituting the ends and sides being placed on their edges, whilst those which form the roof and floor of the cist are laid flat, and rest upon the upper edges of the end and side slabs. The skeletons are in extended position. The extreme cephalic indices are 0.78 and 0.72.§

In illustration of the type of which I am speaking, I may adduce the skull from the cist of Muckle-Heog, in the island of Uist in Shetland (Fig. 709).||

† *Vide infra*, pp. 953-4.

‡ "Archiv. für Anthropologie," Brunswick, Bd. 4, 1870, pp. 63 and 71; "British Barrows," p. 604.

§ "Prehist. Remains of Caithness," pp. 115, 116.

|| "Crania Ethnica," p. 494.



The cephalic indices of seven individuals taken from the tumuli at Keiss, Caithness, were 0·77 for men, and 0·744 for women,†

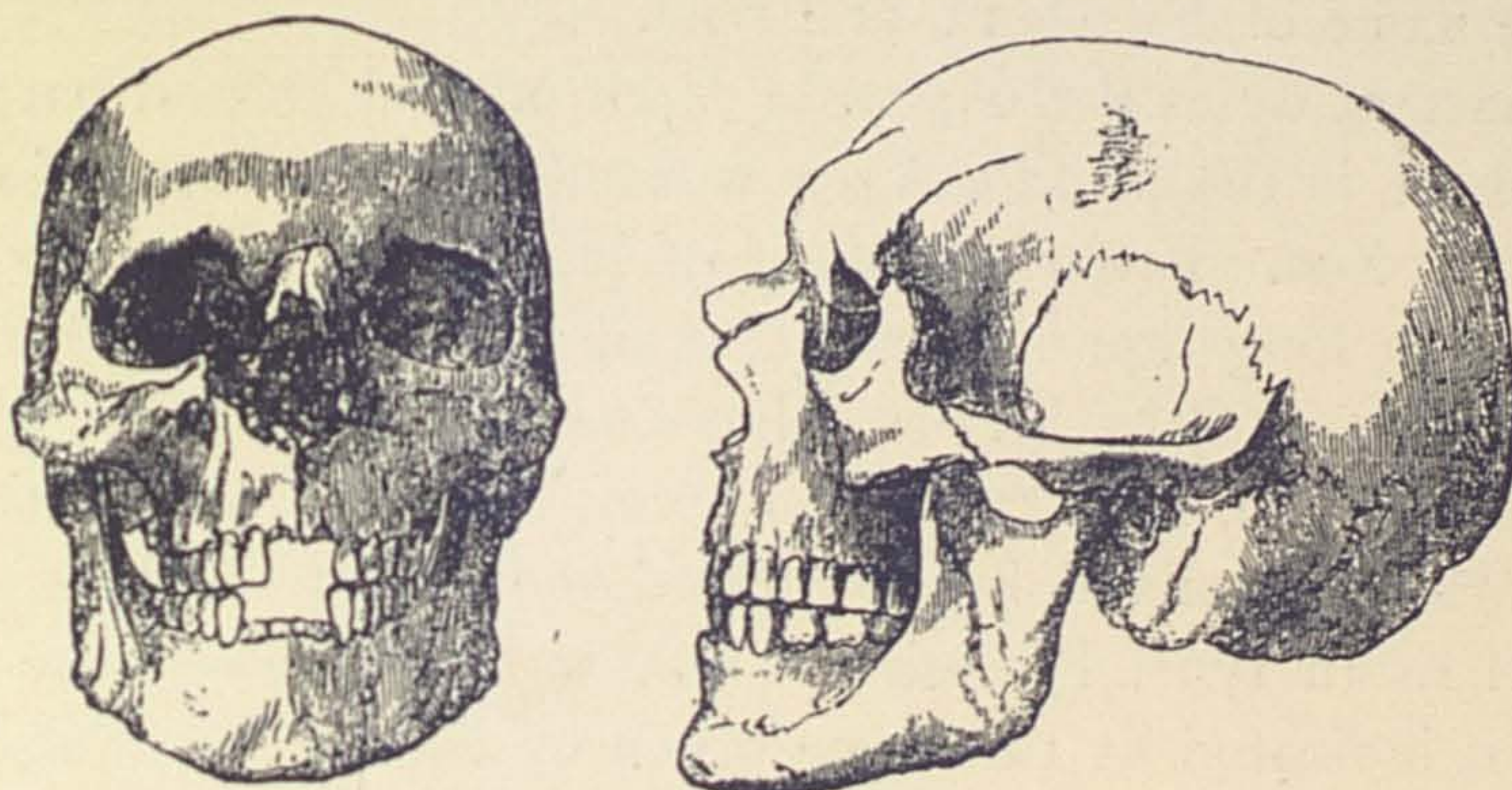


FIG. 709.—Skull from the cist of Muckle-Heog, in the island of Uist, Shetland. *From De Quatrefages.*

but the chambers in which they were found belonged to a type other than that of the so-called “long built-up stone-cists.”‡

The district of all others in Europe where extreme platycephaly,

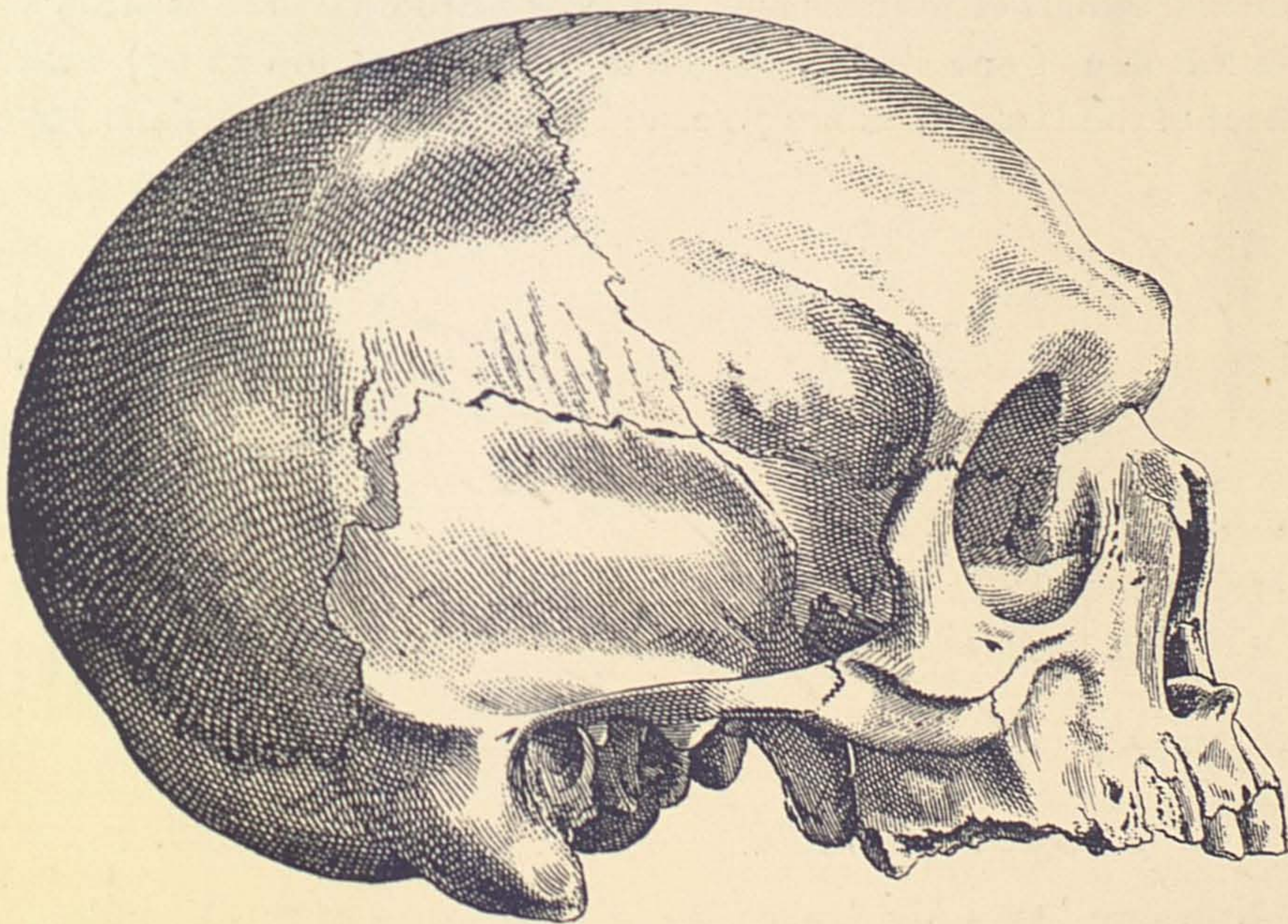


FIG. 710.—Skull of *Batavus genuinus* of Blumenbach. *From “Decas,”* pl. lxiii.

and that in combination with dolichocephaly, still holds its ground most firmly, and, historically speaking, can be traced back farthest—since the same population was dwelling there in B.C. 12, when

† “Prehist. Remains of Caithness,” pp. 100, 101.

‡ Id. p. 23. Comp. the Irish example at Newbliss (Monaghan), p. 291, *supra*.



Drusus came among them, as dwells there now †—is the out-of-the-way corner of the German ocean, to which, with its islands, we give the name of Friesland, or Frisia.

In ancient times these people dwelt on and around part of the basin which, in the Middle Ages, was enlarged by storm-tides into the Zuyder Zee. From the island of Marken, within these waters, Blumenbach long ago obtained a skull which he named *Batavus genuinus* (Fig. 710).‡ M. Sasse has shown that the same type still exists in Holland, very rarely, however, since out of eighty skulls from Northern Holland, he only found one example.§ With regard to the Frisian type, Professor Virchow has followed the line of argument indicated by the name given by Blumenbach, and in his admirable essay on the Anthropology of the Germans, with special reference to the Frisian type, has demonstrated the curious fact that the Frisian skull is not merely the most platycephalic in Europe, but that its altitudinal index is lower even than that of the Hottentots, or of the Tungusians of Siberia. Average measurements for the inhabitants of Marken and Urk give altitudinal indices of 69·8—(in the case of one skull which he figures, it is as low as 67)—while those of the Hottentots are 70·2, and those of the Tungusians 70·6.||

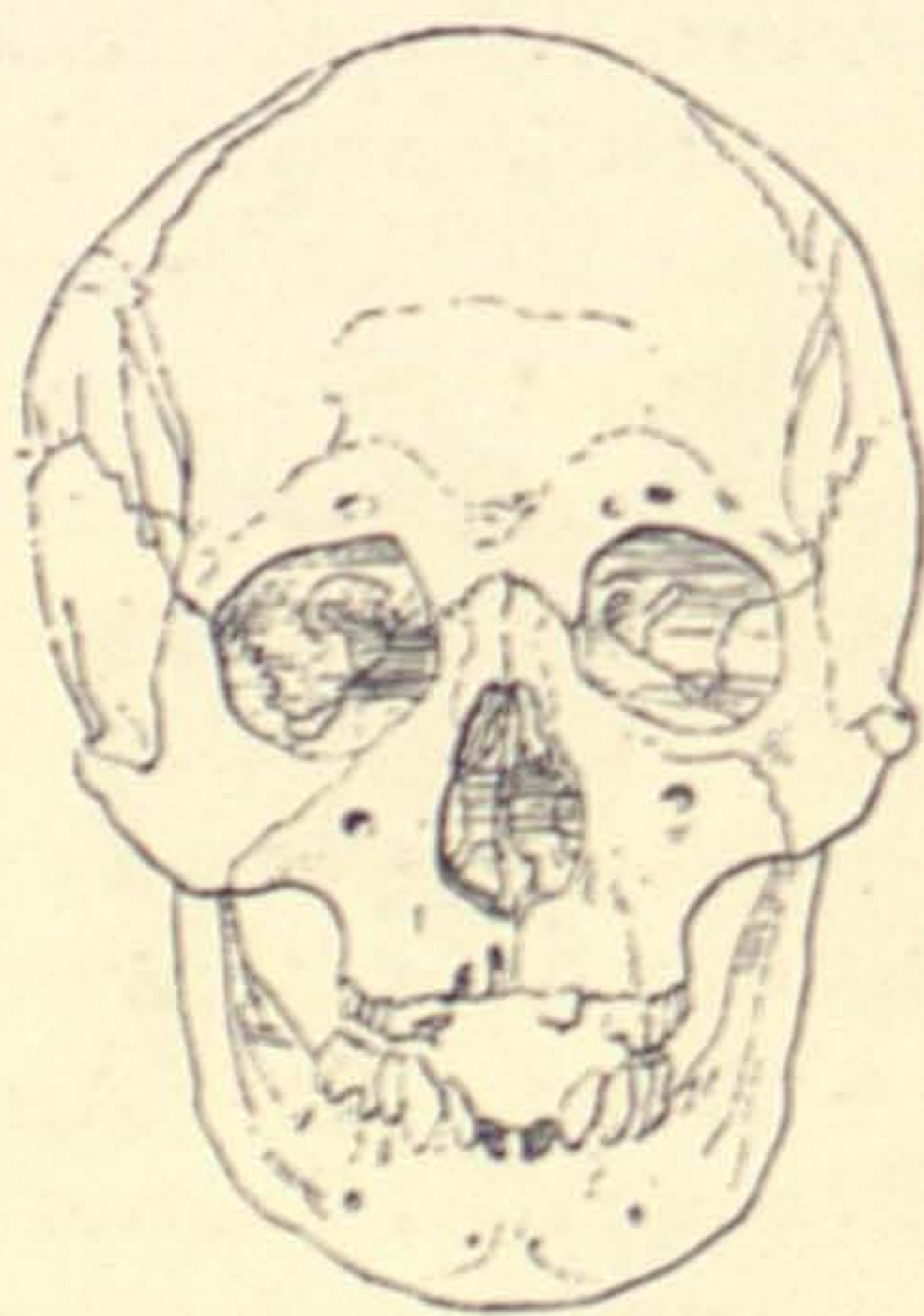


FIG. 711.—Frisian skull. From Virchow.

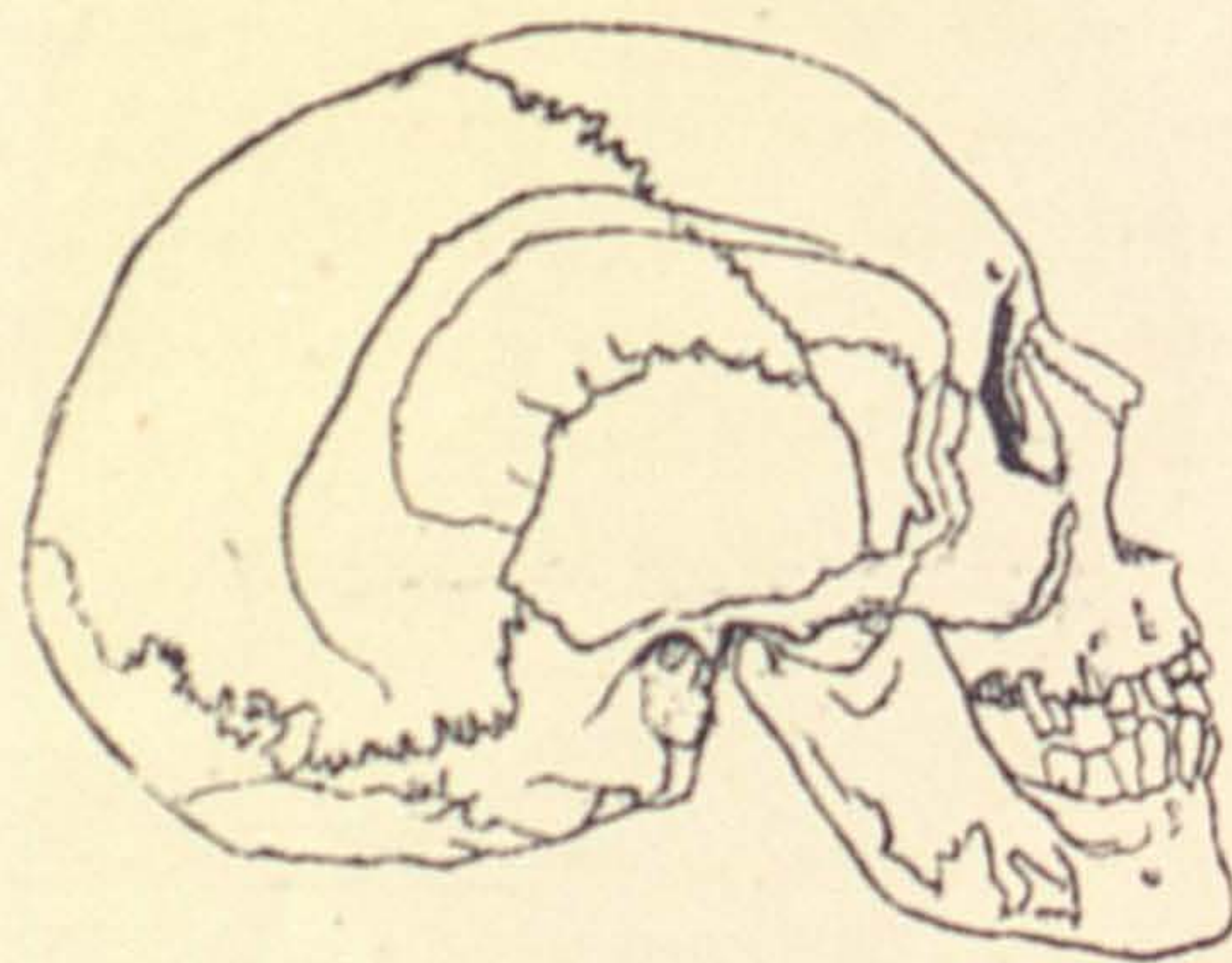


FIG. 712.—Frisian skull. From Virchow.

“Nowhere,” says Mr. Isaac Taylor, “are skulls of the Neanderthal type so numerous as in the islands in the Zuyder Zee.” ¶

† On the subject of the continuity of the old Frisian race on these islands, see the exhaustive and admirable paper by Professor Virchow in the “Abhandlungen der Königl. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin,” 1876, entitled, “Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Deutschen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Friesen.”

‡ “Decas prima collectionis suae craniorum diversarum gentium illustrata,” J. F. Blumenbach, Gottingæ, 1790, pl. lxiii.

§ “Bull. Soc. Anthropol. de Paris,” vol. iv. (1863), p. 491.

|| See Professor Virchow’s paper above quoted.

¶ “Origin of the Aryans,” p. 104.



And now I reach a fact which is most of all to my purpose, namely, that it is with these skulls that the particular Irish type to which I have devoted so much space is specially comparable. The altitudinal index of Irish crania which Welcker† adduces to set beside his Frisian type is 70·6, almost identical with the Frisian index, and, like it, below those of the Hottentot and Tungusian.

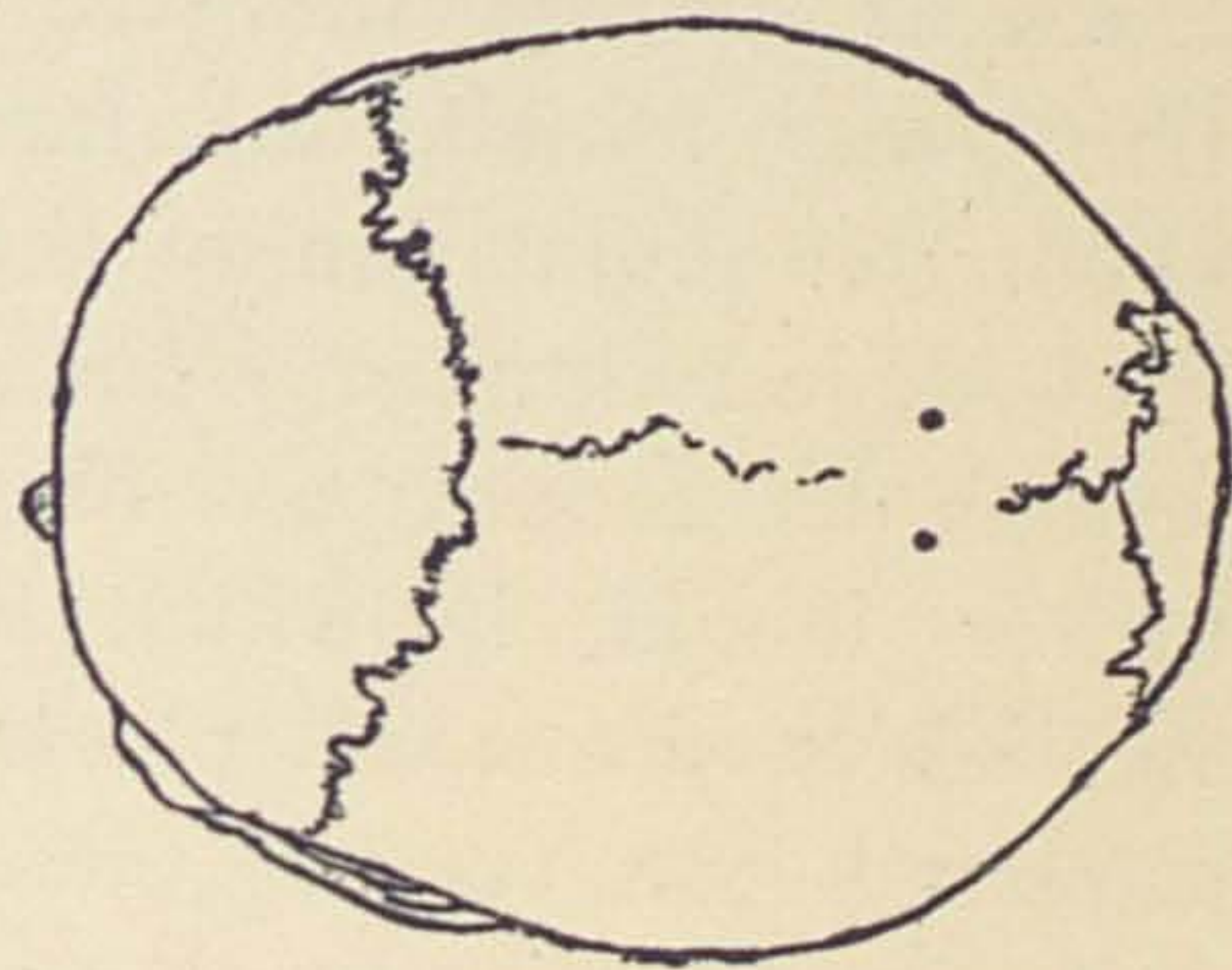


FIG. 713.—Frisian skull. From Virchow.

Mr. Barnard Davis and Mr. Carter Blake,‡ and others, have collected evidence anatomical and pathological to show that such examples as the Neanderthal skull could have been produced abnormally. Let them, however, say what they will, it is impossible that they can deny to these Frisian crania their proper place among the ancient racial types of Europe. It cannot be supposed that chronic *synostosis*, that a chronic closing-up, that is to say, of the sutures producing such an *apparently* abnormal conformation, could have been *truly speaking* abnormal when it prevailed in the case of the entire population of these islands whose skulls have afforded to M. Virchow the low indices he cites. It follows that it is an uncontrovertible fact that in them we possess a genuine and veritably ancient form of skull which has been handed down in unbroken survival from the remotest ages to which human palæontology carries us back, since, with modifications which have rendered it less rugged, it reproduces the characteristics of the skulls of Stångenäs, and Canstadt, of the Neanderthal and Eguisheim, as well as of those taken from the valley of the Seine, the Upper Elbe, and the other more distant places above mentioned. That it existed in Ireland *in remote periods* we have no proof, unless a skull from the Nore at Borris may possess so great an antiquity.§ In *survival* there, however, we find it in numerous instances, whether imported or indigenous, and then it is found specially to resemble the Frisian type just mentioned. The probable inference is that, at some period or another, the portion of the coast of the Continent

† "Kraniologische Mittheilungen," by Hermann Welcker, in "Archiv. für Anthropol.," Brunswick, vol. i. (1866), p. 154.

‡ "Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London," vol. i. p. 281, and vol. ii. p. 74.

§ See fig. 715, p. 943.



where it prevailed contributed its quota to the population of the island in the North West. That such immigrations took place at periods very much before the dawn of history is a theory which at present there is not sufficient evidence to establish. The great inundations, however, caused by the storm-tides, to which the population of the inner recesses of the Frisian Gulf were subjected, must, from prehistoric times onwards, have been periodically forcing an alternative on the people, either to go further inland, in which case they would have to confront enemies of no mean power in the other Germanic tribes who possessed the country, or to go seaward in search of new abodes. As to the Frisians themselves their fidelity to the Roman alliance secured them the possession of their native shore in perpetuity, but with kindred tribes around them it was not so, and the pressure of the Roman arms, added to an inborn love of piracy and adventure, must have tempted the German tribesmen over and over again to commit their fortunes to the waves. The discovery of a cranical type so strikingly similar to an Irish type on these coasts between the Elbe and the Rhine, seems to force on us the reconsideration of what we had come to regard as a mere coincidence or geographer's blunder, namely, the fact that Ptolemy places the tribe called *Cauci*† somewhere on the eastern coast of Ireland between Dublin and Wexford, and mentions *Manapia* as a town-name somewhere thereabouts also, while the *Chauci* were living in close contact with the Frisians, if they were not themselves a portion of that people, and the *Menapii* dwelt about the mouths of the Rhine.

From this coast it was, too, that Agricola, in the year A.D. 84,‡ gathered those Batavian cohorts which he led into Britain. Hence, too, it may naturally be supposed that Carausius§ in the third century, and Gratian and Valentinian in the fourth, derived his bands of mercenary Franks in the first place, and Picts in the second, whom those commanders are respectively said to have settled on the British coasts. There is something even to be said for the view that episodes in the disjointed Scottish and Irish Sagas of Finn Mac Cumhail and his band of trained mer-

† For the relation of the *Chauci* to the Frisians, see Prof. Virchow's paper above quoted.

‡ "Tac. Vit. Agric.," c. 36.

§ Carausius may have derived his name, it appears to me, from the pagus *Carouuascus*, otherwise called *Caroascus*, *Charos*, *Carasco*, and *Carosco*. Orellius (5921) gives an inscription relating to the *Condrusi* from the same country, a cohort quartered in North Britain. See Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," and Müllenhoff, vol. ii. 197.



cenaries may be traced to the Frisian coast either during the periods just mentioned or in the beginning of the sixth century when his namesake Finn of Finnsberg was engaged in fighting the Danes.

The name of the Fresicum Mare† (Firth of Forth), in which was the Urbs Guidi mentioned by Bede,‡ points to a like conclusion which, together with other facts, causes Mr. (now Sir Henry) Howorth§ to regard it as certain that Scotland and the North of Ireland were overrun in the fourth century by invaders whom we identify as Frisians or Jutes,—the so-called Scytho-Gothic people, perhaps, whom Giraldus tells us were brought over by Gratian and Valentinian.||

The frequency with which Continental anthropologists have turned to Ireland for comparisons with this dolicho-platycephalic type, and the frequency with which Irish anthropologists have turned to this type on the Continent for comparisons with their own, is remarkable. Nilsson, as we have seen, compared the Stångenäs skull with that of O'Connor, the last Irish king.¶ Pruner Bey compared with two Irish skulls in his possession the Neanderthal skull on the one hand, and Helvetian skulls (*Allobrogian* he calls them) on the other.†† Professor William King, of Queen's College, Galway, compared the Neanderthal skull to one in his possession from Corcomroo Abbey, in the Burren Mountains, in Clare.‡‡ Mr. Carter Blake compared the Neanderthal skull to one in his possession from Louth Abbey.§§ MM. De Quatrefages and Hamy set side by side for comparison under their Canstadt group the skulls of O'Connor, St. Mansuy, the two Irish skulls of Pruner Bey, the Borris skull figured by Prof. Huxley, and an Irish skull described by Mr. Barnard Davis.|||| Prof. Huxley compared the skull from Borris, found in the river-bed of the Nore with the *Batavus genuinus* of Blumenbach, with a South-German skull figured by Ecker, and with another, "No. 3," of Friederichs—(his remarks as to the connection of this type with the Scandinavian on the one hand, and the Swiss on the other, I reserve for the

† Nennius, 38.

‡ Hist. Eccl. cap. xii., Howorth, in "Anthrop. Journ.," vol. x. p. 199: see Skene, "Celtic Scotland," p. 192.

§ "Anthrop. Journ.," vol. x. p. 199.

|| De Princip. Instruct. Dist. I., edit. Warner, vol. viii. p. 95.

¶ *loc. cit.* "Stone Age," edit. Lubbock, pp. 116, 117.

†† "Journ. Anthrop. Soc. of London," vol. ii. (1864), cli.

‡‡ "Quarterly Journ. of Science," No. 1, January, 1864, p. 90.

§§ "Memoirs of the Anthrop. Soc. of London," vol. ii. (1866), p. 76.

|||| "Crania Ethnica," p. 31.



moment); † and, finally, Welcker and Virchow compare this Irish platycephalic type with the recent crania of Urk and Marken.‡

The curious theory of Prof. Vogt of Geneva § to account for the presence of skulls of Irish type among the Swiss series, although I cannot entirely agree with it, must not be passed over. Placing the tombs in which these were found at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries, he recalls the fact that this was the period when Irish missionaries, according to tradition, arrived in that district, their advent coming simultaneously with the decline of the Roman empire. He, therefore, proposes to call these crania, which he looks upon as so abnormal as to be most specially *Simian*, the "Têtes d'Apôtres." Firstly, however, we believe it can be shown that this type existed in Switzerland previous to this date; and, secondly, even, could we not do this, the relations existing between Ireland and Switzerland might be the result of migrations, to and fro, at a comparatively late period, in which movements the missionaries would certainly have taken part. Early traditions still extant in Irish literature, and some of which refer to the period indicated by Prof. Vogt, point to not infrequent raids undertaken by native chieftains from the North into the Provinces south of the Danube. The value of the Professor's theory consists, therefore, not in the conclusion at which he arrives, but in the testimony which it affords to the truth of the opinion on which he based it, namely, the unmistakable similarity between the respective cranial types.

I have mentioned above the comparisons of Irish skulls with those of dolicho-platycephalic type made by Pruner Bey, Prof. King, Mr. Carter Blake, and Prof. Huxley. It will be well to refer to these more fully.

It was in 1864, when the discussion as to the possible *Simian* affinities of the Neanderthal skull was at its height, that Pruner Bey called attention to the resemblance which that cranium seemed to bear to the skulls of existing Irishmen. He produced four skulls side by side, and gave their respective measurements in centimètres as follows:—

	Length.	Breadth.	Circumference at level of supra-ciliary ridges.	Circumference above the supra-ciliary ridges.
Neanderthal	... 20·5	15·0	59	56
Helvetian ...	... 19·5	14·5	57	55
Irish (No. 1)	... 20·0	15·0	58	57
Irish (No. 2)	... 20·5	14·3	57	56

† "Prehist. Remains of Caithness," by S. Laing and T. H. Huxley (1866), p. 128.

‡ *loc. cit.*

§ "Leçons sur l'Homme," p. 499.



He then proceeded to ask the question whether the first of these was representative of a lost race, or whether it belonged to any of the stocks known to us. He advocated the latter alternative, and compared the characteristics of the type with those of what he terms "Celtic and Scandinavian" skulls. Into the question as to whether a skull, found under the conditions in which the Neanderthal skull was found, could possibly by any vast stretch of human credulity be called, as he calls this, the "skull of a Celt," I must decline to follow him, although I admit, of course, that among some portion of the survivals of the type the language to which philologists have assigned the name of "Celtic" may have been spoken. The observations he makes appear to me to be chiefly valuable for the conclusion at which he arrives, namely, that, "in the most remote antiquity we find ourselves in the presence of two distinct races, of which the descendants survive to the present day," firstly, the race which, exemplified by the skulls from Marken, exhibits most strongly platycephalic characteristics in conjunction with dolichocephaly; secondly, that which, exemplified by his second Irish skull, while possessing Neanderthaloid analogies, has for its prototype the Engis skull of Schmerling of doubtful palæological antiquity. I shall presently return to this subject when presenting the views of Prof. Huxley.

To the "Quarterly Journal of Science" for 1864 Professor William King contributed a paper on the "Reputed Fossil Man of the Neanderthal," and cited for comparison with it a cranium from his native country. "I possess," he says, "a very remarkable skull, probably about five hundred years old or more, taken last summer (1863) out of the beautiful ruins of Corcomroo Abbey, situated among the Burren Mountains in the County Clare, which offers a close resemblance to the Neanderthal skull, in the depressed form of the forehead. Although not altogether so abnormal in this respect as the Neanderthal skull, it has the appearance of a better development, in consequence of the median part of the frontal being a little more rounded. There is no reason to believe that it belonged to an idiot, as it happens that most of the skulls lying about the ruins have a low frontal region. It is singular that the inhabitants of Burren, a few hundred years ago, should have been characterized by a remarkably depressed forehead, while those now living have a well-developed cranial physiognomy."



In view of the supposition that skulls of the Neanderthal type were those of idiots, it may be mentioned that M. Broca has declared himself able to demonstrate that such was not the case.†

In the memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London‡ will be found a paper by Mr. C. Carter Blake, "On certain

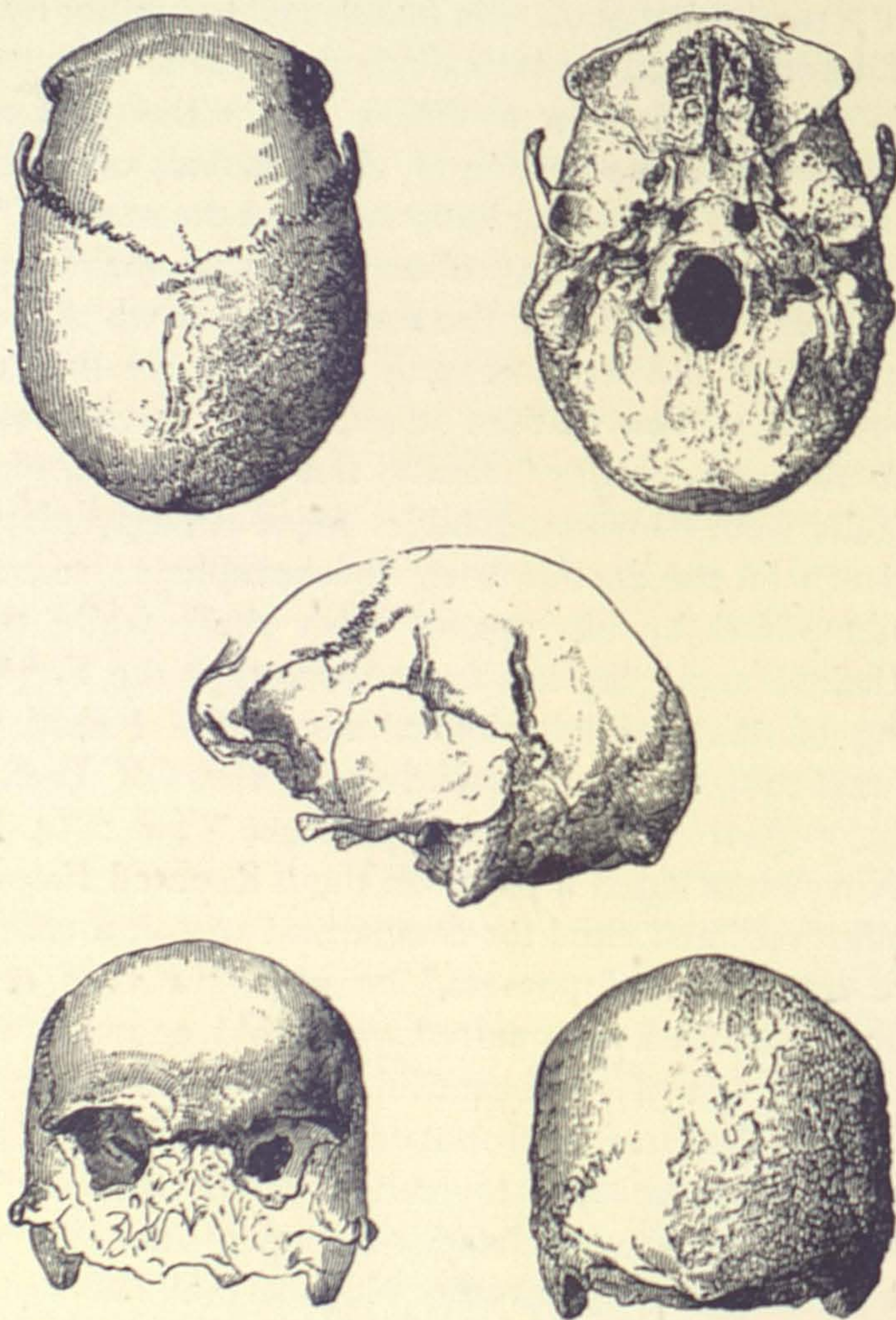


FIG. 714.—Skull from Louth. From "*Mem. of the Anthropol. Soc.*," 1865 (vol. ii. p. 75).

'Simious' skulls, with reference to a skull from Louth in Ireland." This paper, while giving an accurate description of the Irish skull, is written with the object of supporting the view advocated also by Barnard Davis, that the peculiarities of the Neanderthal skull were attributable to the premature ossification of the sutures.

† "*Journ. of the Anthropol. Soc. of London*," vol. ii. (1864), p. cliii.

‡ "*Memoirs of Anthropol. Soc. of London*," vol. ii. (1865-6), p. 74.



The skull from Louth is regarded as only another instance of the abnormal conditions produced or producible from this cause; but it is to be remarked that Mr. Blake excludes from the category of these supposed abnormal forms, the skulls from the river-beds of the Blackwater (in Armagh), and of Borris (on the Nore), to be presently noticed.

In describing the Louth skull, Mr. Blake states that it is "ovately dolichocephalic, that the brow-ridges are large, and the points of muscular attachment well marked. These brow-ridges, he adds, are exceedingly peculiar. Enormous frontal sinuses have developed a bony bridge, which extends above the eyes throughout the whole length of the supraciliaries, and is thickest and most pronounced immediately above the glabella. The supraorbital canal on the right side is higher than on the left. Proportionately to the size of the ridge, the supranasal notch does not appear deep. The forehead is rather low and retrocedent, apparently rendered more so by the great size of the supraciliary ridges. The curve of the frontal bone, backwards and upwards, is equable and smooth. . . . The mastoids are rather large. . . . The postcondyloid foramen on the left side has been large. The frontal suture has been early obliterated. The length of the sagittal suture is 11.4 centimetres. . . . The lambdoidal suture is present on each side in an upward direction for about two inches from its junction with the *additamentum mastoidalis*. . . . The coronal suture offers some points of interest. It exhibits peculiarities, and traces of partial obliteration, as do also the sutures around the alisphenoid bone. The squamous suture exhibits no peculiarities, but the connection between the mastoid and squamosal bones is obliterated to a great extent, but not more so than is usually observed in aged individuals."

We may remark that at the conclusion of a paper on the Neanderthal skull, read the year previously before the Anthropological Society, Mr. Blake remarked that Blumenbach's *Batavus genuinus* skull from the island of Marken offered a great resemblance also to the Neanderthal skull. It appears to me difficult to think that had Mr. Blake seen also the remarks of Virchow on other skulls from the same locality, he could any longer have denied that the type, although theoretically producible by synostosis, was in reality, as I have said before, a genuinely racial, normal, and characteristic form. As to the great antiquity



of the Neanderthal skull Dr. Lucae expresses no doubt. "I consider," he says, "that the remains are probably the most ancient vestiges of the inhabitants of Europe." †

We have seen that M. Pruner Bey was inclined to divide the types of dolichocephalic skulls into two classes, at the head of one of which stood the Engis skull, and at the head of the other a skull of more markedly platycephalic form. It is to be noticed that MM. Quatrefages and Hamy place the Engis skull, both in regard to its form and proportions, under their Cro-Magnon group, a type to be presently noticed.

In the case of Ireland, a similar division appears to suggest itself, a skull from the Blackwater in the County Armagh, to which we may add one very like it from the Trent at Muskham in England, seeming to represent the Engis form, while one from the bed of the Nore at Borris answers to that of the *Batavus genuinus*. Professor Huxley's remarks on two or more extremes of type in Ireland appear to me to be of such great value that, with slight transposition, I shall quote them at length, prefacing them by his opinion, very decidedly expressed, that the Engis skull "is so extremely different in appearance from the Neanderthal that it might well be supposed to belong to a distinct race of mankind." ‡

"Of the skulls," he says, § "from the bed of the Nore at Borris, one, with a general similarity to the Blackwater and Muskham skulls, has a strongly developed *probole* and a cephalic index of only 0.738. The larger skull from the same locality, of which two views are given (see Fig. 715), is one of the most remarkable European skulls I have met with.

"This skull measures 8 ins. long and 5.9 ins. broad, whence its cephalic index is 0.737. The height from the front margin of the occipital foramen to the vertex is only 5.45 ins., or 0.68 of the length, so that the skull is greatly depressed. The supraciliary ridges are prominent, the forehead retreating, the *probole* large, and the superior curved line and occipital spine well marked. The supra-auditory ridges are strong, the mastoid processes well developed, and that on the left side somewhat recurved at its apex.

† "Journal of the Anthropol. Soc. of London," vol. ii. (1864), p. cli. For the Neanderthal skull, see D. Schaaffhausen, "Zür Kenntniss der ältesten Rassenschädel" (Archiv. für Anatomie, von Müller (1858), pp. 453-477, and pl. xvii.). For an English trans., see "Nat. Hist. Review," (1861), pp. 155-172; see also "Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris," vol. iv. p. 314.

‡ "Antiquity of Man," Sir C. Lyell, p. 88.

§ "Prehist. Remains at Caithness," pp. 125, 126.



The axis of the occipital foramen inclines, if anything, a little backwards. The lower jaw is wanting, as well as the right upper maxilla, and all the alveolar part of the left. But the left jugal arch and orbit, and the upper part of the nasal bones, are preserved. The strength of the zygoma is notable, but its projection is more forward than lateral, so that it is hardly seen in the *norma*

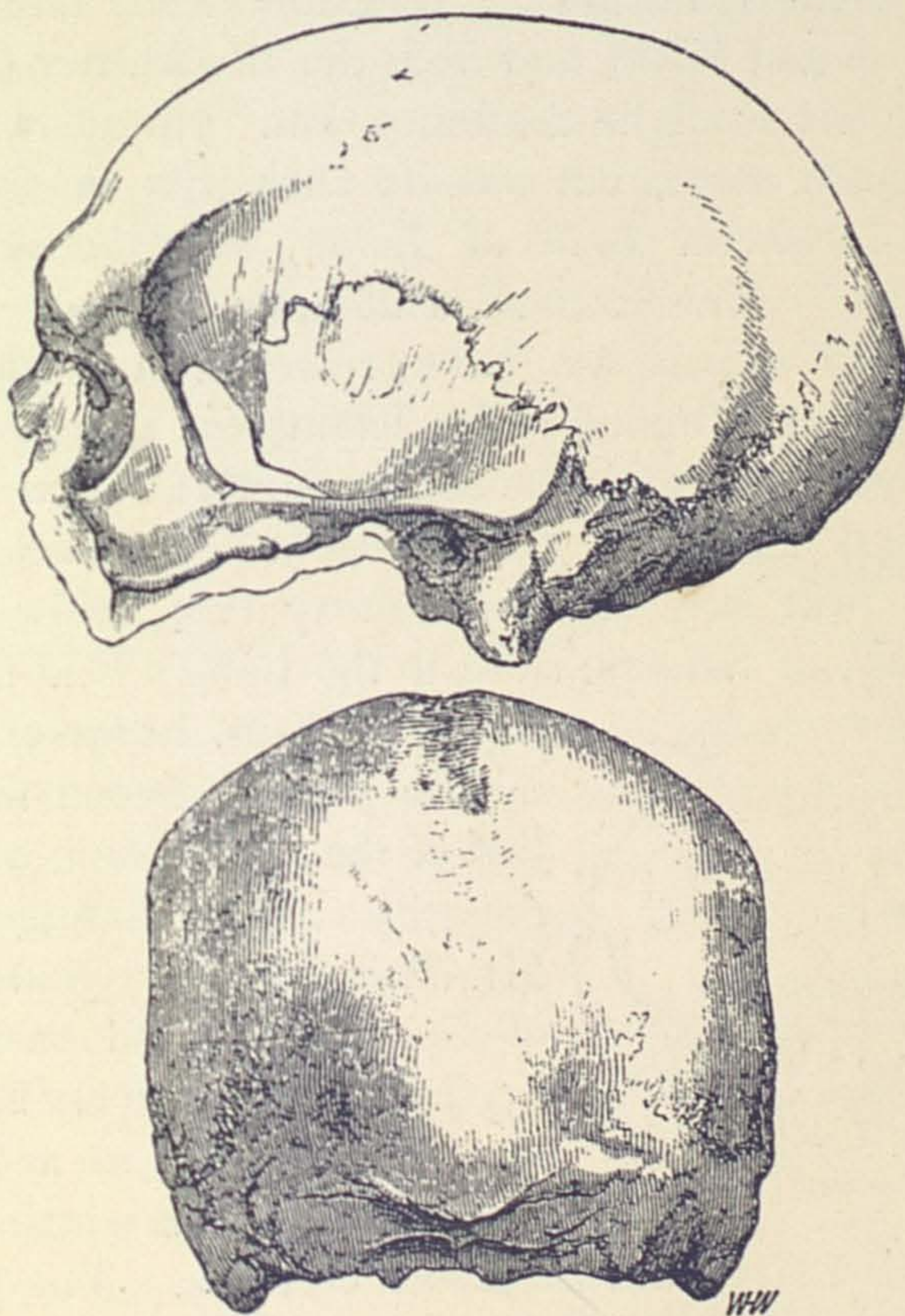


FIG. 715.—The Borris skull. From Huxley.

*verticalis*. The face must have been very prognathous. So far as I can judge from the cast, neither the coronal, sagittal, nor lambdoidal sutures are completely closed in this skull." Therefore, we may add in parenthesis, its form could not be attributed to *synostosis*. "A strong depression or groove follows the course of the sagittal suture."

A few pages further on, Professor Huxley recurs to this skull.† He regards it as one extreme in the category of elongated skulls,

† "Prehist. Remains at Caithness," pp. 128, 129. Mr. Busk has described a cranium from a cave at Cefn, near St. Asaph, which, as seen from the side view (*norma lateralis*), bears a striking likeness to the Borris skull. It has a cephalic index, however, of 0.770, but an altitudinal index of 0.702. (See Boyd Dawkins, "Cave Hunting," pp. 184-87.)



observed in Britain and Ireland, and differentiates it not only from one or two other extreme forms, but also from a form intermediate between them, which "middle form" he finds in the "Long-Barrow and River-Bed skulls," exemplified by examples from Muskham on the Trent, from Towyn-y-Capel by the ruined chapel of St. Bride on the west coast of Holyhead Island (possibly an Irish skull, since a tradition exists there of a battle between Welsh and Irish), and from the Blackwater (Armagh).

Of the Borris skull, he continues that, "singular as it is, it by no means stands alone, but has its analogues in the Southern-German Alt-Lussheim skull of Ecker, and the skull 'No. 3' of Friederichs." Here comes in also the *Batavus genuinus* of Blumenbach, to which we have referred, and the Urk and Marken skulls of Virchow; the examples, that is to say, of extreme platycephaly, as instanced in survival. To these are to be added:—(1) a cranium discovered in a submarine, or rather subterranean peat bog, or forest, thirty feet below the present level of the sea at Sennen, close to the Land's End in Cornwall,†

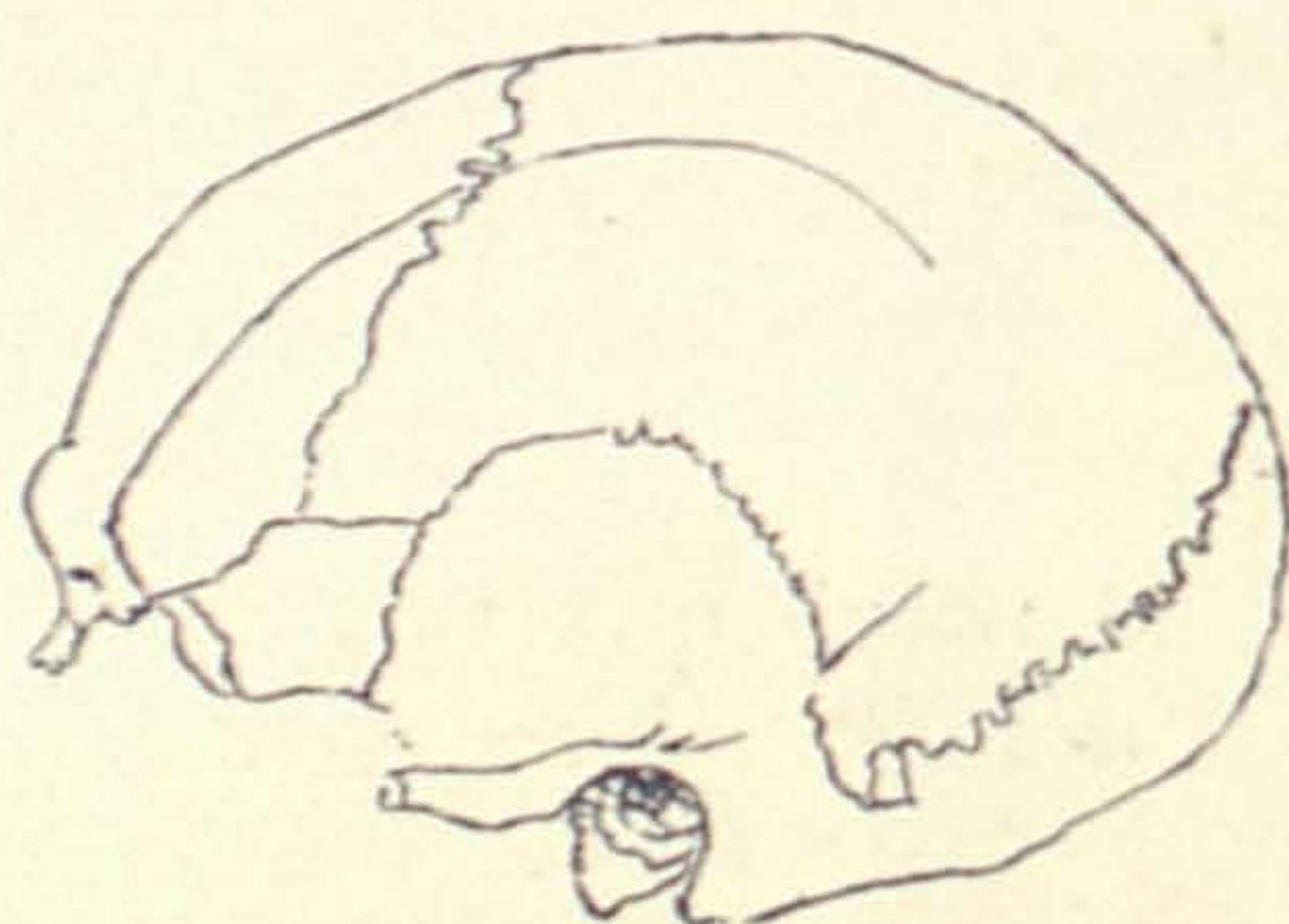


FIG. 716.—The Sennen skull.

which perhaps, however, occupies a middle place between this type and that of the Engis skull, which it much resembles; (2) a cranium figured by Mr. Turner in the "Quarterly Journal of Science;"‡ and seemingly also (3) the skull of Robert Bruce,§ which may be regarded as a Norman example of the retreating forehead,

combined with a large and capacious cranium. The place among skulls of this type, of that of St. Mansuy, of those from Corcomroo Abbey, from Louth Abbey, and others, has already been noticed. If we may venture to bridge over the gulf which separates the Quaternary and Palæolithic period from that in which the first survivals present themselves to us, we should look for materials to the Neanderthal skull, which is the prototype, and to the Borris and Sennen skulls, which are the earliest Irish and British representations we have of the extreme which I have designated the dolicho-platycephalic type.

† See "Remarks by Mr. G. Busk on Schaaffhausen's Account of the Neanderthal Skull," in the "Nat. Hist. Review," vol. i. (1861), p. 174, and pl. v., fig. 9.

‡ "Quart. Journal of Science," No. II. (April, 1864), p. 258, and pl. ii. fig. 1.

§ Id., same page. See also a skull from Blackfriars Monastery, Aberdeen. Id. (October, 1864), pp. 758, 760.



## DOLICHOCEPHALIC TYPE, No. I. (THE SCANDO-GERMANIC).

Still following Professor Huxley, we find that he regards as the representatives of another extreme a skull from Kinaldie,<sup>†</sup> figured by Thurnam and Davis, and the Scottish skulls to which

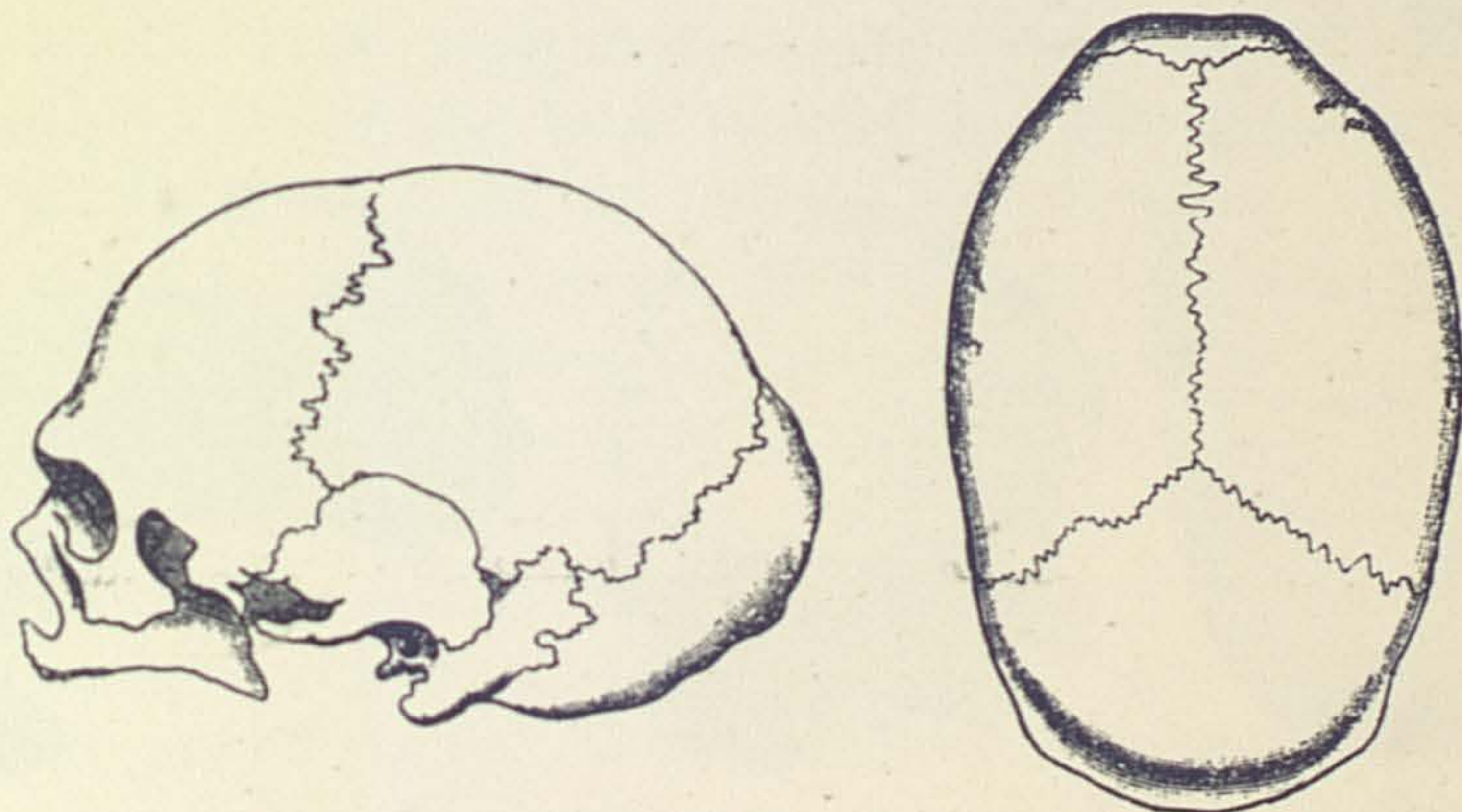


FIG. 717.—Skull from Nether-Urquhart. *From D. Wilson.*

Daniel Wilson gave the name "Kumbecephalic," and of which those from Nether-Urquhart, and the Cockenzie Cist in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, are examples.<sup>‡</sup> It is in stone cists, or "cromlechs" in cairns, that these "Kumbecephalic" heads are found. Flint flakes, bones of dog or ox, beads of shale, small urns, etc., are found in the chambers which contain them. These latter types, found in Scotland, I am myself inclined to place between the dolichoplatycephalic type on the one hand, and that of the skulls of the Long-Barrows of Britain, and the Caverne de l'Homme Mort, to be presently considered under the "middle" type of Huxley,<sup>§</sup> on the other. With skulls of this type, we should apparently place the "Old-Swedish" skull of Retzius,<sup>||</sup> a type found in the southern parts of Sweden and in Öland, and other islands, in company with bronze articles. It appears to occupy an intermediate place

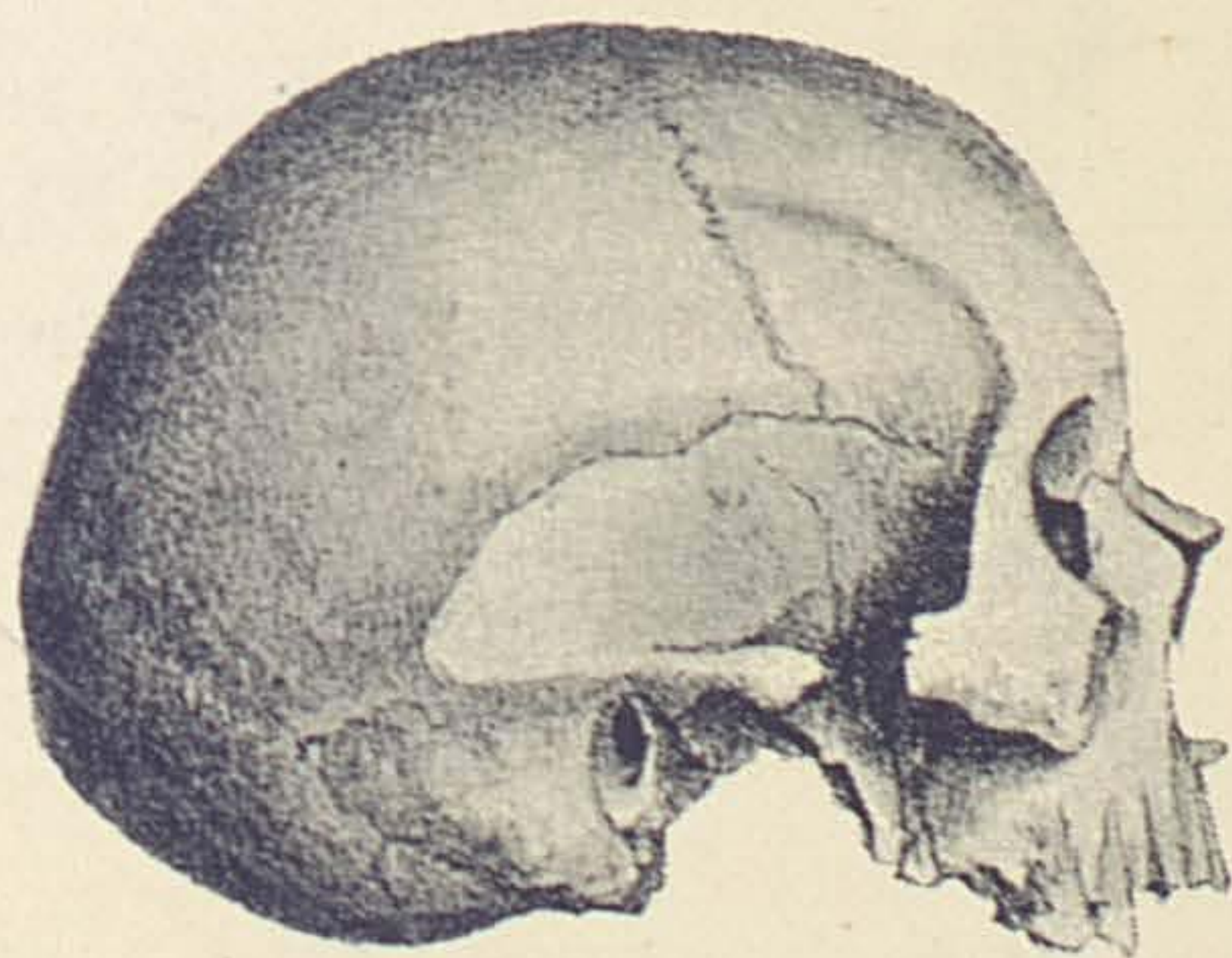


FIG. 718.—"Old Swedish" skull. *From Anders Retzius.*

<sup>†</sup> "Crania Britannica," pl. v.

<sup>‡</sup> "Prehist. Annals of Scotland," vol. i. pp. 256, 267.

<sup>§</sup> "Prehist. Remains of Caithness," p. 128.

<sup>||</sup> "Ethnologische Schriften," von Anders Retzius, edit. G. Retzius, Stockholm (1864), pl. i. fig. 2.



between the typical Swedish skull of Retzius, and the Stångenäs skull of Nilsson.

Huxley,<sup>†</sup> however, goes further than this, and says that the Kinaldie and Kumbecephalic types are "repeated over and over again in the Hohberg and Grave-row series of the Swiss and

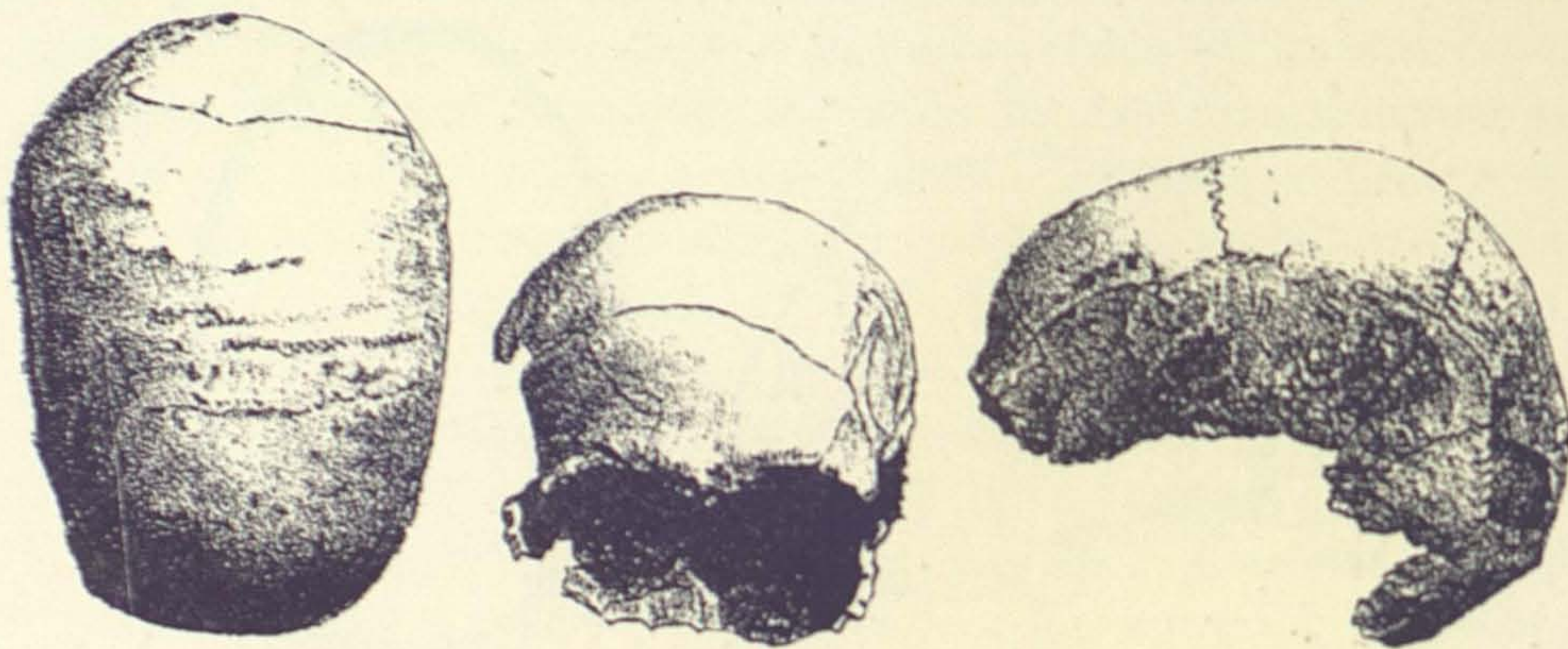


FIG. 719.—Ancient Scandinavian skull. *From Nilsson.*

South-West German skulls, which are of one and the same class as the Scandinavian skull."

Nilsson, in his "Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia,"<sup>‡</sup> has figured and carefully described a skull which, according to him, "represents the true type of the so-called Germano-Gothic race."

Retzius also describes and figures a typical Swedish skull<sup>§</sup> which agrees with that of Nilsson. At the close of his description

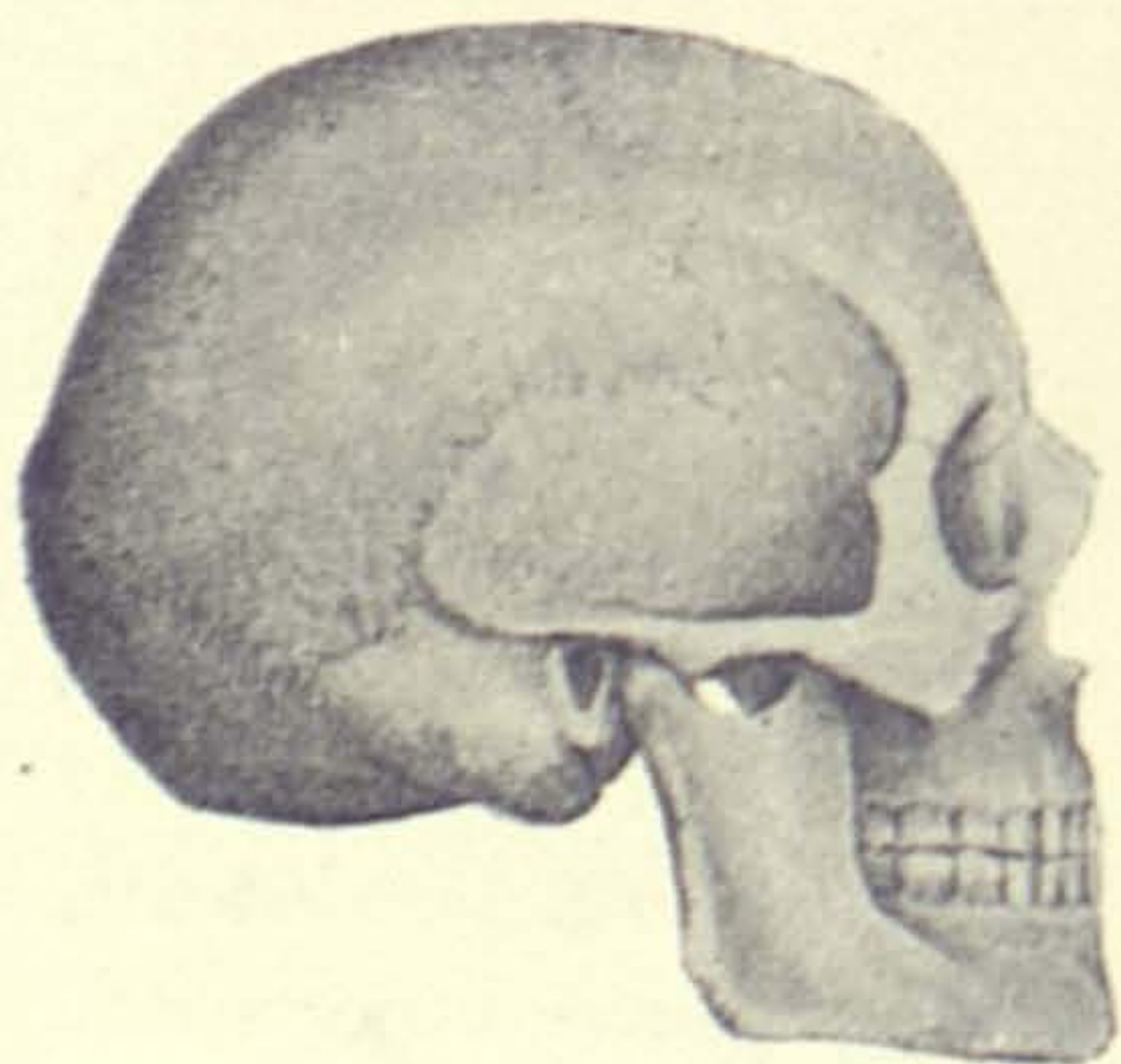


FIG. 720.—Swedish skull. *From Anders Retzius.*

he remarks that he had received from Sir William Wilde the cast of a skull of Alexander O'Connor, called the last king of Ireland. Wilde sent the skull as a specimen of what he considered the typical Irish skull form. Retzius sent him in return the cast of an ancient Swedish skull, which he had received from Professor Liedbeck. Retzius and Wilde exchanged the remark that these skulls were so similar that they could detect no difference between them.

In like manner Ecker, after studying and fully defining the

<sup>†</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>‡</sup> Pl. xii., figs. 227, 228, 229.

<sup>§</sup> *loc. cit.*, pl. i. fig. 1. That great differences exist between Anthropologists as to the indices of the Swedish types may be gathered from Welcker, "Archiv. für Anthrop." (1866), p. 138.



Hohberg and Row-grave skull-forms, side by side with the typical Swedish skull-type, recognized, just as Wilde had done, an unquestionable likeness between them.

It appears to me that, it is rather with the Old-Swedish, by which I mean with the Bronze-Age dolichocephalic type in Sweden, leading back to the Stångenäs skull under the shell strata, that the Irish type, represented by O'Connor's skull, is comparable, than with the more modern examples represented by the typical Swedish skulls of Nilsson and Retzius. It will be remembered that Nilsson compared O'Connor's skull with that from Stångenäs. Thus, then, we have arrived at the fact that a type of skull (to which I venture to assign a place in the cranial genealogy of Europe, under the designation "Dolichocephalic, No. 1"), which lifts itself, literally speaking, out of the platycephaly of which we have already spoken, is traceable alike in Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Ireland. In the latter island, Professor Huxley thinks (although in this I do not agree with him, for reasons presently to be mentioned) "that it predominated to the exclusion of all others," while "in Britain and Gaul it coexisted with a broad-headed stock." It is noticeable that the crania of the so-called Anglo-Saxons in Britain present no characteristics by which we can distinguish them from those of Scandinavians. The Anglo-Saxon type, however, is in many cases prognathous, a characteristic which is strongly and widely developed in Ireland, while the typical Swede of Retzius is orthognathous. We have seen that the Borris skull was very prognathous, and this feature in the case of the Irish is probably, therefore, the atavistic survival of an archaic form in which dolicho-platycephaly and prognathism were combined.

The presence of the Scandinavian type in Switzerland recalls to us the fact that, although at present Scandinavia is, to use the words of Huxley, "an ethnological island, its inhabitants were, in ancient times, an encroaching race, extending, as Saxons and Frisians, to the right bank of the Rhine, and stretching far south and west as Alemanni, Franks, and Normans, while southwards and eastwards they overlapped the Slavonians."†

The tradition of the Middle Ages, then, that Scandinavia was the *officina gentium*, the *vagina nationum*,‡ accidentally recorded a very far-reaching truth which is actually borne out by the revelations of craniology. It was a dictum, it would appear,

† *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

‡ Jordanes, "Getica," cap. iv. edit. Mommsen, p. 60.



which held good in ages altogether prehistoric, as well as in those sub-historic times which tradition might have reached, and when migration was being directed along the same course as that pursued in earlier days. The low type of the Burgundian and Row-grave skulls may have been derived from a Stångenäs original, just as the tall stature of the individual Burgundians may have been also. Midway between the Stångenäs skull and the typical Swedish skull stands the Bronze Age skull,—the “Old Swedish,” or, rather, let us say, the “Old Scandian” skull. The typical Swedish skull survives in the modern Swede. Between the Swede and the brachycephalic Lapp, however, there lay another people who have to be accounted for, and who, if we may trust tradition, though allophylian to the race of the Saga heroes, often intermarried with them. This race was that of the Iötuns, or Mountain Finns, by which latter name it is not by any means necessary that we should understand solely the brachycephalous Turanian population known by that name. They were regarded as a race of giants, ferocious and terrible, yet often reputed for their wisdom and their skill in wizardry—characteristics which might well be compatible with the race that owned the skulls of Stångenäs and Öland. They had not yet been exterminated, perhaps, even when Adam of Bremen, in the eleventh century, speaks of the “Iotungi,” whom he describes as “the most ancient population of Scandinavia dwelling in mountains and forests, clad in skins of animals, and uttering sounds more like the cries of wild beasts than human speech.”

The question which naturally occurs to us is whether the so-called “Old Swedish” skulls are not the skulls of this people, while the “Swedish type” *par excellence* of Retzius and Nilsson might be that of invaders who found the older type, side by side with a short Turanian brachycephalic people, already in possession, and, since they could not exterminate them wholly, either intermarried with them, thus assimilating the cranial types, or left them alone in their mountain recesses, where Othere heard of them as the Cwens who periodically descended to ravage the lower settlements on the sea-coast of the western side of the peninsula, or made perpetual war with the Swedes on the east and south as they were still doing in the time of Adam of Bremen.

Whether it would be allowable to trace for them a southern route, and see in their name Iotungi, as the Danish chronicler spells



it, that of the Iuthungi† whom, in conjunction with Burgundians and Alamanni, we read of as being in Rhætia in the time of Constantius, is a question of great interest. Were it so, it would not be so very difficult to discover the possibilities of a direct connection between them and the dominant tribes of Ireland, who, as can be shown both from their own sub-historic traditions and from the corroborative testimony of the Roman and Byzantine historians, were engaged, with the tribes of the lower Rhine, and of the southern Baltic coast, in perpetual inroads on the Roman border, maintaining at once settlements in the south which, in common with other tribes of northern origin, they had probably entered upon at a much earlier period, and their ancient fastnesses in the islands and promontories of the North, in which quarter they acknowledged, as did the Heruli, their original homes to have been, whither they could retire beyond reach of their enemies in the event of defeat.

With this dolichocephalic series must be ranged the skulls of the Norsemen or Vikings of much later date. Of one of these we

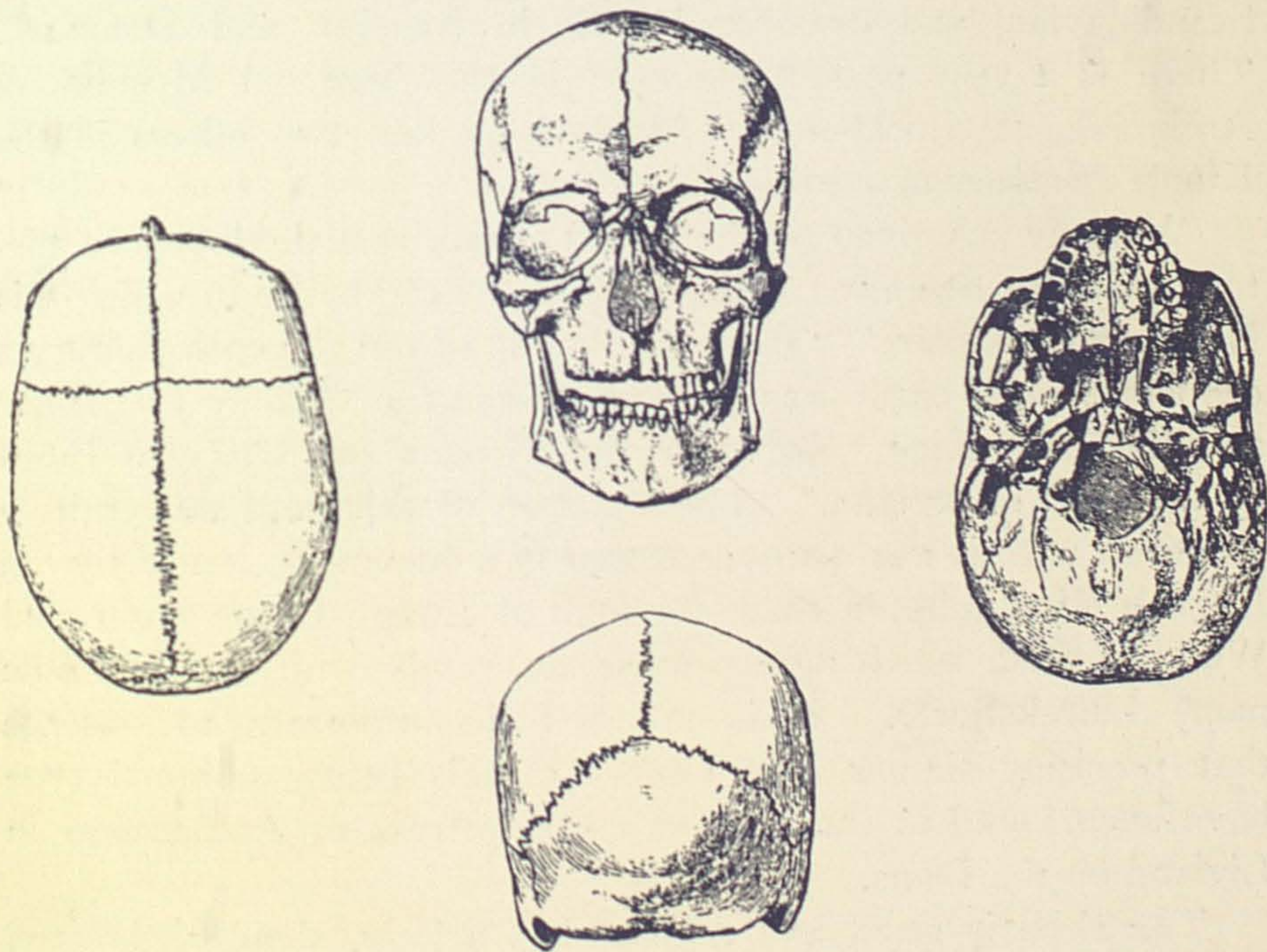


FIG. 721.—Skull from the Larne grave. From the "*Crania Britannica*."

have an excellent example in that from a grave at Larne in the county of Antrim, a district inhabited by Norsemen from the ninth

† Also called Vithungi; Ammian. Marcell. xvii., 6; Sidon. Apoll. Carm. vii., 233.



to the thirteenth century.† It was discovered in 1840, at a distance of 70 yards from the sea, and 5 feet above high-water mark. The skeleton lay not more than 2 feet below the surface in a sandy soil, and had probably been interred at a greater depth. The head pointed N.W. Across the breast was laid an iron double-edged sword, its hilt disposed towards the right hand. On the right side, and beneath the sword, was an iron lance-head. A small bronze ring-pin, covered with *æru*go, and four fragments of bone, were found by the body.

The sword is comparable with one found in the Dunshaughlin crannoge in the county Meath. It differs from the swords of the Anglo-Saxons, but agrees so closely with Scandinavian examples that "they might be believed to have been made by the same hands." A characteristic feature of these weapons is a heavy iron pommel. Messrs. Thurnam and Davis mention the occurrence of examples of these iron swords, regarded as later than the fifth century, in Lincolnshire and those parts of England frequented by the Northmen. They are strictly Scandinavian, and discovered both in Sweden and Denmark. There is a very perfect example in the National Museum of Antiquities at Stockholm, 37 inches long, and two others in the King's Armoury at Ulriksdal.

Worsaae has given good reason to think that the Icelandic historian Snorre Sturleson actually mentions the battle in which this Norseman was slain. "In the beginning of the eleventh century a desperate naval battle was fought between the Orkney Jarl Einar and the Irish King 'Konofögr' in Ulfrek's (or Ulfkel's) Fiord on the coast of Ireland." The situation of this fiord was entirely unknown until it was discovered that in a document, issued by the English King John, in 1210, the firth of Lough Larne was called Wulvrichford, which agrees most accurately with the Icelandic name Ulfreksfjorðr. It is not a little important to observe that precisely similar iron swords of this heavy pommel type have been found in the ancient camp-fortress of Ascheraden, in Livland on the Duna.

The skull is small and regular, has a long, slender, elevated aquiline nose, closely corresponding with such as prevail in the northern counties of England; a narrow, long, orthognathous

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† "Proc. R.I.A.," 1840, vol. ii. p. 40; "U.J.A.," vol. i. p. 198; "Crania Britannica," vol. ii., "Ancient Norse Skull."



face ; an upright, square forehead, yet neither decidedly broad nor high, having a frontal suture ; a long oval outline in the vertical aspect, with distinct parietal tubers ; a globose tumidness in the supra-occipital region, and a large *foramen magnum*. It is probable that it belonged to a tall man, perhaps about 30 years of age.

The measurements are as follows :—

Horizontal circumference ...	... 20·7 ins.	Occipital region—Length ...	... 4·8 ins.
Longitudinal diameter ...	... 7·3 „	Breadth ...	... 4·5 „
Frontal region—Length ...	... 4·7 „	Height ...	... 4·1 „
Breadth ...	... 4·7 „	Intermastoid arch ...	... 14·2 „
Height ...	... 4·4 „	Internal capacity ...	... 77 ozs.
Parietal region—Length ...	... 4·9 „	Face ...	Length ... 4·8 ins.
Breadth ...	... 5·2 „	Breadth ...	... 5·0 „
Height ...	... 4·6 „		

Before passing on to Prof. Huxley's "Middle type," a very important one to our inquiry, since it includes the crania of the "Long Barrows" of Britain, which in their structure are comparable to a large class of Irish megalithic structures, it is well to notice that both the type we have been last considering and this "Middle" type, which I shall venture to call the Dolichocephalic Type, No. II.,

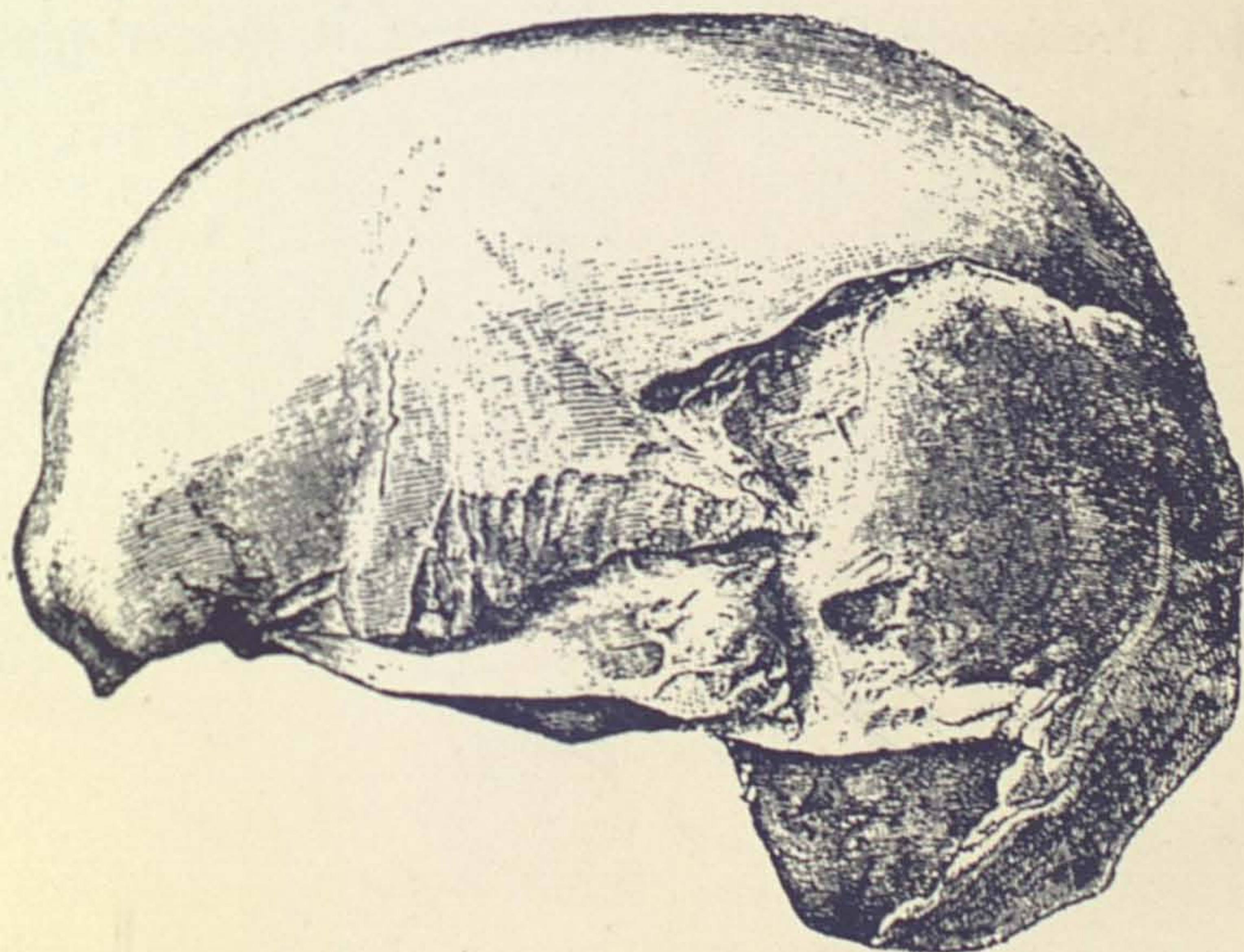


FIG. 722.—The Engis skull. From the "*Crania Ethnica*."

may not without reason be regarded as referable, in archaic times, to the type found at Engis, near Liege in Belgium.† The latter was embedded in a matrix containing also the remains of the mammoth, rhinoceros, cave-bear, hyæna, etc., but there appears also to have been a piece of pottery in juxtaposition, rendering

† "*Crania Ethnica*," p. 73.



the age doubtful. Huxley, as we have seen, regarded it as so entirely distinct from the Neanderthal skull as to warrant a surmise that it belonged to a totally distinct race. MM. De Quatrefages and Hamy place it not under their Canstadt, but under their Cro-Magnon group,<sup>†</sup> and Mr. William Turner demonstrates its intimate resemblance to a skull from St. Acheuil, near Amiens,<sup>‡</sup> referable, most probably, to the Gallo-Roman period. The ratio of length to breadth in the former he states to be 100 to 70, and in the latter 100 to 71. Finally, Virchow, in a passage quoted by Mr. Isaac Taylor,<sup>§</sup> says with regard to it:—"It is so absolutely dolichocephalic that if we were justified in constituting our ethnic groups solely with reference to the shape of the skull, this Engis skull would, without hesitation, be classed as belonging to the primitive Teutonic race, and we should arrive at the conclusion that a Germanic population dwelt on the banks of the Meuse prior to the earliest irruption of a Mongolian race."

We have here also to notice that in the "Remarks upon the Series of Prehistoric Crania," which Prof. Rolleston appends to

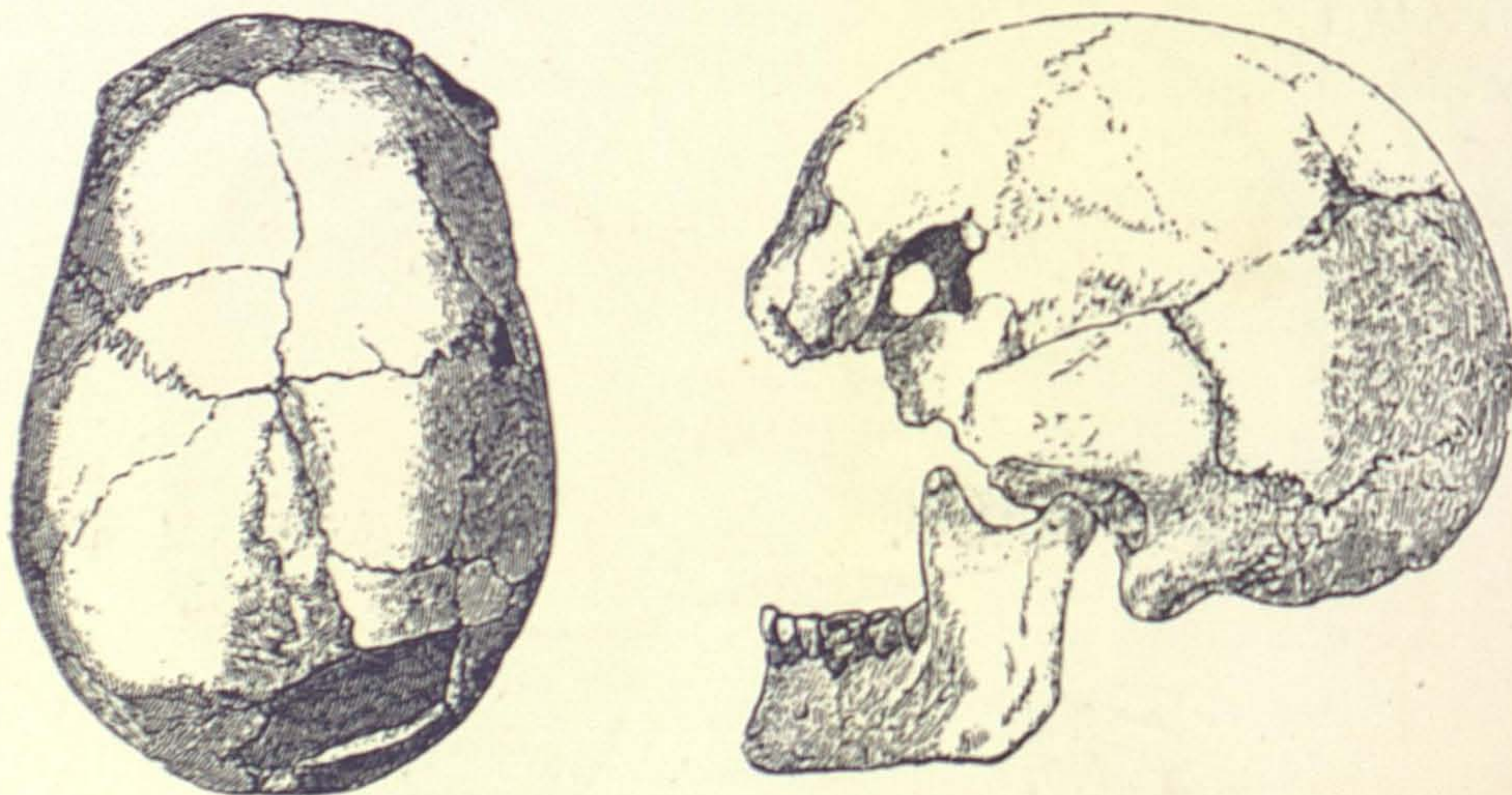


FIG. 723.—Skull from Weaverthorpe. From Greenwell's "*Brit. Barrows.*"

Canon Greenwell's "*British Barrows*," || he compares a skull from a low "Round Barrow" at Weaverthorpe in Yorkshire with this Engis cranium. The cephalic index in that case is 69. "The calvaria and lower jaw," he says, "may firstly be taken to illustrate the fact that a type existed in the Bronze period which is recognizable

<sup>†</sup> "*Crania Ethnica*," p. 73.

<sup>§</sup> "*Origin of the Aryans*," p. 106.

<sup>‡</sup> "*Quarterly Journal of Science*," vol. i. (1864), p. 250.

|| pp. 619-621.



amongst modern Celtic [speaking] populations ; and, secondly, may throw some light upon the various questions which have been raised as to the famous skull from the cave of Engis, as it resembles that skull in many important particulars." It is the type of skull which Daniel Wilson called "pear-shaped," or "coffin-shaped," and in which he thought he recognized that of the "Insular Celt." "Skulls," continues Professor Rolleston, "very closely similar to this skull and to the Engis skull, have, like it, been found in caves—three strikingly like them ; one from the mountain-limestone cave at Llanebie in Caermarthenshire† filled with stalagmite ; a second from a cave at Cheddar, and a third from a small cave at Uphill near Weston-Super-Mare."‡

It seems to be important to notice also the fact that where in the case of Britain extremely dolichocephalic skulls are found, as very occasionally is the case, in the "Round Barrows" (seemingly in contravention of the adage of archæologists, "Long Barrows, long skulls, Round Barrows, round skulls"), they prove to be referable *not* to the usual "Ancient British" or "Long Barrow" type

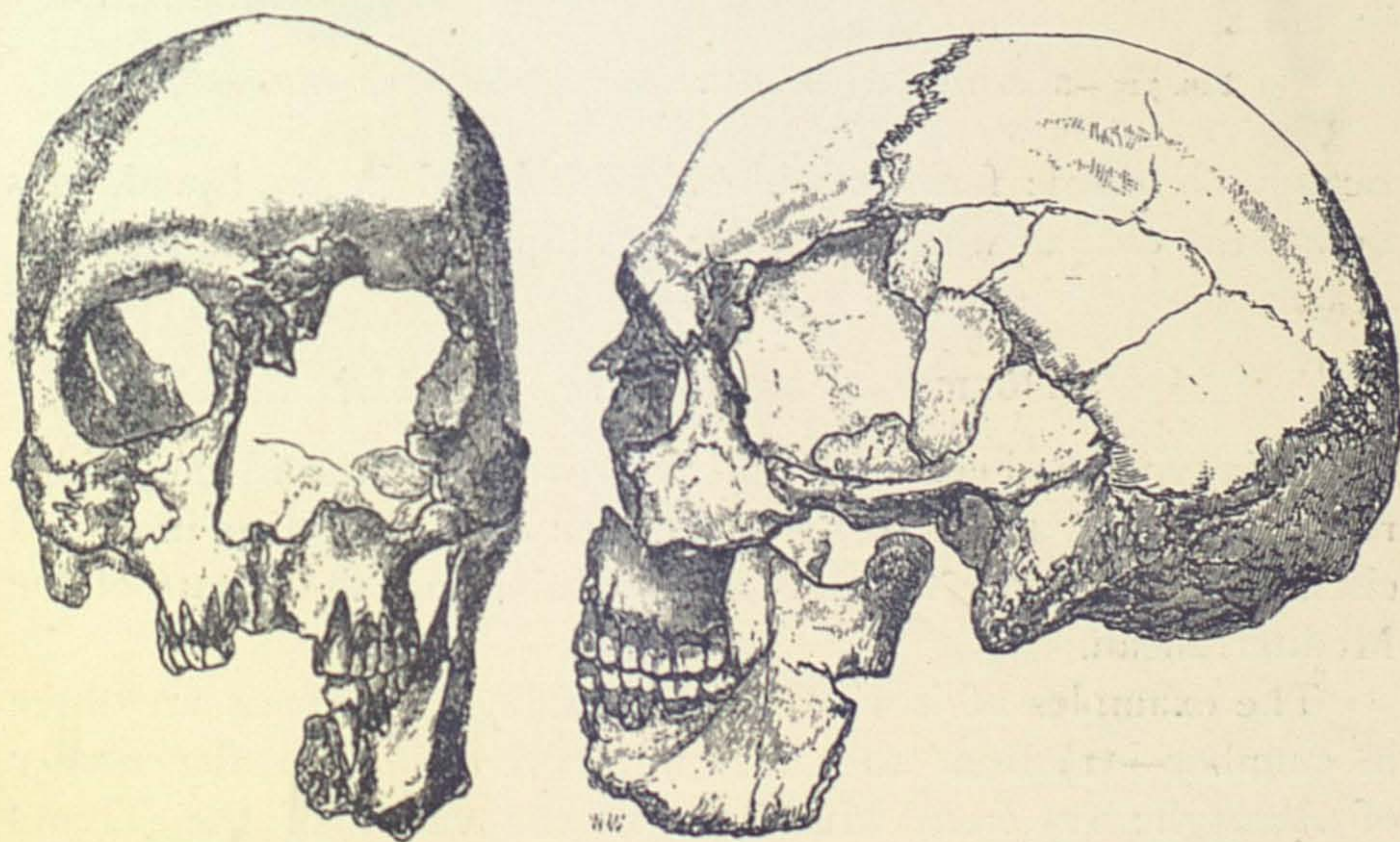


FIG. 724.—Skull from Langton Wold. From Greenwell's "*Brit. Barrows*."

(the Middle type of Huxley, to be next considered), but to a type which is comparable to the Hohberg type of His and Rüttimeyer, as figured and described in the "*Crania Helvetica*." We may instance the cranium from Langton Wold,§ orthognathous,

† Buckland, "*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*," p. 166.

‡ Rolleston, *loc. cit.*

§ *Id.*, pp. 602-611.



and dolichocephalic, the index being 68. With this interment bronze instruments were also found. Whether we are to infer from this that people with this peculiar skull formation entered Britain simultaneously with the usual brachycephali of the Round Barrows or not, certain it is from examples such as this that the

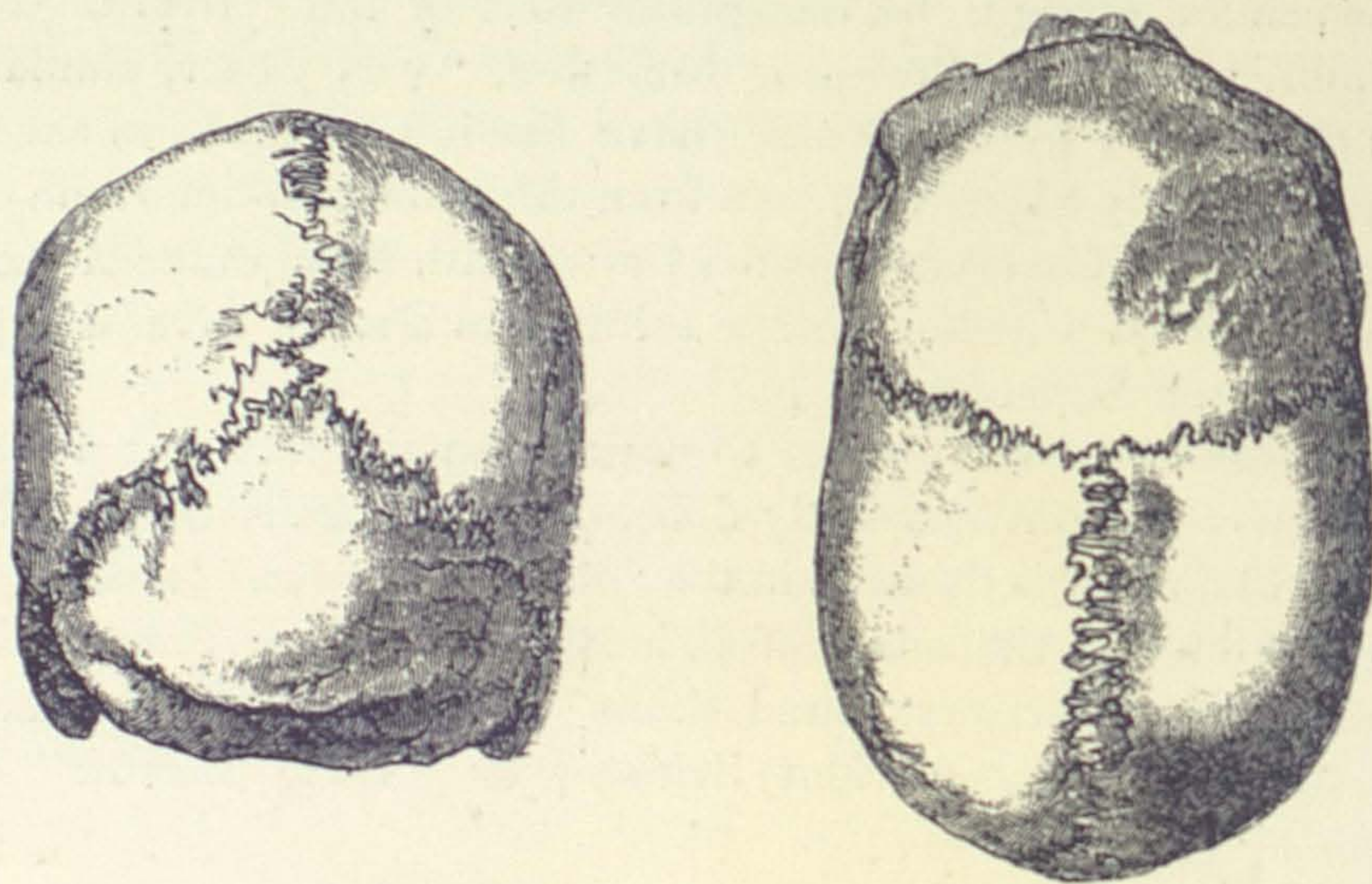


FIG. 725.—Skull from Langton Wold. *From Greenwell's "Brit. Barrows."*

Scando-Germanic form was already domiciled in the island, ages before the date at which the later Scandinavian skulls appear.

#### DOLICHOCEPHALIC TYPE, No. II.†

This type has been found in caves, river-beds, and megalithic remains, notably those of the elongated class, but also in closed cists, in the British Isles, France, Spain, and the coasts of the Mediterranean.

The examples of it with which Huxley presents us are three in number—(1) from the Blackwater river-bed in the county of Armagh; (2) from Muskham in the valley of the Trent; (3) from Tewyn-y-Capel in Anglesey, the last possibly an Irish skull. He also states his belief in its identity with that of the crania of the "Long Barrows" in Britain, and of the "Kumbecephalic" skulls of Wilson, in which latter he sees, however, an extreme form of the type. We will presently

† Various called the "Middle Type," the "Long-Barrow Type," the "Cro-Magnon Type," the "Mediterranean and Atlantic Type," and the "Iberian Type."



consider the Irish skulls of this type *seriatim*. Meanwhile we cannot shirk the vexed and difficult question, "Does a close craniological affinity," such as Huxley supposes, "unite this Hiberno-British type with the Scandinavian and Scando-Germanic type we have been considering?"

Between the Blackwater skull (Fig. 742) and that of Engis, near Liège, on the Meuse, there appears to me an unmistakable similarity. Following the course of the Meuse westward, we arrive at the Neolithic sepulchral cave of Chauvaux, explored by Dr. Spring in 1842,† and by M. Soreil‡ about thirty years later. Two skulls were found here, attached to skeletons, buried in holes in crouching positions, and associated with flint flakes, pottery, a barbed arrow-head, and many scattered human and animal bones, the long bones of the latter having been broken for the marrow. The most perfect of these skulls has a cephalic index of 0.718, and they are classified by Professor Boyd Dawkins "with the long skulls from the caves and chambered tumuli of France, Britain, and Spain."

Passing westward from the Meuse to the Somme, we come to Amiens, where (at St. Acheuil), as we have previously noted, a skull resembling the Engis skull has been discovered. Passing southward again, we find from the work of Baron de Baye that in the very remarkable caves explored by him in the Valley of the Marne, skulls were found with indices ranging as low as 71.69.§ Going westward into the valleys of the Seine and Oise, we have in the "grotto" of Nogent Les Vièrges (Oise), and in the dolmen of Chamant (in the same Department), examples as low as 71, while the same ratio is recorded from a "tomb" at Maintenon (Eure et Loire), and one as low as 70 from the department of Vaucluse.|| Skulls of this type are stated to have been discovered in the gravels of the Seine in deposits posterior to those containing skulls of the Canstadt type, but underlying brachycephalic skulls of the type so frequently found in association with them in caves and megalithic structures in the districts last noticed.¶ It is at Grenelle, on a bend of the Seine, that this curious superposition†† has been most distinctly brought to light.

† "Bull. Acad. Roy. de Belgique," ser. i. l. xx. ii. p. 427; ser. t. xviii. p. 479; t. xxii. p. 187.

‡ "Congrès Intern. d'Anthr. et d'Archéol. Préhist.," p. 381, Brussels, 1872. Traces of this race seem to have been found at Engihoul also on the Meuse. See C. Malaise, in "Bull. Acad. Royale de Belgique," ser. ii. t. x. (1860), p. 546.

§ "L'Archéologie Préhistorique," par le Baron J. De Baye, Paris, 1880, pp. 192, 193.

|| For these data, see table in Prof. Boyd Dawkins's "Cave Hunting" (London, 1874), p. 199.

¶ "Origin of the Aryans," pp. 115, 116.

†† A. De Quatrefages, "Hommes Fossiles," p. 65.



The more remote the antiquity of a cranium the more simple is its classification. With the platycephalic long-head of Canstadt we have had comparatively little difficulty. With the type now before us, overlapping in some districts the Canstadt type, with which, as some anthropologists affirm, its sole point in common was its cephalic index,<sup>†</sup> and, in turn, overlapped in others by a markedly brachycephalic type, it is far otherwise. The French writers on the subject who have specially studied it in the vicinity of the Garonne Valley, in the Maritime Alps, and in the Cevennes (Lozère)—the districts where it had its most ancient home, and perhaps survived the longest—have subdivided it into several types. Into the particulars of these we have no need to go. Suffice it to say that if the cephalic index of the man of the Cro-Magnon cave in Perigord, and a peculiar flatness of his leg bone are to be taken as proofs of his having been the ancestor of the cave and dolmen people of the British Isles, he had no reason to be proud of his insular descendants.

The dolichocephalic man of the British "Long Barrow" was short in stature, feeble in build and physique, with ill-filled skull, and orthognathous. His height averaged 5 feet 4½ ins., taking men and women together. The tallest man was 5 feet 6 ins., and the shortest woman 4 feet 8 ins. With this we may contrast the account given by M. de Quatrefages of the Cro-Magnon race. From him we learn that they were tall, of athletic constitution and build, with well-filled skull, and eminently prognathous. The average height, as taken by M. Hamy, from the bones of five subjects, was 1·78 m. The skeleton from Menton, which was preserved entire, showed a stature of 1·85 m. The Cro-Magnon woman measured 1·66 in height.<sup>‡</sup> If, therefore, the insular race in Neolithic times owed its cranial type to this palæolithic inhabitant of Perigord, he must have terribly degenerated during the long ages that intervened. It is possible, indeed, that such was the case, for reasons which will be obvious, when we consider firstly that he long dwelt in complete isolation, cut off from all contact with any but those of his own race, that is, if we may trust the conclusions arrived at by Canon Greenwell, who finds in the earliest "Long Barrows" his skulls and his alone; and, secondly, that his race only scantily peopled these British Isles. In-breeding would have followed, and physical degeneration would have been the result.

<sup>†</sup> "Crania Ethnica," p. 46.

<sup>‡</sup> "Hommes Fossiles," pp. 65, 66.



May there not, however, have been, among the various divisions of this type in France, one which would reproduce more nearly, not in the cephalic index alone, but in other respects also, the "Long-Barrow" man of Britain, and the ancient Irish dolichocephali who were akin to him?

We turn to the crania from the Caverne de l'Homme Mort in

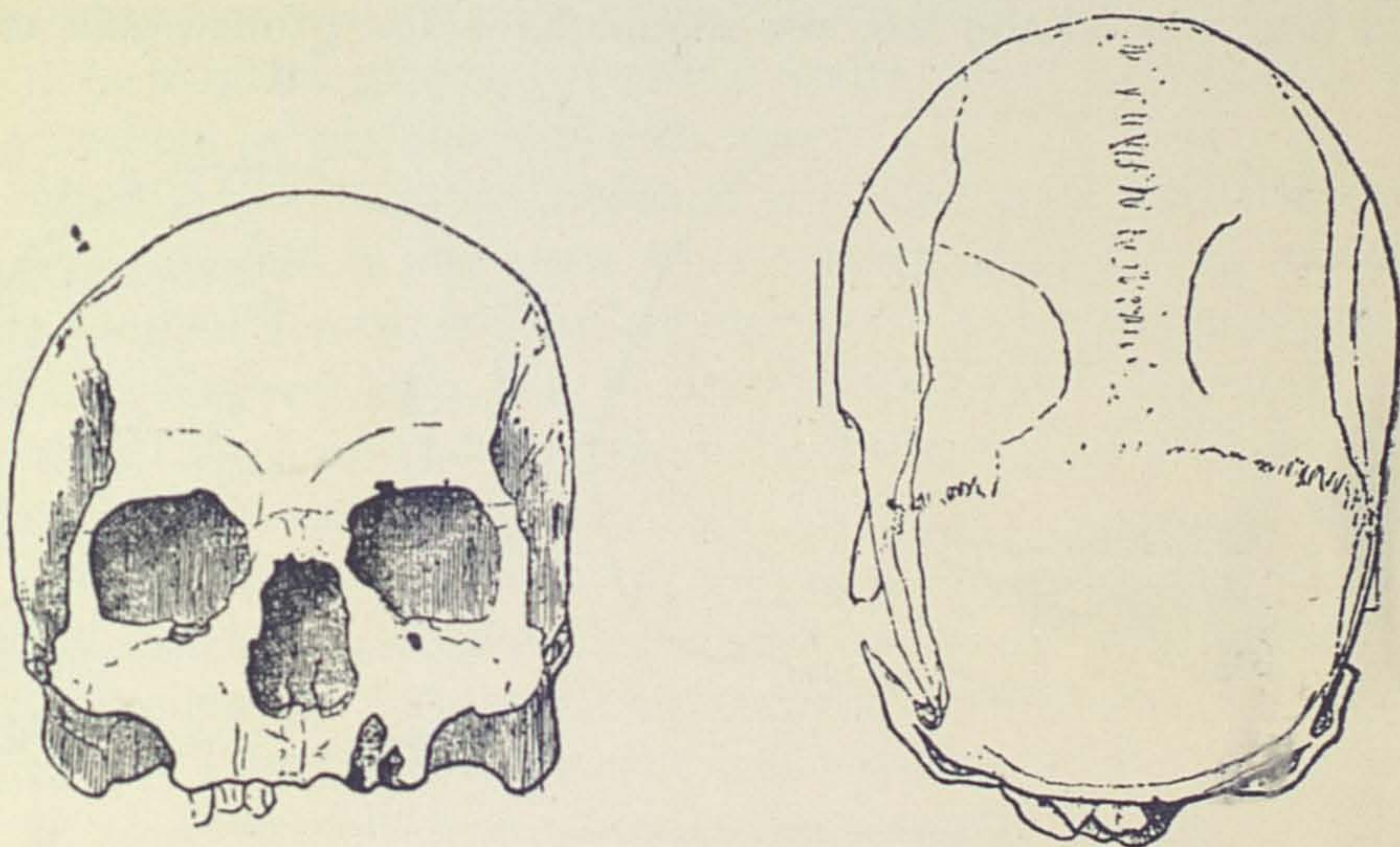


FIG. 726.—Examples of crania from the Caverne de l'Homme Mort. From the "*Revue d'Anthrop.*," vol. ii. (1873), p. 53.

the Commune of Saint-Pierre-des-Tripiés in the Department of Lozère. Its contents date, according to M. Broca, from the

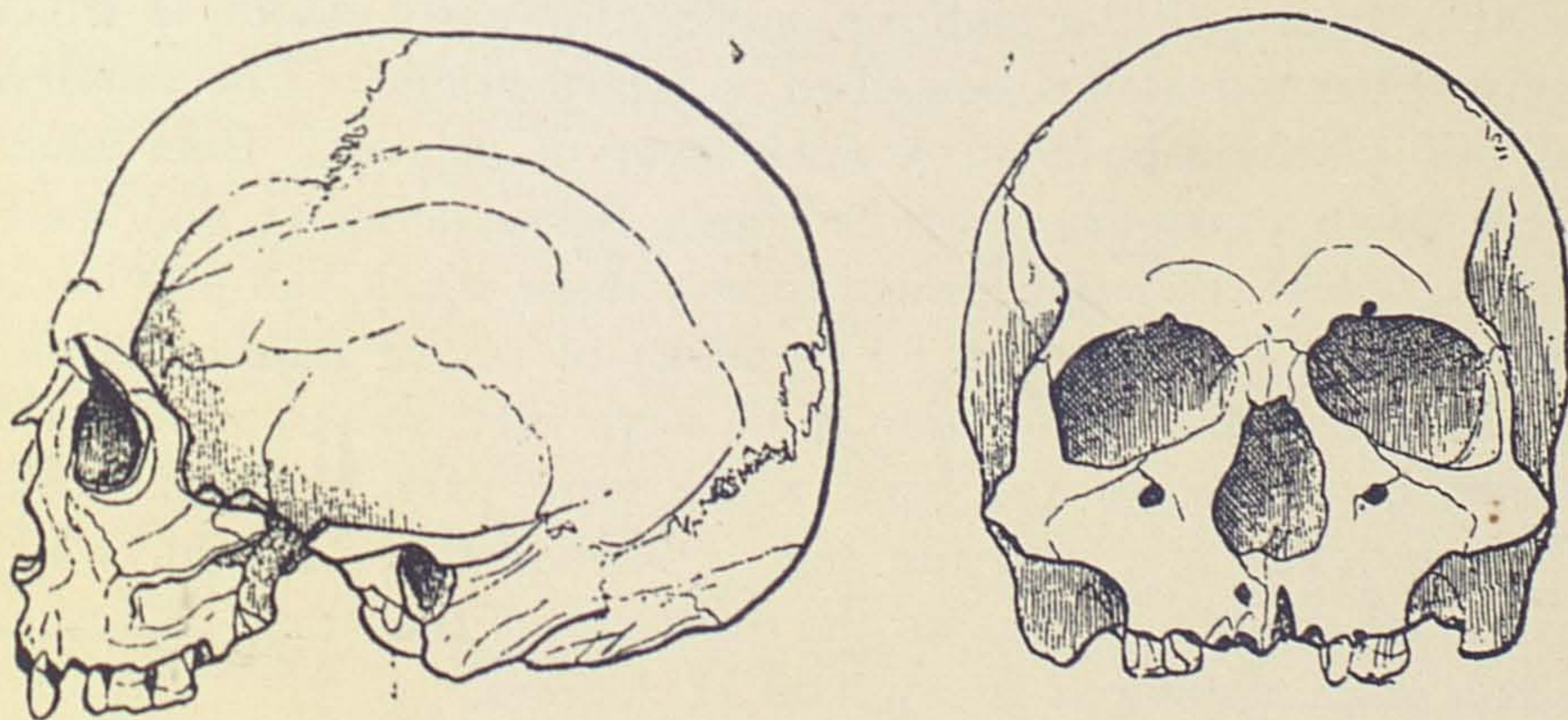


FIG. 727.—Examples of crania from the Caverne de l'Homme Mort. From the "*Revue d'Anthrop.*," vol. ii. (1873), p. 53.

earlier portion of the Neolithic epoch,<sup>†</sup> and were first brought into notice by M. Prunières in 1872. Before the mouth of the

<sup>†</sup> "*Révue d'anthropologie*," 1st ser., vol. ii. (1873), pp. 1-53; "Sur les cranes de la caverne d'Homme Mort," by Paul Broca.



cave was an arrangement of large stones, which in my own opinion deserves very particular attention, since it formed, as it were, an artificial antechamber to the natural cave within. There were two on either side placed in parallel courses, 2.20 m. apart. One larger slab was placed at right angles to the end of the slab on the right, and if we might suppose that a similar one originally had been set on the left, we should have the ground-plan of a

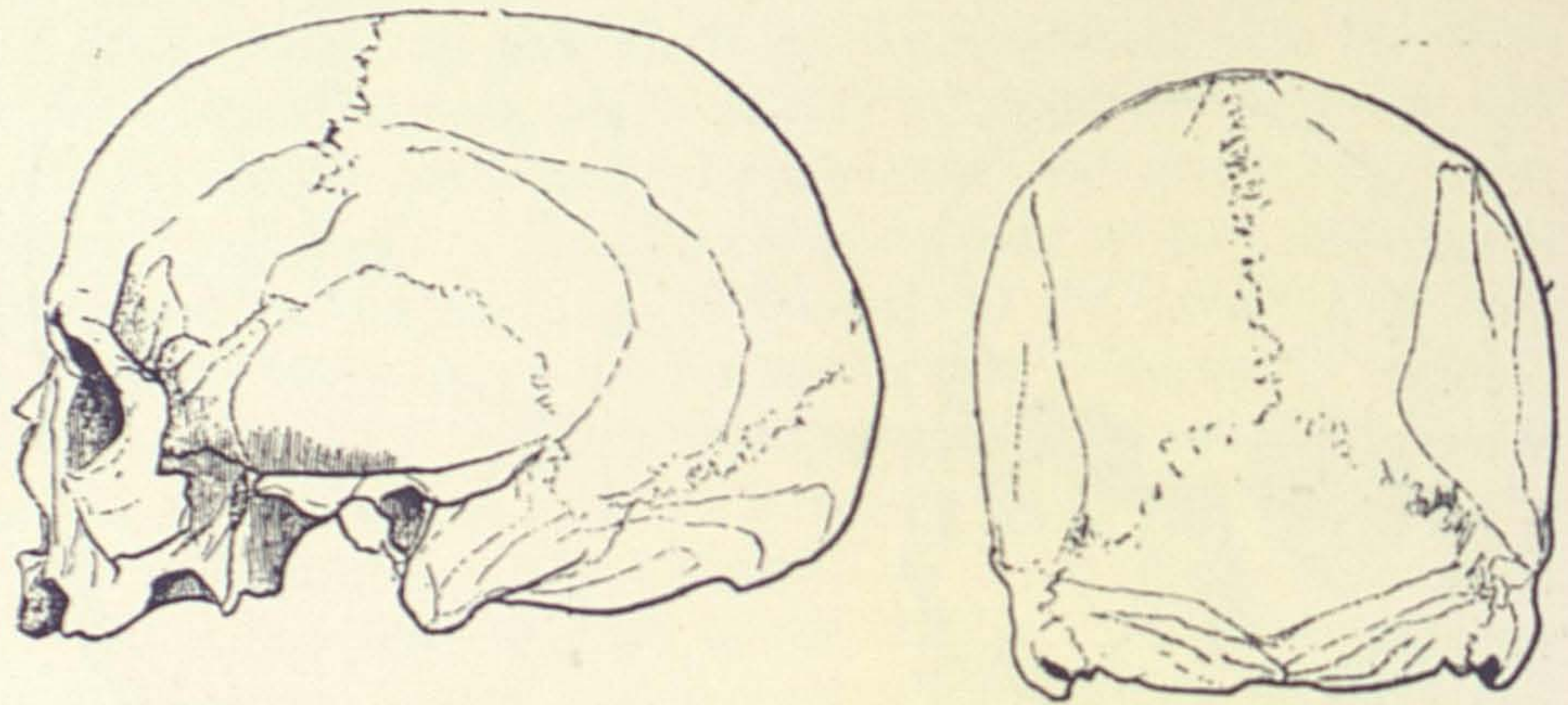


FIG. 728.—Examples of crania from the Caverne de l'Homme Mort.

megalithic chamber entered between two stones, in the centre of the inner side of which would be the natural entrance to the cave, measuring 1.50 m. In and around this arrangement of stones was what is described as a platform outside the cave's mouth, in which were seven flat stones described as hearthstones. The material of this platform included a thick layer of charcoal, from which were taken a quantity of worked flints, flakes, scrapers, and lance-heads, one of the latter formed from a stone which had previously served as a polished celt. Fragments of coarse pottery accompanied these, and in addition there were very numerous bones of animals, namely, of the hare, which were particularly plentiful, the deer, the roe, and the pig. Outside this platform, which extended about 1 m. beyond the front slab of the stone enclosure, was a *talus*, sloping at an angle of 45 degrees.

At the point where the natural mouth of the cave commenced, the heap of animal bones, etc., definitely terminated, and was succeeded within the cave, for a distance of 6 m., by a stratum of sand completely filled with human bones jumbled together in utter confusion. Remains were found of some fifty bodies at least, among which were nineteen skulls, comprising seven masculine



and six feminine, together with three of uncertain sex, and three of immature age. The cave ran due E. and W., and beyond the point up to which the human remains extended, it was divided into two branches, both of which debouched by narrow apertures on the western side of the limestone rock.

A study of the bones showed M. Broca that the persons whose sepulchre this was were of small stature, very much shorter than the Cro-Magnon people, the tallest being about 5 feet 5 ins., and the medium height about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch less.

With regard to other osteological points, three out of the nine *femurs* obtained in the cave were distinguished by the peculiar characteristic known as *linea aspera*, found not only in examples of the Cro-Magnon type, but in several other bone deposits of the Neolithic Age, and among them in those of Perthi-Chwaren in Wales.

The peculiar flattening of the *tibiæ* to which the eminent anthropologist, just quoted, gave the name of *aplatissement en lame de sabre*, on account of a resemblance to broadsword blades, and which among English authorities is known as "the platycnemic form," observed on the one hand in the Cro-Magnon examples, and on the other in the Welsh case just quoted, and survivals of which Dr. Frazer has pointed out in Ireland, occurs in three distinctly marked instances in the Caverne de l'Homme Mort. In a fourth the peculiarity is only slightly discernible, and in a fifth the conformation is that found in the modern and normal form of that bone. M. Broca is of opinion, however, that it is not to be regarded as a racial characteristic.

The skulls of this cave were orthognathous to a remarkable degree. The orbits were small, especially vertically. The nose was slender, well formed, and of medium length; the nasal index only 45.46. The jawbones were small, and the teeth good. The profile was orthognathous, in which point the type agrees with that of the "Long-Barrow" men of Britain, and with the "Ancient Hibernian" of Thurnam and Davis, as illustrated by the Knockmaraide skulls. It does not agree, however, with the Borris skull, or with the prevalent type of the modern Irishmen.

Like the "Long-Barrow" people, too, the men of the Lozère cave were of slender mould and weak physique. The shape of their skull was *très-dolichocéphale*, a fact which is remarkable when we consider that the very district in which they lived has, since



their epoch, been inhabited by the Auvergnats with a brachycephalic index of 84.07.

The mean index of the skulls of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort is 73.22, with which M. Broca compares that of three Cro-Magnon skulls, and three skulls from the red alluvial stratum of the Seine at Grenelle, the former giving as their index 73.44, and the latter 73.24, or, taking the six together, 73.34.

The altitudinal index is 68.89 for the men of the Lozère cave, and 73.02 for the women.

It is to be observed that M. Broca differentiates this type from that found in the dolmens of France in general, and of Southern France in particular. It is, he says, far more dolichocephalic than that observed in the examples from the dolmens of the Lozère, and even more so than that of those in the greater number of the dolmens of Northern France. In the long sepulchral chambers, which are really dolmens, *i.e.* *dolmens allongées*, contained in some of the Long Barrows, the case is different. The mean cephalic index obtained by Thurnam from 48 male skulls from British Long Barrows was 0.715, and from 19 females from the same 0.710 (the mean altitudinal index being 0.730).

It follows that this form of tomb was specially connected in the British Isles, as to some extent it was also in some parts of France (*e.g.* the dolmen of Chamant (Oise), and the "Tomb" of Maintenon (Eure et Loire), where the indices reach as low as 71),† with the racial type which these low figures denote.

Now, the Caverne de l'Homme Mort appears to me to be a link between the purely natural cave in which Palæolithic Man, as represented perhaps by the Cro-Magnon skeletons, both lived and interred his dead, and the cave used solely for purposes of sepulture and subsequent veneration, fashioned artificially and covered by a mound, which belonged to his Neolithic descendant and successor. A ruined megalithic structure had been constructed, as we have seen, before the cave's mouth, in and around which were traces of what I take to be offerings to the dead within, and the *débris* of the feast which followed the sacrifice of animals offered in propitiation to the ancestral spirits.

The junction of the artificial with the natural, that is, of the cave within, and the dolmen without, serving as an antechamber to

† These measurements are taken from a table in Professor Boyd Dawkins's "Cave Hunting," p. 199.



it, is not without precedent in France. M. Maule-Pl has described a monument which he calls the megalithic tomb "Des Mauduits," near Mantes (Seine et Oise),† the inner part of which is a cavern in the rock, and the outer part a long antechamber formed of slabs of chalk, and covered in with two blocks of the same, exactly in the manner of the usual *allées couvertes* (Fig. 566). What is very remarkable is that at the outer end the side walls extend like a portico covered by the overlap of the roofing-stone, while the two slabs which close the end of the chamber have each a semi-circular piece cut out of them, the cavities being placed opposite each other, and thus serving as a means of access to the chamber within. In the whole arrangement a resemblance may be traced to the *antæ and cella*, which constituted a Roman temple—originally a shrine for offerings to the dead—placed within. Human remains were found within this semi-natural dolmen, the skulls of which are described, in common with those found in another megalith at Dennemont, in the same vicinity as "dolichocephalic." Polished-stone axes were found here in great number, as also a stag's horn perforated, and a bronze arrow-head. Some of the stones showed sculpturing something after the manner of that at New Grange, and the whole is referable to the early Bronze Age.

If, however, we are disposed to regard the Caverne de l'Homme Mort, in respect both of the people there interred, and the superstitions there practised, as intermediate in age between that of the Cro-Magnon man with his purely natural cave, and that of the man of the dolmens with his as purely artificial tomb, we are justified in arriving at this exceedingly important conclusion, namely, that it is to the district in which these remains are found that we may look for the origin and earliest developments of the dolmens, and for the centre whence they were first disseminated.

Professor Huxley, who, as we have seen, believes that close affinities exist between the Hiberno-British dolichocephali and the Scandinavians,‡ in which view he is supported by authorities of no less weight than Retzius,§ Nilsson,|| Virchow,¶ Ecker,†† and Schaaffhausen,‡‡ is equally prepared to recognize their close

† "Nouveaux Documents Archéologiques par," M. L. De Maule-Pl., Paris (1872), p. 15, *et seqq.*

‡ "Preh. Remains of Caithness," p. 129.

§ "Ethnologische Schriften von Anders Retzius," p. 8.

|| "Anc. Inhab. of Scandinavia," edit. Lubbock, p. 117.

¶ "Archiv. für Anthrop.," vi. (1873), p. 114; and *Abhandlungen des Berl. Akad.* (1876), p. 3.

†† "Archiv. für Anthrop.," iii. 155.

‡‡ "Die Urform des Menschlichen Schädels," p. 5.



affinity with a Southern type, and that not merely the type we have first cited in France, but its extension into Spain, the Mediterranean, Africa, including Egypt, and the East, embracing Southern Hindustan, and not even stopping short of Australasia itself.† Into the world-wide problem thus opened up we do not intend to follow him, but, as far as the shores of Europe and N.W. Africa are concerned, we may do so, and in doing so we shall meet with the approval of Dr. Thurnam,‡ M. Broca,§ and the editors of the "Crania Ethnica,"|| Messrs. De Quatrefages and Hamy, the latter three of whom, however, together with Professor Rolleston,¶ are strongly opposed to the theory which would connect the Long-Barrow race with that whose remains are found in the Scandinavian megaliths, despite the two facts that the Baron von Düben finds that dolichocephalic skulls, with an average index of 74·3, predominate in the tombs of the elongated or "Giant-Grave" class in Sweden, over the brachycephalic ones in a proportion of 9 to every 10, and that these "Giants' Graves" are, in plan and construction, and notably in some characteristic details, identical with types general and particular in the British Isles, as well as with others in Northern Germany, Holland, France, and the Spanish peninsula. On the question of the possible connection of French skulls of the Cro-Magnon type with German, and so with Scandinavian skulls through the medium of comparison between the skulls of Solutrè, near Mâcon on the Saone, and those of Grenelle on the Seine on the one side, and the Engis skull from the Lozère on the other, the remarks of the editors of the "Crania Ethnica" are most valuable.††

Proceeding now to Spain and Portugal, we find that two skulls from the caves of Casa da Moura give cephalic indices of 71·65 and 74·07 respectively,—one of these at the same time presenting an example of posthumous trepanation uncompleted. From the "kitchen-middens" of Mugem,‡‡ also in Portugal, where brachycephalic skulls also occur, we obtain an average dolichocephalic index of 73·80. Many other examples may be added, and among them a skull from the dolmen of Liceia presenting the same type

† "Preh. Remains of Caithness," pp. 130, *et seqq.*

‡ Cited *ib.*, p. 130.

§ "Révue d'Anthropologie," vol. ii. (1873), p. 51.

|| "Crania Ethnica," p. 95, *et seqq.*

¶ Greenwell's "British Barrows," p. 646, n.

†† "Crania Ethnica," pp. 66 and 70. At p. 66, M. Broca's recognition of the likeness of the Solutrè skulls to those of the Cro-Magnon type will be found, and at p. 70, Messrs. De Quatrefages, and Hamy's comparison of the former with the Engis skull.

‡‡ "As Racas dos kjœkenmœddings de Mugem," Lisboa (1881).



and justifying the remark of Sr. F. de Paula e Oliveira,<sup>†</sup> that the dolichocephalic type which marks the great majority of the skulls from these shell-mounds is the predominant type also, as is the case in Sweden, in the skulls from caves and tombs of the Neolithic Age. The differences, adds this writer, which are more specially marked between the more modern crania, that is, the Neolithic, and the more ancient, that is, the Shell-mound type, consist in the greater capacity of the former, and in the softening down in their case of certain characteristic features of the latter, such as their prognathism, and the excessive prominence of the supraciliary ridges. It may here be remarked that when Dr. Thurnam was shown in Paris a collection of (Spanish) Basque skulls, he was at once struck with their great resemblance to those from the British Long Barrows.<sup>‡</sup>

Turning to the S.E. portion of the Iberian peninsula, which, by the way, contains the most magnificent dolmen in Europe, the cave of Antiquera, we find that the MM. Siret<sup>§</sup> obtained the following results from the interments in jars and cists examined by them. Out of 61 skulls examined, 8 male and 12 female showed a cephalic index below 75.00; 8 male and 11 female, one ranging from 75 up to 77.77; 7 male and 7 female, one ranging from 80 to 83.33; and one male and one female, one above 83.34. The interments, however, from which these skulls were taken belonged to the Bronze Age, and here, as in Southern France, the skull index becomes broader owing, doubtless, to intermixture with the strongly marked brachycephali whose skulls are found beside them.

Crossing into North Africa, we find that General Faidherbe || found in the skulls of the great dolmen-fields there, among the relics of which he made explorations, a minimum dolichocephalic index of 0.705. He considers them, indeed, as dolichocephalic as a whole, the mean index being 0.750 in 18 skulls which he measured. The maximum, however, was as high as 0.853. Of the 18, 10 were under 0.750; 4 from 0.750 to 0.776; 2 from 0.777 to 0.776; and 2 from 0.800 to 0.849.

Between the skulls of the Berbers on the same northern coast of Africa, whose average cephalic index is 74.63, as well as those

<sup>†</sup> "Ages Préhist. de l'Espagne et du Portugal," by M. Emile Cartailhac, 4me Partie, by M. Fr. de Paula e Oliveira, p. 316.

<sup>‡</sup> "Prehist. Remains of Caithness," p. 130.

<sup>§</sup> "Les premières âges du métal dans le sud-est de l'Espagne," Anvers, 1887.

|| "Congrès Internat. d'Anthrop. et d'Archéol.," Brussels, 1872, pp. 406 *seqq.*



of the Basques of Guipuzcoa, whose present cephalic index is about 76, and those of the race of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort, M. Broca† detects a great resemblance, not alone in general features, but also in various special craniometric characteristics. He boldly expresses his opinion that it is probable that these characteristics noticeable in the Spanish Basques link them rather to the peoples of North Africa than to those of Europe itself. He thinks that the real and original Basque type is that which has been discovered by Mr. Busk in the caves of Gibraltar. He is prepared to regard with favour an hypothesis which, based on the geological assumption that Northern Africa was once in continuity with Spain and Italy—hence the presence of tropical species in the quaternary fauna of Europe—would call upon us to accept the view that a race of human beings followed the same track, and that, having spread itself over Western Europe, it has there preserved, despite the gradual modifications of climate, characteristics which are referable to its original type. Between the skull of the old man of Cro-Magnon and those of the Guanche mummies of the Canaries special points of resemblance are noted.

With respect to evidences of early dolichocephali on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Levant, it may be mentioned that in a cave described as occupied in Neolithic times at Monte Tignoso near Leghorn, a skull was found giving a cranial index of 71.0. A second one from beside it in the same cave showed the excessive brachycephalic index of 92.‡ The Caverne della Matta in the same country also produced two skeletons, the one with an index as low as 0.68, the other with one of 0.84. It is observable that while in its survivals Southern Italy is largely dolichocephalic, Northern Italy is markedly brachycephalic. If, then, we may regard the dolichocephali as having been the earlier-known inhabitants of the shores of the great Mediterranean basin, the products of these caves show that the brachycephali who were traversing Central Europe from East to West, had already appeared in the Italian peninsula, and met the earlier inhabitants there in the Neolithic Age.

Of the ancient Sicilians, Corsicans, Sardinians, and Baleares, I have no data before me which enable me to judge of their skull

† "Révue d'Anthrop.," vol. ii. (1873), p. 51.

‡ Isaac Taylor, "Origin of the Aryans," p. 90. We have previously seen that at Olmo a skull of the Canstadt type was found under circumstances tending to show it was Palæolithic.



measurements. That these islands were inhabited, however, by the same race as that which peopled Southern Italy, mixed in some cases, as in Corsica, with brachycephalic intruders, there can be little doubt.

In turning to the skulls which are stated to have been found at Hissartik we have the advantage of the measurements and drawings made for Herr Schliemann by Professor Virchow.† Both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic skulls were found. Of the former, with which type alone we are now dealing, we may advert to three. The first of these is that of a young man, with a cephalic index of 68·6; the forehead is broad, the eyebrow projections strongly developed, and the maxillary bones orthognathous. The second, probably also that of a young man, is distinguished by a continuous frontal suture; it is narrow and high; in the *norma temporalis* it appears high and long; the cephalic index is 73·8; it is prognathous, the lower jaw very strong, and the chin broad and projecting. A female brachycephalic skull (ceph. ind. 82·5) is also prognathous. The third dolichocephalic skull is that of a young woman; the bones are fine and the form pleasing; the *norma verticalis* is long and oval; the *norma temporalis* extended, with a long and somewhat flat vertex curve; the forehead is low. It forms a great contrast to the female brachycephalic skull, but approaches so closely those of the two males that it forms one group with them. Professor Virchow concludes with the following remark: "The bones of these skulls give one the impression of a delicate, civilized, settled population. If this population were pre-eminently a *dolichocephalic* one, then we have the choice between Aryan, Semitic, and perhaps Hamitic races. A definite decision on this point cannot yet be made from a purely anthropological point of view, but I may say that the last skull (*i.e.* that of the girl, ceph. index 71·3, which, by the way, was found in a jar together with ashes of animal matter, probably human ashes, at a depth of 23 feet, in the 'burnt city,' as the others were) *can hardly be distinguished in the midst of ancient Greek skulls.*"

We have now found this race girdling the shores of Europe from Belgium, at least, if not from Scandinavia and the Baltic to the Levant, in the form of a horseshoe, the open side towards the east, and the centre almost filled up with brachycephalic people

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† "Ilios" (London, 1880), pp. 508-512.



apparently moving westward. We shall find by a reference to the map of M. Bertrand, showing the distribution of dolmens in Europe, that monuments of that type cover precisely the same ground.† We have been able to cross to the coast of Africa, and show reasons for tracing the type thither also. To all this we may add that the skull measurements of the ancient Egyptians give an index of 75.58.‡ What was then the type of those tribes who raised the dolmens of the Jaulân,§ which show correspondences on the one hand with those of the African groups, and on the other with those of North Western Europe, I should be curious to ascertain. In the Caucasus, M. Chantre || found a decidedly dolichocephalic people settled there, in their Iron Age. In the cemetery of Samthavo, the cephalic index reached as low as 65.34, and 67.51. Other skulls showed 70.96, 71.81, 72.64, and the highest, a woman's, 77.84. In that of Koban, the lowest was 72.50, and the highest 79.57 (a woman's). At Kislovodsk the index was 73.79; at Marienfeld the lowest was 68.81, and the highest 76.24; at Redkine-Lages it was 77.77. All, therefore, were dolichocephalic. This, it must be remembered, was a dolmen centre, some of the monuments being survivals of the megalithic types.¶ Subterranean villages †† and like dwellings ‡‡ have also been discovered here.

It is naturally upon the coasts immediately opposite Ireland, that is to say, in the western portions of Britain, that we should look for the most intimate resemblances between the racial types in the two islands. In the result, as far as the primitive dolichocephalic type we are now considering is concerned, we shall not be disappointed. In the limestone hills of Denbighshire are the natural caves of Perthi-Chwaren, described by Prof. Boyd Dawkins §§ as clustering round refuse-heaps, containing animal remains, amongst which are bones of the shorthorn ox (*Bos longifrons*), the sheep or goat, the young pig (very abundant), the dog (bones of puppies very abundant), and, more rarely, those of

† "Révue d'Anthrop.," vol. ii. (1873); "Celtes, Gaulois et Francs"; "Letters by M. Alex. Bertrand to M. Broca" (Zème-lettre), p. 630, *et seqq.*; plate opp. p. 631; and "Archéologie celtique et gauloise," by the same, Paris, 1876, plates iv. and v.

‡ Isaac Taylor, "Origin of the Aryans," p. 97.

§ "The Jaulân," by G. Schumaker, 1888, p. 123, etc. See also "Across the Jordan," by the same, p. 62, etc. Incineration having prevailed, all clue to type is lost.

|| "Recherches dans la Caucase," by Ernest Chantre, vol. ii., Paris, 1886, pp. 38, 116, 157, 163, 181, and conclusion, p. 184. See vol. ii. pp. 168, 169.

¶ Id., vol. i. pp. 51-65.

†† Id., pp. 66-68.

‡‡ Id., pp. 69-72.

§§ "Cave Hunting," p. 149, *et seqq.*



the stag and roe, the hare, and the horse. Besides these are noticed those of the fox, the badger, the rabbit, the water-rat, and the eagle. It is specially stated that nearly all the bones were broken, and belonged to young animals.

No less than five natural caverns were discovered and explored. At the mouth of the first opened were found bones of animals similar to those in the refuse-heaps, together with some of large birds. As in the case of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort, as these were cleared away, beyond the threshold, and under the roof of the cave, human remains of no fewer than five individuals were found. More appeared as the work proceeded. Five skulls were found between 10 and 15 feet from the mouth. Horses' teeth, shells, a broken flint-flake, charcoal, pebbles, a boar's tusk, and two bones of the *Bos longifrons* were found near the skulls. The entrance to the cave had been blocked up with stones, seemingly placed artificially "as a barrier." "For the most part the human remains belonged to very young individuals, from the small infant to youths of twenty-one. Some, however, belonged to men in the prime of life. All the teeth that had been used were ground perfectly flat. The skulls belonged to that type which Prof. Huxley calls the 'Long-Barrow and River-Bed Skull.' Some of the *tibiæ* presented the peculiar flattening, parallel to the median line, which Prof. Busk denotes by the term platycnemic, and some of the femora were traversed by a largely developed and prominent *linea aspera*; but these peculiarities were not seen on all the *femora* and *tibiæ*," neither, we may add, were they observable on all the examples from the Caverne de l'Homme Mort.

With regard to the platycnemic *tibiæ*, the feature which they present has been observed in the case of human remains in caves at Gibraltar, by Prof. Busk and Dr. Falconer; in those of Cro-Magnon, and, less markedly, in the Caverne de l'Homme Mort, as also in those from some French dolmens, by M. Broca. To go far afield, Prof. Boyd Dawkins detected it in a fragment of human bone from a deposit, containing stone implements, obtained by Mr. Foote from the east coast of Southern India.† We shall presently see that Dr. Frazer of Dublin has observed it, in survival, in the case of human bones from a tumulus of mediæval date, near Dublin.

The bodies, Prof. Dawkins thinks, had been buried entire in

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† "Congrès Internat. d'Anth. et d'Archæol. Préhist." (Norwich, 1868), p. 224.



these caves, and in a crouching posture. A polished celt of green-stone was obtained from one, with numerous flint-flakes, and fragments of pottery, rude, black inside, hand-made, and containing in their composition small fragments of limestone. Bones and teeth of the brown bear, the lower jaw of a wolf, and fractured bones of the dog accompanied these evidences of the Neolithic Age.

Unfortunately Prof. Dawkins does not give illustrations of the pottery, but he makes a comparison, which is well worthy of attention, in connection with the possible traces of this dolichocephalic race in Germany. He compares these potsherds with those found in the caves of Gailenruth, on the Weissent, and of Kühloch, near Rabenstein, in the gorge of Esbach,† found with remains of the cave bear, the mammoth, the Irish elk, and the reindeer.

In 1833, Mr. Edward Lloyd‡ discovered, in a cave at Cefn, near St. Asaph, a human skull and lower jaw, together with *platycnemic tibiæ*, flint-flakes, and bones of animals, similar to those in the caves of Perthi-Chwaren.

Near this latter place, in the cairn of Tyddyn Bleiddyn, two sepulchral chambers were discovered

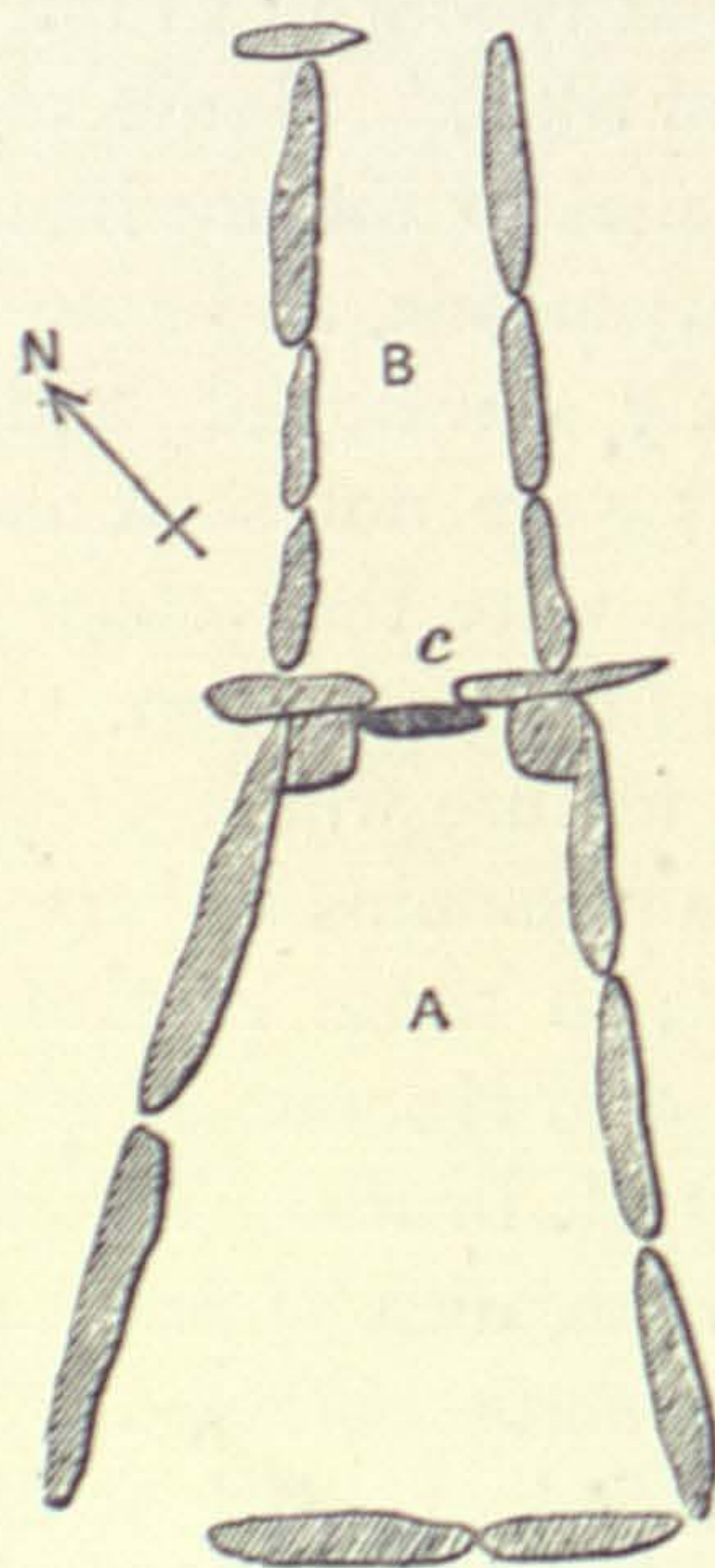


FIG. 729.—Chamber in the cairn of Tyddyn Bleiddyn, Cefn. From Boyd Dawkins.

in 1869 and 1871. The ground-plan of the first and smaller one shows that it was divided into two portions: an outer portion (B) consisting of a gallery or passage, and an inner portion (A) consisting of the chamber to which the passage led, ingress into which was obtained through a narrow aperture (C) between two transverse slabs. With this arrangement of passage and chambers I have dealt fully when comparing megalithic structures in various countries. Suffice it to say that, in passage and chamber alike, the remains of numerous human bodies were found, at least twelve in all, and varying in age from infancy to full prime. No animal remains were found, and only a small, slightly chipped flint pebble. Prof.

Boyd Dawkins compares the chamber to those found in the Long Barrows of Britain and the Gånggraben

† These specimens are in the Museum at Oxford.

\* "Edinburgh New Phil. Soc." (1833), No. 27, p. 40; "Cave Hunting," p. 159.



of Scandinavia in general, and to those of West Kennet and Le Creux des Fees in Guernsey in particular.

The second and larger chamber was of rudely triangular form, like the first, and, like that also, provided with a passage, traversed by a partition of slabs. Both chamber and passage were, here also, filled with human bones. In the chamber were the broken

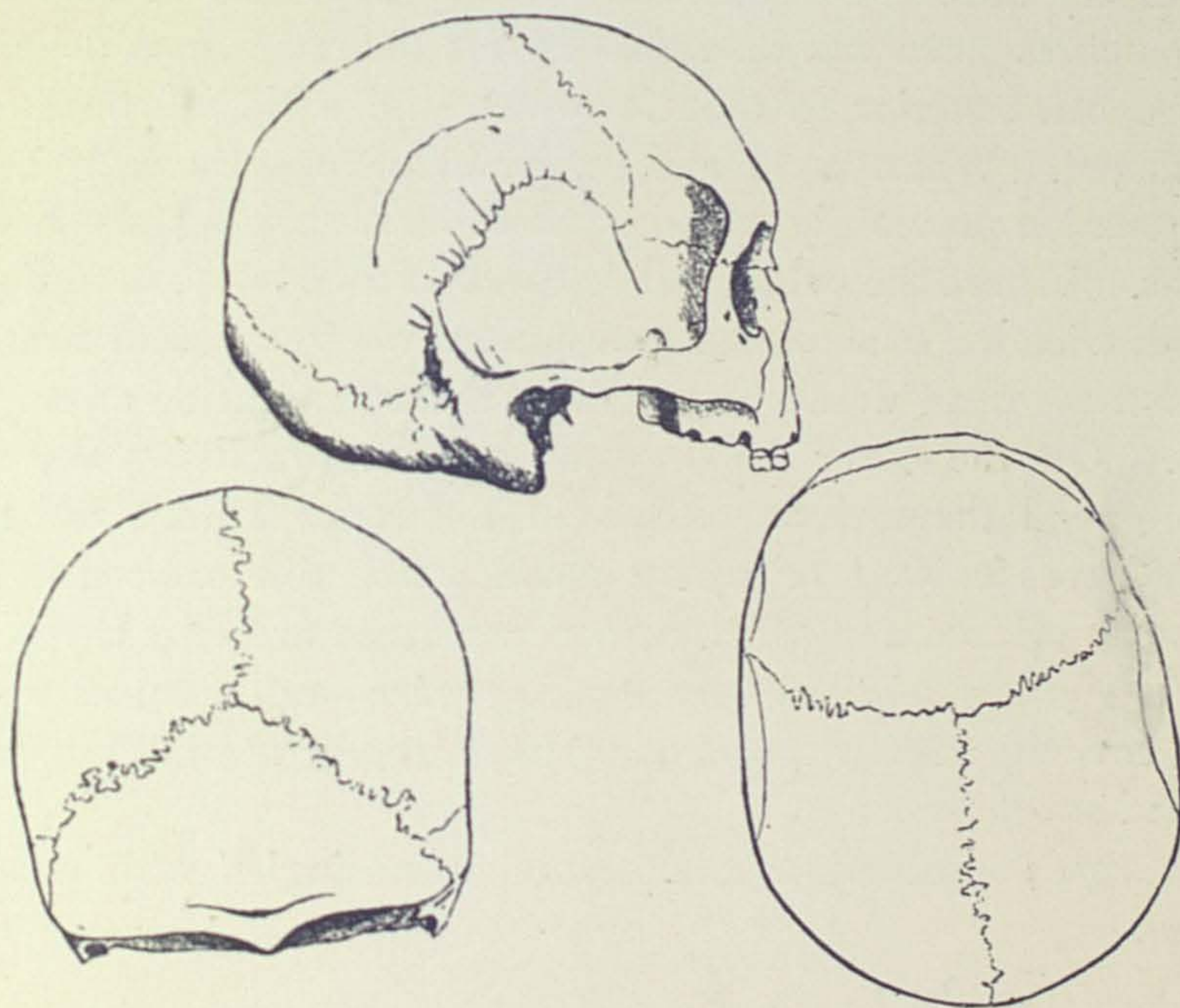


FIG. 730.—Skull from cave at Perthi-Chwaren. *From Boyd Dawkins.*

jaw of a roe-buck, bones of a goat, a broken flint, and quartz pebbles. In the passage were teeth and bones of the dog and pig.

The skulls from none of these sepulchres were excessively dolichocephalic, the lowest cephalic index from Perthi-Chwaren being 0.743. One reached 0.800. The lowest altitudinal measurement was 0.710, in a skull with a cephalic index of 0.750. The mean cephalic-index average was 0.765. The Cefn cave skull had a cephalic index of 0.770, with an altitudinal index of only 0.702, which might cause us to place it the rather among those of the dolicho-platycephalic type. Lastly, the skull from the chambered-cairn showed a cephalic index of 0.765, equalizing the mean average from Perthi-Chwaren.

"Some of the *tibiæ* from both the chambers of the Cefn tumulus were platycnemic. . . . The skulls," says Prof. Dawkins, in conclusion, "from the second of the two chambers agree exactly



with those from the caves." The inference is that the same race who used the natural caves as sepulchres, constructed also, probably at a slightly advanced period in their culture-history, the artificial caves in the cairn.

Between the men of the natural caves, and those of the artificial ones in the tumuli, the Cefn cave and tumulus form a necessary link. Those, however, who used the natural caves as sepulchres need not be regarded for that reason as belonging to an epoch anterior to that in which the artificial ones were constructed. When a man died, he *died into the hill*,† to use an expression previously quoted, and common among the Scandinavians. Where the geological features of a country, as in a limestone district, for example, offered natural caves for interment, the bodies of the dead would be placed in them generation after generation. On the other hand, when people, practising the same cultus, found themselves settled in a district where either no natural caves existed, or where those which did exist had been previously utilized and filled, they constructed artificial caves, that is, *gallery graves*, *allées couvertes*, *gånggraber*—call them as we will,—and covered them with a mound, to represent the hill into which the dead should die.

As age succeeded age, and race intermingled with race, the

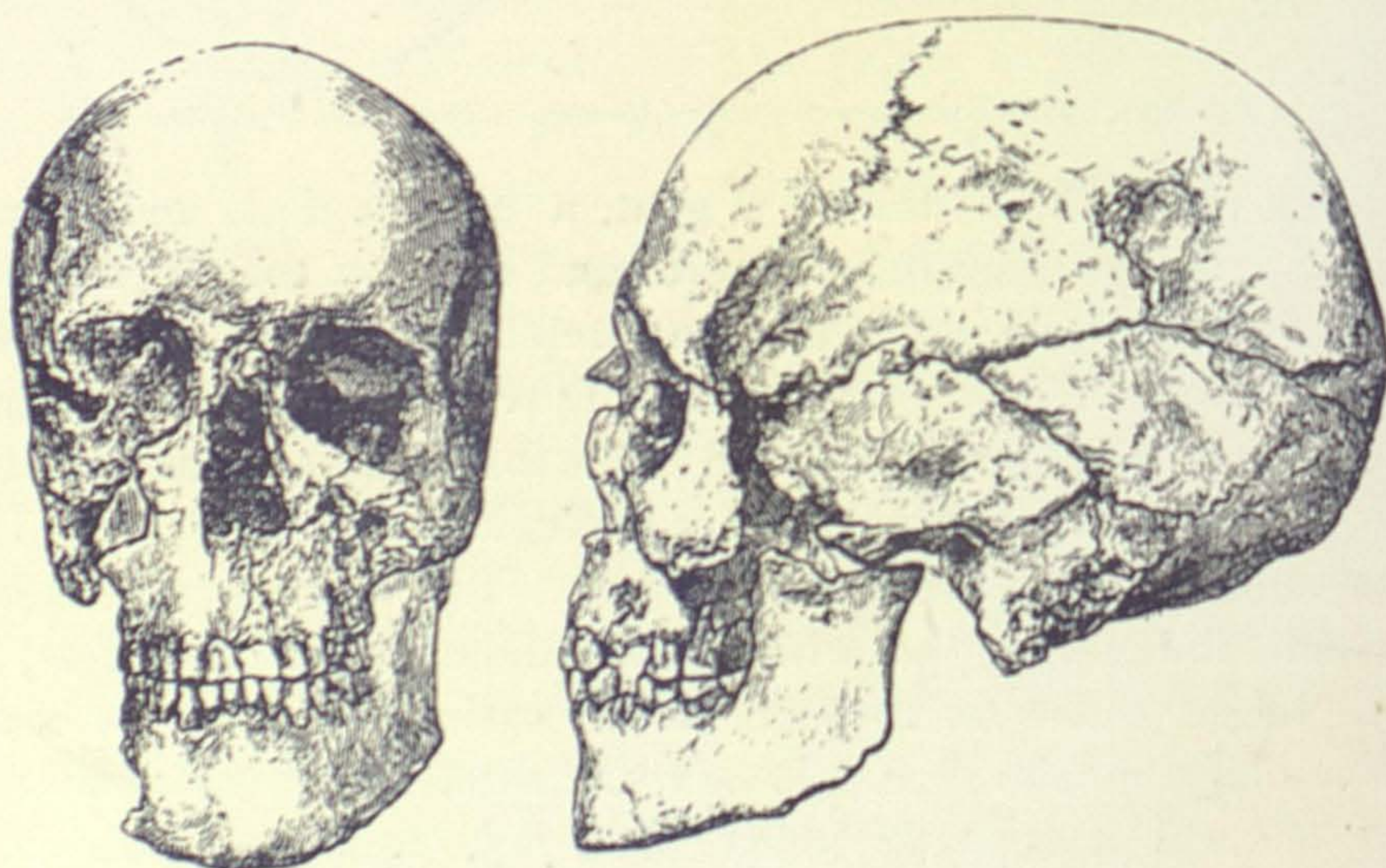


FIG. 731.—Skull from the Long-Barrow at Rudstone. *From Greenwell.*

cephalic index expanded. It stood, as we have just seen, at

† Vigfusson, *Corp. Boreal*. See remarks on the Caverne de l'Homme Mort, p. 951 *supra*.



an average of 0.765—that is to say, it was orthocephalic—in the caves of Perthi-Chwaren. And yet in the Long-Barrows

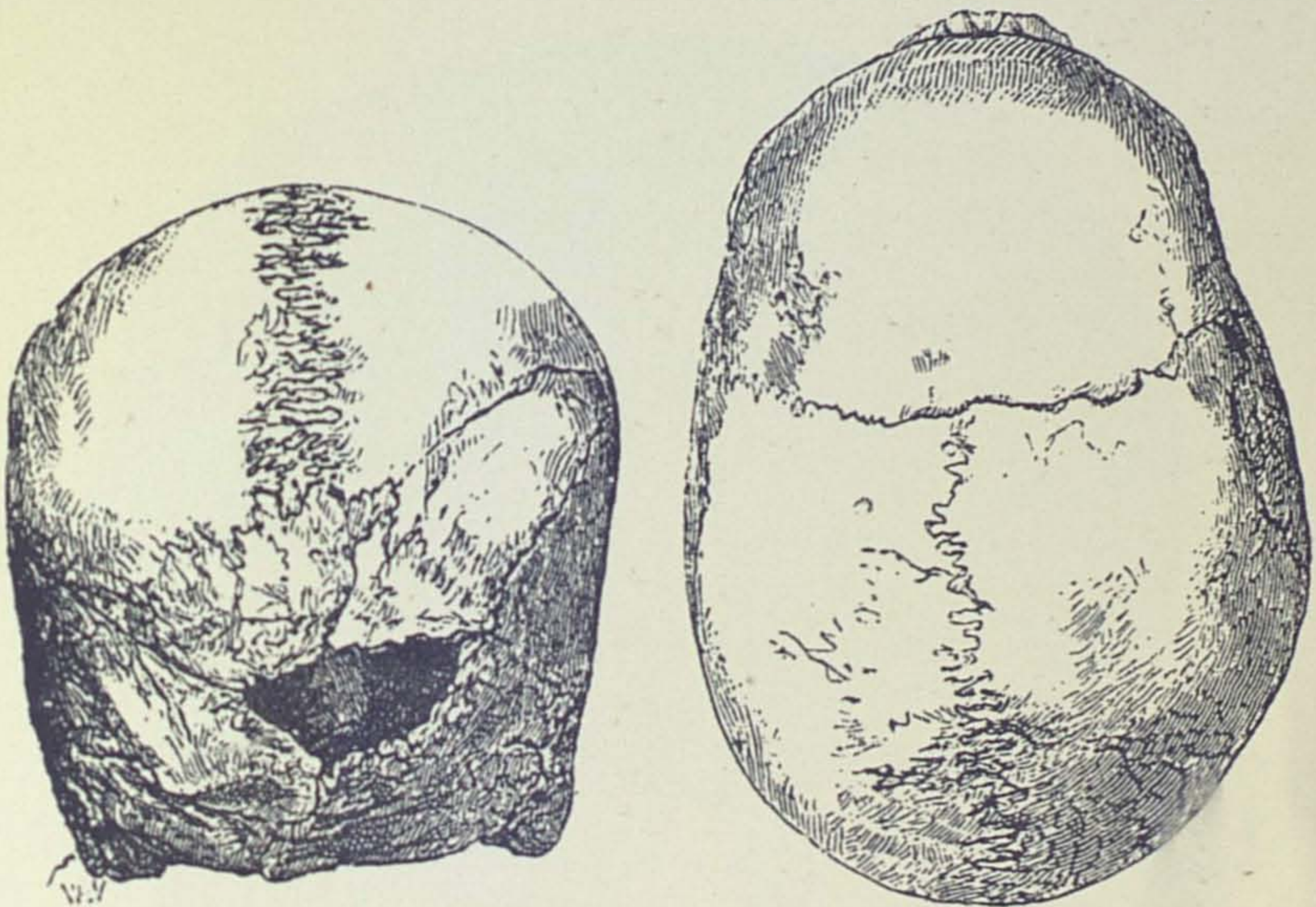


FIG. 732.—Skull from the Long-Barrow at Rudstone. *From Greenwell.*

of Britain it was considerably less. The example from Rudstone, described by Professor Rolleston, had a cephalic index of 0.72.† It is stated to be “eminently long and lofty.” The mean cephalic index for forty-eight Long-Barrow men appears, however, to be even lower than this, namely, 0.715, and for nineteen women 0.703,

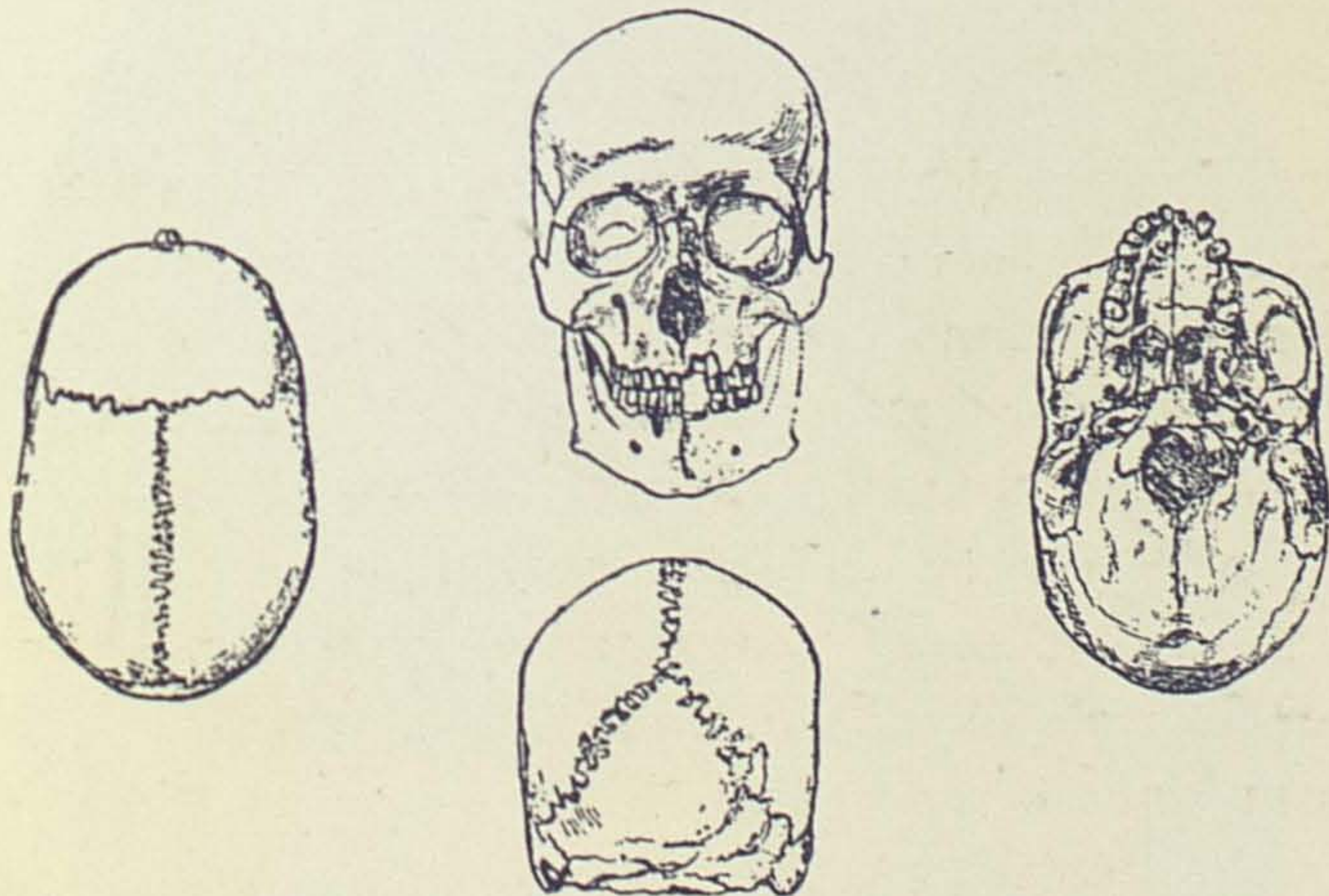


FIG. 733.—Skull from Long-Lowe Barrow, near Wetton, Staffordshire. *From the “Crania Britannica.”*

with a mean altitudinal index for both of 0.730.‡ Of the skulls figured by the editors of the “Crania Britannica,” the *norma*

† Greenwell, “British Barrows,” p. 613.

‡ This is Dr. Thurnam’s estimate, see “Cave Hunting” by Boyd Dawkins, p. 197.



*verticalis* of one of those from Long-Lowe Barrow, near Wetton in Staffordshire (Figs. 733, 734),† seems to have an unusual length

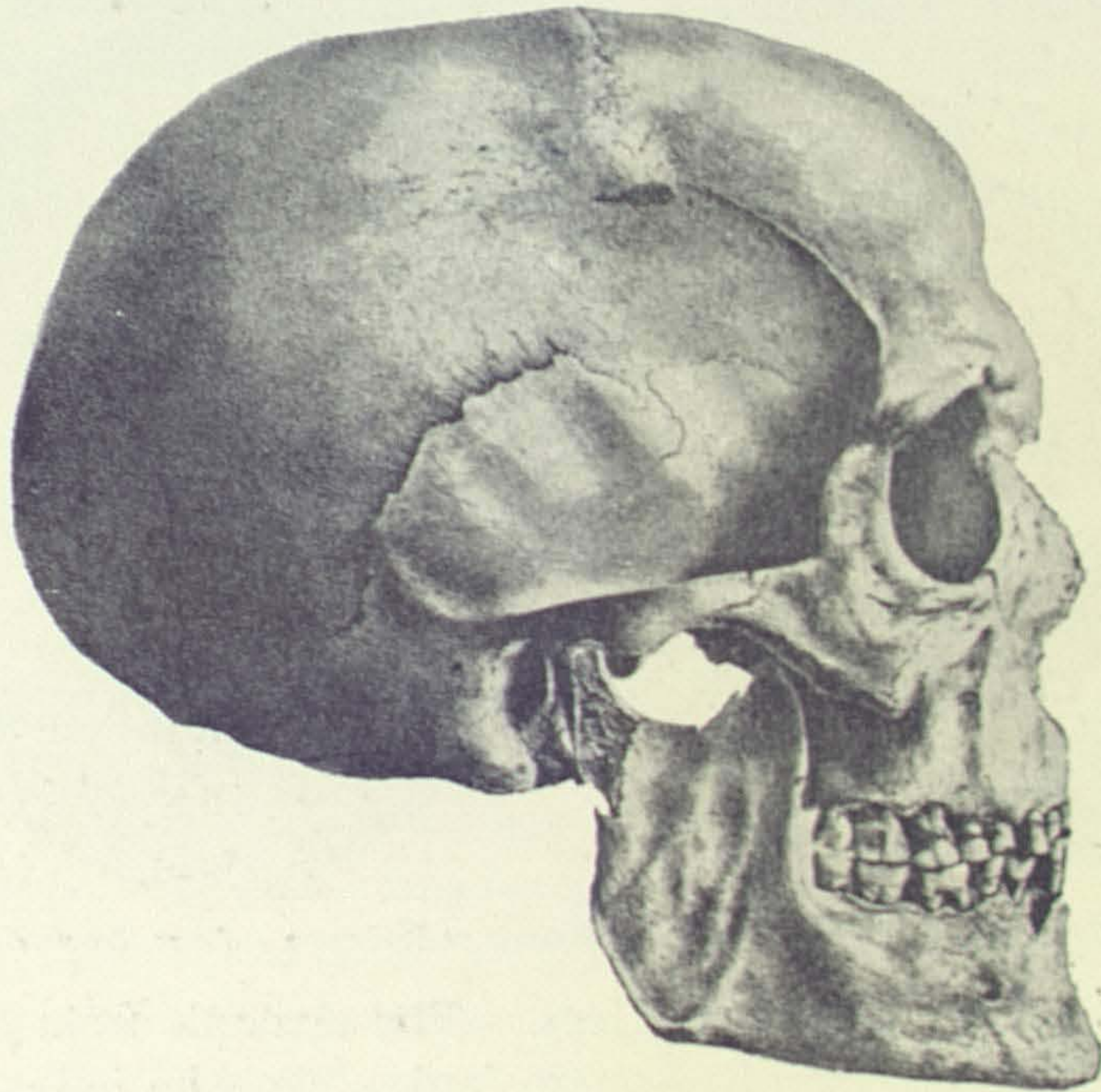


FIG. 734.—Skull from Long-Lowe Barrow, Staffordshire. *From Thurnam and Davis.*

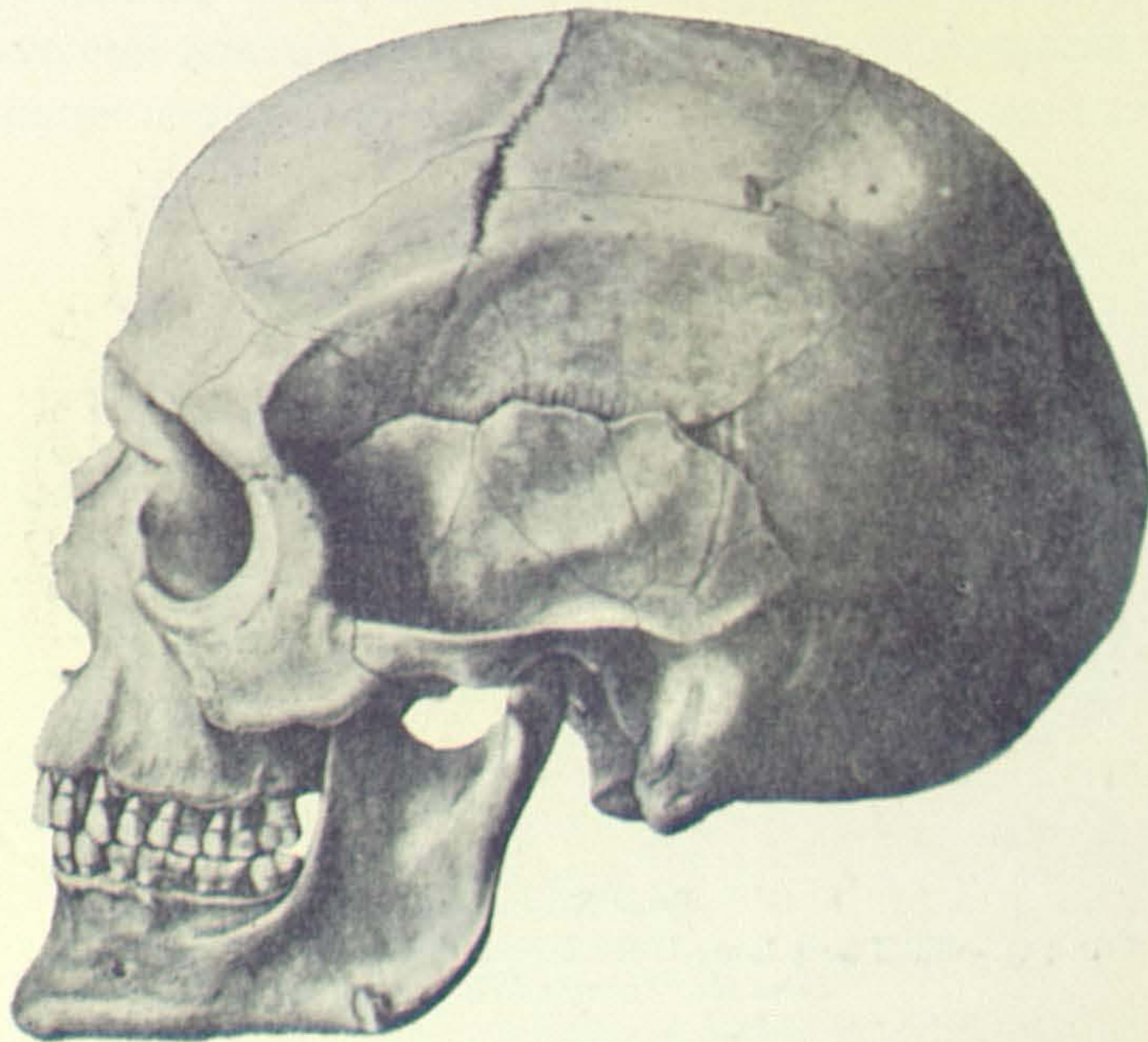


FIG. 735.—Skull from West Kennet, Wiltshire. *From Thurnam and Davis.*

in proportion to breadth, as have also those from West Kennet

† "Cran. Brit.," 33, 1 (Text).



in Wiltshire (Fig. 735), and from Littleton Drew in the same county (Fig. 736). To these we may add examples from

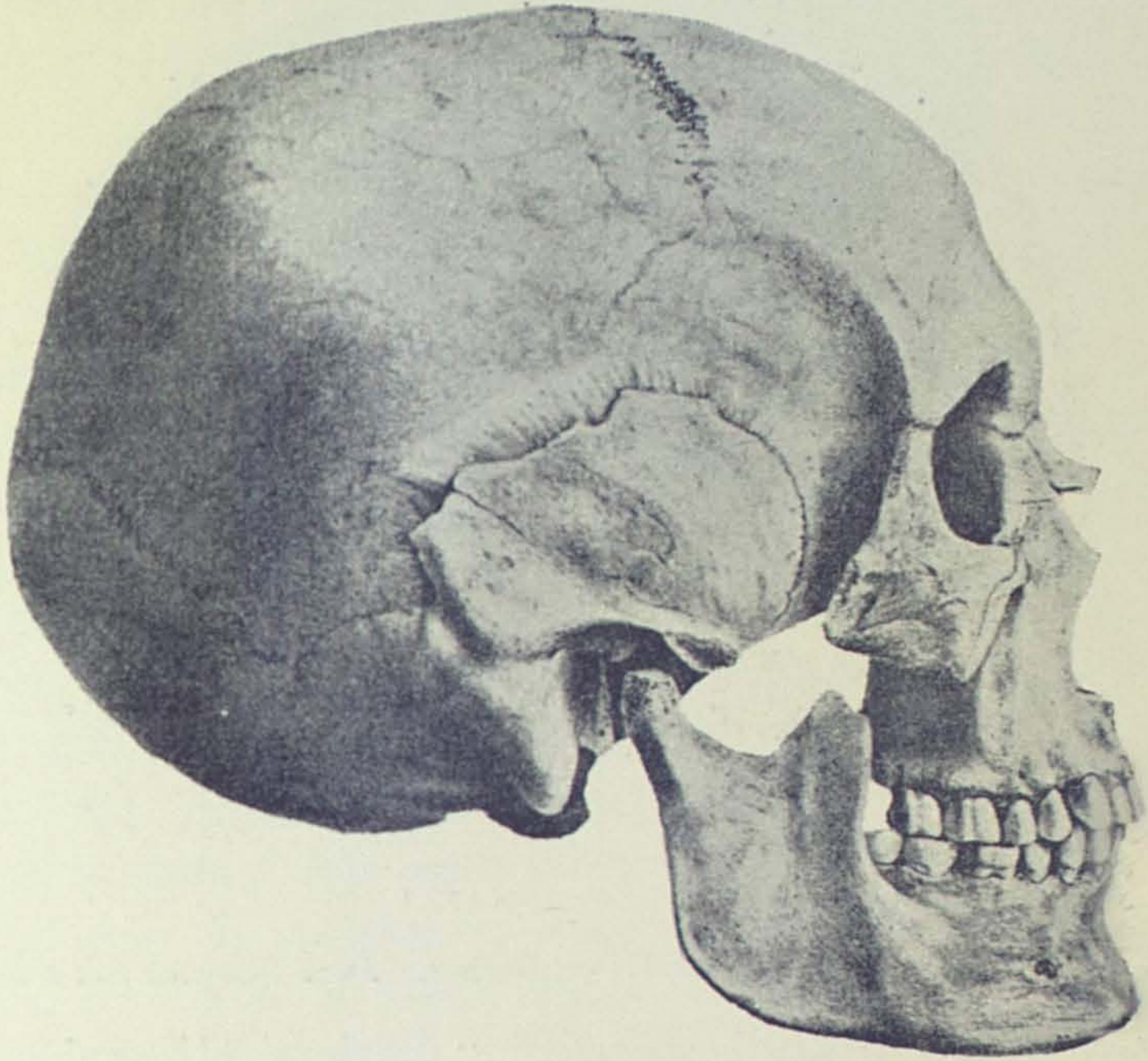


FIG. 736.—Skull from Littleton Drew. *Thurnam and Davis.*

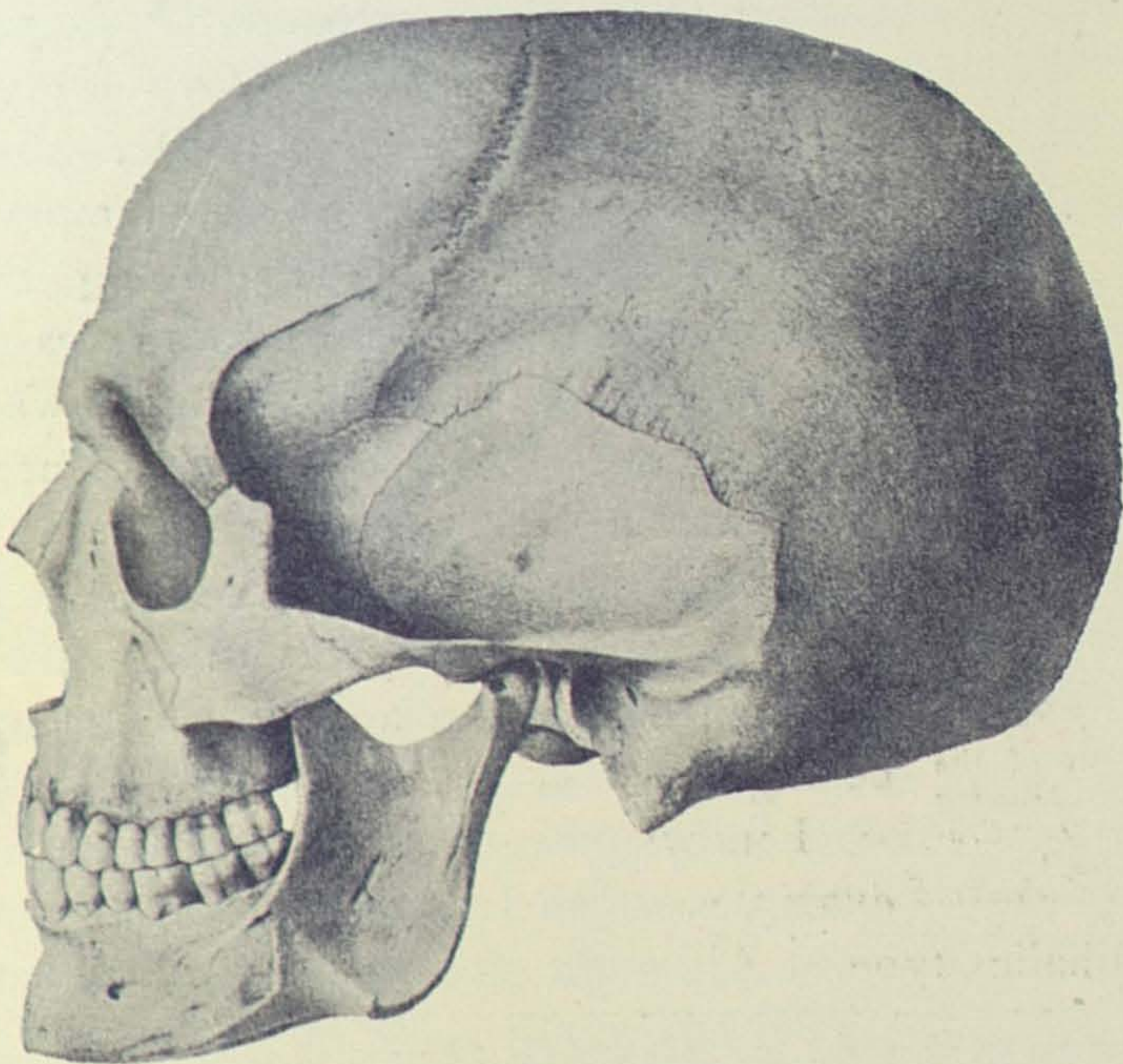


FIG. 737.—Skull from Rodmarton. *Thurnam and Davis.*

Rodmarton (Fig. 737), and from Uley (Fig. 738), both in



Gloucestershire. I append the *normæ laterales* of these five † for

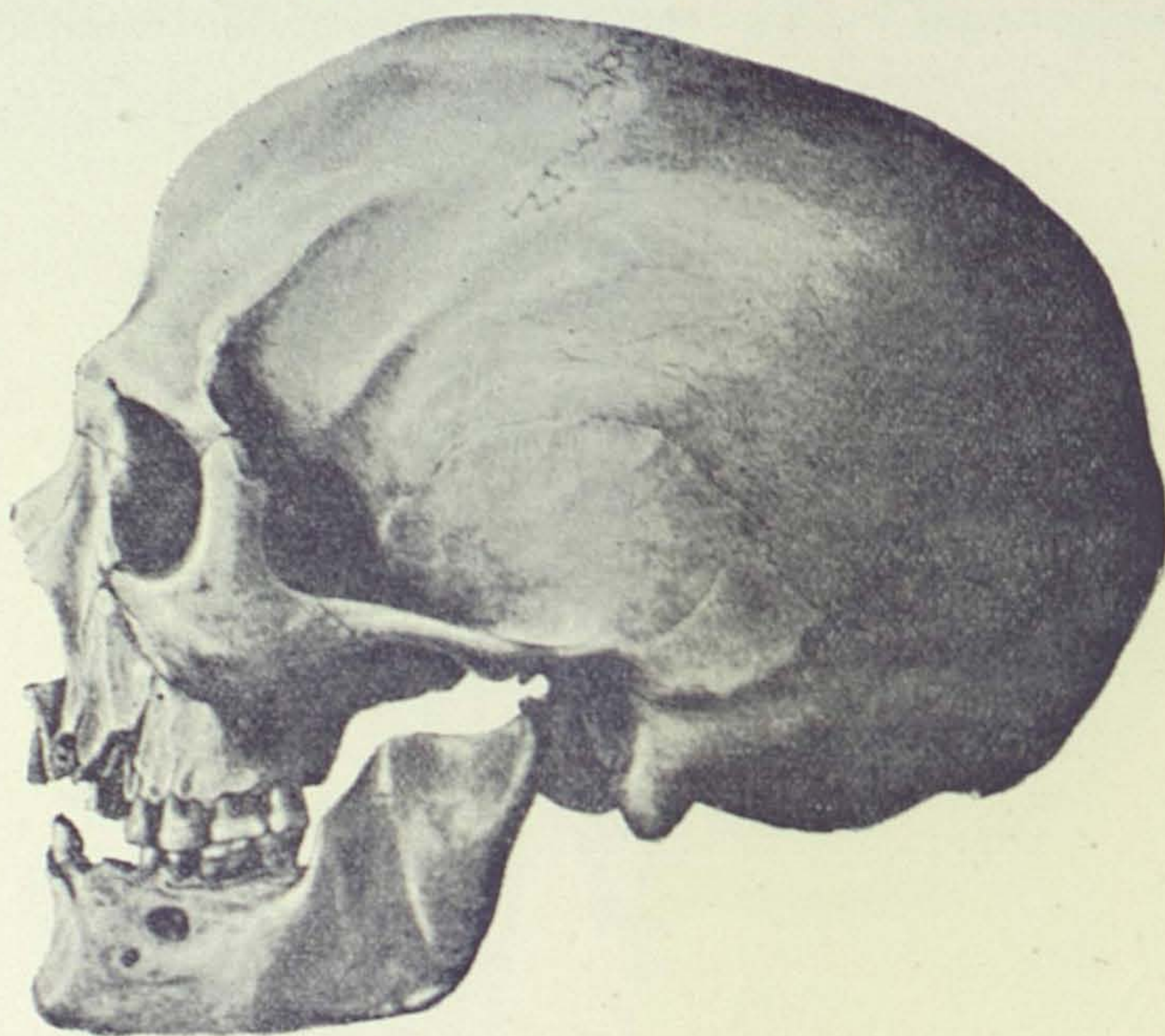


FIG. 738.—Skull from Uley Barrow, Gloucestershire. *From Thurnam and Davis.*

comparison with the skull, so-called "Ancient Hibernian," from the Knockmaraidhe tumulus in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, to be given presently (Figs. 740, 741).

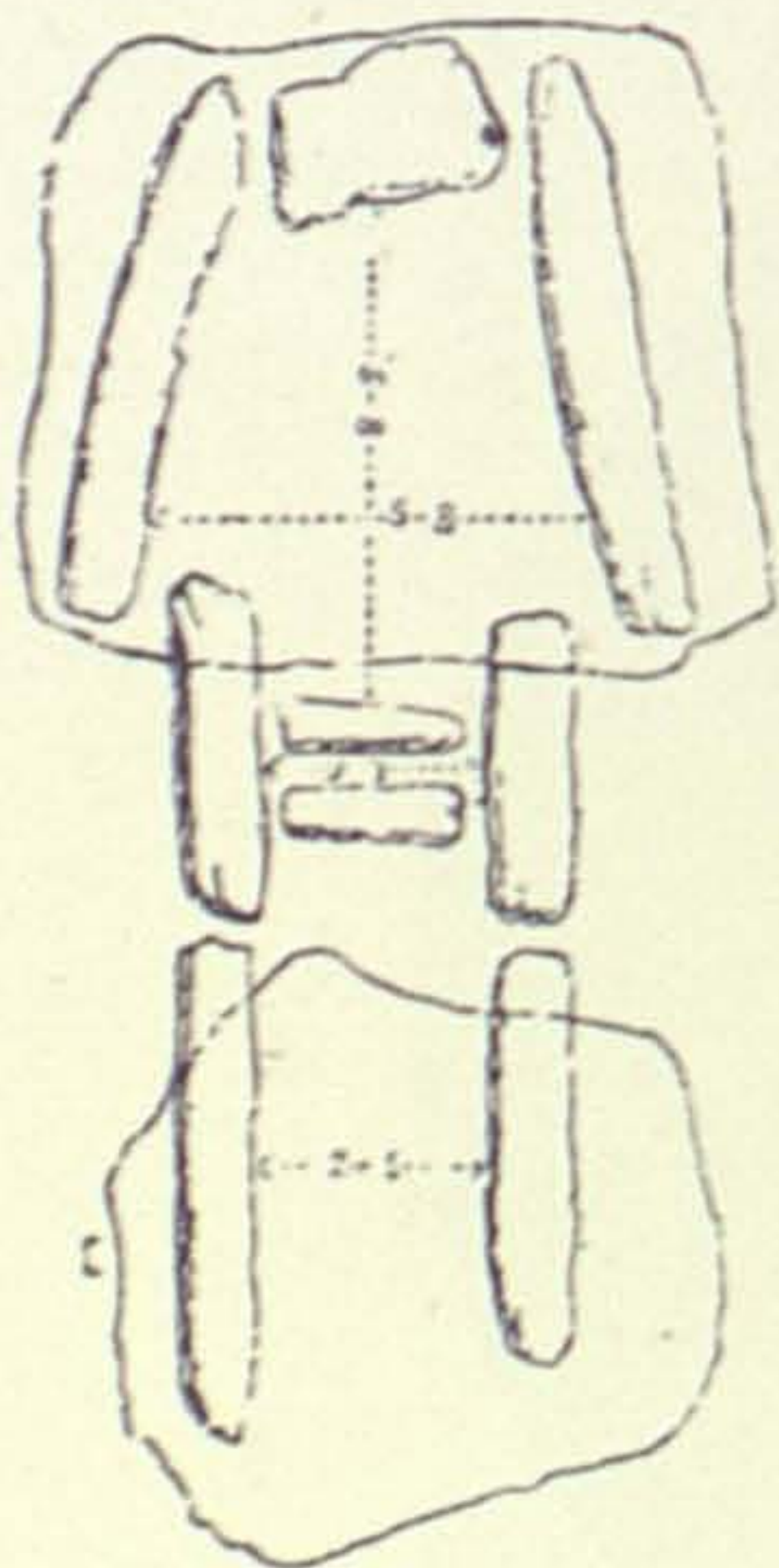


FIG. 739.—Plan of the structure in Minning Lowe. *From the "Crania Britannica."*

Messrs. Thurnam and Davis give plans of the cists at Minning Lowe (Derbyshire), and at West Kennet,‡ as typical examples of the chambers met with in the Long Barrows.§ It is to be remarked that in the case of the Uley Long Barrow Roman remains were found in one of the side chambers, and since among them was a lachrymatory, the idea presents itself that the cultus of the dead, and the devotions paid to them at this sepulchre, had not died out in the age to which such relics belong.

I now proceed to describe *seriatim* the examples which Ireland affords of this second dolichocephalic type. Although it is beyond question that

† Id., plates 33, 50, 24, 5, and 59. The cephalic indices of these five skulls respectively are 0.650, 0.679, 0.698, 0.730, and 0.727.

‡ For West Kennet Cist, see Fig. 425 *supra*.

§ The absolute identity of the Long Barrows, West Kennet for example, with the Hünebedden of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, and Hanover, will have been observed in the examples of the latter given in Part II. Presumably the race by whom they were erected was one and the same.



hundreds of them have been unearthed within the memory even of those now living, unfortunately those which are available for description are few and far between.

First in order come the two crania from the Knockmaraidhe or Knockmary tumulus in the Phoenix Park, the details of the discovery of which will be found in their place in the descriptive catalogue of Irish dolmens.† Suffice it to say that the tumulus appears to have been a round one, and composed of earth; that in the outer part of it, four small urns enclosed in little cists, and containing calcined bones, were found; that in the centre of the mound a rough megalithic chamber was discovered, so rudely constructed as scarcely to be admissible under the category of the well-formed cists often found in Round Barrows, and yet seemingly not connected by any passage with the edge of the mound, like the rugged dolmen-chambers undoubtedly were; that within this vault lay the skeletons of two men, and the tops of the thigh-bones of a third; that with these was a bone supposed to be that of a dog; a number of small perforated shells which had formed a necklace; a small double-headed bone fibula; and a flint knife or arrow-point.

Of the two skulls, Mr. Davis says that in his opinion we have in them "the most faithful and the most intimate representatives of aborigines that can be revealed to the light of modern days." The presence of the three bodies in the vault gives rise, as he says, to the conjecture that they did not all come there "in submission to the laws of nature,"—a view which is supported by the evidence educible from many another sepulchral mound, and which forces itself on the consideration of every explorer of ancient pagan sepulchral sites in remote ages.

The following description is from the "*Crania Britannica*."‡ "Both skulls belonged to men. The one of which illustrations are here given pertained to the younger of the two. The one was about 40; the other about 50. There is a considerable resemblance between the two. The face shows a slight eversion of the angles of the lower jaw, which would afford an element of squareness of countenance; but the obliquity of the base of the jaw, which slopes from the angle to the chin, as seen in the profile, would take off from this expression. The skull, not

† Part I., p. 379.

‡ *Loc. cit.*



represented, wants its lower jaw, but some of its teeth are preserved and are much more worn than those of the other.

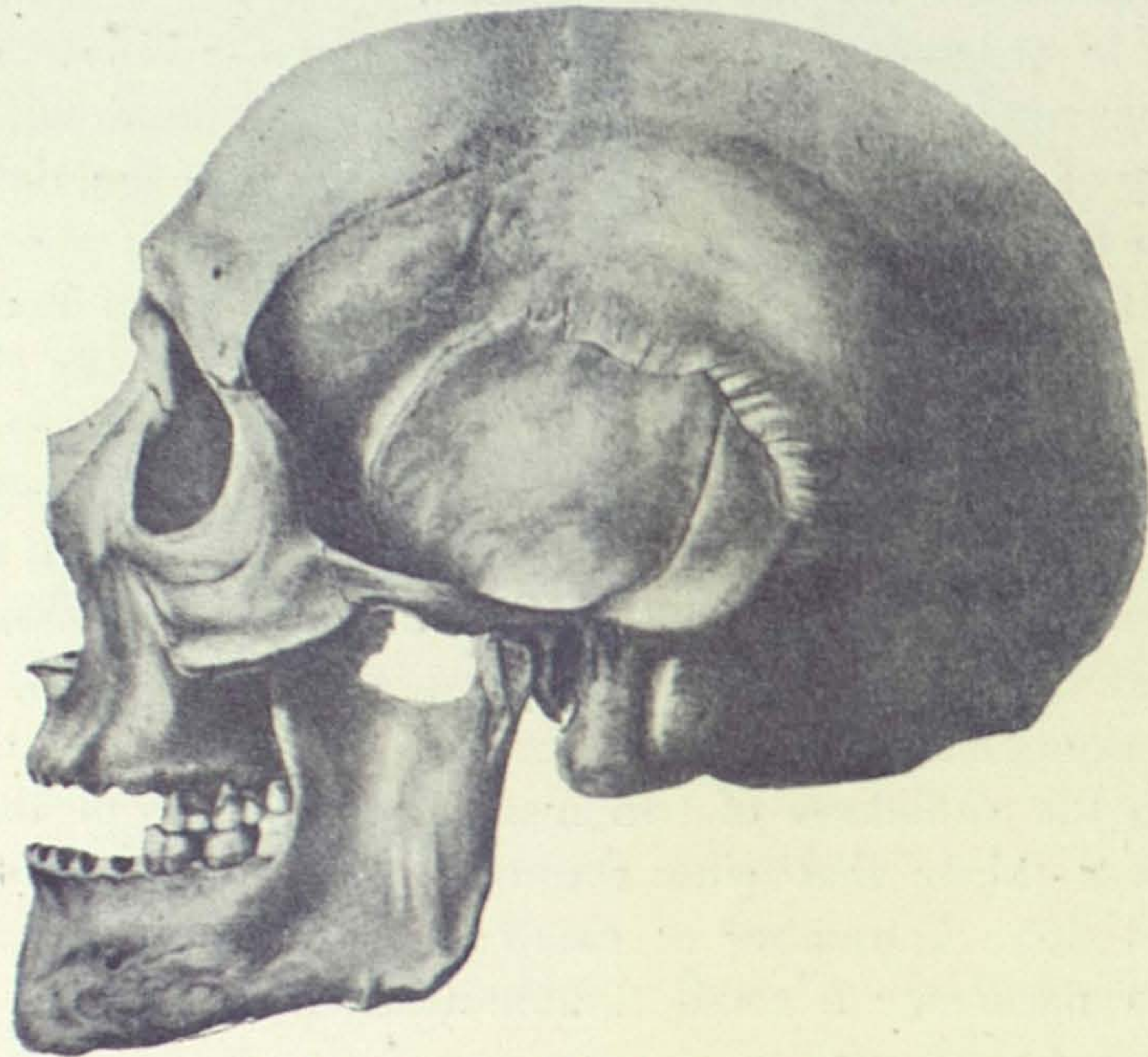


FIG. 740.—“Ancient Hibernian” skull. *From Thurnam and Davis.*

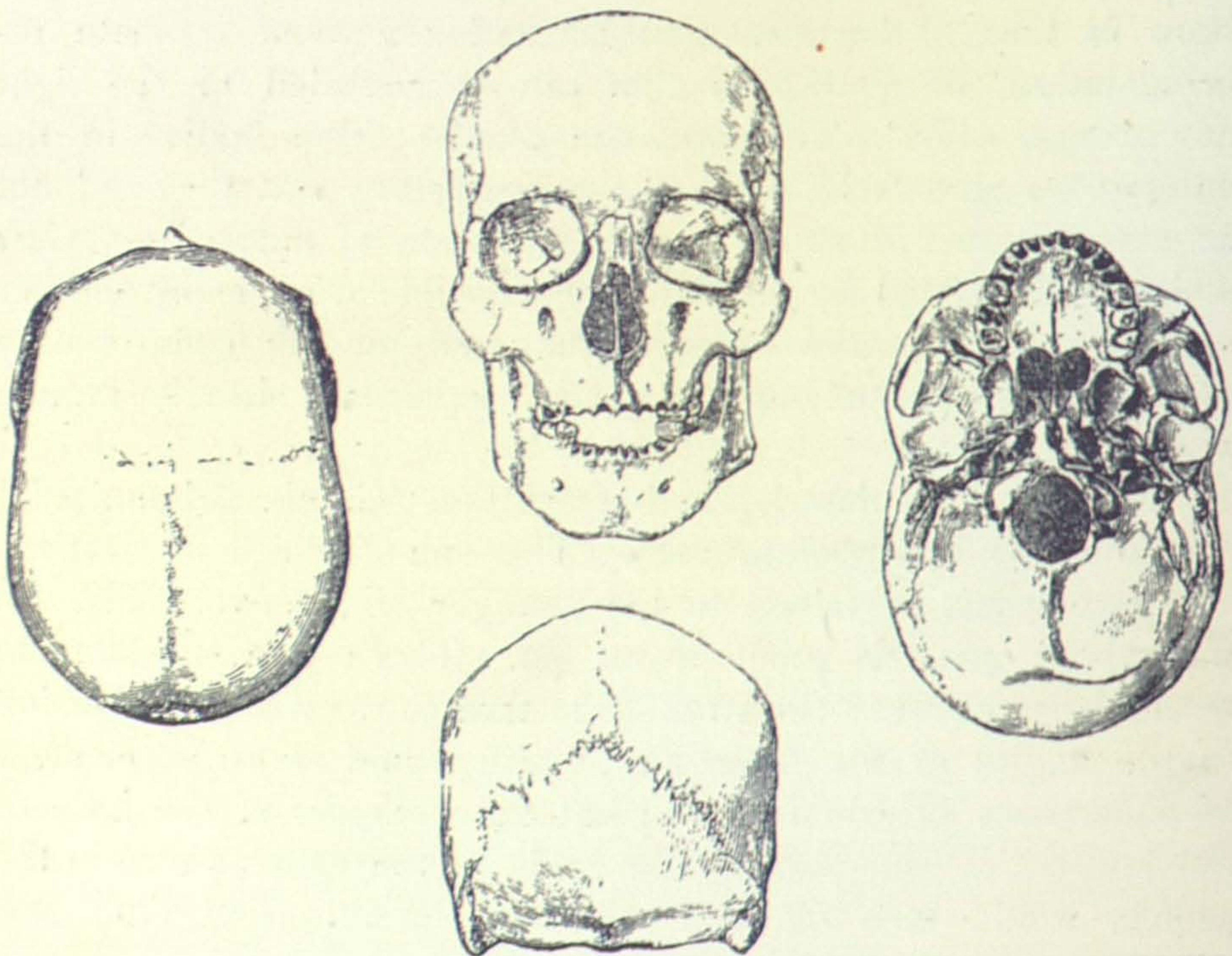


FIG. 741.—Skull from Knockmaraidhe, in the Phoenix Park. *From Thurnam and Davis.*



The cheek-bones are rather prominent; still the tendency of their plane surfaces is decidedly lateral. The cranium of the older man is remarkable for having an elevated ridge running obliquely down the middle of each malar bone, in the situation of the origins of the zygomatic muscles, which we may regard as having been strongly developed in this individual—a circumstance that would render his countenance somewhat more savage and forbidding. Both crania are tolerably orthognathous, but the superior maxillary bones themselves are robust. The cheek depressions are shallow, the orbits wide, the nasal orifices rather narrow. The nasal bones are prominent, yet not elegantly so; they rise out of rather deep supra-nasal depressions. The bosses over the frontal sinuses project decidedly. The frontal bones are tolerably wide and of moderate elevation, not lofty; that of the skull without the lower jaw being narrower and more recedent. The sides of the skulls are rather flat, especially in the perfect example, the semicircular line of which extends a great way upwards. The vertical region is moderately elevated in the perfect cranium; in the other it is more lofty. The bases of both skulls are rugged; the mastoids of good size; the *foramina magna* large, and of regular oval form. In a vertical view, the perfect skull is seen to form a long outline, tolerably oval; the other being more elevated at the vertex, is somewhat shorter, and describes an oval more round—all this being manifested by the measurements which exhibit a difference of 0.4 of an inch in antero-posterior diameter. In reference to the question of dolichocephalic and brachycephalic skulls, the specimen illustrated, though not remarkably long, is somewhat dolichocephalic; and the other, though not remarkably short, is somewhat so—yet, it must be recollected, we know both are derived from one tumulus, both belonged without question to one people, and both were interred at a very remote period of time.”

In conclusion, Mr. Davis says, “There cannot be said to be any very remarkable peculiarities in these skulls, unless we refer to slight ones pointed out by Dr. Pritchard. At the same time, the reader will at once recognize in them those features so often dwelt upon in the ‘Crania Britannica,’ as characterizing the crania of the ancient Britons. Indeed, to these crania we consider they present a striking resemblance.† They are tolerably full,

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† See the “Long-Barrow” skulls above figured.



capacious skulls, and, when gauged, are of moderate capacity, as the following table will show:—

	A	B		A	B
Horizontal circumference	21.0 ins.	20.1 ins.	Occipital region—Length	4.6 ins.	4.5 ins.
Longitudinal diameter ...	7.4 „	7.0 „	Breadth	4.4 „	4.5 „
Frontal region—Length	5.1 „	5.0 „	Height	4.3 „	3.9 „
Breadth	4.6 „	4.5 „	Intermastoid arch ...	14.8 „	14.7 „
Height	4.7 „	4.6 „	Internal capacity ...	75.5 ozs.	74.0 ozs.
Parietal region—Length	5.0 „	5.0 „	Face—Length ...	5.1 ins.	
Breadth	5.4 „	5.4 „	Breadth ...	5.4 „	5.4 ins.
Height	4.8 „	4.8 „	Length of a femur ...	...	18.3 ins.

My own measurement, taken a few years since, gave to the longer of these skulls a cephalic index of 0.733, and to the shorter one of 0.785. It is to be remarked (1) that the tumulus in which they were found was a Round Barrow, and did not contain the class of chamber in which are found in Britain the characteristic skulls of the Long-Barrow type; (2) that while the cephalic index of the longer skull accords sufficiently nearly with those of the latter type, that of the other skull is on the verge between orthocephaly and sub-brachycephaly, a circumstance which might induce a belief that a mixture of race was here discernible; (3) that Dr. Pritchard† observed, especially in the shorter skull, a considerable approximation to the form of his so-called Turanian (brachycephalic) type, “the face being somewhat of a lozenge form, a pyramidal elevation, with laterally eminent zygomata,”—characteristics which, as Dr. Davis admits, exist also in the longer skull. For these three reasons I am inclined to think that in one of these skulls, if not in both, we have not the pure Long-Barrow type of Britain, but an admixture with it of the characteristics of a broader and brachycephalic type.‡

At the close of his remarks, Dr. Davis adverts to the difficult question as to the similarity of this cranial type to or its deviation from that of the ancient crania discovered in the barrows of Denmark and Sweden. My own view would be that just as a skull from Borreby, to which we shall hereafter refer, is the result of an intermixture of intrusive brachycephaly with the older Scandinavian (*i.e.* the Stangenäs) type, so these two skulls are the result of an intermixture of the same brachycephalic type with the type of the Long-Barrow men of Britain, and of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort in France.

† “Researches” (1841), vol. iii. p. 200.

‡ Approximating to the type of those who buried in *cists*, not in *dolmens*.



The next skull which must find a place in the same category as the Long-Barrow skulls is one, previously adverted to, from

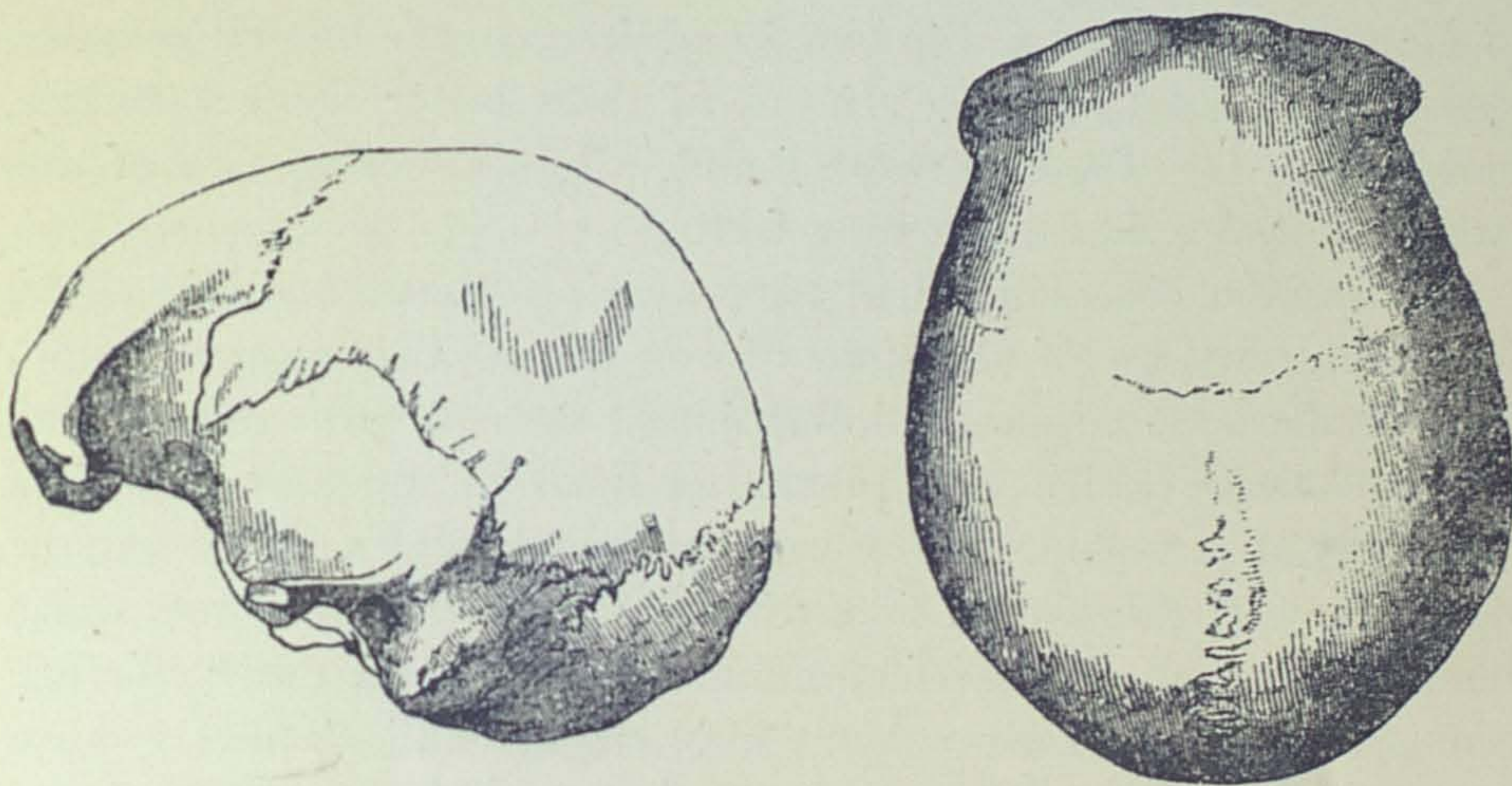


FIG. 742.—Skull from the Blackwater. *Huxley.*

the river-bed of the Blackwater in the county of Armagh. This skull has been described and figured by Prof. Huxley,<sup>†</sup> who has compared it to a skull, also from a river-bed, found at Muskham in the valley of the Trent. It was found with another having very similar characteristics. The cephalic index is 0·79.

The measurements of the Trent and Blackwater examples are given as follows :—

	Muskham.	Blackwater.
Maximum length ...	7·0 ins.	7·25 ins.
Length of glabello-occipital line ...	6·7 „	7·0 „
Greatest vertical height from centre of auditory foramen, the glabello-occipital line being horizontal ...	4·8 „	4·7 „
Distance of auditory foramen below glabello-occipital line ...	0·8 „	0·7 „
Greatest transverse diameter ...	5·4 „	5·75 „
Transverse diameter at the lower ends of the coronal suture ...	4·4 „	4·75 „
Horizontal circumference ...	20·5 „	20·75 „
Transverse arc from one auditory foramen to the other	13·25 „	13·0 „
Antero-posterior arc from glabella to occipital protuberance ...	12·5 „	12·5 „
Antero-posterior arc from glabella to posterior edge of occipital bone ...	14·25 „	14·4 „

The next skull, which in point of its great dolichocephaly, if we considered that alone, should be placed at the head of the Irish series of “Long-Barrow” skulls, was found by Mr. Wakeman in the year 1871, in a “carn” near Trillick in Tyrone. This mound was composed of stones, and was circular, having a diameter of 40 feet and a height of 8 feet.

<sup>†</sup> “Prehist. Remains of Caithness,” pp. 123-128.



"Resting upon the ground, just barely within the outer edge, were eight cists, each of which had the appearance of a cromleac." They were about eight feet apart. Four of them enclosed portions of human skeletons; and in two, in addition to the human remains, was a vase of baked clay. In one of these latter, three vertebræ, believed to be of a dog, were found. The covering-slab of this cist measured 4 feet 6 ins. by 4 feet.

In another cist, which had two covering-stones, one laid above the other, portions of skeletons of two human beings were found. Both skulls were minus the lower jaws,<sup>†</sup> and no teeth were found, a circumstance which also presented itself in the case of one of the skulls at Knockmaraidhe just mentioned. "From the narrow dimensions of the cist (2 feet 4 ins. by 3 feet 6 ins.), it was quite manifest that no two perfect human bodies, even those of very young people, could have been here deposited." There was no trace of the action of fire. Mr. Wakeman naturally came to the conclusion that the bodies had been dissevered and packed, a mode of burial which was prevalent in South-Eastern Spain in the Bronze Age, and among the inhabitants of the Balearic Isles in the time of Diodorus Siculus. A similar practice prevailed also among the savages of Queensland, who first skinned the body with the aid of the fire applied to it, and then dissevered it limb from limb, and removed the flesh from the bones.<sup>‡</sup> With the exception of the lower jaws, the crania were fairly perfect, but almost the whole of the remainder of the skeletons were missing, only a few detached bones being present. Osseous matter was, however, found mingled with dust, a fact which we think may possibly indicate that the flesh was boiled from the bones, the latter by excessive boiling being partly reduced to pulp. Another of the cists was empty. In another, again, rifled during Mr. Wakeman's absence, a second decorated urn was found and a flint knife. The last cist explored contained bones of adults in a soft and decomposed condition, like mortar or putty. The mound contained no central cist.

The following description of the bones which we think right to subjoin in full is by Mr. Mahood, a medical man who accompanied the exploring party.

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<sup>†</sup> See p. 470 *supra*.

<sup>‡</sup> See "Journ. of the Anthropological Institute," vol. i., "Mode of preparing the Dead among the Natives of the Upper Mary River."



“ In the first grave were found portions of two lumbar vertebræ and one dorsal one ; about the anterior two-thirds of the bodies of each being completely decayed ; the sacrum, which was perfect as far as the third foramen ; also both ossa innominata in an excellent state of preservation—in fact, stronger than any of the other bones, all of which broke down on the slightest pressure. The superior maxillary bone of the left side was represented by a small portion of the facial and naso-palatine surfaces, together with the alveolus, which contained the bicuspid and canine teeth. The same bone of the right side was of very small extent, merely that portion which constitutes the incisive, or myrtiform fossa. The inferior maxilla, which was of more than ordinary thickness, was complete, with the exception of both condyles and a small portion of the ascending ramus of either side. The teeth were all perfect. The whole, or at least the greater part of the skull, would have been preserved, but for the zeal of some members of the ‘ Royal Irish Constabulary,’ who, having heard of the discovery of human remains, thought it their duty to proceed to the spot and make an investigation. On their arrival at the ‘carn’ they caused this grave to be reopened during the absence of Mr. Wakeman, and, owing to the treatment the skull received at the hands of the law, it, as one of the natives informed me, ‘crumbled into dust.’ A right and a left femur, a left tibia, and the head and about two inches of the shaft of the left fibula complete the list of remains found in this grave. Judging from the shape of the pelvis, the obliquity of the angle formed by the junction of the neck and shaft of the femur, and the perfect state of the teeth, it would appear that the bones belonged to a male of about five feet ten inches in height, and not very far advanced in years. Neither in this nor in any of the other graves did the bones present the slightest appearance of having been submitted to the influence of fire.

“ The second grave contained a portion of the vault and base of the cranium, about the inferior three-fourths of the humerus of the right side, several fragments of ribs, the olecranoid process, and a small portion of the shaft of the left ulna ; also the femur, ilium, and ischium of the left side. The head of the femur had separated from the remainder of the bone, at that part known as the anatomical neck. The ilium was found lying at a distance of fully two feet from the ischium. This would very naturally lead



to the conclusion that the bones contained in this grave were placed there subsequent to the removal of the flesh and other investing media, whether by a process of nature or by artificial means it is impossible to say. The dry state in which the bones, and also an urn, were found, and that after long-continued rain, entirely precludes the supposition that these two parts of the same bone could have been separated by the drainage of water from the upper part of the mound. These bones appear to have belonged to a person of about fifteen or sixteen years of age, but it would be very difficult to form a correct opinion as to whether they are the remains of a male or female.

"The next grave examined contained portions of two skulls, one of which was considerably above the average size, and of great length in the antero-posterior diameter. The greatest amount of development was situated posterior to the coronal suture, the frontal region being disproportionately small. The other skull was of smaller size, and less perfect. In this, as well as in the former case, the facial bones were all absent. Some other pieces of bone were found, but so small that it is impossible to say with certainty to what part they belonged."

Mr. Wakeman has given us four careful drawings of the long

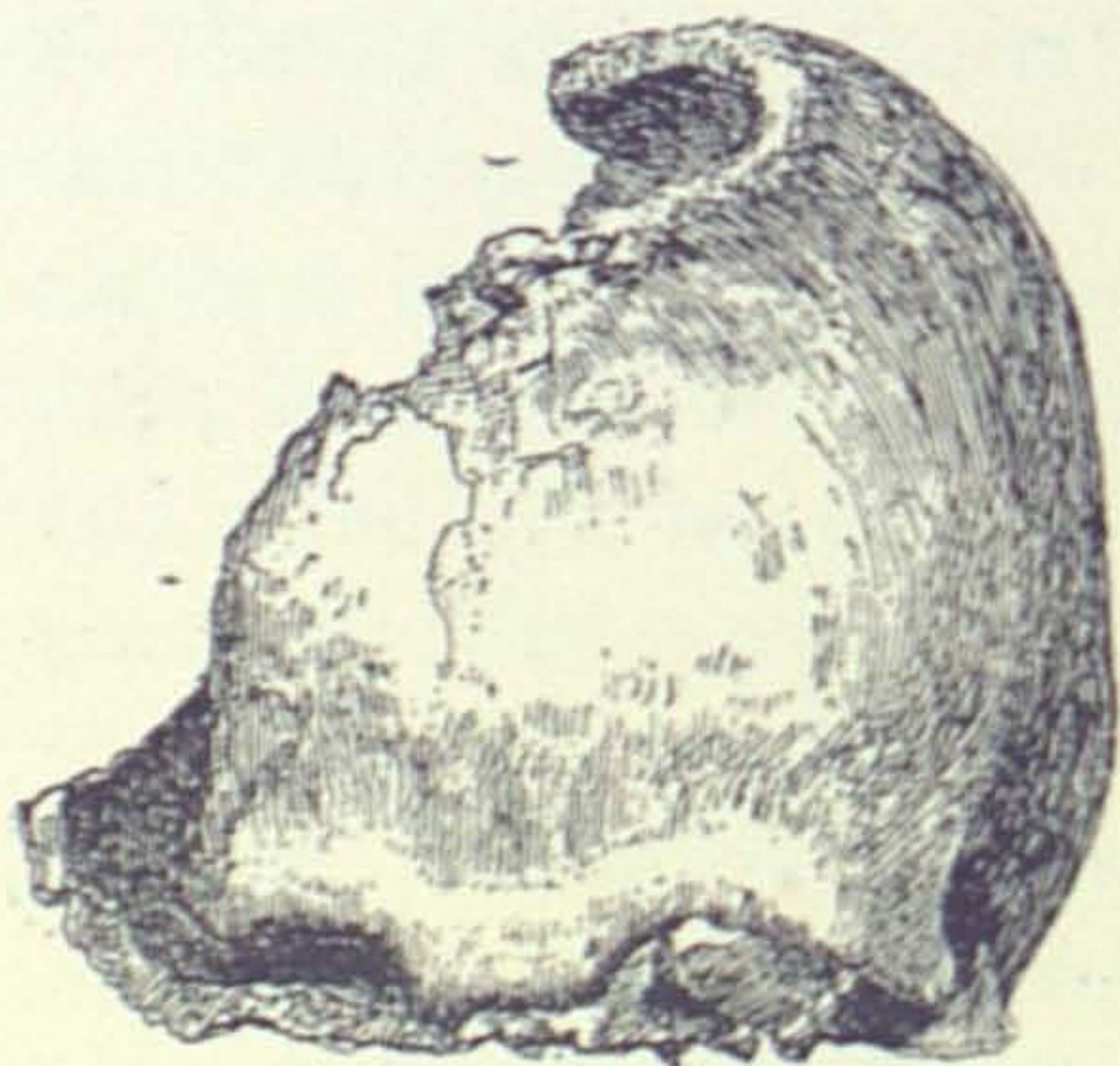


FIG. 743.—Skull from cairn at Trillick Barr. *From sketch by Mr. W. F. Wakeman.*



FIG. 744.—Skull from cairn at Trillick Barr (another view). *By the same.*

skull just mentioned, of which I reproduce three from the Journal of the Royal Hist. and Archæol. Association of Ireland. Its dimensions are: length, 8 ins.; breadth,  $5\frac{3}{8}$  ins.; girth,  $23\frac{1}{2}$  ins. From the first two measurements it would appear that its cephalic index is about 70, the lowest yet discovered in connection with primeval tombs in Ireland. There can hardly be a doubt that we have in the above account evidence of savage



practices in regard to the disposal of the dead in Ireland. It is unfortunate that the measurements of the other skull found with it are unattainable. In private conversation Mr. Wake-man informed me that it was a "round one;" and, if so, it was probably the head of one of those, the intermixture of whom with the long-heads caused the broadening out which is observable in such examples as the second Knockmaraidhe skull.

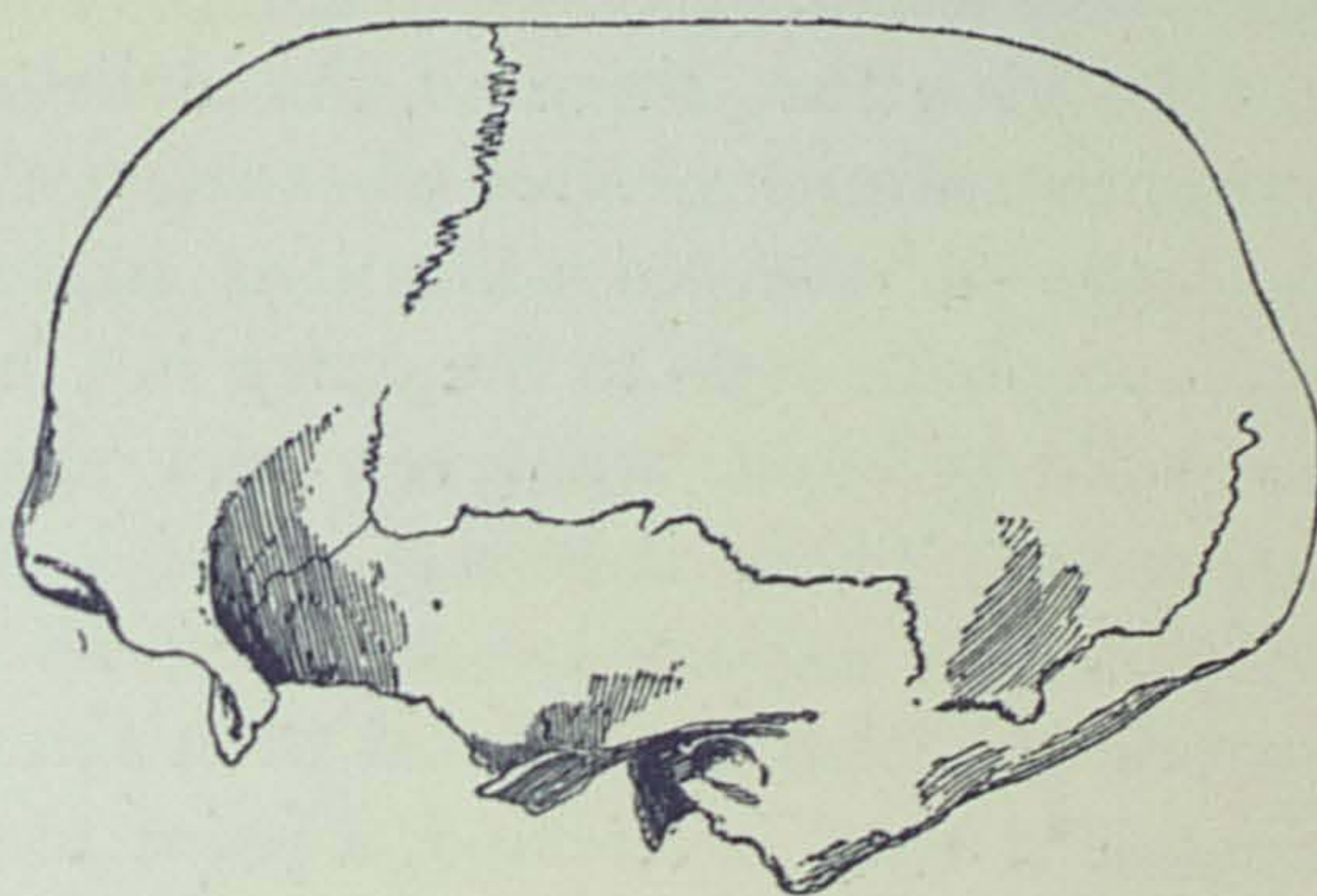


FIG. 745.—Skull from Trillick Barr (another view).  
By the same.

It will be in place here to mention, with an illustration from the "*Crania Ethnica*," † an Irish skull from the bog of Tily Hole, which was acquired by Mr. Mahon of Dublin. Its cephalic index is 72.87 (Fig. 746).

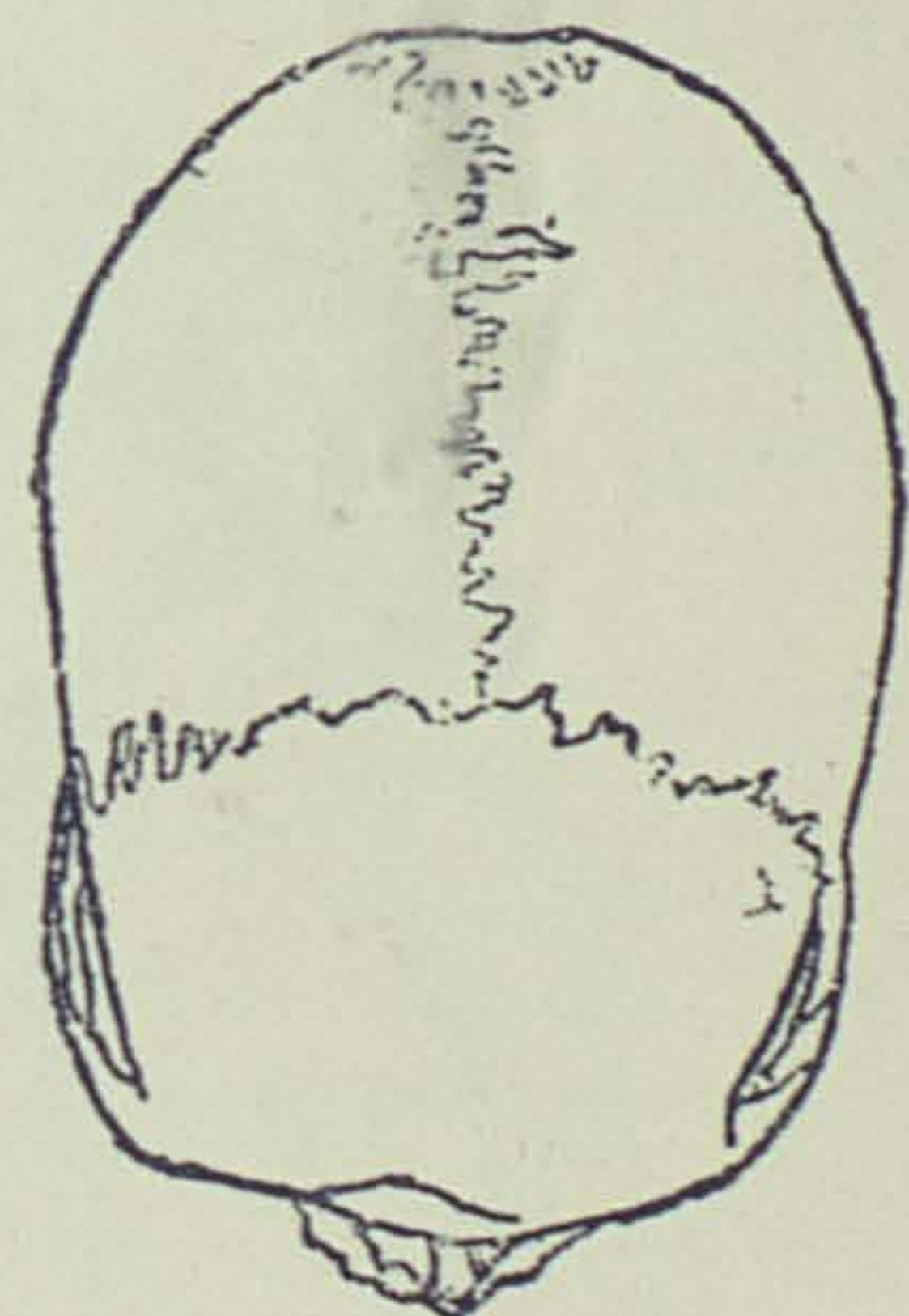


FIG. 746.—Skull from Tily Hole, Ireland. From the "*Crania Ethnica*."

In his "*Beauties of the Boyne*," ‡ Sir William Wilde mentions that the three skulls found in the lake-dwellings at Dunshaughlin in Meath "partake of the characters of the long-headed race," although the antiquities there are referable, he thinks, to the tenth century. Again, among a collection of bones and antiquities, of a much later date still, found near Navan, a skull was dug up, "evidently partaking of the character of those of the long-headed race," but showing traces of intermixture. At the ford of Kinnafad, where bronze and iron weapons were found together, § there were skulls and skeletons of the long-headed as well as of the short-headed race. "The fragments of heads found in the great cairn of Dowth belonged," adds Sir William, "to the long-headed race." A skull—one of four—found above Redbay, near Cushendall, "partakes of most of the characters of the long-headed race, but it is somewhat greater in capacity, and approaches the globular form more than those found in the ancient sepulchres of pagan times." Unfortunately to these vague notices of the occurrence of

† p. 495, and plate xcvi.

‡ pp. 238, 239.

§ "*Beauties of the Boyne*," p. 39.



dolichocephalic crania, Sir William appends neither measurements nor illustrations.

His view that those of the dolichocephalic type belonged to one of two hostile peoples, whose wars are recorded in the Gaedhelic language in the old collections of legends and tales, and the brachycephalic type to the other, is a mere hypothesis, resting on no solid ground whatever, and utterly unworthy of serious attention. There is reason to think that the traditions of these peoples were imported *en bloc*, and where they retain any genuine historic tradition, the sources of it should be sought rather on the Continent than in Ireland, a point to which I will return in the sequel.

To come back to authentic examples of the discovery of dolichocephalic skulls. An account of the results of the exploration of a very singular sepulchral chamber of circular form, having especial interest owing to the fact that it was close to the great earthwork,

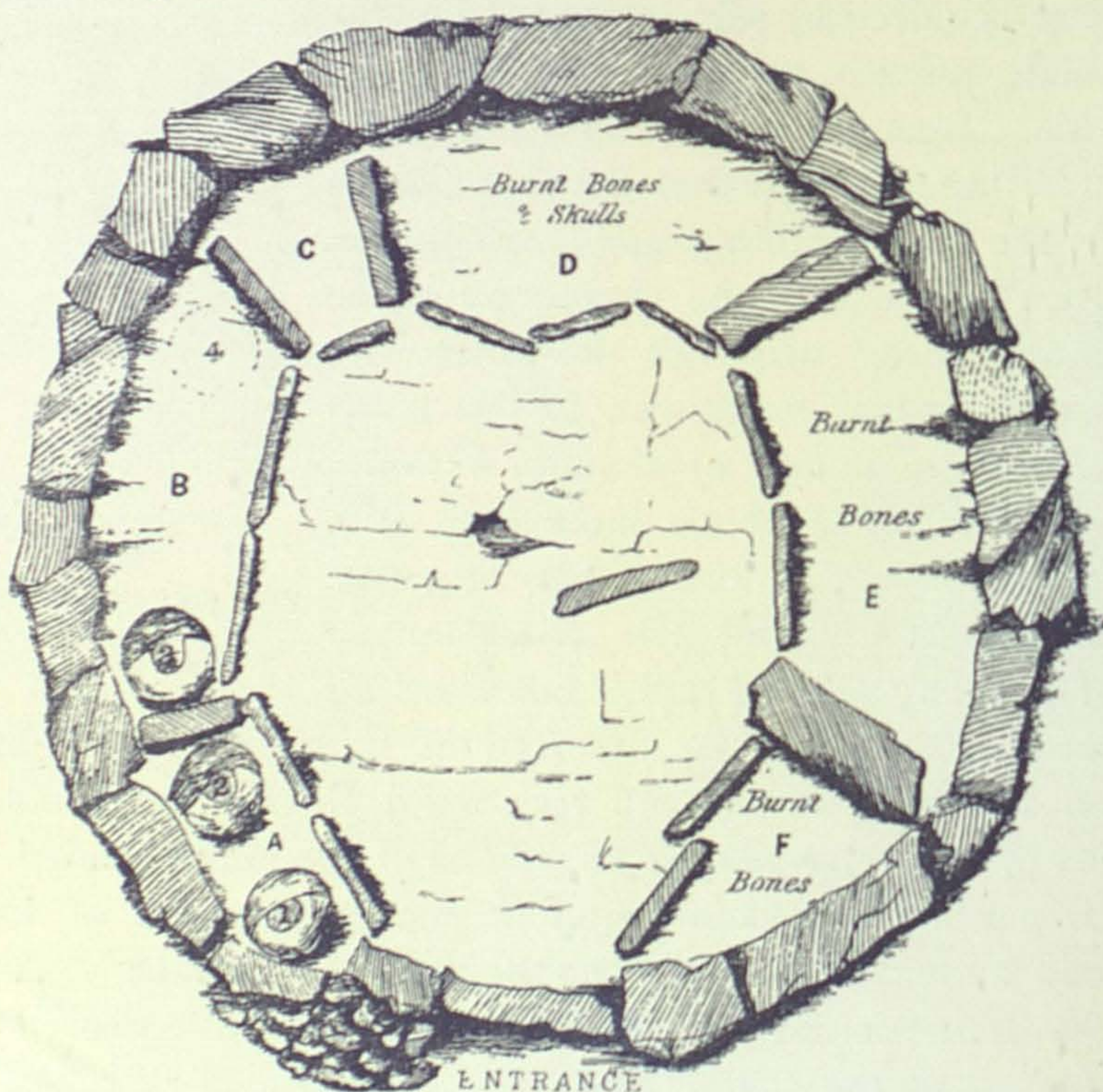


FIG. 747.—Ballynahatty. From "*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*."

with its dolmen, called the "Giant's Ring," in the county Down, will be found under the name Ballynahatty,† in the catalogue of

† p. 278 *supra*.



monuments which follows.† We need only say here that the chamber was underground, that it was 7 feet in diameter, with an entrance facing the east, and that the area within was divided into six compartments of various sizes, surrounding a central space. Two of these compartments contained urns filled with burnt bones,

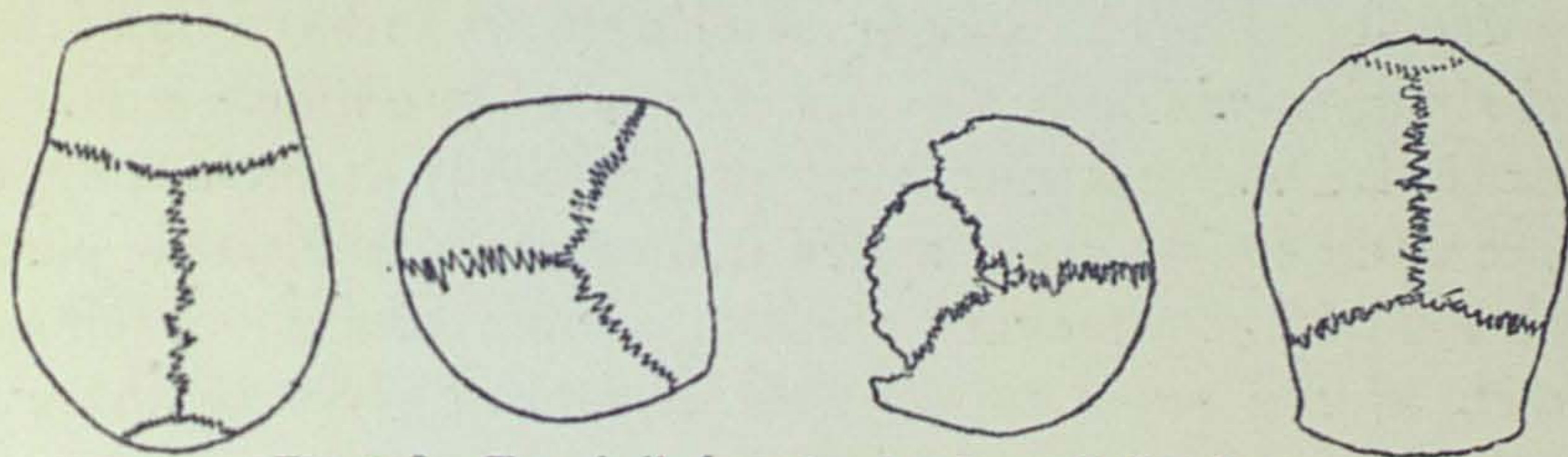


FIG. 748.—Two skulls from the chamber at Ballynahatty.

and in three others burnt and unburnt bones were also found, one of the three containing, in addition to the burnt bones, portions of five skulls unburnt. The circular structure had been roofed in with overlapping stones in the manner of a beehive-hut, but the height in the centre was only 3 feet.

With the human bones, those of a small cow and of a sheep or goat, unburnt, were also found. Only two crania were available for measurement, and of these Mr. Grattan gives careful particulars.

“Both skulls are apparently those of females, from twenty to twenty-five years of age. They are exceedingly small, long, low, and narrow. Their greatest circumference is only 20 ins., and their measurements by the craniometer much below any that have previously come under the writer’s (Mr. Grattan’s) observation.

“Though so excessively low, the coronal region is, nevertheless, pretty full and rounded, and, in the shorter of the two, well and gracefully arched. In both the anterior portion is proportionately short, and the posterior long; the preponderating volume being posterior to the opening of the ears. . . . The nasal bones are defective, but would appear to have been somewhat prominent. The cheek-bones are large, prominent, projecting outwards below; the cavities for the eyes large, with an outward and downward inclination. In the longer skull the jaws are rather prominent; the under one long, very slight and shallow. At death the teeth must have been complete, but many had dropped out of their sockets. Such as remain are remarkably sound, somewhat worn

† U.J.A., vol. iii. 1855, p. 358, *et seqq.*



down in the longer skull, especially in the lower jaw, but scarcely any in the other. In each the wisdom teeth have not quite attained the elevation of the molars. The sutures are strongly marked; the zygomatic arches, as far as can be inferred, moderately prominent; and the mastoid processes small and feebly developed. The longer skull appears to have had a large frontal sinus, to which is due its excess of prominence over the shorter skull; whereas the latter progressively ascends from that point, ranging considerably above it throughout the whole coronal region, exhibiting, in every respect, a finer and more elevated specimen of the same type." Mr. Grattan† gives to these two skulls the cranial indices 0·74 and 0·75.

"The remaining cranial fragments were—a large, massive, powerful male jaw, the teeth considerably worn down, but not more than would indicate middle age; the upper and portion of the lower jaw of an adult male, younger than the preceding; and the greater portion of a large lower jaw of a middle-aged female; these, with two more perfect crania, making up the full number of five, already stated to have been either wholly or in part deposited in this sepulchral chamber."

Mr. Grattan considers that the proximity of this sepulchral site to the Giant's Ring, with its ruined dolmen, is indicative of their contemporaneity. He places them in the first of his groups, which he terms primeval, but which he does not arrange according to the cephalic index, since he places in it a skull from Donaghmore, with an index of 0·83, and one from a cist in the Phoenix Park, which is 0·79. It is curious, however, to add that he gives as the average for his primeval period the same figure which Virchow does for the Stone Age in the North, namely, 0·77. This figure is, however, arrived at by too high averages for the two Knockmaraide skulls, and, we believe, for the Ballynahatty ones, as well as by the omission of the Trillick skull described above, which had not, at that time, been discovered. A reconsideration of the question would cause us, I think, to come to the conclusion that skulls which are attributable to the Stone Age, and which have been taken from the ruder megalithic structures in Ireland, would exhibit a cephalic index of probably about 0·743, the very same as that at which Baron Von Düben arrived in the case of

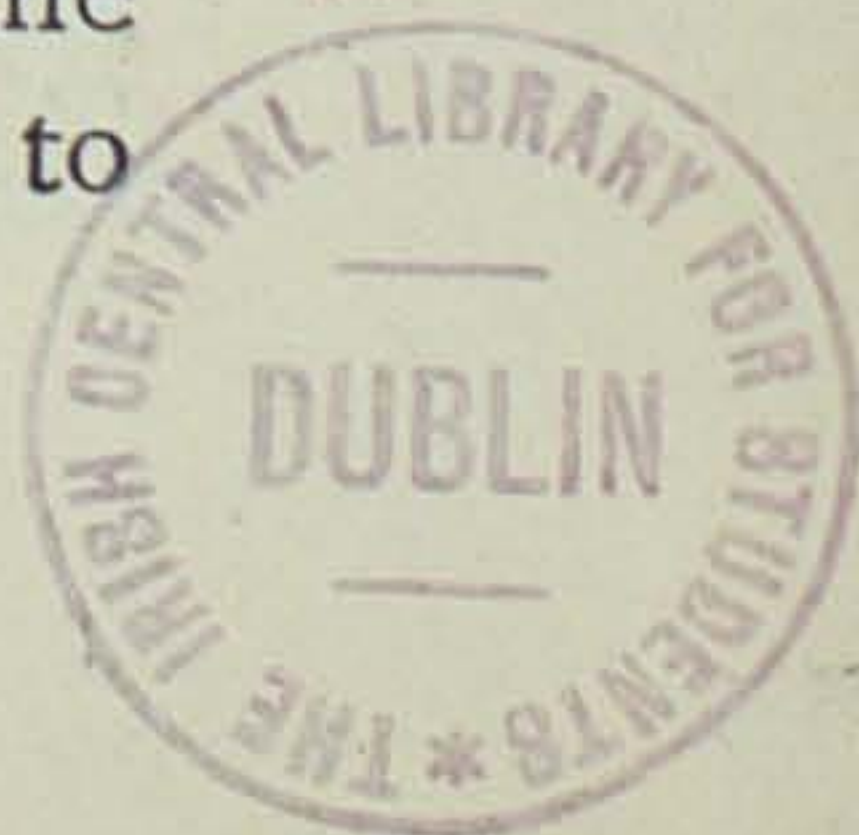
† U.J.A., vol. vi., p. 38, where Mr. Grattan compares eight skulls from Mount Wilson with the Ballynahatty ones. My own measurements of the *norma verticalis* of these two skulls respectively give me the indices 0·733 and 0·725.



those from the Swedish Giants' Graves. We must bear in mind that not one single skull has yet been measured which has actually been taken from an Irish "Giant's Grave," that is to say, from one of those huge, elongated megalithic structures which are so frequently found, both in their entirety and shorn of their gallery or passage, in which latter form they are known to early archæologists as *cromlechs*, and to later ones as *dolmens*.

In a great sepulchral mound near Donnybrook in the county of Dublin, Dr. Frazer discovered and has described a vast number of skulls, some of which are attributable to survival of the type of which we are speaking, among the native Irish who were living at the time of the Danish invasions in the ninth century. There was every appearance that a massacre had taken place around the body of a chief of the invaders, a brachycephalic Dane (ceph. index 833), who had been interred, as Dr. Frazer found reason to suppose, with his iron sword and spear beside him. The bones of some six or seven hundred human beings lay around him, and there were evidences that their deaths had been the result of violence, a feast having also taken place on the spot. The remains included those of males and females, young, old, and middle-aged—those of children being especially plentiful—even the child unborn being represented—the strong and the weak, the diseased and the healthy, the abnormal and the normal, the idiot and the sound in mind.

In some of the various cranial types Dr. Frazer recognizes the survival of the Long-Barrow type. "Cranium No. 44," he says, "affords us an index as low as 704. This is an exceptionally low result, for the skull of the average Australian savage reaches 71.49, and even the Hottentot amounts to 72.42. This cranium will agree in measurement and shape with those long and narrow skulls that are found in Long Barrows." "No. 21," he proceeds, "a mesaticephalic skull, is found to possess an index of 0.754, corresponding with the skulls of the 'dolmen-builders' and that of the Ancient Egyptians. It also corresponds exactly with the index ascribed by Drs. Thurnam and Davis to the ancient Irish skull." Dr. Frazer believes that this is a typical Irish cranium. Speaking of the brachycephalic skull, which he believes to be that of the slain chieftain, he says: "It is a good specimen of a brachycephalic skull, and it corresponds in its measurements with the skulls belonging to the Croat, to different German tribes, and to





the Finlander. I believe its original possessor was one of the mixed people who originally came from the shores of the Baltic, and whom we know in Irish history as Pirate or Black Danes."

"So far as the general facies is concerned, I think we may safely recognize two different and distinct types. One of these is straight-faced or orthognathous; the other possesses a projecting jaw, which produces a prognathous appearance. . . . Some have intermediate features. . . . Amongst those skulls I think we can recognize some which fall under the Scandinavian type of Thurnam and Davis, and that, therefore, will correspond with numerous examples of people still existing in our land, in Scotland, and in the maritime districts of the East of England, where Danish settlers planted their numerous colonies. 'The skull,' they tell us, 'is small and regular, has a long, slender, elevated aquiline nose, closely corresponding with a form which prevails in the northern counties of England, where Scandinavian blood predominates. A narrow, long, orthognathous face, an upright square forehead, yet neither decidedly broad nor high, having a frontal suture, a long oval outline in the vertical aspect, with distinct parietal tubers, a globose tumidness in the supra-occipital region, and a large foramen magnum.'

"The lower jaw belonging to this class of skull is distinguished by its massive structure, square outline, and strong, everted angles. The lines for muscular attachment are always prominently developed; the chin square-shaped, projecting, and forming a predominating feature, whilst the glossal tubercles are unusually developed, becoming in some even long bony growths.

"The second variety of skull is small, of mesaticephalic form, and of neat outline; but it presents a prominent, prognathous upper jaw, which gives it a very peculiar and distinctive appearance. The nose is short, wide, and often turned up, with depressed bridge. The lower jaw is softer in outline, less massive, rounded, and does not possess the harsh shape and strong markings of the Scandinavian type. The chin is little, if at all, prominent, and the appearance of the face is such as we have numerous examples of still in the South and West of Ireland, especially in inland districts, where the type may be supposed to have remained free from intermixture with Danish blood." "I believe," concludes Dr. Frazer, "this form of skull



represents a race that inhabited this country from a much earlier date than our Danish colonists."

We have, therefore, three racial types represented in this mound: (1) that of the brachycephalic Dane; (2) that of the dolichocephalic Scandinavian; (3) that of the native population already on the spot—a mixture, perhaps, since its cephalic index was 0.75, or over, between an earlier race of brachycephalic colonists, and an original race of dolichocephali represented by the Trillick skull and its survival in No. 44 above mentioned.

It is very interesting to notice that from this Donnybrook mound other possible evidences are producible which may connect one of the races there represented with the Long-Barrow, Caverne de l'Homme Mort and Cro-Magnon type. "Platycnemic tibiae were found to be very numerous. Tibiae of this character," observes Dr. Frazer, "are ascertained to be of frequent occurrence in French and English graveyards, referable to dates from the fourth to the tenth century. Their presence and frequency in the Donnybrook find affords us strong additional corroboration as to the early date to which they must be ascribed." First observed at Cro-Magnon, "they are noticed extending through the ages when polished-stone weapons were employed, and out of two hundred tibiae collected near Paris, at St. Marcel and St. Germain des Près, in cemeteries belonging to dates anterior to the tenth century, 5.25 per cent. were of this platycnemic form.

"With the platycnemic tibiae were found 'channelled fibulae,' having inordinately large longitudinal grooves for the insertion of the muscles. Another osseous peculiarity of primitive type, the femur *a colonne*, was of rather common occurrence. . . . Such femurs are also found in the Cro-Magnon cave-dwellers; and in the cemeteries near Paris already mentioned, it was ascertained that out of two hundred femurs, in 6.5 per cent., the column was very obvious, and in 36 per cent. was slightly seen. M. Topinard says: 'It seems that these peculiarities of the tibiae, femora, and fibulae belonged to one and the same race in Western Europe. The thirty subjects from the cave at Sordes in the Basque territory all exhibit them.'"

It appears from the vertebræ and other bones of one of the persons whose remains were found in this mound that great size, though probably rare, was not unknown.†

† Proc. R.I.A., paper by Dr. Frazer, read Nov. 10th, 1879; see also Proc. R.I.A., 2nd ser., vol. ii. ("Pol. Lit. and Antiq."), No. 4, April, 1882; also "Description of Different Varieties of Human Remains found near Donnybrook," London (1880), by Dr. Frazer.



Another instance of the occurrence of the peculiarities known as the *platycnemic tibia*, and *femur a colonne*, can be quoted from the analysis made by Dr. A. W. Foot of osseous remains taken from a monument of the megalithic class, which may be described as a cluster of "Giants' Graves," in the Deer Park, near Sligo. An excavation made among these stones revealed, among a quantity of osseous matter, "a portion of an adult (male) sacrum, some bones of a child, evidences of two other individuals besides the child, probably of different sexes, a fragment of a *platycnemic tibia*, and of a *pilasteric femur*—in other words," says Dr. Foot, "pieces of very strong bones of an ancient race." With these occurred also remains of deer and shells from the seashore.†

In a table of measurements of crania given by Mr. Grattan,‡ eight skulls from a large sepulchral site at Mount Wilson in the King's County, are compared with the two above described from Ballynahatty. The cephalic indices of the Mount Wilson examples are: two, 0.75; five, 0.77; and one, 0.81. Of one of the latter, however, we are told that it so closely approaches in type a skull from Donaghmore Round Tower (with a cephalic index of 0.83) as to lead to the conclusion that, at the date of the Mount Wilson interments, the race to which the latter belonged had not

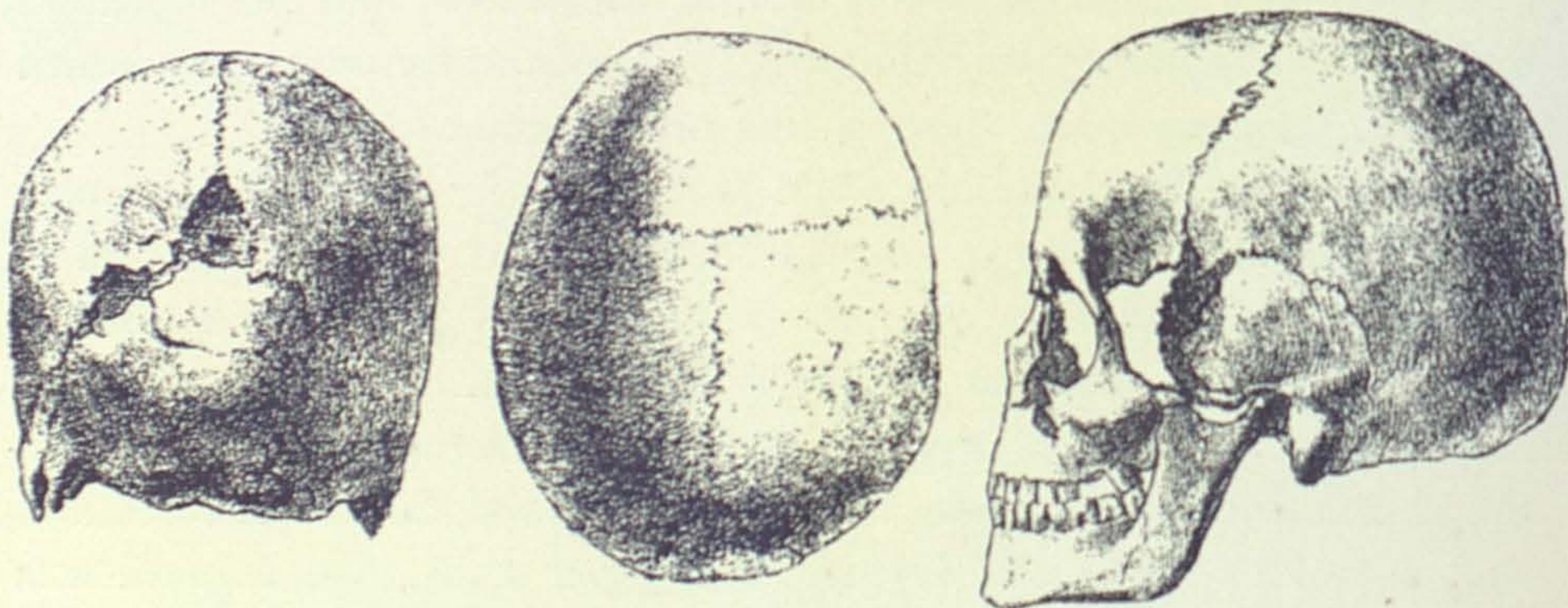


FIG. 749.—Skull from Mount Wilson (No. 2). From the "*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*."

become extinct altogether, but continued to linger amongst, and perhaps to modify, the more numerous population which surrounded it. In this Mount Wilson Mound at least forty persons had been buried. The graves lay parallel to each other, and the feet were towards the east. The diameter of the mound was 90 feet. Nothing was found by which to identify its date. The

† See p. 138 *supra*.

‡ U.J.A., vol. vi. pp. 38, 39 (1858).



individuals were of both sexes, and of ages varying from six or eight years up to seventy or eighty. Three fragments of jaws of the lower animals were found—those, namely, of a small ox, a boar, and a goat.† One of the skulls which Mr. Grattan has designated “truly a noble skull,” is figured by him in the “Ulster Journal of Archæology.”‡ Its cephalic index is 0.77.

Among the group of crania which he calls “primeval,” Mr. Grattan mentions a skull from a “railway cutting”—(locality not stated)—with a cephalic index of 0.75. Another, with the same index, is that from Clones, which he places in the same group with the Mount Wilson skulls. The circumstances under which this was found are worthy of note.

One of the many theories put forward to account for the Round Towers of Ireland was that they were monumental. Examinations with a view to test this hypothesis were set on foot by the South Munster Antiquarian Society, and the towers of Ardmore, Cashel, Cloyne, Kinneigh, Roscrea, and Brechin in Scotland, were explored. In some of these human remains were found, but no crania preserved, and no certainty arrived at as to whether the remains had been deposited prior or subsequent to the erection of the tower.

Mr. Edmund Getty, accompanied by Mr. Grattan, determined, in 1841, to set this question at rest, if possible, by exploring certain towers as yet unexamined, and, commencing with that of Drumbo,§ in the county of Down, discovered a brachycephalic cranium, to which I will subsequently allude. The number of tolerably perfect skulls derived from these researches was seven; namely, one from Drumbo, four from Clones, one from Drumlane, and one from Armoy. Three other skulls are to be added to this list: one from St. Molaise's house, or chapel, at Devenish; a second from within the old cathedral walls of Downpatrick, and a third, that of Donatus, or Dunan, the first Danish Bishop of Dublin, who died in 1074. Of these, those from Drumbo, Devenish, Downpatrick, and that of Donatus are markedly brachycephalic (respectively 0.83, 0.83, 0.83, and 0.84), while that from Drumlane is even more markedly dolichocephalic, giving an index of 0.67. The indices from Clones and Armoy are respectively 0.75 (extremes 0.77 and 0.74) and 0.77. Of the examples from Clones “Round Tower” there were six in all, and they lay

† U.J.A., vol. i. p. 276, *et seqq.*

‡ Id., vol. vi. pl. i., No. 2.

§ Id., vol. iii. p. 113.



within the circular area formed by the walls of the tower, on a level with the lowest offset of its foundations, beneath two artificial

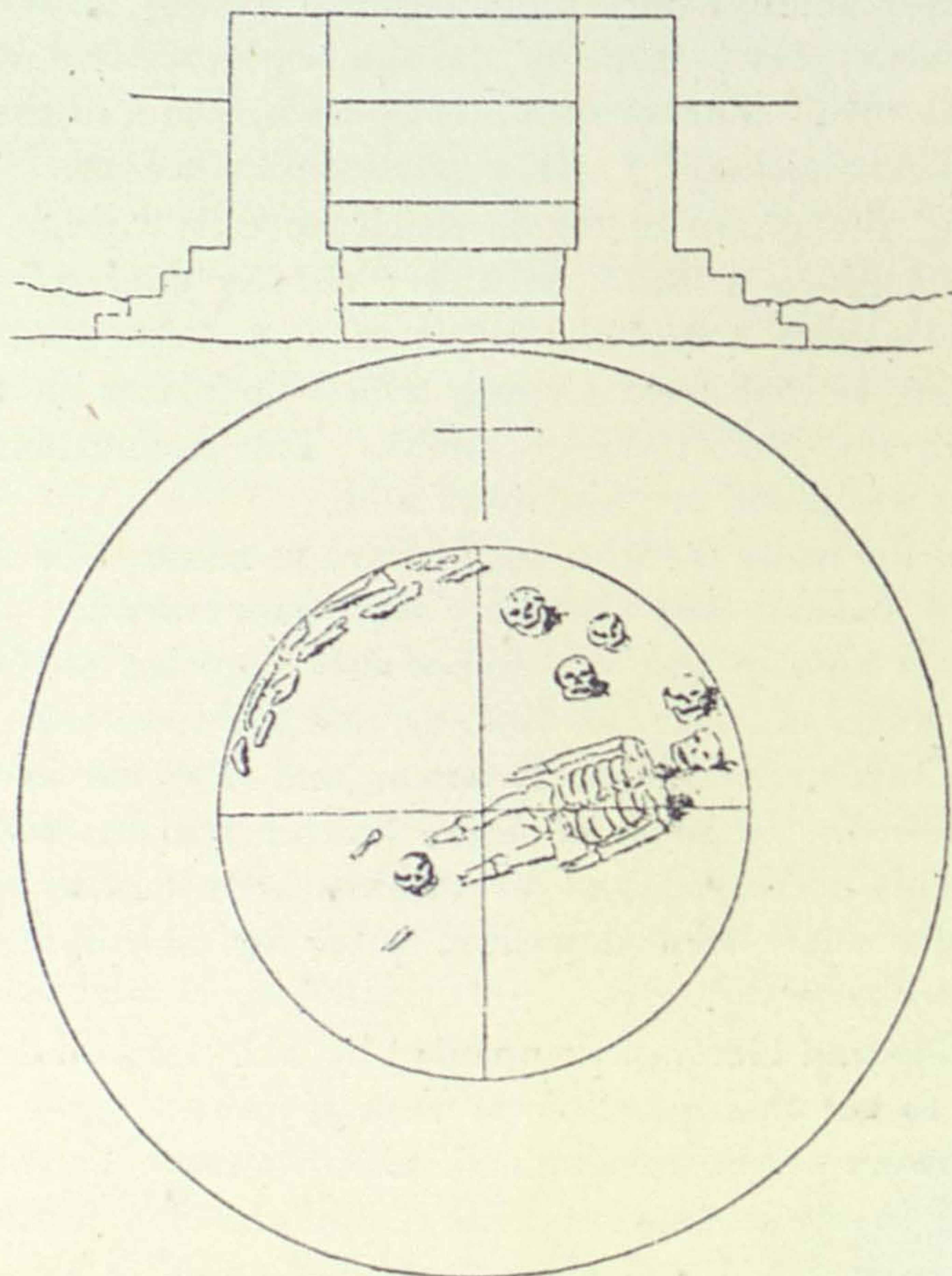


FIG. 750.—Plan and section of Clones Round Tower. *From the "Ulster Journal of Archaeology."*

floors, the upper one formed of puddled clay, and the under one

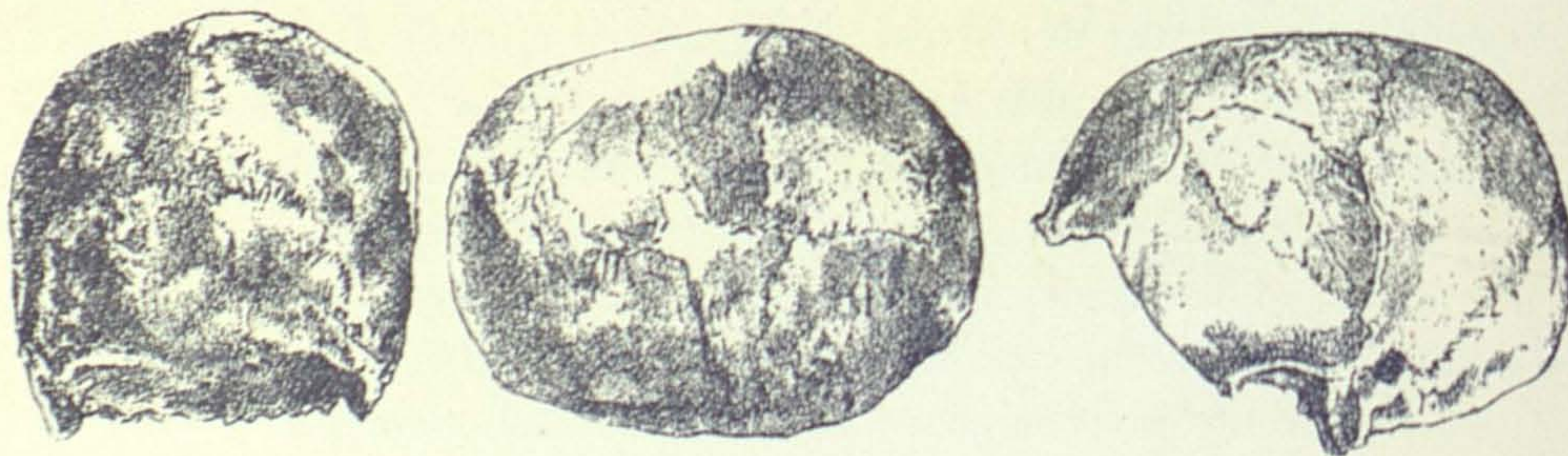


FIG. 751.—Skull from the Round Tower at Clones. *From the "Ulster Journal of Archaeology."*

of a thin coat of lime. One skull was that of a child; the others those of adults. Four skulls without bodies lay near together, and



only in one case did it appear that a body had been buried entire. The position in which some of the bones were found indicated that they had been placed there during the building of the foundation outsets. With the four skulls, and interred contemporaneously, was a portion of the jaw of a pig. The question naturally arises as to the date of the tower. According to the "Annals of Ulster," a monastery was founded here by St. Tigernach, who died in 548. The building presents architectural features—such as spawled masonry, with large hammered stones, and a rectangular doorway, covered with a flat lintel, formed by a single large stone—which are considered indicative of an early stage of Round-Tower building. Mr. Grattan proposes to date it from the close of the fifth to the commencement of the sixth century, in which case the skulls present to us those of Christians in Ireland at that date. To the Drumbo tower a like antiquity is

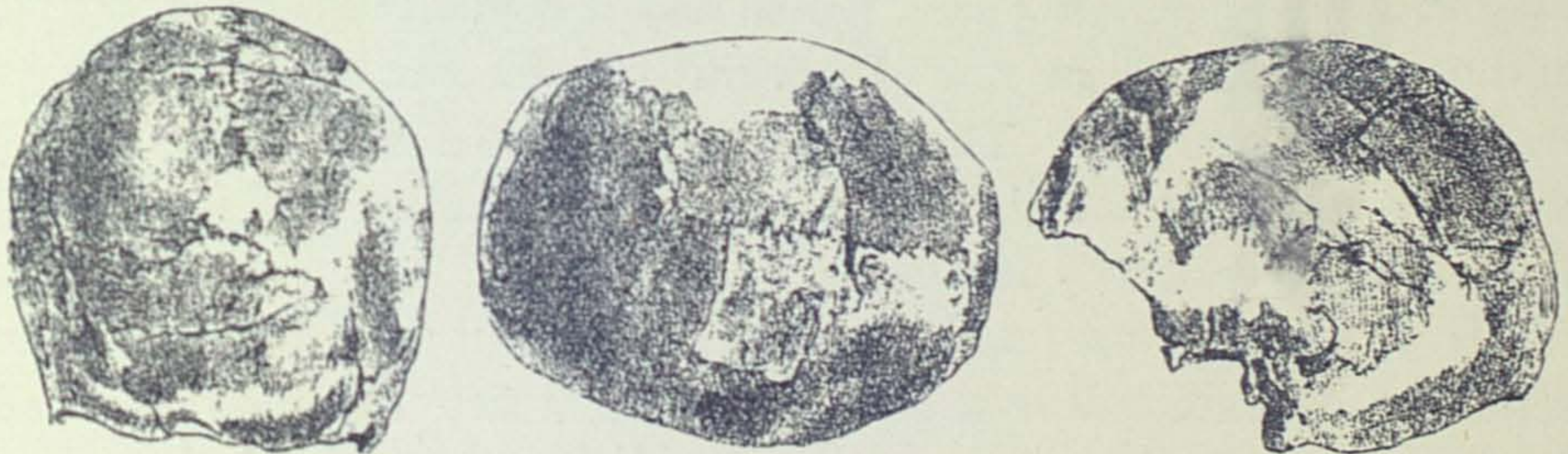


FIG. 752.—Skull from Armoy. *From the "Ulster Journal of Archaeology."*

accorded by Mr. Grattan, the difference in skull-measurement, however, being sufficiently great to indicate a total difference in racial type.

The skull from the Round Tower at Armoy, near Ballycastle, county Antrim, also dolichocephalic (index 0.77), was found embedded in stiff clay, and was contained in a hollow space or niche in the wall of the structure near the foundation. Only the skull and three cervical vertebræ had been deposited here, so that the idea was formed that the body had been decapitated.

The Round-Tower skull with the lowest cephalic index was that from Drumlune, which Mr. Grattan gives as 0.675, a measurement which we may compare with that of the old Norse skulls of the Iron Age in the Copenhagen Museum described by Virchow, as well as those few very markedly dolichocephalic skulls found occasionally in barrows of round form and of the late Bronze or Iron Age in Britain, which Rolleston compares with examples of the Hohberg type.



As to other dolichocephalic skulls mentioned in Mr. Grattan's list, the following are the cephalic indices :—

From Buttevant	...	...	...	...	0·69 (lowest out of 50 ; highest, 0·81)
From Old Castle, Belfast	...	...	...	...	0·72
Reputed to be that of Carolan	...	...	...	...	0·72
From Aghadoe	...	...	...	...	0·72 (lowest of 3 ; highest, 0·76)
From the County Wicklow	...	...	...	...	0·73
From Arran	...	...	...	...	0·74
From Armagh	...	...	...	...	0·74 (lowest of 5 ; highest, 0·81)
From Belfast	...	...	...	...	0·74
From Buttevant	...	...	...	...	0·74 (lowest of 7 ; highest, 0·78)
From Cashel	...	...	...	...	0·75
From Arran	...	...	...	...	0·75
From Aghadoe	...	...	...	...	0·76
From Iniskeen	...	...	...	...	0·76 (lowest of 3 ; highest, 0·79)
From Iniskeen	...	...	...	...	0·77
From Buttevant	...	...	...	...	0·78
From Iniskeen	...	...	...	...	0·79

The average index of eight skulls from Mount Wilson was, as we have seen, 0·77, ranging from 0·81 to 0·73. Dr. Frazer has placed on record the discovery of a skeleton remarkable for its height, namely, 6 feet 4 ins., which had a cephalic index of 0·775, and was contained in one of several graves, the age of which is, he tells us, uncertain. Their sides were formed of boulders ; they were covered by flat slabs in the shape of coffins, and measured from 4 feet 9 ins. to 7 feet long.

It is clearly the dolichocephalic element which, from the remotest periods onwards, has been that which has characterized Irish crania, whether that element be derivable from the one class of dolichocephaly we have been considering, or from the other, or from the intermingling of the two, with a certain broadening as the result of brachycephalic intrusion on the types.

We must not press this side of the question further into modern times, or consider the opinions of Dr. Beddoe, or Prof. Huxley, or Dr. Barnard Davis on the subject of the modern Irish type, without first going back to remote ages, and bringing up to date that evidence we possess of the presence of *brachycephaly* in the island.

"As the evidence at present stands," says Huxley, "I am disposed to identify the ancient population of Ireland with the 'Long-Barrow' and 'River-Bed' elements of the population of England, and with the long-headed or 'cumbe-cephalic' inhabitants of Scotland, and to believe that the 'Round-Barrow,' or Belgic element of the Britannic people never colonized Ireland in sufficient numbers to make its presence ethnically felt." †

† "Prehist. Remains of Caithness," p. 128.



## BRACHYCEPHALIC TYPE.

In order to understand the bearing of the last remark, and to judge of the amount of truth it contains, it is necessary to retrace our steps to the Neolithic Age on the continent of Europe. We have seen that the dolichocephali surrounded the coasts of Europe on the south, west, and north somewhat in horseshoe form. On the east lay the open side of the figure, and from that quarter a race of distinctly different type, namely, a markedly brachycephalic type, seems to have poured itself into the very heart of France, leaving its representatives in caves natural and artificial, and in dolmens, and again in survival in the short, dark, and equally marked brachycephalic type of the Auvergnats, whose skull-measurement actually equals that of the Lapps beyond the Scandinavian dolichocephali in the extreme north of Europe. It was at one time held by anthropologists that this brachycephalic race preceded the dolichocephali of the Cro-Magnon type throughout Western Europe in general, but that view was abandoned owing to the discovery that that infallible ethnic gauge, the river-bed stratification of the Seine, showed that these brachycephalic skulls were contained in beds superimposed on those containing skulls of the Cro-Magnon type, just as the latter had been found in a stratum superimposed upon that containing skulls of the Canstadt type.

The skulls of this brachycephalic type from Grenelle show cephalic indices of 83.53 for men, and of 83.68 for women.† This, however, by no means represents the highest index to which brachycephaly in its purity, whether considered in archaic times or in survival, attained. A skull from the Trou-Rosette in the Valley of the Lesse in Belgium gives an index of 0.86.‡ This index represents the mean average index or thereabouts of the Rhœtian skulls, known to anthropologists as the Disentis type.§ Retzius,

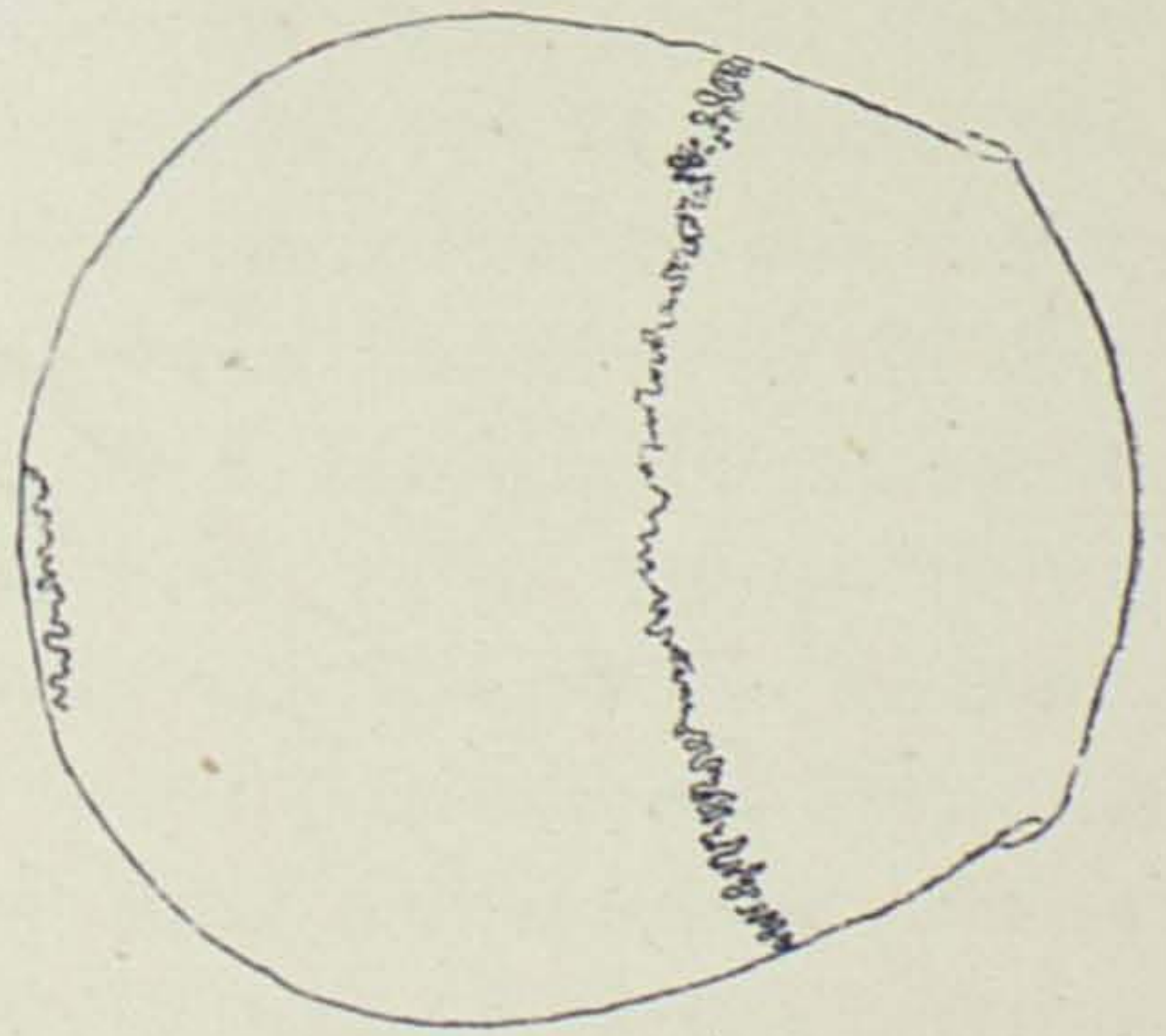


FIG. 753.—The Disentis skull. From the "*Crania Helvetica*."

† "*Crania Ethnica*," p. 125.

‡ M. Ed. Dupont, "*l'Éthnographie de l'Homme de l'Âge du Renne dans la Vallée de la Lesse*" (Congrès. internat. de Anth. et d'Archéol. Brussels, 1872), pp. 559, 560.

§ "*Crania Helvetica*," His and Ruetimaer, p. 29, and plate E. 1.



comparing these skulls with those of the brachycephalic Basques on the one hand, and of the Finns or, rather, Lapps on the other, regarded them *en masse* as the aboriginal European type before the entrance of a dolichocephalic race at all, a view

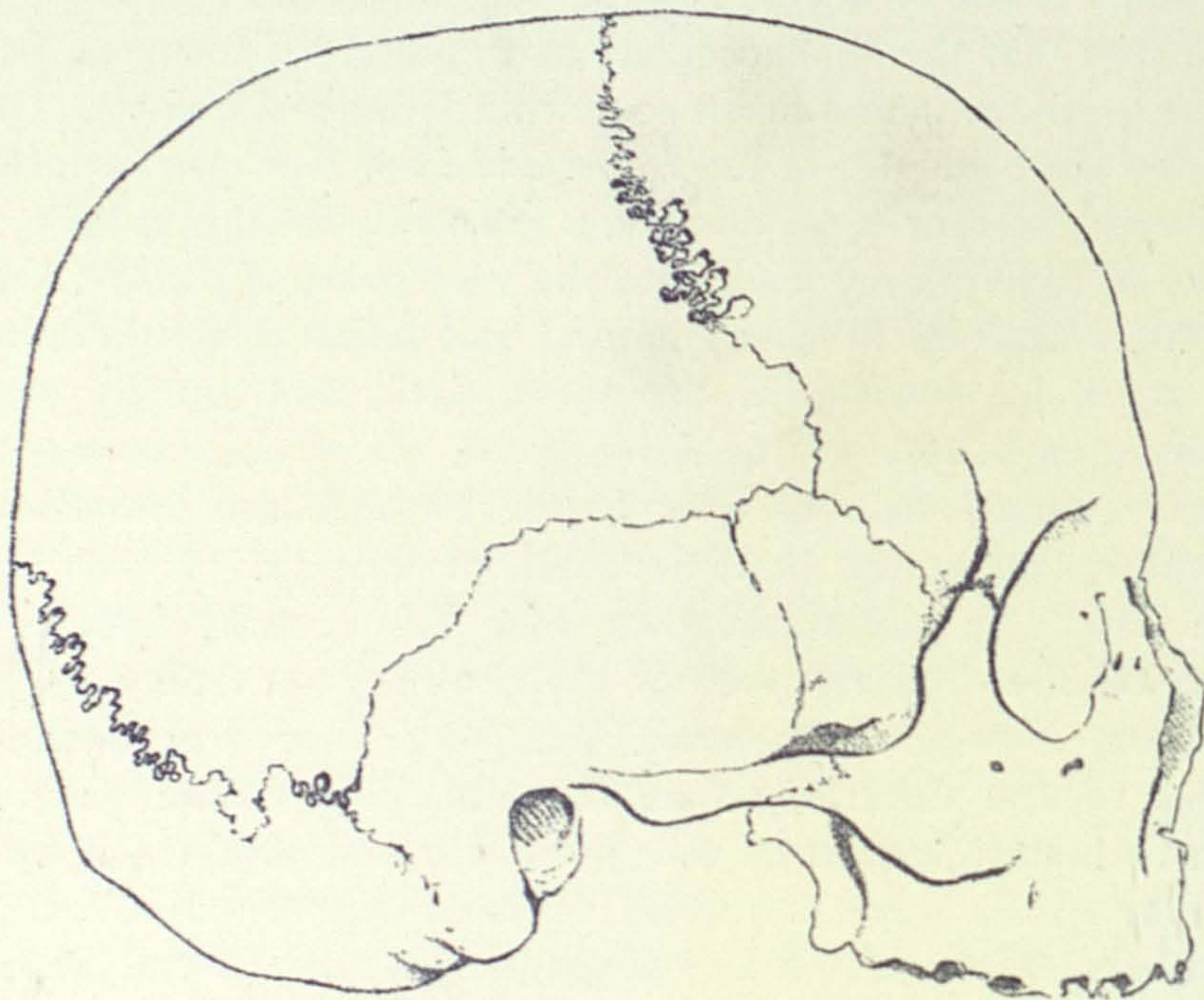


FIG. 754.—The Disentis skull. From the "*Crania Helvetica*."

which, as we have pointed out, was overthrown by the discovery of the brachycephalic crania in the Grenelle beds. A point, with regard to the Rhœtian skulls, which we consider of far greater importance to our present inquiry, is that, although Retzius was not in the right in considering the Etruscan type as brachycephalic, yet M. von Baer† has pointed out that between the skulls of these brachycephalic Rhœtians and the Etruscan ones there are resemblances which cannot be ignored. These resemblances become of very great interest when we supplement them by comparisons derived from archæology. Nowhere is sepulchral pottery found which both in texture and pattern bears so marked a resemblance to the British and Irish sepulchral pottery, the drinking-cups and bowls found in cists with brachycephalic skeletons, as that found in cists in the Alps.‡ Again, to the brachycephalic people of the British Round Barrows has been

† "*Melanges biologiques du Bulletin de l'Acad. imp. de St. Petersbourg*," vol. iii. p. 272.

‡ See "*La France Préhistorique*," by M. Émile Cartailhac, Paris, 1889, pp. 261, 262, from which a specimen is figured above (Fig. 622).



attributed the "bringing of the bronze," and it is to Etruria that M. Montelius would have us look for its earliest source in the riveted daggers, fibulæ, etc., which bear so evident a likeness, implying affinity, to those found in Northern Germany, Scandinavia, and the British Isles.

It is remarkable that in Germany there are cists, the construction of which, even in peculiarities of detail, as well as in the mode of burial—in a crouching posture, with a vase beside the corpse,—have their counterpart, as we have seen, in Ireland. It is in Wurtemberg, too, be it remembered, that Dr. Holder finds in modern times his so-called Ligurian type,<sup>†</sup> which is more or less

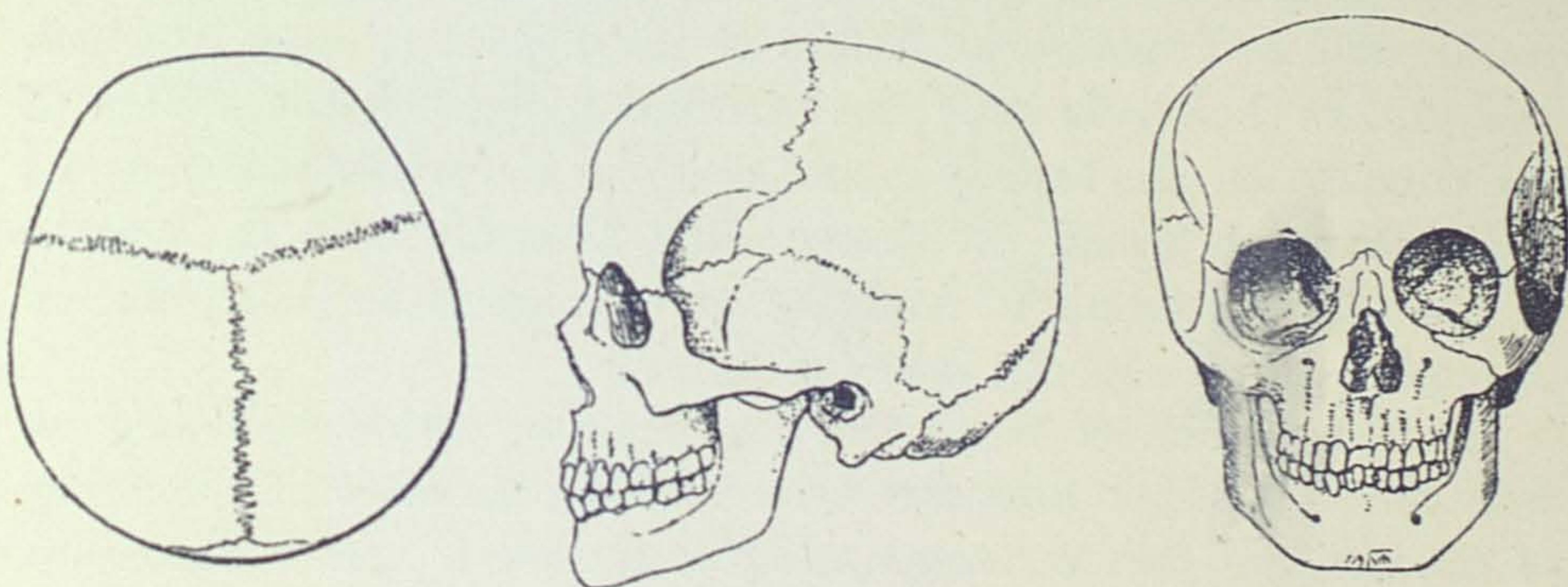


FIG. 755.—Skull from Altensteig, Schwarzwald. From "*Archives für Anthropologie*," Brunswick, 1867.

mixed with German elements, and in which the indices range between 0.84 and 0.90; mean, 0.86 (Fig. 755).

I may here mention, however, that as far as the insular brachycephali of Great Britain and Ireland are concerned, I believe we should differentiate those of purer stock and earlier arrival from those of stock less pure and later arrival. To the latter belong, as it seems to me, such skulls as resemble the Borreby one, and those of the Hohberg type, and to the former certain very brachycephalic skulls, examples of which have been found in cists in Ireland exactly resembling the German ones of which I have spoken. My view on this point may receive some little encouragement from the fact that the sepulchral vessels which accompany the Irish interments are not of the same class as those which are found in the cists of British Round Barrows, except in very rare instances. They are bowls, not cups.

<sup>†</sup> "*Archiv. für Anthropol.*," vol. ii. p. 55, 1867, and illustrations, p. 54. He refers to Nicolucci, "*Le Stirpe Ligure in Italia*," Napoli, 1864. See also "*Alli della R. Accademia delle Scienze fisiche e matematiche*" (G. Nicolucci, "*Anthropologia dell' Italia*"), vol. ii. ser. ii., No. 9, 1888, p. 4.



In fact, the British brachycephali resemble, as Prof. Busk † has pointed out, the Neolithic inhabitants of Denmark ; and this resemblance is closer than that which they bear either to the ancient Rhoetians or the modern European brachycephali in the Grisons, or in Auvergne, or in the Pyrenees, or in Lapland, ‡ while in Ireland it seems just possible that we can gather up traces of a race which recalls rather the characteristics of the latter than of the former type.

How far we should be justified in tracing the intrusive Mongolic type into its far-off home in Asia is a question which is beyond our scope. M. Pruner Bey has compared an archaic and peculiar type of brachycephalic skull found in the bank of the Seille at La Trachère in Saône et Loire with a type of which the ancient Tchoudis were the representatives, but the justice of the comparison has been disputed, and the French example seems to be unique in type. § With the skulls from Grenelle the editors of the "Crania Ethnica" compare an example from Nagy-Sap in Hungary with a cephalic index of 84.72. ||

In the Valley of the Lesse in Belgium, which furnished us with the high index from the Trou-Rosette, we mark the meeting of the races as they converge towards the west. At Furfooz the indices are registered as 81.39 and 79.31 ; at Solutré at 80.89, and 83.23 for men, and at 79.44 for a woman. ¶ In the dolmens of France, the south especially, the type is frequent, both with a high average in itself, and in company with dolichocephalic and orthocephalic skulls, the latter of which it probably assisted in forming. Examples are adduced in the "Crania Ethnica" from the *Allée couverte* of Marly-le-Roi, from the megalith called the *Pierre qui tourne* in the *Forêt de Compiègne*, †† and elsewhere. Examples of the occurrence side by side of dolichocephalic with brachycephalic crania occurred in the dolmen of Meudon—the round one that of a man—the long one that of a woman. ††

With the examples from Marly-le-Roi and La Pierre-qui-tourne are to be compared the skulls given by Retzius from the island of Moën, with one of which latter that of Marly-le-Roi agrees exactly in measurement, §§ proving that at one time, alike

† "Journ. Ethnological Society," 1871, p. 468.

‡ Prof. Rolleston, in Greenwell's "British Barrows," pp. 588, 589.

§ "Crania Ethnica," pp. 127, 128, 145, 146.

|| Id., p. 125.

¶ Id., p. 119.

†† Id., p. 145.

‡‡ "Crania Ethnica," p. 135 ; "Acad. des Sciences," Compt. rend., vol. xxi., 1845, p. 618.

§§ A. Retzius, "Ueber Schädel der ältesten Bewohner Frankreichs" ("Ethnol. Schrift.," pp. 62-64).



in France and in Denmark, the race was present in its most marked development. Of the Danish examples may be cited those from the *steenkammer* of Oroë Grydehoi, and from Stege in Möen, which latter MM. Steenstrup, Eschricht, and Van der Hoeven regarded as Lappish, while M. Worsaae differed.† Lastly, turning to Britain, we reproduce the profile and the *norma verticalis* of a skull from a Round Barrow at Stonehenge, which is

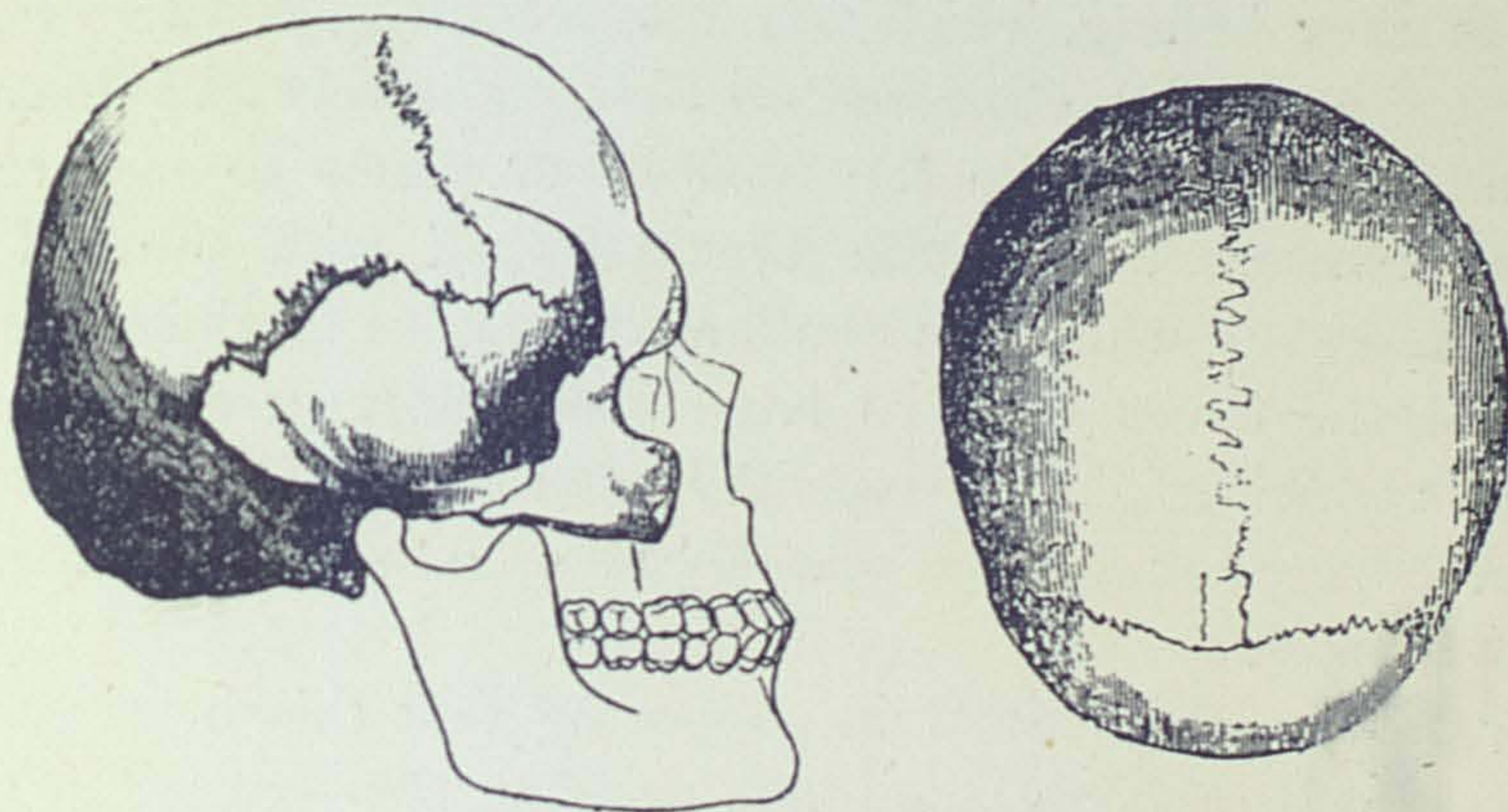


FIG. 756.—Skull from Stonehenge. From the "*Crania Ethnica*."

one of those examples in Britain which recalls the Disentis rather than the Hohberg type.

By far the most remarkable of all the instances of the juxtaposition and intermingling of the two diverse types in the Neolithic Age is that with which the explorations of the Baron de Baye‡ have furnished us from the artificial cases in the Valley of the Marne. To these singular sepulchres hewn out of the rock I have already referred at length when tracing the various stages of culture through which those people passed who eventually raised the surface structures known as the dolmens. Suffice it here to say that while, out of 44 skulls there disinterred, the brachycephalic index reaches a maximum of 85·71, the dolichocephalic index on the other reaches a minimum of 71·69. They were distributed as follows, according to the classification adopted by Baron de Baye :—

Brachycephalic, 83·33 and over	...	...	...	...	...	4
Sub-brachycephalic, 83·32 to 80	...	...	...	...	...	8
Mesaticephalic, 79·99 to 77·77	...	...	...	...	...	10
Sub-dolichocephalic, 77·76 to 0·75	...	...	...	...	...	12
Dolichocephalic, 0·75 and below	...	...	...	...	...	10
						—
						44

† Eschricht, "*Danske Folkeblad*," 1837; Van der Hoeven, "*Cat. Craniorum divers. gentium*," Lug. Bat., 1860, p. 63; Lubbock, "*Prehist. Times*," 1865, p. 117.

‡ "*Crania Ethnica*," p. 144.



Here there is no room to doubt that the two races were living together, as they had been for some time, as we may judge by the large proportion of mixed indices, intermingling also such primitive systems of culture as they had respectively acquired, as evidenced in their modes of burial, and in the articles, such as polished-stone axes, flint and bone implements, rude pottery, etc., which accompanied their remains, and which indicate incontestibly the epoch to which they belong, which was the Neolithic, midway between that of the men of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort and that of the dolmen-builders. Unlike the type which seems to have resulted from an intermixture of the brachycephali with the tall Scandinavians, and to which we shall next proceed to allude, the men of the Marne caves seem to have been short in stature, a characteristic which might be expected from a coalition between the short brachycephali and the scarcely taller race of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort.

For if we are justified in supposing that this brachycephalic race—call it Mongolian, Turanian, or what not—according to the authorities we follow—entered Western Europe from the east and north at a period subsequent to the presence there of the Canstadt, Neanderthal, Stångenäs type on the one hand, and the Cro-Magnon, Caverne de l'Homme Mort, Long-Barrow type on the other, then it must follow that, as it came in contact with each of these races separately, or with a mixed race, which may already have been formed by their coalition, we may expect to find new types stamped, on the one hand, by the influence of the newcomers upon those already on the spot, and, on the other hand, by that which the native element would impart to those who came among them, whether in war or peace. Thus the tall Canstadt race would give height and strength to the new-comer, and in turn receive from him a broadening of the skull and a heightening and developing of the forehead. The men, again, of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort and their weaker insular relatives in Britain would have their crania moulded into what has been called the "Dolmen-builders' type," with a medium index of about 0.75, while several of their characteristics, such as have been noticed in the *tibiae* and *femora*, would be gradually modified in process of time, though prone to recur for long ages after. Finally, there might be examples where the two primitive dolichocephalic races, that is to say, the tall Canstadt man and the Cro-Magnon man, having already combined,



as I think it not improbable that they did in the Orcadian islands, for example, and along the west coast of Europe, a tall platycephalic type might have been evolved, such as was that of the individual whose remains were found among those of the pigmies in the dolmen of Bougon, with a breadth of skull (0.80), which he owed to an intrusive element, already present, as can be shown, early in the Neolithic Age on the shores of the Baltic.

I advert to a cranial type in Denmark, which we may well attribute to an intermixture of intrusive brachycephali with

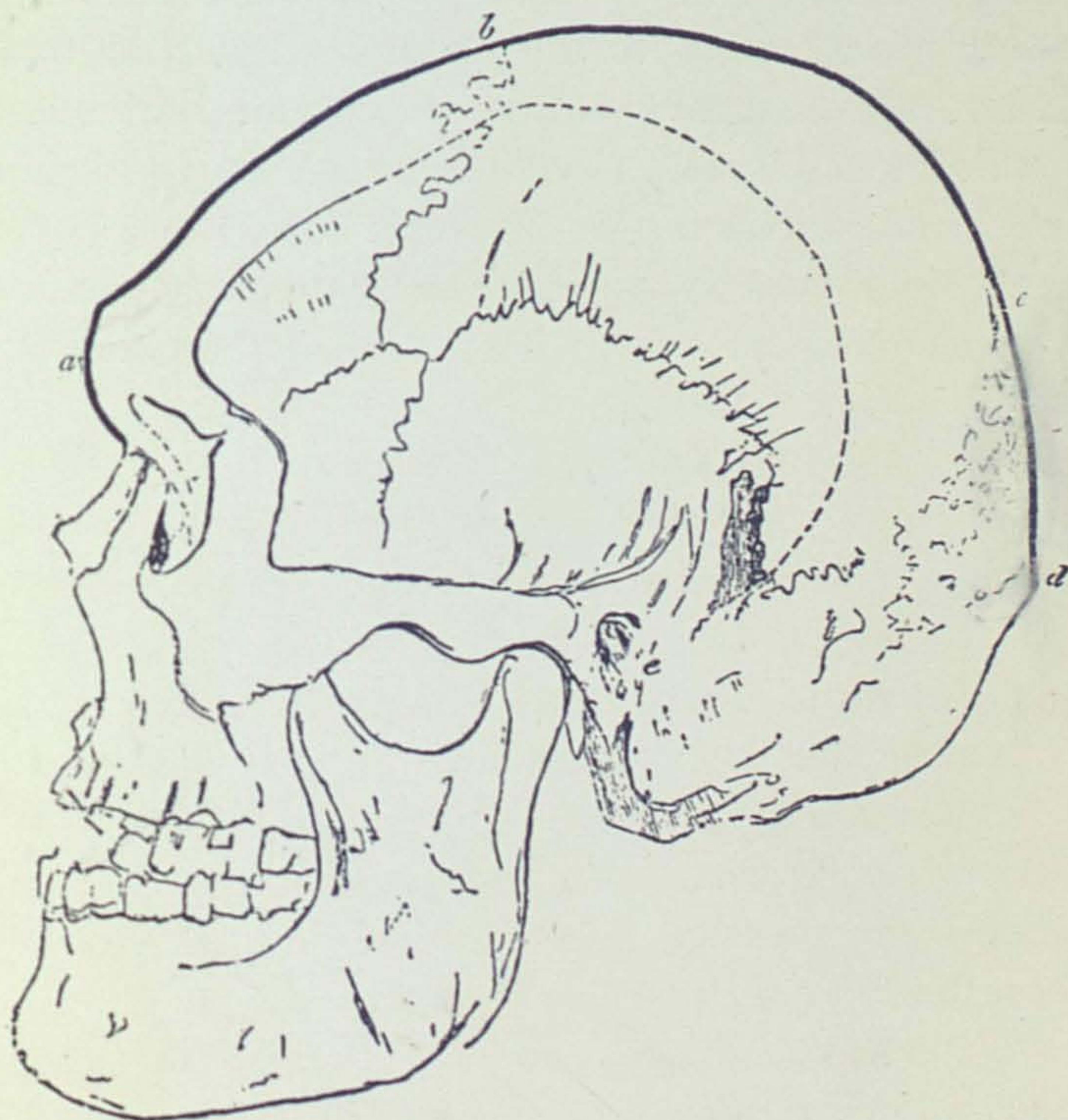


FIG. 757.—Skull associated with ground-flint implements, from a tumulus at Borreby, in Denmark, drawn by Mr. G. Busk, F.R.S. The dark line, *a, b, c, d*, indicates so much of the skull as corresponds with the fragment of the Neanderthal skull.

the platy-dolichocephalic type of Stångenäs, Canstadt, and Neanderthal. In a memorandum on the latter skull, most famous from the controversies to which it gave rise, incorporated in Sir Charles Lyell's "Antiquity of Man," Prof. Huxley states that Mr. Busk had called his attention to a cranium taken from a dolmen-tumulus of the Neolithic Age at Borreby, in the island of Falster, in Denmark. Like the Neanderthal skull, it possesses "remarkably projecting supraciliary ridges, a retreating forehead, a low, flattened vertex, and an occiput which shelves upward and forward.



But the skull is relatively higher and broader, or more brachycephalic, the sagittal suture longer, and the supraciliary ridges less projecting than in the Neanderthal skull." In short, it is brachy-platycephalic. "Nevertheless," he adds, "there is much resemblance in character between the two skulls," and in proof of this assertion he adds a profile, which we reproduce, the dark line in which shows so much of the skull as corresponds with that of Neanderthal.† Differentiating this type, as Prof. Huxley does absolutely from that of the Engis skull, it remains that it may not unreasonably be looked upon as a mixed form between that of the Canstadt giant, allied to the Neanderthal man, and whose Scandinavian representative is the Stångenäs individual, and a race of brachycephali present contemporaneously with him on the Baltic shores and islands in the Neolithic Age.

Another skull which, as it seems, we may place in this category, was found by Dr. Lisch at Plau, in Mecklenburg,‡ with

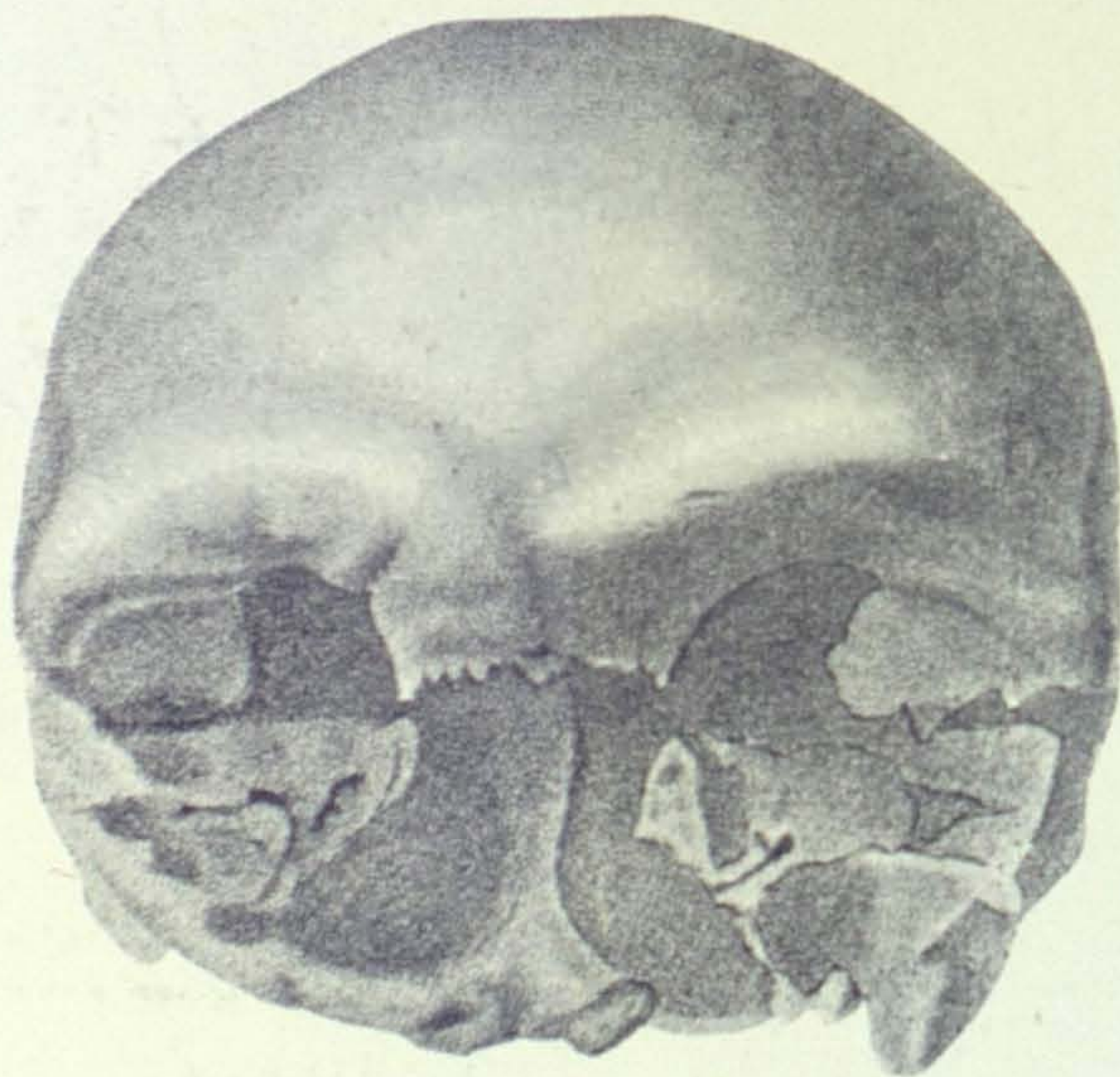


FIG. 758.—Skull from Plau, Mecklenburg. From Professor D. Schaaffhausen's paper, "*Zur Kenntniss der ältesten Rassenschädel.*"

a cephalic index of 82.14,§ and was regarded by him as indicating the type which pertained to the aborigines of that country—prior even to the constructors of the Hünenbedden, the huge long megalithic cists or dolmens, of which there are so many examples

† "Antiquity of Man," by Sir C. Lyell, p. 91.

‡ "Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde," edit. G. C. F. Lisch, Bd. XII., Schwerin, 1847, pp. 400, 401.

§ According to the computation in the "Crania Ethnica," p. 143, n.



on record in that district. The skeleton to which this skull pertained had been buried in the ground without any stone-setting around it, but accompanied by broken flints. As Mr. Busk had remarked on the similarity between the Borreby and Neanderthal skulls, so Prof. Schaafhausen compares this Plau skull with the latter, in a paper to which he appends a plate, in which they are set side by side.† The likeness in profile of this skull to the Neanderthal is striking, although it is shorter in comparison to its breadth. He instances also for comparison skulls from Schwaan, and from a lower stratum in the Herberg, both in Mecklenburg, and one from Fehrbellin, in Brandenburg. In the



FIG. 759.—The Borreby skull. *From the "Crania Ethnica."*

same group he also places the brachycephalic skulls from the island of Möen, which, however, as we have seen, the editors of the "Crania Ethnica" prefer to compare with the skulls from the valley of the Seine, at Grenelle. In either case, with whichever of the dolichocephalic races they intermingled, the brachycephali

† "Archiv für Anatomie," etc., edit. Dr. Joh. Müller, Berlin, 1858, No. 5, pp. 453-478, and pl. xvii.



in their purity seem to have been originally one and the same race from Lapland to Italy, and from Upper Asia to the Pyrenees.†

To return, however, to the Borreby type, from which the pure type vastly differs, I may mention that, while some of the skulls from the Round Barrows of Britain, as, for example, that from Stonehenge ‡ (p. 999), are comparable with the pure type, the Round-Barrow type proper, as exemplified by a skull from

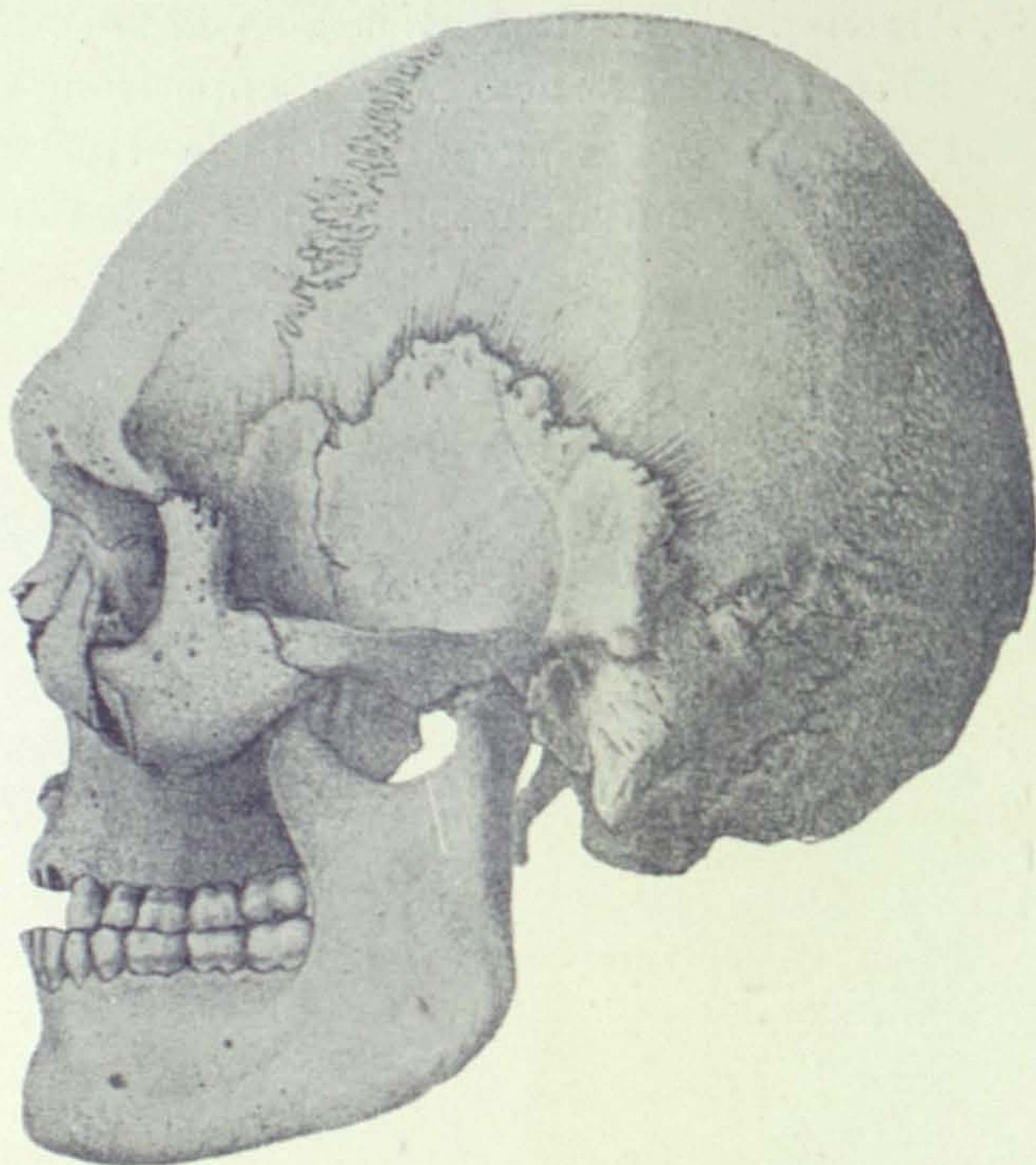


FIG. 760.—The Borreby Skull. From the "*Crania Ethnica*."

Ilderton (Fig. 761), is, as nearly as possible, identical with that from Borreby. We set the two side by side.§ The Borreby skull was found in a dolmen-tumulus with flint implements, and its cephalic index was 0·81 (?).|| The Ilderton skull was found in a stone cist, 3 feet long, by 1 foot 10 ins. wide, and 18 ins. deep, with a skeleton doubled up, but without urn, implement, or weapon. Its cephalic index was 0·82 (Fig. 761).

We have now to consider how far any of these types—that is

† For skulls of the Auvergnats and Bas-Bretons, see M. Broca, "*Révue d'Anthropologie*," vol. ii. plate opposite p. 628. For skulls of brachycephali, orthognathous as the Lapps, Finns, Turks, etc., and prognathous as the Chinese Tartars—see pl. iii. and iv. in Anders Retzius's "*Ethnologische Schriften*."

‡ "*Crania Ethnica*," p. 144.

§ "*Crania Ethnica*," pl. lxxx., Nos. iii. and iv.

|| I am not quite sure of this. The seven widest Borreby skulls measured from 80·2 to 82·6, and possibly this example was the widest. See Vogt, "*Lectures on Man*," edit. Hunt, p. 385.



to say, the more purely brachycephalic (as in the Ligurian), the brachycephalic in conjunction with the Candstadt (as in the



FIG. 761.—Skull from Ilderton. From Greenwell, "*Nat. Hist. Soc. Northumb., and Durham and Tyneside Nat. Field Club*," vol. i. 1867, pl. xiii.

Borreby), or, lastly, the brachycephalic in conjunction with the Western dolichocephalic, or Long-Barrow type—may be represented in the crania of Ireland.

We will take first of all four examples from stone cists. In 1852, Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, exhibited before the British Association, at their meeting at Belfast, a skull found in a stone-cist in the side of a fort or "mount," called Shane-Maghery, near Donaghmore. The chamber is described as small, and of rectangular form, and was covered over by a large stone. The skeleton was "in a sitting posture, with the head leaning to one side." An ornamental urn lay by the side of it, but there were no implements of stone, bone, or metal. The cephalic index was 0.83. It is important to find that Mr. Grattan differentiates this skull entirely from those markedly brachycephalic ones, usually ascribed to the Danars, or Black Danes, of the historic epoch. He finds in it, therefore, the evidence of the presence in Ireland of another brachycephalic race, possessing an index as high as that of these Danars, but which was certainly on the spot ages before the Danars arrived. The difference in the skull types he points out



as follows: "Instead," he says, "of the temporal region being protuberant," as was the case with the Black Danes, "the parietal walls of the Donaghmore skull are flattened and perpendicular, whilst its vertical elevation is very considerable, being 0.71 at 90 degrees—the average being only about 0.66—this superiority,

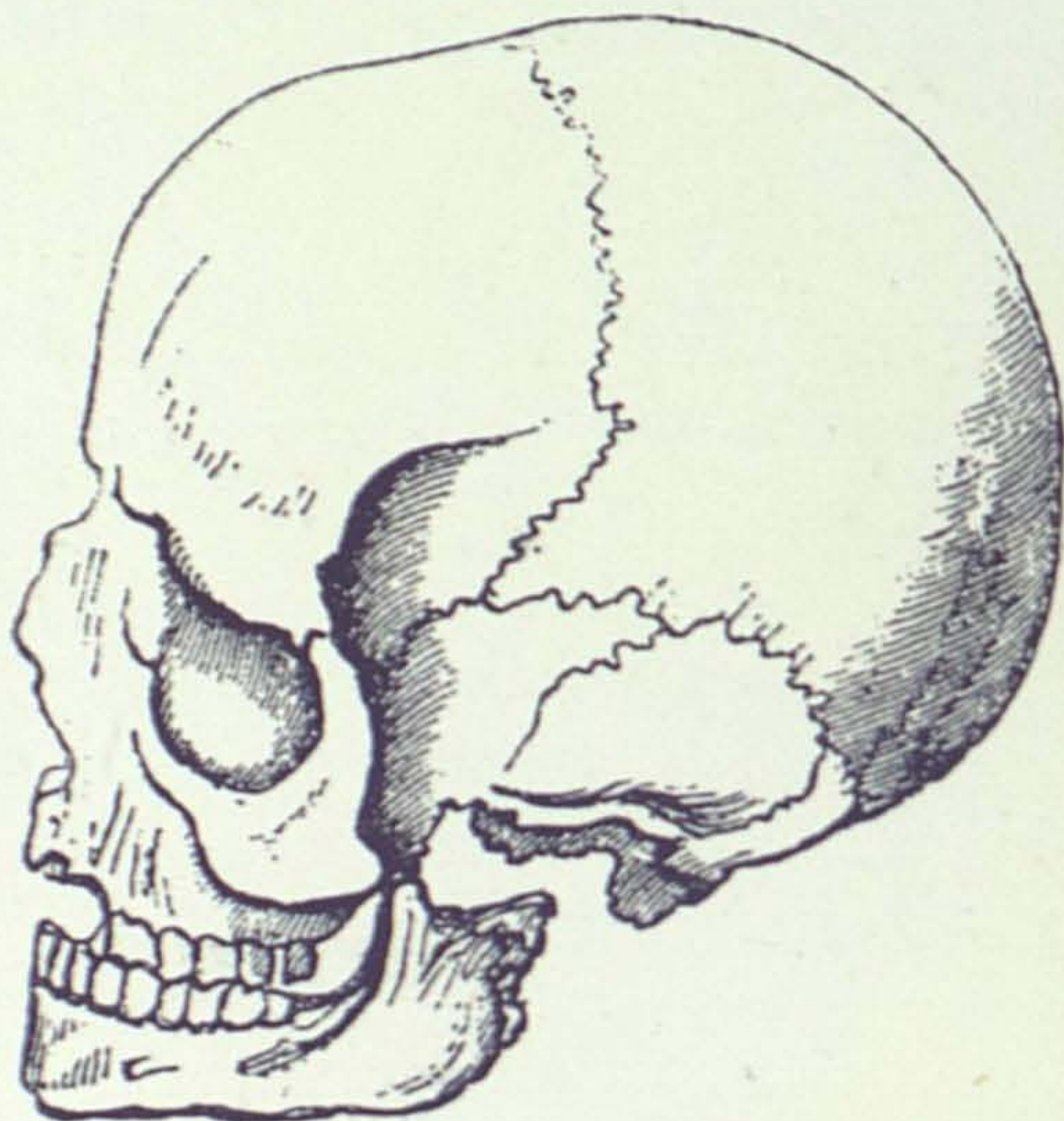


FIG. 762.—Skull from cist at Dunamase. *From a rough drawing in Wilde's "Boyne and Blackwater."*

moreover, being maintained throughout, from 20 to 120 degrees. It is to be noticed that he places it in his "primeval" group. From the skulls he terms Celtic, with an average cubic capacity of 89.6, and an average cephalic index of 0.76, he shows that this type is also widely different. "From its compact form," he says, "it may appear small to the eye, but it exceeds the Celtic average by 4 cubic inches, its cubic capacity being 93. Its length, too, is  $\frac{3}{10}$  of an inch below

the Celtic average, and its breadth is the same amount above it. Unfortunately, Mr. Grattan gives neither an illustration of this skull itself, nor of a cast he made of it. I do not think, however, that the description accords with that of the Round-Barrow type in Britain, as exemplified by the Ilderton-Borreby form, a view which I feel to be strengthened by the comparison which Mr. Grattan makes between it and a skull from Dunamase, in the Queen's County, figured by Sir William Wilde.† (Fig. 762.)

The record of the discovery of this latter is precisely similar to that of the Donaghmore skull. It was made within 150 yards of the rock Dun-Masg, or Dunamase. The skeleton of which it formed the head was found in a small stone chamber, situated in the outer circle, or breastwork, of a rath. Close by the side of the skeleton was a "beautifully ornamented urn." The cephalic index is not recorded, but the skull is clearly markedly brachy-

† "Beauties of the Boyne and the Blackwater," p. 232. The drawing of this skull, which is clearly not the work of an expert in craniological delineation, is the only representation of it available.



cephalic, and, as it appears to me, to judge by the drawing given by Wilde, is as essentially different from skulls of the Borreby

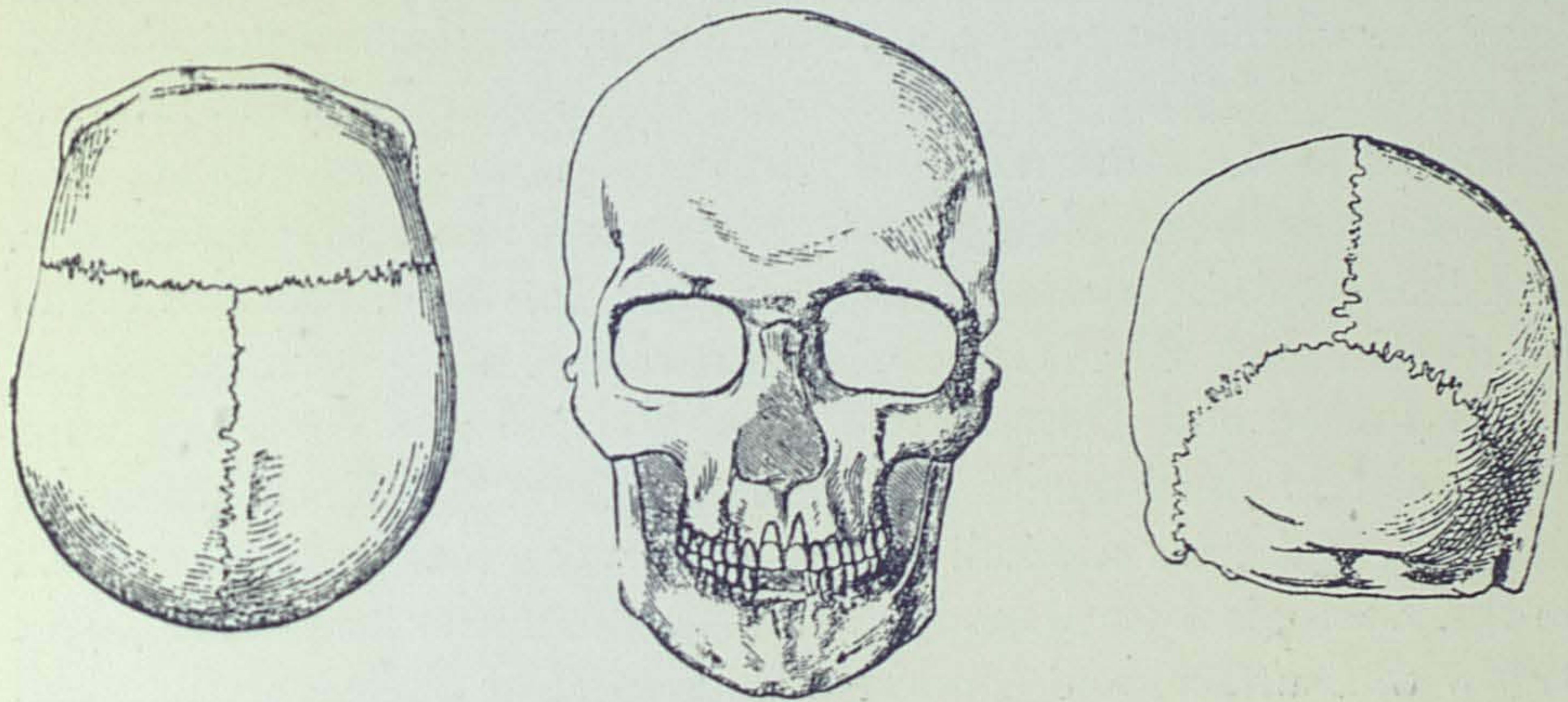


FIG. 763.—Skull of "Ancient Hibernian," from cist in the Phoenix Park.  
*From the "Crania Britannica."*

type, as it is closely akin to the more purely brachycephalic type of the Rhœtian skulls, and to such British examples as that from

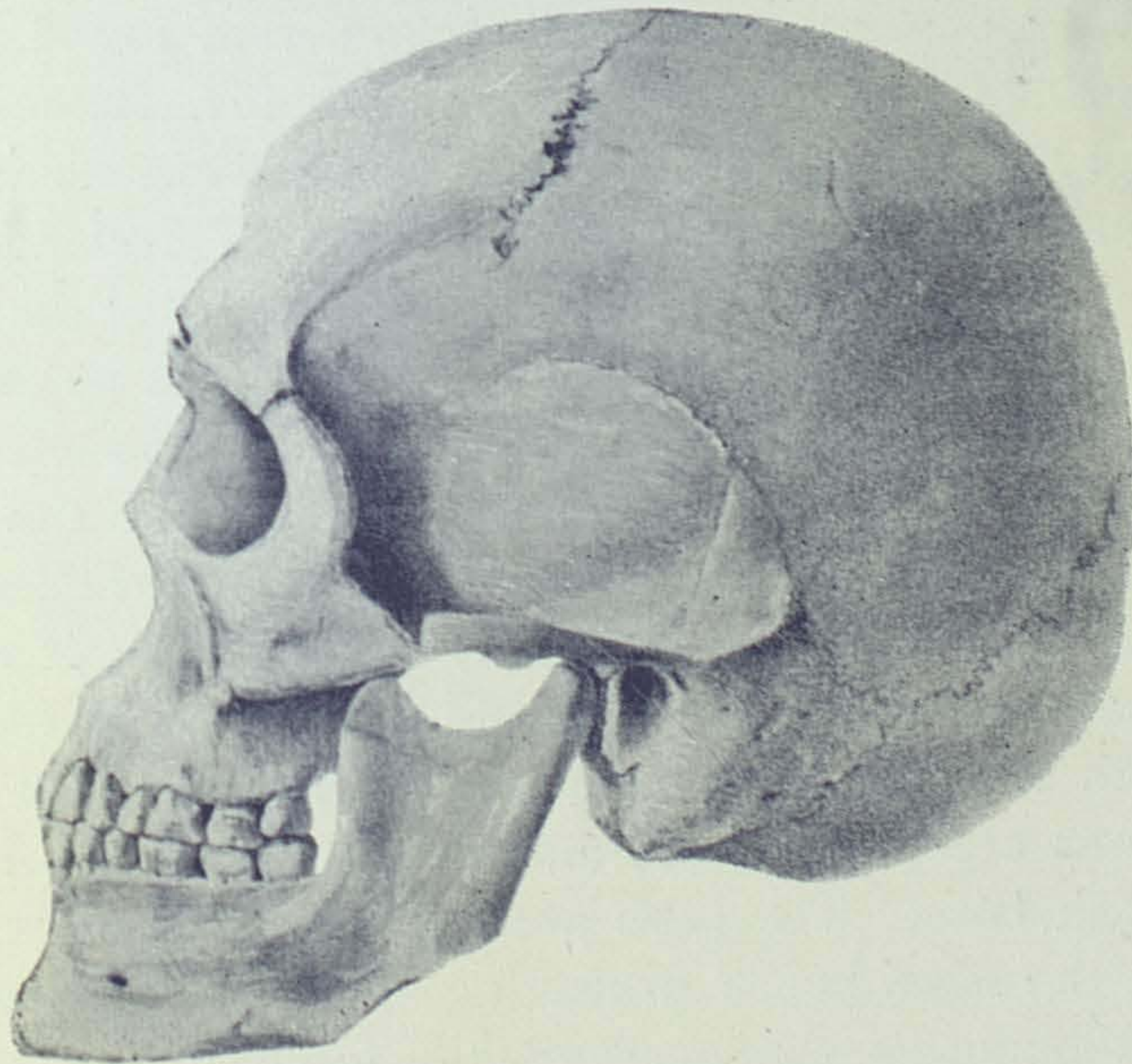


FIG. 764.—"Ancient Hibernian" skull from a cist in the Phoenix Park, Dublin.  
*From the "Crania Britannica."*

Stonehenge (Figs. 753, 755, 756). Its similarity to the Donaghmore example, pointed out by Mr. Grattan, enables us to judge of the appearance of the latter. Here, as at Donaghmore, the



interment had been by inhumation, and the body must have been contracted. Here, as there, the cist was in the side of a fortification; in each case an urn, peculiar for its ornamentation, had been placed beside the body; and, lastly, the skulls were similar. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the individuals interred belonged to the same race and period.

The third example I adduce, not so markedly brachycephalic, nor, indeed, quite attaining the requisite standard, was also found in a cist, and Mr. Grattan compares it also with those of Donaghmore and Dunamase. The skeleton was contained in a small cist in the Phoenix Park, not far from the Knockmaraidhe tumulus, and near a small square cist, which has been re-erected in the Zoological Gardens in Dublin. The latter was some 3 feet below the surface, and contained an imperfect skeleton, the skull and bones of which appeared to have been broken before interment, and presented the appearance of having been "collected from some other quarter, and stowed away" in the cist.

The other small cist, of which I am here speaking, was dome-shaped, and constructed of small stones, closed at the top with a larger one, resembling, therefore, that found in Parsley Hay Barrow, Derbyshire, discovered by Mr. Bateman, rather than the ordinary type formed entirely of slabs, as is the case in Germany, Lesmurdie (Banffshire), and in Ireland very frequently. Its construction is described as of a "dome shape," formed of small stones, closed at the top with a larger one. It contained a skeleton, the major part of which was placed at the bottom of the cist, with the long-bones crossed and the calvarium at the top, the lower jaw upon it. A similar arrangement was found by Mr. Bateman in Bee Low, Derbyshire. It appears to be the skull of a young man of about thirty, says Barnard Davis. "The teeth have all been present, and are in good condition. The features are those usual among the aboriginal inhabitants of the British Isles. The jaws are slightly prognathous, the chin prominent, the nasal bones projecting, the supranasal and supra-ciliary protuberances very marked, the forehead not narrow but rather low, the vertical region elevated, the parietal centres distinct, yet not prominent, so that the *norma verticalis* is a pretty regular though short ovoid. In this aspect a very slight want of symmetry of outline is perceived. The right parieto-occipital region is a little less elevated than the left, and, conversely, the left



frontal region does not bulge out to the same degree as the right. And, in conjunction with this appreciable departure from the symmetry of the two sides, is seen an extensive parieto-occipital flattening, having its centre near the point of juncture, of the sagittal with the lambdoidal suture. This plain surface or steepness in the region covering the posterior lobes of the *cerebrum* is distinctly observable in the profile view. These appearances are to be attributed to the mode of nursing in infancy, probably a cradle-board, and are not to be confounded with the intentional distortions practised by many tribes. The cranium has been rendered somewhat shorter by this accidental result of nursing, but would, without doubt, have approached closely to the brachycephalic series, had its natural development not been at all interfered with." As it is, its cephalic index is 0.794 (Figs. 763, 764).

Retzius figures and describes this skull.<sup>†</sup> It is noticeable that he includes it in his "Turanic form," by which, says Barnard Davis, "the distinguished Stockholm Professor means nothing more than brachycephalic, except what is hypothetic." In a paper which he (Prof. Retzius) contributed to the British Association at Birmingham, he adduces this very skull in illustration of his view that there was a race in Britain of "Turanic" origin, of a type, that is to say, which preceded, and was utterly different to, that which he calls the "Celtic" type. Of this Turanian type, he held that the Lapps and brachycephalic Finns were the living representatives. Mr. Grattan, who, as we have seen, differentiates this skull, both from his "Celtic" type and from the brachycephalic type, which he attributes to the Black Danes, says of this one that "in almost every particular it agrees with that from Donaghmore," although the index of the latter was, as we said, 0.83. Evidently this skull leans more to the brachycephalic than to the dolichocephalic side.

In my opinion it bears a very close resemblance indeed to a skull from Lesmurdie in Banffshire, figured in the "Crania Britannica"<sup>‡</sup> (Figs. 765, 766). The *norma verticalis* of this latter, again, bears a considerable resemblance to crania of the Disentis type. It was contained in a cist of which I give the plan and section, and was accompanied by an urn of the British drinking-cup type. With pottery of this sort, as I have said before, examples from

<sup>†</sup> "Öfversigt af Kongl. Vetenskaps-Akademiens Förhandlingar" (1849), p. 118; see also Von Baer, "Ueber den Schädelbau der Rhätischen Romanen," p. 268.

<sup>‡</sup> No. iv., plate 16.



the Alps most closely assimilate. Short cists, similar to this,

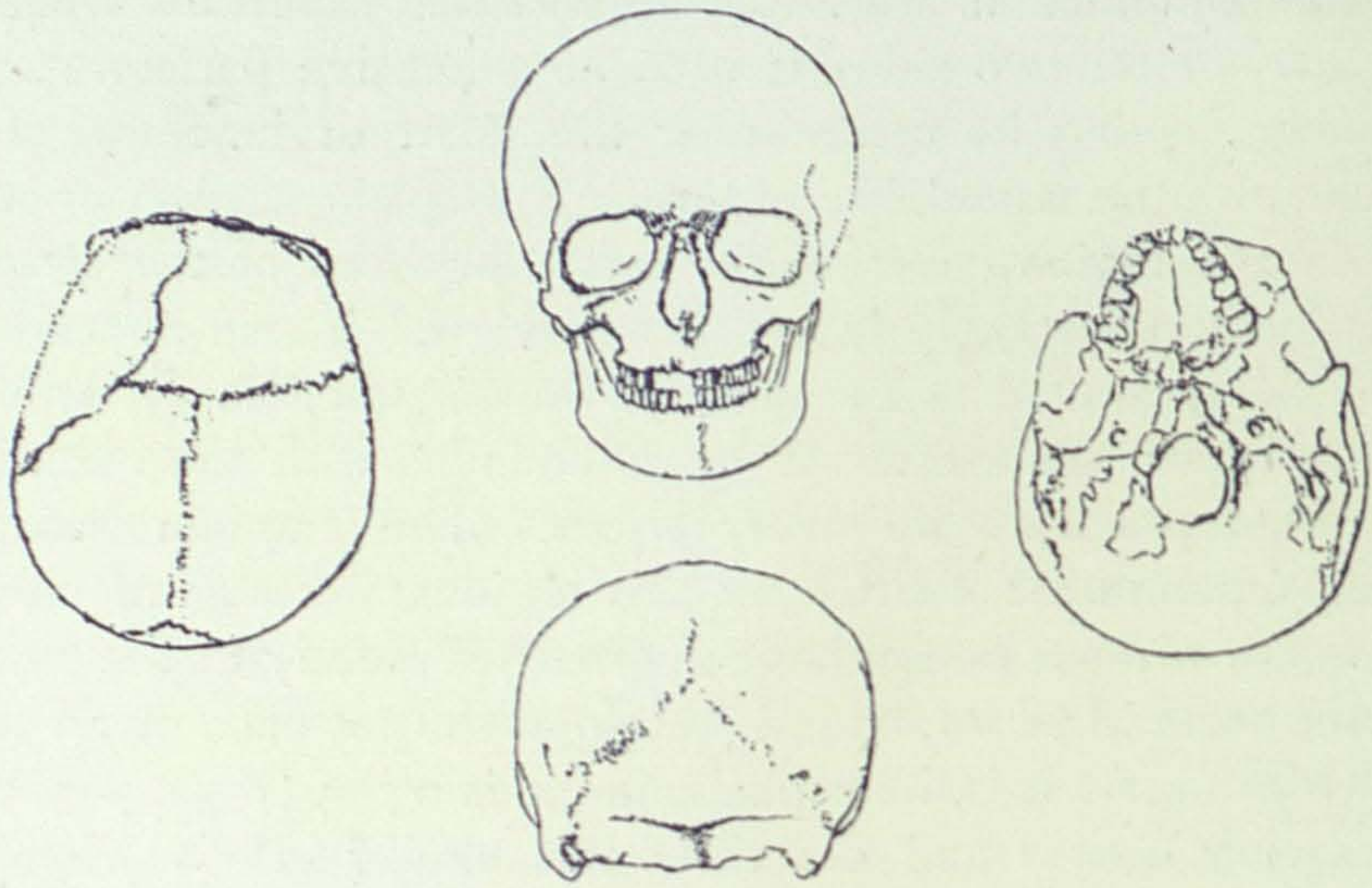


FIG. 765.—Skull from the Lesmurdie cist, Banffshire. *From the "Crania Britannica."*

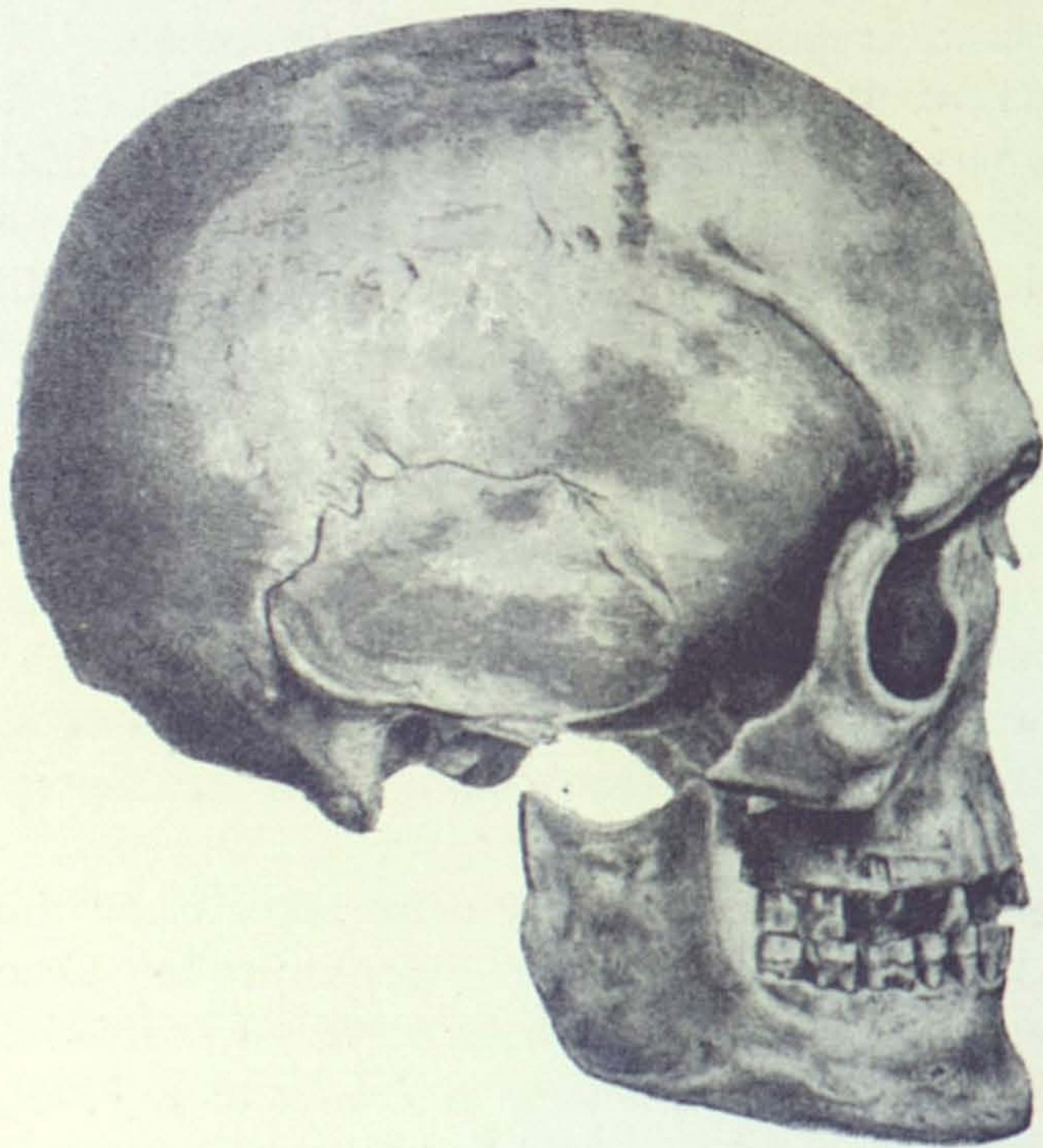


FIG. 766.—Skull from the Lesmurdie cist, Banffshire. *From the "Crania Britannica."*

are found, with or without superincumbent cairns, in many parts of Ireland, in Scotland, and in North Britain. Sometimes they are single, not infrequently double. In Germany, precisely similar



cists are found with urns and contracted bodies, as we may see from the section of a double one in Klemm's "Alterthümer," and

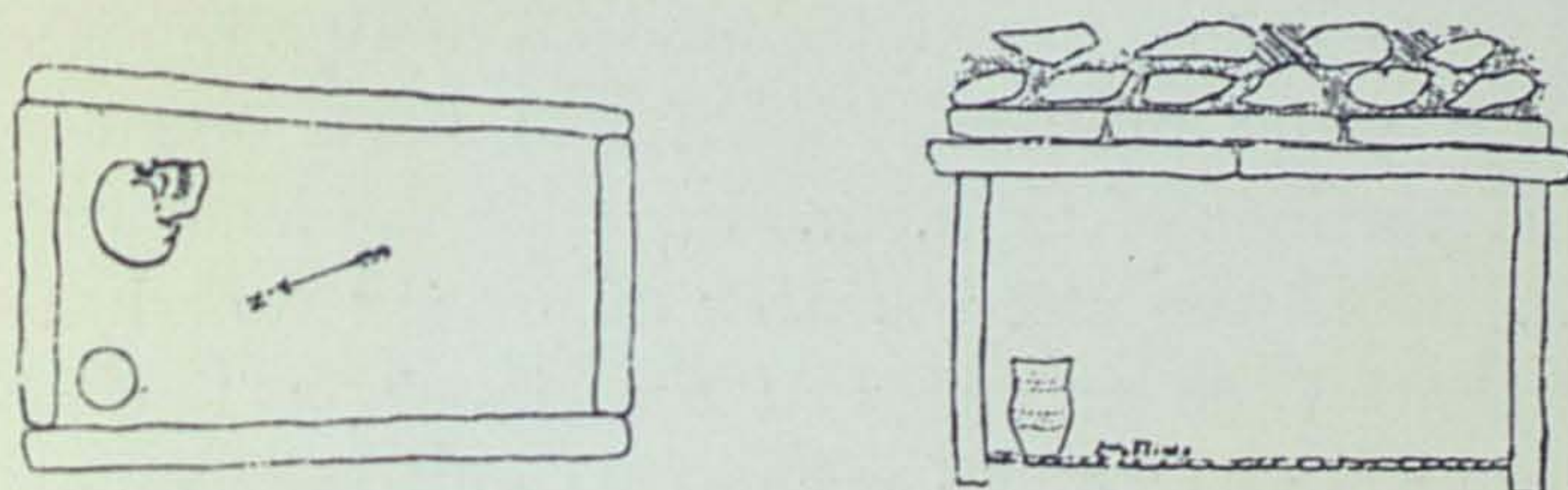


FIG. 767.—Plan and section of cist at Lesmurdie. From the "Crania Britannica."

from the plans and sections of the single one near Halle, given above from Kruse.

The precise measurements of the skull from the cist in the Phoenix Park, as given by Barnard Davis, are as follows:—

Horizontal circumference	...	...	20.3 ins.	Occipital region—Length	...	...	4.5 ins.
Longitudinal diameter	...	...	6.9 "	Breadth	...	...	4.4 "
Frontal region—Length	...	...	4.8 "	Height	...	...	2.8 "
Breadth	...	...	4.7 "	Intermastoid arch	...	...	15.1 "
Height	...	...	4.7 "	Face—Length	...	...	4.6 "
Parietal region—Length	...	...	5.1 "	Breadth	...	...	5.2 "
Breadth	...	...	4.9 "	Femur—Length	...	...	18.0 "
Height	...	...	4.7 "	Tibia—Length	...	...	15.0 "

A fourth brachycephalic skull † was found in a cist near the Knockadoon group of circles at Lough Gur. Prof. Harkness, who discovered it "in a burial-ground" near the lake, thus describes it: "It was the skull of a young person from six to eight years of age, and was of a very curious type—a broad head with a very low upright forehead, and a very much flattened crown. The upper jaw was very oblique, and the lower jaw had the molar angle much more obtuse than usually happens with individuals of that age. Judging from the character of the skull, it seemed to have belonged to a member of a race approximating most nearly to the modern Finn or Lapp." The remains in this cist are preserved in the Museum at Queen's College, Cork, where I examined them two years ago. The skull was much shattered, but from a measurement I was able to take must have had a cephalic index of 85 or 86. There were two lower jaws in the cist, one very heavy and seemingly petrified.

From Inch, in the county Derry, Dr. Frazer adduces the description of a skeleton, which, though not found in conjunction with any cist or urn, presents in its cranium a markedly brachycephalic index, and under circumstances which lead to the supposition that it might have belonged to this earlier of the two brachycephalic

† See "Journ. Cork Hist. and Archæol. Soc.," 2 ser., vol. i. p. 291



forms. "It was discovered," he says, "interred in a prone position, disposed in a direction E. and W., lying about four feet beneath the surface, in a dry soil composed of decomposed mica-schist. Many years previously cists had been opened in this locality, when portions of an inclined part of the land were being levelled. Probably the site was that of an old tumulus. Some stone implements were procured at the time." "The absence," continues Dr. Frazer, "of all ornaments and implements whatever, renders it impossible to decide, even approximately, the age of the interment, but, in my opinion, it must be attributed to a remote period. The skull is that of a female, beyond the period of mature adult age. The frontal sinuses are of large size and prominent. The nasal opening is broad, approaching to platyrine. The upper jaw approximates to the prognathous form. The forehead is low and defective; the bones of the skull thin, and the teeth worn down by continued attrition. The cephalic index is 0.848, and its most remarkable characteristic is the small size of the brain, which measures only 1250 centimetres."

Leaving this last example to stand by itself, I have been able to bring forward four well-established instances of the presence of a brachycephalic race in Ireland, in connection with a class of sepulchres and pottery, which induce me to trace the type southward through Germany† to the Alps, where, if I am right in my diagnosis, we may join them on to the Rhoëtian brachycephali, to the Ligurian type, and to those short, dark people of the Auvergne, extending in a band or belt across France, like the bend on an heraldic shield, in whom M. Broca has recognized the only true Celts of ethnology, namely, the Celts of Cæsar.

Returning to the doubt expressed by Professor Huxley, with which I set out, as to whether the Round-Barrow people of Great Britain were present also in Ireland, I think it would be hard to say that they were not. I am inclined, however, to divide these brachycephali into two classes: the purer, allied to the Rhoëtian and Disentis type, such as the Round-Barrow man of Stonehenge, and perhaps of the Lesmurdie cist, and the less pure or mixed type evidenced in such skulls as that from Ilderton. The former of these I think we discover in the small square Irish slab-cists, together with pottery of a form other than that which accompanies the British Round-Barrow men; the latter,

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† *e.g.* Fig. 755.



I agree with Professor Huxley in believing to be practically absent from Ireland, as is also the drinking-cup type of vessel which accompanies their remains in Britain.† That the people of the Irish cists with their bowl-shaped vases were however derivable from one stock of brachycephali, and that, with slight variations in detail, they possessed identical customs in relation to sepulture is, I think, evident, while it is observable also that the short cists which are distinctive of these customs, are found to prevail, with or without tumuli,‡ in the north of Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, while Barrows, with or without cists, are the rule in the southern portions of Britain.§

Two considerations of the first importance run *pari passu* with the view that the brachycephali of some parts of Ireland and Britain can be attached ethnologically to those of the Alps, and to the Ligurian type in Italy. The theory of Montelius that the earliest bronze articles in Northern Europe, whether they be of original manufacture among a cultured people, or secondary imitations by barbarians, have their source in Northern Italy, requires either a common meeting-ground for races bordering on each other, or a definite commercial route involving intimate relations between the extremes. Such a border-land they would have found north of the Alpine passes, and such a system of commerce might more readily have passed northwards through tribes related by language and custom than through ones not so related. The bronze riveted-daggers, whether in original form, with detached rivets, or in native copies, in which blade and handle were cast together, are found in such small stone cists as we are describing, with human remains burnt or unburnt, and with pottery which frequently seems to attest a rude endeavour to copy Etruscan forms and patterns.

Again, the most eminent philologists of the present day, among whom I may mention Professors Schrader and Sayce, are of opinion that, after the Aryan dispersion, whencesoever it may have taken its rise, those who spoke the languages of Italy remained long side by side with those who spoke Celtic. In these brachycephali we seemingly have an ethnic stock identical in Italy and in Britain in cranial type, in primitive culture, and in sepulchral customs. Have we in them the far-off point

† Some three or four examples of it are all which can be cited.

‡ Some of the cists being sunk in the ground, without trace of a mound on the surface.

§ "Crania Britannica," text 16, 2, note.



of junction which philologists and linguistic palæontologists require? Did the brachycephali, in short, give Latin to Italy, and Celtic to the West and North? Were they not only the bringers of the bronze, but of the Celtic language as well, to the islands which lay "opposite Celtica?"

If so, however, these people would have been of short stature and dark haired, of as different a type as could well be imagined from that of the Germans, or the Caledonians, or the Boadicea type in Britain. Yet Barnard Davis would accept the Lesmurdie man as a Caledonian, and the tendency of British anthropologists has been to recognize Boadicea's ancestors in the Round-Barrow people. For myself, no question has caused me so much thought, and involved my researches in so much perplexity as this. My conclusion is that neither does the Lesmurdie cist contain the Caledonian of Tacitus, nor the British cists the ancestors of those with whom the Roman contended in Britain. The Bronze Age and its people lived then only in survival. Compared to them, the people known to Cæsar, to Tacitus, to Dio Cassius, to Ptolemy, to Ammianus, were, though giants in stature, mere infants in British ethnology. They were "comers-from-abroad," from the coast of Belgic Gaul, from the Netherlands, from the Elbe, from Sclesvic and Holstein, from Jutland, from Sweden and Norway, and last, but not least, from the further recesses of the Baltic Coast. Doubtless, they followed in the wake of others who had gone before. The mixed type of Borreby belonged to the Neolithic Age, and early in the Bronze Age had imparted itself to Britain. It seems to be probable, however, that the purer brachycephalic type was there before it, and to this fact I would attribute the markedly brachycephalic crania from the cists.

Of such materials, then, were the aboriginal inhabitants of the British isles made up. Firstly, in the Neolithic Age there were present there the Dolichocephali of the Long Barrows; secondly, in the end of the Neolithic Age and beginning of the Bronze Age, the purer brachycephali of a type comparable with that known as the Disentis; thirdly—also in the Bronze Age—a taller type than either of the above, represented in the Round Barrows of Britain, and which may have owed its origin to an intermixture of the purer brachycephali, with a tall platycephalic man who may have already existed in Britain, as he certainly did on the Continent and in Scandinavia at a period more remote than that



of either of the above, or whose type, represented by the Borreby skull, may have been wholly imported. To these succeeded the dolichocephalic type, to which I gave the name Scando-Germanic, with light hair and tall stature, from an outlyer of which (which had crossed the Rhine) the Belgæ of Cæsar (originally coming from North Germany, though Celtic in speech) probably derived their origin, and to which also belonged the Teutonic stock of the Baltic coast, the tall light Swedes, the Germans of Tacitus, the Caledonians, and the men of the Row Graves.

As to Ireland, as we shall presently see, the reign of the brachycephali cannot have been long, and has not proved to be lasting in its effects on the race.

Before, however, we turn to Ireland of the present day, and inquire into this or that type in survival, it is necessary to note the existence of a brachycephalic type, most marked in character, and to be differentiated absolutely, according to Mr. Grattan, from that of which the Donaghmore skull is an example.



FIG. 768.—Skull of Donatus. *From Wilde.*

The first of this type to which I will refer is the skull of Dunan or Donatus, who, according to D'Alton's "Archbishops of Dublin," † was the first among the Ostmen who was Bishop of Dublin. He died in 1074, ‡ and was buried in the upper part of the chancel upon the right-hand side in his own cathedral, which he had built by the aid of King Sitric. The spot where he was buried was identified, and so was the body, for fragments of the mitre adhered to the skull. It is interesting to add that portions of a pewter chalice and platten were found in the grave, and also a block of stone so hollowed out and situated as evidently to have been intended for a support to the neck. There were no traces of a coffin, but the body had been laid in a grave lined with flags, and covered with the same material.

"One of the striking peculiarities of this skull is its immense lateral, or transversal diameter, as compared with its longitudinal." § Compared with the skull of the Scandinavian invader

† p. 26.

‡ Worsaae, "Danes and Norwegians in Ireland," pp. 343, 344.

§ Mr. Grattan, U.J.A., vol. i. p. 203. Here again I have to be contented with Wilde's illustration, which is very indifferent. See "Beauties of the Boyne and the Blackwater," p. 236.



found at Larne, and described above, this skull is broader, shorter, and lower, and the whole contour is less spherical. The crania, in short, belong to two widely different types. The cephalic index of that of Donatus is 0.84.

Each of these skulls, nevertheless, was found under circumstances which justify us in attributing them both to Scandinavians.

All we can say is, that between the Dubh Gall, or Black Dane, and the Norwegian or Fin-Gall, the difference in type must have been great. The sword found by Dr. Frazer in the Donnybrook tumulus was very similar to that found at Larne, and yet the skull which accompanied it was as far removed, craniologically, as well could be, from the other.

The Round Tower at Drumbo,<sup>†</sup> explored by Mr. Getty, afforded a skull which must be assigned to the same category as that of Donatus. The skeleton to which it belonged lay at a depth of 7 feet from the surface of the material which filled up the base of the tower. It was embedded in the natural soil upon which the tower stood. There seemed no doubt that the body had been deposited there while the building was in course of erection. The skeleton lay E. and W. The bones of the right arm and the lower extremities were absent, a fact which, considering the condi-

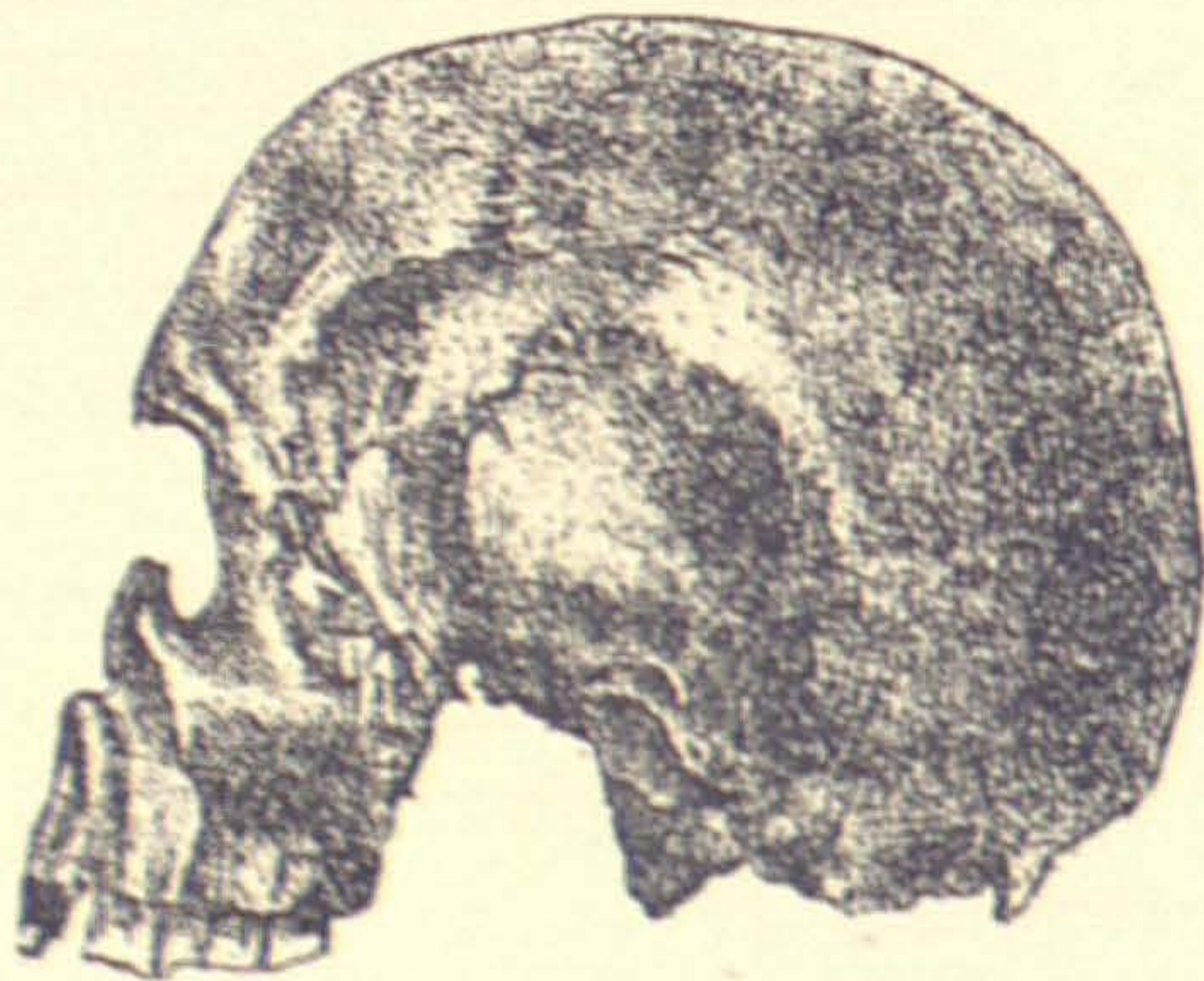


FIG. 769.—Skull from Drumbo.

tion of the other bones, was not to be attributed to decay. The skeleton was that of a large and powerful man, probably from

<sup>†</sup> U.J.A., vol. iii. p. 113; id., vol. vi. pp. 221, *et seqq.*




6 feet to 6 feet 2 inches high. The femur was 1 foot 10 inches long. The age of the subject was probably about 70; the cephalic index 0·83. The other principal measurements were—

Cubic capacity ...	...	...	...	...	...	96 ins.
Greatest length from 10 degrees	...	...	...	...	...	7·5 "
Greatest breadth from 10 degrees	...	...	...	...	...	6·2 "
Circumference ...	...	...	...	...	...	21·6 "
Frontal arch ...	...	...	...	...	...	5·5 "
Parietal ...	...	...	...	...	...	5·1 "
Occipital ...	...	...	...	...	...	4·9 "
Sum of Occipital, or Occipito-frontal	...	...	...	...	...	15·5 "
Mastoidal ...	...	...	...	...	...	16·0 "

The skull is of very considerable size. Its length is remarkable, and its breadth very great. It is scarcely of average height. The temporal bones, however, are remarkably prominent, the whole temporal bone projecting far beyond the juxta temporal, so as to give to the entire head a well-marked globular form.

It may be mentioned that Petrie, in his "Round Towers," cites this tower of Drumbo, in the County Down, as an example of the older type of construction, which he considers may date back to the fifth century.

Barnard Davis places this large brachycephalic skull at the head of his Irish series, but adds the remark that "he is persuaded that it is not the skull of an Irishman," but that "it doubtless belonged to an ecclesiastic, and one foreign to the soil of Hibernia." †

There are yet two other skulls to be mentioned which were taken from ecclesiastical structures of different character, but of similar antiquity to the Round Towers, the one from a stone-roofed chapel at Devenish,‡ the other from the cathedral of Downpatrick.§ The island of Devenish, in Lough Erne, about two miles below Enniskillen, possesses, among other ecclesiastical ruins, a Round Tower and the chapel in question, which is called St. Molaise's House,|| after a saint whose death, according to the "Annals of Ulster," occurred either in 563 or 570. The chapel was a small rectangular building, having an entrance in the west end. It was constructed of very large blocks so carefully shaped as to fit on one another without any filling. The roof was arched in very peculiar fashion—with a Moorish curve (*sic* )—and the

† "Thesaurus Craniorum" (1867), p. 64.

‡ U.J.A., vol. iv. pp. 178-191; id., vol. vi. pp. 235, *et seqq.*

§ U.J.A., vol. vi. pp. 235, *et seqq.*

|| Molaissi = *mo Laisrean*, *mo* being a prefix expressive of veneration, and *Laisrean*, in Latin *Laserius*, the name of several famous saints of whom this one is described as "son of Nadfraich, of the race of Irial, son of Connal Cearnaigh, seventh in descent from Crunn Badhraighe, son of Eochaidh Cobha, son of Fiacha Araidhe." See U.J.A., vol. iv. p. 183, and Dr. Reeves, "Ann. of Ulster," p. 28.



exterior was formed of large flags. A stone hollowed out to form a coffin, into the hollow of which superstitious people fitted their shapes, was supposed to have stood at the west end of the interior of the building. In opening the ground along the wall at this point, some human bones were found, and the skull in question at the south-east corner. Mr. Getty, who made the discovery, noticed that the skull showed that the individual had been partially deformed, perhaps wry-necked. This fact he imparted to O'Curry, who discovered in a life of the saint that his mother had, on the advice of a wise man, procrastinated his birth. Such an unnatural proceeding was supposed to cause in the offspring some such deformity as that which this skull presented,—so at least Irish legends averred. Therefore, argued O'Curry, this skull is, "to my mind," the skull of Molaise.

Into such a delicate question of physiology I need not go further. Suffice it that the skull was found within the precincts of one of those exceedingly ancient chapels erected for the reception and veneration of the early Christian, or more properly, perhaps, of the semi-pagan dead.

Mr. Grattan describes it as scarcely of average dimensions, its cubic capacity being only 86 inches, its length 7 inches, and its breadth 5·85 inches. Its cephalic index was 0·835. The writer thinks he detects indications of a remarkably active brain, and of a character more refined than vigorous, the bones of the cranium being thin, dense, of very close texture, and in places translucent. The sutures, including even the frontal one, are perfect, delicate, free from coarseness, and exhibit no vestiges of triquetral bones. Its measurements ally it closely with the Drumbo skull, which exhibits the same protuberant temporal zone, but counterpoised by a far superior frontal development. It appears to have belonged to an individual past the prime of life. Mr. Grattan then describes a "bony projection" which, he adds, "must have occasioned, during life, some lateral displacement of the head," such as Mr. Getty had observed.

The skull from Downpatrick was taken from a grave within the ancient portion of the present cathedral. The grave lay below the level of the foundation of the walls, under the floor. It was about 6 feet long, and 12 inches deep, and had been excavated entirely out of the original and undisturbed soil, upon which the foundation of the cathedral (attributed to St. Patrick) rested.



Its sides and ends were lined with coarse flag-stones, from two to three inches thick, placed on edge. It lay due E. and W. in the southern aisle, and within it were two blocks of chiselled red sandstone, one at either end, upon the western one of which the head rested. The whole had been covered over with flat stones similar to those with which the grave was lined. Much of the skeleton was in good preservation, and in Mr. Grattan's opinion it must certainly have been above nine hundred years old, at which time the Danes plundered the church, and might possibly have been two or three hundred years older.

The skull is similar in type to those from Drumbo and Devenish. It is very small, its capacity being only 77 cubic inches, its length 6·7 inches, and its breadth 5·6 inches. The cephalic index is exactly that of the Devenish skull, namely, 0·835 inches. The bones are of moderate thickness. The teeth are sound, the sutures well defined and perfect, showing that the age of the individual could scarcely have exceeded 35 or 40. The temporal regions are very prominent, the frontal one rather narrow, the occipital large and unsymmetrical.

The general coincidence of the measurements of the four skulls, namely, that of Donatus, and the three from Drumbo, Devenish, and Downpatrick respectively, is, concludes Mr. Grattan, quite remarkable. The correspondence is indeed so marked as to render it more than probable that they belong to one common type. But we may well ask to what people are we to assign this type? According to Barnard Davis, they are allophylian—"foreign ecclesiastics." According to Dr. Frazer and others, Donatus would, in common with the "chieftain" of the Donnybrook tumulus, be a Black Dane; and yet (1) Donatus bore a Celtic name, *Dunan*; and (2) the Black Danes of history did not arrive until the ninth century, and were then unconverted barbarians, whereas the men of Drumbo, Devenish, and Downpatrick may surely be placed with reason at a far earlier date, and were certainly Christians, if not ecclesiastics. According to Mr. Grattan, they are not to be identified with or derived from the other and far more ancient brachycephalic type found in the cists at Donaghmore, Dunamase, and Phoenix Park. Who, then, are they? We may perhaps see some reason to form a conjecture when we come to the more strictly ethnological portion of our subject.



We have said that the brachycephalic element in Irish crania did not prove enduring. Dr. Beddoe gives the following general description of what in his estimation constitutes the typical Irish skull. It "inclines," he says, "to be long, low, and narrow, but little more so than the English or Welsh skull. The average latitudinal (*i.e.* cephalic) index is about 0.75. The size and capacity are good. The point of maximum breadth is usually placed far back. In profile, the prominence of the upper occipital region and the flattening about the after part of the sagittal suture are the most notable points; in a vertical view, the flattening of the tempero-sphenoidal region, and the somewhat angular salience of the part abaft the ear, noticed by Daniel Wilson and Massy as belonging to their 'Celtic' type. The cheek-bones are prominent in the face, but the zygomata not much expanded."

"This form," he adds, "prevails extensively in most other parts of Ireland as well as in the West, and is identical with that exhibited by most of the few primeval skulls I have had the opportunity of examining. . . . Of forty-one skulls in the Barnard Davis collection, only two were brachycephalic, and of thirty-eight heads measured by us in Kerry, only one would have been brachycephalic in the skull. Yet, the average Irish skull is not very much narrower than the average skull of Great Britain. The Irish are more homogeneous, and extremes in the form of head are rare."

Among the islands and along the coast of the west-central district—in Galway and Mayo—there appear to be two types often easily distinguishable, often also blended. The islanders of North and South Inishkea, for example, differ from the mainlanders, as Professor Haddon and Dr. Browne have pointed out, in having fairer hair and complexions as well as in their different cast of features and their dress. "The men of the district around Portacloy are darker in hair, and seem to be of a different type, many of them being exceedingly fine, well-built fellows."

The mean cephalic index of living subjects in the district of the Mullet, Inishkea, and Portacloy (county of Mayo), brought down to the cranial standard, is 77.4. As a rule, the heads proved to be mesaticephalic—out of sixty-two measured by Dr. Brown, eleven only being dolichocephalic, and ten brachycephalic. The extreme in the former example was 72.3, and in the latter 86.2. Two other brachycephals reached 85.1 and 83.4.



Of the living inhabitants of Inishbofin and Inishbark, in Galway, the mean cephalic index (also reduced to the cranial standard) of forty subjects examined was 78.4. Here, again, mesaticephaly was the rule, but there were ten brachycephals and seven dolichocephals. The extreme brachycephal here, as in the Mayo group, reached 86, and the extreme dolichocephal 72.9. The hair of these people is dark brown, sometimes, but seldom black, although in many cases it is so dark as to be hardly distinguishable from black. The eyes are blue or grey, and where the hair is actually black, they are dark or light hazel.

Professor Haddon has described thirteen crania, also from Inishbofin. Five of these are males, with cephalic indices ranging from 75.3 to 77.1. They are, therefore, mesaticephalic, with an average of 76.3. "The eight female calvaria fall into two groups. Two of them, with cephalic indices of 77.4, are more distinctly mesaticephalic than any of the male ones. The remaining six are all dolichocephalic, ranging from 72.5 to 73.9, the average being 73.0."

Eleven crania of both sexes, found in the church at Tempull Colman, yielded an average cephalic index of 77.0.

From the same authorities I venture to borrow the following account of the general physical characteristics of the Aran islanders.

"The men are mostly of a slight but athletic build, and, though tall men are occasionally to be met with among them, they are, as a rule, considerably below the average Irish stature—their average height being 5 feet  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins., while that of 277 Irishmen is 5 feet  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. The span of the limbs is less than the stature in a quarter of the cases measured, a rather unusual feature in adult males. The hands are rather small, but the forearm is often unusually long. The head is well shapen, rather long and narrow, but, viewed from above, the sides are not parallel, there being a slight parietal bulging. The mean cephalic index, when reduced to the cranial standard, is 75.1, consequently the average head is, to a slight extent, mesaticephalic; although, as a matter of fact, the number measured is nearly evenly divided between mesaticephalic and dolichocephalic. The top of the head is well vaulted, so that the height above the ears is considerable.

The forehead is broad, upright, and very rarely receding; not very high in most cases. The superciliary ridges are not prominent. The face is long and oval, with well-marked features.



The eyes are rather small, and close together. They are marked at the outer corners by transverse wrinkles. The irises are in the great majority of cases blue or grey-blue.

The nose is sharp, narrow at the base, and slightly sinuous or aquiline in profile. The lower lip is, in many cases, large and full. The chin is well developed; the cheek-bones are not prominent; in a large proportion of cases the ears, though not large, stand well out from the head. In many men the length between the nose and the chin appears decidedly great; the complexion is clear and ruddy, seldom freckled; the hair is brown, in most cases of a light shade, and accompanied by a light and often reddish beard.

Of twenty-seven heads of Aran islanders which were measured, thirteen were dolichocephalic, eleven mesaticephalic, one hyperdolichocephalic (69.6), and two brachycephalic (83.1 and 80.3). Both the latter came from the middle island called Inishmaan, the inhabitants of which have been less exposed to influence from the mainland than those of the others.

"To what race or races," says Messrs. Haddon and Browne, in conclusion, "the Aranites belong we do not pretend to say, but it is pretty evident that they cannot be Firbolgs, if the latter are correctly described as 'small, dark-haired, and swarthy.'"

In the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy" for 1893 and 1894 some other measurements of Irish crania will be found, for which we are indebted also to the same gentlemen who have so carefully described the inhabitants of the western coasts.

Twelve skulls from Tipperary, in the Anatomical Museum at Dublin, show a mean cephalic index of 76.2, or, if the single brachycephalic one be excluded, 75.7. The highest index is 81.2; the lowest 72.5. Eight out of the twelve are mesaticephalic.

Three skulls from a pagan sepulchral mound at Old Connaught, near Bray, in the county of Dublin, showed cephalic indices of 74.2, 79.4, and 78.2 respectively.

It is a question which it is extremely difficult to answer how far the characteristic dolichocephaly of the typical Irish skull can be said to be attributable to the dolichocephali (No. I.) of the Neolithic Age. That in the extreme form which belonged to the primeval type it has for ages ceased to exist is certain. Dr. Beddoe's lowest index-measure in the Isle of Aran was 0.74, whereas that of the man of the Trillick tumulus was 0.70.



Nevertheless, that in Ireland, as in England also, it formed the basis far down out of sight in the strata of the past, upon which the broader but still dolichocephalic type has been built up, I think there can be no doubt.

On the general question of the survival of this race in England we may quote Professor Rolleston as follows: "We have in this country," he says, "dolichocephaly combined with low stature and dark complexion in a very considerable number of our population even in the midland counties. The fact of the existence of this stock, or, as we may, perhaps, say, of its survival and its reassertion of its own distinctive character in the districts of Derby, Stamford, Leicester, and Loughborough, was pointed out in the year 1848, by Professor Phillips, at a meeting of the British Association at Swansea." Dr. Beddoe found that five skulls from Micheldean, in the country of the Silures—the people about whom Tacitus, or rather Agricola, remarked that they were like the Iberians—gave an average index of 74.8. "It is a matter of familiar knowledge," says Mr. Elton, "that, in many parts of England and Wales, the people are short and swarthy, with black hair and eyes, and with heads of a long and narrow shape. This is to be found not only in ancient Siluria, comprising the modern counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock, Monmouth, Radnor, and Hereford, but in several districts in the eastern fen country, and in the south-western counties of Cornwall and Devon, with parts of Gloucestershire, Wilts, and Somerset. It is the knowledge of these facts, together with the skull measurements derived from the chambered tumuli, which induces so good an authority as Dr. Beddoe to come to the conclusion that at the period of the Roman conquest, the natives, encountered by the Romans (who were Belgic tribes from the Continent), "were superimposed on a foundation principally composed of the long-headed dark races of the Mediterranean [*i.e.* of the Long-Barrow] stock."

There is a type, said to be now rare in the Highlands, but not so in the Hebrides, which Dr. Beddoe is bold enough to regard as the survival of this same most primitive race. It is stated, he says, to be common in Spain, and Mr. Maclean cites the ideal Sancho Panza as an example of it. "The stature is short, the head large, the face shorter and squarer than the ordinary West Highland type, the features coarse, and the nose cocked." If we add to this that the hair is dark, and so coarse in its stiff curliness that the



process of combing is painful, that the eyes are in general grey, the eyebrows shaggy, the nose broad and indented as well as upturned, the nostrils widely splayed, the cheek-bones prominent, the forehead low, the jaw prognathous, the chin tapering, the complexion swarthy, the teeth bad, and the whole head having the appearance of broadness which, in proportion to its length, it does not really possess, we think we know the type in Ireland perfectly well. "The intelligence," continues Mr. Maclean, speaking of his Hebridian, "is low, and there is a great deal of cunning and suspicion." Obstinacy is characteristic of the type, in proof of which he tells us that the best examples of it would never submit their heads to him for measurement.

Cunning and obstinacy — the result in a great degree of oppression and superstition—there undoubtedly is in the Irish type we have in mind ; but the intelligence is by no means "low," if by low Mr. Maclean means "wanting." Cleverness, shrewdness, quickness, wit, are in Ireland its most prominent characteristics. Take Charles Lever's description of Billy Traynor : "A short, square-built, almost uncouth figure," his "features contributing a share" to "the grotesqueness of his dress." "It is, indeed, a strange physiognomy, to which *Celt and Calmuck* seem equally to contribute. The low, overhanging forehead, the intensely keen eye, sparkling with an almost imp-like drollery, are contrasted by a firmly compressed mouth, and a far-projecting under-jaw, that imply sternness even to cruelty ; a mass of waving black hair, that covers neck and shoulders, adds a species of savagery to a head which assuredly has no need of such aid." It is evident that in this type this keen observer of his countrymen recognizes the descendants of the primitive race in Erin, a people poor in the midst often of fertility, who when conquered never gave way, whose very conquerors, in point of keenness of intellect, felt themselves "*inferior*" to those they ruled over ; a subtle race, too, quicksighted and suspicious, distrustful of all save the skill of each individual in a moment of difficulty.† When subjected to the refining processes of education and culture, this type has given to Ireland some of her most shrewd, statesmanlike, eloquent, and witty sons, as witness such an example as John Philpot Curran.

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† "The Fortunes of Glencore," by Charles Lever, chap. xxiii. ; see also chaps. xiv. and xxix. The Italics *Celt and Calmuck* are mine.



I have measured several heads of the type in question, all, so far as I could ascertain, genuine natives in name and pedigree.

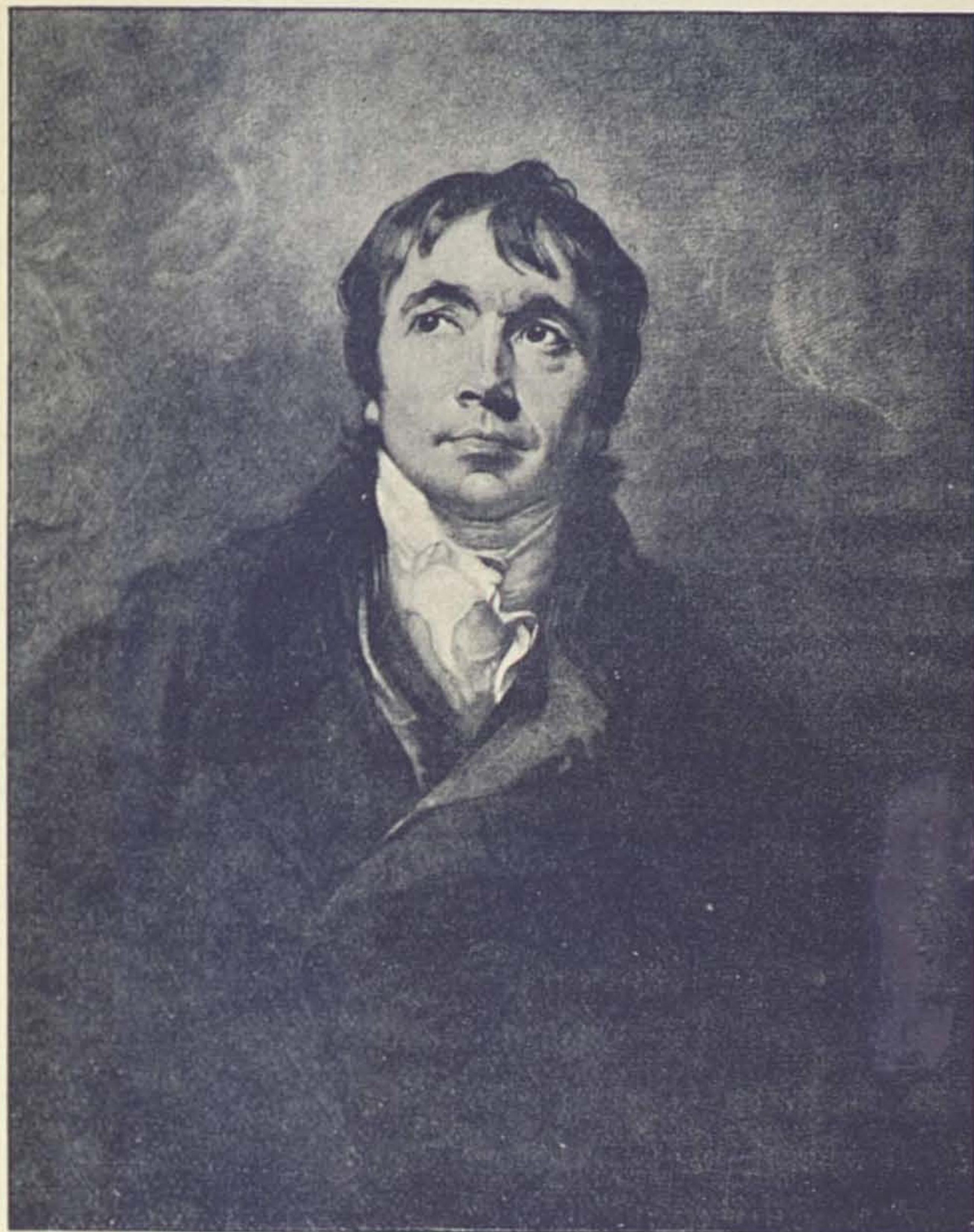


FIG. 770. The Right Hon. John Philpot Curran. *From a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence, engraved by John Raphael Smith, July, 1801.*

My average index shows me that the type possesses a somewhat broader skull than the average for all Ireland, namely, 0·76 or 0·77. Of the subjects which have come under my notice, I may remark that one characteristic of them is constitutional laziness, a habit which may be traced to a deep-rooted fatalism, which makes them trust all to chance. They often indulge in the pride of self-depreciation, and rather like than otherwise to be regarded as a down-trodden people; but this has no effect on their spirits, which are high and often boisterous. When once they know and trust you, their seeming "suspicion" is changed to ardent affection, and they would serve you to the death—one reason why they make such excellent soldiers, the main reason, however, being their innate love of fighting, a quality which they have displayed to advantage from the time—may we not say so?—when, as Silures, one of their tribes in Britain gave such trouble to the Roman armies, down to the days of the Irish Brigade.



As a rule, they are met with more frequently in the western and north-western portions of the island than in the east, and they belong to the rural districts rather than to towns. Munster, Connaught, and Donegal are the localities in which they chiefly abound, and, as if the fair races had pushed them west, without intermingling with them, their presence is accompanied in these districts, as also in the West of Scotland and the Cornish promontory, by the maximum of nigrescence recorded in the British Isles.† When they come to the towns of the west, it is usually in the capacity of servants.

They are Irish of the Irish—the survival, possibly, of the dolichocephalic man of the Knockmaraidhe tumulus, whose relation to the Long-Barrow aboriginal race of Britain is established—their head, however, broadened, and their physiognomy otherwise differentiated by a strongly marked brachycephalic strain, possibly derived from the brachycephali of the cists, as above described. Lever's recognition in them of a likeness to the Calmuck is not to be passed over as by any means fanciful. Before I had read the passage from his novel, the likeness had struck me over and over again. If we seek for such a physiognomy among the living descendants of the ancient Lapps on the one hand, or of the Celtæ of Cæsar in the Auvergne on the other, we find ourselves at fault. If, however, we penetrate the Scythian East, we come across a type so similar that original identity forces itself upon us almost as a conviction. The type of Attila, as contrasted with that of Odoacer, asserts itself, and the link indicated by the "Sarmatian hypothesis," as set forth by Pritchard, offers itself in explanation.‡

Dr. Beddoe fully recognizes the necessity of introducing even a Mongoloid type to account for characteristics which he met with in the West of England and in Wales. "The most notable indication," he says, "is the oblique, or Chinese, eye. I have notes of thirty-four persons with oblique eyes. Their heads include a wide range of relative breadth," and "in other points the type stands out distinctively. The cheek-bones are almost always broad; the brows oblique, in the same direction as the eyes; the chin, as a rule, narrow or angular; the nose often concave and flat," and "the mouth rather inclined to be prominent."

† See the map, based on the Military Schedules in Beddoe's "Races of Britain," opp. p. 192.

‡ See note, *infra*, p. 1174.



The same authority noticed that this type was common in Wales, West Somerset, and especially in Cornwall. In the latter county there may frequently be seen in the fishing villages, especially on the west side of Mount's Bay, examples of a small, black-haired, black-eyed, swarthy type. In many instances I have observed eyes decidedly oblique. In Ireland, too, and especially in Donegal, I have seen this characteristic so marked in the case of an individual, that I compared the face with ones I have seen in Japan, a country the ethnology of which presents an analogy with that of primitive Western Europe, and the British Isles in especial, since it exhibits the intermixture of a pure Mongolic type with that of the dolichocephali of the island of Yesso, whose skulls have, by more than one anthropologist of eminence, been compared with those of one or other of the primitive long-heads of Europe.

The introduction of these Mongolian elements into the British Isles Dr. Beddoe would carry back to the Neolithic Age, and would use them to account for the comparative breadth observable in the skulls found in the cave of Perth-y-Chwaren, in Wales, to which we have alluded, and in those found in Caithness by Mr. Laing. Possibly in the skulls in the Welsh caves we have those of the ancestors of the Silures, whose swarthy faces and stiff, curly locks caused Agricola to compare them with the equally dark Iberians, whom Strabo again compares with the inhabitants of Aquitania.

To return, however, to the type in Ireland. It can scarcely be doubted that MacFirbis had it present to his mind, when, "on the authority of old sayings of people learned in history," he assigned it to a race pointed out, like the Heruli on the Continent, for the obloquy and detestation of the fair, tall, conquering Gaedhels. "The dark, the loud-voiced, the contumelious, the talkative, the vociferous, the fierce, the unteachable, the slave, the *latro*, the churlish, and all who listen not to music or melody, the violators of covenants and laws, and the accusers of all, are the descendants of the Fir-Bolg, the Gailians, the Liogmuine, and the Fir-Domnan; but mostly of the Fir-Bolg, *ut dictum*." And yet, as we learn from the episode in the epic called the *Tain-bo-Chuailgne*, which relates to the fight between Cuchullain and Ferdiad—these same Fir-Bolg, and not either the Tuatha-Dé-Danann, or the Gaedhelic sons of Miledh, were the true "Men of Erin."



The contrast between the people of Erin (Fir nHerenn), indicated by this name Fir-Bolg (to whom even Professor Rhys and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, in the midst of their relegation of all things traditional to Aryan Mythology, permit us to assign some semblance of reality and a habitation in Erin), and the race by whom they were superseded, namely, the Scots, or Gaedhels—the Milesians, as they proudly call themselves, and whose heroes are exemplified in O'Donnells, O'Connells, etc., is perpetuated and recognized even at the present day. As an instance in point, I take the following passage from Mrs. O'Connell's "Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade," † in which the respective types are unmistakably present: "His Kitty, Miss Catherine O'Mullane, of Whitechurch, County Cork, was a charming, bright little woman, clever, capable, and lady-like. She was not a bit pretty, and the sin is laid to her charge that she introduced cocked noses, bad teeth, bad hair, and common sense into the family."

The contrast between the type of this lady and that of the "Milesian" O'Connells will be seen on referring to the pictures in this same work of "Hunting-Cap" and Count O'Connell. These show long, oval faces and long, straight features. Three brothers are described as tall, powerful, blue-eyed, dark-haired men. Their height, their physique, and the colour of their eyes, we may take it, they inherited from the Caledonian Germanic type of Tacitus, my Scando-Germanic type, as well as the preponderance of the dolichocephalic element which will be found in the skull-measurements of their class. The colour of their hair, and the proportional breadth of the head, modifying the dolichocephaly, and which is specially observed in the broadness of the forehead, combined with a certain lowness and flatness of the top of the head, often seen in the counties of Cork and Kerry, they owe to racial intermixture with a primitive dark-haired brachycephalic type, in so far as the latter manifested the soft, fine, black straight hair which, in common with the majority of the brachycephalic races, we believe it originally possessed, uncontaminated by mixture with the coarse, dark curly hair which may reasonably be referred to the primitive dolichocephali, whose affinities were, as we have seen, most probably to be found in Africa and the South.

I have spoken of nigrescence as a prevailing characteristic of the

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† Vol. i. p. 158.



inhabitants of those districts in Ireland in which the type I have been describing is most prevalent. Speaking of the Connemara people, Dr. Beddoe found them "generally short, and departing in some respects from the common type, having less angularity of cheek-bones and chin, and less prominence of mouth. The forehead looks broad and low, and the greatest breadth of the face is at the level of the eyes. Light eyes predominate, as usual; the combination of dark-grey eyes with black hair is very common; and dark hair and complexion attain their maximum. In Connemara there are clans considered as of servile origin—the Kinealys, for example. One of these, pointed out to me as a specimen, was short, with a broad round face, shortish head, and oblique eyebrows—altogether a Turanian aspect."

It was, however, in the mountains between Sligo and Roscommon that Dr. Beddoe met with the "swarthiest people he had ever seen." "Seven out of thirty-three had quite black hair, and many had dark eyes. A few had handsome features—rather short heads, spade faces, and aquiline noses, and reminded me (Dr. Beddoe) more of South Wales—the country of the Silures—than anywhere in Ireland."

It will be noticed that this acute observer does not refer these *very* black-haired and, I think, straight-haired people to his Africanoid type, but describes their heads as short, and evidently inclines to his Mongoloïde hypothesis regarding them. These are clearly the same people noticed by O'Donovan in his letters to the Ordnance Department. He regarded them as the representatives of the Fir-Bolg of the old traditional stories—the Bolg-Tuath-Baghna, that is, the Bolg Tribes of Sliabh Baan, whom Mac Firbis in his account of the Fir-Bolg had located there, in a mountainous district of Roscommon, south of Strokes-town. Of these people O'Donovan speaks as being "black as a raven's wing," and again he remarks, "Never did I see such *profusion* of black hair as in Slieve Baan," for which name he proposes a derivation not from *ban*, "white," but from "'Baghna,' probably the name of some Fir-Bolg chief." He notices, too, that "it is curious to remark that Mac Firbis quotes from a very ancient poem which describes the Fir-Bolg as 'black-haired.'"

It will not perhaps be out of place here to add a few notes regarding the antiquities and legends of this district. Keogh,



who wrote in 1683, says that at Strokestown "was not long ago to be seen a round fort of stone, the wall whereof was 10 feet in thickness." This was evidently one of those *cathairs*, such as are found in the West of Ireland, from Kerry to Derry, in the country of the great nigrescence, be it observed, the best examples of which, those, namely, in the islands of Aran in Galway Bay, are assigned by the same traditional authorities to the Fir-Bolg. They have their affinities in Scotland, Wales, and in Cornwall, where evidences of nigrescence also are present.

This, too, is the district over which the Christians selected their Saint Barry to preside—the same to whom they gave the charge of the island of Barra in the Hebrides—the simple reason being that the name Barry approached in sound that of the native pagan deity whose cultus they sought to supplant by a process of assimilation, where force could not avail.

In the Irish district of which we are speaking, the name of Barry appears in Kilbarry, where stood the *kil*, Latinized *cella*, which was the centre of his worship. From the wild legend about him we can detect his non-Christian origin, and his name scarcely veils his identity with the deity who, as King of the Fairies, still presides over this land of the dark race. The oral legend tells us that "when he was engaged in blessing this country, and the *Hanlys*, there was a huge serpent—an Ollphiast, or Large Worm—which used to infest Slieve Baan. Barry chased this monster from Kilbarry to the brink of Loch Lagan, where it jumped into the water from him, but he made a thrust of his *bachall* at it, and with the vehemence of the thrust he fell back on one knee, at the brink of the lough. He pierced the worm through, and the blood gushed from the hole made by the top of the *bachall* in such copious streams that the whole lake was coloured red, and from the spot touched by his (Barry's) left knee, where he fell, a clear spring well issued, which he blessed." For Barry, or Barra, read Varra, and the reason the Christians adopted St. Barry for this district is clear. A whole chapter might be written on the legends extant about Finvarra—all belonging to these very districts. The pagan hero, or heroine—it is doubtful which—who probably had his *seat* on Slieve Baan—was none other than the White Varra, and the coincidence which discovers him in the Hebrides is rendered unusually singular by the quasi-historical stories which locate the Fir-Bolg in these islands after



they had been driven from Ireland, and also by the fact that there exists there at the present day—as also in the neighbouring Highland districts, a race noted for “the shortness of its stature and the blackness of its hair.” Mr. Campbell speaks thus of an example he met with: “Behind the fire sat a girl, with one of those strange, foreign faces which are occasionally to be seen in the Western Isles, a face which reminded me of the Nineveh sculptures, and of faces seen in St. Sebastian. Her hair was as black as night, and her clear, dark eyes glittered through the peat smoke. Her complexion was dark, and her features so unlike those who sat about her that I asked if she were a native of the island, and learned that she was a Highland girl,”—that is, from the coast immediately opposite.

I have myself seen faces in the Gweedore district of Donegal, and especially among the inhabitants of the islands of that coast, which so closely correspond to this description that I might use the same words in describing them. I think, however, that we may distinguish, both in North-Western Ireland and in the Hebrides, the types in survival of two dark races. The one is the type described by Mr. Maclean in his account of the Highlanders as the “brachycephalous Celt.” It is frequent in the eastern and northern parts of the Highlands. “The head is broad (comparatively), the profile straight, the cheek-bones broad and large, the nose generally sinuous, the face tapering rapidly to the chin, which is often prominent and angular, the skin dark, the eyes deep set, often small, dark grey, or dark brown, the hair reddish-brown, red, or raven black, the lips seldom prominent, the hand square, large jointed, the chest square and broad, the calf large, and the foot well formed, the gait easy and shuffling.” “These people,” he adds, “have strong attachments and feelings, but much forethought and self-control; they are (by turns) gloomy, fervent, and humorous.” Dr. Beddoe remarks that he has seen many examples of this type, but that he does not think it anywhere very numerous. He adds that he would assign it to a Finnish origin. The other type appears to me to be one which possesses a longer head, has a dark complexion, eyes occasionally of that peculiar dark reddish-brown which we are accustomed to associate with pictures of Moors; hair the black of which is rather a very deep brown-black than one that could be compared to that of the raven’s



wing, coarse in texture and inclined to curl instead of being straight as in the other type ; the jaw prognathous.

In the wilds of Donegal I have seen both these types. The first is rare in that district, but it is, I think, that of the Sliabh Baan people, and is Mongoloid, if not Finnish—to be distinguished, however, from a lighter Finnish type—that of the Finns near Obo, of which I will presently speak. The second is comparatively common, and to borrow a type-name from Dr. Beddoe, I should call it Africanoid. Some of those who belonged to it were, however, so well knit, large framed, tall, strong, lusty, and prognathous, that while I should hesitate very much before adopting it as the representative of so poor a creature physically as the Long-Barrow man of Britain, I would make bold to ascend further in the genealogy of the type, and compare it with the powerful, tall, prognathous man of Cro-Magnon.

I feel it necessary, before passing from the dark types in Irish ethnology, to advert to one which Captain Thomas has called "The Spanish Celt." Its characteristics are black hair, straight, and of good texture, and good features. In some of its leading points, "such as the formation of the brows, and of the lower jaw," it is "extremely prevalent," says Dr. Beddoe, "throughout Ireland, and wherever the Gaelic tongue is known to have existed." Not being aware that it was a Highland type, and that in Ireland its distribution was so general, and having met with it in the Claddagh, or old fishermen's quarter in the town of Galway, I had believed it to be in reality a Spanish type dating from the commercial connection which existed in the late Middle Ages between Spain and Galway. The type was also well known to me in the fishing-villages of Mounts Bay in Cornwall, where it exists side by side with another dark type of which I have spoken, and which, in contrast with it, is as coarse and ugly as it is delicate and handsome. It is there accounted for by the wreck of a Spanish ship in ages gone by, and the intermarriages of the sailors with the fisher-people—a story evidently put together to account for the observed resemblance. Indeed, both here and at the Claddagh, the Spanish theory, in any modern sense, at least, must be abandoned in face of the prevalence of the type throughout the north and north-west of Ireland, Scotland, and the Isles.

The fishing population of the Claddagh are mentioned in the



"Life of St. Endeus," whose legend relegates him to the fifth century, but which was not compiled from the "ancient authorities" until the end of the fourteenth. The place was then called Med-raighe, a name retained in that of Mááree. The author of a paper on the inhabitants in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* sees no reason to suppose that "this singular colony has undergone any change in language or manners since the days of the saint." The physique of the people is, he says, exactly the same as that of the peasantry in Connemara and Clare. Their present names are nearly all Irish, but there are so many of the same name that they have a custom of nicknaming each other after fishes, as for example: Jack the *hake*, Bill the *cod*, Joe the *eel*, Pat the *trout*, Mat the *turbot*, etc.; or Jack the *trout*, Jack the *salmon*, Jack the *whale*, Jack the *sprat*, etc. Speaking of the peasantry of the country round, this writer says, "The men in this part of Connaught are among the finest in Ireland. Many are strikingly handsome. The girls, and children especially, have a sweet expression of countenance." The peasantry in general are dark-haired, tall, muscular men, with aquiline nose, and in general a slight protrusion of the mouth. The Claddagh men themselves are lounging and phlegmatic; not pugnacious like their neighbours, but, when one is injured, will combine to beat the offending "stranger." They are highly superstitious, but a crow flying over a boat and croaking is an omen not of bad luck as in most places, but of good. There are clearly two types, both here and in the Aran Isles, the one the dark and handsome type to which we are alluding; the other remarkably plain and ill-looking, with long head, nose of great vertical length, prominent cheek-bones, and overhanging brows, forehead square, lower jaw very prominent, mouth wide and straight, eyes in general grey, and hair brown or black. There are also the evident intermixtures between this latter type which is most common in Aran and the dark handsome Claddagh type.

The aspect of the Aran individuals just described is sullen and evil, but one is often agreeably surprised to find that their looks belie them, especially where, being islanders, they have not been contaminated by either the "mountain men" of the mainland, or the loafers in towns. To one of their race probably belongs the dolichocephalic skull found by Dr. Beddoe in Aran with a cephalic index of 0.74. To the Aran crania described



by Professor Haddon and Dr. Browne we have previously alluded. If I might venture to assign a place for this type among those we have been considering, I should say it would be an intermediate one between the primitive Africanoid type and a Finnish one to which I will next advert.

West of Lough Swilly, in the eastern portions of the county of Donegal, is to be found a type so remarkably like a well-known Finnish one that I feel no hesitation in calling it so, although I differentiate it from the dark type which Dr. Beddoe considers to be Finnish also, mentioned above, and which may be taken to represent the other or dark Finnish type.

If we turn to the *Finska Kranier* of Gustaf Retzius we shall find there a series of excellent portraits of the Tavastland Finns, of those, that is to say, who live near Åbo. The likeness between some of these people and some of those in North Donegal is, I do not hesitate to say, unmistakable.

The following description of the Finnish type, taken from Retzius,<sup>†</sup> applies equally to the Irish one: "They are strong, thick-set, broad-shouldered, and plump, of middle height in general, their skin white; their heads generally large, short in proportion, and broad (their cephalic index 76 or 77), often squarish, with the parietal bosses well developed; their face large and long, but broad across the jaws; the lower jaw strongly developed, with large posterior angles well marked, and a considerable breadth between the angles; the nose small, wide, and obtuse, very frequently with the point cocked; the nostrils very wide; the mouth also very broad; the eyes small and narrow, sometimes slightly oblique; the iris light, grey, blue, or more frequently between bluish-grey and grey; the eyebrows, which are faintly marked, light; the hair light, often the colour of flax, also ashy grey, straight, never curled, and very soft; the beard of feeble growth as a rule; the countenance morose and unsympathetic; the character serious, melancholy, thoughtful, and taciturn, jealous and vindictive, husbanding revenge; honest; neither fond of music nor poetry; given in general to fatalism."

It would not be possible for me to improve on this account in describing the Donegal type of which I have spoken. Read "urbane" for "morose," and there stands before us the well-known

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<sup>†</sup> "Finska Kranier," by Gustaf Retzius, Stockholm, 1878; see also "Congrès Internat. d'Anth. et d'Archéol. préhist." (1874), pp. 757, 767-769.



Father Mac Fadden, of Gweedore, whose ancestral abode was immediately west of Lough Swilly. I asked a very aged man named Boyle, living at Bunbeg on the Gweedore coast, who were traditionally the most ancient inhabitants of the rugged country in



FIG. 771. —A Tavastland Finn. *From G. Retzius.*

which he lived. Without hesitation he said, "The Fomorians," † a statement which he derived rather, I think, from the old written authorities than from oral tradition. Who the Fomorians really were I hope in the sequel to show. A foolish story, the invention of Christians, brought them from Africa, the reason being probably that since they were staunch pagans they were looked on as barbarians, and children of Ham, who was domiciled in Africa. Being non-Germanic, they would come under the appellation of *iötuns*, or giants—that is to say, allophylans or outer-barbarians, whence legends ascribe to them monstrous forms. Fomor in Scotland actually came to be the generic term for a giant, although it was originally the name of a people inhabiting a particular

† A characteristic of the Fomorians was obstinacy. To act "with Fomorian obstinacy" was a proverb. I know no trait more characteristic of the Gweedore people than this.



country, just as the Assassins of Arabia gave name to murderers of a particular class. O'Flaherty, with more reason, allocates them, on the strength of a tradition, to one particular district which he names Finland. He finds, he says, that one Scal Balb, father-in-law of King Tuathal, was called "rex Fomoiri i. Finnland."† Tradition, however, points to this type in Donegal as aboriginal, having neither arrived with emigrants from Scotland nor with criminal refugees from Mayo, of which two ingredients the population is sometimes said to consist.

As I believe that a very extensive portion of the population of Ireland is a survival from the admixture of the Finnish types with the primitive native dolichocephali, I may here mention that O'Donovan, in his "letters," more than once refers to the "long-headed" people in the mountains of Donegal. In describing the romantic *Gleann Finne*, "in the very heart," as he says, "of the pure Irish country," he writes: "We found ourselves surrounded by a crowd of the old and long-headed natives, the remnants of the men of Moy Itha or Iha, who were driven to the mountains by the dominant party of James the First." I observe that he uses these same words, when describing the natives of the district near Mohill in Leitrim—of whom he says that they were "long-headed men, nearly all called Moran." The name of the river Finn, to which, since it is about the darkest stream in Ireland, both in respect of the shadowy gorges through which it flows and the peat which discolours it, the Celtic term *fionn*, white, or bright could never have been applied, tempts us to go a step further and connect it with the Finnish name Dwina, otherwise called Vina, which flows into the Cwen Sea, and also with that of the Dūna,‡ which is etymologically identical, in the land of the Esthonian Finns in the gulf of Riga. The signification of this word is "swift."

Unfortunately O'Donovan's descriptions of the character and physical traits of the inhabitants he met with in his travels are very few and far between. From Dunglow in Donegal, however, he writes: "The ancient Irish families here may yet be distinguished by their forms and features. The O'Donnells are corpulent and heavy, with manly face and aquiline nose; the O'Boyles are ruddy and stout, pictures of health when well fed; the Mac Devils are tall and slender, with *reagh* visages. The O'Doghertys are stout and chieftain-like, stiff, stubborn, unbending,

† "Ogygia," p. 303.

‡ See Bielenstein, *op. cit. supr.*



much degenerated in their present state, but have all good faces ; the Mac-Swynes are spirited and tall, but of pale or *reagh* colour. Among them all the O'Boyles and O'Doghertys are by far the finest human animals."

At Dunglow I found a curious tradition, according to which the population was divided into two ethnic groups. It was pointed out to me that a soft, light-haired type existed by the side of a dark one. The features of the former were more delicate and the physique less stalwart than was the case with the Finnish type I have described. The hair was generally lightish-brown, fine, and straight. The top of the head was flatter and broader than in the dark types. The height was rather below the medium than otherwise, the eyes were hazel or blue, and the countenance was mild and amiable. The examples pointed out to me were, however, females, and I am, therefore, by no means sure that I am not describing a female variation of the lighter Finnish type,—a type, by the way, which is singularly like that of the yellow-haired variety of the Esthonians.† At all events, such is the type pointed out in Donegal tradition as that of the "gentle people," who in modern times represent the "good people," or fairies, and in the old legends are the Tuatha Dé Danann, that is, if I translate it aright, "The Tribes of Gods of Dana (or Danu), that is, whom Dana or Danu worshipped. The dark type, which was pointed out to me as the very opposite of this, were represented by all the tall, dark, lithe-limbed, swarthy section of the community, proverbial, I was told, for their quick temper and irascibility, men ready to draw the knife on occasion, and who were constantly figuring in the police-sheets for assault and battery, in contrast to their well-behaving and peaceable neighbours of the light hair. These dark people were called Francas—a curious fact, considering that we usually associate the Franks with light, flaxen hair.

For myself—ignoring for a moment the colour of the hair—I am inclined to associate these black Francas of the Donegal oral tradition with the tall, dark, handsome men of the Galway coast, whose presence we have noticed in Aran, Connemara, and Galway, and which extend, I think, into Tipperary, where the impetuous nature of just such a type has long been matter of history.

There certainly was a period in history during which Ireland

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† See Kruse's *Necrolivonica*.



was brought into direct contact with those known to history as Franks, that is, Francas.

Carausius, Charausio, or Corausius, the piratical tyrant of Britain, was himself a Menapian, or, as we might say, a Batavian Frank.† Those serving under him as mercenaries might easily, therefore, have gained the designation of Franks, although the southern parts of Germany as well as the north, ay, and the western coasts of Europe, not excluding even Spain, might have provided material for his levies and manned the fleet he captured at Boulogne. There might well, then, have been dark Franks in this sense among his miscellaneous followers as well as light. Franca, like Gall, would come to be used in the sense of "foreigner," having lost its ethnic value, just as there were black Galls and white. Now, at the close of the third century, Carausius settled large bodies of Frankish mercenaries in Britain, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he did so in Ireland too.

In the "Annals of the Four Masters," under the year A.D. 195 (or, according to the attempt at chronology made by O'Flaherty‡ in his "Ogygia," in A.D. 250—that is, some forty years before the revolt of Carausius), we are made acquainted with a personage who singularly resembles him. This was one Lughaidh Maccon, who slew Art, son of Con, in battle at Magh-Mucruimhe. He is represented as an exile of the race of Ith, who, returning from abroad, landed, according to Tighernach, on a Thursday in Galway Bay. His forces consisted of bands of foreign auxiliaries, whom we learn from other sources consisted of Frankish and Saxon adventurers. Seven days after his arrival his mercenaries won for him the battle we have mentioned—an *ingens clades*, as O'Flaherty terms it, near Athenry, eight miles from Galway. I cannot say that I think that there is sufficient evidence to associate the traditional Maccon with Carausius, but it is certainly singular that in the third century two tyrant sea-rovers should be landing Frankish mercenaries on the coasts of the British Isles. In addition to this, the Irish traditions of Maccon and the Roman traditions of Carausius are identical in two respects—namely, as to their tyrannical usurpation and the vileness of their birth. Of Carausius § Eutropius says that he was *vilissimè natus*, and Orosius that he was *genere infimus*. Now, the tyranny and

† "Aurelius Victor," Cæs. Epit. xxxix. 3. See also note in Valpy's Delph., edit. vol. i. p. 427.

‡ "Ogygia," p. 148.

§ "History of Carausius, an examination of what has been advanced by Genebrier and Stukeley," Anon., London (1762), 4to, p. 4.



meanness of Maccon form the staple of tales written down from the Middle Ages in Ireland until the last century, and still repeated, as I heard them myself, orally, in the very part of Donegal where the name Franca is perpetuated. As to the vileness of his birth, that portion of the old tradition is not fit for repetition. Suffice it to say that the legend makes him, although half-brother of Cormac, literally the son of a dog (*mac-con*), as a proof of which it was said that every night before going to sleep he used to turn himself round in a circle in the way that dogs do. That Carausius is sometimes spoken of as an *exul Romanus* (not inappropriately, considering that an order had gone forth for him to be put to death) coincides also with the fact that prior to his attack on Galway Bay, Lughaidh Maccon is also described as an exile.

Let these resemblances be worth what they may, the tradition of Franks having landed in this district seems undoubtedly based on a genuine historical occurrence. There is another very small point which, if it be worth anything, is corroborative of the connection of Francas with Galway Bay. There is a tradition that on the Isles of Aran no *rat* could ever land. By *rat* I am convinced that some race of pirates or plunderers is intended, who, after making descents on the coast of Ireland, and ravaging them, attempted to make fixed settlements in the country. We hear of them also in Leinster, from which province Ibor, who is also connected with the Aran Isles, and represented as a Christian bishop before Patrick, is said to have driven them out. Now, *rat* in Irish is *lucha Franca*—Frankish mouse—a designation which that animal also bears in Wales. In Aran, which in Maccon's time was perhaps held by a division of a native tribe on the mainland called Eoganacht, there were exceedingly strong fortresses which may have been held successfully against the Frankish marauders, who, as time went on, and true history passed into allegory, might well have been called Frankish rats, both because the habits of the animal were piratical, and the country whence it was supposed to have come was the land of the Franca.†

With regard to the Franca people in Donegal—tall, dark, impetuous, and easily provoked—it is curious to observe how great an influence can be gained over them by the more prudent and calculating men of what we have termed the lighter Finnish type.

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† I have elsewhere compared the name of the Irish mythical ancestor, Hugaine Mór, with that of Hugon, the eponymous of the Hugones or Franks.



From the old Irish districts of the extreme north-west, I now turn to the extreme south-west, where the proportion of nigrescence is equally great, and where genuine old native types may also be expected. The following description by Dr. Beddoe of the people near Ventry and Cahirciveen, in the far west of Kerry, will serve to show how great is the variety which may be expected even in a district where extraneous influences in historic times would have been least felt. It goes to show how impossible it is to reduce the ethnic question in Ireland into its simple elements, and that from the most remote period to which we can ascend, not one or two, but many and diverse ethnic types had been already brought together to form that one distinct picture of a man, so easy to describe, yet so complicated in his composition, and so hard to account for, the typical Irishman. "The men," says Dr. Beddoe, "are of good stature, and many of them approach six feet; they have square, but not very broad, shoulders. Their heads are long; they project about the occiput, but are not large in the cerebellar region." In respect of head-breadth, the near resemblance of the Munstermen in general to the average Highlander is to be observed. "The nasal notch is deep; the brows are prominent and square; but the frontal sinuses apparently not large, the glabella being inconspicuous. The forehead is flat, of good breadth, apparently; it recedes somewhat, and the hair, which is profuse and wavy, but seldom strongly curled, grows low upon it. The upper part of the head presents a regular, gentle curve. The nose is generally long and sinuous, except in those who are notably prognathous, in whom it is generally of moderate length and somewhat concave; in either case it is pointed, and has the true Gaelic nostril, which is long and narrow, and often conspicuously visible. Quite a due proportion, perhaps more, of the fairer people belong to the prognathous class. This is a little strange, as in the West of England prognathousness goes with dark hair. The eyes are light grey, bluish-grey, ash-grey, dark sea-grey (*bleu de mer foncé* of De Belloguet), often with a dark rim round the iris, or brown; hazel is rare, and so is clear China blue; they are narrow in men, and wrinkles appear about them early. The common colour of the hair is a dark brown, approaching black; but coal black is very frequent. Red and a sort of sandy flaxen hue also occur pretty often; medium brown is (comparatively) rather uncommon." On the relation of hair-colour



to head-breadth, Dr. Beddoe observes in another place that it surprised him to find that "eight black-haired Kerry men had heads broader by a half per cent. than twenty-four others" with hair of other hue. "The cheek-bones and zygomata are rather broad, the mouth coarse, often open, the lips thick, the teeth good, the chin rather narrow, with little depressions between it and the lip. The lower jaw is narrow, and ascends steeply from near the chin to the ear, and there is often but a slight fold between this and the stemomastoid muscle." Intermixed with this type, which is evidently closely related to the one which dominates in the West Highlands of Scotland, occurs in smaller proportion the Sancho Panza type of Mr. Maclean, which we have noted above.

From the dark-haired peoples, short or tall, long-headed or broad-headed, we pass at length to the "*long-headed xanthochroi*," as Professor Huxley termed them, who peopled Northern, or Baltic, Europe—our Scando-Germanic type—to whom the Caledonians were akin. Mr. Hector Maclean thus describes the long-headed Highlander: "He is of various sizes, but often tall; he is of various complexion, the colour of the skin ranging from a ruddy white to a swarthy hue; the shape of the body often graceful; the head high and long, and the profile more or less convex; the lips usually full, often thick, and more or less projecting; the chin and lower jaw obliquely placed, and the contour of the lower jaw, taken from its junction with the neck, but slightly curved, often appearing to the eye as if it were a straight line; the chin seldom round, and generally somewhat trapezoidal; the forehead, viewed in profile, generally increasing in prominence from the coronal region towards the eyebrows; the face, from the external orbital angles to the point of the chin, long—a characteristic," adds the writer, "of which the old Gael, Feinn, or Scots, seem to have felt rather proud, as see the 'Lay of Diarmaid,' in Campbell's 'West Highland Tales'; the nose is frequently large and prominent; the eyebrows prominent, long, slightly arched, sometimes closely approaching a straight line; the cheek-bones large and prominent; the eyes mostly grey or bluish-grey, sometimes dark grey and dark brown; the hair reddish-yellow, yellowish-red, but more frequently of various shades of brown, of which yellow (or rather 'red, or reddish yellow,' adds Dr. Beddoe) is the ground-colour; sometimes, when it appears altogether black, a yellow tinge is discovered when



it is closely examined. When mixed with other types, the hair is coal-black, but hardly ever so when pure. The leg and foot are usually well developed, though long in proportion; instep high; ankle well shapen and of moderate size; step very elastic, and rather springing, the heel being well raised and the knee well bent. They are quick in temper and very emotional, seldom speaking without being influenced by one feeling or another; more quick than accurate in observation; clear thinkers, but wanting in deliberation. They have a fertile and vivid imagination; love the absolute in thought and principle; dislike expediency and doubt; sympathetic with the weak; patriotic; chivalrous; disposed to a sentimental melancholy, but hopeful and sanguine; very witty and eloquent; lovers of the animal kingdom; sometimes excel in zoological science."

Dr. Beddoe remarks of the Scottish Highlanders: "The longer I have known them the more diversity I have seen. Nevertheless, there is a certain central type round which the subordinate ones cluster." As far as their head-breadth is concerned, the indices show great homogeneity. "The ratios vary only between 69 and 82 as extremes, and culminate very distinctly at 76. The average is 76.27, so that in the skull it will hardly exceed 74. In forty West Highlandmen he found it to be only 75.87. In sixteen from the eastern districts it rose to 76.9. The head and face are long and rather narrow; the skull-base rather narrow; the brows and occiput prominent; the eyes generally light; of the 55 examples whose heads were measured, they were blue or bluish-grey in 30, grey in 19, light brown or dark brown in 8, of which only one was true hazel. The hair in 48 examples was thus divided: 5 red, 4 fair, 3 lightish brown, 11 brown, 17 dark brown, 5 brown-black, 3 coal-black. These proportions are very nearly those which prevail throughout the Highlands."

When considering the question of type-survival in the Highlands, we can never forget that Tacitus, recording the observations of Agricola, gives, in one brief but graphic sentence, a glimpse of them as they appeared in his time: "The red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians point clearly to a German origin." For myself I am inclined to set a high value on this as on other ethnological observations emanating from a highly cultivated Roman commander, the expression of whose thoughts on these subjects was the result of personal experience



among the various peoples of whom he speaks. I believe that in the instance here before us we have no mere chance resemblance, but the clue to an ethnological fact of the first importance, namely, that in sub-historic times the relations of Scotland and Ireland with the Continent point to Germany and the Baltic coasts, just as



FIG. 772.—Irish, armed with skeans. *From the Harleian MSS.*

those of South Britain, in and previous to the first century of our era, point to Belgic Gaul. In the former case it was dolichocephaly that was represented, pure and simple, of the Scando-Germanic type; in the latter it was dolichocephaly in modified form, the result of admixture between Germans who had crossed the Rhine into Belgium, with the brachycephali who were more anciently settled in that country. With regard to the colour of the hair, it was, to use once more Professor Huxley's terms, the *long-headed xanthochroi*, who inhabited Scotland and the best portions of Northern and Eastern Ireland, and it was the *short-headed xanthochroi* who peopled South Britain from Belgium, and gave them the type of Queen Bondicca.

In Ireland I think we have two types of *xanthochroi*, which I know not how to differentiate, except as the Plebeian and the Aristocratic. In the case of the former, their countenances betray, I think, a Finnish intermixture such as we have noticed in Aran. This is probably the type of which Giraldus Cambrensis speaks



as being typical and essentially Irish. It is the type of the two wild Irish from Connaught, naked but for girdles of raw hide, whom he describes as being picked up at sea in their corach, and whose hair he describes as follows: "Habebant etiam, *Hibernico more*, comas perlongas et flavas trans humeros deorsum corpus ex magnâ parte tegentes." It is the type also of the wild Irishman on the right of the picture which forms the frontispiece to this work,† of the warriors with skeans in the accompanying figure,‡ which I reproduce from the Harleian MSS., and of the lady riding *hibernico more* astraddle, and the two men in a corach which I take from a MS. of Giraldus Cambrensis in the British Museum.§

The second, or aristocratic type, is that of the so-called Gaedhelic clans, tall, handsome, powerfully made, with long faces, straight noses, reddish or yellowish hair, proud of their clanship and descent, and of whose kinship, almost pure, with the Germans as seen by Cæsar, and described by so many others, I make not the slightest doubt. As an example of this I give the accompanying portrait of Owen Roe O'Neil, and refer to the figure on the left in the frontispiece.

For the purpose of carrying our ethnological problem across the channel from North Britain into Ireland, it is of the utmost importance to note that it is impossible to separate the Caledonians from the Picts. The Panegyrist of Constantius speaks, for example, of the "Caledonians and *other Picts*." The Cruithne of Ireland were Picts, and of them I shall have much more to say. Meanwhile we will remark the great stature and bulk of the ancient Irish,|| and compare it with examples from Gaul and Britain. To begin with exaggeration before passing to observed fact, we find that according to his legend, Patrick resuscitated a giant, Glas son of Cas, who was 120 feet high! A monarch of Ireland in the sixth century, Muirchertach More Mac Erca, was 15 feet high! The head of another, Eochy Mac Luchta, was as big as a large cauldron; the largest goose might easily pass through the two holes of his eyes in his skull, and

† Corte Beschryvinghe van England, Scotlande ende Irlond, MS. 16th cent., Lib. Brit. Mus. (p. 34).

‡ Fig. 772; from O'Donovan in U.J.A.

§ Topog. Hibern. MS., 13th cent., Lib. Brit. Mus.

|| For much of the following I am indebted to O'Donovan's most interesting paper on the "Physical Characteristics of the Ancient Irish," U.J.A., vol. vi. pp. 191-202.



through a hole in the spinal marrow! Size, then, was traditionally associated with chieftainship and power in the minds of those who recited and listened to the romances.



FIG. 773.—Owen Roe O'Neil.†

To have done with fable, Jerome, in his "*Demonstratio quod Christus sit Deus*," describes two Scottish ecclesiastics, Celestius and Albinus, who were in Rome about the year 387, in terms

† See U.J.A., vol. iv. pp. 25 and 39. The original is painted on wood by Van Bruggens. The colour of the hair is light with a tinge of red.



which, however disgusting as applied to adversaries, plainly indicate their stature and bulk. Of Celestius he says that he was "*Scotorum pultibus prægravatus*," that is, "bloated with Scotch porridge;" and of Albinus that he was "*canem grandis et corpulentus, et qui calcibus ('kicks') magis possit sævire quam dentibus; habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis de Britannorum viciniâ*." Jerome, as we have seen, had no love for the Scoti, of whom he tells us Pelagius was one. O'Donovan, however, who can brook no slight on the Irish name, and no blemish to the Scotie honour, dismisses the culminator by the remark that his statements in regard to these matters are "good enough for an old gentleman who was flogged, as he says, by an angel for reading Cicero!"

More interesting are the statements respecting the gigantic structure of the Irish at the time of the English invasion, before admixture with Norman blood. Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited Ireland at the close of the twelfth century, states that while animals in the island were smaller than he had seen elsewhere, man alone retained his majesty of stature, "*solis hominibus suam retinentibus majestatem*." †

Again, he makes the following statement which is of special interest to the anthropologist, and which I shall give as it stands: "*Non in cunabulis aptantur. Non fasciis alligantur. Non frequentibus in balneis tenera membra vel fovantur vel artis juvamine componuntur . . . Sed sola natura, quos edidit artus, præter artis cujuslibet adminicula pro sui arbitrio et componit et disponit. Tanquam itaque probans quid per se valeat fingere, non cessat et figurare quousque in robur perfectum, pulcherrimis et proceris corporibus, et coloratissimis vultibus homines istos provehat et producat*." ‡

Although, then, no special arts of nursing were employed, the Irish grew up to be exceedingly tall and handsome, strongly and symmetrically formed, the colour of their faces indicating the healthy condition of their general physique.

Speaking of Dermot Mac Murrough, Giraldus says: "*Erat autem Dermotus vir staturæ grandis et corpore peramplo: vir bellicosus et audax in gente suâ: ex crebro continuoque belli clamore voce raucisonâ. Timeri a cunctis quam diligere malens; nobilium oppressor, humilium erector, infestus suis, exosus alienis*." §

† "*Topog. Hib.*," Dist. i. c. xix.

‡ *Id.*, Dist. iii. c. x.

§ "*Hib. Expug.*" lib. i. c. vi.



In a metrical "*Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre Richard*," that is, Richard II., the author, a French gentleman, describes a visit paid by him, in company with the Earl of Gloucester, to Art Mac Murrough, seventh in descent from this Dermot of Giraldu. He portrays him as—

"asselz bel  
Grans homs estoit, a marveillez ysnel  
A vous dueil sembloit fort fier et fel  
Et homs de fait." †

A picture shows him riding swiftly down a pass, between two woods from a mountain. He is helmeted, but has naked feet. In the sequel the remarkable swiftness of the Irish, who were as nimble and swift of foot as stags, is specially noticed, as later on it was by an informant of Froissart.

In the sixteenth century many passages may be quoted from the State Papers and other sources in proof of the great services rendered by the Irish in war, notably at the siege of Boulogne. In 1567, Campion, in his "*History of Ireland*," ‡ says of the people, "Cleare men they are of skinn and hue, but of themselves careless and bestiall. Their women are well favoured, clear-coloured, fair-handed, bigge and large, suffered from their infancy to grow at will . . . It is counted a beauty in them to be tall, round, and fat."

Spenser, in his "*View of the State of Ireland*" § (1596), says, "I have heard some great warriors say that in all the services which they had seen abroad in foreigne countreyes, they never saw a more comely man than the Irish man, nor that cometh on more bravely to his charge; neither is his manner of mounting unseemly, though he lacke stirrappes, but more ready than with stirrappes, for in his getting up his horse is still going." And again,|| "Yet sure they are very valiant and hardie, for the most part great indurors of colde, labours, hunger, and all hardnesse; very active and strong of hand; very swift of foot; very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorers of death."

Fynes Moryson, in his "*Description of the State of Ireland*," says, "By the abundance of cattle, the Irish have a frequent though somewhat poor traffick for their hides, the cattle being in

† "*Archæologia*," vol. xx. p. 40.  
§ "*Edit. Dub.*," p. 116.

‡ Chap. vi.  
|| *Id.*, p. 119.



general very *little*, and only the men and the grey-hounds are of great stature."

John Dymoke,<sup>†</sup> in the end of the sixteenth century, says, "Of complexion they (the Irish) *are cleare and well-favoured, both men and women; tall and corpulant bodies.*"

O'Donovan gives the following curious instances of Irishmen, who have been described by their contemporaries as of gigantic frame. The first is "Florence Mac Carthy, born in 1554, who is described by Sir George Carew as taller by the head and shoulders than his followers." The second is "Morgan Kavanagh, governor of Prague in 1766, described as the largest man in Europe, some of whose relatives are still extant in Germany, and were described by Professor Neimann of Vienna, in 1844, as the tallest men in Germany; they are the descendants of Brian *na-stroicè* Kavanagh, who was the largest man in King James the II.'s army." The third is "Big Magrath, whose skeleton is preserved in the anatomical museum of Trinity College, Dublin." The fourth is "John O'Neill of Banville, in the county Down, who is described by Dr. Stuart, in his 'History of Armagh' <sup>‡</sup> as 'a man most remarkable for prodigious strength, majestic form, princely deportment, affable manners, and unbounded benevolence.'"

Sir Richard Musgrave, in describing the family of O'Dowda in Lower Connaught, says, in his "Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland," "This family counted twenty-four castles on their extensive estate, many of which are still in existence, and they have a burying-place appropriated to them in the Abbey of Moyne, where may be seen the gigantic bones of some of them who have been remarkable for their great stature, one of them having exceeded *seven feet in height.*"

In 1851 there died at Plymouth The O'Driscoll described by O'Donovan as a "magnificent specimen of the old Milesian race," and by his own son as "mighty of limb, and strong of sinew, very tall and broad in proportion; of noble countenance, and in pitch of body like a giant." Another O'Driscoll is described as "in appearance far beyond the ordinary run of men, being remarkably handsome, tall and athletic, appearing like *the son of a giant*," and his son, again, was a "remarkably fine-looking

<sup>†</sup> See "Tracts relating to Ireland, printed for the Irish Archæological Society," vol. ii. p. 6.

<sup>‡</sup> pp. 130, 630.



man ; he looked like a prince ; hunted well, rode well, drank well ; his hospitality was boundless to all." Lastly, O'Donovan mentions a "very remarkable man of the old Irish race, Mr. William Gaffrey (O'Gamhna) of Glenmore in the barony of Ida, County Kilkenny. He stood six feet four inches in height, and was robust, strong, and athletic in proportion. He was so dexterous a swimmer that it was believed he could 'walk on the water' from New Ross to Waterford."

In order to realize the ideal type of beauty which commended itself to the Irish in the early Middle Ages, and which we may therefore take for granted was descriptive of their chieftains, we will take the following examples: "Eladha, king of the Fomorians, had golden hair down to his two shoulders. He wore a cloak braided with golden thread, a shirt interwoven with threads of gold, and a brooch of gold at his breast, emblazoned with brilliant precious stones. He carried two bright silver spears, with fine bronze handles in his hand ; a shield of gold over his shoulder, and a gold-hilted sword, with veins of silver and with paps of gold."† With the description of this gorgeous dress, and the chieftain with the yellow locks who wore it, it may not be irrelevant to compare the figure of the Esthonian warrior, restored from the ornaments found in graves in that country, and represented in colours in Kruse's "*Necrolivonica*."‡

The following is the description of the hair of Edain, daughter of Etar, a chief of the Tuatha Dé Danann: "Two golden-yellow tresses upon her head, each of them plaited with four locks or strands, and a ball of gold upon the point of each tress. The colour of that hair was like the flowers of the bog firs in summer, or like red gold immediately after receiving its colouring."§

Under the Fir-Bolg, and most important of their tribes, the Irish authorities place the Fir-Domnan. Prominent among them stands out the figure of the hero Ferdiad, over whom his victorious antagonist Cuchulaind thus mourns: "Dear to me with thy beautiful ruddiness, thy comely perfect form, thy grey, clear blue eye, thy wisdom and thine eloquence." As Dr. W. K. Sullivan remarks, the description of his hair might equally

† Egerton MSS., 5280, Brit. Mus., f. 52, *et seqq.* ; transl. O'Curry, M. and C., iii. pp. 155, 156.

‡ Plate 78. See note on hair-colour, p. 1052, *infra*.

§ MS. T.C.D.H., 2, 16, col. 716 ; transl. by Curry, M. and C., iii. pp. 189, 190. Compare the *auricomi Batavi* of Silius Italicus, 5, 608.



well apply to a Frankish chief: "Thy yellow flowing hair, the curled the beautiful jewel." †

The same writer, Dr. Sullivan, considers that the hair of the ancient nobility of Erin was rather golden than flaxen. He instances Erc, the brother of Dathi (in the latter of whom we shall have reason for recognizing a Rugian), as being called "*Culbuidhe*, because smelted gold was not yellower than his hair." ‡ Again, it is to the blossom of the *sobarche*, or St. John's-wort, or to the *áilestér*, or yellow iris that the hair of Edain, as mentioned above, is likened. To the colour of the former of these flowers was compared also the hair of King Niall "of the Nine Hostages." "Yellow as the *sobarche* was the yellow hair which was upon the head of the son of Cairen." § Cuchulaind himself had golden hair, blue eyes, and noble stature. ||

These comparisons show that the hair of all these traditional saga people—Fomorians, Fir-Bolg, Tuatha Dé Danann and Milesians—were believed, when the tales were recited, to have possessed the colour of the hair most admired, namely, "a rich golden, passing almost to a red hue."

Medb, Queen of Connacht, is thus described in the tale called the *Táin Bó Cuailgne*: "A beautiful, pale, long-faced woman, with long-flowing golden-yellow hair upon her, a crimson cloak fastened with a brooch of gold over her breast; a straight-ridged *slegh*, or light spear, blazing red in her hand." ¶ With this description we may set side by side that of Boudicca, queen of the Iceni, a people in East Britain, north of the Stour, as given by Dion Cassius. "She was of large size, terrible of aspect, savage of countenance, harsh of voice, and a profusion of flowing yellow hair, which fell down to her hips, a large golden collar on her neck, a variegated flowing vest drawn close about her bosom, and a thick mantle fastened by a clasp or brooch, and a spear in her hand."

The most graphic description of Irish chieftains by a romance writer is that which, in the "Tale of the *Táin Bó Cuailgne*," is put into the mouth of Mac Roth, who gives an account to Queen

† See this poem translated, with the original, in the App. to O'Curry's M. and C. (vol. iii.), p. 413.

‡ See Introd. to O'Curry's M. and C. (vol. i.), lxxii., and "The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of High Fiachrach," edit. O'Donovan, "Irish Archæol. Soc.," 1844, p. 5.

§ *Loc. cit.*, p. lxxiii.

|| *Ib.*, p. lxxii.

¶ *Loc. cit.*, p. lxxiv. With the name Medb I am inclined to associate the female name *Medea*, which we meet with in Pomerania. We find it as late as the tenth century as that of a heathen queen married to Bilung. See Micrælius, "Antt. Pom.," Geneal. Table.



Medb of the appearance of the Ultonians as they trooped, company by company, past the mound which had been raised for the King *Conchobar* to sit upon. The king himself was tall and graceful. He wore a mass of fair, yellow, curling, drooping hair. He had a pleasing, ruddy countenance. He had a deep-blue, sparkling, piercing, terrific eye, and a two-branching beard, yellow and curling upon his chin. His son, *Causcraid Mend Macha*,† had fair, yellow hair, and a glossy, curling beard. *Sencha*, the prime minister, had a broad head, with long, flowing, brown-yellow hair, a sharp, black-blue eye, and a divided, two-branching, curling, narrow beard. *Egan Mac Durthachta* was a fair, tall, great man, of a florid, noble countenance, with soft, brown hair, falling in thin, smooth locks upon his forehead. *Loegaire‡ Buadach* was a large-headed man, of hound-like, hateful face. He had light, grisly hair, and large, yellow eyes in his head. *Munremur* was a thick-necked, corpulent man, with black, short, bushy hair, a scarred, crimson face, and grey, sparkling eyes. *Connud, son of Morna*, from Callaind, in Ulster, was broad-faced and thickset, irritable; had prominent, dull, and squinting eyes, and yellow, close-curling hair. *Reochaid*, son of Fatheman, had a head of bushy, red-yellow hair, a face broad above and narrow below ("the true Celtic head of Ireland," says O'Curry), a deep, grey, flashing, flaming, brilliant eye, and pearly-white teeth (evidently an ideal type). *Amargin*, son of Ecelsalach the smith, was a beautiful, active man. *Feradach Fin Fechnach* was entirely fair in hair, eyes, beard, eyebrows, and dress. *Celtchair Mac Uthair* was an angry, terrific, hideous man, long-nosed, large-eared, apple-eyed, with coarse, dark-grey hair. *Eirрге Echbel* had one eye black and the other white; he was firm and furious, hideous and terrible, a wry-necked man with long hands, and with brown, thick, curling hair. *Mend*, son of Salcholgan, was a fine man, with foxy-red hair, and foxy-red, large eyes. *Fergna*, son of Findconna, was a long-cheeked, swarthy man, long-limbed, and with black hair. Lastly, the men of Muirteimne, that is to say, Cuchulaind's, are described as three thousand blood-red, furious warriors, white, clean, dignified, crimson-faced men. They had long, fair, yellow hair, splendid bright countenances, and sparkling, kingly eyes.§

† *Macha* in old Slavonic signified "royal," or a prince or ruler; a more likely derivation, perhaps, than that from the Irish *macha*, a "scald-crow."

‡ This name is the Irish form of Lothair.

§ See O'Curry, who gives all these descriptions in the original, M. and C., iii. pp. 92-97.



It will be gathered from this that there were black-haired chieftains, as well as yellow or fair-haired ones, in the mind of the composer of the tale, the details of which, of however little value as containing historic truth—for the whole story is rather a legend than a historic tradition—nevertheless were doubtless taken from life, and probably represented well-known characters living at the date of the recital. "There were evidently," says Dr. Sullivan, "two distinct types of people—one a high-statured, golden-coloured, or red-haired, fair-skinned, and blue or grey-blue eyed race; the other a dark-haired, dark-eyed, pale-skinned, small or medium statured, lithe-limbed race. The two types," he continues, "may still be traced in the country, and are curiously contrasted in their blushes: the fair-haired type has a pinkish tinge, the other a full red, with scarcely a trace of pink in their blush. The same, or an analogous type," he adds, "forms the basis of the Welsh population, and to a varying, but often considerable, extent of that part of England west and north-west of a line from Dorsetshire to the Tees, a part, that is to say, of non-Saxon England." †

As a rule, the nobility are the fair-haired, ‡ and the servile class the dark, although this, as we have seen in the above list of chiefs, is not invariably the case. King Conaire Mor is described as a tall, illustrious chief, with cheeks dazzling white, and with a tinge like that of the dawn upon stainless snow, sparkling black pupils in blue eyes glancing, and curling, yellow locks; but his swine-herds, *Dub*, *Dond*, and *Dorcha*, bear names which denote the *black*, *brown*, and *dark* men they were.

Dr. Sullivan suggests, and with reason, as we may judge by

† M. and C., *Introd.*, vol. i., p. lxxiv.

‡ Three colours for the hair are recognized by the Greek and Roman writers as distinguishing barbarian tribes in the North. These are *ξανθός*, i.e. *flavus* = yellow; *ρυθρός*, i.e. *rufus*, *rutulus* = red, between which and *flavus* stands *auricomus*; *λευκός*, i.e. *candidus* = flaxen. Celts, i.e. Galli, are called *ξανθοί* by Diodorus (5. 28); *rutili* by Livy (38. 17); *flavi* by Claudian, in *Rufin.* (2. 110); "less red than the Germans" by Manilius ("Astron.," 4. 713). Germans are called *rutili* by Tacitus ("Germ.," 4); *rufi* by Seneca ("De Ira," c. 26); *flavi* by Juvenal (13. 164); *ξανθοί* by Herodian (4. 7); *rutili* by Calpurnius Flaccus (decl. 2), *ξανθοί*, like the Celts, by Strabo (7, p. 290); *ρυθροί* by Galen on Hippocrates ("Opera," edit. Basle, 1538, v. p. 31). Batavi are *auricomi* and *rufi* ("Sil. Ital.," 5. 608); Usipii are *flavi*, according to Martial (6. 60); Sicambri are *flavi* in Claudian ("B. Get.," 419), and in several other authors; so are Suevi ("Lucan.," 2. 51); Bissula, a Suebish girl, has blue eyes and yellow (*flavus*) hair (Auson., "Idyll.," 7). Procopius ("B. V.," 1. 2) makes the Goths *ξανθοί*. Jerome calls the Getæ (Goths) *rutili et flavi*. Priscus makes the son of a Frankish king *ξανθός*. Heruli have blue eyes ("Sidon. Apoll.," 8. 9); Calidonians are *rutili* (Tac. "Agric.," 11). Of the Slaves, i.e. Wends, Procopius says that as to the colour of their skin and hair, they are neither *λευκοί* nor *ξανθοί*, nor does the hair run to black; but they may be called *υπερυθροί*, i.e. *subrufi* = yellowish red. *Λευκός* is more properly applied to fairness of skin than to lightness of hair-colour. To judge by the coloured plates in Kruse's "Necrolivonica," light-yellow hair largely prevails among the modern Esthonians and Letts of the Gulf of Riga and the islands of Mone, Dagde, and Oesel. For the great stature of Gauls, Germans, and Slaves, see Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," pp. 49, 50.



Mac Firbis's description of the darkness of Fir Bolg, whom he proceeds to vilify, that the fair ruling classes in Ireland had a prejudice against black hair. Among the Norsemen there was the same prejudice, in support of which fact he quotes the curious story of Hagny, wife of King Hior Halfson, in the *Hálfs saga*,† who bore her husband black and ugly twins. After having in vain attempted to conceal and exchange them, she discovers them to her husband, who "would not have the *heljarskinn* 'hellskins,' and they were allowed to grow up in bondage."

THE BEARING OF CERTAIN WRITTEN TRADITIONS OF IMMIGRATIONS UPON THE QUESTION OF THE ETHNIC AFFINITIES OF THE IRISH.

There still remains a question to be asked and answered before we bring to a close these pages on Irish ethnology.

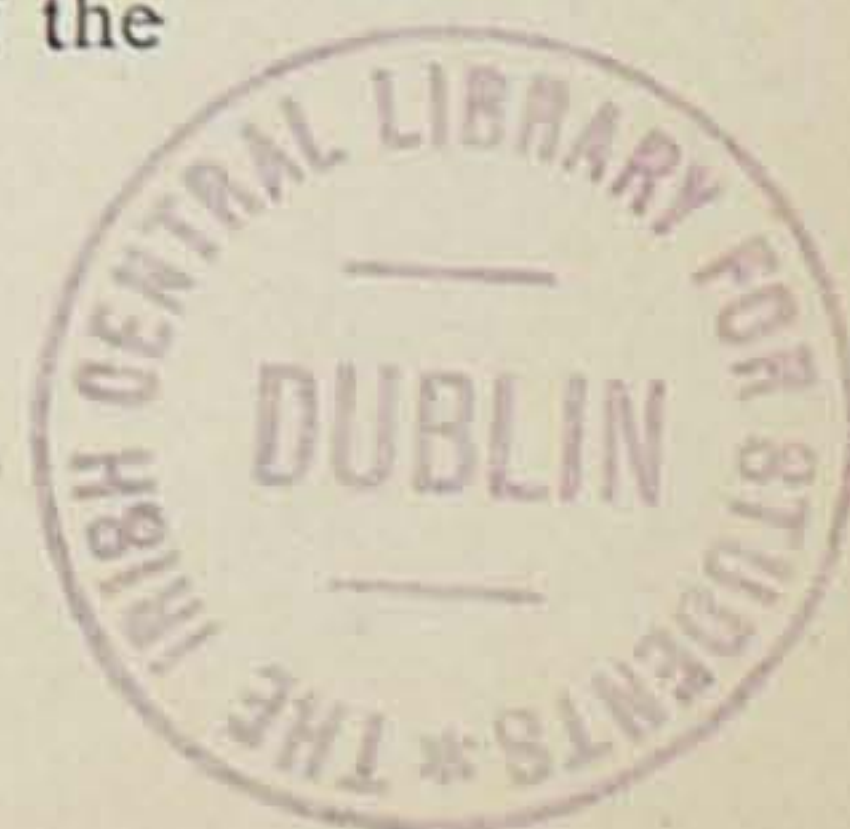
The entire field of European literature does not present the student with a phenomenon more singular nor with a problem the solution of which seems at first sight more hopelessly unattainable than that which is to be found in the subject-matter of the Ancient Irish Books. The great length to which my work has already run precludes me from treating this subject with the detail I should desire. For information as to the whereabouts of such of these ponderous "Scrap Books," as they have well been called, as are still extant, we may refer to O'Curry's "Materials for Irish History,"‡ and to M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville's "Catalogue."§ As to their date, with the single exception of the "Book of Armagh," an ecclesiastical MS. reaching back to the beginning of the ninth century, they belong to the period known to philologists as the "Middle Irish" period, dating from the beginning of the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Closely written in double or treble columns in the pointed character which was the Irish development of the Roman half-uncial in which Langobardic scribes wrote the Latin language in the fifth and sixth centuries; || often loaded, as time went on, with contractions

† Chap. 17; Landnámabok, ii. 19.

‡ "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, delivered at the Catholic University of Ireland in 1855 and 1856" (Dublin, 1861), by Eugene O'Curry, Professor of Irish History.

§ "Essai d'un Catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande," Paris, 1883.

|| See "Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography," by E. M. Thompson, Princ. Lib. of the Brit. Mus., 1893, pp. 236, *seqq.*





most arbitrary, and occasionally with whimsical substitutions of like-sounding Latin words, these volumes are filled with matter, sacred and profane alike, the heritage of the Gaedhel, and written in the language which bears that people's name.

With one class of the *sagas* which they contain alone am I going to deal, and that in answer to the question, "What light, if any, can be derived from a collection of quasi-historic episodes called the *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Immigrations, on the questions relating to the ethnic affinities of the Irish People?" If, as I feel it does, the answer to this question throws light on the true place which Irish tradition should occupy in the history of the Continent of Europe in the early centuries of the Christian era, the short space I propose to give to it will not be wasted.

The *Leabhar Gabhala* is concerned with certain immigrations, inroads, or incursions into a country called Erin, firstly at a date preceding a flood which is identified by the writers with Noah's Flood, and secondly subsequently to that event. The principal ante-diluvian immigrant was a female called Ceasair with her father Bith. The post-diluvian incomers consisted successively of Partholan, Nemed, the Firbolg, the Tuatha Dé Danann, and the sons of Miledh, the accounts of whom are contained in a series of *sagas*.

Two very opposite schools of critics have exercised their ingenuity in the explanation of these stories. The one school is native and full of the faith in its archives which patriotism inspires; the other is foreign, sceptical, and destructive. The first school brings each event into chronological sequence, synchronizes it with occurrences in the Bible or the Classics, and finds for it a *locale* in Ireland itself. The second takes the whole of the tales together, and, regardless of all other considerations, flings them bodily into what I will venture to term the vortex of Aryan Mythology, a region from whence no native Orpheus has as yet attempted to effect their recovery. Thus, according to the first school, Partholan came to Ireland in the Year of the World 1978, landed at the mouth of the Erne, and was buried at Tamlaght. So, too, with Nemed and the rest, a date is assigned to each and the places of their exploits are pointed out within the four corners of the island of Ireland.† According

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† These are the opinions of O'Donovan, O'Curry, etc.



to the second school, however, we have in these successive immigrations nothing but a reflex of the "Ages" of Hesiod. In the Tuatha Dé Danann we are to recognize the Golden Race; in the family of Partholan that of Silver; in the people of Nemed that of Iron. The Fomoré, who in turn fight Partholan, Nemed, and the Tuatha Dé Danann, are the Titans of the Greeks, the Asura of India, the gods of storm and night and darkness. The Dagda is Zeus, and his subjects the gods of day and light and life. Nuada, we read, is the "Mars-Jupiter of the Celts;" the Fir-Bolg are a mythic people; and so on *ad infinitum*.†

Now, with all deference to patriotism and comparative mythology, and admitting that each school may have brought its *quantum* of truth to the elucidation of these tales, I must own that I am satisfied neither with the method pursued by the critics to whom I allude, nor with the general conclusions at which they arrive.

As to the method, we know pretty well when these quasi-historic productions were promulgated. The materials out of which they are formed belong to precisely the same class as those with which Saxo, or Jordanes, or Paul son of Warnefrid, commence their chronicles. In Ireland I think we may take it for granted that they were extant in the eighth century, since in an Irish incantation in a codex at St. Gall,‡ dating from that or the following century, mention is made of Dian Cecht, the physician of the Tuatha Dé Danann.

The right method, then, clearly is to place ourselves back in (say) the eighth or seventh or sixth century, and ask ourselves the question what would the names Partholan, Nemed, Bolg, Dé Danann have signified then. Partholan would have meant the Bardlander, the Man of the Bard-land; Nemed or Nimech, by which latter name he appears in Nennius,§ would have signified the German; Bolg would have been the equivalent

† The opinion with regard to the Ages of Hesiod is that of M. d'Arbois de Jubainville in his "Cycle Mythologique Irlandais," Paris, 1884, pp. 6, *et seqq.*; the opinion with regard to the Titans, etc., is that of the same writer, worked out in great detail by Prof. Rhys in his "Hibbert Lectures" (1886), "on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom," London, 1888, *passim*.

‡ Z. 926. See index of names of the Tuatha Dé Danann in "Rév. Celt.," vol. xii. p. 126. See also "Sanas Chormaic," edit. O'Donovan and Whitley Stokes. The passage in which Dian Cecht is mentioned is as follows: "*Admuinur in slanicid foracab Dian Cecht lia muintir.*" Cecht is explained "power" by Cormac. Compare the name Mac-Cecht, a Tuatha Dé Danann king, and Mac Cecht, one of Patrick's smiths. Rhys thinks ("Rhind Lectt.," No. vi., *Scottish Review*, July, 1891, pp. 126, *seqq.*) that Cecht stands for Pecht (*i.e.* the Peohtas, or Picts), and explains Dian Cecht, "Swift one of Cecht."

§ Codex at Corpus Christi Coll., Cambr., cap. 13.



of Bolgar or βουλγάρες, the name given to those tribes, either singly or collectively, who were the remnants of the Hunnish Confederation in retreat, whether in the mountainous countries bordering on the Danube or on the coasts and islands of the North; in the Tuatha Dé Danann we should have probably the Picts presented to us in their divinities, and representing a Teutonic, or possibly Finno-Teutonic, element largely distributed throughout Europe, whose wars with the Bolg would be wars with the Hunnish tribes in retreat, and whose wars with the Fomoré or Fomorians would be wars with the Slaves on the southern Baltic called Pomorjani by Nestor, between whom and the Germans there was ceaseless enmity.

In short, a careful course of study, pursued wholly without bias, and without the faintest notion of whither it would lead me, extending over many years, and covering the whole range of the Irish *sagas* which are accessible, and for the right understanding of which I owe a debt of gratitude, such as every student will be proud to acknowledge, to O'Donovan, O'Curry, Sullivan, Hennessey, Whitley Stokes, Windisch, Atkinson, Kuno Meyer, Standish Hayes O'Grady, and others, pursued, I may add, coincidently with the reading of the late Roman and the Byzantine historians on the one hand, and of the native annalists of the Teutonic peoples, Goths, Danes, Lombards, Saxons, and Franks, together with the *sagas* of the Norsemen, Saxons, and Germans on the other, has convinced me that in the case of at least a large proportion of the Irish tales, a third point of view, besides the two above mentioned, may be profitably approached, which will be found to introduce a new and unlooked-for element of infinite value to the historian of the darkest age of European history (the period, namely, which includes the third to the sixth century), since it may prove to be in many particulars the *barbarian tradition*, in contrast with the Roman and Byzantine accounts, of the events which were taking place,—the tribal movements which were in progress, that is to say,—as horde after horde of northern warriors, Rugii, Heruli, Langobardi, Iotungi, Cotragi,—as swift in their movements as they were ubiquitous in their destination,—coming southwards from the shores of the Baltic, and the *imi oceani recessus*, of which Ireland may well have been one, and westward from the Palus Mœotis whither the love of plundering the Greeks had previously led them, hurled themselves, sometimes



singly, sometimes with an allied tribe, against the Provinces of the Roman Empire, or returned after a reverse, accompanied sometimes with a temporary submission, the bonds of which they had broken, to contest with allophylian<sup>\*</sup> intruders, Sclaves, perhaps, or Finno-Teutonic Æstians, the ancient stem-lands, whence they had poured forth.

We will commence with the story of Partholan and see how the method I propose works out. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, in his "Cycle Mythologique," † adopts a derivation of this name from *bar* = mer, the sea, and *tolan* = a wave, so that it signifies, he supposes, "one who is connected with the waves of the sea," presumably a sea-god. Another explanation is that it comes from *bar* = top, and *tolan*, *i.e.* "crest of the wave." ‡ A third explanation by Rhys § is that it is merely a name borrowed from Bartholomew, in which form it appears in Giraldus Cambrensis (Bartolanus), || and for which name it is now the Irish equivalent. To the author of the "Historia Britonum," ¶ whose date, however difficult to fix, precedes that of the earliest Middle-Irish MSS. by two centuries at least, it was known as Partholomæus or Partholomus, and to Geoffrey of Monmouth as Partholoim, †† whose followers he terms *Barclenses*. Camden calls him Bartolanus a Scythian. †††

Now we will turn to the eighth century, and take up a very interesting contemporary document, published in Graff's *Diuitiska*, §§ called the Weissobrunner Codex, which contains a list of the names of countries as they were designated at that date. Here we find the name Lancpartolant (*i.e.* Lombardy) explained by Ausonia, *i.e.* Italy. From this word take away the first syllable and there remains Partolant, the equivalent of Partolan, which would by itself signify Bart-land, that is, Land of the Barti, Barthi, or Bardi. That it is perfectly allowable to dis sever the syllable *Lanc*, *Lang*, *Long*, or *Lom* from the proper name Bardi, and with it to reject the ancient but silly story, a version of which is given by Paul son of Warnefrid, which refers the etymology to "long-beards," the following considerations will suffice to show.

Firstly, in the Anglo-Saxon poem, Beowulf, we meet with the name Heathobards, *i.e.* Battle-Bards applied to "a tribe of

† p. 25, n.

§ "Hibbert Lectures," p. 580.

†† lib. iii. 12.

§§ Vol. ii. pt. i. p. 370: "*Italia* Lancparto Lant, *Ausonia* auh Lancparto Lant."

† See Whitley Stokes, "Sanas Chormaic," p. 28.

|| "Top. Hib.," Dist. iii. c. ii.

¶ cap. 13.

†† Brit., 966.



Lombards," says Mr. Garnett, but, as he might have stated more exactly, to a tribe of Bardi, without the *Lom* or *Lang*. Secondly, Saint Patrick's nephew (sister's son), Restitutus, is called sometimes Langobardus, but sometimes also *Huabaird*, correctly translated by O'Flaherty, "progenie Bardi." From both these instances it may be inferred that there were Bardi, who were not differentiated as Lango-Bardi. To suppose, however, that a people, haughty, war-like, and noble, as Tacitus describes the Langobardi, would call themselves Bardi, if that name meant "beards" without even a distinctive epithet, as to the sort of beard, is absurd. Etymology must go hand-in-hand with reasonable likelihood and common sense. Far more probably they derived their name, as their neighbours the Saxons may have done (from the O.H.G. *sahs*, A.S. *seax*, a sword), or as the Franks may have done (from *frakki* or *frakka*, a spear), from a weapon which may have been characteristic of them, and which would have been the *bard*, a Teutonic word for an axe, found in *bardisan*, *hellebard*, and other terms. Thirdly, I think we may discover a very reasonable explanation of the word *Lanc* or *Lang* prefixed to the name of a certain and most important group of Bardi. In the time of the Emperor Augustus, the Langobardi dwelt on the left bank of the Albis (Elbe) next to the Chauci, and east of the Catti and Menapii. Their country lay between Lüneburgh and Magathaburgh, or Magdeburg. Here Ptolemy places them, and thence it was that Claudius drove them to the banks of and over the Elbe, where they subsequently occupied part of the district about Prignitz, Ruppín, and the Middle March. It is more than likely that, as time went on, they returned to their more ancient seats, since the name of the Bardi or Bardenses remains there to this day west of the Elbe, in the district-name Bardengowe, and in that of the town Bardouwic, now Bardewik, near Lüneburg. But this very district bore the name *Lainga*, or *Lainca*,† in the Middle Ages, derived, as may be supposed, from the river Lagina, Legine, Lagne—now the Lein—which joins the Alara—now the Aller—in the centre of the district. It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose that by a Langobard was originally meant a man of the Bardi who, if not dwelling in, derived his origin from the district of Lainca and the parts about the river Lagina or Lein.

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† See Hist. Handatlas, Spruner-Menke, No. 37.



This being so, we cannot fail to observe that between the names of the populations on the western coast of Ireland and those of the peoples between the Elbe and Rhine we have a series of three coincidences which can scarcely be accidental. Ptolemy places the Cauici on the west coast of southern Ireland, and the Chauci were, on one side, next neighbours to the Bardi of Lainca. South of the Cauici in Ireland he places the town Manapia, and next to the Chauci to the west lay the Menapii. East of the Chauci lay the Bardi of Lainca, and it was a people called Laighin, who gave name to the Province of Laighin, Lein or Leinster. Irish tradition, too, informs us that the eponymous Partholan, that is, the Bardlander, was specially connected with Leinster since he and his people died at Howth and were buried at Tamlaght. We can now understand why it was that the people of Partholan were called by the authorities, whom Geoffrey of Monmouth followed, *Barclenses*—that word being the most natural scribal error for Bardenses,† the eponymous of whom Partholan would have been.

If we might dare to carry a tradition back to the time of Tiberius, we should feel inclined to associate the dispersal of the Langobardi by Claudius with the appearance of Partholan in Ireland. Driven to seek new homes, some of them would not unnaturally have shaped their course down the Elbe into the German Ocean, and thence to the Britannic Islands. Britain, however, afforded no secure refuge, for it would only have afforded them another meeting-ground with their former foes. Ireland, however, which was probably thinly populated, lay beyond it, and after an easy conquest they may well have taken possession of portions of its coast, in company possibly with contingents from the Chauci and Menapii who had arrived there at all events in time for location in the Geography of Ptolemy more than a century later.

Paulus son of Warnefrid, who in the words of Hildric‡ was “*eximio dudum Bardorum stemmate gentis*,” and who wrote his “History of the Langobardi” in the middle or latter end of the eighth century, follows Prosper of Aquitaine, whose date was the close of the fifth century, in the statement that these people came from Scandia, to which country the respective historians of Goth

† No scribal error is more natural in MSS. ancient or modern than that which separates *d* into *cl*.

‡ See note to Pauli, “Hist. Langob.,” edit. Bethmann and Waitz.



and Dane, Gepid and Herulian, Burgundian and Frank, not to speak of the historic Norseman, in turn traced the ancestors of the peoples whose exploits they undertook to record. They came from Thule under the leadership of Ibor, Hibor, or Ebor, and Aio or Agio (Aggo and Ebbo in Saxo), bringing with them their mother Gambara, Gabara or Gambaruc.† The name of this lady in the allegorical genealogy is comparable with that of the Gambrivii (Γαμβριβίοι of Strabo‡), one of the four most ancient nations of Germany, who, together with the Marsi, Suevi, and Vandali, were believed to be descended, according to Tacitus, from the four sons of Mannus, son of the earth-begotten Tuisco. The name Gambara is akin, too, to that of the Sicambri or Sucambri (from *cambar* = *gambar*, "vigorous," "manful").§ With these latter people Venantius Fortunatus, and other writers, identified the Franks.||

Paulus states of the Langobardi that, coming from Scandia, they landed in a country called Scoringa, which Müllenhoff identifies with Uferland, and which (although of course the word may be applied to any shore country) I venture to compare with the name of Scoriath in Irish tradition, who is represented as the father of Murias, Morias or Moriath—the Moor country—(compare the Murizzi lake country in Uferland)—who was married to an exiled prince, Labraidh Loingseach, of whom more anon.

According to Saxo, the island of Rugia, or Verania, on the northern point of which was the famous temple and cliff-castle of Arcona, and in which some writers have not unreasonably located the sacred precincts of Hertha or Nerthus, was once in possession of the Langobardi, from whom Slavonic tribes must have wrested it. A town, called Bardt,¶ occupies a site on the coast of the continent opposite to it, the name of which Micrælius attributes to the Langobardi.

The scope of my work does not permit of my following the course taken by the Langobardi as detailed by Paulus, a subject as intricate as it is interesting. After fighting the Vandals, they

† Pauli, "Hist. Langob.," edit Bethmann and Waitz, cap. 3.

‡ vii., edit. Firmin Didot, p. 291.

§ Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 83, n.

|| Carmina, lib. vi. cap. 4, "De Chariberto." See note to the edition of the works of Fortunatus, Rome, 1786, p. 198; also Greg. Turon., "Hist.," lib. ii. c. 9. Gregory says that the Franks came from Pannonia, and first settled on the banks of the Rhine, and afterwards crossed that river and planted themselves in Thuringia.

¶ Micrælius, "Anth. Pomeraniæ," i. pp. 52, 64, etc.



are impeded in their progress towards Mauringa † by the Assipitti, a name which seems to re-appear in the work of Dr. Bielenstein, on Lettish etymology, in that of Asenputten or Asseboten.‡ On the shore of the southern Baltic coast, the name of a branch of the Bardi, perhaps, survives in that of the district of Old Prussia, called Barthia, or Bartha, on the Bartau river, inhabited by the Barthi or Barthenses, to whom, for an eponymous, the *Saga* of Widewut § gives Bartho.|| In the course of their subsequent history, the Langobardi are brought into contact with the Bulgares, or Vulgares, whom their King Tato (comp. Datho King of Laighin, in Irish legend) utterly destroys.

It is possible that the faint echo of a tradition of Bardi, in the Northern Baltic, reaches us through Verelius, when he quotes a *saga*, in which one Giestur, son of Bardus, is mentioned, who, choosing to dwell in the North, sailed beyond Halogia and Finmarchia, and made conquests in the Dumbshaf, or Mare Dumnium, which was the ancient name of the Gulf of Bothnia. In another place the same writer speaks of the Bardar-Saau, so named from Barder (Barderus), son of Dumbus, or Dumnus, the giant who gave name to the Dumbshaf, by his wife Miolla, daughter of the King of Queenland. Dumnus was himself slain by giants, and his death avenged by Barder, by whom many of his father's foes were burned in a common holocaust. It is in this country of West Bothnia that we find seemingly a name identical with that of the Picts—Pithea, Pitha Elf, Paicto, and Lapponia Pithensis.

Krantz says that at a date which he places as late as 476, Langobardi, leaving Rugia, or Verania, where they had been settled, proceeded in a body (*magno agmine*) to Bavaria. May not the pressure of the Slaves into the Pomorjane, or sea-board, as Pomerania was anciently called, have had a direct influence in determining them to leave the North, and seek their fortunes in the South upon the Danube, and beyond it, while others may have gone northwards into more distant islands where settlements of their race may have been made in earlier times? In Irish tradition, Partholan's adversaries are the Fomoraighe

† The position of Mauringa is undetermined.

‡ Die Grenzen des Lettischen Volksstammes, S. Petersbourg, 1892; list of names of places. See, however, Micrælius (i. 52) on the Usipetern in Westfalia.

§ Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 677, n.

|| There were Bardores, together with Bitugures, Cotrigures, etc., in the army of Dinzio, son of Attila. Jordan., "Getica," c. 53.



(latinized Fomoriani), the exact counterpart of the Slavonic Pomoriani, supposing that word to have passed through the German medium, which would have converted *p* into *f*. In Gaedhelic, *fó* means "under," but in Slavonic *pó* means "upon," as in Polabe, the name given to those who dwelt on the Labe, or Elbe. The term has its counterpart in the Celtic name Aremorica, which signified the entire coast of Gaul, from the Seine to the Garonne.

Partholan's battles with the Fomorians would, then, be the battles of the Bardi, or Bardlanders with the Slaves. This view is supported by the name of the chieftain of the people opposed to Partholan. He is called Ciocal, or Cicul, son of Tuathmar, his mother being Lot Laimnach. He was called Crionchosach, signifying club-footed, or "with withered, shrivelled feet." He had a blind daughter, *Dacaech*, and he came from Slieve Admoir, Amhoir, or Ughmoir, which O'Curry states—on what authority I know not—to have been the Gaedhelic name for the Caucasus.† He had the characteristics, clearly, of an idol and a demon. In short, he was a pagan deity.

Now, in the country of Lethovia, that is, of the Lotihali‡ (Lot-men, or Loth-men), Letgalli§ or Lethones, Lettgalls, was a "sacer campus," at a place called Romow, over the temple in which a High-Priest, held in great reverence by all the tribes, presided, called Criwe,|| in whom the Christians thought they recognized a travesty of their Pope in Rome. At this Romow, or Romene, in Lethovia (possibly the original of the "Rome of Letha" in Irish tradition), a trinity of divinities were the objects of devotion, called respectively Perkunos, Potrimpus, and Pikullus. The last of these was the god of the infernal regions and of corruption.¶

His name, Pikullus, or Pikollus, with the mutation of *p* to *c* (the occurrence of which in Gaedhelic, in the case of certain extraneous words, has been fully recognized by Rhys and others), is literally Cicul, in the blindness of whose child, who drowns herself in a lake, we recognize the connection of the parent with darkness and death, while, in his progenitor, Tuathmar, we possibly detect the *mar*, that is, the horrific visitants of the night, common to the folk-lore of Europe, from Spain to the Baltic, to whose *tuath*,

† M. and C., ii. p. 232.

‡ "Chronica Polonorum," Cracoviæ, 1521, p. 40.

§ See "Chron. Lyvonix," by Heinrich de Ymera.

|| Petrus de Duisburg, "Chron. Pruss.," iii. c. 5 (1679), p. 78.

¶ Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 41.



or tribe, he belonged, and in whose mother, Lot or Loth, we discover the very country in which his worship was predominant, namely, that of the Lotihali or Loth-men.†

Etymological indications are not wanting of the presence of the Bardi in Ireland—some of whom must, if my view be right, have carried these traditions with them. In the parish of Killala, Barony of Tirawley (Tir Amalgaidh), and County of Mayo, at the mouth of the Moy, is the island of Barthra, or Bartrach (Bartraighe) “Bartmensland.” In the same district, again, we have the Partry Mountains, west of Lough Mask, the name of which range is a standing proof of the fact that, at one time, the entire country around bore the name Partraighe (latinized Partrigia), or, as it might be teutonized, Partholand, or Partolant—the tribe-land of the Bards, or Barden, the Bardengau. A dolmen in the County of Monaghan was called Latnambard,‡ *i.e.* Leacht na mBaird, “tomb of the Bards.” The bell of Saint Kieran was called Bardan,§ which reminds us that, among the Germans, a custom, described by Tacitus, prevailed, called *barditus*,|| consisting of the recitation of verses, accompanied by cries in turn, piercing and sonorous, those of the latter kind being produced by shouting into the hollow of the shield—a custom, by the way, which is said to have existed in Scotland as late as the battle of Killicrankie.¶

The Irish Annals contain several allusions to the Langobardi by name. A certain king called Aongus or Oengus Ollmuchadh, explained “Great Destroyer,” fought against them. Keating, who explains his name “Great Swine,” does not mention Langobardi by name in his account of the conquests of this king,†† but states that he gained fifty victories against the Picts, the Fir-Bolg, and the inhabitants of the Orcades. Perhaps he would have included Langobardi under Picts, and in the genealogy of the Pictish kings given by Skene in his Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, it is to be observed that the name of Partalan is included.‡‡ The Four Masters, however, make him triumph over Martini, Ernai, Fomori, the Cruithnean-Tuath, Fir-Bolg, Longbardi, and Colaisti.§§ O’Flaherty also distinguishes Picts from Langobards in his account of the same events. This king, he says,

† ? Loth, and *hæle* = a man. See Lye’s “Dict. Saxon. et Goth.,” *hæle* = vir, heros.

‡ p. 291, *supra*.

§ Colgan, AA.SS. Hib., p. 458.

|| Germania, c. 3.

¶ See note to Bohn’s translation of Tacitus.

†† See O’Mahony’s transl., p. 228.

‡‡ pp. 23, 24, 323. He is also called Parthai. His father is in one place Historeth, in another Agnoin; comp. Agnomon, father of Nemedh.

§§ Vol. i., p. 49.



triumphed over the Martinei in Corkobaskinn, over the Heberii, Ernai, and Fomorii, and, crossing the sea, defeated the Picti and Belgæ (by which he means Fir-Bolg) five times, the Longbardi twelve times, and the Colastii four times.†

Again, among the foreigners who sought Cormac Mac Airt were Galls, Romans, Franks, Frisians, Longbards, Albanians, Saxons, and Cruithneans (*i.e.* Picts).‡ By "seeking Cormac" I feel sure that visits to some famous pagan temple such as Temair or Temor (*i.e.* Tech-Mór = "Great House," *i.e.* Temple) is intended, such visits or periodical pilgrimages being undertaken for the purpose of consulting the oracle, honouring the god, and, in the case of subject tribes, bringing tribute. Among other striking particulars in the description given by Saxo of the temple-worship at Arcona, which coincides, as we shall presently see, in several important points with the account given in Irish tradition of Cormac's House at Temair, is that of the visits of devotees from many surrounding peoples.

Continental Langobardi are mentioned in the tale called Tain-bo-Fraich. "Conall," says Midir, "has killed Fraech among the Longbards of Letha while going to the Alps" (co-h-Elpa).§

St. Patrick had, as we have seen, relatives among the Longobardi.|| Coincidences have also been pointed out between the Lombard laws respecting the class called Arimannen, and the Irish laws regarding the Aires, and instances of resemblances in manners and dress are not wanting.¶

The influence, too, of Langobardic upon Irish art is not, I think, to be questioned, and it is a striking instance of how art influence may repeat itself, and is prone to travel in the same direction, when routes long closed are again opened up, that in the early Christian Ages, just as during the first epoch of the Bronze Age, Ireland was indebted to North Italy, as indeed in both periods she was also to lands further east, with which she was also in communication, for the initiative of systems of decorative design which her braziers, her stonemasons, and, in the Christian Ages, her illuminators on vellum afterwards brought

† "Ogygia," 1685, p. 206.

‡ Book of Leinster, fol. 15; O'C., M. and C., iii. 7.

§ It is clear that the Letha here intended is not, as the Christian interpreters would have defined it and used it, Latium, that is, Italy, nor Letavia, meaning Brittany, for in the same story we read that Conall proceeded "over sea, over Saxony of the North, over the Muir-n-Icht, to the north of the Longbards, until they reached the mountains of Elpa." The route here indicated equally puts out of the question the eastern Lethovia. There was a river Leda in East Frisia, which possibly may indicate the position of the Langobardic Letha.

|| "Trip. Life," edit. Whitley Stokes, vol. ii. p. 506.

¶ Sullivan Pref. O'C., M. and C., i. cvi., cccxcviii.



to such exquisite perfection. To exemplify my meaning, I instance a cross and other objects having rope-twist decorations precisely in the Irish manner from the Dalmatian Tirol which are figured in Much's "Kunshistorischer Atlas of Austro-Hungary." These he compares with the gold crosses bearing what he speaks of as the recognized Langobardish plaited ornament (*Zopfornamente*), one of which is preserved at Cividade, the ancient capital of the Lombard kingdom at Friaul (Forum Julii).

At two periods of her history—the first unwritten—the second little understood—during the Bronze Age, that is to say, in the first place, and in the seventh century in the second—the natives of Ireland showed themselves capable of developing, to a marvellous degree, the art of which the continent supplied the models, and for the germs of which we must look to the shores of the Mediterranean and the Levant. The cause which, in each case, gave scope for these developments was the complete isolation of the country. It cannot be supposed that the use of iron for weapons reached these remote shores of the north at so early a date as it did the more southern portions of Europe. The result would have been that, for the time, the bronze-users of the north, unable to cope with the southern powers, and as yet unconquered by them, would have been left alone to develop independently the resources they possessed. That they possessed both genius to invent and skill to carry out their ideas is evident, and hence the individuality and perfection observable in the specimens of pre-historic metallurgic art. So it was in days far less remote.

At the time of the Saxon invasion of Britain this chapter of culture-history, in a way, repeated itself, and proof was given that the native genius had survived. Ireland was then completely cut off from the rest of Europe, and left to develop a system of Christian ritual and observance entirely distinct from that of the continent, as is shown in Adamnan's "Vita Columbæ," and elsewhere. Then it was that her skilled penmen produced those masterpieces of ornamental palæography which (like the book of Kells, a seventh-century MS.) have been the pride of Ireland, and the wonder of the world, from the days when Giraldus saw them until our own times.

Such influences as, prior to this isolation, Ireland received from the continent were principally Langobardic, Frankish, Merovingian, in proof of which may be cited the many objects of art



which occur in the Museum of the R. I. Academy, comparable to those of the Merovingian period from the fifth to the eighth century, instanced by Lindensmidt,† in his "Handbuch." With Northern Germany and France, the Irish wandering monks kept up a perpetual connection—not always in very good odour, for they were nicknamed Egyptians, and looked upon as *semi-pagani* "circle-goers," and wonder-workers, but carrying, nevertheless, the beauties of their island-born art to and over the Alps, and down the old Danubian route, whither their predecessors in ages gone by had gone before. Even Asia and Africa knew them, for specimens of old Nestorian art are best explained by Irish influence, and real Egyptian hermits actually found their way to the Island of the Saints.

Those who had originally introduced the system of caligraphy—the Roman uncial, that is to say—which the Irish developed into the pointed hand in which their traditions are written, are largely responsible also, I more than suspect, for the introduction of the germs of those traditions themselves which, surviving orally from the early centuries of our era down to the ninth century, were then committed to writing, interspersed with matter wholly native and insular.

That a Langobardic tradition survived in Ireland even in the Middle Ages may possibly be the explanation of the fact that the "Stair na Lumbardac," *i.e.* "History of the Lombards," was one of the favourite treatises among the Irish of that period. Side by side with it, however, we find the "History of Troy," the "History of the Three Sons of the King of Norway," etc.

Such a tradition, if it did exist, would have been wholly unconscious of its origin in those Bardic settlers, of whom Partholan was the eponymous, who at various times from the first century, perhaps, to the fifth, when stress was laid upon the German tribes either in the earlier period by the Romans, or in the later period by the Slaves, made descents and effected settlements on the Irish coast.

The places in Ireland where portions of the *saga* of Partholan have been located are Inbher Sceine in West Munster, where he landed; Inish Samer in the Erne at Ballyshannon, where he resided; the Hill of Etar, *i.e.* Howth near Dublin, where he died; and Tamlaght, where he and his people were buried. The valley

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† "Die alterthümer der Merov. Zeit," Brunswick, 1880, pp. 62, *et seqq.*



is also pointed out where he was hunting when his wife, of whom we will presently speak, proved untrue to him. It is needless to add that the identification of these localities has been wholly factitious. I have myself visited Inish Samer, where he is said to have resided. It is a tiny knoll, an islet in the tideway, barely large enough to support the foundations of a single little building, and the idea that it could ever have formed a place of settlement for any important band of immigrants is, on the face of it, absurd.

Partholan comes to Ireland from middle Greece, Migdonia, or Macedonia, by way of the Torrian Sea, Sicily, and Spain. The writer of the "Historia Britonum" states that "long after the coming of the Picts to Britain, the Scots arrived in Ireland from Spain, the first of whom was Partholomus." Geoffrey of Monmouth adds that he was "driven out of Spain."

Professor Rhys and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville treat this as a myth. Spain, according to them, is, in common with Britain, the land of the spirits of the dead. Doubtless a halo of legend crept round these stories, but before we dismiss them on this account by a method more sweeping than is obviously justified, it is due to the subject-matter they contain, and to the distance of time from which they reach us, that we should ascertain whether there were not historical occurrences taking place in a period not distantly preceding that from which the traditions reach us, which might have served as the material for the events which those who have transmitted these tales record.

I will here repeat an observation I have made before, namely, that in scanning the surface of Europe in the third and succeeding centuries four prominent facts strike us with regard to the movements of the barbarian tribes: these are, first, their ubiquity; second, the wide tracts of country which they covered in their marches; third, the swiftness with which those marches were accomplished; and fourth, the ease with which they adapted themselves to warfare by sea or by land, as the objective of their predatory excursions required. Now they were on the Palus Mæotis, now in Spain; now plundering in Greece or in captivity there; now ploughing the waves around the islands and capes of the oceans of the North; now in Scandinavia; now on the shores of the Adriatic. These are precisely the conditions under which the several peoples are represented to us whose invasions or immigrations form the subject of the Irish *sagas*.



Partholan,† as we have seen, was in Macedonia (properly called "Middle Greece," since it lay between Thrace, Epirus, and Greece proper), in the Mare Tyrrhenum on the coast of Italy, in Sicily, and in Spain. Nemed, a relative of Partholan, started from the Black Sea, and came through Scythia by the Riphæan Mountains—as to the position of which the Scandinavian and Irish writers had probably as vague a notion as we have at the present time. Finally, unable to resist the oppression of the Fomorians, the descendants of Nemed set out from Erin for Greece, whence they returned to Erin as the Fir-Bolg, who become the subject of the third *saga* of migrations. The fourth band of settlers, the Tuatha Dé Danann, also descendants of Nemed, and also driven out by the Fomorians, made likewise for Greece, where they settled in Bæotia or Achaia, and after vainly assisting the Athenians against an enemy called the Assyrians (by whom perhaps the Acatziri or Agazziri,‡ a Bulgar or Sclavic, or possibly a Celto-Scythic tribe on the lower Danube are meant), quitted the country, and came northwards again to Norway and Denmark, settling for some time in four cities,—Falias, Gorias, Murias, and Finneas, and thence proceeding first to Scotland and then to Ireland. In these Tuatha Dé Danann, or tribes of Dana's gods, Colgan thought he recognized the Picts. The account of them has, however, in it more of the mythological element than is the case with that of any of the other settlers, and for this and other reasons I am the rather disposed to regard them as the gods of a race which was in great probability Pictish.

Fifthly, and lastly, the travels of the Gaedhel exhibit, when the work of the synchronists, and the biblical portions of the genealogies have been expunged, what appears to be a *réchauffé*, in a mixed and jumbled form, of the several *travel-sagas* we have just cited. The origin of the Gaedhel is traced to Scythia, under which name, irrespective of its inhabitants, all the country between the Euxine and the Baltic was included, where, we are informed, their eponymous Gadelas, son of Niul, son of Fenius Farsa, King of Scythia, was born. On the authority of an ancient and lost MS., the *Leabhar Dhroma Sneachta*, it is stated by Keating that "the Firbolg, the Tuatha Dé Danann, the Longobards, the Hunns, the Goths, and many other nations descended from

† I base my account mainly on Keating, edit. O'Mahony, New York, 1857.

‡ See Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 714.



Magog, and originally came out of Scythia." Much follows, which may be passed over, about the Tower of Babel, and the voyage of Niul into Egypt, where he marries Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, and falls in with the Israelites. Gadelas dying in Egypt, and his grandson Sru being expelled from that country, the latter lands in Crete, where he, in due time dying, is succeeded in the chieftainship by Heber Scot, who, on quitting Crete, led his people over the Ægean Sea into the Euxine, and up the Tanais into the heart of Scythia.

His advent in the latter country excited the jealous fears of his cousins, the posterity of Fenius Farsa; and Riffleoir, King of Scythia, was killed in single combat by Agnon, son of Tait, son of Heber Scot. Unable, however, to make head against the Scythian forces, the Gaedhel retired to the country of the Amazons, and there remained one year. The names Heber and Tait, the episode of the single combat, and the introduction of the Amazons, remind us of names and incidents in Paulus's History of the Lombards, where Heber stands at the head of the genealogy, where Tato defeats the Heruli, where a Langobard fights an Assiput in single combat, and where the Amazons are also introduced. It is to be noticed that Fredegarius, who brings the Langobards from Schatanavia between the Danube and the Ocean, states that they gained a victory over the Chuni or Huns. The marked opposition of the Tuatha Dé Danann to the Bolg, of the Langobardi to the Heruli and the Bulgars, and of the Gaedhel to the Scythians and Amazons by whom non-Germanic tribes are certainly indicated, reminds us of the position occupied by the Goths to whom they may not have been ethnically unrelated, while other considerations, again, as we shall presently see, induce comparisons between them and the Heruli and the Franks.

From the country of the Amazons the Gaedhel set sail in three ships and proceeded "till they came into the narrow sea which flows from the Northern Ocean," whence they were driven by a storm to an island in the Pontic Sea (Euxine), where they remained one year. They encountered great difficulties at this time, partly owing to storms, and partly to rocks concealed under water which made sailing dangerous. They proceeded, however, to Gothland (explained to mean Sicily), where they remained for a considerable time, and where Heber Glunfionn was born, whose



descendant Bratha led them from Gothland to Spain in four transports. This Bratha had a son called Breogan, who fought so successfully against the Spaniards that he conquered almost the whole country. He had ten sons, among whom was Bilé, father of Milé, Miledh, Miles, Milesius, or in Irish Golamh, that is, the Warrior, and of which Milesius appears to be merely the Latin equivalent.

With Miles the whole story begins over again, except that the Egyptian and Scythian episodes appear in inverse order, and that the hero of the tale starts from Spain. He fits out thirty ships, sails northward through the Ægean into the Euxine, and so into and up the Tanais, just as Heber Scot had done in the previous version. Here he meets with Reffleoir, who is described as grandson of the former king of that name, and, after having been well received at first, becomes so popular as to excite his jealousy. Reffleoir plots the death of Golamh or Milesius, upon which the Gaedhel attack the palace of their treacherous host, and, after putting him to death, take shipping on the Tanais, sail through the Euxine and Ægean Seas, and, crossing the Levant, land in Egypt.

Here Golamh assists the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, and, as a reward, the Pharaoh of the day gives him his daughter Scota in marriage, so that he is the counterpart of Niul, and undoubtedly the traditions are identical—the first having been synchronized with biblical events to suit the humour of Christian auditors.

From Egypt Golamh or Miles, or Niul, as we may also fairly call him, sailed into the Mediterranean, and landed in Thrace, and crossing many countries, came to another island called Gothiana, "which lies in the narrow sea that divides the Baltic from the ocean northwards." By this island that on the Swedish coast called Gotland seems to be intended. Thence he went on a plundering expedition, landing in the kingdom of the Picts, "formerly called Albania, now Scotland." Thence sailing down the English Channel and across the Bay of Biscay, he landed in Northern Spain. Here, finding the Spaniards overrun by the Goths and other plundering foreigners, he resolved to prevent the further incursions of these barbarians, and defeating them in fifty-four several battles, drove them out of the kingdom, and became master of the whole of Spain.



Scarcity of corn, however, and the continued attacks of the Goths and their auxiliary foreigners, determine the Gaedhel to attempt the conquest of some other country. They select Ireland, and despatch Ith to reconnoitre, who is treacherously slain by the Tuatha Dé Danann, upon which a fully equipped expedition follows to avenge his death under the command of the sons of Miles, for the latter, meanwhile, had died in Spain.

Now, in all this—granting the traditions had become mixed in narration—we have nothing that may not have possessed a true historic basis. On the contrary, in almost each episode, we can point to some parallel event in the history of Europe during the 3rd, 4th, and 5th centuries A.D.

In the time of the Emperor Gallienus (254-278), certain barbarians of northern extraction, called Heruli by Georgius Syncellus,<sup>†</sup> and Scythes by Zosimus,<sup>‡</sup> sailed through the Palus Mæotis into the Pontus, and captured Byzantium and Chrysopolis. Troops having been collected there, they were forced to retreat a little way, as far as the Straits of the Euxine, called Hieron. On the day following, when the wind was favourable, they proceeded to the bay called the Bay of Cyzicus, from the noted town of that name in Bithynia. Next they plundered the islands of Lemnos and Scyra, and thence invaded the coast of Attica, and plundered and burned Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Argos, and laid waste the whole of Achaia. Ambuscades were laid, however, to entrap these pirates at such points as presented difficulties to them, and help having been sent by Gallienus, the Athenians succeeded in killing a large number of them, and at Nessus in particular three thousand were said to have been slain.

The commander of the Heruli was called Naulobatus (*Ναυλοβάτος*) by the Greek historians, a name which tempts comparison with that of Neul Ua (O') Baath, *i.e.* Niul or Neul, or Niall or Neal, grandson of Baath, which was actually the very name of the commander of the Gaedhel, his father being Fenius Farsa, and his grandfather Baath,<sup>§</sup> when he was fighting his way in these very same waters. In the Greek account, Naulobatus submits himself to Gallienus, but how small the victory, if any, which the Romans had gained in reality was, may be judged from the fact that he was honoured by the Emperor by immediate promotion

<sup>†</sup> *Αἱρουλοι*, "Chronogr.," ed. Par., p. 382.

<sup>‡</sup> i. 39.

<sup>§</sup> "Niul mac Feniusa farsaidh mhic Baath." Haliday's "Keating," p. 220.



to the rank of Consul. So close is the likeness between the names Neul O'Baath and Naulobatus, and the conclusion involved in the identification of the persons indicated, could it be established, would be of such immense importance as illustrating the origin and sources of Gaedhelic tradition, that it is with the utmost hesitation that I venture even to place the names in juxtaposition. Taking the fact, however, in relation to other points of comparison, I feel that it would be unreasonable to omit a recognition of the resemblance, although this portion of my subject must be regarded as purely tentative.

In the time of Claudius (263) we hear again of Heruli equipping a fleet, but, if we may credit Syncellus, their expeditions into various parts of the Roman dominions were at this time attended by ill fortune, until worn out by sea-fights, harassed by storms, and reduced by famine, they completely disappeared. Zosimus, who mentions the sack of Athens by these Scythes, as he calls them, speaks also of the Heruli by name, together with Peuci and Gothi, as being (also in the time of Claudius) repulsed from Tomi, whence they proceeded to Mœsia, but were subsequently wrecked at the Hellespont.

Not merely, however, have we evidence that in the third century northern tribes from the Baltic coasts or the Elbe had penetrated into Greece, but we have an instance also of some of them making their way through the Mediterranean and the Straits of Gibraltar, by way of Sicily, the same route which Irish tradition assigns to Partholan, to the Nemedians under the name of Fir-Bolg, and to the Gaedhel.

In the time of Probus (276-282), as we learn from Eumenius, a handful of captive Franks, having seized on some shipping on the Pontus, devastated Greece and Asia Minor, and having landed without hindrance at several points on the African coast, actually took Syracuse in Sicily . . . and then accomplished a very long voyage through the Straits into the ocean, thereby showing that "wherever ships can sail no passage is closed to pirates in desperation."† Zosimus tells the story as follows:—"Probus permitted the Bastarnæ, a Scythian race, who had submitted themselves to him, to settle in certain districts in Thrace which he allotted to them, and from thenceforth these people always lived under the laws and institutions of Rome. And there were certain Franks

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† Zosimus, "De Probo," i. 71.



who had come to the Emperor, and had asked for land on which to settle. A portion of them, however, revolted, and having obtained a large number of ships, caused disturbances throughout the whole of Greece, and having landed in Sicily, and made an assault on Syracuse, they caused much slaughter there. They also landed in Libya, but were repulsed on the approach of the Carthaginian forces. Nevertheless, they managed to get back to their homes unscathed."

Now, side by side with this account in Zosimus, I will place an episode in the Irish tradition relating to the Nemedians, premising the fact that Zosimus himself might have called these Franks by a name equivalent to Nemedian, namely, Nemitzi, which (borrowed from Slavonic) was the name by which Byzantine historians knew the Germans. The Nemedians, then, having been driven out of their settlements in the north by the Fomorians, and having come to take up their abode in Greece, just as Zosimus's Franks had done, were returning to Ireland under the name of Fir-Bolg. The manner of their departure from Greece was as follows:—"The Greeks, out of fear that the Nemedians should make attempts on the Government, and occasion disorders in the state, resolved to use them like slaves rather than subjects." Here we note that Eumenius speaks of "the captive Franks." "The Nemedians, therefore, groaning under the weight of this servitude, came to a resolution to shake off the yoke and to quit the country. This design was kept so secret that the chief of the Nemedians seized upon some of the Grecian shipping, as the Book called 'Drom Sneachta' gives the account, and with five thousand that followed him, set to sea, and sailed till they arrived upon the coast of Ireland." Naturally, in order to accomplish this voyage, they must have passed through the Mediterranean, and if we add from the story of the travels of the Gaedhel the episode of the sojourn of that people in Sicily, we bring the Greek and Irish stories into a relation seemingly too close to be accidental. The association, I may add, of the Nemedians and the Fir-Bolg in the Irish tradition, and of the Franci and Heruli in the Greek history, in the relative positions in which they stood to the Greeks, seems to be somewhat analogous, a point which will be seen to have a more curious bearing when I proceed to compare the Heruli as described by Procopius with the Fir-Bolg of Irish tradition.



I return now to the allegorical *saga* of Partholan. By the woman in such tales to whom the eponymous is wedded, it was originally intended that the land over which he exercised the rights of lawful possession should be understood, just as in the names of his offspring, who in this case were Rughraidhe, Slainge, and Laiglinne, the several tribes or tribe lands are indicated over whom his rule extended.

The country, then, which represented the spouse of Partholan, or Bardland, was Dealgnaid, otherwise written Dealgnat, Dealbnat, and Delbnat, variations in form which are examples of the fact that *g* and *b* were interchangeable according to the linguistic or dialectic media through which the word reaches us; in short, that Alga and Elga are the same as Alba or Elba.

On the Continent the river Elbe was called Albis, in O.H.G. Albja, and later Elba, in O.N. Elf and Elfa, and in Slavonic Labe, whence dwellers on its banks were called Polabe, that is, "by the Elbe," just as Pomorjane meant "by the sea."

The *De* before *Albnat* or *Ealgnat* would, in cases where it occurs in Irish or Scottish names, such as Delvin, Delginross, etc., be thought capable of explanation by the circumstance that it is a not uncommon prefix in Pictish lists.† It occurs, however, in the very centre of the Elbe country. The Delvunda is the name of a river running into the Elbe on its right or eastern bank, dividing the Limes Saxonicus, west of which are the Transalbani, from the Polabi, or Elbe-people on the East. It rises not far from the Travena or Trawe, which divided the Waigri from the Obotriti.‡

In Ireland the prefix *De*, united to *Alba*, occurs in personal names (allegorical or mythological) and in place-names. Besides Dealbnat, wife of Partholan, we have Dealbaoith, son of Ealathan (or Allot), son of Neid (or Neit), whose daughter Dana or Danu, synonymous with Ana, the "mater deorum Hyberniae," is the supposed eponymous of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Dealbaoith himself is represented as brother of the Dagda, the divine king and chieftain of the Tuatha Dé Danann, one of the reflexes of Odin in Irish mythology.

In Irish topography we meet with the name frequently.§

† See Rhys on this Pictish prefix in the Rhind Lectures, published in the *Scottish Review*.

‡ See Spruner-Menke, "Hist. Handatlas," No. 33.

§ For a list of the Delvins, see O'Donovan, O.S.L., Co. Galway,  $\frac{14}{D. 1}$ , p. 406; also Joyce, "Names of Places," p. 127.



Dealbhna-môr is now the Barony of Delvin in the east of Meath ; Dealbhna-beg is, perhaps, the Barony of Demifore in the same county. Within the ancient boundaries of Meath was Dealbhna Eathra, now the Barony of Garrycastle. Dealbhna Nuadhat is now the Barony of Athlone. In addition to these there were Dealbhna Cuile Fábhair, called also Dealbhna-tire-da-loch, since it lay between the two *lochs*, Orbsen (Corrib) and Lurgan or the Bay of Galway ; Dealbhna Feada, exactly co-extensive with the present Barony of Moycullen, west of Galway ; and Dealbhna Teanmuighe. Seven settlements in Leinster and Connaught bore, therefore, the name of divisions or tribes of the people who professed to derive their name Dealbhna, that is, the descendants of Dealbhaeth, traditionally from Lugaid† Dealbhaeth, son of Cas Mac Tail, descended from Olioll Olum, ancestor of the Dalcassians.

Proof that the territorial name Dealbhna is the same as Alba, Albene, Ailbene, etc., is furnished by the late Bishop Reeves in his note on a passage in Adamnan's "Life of Columba," ‡ which reads, *Ailbene usque ad Vadum Cliad*. "Ailbene," he says, "is now corrupted into Delvin. The Delvin is a river in Meath, the boundary between Meath and Dublin. In the 'Annals of the Four Masters' (A.D. 1032) we read, 'a foray was made on Fine-Gall, and all the country from Ath-Cliath (Dublin) to Albene was burned.'" There is a plain which was called Moy-Ailbhe in Carlow.

Partholan's marriage with Dealbnat, then, is an allegorical way of presenting a tradition that the Bardoland included the Alba country, wherever that was. This marriage, it is to be observed, took place, according to the story, *before* he arrived in Erin. It may be, then, the Elbe country, and the district of its namesake and affluent the Delvunda in especial, which is intended. If so, it is the very district which the Bardi of Lainca would have possessed when Claudius drove them across the Elbe.

This view of the real meaning of this Irish *saga*, bold as it may seem, does not lose in interest as we follow it further. Dealbhnat bore three sons to Partholan, Rughraighe, Slainge, and Laiglinne. In the last of these we may recognize a form of Laighin, and in Lainca on the Lagina, Legina, now the Lein, was the Bardingau. In the countries east of the Elbe the traditions

† This name is a patronymic formed from Lug, with which god-name it is sometimes convertible. The genitive is Lugdach. Compare the name of the Lugii, and the proper name Lugius, that of a Cimbric chief. Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," 143, n.

‡ p. 108.



of the Langobardi handed down by Paulus connect them with Ruguland or the land of the Rugii, of which they are said to have possessed themselves. Rughraidhe in Irish is literally a "Rugian," "a man of the Rugii," or "the tribeland" (for *raighe* or *raidhe* means both) of the Rugii. Again, in the third and fourth centuries, dwelling near the Semnones and east of the Elbe,† near its southward bend lay the old German people called the Silingi, a name which was still preserved in the fifth century in that of the Vandali Silingi in Spain. In place of the long second *i* in the name of these people the Gaedhelic language would substitute *ai*, as in *Patraicc* for *Patricius*, so that Silingi would become Silaingi, which, dropping the short *i*, would become Slainge, the name of Partholan's remaining son.‡

While Partholan was from home on a hunting expedition, Dealbnat proved unfaithful, and, weary of her husband's absence, transferred her allegiance to Todgha or Togha, a slave. When, on his return, her lord accused her of her want of constancy, his wife made him an impudent answer, treating the matter of her infidelity as a matter of course, the result simply of his absence. In anger he slays her hound, called Samer, in whom we perhaps recognize Togha under another name.

Now, as the German peoples, one by one, went south to Bavaria and the Danube, so the Slavonic and East Prussian tribes, among whom might well have been Samgalli or Samlanders (comp. Samer §), passing along the southern shores of the Baltic, entered upon their lands, coming as far west as the Elbe itself, and occupying those very districts east of Elbe, of which we have just spoken. It is a hound which Partholan kills on his return; and it was by that name Hunden, or Hunen, that, as we have seen, the Germanic tribes designated their foes the Slaves. Put all these scraps of evidence together, and may not the *saga* of Partholan

† For the Semnonenwalt, see Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 8, n. Compare this name with that of the Tuath Semonn in the west part of the County of Waterford, and with the name Semeon or Simeon Brec or Brec, who led the Nemedians to Thrace.

‡ The Vandali Silingi had possessed themselves of the country about the river Bætis, where their principal town would have been Carmen, a place which, as we find in "España Sacrada," had retained its name from the times of the old Greek colony. The driving out of the Silingi by Wallia, King of the Goths, happened in about 416. They would naturally have gone north, and, their old lands in Germany no longer being open to them, they might well have sought new abodes in Ireland. It is, therefore, not a little remarkable that a tradition exists that a certain Slainge entered the Bay of Wexford, which latter place acquired the name Carman. Three men from Athens, with their mother, Carman, were also said to have attempted to form a settlement here, and, although repulsed, it was their mother's name which the place bore. In a poem called the "Fair of Carman," Greek merchants are said to have traded there.

§ Samer was the ancient name applied in the North to the Finns and Lapps. In Icelandic *sagas* we find it used as the proper name of a favourite dog.



have a basis of truth in the history of those ages, not too remote for tradition in the eighth century to have reached, when German and Sclave, or Finno-Sclave or Æstian, were contending for the occupation of the lands which lay between the Vistula and the lower Elbe? May not the result of such conflicts have been the departure of Bardic tribes from the Elbe country into Erin, who would have carried with them the traditions of their race, to be reproduced later on in the form of allegorical romance?

The second invader or colonist of Erin was Nemed, in whose *saga* some writers see only another version of that of Partholan—a view which is, I think, true only in a sense.

The meaning of the word Nemed in the sixth and following centuries has to be sought in the dictionaries of ancient Slavonic, and in the literature of Byzantium. If the question be asked, "How came it into the traditions of the Irish?" we may in a manner reply by asking, "How came it to be used in the sense of the Germans by the Byzantine historians?" The answer in each case must be the same: "It was Slavonic influence which brought it."

In the "Historia Britonum" it appears in the form Nimech or Nemec, the which form is found letter for letter in the old Bohemian glossary of Hanka, where its meaning is given as *barbarus*. It was the name, in fact, applied by those who spoke Slavonic to those who did not, and as the Germans were the people with whom they were most widely and directly brought into contact, in a special manner to them.

Among the early peoples of Europe it was customary to distinguish by a term signifying dumb, speechless, stuttering or half-speakers, those whose language differed from their own to such a degree as to render them either wholly unintelligible, or partially so. Among Greeks and Latins *βάρβαρος* (*barbarus*) simply meant this. The term *valh*, *walah*, *wal*, which became the designation of the Romans both in Italy and the Provinces, as well as of the entire Celtic-speaking stock, is said to have possessed this sense. The existence of the same practice may be traced also perhaps among the Gaedhel in the name *Scál Balb*, explained, "Dumb Champion," from *scál*, a champion, and *balb*, a loan-word from the Latin *balbus*, "stuttering." *Scál Balb* is called the King of



Fomoirè, which O'Flaherty explains by Finland,<sup>†</sup> and curiously enough, since if by Finland he meant Esthonian Finland, and the more southern and western districts of the Æstians, in Old Prussia, he would unknowingly have included the *Scalowitæ*, whose name means the Descendants or People of Scal, and whose territory lay next that of the Barthenses and Galindæ among the sea-board—or Pomorian—peoples of the Southern Baltic.

In the name Nemed, then, or Nemid, or Nimech, of the Irish and British traditions we have a name derived from the Slavonic *nem*, *njem*, and the termination *etz*, in Old Bohemian *ec*, the whole word signifying a dumb-person, one who spoke in a tongue which was not understood. Among the Wends *Njemetz* was the peculiar designation of the neighbouring tribes to the west of them. In ordinary Slavonic, *Njemci* was the name for the Germans. As a place-name *Nemitz* occurs several times in Pomerania—near Colburg for example, and near Cummerou, and on a river of the Rugewalde—in each instance marking perhaps the site of a German settlement among the Slaves. Galeotus Martius<sup>‡</sup> says, “Nemet Orzag est Germanorum regnum.” This meaning it possessed among the Byzantine writers. Sophocles, in his Dictionary of the Greek of this period, explains Nemitzi by “Austrians or Germans.” In the “Life of Saint Clement,” the Bulgarian bishop of that name, who died in 916, and which, though wrongly attributed to Theophylact of Bulgaria, was evidently written by a contemporary of Clement, we read of “homines barbari (nempè Nemitzi) jam naturâ suâ, nunc etiam mandato, immites.”

They (the Nemitzi) are not the Hungarians to whom by this same writer the term Scythian is applied, since, in a passage where he refers to the Hungarians who in the middle of the tenth century attacked Byzantium and laid waste Bulgaria, he says: “Cum Scythicus gladius Bulgarico sanguine inebriatus est.” The term “Scythian” was never, from Herodotus onwards, applied either ethnologically or philologically. The Scythians, whencesoever they might have come, or whosoever they might have been, were merely the inhabitants of Scythia, that is to say, of the entire portion of Europe which lies north of the Black Sea, embracing the countries around the Baltic Lake—Finland, Scandinavia,

<sup>†</sup> “Bania filia Scalii Balbi Finlandiæ regis, Tuathalii regina,” “Ogygia,” p. 303.

<sup>‡</sup> “De Dictis et Factis Matthiæ,” cap. xxviii.



Denmark, and Northern Prussia. To cosmographers living in the time of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna—that is, in the seventh century—the “Island” of Scanza was known as “Scythia Antiqua.”

Bede states that the Picts came from Scythia, and in so doing he means Scythia Citerior, that is, the districts around the Baltic. In Layamon’s “Brut,” what was an old tradition is clearly perpetuated, when we read that “over the sea-flood . . . came out of Scythia, . . . a king called Rodrich, and with him he brought the Peohtes—men of much might.” This Rodrich is in Irish Rudhraighe, or Rughraidhe, and this is equivalent to “the Rugian.”

When Zonaras speaks of the Heruli as a “gens Scythica et Gotthica,” he almost certainly means that these people were regarded, when looked back upon from his time, as an intermixture of Slaves and Goths. Although even the Goths themselves are occasionally called Scythians in respect of their place of habitation in Scythia, no Scythians, even by habitation, are ever called Nemitzi. Both by Slaves and Byzantines the latter term is reserved for the purer Germanic races of the West. It includes Norsemen from Scandinavia. Thus Anna Comnena calls the Varangian guard Nemitzi: “Barangos Thule oriundos barbaros securibus armatos, alibi Nemitzos.” These mercenaries are variously termed by Byzantine chroniclers, Scandinavians, Germans, English, and even Celts. This latter name is applied to them by Pachymeres and by Zonaras, and it possesses a curious interest, since it shows an unconscious restoration of the term “Celtic” to its primitive sense, in which were originally embraced by Herodotus all the inhabitants of North-Western Europe, just as by the term Scythian were embraced all the inhabitants of North-Eastern Europe, simply from a geographical point of view, irrespective alike of race or language.

We observe, then, from what I have said, that a great distinction was drawn by Byzantine writers between the Nemitzi on the one hand, and the Slaves, and mixed peoples, such as the Heruli had become in the East, on the other. After the Hunnish invasion, the name Bulgares was applied, not alone to actual Huns in retreat, but to those tribes, whether Slavonic, Germanic, or mixed, who continued to attack the Roman Empire. Tribes originally German, such as the Heruli, who had mingled themselves in blood alliance with Scythians, and participated in the



Hunnish raids,† would, supposing them to have returned to their earlier seats in the North, have come back as Bulgares in the eyes of contemporary writers—no longer as Nemitzi. This appears to me to be precisely what is intended by the tradition preserved in Ireland that the Nemedians, having gone into Greece under that name, returned to their old haunts as the Bolg. I intend presently to place side by side the traditions of the Heruli, as detailed by Procopius, and those of the Fir-Bolg, as found in Irish authorities. It will not be without interest to note how close the correspondences are. Meanwhile, I return to the *saga* of Nemed.

The enemies of the Nemedians, as they had been of the Bardenses (or Partholan's people), were the Fomorians, and in the account which the Irish traditions give us of their wars there is nothing whatever that we need call romantic. The statements seem to be as plain matters of fact as passages in Cæsar. The only difficulty is to reconcile the localities described with those to which tradition points in Ireland itself. The Irish tradition, told briefly, is as follows:—The Fomorians having attacked the Nemedians, the latter defeat them in three battles; in the second of which, we are told, that Gann and Gennan, two Fomorian chiefs, are killed. The name of the third battle was Murbolg.

After the death of Nemed, however, the Fomorians were in a position to exercise great tyranny towards the Nemedians. Off the extreme northern coast of Erin was a fortress called Tor Conaing (or Conaing's or Conan's Tower). It was so called after Conaing, or Conan, son of Faear, who kept a fleet, and resided there, with Morc the son of Déla. From thence they exacted the tribute of Erin from the Nemedians. The amount of this tribute was two-thirds of their children, corn, and cattle, which had to be presented to them on the Eve of Samhain, upon the field of Magh Kedni, between the rivers Drobaeis and Erni. . . . The Fomorians imposed yet another tyrannical exaction on the children of Nemed, namely, three measures of cream and flour and butter, which were to be sent from every hearth to Morc and Conaing at Tor-Inis. This tax was levied throughout Erin by a female steward called Liag.‡

† "Heruli, Turcilingi sive Rugii," are mentioned by Jordanes as serving in the army of Attila. Later on, it was to these same peoples that Odoacer belonged, and over whom he ruled. With Turcilingi compare the "Sons of Torc" in the Irish battle-tradition at Cong in Mayo.

‡ Liag means a calf, and therefore corresponds to *vetula*, which is both a calf and a hag.



At length the men of Erin rebelled. The clans of Nemed were led by Beóthach, son of Iarbanél the prophet, son of Nemed; by Fergus Leth-Derg, son of Nemed, and by Erglan, son of Beóan son of Starn, son of Nemed, with whom were his two brothers Manntan and Iarthact. Their forces numbered 30,000 on land, and a like number on sea. They demolished the tower and fortress upon Tor-Inis, and there Conaing fell with his children and kindred. Morc, son of Déla, however, arrived soon after from Africa with sixty ships, upon which the Nemedians and Fomorians fell to fighting again. In this last battle a mutual destruction took place. Nearly all the combatants fell, either by each other's hands, or were drowned in the sea, for so fiercely did they fight that they never perceived that the tide was coming in upon them. Morc escaped with a small remnant of his people, and with them took possession of the island. Only one ship of the Nemedians escaped, in which was Simeon Brec, Ibath, son of Beóthach, and Britan Mael, son of Fergus Leth-Derg.

They escaped in three ships, after seven years' preparation, but some still remained in Erin, and ten warriors were left to govern them. Here they continued until the return of the descendants of Simeon Brec, who, having been enslaved in Greece, came back as the Fir-Bolg.

Now, not only is there nothing extravagant in this account, but I venture to think that if we will allow the field of our inquiry to extend beyond the limits of the country we know as Ireland, we may fix the localities mentioned, and identify the combatants, premising that no trace of any such tower or fortress, nor of the name of Conan, exists on Tory island, that the features of the coast there do not afford a spot fitted to have been the site of the episode of the tide coming in upon fighters, and that the tale is not confined to that one spot in Ireland alone, but told of several—all which considerations point to the fact that it was imported by incomers, of the heritage of whose traditions it formed a part.

On the coast of Northern Germany lies the island of Rügen, or, as it was also called, Verania, occupied at an early date by the Langobardi, according to Saxo, and, at all events, by Germans, until it fell into the hands of the Slaves as they made their way westward along the Pomeranian coast. Opposite to it was the estuary of the Peni or Peene river, the great emporium of



Wineta,<sup>†</sup> sunk beneath the sea; the town of Usna,<sup>‡</sup> the town of Julin,<sup>§</sup> also called Hinnisburg; || and the district of Dimine or Demmin. West of these upon the coast was the country occupied by the Slavonic Obotritæ, and previously to them by the Heruli, who were said to have left their name in that of the town of Werla, or Herula, as it was called in Latin. ¶ Here, too, between Lübeck and Rostock were the rivers Trave and Warnau, the latter bearing the name of an ancient German people mentioned by Pliny, Tacitus, Cassiodorus, Procopius, Agathias, and others. Pliny and Tacitus call them Varini; Ptolemy Avarni, or Viruni; Cassiodorus Guarni; Jordanes Warni; Procopius Varni. At the heading of a short code of laws they are called Werini, and are joined with Anglii. In the Anglo-Saxon "Traveller's Song" they appear as Verne. They were associated with the Thuringians which carries their position southwards, but they were not identical with that people, as we find from the fact that Theodoric, in a communication to the kings of the tribes settled in these parts, addresses the kings of the Heruli, Guarni, and Thoringi respectively. Pliny had placed them under the Vindili, and Tacitus under the Suevi. Jordanes speaks of them as a people far inferior to the Goths in the nobility of birth. With their name etymologists have not hesitated to associate the name of the town Virunum and of the Viruni west of the Elbe, and to identify with it the name Uuyrun, Wirun, the modern Werne in Westfalia. Müller, in his notes on Ptolemy, naturally compares this Virunum with the Virunum in Noricum, and comments on its apparently Celtic form.<sup>††</sup>

Now, with this name in its several forms, may we not compare also that of a people and river in Ireland, and, indeed, with that of the island itself? The Latin *Hibernia* is in Greek Ivernia, and the name of the people and of a town, as given by Ptolemy, are respectively Iverni and Ivernis. Other forms are Ierne, Iernis, Juverna, Vernia, etc. In the *Vita Columbæ* we have the adjectival form Evernilis, which gives us Evernis or Everne,

<sup>†</sup> See Helmold, "Chron. Slav.," i. 2; Crantz, "Vand.," cc. 19 and 20; Micrælius, "Pom. Anth.," i. 97.

<sup>‡</sup> Called Usnan in Micrælius's map; called also Usedom, Usnoim, etc.

<sup>§</sup> Comp. Ulaid (lat. Ulidia); Uillin, a giant who fights Manannan, etc. Julin was famous for a pillar which was an object of worship. See Caspar Abel, "Teutsche Alterthüm," i. 208.

|| Thunmann.

¶ Micrælius in his map places the "Heruli, seu Werli, seu Wenoj," south of the Varini, whom he locates east of the Warnau.

<sup>††</sup> Carentz in Rügen appears also to bear a Celtic name. Compare Carentomagus, Carantomum. See Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 618, n.



which is practically identical with Avarni Ptolemy's name for the Werini—the *a* equalling the *e*, as in Arminius, Erminius, etc. The river-name Erne corresponds with that of the Warnau, while the town-names Werin and Werne correspond with that of Ierne or Iernis. The tribe name Ernai (of Munster) similarly corresponds with that of the Iverni on the one hand, and of the Werini on the other. In Irish tradition the Ernai, Erna, or Earna were inseparably connected with the Fir-Bolg. Mac Firbis, in his account of the latter, says that "some of the Fir-Bolg were called Ernaans, yet the name of Fir-Bolg was not confined to them. . . . The name Ernaan was generally given to the descendants of Olioll Earann, the ancestor of the Clann-Deagii. But there were Ernaans before Olioll Earann, for he received the cognomen Earann from his having been possessed of the territory called Erna, which name his posterity retained as well as the old Ernaans from whom Olioll borrowed it."

Of the Erna we read in brief notices of several battles. Conmael, son of Eber, King of Erin, gained the battle of Loch Lein (Killarney) against Erna, Martiné, and Mogruth, the son of Mofebis, all of the Fir-Bolg. Tighernmas, of the race of Erem or Heremon, fights the battle of Deabh-na-Cuil-Fobhair, east of Lough Corrib, against the Ernai, or Earna, as well as three battles against the Fir-Bolg. The battles of this king are described as against the race of Emer (= Eber) and others of the Erenn people, and foreigners besides. Fiacha Labhruinne, King of Erin, fought three battles against the Erna, one of the Fir-Bolg tribes, on the plain which Lough Erne now covers, and after the fighting was over, Lough Erne burst forth, and for that reason was so-called, being the lake which sprang up over Erna.† Aengus Olmucadha, King of Erin, fought against the Martiné, and also the battle of Sliabh Cua against the Ernai. Mac Firbis says he gained fifty battles against Cruithnè and Fir-Bolg.

Siorna (or Sirna) Saeghlach, son of Dian (Mac Dén) King of Erin, gained the battle of Moin Fiachna (Fiacha's Bog) in Offaly (Hy-Fáilge) over Martiné and Ernai. The following account of further exploits of his, in the "Annals of the Four Masters," is interesting. "An attack was made by him on the Fomorians in the territory of Meath. He gained a battle over the Ultonians.

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† These stories of lakes bursting forth seem to point to the traditions having been derived from a country subject to inundations, as indeed was the entire North-German coast.



He fought the battle of Moin-Trogaidhe in Ciannachta when Lughair, son of Lughaidh, of the race of Emer, had brought a force of Fomorians into Erin with their king Ceasarn. As the battle was being fought a plague was sent upon them, of which Lughair and Ceasarn perished with their people, and a countless number of the Fir Ereann with them."

Lastly, we find a certain Neimhidh, son of Scroibchenn, King of the Ernai of Munster, in the time of Art, son of Conn of the hundred fights.

That there must have been a continental Erin appears on the face of one of the Irish tales where the Fomorians are represented as "riding into Erin." If this continental Erin was the country of the Werini, and if the Fomorians were the Pomorjani, their next neighbours on the east, the difficulty is solved. Off the coast, too, of the Slavonic Gulf, east of the mouth of the Warnau, lay the island of Verania which, since *ver* and *her* or *er* are interchangeable (*e.g.* the Rugian god-name Herovitus or Verovitus) might even be called the island of Eran, and its people the men of Eran,<sup>†</sup> or Heran.

There is, of course, the proper Celtic nominative of this name found in native writings as Eriu (personified as a goddess and queen of the Tuatha Dé Danann), gen. Erenn; dat. Erann, with its varieties Eri and Eire, and appearing in foreign authorities as Iris; <sup>‡</sup> Iren porrexit; <sup>§</sup> Iri and Irenses for the people; <sup>||</sup> Ireo,<sup>¶</sup> with which we may compare the name of Herio, an island on the west coast of France; Herus,<sup>††</sup> and Irland and Iraland, with which forms we may perhaps compare Iruath, the name of an uncertain country mentioned in Irish and Anglo-Saxon writings, which some suppose to be Norway.<sup>‡‡</sup> From these shorter forms have been manufactured an eponymous Ir,<sup>§§</sup> a son of Milesius, and the founder of a line of kings who reigned at Emain Macha. He was said to have been born in Irene near the Thracian shore, and to have died in Ireland, which received the name Ireo, explained

<sup>†</sup> Comp. Tuath Sen-Erann in Mac Firbis's list; O'C., "M. and C.," i. p. 27, n.

<sup>‡</sup> Diod, Siculus, v. 32.

<sup>§</sup> Gildas, c. 6.

<sup>||</sup> Aelnoth, Vit. Canuti Cant., c. 10; Ord. Vit. ii., eccl. 1, 10.

<sup>¶</sup> Keating, edit. O'Mahony, p. 83.

<sup>††</sup> Vita Walæ, in Pertz, 2, 558, 559.

<sup>‡‡</sup> On the word Ivernia and its relation to Erin, or Hérinn, Whitley Stokes ("Med. Tract on Lat. Declension," p. 159) speaks thus: "For my part, I believe that Hérinn is nothing but Ivernya (Ἰουερνία), the *v* having passed into a *spiritus asper*, which has been shifted, the *é* standing for *í*, the *nn* for *ny*. . . . Thus Ivernia, híernna (Ἰερνῆ), thence, by metathesis, hírenn, herenn.

<sup>§§</sup> The same authority quotes Pictet, who, citing the Teutonic names for the Irish—Norse írar, A. Sax. ira, ire, asserts that Eirinn is derived "ohne Zweifel aus dem ältesten Volksnamen der Iren, der etwa Er oder Eir gelautet haben."



"Grave of Ir" from him. His posterity were the Rughraidhe or Rudrician line of kings. The name Ir seems to enter into two other names of Irish kings who may be considered as eponymi, namely, Irial or Irel, called the Prophet, and Iered or Iaran or Irereo, to whom Lynch† assigns the exceedingly interesting alias of Ierugleus, a name which is clearly Heruleus, or the Herulean, which brings us back to the very coast on which dwelt the Werini, and at an earlier date the Heruli, and tempts us to ask whether, after all, the old German antiquary Lazius‡ was not right when he propounded the theory that Ireland bore the name of the Heruli, and that it and not Scandinavia was the island in the north which Procopius therefore mis-called Thule, and whither they sent an embassy to obtain in the ancient home of their race a scion of the royal house for king. To this question I shall also return when I proceed to compare the native accounts of the Fir-Bolg, with the descriptions of the Heruli in Procopius and elsewhere.

As the names Erin and Erna are referable to the same root, so are Werini and Heruli. For the latter, *heru*, "a sword," has been suggested by Zeuss. If we may suppose that the Rugian war-god Verovitus (Herovitus) was a divinity adopted by the Slaves from the Germans, this meaning would well accord with the description of the idol which represented him. Heruvitus would mean "son of the sword," and the oaken statue of the god, which had seven faces, was girt with a like number of swords in their sheaths, while in his hand he held an eighth one, drawn.§ His equation, however, with Mars reminds us that Er|| among the Saxons, and Ero among the Bavarians, was an ancient war-god, whose name is found in Eresberg, now Merseberg in Westfalia, near which was the Irminsul, the columnar idol destroyed by Charlemagne, and also in Eritag, or Erctag, that is, Dies Martis.

If, indeed, a connection, such as I am hinting at, existed between the peoples of the south-western bays and islands of the Baltic and Ireland, the origin of it must, it is clear, be sought, in the first instance, in times precedent to the Christian era. Such a connection might well have been kept up, however, for centuries after it was formed, and would have paved the way for those raids made by the Fir n-hErenn, or Men of

† Cambr. Evers. fol. edit. p. 299 ; and edit. Kelly, i. 448.

‡ "De Gentium Migrationibus," Basle, 1557.

§ Vit. S. otto. Boll. Jul. 1, 409.

|| Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 23, n.



Ireland, to the Alps of which native tradition tells us. Names upon the coasts and islands of Mecklenburg and Pomerania Citerior, as well as plans of fortifications of peculiar construction, tend to strengthen this view. With the name Usna we may compare that of Uisneach in the Tale of the Children of Uisneach, and also that of Ushnagh in Westmeath, and, remembering the frequent descents made by the tribes along this coast into southern lands, which give us a second Virunum, we may add to these Usnach on Lake Zurich. With Julin, we may compare Ulidh, or Uillin, and with the Peene or Peni river, the name Feinne and Féné. In the name of the Wenoï,† and in that of Wineta, we have similar resemblances to that of the Féné, and, what is more, we have here too, as in Ireland, a name of this form side by side with one derived from *er*. Peene and Wenoï answer to Féné, and Werini to Erni, and the tribes who bear these names are in juxtaposition. Again, with Dimine or Demmin, we may compare Demni, another name for Finn Mac Cumhail; and also the name Mur-*Teimne* on the coast of Ireland, the scene of the exploits, both of Finn and of Cuchullain. With the name of the Silingi we have already compared that of Slaingé; with that of the Semnones we may compare that of Magh Seimhne, the Plain of Seimhne, where Nemidh built a rath by Fomorian labour; also the name of Rinn Seimhne or Island Magee, as well as that of the Tuath-Semonn, a Fir-Bolg tribe, and perhaps that of the eponymous Semeon Brec, who led the Nemedians to Thrace: with the name of the Rugii, too, that of the Rughraidhe; and, turning to the islands, the name of Fimbria, if it really be Cimbria, or Little Cimbria, as old German writers say,‡ with that of Cimbaoith, King of Erin, a second name apparently for Nemidh, since the latter built a rath called Rath Cimbaoith, and both alike had wives named Macha. Places on that island certainly bear names which are familiar to us in Ireland, as Gamandorp, which recalls that of the Gamanraighe, a Fir-Bolg tribe; Sarrandorp, which recalls Saran, a Pictish proper name; Boiendorp the Buanraighe; Mumandorf the name Muman,§ which was Munster, and others.

It was, however, the difficulty of reconciling the locality of Nemidh's attack on Tor Conan with any spot in Ireland which

† See note, p. 1082.

‡ See Bleau's Atlas.

§ There is a Mummendorf also east of the Trawe, and between that river and Grevismüllen.



caused this digression, and which now brings me back to what I think may have been the real scene of action, namely, the Island of Verania or Rügen, where, as we know, Germanic peoples, possibly some of them at one time Celtic in speech, must have been in conflict with tribes from the Pomeranian coast, of Sclavic and Finno-Sclavic, or Sarmatian descent, who were making their way westward, as the Goths and Langobards and other German peoples went southward.

The island of Rügen, or Veran, is of singular form. The northern portion being only attached to the southern by a narrow strip of sand, to the east of which is a broad sandbank covered at high water, and forming a semicircular bay notoriously dangerous to shipping. Upon the summit of the chalk cliff which forms the north-western extremity of this northern island, which is called Wittou, stand the remains of an ancient cliff-castle, just such an one as are those on the coasts of Scotland, Ireland, Cornwall, and Brittany. Within the lines of this stood a venerated temple, the presiding deity of which the Sclaves called Suantevit, a word which Zeuss† derives from *swjat*, "light," and *ewit*, a Sclavonic patronymic termination. The name of this sacred fortified height was Arcona, which is neither a Teutonic nor a Sclavonic word, but Celtic. In its composition it may be comparable to Arcunia, Orcynia, Hercynia, in which case the natural features of the place explain it, or it may contain the name of a person as Ard Nemidh, Ard Macha, Ard Ladron, Ardgonnell, in Irish tradition. In the latter case the name would be that of Con, or its expansion Conan, or Conang, as in Dun Conaing in Fenagh, and the Tor-Conaing, or Conain of the Nemedian tradition.

In popular oral tradition in Ireland, Balor, the Fomorian, takes the place of Conan at Tory Island, and inhabits a fortress with walls of bronze, though he is finally slain by Lug, the god of light. The name of Conan belongs to the tales written down in the Middle Ages. The question is, "Have we in Arcona the original Tor-Conain? and does the stretch of sand beneath it represent the site of the battle where the incoming tide completed the destruction of the combatants?" In any case, we cannot doubt that the spot was a sacred one in times preceding the occupation of Rügen by Sclaves. It survived to be the last bulwark of paganism in the Baltic, just as the name it still retains may

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† "Die Deutschen," p. 35, n.



perhaps be truly regarded as the last remnant left of the Celtic language in a Suevo-Sclavic sea, the south-western bay of which was once, if some expositors of Pliny be right, the (Celtic) *Lignum Sinus*.

Strange as it may seem to us that a pagan temple, endowed with all the ritual observances of antiquity, should have existed in Northern Germany as late as the reign of our Henry II., it is nevertheless true that the fane of Arcona was not suppressed until the year 1167, when Waldemar and the Danes destroyed it—Saxo, the historian, being present at its fall. In Ireland, Druidism, in pagan hands, had been dead for four centuries and more, although Christian wonder-workers kept its forms alive. The temple-worship at Temair had been abolished in the sixth century, if a Christian tradition can be trusted, although so distinct and elaborate an account of the “house,” that is, undoubtedly the *ædes*, or temple, of Cormac Mac Art, and its furniture, is found in the mediæval books, that we are almost tempted to think it lasted longer. So similar, indeed, is that account to Saxo’s description of the temple of Suantevit that I shall venture here to compare the two, more especially since points will appear, such as the bringing of propitiatory gifts to the god at Arcona, which recall the tribute levied by the Fomorian pirates upon the people of Nemidh.

The temple stood on the summit of a beetling precipice,† 175 feet in height, which served as an impregnable wall, and rendered the situation invulnerable on the east, south, and north-east sides. The artificial defences were confined to a rampart drawn across the neck of the promontory on the north and north-west side, where the entrance was, and where there was also a fortified pathway leading to a well. The wall was formed of earth and sods, the latter being interspersed with wood in the upper portion, a mode of construction—stones being used in place of sods—which is found at the cliff-castle of Burgh Head in Scotland, as well as in vitrified forts in general. In the centre of the *arx alta* thus formed was a flat plot of ground on which stood the temple. The building, which was of wood, and fashioned most choicely, was an object of veneration to the people, not alone by reason of the grandeur of the ceremonies performed there, but from the superstition which led to the

† “Saxo, Gramm. Hist. Dan.,” lib. xiv.; edit. Müller and Velschow, vol. i. pp. 822, *seqq.*



popular belief that Deity dwelt in the image which was therein set up. The *exterior ambitus*, or circuit around the temple—by which we are perhaps to understand that it was circular†—was brightened by an elaborate roof (*celamen*), the decoration of which embraced a variety of subjects depicted in rude and uncultured fashion.

There was only one entrance through which worshippers could pass into the interior, and two enclosures concentrically arranged (*duplex septorum ordo*) shut in the shrine itself. The outer of these, intersected with partition walls, was covered in with a scarlet roof (*puniceum culmen*). The inner one, which was raised on four posts, had, in place of walls, bright curtains hung around it, and, except in respect of its roof, and the ornamental canopy work (*laquearia*), had nothing in common with the outer court. Within this shrine stood a huge image, wondrous to see, surpassing in size the normal average of the human body. It had four heads (as also had Perun, another Sclavic divinity, and as also had a certain Cimbe Ceithirchennach, *i.e.* "Cimbe with the Four-heads," one of the sons of Umor, in Irish legend, who must have been an idol) and as many necks, two of the heads facing frontways and two backways. Of the two heads on either side one looked to the right, the other to the left. Each face was represented as clean-shaven and with the hair cut close (*crines attonsi*), so that the fashion of the Rugians, so Saxo observes, was that also of their God. In the right hand of the image was a horn formed (*excultum*) out of various kinds of metal. This the priest, well versed in the ritual, filled once in every year with wine for purposes of divination, for from the condition of the liquid he foretold the measure of plenty the coming year would bring. In the left hand of the idol was a bow, and the arm was drawn back to the side. The tunic, which was formed of a different kind of wood, reached the shins, and was so deftly gathered in at the knees with a hidden fastening that the place of the joint could only be discovered on the closest scrutiny.

The feet appeared to touch the ground, the base on which they rested being hidden in it. Not far from the image, the bridle-bit and saddle of the god were to be seen, and many other

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† I have seen one old map (17th century) in which, however, an *oval* area is indicated within the rampart.



insignia of his divinity. Among these was his sword, which from its immense proportions excited special admiration. An outer coating of silver set off the sheath and hilt to advantage, in addition to the beauty of the weapon itself.

The ceremonial observed in the worship of this idol was as follows: Once a year, when the harvest had been gathered in, a promiscuous assembly of the entire population of the island was held before the temple. Victims from the flocks and herds were offered in sacrifice, and a solemn feast was proclaimed in the name of religion. The priest, who, contrary to the fashion in vogue in the island, wore his hair and beard long, on the day preceding that on which he had to conduct the divine offices, cleaned out the shrine (*sacellum*) with the utmost care. He alone might enter this, and no broom was permitted to be used in it. While he was within this *sanctum*, he might not even breathe, so that, as often as he had to do so, he was obliged to rush to the door, lest the presence of the god should have been polluted by the breath of a mortal.

The next day, while the people were watching without before the door, he took the cup from (the hand of) the image, and examined it most carefully. If aught had been diminished from the quantity of the liquid placed in it, he held it to be an omen that the coming year would be one of scarcity. If it still was full, he prophesied a plentiful harvest, and, according to what he found, he advised the people for their good. He then replenished the cup, and placed it again in the right hand of the image. A great banquet ensued, with feasting and revel for the whole assembly, and in taking part in this, drunkenness was held to be a pious act, and sobriety a vile one (*in quo epulo sobrietatem violare pium existimatum est, servare nefas habitum*).

For the support of this temple a pole-tax was levied upon every inhabitant of the island, and a share of all booty taken in piracy or war was set apart for the god, who was at the same time the god of war, and the supreme deity. For the service of this god three hundred horses were set apart, with which statement we may compare that of Tacitus,† who describes the "milk-white steeds, unbroken to an earthly yoke, which the Germans pastured in the forests and groves at the public expense." Three hundred guards (*satellites*) were also in attendance, who formed the house-

† Germ., cap. x.



hold cavalry of the god. With the numbers of these horses and guards we may compare the multiples of three times fifty, who lived, as we shall presently see, in the "House of Cormac," at Temair. All the spoil accumulated by these mercenaries or retainers (who remind us somewhat of the Fenian *militia* who formed Cormac's guard), whether obtained in open war or private pillage—for Rugia, in common with its sister island Fembre, was, according to Adam of Bremen,<sup>†</sup> full of pirates and most blood-thirsty robbers—was placed in the custody of the god their master, who, out of the booty so derived, caused *insignia* of various kinds, as well as diverse ornaments for the temple, to be made. These treasures were stored in strong closets in which, in addition to specie, there was laid up a quantity of scarlet fabric which the Danes found to have been eaten away with age.

To this idol, supported as it was by the tribute paid by all Slavonia, outlying kings also, oblivious of the act of sacrilege, which, as Christians, they were committing, contributed (propitiatory) gifts. Even Sweyn, King of Denmark, with a view to obtaining the favour of this god, did him reverence with the offering of a cup of rare and beautiful workmanship. With this statement we may compare that, in the Irish tradition, of foreign kings coming to the "House of Cormac." Other temples, too, Suantevit possessed in other places, ministered to by priests almost equal in honour to the priest of Arcona, but possessed of less potent influence.

The high priest of Arcona had, too, the care, in right of his office, of the god's own peculiar horse, which was a pure white one, to pull the hairs in the mane and tail of which was accounted sinful. The priest alone might feed this animal and mount upon his back. On this horse it was, so the people of Rügen believed, that Suantevit went forth to fight those who were hostile to his worship. In proof of this, it was said of this sacred steed, who evidently shared with his master the veneration of the islanders, that, although left standing in his stable at night, he was generally found in the morning covered with mire and sweat, in just such a condition as would indicate that he had taken long journeys at a rapid pace. His services were also put into requisition for purposes of divination.

In regard to the comparison I am drawing between Arcona

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<sup>†</sup> "Ecc. Hist.," c. 226.



and Tor Conain, it may not be without significance to remark that the proper name Morc, or Margg, who shares with Conan the tribute brought to Tor Conain, means a stallion.† Conan and Morc might literally mean "Great Con and his Horse." In Irish, Conn Cédchathach, *i.e.* the Hundred-Fighter, possesses the attributes of a war-god. It was to him that the northern part of the island of Erin belonged, which was called Leath Cuinn, or Conn's Half.‡ *Arduinn* (Arcona?) would have been Conn's Height. He was killed by a king of Uladh, when unattended by his guards in Temair, and his cairn was at the Brug, together with the tombs of the Dagda and many another god, and, among the rest, the *carcar* (lit. prison (?) death-stable) of the hero Cúchullain's Liath Machae, *i.e.* Grey Horse of Macha. With the superstition of the night-riding of the Horse of Arcona, we may compare the stories of Herodiade, etc., which have been given above. For legends of a White Horse we may turn to the Garrán Bán, and we may remember that it is the O'Donoghue's milk-white horse which, every May morning, carries that hero over the waters of Loch Lein (Killarney).

That between the temple and its worship just described, and that at Temair, there exists a relation which is more than coincidental, I feel sure. It is, however, Cormac Mac Airt, the grandson of Con, who is there the presiding deity. He is a god, and the son of a god, for *Art* means a god. His connection with Temair is that of a god with his temple. The kings of the earth pay him tribute. To him all people resort for judgment. He is the fountain whence laws emanate. In the days when he reigned "the world was full of goodness; there was fruit and fatness in the land, and abundant produce of the sea, with peace and ease and happiness; there were no killings nor plunderings; every one occupied his lands in happiness. . . . His (Cormac's) hair was slightly curled, and of golden colour; a scarlet shield, with engraved devices, and golden hooks, and clasps of silver; a wide-folding purple cloak on him; with a gem-set gold brooch over his breast; a gold torque around his neck; a white-collared shirt, embroidered with gold upon him; a girdle, with golden buckles,

† Compare Hengst, with which some connect Hengist. A cliff castle in Rügen bears the name of "The Hengst," *i.e.* "stallion."

‡ The other half was Mogh's Half. As far as Ireland is concerned this division is quite mythical. Mogh, as in Mogh-Ruith, is explained to mean a "servant." In Slavonic, however, it is an honorific title borne by kings, and I much suspect that the division between Conn's Half and Mogh's Half was really one between Slaves and a Germanic people on the Continent.



and studded with precious stones around him ; two golden network sandals, with golden buckles upon him ; two spears, with golden sockets, and many red-bronze rivets, in his hand, while he stood in the full glow of beauty, without defect or blemish." There is much more to the same effect.†

Clearly the mediæval scribes looked on Cormac as more than mortal. The whole description is such as one would expect in a description of the presiding idol in a temple of Mars-Apollo. The same idea which strikes us with regard to the person of Cormac is present also, when we come to read the description of his house at Temair. "The particular palace of Cormac stood," we are told, "within the Rath-na-Righ, or Fort of the Kings." It was called *par excellence* the Tigh-Temrach, or *the* House of Temair, and also more specifically the *Tech mór milib amus*, that is, "Great House of the Thousand Soldiers."

"In the middle of it were seven candelabras. There were nine mounds around it. There were three times fifty compartments (*imdadh*) in the house, and three times fifty men in each compartment, and three times fifty continuations of compartments (*airel*), and fifty men in each of these continuations."‡ It is added :—"Three thousand persons each day is what Cormac used to maintain in pay, besides poets and satirists, and all the strangers who sought the king—Galls, and Romans, and Franks, and Frisians, and Longbards, and Albanians, and Saxons, and Cruithneans, for all these used to seek him, and with gold, and with silver, and with steeds, and with chariots, he paid them off.§ They used all to come to Cormac, because there was not, in his time, nor before him, any one more celebrated in honour, and in dignity, and in wisdom, except only Solomon, the son of David." Perhaps it is an indication that the writer of this account had some knowledge of the real character of Cormac's house, that he places in its centre seven candlesticks, the notion of which, as appropriate to a temple, would have been familiar to him from the account of that at Jerusalem.

In the situation of the House of the Thousand Soldiers, the author of "The Remarkable Places of Temair" in the Dindsenchas differs from the authority just quoted. He places it outside of,

† See "Book of Ballymote," fol. 142 bb ; also "Yellow Book of Lecan ;" MS. T.C.D., H, 2, 16, fol. 886 ; and O'Curry, MS. Mat., pp. 44, 45, and 510, 511.

‡ "B. of Leinster," fol. 15.

§ The sense here seems doubtful. It is more probable that these were the offerings with which the devotees approached the oracle.



and altogether away from, the Rath-na-Righ, and gives it three names, the *Long na mBán*, or House of the Women; the *Tech Midchuarta*; and the *Tech Mór milib amus*, as before. From the description given by this latter writer, Petrie is induced to assign as its site a double range of parallel mounds, seven on either side, to the north of the large enclosure, which he identifies with the Rath-na-Righ, containing the House of Cormac. The description of the House of the Thousand Soldiers in the Dindshenchas, as translated by Whitley Stokes, is as follows:—  
 “The lower part was to the north, and the high part to the south, and the erection of a wall about it to the east and west. The northern side of it is a little bent; north and south it ought to be. It has the form of a long house with twelve doors, or with fourteen, that is, seven to the west and seven to the east. And men say that there the Feast of Temair was consumed. That was reasonable, for the choice of the men of Erin (Fer nErenn) would fit therein.”

I have said that I feel sure that the coincidences between the account of this great Irish House (Tigh,-Teach-, Tech-Mor = Temur, or Teamor = Tara), and that of Arcona, are more than accidental. The position of the temple, on high ground and in a fortress, the number of chambers it contained corresponding with that of the guards at Arcona, the attraction it afforded to foreigners, the treasure-hoard accumulated, are all points in common. But more than this, there are special points besides. The buildings in either case must have been of wood, probably richly carved and coloured and clamped with bronze. The temple of Arcona had a scarlet roof. That of Credhe,† another of the Irish “houses,” was covered with the wings of scarlet birds. In the Irish accounts treasures innumerable, especially of precious metal, are mentioned wherever there is a description of such a house. But Cormac’s own peculiar cup of divination corresponding to that of the Arcona god, forms the subject of a special episode,‡ in which it is related how he, Cormac, received it in the Palace of Manannan Mac Lir, the which Palace stood *in a fortress, on an island with precipitous sides*, and was of white silver, half-thatched with wings of white birds. “The cup, called Cormac’s cup, used to distinguish between truth and falsehood with the Gael.” “Three

† See O’C., M. and C., iii. 12, 13, 14.

‡ See “*Irische Texte*,” 3rd Ser., pt. i.; translation by Whitley Stokes.



words of falsehood spoken under it would break it; three words of truth would join it." The best treasures of Erin were this cup, a musical branch, and a sword. This sword was that of the god (*art*) Cuchullain, and it forms the subject of another piece. In short, the whole of these accounts are part and parcel of the tradition of a religious cultus which Ireland shared with the peoples of the Slavonic Gulf.

I have already expressed my view that Pikullos, the Pomeranian divinity, was identical with Cicull, the Fomorian chief. I think that another god worshipped near Kiel, where stood his sacred grove, and the oak tree which represented him finds also his reflex in the pantheon of Erin. This is Prono, in whom we recognize also the four-headed Slavonic god Perun, or Peranut, reducible to Prun and Pronut. Old Bohemian glossaries equate him with Jupiter,<sup>†</sup> and he was the third in a trinity of divinities worshipped at Carenz in Rügen, the other two being Rujewit and Porewit.<sup>‡</sup> In Irish mythology we have a Crunn, Cruin, Crund, or Cronn,<sup>§</sup> who, being, like Nemed, both the son of Agnomon and husband of Macha, we may identify with Nemed himself. But Nemed we have already identified with a certain Cimbaoith, also husband of a lady named Macha, queen of Erin. Cimbaoith is merely an adjectival or patronymic form of Cimbe; and Cimbe,<sup>||</sup> as we have seen, like Perun, had four heads.

The third immigration into Erin was that of the Fir-Bolg, who, as we have seen, were the descendants of Nemedh returning under another name. The name Fir-Bolg was used both in a *general* sense as including several tribes, the Fir Domnann, the Galeoin, or Gaileoin, and the Ligmuine, and in a *special* one as applied to a tribe or tribes called Bolg. Their first king was called Slaingè, who had a brother called Rugraidhe, a repetition of the names of Partholan's sons. Slaingè's general is called Labraid Loingseach, that is, Labraid the Exile. Long ages after this, according to Irish chronology, lived another Labraid Loingseach. The two, however, are clearly one and the same. Slaingè had landed in the Bay of Wexford, with his general, we may suppose. It was

<sup>†</sup> Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," pp. 36, 37.

<sup>‡</sup> Saxo-Gramm. ap. Zeuss, *ib.*

<sup>§</sup> Dindshenchas of Ath Luain, and of Ard Macha, "Rev. Celt.," vol. xv. p. 464, and vol. xvi. p. 44.

<sup>||</sup> He is mentioned as a son of Umor in Dind. of Carn Conoill, "Rev. Celt.," vol. xv. p. 478.



here, too, that the second Labraid Loingsach landed. Slaingè brought with him his followers called Galeoin; and so did the second Labraid Loingseach.

Of the latter we read: "Two thousand and two hundred was the complement of the Black Foreigners (na Dub-gaill) from the lands of the Galls (a tirib Gall) who came 'along with Labraid the Exile, that is, Moen son of Ailill of Aine . . . when he and Ernolb, son of the King of Denmark (Danmarg), came and destroyed the kings round Cobthach Coelbreg in Dind Rig.'"

"Three names had the Leinstermen, Fir Domnann, Gaileoin, and Laigin, and it was the Gaileoin that nourished Labraid during his exile in the lands of the Gall."

These passages are from Whitley Stokes's translation of the "Dindshenchas of Laigen," and they contain, when taken together, two important points: first, that the Gaileoin were the same as the Gaill or Galls; and, secondly, that it was among the Gaileoin or Galls, not the Gauls of the Latin Gallia, that Labraidh was in exile. Now, from other writings, we learn that the place of Labraidh's exile was the land of Scoriath, King of Fir-Morcha or of the Fer Morc.† Scoriath may well be the Scoringa in which Müllenhoff‡ finds the shore-countries of the southern Baltic, the district which, according to Paulus, the Langobardi invaded—the land of Pomoriani; and Moriath, the daughter of Scoriath, may well be, also, the Murizzi lake-country, the Murias, perhaps, of the *saga* of the Tuatha Dé Danann, as I have hinted above.

The name of the Galeoin to whom Labraidh first applied for help to restore him to his kingdom, put back into older form would, as has been also pointed out, be Galiuin, Galiuind, that is, Galindæ. The Galindæ were during long ages one of the most prominent of the peoples of whom we have any record on the southern Baltic coast. Ptolemy mentions the Galindæ as next to the Sudini.§ In early times the Aiste or Esthones—the Just or Good People,|| as

† O'C., M. and C., iii. 242; Keating, "O'Mahony," 252; O'Flaherty, "Ogygia," 262.

‡ "Deutsche Alterthumskunde," vol. ii. p. 97, and map iii. He includes under Scoringa the entire Pomeranian coast from the Peene to the Vistula.

§ Müllenhoff, "Deutsche Alterthums," ii. p. 18.

|| This name strikes me as remarkable. It is the name by which the fairies, who are the *sídhe*, and also the Tuatha Dé Danann, are known in Ireland. Another name they bear is, "The Gentry." They are supposed to be a short race, with golden-yellow hair, and red caps, and live in the raths, but not in the stone *cathairs*. Adam of Bremen calls the Sembi and Pruzzi "homines humanissimi;" Jordanes speaks of Finni in Scandinavia as "mitissimi." The Aestii, according to Tacitus, had learned German manners and customs. The Tuatha Dé Danann, while the folklore about them corresponds with the Finnish, are associated with deities almost identical with the Teutonic. Can the tradition of the Tuatha Dé Danann be that of Aestii who passed westward? Another people famed for their goodness were the Getæ, whom Herodotus calls *δικαιοτάτοι* among the Thracians (Hist. iv. 98).



Müllenhoff explains their name—extended around this coast westward as far as the Vistula. Originally, perhaps, the Galindæ, passing northwards from the Sarmatian morasses, may have settled on this coast. The district they occupied lay between that of the Pomeranians and (south of the latter) the Poles on the west, and the Lithuanians and Curs on the east. It has been supposed that their name appears in the letters GAL on some of the coins of Volusian,† together with that of the Finni, as those of tribes over whom he gained victories. The name of that emperor, Veldumnianus, may similarly point to a successful campaign against a people called Veldumni, indications of whose presence are not wanting on the Lithuanian coast, as in the names Dumnaw near Königsberg on the Pregel; Dommesnes, the northern promontory of Curland, close to which is Domdangan, and others.

The name Galindo is found in Spanish archives, a survival, perhaps, of the Vandal invasion, in which contingents of them may have taken part. Duisburg knows the Galindæ as the Galinditæ, and their country bore the names Galanda, Galandia, Galendia,‡ corresponding precisely (with the mutation of *d* to *g*) to the place-names Galenga§ in Ireland, all of which are assigned to the Gaileoin.|| The old German historian I have named praised those of them who still inhabited their ancient seats, as a “noble and stalwart race.” In Irish tradition the Gaileoin were the backbone of the forces of Ailill and Medb in the famous raid called the Tain Bó Cuailgne.¶ In the Chronicle of Christian, first Prussian bishop, the Galindæ on the Baltic are accorded an eponymous, Galindo,†† and in the eleven divisions into which Prussia was divided, Galindia occupied the tenth place, the first being the “Terra Culmensis,”‡‡ and the eleventh the “Plica

† Müllenhoff, “Deutsche Alterthums,” ii. p. 100, n.

‡ Voight, “Cod. Dip. Pruss.,” i. pp. 93, etc.

§ Tuath Ligmaine in Galenga = the Barony of Mór Gallion in Meath; Galenga in Connaught was the Barony of Gallen in Mayo.

|| In West Meath near the Liffey was Galenga Beg, whose chiefs took the name of O’h-Aengusa, now Hennessy. Galenga Mór was the territory of the O’Lothchains, who descended from Cormac Gaileng.

¶ O’Curry, M. and C., ii. p. 260.

†† “Voight,” i. 621.

‡‡ I scarcely like to venture to express an opinion that in this name we have that of the Cuilmenn, the “great book” of profane history, as distinct from the Books of Moses, which was in “the East,” “in the land of Letha.” The passage in the Book of Leinster which refers to it is as follows (the translation is O’Curry’s): “The *Filés* of Erin were now called together by Senchan Torpéist, to know if they remembered the Tain Bó Chuailgne in full; and they said that they knew of it but fragments only. Senchan then spoke to his pupils to know which of them would go into the countries of Letha to learn the Táin, which the Saoi (or professor) had taken eastwards after the Cuilmenn.” As they were going, they came to the grave of a famous chieftain, Fergus Mac



Bartha," called greater and smaller Bartha, in which dwelt the Barthi, or Barthenses.†

In the Dindshenchas‡ of Druimn Dairbrech we read of the Aitheachtuatha Hérenn (the Peasant tribes of Erin), side by side with a remnant of a people called Ligmuine, who, together with Fir-Bolg and Fir-Domnann, are about to give battle to Tuathal Techtmar at Comur, or Commar. The name occurs by the side of those of the Bolg and Domnann, in the place usually assigned to the Galeoin; and in a list of tribes given by Mac Firbis, the Ligmuine are placed in Galenga. Now, in the country about Stolpe, Dantzig, and Lauenberg, east of the Rugii, and in the very district in which Ptolemy places the Galindæ, and later writers the Galenditæ, Tacitus § had located the Lemovii or Lemonii, a name which, with an admissible suppression of the *g* in the Irish name, is identical with Ligmuine.

It will have been noticed that to the allies whom Labraid led into Erin the term Dubh-Gaill is applied—the same as that given to the Black Danes in the ninth century. There is nothing to associate this name with that of the ancient Galli, or Gauls, of France. Its habitat must be sought for further east, and in the term *gall*, meaning "tribesman" or "-lander," or the tribe-land he occupied, corresponding exactly in meaning to the Irish *raighe*, in use among the inhabitants of the Æstian coast, we seem to have it. The Lettgalli, or Lettgalls, the Semgalli, or Semegalls, bear names which, both in form and in the identity of the latter portion, answer exactly to the form Finegall, the name of a district north of Dublin. The word *gall*, which to an inhabitant of the Gulf of Riga had meant simply "man," meant "foreigner," when adopted into the vocabulary of another people. That on the south-east Baltic coast, among the tribes occupying Old Prussia, where the word *gal*, or *gall*, prevailed, there were two types—a tall type and a short type, a dark and a light, we may feel sure from the observations of the old traveller Baron Herberstein, as well as from other considerations, of which the following, which has regard to the Chorwati, or Croats, a people to the south of them, is one. These people, to whom, together with the Serbs,

Róigh, and, as one of them was composing a lay in his praise, his ghost appeared to him, and told him the whole tale. I have already compared this to the Esthonian story of going to a grave to receive the words of the Master. (See p. 514, *supra*; see "Mat. for Irish History," pp. 8 and 30.) Cuilmenn is, on the other hand, glossed a "skin" (id. p. 32, n.).

† Duisburg, "Chron.," iii. 3.

‡ "Rev. Celt.," vol. xv. p. 298.

§ "Germ.," c. 43.



must be assigned a north-eastern origin, not far from the Baltic, and on the confines of the Finns, but who, passing southwards to the districts north of the Black Sea, had mingled with the darker races of the east, migrated, on the departure of the Germanic tribes, into the seats occupied by the latter north of the Carpatians; while, at a later date, a contingent of them, called White Croats, passed into Illyria, and occupying the districts of the Celtic-speaking tribes, were known to Nestor † as the Chorutane. That there must have been black Croats is clear from the distinction of "white" applied to some of them, and their presence north of the Carpatians is an indication of the westward tendency of dark peoples, who were not of Mongolian origin, but probably a mixture of Slave, whence their Aryan speech, and Tschud, ‡ or Kalmuck (whence the dark element among them), at the close of the Hunnish invasion.

Their name, indeed, Chorwati, deserves our attention, since it is probably ascribable to the same stem as that which gives us Cruithne, Cruithneach, Cruithen, Cruith-tuath—the name by which Irish Picts were known. In Lithuanian *kertù* means "to cut"; in old Bulgarian *chrutăti* has a similar sense. § In Polish *karwat*, in Latin *croatus* is a short sword described as "knife-shaped." || Referable to the same stem-word in its extension to the west was not only Cruithne but also the name Chortonicum, which Pott and Rhys have identified with it, and which, in the Weisso-brünner list of countries, is applied to Walholant, which elsewhere in the same list means "France." In the ages of chivalry in the latter country, swords had often proper names, among which were Corto and Curtana, the form of which in old heraldic devices is shown to be that of a sickle or scimeter. In Irish Cruithneach meant the harvest, that is, that which was reaped. I take it, then, that the meaning of Cruithne, as also of Chorutane, was "swordsmen."

Professor Rhys is responsible for the bold view that the name Cruithne is identical with Britanni ¶—that it was from them, in short—a race whom he holds to be not only non-Celtic but non-Aryan—that the Britannic Isles received their name. Müller had observed

† "Russ. Chron. Schlözer." See Zeuss, p. 597.

‡ These people, who were Slavo-Finnic, are contrasted with the Njemzen or Germans. They were also called Czud. Adam of Bremen calls them *Scuti*, which must not be confused with the Scythæ, and is a name more nearly approaching that of *Scoti* than any other known to me. (See "De Situ Daniæ," c. 222.)

§ Rhys, *Scott. Review*, July, 1891, p. 131.

|| Zeuss, p. 608.

¶ *Scott. Review*, *ut supra*.



that the best reading of Ptolemy's name for these islands was αἱ Πρεττανικαὶ νῆσοι, upon which Professor Rhys observes that Prettanic is approximately the Gallo-Brythonic equivalent of the Gaedhelic (he calls it Goidelic) adjective Cruithnech. "Prütanic," he adds, "is the genuine form, as is to be gathered from the dative Βρύτεσσι, which implies a stem Brutten or Pruten."

Evidences of the existence in ancient times of the name of the Britanni along the southern coasts of the English Channel and the German Ocean, such as the tribe-name Britanni on the French coast,† near Boulogne; the ruins of the fortification at the mouth of the Rhine near Catwick-op-Zee,‡ called in the "Annals of Holland," Brittenburg, and by the inhabitants in the seventeenth century T'huys te Britten; the marshy tract near the Ems called the Britannische Heide,§ and by Lipsius in Latin Britanniae Uligines; the herba quæ vocatur Britannica which the Frisii pointed out to the soldiers of Germanicus;|| the inscription Matribus Brittis¶ in the Duchy of Clives; the curious allusion in a copy of verses in Quintillian to one Annius Cimber, who in irony is termed the British Thucydides;†† the opinion of Werlauff,‡‡ not wholly to be discarded, that by the island of Brittia in Procopius the Cimbric Chersonese, or rather, the northern part of it, was intended. These and more besides §§ have been collected by various students, German and English alike, to support the view that (what indeed it was most natural to suppose was the case, since islands receive their populations from the continent immediately opposite them) the British Isles received their name, and those inhabitants who gave it, direct from the countries of the Rhine and Elbe.

May we not look for the name also even further to the East?

With the above instances before us, and the authority of Professor Rhys for the stem Brutten or Pruten, it seems hard to stop short of the supposition that a connection may be looked for

† "Pliny," iv. c. 17.

‡ Ph. Cuverius, "De Rheni Alveis," p. 110; Pet. Scriverius, "Tab. Ant. Batavicarum," p. 177; Hadr. Jun., "Batavia," p. 107; Hen. Canegieterus, Diss. de Brittenburgo, Matribus Brittis, etc., The Hague, 1734.

§ Lipsius note on Tacitus' Ann.

|| Batavia, "Hadrianus Junior," 1588, p. 216.

¶ See Schiern, "De Orig. Cimbrorum," p. 38.

†† Quintillian, "Inst. Or.," viii. 3, 28, 29.

‡‡ "Bidrag til den nordiske Ravhandels Historie," p. 95, *seqq.* The same view was held by Lelewel, "Die Entdeckungen der Carthager und Griechen auf dem Atlantischen Ocean," Berlin, 1831, p. 43.

§§ See Guest, "Origines Celticae," vol. ii.; also Schiern, *op. cit.*, p. 37.



also on the southern shores of the Baltic, more especially since the names of the tribes settled there are so markedly repeated, as we have seen, along the coast of France. I refer to the name of the Prutheni, and to that of their eponymous Bruteno, after whom the *Pruthenici tractus* were named, an area in which were included several tribes east of the Vistula, and to the inhabitants of which the Prussians owe their designation to this day.†

These Pruthen districts, with those of the Sembi or Samlanders, or Sengalli (compare the Bolg tribe-name Samraighe in Ireland) lay side by side of, if they were not once included in, the territory of the Galindæ, which gives interest to the following consideration, namely, that the Prutheni would bear to the Galindæ a relation analogous to that which in the Pictish allegorical genealogy the eponymous "Cruitne" bears to Geleoin, by which latter name the eponymous of the Gaileoin, or Galeoin, seems to be intended.

"The Cruithne," we read, "came from Thrace; they were the Clanna Geleoin MacErcoil; they were called Agathyrsi." It must be borne in mind that to the writer of this passage the classics were well known, and, among other statements in them, he doubtless knew that Gelonus was the father of Hercules, whence the introduction of the name of that hero; and that "picti Geloni" and Agathyrsi were Scythian peoples. Gelonos, too, was the name of the city of the fair-haired Budini, the site of which was probably in the marshlands of the Pripet. This application of the classical allusions to the Pictish genealogies is well exemplified in the "Life of Saint Vodoal," written in the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. He is stated to be "ex sagittifera Gelonum ortus natione, qui originem generis de Scythiæ populis ducere peribentur. De quibus et Poeta ait Pictosque Gelonos, unde et nunc usque Picti vulgo vocantur." Bede had expressly stated that the Picts came from Scythia.

The curious point is that modern research, as applied by Du Chaillu and others to the Norse *sagas*, and by Dr. Pritchard to the Irish traditions, seems to add weight to the hypothesis that Picts emerging from the countries north of the Black Sea proceeded both to Scandinavia and to Ireland. For the Picts were the Iötuns, and there were three Iötunheims—two generally held to be fabulous, and one historical. The first was the country between

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† Dobrowski and Zeuss give the name Pruzzi or Prutheni a Slavonic origin from *prus*, whence *prisnyg* = neighbouring.



the Dnieper and the Volga and Don. The second was north of the Malar Lake in West Bothnia. The third and historical one, which would have been the stepping-stone for these peoples on their way from the Baltic to the British Isles and the western coast of Europe, was called Judland, and was the portion of the Cimbric Chersonese which lay north of the *Mænia Danorum*.

Now, Dr. Pritchard, in the chapter in his work on the "Eastern Origin of the Celtic nations," which is headed, "The Sarmatian hypothesis," states his conclusion, which had been that of Prof. Graves before him, that the Cruithneach were the *Pruthneach*, Pruthenians or Prussians.† If this be so—since the Cruithne were Picts—that is, Iötuns, we may connect them with the eastern or south-eastern Iötunheim of the Norse *sagas*, which, if it be where Du Chaillu places it, would be the very country which may be assigned to the Agathyrsi and Geloni, who we should be inclined to regard as referable to those mixed tribes—Sarmathian, Cimmerian, or Celto-Scythic, who from the times of Herodotus onwards, now on the Black Sea, now in Thrace, now in the more northern parts of Scythia, were at one time the ravagers of Greece and her colonies, and at another serving her as mercenaries. The Geloni may indeed have been not unrelated to the Galindæ, and a deep ethnic truth may have lain beneath the story of Geleon, the eponymous of the Cruithne, while the latter people and the Prutheni may have been identical, and the Prussian coast the point of departure for the Iötuns for other and more northern shores.

In regard to the Agathyrsi, the name of that people was known in these regions of Scythia to Herodotus, to Ptolemy, and to Stephen of Byzantium, located sometimes on the Danube, sometimes in more northern Scythia. The latter writer assigns to them the town of Trausi, and calls them a Celtic people. Diefenbach‡ thinks their name may be found in that of the Acatziri, Acatiri, or Agazirri, whom Jordanes places between the Æstii and the Bulgares. In the wars of Attila, the Acatziri

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† The view of this writer is expressed fully as follows:—"Separating the Picts from the Cruithneach, we have found reasons in favour of the former having been Scandinavians; *i.e.* Norwegians, Swedes, or Danes. Separating the Cruithneach from the Picts, we have found reasons in favour of the Cruithneach having been Pruthneach, Pruthenians or Prussians. Prof. Graves connects the Cruithneach with the Prussians, and the Fomorian with the Pomeranians. If this be the case, as I believe it is, the northern elements in Great Britain and Ireland are as follows:—(1) Scandinavian: = Danish, Norwegian, (2) Sarmatian: (a) Slavonic = Pomeranian; (b) Lithuanic = Prussian. I am inclined to add Fin and Ugrian elements as well."—Edit. "Latham," p. 158.

‡ "Celtica," ii. 227.



seem to have been associated with the Bolgars, Cotragi, and other tribes. In respect to the language they spoke, their chieftain Curidach certainly bore a name which would not have surprised us, had we found it in Gaedhelic. In form it is comparable with Feradach,—the last syllable of which is supposed to mean “swift.”

I have spoken of the Gaileoin and the Ligmüne. Another, and the most important division of the Fir-Bolg, according to Irish tradition, was that of the Fir Domnann. It appears to be Celtic, and to signify “Men of Domnu,” *domain* meaning “deep.” *Domnu murib*, in Broccan’s Hymn, is explained *fudumnu quam mare*, and *fudomna mara* in Patrick’s Hymn, the depths of the sea.† In Irish tradition the stem *domn* enters into the tribal name Domnann, and in Irish history into the personal name Domhnall.

In the Parish of Kilcolman and County of Mayo is a place called Dum Domhnaill (Dundonnell). It is “a fortified hillock, and is believed by the natives to have been in ancient times the residence of a giant named Domhnall Dual-Buidhe, or Donnell of the Yellow-Hair, who here closed nightly the gates of Erros against all intruders, and made every passenger pay turnpike. Here are also shown his corn-stack, and at the base of the hillock a stone which marks the foot of his grave, but the headstone has been removed.”‡

The country called Erros or Iorras-Domhnann is characterized by O’Donovan as “the wildest part of Ireland he had visited. In extent it is greater than the Counties of Dublin and Louth. It can be proved,” he adds, “that this Dun Domhnaill is none other than the Dun Domhnainn mentioned in the ‘Annals of the Four Masters,’ at the year 1386. As to the termination of the name, it is frequently remarked that names which anciently ended in *nn* are more recently made to terminate in *ll*, as, for example, Lough Ainninn in Westmeath, which is now Lough Ennell.”§

The conclusion derivable from the identity which O’Donovan here points out is that in the modern name Donnell, O’Donnell, Mac Donald, Dundonald, we have that of the traditional Fir Domnann. Such a proposed identification, presented, however, as

† See Windisch, *Ir. Texte, and Wörterbuch, in vocc.*

‡ O’Donovan: O.S.L., Co. Mayo,  $\frac{14}{E.18}$ , p. 158.

§ Cf. Brennan (Brendan) = Brennal; in the Dumnonia of S.W. Britain it has become Brannal, Branwell, etc.



O'Donovan saw, a great difficulty to Irish antiquaries, since the O'Donnells, wherever found, were regarded as *Milesians*, while the Fir Domnann were *Bolg*. He therefore qualifies his conclusion with the remark that it was "the constant habit with the Irish to substitute for any ancient name, which had ceased to be familiar to them, one with which they were familiar, which approached it in sound. In this manner Domhnann would at once have been changed into Domhnall, which is Donnell." It will be seen, however, that—leaving out of the question the terminal syllable which may be only patronymic—the stem *domn* in the Milesian, and Fir-Bolg genealogies alike, has still to be accounted for. My own view is that the introduction of "Milesians" into the question at all is superfluous. Under the names of the respective sons of Milé, Miledh, or Milesius—Eremon, Eber, Ir, and the rest, are arranged, as it appears to me, all the several peoples, under their eponymi, who, in the opinion of the writer of the *saga*, constituted the inhabitants of Ireland. Miledh himself can be shown to be, according to some genealogies, the same as Cruitne, the eponymous and mythical ancestor of the Cruithneach or Picts, so that in each of his sons we may recognize the tradition of one or other of those bands of settlers who planted themselves on Irish soil at a date not so remote that it had wholly passed out of mind in the seventh or eighth century, to which date the Milesian *saga* may probably be assigned. The name Pict had a wide range as far as we can see, outside of and beyond its application to the Cruithneach. Some tribes of the latter people are, on the other hand, included by Mac Firbis under the general designation Fir-Bolg.†

The Domhnall of Dun Domnann was regarded as a giant. His "remarkable conical hill, which commanded the pass into Western Erros, was originally crowned with a cyclopean fort, never a large one, which was erected," says O'Donovan, "by one of the chiefs of the Damnonii, who held sway in this part of Connaught to a comparatively late period, and whose name it bore. This Domhnann was a giant whom tradition remembers as vividly here as it does Balor Bayman (*béimend* 'of the battle'; or *béimnech* = vulnifer), at Tory Island, and whose grave is shown at

† For the identity of Cruitne with Miledh, see the "Irish Nennius," pp. 41, 155, and Kelly's notes on Lynch, "Cambr. Eversus," p. 430. For the identity of the Cruithneach tribes with the Fir-Bolg, see Mac Firbis's "Hist. of the Fir-Bolg," MS., and translation in the Lib. R.I.A. For a supposed identity of the Picts with the Tuatha Dé Danann, see Colgan, "Vit. S. Cadroë, AA. SS. Hib.," p. 502.



the base of his tower." Following O'Donovan's conjecture, "this Domhnann was succeeded in this fortress of Erros by the Milesian ancestor of the O'Caithniadh, who became chiefs of Erros after the expulsion of the Damnonii" (Domnanns). "Shortly before the Anglo-Norman invasion, these O'Caithniadhs still held the chief command of Erros, when Domhnall-Erros O'Connor, who is believed to have left a numerous progeny in Erros, conquered them, and erected a house in Dun Domhnainn, which, thence, began to be called from his name Dun Domhnaill, a name which it retained among the peasants," until the day when O'Donovan visited it.

In Patrick Knight's "Irish Highlands," a story will be found of Donnell (Domhnall), in which he is represented as one of the Gamanradii † (Gamanraidhe), a *tribe of the Fir-Bolg* of Erros, and as a fair-haired man. In common with Partholan and Finn Mac Cumhail, the giant or hero Domhnall has a faithless wife, as we learn from the plot of another old *saga* related in Miss Knight's "Tales."

Domnann is, properly speaking, the genitive of Domnu, who, as we shall presently see, was a god, apparently of the Fomorians, who are traditionally regarded as of the race of the giants. In connection, therefore, with the conception of Domnann, *i.e.* Domnu—as a giant in Erros—it is interesting to find that one Domn, or Dumn, was a famous giant also on the coasts of the Baltic. In the legends of Eastern Scandinavia he appears as the ruler of the quasi-mythic inhabitants of Northern Iötunheim, or Risaland, popularly located in West Bothnia. Various place-names in the district of Pithen, such as Risnaeset, Jettskatan, Jetgrubben, as well as the presence of uninscribed menhirs, and of tumuli, are pointed out by Stecksenius as monuments of the ancient people about whom the legends were told.‡ The giant Ymir was fabled to have been an inhabitant of ancient Jutland, by which the Northern Iötunheim is supposed to be meant,§ and in the same region, that is to say, in the ancient Quenland, are placed the pristine seats of the Amazons, or Giant-Maids of Iötunheim,||

† The name Gaman is one of those which comparative etymology leads us to associate with the S.W. gulf of the Baltic. Gamendorp is, as has been said, a place-name in the island of Femeren, Fimbria, or Little Cimbria, lying off the coast of the Cimbric chersonese, and supposed to have retained the name of the Cimbri. See Blaeu, "Atlas Major," vol. i. xlix.: "Fimbria vulgo Femeren; La isla de Femeren, o Fimbria, a que algunos dixeron Pequeña Cimbria, como que la denominacion se derivasse de los Cimbros."

‡ "Dissert. Gradual. de Westro-Botnia," Upsala, 1731, p. 12.

§ Id.

|| See Sundius, "Disp. Acad. de Patria Amaz.," p. 29; Rudbeck, "Atlant.," iii. pp. 371, 498. For the word *gyg*, meaning an Iötun woman, see Du Chaillu, "Viking Age," vol. i. p. 36.



called *Gyg* in Norse, a reflex of whom is found in the mythology of Ireland in the bands of women who accompany the lady Cesair and the sea-god Bith to the shores of that island.

West Bothnia itself was the particular province of the giant Dumb, Dumbo, or Dumbus. It was said to have been called after him Dumbsland,† with which name Scandinavian antiquaries have sought to associate the *Dumna Insula*, which Pliny mentions, together with Scandia, Bergos, Nerigo, and Thule. "Dumna," says Verelius,‡ "sic dicta a gigante et rege Dumbone, a quo etiam Sinui Bothnico nomen Dumbshaf." Jónsson, speaking of Barder, says: "Patrem habuit Dumbum extremæ Scandinaviæ veteribus appellatæ regem, qua se a meridie ex mare Baltico Sinus Boddicus, et a septentrione opposite fere alius ex Oceano occidentale notabilis sinus infundit." § In his notes on the Hervor saga, Verelius says: || "Dumbus rex præfuit finibus maris, qui ex adverso terræ Risaland continentem ad meridiem stringunt. Ad meridiem quippe mare est quod jam Dumnicum appellatur a rege scilicet Dumbone sic denominatum, in quo multæ parvæ terræ et insulæ jacent." "Ab hoc Dumno," according to Jónsson,¶ "Sinus Boddicus olim Dumbshaf, Dumbi mare vel æquor dictum est: Sinum vero Boddicum D. Cytheræus Bothnicum appellat, et terram a septentrione huic sinui adjacentem, Norbothniam (hanc statuo fuisse Dumbi provinciam seu ditionem), eamque dividit in Vestbothniam et Ostbothniam." ††

Messenius makes Dumbus a very recent individual indeed, an error which Rudbeck corrects. In West Bothnia, in the year 868 A.D., says the former, reigned a chieftain Dumbus, from whom, in early times, the gulf was called Mare Dumbi; and, again, he says that there ruled over North Bothnia a certain petty king called Dumbus, who was contemporary with Haldan. He proceeds to relate that Dumbus married Miolla, daughter of the King of Quenland, and that he was slain by eighteen giants, and avenged by his son Barderus, who burned a number of his father's foes. After mentioning Verelius's Mare Dumbium or Dumboshaaf, Rudbeck says that the Norsemen thought that this name was that of a certain king Dumbus who lived in the days of Harold,

† Stecksenius, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Rudbeck, *op. cit.*, i. p. 482.

‡ "Hist. Rer. Norv." i., lib. iii. cap. 24, p. 100.

§ "Crymogæa," by Arngrime Jona (Jónsson), 1610, p. 113.

|| *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

¶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 113, 114.

†† "Scand. Illust.," x. p. 4.



the Fair-haired, but "our scalds," he adds, show us that the name had been in use long before Harold's time.†

Proofs of the existence of the name Dumn in these regions is by no means wanting in topography, and its claim to antiquity cannot be disputed. In the Atlas of Loonius we have (in lat. gr. 70), *Dummes Naes*, explained Promontorium Dumnium, and in Rudbeck's *Atlantica* (in long. gr. 50), *Dumn's Eja*, which he Latinizes "Dumni Insula," an island which in all probability was held sacred to this sea-god, just as the island Hloë in the Cattegat was to the sea-god Hlêr.

The Gulf of Bothnia, then, being called the Dumbian or Dumnian Sea, and the coast on the north-west side of it Dumbsland, there is another point to be noticed in conjunction with it, namely, that a name for the very same district was Pithea or Petia. A town, a river, and an island bear this name, in the forms Pithea, Paicto, or Paiktona, Pitha Elf, and Pitholm.‡ This must have been regarded as a name of some importance, for it became the appellation of the entire country beyond North Bothniâ in the direction of the Arctic shores, namely, Lapponia Pithensis. But Petia elsewhere is Pictland, so termed, not by native British historians alone, but by Saxo the Dane. The occurrence of this name, therefore, side by side with that of Dumbus or Dumnus, and even inclusive of Dumbsland, cannot fail to recall the position of the Dumnonii full in the very heart of the Pictish country of central Scotland, nor that of the Fir Domnann in Erros, whose district was that, also, of the Pictanei mentioned, as we have seen, in the Life of Saint Cadroë, as occupying the country around Croagh Patrick, over which the giant Domnann or Domnu ruled, and who was probably also the same deity as Crom Dubh, the Righ an Damain, ancestor of Finn Mac Cumhail, and the Righ an Domnaigh or Rex Aquarum (vulgarly "King of Sunday") worshipped at wells on Crom Dubh's Day. To these coincidences I would add the great similarity above noticed between the Tavastrian Finns and the Irish of the Donegal coast.

Saxo, as has just been said, terms the Scottish Pictland *Petia*. The name, too, by which the Norsemen knew the portion of sea which washes the northern shores of Caithness and

† "Atlant. II.," pt. ii., p. 50. Rudbeck quotes another passage from Verelius, in which the Dumbshaf is mentioned: "Giestur, Bardi filius, septentrionalia littora legit, et supra Halogiam et Finmarchiam Mare Bothnicum sulcavit, superatoque Dumbshaf," etc.

‡ Stecksenius, "Dissert.," p. 29.



Sutherlandshire was *Pettaland's Fiorth*. Before, however, we proceed to notice the Dumnonii in the British Isles, we must return to the Baltic. It is not to the southern point of Finland alone that the name Dummes Naes was applied. On the opposite coast, to the south, the extreme northern point of Curland, as has been before pointed out, bore the same name, Dommesnes, while on the Pregal was Dumnaw, in Pomerania was Dameshagen, and on the west coast of North Jutland Dams-gaard. Lastly, somewhere on the German coast were probably Veldumnii, while a tribe called Geidumni lay near the Menapii, and on the Frisian island of Zeland was Dombourg, where was the shrine of the sea-goddess Nehalennia, in the precincts of which inscriptions have been found proving commercial contact with the shores of Britain.

An immigration of a people bearing a name which it is impossible to dissociate from that of Domnu and Domn had taken place into the south-western promontory of Britain at a date sufficiently early for their presence there under the name Dumnonii or Damnonii, and their possession of an important town, Isca Damnoniorum, to be recognized by Ptolemy. If it was from the Baltic they came, their migration may possibly have been coincident with that of another people, the Veneti, whose name also occurs on the southern Baltic as the Veneti or Venedi, and who, when Cæsar found them settled on the coast of Brittany, were engaged in commerce with the opposite coast of Britain, the inhabitants of which would have been the Domnonii. It is curious that, in no other part of England, are tales of Giants so prevalent as in Cornwall and Devon. Here, too, as in Finland and Curland, a promontory, the *Δαμνονίον ἄκρον*, the Lizard, bore their name, or rather that of their god, for it was the custom of the ancients, both in barbarian and classic lands, to call promontories by the name of their deities. Whether the extreme south-eastern point of Britain also bore this name, now corrupted into Dungeness, I cannot say. The etymology of Dunes-Næs, the Bill or Point of the sand-dunes, suits it too well to be hastily laid aside. The peninsula of Brittany received its name, as is well known, of Domnonia from the Dumnonians of Britain, who, as fugitives from the Saxons, crossed into the country of the not perhaps unrelated Veneti, whose swiftly sailing boats, called *pictæ*, had scoured the Channel in the days of Cæsar.

In Scotland, according to Skene, "the great nation of the



Damnonii," as he terms them, "lay north of the Selgovæ and Novantæ, separated from them by the chain of hills which divides the northern rivers from the waters which flow into the Solway, extending as far north as the Tay. South of the Forth of Clyde they possessed the modern counties of Ayr, Lanark, and Renfrew, and, north of these estuaries, the counties of Dumbarton and Stirling, and the districts of Menteith, Stratherne, and Fotherve, or the western half of the Peninsula of Fife. They thus lay in the centre of Scotland, and were the *novæ gentes* whose territory Agricola ravaged.†

In Ireland, as now generally recognized, we have their name in that of the Fir Domnann, or Men of Domnu or Domna. "Put this word Domnu," says Professor Rhys, "back into that which must have been its early form, and you will have a nominative 'Dumnu,' and a genitive 'Dumnonos,' implying a stem, 'Dumnon'; form from the latter an adjective 'Dumnonios,' and you will then have as its plural 'Dumnonii,' the attested name of two peoples of Roman Britain, situated respectively by the Severne Sea and the Firth of Forth."‡ Two estuaries, one on either side of Ireland, bore their name; that on the east the Bay of Malahide, that on the west in Irrus- or Erros-Domnann, in which district lay Dun Domhnaill. Each of these was called after them "Inver Domnann." In the form *doney* their name was also said to be found in that of Knockmuldoney in Sligo; perhaps, also, in that of Inchidoney in Cork, although the latter is explained the Island of Our Lady, I suppose from an etymology connecting it with the Latin *domina, domna*. From these Fir Domnann it was that, according to the traditions written down in the Middle Ages, the kings of Connaught were descended, and the royal line of Temair, of which palace, or temple, they were said to be the founders.

According to tradition, a colony of the Fir Domhnannach, as Mac Firbis calls them, landed at Broadhaven in Erros,§ and established themselves, after which event the district was called Iorras Domhnann, and this name it bore in the time of O'Flaherty, for the forms Iorras Duin Domhnaill, as the peasantry call it, and as it appears in a map in the reign of Henry VIII., and Arras Dundonald, are alike corruptions of Iorras Duin Domhnainn.

O'Flaherty || speaks of the Damnonii under Gann, Ganann,

† "Celtic Scotland," vol. i. pp. 73, 74.

‡ "Lectt. on Celtic Heathendom," p. 597.

§ This name is *Iar-Ros*, i.e. "Western Seaboard."

|| "Ogygia," p. 171.



and Sengann, as first trying to effect a landing in East Leinster, at Arklow, at a spot which, even though they were repulsed, bore their name, and was called Inver Domnann. Their subsequent attempt, he says, on the extreme west coast, being more successful, the district naturally received their name. As to the exact extent of the territory occupied by them, the authorities differ. O'Flaherty states that Eochaid Allot † possessed Irrosdamnonia, which stretched from the Galvia (Galway) river to the Dubius (the Duff, near Bundoran), and the Drobisius (the Drawes ‡)—both in Leitrim, rivers on the borders of Ultonia. The Mac Firbises, however, describe the Fir Domhnannach as located in the territories of Ceara, Tirawley, and Tireragh, and in the whole extent of country from the river Robe, running into Loch Mask on the east, to the river formerly called the Cowney, now the Drumcliff river, running into the sea in Drumcliff Bay, four miles north of Sligo.

To return for a moment to Domhnall and Dun Domhnaill. "I have heard," says O'Donovan, § "all the versions of the story about Domhnall Dualbuidhe and his wife Muinchinn, or Munchaoín, the daughter of Maonghal, and I think that Domhnall was none other than *Daman*, the father of Ferdia—the Ferdia (Ferdia) who was killed in single combat by Cuchullain. All the sheannachies," he adds, "agree that Domhnall was slain by Fergus Mac Roigh (Scroigh), king of Ulster, and that Munchaoín lived in the castle of Doonah. I" (O'Donovan) "suppose Munchaoín is the Black, or Dark, Lady of Doonah, the heroine of Maxwell's legend. It is said that she was drowned in the river Munchinn near Dun Domhnaill, on which she left her name," as, we may add, it was usual for ladies to do when drowned in rivers, from the Vistula || to Erros-Domhnann.

I now pass to such proofs as are to be obtained of the occurrence

† I have previously pointed out the identity of this name with that of Forniot.

‡ O'Donovan thinks Ptolemy's *Ravius* is the Saverus (= Samer), or Erne; but does not the *Ravius* still possess its ancient name, with the addition of an initial *d*, in that of the D(ravius), or Drawes? With this latter name, Draobhais, or Drawes, compare that of the Trawe in Holstein, west of the Warnou (? Erne), and that of the Dravus in Pannonia.

§ O.S.L., Co. Mayo,  $\frac{14}{E. 18}$ , p. 397.

|| See "Dlugoss," lib. i. p. 57; also the "Neues Lausitzischen Mag.," vol. xxxvii. p. 235. Vanda was the lady in question, and the river the *Vandalicus amnis*. She was fabled to be the daughter of Gracchus, a Latinized form possibly of Crocco, the chief god of the ancient Bohemians, who had three daughters, "pythonesses," in honour of whom tumuli were raised and castles named. See Dobrowski, "Rev. Bohem. Scriptores," vol. i. 8,—from Cosmas Pragensis. The river Bann takes its name from Banbha, a queen of Erin, who gave her name also to the island. With a change of *d* to *b*, admissible between German and Irish names, cf. Ernold and Ernolb, Banda (= Vanda) would be Banbha in Irish.



of the word "Domnu," or "Dumnus," in Ireland and elsewhere. Domnu, or Domna, whether male or female is uncertain, but more usually represented as a giant of the former sex, was the Dé Domnand, that is, "the Domnann God." He had a son Indech, who was one of the chieftains of the Fomorians engaged at the battle of Moytirra, and it was at Inver Domnann, or Domnu's estuary, that he with his Fomorians landed. Domnu, however, did not himself fight for the Fomorians, and, indeed, as M. D'Arbois de Jubainville† has pointed out, he appears in another place as belonging to a class of gods opposed to them.

Great pains have been taken by Glück, Diefenbach, Roget de Belloguet, H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Rhys, and others, to collect instances of the occurrence of the name Dumnus and to explain its meaning. In the "Table of Peutinger" a Roman station called Dumnus is placed on the road from Trèves to Mayence, which it is suggested must be explained by some term for "the property of ——" understood.‡ The cognomen Dubna is known to us in three inscriptions in Stiria or Noricum.§ Glück cites the name Dubnus on a coin.|| He refers also in his works to Welsh forms, in "Lives of Saints," in the "Ancient Laws of Wales," and in the "Book of Llandaff"—namely, Dubn, Dumn, Duun, Domu, Dwfn, and Dwfin, equivalent to Dubnus and Dumnus. In spite of the attempts we noticed, made by Northern antiquaries, to find for Ptolemy's Δουμνα νῆσος¶ a situation in Bothnia, the site of that island remains uncertain. As derivatives, Glück gives us the Gaulish Dubnissus, Dumnissus, Domnitius, Dumnâcus, the old British Δουμνόνιοι, the Cymric Dyfnau = Dumnanus, and Dyfnawc or Dyfnawg = Dumnâcus, to which I believe we may add the Gaedhelic Domnach, in some cases where it has been, perhaps not unintentionally, confused by a process of false etymology with the Latin *dominicus*, and also the name Donnacht or Domhnannacht, applied first to the pagan divinity and then to the saint who, as we shall presently see, was venerated on the mountain of Sliabh Domhangart or Domhnangart, in the County of Down.

In compounds we have the Gaulish Dubnoreix, Dubnorêx, Dumnorix, Dubnotalus, Domnotonus, Δουμνόκλειος, Verjugodum-

† "Cours de Litt. Celt.," vol. v.; see the index to that work for other references.

‡ Desjardins, "Géog. de la Gaule," pp. 116, 117.

§ Corp. Inscript. Lat. III., 5265, 5360, etc.

|| "Revue Numismatique," 12, 75, n. 1.

¶ Geogr. II. 2.



nus, Conconnetodumnus, Vercondaridubnus, Togidumnus, Vel-dumnianus, and Geidumni, to which we may add the old British Cogidumnus, Dumnobellannus, Dagodubnus, and the Cymric Domngualet = Domnovaretus (cf. Ambivareti), Dyfnwal = Dumnovalus, Dofngarth = Domnogartus, Guordubn, Guordumn, Gurdumn, Guordomn, Gordwfyn = Verdubnus, Verdumnus. In Ireland, besides the names we have mentioned, we have that of Domnanchick, applied to a certain person called Crimthann Sciatbel, who, being made Governor of Laighen (Leinster) by Heremon, received hospitably, and entered into alliance with the Cruithné or Picts, who, under the command of Gud and Cathluan, arrived in that province at that time. As his name implies, he was one of the Fir-Domnann stock. To Irish examples I have added above the name Donnacht, which is the Gaulish Domnâcus,† and Domhnangart or Domongart, which is the Gaulish Domnogartus. There are probably others, among which Domuit may be the Gaulish Domitius. Colgan gives the interesting form Domangenus which was that of two bishops, the one a son of Senach, the other a disciple of St. Barry.‡

As to the meaning, the word *dubnus*, *dumnus* is, says Glück, the modern Cymric *dwfu*, which, like our word "deep," is both substantive and adjective, and, like the Latin "Oceanus," was used both in the material sense of the "Waters of the Great Deep" and in the mythical sense of the "Ruler of the Sea"—the "Rex Aquarum." With the Cymric *dwfu* = depth, deep, correspond the Cornish *doun*, *down* = deep, high; the Armoric *don* or *donn*, deep = dumn; the Gaedhelic *domun*, modern *domhain*, *doimhin*, deep; *domnu*, glossed "profunditas," § modern *doimhne* = deep, depth, and in Scottish Gaedhelic "Oceanus," or "The Deep." Indeed, the English word "deep" and the form *dubno-s*, with the aid of the *no* suffix, are equally derived from a reduced root *dhub*, says M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, the complete form of which we find in the Gothic *diups* = *deupa-s*, German *tief*.||

† This proper name Dumnâcus, formed from Dumnu, existed altogether independently of the Latin loan-word *dominicus*. This is plain from the occurrence in "Cæsar" (De B. G., viii. cc. 26, 27, 29) of the name Dumnâcus, who, according to Hirtius, commanded the Andecavi. Dubnacus occurs in an inscription at Vienne in Isère (Corp. Inscrip. Lat., XII., 2356). For Dyfnawg, see "Lives of Welsh Saints," p. 270; Glück, "Kelt. Namen;" and "Rev. Archeol.," 1891, p. 27.

‡ "AA. SS. Hib.," pp. 305, 306, 631. One Domangenus in Colgan was the son of Sarranus, a Pictish proper name, with which I have compared the place-name in Sarendorp Fimbria.

§ Zeuss, ed. Ebel, p. 272.

|| "Gothic *diup*, from *dup*; O.H.G. *tief*, profundus," says Glück.



This induces me to think it possible that some connection may exist between the Irish and Scottish Gaelic *dubh*, "black"; Cymric and Armoric *du*; Cornish *duv*; and the name for "the Deep." The ideas of dark waters and depth are correlative, as in the poetry of the Hebrews: "Thou shalt hide me in the Great Waters, in a place of Darkness, and in the Deep." In Gaelic, as Glück has pointed out, *domun*, modern *domhan*, is met with also in the sense of "mundus," and in Scottish Gaelic it means both "mundus" and "oceanus." Hence the word conveys an idea of greatness—"far to the bottom" (*weit zu Grunde*), a meaning which, in compounds where an intensitive force has to be introduced, *dubh* shares with *dumn*. Used thus, it corresponds exactly with the Greek *βαθύς*, as is seen in the compound *Δουμνόκλειος*, when compared with *βαθυκλής*, *βαθύδοξος*.

Of the cultus of the god Domnu there are, I feel sure, many traces remaining in various parts of Ireland. One important site still retains his name. This is the mountain called Slieve Domangard, Domhangaird, Downart or Donard, on the coast of the county of Down. The summit of the mountain was a very sacred spot, and the cultus was connected with wells. The god is represented as a fierce pagan tyrant, who finally succumbs to the superior power of Patrick. I note these points because he appears to be the counterpart, on the east coast of Ireland, of Crom Dubh, the Righ-an-Domhain, or -Domnaigh, on Cruachan Eile, or Croagh Patrick on the west. The legend about him is very similar to that of Crom Dubh, and both are connected with mountain-tops and wells.

The name Domangart is spelt also, and more correctly, Domhnangart by O'Donovan† and by O'Conor in the "Annals of Tigernach." It has its equivalent in the Welsh Dofngarth,‡ and the Latin Domno-gartus.§ These two latter are, however, personal names, while Slieve Domangart is that of a place. In the terminal syllable *gart* we may find comparisons in Eoten-guard in the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf; in Rugyard (*i.e.* Rugegart), the site on a hill of the fortified palace of the chiefs of Rügen, as also in Asgard and Utgard (? Iöt-gard) of the Norse *sagas*, etc. Its meaning appears to be that of the Greek *τέμενος*, the area enclosed

† O.S.L., Co. Down, <sup>14</sup>C. 21; "Ann. of Tigernach," O'Conor, 2, 136, 160, etc.

‡ "Lib. Landav.," p. 160.

§ Kelt. Namen, *loc. cit.*



in the fence which surrounded a venerated site, city or temple—such, for example, as that of Arcona, previously described. From the place-name Domnu's *gard*, the name of the god, and subsequently that of the saint who took his place, were formed, an etymological freak commonly practised in the course of the transmission of traditions. In the "Ordnance Survey Letters," O'Donovan† supplies full and interesting details of the legends attaching to Donnart's, or Donnacht's, name, especially those relating to his conversion by Patrick, such as that of a bull miraculously restored to life. Here we find also an account of the multitudes of pilgrims who, as at Croagh Patrick, climbed the holy mountain "overhanging the eastern sea," and sought on its summit the cairns with their wells, the chapel of the saint, and the altar where every Sunday (*dies dominica*) he was supposed to celebrate Mass. The means of access for Saint Donnacht from the shore to the summit was a secret cave, through which he will pass, until the Day of Judgment, from his second church in a fort called Rath Murbuilg (? Bolg's Mur), seated on the sea-shore. From all this it is evident that the cultus here centred was commenced in pagan times, assimilated by Christians, and perpetuated under the auspices of the latter. The connection of the Fir-Bolg with Slieve Donnard is indicated by the fact that the mountain was also called Slieve Slainghé, that being the name of the first Fir-Bolg king.

In the name of a female saint, Damhnaid, Damnata, Davnat, or Dimna, daughter of Damen,‡ described as of Slieve Beatha, the mountain of the sea-god Bith, from whom Tech-Damhnait (Tedavnat) in Monaghan received its name, and who was the patroness of Kildavnat in Mayo, we may possibly also recognize that of Domnu, Domna, or Damna. The late Bishop Reeves called my attention to the fact that this saint was also the patroness of Gheel of Holland.

One other place in Ireland, although not hitherto attributed to this latter divinity, was, I am inclined to think, a celebrated centre of her worship. This was Ballyvourney§ in Cork, where, however,

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† Co. Down, 14  $\frac{C}{21}$ , pp. 92, *seqq.*

‡ See O.S.L., Armagh and Monaghan,  $\frac{14}{B. 12}$ , pp. 39, 68, etc. See also *id.* p. 93, for a legend of a chief called Damhain Damhargait, ancestor of the Orghilla, and also for a tradition that Patrick spoke bad Irish.

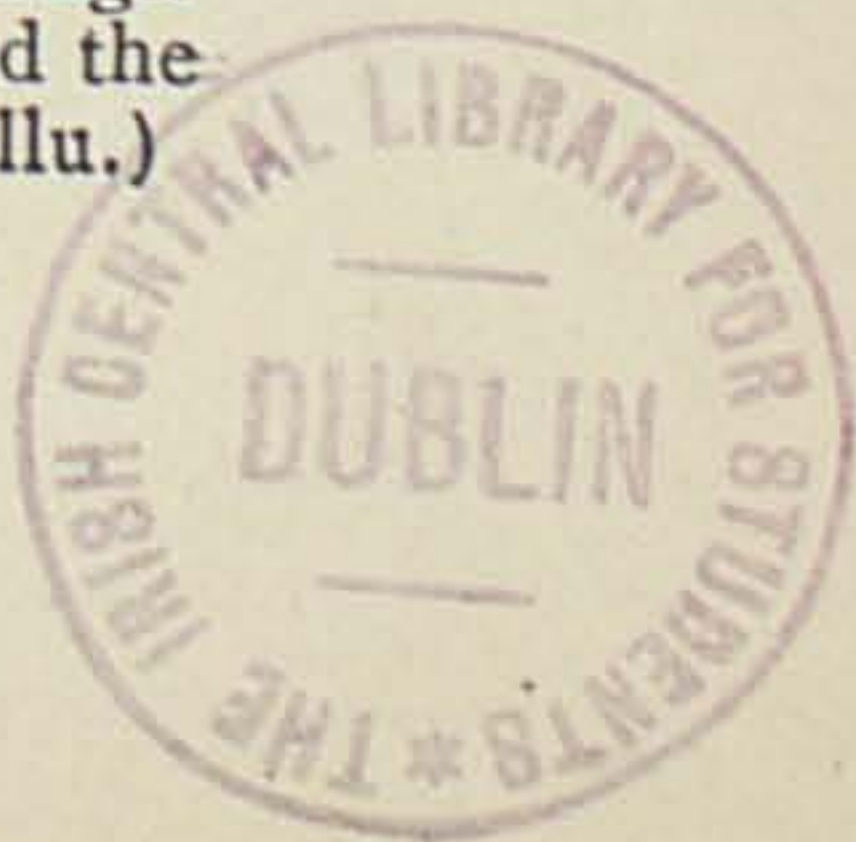
§ Windele, MS., "Cork W. and N.E.," pp. 289, *seqq.*



she was known, not as Davnat, but as Gobnet, which is practically the same word, since in West Munster *g* stands for *d*, and *o* for *a*, as in *gollán* for *dallán*, etc. From the fragments of her *Legenda*, given by Colgan, we learn that she was said to be of the race of Conaire Mór, and that she was “de Ernaidhe,” of the Ernaids of Muscraighe. The cultus of this divinity or saint is well worthy of note. The site of it is near the bank of the Sullane river. Here there stood in a green mound of slight elevation “Gobnatt’s Stone.” Windele regarded it as a pagan monument. It was five feet high, and there were hollows or basins on its upper side. A cross had been carved upon it. To the west of it were some remains at a site called Kilabban, from Abban, Gobnatt’s brother, which were included in the “venerated area” assigned to the cultus. “Here,” says Windele, “is neither church nor cell, but the remains are as pagan in their aspect and character as can well be conceived. The monument consists of a low agger or mound composed of earth and stones, enclosed by three upright pillar-stones, with spaces between each. The heap, which is sixty feet in circumference, is surmounted by a rock-basin, or bullán-stone, the cavity in which is eleven inches in diameter, usually containing water. The bushes on the mound were garnished with rags tied on by devotees, as is usual at sacred fountains. Two of the *golláns* were inscribed with *ogams*. Near the cairn was the Holy Well, the brambles over which were covered with rags. The ritual customary for the devotees consisted in going four times round the cairn and saying seven prayers at each round. The *Pattern*, or festival-day of Saint Gobnatt, was June 5th. The Boccoghs, or beggars (particularly lame beggars), then assembled in great strength, and exhibited a *sheela*,† that is to say, the image of a woman. Sheela was the patroness of women. In the drawer of the sacristy at Ballyvourney was preserved a wooden image of Gobnatt, or Abigail, as she was also called. The Boccoghs, whom Windele terms “Irish Fakirs,” were styled at Ballyvourney “Gobnatt’s Clergy.” It was said that they kept the image concealed, and only exhibited it on this occasion.

A curious piece of antiquity in connection with Gobnatt’s cultus was an object of yellow brass (*prass buidhe*) broad at the

† Sheelanagy (Sheela na Gyg) was a name popularly applied to stone figures of females, often indecent and hideous, which are found built into the walls of castles and other medieval buildings. *Gyg* is the name in Norse for a female Iötun or Giantess. It seems to be the same word, and the meaning, therefore, would be “Image of the Giantess.” (For *gyg* in this sense, see Du Chaillu.)





bottom, narrow at the top, having three edges, and perforated all over. It was called Gobnatt's *biachra*—that is, “beehive”—and appears to have been a shrine. On one occasion, when a neighbouring clan made a raid on Ballyvourney, Gobnatt “came out of the field before them” as they were driving the cattle away, and opening her *biachra*, which she held in her hand, let fly a swarm of bees, who forthwith became armed men, attacked the rievors, and recovered the stolen property.

The place where the *Pattern* was held on Gobnatt's Day was called Ballyvourney *Ulla*, a word which, according to O'Reilly, means “a place of devotion, a burying-place, and the cross of Calvery in a church.” The mythical serpent who lies at the bottoms of lakes is called the *Ulla Piast*. There were three penitential stations—the *Ulla Uachtrach* (Upper Ulla); the *Ulla Lár*; and the *Tri Ulla*. The penitents went round them sunways. The following is Windele's description of one: “The monument consists of an enclosing wall of earth, partly faced with uncemented stones, and about 4 feet high. The entrance is by an opening 3 feet wide at the S.E. side, between two pillar-stones, rude and unchiselled, the one 4 feet high, and the other 6. The enclosed area is 25 feet in diameter. In the centre grows a solitary tree. Crosses were scratched on a stone embedded in the low wall.” Windele concludes by comparing this monument with that called St. Bridget's Stone in Louth, and with one near the Righfeart Church at Glendalough. I have previously compared them with the sepulchral *keels* and the more ancient circles.

From the Gaileoin and Ligmüne and Fir Domnann I now return to the Fir-Bolg, under which general designation these tribes in Irish tradition are all included, together with many others mentioned as Firbolgic by Mac Firbis.

The question here meets us again, as it did in the case of Partholan and Nemed, “What would the term Bolg have signified in the sixth and following centuries?” It is evident to me that it is the same name as that of the *Βουλγάρες* in Greek, the Bulgari in Latin, the Bolgr (whence Bolgaraland in the Norse *sagas*), and, later on, the Arabic Bolgâr.† Who, then, were these people? The answer which Zeuss gives to this question is that the Bulgares were the Huns in retreat. But this involves the further

† Frähn, “De Chazaris excerpt. ex script. arab. Ibn. Haukale,” Petropol. 1822, p. 27.



question, "What is meant by the Huns?" and the answer to that is, that under the term Hun was included not merely the element in Attila's army which some suppose to have been Mongol and to have come from Asia, but the whole of his European allies, whether Germanic, Slavonic, Slav-Finnic, Sarmatian, and, if I may venture to use the terms, Celto-Slavic and Celto-Scythic. Such, as I have shown before, was the *general sense* in which the term Hunnish (Hunnicus) was applied, and such was the meaning which that of Bulgares or Vulgares acquired during the period immediately succeeding the dispersal of the barbarian confederation. They became, in the words of Cassiodorus, "Bulgares toto orbe terribiles."† What was the origin of the name, whether from the river Βούλγα, as the Turks called the Volga,‡ as a late Byzantine writer, Nicephorus Gregora,§ supposes, or from the term Volc, applied to the old Celtic stock of Central Europe, or from a source independent of both these, is matter of question. Several passages may be pointed out from which it appears that, although the Bulgares would be described as Hunnic, they were differentiated from the actual Huns. Thus, in 517, under Vitalianus, we read of Huns *and* Bulgarians serving in the Roman army. They seem, also, to have been distinguished from the Slaves, for in the year 514, when the Getæ re-emerge in the history of Europe, the name of these latter people stands for Slaves *and* Bulgarians—the infantry of Vitalianus being composed of the former, and his "Getæ equites" of the latter.||

There may also have been special senses in which the name Bulgares would have been applied to particular tribes. It may not improbably have been so with the Heruli. Several considerations tend to this view. In the first place, the Heruli pass out of history at the time—within half a century, at least—at which the Bulgares enter it. Secondly, the Heruli occupied the seats on the Palus Mæotis, where we subsequently find the Bulgares. Thirdly, neither Procopius, nor Agathias his continuator, nor Menander the continuator of Agathias, mention the Bulgares, although each of these writers has plenty to say about the Heruli or Eruli, and the Cutriguri, Cuturguri, or Cotragi, which latter people formed one division of the Bulgares on the Palus Mæotis. Further than this,

† Var., viii. 10.

‡ Theophanes, edit. Par. 296, calls the Volga *Atalis*; other varieties were *Atel*, *Attilas*, *Etel*, *Itil*.

§ "Byz. Hist.," sæc. xiv., edit. Niebuhr, 1830, p. 26.

|| Upon this subject see Müllenhoff, "Deutsch. Alter.," ii. pp. 381, *seqq.*



it is to be observed that when Justinian desired to reward the non-Cotragian portion of the Bulgari from the Palus, namely, the Utriguri and Unuguri, for the joint services rendered by themselves and the Avars against the other or Cotragian portion of the Bulgares, it was the seats which had been occupied by the Heruli which he gave them. Lastly, among the Herulians we find the proper name Fulcar (Φούλκαρις), which is only Bulgar in another form. At all events, the Heruli, as having served in the army of Attila, would have come under the term Bulgares, or Bulgari, as soon as the constituents of that army were dispersed.

To the name Fir-Bolg, in Irish tradition, there is similarly attached a general and a special meaning, the former including, as has been pointed out, a large number of tribes, the latter restricted to one particular people. In the sequel I am about to show how closely allied are the traditions of the Heruli with those of the Fir-Bolg. Meanwhile, I pause to notice an equally close relation existing between the names Cotragi and Bulgari, on the Palus and the Danube, and those of the Cothraighe and Bolg in Irish tradition.

According to Procopius, the Cuturguri, as he calls them, were Cimmerii, or Cimmerian Huns, who dwelt on the further side of the Palus Mæotis,† the waters of which they thought it impossible to cross, until some youths in pursuit of a magic deer, which vanished upon their having reached the western shore, showed them the way into a district whence the Vandals had departed for Africa, and the Visigoths for Spain. Thence they made periodical incursions into the Roman provinces, passing over the Danube sometimes as enemies to the Romans, at others as their allies. As ravagers of the Roman border they were indeed, in the fourth century A.D., what the Celts had been in the fourth century B.C., when the latter were the scourge of the Hellenistic world.‡ A kindred tribe, the Uturguri, finally made common cause with the Romans in the reign of Justinian, and defeated the Cuturguri with great slaughter. Some of those who escaped captivity betook themselves to the Romans, and were allowed to settle in Thrace. Finally, however, having joined the fugitives of their own people, they were slain or put to flight.

† "Corp. Byz. Hist.," Procop., vol. ii. p. 474.

‡ For the first mention of Celts in this quarter, see "Greek Life and Thought," by J. P. Mahaffy, 1896, p. 167, n.



Agathias calls these people Cotriguri,<sup>†</sup> and the Uturguri Utriguri. Menander calls them Cotriguri or Cotraguri, and mentions a certain Cotragenus (*i.e.* Cotragian), as an intimate adviser of the Avars.<sup>‡</sup> Leo Diaconus (tenth century) calls them Cotragi, and the Bulgares "Cotragorum coloni." §

These latter forms represent precisely those of the name of a people in Ireland who are as intimately associated with the Bolg there as are the Cotragi, or Cotriguri, with the Bulgari. They are called Cothraighe, or, in Latin, Cotrigii or Catrigii. The Barony of Cary (Cathraighe), in Antrim, derives its name from them. Dr. Reeves has pointed out that in the "Tripartite Life of Patrick" this Barony is called Cathrigia—the "regio Cathrigiæ, in regione Dalriediæ." In a document of the year 1279 this territory is called Catherich,<sup>||</sup> a name which seemingly is repeated in that of Catterick in Yorkshire. This has been supposed to be the Caturactonion ¶ of Ptolemy, in which case, if it be connected with the Cathraighe, the presence of a people of that name in Britain must be placed as early as the first century. Among the "enslaved tribes" of Hy-Many are the Cathraighe of the Suca.<sup>††</sup> Some dolmens, or rather flag-stone tombs at Barnes Lower, in Donegal, are called Carhy's Graves,<sup>‡‡</sup> perhaps from a tradition associating them with the Cathraighe. St. Patrick was named Cothrige or Cothraige by Milchu,<sup>§§</sup> a chieftain to whom he was in bondage, on the pretence, which seemed to involve contempt, that he was a Catrigian. We have seen that a cleft-rock at Ushnagh, in Westmeath, is called the Carraig Choitrigi, or Cotrigian rock, and that it was regarded as the centre of Ireland.<sup>||||</sup> The district around Ushnagh was one of the possessions of the Irians, or descendants of an eponymous Ir, in whom, as has been hinted, may perhaps be discovered the allegorical ancestor of the Heruli. The territories which bear the name of the Cathraighe seem to tally throughout with those of the Irians. A great part of the north of the island seems certainly to have belonged to the Cathraighe. The following notices of their name I derive from

† "Corp. Hist. Byz.," Agath., pp. 300, 301.

‡ "Corp. Hist. Byz.," Excerpt. ex Menand., p. 284.

§ "Corp. Hist. Byz.," Leo, p. 103.

|| See Reeve's "Ecc. Hist. Down and Connor," p. 282.

¶ I think this is very uncertain.

†† "Mac Firbis's Tract on the Fir-Bolg.," transl. Lib. R.I.A., p. 47, and O'Donovan's "Hy-Many."

‡‡ p. 232, *supra*.

|||| See p. 372, *supra*.

§§ "Trip. Life," transl. W.S., pt. i., p. 17.



Mac Firbis's account of the Fir-Bolg.† In Southern Hy-Maine, among the Fir-Bolg tribes, is the Tuath Cathruighe. In the countries of the Cruithnè are Cathraighe, from whom Cairbrè Cinn-Cait, king of the rebellious Aitheach Tuatha, was descended. The Gabraidhe of the Suck and the Tuath Cathruighe were, we are told, of the race of Oidhbghin. Among the descendants of Geannan the Cathraighe are placed, together with the Cruithnè of Croghan, the Bolg-Tuath of Baghna, and others. When a dispute about the succession to the throne of Connaught occurs, we find the Cathraighe taking the part of Maine, the son of Ailill and Medb. This will be sufficient to show how widely this people were dispersed throughout Erin, and how important was the place they occupied in the traditions of that country.

The date at which their namesakes, the Cotragi, first appeared on the Palus Mæotis is involved in total obscurity ; but it is remarkable that the only legend recorded of them, that of the tribe being led to new settlements by a deer, is one which is well known among the legends of Erin. It occurs, for example, in the case of *Bealach Damhain*, i.e. "The Path of the Deer" (*Semita Cervi*) in Donegal, which O'Donovan says is inserted in the "Life of St. Columba" by Manus O'Donnell.‡

With this double coincidence of Bolg and Cotragi before us, would there, let us ask, be anything necessarily improbable in drawing the conclusion that they were one and the same people? The ubiquity of the Heruli and other tribes who were scouring the face of Europe, and the swiftness with which it was their boast that their journeys were made, cause us to look on time and space as almost secondary considerations, when we are dealing with them and their kindred tribes. The Huns are first heard of in Europe in the year 375, but the restless tribes who were, as it were, waiting for a leader to unite them and direct their course, were on the move long before. The great movement of the Anglo-Saxons into South Britain (although settlements on the coast called the Saxon Shore had probably taken place much earlier), was preceded by that of the Picts into North Britain and Ireland by about a century. The first mention of these peoples is found in Ammianus at a date which precedes the first mention of the Huns in Europe by about fifteen years only. It seems probable that it was from the Baltic and the Elbe they came,

† See note, p. 1119, *supra*.

‡ I cannot identify this passage in Colgan's Latin version.



and their coming, although history has not lifted her veil upon that event, must have been one of as great importance, ethnologically speaking, to North Britain and Ireland (which latter island had been, to judge by what the Irish *regulus* told Agricola, namely, that a single legion could conquer it,† till then, but sparsely populated), as was the Saxon invasion to Britain. It was from Scythia that they came, and we may depend upon it that, after the break-up of the Hunnish confederation, and the events which followed the battle of Chalons, multitudes of the allies in retreat were only too glad to find themselves safely at sea, on their way to the island of the north, where, if I am right in my view of the Heruli, some of them would not have found themselves otherwise than at home. Among these there may well have been Cotragian Bulgars, who in Irish tradition would appear as the Tuatha Cothraighe, tribes of the Fir-Bolg.

Another point, however, in regard to the antiquity of these people in Britain is raised when we consider their name as comparable, as Whitley Stokes has done with respect to Patrick's name Cothraighe, to the old Celtic Caturigos, of which he hints it may be "the Irish reflex."‡ This associates it at once with the tribal name Caturiges, for notices of whom we may turn to Cæsar and Pliny, Strabo and Ptolemy, as well as to an inscription in Orellius. The Caturiges were an important sept located near Embrun, with ramifications extending—to judge by a passage in Pliny—across the Alps. Their chief town is marked in the "Table" Catorimagus, and there are at that place two inscriptions, "Cat" and "Cathirig," still retaining vestiges of their name. In the singular number we find Caturix applied both to the god Mars, "Marti Caturigi," and to a Roman soldier, an inscription to whom has been found near Mostar in Herzégovina, which reads *domo Caturix*,§ that is, a Caturigian by birth, Caturix corresponding exactly to Cathraighe,—the terminal *rix* and *raighe*, respectively, simply meaning "tribesman," and not "king," || as it has been so frequently, but so unnecessarily, explained. We have seen that it is not impossible that there were Cothraighe in Yorkshire; we know that there

† Tac. Agric., c. 24.

‡ "Trip. Life," Introd. cxxxvii.

§ Caturix would be literally the Cattan, man of the Catti, which induces a surmise as to an original identity between Catti and Caturiges, from the Celtic *cath* = war, or battle.

|| M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville has written a whole essay in support of this view (see "Rev. Archéol.," 1891). How is it, however, that women share it with men, as in Nantiorix? The fact is that the termination answers exactly to the Irish *raighe*, explained *idhs* by O'Donovan, and applicable either to a man or a woman, as in Ciarraighe, a Kerry-man, or a Kerry-woman. "Boiorix" is the Boian, "Dumnorix" the Dumnán, etc., etc.



were Cothraighe in the north of Ireland ; and we have seen that there were Caturiges near Briançon. It is, therefore, not a little curious to note that in each of these three instances a people called Brigantes were their near neighbours—for example, the Brigantes on the east coast of Britain, the Brigantes on the west coast of Ireland, and the Brigantes who we may suppose gave name to Brigantium, that is, Briançon.

A bold view of this whole question can alone reconcile these three facts, namely, that in the Alps, and in Italy, and in Britain, we have in the first century a people bearing the same name as is borne by a people passing westward from the Palus Mæotis in the fourth century. That view is this : An original tribe of Caturiges, Celtic in speech, occupied a position on the Rhine, or further west in Gaul, at a very remote period. One branch of it passed into Italy, and one went northwards into Britain ; a third portion, in about the fourth century B.C., perhaps, at the time when a migration of Celtic-speaking people from Gaul was tending eastwards down the Danube, took the same course in that direction as their kindred tribes, and passing along the district north of the Euxine, remained there until tempted westwards again by the comparative freedom from opposition offered by the departure of the Goths and Vandals for the further west, and by the hope of spoil in the Danubian countries. To judge by their name, a parallel case may have been that of the Biturgures, the form of whose name bears the same relation to that of the Bituriges, who, as we know, came east from western Gaul to Italy, as does that of the Cuturgures to that of the Caturiges, or Cotrigures, or Cothraighe. The Danube, that river of the Celts, which rose in the Celtic Mountains,† would have been their waterway, along which, indeed, they may have been passing to and fro long before the date I have mentioned. The highlands once reached, the Elbe or the Rhine would have led them to the shores of the German Ocean, and the isles of their kindred in the North. For six centuries and more this oscillation of tribes from the German Ocean to the Palus Mæotis may have been going on, only stopped by the wedge which the appearance of the Goths on the Danube temporarily interposed, so that, in point of fact, the Cotraighe, who ravaged the Roman borders at the time of the

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† ἐξ ὀρέων τῶν Κελτικῶν, "Proc. Corp. Byz. Hist.," ii. p. 481. The same author says of the Rhine that it rises in the Celtic mountains.



Hunnish invasion, may have been the descendants in blood, as they were the successors in the terror they created of those Celts with regard to whom Ehippus (circa 340 B.C.) warns the ruler of Macedonia that his best policy is to "damp them down, not set them ablaze." † Considering the old tradition that the Cimmerii on the Euxine were the same people as the Cimbri who invaded Italy with the Teutons, ‡ it is curious to find Procopius calling the Cotragi "Cimmerians." §

The camps along the Danube offer comparisons with the works of the fort-builders in Ireland, which are due to no mere coincidences. They have arrested the attention of Virchow, who has compared them to British and Scottish examples, being unaware, possibly, since few of the Irish examples have been planned, of the still more striking resemblances which the latter bear to them. These forts, indeed, may be regarded as landmarks of unwritten history—evidences of the most striking fact which meets us in our study of the antiquities of Europe—namely, the ubiquity of tribes (I am speaking here more especially of those who spoke the Celtic language, but the fact is equally true of Teutonic and Slavonic peoples also) who, seemingly from the best period of the Bronze Age down to the dispersal of the miscellaneous elements, rudely amalgamated in the Hunnish confederacy—traversed the continent from the Palus Mæotis to Ireland, along lines of march which were little varied,—ever ready to retrace the route whenever the restless energy of their nature chafed at the narrow limits of their sea-girt home, or hope of plunder on the Danube, over the Alps, or in Spain, pointed out new fields for its display.

Archæology enables us to take up the story at the more remote end of the chain, and the *sagas* of the North, whether they have reached us in the Gaedhelic of Ireland, in the Cymric of Wales, in the Anglo-Saxon of Beowulf, in the German of the Niebelungen-Lied, in the Norse of Iceland, or in the Latin of Saxo, Jordanes, or Paul son of Warnefrid, when read by the sidelights derivable from the later Roman writers, and, above all, from the Byzantine historians from Procopius onwards, afford us the links at the nearer end, when the Huns and their allies in retreat, that is, the Bolgar, among whom were ranged Rugii, Heruli, Iotungi, Alani, Bitugures, Bardores, Cotrigures or Cotragi, and many

† Geryones, edit. A. Meineke, Frag. Com. Græc., p. 658.

‡ Plutarch, Marius,—for Celtæ and Celto-Scythæ; also "Strabo. Geogr.," lib. vii. cap. 2.

§ De B. Goth., lib. iv. cc. 4, 5.



more, were being pressed northwards to those coast-lands, peninsulas, and islands—those *imi Oceani recessus*—whence in some cases, as in those of the Heruli and Cotragi, they may have originally come, and where native annalists record their presence under the names Eotenas, or Iötuns, Hunen, Bolg, and—in the case of one particular tribe of whom I have spoken—under that of the Cothraighe.

To return for a moment to the earlier ages, and to the forts in the Danubian and Hercynian districts, the particular tribal migrations and military movements indicated by the presence of these works took place in a broad district, which lies, like an heraldic band, across the field of Central Europe, from south-east to north-west. A connection between north-western Europe and the Ægean had already been established, as we have seen, in the best part of the early Bronze Age—perhaps about 1250 B.C. Proofs of this fact



FIG. 774.—Urn from Knocknacoura, Co. Carlow (see Wilde's "Catalogue," p. 179, in the Museum R.I.A.).



FIG. 775.—Urns in the Museum at Buda Pesth; from Hungarian cemeteries, for comparison with that in the R.I.A., Fig. 774.

I have already adduced, and I here add one more example from Hungary, showing that in form and ornament the fictilia of this epoch was reproduced in Ireland. I have already expressed my belief that it was to this early period that the introduction of the Celtic language into Gaul and the British Isles is to be attributed. It is certain that that language was spoken by those Gauls who, in the fourth and third centuries B.C., were descending into Italy, Macedonia, Greece, and Asia Minor; and nine hundred or a thousand years prior to that date is not too long a period to allow for the introduction and development of a language at once so



homogeneous in its archaic forms, and so widely distributed through Gaul, Spain, and Britain. This view reconciles the archæological conclusions of Montelius with the philological conclusions of Schrader, and while it does not point to a Celtic-speaking people as the actual *bringers of the bronze* to the West, whose descendants are more probably the brachycephalic population of central France, the Ligurians and the Auvergnats, yet may leave to Celtic-speaking tribes the honour of having been the importers of those decorative designs and rude architectural efforts which distinguish the second and best period of the Bronze Age.

In the time of Alexander the Great, and, probably, also in that of Herodotus, the country represented by the modern kingdom of Hungary was a great stronghold of Celtic-speaking peoples, which causes us to regard with a special interest the likeness between the forts of that district and those of North Ireland. The same resemblance meets us in the

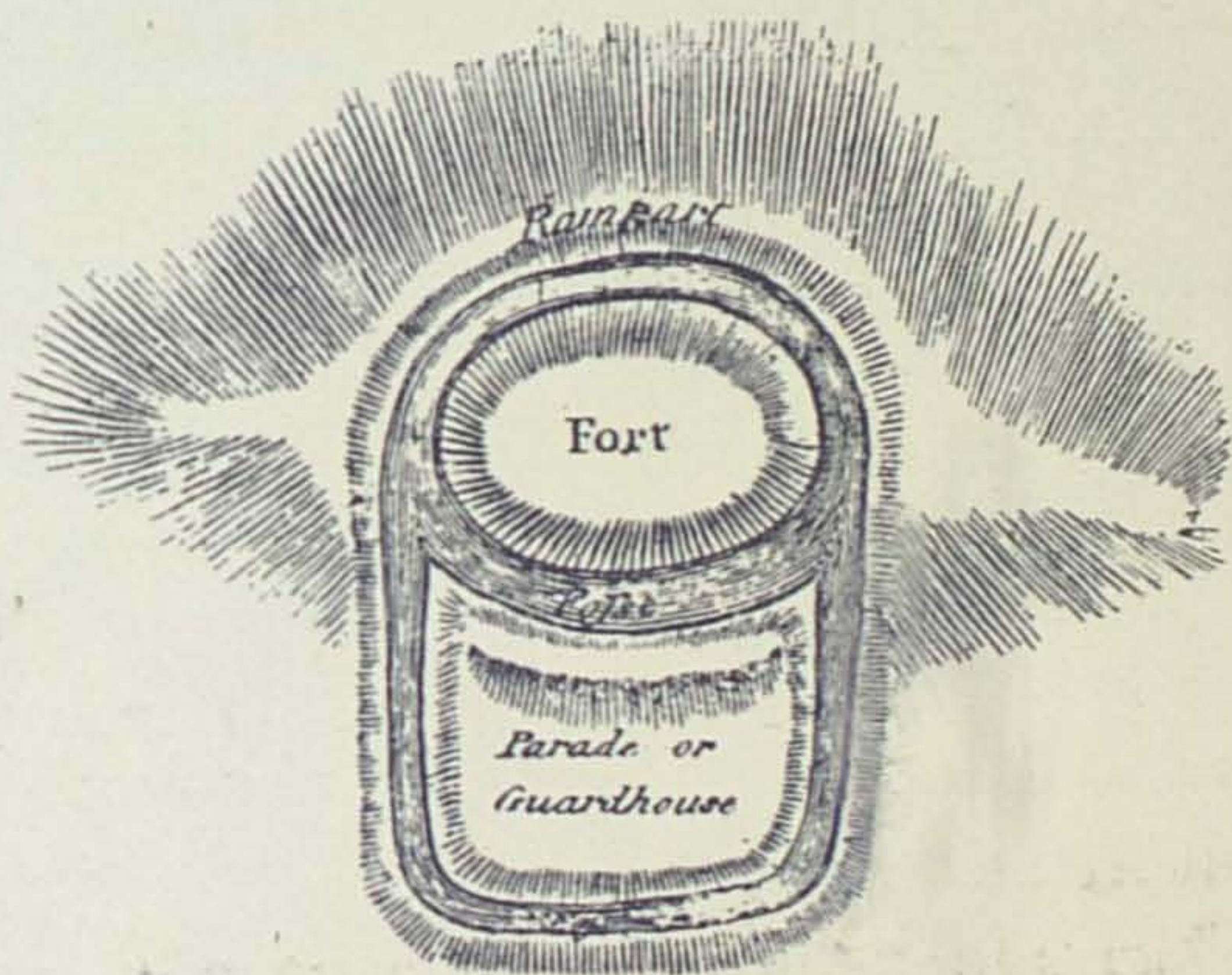


FIG. 776.—Plan of Dundermot Fort. Scale 100 feet to one inch.

case of examples in the vicinity of Gorlitz, in Bohemia, and in Bosnia. To illustrate this, I may refer to the typical plan of Dundermot, in Mason's account of Dunaghy in Antrim † (Fig. 776), and compare it with the Schlossberg, near Benau-Friedersdorf, in the district of Sorau, where such earthworks are known as *Hünenschlossen* (Fig. 777). In the Oberlausitz district (Fig. 778) is a vitrified fort, of which Virchow has given a description. Passing south into Bohemia we have, near Bilin, a circular stone fort, called the Radelstein (Fig. 779), singularly like those in Aran and Clare, and it is to be observed that the curious architectural detail of constructing the wall in sections, each terminating vertically at the point where it abuts on the section next it, is a feature in the fort-builders' work at Tiryns,‡ just as it is at Dun-Conchobhair§ in Aran, at Cahercommane in Northern Clare, and elsewhere in the West of Ireland.||

† Stat. Survey, vol. i. p. 251.

‡ Schliemann's "Mycenæ," pl. i.

§ Notes on Irish Architecture, Lord Dunraven, vol. i. pl. 4.

|| "Proc. Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.," vol. vi., 5th sec., July, 1896, p. 155.



It was, perhaps, to earth-forts of the class of Dundermot that

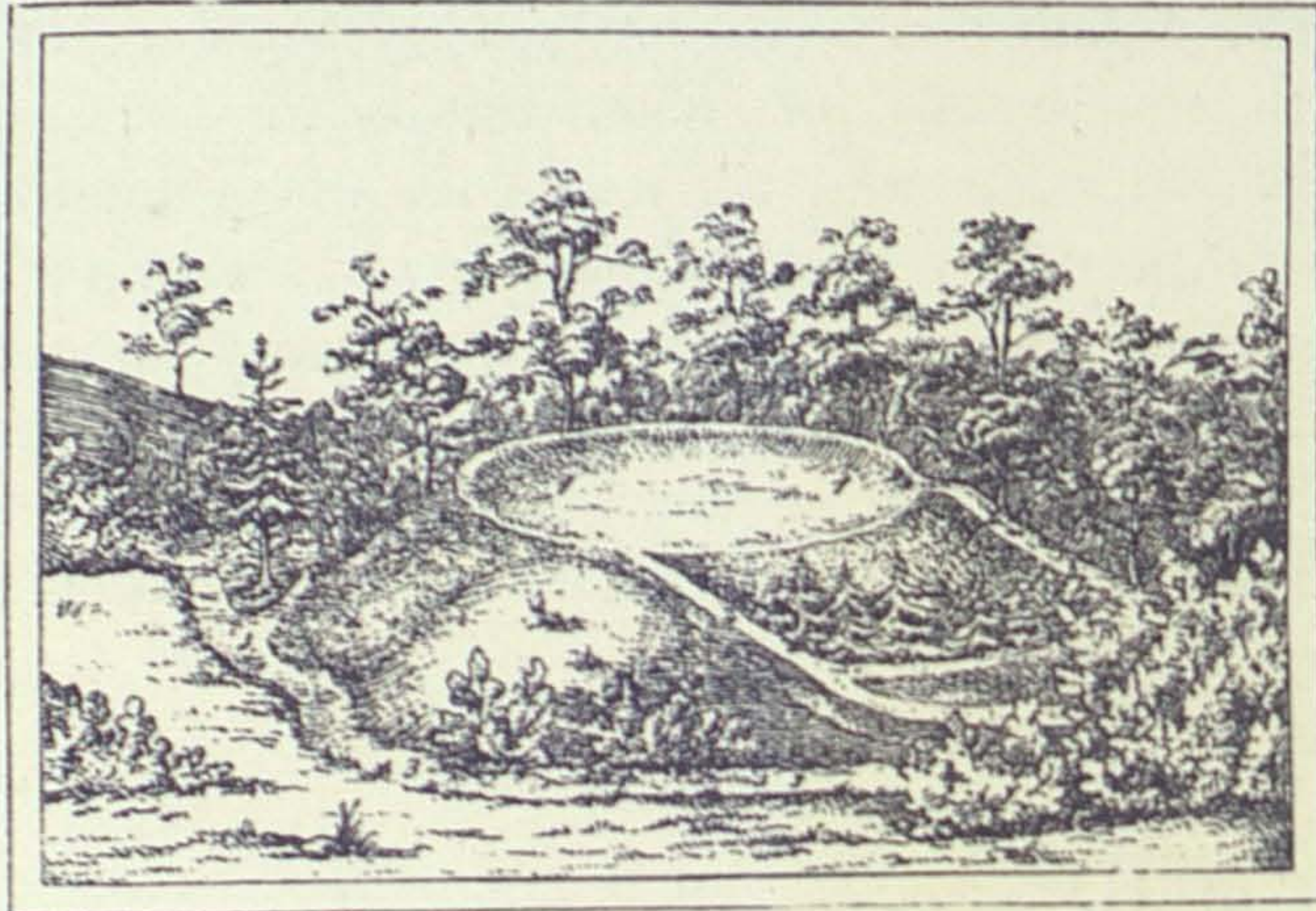


FIG. 777.—The Schlossberg, near Benau-Friedersdorf, Kr. Sorau. From "*Neues Lausitzisches Mag.*," vol. lvii. p. 228, *et seqq.*

Tacitus alluded when he described some of the German camps as



FIG. 778.—Vitrified fort in the Oberlausitz. From *Virchow*.

"castra ac spatia."† This exactly represents such fortifications

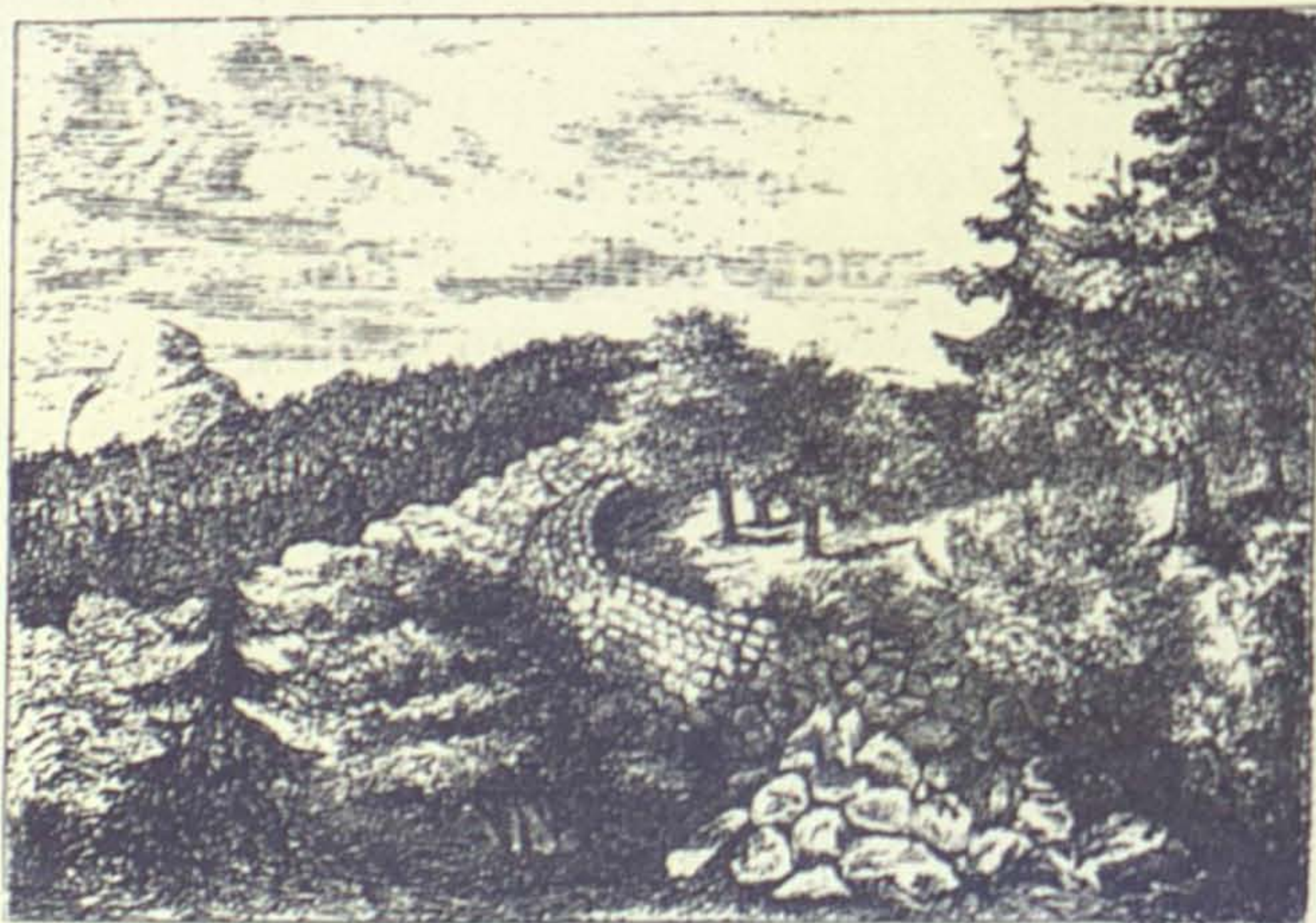


FIG. 779.—The Radelstein, near Bilin, Bohemia. From *Much*, "*Præhist. Atlas*," pl. 86.  
as that at Sandal-Mount, near Coleraine, at one end of which is

† Germ., c. 37. It was to the ancient Cimbri that those works were assigned.



a mound forming, as it were, the little citadel to the ramparted enclosure which adjoins it. The type was well known in later times, both in eastern Germany and in Britain—the enclosure being termed in the former country the *hagel*, or hook. Much, in his "Prehistoric Atlas of East Austria and Hungary," gives plans of two structures of this type, the Hausberg at Stonegg

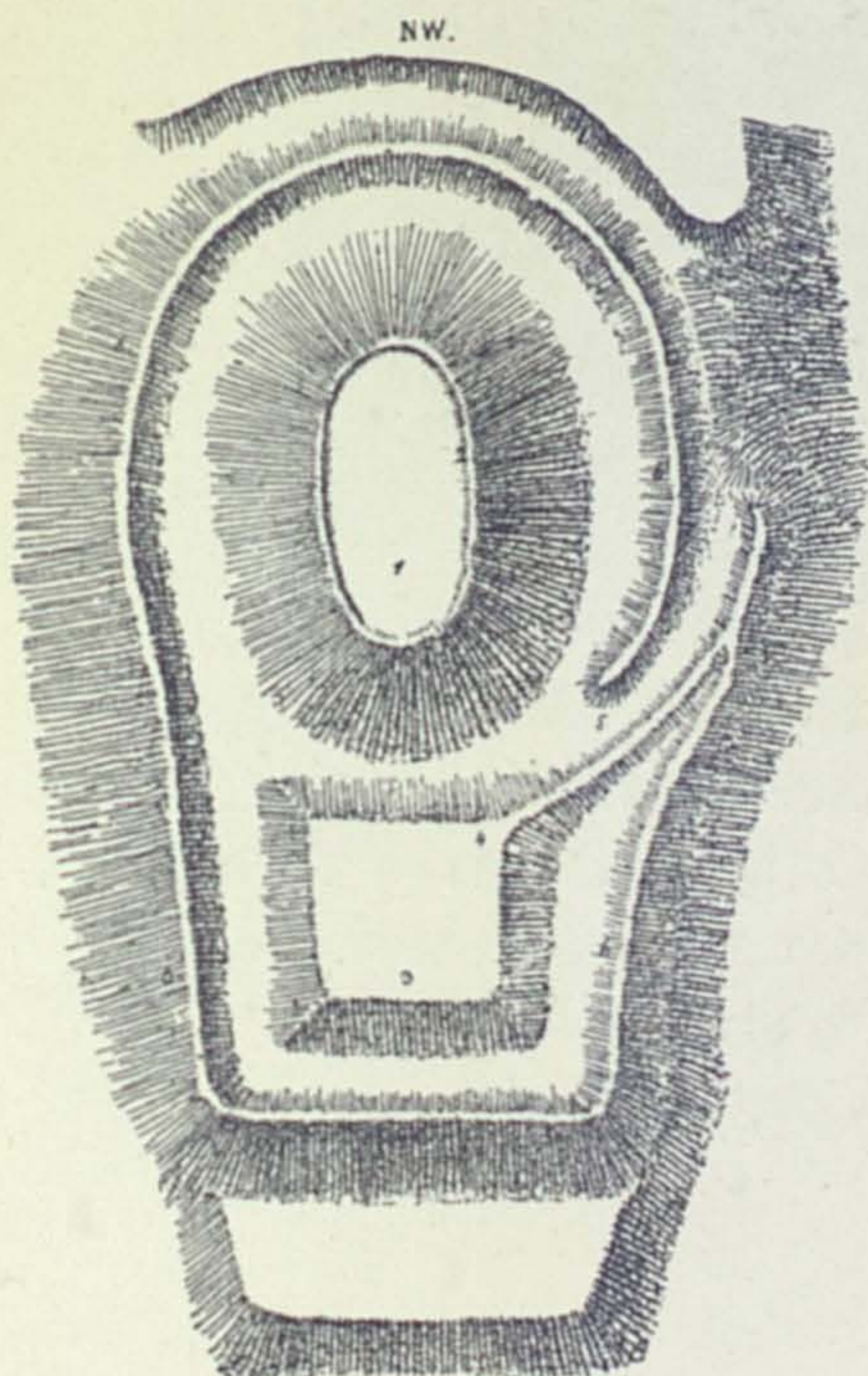


FIG. 780.—Hausberg of Stonegg. From Much, "Præhist. Atlas," pl. 84.

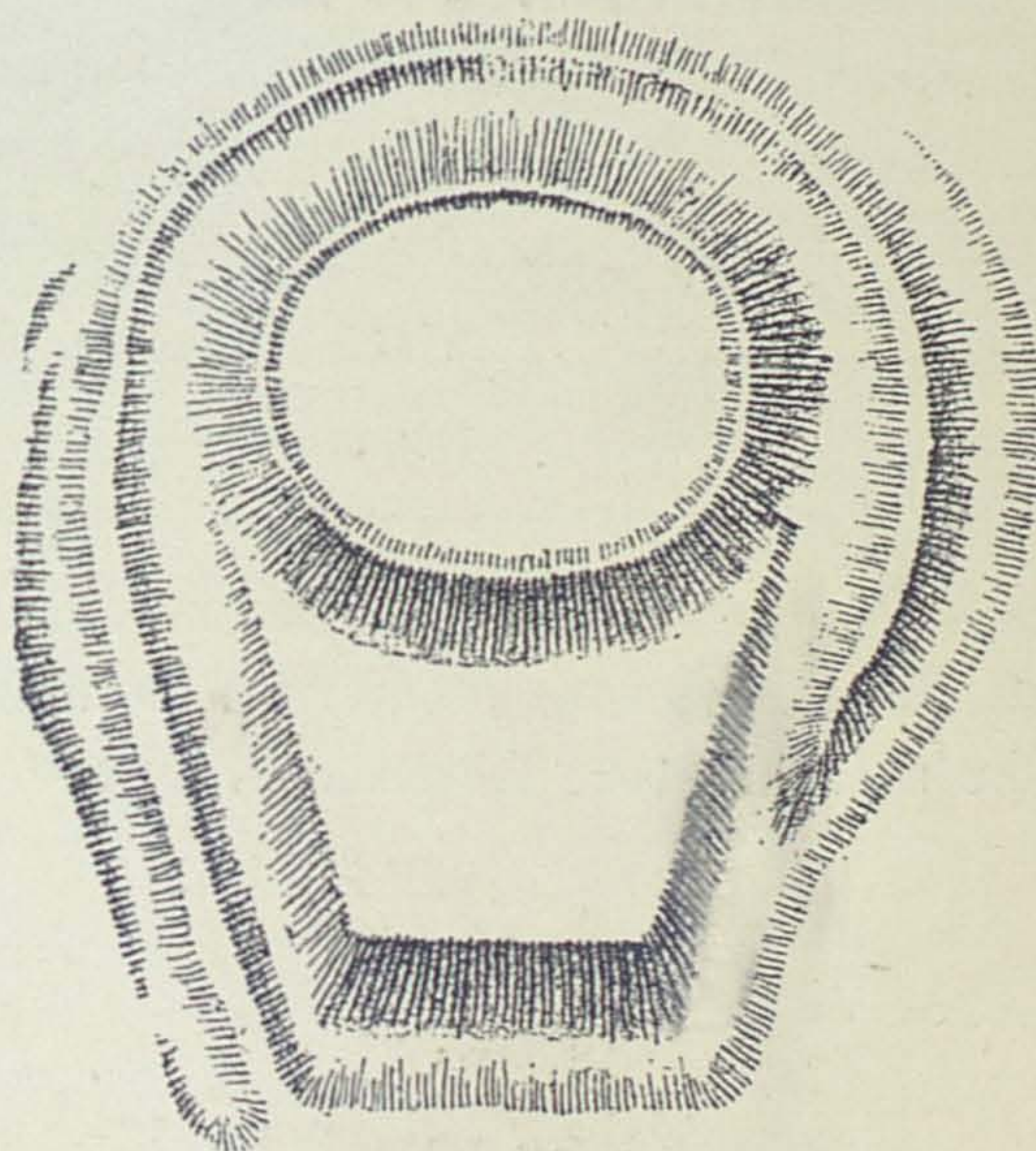


FIG. 781.—Hausberg of St. Ulrich. Much, "Præhist. Atlas," pl. 84.

(Fig. 780), and another at St. Ulrich (Fig. 781), which reproduce those at Dundermot (Fig. 776), Sandal-Mount, and other Irish examples exactly. The latter appear to me to be unquestionably military works, although Virchow considers the Hungarian examples too small in area to have been so, and looks upon them as bases of Celtic temples.

Radimsky, in his "Prähistorischen Fundstätten," gives, also, some plans and elevations of forts in Bosnia and Herzégovina, one of which in especial—that called the Hausberg, near Geiselberg (Fig. 782)—is strikingly similar to the typical Irish example given by Molyneux and Harris.† Fortifications of this class consist of a central conical hill, generally a natural one cut down, and

† See Essay on Danish Forts in Molyneux's "Boate;" see also Harris's "Ware," vol. ii., pl. I, No. 7, and p. 139.



surrounded by two or more steep ramparts, with deep moats between. It is to be noticed that the Celtic word *dun* appears in Hungary in the form of *duna*, as the name by which these forts are known.† The various types, as in Ireland, were of long-

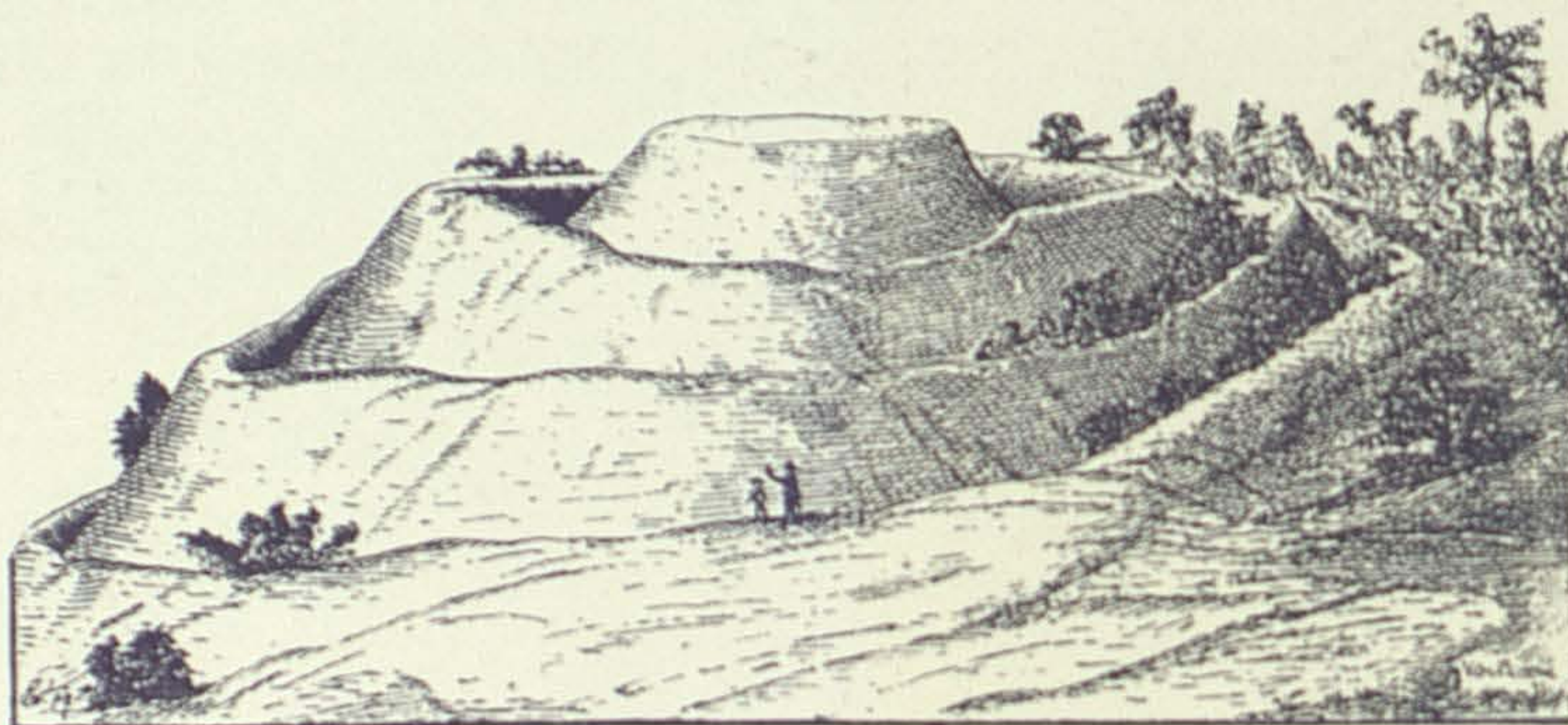


FIG. 782.—Hausberg of Geiselberg. Radimsky, "*Præhist. Fundstätten*," pl. 135.

standing. In some cases they date back to the Bronze Age in both countries, as is inferred from bronze celts having been found in them. More frequently, however, it is to the Iron Age that



FIG. 783.—Bronze mace in Mus. R.I.A.



FIG. 784.—Bronze mace in Mus. R.I.A.

they must be attributed. To a transition period between the Bronze and Iron Ages belong the earliest examples we possess of a peculiar form of bronze weapon, found in like shape in the

† In Ireland the term *dun* was applied to earthen concentric circumvallations, also called *raths*, as well as to stone forts such as Dun-Aengusa in Aran. The latter were, however, more properly termed *cathairs*, and to these latter the word *rath* is never applied. With *rath* compare the Slavonic *hrad* or *arad*, e.g. Stary Arad, i.e. Old Arad, a fortress on the Maros in Austro-Hungary.



Caucasus and in Ireland, in the Danubian districts, at Baiern, in Italy, in Mecklenburg, Hanover, etc.†

I adduce here two Irish examples. The type, as there is reason to believe, was still in use in the eleventh century. It must be understood that in this passing notice of Irish forts, and the points for comparison with those on the Continent which they present, I am merely touching the fringe of a wide and deeply interesting subject,—one, I may add, which is being at the present moment worked out in detail, as far as those of the County of Clare are concerned, by an able antiquary of the younger Irish school, my friend Mr. T. J. Westropp. In a communication to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, printed in their Journal for July, 1896,‡ a series of excellent plans of stone forts in Clare and the neighbouring counties will be found, and, side by side with them for comparison, examples from Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, France, Hungary, Bosnia, and Bohemia. The name of one in Bohemia, *Katovic*, is noteworthy in connection with that of the Roman station at *Catwick-op-Zee*,§ at the mouth of the Rhine, and with other etymologies from *Cat*, as for instance the *Cat-Rail* in Roxboroughshire. Mr. Westropp is of opinion that both in Ireland and elsewhere such fortifications belong “to every period from the Flint Age to the Roman Conquest, while in Scotland they undoubtedly date to the legendary period of the sons of Huamor.” He mentions that “flint weapons have been found in Dun Aengus,” where a bronze hook and a bronze celt also, I believe, have been discovered. With regard to the name Dun Aengus (rect. Dun Aengusa), it is to be observed that a place of apparently similar name, *Enchusa*,|| occupies a site on the coast of Holland, the description of which accords with that of the Irish fort, since it is “*natura loci munitum, maris furore objectum, quem in extremo terræ margine situm despicit.*” A proper name, *Ancheusanus*,¶ found in an inscription at Mayence, is attributed by Ortelius to a native of this place.

Not even when we reach the early centuries of the Christian era was the connection of Ireland with the Danubian districts broken. Indeed, it seems to have been closer than ever, evidence

† For Irish examples, see figs. 783, 784, *infra*. For Caucasian, see “*Chautre*,” vol. iii. ; “*Epoch Scytho-Byzantine*,” pl. iii. fig. 14. For other districts, see Lindenschmidt, “*Mus. Maintz*,” vi., pl. ii. ; Lisch and Schröter, “*Fred. Francisceum*,” tab. xxv., etc.

‡ p. 142, *et seqq.* ; to be continued.

§ *Cattovicum maritimum* (Ph. Cuyverius de Rheni alveis), p. 110.

|| “*Hadriani Junii*,” *Batavia*, p. 277.

¶ Ortelius, “*Thes. Geogr.*,” in voc. ; Lazius, *R.P.R.*, iv. cap. 5.



of which I shall presently adduce from the "Life of St. Severinus." Meanwhile, we may here take from Much's work on the antiquities of Hungary the plan of what in Ireland would be termed a

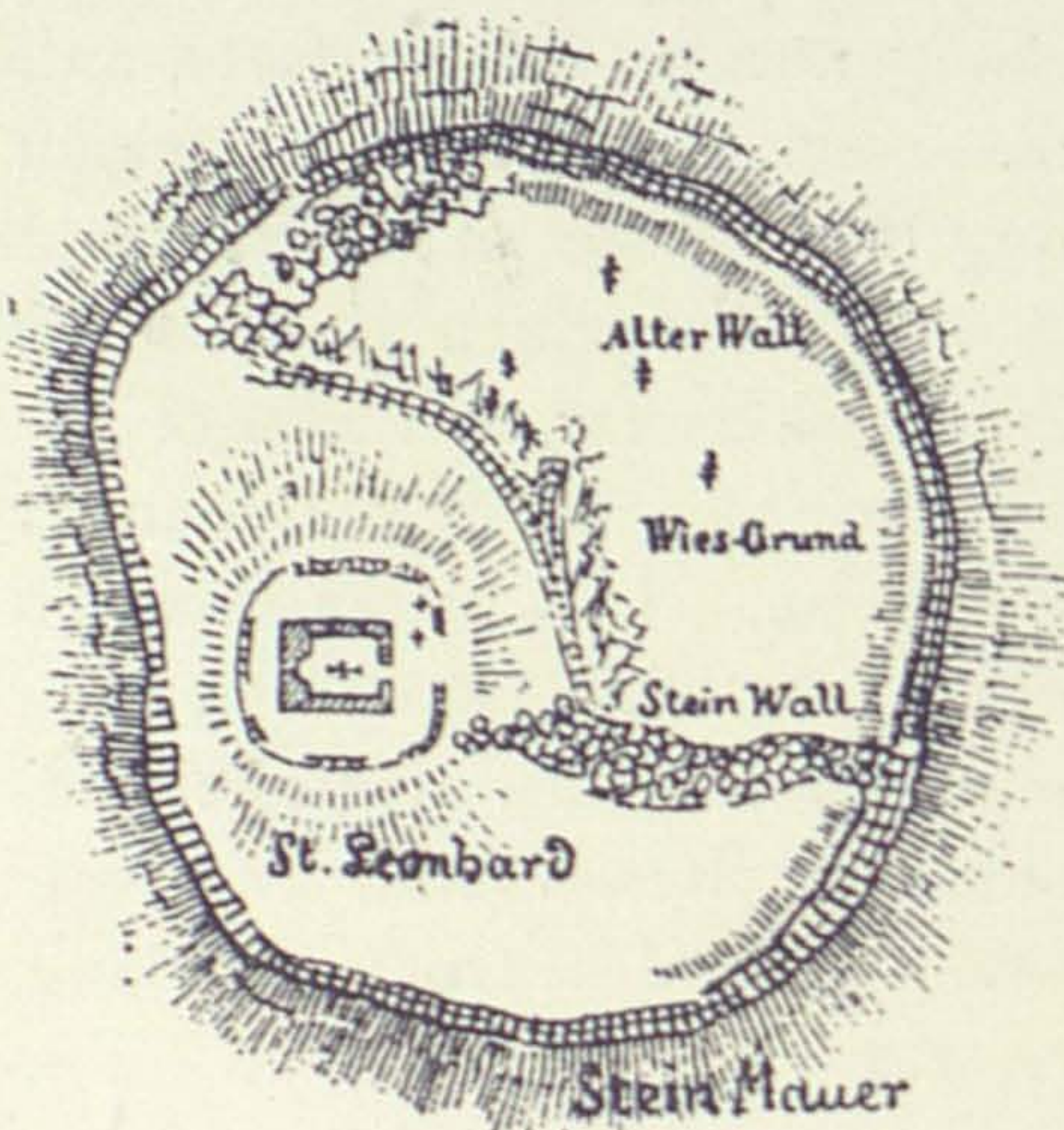


FIG. 785.—Plan of St. Leonard's, Hungary.  
From Much.

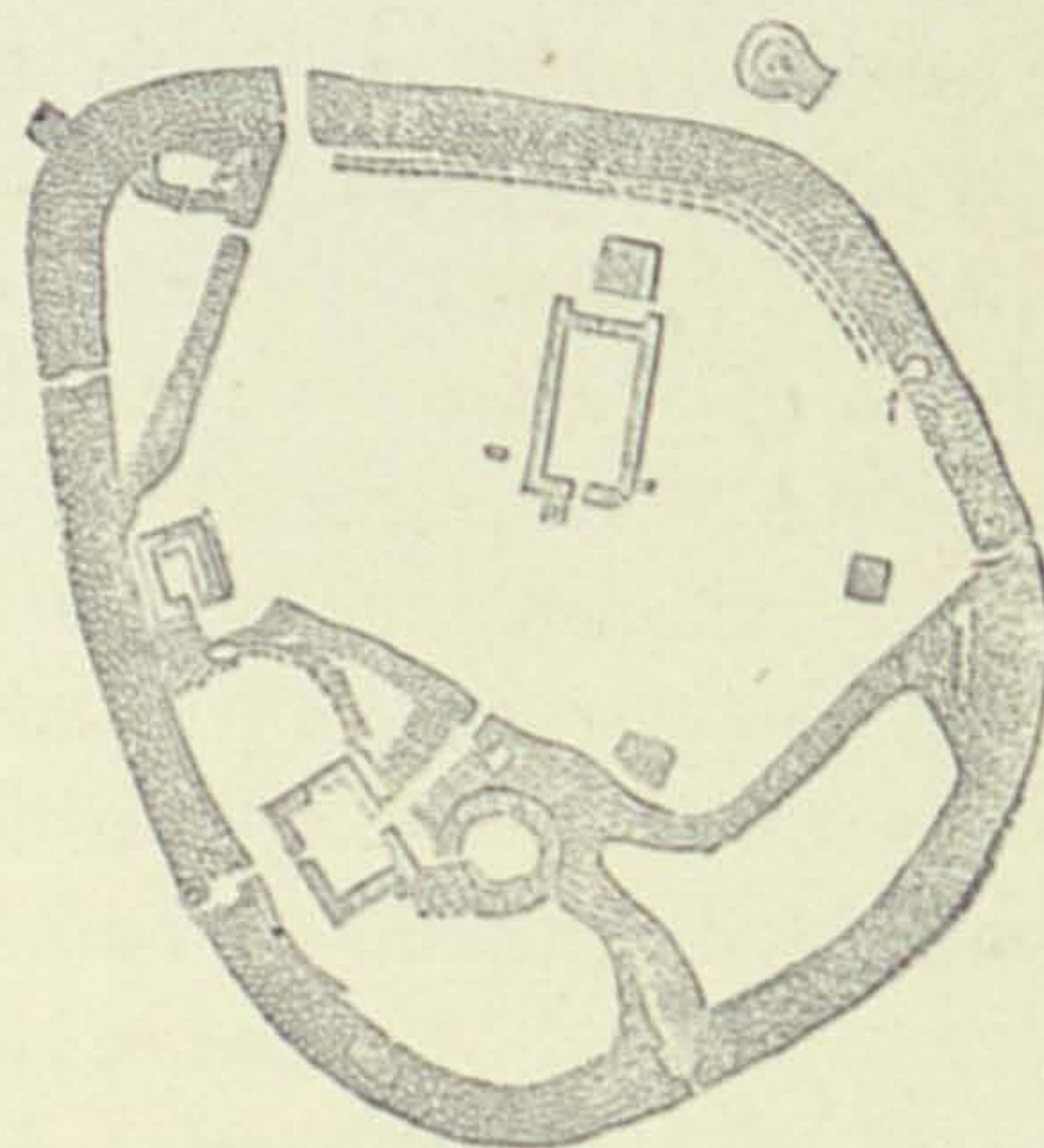


FIG. 786.—Plan of Inishmurray on the coast of Sligo.  
From Wood-Marrtin.

*cathair* or *cashel*, that is, a stone-wall enclosure surrounding an ancient church. The whole is well worthy of comparison with the arrangement observable in the *cathair* at Inishmurray, an island off the coast of Sligo. In each case the great stone enclosure is an imperfect circle, divided into two parts by an irregular stone wall

or rampart, the presence of which is a distinguishing feature not easily accounted for. On the one side of this are the religious buildings, and on the other an almost vacant plot.

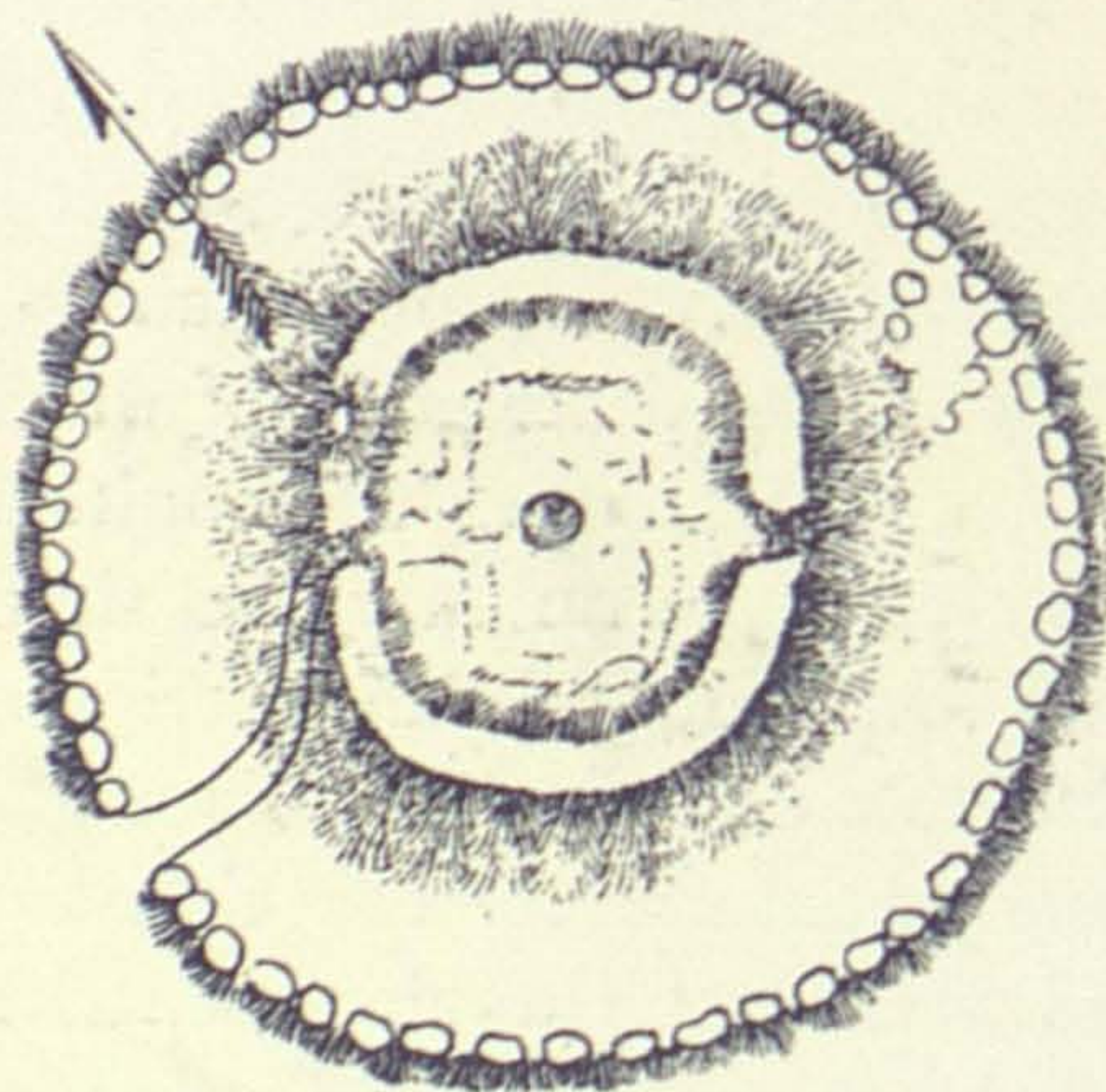


FIG. 787.—Enclosure called Bauerberge  
on the island of Mohn.

Since I am here speaking of fortified sites, I may as well glance at some of those types which are found on the Southern Baltic coast, the German Ocean, and in Scandinavia. Kruse, in his "Necrolivonica," gives an example of a fortified enclosure

called the Bauerberge, on the island of Mohn near Oesel, which resembles as closely as possible, as Mr. T. J. Westropp, M.R.I.A.,



has pointed out to me, one planned by him at Ballykinvaga in Clare. It is in this district, in Livonia that is, that the name Dangan or Daingen occurs, a term identical with that so frequently applied to a fortress in Ireland. Fortified sites of this type may be attributed to an Esthonian or Finnic element in Irish ethnology, running parallel to coincidences in folk-lore and physiology, to which allusion has been made, and for the discovery of which the indefatigable author, and the far-seeing editor of the "Eastern Origin of the Celtic nations,"—Drs. Pritchard and Latham,—long since prepared us in the portion of their work which deals with the Eastern Baltic, and the "Sarmatian Hypothesis." Passing westward along the Prussian and Pomeranian coast, Lissauer has given us plans and sections of so-called *burgwalls*, one on the Silinsee, another on the Geserichsee, which, though built of stones and earth, recall, both in shape and in their position on the shore, the *duns* and cliff-castles of the west coast of Ireland (Fig. 788). The building of such forts, it may be

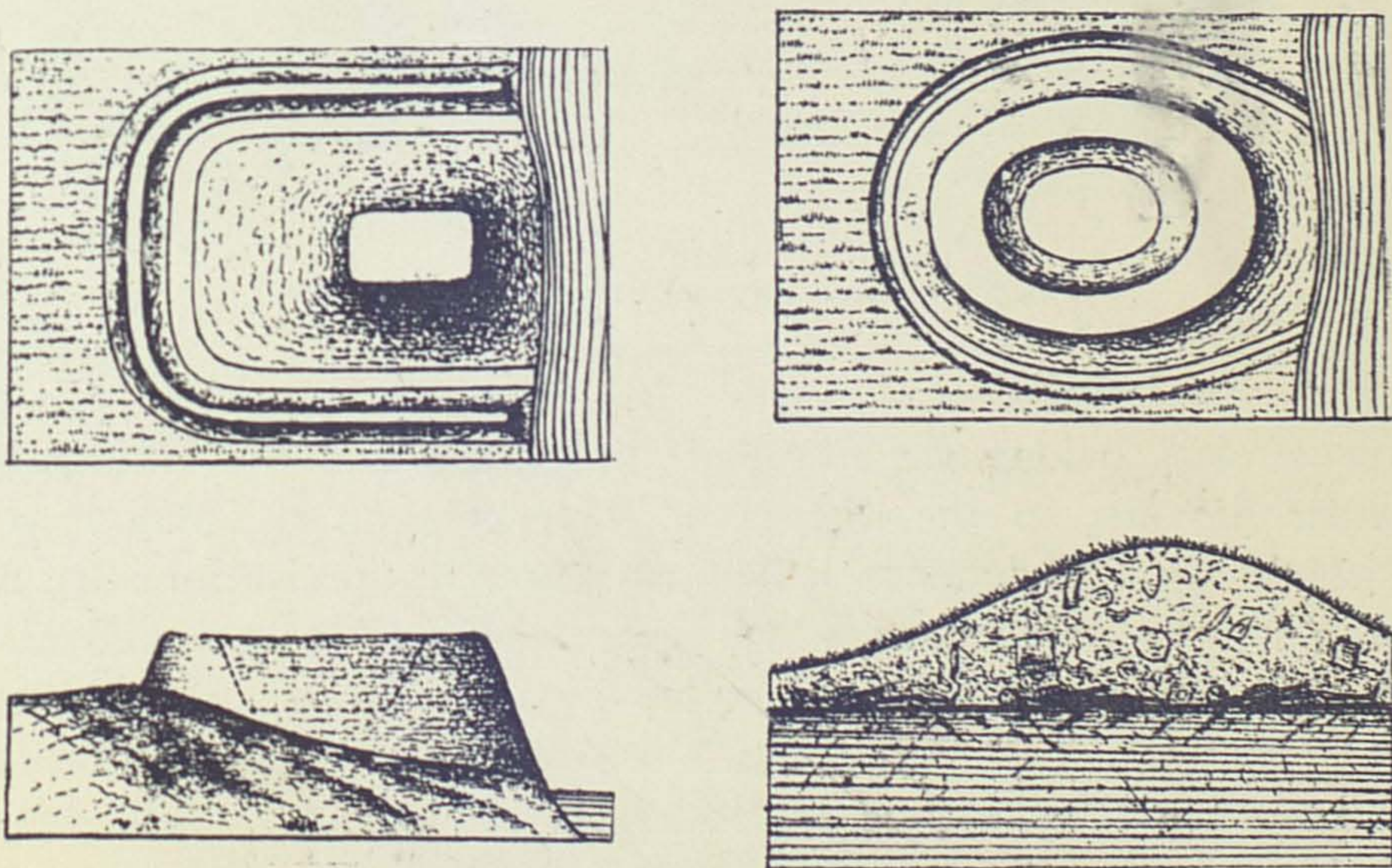


FIG. 788.—Plans and sections of "burgwalls" on the Silinsee, and the Geserichsee in West Prussia. *From Lissauer.*

remembered, is attributed by Irish tradition to the Fomorians (? to the Pomojani). Lake-dwellings built on piles in the lagoons are also a feature in West-Prussian archæology.

Passing westward to the German Ocean, we find that the type of camp is that of the ordinary Irish rath (Slavonic *arad*) or dun,†

† See note, *supra*, p. 1101.



with its double, sometimes triple, circumvallation, and, where water was obtainable, its moats. A good example of this type in the Netherlands is the Hune-Schans on the Udeler-Meer, in the Province of Gelderland and district of Arnhem, a plan of which,

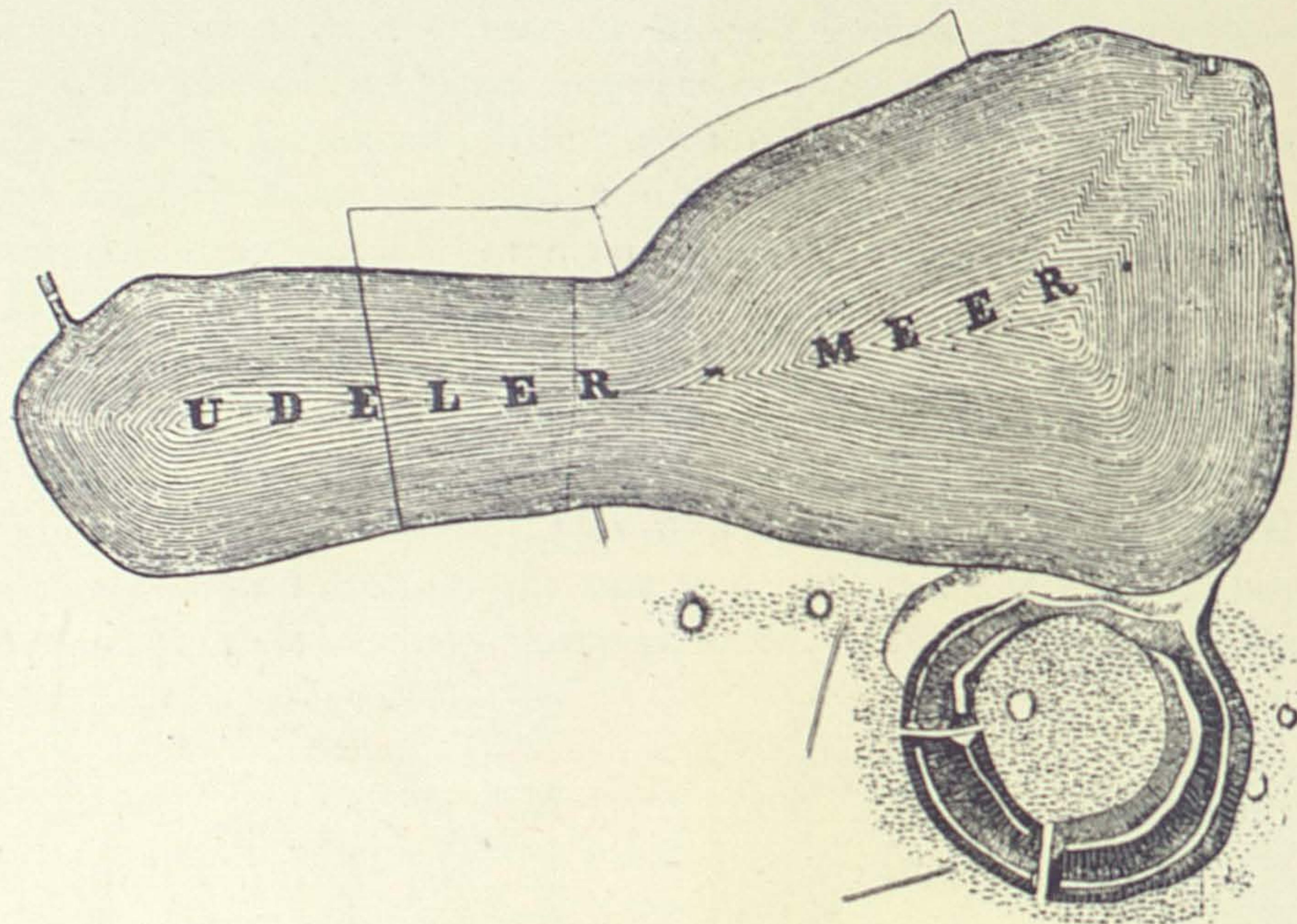


FIG. 789.—Plan of the Hune-Schans on the Udeler-Meer.

given by Janssen in Nijhoff's "Bijdragen," I reproduce. To the same class belong the so-called Pipinsburg, and the Heidenstatt near Sievern, in the district of Bederkesa on the Weser, near which are the dolmens called respectively the Bülzenbette and the Sieven Steinhausen, which have been previously described.

Sweden possesses forts called *ringmurs*, which resemble the cliff-cathairs of North Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, as may be seen by a plan of one in Södermanland given by Hildebrand, who compares them with those in Bohemia, Scotland, and Brittany. The typical *cashels* of Ireland are represented also in Scandinavia, and there, too, they have come to be used as cemeteries. Sjöborg, in his "Samlingar för Nordens Fornälskare," gives a drawing of one in Öland, showing the graves within. It is called Ismanstorphsborgen.

In the course of this digression it has been shown that the camps and forts in Ireland are divisible into several classes or types, which vary according to the methods employed by the



different peoples by whom they were built. These types are referable severally to those ethnic elements from which, according to Pritchard, the population of North Britain and Ireland was

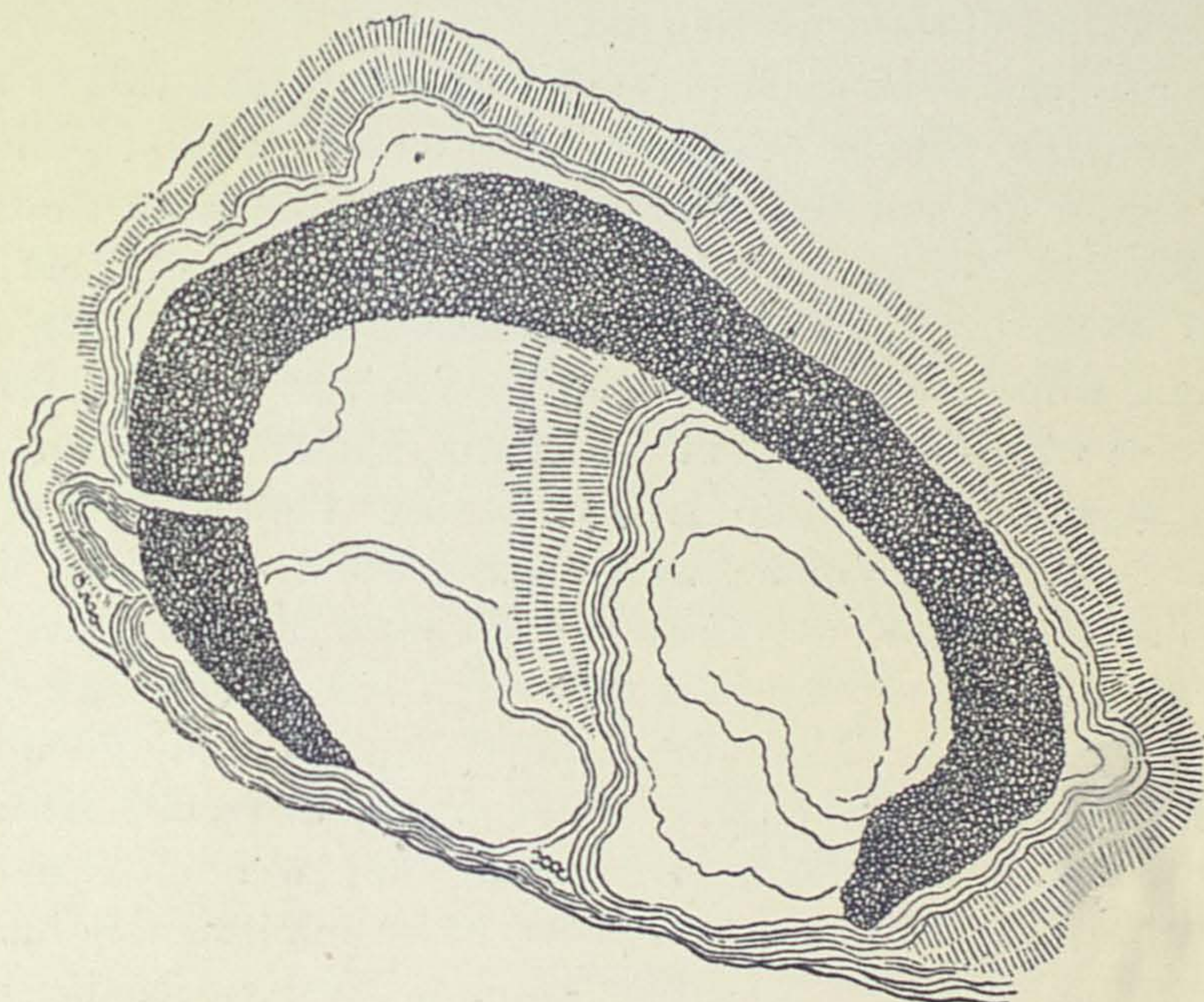


FIG. 790.—“Ringmur,” Södermanland. From Hildebrand, “*Die Vorhistorika Volken i Europa*,” p. 131.

derived. Thus we have a Finnish or Esthonian type, a Slavonic type, a German type, a Scandinavian type; and, besides these, we have the type with which I commenced these remarks, which,

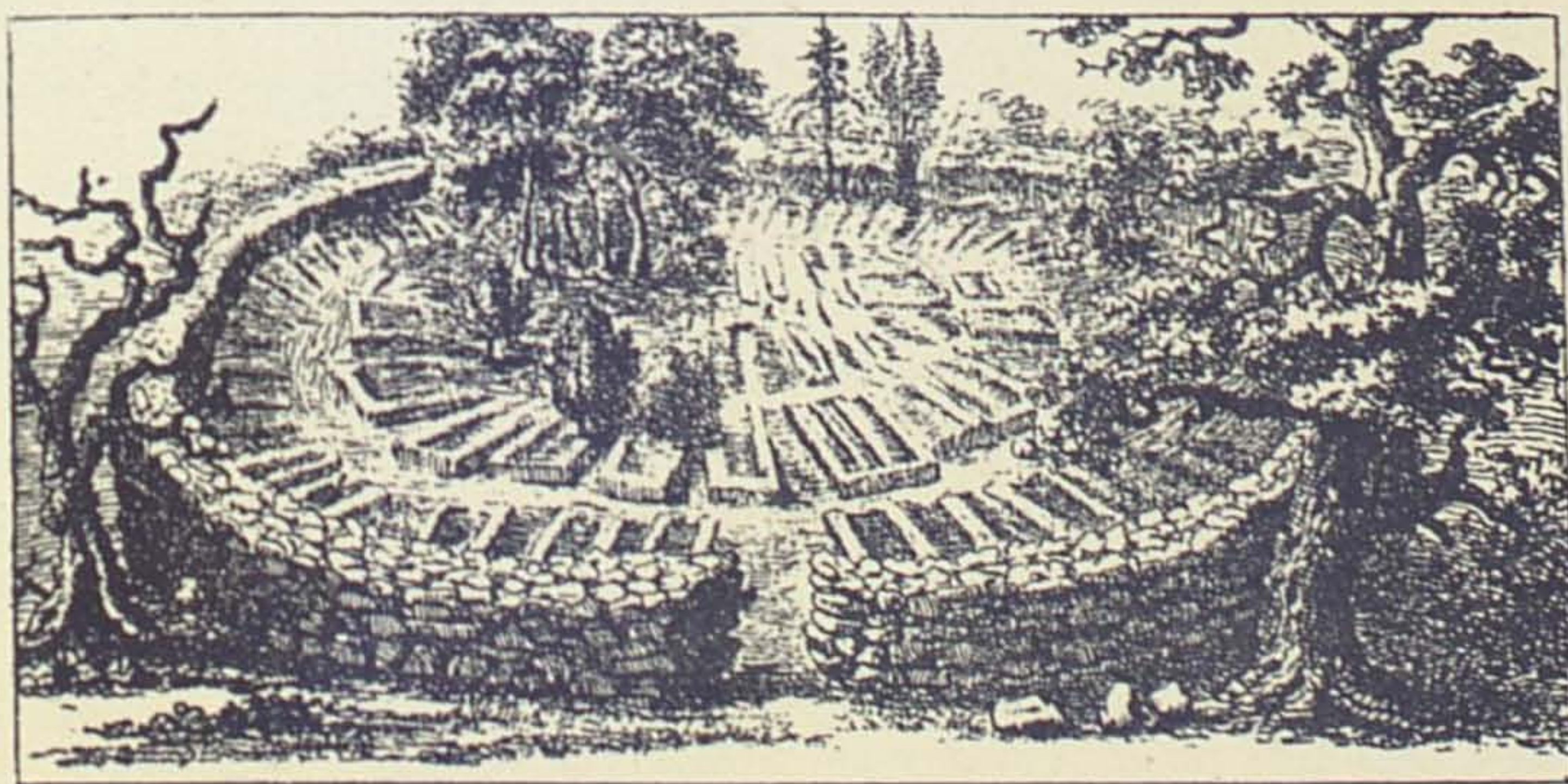


FIG. 791.—Ismanstorpborgen in Öland. Sjöborg, “*Saml. för Nordens Fornälskare*,” vol. i., pl. 33.

considering that it is not that of any of those just mentioned, we come by an exhaustive process to regard as a Celtic type—constructed, that is to say, by a people who, when history and



philology throw light upon them, were speaking a Celtic language, and passing to and fro through the Danubian districts, from a period which is prehistoric down to one well within the early centuries of the Christian era.

There seems to be good reason for thinking that tribes of these Celtic-speaking people, whose precise ethnic position philology avails not to fix, had settlements on the north-eastern shores of the Black Sea, and on the Palus Mæotis. Apart from the surmises handed down by Posidonius and Plutarch which connected the Cimmerii, who dwelt in these countries as early as the time of Herodotus with the Cimbri of the North, Plutarch uses the term "Celto-Scythæ" for certain tribes on the Pontus. That the Cimmerii—by which name, as we have seen, Procopius designates the youths of the Cotragi who were the first to cross the Palus Mæotis—spoke at any time a Celtic language is not capable of proof. That the Cimbri with whom Posidonius identifies them once did so is a matter greatly disputed; although, if they did not themselves do so, that they were in close connection with those who did, is, I think, to be unmistakably inferred from the names of their chieftains Lugius, Boiorix, Claodicus, and Cesorix.† That Celtic, too, entered into the languages of those tribes generally called Slavonic, who, upon the departure of the Goths, coming westward from Scythia, entered into their seats, may not, I think, be a subject unworthy of consideration. The name Curidach among the Acatziri, may, as I have hinted, be a case in point, while many old Polish names have a peculiarly Celtic appearance, and bear a resemblance rather to Celtic in its mixed Gaedhelic form than to the purer Celtic of ancient Gaul. Thus we have Cathomar, a "regulus Poloniæ;" Colmannus, "rex Hungariæ;" Cadolach, Cadolochus;" "dux Dalmatiæ in the ninth century (= Cathlaoch)." Bulco (compare Bolg, Bulg, Bolgan, Bolcan) was also a Polish name. With Lork,‡ a Bohemian name, compare that of Laoghaire Lork, in Irish tradition.

Up to how late a date Celtic was spoken on the Rhine or Elbe it is hard indeed to say. The passage in Jerome in which he states that the Galatæ in Asia Minor spoke their own language, and that that language was almost the same as that spoken at Trèves, has been adduced in evidence that Celtic was spoken at

† See Stein, "De Cimbr. Orig.," p. 29; also Orosius, 5, 16, and Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 143, n.

‡ See Dobrowski, *Rer. Bohem. Scriptores*.



the latter place at the time he wrote. Again, when the Irish chieftains were plundering as far south as the Alps in the fifth century, they must have spoken their own form of Celtic, and it does not seem likely that, when they came among the remnants of the old Celtic-speaking tribes in those districts, the tongue which had once been common to both had been quite forgotten. According to the Saxon tradition, the Picts learned "Irlondes speache" from the Irish women they married.<sup>†</sup> Earlier colonists, however, even from the east of the Weser, probably spoke the same language as the islanders. My contention that so much of Irish tradition came from the Baltic countries may, as I am aware, be held by some to be vitiated by the fact that the language in which we have received those traditions is a recognized division of the Celtic speech. Without contending that Celtic was ever spoken in these countries—for even if it was, these traditions do not carry us back to a date so early as that at which such might have been the case—I will give three reasons in support of my view that some at least of these traditions reach us in translated form. The first is the power of absorption which Ireland and her language has ever possessed over strangers to her shores. The English became "*Hibernis Hiberniores*," to such an extent that they learned to speak the Irish language to the exclusion of their own, so that their rulers in England actually imposed punishments on the English of the Pale for so doing. The English Ulysses had learned to sing the siren's song, and had forgotten that of his native land. English lords of the soil became, too, the greatest lovers and guardians of those ancient books in which the archives of the Irish language were stored. The second reason is that the settlements made in Ireland by peoples from the Baltic and German coasts differed from those made by the Saxons in Britain in the fact that in the former case the wives and families of the colonists did not accompany the men. The result would have been that the mothers of the succeeding generations would have been natives of the island, and the children would have learned the mothers' tongue. Evidence of this process actually taking place, and the efforts made to

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<sup>†</sup> Layamon's "*Brut.*," edit. Madden, vol. i. p. 429. See also Skene's excerpt from the "*Scalacronica*," where the Irish women make a condition that the children shall speak Irish. How greatly new settlers in those barbarous times felt the inconvenience of their children learning the tongue of the captive or enslaved mothers is shown by a story in "*Nennius*," where Britons, settling in Armorica, cut out the tongues of the women they married for fear the children should learn their language instead of the paternal speech.



prevent it, are not wanting in early chronicles and romances.† The third reason is to be found in a study of certain words, and of proper names especially, which do not appear to be Celtic, but some of which are certainly of Germanic‡ and others perhaps of Slavonic origin.§ In some cases, too, I suspect that a process of translation was employed, as in the case of Maccon = Hundeson; and Mac Cumhail = Hummeling.||

I now return to the Fir-Bolg, and to the grounds for comparison to which I have more than once alluded between that people and the Heruli.

The story of them after their return to Erin in the ships they stole from the Greeks is soon told. After a period covered by seven reigns of their kings, Eochaid Mac Erc, son of Riondal,¶ son of Geannan, succeeded to the throne. He married Tailtiu, daughter of Magmar, King of Spain, and finally sustained a signal defeat at Magh-Tuiredh—being afterwards slain while retreating from the field by the three sons of Nemed, son of Badhraoi, whose names were Cesarb, Luacro, and Luaim. The opponents of the Bolg were the Tuatha Dé Danann, under their king Nuada-Artgatlán, that is, “Nuada with the Silver Hand.” Those of the Fir-Bolg who escaped the defeat retired to the islands of the north and west for safety, and there they remained until the times of the Provincials (*Cóigeadhoch*), when every one of the Provinces of Erin was governed by its own king. About that time the Cruithné expelled them out of these places, and they were obliged to apply to Carbry Niaser (or Niafer), King of Laigen (Lagenia, Leinster), who received them and gave them lands to cultivate as tenants under him. This Cairbry is described as King of Temair, to whom the Fir-Bolg came *across the sea to the plain of Meath*. He is represented as granting their request to be permitted to settle, on the condition that they should *serve Temair* with the same regularity as the natives—a passage which clearly implies that Temair was the centre of a cultus, that is, that it was a temple. At this time, according to Mac Firbis, they,

† See footnote, p. 1135.

‡ e.g. *Amalgaidh*; *Laoghaire* = Lothair; *Redg*, Medb's “Satirist,” etc., etc.

§ e.g. names beginning with *mesh*, or *mes*, as *Mesgegra*, etc.; comp. Slav. *Meshnoi*, etc.

¶ In the middle of the fifth century (Jordanes, cap. 44) we find a Weriner in Spain called Achulf. In Irish tradition the name Eochaid Breac occurs. If *breac* here is a “wulf,” which is one of its meanings, the one name is apparently a translation of the other.

¶ This is a Teutonic name.



the Fir-Bolg, were known by the name of the Clann Umóir, or "Sept of the Sons of the Sea." Aongus son of Nuadmor (*Nuad-Mor*, a Sea-God) was their chief. When they came to Carbry, the land they asked of him was the best land in Meath, namely, Rath Cealtchair, Rath Comair, Cnodhba, Brughmna, Elcmair, Tailte, Cearmna or Cearna, Tlachtga, etc.

The Fir-Bolg gave Carbry four champions as guarantees for the observance of the injunction that they should serve Temair, namely, Keat son of Magach, Ross son of Dagius, Conall† the Victorious, and Cuchullain. By this is meant, I suppose, that they swore by the gods who were worshipped at Temair, of whom we have proof that Cuchullain, who is actually called a god,‡ was one. Subsequently, however, Carbry exacted from them such heavy rents, and was so oppressive in the revenues he demanded, that they were obliged to give up their lands and move westwards to Connaught. Here they desired the protection of Medb, queen of that province, who induced her husband Oilíoll (*Ailíll*) to give them lands for their support. Those lands, which are enumerated, for the most part bordered on the Ocean. Here they dwelt in fortresses and islands of the sea until Cuchullain extirpated them on account of their having proved faithless to their pledges to Carbry, so that satisfaction was demanded, and four Fir-Bolg champions—Cing, Cime Cetherceann (*i.e.* "Cime with the Four Heads"), Iorgus, and Conall son of Aengus, were set up to fight the four champions of Carbry, and by them were slain.

Before I proceed to compare an episode in the history of the Fir-Bolg, called the *Aitheach-Tuatha Rebellion*, with the account of the Rebellion of the Heruli, as recounted by Procopius, it may be well to observe that the first and only author whom, so far as I am aware, the possible connection between Irish and Herulian history appears to have struck, was the Austrian historian, Wolfgang Lazius—whom I have mentioned above—a physician at Vienna, who, in 1557, published at Basle his work, "*De Migrationibus Gentium*," § his views on this point having been previously expressed in a little work entitled, "*Des Khunigreichs Hungern*."|| So satisfied was he with the conclusion at which he arrived that

† This name Conall agrees with the Bavarian *Kunl*, which is *Conrad*. See Miss Yonge, "*Christ. Names*," vol. ii. p. 418.

‡ "*Sanas Chormaic*," edit. O'Donovan, p. 3, "*Cúchulainn post mortem dixisse perhibetur domemaid art uasal, a noble art, i.e. a noble god, was put to death.*"

§ p. 785, *et seqq.*

|| *Wienn*, 1556, p. 53.



he headed his chapter on the Heruli with an engraving of a contemporary Irish soldier, clean-shaved, barefooted, and carrying a sword and bow, in contrast with another long-bearded Herulian of the continent who is provided with sandals. The



FIG. 792.—Lazius's notion of an Irish Herulian; "Herulus alter, nostro seculo supra Irlandiam."

contention of this writer is that Ireland is the Thule in which, according to Procopius, the old royal stock of the Heruli resided, and he supports his view by a comparison of Irish with Herulian customs.

This view was noticed by Lynch in his "Cambrensis Eversus," published under the pseudonym of "Gratianus Lucius," in 1662,† who speaks of Dathes and Aordus, kings of the Heruli, as "genere Hiberni." Apart from a point I have previously noticed, namely, the existence of an eponymous Ir or Er in Irish tradition from whom were descended a line of kings at Emain, we have other proper names, such as that of Irial, which seem closely allied to the name Heruli. One king, as above mentioned, actually bears the name itself. In the

"Annals of the Four Masters" he is called Irereo; by Lynch he is termed Iered, with an alias, however, "qui et *Ierugleus* vocabatur." This *Ierugleus* is represented as one of the Here-monian line of kings, who, in order to obtain the throne, had slain Aengus Ollamh, one of the Heberian line, and who was in turn slain by Fercorb. Keating gives this *Ierugleus* (that is, *Heruleus*) another and an interesting alias, namely, *Iarann*. In the letter purporting to be from Saint Patrick, "ad Corotici subditos,"‡ the words "filii Scottorum ac filiae Regulorum" occur. Between *Scotti* and *Reguli*, however, there does not appear to be the requisite and implied antithesis, such as there is between

† p. 299.

‡ Edit. Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," vol. ii. p. 317.



"*Scotti* atque *Picti*" in a preceding passage. It seems not improbable that *Regulorum* has crept into the text in place of *Herulorum*.

We will now see whether, by a comparison of the Fir-Bolg with the Heruli, we may not do something to add weight to the views of Lazius.

Prominent in the history of the Fir-Bolg is a rebellion raised by certain tribes called Aitheach Tuatha,† that is, the rent-paying or subject tribes. Curiously, Tigernach, in his Annals, ignores this episode altogether, as if, in his opinion, it formed no part of the history of what occurred in Ireland itself. The story is that these tribes, finding themselves oppressed and enslaved by their king and his nobles, determined on revenge, and, having plotted in secret for three years, prepared a great feast, to which they invited their tyrants, and which was held at a place called Magh Cru, said to mean the Plain of Blood. "Thither," says O'Curry, "came the monarch, kings, and chiefs, in full flow of unreserved security -- a security, as it befell, of the falsest kind; for, when the nobles were deep in their cups, and plunged in the enjoyment of the delicious strains of the harp, treacherous hosts surrounded the banquet-hall, with men in armour, and slew without pity or remorse Fiacha Finnolaith, the provincial kings, and all the assembled chiefs, as well as all their train.

The revolutionary party having thus, at one blow, got rid of all their old taskmasters, but still wishing to live under a monarchical form of government, proceeded to select a king. Their choice fell on Cairbré Cinn-Cait—descended from the Cathraighe—an exiled son of the King of Lochlann, who had taken a leading part in the plan and completion of the revolution. Cairbré died, however, in the fifth year of an unprosperous reign, and Fiacha Finnolaith, of the royal Eremonian line, succeeded to the sovereignty."

Now, since this was the name of the king murdered at Magh Cru, it is plain that the tale had become confused in repetition, and that a second version of it had been incorporated with the first, as is not uncommonly the case with the Irish *sagas*. Against

† See Sullivan's Pref. to O'Curry's M. and C., vol. i., xxiii.-xxvii.; "Keating," edit. O'Mahony, p. 291. The word Aitheach-Tuatha has been equated by some with the name of the Attecotti, but without any good reason. As to the latter name, at a previous page of this work, I have suggested the possibility of its connection with *athach*, "a giant." Ammianus speaks of them (Anno 368) after the two divisions of the Picts, and before the Scots, and also with Picts, Scots, and Saxons. Jerome brought them from Ireland. Pancirolus, in his Commentary on the "Notitia Dignitatum," calls them a German people. Can their name be the same as that of the Assipitti of Paulus, with whom the Langobardi came in contact? Dr. Bielenstein (*op. cit.*) gives us a very similar name in East Prussia to that of the latter people, namely, Asseputen.



Fiacha, we are told, another revolt of the Provinces took place, and he was surprised and murdered at Magh Bolg in Ulster. Elim Mac Conrach, King of Ulster, of the Rudrician race of Ulster, was elected by the revolutionists in his place. The reign of Elim, however, proved unfortunate, for not only did discord and discontent prevail throughout the land, but the gifts of Heaven itself were denied it, and the soil seemed to have been struck with sterility, and the air of heaven charged with pestilence and death during these years.

The old loyalists and friends of the former dynasties took advantage at once of the confusion and general consternation which had seized on the minds of the people, and proposed to them to invite home Tuathal, the son of the murdered monarch, whose mother had fled from the slaughter to the house of her father, the King of Alba, while Tuathal, as some writers say, was yet unborn. This proposal was very generally listened to, and a great number of the Aitheach-Tuatha agreed in council to bring over the young prince, who was now in his twenty-fifth year. Tuathal answered the call, and soon after landed in Meath (Bregia), where he was immediately joined by several native chiefs, with all their followers. From this he marched upon Temair, but was met at Achail, near that place, by the reigning monarch Elim. A fierce battle was fought, in which Elim was slain, and a great slaughter made of his adherents.

Another version of the story is as follows: On the death of Cairbré, the Aitheach-Tuatha endeavoured to place his son Moran † on the throne. But Moran, who was eminent both for prudence and learning, sternly refused to accept a dignity to which he had no hereditary and, therefore, no just claim. "There will be no end," he said, "to this famine which devours you, until you recall the royal youths from exile and re-establish them in their hereditary rights." This good advice was obeyed to avert the horrible evils under which the people groaned. They sent an embassy to the royal youths, namely, Feradhach Fachtnich, son of Bainia, daughter of the King of Alba, Corb Oluim, son of Cruifia, daughter of the King of Britain, and Tibrad Tirach, son of Ainia, daughter of the King of Saxony, who had all been born to these three queen-mothers in exile—their fathers having been slain by the rebels—and conjured them in the most respectful and

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† In Old Bohemian the name of the god of death was Morana, or Moranu.



imploring terms to come home to the land and inheritance of their fathers. They swore by the sun and moon that devoted loyalty and inviolable fidelity should be theirs for ever.

The youths yielded to this spontaneous offer of submission from the Aitheach-Tuatha, and joyfully returned to the land and the hereditary rights of their fathers. Immediately an end was made to all the exterminating calamities of the land, and the earth recovered its pristine fertility. The kingdom was accordingly given to Feradach Fiondfectnach, during whose reign injustice of all kinds was checked, and justice and equity generally prevailed. . . . Feradach died at Temair, and Fiach Fífolaidh, according to Tigernach (who, however, says not a word about the rebellion), succeeded him. "Inflamed with inveterate hatred of the Aitheach-Tuatha, on account of their former cruelties to the nobility, this king," says Lynch, "imposed many galling tributes, and exacted them with such severity that the Aitheach-Tuatha burned with indignation, and resolved to compass his ruin by secret machinations. Fully aware that the Provincial kings—namely, Elim son of Conrach,† King of Ulster, Sanbh son of Keat, King of Connaught, Forbri son of Fin, King of Munster, and Eochaidh Angchenn, King of Leinster, were violently disaffected to the king, the Aitheach-Tuatha drew them into a conspiracy, and, combining their forces, slew Fiach at Magh Bolg.

At the time of King Fiach's death, his wife Ethnea Imgile, daughter of the King of Alba, was pregnant. Contriving to escape, she fled to her father's court, and brought forth a son—the sole surviving issue of Fiach—who was called Tuathal Techtmar.‡ He was educated in Alba, as became an heir to a kingdom, and eventually recovered the crown of his fathers. Elim, son of Conrach, who was of the race of Ir, being raised to the vacant throne, a most calamitous period for the country supervened, as all the woes inflicted by Heaven on the Aitheach Tuatha for their extermination of the nobility were now poured out on Elim and his associates for the murder of Fiach. At last Tuathal Techtmar closed the fatal reign and the life of Elim in the battle of Athlé near Temair, and seized the helm of the state.

In a previous account we have seen that the site of the battle

† An Irish form of Conrad, see note, p. 1137.

‡ The name Techtmar, Latinized by O'Flaherty "Bonaventura," is the equivalent in meaning, as Father Matthew Kelly happily points out, of "Le Desiré," the name given to Louis XVIII. of France on his restoration.



was a place called Achail. In the Dindshenchas of Drum Dairbrech the scene of the great fight between Tuathal and the Peasant Tribes is called Comur or Commar, meaning "meeting," a term often applied to places where rivers met, as, for example, *Commair tri n-uisc*, "meeting of three waters." Tuathal's opponents are there stated to be "Dairbre Derg son of Lulach, son of Ligmüne, with a remnant of Ligmüne, and the Fir-Bolg and the Fir Domnann, and also Eochaid Oilech." On his side were Fiacha Cassan, and Findmall his brother. As soon as Tuathal was firmly seated on the throne, he resolved to execute summary vengeance on the Aitheach-Tuatha. The death of his father in the battle of Magh-Bolg, and the extermination of the nobles in the massacre of Magh Cro, rankled in his breast, and whetted his appetite for vengeance. Taking the field, he fought many battles, so that he almost blotted out the race of the Aitheach-Tuatha. Having received hostages for the fidelity of those whom his sword had spared, he appointed kings for the Four Provinces. He also established the Convention of Temair, which was attended by all the provincial kings and other great nobles, who swore by the pagan oath, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and all the Elements, that they would never revolt from his sceptre, but would bear true homage to him and his descendants for ever. Moreover, they promised that they would assist him and his against all enemies.

Tuathal took from each of the Provinces of Erin a considerable territory, which he added to Meath (Midé, Media), thus extending its name and limits far beyond the original small district of Usneach or Ushnagh. The new Province was decreed to be for all time the appanage of the monarch of Erin, for the support of his table and palace at Temair.

He it was also who first imposed the famous tribute called the Boroimhe, or Boromean, as a penalty for the murder of his daughters Daringa and Fethara. His wife was Bania, daughter of Scál Balb, King of Fomoiré, who was the mother of his son and successor Fedlimidh, called Reachtmar, famous as a lawgiver, and especially as the introducer of a *Lex Talionis*.

Asking my readers to bear in mind the principal points in the tradition of this rebellion, I now pass to the history of the Heruli, as recorded by Procopius and others, with which I wish to offer



comparisons with that of the Fir-Bolg, and the Aitheach-Tuatha as a part of them. "In former times," says Procopius, "the Heruli dwelt on the further side of the Danube," by which he indicates the district up to the shores of the Baltic, as is clear from a similar statement he makes with regard to the Warni, Varini, or Weriner. Indeed, when they went northward from Illyria, as described by this historian,† into that district which, according to Jordanes, constituted their *proprie sedes*, and from whence they were finally expelled by their next neighbours the Danes, who had come from Scandinavia into the Cimbrian Chersonese, they must have actually dwelt in the country assigned to the Varini, to whom, therefore, they were probably related if they were not identical with them. As to their cradle-land, they are associated with some remote island in the north, which Procopius thought was Thule, and who, in describing it, gives us an account of Scandinavia. Jordanes brings them from Scandinavia also, that *vagina nationum et officina gentium*, to which it was the fashion among the early historians of all the Teutonic nations to refer each in turn. They were on the Palus Mæotis, however, at an early date, and thence also Jordanes, in another passage, brings them. Zeuss regards them as the Suardones of Tacitus under a new name, and places them between the Trave and the Oder, in the westernmost peninsula of the southern Baltic, where Ptolemy places the Pharadeini, whose name (? Spharadeini) is, perhaps, Suardones in a slightly altered form.‡

With the old name Suardones, and *suert* (= suart), we may not be wrong in comparing that of Suartua, an Herulian prince, of whom we shall presently hear more.

"As time went on," proceeds Procopius, "the Heruli on the further side of the Danube became more populous and powerful than any of the barbarians around them, vanquishing them, one by one in fight, and living upon the produce of the lands they subdued. At length they overpowered the Langobardi, who were Christians, and forced them and other peoples beside them to pay tribute, being prompted to impose these levies by covetousness and pride, since it was not the usual custom of the barbarians dwelling at that time in those parts so to do."

† "B. Goth.," 2, 15.

‡ The name of the Suardones has been derived from the O.H.G. *suert*, a sword. To the obsolete word *eru*, also meaning a sword, the name of the Heruli has been referred. See Zeus, "Die Deutschen," p. 154.



The conflicts between the Heruli and the Langobardi, when considered side by side with the fact that the former occupied, in their north-western seats, a district intermediate between Germans and Slaves, raise the question of the ethnic affinities of the Heruli. Müllenhoff† has referred, though with scant approval, to the view that they were connected with Slavonic peoples. There seems, however, to be something to be said in favour of this theory. In common with the Slaves, they are represented as adhering to paganism after their neighbours had become Christians. In common with them, also, their customs required that the wife should strangle herself at her husband's obsequies. Like the Slaves, too, they fought naked, with merely a coarse covering around the hips, and with shield and spear alone. The treatment of their kings, to which I shall presently allude, recalls the fact that we have examples of Slaves killing their princes at the banquet or on the march. Certain customs, again, seem to connect them with Scandinavia, and yet others, although their language, as far as we know them in history, was not Celtic, with the remote shores of Ireland. Whether or not the Heruli in the west had Slavonic affinities, there is, I think, reason to presume that those who were settled on the Palus Mæotis, the Danube, and about the Carpathians, did not leave those districts on their return to the north-west, without carrying with them the results of intercourse with those nations of Scythia, or, rather, the Sarmatian portion of that almost limitless country—Slaves on the west and north, and Tscoudes or Tscudi, Bashkirs, and Kalmucks on the east—with whom they must have been brought into close contact. The characteristics of these latter peoples were carried westwards into the Carpathian and Danubian countries by contact with Slaves and Germanic peoples. The likeness between a certain well-known type of Irishman and certain Wallachian, Bohemian, and Bulgarian types has often been noticed by travellers, and if we can show a reasonable probability that the Heruli were in a special manner the Bolg of Irish tradition, that likeness may be due to no mere coincidence, and Charles Lever's description of Billy Traynor, as resembling a Kalmuck, may actually be due to an ethnological fact not hitherto recognized, but which may be dated back to the end of the fourth, or to the fifth century, when, on their dispersal by the Goths, contingents of the mixed peoples called Bolgar made their way to the islands of the north.

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† "Deutsche Altertumskunde," vol. ii. p. 78, n.



To proceed, however, with the story of the Heruli. Towards the close of the fifth century—I quote Procopius again—when Anastasius became Emperor—since there were no more districts left for them to invade—the Heruli laid down their arms, and remained for three years at peace. This period of tranquillity, so unnatural to them, ended, they became restless and irritated, and began to cover their king Rodolf with impudent reproaches and scornful abuse, speaking of him in his presence as weak and effeminate, and throwing such-like opprobrious epithets in his face.

Here Procopius brings out a remarkable point of similarity between Irish and Herulian customs—the practice, that is to say, of contumelious taunting or satire. In many Irish tales we find that this base species of terrorism was actually the prerogative of a certain class of persons, named the *filé* or poets, and that kings were especially made the butts for their venomous shafts. In Ireland it was made use of to irritate into action, as was the case with Rodolf, or to extort largess. The satire, which was in verse, was believed to possess a magical power, and there are cases mentioned where its effect was madness, disease, or even death itself. A tale connected with the name of a satirist called Athirné or Athairné, surnamed Ailgosach, or the Importunate, shows the awe in which the professors of this vile art were held, and the unlimited power they exercised of possessing themselves of all that was most treasured by their victims—a power to which no priestly tyranny on record can be compared, since it was an organized system of extorting blackmail, authorized and enforced by a firm belief in the power of demons whose agent the satirist was. An instance is given in the Glossary attributed to Cormac,† which, while it involves the fate of a king, proves the existence of a belief in the baneful effect which satire was capable of producing physically.

The poet Nédi, we are told, son of Adnae, son of Othar, composed a satire upon his uncle Caier, King of Connaught, which produced a blemish on him, rendering him unfit to reign, upon which the scoundrel, who had thus persecuted him, assumed the sovereignty.

Among the Scandinavians, also, derision was practised, and the process was divided into two kinds, the first called “tunguníd”

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† Edit. O'Donovan, p. 87.



or "nidvisur," consisting of mocking words, delivered in songs or lampoons, thought to possess magical power, thus scaring away guardian spirits and bringing misfortune; the second, called "trenid" or wooden derision, that is, derisive images carved or traced on wood. Kings were here also specially made the subject of it, and we read of Harold Gormson, King of Denmark, intending to go to Iceland to take revenge for one made on him.†

To return to Rodolph. Stung by the satire, he organized an expedition against the Langobardi, although the latter had given his people no cause of offence, nor broken treaties, nor refused them tribute.‡ Three times did the Langobardi send embassies to the Heruli to demand from Rodolf himself the cause of so unjust a war; but being unable to obtain an answer, they warned them that their God (for they were Christians) would defend the right, and prepared for battle. When the lines were drawn up opposite each other, a portent was observed. Over the spot where the Langobardi stood hung a dark cloud of great density, while, over that where the Heruli stood, the sky was marvelously clear. From this omen it might be understood that the Heruli would enter the battle to their own destruction, as, indeed, the sequel proved. They were utterly routed, and many, among whom was their king, were slain. Of those that survived the battle the greater number were cut to pieces in their flight.

There are points in this story which remind us of the battle of Magh Tuireadh—the conflict between the Tuatha Dé Danann on the one side, and the Fir-Bolg on the other. The Tuatha Dé Danann, who in the result were victorious, formed, we are told, "by their magic skill, a mist about them for three days and three nights," previous to the commencement of the contest. The Fir-Bolg were, like the Heruli, utterly routed; the greater number were slain in their flight, and among them their king was killed. The cause of the battle was about the division of Erin.

"A remnant of the Heruli still remained," says Procopius, and this became divided into two sections, each of which departed

† Du Chaillu, "Viking Age," vol. i. p. 580. Another institution, if it may be so called, which the Scandinavians shared with the ancient Irish, was that of professed warriors called Champions or Athletes. They were, perhaps, the leaders of hired or mercenary bands. They were expected to excel in all kinds of athletic and intellectual games, called *idröttir* in Scandinavia. These were taught by the Asa Odin and the Diar, and also by priestesses. Cuchullain in Irish tradition was a champion of this sort. See the story of his sojourn with the Amazon Scathach, a priestess doubtless who taught the art. See O'Curry's "Manners and Customs," for this curious romance.

‡ This practice of exacting tribute, in which the Heruli differed from other barbarians, recalls the treatment of the Nemedians (? Germans) by the Fomorians (? Slaves), between which latter people and the Fir-Bolg (? Heruli) there was close intimacy and alliance.



from the lands in which they had been settled, but in opposite directions, the one going south beyond the Danube, the other "into the uttermost parts of the habitable world," by which the extreme north is meant. Similarly, in Irish tradition, after the battle of Magh Tuireadh, those of the Fir-Bolg who escaped defeat retired to the islands of the north and west, while others settled temporarily in Meath, where lands were granted to them as tenants, whence they finally removed into Connaught.

The first section of the Heruli, on leaving their country, traversed, with their wives and children, the entire district beyond the Danube, and entered into the localities formerly occupied by the Rugii, who, having accompanied the Goths into Italy, had formed new settlements there. Finding, however, that these lands, from which the inhabitants had departed, were reduced to the condition of a sterile waste, and that famine was imminent, the Heruli removed from them, and came into a district next the Gepidæ. Since they came as suppliants, the latter people at first permitted them to settle in their neighbourhood, but in the capacity only of tenants (*Inquilini*, in the Latin translation), or Rent-payers. Subsequently, however, the Gepidæ began to harass them, taking their women from them by force, despoiling them of their cattle and effects, and, finally, filling up the measure of their ill treatment by making war upon them without just cause. Unable to bear such oppression any longer, this section of the Heruli crossed the Danube, and seated themselves down beside the territory which was under the Roman dominion. The Emperor Anastasius received them kindly, and allowed them to form fixed settlements. Some little time afterwards, however, the crimes that these barbarians perpetrated against the Roman settlers caused him to change his policy, and, his anger being aroused, he despatched an army against them. A battle ensued, in which the Romans killed the greater portion of them. Those who survived came as suppliants to the generals, begging to be permitted to live under the Roman alliance, and to be allowed to prove themselves faithful servants to the Emperor. On these conditions, with the approval of Anastasius, the remnant of the Heruli were allowed to live. They neither proved themselves, however, allies of the Romans, nor did they requite them with any service performed. From a subsequent passage we learn that it was in Illyria that they were settled.



Now, in the above account, it is to be observed that the word *Aitheach-Tuatha* is, as near as can be, the equivalent in meaning of what is intended to be conveyed by Procopius, and which the translator expresses by *Inquilini*. It is a term contrasted with Free Provincials, just as the Irish word *Cóigeadhoch*, "Provincials," is contrasted with *Aitheach-Tuatha*, that is, "Rent-payers." By the district from which the Rugii had departed must be intended the highlands of Bohemia.

It is evident that the stories of the wanderings of the Fir-Bolg and of the Heruli are curiously alike. The Fir-Bolg are expelled—it is not very clear from what district—by the Cruithné. The latter would answer to the Gepidæ. In the name Cruithné, I have previously pointed out a resemblance in that of the Chorwati and Chorutane—first on the north side of the Carpathians, and later on in Illyria.† The Gepidæ were said to have been of Gothic origin, and on the break-up of the Hunnish confederacy they entered into possession of Dacia. The Fir-Bolg went as suppliants to Cairbré Niafer just as the Heruli did to Anastasius, and were granted lands. Finally we find them in the fastnesses of the coast of Connaught, just as we find the Heruli in those of Illyria. Whether in these coincidences we have an insular localization of a continental tradition is a proposition which, without the backing of more weighty corroborative evidence, it would be unsafe to entertain. The points, however, are worth noting.

In the appearance of the Heruli on the southern side of the Danube, history was repeating itself since, in the reign of Gallienus, they had invaded Thrace, and, under Naulobates, as we have seen, had penetrated into Greece. If in the Heruli we may, as I think possible, recognize the Fir-Bolg, the tradition of the oppressions undergone by the latter, when under the Greeks, might apply to either of the periods during which the Heruli were living in servitude under the Empire, although I prefer to attribute it to the earlier of the two.

"Upon Justinian becoming Emperor," continues Procopius, "he gave the Heruli, who, having crossed the Danube, had come to settle by the side of the Romans, good lands, and would have extended to them the advantages of alliance with the Romans, and made Christians of them, had they not continued in that

† Cruithné being in Irish synonymous with Peohta, Petta, Pict, in Teutonic and Latin, it is noteworthy that the name Piti occurs in the Table of Peutinger, seemingly in place of Gepidæ or Sigipedes, in which latter forms *Ge* and *Sige* may have been distinctive prefixes to *Pidæ* or *Piti*.



course of life for which they had become notorious before they crossed the Danube, proving themselves false and covetous, plundering their neighbours, and leading lives which were disgraced by the habitual commission of unnatural offences. Some few of those who had entered into the Roman league continued faithful to it, and the rest revolted on account of the following circumstance," which is that which I wish to offer specially for comparison with the story of the Aitheach-Tuatha.

"Impelled by the ferocity of their nature, they all of a sudden slew their King Ochon (*Ὀχων*), not that they had any fault to find with him, but solely for the reason that they desired in future to put an end to regal supremacy. And, in truth, before this happened, their king had been king in nothing more than in name, being regarded as entitled to no more respect than a private person, nor even so much. All sat and ate with him, and each one, as the thought struck him, made him the object of shameless and scornful satire, for there exists no people who, in point of mad humour and levity, can surpass an Herulian." †

I here pause to insert, from the "Dindshenchas," as translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes, a passage which, while it illustrates the shameless contempt in which the person of the king was held among the Irish, points also to the presence on the continent of Europe, and, in the central portions of it, of an Irish monarch. It is as follows: "The Dindshenchas of Ochoinn Midi: When Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaid (Muidmedón), went over the Ictian Sea (explained by O'Donovan to mean the English Channel and the German Ocean), then was Eochaid, son of Enna Censelach in the East, in exile, after killing Laidgenn, son of Boirchid (Niall's wizard). So he (Eochaid son of Enna) advised the women to ask that the King of the World's ‡ form might be shown to them. Wherefore, after undressing, Niall displayed himself to them. Now, Eochaid, like any woman in their crowd, was there with his javelin under his garment. So with it he transfixed the King Niall from one armpit to the other. And Niall said (when dying) that his hostages should be released where his monument should be made, and so that the strength of every power should be gained by him.

"So Niall's body was brought from the East, and his troops

† Procopius had never met the insular Herulian of Lazius.

‡ *Rí in Domoin*, applied to Niall in respect of his foreign conquests.



routed their foes in seven battles, and took him to Ochán, and there he was buried. And the great lamentation (*ochán*) of Niall's household was where each parted from the other, and where the hostages of Erin were released. Whence 'Ochonn of Meath' is said."

It is singular, but it may be a mere coincidence, that the name which Procopius heard applied to a murdered Herulian king, namely Ochon, was precisely that of the customary 'great lamentation' made by the people on such, not unusual, occasions.

The scene of Niall's murder has been stated to have been in France, on the Loire. That, however, must be a mistake, some other river being intended, and France probably confused with the land of the Franks, that is, of the Sigambri, by which name the latter people, east of the Rhine, are designated as late as the middle of the seventh century.† The tradition, as in the above extract, clearly sends Niall "to the East," and brings his dead body "from the East"—a term which could not be applied by Irish writers to the Loire. His mother was Carennna, daughter of the King of Saxony. It is in that direction that his conquests lie. His hostages, according to a metrical version of the "Dindshenchas," are Saxons, Franks, and Romans. Keating, indeed, tells us that five were from Erin, and four from Alba. The question is—"Can these two statements be reconciled?" Only in one way, and that is by supposing that the Saxon and Frankish hostages were drawn from Thuringia, and the lands bordering on it—the country of the Werini—which, as I have ventured to hint, may have been a continental Erin; and by recognizing also in the name Alba some portion of the Roman dominions—in the region, perhaps, of the Ealpa or Alps, whither we know the Heruli had made their way. Niall himself was styled King of Erin and Alba, and was esteemed a great conqueror entirely outside the borders of the insular Erin and Alba. He was succeeded by his nephew Dathi, of whom we shall presently hear.

The story of the murder of Niall is not that of the murder of the Ochon of Procopius, although I am about to point to another murder of a monarch in Irish tradition, which may, I think, be actually referable to that event. We may remember that, in the story of the Aitheach-Tuatha, no sooner had the rebels killed Fiacha than they found themselves wishing for a king. "No

† See Vita S. Arnulphi, who died in 640, Acta SS., Boll. Jul. 4.



sooner," says Procopius, "had the Heruli murdered Ochon than they repented having done so, finding it impossible to get on without a king or some one to command them."

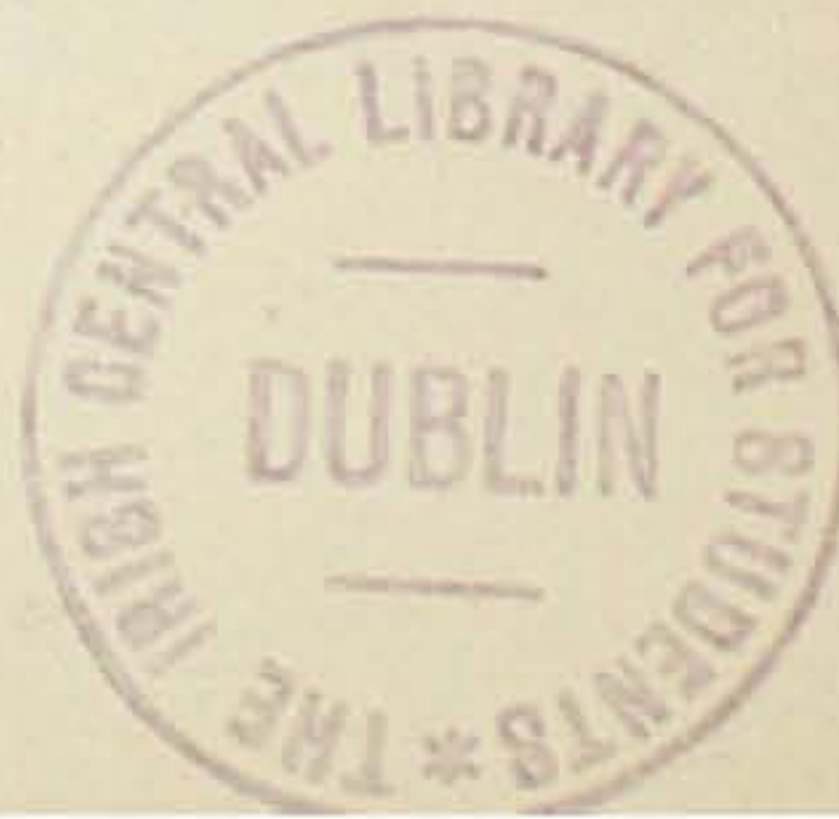
In selecting a new king, the choice of the Aitheach-Tuatha fell upon "the exiled son of the King of Lochlainn, that is Scandinavia, or some part of it," so that they may be said to have had recourse to that country for a king. So, too, with the Heruli. "After frequent councils, they determined to send to the island of Thule, and obtain from thence one of the royal line to fill the vacant throne."

The reason why the Heruli sent to Scandinavia for a king involves an account of the second section of this people who, after the battle with the Langobardi, went northwards, and dwelt, as has been said, in the outermost parts of the habitable world. Many of the blood-royal were their leaders, and by them they were conducted through all the lands occupied by the Sclaveni.† Thence, after crossing an extensive desert, they arrived in the territory of the Varni, and passing through it, traversed the country of the Dani—the peoples of those parts offering them no violence. At length, when they had reached the shores of the ocean, they took ship, and made for the island of Thule, where they continued to reside. "When, therefore, the other section of them, who had gone to live on the confines of the Roman Empire, having killed their king, were desirous of obtaining one of the royal blood in his place, it was to Thule that they despatched a deputation of nobles to select one. This deputation, on reaching the island, found many of the royal stock still there, and, making choice of the one of them that pleased them best, proceeded to take him back with them. When their journey was nearing its end, however, he died."

We have seen that Cairbré, son of the King of Lochlainn, whom the Aitheach-Tuatha had chosen for their king, died shortly afterwards.

"In consequence," proceeds Procopius, "of the death of the king they had chosen, the ambassadors of the Heruli returned to the island, and, nominating a second one called Todasius, or, as his name is given in another codex, Datius, set out for the south again. The occurrence of this name Datius here merits comment. According to the second version of the Aitheach-Tuatha story,

† This shows that the battle with the Langobardi must have been pretty far south.





given above, the name of Cairbré's successor was a royal youth called Feradach. Now, the name Feradach, occurring in another Irish tradition, and applied to another individual, is there found to be synonymous with the name Dathi—the latter portion of the former name being, seemingly, identical with the latter. Thus Dathi, a king who was killed by lightning near the Alps, possessed the *alias* of Feradach. The word *dach*, with the usual mutation of *ch* and *th*, would be *dath*. According to native Irish etymologists, it is the adjective *daith*, 'swift,' so that *fer daith* would mean 'swift man,' a name of particular appropriateness when applied to an Herulian, since Jordanes, quoting Ablavius, mentions that the Heruli, dwelling near the Palus, were celebrated for their *swiftness*, a characteristic which is contrasted with the stolidity and tardiness of the Goths. The swiftness of foot of the ancient Irish, and indeed of the modern Irish peasants, is proverbial.

"The Heruli, having selected their king, for the second time set out (as we have seen) for home. The man of their second choice was accompanied by his brother Aordus, possibly the Norse name Hörðar, and two hundred youths chosen from among the Heruli who dwelt in Thule. Much time, however, had been expended in this journey, and, meanwhile, the Heruli settled near Singidona (Singidunum, that is Belgrad,) having come to the conclusion that difficulties might arise if they introduced a king from Thule without the Emperor Justinian's consent, had sent to Byzantium to request him to send them as their king the man he thought best suited for the post. He forthwith sent them Suartua, or Suartuas, who, although one of the royal stock, had been educated at Byzantium. The Heruli at first received him joyfully, did reverence to him as their king, and accorded him the customary obedience. But, a few days afterwards, a messenger arrived to apprise them of the approach of those who had been sent to Thule. Thereupon Suartuas called upon his soldiers to march out and destroy them, and, with seeming approbation, they obeyed his command and followed him. When, at last, however, they came to a place where only a few days' journey separated them from the party advancing from the north, the entire band of his followers, deserting Suartuas in the night, crossed over to the new-comers. Suartuas, left alone, escaped by flight, and returned to Byzantium. The Emperor, on his part, put in motion all the

*G. Suard  
of Thule  
Geoffrey of  
Mon. xv.*



forces at his disposal to effect the restoration of the fugitive, upon which the Heruli, in dread of the power of the Roman arms, betook themselves to the Gepidæ. And such," concludes Procopius, "was the cause of the revolt of the Heruli."

The points for comparison in these two stories, the Revolt of the Aitheach-Tuatha, and the Revolt of the Heruli, are, indeed, as close—supposing they may refer to one and the same event—as could be expected considering the diverse media through which they have reached us. In the first place we have in the Irish tale the very distinction we find among the Heruli. On the one hand, there are the Provincials, those, that is to say, who have embraced an alliance which in the Herulian story is the Roman alliance; and, on the other hand, there are the Villain Tribes who had not. Secondly, we have the murder of a king—in the one case Fiacha, in the other Ochon, without any sufficient reason. Thirdly, we have the dispersal of the royal youths in various countries. Fourthly, we have a king of Scandinavian origin, sought out and placed by the rebels on the throne, unnamed in the Herulian story; in the Irish one called Cairbré. Fifthly, upon his death, we have another royal youth sought out—in the one case Feradach, in the other Datus, names which we have a precedent for considering identical. Sixthly, we have the restoration of a prince—Tuathal on the one hand, Suartuas on the other, who had been living in exile, in the one case in Alba, in the other in the Roman dominions.

Indeed, in what we know of Tuathal subsequently, we seem to recognize an external power like that of Rome at his back. He rearranges the Provincial districts, and insists on an oath of fidelity. He builds four chief-residences or capitals, called respectively Tlachtga, Uisnech (Ushnagh), Taltiu (Teltown), and Temair, the three last of which bear names which seem repeated in those of Usna,† Usnoim, or Usedom (on the coast opposite Rügen); of Teltou, Teltow, or Teltau in Brandenburg, two miles from Berlin, called Cron-Teltou, a fortified site of considerable antiquity, where, in a place called the Stollen-Berg, about thirty sepulchral urns were found in 1728; and of Themar (Lat. Themaria) in Thuringia, for which Mone‡ found a namesake in the

† Compare also, as we have done before, Uznagh on Lake Zurich.

‡ *Celtische Forschungen zur Geschichte Mitteleuropas*, 1857, in the list of Irish and German names: "Ir. *teach*; the town Themar, in archives Theimar, Theymar ('Schultes Beschr. von Themar,' p. 113), bears the same name as Temora, *great house*."



Irish Temair. In addition to this, Tuathal imposed a tribute on the Province of Laighen (? Lagená, Lainca), which was called by the curious name Bóroma. O'Donovan calls it the "Cow-Tribute," † but, although *bo* means "a cow," *roimhé* does not mean "tribute." Dr. Whitley Stokes, dismissing the "cow" part of the etymology, derives it from a pre-Celtic stem cognate with the Greek *φόρος*, "that which is brought." ‡ The plain sense of the name, however, since the *ó* in *bó* is long, and *Roma* is the genitive of *Róm* (Rome), is the "Cows of Rome," that is, a cattle tribute, such as the Romans had been accustomed to levy on the Germans and other barbarian tribes. Such a power of levying tribute would naturally have been exercised by the Herulian nominee of the Roman Empire, and would have borne the name "Roman," whether levied directly by a Roman Emperor or by a native prince who had learned his lesson in governing at the court of Justinian. Hence it would have come to mean "tribute" in general. The son and successor of Tuathal is represented as a lawgiver, and as instituting the *Lex Talionis*, carrying out, therefore, additional reforms in just such a direction as might be expected from a pupil in the schools of Byzantium. From this circumstance he was called Reachtmar (from *reacht* = "lex"). His first and proper name was Feidhlimidh, which I think we shall not be wrong in associating with the Herulian proper-name *Φιλιμούθ*, Philimuth, which Procopius gives us as that of one of the princes of that people.

The place where Tuathal fought the rebel Aitheach-Tuatha was Ath Comair, "ford where the rivers meet," while Comorn, the meeting-point of the Danube and the Waag, was perhaps the most likely place at which the rebel Heruli would have confronted Suartuas and his Roman allies.

Speaking generally, the account which Procopius gives us of the characteristics of the Heruli, and that which Mac Firbis gives us as the tradition of what the Fir-Bolg were like, are so wonderfully similar, that, even was there no reason to think that these peoples might have been identical, the Heruli might be termed the Fir-Bolg of continental history in the fifth century. If we turn to p. 1027 of this work, we shall find the description of the Fir-Bolg to which I allude. Of the Aitheach-Tuatha Mac Firbis states that they were deemed ignoble because of their evil

† A. 4 M., n. vol. i. p. 100.

‡ See Rev. Celt., Jan., 1892, p. 32.



deeds. With these accounts let us compare Procopius, who styles the Heruli "the most evilly disposed of all human beings"—"covetous," "vain-glorious," "restless," "plunderers," "seducers of women," "men who picked quarrels unjustly," "false," "holding it no shame to wrong their neighbours," "breakers of treaties," "contumelious," "surpassing all other peoples in levity and mad folly," and lastly, guilty of the same class of offences with which Jerome charges the Scoti (that is, the Irish) and the Attacotti. They worshipped many gods, whom they held it their duty to appease with human sacrifices, and when a man grew old he was despatched with a straight sword upon the top of a funeral pile on which the body was then burned, and if a dead man left a widow, and she failed to strangle herself, she was covered with lasting disgrace.

Both the Fir-Bolg and the Heruli may be and probably are unfortunate in their historians, a fact for which I think we may in great measure account if we suppose them both to be Bulgares or Bolgr, that is, people who had sided with the Huns. In the first place, all that was barbarian, and was not Gothic, was held by the haughty Goths to be "vile and ignoble," terms which Jordanes† applies to the Werini, or Warni, for instance. Secondly, they were enemies of the Goths, and the latter proved victorious. Thirdly, they were pagans long after the Goths had been converted to Christianity; and, fourthly, when they did become Christians, they were heretics, and for such no vilification on the part of the orthodox was base and rank enough.

As to their appearance, it is probable that there were light and dark Heruli or Bulgari, as Irish tradition describes to us fair-haired as well as dark Fir-Bolg. The last we hear of the Heruli is when—the Danes coming south—they were, as Jordanes tells us, expelled from their own proper settlements. As to the country to which they went, history is silent. Those *proprie sedes* of theirs must have been next those of the Danes, that is, the coast-land by the Trave, the Warnou, and the Peene Rivers. Now, many Irish authorities have been puzzled to account for the fact that, although the Danes of history did not arrive in the island of Erin until the close of the eighth century, Finn Mac Cumhail, who is placed centuries prior to this date, and whose *saga* can be shown to have existed in

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† Cap. 44.



Ireland prior to the coming of these Danes,† is ever engaged, with his Fianna, or Féne, in fighting with Danes. Let us see whether the scene of conflict may be looked for on the Baltic coast. Here—to repeat what has been previously pointed out‡—immediately opposite Rügen, we have the Peene or Pene River, east of the Warnou, giving name to the Circipene, the people who dwelt on its banks, to Peenemünde (the estuary), and to the Cylipenus Sinus,§ the strait between the island of Usedom, Usenoim, or Usna and Rügen. Here we have the district of Demmin, Demin, Dimin, Dimine, or Dammin (Lat. Demminum),|| which reminds us that Finn's proper name was Demni. We have also a saint's name Dimma or Dimmanus, and one of those who bore it bore also the *alias* Ernin, or Ernenus, or Erenæus,¶ meaning an Irishman. Just outside the mouth of the Peene stood the town of Wineta, now covered by the sea, but which at one time is said to have been one of the principal marts of Europe. It is mentioned as an important Wendish town, and a centre of the religion of the pagan Wends together with Iulin, Arckon and Carentz,†† the two latter in Rügen. In another name for Iulin or Iulinum, which was on the coast of Pomerania Citerior, we seem to recognize the presence of the Hyni or Hünen, for it was called Hinnisberg. In the word Iulin itself we have names very closely approximating to Uillin, Ullin, Ulidh, and Ulidia.

Finn itself, as a proper name, was by no means unknown in the districts bordering on those of the Danes. In the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf and the episode called the Fight of Finnsberg, which belongs to it, we have a Finn of Finnsberg, who is a chieftain commanding Eotens and Frisians, his enemies being Geatas, and Deni or Danes.

This war has been shown by Leo to have taken place between the years 512 and 520. Pinneburg in Holstein, on the Pinnou River, has been supposed by some to have been Finnsberg, but that is uncertain. It is remarkable that Finn should command the Eotens (that is, the Iötuns), since in Irish tradition the brother of Cumhal, Finn's father, is Iödhlan, that is, Iut, or Iöt-land—the land of the Iötuns—the part of the Cimbric Chersonese north of the rampart called the Mænia Danorum, the northern

† See Mr. Alfred Nutt's note on a gloss to the Amra Choluim Chillé, "Waifs and Strays," vol. ii. p. 403.

‡ See pp. 894, 896, *supra*.

§ Zedler, *in voc.*

¶ Johnson's "Atlas of Classical Geography."

|| Colgan, AA. SS. Hib.; Smith's "Dict. Christ. Biog."

†† Micrælius, "Ant. Pom." i. 97; Abel, "Sachsische Alterthüm," ii. 305.



extremity of which is the present Jutland. An *alias* of Iodhlan was Goll Mac Morna, head of the Clanna-Morna, who were at blood-feud with the Clanna Bascaoin, to which Finn belonged. Goll is represented in oral traditions in Donegal as having been driven into a wild, rocky peninsula in the north, and there either slain or starved to death. The name Iötun opens the immense question as to who were the Picts, after whom was named the Muir-an-Icht, *i.e.* the English Channel and North Sea, because it was on the further shore of it that these peoples dwelt, just as we now speak, for like reason, of the *German* Ocean. It was in the year 360, or more than a century and a half before the events to which the historical element in Beowulf belongs, that Picts—together with Scots and Attacotts—are first mentioned in Britain. The old German writers always took for granted that it was from the German coasts that they sailed for Britain,† and Sir Henry Howorth and others have pointed to the name Fresonicum Mare‡ on the coast of Scotland as an indication that it was from the Frisian districts that some at least of them came.

In Cumhal's name we appear to have that of Humal, Humel, or Humbli, in which case Finn Mac Cumhal would be Finn Hummeling, a district bearing which name lay on the Ems and Hasé, and consisted of forest, moor, and morass. In Osnabrück, which either included it or was adjacent to it, Paul Wislicenus places Ptolemy's tribe, the Danduti. The country of the latter, again, was next to that of the Chassuarii, who appear later as the Hätvere, the name of a chieftain of whom was Hûn. In the Hummelingk was, as we have seen, the Hünebed called Sorbold's Grave.

Populations, then, bearing the name Hyni—that of the people whom Humber led to Britain—and Peene, with which Féinne may certainly be compared, and Eotens or Iötuns, or Iuchts, that is, Picts—with chieftains bearing the names of Finn and Hûn—occupied the country between the Ems and the Oder. These tribes are not to be identified with the Heruli—although both alike may at successive periods have found a common enemy in the Danes—any more than are the Féinne of Erin to be identified with the Fir-Bolg. On the one hand, however, we

† See Pomponius Lætus, "Hauris. Script. Hist. Rom.," vol. iii. p. 600: "Picti et Scoti, Germaniæ Gentes." See also J. Aventinus (Thunmair) *Annal Boiorum*, lib. vii. p. 9.

‡ See above.



need not, I think, dissociate their names from those of Hünen, or Hunni, of Fenni or Phinni, who may well have passed westward along the shores of the southern Baltic, while on the other a decidedly Germanic element among them may give us reason to associate them with Finno-Germanic or Æstian stock.†

We now turn to the fourth immigration *saga*, that of the Tuatha Dé Danann,‡ with whom, as we have seen, Colgan connects with the Picts. These tribes, as they are represented, are not only not in general inimical to Finn Mac Cumhail, but when he and his Fianna were about to fight Daire Dornmor, Emperor of the World, at a strand called Fionntraighe or Ventry, we are told that a remnant of them came to his aid as allies. That they appear to have been the divinities of a people, rather than the people themselves, I have previously expressed my opinion, and, in the mythological system they represent, a clear affinity with that of Scandinavia is perceptible. In common with the Fir-Bolg, however, whom they subsequently conquer and expel, as the Langobardi in the south, and afterwards the Danes in the north, did the Heruli, the traditional genealogies represent them as descendants of Nemed, who, under the command of Iarbhainel Faith, a son of Nemed, fled from the oppressions of the Fomorians. Some accounts lead them to Bœotia; others to Achaia and Athens, and place them on the borders of Bœotia, near Thebes. Stories of wizardry follow, in the practice of which they are finally worsted, and, in fear of falling into the hands of their enemies, they set out for the north and reach Scandinavia, their principal chieftain being Nuada Argatlamh, or Nuada of the Silver-Hand.

The assistance which they are said to have rendered to the Greeks reminds us of the help given by the more purely Germanic, principally Gothic settlers on the Danube, to the Byzantine Empire.

We then find them located by tradition among the Danes, to whom they act as tutors in four cities, or states: Falias, Finneas, Gorias, and Murias. Four of their "professors" taught in the schools—namely, Moirfhias, Arias, Erus, and Semias.

From these places they removed to the north of Scotland, near Dobhar and Iardobhar, where they remained seven years. They

† See above, p. 773, *et seqq.*

‡ It is not impossible that in the name of the Danduti [? Dan-tuit, *i.e.* Tuath (Dé) Danann], in Osnabrück, we have one etymologically identical with that of these people.



carried with them from Falias the Lia Fail, from which the city had received its name. It possessed a remarkable quality, that of emitting a sound. It gave name also to Inis-Fail, the Tuatha-Dé-Danann name for Ireland. Some called it the Fatal Stone.

From Gorias the Tuatha Dé Danann brought away the Sword of Lug. From Finnias they brought the Spear of the same divinity. From Murias they brought a Cauldron called Coirean Daghdha, the Cauldron of Dagda.† Their power of forming a magical mist about them, and their victory over the Fir-Bolg have been previously noticed.

The termination of the place-names, *-ias*, signifies a country or district, and stands for *-iath*, as in Scoriath or Scorias, or for *-ath*, as in Hiruath. With these may be compared the name of the city in which Fenius Farsaidh is said to have taught in the East, namely, Eothona, or Eothena,‡ (? for Eothonas, Eothenas)—that is to say, the city or country of the Euthiones, Iötuns, Yuchts, or Picts.

Falias would signify the country of Fal, that is, Fala, Falia, or Phalia, as in West-Phalia, East-Phalia, Asfala. Just north of this district, and included in it, was the Hummelink of which I have spoken. If Falias, then, be Falia, Finnias may be Pinneberg, or wherever else the Finnsberg of the Beowulf episode may be looked for. In Gorias we may have Goritz on the Oder, and in Murias the marsh-lands of Murizzi, so that the district of the Tuatha Dé Danann would have extended, at one time, from the Ems to the Oder, covering, indeed, the Elbe country, on both sides of the river—much the same district as that which we have previously allotted to the Langobardi.

The mythical beings, or divinities, who constitute the Tuatha Dé Danann, or “Tribes of Gods of Danu,” took their name from Danu or Dana, who was the daughter of Dealbhaoth, whose name brings us back to the river Delvunda and the Elbe country, of which I have spoken when referring to Dealbnata, Partholan’s wife. Lia Fail, that is, Fal’s Stone, was the name of the most precious possession which these people brought with them to Erin. To Erin they gave the name Inis Fáil or Fal’s Island, and Mag Fáil, Fal’s Plain. The word occurs in two place-names at least, Ath Finnfáil, “White Fal’s Ford”—Finnfál was another name for

† Compare the cauldron of the Cimbri.

‡ See O’Curry, *Mat.*, p. 15. Eothena seems to be the correct reading. It appears also as Eoterea civitas (Bk. of Lecan, fol. 152a).



the god—and in that of another Inis Fáil, which was the name of Beg Eri or Little Erin in Wexford harbour, associated with the cultus of Saint Ibor, one of those Christians of whom tradition averred that they preceded Patrick in Ireland and opposed him. Ibor was the name of one of the two primitive Langobardic leaders.

There can be no doubt that Fal was a sun-god.† He was connected with water as well, from the fact, perhaps, that nightly he sank into the sea. One form of his name was Nuada Finn fáil, and Nuada was a sea-god. In this, and other points, Fal approaches closely to Manannan Mac Lir. Just as the latter rolls over the sea with his three legs, so Fal's Wheel, the Roth Fal or Roth Ramach, said to mean the Wheel with Paddles, moves through the air. Fal belongs also to the worship at Temair, and there his stone was located. One of the three mythical kings of the Tuatha Dé Danann, called Ceathoir, son of Cearmna son of the Dagda, was also called Mac Greine, because, so it is explained, he chose for his god Grían, that is, the Sun.

Fal, in Ireland, is the German god Phol, whom Grimm identifies, on the one hand, with Beal, and, on the other, with Baldr. In Anglo-Saxon *bael* is "a funeral pile," and *bál* in Old Norse has the same meaning. He seems, also, to recognize the possibility of the origin of this word having to be looked for outside the limits of Aryan speech itself, since in Finnish *palo* is "fire." Olaus Magnus speaks of the practice of lighting Midsummer Fires in Scandinavia. There is no reason, however, to consider this a custom of Aryan origin, for Leems, in his account of the Laplanders, tells us that they held their sacrifices to a sun-god on Midsummer Eve.

Dykes, called in Ireland "Danes' Casts," "Furrows of the Black Pig," etc.; in England "Worms' Dykes" and "Devil's Dykes;" and which in Scotland are attributed to the Picts under such names as "Picts' Wark," or "Cat-Rail," are in Germany called Pholgraben, Phalhecke, etc. Sometimes in Germany Phol appears in the form Pholc, as in the case of an alternative spelling Phulsborn and Pfolczborn. In the cultus of Phol, near Trier, the Wheel bears a prominent part. On a certain Sunday in each year a wheel set on fire was rolled down the side of a hill called Pulsberg, into the Moselle, and a similar custom prevailed elsewhere. On the top of the Stromberg, on Midsummer Night,

† Professor Rhys connects his name with the Welsh *gwawl*, "radiance."



men and youths assembled, and each house delivered its truss of straw—the women and girls being stationed at a spring of water near by. A huge wheel was then wrapped round in the straw, a strong pole passed through the middle, and, being lighted, and guided on either side by those who ran with the pole, was rolled down the steep into the river, its course being accompanied by great rejoicing, and an abundant harvest predicted in case it reached the water while still alight.

But Phol or Ful had another meaning. It signified a “Boar,” the cultus of which animal obtained, as we know, both among the Æstians and the Scandinavians, and probably in Ireland, too, to judge by the numberless legends of the Black Pig, of enchanted pigs, and last, but not least, of the pig that was killed in honour of Martin—a survival of the practice of sacrificing this animal to the war-god, for between “sacrificing to” and “killing in honour of” this or that divinity or saint is a mere matter of the terms used. In the names Pholespiunt and Eburespiunt, in either case signifying the enclosure of the (sacred) Boar, we have examples of places specially set apart for his worship.

Another name for a sacred spot was *aue*, in connection with which the name of Phol also occurs, as Pfalsau in Bavaria, the old name for which was Pholesauwa, “its composition with *aue*,” says Grimm, “quite fitting in with the supposition of an old heathen worship. The gods,” he adds, “were worshipped on *eas*, islets inclosed by brooks and rivers, where fertile meadows yielded pasture, and forests shade.” Such was the “*castum nemus*” of Nerthus (or Hertha) in an *insula Oceani*; such, too, was Foseteland, with its willows and well-springs. . . .† Baldershagi (Balderi pascuum), mentioned in the *Friðþiofssaga*, was an enclosed sanctuary, which none might damage. Convents, also, for which time-hallowed sites were preferred, were often situated in *eas*, and of one nunnery the very word is used “in der megde *ouwe*,” that is, “in the maids’ *ea*.” From these establishments of Christian women on islands there seems no necessity for dissociating the establishments of pagan women on islands which preceded them. Of these latter in Gaul we meet with two notable examples, the one that of the virgins of the Island of Sena, called Gallicenæ,

† For examples of Well-Worship, in Scandinavia, precisely similar to that practised in Ireland, see Oedman’s “*Bahus-Lans Beshrifning*,” p. 169, where we read that multitudes of pilgrims visited St. Olafskiälla and dropped offerings in, and Bexell’s “*Hallands Historia*,” iii. 69, for springs rising near tombs of saints.



on the coast of Brittany, opposite the Osismii;† the other that of the priestesses on an island opposite the mouth of the Loire, called by Strabo that of the Samnites.‡ In Ireland, where, as we have seen, the term *cailleac* was applied to a nun and to a witch, establishments of women are pointed out as having existed in certain islands, such, for example, as Inish Clothra, in Loch-Ree, and Inish-Murray, on the coast of Sligo. The settlement of Christian monks, again, on islands such as those of Scellig-Michael, on the coast of Kerry, and Ardoilen on that of Galway, and the sanctity attached to Inish-Mac-Duach, on the same coast, all bear testimony to the survival of a veneration commenced in days of heathendom, and which finds its counterpart in Scandinavia, where Odensee is Odin's Island, or Oë; Thorsey Thor's Oë; Lassoë Hler's Oë; and many more. In Ireland, the name of the sacred τέμενος, or enclosure, was the loan-word *cashel*, or, for smaller venerated sites not enclosing a building, *ulla*. Gobnat had, as we have seen, her *ulla*, and Briget had her sacred fence. In Germany the enclosed space was called *piunt*, and in Norse it was *griðastaðr*. Ouwa, Awe, or Oë, meant an island. Inish Fáil, therefore, is identical in meaning with Pholesouwa.

With respect to the identity of Phol, Phal, or Fal with the Beal or Bel of more western mythology, Grimm remarks that "the Old High German *ph* seems to be an aspirate answering to the Saxon *tenuis p*, representing the Old Aryan *b*." Inclining to this hypothesis, he "connects Phol and Pol (the *o* in which latter may very well have sprung from the *a*) with the Celtic Beal, Beul, Bel, Belenus, a divinity of light and fire"—the Gaulish equivalent of Apollo.

Now, in relation to this idea, I may point out a curious passage which, through the medium of a significant epithet, may link the Irish Fál with the Kymric Beli or Bel, and both with the supreme deity and war-god (the First Lord of the Treasury, whether in Olympus or Valhalla, always took to himself the portfolio of Minister of War) of Norse mythology. The Lia Fáil which the Tuatha Dé Danann brought from Falias was called the *Saxum Fatale*. In a commentary on the Poem of Merlin by Johannes Cornubiensis,§ we have the name *Caer-Beli*, as that of a place somewhere in Cornwall, and, appended to it, the gloss *Castrum*

† "Mela," iii. 6.

‡ "Geogr.," edit. Firm. Didot, p. 165; see also Dionys., "Perig.," 571.

§ "Spicilegium Vaticanum," C. Greith, p. 104, n.



*Fatale*, with the curious remark in addition that the equivalent of *Caer-Beli* among the Anglo-Saxons was *Ashbiri*. *Biri*, that is, *huri*, *bury*, *burg*, is evidently equated with *caer*, and there remains the name *Ash* to equate with *Beli*—this very word *Ash*, or *Asch*, being a frequent name for *Odin*. Between this name for *Odin* and the ash-tree there was an acknowledged connection. *Odin* was not only the *Ash*, but the son of the *Ash*. From *Ash* and *Embla* in the *Voluspa* Saga sprung the human race, the first of whom formed the triplet, *Odin*, *Vile*, and *Ve*. With *Vile* is it possible to equate the Irish *Bilé*, which is the term used for the old and venerated tree, generally an ash, which grows over *cills* or wells, or in churchyards, or in any other holy place? So, at least, it seems, and *Bilé* also signifies “an idol,” which in that case would be the *simulacrum*, either the tree itself or the *lignea effigies* hewn from its trunk, of *Odin alias Beli*.

In Westphalia is a place called *Aschburg*, and in *Tacitus* we have *Asciburgium* on the *Rhine*, a place which he associates with the travels of *Ulysses*, and with an altar to that hero, said to have existed there—a tradition possibly based on the story of the travels of *Odin*, recited by natives to some intelligent Roman.

The undoubted presence of the mythology, which we generally know as Norse, in Germany, is a very remarkable fact. In the “Description of Ancient Saxony,” by *Caspar Schneider*, an interesting account will be found of *Eresburg*, *Marsburg*, or *Merseberg*, on the *Dymel*, once the principal stronghold of the Saxons. Somewhere near it was the *Irmensul*, the pillar-idol, destroyed by *Charlemagne*, and here too was a miraculous well, bearing the alternative names of the *Polter-Brunn* and the *Buller-Born*, in each of which we recognize a form of the name *Balder*. To go northwards, we have in *Drenthe* a venerated enclosure, described by *Picardt* and others, called the *Baller-koele*,† or *-kuile*, referable, I think, to the same name and cultus. For evidence that *Phol* and *Balder*, in the *Merseberg Lays*, indicate one and the same divinity, we have only to turn to *Grimm’s “Teutonic Mythology.”* “From the valuable revelations of the *Merseberg* discovery,” he says, “we are now fully assured of a divine *Balder* in Germany, but there emerges again a long-forgotten mythus, and with it a new name (*Phol*), unknown even to the North.” *Phol* is represented as riding with

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† *Op. cit.*, *supra*.



Wodan, when his horse is lamed. "Phol and Paltar (*i.e.* Balder) are in their beginning one, but reveal to us two divergent developments of the same word, and a not unimportant difference in the mythology of the several Teutonic races. So far as we can see, the god was worshipped, under the name of *Phol*, chiefly by the Thuringians and Bavarians, that is, according to ancient nomenclature, the Hermunduri and Marcomanni, yet they seem to have also known his other name, Paltar or Baldar; while Baldag, Bældag, the name of Wodan's son, prevailed among the Saxons and Westphalians, and the Anglo-Saxon bealdor, baldor, passed into a common noun, meaning 'lord.'" In the Rhine districts, Phol's day was called Pfultag, or Pulletag, and fell on the 2nd of May. The Rhinelanders, in fact, kept their Beltaine just as the Irish did, worshipping at that season the same god Bel, or Beal, or Fal, with the fiery ritual proper to him, and which may be perhaps traced back to an aboriginal *cultus*, independent altogether of considerations solely affecting the question of an Aryan race.

To Ireland, with certain differences, the same remark with regard to the presence of the several names of the divinity there, may be made, as Grimm made in the case of Germany, namely, that they reached the island at different periods, some at an earlier, some at a later date, some in one portion of the country, some in another, some given by those who were friendly to the god, some by his enemies, yet all tracing back to one stock, though without the slightest knowledge on the part of those who used them that such was the case. For instance, those who danced through the fires at Beltaine may have regarded Balor of Tory as the tyrant and one-eyed ogre of the extant traditions regarding him.

The form of the name which presumably is the most ancient, is the Celticized one, namely, Bel, Bell, Bil or Bial, and Beall, as in Bell-taine,† or Bealltaine, or Biltene, meaning "May-day," and explained the "Fire of Bel" or the "Lucky Fire," with which word "Lucky" we may compare the epithet *fatalis*, and with Bel the *bilé*, that is, the idol, and the venerated tree. A second form would be the Germanized one Fal, brought traditionally by the Tuatha Dé Danann, and which gives us the Fáil in Inish Fail, etc. A third form would be of Scandinavian origin, slightly modified in Ireland from Baldr into Balor, (genitive Balra) traditions regarding whom represent him as a piratical tyrant hailing from the North,

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† See "Sanas Chormaic," edit. O'Donovan, p. 19.



and coming, therefore, as an enemy to the settled population. It is to be noticed that it is the Tuatha Dé Danann divinity Lug who killed Balor, while Baldr met his death through the devices of Loké.

The name Tuatha Dé Danann signifies "Tribes of the Gods of Danu." Danu is identical with Anu, just as Athi is with Dathi, a statement which is confirmed by a passage in Cormac's Glossary compared with one in Keating, the former giving to the mountains, commonly called "The Paps" in Kerry, the name Da Chích Anainne, that is, "The Two Paps of Ana," and the latter that of "Da Chidh Danan," *i.e.* "The Two Paps of Dana or Danu." Ana, says Cormac,† was the *Mater Deorum Hibernensium*. She was also called Buannan, which latter name connects her with Buan, who was the wife of the Dagda, otherwise called Eochaid Ollathair.

In Welsh legends Danu's name takes the form of Dôn, and this Dôn is the wife of Beli. This Beli Professor Rhys equates with Balor. Each of them, at all events, has a grandson called respectively Llew (in Welsh) and Lug (in Gaedhelic). But Lug, who kills Balor, is equivalent (mythologically) to Loké, who kills Baldr,—Beli, Balor, and Baldr being, as we have seen, names attributable to a common origin.

Now, Baldr's wife is Nanna, and the same mutation which gives to Athi *alias* Dathi the further *alias* Nathi,‡ would give to Ana and Dana the further *alias* of Nanna.

The process by which the "mother of the gods," and the "nurse of heroes" § came to be variously apportioned in mythology, first as wife to one chief deity and then to another, first to the father and then to the son, it is not difficult to comprehend. Odin's wife, again, is called Frigg, which (the *f* being exchanged for *b*, as see above) is identical with the name of Brigg, the Dagda's daughter. As these names appear before us then, Odin, the Allfather, divine ancestor of the Teutonic peoples, has for wife Frigg, who is equivalent to Brigg, daughter of the Dagda the Allfather, divine ancestor of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Odin and Frigg have a son called Baldr, killed by means of Loké, the light-god, and whose wife is Nanna, which equals Ana or Dana, mother of the gods of the Tuatha Dé

† "Sanas," p. 4.

‡ See below, p. 1170.

§ Buannan is so called in Cormac's Glossary.



Danann, who, again, is Dôn, the wife of Beli (an older form of Baldr) in Welsh mythology. Or, by the contrary process, we have the Dagda, called also Eochaid the Allfather, whose wife is Buan, or Ana, or Dana, equal to Nanna, wife of Baldr, son of Odin the Allfather, and his wife Frigg, whose name, as we have seen, is identical with that of Brigg, daughter of the Dagda the Allfather, and Buan, Ana or Dana, or Nanna, his wife. This is a mythological jumble indeed, but it can be no mere accident, and would in itself go a long way to prove, were there no other evidence, that the Irish and Norse systems are one, not in the sense of having been evolved independently from one common Aryan source in ages of remote antiquity, but in that of having been identical in comparative recent times.

The very scheme of the mythological systems of Ireland and Scandinavia are identical. Take, for example, the triplets of correlative divinities. In one case the individuals appear to be the same. In the Norse version we have Bor and Bestla; in the Irish, Eochaid Fedlech, and Crofinna;—in each case two pairs of mythical beings, from the former of whom descend the triplet Odin, Hænir, and Loður; and from the latter Bres (= Eochaid), Nar, and Lothar. Loður and Lothar are identical; Nar and Hænir (there is also a Nar in Norse mythology) may be so also, while Bres is merely an adjective, meaning "great." For myself, I think that while Irish and Icelandic mythology are clearly closely related, the latter, in the form in which we receive it, is the younger of the two. Odin or Othin, and Oisín, each regarded as the Orpheus of northern peoples, were probably once the same, but it is sufficient for the Scandinavian system to ascend to Odin, whereas the Irish version carries us up to Finn his father, and to Cumhal (or Humal?), beyond him again. Loké, too, with his tricky ways, has degenerated from the far more serious personage Lug, the Tuatha Dé Danann god, who kills his grandfather Balor, and whose divinity asserted itself so markedly in Gaul. In the name Cermad or Cearmna, son of the Dagda, and father of a triplet of Tuatha Dé Danann kings, we may have the Norse Hermôðr, son of Odin.

One of the principal of the Tuatha Dé Danann pantheon was Dian Cecht, whose attributes were those of Æsculapius or Mercury, a circumstance which reminds us that a god whom the Romans called Mercury is mentioned as having been the principal



deity of the Germans. In the word Cecht, with the *p* and *c* mutation, Professor Rhys would allow us to see the name of the Picts, so that "Di an Cecht" would signify God of the Picts. Ceat, Ceath, Ceathoir, Cethar would similarly be explained by reference to the name of this people, as in Dun Cethern in Londonderry.

In the Tuatha Dé Danann, then, we appear to have the deities of a people or peoples coming from Germany, with Scando-Germanic affinities, represented to us through their gods. In some of the customs attributed to them, as in the possession of a sacred cauldron, they remind us of the Cimbri;† in others, of the Langobardi. The presence among them of venerated women recalls to mind Velleda, Aurinia, and Ganna. At all events, they were Germanic, and O'Flaherty recounts a tradition that they spoke *Germanicé*, while the Fir-Bolg spoke the British language—statements which must count for little. They apparently occupied an extensive tract upon and around the Elbe, and may have included several tribes. The one fact we know of them which seems most like true history is that of the relation of hostility in which they stood towards the Fir-Bolg, corresponding to that of the Chatti to the Cherusci, or of the Langobardi, or (later on) the Dani, to the Heruli. That the people who worshipped these divinities were ranged on the side of the people of Partholan, of Nemed, and of Finn and his Feinne, as distinct from the Fir-Bolg (with whom, however, tradition remotely connected them), and from the Fomore, makes me regard them as representing German tribes who were distinct from Heruli and Sclaves. That they would have been included under the general term "Picts" is likely, for, when we carry that term over to the Continent, we find that it bore a far more extended sense than it did in Ireland when simply equated with the Cruithné. The coming of the Picts of history to the shores of the British Isles is a mere modern event compared to the remote association of the Tuatha Dé Danann with ancient sites of ancestor-worship, as at the Brugh-na-Boinne, to which the traditions point. For the structural details and decoration at New Grange, we have to look to Scythia and Greece in the Bronze Age. This would

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† Schrader (transl. Jevons, p. 231) notices that "white shields were carried by the Cimbrian cavalry (Plut., 'Mar.', 15): in the 'Hildebrandslied,' father and son have hvitte scilti: *finden*, an Irish name for shield (Windisch., 'Fr. Texte,' p. 550), is obviously derived from *find*, white." Among the Cimbri women and dogs fought in battle; so they did among the ancient Irish.



point to the Tuatha Dé Danann tradition being that of deities of a most primitive people, who, while their Sacred Island, where were the tombs of their ancient kings, lay far away in the north-west, kept up, nevertheless, relations with it which were periodically resumed as time went on. That a great movement westward from Sarmatian Scythia had taken place in prehistoric times can scarcely be questioned—New Grange is architecturally and in point of ornament a barbarian copy of a Græco-Scythian tomb—and that history was therefore but repeating itself in the fourth and fifth centuries, when so-called Scythian hordes arrived in the British Isles from the coasts of Germany and the Baltic, after having penetrated beyond the Palus† and invaded the dominions of Rome, seems equally true. Whoever the Picts and Scots were, they were a vastly different people to the Anglo-Saxons who peopled southern and eastern Britain. Their arrival in Ireland was an event, however, of no less importance to Ireland—"Scotia," as it was henceforth to be—ethnologically speaking, than was that of the coming of the Saxons to the island adjoining. Why is it that, after living in Ireland, we can distinguish a native of Ireland of a certain type, as such, when we pass him in an English street? It is because his stem-land on the continent of Europe and that of the Saxon were not the same. It is because he brings with him characteristics, physical, moral, social, alike, which his ancestors derived in countries of Europe further east and south, where men of his type, among the Croats, for example, and the Poles, are still to be found in plenty. The tall stature of the type I mean, and the eye "blue as the ocean," he derives from the German element in the Herulian, or from a purer and Tuatha-Dé-Danann source. From the Herulian also comes his restless energy and his mad love of fun. On the other hand, his straight black hair, his square forehead, his chronic reddish blush, his high cheekbones and broad nose, with open nostrils in evidence and upturned point, his prognathous facial line, his shaggy eyebrows which give a fierce expression not intentional, his keenness of perception and discrimination,—all these he brings from the Scythian plains, where the Sarmatian or Kalmuck or Tscudic type, which this latter really is, met the blue-eyed Budini, the ancestors of the Slaves perhaps, the Bastarnæ, in whom have been recognized the first Germans known to history, as well as the Celts coming eastward down the

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† See what has been said above as to the Cotragi and Bolgar.



Danube, who, intermingling with the populations, became known as Celto-Scyths, but of whose ethnic affinities it is difficult to form an opinion. Such being the elements out of which this type of Irishman has been formed, he differs from the Saxon in almost every conceivable point. The restless energy of which I have spoken, which recalls the swiftness in action of the ubiquitous Herulian, chafes at the narrow bounds of his island home, and finds vent for its yearnings, wherever new fields for exertion and fresh chances of engaging in daring exploits offer themselves—whether the *rôle* be that of the soldier, the pioneer of civilization, or the diplomatist. From this race, wherever their continental settlements were in the fourth century, Attila obtained his trusty statesmen, Onegesius (Oengus) and Scotta, as their names imply; to this race—whether we are to call their leader Odoacer a Goth, or a Rugian, or an Herulian, or a Scyrian—that splendid barbarian owed, to no small extent, the materials of that army with which he invaded Italy.† Long ages have passed away since then, and yet History was only repeating herself when recently Austria mourned the loss of one of this selfsame race, in that of her distinguished Prime Minister, one of the wisest of European diplomatists, an Irishman, Count Taaffe.

In conclusion, in proof that a germ of truth may lie unsuspected in the native Irish stories contained in the ancient books, I give an example which receives its confirmation in a continental work contemporary with the event.

In Irish tradition the lines of the eponymi Ir and Rudhraighe are closely associated. Similarly on the Danube, in the fifth century, the Heruli and the Rugii often meet us in juxtaposition. That Irish chieftains and their followers were among those who were perpetually engaged in attacking the Roman Empire and in plundering the provinces, is directly stated in native tradition. Crimthann was a king of whom we are told that he made successful predatory descents on Gaul, Saxony, and Alba, by which latter, as I have already said, I think that not always Scotland or more southern Britain, but the Roman Empire, is sometimes meant. Niall, his successor, a descendant of the Eremonian line, was styled King of Erin and Alba, and his conquests in the East have been already alluded to. Dathi, whose proper name, we are told, was Feradach, the son of

† See note below, p. 1174.



Niall's brother, Fiachra, pillaged Gaul and carried his arms even to the Alps. In the Táin Bó Fraech we have an account of an expedition to the same district. The chief Irian city in Ireland, which was the centre of the power of the Clanna Rudraighe, was Emain Macha. "Every ferocious king," we read, "fought for the possession of Emain."† This name strikes us as very remarkable, when we compare this statement with the fact that a city bearing the same name, Emona or Eman, was the very place for which every barbarian chief would have been contending, since it was the key to the Alps—occupying the site of the modern Laibach.

In illustration of the connection of Irish tradition with continental history in the fifth century, then, I will here offer for comparison an account of an exploit of Feradach or Dathi, with an episode in the life of Saint Severinus. The Irish story in the Lebor-na-hUidhre runs as follows: "Nathi (= Dathi), son of Fiachra, took (reigned over) Erin, and invaded to the Elp mountains (*co sliab nelpa*). Formenus, King of Thrace (*tracia*), came on pilgrimage to the Elp mountains at that time. There was made by him a castle tower, and 60 feet its height, and 11 feet outwards from him to the light, and he was himself in the middle of the tower, and perceived not a ray of the light. Then came Nathi to the tower. Then the followers of Nathi demolished the tower. And Formenus perceived the wind (outer air) about him. Then Formenus was snatched from them in a flame of fire a thousand paces from the tower (*i.e.* a thousand paces downwards from the mountain is Formenus). And Formenus prayed to the co-Godhead that the reign of Dathi might not be of long continuance, and that his grave might not be conspicuous. The king enjoyed life only while he was destroying the castle, when a flash of lightning came from heaven on him, so that he died.

"Amalgaid (there were two Amalguids, one the son of Fiachra, and the other, this one, the son of Dathi) then took the command of the men of Erin, and carried away the body of his father with him. Nine battles were routed before him in the East. In the Decies of Temair there Amalgaid died. Then the body of Dathi was carried to the West, and he was buried at Cruachan. A company of four men of noble rank brought the body with them, namely, Dungalach, and Flangus, Tomaltach, and Tuathal, so that

† Gillemodud, "O'Connor," Prolegom., pars. i. p. clxxx. See Kelly's notes on Lynch. Cambr. Evers., vol. i. p. 62.



he is in the mid-floor of Aenach-Cruachain, even as Torna Eces manifested, 'Thou concealest from all, oh! Cruacha Crovderg, the comely King of Erin, Dathi son of Fiachra, true King, by sea, by land.' It has been testified by all that it was in royal land the King died."

Again: "The saint, upon the demolition of his wall, said to him, in prophetic strain, that neither his grave nor his gravestone should be conspicuous, oh! Cruacho."†

The nine battles fought in bringing home the body were, according to Mac Firbis: (1) Corpar; (2) Cime, or Cinge; (3) Colum; (4) Fale; (5) Miscal; (6) Lundun; (7) Corte; (8) Moli; (9) Grenis; (10) Fermer. It will be observed that there are ten—a discrepancy which Sir Samuel Ferguson explains by supposing the first to be a heading, viz.: Corpar, for Corporis—the Battles of the body.‡

Mac Firbis goes on: "When the men of Erin perceived Dathi's death, they put a lighted *sponc* in the king's mouth, in order that all might suppose that he was living, and that it was his breath that was coming out of his mouth. . . . Amalgaid, the son of Dathi, then took command of the men of Erin, and he carried the body of his father with him, and he gained nine battles by sea, and ten battles by land, by means of the corpse, for when his people exhibited the body of the king, they used to route the forces that opposed them."

The tower, we learn, was built of sods and stones.

From the "Book of Lecan" I may still quote another account, which differs slightly from the above: "Dathi, son of Fiachra, son of Eochaid Mughmedhon, took the kingship of Erin for twenty-seven years, and exacted the Boroimhe (*i.e.* the tribute imposed on the Laighin, *i.e.* Leinster) without contest. He ventured eastward on the track of Niall, till he came to the Alp mountain, and reached there a tower, wherein was Formenius, King of Thracia, who had left his kingdom, and chosen a holy life in that tower,

† Proc. R.I.A., 2nd ser., vol. ii. ("Pol. Lit. and Antt.") p. 173. Sir S. Ferguson, "On the Legend of Dathi."

‡ The names of the battles said to have been fought on the homeward march it would be hopeless to attempt to identify. Twenty-five miles N. of Vienna, on the left bank of the Danube, is Fellabrunn, which might possibly contain the name Fale or Faile. North, again, of Fellabrunn is Mistelbach, in which, with the change of *c* to *t*, we might recognize Miscal. Next on the list to these two comes Lundun, and to the N.E. of Fellabrunn and Mistelbach there certainly is a Lundunberg. Colom looks like the Culm Pagus in Thuringia, but, if so, it is out of place. I am inclined, however, to think that a group of these localities, if not all of them, should be looked for south of Bremen, on the Weser, the Aller and the Lein, where Corte would be found in Cortenhoven, Moli in Mollenbeck, Grenis in Grena on the Lein, and Fermer in Wermersdorp in Hoya in Hanover. For Lundun another reading is Larrand, and for Fermer Fornar.



where it was seventeen cubits to the light from him, whereupon the people of Dathi demolish the tower about him, so that he saw the light in the aperture of the breach. Whereupon Formenius demanded who made that demolition, and it was answered that it was Dathi with his people that made it. Then Formenius prayed the One-God that the reign of Dathi might endure no longer, and there came an arrow of lightning from heaven, through the prayer of the holy person, so that it killed the king in the presence of the host. The learned say that it was Formenius himself that discharged the arrow from his bow, and that it was by it the king was slain, and they say it was by this same arrow that Niall, son of Eochaid, was slain. However, the men of Erin took the king's corpse with them to Erin, and four of his own men of trust bearing, that is, Dungus, and Flangus, and Tuathal, and Tomaltach, so that he broke ten battles from the Alp mountains to Erin, and he dead without life."

Between this curious tale and that which follows, taken from the "Life of Saint Severinus," † there is so much in common that the only difficulty in identifying them appears to lie in the name of the saint. The Irish story gives the name variously as Formenius, Firmenius, and Parmenius, a circumstance which induced Sir Samuel Ferguson to look for him in the Firmin of the Church of Pfeffers, which stands, conveniently for the story, at a distance of about 1000 feet below the village and height of Saint Perminsberg. The Saint Permin of Swiss history lived, however, in the eighth century, far too late for Dathi, and we can only suppose that the legend-reciters mixed up the two names, and told of the Perminsberg and Saint Firmin what really belonged to the Khahlenberg and Saint Severin.

At the foot, then, of the Mons Cetius, now called the Khahlenberg, ‡ is a place which, according to Waitz, in his notes to the "History of the Lombards," by Paulus Diaconus, bore the name Fiferingen. It is four or five miles from Vienna, and in the seventeenth century traces were observable there of a monastery founded by Saint Severinus, of whom a life is extant, written by one of his monks, who was himself a contemporary with, and an eye-witness (*αὐτόπτης*) of, the events he relates.

† Cap. viii., *et seqq.*, edit. Kerschbaumer, p. 24.

‡ Lazijs (*Vienna Austriæ*) says: "Fabiana (Vienna) sub Comageno monte quem posteriores Cetium, et a Galatis Celtis Gallenburgum dixerunt." There is a Gollenberg on the Pomeranian coast in the Rugewalde, the ancient territory of the Rugii. See Micrælius, map of Pomerania. Compare Slieve Gullion, or Slieve Callan, and the grave of the giant Callen in Ireland.



The time was that of the death of Attila, and Pannonia was the hotbed of the disturbances caused by the nations who were pressing forward to the passes of the Alps, when Severinus, coming from eastern parts (not at all improbably from Thrace), took up his abode here, arriving, as it would appear, first at Comagenæ, a town on the Danube on the side of Mount Cetius remote from Vienna, and then forming for himself a little cell at a place called *Ad Vineas*. Giving up for a while his seclusion, he founded a monastery at the spot above indicated, and near it apparently, being unable to prevail upon himself to forego the lonely life he longed for, he formed for himself a place of abode apart (*secretum habitaculum*) one mile (or five, for the authorities differ) from Fabiana, or Castra Fabiana, which, as we find in the foundation charter of the Cænobium Scotense† in Vienna, was once the name of that city itself. This solitary retreat the neighbouring inhabitants knew by the name of the *Burgum*, a term which clearly indicates that the structure was of the nature of a tower, being the same which was applied to the towers placed at fixed intervals, either upon, or slightly within the borders of, those lines of rampart and bank called *limites*, which were raised to mark the lines of separation between the Roman Empire and the districts held by the barbarians. I may here remark that the constant tradition that one "fort," such an one, for instance, as the Sandal‡ Mount, on the Bann in Ireland, is always in view of another is probably due to the fact that in the case of these towers along the *limes*, they were so placed as to be visible each one to the next all along the line. In parenthesis I would repeat also, with regard to the forts in Ulster especially, that in design and structure they are counterparts of forts in Hungary and Bohemia. The *burgum*, built of masonry, stood on the top of a knoll, either wholly or partially artificial, and attached to it on one side was an enclosed piece of ground of squarish or triangular form, surrounded by a rampart. Many of these "forts" in Ireland, which now appear as simply green tumuli, are found when opened to contain a solid mass of stonework, the better to support the little structure or *burgum* which stood at the top. From this same early medieval Latin term the Scottish *burghs* or stone towers, hollow within, probably received their name.

† This monastery was founded in the year 1158 by Scots going to the Holy Land. The document speaks of its site as "in territorio *Faviæ* vel Favianæ, quæ a modernis Vuienna noncupatur."

‡ Compare the name of the Herulian chief Sindual.



To proceed, however. Here in his *burgum* Severinus lived, and, equally on account of the wisdom of his advice, which was often prophetic, and of the cures, sometimes miraculous, which he wrought, he was much sought after, and his "burgum" resorted to, not only by the Rugians, who regarded him with gratitude and esteem, but by the members and chieftains of other tribes who, passing through the country on their way to Italy, stopped to pay him a visit. Among these latter was Odoacer † (Odovakar) himself, to whom the saint promised great things, and who was so tall that he was compelled to stoop in order to enter the cell door.

Flaccithaeus, King of the Rugians, who at this time occupied this part of the country, had his chief seat at Vienna, and with him Severinus was on the best of terms. The saint was, in fact, consulted by this king with regard to the steps to be taken against the Goths, who, in large numbers, were infesting his territory from the side of Lower Pannonia. On the death of this chieftain, however, Severinus's relations with the royal family became strained.

Feletheus, ‡ otherwise called Feva, § son of Flaccithaeus, succeeded to the throne, and he, indeed, seems at first to have taken counsel with Severinus, as his father had done. He had, however, a wife called Gisa or Giso, described as a woman "of deadly bane" (*feralis et noxia*), one who laid hard tasks upon the Romans who were then in servitude under these barbarians, and (what must have been especially galling to the saint) who wanted herself to rebaptize the Christians, she herself being, as may be inferred from this, a Manichean. Severinus admonished her and her husband, and, this proving of no avail, finally prophesied the overthrow and destruction of the Rugian king by Odoacer.

Before this happened, however, the story introduces us to another member of the Rugian royal family, namely, Federuchus, || brother of Feletheus, who had been placed by the latter in command

† Odoacer is described as "a young man with thick yellow moustache, in sordid garb, but of uncommon height." The Annalists and Jordanes call him a Goth; other authorities term him a Rugian and a Scyrian. He is also described as king of the Eruli by one writer, and of the Turcilingi by another. The contrast between his physical characteristics and those of Attila, with his "swarthy skin, small, bead-like eyes, snub nose, and short stature," is remarkable, and reminds us that from one or other of those leading types, or the intermingling of them, were derived the individual members of those barbarian hordes who, having ramifications extending far north and east, whence continually fresh relays were obtained, were harassing the Roman border, and penetrating far beyond it.

‡ Other readings give the forms Fletheus and Felecteus.

§ Otherwise Fava and Feba.

|| Other reading, Friderichus.



of a fortified town adjacent to the spot where Severinus lived in his "burgum."

Shortly before the death of the saint, Federuch met him, and a conversation between them took place, and the fact having been revealed to Severinus that this chieftain, as soon as he was dead, would despoil his habitation, asked him what motive would prompt him to commit such an act. Federuch disclaimed any such intention, but no sooner was the saint dead than, seized with the lust of the barbarian for spoil, he carried off first of all the raiment set apart for the poor, and then, adding sacrilege to felony, bade a peasant secure the silver chalice and the appurtenances of the altar.

The man having refused, Federuch deputed a soldier to the task, named Avinianus. No sooner had the latter done the deed than, vexed with a devil, a ceaseless trembling of the limbs seized him, until finally, having repented his sin, he assumed a hermit's garb, and went to end his days on a lonely island. Federuch, meanwhile, possessed himself of everything the monastery of Severinus contained, leaving nothing but the walls, which he could not carry off over the Danube, behind. Vengeance, however, was not far off, for, within the space of a month, the despoiler of the sanctuary was slain in battle by his brother's son, and lost at once his booty and his life. In addition to this Odoacer, or Otachar, as Cassiodorus calls him, between whom and Feletheus a violent animosity had arisen, marched against the Rugii and defeated them, carrying Feletheus and Gisa captives into Italy. The son of Feletheus regained for a short time possession of his father's territories, but Odoacer sent Onulphus his brother against him, and his defeat having been accomplished, a decree was promulgated that all the Romans in those parts should return to Italy. In expectation of the fulfilment of a prophecy to this effect made by Severinus, his disciples had made a *locellum ligneum*, in which they placed his body, which when taken from the tomb was found to have been miraculously preserved, and so sweet was the odour which the sepulchre gave forth that those who stood around prostrated themselves with joy and wonder.

In comparing the Irish story of Dathi and the monkish one of Federuch, I will in the first place refer to the names of persons. Dathi had, as we have seen, another name or form of his name, *i.e.* Ferodach. Datius, as we have also seen, is the name given in the



Vatican Codex of Procopius to an Herulian king whose place in history is comparable to that occupied by another Ferodach, or Feradach, in Irish tradition. A presumption is therefore raised that the name Datus, or Dathi, and Ferodach were interchangeable, or rather that the former was the short for the latter—*dach* equalling *daith*, swift, and *fer* signifying "man."

Now, Federuch and Ferodach, with a slight change in the positions of letters, are identical, Federuch or Ferderuch being forms intermediate between the true name Ferodach and the totally distinct name *Frideric*, as found in Cassiodorus.

Federuch's father was Flaccithaeus, and Ferodach's father was Fiacha or Fiachra. Between Fiach, or Fiacc in older form, and Flacc the only difference is that most common of all changes, in which the *l* gives place to the soft vowel *i*, as in the place-name Flanona, later Fianona in Dalmatia. It is curious to think that between the Roman name Flaccus and the Gaedhelic Fiach, there may be traceable an original affinity. The form Flaccithaeus would be in Gaedhelic Fiachadh, which is positively the very form of Fiacha's name given by Keating.

In the name of Feletheus, Ferodach's brother, we have a name very closely corresponding indeed to the Irish *Filedh*, a poet, while his *alias* Feva or Feba is, as it stands, an ancient Irish personal name. For example, the name of a tale now lost—the title only of which is extant,† is "the slaughter of Magh Cégala by the son of Feba" (*mic Febai*).

To proceed to other points: Severinus comes from "the East;" Formenius from Thrace. Severinus lives in seclusion in a *burgum*, which he builds; Formenius lives in a tower which he similarly builds. Severinus's abode is destroyed and despoiled by Federuch; Formenius's is similarly treated by Ferodach. In the Latin story, Federuch does not kill the hermit, for he was dead already. Similarly, in the Irish story, Ferodach does not kill Formenius, and we are at a loss to know what becomes of him, the explanation being supplied by the Latin account. But Ferodach is struck by lightning and killed on the spot, whereas Federuch is slain in battle. Two circumstances may, however, be noticed here. Firstly, upon the commission of the sacrilegious act, swift punishment of a miraculous nature descends upon the soldier who was the instrument of Federuch. Secondly, a chieftain called Rougias,

† O'Curry, "Manuscript Materials," p. 590.



who may well have been a Rugian ally of the Huns, was, as we learn from Socrates, actually killed by lightning in the year 425. From these two occurrences the death of Dathi by lightning on the occasion of the sacrilege may readily have been manufactured.

The conclusion, then, at which I have arrived, with regard to the subject-matter of the *sagas* and fragments of *sagas* contained in the ancient Irish books, is that for the most part it is referable neither to pristine ages of Aryan mythology, nor to traditions of events which occurred in Ireland itself, but that it is largely made up of genuine traditions of events which occurred on the Continent from the third to the sixth century A.D., with some more distant lights, perhaps reaching back to the first and second centuries, handed down in the form of allegorical genealogies representing current beliefs with regard to questions ethnical and topographical. Such traditions would have been carried to Ireland partly by contingents of Gaedhelic-speaking people crossing and recrossing the Ictian Sea, who, in conjunction with not unrelated tribes on either side the Elbe, were participating in the barbarian raids upon the Roman Empire, and partly by Teutonic-speaking immigrants, to be translated on arrival into the Gaedhelic tongue. Had it not been for the isolation of Ireland consequent on the Saxon invasion of Britain, Latin would have been the language in which these traditions would have reached us, and some native monk, educated perhaps in Italy, would have given us an *Historia Scotorum*, the opening chapters of which would have contained just such material as that with which Jordanes and Saxo and Paulus open their histories of Goths and Danes and Lombards.

The *saga* of Partholan is Bardic, brought by Bardi, who, like Chauci and Menapii, had settlements in Ireland, where they recited the traditions of their origin. The *saga* of Nemed is also German, and relates to wars of Slaves and Germans on the south-western shores of the Baltic. The Fomorians are the Pomeranian Slaves; the Fir-Bolg are (speaking generally) any of those people, to whom the term Hunnish or Bulgar would have been applied in the fourth and fifth centuries; (speaking specially) they are the Heruli; in the Tuatha Dé Danann we have Scando-Germanic tribes, in particular, perhaps, the Bardi, represented to us through their gods which prove to be closely related to those of the Norse Pantheon. That they come under the general term



"Picts" seems likely enough, but that term included an originally non-Aryan element, represented by the Iötuns of Norse legend, which, intermingled with a Germanic element, retained its name in that of the Jutes and the Iutungi, in whom a Teutonic form of speech was present on the one hand, and in that of those Ichts, Picts, or Cruithné (? Prutheni and Britanni), among some of whom I venture to think a Celtic form of speech may have been present, on the other. Lastly, for the Feinné I would venture to suggest affinities among the peoples of Finno-Germanic origin around the Gulf of Riga and in East Prussia, whose representatives in history are the Æstians, contingents of whom may have pressed westwards with the Slaves to the Elbe and beyond it on the departure of the Teutonic tribes for the south, but whose ancestors on the Finnic side may once have surrounded the entire Baltic Lake from which the British Islands, from the remotest prehistoric ages to the Norman Conquest, have ever been receiving fresh instalments of population.





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## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 211. "Urn found in Loughry dolmen." Mr. Coffey informs me that this urn was not found inside the dolmen, but in a cist a little distance from it.

Page 302. I regret that either in place of, or together with the elevation and plan of the Annaclochmullin chamber, which are taken from Sir William Betham's work, I did not insert the plan, section, and elevations which are to be found in Vallancey's "Collectanea," vol. vi. pls. xxii. and xxiii., p. 458. Judging by comparisons with a similar type of structure in Scotland, the latter are more probably correct. The overlapping of the stones forming the roof is clearly shown in the section, while the narrowing of the chambers as they recede from the entrance, and the positions of the two monoliths in the semicircle, which is composed of twenty-four stones, are distinctly indicated in the ground plan, which is shown to be even more similar to the *Tombeaux des Géants* in Sardinia (see p. 706) than is the one I have inserted. The following is the description given by Vallancey ("Coll.," vol. vi. p. 462):—"The cairn was opened about 23 feet from where the two stones rose above the rest. The labourers soon discovered the third chamber in the ground plan. There appearing evidently to be small, low doors from this into other apartments, it was conjectured that the two tall stones might possibly indicate the entrance into the building. All rocks and stones being cleared away, that were in front of these pyramidal stones, to the base, to their great surprise, the building exhibited a regular front, with a low door of entrance, of all which Lady Synnot made elegant drawings on a large scale, from which pl. xxiii is taken, describing the view of the cairn, the entrance, and section. . . . The building consists of four apartments: the first, 8 feet wide, and 9 feet 6 inches long; the second, 6 feet 6 inches wide, and 6 feet long; the third, 6 feet 2 inches wide, and 6 feet 8 inches long; the fourth, 2 feet wide, and 6 feet long. In the front is a semicircular porch, of rude stones, 33 feet in diameter, and 8 feet from the door of entrance are two pillars . . . 9 feet high, one on each side. The chambers are arched with dry corbelling stones, as at New-Grange, covered at top with a flag, about 3 feet broad; the arch springs about 3 feet from the ground. The roof and door-cases in some places are destroyed." Dean Allot afterwards observed that the cave did not extend to the centre on the cairn; and on the opposite side he observed two obelisks rising above the rest, which he thought might indicate the entrance to a second cave. He said, also, that in neighbourhood of this cairn "stands an altar, named *Leac Barkat*, that is, the altar of a giant so named, as the peasants informed him."

With the structure at Carnbane, also in the Co. of Armagh, the account of which, in my list, is inserted at pp. 299-301, Vallancey ("Coll.," vol. vi. pp. 179, 180) compares the circle of "Anamor," at Wattlebridge, Co. Fermanagh. Of this latter he gives a plan, which shows it to be an oval composed of forty-eight stones, enclosing at one end a small circle of nine stones. (See my account of the remains at Annaghmore, *supra*, pp. 227, 228.)

Pages 673 and 674. The exact resemblance of the two-looped bronze *paalstabs* of the western coast of the Iberian Peninsula with those of Cornwall, Devon, and Ireland, raises the much-debated question as to the sources from which, in the Bronze Age, the tin for this bronze was obtained. That, during that period, both *paalstabs* and *socket-celts* were manufactured in West Cornwall is rendered certain by a discovery, which came under my own observation, of lumps of smelted tin (of a kind commonly known as Jews' tin), and of copper, which latter bore the form of the stone-bowl into which it had been run, side by side with examples of spoiled *paalstabs* and *socket celts* in the embankment of a cliff-castle at Cape Cornwall, near the Land's End. The existence of the rare two-looped *paalstab* in this district, as well as in North-Western Spain and Portugal, serves as proof that, even in an early period of the Bronze Age, communications were taking place between the two localities, in each of which tin was already being worked.

The more we attempt to give the Cassiterides a definite geographical position, the more these islands fade into the fabulous regions of the hazy sun-down. I at one time believed that the Land's End district and the Scilly Islands were in truth the islands indicated by the ancient writers. Being unaware that tin had ever been raised in any appreciable quantities in Galicia, I used the argument of an exhaustive process to show that Cornwall alone could have supplied it to the Phœnicians. A study of the mineralogical features of the estuaries and rivers of North-Western Spain has, however, completely altered my view. The ancient tin-workings of Galicia prove to be of enormous extent, while the actual tin which remains *in situ* and unworked is not only plentiful in quantity, but in quality unrivalled, and—whatever Cornwall may have produced in the past—superior to any examples of that mineral produced there at present. That it was from



the bays and estuaries of Ferrol, Noya, Arosa, Pontevedra, Vigo, and the Islands of Cycas, Cies, or Bayona, that tin first found its way to the Mediterranean for the purposes of bronze, through the agency of the Phœnician merchants, I feel no doubt; and it is certain also that these were the coasts of the Artabri, where, according to Strabo, the women washed it in wicker baskets. That the vaguer district over the sea, namely Cornwall, was soon recognized as an important field for production, may be taken for granted also, and that it was from these same coasts of the Peninsula that it was reached, may be inferred, not merely from considerations of navigation, but from the presence of implements, such as the two-looped *paalstab* of curious and unusual type. For the historical question of the source of tin in the Bronze Age, I would refer the reader to "Historia de Galicia," por Manuel Murguía, Lugo, vol. i. p. 332, *et seqq.*, and vol. ii. p. 56, *et seqq.*, as also to that author's more recent work on "Galicia" (Barcelona, 1888), in which will be found much valuable information on prehistoric antiquities (including dolmens) and folk-lore. For the presence of tin in Galicia, and the astonishing richness of the ore, specimens of which I have seen, I would refer to—(1) "Descripción del Reyno de Galicia," por el Licenciado Molina, Madrid, 1551, foll. xxiv. and xlv.; (2) "Descripción geognóstica del Reino de Galicia," por D. Guillermo Sculz, Madrid, 1835; also (3) by the same author, "La Ballesterosita," a Spanish edition of which is given by Signor Manuel Murguía, *op. cit.*, App. to vol. i.; (4) "Memoria sobre las minas de Galicia," por D. Joseph Cornide, a MS. dated 1783, in the Bib. de la Real Acad., Madrid.

Page 1080, line 32. Magh Kedni, or Ceidne, was a plain said to be situated between the rivers Draobhaíos and Erne, where the Nemedians had to pay tribute to the Fomorians. Near Rostock and Dimin is *Kessin* or *Kizin*; in Latin *urbs Kycinorum* (Helm. i, 48). These *Kyzini*, *Kissini*, or *Chizzini* and their *terra Kicine* are several times mentioned in conjunction or juxtaposition with the *Circipeni*. In Carl Wolff's Historical Atlas for the year 1000 A.D., *Kizun* is placed on the Warnou, and *Kizinia* is given as the name of the sea-board opposite Rügen and north of Circipania and Dimmine. If my view be a probable one that the Nemedians are the Germans, and the Fomonians the Pomorians, and that the Draobhaíos or Drawes is the Irish reflex of the Trave or Travena, and the Erne that of the Warnou, the occurrence of the name of a district (a plain or flat-country) and of a people called *Kisini* on the estuaries of the former, and of that of the *mag* or plain of *Kedni* or *Ceiane* on those of the latter, is a fact of no small importance to my contention. For *Kedni* or *Ceidne* is plainly the equivalent of *Kisini*, the *d* or *t* representing the *z* or *s*, as in *Hassi* and *Chatti*, thus giving the form *Kitini*, in which the first *i* may become *e*, as in the name of the neighbouring town *Demmin* or *Dimmin*, and the second *i* be suppressed as (if I am right) it has been in *Demni* (the name of Finn Mac Comhail), for *Dimine* or *Demmine*. Helmold in one passage places the *Kycini* next the *Obotritæ*, in which case we should be justified in assigning to them a territory west of the Warnou, and west of the position given them by Wolff. This would bring them into the flat coast district between the Trave and the Warnou, which, if, in an Irish reflex, these rivers are the Draobhaíos and the Erne, would be represented by the *Magh Kedni*. That this district in Ireland ever really bore this name I do not think there is any territorial documentary evidence to show, nor should I suspect there would be. The river-names would have been transferred by immigrants from the coast of Germany to the island, and the tradition which those immigrants would have brought with them regarding the events that had occurred in the land they had left, would have caused subsequent native Irish interpreters of the tradition to find for it the locality indicated by those river-names. A like process appears to me to have been at work in the case of other insular localities almost without number. The impossibility of identifying within the limits of Ireland itself places named in the traditions meets us perpetually, and was a continual source of perplexity to O'Donovan. I feel almost certain that in the case of a large proportion of names of places, and still more so, in names of persons, the topographer should look beyond the shores of Ireland, and the etymologist should not hesitate to go outside the limits of a Celtic language.

If, indeed, these traditions refer to that almost unknown chapter in history when the Slaves first pressed westward and contended with the remnants of the German tribes for the flat-lands of the Baltic and the German Ocean—a chapter the loss of which is greatly due to the fact that the stirring events on the borders of the Roman dominions were at that time engrossing the sole attention of those who marked the progress of history—no locality could be indicated with more probability as affording for a time to the invaders and the invaded a neutral spot where the former would receive bribes from the latter to stay their further progress, or tribute from their tribes when finally subjugated, than the sea-board west of Rügen between the Warnou and the Trave.

It is, I think, not impossible to trace the *Kycini* or *Chizzini* to their previous and more Eastern abodes. When we find them on the Warnou they formed one of four peoples, namely, the *Kyzini*, the *Circipani*, the *Tholensi*, and the *Redari* or *Riaduri*, who were all included under the general term *Wiltzi* or *Lutici*, *Liutici* or *Lutitii*. Grimm has pointed out that the names *Wiltzi* or *Wilti*, and *Liutici* may be identical, *liutyj* and *wilt* having suffered the same transposition of letters as *Labe* and *Elbe*. (*Die Deutschen*, 655, n.) Now Adam of Bremen mentions among the Eastern Finns, who occupied the country between Old Prussia and Russia, what may be a remnant of these people, where he speaks of *Wiltzi*, together with *Mirri*, *Lami*, *Scuti*, and *Turci*. In the name *Wiltzi* found in this district we have seemingly not only the *Ὀβέλται* of Ptolemy, but also the *Litwani* or *Litwa* of Nestor—in short, the Lithuanians. (*Die Deutschen*, 679, and n.)

It follows that from the districts around the Gulf of Riga were drawn contingents of those people who, having passed along the Prussian and Pomeranian coasts, contended with the Germans for the possession of the lands around and even considerably west of the Elbe. The name of the *Wilti* is found not only in that of *Wiltzburg* in the Nordgau, but, according to the following passage from Bede (5, 12), in a name of Utrecht itself: "castellam quod antiquo gentium illarum vocabulo *Wiltaburg*, id est oppidum *Wiltorum*, lingua autem gallica *Trajectum* vocatur."



It will be apparent how intimately these considerations bear upon that I have urged in favour of the eastern origin of certain Irish tribes and traditions, and on the westward passage of Esthonian Finns and Sarmatians—the Picts from Scythia of Bede and of Edm. Spenser's favourite hypothesis—under the general names of Hünen, Hyni, Féné, Fomóre, *etc.*, and under the more special names Fir Bolg, Fir-Domnaun, Galeoin, Rudhraighe, *etc.*, *etc.*

With the name of the Redari, Riaduri, or Riedere it is tempting to compare that of the Dal Riada described as the tribe of Cairbre Riada, whose name is also written Rieda, Riada, and Reuda, and his tribe-land Dalrieda and Dalredia. The Riedere in North Germany were, like the Kicini, included under the Wilti, just as Dal-Rieda was included under the Ullta or Ulstermen, the name of whose territory was Uladh, originally applied to the entire province, the term Ulidia, which I have compared to the name of Julin, being applied to the eastern or circumscribed portion. Between Wilti and Ullta (cf. Ptolemy's Ουέλται) the etymological difficulties are certainly not insurmountable, and when these names are taken together with the many other coincidences I have pointed out, their occurrence may afford yet another clue to the solution of the ethnological problem with which in the latter portion of my work I have attempted to deal.

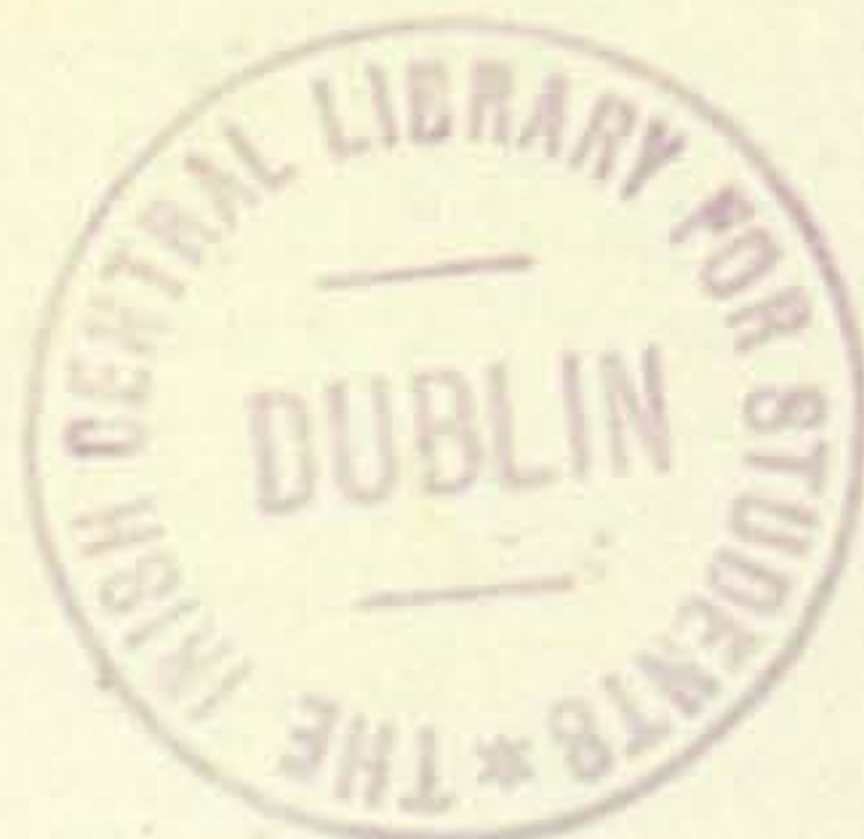
Page 1130. The plan here given of the enclosure of St. Leonard's in Hungary with its Christian remains, and the comparison I point out between it and that on the island of Inishmurray, would lead to the consideration of the question—far too large, however, to be entered upon in this work—of what other remains which in Ireland were the work of Christians may be looked for in East-central Europe. We naturally turn to the "Round Towers," the Christian origin of which in Ireland, so far as their construction is concerned in that island, Petrie has placed beyond a doubt, while with quite as great certainty we may aver that neither in type nor purpose did they bear any essential relation to the Christian religion, but were adopted by its professors, during a semi-pagan period which historians are too prone, or rather not sufficiently unbiassed, to ignore, from peoples provided with an earlier and wholly distinct faith and ritual, and that the countries whence the type spread into Western Europe lay on the borders of Europe and Asia, and still further to the East, where, as I have seen, for example, near the Buddhist monastery of Tien Dong in China, the old pagodas of stone or brick, shorn of their wooden balconies by age, rise often to a great height, from within the enclosure of a ruined temple, or burying-ground, and both in appearance and situation correspond precisely to the "Round Tower" which forms so often the prominent feature of an Irish landscape.

Turning then to the eastern part of Europe we may expect to find such towers here and there upon the track of those who were carrying the type westward. Among the places visited by Pallas was the village of Bolgari on the site of the once important city of Brjæchinof, the ancient capital of Bulgaria. He describes the ruins there, which are situated 80 versts from Simbirsk and 9 from the river Volga. A rampart and ditch in the form of an irregular half-oval surrounds the buildings, among which are the ruins of a convent in an inclosed area, and a stone-built church. The most noteworthy of the old buildings is a tower, called *Misgir*, built of cut-stone, and of good masonry, about 75 feet high. A circular staircase of 72 steps leads to the top, which was covered with wood, and inside the tower was a modern inscription in Arabic. The tower stood at the north-east corner of a wall, of squarish form and of so great thickness as to appear to have surrounded a fortress or grand mosque. On the west side of the tower were the ruins of a Tartar oratory, vaulted throughout. It had been repaired and turned into a chapel of St. Nicholas.

Whatever the origin of this tower, which is described and figured in a work on Travels in Russia and Persia, published at Bern in 1777 (vol. i. pl. vii., p. 273; and French edition, 1779, vol. i. pl. vii., p. 337), it corresponds precisely, as shown in the illustration there given, to an Irish Round Tower, to which it is almost impossible not to conclude that it bears a true affinity.

Page 1156, line 10. The town which Helmold (1, 2) calls "*civitas Dimine*," and Saxo (p. 382) *Diminum*, is called "*Timina civitas*" by the contemporary author of the Life of St. Otto (Boll. Jul., 1, 407). A similar name, attached to a person named Eochaidh, occurs in the *Leabhar na g-Ceart* (edit. and transl. O'Donovan), pp. 198–201. It is in the piece called "The Will of Cathaer Mor," where a paragraph commences with the words "Mo Eochaidh Timine," *i.e.* "My Eochaidh Timine."

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## ERRATA.

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- Page 363, line 14, *for* "Cortragi" *read* "Cotragi."
- " 409 " 17, *for* "Baile-au-Cheadaich" *read* "Baile-an-Cheadaich."
- " 441 " 19, *for* "peristalith" *read* "peristyle."
- " 449 " 4, *for* "British Channel" *read* "Bristol Channel."
- " 452 " 7, *for* "Greenwall" *read* "Greenwell."
- " 465 " 5, *for* "Aunaclochmullin" *read* "Annaclochmullin."
- " 466 " 37, *for* "Clawa" *read* "Clava."
- " 478 " 14, *for* "Ruchs" *read* "Ruehs."
- " 527 " 12, *for* "Kleman" *read* "Klemm."
- " 543 " 33, *for* "Mendingen" *read* "Medingen."
- " 544 " 7, *for* "Wand F" *read* "W and F."
- " 547 " 20, *for* "Elb" *read* "Elbe."
- " 566 " 27, *for* "Cartaillac" *read* "Cartailhac."
- " 585 " 6, *for* "Pyrénées" *read* "Pyrénées."
- " 589 " 7, *for* "Rhine" *read* "Rhone."
- " 603 " 38, *for* "Curio-solites" *read* "Curi-Osolites."



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